

ΣΑ 20 _ Η αρχαία ελληνική πόλις

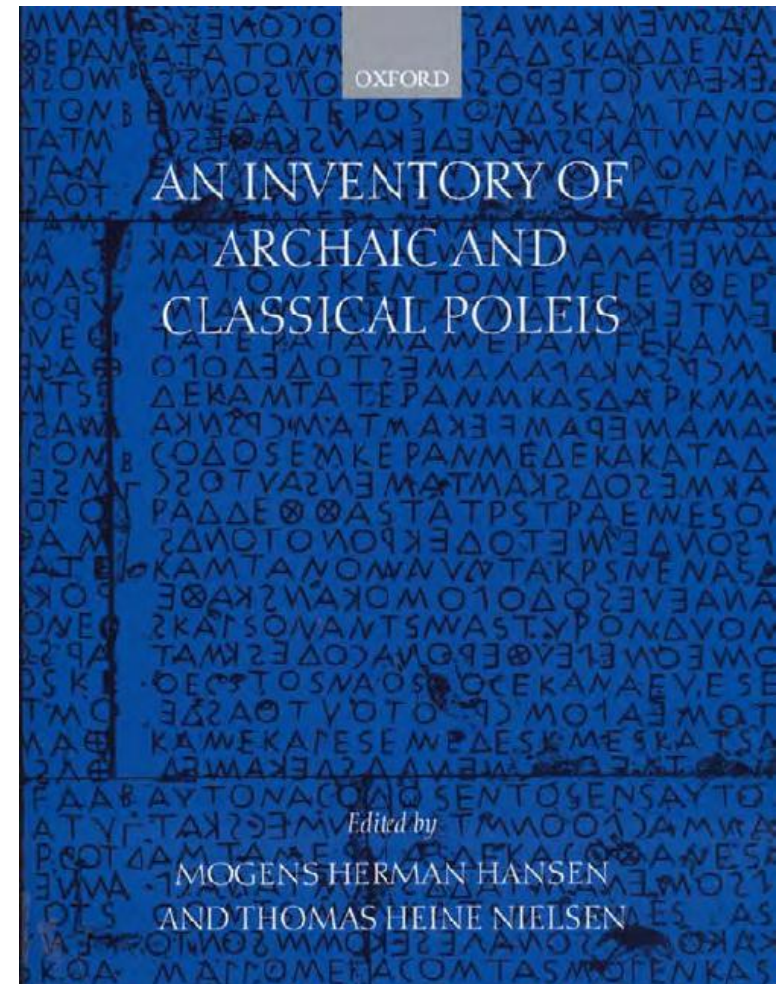
Αρχαιολογική τεκμηρίωση

1ο Μάθημα: Εισαγωγή

Αλεξάνδρα Σ. Σφυρόερα

E-class: ARCH606

Όλες οι **απαντήσεις** για την *πόλιν*
με 20 **ερωτήσεις**



To produce an Inventory of Greek *polis* makes sense only if the *polis* was an essential element of Hellenic civilisation both as an institution and as a concept. That is usually taken for granted, but ought instead to be substantiated.¹ Was the *polis* really the political unit *par excellence*? Did it matter to the ancient Greeks if they lived in a *polis* rather than in some other form of community? Was it something in which they took pride? As an introduction to this work we can adduce a number of observations in support of the orthodox.

(3) In sources of the Archaic and Classical periods there are more than 10,000 occurrences of the term *polis* and almost as many of its derivatives: *politēs*, *politeia*, *polisma*, *politikos*, *politestein*/*politesteuthai*, etc. The majority of the occurrences of *polis* are found in Athenian sources, but some 3,000 come from non-Athenian texts.² The number of attestations shows that it was impossible for the Greeks to think or speak or write about any public matter without incessantly using the word *polis* and its derivatives.³ The term and the concept behind it were thus of the utmost importance, not just as the designation of a physical phenomenon but also as a key concept in Greek political thought.

(2) In Hellas in the Archaic and Classical periods "belonging" in a political context meant, first of all, belonging to one's polis. For a Greek citizen the polis was his fatherland (*patris*). Above polis level he might belong to an *ethnos*;

below polis level he might belong to a civic subdivision (a *demios* or a *phyle*, etc.). But he would not think of sacrificing his life for his *ethnos* or his *demios*, whereas he was expected, if necessary, to die for his polis.⁴ The polis provided its citizens with a sense of common identity, based on traditions, culture, ceremonies, symbols and sometimes (presumed) common descent.

(3) Thucydides tells us that when, in 431, many Athenians had to evacuate their houses and sanctuaries in the countryside and move into Athens, they felt it "as if they were leaving their polis".⁵ This passage is often adduced as evidence of the importance of the deme as a political unit and is sometimes paraphrased to mean "that the deme was, as it were, the polis writ small" or that "many citizens of Attica may be looked to their deme first and their city second".⁶ But we doubt that the Thucydides passage has anything to do with demes. The reference is to the citizens' homes (*oikiai*) and sanctuaries (*hiem patria*). There is nothing about demes. Some of these sanctuaries may have belonged to demes, but what Thucydides emphasised is the ancestral character of these sanctuaries, which, in many cases, stretched much further back than Kleisthenes' reforms, when, probably, many of them (but not all) were transformed into deme cults.⁷ The principal opposition stressed by Thucydides is

⁴ In Lykourgos' patriotic speech *Against Leokrates*—the Athenian who fled from his fatherland in 381 after the defeat at Chaeroneia—there are no fewer than 70 occurrences of *patris*, often juxtaposed with *polis*, *laos* (nation) and sanctuaries (*hiera*). To die for one's *patris* = *polis* in Tyrtaion (fr. 30.2–3) and Anakreon (*Anth. Pal.* 13.4). For the identification of *polis* with *patris* see infra 49, Hansen (forthcoming) and Nielsen (2004). For the cosmopolitan view—rare before the Hellenistic period—that one's *patris* is wherever one wants to live, see *Str. fr.* 27.4, 1034; *At. Phil.* 118c; *Isoc.* 4.81.

⁹ Thus, *αὐτοὶ ἀφέντες τὰ καὶ πατρῷνα ἔφυγον οὐκ ἐν συνθέσει τοῦ λαοῦ* ("But it was with sorrow and regret they abandoned their homes and ancestral sanctuaries—which they had always had due to the ancient constitution—and had to change their whole way of life, and each felt it as if he were leaving his soul").

* The importance of the deme is stressed by, e.g., Parker (1987) 137; Thuc. 2.16.2: "The best introduction to the world of the Attic demes"; Parker (1996) 10: "the deme was, as it were, the polis writ small"; Katz (1998) 325: "the deme was something like a miniature polis"; Hornblower (2002) 134: "many citizens of Attica may have looked to their deme first and their city second"; and Hornblower (1991) 269.

⁷ Whithead (1986) 177. Far from all local cults were deme cults Osborne (1984) 176–81. For sanctuaries and cults of the demes, see the C4f sacrificial

This chapter is a revised and updated version of Hansen (1996a) 14–15

³ The conceptual and linguistic aspect of this problem has been judiciously problematised by Murray (2000) 254–55.

² Apart from Homer and Hesiod (see § supra), the more important non-Athenians are Archilochos of Paros, Alkaios of Mytilene, Tyrtaeos of Sparta, Findar of Thebes, Bacchylides of Keos, Herodotos of Halikarnassos, Theopompos of Chios, Ephoros of Kyrene, Aineias of, probably, Styrrhialos, the Oxytychos historian (≠Theopompos?), Ps.-Skylax, and c.3,000 attestations in non-Athenian inscriptions down to the end of Ca.

³ Murray (2000) 203 holds that "any investigation of the word *polis* is likely to find it most frequently exemplified in the philosophical context of theories of the *polis* or in the geographical context of settlement patterns". This statement is not supported by our findings. In Archaic and Classical texts there are some 2,500 occurrences of *polis* in historians (Hdt., Thuc., Xen., Hell. Oxy. and

fragments of Theopomp, Ephor, etc.), some 3,000 in the Attic orators (most in Demosthenes and Isocrates), some 1,200 in drama (*Aesch.*, *Soph.*, *Eur.*, *Ar.*, *Men.* and fragments), and c.1,500 in inscriptions. There are some 2,200 attestations in Plato and Aristotle and no more than c.500 in geographical treatises (almost all from Ptolemy). To complete the picture, there are c.500 occurrences in Homer, c.200 in lyric and iambic poets, and c.150 in Aeneas the Tactician.

Ερώτηση 2η:

Τι είναι ο

Lex Hafniensis de civitate;*

* *Hafnia* = *Copenhagen* στη λατινική γλώσσα

HfM 74

7

ΠΟΛΛΑΧΩΣ ΠΟΛΙΣ ΛΕΓΕΤΑΙ
(Arist. Pol. 1276a23)

The Copenhagen Inventory of *Poleis* and the
*Lex Hafniensis de Civitate*¹

Mogens Herman Hansen
(Respondent: Franz Georg Maier)

One of the main objectives of the Copenhagen Polis-Centre is to build up an inventory of every single archaic and classical settlement which is explicitly called *polis* in contemporary sources. The main purpose of this investigation is to find out what the Greeks thought a *polis* was, and to compare that with what modern historians think a *polis* is.² The concept of *polis* found in the sources and in modern historiography ought, of course, to be the same. But that is far from always the case. Let me adduce just two examples. The orthodoxy is that the small Boiotian town Mykalessos was *not* a *polis*; it was rather a *kome*. This is indeed the term used by Strabo, whose classification is cited in, for example, *RE* s.v. Mykalessos, and again in the *Princeton Encyclopedia of Classical Sites*.³ What is passed over in silence in both these articles and in most other studies of the history of Boiotia is that Mykalessos is called a *polis* by Thucydides, not just once, but three times in a passage where he uses *polis* both in the urban and in the political sense of the word.⁴ Similarly, it is commonly believed that a *klerouchy* was *not* a *polis*.⁵ Nevertheless the Athenian *klerouchies* are repeatedly classified as being *poleis* both in literary texts and in inscriptions.⁶

Scores of other examples could be adduced but it would serve no purpose to list them here. In such cases the modern historian's reaction has normally been to admit that these settlements may well be called *poleis* in our sources, but then to imply or to state explicitly that they were not *poleis* in the true sense.⁷ The curious result of such a policy is the view that our sources often apply the term *polis* to a settlement that, according to modern orthodoxy, was not a *polis*. We are faced with a *polis* that was *not* a *polis*.

The contradiction has its root in the fact that modern historians who write about ancient Greece like to use the term *polis* synonymously with the term city-state.⁸ But city-state is a modern historical term which

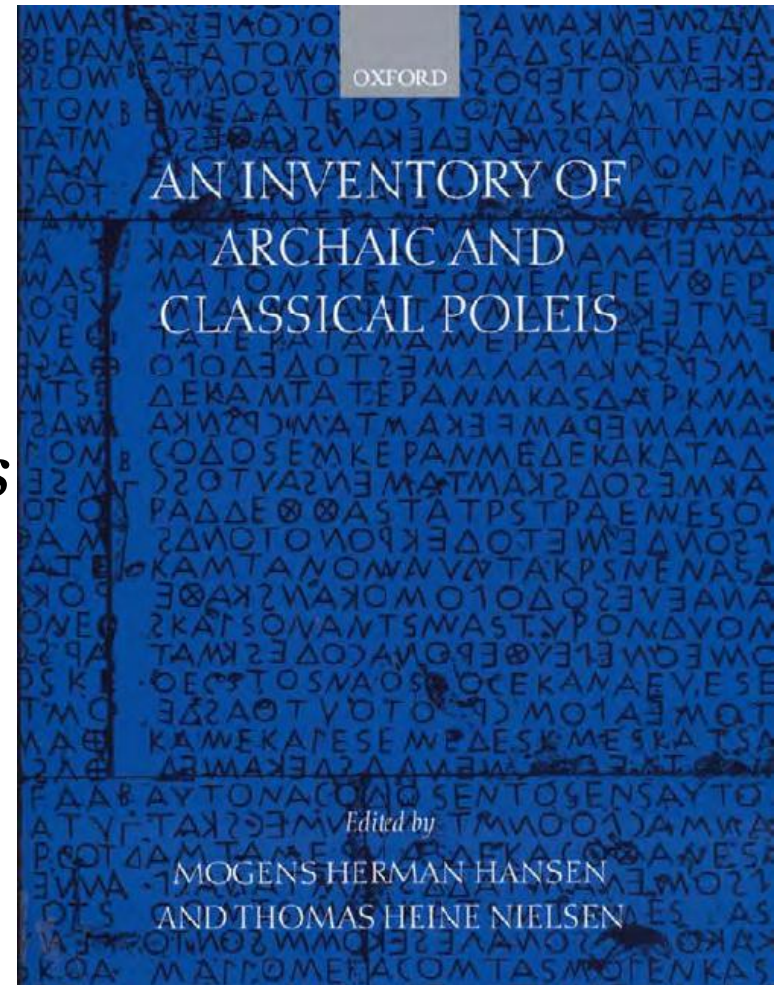
Mitchell – Rhodes 1997, σελ. 5-12
ή Hansen @Hansen 1996

Ερώτηση 3η:

Το βιβλίο

An Inventory

of Archaic and Classical poleis



The Inventory of *Poleis*

To counteract the Athenocentric studies of the *polis*, one of the main objectives of the Copenhagen Polis Centre has been to build up an inventory of all *poleis* of the Archaic and Classical periods. The principal purpose of this investigation is to find out what the Greeks thought a *polis* was, and to compare that with what modern historians think a *polis* is (Hansen 1994a) 14–17). The concept of *polis* found in the sources ought, of course, to be the same as that in modern historiography. But this is far from always the case. Let us adduce just one example. The orthodoxy is that the small Boiotian town of Mykalessos was *not* a *polis*; it was instead a *kome*. This is indeed the term used by Strabo, whose classification is cited in, for example, *RE* s.v. Mykalessos, and again in the *Princeton Encyclopedia of Classical Sites* (PECS).¹ What is passed over in silence in both these articles and in most other studies of the history of Boiotia is that Mykalessos is called a *polis* by Thucydides, not just once, but three times in a passage where he uses *polis* both in the urban and in the political sense of the word.²

Scores of other examples could be adduced. In such cases the modern historian's reaction has normally been to admit that such settlements may well be called *poleis* in our sources, but then to imply or to state explicitly that they were not *poleis* in the true sense.³ The curious result of such a policy is the view that our sources often apply the term *polis* to a settlement that, according to modern orthodoxy, was not a *polis*. We are faced with a *polis* that was not a *polis*.

The contradiction has its root in the fact that modern historians who write about ancient Greece like to use the term *polis* synonymously with the term "city-state" (e.g. Finley 1981) 4). But *polis* is a historical concept attested in Greek sources, while city-state is a modern heuristic concept (Hansen 2000a) 13). The term "city-state" (or, rather, the German term *Stadtsstaat*) seems to have been coined in the mid-nineteenth century and was first applied to the Ro-

man republican concept of *civitas*,⁴ whence it was rapidly transferred not only to studies of the Greek *polis* (Gawantka 1985) 204–6) but also to investigations of Italian, German, Sumerian, Phoenician and Etruscan cities and, since the mid-twentieth century, to city-state cultures in Mesoamerica, West Africa and East Asia as well (Hansen 2000b) 600). Thus modern historical discussions of the city-state combine characteristics borrowed from many different cultures, and the concept of city-state is not co-extensive with the concept of *polis*. Mykalessos may well have been a *polis* in the eyes of the Greeks, although it is not a city-state in the eyes of a modern historian.

In order to avoid paradoxical statements of the type that a certain settlement though called a *polis* was not a *polis*, we suggest that the two terms *polis* and "city-state" should be kept apart and not used indiscriminately. The term *polis* should be restricted to the Greeks' own understanding of what a *polis* was, whereas the term "city-state" should be used only when we discuss modern historical analyses of ancient Greek society.

Consequently, instead of saying that Mykalessos, though called a *polis*, was not a *polis* in the true sense, the historian ought to say that Mykalessos, though apparently a *polis* in the age of Thucydides, was not a city-state. In this form the statement makes sense. Whether it is true is a different matter. Whenever the city-state is discussed, independence or *autonomia* are singled out as the most important defining characteristics.⁵ But a great number of communities called

¹ The English term "city-state" was probably coined in 1885 as a rendering of the German term *Stadtsstaat* in connection with the translation into English of I. H. Haller's, *Lehre vom modernen Staat*, 6th edn. (Berlin, 1886) 69. *Theory of the State* (London, 1885) 60. The German term *Stadtsstaat* was probably coined in 1842 as a rendering of the Danish term *bystat* (by = town, cf. Derby) in connection with the translation into German of I. N. Madvig, *Blik på Oldtidens Statsforfatninger og Hensyn til Udviklingen af Monarchiet og en sammenlignende Statsforfatningshistorie* (Copenhagen, 1842) 20 n. 2. *Blicke på de Statsforfatninger af Altorienten, med Bidsigt på den udvikling der Monarchiet og en sammenlignende Statsforfatningshistorie*, in *Archiv für Geschichte, Statistik, Kunde der Verwaltung und Landesrecht der Herzogthümer Schleswig, Holstein und Lauenburg* (Kiel, 1842) 41. The terms *bystat* and *Stadtsstaat* were first applied to Rome in the republican period, and only later transferred to descriptions of, primarily, the Greek *polis* and the Italian *città*. The French term *cité-État* and the Italian term *città-stato* are both derived from *Stadtsstaat* and/or city-state and neither is attested earlier than the twentieth century, see Hansen (1994b); (1998) 19–16.

² Finley (1981) 4–5. "Aristotle . . . was writing about the autonomous city-

¹ Strabo 9.3.25, 14. Fichtel (1978); McAllister (1978).

² Thuc. 7.20.5, 1 and 7.20.12; see Hansen (1994a) 18–20.

³ Mykalessos is not counted among the Boiotian *poleis* in CQ in any of the major accounts of the political organization of the region, cf. Swoboda (1961) 346–57 with n. 6; Rasmussen and Swoboda (1965) 149–56; Rosch (1965) 37–43; Salomon (1970) 101; Bonner (1970) 496; Bruce (1977) 109–42; cf. Hansen (1994a) 19–20.

Ερώτηση 4η:

Βασικές έννοιες:

πόλις, πόλη–κράτος, δῆμος

Meaning and Reference of the Word *Polis*

It is the aim of this investigation to study what the Greeks themselves thought a *polis* was. Consequently, a survey of the term *polis* and the concept behind the term has to be an essential part of the study. The following is a summary of the investigation published in Hansen (1998) 17–34, where the sources are quoted both in Greek and in English translation.

Roughly speaking, the word *polis* had four different senses: (a) “stronghold” or “citadel”, (b) “nucleated settlement”, (c) “country” or “territory”, and (d) “political community”.¹ These four different meanings of the word *polis* have been established with reference to the modern terms we use: viz. stronghold, settlement, country, community, etc. This is what in linguistics is called a *lexical contrastive analysis* (Ascher (1994) 738). It is an indispensable method for modern historians who want to study ancient societies. But it must be supplemented with the question: were the ancient Greeks themselves conscious of a plurality of meanings of the term? Or is the attestation of four different meanings of the word *polis* just a result of the fact that we analyse an ancient concept through a modern language?

1. The Multiple Meanings of *Polis*

Of the many thousand occurrences of the word *polis*, there are in fact a few in which an author explicitly states that *polis* is a word with several meanings.

(1) In *Politics* 3.3 Aristotle discusses the identity of the *polis* and points out that *polis* is a word used in many different senses, of which two are specified in the passage: a topographical sense (a fortified place) and a personal one (the people inhabiting the place) (Arist. *Pol.* 1276^a17–27).

(2) In the Platonic *Definitions* the *polis* is defined partly as a settlement (*oikeis*) of a number of persons (*anthropoi*) living under common decisions (*koina dogmata*), and partly as a number of persons (*anthropoi*) under the same law (*nomos*) (Pl. *Def.* 415C). Again, a topographical sense is distinguished from a purely personal one.

¹ Hansen (1996) 29–30. In this provisional listing of the four senses we have been careful to avoid the terms “city” and “state”.

(3) According to the early Stoic philosopher Kleanthes, the *polis* is a habitation where people seek refuge for the purpose of administration of justice. Thus, *polis* is used in three different meanings: (a) about the settlement (*oiketerion*), (b) about the community of inhabitants (*systema anthron*), and (c) about a combination of (a) and (b) (Stob. *Flor.* 2.7.11 p. 208, Wachsmuth).² Similarly, the Stoic philosopher Chrysippos (SVF fr. 528) claims that *polis* has two different meanings: (a) a settlement (*oiketerion*) and (b) a community of inhabitants (*enoikountes*), together with the citizens (*politai*).

(4) The *Etymologicum Magnum* is a Byzantine lexicon based on a wide reading of the Classical literature, and its entry *polis* (680.1–4) corroborates the distinction pointed out by the other three sources: “*polis* has two meanings: the buildings, as in ‘Lead this unfortunate man to the *polis*’ (Hom. *Od.* 17.10, quoted from memory), but it signifies also the multitude and the people, as in ‘The whole *polis* of Trojans has come forth against them fearlessly’” (Hom. *Il.* 16.69–70).

All four sources oppose a local and a personal sense of the word *polis*. The two principal meanings, however, are not “town” and “state”, but rather “settlement” and “community” (or “multitude of human beings”). Yet Aristotle’s reference to walls and Kleanthes’ mention of people who take refuge in the *polis* show that what they have in mind must be a *nucleated* settlement; furthermore, that *polis* designates a *political* community is indicated by the references to men living under the same laws and to the administration of justice in the community.

2. Synonyms for *Polis*

If we want to go further than the opposition between the two basic senses of “settlement” and “community” and investigate the various connotations of the word *polis* recognised

² For a judicious analysis of the Kleanthes fragment, see Schofield (1990) 190–95.

Ερώτηση 5η:

Βασικές έννοιες:

ἄστυ, ἀκρόπολις, κώμη, χώρα

Meaning and Reference of the Words *Asty* and *Polisma*

In Archaic and Classical Greek texts *polis* is by far the most common word for what we call a “town” or “city”. But the Greeks had a number of other words, viz. *asty*, *polisma*, *polismation*, *polichne* and *polichnion*. The three last words can be ignored in this context. They are frequently found in texts from the Hellenistic and Roman periods, but hardly ever attested in older sources.¹ *Asty* and *polisma*, however, are important site-classifications in sources from all periods.

(1) *Asty*. It is a well-known fact that the two most common meanings of the word *polis* in Classical sources are “town” and “state”, and that the word *asty* is used synonymously with *polis* in the sense of town, but never in the sense of state.² It has also been noted that *asty* is a fairly common word in the *Iliad* and in other Archaic texts, but becomes more and more rare in the Classical period and is gradually replaced by *polis* (Lévy (1983)).

To these generally accepted truths we have added two further observations: (a) that there are passages in the Archaic sources where *asty*, like *polis*, denotes the community and not just its urban centre,³ and (b) that the derivative *astos* never has the sense of “city-dweller” or “town-man” but invariably designates a person of citizen birth (whereas *polites* usually designates a person with citizen rights).⁴ Thus, the distinction between *asty* in the sense of urban centre and *polis* in the sense of political community is not quite as sharp as sometimes believed, and it is further reduced by a study of attestations in Archaic and Classical sources of *asty* applied to named urban centres. The collection of these attestations in Index 6 shows that the term *asty* is not

used about any urban centre, but exclusively about a town which in the same source or in other sources is called *polis* and is known to have been the urban centre of a *polis* in the political sense. Although *asty* does not mean an urban centre of a political community, it invariably denotes such a centre.

The Index comprises references to named Hellenic towns of the late Archaic and Classical periods. We have omitted references in poetry to mythical towns, such as Troy or Tiryns in the Heroic Age,⁵ as well as references to barbarian towns, such as Sardes or Babylon.⁶ Due to the Athenocentric nature of our evidence, the majority of all references to the term *asty* in Classical sources are to the city of Athens, often opposed to its port, the Peiraieus.⁷ And this imbalance—well known in all studies of ancient Greek society—is in this particular case further aggravated by the general custom in all sources to refer to the two parts in the civil war of 404–403 as *οἱ τῆς Πειραιεύς* (i.e. the democrats) and *οἱ τῆς Ἀθηνῶν* (i.e. the oligarchs).⁸ Yet there is still a fairly substantial number of scattered passages in which the word *asty* is used to express the concept of town in general or to designate named towns other than Athens; and the attestations show that all the urban centres described with the term *asty* are *poleis* in the political sense. The only problematical site is Eion, for which, however, see Hansen (2000) 397–98. Finally, it is worth noting that the word *asty* held its ground in poetry longer than in prose, and that it was used not only about large *poleis*, such as Athens and Thebes, but also about *poleis* which the Greeks themselves considered to be very small, viz. Plataiai and Tenos.

(2) *Polisma*. Like *asty*, *polisma* signifies a city in the urban sense, and like *asty* it is commonly used in poetry as well as in prose about mythical and/or barbarian towns.⁹ Unlike *asty*, however, *polisma* occurs almost exclusively in literary sources. The only attestation in inscriptions is in a C4 honorific decree from Kos in which Halasarna is called a

This chapter is a revised and updated version of Hansen (1997) 38–60 and Flemsted-Jensen (1995) 129–35.

¹ *πολισμῶνα* (Epicharm fr. 27); *πολίσκην* (Thuc. 7.46); *πολίσματα* (Isc. 3.145, 12.107, Pl. Resp. 329d). However, these Classical *poleis* were named *polichne*, viz. no. 279 in Treas (Strabo 13.1.43), no. 860 in Ionia, and no. 982 on Crete (Steph. Byz. 351.4–5). It is worth noting that only the city-ethnics are attested in Classical sources. The toponyms of nos. 279 and 982 are attested in late sources only, that of no. 860 is not attested at all, but reconstructed from the city-ethnic. Finally, *Polisma* was the name of the settlement to which the Klastomeneans moved their urban centre in C4 (Thuc. 8.14.5; 8.25.6) and the name of a settlement in the territory of Chios (Hdt. 6.26.2).

² Hansen (1997) 11.2.24; West, cf. Hansen (1993) 73 with n. 69.

³ Hansen (1997) 11.2.24; West, cf. Hansen (1993) 73 with n. 69.

⁴ Hansen (1997) 11.2.24; West, cf. Hansen (1993) 73 with n. 69.

⁵ Hansen (1997) 11.2.24; West, cf. Hansen (1993) 73 with n. 69.

⁶ Hansen (1997) 11.2.24; West, cf. Hansen (1993) 73 with n. 69.

⁷ Hansen (1997) 11.2.24; West, cf. Hansen (1993) 73 with n. 69.

⁸ Hansen (1997) 11.2.24; West, cf. Hansen (1993) 73 with n. 69.

⁹ Hansen (1997) 11.2.24; West, cf. Hansen (1993) 73 with n. 69.

⁵ Troy: Hom. Il. 6.95; Tiryns: Bacchyl. Epin. 10.37.

⁶ Sardes: Hdt. 1.88.1; Babylon: Hdt. 1.126.2.

⁷ IG II² 495.2; Dem. 18.37; Arist. Pol. 1302^a 32–34, cf. Lewis (1983).

⁸ e.g. Iyn. 12.56; Xen. Hdt. 4.4.7.

⁹ Flemsted-Jensen (1995) 129–35.

Ερώτηση 5η:

Βασικές έννοιες:

ἄστυ, ἀκρόπολις, κώμη, χώρα

Civic Subdivisions

"Civic subdivisions" is a modern term which in this context denotes the subdivisions of a *polis* or, rather, of its citizenry.¹ They were civic in the sense that membership was open to citizens and only citizens. Foreigners and slaves were excluded, and women too:² the civic subdivisions testify to the Archaic and Classical *polis* as an association of the adult male citizen population. They were subdivisions in the sense that, at any level, every citizen belonged to one and only one of these units. They were public administrative units. Thus, households (*oikiai*),³ some kinship groups (such as *gene*)⁴ and some religious groups (such as *thiasoi*) were not normally civic subdivisions. They were private organisations, sometimes in the borderland between the private and the public, and only exceptionally do they appear as genuine public organisations.⁵

There were two basic types of civic subdivision: some were territorial, some personal. The main territorial subdivisions were the *demoi* and the *kome*; but *phylai* too could be territorial units.⁶ By far the most important purely personal subdivision was the *phyle*. Other important forms were the *phratría*, the *patra* and various groups designated by numbers: the *chiliastys*, the *hekastostys*, the *pentekostys*, etc. (see Index 13). But even the territorial subdivisions were to some extent personal because membership of a subdivision, be it territorial or personal, was hereditary in the male

line. Therefore, by migrations, territorial subdivisions were slowly transformed into personal ones, unless they were reorganised at intervals.

Some *poleis* could have as many as five or six different sets of civic subdivisions. Older subdivisions were often allowed to persist alongside new ones, though now deprived of their political importance, and several *poleis* had two incongruent systems of *phylai*, one that probably preceded the emergence of the *polis* and one created by the *polis* (see *infra*). Some civic subdivisions formed a system, like a nest of Chinese boxes;⁷ others were incongruent and cut across one another.⁸ A survey of civic subdivisions from all parts of the Hellenic world shows that they had three main functions: (1) to control admission to citizenship; (2) to serve as wards when the *polis* had to fill a board of officials so that each ward supplied one or more members of the board; (3) to serve as units of the army.

It is no wonder that modern states are organised into municipalities or some other type of smaller unit; but why were civic subdivisions needed in states as small as the Greek *poleis*? In small and middle-sized *poleis* all citizens could meet whenever they wanted, and it would never be difficult for the magistrates to get in touch with any of the citizens. One answer is that all Greek *poleis* had an immensely elaborate and complicated set of political institutions, and to have a whole set of criss-crossing civic subdivisions was just one aspect of the complicated political morphology of any Greek *polis*. Another answer is that civic subdivisions are known principally from the large *poleis* such as Athens or Argos or Eretria, where they were indispensable because the *polis*, and especially Athens, was too big to be a proper face-to-face society. They are unattested in many small and middle-sized *poleis*, and the presumption is that there were none. In Boiotia there is no trace of *phylai*, *demoi* and *komei*, and the evidence of *phratriai* is late. The epigraphic record is so rich that the absence of evidence in this case

¹ The study of civic subdivisions has been revolutionised by the fundamental study of Nicholas Jones, *Public Organization in Ancient Greece* (1987) – POAG. Much of what follows is a summary of his findings.

² The exclusion of women is not explicitly mentioned in Jones, POAG, but is evident from the material he has collected. In Athens (no. 36), the *polis* we know best, women were excluded from the *demoi*, *erastai* and *phylai* but could, of course, be priestesses as they could at *polis* level (Jones (1996) 123–33).

³ CPGKno 5: 109–37. Karthaus (no. 492) is, so far, the only *polis* in which *oikoi* are attested as civic subdivisions.

⁴ As usual, the best evidence for *gene* concerns Athens and by far the best recent treatment is that of Parker (1996) 16–66, 284–327. He concludes that the *gene* had no political importance in C4 (57). In the Archaic period, on the other hand, every public priesthood seems to have been filled by the members of a designated *genos* (65). There are two possible interpretations of the evidence: (a) in the Archaic period the *gene* were civic subdivisions of the Athenian *polis*; (b) in the Archaic period the *gene* were private or semi-private organisations and the appointment of priests had not yet been taken over by the *polis*.

⁵ In Jones, POAG, *gene* are registered as civic subdivisions in four *poleis* only: Erythrai (no. 841), Kolophon (no. 848), Pyrgoi (no. 863) and Samos (no. 864). The evidence for Samos is Hellenistic and not included in this inventory.

⁶ Cf. the Kleisthenic *phylai* in Attika and the three *phylai* in Rhodes (no. 1000) after the synoecism.

⁷ Like the Athenian *phylai*, *erastai* and *demoi* (no. 36), or the Eretrian *phylai*, districts and *demoi* (no. 370), or the Argive *phylai*, *phratrai* and *pentekostyes* (no. 347).

⁸ In Epidaurous (no. 348) 4 *phylai* and 39 territorial units cut across one another in a way not yet fully understood. In Athens (no. 36) the subdivision into *phratriai* was completely unrelated to the subdivisions into *demoi*.

Ερώτηση 6η:

Αρχαία ελληνική πόλις:

από τη γένεση στην παρακμή, χρονικό πλαίσιο

The Lifespan of the Hellenic *Polis*

This investigation covers only a segment of the lifespan of the Hellenic *polis*, viz. the Archaic and Classical periods. We have deliberately not attempted to search for the origin of the *polis* during the Dark Ages or investigate the life of the *polis* during the Hellenistic and Roman periods (see to *supra*). But our analysis of the *polis* in the periods we cover is of course related to our views about the full time-scale of the *polis*. Therefore we have an obligation in this introduction briefly to expound our views about the history of the *polis* from its emergence to its demise.

The chronology of the *polis* is still hotly debated. Can the *polis* be traced back to the Mycenaean period (c.1650–1100), or did it emerge in the Geometric period (c.900–700)? And if one prefers the latter view, did it emerge as early as C9, or as late as c.700? Scholars are still divided over these issues and even more over the question of when the *polis* came to an end. Some historians place the decline of the *polis* in C4 and its fall in the years after 338. The prevailing view, which we endorse, is that it persisted through the Hellenistic and Roman periods and disappeared in late Antiquity only after a long decline that lasted several centuries. The disappearance of the *polis* was gradual and imperceptible, just like its emergence.

1. The Origin of the *Polis*

For the origin of the Greek *polis* we have three different types of evidence: (a) the linguistic evidence obtained by a comparative study of related words in other Indo-European languages, (b) the literary and epigraphical evidence of C8–C6, and (c) the physical remains of early settlements.

A. The Linguistic Evidence

The study of the etymology of the term *polis* is extremely important, since by extrapolation it takes us back to a period before the earliest written sources we have. First it should

be noted that the early variant form of *polis*, namely *ptolis*, is probably attested in the Mycenaean Linear B tablets in the form *po-to-ri-jo*. But, alas, *po-to-ri-jo* is not attested as a noun, only as (part of) a personal name,¹ and we have no clue as to what *po-to-ri-jo* may have meant in Mycenaean Greek.

A comparison with other Indo-European languages yields better results. The Greek word *polis* is related etymologically to Old Indian *pūr*, Lithuanian *pilis* and Latvian *pils*.² In all three languages the original meaning was “stronghold” or “castle”, but in Old Indian the word developed the meaning “town” or “city”, whereas in the two Baltic languages it seems to have kept its original meaning.³

From the etymology it is reasonable to infer that the original meaning of *polis* in Greek too must have been “stronghold”. Our sources support this assumption: in both literary and epigraphical texts of the Archaic and Classical periods *polis* is occasionally used synonymously with *akropolis* in the sense of “citadel”. But whereas *akropolis* could designate both an eminence used as a settlement and a fortified place devoid of human habitation, *polis* used synonymously with *akropolis* seems always to have denoted a small defensible hill-top settlement,⁴ and not just a hill-top fortification. Remains of such fortified settlements, dating from the period c.1000–800, have been found in Zagora on Andros, in Dreros and Anavlochos on Crete, and in several other sites of the Protogeometric and Geometric periods.⁵ We shall never know for sure, but it is not an unreasonable guess that such hill-top settlements were called *poleis* by their Greek inhabitants. To sum up: the Indo-European

¹ KN Aa 1327.25, cf. Thamb and Scherer (1978) 333 §327 132; Morpurgo Davies (1986) 242.

² Frisk (1970) 216–217; Morier Williams (1969) 69; “*pōlis*, f. a rampart, wall, stronghold, fortress, castle, city, town”. See Strunk (1970) 3.

³ It is misleading when Benveniste (1975) 248 claims: “we have *śtata* here an old Indo-European term, which in Greek, and only in Greek, has taken on the sense of ‘town, city’, then ‘state’”. In Sanskrit *pāṭ* certainly developed the meaning “town”, “city”, and since many of these cities were actually states, I would not preclude that the word may take on the sense of “state” or “political community” as well. In Lithuanian *pilis* has developed “palace” and not “town” as its secondary meaning.

⁴ Pausanias fr. 4, Diod. “a small *polis*, well settled on the top of a hill, is better than *stapla* Nisaveh”; Thuc. 2.15.6, see Hansen (1997) 31.

⁵ Snodgrass (1995) 6; Norwick (1995).

Ερώτηση 7η:

Η συγκρότηση της πόλεως

The Emergence of *Poleis* by *Synoiikismos*

The topic of this chapter is the voluntary or enforced relocation of communities (see Index 21). The Greek terms most commonly used are the noun *συνοικισμός* with the verbs *συνοικίζω* and *συνοικεύω*.¹ They are frequently found in sources of the Hellenistic and Roman periods, but the noun *συνοικισμός* is unattested in Archaic and Classical texts,² and the verbs are not common in pre-Hellenistic sources either. Furthermore the verbs are used in our texts not only about the relocation of neighbouring communities³ but also about the foundation of distant colonies which we treat separately *infra* 150–53.⁴ Therefore, more than in the other chapters, the analysis of synoecism has to include retrospective sources of the Hellenistic and Roman periods and, by excluding colonisation, we are applying a modern delimitation of the concept of synoecism whereas, apparently, the Greeks did not draw a sharp line between the two phenomena.

Synoiikismos means “moving together” and can be used of any kind of joint settlement, including matrimonial cohabitation.⁵ When used in the specific sense of relocation of peoples, it denotes the relocation of one or more communities either to a new-built settlement where the immigrants become merged with one another, or to a pre-existing settlement where the immigrants become merged with the inhabitants. An example of the first form is the synoecism of Rhodes (no. 1000) in 408/7 whereby communities coming from the *poleis* of Lindos, Ialysos and Kamiros founded a new urban centre and gave it the name of the island: Rhodes. An example of the second form is the syn-

oecism in C4m whereby the city of Orchomenos (no. 286) was reinforced by a contingent of immigrants coming from the small *polis* of Euaimon.

In a broader and less precise sense, however, *synoiikismos* also covers the relocation of a community to a new-built settlement without any merging of different communities. In some cases people were relocated to a distant place, and what is described is, in fact, an act of colonisation.⁶ In other cases the community in question was moved to a new settlement lying only a few miles away.⁷

This section is devoted to synoecism in the strict sense, and colonisation is treated separately *infra* 150–53. This distinction is universally accepted by modern historians⁸ but is it possible to draw a clear line between the two phenomena? Demand (1990) 8 is one of the few historians who explicitly address the problem:

Colonization differed significantly from relocation, however, in that only a small segment of the community moved, leaving the mother city intact. In relocation the intention was a total removal and replanting of the civic body. Nevertheless, in some relocations small remnants of the community may have stayed behind, either because some residents refused to leave or because they were left ‘officially’ to tend immovable shrines. Therefore we must define relocation by recorded or inferred intention rather than by entirely successful implementation of plans.

The distinction proposed by Demand is admirably clear,

⁶ According to Davies (1992) 28, an act of colonisation is described as a *synoecism* only if the colony was a joint foundation of several *poleis*. That is often the case, cf. Thuc. 1.24.2 about Epidamnos as a joint colony of Korkyra and Corinth, but in our sources the terms *συνοικισμός* and *συνοικίζω* are also applied to the sending out of colonists from one *polis* only, e.g., Rallelos (Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 15.2) colonies founded by Eretria or by Chalkis (Arist. *fr.* 608); Amphipolis (Diod. 12.32.3); “Porneropolis” (Theopomp. *fr.* 110); Abydos and Prokonessos (Strabo 13.1.12); Chalkidian colonies in Chalkidike (Strabo 7 *fr.* 11). Examples of long-distance relocations are Alalie Com (no. 1), Kolophon C7m (no. 849) and Phokias Com (no. 860).

⁷ Diodoros uses the verb *μετανοικίζω* to describe the relocation of Pydna (Diod. 13.49.2) and of Oropos (Diod. 14.47.3), but at 15.94.1–3 this verb is used synonymously with *συνοικίζω* to describe the synoecism of Megalopolis. The best-known examples of short-distance relocations are: Laliia (no. 983) C5; Oropos C3d (no. 214); Pydna C3d (no. 544); Abdera C4m (no. 640); Chersonesos C3s (no. 695); Klazomenai Com (no. 847); Skepsis C6 (no. 792); Kolophon C3d (no. 849); Magnesia 400 (no. 852); Priene? C4 (no. 861); Karymbai in C4? (no. 896); Knidos in C4 (no. 903); Latmos in C4m (no. 910); Myndos in C4e (no. 943); Syngela in Com? (no. 991).

⁸ Meggi, *Sin.*; Demand (1990) 8–9; Davies (1992) 27–28; Rhodes (2001).

¹ In Hellenistic sources the verb *μετανοικίζω* is often used synonymously with *συνοικίζω*, cf. Diod. 13.75.1 (Rhodos 408/7), 15.94.1 (Megalopolis 368).

² The oldest occurrence of *συνοικισμός* is Polyb. 4.33.7, where it is used retrospectively about the synoecisms of Messene and Megalopolis in C4f. Thuc. 3.3.1 uses *συνοικισμός* about the synoecism planned by Mytilene in 428 and *IPArk* 15.2, 95–96, 74–75 (= *Staatverträge* no. 287) has *συνοικισμός* about the synoecism of Euaimon and Orchomenos in C4m. Similarly the Athenian festival celebrating the synoecism of Attika was called *συνόικιστος* (Thuc. 2.35.2; IG I³ 244.C16).

³ *συνοικίζω*: Thuc. 2.16.1 (Athens in the age of Theseus); Thuc. 3.2.3 (Mytilene 428); Hell. Oxy. 20.3 (Thebai 491); Dem. 99.263 (Olynth 370); Aeschin. 3.103 (Kirrha in C6c); Lycurg. 1.63 (Messene 370/69). Used about synoecism in general: Thuc. 1.10.2; Isoc. 15.82, *συνοικεύω*: Thuc. 2.68.5 (Argos Amphiloichion 408) Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 39.3 (Eleusis 403).

⁴ *συνοικίζω*: Thuc. 1.24.2 (Epidamnion) Thuc. 3.93.1 (Herakleia Tarchinia); Thuc. 6.5.1 (Himera); Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 15.2 (Rallelos), *συνοικεύω*: Arist. *Pol.* 1097^a 8 (Sybaris).

⁵ Hdt. 2.121; Men. *Aspis* 133.

Ερώτηση 8η:

Η ανάπτυξη της πόλεως ως χαρακτηριστικό της αρχαϊκής εποχής

CHAPTER EIGHTEEN

Cities¹

Jan Paul Crielaard

Introduction: The Importance of Context

The rise of cities and city-states provides the key to our understanding of what was going on in the archaic period. The development of the phalanx, the creation of temples and sanctuaries, the birth of philosophy and the flourishing of lyric poetry are all unthinkable outside the context of the *polis* and outside an urban setting. Not surprisingly, the rise of the city-state has long been central to the study of the period. More recently, however, it has been recognized that it is possible, and perhaps even necessary, to distinguish between the process of urbanization – which created “cities” – and the process of state formation, which created “states.”² This chapter accordingly concentrates on cities and urbanization; the process of state formation is dealt with in ch. 20.

Over the last decades, archaeologists and ancient historians have also come to recognize that the rise of the city (and, indeed, of the state) was a long-drawn-out process: it took most of the archaic period and had not reached completion even by the end of the sixth century. The appearance of monumental architecture in the late eighth century marks an important step in the creation of an urban ambience in centralized settlement nuclei, but on the whole ancient Greek urbanism can only be understood by using a rather long timescale.³

The “city” is notoriously difficult to define. Historians, sociologists, economists, architectural historians, social psychologists, town planners and geographers all use very different concepts and definitions.⁴ Their criteria variously stress the city’s distinct legal status, size, occupation density, morphology, way of living, type of society, or mentality. There are numerous exceptions to the rule even at the level of single definitions. Size may seem to be an unproblematic criterion, but it is not. For instance, a nucleation of 250 inhabitants would count as a village in the United States, but in Sweden would have the status of a town. Occupation density is not always a distinctive criterion: there are fewer people per square kilometre in the city of Los Angeles than in some rural areas in Asia. As far as ways of living and economic

Προσβάσιμο στον σύνδεσμο:

<https://www.academia.edu/2382410/Cities> - Companion to Archaic Greece 2009

Ερώτηση 9η:

Η πόλις ως αστικό κέντρο

The *Polis* as an Urban Centre

What kind of urban centre did a Greek of the Classical period picture to himself when he heard the word *polis*? Modern historians' immediate answer to this question is often restricted to quoting Pausanias' reluctant classification of Panopeus as a *polis* in spite of the absence of administrative offices,¹ a *gymnasium*, a theatre, an agora and a fountain house.² But Pausanias' account misses the mark by 500 years. If we focus on contemporary sources and want to avoid a too Athenocentric picture, the best we can do is to read Aeneias the Tactician's treatise, *How to Survive under Siege*.³ Aeneias is a fourth-century author. Admittedly he writes in Attic Greek, but he was probably an Arkadian.⁴ Another important source is a long fragment of a *periēgēsis* by Herakleides of Crete in which Athens, Chalkis and the Boiotian *poleis* are described briefly.⁵ Herakleides is a Hellenistic author, but so early that we find it admissible to use his account as a source for the *polis* of the late Classical period. To these two texts which both treat the *polis* in the sense of town can be added scattered remarks and passages from literary and epigraphical sources of the Archaic and Classical periods. Finally, a particularly interesting passage is found in the Pseudo-Aristotelian treatise *Peri Kosmou* (*De Mundo*) 400^b15–20. This treatise was presumably written as late as the first century AD but “it contains much that is genuine Aristotelian doctrine” (Ross (1949) 11) and is therefore included here, with due caution, as a possible source for C45.⁶ A survey of the sources leads to the following sketch.

A *polis* (in the sense of an urban centre) was a town which was also the political centre of a *polis* (in the sense of a state), and there are very few attestations of an urban settlement which was called a *polis* without being the centre of a self-

governing community.⁶ It follows that in most *poleis* (in the sense of state) there was only one urban settlement which was called *polis*. Such a *polis* had a hinterland, called *chora*⁷ or *ge*,⁸ and a *polis* lying on the coast would have a harbour, called *limen*⁹ or *epineion*,¹⁰ often including an *emporion*, i.e. a special market for foreign trade.¹¹ The port of a large inland *polis* could itself be a major urban settlement which occasionally was considered a *polis* in the urban sense,¹² and could be a *polis* in the political sense too.¹³

Almost all *poleis* were enclosed by a circuit wall (*supra* 135) which in most cases must have been the line of demarcation between the *polis* (in the sense of town) and its *chora* (in the sense of hinterland); see *supra* 137. But sometimes, even in *poleis* with walls, the line of demarcation between *polis* and *chora* was a boundary stone inscribed *ἔρος πολέως*,¹⁴ which may have been placed outside the walls to demarcate a zone in which there was a ban on erecting houses.

Of the other urban settlements inside the territory of a large *polis* some were centres of civic subdivisions, but some were just centres of habitation and local trade without any political institutions at all.¹⁵ Some of the larger *poleis*, however, succeeded in dominating or subduing some of the

¹ For the very few possible exceptions, altogether 20 out of 384 attestations, see Hansen (2000b) 199–202 and *supra* 34.

² *Aen. Tact.* *Proom.* 1, 7.1, 15.9.

³ *Thuc.* 2.71.1, 3.106.2; *Xen. Hell.* 5.2.4; *Syll.* 37–8.B.15 (C5), *Teos* (no. 868).

⁴ *Aen. Tact.* 8.2; *Thuc.* 3.72.3; *Arist. Pol.* 1327^a11ff; *Ps.-Skylax* 13, 34, etc.; *IG* 1² 737.4 (C5), *Chalcion* (no. 593).

⁵ *Arist. Pol.* 1327^a11ff; *Hellian*. fr. 75; *Theopomp.* fr. 517; *Thuc.* 1.10.2, 2.84.5.

⁶ *Algina* (no. 398) *Dem.* 23.21c; *Athenai* (no. 360) *IG* 1² 1011.4 & B. (C5m); *Bospores - Pantakapion* (no. 690) *Dem.* 34.34; *Byzantion* (no. 674) *Theopomp.* fr. 62; *Chalkis* (no. 366) *Heracl. Cret.* 28; *Histaiia* (no. 372) *IG* 119 108.29 (C5b); *Corinth* (no. 227) *Thuc.* 1.13.5; *Miletos* (no. 854) *Milet.* 140.A.32 (C5m); *Phasis* (no. 710) *Hippoc. De Arte Aquili et Lacti* 15; *Rhodes* (no. 1000) *Dem.* 56.47; and *Salamis on Cyprus* (no. 1202) *Isoc.* 9.47. See Hansen (forthcoming).

⁷ e.g. *Skandeia*, the port of Kythera (no. 336), called *polis* in the urban sense at *Thuc.* 4.54.1; Hansen (1995) 43–44 and (2000b) 195–96.

⁸ *Naulochos* (no. 857), the port of Priene, is called a *polis* in the urban sense at *I.Prime* 15 but seems to have been a *polis* in the political sense too; see Hansen (1999a) 44. For *Notion* (no. 858), the port of Kolophon, see *supra* 92.

⁹ *ἔρος πολέως* (*SEG* 48 1140 (C45)), *Paros* (no. 509), Hansen (1996) 37 with n. 147. For alternative interpretations, see *Matthaios* (1992–98) and *BE* (1999) 420. [*ἐρῶς πολέως* (*Athena* (1908) 260 no. 135 (no date)), *Chios* (no. 840). *CI.* *IG* 10.13.86.

¹⁰ e.g. *Solygeia* (*Thuc.* 4.42.1–2), *Asai* and *Mausos* (*Theopomp.* fr. 171), all in the territory of Corinth. There is no evidence that Corinthian *kommē* were organised as civic subdivisions. See Hansen (1999b) 61–71; Gschnitzer (1995) 429, 434ff.

¹¹ *Paus.* 10.4.1–2; cf. e.g. *Finley* (1981) 3–6; *Köhl* (1984) 98–99; *Martin* (1974) 30. The passage is discussed and rejected as a valid source for the *polis* of the Archaic and Classical periods by *Alcock* (1995) 246–29.

¹² See the excellent description of the “Durchschnittspolis” by *Winterling* (1994) 205–11.

¹³ *Whitehead* (1990) 12–14.

¹⁴ In the MS he is called *ἐρῶς πολέως*, which Müller for no obvious reason changed into *ἐρῶς πολέως*, so he was probably from Crete; see *Priester* (1991). We quote the text of K. Müller in *GGM* 1 97–106.

¹⁵ The passage has no mention of a *gymnasium*, perhaps the most important public building in a Hellenistic *polis*, and that may indicate that it goes back to C4.

Ερώτηση 10η:

Η πόλις

ως πολιτειακός οργανισμός

Types of Constitution

The *polis* had a government, i.e. a set of political institutions (*politeia*) manned by citizens (*politai*) in charge of political decision making and enforcement of the legal order. The meaning of these three key terms—*polis*, *polites*, *politeia*—and their interconnection is most clearly expounded by Aristotle in *Politics* book 3: *polis* is defined as a community (*koinonia*) of citizens (*politai*) about their political institutions (*politeia*).¹ A *polites* is defined as a person who is entitled to participate in government (*arche*) and administration of justice (*krisis*);² and *politeia* is defined as the structure of a *polis*' political institutions (*archai*) and in particular of the supreme body of government (*kyria panton*).³ That this is not just an idiosyncratic Aristotelian conception of what a *politeia* was appears both from literary sources⁴ and from the preserved documents, e.g. the so-called Charter of the Second Athenian Naval League of 338/7 (*IG* 11² 43.20) and, to cite a non-Athenian source as well, the oath on the League of Corinth taken in 338/7 by all *poleis* that joined the League (*Staatsverträge* 403 4.34–35 and 9.29–30). In both cases *politeia* designates the structure and organisation of the political institutions of the members, cf. *infra*.

The word *politeia* means literally "citizenship", and that is by far the most common meaning attested all over the Greek world in hundreds of decrees by which a named person is awarded citizenship (*politeia*) in the *polis* that passed the decree.⁵ In the ancient Greek world citizenship was, essentially, what it has become once again in our times, i.e.

the legally defined hereditary membership of an individual in a state whereby the member (in the modern world called a citizen or a national) acquires political, social and economic privileges that a non-citizen member of the community does not enjoy, or enjoys only partially. As a rule, a person is a citizen of one state only (Pierson (1996) 27–30). In the Middle Ages and in the Early Modern period citizenship was restricted to (some of) those who lived in the cities, and in its full sense it survived only in city-states, but since the French Revolution citizenship has been dissociated from the connection with the urban centres and has recovered its connection with political participation at state level.⁶

In ancient Greece the corresponding terms used were *politeia* to denote citizenship itself, and *polites* to denote the citizen if the emphasis was on a citizen's exercise of his political rights,⁷ whereas *astos* (masculine)⁸ and *aste* (feminine)⁹ were commonly used to denote a person of citizen birth. As a rule, a person was a *polites* of one *polis* only.¹⁰ Again, Aristotle concurs with this double aspect of citizenship, saying that, in practice, citizenship is defined as being born from citizens (1275^b22–24), whereas, functionally, citizenship is defined by participating in the running of the political institutions of one's *polis* (1275^b22–33). Citizenship was not restricted to (some of) those who lived in the urban centres, and neither *polites* nor *astos* was used in the sense of "townsman" and opposed to *agroikos* in the sense of "countryman".¹¹

¹ 1270^b1–2: *ἄνθρωπος γὰρ ὅστις κοινωμένη τῶν ἄλλων, ὅστις δὲ κοινωμένη πολιτικῶν πολιτείας* ("If the polis is a community, and a community of citizens with respect to the constitution"), cf. *CPCAct* 5: 133–34. For the juxtaposition of *polis*, *polites* and *politeia* as the three cornerstones of political organisation, see *Lys.* 48.4; *Aeschin.* 3.8; *Dem.* 8.69–70, 41.301; *Lycourg.* 1.142; *Isoc.* 7.20, 8.50–53, 16.17–18; *Pl. Resp.* 501b; *Leg.* 715b; *Thrasymachos* fr. 1.

² 1275^b22–23: *πολίτης δ' ἀπὸ τοῦ αἵματος τῶν ἄλλων ἀρξίστα μάλιστα ἢ τῶν μετέχοντων κρίσεως καὶ ἀρχῆς* ("the citizen is defined by nothing else more than by participating in the administration of justice and in holding office").

³ 1270^b1–2: *ὅστις δὲ πολιτείας πόλεως τρέφει τὴν τοῦ ἄλλου ἀρχὴν καὶ μέλητα τῆς κοινῆς πόλεως* ("The constitution is the city's organisation of the offices and particularly of the supreme office"). For *πόλις* as a subjective genitive, see Hansen (1994) 93–94.

⁴ *Thrasymachos* of Chalkedon fr. 1; *Anaximenes* of Lampsakos [*Rhet. Al.*] 1440^b20; *Hell. Oxy.* 48.3.

⁵ *F. Delphes* 11.4.58 (C_{am}); *L. Oropos* 4 (C_{al}); *IG* 10^v1.615 (Epidauros (C_{al})); *IG* 10^v 748 (Troizen (C_{al})); *IG* 11.4.510 (Delos (C_{al})); *IG* 111 Suppl. 245 (Andros (C_{al})); *Tre. Cal.* 5 (Kalyssa (C_{al})); *EOBia* 14 (C_{al}); *LEphesos* 1427 (C_{al}); *SEG* 40.302 (Tiphylia (C_{al})). Bordes (1982) 49–107.

⁶ Riesenberg (1992) 106–17, 149–86 (citizenship in the medieval cities), 253–66 (revival of participatory citizenship during the French Revolution).

⁷ *IG* 10^v 84.12, see Levy (1985).

⁸ *Solen* fr. 4.6; *Anac. Anth. Gr.* 6.143.3–4; *Dem.* 57.46. *Polites* and *astoi* juxtaposed in *Arist. Ath. Pol.* 26.4.

⁹ For *aste*, see *Syll³* 1015.6–7 (Halkarassos (C_{al})); *Egypt. I. Mer.* 33.1 (Naucratis). The feminine form *politis* is sometimes used of females of citizen birth, see *Arist. Pol.* 1275^b33, 1279^a45; *IG* 11.2.386.2 (Aigiale (C_{al})); *IG* 10^v 2.268.30 (*politi-apo genous*, Mantinea (C_{al})); *I. Kos* 17.6 (Kos (C_{al})). For Athens, see *Mossé* (1985) 77–79. There is, we think, no attestation of *politis* signifying a female citizen exercising citizen rights.

¹⁰ Citizens of a polis that founded a colony acquired citizen rights in the colony but not *politeia* in their polis of origin, see *Graham* (1994) 111, 117. Most persons were citizens of one polis only, but double citizenship was not unknown; see *Busselt* (1920) 229–30 and *CPCAct* 5: 115 with n. 586. To have double citizenship became extremely common in the course of the Hellenistic period.

¹¹ Although the ancient Greeks showed a tendency towards clustering together in urban centres, it is a curious fact that they never coined a word to

Ερώτηση 11η:

Πόλις και χώρα

Territory and Size of Territory

According to the Greek conception, most clearly formulated by Aristotle, a *polis* was "a community (*koinonia*) of citizens (*politai*) with regard to the constitution (*politeia*)".¹ It is at once apparent that Aristotle picks up only two of the three elements that comprise the modern juristic idea of a state (*CPCA*s 5: 36–40), the people and the constitution; the territory is left out altogether, and that is not by chance. For Aristotle asserts that no one is a citizen by mere domicile in a particular place (*Pol.* 1275⁷), and that a common space to live in is not the essential aspect of a *polis* (*Pol.* 1280³⁰). Thus, Aristotle hits upon one important difference between the *polis* and the modern state. We nowadays tend to equate a state with its territory—a state is a country (*CPCA*s 5: 38, 117); whereas the Greeks identified the *polis* primarily with its population—a *polis* is a people (*CPCA*s 5: 56–64).

This is well known and basically true. But it must not lead to the inference that the territory was *not* an element in the concept of the *polis*. Aristotle's definition of the *πόλις* as a *κοινωνία πολιτῶν πολιτείας* (*Pol.* 1276⁴) is proposed in connection with the problem of the identity of the *polis*, and Aristotle discusses three different criteria for deciding when a *polis* has changed so much that it has become a different *polis*: (a) change of place (*topos*), (b) change of people (*anthropoi*) and (c) change of constitution (*politeia*).² He rejects (a) and (b) as superficial and prefers (c), but it is important to note that the territory is discussed as one of the three relevant parameters. Similarly, in book 2 of the *Politics* Aristotle asserts that the *polis* is a community, and that its first and most fundamental aspect shared by the members is the place where they live (1260³⁴⁰–61²). A common space to live in is, after all, a necessary condition for a *polis* (1280³¹–32).

Of course the Greeks knew all about the territory of a *polis*: the frequently used penalty of exile³ consisted pre-

cisely in the right of anyone to kill the outlaw if found within the territorial bounds,⁴ and we know of laws and verdicts which prescribed that the corpse of an executed criminal be thrown over the border of the *polis*.⁵ So the Greeks were perfectly capable of saying "the *polis* stretches to this-and-this point and not beyond". The borderline of a *polis* was often marked with boundary stones (*horoi*);⁶ we are told that territorial disputes had to be settled by international arbitration⁷ and might result in wars between *poleis*.⁸

Next, the term *polis* is sometimes used in the sense of territory, denoting both the *polis* (in the sense of town) and its hinterland: Herodotus tells us that Xerxes' army in 480 marched straight through a *polis* called Agore; and Xenophon reports that Agesilaos pillaged "the eastern part of the *polis* of Thebes right up to the *polis* of Tanagra".⁹ In both these passages *polis* is used to denote the *territory* of a *polis*: Xerxes' army did not march through the gates of the city of Agore, and Agesilaos did not pillage "the countryside east of the city of Thebes up to the city of Tanagra". There are some four score other examples of territory as the principal meaning of *polis*,¹⁰ and they show that the territory in question almost always is a town and its hinterland. Attestations of *polis* in the sense of country

¹ Andoc. 1.96; Dem. 23.37, 38ff; Philoch. fr. 30 (Athens); Syll.³ 194 (Amphipolis); *Nomima* 1.109B (Teos and Abdera). See Swoboda (1905); Hansen (1976) 75–76.

² *Pol.* 1.27: τὴν τῆς "Ἑλλάδος ἀκρίβειαν ἀποκρίνωμαι ἐξέμεναι ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ πύρῳ" ("you must put to death the man who has ruined Hellas and throw his body over the border of the *polis*").

³ Xen. *Hell.* 4.4.6: "the Corinthians perceived that their *polis* was being eclipsed both by the removal of the *horoi* and by their fatherland being called Argos instead of Corinth...". See Roussel (1994). IG vi.1.5.143 (Karthai); IG vi.2792 = SEG 36.481 (Boiotian *horoi* marking the border between Akraiphia and Kopai); Syll.³ 134.22–23 (Miletos and Myous); *IBH* 14 (Orchomenos).

⁴ Arbitration between Miletos and Myous, c.391–388 (Syll.³ 134–RO 16); Orchomenos, 369–364 (*IBH* 14); the Delphic Amphiktyony judges a border dispute between Amphissa and Delphi c.358/? (*BCH* 27 (1903) 140–53; Agor (1996) no. 1); Alexander the Great calls for a boundary settlement between Apendos and a neighbour, perhaps Side in 333 (*Arr. Anab.* 1.27.4; Agor (1996) no. 61).

⁵ Dem. 15.47; Thuc. 5.79.4 (treaty between the Lakadaimonians and the Argives in 488).

⁶ *Hdt.* 7.58.3; Xen. *Hell.* 5.4.49; see 44 *supra*. Both passages are quoted and interpreted in Hansen (1998) 54 with nn. 237 and 238.

⁷ See Index 5 *infra* and the sources quoted in the updated French edition (2001) of *CPCA*s 5: 249–50 n. 239.

The first section, down to n. 13, is an updated and abbreviated version of *CPCA*s 5: 53–56.

¹ (*Arist.* *Pol.* 1276⁴) for an interpretation and a defence of the text in the MSS, see *CPCA*s 5: 133–34.

² Place (*topos*) and people (*anthropoi*): *Pol.* 1276⁴⁸–22, 34–40; constitution: *Pol.* 1276⁴⁸–ff.

³ Lys. 6.15; IG ii² 2484–6 (Athens); IG xii.2 52626–28, 426–28 (Eretria); *LIsois* 1.3–6 (Ios); *ML* 32.32–37 (Halkidike). See Seibert (1979) 355–59.

Ερώτηση 11η:

Πόλις και χώρα

Polis versus Chora—The Settlement Pattern

There are two basic forms of settlement: nucleated and dispersed.¹ The opposition is clear in principle; the crucial question is where to draw the line in practice, and that is a problem which stands out clearly as soon as we move from an abstract to a more concrete form of analysis. In modern studies of the settlement pattern of ancient Greece and its colonies a distinction is usually made between three forms of habitation:² first-order sites (called *towns or cities*), second-order sites (called *villages or hamlets*) and third-order sites (called *farmsteads or homestead farms*).³ In all investigations, towns and villages are grouped together as nucleated settlements and opposed to isolated farmsteads, which are seen as the characteristic form of dispersed settlement.⁴

The next problem is, of course, where to draw the line between a town and a village, and again between a hamlet and a farmstead. Farmsteads are often described as “isolated” but there are in fact attestations of clusters of farmsteads,⁵ and sometimes it can become a matter of definition how to distinguish between the two forms of settlement.⁶ For the distinction between a town and a village, three different parameters are used: (a) the function of a settlement within a region, (b) the physical size of the settlement, and/or (c) the number of inhabitants. *Re* (a): in a region with a number of nucleated settlements, one is usually larger than the others and serves as the principal urban centre of the whole region.⁷ Such an urban centre is sometimes called a *central place*,⁸ undoubtedly a translation of the German

term *Zentralort*.⁹ The hierarchy can be observed at different levels. Sometimes the central place is called a city and the smaller centres towns;¹⁰ but often the central place is a town and the smaller centres are classified as villages.¹¹ In this case the first-order site is defined in relation to the surrounding smaller nucleated settlements and no absolute figures in hectares or population size are needed in order to establish a distinction between first- and second-order sites. *Re* (b) and (c): as to size of habitation area and number of inhabitants, there are considerable variations and I will here restrict myself to two examples. In the monumental investigation of southern Argolis the authors propose to classify all sites of 5 ha or more as towns;¹² whereas the size of the population is the preferred parameter in Frank Kolb’s judicious introduction to *Die Stadt im Altertum*, where he states a minimum population of 1,000 inhabitants as one of his criteria for accepting a site as a *Stadt*.¹³ In both cases the authors admit that the limit is very arbitrary, but it is perhaps not a coincidence that the two criteria seem to correspond: in the southern Argolis survey the authors suggest that towns in the Classical period had a population density of 250 persons per ha,¹⁴ i.e. a total population of c.1,250 persons for a town so small that it was almost a village.

The recent settlement pattern studies have changed our understanding of ancient Greek society in many respects, but the two most important insights have been (a) that we can now, in some instances at least, trace the people who lived in the countryside and assess the relation between the urban and the rural population,¹⁵ and (b) that in some parts of Archaic and especially Classical Greece many of those who inhabited the countryside lived dispersed in iso-

This chapter is based on Hansen (1995) 50–52; (1997) 20–25 and (2000) 154–56.

¹ See, e.g., Bintliff (1977) 113, 117–18, 223–26, 403–5, 419.

² Pečírka (1973) 115; Jameson, Runnels and van Andel (1994) 375, 383; Shipley (1992) 228–29.

³ Jameson, Runnels and van Andel (1994) 249. Sometimes a distinction is made between smaller towns and larger cities (Shipley (1992) 222–23). A similar distinction can be made between smaller hamlets and larger villages (Jameson, Runnels and van Andel (1994) 252).

⁴ Pečírka (1973) 115; Renfrew and Wagstaff (1982) 235; Finley (1987–89) 304; Snodgrass (1990) 127–28; Jameson, Runnels and van Andel (1994) 249, 253–54; Catling (2002) 187.

⁵ For possible clusters of farms of 60 and 65, see Catling (2002) 187–93.

⁶ Roy (1996) 109.

⁷ Shipley (1992) 223.

⁸ Johnson (1972) 772–77; Renfrew and Wagstaff (1982) 246b. Shipley (1992) 222 uses the term.

⁹ Christaller (1933), translated into English in 1966 with the title *Central Places of Southern Germany*. See also Whitley (1972).

¹⁰ Shipley (1992) 222–23.

¹¹ Cherry, Davis and Mantzourani (1996) 473–77.

¹² Jameson, Runnels and van Andel (1994) 248.

¹³ Kolb (1984) 15.

¹⁴ Jameson, Runnels and van Andel (1994) 549–50.

¹⁵ See, in particular, the Melos Survey (Renfrew and Wagstaff (1982); the Metapontion survey (Carter (1990)); the Northern Keos Survey (Cherry, Davis and Mantzourani (1991)); the Southern Argolid Survey (Jameson, Runnels and van Andel (1994)); the Methana Survey (Mee and Forbes (1997)) and the Asa Survey (Forsten and Forsten (1997)). For an overview, see Osborne (1987) 56–70 and Hansen (2004).

Ερώτηση 12η:

Πόλις και επίσημη λατρεία

The *Polis* as a Religious Organisation

Since Fustel de Coulanges ((1864) 280–81 and *passim*) it has commonly been claimed that religion was the dominant aspect of community life: (1) “the *polis* provided the central framework in which Greek religion operated”;¹ (2) “in the world of the Greek cities the opposition between the sacred and the profane—which we assume to be fundamental in the area of religion—was either blurred or utterly irrelevant”;² Thus, (3) “religion provided the framework and the symbolic focus of the *polis*. Religion was the very centre of the Greek *polis*.”³ In our opinion, this holistic view of the *polis* is skewed, and it is particularly the second and third propositions we find misleading.

Re (1) With one small *addendum* we are in agreement with the first proposition: “the *polis* came to provide the central framework in which Greek religion operated”.⁴ The Greek pantheon with its sanctuaries and cults was not invented by the *polis*; it was much older than the *polis* and taken over by the *polis*. When did that happen? A predominant view is that it happened early and that the *polis* emerged out of the activities connected with the building of temples and the communal organisation of religious festivals.⁵ There can be no denying that the rise of temple building and the emergence of the *polis* took place simultaneously, viz. in C8–C6, and the two phenomena were probably connected; but at the same time there is ample evidence of what must have been private cults during the Archaic and early Classical period: family or clan cults are attested side by side with *polis* cults in the new sacred law from Selinous of C5f.⁶ Temple building by *poleis* is attested in the Archaic period,⁷ but we hear also about temples

financed and built by private persons and families.⁸ In Archaic Athens all public priesthoods were filled for life from among members of the *gene*.⁹ The *polis* took over in the course of the Classical period, and an increasing number of priesthoods were filled from among all Athenians.¹⁰ The general picture is that when the *polis* emerged its organisation and control of religion was not particularly strong; it grew constantly in the course of the period and had become paramount in C4s.

Re (2) The opposition between the sacred and the secular is abundantly attested in our texts. It was a matter of life or death to a citizen whether or not the olive tree he had uprooted was a sacred one (Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 60.2), and there would be an unambiguous answer to the question. A clear distinction between sacred and public money is acknowledged in inscriptions (Migeotte (1998)), e.g. on C4–C3 bronze tablets from Lokroi Epizephyrioi, all recording money which the *polis* borrowed from the sanctuary of Zeus Olympios and repaid to the sanctuary (Costabile (1992) 113–14). When in need of money, the *polis* could of course make a decision about what could be a compulsory loan of sacred money, but the loan had to be repaid to the gods in due time. There is no evidence that sacred money was “secularised” or “expropriated” by the *polis* (Linders (1975) 12–18). Again, when you had entered a *temenos*, you were treading on sacred ground,¹¹ and certain activities did not take place on festival days, etc.¹² To draw the line between the sacred and the secular was as easy—or, rather, as difficult—as it was in the Middle Ages and still is. There was, and has always

The first part of this chapter is based on Hansen (2000) 467–69.

¹ Sourvinou-Inwood (1990) 205, 322; cf. Kearns (1996a) 1300.

² Zaidman and Schmitz-Pantel (1992) 8.

³ Sourvinou-Inwood (1990) 322; cf. Kearns (1996a) 1300.

⁴ For the following, see Burkert (1992) and (1995).

⁵ Snodgrass (1980) 33, 58; Sourvinou-Inwood (1993) 11; Polignac (1994) 15; Vayatzis (1999) 150–53.

⁶ SEG 43 638, cf. Jameson *et al.* (1993) 114–16.

⁷ The treasure of the Siphnians in Delphi (Hdt. 3.57.2); the stoa of the Athenians in Delphi (ML 25 (C5f)); the temple of Athena Nike in Athens (ML 44 (C5m)). Direct evidence is sparse but it is commonly believed that almost all temples were built by the community, i.e. in most regions mostly by the *polis*. See Morgan (1993) 19; Polignac (1995) 19–20; Nielsen (2002) 176–84.

⁸ The Kleomenes who “made” (*ποιέω*) the C6 temple for Apollo in Syracuse (IG XIV 1) may have been the patron who paid for the temple (Jedermann (1999) 100). The Alkmaionidai rebuilt the temple of Apollo in Delphi (Hdt. 5.62.2–63.4; Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 19.4); Themistokles built a shrine for Artemis Aristoboule in Athens (Plut. *Them.* 22.2–3); Xenophon erected a temple for Artemis at Skilous (Xen. *An.* 5.3.7–9). Some of these persons may have acted on behalf of their *polis*, but not the Alkmaionidai who were in exile, and probably not Xenophon who was a foreigner.

⁹ Hereditary groups of upper-class citizens, based on descent in the male line and apparently subdivisions of the *phratriai* (Aeschin. 2.147; IG I² 6 (C3f); Parker (1996) 36–66, 284–327). See 93 *infra*.

¹⁰ The first attested example is the priestess of Athena Nike (ML 44 (C5m)).

¹¹ Parker (1981) 160–170; Jost (1992) 112–15. For the common and widespread distinction between sacred property, public property and private property: IG V.2 6A.37–42 + RO 60 (Tegae); Arist. *Pol.* 1267^b 33–4.

¹² Parker (1983) 154–60; Burkert (1985) 225–27.

Ερώτηση 13η:

Τεκμηριώνοντας την πόλιν: τοπωνύμια

Toponyms as Evidence for *Polis* Identity

While the *LGPN* edited by Peter Fraser and Elaine Matthews has revolutionised the study of Greek personal names, toponyms and ethnics have not been systematically and comprehensively investigated since 1911, when G. E. Benseler published the 3rd edition of W. Pape's *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen*.¹ Since the name of a community, in *casu* a *polis*, is an important aspect of its identity, each entry in the inventory begins with information about what the *polis* was called and to what extent attestations of the name can contribute to the identification of the community as a *polis*. One characteristic of ancient Greek political communities is that they were called sometimes by the toponym, sometimes by the ethnic, and the study of the toponyms is inextricably bound up with the study of the related ethnics. As argued most clearly by Gschnitzer (1955), there are basically two forms of ethnics: those derived from an older toponym (*Κορίνθιος* derived from *Κόρινθος*) and those from which a new toponym is derived (*Ἀρκίος* generating *Ἀρκαδία*). Most of the toponyms generating ethnics denoted a nucleated settlement, whereas toponyms derived from ethnics denoted a region.²

This important observation must be modified in one respect: the chronological sequence of the word-formation is far from universal. The toponym *Μαντινεία*, for example, must have been derived from the ethnic *Μαντινείς*. If it had been the other way round, the toponym *Μαντινεία* would have generated the ethnic *Μαντινεάτης*, cf. *Τεγέα* > *Τεγεάτης*, *Μαδία* > *Μαδαίτης*, etc.³ Conversely, the Bottiaians lived originally in Bottia in Macedonia but emigrated and settled down in western Chalkidike in a region called Bottike. In this case the sequence was probably *Βοττία* > *Βοττιαίοι* > *Βοττικεύς*.⁴

Even though the sequence of the word-formation is not as clear-cut as stated by Gschnitzer, it is still true and important to note that some ethnics are related to a toponym denoting an urban settlement, others to a toponym denoting a region.

¹ One exception is Zgusta (1984).

² There is no need in this context to discuss other ethnics not related to toponyms, e.g. the ethnics of the three Dorian *phylai*: *Ηλλείς*, *Δυμνείς*, *Πυμφυλίοι*.

³ Bolte (1930) 129f; Risch (1957) 66; Nielsen (2002) 169–70.

⁴ Gschnitzer (1955) 129–30.

Now, the nucleated settlement corresponding to the ethnic was often the urban and political centre of a *polis*, but it could also be a small town or a village lying in the territory of a *polis*, cf. *Tamynai* on Euboea or *Tripodiskos* in Megaris.⁵ It is impossible linguistically to separate a toponym denoting a *polis* from a toponym denoting a village or a town lying in the territory of a *polis*. However, the distinction can be ascertained by a number of other criteria, see 88 *infra*, and it is this distinction that enables us to subdivide the related ethnics into city-ethnics—i.e. ethnics corresponding to a toponym denoting a *polis*—versus those sub-ethnics that correspond to a toponym denoting a civic subdivision of a *polis*, typically a *demos* or a *kome*. See 59–60 *infra*.

This chapter is about toponyms denoting a *polis*. That is a topic not much debated in books and articles about the concept of *polis*. In most accounts it is briefly stated that the *polis* as a political community was named after its people, and called by the city-ethnic in the nominative plural, whereas the toponym was used exclusively about the urban centre of the *polis*.⁶ That is largely true, but there are important exceptions, so important in fact that they modify the prevailing picture.

It is true that the toponym often signifies the nucleated centre, i.e. the *polis* in the urban sense; but the *polis* town had a hinterland and there are numerous attestations of the toponym denoting the town plus its hinterland, i.e. the territory of the *polis*.⁷ Sometimes the toponym may even denote the hinterland to the exclusion of its urban centre.⁸

Even more important is the fact that, contrary to the al-

⁵ Cf. *Ταμύναι* (Aeschyl. 2.169), an Eretrian deme inhabited by the *Ταμύναιοι* (IG xii.9 249.11.241); *Τριποδίσκος* (Steph. Byz. 637.1), a Megarian *kome* inhabited by the *Τριποδισκίους* (Phyl. Mor. 395B).

⁶ Gschnitzer (1955) 121–22; Finley (1984) 105. The observation goes back at least to Tittmann (1822) 528.

⁷ *Alkoi* (no. 378), Thuc. 2.26.2; *Ambrakia* (no. 11), Ps.-Skylax 33; *Chaitoneia* (no. 201), Lycurg. 1.65; *Elateia* (no. 180), Theophr. *HP* 4.8.2; *Epidaurios* (no. 348), Thuc. 5.55.1; *Haliartos* (no. 206), Xen. *Hell.* 3.5.57; *Kinyras* (no. 1027), Hdt. 4.498.6; *Corinth* (no. 227), Dem. 20.52; *Lebadeia* (no. 211), Xen. *Mem.* 3.5.4; *Mantineia* (no. 281), Thuc. 5.64.4; *Methydrium* (no. 283), Thuc. 5.98.2; *Mytilene* (no. 798), SEG 36 730.17; *Orchoemenos* (no. 213), Thuc. 1.103.2; *Panopeis* (no. 190), Hdt. 8.14; *Platania* (no. 205), Xen. *Hell.* 5.4.48; *Potadaia* (no. 598), Xen. *Hell.* 5.2.39; *Sikyon* (no. 228), Hdt. 1.145; *Tanagra* (no. 220), Thuc. 1.108.1.

⁸ *Apollonia* (no. 545), Xen. *Hell.* 5.3.1; *Argos* (no. 347), Thuc. 4.133.2; *Erochos* (no. 481), SEG 27 145; *Oropos* (no. 214), Hyp. 3.18; *Phileous* (no. 351), Xen. *Hell.* 4.4.15; *Tanagra* (no. 220), Thuc. 4.91.7–29.2; *Thebes* (no. 221), Xen. *Hell.* 5.2.25.

Ερώτηση 14η:

Τεκμηριώνοντας την πόλιν: «εθνικά»

Ethnics as Evidence for *Polis* Identity

A prominent aspect of the Greek *polis* was its name, and the huge onomastic material preserved in literature and on stone is probably the richest source we have for the fragmentation of the Hellenic world into *poleis*. Whenever citizens from different *poleis* gathered together, the obvious way of identifying an individual was to call him by his *polis* and to use an adjectival form of the name of his *polis* as a kind of surname to be added to his name. Moreover, since the *polis* in the sense of "state" was a community of citizens rather than a country, the usual way of naming a *polis* was to use the nominative plural of an adjectival form of the name of the city as the official name of the community itself and to use the toponym as the name of its urban centre. Thus a citizen of Ambrakia was called *Ἀμπρακιάστας*,¹ and the name of his *polis* was (*αἰ*) *Ἀμπρακιάσταις*,² whereas the toponym *Ἀμβρακία* was mostly used about the urban centre of the community.³ Although the collective use of the adjective is the more important in a historical investigation of political communities, most problems of classification and identification are connected with the individual use, and therefore the first and longer part of this chapter will be devoted to personal names.⁴

1. The Ethnic Used Individually as the Name of a Citizen

A. Name, Patronymic and Ethnic⁵

The full name of a Greek citizen living in a *polis* consisted of his own name (*onoma*), his father's name (in scholarly prac-

tice: *patronymikon*),⁶ and the name of his *polis* (in scholarly practice: *ethnikon*) or a subdivision of his *polis* (in scholarly practice: *demotikon*).⁷ In the strict sense the name of an adult free Greek citizen was just his *onoma* and the addition of patronymic and/or ethnic/demotic was dictated by the context.⁸ In cases of homonymy, to avoid mistaken identity when a citizen's name appeared alongside those of fellow citizens, his father's name was often added to the name itself, and in some *poleis* membership of a civic subdivision could be added to his name and patronymic.⁹ When a citizen's name appeared alongside those of citizens from other *poleis*, his *polis* affiliation was added to the name (and patronymic),¹⁰ and in *poleis* that internally recorded a citizen's membership of a civic subdivision, the *polis* affiliation usually replaced the civic subdivision.¹¹ In some cases, however, his affiliation with a region was added to,¹² or replaced,¹³ his *polis* affiliation. For non-Greeks there was a fourth possibility, namely to be named after a whole na-

⁶ At Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 3.48.2 *πατρωνυμικός* refers to the Roman family name. In *Epim. Magn.* 165.38ff *πατρωνυμικός* is used about names such as *Περικλῆς*, not about the father's name in the genitive case.

⁷ For a discussion of the problem to what extent the ethnic was part of the name, see Hansen (1996) 176–78.

⁸ Ibid. Name: *Ἀρμαυρίδης* (IG I² 1328 bii); name and patronymic: *Μακρίων Ἡρακλείδης* (IG I² 1327); name and demotic: *Ἰγνακίδης Κεραιφίδης* (IG I² 1331); name, patronymic and demotic: *Αἰεὶς Διομαχίδης Αἰζωνίδης* (SEG 34 199); name and city-ethnic: *Ἡφαίστιος Χίος* (IG I² 1345); name, patronymic and city-ethnic: *Αἰσχρίων Φυλίσκος Κεῖσιος* (IG I² 1349); name and regional ethnic: *Κεφάλιος Θεωκλῆς* (IG I² 1575); name, patronymic and regional ethnic: *Νεμεσίφρων Ἡρακλείδης Βοιωτῆς* (IG I² 849).

⁹ *AJP* 96 (1935) 358–72 is a C4 list of many hundred Kolophonian contributors to the rebuilding of the walls. All have a patronymic added to their name, and a handful or so have a name indicating their *genos* added to their name and patronymic, e.g. *Μηνυμῆχος Γενομήνης* (642), *Μηνυμῆχος Ἐκαστομήνης* (646), *Μηνυμῆχος Ἐκαστομήνης Ἡγετομήνης* (865–66), cf. the note on page 372 and *infra* n. 15).

¹⁰ Cf. the C4m list of Karthaiian *praxenoi* (IG xii.5.42). The preserved fragment contains the names of some 50 citizens from 27 *poleis*, and each *praxenos* is recorded by name, patronymic and city-ethnic.

¹¹ The Athenian statesman Aristophanes appears with his demotic in the decree he moved in 345/4 (IG II² 224.6–7; *Ἀριστοφάνης Ἀριστοφάνους Ἀρεομενίδης*) but as an Athenian in the Karthaiian list of *praxenoi* (IG xii.5.542.43–44; *Ἀριστοφάνης Ἀριστοφάνους Ἀθηναῖος*).

¹² See the C4f Delphic list of contributions to the rebuilding of the temple of Apollo, CID II 12.167: *Ἀκωνίδης Μήσιμος Θεσσαλὸς ἐξ Ὀρφέων*, II.12 *Κλαύμαχος Κεραιφίδης Ἀρχαῖος* II.31–32; *Διονύσιος Κωδικακίδης Κεῖσιος ἐξ Ἰταλίδος*.

¹³ In the C4j list of victors in the Iykaia in Arkadia (IG v.2.549–50) all Arkadians are called by their regional ethnic (*Ἀρκάδες*) whereas all foreigners are called by their city-ethnic, e.g. *Ἀθηναῖος*, *Ἀργεῖος*.

This chapter is a condensed and updated version of Hansen (1996).

¹ *Πολυμήδης Τόλμος Ἀμπρακιάστας* (CID II 4.111.27–28).

² With the article: *Θύκις* 1.46.1–2; without the article: *ML* 27.11.

³ *Ἀμβρακία πόλις Ἑλλὰς ἐστὶν 8^η ἀπὸ τοῦ θαλάσσης στάδια 4^η* (Ps.-Strabo 13). For the numerous exceptions, see 35–37 *infra*.

⁴ For a brief but penetrating survey, see Fraser (1996).

⁵ In this section, as in the others, we try to restrict the treatment to the Archaic and Classical periods. We have, however, to discuss some Hellenistic inscriptions as well because they have often—and sometimes with good reason—been used retrospectively as evidence of Archaic and Classical institutions and naming habits.

Ερώτηση 15η:

Τεκμηριώνοντας την πόλιν: τείχη

City Walls as Evidence for *Polis* Identity

The prevailing view among ancient historians and classical archaeologists is that defensive walls were not an essential aspect of the Archaic and Classical *polis*, either as a concept¹ or as a physical phenomenon.² According to the orthodoxy, very few *poleis* had a defence circuit in the Archaic period, and even in the Classical period many *poleis* were unfortified, most notably Sparta (no. 345) and Elis (no. 251).³

Our investigations suggest a different picture of the *polis* (see Index 23). We shall treat the concept of *polis* separately from what we know about individual walled *poleis* and start with the concept. In the Classical period the defence circuit was an essential, though not indispensable, element of the *polis*. According to Euripides, the wild *Kyklopes* lived in caves, not in a walled *polis* like civilised Greeks (Eur. *Cycl.* 115–18). In the introduction to his *Histories* Thucydides surveys the progress of civilisation in Hellas from the earliest settlements to the end of the Persian War, and one of the turning points is the transition from unwalled *poleis* lying inland (1.2.2, 5.3, 6.1) to coastal *poleis* protected by walls (1.7.3, 8.2). Thucydides dates the turning point to the period after King Minos' thessalocracy but before the Trojan War. Similarly, Xenophon's Sokrates imagines that the building of defence circuits round the *poleis* is one of the changes that has happened since the Heroic period when Sinis, Skiron and Prokroustes were at large (Xen. *Mem.* 2.1.14). True, in *Laws* Plato prefers a *polis* without walls, like Sparta (Leg. 778D), but Aristotle points out that this is an extremely old-fashioned view and argues that the only sensible policy for a *polis* is to have walls (*Pol.* 1330^b32–31^a20).⁴

A survey of the defence capability of known *poleis* shows that the Greeks of the Classical period sided against Plato and took Aristotle's advice. The Inventory includes 491 communities directly attested as *poleis* in Archaic and/or Classical sources (*poleis* type A). Of these, thirty-two are unlocated. Of the remaining 459 *poleis*, 261 are attested as fortified before the end of the Classical period, some

by the remains of walls dated to the Archaic and Classical periods, others through direct or indirect references to walls in written sources, many through both types of evidence combined. Only four *poleis* are positively known to have been unfortified until the end of the Classical period: Delos (no. 478), Delphi (no. 177), Gortyns (no. 960) and Sparta (no. 345), whereas Elis (no. 251), Magnesia on the Maiander (no. 852) and Tralleis (no. 941) were still unfortified in 400. Admittedly, for 186 *poleis* we have no explicit information. But thirty-two of these have remains of walls reported as undated. Future investigations may assign some of these walls to the Classical period. Of the cities included in our inventory "barely 10% have been investigated to any significant extent" (Morgan and Coulton (1997) 87) and the view that walls are not likely to disappear completely does not stand up to scrutiny. There are numerous instances of ancient walls of which not a stone is left, although in some cases travellers of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries reported visible remains.⁵

There can be no denying that, even though a few *poleis* were still unwalled, the Greeks of the Classical period thought of their *polis* as centred on a walled town. Today this view is gaining ground (Ducrey (1995) 251–55). What is still highly controversial is that the picture does not change significantly if we move back to the Archaic period. Again, we shall start with the concept and with our principal source for the Greeks' conception of man and society: the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. In this context we do not have to take a position on the date of the Homeric poems. What we want to stress is that, in *Cōf* and even earlier, the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* were undoubtedly recited in public as well as in private schools and had become an important part of the cultural baggage of the Greeks in all parts of the Hellenic world (*Hymn. Hom. Ap.* 172–73; Xenophanes fr. 11). The Homeric *polis* is protected by—and adorned with—steep walls and beautiful towers. Not only named cities are protected by walls, like Troy (*Il.* 3.153ff), Thebes (*Il.* 19.99) and Tiryns (*Il.* 2.559). When the poet alludes to a *polis* in general, or a *polis* in fairyland, it is once again the walls that are the essential characteristic,

⁵ The city walls of Tegea were seen by Bérard in the 1890s, but today nothing is left; see Pfähle (1997) 49–51.

The first part of this chapter is based on Hansen (1997) 52–53 and 2000 (160). The section about attested walls of the Archaic period is by Rune Frederiksen.

¹ Starr (1957) 98; Nippel (1989) 1032.

² Wichterley (1967) 10; Snodgrass (1991) 9. For a different view, see Camp (2000) 48–49.

³ See Lawrence (1979) 121.

⁴ See Winter (1971) 1–2.

Ερώτηση 16η:

Τεκμηριώνοντας την πόλιν: νομίσματα

Coins as Evidence for *Polis* Identity

In the Hellenic world in the Archaic and Classical periods most coins were struck by *poleis* (see Index 26). How do we know? (a) In the written sources there are general statements that striking coins was one of the tasks incumbent on a *polis* (Pl. *Resp.* 371B; Arist. *Mag. mor.* 1194^a18–25). (b) From other sources we obtain information about mints of individual communities explicitly attested as *poleis* (Dem. 24.212–14, Athens; IG xii.2.1 (C5s), Mytilene and Phokaia; *Syll.*² 218.14–15 (C4f), Olbia). (c) The majority of all Greek coins of the Archaic and Classical periods can be ascribed to communities which in contemporary written sources are explicitly called *poleis*, e.g. the C5s silver drachms from Taras inscribed *TAPANTINON* compared with Thuc. 6.44.2: τῶν πόλεων . . . Τάραντος (*infra* 299, 302). Taras is a straightforward example; there are many like it, but it may be difficult and sometimes even impossible to ascribe a coinage to a known community or to identify this community as a *polis*.

Initially we shall set aside the anepigraphic coins and concentrate on those which carry a legend.¹ Legends on Archaic and Classical Greek coins fall into the following groups: (a) an ethnic usually in the genitive plural, sometimes in the nominative singular; (b) the ktetic form of the ethnic, usually in the neuter singular; (c) a toponym either in the genitive or in the nominative; (d) the name of a person; (e) the name of a god or a hero, usually together with a representation of the divinity in question; (f) symbols indicating date or denomination; (g) miscellaneous other terms conveying a message to the user of the coin. The legends may be spelled out, but often they are abbreviated, and the different types can be illustrated as follows.

Re (a) Examples of the ethnic in the genitive plural are *AINIANON*, C4f (Head, HN² 291); *AMO(P)TON*, C4f (Head, HN² 481); *BOIOTON*, c.338–315 (Head, HN² 352); *EYBOI(E)N*, C4f (Head, HN² 362); *KATANAION*, c.400 (Head, HN² 134); *KNQΣION*, C4f (Head, HN² 461); *NAΓΓΔEON*, C5l (Head, HN² 725); *NEAIIOΛITEON* (Rutter, HN² 70); *ΣΤΥΜΦΑΛION*, C4f (Head, HN² 454); *ΦΩΚEON*, C4m (Head, HN² 339); *ΧΑΚΙΔEON* (in Thrace), C4f (Head, HN² 209). Nominative singular forms are *NEA-*

ΠΟΛΙΤΗΣ (Rutter, HN² 68); *PHITINOS*, or *PETINH*, or *PEITINON*, C5l–C4e (Head, HN² 187–91). For an occasional nominative plural form, see *ΠΟΛΙΟΙ* (Babelon, *Traité* ii.2 1015).

Re (b) Examples of the ktetic form of the ethnic are *APKADIKON*, C5 (Head, HN² 448); *OAYNIHON*, C5e (Head, HN² 420); *ΔEPPONIKON* or *ΔEPPONIKOS* (Makedonian tribe), C5e (Head, HN² 202); *ΘEΣTIIKON*, C4f (Head, HN² 354); *NAΓΓΔIKON*, C5l (Head, HN² 725), cf. Babelon, *Traité* ii.1 890–95; *NEOIIOΛITIKON* (Rutter, HN² 68).

Re (c) Examples of the toponym in nominative or genitive are *AKPATAS* or *AKPATANTOS*, C6s–C5f (Head, HN² 120); *ΔΙΚΑΙΑ* (in Thrace), C5m (Head, HN² 252); *ZAKYNΘOS*, C5s–C4f (Head, HN² 429); *ΛΑΚΥΔON* (in France), C4 (Head, HN² 6); *NEHIIOΛIS* (Rutter, HN² 68); *PEITON*, C5e (HN² 187).

Re (d) A personal name, either in the nominative, or in the genitive, or in a prepositional phrase, is mostly the name of a mint official, often abbreviated. Occasionally it may be the name of the engraver. In other cases it is the name of a ruler or a general or a mercenary leader. Examples are *EIII ΔEΜOKPITO* on C5s coins from Abdera (Head, HN² 254), a mint official who is perhaps identical with the pre-Socratic philosopher Demokritos of Abdera. For names of engravers, see *EYAINETO* on some Syracusan coins of C5f (Guarducci (1974) 532). In most cases names of mint officials and engravers are easily distinguished from names of rulers and mercenary leaders. Examples of such names are *obv. ΘEΜICTOKAEOS*, rev. *MA* on C5f coins of Magnesia on the Maiandros struck by Themistokles in exile (Head, HN² 581); *ΠAYΣANIA* and *ΦAIIIIITOY* on coins struck by King Pausanias of Makedonia in 390–389 and by Philip II in 360–336 (Head, HN² 221–22); *MAYΣΣAΛO* on coins struck by Mausolos in 377–353 (Head, HN² 629); *obv. ΦΩΚEON*, rev. *ONYMAPXOY* or *ΦAΛAIKOY* on coins struck by these Phokian generals during the Third Sacred War (Head, HN² 339); rev. *ΔΙΩΝΟΣ* and *ZA* on coins perhaps struck by Dion of Syracuse on Zakynthos preparing his campaign against Dionysios II of Syracuse in 357 (Head, HN² 430).

¹ For a full study, see Guarducci (1969) 615–705; (1974) 530–39.

Ερώτηση 18η:

Τεκμηριώνοντας την πόλιν: θεωροδόκοι

Theorodokoi as Evidence for Polis Identity

In the course of the Classical period it became standard procedure that Panhellenic festivals were announced by *theoroi* sent out from the community responsible for the festival to all the communities which could be expected to participate in the celebration (Boesch (1908) 7–11).¹ The technical term for the *theoroi*'s announcement was *epangelia* (Thuc. 5.49.2–3; 8.10.1; SEG 12 373.28 = Rigsby (1996) 26.11 (242/h)). The sources we have show that the *theoroi* were sent to all parts of the Hellenic world and it became customary in each and every community visited by the *theoroi* to have an officially appointed person whose duty it was to host and assist the *theoroi* (Perlman (1995), (2000)). Such a host was called a *theorodokos* and he was appointed sometimes by the community in which he lived, but sometimes by the community that sent out the *theoroi* (Perlman (2000) 60–62). The *theoroi* were normally sent out the year before the festival was celebrated, and the purpose of their mission was to invite the various communities to participate in the festival, to bring sacrifices in the name of their community, and to respect the sacred truce that was proclaimed in connection with the festival (Isoc. 4.43–44; Perlman (1995) 118). In the Classical period *theorodokoi* are attested in connection with the Olympic Games (Syll.³ 171 = *hO* 36 (365–363 = Perlman (2000) O.1)), the Pythian Games (Syll.³ 90 with SEG 25 576 (C31); SEG 24 379), the Nemean Games (SEG 36 331 = Perlman (2000) N.1 (C41)²), the Asklepieia at Epidaurus (IG iv².1 94–95 (C4m) = Perlman (2000) E.1), and the Heraia at Argos (SEG 23 189 = Perlman (2000) A.1 (C48)).³ Our principal sources for the C4 *theorodokia* are substantial fragments of long lists of *theorodokoi* living in the places to be visited by the *theoroi* (see Index 15). The lists were drawn

up by the communities responsible for the festivals and were organised as itineraries of the *theoroi*. The lists that are relevant for this investigation are two from Epidaurus covering the years 359 (IG iv².1 94) and 355 (IG iv².1 95), and two from Argos both of C4, one concerning the Nemea (SEG 36 331) and one concerning the Heraia (SEG 23 189). Finally there is a short list from Delphi, the oldest of them all, probably to be dated to C5l (Syll.³ 90).⁴

From the term itself it has been deduced that the principal duty of the *theorodokos* was to host the *theoroi*, to accommodate and feed them, and to guide them to their next destination. But, to issue the invitation and obtain a recognition of the sacred truce, the *theoroi* must get access to the rulers of the community, either an assembly or a council or some magistrate or, perhaps, a monarch, and, being foreigners, they might need the collaboration of a citizen of the place they visited. According to several scholars, in particular Robert, Daux and Perlman, the presumption is that, *inter alia*, the *theorodokos* acted as an intermediary between the *theoroi* and authorities of the place they visited.⁵ A different view has been advanced by Kahrestedt (1936), followed by Cook (1973, 1988) and Cabanes (1976). The places visited by the *theoroi* were just settlements, and from the lists of *theorodokoi* recording all the toponyms of the places visited by the *theoroi*, no inference can be made about the political status of the community.⁶

Thus, the problem remains: was the *theorodokia* a kind of political office so that the attestation of a *theorodokos* in a particular place can convey information about the political status of the community in question? Or was the *theorodokia* a semi-private institution essentially unrelated to the political institutions?

In favour of a political interpretation of the institution it has been added that the *theorodokia* was often connected with the *proxenia* (Monceaux (1886) 259–66). The *proxenia* was unquestionably a political institution, especially in the

¹ That it was Elis that was responsible for the *epangelia* of the Olympic Games is proved by Thuc. 5.49.2–3; that the Pythian Games were announced by Delphi may be inferred from SEG 24 379; for Argos as the responsible authority for the Nemean Games, cf. *infra*.

² If Aristonous (listed without toponym in B 24 as the last of the Makedonian *theorodokoi*) is identical with the *somophylax* of Alexander the Great (Perlman (2000) 203–52) it follows that the list must be dated to the years after 320 (Perlman (2000) 296) rather than to 323/2 as suggested by Miller (SEG 36 331).

³ So far, there is no evidence for the Isthmia and the evidence for the Heraia in Lousoi is Hellenistic (C4d–C5e); cf. Perlman (2000) L.1–5). The list of Nemean *theorodokoi* could date either from 330/0 . . . to 324 B.C. or from post 324 B.C. to 313 B.C. (Perlman (2000) 109). Perlman prefers the later date but does not exclude the earlier one.

⁴ The longest of all the lists and the first to be found and published is a Delphic list of C5l published by Plassart in *BCH* 45 (1921) 1–85.

⁵ Robert (1946) 506–10, (1982) 330–35; Daux (1949) 2; Perlman (1995) 115–18, (2000) 32–34, 45–60. Cf. also Cabanes (1976) 116–20; Gauthier (1979).

⁶ Kahrestedt (1936) 425; Cook (1973) 221, 242–43, (1988) 9–19. Rigsby (1986) 393 n. 1 suspends judgement.

Ερώτηση 19η:

Τεκμηριώνοντας την **πόλιν**:

νικητές σε πανελλήνιους

αγώνες

Victors in Panhellenic Games as Evidence for *Polis* Identity

In the Classical period athletic contests were arranged by numerous communities throughout the Greek world,¹ e.g. by Pellene (no. 240) and by Pheneos (no. 291) in the Peloponnese. Some of these festivals, e.g. the *Asklepieia* at Epidaurous (no. 348), were of Panhellenic stature and developed systems of *epangelia* and *theorodokia*.² However, the four truly Panhellenic festivals were those at Olympia, Nemea, Isthmia and Delphi, arranged in an institutionalised circuit (*periodos*)³ from C6.⁴ The four Panhellenic sanctuaries acted as important centres for *polis* interaction⁵ and information about activity at these sanctuaries (oracle consultation, communal dedications, athletic participation, etc.) is included in the descriptions of the individual *poleis* in order to illuminate such interaction (see Index 16).

Even more important, however, is the fact that participation and victory in one of these four games are a very strong indication that the community to which the athlete belonged was a *polis*. From C6s onwards, participation in the Panhellenic games provides us with evidence of *polis* status.⁶ Since we know most about the organisation of the Olympic Games, and since the best-known participants in the games are the victors, the discussion will centre around *Olympionikai*; but, the assumption is that the Nemean, Isthmian and the Pythian Games were all organised in basically the same way as the Olympic Games.

An athlete who wanted to compete at the Olympic Games not only had to be a Greek;⁷ he also had to be a citizen

of a recognised Greek state,⁸ i.e. he had to belong to a community which had accepted and respected the sacred truce⁹ proclaimed by the Eleian *theoroi*.¹⁰ This is evident from the events of 420 as narrated at Thuc. 5.49.1–50.4.¹¹ In 420, the Eleians excluded Sparta from participation in the Olympics.¹² The Spartan exclusion was based on the fact, as the Eleians would have it, that the Spartans had violated the sacred truce by sending hoplites into territory which Elis claimed as its property.¹³ A fine was imposed on the Spartans under Olympic law.¹⁴ Since Sparta refused to pay the fine, the city was excluded from the Games.¹⁵ This ban on Spartan participation meant that no individual Spartan could compete in the Games. Accordingly, the Spartan aristocrat Lichas, son of Arkesilaos, entered his hippic team not as Spartan but as Theban (or Boiotian).¹⁶ The inference is that an athlete was allowed to compete only if he belonged to a community which had accepted the Olympic truce announced by the Eleian *theoroi* and respected the truce to the satisfaction of the Eleian authorities. It was shown in the section on *theorodokoi*¹⁷ that the duties of the Panhel-

νων. Πληρωμένοι δὲ στενὴν ἀνάγκην εἰς αὐτὴν Περσέως, ἐκρήθη τε αὖτις Ἑλλὰς καὶ ἀγωνίζεσθαι σφόδρα συνέβησεν ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ. The 30 days' training period at Elis prior to the Games is not attested in the Archaic and Classical periods (Lee (2000) 28). On other requirements etc., see Crowther (1996).

⁸ A scholion in Strabon says: νόμος τὸν θεῶν δὲ Ὀλυμπίᾳ μὴ ἀγωνίζεσθαι (*Rhesus* Gracil, ed. Walt, 4.546.25–26). No Archaic or Classical source explicitly states such a rule, but the following discussion will demonstrate that *de facto* a similar rule must have regulated Olympic participation at least in the Classical period.

⁹ On the sacred truce, see Lammner (1982–83).

¹⁰ See the chapter on *theorodokoi* supra 103–6.

¹¹ On these events, see Roy (1998) and Nielsen, forthcoming.

¹² *Ἀσπασμένης τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἐνὶ τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἐκρήθησαν ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ μὴ θῆναι πρὸς ἀγωνίζεσθαι* (Thuc. 5.49.1).

¹³ *ὅτι φέρονται τε τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν ἑλλήνων καὶ δι' Ἀσπάρταν αὐτὸν ἀπέλυσεν ἐν ταῖς Ὀλυμπιακαῖς σπονδαῖς ἐπιτήρησαι* (Thuc. 5.49.1).

¹⁴ Thuc. 5.50.2.

¹⁵ Thuc. 5.50.4 says that Lichas' team—which was victorious—was announced as Boiotian (*Βοιωτῶν ἀγωνιστῶν*); however, Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.21 says that Lichas had handed the team over to the Thebans (*Λίχας παραβάντος Θηβαίους τὸ ἄρμα*) and Paus. 6.3.2 says that Lichas entered the team *ἐνὶ δολομαῖς τοῦ θεοῦ* and states that the Eleian victory records named the victor not as Lichas but as the Theban *demos*. So, Thucydides may be a little imprecise here (so *HCT ad loc.* suggests that "Thucydides may have made a mistake in writing *Βοιωτῶν*").

¹⁶ Supra 104.

This chapter, by Nielsen, is a condensed version of Nielsen (2002) 203–11.

¹ Morgan (1990) 222.

² Perlman (2000) 67–97.

³ Golden (1998) 10–11.

⁴ Morgan (1990) 213.

⁵ Lys. 33.1–2; Isoc. 4.43–44; Lewis (1996) 30. See also the vivid description in Casati (1979) 75–80 of the travelling occasioned by the Panhellenic games.

⁶ The discussion does not consider the effects which Panhellenic athletic victories might have on the *poleis* of origin of the victors; for such a discussion, see Mann (2000).

⁷ That Olympic competitors had to be of Greek ethnicity appears from Hdt. 2.160.1 though that passage does not explicitly contrast Greeks with other ethnic groups: *αὶ δὲ (sc. Ἕλληνες) ἔθνησαν καὶ οὐδὲν καὶ τὸν ἄλλον Ἑλλήνων ἔθνησαν* τῷ βασιλεὺς ἔλθον ἀγωνίζεσθαι; however, it also appears from Hdt. 5.22.2 where there is an explicit contrast with non-Greeks: *Ἀλλ' ἄνθρωποι γὰρ ἑσθλὸν ἀποκρίνεται καὶ καταβάντες ἐν' αὐτῷ ταῦτα αἱ ἀντιπαισώμενοι Ἑλλήνων ἔθνησαν* γὰρ, φέρονται αὐτὸ βασιλεὺς ἀγωνιστῶν αὖτις τὸν ἄλλον ἄλλ' Ἑλλή-

Ερώτηση 20η:

Τεκμηριώνοντας την **πόλιν**:

Δηλιακή συμμαχία

The Delian League

The Delian League was by far the largest of all the Hellenic *symmachiai* and the one whose members we know best thanks to the preservation of a substantial part of the Athenian tribute lists (IG I² 259–90) and assessment decrees (IG I² 71, 77, 100). The names of some 330 members are still preserved in the fragments (see Index 18).¹ We can infer that each of these members was a political community, but not necessarily an independent community. Over the years the Delian League was transformed from an alliance into an “empire” in which only very few of the members were independent and in possession of *autonomia*. The great majority had become what Thucydides called *ὀψήκοι πόλεις*—dependent *poleis*.² They were all dependent on Athens, but within the League there were other forms of subordination too: it appears from the lists that Erythrai possessed a number of satellites which, however, in some years are recorded as individual payers.³ The Aktaiai *poleis* in Troas were part of the *peraiia* of Mytilene (no. 798),⁴ and Galepsos on the coast of Thrace (no. 631) was a Thasian *emporion*.⁵ So, all members were polities in some sense, but how many were actually *poleis*? And how many were Hellenic *poleis*?

The headings of all the tribute lists are so fragmentary that we cannot say whether they included the term *polis*.⁶ On the other hand, in the assessment decree of 425/4 the heading of the list of the members is preserved and it does contain the term *polis* (IG I² 71.58). Furthermore, the allies are collectively referred to as *poleis* in all the Athenian decrees which regulate the Delian League. One example suffices in this context: *polis* occurs eight times in the preserved parts of the coinage decree referring collectively to each and

every member of the League (IG I² 1453 pp. 898–99); for the other attestations, see Schuller (1995) 165 with nn. 2–14.

In all these documents, however, *polis* is a generic term, and when a term appears as a heading, it is often used less precisely than when applied to individual members of the class subsumed under the term (cf. Hansen (1997a) 9). Even on the reasonable assumption that all the headings of the tribute lists included the term *polis*, we cannot be sure that the Athenians would apply the term *polis* individually to every polity recorded in the lists.

We are on safer ground when we find *polis* used in the tribute lists as a subheading in the so-called rubrics followed by a list of, at most, a dozen names of allies.⁷ But even here *polis* is just a heading, and although these rubrics in their present state do not include any community which can be recognised as a tribal community or a dynast ruling a territory, we cannot infer without further evidence that each and every polity listed in the rubrics was believed to be a *polis*.

An attempt in the lists to distinguish *poleis* from other types of polity was made at the Polis Centre symposium in 1995. Both in the tribute lists and in the assessment decrees the recording of the allies is mostly by ethnic but sometimes by toponym, and sometimes the recording alternates between ethnic and toponym. On the assumption that the Greeks used ethnics to designate *poleis* and toponyms to designate other types of community, Avram and Schuller suggested that the allies recorded by ethnic were *poleis*, those recorded by toponym were not *poleis*, and those that changed from toponym to ethnic were primarily polities whose *phoros* was initially paid by private citizens (the *idiotai* rubrics in the lists) whereas they were recorded by ethnic when, later, the *phoros* was paid by the *polis*.⁸ This very neat explanation of the occurrence of toponyms among the ethnics does not stand up to detailed examination.

First, the general assumption that *poleis* in the political

¹ 322 members are recorded by toponym and/or, presumably, city-ethnic; some of these are multipolite islands, cf. n. 14. 6 members are recorded by, presumably, regional ethnic: 5 Karian dynasts are recorded of whom 3 ruled *poleis* (also recorded among the 322 allies); and 1 ruled some Karans (also recorded among the regional ethnics). Furthermore the names of 59 members have been unconvincingly restored by the editors of ATL (*infra* 1360). Some members are not recorded in the inscriptions, viz. Chios (no. 883), Delos (no. 478), Lesbos (5 *poleis*) Samos (no. 864) and Skyros (no. 521). For a list of Athenian allies which were not members of the League, see SteCroix (1972) 103.

² Hansen (1995) 32–33; *supra* 90 no. 8; Schuller (1974) 34–36, 109, 121.

³ Hansen (1997b) 24–25.

⁴ See *supra* 88 no. 2.

⁵ See *supra* 89 no. 3.

⁶ The occurrence of [πόλις πόλιν] in the postscript to the first list is almost completely restored (IG I² 259, postscriptum 3–6), and [πόλις] is completely restored in the heading of IG I² 287.7 and 289.6.

⁷ IG I² 278.13.5–37; 279.11.76–100; 280.11.68–82; 281.1.59–66, 11.31–41 (completely restored); 11.42–68; 282.1.34–56, B.11–21; 283.1.32–35, fr. 2 (completely restored); 285.1.107–46, 11.78 (completely restored). Cf. IG I² 71.11.124–40, 11.126–47 (restored); 77.14–26. On the “rubrics”, see ATL 111 78–89; Schuller (1981).

⁸ Schuller (1995) 168; Avram (1995) 195.