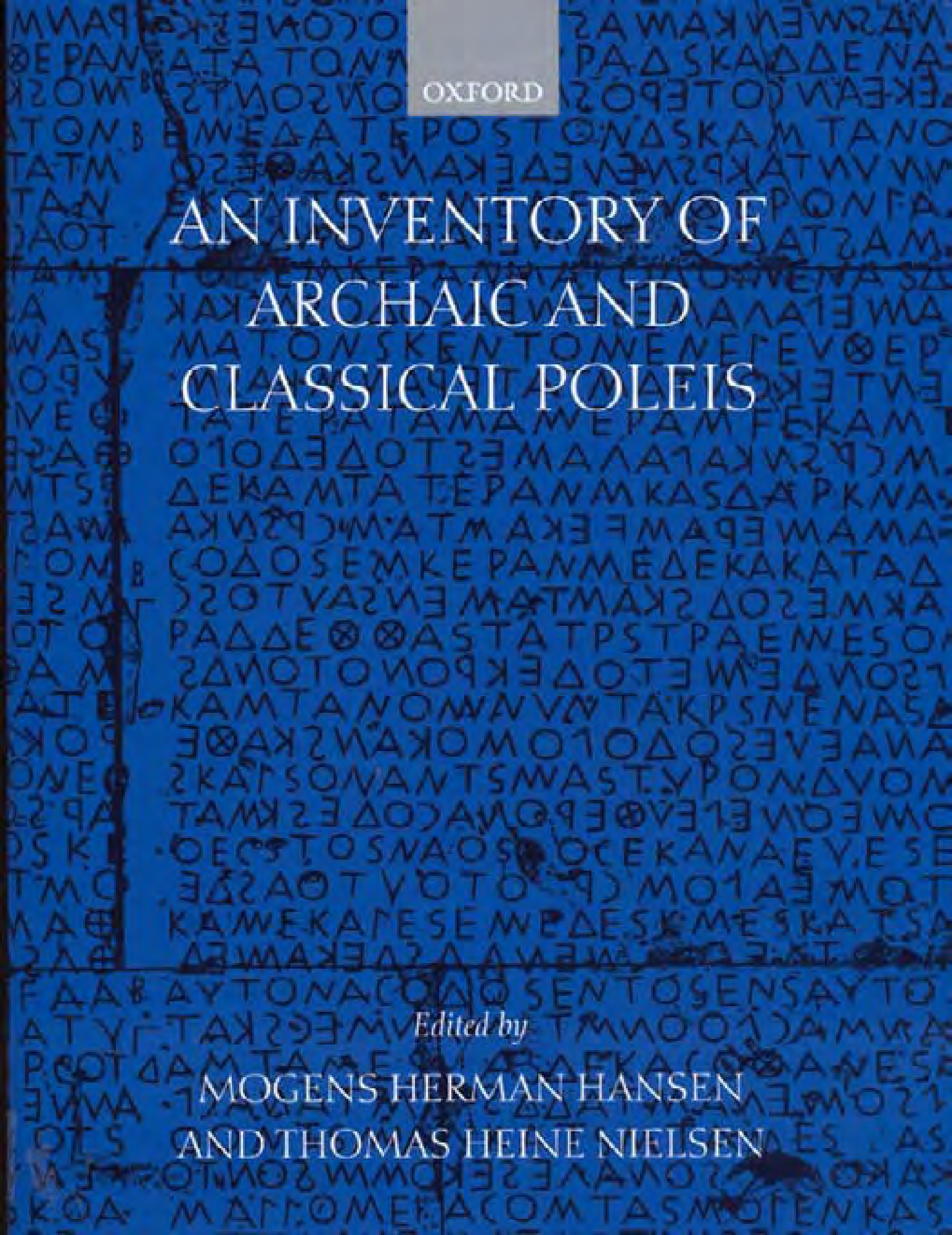

OXFORD
AN INVENTORY OF ARCHAIC AND CLASSICAL POLEIS
Edited by
MOGENS HERMAN HANSEN
AND THOMAS HEINE NIELSEN

AN INVENTORY OF ARCHAIC AND CLASSICAL *POLEIS*

This page intentionally left blank

AN INVENTORY OF ARCHAIC AND CLASSICAL *POLEIS*

An Investigation Conducted by The Copenhagen Polis Centre for the Danish National Research Foundation

MOGENS HERMAN HANSEN
and
THOMAS HEINE NIELSEN

OXFORD
UNIVERSITY PRESS

OXFORD
UNIVERSITY PRESS

Great Clarendon Street, Oxford OX2 6DP

Oxford University Press is a department of the University of Oxford.
It furthers the University's objective of excellence in research, scholarship,
and education by publishing worldwide in

Oxford New York

Auckland Cape Town Dar es Salaam Hong Kong Karachi
Kuala Lumpur Madrid Melbourne Mexico City Nairobi
New Delhi Shanghai Taipei Toronto

With offices in
Argentina Austria Brazil Chile Czech Republic France Greece
Guatemala Hungary Italy Japan South Korea Poland Portugal
Singapore Switzerland Thailand Turkey Ukraine Vietnam

Oxford is a registered trade mark of Oxford University Press
in the UK and in certain other countries

Published in the United States
by Oxford University Press Inc., New York

© Oxford University Press 2004

The moral rights of the author have been asserted
Database right Oxford University Press (maker)

First published 2004

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced,
stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means,
without the prior permission in writing of Oxford University Press,
or as expressly permitted by law, or under terms agreed with the appropriate
reprographics rights organization. Enquiries concerning reproduction
outside the scope of the above should be sent to the Rights Department,
Oxford University Press, at the address above

You must not circulate this book in any other binding or cover
and you must impose this same condition on any acquirer

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data
Data available

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data
Data available

ISBN 0–19–814099–1

1 3 5 7 9 10 8 6 4 2

Typeset by Hope Services (Abingdon) Ltd.
Printed in Great Britain
on acid-free paper by
Antony Rowe,
Chippenham, Wilts.

Contents

List of Contributors ix
Abbreviations and Conventions xi

PART I INTRODUCTION

A Key to the Inventory 3
The Importance of the *Polis* 12
The Lifespan of the Hellenic *Polis* 16
The Inventory of *Poleis* 23
Meaning and Reference of the Word *Polis* 39
Meaning and Reference of the Words *Asty* and *Polisma* 47
The Concept of *Patris* 49
The Number of *Poleis* 53
Toponyms as Evidence for *Polis* Identity 55
Ethnics as Evidence for *Polis* Identity 58
Territory and Size of Territory 70
Polis versus *Chora*—The Settlement Pattern 74
Types of Constitution 80
A Typology of Dependent *Poleis* 87
Civic Subdivisions 95
Proxenoi as Evidence for *Polis* Identity 98
Theorodokoi as Evidence for *Polis* Identity 103
Victors in Panhellenic Games as Evidence for *Polis* Identity 107
The Delian League 111
The Emergence of *Poleis* by *Synoikismos* 115
Destruction and Disappearance of *Poleis* 120
Stasis as an Essential Aspect of the *Polis* 124
The *Polis* as a Religious Organisation 130
City Walls as Evidence for *Polis* Identity 135
The *Polis* as an Urban Centre 138
Coins as Evidence for *Polis* Identity 144
Colonies and Indigenous Hellenised Communities 150

PART II INVENTORY OF *POLEIS*

Spain and France (including Corsica) 157
ADOLFO J. DOMÍNGUEZ

Sikelia 172
TOBIAS FISCHER-HANSEN, THOMAS HEINE NIELSEN, CARMINE AMPOLO

Italia and Kampania 249
TOBIAS FISCHER-HANSEN, THOMAS HEINE NIELSEN, CARMINE AMPOLO

The Adriatic 321
JOHN WILKES, TOBIAS FISCHER-HANSEN

Epeiros 338
PETER FUNKE, NIKOLA MOUSTAKIS, BARBARA HOCHSCHULZ

Akarnania and Adjacent Areas 351
HANS-JOACHIM GEHRKE, ECKHARD WIRBELAUER

Aitolia 379
KLAUS FREITAG, PETER FUNKE, NIKOLA MOUSTAKIS

West Lokris 391
DENIS ROUSSET

Phokis 399
JACQUES OULHEN

Boiotia 431
MOGENS HERMAN HANSEN

Megaris, Korinthia, Sikyonia 462
RONALD P. LEGON

Achaia 472
CATHERINE MORGAN, JONATHAN M. HALL

Elis 489
JAMES ROY

Arkadia 505
THOMAS HEINE NIELSEN

Triphylia 540
THOMAS HEINE NIELSEN

Messenia 547
GRAHAM SHIPLEY

Lakedaimon 569
GRAHAM SHIPLEY

Argolis 599
MARCEL PIÉRART

The Saronic Gulf 620
THOMAS J. FIGUEIRA

Attika 624
MOGENS HERMAN HANSEN

Euboia 643
KARL REBER, MOGENS HERMAN HANSEN, PIERRE DUCREY

East Lokris 664
THOMAS HEINE NIELSEN

Doris 674
DENIS ROUSSET

Thessalia and Adjacent Regions 676
JEAN-CLAUDE DECOURT, THOMAS HEINE NIELSEN, BRUNO HELLY *ET AL.*

The Aegean 732
GARY REGER

Makedonia 794
MILTIADES HATZOPOULOS, PASCHALIS PASCHIDIS

Thrace from Axios to Strymon 810
PERNILLE FLENSTED-JENSEN

Thrace from Strymon to Nestos 854
LOUISA LOUKOPOULOU

Thrace from Nestos to Hebros 870
LOUISA LOUKOPOULOU

Inland Thrace 885
ZOFIA HALINA ARCHIBALD

Thracian Chersonesos 900
LOUISA LOUKOPOULOU

Propontic Thrace 912
LOUISA LOUKOPOULOU, ADAM ŁAITAR

The Black Sea Area 924
ALEXANDRU AVRAM, JOHN HIND, GOCHA TSETSKHLADZE

The Propontic Coast of Asia Minor 974
ALEXANDRU AVRAM

Troas 1000
STEPHEN MITCHELL

Lesbos 1018
MOGENS HERMAN HANSEN, NIGEL SPENCER, HECTOR WILLIAMS

Aiolis and South-western Mysia 1033
LENE RUBINSTEIN

Ionia 1053
LENE RUBINSTEIN

Karia 1108
PERNILLE FLENSTED-JENSEN

Lykia 1138
ANTHONY G. KEEN, MOGENS HERMAN HANSEN

Crete 1144
PAULA PERLMAN

Rhodos 1196
THOMAS HEINE NIELSEN, VINCENT GABRIELSEN

The South Coast of Asia Minor (Pamphylia, Kilikia) 1211
ANTONY G. KEEN, TOBIAS FISCHER-HANSEN

Cyprus 1223
FRANZ GEORG MAIER

From Syria to the Pillars of Herakles 1233
MICHEL AUSTIN

Unlocated 1250
MOGENS HERMAN HANSEN

PART III INDICES

1. Toponyms and City-Ethnics in Numerical Order 1253
2. Toponyms and City-Ethnics in Alphabetical Order 1264
3. Toponyms and City-Ethnics in Greek 1276
4. Non-*Polis* Settlements 1290
5. Polities Called *Polis* 1298
6. Polities Called *Asty* and *Polisma* 1307
7. Polities Called *Patris* 1308
8. Use of City-Ethnic 1310
9. Size of Territory 1319
10. *Poleis* in 400 versus *Poleis* no longer or not yet Existing in 400 1328
11. Constitution 1338
12. Decision-Making Institutions 1341
13. Civic Subdivisions 1343
14. *Proxenoi* 1345
15. *Theorodokoi* 1348
16. Panhellenic Victors 1350
17. Major Divinities 1352
18. Members of the Delian League 1356
19. *Stasis* 1361
20. Destruction and Disappearance of *Poleis* 1363
21. *Synoikismos* 1365
22. Grid-Planned *Poleis* 1367
23. City Walls 1368
24. Political Architecture 1376
25. Temples, Theatres, Stoas, Gymnasia, Stadia, Hippodromes 1378
26. Coins 1382
27. Colonisation and Hellenisation 1390

Contributors

Prof. Carmine Ampolo Storia del mondo antico, Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa
Dr. Zofia Archibald Department of Classics and Ancient History, University of Liverpool
Dr. Michel Austin Department of Ancient History, University of St. Andrews
Prof. Alexandru Avram Langues et sciences humaines, Université du Maine
Dr. Richard Bouchon Maison de l'Orient méditerranéen, Université Lumière Lyon 2
Dr. Laurence Darmezin Maison de l'Orient méditerranéen, Université Lumière Lyon 2
Dr. Jean-Claude Decourt Maison de l'Orient méditerranéen, Université Lumière Lyon 2
Prof. A. J. Domínguez Departamento de Historia Antigua, Universidad Autónoma de Madrid
Prof. Pierre Ducrey L'Université de Lausanne, Switzerland.
Prof. Thomas Figueira Department of Classics, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, NJ
Tobias Fischer-Hansen, M.A. The Copenhagen Polis Centre
Dr. Pernille Flensted-Jensen The Copenhagen Polis Centre
Dr. Klaus Freitag Seminar für Alte Geschichte, Westfälische Wilhelms-Universität, Münster
Prof. Dr. Peter Funke Seminar für Alte Geschichte, Westfälische Wilhelms-Universität, Münster
Prof. Vincent Gabrielsen Historisk Institut, Københavns Universitet
Prof. Dr. Hans-Joachim Gehrke Seminar für Alte Geschichte, Albert-Ludwigs-Universität, Freiburg
Dr. Alan Greaves Department of Ancient History, University of Leeds
Prof. Jonathan M. Hall Department of History, University of Chicago
Dr. Mogens Herman Hansen The Copenhagen Polis Centre
Prof. Miltiades Hatzopoulos Ethniko Idryma Ereynon, Athens
Prof. Bruno Helly Maison de l'Orient méditerranéen, Université Lumière Lyon 2
Dr. John Hind School of History, University of Leeds
Dr. Barbara Hochschulz Seminar für Alte Geschichte, Westfälische Wilhelms-Universität, Münster
Dr. Antony G. Keen Department of Classics, Royal Holloway College, University of London
Dr. Adam Łaitar Department of Papyrology, Warsaw University
Prof. Ronald P. Legon Department of History, University of Baltimore, Md.
Prof. Louisa Loukopoulou Ethniko Idryma Ereynon, Athens
Dr. Gérard Lucas Maison de l'Orient méditerranéen, Université Lumière Lyon 2
Prof. Dr. Franz Georg Maier Forschungsprojekt Paphos, Universität Zürich
Prof. Stephen Mitchell Department of Classics and Ancient History, University of Wales, Swansea
Dr. Catherine Morgan Department of Archaeology, King's College, University of London

Dr. Nikola Moustakis Seminar für Alte Geschichte, Westfälische Wilhelms-Universität, Münster
Dr. Thomas Heine Nielsen The Copenhagen Polis Centre
Prof. Jacques Oulhen Departement d'histoire, Université Rennes II
Dr. Paschalis Paschidis Ethniko Idryma Ereynon, Athens
Prof. Paula Perlman Department of Classics, University of Texas at Austin
Dr. Isabelle Pernin Maison de l'Orient méditerranéen, Université Lumière Lyon 2
Prof. Marcel Piérart Sciences de l'antiquité, Université de Fribourg
Prof. Karl Reber Archäologisches Seminar, Universität Basel
Prof. Gary Reger Department of History, Trinity College, Hartford, Conn.
Dr. Denis Rousset Sciences historiques et philologiques, École pratique des Hautes Études, Sorbonne
Dr. James Roy Department of Classics, University of Nottingham
Dr. Lene Rubinstein Department of Classics, Royal Holloway College, University of London
Dr. Nigel Spencer Institute of Archaeology, University of Oxford
Prof. Graham Shipley Ancient History Division, School of Archaeology, University of Leicester
Dr. Gocha R. Tsetskhladze Department of Classics, Royal Holloway College, University of London
Prof. John Wilkes Institute of Archaeology, University College, London
Prof. Hector Williams Department of Classics, University of British Columbia, Vancouver
Dr. Eckhard Wirbelauer Seminar für Alte Geschichte, Albert-Ludwigs-Universität, Freiburg

Abbreviations and Conventions

1. LITERARY TEXTS

1. References to literary texts follow the abbreviations of *OCD*[3], unless otherwise indicated below.
2. For references to F. Jacoby's *Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*, we print e.g. Damastes (*FGrHist* 5) fr. 3, unless otherwise indicated below.
3. Unless otherwise indicated, references to fragments of Aristotle are to the edition of O. Gigon, *Aristotelis opera*, III: *Librorum deperditorum fragmenta* (Berlin, 1987).
4. Other abbreviations:

Ael. Arist.	Aelius Aristides.
AG	*Anthologia Graeca.*
Diod.	Diodorus Siculus.
Ephor.	Ephorus (*FGrHist* 70).
Hdn.	*Herodiani Technici Reliquiae*, in *Grammatici Graeci* III.1–2, ed. A. Lentz (Leipzig, 1867–68).
Hecat.	Hecataeus (*FGrHist* 1).
Hellan.	Hellanicus (*FGrHist* 4).
Heracl. Cret.	Heraclides Creticus.
Heracl. Lemb.	Heraclidis Lembi, *Excerpta Politiarum*, ed. and trans. M. R. Dilts, *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Monograph* 5 (Durham, NC, 1971).
Philoch.	Philochorus (*FGrHist* 328).
Polyaen.	Polyaenus, *Strategemata.*
Theopomp.	Theopompus (*FGrHist* 115).

2. EPIGRAPHICAL TEXTS

1. References to inscriptions follow the conventions of *SEG*, unless otherwise indicated below.
2. Other abbreviations:

Gonnoi	B. Helly, *Gonnoi* II (Amsterdam, 1973).
I.Leukopetra	*Inscriptions du Sanctuaire de la Mère des Dieux Autochtone de Leukopetra (Macedoine)*, ed. P. M. Petsas, M. B. Hatzopoulos, L. Gounaropoulou and P. Paschidis, *Meletemata* 28 (Paris, 2000).
IPArk	G. Thür and H. Taeuber, *Prozessrechtliche Inschriften der griechischen Poleis: Arkadien*, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse, *Sitzungsberichte*, 607. Band, Selb, W. (ed.), Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für antike Rechtsgeschichte nr. 8 (Vienna, 1994).
I.Sinope	forthcoming edition of inscriptions from Sinope by D. French in *Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien.*

I.Thessalie	J.-C. Decourt (ed.), *Inscriptions de Thessalie*, i: *Les Cités de la vallée de l'Énipeus*, Études épigraphiques 3 (Athens, 1995).
Michel	C. Michel, *Recueil d'inscriptions grecques* (Paris, 1900; repr. Hildesheim/New York, 1976).
ML	R. Meiggs and D. Lewis (eds.), *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions to the End of the Fifth Century*, rev. edn. (Oxford, 1988).
PEP	Princeton Epigraphical Project, ed. D. F. McCabe *et al.* (Princeton: Institute for Advanced Study, 1984–89).
RO	P. J. Rhodes and Robin Osborne, *Greek Historical Inscriptions 404–323 BC* (Oxford, 2003).
Tod	M. N. Tod (ed.), *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions* I–II (Oxford, 1933–48).

3. PERIODICALS, BOOKS AND WORKS OF REFERENCE

1. Periodicals are abbreviated in accordance with the *American Journal of Archaeology* (1991 and 2000 issues); abbreviations not found there are listed here:

AAP	F. G. Maier (ed.), *Ausgrabungen in Alt-Paphos* i–iv (Konstanz and Mainz, 1977–2003).
AEMΘ	*Τὸ ἀρχαιολογικὸ ἔργο στὴ Μακεδονία καὶ Θράκη.*
Araş	*Araştırma Sonuçlari Toplantısı.*
Barr.	R. J. A. Talbert (ed.), *Barrington Atlas of the Greek and Roman World* (Princeton, 2000).
EA	*Epigraphica Anatolica*, Zeitschrift für Epigraphik und historische Geographie Anatoliens.
EtMass	*Études massaliètes.*
IMYB	*Izvestya na Muzeite ot Yuzhna Bulgarya* (*Annuaire des Musées de la Bulgarie du Sud*).
IMYIB	*zvestya na Muzeite ot Yugoiztochna Bulgarya* (*Annuaire des Musées de la Bulgarie du Sud-Est*).
Kazı	*Kazı SonuçlarÈ Toplantısı.*
KrEst	*Κρητική Εστία.*
LCM	*Liverpool Classical Monthly.*

2. The works published by the Copenhagen Polis Centre are abbreviated as follows:

CPCActs 1	M. H. Hansen (ed.), *The Ancient Greek City-State.* Acts of the Copenhagen Polis Centre 1: Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, Historisk-filosofiske Meddelelser 67 (Copenhagen, 1993).
CPCActs 2	M. H. Hansen (ed.), *Sources for the Ancient Greek City-State.* Acts of the Copenhagen Polis Centre 2: Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, Historisk-filosofiske Meddelelser 72 (Copenhagen, 1995).
CPCActs 3	M. H. Hansen (ed.), *Introduction to an Inventory of Poleis.* Acts of the Copenhagen Polis Centre 3: Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, Historisk-filosofiske Meddelelser 74 (Copenhagen, 1996).
CPCActs 4	M. H. Hansen (ed.), *The Polis as an Urban Centre and as a Political Community.* Acts of the Copenhagen Polis Centre 4: Det Kongelige

Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, Historisk-filosofiske Meddelelser 75 (Copenhagen, 1997).

CPCActs 5 — M. H. Hansen, *Polis and City-State: An Ancient Concept and its Modern Equivalent.* Acts of the Copenhagen Polis Centre 5: Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, Historisk-filosofiske Meddelelser 76 (Copenhagen, 1998).

CPCActs 6 — T. H. Nielsen and J. Roy (eds.), *Defining Ancient Arkadia.* Acts of the Copenhagen Polis Centre 6: Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, Historisk-filosofiske Meddelelser 78 (Copenhagen, 1999).

CPCActs 7 — M. H. Hansen (ed.), *The Imaginary Polis.* Acts of the Copenhagen Polis Centre 7: Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, Historisk-filosofiske Meddelelser 89 (Copenhagen, 2004).

CPCPapers 1 — D. Whitehead (ed.), *From Political Architecture to Stephanus Byzantius: Sources for the Ancient Greek Polis.* Papers from the Copenhagen Polis Centre 1: *Historia* Einzelschriften 87 (Stuttgart, 1994).

CPCPapers 2 — M. H. Hansen and K. Raaflaub (eds.), *Studies in the Ancient Greek Polis.* Papers from the Copenhagen Polis Centre 2: *Historia* Einzelschriften 95 (Stuttgart, 1995).

CPCPapers 3 — M. H. Hansen and K. Raaflaub (eds.), *More Studies in the Ancient Greek Polis.* Papers from the Copenhagen Polis Centre 3: *Historia* Einzelschriften 108 (Stuttgart, 1996).

CPCPapers 4 — T. H. Nielsen (ed.), *Yet More Studies in the Ancient Greek Polis.* Papers from the Copenhagen Polis Centre 4: *Historia* Einzelschriften 117 (Stuttgart, 1997).

CPCPapers 5 — P. Flensted-Jensen (ed.), *Further Studies in the Ancient Greek Polis.* Papers from the Copenhagen Polis Centre 5: *Historia* Einzelschriften 138 (Stuttgart, 2000).

CPCPapers 6 — T. H. Nielsen (ed.), *Even More Studies in the Ancient Greek Polis.* Papers from the Copenhagen Polis Centre 6: *Historia* Einzelschriften 162 (Stuttgart, 2002).

CPCPapers 7 — T. H. Nielsen (ed.), *Once Again: Studies in the Ancient Greek Polis.* Papers from the Copenhagen Polis Centre 7: *Historia* Einzelschriften 180 (Stuttgart, 2004).

Polis & Politics — P. Flensted-Jensen, T. H. Nielsen and L. Rubinstein (eds.), *Polis & Politics: Studies in Ancient Greek History Presented to Mogens Herman Hansen on his Sixtieth Birthday, August 20, 2000* (Copenhagen, 2000).

Six City-State Cultures (2002) — M. H. Hansen (ed.), *A Comparative Study of Six City-State Cultures.* Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, Historisk-filosofiske Skrifter 27 (Copenhagen, 2002).

Thirty City-State Cultures (2000) — M. H. Hansen (ed.), *A Comparative Study of Thirty City-State Cultures: An Investigation Conducted by the Copenhagen Polis Centre.* Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, Historisk-filosofiske Skrifter 21 (Copenhagen, 2000).

3. Other abbreviations:

ATL — B. D. Meritt, H. T. Wade-Gery and M. F. MacGregor, *The Athenian Tribute Lists* i–iv (Cambridge/Princeton, 1939–53).

Babelon, *Traité*	E. Babelon, *Traité des monnaies grecques et romaines* i–iv (Paris, 1901–33).
BTCGI	*Bibliografia topografica della colonizzazione greca in Italia e nelle isole tirreniche*, directed by G. Nenci and G. Vallet (Pisa/Rome, 1977–).
*CAH*²	*Cambridge Ancient History*², 14 vols. (Cambridge, 1970–2000).
Gehrke, *Stasis*	H.-J. Gehrke, *Stasis: Untersuchungen zu den inneren Kriegen in den griechischen Staaten des 5. und 4. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.*, Vestigia 35 (Munich, 1985).
HCT	A. W. Gomme *et al.*, *A Historical Commentary on Thucydides* (Oxford, 1956–81).
Head, *HN*²	B. V. Head, *Historia numorum: A Manual of Greek Numismatics*² (Oxford, 1911).
Jones, *POAG*	N. F. Jones, *Public Organization in Ancient Greece: A Documentary Study*, Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society 176 (Philadelphia, 1987).
Moggi, *Sin.*	M. Moggi, *I sinecismi interstatali greci*, i: *Dalle origini al 338 a.c.* (Pisa, 1976).
Neue Pauly	*Der Neue Pauly: Enzyklopädie der Antike* (Stuttgart, 1996–2002).
Olympionikai	L. Moretti, *Olympionikai, i vincitori negli antichi agoni olympici*, Atti della Academia Nazionale dei Lincei, Classe di Scienze morali, storiche e filologiche, Memorie, ser. 8, vol. 8, fasc. 2 (Rome, 1957).
Rhodes, *DGS*	P. J. Rhodes (with D. M. Lewis), *The Decrees of the Greek States* (Oxford, 1997).
Rutter, *HN*³	N. K. Rutter (ed.), *Historia numorum: Italy*³ (London, 2001).
SNG Cop.	*Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum. The Royal Collection of Coins and Medals, Danish National Museum*, 8 vols., repr. Sunrise Publications, Inc. (West Milford, NJ, 1982).
SNG Cop. Suppl.	*Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum: The Royal Collection of Coins and Medals. Danish National Museum. Supplement. Acquisitions 1942–1996* (Copenhagen, 2002).
Staatsverträge	H. Bengtson and H. H. Schmidt, *Die Staatsverträge des Altertums* ii–iii (Munich, 1962–69).
TGR	P. C. Rossetto and G. P. Sartorio (eds.), *Teatri greci e romani: alle origini del linguaggio rappresentato* i–iii (Rome, 1994).
Trümpy, *Monat.*	C. Trümpy, *Untersuchungen zu den altgriechischen Monatsnamen und Monatsfolgen*, Bibliothek der klassischen Altertumswissenschaften, Reihe 2, N.F., vol. 98 (Heidelberg, 1997).

4. OTHER ABBREVIATIONS

All dates are BC unless otherwise stated.
Centuries are abbreviated C6, C5, C4 = 6th, 5th, 4th century BC.

C5e	the early fifth century, *c.* 500-480 BC.
C5f	the first half of the 5th century BC.
C5m	the mid 5th century B.C., *c.* 460–440 BC.
C5	the second half of the 5th century BC.
C5l	the late fifth century BC, *c.* 420–400 BC.

r	(= retrospective) indicates the date to which a later source refers.
dr	drachma(s).
tal.	talent(s).

This page intentionally left blank

PART 1

Introduction

MOGENS HERMAN HANSEN

The chapters on the concept of *patris* and on victors in panhellenic games are by Thomas Heine Nielsen. For reading and commenting on various sections we would like to thank Mr Peter Fraser (ethnics), Prof. Paula Perlman (*theorodokoi*), Prof. Robert Parker (the *polis* as a religious organisation), Prof. Thomas Martin and Dr. Keith Rutter (coins), Prof. John Graham (colonisation).

This page intentionally left blank

A Key to the Inventory

This Inventory of *poleis* of the Archaic and Classical periods is the result of an investigation conducted by the Copenhagen Polis Centre in the years 1993–2003.[1] The Polis Centre is a research institution set up and funded by The Danish National Research Foundation for a ten-year period which expired in September 2003. As the name of the Centre reveals, its assignment has been to study the *polis*. The *polis* was the typical Greek form of community in the Archaic and Classical periods, the one Sophokles, Herodotos, Sokrates, Plato and Aristotle had in mind whenever they thought about man's place in society—the one we today must understand if we want to understand what, for example, Plato wrote. Nevertheless, in 1993 the *polis* had not yet been investigated by historians on a thorough empirical basis. There were some 1,500 *poleis* altogether, and they were spread over the entire Mediterranean world. Numerous case studies had been published, especially of Athens and Sparta. But nobody had ever conducted a comprehensive investigation which included the approximately 1,498 other *poleis*. How many of them do we know? How big were they? Where were they? What was common to at least a majority of them? Were Athens and Sparta typical or untypical *poleis*? Such a task was much too big for any individual scholar and had therefore never been properly undertaken. Right from its foundation in 1993 the Centre had two primary aims.

The first was to produce a comprehensive inventory of all known Archaic and Classical Greek *poleis* (city-states), including colonies, attested in contemporary sources. The plan was to compare this Inventory with all general references to the nature of the *polis* in the same sources, and then, on the basis of an analysis of both the extension and intension of the concept, to find out what the Greeks thought a *polis* was, and to compare that with what modern historians think an ancient Greek *polis* was. Thus, in this part of our research, we preferred the *emic* to the *etic* view preferred by others, and, in all our publications, we have carefully avoided mixing up the two different approaches: the term *polis* is often used synonymously with the term "city-state", and the concepts behind the two terms are often, but erroneously, thought to be co-extensive. The concept of *polis*, however, is an ancient concept and reflects the ancient Greeks' understanding of their own political and social order, whereas the concept of city-state is a modern heuristic concept invented by historians to describe not only the Hellenic *poleis* but also a number of other city-state cultures ranging from the Mixtec city-states in Mexico to the Malay city-states in Indonesia and from the Viking city-states in Ireland to the Swahili city-states in Kenya and Tanzania.[2] The Hellenic civilisation from the Archaic period down to the Roman Empire is only one of many civilisations organised into urbanised micro-states rather than forming one or a few large macro-states, each dotted with cities.

Consequently, the second major project undertaken by the Polis Centre has been to search for all occurrences in world history of regions broken up into city-states and to make a comparative study of them all, in order to elucidate similarities and differences; on the basis of this investigation we have suggested a redefinition of the concept of city-state and advocated the introduction of a new concept to be distinguished from the concept of city-state, *viz*. the concept of city-state culture. While each of the individual city-state cultures can be described in accordance with the *emic* view, the comparison between city-state cultures necessitates the *etic* approach and, being purely heuristic concepts, city-state and city-state culture are constructed and analysed in accordance with an *etic* view.

The only viable way to implement these two projects was to form two large international teams of experts. To provide a description of all attested city-state cultures, the Centre gathered a team of historians, philologists, theologians, archaeologists, anthropologists and sociologists, each an expert on one specific city-state culture. Including respondents, this team consisted of forty-eight scholars from seventeen countries. The results of this investigation were published in two volumes: *A Comparative Study of Thirty City-State Cultures* (Copenhagen, 2000) and *A Comparative Study of Six City-State Cultures* (Copenhagen, 2002).

[1] For the original research programme, see Hansen (1994).

[2] The concepts of city-state and city-state culture are described in Hansen (2000*a*) 16–22. For the difference between the concept of *polis* and the concept of city-state, see Hansen (1996) 7–8, (2000*c*) 599–601, 606–7; cf. 23 *infra*.

To construct the Inventory of *poleis*, the Centre built up a team of ancient historians and archaeologists, each responsible for describing all *poleis* within a defined region. In some cases two or three scholars shared a region; see *supra* vii–ix. All members of the team were issued with a standardised database card, showing the topics we had selected for investigation,[3] and a vade-mecum explaining how to fill in the database cards and, on the basis of the cards, compose the descriptions of the individual *poleis* as well as the introduction to the chapter. All chapters were sent to the Centre in Copenhagen, where they were made consistent and edited by the two editors of this book. In addition to this book, the investigation entailed a number of publications. Seven symposia were held, and their acts published as *Acts of the Copenhagen Polis Centre* 1–7 (Copenhagen, 1993–2004), and articles on issues related to the *polis* were sent to the Centre and successively published in *Historia*, Einzelschriften as *Papers from the Copenhagen Polis Centre* 1–7 (Stuttgart, 1994–2004). For more detailed information about the Polis Centre publications, see *supra* xii–xiii.

As the title reveals, this book is principally an inventory of all identifiable Hellenic *poleis* of the Archaic and Classical periods. Now, an ancient Greek *polis* consisted of a nucleated centre, called *polis* in the urban sense, and a hinterland, called *chora* or *ge*. Accordingly, the description of a *polis* must include a description of its territory and in particular of other settlements lying within that territory. Furthermore, no *polis* existed in a vacuum. All the Hellenic *poleis* formed one huge network stretching from Emporion at the foot of the Pyrenees to Phasis at the foot of the Caucasus, and from Olbia at the mouth of the river Hypanis, to Naukratis in the delta of the Nile.[4] But a *polis* did not have regular contact with *all* the other approximately 1,500 *poleis*. The large system of Hellenic *poleis* was subdivided into smaller clusters of *poleis*. Between the individual *polis* and the Hellenic world as a whole there was a kind of intermediary unit: the *ethnos*, an ethnic group associated with, and usually living in, a specific region, also called *ethnos*. When the project started in 1993, some colleagues suggested that we should print all the *poleis* in alphabetical order, starting with Abai in Phokis and ending with Zone in Thrace. Instead we have preferred to list the *poleis* region by region. Each of the chapters in Part 2 describes all *poleis* within a region and is introduced with a description of the region and a list of all second-order non-*polis* settlements lying in the region.

1. The Regions

The subdivision of the Hellenic world into regions is a function of the subdivision of the Hellenes into *ethne*.[5] Like *polis*, *ethnos* had both a personal and a geographical meaning.[6] Apart from the Aegean Islands, the Greek homeland (*infra* 151) was subdivided into regions each inhabited by an *ethnos* in the personal sense.[7] Akarnania, for example, was an *ethnos* inhabited by the *ethnos* of the Akarnanians. In the Greek homeland every *polis*, except island *poleis*,[8] belonged to an *ethnos*. The Greek colonies, however, were not gathered together in regions inhabited by a specific ethnic group. Neighbouring *poleis* were often settled with colonists belonging to different *ethne*[9] and sometimes colonists from different *ethne* joined to found a colony.[10] Nevertheless, even the colonies tended to appear in regional clusters: all the *poleis* in Spain and France were primary or secondary colonies of Phokaia in Asia Minor. Kyrene was the founder of all the other *poleis* in Libya and kept them as dependencies. Some of the *poleis* in Sicily were founded by Dorians and some by Ionians, but the Sikeliotai came to think that they all formed a larger community,[11] and in C5–C4 Syracuse succeeded in controlling almost all the *poleis* in Sicily and some of those in Italy as well. In Skythia Pantikapaion became the hegemonic centre of the Bosporan kingdom and dominated all neighbouring *poleis*. And along the north coast of Asia Minor, Sinope played a similar dominant role.[12] Admittedly, these geographical segments were not ethnic entities as were the regions of Hellas itself, but, on the other hand, our endeavour to organise the Mediterranean world colonised by the Greeks into "regions" is not just a purely artifi-

[3] A database card filled in for Tanagra is printed in Hansen (1996) 55–62.

[4] For a substantiation of the view that all Hellenic *poleis* belonged to one and the same city-state culture, see Hansen (2000*b*) 141–45.

[5] The most recent treatments of the concept of *ethnos* are Hall (1997), (2002) and Malkin (2001*b*). For the constant re-grouping of the Hellenic *ethne* and formation of new *ethne*, see Nielsen (2002) 229–69.

[6] For *ethnos* in the geographical sense, see Ps.-Skylax 34–35, 43–46.

[7] Ps.-Skylax 34–65, cf. Hdt. 5.77.4, 7.32.2–3; Dem. 59.101; Aeschin. 2.116. For the earliest attestation of regions, see Hom. *Il.* 2.494ff.

[8] The southern cluster of Aegean islands were called *αἱ Κυκλάδες νῆσοι* (Hdt. 5.31.2; Thuc. 1.4.1; Isoc. 4.136; Ps.-Skylax 48 and 58), allegedly because they were lying in a circle around Delos (Eust. *Comm. in Dionys. Per.* 525). Some were Ionian, some Dorian, and they never formed an *ethnos*. In a few cases an *ethnos* was co-extensive with a *polis*, e.g. Athens with Attika (Hdt. 1.57.3).

[9] Thuc. 6.3–5, 7.57.

[10] Arist. *Pol.* 1303^{a}25–^{b}3.

[11] Antonaccio (2001).

[12] Bosporan kingdom: Hind (1994) 488–502; Sinope: Graham (1964) 201–3.

cial subdivision of the Greek world in the wider sense. Therefore, the *poleis* are here described region by region. Some of our regions are, more or less, modern constructs, e.g. Spain and France or the islands in the Aegean Sea; others are well-defined ethnic and sometimes even political entities, e.g. Arkadia and Boiotia. But, as explained above, even the artificial regions often have some coherence and the regional organisation has several advantages over a purely alphabetical listing of all *poleis*: the distinction between first-order and second-order urban settlements, i.e. the settlement pattern of the Hellenic world, can be studied only on a regional basis. Furthermore the important similarities and relationships between *poleis* in the same region can be understood only if the *poleis* are described side by side: wars between neighbouring *poleis*, the formation of federations mostly organised on a regional basis, the type of constitution which often is the same in most or all *poleis* within a region, similar style in the building of city walls and temples, coins struck on the same weight standard and with similar or identical types, inscriptions in the same dialect, the same naming habits, e.g. the use or omission of patronymics and/or sub-ethnics. Each chapter describes the *poleis* in one region and opens with a short description of the region and its characteristics: its name, extent, borders, population, settlement pattern and some aspects of political and social organisation that concern all the *poleis* of the region, i.e. the formation of a federation, or a religious festival celebrated by all the *poleis* within the region.

Rather than arranging the regions in alphabetical order, we have preferred to organise this book as a *periplous*: we start in Spain and pass through Sicily, Italy and along the coasts of the Adriatic Sea to Akarnania, then through all of Mainland Greece and the Aegean Islands until we reach Makedonia and Thrace. The *periplous* proceeds along the north coast of the Propontis, round the coasts of the Black Sea, along the south coast of the Propontis to Troas, Aiolis, Ionia, Karia and Lykia. After detours to Crete, Rhodes and Cyprus, the journey ends with Syria, Egypt and Libya.

2. The Non-*Polis* Settlements

An important part of the Polis Project is to investigate whether all major towns were *poleis* in the urban sense, and to what extent the *polis* town was the only nucleated settlement within the territory of a *polis* state, or just the largest one, surrounded by a number of villages. A major obstacle to answering these questions is that the settlement pattern of the Hellenic world as known from written sources has never been investigated and, as known from archaeological evidence, can be ascertained only for a few scattered regions that have been surveyed during the last two decades.[13]

The publication in 2000 of the marvellous *Barrington Atlas* has changed the situation dramatically. All the compilers of the maps have had to take a position on the settlement pattern of every region of the Greek and Roman world. True, they record only whether a site is a settlement, not whether it is a *polis* or not. But they have all been asked to apply the same method and system of classifications, so that all the material is, in principle, comparable. When their classification of settlements is matched with our political classification of settlements according to whether or not they are *poleis*, it should be possible to suggest at least some answers to the above questions.

Accordingly, in 1995 we established a close co-operation with the *Barrington Atlas* (here abbreviated *Barr.*), and all members of our team were asked to use the atlas and its directories (of which we had preprints and proofs), to record all sites classified as settlements of the Archaic and/or Classical period, and then in the first part of each chapter to list all settlements not attested as *poleis*.[14] Only sites classified as settlements were to be included. Sanctuaries, forts, towers and cemeteries were to be omitted. A comparison between this list and our list of *poleis* in the second part of each chapter ought to provide us with a picture of the settlement pattern seen from the political point of view. Was there any large urban centre in the region which was not a *polis* in the urban sense? And what proportion of all nucleated settlements in a region were *polis* centres?

The list of non-*polis* settlements falls into two parts. In the first part we record all settlements known from ancient sources, no matter whether they have been located or not. Included are sites mentioned in written sources as settlements of the Archaic and/or Classical periods. Of these some are known from archaeological evidence too, while some are known exclusively from written sources. Next we include sites mentioned in late sources as settlements of the

[13] For ongoing surveys in 1994 and the area covered by each survey, see Alcock (1994) 250.

[14] Conversely, the members of our team reported back to the *Atlas* on debatable locations, datings and classifications, and 11 members are listed among the reviewers, see *Barr.* xiii and xviii. Two scholars, S. Mitchell and G. Reger, were both compilers of maps in *Barr.* and authors of chapters of the *CPC* Inventory of *poleis*.

Hellenistic and/or Roman periods only, but archaeologically attested as settlements of the Archaic and/or Classical periods as well. The second part comprises settlements known exclusively from excavations or surveys and, so far, not identified with any of the settlements attested in the written sources.

Each entry follows a fixed scheme. The toponym is recorded, first the transliterated form in bold type and then the Greek form in brackets. Then come selected references to the settlement in ancient sources. If the source has a site-classification, it is added in brackets, e.g. (κώμη) or (ἐπίνειον) or, in late sources, (πόλις), referring to *polis* status in the Hellenistic and/or Roman period. A short description of archaeological remains may follow and the entry concludes with references to literature and, for the chronology, to *Barr*. *Barr*. distinguishes five periods: A (Archaic), C (Classical), H (Hellenistic), R (Roman) and LR (late Roman). Since we stop at the end of the Classical period, we record only *Barr*. A, or *Barr*. C, or *Barr*. AC. We do not normally record whether the site is known as a settlement in later periods too, and accordingly in *Barr*. marked H or R or LR.

As we have discovered, however, one problem is that *Barr*.'s coverage of second-order settlements varies considerably from map to map and, within a map, from region to region. Argolis, for example, is found on Map 58. In the introduction to the map the compilers write: "no sites known solely from survey are marked here, and likewise very few known only from excavation (their ancient names unattested in each instance)."[15] In this inventory, in the chapter about Argolis (*infra* 599–619), Piérart attempts to list all sites classified as settlements, altogether seventeen known from ancient sources and thirty-three known exclusively from excavations and surveys. *Barr*. records sixteen of the settlements known from ancient sources, but none of the thirty-three archaeological sites. Conversely, according to *Barr*. Map 56 and the accompanying directory, there were on Lesbos, in addition to the six *poleis*, twenty-one settlements of the Archaic and/or Classical periods, fourteen mentioned in ancient sources, seven known exclusively from their archaeological remains. But according to Nigel Spencer and Hector Williams, only two of these were proper settlements. The others were either sanctuaries or single houses or, if they were settlements, later than the Classical period. These two cases represent the largest difference between the recording of second-order settlements in *Barr*. and in the inventory.

In the lists of non-*polis* settlements disagreements with *Barr*. are explicitly recorded. Missing settlements are recorded as: "Not in *Barr*." Conversely, sites that according to the author(s) of our chapter ought to be excluded are recorded as "*Barr*. C, but only Hellenistic remains are attested" or "*Barr*. C, but only remains of a sanctuary have been found", etc. Such reservations are found in most chapters,[16] but it must be kept in mind that even the adjusted lists of settlements in this volume can be trusted only for properly surveyed regions such as southern Argolis or Lakonia. In most regions only future surveys and excavations can provide us with a reliable picture of the settlement pattern.

3. The *Poleis*

Within each region the *poleis* are listed in alphabetical order and an entry is organised as follows:

NUMBER. All *poleis* are numbered sequentially from 1 to 1035 and, whenever possible, cross-references are to *polis* numbers not to page numbers, e.g. Seriphos (no. 517).

HEADING. As heading (in bold type) we use transliterated forms of the toponym and (in brackets) the city-ethnic in nom. sing. masc., e.g. **Korinthos (Korinthios).** If no toponym is attested, the heading is just the city-ethnic in nom. plur. masc., e.g. **(Eteokarpathioi)**. For the meaning of the term city-ethnic, see 62 *infra*. A toponym marked with an asterisk is reconstructed from, e.g., a Latin form attested in Pliny's *HN*, e.g. ***Thydonos**. Only one form of toponym and city-ethnic is recorded, *viz*. the most common in Archaic and/or Classical sources rather than the one found in Strabo or Pausanias and preferred in many historical atlases, e.g. the *polis* on the north coast of the island of Ikaros which in Classical sources—and here—is called Oine, but in Strabo Oinoe. The Attic–Ionic form is usually preferred to an epichoric variant, e.g. Orchomenos instead of Erchomenos. If a *polis* changed its name and city-ethnic within the Archaic and Classical periods, both toponyms and city-ethnics are recorded, e.g. **Histiaia (Histiaieus)/Oreos (Oreites)**.

MAP REFERENCE is to R. J. A. Talbert (ed.), *The Barrington*

[15] J. McK. Camp II and G. Reger, *Directory* 2: 875.

[16] Let me add that these unavoidable differences between *Barr*. and our Inventory have not in any way diminished our admiration for *Barr*. as one of our generation's greatest achievements in ancient history.

Atlas of the Greek and Roman World (Princeton, 2000), in this inventory abbreviated *Barr*. We record the map number, latitude and longitude, e.g. Delphoi: "Map 55. Lat. 38.30, long. 22.30." The exact latitude is 38.29, but we record the coordinates with an exactitude of 5 minutes of arc only. If the *polis* in question is unlocated, we write for, e.g., Kallipolis: "Map 52. Unlocated." If an unlocated *polis* is not recorded in *Barr*.'s map-by-map directory, we write for, e.g., Sombia: "Map 52. Unlocated. Not in *Barr*." If the author agrees with the *Barr*. location, there is usually no further discussion of this issue. If the author disagrees with the *Barr*. location, a discussion of the issue follows either here or in a following section (indicated by "see *infra*").

SIZE OF TERRITORY is subdivided into five different categories: 1: 0–25 km², 2: 25–100 km², 3: 100–200 km², 4: 200–500 km² and 5: 500 km² or more. In cases of doubt the size is recorded as one of the five numbers followed by a query or as one of two numbers. A *polis* that presumably had a territory of over 500 km² is recorded as 5?, and a *polis* with a territory of perhaps *c.*15 km² and certainly not over 100 km² is recorded as: 1 or 2. In the numerous cases of serious doubt, a query alone is used. The section further below about the territory and its borders may include a discussion of its size.

TYPE OF *POLIS* comprises four categories: A, [A], B and C. Type: A means that the community in question is called *polis* in at least one source of the Archaic and/or Classical period, no matter whether *polis* is used in the political, territorial or urban sense. Type [A] signifies a community subsumed under the heading *poleis* alongside a number of other communities. A community is classified as type B or C if it is not called *polis* in any source of the Archaic and/or Classical period but is known for one or more of the activities characteristic of a *polis*: being a member of a federation, striking coins, passing a proxeny decree, appointing a *theorodokos* to host foreign *theoroi*, having a victor in one of the Panhellenic games, possessing a *prytaneion* or a *bouleuterion*, defeating its neighbour in a battle, etc. The difference between B and C is that, in the case of B, we believe that the community was probably a *polis* and that it is only due to lack of sources that it is not explicitly attested as such, whereas in the C cases the identification of the site as a *polis* is less certain and in some cases a possibility only.

TYPES α, β AND γ indicate the degree of Hellenicity. A *polis* type α is a Hellenic *polis* in which elements of non-Greek civilisation are small or even insignificant (e.g. Akragas, Poteidaia and Kyrene). A *polis* type β is either a mixed community in which Greeks and non-Greeks live side by side (e.g. Emporion in Spain or the *poleis* on Athos) or a not fully Hellenised community whose indigenous population has adopted a fair number of Hellenic institutions and customs mixed with their indigenous background (e.g. Halikarnassos and Xanthos). A *polis* type γ is a predominantly barbarian community in which there are some elements of Hellenic civilisation (e.g. Kaunos and most of the Karian *poleis* recorded in *SEG* 40 991–92). Many of the *poleis* types β and γ became fully Hellenised in the course of the Hellenistic period. Often the categorisation has to be based on a deplorably insufficient knowledge. Thus, if Ps.-Skylax classifies an otherwise poorly known community as a *polis Hellenis*, it is recorded in the inventory as an α, whereas more information sometimes shows that it should have been classified as a β, e.g. Phasis (no. 711). When the sources fail us, as often happens, we print a query. The distinctions between α, β and γ are, of course, fluid and some of our classifications may be questioned, but to refrain from applying this categorisation would lead to a grossly distorted picture of the Hellenic *polis* world.

In Mainland Greece and the adjacent islands all *poleis* were obviously type α. Therefore the distinction between α, β and γ is applied only outside what is traditionally called the Greek "homeland" or "heartland" (cf. 151 *infra*). The problem is to discover or, rather, to decide where to draw the line between Hellenic or Hellenised regions and regions in which Hellenic *poleis* were lying like islands in an otherwise non-Greek civilisation. In this inventory the "Greek heartland" comprises Mainland Greece from Epeiros to Makedonia,[17] the adjacent islands in the Ionian and the Aegean Seas and the central part of the west coast of Asia Minor (Aiolis and Ionia); see *infra* 151. Thus, the categories α–γ are applied in the regions from Spain to Illyria, from Thrace to Troas, and from Karia to Libya. The discussion of this issue is usually placed at the end of the entry.

ATTESTATIONS OF TOPONYM AND CITY-ETHNIC. The focus is on sources of the Archaic and Classical periods, but references to Hellenistic and even Roman sources are often included and are always recorded if there is no earlier attestation. However, city-ethnics invented by Steph. Byz. are usually ignored. In Index 3 *infra*, sources later than C4l are marked (L). Variant forms are recorded, but simple differences in spelling ($\chi\sigma$ for ξ in the C5 Athenian tribute lists) or in dialect ($\tau\tau$ for $\sigma\sigma$) are usually ignored.

[17] Epeiros: Malkin (2001*a*); Makedonia: Hornblower (2002) 89–91.

ATTESTATIONS OF *POLIS* STATUS. Here, as everywhere, the focus is on sources of the Archaic and Classical periods. In selecting the sources we prefer non-Athenian to Athenian sources (if we have a choice) and epigraphic sources to literary texts. We cover as many centuries as possible, citing sources of C7 (very rare), C6 (rare), C5 (common) and C4 (very common). We try to bring attestations of the different senses in which *polis* is used, i.e. in the political sense, in the urban sense and in the territorial sense. The very few attestations of *polis* in the sense of acropolis are recorded too. We omit references to named communities called *polis* in mythological sources, principally the *Iliad*, the *Odyssey* and tragedies set in the Heroic Age (see *infra* 26). Thus, Aischylos' *Persians* is virtually the only tragedy cited in this section of an entry. A reference to Pindar can be used if it is to the *polis* of the victor he celebrates, whereas it is omitted if it occurs in the mythological part of the *epinikion*. If there are no attestations of *polis* status in Archaic and/or Classical sources, we cite attestations in later sources used retrospectively. Diodorus' native city, Agyrion, is called a *polis* in his description of events of 392 (Diod. 14.95.4–7) and his classification is corroborated by the fact that Agyrion struck bronze coins in C5l. References to late sources in which a named community is classified as a *polis* in a contemporary context are used only if they can be combined with other information which indicates that the community in question may have been a *polis* in the earlier period. The first attestation of Aptara on Crete as a *polis* (no. 947) occurs in a treaty of C2e (*SEG* 41 742). But the coins struck by the Aptaraians *c.*330–270 indicate that Aptara was a *polis* already in C4s.

POLISMA, *ASTY*, *PATRIS*. References to *polis* status are followed by references to the community in question being called *polisma* or *asty* or *patris*. The two first terms concern the urban aspect of the *polis*, the third its status as a political community. Only sources of the Archaic and Classical periods are cited. Occurrences of *polites* and *politeia* are cited too, but not systematically except for communities which are not attested as *poleis*, so the occurrence of terms like *polites* and *politeia* may be the best evidence we have for *polis* status.

USE OF CITY-ETHNIC. In analysing the uses of the city-ethnic we distinguish an internal from an external use, and an individual from a collective. "Individual" signifies instances of the city-ethnic used as part of a name, mostly in the singular (*IG* XII.3 251.12–13: *Ἀγροτέλης [Ἀπο]λλωνί[δα] Κνίδιος*) but sometimes in the plural (*IG* XII.3 251.15–16: *Καλλίγνωτος, Λυσαγόρας Πάριοι*). "Collective" signifies the use of the city-ethnic denoting one or more unnamed citizens (Thuc. 8.92.2: *Ἀργεῖος ἄνθρωπος*) or the citizens collectively = the Argive *polis* (*SEG* 34 282.4: *ὁ δᾶμος τῶν Ἀργείων*). "Internal" signifies the use of the ethnic inside the *polis* in question (*ΑΡΓΕΙΩΝ* on C5–C4 coins), "external" signifies the use of the ethnic outside the *polis* (*IvO* 165: *Ἀριστίων Θεοφίλεος Ἐπιδαύριος*, an Olympic victor from C4m) or inside the *polis* when citizens had to be recorded alongside citizens from other *poleis* (*IG* IV^2.1 121.68: *Εὐφάνης Ἐπιδαύριος παῖς* in a C4s cure inscription from Epidauros). If no earlier sources are available, attestations in Hellenistic sources of the different uses may be included, but in the analysis of the evidence *infra* in Index 8 only references in Archaic and Classical sources are taken into account. The use of sub-ethnics (see *infra* 59) is recorded in this section of the entry.

TERRITORY. The next section treats the territory and records its name (if known) and borders, and sometimes includes a discussion of its size. Second-order settlements (if any) and major extra-urban sanctuaries are listed here, as well as references to dependent *poleis* lying within the territory of the *polis* in question.

POPULATION. The rare pieces of information we have about the size of the population are usually reported after the territory. Most of the sources are army figures from which we can get a rough idea of the number of adult male citizens of military age who are fit for military service, e.g. Mantinea (no. 281). For some *poleis* we have (fragmentary) lists of adult male citizens or ephebes, e.g. Eretria (no. 370).

HISTORY. For a large and fairly well-known *polis* the central part of the entry starts with a chronological outline of its history. The major themes selected for mention are, for colonies, foundation and sometimes refoundation; for all *poleis*, involvement in wars and major battles, treaties and alliances, membership of leagues and federations; conquest, destruction and *andrapodismos* of the *polis*; conquest of other *poleis*; *sympoliteia* and/or synoecism with other *poleis*; inter-*poleis* relations such as the sending and reception of envoys; the occurrence of *stasis*.

CONSTITUTION AND POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS are usually treated together and the section comprises information about type of constitution (monarchy, oligarchy, democracy) and change of constitution, the citizenry and its civic subdivisions (tribes, demes, phratries, etc.), political institutions (such as *ekklesia*, *boule*, *dikasteria* and *archai*) and

public enactments. If it is more convenient, information about *stasis* provoked by constitutional issues, membership of a federation and similar matters is treated here rather than in the preceding section.

PROXENOI. Attestations—for larger *poleis* selective—of *proxenia* given by the *polis* to citizens from other *poleis* and awarded by another *polis* to a citizen of the *polis*.

THEORODOKOI. Attestations of *theorodokoi* appointed to host *theoroi* sent out to announce the celebration of a Panhellenic festival and invite the *polis* in question to be represented at the festival and to respect the sacred truce.

PANHELLENIC VICTORS. For small *poleis* all victors are recorded, for large *poleis* a selection and/or a count of the number of victors at the four major Panhellenic festivals: the Olympia, the Pythia, the Isthmia and the Nemea. A few attestations of victors at the Amphiaraia and other festivals are recorded too.

DIVINITIES AND CULTS are recorded only in so far as they are attested in sources of the Archaic and Classical periods. We do not share the all too common belief that a cult mentioned by, e.g., Pausanias can be interpreted retrospectively and mentioned in a work about the Archaic and Classical periods. We are also suspicious of the view that the head of Athena on a coin proves that the *polis* in question must have had a cult of Athena. For the large *poleis*, only the major cults are mentioned, and lack of space forbids a detailed description of many others. Information about a tutelary divinity is always recorded, but we must bear in mind that it is often difficult to establish which divinity counted as the tutelary divinity, and that some *poleis* did not have a specific tutelary divinity, whereas others had several. Major festivals are mentioned and information about the calendar, if reported, belongs here.

THE URBAN CENTRE. The account of the *polis* in the urban sense begins with the defence circuit. A short description of the remains, if any, is followed by information about their date and about sieges, of which some may testify to fortifications antedating the present remains. The description of the town itself brings information about the size of the area enclosed by the walls, the layout of the city if grid-planned, and major public monuments: religious architecture (sanctuaries, temples and theatre), centres for sports and military training (*gymnasion*, *stadion*, *hippodromos*), political architecture (*prytaneion*, *bouleuterion*, *dikasteria*, *archeia*, occasionally a specific *ekklesiasterion*) and other buildings related to the urban infrastructure (stoas, arsenals, harbour facilities, fountain houses, aqueducts).

MINT. The section on coins comprises information about dates, metals, standards, denominations, types and legends. References to handbooks, monographs and articles are, whenever possible, supplemented with a reference to *SNG Cop.*, the *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum*: *The Royal Collection of Coins and Medals, Danish National Museum* 1–8 and suppl., one of the few large collections of Greek coins which fairly recently has been published in its entirety with illustrations.

DEGREE OF HELLENISATION. The entries for colonies and Hellenised communities often concludes with some remarks about the degree of Hellenisation. To what extent did the Hellenic colonists live side by side with the indigenous population? And to what extent were indigenous settlements Hellenised?

METROPOLIS. If the *polis* founded colonies in the Archaic and/or Classical periods, the names of the colonies are recorded with a reference to the relevant entries.

CHRONOLOGICAL DELIMITATION. The Inventory comprises Archaic and Classical *poleis* as attested in contemporary sources and, to some extent, in later retrospective sources and later sources interpreted retrospectively. The term "contemporary sources" is interpreted as follows: (a) upper limit: we leave out the Homeric poems. Although the *poleis* described in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* undoubtedly reflect physical and institutional aspects of historical *poleis*, they are set in a mythological context and do not belong in an inventory of named historical *poleis*. Thus our earliest literary sources are Hesiod's *Works and Days* and the fragments of Archilochos and Tyrtaios. The oldest epigraphical source is probably the law from Dreros of C7m (ML 2; *Nomima* 1 81). (b) Lower limit: we include literary sources and dated epigraphical sources down to the death of Alexander the Great in 323. Of epigraphical sources we also include as contemporary those dated to C4 without further specification, e.g. dedications, sepulchral inscriptions, some decrees, etc. Later retrospective literary sources are, e.g., passages in Diodorus, Strabo, Plutarch and Pausanias referring to events and institutions of the Archaic and Classical periods. Later retrospective epigraphical sources are, e.g., the renewal of a treaty originally concluded before 323, confirmation of an earlier grant, or references in inscriptions to earlier events. Later sources referring to their

own age are usually ignored, e.g. the descriptions of *poleis* found in Strabo and Pausanias. But later sources may be used if they can be interpreted retrospectively: a law or decree of *c.*320–300 may be used as evidence for the political institutions of the *polis* in question in C4m, provided that it can be assumed that the *polis* had not in the meantime been exposed to a change of constitution. Thus, Pontic Chersonesos (no. 695) seems to have been a democracy throughout the Classical period, and therefore the democratic citizen's oath of C4l/C3e may be used as evidence of the political institutions in C4s (*IOSPE* I² 401).

Finally, for reasons explained *infra* 30–32 we have treated the three centuries from *c.*650 to *c.*323 as one period so that a synchronic presentation of the material is applied for the Inventory as a whole, but every entry includes, whenever possible, a description of the historical development of the *polis* in question, and we have drawn up an index of all *poleis* in the year 400, omitting all *poleis* that had disappeared before the end of C5 as well as those that emerged in C4 only (see *infra* 53–54 and Index 10).

SELECTION OF ATTESTATIONS. All source references are *exempli gratia*, especially in the case of large *poleis*. It would serve no purpose to list all occurrences of *polis* or *asty* applied to Athens or Corinth or Thebes; or to record every single *proxenos* and Panhellenic victor coming from large *poleis*.

SELECTION OF EVIDENCE. Similarly, the treatment of the various topics is selective and has to be. In the section about political institutions only the major magistrates are invariably listed, e.g. *strategoi*. Especially for large *poleis*, only the principal divinities and cults are mentioned. On the other hand, for small *poleis* and for larger *poleis* that are poorly attested in our sources, e.g. Karystos (no. 373), we sometimes have to record almost every single piece of evidence in order to shed some light on the history and institutions of the community.

ORGANISATION OF INFORMATION. Strict uniformity has been imposed in the first sections down to use of the city-ethnic. In the following sections the different chapters present a higher degree of variation both in the selection of topics and in the organisation of the material. Some scholars have focused more on cult and religion than on the archaeological remains of the urban centre. Others have done the reverse. Some submitted short succinct summaries, others detailed descriptions which we had to cut down to half their original size. Often we have deeply regretted that, to make the chapters and the individual entries comparable in size and coverage of the sources, we had to cut out valuable and meticulously collected material. In other cases we have expanded very short entries. As can be seen from this publication, variations have often been allowed to persist. The descriptions of the mints, for example, range from summaries of essential features to elaborate accounts of almost all issues.

4. The Chronological Delimitation of the Project

We believe and argue that the Hellenic *polis* emerged in C8 and existed throughout the Archaic, Classical, Hellenistic and Roman periods. It disappeared only in late Antiquity.[18] Nevertheless, we have limited our investigation to the Archaic and Classical periods for the following reasons. Philip II's victory over the Greek cities, Alexander's conquest of the Persian Empire and the foundation of approximately 300 new *poleis* in the Near East inaugurated not the demise of the *polis* but a transformation of it. The differences between the Classical and the Hellenistic *polis* leap to the eye if one pictures a *polis* in C1: city walls were no longer built and normally were not even repaired. If the *polis* was the residence of a prince or governor, there would be a palace. The political architecture had become monumentalised, especially the *bouleuterion*. The *gymnasion* had been moved from the suburbs into the urban centre and monumentalised. The *ephebeia*, unknown before C4, was now the most important public institution. The agora was now framed with monumental stoas. In addition to the urban centre we hear about a number of *komai*, second-order urban settlements situated in the hinterland of the *polis*. The women's place in the *polis* was no longer confined to religion; women had become much more integrated; and so had a significant number of free foreigners who in many *poleis* were admitted to the *ephebeia*. The *polis* was not to the same extent as before a society of adult male citizens. The civic subdivisions into which the citizenry had been organised had faded out, whereas a number of private or semi-private economic and social institutions had sprung up alongside the public institutions of the *polis*. To the cults of the old gods and heroes were now added new cults of

[18] See Gauthier (1993), Millar (1993), Hansen (2000*b*) 145–49 and *infra* 20.

monarchs and deified abstractions such as *homonoia*. Not only a large number but all *poleis* had become dependencies. On the other hand, *autonomia* (self-government) had now become the explicit ideal and goal of the *polis*. The spectrum of constitutions is almost reduced to one type: *demokratia* prevails, while *tyrannis* and *oligarchia* are eclipsed. A growing co-operation between *poleis* had resulted in an institutionalised network of relations between the *poleis*: *isopoliteia*, arbitration in disputes, increased participation in the growing number of Panhellenic festivals, etc.

In spite of all the differences between a *polis* in C5–C4 and a *polis* in C1, most scholars who have worked with the *polis* in general without precise chronological limits have used the sources anachronistically. It is very common, for example, that scholars open their account of the concept of *polis* by quoting Pausanias' remark on the minute *polis* of Panopeus in Phokis.[19] Thus, in their description of the emergence and nature of the Archaic and Classical *polis*, Finley and others use a source of the second century AD, although this source explicitly describes a contemporary *polis*. Similarly, numerous articles on *poleis* in Pauly's *Realencyklopädie* begin with the classification of the settlement found in Strabo's treatise of C1.

To avoid an anachronistic analysis and to understand the development of the *polis*, one must conduct two separate investigations: one of the Archaic and Classical *polis* based on Archaic and Classical sources and allowing a restricted use only of later retrospective sources, and one of the Hellenistic–Roman *polis* based on the later sources. Eventually, the historical development of the *polis* will emerge by comparing the two investigations. The Polis Centre has conducted the first study. The ideal solution would have been to conduct both investigations simultaneously. But the Polis Centre did not possess the necessary resources, nor did we have the time for such a gigantic project. We have to leave it to others to study the later transformation of the *polis*: the turn it took after Alexander the Great's conquest of the Persian Empire and the foundation of hundreds of new *poleis* in the Near East, as well as the further turn it took in C2m when the Greek *poleis* came under Roman rule.

[19] Paus. 10.4.1, cited in an Archaic–Classical context by Finley (1981) 3–4; Kolb (1984) 58–59; Osborne (1987) 117–18. For a discussion of the anachronism, see Alcock (1995).

REFERENCES

Alcock, S. E. 1994. "Minding the Gap in Hellenistic and Roman Greece", in S. E. Alcock and R. Osborne (eds.), *Placing the Gods* (Oxford) 247–61.

—— 1995. "Pausanias and the *Polis*: Use and Abuse", *CPCActs* 2: 326–44.

Antonaccio, C. M. 2001. "Ethnicity and Colonization", in Malkin (2001*b*) 113–57.

Finley, M. I. 1981. "The Ancient City from Fustel de Coulanges to Max Weber and Beyond", in *Economy and Society in Ancient Greece* (London) 3–23.

Gauthier, P. 1993. "Les Cités dans le monde hellénistique", *CPCActs* 1: 211–31.

Graham, A. J. 1964. *Colony and Mother City in Ancient Greece* (Manchester).

Hall, J. M. 1997. *Ethnic Identity in Greek Antiquity* (Cambridge).

—— 2002. *Hellenicity* (Chicago).

Hansen, M. H. 1994. "*Poleis* and City-States, 600–323 B.C.: A Comprehensive Research Programme", *CPCPapers* 1: 9–17.

—— 1996. "*ΠΟΛΛΑΧΩΣ ΠΟΛΙΣ ΛΕΓΕΤΑΙ* (Arist. *Pol.* 1276^{a}23): The Copenhagen Inventory of *Poleis* and the *Lex Hafniensis de Civitate*", *CPCActs* 3: 7–72.

—— 2000*a*. "Introduction: The Concepts of City-State and City-State Culture", *Thirty City-State Cultures* 11–34.

—— 2000*b*. "The Hellenic *Polis*", *Thirty City-State Cultures* 141–87.

—— 2000*c*. "Conclusion: The Impact of City-State Cultures on World History", *Thirty City-State Cultures* 597–623.

Hind, J. 1994. "The Bosporan Kingdom", in *CAH*^{2} vi. 476–511.

Hornblower, S. 2002. *The Greek World 479–323 BC* (London).

Kolb, F. 1984. *Die Stadt im Altertum* (Munich).

Malkin, I. 2001*a*. "Greek Ambiguities: 'Ancient Hellas' and 'Barbarian Epirus'", in Malkin (2001*b*) 187–212.

—— (ed.) 2001*b*. *Ancient Perceptions of Greek Ethnicity* (Washington).

Millar, F. 1993. "The Greek City in the Roman Period", *CPCActs* 1: 232–60.

Nielsen, T. H. 2002. *Arkadia and its Poleis in the Archaic and Classical Periods* (Göttingen).

Osborne, R. 1987. *Classical Landscape with Figures* (London).

The Importance of the *Polis*

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

(1) In sources of the Archaic and Classical periods there are more than 11,000 occurrences of the term *polis* and almost as many of its derivatives: *polites*, *politeia*, *polisma*, *politikos*, *politeuein/politeuesthai*, etc. The majority of the occurrences of *polis* are found in Athenian sources, but some 2,000 come from non-Athenian texts.[2] The number of attestations shows that it was impossible for the Greeks to think or speak or write about any public matter without incessantly using the word *polis* and its derivatives.[3] The term and the concept behind it were thus of the utmost importance, not just as the designation of a physical phenomenon but also as a key concept in Greek political thought.

(2) In Hellas in the Archaic and Classical periods "belonging" in a political context meant, first of all, belonging to one's *polis*. For a Greek citizen the *polis* was his fatherland (*patris*). Above *polis* level he might belong to an *ethnos*; below *polis* level he might belong to a civic subdivision (a *demos* or a *phyle*, etc.). But he would not think of sacrificing his life for his *ethnos* or his *demos*, whereas he was expected, if necessary, to die for his *polis*.[4] The *polis* provided its citizens with a sense of common identity, based on traditions, culture, ceremonies, symbols and sometimes (presumed) common descent.

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

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

[1] The conceptual and linguistic aspect of this problem has been judiciously problematised by Murray (2000) 234–35.

[2] Apart from Homer and Hesiod (see 8 *supra*), the more important non-Athenians are Archilochos of Paros, Alkaios of Mytilene, Tyrtaios of Sparta, Pindar of Thebes, Bacchylides of Keos, Herodotos of Halikarnassos, Theopompos of Chios, Ephoros of Kyme, Aineias of, probably, Stymphalos, the Oxyrhynchos historian (=Theopompos?), Ps.-Skylax, and *c.*1,000 attestations in non-Athenian inscriptions down to the end of C4.

[3] Murray (2000) 235 holds that "any investigation of the word *polis* is likely to find it most frequently exemplified in the philosophical context of theories of the polis or in the geographical context of settlement patterns". This statement is not supported by our findings. In Archaic and Classical texts there are some 2,500 occurrences of *polis* in historians (Hdt., Thuc., Xen., *Hell. Oxy.* and fragments of Theopomp., Ephor., etc.), some 3,000 in the Attic orators (most in Demosthenes and Isokrates), some 1,200 in drama (Aesch., Soph., Eur., Ar., Men. and fragments), and *c.*1,500 in inscriptions. There are some 2,200 attestations in Plato and Aristotle and no more than *c.*300 in geographical treatises (almost all from Ps.-Skylax). To complete the picture, there are *c.*300 occurrences in Homer, *c.*200 in lyric and iambic poets, and *c.*150 in Aineias the Tactician.

[4] In Lykourgos' patriotic speech *Against Leokrates*—the Athenian who fled from his fatherland in 338 after the defeat at Chaironeia—there are no fewer than 70 occurrences of *patris*, often juxtaposed with *polis*, laws (*nomoi*) and sanctuaries (*hiera*). To die for one's *patris*=*polis* in Tyrtaios (fr. 10.1–4) and Anakreon (*Anth. Pal.* 13.4). For the identification of *polis* with *patris* see *infra* 49, Hansen (forthcoming) and Nielsen (2004). For the cosmopolitan view—rare before the Hellenistic period—that one's *patris* is wherever one wants to live, see Eur. frr. 774, 1034; Ar. *Plut.* 1151; Isoc. 4.81.

[5] Thuc. 2.16.2: ἐβαρύνοντο δὲ καὶ χαλεπῶς ἔφερον οἰκίας τε καταλείποντες καὶ ἱερὰ ἃ διὰ παντὸς ἦν αὐτοῖς ἐκ τῆς κατὰ τὸ ἀρχαῖον πολιτείας πάτρια δίαιτάν τε μέλλοντες μεταβάλλειν καὶ οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ πόλιν τὴν αὐτοῦ ἀπολείπων ἕκαστος ("But it was with sorrow and regret they abandoned their homes and ancestral sanctuaries—which they had always had due to the ancient constitution—and had to change their whole way of life, and each felt it as if he was leaving his *polis*").

[6] The importance of the deme is stressed by, e.g., Parker (1987) 137: Thuc. 2.16.2 is "The best introduction to the world of the Attic demes"; Parker (1996) 102: "the deme was, as it were, the *polis* writ small". Katz (1998) 123: "the deme was something like a miniature *polis*". Hornblower (2002) 134: "many citizens of Attica may have looked to their deme first and their city second"; and Hornblower (1991) 269.

[7] Whitehead (1986) 177. Far from all local cults were deme cults: Osborne (1985) 178–81. For sanctuaries and cults of the demes, see the C4f sacrificial

between living independently (αὐτονόμῳ) in the country (ἐν τοῖς ἀγροῖς) and living in the city (ἐν τῷ ἄστει). It is the *oikia* that is the principal object of emotion, and we think that a better paraphrase would be: "my home is my *polis*", or rather, "leaving my home is *almost like* leaving my *polis*".[8] What Thucydides wants to emphasise is the feelings an ordinary Athenian had towards his home, but the comparison he has chosen reveals the strong feelings a citizen must have possessed towards his *polis*.

(4) A Greek citizen's full name consisted of his own name (*onoma*), his father's name (*patronymikon*) and the name of his *polis*, in the form of either a city-ethnic or a sub-ethnic (*infra* 58). To have a city-ethnic and/or a sub-ethnic was a prerogative of the citizens of the *polis* and an indication of citizen status. In Western civilisation the Greeks are unique in using a kind of hereditary surname as an indication of political status, and this naming habit, which was used from the Crimea to the Pillars of Hercules, reveals how much it meant to a Greek to be a member of his *polis*.

(5) Most Greeks believed that human history had been a progress from bestiality to humanity and civilisation, and in many accounts the formation of *poleis* was a decisive step towards civilisation.[9]

(6) Aristotle describes man as a *politikon zoon* and asserts that a person who is *apolis* is either subhuman or superhuman.[10] Other forms of community, such as the *oikia* or the *kome*, or the *ethnos*, are not as developed and valuable as the *polis*, which is the perfect form of human society (*Pol.* 1252^{a}1–6, 1252^{b}27–31). The ideal life for which man is made is the life of a citizen (*Pol.* 1288^{a}38). *Ho politikos bios* is described as the life of a citizen who participates in the running of the political institutions of his *polis* (*Pol.* 1283^{b}42–84^{a}3). Similarly, persons who do not participate in the *polis*, such as women, foreigners and slaves, are essentially inferior. They live in the *polis* but they are not members of the *polis* (*Pol.* 1275^{a}7–8, 1326^{a}18–20). In his political philosophy Aristotle establishes a hierarchy within the human race, and only those who live in *poleis* and are members of a *polis*, typically adult male Hellenes, are capable of fulfilling man's purpose in life (1327^{b}18–33).[11]

(7) During the council of war before the battle of Salamis the Corinthian general Adeimantos tried to silence Themistokles by saying that he had no right to speak as long as he had no *patris* and was *apolis*. Now, Themistokles did not reply: "It is irrelevant whether or not we have a *patris* and a *polis*; what matters is that we have 200 ships." No, his answer was that Athens had an even better claim than Corinth to be labelled *polis* and *ge* (here echoing *patris*) as long as the Athenians had 200 ships (Hdt. 8.61). This exchange of words is undoubtedly anecdotal, but it shows that Herodotos and his contemporary readers (or listeners) took the concept of the *polis* very seriously. It is worth noting that, a century and a half later, Lykourgos made the same point: in leaving Athens the Athenians had not left their *polis* but had just moved it to Salamis (Lycurg. 1.69).

(8) When Kyros had conquered the Ionian cities, their representatives met at the Panionion to discuss whether they should put up with being Persian subjects or consider the alternatives. But, according to Herodotos, already before the Persian conquest the philosopher Thales had advised the Ionians to set up a common *bouleuterion* at Teos, and his proposal ended with the remark that the other *poleis* would be inhabited as before, but would change their status and become like demes (Hdt. 1.170.3). The plan came to nothing, but the political status of a community—to be a *polis* or just to be a deme—was obviously a matter of considerable consequence.

(9) According to Thucydides, the so-called synoecism of Attika in the age of Theseus consisted in the reduction of a number of *poleis* to local communities without a *bouleuterion* and a *prytaneion* (Thuc. 2.15.2). Thucydides is emphatic in pointing out not just that all the other Attic

calendars of Erchia (*SEG* 21 541) and Thorikos (*SEG* 36 136). The modern idea that Thucydides in this passage refers to demes must have arisen by the following line of thought. (a) The *polis* is a political community. (b) Accordingly, the comparandum must be a political community as well. (c) That is corroborated by the phrase ἐκ τῆς κατὰ τὸ ἀρχαῖον πολιτείας (16.2). (d) In C5 Athens the principal political unit below *polis* level was the deme. Therefore Thucydides must have had the demes in mind. However, the context (2.15–16) shows that Thucydides is contrasting the situation before and after the synoecism of Attika, and the presumption is that ἐκ τῆς κατὰ τὸ ἀρχαῖον πολιτείας is a reference to the situation before the synoecism, i.e. to a period long before Kleisthenes had created the demes, when Attika was still subdivided into a number of *poleis*, see 624 *infra*.

[8] Note the idiom οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἤ which signifies that home and sanctuaries were *like* a *polis*, i.e. strictly speaking they were *not* a *polis*. For the same use of the idiom, see, e.g., Thuc. 4.120.3, 8.5.1; Andoc. 1.101; Ant. 2.4.3; Pl. *Hp.mai.* 289E.

[9] Soph. *Ant.* 370: ὑψίπολις *versus* ἄπολις; Pl. *Resp.* 369C: having gathered many partners and helpers together in one settlement, we chose *polis* as the name for this cohabitation. Isoc. 3.6 = 15.254: brought together, we built *poleis* and gave laws and invented crafts. Arist. *Pol.* 1253^{a}30–31: the man who first set up [the *polis*] was responsible for the greatest benefits. Moschion fr. 6.6–8: at that time there was not yet a roofed house nor a spacious *polis* protected by stone towers. Philoch. fr. 2b: they called the *polis* an *asty* because, having lived dispersed as nomads, they now gathered together.

[10] Arist. *Pol.* 1253^{a}2–4: ὁ ἄνθρωπος φύσει πολιτικὸν ζῷον, καὶ ὁ ἄπολις διὰ φύσιν καὶ οὐ διὰ τύχην ἤτοι φαῦλός ἐστιν, ἢ κρείττων ἢ ἄνθρωπος ("Man is by nature a *polis* animal, and one who does not participate in the *polis* because of his nature and not by accident is either subhuman or superhuman"). For the rendering "*polis* animal", see Arist. *HA* 617^{b}13–14 and Hansen (1996*b*) 199 with n. 13.

[11] Miller (1995) 240–45; Hansen (1996*b*) 197–202.

communities lost their political institutions, but that one *polis* only was created by the reform.

(10) In Archaic and Classical authors from all parts of the Greek world there are several score of passages in which the importance of the *polis* is emphasised. The following four are typical. According to Phokylides, a C6 Milesian poet, "A small *polis* well settled on the top of a hill is better than stupid Nineveh."[12] The pre-Socratic philosopher Demokritos of Abdera claimed that "a well-governed *polis* is the greatest prosperity and everything depends on that" (fr. 252). In Xenophon's *Memorabilia*, *polis* is singled out as one of the essential human concepts that are worth discussing and need a definition (Xen. *Mem.* 1.1.16). Aristoxenos of Taras, a contemporary and pupil of Aristotle, is reported to have said about Myson, one of the Seven Sages, that he never rose to fame because he was not from a *polis* but from a *kome*, and an insignificant one at that.[13]

To conclude: the concept of the *polis* mattered to the Greeks. They did not just live in *poleis*, they found it important to live in *poleis* rather than in some other form of political community. They were highly conscious of this, and that is one reason why the *polis* and the ancient Greek concept of *polis* are so important and well worth studying.

As is apparent from this Inventory, the Hellenic world of the Archaic and Classical periods comprised more than a thousand *poleis* and, apart from some regions on the fringes,[14] all Hellenes lived in *poleis*. Apparently every Greek colony was founded as a *polis* or became a *polis* not long after its foundation.[15] Nevertheless, no one has ever investigated how many *poleis* there were and which settlements were actually *poleis*. For Hellas itself an ultra-short study by Ruschenbusch (1977)[16] breaks new ground, but it is very sketchy and often controversial. For the colonies there is no comprehensive study at all. The *polis* and the concept of *polis* have been investigated either in general or in relation to one individual *polis*. The general studies are mostly based on sources relating to Athens, and most of the individual studies deal with the Athenian democratic *polis* of the Classical period or with Archaic and Classical Sparta.[17] In recent years only two major studies have been explicitly devoted to the other Greek *poleis*: Hans-Joachim Gehrke's monograph *Jenseits von Athen und Sparta* (1986) and a collection of articles entitled *Alternatives to Athens* edited by Roger Brock and Stephen Hodkinson (2000).

[12] Phokylides fr. 4, Diehl: *πόλις ἐν σκοπέλῳ κατὰ κόσμον οἰκεῦσα σμικρὴ κρέσσων Νίνου ἀφραινούσης*.

[13] Aristoxenos fr. 130, Wehrli = Diog. Laert. 1.108. Myson was from Chen (Pl. *Prt*. 343A), which was either an otherwise unknown community, or a perioikic *polis* in Lakedaimon (no. 328) or a small *polis* in Oita (no. 425). But even if Chen is identified with one of the two small *poleis*, that does not change Aristoxenos' view of the comparative importance of a *polis* and a *kome*.

[14] For Epeiros (*infra* 339), inland Akarnania (*infra* 352), inland Aitolia (*infra* 380), Makedonia (*infra* 795), see Davies (2000).

[15] For the unconvincing modern distinction between *apoikiai* (which were *poleis*) and *emporia* (which were not), see 153 *infra*.

[16] Updated in Ruschenbusch (1985).

[17] The most recent comprehensive study in English is still Ehrenberg (1960, 2nd edn. 1969). In German it is Welwei (1983, 2nd edn. 1998). He has one chapter about Sparta (90–139) and one about Athens (140–250) followed by 13 pages about middle-sized and small *poleis*, *viz*. Corinth, Megara, Mytilene, Chios and Elis. In French, there are Ruzé (1997), Lonis (1994) and Bertrand (1992). In Ruzé short sections about Crete, Argos and Corinth are added to the main sections about Lakedaimon and Athens. Lonis is organised systematically and has much information about other *poleis* mixed with his treatment of Sparta and Athens. But, again, of the 25 translated sources which appear in his book printed in frames, no fewer than 20 are Athenian. Bertrand has substantial chapters about the other *poleis* and includes a chapter about the *poleis* imagined by Plato and Aristotle.

REFERENCES

Bertrand, J.-M. 1992. *Cités et royaumes du monde grec: espace et politique* (Paris).

Brock, R., and Hodkinson, S. (eds.) 2000. *Alternatives to Athens* (Oxford).

Davies, J. K. 2000. "A Wholly Non-Aristotelian Universe: The Molossians as Ethnos, State, and Monarchy", in Brock and Hodkinson (2000) 234–58.

Ehrenberg, V. 1969. *The Greek State*[2] (London), 1st edn. 1960.

Gehrke, H.-J. 1986. *Jenseits von Athen und Sparta* (Munich).

Ehrenberg, V. 1969. *The Greek State* (London), 1st edn. 1960.

Hansen, M. H. 1996*a*. "*ΠΟΛΛΑΧΩΣ ΠΟΛΙΣ ΛΕΓΕΤΑΙ* (Arist. *Pol*. 1276[a]23): The Copenhagen Inventory of *Poleis* and the *Lex Hafniensis de Civitate*", *CPCActs* 3: 7–72.

—— 1996*b*. "Aristotle's Two Complementary Views of the Greek *Polis*", in R. W. Wallace and E. M. Harris (eds.), *Transitions to Empire: Essays in Graeco-Roman History, 360–146 B.C., in Honor of E. Badian* (Norman, Okla.) 195–210.

—— forthcoming. "Belonging in a Political Context", in *Leicester–Nottingham Studies in Ancient Society* (1998).

Hornblower, S. 1991. *A Commentary on Thucydides* I (Oxford).

—— 2002. *The Greek World* (London).

Katz, M. A. 1998. "Women, Children and Men", in P. Cartledge (ed.), *Ancient Greece* (Cambridge) 100–38.

Lonis, R. 1994. *La Cité dans le monde grec* (Nancy).

Miller, F. D. 1995. *Nature, Justice, and Rights in Aristotle's* Politics (Oxford).

Murray, O. 2000. "What is Greek about the *Polis*?", *Polis & Politics* 231–44.

Nielsen, T.H. 2004. "The Concept of *Patris* in Archaic and Classical Sources", *CPCPapers* 7: 49–76.

Osborne, R. 1985. *Demos: The Discovery of Classical Attika* (Cambridge).

Parker, R. 1987. "Festivals of the Attic demes", *Boreas* 15: 137–47.

—— 1996. *Athenian Religion: A History* (Oxford).

Ruschenbusch, E. 1977. *Untersuchungen zu Staat und Politik in Griechenland vom 7.–4. Jh. v. Chr.* (Bamberg).

—— 1985: "Die Zahl der griechischen Staaten und Arealgrösse und Bürgerzahl der 'Normalpolis'", *ZPE* 59: 253–63.

Ruzé, F. 1997. *Déliberation et pouvoir dans la cité grecque de Nestor à Socrate* (Paris).

Welwei, K.-W. 1998. *Die griechische Polis*[2] (Stuttgart). 1st edn. 1983.

Whitehead, D. 1986. *The Demes of Attica 508/7–ca. 250 B.C.* (Princeton).

—— 1990. *Aineias the Tactician: How to Survive under Siege* (Oxford).

The Lifespan of the Hellenic *Polis*

This investigation covers only a segment of the lifespan of the Hellenic *polis*, *viz*. the Archaic and Classical periods. We have deliberately not attempted to search for the origin of the *polis* during the Dark Ages or investigate the life of the *polis* during the Hellenistic and Roman periods (see 10 *supra*). But our analysis of the *polis* in the periods we cover is of course related to our views about the full time-scale of the *polis*. Therefore we have an obligation in this introduction briefly to expound our views about the history of the *polis* from its emergence to its demise.

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

1. The Origin of the *Polis*

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

A. *The Linguistic Evidence*

The study of the etymology of the term *polis* is extremely important, since by extrapolation it takes us back to a period before the earliest written sources we have. First it should be noted that the early variant form of *polis*, namely *ptolis*, is probably attested in the Mycenaean Linear B tablets in the form *po-to-ri-jo*. But, alas, *po-to-ri-jo* is not attested as a noun, only as (part of) a personal name,[1] and we have no clue as to what *po-to-ri-jo* may have meant in Mycenaean Greek.

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

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

This chapter is an updated and revised version of Hansen (2000) 145–49.

[1] KN As 1517,12, cf. Thumb and Scherer (1959) 335 §337 13a; Morpurgo Davies (1963) 262.

[2] Frisk (1970) 576–77; Monier-Williams (1899) 635: "púr, f. a rampart, wall, stronghold, fortress, castle, city, town". See Strunk (1970) 2.

[3] It is misleading when Benveniste (1973) 298 claims: "we have thus here an old Indo-European term, which in Greek, and only in Greek, has taken on the sense of 'town, city', then 'state'". In Sanskrit *púr* certainly developed the meaning "town", "city", and since many of these cities were actually states, I would not preclude that the word may take on the sense of "state" or "political community" as well. In Lithuanian *pilis* has developed "palace" and not "town" as its secondary meaning.

[4] Phokylides fr. 4, Diehl: "a small *polis*, well settled on the top of a hill, is better than stupid Nineveh"; Thuc. 2.15.6, see Hansen (1998) 31.

[5] Snodgrass (1991) 8; Novicki (1992).

etymology strongly suggests that the original meaning of *polis* was neither city (or town) nor state (or political community), but stronghold, and more specifically, a small defensible hill-top settlement.

After this brief survey of the etymology of the word *polis*, it is evident that the question, How old is the *polis*?, makes no sense when put crudely. In the sense of stronghold the *polis* may have a history that stretches back into the Mycenaean period. Yet what historians usually mean when they ask about the origin of the *polis* is something different, namely: How old is the Greek city-state?, i.e. how far back can we trace the *polis* as we know it from the written sources and the archaeological evidence of the Classical period? But even in this form the question is hard to answer, because the development of a type of society is a gradual process. When does a nucleated settlement deserve to be called a city? And when can its political organisation be taken to be a kind of state?

To cut the Gordian knot, we shall suggest here a preliminary definition of the Classical Greek *polis* and then investigate how far back this definition can be traced. The *polis* was a small, highly institutionalised and self-governing community of citizens (called *politai* or *astoi*) living with their wives and children in an urban centre (also called *polis* or, sometimes, *asty*) and its hinterland (called *chora* or *ge*) together with two other types of people: free foreigners (*xenoi*, often called *metoikoi*) and slaves.[6]

It is still debated whether the origins of the *polis* in this sense can be traced all the way back to the Mycenaean period.[7] We prefer to follow those who believe that discontinuity overrides continuity.[8] The palace-centred Mycenaean communities in Knossos, Pylos, Mycenae, Thebes and Athens must not be seen as, essentially, a type of *polis* that in the Dark Ages dwindled to insignificance but reappeared in C9–C8.[9] The *polis* seems to have emerged in the Geometric period (900–700), not by devolution following the breakdown of Mycenaean society, but in connection with an upsurge in population, wealth and civilisation. Furthermore, urbanisation and state formation seem to have developed interdependently. Consequently, to answer the question, When did the (Classical) *polis* emerge?, we have to work backwards from *c.*500 and as far back as our sources go.

B. *The Written Sources*

In our opinion, the earliest indisputable attestations of named communities called *poleis* in the sense of "city-state" are Thasos (no. 526) attested in Archilochos,[10] Sparta (no. 345) attested in Tyrtaios,[11] and Dreros on Crete (no. 956) attested in the oldest Greek law preserved on stone.[12] In these sources *polis* has the sense of both a political community and an urban centre, and as a political community it is a community of citizens.[13] All three sources are from C7m and point to a *terminus ante quem* of *c.*650 for the *polis* as a city-state.

What, then, about Homer? *Pace* Finley and others, who held that no trace of the (Classical) *polis* could be found in the Homeric poems,[14] it is now generally believed and convincingly argued that *polis* in the sense of political community is amply attested both in the *Iliad* and in the *Odyssey*.[15] A C6 Greek audience listening to a performance of the poems would have had no difficulty in recognising Phaiakian Scheria as a colony founded by Nausithoos (*Od.* 6.7–10, 262–72), and the two *poleis* depicted on the shield of Achilles (*Il.* 18.490–540) as contemporary walled cities.

The problem is that it is impossible to date the Homeric poems precisely. Comparative studies show that orally transmitted epic poems are constantly reformulated and undergo substantial changes until a specific performance is "frozen" by being committed to writing.[16] Next, in their fixed form they are like a coin hoard: the latest coin dates from the time it was buried, whereas the oldest may have been struck centuries earlier. Similarly, the events and the societies described in an orally transmitted epic poem may belong to different strata and constitute a strange mixture of old and new. Let us adduce just one example, usually passed over in silence.[17] The "Homeric city" is adorned

[6] For a more elaborate version of this definition, see 30 *infra*.

[7] For the Mycenaean origin of the Greek *polis*, see Drögemüller (1970) 487–92; Thomas (1981) 32–35 (but see next note) and van Effenterre (1985) 27–28 *et passim*.

[8] e.g. Snodgrass (1980) 28–32 and his review of van Effenterre (1985) in Snodgrass (1986) 263–65. Thomas and Conant (1999) xxvi–xxvii. As regards political structure, Thomas is now inclined to emphasise the differences between the Mycenaean state and the *polis* of the Archaic and Classical periods.

[9] The view that the *polis* of the Archaic period is essentially different from Bronze Age societies does not preclude the possibility that some of the Bronze Age communities were organised as city-states and formed a city-state culture. Thus, Crete in the New Palace period may have been a city-state culture comprising five self-governing city-states rather than one state with five major urban centres but governed from Knossos. See Cherry (1986) and Hansen (2002) 7.

[10] Archilochos fr. 228, West; *polis* in the sense of community of citizens (*astoi*): fr. 13.2, in the sense of town: fr. 49.7.

[11] Tyrtaios fr. 4.4, West; *polis* in the sense of town (fr. 10.3); in the sense of community (frr. 4.8, 12.28) of citizens (*demotas andras* and *demou plethos* in frr. 4.5 and 9).

[12] ML 2.1–2, now dated C7m in *Nomima* I 81, C7s in Koerner (1993) no. 90.

[13] The distinction between citizens and non-citizens is attested, e.g., in Draco's law on homicide (ML 86.28–9 (*c.*624)) and in a law from Gortyn (*I.Cret.* 4.13, *Nomima* I.1 (C7l)).

[14] Finley (1956) 35; Austin and Vidal-Naquet (1977) 40.

[15] Murray (1993) 63; Morris (1986) 100–4; Raaflaub (1993) 46–59 and (1997).

[16] Lord (1962) 188–93; Bennet (1997) 513.

[17] Hansen and Fischer-Hansen (1994) 25. It is striking that, emphasising the

with palaces[18] and, occasionally, with temples.[19] The palaces are to some extent reminiscent of those excavated in Pylos, Mycenae and Tiryns.[20] Such palaces disappeared at the end of the Bronze Age (*c.*1200–1100) and the oldest known palace in a Greek *polis* is that of Dionysios I in Syracuse, erected just before 400.[21] Conversely, temples are unknown in the Mycenaean world but are the most conspicuous type of monumental architecture from *c.*700 onwards.[22] References to temples are rare in the Homeric poems, but they are mentioned in descriptions of Troy and the city on Scheria. Thus, it is unlikely that any early *polis* had both a palace and a temple inside its walls, and it would be pointless to look for a historical site which matches the "Homeric City". We must read Homer as poetry.[23] In many ways the poems mirror society of C8–C7; the occasional mention of temples is just one such example. But the "Homeric *polis*" also includes reminiscences of walled Bronze Age palaces, weapons and war chariots used in the Mycenaean period,[24] a vague knowledge about the great urban centres in the Near Eastern empires, and a city in a wonderland imagined by the poet(s) of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. To disentangle these four elements is a very difficult task which we prefer to avoid.

Consequently, we cannot expect the Homeric poems to present us with a coherent picture of the political organisation of the societies described in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. In the *Iliad* book 2 the composition of Agamemnon's army and the origin of each individual contingent is described in a long passage called the Catalogue of Ships (*Il.* 2. 484–759). These verses contain the highest concentration of named *p(t)oleis* in the Homeric poems. But the *poleis* listed are not city-states. The toponyms classified as *poleis* or *ptoliethra* are towns in "territorial states" ruled by kings or princes. Thus, Crete is an island with 100 *poleis* all ruled by Idomeneus (*Il.* 2.645–52). Furthermore, a close study of all the settlements enumerated in the Catalogue of Ships reveals that, with some notable exceptions, it reflects Greece in the Mycenaean period rather than in the Geometric or the Archaic period.[25] Conversely, the notable exceptions show that it is not a true picture of the Mycenaean world.[26] On the other hand, the *poleis* depicted on the shield of Achilles and the description of the Phaiakian *polis* Scheria must reflect the social and political structure of Hellas in the Geometric or early Archaic periods.

To make matters worse, we cannot even fix a *terminus ante quem*, since we do not know when the Homeric poems were written down. Some ancient historians are tempted to adopt Barry Powell's suggestion that a man living on Euboia *c.*800–750 created the Greek alphabet out of the Phoenician with the express purpose of writing down the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*.[27] A much more recent date is suggested by Minna Skafte Jensen, who argues that the Homeric poems were written down for the first time in Athens in C6m in connection with the Peisistratid reform of the Panathenaic festival (Jensen (1980) 96–171).

Summing up, we prefer to suspend judgement on the so-called Homeric Society[28] and, for the same reason, we refrain from using the Hesiodic poems which were also transmitted orally until they were written down, we know not when. Our cautious conclusion is that, as far as the written sources go, the essential characteristics of the Classical *polis* can be traced back to a *terminus ante quem* of *c.*650.

C. *The Archaeology of Greece*

On the other hand, archaeology has made great strides in recent years and the remains of urban centres may take us a step forward, or, rather, further back. Several early settlements have been excavated in the Aegean Islands: Zagora on Andros, Emporio on Chios, and Lefkandi on Euboia, just to mention three of the most prominent. Most of them are small hill-top settlements protected by a fortification wall. They flourished in the so-called Dark Ages (*c.*1000–800) and were all abandoned *c.*700 (Snodgrass (1991) 7–9). Were

Iron Age aspects of the poems, Morris and Powell (1997) make no mention of "Homeric" palaces and temples. For palaces we must go back to Wace (1962).

[18] *Il.* 6.242ff (palace of Priam); *Od.* 1.365 (palace of Odysseus); *Od.* 3.387ff (palace of Nestor); *Od.* 4.20ff (palace of Menelaos); *Od.* 7.81ff (palace of Alkinoos).

[19] *Il.* 1.39, 5.446, 7.83 (temple of Apollo in Troy); *Il.* 6.297–300 (temple of Athena in Troy); *Od.* 6.10 (temples of the gods in Scheria).

[20] Wace (1962) 490; Pöhlmann (1992) 191–92. Both the Mycenaean remains and the Homeric "Halls" (*domata*) are so magnificent that the traditional designation of them as "palaces" seems well chosen. For a perhaps exaggerated emphasis on the purely imagined character of the Homeric king's house, see Dalby (1995). For an attempt to reconcile the Homeric "palaces" with remains of Iron Age residences, see Ainian (1997) 363–68.

[21] Hansen and Fischer-Hansen (1994) 25–30.

[22] For some "primitive temples" antedating 700, see Lawrence (1996) 61–65.

[23] Judiciously emphasised by Scully (1990) 2–3.

[24] Greenhalgh (1973) 7–18; Ducrey (1986) 38–41.

[25] Hope Simpson and Lazenby (1970) 153–71. See, however, the recent discussion of the Catalogue by McInerney (1999) who argues that it is "a product of the eighth century" (124).

[26] The most disturbing problem is the lack of correspondence between Nestor's realm as described in *Il.* 2.591–602 and the evidence of the Linear B tablets found in the palace at Ano Englianos, discussed by Hope Simpson and Lazenby (1970) 155–56.

[27] Powell (1991) adducing as possible analogies (11–12), e.g., Wulfila's invention of Gothic script *c.*AD 400. The epigraphic evidence, however, indicates that a much better analogy is, e.g., the Nordic runes. They were invented in the first century AD, but it took many centuries before they were used for longer texts.

[28] See also the judicious and cautious approach in Baurain (1997) 403.

such settlements the centres of early *poleis*? If *polis* is taken in the sense of a smallish settlement and/or stronghold, the answer is probably "yes" (see *supra*). But if *polis* is taken in its Classical sense of a town which was the centre of a self-governing political community, the answer is a *non liquet*. There are no traces of securely identifiable political architecture antedating *c.*550,[29] and the archaeological evidence cannot provide us with information about the political organisation of these early nucleated settlements. We have no idea about how Zagora was governed. It may have been a small self-governing community, or a subdivision of another political community, e.g. Lefkandi, or it may have controlled the whole of Andros.

Yet a study of the Greek colonies, especially the western colonies, may provide us with a clue. The traditional view is that the formation of the *polis* preceded colonisation (Graham (1964) 159). In recent years this view has been challenged by the opposite hypothesis: that the *polis* emerged or at least developed in consequence of colonisation, and that it is the emergence of the *polis* in the colonies that influenced *polis* formation in the homeland.[30] Urbanisation, the opposition between the Greek settlers and the native foreigners, and the conscious introduction of common laws and new political institutions are features that are central to the concept of the *polis*, and all may have developed in the colonies before they became prominent in Hellas itself. Now, in the Greek colonies in Sicily and southern Italy, urban centres of remarkable size can be traced back to their foundation in the C8s,[31] or at least to a period shortly after their foundation. Obvious examples are Syracuse (no. 47) and Megara Hyblaia (no. 36).[32] Furthermore, each colony is attested as a self-governing political community as far back as our written sources go, i.e. in the late C6. Combining the archaeological evidence of urban centres from the late C8 with the reasonable assumption that each of these colonies was founded or soon emerged as a self-governing political community, the inference is that the *polis* in its Classical sense of "city-state" can be traced back to *c.*734, when Syracuse was founded by some Corinthians headed by an aristocrat called Archias. It does not necessarily follow that Corinth too was a *polis* at that time. The founding of, e.g., Syracuse may well have been a private enterprise organised by Archias, rather than a political enterprise warranted by a decision made by the Corinthian *polis*.[33] It is worth noting, for instance, that the district of Achaia in the northern Peloponnese was very active in colonisation in C8, but did not develop *poleis* internally until much later, probably not before *c.*500.[34] As clusters of villages, Corinth (no. 227), Argos (no. 347) and Athens (no. 361) can be traced back to the late Geometric period (Morris (1991) 33), but we do not know when they became *poleis* in the political sense of the term.

2. The End of the *Polis*

It is still a common view that the independent Greek *polis* flourished in the Archaic and Classical periods, but was crushed by the Makedonians and disappeared in C4s. The turning point is often pinned down to the battle of Chaironeia,[35] and from some accounts one gets the impression that the *polis* in the sense of city-state perished on the day the battle was fought, i.e. on 2 August 338. A collection of the available evidence, however, shows that the independent city-state was declining at least a century before Chaironeia, and that independence (*autonomia*) never was an indispensable characteristic of the *polis*,[36] whereas the *polis*, i.e. the political community of citizens united in the running of their city's institutions, continued to exist throughout the Hellenistic and Roman periods;[37] and that is now, we think, the prevailing view.

The dissociation of the concept of *polis* from the concept of *autonomia* (Hansen (1995)) is supported by the observation that the concept of *autonomia* seems to have emerged as late as C5m (Ostwald (1982) 14–26), i.e. at least 200 years later than the concept of the *polis*. One might object that most *poleis* were independent before C5m, and that the concept was explicitly formulated only after *autonomia* began to come under threat in C5m, when the Delian League was transformed into an Athenian Empire. The problem with this explanation is that dependent *poleis* are amply attested

[29] Hansen and Fischer-Hansen (1994) 30, 35–36, 42–44, 75, 81. It is still debated whether the large apsidal peripteral building excavated in Lefkandi (*c.*1000) was a chieftain's house or an early temple; see Lawrence (1996) 62.

[30] Malkin (1987) 12, followed by Hansen (1994) 15–16.

[31] Reasonably reliable foundation dates of many of the western colonies, not always matching the foundation dates reported by Thucydides at 6.2–6, are now established by archaeological evidence alone, and there is no reason to suspect a circular argument, i.e. that archaeologists base the chronology of Protocorinthian pottery on Thucydides' foundation dates, whereas historians argue that Thucydides' dates are corroborated by the Protocorinthian pottery found in the colonies; see van Compernolle (1992); Morris (1996).

[32] Fischer-Hansen (1996) 334–51.

[33] Graham (1964) 7, 220, followed by Osborne (1998).

[34] Morgan and Hall (1996).

[35] Cf., e.g., Thomas (1981) 40; Bengtson (1977) 286, 295; Green (1990) 53, 56, 80, 220, etc.; and, most recently, Cawkwell (1996) 98 and *passim*.

[36] Hansen (1998) 205 with n. 32.

[37] Gauthier (1993) and Millar (1993) 211–31 and 232–60; Davies (1984); Gruen (1993); Ward-Perkins (1998).

in the Archaic and early Classical periods. From C7m onwards all the Greek *poleis* along the coast of Asia Minor were first under Lydian and then under Persian rule, and won independence only in the 470s after the Greek victories in the Persian War. In C6 the Corinthian colonies along the western coast of Greece were dependencies ruled by relatives of the Corinthian tyrants. The three secondary colonies founded by Syracuse in the course of C7 were dependencies of Syracuse. And all the perioikic *poleis* in Lakedaimon and Messenia, some fifty to a hundred *poleis* altogether, had been reduced to dependent status before 600.

There can be no doubt, however, that the number of dependent *poleis* was considerably increased in the course of C5 and C4. During the period C5m–C4m many *poleis* were deprived of their *autonomia* by being members of the Delian or the Peloponnesian League and being exposed to the imperialistic aspirations of the two hegemonic *poleis*: Athens and Sparta; and during the same period hundreds of other *poleis* changed their status from being independent states to being constituent states of a confederacy that regularly comprised all the *poleis* within a region. By C4m we find federal states in Boiotia, Phokis, Lokris, Euboia, Thessaly, Epeiros, Aitolia, Akarnania, Achaia and Arkadia. Furthermore, many *poleis* along the coast of Asia Minor had once again become subject to the Persian king, as they had been in the period before the Persian Wars.[38] There is no historical atlas that includes a map of Greece *c.*350 showing which *poleis* were still independent and which had become dependencies, either by being dominated by one of the hegemonic cities or the Persian king or by being a member of a confederation. Such a map would reveal that when Makedonia under Philip II (360–336) began to manifest itself as a great power, the independent city-state was no longer the typical form of *polis*. What disappeared with the rise of Makedonia in C4s was not the *polis* but the hegemonic *polis* such as Athens, Sparta or Thebes. The other *poleis* could not necessarily tell the difference between having been dominated by Athens or the Persian king and, again, being dominated by the king of Makedonia or some other Hellenistic monarch.[39] Thus the *polis* (i.e. the small political community of citizens living in or around an urban centre and united in running its political institutions) survived the end of the Classical period, and though the independent city-state had declined long before the defeat at Chaironeia, the *polis*—as the Greeks themselves understood the term and the concept—persisted and prospered throughout the Hellenistic and Roman periods.

[38] Hansen (1995) 36–38. [39] Hansen (1993) 21.

During the Hellenistic period the typical *polis* seems to have been a democracy which had its *autonomia* (in the now restricted sense of self-government rather than true independence) established or confirmed by royal rescript.[40] During the Roman Imperial period oligarchy replaced democracy; the focus of the political organisation became the council (*boule*) instead of the assembly (*ekklesia*) and the city was now governed by a local aristocracy which filled all important magistracies.[41] Still the *polis* was a self-governing community centred on a town.

The end of the Greek *polis* began in the late third century AD, when Diocletian (284–305) created a centralised bureaucracy that crushed most of what was left of local self-government (Jones (1940) 85).[42] In the West what remained of urban life succumbed after the invasion of the Germanic peoples in C5. But in the East the Greek *polis* persevered for more than a century, and here the demise of the *polis* was to a considerable extent caused by the rise of the Christian Church and its bishops (Saradi-Mendelovici (1988) 365–401). The bishops joined the imperial bureaucracy in undermining the self-government of the *poleis*; and the Church attacked the pagan urban institutions and urged its members to keep away from the agora, which, on the other hand, the pagan authors praised as the centre of urban life.[43] Furthermore, *polis* religion had implied that each *polis* had its individual cults and its own pantheon. The pagan gods and their cults were now replaced by a divinity which did not allow of local individuality. Yet the decline of the *polis* was a slow process, and *polis* was still an important political concept in the reign of Justinian (529–565). Procopius, for example, tells us how in AD 533 a small African village was turned by imperial decree into a *polis* in the political sense.[44] However, "with the close of Justinian's legislation the history of the city as an institution abruptly ceases. When the last remnants of civic autonomy disappeared we do not know: the titles which regulate the constitution of the cities were not struck out of the Code till the great revision under Leo the Wise. But they cannot have long survived Justinian."[45]

[40] e.g. *OGIS* 229.9–16. Davies (1984) 306; Gauthier (1993) 217–25; Quass (1979).

[41] Ward-Perkins (1998) 371–82; Jones (1964) 712–66.

[42] One example is Menander 'Rhetor's treatise on how to praise a *polis*, composed *c.*AD 300. The urban aspects of the *polis* are emphasised; but when it comes to the political achievements and the constitution of the *polis*, Menander admits that there is no longer much to be said here, because all Roman *poleis* are now governed by one [*polis*], *sc.* Rome! (360.10–16, 363.10–14).

[43] Lib. *Or.* 11.266; see Saradi-Mendelovici (1988) 374–401.

[44] Procop. *Aed.* 6.6.8–16, s.v. *Brachodes akra* in *RE* iii.1. 806.

[45] Jones (1940). For *polis*, *komopolis* and *kastron* denoting towns in the Byzantine period, see Haldon (1999) 1, 11–14.

REFERENCES

Ainian, A. M. 1997. *From Rulers' Dwellings to Temples: Architecture, Religion and Society in Early Iron Age Greece (1100–700 B.C.)* (Jonsered).

Austin, M. M., and Vidal-Naquet, P. 1977. *Economic and Social History of Ancient Greece* (London).

Baurain, C. 1997. *Les Grecs et la Méditerranée orientale* (Paris).

Bengtson, H. 1977. *Griechische Geschichte*, 5th edn. (Munich).

Bennet, J. 1997. "Homer and the Bronze Age", in Morris and Powell (1997), 511–35.

Benveniste, E. 1973. *Indo-European Language and Society* (London).

Cawkwell, G. 1996. "The End of Greek Liberty", in R. W. Wallace and E. H. Harris (eds.), *Transitions to Empire: Essays in Graeco-Roman History 360–146 B.C. in Honor of E. Badian* (Norman, Okla.), 98–121.

Cherry, J. F. 1986. "Polities and Palaces: Some Problems in Minoan State Formation", in C. Renfrew and J. F. Cherry (eds.), *Peer Polity Interaction and Socio-Political Change* (Cambridge) 19–45.

Compernolle, R. van 1992. "Lo stanziamento di *apoikoi* greci presso capo Zefirio (Capo Bruzzano) nell'ultimo terzo dell'VIII secolo A.C.", *AnnPisa* 22: 774–80.

Dalby, A. 1995. "The *Iliad*, the *Odyssey* and their Audiences", *CQ* 45: 273–78.

Davies, J. K. 1984. "Cultural, Social and Economic Features of the Hellenistic World", in *CAH*² vii.1. 304–20.

Drögemüller, H.-P. 1970. "Städtischer Raum und politischer Machtbereich in der Entwicklung der griechischen Polis", *Gymnasium* 77: 484–507.

Ducrey, P. 1986. *Warfare in Ancient Greece* (New York).

Effenterre, H. van 1985. *La Cité grecque des origines à la défaite de Marathon* (Paris).

Finley, M. I. 1956. *The World of Odysseus* (London).

Fischer-Hansen, T. 1996. "The Earliest Town-Planning of the Western Greek Colonies, with Special Regard to Sicily", *CPCActs* 3: 317–73.

Frisk, H. 1970. *Griechisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* ii (Heidelberg).

Gauthier, P. 1993. "Les Cités hellénistiques", *CPCActs* 1: 211–31.

Graham, A. J. 1964. *Colony and Mother City in Ancient Greece* (Manchester).

Green, P. 1990. *Alexander to Actium: The Historical Evolution of the Hellenistic Age* (Berkeley and Los Angeles).

Greenhalgh, P. A. L. 1973. *Early Greek Warfare* (Cambridge).

Gruen, E. S. 1993. "The Polis in the Hellenistic World", in R. M. Rosen and J. Farrell (eds.), *Nomodeiktes: Greek Studies in Honor of Martin Ostwald* (Ann Arbor) 339–54.

Haldon, J. 1999. "The Idea of the Town in the Byzantine Empire", in C. P. Brogiolo and B. Ward-Perkins (eds.), *The Idea and Ideal of the Town between Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages* (Leiden).

Hansen, M. H. 1993. "Introduction: The *Polis* as a Citizen-State", *CPCActs* 1: 7–29.

—— 1994. "*Polis* and City-States, 600–323 B.C.: A Comprehensive Research Program", *CPCPapers* 1: 9–17.

—— 1995. "The 'Autonomous City-State': Ancient Fact or Modern Fiction?", *CPCPapers* 2: 21–43.

—— 1998. Polis *and City-State: An Ancient Concept and its Modern Equivalent*, *CPCActs* 5.

—— 2000. "The Hellenic *Polis*", *Thirty City-State Cultures* 141–87.

—— 2002. "Introduction", *Six City-State Cultures* 7–21.

—— and Fischer-Hansen, T. 1994. "Monumental Political Architecture in Archaic and Classical Greek *Poleis*", *CPCPapers* 1: 23–90.

Hope Simpson, R., and Lazenby, J. F. 1970. *The Catalogue of Ships in Homer's* Iliad (Oxford).

Jensen, M. Skafte 1980. *The Homeric Question and the Oral-Formulaic Theory* (Copenhagen).

Jones, A. H. M. 1940. *The Greek City from Alexander to Justinian* (Oxford).

—— 1964. *The Later Roman Empire 284–602* (Oxford).

Koerner, R. 1993. *Inschriftliche Gesetzestexte der frühen griechischen Polis* (Cologne).

Lawrence, A. W. 1996. *Greek Architecture*, 5th edn. rev. R. A. Tomlinson (New Haven).

Lord, A. B. 1962. "Homer and Other Epic Poetry", in Wace and Stubbings (1962) 179–214.

Malkin, I. 1987. *Religion and Colonization in Ancient Greece* (Leiden).

McInerney, J. 1999. *The Folds of Parnassos: Land and Ethnicity in Ancient Phokis* (Austin, Tex.).

Millar, F. 1993. "The Greek City in the Roman Period", *CPCActs* 1: 232–60.

Monier-Williams, M. 1899. *A Sanskrit–English Dictionary* (Oxford).

Morgan, C., and Hall, J. M. 1996. "Achaian *Poleis* and Achaian Colonisation", *CPCActs* 3: 164–232.

Morpurgo Davies, A. 1963. *Mycenaeae Graecitatis Lexicon* (Rome).

Morris, I. 1986. "The Use and Abuse of Homer", *ClAnt.* 5: 81–138.

—— 1991. "The Early Polis as City and State", in Rich and Wallace-Hadrill (1991) 25–57.

—— 1996. "The Absolute Chronology of the Greek Colonies in Sicily", *ActaArch* 67: 51–59.

—— & Powell, B. (eds.) 1997. *A New Companion to Homer* (Leiden).

Murray, O. 1993. *Early Greece*² (London).

Novicki, K. 1992. "Fortifications in Dark Age Krete", in S. van de Maele and J. M. Fossey (eds.), *Fortificationes Antiquae* (Amsterdam) 53–76.

Osborne, R. 1998. "Early Greek Colonization? The Nature of Greek Settlement in the West", in N. Fischer and H. van Wees (eds.), *Archaic Greece: New Approaches and New Evidence* (London) 251–69.

Ostwald, M. 1982. *Autonomia: Its Genesis and Early History* (New York).

Pöhlmann, E. 1992. "Homer, Mykene und Troja: Probleme und Aspekte", *Studia Troica* 2: 187–99.

Powell, B. 1991. *Homer and the Origin of the Greek Alphabet* (Cambridge).

Quass, F. 1979. "Zur Verfassung der griechischen Städte im Hellenismus", *Chiron* 9: 37–52.

Raaflaub, K. 1993. "Homer to Solon: The Rise of the Polis: The Written Sources", *CPCActs* 1: 41–105.

—— 1997. "Homeric Society", in Morris and Powell (1997) 624–48.

Rich, J., and Wallace-Hadrill, A. (eds.) 1991. *City and Country in the Ancient World* (London).

Saradi-Mendelovici, H. 1988. "The Demise of the Ancient City and the Emergence of the Medieval City in the Eastern Roman Empire", *EchCl* 7: 365–401.

Scully, S. 1990. *Homer and the Sacred City* (Ithaca, NY).

Snodgrass, A. 1980. *Archaic Greece* (London).

—— 1986. Review of van Effenterre (1985), *CR* 36: 261–65.

—— 1991. "Archaeology and the Study of the Greek City", in Rich and Wallace-Hadrill (1991) 1–23.

Strunk, K. 1970. "Verkannte Spuren eines weiteren Tiefstufentyps im Griechischen", *Glotta* 47: 1–8.

Thomas, C. 1981. "The Greek *Polis*", in Thomas and Griffeth (1981) 31–69.

—— and Conant, C. 1999. *Citadel to City-State: The Transformation of Greece, 1200–700 B.C.E.* (Bloomington, Ind., and Indianapolis).

—— and Griffeth R. (eds.) 1981. *The City-State in Five Cultures* (Santa Barbara, Calif.).

Thumb, A., and Scherer, A. 1959. *Handbuch der griechischen Dialekte*, ii (Heidelberg).

Wace, A. J. B. 1962. "Houses and Palaces", in Wace and Stubbings (1962) 489–97.

—— and Stubbings, F. H. (eds.) 1962. *A Companion to Homer* (London).

Ward-Perkins, B. 1998. "The Cities", in *CAH*^{2} xiii. 371–410.

The Inventory of *Poleis*

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

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

The contradiction has its root in the fact that modern historians who write about ancient Greece like to use the term *polis* synonymously with the term "city-state" (e.g. Finley (1981) 4). But *polis* is a historical concept attested in Greek sources, while city-state is a modern heuristic concept (Hansen (2000*a*) 13). The term "city-state" (or, rather, the German term *Stadtstaat*) seems to have been coined in the mid-nineteenth century and was first applied to the Roman republican concept of *civitas*,[4] whence it was rapidly transferred not only to studies of the Greek *polis* (Gawantka (1985) 204–6) but also to investigations of Italian, German, Sumerian, Phoenician and Etruscan cities and, since the mid-twentieth century, to city-state cultures in Mesoamerica, West Africa and East Asia as well (Hansen (2000*b*) 600). Thus modern historical discussions of the city-state combine characteristics borrowed from many different cultures, and the concept of city-state is not co-extensive with the concept of *polis*. Mykalessos may well have been a *polis* in the eyes of the Greeks, although it is not a city-state in the eyes of a modern historian.

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

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

[1] Strabo 9.2.11, 14. Fiehn (1935); McAllister (1976).

[2] Thuc. 7.29.3, 5 and 7.30.2; see Hansen (1995*a*) 18–21.

[3] Mykalessos is not counted among the Boiotian *poleis* in C5s in any of the major accounts of the political organisation of the region, cf. Swoboda (1910) 316–17 with n. 6; Busolt and Swoboda (1926) 1415–16; Roesch (1965) 37–43; Salmon (1978) 101; Bonner (1910) 406; Bruce (1967) 103–4; cf. Hansen (1995a) 13–15.

[4] The English term "city-state" was probably coined in 1885 as a rendering of the German term *Stadtstaat* in connection with the translation into English of J. Bluntschli, *Lehre vom modernen Staat*, 6th edn. (Berlin, 1886) 63 = *Theory of the State* (London, 1885) 60. The German term *Stadtstaat* was probably coined in 1842 as a rendering of the Danish term *Bystat* (by = town, cf. Derby) in connection with the translation into German of J. N. Madvig, *Blik på Oldtidens Statsforfatninger med Hensyn til Udviklingen af Monarchiet og en omfattende Statsorganisme* (Copenhagen, 1840) 20 n. 2 = *Blicke auf die Staatsverfassungen des Alterthums, mit Rücksicht auf die Entwicklung der Monarchie und eines umfassenden Staatsorganismus*, in *Archiv für Geschichte, Statistik, Kunde der Verwaltung und Landesrechte der Herzogthümer Schleswig, Holstein und Lauenburg* (Kiel, 1842) 42. The terms *Bystat* and *Stadtstaat* were first applied to Rome in the republican period, and only later transferred to descriptions of, primarily, the Greek *polis* and the Italian *città*. The French term *cité-État* and the Italian term *città-stato* are both derived from *Stadtstaat* and/or *city-state* and neither is attested earlier than the twentieth century, see Hansen (1994*b*); (1998) 15–16.

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

polis in our sources were *not* independent and did not enjoy *autonomia*.[6] Thus Mykalessos was a dependency of Tanagra (*infra* 88); the Greeks thought it was a *polis*, but according to modern orthodoxy its lack of independence or *autonomia* indicates that it was not a city-state.

If we establish and acknowledge a distinction between the ancient historical concept of *polis* and the modern heuristic concept of city-state, it follows that we can conduct two different investigations of ancient Greek society which may lead to different conclusions: if we study the city-state and apply the modern historians' understanding of what a city-state is, we get one picture of Archaic and Classical Hellas. If we go through the written sources and list all settlements that are actually called *poleis* in contemporary texts, we investigate the ancient Greeks' understanding of their own settlement pattern and political organisation and get a different picture.

It would be wrong to say that one of the two pictures is the right one and that the other is misleading; rather, the two pictures are complementary. It is always legitimate to contrast a culture's perception of itself with an outsider's more detached perception of the same culture (Burke (1992) 45).

At the Copenhagen Polis Centre we want to know how the Greeks perceived their own settlement pattern, and therefore our investigation has been based, first of all, on a careful examination of the terminology used and the site-classifications found in our sources. In this type of study it is necessary to describe and define the ancient concept of the *polis* before we begin to compare it with the modern concept of the city-state. Since concepts have to be studied through language, we started with the terminology: in all literary and epigraphical sources of the Archaic and Classical periods we collected every attestation of the term *polis* in order to conduct two different investigations.

First, we examined how the term *polis* is used whenever we meet it. Our sources tell us, for example, that a *polis* waged war, or made peace, or entered into an alliance, or struck coins, or passed a law, or a sentence, or founded a colony, or defrayed expenses, or repaired the walls, and we hear about the territory of a *polis*, or its roads and water supply, or its altars, or its protecting divinity.[7] The next task was to examine every single attestation of the term *polis* referring to a named *polis* such as Corinth, or Melos, or Megalopolis.

In the first investigation we analysed all the passages we had listed, no matter whether they concern a named *polis* or refer to a *polis* or the *polis* in general; and for this investigation a specific law passed by the *polis* Dreros is just as valuable a source as is a general reference in Aristotle that it is the *polis* which is responsible for passing laws.[8] In conducting the second investigation, we restricted ourselves to the attestations that contain an explicit reference to a named *polis* and ignored all the passages referring to the *polis* in general.

These two different investigations relate to a very simple but very important distinction, acknowledged in linguistics and applied in that branch of philosophy which is devoted to the definition and classification of concepts. The meaning of a term is one thing; that which is denoted by a term because it has a certain meaning is another. In linguistics this distinction is sometimes referred to as the distinction between connotation and denotation; in philosophy the two terms used are the intension of a term (that is, its meaning) and the extension of a term (that is, the totality of objects to which the term refers). Linguistically, the *connotation* (or meaning) of the term "state" is something like "a geographically delimited segment of human society united by common obedience to a single sovereign" (Watkins (1972) 150), but the term "state" *denotes* any existing state, such as Greece, Denmark, Russia or Australia. Philosophically, the *intension* of the term "state" is the sum total of all the properties that must be possessed by a community in order to be called a state; the *extension* of the term "state" is constituted by the total number of existing states.[9] If we concentrate on the *connotation* or *intension* of a term, we can determine its meaning by listing the essential characteristics which the term connotes, and then afterwards establish a list of the objects which fulfil the requirements of our definition. If

state, the *polis* in Greek . . . The ancient city was soon to lose its autonomy. The process began soon after Aristotle died"; Murray and Price (1990) vii: "our focus has been the autonomous Greek city-state or *polis* from its origins in the 'Dark Age' until the point at which it was transformed into a basis for world civilization by the conquests of Alexander the Great"; Osborne (1987) 195: "The essential mark of the Greek city is political independence." (For city = *polis*, see *ibid*. 11); cf. Hansen (1995*b*) 21–25; (1998) 78–83.

[6] Hansen (1995*b*) 21–43; (1996*b*); *infra* 87–92. While accepting the concept of the dependent *polis*, its application to the members of the Boiotian federation has been denied by Keen (1996) and Rhodes (1999); see *infra* 92.

[7] Hansen (1998) 67–68. For an updated list focusing on the non-Athenian examples, see Hansen (2002) 24–25.

[8] Law on the proclamation of crowns passed by the *polis* of Athens (Dem. 18.120); the passing of laws is one of the principal duties of a *polis* (Arist. *Rhet*. 1360^{a}18ff).

[9] The connotation versus the denotation of a term: Mill (1842) book 1, sections 2, 5 and 6. The intension versus the extension of a concept: Rescher (1964) 26–27; Lyons (1977) i. 170. On the definition (connotation, intension) of the term *polis*, cf. Sakellariou (1989). On intensional and extensional definitions in historical studies, see Hansen (2000*b*) 600–1.

we concentrate on the *denotation* or *extension* of a term, we shall do it the other way round: we begin by enumerating all the denotata, i.e. all objects to which the term is applied. Next, we look for the essential characteristics which these objects have in common, and finally we establish the meaning of the term by assembling the common characteristics we have found in order to build up a picture of the concept behind the term.

After this digression, we shall return to our topic and ask the question: What is a *polis*? Let us subdivide the main question into three questions: Do we want to examine the term itself? Or the concept behind the term? Or the objects denoted by the term?

The term. An analysis of the term is principally a linguistic investigation, and in a study of ancient Greek history it is relevant only in so far as it can shed light on the meaning and uses of the term. By studying the etymology of the word *polis*, for example, we learn that it is related to Old Indian *púr*, Lithuanian *pilìs* and Latvian *pils*, and that these three words originally meant stronghold.[10] Consequently the original meaning of *polis* must have been stronghold, and in this sense it may perhaps have been used about the fortified sites in Crete in C10 at, for example, Dreros and Anavlochos, etc.[11]

The concept. Historians study a term not for its own sake but in order to grasp the concept behind the term, to determine its essence, to find all the essential characteristics that go with it and transform these criteria into a description or even a definition of the concept. In doing all this they are faced with the problem that they have to apply modern terms and concepts in their description both of the ancient societies themselves and of the concepts used by the ancients themselves to describe them. Sometimes historians prefer in their analysis to use modern terms, such as "state" or "settlement" or "town" or "village"; but sometimes historians take over an ancient term found in the sources and use it in transliterated form. As pointed out above, *polis* is precisely such a term (Gawantka (1985)) and accordingly we cannot conduct our investigation of the term *polis* before we have decided whether we want to study the ancient concept of *polis* as found in our sources or the modern concept of *polis* as we meet it in the nineteenth- and twentieth-century accounts of the history of ancient Greece, where the word *polis* is frequently used synonymously with the modern term "city-state".

The objects. The third type of investigation is to focus on the denotata and analyse the communities or settlements referred to by the word *polis*. Such a study is not necessarily bound up with a study of the term itself to the same extent as is an investigation of the concept. It is a commonplace, but nevertheless true, that language is the medium in which concepts are expressed and words are the principal traces that ancient concepts have left behind for the modern historian to study. Symbols expressed in painting or sculpture or architecture etc. are important accessories, but to conduct an investigation of an ancient concept without focusing first on the words used to express it would be a nonsense.

On the other hand, the *objects* to which a term refers leave many traces other than the term itself. If we focus on the objects rather than on the concept, an examination of the terms used about the objects may be relegated to the background, and that is in fact what has happened in recent studies of ancient Greek society. Inspired by the growing number of archaeological surveys of the Greek landscape, the focus of interest has shifted from the written to the archaeological sources, and from the towns to the countryside.[12] The result has been a rapidly increasing number of what can be called settlement pattern studies. Here the historian starts with the settlement pattern of a landscape, as far as it can be ascertained for macro-periods (Archaic, Classical, Hellenistic, Roman, late Roman), then the investigation is focused on the actual pattern of the social, economic and political structure of the landscape and its settlements, and only then does the historian start looking at the names given to the various types of settlement and the terms used to describe them (Hansen (1995*c*) 46–47). In such an investigation it does not matter very much how the Greeks classified the different types of settlement, and what they themselves thought of their settlement pattern comes second to the study of the settlement pattern itself.[13]

Prominent examples of such an approach are John Fossey's studies of Phokis (1986), Boiotia (1988) and East Lokris (1990); Carter's studies of Metapontion (1992) and, first of all, the impressive surveys conducted during the last two

[10] Hansen (1996*a*) 34; see 16 *supra*.

[11] Nowicki (1992) 72–73; Camp (2000) 49.

[12] Judiciously pointed out by Davies (1998) 237: "The second contribution of economic anthropology, reinforced by the preoccupations and findings of archaeological survey work, has been to divert attention away from the towns and traders towards landscapes and their unurbanised inhabitants."

[13] See Fossey (1990) 94–95: "The overall conclusion must be that in this area it is purely an *archaeological* investigation, almost entirely bereft of written sources, which can reconstruct the history of Opountian Lokris. The primacy of archaeology as our means of investigating the past of this part—and of many others—of Greece, even in the 'historical' period is beyond dispute, *pace* those colleagues in the Classical profession who would see archaeology essentially as an adjunct, or peripheral aspect of their discipline."

decades, especially in the Peloponnese.[14] An account for the general reader, covering the whole of Hellas, is given by Robin Osborne in his *Classical Landscape with Figures* (1987). In this study the settlements under discussion are called either "cities" or "towns" or "villages" (ibid. 11). A discussion of the Greek terminology as applied to each individual settlement is eschewed. Admittedly, Osborne states in his preface that he will use the English term "city" synonymously with the Greek term *polis* in its political sense (ibid.). Nevertheless, he sometimes uses the term village about a settlement that, in a contemporary source, is unquestionably called a *polis* in the political sense.[15] Such inconsistencies, however, do not necessarily diminish the value of his book, since the Greek terminology and the Greeks' understanding of their own environment are issues deliberately left out of consideration in this type of study.[16]

Such investigations are extremely valuable in their own right, but they are not designed to answer the question: What is a *polis*? This is nevertheless still an important question, although to some extent it seems to have become a neglected one. That is why the Copenhagen Polis Centre was set up with the explicit aim of answering that question or at least shedding light on some important aspects of it. We started from the term and, as stated above, we studied both its meaning (or intension) and its denotata (or extension). Building up an Inventory of all named communities called *polis* in Archaic and Classical sources, we focused exclusively on attestations of the term *polis* linked to a named *historical* locality such as Corinth, or Megalopolis, or Thasos, or Miletos. On the other hand, we left out references to named *poleis* in a *mythological* context, e.g. the term *polis* applied to Troy, or Mykenai ruled by Agamemnon, or Athens by Theseus. As a result, all references to named *poleis* in the Homeric poems and in tragedy were omitted.[17]

Next, for every single locality attested as a *polis* in a contemporary source, we collected information about some forty different aspects of its organisation: its territory, history, laws, constitution, *proxenoi*, cults, calendar, participation in Panhellenic games, mint, urban centre, walls, temples, political architecture, etc. In selecting the aspects we wanted to investigate, we used the information obtained in our first general investigation of the meaning of the word: since many sources confirm that it was a characteristic of a *polis* to strike coins, we recorded whether the individual *polis* in question had a mint. Since a participant in the Panhellenic games had to be a citizen of a *polis* in order to participate (*infra* 107), we recorded Panhellenic victors belonging to the *polis*. Since a *boule* was apparently characteristic of a *polis* and never attested in *komai* or *demoi*, we collected information about *boule*, etc. Many of the aspects we looked for could be studied only through archaeological evidence. Did the *polis* in question possess an *agora* or a *bouleuterion* or a *prytaneion*? Was its urban centre protected by a circuit of walls?[18]

Every community explicitly attested as a *polis* in a source of the Archaic and/or Classical period has been included in our inventory and classified as a *polis* type A.[19] If the *polis* in question is not called *polis* individually but is listed

[14] Prominent examples are the surveys of central Boiotia (Bintliff and Snodgrass (1985)), northern Keos (Cherry, Davis and Mantzourani (1991)), southern Argolis (Jameson, Runnels and van Andel (1994)); central Laconia (Cavanagh *et al.* (1996–2002)); Methana (Mee and Forbes (1997)); Kyaneai in Lykia (Kolb (1993–2000)). For a survey of the area covered by surveys up to 1994, see Alcock (1994) 250.

[15] According to Osborne, Elis is the only "city" (=*polis*) in the region and other settlements are described as "villages" (124–27), but in the *Hellenika* Xenophon repeatedly refers to several of them as being *poleis*, see 3.2.23, 3.2.30, 3.5.12, 6.5.2.

[16] See e.g. Fossey's thorough and valuable studies of the settlement pattern of Phokis (1986), Boiotia (1988) and Opountian Lokris (1990) in which he focuses on site-location and has no discussion whatsoever of the site-classifications found in our sources.

[17] Both Homer and tragedy are extremely important sources for the general and ideological aspects of the concept of *polis*, but of no value for a study of *polis* as a site-classification applied to named historical communities. In the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* most of the attestations of *p(t)olis* used about named communities refer to Troy, sometimes to Argos, Sparta, Mykene, Pylos, Ithaka and a few other places. The most problematical passage is the Catalogue of Ships. The context is the Heroic Age and, in so far as they have a historical basis, many of the toponyms listed seem in fact to reflect the Mycenaean Age rather than the Iron Age "Homeric Society" (Hope Simpson and Lazenby (1970)). In Aischylos, Sophokles and Euripides the context is the imagined Heroic Age, and it is not very helpful to be told, for example, that Athens is a *polis* ruled by Theseus (Eur. *Suppl.* 4, 28, 114, etc.). Exceptional are a number of passages from Aischylos' *Persai*. Again, in lyric poetry as well as in prose there are some references to mythological *poleis* which are left out of our investigation, cf. e.g. Lycurg. 1.62 (Troy) or Pind. *Ol.* 10.82 (Tiryns).

[18] For a list of all these questions, see the database card filled in for Tanagra in Hansen (1996*a*) 55–62.

[19] References to *poleis* in later sources are sometimes listed, but they are never used in the analysis as evidence of *polis* status in the Archaic and/or Classical periods. "Later sources" are subdivided into (a) *Retrospective*: the literary sources belonging here are, for instance, attestations of the term *polis* in Diodorus, Strabo, Plutarch, Pausanias, etc. explicitly referring to the Archaic and Classical periods, e.g. Strabo's list of early synoecisms in 8.3.2 or ἐρείπια πόλεως in Paus. when associated with the Archaic or Classical periods (Rubinstein (1995) 218–19). Retrospective epigraphical sources are, for instance, the renewal of a treaty originally concluded before 323, confirmation of a grant, or references in inscriptions to earlier events (e.g. *IG* II^2 505.17ff and *I.Priene* 37–38). (b) *Contemporary*: references to a community being a *polis* in the age of the author or document in question, e.g. Strabo's remark that in his days Thespiai and Tanagra are the only settlements which deserve to be called *poleis* (Strabo 9.2.5); Hellenistic proxeny decrees or alliances, etc. Sources of type (b) are exceptionally recorded but always ignored in our analysis. Sources of type (a) are often used for reconstruction of the history of the *polis* in question, but never accepted as evidence that a community was actually called a *polis* in the Archaic and/or Classical periods.

among other communities under the heading *polis* (cf. *infra* 45–46), it has been classified as a *polis* type [A].

The next step was to collect information about communities which are *not* actually called *polis* in any contemporary source, but which are known for a number of the activities we examined in our investigation of communities actually called *polis*. For example, the community in question had a *bouleuterion* or a *prytaneion*; its citizens are known as victors in the Panhellenic games; or it possessed a mint. Its urban centre was protected by a circuit of walls, and a citizenship decree passed by the assembly is preserved or referred to in a literary source.

If such a community shared a number of properties with the communities actually called *polis*, the presumption is that it was in fact considered to be a *polis* by the Greeks, and that, any day, a new inscription may turn up in which the community is attested directly as a *polis*. One example is the Thessalian city of Atrax. It had an acropolis wall of C5e and a C4 defence circuit protecting the lower town. In C4m it appointed a *theorodokos* to host *theoroi* from Epidauros, and it had a C4 mint, etc. But it was only in 1984 that a funerary epigram was found in which Atrax is explicitly called a *polis* (*SEG* 34 560).

All communities performing activities characteristic of a *polis*, but not explicitly attested as a *polis*, have been added to our inventory, but classified as *poleis* type B or C. The difference between B and C is that for a B we have substantial indications that it must have been a *polis*, whereas for a C only one characteristic is attested, and not a decisive one, or there are so few that we cannot be sure that it is only due to lack of sources that the community in question is not actually recorded as a *polis* in Archaic and Classical sources. Thus, the classification of a *polis* as type A or [A] is mechanical and dictated by our method, whereas the distinction between B and C is to some extent subjective in that it involves an evaluation of which activities were the prerogative of a *polis* and not performed by other types of community and which activities are so important that they qualify a *polis* as a type B rather than a type C.

It should be added that a *polis* type A or [A] is not necessarily a better source for *polis* status than a *polis* type B. In some cases an Archaic or Classical author describing a named community as a *polis* may have been misinformed, or he may mix up two homonymous communities. The C4 treatise ascribed to Ps.-Skylax, for example, is a rather unreliable source for remote regions, such as the south coast of the Black Sea, where the term *polis* is sometimes applied to toponyms that apparently denote a river or a mountain.[20] In such cases a *polis* type A is dubious evidence for *polis* status compared with a *polis* type B for which a whole series of the essential characteristics is attested.

Thus, our principal criterion for inclusion and classification is (1) the requirement that a locality is called a *polis* in at least one contemporary source, i.e. in Archaic and Classical sources down to the death of Alexander the Great in 323, or (2) that, in the Archaic and Classical periods, it performed a number of the activities characteristic of a *polis*.

In adopting this method we were faced with a number of problems. (1) To what extent was *polis* a loaded term and consequently subject to manipulation? (2) To what extent are our sources consistent in their terminology? (3) To what extent did the word *polis* denote the same concept *c.*600 and again *c.*320? (4) To what extent will the mass of Athenian evidence result in an inventory of *poleis* that reflects the idea of a *polis* in Classical Athens but obscures the complexity of the concept as used in the rest of the Greek world? (5) To what extent is our investigation influenced by the fact that the word *polis* is used not just in one sense but has a number of different meanings? In particular, to what extent is the construction of an Inventory of *poleis* impeded by the fact that *polis* sometimes means "town" and sometimes "state"? (6) To what extent is the concept *polis* affected by the term being used not only about Hellenic but also about barbarian communities?

1. The Possible Bias of the Word *Polis*

If living in a *polis* was something worth fighting for, *polis* must have been a loaded term. Thus there is a risk that the use of the term was subject to manipulation and that the classification of a settlement as a *polis* should not be taken at face value, but scrutinised as to when and by whom the classification was made. If this is the case, it will affect our investigation of the concept and—more seriously—it may spoil the value of building up an Inventory of all attested *poleis*. Let us illustrate this problem by a short digression about the modern concepts of democracy and state.

[20] See *infra* Iasonia (no. 716), Karambis (no. 717), Kinolis (no. 720), Koloussa (no. 721), Limne (no. 725), Lykastos (no. 726), Odeinios (no. 727), Tetrakis (no. 731). However, some of these localities may have been *poleis*, cf. Euripos (no. 199) attested in Ps.-Skylax 34 but rejected by most scholars until the discovery of the *theorodokoi* lists from Epidauros (*IG* IV^2.1 95.15) and Nemea (*SEG* 36 331.A.28–30).

The meaning (or intension) of the term "democracy" is, e.g., "a political system in which the whole people make the basic decisions on important matters of public policy" (Holden (1974) 8), whereas the reference (or extension) of the term comprises all democratically governed states (Lijphart (1984) 37–45). But nowadays "democracy" has become a "hurrah word" (Holden (1974) 2) and—apart from China, Iran, Nigeria and a few others—every nation claims to be a democracy. So an inventory including every state called a democracy will comprise the great majority of all states, many of which do not fulfil the criteria included in the definition suggested above. To study the concept of democracy on the basis of a list of states called democracies would be grossly misleading (Holden (1974) 6–8).

The meaning (or intension) of the term "state" is, e.g., "a geographically delimited segment of human society united by common obedience to a single sovereign" (Watkins (1972) 150); the corresponding reference (or extension) of the term comprises all states. Like "democracy", the word "state" is a loaded term, and it really matters to a people whether or not their country is recognised as a state, but, unlike democracy, there is very little disagreement about which countries to include in or exclude from a list of all states. Today the world is subdivided into 192 territorial states—the 191 members of the United Nations plus the Vatican, which does not want to join the UN.[21] There are a few more *de facto* states: Taiwan, which is not allowed to join the UN because of China; North Cyprus, which is not recognised as a state by anyone except Turkey; and Somaliland. And there are some communities that aspire to statehood without having obtained it yet, e.g. the Palestinians. In almost all cases statehood is something that matters, but—a handful of communities excepted—it is not a disputed issue whether a community is a state. Therefore, a study of the extension of the term "state" and of the essential characteristics shared by all states will be a very valuable contribution to our understanding of the concept of state in our times.

Let us return to the term *polis*. Was it, like "democracy", a hurrah word? Or was it, like "state", a loaded term, but not one which became a slogan to such an extent that it was constantly disputed whether or not a given community was a *polis*? Admittedly, the council of war before the battle of Salamis provides us with one such example: it testifies to a disagreement between the Corinthian and the Athenian generals as to whether or not Athens at that moment was a *polis* (Hdt. 8.61). But this is a very special case, because the physical city did not exist any longer, whereas the population retained its identity.

There may have been other similar cases. Suppose, for example, that the inhabitants of a small town insisted on being recognised as a *polis* but were dominated by a strong neighbouring town whose inhabitants would deny that the small dependent town was a *polis*. One possible example is Aigosthena. In the Classical period the small fortified town of Aigosthena in northern Megaris was a dependency of the *polis* of Megara, and in a Megarian decree of *c.*300 it is classified as a *kome* (*IG* VII 1.18). But it is apparently referred to as a *polis* in the C4 *periplous* ascribed to Skylax (Ps.-Skylax 39). Furthermore, *c.*240 it became a member of the Boiotian federation and in a decree passed *c.*200 Aigosthena is explicitly called a *polis* (*IG* VII 207.4). We may reject the classification found in Ps.-Skylax and hold that, in *c.*240, Aigosthena changed its status from being a *kome* in Megaris into being a member state of the Boiotian Federation, i.e. a *polis* (Feyel (1942) 91). But we cannot rule out the possibility that the Aigosthenitai had always claimed that they lived in a *polis*, whereas the Megarians would only grant them the status of being a *kome*. Or, alternatively, the status of *kome* may occasionally have been compatible with that of a dependent *polis* (cf. *infra* 92 and Helisson (no. 273)).

The perioikic communities in Lakedaimon, on the other hand, are consistently referred to as being *poleis*.[22] One suspects that the Spartans might have tried to deny them the status of *polis*, especially after the King's Peace of 386,[23] but among the sources that classify the perioikic communities as *poleis* is Xenophon, who had no quarrel with the Spartans and, in our opinion, his use of the term guarantees that the Greeks were unanimous in their classification of the perioikic communities as dependent *poleis*, i.e. as *poleis* without *autonomia*.

Another scenario is the refugee government. If a *polis* was torn by *stasis* and if one of the factions was sent into exile by the other faction, the exiles might try to form a government and behave as if they were the true *polis* (Seibert (1979) 373–74). The best-attested example concerns a member of the Second Naval Confederacy. Among the Athenian allies is recorded *Ζακυνθίων ὁ δῆμος ὁ ἐν Νήλλωι* (*IG* II^2 43 B 35–38). A comparison with the literary sources indicates

[21] All members of the UN are states. See *The Charter*, Chapter 2, Articles 3–4, and *Rules of Procedure of the General Assembly* 134–38.

[22] Hdt. 7.234.2; Thuc. 5.54.1 (*pace* the note in Gomme, Andrewes and Dover 1970); Xen. *Hell.* 6.5.21; *Ages.* 2.24; *Lac. Pol.* 15.3; Ps.-Skylax 46; Isoc. 12.179; Strabo 8.4.11; Paus. 3.2.6; Polemon, *Περὶ τῶν ἐν Λακεδαίμονι πόλεων*, p. 50, Preller. See Shipley (1997).

[23] Paus. 9.13.2; cf. Hansen (1996*b*) versus Keen (1996) 116–17; see 89 *infra*.

that the *demos* in question was a rebellious faction of exiled democrats who had established themselves in a stronghold called Arkadia, probably to be identified with Nellos. Both Xenophon (*Hell*. 6.2.2–3) and Diodorus (15.45.4) contrast the exiled democrats with *οἱ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως Ζακύνθιοι*, indicating that the position held by the exiled democrats was *not* a *polis*. But the exiles in Nellos are included in the list of allied *poleis* appended to the decree proposed and carried by Aristoteles of Marathon. Now, from the use of the term *polis* in the heading of the list of allies we cannot infer that all the communities subsumed were actually *poleis* in the sense of being political communities of citizens. Nevertheless, we cannot preclude the possibility that the Athenians and the exiled democrats themselves would claim that the stronghold on Zakynthos was a *polis* (Dreher (1995) 176–78).

There are in fact other possible examples of rebellious splinter communities which seem to have succeeded in being recognised as *poleis* by some of the major *poleis*. In 403 the Athenians treated the exiled Samians as the Samian people proper (*IG* II^2 1.44) and their representatives as "envoys" (49: *πρεσβεία*); and the Spartans seem in 370 to have claimed that the exiled Tegeatan oligarchs were the true Tegeatan state, not the democrats who had come to power (Xen. *Hell*. 6.5.36; cf. Gehrke, *Stasis*, 155).

However, other sources indicate that a group of exiles did not necessarily see itself as the *polis* in exile. In Siphnos in C4e the exiled oligarchic faction did in fact set up a kind of refugee government by electing a *strategos autokrator* and a *grammateus*; but their decision to attack Siphnos (now ruled by the democratic faction) is described as a "decree of the refugees", not a decree of the Siphnians or the Siphnian *polis*, and the decision they make is to attack the *polis* of Siphnos (Isoc. 19.38–39).

To conclude: the exchange of words between Themistokles and the Corinthian general Adeimantos is the only unquestionable example of a community whose status as a *polis* is claimed by one person but denied by another. Also, there is nothing strange about the fact that a large group of exiles from a *polis* torn by *stasis* at least for a period tried to act as if they were the true *polis*. In our sources there is a remarkable agreement and very little disagreement about which communities were *poleis*, and the inference is that, like the word "state" but unlike the word "democracy", the word *polis* did not become a slogan, and its application to named communities seems only very occasionally to have been a bone of contention. Admittedly, there were no "international criteria"—such as membership in a body like the UN—by which it was formally decided whether a given political community was a *polis* or not. Yet the rules for participation in the Panhellenic festivals, principally the Olympic Games, may have served as a yardstick not too far removed from some modern international agreements about statehood. A competitor had to be "the legitimate son of free Greek Parents" and "officially registered on the citizen roster of his native city" (Finley and Pleket (1976) 61). We suspect that far from all *poleis* had rosters of citizens, but our sources show that every victor had to be a member of a community that had ratified the Olympic truce and that he was proclaimed victor as a citizen of his *polis* as well as in his own right (Nielsen (2002) 203–11).

2. How Consistent are our Sources in their Use of the Word *Polis*?

Next, are the sources consistent in the way they use the term *polis*?

Many historians are sceptical, and as an example I will quote Peter Rhodes's reaction to the way the Copenhagen Polis Centre constructed its Inventory of *poleis*:

> I suspect we shall find that the Greeks themselves were not wholly consistent in their use of the word. They did not have the advantages of being able to use Liddell and Scott or Ibycus; and we ought to add here that they could not benefit from the researches of the Copenhagen Polis Centre: that is, they were often not as tidy and systematic in their use of their language as a tidy and systematic scholar would wish, and the principle that any political entity which a Greek is known to have called a *polis* must have been a *polis* may not be a useful principle on which to base our research.[24]

This apparently cautious approach may open up a different pitfall for modern historians: whenever a site-classification found in the sources does not fit their understanding of what a *polis* ought to be, they are inclined to dismiss the source as untrustworthy. Let us quote the judicious comment of Edmond Lévy: "Les modernes savent—ou croient savoir—mieux que les Anciens ce qu'est une cité, ce qui leur permet de reprocher à Hérodote d'appeler indûment telle localité une *polis*, d'affirmer que telle *polis* n'ést pas une vraie *polis* ou de traduire à l'occasion, quand le texte grec ne correspond pas aux conceptions modernes, *polis* par 'petite

[24] Rhodes (1995) 91–92. This was written in 1994, and it has to be added that, in the light of the investigations conducted after the 1994 symposium, Peter Rhodes has taken a much more favourable view of the method adopted by the Polis Centre.

cité', 'bourgade' ou 'établissement'" (Lévy (1990) 53–54). Like Lévy, we have always suspected that the ancient Greeks were more consistent in their use of the term *polis* than many modern historians believe—they were as consistent, we think, as modern Europeans are in their use of, e.g., the term "state" (see *supra* 28). No great dictionary or computer concordance is required to use a term with reasonable precision. Most educated persons do not know all the problems concerning how to define a state, but they nevertheless apply the term to named countries with very few mistakes, and this Inventory confirms that inconsistencies in the use of the term *polis* in Archaic and Classical sources are very few and far between.[25]

Now, first we must make sure what we mean by "inconsistency". In this context we take it to be an "inconsistency" if a named locality is described with mutually exclusive terms; whereas to describe a locality with two different terms that can be used synonymously is not an inconsistency. Let us adduce just two examples: if, as some scholars believe, Thorikos had been classified as a contemporary *polis* by Hekataios, or Eleusis by Ps.-Skylax,[26] these would have been flagrant inconsistencies, since Thorikos and Eleusis were incontestably demes and since, in Classical Attika, *demos* and *polis* were mutually exclusive terms.[27] On the other hand, to call a place *polis* in one passage but *chorion* in another one is not an inconsistency, since *chorion* is a vague term that could be used about any type of settlement.[28] Similarly, the terms *asty* and *polisma* are often used synonymously with the term *polis* in its urban sense (*infra* 47–48), which should cause no surprise.

In following these guide-lines, we have in our investigations looked out for two different types of inconsistency: (a) one author (or text) applies different and incompatible site-classifications to the same locality; (b) different authors apply different and incompatible site-classifications to the same locality. We have found very few inconsistencies, and in some of these cases it can be debated whether there is an inconsistency at all. Let us adduce just one example of each type. (a) In Herodotos, both Anthele and Alponos are classified both as *poleis* and as *komai*.[29] (b) When referred to at large, the perioikic communities in Lakonia are called *poleis* in all our sources (*supra* n. 22); some of the named perioikic cities are called *poleis*, e.g. Anthene and Thyrea, but others are called *komai*, e.g. Oion, Tyros and Belbina.[30]

Conversely, the sources testify to a considerable degree of consistency. It is no wonder that all sources refer to, e.g., Athens, Megara, Plataiai and Naupaktos as *poleis*. But it is worth noting that the consistency applies to many small settlements as well. There seem, for example, to have been six urban communities on the Athos peninsula (including Sane). They are called *poleis* by both Herodotos and Thucydides, five are listed in Ps.-Skylax's *Periplous*, and five turn up in the Athenian tribute lists (Hansen (1996*a*) 20).

The conclusion of our investigations is that the Greeks used the term *polis* with remarkable consistency. One of the few notorious inconsistencies is Herodotos' double classification of Alponos and Anthele as both *poleis* and *komai*, to which we can probably add some of the sites called *polis* in one source but known from other sources as civic subdivisions. There was a grey area between *polis* and civic subdivision, be it a *demos* or a *kome* or a *phyle*, etc. But the grey area seems to have been small, as small or perhaps even smaller than the contemporary grey area between what is a state and what is not a state. Today we have truly independent states, members of the EU, federal states, member states of federal states, protectorates, autonomous regions and colonies. And yet we can claim "that there has been a surprisingly broad area of agreement about what constitutes the essential elements of the modern state" (Pierson (1996) 6).

3. The Possible Change of Meaning of the Word *Polis* during the Period *c.*650–323

Our investigation covers the period *c.*650–323, but this span of more than 300 years forces us to address the question

[25] I have once before had the same experience. Until recently it was universally accepted by modern historians that the C4 Athenians were inconsistent in their way of using the terms *nomos* and *psephisma* and that the assembly often legislated by *psephisma* although the passing of all *nomoi* rested with the *nomothetai*. A collection of all relevant sources showed that the Athenians were much more consistent in their legislative procedures and in their use of the terms *nomos* and *psephisma* than modern historians believed (without having examined the evidence). See Hansen (1983).

[26] Thorikos: Hecat. fr. 126, but see Hansen (1997*a*) 25–26; Eleusis: Ps.-Skylax 57, but see Hansen (1996*a*) 30–32.

[27] The so-called Marathonian τετράπολις, composed of four δῆμοι, is a contradiction in terms; but the tradition about the *polis* of Tetrapolis is probably an invention of C7–C6, see no. 361, *infra* 625.

[28] Compare, e.g., *Hell. Oxy.* 20.3, Chambers (where the small Boiotian communities synoecised with Thebes *c.*430 are called *choria*) with 21.5 (where the term *chorion* is used jointly with *polis* about Hyampolis, which was undeniably a *polis* in the political sense).

[29] Alponos: Hdt. 7.216.1 (*polis*), 7.176.5 (*kome*); Anthele: Hdt. 7.176.2 (*polis*), 7.200.2 (*kome*).

[30] *Polis* applied to Thyrea (Thuc. 4.56.2–57.3), Thyrea and Anthene (Thuc. 5.41.2). *Kome* applied to Oion (Xen. *Hell.* 6.5.25–26); Tyros: (*F.Delphes* III.1 68); Belbina: (*CGF Comica Adespota* fr. 343).

whether the concept of *polis* was transformed to such an extent that we ought to split it up into a number of successive concepts rather than perceiving it as, essentially, one concept which, of course, underwent some changes in the course of the period. The obvious way of dealing with this problem is to compare the standard picture of the C4 *polis* with what we find in our oldest sources: some C7–C6 laws inscribed on stone and what we can find in the fragments of contemporary lyric and iambic poets and in Hesiod's *Erga*.[31]

Let us repeat in greater detail what we stated more briefly before (p. 17): in the Classical period the *polis* was a small, highly institutionalised and self-governing community of adult male citizens (called *politai* or *astoi*) living with their wives and children in an urban centre (also called *polis* or, sometimes, *asty*) and its hinterland (called *chora* or *ge*) together with two other types of people: foreigners (*xenoi*) and slaves. As a political community, the *polis* was felt to be one's fatherland (*patris*) and it was identified with its citizens more than its territory. Thus, a city-ethnic, i.e. an adjective derived from the toponym denoting the urban centre, was used collectively as the name of the *polis* and individually as a kind of surname whenever a citizen from a *polis* was mentioned alongside citizens from other *poleis*. Adult male citizens possessed the monopoly of political decision making but they were often split up into opposing factions and rivalry might entail civil war (*stasis*). Furthermore, warfare between *poleis* was endemic; the defence of the *polis* was a central aspect of the community and the urban centre of the *polis* was usually walled.

Every single aspect of this description can be found in sources dating from *c.*600. The smallness of the *polis* is emphasised by Phokylides, a C6 Milesian poet.[32] In a lost poem, paraphrased and echoed in numerous late sources, Alkaios argues that a *polis* is not just a town but a community. The personal sense of the word is emphasised at the expense of the urban sense, but the antithetical way of expressing his view reveals that others might prefer to describe a *polis* as a city in the urban sense of the term,[33] a sense of *polis* explicitly attested in Archilochos.[34] The walls of the *polis* referred to in the paraphrase of Alkaios' poem are directly attested in other poets.[35] So, as far back as our written sources go, the word *polis* is used to designate both a community of human beings and its physical setting, i.e. an urban centre and its hinterland, two parts explicitly juxtaposed in one of Tyrtaios' poems.[36] Next, a C7s law from Dreros demonstrates that the persons who make up the *polis* act as a political community.[37] Here the *polis* in the sense of community is identified with its *politai*.[38] In another poem by Alkaios the citizens are described as some who participate in the meetings of the assembly (*ἀγορά*) and the council (*βόλλα*), both situated in the urban centre.[39] The highly institutionalised character of the *polis* is apparent from Tyrtaios' description of political decision making in C7m Sparta.[40] Rivalry between opposing factions of citizens leading to *stasis* is a recurrent theme in Alkaios' poems.[41] Finally, a Solonian law testifies to an opposition between citizens (*politai*) and foreigners and shows that the citizens form a (small) privileged group different from and smaller than the inhabitants of the *polis* in the sense of a city with its hinterland.[42] On the other hand, when Tyrtaios

[31] In excluding references to *poleis* in a mythological context (*supra* 8), I refrain from using the two Homeric poems and the *Theogony* by Hesiod.

[32] Phokylides fr. 4, Diehl: *πόλις ἐν σκοπέλῳ κατὰ κόσμον οἰκεῦσα σμικρὴ κρέσσων Νίνου ἀφραινούσης* ("A small *polis* well settled on the top of a hill, is better than stupid Nineveh").

[33] Alkaios fr. 426, Lobel and Page: *τὸν λόγον ὃν πάλαι μὲν Ἀλκαῖος ὁ ποιητὴς εἶπεν . . . ὡς ἄρα οὐ λίθοι οὐδὲ ξύλα οὐδὲ τέχνη τεκτόνων αἱ πόλεις εἶεν ἀλλ' ὅπου ποτ' ἂν ὦσιν ἄνδρες αὑτοὺς σῴζειν εἰδότες ἐνταῦθα καὶ τείχη καὶ πόλεις* ("The statement once made by the poet Alkaios . . . 'that *poleis* are neither stones nor timber nor the skill of builders but both walls and *poleis* are to be found where there are men capable of saving themselves'").

Hipponax fr. 50.1: *οἴκει δ' ὄπισθε τῆς πόλιος* ("He lives behind the city") (Ephesos).

[34] Arch. fr. 49.7: *φιλήτᾳ νύκτωρ περὶ πόλιν πωλεομένῳ* ("A thief who wanders about the *polis* at night"). The reference is presumably to Thasos.

[35] Schol. Pind. *Ol.* 8.42: *στέφανος γὰρ ὥσπερ τῶν πόλεων τὰ τείχη. καὶ Ἀνακρέων· νῦν δ' ἀπὸ μὲν στέφανος πόλεως ὄλωλεν* (Anacr. fr. 391, *PMG*) ("since the walls of the *poleis* are like a crown, and Anakreon: 'the crown of the *polis* has now been destroyed'").

[36] Tyrt. fr. 10.3–4: *τὴν δ' αὐτοῦ προλιπόντα πόλιν καὶ πίονας ἀγροὺς / πτωχεύειν πάντων ἔστ' ἀνιηρότατον* ("The worst fate of all is to have left one's *polis* and rich fields and live as a beggar"). Cf. also Solon fr. 36.25: *πολλῶν ἂν ἀνδρῶν ἥδ' ἐχηρώθη πόλις* ("the *polis* deprived of many men") is not just the town of Athens but all of Attika.

[37] *ML* 2.1–2 (law from Dreros, *c.*600): *ἅδ' ἔϝαδε πόλι* ("It was thus decided by the *polis*").

[38] The earliest attestation of the term *πολίτης* ("citizen") is at Arch. fr. 109.1.

[39] Alkaios fr. 130.17–23, Lobel and Page: *ζώω μοῖραν ἔχων ἀγροϊωτίκαν / ἰμέρρων ἀγόρας ἄκουσαι / καρυ[ζο]μένας ὤγεσιλαΐδα / καὶ β[ό]λλας. τὰ πάτηρ καὶ πάτερος πάτηρ / κα . . . ηρας ἔχοντες πεδὰ τωνδέων / τὼν [ἀ]λλαλοκάκων πολίταν / ἔ . . . [ἀ]πὺ τούτων ἀπελήλαμαι . . .* ("It is my fate to live in the countryside although I long to hear the summoning of the assembly, Agesilaidas, and the council. . . . the possessions of my father and grandfather . . . among these mutually destructive *politai* . . . I have been expelled from that . . .").

[40] Tyrt. 4.3–10: *ἄρχειν μὲν βουλῆς θεοτιμήτους βασιλῆας, / οἷσι μέλει Σπάρτης ἱμερόεσσα πόλις, / πρεσβυγενέας τε γέροντας, ἔπειτα δὲ δημότας ἄνδρας / εὐθείαις ῥήτραις ἀνταπαμειβομένους. / μυθεῖσθαι δὲ τὰ καλὰ καὶ ἔρδειν πάντα δίκαια / μηδέ τι βουλεύειν τῇδε πόλει ⟨σκολιόν⟩, / δήμου δὲ πλήθει νίκην καὶ κάρτος ἕπεσθαι. / Φοῖβος γὰρ περὶ τῶν ὧδε ἀνέφηνε πόλει* ("The god-honoured kings shall rule the *boule*, they who care for the lovely *polis* of Sparta, and the reverend elders, and next the men of the people, answering with straightforward *rhetra*. They shall speak what is good and what is just and shall not give the *polis* any ⟨crooked⟩ counsel. Victory and power shall rest with the multitude of the *demos*. For thus spoke Phoibos to the *polis* about these matters").

[41] Alc. frr. 70, 130, 326.

[42] Plut. *Solon* 24.4 (=fr. 75, Ruschenbusch): *παρέχει δ' ἀπορίαν καὶ ὁ τῶν δημοποιήτων νόμος, ὅτι γενέσθαι πολίτας οὐ δίδωσι πλὴν τοῖς φεύγουσιν ἀει-*

uses *polis* in its personal sense and speaks of how the whole *polis* mourns for a brave soldier killed in battle, women and children are undoubtedly included among those who constitute the *polis*.[43] The *polis*'s mourning for a brave soldier reflects the ideology that citizens are expected to die for their *polis*, in this context conceived as their *patris*.[44] Wars between *poleis* are attested in dedications set up in Olympia to commemorate one *polis*'s victory over another *polis*, and here the *poleis* are identified by city-ethnics in the plural,[45] whereas city-ethnics used individually were inscribed *c.*600 by Greek mercenaries on the statue of Rameses II in Abu Simbel.[46]

Thus, the essential elements in the concept of *polis* found in the late Classical period are all present *c.*600. The concept of *polis* had a core that persisted unchanged throughout the period in question. Writing about the *polis* in C4m, Aristotle can have had no difficulty agreeing with the Archaic texts quoted above, and if Alkaios had had an opportunity to read Aristotle's *Politics*, he would undoubtedly have been familiar with the philosopher's descriptions of the *polis*. How widespread this concept of *polis* was in *c.*600, and how many *poleis* there were in Alkaios' day, are different questions which we want to address in a different context.

4. Possible Regional Variations in the Meaning and Use of the Word *Polis*

Not only chronological but also regional variations must be taken into account. One might suspect that the concept of *polis* in Athens was different from what people thought a *polis* was in Mantinea, or Thebes, or Pantikapaion, or Syracuse, or Kyrene, etc. Consequently, since our investigation starts from the term *polis* as found in the written sources, and since the bulk of our texts are Athenian, we must beware of the risk that our inventory of *poleis* will reflect the idea of the *polis* in Classical Athens and obscure the complexity of the concept as used in the rest of the Greek world. The problem has three facets. (a) To what extent are our sources biased by dealing with Athens more than with the 1,034 other *poleis* described in this Inventory? It must be admitted that Athens, and especially C4 Athens, is the only *polis* for which almost all aspects of the community can be reconstructed with some confidence. (b) To what extent is our information about the 1,034 other *poleis* biased by being based on Athenian sources? Most of our information about the number and identity of Greek *poleis* in C5s comes from Thucydides and from the Athenian tribute lists. But Thucydides, though in exile, was an Athenian citizen, and the tribute lists must reflect the official Athenian view of the members of the Delian League (Schuller (1995)). (c) To what extent is our general and more abstract picture of the *polis* biased by the fact that the most important general discussions of the concept of *polis* are found in Plato's dialogues and in Aristotle's political treatises? Plato was an Athenian citizen, and Aristotle, though born in Stagiros in Thrace, spent most of his adult life in Athens.

The only way of testing whether an investigation of the concept of *polis* based on all sources will be biased by being too Athenocentric is to compare the concept of *polis* in the Athenian sources with what we find in all the non-Athenian authors and documents. Our investigation points to a remarkable degree of agreement between the Athenian view of the *polis* and what we know about the concept of the *polis* in the rest of the Greek world.

(1) As pointed out above, the concept of *polis* figures prominently in lyric and iambic poets of the Archaic and early Classical periods, especially in Archilochos, Tyrtaios, Alkaios, Solon, the Theognidea, Simonides, Bacchylides and Pindar. Of these, Solon is the only Athenian, and his concept of *polis* in no way stands out from that found in the others.

(2) Including restorations, the word *polis* is used approximately 1,450 times in inscriptions down to 300, *c.*425 times in Attic inscriptions and *c.*1,025 times in inscriptions from the rest of the Greek world. The word is used *c.*1,210 times about 242 named communities.[47] The remaining at-

φυγίᾳ τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἢ πανεστίοις Ἀθήναζε μετοικιζομένοις ἐπὶ τέχνῃ ("His law concerning naturalised citizens is a surprising one, because it granted naturalisation only to those who had emigrated with their families to practise a trade. Solon's object here, we are told, was not so much to discourage other types of immigrants as to invite these particular categories to Athens with the assurance that they could become citizens there" (trans. I. Scott-Kilvert)). I fully endorse the interpretation offered by Lambert (1993) 381–83, *pace* Davies (1978).

[43] Tyrt. fr. 12.27–28, West: *τὸν δ' ὀλοφύρονται μὲν ὁμῶς νέοι ἠδὲ γέροντες, / ἀργαλέῳ δὲ πόθῳ πᾶσα κέκηδε πόλις* ("Young and old alike mourn for him and the whole *polis* is deeply grieved").

[44] Tyrt. fr. 10.1–2: *τεθνάμεναι γὰρ καλὸν ἐνὶ προμάχοισι πεσόντα / ἄνδρ' ἀγαθὸν περὶ ᾗ πατρίδι μαρνάμενον* ("It is good for a brave man to fall and die, fighting in the front ranks for his *patris*").

[45] *SEG* 24 300: *Θεβαῖοι τῶν ηυετίον* ("The Thebans from the Hyettians") (C6s).

[46] ML 7c: *Τήλεφός μ' ἔγραφε ho 'Ιαλύσιος*.

[47] Altogether 135 of the 242 *poleis* are called *polis* individually in at least one inscription. Another 107 *poleis* are recorded only in inscriptions in which *polis* is just a heading of a list of named communities. By far the longest such list is the one appended to the so-called Charter of the Second Athenian Naval League

testations are to the *polis* in general or to an unidentifiable *polis*. The main difference between Athenian and non-Athenian inscriptions seems to be that, in publication formulas, the sense of "acropolis" is very common in Attic inscriptions down to C4e, but virtually unattested outside Athens.[48] Apart from that, a comparison of the occurrences of *polis* in laws, proxeny decrees, funerary epigrams, inventories and other types of public document from different *poleis* reveals that the similarities in meaning and reference predominate in inscriptions from the entire Hellenic world (Hansen (1998) 67–68; Flensted-Jensen, Hansen, and Nielsen (2000)).

(3) Apart from Thucydides, our principal source for the meanings and uses of the term *polis* in C5 is Herodotos, and he was *not* an Athenian but a Halikarnassian who probably spent the last two decades of his life in Thourioi. If we focus on the intension of the term *polis*, we note, for example, that Herodotos and Thucydides both take a *bouleuterion* to be *the* public building which constitutes a *polis* in the sense of a self-governing community (Hdt. 1.170.3; Thuc. 2.15.2). And if we examine the extension of the term *polis*, we can compare the two historians' classification of the Greek settlements from Argilos west of the river Strymon to Poteidaia on Pallene. Herodotos lists the *poleis* in this region in book 7 in connection with Xerxes' march through Thrace. Thucydides treats the same region in book 4 in his description of Brasidas' campaign in 424–422, and a number of the communities are mentioned again in the peace of Nikias. A comparison between the settlements called *polis* by either author reveals a remarkable agreement and there is no detectable disagreement (Hansen (1996a) 24).

(4) In his book *How to Survive under Siege*, Aineias the Tactician treats the *polis* both as a (walled) urban centre and as a political community which has to make decisions about its defence. His views of the *polis* are so varied and illuminating that they have inspired a historian to write an article entitled "Polisbegriff und Stasistheorie des Aeneas Tacticus" (Winterling (1991); see esp. 205–11). Who Aineias was is still in dispute, but the prevailing opinion—to which we subscribe—is that he was Aineias of Stymphalos, general of the Arkadians in the 360s (Whitehead (1990) 10–13). Thus he provides us with another non-Athenian view of the *polis*, but nevertheless one which is indistinguishable from what we would have obtained if a similar investigation of the concept of *polis* had been based on Thucydides, Xenophon and Demosthenes.

(5) As stated above, the questions we ask concerning every community called *polis* in a contemporary source have been generated by our investigation of how the term *polis* is used in all sources: a *polis* struck coins, passed laws, waged war, was protected physically by its walls and spiritually by its protecting divinity, etc. *Polis* appears as the subject in a large number of sentences which illustrate the variety of the activities performed by the *polis*. A list of such activities, in each case matching an Athenian with a non-Athenian source, demonstrates that there is no difference between Athens and elsewhere in what the *polis* is supposed to do.[49]

(6) To the above examples must be added how other *poleis* are treated in Athenian sources. In the *Politics* Aristotle adduces some 270 historical examples to illustrate and exemplify his analysis of the *polis*. Only some thirty of his historical examples concern Athens, whereas the other 240 examples are drawn from a wide range of *poleis*, e.g. Lakedaimon, Syracuse, Kyrene, plus some eighty other *poleis*. The impression one gets from reading the empirical part of the treatise, *viz*. books 3–6, is that the work is far from being Athenocentric. It may, of course, be objected that Aristotle is interpreting all the other *poleis* and their constitutions in the light of the Athenian constitution, but in so far as we can check them, Aristotle's generalisations about the *polis* seem to be based on the non-Athenian much more than the Athenian examples (Hansen (1998) 104–5).

To conclude: our non-Athenian sources are so numerous and varied that, with due caution, it seems perfectly possible to counteract any tendency to draw a too Athenocentric picture of the *polis*. Furthermore, a comparison between Athenian and non-Athenian sources indicates that an Athenian's idea of a *polis* cannot have been radically different from what an Arkadian or a Milesian or a Syracusan thought a *polis* was. Quite the contrary.

(*IG* II^2 43 A79–90, B7–38). In the C5 Athenian tribute lists (*IG* I^3 259–90) the only occurrence of *polis* in a heading is in *IG* I^3 285.7 where, however, πόλις is completely restored. In the tribute lists from 434/3 onwards, πόλις does occur in some of the subheadings, the so-called rubrics, and the communities listed after such subheadings are included in our count. See 111 *infra*.

[48] In Attic inscriptions there are 115 attestations of *polis* referring to the Acropolis of Athens, plus the reference to the acropolis of Erchia in *SEG* 21 541. Outside Athens the only occurrences we have found are *IG* IV 492.3 (Mykenai); ?*SEG* 41 725B (Eretria); *IG* XII.1 977A.35, 39 (Lindos); *I.Ephesos* 1.2 (Ephesos). In *I.Délos* 104–24.9 *polis* is completely restored. In *SEG* 26 1282.5–6 (Erythrai) the article τῆι shows that the sense is "town" and not "acropolis" (*pace* RO 17).

[49] Hansen (1998) 67–68. For an updated list focusing on the non-Athenian examples, see Hansen (2002) 24–25.

5. The Multiple Meanings of the Word *Polis*

In the next section about the uses of the word *polis* it will be argued (1) that the word *polis* has several meanings; (2) that the two predominant meanings are "town" and "state", with "territory" (= town plus hinterland) as a much less frequently attested third meaning; (3) that in many cases *polis* bears both the predominant senses simultaneously and can reasonably be rendered "city-state"; but (4) that in many other cases *polis* means either "town" *or* "state". Now, if *polis* in the sense of town and in the sense of state was often used to denote essentially different objects, it would be a waste of time to draw up an Inventory of all *poleis*. Some of the entries would describe a town which was not the centre of a state, and others would describe a state which had no urban centre. The validity of the enterprise depends on the validity of one further observation made in the Polis Centre and therefore, for the fun of it, called the *Lex Hafniensis de civitate*.[50]

It concerns the use of the word *polis* in ancient Greek texts down to *c.*300 and runs as follows:

> [I]n Archaic and Classical sources the term *polis* used in the sense of 'town' to denote a named urban centre is applied not just to any urban centre but only to a town which was also the centre of a *polis* in the sense of political community. Thus, the term *polis* has two different *meanings*: town and state; but even when it is used in the sense of town its *reference*, its denotation, seems almost invariably to be what the Greeks called *polis* in the sense of a *koinonia politon politeias* and what we call a city-state.[51]

The *Lex Hafniensis* applies to Greek *poleis* only. For the use of *polis* in relation to barbarian communities, see *infra* 36.

An examination of all prose texts down to the end of C4 shows that there are 447 Hellenic communities called *polis* in the urban sense in Archaic and Classical sources (listed in Hansen (2000*c*) 182–92).[52] Of these 447 urban centres, sixty-three must be left out of consideration because there is no other source antedating *c.*300 or referring to the Archaic and/or Classical periods (listed in Hansen (2000*c*) 193 nn. 40–41). Consequently there is no way of having the *Lex Hafniensis* either confirmed or disproved. Of the remaining 384 attestations, only twenty are problematic (discussed in Hansen (2000*c*) 195–202). One occurrence flatly contradicts our observation: in *Poroi* 54 Xenophon proposes to build a *polis* in the mine district at Laureion and to have it populated with slaves. This imaginary nucleated settlement is the only unquestionable instance of a *polis* town which was *not* the centre of a *polis* state.[53] There are nineteen other instances in which it is an issue whether an attested *polis* town was a *polis* state as well. If, in everyone of these nineteen cases, we prefer an interpretation that does not conform with our rule, it still applies in 95 per cent of all cases.

Even assuming that some, or even all, of the twenty problematic *poleis* were not *poleis* in the political sense, that does not necessarily imply that they are exceptions to the rule. The explanation may well be that the author is simply wrong. When Theopompos, for example, in fr. 149 calls Dystos (no. 369) a *polis* in the urban sense, he may have been mistaken about the site-classification in *both* the urban *and* the political sense: *viz*. Dystos was a *demos* of Eretria and not a *polis* in any sense of the term, but Theopompos erroneously believed that it was. In that case the connection between the urban and the political aspect of the *polis* is not in dispute, and the error is due to Theopompos' ignorance concerning the social and political organisation of Euboia.

The *Lex Hafniensis* testifies to one side of the close connection between the urban and political aspects of the concept of *polis*: every *polis* town was the urban centre of a *polis* state. The other side is the converse proposition: that every *polis* state was centred on a *polis* town. A full investigation has yet to be conducted, but a preliminary overview of the evidence does in fact support the converse proposition (Hansen (2004)).

Of all the 1,035 communities recorded in this Inventory, 287 are called *polis* in the political sense in Archaic and/or Classical sources. Of these, 204 are known to have had a walled urban centre attested not later than C4l.[54] For a further twenty-four *poleis* an urban centre is attested either archaeologically (Elis (no. 251)) or in literary sources (Aitna (no. 8)) or in both types of source (Sparta (no. 345)). Of the remaining fifty-nine *poleis*, twenty-three are unlocated and thirty-four unexplored, and in all these cases we must suspend judgement. Of communities called *polis* in the political sense there are only two for which no urban centre has been found, in spite of the fact that they have been fairly

[50] For the meaning of *lex* in this context, see Hansen (2000*c*) 203–4.

[51] Hansen (1996*a*) 28, 33; (2000*c*) 173–82.

[52] The investigation was conducted in 1999. Additional information has resulted in a few minor revisions of the figures; see 75 n. 21. An updated survey will be published in a forthcoming volume.

[53] Gauthier (1976) 188 notes how surprising it is to find *polis* used in this context: "Cela surprend d'abord, car les bourgades dispersées du Laurion, même si elles s'étaient rapidement développées, n'auraient jamais formé une ville, au sens où nous entendons ce terme."

[54] In fifteen cases, however, the walls are still undated and some of these are possibly (early) Hellenistic.

thoroughly investigated: Epitalion in Triphylia (no. 305) and Delphi in Phokis (no. 177).[55]

A different approach leads to the same result: of the 287 communities called *polis* in the political sense, 243 (including Delphi) are attested as a *polis* in the urban sense as well. Of the remaining forty-four *poleis*, so far attested in the political sense only, twenty-six had a walled urban centre, and for five others an urban centre is attested. Of the remaining thirteen *poleis*, six are unlocated, six uninvestigated; for Epitalion, see *supra*.

Comparing the two investigations, it can be added that seventeen of the unlocated and twenty-seven of the unexplored *poleis* in the political sense are attested as *poleis* in the urban sense as well. Future surveys or excavations may in all forty-four cases disclose the remains of walls and/or habitation quarters. For the Classical period the only examples of communities explicitly attested as a *polis* in the political sense but apparently without a nucleated centre which the Greeks would call a *polis* in the urban sense seem to be Delphi and Epitalion, of which Delphi is in fact called a *polis* in the urban sense.[56] Of course, a *polis* town was only very exceptionally an urban centre inhabited by more than 10,000 persons, the minimum population of a "city" according to some modern historians.[57] On the other hand, an ancient Greek *polis* centre seems in the great majority of all cases to have had a population of more than 1,000 inhabitants (cf. *infra* 139).

The overall conclusion seems to be that, in the eyes of the Greeks, every *polis* town was the centre of a *polis* state, and every *polis* state was centred on a *polis* town. This conclusion is valid for the Classical period, and especially for C4. To a large extent it is valid for the Archaic period too, as appears from section (3) *supra* and from the information assembled in the Inventory below.[58] However, it must be remembered that, although the archaeological evidence about Archaic settlements grows rapidly every year, the collected data are still much too scanty to allow of any firm conclusion.

The approach of the Polis Centre and the method we have used to collect the evidence and build up the Inventory are, of course, endorsed by all members of the team. But they are not approved of by all scholars in the field. Quite the contrary. A trend among modern ancient historians is to dissociate the concept of state from the concept of town and to further dissociate both concepts from the concept of *polis*. One of the most prominent of these historians is John Davies. Under the heading "town formation, state formation and *polis* formation", he writes:

> The separation of these processes in ancient Greece is probably the most difficult, and yet the most essential, of all the disjunctions that need to be made. They overlap in every possible way: yet not all states were, or became, *poleis* (e.g. Thessaly), not all towns became the centres of *poleis* (e.g. Acharnai, Gonnos), not all *poleis* were towns [for example, Eutaia in Mainalia (Xen. *Hell.* 6.5.12)], and so on.[59]

A closer look at the examples adduced in support of the separation seems to point in the opposite direction. (a) Thessaly was not a state; it was, in some periods, a confederation (Hdt. 5.65.3, 4.78.3) consisting of the largest number of *poleis* in any Greek region (Xen. *Hell.* 6.1.14, 19; nos. 393–470).[60] (b) Acharnai was not a town, it was a *demos*, i.e. a local community. It may have had a nucleated centre, but not necessarily (see 626 *infra*). If it had, it may have been a mere village, not a town, and so far no trace of a town of Acharnai has been found (Travlos (1988) 1). (c) Gonnos (no. 463) was indeed a town, and it was certainly the centre

[55] Excavations of the urban centre of Epitalion have, so far, disclosed remains of the Hellenistic and Roman periods. It cannot be precluded that future excavations will lead to the discovery of Classical material, or that the urban centre of Epitalion was moved to its present site in the Hellenistic period. It is perhaps more surprising that no remains of an urban centre have been found at Delphi, which twice in our sources is referred to as a *polis* in the urban sense (Hdt. 8.36.2; Ps.-Skylax 37).

[56] For the view that both Sparta and Mantinea were *poleis* in the urban sense, see Hansen (1997*b*) 35–37.

[57] De Vries (1984); cf. Horden and Purcell (2000) 93.

[58] The presumption is that there were fewer cities in the Archaic period than in C4, but there may have been fewer *poleis* too. Around 600 many of the C4 *poleis* may not yet have been recognised as *poleis* and may not yet have had an urban centre.

[59] Davies (1997) 29. The text in square brackets is n. 25 in which Davies also refers to Kolb (1984); Murray and Price (1990); Hansen (*CPCActs* 1) and Hansen and Raaflaub (*CPCPapers* 2).

[60] There is one source in which, perhaps, Thessaly is called a *polis*, i.e. schol. Eur. *Rhes.* 307 = Arist. fr. 498 (Rose) or fr. 504.1 (Gigon): . . . *καθάπερ φησὶν Ἀριστοτέλης ἐν Θεσσαλῶν πολιτείᾳ γράφων οὕτως "διελὼν δὲ τὴν πόλιν Ἀλεύας ἔταξε κατὰ τὸν κλῆρον παρέχειν ἑκάστους, ἱππέας μὲν τεσσαράκοντα, ὁπλίτας δὲ ὀγδοήκοντα"* ("As Aristotle says in the Constitution of the Thessalians where he writes: 'subdividing the *polis* Aleuas laid down that each district should provide 40 men cavalry and 80 hoplites'"). Larsen (1968) 17 believes that Aristotle here refers to all of Thessaly as one *polis*. That is not impossible, but it is unlikely. First, the text is emended by the editors: *τὰς πόλεις* (Arist. fr. 498, Rose) or *τὴν πολιτείαν* (Schwartz, Arist. fr. 504.1, Gigon, who does not note that he prints a conjecture). Even if we accept the text of the manuscripts, we cannot be sure that Aristotle refers to all of Thessaly. The reference may be to Larisa (no. 401), which was a *polis* in the usual sense. This is the view advocated by Helly (1995) 170–91. That the reference must be to Thessaly is based on the assumption that Aristotle's *κοινὴ Θετταλῶν πολιτεία* (fr. 502) was a description of the Thessalian federal constitution. But that may well be a misinterpretation of the title. Like the Cretan *politeia*, the Aristotelian constitution of the Thessalians may have been an ideal type, a description of a *polis* constitution, constructed from information drawn from a number of Thessalian *poleis*.

of a *polis*. It is explicitly called a *polis* in the urban sense by Herodotos (7.128.1, 173.4), referring to 480. It is attested as a *polis* in the political sense in a decree of *c.*300 (*SEG* 36 566), and it struck coins in C4. (d) Eutaia (no. 270) is attested as a *polis* at Xen. *Hell*. 6.5.12, and we are told that the settlement had a defence circuit. The site (Lianos) has not been excavated, but the abundance of sherds and minor architectural members found in the fields fit Xenophon's description of Eutaia as a *polis* in the urban sense.

From these examples and all the evidence assembled in this Inventory it follows that in Archaic and Classical Greece the concept of a state was interlocked with the concept of a town, and both concepts must be closely connected with the concept of *polis*.

6. Barbarian *Poleis*

Not only Greek but also barbarian towns are called *polis* by Greek authors; forty-seven named barbarian towns are labelled *polis* in Herodotos, seven in Thucydides, and twenty-one in Xenophon.

Sometimes these towns were actually urban centres of city-states. Thus, the Phoenician city and city-state Sidon is called a *polis* by Herodotos at 3.136.1, and in an Attic honorific decree for King Straton of Sidon the Sidonians are called citizens of Sidon (*IG* II^2 141 = RO 21). Similarly, in Thucydides some Etruscan city-states are referred to as being *poleis* (6.88.6; cf. Arist. *Mir*. 837^{b}32), and so are the Elymean cities of Eryx and Egesta (6.2.3). Rome is classified as a *polis* in the urban sense by Ps.-Skylax 5, and in C4 Rome was actually a *polis* in the political sense too.

Sometimes the Greek historians and geographers seem—erroneously—to have believed that barbarian towns were *poleis* in the political sense and that the political structure of, e.g., the Persian Empire was not essentially different from that of Hellas. In his description of the battle of Salamis, for example, Herodotos tells us that Xerxes ordered a scribe to record the name, patronymic and *polis* of any captain who distinguished himself in the fight (8.90.4); Herodotos seems to assume that every Persian captain belonged to a *polis* and could be identified by his city-ethnic. Similarly, in 7.96.2 he ends his list of all the contingents of the Persian forces with the remark that he will not bother to give the names of all the leaders, first because the leaders of the individual *peoples* (*ethne*) were not worth mentioning, and second because, in each people, there were as many leaders as there were *poleis* (Hdt. 7.96.2). Again, the political structure of the Persian Empire is represented as a plurality of *ethne*, each consisting of a number of *poleis*.

In most cases, however, the Greek authors must have applied the term *polis* to a barbarian urban centre knowing that, on the one hand, it was a nucleated settlement and, on the other hand, it was not a political community like a Greek *polis*. Herodotos says that there were 20,000 *poleis* in Egypt (2.177.1). He may have believed that there were 20,000 nucleated settlements, but we should not take him to believe that there were 20,000 self-governing polities. Again, in the *Anabasis* (1.2.14) Xenophon describes the Phrygian town Tyrieion as a *polis* in the urban sense (*πόλιν οἰκουμένην*), but a recently found inscription shows that only in C2m, by royal rescript, was Tyrieion granted the right to be a fully Hellenised *polis* in the political sense (*SEG* 47 1745).

This observation, however, does not invalidate our investigation, which concerns exclusively the term *polis* used about Greek towns. The Greeks used their own term *polis* about barbarian towns, no matter whether they were self-governing communities or not. It would be unwise to reverse the line of thought and infer from the frequent use of *polis* about barbarian towns which were *not* city-states that it must have been used in the same way when applied to Greek towns classified as *poleis*. Let us illustrate this point by an ancient parallel and a modern analogy.

The Greeks were notorious for reading their own names, terms and concepts into foreign cultures. Thus, they readily equated foreign divinities with the gods of their own pantheon. In Herodotos' account of Skythia we hear that Tabiti was Hestia, Papaios was Zeus, Api was Ge, Goitosyros was Apollo, Argimpasa was Aphrodite, and Thagimasadas was Poseidon (4.59). We may find some common characteristic which can explain why, e.g., Argimpasa was called Aphrodite, but it would be a gross mistake from what we may know about Argimpasa to argue backwards and suppose that that must have applied to Greek Aphrodite as well.

The modern analogy concerns the European concept of a state. Since the nineteenth century, Europeans have been in the habit of referring to, e.g., the Bantu-speaking kingdoms in Uganda as "states" (Steinhart (1978)). Before 1967 these kingdoms were indeed political communities, and in some sense it is not wrong to call them states; but they were radically different from European states; the Europeans knew that they were applying their own concept of a state to a very different type of community, and it would be misguided in an analysis of the European concept of a state to take the labelling of these communities as states as an indication

that the term "state" was used in the same way in European politics and political thought. It would be equally misguided from the Greek habit of calling barbarian towns *poleis* to deduce that the Greeks must have used the term *polis* in the same way in relation to Greek towns.

The conclusion is that two separate investigations of the meanings and uses of *polis* must be conducted, one for Greek communities and one for barbarian, and only afterwards can a comparison be made in order to study similarities and differences. It must be added, however, that it is not always easy to distinguish the Greek from the barbarian *poleis*, and some *poleis* were mixed: e.g. the five *poleis* in Athos (Thuc. 4.109.4) and some of the *poleis* in the Thermaic Gulf, *viz*. Therme (Hecat. fr. 146), Pella and Ichnai (Hdt. 7.123.3). In other cases there are reasons to doubt that some *poleis* in border districts were at all Greek, e.g. Kadyanda, Pinara and Tlos in Lykia (*SEG* 36 1216.4). Our method has been to include in our Inventory both mixed *poleis* and *poleis* for which the sources leave room for doubt.

REFERENCES

Alcock, S. E. 1994. "Minding the Gap in Hellenistic and Roman Greece", in S. E. Alcock and R. Osborne (eds.), *Placing the Gods* (Oxford) 247–61.

Bintliff, J. L., and Snodgrass, A. M. 1985. "The Boiotia Survey, a Preliminary Report: The First Four Years", *JFA* 12: 123–61.

Bluntschli, J. B. 1886. *Lehre vom modernen Staat* i–iii (Berlin). The English edition, *Theory of the State* (London, 1885), was translated from the proofs of the German edition and appeared before the original.

Bonner, R. J. 1910. "The Boeotian Federal Constitution", *CP* 5: 405–17.

Bruce, I. A. F. 1967. *An Historical Commentary on the 'Hellenica Oxyrhynchia'* (Cambridge).

Burke, P. 1992. *History and Social Theory* (Cambridge).

Busolt, G., and Swoboda, H. 1926. *Griechische Staatskunde* ii (Munich).

Camp, J. 2000. "Walls and the *Polis*", *Polis & Politics* 41–57.

Carter, J. C. 1992. "The Decline of Magna Graecia in the Age of Pyrrhos? New Evidence from the Chora", in T. Hackens *et al*. (eds.), *The Age of Pyrrhos* (Louvain) 97–145.

Cavanagh, W., *et al*. (eds.) 1996–2002. *Continuity and Change in a Greek Rural Landscape: The Laconia Survey* i–ii (London).

Cherry, J. F., Davis, J. L., and Mantzourani, E. 1991. *Landscape Archaeology as Long-Term History: Northern Keos in the Cycladic Islands* (Los Angeles).

Davies, J. K. 1978. "Athenian Citizenship: The Descent Group and the Alternatives", *CJ* 73: 105–21.

—— 1997. "The 'Origins of the Greek *Polis*'. Where Should We Be Looking?", in L. Mitchell and P. J. Rhodes (eds.), *The Development of the Polis in Archaic Greece* (London) 24–38.

—— "Ancient Economies: Models and Muddles", in H. Parkins and C. Smith (eds.), *Trade, Traders and the Ancient City* (London) 225–56.

Dreher, M. 1995. "Poleis und Nicht-Poleis im Zweiten Athenischen Seebund", *CPCActs* 2: 171–200.

Feyel, M. 1942. *Polybe et l'histoire de Béotie au IIIe siècle avant notre ère* (Chartres).

Fiehn, K. 1935. "Mykalessos", *RE* xvi.1. 1005.

Finley, M. I. 1981. "The Ancient City from Fustel de Coulanges to Max Weber and Beyond", in *Economy and Society in Ancient Greece* (London) 3–23.

—— and Pleket, H. 1976. *The Olympic Games* (London).

Flensted-Jensen, P., Hansen, M. H., and Nielsen, T. H. 2000. "The Use of the Word *Polis* in Inscriptions", *CPCPapers* 5: 161–72.

Fossey, J. M. 1986. *The Ancient Topography of Eastern Phokis* (Amsterdam).

—— 1988. *Topography and Population of Ancient Boiotia* (Chicago).

—— 1990. *The Ancient Topography of Opountian Lokris* (Amsterdam).

Gauthier, P. 1976. *Commentaire historique des* Poroi *de Xénophon* (Paris).

Gawantka, W. 1985. *Die sogenannte Polis* (Stuttgart).

Gomme, A. W., Andrewes, A., and Dover, K. J. 1970. *A Historical Commentary on Thucydides*, iv (Oxford).

Hansen, M. H. 1983. *The Athenian Ecclesia*, i (Copenhagen).

—— 1994*a*. "*Poleis* and City-States 600–323 B.C.: A Comprehensive Research Programme", *CPCPapers* 1: 9–17.

—— 1994*b*. "*Polis*, *Civitas*, Stadtstaat and City-State", *CPCPapers* 1: 18–22.

—— 1995*a*. "Boiotian *Poleis*—A Test Case", *CPCActs* 2: 13–63.

—— 1995*b*. "The 'Autonomous City-State': Ancient Fact or Modern Fiction?", *CPCPapers* 2: 21–43.

—— 1995*c*. "*Kome*: A Study in How the Greeks Designated and Classified Settlements which were not *Poleis*", *CPCPapers* 2: 45–81.

—— 1996*a*. "ΠΟΛΛΑΧΩΣ ΠΟΛΙΣ ΛΕΓΕΤΑΙ (Arist. *Pol*. 1276[a]23): The Copenhagen Inventory of *Poleis* and the *Lex Hafniensis de Civitate*", *CPCActs* 3: 7–72.

—— 1996*b*. "Were the Boiotian *Poleis* Deprived of their *Autonomia* during the First and Second Boiotian Federations? A Reply", *CPCPapers* 3: 127–36.

—— 1997*a*. "Hekataios' Use of the Word *Polis* in his *Periegesis*", *CPCPapers* 4: 17–27.

Hansen, M. H. 1997*b*. "The *Polis* as an Urban Centre: The Literary and Epigraphical Evidence", *CPCActs* 4: 9–86.
—— 1998. *Polis and City-State: An Ancient Concept and its Modern Equivalent*. *CPCActs* 5.
—— 2000*a*. "Introduction: The Concepts of City-State and City-State Culture", *Thirty City-State Cultures* 11–34.
—— 2000*b*. "Conclusion: The Impact of City-State Cultures on World History", *Thirty City-State Cultures* 597–623.
—— 2000*c*. "A Survey of the Use of the Word *Polis* in Archaic and Classical Sources", *CPCPapers* 5: 173–215.
—— 2002. "Was the *Polis* a State or a Stateless Society?", *CPCPapers* 6: 17–47.
—— (2004). "Was Every *Polis* State Centred on a *Polis* Town?", *CPCPapers* 7: 131–47.
Helly, B. 1995. *L'État thessalien: Aleuas le Roux les tétrates et les tagoi* (Lyon).
Holden, B. 1974. *The Nature of Democracy* (London).
Hope Simpson, R., and Lazenby, J. F. 1970. *The Catalogue of Ships in Homer's* Iliad (Oxford).
Horden, P., and Purcell, N. 2000. *The Corrupting Sea: A Study of Mediterranean History* (Oxford).
Jameson, M. H., Runnels, C. N., and van Andel, T. H. 1994. *A Greek Countryside* (Stanford, Calif.).
Keen, A. 1996. "Were the Boiotian *Poleis Autonomoi*?", *CPCPapers* 3: 113–25.
Kolb, F. 1984. *Die Stadt im Altertum* (Munich).
—— 1993–2000. *Lykische Studien*, i–v (Bonn).
Lambert, S. D. 1993. *The Phratries of Attica* (Ann Arbor).
Larsen, J. A. O. 1968. *Greek Federal States* (Oxford).
Lévy, E. 1990. "La Cité grecque: invention moderne ou réalité antique?", *Cahiers du Centre G. Glotz* 1: 53–67.
Lijphart, A. 1984. *Democracies: Patterns of Majoritarian and Consensus Government in Twenty-One Countries* (New Haven).
Lyons, J. 1977. *Semantics*, i–ii (Cambridge).
Madvig, J. N. 1840. Indbydelsesskrift til Universitetsfesten den 6te juli 1840 i Anledning af Deres Majestæters Kong Christian den Ottendes og Dronning Caroline Amalies Salving og Kroning indeholdende: *Blik på Oldtidens Statsforfatninger med Hensyn til Udviklingen af Monarchiet og en omfattende Statsorganisme* af Professor Dr. J. N. Madvig (Copenhagen).
—— 1842. "Blicke auf die Staatsverfassungen des Alterthums, mit Rücksicht auf die Entwicklung der Monarchie und eines umfassenden Staatsorganismus", in *Archiv für Geschichte, Statistik, Kunde der Verwaltung und Landesrechte der Herzogthümer Schleswig, Holstein und Lauenburg* (Kiel), 12–51.
McAllister, M. H. 1976. "Mykalessos", in *PECS* 600–1.
Mee, C., and Forbes, H. (eds.) 1997. *A Rough and Rocky Place: The Landscape and Settlement History of the Methana Peninsula, Greece* (Liverpool).
Mill, J. S. 1843. *A System of Logic* (London).
Murray, O., and Price, S. 1990. "Preface", in O. Murray and S. Price (eds.), *The Greek City from Homer to Alexander* (Oxford) vii–viii.
Nielsen, T. H. 2002. *Arkadia and its Poleis in the Archaic and Classical Periods* (Göttingen).
Nowicki, K. 1992. "Fortifications in Dark Age Krete", in S. van de Maele and J. Fossey (eds.), *Fortificationes Antiquae* (Amsterdam) 53–76.
Osborne, R. 1987. *Classical Landscape with Figures* (London).
Pierson, C. 1996. *The Modern State* (London).
Rescher, N. 1964. *Introduction to Logic* (New York).
Rhodes, P. J. 1995. "Epigraphical Evidence: Laws and Decrees", *CPCActs* 2: 91–112.
—— 1999. "Sparta, Thebes and *Autonomia*", *Eirene* 35: 33–40.
Roesch, P. 1965. *Thespies et la confédération béotienne* (Paris).
Rubinstein, L. 1995. "Pausanias as a Source for the Classical Greek *Polis*", *CPCPapers* 2: 211–19.
Sakellariou, M. B. 1989. *The Polis-State: Definition and Origin* (Athens).
Salmon, P. 1978. *Étude sur la confédération béotienne* (*447/6–386*) (Brussels).
Schuller, W. 1995. "*Poleis* im Ersten Attischen Seebund", *CPCActs* 2: 165–70.
Seibert, J. 1979. *Die politischen Flüchtlinge und Verbannten in der griechischen Geschichte* (Darmstadt).
Shipley, G. 1997. "'The Other Lakedaimonians': The Dependent *Poleis* of Laconia and Messenia", *CPCActs* 4: 189–281.
Steinhart, E. I. 1978. "Ankole: Pastoral Hegemony", in H. J. M. Claessen and P. Skalnik (eds.), *The Early State* (The Hague) 131–50.
Swoboda, H. 1910. "Studien zur Verfassung Boiotiens", *Klio* 10: 315–34.
Travlos, J. 1988. *Bildlexikon zur Topographie des antiken Attika* (Tübingen).
Vries, J. de (ed.) 1984. *European Urbanization 1500–1800* (London).
Watkins, F. M. 1972. "State", in *The International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences* xvii. 150–57.
Whitehead, D. 1990. *Aineias the Tactician* (Oxford).
Winterling, A. 1991. "Polisbegriff und Stasistheorie des Aeneas Tacticus", *Historia* 40: 193–229.

Meaning and Reference of the Word *Polis*

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

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

1. The Multiple Meanings of *Polis*

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

(1) In *Politics* 3.3 Aristotle discusses the identity of the *polis* and points out that *polis* is a word used in many different senses, of which two are specified in the passage: a topographical sense (a fortified place) and a personal one (the people inhabiting the place) (Arist. *Pol.* 1276^{a}17–27).

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

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

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

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

2. Synonyms for *Polis*

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

[1] Hansen (1996) 25–39. In this provisional listing of the four senses we have been careful to avoid the terms "city" and "state".

[2] For a judicious analysis of the Kleanthes fragment, see Schofield (1991) 130–35.

by the Greeks, we must make a new approach and study the words used synonymously with *polis*.

(1) In the sense of stronghold and/or small hill-top settlement, *polis* can be used synonymously with *akropolis* (Thuc. 2.15.6, Athens (no. 361); *IG* XII.1 677.13–19, Ialysos (no. 995), *c.*300).

(2a) In the sense of nucleated settlement, *polis* is used synonymously with *asty* (Dem. 18.215–16; Hdt. 4.201.3, Barke (no. 1025)) or *polisma* (Thuc. 1.107.2; Aen. Tact. 2.2, Sparta (no. 345)).

(2b) In the sense of nucleated settlement, *polis* is occasionally used synonymously with *emporion* (Xen. *Anab.* 1. 4.6; Ps.-Skylax 2, Emporion (no. 2)) or *teichos* (Hdt. 7.108.2, Mesambrie (no. 647)) or *phrourion* (Thuc. 8.62.3, Sestos (no. 672)). For a rare attestation of *polis* used synonymously with *kome*, see *SEG* 37 340.3–9 = RO 14, Helisson (no. 273).

(3) In the sense of territory, *polis* is used synonymously with *ge* (Din. 1.77 compared with Lycurg. 1.89) or *chora* (Thuc. 2.72.3 compared with *I.Prusias ad Hypium* 135). For *polis* used synonymously with *chora* in the sense of country as a geographical rather than a political concept, see Poll. 9.27: "We must not pay attention to the poets who use the word *polis* even about countries (*chorai*), as for example Euripides in the *Temenidai*: 'all of Peloponnesos is a prosperous *polis*'" (Eur. fr. 730, Nauck).

(4) In the sense of community, *polis* is often used synonymously with *anthropoi* (Pl. *Def.* 415C), or *andres* (Thuc. 7.77.7; Alc. fr. 426), or *politai* about the population of a *polis* (Arist. *Pol.* $1274^{b}41$; *IG* IV 839 = *Syll.*^{3} 359.3–5 compared with *IG* IV 841.12, Kalauria (no. 360), C4–C3). Two frequent variants of this usage, both attested in Epidauros (no. 348) in C4, are (a) *polis* used synonymously with *demos* in the sense of people (*IG* IV^{2}.1 51.1–2), and (b) *polis* used synonymously with a city-ethnic in the plural denoting the citizenry (*IG* IV^{2}.1 47.1–2), both to be compared with *SEG* 26 445.

(5) In the sense of community, *polis* often denotes the governing body of the *polis* in question, especially the popular assembly, and is used synonymously with, e.g., *ekklesia* or *demos* or *halia vel sim.*, see *IPArk.* 5.22–24, Tegea (no. 297), 324/3; *SEG* 43 310.1–4, Skotoussa (no. 415), C4–C3; *IG* IV^{2}.1 615.1–2, Epidauros (no. 348), C4. For an example of *polis* denoting the people's court in Athens, see Dem. 43.72. When *polis* denotes the supreme body of government in an oligarchy, the reference is, e.g., to a *gerousia* (*SEG* 27 631.1, Lyktos (no. 974), *c.*500).

(6a) From *polis* used synonymously with a body of government there is only a hair's breadth to the more abstract use of *polis* as a designation of the political community as such (*Syll.*^{3} 172.1–3, Histiaia (no. 372), 363/2); *Syll.*^{3} 278.5–7, Priene (no. 861), 334/3; *Syll.*^{3} 279.14–15, 25, Zeleia (no. 764), 334/3; *I.Lokris* 2.6–7, Lokris Epizephyrioi (no. 59), C4s. In this more abstract sense of the term, Aristotle describes the *polis* as a *κοινωνία πολιτῶν πολιτείας* (*Pol.* $1276^{b}2$) or a *κοινωνία πολιτική* (*Pol.* $1252^{a}7$), see the following section.

(6b) In the sense of community, *polis* is used synonymously with the general term for community or society, *viz. koinonia* (Arist. *Pol.* $1252^{a}1$–7). This usage is best attested in Aristotle and seems, in any case, to be restricted to philosophical texts, see also Pl. *Resp.* 371B, or the Stoic idea of a divine *polis* reflected in Dio Chrys. 36.23.

(6c) In the sense of one's country or fatherland, *polis* is often used synonymously with *patris* (Dem. 21.145; Pl. *Cri.* 51C; Thgn. 947, Megara (no. 225)); cf. *infra*.

(7) In the sense of community, *polis* is, exceptionally, used synonymously with *ethnos* about a people inhabiting not just a town with its hinterland but a whole region or a part of a region (*SEG* 15 397, a C4 Chaonian *polis* in Epeiros compared with Theopomp. fr. 382 and Ps.-Skylax 28, the Chaonians settled in *komai*).

3. Synonyms for *Polis* Distinguished from *Polis*

The investigation of the synonyms for *polis* can be taken one step further by investigating whether, in other contexts, the synonyms listed above are *distinguished* from *polis* or sometimes even *opposed* to *polis*.

Re 1: *akropolis*. In the sense of nucleated settlement, *polis* is normally distinguished from *akropolis*, which is the citadel lying inside the *polis* and sometimes protected by a separate defence circuit (Hyp. 6.17, Thebai (no. 221) 335; Xen. *Hell.* 4.4.15, Phleious (no. 355), C4e).

Re 2a: *asty* and *polisma*. To the best of our knowledge, there is no clear example of *polis* in the sense of a nucleated centre being distinguished from or opposed to either *asty* or *polisma*. *Polisma* seems almost always to be used synonymously with *polis* (in the sense of nucleated settlement);[3] and whenever a distinction is made between *polis* and *asty*, it is *polis* in the sense of either country (Lycurg. 1.18) or

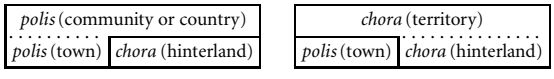
[3] The only recognisable distinction is that *polisma* is mostly used about barbarian towns, towns in a remote past and towns in the border districts. The reason may be that such towns could be urban centres without being political centres as well. See Flensted-Jensen (1995) 129–31: Appendix: *Polisma*.

community (Thuc. 6.44.2; Diod.7.16[4]) that is distinguished from *asty* in the sense of town.

Re 2b: *emporion*, *teichos*, *phrourion* and *kome*. Almost all attested *emporia* of the Classical period were, in fact, *poleis* that possessed an *emporion*, in which case there is a clear difference between *polis* and *emporion* (Thuc. 1.13.5, Corinth (no. 227); Theopomp. fr. 62, Byzantion (no. 674)); but if this *emporion* was a prominent feature of the *polis*, it was common usage to say that the settlement *was* an *emporion* rather than to say that it *had* an *emporion* (Dem. 56.6, Athenai (no. 361); Thuc. 4.102.4 and Hdt. 7.113.1, Eion (no. 630)). Similarly, some *poleis*, especially dependent *poleis*, were essentially garrison towns and in such cases, too, it is only to be expected that the settlement was classified sometimes as a *teichos*, and sometimes as a *polis* (Hdt. 1.149.1, Neon teichos (no. 824); Dem. 3.4 and Hdt. 4.90.2, Heraion teichos (no. 676)).[5] Describing the effects of the Spartan occupation of Dekeleia, Thucydides notes that Athens became a *phrourion* rather than a *polis* (Thuc. 7.28.1).

Kome, however, is different: like village and town today, *kome* and *polis* are almost always mutually exclusive site-classifications, see Pl. *Resp.* 475D. The overlap between the two terms seems to occur principally when *kome* is used in a political sense about a subdivision of a larger *polis*, as in the case of Helisson (no. 273), which remained a *polis* in the urban sense but also in the political sense by acquiring the right to provide a chief magistrate, like the other *poleis*, i.e. the other *poleis* dominated by Mantinea (no. 281) (*SEG* 37 340 = RO 14 (C4f)).

Re 3: *Chora* and *ge*.[6] The two pairs of words: *polis*/*chora* (*SEG* 37 340.3–9 = RO 14 (C4f), Helisson (no. 273)) and *polis*/*ge* (*SEG* 9 72.4–5 (C4l), Kyrene (no. 1028)) are essentially two pairs of antonyms, just like city/country in the modern world. However, by a common kind of participatory opposition, which linguists sometimes call semantic marking,[7] both *polis* (Aen. Tact. 15.9–10) and *chora* (Arist. *Pol.* 1326^{b}26 and 27^{a}3–5) are attested as the generic term for the totality of town (called *polis*) and hinterland (called *chora* or *ge*). The use of the terms can be illustrated in the following way:



As a generic term, *polis* is attested far more frequently than *chora*. By accident, we believe, no single passage seems to have survived in which *ge* is used both as a generic term in the sense of country and in the specific sense of hinterland, being opposed to *polis*.

Re 4: *politai*. Sometimes the *politai* are distinguished from the *polis* in the sense of town (Xen. *Hell.* 3.1.21; *IG* I^{3} 40.4–6, Chalkis (no. 365) 446/5). Mostly, however, the distinction made is between *polis* in a more abstract sense, denoting the political community as such (see 6a *supra*), and the *politai* as a physical manifestation of the community, i.e. "the people" (Thuc. 8.72.1; *SEG* 38 662.3–7, Poteidaia (no. 598), C4m). It is worth noting that *polis* and *politai* never occur as mutually exclusive terms in phrases like "the *polis* did this, but the *politai* did that".

Re 5: *ekklesia vel sim.* The numerous attestations of a distinction being made between *polis* and *ekklesia vel sim.* should cause no surprise since, in such cases, *polis* refers to the community in a more abstract sense, whereas *ekklesia* specifically denotes the popular assembly (*SEG* 30 990.4–10, Corinth (no. 227), 325–275).

Re 6a: *koinonia* (*politike*). As already noted, *polis* is distinguished from the citizens (*politai*) or from the political institutions whenever it occurs in the more abstract sense of political community and designates a kind of public power above both ruler and ruled;[8] see *Syll.*^{3} 359.3–8, Kalaureia (no. 360), C4.

Re 6b: *koinonia*. Aristotle claims that the political community is the supreme form of community and comprises all other forms of community, of which some are social, some are religious, and some are commercial, etc. (Arist. *Eth. Nic.* 1160^{a}8–30). Thus, the *polis* is one specific type of *koinonia* distinguishable from other types, see, e.g., *Pol.* 1252^{b}30–31: "consequently, every *polis* exists by nature, as much as the original *koinoniai*". Yet, although *polis* is one of several types of *koinonia*, there is no trace in the sources of an opposition between *polis* and *koinonia* corresponding to our opposition between state and society.

Re 6c: *patris*. There is no attestation of *polis* and *patris* being used as antonyms; but from a Panhellenic perspective, Hellas could be described as the *patris* and contrasted with the individual *poleis* (Isoc. 4.81). Lysias severely criticises the cosmopolitan view that one's *patris* is not one's *polis* but wherever one happens to live and own property (Lys. 31.6).

Re 7: *ethnos*. Like *polis* and *chora*, *polis* and *ethnos* are

[4] Quoting an oracular response of *c.*500 allegedly given to King Perdikkas of Makedonia, see Hatzopoulos (1996) i. 464–65.

[5] See M. H. Hansen, "*Teichos* in the Sense of Fortress or Garrison Town", forthcoming.

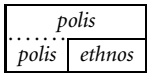
[6] For a full discussion of *polis* versus *chora* or *ge*, see Hansen (1997*a*) 20–25.

[7] Lyons (1977) i. 307–8. As an example, consider the antonyms ἡμέρα and νύξ. Like the English word "day", ἡμέρα can denote both the 24-hour period and the daytime as opposed to the night hours, whereas νύξ invariably means "night".

[8] See Hansen (1998) 67–73.

essentially antonyms and not synonyms. When opposed to *chora*, the word *polis* is used in the sense of settlement *versus* hinterland, see *supra re* 3, but when opposed to *ethnos*, the emphasis is on *polis* as a community centred on a town (Hdt. 5.2.2; *IG* IV².1 68.76–78 = *Staatsverträge* 446 (303/2)) as against larger communities.

The synonymous use of *polis* and *ethnos* is, in almost all cases, due to the fact that *polis* could be used as a generic term for "political community", comprising not just the small *poleis* which we today call city-states but also other types of political community, such as whole regions which were not (yet) split up into *poleis* (e.g. Aitolia), or federations often composed of *poleis* (e.g. Boiotia), or large kingdoms (e.g. Makedonia). This usage is particularly common in headings (Hansen (1997*b*)), and is found both in documents and in literary sources: the list of members of the Second Athenian Naval Confederacy is headed by the phrase: "these *poleis* were allied to the Athenians" (*IG* II² 43.78); but in addition to forty-four *poleis* in the strict sense, the list includes three rulers, two federations and at least one splinter community (Dreher (1995) 174–81). Thucydides opens his account of the Peloponnesian War with a survey of the allied *poleis* of, respectively, the Lakedaimonians and the Athenians: "Each of the two parts went to war having the following *poleis* as their allies" (Thuc. 2.9.1); but then he lists peoples like the Boiotians, the Lokrians and the Phokians side by side with proper *poleis* such as Megara, Ambrakia, Leukas and Anaktorion. Since *ethnos* was commonly used to designate any form of political community that was not a *polis* in the proper sense, the opposition between *polis* and *ethnos* is, essentially, an example of the same kind of semantic marking as in the case of the antonyms *polis*/*chora* and it can be illustrated in the following way:



In references to an individual political community, on the other hand, attestations of *polis* = *ethnos* are few and far between, see Hansen (1998) 124–32.

4. The Relative Importance of the Different Meanings

To sum up: a study of the sources that avoids a contrastive lexical analysis leads to the conclusion that *polis* is attested in the following different senses: (1) = *akropolis*, (2) = *asty* or *polisma*, (3) = *chora* or *ge* (especially when *polis* is used as a generic term for *polis* + *chora*), (4) = *politai* or *anthropoi*, (5) = *ekklesia* or some other supreme body of government, (6) = *koinonia* (*politike*) or *patris*, and (7) = *ethnos* (especially when the plural form *poleis* is used as a generic term for *poleis* + *ethne*).

The senses are listed here in what is generally believed to be their historical sequence,[9] but they are all attested in sources of the Archaic period so that the sequence is a reconstruction behind the sources we have. On the other hand, they are not equally important and some hardly ever occur.

(a) It is well known that the original sense of stronghold (*akropolis*) is rare in Archaic texts and, apart from some frozen formulas, it disappears in the course of the Classical and Hellenistic periods.[10] A study of the relative frequency with which the different senses occur shows that, apart from the frequent occurrence of *polis* = *akropolis* in early Attic inscriptions,[11] attestations of *polis* in the sense of stronghold amount to fewer than three per thousand of all attestations.[12]

There are in particular two passages in Thucydides which illustrate that even in Athens, where the formulaic use of *polis* in the sense of *akropolis* was widespread, an Athenian would not have the meanings "stronghold" or "citadel" springing to his mind when he heard the word *polis*, except, of course, when it was applied in one of the frozen formulas. In all other cases the word *polis* would not be used synonymously with, but rather distinguished from or even opposed to, *akropolis*.

When Thucydides tells us that the Acropolis was called *polis* by the Athenians, he points out that the reason for this usage is that the Acropolis was once the centre of the urban settlement (Thuc. 2.15.6; cf. also Phokylides fr. 4, Diehl). Again, when Dekeleia was fortified and all grain had to be brought by sea to Athens, Thucydides makes the comment that Athens had become a fortress (*phrourion*) instead of a *polis* (Thuc. 7.28.1). This would be a strange comment if *polis* had been commonly used as a synonym of *akropo-*

[9] On the sequence of the senses of (a) "nucleated settlement" and (b) "political community", see Hansen (1997*a*) 37–42.

[10] Plut. *Pelop.* 18.1; Paus. 1.26.6. See Hansen (1996) 34–36.

[11] In Attic inscriptions there are, at present, some 120 occurrences (many of them restored) of *polis* designating the Acropolis. For 394/3 as the *terminus ante quem*, see Henry (1982). But in the sacrificial calendar of Erchia, dated to *c.*375–350, there are eight occurrences of *polis*, two designating the Acropolis in Athens, and six the local acropolis in Erchia.

[12] Wyse (1904) 476–77, with 24 quotes from Attic literature. Lévy (1983) 56–60 denies that this sense of *polis* is attested in Homer; but see *Il.* 4.514 and 7.370. Sakellariou (1989) 155–59 and Hansen (1996) 35 adduce a few examples from non-Athenian inscriptions.

lis in the sense of stronghold or fortress. On the contrary, the comment suggests that a *polis* was, essentially, different from a *phrourion*, i.e. a town, not a fortress.

(b) Passages in which "country" or "territory" is the principal sense of *polis* constitute fewer than 2 per cent of all occurrences (*infra* 44). It must be added, however, that in numerous passages "territory" or "country" is a connotation that goes with the principal sense of (nucleated) settlement or (political) community or both, cf., for example, Lys. 3.10: "I was so much in doubt about what to do in face of my opponent's lawless behaviour that I decided to leave the *polis*." The context shows that the plaintiff preferred to leave not just the city of Athens, but also Attika.

Again, the territorial sense of *polis* is intertwined with the urban and the political sense when *polis* is used in the generic sense of community comprising a nucleated settlement (*polis*) and its hinterland (*chora* or *ge*), see Lycurg. 1.38: "To such a pitch did he carry his treason that, so far as his decision went, the temples were abandoned, the posts on the wall unmanned and the *polis* (town) and the *chora* (hinterland) left deserted. And yet in those days, gentlemen, who would not have pitied the *polis* (community)?" Or when *polis* is used in the generic sense of settlement comprising a nucleated settlement (*plethos oikion*) and its hinterland (*chora* or *ge*), see Arist. *Oec.* 1343^{a}10–11: "a *polis* is a mass of houses (*oikiai*), of hinterland (*chora*) and of possessions sufficient for a good life".

Thus, in the overwhelming majority of all passages *polis* is used either in the sense of nucleated settlement or in the sense of political community. But, as noted by Kleanthes (*supra* 39), the two senses of settlement and community are often combined and indistinguishable, as is attested, for example, at Thuc. 4.49.1: "At the end of the summer the Athenians and Akarnanians in Naupaktos waged war against Anaktorion, a Corinthian *polis*, and took it by treason." The description of Anaktorion as "the Corinthians' *polis*" indicates that it was a dependent *polis*, i.e. a political community; but the piece of information that they "took it by treason" shows that the *polis* was also a fortified town which the Athenians conquered because it was betrayed to them by some traitors behind the walls.

To sum up: the ancient definitions indicate that *polis* was used in two basic meanings: (1) a settlement, and (2) a community. The study of synonyms, on the other hand, shows that, in the sense of settlement, a *polis* was almost invariably a nucleated settlement, i.e. an *asty*, and only exceptionally an *akropolis*. In the sense of community, the *polis* was almost invariably a *politike koinonia*, i.e. what we call a "polity" or a "state", sometimes identified with its territory (consisting of a *polis* with its *chora*), sometimes with its population (especially its body of *politai*), sometimes with its political institutions (especially its *ekklesia*), and sometimes conceived as an abstract public power above the citizens and their political institutions.

Furthermore, when used as a generic term denoting a number of named political communities, *polis* comprised not just *poleis* in the meaning of the word described above (a *polis* with its *chora* organised as a *koinonia politon politeias*), but all types of community which in other contexts were usually classified as *ethne* or *koina*.

The rare attestations of *polis* denoting a *chora* in the geographical sense without being a political community (see section 3 *supra re* 7) are best explained as an extension of the much more frequent use of *polis* to denote the territory of a political community. And the exceptional attestations of *polis* denoting an individual *ethnos* should be seen in the light of *polis* used as the generic term for *poleis* plus *ethne*. Both usages are so marginal that further discussion can safely be relegated to appendix I in Hansen (1998) 124–32.

5. The Classification of the Different Meanings in this Inventory[13]

The above analysis covers both occurrences of *polis* used in general about any *polis* or all *poleis*, and occurrences of *polis* denoting one or more named *poleis*. As stated above, in this Inventory references to the *polis* in general are irrelevant, and the focus is on attestations of *polis* applied to one or more individual *poleis*. For all practical purposes they can be included under one of the three following principal meanings: "territory", "city" and "polity". There are, of course, numerous overlaps, i.e. occurrences of *polis* where one of the three senses is the principal meaning and one or both of the others are connotations. To illustrate how we distinguish between the different senses, we find it expedient to list some examples which show that it is possible to isolate occurrences of *polis* (a) used in the urban sense without the political, (b) used in the political sense without

[13] In this section the argumentation is so closely tied up with the linguistic interpretation that the passages cannot just be cited; they must be quoted in Greek followed by a translation into English.

the urban, (c) used in the territorial sense without either of the other two senses, and (d) used in two or three senses simultaneously.

Re (a): *polis* in the urban sense is attested, e.g., when a *polis* is opposed to its hinterland (called *chora* or *ge*);[14] when one walks from the *polis* into the fields, or returns from the fields into the town;[15] when the distance from a *polis* is measured in stades;[16] when a road leads towards the *polis*;[17] when a house is lying in the *polis*;[18] or the reference is to the higher-lying part of the *polis*,[19] or to the water supply of the *polis*;[20] when a cult festival is celebrated outside the *polis*;[21] when a defence circuit is built around a *polis*;[22] when a *polis* is besieged,[23] or set on fire,[24] or destroyed;[25] when, during a civil war, the state is split up into one faction in control of the town while the other faction is driven out of the town.[26]

Re (b): *polis* in the political sense is attested when a *polis* passes a law,[27] or takes up a loan,[28] or consults an oracle.[29] For a long list of activities performed by the *polis* in the political sense, see *CPCActs* 5 (1998) 67–68. Particularly clear instances of *polis* in the political sense alone are the attestations of *polis* being opposed to *asty*, see, e.g., Thuc. 6.44.2: *παρεκομίζοντο τὴν Ἰταλίαν τῶν μὲν πόλεων οὐ δεχομένων αὐτοὺς ἀγορᾷ οὐδὲ ἄστει* ("They (the Athenian navy) sailed along the Italian coast and some *poleis* did not admit them to their agora or to the *asty*").

Re (c): *polis* in the territorial sense is attested, e.g., when the river Styx is said to be in the *polis* of Nonakris;[30] when Xerxes' army marched through the *polis* of Agore;[31] when the Spartan army pillaged the eastern part of the *polis* of Thebes right up to the *polis* of Tanagra;[32] or when a verdict prescribed that the corpse of an executed criminal be thrown over the border of the *polis*.[33]

Re (d): *polis* used in the urban and political senses simultaneously is attested in, e.g., the following four passages: Din. 1.24: *πόλις ἀστυγείτων καὶ σύμμαχος ἐκ μέσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀνήρπασται* ("A neighbouring allied *polis* has been destroyed and removed from central Hellas"). Here the first adjective qualifies the *polis* as a city—*sc.* Athens' neighbour Thebes, which in 335 was razed to the ground by Alexander—the second as a state. Xen. *Hell.* 3.1.13: *τῶν οὐκ ὑπηκόων πόλεων προσέλαβεν ἐπιθαλαττιδίας Λάρισάν τε καὶ Ἁμαξιτὸν καὶ Κολωνάς, ξενικῷ μὲν Ἑλληνικῷ προσβαλοῦσα τοῖς τείχεσιν* ("and of the independent *poleis* he took those lying along the coast, *viz.* Larisa, Hamaxitos and Kolonai, attacking their walls with a Greek mercenary force"). That the *poleis* are independent shows that they are political communities; that they are lying on the coast and walled shows that they are urban centres as well. Aen. Tact. 28.1: *προνοεῖσθαι δὲ καὶ τάδε ἐν φόβῳ οὔσης πόλεως.*

[14] Dem. 18.203 speaks about the Athenians in 480, *οἳ καὶ τὴν χώραν καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐκλιπεῖν ὑπέμειναν εἰς τὰς τριήρεις ἐμβάντες* ("who endured to go on board the ships and leave their *chora* and *polis*").

[15] Dem. 47.63: *ὁ δ' Εὔεργος οὑτοσὶ εὐθὺς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως . . . ἐλθὼν εἰς ἀγρόν* ("but this Euergos went straight from the *polis* to the field (*agros*)"). Xen. *Hell.* 5.4.3: the Theban liberators in 379 *πρὸς τὰς πύλας ἦλθον, ὡς δὴ ἐξ ἀγροῦ ἀπιόντες . . . ἐπεὶ δ' εἰσῆλθον εἰς τὴν πόλιν* ("they came to the gates as if they came back from the fields (*agros*) . . . but when they had entered the *polis*").

[16] Ps.-Skylax 33: *Ἀμβρακία πόλις Ἑλληνίς. ἀπέχει δὲ αὕτη ἀπὸ θαλάττης στάδια π'* ("Ambrakia is a Hellenic *polis* situated 80 stades from the sea").

[17] *IG* IV².1 116.20: *ἐν ταῖ ὁδῶι ταῖ εἰς πόλιν ἀγούσ[αι]* ("on the road that leads to the *polis*").

[18] *SEG* 43 713.35–36: *τὴν οἰκίαν [τ]ὴν ἐμ πόλει,* ("the house in the *polis*"). *I.Cret.* IV 72.IV.32: *'τέγανς μὲν τὰνς ἐν πόλι* ("the houses in the *polis*").

[19] Thuc. 4.112.3: *Βρασίδας μὲν οὖν καὶ τὸ πλῆθος εὐθὺς ἄνω καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ μετέωρα τῆς πόλεως ἐτράπετο* ("Brasidas and the majority of his men moved straight uphill towards the higher lying parts of the *polis*").

[20] Hdt. 3.60.2: *ὄρυγμα . . . ὀρώρυκται . . . δι' οὗ τὸ ὕδωρ ὀχετευόμενον διὰ σωλήνων παραγίνεται εἰς τὴν πόλιν* ("a cutting has been made whereby water is brought, through pipes, into the *polis*").

[21] Aen. Tact. 17.2: *ἑορτῆς γὰρ πανδήμου ἔξω τῆς πόλεως Ἀργείων γενομένης* ("A festival for all the people was held outside the *polis* of the Argives").

[22] Thuc. 1.93.1: *οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τὴν πόλιν ἐτείχισαν* ("The Athenians fortified the *polis*"). *Syll.*³ 141.4: *τειχίξαντας τὰν πόλιν* ("Having fortified the *polis*").

[23] Thuc. 1.116.2: *ἐπολιόρκουν τρισὶ τείχεσι τὴν πόλιν καὶ ἐκ θαλάσσης ἅμα* ("They (the Athenians) laid siege to the *polis* (Samos) by means of three walls and at the same time they besieged it from the sea").

[24] Hdt. 8.50.2: *ὁ γὰρ διὰ Βοιωτῶν τραπόμενος στρατὸς ἅμα Ξέρξῃ ἐμπρήσας Θεσπιέων τὴν πόλιν . . . ἦκέ τε ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας* ("On its march through Boiotia Xerxes' army burned down the Thespians' *polis* . . . and came to Athens").

[25] Dem. 18.36: *τί οὖν συνέβη μετὰ ταῦτ' εὐθύς, οὐκ εἰς μακράν; τοὺς μὲν Φωκέας ἀπολέσθαι καὶ κατασκαφῆναι τὰς πόλεις αὐτῶν* ("What happened immediately hereafter? The Phokians were annihilated and their *poleis* pulled down"). *Syll.*³ 344.7: *ἐὰν δὲ δεῖ κατασκάπτειν τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν πόλιν* ("If it is necessary to pull down the existing *poleis*" (Teos (no. 868)).

[26] Thuc. 1.24.5: *ὁ δῆμος αὐτῶν ἐξεδίωξε τοὺς δυνατούς, οἱ δὲ ἐπελθόντες μετὰ τῶν βαρβάρων ἐλῄζοντο τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει κατά τε γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν* ("The (Epidamnian) *demos* expelled the upper-class citizens; but they returned with the barbarians and plundered those in the *polis* both by land and sea"). See also *SEG* 26 1282.4–7: *μὴ ἐξεῖνα[ι τ]ῶν στρατηγῶν διαλλάξαι μηθενὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει ἄνευ τοῦ δήμου τῶν Ἀθηναίων* ("None of the generals must come to an agreement with those in the *polis* without the consent of the Athenian people").

[27] ML 2.1: *ἆδ' ἔϝαδε πόλι* ("Thus it was decided by the *polis*") (Dreros (no. 956) C7).

[28] *I. Locri* (Costabile) 2.6: *ἐχρήσατο ἁ πόλις πὰρ τῶ θεῶ* ("The *polis* borrowed from the God").

[29] *IG* IV².1 122.77: *[ἐ]δοξε τâι πόλι εἰς Δελφοὺς ἀποστείλα[ι χρησομέ]νους . . .* ("It was decided by the *polis* to send messengers to Delphi to ask . . .").

[30] Hdt. 6.74.2: *ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ πόλι λέγεται εἶναι ὑπ' Ἀρκάδων τὸ Στυγὸς ὕδωρ* ("The Arkadians say that the waters of Styx are in that *polis*").

[31] Hdt. 7.58.2: *ὁ δὲ κατ' ἤπειρον στρατὸς . . . ἐποιέετο τὴν ὁδὸν διὰ τῆς Χερσονήσου . . . διὰ μέσης δὲ πορευόμενος πόλιος τῇ οὔνομα τυγχάνει ἐὸν Ἀγορή* ("The land force made its way through the Chersonesos . . . and marched right through a *polis* called Agore").

[32] Xen. *Hell.* 5.4.49: *τὰ πρὸς ἕω τῆς τῶν Θηβαίων πόλεως ἐδῄου (ὁ Ἀγησίλαος) μέχρι τῆς Ταναγραίων· ἔτι γὰρ τότε καὶ τὴν Τάναγραν οἱ περὶ Ὑπατόδωρον, φίλοι ὄντες τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, εἶχον* ("Agesilaos pillaged the eastern part of the *polis* of Thebes up to the *polis* of Tanagra; because the pro-Lakedaimonian faction of Hypatodoros was still in control of Tanagra"; cf. Hansen (1998) 170).

[33] Din. 1.77: *τὸν τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀλιτήριον ἀποκτείναντας ἐξόριστον ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ποιῆσαι* ("Having executed the arch-criminal of Hellas to throw his corpse over the border of the *polis*").

πύλας τὰς μὲν ἄλλας κεκλεῖσθαι, μίαν δὲ ἀνεῳχθαι ("When a *polis* is in a state of terror the following precautions too are needed. Keep all gates closed except one" (trans. Whitehead)). The *polis* stricken by fear is a community of citizens, but the reference to the gates indicates that it is also a walled settlement. Hdt. 8.35.1: καὶ γὰρ τῶν Πανοπέων τὴν πόλιν ἐνέπρησαν καὶ Δαυλίων καὶ Αἰολιδέων ("They (the Persians) set fire to the *polis* of the Panopeans, and to those of the Daulians and Aiolideans as well"). The *polis* set on fire is, of course, a town, but the identification of the *polis* by the city-ethnic instead of the toponym shows that it is also a political community.[34]

Polis used in the urban and territorial senses simultaneously is attested in, e.g. *I.Cret*. IV.144.9–11: τοῖς ἐμ πόλι Ϝοικίονσι τοῖς [τ' ἐλευθέροις καὶ τοῖς δώ]λοις ("Those who live in the *polis*, both free and slaves"). The reference must be to all free and slaves who live in the *polis* of Gortys, i.e. the urban and rural population combined. Xen. *Hell*. 6.5.12: καὶ καταλαβὼν πόλιν ὅμορον οὖσαν Εὔταιαν . . . ὅμως οὐκ ἠδίκησε τὴν πόλιν ("Having conquered the *polis* of Eutaia, which bordered [on Mantinea], he [Agesilaos] did no harm to the city"). When Eutaia (no. 270) is described as bordering on Lakedaimon, *polis* is used in the territorial sense, but from the following description it is clear that the *polis* taken by Agesilaos is the urban centre inhabited by the old, the women and the children while the adult males of military age are on campaign.

Polis used in the political and territorial senses simultaneously is attested in, e.g. *SEG* 36 750.14–16: αἰ μέγ κέ τις δίκας γενομένας κατ τὸν νόμον φύγηι ἐκ τᾶς πόλιος ἢ ἀπυθάνη . . . ("If one in a trial in accordance with the law is sentenced to exile from the *polis* or to death . . ." (Mytilene, *c*.340–330)). A sentence of exile from the *polis* applies specifically to the territory but in a wider sense to the community as such. Xen. *Hell*. 4.4.6: αἰσθανόμενοι ἀφανιζομένην τὴν πόλιν διὰ τὸ καὶ ὅρους ἀνασπᾶσθαι καὶ Ἄργος ἀντὶ Κορίνθου τὴν πατρίδα αὐτοῖς ὀνομάζεσθαι ("They (the Corinthians) felt that their *polis* was being wiped off the map by the removal of the boundary stones and by their fatherland being called Argos instead of Corinth")). Here the community as such is being destroyed by the removal of the stones marking the boundary of the territory.

Of all the numerous occurrences of *polis* used in all three senses simultaneously, it suffices to quote one non-Athenian and one Athenian example. (a) Hdt. 7.22.3–23.1: ἐν δὲ τῷ ἰσθμῷ τούτῳ, ἐς τὸν τελευτᾷ ὁ Ἄθως, Σάνη πόλις Ἑλλὰς οἴκηται, αἱ δὲ ἐκτὸς Σάνης, ἔσω δὲ τοῦ Ἄθω οἰκημέναι, τὰς τότε ὁ Πέρσης νησιώτιδας ἀντὶ ἠπειρωτίδων ὥρμητο ποιέειν, εἰσὶ αἵδε, Δῖον, Ὀλόφυξος, Ἀκρόθωον, Θύσσος, Κλεωναί. πόλιες μὲν αὗται αἳ τὸν Ἄθον νέμονται ("In this neck of land where Athos ends is built a Hellenic *polis*: Sane, and those built in Athos south of Sane—which the King of Persia then planned to turn into island *poleis* instead of mainland *poleis*—are the following: Dion, Olophyxos, Akrothoon, Thyssos and Kleonai. These are the *poleis* that inhabit Athos"). When Herodotos lists the six *poleis* which are situated on Athos, he thinks of them as towns with territories, but the verb οἰκεῖσθαι ("to be inhabited") connected with *polis* suggests the town more than the territory, whereas the verb νέμεσθαι ("inhabit") suggests as its subject the inhabitants of a town rather than the town itself; moreover, the reference to Sane as a Hellenic *polis* indicates that the six settlements are conceived as polities as well; thus the word *polis* is probably intended to convey all three meanings simultaneously: town, territory and state. (b) Xen. *Hell*. 2.2.9: Λύσανδρος δὲ ἀφικόμενος εἰς Αἴγιναν ἀπέδωκε τὴν πόλιν Αἰγινήταις ("When Lysandros came to Aigina, he gave the *polis* back to the Aiginetans"). In this case it does not make sense to distinguish between the various meanings. What Lysander gave back to the Aiginetans was the city, the island and the political community as such.

Finally, it must be admitted that it is not always easy to determine when a named locality is specifically called *polis*. Sometimes one named town is classified as a *polis*, e.g. Aen. Tact. 18.13: Τέως πόλις εὐμεγέθης; sometimes a number of named towns are classified collectively as *poleis*, e.g. Hdt. 1.144.3: διὰ ταύτην τὴν αἰτίην αἱ πέντε πόλιες, Λίνδος καὶ Ἰήλυσός τε καὶ Κάμιρος καὶ Κῶς τε καὶ Κνίδος, ἐξεκλήισαν τῆς μετοχῆς τὴν ἕκτην πόλιν Ἁλικαρνησσόν ("For this reason the five *poleis*, Lindos, Ialysos, Kamiros, Kos and Knidos, excluded the sixth *polis* Halikarnassos from membership [of the Dorian Hexapolis]"). This passage is unproblematical. We learn that there were altogether six *poleis*, and there are six toponyms to match the site-classification. But if the classification takes the form of, e.g., αἵδε αἱ πόλεις followed by a number of toponyms, we cannot always be sure that all the toponyms listed were actually intended to be understood as *poleis*.[35] In some passages *polis* is used as a generic term or a heading, and in such cases whole peoples—e.g. *ethne* which are never called *polis* when referred to individually—may be listed alongside communities which are frequently classified as *poleis* in other sources

[34] Three further examples are Hdt. 7.154.2, Xen. *Hell*. 5.2.11 and *Hell. Oxy*. 21.5.

[35] This point is especially relevant in the case of Ps.-Skylax, see Hansen (1996) 30–32 and Flensted-Jensen and Hansen (1996) 140–43.

(Hansen (1997*b*), *supra* 7). To illustrate this problem, let us adduce four examples, two from literary and two from epigraphical sources.

Herodotos' list of *poleis* fighting in the battle of Salamis is sandwiched between the phrases *συνελέχθησαν τε δὴ πολλῷ πλεῦνες νέες ἢ ἐπὶ Ἀρτεμισίῳ ἐναυμάχεον καὶ ἀπὸ πολίων πλεύνων* ("Many more ships were gathered than those involved in the naval battle of Artemision and from many more *poleis*") (8.42.1) and *ὡς δὲ ἐς τὴν Σαλαμῖνα συνῆλθον οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἀπό τῶν εἰρημένων πολίων* ("When the generals from the above-mentioned *poleis* had convened at Salamis") (8.49.1). All the twenty-two communities listed as *poleis* in 8.42–8 happen to be *poleis* in the sense of city-states. But in Thucydides' list of Athenian and Spartan allies in the Peloponnesian War, the heading *πόλεις δὲ ἑκάτεροι τάσδε ἔχοντες ξυμμάχους* (2.9.1) includes a number of *ethne*, none of which was a *polis* in the usual sense, e.g. the Boiotians, the Lokrians and the Phokians.

In the Delphic accounts of contributions to the rebuilding of the temple of Apollo of the year 361/60, all seven communities listed under the heading *τάδε πόλεις καὶ ἰδιῶται ἐπάρξαντο* (*CID* II 4.1.1–11.29) were actually city-states. But in the so-called Charter of the Second Athenian Naval League, the heading *Ἀθηναίων πόλεις αἵδε σύμμαχοι* (*IG* II^2 43.79) is followed by a list of forty-three city-states, three dynasts, two federations and one splinter community (Dreher (1995) 181, 189–91). From the use of *polis* as a heading it would be a mistake to conclude, e.g., that the three monarchies and two federations listed in *IG* II^2 43 were *poleis*;[36] but it would equally be a mistake to take the heading as decisive evidence that the forty-three other communities were actually *poleis*. For each and every community this piece of information must be established from other sources in which *polis* is applied specifically to the community in question. From *polis* as a heading we can infer that most of the communities listed were believed to be *poleis*, and sometimes they all were, but we must always be aware of the universal custom: under a term used as a heading to subsume some instances that do not fit the term to perfection (Hansen (1997*b*) 9–11).

The conclusion is that each occurrence of *polis* must be studied in context. There is no way of laying down a general rule for how to handle this problem, but we have decided that, in the Athenian tribute lists and in the list of members of the Second Athenian Naval League, *polis* must be treated as a mere heading.[37] Thus, if an ethnic or a toponym is recorded in these lists, we cannot take it as evidence that the community in question was called a *polis* in the political sense; we can only infer that the community must have been a political unit.

[36] The 191 members of the United Nations may all be states (as presupposed in the *Charter*, chapter II, article 3) but far from all are nations or nation-states.

[37] For the Athenian tribute lists, see Schuller (1995); for the Charter of the Second Athenian Naval League, see Dreher (1995).

REFERENCES

Ascher R. E. (ed.) 1994. *The Encyclopedia of Language and Linguistics* (Oxford).

Dreher, M. 1995. "*Poleis* und Nicht-*Poleis* im Zweiten Athenischen Seebund", *CPCActs* 2: 171–200.

Flensted-Jensen, P. 1995. "The Bottiaians and their *Poleis*", *CPCPapers* 2: 103–32.

—— and Hansen, M. H. 1996. "Pseudo-Skylax' Use of the Term *Polis*", *CPCPapers* 3: 137–67.

Hansen, M. H. 1996. "*ΠΟΛΛΑΧΩΣ ΠΟΛΙΣ ΛΕΓΕΤΑΙ* (Arist. *Pol.* 1276^{a}23): The Copenhagen Inventory of *Poleis* and the *Lex Hafniensis de Civitate*", *CPCActs* 3: 7–72.

—— 1997*a*. "The *Polis* as an Urban Centre: The Literary and Epigraphical Evidence", *CPCActs* 4: 9–86.

—— 1997*b*. "*Polis* as the Generic Term for State", *CPCPapers* 4: 9–15.

—— 1998. *Polis and City-State: An Ancient Concept and its Modern Equivalent*. *CPCActs* 5.

Hatzopoulos, M. B. 1996. *Macedonian Institutions under the Kings* i–ii (Athens).

Henry, A. 1982. "Polis/Acropolis, Paymasters and the Ten Talent Fund", *Chiron* 12: 91–118.

Lévy, E. 1983. "*Polis* et *Asty* dans l'*Iliade*", *Ktema* 8: 55–73.

Lyons, J. 1977. *Semantics* i–ii (Cambridge).

Sakellariou, M. B. 1989. *The Polis-State: Definition and Origin* (Athens).

Schofield, M. 1991. *The Stoic Idea of the City* (Cambridge).

Schuller, W. 1995. "*Poleis* im Ersten Attischen Seebund", *CPCActs* 2: 165–70.

Wyse, W. 1904. *The Speeches of Isaeus* (Cambridge).

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

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

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

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

The Index comprises references to named Hellenic towns of the late Archaic and Classical periods. We have omitted references in poetry to mythical towns, such as Troy or Tiryns in the Heroic Age,[5] as well as references to barbarian towns, such as Sardes or Babylon.[6] Due to the Athenocentric nature of our evidence, the majority of all references to the term *asty* in Classical sources are to the city of Athens, often opposed to its port, the Peiraieus.[7] And this imbalance—well known in all studies of ancient Greek society—is in this particular case further aggravated by the general custom in all sources to refer to the two parts in the civil war of 404–403 as *οἱ ἐκ Πειραιέως* (i.e. the democrats) and *οἱ ἐξ ἄστεως* (i.e. the oligarchs).[8] Yet there is still a fairly substantial number of scattered passages in which the word *asty* is used to express the concept of town in general or to designate named towns other than Athens; and the attestations show that all the urban centres described with the term *asty* are *poleis* in the political sense. The only problematical site is Eion, for which, however, see Hansen (2000) 197–98. Finally, it is worth noting that the word *asty* held its ground in poetry longer than in prose, and that it was used not only about large *poleis*, such as Athens and Thebes, but also about *poleis* which the Greeks themselves considered to be very small, *viz*. Plataiai and Tenos.

(2) *Polisma*. Like *asty*, *polisma* signifies a city in the urban sense, and like *asty* it is commonly used in poetry as well as in prose about mythical and/or barbarian towns.[9] Unlike *asty*, however, *polisma* occurs almost exclusively in literary sources. The only attestation in inscriptions is in a C4l honorific decree from Kos in which Halasarna is called a

This chapter is a revised and updated version of Hansen (1997) 58–60 and Flensted-Jensen (1995) 129–31.

[1] *πολισμάτιον* (Ephor. fr. 27); *πολίχνη* (Thuc. 7.4.6); *πολίχνιον* (Isoc. 5.145, 12.89; Pl. *Resp*. 370D). However, three Classical *poleis* were named *polichne*, *viz*. no. 789 in Troas (Strabo 13.1.45), no. 860 in Ionia, and no. 982 on Crete (Steph. Byz. 532.4–5). It is worth noting that only the city-ethnics are attested in Classical sources. The toponyms of nos. 789 and 982 are attested in late sources only, that of no. 860 is not attested at all, but reconstructed from the city-ethnic. Finally, Polichna was the name of the settlement to which the Klazomenians moved their urban centre in C5l (Thuc. 8.14.3; 8.23.6) and the name of a settlement in the territory of Chios (Hdt. 6.26.2).

[2] Musiolek (1981*a*), (1981*b*).

[3] Hom. *Il*. 6.95; Tyr. fr. 12.24, West; cf. Hansen (1993) 13 with n. 69.

[4] Hansen (1997) 11; Lévy (1985).

[5] Troy: Hom. *Il*. 6.95; Tiryns: Bacchyl. *Epin*. 10.57.

[6] Sardes: Hdt. 1.80.1; Babylon: Hdt. 1.178.2.

[7] *IG* II^2 463.2; Dem. 18.37; Arist. *Pol*. 1303^{b}11–12, cf. Lonis (1983).

[8] e.g. Lys. 12.56; Xen. *Hell*. 2.4.7.

[9] Flensted-Jensen (1995) 129–31.

polisma.[10] There are not many occurrences of *polisma* in Archaic and Classical sources. The word is much rarer than *polis* in the urban sense, and it is also less common than *asty*. But in prose it is not only used in a mythological context or about barbarian towns, it is also found in descriptions of Greek cities of the Archaic and Classical periods. It is sometimes erroneously believed that *polisma* means a small city or town.[11] That sense is connected with the diminutive *polismation*, unattested in Archaic literature and extremely rare in Classical sources. When applied to a named town of the Archaic and Classical periods, *polisma* once again resembles *asty* in that it is used synonymously with *polis* in the urban sense and seems invariably to denote a town which was the urban centre of a *polis* in the political sense. There is not one unquestionable attestation of *polisma* being used about a second-order urban settlement.

[10] *I.Cos* 7.3: *πόλισμα τὸ ἐν Ἁλασάρναι*, cf. 10. For the date, see *RFIC* 70 (1942) 13, 6B.6. [11] Hammond (1989) 93; *contra* Flensted-Jensen (1995) 129.

REFERENCES

Flensted-Jensen, P. 1995. "The Bottiaians and their *Poleis*", *CPCPapers* 2: 103–32.

Hammond, N. G. L. 1989. *The Macedonian State* (Oxford).

Hansen, M. H. 1993. "The *Polis* as a Citizen State", *CPCActs* 1: 7–29.

—— 1997. "The *Polis* as an Urban Centre: The Literary and Epigraphical Evidence", *CPCActs* 4: 9–86.

—— 2000. "A Survey of the Use of the Word *Polis* in Archaic and Classical Sources", *CPCPapers* 5: 173–215.

Lévy, E. 1983. "*Astu* et *polis* dans l'Iliade", *Ktema* 8: 55–73.

—— 1985. "*Astos* et *polités* d'Homère à Hérodote", *Ktema* 10: 53–66.

Lonis, R. 1983. "Remarques sur le vocabulaire de la ville et de l'état dans les inscriptions attiques du Ve au milieu du IIe s. av. J.-C.", *Ktema* 8: 95–112.

Musiolek, P. 1981*a*. "Zur Bedeutung von *ἄστυ* und *πόλις* im archaischen Griechenland", *ActaArchHung* 29: 133–38.

—— 1981*b*. "*Ἄστυ* als Bezeichnung der Stadt", in E. C. Welskopf (ed.), *Soziale Typenbegriffe im alten Griechenland und ihr Fortleben in der Sprachen der Welt* iii (Berlin) 368–75.

The Concept of *Patris*

If asked what his "fatherland" is, a citizen of a modern state would hardly be in doubt about the answer. His fatherland is the "community of laws and institutions with a single political will" of which he is a member.[1] This community is, as the family metaphor implies, "something to which one is naturally tied"[2] and it has the emotional power to "inspire love, and often profoundly self-sacrificing love"[3] as well as the right to ask for sacrifices.[4]

In ancient Greek πατρίς and πάτρα are, of course, words with similar implications, derived as they are from the same stem as πατήρ, "father"; the exact meaning is "fatherland" (see Index 7). It is noteworthy, moreover, that *patris* often occurs in contexts which link it to other kinship terms such as "mother",[5] "parents",[6] "sister",[7] "brother",[8] "children",[9] "son",[10] "wife",[11] "husband",[12] "ancestors",[13] "relatives",[14] and *genos*.[15] This suggests that the family implications of the term *patris* were very much alive[16] and of significance. Since the Greeks took family relations to be based *inter alia* on love,[17] it follows that *patris* is a term with highly positive emotional associations.

A number of texts contain variations on the theme that the *patris* is the thing dearest to a man.[18] To be separated from the *patris* is, as the *Theognidea* point out (783–88), "without joy",[19] and to die and lie buried "far from the *patris*" is even more miserable as attested in many sepulchral inscriptions.[20] The right and proper thing is to die and lie buried in one's *patris*,[21] and in the passionate epilogue of Dem. 57 the speaker envisages the possibility of suicide simply in order to ensure that he will be buried by his relatives "in the *patris*". Going into exile is another way of losing the *patris*, and mentions of exile often trigger mentions of *patris*, thus emphasising that the concept of exile involved the idea of loss of *patris*.[22]

In a political context the most important single aspect of the *patris* is probably the requirement to sacrifice one's life for one's fatherland. Modern states have persuaded colossal numbers of citizens to lay down their lives in wars, and dying for one's country has assumed a moral grandeur. Similarly, the theme of death "for the *patris*" is a recurrent one in Archaic and Classical Greek texts,[23] and that death in defence of the *patris* was considered of moral grandeur is clear from, e.g., Tyrtaios' famous verses: τεθνάμεναι γὰρ καλὸν ἐνὶ προμάχοισι πεσόντα / ἄνδρ' ἀγαθὸν περὶ ᾗι πατρίδι μαρνάμενον (fr. 10.1–2, West).

There cannot, then, be any reasonable doubt that a Greek of the Archaic and Classical periods could think of his *patris* almost as a next of kin, as the sweetest thing on earth; it was the proper place for him to be buried, it was what he

This chapter is by Nielsen and is essentially a summary of Nielsen (2004).

[1] Smith (1991) 10; (2000) 8–9. [2] Anderson (1991) 143. [3] Ibid. 141. [4] Ibid. 144.

[5] Isoc. 19.23; Pl. *Cri*. 51A; *I.Knidos* I 625.1 (C4). For πατήρ itself, see Lys. 21.24; Dem. 18.205; *BCH* 83 (1959) 158 B.3; *IG* IX.2 249.3 (after 338); *IG* V.2 412.6 (C4–C3); Maiuri, *NS* 510 (C4l).

[6] Gorgias fr. 11a; Xen. *An*. 3.1.3; Aen. Tact. *Proleg*. 2; *CEG* I 171 (*c*.475–400); *BCH* 83 (1959) 158 A.6 (321). [7] Isoc. 19.23; *IG* II² 11169.5 (C4m).

[8] Eur. *Tro*. 458; ML 4 (625–600).

[9] Lys. 12.69, 12.97, 21.24; Xen. *Hell*. 2.4.17, *An*. 3.1.3; Lycurg. *Leoc*. 2, 101; Aen. Tact. *Proleg*. 2. [10] Hom. *Il*. 5.687.

[11] Lys. 12.69, 21.24; Xen. *Hell*. 2.4.17, *An*. 3.1.3; Lycurg. *Leoc*. 2.

[12] Eur. *Tro*. 107.

[13] Gorgias fr. 11a; Aeschin. 2.23; *Klio* (1918) 66, 94.2 (345–310); *CEG* II 717 (C4l/C3e).

[14] Pl. *Leg*. 699C; Xen. *An*. 7.1.29; Anaximenes, *Ars rhetorica* 7.4.

[15] Soph. *Phil*. 222; *IOSPE* I² 179.12 (C4l).

[16] So much alive that e.g. military service in support of the *patris* may be described as "paying back the *patris* is *tropheia*": Lys. 2.70; Isoc. 6.108; Lycurg. *Leoc*. 53.

[17] Pl. *Leg*. 754B; Arist. *Eth. Nic*. 1161ᵇ18–19, cf. 1168ᵃ2. Xen. *Oec*. 7.24; Isoc. 12.125; Dem. 25.65. On familial love, see further Golden (1990) 80–140, esp. 89–91. [18] *Theognidea* 783–88; Eur. *Phoen*. 406; Xen. *Hier*. 4.3.

[19] Hes. *Scut*. 1, 12; Hdt. 1.169.1; *IG* I³ 1503 (450–431); *I.Knidos* I 625 (C4).

[20] ML 4.5–6 (625–600); *IG* I³ 1503.4 (450–431); *CEG* II 716 (C4l/C3e); *Tit. Cal*. 8.X; *CEG* I 171 (*c*.475–400), cf. Wagner (1973) and Masson (1974); *IG* II² 11345 (*c*.400); *CEG* II 723 (C4). The text may, as in these examples, explicitly draw attention to the fact of death abroad but sometimes it is simply implied by the naming of a *patris* which is different from the location of the burial, e.g.: Σπάρτα μὲν πατρίς ἐστιν, ἐν εὐρυχόροισι Ἀθάναις / ἐθράφθε, θανάτο δὲ ἐνθάδε μοῖρ' ἔχιχε (*IG* XII.9 286 (C6)); κεῖμαι τε[ῖδ]ε θανοῦσα, πατρὶ[ς] δέ μοι ἐστι Κόρινθος, / Ἐνο⟨δ⟩ίας πρόπολος, τὄνυμα Τιματρέτη (*CEG* II 720 (C4f; cf. *SEG* 27 298, 30 579 (with suggestion of a slightly earlier date), found in Pella); ἐνθάδε Ἀνάγκιππος κεῖται Λάρισα δὲ πατρίς / ἀσκήσας ἀρετὴν ἥδὲ δικαιοσύνην (*SEG* 31 585 and *CEG* II 639 (C4)); found in Pherai.

[21] To die away from one's *patris* (*CEG* II 631 (C4f); Anacr. fr. 193, Gentili). To be buried in one's *patris*: Hom. *Il*. 3.243–44; *Anth. Graec*. 7.25.2; Xen. *Ages*. 11.16; public funerary epigram preserved in Dem. 18.289 (for which see Wankel (1976)); *IG* II² 6214.3–4 (C4); *I.Rhod.Per*. 41.2 (C4).

[22] Hom. *Il*. 13.695–96; *Od*. 15.228 (see further Seibert (1979) 276–80); Pind. *Ol*. 12.16; Hdt. 1.150.1; Gorgias fr. 11a; Isoc. 11.39; Pl. *Alc*. 145B; Xen. *Hell*. 1.4.15, *An*. 1.3.3; Aeschin. 1.172; Dem. 21.115.

[23] Anac. fr. 75.2, Gentili; Simon. *Anth. Graec*. 7.254.3–4; Pind. *Isthm*. 7.27; Gorgias fr. 11a; Stesimbrotos (*FGrHist* 107) fr. 9; Isae. 5.42; Lycurg. *Leoc*. 107; *IG* V.2 412.2 (C4–C3) from Arkadian Thelphousa.

lost when going into exile or regained by his return, it was something for which he would lay down his life; indeed, it was an object of his love.[24] It was, finally, something in which he took pride.[25]

1. Entities Called *Patris*

But which entity did an ancient Greek consider to *be* his *patris*? To this question there are presumably four conceivable answers: (1) his local community of residence, such as a *kome* or *demos vel sim.*; (2) his *polis*; (3) the region in which he resided, e.g. Phokis, Thessaly, etc.; and (4) Hellas itself. It is, in fact, a man's *polis* that is regularly conceived of as his *patris*, as will be clear from consideration of each of these four entities.

Re (1) There is only a single possible example of a community below *polis* level (i.e. *kome*, deme, etc.) that is called *patris* in a Classical source. Paus. 7.17.7 reports the text of an inscription reportedly to be found on a monument erected at Olympia in the 80th Olympiad (460–457):

> *Οἰνία Οἰβώτας στάδιον νικῶν ὅδ' Ἀχαιὸς*
> *πατρίδα Πάλειαν θῆκ' ὀνομαστοτέραν.*[26]

There was no *polis* in Achaia by the name of Paleia. Pausanias claims that Paleia was the ancient name of Dyme (cf. Strabo 8.7.5), "for it is the custom of Greek poets to use ancient names instead of more modern ones" (Loeb); if that is taken at face value, Dyme should be added to the list of *poleis* called *patris* (*infra*) and that seems perfectly possible. However, Dyme is reported to have been created by (an undated) synoecism of eight *demoi* (Strabo 8.3.2), and modern scholars are inclined to believe that Paleia was one of these demes.[27] *If* that is the case, we have an example of a local community below *polis* level being called *patris*. However, it should be noted that according to Pausanias the monument commemorated a victory won in 756; it is thus not a contemporary source that applies *patris* to Paleia, and it cannot be excluded that the author of the epigram did not know anything about the status of Paleia in 756 or even that he thought of it as a *polis*.[28] But the important observation here must be that this text, enigmatic as it is, is the only source that possibly applies *patris* to a community below *polis* level.

Re (3) It is slightly more common to find regions such as Phokis and Thessaly described as *patris*; in six sources the concept of *patris* is applied to nine different regions:

Aitolia: Hdt. 6.127.1–4.
Arkadia: Dem. 18.95–96 (295–96).
Euboia: Dem. 18.95–96 (295–96).
Messenia: Thuc. 6.4.6.[29]
Molossia: Hdt. 6.127.1–4.
Peloponnese: Xen. *Hell.* 7.1.23.[30]
Phokis: *CEG* II 799 (*c.*300).
Pontos: *IG* II² 10108 (C4m); cf. *CEG* II 528; *AM* 66 (1941) 53–54.[31]
Thessalia: Dem. 18.95–96 (295–96).

Of these nine regions, five are called *patris* in passages where they are listed as instances under the general heading *πατρίδες vel sim.*

(1) At 6.127.1–4 Herodotos lists the suitors of Agariste, the daughter of Kleisthenes, the tyrant of Sikyon. Herodotos indicates the origins of the twelve suitors in various ways: by city-ethnics, a regional ethnic, or by prepositional phrases, and the origin indicated for each suitor amounts to a statement of his *patre*: in ten cases the *patre* is a *polis*,[32] but in two it is a region (Aitolia and Molossia). What seems to have happened here is that Herodotos, in a list of entities of which the majority (the ten *poleis*) can properly be called *patre*, has included two (Aitolia and Molossia) which the designation fits less well. This is a procedure which is not unknown, and it resembles the way in which states that are not proper *poleis* may be listed with *poleis* in a list prefaced by the heading *πόλεις*.[33] Moreover, Herodotos could presumably indicate the origins of these suitors only by stating

[24] Eur. *Suppl.* 506–7; *Phoen.* 358–59; Lycurg. *Leoc.* 88: *ἐφίλουν τὴν πατρίδα*; 100: *τὸ τὴν πατρίδα φιλεῖν*; 101: *ἐποίησε τὴν πατρίδα μᾶλλον τῶν παίδων φιλοῦσαν.*

[25] Hdt. 6.126.3; Philemon Comicus fr. 109, Kock.

[26] On the reliability of Pausanias' epigraphic quotations, see Habicht (1985) 64–94.

[27] See Dyme (no. 234).

[28] Greeks of the Classical period regularly thought of earlier periods in contemporary terms; cf. Hansen (2000) 159–60 on Troy, Messene and Krisa, all three described as *poleis* by Classical authors.

[29] Thuc. 6.4.6: *τοὺς δὲ Σαμίους Ἀναξίλας Ῥηγίνων τύραννος οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον ἐκβαλὼν καὶ τὴν πόλιν αὐτὸς ξυμμείκτων ἀνθρώπων οἰκίσας Μεσσήνην ἀπὸ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ τὸ ἀρχαῖον πατρίδος ἀντωνόμασεν.*

[30] Xen. *Hell.* 7.1.23: *ἐγγενόμενος δέ τις Λυκόμηδης Μαντινεύς, γένει τε οὐδενὸς ἐνδεὴς χρήμασί τε προήκων καὶ ἄλλως φιλότιμος, οὗτος ἐνέπλησε φρονήματος τοὺς Ἀρκάδας, λέγων ὡς μόνοις μὲν αὐτοῖς πατρὶς Πελοπόννησος εἴη, μόνοι γὰρ αὐτόχθονες ἐν αὐτῇ οἰκοῖεν, πλεῖστον δὲ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν φύλων τὸ Ἀρκαδικὸν εἴη καὶ σώματα ἐγκρατέστατα ἔχοι.*

[31] *AM* 66 (1941) 53–54: *πατρίδα μὲν Πόντον Κύπρις κατέχει, ἐμὲ δὲ Ἀθὶς / κρύψε πρὸ ἡλικίας Δωρίδα τῶιδε τάφωι.*

[32] Sybaris (no. 70), Siris (no. 69), Epidamnos (no. 79), Argos (no. 347), Trapezous (no. 303), Paion (no. 288), Elis (no. 251), Athens (no. 361), Eretria (no. 370), and Krannon (no. 400).

[33] See Hansen (1997), (1998) 124–25.

their regional affiliations, since neither Molossia nor Aitolia was subdivided into *poleis* in C6f.

(2) In the *Speech for the Crown* Demosthenes has a long list of men who have betrayed their *patris* to Philip II (Dem. 18.295–96). His list of traitors is very similar to the Herodotean list except that the "heading" *patrides* is appended to, not prefaced to, the list. Again, it is a list indicating the origins of various men, and again this origin amounts to statement of their *patris*. In a list containing seven *poleis*[34] that can properly be called *patris* are included three regions (Thessalia, Arkadia and Euboia) which, though each subdivided into *poleis*, are not themselves *poleis* and for which the designation *patris* fits less well than it does for *poleis* proper.

(3) The application of *patris* to the Peloponnese may perhaps be explained from the context in which it occurs. The description of the Peloponnese as *patris* occurs in a speech by the Arkadian federal politician Lykomedes of Mantinea, who urges the Arkadian federal assembly to attempt an independent line in foreign policy instead of following Thebes blindly. He is reported by Xenophon to have stated that the Arkadians were the only ones for whom the Peloponnese was the *patris* since they were the only autochthonous people on the peninsula. So, the application here is clearly propagandistic and prompted by the well-established Arkadian tradition of autochthony.[35]

(4) The epigram that describes Phokis as the *patris* of a Pythionikes (*CEG* II 799 (*c.*300)) may profitably be compared to another contemporary monument that celebrates a Magnesian Pythionikes (*CEG* II 855 (C4l)):

> *Φωκεὺς μὲν γένος εἰμί, πάλην δ' με Πύθ[ια παῖδας]*
> *νικῶντα ἐστεφάνω[σε] εἰκόνι [τ]ῆιδε πατρ[ίς].*
> (*CEG* II 799).

> *Μάγνης μὲν γενεάν, στάδιον δέ με Πύθια παῖδας*
> *νικῶντα ἐστεφάνωσε εἰκόνι τῆιδε πόλις.*
> (*CEG* II 855)

Obviously, in these two very similar epigrams the first two syllables of the hexameters were employed to state the origin of the athlete. In the Magnesian case it works well since the city-ethnic of Magnesia is exactly disyllabic. However, of twenty-eight attested Phokian city-ethnics only a single one is disyllabic (*Δελφός*). So unless the victor originated from Delphi itself the author of the epigram had to come up with an alternative proposal. His choice was the regional ethnic instead of a city-ethnic, and so Phokis was described as *patris* since he also preferred *πατρίς* to *πόλις* for the last two syllables of the pentameter. His reasons for this preference can only be conjectured. Perhaps *polis* was felt to sit less well with a regional ethnic such as *Φωκεύς* than was *πατρίς*. Possibly so, but it should be noted that one rare usage of *polis* was in fact to apply it to larger regions such as Thessalia or Sikelia or to multipolate islands such as Keos, Cyprus or Euboia, and in particular in verse "where poetical expression matters more than terminological precision".[36] So *polis* would have been possible and perhaps *patris* was not preferred for any particular reason but simply because in many contexts it served as an emotional substitute for *polis*.[37]

(5) According to Thuc. 6.4.6, Anaxilas of Rhegion (reigned 494–476) renamed Zankle "Messene" *ἀπὸ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ τὸ ἀρχαῖον πατρίδος*, i.e. after the region of Messenia in the Peloponnese. There *were poleis* in Messenia prior to the partial liberation from Sparta in 369, but only four (Aithaia (no. 312), Asine (no. 313), Mothone (no. 319) and Thouria (no. 322)) can be confidently identified, and if Anaxilas traced his Messenian ancestry back to the time of the Messenian wars[38] of the early Archaic period, there were probably not even four *poleis* in Messenia. It seems, again, that a regional description was the only way to identify Anaxilas' "fatherland of olden times".

(6) Unless "Pontos" was an alternative name for a *polis* in the Black Sea area or an otherwise unknown *polis*,[39] the description of Pontos as *patris* is a clear case of the application of the term to a named entity which was not a *polis*, though it is the only such unambiguous use.

To sum up: most of the applications of *patris* to regions larger than a single *polis* may be explained from their context as not wholly proper or slightly forced uses of the term, but not all. However, even if we accept all six sources, the number is still small when compared to the eighty-five *poleis* described as *patris*.

Re (4) The cosmopolitan view that a man's *patris* is where he wants to live is rare prior to the Hellenistic period though not unattested.[40] But to think of Hellas as one's *patris* is equally rare and runs equally counter to the traditional view that the *patris* is the *polis* where you were

[34] Argos (no. 347), Elis (no. 251), Messene (no. 318), Sikyon (no. 228), Corinth (no. 227), Megara (no. 225) and Thebes (no. 221).

[35] For Arkadian autochthony, see Nielsen (2002) 66–72. See also Kopp (1992) 172. Cf. also Dem. *Epit*. 4 for an association between *patris* and autochthony.

[36] Hansen (1998) 124–32.

[37] See Nielsen (2004) 51, 69–74.

[38] For Messenians in Rhegion in the early Archaic period: Heracl. Lemb. 55; Strabo 6.1.6; Paus. 4.23.6.

[39] Cf. *CEG* II 528 *ad loc*.

[40] Cf. Hansen, forthcoming, n. 1, citing Eur. frr. 774, 1034 (cf. fr. 1047); Ar. *Plut*. 1151; Isoc. 4.81. See also the vehement denunciation of this view at Lys. 31.6.

born and raised.[41] The thought occurs most prominently in Isokrates' *Panegyrikos* 81,[42] where the crusading rhetor claims—contrary to all the facts—that the Greeks of the Hellenic League who defeated the Persians had realised his own ideal in ἴδια μὲν ἅστη τὰς αὑτῶν πόλεις ἡγούμενοι, κοινὴν δὲ πατρίδα τὴν Ἑλλάδα νομίζοντες εἶναι ("regarding their own *poleis* simply as their individual cities, and being of the opinion that Hellas was their common *patris*").[43] But even in Isokrates this is unique, and his normal view is the traditional one which regards each individual *polis* as the *patris* of its citizens.[44]

Re (2) Of the *poleis* included in this Inventory eighty-five[45] are called *patris* in Archaic and Classical sources.[46] It should be immediately clear that in comparison with other entities sometimes called *patris* this number is significant, and that the regular and traditional use of *patris* is in reference to a man's *polis*, and *patris* may indeed be said to be a positive emotional substitute for *polis*.[47]

To conclude: Greeks of the Archaic and Classical periods thought of their *patris* almost as a next of kin; it was the sweetest thing on earth; it was the proper place to be buried; it was what they lost by going into exile or regained by their return; it was something for which they would lay down their lives. It was, in short, an object of their love and Greeks took pride in their *patris*. Though other entities were very occasionally described as *patris*, the *patris* was in the overwhelming majority of all cases the man's *polis*, and the term *patris* may be said to function almost as a synonym of *polis*. So, to a Greek the *patris* was his *polis*, and for his *polis* he was expected to be ready to lay down his life. Let it finally be noted that this conclusion is derived not *only* from Athenian sources (which admittedly predominate in this as in any discussion), but also from a wide range of non-Athenian sources.[48] The view of *patris* presented above was, then, in all probability one shared throughout the Greek world.[49]

[41] Cf. Hom. *Od*. 10.415–17.

[42] It may also be present in Aesch. *Pers*. 186, 403, but not emphatically so. Cf. also Lycurg. *Leoc*. 104.

[43] See the excellent comments of Buchner (1958) 89 on this extraordinary passage.

[44] Ibid.

[45] All *poleis* of type A, except four of type [A] (Phigaleia (no. 292); Krannon (no. 400); Phalanna (no. 468); Kallatis (no. 686)); four of type B ((Thelphousa (no. 300); Samos the klerouchy (no. 865); Astypalaia (no. 476); Pholegandra (no. 513)) and one of type C (Trapezous (no. 303)).

[46] On this number, see Nielsen (2004) 64–65.

[47] See further the discussion of the different uses of *patris* as a synonym for *polis*, ibid.

[48] Aeneas Tacticus of Stymphalos (?), Anaximenes of Lampsakos, Aristotle of Stagira, Gorgias of Leontinoi, Herodotos of Halikarnassos, Hesiodos of Thespiai, Pindar of Thebes, Simonides of Keos, Stesimbrotos of Thasos, and Theognis of Megara, and inscriptions from the Black Sea area, Boiotia, Cyprus, Delphi, Egypt, Eretria, Kalymna, Knidos, Korkyra, Pella, Pharsalos, Pherai, Thelphousa and the Dorian islands.

[49] See further Nielsen (2004) 49 n. 5.

REFERENCES

Anderson, B. 1991. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*[2] (London and New York).

Buchner, E. 1958. *Der Panegyrikos des Isokrates: Eine historisch-philologische Untersuchung*, *Historia* Einzelschriften 2 (Wiesbaden).

Golden, M. 1990. *Children and Childhood in Classical Athens* (Baltimore and London).

Greenhalgh, P. A. L. 1972. "Patriotism in the Homeric World", *Historia* 21: 528–37.

Habicht, C. 1985. *Pausanias' Guide to Ancient Greece* (Berkeley).

Hansen, M. H. 1997. "Πόλις as the Generic Term for State", *CPCPapers* 4: 9–15.

—— 1998. *Polis and City-State: An Ancient Concept and its Modern Equivalent*, *CPCActs* 5.

—— 2000. "The Use of the Word *Polis* in the Attic Orators", *CPCPapers* 5: 151–60.

—— forthcoming. "'Belonging' in a Political Context".

Kopp, M. 1992. *Mythische Genealogie und oilitische Identität: Studien zur Bedeutung des Mythos für die Entwicklung arkadischer Staaten* (diss. Freiburg).

Masson, O. 1974. "À propos de l'épigramme funéraire pour Kobôn fils de Sakès", *ZPE* 13: 73–76.

Nielsen, T. H. 2002. *Arkadia and its Poleis in the Archaic and Classical Periods*, Hypomnemata 140 (Göttingen).

—— 2004. "The Concept of *Patris* in Archaic and Classical Sources". *CPCPapers* 7: 49–76.

Seibert, J. 1979. *Die politischen Flüchtlinge und Verbannten in der griechischen Geschichte* (Darmstadt).

Smith, A. D. 1991. *National Identity* (London).

—— 2000. *The Nation in History: Historiographical Debates about Ethnicity and Nationalism* (Cambridge).

Wagner, G. 1973. "Stèle funéraire de Kobôn", *ZPE* 12: 173–76.

Wankel, H. 1976. "Das Chaironeia-Epigram GV 29 Peek", *ZPE* 21: 97–115.

The Number of *Poleis*

This Inventory comprises 1,035 communities, each certainly or probably or possibly a *polis* in the Archaic and/or Classical periods. But not all were *poleis* at the same time. Some early *poleis* had disappeared for good already in the Archaic period, e.g. Arisba on Lesbos (no. 768) swallowed up by Methymna, presumably in C6, or Megara Hyblaia in Sicily (no. 36), destroyed by Gelon in 484. Other *poleis* were founded in the course of the period covered by our investigation, e.g. Megalopolis (no. 282) synoecised in 368, or developed to become a *polis*, e.g. Kassopa (no. 100) in C4m, or took on board so many aspects of Hellenic civilisation that they became Hellenised or at least partly Hellenised *poleis* before the end of the Classical period, e.g. Xanthos (no. 943). A reduction in the number of *poleis* in some parts of the Hellenic world was counterbalanced by an increase in other parts. In C6–C5 Euboia had about a dozen *poleis*, but in C4m only four were left. Although it cannot be proved, it is a fair guess that several small Arkadian *poleis* disappeared or at least lost their *polis* status when Megalopolis was synoecised in 368. Along the coasts of the Adriatic Sea numerous new *poleis* were founded in C4f by Dionysios I, but in the same period several of the neighbours of Syracuse were destroyed and disappeared as *poleis* for a shorter or longer period. And many of the Sicilian communities included in this inventory became Hellenised *poleis* only in the wake of Timoleon's campaigns. Of all the seventy-two Karian *poleis* recorded below, only a handful were Hellenic colonies. The rest were indigenous communities which, in C4s, had become sufficiently Hellenised to count as *poleis*. But before Hellenisation gathered momentum under the Hekatomnids in C4, many of these communities were Karian cities and city-states, not Hellenised *poleis*, and they would not have deserved inclusion if this inventory had stopped in *c.*400. Nor would many of the *poleis* in Epeiros.

Furthermore, we cannot be sure that all the communities included in the Inventory were actually *poleis*. Some of those classified as a *polis* type C would undoubtedly be struck off the Inventory if we had had perfect sources. And even some of the *poleis* type A are not beyond doubt: some remote sites in the Pontic region, for example, are recorded in Ps.-Skylax as a *polis* or even a *polis Hellenis*, but several are presumably ghost-*poleis*, see 27 *supra*.

Conversely, we must take into account what the Germans call a *Dunkelziffer*, i.e. the difference between a number actually attested in the scattered sources we have and the estimated total number we would be able to record if we had had perfect sources. There can be no doubt that a considerable number of Archaic *poleis* have disappeared without leaving any trace of their existence. Lesbos, for example, may in C7 have had more than the six *poleis* mentioned by Herodotos; cf. 1018 *infra*. The tradition was that there had once been 100 *poleis* in Lakedaimon.[1] With the sources we have, a maximum of twenty-four can be described.

Because of the constant transformation of the political map of the Hellenic world, the list of all *poleis* in the Archaic and Classical periods must be supplemented with a list of *poleis* in a given year, and the year we have chosen is 400. It would be interesting to have a similar list for 480, i.e. the line of separation between the Archaic and Classical periods; but lack of sources makes it impossible to draw a picture of the *polis* world in the year of Xerxes' invasion of Greece.

The list of *poleis* in 400 (see Index 10) omits all *poleis* that had disappeared before 400 as well as all *poleis* that were colonised or synoecised or Hellenised in the course of the period 400–323. As the evidence stands, 862 of the 1,035 *poleis* were certainly or presumably or at least possibly Hellenic *poleis* in the year when the 10,000 mercenaries had to fight their way back to Greece, when Elis was forced by Sparta to surrender many of its dependencies, and when Sokrates was about to stand trial in Athens. Of these 862 *poleis*, 437 are explicitly attested as *poleis* in sources of the Classical period (type A), 221 are known to have performed a number of activities characteristic of a *polis* (types [A]B and B), and for 204 there are indications but no proof that they were *poleis* both in the political and in the urban sense of the term (types [A]C and C).

A total of 862 *poleis* is a minimum figure, but the presumption is that, including a *Dunkelziffer*, the total number

[1] Strabo 8.4.11; Steph. Byz. 46.4, 87.16, etc. The source is probably Polemon's treatise: *Περὶ τῶν ἐν Λακεδαίμονι πόλεων*, *Suda Π* 1888.

of *poleis* in any one year can hardly have passed 1,000,[2] and 1,500 *poleis* altogether, as we guessed when we started the project in 1993, must be considered a maximum: i.e. the number of all *poleis* from the beginning of the colonial period in C8m down to the death of Alexander the Great in 323.

The approach of the Polis Centre has been to find out what the Greeks thought a *polis* was. Consequently, it is pertinent to ask: did the Greeks *c.*400 know how many *poleis* there were in the Hellenic world? If Agesilaos in 371 had asked Epameinondas how many *poleis* there were in Boiotia,[3] the Theban statesman might not have known the exact number by heart, but we are convinced that there was a right answer and that in a few minutes he would have been able to come up with it. If you had put the same question to an ordinary citizen in one of the Boiotian *poleis*, he might not have been able to name the exact figure, no matter how long he was given to state his answer; but he would have known for sure of which *polis* he himself was a citizen, and he would have known about all its neighbours and about the major Boiotian *poleis*. If you had asked him how many Hellenic *poleis* there were altogether, he might have missed the total indicated here by 100 per cent or more.[4] The scholars in Aristotle's Lykeion are probably the only Greeks who could have come up with an educated guess, and who may perhaps have asked the question. In some respects this is not so different from what we experience in the modern world. A Member of Parliament in a modern state would probably know that in 2002 there are close to 200 states in the world, 192 to be exact. An ordinary citizen, even an educated one, would not know and might miss the right figure by 100 per cent. A majority of the citizens of the members of the EU are probably ignorant of how many states there are in Europe. The difference between the Greeks and us is that any citizen in a modern state can look it up in a book or find it on the internet in a few minutes, whereas we believe that no count was ever made of the number of *poleis* in the Hellenic world until the Roman Imperial period when, probably, the administrators would know how many *poleis* there were in each of the Greek-speaking provinces and new *poleis* were created by decree of the emperor.[5]

[2] According to Xenophon, the Thrakian Chersonesos was settled with 11 or 12 *poleis c.*400 (*Hell.* 3.2.10). There are 15 in the Inventory, of which, however, one was not a *polis* in 400 and 5 are type [A]C. According to Demosthenes, Philip II had 22 Phokian *poleis* dioecised in 346 (Dem. 19.123), to which we must add Abai and Delphi. The Inventory comprises altogether 29 *poleis* of which 2 seem to have disappeared in 480 and 2 are classified as *poleis* type C. In these and in several other regions all or almost all *poleis* are still identifiable.

[3] For the (anecdotal?) exchange of words between Epameinondas and Agesilaos in 371, see Paus. 9.13.2 and Plut. *Ages.* 28.1–3.

[4] The only adding up of *poleis* found in the sources, is Bdelykleon's claim that there were 1,000 *poleis* in the Delian League (*Vesp.* 707), but that is a deliberate exaggeration.

[5] Pallantion was made a *polis* by Antoninus Pius (Paus. 8.43.1). Hadrian sent a letter to the citizens of Naryka in East Lokris in which he acknowledges the *polis* status of Naryka (unpublished bronze stele in the Louvre).

Toponyms as Evidence for *Polis* Identity

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

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

Even though the sequence of the word-formation is not as clear-cut as stated by Gschnitzer, it is still true and important to note that some ethnics are related to a toponym denoting an urban settlement, others to a toponym denoting a region. Now, the nucleated settlement corresponding to the ethnic was often the urban and political centre of a *polis*, but it could also be a small town or a village lying in the territory of a *polis*, cf. Tamynai on Euboia or Tripodiskos in Megaris.[5] It is impossible linguistically to separate a toponym denoting a *polis* from a toponym denoting a village or a town lying in the territory of a *polis*. However, the distinction can be ascertained by a number of other criteria, see 88 *infra*, and it is this distinction that enables us to subdivide the related ethnics into city-ethnics—i.e. ethnics corresponding to a toponym denoting a *polis*—versus those sub-ethnics that correspond to a toponym denoting a civic subdivision of a *polis*, typically a *demos* or a *kome*. See 59–60 *infra*.

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

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

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

[1] One exception is Zgusta (1984).

[2] There is no need in this context to discuss other ethnics not related to toponyms, e.g. the ethnics of the three Dorian *phylai*: Hylleis, Dymanes, Pamphyloi.

[3] Bölte (1930) 1291; Risch (1957) 66; Nielsen (2002) 169–70.

[4] Gschnitzer (1955) 129–30.

[5] Cf. *Ταμύναι* (Aeschin. 2.169), an Eretrian deme inhabited by the *Ταμυναιεῖς* (*IG* XII.9 249.III.241); *Τριποδίσκος* (Steph. Byz. 637.1), a Megarian *kome* inhabited by the *Τριποδίσκιοι* (Plut. *Mor*. 295B).

[6] Gschnitzer (1955) 121–22; Finley (1984) 10. The observation goes back at least to Tittmann (1822) 528.

[7] Alope (no. 378), Thuc. 2.26.2; Ambrakia (no. 113), Ps.-Skylax 33; Chaironeia (no. 201), Lycurg. 1.16; Elateia (no. 180), Theophr. *HP* 8.8.2; Epidauros (no. 348), Thuc. 5.55.1; Haliartos (no. 206), Xen. *Hell*. 3.5.17; Kinyps (no. 1027), Hdt. 4.198.1; Corinth (no. 227), Dem. 20.52; Lebadeia (no. 211), Xen. *Mem*. 3.5.4; Mantinea (no. 281), Thuc. 5.64.4; Methydrion (no. 283), Thuc. 5.58.2; Mytilene (no. 798), *SEG* 36 750.17; Orchomenos (no. 213), Thuc. 1.113.2; Panopeis (no. 190), Hdt. 8.34; Plataiai (no. 216), Xen. *Hell*. 5.4.48; Poteidaia (no. 598), Xen. *Hell*. 5.2.39; Sikyon (no. 228), Hdt. 1.145; Tanagra (no. 220), Thuc. 1.108.1.

[8] Apollonia (no. 545), Xen. *Hell*. 5.3.1; Argos (no. 347), Thuc. 4.133.2; Erochos (no. 181), *SEG* 27 143; Oropos (no. 214), Hyp. 3.16; Phleious (no. 355), Xen. *Hell*. 4.4.15; Tanagra (no. 220), Thuc. 4.91, 7.29.2; Thebes (no. 221), Xen. *Hell*. 5.2.25.

most universal modern orthodoxy,[9] the toponym was often used synonymously with the city-ethnic to denote the community, i.e. the *polis* in the political sense.[10]

In treaties *poleis* identified by toponym are not commonly found, but there are some examples: in the C6l treaty between the Sybaritai and the Serdaians the *polis* Poseidonia is recorded as a guarantor of the agreement (*Staatsverträge* 120); in the Peace of Nikias six members of the Delian League have the conditions for their membership defined in the peace treaty and all six *poleis* are called by toponym: Argilos, Stagiros, Akanthos, Skolos, Olynthos and Spartolos (*Staatsverträge* 188 = Thuc. 5.18.5).

We know the members of the Delian League from the Athenian tribute lists. Most are invariably recorded by their ethnic; but thirty-two are recorded sometimes by ethnic and sometimes by toponym, and for no fewer than fifty-two only the toponym is attested in the inscriptions we have. To record a community by its toponym is attested more frequently in the assessment decrees than in the tribute lists (*infra* 112).

Coins were inscribed with the name of the issuing *polis*. In the great majority of cases the legend is the ethnic, usually in the genitive plural, but twenty-one *poleis* used the toponym as the name of their community; in seventeen cases the toponym alternates with the ethnic; in four cases the toponym is the only legend to be found on the coins (*infra* 147).

In lists of *theorodokoi* the name of each *theorodokos* is preceded by the name of his community recorded as a toponym. The use of the toponym instead of the ethnic is undoubtedly dictated by the fact that the lists are itineraries of the *theoroi* sent out from the Panhellenic sanctuary in question to invite the *poleis* they visit to join the sacred truce during the festival and to send a delegation to the festival. But the *theoroi* to be hosted by the *theorodokoi* were sent out on a political mission, and each of the communities identified by the toponym must have been a political community (*infra* 104).

In the speeches delivered in the Athenian assembly or in the popular court, a *polis* in the political sense is almost always identified by its ethnic, but there are attestations of the toponym, which in this case must be treated as exceptions.[11]

The picture changes when we move from documents to historians and philosophers.[12]

In all historians the toponym is frequently used in a political sense. According to Herodotos, the Dorian *pentapolis* comprised Lindos, Ialysos, Kamiros, Kos and Knidos (1.144.3). Thucydides tells us about *stasis* in Kerkyra (3.69.2), Rhegion (4.3.1) and Akragas (7.46), not *stasis* among the Akragantians, etc. In his paraphrase of the King's Peace of 386, Xenophon lists Lemnos, Imbros and Skyros as *poleis* exempted from the *autonomia* clause (Xen. *Hell*. 5.1.31 = *Staatsverträge* 242). For a long list of attestations from the three major historians, see Whitehead (1996), to which can be added examples from fragments of other historians: Ephoros mentions the tyrants of Pherai, not the Pheraians (fr. 95), and the Oxyrhynchus historian (=Theopompos?) uses a mixture of ethnics and toponyms in his description of the Boiotian federal constitution: of the eleven Boiotian districts, one consisted of the Haliartioi, the Lebadeis and the Koroneis, another of Akraiphnion, Kopai and Chaironeia (*Hell. Oxy*. 19.3). The shift from city-ethnic to toponym is just a stylistic variation which shows that the difference between the ethnic and the toponym must not be overemphasised.

Perhaps unexpectedly, philosophers offer the proportionately highest number of examples. Admittedly, toponyms and ethnics do not abound in Plato's dialogues, but there are numerous passages in which the Athenian and Spartan states are identified by the toponym, not by the city-ethnic.[13]

In Aristotle's *Politics* book 5, which all the way through treats the *polis* as a political community, the most common way of naming a *polis* is by the phrase ἐν + toponym in the dative; thus, Aristotle mentions ἡ ἐν Ἡρακλείᾳ στάσις ($1306^{a}37$) or ἡ ἐν Χίῳ ὀλιγαρχία ($1306^{b}5$), and he has ἐν Ῥόδῳ ὁ δῆμος ($1302^{b}32$) instead of ὁ Ῥοδίων δῆμος as one would expect (cf. Dem. 15.15, 28). In the book the use of the toponym to denote a *polis* in the political sense outnumbers the use of the city-ethnic by at least two to one.

Finally, examples from poetry are less significant because every attestation may be treated as an instance of metonymy or poetic personification.

To conclude: the use of toponyms to signify sometimes the town, sometimes the territory and sometimes the polity

[9] Which I shared myself until 1992; cf. Hansen (1991) 58.

[10] Hansen (1993) 29 nn. 139–40 (the political sense); (1996) 38–39 (a brief account of the political and the territorial senses); Whitehead (1996) (a full account of the political sense).

[11] Isoc. 15.109: Korkyra (no. 123); Dem. 20.61: Thasos (no. 526) and Byzantion (no. 674).

[12] For the category of documents to cover speeches delivered in the assembly and the court, see Hansen (2001).

[13] Lakedaimon used about the *polis* in the political sense: *Cri*. 52E; *Alc*. 121A; *Hp. mai*. 284A; *Resp*. 599D; *Minos* 320B; *Leg*. 628E, 636E, 683D, 712D. Athens: *Hipp*. 229B; *Ep*. 336D. For Sparta and Athenai juxtaposed, see *Leg*. 753A.

matches the use of the term *polis* to signify either the town or the territory or the polity. And the three different senses in which toponyms are found puts into perspective three aspects of the *polis* that we find important and want to emphasise throughout this inventory: (1) the emphasis on the urban centre as the heart of the *polis*, (2) town and community as almost indistinguishable aspects of the *polis*, and (3) the close connection between the urban centre of the *polis* and its hinterland which, together, constitute the territory of the *polis*.

REFERENCES

Bölte, F. 1930. "Mantinea", *RE* xiv. 1290–1344

Finley, M. I. 1984. "Introduction", in M. I. Finley (ed.), *The Legacy of Greece: A New Appraisal* (Oxford) 1–21.

Gschnitzer, F. 1955. "Stammes- und Ortsgemeinde im alten Griechenland", *WS* 68: 120–44.

Hansen, M. H. 1991. *The Athenian Democracy in the Age of Demosthenes* (Oxford).

—— 1993. "Introduction", *CPCActs* 1: 7–29.

—— 1996. "*ΠΟΛΛΑΧΩΣ ΠΟΛΙΣ ΛΕΓΕΤΑΙ* (Arist. *Pol.* 1276^{a}23): The Copenhagen Inventory of *Poleis* and the *Lex Hafniensis de Civitate*", *CPCActs* 3: 7–72.

—— "What is a Document? An Ill-Defined Type of Source", *ClMed* 52: 317–43.

Nielsen, T. H. 2002. *Arkadia and its Poleis in the Archaic and Classical Periods* (Göttingen).

Pape, W., and Benseler G. E. (eds.) 1911. *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen* i–ii, 3rd edn. (Braunschweig).

Risch, E. 1957. "Zur Geschichte der griechischen Ethnika", *MusHelv* 14: 63–74.

Tittmann, W. 1822. *Darstellung der griechischen Staatsverfassungen* (Leipzig).

Whitehead, D. 1996. "*Polis*-Toponyms as Personal Entities (in Thucydides and Elsewhere)", *MusHelv* 53: 1–11.

Zgusta, L. 1984. *Kleinasiatische Ortsnamen* (Heidelberg).

Ethnics as Evidence for *Polis* Identity

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

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

A. *Name, Patronymic and Ethnic*[5]

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

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

[1] *Πολυμήδης Τέλλυος Ἀμπρακιώτας* (*CID* II 4.III.27–28).

[2] With the article: Thuc. 1.46.1–2; without the article: ML 27.11.

[3] *Ἀμβρακία πόλις Ἑλληνίς. ἀπέχει δ' αὕτη ἀπὸ θαλάττης στάδια π'* (Ps.-Skylax 33). For the numerous exceptions, see 55–57 *supra*.

[4] For a brief but penetrating survey, see Fraser (1995).

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

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

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

[8] Ibid. Name: *Χαρμαντίδης* (*IG* I^3 1328 *bis*); name and patronymic: *Μικίων Ἡρακλείδο* (*IG* I^3 1327); name and demotic: *Ἱεροκ⟨λ⟩ῆς Κεφαλῆθεν* (*IG* I^3 1331); name, patronymic and demotic: *Λῦσις Δημοκράτος Αἰξωνεύς* (*SEG* 34 199); name and city-ethnic: *Ἡφαίστης Χῖος* (*IG* I^3 1345); name, patronymic and city-ethnic:, *Αἰσχρίων Φιλίσκο Κνίδιος* (*IG* I^3 1346); name and regional ethnic: *Κέφαλος Θεσαλός* (*IG* I^3 1375); name, patronymic and regional ethnic: *Νουμήνιχος Ἡρακλείτου Βοιώτιος* (*IG* II^2 8419).

[9] *AJP* 56 (1935) 358–72 is a C4l list of many hundred Kolophonian contributors to the rebuilding of the walls. All have a patronymic added to their name, and a handful or so have a name indicating their *genos* added to their name and patronymic, e.g. *Ἀρτεμίδωρος Γεροντίδεω* (642), *Ἀρτεμίδωρος Ἑκατωνύμου* (616), *Ἀρτεμίδωρος Ἑκατωνύμου Ἡγητορίδης* (865–66), cf. the note on page 372 and *infra* n. 15).

[10] Cf. the C4m list of Karthaian *proxenoi* (*IG* XII.5 542). The preserved fragment contains the names of some 50 citizens from 27 *poleis*, and each *proxenos* is recorded by name, patronymic and city-ethnic.

[11] The Athenian statesman Aristophon appears with his demotic in the decree he moved in 343/2 (*IG* II^2 224.6–7: *Ἀριστοφῶν Ἀριστοφάνους Ἀζηνιεύς*) but as an Athenian in the Karthaian list of *proxenoi* (*IG* XII.5 542.43–44: *Ἀριστοφῶν Ἀριστοφάνους Ἀθηναῖος*).

[12] See the C4f Delphic list of contributions to the rebuilding of the temple of Apollo, *CID* II 12.1.67: *Ἀκουσίας Μέδωνος Θεσσαλὸς ἐξ Ὄρθου*; II.1: *Κλεόμαντις Καφυιεὺς Ἀρχάς*; II.31–32: *Διονύσιος Καλλικλέους Κεῖος ἐξ Ἰουλίδος*.

[13] In the C4l list of victors in the Lykaia in Arkadia (*IG* V.2 549–50) all Arkadians are called by their regional ethnic (*Ἀρκάς*) whereas all foreigners are called by their city-ethnic, e.g. *Ἀθηναῖος*, *Ἀργεῖος*.

tion: *Αἰγύπτιος*, *Θρᾷξ*, *Ῥωμαῖος*.[14] But that need not detain us, since we are dealing with names of Greeks, not barbarians.

The purpose of the name and the patronymic was to identify the person as an individual different from everybody else. The third part of the name, however, often served the opposite purpose: it indicated membership of a group,[15] which was never the family, as one might have expected, but either a "clan" (e.g. a *genos*), a "brotherhood" (e.g. a *phratria*), a "lineage" (*patra*), a "tribe" (e.g. a *phyle*), a municipality (e.g. a *demos*), a state (e.g. a *polis*) or a whole region (often called *ethnos*). True, the word *genos* usually denotes a "family" or a "clan",[16] and etymologically *phratria* is derived from the Indo-European word for "brother" and *patra* from the word for "father".[17] But whenever *genos* or *phratria* or *patra* are used in a technical sense for civic subdivisions, they refer to artificial groups, not surviving kinship organisations,[18] and accordingly the personal names corresponding to the names of *gene* or *phratriai*, though mostly patronymic in form, cannot be taken as evidence of family names.[19] Thus, apart from the *patronymikon*, which usually changed every generation,[20] the Greeks did not use family names as the Romans did or as we do, and hereditary family names *added* to the name and patronymic are unattested. There are only a few exceptional attestations of the grandfather's name being recorded after the patronymic.[21] The common way of indicating a person's lineage was in the form of a partitive genitive in the plural and not as an integral part of the name itself; cf., for example, one of the *ostraka* from the Athenian Agora cast against a member of the Alkmaionidai: [*Ἀλκ*]*μεον*[*ιδῶν Καλ*]*λίχσεν*[*ος Ἀρ*]*ιστο*[*νύμο*] (*Hesperia* 19 (1950) 389 no. 30) or Herodotos' mention of a member of the Skopadai: *τῶν Σκοπαδέων Διακτορίδης Κραννώνιος* (Hdt. 6.127.4).

To conclude: in addition to the patronymic, we have basically three types of appellation added to the name itself, namely: one denoting a subdivision of a *polis*, one denoting the *polis* itself, and one denoting units larger than the *polis*.

B. *Sub-Ethnics*

Orthodox terminology is restricted to two terms: *demotikon* and *ethnikon*. This is, in our opinion, unsatisfactory. *Demotikon* is a term invented by modern historians and it is too narrow by being restricted to names related to one specific type of civic subdivision only, *viz*. the *demos*; the *ethnikon*, on the other hand, is too broad in meaning because it covers names related to *poleis* as well as names related to regions. The *ethnikon* must be subdivided into two different types, and in addition to the *demotikon*, we must invent a more general term that denotes all names related to units smaller than the *polis*.

Demotics in the strict sense, that is names derived from toponyms which denote *demoi*, are found only in Attika, Euboia, Rhodes and a few other places. But side by side with demotics, we must study the common habit in many parts of the Hellenic world of supplementing a name and, sometimes, a patronymic with a name denoting a tribe (*phyle*), a village (*kome*), a "brotherhood" (*phratria*), a "lineage" (*patra*), a "clan" (*genos*), or some other artificial subdivision, like a *pentekonstys*, a *hekatostys*, a *chiliastys*, or a *symmoria*.[22] As a comprehensive term to denote all such names,

[14] *⟨Ἐ⟩ρμαῖος Αἰγύπτιος* (*IG* I³ 1341 *bis*); *Ἑκαταῖος Ζωνίου Θρᾷξ* (*I.Iasos* 191.12); *Σέρδων Ῥωμαῖος* (*IG* IX.2 115.25).

[15] In lists of names each consisting of an *onoma* and a *patronymikon* the occasional addition of a third part, indicating e.g. a civic subdivision, must have served the purpose of distinguishing between two homonymous persons, cf. n. 9. But in lists in which every person is recorded with his *demotikon* or *ethnikon* the principal purpose must have been to indicate membership of a group; see, e.g., the ethnics in the C4 lists of victors in the Amphiareia in Oropos (*I.Oropos* 520 (329/8)) or the demotics in the Eretrian lists of citizens of C4l/C3e (*IG* XII.9 240–54).

[16] Family: *ἄτιμος ἔστω καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ γένος τὸ ἐξ ἐκείνου* (*SEG* 12 87.20–21); clan: *τ*[*ὸ*] *γένος τὸ Εὐμο*[*λπιδ*]*ῶν* (*IG* II² 1231.14–15).

[17] Chantraine (1980) 864 (*πάτρα*) and 1226 (*φρατρία*).

[18] On the *genos*, see Roussel (1976) 87–88, adducing the Samian *gene* as an example (*IG* XII.6 17.30 and 30.28); for the equation between the *genos*, a body hereditary by nature, and the *hekatostys*, an obviously artificial numerical grouping, see Shipley (1987) 284–85; Bourriot (1976) i. 14–17; ii. 1380 adduces the 360 *gene* in Archaic Attika as an example of artificial *gene* used as civic subdivisions (Arist. *Ath. Pol.* fr. 3). On the artificial nature of *phratriai*, see Lambert (1993) 9–10 and Cordano (1992) 91. On *patrai*, see Andrewes (1957); Gabrielsen (1997) 131–49.

[19] An obvious parallel is the use of hereditary bynames in Ireland. From the fourth century AD onwards it was common to use surnames prefixed by Mac or O', e.g. O'Neill; see Hanks and Hodges (1988) xxv–xxvi: "These surnames originally signified membership of a clan, but with the passage of time, the clan system became less distinct, and surnames came to identify membership of what is called a 'sept': a group of people all living in the same locality, all bearing the same surname, but not necessarily descended from a common ancestor."

[20] Except when a son had his father's name, e.g. *Δημοσθένης Δημοσθένους*. In other cases the *onoma* and the *patronymikon* could alternate for several generations; cf. e.g. *Ἁρμόδιος* I–IV alternating with *πρόξενος* I–IV, stemma in Kirchner (1901–3) i. 152.

[21] See e.g. *Μεγακλῆς Ἱππoκράτος Ἀλκμεονίδο* inscribed on an *ostrakon* from Kerameikos (*MdI* 106 (1991) 153). The *παππωνυμικόν* (cf. *Suda A* 1276) is more frequently attested in later periods.

[22] Examples of various subdivisions of a *polis* used with personal names: a *demos*: *Ἐλπῖνος Δυστό*(*θεν*) (*IG* XII.9 191.B.6 (C4l), Eretria, cf. Knoepfler (1997) 355–71); a *kome*: *Σουσαρίων . . . ὑιὸς Φιλίνου Μεγαρόθεν Τριποδίσκιος* (Sousarion fr. 1, West); a *phyle*: [----]*ν ⟨Ἐ⟩γγυδίχο Ηυλλεύς* (*SEG* 39 411.26 (C5l), Megara); a *phratria*: *Ἀριστίων Ἐριλαίς* (*IG* IV².1 49.14–15 (C4–C3), Epidauros, cf. Jones, *POAG* 107–8); a *patra*: *Κλεόδαμος Ἀωριεύς* (*SEG* 30 355.5 (C4l), Argos, cf. Piérart (2000) 297–301); a *genos*: *Ἀπολλώνιος Ἀπολλοδώρου Προμήθειος* (*AJP* 56 (1935) no. 1 lines 631–32 (C4l), Kolophon, cf. Robert (1969) 1241–43); a *pentekostys*: *Λέαιθος Κλεωναί* (*SEG* 30 355.3 (C4l), Argos, cf. Piérart (2000) 300–1); a *hekastostys*: *Διονύσιος Πασίωνος Ἑκατοστύς Κυνοσουρί*[*ς*]

including demotics, we suggest *sub-ethnic*,[23] whereas the term *demotikon*, or demotic in English, should be restricted to names indicating membership of a deme proper.

What is common to the various types of sub-ethnic is first that they are based on some kind of civic subdivision, and second that they are restricted to citizens. It is characteristic that the sub-ethnics, all designating a group smaller than a *polis*, were invariably applied to *politai*, that is to full members of a *polis*, and furthermore, to citizens operating within their own *polis*. As far as we know, there is no attestation of a name signifying a *phratria* or a *phyle* or a *demos*, etc. being applied to a slave; and examples of Athenian women identified by a demotic in the nominative case are few and so late that the notion of citizenship had lost its original meaning.[24] Rhodian women of citizen status are regularly recorded with a feminine demotic but, again, all attestations are Hellenistic or later.[25] Also, a citizen would only use his sub-ethnic when he was at home; there are scattered attestations of citizens identified by ethnics within their own *polis*[26] or by sub-ethnics outside their own *polis*,[27] but as a rule, whenever a citizen was abroad, the sub-ethnic was commonly replaced by an ethnic denoting his *polis*.[28]

(*IG* IV².1 42.18–21 (C3l), Megara); a *chiliastys*: *Ἀριστοκρ[άτης Αριστ]οκράτου Σιμώνηο[ς]* (*I.Ephesos* 906.13–14 (C1), Ephesos, cf. Jones, *POAG* 312–13); a *symmoria* (combined with a *pyrgos*): *Ἀρτέμ(ω)ν τοῦ Φιλαίου Πύργου Φιλαΐδης* (*CIG* 3064 = *PEP Teos* 79.9 (C3–C2), Teos, cf. Jones, *POAG* 306–8).

[23] At the symposion in Copenhagen in August 1995 I offered a prize to the participant who could invent a suitable term. Dr. James Roy coined the term sub-ethnic and won the prize (a bottle of good Australian red wine).

[24] *IG* II² 6781: *Σειλία Ἐαρίνη Μαραθωνία*, second century AD; see Vestergaard *et al.* (1992) 8 with n. 7.

[25] Migeotte (1993); cf. Fraser (1995) 69–70; cf. *SEG* 27 461 (C4l–C3e) and 480 (Hell.).

[26] The internal use of the individual city-ethnic occurs when a citizen in his own *polis* is recorded alongside citizens from other *poleis*, cf. *Ἀρισταγόρας Δελφός* in the Delphic *neopoioi* accounts (*CID* II 10.1.10 (357/6)). Furthermore, "throughout the Greek world sculptors signed their bases, even in their home-city, by their ethnic" (Fraser (1995) 72). In Index 8, attestations of the individual and internal use of the city-ethnic are marked Ii.

[27] *IG* II² 230: *Ἱπποσθέν[ης] Μ[ι]νθ(ουντόθεν)* and several other Eretrians recorded in the Attic copy of a treaty between Eretria and Athens concluded in 341/40. *Μινθουντόθεν* is one of more than 50 Eretrian demes. *SEG* 30 355, an Argive proxeny decree of C4l for an Athenian recorded as *Πάμφιλον Αἰσχύτου Ξυπεταιῶνα Ἀθηναῖον*. Cf. *Ἀριστοκράτην Χάρητ[ος Ἀθη]ναῖον Θορίκιον* in a C4m proxeny decree from Paros (*SEG* 48 1135.12–13).

[28] In the C4 Delphic accounts published in *CID* II almost all the persons recorded are foreigners; 141 different ethnics are attested, 109 city-ethnics and 32 regional ethnics, but not one single sub-ethnic. Olympic victors were recorded with the name of their *polis* added to the name and patronymic (*IvO* 165; *P Oxy.* 222, 2381). In one single case it has been suggested that a victor was identified by the name of his deme. At 7.17.7 Pausanias quotes the following epigram: *Οἰνία Οἰβώτας στάδιον νικῶν ὅδ' Ἀχαιὸς πατρίδα Πάλειαν θῆκ' ὀνομαστοτέραν* (by winning the foot-race Oibotas of Achaia, the son of Oinias, made his fatherland Paleia more famous). The epigram commemorates a victory of (allegedly) 756, inscribed on a statue base set up in 460 (Paus. 6.3.8). Paleia is usually taken to be a *demos* belonging to Dyme (Jones, *POAG* 132). The presumption is, however, that Paleia was originally a self-governing community and only later subsumed under Dyme (Meyer (1949)). Furthermore, all the evidence we have for demes in Achaia comes from Strabo and Pausanias, and in this and other cases it is illegitimate to project their site-classifications back into the Archaic period. For a list of the ethnic *Ἀθηναῖος* recorded on gravestones found outside Attika, see Hansen (1982) 187–88.

C. *The Regional Ethnic versus the City-Ethnic*

The traditional term *ethnikon* is commonly used to cover two very different categories: first the *ethnikon* proper, i.e. an *ethnikon* denoting one or more persons belonging to a people inhabiting a region (*Βοιωτός*, *Ἀρκάς*, *Φωκεύς*), or a part of a region (*Μαινάλιος*, *Ἀποδωτός*)[29] or a geographical unit much larger than a region (*Πελοποννήσιος*, *Σικελιώτης*),[30] etc., and second the *ethnikon* which denotes one or more persons inhabiting a *polis*: *Ἀθηναῖος*, *Κορίνθιος*, *Θεσπιεύς*, *Ταναγραῖος*.

The ancients, and Stephanos of Byzantion in particular, made no distinction between the two different types and used the term *ἐθνικόν* indiscriminately about e.g. the Boiotians (Steph. Byz. 174.3) and the Akraiphnians (Steph. Byz. 63.5). The modern practice of applying the term to the people inhabiting a region as well as to the citizens of a *polis* is probably borrowed directly from Stephanos' lexicon and has no other authority. But the word *ἐθνικόν* is late and rare, and Stephanos' use of it is rather idiosyncratic. The first attestation of *ἐθνικόν* is in Strabo, who uses the term in a very different way, namely to distinguish *βάρβαροι* from *Ἕλληνες* (Strabo 14.2.28).

Both for our understanding of the use of personal names and for an investigation of the nature of the Greek *polis* it is extremely helpful to distinguish between the two different types of ethnic.[31] First, as pointed out by Dittenberger (1906) 167–68, the distinction is borne out by a linguistic observation. Some ethnics he designates as *primitive Volksnamen*, such as *Ἀρκάς*, *Λοκρός*, *Θρᾷξ*; others, however, are *Ableitungen von Ortsnamen* such as *Μεγαρεύς* and *Ἀθηναῖος*. An ethnic designating a citizen of a *polis* is typically *von einem Ortsnamen abgeleitet* and becomes the name of what Gschnitzer has called an *Ortsgemeinde*.[32] The city-ethnic was typically an adjective or a substan-

[29] *IG* V.2 1.16 (C4f): *Μαινάλιοι Ἁγίας, Εὐγειτονίδας, Ξενοφῶν* (Arkadian sub-tribe); Thuc. 3.100.1: *Τείσανδρον τὸν Ἀποδωτόν* (Aitolian sub-tribe).

[30] *CID* II 32.44 (326/5): *Ἀριστομήδης Πελοποννάσιος*, in fact a Sikyonian (*CID* II 100.1.4–5) who in the Amphiktyonic Council filled one of the two seats assigned to the Dorians; *IG* II² 10287 (C4f): *Ἀπολλωνίδης Εὐαινέτο Σικελιώτης*.

[31] Hansen (1995) 45–51; Nielsen (1996) 117–32.

[32] Gschnitzer (1955) 134: "Aus der Beobachtung der Namenbildung, des Verhältnisses zwischen den Orts- und Länder- namen einerseits, den Verbandnamen (Ethnika) andererseits, haben wir zwei Haupttypen griechischer Gemeinwesen unterscheiden gelernt: die aus nachbarschaftlichen Bindungen

tive derived from a toponym, i.e. the name of a *polis*, e.g. *Μεγαρεύς* derived from *Μέγαρα*, *Ναυκρατίτης* derived from *Ναύκρατις*, *Κορίνθιος* derived from *Κόρινθος*, *Λαμψακηνός* derived from *Λάμψακος*, and *Ῥηγῖνος* derived from *Ῥήγιον*.[33] The toponym from which a city-ethnic could be derived was mostly the name of a town, but it could also be, e.g., the name of a river[34] or a mountain,[35] or a valley[36] or a whole region.[37] The ethnic denoting a whole region, on the other hand, is mostly of the *primitive Volksnamen* type, and becomes the name of what Gschnitzer and others call a *Stammesgemeinde*, so that we are faced with the reverse phenomenon: in the *Stammesgemeinde* it is the name of the region that is derived from the name of the people inhabiting the region. For exceptions to the chronogical sequence, see 55 *supra*.

Second, that the Greeks were conscious of this distinction between two forms of ethnic is apparent from the fact that, sometimes, the two different types are combined to form a fourfold name so that the full name consists of *onoma*, *patronymikon*, *ethnikon* denoting a region and *ethnikon* denoting a *polis*.[38]

Therefore, we suggest that we distinguish between two types of ethnic: the *regional ethnic* or *ethnic proper* denoting an *ethnos*, that is either a people or a tribe inhabiting either a whole region (e.g. *Ἀρκάδες*, *Αἰτωλοί*, *Ἐπειρῶται*) or a part of a region (e.g. *Παρράσιοι*, *Ἀποδωτοί*, *Ἀρκτᾶνες*)[39] and, on the other hand, the *city-ethnic* denoting the *polis* to which the named person belonged.[40] In contradistinction to sub-ethnics and city-ethnics, both invariably connected with bodies which were administrative and political entities, the regional ethnics sometimes designated areas, particularly islands, which were divided between several *poleis*, each with its own city-ethnic (e.g. *Λέσβιος*,[41] *Κεφαλλάν*) and sometimes inhabited by people who did not even belong to the same *ethnos* (e.g. *Σικελιώτης*, *Εὐβοιεύς*, cf. Meyer (1967) 398)).

Sub-ethnics are attested in a few *poleis* only.[42] In most Hellenic *poleis* the name of a citizen inside his *polis* seems to have consisted of an *onoma* to which, especially in public documents, was often added a patronymic,[43] but hardly ever a sub-ethnic. The use of sub-ethnics was virtually unknown in the Archaic period, and in the Classical period it was commonly used in a few *poleis* only, principally Athens, Eretria and Argos. There are haphazard occurrences from other *poleis*, but at least sometimes their purpose is just to distinguish between otherwise homonymous persons[44] and not universally to record the citizens' membership of a civic subdivision. In the few *poleis* in which sub-ethnics were used, the civic subdivisions from which the sub-ethnics were derived are often attested in inscriptions of the Archaic and, especially, the Classical periods, while the sub-ethnics are found only in Hellenistic and Roman inscriptions, and the presumption is that, in many cities, the use of sub-ethnics was often a convention introduced in the Hellenistic period.

hervorgegangenen *Ortsgemeinden* und die in die Zeit vor der Landnahme zurückreichenden *Stammesgemeinden*."

[33] Substantives end in either *-εύς* or *-της* (*-τας*); adjectives in *-ιος*, *-ηνός* or *-ῖνος*. See Dittenberger (1906) 168; Risch (1957); Gschnitzer (1983). Instead of an adjective derived from a toponym the city-ethnic could take the form of a prepositional group, typically *ἐξ* plus the name of the *polis* in the genitive case. In almost all cases the two forms are used synonymously, sometimes even about the same person when mentioned in different contexts; cf. e.g. Nikasichares of Plataiai, who is called *Νικασιχάρης Πλαταιεύς* when listed as Naopoios (*CID* II 122 col. 2.7) but *Νικασιχάρης Βοιώτιος ἐκ Πλαταιᾶν* in a proxeny decree (*F.Delphes* III.3 116). Or compare two almost contemporary Athenian sepulchral inscriptions commemorating citizens from the small Boiotian *polis* of Skaphlai (no. 204), of which one has *Σκαφλεύς* (*IG* II² 11202 (C4f)) and the other *ἐΣκαφλάων* (*IG* II² 11654 (C4m)). In this chapter all examples illustrate the use of the adjectival form and we cite no further examples of *ἐξ* + toponym.

[34] The ethnic *Γελῷος* (Thuc. 6.4.4) is derived from *Γέλα*, the name of a river, and the *polis Γέλα* was named after the river, as stated by Thucydides at 6.4.3 and confirmed by the coins which have the legend *ΓΕΛΑΣ*, the name of the river-god (Jenkins (1970) 165). But even in this case the presumption is that the ethnic *Γελῷος* was derived directly from *Γέλα*, the name of the community (Thuc. 7.80.2) and the town (Hdt. 7.153.2), and thus only indirectly from the name of the river.

[35] The ethnic *Λάτμιος* (Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 4.57) is derived from *ὁ Λάτμος*, the mountain in Karia (Hecat. fr. 239 = Strabo 14.1.8), beneath which was *ἡ Λάτμος*, the homonymous *polis* (*SEG* 47 1563.7–8 (C4l)) whose citizens were called *οἱ Λάτμιοι* (*SEG* 47 1563.14).

[36] The ethnic *Ἠλεῖοι* is derived from *Ϝᾶλις*, the valley (*Ϝᾶλις*), a toponym designating both the entire region between Achaia, Arkadia and Triphylia and the town of Elis (synoecised in 471). In this case both the ethnic *Ϝαλεῖοι* (ML 27.9) and the name of the town *Ϝᾶλις* must be derived from the name of the region, and the ethnic is probably older than the name of the town, see Gschnitzer (1955) 125–26.

[37] e.g. *Λακεδαιμόνιος* derived from *Λακεδαίμων*, undoubtedly because in this case a whole region had been united to form one *polis*. *Λακεδαίμων*, however, denotes not only the region, but also its urban centre (Hdt. 1.82.1). Note that alongside *Λακεδαίμων* (Pl. *Resp.* 599D) and *Λακεδαιμόνιοι* (Thuc. 5.23.1) the toponym *Σπάρτη* (Ar. *Av.* 814–15; Hdt. 7.234.2) and the city-ethnic *Σπαρτιᾶται* (Thuc. 1.132.1) were also used as names of the Spartan state.

[38] Lazzarini 374.1: [*Ἐ*]*πίδδαλος τὸπό*[*λλονι*] *Βοιότιος ἐχς Ἐρχ*[*ομενὸ*] (C5f); *IvO* 147 (Paus. 6.10.8–9): *Τέλλων Δαήμονος Ἀρκὰς Ὀρεσθάσιος* (472), and see *supra* n. 12.

[39] The *Παρράσιοι* in Arkadia (Thuc. 5.33.1), the *Ἀποδωτοί* in Aitolia (Thuc. 3.100.1) and the *Ἀρκτᾶνες* in Epeiros (*SEG* 15 384 (C4f)).

[40] For the term "city-ethnic", see Fraser and Rönne (1957) 93, 95–96. In *CPCActs* 2: 63 n. 189 we coined the term *politikon* to replace *ethnikon* denoting a *polis*. On reflection, we prefer to use an existing term instead of adding to the confusion by creating a new one.

[41] For the view that there was some kind of a Lesbian federation, see Robert (1969) 816–26.

[42] The evidence for sub-ethnics is reviewed in Hansen (2004).

[43] See the selection of lists of magistrates, *proxenoi* and naturalised citizens in Michel 645–68 and the list of priests and *theoroi* nos. 857–78. The chapters comprise 46 inscriptions from all parts of Greece and, with the exception of no. 861 (= *IG* IV 517, see *supra*) the patronymic is invariably recorded.

[44] The *gene* of Kolophon and the use of unidentified sub-ethnics in Styra.

The restrictions on the use of the sub-ethnics were the same everywhere: they were almost invariably used inside the *polis* and only by fellow citizens, not by foreigners, and they are hardly ever attested outside the *polis* itself.[45]

D. *City-Ethnics*

The most common form of ethnic used in Greek inscriptions of all periods and from all places is the city-ethnic, i.e. an ethnic derived from or at least related to a toponym which denotes a *polis*. Occasionally the city-ethnic is identical with the toponym and in such cases it is difficult, sometimes impossible, to decide whether an occurrence of the form is the toponym or the city-ethnic.[46]

The ubiquitous use of city-ethnics is dictated by—and testifies to—the political subdivision of the Hellenic world into *poleis* and the constant communication between citizens from different *poleis*. Resident foreigners, often from other *poleis*, constituted an important element in the population of the standard Greek *polis*.[47] Furthermore, the incessant interaction between the *poleis* in diplomacy, in trade, in religion and in sports entailed that citizens from different *poleis* all the time had to be mentioned side by side in documents of various kinds. In such cases it was customary all over the Greek world to use city-ethnics for identification, and accordingly, even in regions where the prevailing habit was to use name and patronymic only, there is some evidence of city-ethnics being applied both to citizens and to foreigners.[48]

A citizen was identified by his city-ethnic when he was abroad on public mission,[49] or represented his *polis* in one of the Panhellenic games[50] or when, in his own *polis*, he had to be recorded side by side with citizens from other *poleis*, e.g. as a member of a board of officials composed of representatives from several *poleis*,[51] or when he was the victor in games arranged by his own *polis* but open to foreigners as well as to citizens,[52] or when he had a dedication put up in a sanctuary which was frequented by foreigners as well as by locals.[53] Conversely, in almost every *polis* foreigners are recorded with their city-ethnics, e.g. in proxeny decrees,[54] in lists of foreigners to whom the *polis* in question had awarded *proxenia*,[55] in lists of persons who had consulted an oracle or a health resort,[56] in dedications of votive offerings in foreign sanctuaries,[57] in lists of contributors to an *epidosis* comprising citizens and metics alike,[58] in sepulchral inscriptions commemorating metics,[59] etc. By adding up all this evidence it is possible to find attestations of most, if not all, city-ethnics and thus to come up with a rough estimate of the total number of *poleis* in the Classical Greek world.[60]

How easy is it to identify city-ethnics? Because of lack of sources for the settlement pattern of Archaic and Classical Greece, we are sometimes in doubt whether a name indicating membership of a group is a sub-ethnic denoting a subdivision of a *polis*, or a city-ethnic denoting a *polis*, or a "regional ethnic" denoting a whole region or a part of it. Let

[45] For Rhodos, see Fraser (1995) 75; for the exceptional recording of Eretrian demes outside Eretria, see e.g. *IG* II^2 230 with W. Wallace's comments in *Hesperia* 16 (1947) 145.

[46] e.g. *Δελφοί* (no. 177), *Ἐρωχὸς* (no. 181), *Παραποτάμιοι* (no. 188), *Πανοπεύς* (no. 190), *Πεδιεῖς* (no. 189), all in Phokis; *Μαργανεῖς* (no. 259) in Elis; *Λεόντιοι* (no. 33) in Sicily and *Θούριοι* (no. 74) in Italy. Passages in which it is particularly difficult to distinguish between toponym and ethnic include Thuc. 2.30.2 (the four *poleis* on Kephallenia (nos. 125, 132, 135, 136)), Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.25, 30 (Marganeis); *Hell. Oxy.* 21.5 (Pedieis) and *SEG* 48 1027 (Labrys (no. 702)).

[47] Arist. *Pol.* 1326^{a}18–20. Even the minute *polis* of Koresia on Keos had legal requirements concerning metics and manumitted slaves (*IG* XII.5 547.9–11).

[48] City-ethnics were not commonly used as part of the name in Boiotia, but are attested in, e.g., dedications from Ptoion: *SEG* 30 478a: [*ὁκραιφ*]*ιεὺς κ' Ἀ*ρ*ῦσιλος* and *Ἐπιχάρες hο Θεβαῖος* (C6–C5), see n. 54 *infra*.

[49] Xen. *Hell.* 6.1.2: *Πολυδάμας Φαρσάλιος* addressing the assembly of the people in Sparta; *IG* II^2 109.8–9: *περὶ ὧν λέγει Ἀστυκρ*[*άτης ὁ Δελφὸ*]*ς καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ . . .*

[50] See e.g. the lists of Olympic victors in *P Oxy.* 222 and 2381. For the view that a participant "represented" his *polis* at the games, see Dem. 58.66, and the provision that victors at the four Panhellenic centres were granted free meals in the *prytaneion* for the rest of their life (*IG* I^3 131.11–15).

[51] See, e.g., *ναοποιέοντος Σιμυλίωνος Δελφοῦ* in a Delphic account (*CID* II 32.1).

[52] See, e.g., the Elean recorded as Olympic victor in 396: *Εὐπόλεμος Ἠλεῖος στάδιον* (*P Oxy.* 2381; Paus. 6.3.7).

[53] See, e.g., a dedication to Asklepios set up in Epidauros by an Epidaurian: *Ἀρίσταρχος Ἀριστάρχου Ἐπιδαύριος Ἀσκλαπιῶι* (*IG* IV^2.1 238), cf. also 200, 204, etc.

[54] See, e.g., the base of Boiotian *proxenoi* in Delphi, *F.Delphes* III.3 77–116, cf. Roesch (1982) 447–62. See also Marek (1984).

[55] *IG* XII.3 251 (C4), Anaphe; *IG* XII.5 542 (C4m), Karthaia; *PEP Chios* 50 (Chios).

[56] The C4 cure inscriptions set up at the Asklepieion in Epidauros record 20 different city-ethnics (*IG* IV^2.1 121–24).

[57] *IG* IV^2.1 255–67 are dedications by foreigners set up in the Asklepieion in Epidauros.

[58] See, e.g., the late C4 list of all who have contributed to the building of the walls of Kolophon which includes a number of foreigners, *AJP* 56 (1935) 358–72, ll. 123–958. Of the foreigners, the "big spenders" have an ethnic added to their name and patronymic (ll. 139ff). The "little spenders" have just the word *μέτοικος* added after the patronymic (ll. 373ff).

[59] There seems to be some connection between the use of sub-ethnics (in names of citizens) and city-ethnics (in names of foreigners). In sepulchral inscriptions foreigners with city-ethnics are well attested in *poleis* whose citizens use sub-ethnics (Athens, Rhodos, Chalkis, Eretria), whereas in *poleis* in which sub-ethnics are not used the sepulchral inscriptions are mostly confined to the name without the patronymic and with very few attestations of city-ethnics (Central Greece and the Peloponnese). For the common use of the name without patronymic and ethnic, see Fraser and Rönne (1957) 92–101 and Fraser (1995) 77–78.

[60] The city-ethnic is attested for 877 of the 1,035 communities included in this Inventory. For 738 communities it is attested in Archaic and/or Classical sources, see Index 8. For 139 communities it is attested in Hellenistic or, in a few cases, Roman sources, see Index 3.

us adduce two examples. (a) *Ἀσκραῖος* is an ethnic which in literary sources is applied to Hesiod and his brother Perses (Hermesianax quoted by Ath. 697D; Steph. Byz. 134.1–2). If it is a genuine ethnic and not a late invention it is difficult to decide whether it is a sub-ethnic denoting a *kome* or a city-ethnic denoting an early *polis*.[61] (b) In 464 the Olympic victor in the pankration was *Ἐφουδίων Μαινάλιος* (schol. Ar. *Vesp.* 1191 = *ISE* no. 253). Was he a citizen of the Arkadian *polis* Mainalos, in which case *Μαινάλιος* is a city-ethnic? Or did he belong to the Mainalian tribe (Thuc. 5.77.1), in which case it is a regional ethnic? There is no obvious answer (Nielsen (2002) 274 n. 21).

In the great majority of cases, however, we can easily distinguish city-ethnics from both sub-ethnics and regional ethnics, and in all these cases the attestation of a city-ethnic is a crucial criterion for establishing *polis* identity. To sum up: if the toponym from which the ethnic is derived designates an urban centre, and if it can be demonstrated that this settlement was not the urban centre of a civic subdivision, such as e.g. a *kome* or a *demos*, then it is almost certain that the toponym designated a *polis* and that the ethnic was used to denote a *polites*, i.e. a citizen of the *polis* in question. It is for this type of ethnic that we propose to use the more specific term "city-ethnic".

E. *Ethnics as Evidence for Political Status*

Regional ethnics and city-ethnics are all related to toponyms, and so are those sub-ethnics that designate a village (*kome*) or a municipality (*demos*) and some of those that designate a *phyle*.[62] All the toponyms behind the ethnics can, of course, be placed on a map, and so we must address the question of whether the "message" conveyed by the ethnic is primarily topographical or political. The tradition of naming a person after the place of birth and/or habitation is known in many countries.[63] Now, is the ancient Greek way of using ethnics basically "topographical" or is the message conveyed political? This problem is best treated separately for sub-ethnics, city-ethnics and regional ethnics.

(*A*) *Sub-ethnics* Since the sub-ethnics are related to civic subdivisions, and since civic subdivions apply to "citizens and only citizens" (Jones, *POAG* 1), there can be no doubt that sub-ethnics associated with toponyms mirror the political rather than the geographical structure of the society in question. Furthermore, membership of a civic subdivision was ultimately hereditary; thus, sub-ethnics derived from toponyms can have indicated the bearer's place of birth or residence for only a few generations after the system was introduced; thereafter their significance, if any, must have been purely political.

(*B*) *City-ethnics* The city-ethnic is derived from a toponym designating a *polis*. But the *polis* was both an urban centre and a political community. Was the message conveyed by the city-ethnic an affiliation with the *polis* as an urban centre or as a political community? The accepted view is that such ethnics are restricted to citizens and thus (like the sub-ethnics) political in character (Dittenberger (1907) 15). Basically we share this view, but it requires some elaboration and a slight modification.

(a) An early C4 law from Oropos prescribes that every person who consults the oracle must have his name and the name of his *polis* recorded by the *neokoros*.[64] On a strict interpretation of this law we should expect all the consultants to be *politai*, their "surnames" to be city-ethnics, and the oracle to be accessible only to Greeks who were citizens of a named *polis*. But a C3 inventory records two regional ethnics (*Αἰτωλός* and *Ἀκαρνάν*) alongside two city-ethnics: *Καρυστία*, *Κορίνθιος* (*IG* VII 303.60–65), and an early C3 manumission shows that the oracle was consulted by *Μόσχος Μοσχίωνος Ἰουδαῖος* (*SEG* 15 293.10). On the assumption that the Classical law was still in force, the inference is that the phrase *τὸ ὄνομα . . . τῆς πόλεος* covered not just city-ethnics in the strict sense but other types of ethnic as well, including ethnics of non-Greeks. Thus the message is not strictly "political". *Polis* is here used as a generic term which comprised types of community other than *poleis* in the sense of city-state.

(b) Persons from *poleis* that had been destroyed con-

[61] Both by Hesiod (*Op.* 639–40) and by Ephoros (fr. 1), Askra is classified as a *kome* lying in Thespian territory and once destroyed by Thespiai (Arist. fr. 580). Thus, *Ἀσκραῖος* may be a sub-ethnic but, if so, it would be the only sub-ethnic in all of Boiotia (Hansen (1995) 45–51). Alternatively, Askra may once have been a *polis* conquered by Thespiai but with a city-ethnic that survived the conquest. In that case *Ἀσκραῖος* would be the oldest of all city-ethnics. A third solution seems preferable: the ethnic *Ἀσκραῖος* is unattested in inscriptions and known from late literary sources only; furthermore it is used exclusively about Hesiod and his brother. The presumption is that it is neither a city-ethnic, nor a sub-ethnic, but invented by Hellenistic literary critics who had to mention Hesiod alongside Solon the Athenian, Arion the Corinthian, etc.

[62] Jones, *POAG* 4 distinguishes between two main categories of civic subdivisions: "territorial" and "personal". *Demoi* and *komai* were invariably territorial. Of the *phylai*, some were territorial (e.g. the three *phylai* on Rhodos) but some were purely personal (e.g. the 3 Dorian and the 4–6 Ionian *phylai*).

[63] Hirzel (1962) 51–62; Hanks and Hodges (1988) xxv (England), xxx (France), xxxi (Spain), etc.

[64] *I.Oropos* 277.39–43 (C4e): *τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ ἐγκαθεύδοντος ὅταν ἐμβάλλει τὸ ἀργύριον γράφεσθαι τὸν νεωκόρον καὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς πόλεος καὶ ἐκτιθεῖν ἐν τôι ἱερôι γράφοντα ἐν πετεύροι σκοπεῖν ⟨τ⟩ôι βολομένοι.*

tinued to use their city-ethnic in spite of the fact that there was no longer any political community of which they were members. One example is Olynthos, demolished by Philip II in 348. Nevertheless, numerous Hellenistic inscriptions provide us with attestations of Olynthians, the latest dating from C1.[65]

(c) If city-ethnics were purely political we would expect that, like sub-ethnics, they were attested in the masculine but hardly ever in the feminine. True, women were to some extent citizens, and in female names a frequent habit was to use the *ktetikon* instead of the *ethnikon*: thus *Πλανγὼν Τολμίδου Πλαταική versus Τολμίδης Πλαταεύς*.[66] This expectation squares with the evidence of public documents in which, with a few exceptions,[67] women are conspicuous by their absence, but private inscriptions present a different picture, and the sepulchral inscriptions in particular provide us with numerous attestations of city-ethnics in the feminine nominative. In C4 Attic inscriptions no fewer than forty-two city-ethnics are attested in the feminine (Hansen (1996) 196); and that reveals an important difference between sub-ethnics and city-ethnics, *viz*. that feminine city-ethnics are far more common than feminine sub-ethnics. But, on reflection, that is only what we should expect. As stated above, sub-ethnics are almost invariably used within the *polis*, whereas city-ethnics are mostly found outside the *polis*. They are especially well attested in sepulchral inscriptions where they commemorate persons who lived as free foreigners in a *polis* in which they had no political rights. If they stayed on for many years, perhaps even many generations, the connection with their own *polis* must have weakened, and they must have thought of it as their city of origin rather than as the *polis* in which they could exercise their political rights if they returned.[68] Accordingly, their use of the ethnic in sepulchral inscriptions would no longer be felt as an indication of their status as citizens; and under such circumstances it would be only natural to apply the ethnic to women as well as to men. It is worth noting that on tombstones wives normally retained their own ethnic when it differed from that of the husband.

(d) In Delphic manumissions the origin of the manumitted slave is often recorded, but if the slave came from a *polis* the regular form used is not the city-ethnic but *τὸ γένος ἐξ* plus the toponym in the genitive case, e.g. *σ[ῶμα] γυ[ναικεῖον ἅι ὄν]ομα Σωσώ, τὸ γένος ἐ[κ Δε]λφῶν*, presumably because it was the prerogative of a citizen to be called by an ethnic.[69] But even slaves could sometimes have a city-ethnic added to their name. One example is a C2 funerary inscription commemorating twenty-two slaves with ethnics but without patronymics. Two of the names recorded are *Βῖθυς Ἰστριανός* and *Δαμᾶς Ἰστριανός* (*IG* IX^2.1 1778). Now, *Ἰστριανός* is the city-ethnic derived from *Ἴστρος*, the Milesian colony near the estuary of the Danube. It is still a moot point how to interpret this ethnic, but the prevailing view is that, in this and similar cases, the city-ethnic indicates the location of the slave market in which the slave in question was sold.[70]

(e) The city-ethnic *Ναυκρατίτης* is attested in several documents of C5l and C4. Those who refuse to believe that Naukratis was a *polis* before Alexander the Great hold that the ethnic in this case must indicate the city where a person lives and not the community of which he is a member.[71] But *Ναυκρατίτης* is attested, e.g., in an Athenian proxeny decree and in a Delphic list of contributions to the rebuilding of the temple of Apollo.[72] The context as well as other evidence indicates that Naukratis *was* a *polis* in C5–C4 and that *Ναυκρατίτης* is used as a city-ethnic.

These modifications must not obscure the basically correct view that city-ethnics were primarily political. The view can be further corroborated by two observations:

First, it is true that the ethnic *Λακεδαιμόνιος* used collectively might comprise *perioikoi* as well as *Spartiatai* (Hdt. 9.28.2), but there is no attestation of *Λακεδαιμόνιος* being used individually as the surname of one of the *perioikoi*.[73] Nor is there any attestation of *Ἀθηναῖος* being used as the

[65] *SEG* 19 595: *Ἡρακλεόδωρος Ἀριστονίκου Ὀλύνθιος*, C4–C3 (Thasos); *SEG* 18.254, C3–C2 (Delphi); *IG* II^2 10021, C2–C1 (Athens); *IG* XII.2 202, C1 (Mytilene); see Zahrnt (1971) 115 with nn. 7 and 8. See also *Ἐχίλαος Φιλωνίδου Πλαταιεύς* in a Troizenian citizenship decree of 369 (*Syll.*^{3} 162.2–3); and Skaphlai may provide us with a similar example, see Hansen (1995) 28.

[66] *I.Oropos* 673, a C4 sepulchral monument from Oropos. See further, e.g. *Μαντινική* (*IG* II^2 9281; Pl. *Symp.* 211D); *Χαλκιδική* (*IG* VII 1573); *Θεσπική* (*IG* VII 3172b.1), etc. Cf. Dittenberger (1907) 13–15.

[67] *F.Delphes* III.2 205.7–8: *Κεφαλίων Μεγαρεὺς καὶ Βοῖδι[ο]ν Μεγαρική* in an amphiktyonic decree of 273.

[68] See *SEG* 27 571; 32 850 (found in Chalkis, undated): *Ἀσκληπιάδης / Ἀναξίππου / Ἐφέσιος. / Εἴκοσι καὶ δύ' ἔτη ζήσας πολὺν οἶνον ἀπνευστὶ / ἄκρατον πίνων αἱμαναγὼν ἔθανον / υἱὸς Ἀναξίππου. κλῆζον μ' Ἀσκληπιάδην / οὔνομα καὶ πατέρων ἦν γένος ἐξ Ἐφέσου.*

[69] *F.Delphes* III.2 226.2–3 (C2s). For a list of examples, see Dittenberger (1907) 19.

[70] Varro, *Ling*. 8.21. See Pippidi (1966) 232–35; Fraser (2000) 152–53. We would like to thank Prof. Alexandru Avram for drawing our attention to this problem. For a similar example, see *SGDI* 2130.3: *σῶμα γυναικεῖον ἅι ὄνομα Νικάσιον τὸ γένος Τρωνίδα*, cf. Robert (1960) 73. The alternative interpretation is, of course, that the named persons were enslaved citizens of the *poleis* in question.

[71] Bresson (1980) 316–17.

[72] *IG* II^2 206 (Athenian proxeny decree of 349/8 for *Θεογένης ὁ Ναυκρατίτης*); *CID* II 4 (list of contributors in 360, including *Ναυκρατῖται ἐξ Αἰγύπτου* (col. 1.37), *Εὐτέλης Ναυκρατίτης* (col. 3.21) and *Τύρις Ναυκρατίτας* (col. 3.24)).

[73] I have asked the compilers of the *Oxford Lexicon of Personal Names*, and they have confirmed the statement made in the text on the basis of the evidence at present available.

surname of a metic or a slave who came from Athens or lived in Athens. The enormous amount of evidence we have indicates that to be called Ἀθηναῖος was the prerogative of an Athenian citizen.[74]

Second, in societies in which names are derived from a toponym and used to indicate the person's place of birth, the toponyms designate every type of settlement ranging from farmsteads and hamlets to major towns and even whole regions.[75] If the Greek ethnics had been invented and used in personal names primarily to indicate the person's place of origin, names of hamlets and villages would have developed ethnics as well as the administrative units of the *poleis* and the towns which were the urban centres of the *poleis*. But whenever we hear about inscribing persons with their full names, the reference is to their *polis*,[76] or to an administrative subdivision of the *polis*.[77] Furthermore, our sources show that in many regions the only attested ethnics are derived from names of *poleis*, that is from communities which are either directly attested as *poleis* in our sources or from communities which share so many characteristics with the attested *poleis* that they undoubtedly would have been attested as *poleis* themselves had we better sources. Arkadia (Nielsen (2002) 39–40), Boiotia (Hansen (1995) 45–51) and Crete (*infra* 1144) may serve as examples.

(*C*) *Regional ethnics* By the term regional ethnic we understand—as stated above—an ethnic associated with a toponym which denotes an area larger than a *polis* and often subdivided into *poleis*. Two different types are discernible: (a) as pointed out above, many regional ethnics are *primitive Volksnamen*, e.g. Αἰτωλός, Ἀχαιός, Βοιωτός, Κρής, Λοκρός, Φωκεύς, but others (b) resemble the city-ethnics in being *Ableitungen von Ortsnamen*, e.g. Εὐβοιεύς, Λέσβιος, Σικελιώτης. When used for personal identification the regional ethnic is either added to the city-ethnic so that the person has a fourfold name, or the regional ethnic replaces the city-ethnic and is often used in the same contexts.

Is the message conveyed political or topographical? To answer this question we must distinguish between (a) the ethnics from which toponyms are derived (e.g. Ἀχαία derived from Ἀχαιός) and (b) the ethnics which are derived from toponyms (e.g. Εὐβοιεύς derived from Εὔβοια). Almost all the regions associated with the ethnics in group (b) were islands, and none of them was a political unit. In every case the island was split up into a number of *poleis*, and with one or two exceptions these *poleis* were not united to form a league or a federal state. Thus, ethnics like Εὐβοιεύς, Κεῖος, Λέσβιος and Σικελιώτης must be primarily topographical. They testify to a certain feeling of belonging to the same people. But they do not denote a political community in the same way as city-ethnics do. The Keians, for example, were split up into four *poleis* and formed a federation for a few years only during the fourth century.

The ethnics subsumed by Dittenberger under the heading "primitive Volksnamen" (type a) are more difficult to interpret. In this case the region denoted by the toponym is traditionally assumed to have been a (loosely organised) political community before it was broken up into *poleis*, and again many of these regions formed federations of *poleis*. Thus the regional ethnics may have had some political significance. But what is the message when regional ethnics, type (a) and (b) alike, occur side by side with city-ethnics, as they often do? Let us adduce some examples.

(a) Olympic victors were almost invariably designated by their city-ethnic,[78] but occasionally we come across a victor designated by a regional ethnic only. Cretan victors are just called Κρῆτες and we have no information about the *poleis* to which they belonged.[79] (b) Victors in the games in honour of Zeus Lykaios are called by their regional ethnic, Ἀρκάς, if they come from one of the Arkadian cities, but by their city-ethnic if they come from other parts of Greece (i.e. Ἀθηναῖος, Ἀλεῖος, Ἀργεῖος, Λακεδαιμόνιος and Μιλήσιος). The only exception is an Akarnanian victor who, like the Arkadians, is called by his regional ethnic: Ἀκαρνάν.[80] (c) The Epidaurian cure inscriptions from the Asklepieion record sometimes a city-ethnic, sometimes a regional ethnic, and sometimes no ethnic at all.[81]

In these and similar cases regional ethnics are recorded

[74] In this case I have also consulted Prof. John Traill, who told me that his inventory did not include any such case.

[75] For the sake of variation we adduce here some examples from our own country: Damgaard (a farmstead), Hardenberg (a manor), Astrup (a village), Hobro (a town), Falster (a large island), see Søndergaard (1979) 129–30.

[76] Chios: *PEP Chios* 12.30–33 (*c.*320): *ἀναγραψάντων εἰς τὴν στήλην τὴν προξενικὴν τήν τε πόλιν ἑκατέρων καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα πατρόθεν* ("On the stele recording proxenies let them inscribe the *polis* and the name with patronymic of each member of both groups (of jurors)"). *Milet*. I.3 138.27–29 (282): *ἀναγράψαι δὲ τῶν δανεισάντων ἑκάστου τὰ ὀνόματα πατρόθεν καὶ τῆς πόλεως, ἧς ἂν ἕκαστος ᾖ, εἰστήλην λιθίνην* ("On a marble stele shall be inscribed the name of each lender and that of his father and of the *polis* to which each one belongs"). *Milet* I.3 152 C 92–93 (C2m): *τοῖς δὲ ἐξετασταῖς ἀναγράψαι τὰ ὀνόματα αὐτῶν πατρόθεν καὶ τᾶς πόλιος εἰς στάλαν*... ("On a stele shall be inscribed the names of each of the inspectors and that of his father and the *polis*").

[77] *Milet*. I.3 146A.33–35 (209/8): *ποιείσθωσαν τὴν ἀπογραφὴν . . . πατρόθεν καὶ ἧς ἂν ὦσι φυλῆς* ("Let them record the patronymic and the *phyle* to which they belong"). For Athens, see *supra* n. 8.

[78] See Moretti's list in *Olympionikai*.

[79] Διόγνητος 488 (Phot. *Bibl.* 151A); Αἰγείδας 448 (*P.Oxy.* 222 col. 2.26); [- - -]ώνιος 396 (*P Oxy.* 2381); Σωτάδης 384 (Paus 6.18.6).

[80] *IG* v.2 549–50, covering the years 320, 316 and part of 312.

[81] *IG* IV².1 121–27. See, e.g., *Ἰθμονίκα Πελλανίς* (121.10); *παῖς ἄφωνος* (121.41); [*Πάνδαρ*]*ος Θεσσαλός* (121.48).

side by side with city-ethnics. The presumption is that a person identified by a city-ethnic was a citizen of the *polis* in question. Are we allowed by analogy to assume that persons identified in the same document by regional ethnics must have been citizens too? Was Diognetos, the Olympic victor of 488, a Cretan who preferred his ethnic or, rather, island identity to his political status as a citizen of one particular Cretan *polis*? In the list of Lykaian victors the regional ethnic *Ἀρκάς* strongly emphasises the Panarkadian nature of the games and there is no reason to doubt that all the fifteen Arkadian victors recorded in the preserved part of the list were citizens of Arkadian *poleis* who in this context were called by their regional ethnic instead of their city-ethnic.

In western Greece in particular, tribal ethnics were used to indicate citizen status and not just habitation. The Molossian Federation, for example, founded in C4e, was composed of ten(?) territorial "tribes" and in public documents the tribal ethnic was regularly added to a citizen's name, cf. e.g. *Εἰδύμμας Ἀρκτάν* (*SEG* 15 384.7–8 (C4f)) or *Δροάτας Κέλαι[θος]* (*SEG* 23 471.2 (C4s)).[82]

The use of regional ethnics has been adduced as evidence of federal citizenship, especially when combined with a city-ethnic; but the name *Θαρριάδας Φρονήμονος Κρὴς Ὀάξιος* (*IG* II² 9087 (C3)),[83] engraved on an Attic sepulchral monument, is enough to show that a fourfold name is not necessarily evidence of federal citizenship, and in Arkadia the regional ethnic—either alone[84] or in combination with one of the city-ethnics[85]—is attested both before the formation and after the dissolution of the Arkadian Federation.

To conclude: sub-ethnics are strictly political, city-ethnics are primarily political, whereas regional ethnics form a mixed group: those derived from toponyms (type b) are primarily topographical, whereas those designating a people (type a) may signal a feeling of ethnic identity, but not necessarily membership of a political community. The political connotation became prominent only in regions organised on a tribal basis or if the region formed a federation and if the ethnic was used to signify federal citizenship, which was far from always the case.

F. *The Greeks' Attitude to the Use of Ethnics*

So far we have treated the problem of how we can use ethnics as sources for *polis* identity without addressing the question of *why* the ethnic could be used in this way. So let us ask the question: what did it mean to the Greeks in certain contexts to have sub-ethnics or city-ethnics as part of their name? A person's name is part of his identity, and to many persons it matters by what name they identify themselves and are called by others. In our culture the prevailing pattern is to have one or more first names and a hereditary surname designating the family to which one belongs, and many persons take pride in belonging to a specific family and bearing its name. In numerous cases a person's nationality has to be recorded but it never becomes a part of the name itself. The name of the cyclist who won the Tour de France in 1996 was Bjarne Riis. On the rostrum it was proclaimed that he was Danish but his name is not Bjarne Riis Dansker. That the ancient Greeks used sub-ethnics and city-ethnics as part of their personal names is significant in several respects.

First, in Western civilisation the Greeks seem to have been the only people to use inherited names as an indication of political status. In all other European countries toponyms used as names or names derived from toponyms denote habitation or place of origin without conveying any information about the political status of the named person.[86] The closest we can get to the Greeks' political use of surnames is perhaps the habit in some countries of using a preposition plus a toponym as a name indicating aristocracy, e.g. de Montesquieu, von Bismarck or van Velde. The ancient Greeks' use of personal names reveals how much it meant to a Greek to be a member of his *polis* (*supra* 13), and the fact that the use of sub-ethnics and city-ethnics was a prerogative of the citizens to the exclusion of foreigners and slaves reminds us to what extent the *polis* as a political community was a community of the citizens only. In any Greek city one could always tell the insider from the outsider by his full name.

Second, to use a word indicating membership of a political community as part of a name is possible only if people from many different communities live together, and if each group is fairly small. In a modern nation with millions

[82] See Hammond (1967) 531.

[83] See also *CID* II 24.II.23: *Ἀπολ]λών[ι]ος Διο[νυσοδώρ]ο[υ] Κρής*; *IG* II² 9090: [*Τιμ*]*οῦχος Κρής* (C4); Xen. *An.* 4.2.28: *ἐν τούτοις τοῖς χωρίοις οἱ Κρῆτες χρησιμώτατοι ἐγένοντο. ἦρχε δὲ αὐτῶν Στρατοκλῆς Κρής* ("In these regions the Cretans were very useful; their commander was Stratokles Kres").

[84] The Arkadian Confederacy was formed in 370 and broken up again in 323/2, but the regional ethnic *Ἀρκάς* is used before its formation (*Ἀνδροσθένης Ἀρκάς*, Thuc. 5.49.1), during its existence (*Σίβαυκος Ἀρκάς*, *CID* II 1 col. 2.31), and after its dissolution in 324 (*Εὐπόλεμος Δάμιδος Ἀρκάς*, *IG* V.2 549 1.4–5), cf. Nielsen (2002) 55–65.

[85] *IvO* 147 (Paus. 6.10.8–9): *Τέλλων Δαήμονος Ἀρκὰς Ὀρεσθάσιος*, Olympic victor in 472; Xen. *Anab.* 4.1.27: *Ἀριστώνυμος Μεθυδριεὺς Ἀρκάς*, mercenary in 401.

[86] See Hanks and Hodges (1988) xxiv–xlv.

of citizens it would make no sense to use a term indicating nationality as a part of a name, except when one or a few persons settled somewhere in a foreign country and there were called by their country of origin, e.g. French or Welsh.[87] Thus, a pre-condition for the standard Greek way of distinguishing people by their city-ethnic was the large number of *poleis* combined with the constant interaction between citizens from different *poleis* and the widespead migration from one *polis* to another.

2. Ethnics Used Collectively about a State or its Citizens

A. *Unnamed Citizens*

When used individually and (mostly) in the singular,[88] the ethnic was part of a citizen's full name. When used collectively it signified one or more unnamed members of the community in question[89] or the community as such.[90] A usage halfway between the individual and the collective is attested in some lists of officials,[91] or *epheboi*,[92] or *proxenoi*,[93] or mercenaries[94] in which personal names are grouped according to city-ethnics. In such lists the ethnics are used collectively, each as the heading of a number of names. On the other hand, the usage is individual in so far as the named persons are further identified as members of a specific community, be it their civic subdivision, their *polis* or their *ethnos*. Since the ethnics used as headings are not part of personal names, we prefer to emphasise the collective aspect of the usage.

B. *States*

For our purposes the most important collective use of the city-ethnic was as the name of the *polis* itself. It is used mostly without, but sometimes with the definite article.[95] A not infrequent variant is the genitive plural depending on the noun ἡ πόλις or ὁ δῆμος.[96] As is well known, the Greek *polis* was conceived as a community of citizens rather than a territory ruled by a government (*infra* 70). One result of this way of viewing the *polis* was the habit of calling it by the city-ethnic in the plural rather than using the toponym itself. Admittedly, there are quite a few attestations of the toponym being used as the name of the *polis* (*supra* 56), but they are outnumbered by the prevailing habit of using the city-ethnic in the plural: the monument dedicated to Apollo from the booty won in the battle of Plataiai is inscribed with thirty-one city-ethnics (ML 27). Almost all treaties are concluded between parties identified by ethnics (*Staatsverträge* vols. 2 and 3). In the C5 Athenian tribute lists and assessment decrees recording the members of the Delian League, most entries have the form of an ethnic, and toponyms are used only occasionally (*IG* I^3 71, 77, 100, 259–90; see *infra* 112). The Charter of the Second Athenian Naval League records forty-five city-ethnics, two regional ethnics and three names of rulers (Dreher (1995) 189–91). The recipients of grain from Kyrene during the corn crisis of the 320s are recorded in the form of forty-one city-ethnics in the dative plural plus two names of rulers (*SEG* 9 2 = RO 96). In the C4 Delphic accounts 109 different city-ethnics in the plural are used to designate *poleis* as donors or as *poleis* who provide amphiktyonic officials (*CID* II pp. 300–5).[97] Finally, if an Archaic or Classical Greek coin has a legend, it is usually the city-ethnic in the genitive plural, often abbreviated (Guarducci (1969) 615–705, *infra* 144).

In all these documents and on the coins as well, subethnics are conspicuous by their absence. Some of the documents above list city-ethnics only, others mix city-ethnics

[87] Ibid. xxi.

[88] For attestations of the individual use of the city-ethnic in the plural, see e.g. Arist. *Pol.* 1311^{b}21: *Πύθων καὶ Ἡρακλείδης οἱ Αἴνιοι*; *IG* XII.3 251.15–16: *Καλλίγνωτος Λυσαγόρας Πάριοι*, C4 (Anaphe).

[89] Singular form: *Ἀργεῖος ἄνθρωπος* (Thuc. 8.92.2); plural form: *Θηβαίων ἄνδρες ὀλίγῳ πλείους τριακοσίων* (Thuc. 2.2.1).

[90] *IG* VII 1.5 (*c.*300): *ἐπειδὴ τοὶ Αἰγοστενῖτα[ι] ἀνάγγελλον . . .* (a sub-ethnic); *IG* IV^2.1 47.1–2 (C4): *ἔδοξε τοῖς Ἐπιδαυρίοις* (a city-ethnic); Lazzarini 983 (C4): *Φωκε[ῖς τῶ]πόλλωνι [ἀνέθ]ηκαν . . .* (a regional ethnic).

[91] e.g. *IG* V.2 1, a C4f list of Arkadian *damiorgoi* appended to an honorific decree. The headings recorded are: *Τεγεᾶται, Μαινάλιοι, Λεπρεᾶται, Μεγαλοπολῖται, Μαντινῆς, Κυνούριοι, Ὀρχομένιοι, Κλητόριοι, Ἡραῆς* and *Θελφούσιοι*, i.e. 2 regional ethnics and 8 city-ethnics, each followed by between 2 and 10 personal names.

[92] See *IG* XII Suppl. 555, a C4–C3 list of Eretrian *epheboi* grouped according to their demes.

[93] See *PEP Chios* 50, a C4m list of Chian *proxenoi*: 3 regional ethnics and 15 city-ethnics are used as headings of one or more personal names.

[94] *IG* II^2 1956, a large fragment of a C4l list of mercenaries in Athenian service grouped according to ethnics. For the date, see *SEG* 46 243. Most of the headings are city-ethnics, e.g. *Θηβαῖοι, Καρύστιοι, Μηθυμναῖοι*, etc., but quite a few are regional ethnics, i.e. *Θετταλοί, Αἰνιᾶνες, Κᾶρες, Λύκιοι, Ἀθαμᾶνες, Λοκροί, Βοιωτοί, Φωκεῖς, Θρᾶικες, Ἠπειρῶται* and *Ἀχαιοί*.

[95] Compare, e.g., *Ἐρχομένιοι ἀνέθειαν τôι Δὶ τôι Ὀλυπίοι ϙορονεία[θεν]* (Lazzarini 994 (C5m)) with *τἀργεῖοι ἀνέθεν τôι Δι.Γὶ τὸν ϙορίνθοθεν* (Lazzarini 993 (C5e)).

[96] Compare *F.Delphes* III.4 371.33–34 (C4): *τά[δ]ε ἔδοξ[ε]ν Δ[ε]λφοῖς* with *F.Delphes* III.4 414.3–4 (C3f): *ἔδοξε τâι πόλει τῶν Δελφῶν*. Furthermore, see e.g. two proxeny decrees from Karthaia: *IG* XII.5 534.2–5 (C3): *ἐπειδὴ Ἡγησικλῆς Ἀγαθοφάνου Κύθνιος . . . εὔνους ὢν [δ]ι[ετέ]λ[ε]ι τῶι δήμωι τῶι Καρθαιέων . . . IG* XII.5 540.2–4 (C3): *ἐπειδὴ Λύκων Πυθέα Βυζάντιος εὔνους ὢν τυγχάνει τῆι πόλε[ι] τῆι Καρθαιέων*.

[97] Add [*Λ*]*εβαδεύς*—102.1.11.

with a few regional ethnics, which conforms with the habit of using a regional ethnic as the name of a political community comprising a whole region, typically a federation.[98]

To conclude: every *polis* seems to have used the plural of the city-ethnic as the name of the state and, conversely, whenever the plural of an ethnic can be identified as a city-ethnic and is used as the name of a political community, this community must have been a *polis*. Let us adduce an example. The Lamponeieis in Troas are recorded as members of the Delian League (*IG* I^3 270.I.38). The ethnic *Λαμπονειεύς* is derived from the toponym *Λαμπώνεια* (*IG* I^3 267.I.28) or *Λαμπώνιον* (Hdt. 5.26). We know from Herodotos that Lamponeia was a nucleated settlement, and it has been convincingly identified with a site that has traces of an Archaic fortification wall covering 27 ha. Combining the evidence that Lamponeia was an urban centre with the evidence that the Lamponeieis constituted a political community which was a member of the Delian League, we can infer that Lamponeieis is a city-ethnic and accordingly that Lamponeia must have been a *polis* (no. 783), and that is further confirmed by coins of C5l-C4m with the legend *ΛΑΜ*. City-ethnics used collectively and especially in public documents constitute one of the most important types of source from which we can infer *polis* status of communities not explicitly called *polis* in any extant text.

[98] See, e.g., *Φωκε[ῖς τῶ]πόλλονι [ἀνέθ]ηκαν δ[εκάταν* . . . (Lazzarini 983 (C4)) or [*ἔδοξεν*] *Φωκε*[*ῦσι*] (*IG* II^2 70.20 (378/7)) or *ΦΩΚΕΩΝ* (Head, *HN*^{2} 339 (357–346)) and [*τ*]*αὶρ δίκαις, ταὶρ κὰ*(*τ*) *τὸν Βοιοτὸν Μένανδρος* [*κ*'] *Ἀριστόλοχος τοῖρ Ἀθαναίος ἐδικαξάταν* (*SEG* 26 475.3–4 (C5f)) or *ὅρια* . . . [*ὡς*] *Βοιωτοὶ ὥριτταγ* (*SEG* 23 297.1–3 (C4–C3)) or *BOIΩTΩN* (Head, *HN*^{2} 352 (C4s)).

REFERENCES

Andrewes, A. 1957. "The *Patrai* of Kamiros", *BSA* 52: 30–37.

Bourriot, F. 1976. *Recherches sur la nature du genos* (Paris).

Bresson, A. 1980. "Rhodes, l'Hellénion et le statut de Naucratis (VIe–IVe siècle a.C.)", *DHA* 6: 291–349.

Chantraine, P. 1980. *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque* ii (Paris).

Cordano, F. 1992. *Le tessere pubbliche dal tempio di Atena a Camarina* (Rome).

Dittenberger, W. 1906. "Ethnika und Verwandtes II", *Hermes* 41: 161–219.

—— 1907. "Ethnika und Verwandtes III", *Hermes* 42: 1–34.

Dreher, M. 1995. "*Poleis* und Nicht-*Poleis* im Zweiten Attischen Seebund", *CPCActs* 2: 171–200.

Drerup, E. 1898. "Über die bei den attischen Rednern eingelegten Urkunden", *NJbb* suppl. 24.

Fraser, P. M. 1995. "Citizens, Demesmen and Metics in Athens and Elsewhere", *CPCActs* 2: 64–90.

—— 2000. "Ethnics as Personal Names", in S. Hornblower and E. Matthews (eds.), *Greek Personal Names and their Value as Evidence* (Oxford) 149–57.

—— and Rönne, T. 1957. *Boiotian and West Greek Tombstones* (Lund).

Gabrielsen, V. 1997. *The Naval Aristocracy of Hellenistic Rhodes* (Aarhus).

Gschnitzer, F. 1955. "Stammes- und Ortsgemeinden im alten Griechenland", *WS* 68: 120–44.

—— 1983. "Zur Geschichte des Systems der griechischen Ethnika", in A. Heubeck and G. Neumann (eds.), *Res Mycenaeae: Akten des VII. Internationalen Mykenologischen Colloquiums in Nürnberg 6.–10. April 1981* (Göttingen) 140–54.

Guarducci, M. 1969. *Epigrafia Greca* ii (Rome).

Hammond, N. G. L. 1967. *Epirus* (Oxford).

Hanks, P., and Hodges, F. (eds.) 1988. *A Dictionary of Surnames* (Oxford).

Hansen, M. H. 1982. "Demographic Reflections on the Number of Athenian Citizens 451–309 B.C.", *AJAH* 7: 172–89.

—— 1995. "Boiotian *Poleis*: A Test Case", *CPCActs* 2: 13–63.

—— 1996. "City-Ethnics as Evidence for *Polis* Identity", *CPCPapers* 3: 169–96.

—— 2004. "The Use of Sub-Ethnics in Archaic and Classical *Poleis*", *CPCPapers* 7 (2003) 117–29.

Hiller von Gaertringen, F. 1926. *Historische griechische Epigramme* (Bonn).

Hirzel, R. 1962. *Der Name*^{2} (Amsterdam).

Jenkins, G. K. 1970. *The Coinage of Gela*, AMUGS II (Berlin).

Jones, N. F. 1987. *Public Organization in Ancient Greece* (Philadelphia) = Jones *POAG*.

Kirchner, I. 1901–3. *Prosopographia Attica* (Berlin).

Knoepfler, D. 1997. "Le Territoire d'Erétrie et l'organisation politique de la cité (*dêmoi, chôroi, phylai*)", *CPCActs* 4: 352–449.

Lambert, S. D. 1993. *The Phratries of Attica* (Ann Arbor).

Marek, C. 1984. *Die Proxenie* (Frankfurt am Main).

Meyer, E. 1949. "Paleia", *RE* xviii.2.2: 89.

—— 1967. "Euboia", *Kl. Pauly* ii (Stuttgart) 397–99.

Migeotte, L. 1993. "Une souscription de femmes à Rhodes", *BCH* 117: 349–58.

Nielsen, T. H. 1996. "Arkadia: City-Ethnics and Tribalism", *CPCActs* 3: 117–63.

—— 2002. *Arkadia and its Poleis in the Archaic and Classical Periods* (Göttingen).

Piérart, M. 2000. "Argos: une autre démocratie", *Polis & Politics* 297–314.

Pippidi, D. M. 1966. "Note de lectură", *StCl* 8: 231–46.
Risch, E. 1957. "Zur Geschichte der griechischen Ethnika", *MusHelv* 14: 63–74.
Robert, L. 1960. *Hellenica* xi–xii (Paris).
—— 1969. *Opera Minora* ii (Amsterdam).
Roesch, P. 1982. *Études Béotiennes* (Paris).
Roussel, D. 1976. *Tribu et cité* (Paris).
Shipley, G. 1987. *A History of Samos 800–188 B.C.* (Oxford).
Søndergaard, G. 1979. *Bogen om Personnavne* (Copenhagen).
Vestergaard, T., *et al*. 1992. "The Age-Structure of Athenian Citizens Commemorated in Sepulchral Inscriptions", *ClMed* 43: 5–21.
Zahrnt, M. 1971. *Olynth und die Chalkidier* (Munich).

Territory and Size of Territory

According to the Greek conception, most clearly formulated by Aristotle, a *polis* was "a community (*koinonia*) of citizens (*politai*) with regard to the constitution (*politeia*)".[1] It is at once apparent that Aristotle picks up only two of the three elements that comprise the modern juristic idea of a state (*CPCActs* 5: 36–40), the people and the constitution; the territory is left out altogether, and that is not by chance. For Aristotle asserts that no one is a citizen by mere domicile in a particular place (*Pol.* 1275^{a}7), and that a common space to live in is not the essential aspect of a *polis* (*Pol.* 1280^{b}30). Thus, Aristotle hits upon one important difference between the *polis* and the modern state. We nowadays tend to equate a state with its territory—a state is a country (*CPCActs* 5: 38, 117); whereas the Greeks identified the *polis* primarily with its population—a *polis* is a people (*CPCActs* 5: 56–64).

This is well known and basically true. But it must not lead to the inference that the territory was *not* an element in the concept of the *polis*. Aristotle's definition of the πόλις as a κοινωνία πολιτῶν πολιτείας (*Pol.* 1276^{b}1) is proposed in connection with the problem of the identity of the *polis*, and Aristotle discusses three different criteria for deciding when a *polis* has changed so much that it has become a different *polis*: (a) change of place (*topos*), (b) change of people (*anthropoi*) and (c) change of constitution (*politeia*).[2] He rejects (a) and (b) as superficial and prefers (c), but it is important to note that the territory is discussed as one of the three relevant parameters. Similarly, in book 2 of the *Politics* Aristotle asserts that the *polis* is a community, and that its first and most fundamental aspect shared by the members is the place where they live (1260^{b}40–61^{a}2). A common space to live in is, after all, a necessary condition for a *polis* (1280^{b}31–32).

Of course the Greeks knew all about the territory of a *polis*: the frequently used penalty of exile[3] consisted precisely in the right of anyone to kill the outlaw if found within the territorial bounds,[4] and we know of laws and verdicts which prescribed that the corpse of an executed criminal be thrown over the border of the *polis*.[5] So the Greeks were perfectly capable of saying "the *polis* stretches to this-and-this point and not beyond". The borderline of a *polis* was often marked with boundary stones (*horoi*);[6] we are told that territorial disputes had to be settled by international arbitration[7] and might result in wars between *poleis*.[8]

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

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

[1] (Arist. *Pol.* 1276^{b}1) For an interpretation and a defence of the text in the MSS, see *CPC Acts* 5: 133–34.

[2] Place (*topos*) and people (*anthropoi*): *Pol.* 1276^{a}18–22, 34–40; constitution: *Pol.* 1276^{b}1ff.

[3] Lys. 6.15; *IG* II^{2} 24b4–6 (Athens); *IG* XII.2 526c26–28, d26–28 (Eresos); *I.Iasos* 1.3–6 (Iasos); ML 32.32–37 (Halikarnassos). See Seibert (1979) 355–59.

[4] Andoc. 1.96; Dem. 23.37, 39ff; Philoch. fr. 30 (Athens); *Syll.*^{3} 194 (Amphipolis); *Nomima* I 105B (Teos and Abdera). See Swoboda (1905); Hansen (1976) 75–76.

[5] Din. 1.77: τὸν τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀλιτήριον ἀποκτείναντας ἐξόριστον ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ποιῆσαι ("you must put to death the man who has ruined Hellas and throw his body over the border of the *polis*").

[6] Xen. *Hell.* 4.4.6: "the Corinthians perceived that their *polis* was being eclipsed both by the removal of the *horoi* and by their fatherland being called Argos instead of Corinth . . ." See Rousset (1994). *IG* XII.5 543 (Karthaia); *IG* VII 2792 = *SEG* 36 411 (Boiotian *horos* marking the border between Akraiphia and Kopai); *Syll.*^{3} 134.22–23 (Miletos and Myous); *IPArk* 14 (Orchomenos).

[7] Arbitration between Miletos and Myous, *c.*391–388 (*Syll.*^{3} 134 = RO 16); Orchomenos, 369–361 (*IPArk* 14); the Delphic Amphiktyony judges a border dispute between Amphissa and Delphi *c.*338/7? (*BCH* 27 (1903) 140–53, Ager (1996) no. 1); Alexander the Great calls for a boundary settlement between Aspendos and a neighbour, perhaps Side in 333 (Arr. *Anab.* 1.27.4, Ager (1996) no. 6).

[8] Dem. 15.17; Thuc. 5.79.4 (treaty between the Lakedaimonians and the Argives in 418).

[9] Hdt. 7.58.2; Xen. *Hell.* 5.4.49, see 44 *supra*. Both passages are quoted and interpreted in Hansen (1998) 54 with nn. 237 and 238.

[10] See Index 5 *infra* and the sources quoted in the updated French edition (2001) of *CPC Acts* 5: 249–50 n. 239.

and used about large regions (e.g. Thessaly, cf. Lys. 6.6) or multipolate islands (e.g. Keos, cf. Lys. fr. 90) are few and far between (*CPCActs* 5: 124–32).

Similarly, a toponym could be used to designate a *polis* not only in the senses of nucleated settlement or political community but also in the sense of territory (*supra* 55). Thus the name *Θῆβαι* designated not only the urban centre (Hdt. 1.92.1); it could also be used synonymously with the ethnic *Θηβαῖοι* to denote the Theban political community (Dem. 19.325), or synonymously with *Θηβαΐς* (Hdt. 9.65.1) to denote the hinterland (Xen. *Hell.* 5.2.25), just as the term *polis* was used to designate either the Theban political community (*SEG* 28 465.3–4 (C4m)), or the town (Dem. 18.216), or the territory (Xen. *Hell.* 5.4.49).

To sum up: of the three aspects of the concept of *polis*, the territory mattered less than the people and the government, but it was still an important element which the ancient Greeks did not ignore. It is true that a people thrown out of their territory could still persist as a *polis*. Thus, Themistokles claimed that Athens—or rather the Athenians—were still a *polis* although the Persians had occupied Attika (Hdt. 8.61.2; Aesch. *Pers.* 347–50). But in a similar situation Nikias told his army that they were strong enough to *become* a *polis*, as soon as they chose to settle down somewhere.[11] So, although "the *polis* is its men" (Thuc. 7.77.7), a *polis* is also a settlement in a given place.

Apart from such exceptional cases as the Athenian army in 480, every *polis* had a territory and the concept of the *Polis ohne Territorium*, coined by Franz Hampl (1939), should be abandoned as a fallacy. Yet, following Hampl, some historians still seem to believe that a *polis* could be completely deprived of its territory but nevertheless persist as a self-governing community of citizens, i.e. as a *polis*.[12] The concept of a *Polis ohne Territorium*, however, has been rejected by other historians, mostly on general grounds.[13] Let us add that all Hampl's examples of *Poleis ohne Territorium* testify to the existence of dependent *poleis* (*ὑπήκοοι πόλεις*), and he points out quite correctly (16–17) that a city which lost its *autonomia* could persist as a *polis*. But that does not amount to evidence of "*Poleis ohne Territorium*" (*CPCActs* 5: 55). Just as an Attic deme had a territory marked with *horoi* inside Attika which was the territory of the Athenian *polis*, so, at a higher level, we have dependent *poleis* whose territories were part of the territory of a larger *polis* (see *infra* 87–88).

One main characteristic of the territory of the *polis* was its small size. That is well known and often emphasised, albeit mostly in vague terms. In the only study specifically devoted to this issue, Ruschenbusch (1985) 259 concludes that "die Normalpolis" had a territory of 25–100 km². His findings are confirmed by this inventory. Of the 1,035 communities included in our inventory, 166 are unlocated. But for 635 of the remaining 869, i.e. close to three-quarters of the total, it is possible to assess the size of the territory, at least roughly, and to place it in one or, at most, two of the following five categories: 25 km² max., 25–100 km², 100–200 km², 200–500 km², 500 km.² minimum. The distribution is as follows:

1 or 1? (25 km² max.)	95
1 or 2 (100 km² max.)	109
2 or 2? (25–100 km²)	177
2 or 3 (25–200 km²)	38
3 or 3? (100–200 km²)	71
3 or 4 (100–500 km²)	11
4 or 4? (200–500 km²)	66
4 or 5 (200 km² min.)	7
5 or 5? (500 km² min.)	61
total	635

Thus, some 60 per cent of the *poleis* had a territory of max. 100 km², and close to 80 per cent had a territory of max. 200 km². Only 10 per cent had a territory of over 500 km². Both the mode and the median fall between 25 and 100 km². The mean, however, is *c.*150 km². This shows that a mean can be a dangerous simplification and that the "Normalpolis" may be a misleading concept. A more nuanced picture emerges if we select a number of regions for further study. The following four confirm the accepted view of *c.*25–100 km²:

Thracian Chersonesos: *c.*950 km², *c.*15 *poleis* = *c.*65 km² per *polis*
Phokis: *c.*1,600 km², *c.*25 *poleis* = *c.*65 km² per *polis*
Triphylia: *c.*600 km², 8 *poleis* = *c.*75 km² per *polis*
Pallene, Sithonia and Akte: *c.*1,100 km², 20 *poleis* = *c.*55 km² per *polis*

But other regions testify to much larger territories:

Arkadia: *c.*4,700 km², *c.*39 *poleis* = *c.*120 km² per *polis*
Crete: *c.*8,200 km², *c.*49 *poleis* = *c.*167 km² per *polis*

[11] Thuc. 7.77.4: *λογίζεσθε δὲ ὅτι αὐτοί τε πόλις εὐθύς ἐστε ὅποι ἄν καθέζησθε* ("consider that you immediately become a *polis* yourselves wherever you choose to settle down").

[12] e.g. Gschnitzer (1958) 161–78; Meyer (1968) 68; Duthoy (1986) 6; Lévy (1990) 55.

[13] See Chr. Habicht's (1959) review of Gschnitzer (1958) 705ff; Ehrenberg (1965) 115–19; Ampolo (1980) xxxiii–xxxiv; Sakellariou (1989) 80–84; Ampolo (1996) 305.

Lesbos: *c.*1,600 km², 6 later 5 *poleis* = *c.*266 later 320 km² per *polis*
Euboia: *c.*3,600 km², 14 later 4 *poleis* = *c.*257 later 900 km² per *polis*

On the whole, colonies had larger territories than *poleis* in the Greek homeland, see Index 9 *infra*, often separated by areas settled with indigenous communities. And while some very small islands were the smallest of all *poleis*, *viz*. Delos (3 km²), Belbina (8 km²), Rheneia (14 km²) and Leukai (2.5 km²), at least some of the multipolate islands were settled with *poleis* that, on average, were much larger than the so-called *Normalpolis*, *viz*. Euboia, Kephallenia, Crete, Lesbos and especially Cypres.

Almost all *poleis*, however, came within the ideal maximum size we have suggested for city-states in general:

> Essentially, a city-state's territory is the immediate hinterland of its urban centre, and a city-state which extends its frontiers beyond its immediate hinterland begins to lose one of its characteristics. Given the simple means of transportation in former times, and given the fact that a city-state is a community whose members are in close contact with one another, the maximum extent of the immediate hinterland can, ideally, be fixed at one day's march from the urban centre = *c.*30 km.[14] The inference is that the territory of a city-state may cover *c.*3,000 km² max. Larger city-states are indeed attested, but then they are no longer city-states to the same extent as their smaller neighbours. (*Thirty City-State Cultures* 17)

In the great majority of *poleis* it was even possible to get from the border to the urban centre and back again in one day. And there were just four which exceeded the suggested maximum size of 3,000 km²: *viz*. Syracuse, Sparta, Pantikapaion and Kyrene. How were they organised? It seems worthwhile to shift the attention from the smallest to the largest *poleis* and study not only these four oversized *poleis* but also other *poleis* with territories of over 1,000 km². No more than thirteen such *poleis* are known, *viz*.

Argos (*c.*1,400 km² in C4l)
Athenai (*c.*2,500 km²)
Byzantion (*c.*1,500 km²)
Elis (over 1,000 km²)
Eretria (*c.*1,500 km² in C4)
Kyrene (*c.*1,750 km²)
Megale polis (planned as *polis* of *c.*1,500 km², perhaps over 1,000 km²)
Miletos (perhaps *c.*2,000 km²)
Pantikapaion (over 3,000 km²)
Rhegion (1,000–1,300 km²)
Rhodos (1,400 km²)
Sparta/Lakedaimon (*c.*8,400 km² before 371)
Syrakousai (*c.*12,000 km² in C4)

These super *poleis* had emerged in one of four different ways: some had subjected neighbouring *poleis* and turned them into municipalities (Argos, Eretria). Some had subjected neighbouring *poleis* but kept them as dependent *poleis* (Elis, Pantikapaion, Sparta/Lakedaimon, Syrakousai). Some had expanded over a large territory where, apparently, there were no other *poleis* (Athenai, Byzantion, Kyrene, Miletos, Rhegion). Two were created by synoecism but in, probably, both cases it was a partial synoecism in which the participating communuties persisted as dependent *poleis* side by side with the new central *polis* (Rhodos, Megale polis).

In their fully developed form the big *poleis* were of two different types. While small *poleis* were so small that they had just one urban centre—the *polis* in the urban sense—the big *poleis* all had a number of second-order nucleated settlements scattered over their territory. In some cases these villages or towns were just municipalities, in other cases they were polities, i.e. dependent *poleis*. It is interesting to note that Athens is the obvious example of the first type, Sparta of the second.

[14] A different approach leads to a similar result. The Italian word for "local patriotism" is *campanilismo*. The explanation is that, traditionally, the immediate hinterland of a *città* was believed to be as much land as one could see from the top of the *campanile* in the urban centre. If the view is not obstructed by mountains *vel sim*. the visual range from the top of a campanile is something like 25–30 km

REFERENCES

Ager, S. L. 1996. *Interstate Arbitrations in the Greek World 337–90 B.C.* (Berkeley and Los Angeles).
Ampolo, C. 1980. *La città antica* (Rome and Bari).
——1996. "Il sistema della 'polis': elementi costitutivi e origine della città greca", in S. Settis (ed.), *I Greci* (Turin) 2.1: 297–342.
Duthoy, R. 1986. "Qu'est-ce qu'une *polis*?", *LEC* 54: 3–20.

Ehrenberg, V. 1965. "Von den Grundformen griechischer Staatsordnung", in *Polis und Imperium* (Zürich and Stuttgart) 105–38.

Gschnitzer, F. 1958. *Abhängige Orte im griechischen Altertum* (Munich).

Habicht, C. 1959. Review of Gschnitzer (1958), *Gnomon* 31: 704–11.

Hampl, F. 1939. "Poleis ohne Territorium", *Klio* 32: 1–60.

Hansen, M. H. 1976. *Apagoge, Endeixis* and *Ephegesis* (Odense).

Lévy, E. 1990. "La cité grecque: invention moderne ou réalité antique", *Cahiers du Centre Gustave-Glotz* 1: 53–67.

Meyer, E. 1968. *Einführung in die antike Staatskunde* (Darmstadt).

Rousset, D. 1994. "Les frontières des cités grecques: premières réflexions à partir du recueil des documents épigraphiques", *Cahiers du Centre Gustave-Glotz* 5: 97–126.

Ruschenbush, E. 1985. "Die Zahl der griechischen Staaten und Arealgrösse und Bürgerzahl der Normalpolis", *ZPE* 59: 253–63.

Sakellariou, M. 1989. *The Polis State. Definition and Origin* (Athens).

Seibert, J. 1979. *Die politischen Flüchtlinge und Verbannten in der griechischen Geschichte* (Darmstadt).

Swoboda, H. 1905. "Beiträge zur griechischen Rechtsgeschichte", *ZSav* 26: 149–284.

Polis versus *Chora*—The Settlement Pattern

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

The next problem is, of course, where to draw the line between a town and a village, and again between a hamlet and a farmstead. Farmsteads are often described as "isolated" but there are in fact attestations of clusters of farmsteads,[5] and sometimes it can become a matter of definition how to distinguish between the two forms of settlement.[6] For the distinction between a town and a village, three different parameters are used: (a) the function of a settlement within a region, (b) the physical size of the settlement, and/or (c) the number of inhabitants. *Re* (a): in a region with a number of nucleated settlements, one is usually larger than the others and serves as the principal urban centre of the whole region.[7] Such an urban centre is sometimes called a *central place*,[8] undoubtedly a translation of the German term *Zentralort*.[9] The hierarchy can be observed at different levels. Sometimes the central place is called a city and the smaller centres towns;[10] but often the central place is a town and the smaller centres are classified as villages.[11] In this case the first-order site is defined in relation to the surrounding smaller nucleated settlements and no absolute figures in hectares or population size are needed in order to establish a distinction between first- and second-order sites. *Re* (b) *and* (c): as to size of habitation area and number of inhabitants, there are considerable variations and I will here restrict myself to two examples. In the monumental investigation of southern Argolis the authors propose to classify all sites of 5 ha or more as towns;[12] whereas the size of the population is the preferred parameter in Frank Kolb's judicious introduction to *Die Stadt im Altertum*, where he states a minimum population of 1,000 inhabitants as one of his criteria for accepting a site as a *Stadt*.[13] In both cases the authors admit that the limit is very arbitrary, but it is perhaps not a coincidence that the two criteria seem to correspond: in the southern Argolis survey the authors suggest that towns in the Classical period had a population density of 250 persons per ha,[14] i.e. a total population of *c.*1,250 persons for a town so small that it was almost a village.

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

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

[1] See, e.g., Bintliff (1977) 113, 131–33, 223–25, 403–5, 451.

[2] Pečirka (1973) 115; Jameson, Runnels and van Andel (1994) 375, 383; Shipley (1992) 218–19.

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

[4] Pečirka (1973) 115; Renfrew and Wagstaff (1982) 251; Finley (1987–89) 304; Snodgrass (1990) 127–28; Jameson, Runnels and van Andel (1994) 249, 253–54; Catling (2002) 187.

[5] For possible clusters of farms of C6 and C5, see Catling (2002) 187–93.

[6] Roy (1996) 109.

[7] Shipley (1992) 223.

[8] Johnson (1972) 772–73; Renfrew and Wagstaff (1982) 246b. Shipley (1992) 222 uses the term.

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

[10] Shipley (1992) 222–23.

[11] Cherry, Davis and Mantzourani (1991) 473–77.

[12] Jameson, Runnels and van Andel (1994) 249.

[13] Kolb (1984) 15.

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

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

lated farmsteads and not nucleated in villages.[16] Both these major conclusions have been obtained by archaeological surveys of selected stretches of the Greek countryside, and in their analysis of the evidence the archaeologists have deliberately preferred modern concepts—such as town, village and farm(stead)—whereas a discussion of ancient Greek terms is either avoided or confined to a historical section. If, however, we shift the focus from the archaeological to the written sources and ask how the ancient Greeks perceived their own settlement pattern, we are faced with a whole range of problems which concern both the terms used for first-, second- and third-order settlements and the Greeks' understanding of the distinction between nucleated and dispersed settlement. First, the terminology.

1. First-order sites present no serious difficulty. They are called *polis*, and in literary and epigraphical sources alike this term is applied over and over again to 447 named urban centres which were also the political centres of the *poleis* in question (*supra* 34–35). If the emphasis is on the urban aspect of the settlement, the words *asty* or *polisma* are sometimes used synonymously with *polis* (in the sense of town) (*supra* 47–48). Moreover, like *polis* in its urban sense, both *polisma* and *asty* are exclusively used about towns which were political centres of *poleis* in the political sense (*supra* 47–48). Thus the principal incongruity between the ancient and the modern terminology is that, even when the *polis* is seen as an urban centre, the ancient Greeks had the political aspect in mind, whereas modern analysis emphasises the cohabitation itself, irrespective of the political status of the site.

2. It is much more difficult to understand the ancient Greek terminology used to describe villages and hamlets. The principal term used is, of course, *kome*, which does indeed designate what we would call a village or a hamlet,[17] although it is also sometimes found in the sense of a quarter of a town.[18] The problem is that, although most historians believe that *komai* must have outnumbered *poleis* many times,[19] our Archaic and Classical sources provide us with the names of fewer than thirty named localities which are explicitly classified as *komai*[20] as against 491 named communities classified as *poleis*.[21]

One might object that it should not cause any surprise that philosophers, orators and historians use the term *polis* much more frequently than the term *kome* since in accounts of politics and wars it is only natural to mention "states" rather than "municipalities" or "villages". But this observation, though it contains a core of truth, is not quite to the point. It is true that many battles were fought outside a *polis*, e.g., in Boiotia, the battles of Plataiai in 479, the battle of Tanagra in 457, the battles of Koroneia in 447 and 394, and the battle of Chaironeia in 338. But just as many battles were fought near what we would call villages, e.g. the battle of Keressos *c.*520, the battle of Oinophyta in 457, the battle of Delion in 424, the battle of Tegyra in 375, and the battle of Leuktra in 371. Whereas Plataiai, Tanagra, Koroneia and Chaironeia are explicitly described as *poleis* in our sources, none of the others is ever referred to in Archaic or Classical sources as being a *kome*. The epigraphical sources tell the same story: although many inscriptions concern local administration and the infrastrucure of the *polis*, the term *polis* occurs much more frequently than the term *kome*. Furthermore, a collection of the few attestations we have reveals an interesting geographical pattern: we hear about *komai* in the Dorian Peloponnese, in some parts of central and western Greece, in Makedonia and Thrace and along the west coast of Asia Minor.[22] But, Mantineia excepted, *kome* is hardly ever used about villages in the non-Dorian Peloponnese, Attika, the north-eastern part of Hellas, the islands in the Aegean, and all the colonies.[23]

The reason for the uneven distribution of attestations of *komai* is believed to be that the term *kome* was Dorian, whereas the term *demos* was used in the non-Dorian parts of Hellas, cf. Arist. *Poet*. 1448[a]35–37: *οὗτοι* [the Dorians] *μὲν γὰρ κώμας τὰς περιοικίδας καλεῖν φασιν, Ἀθηναίους δὲ δήμους*.[24] But again, demes are attested in a few *poleis* only,[25]

[16] Pečirka (1973); Snodgrass (1987–9); Catling (2002) 187–93.

[17] Hansen (1995).

[18] Isoc. 7.46, cf. Hansen (1995) 57 n. 50.

[19] Snodgrass (1990) 132: "*komai* . . . must have been many times more numerous than the actual *poleis*."

[20] Hansen (1995) 65–67.

[21] 447 called *polis* in, principally, the urban sense plus 44 attested as *poleis* in the political and/or territorial senses only.

[22] See the lists in Hansen (1995) 63–68.

[23] The only attested *kome* in Italy and Sicily is one in the territory of Lokris (*FGrHist* 577 fr. 2). In Attika *Archontes komes* are attested for Phaleron (*IG* II[2] 1598A.9, 18; cf. *IG* II[2] 3103). On the islands *komai* are attested in the territory of Histiaia (Hdt. 8.23.2) and the only attested village on Tenos was called Kome (*IG* XII.5 872.19 (*c.*300)). According to Aristotle (fr. 566), many Naxians were settled *κατὰ κώμας*. But the fragment stems from a late source (Ath. 348B) and we cannot be sure that Aristotle used the term *kome*. In Thessaly the inhabitants of Pherai are referred to as *κωμῆται* in one of Euripides' tragedies (Eur. *Alc*. 476).

[24] Arist. *Poet*. 1448[a]35–37: they say that they themselves call the surrounding settlements "*komai*", but the Athenians "*demoi*". For a critical analysis of this passage, see Hansen (1995) 71.

[25] See Jones, *POAG*. Outside Attika and the Athenian klerouchies, *demoi* of the Archaic and Classical periods are known from Euboia (ibid. 73–79), Kalymna (ibid. 231), Kos (ibid. 239ff) and Rhodos (ibid. 243–49). In later periods *demoi* are also attested in Amorgos (ibid. 214), Elis (ibid. 145), Miletos (ibid. 323ff), Naxos (ibid. 213), Stratonikeia (ibid. 335) and Thessalonike (ibid. 268). Strabo 8.3.2 states that Mantinea, Tegea, Heraia, Aigion, Patrai and Dyme were synoecised from various numbers of *demoi*. We have no source to confirm that

and, moreover, although *demos* often *denotes* a village,[26] the word does not *mean* village, but rather "municipality" or "local community".[27] In this sense it is applied to a territorial subdivision of the *polis*[28] and most *demoi* were undoubtedly centred on a village.[29] Some demes, however, were not villages but quarters of a town or a city[30] and, moreover, there is some evidence that a *demos* could be a district with dispersed settlement and no nucleated centre at all.[31]

To sum up: *kome* means village and is applied to small nucleated settlements. It is mostly used in a socio-economic context without relation to the political structure of the *polis* to which it belongs; and there seem to be only two unquestionable attestations of *kome* used about the civic subdivisions of a *polis*, namely in sources relating to Megara,[32] and in the C4 *sympoliteia* by which Helisson became a *kome* of the Mantinean *polis* (*SEG* 37 340.7–8 = RO 14). *Demos*, on the other hand, means municipality, not village, but mostly denotes a civic subdivision which was centred on a village. In any case it is a gross exaggeration for the Classical period to claim that, by and large, *poleis* were subdivided into either *demoi* or *komai*. In the Hellenistic and Roman periods, on the other hand, *komai* are copiously attested both in literary sources, especially in Strabo, and in inscriptions.[33]

3. It is even more difficult to find out how the Greeks designated the third-order sites, and the evidence we have reveals that the ancient Greek language has no word that specifically and indisputably conveys the sense of "farm" in English or "ferme" in French or "Bauernhof" in German, etc. Instead the Greeks had to make use of a number of words, none of which had the sense of "farm" but every one in a proper context could be used to designate a farm.[34] Thus, *χωρίον* may denote a farm, especially when combined with the word *οἰκία*.[35] The meaning of the word, however, is just "place" and it could also be used about, e.g., a *polis*, an Attic deme or a deserted part of an island.[36] Next, *ἀγρός* means "field" but sometimes refers to a farm;[37] *αὐλή*, properly a court, can also denote farmsteads,[38] and *ἐπαυλίς* or *ἐπαύλιον* is another word attested in the sense of farmstead.[39] Obviously, for want of a proper term the Greeks had to use a whole range of different words to express what we call a farm or a farmstead.

To conclude: modern archaeological analysis operates with a fairly fixed and simple terminology for first-, second- and third-order sites, *sc.* city/town, village/hamlet and farm/farmstead; but the ancient Greeks had a fully developed terminology for the first-order sites only, namely *polis* or, synonymously, *polisma* or *asty*. For second-order sites they had the terms *kome* (which is surprisingly rare and restricted to certain parts of the Greek world) and *demos* (which does not *mean* village although it often *denotes* a village); finally, for third-order sites they had no term at all but only a number of words that in proper context denoted what we call a farm. So far, we have found no ancient literary source and only one—Hellenistic—inscription in which we meet the tripartite set of terms that correspond to our town—village—farm, *viz*. Antigonos' letter of *c.*303 about the synoecism of Teos and Lebedos in which he mentions villages (*komai*) and farms (*epaulia*) outside the town (*polis*).[40]

Next, sources in which different kinds of settlement are contrasted show that the ancient Greeks opposed settlement in the *polis* to settlement in the *chora*, but did not distinguish

all these Peloponnesian *poleis* were synoecised from *demoi*. On the contrary, other sources show that Mantinea was organised into *komai*, not *demoi*.

[26] See, e.g., Hdt. 3.55.2: "I met Archias in Pitane (the *demos* to which he belonged)"; Isoc. 7.46: "they [the ancient Athenians] divided the *polis* into *komai* and the *chora* into *demoi*".

[27] See, e.g., Hdt. 9.73.2: "The Tyndaridai invaded Attika and expelled the *demoi* (*ἀνίσταsαν τοὺς δήμους*)". In the sense of "make (people) migrate" (*LSJ* A.III.2), the object of *ἀνίστημι* is always one or more persons, see *infra* 123, and in this passage "villages" would be a mistranslation of *δήμους*.

[28] Jones, *POAG* 4–7.

[29] The best example is the centre of Halai Aixonidai at Palaiochori near Ana Voula, see Lohmann (1993) i. 129–34 and *infra* 626.

[30] In Athens Kollytos, Kydathenaion, Skambonidai, Melite, Koile and Keiriadai were strictly urban demes lying inside the walls (Traill (1986) 126, 129, 130, 134, 136). Lindos, on the other hand, was probably a town made into one single deme whose members were called *Λινδοπολῖται* (*RE* Suppl. 5: 746).

[31] Atene may have been a deme with dispersed settlement and without a nucleated centre, see Lohmann (1993) 126–36. Halimous is another example of such a deme, see Hansen (1997) 22–23, *infra* 626 and Cohen (2000) 120–22, who, in our opinion, goes too far by almost denying that demes could have, and in many cases must have had, a nucleated centre.

[32] The Megarid settled in 5 *komai* (Plut. *Quest. Graec.* 17); Megara organised into *komai* of which one is Aigosthena (*IG* VII 1.18 (*c.*300)). *Pace* Charneux (1984) and Jones, *POAG* 114–15, there is no evidence that Classical Argos was organised into *komai*, see Piérart (2000) 300.

[33] For a judicious treatment, see Schuler (1998) 22–32.

[34] For terms designating real property and thus sometimes a farm, see Pritchett (1956) 261–69. See now the meticulous discussion in Schuler (1998) 73–100.

[35] Finley (1985) 124 no. 14: *ὅρος οἰκίας καὶ χωρίου καὶ οἰκίας τῆς ἐν ἄστει*. *IG* II^2 1241 (300) is a lease of a *chorion*. The ensuing contract includes detailed regulations concerning the cultivation of the land, and it appears that lease of the *chorion* includes a house, a strong indication that the whole estate is a farmstead and not just a plot of land. See now Jones (2000).

[36] The word *χωρίον* is used about Naupaktos, which was a *polis* (Thuc. 3.102.4), or about the Acharnai, which was a *demos* (Thuc. 2.19.2, only some MSS) or about an empty part of Korkyra (Thuc. 1.52.2)

[37] Men. *Dysc.* 5–7; Dem. 53.6, 57.10.

[38] *Syll.*^{3} 169.40ff (Iasos, *c.*350); Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 6.50.3.

[39] Diod. 12.43.1: he pillaged the so-called Akte and set fire to the *epauleis*.

[40] *Syll.*^{3} 344.98: *ὅσαι δ' ἂν κῶμαι ἢ ἐπαύλια ὦσιν ἔξ[ω τῆς πόλεως ὑμ]ῶν* ("as many *komai* or *epaulia* as there are outside your *polis*").

habitation in villages from habitation in isolated farmsteads. Let us adduce some examples.

From Thucydides' description of the evacuation of Attika in 431 it is clear that more than half of the Athenians had lived in the countryside for centuries, until they were forced by the Peloponnesian War to move into the city of Athens. But the passage does not reveal whether the homes they were forced to leave were villages or isolated farmsteads.[41]

Euripides' tragedy *Orestes* includes a report of a meeting of the *ekklesia* in which several Argives address the assembly. One of them is described as an honest and courageous farmer who does not often visit the city and attend its political meetings. Again we would like to know whether this admirable person lived alone on his farm or in a small village with other farmers of the same disposition.[42]

In the *Laws* Plato envisages a settlement pattern in which a central *asty* is surrounded by twelve *komai*. Here every citizen is supposed to own one house in the *asty* and one in the *chora* (Pl. *Leg*. 745B–E), and the presumption is that the house in the *chora* was in one of the twelve villages and not in the countryside,[43] but Plato's account is notoriously vague and some scholars have preferred to believe that the citizens had their country houses scattered over the countryside.[44]

In *Politics* book 1 Aristotle states that the *polis* emerged by a synoecism of *komai*, each of which, again, emerged from an aggregate of scattered *oikiai*.[45] The *polis* is the key theme of the rest of the work; the *oikia* is analysed in book 1 and referred to occasionally in the later books, but the concept of *kome* is never treated properly. It is just mentioned at the beginning of book 1 as the link between *oikia* and *polis*, and in the later books it is referred to only twice and in passing.[46] In books 2–8 the principal opposition is between the *polis* (or *asty*) and the *chora*, as is apparent from the following example: in the description of democracy in book 6 we are told that the peasants live scattered over the countryside and are therefore prevented from frequenting the *ekklesia*, but nothing is said about whether they live nucleated in villages or dispersed in farmsteads.[47]

Finally, in several sources dispersed settlement (*σποράδην*) is opposed to settlement in *poleis*, and in these sources there is either no mention of settlement in *komai* or, if there is, settlement in *komai* is linked with dispersed settlement and opposed to settlement in the *polis*.[48]

Thus, for modern historians and archaeologists the settlement pattern is in focus, and therefore the nucleated settlements are subdivided into towns and villages and opposed to (isolated) farmsteads. For the ancient Greeks themselves the social and political aspects of community life mattered more than the settlement pattern, and when they thought about how the population of a *polis* was settled, they focused on the opposition between *polis* and *chora* instead of the opposition between nucleated settlement in town and villages *versus* dispersed settlement; therefore they separated those who lived in the countryside (in villages or farms) from those who lived in the urban centre, and they devoted almost all attention to the *polis* itself. To live in *komai* without any urban centre was seen as an old form of habitation (Xen. *Hell*. 5.2.7), which antedated the *polis* (Arist. *Pol*. 1252^{b}10–30) or, in contemporary society, as an old-fashioned form of habitation surviving in marginal and backward regions of Hellas (Thuc. 3.94.4).

Even though the Greeks showed little interest in second-order settlements, it is still important to assess their number, their distribution and their character, at least in the Greek homeland. Admittedly, the study of the settlement pattern of ancient Greece is still in its infancy and a reliable picture can be drawn only for the few regions that have been surveyed during the last three decades. Also, for the regions settled with Greek colonies, it would be impossible to present a survey of the entire settlement pattern, comprising both the Greek and the indigenous settlements. Here the study must be restricted to the settlement pattern in the immediate hinterland of each *polis*. But for every region in the Greek homeland described in this inventory, the introduction to the chapter includes a list of attested non-*polis* settlements, first those mentioned in ancient sources, and then those known exclusively from their physical remains, brought to light by excavations and/or surveys. Of those settlements which are attested in ancient sources, many have been identified with archaeological sites, but some are still unlocated.[49]

One major result of the investigation is that there seem to have been two basic types of region: some with a fairly small

[41] Thuc. 2.16.2, see the interpretation *supra* 12.

[42] Eur. *Or*. 917–30, cf. Roy (1996).

[43] Piérart (1974) 15–21, 39–41.

[44] e.g. Wilamowitz and Pöhlmann, quoted by Piérart (1974) 39.

[45] Arist. *Pol*. 1252^{b}9–24; the synoecism is indicated by the verb *συνῆλθον* (^{b}20, cf. *infra* 117 n. 16), and the dispersed settlement with the adjective *σποράδες* (^{b}23).

[46] Arist. *Pol*. 1261^{a}27–9; 1280^{b}40–81^{a}1.

[47] Arist. *Pol*. 1319^{a}28–32: "Besides, people of this class can readily come to the assembly, because they are continually moving about in the city (*τὸ ἄστυ*) and in the agora; whereas farmers are scattered over the country (*διὰ τὸ διεσπάρθαι κατὰ τὴν χώραν*) and do not meet or feel the same need of assembling together."

[48] Isoc. *Hel*. 35; Pl. *Prt*. 322A-B; Philoch. (*FGrHist* 328) fr. 2a.

[49] Some of the unlocated settlements known from written sources are undoubtedly identical with some of the unidentified archaeological sites. So the total number of attested non-*polis* settlements must be lower than the sum of (a) the settlements known from written sources and (b) settlements known exclusively from excavation and surveys.

number of comparatively large *poleis* and a large number of second-order settlements within each *polis*, and some with a high number of fairly small *poleis*, each with very few second-order settlements within its territory or none at all. The first type is found in the eastern part of the mainland where the *polis* emerged early, in Euboia, Boiotia, Attika, the Isthmos and Argolis.[50] For very different reasons a similar settlement pattern is also found in the westernmost regions where *polis* formation took place as late as in the Classical period: Epeiros, Akarnania and Aitolia. In these regions the population was long settled in *komai* apart from all the colonies along the coasts founded by Corinth and Elis.[51] The second type prevails in the rest of Greece and on the Aegean Islands.[52] In Asia Minor there were apparently many second-order settlements in Ionia, whereas the *poleis* outnumbered the other settlements in Mysia, Troas, Aiolis and on Lesbos.[53] Thus, regions settled in *poleis* with few villages between the *poleis*[54] seem to be the rule rather than the exception. In this respect there is a very sharp contrast indeed between ancient Greece and Greece of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries with its five-digit number of villages and hamlets as against a comparatively small number of towns.[55]

Moreover, the rapidly growing number of archaeological surveys of the Greek countryside shows that the majority of the population lived in the urban and political centre of the city-state, the *polis* town, and a minority only was settled in the countryside either in villages or in farmsteads.[56] And this settlement pattern is found not only in the regions with many *poleis* and few second-order settlements but even in some of the regions with a relatively high number of settlements in the countryside, i.e, in Boiotia and in Argolis.[57] Only in very large *poleis*, such as Athens, did the extra-urban population outnumber those who lived in the *polis* centre. Attika was exceptional in having several score, perhaps more than 100 nucleated centres, only one of which was a *polis*. In Classical Greece the degree of urbanisation seems to have been inversely proportional to the size of the *polis*. The smallest *poleis* had the highest degree of urbanisation, whereas the few large *poleis* had a higher percentage of its population settled outside the *polis* town.

The inference is, on the one hand, that the Greeks had a skewed view of their own settlement pattern, one that favoured the urban centre, *sc.* the *polis*, at the expense of settlements in the countryside, either nucleated or dispersed. On the other hand, on the Greek mainland villages were probably not as numerous as an Athenocentric view of Greek history has made us believe. In the Hellenistic and Roman periods, however, the picture changed. There is a much larger number of settlements classified as *komai*, especially in the eastern part of the Greek world, and they occur both in the epigraphical and in the literary sources, especially in Strabo and Pausanias.[58]

The overall conclusion is that there is no ancient Greek set of terms that fits the very neat modern archaeological tripartition into towns, villages and farmsteads. The Greeks focused on the political aspects of community life rather than on the settlement pattern. They distinguished the *polis* from the *chora* and did not pay much attention to whether the *chora* was settled in villages or in farmsteads.

[50] Euboia (14 : 35, to which must be added a high number of unrecorded demes); Attika (1 (or 2 including Salamis) : 100+, for the demes as settlements, see 626 *infra*); Megaris, Korinthia, Sikyonia (3–5 : 19); Argolis (11 : 50).

[51] Epeiros (26 : 45); Akarnania (30 : 25); Aitolia (15 : 31); cf. Ps.-Skylax 28, 30, 31, 32; Thuc. 3.94.4.

[52] West Lokris (12 : 7); Phokis (29 : *c.*10); Achaia (16 : 9); Elis (20 : 12); Arkadia (39 : 31); Triphylia (8 : 6); Messenia (11 : 7); Lakedaimon 24 : 33, but many perioikic *poleis* unidentified); East Lokris (11 : 7); Doris (4 : 0); Thessaly and adjacent regions (78 : 52); Mygdonia, Chalkidike, Bisaltia (83 : 26). Rousset (1999).

[53] Ionia (34 : 75); Asiatic coast of the Propontis (30 : 6); Troas (29 : 13); Lesbos 6 : 2?); Aiolis (36 : 17); Karia (72 : 9, but many communities recorded as *poleis* type C:γ, and many indigenous second-order settlements not recorded).

[54] One of the best known is Koresia on Keos (no. 493), see Cherry, Davis and Mantzourani (1991) 337–40.

[55] Ibid. 383–402.

[56] The conclusion of all the surveys listed in n. 15 *supra*, cf. Hansen (2004) 11–16.

[57] Boiotia: Bintliff (1997); southern Argolis: Jameson, Runnels, and van Andel (1994) 373–400, 415–538. For an overview, see Hansen (2004).

[57] See the impressive study by Schuler (1998) with a survey of the epigraphical evidence on pp. 291–97.

REFERENCES

Bintliff, J. L. 1977. *Natural Environment and Human Settlement in Prehistoric Greece*, *BAR* Suppl. Series 28 (Oxford).

——1997. "Further Considerations on the Population of Ancient Boeotia", in J. Bintliff (ed.), *Recent Developments in the History and Archaeology of Central Greece*, Proceedings of the 6th International Boeotian Conference (Oxford) 231–52.

Carter, J. C. 1990. "Metapontium—Land Wealth and Population" in J. P. Descœdres (ed.), *Greek Colonists and Native Populations* (Oxford) 405–41.

Catling, R. W. V. 2002. "The Survey Area from the Early Iron Age to the Classical Period", in Cavanagh *et al.* (2002) ii. 151–256.

Cavanagh, W., Crouvel, J., Catling, R. W. V., and Shipley, G. 1996,

2002. *Continuity and Change in a Greek Rural Landscape: The Laconia Survey* i–ii (London).

Charneux, P. 1984. "Phratries et Kômai d'Argos", *BCH* 108: 207–27.

Cherry, J. F., Davis, J. L. and Mantzourani, E. (eds.) 1991. *Landscape Archaeology as Long-Term History: Northern Keos in the Cycladic Islands* (Los Angeles).

Christaller, W. 1933. *Die Zentralen Orte in Süddeutschland* (Jena), translated into English in 1966 with the title *Central Places of Southern Germany*.

Cohen, E. 2000. *The Athenian Nation* (Princeton).

Finley, M. I. 1985. *Studies in Land and Credit in Ancient Athens*[2] (Cambridge).

—— 1987–89. "The City", *Opus* 6–8: 303–15.

Forsén, J., and Forsén, B. 1997. "The *Polis* of Asea: A Case Study of How Archaeology Can Expand Our Knowledge of the History of a *Polis*", *CPCPapers* 4: 163–76.

Hansen, M. H. 1995. "*Kome*: A Study in How the Greeks Classified Settlements which were not *Poleis*", *CPCPapers* 2: 45–81.

—— 1997. "The *Polis* as an Urban Centre: The Literary and Epigraphical Evidence", *CPCActs* 4: 9–86.

—— 2000. "The Hellenic *Polis*", *Thirty City-State Cultures* 141–87.

—— 2004. "The Concept of the Consumption City Applied to the Classical *Polis*", *CPCPapers* 7: 9–47.

Jameson, M. H., Runnels, C. N., and van Andel, T. H. 1994. *A Greek Countryside* (Stanford, Calif.).

Johnson, G. A. 1972. "A Test of the Utility of Central Place Theory in Archaeology", in Ucko *et al.* (1972) 769–85.

Jones, N. F. 2000. "Epigraphic Evidence for Farmstead Residence in Attica", *ZPE* 133: 75–90.

Kolb, F. 1984. *Die Stadt im Altertum* (Munich).

Lohmann, H. 1993. *Atene* (Cologne).

Mee, C., and Forbes, H. 1997. *A Rough and Rocky Place: The Landscape and Settlement History of the Methana Peninsula, Greece* (Liverpool).

Osborne, R. 1987. *Classical Landscape with Figures* (London).

Pečirka, J. 1973. "Homestead Farms in Classical and Hellenistic Hellas", in M. I. Finley (ed.), *Problèmes de la terre en Grèce ancienne* (Paris) 113–47.

Piérart, M. 1974. *Platon et la cité grecque* (Brussels).

—— 2000. "Argos: une autre démocratie", in *Polis & Politics* 297–314.

Pritchett, W. K. 1956. "The Attic Stelai, Part II", *Hesperia* 25: 178–315.

Renfrew, C., and Wagstaff, M. 1982. *An Island Polity* (Cambridge).

Rousset, D. 1999. "Centre urbain, frontière et espace rural dans les cités de Grèce centrale", in M. Brunet (ed.), *Territoires des cités grecques* (Paris) 35–77.

Roy, J. 1996. "The Countryside in Classical Greek Drama", in G. Shipley and J. Salmon (eds.), *Human Landscapes in Classical Antiquity* (London) 98–118.

Schuler, C. 1998. *Ländliche Siedlungen und Gemeinden im hellenistischen und römischen Kleinasien* (Munich).

Shipley, G. 1992. "*Perioikos*: The Discovery of Classical Lakonia", in J. M. Sanders (ed.), *ΦΙΛΟΛΑΚΩΝ: Lakonian Studies in Honour of Hector Catling* (London) 211–26.

Snodgrass, A. 1987–89. "The Rural Landscape and its Political Significance", *Opus* 6–8: 53–70.

—— 1990. "Survey Archaeology and the Rural Landscape of the Greek City", in O. Murray and S. Price (eds.), *The Greek City from Homer to Alexander* (Oxford) 113–36.

Traill, J. S. 1986. *Demos and Trittys* (Toronto).

Ucko, P. J., Tringham, R., and Dimbleby, G. W. (eds.) 1972. *Man, Settlement and Urbanism* (London).

Whitley, P. 1972. "The Concept of Urbanism", in Ucko *et al.* (1972) 613–21.

Types of Constitution

The *polis* had a government, i.e. a set of political institutions (*politeia*) manned by citizens (*politai*) in charge of political decision making and enforcement of the legal order. The meaning of these three key terms—*polis*, *polites*, *politeia*—and their interconnection is most clearly expounded by Aristotle in *Politics* book 3: *polis* is defined as a community (*koinonia*) of citizens (*politai*) about their political institutions (*politeia*).[1] A *polites* is defined as a person who is entitled to participate in government (*arche*) and administration of justice (*krisis*);[2] and *politeia* is defined as the structure of a *polis*' political institutions (*archai*) and in particular of the supreme body of government (*kyria panton*).[3] That this is not just an idiosyncratic Aristotelian conception of what a *politeia* was appears both from literary sources[4] and from the preserved documents, e.g. the so-called Charter of the Second Athenian Naval League of 378/7 (*IG* II^2 43.20) and, to cite a non-Athenian source as well, the oath on the League of Corinth taken in 338/7 by all *poleis* that joined the League (*Staatsverträge* 403 4.34–35 and 9.29–30). In both cases *politeia* designates the structure and organisation of the political institutions of the members, cf. *infra*.

The word *politeia* means literally "citizenship", and that is by far the most common meaning attested all over the Greek world in hundreds of decrees by which a named person is awarded citizenship (*politeia*) in the *polis* that passed the decree.[5] In the ancient Greek world citizenship was, essentially, what it has become once again in our times, i.e. the legally defined hereditary membership of an individual in a state whereby the member (in the modern world called a citizen or a national) acquires political, social and economic privileges that a non-citizen member of the community does not enjoy, or enjoys only partially. As a rule, a person is a citizen of one state only (Pierson (1996) 27–30). In the Middle Ages and in the Early Modern period citizenship was restricted to (some of) those who lived in the cities, and in its full sense it survived only in city-states, but since the French Revolution citizenship has been dissociated from the connection with the urban centres and has recovered its connection with political participation at state level.[6]

In ancient Greece the corresponding terms used were *politeia* to denote citizenship itself, and *polites* to denote the citizen if the emphasis was on a citizen's exercise of his political rights,[7] whereas *astos* (masculine)[8] and *aste* (feminine)[9] were commonly used to denote a person of citizen birth. As a rule, a person was a *polites* of one *polis* only.[10] Again, Aristotle concurs with this double aspect of citizenship, saying that, in practice, citizenship is defined as being born from citizens (1275^{b}22–24), whereas, functionally, citizenship is defined by participating in the running of the political institutions of one's *polis* (1275^{a}22–33). Citizenship was not restricted to (some of) those who lived in the urban centres, and neither *polites* nor *astos* was used in the sense of "townsman" and opposed to *agroikos* in the sense of "countryman".[11]

[1] 1276^{b}1–2: *εἴπερ γάρ ἐστι κοινωνία τις ἡ πόλις, ἔστι δὲ κοινωνία πολιτῶν πολιτείας* ("If the *polis* is a community, and a community of citizens with respect to the constitution"), cf. *CPCActs* 5: 133–34. For the juxtaposition of *polis*, *polites* and *politeia* as the three cornerstones of political organisation, see Lys. 18.1; Aeschin. 3.8; Dem. 8.69–70, 18.308; Lycurg. 1.142; Isoc. 7.20, 8.50–51, 16.17–18; Pl. *Resp*. 501E; *Leg*. 715B; Thrasymachos fr. 1.

[2] 1275^{a}22–23: *πολίτης δ' ἁπλῶς οὐδενὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὁρίζεται μᾶλλον ἢ τῷ μετέχειν κρίσεως καὶ ἀρχῆς* ("the citizen is defined by nothing else more than by participating in the administration of justice and in holding office").

[3] 1278^{b}8–10: *ἔστι δὲ πολιτεία πόλεως τάξις τῶν τε ἄλλων ἀρχῶν καὶ μάλιστα τῆς κυρίας πάντων* ("The constitution is the city's organisation of the offices and particularly of the supreme office"). For *πόλεως* as a subjective genitive, see Hansen (1994) 93–94.

[4] Thrasymachos of Chalkedon fr. 1; Anaximenes of Lampsakos [*Rhet. Al.*] 1446^{b}20; *Hell. Oxy*. 18.3.

[5] *F.Delphes* III.4 378 (C4m); *I.Oropos* 4 (C4l); *IG* IV^2.1 615 (Epidauros (C4)); *IG* IV 748 (Troizen (C4)); *IG* XI.4 510 (Delos (C4l)); *IG* XII Suppl. 245 (Andros (C4f)); *Tit. Cal*. 5 (Kalymna (C4)); *I.Olbia* 14 (C4s); *I.Ephesos* 1427 (C4); *SEG* 40 392 (Triphylia (C4e)). Bordes (1982) 49–107.

[6] Riesenberg (1992) 106–17, 140–86 (citizenship in the medieval cities), 253–66 (revival of participatory citizenship during the French Revolution).

[7] *IG* IV 841.12, see Lévy (1985).

[8] Solon fr. 4.6; Anac. *Anth. Gr*. 6.143.3–4; Dem. 57.46. *Polites* and *astos* juxtaposed in Arist. *Ath. Pol*. 26.4.

[9] For *aste*, see *Syll.*^{3} 1015.6–7 (Halikarnassos (C3)); *Egypt. I. Metr*. 33.1 (Naukratis). The feminine form *politis* is sometimes used of females of citizen birth, see Arist. *Pol*. 1275^{b}33, 1278^{a}28; *IG* XII.7 386.21 (Aigiale (C3)); *IG* V.2 268B.31 (*politis apo genous*, Mantinea (C1)); *I. Kos* 178.6 (Kos (C3)). For Athens, see Mossé (1985) 77–79. There is, we think, no attestation of *politis* signifying a female citizen exercising citizen rights.

[10] Citizens of a *polis* that founded a colony acquired citizen rights in the colony but lost *politeia* in their *polis* of origin; see Graham (1964) 111, 117. Most persons were citizens of one *polis* only, but double citizenship was not unknown; see Busolt (1920) 229–30 and *CPCActs* 5: 115 with n. 586. To have double citizenship became extremely common in the course of the Hellenistic period.

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

From the primary sense of citizenship, *politeia* developed two secondary meanings: (a) in a very concrete sense *politeia* designated the body of citizens as opposed to all non-citizens;[12] (b) in a more abstract sense it designated the structure of the body of citizens[13] and is traditionally and in our opinion correctly rendered "constitution" or "form of government".[14] Thus, in 378/7 the Athenians stipulated that each member of the Second Naval League was entitled to have the *politeia*, i.e. the type of constitution it preferred (*IG* II^2 43.20–21); and in 338/7 all members of the Corinthian League agreed under oath that they would not interfere with the *politeia*, i.e. constitution, of any of the other members (Dem. 17.10 = *Staatsverträge* 403).

It is apparent from both sources that different *poleis* had different forms of *politeia*,[15] and in Greek political theory *politeiai* were divided into types according to how many people constituted and manned the principal organs of government. Basically, there were three constitutional types: the rule of the one, the few and the many. Pindar is the first we know who distinguished between rule by a tyrant, or the wise, or the whole army.[16] About a generation later, Herodotos has a debate about the three basic types of constitution, here described as *demos*, *oligarchia* and *monarchia*.[17] In C4e Plato called the three forms *tyrannis*, *aristokratia* and *demokratia*.[18] In C4f the theory was further developed and extended by giving each of the three main types a positive and a negative variant (i.e. one a Good Thing and the other a Bad Thing). That theory can be found *in nuce* in Xenophon's *Memorabilia* and fully developed in Plato's *Statesman*,[19] but it received its classic formulation in Aristotle, in book 8 of the *Nicomachean Ethics* and especially in book 3 of the *Politics*.[20] He distinguished between a good and a bad form of monarchy (*basileia* versus *tyrannis*), minority rule (*aristokratia* versus *oligarchia*) and majority rule (*politeia* versus *demokratia*).

To what extent does Aristotle's systematic classification of *politeiai* match the *polis* world in which he lived? If we move from philosophy to history, the basic tripartition is found in both literary and epigraphical sources. Thucydides presents as the Thebans' view in 428 that there are three types of constitution: *demokratia*, *oligarchia* and *tyrannis*, but *oligarchia* is attested in two forms: a positive one called *isonomos oligarchia* and a negative one described as *dynasteia oligon andron*.[21] A speech delivered before the Athenian jurors in 400/399 distinguishes between *demos*, *oligarchia* and *tyrannos*.[22] In a treaty of 362/1 between the Athenians, the Arkadians, the Achaians, the Eleans and the Phleiasians, the three types are called *demos*, *oligarchia* and, probably, *tyrannos*.[23] In 345 and again in 330 Aischines stated that any community had one of three *politeiai*: either *tyrannis*, or *oligarchia* or *demokratia*.[24] In a contemporary treatise Isokrates refers to the three types as *monarchia*, *oligarchia* and *demokratia*.[25]

Admittedly, the classification of constitutions is best attested in Athenian sources. Yet, Pindar was from Thebes, Herodotos from Halikarnassos, Thucydides claims to report a Theban view, and the tripartition is found in three East Greek documents of the early Hellenistic period: a C3e law from Ilion regulates how *demokratia* can be protected

denote the urban population—like our "townsman" in English or "Städter" in German or "citadin" in French. The term *polites* is almost invariably linked to the concept of *polis* in the political sense and only very exceptionally used in the sense of townsman (Hom. *Od*. 7.131; Pl. *Resp*. 370C).

[12] *SEG* 9 1.61: *οἱ ἄλλοι πάντες οἱ ἐν τῆι πολιτείαι*; Lycurg. 1.79; Arist. *Pol*. 1297^{b}1, 12, 37, cf. Hansen (1994) 95–97.

[13] To Isokrates the *politeia* is the soul of the *polis* (7.14, 12.138); to Aristotle it is the form (*eidos*) of the *polis* (1276^{b}2–11, cf. *CPCActs* 5: 133). Bordes (1982) 127–38.

[14] Lévy (1993) 75–90; Miller (1995) 143–53. A fourth sense, not relevant in this context, is "line of policy" advocated by a political leader (Aeschin. 3.150).

[15] de Romilly (1959); Bleicken (1979).

[16] Pind. *Pyth*. 2.86–88: *ἐν πάντα δὲ νόμον εὐθύγλωσσος ἀνὴρ προφέρει, παρὰ τυραννίδι, χὠπόταν ὁ λάβρος στρατός, χὥταν πόλιν οἱ σοφοὶ τηρέωντι* ("A man straightforward in speech brings forward social order to everything he does, both under a tyranny, and when the boisterous host, and when the wise watch over the city", trans. Ostwald (2000) 15).

[17] Hdt. 3.82.1: *τριῶν γὰρ προκειμένων καὶ πάντων τῷ λόγῳ ἀρίστων ἐόντων, δήμου τε ἀρίστου καὶ ὀλιγαρχίας καὶ μονάρχου πολλῷ τοῦτο πρόσεχειν λέγω* (repeated in 82.5) ("In so far as three (types) are under debate and all are presented in the best possible light: the best form of *demos*, *oligarchia* and *monarchos*, I hold that the last one is the best").

[18] Pl. *Resp*. 338D: *τῶν πόλεων αἱ μὲν τυραννοῦνται, αἱ δὲ δημοκρατοῦνται, αἱ δὲ ἀριστοκρατοῦνται* (cf. 338E) ("Of the *poleis* some are governed in a tyrannical, some in a democratic, and some in an aristocratic fashion").

[19] Xen. *Mem*. 4.6.12; *Cyrop*. 1.1.1; Pl. *Pol*. 291C-292A, cf. *Leg*. 712C.

[20] Arist. *Pol*. 1279^{a}22–^{b}10, cf. *Eth. Nic*. 1160^{a}31–^{b}21; Hansen (1993); Rowe (1998).

[21] Thuc. 3.62.3: *ἦμῖν γὰρ ἡ πόλις τότε ἐτύγχανεν οὖτε κατ' ὀλιγαρχίαν ἰσόνομον πολιτεύουσα οὔτε κατὰ δημοκρατίαν· ὅπερ δέ ἐστι νόμοις μὲν καὶ τῷ σωφρονεστάτῳ ἐναντιώτατον, ἐγγυτάτω δὲ τυράννου, δυναστεία ὀλίγων ἀνδρῶν εἶχε τὰ πράγματα* ("At that time our *polis* happened to be governed neither as an *isonomos oligarchia*, nor as a *demokratia*. No, a *dynasteia* of a few men was in power and that is the opposite of constitutional and prudent government and very close to tyranny"). The adjective *isonomos* suggests that the positive form of *oligarchia* is close to *demokratia*, cf. Thuc. 3.82.8, whereas the negative form of *oligarchia* is close to *tyrannis*. For the description of *oligarchia* as such as a *dynasteia oligon*, see Plato. *Plt*. 291D.

[22] Lys. 6.30: *τὸν ἄνδρα οὐ δῆμος, οὐκ ὀλιγαρχία, οὐ τύραννος, οὐ πόλις ἐθέλει δέξασθαι* ("No one would admit this man, neither a *demos*, nor an *oligarchia*, nor a *tyrannos*, nor a *polis*").

[23] Heavily but plausibly restored at *IG* II^2 112.24–26: [*ἐάν δέ τις*] . . . *τὸν δῆμον* [*καταλύηι τὸν Ἀθηναίων ἢ τύραννον κα*]*θιστῆι ἢ ὀλι*[*γαρχίαν* . . .] ("If anyone tries to abolish the Athenian *demos*, or tries to set up a *tyrannos* or an *oligarchia* . . .").

[24] Aeschin. 1.4: *ὁμολογοῦνται γὰρ τρεῖς εἶναι πολιτεῖαι παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις, τυραννὶς καὶ ὀλιγαρχία καὶ δημοκρατία* (repeated at 3.6) ("It is commonly agreed that in the whole world there are three forms of *politeia*: *tyrannis*, *oligarchia* and *demokratia*").

[25] Isoc. 12.132: *ἐγὼ δὲ φημὶ τὰς μὲν ἰδέας τῶν πολιτειῶν τρεῖς εἶναι μόνας, ὀλιγαρχίαν, δημοκρατίαν, μοναρχίαν* ("I hold that there are three forms of *politeia* altogether: *oligarchia*, *demokratia* and *monarchia*").

against *oligarchia* and the rule of a *tyrannos*;[26] a C4–C3 decree from Erythrai was passed after the restoration of democracy (*demos*) in order to prevent future attempts to instal a tyrant (*tyrannos*) or an *oligarchia*;[27] and a civic oath from Kalymna from the same period makes the citizens swear that they will not install a tyrant (*tyrannos*) or an *oligarchia* or any other constitution (here called *politeuma*) except *demokratia*.[28]

So, the tripartition of types of constitution was not just a philosophical idiosyncrasy, nor was it an invention of Plato and Aristotle to classify the forms of constitution according to the number of rulers. The numerical classification is clearly attested in many other and sometimes older sources: both *basileia* and *tyrannis* are characterised as forms of *monarchia*.[29] The term *oligarchia* means the rule of the few. In democratic ideology *demos* is identified with the whole of the citizen body,[30] and idioms like the rule of *to plethos* or *hoi polloi* are used synonymously with *demokratia*.[31]

On the other hand, what is attested in all sources is the basic tripartition into *tyrannis*, *oligarchia* and *demokratia*. The division of each of the three basic types into two subtypes seems to have been peculiar to the Athenian philosophers. Aristotle had it from Plato, and since it is found both in Plato and in Xenophon's *Memorabilia*, it may go back to Sokrates.

From a theoretical point of view, that of Plato and Aristotle, *basileia* was primarily the positive form of monarchy and *tyrannis* its perversion. In a historical perspective, prominent in other sources, *basileia* was an old form of constitution, known from Homer and echoed in Attic tragedy. It had survived in Sparta, in remote regions and among the barbarians (*infra*), but in the period best covered by our Classical sources, *c.*450–323, it was no longer a constitution practised in the Greek world of *poleis*.[32] It is worth noting that Aristotle shares the historical view when he moves from the more theoretical approach in book 3, chapters 7–8, to a more political analysis in chapter 14.[33] Also, the 158 Aristotelian *politeiai* were subdivided into four categories: democratic, oligarchic, tyrannical and aristocratic constitutions. *Basileia* is notoriously absent.[34]

Apart from Plato and Aristotle, praise of *aristokratia* as the positive form of rule of the few is attested in a few sources only,[35] and then in a dubious context: in Thucydides, moderate *aristokratia* is held up as a suspicious political slogan for what he in other contexts calls *oligarchia*,[36] and in Aristophanes' *Birds* the verb *aristokrateisthai* is supposed to denote an attractive form of government but is used as a punning joke on Aristokrates the son of Skellias who a few years later was one of the 400 oligarchs.[37] In the comic poet Heniochos, *aristokratia* is juxtaposed with *demokratia* and both are derided as bad forms of constitution.[38] In Isokrates, *aristokratia* is a characteristic not of the rule of the few but of the Athenian democracy as instituted by Theseus.[39] On the other hand, both the noun *aristokratia* and the words derived from it occur frequently in Plato and abound in Aristotle to describe the positive counterpart of *oligarchia*; according to Xenophon, Sokrates used *aristokratia* in this sense,[40] but it is extremely rare in other literary sources of the Classical period and unattested in inscriptions.[41]

Finally, the systematic subdivision of popular rule into two variants is peculiar to Plato and Aristotle. Admittedly, Aristotle disclaims responsibility for having invented the use of the word *politeia* as a term for a positive form of popular

[26] *I.Ilion* 25.19–22: [ὃς δ'] ἂν ἀπ[οκτ]είνηι τ[ὸν τ]ύραννο[ν ἢ τὸν ἡ]γεμόνα τῆ[ς] ὀλιγαρ[χ]ίας ἢ τὸν τὴν δ[ημοκρα]τίαν καταλύον[τ]α . . . [τά]λαντον ἀργυρ[ί]ου λ[αμβάνειν παρὰ τῆς πό]λεως . . . (cf. 43–46, 116–19) ("Whoever kills the *tyrannos* or the leader of the *oligarchia* or the man who attempts to abolish the *demokratia* . . . shall receive a talent of silver from the *polis*").

[27] *I.Erythrai* 503.2–6: ἐπειδὴ οἱ ἐν τῆι ὀλιγαρχίαι τῆς εἰκόνος τῆς Φιλίτου τοῦ ἀποκτείναντος τὸν τύραννον τοῦ ἀνδριάντος ἐξείλοντο ξίφος, . . . ὅπως ἂν ὁ δῆμος φαίνηται πολλὴν ἐπιμέλειαν ποιούμενος . . . τῶν ἐνεργετῶν . . . δεδόχθαι τῆι βουλῆι καὶ τῶι δήμωι . . . ("Since the ruling oligarchs took away the sword from the statue of Philitos who had killed the tyrant . . .. and in order to demonstrate that the *demos* cares for its benefactors, it has been decided by the *boule* and the *demos* . . .").

[28] *Tit. Cal.* XII 21–22: ὀλιγαρχίαν δὲ οὐδὲ τύραννον οὐδὲ ἄλλο πολίτευμα ἔξω δαμοκρατίας οὐ καταστάσω ("I shall not set up an *oligarchia* or a *tyrannos* or any other form of *politeuma*, except *demokratia*"). For *politeuma*, see Lévy (1993).

[29] *μοναρχία* and *βασιλεία*: Pind. *Pyth.* 4.165–66; Isoc. 5.107; *μοναρχία* and *τυραννίς*: Hdt. 7.154.1; Thuc. 1.122.3.

[30] Thuc. 6.39.1: ἐγὼ δέ φημι πρῶτα μὲν δῆμον ξύμπαν ὠνομάσθαι, ὀλιγαρχίαν δὲ μέρος ("I hold that *demos* is a name designating all (citizens), *oligarchia* just a part").

[31] *τὸ πλῆθος*: Lys. 28.13; Isoc. 1.36; *οἱ πολλοί*: Aeschin. 3.234; Thuc. 2.37.1.

[32] Carlier (1984) 137–230 (Homeric kingship), 240–324 (Spartan kingship), 325–484 (kingship in other *poleis*).

[33] Hansen (1993) 95.

[34] Diog. Laert. 5.27: πολιτεῖαι πόλεων δυοῖν δεούσαιν ρξ' κατ' εἴδη· δημοκρατικαί, ὀλιγαρχικαί, τυραννικαί, ἀριστοκρατικαί ("158 constitutions of *poleis* according to their form: democratic, oligarchic, tyrannical, aristocratic").

[35] Herodotos describes the rule of *hoi aristoi* as *oligarchia*; Hdt. 3.81.1: ὀλιγαρχία, 3: ἄνδρες οἱ ἄριστοι.

[36] Thuc. 3.82.8: πλήθους ἰσονομίας πολιτικῆς καὶ ἀριστοκρατίας σώφρονος προτιμήσει ("a preference either for the political *isonomia* of the people, or for a moderate *aristokratia*"); see also 8.64.3. Cf. 5.31.6 where the opposition is between *demokratia* and *oligarchia*.

[37] Ar. *Av.* 125–26, cf. Dunbar (1995) 172–73.

[38] Heniochos fr. 5.15–17: γυναῖκε δὲ αὐτὰς [πόλεις] δύο ταράττετόν τινε ἀεὶ συνοῦσαι. Δημοκρατία θατέρᾳ ὄνομ' ἐστί τῇ δὲ Ἀριστοκρατία θατέρᾳ, δι' ἃς παπερῳνήκασιν ἤδη πολλάκις ("Two women disturb them [the *poleis*] continuously by their presence: one is called *demokratia* the other *aristokratia*; and because of them they have often behaved like drunkards").

[39] Isoc. 12.131, 153.

[40] Xen. *Mem.* 4.6.12.

[41] The only epigraphic reference to *aristokratia* is in a C3e hymn from Epidauros (*IG* IV^2.1 128.3).

rule.[42] He may have been influenced by the Attic orators' use of the term *politeia* as a synonym for *demokratia*.[43] In any case, the only epigraphical attestation of *politeia* as a specific form of constitution is almost completely restored.[44]

To conclude, the sixfold model of constitutions and the classification of *basileia* and *aristokratia* as the positive forms of *tyrannis* and *oligarchia* seem to be the invention of the followers of Sokrates, primarily Plato and Aristotle, and it is undoubtedly due to their influence that *aristokratia* became established as a specific type of constitution and received an important after-life from Polybios in the Hellenistic period lasting to the present day.

Even if we restrict the analysis to the basic tripartition of constitutions, there is an important difference between the philosophers and all other contemporary sources: in Plato and Aristotle *tyrannis*, *oligarchia* and *demokratia* are the perverted variants of the rule of the one, the few and the many. In other sources *demokratia* is singled out as the good form of constitution, whereas *tyrannis* and *oligarchia* in the Classical period almost invariably are criticised as bad constitutions.[45] The last one to treat *tyrannis* as an acceptable form of constitution was Isokrates, in speeches composed in C4e, and by then he was the only author to take that view.[46] In his constitutional debate Herodotos makes Megabyxos speak in praise of *oligarchia*; in Thucydides the Thebans describe their present constitution as an oligarchy based on equality (*oligarchia isonomos*). Isokrates admits that *oligarchia*, like democracy and monarchy, can be a good form of constitution if only the best citizens are placed in positions of power. And in the so-called *Rhetoric to Alexander*, usually ascribed to Anaximenes of Lampsakos, there is an analytical and unbiased passage about legislation in oligarchies, probably the most important impartial account of *oligarchia*, although it is mostly overlooked.[47] These four scattered sources make up the neutral or positive references to *oligarchia*. Yet the rule of the one and the rule of few were rather common forms of constitution in the age of Plato and Aristotle (*infra*). Apart from Sparta and some peripheral regions of the Hellenic world,[48] there is no evidence that a monarch who ruled a *polis* would call himself *basileus*. Nor would he call himself a *tyrannos*. We are in fact ignorant of how a monarch of the Classical period would describe himself or be described by his subjects. The Deinomenid monarch Polyzelos had himself inscribed as *anax* of Gela on the bronze charioteer in Delphi,[49] and the Bosporan princes of Pantikapaion used the title *archon*.[50] Similarly, there is no compelling evidence that the few who in many *poleis* had monopolised the government would call themselves *hoi oligoi* and their constitution *oligarchia*, nor would they commonly use the terms *hoi aristoi* and *aristokratia*.[51] We are deplorably ignorant of the ideology and organisation of tyrannies and oligarchies. Most of what we know, we owe to Plato's and Aristotle's negative accounts. We conclude that what we really lack in order to understand the types of constitution in the Greek *poleis* in C5–C4 is not a positive account of democracy—there are plenty, cf. Raaflaub (1989)—but positive or at least neutral descriptions of the constitutions that are classified as oligarchies and tyrannies.[52]

Thus, in the Inventory, when we classify the constitution of a *polis*, we distinguish between *basileia*, *tyrannis*, *oligarchia* and *demokratia*, but we ignore variants of the two latter types, and all attestations of *basileia* belong in the Archaic period. Monarchies of the Classical period are classified as monarchies (Mon.) if we do not know that they were considered to be tyrannies. Assigning a *polis* constitution to one of the basic four types is often impossible, and even when we have some relevant information it is not always easy. The technical terms—*tyrannis*, *oligarchia*, *demokratia* and their derivatives—are only occasionally used in our sources, and in many cases the classification has to be based on an interpretation of how the attested political institution works and what the decision-making stratum of the citizen population is called. If major decisions are left to a general assembly, it is an indication of democracy, whereas major decisions made by a *boule* or by magistrates point to an oligarchy. If those in power are called *plousioi* or *pacheis* or *hoi oligoi*, the constitution is registered as an *oligarchia*, whereas a democracy is suggested by the use of *hoi aporoi*, *to plethos*, *pantes* or *demotikos*, etc. In a few cases of serious doubt, we

[42] *Eth. Nic.* 1160^{a}34–35; *Pol.* 1279^{a}37–39; 1290^{a}17–18; Hansen (1993) 92.

[43] Dem. 15.20; Isoc. 4.125, cf. Harp. *Π* 77.

[44] *IG* II^{2} 112.30–31.

[45] Aeschin. 1.4, 3.6 ; *Tit. Cal.* XII 21–22; *PEP Erythrai* 34.2–6; *I.Ilion* 25.19.22. In Thuc. 3.62.3 *demokratia* and a democratic variant of *oligarchia* are opposed to *tyrannis* and a tyrannical variant of *oligarchia* (*supra* n. 21).

[46] Isoc. 2.21, 3.11, 9.32; cf. Parker (1998) 165–66.

[47] Hdt. 3.81; Thuc. 3.62.1; Isoc. 12.132; *Rhet. ad Alex.* 1424^{a}39–^{b}16, cf. 1446^{b}24–26.

[48] Kings of Cypriote Salamis (Tod 194.4; Hdt. 5.104.1; Isoc. 2.1); kings of the Molossians (Thuc. 2.80.6); of Makedonia (Dem. 1.9); Barke (Hdt. 4.164.4); Kyrene (Hdt. 4.153; Pind. *Pyth.* 4.2).

[49] *LSAC* p. 266: *Γέλας ἀνέθεκε Ϝανάσσ*[*ον*].

[50] RO 65: *ἄρχοντος Παιρισάδεος Βοσπόρου καὶ Θευδοσίης, καὶ βασιλεύοντος Σινδῶν καὶ Μαϊτῶν πάντων*. It is worth noting that Pairisades uses the title *archon* in relation to the Greek *poleis* but *basileus* in relation to the indigenous tribes.

[51] For a discussion of the terms used to designate the ruling class in an oligarchy, see Schulz (1981) and Stein-Hölkeskamp (1989) 8 and *passim*.

[52] For oligarchy, see Ostwald (2000); for tyranny, see Berve (1967).

have used Mix.? to describe a *polis* with an unidentifiable mixture of characteristics, and that leads to the next major problem: what about the "Mixed Constitution"?

In actual fact, all *polis* constitutions were mixed. As noted by Aristotle, each constitution was composed of a number of elements, and each element could be essentially democratic (e.g. sortition of magistrates from among all citizens) or essentially oligarchic (e.g. election of magistrates by and/or from among citizens who fulfilled a census requirement) (*Pol.* 1298^{a}10–1301^{a}15). But in an oligarchy some officials might be selected by lot. In democracies some major magistracies were filled by election, and for others eligibility depended on a census requirement. Both in tyrannies and in oligarchies, there could be a general assembly in which major decisions were made or at least ratified by acclamation.[53] It was the overall character of a constitution that was taken into account when a *politeia* was classified as a *tyrannis* or an *oligarchia* or a *demokratia*. As appears from all the sources cited above, the generally accepted view was that every constitution would belong to one of the three basic types. The mixed constitution appears as a specific type of constitution alongside the three types in late sources only.[54]

Furthermore, the mixed constitution was a theoretical construction, much discussed by the philosophers, but with very few attested echoes outside their schools.[55] As pointed out above, the basic tripartition of constitutions into the rule of the one, the few and the many, i.e. *tyrannis*, *oligarchia* and *demokratia*, is found in all sources: both in documents and in all literary genres (poetry, history, rhetoric and philosophy), and it is known from both Athenian and non-Athenian sources. To the end of the Classical period the mixed constitution is known exclusively from Athenian political philosophy. It is unattested in inscriptions, in speeches delivered before the assembly or the court, and in historians with one single exception: Thucydides' description of the constitution of the 5000 in Athens in 411–410 as "a balanced blending of the few and the many" (8.97.2). The picture changes somewhat in the Hellenistic period, and the oldest document in which we may find an echo of the mixed constitution is, we believe, in Kyrene's constitution of *c.*321 (*SEG* 9 2).

What picture do we get of the basic types of constitution if we turn from the general descriptions of the types to what we know about the constitution of individual *poleis*? As appears from Index 11, we have some information about the constitution of close to 200 *poleis*, but often the information covers a few years only of the three centuries covered by this investigation. A full analysis of the material is impossible in this context. Two short comments must suffice to show its potential value.

(1) According to Aristotle, *oligarchia* and especially *demokratia* were overwhelmingly the commonest constitutions in Greece in his own time; *basileia* had virtually disappeared; furthermore, like kingship, *tyrannis* was more widespread in the earlier period and was no longer, says Aristotle, a common form of constitution.[56] Aristotle is right about *basileia*, but the evidence we have contradicts his views about *tyrannis*. A survey of Index 11 shows the following distribution of the three basic types of constitution in C4: *tyrannis* thirty-nine, *oligarchia* forty-seven, *demokratia* fifty-nine. Furthermore, *tyrannis* was not found only in remote regions such as Sicily or the Pontos. After a nadir in the Greek homeland in C5, tyrannies reappeared in C4 all over the Hellenic *polis* world, and in Aristotle's lifetime *poleis* were ruled by tyrants in the Peloponnese, in Euboia, in Thessaly and in Lesbos, etc. Again, oligarchy was still a very common type of constitution, especially in C4f, and it is first in the age of Alexander that democracy becomes the predominant type of constitution.

(2) In modern peace research a popular theory is that democracies do not fight one another, and if all states in the world become democracies, there will be peace in the world. Since the Western democracies are young and even today constitute a minority among states, historical investigations have been adduced in support of the theory, and ancient Greek history in particular has been in focus.[57] It is held that in the Greek world there is only one example of a democracy fighting a democracy, namely the war between Athens and Syracuse in 415–413, and advocates of the democratic peace

[53] Oligarchies with an assembly include Sparta (Plut. *Lyc.* 6) and Thebes (Hdt. 5.79.1). The typical Cretan *polis* seems to have had an *ekklesia* with restricted powers (Arist. *Pol.* 1272^{a}10–12). In Athens meetings of the assembly continued under the tyranny of Peisistratos (Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 16.8 with Rhodes (1981) 218–19). Meetings of the assembly in Syracuse were still convened under the tyranny of Dionysios I (Diod. 14.64.5; Arist. *Oec.* 1349^{a}34).

[54] Stob. *Flor.* 2.7.26, 2: 150–51, Wachsmuth; cf. Polyb. 6.3.7.

[55] Aalders (1968); Nippel (1980).

[56] *Oligarchia* and especially *demokratia* as the prevailing types of constitution: *Pol.* 1286^{b}21–22, 1291^{b}7–13, 1296^{a}22–23, 1301^{b}30–40. *Basileia* virtually non-existent in the age of Aristotle: *Pol.* 1313^{a}3–4; *tyrannis* not a common type of constitution either: *Pol.* 1305^{a}7–21. Monarchy superfluous in the fully developed *polis*: *De motu an.* 703^{a}29–34. See Hansen (1993) 93–96. Demosthenes, undoubtedly exaggerating, held the opposite view to Aristotle: oligarchy was the prevailing type of constitution and Athens was almost the only surviving democracy (Dem. 15.19).

[57] Weart (1998) criticised by Robinson (2001*a*). Weart's reply (2001) is countered by Robinson (2001*b*).

theory often hold that, after all, Syracuse was not a true democracy.[58]

The theory does not stand up to scrutiny.[59] First, Syracuse (no. 47) *was* a democracy in C5s. Second, a more careful examination of the historical record reveals that there are in fact numerous examples of wars between democratic city-states. In C5s Taras (no. 71), then a democratic *polis*, had a dedication sent to Delphi in which the Tarentines commemorated a victory over Thourioi (no. 74), colonised in 444/3 and issued with a democratic constitution allegedly written by Protagoras. In 424 Athens attacked the democratically governed *polis* of Herakleia Pontica (no. 715). In 373 democratic Thebes (no. 221) conquered and destroyed democratic Plataiai (no. 216). In the 360s Athens made several attempts to reconquer Amphipolis (no. 553), probably a democracy at the time. The Social War was fought in 357–355 between Athens and four members of the Second Athenian Naval League: Byzantion (no. 674), Chios (no. 40), Kos (no. 497) and Rhodos (no. 1000); of these, Byzantion, Kos and Rhodos were democracies and only Chios had an oligarchic constitution. In all these cases the war must have been decided by a vote taken among the people in assembly. Other examples can easily be added[60] and they indicate that the people as a whole seemed to be just as militant and bellicose as a ruling upper class or a single ruler, whether hereditary or elected.

[58] Judiciously discussed and countered in Robinson (2001*a*).

[59] Focusing on the Peloponnesian War, Russett (1993) 43–71, in this chapter assisted by W. Antholis, has a whole list of wars between democracies. Their findings disprove the democratic theory, but the investigation is based on Rex Warner's translation of Thucydides combined with a somewhat superficial knowledge of the constitutions of the *poleis* in question; as a result the analysis is far from always convincing. Thus, the contention (57–58) that democratic Thourioi fought democratic Athens in 412/11 (Thuc. 8.35.1) overlooks the fact that Thourioi (no. 74) in 413 had exiled 400 Athenians and probably introduced an oligarchic constitution. For a much more professional criticism of the theory, see Robinson (2001*a*).

[60] Robinson (2001*a*) 603–4 correctly points to the war between Syracuse (no. 47) and Akragas (no. 9) *c.*445.

REFERENCES

Aalders H. Wzn, G. J. D. 1968. *Die Theorie der gemischten Verfassung im Altertum* (Amsterdam).

Berve, H. 1967. *Die Tyrannis bei den Griechen* i–ii (Munich).

Bleicken, J. 1979. "Zur Entstehung der Verfassungstypologie im 5. Jahrhundert v. Chr. (Monarchie, Aristokratie, Demokratie)", *Historia* 28: 148–72.

Bordes, J. 1982. *Politeia dans la pensée grecque jusqu'à Aristote* (Paris).

Busolt, G. 1920. *Griechische Staatskunde* i (Munich).

Carlier, P. 1984. *La Royauté en Grèce avant Alexandre* (Strasbourg).

Dunbar, N. 1995. *Aristophanes: Birds* (Oxford).

Graham, A. J. 1964. *Colony and Mother City in Ancient Greece* (Manchester).

Hansen, M. H. 1993. "Aristotle's Alternative to the Sixfold Model of Constitutions", in Piérart (1993) 91–101.

—— 1994. "*Polis, Politeuma* and *Politeia*: A Note on Arist. *Pol.* 1278^{b}6–14", *CPCPapers* 1: 91–98.

Lévy, E. 1985. "*Astos* et *polites* d'Homère à Hérodote", *Ktema* 10: 53–66.

—— 1993. "*Politeia* et *politeuma* chez Aristote", in Piérart (1993) 65–90.

Miller, F. D. 1995. *Nature, Justice and Rights in Aristotle's Politics* (Oxford).

Mossé, C. 1985. "*ΑΣΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΠΟΛΙΤΙΣ*: la dénomination de la femme athénienne dans les plaidoyers démostheniens", *Ktema* 10: 77–80.

Nippel, W. 1980. *Die Mischverfassungstheorie und Verfassungsrealität in antike und früher Neuzeit* (Stuttgart).

Ostwald, M. 2000. *Oligarchia: The Development of a Constitutional Form in Ancient Greece* (Stuttgart).

Parker, V. 1998. "*Τύραννος*: The Semantics of a Political Concept from Archilochos to Aristotle", *Hermes* 126: 145–72.

Piérart, M. (ed.) 1993. *Aristote et Athènes, Fribourg (Suisse) 23–25 mai 1991* (Paris).

Pierson, C. 1996. *The Modern State* (London).

Raaflaub, K. 1989. "Contemporary Perceptions of Democracy in Fifth-Century Athens", *ClMed* 40: 33–70.

Rhodes, P. J. 1981. *A Commentary on the Aristotelian Athenaion Politeia* (Oxford).

Riesenberg, P. 1992. *Citizenship in the Western Tradition: Plato to Rousseau* (Chapel Hill, NC).

Robinson, E. 2001*a*. "Reading and Misreading the Ancient Evidence for Democratic Peace", *Journal of Peace Research* 38: 593–608.

—— 2001*b*. "Response to Spencer Weart", *Journal of Peace Research* 38: 615–17.

Romilly, J. de 1959. "Le classement des constitutions d'Hérodote à Aristote", *REG* 72: 81–89.

Rowe, C. 1998. "Aristotelian Constitutions", in C. Rowe and M. Schofield, *Greek and Roman Political Thought* (Cambridge) 366–89.

Russett, B. 1993. *Grasping the Democratic Peace* (Princeton).

Schulz, B. J. 1981. "Bezeichnungen und Selbstbezeichnungen der Aristokraten und Oligarchen in der griechischen Literatur von Homer bis Aristoteles", in E. C. Welskopf (ed.), *Soziale*

Typenbegriffe im alten Griechenland und ihr Fortleben in den Sprachen der Welt (Berlin) iii. 67–155.

Stein-Hölkeskamp, E. 1989. *Adelskultur und Polisgesellschaft* (Stuttgart).

Weart, S. 1998. *Never at War: Why Democracies Will Not Fight One Another* (New Haven).

—— 2001. "Remarks on the Ancient Evidence for Democratic Peace", *Journal of Peace Research* 38: 609–13.

A Typology of Dependent *Poleis*

One of the objectives of the Polis Centre has been to dissociate the concept of *polis* from the concepts of independence and *autonomia*, and to introduce the concept of the dependent *polis*.[1] This concept, however, is very complex: dependent *poleis* existed in many different shapes and sizes, and certain types of dependent *poleis* were common in some regions but virtually non-existent in others. We have isolated the following fifteen different types of dependent *polis*.

(1) A *polis* situated inside the territory of a larger *polis*, e.g. Mykalessos inside Tanagra (Boiotia).
(2) A *polis* in the *peraia* controlled by an island, e.g. the Aktaian *poleis* controlled by Mytilene.
(3) An *emporion* organised as a *polis* dependent on a larger *polis*, e.g. the Thasian *emporia* on the coast of Thrace, or on a barbarian overlord, e.g. Naukratis.
(4) A colony being a *polis* dependent on its mother city, e.g. the Corinthian colonies, of which Ambrakia may serve as an example.
(5) An Athenian klerouchy and/or colony, e.g. Hephaistia and Myrina on Lemnos.
(6) A perioikic *polis* in Lakonia, e.g. Kythera.
(7) A *polis* that is a member of a federation, e.g. Orchomenos, which regained its *autonomia* in 395 when it broke away from the Boiotian Federation.
(8) A *polis* that is a member of a hegemonic league (*symmachia*) which has developed into an "empire" (*arche*), e.g. the *hypekooi poleis* in the Delian League.
(9) A *polis* that persists as a *polis* after a *sympoliteia* with another *polis*, e.g. Helisson after its *sympoliteia* with Mantinea.
(10) A *polis* that persists as a *polis* after a *synoikismos*, e.g. Ialysos, Kamiros and Lindos after the foundation of Rhodos in 408/7.
(11) A *polis* that, together with other *poleis*, makes up a "tribal state", e.g. the Mainalian *polis* Pallantion in Arkadia.
(12) A *polis* that is controlled by an empire/kingdom, e.g. the *poleis* in Ionia ruled by the Persian king from *c.*540 to the 470s and again from the King's Peace of 386 to Alexander's conquest of Asia Minor in 334.
(13) A *polis* founded as a fortress, e.g. Mesambrie, a Samothrakian *teichos* on the Thracian coast, or Kasmenai, a Syracusan fortress west of Akrai.
(14) A major port of an inland *polis*, e.g. Notion, the port of Kolophon.
(15) A *polis* that is at the same time a civic subdivision of another *polis*, e.g. Koresia on Keos, which is a *phyle* of Ioulis; Helisson, which is a *kome* of Mantinea; and Dion, which is a *demos* of Histiaia.

First, there is, of course, a considerable overlap between the different types.

The Thasian *emporia* (3) were situated in the *peraia* (2) and were thus *poleis* inside the territory of a larger *polis* (1).

Naukratis was an *emporion* (3) controlled by the Pharaoh (12).

The Lakonian perioikic communities (6) were all situated in the territory of the Spartan *polis* (1).

Notion, the port of Kolophon, may have been an *emporion* (3) and was in any case situated inside the territory of Kolophon (1); furthermore, after the King's Peace of 386 both Kolophon and Notion were ruled by the king of Persia (12).

An *emporion* (3) might be a colony dependent on its mother city (4), e.g. Olbia, which kept up close relations with Miletos even in C4.

In the *sympoliteia* treaty between Helisson and Mantinea (9) it is explicitly stated that Helisson became a part of Mantineia (1).

Poteidaia was both a Corinthian colony controlled by the mother city (4) and a dependent member of the Delian League (8).

This chapter is a revised and updated version of Hansen (1997).

[1] For the concept of the dependent *polis*, see Hansen (1993) 18–20, (1994) 16, (1995*a*) 34–39, (1995*b*), (1995*c*) 73–78, (1996*b*) 127–33. By far the best treatment of dependencies in the ancient Greek world is Gschnitzer (1958). It is important to note that Gschnitzer intentionally avoids addressing the question to what extent dependencies were *poleis* (141–53). Instead, he applies two modern criteria: (1) die Abhängigkeit von einem Vorort, (2) das Verfliessen des Staatsbegriffs (143ff).

Kythera was both an island controlled by a mainland *polis* (2) and a perioikic community (6).

Helisson became a dependent *polis* in consequence of a *sympoliteia* (9), but was also a *kome* of Mantinea (15).

Kamiros, Ialysos and Lindos persisted as dependent *poleis* after the synoecism of Rhodos in 408/7 (10) but, by the same event, they became *phylai* of the new Rhodian *polis* (15).

Second, each type allows of a whole range of relations between larger and smaller *poleis* so that the line between independent and dependent *poleis* is fairly easy to understand in principle, but almost impossible to draw in practice.

All the information we possess about member states of federations being deprived of their *autonomia* concerns the Boiotian Federation and the Chalkidic Federation, which were both hegemonic in type and dominated by, respectively, Thebes and Olynthos. The relation between the *poleis* and the federal institutions may have been different in, e.g., the Phokian and the Arkadian federations, neither of which seems to have been dominated by one of the constituent *poleis*. In these two cases, and in others as well, the member states may have retained their *autonomia* unimpaired.

Similarly, leagues, and even hegemonic leagues, were in principle alliances between independent *poleis*, and the members were reduced to dependencies only if the *hegemon* succeeded in turning the *symmachia* into an *arche*.

Some of the perioikic communities were obviously dependent *poleis*, but others seem to have been *komai*, e.g. Oion in Skiritis (Xen. *Hell*. 6.5.25–26).

Third, having established the concept of the dependent *polis*, and having disposed of independence as the essential criterion for distinguishing a *polis* from a municipality, we have to address the question: if many *poleis* were dependencies, what was then the difference between a dependent *polis* and a civic subdivision, such as a *demos*, a *kome*, a *phratria*, a *phyle*, etc.?[2]

Like a *polis* (dependent or independent), a civic subdivision could have its own temples, including a theatre, its own cults and its own festivals. It had its own assembly, in which both laws (*nomoi*) and decrees (*psephismata*) could be passed and taxes and liturgies imposed; there were separate local magistrates and a local court.[3] But, in contradistinction to a *polis* (dependent or independent), a civic subdivision had no *prytaneion*, no *bouleuterion* and no *boule*; its members were citizens of the *polis* of which the subdivision was a part, and were not citizens of the civic subdivision as such; a local assembly had no right to pass citizenship decrees and proxeny decrees; a local court could impose fines but was not empowered to pass a sentence of death or exile, and no civic subdivision seems to have had a prison (*desmoterion*). A civic subdivision did not have its own coins, and it had no right to enter into relations with foreign states. The members of a civic subdivision could form a unit of the army of the *polis*, but would not operate as a separate army.

1. Evidence for the Examples Adduced Above

Re (*1*) Mykalessos (no. 212) is called a *polis* both in the urban and in the political sense by Thucydides at 7.29–30; the city-ethnic (in its collective and external use) is attested by Thuc. at 7.30.3; and Mykalessos struck coins on the Aiginetan standard from *c.*500 to 480 and from 387 (or earlier) to 374 (or later) (Head, *HN*^{2} 346; cf. Hansen (1995*a*) 63). In the Hellenistic and Roman periods Mykalessos was located in the territory of Tanagra (no. 220) (Strabo 9.2.11, 14; Paus. 9.19.8), and that seems to have been the case already in C5e (Fossey (1988) 83–84, 222–23; Hansen (1995*a*) 36–37).[4] Within the Tanagraian territory, however, Mykalessos had its own territory, called *Μυκαλησσός*, which seems to have stretched as far as the Euboian Gulf (Paus. 9.19.5; Bakhuizen (1970) 20–21, 148–49).

Re (*2*) The Aktaian *poleis* were a cluster of *poleis* on the coast of Asia Minor north and east of Lesbos, possessed by the Mytilenaians (no. 798) in C6–C5 (Thuc. 3.50.3, 4.52.3). As listed in the assessment decrees of 425 and 421, the group consisted of *Α[χίλλε]ιον* (no. 766), *Ἄνταν[δ]ρο[ς]* (no. 767), *h[αμάχ]σιτος* (no. 778), *Ἴ[λιον]* (no. 779), *Λ[άρι]σα* (no.

Index III in Jones, *POAG* 396–404. For the Attic demes, see Whitehead (1986). Two of the best Classical sources for civic subdivisions outside Athens are the regulations for the *phratria* of the Labyadai at Delphi (*CID* I 9 (C4f)) and the decrees passed by the *phratia* of the Klytidai at Chios (Michel 997 (C4l)).

[4] In 431 Aulis was presumably one of the unwalled settlements incorporated into Thebes (*[Αὐ]λίδος* at *Hell. Oxy.* 20.4 as restored by all editors). In that case Mykalessos may have been situated in the territory of Thebes rather than in that of Tanagra (so Roesch (1965) 38, 51); but that does not affect the basic point made here: both in the political and in the urban sense Mykalessos was a dependent *polis* lying in the territory of a larger *polis*. That Aulis belonged to Tanagra in C3 is apparent from Nikokrates (*FGrHist* 376) fr. 1.

[2] For the concept of "civic subdivision", see Jones, *POAG* 3–11 and *passim*.

[3] For all the activities within the powers of civic subdivisions, see Analytical

784), *Ὀ[φρύν]ειον* (no. 786), *Ῥοίτειον* (no. 790), *Νῆσος Πορδοσελένε* (no. 831) and several others (*IG* I³ 71.III.124–40, 77.IV.14–27). They belonged to Mytilene but passed to the Athenians in 427 after they had suppressed the Mytilenians' revolt (Thuc. 3.50.3). In 424 several of them were reconquered by Mytilenian refugees (Thuc. 4.52.3), but at least Antandros was soon recovered by the Athenians (Thuc. 4.75.1). They are called *poleis* by Thucydides at 4.52.3, where *polis* is used in the urban and political senses combined, and that they were *poleis* in the political sense can be further corroborated, e.g. in the case of Antandros. The city-ethnic *Ἀντάνδριοι* is used at Thuc. 8.108.4; from *c.*440 onwards Antandros issued coins inscribed *ANTAN* (Head, *HN*² 541); and in 410 the Antandrians voted to give *politeia* to the Syracusans (Xen. *Hell.* 1.1.26).

Re (*3*) In his description of Xerxes' march through Thrace, Herodotos refers to a number of *poleis* belonging to the Thasians (no. 526) (Hdt. 7.108.2, 109.2). The same part of the Thracian coast is described by Thucydides in his account of Thasos' revolt against Athens, and the Thasian possessions on the coast are here referred to as being *emporia* (Thuc. 1.100.2, cf. also Dem. 50.47). Three of them, *viz.* Galepsos (no. 631), Oisyme (no. 635) and Phagres (no. 636) are mentioned by name in Ps.-Skylax 67, where they are listed under the heading *πόλεις Ἑλληνίδες αἵδε* and further described as *ἐμπόρια* (Hansen (2004*a*)).

In Herodotos Naukratis (no. 1028) is described both as a *polis* and as an *emporion* (Hdt. 2.178.1, 179.1). That Naukratis was a dependency is apparent, e.g., from the royal rescript by which Nectanebo I (378–60) imposed a 10 per cent tax on all gold, silver and manufactured goods in Naukratis (quoted in Lloyd (1975) 28). That it was also a *polis* is strongly indicated by the following three observations: (a) Herodotos' consistent use of *polis* to denote an urban centre which was also a *polis* in the political sense; (b) the reference to a *prytaneion* in Naukratis in a work by, presumably, the C4 historian Hermeias of Methymna (Ath. 149D = *FHG* II 80 fr. 2; (c) the use of the city-ethnic *Ναυκρατίτης* in proxeny decrees, Delphic accounts and Attic sepulchral inscriptions (cf. no. 1028 and *supra* 64).

Re (*4*) Ambrakia (no. 113) was a Corinthian colony (Thuc. 2.80.3). Like many other Corinthian colonies it retained very close relations with its mother city, and was in fact a Corinthian dependency from its foundation to the end of the Classical period: in the Archaic period Ambrakia was ruled by members of the Kypselid family (Arist. *Pol.* 1304ᵃ31–33, 1311ᵃ40), its coins had Corinthian types, and some were in fact struck in Corinth (Graham (1964) 121–22); as late as 341 Ambrakia is still described as a Corinthian possession (Dem. 9.34). Thus, Ambrakia was a dependency, but there can be no doubt that it was also a *polis*: it is repeatedly referred to as a *polis* both in the urban sense (Thuc. 3.113.2, 4, 5) and in the political sense (Thuc. 3.113.6). After the expulsion of the tyrants Ambrakia had a democratic constitution (Arist. *Pol.* 1304ᵃ31–33), and the Aristotelian collection of constitutions included an *Ambrakioton politeia* (fr. 481.1). Ambrakia is listed as a *polis* providing seven ships to the Greek fleet in 480 (Hdt. 8.42.1, 45.1, 49.1); in 426/5 Ambrakia concluded a peace with Akarnania and Amphilocheian Argos (Thuc. 3.114.3); and *c.*330 a *theorodokos* was appointed to host the *theoroi* announcing the Heraia at Argos (*SEG* 23 189.I.10).

Re (*5*) In 499 Lemnos was settled with Athenians (Hdt. 6.137–40; *IG* I³ 522 *bis*, 1164–65; *IG* XII Suppl. 337, cf. Figueira (1991) 253–56; Salomon (1997) 31–37), in C5m probably supplemented with klerouchs (Graham (1964) 178–84). Whether the Athenians were full citizens is still in dispute (Salomon (1997) 31–66), but nobody disputes that Lemnos was an Athenian dependency. Yet the two cities on the island, *viz.* Myrina (no. 502) and Hephaistia (no. 503), are classified as *poleis* in one of the subheadings in the Athenian tribute lists: *[πόλ]ες αἵδε στρατιᾶι μισθὸν ἐτέλεσαν . . . Ἑφαιστιῆς, Ἴμβριοι, Μυριναῖοι* vacat (*IG* I³ 285 col. 1.107–11). Furthermore, the inhabitants are recorded with their own ethnics (cf. Hdt. 6.140.2) and not recorded as "Athenians living in . . .". In C4 the Lemnians were klerouchs (*Agora* XIX L3.33–34: Cargill (1995) 60) and Athenian citizens (Dem. 4.34). It is a moot point whether it is possible to distinguish between Athenian klerouchs and Athenians permanently settled on the island as argued by Salomon (1997) 91–154. Yet in the King's Peace of 386, the Athenian possessions Lemnos, Imbros and Skyros are explicitly described as *poleis* exempted from the *autonomia* clause (Xen. *Hell.* 5.1.31) and both cities on Lemnos are called *poleis* in the political sense by the Athenian Lykophron, who had served two years on Lemnos as *hipparchos* (Hyp. 2.18). Both Myrina and Hephaistia struck bronze coins from C4f onwards (Kroll and Walker (1993) 179).

Re (*6*) Kythera (no. 336) was a perioikic community, ruled by a *kytherodikes*—a Spartan official elected for one year—and controlled by a garrison of hoplites (Thuc. 4.53.2); but like many other perioikic communities it is called a *polis* (Thuc. 4.54.1–2; Ps.-Skylax 46), and the inhabitants are referred to by the name *Κυθήριοι*, which is probably a

city-ethnic and thus indicates their status as citizens. Other sources that refer to the Lakedaimonian perioikic communities as being *poleis* are: Pherekydes (*FGrHist* 3) fr. 168; Hdt. 7.234.2; Thuc. 5.54.1; Xen. *Hell*. 6.5.21; *Ages*. 2.24; *Lac. Pol*. 15.3; Ps.-Skylax 46; Isoc. 12.179; Strabo 8.4.11; Paus. 3.2.6; Polemon, *Περὶ τῶν ἐν Λακεδαίμονι πόλεων*, p. 50 Preller (C3–C2), cf. Shipley (1997).[5]

Re (*7*) Orchomenos (no. 213) was a member of the Second Boiotian Federation (*Hell. Oxy*. 20.3), but in 395 the Orchomenians joined Sparta and defected from the federation (Xen. *Hell*. 3.5.6). During the peace negotiations in 392/1 the Boiotians were prepared to renounce their claim to Orchomenos and allow the city to retain the *autonomia* it had obtained by breaking away from the Federation (Andoc. 3.13, 20).[6] Similarly, the Spartans obviously believed that the members of the Boiotian Federation had been deprived of their *autonomia* (Xen. *Hell*. 3.5.18, 5.1.36, 6.4.3). The Plataians (and other Boiotian *poleis* as well) believed that they had been deprived of their *autonomia* (Isoc. 14.10, 17). The Athenian view, as expressed by Andokides (3.13, 20), Isokrates (14.10, 17) and Autokles (Xen. *Hell*. 6.3.9), seems to have been that Thebes had deprived the other Boiotian cities of their *autonomia*. And according to Xenophon, even the Thebans had to admit that the other Boiotian *poleis* were no longer *autonomoi* (*Hell*. 4.8.15, 5.1.32–36). See the Appendix *infra*.

Re (*8*) On *hypekooi* versus *autonomoi poleis* in the Delian League the principal source is Thucydides, and especially his list of Athenian allies at 7.57.3–5. At 57.3 he starts by making a clear-cut distinction between those who are *ὑπήκοοι* (=*φόρου ὑποτελεῖς*) and those who are *ἀπὸ ξυμμαχίας αὐτόνομοι* (7.57.3). According to the traditional interpretation of the passage, Thucydides mixes up the two categories in 4–5,[7] but by taking proper note of the *μὲν . . . δέ* opposition in 4, it can be shown that Thucydides does respect the basic distinction between *ὑπήκοοι* and *αὐτόνομοι σύμμαχοι* all the way through the passage, and that, apart from the Chians and the Mytilenaians, all other members of the Delian League had been enslaved and subjected: the Chians and the Mytilenaians were the only *autonomoi symmachoi* left (cf. Hansen (1995*b*) 32–33; cf. also Thuc. 1.67.2, 1.139.1, 3; 1.140.3–4, 144.2, 3.10.5, 6.84.2–3). Being *autonomos*, however, was perfectly compatible with membership of a league as long as the conditions were not imposed unilaterally by the *hegemon*, and as long as the *hegemon* did not interfere in the domestic affairs of its allies; see Thuc. 1.97.1: *ἡγούμενοι δὲ αὐτονόμων τὸ πρῶτον τῶν ξυμμάχων καὶ ἀπὸ κοινῶν ξυνόδων βουλευόντων τοσάδε ἐπῆλθον* ("exercising then what was at first a leadership over allies who were *autonomoi* and took part in the deliberations of common assemblies, the Athenians achieved the following results", Loeb trans., modified); and the Peace of Nikias quoted by Thuc. at 5.18.5: *τὰς δὲ πόλεις φερούσας τὸν φόρον τὸν ἐπ' Ἀριστείδου αὐτονόμους εἶναι* ("The *poleis* shall be *autonomoi* paying the *phoros* as it was under Aristeides").

Re (*9*) The C4e *sympoliteia* between Helisson (no. 273) and Mantinea (no. 281) includes the following provisions: *τὸς [Ἐ]λ[ισ]Ϝάσιος Μαντινέας ἦναι Ϝῖσος καὶ ὑμοῖος . . . φέρ[ο]ντας τὰν χώραν καὶ τὰν π[όλιν] ἰμ Μαντιν[έ]αν . . . μινόνσας τᾶς [πό]λιος τῶν ἘλισϜασίων ὥσπερ ἔχε[ι] ἰν πάντα χρόνον, κώμα[ν] ἔασαν τὸς ἘλισϜάσιος τῶν Μαντινέων—θέαρον ἦναι ἐξ Ἐλισό[ν]τι κατὰπερ ἐς ταῖς ἄλλαις πόλισι* ("The Heliswasians are to be Mantineans, with the same and equal rights . . . incorporating their *chora* and *polis* into Mantinea, while the *polis* of the Heliswasians remains as it is, for all time, the Heliswasians being a *kome* of the Mantineans. There is to be a *thearos* from Helisson, as there is from the other *poleis*") (*SEG* 37 340.3–9 = RO 14). In this document the term *polis* is used three times about Helisson: twice explicitly and once implicitly. (1) In the phrase *φέρ[ο]ντας τὰν χώραν καὶ τὰν π[όλιν] ἰμ Μαντιν[έ]αν*, the emphasis is on Helisson as an urban centre rather than as a political community, cf. *DGE* 147.3–7 (=*Syll*.[3] 141); *IOSPE* I[2] 401.1–7 (=*Syll*.[3] 360); *Syll*.[3] 647.8–9. (2) In the phrase *μινόνσας τᾶς [πό]λιος τῶν ἘλισϜασίων ὥσπερ ἔχε[ι] ἰν πάντα χρόνον*, it is impossible to decide whether the reference is to Helisson as a town or as a political community. But, as noted 34 *supra*, the term *polis* is almost exclusively applied to a town which was also the centre of a *polis* in the political sense. (3) Finally, we believe that Helisson is implicitly described as a *polis* in the clause *θέαρον ἦναι ἐξ Ἐλισό[ν]τι κατὰπερ ἐς ταῖς ἄλλαις πόλισι*. A possible interpretation of this phrase is, admittedly, that Helisson is granted the right to send a *thearos* like the other communities (which are *poleis*), but this mostly poetic use of the pronoun *ἄλλος*, though attested (cf. e.g. Pl. *Grg*. 473D), is not often found in Classical prose, and the rendering "like the other *poleis*" is much more common and straightfor-

[5] The *polis* status of the perioikic communities has been called in doubt by Mertens (2002). For a reply to Mertens, see Hansen (2004*b*).

[6] It must, however, be taken into account that Andoc. 3 is spurious, see Harris (2000).

[7] Gomme, Andrewes and Dover (1970) iv. 434; Lévy (1983) 264–65; Bosworth (1992) 124–25. For a succinct synopsis of the orthodoxy, see Schuller (1974) 110 with n. 184.

ward. It follows that Helisson was a *polis* in the sense of political community like the other *poleis* that sent *thearoi*. Next, in Arkadia the *thearoi* were chief magistrates, and to allow Helisson to provide a *thearos* (like the other *poleis*) is in itself an indication that Helisson was still a *polis* in the political sense.

Re (*10*) In, presumably, 408/7 (Diod. 13.75.1) the new Rhodian *polis* (no. 1000) was built and populated by citizens from the three old *poleis* on Rhodos: Ialysos (no. 995), Kamiros (no. 996) and Lindos (no. 997). Yet, in describing events of 390, Xenophon refers to the Rhodian *poleis* in the plural, and the passage shows that Ialysos, Kamiros and Lindos were still considered to be *poleis* at least in the urban sense (Xen. *Hell*. 4.8.25, cf. *CPCActs* 2: 111 n. 23). Hellenistic and later inscriptions describe Ialysos as a *polis* both in the urban sense (*IG* XII.1 677.16 (*c.*300)) and in the political sense (*IG* XII.1 58.21 (Roman)), and there are several other indications that all three old Rhodian communities kept their status as (dependent) *poleis* throughout the period from the synoecism in C5l to C3 AD (Gabrielsen (2000) 192–95). (a) The assembly, called *ἐκκλησία*, is attested in *Tit. Cam.* 105.26–27 (C4f). (b) A council, called *οἱ μαστροί*, is attested after the synoecism both in Kamiros (*Tit. Cam.* 105.6 (C4f, restored)) and in Ialysos (*IG* XII.1 677.16 (*c.*300)). (c) In *c.*394, citizens of Ialysos were appointed *proxenoi* by Athens as their father had been (Walbank (1978) no. 72; *SEG* 28 48; cf. Gabrielsen (2000) 192 with n. 91). (d) The existence of a system of demes and the practice of using demotics as the third part of personal names were upheld throughout the Classical and Hellenistic periods. Sub-ethnics are attested for Lindos *c.*325 (*I.Lindos* 51; *IG* XII.1 761), for Kamiros (*Tit. Cam.* 110.1–2) and for Ialysos (*IG* XII.1 166) in the Hellenistic period. Both *ekklesia* and *boule* are institutions characteristic of a *polis* and unattested in civic subdivisions. So to have an *ekklesia* and a *boule*, to have citizens appointed *proxenoi*, and to be organised into demes and use sub-ethnics are strong indications of *polis* status, and all three institutions corroborate the attestations of Ialysos, Kamiros and Lindos as (dependent) *poleis* after the synoecism in C5l.

Re (*11*) In southern Arkadia there were in the Classical period four "tribes": *viz*. the Eutresians, the Kynourians, the Mainalians and the Parrhasians (Nielsen (1996*a*) 100–3, (1996*b*) 132–41). They were political communities on a par with the large *poleis* such as Tegea, Mantinea and Orchomenos: we hear that the Parrhasians were made *autonomoi* in consequence of a war between Sparta and Mantinea *c.*423–421 (Thuc. 5.33.3). In 368, when Megalopolis was founded, the Parrhasians and the Mainalians provided two *oikistai* each, while the others came from Kleitor, Mantinea and Tegea (Paus. 8.27.2). And of fifty *damiourgoi* listed in an Arkadian federal decree of the 360s, three were Mainalians and five were Kynourians (*IG* V.2 1.16–19, 40–45). Each tribe was composed of a number of communities, which are often called *polis* in contemporary sources (e.g. the Mainalian city of Eutaia, which is called *polis* by Xenophon at *Hell*. 6.5.12), and that they were *poleis* in the political sense of the term is apparent from, e.g., the case of Pallantion (no. 289). The Mainalian city of Pallantion (Paus. 8.27.3) had its own coinage (Head, *HN*² 451). Pallantion furthermore had its own Delphic *theorodokos* in C5l (*REG* 62 (1949) 6.1.1), and in 370 Pallantion handed over to the Confederacy some Tegean refugees, presumably without reference to the Mainalian tribe (Diod. 15.59.3). In C4l Pallantion concluded a treaty of friendship with Argos (*SEG* 11 1084) without reference to the tribe which, however, may well have been no longer in existence (Nielsen (1996*a*) 102–3).

Re (*12*) In the King's Peace of 386 it is explicitly stated that all the *poleis* along the west coast of Asia Minor were to lose their *autonomia* and be ruled by the king of Persia: *Ἀρταξέρξης βασιλεὺς νομίζει δίκαιον τὰς μὲν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ πόλεις ἑαυτοῦ εἶναι καὶ τῶν νήσων Κλαζομενὰς καὶ Κύπρον, τὰς δὲ ἄλλας Ἑλληνίδας πόλεις καὶ μικρὰς καὶ μεγάλας αὐτονόμους ἀφεῖναι πλὴν Λήμνου καὶ Ἴμβρου καὶ Σκύρου. ταύτας δὲ ὥσπερ τὸ ἀρχαῖον εἶναι Ἀθηναίων* ("King Artaxerxes finds it just that the *poleis* in Asia shall belong to him and, of the islands, Klazomenai and Kypros. The other Hellenic *poleis*, small and large alike, shall be left *autonomoi* except Lemnos, Imbros and Skyros. They shall belong to the Athenians, as of old") (Xen. *Hell*. 5.1.31). Thus, all the *poleis* became dependencies and their status is well illustrated by, e.g., three decrees passed by Mylasa (no. 913) in the period 367–354 (RO 54). The decrees acknowledge the supremacy of the Persian king, Artaxerxes II, and his satrap, Maussolos (1–2, 17–18, 32–33), but they are decisions made by the people in assembly (2–4, 19–20), and the community is repeatedly described as *ἡ πόλις ἡ Μυλασέων* (7, 10, 23, 46). Conversely, when Alexander "liberated" the Asian *poleis* from Persian rule, they were considered once again to be *autonomoi*; see the decree passed by the people of Priene in the autumn of 334 (*I.Priene* 2 = Tod 186.1–4).

Re (*13*) Mesambrie (no. 647) was one of the fortresses situated in the Samothrakian *peraia* west of Doriskos, but not (yet) located; see Hdt. 7.108.2: "On his march from Doriskos Xerxes first passed the Samothrakian fortresses, of which

the westernmost is a *polis* called Mesambrie." Kasmenai (no. 29) was a secondary colony founded by Syracuse in 643 (Thuc. 6.5.2), explicitly described by Herodotos as a *polis* (Hdt. 7.155.2), admittedly in the urban sense but presumably denoting a community which was a *polis* in the political sense as well (Hansen (1996*a*) 39–54, (2000) 198–99). For Kasmenai as a frontier fortress, see Di Vita (1990) 350.

Re (*14*) According to Aristotle, Notion (no. 858) and Kolophon (no. 848) were two parts of one *polis*, but they are adduced in the fifth book of the *Politics* as an example of how the shape and nature of the territory (*chora*) can make it difficult to keep a *polis* united and result in *stasis* (Arist. *Pol.* $1303^{b}7$–10); and other sources show that Notion had developed into a (dependent) *polis*. Notion may have been classified as a *polis* by Hecat. fr. 233; in the Athenian tribute lists the Notieis never pay together with the Kolophonians but are always recorded separately (*IG* I^{3} 270.I.8, 272.I.24–25, 280.I.39, 283.III.23, 285.I.95), and the city-ethnic, *Νοτιεῖς*, is still attested in C4 sources (*IG* II^{2} 1.48–49; Arist. *Pol.* $1303^{b}10$). According to Thucydides, Notion belonged to Kolophon (Thuc. 3.34.1–4), but it had its own *theorodokos* to host the *theoroi* who announced the Heraia at Argos (*SEG* 23 189.II.7 *c.*330)), and only towards the end of C4 did Notion enter into a *sympoliteia* with Kolophon (Robert (1969) 1244–45).

Re (*15*) (a) Koresia (no. 493) is recorded as a *polis* both in Classical sources and in a C3 law regulating a festival: *ἑστιᾶν δὲ τούς τε πολίτας καὶ οὓς ἡ πόλις κέκληκεν* ("to host the *politai* and those invited by the *polis*") (*IG* XII.5 647.9), but in a C4l list of citizens from Ioulis *c.*154 *Κορήσιοι* are listed alongside citizens from six other civic subdivisions (*IG* XII.5 609.IV.175ff), usually taken to be *phylai*; see Ruschenbusch (1982) and Jones, *POAG* 205. (b) By the *sympoliteia* between Mantinea and Helisson of C4e, Helisson (no. 273) became a *kome* of Mantinea, but at the same time persisted as a *polis* (*SEG* 37 340, see (9) *supra*). (c) Dion on Euboia (no. 368) was a member of the Delian League and is recorded in the tribute lists from 451/50 (*IG* I^{3} 262.I.28) to 432/1 (*IG* I^{3} 280.I.80). It was assessed for tribute in 425/4 (*IG* I^{3} 71.I.78). From the Athenian regulations for Histiaia of C5s it appears that Dion was a deme of Histiaia, but was a separate circuit of jurisdiction (*IG* I^{3} 41.100–2 = *SEG* 32 3; Koch (1991) 175, 202). Similarly, Dion (and Athenai Diades) are attested as dependencies of Histiaia in the last decade of C5 (*IG* XII.9 188.18–19 = *Staatsverträge* 205 (post 411); *Eretria* XI 82 with nn. 338–39 (post 404)). Thus, in C5s, Dion seems to have had a double status, partly as a *polis* depending on Histiaia and partly as a *demos* of Histiaia.

APPENDIX

Autonomia and the *Poleis* of the Boiotian Federation in C4

Following Keen (1996) against Hansen (1995*b*, 1996*c*), Rhodes (1999) argues that the member *poleis* of the Boiotian Federation may have preserved their *autonomia*. Summarising the principal sources, Rhodes concludes:

> For Hansen, there is no problem: membership of the Boeotian federation was incompatible with *autonomia* (except for the dominant *polis*, Thebes). . . . Now, there is no doubt that that is how the Spartans saw the matter. . . . It may be that they [the Thebans] believed and the other Boiotians who were happy that their *poleis* should be members of the Boeotian federation also believed, that membership of the Boeotian federation was not incompatible with *autonomia*. We think this possibility is rejected too easily by Hansen.

We note that Rhodes does not discuss the sources which show that, on this issue, the Athenians agreed with the Spartans (Andoc. 3.13, 20; Isoc. 14.10, 17; Xen. *Hell.* 6.3.9). He mentions Andokides, but takes him to favour the Spartan view without pointing out that he is stating an Athenian view. Even if we follow Harris (2000) in believing that Andoc. 3 is spurious, the passages in Xen. and Isoc. still show that the Athenians sided with the Spartans on this issue and believed that the Thebans had deprived the other Boiotian *poleis* of their *autonomia*. Similarly, Rhodes cites Xen. *Hell.* 4.8.15 and 5.1.32–33 and 36 as evidence of the Spartan view without discussing that, as written, these passages show that the Thebans themselves shared the Spartans' view of *autonomia*, perhaps unwillingly, but that is no wonder. At the peace conference in 392/1 the Thebans feared that they might be forced to restore the *autonomia* of the Boiotian *poleis* (Xen. *Hell.* 4.8.15). That is a strange way of putting it if everybody but the Spartans believed that the Boiotian *poleis* were in fact *autonomoi*. Again, at the peace conference in 386 Agesilaos demanded that the Theban envoys include the *autonomia* clause in their oath on the peace (Xen. *Hell.* 5.1.32–33). If the Thebans and the other Boiotians had believed that the Boiotian Federation respected the *autonomia* of the smaller member *poleis*, it would have been easy for the envoys to take the oath just as requested by Agesilaos. Yet they refuse and say that they have not been commissioned to

do that. It has been objected that Xenophon, being pro-Spartan and anti-Theban, presents a distorted view of what happened and consistently favours the Spartan interpretation of *autonomia* (Keen (1996) 119). But Tuplin (1993) has shown that Xenophon is often critical of the Spartans, and Christensen (2001) has added to this that he often draws a favourable picture of the Thebans. Finally, Rhodes (1999) 39 agrees with us ((1996*c*) 134–36) against Keen ((1996) 115–16) that the Spartan perioikic *poleis* were not *autonomoi*. But the exchange of words between Agesilaos and Epameinondas in 371 as reported by Plut. *Ages*. 28.1–3 is based on the belief that the Boiotian and the Lakedaimonian *poleis* possessed the same or at least a similar degree of *autonomia*. Now Plutarch's story may be no more than an anecdote, but if we take it seriously, it shows that Epameinondas did not believe that the Boiotian *poleis* were *autonomoi*. To conclude, we note that, to counter the evidence set out above, Rhodes does not cite one single source that directly supports his view that the Boiotian *poleis* were still *autonomoi* under the Federation. Everything is circumstantial evidence, and Rhodes cautiously says that the Thebans and the Boiotians *may* have believed, etc. Over the years, Rhodes and I have come to agree, by and large, on most of the important issues about *autonomia* and dependent *poleis*, but on this particular issue we still disagree.

REFERENCES

Bakhuizen, S. C. 1970. *Salganeus and the Fortifications on its Mountains* (Groningen).

Bosworth, B. 1992. "*Autonomia*: The Use and Abuse of Political Terminology", *StIt* 10: 122–52.

Cargill, J. 1995. *Athenian Settlements of the Fourth Century B.C.* (Leiden).

Christensen, J. 2001. "Misothebaiois? Om Xenophons skildring af Theben i Hellenika", *Aigis* 1: 1–54 (www.igl.ku.dk/~aigis/2001.1).

Di Vita, A. 1990. "Town Planning in the Greek Colonies of Sicily from the Time of their Foundations to the Punic Wars", in J. P. Descœudres (ed.), *Greek Colonies and Native Populations* (Oxford) 343–63.

Figueira, T. J. 1991. *Athens and Aigina in the Age of Imperial Colonization* (Baltimore).

Fossey, J. M. 1988. *Topography and Population of Ancient Boiotia* (Chicago).

Gabrielsen, V. 2000. "The Synoikized *Polis* of Rhodes", *Polis & Politics* 177–205.

Gomme, A. W., Andrewes, A. and Dover, K. J. 1970. *A Historical Commentary on Thucydides* iv (Oxford).

Graham, A. J. 1964. *Colony and Mother City in Ancient Greece* (Manchester).

Gschnitzer, F. 1958. *Abhängige Orte im griechischen Altertum* (Munich).

Hansen, M. H. 1993. "Introduction: The *Polis* as a Citizen-State", *CPCActs* 1: 7–29.

—— 1994. "*Poleis* and City-States 600–323 B.C.: A Comprehensive Research Programme", *CPCPapers* 1: 9–17.

—— 1995*a*. "Boiotian *Poleis*—A Test Case", *CPCActs* 2: 13–63.

—— 1995*b*. "The 'Autonomous City-State': Ancient Fact or Modern Fiction?", *CPCPapers* 2: 21–43.

—— 1995*c*. "*Kome*: A Study in How the Greeks Designated and Classified Settlements which were not *Poleis*", *CPCPapers* 2: 45–81.

—— 1996*a*. "ΠΟΛΛΑΧΩΣ ΠΟΛΙΣ ΛΕΓΕΤΑΙ (Arist. *Pol*. 1276^{a}23): The Copenhagen Inventory of Poleis and the *Lex Hafniensis de Civitate*", *CPCActs* 3: 7–72.

—— 1996*b*. "Were the Boiotian *Poleis* Deprived of their *Autonomia* during the First and Second Boiotian Federations? A Reply", *CPCPapers* 3: 127–36.

—— 1997. "A Typology of Dependent *Poleis*", *CPCPapers* 4: 29–37.

—— 2000. "A Survey of the Use of the Word *Polis* in Archaic and Classical Sources", *CPCPapers* 5: 173–215.

—— 2004*a*. "*Emporion*: A Study of the Use and Meaning of the Term in the Archaic and Classical Periods", in G. Tsetskhladze (ed.), *Greek Colonisation* i–ii (Leiden) forthcoming.

—— 2004*b*. "The Perioikic *Poleis* of Lakedaimonia", *CPCPapers* 7: 149–64.

Harris, E. M. 2000. "The Authenticity of Andokides' *De Pace*: A Subversive Essay", *Polis & Politics* 479–505.

Keen, A. G. 1996. "Were the Boiotian *Poleis Autonomoi*?", *CPCPapers* 3: 113–25.

Koch, C. 1991. *Volksbeschlüsse in Seebundangelegenheiten* (Frankfurt am Main).

Kroll, J .H. and Walker, A. 1993. *The Greek Coins: The Athenian Agora* xxvi (Princeton).

Lévy, E. 1983. "Autonomia et éleuthéria au Ve siècle", *RPhil* 57: 249–70.

Lloyd, A. B. 1975. *Herodotus Book II: Introduction* (Leiden).

Mertens, N. 2002. "*οὐκ ὁμοῖοι, ἀγαθοὶ δέ*: The *perioikoi* in the Classical Lakedaimonian *polis*", in A. Powell and S. Hodkinson (eds.), *Sparta Beyond the Mirage* (London) 285–303.

Nielsen, T. H. 1996*a*. "A Survey of Dependent *Poleis* in Classical Arkadia", *CPCPapers* 3: 63–105.

—— 1996*b*. "Arkadia. City-Ethnics and Tribalism", *CPCActs* 3: 117–63.

Rhodes, P. J. 1999. "Sparta, Thebes and *Autonomia*", *Eirene* 35: 33–40.

Robert, L. 1969. *Opera Minora*, ii (Amsterdam).
Roesch, P. 1965. *Thespies et la confédération béotienne* (Paris).
Ruschenbusch, E. 1982. "*IG* xii 5 609: eine Bürgerliste von Ioulis und Koresia auf Keos", *ZPE* 48: 175–88.
Salomon, N. 1997. *Le cleruchie di Atene: Caratteri e funzione* (Pisa).
Schuller, W. 1974. *Die Herrschaft der Athener im Ersten Attischen Seebund* (Berlin).
Shipley, G. 1997. "'The Other Lakedaimonians': The Dependent Perioikic *Poleis* of Laconia and Messenia", *CPCActs* 4: 189–281.
Tuplin, C. 1993. *The Failings of Empire* (Stuttgart).
Walbank, M. 1978. *Athenian Proxenies of the Fifth Century B.C.* (Toronto and Sarasota).
Whitehead, D. 1986. *The Demes of Attica 508/7–c.250 B.C.* (Princeton).

Civic Subdivisions

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

There were two basic types of civic subdivision: some were territorial, some personal. The main territorial subdivisions were the *demos* and the *kome*; but *phylai* too could be territorial units.[6] By far the most important purely personal subdivision was the *phyle*. Other important forms were the *phratria*, the *patra* and various groups designated by numbers: the *chiliastys*, the *hekatostys*, the *pentekostys*, etc. (see Index 13). But even the territorial subdivisions were to some extent personal because membership of a subdivision, be it territorial or personal, was hereditary in the male line. Therefore, by migrations, territorial subdivisions were slowly transformed into personal ones, unless they were reorganised at intervals.

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

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

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

[2] The exclusion of women is not explicitly mentioned in Jones, *POAG*, but is evident from the material he has collected. In Athens (no. 361), the *polis* we know best, women were excluded from the *demoi*, *trittyes* and *phylai* but could, of course, be priestesses as they could at *polis* level (Jones (1999) 123–33).

[3] *CPCActs* 5: 135–37. Karthaia (no. 492) is, so far, the only *polis* in which *oikoi* are attested as civic subdivisions.

[4] As usual, the best evidence for *gene* concerns Athens and by far the best recent treatment is that of Parker (1996) 56–66, 284–327. He concludes that the *gene* had no political importance in C4 (57). In the Archaic period, on the other hand, every public priesthood seems to have been filled by the members of a designated *genos* (65). There are two possible interpretations of the evidence: (a) in the Archaic period the *gene* were civic subdivisions of the Athenian *polis*; (b) in the Archaic period the *gene* were private or semi-private organisations and the appointment of priests had not yet been taken over by the *polis*.

[5] In Jones, *POAG*, *gene* are registered as civic subdivisions in four *poleis* only: Erythrai (no. 845), Kolophon (no. 848), Pygela (no. 863) and Samos (no. 864). The evidence for Samos is Hellenistic and not included in this inventory.

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

[7] Like the Athenian *phylai*, *trittyes* and *demoi* (no. 361), or the Eretrian *phylai*, districts and *demoi* (no. 370), or the Argive *phylai*, *phatrai* and *pentekostyes* (no. 347).

[8] In Epidauros (no. 348) 4 *phylai* and 39 territorial units cut across one another in a way not yet fully understood. In Athens (no. 361) the subdivision into *phratriai* was completely unrelated to the subdivisions into *demoi*.

can be taken as evidence of absence: apparently, the Boiotian *poleis* had no civic subdivisions of any consequence. Similarly, no civic subdivisions are known on Lesbos and in Aiolis and the *phylai* attested in Thessaly are all Hellenistic and may have been introduced in C4–C2.[9] There were no Aiolian *phylai* to match the three Dorian and the four to six Ionian, and it seems reasonable to infer that civic subdivisions were unknown in the Aiolian-speaking regions of Hellas.[10] But Boiotia bordered on Attika, subdivided into 139 *demoi*, and on Euboia, where demes were very important in three of the four major *poleis* (Chalkis (no. 365), Eretria (no. 370) and Histiaia/Oreos (no. 372)) and may have been in Karystos (no. 373) as well. However, subdivisions were not confined to the larger *poleis*. Here as in all other contexts, generalisations are deceptive: Delos (no. 478) was one of the smallest of all *poleis*. Nevertheless its population was organised into four *phylai*, further subdivided into *trittyes*.

Apart from Athens, almost all the evidence we have comes from inscriptions. There is a heavy concentration of information from the late Classical and early Hellenistic periods. Jones's magisterial study comprises some 200 *poleis* (*POAG* 2). For over half of these, all the information we have is Hellenistic or Roman. We have restricted our investigation to the Archaic and Classical periods, and consequently the number of attested *poleis* drops to about 100, including a dozen not covered by Jones's study.[11]

The history and origin of the civic subdivisions has become one of the most controversial issues in Greek history since 1976, when Denis Roussel published a major monograph about the *phylai* and *phratriai*, and Felix Bourriot one about the *gene*. Independently of one another they argued that the civic subdivisions we know of were created by the *polis* and did not predate the emergence of the *polis*, as hitherto believed by almost all ancient historians.[12] Roussel's and Bourriot's theories were widely accepted, but they were based on a selection of the available sources only and have to be revised, especially in the light of the much broader study of Jones, *POAG*.

It is true that direct evidence is scarce and cannot be traced further back than C7: there is no doubt that the Spartan army in C7 was organised into the three Dorian *phylai*: the *Hylleis*, the *Dymanes* and the *Pamphyloi* (Tyrtaios fr. 19.8, West). Also, in C7 Athens the *phratria* was an important unit, as is indisputably attested in Drakon's law on homicide (*IG* I^3 104.18, 23).

The indirect evidence of an early origin, on the other hand, is substantial: the attestation of the Dorian *phylai* in, for example, Korkyra, though late, indicates that they go back to at least C8m, and their presence in Argos, Megara, Corinth, Sikyon, Epidauros and Troizen points in the same direction. It seems reasonable to presume that the four to six Ionian *phylai* were important civic subdivisions in many Milesian colonies and can be traced back to the C8 (Piérart (1983) 4). Admittedly, *phylai*, *phratriai* and similar groups were not true kinship organisations. But the same observation applies to tribes of all periods all over the world: the first thing to be remembered is that the consanguinity that binds all the members of a tribe together is not a factual but a presumed consanguinity. By contrast with a family and a lineage, a "tribe" is not a kinship group in the literal sense of that term.

Next, we must remember what is often forgotten, that Roussel's theory about the late development of *phylai* and *phratriai* is no more than an ingenious theory based on an argument from silence, and it is strange that so many historians in this particular case have accepted an *argumentum e silentio* at face value.[13] We know for sure that *phylai* and *phratriai* in many *poleis* were transformed during the Archaic and Classical periods and that the new subdivisions were often purely artificial, without the slightest claim to being kinship groups even in a remote sense. But they replaced earlier organisations which were, allegedly, kinship groups. When these older *phylai* and *phratriai* were introduced and how they were organised is a moot point. Especially after Nicholas Jones's study it is hard to deny that both the Dorian and the Ionian *phylai* must go back to the period before the colonisation, i.e. before C8.[14] Some of the civic subdivisions seem to have predated the *polis* or, rather, they were converted into a system of civic subdivisions in connection with the emergence of the *polis*. Others, however, were deliberately created by the *polis* and those that were

[9] Jones, *POAG* 79–81; Helly (1995) 173 n. 123.

[10] Apart from phratries, attested in the late Hellenistic period only (Knoepfler (1981) 148–49), we know of no civic subdivisions in Boiotia (Jones, *POAG* 79). Similarly, no civic subdivisions are known from all the Thessalian *poleis* apart from a few attestations of *phylai*, presumably introduced in the Hellenistic period (ibid. 79–81). Lesbos, apparently, had no civic subdivisions either, and remarkably few (all Hellenistic) are found in Aiolis. It seems reasonable to infer that civic subdivisions were unknown in the Aiolian-speaking regions of Hellas.

[11] *Sikelia*: Engyon (no. 14), Himera (no. 24), Kamarina (no. 28), Naxos (no. 41), Selinous (no. 44). *Phokis*: Antikyra (no. 173). *Euboia*: Styra (no. 377). *Islands*: Astypalaia on Kos (no. 498), Paros (no. 509). *Thrakia*: Abdera (no. 640). *Pontos:* Chersonesos (no. 695). *Crete*: Datala (no. 954). *Libya*: Kyrene (no. 1028).

[12] As duly noted by Roussel (1976) 5, this view was advocated already by Max Weber in 1920, see Weber (1999) 180–83.

[13] e.g. Finley (1983) 44–47; Davies (1997) 24, 28.

[14] Jones, *POAG* xvii–xviii, mentions Roussel's work without taking issue with his theories. For a critical appraisal of the whole issue, see Gehrke (2000).

earlier than the *polis* were transformed, sometimes beyond recognition.

Another moot point is how much and how often the civic subdivisions were transformed in the course of the Archaic and Classical periods. Jones argues that the civic subdivisions show a high degree of permanence (1), and that almost all innovations took place during the Age of the Tyrants (12–13). Yet a closer look at the attested reforms indicates that civic subdivisions were subject to constant transformations and with the passage of time became more and more artificial—yet another instance of the Greeks' conscious and continuous remodelling of their society and institutions.[15] Reforms and revisions of civic units are so frequently attested that in most cases it is unwarranted to assume that a system attested in Hellenistic sources can be retrojected back into the Classical period. There are, of course, exceptions: when the six old Ionian *phylai* are attested in colonies founded by Ionian *poleis*, they probably go back to the foundation of the colony. Again, in the case of Crete it seems reasonable to assume that the *phylai* known from Hellenistic sources were civic subdivisions in the Archaic and Classical periods as well (1148 *infra*).

[15] In Argos (no. 347) the *phratrai* were introduced or reformed in C5m and the *pentekostyes* in C4m. The system of numbered *phratriai* and *triakades* in Kamarina (no. 28) was either introduced or changed *c.*461. In Eretria (no. 370) the *phylai* go back to *c.*500 at the latest, but the districts no further than *c.*400. In Mantinea (no. 281) the system of dependent *komai*/*poleis* is attested for Helisson (no. 273) in C4m. It is unlikely that it goes back to C6. In Ioulis (no. 491) the *phylai* were reformed in C4s and Koresia (no. 493) became a *phyle* of Ioulis. In, probably, C4 the Dorian *phylai* in Kalymna (no. 485) were replaced by or supplemented with 7 *phylai* and 5 *demoi*; in Herakleia Pontike (no. 715) the 60 *hekatostyes* seem to belong to C4f; the Samian *hekatostyes* (no. 864) cannot be traced further back than 322, etc. Furthermore, civic subdivisions were created or reformed whenever there was a synoecism and, similarly, *stasis* and revolutions often entailed a reorganisation of the citizen body and the civic subdivisions.

REFERENCES

Bourriot, F. 1996. *Recherches sur la nature du génos: étude d'histoire sociale athénienne, périodes archaïque et classique* (Lille).

Davies, J. K. 1997. "The 'Origins of the Greek *Polis*': Where should we be Looking?", in L. G. Mitchell and P. J. Rhodes (eds.), *The Development of the Polis in Archaic Greece* (London) 24–38.

Finley, M. I. 1983. *Politics in the Ancient World* (Cambridge).

Gehrke, H.-J. 2000. "*Ethnos, Phyle, Polis*: gemässigt unorthodoxe Vermutungen", in *Polis & Politics* 159–76.

Helly, B. 1995. *L'État thessalien: Aleuas le Roux les tétrades et les* tagoi (Lyon).

Jones, N. F. 1987. *Public Organization in Ancient Greece* (Philadelphia) (= Jones, *POAG*).

—— 1999. *The Associations of Classical Athens* (New York and Oxford).

Knoepfler, D. 1981. Review of R. J. Buck, *A History of Boeotia*, *Gnomon* 53: 140–49.

Parker, R. 1996. *Athenian Religion: A History* (Oxford).

Piérart, M. 1983. "Athènes et Milet I: Tribus et dèmes miléSiens", *MusHelv* 40: 1–18.

Roussel, D. 1976. *Tribu et cité* (Paris).

Weber, M. 1999. *Die Stadt*, ed. W. Nippel in *Max Weber Gesamtausgabe* xxi–xxv (Tübingen).

Proxenoi as Evidence for *Polis* Identity

A *proxenos* is commonly defined as "one city's official friend in another city".[1] *Proxenia* is indeed an institution inextricably connected with the *polis* (see Index 14),[2] but it is neither co-extensive with the *polis* nor as old as the *polis*. The earliest epigraphical attestations of *proxenoi* date from, probably, C6f[3] and the earliest references in literary sources are found in Pindar.[4] Apart from a few possible harbingers, the *proxenia* grew up in C6s, and in C5m it was a well-established institution (Wallace (1970) 189–94).

The origins of the institution are obscure and, of course, a matter of controversy. Especially in western Greece the *proxenos* seems originally to have been a witness to or a guarantor of a transaction involving two interested parties.[5] Thus, some gods and the *polis* of Poseidonia are listed as *proxenoi* of a treaty concluded *c.*510 between Sybaris and the Serdaians (*Staatsverträge* 120.5–8). In Archaic Greece, on the other hand, and later all over the Greek world, the *proxenos* is attested as the protector of somebody in need of assistance. What binds the two meanings together is that in both cases the service rendered by the *proxenos* concerns one or more foreigners (*xenoi*) (Gauthier (1972) 57–59).

The etymology of the noun *πρόξενος* and the verb *προξενεῖν* does not help us to settle the question about the origin of the institution: "the prefix *προ-* may mean 'on behalf of' or 'instead of', *ξένος* may mean 'guest friend' or, more generally, 'foreigner' ".[6] Thus the original meaning of *πρόξενος* is either (a) a person who acts in the interest of a foreigner or (b) a person who replaces a guest-friend (and hosts a foreigner).[7] It is worth noting that the first etymology matches *proxenos* in both senses whereas the second fits *proxenos* in the sense of "public guest friend", but not in the sense of "witness" or "guarantor".

Irrespective of the origin of the institution and the etymology of the term, there can be no doubt that the classical *proxenia*, as attested in the entire Hellenic world, was a privilege and an honour bestowed by *polis* A on a citizen of *polis* B who thereby officially was assigned the task of furthering the interests of *polis* A in his own *polis*[8] and, in particular, the task of hosting and helping citizens of *polis* A when they came as visitors.[9] The literary sources adduced here concern Athens. The best epigraphical evidence in support of this description of the *proxenia* is a standard formula which with variations is found in proxeny decrees from all parts of the Greek world: a person who for some time has assisted visitors from a *polis*, and has shown himself as a friend of that *polis* in general, is now appointed *proxenos* by the *polis* in question.[10] He is still supposed to show the same loyalty towards the *polis* and hospitality towards its citizens, but now he is publicly recognised as the official *xenos* of the *polis* in question.[11]

The *proxenia* has been compared, in some ways rightly, to the modern consulate but with certain reservations: the *proxenos* was officially appointed by the *polis* whose citizens he served but not by his own *polis*.[12] A corollary of this was that a *polis* might have more than one *proxenos* in another

[1] Wilhelm (1942) 40; Wallace (1970) 189; Gauthier (1972) 24; Gschnitzer (1974) 644; Marek (1984) 1–3.

[2] Wallace (1970) 189; Gauthier (1972) 23; Marek (1984) 121.

[3] *CEG* 143 = *ML* 4 (C7l) = *Nomima* I 34 (C6m); *SEG* 11 1180a (C6l-C5e) = *LSAG* 190 no. 15 (C6f).

[4] Pind. *Ol.* 9.83; *Isthm.* 4.7–8; fr. 94 b 41, and Pindar may himself have been *proxenos* of the Molossians (*Nem.* 7.65); see Wallace (1970) 205–6.

[5] Wallace (1970) 190, 207; Gauthier (1972) 33–39.

[6] Wallace (1970) 190.

[7] (a) is preferred by Marek (1984) 387; (b) by Gschnitzer (1974) 632.

[8] Thuc. 3.2.3; Aeschin. 3.138. See Perlman (1958); Gerolymatos (1986).

[9] Xen. *Symp.* 8.39; *Hell.* 4.4.22; Dem. 18.82; Poll. 3.59; *Suda Π* 2540.

[10] *IG* XII.7 6: *ἐπειδὴ Ἐπίκτητος ἀνὴρ φιλότιμός ἐστιν περὶ τὴν πόλιν τὴν Ἀρκεσινέων καὶ τὸς ἀφικνομένος εἰς Θήραν ποιεῖ ἀγαθὸν ὅτι ἂν δύνηται καὶ λόγωι καὶ ἔργωι, δεδόχθαι τῶι δήμωι εἶναι Ἐπίκτητον Καλλιγνώτου Θηραῖον πρόξενον τῆς πόλεως τῆς Ἀρκεσινέων . . .* ("Since Epiktetos is loyal to the *polis* of Arkesine and in word and deed does whatever good he can towards those who come to Thera, it has been decided by the people that Epiktetos the son of Kallignotos of Thera shall be *proxenos* of the *polis* of Arkesine . . .") (Arkesine, C4); *IG* I^3 80 (Athens, C5l); II^2 206 (Athens, C4m); *F.Delphes* III.3 157 (Delphi, C3f); *IG* V.2 263 (Mantinea, C3–C2); *IG* XII.5 110 (Paros, C4); *IG* XII.5 1002 (Ios, C4–C3). *IG* XI.4 562 (Delos, C3f); *IG* XII.5 798 (Tenos, C3); *SEG* 31 712 (Olbia, C2); *IG* XII.8 151 (Samothrake, C3e); *I.Ephesos* 1428 (Ephesos, C4).

[11] That is apparent from, e.g., *IG* II^2 176.16–24 (C4f), a rider to an Athenian proxeny decree in which the proposer explains that the purpose of awarding *proxenia* to some Kyrenaians is to ensure that the Athenians also in future can have some Kyrenaians to assist them when they come to Kyrene. See also *IG* XII.5 528 (Karthaia, C4m) and *IG* XII.8 267 (Thasos, C3f) in which a *proxenos* because of his continued loyalty and hospitality towards the *polis* and its citizens is promoted to citizen.

[12] Hasebroek (1928) 137; Gauthier (1972) 25, 59. Sparta was unique in that it was one of the king's prerogatives among the Spartiates to appoint the *proxenoi* who assisted foreign visitors in Lakedaimon (Hdt. 6.57.2). Since grants of proxeny to Lakedaimonians by foreign *poleis* are attested (*IG* II^2 106.14 (Athens, 368/7)) we must infer that Spartan *proxenoi* were officially appointed both by their own *polis* and by the *polis* they served.

polis. In C4m the small *polis* of Karthaia on the island of Keos had at least fifteen different *proxenoi* in Athens (*IG* XII.5 542). Furthermore, *proxenia* was sometimes awarded to a citizen who did not reside in his own *polis* but in the *polis* that had appointed him *proxenos*;[13] he was accordingly prevented from performing the functions normally connected with *proxenia*, and in such cases *proxenia* was first of all an honour bestowed on a meritorious foreigner.

There is a broad agreement among scholars that *proxenia* was an institution of the *polis* (*supra* n. 2), but *poleis* were not the only communities awarding *proxenia* to loyal foreigners. The authority responsible for a proxeny decree is almost invariably identified by an ethnic found either in the preamble of the decree, e.g. *Δελφοὶ ἔδωκαν τῶι δεινί προξενίαν* (*F.Delphes* III.1 146) *vel sim.* or as an adnominal genitive: *πρόξενον εἶμεν Βοιωτῶν τὸν δεῖνα* (*IG* VII 2407). Exceptionally, a proxeny decree was issued by a monarch or prince, usually one who ruled a Hellenised but still semi-barbarian community.[14] Apart from monarchs, the issuing authority, usually referred to by ethnic, was (a) a tribe,[15] or (b) a federation,[16] or (c) a *polis*, or (d) some private or semi-private organisation[17] (Marek (1984) 121–28). Proxeny decrees issued by private or semi-private organisations are rare and unattested before the Hellenistic period.[18] It is not always easy to distinguish between (a) and (b), but that is of no consequence for this investigation. The important issue is whether we can distinguish (c) from (a) and (b), and that is in fact possible by inspecting the type of ethnic used. *Ethne* and *koina* are identified by regional or sub-regional ethnics, *poleis* by city-ethnics and, as argued above (63), it is only exceptionally a problem to determine whether an ethnic is a regional ethnic or a city-ethnic.[19] So, whenever we have an ethnic derived from the name of an urban centre, we can infer, *a priori*, that the decree must have been passed by either a *polis* or a civic subdivision centred on a nucleated settlement (a *demos* or a *kome*, etc.). Among the hundreds of proxeny decrees of the Archaic and Classical periods there is not one single securely attested example of an award by a civic subdivision.[20] Therefore, the ethnic used to identify the issuing authority must in all such cases be a city-ethnic, not a sub-ethnic, and the community responsible for the decree must be a *polis*.

A similar—but not identical—line of reasoning applies when we move from the community issuing the decree to the person awarded *proxenia*. It is usually taken for granted that he is a *citizen* of the community to which he belongs, but how do we know? It is not explicitly stated in the proxeny decree, but it can be inferred implicitly from the fact that he is identified by an ethnic which, provided it can be recognised as a city-ethnic, shows that he is a citizen of the *polis* in question (*supra* 62).

A complicating factor is that occasionally the honorand is identified by a sub-ethnic. But in all such cases the sub-ethnic appears alongside the city-ethnic,[21] and there is not one single unquestionable attestation of a *proxenos* identified by sub-ethnic alone.[22]

Another problem is that not all *proxenoi* are identified by city-ethnics and/or sub-ethnics. In some cases the *proxenos* is a monarch or a tyrant,[23] in others he is identified by a regional ethnic.[24] The Aitolian base in Delphi, for example, was inscribed in C2m with thirteen proxeny decrees

[13] Pythagoras, the Athenian *proxenos* in Selymbria, was buried in Athens (*IG* I^3 1134 (C5m)). Euenor, an Akarnanian doctor from Amphilochian Argos, practised in Athens in C4l, where he was awarded first *proxenia* (*IG* II^2 373 (322/1)) and later *politeia* (*IG* II^2 374 (*c.*307–302)).

[14] Mausolos awarded *proxenia* to all Knossians in C4f (*I.Labraunda* no. 40 = Hornblower, *Mausolos* no. 7) and the Bosporan princes Pairisades and his sons awarded *proxenia* to a citizen of Amisos (*IOSPE* II 1, C4s).

[15] Usually referred to as an *ethnos*. One example is *SEG* 38 464, a proxeny decree of C2f passed by the assembly of the Prasaibans, a small Epirote tribe; cf. Hammond (1967) 654–55.

[16] Usually referred to as a *koinon*. One example is *proxenia* awarded by the general assembly of the Boiotian Federation: *ἔδοξε τῶι δάμωι πρόξενον εἶμεν Βοιωτῶν τὸν δεῖνα . . .* (*IG* VII 2407–8 (C4f)), cf. Beck (1997) 101.

[17] Marek (1984) 121–28.

[18] Poland (1909) 438–39; Marek (1984) 127. One example is *IG* II^2 1012 (C2l).

[19] One rare example is the inscription from Olympia: *Γόργος Λακεδαιμόνιος πρόξενος Ϝαλείων* (*SEG* 11 1180a (C6l-C5e), *LSAG* 190 no. 15 prefers a date in C6f). Here *Ϝαλεῖος* is probably a city-ethnic, but we cannot preclude the possibility that it is a regional ethnic. In *IvO* 11 *proxenos* is juxtaposed with *damiourgos* and denotes a type of official, not a *proxenos* in the sense of a city's official friend in another city; cf. Gauthier (1972) 41–46 and *infra* no. 249.

[20] Rhodes (1995) 103, 107. The observation covers all types of civic subdivision: *phylai*, *phratriai*, *patrai*, *gene*, *komai*, *demoi*, *hekatostyes*, etc. The important point in this context is to distinguish between city-ethnics denoting *poleis* and sub-ethnics denoting civic subdivisions with an urban centre (*komai* and *demoi*). For communities that were dependent *poleis* but at the same time civic subdivisions of another *polis*, see 92 *supra*. *Pace* Marek (1984) 11, there is no reason to believe that the honours listed in a decree passed by Mykene *c.*200 may have comprised *proxenia* (*SEG* 3 112).

[21] *F.Delphes* III.1 74 (C3): *Δέλφοι ἔδωκαν Καλλίαι Καλλιάδου Ἀθηναίωι, φυλῆς Ἀντιοχίδος, δήμου Αἰγιλιέως . . . προξενίαν . . .*

[22] One possible example is the proxeny decree issued by Pairisades and his sons for [. . . . .]ι Διον[υσίου] Πειρα[εῖ] (*IOSPE* II 1.1 (C4s)), recorded as an Athenian in *LGPN* Διονύσιος no. 622. However, at *Syll*^{3} 217 n. 2 Dittenberger suggests that the honorand was a citizen of Amisos (no. 712, see Theopomp fr. 389) rather than an Athenian from the deme of Peiraieus. By letter, M. Osborne has informed us that Dittenberger must be right and that the classification in *LGPN* of the son of Dionysios as an Athenian is a mistake.

[23] *F.Delphes* III.1 392: the sons of Kersebleptes, the king of the Odrysians in C4m, is appointed *proxenos* of the Delphians; *Syll.*^{3} 187 = *I.Knidos* 603: Iphiades, the tyrant of Abydos in C4f, is appointed *proxenos* of the Knidians; *Syll.*^{3} 168: Mausolos of Mylasa, the tyrant of Halikarnassos in C4f, is appointed *proxenos* of the Erythraians.

[24] *Proxenoi* identified by regional ethnic: *F.Delphes* III.1 146: *Αἰτωλῶ* (C4m); *BCH* 70 (1946) 40: [*Φω*]*κεῖ* (C4f); *Syll.*^{3} 267: *Μακεδόνι* (C4s); *F.Delphes* III.1 412: *Κρητί* (C4l); *PEPChios* 50.6: *Βοιώ*[*τιος*] (C4); *IG* XII.3 251.5: *Θεσσαλὸς ἐκ Φαρσάλου* (C4).

(*F.Delphes* III.1 142–54 (C4–C2m)), nine of which are for Aitolians without further specification, three are for Naupaktians and one for an Aigaian. Each of the nine Aitolians was probably a citizen of an Aitolian *polis* as well as being Aitolian, and the omission of the city-ethnic may be a convention. Another Delphic proxeny decree of C4, not on the Aitolian base, is for an Aitolian from the *polis* of Makynea.[25] However, since the city-ethnic is specified in four cases out of the thirteen, we cannot preclude the possibility that the nine others were honoured as Aitolians, i.e. as citizens of a federation, not as citizens of one of the member states of the federation.

To conclude: only some proxeny decrees passed by *poleis* spell out that the decision was made by the *polis*,[26] but whenever the issuing authority is identified by an ethnic derived from the name of an urban centre we can infer that the decree was issued by a *polis* and that the ethnic is a city-ethnic. Similarly, from the preservation of a proxeny decree for a person identified by a city-ethnic and, on rare occasions, a sub-ethnic too we can infer that the community to which the honorand belonged was a *polis*. In the majority of cases this inference is corroborated by other sources in which the community is explicitly called a *polis*. But whenever that piece of information is missing, the proxeny decree in itself justifies the classification of the community in question as a *polis* type B, i.e. a community which most probably was a *polis* but happens not to be attested as a *polis* in any Archaic or Classical text, undoubtedly due to lack of sources.[27] In the Archaic and Classical periods *proxenia* was awarded by institutions at *polis* level or above, and no proxeny decree was passed by a civic subdivision.

Attestations of *proxenia* culminate in C3f, but the institution is found in *poleis* all over the Hellenic world in C4 and is already well attested in C5. The only regions for which there are no attestations of *proxenia* in *poleis* of the Archaic and Classical periods are Spain and France, Epeiros and Lykia. In all three cases there is a good explanation: the Greek colonies in Spain and France are poorly attested in written sources; *polis* formation came late to Epeiros; and full-scale Hellenisation of Lykia belongs to the Hellenistic period.

[25] Another example is the Athenian *proxenos* Euenor (*supra* n. 13). In the proxeny decree he is called an Akarnanian (*IG* II^2 373.4), but in the citizenship decree an Argeian (*IG* II^2 374.11).

[26] *IG* IX^2.1 390: [ἔ]δοξε τᾶι πόλι τῶν Στρατίων Λυσίαι . . . προξενίαν δόμεν (*c.*400); *IG* XII.5 24: πρόξενον [ϵ]ἶναι Αἰσχύλον Σωσιμάχο[υ Πά]ριον τῆς πόλεως τῆς Σικι[νητῶ]ν . . . (C4l/C3e). Cf. *IG* XII.5 114+add. (Paros, C4); *IG* XII Suppl. 245 (Andros, C4f); *IG* XII.7 5–6 (Arkesine, C4m).

[27] e.g. Makynea (no. 149); Proschion (no. 154); Ascheion (no. 232); Phelloe (no. 242); Kyphanta (no. 335); Oinous (no. 338); Pellana (no. 341).

The evidence we have shows that *proxenia* was found not only in large *poleis* but also in middle-sized and small *poleis*. Almost every *polis* seems to have had a network of *proxenoi* in other *poleis* and, conversely, many of its citizens served as *proxenoi* for citizens coming from other *poleis*. A large proportion of the proxeny decrees stem from Athens,[28] an oversized *polis*, or from Delphi, a small *polis* but a Panhellenic centre.[29] But *proxenia* is epigraphically attested not only in decrees but also in lists. Many *poleis* seem to have kept a central record of their proxeny decrees and sometimes published on stone a list with the name and *polis* affiliation of all their *proxenoi*.[30] Small and large fragments of such lists are preserved.[31] Most are Hellenistic, but there is a C5 list from Lousoi (*IG* V.2 387) and C4 lists from Anaphe (*IG* XII.3 251), Chios (*PEPChios* 50) and Karthaia (*IG* XII.5 542). The most impressive is the one from Karthaia. It shows that this small *polis* in C4m had some 140 *proxenoi* in approximately thirty to forty different *poleis*. In most cases there were one or perhaps two *proxenoi* from a *polis*, but some fifteen of the *proxenoi* were Athenians. The preserved bottom of a list of *proxenoi* from the small *polis* of Anaphe is inscribed with the names of seven *proxenoi* from seven different *poleis*. We do not know how many names were inscribed on the missing upper part of the stele.

Both the literary and the epigraphical evidence shows that the enormous network of *proxenoi* that grew up in the late Archaic and Classical periods was of the utmost importance both collectively in the political relations between *poleis* and individually in the social and economic relations between citizens from one *polis* who had dealings with citizens from another *polis*.

However, especially in Hellenistic honorific decrees, *proxenia* is listed as one honour among many others in a way which suggests that in such cases it had become an empty title. These examples have influenced the interpretation of many other attestations of *proxenia* in sources where it is impossible to assess the importance of the institution. Scholars are divided over the issue[32] and it is

[28] Walbank (1978) publishes 94 Athenian proxeny decrees from before 480 to *c.*400; Lambrechts (1958) lists 141 Athenian awards of proxeny covering the period 482–323.

[29] Marek (1984) 217–19 lists 39 Delphic awards of proxeny covering the period 370–323.

[30] Both types of record are referred to in *IG* VII 5–6 (Megara (C4l)). Chios had a στήλη προξενική inscribed with the names, patronymics and city-ethnics of the *proxenoi* of Chios (*PEPChios* 12.31, 42–43 (C4l)).

[31] Gschnitzer (1974) 694–700; Marek (1984) 134–37.

[32] Gschnitzer (1974) 644, who quotes Wilhelm (1942) for the functional and Klaffenbach (1966) 82–85 for the honorific interpretation of *proxenia*. The political importance of the institution is emphasised by Perlman (1958) and Marek (1984) 1–3.

sometimes presented as an alternative: *proxenia* was either a service or an honour, or rather it was originally a service that over time deteriorated into an empty honour. We prefer a *both . . . and* to an *either . . . or* and suggest that *proxenia* as a service always co-existed with *proxenia* as an honour,[33] only the scales tipped so that, eventually, honorific *proxenia* became the more prominent aspect of the institution. In this respect *proxenia* and *politeia* are similar. Right from the Archaic period *proxenia* was an honour bestowed on meritorious foreigners; often it implied the continued performance of services to the *polis* in question and to visitors from the *polis*, but sometimes it was a mere title awarded because of earlier services but not implying further services in the future. Similarly, *politeia*, naturalisation, was an honour by which the honorand sometimes became a full citizen of the *polis* in question, but sometimes became an honorary citizen. From C4m it became common in honorific decrees to combine *proxenia* with *politeia* and bestow both privileges on the same person.[34] But from a functional point of view the two privileges were mutually exclusive: if the honorand took advantage of the citizenship and became a full citizen of the *polis* in question, he could no longer host foreigners in his old *polis*, and if he stayed in his own *polis* and performed his services as *proxenos* he could not take advantage of the citizenship he had obtained.

The services expected from a *proxenos* in return for the honour bestowed on him by the patron *polis* were sometimes rendered to individual citizens but sometimes to the *polis* as such. The two aspects are aptly covered by the formula which, with variations, was used in proxeny decrees from all over the Hellenic world: "NN of *polis* X is honoured because of his unfailing loyalty towards *polis* Y and because, in word and deed, he does what good he can towards those citizens of Y who visit *polis* X" (see n. 10).

Most *proxenoi* seem to have been upper-class and one well-attested way of being appointed *proxenos* was, during a shortage of grain, to send cheap grain to a *polis* and hope to be rewarded with the honours of *proxenia* and/or *politeia*.[35] In the economic sphere, other services expected from the *proxenos* were usually for the benefit of individual citizens from the patron *polis* (Dem. 52.5, 9, 10, 24).

While services rendered to individuals were often private, the help a *proxenos* offered his patron *polis* was usually of a political nature. Since a *proxenos* usually had some influence both in his own *polis* and in the *polis* whose *proxenos* he was, it was natural that *proxenoi* were used in diplomacy. They were often sent as envoys to their patron *polis* (Xen. *Hell.* 6.3.2–4; Aeschin. 3.138), and they hosted and assisted envoys coming from the patron *polis* (Xen. *Symp.* 8.39). It was an Argive *strategos* and a Spartan *proxenos* in Argos who on behalf of their *polis* negotiated a truce with the Spartans in 418 (Thuc. 5.59.5), and it was an Argive *proxenos* in Sparta who told the Argives about the Spartan conditions for peace after the Argive defeat at Mantinea (Thuc. 5.76.3). The use of *proxenoi* in interstate affairs could take many other forms: in a list of contributions to the Boiotian Federation to support its conduct of the Third Sacred War appears, alongside a number of *poleis*, the Boiotians' *proxenos* in Tenedos. He is put down for 1,000 drachmas, obviously a political gesture of a semi-public kind (*IG* VII 2418.15–16 = RO 57 (C4m)). Again, when in 382 Brasidas marched his army from Lakedaimon to Chalkidike he was guided through Thessaly by five Thessalians, of whom one was the Chalkidians' *proxenos* in Pharsalos (Thuc. 4.78.1; cf. Hornblower (1996) 257–58). Given that the purpose of Brasidas' expedition was to break up the Chalkidian federation, the *proxenos*' assistance to the Spartans points to an internal conflict in the federation, and that leads on to a different aspect of the political role of *proxenoi*.

In addition to their official assistance in diplomacy, the *proxenoi* often played a more secret and sinister role in interstate relations. The bonds of guest-friendship between a *proxenos* and the *polis* that had made him *proxenos* often resulted in a case of divided loyalties. Given that the citizens of many *poleis* were split into opposed factions which often had close connections with sympathising factions in other *poleis* (*infra* 124), a *proxenos* might easily be involved in espionage and treason (Gerolymatos (1986)), and to be a *proxenos* of one of the hegemonic *poleis* might in troubled times be a dubious honour and a dangerous job. During the Delian League and again during the Second Athenian Naval League, the Athenians used their network of *proxenoi* to control the members; and Athenian proxeny decrees often included a clause protecting the Athenian *proxenos* in a member *polis* against being molested or even murdered by

[33] In *c.*320 two panels of foreign judges, 5 from Andros and 5 from Naxos, were called to Chios to hear some cases. When they had completed their mission successfully, the Chians bestowed a whole series of honours on the judges, including hereditary *proxenia* (*PEPChios* 12). This is an obvious instance of honorific *proxenia*, but it is not unlikely that these judges, on their return to Andros and Naxos, were approached by visiting Chians and asked to perform the tasks of a *proxenos*.

[34] Din. 1.45; Wilhelm (1942) 45–50; *IG* XII.6 18 (C4l). Following Wilhelm (1942) 45–50, Gschnitzer (1974) 720–21 attempts to avoid the dilemma by suggesting that the honorand might stay on for some time in his old *polis* but later move to the *polis* that had awarded him both *proxenia* and *politeia*.

[35] *IG* II^2 342, 360, 398; 400 (320s); *I.Ephesos* 1455 (C4l).

his fellow citizens.[36] Such clauses were not just empty words: in the 360s a *stasis* in Ioulis between a pro-Athenian and an anti-Athenian faction entailed the murder of the Athenian *proxenos* in Ioulis and, subsequently, an Athenian sentence of death was passed on his murderers (*IG* II^2 111.27–45 = RO 39).[37]

This and other examples show that there was a close link between *proxenia* and *stasis* in Classical Greece. *Proxenoi* provided their patron *polis* with political information (Gerolymatos (1986)). One example is what Polydamas, the Spartan *proxenos* in Pharsalos, told the Spartans about the political aspirations of Iason of Pherai (Xen. *Hell.* 6.1.2–16). More subversive was the role a *proxenos* could play in a *stasis* in which one of the factions in his own *polis* relied on help from his patron *polis* to overthrow the regime and come to power. Thus, in collusion with the Spartans, the Spartan *proxenos* in Elis planned in 399 to overthrow the Eleian democracy. However, in the initial phase he and his followers did not succeed in murdering the leader of the democratic faction in Elis and the *coup* failed (Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.27–30; Paus. 3.8.4). Again, in the 430s the Corinthians brainwashed the Korkyreans they had taken prisoners in the naval battle of 435. Then, in collusion with their *proxenoi* in Korkyra, the Corinthians had them ransomed and sent back to Korkyra, where they began to agitate against Athens. The result was the disastrous *stasis* that broke out in 427 (Thuc. 1.55.1, 3.70.1).

[36] The Delian League: *IG* I^3 162, cf. Meiggs (1949). The Second Athenian Naval League: *IG* II^2 111.39–41, cf. Mosley (1973) 6.

[37] Conversely, if a member of one of the two Leagues was satisfied with the rule exercised by an Athenian *epitropos* or *archon* stationed in his city, the *polis* might bestow *proxenia* on the Athenian (*IG* XII 7.5 (C4m)).

REFERENCES

Beck, H. 1997. *Polis und Koinon* (Stuttgart).

Gauthier, P. 1972. *Symbola: les étrangers et la justice dans les cités grecques* (Nancy).

Gerolymatos, A. 1986. *Espionage and Treason: A Study of the Proxenia in Political and Military Intelligence Gathering in Classical Greece* (Amsterdam).

Gschnitzer, F. 1974. "*Proxenos*", *RE* suppl. xiii: 629–730.

Hammond, N. G. L. 1967. *Epirus* (Oxford).

Hasebroek, J. 1928. *Staat und Handel im alten Griechenland* (Tübingen).

Hornblower, S. 1996. *A Commentary on Thucydides II* (Oxford).

Klaffenbach, G. 1966. *Griechische Epigraphik* (Göttingen).

Lambrechts, A. 1958. *De Atheense Proxeniedecreten tot 323 v.C.* (Brussels).

Marek, C. 1984. *Die Proxenie* (Frankfurt am Main).

Meiggs, R. 1949. "A Note on Athenian Imperialism", *CR* 63: 9–12.

Mosley, D. J. 1973. *Envoys and Diplomacy in Ancient Greece* (Stuttgart).

Perlman, S. 1958. "A Note on the Political Importance of *Proxenia* in the Fourth Century B.C.", *CQ* 8: 185–91.

Poland, F. 1909. *Geschichte des griechischen Vereinswesens* (Leipzig).

Rhodes, P. J. 1995. "Epigraphical Evidence: Laws and Decrees", *CPCActs* 2: 91–112.

Walbank, M. B. 1978. *Athenian Proxenies of the Fifth Century B.C.* (Toronto and Sarasota).

Wallace, M. B. 1970. "Early Greek *Proxenoi*", *Phoenix* 24: 189–208.

Wilhelm, A. 1942. "Attische Urkunden V", *SBWien* 220: 11–86.

Theorodokoi as Evidence for *Polis* Identity

In the course of the Classical period it became standard procedure that Panhellenic festivals were announced by *theoroi* sent out from the community responsible for the festival to all the communities which could be expected to participate in the celebration (Boesch (1908) 7–11).[1] The technical term for the *theoroi*'s announcement was *epangelia* (Thuc. 5.49.2–3; 8.10.1; *SEG* 12 373.28 = Rigsby (1996) 26.11 (242/1)). The sources we have show that the *theoroi* were sent to all parts of the Hellenic world and it became customary in each and every community visited by the *theoroi* to have an officially appointed person whose duty it was to host and assist the *theoroi* (Perlman (1995), (2000)). Such a host was called a *theorodokos* and he was appointed sometimes by the community in which he lived, but sometimes by the community that sent out the *theoroi* (Perlman (2000) 60–62). The *theoroi* were normally sent out the year before the festival was celebrated, and the purpose of their mission was to invite the various communities to participate in the festival, to bring sacrifices in the name of their community, and to respect the sacred truce that was proclaimed in connection with the festival (Isoc. 4.43–44; Perlman (1995) 118). In the Classical period *theorodokoi* are attested in connection with the Olympic Games (*Syll.*[3] 171 = *IvO* 36 (365–363 = Perlman (2000) O.1)), the Pythian Games (*Syll.*[3] 90 with *SEG* 25 576 (C5l); *SEG* 24 379), the Nemean Games (*SEG* 36 331 = Perlman (2000) N.1 (C4l)[2]), the Asklepieia at Epidauros (*IG* IV².1 94–95 (C4m) = Perlman (2000) E.1)), and the Heraia at Argos (*SEG* 23 189 = Perlman (2000) A.1 (C4s)).[3] Our principal sources for the C4 *theorodokia* are substantial fragments of long lists of *theorodokoi* living in the places to be visited by the *theoroi* (see Index 15). The lists were drawn up by the communities responsible for the festivals and were organised as itineraries of the *theoroi*. The lists that are relevant for this investigation are two from Epidauros covering the years 359 (*IG* IV².1 94) and 355 (*IG* IV².1 95), and two from Argos both of C4l, one concerning the Nemea (*SEG* 36 331) and one concerning the Heraia (*SEG* 23 189). Finally there is a short list from Delphi, the oldest of them all, probably to be dated to C5l (*Syll.*[3] 90).[4]

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

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

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

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

[2] If Aristonous (listed without toponym in B 24 as the last of the Makedonian *theorodokoi*) is identical with the *somatophylax* of Alexander the Great (Perlman (2000) 251–52) it follows that the list must be dated to the years after 320 (Perlman (2000) 236) rather than to 323/2 as suggested by Miller (*SEG* 36 331).

[3] So far, there is no evidence for the Isthmia and the evidence for the Hemerasia in Lousoi is Hellenistic (C4l–C3e); cf. Perlman (2000) L.1–5). The list of Nemean *theorodokoi* "could date either from 331/0 . . . to 324 B.C. or from *post* 324 B.C. to 313 B.C." (Perlman (2000) 109). Perlman prefers the later date but does not exclude the earlier one.

[4] The longest of all the lists and the first to be found and published is a Delphic list of C3l published by Plassart in *BCH* 45 (1921) 1–85.

[5] Robert (1946) 506–10, (1982) 330–33; Daux (1949) 2; Perlman (1995) 115–18, (2000) 32–34, 45–60. Cf. also Cabanes (1976) 116–20; Gauthier (1979).

[6] Kahrstedt (1936) 425; Cook (1973) 221, 242–43, (1988) 9–19. Rigsby (1986) 353 n. 1 suspends judgement.

Classical period, and the link between the two institutions indicates that the *theorodokia* was a political institution too.

As an argument dissociating the *theorodokia* from the *proxenia* it has been objected that the *theorodokoi* served the god of the sanctuary connected with the festival while the *proxenoi* served the *polis*.[7] But it would be wrong to infer that it was the sanctuary which appointed or authorised the *theorodokoi*. Especially the evidence from Argos shows that *theoroi* were sent out and *theorodokoi* were appointed and/or authorised by the *polis* that administered the sanctuary and organised the festival (*SEG* 11 1084 = Perlman (2000) A 3 (C4l)), not by the sanctuary itself. The C4l list of Nemean *theorodokoi*, for example, was drawn up by Argos, not by Nemea, which was a sanctuary without being a *polis* (*SEG* 36 331; cf. Perlman (2000) 131–52).

Another argument dissociating the *theorodokia* from the *proxenia* has been that the *proxenoi* are identified by ethnics, the *theorodokoi* by a toponym, and that this testifies to an essential non-political character of the *theorodokia* since the Greeks invariably used ethnics to identify political communities (Charneux (1966) 160–62, 167–68). This observation can be countered by two other observations: (a) the lists of *theorodokoi* are itineraries reflecting the routes followed by the *theoroi* and the topographical organisation of the lists is the reason for the toponym being preferred to the ethnic (Perlman (2000) 29); (b) the orthodoxy that political communities are invariably identified by ethnics is a gross exaggeration. The legends on coins are often toponyms instead of ethnics; in the Athenian tribute lists the toponym is sometimes used to denote a member of the Delian League which indisputably was a *polis*; and in all major Greek authors the toponym is not infrequently found in places where a modern teacher of Greek prose composition would have marked it as an error and replaced it with the corresponding city-ethnic. Thus, given the context, there is nothing anomalous about using a toponym to denote a political community (*supra* 56).

The next argument adduced against the political character of the *theorodokia* concerns the status of the *theorodokoi*. If they had been officials of some kind, they would all have been citizens of their community. But the lists show that some were women and some foreigners (Charneux (1966) 160–62). However, in the Classical lists there is only one woman, *viz*. Kleopatra, and she was a queen (*SEG* 23 189.I.11). The other attestations of women belong in the Hellenistic period and, in all cases, the women served alongside men, as was then usual in a number of contexts. All the examples of non-citizen male *theorodokoi* are Hellenistic, and some of these persons, perhaps all, were Ptolemaic officers in charge of the city visited by the *theoroi* (Perlman (2000) 38–39).

But even assuming, for the sake of argument, that the duties incumbent on a *theorodokos* were purely private and without political overtones, there can be no doubt that the visit of the *theoroi* was political. If the purpose of their announcement of the forthcoming festival was to ensure that the community they visited would send a delegation to the festival and respect the sacred truce, then they must have stopped where they could get in touch with the authorities. Thus, the places they visited must have been the political centres of the communities in question, and therefore the list of *theorodokoi* can be used as evidence of the political status of these localities irrespective of the extent of the duties of the *theorodokoi*. Of course, that does not amount to proof that the place was a *polis*. It may have been the centre of an *ethnos* or a large monarchy (Gauthier (1979) 126; for examples, see *infra*).

Third, the debate over the nature of the *theorodokoi* has been obscured by the orthodoxy that a *polis* must be in possession of full independence and, accordingly, that dependent status is incompatible with being a *polis*. The recognition of the fact that there were a large number of dependent *poleis* (*ὑπήκοοι πόλεις*) has changed the character of the controversy. Thus, in 359 there were Epidaurian *theorodokoi* in Koroneia, Lebadeia, Orchomenos, Thebes and Thespiai. Now, Koroneia, Lebadeia, Orchomenos and Thespiai were member states of the Boiotian Federation and, in 359, they were in fact dependencies of Thebes. Gauthier (1979) 126–27 infers that this part of the Epidaurian list cannot be used as a source for the political status of the places in which there were *theorodokoi* to host the *theoroi*. If one takes the concept of the dependent *polis* into account, the inference is rather that the loss of independence did not necessarily entail that the Boiotian cities lost their status of being *poleis* or the right to be visited by Panhellenic *theoroi* and to have a *theorodokos*. Similarly, Naulochon, the port of Priene, and Notion, the port of Kolophon, were both dependent *poleis* in C4, and in *c.*330 both had *theorodokoi* to host *theoroi* from Argos.

In the preserved lists of *theorodokoi* the places visited by the *theoroi* are almost always identified by a toponym apparently denoting a settlement. In two cases only the place where a *theorodokos* resides is indicated by a regional eth-

[7] Boesch (1908) 119–20; cf. *SEG* 11 1084.27–30 = Perlman (2000) A.2: *ἦμεν δὲ καὶ προξένονς καὶ εὐεργέτανς τῶν Ἀργείων καὶ θεαροδόκονς τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Νεμέαι καὶ τᾶς Ἥρας τᾶς Ἀργείας* (C4l).

nic (Thesprotoi, Molossoi[8]), and in a further four cases by the name of a region (Chaonia, Epeiros (*bis*), Makedonia[9]). Thus, there are altogether six attestations of peoples and regions as against 135 attestations of toponyms which probably denote urban centres. The problem is: were these towns invariably *poleis*? Or could some of them be mere urban centres lying in the territory of a *polis* or in a community organised as a tribe or a monarchy, as suggested by Gauthier (1979) 126? A survey of the evidence may provide us with an answer to this question. Of altogether 135 toponyms recorded in the C4 lists of *theorodokoi*, ninety-three are explicitly attested as *poleis* in Archaic and Classical sources (*poleis* type A),[10] and seven others, though not called *polis* individually, are attested in lists of communities under the heading *πόλεις αἵδε vel sim.* (*poleis* type [A]).[11] For twenty-two more toponyms there is additional evidence strongly suggesting that they denoted *poleis*, e.g. coins, proxeny decrees, defence circuits (*poleis* type B),[12] and so we are left with thirteen communities for which *polis* status can seriously be called in question (*poleis* type C).[13] It is worth noting that eleven of the twenty-two toponyms classified as *poleis* type B and eight of the thirteen classified as type C belong in the regions of Epeiros, Akarnania and Aitolia. The high number of Bs reveals how inadequate our sources are for these regions: *polis* status in C4m is strongly indicated by, e.g., a C4 mint and *polis* status in the last decade of C4 combined with remains of impressive defence circuits enclosing nucleated habitation. It is probably just because of the paucity of the evidence that we have no direct contemporary attestation of these communities as *poleis* in the political and/or urban senses. The high number of Cs, however, may suggest a different explanation: apart from Greek colonies along the coasts, *polis* formation in these regions often took place as late as C4. Thus, it is a moot point whether these eight toponyms can be expected to denote proper *poleis* in the urban and political senses.

Let us adduce Kassopa as an example illustrating the problems we are facing. Kassopa lay in Epeiros where *polis* formation took place as late as in C4m and sometimes perhaps even later.[14] In Ps.-Skylax three sections are devoted to the Epeirote tribes: the Thesprotoi (30), the Kassopoi (31) and the Molottoi (32). Ps.-Skylax's treatise has been compiled from many sources and was revised several times. Therefore it is impossible to date the work; but there seems to be a case for taking *c.*330 to be the *terminus ante quem* for the treaty as a whole and for some chapters to assume a date of C4e while others may even go back to C5 (Flensted-Jensen and Hansen (1996) 137–38). In each of the three chapters describing Epeiros, the author states that the people (*ἔθνος*) lived *κατὰ κώμας*, and no *πόλις* is mentioned between Korkyra described at 29 as a *πόλις Ἑλληνίς* and Amphilochian Argos called *πόλις* at 33. But in the Epidaurian list of *theorodokoi* of, probably, 356, Kassopa is recorded between Pandosia, a colony of Elis, and the Thesprotoi, still recorded as a tribe (*IG* IV².1 95.24–6). The presumption is that the chapter in Ps.-Skylax antedates the Epidaurian list of *theorodokoi* and the shift from the ethnic *Κασσωποί* and the toponym *Κασσωπία* found in Ps.-Skylax 31 to the toponym *Κασσώπα* found in the Epidaurian list of *theorodokoi* strongly suggests that Kassopa was by now a *polis*, a presumption which has been supported by the recent excavations of the site. They have revealed that the city of Kassopa must have been founded around the mid-fourth century (Hoepfner and Schwandner (1994) 114–79); the excavators consider the circuit to belong to the period immediately after the synoikism and suggest a date *c.*350 (ibid. 123 with n. 298). The earliest attestation of Kassopa as a *polis* in the political sense is a C4l–C3e dedication on a statue base (*SEG* 34 589; cf. Diod. 19.88.3: *Κασσωπίαν πόλιν* (rC4l)), but, combining the literary, epigraphical and archaeological evidence, we have reason to assume that Kas-

[8] *Θεσπρωτοί* (*IG* IV².1.95.26); *Μολοσσοί* (*IG* IV².1 95.31).

[9] *Χαονία* (*IG* IV².1 95.29); *Ἤπειρος* (*IG* IV².1 95.23; *SEG* 23 189.11); *Μακεδονία* (*IG* IV².1 94.b.9). In a number of cases the name of a region is recorded without the name of a *theorodokos*, i.e. as a heading of several toponyms denoting towns within the region and each matched with the name of a *theorodokos*.

[10] *Sikelia*: Akragas, Gela, Katane, Leontinoi, Syrakousai, Zankle. *Italia*: Herakleia, Kroton, Lokroi, Metapontion, Rhegion, Taras, Thourioi. *Adria*: Apollonia. *Epeiros*: Kassope, Pandosia. *Akarnania*: Alyzeia, Ambrakia, Anaktorion, Argos, Astakos, Korkyra, Leukas, Oiniadai, Stratos. *West Lokris*: Amphissa, Naupaktos, Oianthea. *Phokis*: Delphi. *Boiotia*: Koroneia, Lebadeia, Orchomenos, Thebes, Thespiai. *Corinthia, Megaris, Sikyonia*: Corinth, Megara, Sikyon. *Achaia*: Helike. *Arkadia*: Alea, Heraia, Kleitor, Pallantion, Stymphalos, Tegea. *Attika*: Athens. *Euboia*: Eretria. *Islands*: Andros, Seriphos, Thasos. *Thessalia*: Atrax, Homolion, Larisa. *Makedonia*: Methone, Pydna. *Thrace: Axios to Strymon*: Apollonia, Arethousa, Amphipolis, Argilos, Aineia, Akanthos, Aphytis, Mende, Olynthos, Poteidaia, Skione, Stagiros, Stolos/Skolos. *Thrace, Strymon–Nestos*: Datos. *Thrace, Nestos-Ebros*: Abdera, Ainos, Maroneia. *Propontic Thrace*: Kios, Lampsakos. *Troas*: Tenedos. *Aiolis*: Kyme. *Ionia*: Chios, Ephesos, Erythrai, Klazomenai, Lebedos, Magnesia (Mai), Miletos, Naulochon, Notion, Pygela, Teos. *Karia*: Iasos. *Cyprus*: Salamis, Soloi. *Syria-Libya*: Barke?, Euhesperides?, Kyrene, Taucheira?

[11] *Italia*: Terina. *Aitolia*: Kalydon. *Thessaly*: Gyrton. *Chalkidike*: Dikaia, Kalindoia. *Thrace, Strymon-Nestos*: Neapolis. *Propontic Thrace*: Myrleia (Bryllion).

[12] *Epeiros*: Phoinike. *Akarnania*: Echinos, Euripos, Koronta, Limnaia, Medeon, Palairos, Phoitiai, Thyrreion, Torybeia. *Aitolia*: Proschion. *Achaia*: Phara? (perhaps in Arkadia). *Arkadia*: Alea, Methydrion, Pheneos, Torthyneion. *Thessaly*: Pharkadon. *Makedonia*: Allante. *Chalkidike*: Lete, Trallos. *Thrace, Strymon–Nestos*: Berga. *Cyprus*: Kourion.

[13] *Epeiros*: Artichia, Poionos or Torone?, Zmaratha. *Akarnania*: Derion, Hyporeiai. *Aitolia*: Akripos, Phyleia, Therminea. *Arkadia*: Halous, Koila. *Thessaly*: Oxynion, Pythoion. *Propontic Thrace*: Miletouteichos.

[14] The following section is a slightly revised version of Hansen (1995) 61.

sopa was a *polis* created in C4f and probably by some kind of synoikism of *komai*.

For several of the other communities in Epeiros and Akarnania, the entry in the list of *theorodokoi* is the only source we have: the toponym denotes an unlocated settlement, the person serving as *theorodokos* is otherwise unknown, and the information we possess cannot be linked to archaeological evidence. In all these cases we must simply suspend judgement and leave the toponym as being possibly the name of a *polis* (type C), but we cannot preclude the possiblitiy that it was the name of the urban and political centre of some *ethnos* or *koinon*.

To conclude: to send *theoroi* to the major Panhellenic sanctuaries and to participate in the Panhellenic festivals was one of the characteristics of a *polis* (*SEG* 22 444, cf. 27 106 (C5f)), and in C4 to have one or more *theorodokoi* to host the *theoroi* sent out to announce the festival can be taken as an important indication that the community in question was a *polis*; but it was not a *sine qua non* for being a *polis*. Once again Kassopa is a relevant example. The Epidaurian list of *theorodokoi* in Epeiros in 356 records Epeiros, Pandosia, Kassopa, the Thesprotoi, Poionos, Chaonia, Artichia, the Molossoi and Zmaratha (*IG* IV^2.1 95.23–30, 73–77). But in the Argive list of *theorodokoi* of *c.*330 the only entry left is [*Ἀπε*]*ιρος*. *Κλεοπάτρα* (*SEG* 23 189.I.11). Following Cabanes (1997) 81–87 we can assume that the various tribes, regions and *poleis* recorded in 356 were now united in a single political community called Epeiros. But that does not mean that the urban communities had lost their status of being *poleis*. Kassopa is explicitly attested as a *polis* in C4l–C3e (*supra*), and for the other urban centres recorded in the Epidaurian list, *viz*. Artichia, Pandosia, Poionos and Zmaratha, *polis* status is a possibility that must be taken into account. Pandosia is recorded as a *polis* in the 340s (Dem. 7.32; Theopomp. fr. 206) and may still have been a *polis c.*330. For the other towns we have no evidence and must suspend judgement.

Let us end this chapter with a warning: all the lists of *theorodokoi* are fragmentary, and even the completely preserved parts show surprising gaps. To mention just one example: in the Epidaurian list of 359 the *theoroi* visiting Boiotia south of Lake Kopais stop at Thespiai and Koroneia. Why is Haliartos missing from the list of *theorodokoi*? We know of no answer to this question and many others like it. We can only conclude from the material we possess that it is illegitimate to apply an argument from silence and infer that Haliartos was not a *polis* in 359. Thus, the absence of a *theorodokos* says nothing about the political status of a community, whereas the attestation of one testifies to one aspect of the political organisation of this community, and if the location in which the *theoroi* were hosted by a *theorodokos* was a town, the presence of a *theorodokos* indicates that it was the centre of a political community, i.e. a *polis*.

REFERENCES

Boesch, P. 1908. *ΘΕΩΡΟΣ: Untersuchungen zur Epangelie griechischer Feste* (Göttingen).

Cabanes, P. 1976. *L'Épire de la mort de Pyrrhos à la conquête romaine* (Paris).

Charneux, P. 1966. "Liste argienne de theárodoques", *BCH* 90: 156–239.

Cook, J. M. 1973. *The Troad* (Oxford).

—— 1988. "Cities in and around the Troad", *BSA* 83: 7–19.

Daux, G. 1949. "Listes delphiques de théarodoques", *REG* 62: 1–30.

Flensted-Jensen, P., and Hansen, M. H. 1996. "Pseudo-Skylax' Use of the Term *Polis*", *CPCPapers* 3: 137–67.

Gauthier, P. 1979. "Sur les institutions de l'Épire", *RevPhil* 53: 120–28.

Hansen, M. H. 1995. "*Kome*: A Study in How the Greeks Designated and Classified Settlements which were not *Poleis*", *CPCPapers* 2: 45–81.

Hoepfner, W., and Schwandner, E.-L. 1994. *Haus und Stadt im klassischen Griechenland*^{2} (Munich).

Kahrstedt, U. 1936. "Chalcidic Studies", *AJPh* 57: 416–44.

Monceaux, P. 1886. *Les Proxénies grecques* (Paris).

Perlman, P. 1995. "*ΘΕΩΡΟΔΟΚΟΥΝΤΕΣ ΕΝ ΤΑΙΣ ΠΟΛΕΣΙΝ*:. Panhellenic *Epangelia* and Political Status", *CPCActs* 2: 113–64.

—— 2000. *City and Sanctuary in Ancient Greece: The* Theorodokia *in the Peloponnese* (Göttingen).

Rigsby, K. J. 1986. "Notes sur la Crète hellénistique", *REG* 99: 350–60.

—— 1996. *Asylia* (Berkeley and Los Angeles).

Robert, L. 1946. "Villes de Carie et d'Ionie dans la liste des théorodoques de Delphes", *BCH* 70: 506–23.

—— 1982. "Documents d'Asie Mineure XX: Prolemaïs de Troade", *BCH* 106: 319–33.

Victors in Panhellenic Games as Evidence for *Polis* Identity

In the Classical period athletic contests were arranged by numerous communities throughout the Greek world,[1] e.g. by Pellene (no. 240) and by Pheneos (no. 291) in the Peloponnese. Some of these festivals, e.g. the *Asklepieia* at Epidauros (no. 348), were of Panhellenic stature and developed systems of *epangelia* and *theorodokia*.[2] However, the four truly Panhellenic festivals were those at Olympia, Nemea, Isthmia and Delphi, arranged in an institutionalised circuit (*periodos*)[3] from C6.[4] The four Panhellenic sanctuaries acted as important centres for *polis* interaction[5] and information about activity at these sanctuaries (oracle consultation, communal dedications, athletic participation, *etc.*) is included in the descriptions of the individual *poleis* in order to illuminate such interaction (see Index 16).

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

An athlete who wanted to compete at the Olympic Games not only had to be a Greek;[7] he also had to be a citizen of a recognised Greek state,[8] i.e. he had to belong to a community which had accepted and respected the sacred truce[9] proclaimed by the Eleian *theoroi*.[10] This is evident from the events of 420 as narrated at Thuc. 5.49.1–50.4.[11] In 420, the Eleians excluded Sparta from participation in the Olympics.[12] The Spartan exclusion was based on the fact, as the Eleians would have it, that the Spartans had violated the sacred truce by sending hoplites into territory which Elis claimed as its property.[13] A fine was imposed on the Spartans under Olympic law.[14] Since Sparta refused to pay the fine, the city was excluded from the Games.[15] This ban on Spartan participation meant that no individual Spartan could compete in the Games. Accordingly, the Spartan aristocrat Lichas, son of Arkesilaos, entered his hippic team not as Spartan but as Theban (or Boiotian).[16] The inference is that an athlete was allowed to compete only if he belonged to a community which had accepted the Olympic truce announced by the Eleian *theoroi* and respected the truce to the satisfaction of the Eleian authorities. It was shown in the section on *theorodokoi*[17] that the duties of the Panhel-

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

[1] Morgan (1990) 212.

[2] Perlman (2000) 67–97.

[3] Golden (1998) 10–11.

[4] Morgan (1990) 213.

[5] Lys. 33.1–2; Isoc. 4.43–44; Lewis (1996) 30. See also the vivid description in Casson (1979) 76–80 of the travelling occasioned by the Panhellenic games.

[6] The discussion does not consider the effects which Panhellenic athletic victories might have on the *poleis* of origin of the victors; for such a discussion, see Mann (2001).

[7] That Olympic competitors had to be of Greek ethnicity appears from Hdt. 2.160.1 though that passage does not *explicitly* contrast Greeks with other ethnic groups: *οἱ δὲ ⟨sc. Ἠλεῖοι⟩ ἔφασαν καὶ σφέων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων ὁμοίως τῷ βουλομένῳ ἐξεῖναι ἀγωνίζεσθαι*; however, it also appears from Hdt. 5.22.2 where there *is* an explicit contrast with non-Greeks: *Ἀλεξάνδρου γὰρ ἀεθλεύειν ἑλομένου καὶ καταβάντος ἐπ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο οἱ ἀντιθευσόμενοι Ἑλλήνων ἔξεργόν μιν, φάμενοι οὐ βαρβάρων ἀγωνιστέων εἶναι τὸν ἀγῶνα ἀλλὰ Ἑλλήνων. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ἐπειδὴ ἀπέδεξε ὡς εἴη Ἀργεῖος, ἐκρίθη τε εἶναι Ἕλλην καὶ ἀγωνιζόμενος στάδιον συνεξέπιπτε τῷ πρώτῳ*. The 30 days' training period at Elis prior to the Games is not attested in the Archaic and Classical periods (Lee (2001) 28). On other requirements etc., see Crowther (1996).

[8] A scholion in Syrianos says: *νόμος τὸν ἄπολιν ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ μὴ ἀγωνίζεσθαι* (*Rhetores Graeci*, ed. Walz, 4.546.25–26). No Archaic or Classical source explicitly states such a rule, but the following discussion will demonstrate that *de facto* a similar rule must have regulated Olympic participation at least in the Classical period.

[9] On the sacred truce, see Lämmer (1982–83).

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

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

[12] *Λακεδαιμόνιοι τοῦ ἱεροῦ ὑπὸ Ἠλείων εἴρχθησαν ὥστε μὴ θύειν μηδ' ἀγωνίζεσθαι* (Thuc. 5.49.1).

[13] *ἐπὶ Φύρκον τε τεῖχος ὅπλα ἐπενεγκεῖν καὶ ἐς Λέπρεον αὐτῶν ὁπλίτας ἐν ταῖς Ὀλυμπιακαῖς σπονδαῖς ἐσπέμψαι* (Thuc. 5.49.1).

[14] Thuc. 5.49.1.

[15] Thuc. 5.50.2.

[16] Thuc. 5.50.4 says that Lichas' team—which was victorious—was announced as Boiotian (*Βοιοτῶν δημοσίου*); however, Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.21 says that Lichas had handed the team over to the *Thebans* (*Λίχα παραδόντος Θηβαίοις τὸ ἅρμα*) and Paus. 6.2.2 says that Lichas entered the team *ἐπὶ ὀνόματι τοῦ Θηβαίων δήμου* and states that the Eleian victory records named the victor not as Lichas but as the Theban *demos*. So, Thucydides may be a little imprecise here (so *HCT ad loc.* suggests that "Thucydides may have made a mistake in writing *Βοιοτῶν*").

[17] *Supra* 104.

lenic *theoroi* were political and that the places visited by the *theoroi* were the political centres of *poleis*, *ethne* or monarchies. When an athlete of a given community is attested as an Olympic victor, the implication is that the community to which he belonged had been visited by the Eleian *theoroi* and was thus a political centre. If it can be shown that it was not the centre of an *ethnos* and not a monarchy, then we can assume that it was a *polis*.

The framework of the Panhellenic festivals was thus highly politicised, in the most literal sense of that word.[18] The *epangelia* was conducted by the *poleis* in charge of the sanctuary celebrating the festivals, the *polis* of Elis (no. 251) in the case of the Olympics;[19] the *polis* of Delphi (no. 177) in the case of the Pythian Games;[20] in the case of the Nemean Games it was the *polis* of Argos (no. 347)[21] after it had taken over the presidency of the Games from the minor *polis* of Kleonai (no. 351); and in the case of the Isthmian Games it seems a fair inference from Thuc. 8.9.1–10.1 that a system of *epangelia* was administered by the *polis* of Corinth (no. 227) by C5l.[22] The *theoroi* who conducted the *epangelia* did so at centres which were in the overwhelming majority of the cases *poleis*,[23] and the *theorodokoi* who assisted the *theoroi* were appointed either by the epangelic *poleis* themselves or by the *poleis* of which they were citizens.[24] *Poleis* which met the requests of the *epangelia* sent sacred delegations of ambassadors (also called *theoroi*)[25] to the festival, and "the *theoroi* of each *polis* conducted ritual acts in the Panhellenic sanctuaries in the name of that *polis*",[26] and the sending of such embassies was obviously a *polis* concern.[27]

Moreover, the athletes competed not only on their own behalf; they represented their *poleis* as well: mention of a victor commonly includes the recording of the *polis* to which he belonged.[28] Isocrates makes Alkibiades Junior say of his father that "although in no way untalented nor weak of body, he held the gymnic games in contempt since he knew that some of the athletes were lowborn and *from small city-states* . . ."[29] the clear implication is that the (lack of) prestige of a given *polis* reflected back on its athletes who were thus in a certain sense representatives of their *poleis*.[30] Conversely, an athlete's success in its turn reflected back on his *polis*.[31] *Poleis* bent on international glory might buy a victory from a successful athlete as Ephesos did in 384,[32] an incident which demonstrates that the Olympics were also thought of as a competition between *poleis*.[33] Classical *poleis* took great pride in the victories of their citizens: in 412, Exainetos of Akragas, victor in the Olympic *stadion* race, was escorted into the city by all Akragantine chariots, a clear testimony to the public importance attached to such a victory.[34] Conversely, *poleis* were greatly concerned if their athletes were 'dishonoured' by the Olympic authorities: according to Xenophon, a contributing reason for the Spartan war on Elis in C5l/C4e was the whipping of Lichas at the Games of 420;[35] and in C4l, when the Athenian athlete Kallippos had been convicted of having bribed his opponents, the Athenians sent no less a figure than Hypereides to have his fine lifted; when that proved impossible, the Athenians boycotted the Games.[36]

In other words, in the Classical period there was no sharp distinction between athletics and politics, and the attestation of a Panhellenic victor in this period is a good indication that the community of the victor was a *polis*. But presumably we cannot place quite the same significance on all *Archaic* victors. For instance, Lousoi (no. 279) is said to have produced an *Olympionikes* in 708;[37] nobody would seriously claim that Lousoi was a *polis* at that date.[38] There is thus a dividing line somewhere which is difficult to pin down, quite apart from the fact that the historicity of the earliest recorded victories may be questionable.[39] However, it does seem a reasonable position to assume that by C6 Panhellenic athletics had been politicised in the sense outlined above, or was in the process of becoming so.

It does, for instance, seem likely that by C6 the athletes were identified with the *poleis* to which they belonged: thus, in the list of *Olympionikai* as compiled by Moretti, if we

[18] Sourvinou-Inwood (1990) 297–99.

[19] Thuc. 5.49.2–3.

[20] Sourvinou-Inwood (1990) 299; cf. *CID* I 10.45–46 (380) with pp. 118–19; *SEG* 24 379 (C4m).

[21] Perlman (2000) 132; *supra* 103.

[22] See also Xen. *Hell.* 4.5.1: *ἦν ὁ μὲν ἐν ᾧ Ἴσθμια γίγνεται καὶ οἱ Ἀργεῖοι αὐτοῦ ἐτύγχανον τότε ποιοῦντες τὴν θυσίαν τῷ Ποσειδῶνι ὡς Ἄργους τῆς Κορίνθου ὄντος*. Cf. Morgan (1990) 214.

[23] *Supra* 105.

[24] *Supra* 103.

[25] Perlman (2000) 15 n. 15.

[26] Sourvinou-Inwood (1990) 298.

[27] Nielsen (2002) 203 n. 260; cf. schol. in Ar. *Pax* 342b1: *θεωροὺς δὲ ἐκάλουν τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων δημοσίως ἐκπεμπομένους συνθύσοντας καὶ συμπανηγυρίσοντας* (quoted in *RE* v². 2239).

[28] Nielsen (2002) 204 n. 264. Cf. Lys. 19.63: *ἐνίκησεν Ἰσθμοῖ καὶ Νεμέᾳ, ὥστε τὴν πόλιν κηρυχθῆναι*. Cf. the scholion quoted and discussed in Lee (2001) 69–70: *ἐν γὰρ τῷ ἀγῶνι οἱ νικῶντες καὶ ἀπὸ πατέρων ἀνηγορεύοντο καὶ ἀπὸ . . . πόλεων*.

[29] My italics; Miller (2000) 280; Isoc. 16.33 (*καὶ μικρὰς πόλεις οἰκοῦντας*).

[30] Nielsen (2002) 205 n. 266. Cf. Raschke (1988) 40.

[31] Nielsen (2002) 205 n. 267. Cf. *CEG* I no. 386 (*c.*450): *Κλενοτέραν πόλιν πατρίδ' ἐ[θε---]*; Xen. *Mem.* 3.7.1: *τοὺς στεφανίτας ἀγῶνας νικᾶν καὶ διὰ τοῦτο αὐτός τε τιμᾶσθαι καὶ τὴν πατρίδα ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι εὐδοκιμοτέραν ποιεῖν*.

[32] Paus. 6.18.6; Nielsen (2002) 205 n. 268.

[33] Lys. 33.1–2; Nielsen (2002) 205 n. 269.

[34] Diod. 13.82.7; cf. Nielsen (2002) 206; Sinos (1993) 75–78.

[35] *Hell.* 3.2.21.

[36] See further Nielsen, forthcoming.

[37] Cf. Nielsen (2002) 211.

[38] For the development of *poleis* in Arkadia, see Nielsen (2002) 159–228.

[39] Nielsen (2002) 211 and forthcoming; but see Mann (2001) 59–62.

look at the victors assigned to C6,[40] in all but four cases[41] Moretti is able to indicate their local community/*polis* and not merely their regional affiliation *vel sim.*[42] True, this is possible mostly on the basis of later sources, but it *does* probably imply that there was an identification of athlete with *polis* by C6.[43] Also, according to Paus. 6.18.7, the practice of erecting victory monuments began in C6m when wooden statues of Praxidamas of Aigina[44] and Rhexibios of Opous[45] were erected; Pausanias saw these statues and was able to identify them, presumably from inscriptions as he does elsewhere.[46] If he did identify them from inscriptions, these probably used city-ethnics to describe the athletes, and this would confirm the impression that by C6 athletes were identified with their *poleis*.[47] *SEG* 11 1227 (*c.*500) describes an *Olympionikes*[48] as *Λακεδαιμόνιος*[49] and thus confirms that city-ethnics were used in commemorations of Archaic victors.[50]

That Archaic *poleis* coveted Panhellenic victories is indicated by a possible instance of a public hippic team as early as 672[51] and by the report, if historical,[52] that Solon legislated on the amounts of money to be paid to Athenian Panhellenic victors.[53] But the best source is probably Xenophanes' critique of the honours paid to *Olympionikai*.[54] Possibly composed prior to 520[55] but certainly reflecting the later Archaic period, its evidence is highly relevant in the present context. The poet criticises the high standing of successful athletes in the eyes of the *astoi*: that is, *politai*.[56] The issue addressed is thus that of the relation between athlete and *polis*, and indeed the term *polis* appears four times in the poem (9, 19, 20, 22) alongside such terms as *δημόσιος* (8) and *εὐνομίη* (19). The poet clearly knew of such rewards for victory as *proedria* (7), public entertainment (8–9: *σῖτ' εἴη δημοσίων κτεάνων / ἐκ πόλεως*) and cash payments (9: *δῶρον ὅ οἱ κειμήλιον εἴη*).

It would, then, not be unreasonable to infer that already in C6 *poleis* exulted at Panhellenic victories, that athletic success reflected back on the *polis* of the victor, and that *poleis* identified with their athletes who (were) in their turn identified with their athletes.

Most importantly, a newly found inscription of *c.*525–500 from Olympia[57] indicates that by that time *poleis* played a significant role in the formal organisation of the Olympic Games. The inscription twice (4–5, 5–6) refers to a particular group of polities, "the Eleians and their *symmachoi*",[58] which seems to have held a peculiar position in the formal arrangements concerning the Games. The text furthermore refers generically to a *theoros*, an official envoy of a *polis*.[59] The general tenor of the text led the editors to the important observation that the traditional view that an athlete was on his own in Olympia is in need of serious modification;[60] and the information about *theoroi* in C6l indicates that an athlete did not participate independently of his *polis*.[61] In short, this *c.*525–500 inscription confirms that by C6l the formal organisation of the Olympics was already politicised or in the process of becoming so.[62]

It seems, in conclusion, that in C6 and in the Classical period the attestation of a Panhellenic victor from a given community is a strong indication that this community was a *polis* (if it was not an *ethnos* or a monarchy) and in actual fact most communities with attested victors *were poleis*.[63]

[40] *Olympionikai* nos. 77–166.

[41] No. 116 (Keos, a 4-*polis* island); no. 128 (Thessaly); no. 158 (*patris* unknown); no. 165 (Thessaly).

[42] Nielsen (2002) 207 n. 281.

[43] See also Mann (2001) 61–62.

[44] *Olympionikai* no. 112. [45] *Olympionikai* no. 119. [46] e.g. 6.15.8.

[47] Nielsen (2002) 207–8 n. 283.

[48] *Olympionikai* no. 160 on whom see Hodkinson (1999) 173–76.

[49] On the external individual use of *Λακεδαιμόνιος* as the city-ethnic of Sparta, see Sparta (no. 345).

[50] Nielsen (2002) 208; cf. Hermann (1988) 119: "Mag die Inschrift der Siegerstatue noch so kurz sein—kaum je fehlt der Name der Heimatpolis."

[51] Entered by Dyspontion (no. 250); cf. *Olympionikai* no. 39.

[52] The historicity of the report is accepted by Mann (2001) 68–80.

[53] Plut. *Sol.* 23.

[54] Xenophanes fr. 2, West. On this fragment see Bowra (1938); Marcovich (1978) 16–26; Kurke (1993).

[55] So Bowra (1938) 258; but see Marcovich (1978) 22–23. Tyrtaios fr. 12, West also implies that athletic success was highly regarded by Archaic *poleis*.

[56] *Astos* is a synonym of *polites*, see Hansen (1997) 10–11.

[57] Ebert and Siewert (1999).

[58] i.e. the Eleian *perioikoi* who lived in *poleis*, see Roy (1997) 285–89.

[59] Ebert and Siewert (1999) 409: "ein offizieller Festgesandter der Heimatpolis".

[60] Ibid. 410: "die herkömmliche Auffassung, die auswärtigen Athleten seien in Olympia völlig auf sich allein angewiesen, ist nach unserer Inschrift, wie es scheint, nicht mehr aufrecht zu erhalten".

[61] Ibid. 412: "revidiert . . . das herkömmliche Bild eines von der Heimatpolis weitgehend isolierten Auftreten eines Athleten beim olympischen Agon beträchtlich." Cf. Nielsen (2002) 210.

[62] There was no system of *theorodokia* in the Archaic period (Perlman (2000) 18–29), but it has been suggested that Elis (no. 251) was one of the *poleis* pioneering the institution of *proxenia* "to facilitate the operation of an international sanctuary" (Wallace (1970) 194, 195–96).

[63] Most of the communities in the list below were *poleis* of type A: Aitna (no. 8); Akragas (no. 9); Gela (no. 17); Himera (no. 24); Kamarina (no. 28); Naxos (no. 41); Syrakousai (no. 47); Zankle (no. 51); Kroton (no. 56); Lokroi (no. 59); Metapontion (no. 61); Poseidonia (no. 66); Rhegion (no. 68); Sybaris (no. 70); Taras (no. 71); Thourioi (no. 74); Apollonia (no. 77); Epidamnos (no. 79); Ambrakia (no. 113); Korkyra (no. 123); Stratos (no. 138); Delphi (no. 177); Parapotamioi (no. 188); Orchomenos (no. 213); Thebai (no. 221); Thespiai (no. 222); Corinth (no. 227); Megara (no. 225); Sikyon (no. 228); Aigeira (no. 230); Pellene (no. 240); Elis (no. 251); Kleitor (no. 276); Mantinea (no. 281); Oresthasion (no. 287); Stymphalos (no. 296); Tegea (no. 297); Lepreon (no. 306); Messene (no. 318); Sparta (no. 345); Argos (no. 347); Epidauros (no. 348); Phleious (no. 355); Troizen (no. 357); Aigina (no. 358); Athens (no. 361); Chalkis (no. 365); Eretria (no. 370); Karystos (373); Opous (no. 386); Larisa

It is not *proof* of *polis* status, though, and the Inventory excludes communities whose *polis* status is suggested *solely* by the attestation of a Panhellenic victor,[64] except in very special cases.[65]

(no. 401); Pharsalos (no. 413); Andros (no. 475); Kos Meropis (no. 499); Melos (no. 505); Peparethos (no. 511); Thasos (no. 526); Pella (no. 543); Maroneia (no. 646); Byzantion (no. 674); Mytilene (no. 798); Chios (840); Ephesos (no. 844); Klazomenai (no. 847); Kolophon (no. 848); Magnesia (no. 852); Miletos (no. 854); Samos (no. 864); Smyrna (no. 867); Halikarnassos (no. 886); Ialysos (no. 995); Rhodos (no. 1000); Barke (no. 1025); and Kyrene (no. 1028).

Some were *poleis* of type [A]: Kaulonia (no. 55); Terina (no. 73); Aigion (no. 231); Dyme (no. 234); Patrai (no. 239); Heraia (no. 274); Phigaleia (no. 292); Krannon (no. 400); Pielinna(ion) (no. 409); and Skotoussa (no. 415).

A few were *poleis* of type B: Pisa (no. 262) but here the victor is very early and without influence on its classification as a *polis* type B which is valid only for the mid-360s; Dipaia (no. 268); Lousoi (no. 279); Methydrion (no. 283); Pheneos (no. 291); Kleonai (no. 351); Tiryns (no. 356); and Astypalaia (no. 476).

Our sources sometimes describe victors not by city-ethnics but by regional ethnics, e.g. *Θετταλός* (e.g. *Olympionikai* nos. 291, 316, 384); or sub-regional ethnics such as *Μαινάλιος* (e.g. *Olympionikai* nos. 377, 393, 408); or by the ethnics of multipolate islands such as *Κεῖος* (*Olympionikai* nos. 116, 203, 288) or *Κρής* (e.g. *Olympionikai* nos. 297, 367b, 390). Such areas were all subdivided into *poleis* but in default of more detailed evidence it cannot be determined to which *polis* such victors belonged or why ethnics other than city-ethnics were preferred in describing them.

[64] See Mainalos in the list of pre-Hellenistic settlements in Arkadia (*infra* 507).

[65] Two communities of the wider region of Elis, Dyspontion (no. 250) and Lenos (no. 257), are included as *poleis* of type C in the chapter on Elis, primarily on account of some early Archaic *Olympionikai*. However, Elis is known to have contained a plurality of *poleis* (cf. Ps.-Skylax 43; Diod. 11.54.1) in particular prior to the synoecism of 471 (on which see Roy (2002)). It is extremely difficult to identify these Eleian *poleis* and so the attestation of *Olympionikai* from two local communities of wider Elis carries somewhat more weight than they would otherwise and leads to the classification of these communities as *poleis* of type C.

REFERENCES

Bowra, C. M. 1938. "Xenophanes and the Olympic Games", *AJP* 59: 257–79.

Casson, L. 1979. *Travel in the Ancient World*[2] (London).

Crowther, N. B. 1996. "Athlete and State: Qualifying for the Olympic Games in Ancient Greece", *Journal of Sport History* 23: 34–43.

Dougherty, C., and Kurke, L. (eds.) 1993. *Cultural Poetics in Archaic Greece: Cult, Performance, Politics* (Oxford).

Ebert, J. and Siewert, P. 1999. "Eine archaische Bronzeurkunde aus Olympia mit Vorschriften für Ringkämpfer und Kampfrichter", *OlBer* 11: 391–412.

Golden, M. 1998. *Sport and Society in Ancient Greece* (Cambridge).

Hansen, M. H. 1997. "The *Polis* as an Urban Centre: The Literary and Epigraphical Evidence", *CPCActs* 4: 9–86.

Herrmann, H.-V. 1988. "Die Siegerstatuen von Olympia", *Nikephoros* 1: 119–83.

Hodkinson, S. 1999. "An Agonistic Culture? Athletic Competition in Archaic and Classical Spartan Society", in S. Hodkinson and A. Powell (eds.), *Sparta: New Perspectives* (London) 147–87.

Kurke, L. 1993. "The Economy of *Kudos*", in Dougherty and Kurke (1993) 131–63.

Lämmer, M. 1982–83. "Der sogenannte olympische Friede in der griechischen Antike", *Stadion* 8–9: 47–83.

Lee, H. M. 2001. *The Program and Schedule of the Ancient Olympic Games*, *Nikephoros* Beihefte 6 (Hildesheim).

Lewis, S. 1996. *News and Society in the Greek Polis* (London).

Mann, C. 2001. *Athlet und Polis im archaischen und frühklassischen Griechenland*, Hypomnemata 138 (Göttingen).

Marcovich, M. 1978. "Xenophanes on Drinking-Parties and Olympic Games", *ICS* 3: 1–26.

Miller, S. G. 2000. "Naked Democracy", *Polis & Politics* 277–96.

Morgan, C. 1990. *Athletes and Oracles: The Transformation of Olympia and Delphi in the Eighth Century* (Cambridge).

Nielsen, T. H. 2002. *Arkadia and its* Poleis *in the Archaic and Classical Periods*, Hypomnemata 140 (Göttingen).

—— forthcoming. "A *Polis* as a Part of a Larger Identity Group: Glimpses from the History of Lepreon".

Perlman, P. 2000. *City and Sanctuary in Ancient Greece: The* Theorodokia *in the Peloponnese*, Hypomnemata 121 (Göttingen).

Raschke, W. J. 1988. "Images of Victory: Some New Considerations of Athletic Monuments", in W. J. Raschke (ed.), *The Archaeology of the Olympics: The Olympics and Other Festivals in Antiquity* (Madison) 38–54.

Roy, J. 1997. "The *Perioikoi* of Elis", *CPCActs* 4: 282–320.

—— 1998. "Thucydides 5.49.1–50.4: The Quarrel between Elis and Sparta in 420 BC, and Elis' Exploitation of Olympia", *Klio* 80: 360–68.

—— 2002. "The Synoecism of Elis", *CPCPapers* 6: 249–64.

Sinos, R. H. 1993. "Divine Selection: Epiphany and Politics in Archaic Greece", in Dougherty and Kurke (1993) 73–91.

Sourvinou-Inwood, C. 1990. "What is *Polis* Religion?", in O. Murray and S. Price (eds.), *The Greek City: From Homer to Alexander* (Oxford) 295–322.

Wallace, M. B. 1970. "Early Greek *Proxenoi*", *Phoenix* 24: 189–208.

The Delian League

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

The headings of all the tribute lists are so fragmentary that we cannot say whether they included the term *polis*.[6] On the other hand, in the assessment decree of 425/4 the heading of the list of the members is preserved and it does contain the term *polis* (*IG* I^3 71.58). Furthermore, the allies are collectively referred to as *poleis* in all the Athenian decrees which regulate the Delian League. One example suffices in this context: *polis* occurs eight times in the preserved parts of the coinage decree referring collectively to each and every member of the League (*IG* I^3 1453 pp. 898–99); for the other attestations, see Schuller (1995) 165 with nn. 2–14.

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

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

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

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

[1] 322 members are recorded by toponym and/or, presumably, city-ethnic; some of these are multipolate islands, cf. n. 14. 6 members are recorded by, presumably, regional ethnic; 5 Karian dynasts are recorded of whom 3 ruled *poleis* (also recorded among the 322 allies); and 1 ruled some Karians (also recorded among the regional ethnics). Furthermore the names of 19 members have been unconvincingly restored by the editors of *ATL* (*infra* 1360). Some members are not recorded in the inscriptions, *viz*. Chios (no. 883), Delos (no. 478), Lesbos (5 *poleis*) Samos (no. 864) and Skyros (no. 521). For a list of Athenian allies which were not members of the League, see Ste Croix (1972) 103.

[2] Hansen (1995) 32–33, *supra* 90 no. 8; Schuller (1974) 54–56, 109, 121.

[3] Hansen (1997*b*) 24–25.

[4] See *supra* 88 no. 2.

[5] See *supra* 89 no. 3.

[6] The occurrence of [τôμ πόλ]εον in the postscript to the first list is almost completely restored (*IG* I^3 259, *postscriptum* 5–6), and [πόλεs] is completely restored in the heading of *IG* I^3 287.7 and 289.6.

[7] *IG* I^3 278.VI.5–37; 279.II.76–100; 280.II.68–82; 281.I.59–66, II.31–41 (completely restored), III.42–68; 282.II.34–56, B.II–21; 283.III.32–35, fr. 2 (completely restored); 285.I.107–16, III.78 (completely restored). Cf. *IG* I^3 71.III.124–40, IV.126–47 (restored); 77.14–26. On the "rubrics", see *ATL* III 78–89; Schuller (1981).

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

sense are not normally called by toponym has to be modified considerably; see *supra* 56.

Second, in the inscriptions altogether eighty-four allies are recorded by toponym; of these thirty-two are listed sometimes by toponym, sometimes by ethnic; in almost all cases there is no detectable reason for the variation, nine are explicitly called *polis* in other classical sources (type A), seventeen were probably *poleis* (types [A]B and B), and six may have been *poleis* but we have no evidence (types [A]C and C). Of the fifty-two allies recorded by toponym only, twenty-four are directly attested as *poleis* in other classical sources (type A), eleven are known for important activities typical of a *polis* (type [A]B and B), for thirteen we have no further information (types [A]C and C), and four have not got an entry in the inventory.[9] The result is that most of the communities recorded by toponym were certainly or probably *poleis*. For a dozen or so the answer is that we have no evidence to settle the issue. The members in Lykia and Kilikia were probably indigenous polities, and some positive evidence which may indicate that allies recorded by toponym were *not poleis* is restricted to two communities, *viz*. Leros and Teichioussa, see *infra* 114. For unknown reasons toponyms occur much more frequently in the assessment decrees than in the tribute lists.[10]

Instead of distinguishing between toponyms and ethnics, we must compare the lists of allies with the information we have about the *polis* status of all the members, and for this purpose we have subdivided the entries in the lists into three groups: (1) allies recorded by toponym and/or by what is or seems to be a city-ethnic; (2) allies recorded by what is or seems to be a regional ethnic; (3) allies recorded by the name of a ruler.

Re (1) This group comprises the great majority of the allies, altogether 324 members. Of these 165 are explicitly called *poleis* in other classical sources (type A), eighty-one are known to have performed activities characteristic of a *polis* (types [A]B and B), e.g. striking coins, sending envoys to other *poleis*, getting a citizen appointed *proxenos* by another *polis*, having a *prytaneion* etc.[11]

We are left with seventy-eight allies for which the entry in the Athenian lists is the only evidence that the ally in question was a political unit. Seven of these are not included in this Inventory,[12] and two have broken names so that it is impossible to decide whether they are recorded by ethnic or by toponym. The remaining sixty-nine allies fall into three groups: for thirty-three we know both the ethnic and the toponym from which the ethnic was derived. Such a community was apparently centred on a nucleated settlement designated by the toponym; so the ethnic is a city-ethnic, and the presumption is that these communities were *poleis*. For fifteen allies we know only the toponym, and in the light of the above observations we are inclined to hold the reverse view of that of Avram and Schuller: the registration in the tribute lists indicates that these allies were polities; that they are registered by toponym indicates that they were centred on a nucleated settlement, i.e. that they were *poleis* rather than tribal communities of some sort. For twenty-one allies we know only the ethnic. There is no evidence to show that the ethnic was derived from the name of a nucleated settlement. Thus, it may have been a regional ethnic and the polity designated by the ethnic may not have been a *polis*, but some kind of "tribal" community, cf. e.g. the Amynandeis (no. 873), the Erineis (no. 884), the Hymisseis (no. 890) and eight other Karian members of the alliance. Alternatively, it may have been a sub-ethnic designating a civic subdivision and not a *polis*. Here some of the Rhodian members of the Delian League may serve as an example. In addition to the three well-attested *poleis*—Ialysos, Kamiros and Lindos—the tribute lists record four Rhodian allies: the Brikindarioi (no. 993), the Diakrioi (no. 994), the Oiatai (no. 998) and the Pedieis (no. 999). The first three were certainly, and the fourth possibly, situated in the Lindian territory. The Oiatai are twice recorded as *Οἰâται Λινδίον*.[13] Like Tanagra and Erythrai and several other *poleis*, Lindos was presumably a *polis* with dependent *poleis* inside its territory. Alternatively, we have to assume that these four communities were just civic subdivisions which for unknown reasons were treated as individual members of the Delian League and recorded by their sub-ethnic. Of the seven members not included in the Inventory five were indigenous communities (see n. 12). For Leros and Teichioussa, see the appendix *infra*. That is as far as we can get. To conclude: of all the 323 in this group, 245 were certainly or probably *poleis*[14] and for forty-eight of

[9] *Ionia*: Leros, Teichioussa; *Lykia*: Hiera; *Kilikia*: Sillyon.

[10] Unpublished MA thesis by Bjørn Paarmann.

[11] Coins: Dikaia (no. 568); envoys: Elaious (no. 663); *proxenos*: Kallatis (no. 686); *prytaneion*: Sigeion (no. 791).

[12] The Ionian settlements Leros (probably no longer a *polis* in C5), Teichioussa, see *infra*; and 5, probably, non-Greek allies: the Polichnaioi Kares in Karia, Hiera, Telemessos and Tymnesos in Lykia, and Sillyon in Pamphylia.

[13] *IG* I^3 259.III.26; 261.III.28, cf. *ATL* I 513.

[14] The number of *poleis* members is in fact 19 higher. 9 *poleis* are never recorded in the lists (Chios, Delos, Lesbos (5 *poleis*), Samos and Skyros), and on some multipolate islands the *poleis* paid together and were registered by the name of the island: Amorgos: 3 *poleis*; Keos: 4 *poleis* (Koresia once recorded

the remaining seventy-seven allies the chance that they were *poleis* seems to outweigh the chance that they were tribal communities of some kind. For the remaining twenty-nine there is no evidence.

Re (2) In addition to all the allies recorded by city-ethnic and/or toponym there are in the lists some communities listed not by city-ethnic but by regional ethnic: *viz*. the Bottiaians,[15] the Lykians,[16] some Karians,[17] and three communities recorded by an ethnic which may be a city-ethnic denoting a *polis* but may also have been a regional ethnic denoting a people: the Maiandrioi,[18] the Markaioi,[19] and the Mysoi.[20] The Bottiaians are known to have formed a federation composed of *poleis*.[21] All the other peoples are located in the northern or southern part of the west coast of Asia Minor: the Mysoi lived on the south coast of the Propontis, the Markaioi in Troas, the Maiandrioi in Karia. We do not know the precise identity and location of the Karians ruled by Tymnes. The Lykians formed a syntely and in 446/5 they paid 10 talents.[22] At that time most of Lykia was ruled from Xanthos by Kuprlli and it is a reasonable assumption that the ten talents were paid by Kuprlli on behalf of that part of Lykia he ruled.[23] The Lykians are not recorded in later lists, but some Lykian cities appear in other lists and in the assessment decree of 425/4.[24] The three remaining ethnics may have been names of tribal communities, but they may also have been *poleis*. In *ATL* the Maiandrioi are associated with a *polis* called Maiandros; Mysoi too have been interpreted as a city-ethnic and associated with the toponym Mysia. About the Markaioi there is no further evidence.

Re (3) Finally there are a few names of persons. They are obviously rulers and are traditionally described as "dynasts". Altogether five appear in the inscriptions and they are all Karian: Paktyes Idymeus,[25] Pikres Syangeleus,[26] Sa[- - - -] Killareus,[27] Sambaktys[28] and Tymnes.[29] Three of them, i.e. Paktyes, Pikres and Sa[- - -], were probably rulers of *poleis*, viz. Killareis (no. 901), Idyma (no. 893) and Syangela (no. 931), and they were not essentially different from the tyrants who ruled *poleis* in other parts of the Greek world. Only one of the five, Tymnes, is explicitly described as the ruler of a people rather than a *polis*. To conclude: The Delian League was unquestionably a League of *poleis*. The positive evidence for non-*polis* members is restricted to Leros[30] and Teichioussa, to the Bottiaians, the Lykians and some Karians, and to one ruler, Sambaktys who may or may not have been the ruler of a *polis*. For the rest the evidence is a *non liquet*.

On the other hand, not all the *poleis* were Hellenic *poleis*. Quite a few were mixed communities (marked β) and for many of the Karian, Pamphylian and Kilikian members of the League the other evidence indicates that these *poleis* were basically barbarian city-states in a Hellenic context and with a thin varnish of Hellenisation (marked γ). They did not become proper Greek *poleis* until the Hellenistic period. Especially Lykia seems in C5 still to have had its own indigenous culture and political organisation. The Lykian alphabet and coinage betray Greek influence, but it would be wrong to see Lykia as part of the Greek world before the Hellenistic or at least the Hekatomnid period (Marksteiner (2002)). Therefore, the Pamphylian *polis* Sillyon and the Lykian *poleis* have been kept out of the inventory except the Greek colony Phaselis (no. 942). Also, some of the Karian, Pamphylian and Kilikian polities, included in the Inventory and recorded as *poleis* γ, have been given the benefit of the doubt and would probably have been removed from the Inventory if we had had better sources.

separately); Kos: 3 *poleis*; Lemnos: 2 *poleis* (sometimes recorded separately); Mykonos: 2 *poleis*; Peparethos: 3 *poleis*; Skiathos: 2 *poleis*.

[15] *Βοττιαῖοι*: *IG* I^3 266.II.19

[16] *Λύκιοι* (*IG* I^3 261.I.30; 262.V.33; 266.III.34) *ATL* I 513–14. It appears from the third reference that the Lykians formed a syntely.

[17] *Viz*. those ruled by Tymnes, see *supra*.

[18] *Μαιάνδριοι* (*IG* I^3 71.I.133; 259.III.29; 261.IV.5; 267.V.19) *ATL* I 514–15, *Barr*. map 61, lat. 37.45, long. 27.25, identified with a city which in Steph. Byz. 425.20–22 is called Maiandropolis or Maiandros.

[19] *Μαρκαῖοι* (*IG* I^3 100 = Krateros fr. 23). *Μαρκαῖοι* (Steph. Byz. 433.14, MS B, MSS A and V have *Μαρκαίσσσιοι*) *Μάρκαιον* (conj. Meineke). Steph. Byz. describes Markaion as a mountain in the Troas near Gergis whose inhabitants are called Markaioi (or Markaiissioi). On the assumption that Stephanos' source is Krateros who again copied the assessment decree of 410/09, *IG* I^3 100 records the *Μαρκαῖοι* [- - - -] (fr. 23) as if they appeared on the stone.

[20] *Μυσοί*: *IG* I^3 71.III.69–70; 259.V.15.

[21] *IG* I^3 76.43–53; cf. Flensted-Jensen (1995) 126–28.

[22] *Λύκιοι καὶ συν*[*τελ*] (*IG* I^3 266.3.34).

[23] Keen (1998) 118–24, *infra* 1141.

[24] Iera (*IG* I^3 71.II.153–54); Telemessos (*IG* I^3 266.III.33, restored at 261.I.29 and 262.V.32); Tymnessos (*IG* I^3 71.I.141).

[25] *Πακτύες Ἰδυμ*[*εύς*] (*IG* I^3 260.I.16, cf. 262.IV.20).

[26] *Πίκρες Συαν*[*γελεύς*] (*IG* I^3 259.V.16); *Συαγγελὲς hὸν ἄρχει Πίτρες* (*IG* I^3 284.7–8, cf. 263.I.14–15; 280.I.66–67; 282.IV.48–49).

[27] [*Κι*]*λλ*[*αρὲς hὸ*]*ν Σα*[- - - *ἄρχει*] (*IG* I^3 71.II.96–97).

[28] *Σαμβακτύς* (*IG* I^3 261.V.12); [*Σαμβακτ*]*ύς* (*IG* I^3 259.II.27).

[29] *Κάρες hὸν Τύμνες ἄρχει IG* I^3 71.I.113–14; 267.III.25; 270.V.10 (completely restored); 271.I.84; 272.II.79.

[30] Leros may have been a *polis* in the Archaic period, see no. 504.

APPENDIX

Leros and Teichioussa

The ethnic Lerios is attested in C6, presumaby as a city-ethnic,[31] but in the Hellenistic and Roman periods it was a demotic designating one of the Milesian demes.[32] Thus Leros (no. 504) seems to have been a *polis* in the Archaic period but a civic subdivision in the Hellenistic period. What was its status in C5? And what was that of Teichioussa? The evidence we have comes from the Athenian tribute lists. In the first list, that of 454/3 (*IG* I^3 259), Miletos, Leros and Teichioussa are recorded, the Milesians separately in the third column (19),[33] Leros and Teichioussa together in the sixth: 19–20: *Μιλέσιοι [ἐ]χς Λέρο : HHH*. 21–2: *[Μι]λέσιοι [ἐκ Τ]ειχιόσσε[ς : ---]*. In the 420s *Μιλέσιοι*, *Λέρος* and *Τειχιόσσα* appear side by side; sometimes they pay together (*IG* I^3 285.I.88–90; 289.36–38, cf. 71.I.121–22), sometimes separately (*IG* I^3 284.15–17). Why were Leros and Teichioussa recorded alongside Miletos? With the improved reading of *IG* I^3 259.III.18–19 there is no longer any cogent reason to suppose an opposition in 454 between Milesians who had revolted against Athens and Milesians in Leros and Teichioussa who were loyal to Athens.[34] On the other hand *stasis* in Miletos and Athenian intervention is attested in [Xen.] *Ath. pol*. 3.11 and *IG* I^3 21 (450/49 or 426/5). Apparently, we have a choice of three interpretations: (a) By C5m Leros and Teichioussa had already become Milesian demes and were civic subdivisions recorded separately as Athenian allies and sometimes paying separately; (b) during a severe *stasis*, the Milesians were for a period split up into three rival polities centred in Miletos, Leros and Teichioussa. For a *stasis* between three and not two factions, cf. Athens in C6f; (c) just as Erythrai seems to have had a number of small dependent *poleis* lying on its territory, so Miletos may have had Leros and Teichioussa as dependent *poleis*, not yet fully incorporated into Miletos and therefore in some cases recorded separately as members of the Delian League. The three scenarios are by no means incompatible. The recording at 259.VI.19–22 of Leros and Teichioussa as inhabited by Milesians may be adduced in favour of (a) but it is unlikely that mere civic subdivisions were recorded separately as members of the Delian league. *Stasis* leading to a temporary fragmentation of Miletos into three polities (*poleis*?) may explain the entry in 454/3, but not the entries in the 420s when the three communities usually paid together. If there was *stasis* in the 420s, it did not result in the formation of three separate polities. On the other hand, if Leros and Teichioussa had been dependent *poleis* we might have expected the ethnic *Λέριοι* instead of *Μιλέσιοι ἐχς Λέρο*, but not necessarily, cf. e.g. Imbros (no. 483), one of the dependent *poleis* inhabited by Athenians and attested sometimes as Imbrians and sometimes as the Athenian *demos* on Imbros. As the evidence stands we have preferred not to record Teichioussa as a *polis* and to restrict the existence of a Lerian *polis* to the Archaic period.

[31] Demodokos fr. 2.1–2, West = *Ant. Pal.* 11.235, see no. 504 *infra*.

[32] *I.Didyma* 215.B.1 (first century AD), cf. Jones, *POAG* 323–24.

[33] At 259.III.18–19 *IG* I^3 still has Meritt's (1972) conjecture: *Νεοπο[λῖται ἐκνν] Μιλέ[το ἐν Λευκοι]*, but later Lewis accepted Piérart's suggestion (1974) 164–67 to read the lines as two separate entries of which the second records the contribution of the Milesians (Lewis (1994) 295), cf. Gorman (2001) 223–24. Thus, the preferable reading is III.18: *Νεοπο[λῖται ---]*, 19: *Μιλέ[σιοι ---]*.

[34] Argued by Pierart (1974) against Meritt (1972).

REFERENCES

Avram, A. 1995. "*Poleis* und Nicht-*Poleis* im ersten und zweiten attischen Seebund", *CPCPapers* 2: 191–200.

Flensted-Jensen, P. 1995. "The Bottiaians and their *Poleis*", *CPCPapers* 2: 103–32.

Gorman, V. B. 2001. *Miletos, the Ornament of Ionia: A History of the City to 400 B.C.E.* (Ann Arbor).

Hansen, M. H. 1995. "The 'Autonomous' City-State: Ancient Fact or Modern Fiction?", *CPCPapers* 2: 21–43.

—— 1997*a*. "*Πόλις* as the Generic Term for State", *CPCPapers* 4: 9–15.

—— 1997*b*. "Hekataios' Use of the Word *Polis* in his *Periegesis*", *CPCPapers* 4: 17–27.

Keen, A. G. 1998. *Dynastic Lykia* (Leiden).

Lewis, D. M. 1994. "The Athenian Tribute-Quota Lists, 453–50 BC", *BSA* 89: 285–301.

Marksteiner, T. 2002. "Städtische Strukturen im vorhellenistischen Lykien", *Six City-State Cultures* 57–72.

Meritt, B. D. 1972. "The Tribute Quota List of 454/3 B.C.", *Hesperia* 41: 403–17.

Piérart, M. 1974. "Milet dans la première liste de tributs", *ZPE* 15: 163–67.

Schuller, W. 1974. *Die Herrschaft der Athener im Ersten Attischen Seebund* (Berlin).

—— 1981. "Über die *ΙΔΙΩΤΑΙ*-Rubrik in den attischen Tributlisten", *ZPE* 42: 141–51.

—— 1995. "Poleis im ersten attischen Seebund", *CPCActs* 2: 165–70.

Ste Croix, G. E. M. de 1972. *The Origins of the Peloponnesian War* (London).

The Emergence of *Poleis* by *Synoikismos*

The topic of this chapter is the voluntary or enforced relocation of communities (see Index 21). The Greek terms most commonly used are the noun *συνοικισμός* with the verbs *συνοικίζειν* and *συνοικεῖν*.[1] They are frequently found in sources of the Hellenistic and Roman periods, but the noun *συνοικισμός* is unattested in Archaic and Classical texts,[2] and the verbs are not common in pre-Hellenistic sources either. Furthermore the verbs are used in our texts not only about the relocation of neighbouring communities[3] but also about the foundation of distant colonies which we treat separately *infra* 150–53.[4] Therefore, more than in the other chapters, the analysis of synoecism has to include retrospective sources of the Hellenistic and Roman periods and, by excluding colonisation, we are applying a modern delimitation of the concept of synoecism whereas, apparently, the Greeks did not draw a sharp line between the two phenomena.

Synoikismos means "moving together" and can be used of any kind of joint settlement, including matrimonial cohabitation.[5] When used in the specific sense of relocation of peoples, it denotes the relocation of one or more communities either to a new-built settlement where the immigrants become merged with one another, or to a pre-existing settlement where the immigrants become merged with the inhabitants. An example of the first form is the synoecism of Rhodos (no. 1000) in 408/7 whereby communities coming from the *poleis* of Lindos, Ialysos and Kamiros founded a new urban centre and gave it the name of the island: Rhodos. An example of the second form is the synoecism in C4m whereby the city of Orchomenos (no. 286) was reinforced by a contingent of immigrants coming from the small *polis* of Euaimon.

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

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

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

The distinction proposed by Demand is admirably clear,

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

[2] The oldest occurrence of *συνοικισμός* is Polyb. 4.33.7, where it is used retrospectively about the synoecisms of Messene and Megalopolis in C4f. Thuc. 3.3.1 uses *ξυνοίκισις* about the synoecism planned by Mytilene in 428 and *IPArk* 15.2, 55–56, 74–75 (= *Staatsverträge* no. 297) has *συϝοικία* about the synoecism of Euaimon and Orchomenos in C4m. Similarly the Athenian festival celebrating the synoecism of Attika was called *συνοίκια* (Thuc. 2.15.2; *IG* I^3 244.C.16).

[3] *συνοικίζειν*: Thuc. 2.16.1 (Athens in the age of Theseus); Thuc. 3.2.3 (Mytilene 428); *Hell. Oxy.* 20.3 (Thebai 431); Dem. 19.263 (Olynth 370s); Aeschin. 3.113 (Kirrha in C6e); Lycurg. 1.62 (Messene 370/69). Used about synoecism in general: Thuc. 1.10.2; Isoc. 15.82. *συνοικεῖν*: Thuc. 2.68.5 (Argos Amphilochikon 440s) Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 39.3 (Eleusis 403).

[4] *συνοικίζειν*: Thuc. 1.24.2 (Epidamnos) Thuc. 3.93.1 (Herakleia Trachinia); Thuc. 6.5.1 (Himera); Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 15.2 (Raikelos). *συνοικεῖν*: Arist. *Pol.* 1303^{a}28 (Sybaris).

[5] Hdt. 2.121ζ; Men. *Aspis* 133.

[6] According to Davies (1992) 28, an act of colonisation is described as a *synoecism* only if the colony was a joint foundation of several *poleis*. That is often the case, cf. Thuc. 1.24.2 about Epidamnos as a joint colony of Korkyra and Corinth, but in our sources the terms *συνοικισμός* and *συνοικίζειν* are also applied to the sending out of colonists from one *polis* only, e.g., Raikelos (Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 15.2); colonies founded by Eretria or by Chalkis (Arist. fr. 618); Amphipolis (Diod. 12.32.3); "Pornеropolis" (Theopomp. fr. 110); Abydos and Prokonnesos (Strabo 13.1.12); Chalkidian colonies in Chalkidike (Strabo 7 fr. 11). Examples of long-distance relocations are Alalie C6m (no. 1), Kolophon C7m (no. 848) and Phokaia C6m (no. 861).

[7] Diodoros uses the verb *μετοικίζειν* to describe the relocation of Pydna (Diod. 13.49.2) and of Oropos (Diod. 14.17.3), but at 15.94.1–3 this verb is used synonymously with *συνοικίζειν* to describe the synoecism of Megalopolis. The best-known examples of short-distance relocations are: Lilaia (no. 185) C5; Oropos C5l (no. 214); Pydna C5l (no. 544); Abdera C4m (no. 640); Chersonesos C5s (no. 695); Klazomenai C6m (no. 847); Skepsis C6 (no. 792); Kolophon C5l (no. 848); Magnesia 400 (no. 852); Priene? C4 (no. 861); Karyanba in C4l? (no. 896); Knidos in C4 (no. 903); Latmos in C4m (no. 910); Myndos in C4e (no. 914); Syangela in C6m? (no. 931).

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

but does not stand up to scrutiny. In 408/7 it was not the intention to evacuate Lindos, Ialysos and Kamiros and make Rhodes the only urban centre of the island. Rhodos city (no. 1000) was settled by three contingents of citizens each coming from one of the three *poleis*, but the three founding cities persisted after the synoecism both as nucleated centres and as dependent political communities, and they were still referred to as being *poleis*. Similarly, the three communities which contributed to the synoecism of Kos (no. 497) in 366/5 did not disappear after the emergence of the new city, and Arkadian Euaimon probably persisted after its synoecism with Orchomenos (no. 286) in C4m. Not one single Arkadian *polis* is known to have disappeared in consequence of the synoecism of Megalopolis (no. 282) in 368. And a glance at the index of synoecisms shows that it was the exception to relocate a community in its entirety. As a rule a synoecism was both planned and performed as a relocation of a part of the population of the settlements involved.

A different and, we think, preferable criterion by which one can distinguish between colonisation and synoecism in the strict sense is the distance between the old and the new settlement. By contrast with colonisation, a synoecism in the strict sense entailed a relocation of populations over short distances only. The communities involved in a synoecism were neighbours and, in Hellas, they belonged to the same region, e.g. Achaia, Elis, Arkadia, etc. The establishment of a colony entailed an opposition (though not necessarily a confrontation) between the colonists and the indigenous population. After a synoecism the relocated people continued to live in their own region and with the same neighbours. Another difference is that a synoecised *polis* did not have a *metropolis* (though it could have one or more *oikistai*[9]).

A synoecism which involved the foundation of a new city had a number of aspects of which some were urbanistic and some were political. By the synoecism of Megalopolis a new urban centre was created with defence circuit, agora, temples, theatre, stoas and habitation quarters. But at the same time was created a polity whose citizens were ruled by their own assembly, council and magistrates. A new *polis* had emerged both in the urban and in the political sense.

The two aspects were often combined, but the prevailing view among ancient historians is that they could appear separately: there were "political synoecisms" which did not entail any relocation of communities[10] and "physical synoecisms" which consisted in relocation of communities unaccompanied by political reforms.

It is true that there were synoecisms which did not lead to the creation of a new *polis*, e.g. those of Olynthos (no. 588) in 432 and the 370s. But purely political synoecisms are unattested, apart from one which is mythological, *viz.* the synoecism of Attika as described in Thuc. 2.15.1–2: originally Attika was divided between a number of *poleis*; but Theseus closed down the *prytaneia* and *bouleuteria* of all the other *poleis*, he had their magistracies discontinued and created instead one centralised *polis* with one *bouleuterion* and one *prytaneion*. The settlement pattern continued unchanged; nevertheless Thucydides describes the reform as a synoecism: *Θησεὺς . . . ξυνῴκισε πάντας*. In other sources, however, the unification of Attika is described as a proper physical synoecism.[11] In Classical Athens Theseus' synoecism of Attika was celebrated at a festival called *Synoikia*.[12] The name of the festival indicates that what the Athenians celebrated was not just the political unification of Attica but the foundation of Athens. Thucydides seems to have kept the traditional terms but reinterpreted the event.

Apart from Theseus' synoecism of Attika, which even the Greeks themselves placed midway between myth and history, there is one other similar example of a so-called political synoecism, *viz.* Herodotos' description of the Ionians' abortive attempt to unite and become one *polis* (Moggi, *Sin.* 95–99). After the sack of Sardis by Kyros *c.*547/6 the Ionian cities convened a meeting in which, according to Herodotos, Thales the philosopher proposed that the Ionians should set up a common *bouleuterion* for all the Ionian *poleis* in Teos (no. 868), whereby all the other *poleis*, though kept as urban centres just as before, would change their status and become demes instead of *poleis* (Hdt. 1.170.3).

Thus, the political unification of a number of *poleis* by the creation of a common central place for political decision making seems to be an abstraction just like the social contract in later political philosophy. Of the two examples we have of a "purely political synoecism" one is mythological and interpreted differently by Thucydides and our other Athenian sources; the other is a proposal that came to nothing and is not even called a synoecism by our only source. As far as we know the history of Greece, there is no example of a synoecism, whereby a new *polis* in the political sense was set up through an agreement between a number of settlements by which each surrendered (some of) its self-government to a set of political institutions convened in

[9] Megalopolis had 10 (Paus. 8.27.2), Messene 1 (Paus. 4.26.7).

[10] Kahrstedt (1932) 1435; Demand (1990) 10; Davies (1992) 28 type v; Rhodes (2001) 1161; Moggi, *Sin.* nos. 12, 16, 35, 36, 37, 39, 44, 47.

[11] Isoc. 10.35; Diod. 4.61.8; Plut. *Thes.* 24.1.

[12] Thuc. 2.15.2; *IG* I^3 244C.16; Parker (1996) 14.

one of the settlements, while the settlement pattern was left intact. We know of formation of federations, called *koina* or *sympoliteiai*,[13] but they did not entail any political eradication of the *poleis* involved; the *poleis* of a federation persisted as member states of the new comon organisation. Again we know of one *polis* being incorporated into another *polis* and transformed into a civic subdivision or a dependent *polis* of a larger and more powerful *polis*,[14] but such purely political annexations did not entail the creation of a new common political centre.

All well-attested examples of *polis* formation by synoecism seem to have involved the relocation of one or more communities. As suggested by the terminology, it was the physical and not the political aspect of a synoecism that was the more important. A synoecism seems invariably to have involved relocation of people from one or more settlements to one settlement which thereby was founded or reinforced. But usually only a part of the population of the communities involved was transferred to the new or reinforced settlement. The dissociation of the political aspect from the essential physical character of several synoecisms has been further substantiated by a number of recent investigations. (a) The evidence we have about the political reforms of Demonax of Mantinea strongly suggests that Mantinea (no. 281) was a *polis* before the synoecism described by Strabo. So this synoecism was probably the reinforcement of a pre-existing *polis* not the creation of a new one (Nielsen (2002) 192). (b) The synoecism of Elis (no. 251) in 471 was not the creation of a new *polis* but the reinforcement of an existing one. There is ample evidence that Elis was a *polis* in C6l, both in the urban and in the political sense, and that the synoecism of 471 was principally demographic and urbanistic (Hansen (1995) 58–60; Roy (2002)). (c) The political unification of Rhodos was a protracted process and the formation of the Rhodian *polis* in the political sense should not be reduced to the political aspect of the synoecism in 408/7 which, according to our source, consisted in the creation of an urban centre (Gabrielsen (2000) 180–90). (d) A recent study of the coinage of Kos (no. 497) demonstrates that the Koan mint, traditionally connected with the synoecism of 366/5, must have started striking coins already in the 390s (Ingvaldsen (2002)).

If we focus on the urbanistic aspect of the synoecism, we can say that, in principle, there are the following four forms of synoecism:[15] (a) a *polis* is created by merging a number of *komai* or *demoi*; (b) a *polis* is created by merging two or more *poleis*; (c) a *polis* is reinforced by absorbing one or more neighbouring *komai* or *demoi*; (d) a *polis* is reinforced by absorbing one or more neighbouring *poleis*; (e) possible variants are a combination of (a) and (b) and a combination of (c) and (d).

Re (a) This is Aristotle's model of the emergence of the *polis* in *Politics* book 1: a number of *komai* were united to form a fully fledged *polis*. That Aristotle has a synoecism in mind is clear from the term he uses, *viz.* *συνῆλθον* (*Pol.* $1252^{b}20$). This verb is found again in several other descriptions of synoecisms and is almost a technical term.[16] Aristotle's model is a very likely explanation of how many *poleis* must have developed, but it is not well attested historically. The best-known case is the synoecism of the *polis* of Mantinea in 370, created by the relocation of the population of five *komai*; but since it was a refoundation of a *polis* split up into *komai* only 15 years earlier, this synoecism is not a good example of how *poleis* developed from scratch. More relevant in that context are Megara and Tanagra. We learn that both *poleis* were originally settled in *komai*, but in both cases the source is probably one of the Aristotelian *politeiai*,[17] and the synoecisms must have taken place so early that Aristotle and/or his pupils cannot have had access to explicit and reliable information. Therefore we cannot know whether they tailored the evidence they had to fit their model or whether they built their model on the evidence they had. A third example is a whole series of synoecisms mentioned by Strabo in connection with the synoecism of Elis in 471. Mantinea was synoecised from five demes, Tegea from nine, Heraia from nine, Aigion from seven or eight, Patrai from seven, and Dyme from eight.[18] All these Aristotelian synoecisms may be historical but they are very difficult to place in time and they are unsupported by older and more reliable sources. Better examples are probably the C4m synoecisms of Metropolis in Thessaly (no. 403), known from Strabo 9.5.17 and, especially, Kassopa in north-western Greece (no. 100) where *polis* formation took place as late as the mid-

[13] Giovannini (1971) 16–24.

[14] Cf. the incorporation of Styra (no. 377) and Grynchai (no. 371) into Eretria in, probably, C5l (Moggi, *Sin.* 227–35) and the incorporation of Posideion (no. 376) and Dion (no. 368) into Histiaia/Oreos in C4e (Moggi, *Sin.* 236–37, 242–50).

[15] Hansen (1995) 57–58. Writing about *komai*, Swoboda (1924) 956–60 concentrates on (a) and (c) which he further subdivides by distinguishing between whether the entire population in the *komai* is removed to the *polis* or whether the *komai* are allowed to persist as villages side by side with the *polis*.

[16] Arist. *Eth. Eud.* $1242^{a}7$–10; Isoc. 3.6 = 15.254; *Anonymus Iamblichi* 6.1, DK; Strabo 7, fr. 11; 8.3.2; schol. Thuc. 2.16. Demand (1990) 26–27.

[17] The source is in both cases Plut. *Quaest. Graec.* For Megara, see no. 17 (*Mor.* 295B–C); for Tanagra, see no. 37 (*Mor.* 299C–E). For the view that the ultimate source of Plut. *Quaest. Graec.* is the Aristotelian collection of *politeiai*, see Giesen (1901) 464 and Hansen (1995) 53.

[18] Strabo 8.3.2; Moggi, *Sin.* 15 (Patrai), 20 (Dyme), 21 (Aigion), 23 (Tegea), 24 (Mantinea), 41 (Heraia); cf. Demand (1990) 61–72.

fourth century. In Ps.-Skylax three sections are devoted to the Epeirote tribes: the Thesprotoi (30), the Kassopoi (31) and the Molottoi (32). In each chapter the author states that the people (ἔθνος) lived κατὰ κώμας, and no *polis* is mentioned between Korkyra described at 29 as a πόλις Ἑλληνίς and the Amphilochaian Argos called πόλις at 33. But in the Epidaurian list of *theorodokoi* of, probably, 356 Kassopa is recorded between Pandosia, a colony of Elis, and the Thesprotoi, still recorded as a tribe (*IG* IV².1 95.24–26). The shift from the Kassopoi in Ps.-Skylax to Kassopa in the list of *theorodokoi* strongly suggests that Kassopa was by now a *polis* and that is confirmed by recent excavations of the site. They have revealed that the city of Kassopa must have been founded around the mid-fourth century (Hoepfner and Schwandner (1994) 114–79). The excavators consider the circuit to belong to the period immediately after the synoecism and suggest a date around C4m (ibid. 123 with n. 298). Kassopa is probably the best-attested example of the emergence of a *polis* by a synoecism of *komai*, the model advocated by Aristotle in Book 1 of *Politics* (Hansen (1995) 61).

Re (b) To create a new *polis* by the relocation of people from a number of neighbouring *poleis* is remarkably well attested and here belong three of the most famous synoecisms of the classical period: those of Rhodos in 408/7, of Megalopolis in 368 and of Kos in 366/5. It is worth noting that in all three cases the synoecism was partial: the *poleis* which contributed to the founding of the new *polis* persisted after the synoecism and probably all were still *poleis*, though now dependent *poleis* and, in some sense, civic subdivisions of the new *polis* they had founded.

Re (c) There are surprisingly few attestations of the reinforcement of an existing *polis* by the relocation of people from second-order settlements within the territory. When Histiaia (no. 372) was moved to Oreos in C5m, the *polis* was reinforced by relocation of the population of Oreos, until then a Histiaian deme, and a century later the tyrant Philistides had the Elopieis relocated from the territory into the town. In C5m Salmakis seems to have been incorporated into Halikarnassos (no. 886), and in the same period Lepreon (no. 306) was reinforced by absorbing what was left of northern Pylos.

Re (d) The most common type of synoecism seems to have been a large *polis*' incorporation of smaller neighbouring *poleis*, sometimes one at a time, sometimes several simultaneously.

As was the case with the other three types, the synoecism could be arranged by mutual agreement, or at least peacefully. In this category belong the synoecisms of Elis in 471 (no. 251), of Olynthos in 431 (no. 588), of Halikarnassos *c.*370 (no. 886), of Orchomenos in Arkadia in C4m (286), of Thebes in Achaia Phthiotis in C4s (no. 444), and of Latmos in C4l (no. 910). Sometimes the small *poleis* persisted (e.g. Halikarnassos 370 and Orchomenos C4m), sometimes they disappeared but then reappeared shortly afterwards: the small *poleis* incorporated into Olynthos disappeared in 431 but were apparently refounded by the Peace of Nikias ten years later.

But the synoecism could also be the result of a war, whereby a large *polis* conquered a small *polis* and had its population relocated and amalgamated with its own population. The two best-known examples are the synoecisms carried out by Syracuse (no. 47) and Argos (no. 347). In both cases the smaller *poleis* were conquered one by one, and the growth of the population of the larger *polis* was achieved by a whole series of successive enforced synoecisms.

Finally, the small settlements involved in a synoecism did not have to be either *poleis* or second order settlements (*komai* or *demoi*). Of the six small communities synoecised into Thebes (no. 221) in 431, four were *poleis*, but two were presumably second-order settlements, *viz.* Aulis and Schoinos. We cannot be certain that all the communities synoecised into Halikarnassos *c.*370 were *poleis*. One or more may have been towns without the status of *polis* and, for lack of supporting evidence, Side is here recorded among the non-polis sites in Karia. Similarly, *polis* status cannot be presumed for all the forty communities listed by Pausanias as participating in the synoecism of Megalopolis (Paus. 8.27.3–7). On the other hand it must be remembered that the forty communities listed by Pausanias may have been designated prospectively in 371, but not all were actually synoecised in 368.[19]

To conclude: the institution of synoecism shows, once again, how the Greeks radically and consciously interfered with what can be called natural growth of communities and, often with surprising success, imposed artificial relocations and reorganisations of their polities. *Synoikismos* is yet another aspect of the rationality of the Greek *polis*.

[19] Hansen (2001) 321.

REFERENCES

Davies, J. K. 1992. "Greece after the Persian Wars", in *CAH* v² (Cambridge) 15–33.

Demand, N. H. 1990. *Urban Relocation in Archaic and Classical Greece* (Bristol).

Gabrielsen, V. 2000. "The Synoikized *Polis* of Rhodes", *Polis & Politics* 177–205.

Giesen, K. 1901. "Plutarchs Questiones Graecae und Aristoteles' Politien", *Philologus* 60: 446–71.

Giovannini, A. 1971. *Untersuchungen über die Natur und die Anfänge der bundesstaatlichen Sympolitie in Griechenland* (Göttingen).

Hansen, M. H. 1995. "*Kome*: A Study in How the Greeks Designated and Classified Settlements which were not *Poleis*", *CPCPapers* 2: 45–81.

—— 2001. "What is a Document? An Ill-Defined Type of Source", *ClMed* 52: 317–43.

Hoepfner, W., and Schwandner, E.-L. 1994. *Haus und Stadt im klassischen Griechenland*² (Munich).

Ingvaldsen, H. 2002. *COS—Coinage and Society: The Chronology and Function of a City-State Coinage in the Classical and Hellenistic Periods c. 390–c. 170 B.C.* (Oslo).

Kahrstedt, U. 1932. "Synoikismos", *RE* 2.IV.2: 1435–45.

Nielsen, T. H. 2002. *Arkadia and its Poleis in the Archaic and Classical Periods* (Göttingen).

Parker, R. 1996. *Athenian Religion: A History* (Oxford).

Rhodes, P. J. 2001. "*Synoikismos*", in *Neue Pauly* 11: 1161–62.

Roy, J. 2002. "The Synoikism of Elis", *CPCPapers* 6: 249–64.

Swoboda, H. 1924. "*Kome*", *RE* suppl. iv. 950–76.

Destruction and Disappearance of *Poleis*

The frequent wars often entailed the destruction or the dismemberment of a *polis* and the annihilation or enslavement or expulsion of its population (see Index 20). Such disasters happened so frequently that a kind of technical terminology was developed for all the variants. To destroy the urban centre of a *polis* was usually called "to raze it to the ground" (κατασκάπτειν τὴν πόλιν, noun: κατασκαφή).[1] To split up a *polis* into small villages was called "to break up the settlement" (διοικίζειν τὴν πόλιν, noun: διοικισμός).[2] To annihilate and/or enslave the population was called ἀνδραποδίζειν or ἐξανδραποδίζειν τὴν πόλιν (noun: ἀνδραποδισμός),[3] and for the expulsion of the population the proper phrase was ἀναστάτους ποιεῖν τοὺς δεῖνας or ἀνάστατον ποιεῖν τὴν πόλιν (noun: ἀνάστασις).[4] Other idioms could be used, but those above occur so frequently that they deserve to be treated as technical terms. They describe four different phenomena which often occurred together: the destruction of a *polis* was almost always accompanied by the annihilation or enslavement or expulsion of its population or with its fragmentation into village communities. It must be added that not only *poleis* but also second-order settlements could be exposed to *andrapodismos* and physical destruction of the urban centre.[5]

1. *Enslavement* The term *andrapodismos* is invariably used in connection with the conquest and sack of a (besieged) city; it never occurs in, e.g., a description of the fate of a vanquished army after a lost battle, or the fate of the rural population after a raid in the territory of a *polis*. Nor is it used about the kidnapping of a person for the purpose of having him sold off as a slave.[6]

Down to 323 we know of altogether forty-six applications of *andrapodismos*.[7] In some sources the term is used without any further description of what it implies,[8] but in several cases the various facets and consequences of an *andrapodismos* are spelled out: sometimes the men who survived the conquest of the city were enslaved together with their wives and children.[9] But often only women and children were enslaved while surviving adult males were killed off.[10] The city was pillaged,[11] and razed to the ground.[12] The territory was handed over to neighbouring *poleis* or peoples.[13] The enslaved women and children were either given to the soldiers who had conquered the city,[14] or they were sold

[1] κατασκάπτειν (Isoc. 14.7; Dem. 18.36); κατασκαφή (Lys. 13.8; *I.Erythrai* 21. 9–10 (C4s)). Used retrospectively by Arrian, Diodoros, Plutarch and Strabo, etc.

[2] τὴν πόλιν διοικίζειν (Dem. 5.10); Μαντινέας διοικίζειν (Isoc. 8.100). The noun διοικισμός is found in late sources only (Harp. *M*5).

[3] The verbs ἀνδραποδίζειν (active: Hdt. 1–151.2; middle: Hdt. 1.76.2) and ἐξανδραποδίζειν (active: Xen. *Hell*. 2.1.15; middle: Hdt. 1.66.3) designate the "enslavement" of a *polis*. In the middle voice the verb ἀνδραποδίζεσθαι (Xen. *Mem*. 1.2.62) is also used about the illegal attempt by a kidnapper to make another person his slave or to have him sold off as a slave. With a few exceptions, see n. 6, the noun ἀνδραποδισμός denotes the enslavement of the population of a city (Dem. 1.5; Isoc. 4.100; Pl. *Resp*. 469B; Thuc. 2.68.9). Cf. Ducrey (1968) 107–47 and Volkmann (1990) who covers C4s as well as later periods.

[4] ἀναστάτους ποιεῖν τοὺς δεῖνας (Isoc. 4.108) or ἀνάστατον ποιεῖν τὴν πόλιν (Thuc. 6.76.2; *IG* I^3 40.5–6); ἀνάστασις (Isoc. 15.127; Dem. 1.5). For the meaning of the phrase, see the appendix *infra*.

[5] Destruction in 342 of Porthmos, a fortified settlement in the territory of Eretria (Dem. 9.58, 10.8). *Andrapodismos* of Hykkara 415 (Thuc. 6.62.3–4). In 341 Tyrodiza and Krobyle suffered *andrapodismos* by an Athenian army commanded by Diopeithes (Dem. 12.3; Dem. 8 *hypoth*. 2–3). Tyrodiza was probably a *polis*, but Krobyle seems to have been a non-*polis* settlement on the north coast of the Propontis.

[6] The kidnapper is called ἀνδραποδιστής (Arist. *Ath. Pol*. 52.1) and the crime ἀνδραπόδισις (Xen. *Apol*. 25). In Plato's *Laws* ἀνδραποδισμός occurs twice in senses not attested in other sources: about illegal acquisition of a slave by conspiring with the slave in order to bring about a change of ownership (879A), and about the illegal detention of a free person to prevent him from appearing in court (955A). Kidnapping is not involved in either case although it was the crime normally committed by the ἀνδραποδιστής. See Hansen (1976) 39–48.

[7] Including the three cases in which the entire population was killed off, see *infra* n. 18. Furthermore we know of at least three *andrapodismoi* which were planned but not carried into effect: *viz*. of Mytilene in 427 (Thuc. 3.36.2) of Athens in 404 (Xen. *Hell*. 2.2.20; Isoc. 8.105; Dem. 19.65), and of Delphi in 356 (Paus. 3.10.4).

[8] e.g. Arisbe (no. 795) C6; Eion (no. 630) 476/5, Chorsiai (no. 202), Koroneia (no. 210) and Orchomenos (no. 213) 346.

[9] Miletos (no. 854) 494; Eretria (no. 370) 490; Euboia (no. 15) *c*.485–83; Megara Hyblaiai (no. 36) *c*.483; Mykenai (no. 353) *c*.460; Argos Amphilochikon (no. 115) *c*.440; Torone (no. 620) 422; Iasos (no. 891) 412; Katane (no. 30) 403; Pharsalos (no. 413) 395; Rhegion (no. 68) 387; Poteidaia (no. 598) 356; Olynthos (no. 588) 348; Thebai (no. 221) 335.

[10] Barke (no. 1025) *c*.514; Plataiai (no. 216) 427; Mytilene (no. 798) 427 (planned); Thyrea (no. 346) 424 (assuming that only the adult male Aiginetans were sent to Athens and executed); Skione (no. 609) 421; Melos (no. 505) 415; Himera (no. 24) 409; Selinous (no. 44) 409; Iasos (no. 891) 405; Orchomenos (no. 213) 364; Sestos (no. 672) 353.

[11] Thyrea (no. 346) 424; Katane (no. 30) 403; Naxos (no. 41) 403; Olynthos (no. 588) 348.

[12] Pellene (no. 240) C6e; Naxos (no. 507) 490; Mykenai (no. 353) *c*.460; Plataiai (no. 216) 427; Thyrea (no. 346) 424; Himera (no. 24) 409; Selinous (no. 44) 409; Iasos (no. 891) 405; Katane (no. 30) 403; Naxos (no. 41) 403; Orchomenos (no. 213) 364; Tenos (no. 525) 362; Thebai (no. 221) 335.

[13] Naxos (no. 41) 403; Katane (no. 30) 403; Thebai (no. 221) 335.

[14] Barke (no. 1025) *c*.514; Himera (no. 24) 409.

off as booty at public auction.[15] Sometimes the city was not destroyed but handed over to new settlers together with the territory.[16] In the strict sense the term *andrapodismos* covers the enslaving of either the entire population or the women and children. But when the term is found without any further specification, the presumption is that it covers several or all of the elements listed above.[17] It may be significant, however, that the term does not occur when the entire population of a conquered city was killed off and no one enslaved.[18]

2. *Destruction* The conquest of a *polis* was often followed by the demolition of its walls, which is here treated in the chapter about defence circuits of *poleis*. In this context belongs the more severe treatment that could befall a *polis*: to be razed to the ground. The method mostly used was apparently to set fire to the town and leave the destruction to the flames.[19] To pull down and demolish the houses and sanctuaries would be a slow and laborious task. It is only occasionally attested in the sources and then in addition to the burning of the *polis*.[20] There can be no doubt that a *polis* was plundered before it was destroyed, but that is commonly taken for granted and is only occasionally specified.[21]

As pointed out above, the destruction of a *polis* was often combined with the *andrapodismos* of its population. In fifty-six instances, however, we hear about the destruction of a *polis* without any mention of the enslavement of its population. In forty-one cases we have no information at all about what happened to the inhabitants, either because it is passed over in silence in our sources[22] or because the destruction is attested archaeologically but not mentioned in any text.[23] It is reasonable to suppose that some of these *poleis* were exposed to an *andrapodismos* in addition to the attested destruction of the city. But in the remaining fifteen cases we are explicitly told what happened to the people: sometimes they escaped before the city was conquered;[24] sometimes they were allowed to leave after the conquest;[25] sometimes they were expelled;[26] sometimes they were exposed to a *dioikismos*[27] and sometimes they were relocated. The Syracusans in particular seem to have practised a policy whereby all or some of the inhabitants of a conquered *polis* were transferred to Syracuse and naturalised.[28]

3. *Expulsion* A third scenario was to expel the population of a conquered *polis* without any destruction of its urban centre which then could be given to new settlers. It is less often attested than expulsion of the inhabitants combined with physical destruction of the town, but it seems to have been the fate of at least ten *poleis*, of which one, Herakleia in Trachis, had its population expelled twice within a generation.[29] Thus, when the Athenians expelled the Aiginetans in 431 and sent Athenian colonists to the island, the Lakedaimonians had the Aiginetans resettled in Thyrea (Thuc. 2.27); and when the population of Halos in Malis was expelled, their town was given to the Pharsalians (Dem. 19.39).

4. *Frequency and effect* Our fragmentary sources provide us with information about 113 cases of *andrapodismos* or expulsion of the population of a *polis* and/or destruction of its urban centre. But in addition to individual attestations, *andrapodismos* and destruction of large numbers of unnamed *poleis* are mentioned in various contexts.

In 494 when the Persians had quenched the Ionian Revolt,

[15] Iasos (no. 891) 405; Pharsalos (no. 413) 395; Rhegion (no. 68) 387; Olynth (no. 588) 348.

[16] Barke (no. 1025) *c.*514; Argos Amphilochikon (no. 115) *c.*440; Plataiai (no. 216) 427; Kyme (no. 57) 421; Skione (no. 609) 421; Melos (no. 505) 415; Poteidaia (no. 598) 356.

[17] In Thucydides' description of the Athenians' treatment of Melos in 415 the term *andrapodismos* denotes the enslaving of women and children only, while Isokrates at 4.100 uses *andrapodismos* to cover the slaughter of the men as well as the enslaving of the women and children.

[18] Samos *c.*517; Sybaris 510; Olynthos 479.

[19] *κατακαύειν* (Hdt. 8.33; Thuc. 4.57.3); *ἐμπιμπράναι* (Hdt. 8.35.1; 8.50.2; 8.53.2; 9.13.2; Xen. *Hell.* 6.5.32; Isoc. 4.96; 16.13; Diod. 13.57.6–58.3); *πυρὶ πόλιν νέμειν* (Hdt. 6.33.2).

[20] By Herodotos 9.13.2 in connection with the destruction of Athens in 480. By Diodoros 13.57.6 in connection with the destruction of Selinous in 409.

[21] Sybaris (no. 70) 510; Kyme (no. 57) 421; Selinous (no. 44) 409; Akragas (no. 9) 406; Gela (no. 17) 405; Methone (no. 541) 354.

[22] Magnesia on the Maiandros (no. 852) C7; Abydos (no. 765) C6l; Artake (no. 736) 493; Kalchedon (no. 743) 493; Prokonnesos (no. 759) 493; Abai (no. 169) 480; Aiolidai (no. 170) 480; Amphikaia (no. 172) 480; Charadra (no. 175) 480; Daulis 176) 480; Drymos (no. 178) 480; Elateia (no. 180) 480; Erochos (no. 181) 480; Hyampolis (no. 182) 480; Neon/Tithorea (no. 187) 480; Parapotamioi (no. 188) 480; Pedieis (no. 189) 480; Phanoteus/Panopeus (no. 190) 480; Teithronion (no. 194) 480; Triteis (no. 196) 480; Herakleia on Sicily (no. 20) C5e; Apollonia (no. 627) 356; Nikaia (no. 385) 353; Naryka (no. 384) 352; Galepsos (no. 631) 356; Sermylia (no. 604) 348; Singos (no. 605) 348; Stagiros (no. 613) 348; Halikarnassos (no. 886) 334; Sigeion (no. 791) 334?

[23] Himera (no. 24) C6e; Siris (no. 69) C6f–m; Phokaia (no. 859) 546; Smyrna (no. 867) *c.*545; Phagres (no. 636) C5e; Morgantina (no. 37) 459/8; Nymphaion (no. 704) C4e; Pylos (no. 263) *c.*360; Stryme (no. 650) *c.*350; Nikonion (no. 688) *c.*331; Idalion (no. 1013) C4l.

[24] Kolophon (no. 848) *c.*660; Thespiai (no. 222) 480; Plataiai (no. 216) 480; Athens (no. 361) 480, 479; Orneai (no. 354) 416/15; Akragas (no. 9) 406; Gela (no. 17) 405.

[25] Methone (no. 541) 354.

[26] Dyspontion (no. 250) 470; Tiryns (no. 356) 460; Plataiai (no. 216) 373.

[27] Smyrna (no. 867) *c.*545; Mantinea (no. 281) 385; Phokian *poleis* in 346; cf. Hansen (1995) 75–78.

[28] Kamarina (no. 28) 484; Kaulonia (no. 55) 389; Hipponion (no. 53) 388. A combination of *andrapodismos* and *metoikesis* was used in Euboia (no. 15) 485–83 and Megara Hyblaia (no. 36) *c.*383.

[29] Smyrna (no. 867) C7e; Histiaia (no. 372) 446; Siris (no. 69) C5s; Aigina (no. 358) 431; Poteidaia (no. 598) 429; Delos (no. 478) 422; Herakleia (no. 430) 395 and 371; Trapezous (no. 303) 360s; Lyktos (no. 974) C4m; Halos (no. 435) C4m.

there seems to have been an *andrapodismos* and/or destruction of several *poleis* that had participated in the Revolt. That of Miletos is described in some detail. An *andrapodismos* of Phokaia and the other Ionian *poleis* is implied by Herodotos, but its implementation is not mentioned (6.17, 31.1–2).

In his account of Xerxes' expedition in 480, Herodotos describes the destruction of most of the Phokian *poleis* (8.33, 35), of Thespiai and Plataiai in Boiotia (8.50.2), and of Athens (8.53; 9.13), but several other *poleis* between the Hellespont and Attika may have suffered the same fate.

According to Demosthenes, Philip destroyed Olynthos, Methone, Apollonia and thirty-two other *poleis* in Thrace (Dem. 9.26), and Hypereides claims that the inhabitants of forty *poleis* on Chalkidike were expelled by Philip in consequence of his conquest of Olynthos in 348 (fr. 80, Jensen). Both orators are undoubtedly exaggerating, but the presumption is that more *poleis* were razed to the ground than the three Demosthenes mentions by name, cf. Theopomp. fr. 27.

After the Phokians had capitulated to Philip in 346, their cities were destroyed (Dem. 18.36, 41; 19.65, 141; Aeschin. 2.162; Paus. 10.3.2) and the inhabitants forced to move to a number of scattered villages (Diod. 16.60.2; Dem. 19.81). According to Demosthenes 19.23, twenty-two *poleis* were exposed to this *dioikismos*.

Full sources would undoubtedly have provided us with evidence of another three-digit number of *poleis* which were destroyed and/or exposed to *andrapodismos* or *anastasis*. On the other hand, we have reason to believe that the fate suffered by these *poleis* was less disastrous than it appears. The descriptions in our sources of *andrapodismos* and destruction of *poleis* convey the impression that usually the annihilation of a *polis* was carried out successfully and that all that was left of a flourishing community was a heap of dismantled houses and some women and children deprived of their liberty and deported to other *poleis*.[30] But reading the sources for the history of the region one or two generations later and studying the archaeological remains of *poleis* exposed to destruction and *andrapodismos*, we often discover that the annihilated *polis* still existed, and apparently flourished almost as if nothing had happened.

Of forty-six *poleis* exposed to *andrapodismos*, only five or perhaps six disappeared for good.[31] A further six persisted as *poleis* but were settled with new inhabitants,[32] whereas three to five may have lost their status as *poleis* but persisted as municipalities lying in the territory of a larger *polis*.[33] The remaining thirty-one *poleis* appear in our sources as sometimes even flourishing communities only a decade or a generation after the *andrapodismos*.[34] In quite a few cases we know that the *polis* was resettled with people who had survived the *andrapodismos*;[35] but even in cases when the *polis* was taken over by new settlers, the community seems to have maintained its former identity, not only its name, but also its dialect, its traditions, and its cults.

Of fifty-two *poleis* destroyed after their conquest, eight seem to have disappeared for good[36] and at least two lost their status as *poleis* but persisted as municipalities.[37] No fewer than forty-two survived as *poleis*, or were refounded shortly after the destruction. The fate of the twenty-two Phokian *poleis* which allegedly were demolished in 346 is particularly interesting because some of the defence circuits that can still be seen are now believed to antedate the *dioikismos* and presumed destruction in 346 (see 401 *infra*).

The overall conclusion is that annihilation of a *polis* seems to have been achieved in about a score of the 112 individually attested *poleis*. In the other cases the *andrapodismos* must have been partial and the destruction of the city superficial. Just as it has been shown that the devastation of the countryside of a *polis* must have been less disastrous than is alleged in the sources,[38] so it can be shown that in most cases the destruction of the urban centre of a *polis* and the annihilation of its population must have been less effective and disastrous than appears from the accounts found in Herodotos, Thucydides, Xenophon, Demosthenes and Diodoros.

[30] McKechnie (1989) 34 supposes that, after an *andrapodismos*, there would no exiles and the question of refounding the captured city did not arise.

[31] Arisbe (no. 795) C6; Himera (no. 24) 409; Megara Hyblaia (no. 36) *c.*483; Naxos (no. 41) 403; Olynthos (no. 588) 348; Arisbe may have persisted as a *kome* of Methymna. Tyrodiza (no. 681) may have disappeared in 341.

[32] Olynthos (no. 588) 479; Skyros (no. 521) 476/5; Argos Amphilochikon (no. 115) *c.*440; Kyme (no. 57) 421; Poteidaia (no. 598) 356; Sestos (no. 672) 353.

[33] Arisbe (no. 795) C6?; Euboia (no. 15) 485–83; Mykenai (no. 353) *c.*460; Thyrea (no. 346) 424?; Sybaris (no. 70) was destroyed in 510 but is attested in C5f as, probably, a dependent *polis* of Kroton.

[34] Priene (no. 861) 546; Barke (no. 1025) *c.*514; Lemnos (nos. 502–3) C6l; Miletos (no. 854) 494; Artake (no. 736) 393; Kalchedon (no. 743) 493; Prokonnesos (no. 759) 493; Eretria (no. 370) 490; Naxos (no. 507) 490; Zankle/Messana (no. 51) 488/7; Eion (no. 630) 476/5; Plataiai (no. 216) 427; Torone (no. 620) 422; Skione (no. 609) 421; Melos (no. 505) 415; Iasos (no. 891) 412; Selinous (no. 44) 409; Kedreai (no. 899) 405; Iasos (891) 405; Katane (no. 30) 403; Pharsalos (no. 413) 395; Rhegion (no. 68) 387; Orchomenos (no. 213) 364; Tenos (no. 525) 362; Thronion (no. 388) 353; Orchomenos (no. 213) 346; Chaironeia (no. 201) 346; Chorisiai (no. 202) 346?; Koroneia (no. 210) 346; Thebai (no. 221) 335; Gryneion (no. 809) 335/4.

[35] Pellene (no. 240) C6e; Sybaris (no. 70) C5e; Torone (no. 620) C5l; Selinous (no. 44) C5l; Melos (no. 505) 405; Skione (no. 609) 405/4; Plataiai (no. 216) 386; Thebai (no. 221) 316/15.

[36] Dyspontion (no. 250) *c.*570; Smyrna (no. 867) *c.*545 (refounded in C4l); Herakleia on Sicily (no. 20) C5e; Aiolidai (no. 170) 480; Tiryns (no. 356) *c.*460; Stryme (no. 650) *c.*350; Sermylia (no. 604) 348; Singos (no. 605) 348.

[37] Methone (no. 541) 354; Orneai (no. 354) 416/15.

[38] Hanson (1983).

APPENDIX

The Meaning of *τὴν πόλιν ἀνάστατον ποιεῖν* or *γενέσθαι*

The lexica distinguish between two meanings of the adjective *ἀνάστατος*: when the subject is a people, the suggested rendering is "driven from one's house and home", but when the subject is *πόλις* or *χώρα*, the meaning is said to be "ruined", "laid waste".[39] Following Powell (1938) s.v. we suggest that "ruined" is misleading and that "laid waste" is better replaced by "depopulated".

First, there are numerous passages in which it is impossible to tell whether "ruined" or "depopulated" is the preferable translation; but there are some passages in which an *ἀνάστατος πόλις* is certainly a "*polis* whose population has been expelled", but not a "ruined *polis*".

In Isokrates' letter to Archidamos we are told how Greek mercenaries in Asia Minor treated the Hellenic *poleis*: they made them *anastatoi* by killing some inhabitants, expelling others, depriving some of their possessions and maltreating women and children in the most abominable fashion. Spelling out what it means to make a *polis anastatos*, all the atrocities concern the population, none the physical destruction of the town.[40]

In his speech *Against Leokrates* (60–62) Lykourgos charges Leokrates with having deserted his *polis* and claims that, by leaving the *polis* the way Leokrates did, the *polis* would become uninhabited (*τὴν πόλιν ἀοίκητον ἂν γενέσθαι*). But to become *ἀνάστατος* is the death of a *polis* (*πόλεώς ἐστι θάνατος ἀνάστατον γενέσθαι*). Again, the point is that the *polis* is deserted, not that it is destroyed.

Second, the adjective *ἀνάστατος* and the noun *ἀνάστασις* are derived from the verb *ἀνιστάναι*. This verb means "make to stand up", "raise up", or "make people emigrate" and, when used intransitively, the meaning is often to "be compelled to migrate", "be depopulated" (*LSJ* s.v.). If the object is a building or a statue *vel sim.*, the meaning is to "build" or "set up", never to "destroy" or "pull down". Similarly, the noun *ἀνάστασις* followed by an objective genitive denoting a building or a statue *vel sim.* is not attested in the sense of "destruction"; on the contrary, it bears the meaning "erection". Thus, Demosthenes claims that the most laudable deed for which Konon was rewarded was the erection of the walls of Athens in the 390s (Dem. 20.68: *ἀνέστησε τὰ τείχη* and 72: *ἡ τῶν τειχῶν ἀνάστασις*). It would be odd if the adjective *ἀνάστατος* carried the meaning "ruined", "destroyed", especially since the meaning "forced to migrate" or "depopulated" seems to fit all occurrences: under the sense "ruined", "laid waste", *LSJ* s.v. *ἀνάστατος* cites Soph. *Trach.* 240: *ἀνάστατος δορὶ χώρα*, but *LSJ* s.v. *ἀνίστημι* cites Hdt. 5.29: *χώρα ἀνεστηκυῖα* and Eur. *Hec.* 494: *πόλις πᾶσ' ἀνέστηκε δορί* under the sense "to be depopulated".

To conclude: we suggest that the principal meaning of *ἀνάστατος γενέσθαι* is never "to be ruined" or "to be destroyed" but "to be expelled" when the subject is a people and "to be depopulated" when the subject is a city or a region. It is, of course, true that many conquered cities were destroyed as well as depopulated, see the evidence above, and it cannot be ruled out that "destroyed" may in some cases be a connotation, but that does not change the observation that the basic meaning of *ἀνάστατος πόλις* seems to be "a *polis* made to rise up and depart"; i.e. when connected with the adjective *ἀνάστατος*, the noun *πόλις* is used in the personal rather than in the urban sense of the word. Thus, when the phrase *ἀνάστατον ποιεῖν* or *γενέσθαι τὴν πόλιν* occurs, we can safely infer that the population was expelled and the city depopulated, but unless we have other information, we cannot be sure that the *polis* was physically destroyed.[41]

[39] "Ruined", "laid waste" (*LSJ*); "Zerstört" (Pape); "détruit", "ruiné" (Magnien-Lacroix); "devastado" in *Diccionario Griego-Español* is ambiguous. In translations into English "ruined" is often replaced by "destroyed" or "laid in ruins".

[40] Isoc. *Ep.* 9.9: *τὰς δὲ πόλεις τὰς Ἑλληνίδας, εἰς ἣν ἂν εἰσέλθωσιν, ἀναστάτους ποιοῦσιν, τοὺς μὲν ἀποκτείναντες . . . κτλ.*

[41] One example is the fate of Kamarina in 484: Thuc. 6.5.3: *καὶ αὖθις ὑπὸ Γέλωνος ἀνάστατος γενομένη τὸ τρίτον κατῳκίσθη ὑπὸ Γελῴων*. Hdt. 7.156.2: *Καμαριναίους ἅπαντας ἐς τὰς Συρακούσας ἀγαγὼν πολιήτας ἐποίησε, Καμαρίνης δὲ τὸ ἄστυ κατέσκαψε*. We learn from Thucydides that Kamarina was depopulated, from Herodotos that it was both depopulated and razed to the ground.

REFERENCES

Powell, J. E. 1938. *A Lexicon to Herodotus* (Cambridge).

Ducrey, P. 1968. *Le Traitement des prisoniers de guerre dans la Grèce antique* (Paris).

Hansen, M. H. 1976. *Apagoge, Endeixis and Ephegesis* (Odense).

——1995. *Kome*: A Study in How the Greeks Designated and Classified Settlements which were not *Poleis*", *CPCPapers* 2: 45–81.

Hanson, V. D. 1983. *Warfare and Agriculture in Classical Greece* (Pisa).

McKechnie, P. 1989. *Outsiders in the Greek Cities in the Fourth Century B.C.* (London).

Volkmann, H. 1990. *Die Massenversklavungen der Einwohner eroberter Städte in der hellenistisch-römischen Zeit*, 2nd edn. by G. Horsmann (Stuttgart).

Stasis as an Essential Aspect of the *Polis*

In Hellas in the Archaic and Classical periods "belonging" in a political context meant, first of all, to belong to one's *polis*. Like the modern state, the *polis* provided its citizens with a feeling of common identity, based on traditions, culture, ceremonies, symbols and sometimes (presumed) common descent. For a Greek citizen the *polis* was his fatherland (*patris*) for which he was expected, if necessary, to die, just as the modern state expects "every man to do his duty" (*supra* 49).

However, sources describing and debating the *polis* show (a) that a *polis* was not a harmonious unit but that most *poleis* were split up into what in the sources are called two opposed *poleis*.[1] (b) The two *poleis*—i.e. the two factions—were often one of the rich (supporting oligarchy) and one of the poor (supporting democracy).[2] (c) Alternatively, the two factions might be two different ethnic groups living side by side as citizens of the same *polis*. This situation was especially common in colonies whose citizens were recruited from different *poleis*.[3] (d) A third scenario was discord inside one of the two major social groups, in particular rivalry between two sub-factions of wealthy citizens in an oligarchy.[4] (e) The goal of each faction was to control and (if necessary) to reform the political institutions of the *polis*.[5] (f) The opposition between the two factions within a *polis* entailed a constant tension and discord resulting in repeated outbursts of civil war, during which each faction was prepared to collaborate with a congenial faction in a neighbouring *polis*, or in a distant but hegemonic *polis*. The members of each faction were, in fact, willing to sacrifice the freedom (*eleutheria*) and independence (*autonomia*) of their *polis* if only they could gain the upper hand over the opposite faction.[6]

The authors who provide us with such a view are Ps.-Xenophon, Thucydides, Euripides, Isokrates, Plato and Aristotle. They all emphasise the opposition between the wealthy citizens supporting oligarchy and the commoners supporting democracy. But the fifth book of Aristotle's *Politics* duly lists the alternative factors.

Even more importantly, one might object that the authors cited here were all Athenians or persons living in Athens, and may give a seriously distorted picture of the Greek world. Aineias the Tactician, however, draws a similar picture, and he is probably to be identified with the Arkadian general from Stymphalos.[7] In his treaty of how to survive under siege he mentions treason among the besieged as a major risk. The theme is selected for special treatment in four chapters: 10, 11, 14 and 17. In some cases the threat comes from foreigners or mercenaries inside the walls of the besieged city.[8] But often the risk of betrayal is connected with the lack of concord (*homonoia*) among the citizens,[9] and of five historical examples reported in chapter 11, at least three and probably four concern rivalry between wealthy oligarchs and democratic commoners.[10] Again, many out-

This chapter is based on Hansen (forthcoming).

[1] Pl. *Resp*. 422E; 551D; *Leg*. 945E; Arist. *Pol*. 1310^{a}4ff; Eur. fr. 173, Nauck; cf. Thuc. 3.82–83.

[2] Pl. *Resp*. 555B, 557A; Arist. *Pol*. 1266^{a}37–8; 1289^{b}27–40; 1290^{b}18–20; 1302^{a}10–13; 1303^{a}1–2.

[3] Arist. *Pol*. 1303^{a}25–^{b}7, citing 8 examples: Sybaris (no. 70), Thourioi (no. 74), Byzantion (no. 674), Antissa (no. 794), Zankle (no. 51), Apollonia Pontike (no. 682), Syracuse (no. 47) and Amphipolis (no. 553). In Antissa—the only one of the 8 *poleis* which was not a colonial foundation—*stasis* was caused by the Antissaians having accommodated a large number of exiled Chians.

[4] *Stasis* between sub-factions of wealthy citizens: Arist. *Pol*. 1302^{a}8–15 and 1305^{b}2–06^{b}2 with 22 examples: Massalia (no. 3), Istros (no. 685), Herakleia Pontike (no. 715), Knidos (no. 903), Erythrai (no. 845), Athens (no. 361) in 411 and 404, Larisa (no. 401), Abydos (no. 765), Herakleia Pontike (again) (no. 715), Amphipolis (no. 553), Syracuse (no. 47), Aigina (no. 358), Apollonia Pontike (no. 682), Pharsalos (no. 413), Elis (no. 251), Corinth (no. 227), Abydos (again) (no. 765), Larisa (again) (no. 401), Eretria (no. 370), Thebes (no. 221), Herakleia Pontike (again) (no. 715).

[5] Thuc. 3.82.8; Arist. *Pol*. 1301^{a}20–25 and the rest of book 5 *passim*. Cf. Gehrke (2001). There is a close connection between *stasis* and change of constitution (*metabole politeias*); cf. Arist. *Pol*. 1301^{b}5, 1302^{a}16–17), but the two phenomena must not be equated: (a) when *stasis* was caused by rivalry between two groups of rich citizens in an oligarchy, a *coup* or a revolution would not normally involve a change of constitution (cf. *supra* n. 4). (b) A change of constitution might take place peacefully and constitutionally without any *stasis* between opposing factions being involved; cf. Arist. *Pol*. 1303^{a}14–15: μεταβάλλουσι δ' αἱ πολιτεῖαι καὶ ἄνευ στάσεως ("constitutions may also change without *stasis*") followed by three examples. Arist. *Pol*. book 5 is often described as an analysis of *stasis*; it is in fact an analysis of *metabole politeias* (1301^{a}20–25).

[6] Thuc. 3.82.1; Arist. *Pol*. 1307^{b}19–25; Ps.-Xen. *Ath. Pol*. 1.14, 3.10; Isoc. 16.17.

[7] See the penetrating study by Winterling (1991).

[8] Foreigners: 10.9–10, 10.13. Mercenaries: 10.7, 10.18, 11.4.

[9] (Lack of) *homonoia* among the citizens: 10.20, 14.1, 17.1.

[10] The 5 examples are Chios (no. 840), Argos (no. 347), Herakleia Pontike (no. 715), Lakedaimon (no. 345) (anecdotal and about the early history of Sparta) and Korkyra (no. 123). We agree with Winterling (1991) 216–19 that the language, style and content of chapter 11 differ from those of the other chapters, but we

breaks of *stasis* are known from Diodoros, and his sources are partly Antiochos of Syracuse and Timaios of Tauromenion (for the numerous *staseis* in Sicily and southern Italy) and partly Ephoros of Kyme (for, especially, the *staseis* in Hellas C4f). Herodotos is the best source we have for *staseis* in the Archaic period and he must have got his information from local informants and non-Athenian historical traditions. The testimony of these non-Athenian sources provides us with a valuable addendum to the information obtained from the Athenian authors.

Attested outbreaks of civil war fully corroborate the general statements made by the Athenian philosophers and historians. In 1985 H.-J. Gehrke published his book *Stasis: Untersuchungen zu den inneren Kriegen in den griechischen Staaten des 5. und 4. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.*[11] It is one of the most important contributions to our understanding of classical Greek history published in the twentieth century. Part I is an inventory of all attestations of *stasis* in C5 and C4. Gehrke excludes Athens, Sparta and the western Greeks. Given the frequency of *stasis* among the western Greeks, the exclusion of this part of the Hellenic world is regrettable. However, the lacuna has since been filled by S. Berger, *Revolution and Society in Greek Sicily and Southern Italy* (1992).

Gehrke's inventory comprises 283 incidents of *stasis*[12] in seventy-eight different *poleis*,[13] and Berger adds seventy-two further examples in sixteen *poleis*. Syracuse tops the list with twenty-seven attested outbreaks of *stasis* in the period *c.*650 to 279/69. At the other end of the scale is Sparta: after a long period of recurring *staseis*, it enjoyed a system of good laws (*eunomia*), and in the late fifth century it had not been exposed to any violent change of constitution for centuries (Thuc. 1.18.1). Yet, it must be remembered that the Lakedaimonians' foundation of Taras in 706 was the result of a *stasis* (Antiochos (*FGrHist* 555) fr. 13; Arist. *Pol.* 1306^{b}31), and that the *coup* planned by Kinadon in 400 was a *stasis* that might have triggered a civil war (Xen. *Hell.* 3.3.5–11).

As surveyed in Index 19, this inventory records 279 outbreaks of *stasis*[14] in 122 named *poleis*. To this already impressive number must be added information about *stasis* affecting all or most *poleis* in a region: in 421 discord among rival factions in the Parrhasian *poleis* induced one of the factions to seek support from the Lakedaimonians who readily sent a relief force. This *stasis* must have affected as many as half a score of the Parrhasian *poleis*.[15] In 366 the Thebans had the constitutions of all the Achaian *poleis* changed into democracies, and forced the new democratic regimes to exile the members of the oligarchic factions. However, the exiles soon returned to their *poleis* and, apparently, reintroduced the oligarchic constitutions.[16] More than a dozen *poleis* went through this double change of constitution which happened in the course of less than a year. In the majority of all these cases the source is Aristotle, Diodoros, Herodotos, Thucydides or Xenophon. Yet, although these authors may offer a biased account, there is no reason to believe that they invented the rival factions and civil wars they describe. Given the very fragmentary nature of our sources, there can be no doubt that discord among the citizens and civil war were problems which most of the time affected most of the Greek *poleis* from Massalia to Herakleia Pontike.

The further conclusion is that, in case of conflict between loyalties, belonging to one's social group often mattered more than belonging to one's *polis*. That is undoubtedly treason, but it would count as treason for the losing faction only; and that is why the Greeks had so many laws and regulations against high treason,[17] so many political actions against possible traitors,[18] so many citizens living in exile,[19] and so many reconciliations and general

can see no reason to reject it. In the opening of the chapter it is explicitly stated that it is taken over from another treatise, probably one of Aineias' own lost books and probably placed here by Aineias himself. If that is the case, the chapter must be included in any interpretation of the treatise as a whole; see Whitehead (1990) 128.

[11] As the title says, Gehrke's study covers the period 500–300. For *stasis* in the Archaic period, see Lintott (1982) 13–81.

[12] Gehrke, *Stasis* 255–57, based on his inventory 13–199.

[13] Leaving out regions (Achaia, Aitolia, Akarnania, Parrasia, Phokis, Thessaly) and *poleis* in which the attestation of a *stasis* can be questioned.

[14] The Inventory and Index do not include a number of incidents which Gehrke records as outbreaks of *stasis*. (1) Gehrke includes some examples of *stasis* attested in a region but not in any named *polis*, see nn. 15, 16. (2) According to Gehrke, *Stasis* 257, a *stasis* often lasted a few days only. Therefore consecutive occurrences within weeks or months of *coup*, counter-*coup*, and sometimes counter-*coup* to counter-*coup* are counted as separate outbreaks of *stasis* (e.g. Sikyon 366^{i}, 366^{ii}, 366^{iii}), whereas in this inventory they are treated together as consecutive outbursts of one *stasis*. (3) Gehrke includes some 50 incidents where, in our opinion, our sources testify to a change of constitution only, and not to any *stasis* as the reason for the change (e.g. Ambrakia 338, 336; Amisos 334; Andros 411, 393; Antissa 405, 403/2) etc.; cf. n. 5 *supra*). On the other hand, in addition to the *staseis* in Sicily and southern Italy we include *staseis* before 500, and a number of *staseis* not included in Gehrke's study: Abydos (no. 765) *c.*360, Chaironeia (no. 201), Orchomenos (no. 213) and Siphai (no. 218) 424, Knosos (no. 967) C5e, etc.

[15] Thuc. 5.33.1; cf. Nielsen (2002) 333, 376, 392–93.

[16] Xen. *Hell.* 7.1.41–43; Buckler (1980) 188–91; Gehrke, *Stasis* 13–15.

[17] Erythrai *c.*450 (*IG* I^{3} 14.32ff); Thasos *c.*410 (ML 83); Eretria *c.*350 (*IG* XII 9 190); Eresos *c.*330 (Tod 191 = RO 83); Chersonesos (Bosporos) *c.*300 (*Syll.*^{3} 360); Ilion (*I.Ilion* 25 (C3)).

[18] For political trials in Athens, see Hansen (1999) 203–24; Burckhardt and Ungern-Sternberg (2000); for trials of Spartan kings, see Ste Croix (1972) 350–3; for trials of Theban political leaders, see Buckler (1980) 138–50.

[19] Seibert (1979); McKechnie (1989) 16–33.

amnesties to end civil wars.[20] *Stasis* was an everyday phenomenon.

The fact that so many Greeks were willing to sacrifice the freedom (*eleutheria*) and independence (*autonomia*) of their *polis* requires an explanation.[21] By giving up autonomy in the sense of independence, one could keep what was much more important: *viz.* the self-government of one's *polis* exercised by one's own faction.[22] If the opposing faction came to rule the *polis*, it would impose its will on you and your fellows in all matters, day in and day out. If you came to rule, you would be in control of almost all decisions that mattered in everyday life. What would you lose by sacrificing the *autonomia* of the *polis*? You would have to pay tribute, but not necessarily a large one; in times of war you might have to assist the hegemonic *polis*. But essentially the *polis* was left as a dependent, but still self-governing community.[23] Dependent status became a nuisance only if a *polis* had to suffer a foreign garrison on its acropolis, or if its self-government was constantly interfered with by outside harmosts or *episkopoi*.

On the other hand, apart from the help from the neighbouring *polis* to subdue the opposing class, there might be a bonus: viz. that a small *polis* could have the hegemonic *polis* as its protector, and so be safe from being attacked by neighbours who might be a more severe threat than the, perhaps, more distant hegemonic *polis*. So, what endangered the prosperity and well-being of a *polis* was not so much the loss of *autonomia* as the lack of *homonoia*. Accordingly, what the Greeks prayed for was not *autonomia* but *homonoia* and freedom from *stasis*. As far as we know, *autonomia* was never deified in any *polis* and made the object of a cult, whereas *homonoia* became a goddess whose cult was venerated all over the Greek world, especially from the fourth century onwards.[24]

So we have belonging to one's *polis* as against belonging to one's social group or, especially in colonies, ethnic group. How was the belonging expressed? When the belonging and loyalty were towards one's *polis*, the answer is: in the phalanx the citizen was standing next to his fellow citizens fighting for his *polis*; in the political assemblies the citizen was sitting next to his fellow citizens discussing *polis* matters; in the religious processions the citizen was walking alongside his fellow citizens celebrating one of the Olympian gods, perhaps the patron deity of his *polis*. In each of the three fields the *polites* filled a fixed place in a recognisable *polis* institution, be it the *ekklesia*, the *phalanx* or the *komos*. And the citizens would be called on almost daily to participate in one of these institutions (Hansen (2000) 165–70).

But which were the groups for which a citizen felt so strongly that they could outweigh his loyalty to his *polis*? What were they called? Which common cause united such groups? And how were they organised?

The best-known word for such a faction is στάσις. The word is derived from the verb ἵστημι and must have undergone the following development of meaning. Its basic meaning is "position" or "stand",[25] from which the following metaphorical senses are derived: (1) closest to the literal meaning is "stand" in the sense of "standpoint".[26] The next step is probably that, being used about about a standpoint you share with a number of other persons, the meaning of *stasis* is shifted from the standpoint itself to the group of persons who take the same stand on some issue. Thus, *stasis*

[20] Selinous *c.*500 (*IvO* 22 = *Nomima* I 17); Mytilene *c.*330 (*IG* XII 2 6); Chios 332 (RO 84); Nakona *c.*300–270 (*SEG* 30 1119; 39 1014).

[21] For the view that *eleutheria* and *autonomia* were all-important to a Hellenic *polites* of the classical period, see Ehrenberg (1947) 48: "Was not Athenian treatment at least of the loyal States moderate? . . . But no Greek . . . would ever see things in this light . . . because they could not help thinking mainly, if not exclusively, in political terms, that is to say in terms of Polis life and in particular of Polis autonomy . . . Nothing counted when weighed against the loss of political freedom." Quoted and convincingly contradicted by Ste Croix (1954–55) 29.

[22] Gehrke, *Stasis* 359: "Die Griechen liessen sich relativ leicht beherrschen, paradoxerweise nicht, weil sie zur Servilität geboren waren, sondern im Gegenteil, weil sie nichts mehr perhorreszierten als Herrschaft, die Herrschaft ihres inneren Gegners, und nichts mehr schätzten als Freiheit, die Freiheit von eben dieser Herrschaft." In our opinion, this lucid analysis of the role of *stasis* in Greek society is fully supported by the sources, e.g. by Brasidas' speech in Akanthos as reported by Thucydides at 4.86.4–5: "I have not come here to take part in factional politics (*ξυνστασιάσων*). It would be a dubious sort of liberation if I were to go against Spartan tradition and either enslave the many to the few (*τὸ πλέον τοῖς ὀλίγοις*) or the minority to the whole people (*τὸ ἔλασσον τοῖς πᾶσι*). That would be worse than foreign rule (*χαλεπωτέρα γὰρ ἂν τῆς ἀλλοφύλου ἀρχῆς εἴη*) (trans. Hornblower). For a different view, dictated by different circumstances, see Thuc. 8.48.5.

[23] For the concept of the dependent *polis*, see Hansen (1995) and *supra* 87–94.

[24] *PMC* 884: *Παλλὰς Τριτογένει' ἄνασσ' Ἀθηνᾶ, ὅρθου τήνδε πόλιν τε καὶ πολίτας ἄτερ ἀλγέων καὶ στάσεων καὶ θανάτων ἀώρων, σύ τε καὶ πατήρ* ("Pallas, Trito-born, queen Athena, uphold this city and its citizens, free from pains and strifes and untimely deaths—you and your father" (Loeb)). The importance of *homonoia* is stressed by Xen. *Mem.* 4.4.16: *ἀλλὰ μὲν καὶ ὁμόνοιά γε μέγιστόν τε ἀγαθὸν δοκεῖ τοῖς πόλεσιν εἶναι καὶ πλειστακὶς ἐν αὐταῖς αἵ τε γερουσίαι καὶ οἱ ἄριστοι ἄνδρες παρακελεύονται τοῖς πολίταις ὁμονοεῖν, καὶ πανταχοῦ ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι νόμος κεῖται τοὺς πολίτας ὀμνύναι ὁμονοῆσειν, καὶ πανταχοῦ ὀμνύουσι τὸν ὅρκον τοῦτον* ("For the *poleis* concord (*homonoia*) is the greatest blessing, and in the *poleis* the senate and the best men exhort the citizens to live in concord, and everywhere in Hellas a law lays down that the *politai* must swear that they will live in concord, and everywhere do they take this oath"). For the cult of *Homonoia*, see Thériault (1996).

[25] Placing, position of a statue: *ἀναγορεῦσαι τὴν τῆς εἰκόνος στάσιν Ἀμφιαράων τῶμ μεγάλων τωῖ γυμνικῶι ἀγῶνι* ("to announce the erection of the statue during the Great Amphiaraia at the sports competition") (*Syll.*[3] 675.34, Oropos C2). Position of an army before a battle (Hdt. 9.21.2).

[26] Best known from the theory of forensic rhetoric according to which the crucial point in the argumentation is called the *stasis*: Quint. *Inst.* 3.6.3; Hermagoras fr. 10, Matthes: *στάσις ἐστὶ φάσις καθ' ἣν ἀντιλαμβανόμεθα τοῦ ὑποκειμένου πράγματος* ("a *stasis* is a statement in accordance with which we tackle the matter in hand").

acquires its well-attested sense of group or faction.[27] Then, in the plural, *stasis* comes to designate two or more groups holding conflicting views on key issues.[28] Finally, the focus of meaning shifts from the groups holding conflicting views to the conflict between such groups, and *stasis* develops its most common metaphorical sense: *viz*. "discord" and ultimately, "civil war".[29] To sum up, the development of meaning is: (1) stand, (2) standpoint, (3) group of persons sharing a standpoint, (4) in the plural two or more groups of persons holding conflicting standpoints, (5) the conflict between such groups, civil war.

In this context the important sense is (3): group of persons, faction, political group.[30] A person belongs to a *stasis*, and his sense of being a *stasiotes* is stronger than his sense of being a *polites*. The opposition between being a *stasiotes* and being a *polites* is explicitly emphasised by Plato at *Plt*. 303C: "those who participate in the running of these constitutions can be disregarded as partisans rather than statesmen" and *Leg*. 715B: "those who legislate for the sake of a particular group we shall call partisans, not citizens".[31] Next, *stasis* almost invariably denotes a group which by force or stratagem attempts to suppress opposing groups, assume power and change the constitution. A *stasis* is not a political group or party working within the framework of the political institutions of the *polis* (Hansen (1987) 74). One exception is Thucydides' account of the Thessalian army at 2.22.3 where we learn that the regiment provided by Larisa was commanded by two *strategoi*, each representing his *stasis*. In all other sources a *stasis* is a revolutionary group.

An inspection of the sources shows that factions (*staseis*) are designated and described in one of three different ways.

(1) The group is defined by its affiliation with another *polis*. Thus, from the name of a *polis* or an *ethnos* a verb is formed with the sense of "fraternising with" the *polis* or *ethnos* in question. One example is *οἱ Ὀρχομενίζοντες* used by Hellanikos about Boiotians affiliated with Orchomenos. Other similar verbs are *Ἀττικίζοντες*, *Λακωνίζοντες*, *Ἀργολίζοντες*, *Φιλιππίζοντες*.[32]

(2) The group is defined and designated by its preference for a form of constitution, mostly democracy versus oligarchy.[33] But sometimes the rivalry between rich and poor may result in the setting up of a tyranny.

(3) The group is defined and designated by its wealth and the social position of its members. Typically the poor are opposed to the wealthy.[34]

As is well known, the three ways of designating and defining the groups are not mutually exclusive. On the contrary, they usually go hand in hand. The poor favoured democracy and, in C5 and C4, they looked to Athens for support against the rich, who favoured oligarchy and looked to Sparta for support.[35] So, we are fairly well informed about the ideology of the two groups, but we are remarkably ignorant of

[27] Thuc. 7.50.1: *ἡ τοῖς Συρακοσίοις στάσις [ἐς] φιλία ἐξεπεπτώκει* ("the faction supporting the Syracusans had been expelled").

[28] Thuc. 4.71.1: *αἱ δὲ τῶν Μεγαρέων στάσεις φοβούμεναι, οἱ μὲν μὴ τοὺς φεύγοντας σφίσιν ἐσαγαγὼν αὐτοὺς ἐκβάλῃ, οἱ δὲ μὴ αὐτὸ τοῦτο ὁ δῆμος δείσας ἐπίθηται σφίσι καὶ ἡ πόλις ἐν μάχῃ καθ' αὑτὴν οὖσα ἐγγὺς ἐφεδρευόντων Ἀθηναίων ἀπόληται . . .* ("Of the two factions in Megara one feared that he (Brasidas) might call the exiles back and expel themselves, while the other faction feared that the *demos*, apprehensive of this very danger, might attack them so that the *polis* would be destroyed by internal fighting while the Athenians were lying in wait nearby . . ."). Cf. Hdt. 1.59.3; Arist. *Ath. Pol*. 13.4; *Oec*. 1348[a]36.

[29] Disunity, discord: Arist. *Pol*. 1302[a]9–13: *ἐν μὲν γὰρ ταῖς ὀλιγαρχίαις ἐγγίνονται δύο, ἥ τε πρὸς ἀλλήλους στάσις καὶ ἔτι ἡ πρὸς τὸν δῆμον, ἐν δὲ ταῖς δημοκρατίαις ἡ πρὸς τὴν ὀλιγαρχίαν μόνον, αὐτῷ δὲ πρὸς αὑτόν, ὅ τι καὶ ἄξιον εἰπεῖν, οὐκ ἐγγίνεται τῷ δήμῳ στάσις* ("two types of discord grow up in oligarchies: one between the oligarchs themselves, and one between the oligarchs and the *demos*. In democracies the only form of discord is towards the oligarchy, whereas discord within the *demos* hardly ever occurs"). Civil war: Hdt. 8.3.1: *στάσις γὰρ ἔμφυλος πολέμου ὁμοφρονέοντος τοσούτῳ κάκιόν ἐστι ὅσῳ πόλεμος εἰρήνης* ("civil war is as much worse than a war in which the people stand united, as war itself is worse than peace"). The development of meaning suggested here is a reconstruction, and the sense of civil war can be traced back to Solon (fr. 4.19, West), quoted at Dem. 19.255.

[30] *Stasis* used about a political faction: Hdt. 1.59–60 (Athens); Thuc. 2.22.3 (Larisa, official civic subdivisions?); 4.71.1 (Megara); 7.50.1 (Akragas); Arist. *Ath. Pol*. 11.2, 13.4, 14.4, 15.1 (Athens); *Oec*. 1348[b]1 (Phokaia).

[31] Pl. *Plt*. 303C: *οὐκ ὄντας πολιτικοὺς, ἀλλὰ στασιαστικούς*. *Leg*. 715B: *στασιώτας ἀλλ' οὐ πολίτας τούτους φαμέν*.

[32] For a copious collection of examples, see Gehrke, *Stasis* 268–9.

[33] Aen. Tact. 11.13: *ἐν Κορκύρᾳ δὲ ἐπανάστασιν δέον γενέσθαι ἐκ τῶν πλουσίων καὶ ὀλιγαρχικῶν τῷ δήμῳ (ἐπεδήμει δὲ καὶ Χάρης Ἀθηναῖος φρουρὰν ἔχων, ὅσπερ συνήθελεν τῇ ἐπαναστάσει) ἐτεχνάσθη τοιόνδε . . .* ("In Korkyra a revolt of the wealthy and oligarchs against the democracy—a revolt supported by the Athenian Chares who was living there at the time as garrison-commander—was successful, thanks to a scheme . . ." (trans. Whitehead)).

[34] This opposition dominates Aristotle's *Politics* book 5. The terms used by Aristotles are *εὔποροι, πλούσιοι, γνώριμοι, ὀλίγοι* versus *ἄποροι, πένητες, δῆμος, πολλοί, πλῆθος*. Sources in Gehrke, *Stasis* 311. However, Gehrke does not think that wealth versus poverty is the most important factor in the formation of factions, and is inclined almost to reject or at least to question the source value of the general testimonies about *stasis* found in Thucydides, Plato, Aristotle, Isokrates and Xenophon. I am much more inclined to believe that these sources do in fact provide us with a reliable picture of the driving forces behind a good many of the outbreaks of *stasis*.

[35] Some of the key passages in Thucydides are 1.19, 3.82, 4.76, 5.82, 6.39, 8.21. For the whole issue, see Ste Croix (1954–55), who correctly emphasised the importance of *stasis* and described many of the mechanisms connected with *stasis*. He also correctly attacked and demolished the belief that a Greek citizen's loyalty was invariably towards his *polis* and that its *eleutheria* and *autonomia* were what mattered above all (see *supra* n. 21). But he did that in connection with a not very convincing interpretation of Thucydides, arguing that that there was a "Thucydides the reporter", writing the narrative parts as against a "Thucydides the historian", writing the speeches (2–3). Furthermore, Ste Croix was a professed and orthodox Marxist and, although many of his acute observations were solidly supported by the sources and could have been made by any non-Marxist scholar as well, they were explicitly or implicitly dismissed as Marxist exaggerations. Because of such considerations, his article was attacked and his analysis of Thucydides contradicted, especially by Bradeen (1960), and all the important observations about *stasis* were almost forgotten.

how the groups were organised and how their members could express their feeling of identity, loyalty and belonging. We know that the groups were often called *hetaireiai*, but apart from what we know about the oligarchic Athenian *hetaireiai* in 411 and 404 we are left in the dark about *hetaireiai*, and particularly democratic *hetaireiai*, in the Greek *poleis*. There are two explanations of our ignorance.

(a) *Stasis* was civil war; it was by definition an unconstitutional and criminal act. The dominant group of citizens would control the institutions of the *polis* of which we are well informed. The opposing group would have to organise its revolt in secret, and its organisation had to be kept a secret. If the group succeeded in ousting the opposing group, it would take over the control of the *polis* institutions; if it lost, its group would be annihilated. That is why such groups have left so few traces in our sources.

Let us adduce one example. In Samos in 412 a democratic faction deposed a ruling oligarchy.[36] Two hundred oligarchs were executed and 400 exiled. The revolt is described as "the revolt of the people in Samos" (*ἡ ἐν Σάμῳ ἐπανάστασις ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου*), whereas the decision to kill or exile the 600 oligarchs is ascribed to "the Samian people" (*ὁ δῆμος ὁ Σαμίων*). Here *demos* is obviously used in two different senses. The *demos* behind the revolt is "the common people", forming a group, but not being officially organised as a body of government in any sense. The *demos* behind the proscription of the 600 oligarchs is the Samian state, undoubtedly the *ekklesia* which by a majority, perhaps unanimously, who knows, must have voted for the motion to execute or exile the members of the opposing faction.

(b) Most of our sources for constitutional and political matters are Athenian, and in many cases we use our detailed knowledge about Athenian institutions to supplement the meagre sources for other *poleis*. Thus, from our rich information about debates in the Athenian *ekklesia* we presume that such debates took similar forms in *poleis* where we know that they had an *ekklesia* but do not know anything about how it worked. But Athens was famous for being a fairly homogeneous society, and suffered from *stasis* only twice during the long period of democratic rule from 507 to 322. Almost all we know about the ancient Greek *hetaireiai* as political clubs and centres of the oligarchs comes from these two episodes in 411 and 404 BC.[37] The absence of well-organised factions in Athens, apart from the years 411 and 404, prevents us from guessing how such factions were usually organised in other *poleis*, where they probably played a much more prominent part in politics.

Conclusion: in times of peace and under settled conditions a Greek citizen's principal loyalty was to his *polis* and that was where he belonged politically. But in troubled periods and especially in times of war his loyalty to the *polis* was often overridden by his loyalty towards a group within the citizenry—often a social group, but sometimes an ethnic group, especially in colonies—and he was mostly, but not always, prepared to sacrifice the *autonomia* of his *polis* in order to get the upper hand of the opposing *stasis* in his *polis*. Thus, civil war inside the *poleis* was an inescapable effect of war between *poleis*,[38] and even more than external peace, i.e. *eirene*, concord, i.e. *homonoia*, was the desired but usually unobtainable ideal in the classical Greek world.

In the Western world since the Renaissance loyalty towards the state has almost always been stronger than loyalty towards one's social group. The result has been relatively infrequent civil wars, and war with other nations has not fostered disunity or civil war. On the contrary, it has united the people. To have a common enemy has often fostered an otherwise unknown spirit of self-sacrifice, and has often entailed a temporary co-operation between opposed parties.[39] Furthermore, since the Age of Napoleon, nationalism—conceived as the one-to-one relation between nation and state formation—has been and still is one of the strongest forces in history (Thomson (1957) 885). And in cases when discord has resulted in civil war and dissolution of the state, the root of the discord has mostly been opposition between ethnic groups, as is sadly apparent even today, especially in central and eastern Europe.

In ancient Greece we find almost the reverse situation. Mostly, the citizens of one *polis* had the same ethnic identity as the citizens of the neighbouring *poleis*: they were all Hellenes. In many cases they have the same sub-ethnic identity: they were all Boiotians or Phokians, etc. In each *polis* all the citizens usually belonged to one and the same ethnic group and even subgroup. The best proof of the prevailing ethnic homogeneity of the Greek *polis* is, in fact,

[36] Thuc. 8.21. We follow those who believe that Samos in 412 was an oligarchy now overturned by the democratic faction; see esp. Gomme, Andrewes and Dover (1981) 44–7 and 155–56. The alternative explanation, preferred esp. by Gehrke, *Stasis* 142–44, is that the ruling democrats had 600 of their opponents killed or executed in order to prevent an oligarchic *coup*.

[37] Literature on *hetaireiai*: Aurenche (1974) 15–32; Calhoun (1913) 4–7 and *passim*; Connor (1971) 25–32; Hansen (1987) 72–86; Konstan (1997) 60–3.

[38] This conclusion is an almost verbatim confirmation of the views expressed by Thucydides at 3.82.1–2.

[39] Simmel (1955) 87–88, 92–93; restated with modifications by Coser (1956) 87–95.

that when, occasionally, two different ethnic groups were living side by side as citizens of the same *polis*, the result was civil war—just as has been the case in modern Europe. That happened sometimes in the colonies when the colonists came from different *poleis*. Ethnic homogeneity among the citizens of a *polis* and shared with citizens of neighbouring *poleis* must be contrasted with political disunity and discord both among the citizens of any *polis*—leading to *stasis*—and among citizens of neighbouring *poleis*—leading to *polemos*.

REFERENCES

Aurenche, O. 1974. *Les Groupes d'Alcibiade, de Léogoras et de Teucros* (Paris).

Berger, S. 1992. *Revolution and Society in Greek Sicily and Southern Italy* (Stuttgart).

Bradeen, D. W. 1960. "The Popularity of the Athenian Empire", *Historia* 9: 257–69.

Buckler, J. 1980. *The Theban Hegemony 371–362 BC* (Cambridge, Mass.).

Burckhardt, L., and Ungern-Sternberg, J. von (eds.) 2000. *Grosse Prozesse im antiken Athen* (Munich).

Calhoun, G. M. 1913. *Athenian Clubs in Politics and Litigation* (Austin, Tex.).

Connor, W. 1971. *The New Politicians of Fifth-Century Athens* (Princeton).

Coser, L. A. 1956. *The Functions of Social Conflict* (London).

Ehrenberg, V. 1947. "Polypragmosyne: A Study in Greek Politics", *JHS* 67: 46–67.

Gehrke, H.-J. 2001. "Verfassungswandel (V 1–12)", in O. Höffe (ed.), *Aristoteles: Politik* (Berlin) 137–50.

Gomme, A. W., Andrewes, A., and Dover, K. J. 1981. *A Historical Commentary on Thucydides V* (Oxford).

Hansen, M. H. 1987. *The Athenian Assembly in the Age of Demosthenes* (Oxford).

—— 1999. *The Athenian Democracy in the Age of Demosthenes*[2] (Bristol).

—— 2000. "The Hellenic *polis*", *Thirty City-State Cultures* 141–87.

—— forthcoming. "Belonging in a Political Context", in *Leicester–Nottingham Studies in Ancient Society* (1998).

Konstan, D. 1997. *Friendship in the Classical World* (Cambridge).

Lintott, A. 1982. *Violence, Civil Strife and Revolution in the Classical City 750–330 BC* (London).

McKechnie, P. 1989. *Outsiders in the Greek Cities in the Fourth Century BC* (London).

Nielsen, T. H. 2002. *Arkadia and its* Poleis *in the Archaic and Classical Periods* (Göttingen).

Seibert, J. 1979. *Die politischen Flüchtlinge und Verbannten in der griechischen Geschichte* i–ii (Darmstadt)

Simmel, G. 1955. *Conflict*, English edn. by K. H. Wolff (Glencoe, Ill.).

Ste Croix, G. E. M. de 1954–55. "The Character of the Athenian Empire", *Historia* 3: 1–41.

—— 1972. *The Origins of the Peloponnesian War* (London).

Thériault, G. 1996. *Le Culte d'*homonoia *dans les cités grecques* (Lyon and Quebec).

Thomson, D. 1957. *Europe since Napoleon* (London).

Whitehead, D. 1990. *Aineias the Tactician: How to Survive under Siege* (Oxford).

Winterling, A. 1991. "Polisbegriff und Stasistheorie des Aeneas Tacticus", *Historia* 40: 193–229.

The *Polis* as a Religious Organisation

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

Re (1) With one small *addendum* we are in agreement with the first proposition: "the *polis came to* provide the central framework in which Greek religion operated".[4] The Greek pantheon with its sanctuaries and cults was not invented by the *polis*; it was much older than the *polis* and taken over by the *polis*. When did that happen? A predominant view is that it happened early and that the *polis* emerged out of the activities connected with the building of temples and the communal organisation of religious festivals.[5] There can be no denying that the rise of temple building and the emergence of the *polis* took place simultaneously, *viz*. in C8–C6, and the two phenomena were probably connected; but at the same time there is ample evidence of what must have been private cults during the Archaic and early Classical period: family or clan cults are attested side by side with *polis* cults in the new sacred law from Selinous of C5f.[6] Temple building by *poleis* is attested in the Archaic period,[7] but we hear also about temples financed and built by private persons and families.[8] In Archaic Athens all public priesthoods were filled for life from among members of the *gene*.[9] The *polis* took over in the course of the Classical period, and an increasing number of priesthoods were filled from among all Athenians.[10] The general picture is that when the *polis* emerged its organisation and control of religion was not particularly strong; it grew constantly in the course of the period and had become paramount in C4s.

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

The first part of this chapter is based on Hansen (2000) 167–69.

[1] Sourvinou-Inwood (1990) 295, 322; cf. Kearns (1996*a*) 1300.

[2] Zaidman and Schmitt-Pantel (1992) 8.

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

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

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

[6] *SEG* 43 630, cf. Jameson *et al.* (1993) 114–16.

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

[8] The Kleomenes who "made" (ἐποίεσε) the C6 temple for Apollo in Syracuse (*IG* XIV 1) may have been the patron who paid for the temple (Hellmann (1999) 100). The Alkmaionidai rebuilt the temple of Apollo in Delphi (Hdt. 5.62.2–63.1; Arist. *Ath. Pol*. 19.4); Themistokles built a shrine for Artemis Aristoboule in Athens (Plut. *Them*. 22.2–3); Xenophon erected a temple for Artemis at Skillous (Xen. *An*. 5.3.7–9). Some of these persons may have acted on behalf of their *polis*, but not the Alkmaionidai who were in exile, and probably not Xenophon who was a foreigner.

[9] Hereditary groups of upper-class citizens, based on descent in the male line and apparently subdivisions of the *phratriai* (Aeschin. 2.147; *IG* I^3 6 (C5f); Parker (1996) 56–66, 284–327). See 95 *supra*.

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

[11] Parker (1983) 160–170; Jost (1992) 112–15. For the common and widespread distinction between sacred property, public property and private property: *IG* V.2 6A.37–42 = RO 60 (Tegea); Arist. *Pol*. 1267^{b}33–4.

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

been, an overlap. Religion was indeed extremely important; almost every human act, including a meal, was introduced with a ritual (as it still was until our grandparents' generation), but religion constituted one aspect only of *polis* life, and not necessarily the focal one, which was the *polis* as a community of *politai*. Both a battle and a general assembly were preceded in Antiquity by a sacrifice, in the Middle Ages by a prayer. Both rituals were important, but neither turned the battle or the assembly meeting into a sacred act like a procession during a festival.

Re (3) Both as a political and as a military organisation the Archaic and Classical *polis* was a male society from which women were excluded.[13] Female citizens possessed citizen status and transmitted citizen status to their children, but they did not perform the political activities connected with citizenship. They were *astai* rather than *politai*.[14] Religion was different. Here women took part in the rites and cults both of their household and of the *polis* itself (Just (1989) 23). There were some cults from which women were excluded,[15] but similarly there were others from which men were excluded, e.g. the *Thesmophoria*.[16] Most goddesses were served by priestesses rather than by priests (Holderman (1985) 299–330). In religion women were insiders, they joined in the performance of many rituals, and even possessed an official status (Kearns (1996*b*); Jones (1999) 123–33).

[13] Vidal-Naquet (1983) 26; Bruhns (1994) 79–83. In almost all sources the exclusion of women from politics and armed forces is taken for granted, and therefore not explicitly prohibited. For Athens see the shocking idea "to hand over the *polis* to the women" and give them political rights (Ar. *Eccl.* 210) or to allow them to join in the defence of the *polis* (Pl. *Resp.* 451C–57C; *Leg.* 814C). The explicit exclusion of women from the *prytaneion* of the *polis* is attested, e.g., for Naukratis (Ath. 150A). Again, although there are numerous honorific decrees for women (e.g. *IG* XII 7 36, Amorgos (C2)), it is extremely rare to find citizenship among the privileges bestowed on a female honorand. One example is the poet Aristodama of Smyrna (C3). In Chalaia she is honoured with *proxenia*, and her brother with *politeia* (*F.Delphes* III.3 145) but in Lamia she obtains in her own right both *proxenia* and *politeia* (*Syll*^{3} 532). Another example is the Molossians' grant of citizenship to Philista, the wife of Antimachos, during the reign of Neoptolemos (C4) (*SEG* 15 384). For the extended rights and duties of women in the Hellenistic and Roman periods, see Bremen (1996). In C3l–C1 they appeared as *euergetai* (Bremen (1996) 13–19) and performed liturgies (Bremen (1996) 25–30).

[14] For *aste*, see *Syll.*^{3} 1015.6–7 (Halikarnassos (C3); *Egypt. I. Metr.* 33.1 (Naukratis)). The feminine form *politis* is sometimes used of females of citizen birth, see Arist. *Pol.* 1275^{b}33, 1278^{a}28; *IG* XII 7 386.21 (Aigiale (C3)); *IG* V 2 268B.31 (*politis apo genous*, Mantinea (C1)); *I.Kos* 178.6 (Kos (C3)); Dem. 57.30 (Athens). For Athens, see Mossé (1985) and Jones (1999) 123–33. There is, we think, no attestation of *politis* signifying a female citizen exercising citizen rights. Queens, of course, are a case apart, as they have always been throughout history.

[15] "Women were sometimes excluded from the cults of Poseidon, Zeus, and Ares, all emphatically masculine gods" (Parker (1983) 85). For the exclusion of women from the cult of Poseidon see, e.g., *Syll*^{3} 1024.9 = *LSCG* 96, Mykonos *c.*200.

[16] The most widespread Greek festival and the principal form of the Demeter cult, celebrated by (married) women of citizen status. See Burkert (1985) 242–46.

Next, a sanctuary was sacrosanct and functioned as a place of refuge (Sinn (1993)). A person who escaped into a sanctuary or held on to an altar was protected against violence not only from his personal enemies, but also from officials. Even when the suppliant was a criminal, the punitive authority of the *polis* stopped at the threshold of the temple.[17] But if the *polis* authorities violated the *asylon*, as sometimes happened, there was no one to punish them but the gods. These observations reveal two important aspects of Greek religion: on the one hand, *polis* religion was not necessarily the core of the *polis*. On the other hand, there was no institutionalised and organised religious sphere distinct from and, sometimes, opposed to the *polis* sphere. In the Greek world there was nothing like the mediaeval opposition between two competing power organisations: the Crown and the Church.

It is of paramount importance for our investigation that we have taken the political rather than the religious institutions to be the centre of the *polis*.[18] If we had shared the view that religion was the centre of the *polis*, this inventory would have been organised differently. We would not have based our investigation on the ancient concept of the *polis* as a community of adult male *politai* united through their *politeia*, i.e. their political institutions; we would instead have started by listing Archaic and Classical temples, sanctuaries, divinities and communal cults, and then have treated the economic, social, political and military aspects of the *polis* as functions which derived their meaning and importance from the religion. Another result would have been that the emphasis on the urban aspect of the *polis* would have been toned down. While the political aspects of the *polis* were closely connected with the *polis* in the urban sense and concentrated in the city, sanctuaries were placed all over the territory and the opposition between *polis* and *chora* was of secondary importance in religion.

The essence of *polis* religion were prayers and animal sacrifice performed by priests at annual or monthly festivals organised by *polis* officials at public expense and attended

[17] In *c.*632 Kylon attempted to set himself up as the tyrant of Athens. He escaped and his followers took refuge at an altar on the Acropolis. Although they were manifestly guilty of treason, it was considered a sacrilege and a pollution of the whole city when the Athenian archons had them dragged away from the altar and executed (Thuc. 1.126.10–11). The Spartan officials did not dare to have Pausanias killed in the temple of the goddess of the Brazen House (Thuc. 1.134.1–2).

[18] In our endeavour to see religion as one aspect of the *polis* and not necessarily the predominant one, we follow Walter Burkert (1992) and (1995). With Moses Finley (1981) 23 we share the "insistence on the secular quality of public life" and with Oswyn Murray we share the view of the *polis* as an essentially rational community centred on its political institutions; see Murray (1990) 19–22, (2000) 241–42, and Hansen (1990) 215 n. 1, (1991) 63–64.

by all members of the community.[19] The *polis* festivals were indeed the most spectacular aspect of Greek religion; but we must not forget that there were private cults as well, some performed by individuals, such as the cult of the dead, some by private organisations.[20] It suffices here to mention an inscription from Halikarnassos in which a priestess is instructed to perform both private and public sacrifices, including a monthly sacrifice on behalf of the *polis*, for which she is paid one drachm by the *polis*.[21] In any sanctuary many of the sacrifices were made, and many of the votive offerings donated, by individuals—both citizens and foreigners—and on their own initiative.[22]

To conclude, *polis* religion was religion (a) used by the *polis* itself, or (b) organised by the *polis*, or (c) directly created by and related to the *polis* and its institutions. In fact, "*polis* religion" has conveniently been subsumed under those three headings (Burkert (1995) 202). *Re* (*a*): Every communal activity was accompanied by religious acts; thus a meeting of the people's assembly in Athens was opened with a sacrifice, a prayer and a curse.[23] *Re* (*b*): Both gods and heroes were worshipped publicly by the whole community in connection with the large festivals, which were organised by the *polis* and usually attended by all the *polis*' inhabitants (not just the citizens). *Re* (*c*): As the *polis* developed, new cults were set up which were directly and specifically connected with the *polis*' political institutions. In the council house there was, typically, a cult for Zeus or Athena with the epithet Boulaios (-aia).[24] Similarly, abstract political concepts were sometimes deified: in Athens the democratic constitution was represented as a goddess, Demokratia, to whom the *strategoi* made annual sacrifices.[25] Homonoia, Concord, was another personified deity worshipped in many *poleis*, though especially in the Hellenistic and Roman periods (Thériault (1996)). Deification of the *polis* itself, however, is unattested until the Hellenistic period, when, e.g., the sculptor Eutychides created the cult image of Antiocheia in the shape of Tyche with a turret crown on her head and her right foot on the river god Orontes (Balty (1981)). The closest we get to a cult of the *polis* as such is the public cult of Hestia, the goddess of the (public) hearth, placed in a building which in most *poleis* was called the *prytaneion*. The focus of the cult was a hearth with an eternal flame which was meant to symbolise the eternal life of the *polis* (Miller (1978)).

Although the *polis* was not deified, many *poleis* had a specific patron god or goddess;[26] some of the *polis*' symbols were connected with its tutelary divinity, for example Poseidon with trident as shown on the coins of Poteidaia (no. 598) or on the shields of Mantinean hoplites; and the annual festival for the patron deity was one of the grandest. Whenever we have information about the protective divinity of a *polis*, it is recorded in the Inventory. The problem is that it is virtually impossible to set up a list of criteria by which one can identify the patron divinity of a *polis*; and the sources we have indicate that some *poleis* had no identifiable patron divinity, whereas others had several.[27] To have one specific tutelary god for all aspects of the *polis* is, in fact, not easily compatible with the polytheism practised by the Greeks. The concept of the tutelary god or goddess seems to some extent to be a modern one. So, in principle, one ought to record all divinities attested for every single *polis*, including, of course, the cults of heroes. Especially in colonies where the *oikistes* could be turned into a hero, the hero cult of the *oikistes* was an important one.[28] But to include all attested divinities of the Archaic and Classical periods and all their cults cannot be contained within the framework of this investigation. As in the case of magistrates or *proxenoi* or Panhellenic victors, it has been necessary to exemplify and to record major divinities only, including the specific protective divinity of the *polis* in question, if known. The result is here, as with all other parameters included in this investigation, that the matierial has to be very selective for large *poleis* for which several score of cults of divinities are known, and most comprehensive for very small *poleis* for which information about a sanctuary of a major divinity may be the only or one of the best pieces of evidence we have for the *polis* status of the community.

Furthermore, it is of course *polis* cults that are described in this Inventory. Sanctuaries and divinities specifically connected with communities above or below *polis* level are either briefly mentioned in the introduction or passed over in silence, except for the two crucially important sanctuaries at Olympia and Delphi of which brief descriptions have been incorporated. The concept of *polis* religion must

[19] Zaidman and Schmitt-Pantel (1992) 102–11.

[20] Aleshire (1994) discusses the distinction in Athens between state cults and private ones.

[21] *Syll.*^{3} 1015, Halikarnassos (C3). It must of course be remembered that even private sacrifices were made at public shrines with the services of the public priest(ess).

[22] Jost (1992) 262–80.

[23] Aeschin. 1.23 with scholia; Hansen (1987) 90.

[24] McDonald (1943) 115, 132, 135–7, 167, 179, 200, 279–83.

[25] *IG* II^2 1496.131–2, 140–1. Raubitschek (1962).

[26] e.g. *IG* XII 8 356 (C6) where Dionysos and Herakles are commemorated as the protectors (*πόλεως φυλαϙοί*) of the *polis* Thasos.

[27] Cole (1995), on this issue followed by Burkert (1995) 207–9.

[28] Leschhorn (1984) 98–105.

be taken seriously, and it must be taken into account that sanctuaries and cults of divinities did not constitute a distinguishing mark of a *polis*, something by which the *polis* differed from (a) smaller and (b) larger political units. *Re* (*a*): Erchia was an Attic deme, a civic subdivision of the Athenian *polis*. Yet, a sacrificial calendar of C4f lists cults of a score of divinities, including cults of Zeus Polieus and Athena Polias, to be performed sometimes on the Athenian Acropolis, sometimes on the acropolis of Erchia (*SEG* 21 541, 22 131). By contrast with, e.g., the Eleusinian mysteries, there is no indication that the rituals performed by the deme of Erchia were shared by all Athenians and formed part of the Athenian *polis* religion. *Re* (*b*): Thermos was the religious centre of Aitolia and since C4 of the Aitolian League, but Thermos was not a *polis* and the sanctuary of Apollo in Thermos was common to all Aitolians. If a communal cult had been evidence of *polis* status, both Thermos and Erchia should have been included in this inventory as *poleis*.

One further complication is the chronological limits of the Inventory, which in this case are particularly difficult to respect. This Inventory goes down to 323, but often the best or only source we have for the sanctuaries and divinities of a *polis* is a description found in Pausanias, in some scholia, or in late lexica. When can the information obtained from such sources be used as evidence of *polis* religion in the Archaic and Classical periods? Let us take Pausanias. He reports what he saw, i.e. the sanctuaries standing in the first half of the second century AD. Some of them can be dated by a historical reference connected with the shrine, or by the information that the sanctuary was adorned with a statue made by a named sculptor who can be dated to the period before 323. Sometimes Pausanias calls a temple old, but that is not enough to ensure that it had been erected in C4s or earlier and assigned to the specific divinity mentioned by Pausanias. External evidence can be crucial, e.g., if Pausanias' testimony can be connected with the remains of a sanctuary of the Archaic and/or Classical periods, or, what is less convincing, with Archaic or Classical coins with types representing the divinity in question. The information found in scholia and lexica presents similar methodological problems, and in the majority of all cases we are unable to date the information we get. Nevertheless, on the assumption that religious beliefs and rituals are old and prone to persist unchanged for many centuries, the information in late sources about sanctuaries and divinities is not infrequently used as evidence for *polis* religion of the Archaic and Classical periods. Yet, the evidence we possess shows that religious beliefs and practises changed as rapidly, sometimes even more rapidly, than social and political institutions.[29] Old cults were transformed, sometimes beyond recognition, and new cults were introduced. Therefore the use of Hellenistic and Roman sources to describe *polis* religion of the Archaic and Classical periods must be avoided unless the source is retrospective or can be associated with other sources which explicitly concern the period before 323. The repudiation of late sources entails that our lists of Archaic and Classical divinities and cults are rather short, much shorter than similar lists in, e.g., *RE*.[30]

For the reasons outlined above, a person who wants to study the cults of, e.g., Artemis in the Archaic and Classical Greek world must not expect in this Inventory to find all or even most of the relevant cults. Only a selection of the divinities is recorded; especially the large *poleis* are underrepresented, and only the major divinities are included in Index 17.

[29] Bremmer (1994) 84–100.

[30] Like this Inventory, Zaidman and Schmitt-Pantel's exemplary book (1992) about religion in the ancient Greek city covers the Archaic and Classical periods. As an example of "the pantheon in operation" the authors adduce Mantinea and print a translation and commentary of Pausanias' description of the divinities and temples of Mantinea. Altogether 22 divinities are listed. Only 10 of these divinities are attested in the period covered by the book. For the other 12 all evidence is Hellenistic and/or Roman: *viz.*, Zeus Soter, Zeus Kharmon, Zeus Epidotes, Demeter (both countryside and town), Dionysos, Aphrodite Melainis, Aphrodite Anchisia, Aphrodite Symmachia, Antinoos (of course), Artemis and Asklepios; cf. Jost (1985).

REFERENCES

Aleshire, S. B. 1994. "Towards a Definition of 'State Cult' for Ancient Athens", in R. Hägg (ed.), *Ancient Greek Cult Practice from the Epigraphical Evidence* (Stockholm) 9–16.

Balty, J. C. 1981. "Antiocheia," *LIMC* i. 840–51.

Bremen, R. van 1996. *The Limits of Participation* (Amsterdam).

Bremmer, J. N. 1994. *Greek Religion, Greece and Rome*, New Surveys in the Classics no. 24 (Oxford).

Bruhns, H. 1994. "Verwandschaftstrukturen, Geschlechterverhältnisse und Max Weber's Theorie der antiken Stadt," in C. Meier (ed.), *Die Okzidentale Stadt nach Max Weber* (Munich) 59–94.

Burkert, W. 1985. *Greek Religion* (Oxford).

—— 1992. "The Formation of Greek Religion at the Close of the Dark Ages", *StIt* III 10: 533–35.

Burkert, W. 1995. "Greek *Poleis* and Civic Cults", *CPCPapers* 2: 201–10.

Cole, S. G. 1995. "Civic Cult and Civic Identity", *CPCActs* 2: 292–325.

Costabile, F. (ed.) 1992. *Polis ed Olympieion a Locri Epizefiri* (Catanzaro).

Finley, M. I. 1981. "Politics and Political Theory", in M. I. Finley (ed.), *The Legacy of Greece* (Oxford) 22–64.

Fustel de Coulanges, N. D. 1864. *La Cité antique* (Paris).

Hansen, M. H. 1987. *The Athenian Assembly* (Oxford).

—— 1990. "The Political Powers of the People's Court in Fourth-Century Athens", in Murray and Price (1990) 215–43.

—— 1991. *The Athenian Democracy in the Age of Demosthenes* (Oxford).

—— 2000. "The Hellenic *Polis*", *Thirty City-State Cultures* 141–88.

Hellmann, M.-C. 1999. *Choix d'inscriptions architecturales grecques* (Lyon).

Holderman, E. S. 1985. "Le sacerdotesse: requisiti, funzioni, poteri", in G. Arrigone (ed.), *Le donne in Grecia* (Bari) 299–330.

Jameson, M. H., *et al*. 1993. *A* Lex Sacra *from Selinous* (Durham, NC).

Jones, N. F. 1999. *The Associations of Classical Athens* (New York and Oxford).

Jost, M. 1985. *Sanctuaires et cultes d'Arcadie* (Paris).

—— 1992. *Aspects de la vie religieuse en Grèce*[2] (Paris).

Just, R. 1989. *Women in Athenian Law and Life* (London).

Kearns, E. 1996*a*. "Religion, Greek", *OCD*[3] 1300–1.

—— 1996*b*. "Women in Cult", *OCD*[3] 1624–5.

Leschhorn, W. 1984. *Gründer der Stadt* (Stuttgart).

Linders, T. 1975. *The Treasurers of the Other Gods in Athens and their Functions* (Meisenheim am Glan).

Marinatos, N., and Hägg, R. (eds.) 1993. *Greek Sanctuaries: New Approaches* (London).

McDonald, W. A. 1943. *The Political Meeting Places of the Greeks* (Baltimore).

Migeotte, L. 1998. "Finances sacrées et finances publiques dans les cités grecques", in *Actas del IX Congreso Español de Estudios Clásicos* (Madrid) 179–85.

Miller, S. G. 1978. *The Prytaneion* (Berkeley and Los Angeles).

Morgan, C. 1993. "The Origins of Pan-Hellenism", in Marinatos and Hägg (1993) 18–44.

Mossé, C. 1985. "*ΑΣΤΗ ΚΑΙ ΠΟΛΙΤΙΣ*: la dénomination de la femme athénienne dans les plaidoyers démosthéniens", *Ktema* 10: 77–9.

Murray, O. 1990. "Cities of Reason", in Murray and Price (1990) 1–25.

—— 2000. "What is Greek about the *polis*?", *Polis & Politics* 231–44.

—— and Price, S. (eds.) 1990. *The Greek City from Homer to Alexander* (Oxford).

Nielsen, T. H. 2002. *Arkadia and its Poleis in the Archaic and Classical Periods* (Göttingen).

Parker, R. 1983. *Miasma* (Oxford).

—— 1996. *Greek Religion: A History* (Oxford).

Polignac, F. de 1994. "Mediation, Competition, and Sovereignty: The Evolution of Rural Sanctuaries in Geometric Greece", in S. E. Alcock and R. Osborne (eds.), *Placing the Gods* (Oxford) 3–18.

—— 1995. *Cults, Territory and the Origins of the Greek City-State* (Chicago).

Raubitschek, A. 1962. "Demokratia", *Hesperia* 31: 238–44.

Sinn, U. 1993. "Greek Sanctuaries as Places of Refuge", in Marinatos and Hägg (1993) 88–109.

Snodgrass, A. 1980. *Archaic Greece* (London).

Sourvinou-Inwood, C. 1990. "What is *Polis* Religion?", in Murray and Price (1990) 295–322.

—— 1993. "Early Sanctuaries, the Eighth Century and Ritual Space: Fragments of a Discourse", in Marinatos and Hägg (1993) 1–17.

Thériault, G. 1996. *Le Culte d'*Homonoia *dans les cités grecques* (Lyon).

Vidal-Naquet, P. 1983. *Le Chasseur noir* (Paris).

Voyatzis, M. E. 1999. "The Role of Temple Building in Consolidating Arkadian Communities", *CPCActs* 6: 130–68.

Zaidman L. B., and Schmitt-Pantel, P. 1992. *Religion in the Ancient Greek City* (Cambridge).

City Walls as Evidence for *Polis* Identity

The prevailing view among ancient historians and classical archaeologists is that defensive walls were not an essential aspect of the Archaic and Classical *polis*, either as a concept[1] or as a physical phenomenon.[2] According to the orthodoxy, very few *poleis* had a defence circuit in the Archaic period, and even in the Classical period many *poleis* were unfortified, most notably Sparta (no. 345) and Elis (no. 251).[3]

Our investigations suggest a different picture of the *polis* (see Index 23). We shall treat the concept of *polis* separately from what we know about individual walled *poleis* and start with the concept. In the Classical period the defence circuit was an essential, though not indispensable, element of the *polis*. According to Euripides, the wild Kyklopes lived in caves, not in a walled *polis* like civilised Greeks (Eur. *Cycl.* 115–18). In the introduction to his *Histories* Thucydides surveys the progress of civilisation in Hellas from the earliest settlements to the end of the Persian War, and one of the turning points is the transition from unwalled *poleis* lying inland (1.2.2, 5.1, 6.1) to coastal *poleis* protected by walls (1.7.1, 8.2). Thucydides dates the turning point to the period after King Minos' thessalocracy but before the Trojan War. Similarly, Xenophon's Sokrates imagines that the building of defence circuits round the *poleis* is one of the changes that has happened since the Heroic period when Sinis, Skiron and Prokroustes were at large (Xen. *Mem.* 2.1.14). True, in *Laws* Plato prefers a *polis* without walls, like Sparta (*Leg.* 778D), but Aristotle points out that this is an extremely old-fashioned view and argues that the only sensible policy for a *polis* is to have walls (*Pol.* $1330^{b}32$–$31^{a}20$).[4]

A survey of the defence capability of known *poleis* shows that the Greeks of the Classical period sided against Plato and took Aristotle's advice. The Inventory includes 491 communities directly attested as *poleis* in Archaic and/or Classical sources (*poleis* type A). Of these, thirty-two are unlocated. Of the remaining 459 *poleis*, 261 are attested as fortified before the end of the Classical period, some by the remains of walls dated to the Archaic and Classical periods, others through direct or indirect references to walls in written sources, many through both types of evidence combined. Only four *poleis* are positively known to have been unfortified until the end of the Classical period: Delos (no. 478), Delphi (no. 177), Gortyns (no. 960) and Sparta (no. 345), whereas Elis (no. 251), Magnesia on the Maiander (no. 852) and Tralleis (no. 941) were still unfortified in 400. Admittedly, for 186 *poleis* we have no explicit information. But thirty-two of these have remains of walls reported as undated. Future investigations may assign some of these walls to the Classical period. Of the cities included in our inventory "barely 10% have been investigated to any significant extent" (Morgan and Coulton (1997) 87) and the view that walls are not likely to disappear completely does not stand up to scrutiny. There are numerous instances of ancient walls of which not a stone is left, although in some cases travellers of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries reported visible remains.[5]

There can be no denying that, even though a few *poleis* were still unwalled, the Greeks of the Classical period thought of their *polis* as centred on a walled town. Today this view is gaining ground (Ducrey (1995) 251–55). What is still highly controversial is that the picture does not change significantly if we move back to the Archaic period. Again, we shall start with the concept and with our principal source for the Greeks' conception of man and society: the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. In this context we do not have to take a position on the date of the Homeric poems. What we want to stress is that, in C6f and even earlier, the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* were undoubtedly recited in public as well as in private schools and had become an important part of the cultural baggage of the Greeks in all parts of the Hellenic world (*Hymn. Hom. Ap.* 172–73; Xenophanes fr. 11). The Homeric *polis* is protected by—and adorned with—steep walls and beautiful towers. Not only named cities are protected by walls, like Troy (*Il.* 3.153ff), Thebes (*Il.* 19.99) and Tiryns (*Il.* 2.559). When the poet alludes to a *polis* in general, or a *polis* in fairyland, it is once again the walls that are the essential chacteristic,

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

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

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

[3] See Lawrence (1979) 121.

[4] See Winter 1971) 1–2.

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

cf. the walled *polis* depicted on the shield of Achilleus (*Il.* 18.514), or the walls around the *polis* of the Phaiakians (*Od.* 6.10, 266). Also, the "steep" wall (αἶπυ τε τεῖχος, *Il.* 6.327) or "long" walls (τείχεα μακρά, *Il.* 4.34) of a *polis* are among the standard epithets used to describe a city (Scully (1990) 41–53).

Now, we have to consider the possibility that the epic poems depict a historic society, a society much earlier than that known by his audience *c.*600. The walls protecting Troy or Tiryns may be reminiscences of the walled Bronze Age settlements combined with a vague knowledge about the impressive city walls found in the Assyrian Empire in the period *c.*885–612. Still, the presumption is that an audience listening to the poems *c.*600 would recognise the walls of the Phaiakians and those on the shield of Achilleus as part of their own world, and this assumption is confirmed both by the archaeological evidence (*infra*) and by several of the fragments we have of contemporary lyric and iambic poets.

A papyrus fragment of one of Tyrtaios' poems, undoubtedly describing the Messenian War, refers to the tower and wall of the Messenians (fr. 23, West = *P.Berol.* 11675). In a lost poem, paraphrased and echoed in numerous late sources, Alkaios argues that a *polis* is not just a town but a community: "*poleis* are neither stones nor timber nor the skill of builders but both walls and *poleis* are to be found where there are men capable of saving themselves" (Alc. fr. 426). Here the personal sense of the word is emphasised at the expense of the urban sense, but the antithetical way of expressing his view reveals that others might prefer to describe a *polis* as a walled town (Hansen (1997) 52). Commenting on Pindar *Ol.* 8.42, the scholiast says that "crown (*stephanos*) is used metaphorically about the wall since the walls of the *poleis* are like a crown, cf. Anakreon: 'the crown of the *polis* has now been destroyed'" (fr. 391, *PMG*). Since the preserved poems by Hesiod do not deal with warfare they have no mention of city walls but the *Aspis*, a later poem (*c.*500?) ascribed to Hesiod, praises "the well-towered *polis* of men" (270: εὔπυργος πόλις ἀνδρῶν).

The conclusion seems to be that well-built walls with towers and gates were one of the most important characteristics, perhaps even the most important single characteristic of the *polis* as a town *c.*600. Thus, the defence circuit was an essential aspect of the *concept* of the Archaic *polis*. How does this view fit with what we know about individual walled *poleis* of C7 and C6?[6]

Excavated remains of city walls dated by external evidence—i.e. walls associated with stratified datable objects—constitute the most securely dated category of walled *poleis* of the Archaic period. No fewer than eleven *poleis* had defence circuits associated with remains antedating 600, and they include Smyrna (no. 867), Paphos (no. 1019), Abdera (no. 640), Halieis (no. 349) and Megara Hyblaea (no. 36). Hill-top settlements are attested as well as settlements on level ground, and the geographical distribution is considerable. Remains of walls built in the period between 600 and 550 have been found in eighteen *poleis* from all over the Mediterranean, including Eu(h)esperides in North Africa (no. 1026), Massalia in France (no. 3) and Bouthrotos in Epeiros (no. 90). Examples from Euboia (Eretria (no. 370)) and East Lokris (Halai (no. 380)) show that city walls were not confined to colonies and other *poleis* in the periphery of the Greek world. An additional twenty *poleis* have walls that can be dated to the period 550–480/79 and they include Istros in the Black Sea Area (no. 685) and more *poleis* in the Greek homeland, such as Kalydon (no. 148), Ambrakia (no. 113), Argos (no. 347) and Thasos (no. 526). Thus, dating by stratified objects provides us with evidence of altogether forty-nine *poleis* enclosed by walls in the Archaic period.

The other category of archaeologically attested city walls consists of remains which with some probability have been dated to the Archaic period because of their construction and masonry style. There are fifty-three defence circuits in this group so that for altogether 102 *poleis* there are remains of walls older than 480/79.

In addition to the archaeological evidence literary sources provide us with information about fortified *poleis* of the Archaic period, in most cases *poleis* exposed to a siege. Almost all the evidence comes from Herodotos: four *poleis* with walls antedating 550 can be listed, ten between 550 and 500, and finally twenty-three between 500 and 479. Ten of these thirty-seven sites overlap with the forty-nine sites where physical remains of walls have been found. So adding the *poleis* attested as fortified in literary sources to those whose fortifications are attested archaeologically, we reach a total of 129 *poleis* attested as fortified in the Archaic period, to which must be added an unknown number of Archaic walls demolished and thus obliterated in the Classical and Hellenistic periods because they had to be replaced by new walls that enclosed a larger area.[7]

A survey of all the evidence, including the walls of the Classical period, provides us with the following data. Of all the 1,035 communities included as *poleis* in this Inventory,

[6] The following section down to the cue for n. 7 is by Rune Frederiksen.

[7] Unpublished dissertation by Rune Frederiksen.

166 are unlocated. Of the 869 located *poleis*, remains of walls of the Archaic and/or Classical periods are attested for 438, and a further ninety *poleis* are referred to in written sources as being fortified. Thus 60 per cent of all are explicitly attested as walled settlements. Furthermore, while altogether 222 of the *poleis* are attested in literary sources as fortified, no more than nineteen are attested as unfortified, and of these six are attested in later sources as fortified. On the other hand, not all *poleis* had a defence circuit protecting the entire settlement. A total of 101 *poleis* had both a fortified acropolis and a defence circuit enclosing the lower town. But at least sixty-nine *poleis* seem to have had a fortified acropolis only. In most cases the acropolis wall is older than the town wall, or the two walls are contemporary, but there are examples of acropolis walls that are built later than the town walls.

There can be no doubt that in C4 almost every *polis* had a *teichos*, at least one protecting the acropolis, and for a *polis* not to be protected by walls was both exceptional[8] and regarded as old-fashioned.[9] Not just in poetry but in reality, a defence circuit had become an indispensable aspect of the town, just as it was in the Middle Ages. But there is an important difference in the function: in the mediaeval town the sharp division between city and country began at the gates. They were guarded all the time and closed during the night. Furthermore, customs were often exacted on all goods which passed the gates.[10] In ancient Greece, city walls were erected for defence purposes only; the gates were guarded in time of war (Aen. Tact. 28.1–4); but in peacetime, anyone could pass freely during the daylight hours,[11] and, though at night the gates were probably shut, they seem not to have been guarded, and people could still get in and out.[12] The only evidence that customs were levied at the gates is a lexicographical note of doubtful value.[13] If it can be trusted, the reference must be to imported goods on which duties were usually paid in the harbour, but occasionally at the gates if they had been brought to the city overland. It is unbelievable that anything was levied on produce brought into the city by citizens who worked their fields in the countryside but lived in the town. Thus, in contradistinction to what happened in the Middle Ages, the walls around an ancient Greek *polis* did *not* become a barrier between the town and its countryside, except in periods of war.

[8] Xen. *Hell.* 6.5.28: Sparta (no. 345); Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.27: Elis (no. 251), not contradicted by 3.2.30, if we accept Dindorf's emendation of *σφέας* to *Φέας*.

[9] Arist. *Pol.* 1330^{b}32–5, contradicting the view expressed by Plato at *Leg.* 778Dff.

[10] Bertelli (1978) 41–44.

[11] When in 413 Dieitrephes made his surprise attack on Mykalessos, the gates were open and apparently unguarded (Thuc. 7.29.3). Similarly, Xenophon tells us at *Hell.* 5.4.20 that in 378 when Sphodrias made his surprise attack on the Peiraieus, there were no gates to protect the town.

[12] From Andokides' account of the mutilation of the *Hermai* it is apparent that Diokleides could pass the gates around midnight and start his walk to the Laureion mines (Andoc. 1.38).

[13] Hes. *Δ* 1256: *διαπύλιον· τέλος τι παρ' Ἀθηναίοις οὕτω ἐκαλεῖτο* ("*Diapylion* ('through the gate'): there was a duty in Athens that had this name").

REFERENCES

Bertelli, S. 1978. *Il potere oligarchico nello stato-città medievale* (Florence).

Camp, J. 2000. "Walls and the *Polis*", in *Polis & Politics* 41–57.

Ducrey, P. 1995. "La muraille est-elle un élement constitutif d'une cité?", *CPCActs* 2: 245–56.

Hansen, M. H. 1997. "The *Polis* as an Urban Centre: The Literary and Epigraphical Evidence", *CPCActs* 4: 9–86.

—— 2000. "The Hellenic *Polis*", *Thirty City-State Cultures* 141–87.

Lawrence, A. W. 1979. *Greek Aims in Fortification* (Oxford).

Morgan, C., and Coulton, J. J. 1997. "The *Polis* as a Physical Entity", *CPCActs* 4: 87–144.

Nippel, W. 1989. "Polis", in *Historisches Wörterbuch der Philosophie* (Basel) vii. 1031–34.

Pfauth, T. 1997. *A Proposed Archaeological Survey of Tegea* (Thesis, University of Arizona).

Scully, S. 1990. *Homer and the Sacred City* (Ithaca, NY).

Snodgrass, A. M. 1991. "Archaeology and the Study of the Greek City", in J. Rich and A. Wallace-Hadrill (eds.), *City and Country in the Ancient World* (London) 1–24.

Starr, C. G. 1957. "The Early Greek City-State", *PP* 12: 97–108.

Winter, F. E. 1971. *Greek Fortifications* (Toronto).

Wycherley, R. E. 1967. *How the Greeks Built Cities*^{2} (London).

The *Polis* as an Urban Centre

What kind of urban centre did a Greek of the Classical period picture to himself when he heard the word *polis*? Modern historians' immediate answer to this question is often restricted to quoting Pausanias' reluctant classification of Panopeus as a *polis* in spite of the absence of administrative offices, a *gymnasion*, a theatre, an agora and a fountain house.[1] But Pausanias' account misses the mark by 500 years. If we focus on contemporary sources and want to avoid a too Athenocentric picture, the best we can do is to read Aineias the Tactician's treatise, *How to Survive under Siege*.[2] Aineias is a fourth-century author. Admittedly he writes in Attic Greek, but he was probably an Arkadian.[3] Another important source is a long fragment of a *periegesis* by Herakleides of Crete in which Athens, Chalkis and the Boiotian *poleis* are described briefly.[4] Herakleides is a Hellenistic author, but so early that we find it admissible to use his account as a source for the *polis* of the late Classical period. To these two texts which both treat the *polis* in the sense of town can be added scattered remarks and passages from literary and epigraphical sources of the Archaic and Classical periods. Finally, a particularly interesting passage is found in the Pseudo-Aristotelian treatise *Peri Kosmou* (*De Mundo*) 400^{b}15–20. This treatise was presumably written as late as the first century AD but "it contains much that is genuine Aristotelian doctrine" (Ross (1949) 11) and is therefore included here, with due caution, as a possible source for C4s.[5] A survey of the sources leads to the following sketch.

A *polis* (in the sense of an urban centre) was a town which was also the political centre of a *polis* (in the sense of a state), and there are very few attestations of an urban settlement which was called a *polis* without being the centre of a self-governing community.[6] It follows that in most *poleis* (in the sense of state) there was only one urban settlement which was called *polis*. Such a *polis* had a hinterland, called *chora*[7] or *ge*,[8] and a *polis* lying on the coast would have a harbour, called *limen*[9] or *epineion*,[10] often including an *emporion*, i.e. a special market for foreign trade.[11] The port of a large inland *polis* could itself be a major urban settlement which occasionally was considered a *polis* in the urban sense,[12] and could be a *polis* in the political sense too.[13]

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

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

This chapter is an updated and revised version of Hansen (2000*a*) 154–56.

[1] Paus. 10.4.1–2; cf. e.g. Finley (1981) 3–4; Kolb (1984) 58–59; Martin (1974) 30. The passage is discussed and rejected as a valid source for the *polis* of the Archaic and Classical periods by Alcock (1995) 326–29.

[2] See the excellent description of the "Durchschnittspolis" by Winterling (1991) 205–11.

[3] Whitehead (1990) 12–14.

[4] In the MS he is called κρητικός, which Müller for no obvious reason changed into κριτικός, so he was probably from Crete; see Pfister (1951). We quote the text of K. Müller in *GGM* 1 97–106.

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

[6] For the very few possible exceptions, altogether 20 out of 384 attestations, see Hansen (2000*b*) 195–202 and *supra* 34.

[7] Aen. Tact. *Prooem.* 1, 7.1, 15.9.

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

[9] Aen. Tact. 8.2; Thuc. 3.72.3; Arist. *Pol.* 1327^{a}32ff; Ps.-Skylax 13, 34, etc.; *IG* IX^{2} 717.4 (C5), Chaleion (no. 159).

[10] Arist. *Pol.* 1327^{a}32ff; Hellan. fr. 75; Theopomp. fr. 53; Thuc. 1.30.2, 2.84.5.

[11] Aigina (no. 358) Dem. 23.211; Athenai (no. 361) *IG* I^{3} 1101A & B (C5m); Bosporos = Pantikapaion (no. 690) Dem. 34.34; Byzantion (no. 674) Theopomp. fr. 62; Chalkis (no. 365) Heracl. Cret. 28; Histiaia (no. 372) *IG* XII 9 1186.29 (C3s); Corinth (no. 227) Thuc. 1.13.5; Miletos (no. 854) *Milet*. 140.A.32 (C3m); Phasis (no. 711) Hippoc. *De Aere Aquis et Locis* 15; Rhodos (no. 1000) Dem. 56.47; and Salamis on Cyprus (no. 1020) Isoc. 9.47). See Hansen (forthcoming).

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

[13] Naulochos (no. 857), the port of Priene, is called a *polis* in the urban sense at *I.Priene* 1.6 but seems to have been a *polis* in the political sense too; see Hansen (1995*a*) 44. For Notion (no. 858), the port of Kolophon, see *supra* 92.

[14] ὅρος πόλεως (*SEG* 48 1140 (C4s)), Paros (no. 509), Hansen (1996) 37 with n. 147. For alternative interpretations, see Matthaiou (1992–98) and *BE* (1999) 420. [π]όλεως ὅρος (*Athena* (1908) 260 no. 135 (no date)), Chios (no. 840). Cf. *IG* XII.3 86.

[15] e.g. Solygeia (Thuc. 4.42.1–2), Asai and Mausos (Theopomp. fr. 173), all in the territory of Corinth. There is no evidence that Corinthian *komai* were organised as civic subdivisions. See Hansen (1995*b*) 61–71; Gschnitzer (1991) 429, 434ff.

neighbouring *poleis*, and if these dependencies were allowed to persist as *poleis* in the political sense, their urban centre would also be called a *polis*.[16]

Even very small *poleis* seem to have had a four-digit number of inhabitants,[17] and the population of a *polis* was often so numerous that the inhabitants did not know one another.[18]

As a town the *polis* was first of all a centre of habitation, and through excavation or survey archaeologists have come to distinguish between two different types of nucleated settlement: (A) a small settlement, often placed on an eminence, which was extended downhill and grew to become a proper town, and (B) a cluster of closely set villages which eventually were merged into a conurbation with a defence circuit enclosing the entire settlement.[19] In towns of type (A) the eminence (acropolis) was often walled and clearly distinguished from the habitation quarters below.[20] The acropolis was sometimes reserved for sanctuaries and other public buildings,[21] but sometimes had room for habitation as well.[22] To have an acropolis was not a characteristic confined to *poleis* of type (A). Many *poleis* of type (B) possessed a proper acropolis close to or as a part of the conurbation: e.g. Corinth (no. 227), Argos (no. 347) and Athens (no. 361).

The most urgent need of the *polis* as a habitation centre was a sufficient supply of fresh water, and as a specific type of public architecture many *poleis* were adorned with one or more fountain houses where the inhabitants could supplement the water drawn from wells in private houses.[23]

Every *polis* was divided into publicly owned quarters, used for walls, streets, harbours, and all kinds of public architecture, some of it monumental, as against privately owned habitation quarters, used for (mostly) fairly simple family houses.[24] Mansions and palaces were virtually unknown before the late Classical and Hellenistic periods, and that goes even for *poleis* governed by a tyrant.[25] Instead of the dichotomy between public and private space we sometimes meet a tripartition into sacred (*hieron*), public (*demosion*) and private (*idion*) space, or, alternatively, a primary distinction between private and public space is supplemented with a subdivision of public space into sacred and profane.[26]

Habitation quarters were often irregular with crooked streets and haphazardly arranged houses, but in the Classical period an astonishing number of towns had adopted the centralised planning of streets and habitation quarters which erroneously has been ascribed to Hippodamos of Miletos, the C5 architect of the Peiraieus (Martin (1974) 221–52). To have a town organised in accordance with a rigid plan can be traced back to the colonies founded by the Greeks in Sicily in C8l.[27] And during the Archaic and Classical periods a constantly growing number of *poleis*, first outside and later in Hellas itself, were organised in accordance with a rectangular street plan. But even more important than having the streets laid out in rectangular fashion was the habit of having the rectangular blocks framed by the streets subdivided into lots of equal size, mostly eight or ten or twelve lots per block, and standardising the houses constructed on the lots;[28] they were a kind of ancient terrace houses not too far removed from what is known from some parts of some modern European cities. The degree of town planning and rationalisation practised in the so-called Hippodamian *poleis* was as astonishing as the degree of planning and rationalisation practised in the artificial subdivision of the citizen body into, e.g., *phylai*, *phratriai* and *hekatostyes*, etc. (Murray (1997)), or as astonishing as the rigorous planning and rationalisation practised in the

[16] Helisson (no. 273), a dependency of Mantinea, is called *polis* in the urban sense at *SEG* 37 340.6–7. Mykalessos (no. 212) a dependency of Tanagra (or, perhaps, Thebes), is called *polis* in the urban sense at Thuc. 7.29.3.

[17] Even the tiny *polis* of Koresia (no. 493) seems to have had *c.*1,000 inhabitants, and the urban population of Plataiai (no. 216) must have totalled *c.*2,000; cf. Hansen (1997) 27–28. Several *poleis*, however, can have had no more than some 100 inhabitants, e.g. Chorsiai (no. 202). For two different, but not very different gues(s)timates of the Boiotian urban population, see Bintliff (1997) and Hansen (1997) 62–63.

[18] Aen. Tact. 4.5, 39.5; see Hansen (2000*a*) 158–59 and Winterling (1991) 206. Athens was too big to be a face-to-face society: Hansen (1987) 8 with n. 60; Cohen (1997).

[19] This typology was invented and developed by Snodgrass (1987–89) 56–64 and (1990) 130–31. Examples of type (A) are Aigeira (no. 230), Aigion (no. 231), Eretria (no. 370) and Haliartos (no. 206, the one selected by Snodgrass as a typical example of type A). Examples of type (B) are Argos (no. 347), Athenai (no. 361), Sparta (no. 345) and Thespiai (no. 222, the one selected by Snodgrass as a typical example of type B); see also Morgan and Coulton (1997) 124.

[20] e.g. in Thebes (no. 221); cf. Symeonoglou (1985) 117–22. For attestations of a separately walled acropolis, see Index 23.

[21] Orchomenos in Arkadia (no. 286); see Osborne (1987) 118–19. Cf., however, Jost (1999) 240 n. 51.

[22] As, e.g., in Thebes, see Fossey (1988) 204.

[23] Crouch (1993). On fountain houses see Wycherley (1967) 198–209. Famous fountain houses are known from Megara (no. 225); Corinth (no. 227); Phigaleia (no. 292), still used; Athens (no. 361) and Olynthos (no. 588).

[24] *IG* XII.3. 86 (Nisyros); *IG* XII.7 67.43–44 (Arkesine). See Jameson (1990).

[25] Hansen and Fischer-Hansen (1994) 25–30.

[26] Tripartition: *IG* V.2 6A.37–42 (Tegea); subdivision of public space into sacred and profane: Arist. *Pol.* 1330^{a}9–16; Diod. 14.41.6 (Syrakousai), see Hansen (1997) 13.

[27] Fischer-Hansen (1996).

[28] Hoepfner and Schwandner (1994). See Index 22. The principal written sources are Aesch. *Supp.* 954–8; Pl. *Leg.* 779B and Arist. *Pol.* 1330^{b}21–31; see also Heraclid. Cret. 1. On the passage from Aristotle, see Gehrke (1989). On the Aischylos passage, see Rösler (1989)) and on the passage from Plato's *Laws*, see Hansen (1989) 14, 113.

running of the political institutions (Hansen (1991) 314, 319–20).

Apart from being a centre of habitation, the *polis* was a centre of (a) political institutions, (b) cults, (c) defence, (d) industry and trade, and (e) education and entertainment.

Re (*a*) As a political centre the *polis* accommodated all the central political institutions and the buildings in which they resided (Index 24): a *prytaneion*,[29] a *bouleuterion*,[30] and a number of *archeia*.[31] For some unknown reason *dikasteria* are only exceptionally mentioned in our sources.[32] Only a few *poleis* had a separate *ekklesiasterion*.[33] In the Archaic period a meeting of the assembly, called agora, was presumably held in the agora.[34] In Classical sources there are quite a few references to assemblies of the people being held in the theatre,[35] and the agora was no longer seen as the obvious political centre of the *polis* where assemblies were held;[36] but the *prytaneion*, the *bouleuterion*, a *dikasterion* or a stoa with offices of magistrates were often placed in the agora or next to the agora.[37] In the Archaic and Classical periods almost all the public political buildings were small and undistinguished, and monumental political architecture began to appear only in C4.[38]

Re (*b*) As a centre of public cult the *polis* housed a number of sanctuaries,[39] some with monumental buildings such as temples[40] and theatres.[41] Until a generation ago the prevailing view was that almost all the major public sanctuaries were erected within the walls of the *polis*,[42] and that the temples were typically placed on the acropolis. This view has been considerably modified in two respects: (a) many of the major sanctuaries were extra-urban and often situated right on the threshold to the territory, almost as a demarcation of the territory.[43] (b) As time went on, new cities had their urban sanctuaries interspersed between the habitation blocks and no longer erected on the acropolis.[44] Sanctuaries of Athena, Apollo and Aphrodite are typically found inside the walls, whereas sanctuaries of Zeus, Demeter, Hera and Poseidon are often situated in the hinterland.[45] Correspondingly, festivals connected with the urban sanctuaries were celebrated in the *polis*,[46] whereas festivals for the gods who had their temples in the countryside were celebrated in the *chora*.[47]

All the remains of Archaic and Classical buildings show that monumental architecture[48] was sacred architecture, and all written sources confirm that the archaeological evidence presents a true, not a skewed, picture of what monumental architecture was in the Archaic and Classical Greek world. According to Thucydides (1.10.2) the edifices to be admired by posterity are the temples. Again, when the Athenians denounce the destruction of Athens during the Persian invasion, it is the burning of the temples on the Acropolis for which they seek retribution (Lycurg. 1.81; Plut. *Per*. 17.1). Setting prestigious public against plain private architecture, Demosthenes speaks of temples as opposed to houses owned by the political leaders of the preceding century (Dem. 3.25–26). And listing the monumental buildings in Athens he mentions the Propylaia, the Parthenon, the stoas and the docks but makes no reference to the Pnyx, the *bouleuterion*, the *dikasteria* or the *prytaneion* (Dem. 22.76, cf. 23.207). Almost all *poleis* must have had at least one monumental temple, and to have a temple can be seen as a characteristic of a *polis*, although not one by which a *polis* could be distinguished from other types of settle-

[29] Hdt. 3.57.3–4; Thuc. 2.15.2; Aen. Tact. 10.4; Arist. *Mund*. 400^{b}19; *SEG* 13 397 (C5); Miller (1978); Hansen and Fischer-Hansen (1994) 30–37.

[30] Hdt. 1.170.3; Thuc. 2.15.2; Aen. Tact. 10.4; Dem. 10.53. Gneisz (1990); Hansen and Fisher-Hansen (1994) 37–44.

[31] Aen. Tact. 22.4; Arist. *Mund*. 400^{b}16; Xen. *Hell*. 5.4.58; Lys. 9.9; Dem. 10.53.

[32] Arist. *Mund*. 400^{b}16; Plut. *Tim*. 22.2; see Hansen and Fischer-Hansen (1994) 76–79.

[33] *Syll.*^{3} 218.6–10 (C4), Olbia (no. 690); see Hansen and Fischer-Hansen (1994) 53–75.

[34] Hom. *Il*. 18.497; *Od*. 2.7, 6.266, 8.5. Raaflaub (1993) 54–5; Hansen (1997) 60–61. For the Homeric *agore*, see now Kenzler (1999) 31–46.

[35] e.g. Plut. *Mor*. 799E–F (Thebes (no. 221) before 362 BC), see Hansen and Fischer-Hansen (1994) 48–53.

[36] The only classical attestation of the agora as a regular meeting place of the assembly is in the C5 Gortynian law code: *I.Cret*. 4.72.x.34–35; XI.12–14. For the extraordinary use of the Athenian agora in 403, see Arist. *Ath. Pol*. 38.

[37] *Prytaneion* in the agora of Thasos (no. 526); *bouleuterion* and stoa in the agora of Sikyon (no. 228); *dikasterion* next to the agora of Olbia (no. 690).

[38] Hansen and Fischer-Hansen (1994) 36–37 (*prytaneia*), 42–44 (*bouleuteria*), 78–79 (*dikasteria*), 81, 85 (private houses). One exception is the *prytaneion* on Siphnos (no. 519, Hdt. 3.57.3–4).

[39] ML 93.3 (C5l) Xanthos (no. 943); Thuc. 2.71.2 Plataiai (no. 216); Migeotte (1992) 69.9–21 (311–16) Kolophon (no. 848).

[40] Thuc. 1.10.1–2; Heracl. Cret. 28; Aen. Tact. 10.15, 31.15. See the Index 25.

[41] Heracl. Cret. 1, 28; Aen. Tact. 1.9, 3.5, 22.4; Frederiksen (2002). See Index 25.

[42] Ehrenberg (1969) 28; still maintained in e.g. Welwei (1998) 14.

[43] Polignac (1995) 21–25, 33–41.

[44] Martin (1951) 253–55.

[45] Schachter (1992).

[46] Aen. Tact. 10.4.

[47] Aen. Tact. 17.1.

[48] Greek "monumental" buildings have the following characteristics: (1) they are built by the public (the *polis*) and for public use (Coulton (1977) 17–18). (2) They require an architect as opposed to a builder (ibid. 15–17). (3) They are grander than necessary for their purpose: including the forecourt the *bouleuterion* at Miletus covered 2,100 m^{2} and the auditorium itself could accommodate 1,200–1,500 persons, but most councils had fewer than 500 members, and Massalia and Kroton are exceptional in having had 600 (Strabo 4.1.5) and 1,000 (Val. Max. 8.12.15. ext.1) respectively. (4) They are of fine materials and distinguished workmanship: when the temple of Apollo at Delphi was rebuilt after the fire of 548, the Alkmaionidai paid for having marble substituted for limestone (Hdt. 5.62.3). (5) They are often embellished with ornaments, e.g., fluted columns crowned by capitals, sculptured metopes and *akroteria*, etc. (6) They are expensive and labour-intensive. Some types of public building for which architects were often used were of ordinary local limestone, completely undecorated and in no way larger than necessary. Nevertheless they must have been so costly and so time-consuming to construct that by this criterion alone they deserve to be called "monumental". City walls (Arist. *Pol*. 1331^{a}12) and theatres (Diod. 16.83.3) are obvious examples.

ment. There was of course a world of difference between many of the peripteral temples in the Greek homeland and the simple temples *in antis* in many of the colonies in the Pontic region. But there was a similar difference between the fairly distinguished private houses in Miletos and the dug-outs built by the colonists in Olbia.[49]

Re (*c*) As a centre of defence the *polis* was a town whose walls could protect its inhabitants as well as the rest of the population. Walls are an essential aspect of the *polis*, and inside the walls was enough open space to accommodate the rural population for as long as the enemy occupied and pillaged the countryside.[50] Protracted warfare might lead to a siege of the *polis* and sometimes to its conquest, either by being betrayed by insiders or by being stormed or by being starved into surrender. Since military events loom large in ancient historiography, the defence aspect of the *polis* is particularly well attested in our literary sources. The army was made up of the citizens each of whom owned his own weapons, and, Sparta excepted, there were probably no barracks and no arsenals before the Hellenistic period, when mercenaries and professional standing armies were gaining ground.[51] Coastal *poleis* usually had a harbour with shipsheds for warships.[52]

Re (*d*) As an economic association the centre of the *polis* was the agora,[53] the epicentre was often a harbour, and in sources dealing with the economy of the *polis*, the agora and the *limen* are often juxtaposed.[54] Every *polis* had an agora,[55] which in Archaic and early Classical towns was just an open square marked off with *horoi*.[56] A *polis* might have an *emporion*, i.e. a market reserved for foreign trade.[57] In the Classical period all traces of the agora as an assembly place have vanished, and the agora was now primarily the market-place. Shops and booths were erected,[58] many of a temporary nature.[59] An agora was often adorned with a stoa (see Index 25).[60] Later and especially in *poleis* with a grid plan, the agora was flanked with two[61] or even three stoas,[62] some of which were used for shops.[63]

Re (*e*) As a centre of education and entertainment the *polis* was the place where the schools for children were found.[64] The more advanced education of adults was often connected with the *gymnasia*,[65] which, however, were primarily centres for sport and military training.[66] In the Archaic and early Classical periods *gymnasia* were usually placed outside the *polis*,[67] but in the course of the late Classical and Hellenistic periods the *gymnasion* was moved inside the walls[68] and became perhaps the most important public building[69] housing what was now the most important institution in the *polis*, *viz*. the *ephebeia*.

Of entertainments, often connected with the major religious festivals, the two most spectacular types were competitions in sport, conducted in a *palaistra*,[70] a *stadion*[71] or a *hippodromos*,[72] often connected with a *gymnasion*,[73] and drama, performed in the theatre.[74] In the Archaic and early Classical periods both the *gymnasion* (with *palaistra*, *stadion* and *hippodromos*)[75] and the theatre[76] were simple constructions which in most *poleis* have left no traces whatsoever, but all three types of building were monu-

[49] Tsetskhladze (1997) 46–47.

[50] Thuc. 2.17.1; Aen. Tact. 1.9, 2.2, 2.7; Xen. *Vect*. 2.6.

[51] Kromayer and Veith (1928) 125 n. 5.

[52] In Ps.-Skylax no fewer than 77 settlements are described as *πόλις καὶ λιμήν* or *⟨πόλις⟩ καὶ λιμήν* (i.e. *πόλις* implied) or *πόλις ἀποικία καὶ λιμήν* or *πόλις Ἑλληνίς καὶ λιμήν*. The evidence is listed in Flensted-Jensen and Hansen (1996) 145. On shipsheds, see Blackman (1968).

[53] Hdt. 1.153 (discussed in Hansen (1997) 61); Heracl. Cret. 28; Ar. *Eq*. 1009; *Eccl*. 819; Arist. *Ath. Pol*. 51.3; Arist. *Pol*. 1278^{a}25–26, Thebes (no. 221), 1321^{b}12; Dem. 21.22;,57.30–31; Hdt. 3.43.2; Lys. 1.8; Pl. *Com*. fr. 190; Pl. *Apol*. 17C; *Resp*. 371B–D; Theophr. *Char*. 6.10, 22.7; Thuc. 3.72–74, 8.95.4; Xen. *Hell*. 3.4.17; *Symp*. 4.41, 8.21; *I.Cret*. IV 72 col. 7.10–11 (C5f), Gortyns (no. 960); *IG* XII 9 189.34–35 (C4s), Eretria (no. 370); *Syll.*^{3} 344.95–97 (*c*.303), Teos (no. 868); *Syll.*^{3} 354.6 (*c*.300), Ephesos (no. 844). See Kenzler (1999).

[54] Thuc. 3.72.3; Dem. 1.22; Xen. *Hiero* 11.2; Theopomp. fr. 62; Pl. *Resp*. 425D; Arist. *Oec*. 1346^{b}19. The Megarians excluded from the Athenian agora and *limen*: Thuc.1.139.1, 1.144.2; Ephor. fr. 196.

[55] Arist. *Pol*. 1321^{b}13; ML 45 (10): the decree enforcing the use of Athenian coins prescribes that a copy of the decree be set up in the agora in every allied *polis*. See Kenzler (1999).

[56] Ar. *Ach*. 719; *IG* I^{3} 1087–90.

[57] Arist. *Pol*. 1327^{a}31; see Hansen (forthcoming).

[58] Aen. Tact. 30.1, 7; Migeotte (1992) 26–27 (311–306) Kolophon (no. 848).

[59] Dem. 18.169.

[60] Xen. *Hell*. 5.2.29 (Thebes). See Kuhn (1985).

[61] Heracl. Cret. 23 (Anthedon).

[62] Heracl. Cret. 28 (Chalkis).

[63] *IG* XII.2 14; cf. *SEG* 26 878, 34 850 (C4s), Mytilene (no. 798); see Coulton (1976) 10–11.

[64] Thuc. 7.29.5, Mykalessos (no. 212); Hdt. 6.27.2, Chios (no. 840); Paus. 6.9.6 (1492), Astypalaia (no. 476).

[65] Pl. *Euthyd*. 271C; Theophr. *Char*. 5.7.

[66] Xen. *Hell*. 3.4.16–18; *Ages*. 1.26–27, Ephesos (no. 844).

[67] Aen. Tact. 23.6; *I.Cret*. IV 64, Gortyns (no. 960); Heracl. Cret. 1, Athenai (no. 361); Xen. *Hell*. 3.2.27, Elis (no. 251); Xen. *Hell*. 5.2.25, Thebai (no. 221).

[68] Heracl. Cret. 28, Chalkis (no. 365); Arist. *Oec*. 1346^{b}18, Byzantion (no. 674).

[69] e.g. *SEG* 27 261 (gymnasiarchal law from Beroia C2); cf. Delorme (1960) 93–230.

[70] See *Sammelbuch* i. 30 no. 355, a fourth-century inscription from Naukratis (no. 1023) in which two named persons dedicate a *palaistra* to Apollon.

[71] Alexis fr. 272. See Index 25.

[72] A hippodrome is attested already in Hom. *Il*. 23.330, but not again until C4: Aeschin. 3.88, Tamynai; Dem. 47.53, 76; Xen. *Hipp*. 3.1.5, Athens (no. 361); Xen. *Hell*. 3.4.16, Ephesos (no. 844); Xen. *Hell*. 6.5.30, Sparta (no. 345); Pl. *Criti*. 117C (Atlantis).

[73] Ant. 3.*β*.3.

[74] The oldest attestations of theatres in Greek literature are Hdt. 6.67.3, Sparta (no. 345) and Thuc. 8.93.1 (Mounichia in Peiraieus).

[75] Müller-Wiener (1988) 166–68.

[76] The only known Archaic theatres are those in Metapontion (no. 61): phase I: C7l; phase II: C6m; phase III: 500–475, and in Thorikos (phase I: 525–480). C5 theatres have been found in Argos (no. 347); Athenai (no. 361), Chaironeia (no. 201), Ikarion, Isthmia, Corinth (no. 227) and Syrakousai (no. 47). See Frederiksen (2002).

mentalised in the course of the late fifth and fourth centuries.

Summing up, how did the *polis* change between *c.*600 and *c.*320? A circuit of walls became an almost indispensable part of the *polis*, and one which in Aristotle's opinion was a major adornment of the city. Apart from the defence circuit, temples were virtually the only type of monumental architecture worth mentioning down to the end of the Archaic period. Theatres with a stone *koilon* began to be constructed in the fifth century only and, with a few notable exceptions, political architecture was not monumentalised until the Hellenistic Age. Remains of *gymnasia*, *stadia* and hippodromes tell the same story. They are conspicuous by their absence until the late fifth century, but became impressive monumental buildings during the Hellenistic period. From an architectural point of view, however, the most dramatic change of the *polis* seems to have been in the layout and construction of private houses. A growing number of *poleis* were organised in accordance with a rectangular street plan, but even more important is that the rectangular blocks framed by the streets were subdivided into lots of equal size, mostly eight or ten or twelve lots per block, and the houses constructed on the lots were also standardised; they were a kind of ancient terrace houses. A crucial problem is to what extent and how the town planning was organised by the *polis* in the sense of a political community; but that is a problem which has to be further investigated.

REFERENCES

Alcock, S. 1995. "Pausanias and the *Polis*: Use and Abuse", *CPCActs* 2: 326–44.

Bintliff, J. 1997. "Further Considerations on the Population of Ancient Boeotia", in J. Bintliff (ed.), *Recent Developments in the History and Archaeology of Central Greece* (London) 231–52.

Blackman, D. J. (1968). "The Ship-Sheds", in J. S. Morrison and R. T. Williams, *Greek Oared Ships* (Cambridge), 181–92.

Cohen, E. 1997. "A Modern Myth: Classical Athens as a Face-to-Face Society", *Common Knowledge* 6: 97–124.

Coulton, J. J. 1976. *The Architectural Development of the Greek Stoa* (Oxford).

—— 1977. *Greek Architects at Work* (London).

Crouch, D. 1993. *Water Management in Ancient Greek Cities* (Oxford).

Delorme, J. 1960. *Gymnasion: étude sur les monuments consacrés à l'éducation en Grèce* (Paris).

Ehrenberg, V. 1969. *The Greek State* (London).

Finley, M. I. 1981. "The Ancient City: From Fustel de Coulanges to Max Weber and Beyond", in B. D. Shaw and R. P. Saller (eds.), *Economy and Society in Ancient Greece* (London) 3–23.

Fischer-Hansen, T. 1996. "The Earliest Town-Planning of the Western Greek Colonies: With Special Regard to Sicily", *CPCActs* 3: 317–73.

Flensted-Jensen, P., and Hansen, M. H. 1996. "Pseudo-Skylax' Use of the Term *Polis*", *CPCPapers* 3: 137–67.

Fossey, J. M. 1988. *Topography and Population of Ancient Boiotia* (Chicago).

Frederiksen, R. 2002. "The Greek Theatre: A Typical Building in the Urban Centre of the *Polis*?", *CPCPapers* 6: 65–124.

Gehrke, H.-J. 1989. "Bemerkungen zu Hippodamos von Milet", in Schuller, Hoepfner and Schwandner (1989) 58–68.

Gneisz, D. 1990. *Das antike Rathaus* (Vienna).

Gschnitzer, F. 1991. "Zum Verhältnis von Siedlung, Gemeinde und Staat in der griechischen Welt", in E. Olshausen and H. Sonnabend (eds.), *Geographica Historica* 5: 429–42.

Hansen, M. H. 1987. *The Athenian Assembly* (Oxford).

—— 1989. "Discussion Notes", in Schuller, Hoepfner and Schwandner (1989) 14, 66, 113.

—— 1991. *The Athenian Democracy in the Age of Demosthenes* (Oxford).

—— 1995*a*. "Boiotian *Poleis*: A Test Case", *CPCActs* 2: 13–63.

—— 1995*b*. "*Kome*: A Study in How the Greeks Designated and Classified Settlements which were not *Poleis*", *CPCPapers* 2: 45–81.

—— 1996. "*ΠΟΛΛΑΧΩΣ ΠΟΛΙΣ ΛΕΓΕΤΑΙ* (Arist. *Pol.* 1276^{a}23): The Copenhagen Inventory of *Poleis* and the *Lex Hafniensis de Civitate*", *CPCActs* 3: 7–72.

—— 1997. "The *Polis* as an Urban Centre: The Literary and Epigraphical Evidence", *CPCActs* 4: 9–86.

—— 2000*a*. "The Hellenic *Polis*", *Thirty City-State Cultures* 141–87.

—— 2000*b*. "A Survey of the Use of the Word *Polis* in Archaic and Classical Sources", *CPCPapers* 5: 173–215.

—— 2004. "*Emporion*: A Study of the Use and Meaning of the Term in the Archaic and Classical Periods", in G. Tsetskhladze (ed.), *Greek Colonisation* i–ii (Leiden) forthcoming.

—— and Fischer-Hansen, T. 1994. "Monumental Political Architecture in Archaic and Classical Greek *Poleis*", *CPCPapers* 1: 23–90.

Hoepfner, W., and Schwandner, E.-L. 1994. *Haus und Stadt im klassischen Griechenland*^{2} (Berlin).

Jameson, M. H. 1990. "Private Space and the Greek City", in Murray and Price (1990) 171–95.

Jost, M. 1999. "Les Schemas de peuplement de l'Arcadie aux époques archaïque et classique", *CPCActs* 6: 192–247.

Kenzler, U. 1999. *Studien zur Entwicklung und Struktur der griechischen Agora in archaischer und klassischer Zeit* (Frankfurt am Main).

Kolb, F. 1984. *Die Stadt im Altertum* (Munich).

Kromayer, J., and Veith, G. 1928. *Heerwesen und Kriegführung der Griechen und Römer* (Munich).

Kuhn, G. 1985. "Untersuchungen zur Funktion der Säulenhalle in archaischer und klassischer Zeit", *JDAI* 100: 171–79.

Martin, R. 1951. *Recherches sur l'agora grecque* (Paris).

—— 1974. *L'Urbanisme dans la Grèce antique*² (Paris).

Matthaiou, A. P. 1992–98. "ὀλίγα περὶ τοῦ Παριακοῦ Ὄρου πόλεως", *Horos* 10–12: 441–47.

Migeotte, L. 1992. *Les Souscriptions publiques dans les cités grecques* (Genève).

Miller, S. G. 1978. *The Prytaneion* (Berkeley and Los Angeles).

Morgan, C., and Coulton J. J. 1997. "The *Polis* as a Physical Entity", *CPCActs* 4: 87–144.

Müller-Wiener, W. 1988. *Griechisches Bauwesen in der Antike* (Munich)

Murray, O. 1997. "Rationality and the Greek City: The Evidence from Kamarina", *CPCActs* 4: 493–504.

—— and Price, S. (eds.) 1990. *The Greek City from Homer to Alexander* (Oxford).

Osborne, R. 1987. *Classical Landscape with Figures* (London).

Pfister, F. 1951. "Die Reisebilder des Herakleides", *SBWien* 227: 18–19.

Polignac, F. de 1995. *Cults, Territory and the Origins of the Greek City-State* (Chicago).

Raaflaub, K. 1993. "Homer to Solon: The Rise of the Polis: The Written Sources", *CPCActs* 1: 41–105.

Rösler, W. 1989. "Typenhäuser bei Aischylos?", in Schuller, Hoepfner and Schwandner (1989) 109–14.

Ross, W. D. 1949. *Aristotle* (London).

Schachter, A. 1992. "Policy, Cult and the Placing of Greek Sanctuaries", in O. Reverdin and B. Grange (eds.), *Le Sanctuaire grec*, Entretiens sur l'antiquité classique 37 (Geneva) 1–57.

Schuller, W., Hoepfner, W., and Schwandner, E. L. (eds.) 1989. *Demokratie und Architektur: Der hippodamische Städtebau und die Entstehung der Demokratie* (Berlin).

Snodgrass, A. 1987–89. "The Rural Landscape and its Political Significance", *Opus* 6–8: 53–70.

—— 1990. "Survey Archaeology and the Rural Landscape of the Greek City", in Murray and Price (1990) 113–36.

Symeonoglou, S. 1985. *The Topography of Thebes* (Princeton).

Tsetskhladze, G. R. 1997. "A Survey of the Major Urban Settlements in the Kimmerian Bosporos (with a Discussion of their Status as *Poleis*)", *CPCPapers* 4: 39–81.

Welwei, K.-W. 1998. *Die griechische Polis*² (Stuttgart).

Whitehead, D. 1990. *Aineias the Tactician* (Oxford).

Winterling, A. 1991. "Polisbegriff und Stasistheorie des Aeneas Tacticus", *Historia* 40: 193–229.

Wycherley, E. R. 1967. *How the Greeks Built Cities* (London).

Coins as Evidence for *Polis* Identity

In the Hellenic world in the Archaic and Classical periods most coins were struck by *poleis* (see Index 26). How do we know? (a) In the written sources there are general statements that striking coins was one of the tasks incumbent on a *polis* (Pl. *Resp.* 371B; Arist. *Mag. mor.* 1194[a]18–25). (b) From other sources we obtain information about mints of individual communities explicitly attested as *poleis* (Dem. 24.212–14, Athens; *IG* XII.2 1 (C5s), Mytilene and Phokaia; *Syll.*[3] 218.14–15 (C4f), Olbia). (c) The majority of all Greek coins of the Archaic and Classical periods can be ascribed to communities which in contemporary written sources are explicitly called *poleis*, e.g. the C5s silver drachms from Taras inscribed *ΤΑΡΑΝΤΙΝΩΝ* compared with Thuc. 6.44.2: *τῶν πόλεων . . . Τάραντος* (*infra* 299, 302). Taras is a straightforward example; there are many like it, but it may be difficult and sometimes even impossible to ascribe a coinage to a known community or to identify this community as a *polis*.

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

Re (*a*) Examples of the ethnic in the genitive plural are *ΑΙΝΙΑΝΩΝ*, C4f (Head, *HN*[2] 291); *ΑΜΟ*(*ΡΓΙΩΝ*), C4l (Head, *HN*[2] 481); *ΒΟΙΩΤΩΝ*, *c.*338–315 (Head, *HN*[2] 352); *ΕΥΒΟΙ*(*ΕΩΝ*), C4f (Head, *HN*[2] 362); *ΚΑΤΑΝΑΙΩΝ*, *c.*400 (Head, *HN*[2] 134); *ΚΝΩΣΙΩΝ*, C4f (Head, *HN*[2] 461); *ΝΑΓΙΔΕΩΝ*, C5l (Head, *HN*[2] 725); *ΝΕΑΠΟΛΙΤΕΩΝ* (Rutter, *HN*[3] 70); *ΣΤΥΜΦΑΛΙΩΝ*, C4f (Head, *HN*[2] 454); *ΦΩΚΕΩΝ*, C4m (Head, *HN*[2] 339); *ΧΑΛΚΙΔΕΩΝ* (in Thrace), C4f (Head, *HN*[2] 209). Nominative singular forms are *ΝΕΑΠΟΛΙΤΗΣ* (Rutter, *HN*[3] 68); *ΡΗΓΙΝΟΣ*, or *ΡΕΓΙΝΗ*, or *ΡΕΓΙΝΟΝ*, C5l-C4e (Head, *HN*[3] 187–91). For an occasional nominative plural form, see *ΡΟΔΙΟΙ* (Babelon, *Traité* II.2 1015).

Re (*b*) Examples of the ktetic form of the ethnic are *ΑΡΚΑΔΙΚΟΝ*, C5 (Head, *HN*[2] 448); *ΟΛΥΝΠΙΚΟΝ*, C5e (Head, *HN*[2] 420); *ΔΕΡΡΟΝΙΚΟΝ* or *ΔΕΡΡΟΝΙΚΟΣ* (Makedonian tribe), C5e (Head, *HN*[2] 202); *ΘΕΣΠΙΚΟΝ*, C4f (Head, *HN*[2] 354); *ΝΑΓΙΔΙΚΟΝ*, C5l (Head, *HN*[2] 725), cf. Babelon, *Traité* II.1 890–95; *ΝΕΟΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΟΝ* (Rutter, *HN*[3] 68).

Re (*c*) Examples of the toponym in nominative or genitive are *ΑΚΡΑΓΑΣ* or *ΑΚΡΑΓΑΝΤΟΣ*, C6s-C5f (Head, *HN*[2] 120); *ΔΙΚΑΙΑ* (in Thrace), C5m (Head, *HN*[2] 252); *ΖΑΚΥΝΘΟΣ*, C5s-C4f (Head, *HN*[2] 429); *ΛΑΚΥΔΩΝ* (in France), C4 (Head, *HN*[2] 6); *ΝΕΗΠΟΛΙΣ* (Rutter, *HN*[3] 68); *ΡΕΓΙΟΝ*, C5e (*HN*[3] 187).

Re (*d*) A personal name, either in the nominative, or in the genitive, or in a prepositional phrase, is mostly the name of a mint official, often abbreviated. Occasionally it may be the name of the engraver. In other cases it is the name of a ruler or a general or a mercenary leader. Examples are *ΕΠΙ ΔΕΜΟΚΡΙΤΟ* on C5s coins from Abdera (Head, *HN*[2] 254), a mint official who is perhaps identical with the pre-Socratic philosopher Demokritos of Abdera. For names of engravers, see *ΕΥΑΙΝΕΤΟ* on some Syracusan coins of C5f (Guarducci (1974) 532). In most cases names of mint officials and engravers are easily distinguished from names of rulers and mercenary leaders. Examples of such names are *obv.* *ΘΕΜΙΣΤΟΚΛΕΟΣ*, *rev.* *ΜΑ* on C5f coins of Magnesia on the Maiandros struck by Themistokles in exile (Head, *HN*[2] 581); *ΠΑΥΣΑΝΙΑ* and *ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ* on coins struck by King Pausanias of Makedonia in 390–389 and by Philip II in 360–336 (Head, *HN*[2] 221–22); *ΜΑΥΣΣΩΛΛΟ* on coins struck by Mausolos in 377–353 (Head, *HN*[2] 629); *obv.* *ΦΩΚΕΩΝ*, *rev.* *ΟΝΥΜΑΡΧΟΥ* or *ΦΑΛΑΙΚΟΥ* on coins struck by these Phokian generals during the Third Sacred War (Head, *HN*[2] 339); *rev.* *ΔΙΩΝΟΣ* and *ΖΑ* on coins perhaps struck by Dion of Syracuse on Zakynthos preparing his campaign against Dionysios II of Syracuse in 357 (Head, *HN*[2] 430).

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

Re (*e*) Names of gods or heroes are often added to a picture of the divinity to ensure identification. On some C4 coins of Herakleia in Loukania we find *ΑΘΑΝΑ* with head of Athena in Corinthian helmet (Head, *HN*² 72). On C4 coins of Larisa is the legend *ΑΛΕΥΑ* with the head of Aleuas, the eponymous ancestor of the Aleuadai (Head, *HN*² 299). Sometimes it is a matter of interpretation whether a name is the name of a god or a toponym. The legend *ΑΚΡΑΓΑΣ* alongside the head of young Akragas on some C4 bronze coins must be the name of the river-god (Head, *HN*² 123); but *ΑΚΡΑΓΑΣ* or *ΑΚΡΑΓΑΝΤΟΣ* together with the eagle must designate the homonymous town (Head, *HN*² 123), and that shows, once again, that the toponym of a town was often used synonymously with the city-ethnic to denote the political community and not just its urban centre (*supra* 56).

Re (*f*) Examples of denominations are *ΤΤΤ* = tritetartemorion, *Η* = hemiobol on coins of Kranioi on Kephallenia from *c.*400 (Head, *HN*² 427); *ΟΒΟΛΟΣ* on C5–C4 coins of Metapontion (Rutter, *HN*³ 1639–40). Rare examples of a date on a coin are all later than the Classical period.

Re (*g*) Various other legends include, e.g., *ΟΙΚΙΣΤΑΣ* (C4s), referring to Herakles as the founder of the *polis* of Kroton (Head, *HN*² 98); *ΔΑΜΟΚΡΑΤΙΑΣ* (C4), referring to the constitution of the island of Telos (Head, *HN*² 642); *ΣΥΝ*(*ΜΑΧΙΚΟΝ*), referring to an alliance of anti-Spartan *poleis* 394–386 (Kraay (1976) 248).

Moving from a survey of the different kinds of legend to a survey of the communities which had a mint, we can establish the following list of authorities attested as striking coins: (1) *poleis*, (2) *ethne*, sub-*ethne* and islanders inhabiting multipolate islands, (3) federations, (4) amphiktyonies, (5) alliances, (6) rulers, (7) generals and mercenary leaders, and (8) sanctuaries.[2] All the examples adduced above belong in one of these categories. Some may be placed in two of the categories simultaneously.

Re (*1*) Attested *poleis* among the examples adduced above are Akragas, Dikaia, Katane, Knosos, Nagidos, Neapolis, Stymphalos, Rhegion, Thespiai and Zakynthos (a monopolate island).

Re (*2*) The Ainians were an *ethnos* living to the south of Thessaly, and the Parrhasians an Arkadian sub-ethnos; the Euboians and the Amorgians were inhabitants of a multipolate island.

Re (*3*) In C5l-C4e the Boiotians, the Phokians and the Chalkidians in Thrace were organised as confederations. It should be noted that ethnic groups (2) can only be distinguished from federations (3) when we have external evidence about the political organisation of the community in question. Thus, the C5 triobols and obols inscribed *ΑΡΚΑΔΙΚΟΝ* may testify to a certain co-operation between the various Arkadian communities, but an Arkadian Federation was set up only after the battle of Leuktra in 371 (Nielsen (1996)). The *ΑΡΚΑΔΙΚΟΝ* triobols and obols may have been a festival coinage connected with the Panarkadian Games in honour of Zeus Lykaios, or a coinage issued by Tegea. In the first case it also belongs in group (8) *infra*, in the second case also in group (1) *supra*.

Re (*4*) The coins inscribed *ΑΜΦΙΚΤΥΟΝΩΝ* were struck, probably in Delphi, by the council of the Amphiktyonic League in the years after the Third Sacred War (Head, *HN*² 342).

Re (*5*) A number of coins from the Propontic region and the coast of Asia Minor have *obv*. the child Herakles strangling two snakes; legend: *ΣΥΝ*, an abbreviated form of either *ΣΥΝΜΑΧΩΝ* or *ΣΥΝΜΑΧΙΚΟΝ*. On the reverse are the types and legends of the members of the alliance. They were struck either in 404 (Ashton (1993) 9) or, rather, in the years 394–386 by an anti-Spartan alliance of Greek *poleis* (Kraay (1976) 248). The common obverse shows that they were alliance coins, the different reverses that they were struck by a number of communities, all attested as *poleis* in other sources, viz. Byzantion, Ephesos, Iasos, Knidos, Kyzikos, Rhodos and Samos. For a Sicilian *ΣΥΜΜΑΧΙΚΟΝ* coinage connected with Timoleon, see *infra* 148.

Re (*6–7*) Pausanias and Philip II were kings, Themistokles and Mausolos were satraps, Onomarchos, Phalaikos and Dion were generals and mercenary leaders. The coins issued by the kings of Makedonia were common to all the *poleis* and regions over which the king ruled. And the coins of Onomarchos and Phalaikos were legal tender in all the Phokian *poleis*. But the coins struck by Themistokles have on the reverse *ΜΑ*, which indicates that it was also a *polis* coinage, *viz.* of Magnesia.

Re (*8*) The staters with the legend *ΟΛΥΝΠΙΙΚΟΝ* were probably struck in C6l-C5e for use at the Olympic Games (Babelon, *Traité* ii.1 887–90). C4s coins inscribed *ΕΚ ΔΙ-ΔΥΜΩΝ ΙΕΡΗ* were issues of the sanctuary of Apollo at Didyma in the territory of Miletos (Head, *HN*² 585). The

[2] That coins could be struck by a *phrourion* depends on an unconvincing identification of the C5 coins inscribed *ΣΤΙΕΛΑΝΑΙΟ*(*Ν*) with *Στύελλα* classified as a *φρούριον* by Steph. Byz. 588.7; see Stielanaioi (no. 46). Even accepting the identification, it must be added that *phrourion* could be used synonymously with *polis*, see Thuc. 8.62.3, where both terms are applied to Sestos (no. 672); cf. Nielsen (2002).

issuing authorities may have been Elis and Miletos, respectively, cf. *infra* 498 and 1083.

Is it possible to isolate coins struck by *poleis* from coins struck by *ethne*, or multipolate islands, or federations, or amphictyonies, or rulers, or mercenary leaders, or sanctuaries? This question can be answered in the affirmative if we take a closer look at the coins inscribed with ethnics. As pointed out 59 *supra*, we can distinguish between three different types of ethnic: (1) regional ethnics (ethnics denoting, in the singular, a person and, in the plural, a people inhabiting a region), (2) city-ethnics (ethnics denoting, in the singular, a person and, in the plural, a people inhabiting a *polis* and its hinterland), and (3) sub-ethnics (ethnics denoting, in the singular, a member of a civic subdivision and, in the plural, the members of a civic subdivision, be it a *phyle* or a *phratria*, or a *patra*, or a *hekatostys*, or a *kome*, or a *demos*).

First, not one single coin of the Archaic and Classical periods is inscribed with a sub-ethnic, such as the Hylleis of a Doric community, or a gentilician group ending in *-ίδαι*, be it a *phratria* or a *patra* or some other group. Nor is any *demos* or *kome* attested as having its sub-ethnic on a coin. In the older numismatic literature, including Head's *HN*, there are a four examples of coins allegedly struck by a civic subdivision and inscribed with a sub-ethnic. But one of the examples was later discarded as a misinterpretation, another is a puzzle to which there is no answer yet, and in the two remaining cases the issuing authority was in fact not a civic subdivision but a *polis*.

(1) Under cities of Lesbos, Head, *HN*² 559 lists a bronze coin of C4l: *obv*. head of Athena, *rev*. female head with *sphendone*, legend: *AIΓI*. Head notes that, according to Strabo 12.2.2, Aigeiros was a *κώμη* between Methymna and Mytilene. The coin has no known provenance, and Mason (1993) 243 comments that "the supposed coins of Aigeiros are, we suppose, a phantom . . . consisting of a single bronze with the inscription *AIΓI*, which could just as easily be assigned to Aigeira in Achaia, Aigina or Aigion". Thus, we do not have to assume that *AIΓI* is an abbreviated form of a sub-ethnic denoting a *kome*.

(2) Some rare billon coins of C5f have with good reason been assigned to Lesbos. They are inscribed *KIΘI* (Head, *HN*² 560, *infra* 1018). Yet no attested Lesbian toponym fits this legend. The coins may have been struck by a Lesbian *polis* which disappeared in C5f and has not left any other trace. In any case, there is no evidence that the coins were minted by any Lesbian second-order settlement we know of.

(3) A C4–C3 issue of bronze coins has *obv*. Triptolemos in winged car drawn by snakes, *rev*. pig standing on Eleusinian bakchos; legend: *ΕΛΕΥΣΙ* and, on one coin, *ΑΘΕ* (Head, *HN*² 391; *SNG Cop. Attica* 414–19). According to Kroll and Walker (1993) 26–28 the legend is not an abbreviated form of the sub-ethnic *ΕΛΕΥΣΙ(ΝΙΩΝ)* but of the *ktetikon ΕΛΕΥΣΙ(ΝΙΑΚΟΝ)*, and the coin inscribed *ΑΘΕ* reveals that they were struck by the Athenian mint for the festival of the Mysteries, not by the Eleusinians.

(4) The Salaminians on the island of Salamis struck bronze coins in C4. Types: *obv*. female head (nymph Salamis?), *rev*. "Boiotian" shield and sword in sheath with strap (shield of Aias?); legend: *ΣΑΛΑ*. The beginning of this coinage is now dated *c*.400 (Kroll and Walker (1993) 215). The legend is probably the abbreviated form of the ethnic *Σαλα(μινίων)*, indicating that the coins were struck on Salamis by the Salaminians, but *Σαλαμίνιος* is not a *demotikon*, or another form of a sub-ethnic. Salamis is explicitly classified as a *polis* in Ps.-Skylax 57, and accordingly the adjective is a city-ethnic, not a sub-ethnic.

The inference is that all ethnics on coins, including ktetic forms, must be either regional ethnics or city-ethnics. As explained above, these two types of ethnic are in most cases easily distinguishable,[3] and we can therefore establish a list of 420 Archaic and/or Classical mints issuing coins inscribed with city-ethnics.[4] These 420 mints constitute the bulk of the material. The remaining twenty-three mints recorded in Index 26 struck exclusively anepigraphic coins (eight mints), or coins inscribed with a toponym only (four

[3] A list of Archaic and Classical coins inscribed with regional or sub-regional ethnics or names of multipolate islands includes Achaians C4f (*AXAIΩN*, Head, *HN*² 416); Ainians, C4f (*AINIANΩN*, Head, *HN*² 291); Akarnanians, C4 (*AK*, Head, *HN*² 333); Amorgioi, C4l (*AMO*, Head, *HN*² 481); Arkadians, C5 (*ΑΡΚΑΔΙΚΟΝ*, Head, *HN*² 444); Bisaltians, C5f (*ΒΙΣΑΛΤΙΚΩΝ*, Head, *HN*² 200); Boiotians, C5–C4 (*ΒΟΙΩΤΩΝ*, Head, *HN*² 348, 352); Bottiaians, C5l–C4e (*BOTTIAIΩN·* Head, *HN*² 213); Chalkidians, C4f (*ΧΑΛΚΙΔΕΩΝ*, Head, *HN*² 209); Derrones, C5f (*ΔΕΡΡΡΟΝΙΚΟΣ*, Head, *HN*² 202); Edonians, C5f (*ΗΔΟΝΕΩΝ*, Head, *HN*² 201); Euboians, C4f (*EYBOI(EΩN)*, Head, *HN*² 362); Koans, C6–C5 (*ΚΩΣ*, *ΚΩΙΝ*, Head, *HN*² 632); Lemnians, C4m (*ΛΗΜΝΙ*, Head, *HN*² 262); Lesbians, C5s (*ΛΕΣ*, Head, *HN*² 558); Lesbians/Aiolians, C4s (*ΑΙΟΛΕ*, Head, *HN*² 559); East Lokrians, C4s (*ΛΟΚΡΩΝ ΥΠΟΚ* or *ΕΠΙΚΝΑ*, Head, *HN*² 336); Molossians, C4m (*ΜΟΛΟΣΣΩΝ*, Head, *HN*² 321); Parrhasians, C5s (*ΠΑΡ*, Head, *HN*² 451); Peparethians, C4m (*ΠΕΠΑ*, Head, *HN*² 313); Perrhaibians, C4 ((*Π*)*ΕΡΡΑΙΒΩΝ*, Head, *HN*² 304); Pethalians, C4m (*ΠΕΤΘΑΛΩΝ*, Head, *HN*² 304); Phokians, C6–C5 (*ΦΟΚΙ*, Head, *HN*² 338).

[4] In 267 cases the ethnikon (or ktetikon) is spelled out or, if abbreviated, there is no doubt that it is an abbreviation of the ethnic. In 153 cases the legend is abbreviated is such a way that the full form may have been either the toponym or the city-ethnic. In most cases it is undoubtedly the city-ethnic that is abbreviated, but even if it is the toponym, that does not make any difference in relation to the identification of the mint as belonging to a *polis*: in so far as the toponym denotes an urban settlement, it indicates *polis* status of the community in question as much as the city-ethnic derived from the toponym; cf. *infra*.

mints), or a regional ethnic (three mints), or the name of a ruler (six mints), or the name of a god (two mints).

Most of the anepigraphic coins are Archaic or early Classical and can be ascribed to communities which later in the Classical period struck coins with similar types but now with legends in addition to the types. In Index 26 there are no more than eight mints of the Archaic and Classical periods known exclusively from anepigraphic coins.[5] In these cases it is the iconography or the provenance that make the identification of such coins possible. Such identifications are admittedly problematic, and it is important to point out that none of the communities in question has been included in this inventory on the sole authority of the anepigraphic coins ascribed to the community.

Twenty-one mints struck coins inscribed with toponyms (see Index 26).[6] Most of these coins come from mints which used the city-ethnic alternating with the toponym. But there are four mints from which the surviving coins are inscribed with a toponym only. Two of these cities are classified as *poleis* in other Classical sources,[7] and there is supporting evidence that the two others were *poleis* as well.[8] There is in fact only one attestation of coins inscribed with a toponym denoting what is otherwise known as a second-order settlement, e.g. a large village or a harbour town: some C4 obols have *obv*. horned (?) youthful male head, legend: *ΛΑΚΥΔΩΝ*, *rev*. wheel (Head, *HN*² 6). *Λακύδων* was the port of Massalia (Eust. *Comm. in Dionys. Per*. 75; Pomp. 2.77), and there is no evidence to show that it was ever a *polis*.[9] These coins may be evidence of a mint run by a second-order settlement, but other coins with similar types have on their reverse the legend *MA*. As pointed out in Roscher (1894–97) 1813, *Λακύδων* is not a toponym but the name of a divinity: the harbour of Massalia personified. The presumption is that the coins were struck by the *polis* of Massalia, just as the Eleusinian coins were struck by Athens (*supra*). Thus, all coins inscribed with a toponym denoting an urban centre were probably struck by *poleis* in the political as well as in the urban sense.[10]

In addition to the coins inscribed with a city-ethnic, some coins inscribed with a regional ethnic alone, and some inscribed with a regional ethnic and a city-ethnic combined were probably struck by *poleis*.

Some Arkadian staters of C4f are an example of the first category. The types are *obv*. Pan, *rev*. Zeus Lykaios with the legend *APK* in monogram and, on some, *ΠΟ* and *ΘΕ*. These types are identical with those used in the Hellenistic Age by Megalopolis and inscribed *ΜΕΓ*. Furthermore *ΠΟ* and *ΘΕ* are presumably abbreviations of the names Possikrates and Theoxenos, two of the ten *oikistai* of Megalopolis. The generally accepted view is that these coins were issued by Megalopolis (no. 282) rather than by the new Arkadian Federation (Head, *HN*² 445). The other two examples which are relevant in this context are the Eretrian coins (no. 370) inscribed with the name of the island *EYBOI* and some Pontic coins of *c.*400 inscribed with the regional ethnic *ΣΙΝΔΩΝ*. It is usually believed that the issuing authority in this case was not the Sindian tribe, but the *polis* Gorgippia (no. 696).

An example of the second category are some Boiotian coins of C5f which have *obv*. *TA* in the openings of a Boiotian shield and *rev*. *BOI* in a wheel of four spokes. The presumption is that these coins were struck by Tanagra (no. 220) in the period after the Persian War when Thebes was disgraced and the leadership of the Boiotian *poleis* passed to Tanagra. But the *obv*. legend indicates that these coins were a *polis* issue of Tanagra as well.

On coins from six of the mints included in Index 26, the only legend is the name of the ruler of the *polis* in question, which seems unproblematic,[11] and in two cases, both communities lying along the Adriatic coast, the only inscription on the coins is the name of a divinity.[12]

After this presentation of the material we want to focus on the coins inscribed with city-ethnic or toponym. For the sake of argument, let us disregard the few anepigraphic coins as well as those inscribed with a regional ethnic only or the name of a ruler or a divinity. We are then left with 424 mints that struck coins with a city-ethnic and/or a toponym denoting an urban centre. Of these, 261 are mints

[5] Anaphe (no. 474), Andros (no. 475); Aphrodosias (no. 1005), Eion (no. 631), Hyampolis (no. 182), Kythnos (no. 501), Phasis (no. 711), Seriphos (no. 517). Note that 4 of the 8 are Kykladic islands.

[6] Akragas (no. 9), Katane (no. 30), Selinous (no. 44), Tyndaris (no. 49), Zankle/Messana (no. 51), Kyme (no. 57), Metapontion (no. 61), Neapolis (no. 63), Pandosia (no. 64), Pyxous (no. 67), Taras (no. 71), Zakynthos (no. 141), Imbros (no. 483), Kos (no. 497), Aineia (no. 557), Dikaia (no. 568), Dikaia (no. 643), Herakleia (no. 715), Kromna (no. 723), Iolla (no. 812), Gortyns (no. 960). It is worth noting that almost all are colonies and that there is a heavy concentration in Sicily and Italy.

[7] Dikaia (no. 643) and Herakleia (no. 715).

[8] Pyxous (no. 67) is retrospectively classified as a *polis* by Diodoros; Kromna (no. 723) for which the city-ethnic is attested in a C4m treaty between Sinope and Herakleia which the Kromnitans are allowed to join if they so wish.

[9] Cf., by contrast, the coins issued by Naulochon (no. 857), the port of Priene.

[10] *Pace* Gauthier (1975) 166, who argues that a toponym would denote the town, not the state. For the use of a toponym to denote the political community, see 56 *supra*.

[11] Nikonion in the Pontic region (no. 688) and 5 *poleis* on Kypros: Amathous (no. 1012), Idalion (no. 1013), Lapethos (no. 1017), Salamis (no. 1020), and Soloi (no. 1021).

[12] Apollonia (no. 77) and Issa (no. 81), both explicitly attested as *poleis* in other sources.

of communities which are explicitly attested as *poleis* in other sources (*poleis* type A). A further 122 are not called *poleis* in our sources, but they are communities for which we have other evidence indicating that they were in fact *poleis* (*poleis* type [A]B and B). The presumption is that the remaining thirty-seven were *poleis* for which coins are the principal or the only evidence of *polis* status (*poleis* type C).[13] In none of these thirty-seven cases is there any evidence indicating that they were *not poleis*.

To conclude: coins are an extremely valuable type of evidence whenever the problem is to distinguish *poleis* from *demoi* or *komai* or *phylai* or other types of civic subdivision. The problem with the numismatic evidence is how to distinguish *polis* issues from issues struck by communities above *polis* level: *ethne*, federations, kings and tyrants ruling a plurality of *poleis*, etc. Here, however, the distinction between regional ethnics and city-ethnics offers an almost infallible guide-line, if we restrict the investigation to coins with city-ethnics. All such coins seem to have been struck by *poleis*.

To strike coins inscribed with city-ethnics was a sign of *polis* status, but not of independence. *Poleis* which were members of a federation could have a mint alongside the federal mint;[14] or coins were struck whose legends combined the regional ethnic, signifying the federation, with an abbreviated form of the city-ethnic, signifying the *polis* in question.[15] Dependent members of a hegemonic league struck coins in the name of their *polis*.[16] Corinthian colonies, though still dependent on their *metropolis*, struck staters combining the Corinthian Pegasos with a legend signifying the colony.[17] Some Athenian klerouchies had a mint.[18] Many *poleis* subjected to the king of Persia issued their own coins.[19] Even though Philip II came to rule Thessaly in 344/3, he did not suppress the civic coinage of Larisa.[20] The Athenian coinage decree of C5s is the only known case in which a hegemonic *polis* interfered with the right of its dependent *poleis* to strike coins.

A different problem to be taken into account is that coins struck by a *polis* were not necessarily struck by a Hellenic *polis*. Many barbarian communities learnt to strike coins from the Greeks, they imitated the Greek types, and might also provide their coins with Greek legends.[21] This legend was one sign of Hellenisation, but if it is the only information we have, it is a moot point whether such communities deserve to be included among the Hellenic *poleis*. In Sicily, for example, there was a rapid Hellenisation of indigenous communities in C4s in the wake of Timoleon's campaigns, and for many communities, coins with Greek types and legends are the best evidence we have; see n. 13 *supra*.

How many of the Hellenic *poleis* struck coins in the Archaic and/or Classical periods? Of all the 1,035 *poleis* included in this Inventory, a mint is attested for no more than 444, i.e. for fewer than half the *poleis* we know of. But, as usual, our sources are poor. It is, we think, an educated guess that the present survival rate of ancient Greek coins is less than one in a thousand and perhaps no more than one in tens of thousand,[22] and of these fewer than half, we guess, have been published. Numerous mints are attested by a handful of coins only.[23] Sometimes a *polis* mint was in operation for a short time and had a fairly small output, which indicates that scores of mints, especially small mints, are probably unattested in the available material. Conversely, we have coins struck by unidentified communities, many of them probably *poleis*, which have left no other evidence of their existence.[24] There can be little doubt that the list

[13] The majority of these are border communities in which the striking of coins in C4 is the first clear sign of Hellenisation. There are 17 such *poleis* type C in Sicily and 6 in Aiolis. Those in Sicily are: Akrai (no. 10), Alontion (no. 12), Galaria (no. 16), Herbessos (no. 22), Hippana (no. 25), Imachara (no. 26), Kentoripe (no. 31), Kephaloidion (no. 32), Longane (no. 35), Morgantina (no. 37), Mytistratos (no. 39), Nakone (no. 40), Petra (no. 42), Piakos (no. 43), Sileraioi (no. 45), Stielanaioi (no. 46), Tyrrhenoi (no. 50). Those in Aiolis are Boione (no. 805), Chalkis (no. 806), Gambrion (no. 808), Iolla (no. 812), Perperene (no. 829), Tisna (no. 835).

[14] e.g. Haliartos (no. 206); cf. Hansen (1995) 63, additional note.

[15] Coins of the Phokian *poleis* Antikyra (no. 173). Elateia (no. 180), Ledon (no. 184) and Lilaia (no. 185) (Head *HN*[2] 339).

[16] In the Classical period East Lokris was presumably a hegemonic league dominated by Opous (no. 386) (Nielsen (2000) 118–19). But coins were struck by at least 2 and probably 3 of the dependent members: Larymna (no. 383), Skarpheia (no. 387), and Thronion (no. 388).

[17] Head, *HN*[2] 406–7.

[18] Myrina (no. 502) and Hephaistia (no. 503) on Lemnos, Imbros (no. 483) and Salamis (no. 363); cf. Martin (1995) 272–3.

[19] Cf. all the C4 mints attested in Troas, Aiolis, Ionia and Karia.

[20] Martin (1985) 41–59, esp. 54.

[21] Barbarian *poleis* that struck Greek coins include, e.g., Solous in Sicily (Head, *HN*[2] 170), Damastion in Illyria (Head, *HN*[2] 318), Selge in Pamphylia and Tarsos in Kilikia; see *infra* 1213–14. The Lykian towns struck coins with Greek types but indigenous legends, see *infra* 1139.

[22] Of the Athenian gold coins struck in 407 less than 1 in 3,000 are known today (Kraay (1976) 68–69). Of the staters, drachms and hemidrachms struck in Delphi in C4m by the Amphiktyonic League *c.*1 in 10,000 are known today (Kinns (1983)).

[23] Mints attested by 1, 2 or 3 preserved coins include Alopekonnesos (no. 659), Dion (no. 569), Euromos (no. 885), Galepsos (no.631), Imachara (no. 26), Kytaion (no. 969), Larymna (no. 383), Nisyros (no. 508), Palairos (no. 131), Phagres (no. 636), Phytaioi (no. 1035), Posideion (no. 1022), Skapsai (no. 608), Trachis (no. 432).

[24] In this context a few examples will suffice: from southern Italy we have several unidentified issues of C6l: incuse coins inscribed *AMI* (Rutter *HN*[3] 1356–7), some rare coins inscribed *ΣO* (Rutter *HN*[3] 1728), and three pieces inscribed *ΠΑΛ* or *MOΛ* (Rutter *HN*[3] 1105–6). Among the Boiotian coins of C4f, all with the Boiotian shield on the obverse, most can be assigned to well-known Boiotian *poleis*, but some have legends which do not fit any of the Boiotian communities we know of, *viz*. *ΔI* or *ΛO/ΛΩ* or *HI* (Head (1881) 57–

of Archaic and Classical *poleis* with a mint will grow in the future, partly by the discovery of new coins and partly by a careful inspection of the thousands of catalogues of coin auctions in which one can find information about a seven-digit number of ancient Greek coins in unpublished private collections.[25]

Even if it can be presumed that full sources would provide us with evidence of another three-digit number of *polis* mints, there can be no denying that far from all *poleis* had a mint. Sometimes two *poleis* shared a mint,[26] and often a *polis* was satisfied with using the coins struck by its neighbours.[27] To have a mint was not a *sine qua non* for being a *polis*, but it was nevertheless one of the activities typically performed by a *polis*. When discussing the evidence we have for establishing *polis* status, it is illuminating to juxtapose coins and walls: far from all *poleis* struck coins, but to have a mint is a good indication of *polis* status. Not every *polis* had a defence circuit, but to have one is an indication of *polis* status. The evidence of the coins enables us to separate *poleis* from civic subdivisions which never had a mint. On the other hand, coins were also struck by tribal communities and by organisations comprising a number of *poleis*, or a number of citizens from different *poleis*, and it requires a careful analysis to distinguish between coins struck by *poleis* and coins struck by larger units. The evidence of defence circuits enables us to separate *poleis* (which had an urban centre) from tribal communities and larger organisations such as federations and leagues. On the other hand, many second-order settlements had defence circuits, and it requires a careful analysis to distinguish between walls surrounding a *polis* and walls surrounding smaller units such as villages or harbours.

58). From the Pontic regions are some rare silver and bronze coins of C5–C4 with the legend *TAM* (*infra* 930). There are the staters with 3 dolphins and the legend *ΠΟΣ* once assigned to Karpathos but now left without identification (Cahn (1957)); and the anepigraphic coins with warrior (*obv.*) and lyre (*rev.*), once assigned to Kalymna, have suffered the same fate (Wartenberg (1998)). From Asia Minor there are C6–C5 lion staters inscribed *OYΛ* (Head, *HN*² 585), and bronze coins with Apollo on both sides and the *rev.* legend *ΣKA* (Head, *HN*² 548; *infra* 1002), etc. In all probability many of the unidentified coins were struck by Greek *poleis* which, so far, have left no other trace of their existence but would have been recorded in our inventory if we had had better sources.

[25] Of the coins struck by the Roman emperor Pescennius Niger (193–94 AD) some 1,100 are known today. *C.*250 are in museums and published private collections, but no fewer than 850 other coins have been found and identified by inspection of numismatic auction catalogues, of which the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge now possesses a spectacular collection of over 32,000 items (information provided by T. V. Buttrey).

[26] Adranon and Piakos (nos. 6 and 43), Leontinoi and Katane (nos. 33 and 30), Lipara and Mytistratos (nos. 34 and 39), Kyme and Neapolis (57 and 63), Siris and Pyxous (nos. 69 and 67), Lamia and Trachis? (nos. 431 and 432), Lampsakos and Ilion (nos. 748 and 779), Mytilene and Phokaia (nos. 798 and 859), Gortyns and Phaistos (nos. 960 and 980), Kyrene and Euesperides (nos. 1028 and 1026), Barke and Taucheira (nos. 1025 and 1029).

[27] Cf. *IG* XII 7.67.55: Arkesine uses coins struck by Athens or Alexander. See Martin (1995) 277.

REFERENCES

Ashton, R. 1993. "A Revised Arrangement for the Earliest Coinage of Rhodes", in M. J. Price *et al.* (eds.), *Essays in Honour of Robert Carson and Kenneth Jenkins* (London) 9–15.

Cahn, H.A. 1957. "Poseidion on Karpathos?", *NC* 17: 11–12.

Gauthier, P. 1975. "Légendes monétaires grecques", in J. M. Dentzer *et al.* (eds.), *Numismatique antique: problèmes et méthodes* (Nancy-Louvain) 165–79.

Guarducci, M. 1969. *Epigrafia greca* ii (Rome).

——1974. *Epigrafia greca* iii (Rome).

Hansen, M. H. 1995. "Boiotian *Poleis*—A Test Case", *CPCActs* 2: 13–63.

Head, B. V. 1881. *On the Chronological Sequence of the Coins of Boeotia* (London).

Kinns, P. 1983. "The Amphiktyonic Coinage Reconsidered", *NC* 143: 1–22.

Kraay, C. M. 1976. *Archaic and Classical Greek Coins* (London).

Kroll, J. H., and Walker, A. 1993. *The Greek Coins. The Athenian Agora* xxvi (Princeton).

Martin, T.R. 1985. *Sovereignty and Coins in Classical Greece* (Princeton).

——1995. "Coins, Mints and the *Polis*", *CPCActs* 2: 257–91.

Mason, H. J. 1993. "Mytilene and Methymna: Quarrels, Borders and Topography", *EchCl* 37: 225–50.

Nielsen, T. H. 1996. "Was there an Arkadian Confederacy in the Fifth Century B.C.?", *CPCPapers* 3: 39–61.

——2000. "Epiknemidian, Hypoknemidian, and Opountian Lokrians: Reflections on the Political Organisation of East Lokris in the Classical Period", *CPCPapers* 5: 91–120.

——2002. "*Phrourion*: A Note on the Term in Classical Sources and in Diodorus Siculus", *CPCPapers* 6: 49–64.

Roscher, W. H. (ed.) 1894–97. *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie* ii.2 (Leipzig).

Wartenberg, U. 1998. "Calymna Calumniated—a Nineteenth-Century Misattribution?", in R. Ashton and S. Hurter (eds.), *Studies in Greek Numismatics in Memory of Martin Jessop Price* (London) 363–72.

Colonies and Indigenous Hellenised Communities

Most accounts of the history of Greece in the Archaic period highlight an opposition between self-grown *poleis* in Hellas (or Greece) as against emigrant polities founded outside Hellas and mostly in the Archaic period *c.*750–500.[1] Most of the colonies, called *apoikiai*,[2] were independent *poleis*; some were just trading stations (*emporia*). This picture of the Greek world is not wrong, but it is not true either. It is much too clear-cut in the distinctions on which it is based. Explicitly or implicitly it is taken for granted (1) that Hellas covered Mainland Greece, the adjacent islands and the west coast of Asia Minor, to the exclusion of all regions north and west of Akarnania as well as north-east and south-east of the Aegean Sea; (2) that all the Hellenic *poleis* outside this "Hellas" were emigrant communities; (3) that they were founded by *metropoleis* situated inside "Hellas"; (4) that emigrant *poleis* were invariably placed outside "Hellas"; (5) that colonisation abated *c.*500, perhaps even earlier,[3] and did not gather momentum again until the colonisation of the Near East initiated by Alexander the Great; and (6) that colonies were of two types: *apoikiai*, which were independent *poleis*, and *emporia*, which were not *poleis*. All six propositions need modification.

Re (*1*) It is a qualified truth that Hellas was confined to Mainland Greece, the adjacent islands and the west coast of Asia Minor. We are not here going to trace, once again, the origin of the concept of Hellas; I prefer to investigate what Hellas covered in the Classical period.[4] At first one is struck by the number of apparent contradictions in our sources. Sicily is sometimes distinguished from Hellas (Theopomp. fr. 193) but sometimes seen as a remote part of Hellas (Pind. *Pyth.* 1.75 with scholia; Eur. *Cyc.* 297–98). Epeiros is outside Hellas according to Thucydides (2.805) and Ephoros (fr. 143), but the region around Dodone and the river Acheloos is called "old Hellas" by Aristotle (*Mete.* 352[a]34) and was considered to be part of Hellas by Herodotos (2.56).[5] In the King's Peace of 386 (Xen. *Hell.* 5.1.31) the *poleis* in Asia given to the king are opposed to the Hellenic *poleis* (*πόλεις Ἑλληνίδες*) which, in a parapharase of the Peace (Xen. *Hell.* 6.3.12), are called the *poleis* in Hellas; yet, in the same work Agesilaos is quoted for juxtaposing the *poleis* in Asia with the *poleis* in *his own part* of Hellas (Xen. *Hell.* 3.4.5). Herodotos describes Xerxes' invasion of Greece as the campaign "through Europe against Hellas" (7.8*β*) or "through Thrace against Hellas" (7.105). So Xerxes had to march through all of Thrace before he reached Hellas; but according to Xenophon, a growing problem in Hellas was Olynthos, the largest *polis* along the coast of Thrace (Xen. *Hell.* 5.2.12).

In our opinion the clue to the contradictions can be found in the C4 *periplous* ascribed to Ps.-Skylax. This treatise is organised into three main sections: Europe (1–69), Asia (70–106) and Libya (107–112). Europe is subdivided into three parts: the regions west of Hellas (1–33), Hellas (34–65), the regions north and east of Hellas (66–68), plus a summary in 69. Now, the subdivision of Europe is not just into three parts with Hellas covering the central part. In the Chapter about Ambrakia (33) Ps.-Skylax says that from this point Hellas begins to be "continuous" (*συνεχής*) until the Magnesian *polis* Homolion; and in 65 Ps.-Skylax ends his account of Magnesia with the note that Hellas is "continuous" from Ambrakia until this point. Thus, it is not Hellas, but, strictly speaking, the "continuous" part of Hellas that covers the regions from Ambrakia to Homolion. It follows that from the Pillars of Herakles to Epeiros and from Makedonia back the Pillars of Herakles, the coasts of the Mediterranean and the Pontic Sea were dotted with *poleis*, each of them part of Hellas, but separated by land settled with barbarians. In Ps.-Skylax such a *polis* is called a *polis Hellenis*, but in other sources it can be called a *polis Hellas* (Hdt. 7.22.3; Thuc. 6.62.2), a strong indication that it was part of Hellas. So, according to this view, *all* Hellenic

[1] Graham (1982) 83; cf. (1964) 1–8; Bengtson (1977) 91–93; Baurain (1997) 269–86; Osborne (1996) 119–27; Orrieux and Schmitt-Pantel (1999) 42–66; Eder (1999) 653–64.

[2] "Emigrant community" would be a better rendering of *apoikia* than "colony" (criticised by Osborne (1999) 252). But the traditional rendering "colony" is acceptable if we avoid all comparisons with the Roman *colonia* and use "colony" in its modern sense of "a country or an area settled and controlled by people from another country, sometimes by force" (*Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary of Current English* (1995) s.v.).

[3] *C.*600: Orrieux and Schmitt-Pantel (1999) 45. *C.*580: Murray (1993) 102; Ridgway (1996) 363. *C.*550: Bengtson (1977) 91.

[4] For the origin, see Hall (2002) 129–34. For the extent, see Hall (1989) 165–72: "The Boundaries of Hellas".

[5] See *7 supra* and Malkin (2001).

poleis were situated in Hellas: wherever there was a Hellenic *polis*, it was Hellas.[6] Thus, all the Greek colonies were part of Hellas, but surrounded by "barbarian" regions which were not part of Hellas.[7] Admittedly the traditional view of a fairly clear division between self-grown *poleis* in Hellas and colonies outside Hellas may be supported by a passage in Thucydides: After the Trojan War, he says (1.12.4), Hellas enjoyed peace and established colonies (*apoikiai*), the Athenians to Ionia and the islands, the Peloponnesians to Sicily, Italy and some places in Hellas. The presumption is that Sicily, Italy, Ionia and the islands were outside Hellas at the beginning of what we call the Dark Ages, but Thucydides' description of the colonisation is also compatible with the view found in Ps.-Skylax: that, by the colonisation, Hellas was extended to comprise all the Hellenic communities wherever they were but, of course, not the areas between the Hellenic communities.

On this interpretation, it is not a contradiction to hold that Sane in Thrace was a *polis Hellas* (Hdt. 7.22.3), i.e. a part of Hellas, while Thrace was outside Hellas (Hdt. 7.8β), an interpretation supported by numerous other sources.

Herodotos twice lists votive offerings set up in Hellas, some by Kroisos (1.92.1–2) and some by Amasis (2.182.1). Those dedicated by Kroisos are found in Thebes, Ephesos, Delphi and Branchidai in the territory of Miletos. Those set up by Amasis are found in Kyrene, Lindos and Samos.

When the 10,000 were encamped at Kalpe on their way to Byzantion, Xenophon tells them that they are "at the gates of Hellas" (Xen. *An.* 6.5.23: *ἐπὶ ταῖς θύραις τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐσμέν*), and, similarly, Kallisthenes described (stinking) Byzantion as the "the arm-pit of Hellas" (*FGrHist* 124 fr. 5.13: *ἐκάλει . . . τὸ Βυζάντιον μασχάλην τῆς Ἑλλάδος*). So, Byzantion was part of Hellas; but, like Thrace, the Propontic region and Troas as such were outside Hellas, cf. Hdt. 9.114.2 where a squadron is said to sail from Abydos *towards* Hellas.

In his Olympian speech of 388 Lysias complains that Hellas is in a disgraceful state because some parts are under the barbarian—i.e. the Asian *poleis* ruled by the king of Persia—while other *poleis* have been uprooted by tyrants—i.e. by Dionysios I of Syracuse.[8] In this speech the *poleis* in Asia, Sicily and Italy are subsumed under Hellas.

To conclude, it serves no purpose to distinguish between colonising *poleis* in Hellas and colonies outside Hellas, but, for the sake of argument, we shall in the following sections refer to the modern and widely accepted concept of a "Hellas", or "Greece", which stretched from Akarnania to Thessaly and included the adjacent islands and the west coast of Asia Minor (Eder (1999) 654). In English this "Hellas" is often called "the Greek heartland" or "the Greek Homeland" (Snodgrass (1980) 41), as opposed to *apoikia* which actually means "a settlement far from home" (Hammond (1959) 112; cf. Osborne (1996) 119). In German it is often called *das Mutterland* (Bengtson (1977) 91; Schuller (2002) 117), suggesting a link to *metropolis*. We shall refer to it as "Hellas".

Re (*2*) Not every Hellenic *polis* outside "Hellas" was a colony settled with a contingent of immigrants sent out by a *metropolis*. Some colonies were the result of a private initiative,[9] and sometimes the colonists may have come in a trickle and not as a contingent.[10] Even more important is the fact that many settlements were indigenous communities which became Hellenised by acculturation. Such settlements were neither founded by Greek settlers nor conquered and taken over by Greeks. They became Hellenised over a long period through immigration of individual Greek settlers and through regular interaction with neighbouring Hellenic communities. One aspect of their Hellenisation was to be equipped with an invented Greek foundation story or myth to make them more like the proper Greek colonies in the region. The distinction between colonies and Hellenised polities is apparent from numerous sources. Describing the six *poleis* on Athos, Thucydides tells us that Sane was a colony of Andros, whereas the five others were *poleis* inhabited by "bilingual barbarians" with different ethnic backgrounds mixed with a few Chalkidians; i.e. the majority of the population were barbarians who spoke Greek and their own native tongue (Thuc. 4.109.3–4).[11] Again, in his account of Kimon's campaign in Karia, Ephoros distinguishes between two types of *poleis* lying along the coast: some were colonised from Hellas and some

[6] Cf., however, Herakleides Kretikos, who says (3.6), without any qualification, that Hellas stretches from the Peloponnese to Homolion in Magnesia.

[7] Gorgias fr. 11a; Hellan. fr. 4; Eur. *Med.* 536; Hipp. *Ep.* 25; Lys. 2.25; Pl. *Phd.* 78A; Dem. 9.27.

[8] Lys. 33.3: *ὁρῶν οὕτως αἰσχρῶς διακειμένην τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ πολλὰ μὲν αὐτῆς ὄντα ὑπὸ τῷ βαρβάρῳ πολλὰς δὲ πόλεις ὑπὸ τυράννων ἀναστάτους γεγενημένας* (cf. 5).

[9] Graham (1964) 7–8; (1982) 143. Osborne (1999) wants to describe private enterprise as the regular procedure in the early period, by contrast with the Classical period when colonists were sent out by the *polis*. But the evidence for the earliest colonies is thin and, e.g., the Corinthian colonies founded in C7 were certainly public ventures, initiated by the Kypselid tyrants.

[10] The colony usually mentioned in this context is Pithekoussai (Ridgway (1992) 108; Osborne (1999) 257–59), which, however, seems to have been a regular *apoikia* (no. 65 *infra*), cf. Graham (1997).

[11] The tradition that Kleonai in Athos was colonised by Chalkidians (Heraclid. Lemb. 62) carries no weight against Thucydides' explicit account: see no. 580 *infra*. It cannot be precluded that Herakleides mixed up Chalkidians from Sithone with Chalkidians from Chalkis on Euboia.

were bilingual *poleis* garrisoned by the Persians (fr. 191 = *P Oxy.* 1610, cf. Diod. 11.60.4). This Inventory comprises 129 Hellenised communities as against 279 colonies. There is a small overlap. Tauromenion, for example, was a partly Hellenised community which in 392 was colonised by Syracuse. In eighty-two cases our sources do not allow us to decide whether a *polis* was a colony or an indigenous Hellenised community.[12] Such communities were particularly common in Italy, in Sicily (Fischer-Hansen (2002)) and especially in Karia, where there were a few scattered Greek colonies of which only Halikarnassos and Knidos can be traced today, as against some sixty other polities of which the great majority must have been indigenous Hellenised *poleis*.

Re (3) Many of the major Hellenic colonies were indeed founded by mother cities situated in "Hellas" as described in (1) above, but others were founded by the colonies themselves, a phenomenon called secondary colonisation (see Index 27). In some cases even tertiary colonisation is attested. Melaina Korkyra, for example, was refounded in C4l by Issa, itself a colony founded in C4f by Syracuse, itself a colony founded by Corinth in 733. In overviews of Greek colonisation, secondary colonisation is often mentioned in passing, but hardly ever discussed as an essential element of colonisation, and the ubiquitous distinction between colony and mother city does not always take into account that the colony becomes a *metropolis* when secondary colonies are founded. According to Ridgway (1996) 362 the major *metropoleis* in the Archaic period were Chalkis, Corinth, Eretria, Megara, Miletos and Phokaia. Eder (1999) 654 has a list of twenty major colonisers, all of them in "Hellas". Why are Massalia, Sinope, Syracuse and Thasos not mentioned as well?[13] Secondary colonisation was particularly important in Sicily, Italy, Illyria and Libya, where colonies founded by colonies outnumber colonies founded by *poleis* in "Hellas".

Re (4) It is true that most colonies were founded outside "Hellas", but it must not be forgotten that quite a few colonies were placed in "Hellas". Out of altogether 279 colonies, fifty were situated in "Hellas". What then is the difference between a colony and a synoecised *polis* such as Megalopolis? Well, the founding of Megalopolis was in some respects treated like an act of colonisation, e.g. by having oikists, and the most conspicuous difference seems to be that a synoecised *polis* was created by immigration from neighbouring communities, whereas a colony was settled with people who had travelled a long way to reach their destination; cf. the Corinthian colonies in Akarnania or Herakleia Trachinia in Malis. Again, there is a close connection between the refoundation of a colony outside "Hellas" and the refoundation of a *polis* in Hellas which had been annihilated by an *andrapodismos* and a destruction of the urban centre but was resettled sometimes immediately after the disaster, sometimes later.

Re (5) The colonisation during the Classical period is mostly underestimated, but perhaps for obvious reasons.[14] Colonisation is always treated in the chapters about Archaic history, and there one may find a short mention of colonisation during the Classical period as well (Graham (1982) 83), but since colonisation was not as prominent an aspect of Greek history between the Persian War and Alexander the Great, it is often passed over in silence in the relevant chapters. Yet, it appears that, including Athenian klerouchies, no fewer than seventy-two colonies were either founded or refounded in C5 and C4f, and it is also worth noting that the big *metropoleis* in this period were no longer Chalkis or Corinth or Miletos, but Syracuse (with sixteen colonies) and Athens (with twenty-one colonies, including a number of short-term klerouchies and colonies).

Re (6) All the evidence we have supports the view that the Greek settlements abroad were *poleis*. Out of 279 colonies founded by the Greeks and recorded in this inventory, 197 are explicitly attested as *poleis* in Archaic and/or Classical sources (type A), twenty-five are recorded under the heading *polis* (type [A]), thirty-two were probably *poleis* (type B), and twenty-five may well have been *poleis* but the evidence is slight (type C). Conversely, John Graham's list of 139 colonies founded between 800 and 500 includes only four which are not recorded as *poleis* in this Inventory.[15] The most recent list of "Greek settlements abroad" is that of Robin Osborne, which covers the entire period from the beginning of the Dark Age to the end of the Classical

[12] The decision whether a given *polis* was a colony or a Hellenised indigenous community depends on the interpretation of our sources, both archaeological and literary. Is the presence of large amounts of Greek painted pottery an indication of trade or colonisation? Is an entry in Eusebios' chronicle or a Hellenistic foundation myth sufficient evidence of colonisation? Each individual case must be judged by itself, and here we follow the decisions made by the authors of the chapters.

[13] Thasos is treated as both a colony and a *metropolis* by Graham (1964) 81.

[14] *OCD*[3] 362–63 has articles about colonisation in the Archaic and in the Hellenistic period, but none about the Classical period.

[15] Graham (1982) 160–62: (1) Agathe, a secondary colony founded by Massalia. It may have been a *polis* founded as a fortification, but evidence for *polis* status is too late to allow inclusion in this Inventory of *poleis* (*infra* 159). (2) Apollonia, the harbour of Kyrene, which became a *polis* only in C1 (*infra* 1236). (3) Dikaiarchia, the harbour of Kyme in Italy, a Samian foundation of C6s. Again, the evidence for *polis* status is too late to allow inclusion (*infra* 256). (4) Tanais, a Hellenistic foundation of C3 (Bredow (2002)).

period.[16] Again, almost all the settlements listed by him are included in this Inventory as *poleis* types A, [A] B or C.[17] The inference is that, with very few possible exceptions, every colony was founded as a *polis* or developed into a *polis* not long after its foundation.[18] Furthermore, there is no basis in the sources for the traditional distinction between *apoikiai* which were *poleis* and *emporia* which were not. Almost all, perhaps even all, the communities of the Archaic and Classical periods which are described as *emporia* in the sources are attested as *poleis* as well (Hansen (2004)).

On the other hand, the almost universal claim that the colonial *poleis* were independent must be modified (Hansen (1997) 32–34). It is well known that the Athenian klerouchies and colonies remained dependencies of Athens (Graham (1964) 166–210), but many of the the Corinthian colonies were dependent *poleis* too (Graham (1964) 118–53), and there is ample evidence of close political bonds between Miletos and its colonies (Graham (1964) 98–117). In C5–C4 Syracuse created a small city-state empire and, for most of the period, the majority of the Greek colonies in Sicily and several in Italy and in the Adriatic were dependent *poleis* dominated by Syracuse. In the Pontic region numerous *poleis* became part of the Bosporan kingdom and dependent on Pantikapaion, in particular Hermonassa, Kepoi, Kimmerikon, Kytaia, Myrmekeion, Nymphaion, Sindike, Theodosia and Tyritake. Similarly, Sinope is known to have ruled its colonies as dependent *poleis*; cf. entries for Kerasous, Kotyora and Trapezous, and Amisos was another dependency of Sinope although not a colony of that city.

[16] Osborne (1996) 121–25. His list therefore includes 13 settlements in Aiolis, Ionia and on Cyprus founded before 800, as well as 15 settlements founded after 500. Osborne omits a number of colonies listed by Graham, e.g. Adra, Ainos, Alopekonnesos, Argilos, Assa, Bisanthe, etc., but includes a few others presumably founded in the period *c.*800–500 but, for various reasons, not mentioned by Graham (Amorgos, Astypalaia, Dioskourias, Euboia, Kallatis, Kydonia, Leros, Side and Thera). Thus, Graham does not believe the tradition that Thera was a Spartan colony.

[17] Note the following divergencies between Osborne's list (1996) 121–25 and the present Inventory of *poleis*: (1) Amastris emerged by a synoecism in C3e, i.e. after the end of the Classical period (*infra* 926). (2) Gryneion is not attested as a colony of Myrina. (3) Hyria may perhaps have been founded by some shipwrecked Cretan sailors but was a Iapygian and not a Hellenic *polis* (Hdt. 7.170.2–3). (4) Nikaia, originally a Tyrrhenian colony, was refounded by Massalia *c.*260 rather than in C4 (*infra* 160). (5) Parthenope, the harbour of Kyme, may have been an early *polis*, but the evidence is too slight to allow inclusion, and it is here listed among the non-*polis* settlements (*infra* 257). (6). Prusias was a Hellenistic settlement, and there is no good evidence that it was a C7s colony of Miletos (*infra* 929). (7) Satyrion is here treated under Taras (*infra* 299). (8) We do not know of any Milesian colony called Patraios.

[18] Colonies whose *polis* status has sometimes been questioned, in our opinion erroneously, are Eion (no. 630), Kasmenai (no. 29), Mylai (no. 38), Naukratis (no. 1023), Phasis (no. 711), Pithekoussai (no. 65) and Stryme (no. 650). They are all attested as *poleis* in Classical sources; see Hansen (2000) 197–200. Akrai (no. 10, type C) remains a problem, but is clearly treated by Thucydides (6.5.2) as a colony of the same status as Kamarina, which was demonstrably a *polis*.

REFERENCES

Baurain, C. 1997. *Les Grecs et le Méditerranée orientale* (Paris).

Bengtson, H. 1977. *Griechische Geschichte von den Anfängen bis in die römische Kaiserzeit*[5] (Munich).

Bredow, I. von. 2002. "Tanais", *Neue Pauly* xii.1. 7.

Eder, W. 1999. "Kolonisation", *Neue Pauly* vi. 646–64.

Fischer-Hansen, T. 2002. "Reflections on Native Settlements in the Dominions of Gela and Akragas—as Seen from the Perspective of the Copenhagen Polis Centre", *CPCPapers* 6: 125–86.

Graham, A. J. 1964. *Colony and Mother City in Ancient Greece*[2] (Manchester; 2nd edn. Chicago, 1983).

—— 1982. "The Colonial Expansion of Greece", in *CAH*[2] iii.3: 83–162.

—— 1997. Review of G. R. Tsetskhladze and F. De Angelis (eds.), *The Archaeology of Greek Colonisation* (Oxford 1994) in *JHS* 117: 250.

Hall, E. 1989. *Inventing the Barbarian: Greek Self-Definition through Tragedy* (Oxford).

Hall, J. M. 2002. *Hellenicity* (Chicago).

Hammond, N. G. L. 1959. *A History of Greece to 322 B.C.* (Oxford).

Hansen, M. H. 1997. "A Typology of Dependent *Poleis*", *CPCPapers* 4: 29–37.

—— 2000. "A Survey of the Use of the Word *Polis* in Archaic and Classical Sources", *CPCPapers* 5: 173–215.

—— (2004). "*Emporion*: A Study of the Use and Meaning of the Term in the Archaic and Classical Periods", in G. Tsetskhladze (ed.), *Greek Colonisation*, 2 vols (Leiden) forthcoming.

Malkin, I. 2001. "Greek Ambiguities: 'Ancient Hellas' and 'Barbarian Epirus'", in I. Malkin (ed.), *Ancient Perceptions of Greek Ethnicity* (Washington) 187–212.

Murray, O. 1993. *Early Greece*[2] (London).

Orrieux, C., and Schmitt-Pantel, P. 1999. *A History of Ancient Greece* (Oxford).

Osborne, R. 1996. *Greece in the Making 1200–479 B.C.* (London).

—— 1998. "Early Greek Colonization? The Nature of Greek Settlement in the West", in N. Fischer and H. van Wees (eds.), *Archaic Greece* (London) 251–69.

Ridgway, D. W. W. 1992. *The First Western Greeks* (Cambridge).

1996. "Colonization, Greek", *OCD*[3] 362–63.

Schuller, W. 2002. *Griechische Geschichte*[5] (Munich).

Snodgrass, A. 1980. *Archaic Greece* (London).

This page intentionally left blank

PART 2

Inventory of *poleis*

The composition of this inventory began in 1993. By 1998 most of the 46 chapters had been submitted, while a few arrived as recently as Spring 2003. Most chapters were completed in the period 2000–2002, but some are revised and updated versions of text submitted before the turn of the Millennium. In all chapters literature published in 2003 and 2004 has been taken into account only sporadically.

This page intentionally left blank

SPAIN AND FRANCE (INCLUDING CORSICA)

ADOLFO J. DOMÍNGUEZ

I. The Region

The region under consideration here is made up of at least three different areas, partially recognised as such in antiquity: Iberia, Southern Gaul and the island of Corsica. The only common elements characterising these different areas are colonisation by Phokaia (no. 859) and the fact that both Iberia and southern Gaul were, at least to some extent, within the area dominated commercially and possibly politically by Massalia (no. 3). Moreover, these areas mark the westernmost limit of the Greek presence in the Mediterranean.[1] Although Greek contacts with Tartessos in Iberia are attested for C7l by Herodotos' mention of Kolaios' voyage (4.152.2) and for C7l/C6e by his mention of Phokaian travellers (1.163.1), Greek *poleis* do not seem to have existed in Tartessian territory, despite the offer made by the native king, Arganthonios, to the Phokaians, that they could establish themselves in his territory wherever they wished (Hdt. 1.163.3).

In spite of such contacts and despite the existence of strong commercial links with the Iberian world, the presence of Greek *poleis* in Iberia is limited to its north-eastern end; it was in Gaul that Massalia (no. 3), the most important Greek *polis* of the area, was founded. Massalia ended up controlling—economically and perhaps also politically—all the western world colonised by Phokaia; moreover, Massalia made a series of foundations, some of which may possibly have been *poleis*, although for the most part they were presumably merely "fortress-colonies".

In Corsica the situation is different, because only a single Greek foundation is attested there, Alalie (no. 1), a city that was clearly independent of Massalia; it did not, however, survive the events of *c.*540 (*infra*).

[1] Cf. Ps.-Skymnos 149–50 on Mainake: *αὕτη πρὸς Εὐρώπην δὲ τῶν Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων ἁπασῶν ἐσχάτην ἔχει θέσιν.*

1. Corsica (Kyrnos)

The island of Corsica, Kyrnos (*Κύρνος*, *ἡ*) in Greek (Hdt. 1.166.3; Diod. 5.13.3; Strabo 5.2.7), is only rarely mentioned by ancient authors. Strabo 5.2.7 gives its measurements[2] and stresses the uncivilised nature of its inhabitants,[3] but he provides hardly any information about the history of the island, though he does offer an interesting account of the foundation of Elea: when the Phokaians left their city, they sailed first to Corsica and Massalia under the direction of one Kreontiades and, rejected in both places, they founded Elea.[4]

Diodorus alludes to the good harbours of the island and mentions the two most important (*ἀξιόλογοι*) cities, Kalaris and Nikaia (Diod. 5.13.3 = Timaios (*FGrHist* 566) fr. 164). In the case of Kalaris, Diodorus has clearly misunderstood it as the name of the Phokaian foundation, Alalie (no. 1); his information undoubtedly concerned Alalie: he affirms that it was a Phokaian foundation and that the Phokaians were expelled from the island by the Tyrrhenians not long after they had settled there.[5] This mistake may possibly be explained by a confusion between Alalie (falsely rendered as Kalaris, perhaps due to a certain phonetic resemblance to the Etruscan and Roman name of the city, Aleria) and the Phoenician city of Karalis (today Cagliari) in Sardinia.

The other important city was Nikaia; according to Timaios ((*FGrHist* 566) fr. 164), it was a foundation of the Tyrrhenians, planted when they were masters of the sea (*θαλαττοκρατοῦντες*) and had conquered all the islands along the Tyrrhenian coast;[6] however, Clerc (1927) 258

[2] 160 miles in length and 70 miles in width; the perimeter is given as 3,000 stades.

[3] *ἀγριωτέρους εἶναι θηρίων.*

[4] Strabo 6.1.1: *πλεῦσαι πρῶτον εἰς Κύρνον καὶ Μασσαλίαν μετὰ Κρεοντιάδου, ἀποκρουσθέντας δὲ τὴν Ἐλέαν κτίσαι.*

[5] Diod. 5.13.3–4: *τούτων δὲ τὴν μὲν Κάλαριν Φωκαεῖς ἔκτισαν, καὶ χρόνον τινὰ κατοικήσαντες ὑπὸ Τυρρηνῶν ἐξεβλήθησαν ἐκ τῆς νήσου.*

[6] On these islands, see Plin. *HN* 3.81.

defends the Greek identity of Nikaia on the basis of its name, though others have suggested that the city may have been founded as a result of the Etruscan and Punic defeat of the Greeks in the battle of Alalie. In any case, it has not been located, and its presumed relationship to Alalie remains to be proved (Gras (1993)).

The best and most abundant information on the foundation of a Greek *polis* in Corsica is given by Herodotos in the account of the foundation of Alalie (no. 1; Hdt. 1.165–66). As far as we know, Alalie was the only Greek *polis* on the island; in time, it became an Etruscan city, conquered later by the Carthaginians and finally by the Romans (L. Cornelius Scipio: *CIL* 2.32); in 81, Sulla established a military colony at Aleria (Plin. *HN* 3.80.6; cf. Pompon. 2.122).

2. *The Mediterranean Coast of France (Iberia and Ligystike)*

This region consists of territory that in antiquity was called by at least two different names: Iberia (*Ἰβηρία*, Thuc. 6.2.2) and Liguria (*Λιγυστική*, Arist. *Mete.* 351ª16). According to Avienus' *Ora maritima* 612–14—probably one of the oldest surviving sources—the river Oranus (Hérault) divided Iberia from Liguria.[7] The fragments of Hekataios do not distinguish sharply between Iberia and Liguria, although one may have described the Misgetes as an *ethnos* of Iberia,[8] while another possibly considered the Elisykes to be a Ligurian *ethnos*.[9] However, at Hdt. 7.165 the Eliskyes are distinguished from both the Iberians *and* the Ligurians. Hekataios may have placed Massalia in Liguria.[10]

In a fragmentary reference to Aischylos, Pliny states that this poet placed the river Rhône in Iberia (*HN* 37.32 = Aesch. fr. 73a, Radt); however, Ps.-Skylax 3 seems to think of the region from Emporion (no. 2) to the river Rhône as territory occupied by intermingled Iberians *and* Ligurians: *ἀπὸ δὲ Ἰβήρων ἔχονται Λίγυες καὶ Ἴβηρες μιγάδες μέχρι ποταμοῦ Ῥοδανοῦ*. The text may imply not so much ethnic mixture as the co-existence of these two ethnic groups in a territory which would comprise, more or less, modern Languedoc (Gailledrat (1997) 34).[11] East of the Rhône, Ps.-Skylax 4 mentions only the Ligurians: *ἀπὸ Ῥοδανοῦ ποταμοῦ ἔχονται Λίγυες*. The picture provided by Ps.-Skymnos is different: above (*ἐπάνω*) the Iberians he places the Bebrykes (200–1); below (*κάτω*) the *parathalattioi* Ligurians he then places the Greek cities founded by Massalia, from Emporion to Antipolis (201–16). Massalia itself he places in Liguria (211).

Strabo 3.4.19 points out that while earlier authors—he relies partially on information originating from Aischylos—placed the boundaries of Iberia beyond (*ἔξω*) the Rhône, i.e. on its western bank, in his own day the boundaries were placed in the Pyrenees; this information seems to come from Artemidoros (cf. Steph. Byz. 324.2–6 and Gallazzi and Kramer (1998) 196–97).

It seems, then, that in the Archaic and early Classical periods the Greeks had imprecise and ill-defined notions about the borders between Iberia and Liguria: they ran somewhere between the rivers Hérault and Rhône. On their arrival the Celts seem to have pushed the Ligurians to the east and to have replaced them in the southern regions of France or even to have created situations in which peoples of different ethnicities co-existed, especially in the eastern part of this region (Celto-Ligurians: Arist. *Mir. ausc.* 837ª7). From C4 the region around Emporion—the Pyrenees—probably came to be considered as the border between Iberia and southern Gaul; references to areas of mixed population continue to occur, however, though such references are not further developed by any ancient author. The end of the process took place in the Roman period when, as Strabo points out, the borders were fixed in the Pyrenees. At the same time, Strabo 4.1.1 calls all of the region between the Pyrenees and the Alps *Transalpine Keltike*, and Liguria is limited to the region east of Massalia and, more specifically, from Monoikos to Italia (Strabo 4.6.3). In Roman terminology, we may speak about the *prouincia Gallia Narbonensis*, from the Pyrenees as far as the river Var; to the east of it, one would enter Italy (Plin. *HN* 3.31).

In the present context, the chief characteristic of the area described above is that this was the main area of Massaliote expansion.

The earliest Greek presence in the area seems, at least on the basis of the literary evidence, to be concentrated at

[7] 612–14: *huis alueo [Orani] Hibera tellus atque Ligyes asperi intersecantur.*

[8] Hecat. fr. 50 *apud* Steph. Byz. 454.11: *Μίσγητες, ἔθνος Ἰβήρων. Ἑκαταῖος Εὐρώπῃ*. The Misgetes are commonly placed to the north-east in the Iberian peninsula; their name seems to be related to the Greek verb *μίσγω*, which suggests that to the Greeks they appeared in some way "mixed" (Padró and Sanmartí (1992) 188).

[9] Hecat. fr. 53 *apud* Steph. Byz. 267.15: *Ἐλίσυκοι, ἔθνος Λιγύων, Ἑκαταῖος Εὐρώπῃ*.

[10] Hecat. fr. 55 *apud* Steph. Byz. 435.18–19: *Μασσαλία, πόλις τῆς Λιγυστικῆς κατὰ τὴν Κελτικὴν, ἄποικος Φωκαέων. Ἑκαταῖος Εὐρώπῃ*.

[11] These "mixed populations" (*μιγάδες*) are sometimes brought into connection with the *Μίσγητες* mentioned by Hecat. fr. 50 (Jannoray (1955) 378; Gailledrat (1997) 34).

Massalia (no. 3) itself, a foundation of *c.*600. However, archaeological evidence suggests the possibility of pre-colonial contacts between Greeks and indigenous populations, e.g. the three cups and the oenochoe of C7l from the indigenous cemetery of Le Peyrou, near the place where Agathe (*infra*) was later founded (Nickels *et al.* (1981); Nickels (1989)), and the sporadic finds of C7l Greek pottery at Mailhac (Gailledrat (1997) 69–70).

However, the foundation of Massalia marked the real beginning of Greek presence and expansion in the region, an expansion that was basically a coastal phenomenon; besides, the expansion of Massalia was a long-term process running from C6 to the beginnings of the Roman occupation of the region. Massaliote activity, moreover, varied from period to period: during C6 and C5e it was directed towards the development of commercial interests (Bats (1988)), whereas from C5l/C4e it aimed primarily at establishing greater territorial control through the foundation of colonies and fortified centres. Such settlements are, obviously, of greater interest to our sources and are described below. Whether any of the settlements founded by Massalia in this period, and presumably dependent on it, can be considered *poleis* (albeit dependent *poleis*; cf. Hansen (1997*b*)) is uncertain: some may have been *poleis*, but in no case does the evidence warrant inclusion in the Inventory, which includes only two possible Massaliote foundations: Emporion (no. 2) and Rhode (no. 4). Of these, Emporion certainly and Rhode possibly were founded prior to C4. According to ancient writers, Massalia's reason for founding these settlements was the need for defence against the barbarians living in the direction of Iberia as well as towards Liguria (Strabo 4.1.5); trade interests or the wish to control the coastline may have provided an additional reason (as implied by Strabo 4.1.9, 10 and 4.6.3).

The following Greek settlements on the Mediterranean coast of France are mentioned by our sources.

Agathe (*Ἀγάθη*) Ps.-Skymnos 202–8 seems to include Agathe in the *πόλεις Ἑλληνίδες* founded by the Phokaian Massaliotes (*Μασσαλιῶται Φωκαεῖς*), although in this passage, strictly speaking, *polis* is not used about Agathe. Strabo 4.1.5–6 calls it a *polis* and an *epiteichisma* founded by Massalia (*κτίσμα Μασσαλιωτῶν*; cf. Plin. *HN* 3.33: *Agatha quondam Massiliensium*) for protection against the barbarians living in the direction of Iberia. It may have been a "*polis* founded as a fortress" (12) in the typology of Hansen (1997*b*). Archaeology has revealed two phases of occupation; in the earlier phase Agathe was probably only an *emporion*, and remains of C6–C5f houses of mudbrick seem to belong to it; to the later "Massaliote" phase from C5l belong houses with stone basements and mudbrick walls. It seems that the city had a grid plan in this phase. The C5l city covered 4.25 ha (Nickels (1983) 421–22, (1995)). At least two phases of the circuit wall have been established, the oldest dating to C6, and showing repairs during C5 (Nickels and Marchand (1976); Nickels (1982) 273–74). The territory of Agathe was divided into plots from at least C4e; its area has been estimated at *c.*20,000 ha, partly devoted to agriculture, and containing at least 1,500 *kleroi* (Clavel-Lévêque (1982); García (1995)). *Barr.* 15, AC.

Antipolis (*Ἀντίπολις*) Ps.-Skymnos 216 seems to consider Antipolis the most remote of the cities founded by Massalia (*αὐτῶν* [*sc. πόλεων*] *ἐσχάτη*). Strabo 4.1.5 includes it among the *epiteichismata* set up for defence against the barbarians and describes it as one of the *poleis* of the Massaliotes (4.1.9). In 155/4 Antipolis certainly belonged to Massalia (Polyb. 33.8.1), and it still belonged to Massalia prior to 49 (Strabo 4.1.9; Gschnitzer (1958) 24), but its status in the Archaic or Classical period is unknown. The ancient city of Antipolis must be somewhere below modern Antibes; however, the relatively abundant Archaic finds (Clergues (1969); Ducat (1982) 89–90) must belong to the native village; the remains of the supposed Archaic Greek city are, consequently, unlocated so far (Bats (1990)). A Greek presence in Classical times can be proved only by Greek inscriptions, especially the verse dedication set up by one Therpon to Aphrodite in C5s (*IG* XIV 2424; *LSAG* 288 no. 3; cf., however, the doubts expressed by Clerc (1927) 257 on the circumstances of its discovery). *Barr.* 16, AC.

***Athenopolis** (*Athenopolis*) This place, qualified by Plin. *HN* 3.35 as *Massiliensium*, must be sought on the coast between the *Citharista portus* (La Ciotat or, better, Olbia) and Forum Iuli (Fréjus) (Pompon. 2.77). *Barr.* 16 (St-Tropez?), HR.

Avenion (*Αὐενιών*) Steph. Byz. 146.16 calls it a *πόλις Μασσαλίας*; he does not give any indication of his source, but it may be Artemidoros, as in the entry on *Καβελλιών* (Cavellio; see *infra*; cf. Brunel (1945) 130). It is undoubtedly to be identified with modern Avignon, assigned by Strabo 4.1.11 and Plin. *HN* 3.36 (*Avennio*) to the Cavares. The reason for its designation as a "city of Massalia" must be sought in the close links that the Gauls of this region maintained with Massalia (Clerc (1927) 242–43; Barruol (1975) 233–44). Massalia presumably never included this area within its

territory (Arcelin (1986)), though some scholars have maintained this (Barruol (1975) 224–25). *Barr.* 15, AC.

Azania (*Ἀζανία*) Steph. Byz. 31.1–2 states that, in addition to the region in Arkadia (cf. Nielsen and Roy (1998)), there was a city called Azania which belonged to Massalia (he cites Philon of Byblos: *ἔστι καὶ Μασσαλίας ἄλλη, ὡς Φίλων*). The city has not been identified and although it might well be a site controlled by Massalia (Brunel (1945)), we cannot entirely rule out the possibility that Stephanos or Philon made a mistake (e.g. by confusing Massalia with Mainalia, *vel sim.*?). *Barr.* 15, unlocated, H.

Kabellion (*Καβελλιών*) Steph. Byz. 345.17 calls it a *πόλις Μασσαλίας*; his source is Artemidoros' *Geography*. Strabo calls it *Καβαλλιών* (4.1.3, 11) and assigns the city to the Cavares, as does Plin. *HN* 3.36 (*Cabellio*). It is to be equated with modern Cavaillon, and its relationship to the Massaliote dominion must be similar to that of Avenion (cf. *supra*). *Barr.* 15, HRL.

Kyrene (*Κυρήνη*) Among the *poleis* of that name mentioned by Steph. Byz. 396.18–19, one is assigned to Massalia. It is otherwise unknown, but Barruol (1975) 224 has suggested identifying it with the site of La Couronne, where the quarries exploited by Massalia were located (Strabo 4.1.6). *Barr.* 15, unlocated (La Couronne?), H.

Monoikos (*Μόνοικος*) Strabo 4.6.3 describes it merely as a harbour (*λιμήν*), although in Steph. Byz. 456.7 it appears as a *polis* in Liguria, accompanied by a reference to Hekataios (fr. 57). Not in *Barr.*; Hecat. fr. 57 indicates A.

Nikaia (*Νίκαια*) This is one of the *poleis* founded by Massalia as a fortress (*epiteichisma*) for protection against the barbarians according to Strabo 4.1.5, who includes it among the *πόλεις τῶν Μασσαλιωτῶν* situated between Massalia and the river Var (Strabo 4.1.9; cf. Steph. Byz. 474.22; Plin. *HN* 3.47). The city existed in 154 (Polyb. 33.8.2), but is absent from Ps.-Skymnos 216; if we accept that Timaios is the main source for that passage in Ps.-Skymnos, Nikaia probably had not yet been founded by 260 (the date of Timaios' death; Bats (1986) 29, 40, n. 57; Bats and Mouchot (1990) 223; Bats (1992) 273). It provides the most interesting evidence as to the kind of control exercised by Massalia over its dependencies (Strabo 4.1.8; *CIL* V 7914). It corresponds to modern Nice. *Barr.* 16, AC.

Olbia (*Ὀλβία*) Ps.-Skymnos 216 mentions Olbia as a *polis* within the series of cities founded by Massalia to the east, and Strabo 4.1.5 adds that Olbia was one of the *epiteichismata* founded by Massalia for protection against the barbarians. The archaeological evidence suggests that Olbia was a "*polis* founded as a fortress" (cf. Hansen (1997*b*) 36). The earliest city wall is dated to *c.*340–330 (Coupry (1986) 391–96; Bats *et al.* (1995) 372–76) and the city was laid out on a grid plan; it seems that Olbia was a square of 165 m × 165 m (Coupry (1986) 397–99; Bats and Brenot (1990) 208–9). The size of the city suggests that its population cannot have exceeded *c.*1,000 persons (Coupry (1974) 196), i.e. between 200 and 240 citizens of military age, which would amount to an infantry battalion or *σύνταγμα* (Coupry (1986) 397–99). Olbia had an agrarian territory of 305 ha, distributed in lots already from C4m (Benoit (1985) 45–47). Several cult places and other public works have been excavated at the site. *Barr.* 16, HRL.

Rhodanousia (*Ῥοδανουσία*) This is described as a *polis* founded by Massalia by Ps.-Skymnos 208 and perhaps by Strabo 4.1.5, who also includes it among the *epiteichismata* designed to protect Massalia from the barbarians living around the river Rhône. Steph. Byz. calls it both *πόλις Μασσαλίας* (542.15) and *πόλις ἐν Μασσαλίᾳ* (546.1). The foundation date of the city is unknown, and its identification is likewise uncertain: some scholars have suggested identifying it with the site known as Espeyran (Saint-Gilles-du-Gard) (Barruol and Py (1978) 94–100), though recently doubts have been expressed (Bats (1986) 41, n. 63; Py (1990) 112–13, 284–85). *Barr.* 15 (Espeyran?), CHR.

Sekoanos (*Σηκοανός*) Leaning on the authority of Artemidoros, Steph. Byz. 562.7 describes Sekoanos as a *πόλις Μασσαλιωτῶν*; however, we may be dealing here with a mistake by Stephanos (*πόλις* instead of *ποταμός*?; so *Barr.* 15, unlocated, H). It must be one of the rivers between the Rhône and Massalia, or even a waterway, perhaps the *fossa Mariana* (Barruol (1975) 199–200).

Stoichades Islands (*Στοιχάδες*) Strabo 4.1.10 mentions these five islands and says that they were tilled by the Massaliotes, who in ancient times (*τὸ παλαιόν*) had built a fort (*φρουρά*) there to prevent piracy. Steph. Byz. 585.19 merely says *πρὸς Μασσαλίᾳ*. The modern name is Îles d'Hyères. *Barr.* 16, CHRL.

Tauroeis (*Ταυρόεις*) Tauroeis was one of the fortress-cities (*epiteichismata*) founded by Massalia to protect the coast against inland barbarians (Strabo 4.1.5, 9); the defensive character of the site is stressed by Caesar (*B Civ.* 2.4.5), who calls Tauroentum *castellum Massiliensium* (r49). Artemidoros (*apud* Steph. Byz. 608.6) places the foundation

in the time of the fall of Phokaia (i.e. *c.*540). It is located at the modern town of Le Brusc, and it is generally accepted that the foundation of the city must be placed in C3l or C2e (Arcelin (1986) 65; Bats (1986) 29, 40 n. 57; Brien-Poitevin (1990); Bats (1992) 273). *Barr.* 16, HR.

***Theline** (*Theline*) Avienus (*Ora maritima* 690–91) says that the city of Arelate (Arles), by the river Rhone, was formerly called Theline, "when it was inhabited by Greeks" (*Arelatus illic ciuitas attollitur, Theline uocata sub priore saeculo, graio incolente*). Strabo 4.1.6 is silent about the Greek identity of Arelate but describes it as a *πόλις καὶ ἐμπόριον οὐ μίκρον*. Archaeology suggests the existence of a Greek *emporion* from *c.*540, which lost its Greek character from—perhaps—C4f (Arcelin (1995)). *Barr.* 15, ACH.

Troizen (*Τροιζήν*) The last of the cities called Troizen and mentioned by Steph. Byz. 639.9, it is in Italy, but belongs to Massalia (*ἐν Μασσαλίᾳ τῆς Ἰταλίας*). In addition, Eust. *Il.* 1.442 mentions a Massaliote city called Troizen and placed in Italy (*καὶ ἑτέρα ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ Μασσαλιωτική*). Some scholars suggest that this Troizen must be a fortress located in southern France, but situated east of the river Var and so, formally, beyond the frontier between the *prouincia* and Italia, but subject to Massalia, as was Nikaia (Strabo 4.1.9) and the other Massaliote *poleis* in Italy listed by Ptol. *Geog.* 3.1.2 (cf. Barruol (1975) 223); others emend the text of Stephanos and suppose the existence of two cities called Troizen, one in the territory of Massalia and another in Italy (cf. Brunel (1974)) or suggest a mistake in Stephanos' and Ptolemaios' reading of their sources (cf. Clerc (1927) 247–49); finally, it has been suggested that Massaliote Troizen in Italy cannot be other than the city of Poseidonia (cf. Morel (1992) 20–21), neighbouring on and supposedly closely related to Phokaian Hyele (no. 54), in its turn apparently closely related to Massalia (Ps.-Skymnos 250: *καὶ Μασσαλιωτῶν Φωκαέων τ' Ἐλέα πόλις*). Not in *Barr.*

3. *The Mediterranean Coast of Spain*

The Greeks referred to the coast of the Iberian peninsula by the generic name *Ἰβηρία*, a term which, as time went on, ended up as the name of the whole peninsula (Strabo 3.4.19). The name *Iberia* seems to have been coined by the Greeks to designate the westernmost places in the Mediterranean visited by them since C7l; it presumably derives from the name of the river Hiberos; however, the name *Hiberos* was applied to several rivers of the Iberian peninsula in antiquity (Domínguez (1983); Jacob (1988); Gailledrat (1997) 35–36), and this fact may explain the different and sometimes contradictory views which ancient writers hold on the extent of Iberia (cf. Strabo 3.4.19). However, even if Herodotos (1.163) still distinguishes between Tartessos and Iberia, the C5l historian Herodoros of Herakleia ((*FGrHist* 31) fr. 2a) includes within Iberia all of the coast between the western end of the peninsula and the river Rhône, and so Strabo's definition of Iberia may be valid from C5l onwards: *οἱ δὲ νῦν ὅριον αὐτῆς τίθενται τὴν Πυρήνην* (3.4.19).

If the late and hardly reliable references to Rhodian colonisation in Iberia (see Rhode (no. 4) with Domínguez (1990) and Santiago (1994*b*)) are disregarded, the only Greeks to frequent Iberia seem to have been the Samians and, above all, the Phokaians (Hdt. 4.152, 1.163.164; Domínguez (1991*a*), (1996) 26–31). Archaeological evidence for the earliest contacts, of C7l/C6e, is found at e.g. the Tartessian town of Onoba (modern Huelva; Cabrera (1988–89)), at the Phoenician city at Cerro del Villar (Cabrera (1994)) and at the Iberian village at the location where Emporion was eventually founded (Aquilué *et al.* (1998) 24–25). However, these early contacts did not lead to the foundation of Greek *poleis*: only Emporion developed the structures of a *polis* and then only several decades after the initial contacts between Greeks and natives. The Greek settlements in Iberia were foundations of the Phokaians (no. 859) or, perhaps, of the Phokaians from Massalia (no. 3); at least, it seems that Massalia ended up controlling, probably both economically and politically, a major part of the coastal regions of Iberia.

The Greek settlements in Iberia mentioned by our sources are the following.

Alonis (*Ἀλωνίς*) Artemidoros (*apud* Steph. Byz. 80.7) describes Alonis as a *νῆσος καὶ πόλις Μασσαλίας*. It is not completely certain that Alonis was located in Iberia, although it may be the place called *Allone* by Pompon. 2.93, and situated in the *Sinus Ilicitanus*; it could also be the *Ἀλωναί* of Ptol. *Geog.* 2.6.14. It remains unlocated, although many suggestions have been advanced for its site (García y Bellido (1948) 58–59); recently, Rouillard (1991) 303–6 has suggested that it may be on modern Santa Pola, where excavations have revealed a (native) fortified settlement of C5s and finds show strong Greek influences (Moret *et al.* (1995); Badié and Moret (1997)). *Barr.* 27 (S. Pola?), CHRL.

Hemeroskopeion (*Ἡμεροσκοπεῖον*) Hemeroskopeion was the most famous (*γνωριμώτατον*) of the three *πολίχνια Μασσαλιωτῶν* between the river Jucar and New Carthage (Strabo 3.4.6: *μεταξὺ* [. . .] *τοῦ Σούκρωνος καὶ*

τῆς Καρχηδόνος) and the only one known by name. To the Romans it was *Dianium*, on account of its sanctuary of Artemis Ephesia (Strabo 3.4.6). Artemidoros (*apud* Steph. Byz. 302.1) considers it a *polis* of the Celtiberians, founded by the Phokaians: πόλις Κελτιβηρῶν, Φωκαέων ἄποικος. Avienus, *Ora maritima* 476–77—probably the earliest reference to the city—says merely that it had been inhabited in ancient times (*Hemeroscopium quoque habitata pridem hic ciuitas*), but was deserted in his own day. In spite of the strong Greek influence in the presumed area of location (Domínguez (1991*a*) 125–27), the existence of this city cannot be demonstrated by archaeological evidence, and it is not impossible that the literary tradition for its existence arose only in Roman times (Pena (1993)). *Barr.* 27 (Denia), CHRL.

Mainake (Μαινάκη) The earliest reference to Mainake is in Avienus' *Ora maritima* 427–31; he does not give any information about its origins and identifies it incorrectly with Malaka: *Malachaeque flumen, urbe cum cognomine, Menace priore quae uocata est saeculo*. Ps.-Skymnos 146–50 calls Mainake a πόλις Μασσαλιωτική and considers it the most remote of the Greek *poleis* founded in Europe: αὕτη πρὸς Εὐρώπην δὲ τῶν Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων ἁπασῶν ἔχει θέσιν. Strabo 3.4.2 likewise describes Mainake as the most westerly *polis* ever founded by the Phokaians (ὑστάτη τῶν Φωκαϊκῶν πόλεων πρὸς δύσει κειμένην), on the basis of received tradition (παρειλήφαμεν), but he distinguishes its ruins from Phoenician Malaka. In spite of the great quantity of hypotheses regarding its possible location, neither the date nor the character of Mainake have been clarified (for a recent summary and a new proposal, see Jacob (1994)). *Barr.* 27 (Cerro del Peñón?), ACH.

Several other Iberian toponyms of allegedly Greek *poleis* are known (Jacob (1985)), but only in two cases have scholars suggested that they *were* in fact Greek: Pyrene and Cypsela. (1) *Pyrene* is mentioned by Hdt. 2.33.3 as the place where the river Istros begins (Ἴστρος τε γὰρ ποταμὸς ἀρξάμενος ἐκ Κελτῶν καὶ Πύρηνης πόλιος . . .); its Greekness is inferred by some scholars from Avienus, *Ora maritima* 558–61, which states that formerly, near the Pyrenees, there stood an opulent city which traded frequently with the Massaliotes (*quondam Pyrenae latera ciuitas ditis laris stetisse fertur, hicque Massiliae incolae negotiorum saepe uersabant uices*). (2) The second toponym, *Cypsela*, is known only from Avienus, *Ora maritima* 527–29, which says that the city of Cypsela, whose remains had completely disappeared in his day (*hic stetisse ciuitatem Cypselam iam fama tantum est, nulla nam uestigia prioris urbis asperus seruat solum*), stood in ancient times by the *iugum Celebanticum*. Though no source describes Pyrene or Cypsela as *Greek* cities, scholars have suggested identifying them with Emporion (no. 2) in the early phases of its development (Pyrene = Emporion: Hind (1972); Cypsela = Emporion: Lamboglia (1949), (1974); and Oikonomides (1974)). One of these identifications may possibly hit the mark; however, given the scarcity of information, we cannot press the issue of the identification of these toponyms with the city of Emporion, which probably bore that name already by C6l (*SEG* 37 838).

4. *The Massaliote Colonisation*

This is not the place for a detailed discussion of the colonisation activities of Massalia (no. 3), which affected mainly the coastal regions of Iberia, Gaul and Liguria. However, a few words must be said. Our sources frequently vary in their descriptions of the origins of individual sites, which are sometimes described as Massaliote and sometimes as Phokaian foundations. It seems that later sources especially tend to conflate these two terms, obviously because Massalia itself was a foundation of Phokaia. Consequently, it is sometimes difficult to identify the founder of a site. In any case, it seems that Massalia was from the beginning the centre for the Phokaian designs on the western Mediterranean (Gantès (1992); Tréziny (1995)). At least, Massalia soon began to expand its area of influence, mainly westwards. The main evidence for westward expansion comes from Emporion (no. 2), where the *Palaia Polis* (modern San Martín de Ampurias) seems to have been frequented by Greeks from *c.*600, and where the first Greek settlement, dated *c.*575, has a strong Massaliote flavour (Aquilué *et al.* (1998) 26–28); a close relationship with Massalia seems to continue until at least C6l; but from C5 Emporion develops its own area of economic and perhaps political interests (Sanmartí (1992)).

Within the area in which Phokaia and/or Massalia had interests in the Archaic and Classical periods were other settlements that later sources describe as *poleis*, e.g. Agathe (*supra*) and Rhode (no. 4). It is not certain, however, that they *were* all *poleis*; thus, while Rhode minted coins during C4, Agathe did not. There is no information about the status of the settlements that were not *poleis*; they may have been trading ports or *emporia* frequented by the Massaliotes (or even by the Phokaians). Archaeology has revealed a network of C6–C5 Massaliote trading posts in southern France, and such sites attest to the wide trading interests of Massalia

(Bats (1992)). In most cases the names that the Greeks eventually applied to these sites remain unknown, but it is not impossible that their names were misinterpreted by later writers as names of Greek *poleis*.

From C5l Massalia began to secure her control of the coastal regions of southern France by establishing a network of fortress-cities, beginning with Agathe, "promoted" to this status from the previous status of *emporion*; this policy continued well into Roman times (Strabo 4.1.5). Olbia, founded in 340 or 330, shows clearly the military character of these foundations (see *supra*). The remainder of these Massaliote fortress-colonies seem to have been founded in Hellenistic times, the later ones undoubtedly at a time when Massalia benefited from the assistance of the Roman army in subduing the native tribes living inland (Strabo 4.1.5; Bats (1986); Arcelin (1986)). It is not wholly clear what type of relationship cities like Agathe and Olbia had to Massalia; it is tempting to consider them as "*poleis* founded as fortresses" according to the typology suggested by Hansen (1997b) 36 no. 12; they may have been dependent *poleis* (Gschnitzer (1958) 25), as even Strabo (4.1.5 or, implicitly, 4.1.9) seems to attest (at least for later times) when he speaks about the *ὑπήκοοι* of Massalia; some scholars have considered them to be similar to klerouchies (Sanmartí (1992) 29), but we should not rule out the possibility that these places were used by Massalia as bases to develop the penetration inland of her commercial interests (Clavel-Lévêque (1985) 81).

From C5 Emporion (no. 2) seems to have begun to develop its own interests; it began to mint coins and to erect public buildings and, perhaps, to constitute itself as a *polis*; Rhode (no. 4) seems to follow a similar path slightly later.

It is not known when the three *πολίχνια Μασσαλιωτῶν* (Strabo 3.4.6) situated between the river Jucar and New Carthage were established; the only one known by name, Hemeroskopeion, was perhaps not a *polis*, and Artemidoros considers it a Phokaian foundation. If the site at La Picola can be related in any way to Alonis, it was clearly not a Greek *polis* but a native fortress-town strongly influenced in its lay-out and defensive works by Greek models of the Classical period. Whether those two places depended on Massalia or Emporion (or on Massalia through Emporion?) cannot be ascertained.

II. The *Poleis*

1. Alalie Map 48b. Lat. 42.10, long. 9.70. Size of territory: 3(?). Type: A:*a*. The toponym is *Ἀλαλίη, ἡ* (Hdt. 1.165.1, 166.3). A city-ethnic is not attested; Herodotos refers to the community as *οἱ Φωκαιεῖς* (1.166.2 *bis*).

Alalie is called a *polis* in the urban sense at Hdt. 1.165.1 (*ἀνεστήσαντο πόλιν*). The name of the territory is unknown, but its extent, after C6m when the refugees from Phokaia arrived, has been calculated at 200 km² (Gras (1985) 404), and it may have been divided into lots (Jehasse and Jehasse (1987) 380). The "epoecised" city put a fleet of sixty ships to sea (Hdt. 1.166.2), which indicates a population of *c.*20,000 inhabitants (Gras (1985) 400–6) or even more (Domínguez (1985) 375–76).

Alalie was founded by Phokaia (no. 859), in accordance with an oracle, 20 years before the fall of Phokaia, i.e. *c.*560 (Hdt. 1.165.1). In *c.*546 the Phokaians decided to relocate their city in reaction to the Persian threat, and almost half of the Phokaians were received at Alalie. From the Alalian point of view, the arrival of these refugees may have been perceived as reception of *epoikoi*, while from the point of view of the Phokaians it was a case of *metoikesis* (Demand (1990) 37). The refugees arrived with wives, sons and sacred objects from their home sanctuaries (Hdt. 1.164.3, 166.3).

After a naval battle with the Carthaginians and the Etruscans *c.*540, in which the Alalians were victorious but suffered severe losses, the city was perhaps dismantled (Hdt. 1.166.3: *ἀνέλαβον* [...] *καὶ τὴν ἄλλην κτίσιν*), and certainly abandoned (Hdt. 1.166.3: *ἀνέλαβον τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας* [...] *καὶ ἔπειτα ἀπέντες τὴν Κύρνον ἔπλεον ἐς Ῥήγιον*). However, the abandonment was perhaps not complete, as the existence of some archaeological remains dated to C6l (and antedating the foundation(?) of the Etruscan city) would suggest (Jehasse and Jehasse (1982) 255; cf. Domínguez (1985) 376–77). In any case, after the battle, Alalie ceased to be a *polis* and its site was subsequently occupied by an Etruscan city, whose cemetery (C6l–C3m) has been excavated (Jehasse and Jehasse (1973)).

Herodotos 1.166.3 seems to imply the existence of a political body making decisions, but its composition or organisation is unknown. At 1.166.1 he implies the existence of religious precints (*ἱρά*) at Alalie, some of them perhaps of a substantial nature (temples?—he uses the verb *ἐνιδρύω*); besides, the Phokaian refugees carried with them all the sacred objects, statues and offerings (*τὰ ἀγάλματα* [...] *καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἀναθήματα*) taken from their original *hiera* at Phokaia—except those made of bronze and stone and the paintings (Hdt. 1.164.3)—and we may think that they placed these in newly built edifices as soon as they arrived at Alalie; however, they have not been identified. Remains of a city wall have been discovered, of the *agger* type, with a broad *glacis* in

front of it, perhaps dated to C6s (Jehasse and Jehasse (1982) 250–53, (1994) 312–14) and perhaps protecting the Greek city. There are also remains of C6s dwellings constructed in mud-brick (Jehasse and Jehasse (1994) 312) as well as Greek pottery of Archaic date (Jehasse and Jehasse (1982) 251–54).

2. Emporion (Emporites) Map 25. Lat. 42.10, long. 3.10. Size of territory: 2. Type: A:*β*. The toponym is *Ἐμπόριον, τό* (Ps.-Skylax 2; Ps.-Skymnos 204) and the city-ethnic is *Ἐμπορίτης* (*SEG* 37 838 (530–500); Strabo 3.4.8) or *Ἐνπορείτης* (C4l coins, *infra*). Some scholars have suggested that the original name may have been Pyrene (Hind (1972)) or *Kypsela (Lamboglia (1949), (1974); Oikonomides (1974)) and one of these names (in particular Pyrene) might well have been the name of the first settlement, which was renamed *Παλαιὰ πόλις* (Strabo 3.4.8) when the (new) city on the mainland was founded; however, there is no evidence for the use of any of these names to refer to Emporion, whose name is presumably attested already in C6l (*SEG* 38 838; cf. *supra*).

Apart from Ps.-Skylax 2 (Hansen (1997*a*) 88), the earliest references to Emporion as a *polis* are in Polyb. 3.39.7 and Ps.-Skymnos 202–4 (all in the urban sense). It is described as a *polis* in the urban and political sense by Strabo 3.4.8, a passage which also refers to the *politeuma* and uses *dipolis* about Emporion. If Pyrene at Hdt. 2.33.2 designates the present city, this passage provides an occurrence of *polis* in the territorial sense. It is usually inferred from the toponym that Emporion was an *emporion*. For a discussion of this question, see Hansen (forthcoming). The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally in a C6l inscription (*SEG* 37 838) and on coins (*EM*, *EMΠ*, *EMΠOP* (C5l–C4); *EMΠOPITΩN* (C4l–C3); Villaronga (1994) 3–8, 1730) and externally in a commercial document of C5m (*SEG* 38 1036).

Emporion was founded *c.*600 (Aquilué *et al.* (1996) 61–62), whether by Massaliote Phokaians (Ps.-Skymnos 203–4), Massaliotes (Ps.-Skylax 2; Strabo 3.4.8) or Phokaians (Livy 26.19, 34.4; cf. Pliny 3.22). Ps.-Skymnos 204–5 includes Emporion among the Greek *poleis* founded by Massalia (*καὶ πόλεις Ἑλληνίδες, ἅς Μασσαλιῶται Φωκαεῖς ἀπῴκισαν· πρώτη μὲν Ἐμπόριον*); Strabo 4.1.5 seems to imply that Emporion was included within the system of fortresses set up by Massalia to protect the coast (*supra* 162–63). However, on present evidence it is not clear how long Emporion remained within that Massaliote system (cf. Gschnitzer (1958) 25–26).

The territory of Emporion stretched into the interior of the country (*mesogaia*), and at least a part of it was called *Ἰουγκάριον πεδίον* (Strabo 3.4.9). According to some scholars, the territory comprised 360 km² and may have been bordered by native villages (Plana (1994) 109–16). In one of these the remains of a possible C3 sanctuary of Demeter have been found; it may have replaced an older shrine (Pons (1993)). The existence of a C4 cadaster occupying 15,000 ha has also been proposed (Plana (1994) 169–89). However, these figures seem too high for such a tiny urban centre, and other scholars have suggested a smaller territory of *c.*3,300 ha: 1,300 ha of arable land and 2,000 ha of *eschatia* (Sanmartí (1993) 92–94). The reference in Strabo 3.4.8 to Rhode (no. 4) as a *πολίχνιον Ἐμποριτῶν* seems to imply that, at least by C1s, Emporion had integrated the territory of Rhode into its own territory.

On the basis of the size of the city (5 ha), it has been supposed that the inhabitants numbered max. 1,500–2,000 (Domínguez (1986) 4; Marcet and Sanmartí (1990) 118–19).

Originally Emporion was divided into separate Greek and non-Greek communities, but at a certain point the two communities merged into one to form a single citizen body of mixed ethnicity (Strabo 3.4.8; Pena (1988) 11–27; Santiago (1994*a*)). This merger may have taken place *c.*375, when the second city wall was constructed, thus suppressing an extra-urban settlement (assigned to the natives by its excavator), and situated by the C5 city wall (Sanmartí (1993) 88–89).

The existence of a political community is indicated by the C5–C4 mint (*infra*) and by bricks stamped *ΔHM* (= *δημοσία/δημόσιον*) and dated perhaps to C3 (Almagro (1952) no. 35; Pena (1992) 141). The only reference to the political system is found in Strabo 3.4.8, which refers to a *πολίτευμα μικτόν* of Greek and barbarian *νόμιμα* produced by the merger described *supra*. A C5s lead tablet found at Emporion contains the word (or the ending) *νόμος*, although its precise meaning cannot be determined (Almagro (1952) no. 21; Pena (1992) 140–41; Santiago (1993) 288–89). The honours owed to Artemis Ephesia were presumably defined by law (Strabo 4.1.4), and in later sources there are references to custom (*mos*) and laws (*leges*; Livy 34.9 (rC2e)). Livy (34.9 (rC3e)) also refers to several magistrates.

The agora of the city is known only in its C2f form (Mar and Ruiz de Arbulo (1993) 160–69). Although Artemis Ephesia was worshipped at Emporion (Strabo 3.4.8), her sanctuary has not yet been identified. A C5s sanctuary consisting of at least an Ionic temple and a double altar has been excavated in the southern part of the city. In C4f the area was reorganised and a new sanctuary constructed, perhaps devoted to Asklepios; the *Palaia polis* has yielded a relief

depicting two sphinxes, almost certainly from a temple (Marcet and Sanmartí (1990) 69). The city had a public water reservoir, dug in C4e, and included within the sacred area placed in the southern part of the city, by the city walls and their southern entrance gate (ibid. (1990) 87). The earliest Greek settlement, in antiquity situated on an island that is now connected to the continent, may have functioned as the acropolis; it was called *Παλαιὰ πόλις* (Strabo 3.4.8).

Strabo 3.4.8 mentions the existence of a city wall at Emporion and sketches the history of its development. The first wall so far known was constructed in C5s in the southern part of the city (Sanmartí and Nolla (1986)); *c.*375 that wall was dismantled and in the same area a new wall was constructed with an elaborate L-shaped entrance system (Sanmartí *et al.* (1992)); this is certainly the wall mentioned by Livy 34.9. In C3s a *proteichisma* was constructed; however, in C2m all these fortifications were demolished and, reusing the same stones, a new wall was constructed 20 m further out, a wall that is still preserved (Sanmartí *et al.* (1988)). According to Livy 34.9 (rC2e), the defence of the city walls of the *polis* was—at least in times of war—entrusted to one-third of the inhabitants, who were on duty every night.

The oldest remains of dwellings come from the *Palaia polis* and consist of rectangular rooms in mudbrick on stone basements; they date to C6f (Aquilué *et al.* (1996) 57–58, (1999) 217–30). The city on the mainland seems to have reached its maximum extent already in C5s, which makes it difficult to sketch the first stages of its development and layout; in any case, it seems to have been centred on a main street running north–south and crossed at right angles by secondary streets (Marcet and Sanmartí (1990) 106–8).

The patron divinity of Emporion was Artemis Ephesia (Strabo 3.4.8); cults of the Nymphs, Themis and Poseidon are epigraphically attested (Almagro (1952) nos. 9–11, 49), as are cults of Asklepios and Sarapis; in all these cases the evidence is Hellenistic or Roman.

The mint of Emporion possibly began to strike silver coins of the Auriol type in C5f, imitating Massaliote prototypes. From C5m the mint produced minor denominations and was under the influence of Sicily, Mainland Greece and Asia Minor; their weights vary from 0.15/0.25 g to 0.40/0.45 g and 0.90/0.95 g; the coins are anepigraphic. C5l/C4f coins are inscribed with the legend *EM*, *EMΠ* or *EMΠOP* and show influences from Magna Graecia and Athens; the weight is 0.94 g. From C4l Emporion struck a so-called drachm weighing 4.70 g. Types: *obv.* head of a goddess (Artemis?); legend: *EMΠORITΩN* or *ENΠOPEITΩN*; *rev.* horse (Villaronga (1997)). It is quite possible that all these coins were struck on the Phokaian standard (Campo (1992); García-Bellido (1994)), and both the first issues and the drachms seem also to be related to the weights of the Massaliote system (Villaronga (1998); Head, *HN*² 1–2; *SNG Cop. Spain-Gaul* 637–39).

Emporion was perhaps considered to be the coloniser of nearby Rhode (no. 4; Strabo 3.4.8). A very fragmentary C5s lead tablet has the sequence [. . . *ὅ*]*κο ἐσκατοικίσαι*, meaning something like "where to establish (or found) a city" (Almagro (1952) no. 21; Pena (1992) 140–41; Santiago (1993) 288–89), though it is unclear where and when the eventual foundation was to be planted.

3. Massalia (Massaliotes) Map 15. Lat. 43.28, long. 5.22. Size of territory: 2. Type: A:*α*. The toponym is *Μασσαλία*, *ἡ* (Hecat. fr. 55; Thuc.1.13.6) and the city-ethnic *Μασσαλιώτης* (Dem. 32.8; Arist. fr. 560). In the Ionic dialect they are, respectively, *Μασσαλίη* (Hdt. 5.9.15) and *Μασσαλιήτες* (*LSAG* 288 no. 2 (C5f)).

Massalia is called a *polis Hellenis* in the urban sense by Ps.-Skylax 4 (cf. Ps.-Skymnos 209, perhaps drawing on Timaios (*FGrHist* 566) fr. 71, though probably not for the term *polis*). It is called *polis* in the political sense by Arist. *Pol.* 1305^{b}4–5; *politikos* is used about the constitution at Arist. *Pol.* 1305^{b}10, and *politeuma* is found at *Pol.* 1321^{a}30–31; there was an Aristotelian *Massalioton politeia* (Arist. fr. 560), and Dem. 32.8 refers to the *politai.*

The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally on C5m coins (Brenot (1992)) and externally in Dem. 32.8–9 and Arist. fr. 560. The earliest examples of the external individual use are *LSAG* 288 no. 2 (C5f) and *IG* XIV 295 (C4f); see further Robert (1968) and Manganaro (1992)).

There are two different traditions about the foundation of Massalia, and consequently two different dates for the foundation. One tradition places the foundation in 600 (Timaios (*FGrHist* 566) fr. 7 = 120 years before the battle of Salamis), while the other places it at the time of the fall of Phokaia (no. 859) to the Persians in 546 (Antiochos (*FGrHist* 555) fr. 8; Isoc. *Archidamus* 84). The archaeological evidence supports the earlier date (Graham (2001) 38), but the existence of two different foundation dates may perhaps suggest a kind of refoundation in C6m, as a consequence of the arrival of refugees from Phokaia after the Persian conquest of Ionia (Gras (1987); Domínguez (1991*b*) 250–53; Bats (1994); Gras (1995)). All the sources agree on the *metropolis*: Phokaia (Hecat. fr. 55; Thuc. 1.13–14; Arist. fr. 560), though there is no unanimity concerning the oecist(s): it was Euxenos (Arist. fr. 560), or Simos and Protis (Just. *Epit.*

43.3.8–11), or Protis (Plut. *Sol.* 2.7) the son of Euxenos (Arist.); or Kreontiades (Antiochos (*FGrHist* 555) fr. 8); finally, Strabo 4.1.4 stresses the role of the Ephesian woman Aristarche as *ἡγέμων τοῦ πλοῦ*, whatever that means (Malkin (1990) 51–52). Similarly, there are different foundation myths for the city in Classical sources: marriage of the Greek oecist to the daughter of the native king (Arist. fr. 560 and Just. *Epit.* 43.3.4–12, with some variations); a completely different tradition, including the flight from Phokaia during the Persian conquest, is found in Antiochos (*FGrHist* 555) fr. 8 and Timaios (*FGrHist* 566) fr. 72. Strabo 4.1.4 gives details which may correspond to any of these traditions. Despite the marriage between the Greek oecist and the native king's daughter, which led to the foundation of the city according to Arist. fr. 560, Massalia was always considered a Hellenic and not a mixed *polis* (cf. Ps.-Skylax 4; Livy 37.54.22 (r189)).

The territory is called *Μασσαλιώτις* (Strabo 4.2.3); the toponym may also have been used to denote the territory (cf. Brunel (1945)); it is referred to as *ἡ Μασσαλιωτῶν χώρα* at Arist. *Mir. ausc.* 837^{b}8 (cf. Ps.-Skylax 4) and is described as planted with olives and vines but poor in grain (Strabo 4.1.5). The territory of Massalia has been the subject of much discussion (Bats (1986) 17–19; Morel (1986)) and it is now supposed that throughout the Archaic and Classical periods Massalia possessed a territory of *c.*70 km² (Arcelin (1986) 74), territorial expansion taking off only in C3 (Strabo 4.1.5; Bats (1986); Arcelin (1986) 52–75). In any case, there are hardly any archaeological traces of the occupation of the territory (Arcelin (1986) 47). Apart from controlling its territory proper, Massalia seems to have founded, and kept under its sway, a network of coastal cities (Strabo 4.1.5, 9) with the intention of protecting the coast against incursions of inland barbarians. Leaving aside the very problematic cases of the cities in Iberia (Emporion, Rhode, etc.), the beginning of this policy can be dated to C5l, which saw the foundation of Agathe, and its continuation is marked by the foundations of Olbia (C4s), Tauroeis (C3l) and Nikaia (C3l/C2e?), the only cities for which we have acceptable dates (Bats (1986) 27–30). The way in which Massalia controlled these foundations is incompletely known (Gschnitzer (1958) 20–26), although in general it seems that the majority (or all) of them may have been dependent "*poleis* founded as fortresses" in the typology of Hansen (1997*b*) 36 no. 12; however, in no case can *polis* status be proved, and accordingly each city is briefly described in the Introduction above.

If we can trust Justinus' retrospective narrative, Massalia had a *foedus* and *amicitia* with Rome from the time of its foundation (Just. *Epit.* 43.3.4, 5.3), completed in C4e with the granting to Massalia of *immunitas* and the establishment (or renewal?) of a *foedus aequo iure* (Just. *Epit.* 43.5. 10; see Nenci (1958) 63–97). Massalia sent envoys to Delphi in C4e (Just. *Epit.* 43.5.8).

The armed forces of Massalia, especially the fleet, were deployed on several occasions; thus, a naval defeat of the Carthaginians is reported for the very moment of the foundation (Thuc. 1.13.6; Paus. 10.18.7) as well as for later occasions (Just. *Epit.* 43.5.2; Gras (1987)). On land Massalia waged wars against the natives from the foundation of the city (Just. *Epit.* 43.4.9–11, 5.1) and established a network of fortified places for protection against the native populations (Just. *Epit.* 43.3.13; Strabo 4.1.5, 9 (C4?)); cf. *supra.*

It has been suggested that the total population of the city never exceeded 20,000 inhabitants (Bats (1992) 273). The existence of *γένη*, such as the *Πρωτιάδαι*, is attested for C4 (Arist. fr. 560).

Massalia had an oligarchic constitution (Arist. *Pol.* 1305^{b}4, 10, 1320^{b}18, 1321^{a}30); the enfranchised citizens are referred to as the *politeuma*, and access to the *politeuma* was by election of those found worthy of membership (Arist. *Pol.* 1321^{a}29–31). Aristotle also refers to an undated *stasis* in Massalia by which the oligarchy was changed into a constitution that came closer to being a *politeia*, the positive variant of popular rule (*Pol.* 1305^{b}1–4); perhaps its outcome is the eunomic aristocracy mentioned by Strabo 4.1.5 for his own day (or that of his informant(s)). Some Massiliote laws are referred to by Theophr. fr. 117, Wimmer; Ael. *VH* 2.38.1; and Livy 37.54.22 (r189). These laws were Ionic (*νόμοι Ἰωνικοί*) and were exhibited in public (Strabo 4.1.5). Val. Max. 2.6.7 mentions the death penalty as having been used since the foundation of the city.

Massalia had a council (interpreted as a *senatus* by Val. Max. 2.6.7) called the Six Hundred (*οἱ Ἑξακόσιοι*), whose members served for life and were called *τιμούχοι* (*I.Lampsakos* 4.45, 48 (C2e); Strabo 4.1.5); this council was presided over by the Fifteen (*οἱ Πεντεκαίδεκα*; Strabo 4.1.5; Caesar, *BCiv.* 1.35.1), who were in turn controlled by the Three (*οἱ Τρεῖς*; Strabo 4.1.5), one of whom was chairman (Strabo 4.1.5) and possibly the eponymous magistrate, although this is not confirmed. There is no solid evidence for the existence of an assembly at Massalia; however, the existence of a *demos* may possibly be implied by the reference to the public exhibition (*δημοσίᾳ*) of the laws (Strabo 4.1.5), and *IG* XIV 357 (C1?) has sometimes been interpreted to prove the existence of a *demos*, but it is a problematic document: Properzio (1989) 296–97 denies that it alludes to

a Massaliote *demos*, while Clerc (1927) 451 n. 1 considers the inscription a falsum.

In C2, and almost certainly before, the agora of Massalia was situated in a low-lying area between the two main elevations of the city, Saint-Laurent hill and Moulins hill (Gantès (1992) 85). Although it has not been found, Massalia presumably had a temple dedicated to Athena, since Strabo 13.1.41 refers to its *ξόανον* just as Just. *Epit.* 43.5.6 (rC5?) alludes to its *simulacrum* and to the *porticus* of the temple, situated on the *arx*. The city also possessed a *ἱερόν* devoted to Apollo Delphinios and a temple (*νεώς*) dedicated to Artemis Ephesia, both on the *ἄκρα* (Strabo 4.1.4). A monumental Ionic C6l capital has been unearthed (Benoit (1954)), as has a set of fifty tiny C5e *naiskoi* with a seated goddess pertaining to two different sanctuaries (Clerc (1927) 227–40); a possible C4e *Thesmophorion* has also been identified (Gantès (1992) 79, 85). The water management system of the city was very elaborate, with cisterns, water reservoirs and drains, some of them dating to C6e (Trouset (1990)). There is an epigraphical reference to a *stadion* (perhaps of Roman date: Benoit (1966) 20); from the foundation of the city the harbour received special attention and many substantial structures related to it have been excavated, the oldest ones dating to C6l (Guéry (1992); Hesnard (1995) 65–78).

Massalia had an acropolis; Strabo 4.1.4 refers to the *πέτρα*, presumably the acropolis, and furthermore refers to the *ἄκρα*, presumably a part within the acropolis. The acropolis was perhaps encircled by a separate wall, different from that around the city proper according to Strabo himself (4.1.4; Tréziny (1994) 128–29, modified in Tréziny (2001) 49). Just. *Epit.* 43.4 implies the existence of walls from at least the second generation of colonists. There are remains of an early (C6l) city wall which already enclosed the area of the later city almost in its entirety; in C4 a new defensive system was built and the previous wall razed to the ground at several points (Tréziny (1994) 125–30, (1995) 44–45, (2001) 45–53).

During C6f Massalia slowly expanded and came to occupy almost 25 ha; in C6m the extent of the city was already more or less similar to that of the later city (*c.*40 ha (Tréziny (2001) 53). While some houses and other urban features are known from C6e, the general layout of the city is not fully known, though there is some evidence of C6m grid planning (Tréziny (1995) 50); perhaps the main axis of the city was constituted by the prolongation, inside the city, of the road that entered the city through the eastern gate and led to the agora. In C4f some quarters of the city had a regular plan (Gantès (1992); Moliner (2001) 101–8).

Strabo 4.1.4 seems to imply that the patron divinity was Artemis Ephesia. Also attested is the cult of Athena (Strabo 13.1.41), supposed by some scholars to be the protective divinity of the city (Tréziny (1994) 129–30). Massalia celebrated the *Anthesteria* (referred to by Just. *Epit.* 43.4.6 (rC6) as *Floralia*) and the *Thargelia* (Serv. *ad Aen.* 3.57; Lact. Plac. *comm.* ad Stat. *Theb.* 10.798; *IG* XIV 2464(?); Salviat (1992) 144–45).

Massalia erected a treasury at Delphi (Diod. 14.93.4 (r396), App. *Ital.* 8.3 (r396; rC4m)), identified with the so-called Aiolian treasure at Marmaria and dated between 540 and 530 (Salviat (1981)). Paus. 10.8.6–7 furthermore mentions a statue of Athena dedicated at Delphi as well as one of Apollo (10.18.7) dedicated to commemorate a naval victory over the Carthaginians; Just. *Epit.* 43.5.8 (rC4e) also refers to the dedication of offerings to Apollo at Delphi.

The mint of Massalia struck silver coins from *c.*525/520 to 470/460 of the so-called Auriol-type, heavily influenced by contemporary Ionian issues (Furtwängler (1978)). From C5m Massaliote coins became more similar to the coins issued in Magna Graecia and Sicily, and down to C4e we can trace at least seven issues of obols weighing from 0.71 to 0.85 g, with types mainly reminiscent of those found in Sicily. Many of these issues carry the legend *MAΣ*, *MAΣΣ* or even *MAΣΣAΛIΩTAN* (in the Doric dialect; Brenot (1992)). The minting of obols, although progressively of lower weight, continued until C3l (Brenot (1980)). In C4e begins the minting of a new and short-lived coin, a drachm weighing 3.75 g (called a "heavy drachm" to distinguish it from the "light drachm" weighing 2.65 g issued from C3l). Issues of this coin ceased in 360. It shows on the *obv.* Artemis Ephesia and on the *rev.* a lion similar to the lion on the coins of Elea; the legend is *MAΣΣAΛIHTΩN* (this time in Ionic dialect; Brenot (1982)). It has been argued that all these coins were struck on the Phokaian standard, despite the different weights used in the different issues (García-Bellido (1994); *SNG Cop. Spain-Gaul* 708–28).

4. Rhode (Rhodetes) Map 25. Lat. 42.15, long. 23.20. Size of territory: ? Type: B:*α*. The toponym is *'Ρόδη* (Ps.-Skymnos 204; Steph. Byz. 546.4) or *'Ρόδος* (Strabo 3.4.8, 14.2.10); the city-ethnic is *'Ροδήτης* (coins, *infra*) or *'Ροδαῖος* (Steph. Byz. 546.4).

Rhode is called a *polis* in the urban sense by Ps.-Skymnos 202–4. Strabo 3.4.8 describes it as a *polichnion.* The internal collective use of the city-ethnic is attested by C4l coin legends (*infra*).

According to Strabo 14.2.10, Rhode was colonised by Rhodians prior to the foundation of the Olympic Games. Ps.-Skymnos (205–6; cf. Strabo 3.4.8) also alludes to a Rhodian foundation and to later Massaliote occupation (Ps.-Skymnos 203; cf. Strabo 14.2.10). Strabo 3.4.8 states that Rhode belonged to Emporion (no. 2). The sources thus seem to imply a double foundation, first by Rhodes and afterwards by Massalia (Strabo 14.2.10), or Phokaians from Massalia (Ps.-Skymnos 202–6), or, alternatively, by Rhodians and Emporitans (Strabo 3.4.8). The much debated Rhodian foundation must, however, be rejected (Domínguez (1990); Santiago (1994*b*) 59–63; Graham (2001) 36–37). The short and obscure reference by Strabo 14.2.10 to the causes of the Rhodian foundation of Rhode (*ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ τῶν ἀνθρώπων*) may possibly be based on a foundation myth, but such a myth must be of a late date (Domínguez (1990)).

The only reference to public enactments is found in Strabo 4.1.4, where he alludes to the enacting by law of the honours owed to Artemis Ephesia. This goddess had a temple in Rhode (Strabo 3.4.8, 4.1.4) and was the patron divinity of the city (Strabo 3.4.8).

Although the site of the Greek city has yielded ceramic evidence dating to C6l(?) and C5 (Martín, Nieto and Nolla (1979) 326–27; Vivó (1996) 112), the earliest levels associated with habitation date from C4e (Puig *et al.* (1994–95) 128). However, the layout of the settlement at this date is almost unknown, since in C3e the city underwent a complete reorganisation which obliterated the previous houses; it has, however, been suggested that the layout was more or less regular (Puig *et al.* (1996)); the C4e houses had foundations of large stones (Puig *et al.* (1994–95) 128); in C3e, the city was reorganised and enlarged with the construction of a new quarter on a regular plan, with streets crossing each other at right angles; some of the streets discovered so far are 4 m wide (Martín, Nieto and Nolla (1979) 269–311; Vivó (1996); Martín and Puig (2001) 59–60). In C3l a strong city wall was erected and enclosed all of the settlement (Puig *et al.* (1996) 243–44; Puig (1998*b*) 155–63); in its eastern course the wall perhaps served also to channel the river and to give way to harbour constructions (Puig (1998*a*) 118).

Rhode was perhaps considered one of the fortresses established by Massalia to protect the coast from barbarians living inland (Strabo 4.1.5); in addition, Strabo describes Rhode as a *πολίχνιον Ἐμποριτῶν* (3.4.8). Clearly, these classifications must refer to different periods, but it is not known when and how Rhode was integrated into the Massaliote dominion, nor when it came under Emporitan control, though it seems that it came under Emporitan influence only in the Roman period (C3l/C2e).

Rhode apparently struck only a minor series of drachms, weighing 4.70 g, between C4l and C3e. Types: *obv.* head of a goddess, sometimes with a symbol (trident, dolphins); legend: *ΡΟΔΗΤΩΝ*; *rev.* rose, at first seen from above and afterwards from below (Campo (1992) 200; Villaronga (1994) 11–14). The standard used is the Phokaian (García-Bellido (1994) 126–28) and it seems to be identical to the one used for Massaliote coins (Villaronga (1998); *SNG Cop. Spain–Gaul* 633–36).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Almagro, M. 1952. *Las inscripciones ampuritanas griegas, ibéricas y latinas* (Barcelona).

Aquilué, X., *et al.* 1996. "Excavacions arqueológiques a Sant Martí d'Empúries (L'Escala, Alt Empordà)", in *III Jornades d'Arqueologia de les Comarques de Girona* (Santa Coloma de Farners) 52–64.

—— 1998. *Sant Martí d'Empúries: una illa en el temps* (Tarragona).

—— 1999. *Intervencions arqueológiques a Sant Martí d'Empúries (1994–1996): de l'assentament precolonial a l'Empúries actual* (Gerona).

Arcelin, P. 1986. "Le territoire de Marseille grecque dans son contexte indigène", *EtMass* 1: 43–104.

—— 1995. "Arles protohistorique, centre d'échanges économiques et culturels", *EtMass* 4: 325–38.

Badié, A., and Moret, P. 1997. "Métrologie et organisation modulaire de l'espace au Ve siècle av. J.-C. sur le site ibérique de La Picola (Santa Pola, Alicante)", in *Mélanges C. Domergue*, *Pallas* 46: 31–46.

Barruol, G. 1975. *Les Peuples préromains du sud-est de la Gaule: étude de géographie historique* (Paris).

—— and Py, M. 1978. "Recherches récentes sur la ville antique d'Espeyran à Saint-Gilles-du-Gard", *RANarb* 11: 19–104.

Bats, M. 1986. "Le territoire de Marseille grecque: reflexions et problèmes", *EtMass* 1: 17–42.

—— 1988. *Vaisselle et alimentation à Olbia de Provence (v. 350–v. 50 av. J.C.): modèles culturels et catégories céramiques* (Paris).

—— 1990. "Antibes", in *Voyage en Massalie: 100 ans d'archéologie en Gaule du Sud*, Catalogue de l'exposition (Marseilles) 220–21.

——1992. "Marseille, les colonies massaliètes et les relais indigènes dans le traffic le long du littoral méditerranéen gaulois (VIe–Ier s. av. J.C.)", *EtMass* 3: 263–78.

——1994. "Les silences d'Hérodote ou Marseille, Alalia et les Phocéens en Occident jusqu'à la fondation de Vélia", in B. d'Agostino and D. Ridgway (eds.), *APOIKIA: i più antici insediamenti greci in Occidente: Funzione e modi dell'organizzazione politica e sociale. Scritti in onore di G. Buchner*, *AnnArchStorAnt* NS 1: 133–48.

—— and Brenot, C. 1990. "Olbia", in *Voyage en Massalie: 100 ans d'archéologie en Gaule du Sud*, Catalogue de l'exposition (Marseilles) 206–13.

—— and Mouchot, D. 1990. "Nice", in *Voyage en Massalie: 100 ans d'archéologie en Gaule du Sud*, Catalogue de l'exposition (Marseilles) 222–25.

—— Leguilloux, M., and Brien-Poitevin, F. 1995. "La tour d'angle sud-est d'Olbia de Provence et son dépotoir (v. 225–150 av. J.-C.)", *EtMass* 4: 371–92.

Benoit, F. 1954. "Le chapiteau ionique de Marseille", *RA* 43: 17–43.

——1966. "Topographie antique de Marseille: le théâtre et le mur de Crinas", *Gallia* 24: 1–20.

Benoit, J. 1985. "L'étude des cadastres antiques: à propos d'Olbia de Provence", *Documents d'Archéologie Méridionale* 8: 25–48.

Brenot, C. 1980. "Recherches sur la métrologie des emissions d'argent de Marseille du IVe au Ier siecle av. J.-C.", in *II Simposi Numismàtic de Barcelona* (Barcelona) 17–21.

——1982. "La drachme lourde de Marseille: une hypothèse sur cette frappe ephèmere", in S. Scheers (ed.), *Studia Paulo Naster oblata*, 1: *Numismatica Antiqua* (Louvain) 35–42.

——1992. "Une étape du monnayage de Marseille: les émissions du Ve s. av. J.C.", *EtMass* 3: 245–53.

Brien-Poitevin, F. 1990. "Tauroeis", in *Voyage en Massalie: 100 ans d'archéologie en Gaule du Sud*, Catalogue de l'exposition (Marseilles) 202–5.

Brunel, J. 1945. "Etienne de Byzance et le domaine marseillais", *REA* 47: 122–33.

——1974. "Trézène ἐν Μασσαλίᾳ et la prétendue 'Italie Massaliotique' ", *REA* 76: 29–35.

Cabrera, P. 1988–89. "El comercio foceo en Huelva: cronología y fisonomia", *HuelvaArq* 10–11: 41–100.

——1994. "Importaciones griegas arcaicas del Cerro del Villar (Guadalhorce, Málaga)", *HuelvaArq* 13: 97–121.

Campo, M. 1992. "Inicios de la amonedación en la Península Ibérica: los griegos en Emporion y Rhode", in F. Chaves (ed.), *Griegos en Occidente* (Seville) 195–209.

Clavel-Lévêque, M. 1982. "Un cadastre grec en Gaule: la chora d'Agde (Hérault)", *Klio* 64: 21–28.

——1985. *Marseille grecque: la dynamique d'un impérialisme marchand* (Marseilles).

Clerc, M. 1927. *Massalia: Histoire de Marseille dans l'Antiquité: des origines à la fin de l'Empire Romain d'Occident (476 ap. J.C.)* (Marseilles).

Clergues, J. H. 1969. *Antibes: la ville grecque du VIe siècle avant Jésus-Christ et l'habitat protohistorique* (Antibes).

Coupry, J. 1974. "Olbia, la Massaliote", in E. Ripoll and E. Sanmartí (eds.), *Simposio de Colonizaciones* (Barcelona) 191–99.

——1986. "Les fortifications d'Olbia de Ligurie: propositions, questions", in P. Leriche and H. Tréziny (eds.), *La Fortification dans l'histoire du monde grec*, Actes du Colloque International *La fortification et sa place dans l'histoire politique, culturelle et sociale du monde grec*, Valbonne, Decembre 1982 (Paris) 389–99.

Demand, N. H. 1990. *Urban Relocation in Archaic and Classic Greece: Flight and Consolidation* (Norman, Okla.).

Domínguez, A. J. 1983. "Los términos 'Iberia' e 'Iberos' en las fuentes greco-latinas: estudio acerca de su origen y ámbito de aplicación", *Lucentum* 2: 203–24.

——1985. "Focea y sus colonias: a propósito de un reciente coloquio", *Gerión* 3: 357–77.

——1986. "La ciudad griega de Emporion y su organización política", *ArchEspArq* 59: 3–12.

——1990. "La ciudad griega de Rhode en Iberia y la cuestión de su vinculación con Rodas", *Boletín de la Asociación Española de Amigos de la Arqueología* 28: 13–25.

——1991*a*. "New Perspectives on the Greek Presence in the Iberian Peninsula", in J. M. Fossey (ed.), *Proceedings of the First International Congress on the Hellenic Diaspora from Antiquity to Modern Times*, i (Amsterdam) 109–61.

——1991*b*. "El enfrentamiento etrusco-foceo en Alalia y su repercusión en el comercio con la Península Ibérica", in J. Remesal and O. Musso (eds.), *La presencia de material etrusco en la Península Ibérica* (Barcelona) 239–73.

——1996. *Los griegos en la Península Ibérica* (Madrid).

Ducat, J. 1982. "Antipolis et Nikaia: implantations et activités économiques", *Ktema* 7: 89–99.

Furtwängler, A. E. 1978. *Monnaies grecques en Gaule: le trésor d'Auriol et le monnayage de Massalia, 525/520–460 av. J.C.* (Freiburg).

Gailledrat, E. 1997. *Les Ibères de l'Ebre à l'Hérault* (Lattes).

Gallazzi, C., and Kramer, B. 1998. "Artemidor im Zeichensaal: eine Papyrusrolle mit Text, Landkarte und Skizzenbüchern aus späthellenistischer Zeit", *ArchPF* 44: 189–208.

Gantès, L. F. 1992. "La topographie de Marseille grecque: Bilan des recherches (1829–1991)", *EtMass* 3: 71–88.

Garcia, D. 1995. "Le territoire d'Agde grecque et l'occupation du sol en Languedoc central durant l'Age du fer", *EtMass* 4: 137–67.

García-Bellido, M. P. 1994. "Las relaciones económicas entre Massalia, Emporion y Gades a través de la moneda", in *Iberos y Griegos: Lecturas desde la diversidad*, organised by P. Cabrera, R. Olmos and E. Sanmartí = *HuelvaArq* 13.2: 115–49.

García y Bellido, A. 1948. *Hispania Graeca* (Barcelona).

Graham, A. J. 2001. *Collected Papers on Greek Colonization* (Leiden).

Gras, M. 1985. *Trafics tyrrhéniens archaïques* (Paris).

——— 1987. "Marseille, la bataille d'Alalia et Delphes", *Dialogues d'Histoire Ancienne* 13: 161–81.

——— 1993. "Nikaia", *BTCGI* 12: 338–39.

——— 1995. "L'arrivée d'immigrés à Marseille au milieu du VIe s. av. J.C.", *EtMass* 4: 363–66.

Gschnitzer, F. 1958. *Abhängige Orte im griechischen Altertum* (Munich).

Guéry, R. 1992. "Le port antique de Marseille", *EtMass* 3: 109–21.

Hansen, M. H. 1997*a*. "*Emporion*: A Study of the Use and Meaning of the Term in the Archaic and Classical Periods", *CPCPapers* 4: 83–105.

——— 1997*b*. "A Typology of Dependent *Poleis*", *CPCPapers* 4: 29–37.

——— forthcoming. "*Emporion*. A Study of the Use and Meaning of the Term in the Archaic and Classical Periods", revised version of Hansen (1997*a*).

Hesnard, A. 1995. "Les ports antiques de Marseille, Place Jules-Verne", *JRA* 8: 65–78.

Hind, J. G. F. 1972. "Pyrene and the Date of the 'Massaliot Sailing Manual' ", *RSA* 2: 39–52.

Jacob, P. 1985. "Notes sur la toponimie grecque de la côte méditerranéenne de l'Espagne antique", *Ktema* 10: 247–71.

——— 1988. "L'Ebre de Jérôme Carcopino", *Gerión* 6: 187–222.

——— 1994. "Mainakè: réflexion sur les sources", *Ktema* 19: 169–94.

Jannoray, J. 1955. *Ensérune: contribution à l'étude des civilisations préromaines de la Gaule méridionale* (Paris).

Jehasse, J., and Jehasse, L. 1973. *La Nécropole préromaine d'Aléria (1960–1968)* (Paris).

——— ——— 1982. "Alalia/Aléria après la 'victoire à la cadméenne' ", in *I Focei dall'Anatolia all'Oceano*, *PP* 37: 247–55.

——— ——— 1987. "Les importations attiques a Aleria et leurs significations", in *Grecs et Ibères au IVe siècle avant Jésus-Christ: commerce et iconographie*, *REA* 89: 377–84.

——— ——— 1994. "La société corse face à l'expansion phocéenne", in *Iberos y Griegos: Lecturas desde la diversidad*, organised by P. Cabrera, R. Olmos and E. Sanmartí = *HuelvaArq* 13.2: 305–22.

Lamboglia, N. 1949. "La fondazione di Emporion e il Periplo de Avieno", *RStLig* 15: 149–58.

——— 1974. "Encore sur la fondation d'Ampurias", in E. Ripoll and E. Sanmartí (eds.), *Simposio de Colonizaciones* (Barcelona) 105–8.

Malkin, I. 1990. "Missionnaires païens dans la Gaule Grecque", in I. Malkin (ed.), *La France et la Méditerranée: vingt-sept siècles d'interdépendance* (Leiden) 42–52.

Manganaro, G. 1992. "Massalioti per il Mediterraneo: tra Spagna, Sardegna e Sicilia", in M. Bonello Lai (ed.), *Sardinia Antiqua: studi in onore di P. Meloni* (Cagliari) 195–206.

Mar, R., and Ruiz de Arbulo, J. 1993. *Ampurias romana: historia, Arquitectura y Arqueología* (Sabadell).

Marcet, R., and Sanmartí, E. 1990. *Ampurias* (Barcelona).

Martín, A., and Puig, A. M. 2001. "Rhode i l'organització del territori de l'Alt Empordà", in A. Martín Ortega and R. Plana (eds.), *Territori polític y territori rural durant l'Edat del Ferro a la Mediterrània Occidental* (Gerona) 53–69.

Martín, M. A., Nieto, J., and Nolla, J. M. 1979. *Excavaciones en la ciudadela de Roses (campañas 1976 y 1977)* (Gerona).

Moliner, M. 2001. "Orientations urbaines dans Marseille antique", *EtMass* 7: 101–20.

Morel, J. P. 1986. "A la recherche d'un territoire: le cas de Marseille", *EtMass* 1: 145–51.

——— 1992. "Marseille dans la colonisation phocéenne", *EtMass* 3: 15–25.

Morel, P. *et al.* 1995. "The Fortified Settlement of la Picola (Santa Pola, Alicante) and the Greek Influence in South-East Spain", in B. Cunliffe (ed.), *Social Complexity and the Development of Towns in Iberia: from the Copper Age to the Second Century AD*, *ProcBritAc* 86: 109–25.

Nenci, G. 1958. "Le relazioni con Marsiglia nella politica estera romana (dalle origini a alla prima guerra punica)", *RStLig* 24: 24–97.

Nickels, A. 1982. "Agde grec: les recherches récentes", *PP* 37: 269–79.

——— 1983. "Les Grecs en Gaule: l'example du Languedoc", in *Forme di contatto e processi di trasformazione nelle società antiche*, *CEFR* 67 (Pisa/ Rome) 409–27.

——— 1989. *Agde: la nécropole du premier âge du Fer* (Paris).

——— 1995. "Les sondages de la rue Perben à Agde (Hérault)", *EtMass* 4: 59–98.

——— and Marchand, G. 1976. "Recherches stratigraphiques ponctuelles à proximité des remparts antiques d'Agde", *RANarb* 9: 45–62.

——— *et al.* 1981. "La nécropole du Ier Age du Fer d'Agde: les tombes à importations grecques", *MEFRA* 93: 89–125.

Nielsen, T. H., and Roy, J. 1998. "The Azanians of Northern Arkadia", *ClMed* 49: 5–44.

Oikonomides, A. N. 1974. "New Evidence Supporting the Identification of the City of Kypsela with Palaeopolis in Ampurias", *Antipolis* 1: 8–16.

Padró, J., and Sanmartí, E. 1992. "Áreas geográficas de las etnias prerromanas de Cataluña", in *Paleoetnología de la Península Ibérica*, *Complutum* 2–3: 185–94.

Pena, M. J. 1988. "Hipòtesis noves sobre Empúries a partir de l'analisi de les fonts literàries", *Fonaments* 7: 11–45.

——— 1992. "Ampurias: dès la 'polis' à la 'civitas' ", *Index* 20: 135–45.

——— 1993. "Avieno y las costas de Cataluña y Levante (II): Hemeroskopeion-Dianium", *Faventia* 15: 61–77.

Plana, R. 1994. *La Chora d'Emporion: paysage et structures agraires dans le nord-est catalan à la période pre-rómaine* (Paris).

Pons, E. 1993. "L'expansió septentrional del món iber: el jaciment de Mas Castellar-Pontós i les seves especialitzacions", in *El poblament ibèric a Catalunya*, *Laietania* 8: 105–28.

Properzio, P. J. 1989. "New Light on the Cults of Artemis and Apollo in Marseilles", in R. F. Sutton (ed.), *Daidalikon: Studies in Memory of Raymond V. Schoder, S.J.* (Wauconda) 295–99.

Puig, A. M. 1998*a*. "La localització topogràfica de l'antic port de Rhode (Roses, Alt Empordà)", in *Comerç i vies de comunicació (1000 a.C.–700 d.C.), XI Colloqui Internacional d'Arqueologia de Puigcerdà* (Puigcerdà) 115–23.

——— 1998*b*. "Aproximació cronològica a la muralla de Rhode: una defensa en el límit Est del nucli de Santa Maria", *Empúries* 51: 139–64.

——— *et al.* 1994–95. "Resultats de les darreres campanyes d'excavació a la Ciutadella de Roses (Alt Empordà)", *Tribuna d'Arqueologia*: 123–32.

——— 1996. "Els principals punts d'actuació al jaciment múltiple de la Ciutadella de Roses (Alt Empordà)", in *III Jornades d'arqueologia de les comarques de Girona* (Santa Coloma de Farners) 242–51.

Py, M. 1990. *Culture, économie et société protohistoriques dans la région Nimoise* (Rome).

Robert, L. 1968. "Noms de personnes et civilisation grecque, I: Noms de personnes dans Marseille grecque", *JSav*: 197–213.

Rouillard, P. 1991. *Les Grecs et la Péninsule Ibérique du VIIIe au IVe siècle avant Jésus-Christ* (Paris).

Salviat, F. 1981. "Le trésor des Marsellais à Delphes et sa dedicace", *Archéologie du Midi Méditerranéen* 3: 7–16.

——— 1992. "Sur la religion de Marseille grecque", *EtMass* 3: 141–50.

Sanmartí, E. 1992. "Massalia et Emporion: une origine commune, deux destins différents", *EtMass* 3: 27–41.

——— 1993. "Els íbers a Emporion (segles VI–III a.C.)", in *El poblament ibèric a Catalunya*, *Laietania* 8: 87–101.

——— and Nolla, J. M. 1986. "Informe preliminar sobre l'excavació d'una torre situada a ponent de la ciutat grega d'Empúries", in *Protohistoria Catalana: 6è Colloqui Internacional d'Arqueologia de Puigcerdà* (Puigcerdà) 159–91.

——— Castanyer, P., and Tremoleda, J. 1988. "La secuencia histórico-topográfica de las murallas del sector meridional de Emporion", *MM* 29: 191–200.

——— ——— ——— 1992. "Nuevos datos sobre la historia y la topografía de las murallas de Emporion", *MM* 33: 102–12.

Santiago, R. A. 1993. "Epigrafía dialectal emporitana", in *Dialectologica Graeca: Actas del II Coloquio Internacional de Dialectología Griega* (Madrid) 281–94.

——— 1994*a*. "El texto de Estrabón en torno a Emporion a la luz de los nuevos descubrimientos arqueológicos y epigráficos", *Emerita* 62: 61–74.

——— 1994*b*. "Enigmas en torno a Saguntum y Rhoda", *Faventia* 16: 51–64.

Tréziny, H. 1994. "Les fortifications phocéennes d'Occident (Emporion, Vélia, Marseille)", in *Fortifications et défense du territoire en Asie Mineure Occidentale et Méridionale*, Table ronde CNRS, Istanbul 20–27 mai 1993, *REA* 96: 115–35.

——— 1995. "La topographie de Marseille antique de sa fondation (600 av. J.C.) à l'époque romaine", *Méditerranée* 82: 41–52.

——— 2001. "Les fortifications de Marseille dans l'Antiquité", *EtMass* 7: 45–57.

Trouset, P. 1990. "L'eau à Marseille dans l'Antiquité", *Dossiers de l'Archéologie* 154: 30–41.

Villaronga, L. 1994. *Corpus Nummum Hispaniae ante Augusti aetatem* (Madrid).

——— L. 1997. *Monedes de plata emporitanes dels segles V–IV a.C.* (Barcelona).

——— 1998. "Metrologia de les monedes antigues de la península Ibèrica", *Acta Numismatica* 28: 53–74.

Vivó, D. 1996. "Rhode: arquitectura i urbanisme del barri hellenístic", *Revista d'Arqueologia de Ponent* 6: 81–117.

SIKELIA

TOBIAS FISCHER-HANSEN, THOMAS HEINE NIELSEN, CARMINE AMPOLO

I. The Region

The name of the island was *Σικελία, ἡ* (Pind. *Pyth.* 1.19; Hdt. 5.46.1; Thuc. 1.12.4, 6.1.2; *IG* I³ 370.f.52 (418/17); *I.Delos* 104.117 (364/3); *IG* IV².1 95.60 (356/5)). The corresponding ethnic is *Σικελιώτης* (Thuc. 3.90.1; Xen. *Hell.* 2.2.24; Pl. *Ep.* 7.327b), which specifically denotes the populations of the Greek *poleis* on the island (Hellan. fr. 79a[1]; Thuc. 4.58.1, 7.32.2, 57.11). It is used only externally: collectively it is used by e.g. Thuc. *locc. citt.*, Xen. *Hell.* 2.2.24 and *Corinth* 8.3 23.1 (341); individually, it is used in *IG* I³ 1369 *bis* (epitaph (C5l); cf. *IG* II² 10287–88, 10290 and *Agora* XVII 662, Classical epitaphs), and *IG* II² 69.9 (honorary decree (C4f)). The Greeks were not the only ethnic group inhabiting the island, which was already occupied when they arrived, a fact that is reflected in Classical expositions of the historical development of the nomenclature of the island: the early name was, according to Thuc. 6.2.2, *Τρινακρία, ἡ*, a name reflecting the physical form of the island (cf. Ephor. fr. 137b = Ps.-Skymnos 268; Diod. 5.2.1; Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.22.2; Strabo 6.2.1). This name was replaced by *Σικανία, ἡ*, coined from *Σικανοί*, the earliest historical population, which had been driven from their native Iberia, according to Thuc. 6.2.2 (cf. Hellan. fr. 79a; Hdt. 7.170.1; Diod. 5.2.1; Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.22.2).[2] *Sikania* itself was replaced by *Sikelia* upon the arrival of invaders from Italy; these were (a) the *Sikeloi*, according to Thuc. 6.2.4 (cf. Antiochos (*FGrHist* 555) fr. 4), and they defeated the *Sikanoi* in battle and gave their name to the island; (b) the *Ausones*, according to Hellan. fr. 79a, whose king *Sikelos* gave his name to the island and the invaders. Two other ethnic groups, the *Elymoi* (Thuc. 6.2.3) and the *Phoinikes* (Thuc. 6.2.6), also inhabited the island before the Greeks arrived but did not give their name to it. On nomenclature, see further Manni (1981) 44–45 and Sammartano (1998).

Greek colonial communities began to be founded in Sicily in C8s. The earliest Greek colony was Naxos, which was founded by Chalkis (no. 365) in 735/4;[3] Syracuse was founded by Corinth (no. 227) in 733/2; Megara was founded by mainland Megara (no. 225) in 728; Gela was founded from Rhodos and Crete in 689/8; and Zankle was founded, by Kyme (no. 57) and Chalkis or by Naxos, *c.*730.[4] Such "primary" colonies as these went on to found "secondary" colonies of their own: e.g. Zankle founded Mylai in 716, and Himera in 648; Megara founded Selinous in 651/50 (Diod. 13.59.4; Euseb.) or *c.*628/7 (Thuc. 6.4.2); Syracuse founded Akrai in 664, Kasmenai in 644/3, and Kamarina *c.*598; and Gela founded Akragas *c.*580. The foundation of Greek *poleis*, however, was not exclusively a phenomenon of the Archaic period; thus, Hieron of Syracuse founded Aitna in 476; Tyndaris was founded by Dionysios I of Syracuse in 396; and Tauromenion was a foundation of C4f.

The initial Greek colonies were planted at suitable coastal sites, and not always at virgin sites. Thus, Syracuse superseded an indigenous settlement and may have reduced a native population to serfdom in the process (cf. the *Kyllyrioi* of Hdt. 7.155); Leontinoi and Naxos likewise replaced indigenous settlements, although at Leontinoi there was possibly cohabitation between Greeks and locals, at least for a period (Polyaen. 5.5).[5] Note also that such phenomena as intermarriage between Greek and indigenous populations may

Luca Soverini, University of Pisa, collaborated with the authors in the compilation of the site databases, contributing valuable references and insights. We are grateful to Dr. Keith Rutter for comments on a draft of the chapter.

[1] = Constantinus Porphyrogenitus, *De thematibus* 2.10, p. 58 Bekker: *τῶν δὲ νησιωτῶν οἱ μὲν ἰθαγενεῖς πάλαι Λίγυες ἐξ Ἰταλίας Σικελοὶ λέγονται, οἱ δὲ ἐπήλυδες Ἕλληνές εἰσι Σικελιῶται.*

[2] *Σικανία*, though most often synonymous with *Sikelia*, may initially have designated the region of the Sikanians only, traditionally settled in the western and central part of the island (cf. Arist. *Mete.* 359[b]15 and Hsch. s.v. *Σικανίη*).

[3] Recent attempts to discard Euboian colonisation in the West, on the basis of an argued lack of archaeological evidence (cf. e.g. Papadopoulos (2000) 135) are disregarded in this chapter. At Naxos, for instance, the influence of Euboian pottery has been amply demonstrated (Pelagatti (1981) 305–11; Lentini (1990), (1992) 11–14, 25), and evidence such as the spread of the Euboian alphabet to Etruria (Ridgway (1998) 315–16) and the onomastic evidence of the calendars (Trümpy, *Monat.* 39–43) support the literary sources for Euboian colonisation.

[4] For the details of the foundation dates, see the entries in the Inventory below.

[5] See the respective entries below.

be indicated by archaeology.[6] However, the indigenous settlement pattern does not seem to have significantly determined where Greek colonies were founded.

The relationship between Greeks and indigenous populations cannot be treated here, but for some aspects of this problem, see the entries for the indigenous cities below.

According to Thucydides (6.2) and other literary sources, the Sikanians were Iberian fugitives and the first "post-heroic" settlers in Sicily, occupying the western and central part of the island to which they had been been forced by later Sikel and other invaders, Morgetes and Ausones, from the mainland who settled primarily in the eastern part of the island (survey of sources: Bérard (1957) 448–58; Anello (1997)). The Elymians who settled in the westernmost part of the island, bordering upon the Phoenician colonies, were Trojan fugitives (literary sources: Manni (1981) 128–30). The cultural division of the island into mainly Elymian, Sikanian and Sikel regions, as in Thucydides' account, has been seen reflected in corresponding cultural diversities in the archaeological material (Bernabò Brea (1957) *passim*), but this picture is probably too simplistic (Albanese Procelli (1997) and Leighton (1999) 215–68 for presentation of the archaeological evidence).

According to Thuc. 6.2.6, there were Phoenician settlements all over Sicily prior to the arrival of the Greeks; but when the Greeks arrived, the Phoenicians withdrew to Motya, Soloeis and Panormos; the reason was, Thucydides states, that they relied on an Elymian alliance (*ξυμμαχίᾳ . . . πίσυνοι τῇ τῶν Ἐλύμων*), and that this area was the closest to Carthage (*ἐντεῦθεν ἐλάχιστον πλοῦν Καρχηδὼν Σικελίας ἀπέχει*). Such a picture is not supported by archaeology, which, on the contrary, has shown that the Phoenicians arrived in Sicily more or less when the Greeks did (Leighton (1999) 225–32). Thus, the Phoenician presence cannot initially have determined the locations of Greek colonies.

The dates of foundation given above are derived primarily from the literary tradition and in particular from Thucydides, but partly also from archaeological evidence,[7] two types of evidence that generally produce roughly similar dates. But there is obviously a risk of circular argumentation when a chronology of Greek Geometric pottery based upon the colonial dates furnished by the literary tradition is in its turn used to confirm the literary tradition (Burn (1935) 134–35; Bérard (1957) 279; R. Van Compernolle (1992) 776–78). This danger can only be avoided by employing a chronology of Geometric wares established by Near Eastern archaeology or by Near Eastern finds from Greek contexts, such as the scarab with the name of Bocchoris found at Pithekoussai (cf. most recently Hannestad (1996) and Morris (1996)). This is not the place for a detailed discussion of this problem, and three points must suffice.

(1) The study by Bérard, though dated in matters of detail, is still valid as regards its main conclusion: that the chronological *sequence* of the foundation dates as established by archaeological investigations is well in keeping with that established on the basis of the literary tradition (Bérard (1957) 279–99, esp. 299).

(2) A chronology of the foundation dates established solely on the basis of archaeological evidence does seem to confirm the traditional chronology, and a skeleton outline of the earlier foundation dates can be established on the basis of: (i) *Naxos*: ceramic finds from the earliest period of the settlement date to *c.*740–730, and thus confirm the traditional foundation date of 735/4 (and attest to ties with Euboia: Pelagatti (1981) 304–11; Lentini (1984–85) esp. 836–38, (1993–94) 1009); (ii) *Syracuse*: the archaeological evidence suggests a foundation date in C8s, and C8s habitation remains on Ortygia are similar to contemporary remains from Megara Hyblaia and Naxos (Pelagatti (1982) 126–27); the archaeological evidence is thus compatible with the traditional foundation date of 733;[8] (iii) *Gela*: the traditional foundation date of Gela is 689/8 (Thuc. 6.4.3; Eusebios gives 691); however, there is archaeological evidence for Greek occupation already by C8l, and mortuary evidence too points to Greek presence in C8l (on both, see entry for Gela); thus, archaeological evidence attests Greek occupation of Gela prior to the traditional date of foundation, and this may suggest that the city was founded in two phases (Fiorentini and De Miro (1983); Fischer-Hansen (1996) 332–34); (iv) *Selinous*: Diod. 13.59.4 dates the foundation of Selinous to 651/50, whereas Thuc. 6.4.2 gives *c.*628/7. The earlier of these dates is supported by archaeological

[6] See R. van Compernolle (1983) and Hodos (1997). However, for a critical assessment of the archaeological evidence, see Shepherd (1999).

[7] See the details in the individual entries.

[8] Thuc. 6.3.1 (probably based on Antiochos of Syracuse, *FGrHist* 555); it is often overlooked that the Thucydidean foundation dates for Naxos, Syracuse and the other Sicilian cities, normally based upon the foundation date of Megara Hyblaia, which is independently dated to 728, is inaccurate because the foundation of Leontinoi and Katane was contemporary with the *arrival* of the Megarians in Sicily (Thuc. 6.4.1), not with the *foundation* of Megara, which took place somewhat later, though we do not know by how much (the "factor x" of Beloch; cf. Asheri (1979*a*) 91); Eusebius has 736 (for a table of the Eusebian colonial dates: Cook (1946) 77–78). On the other hand, Ephor. fr. 137a (= Strabo 6.2.2) maintains that Naxos and Megara were the earliest colonies, while Strabo 6.2.4 adds that Syracuse was founded at about the same time as these two cities (cf. also R. Van Compernolle (1992) 778–79).

evidence from the recently excavated Buffa and Manuzza cemeteries (Tusa (1982) 191–94; Rallo (1982); cf. R. Van Compernolle (1992) 777–78), but the difference in chronology may not be significant (however, see Cook (1946) 73 for the view that trading posts may have preceded the colony proper where more than one foundation date has been transmitted); (v) *Himera*: the date of foundation of 648 is inferred from the notice that the city was inhabited for 240 years before its destruction in 408 (Diod. 13.62.4). There is sporadic evidence of a C7m settlement, supporting the traditional date of foundation, on the coastal plain below the upper plateau near the estuary of the river Himera (Vassallo (1997) 85–90).

(3) The chronological divergences found in several of the literary sources rarely amount to more than *c.*25 years, as for instance in the case of Selinous, where the foundation date is reported both as 651/50 and *c.*628, a discrepancy that is hardly significant for early Archaic history (Asheri (1979a) 94) and that is also acceptable in the classification of ceramic styles (Morris (1996) 58). Another caveat is that the different literary "dates of foundation" may possibly refer to different moments in the early history of a colony; accordingly, a rigid chronological framework should be avoided (Gras (1986) 11–13; Morris (1996) 55–57): sites may have been colonised in phases (see above for the example of Gela); foundations may have been the result of a colonial process evolved over a period, as for instance in the case of Megara Hyblaia, where the preliminary settlements at Trotilon and Thapsos failed. Pre-colonial Greek contacts established with indigenous settlements complicate the issue: there is widespread evidence of Greek presence in the colonial regions earlier than the traditional foundation dates.[9] The chronological framework of these early contacts may depend on a revision of the dating of the "pendent-semicircle skyphoi" (Snodgrass (1994) 5).

In addition to the "historical" accounts of the foundation of colonies, there were mythical traditions incorporating the island into Greek horizons (Bérard (1957) 301–83, 392–97; Giangiulio (1983)). Thus, Thuc. 6.2.3 reports that the *Elymoi* were of Trojan descent, arriving after the Achaian sack of Ilion. Though not as pronounced in Sicily as in the case of Magna Graecia, such myths did sometimes function as charter myths for Greek colonial enterprises (Malkin (1998) 4, 20). Whether there is any direct connection between these heroic traditions and the widespread evidence of Mycenaean contacts with the West (Vagnetti (1991), (1996) 152–59) remains an open question (Leighton (1999) 184–86). However, whereas Minoan contacts are not so far documented, Mycenaean contacts with Sicily (and South Italy), sporadic from C16 to C15, increased significantly in C14–C13, with Mycenaean presence attested for instance on Thapsos near Syracuse, on Lipari, and at Scoglio del Tonno (Taras) (Vagnetti (1991), (1996) 141–43, 152–53, 168). Late Bronze Age maritime trading posts and the hunt for metal resources and other trade goods determined the routes taken by later Greek expansion westwards. Indeed, trade must have played a paramount role in the early colonisation of the West: the development of the concept of trade, the significance of the historical trade links of Euboian and Phokaian traders, and the commercial aspect of C8–C6 colonisation have been traced in studies by Mele ((1979), (1988)). Commerce was at times closely associated with piracy and trade in slaves (for which see Morel (1984) 143). According to Thuc. 6.4.5, Zankle was founded by pirates from Campanian Kyme (no. 57), and according to Ephor. fr. 137a (= Strabo 6.2.2), Tyrrhenian pirates created difficulties for early Greek commerce in the region of the Straits of Messina. The importance of the trading route through the Straits has been treated on several occasions by Vallet (most recently in Vallet (1988)) and need not detain us here, but the links across the Straits between Zankle and Rhegion (no. 68), between Naxos and Lokroi (no. 59), and between Mylai and Metauros (no. 62), played a significant role in joining together the two coastal territories, creating a cultural and political *koine* (Vallet (1988) 172). Indeed, Rhegion and Zankle/Messana are most often treated together in regional studies.

Although there are obvious geomorphological differences between the individual sites, distinctions between "mercantile colonies" (e.g. Naxos?) and "agricultural colonies" (e.g. Leontinoi and Selinous), are not easily made (see also *infra*). Although most of the Sicilian colonies may have been primarily agrarian, they were located beside natural harbours offering coastal trade, or near river estuaries, providing access to the hinterland.[10]

The early Greek foundations seem to have developed quickly into *poleis*, and the very process of colonisation may have been of paramount significance here. Thus the earliest Greek lawgivers, Charondas and Zaleukos, may have been active in the West already from C7m, and these and later legislators from Sicily and South Italy won a certain renown.

[9] The bibliography is too comprehensive to be cited fully here, but note Graham (1990) 45–52; Gras (1986) 7–8; Leighton (1999) 223–25.

[10] The evidence of coin types is used by Lacroix (1965) 111–29 to demonstrate the importance of rivers and arable land for the location of the individual colonies.

Zaleukos of Lokroi Epizephyrioi is a shadowy figure, but he was known to Ephor. fr. 139 (= Strabo 6.1.8) and Demosthenes (24.139–41; cf. Musti (1976) 48–50, 72–81; Link (1992)); the legislation of Charondas of Katane was also used in other Chalkidian cities in Sicily (Arist. *Pol.* 1274^{a}23–24) and is attested at Rhegion before the tyranny of Anaxilas (Cordano (1978)).[11] In fact, the evidence for urban planning, territorial divisions and political architecture in the early colonies has prompted the suggestion that the early development of the *polis* as an institution took place, or at least was accelerated, in the colonial foundations (cf. e.g. Snodgrass (1977) 33 and (1994) 8–9; Ridgway (1992) 108–9; Polignac (1995) 118–27).

From their early history the Greek territories in Sicily became divided into main zones of influence, based upon the ethnic origin of the foundations (cf. Asheri (1979*a*) 105–39): a Chalkidian/Ionian zone,[12] and a Dorian one,[13] although too rigorous a model is hardly tenable, since some foundations were of mixed origin, as borne out by the literary and archaeological evidence.[14] Another issue complicating the question of the ethnic identities of the Greek colonies—this time their "Greek-ness"—is the fact that even if some colonies were planted at previously unoccupied sites (e.g. Naxos), others were certainly planted at sites already occupied by indigenous communities (e.g. Syracuse and Leontinoi); this raises questions of co-existence and reciprocal influences (Asheri (1996) 88–90, 96–101 with refs.). One long-lasting effect of the foundation of Greek colonies is the fact that many communities which were originally not of Greek ethnicity had by the Classical period—due to prolonged interaction, not always peaceful, with the Greek colonies—come to resemble Greek *poleis* to such a degree that they are for all practical purposes indistinguishable from Greek *poleis* "proper". Such communities are included in the Inventory below as possible *poleis* (type C). Somewhat related to this phenomenon is the fact that several settlements, whose ancient identity is unknown and which are known exclusively from archaeological evidence, have all the appearance of Greek settlements, and are often indistinguishable from colonies proper (Asheri (1996) 77; cf. Osborne (1998) 264); such settlements may have been *poleis* but are here treated in the List of Pre-Hellenistic Settlements (*infra*).

An important feature of the C6 history of the Greek *poleis* in Sicily is the emergence of powerful dynastic tyrannies that extended their influence outside their *polis* of origin (Seibert (1982–83) 33–54) and were connected with each other by ties of intermarriage.[15] Phalaris and Theron of Akragas expanded Akragantine influence as far north as Himera and subjugated vast tracts of land (see entries for Akragas and Himera). In C5e, Hippokrates of Gela expanded his rule significantly in north-eastern Sicily and made Gela a hegemonic power; however, his successor, Gelon, transferred his seat to Syracuse and proceeded to augment its population by incorporating the populations of several conquered cities as well as mercenaries (see entry for Syracuse). Gelon's brother, Hieron, was installed as ruler at Gela, and the Deinomenid dynasty continued to rule Syracuse and most of Sicily until the fall of Thrasyboulos in 466 (Luraghi (1994) 273–373). In contrast to Magna Graecia, where the Italiote League was created in C5l–C4e, the *poleis* of Sicily were never united in a league or federation, and what political unity there was consisted in the hegemonies of the great tyrants of Syracuse: according to Diod. 11.26.2, Gelon, after his defeat of the Carthaginians at Himera in 480, created a web of *symmachiai*, and his rule may almost be considered a political unification of the Greek part of the island, as may the rule of Dionysios I later. Even after the fall of the Deinomenids, Syracuse continued to play a dominant role in Sicilian history, in particular during the reign of Dionysios I. Tyranny as such continued to be a major characteristic of the Sicilian Greek *poleis* throughout the Classical period (see individual entries).

The Greeks often clashed violently with the Carthaginians. Initially, however, relations between Greeks and Phoenicians seem to have been good, and Selinous and Himera were for long periods at peace with the Phoenician world, exploiting the opportunities for trade and economic development (Tusa (1983) 302–14; Zahrnt (1993) 355–57). The expedition by Pentathlos to western Sicily *c.*580 (see Lipara (no. 34)) and the C6l adventures of Dorieus (Hdt.

[11] C6 fragments of a law code in the Chalkidian script from the settlement of Monte San Mauro (= Euboia?) have been ascribed to the legislation of Charondas (*IGSII* pp. 171–85; *IGDS* no. 15; van Effenterre and Ruzé (1994) I.1; Cordano (1986*b*)).

[12] Early Chalkidian/Ionian communities: Euboia, Katane, Leontinoi, Mylai, Naxos, Zankle.

[13] Early Doric communities: Akragas, Akrai, Gela, Heloron(?), Herakleia Minoa, Kamarina, Kasmenai, Megara, Selinous, Syracuse.

[14] e.g. Himera, which was founded by Ionian Zankle with a group of exiles (the *Myletidai*) from Dorian Syracuse (see entry for Himera). For archaeological evidence of mixed communities at e.g. Naxos, see entry for Naxos and Pelagatti (1981) 302; for Gela, see Fiorentini and De Miro (1983) 73–104 and Panvini (1996) 38–39. Cf. also Osborne (1998) 267–68, arguing for the widespread practice of private enterprise at the early foundations, which is likely to have produced ethnically mixed communities.

[15] For intermarriage among the Emmenids of Akragas and the Deinomenids of Gela and Syracuse, see e.g. Vallet (1980); Luraghi (1994) 260–62. For a useful genealogical table of the two dynasties, see *Neue Pauly* iii (1997) 374.

5.40; cf. Herakleia (no. 21)) inaugurated a long period of intense conflict.[16] Gelon of Syracuse and Theron of Akragas defeated a major Carthaginian invasion at Himera in 480, and C5l–C4e is characterised by another serious conflict with Carthage, during which such major Greek *poleis* as Selinous, Himera and Akragas were sacked, and Gela and Kamarina abandoned (cf. Tusa (1979); Bondi (1979); Huss (1985) 100–23). During this conflict, Dionysios I rose to power at Syracuse, and under his aegis a peace treaty was concluded with Carthage which secured the civic rights of Selinous, Himera, Akragas and Gela. However, conflicts continued throughout C4e, with changing outcomes, and resulted in vast programmes of resettlement of the inhabitants of destroyed cities and the settling of mercenaries at cities such as the newly founded Tyndaris (McKechnie (1989) 35–42). Athenian decrees style Dionysios ὁ *Σικελίας ἄρχων* (*IG* II² 18.7 (394/3); *IG* II² 103.19 (369/8)), recognising the fact that he came to rule all of Greek Sicily, which was thus again united under tyrannical rule. Dionysios had interests outside Sicily: he waged war against the Italiote League, he founded colonies along the Adriatic, and as late as 369 he intervened in Greece on behalf of Sparta (no. 345). After the troubled interlude of Dion and Dionysios the Younger, and further conflicts with Carthage, Sicily experienced a significant revival in the 340s, when Timoleon of Corinth put an end to tyrannies, brought in new settlers, relocated citizens from destroyed cities, and refounded e.g. Megara, Gela, Akragas and other cities (Sordi (1961); Talbert (1974) esp. 146–60; Mossé (1999)). Several refoundations were of originally indigenous communities which became "Hellenised" and are described in the Inventory below.

The Inventory below describes forty-seven Greek *poleis* of various origins (Greek colonial foundations, "Hellenised" indigenous communities, Timoleontic refoundations). In addition, there existed in the part of the island under Greek influence[17] the following twenty-nine noteworthy settlements which cannot be shown to have been Greek or "Hellenised" *poleis*.

[16] Note, however, that even so there is evidence for Phoenician presence in the Greek *poleis*, e.g. Syracuse, perhaps in the role of artisans: Morel (1984) and Asheri (1992*b*) 167.

[17] i.e. Phoenician/Punic sites are not included in the list, even though some were strongly Hellenised or possessed Greek institutions.

1. *Pre-Hellenistic Settlements not Attested as* Poleis

Adryx (*Ἄδρυξ*) Philistos (*FGrHist* 556) fr. 61 (*πόλις Συρακουσίων*, but not a verbatim quotation; cf. Steph. Byz. 30.5: *πόλις Συρακουσίων*). Probably a Hellenised indigenous city within the dominion of Syracuse (no. 47). Location unknown; *Barr.* C.

Agathyrnon (*Ἀγάθυρνον*) Diod. 5.8.2 (r mythical times, *πόλις*); Strabo 6.2.1; Steph. Byz. 11.22 (*πόλις*). Near Capo d'Orlando (*Barr.*). There are sporadic C5–C3 archaeological remains from the urban site and cemetery (Scibona (1985) 426). It had no mint of its own, but C4 bronze coinage of Tyndaris has *obv.* Apollo, legend: *ΤΥΝΔΑΡΙΣ*; *rev.* warrior, legend: *ΑΓΑΤ* (*υρνος*), which may refer to it and reveal some sort of relationship between the two sites (Lacroix (1965) 47; cf. entry for Tyndaris). *Barr.* C(?).

Akrilla (*Ἀκριλλα*) Steph. Byz. 63.11 (*πόλις Σικελίας οὐ πόρρω Συρακουσῶν*). The encampment of Hippokrates in the vicinity of Akrilla in 213 (Livy 6.2, 35.4) indicates a location in the hinterland of Kamarina (no. 28), and the city is now most often identified with modern Chiaramonti Gulfi (so *Barr.*), where numerous remains of habitation cover also the C4 Greek period. The proximity of Akrilla to Kamarina and Syracuse (no. 47) suggests a strong degree of Hellenisation (Di Stefano and Marotta D'Agata (1987); Di Vita (1987)). *Barr.* AC.

Assoros (*Ἄσσορος*) *SEG* 30 1122 (city-ethnic, C4l–C3m); Diod. 14.58.1 (city-ethnic); Steph. Byz. 137.7 (*πόλις*). Located at modern Assoro (*Barr.*). Assoros was a Sikel community (Diod. 14.58.1, 78.1) and concluded a treaty with Dionysios I in 396 (Diod. 14.78.1); it is mentioned in the Entella inscriptions (Bejor and Morel (1984) 331; *SEG* 30 1122). There is archaeological evidence of Hellenisation from C5 (Morel (1963); Bejor and Morel (1984) 333), but Greek-style coinage begins only in C3l at the earliest (Head, *HN*² 127). *Barr.* H, but C according to Diod. 14.58.1, 78.1.

Ergetion (*Ἐργέτιον*) Philistos (*FGrHist* 556) fr. 10; Ptol. *Geog.* 3.4.7; Polyaen. 5.6 (rC5e, *πόλις*); Steph. Byz. 275.10 (*πόλις*). Unlocated: the conquest of the city by Hippokrates (*infra*) suggests a location on the borders of the hinterland of Kamarina (no. 28) or of Leontinoi (no. 33), on the slopes of Etna; Manni (1976*b*) 614–16 opts for the plain of Leontinoi. However, the listing of Ergetion *after* Kamarina and Hybla Heraia (Ragusa?) and *before* Noai in the C3s Delphic list of *theorodokoi* (Manganaro (1964a) 434–35) may indicate a

location north of Kamarina (cf. Giangiulio (1983) 825 n. 120, (1989) 345–46; Sinatra (1998)). According to Polyaen. 5.6, Hippokrates of Gela conquered Ergetion. *Barr.* A.

Hybla Geleatis (*Ὕβλα ἡ Γελεᾶτις*)[18] Thuc. 6.62.5; Paus. 5.23.6 (*πόλις*, *κώμη*); Plut. *Nic.* 15.3 (*πολίχνιον*). According to Thuc. 6.94.3, Hybla Geleatis was located between Kentoripa (no. 31) and Katane (no. 30); according to Paus. 5.23.6, it was a *kome* in the territory of Katane in Roman times. It is normally identified with modern Paternò, but the identification is not certain, though a Latin inscription with a dedication to *Venus Victrix Hyblensis* (*CIL* x.2 7013; Freeman (1891–94) i. 516; Manganaro (1964*a*) 432–33) was found in the vicinity. At 6.62.5 and 94.3, Thuc. presumably describes Hybla Geleatis as a Sikel community; according to Paus. 5.23.6, it was a barbarian community and housed a cult of more than local significance. For the anti-Douketian stance of Hybla Geleatis, see Diod. 11.88.6; cf. Manganaro (1964*a*) 432–33; Manni (1974) 66–71; and Giangiulio (1990*a*). *Barr.* C.

Hybla Heraia (*Ὕβλα Ἡραία*) Steph. Byz. 645.1 (*πόλις*); the text was emended by Clüver, whose emendation, though normally accepted, is rejected by Manni (1974) 61–65 and (1976*b*) 615–16. According to Hdt. 7.155.1, Hippokrates of Gela died at a city (*πόλις*) named Hybla fighting the Sikels; from the context, this Hybla was in the vicinity of Ragusa, the modern locality most often identified with Hybla Heraia. For the evidence for C6f Greek tombs at Ragusa, see Di Stefano and Marotta D'Agata (1996) 543–44. *Barr.* AC.

Hykkara (*Ὕκκαρα*) Thuc. 6.62.3 (*πόλισμα*); Timaios (*FGrHist* 566) fr. 23 = Ath. 327B (*πολίχνιον*); Apollodoros (*FGrHist* 244) fr. 8 (*πόλις*); Diod. 13.6.1 (*πολισμάτιον*); Steph. Byz. 646.20–21 (*φρούριον*). Site and location unknown, though possibly to be located at modern Carini (so *Barr.* tentatively). Thuc. 6.62.3 describes it as Sikanian, whereas Timaios and Diod. (*locc. citt.*) describe it as Sikel. It was probably a Sikel city, and the degree of Hellenisation must remain uncertain, since the evidence is tenuous (Bejor (1990)). The city was taken and enslaved by the Athenians in 415 (Thuc. 6.62.3). *Barr.* AC.

[18] Steph. Byz. 644.24–645.4 lists three communities called Hybla: (1) Geleatis/Gereatis (*ἡ μικρά*); (2) Heraia (*ἡ δὲ ἐλάττων*); (3) *Megareis* (*ἡ μείζων*) = Megara Hyblaia (?), cf. Ps.-Skymnos 277. The text in Stephanus is heavily corrupt; for an emendation offering a better reading, see Jacoby *ad* Philistos (*FGrHist* 556) fr. 20; cf. Manni (1981) 184–85. Archias, victor in Olympia in 364 (and on two other occasions) was from one of the Hyblas (*Olympionikai* no. 422), though which one is unfortunately unknown. For the location of the Hybla that played a role in the foundation of Megara Hyblaia, see Bernabò Brea (1968) 163, arguing for an identification with Pantalica.

Inessa (*Ἴνεσσα*) Thuc. 3.103.1 (*πόλισμα*). Sikel (Thuc. 3.103.1: *Σικελικόν*) site of unknown location west of Katane (no. 30). For its Greek occupation and phase, see Aitna (no. 8). The acropolis of the city was occupied by the Syracusans in 426 (Thuc. 3.103.1). According to Diod. 11.76.3, Gelon erected a temple there in honour of Demeter. The location of Inessa—most often identified with Cività—is still unresolved (Bombaci and Massa (1990) 290–93). *Barr.* C.

Inyx, Inykos (*Ἴνυξ*, *Ἰνυκός*) Hdt. 6.23 (*πόλις*); Pl. *Hp. mai.* 282e; Paus. 7.4.6 (*πόλις*); cf. Manni (1981) 192–93 and Massa (1990) 303–4. Historically, the city is known only from the imprisonment there of Skythes, *mounarchos* of Zankle, by Hippokrates, and his later escape to Himera, as told in Hdt. 6.23–24. The location of the city is unknown, but on the basis of Herodotos it was probably in the territory of Gela (no. 17; Massa (1990) 304–6). According to Pl. *Hp. mai.* 282e, Inykos was only a *chorion pany smikron*. The city is described as Sikel by Paus. 7.4.6 (cf. Manni (1976*a*) 186 n. 45). *Barr.* C.

Kakyron (*Κάκυρον*) *P Oxy.* 665 = *FGrHist* 577, fr. 1. Uncertain location. Syracusan mercenaries took refuge here after the fall of the Deinomenids (*P Oxy.* 665 = *FGrHist* 577 fr. 1); Ptol. *Geog.* 3.4.7 locates Kakyron (Müller prints Makyron, but suggests also Maktorion) north-west of Phintias (modern Licata). Kakyron is often identified with the modern site of Monte Saraceno (Adamesteanu (1956); Manni (1981) 151; *Barr.*; see Monte Saraceno, *infra*). *Barr.* AC.

Kale Akte (*Καλὴ Ἀκτή*) Hdt. 6.22.2 (proposed site of *polis* foundation). Marina di Caronia. A Sikel site, where the Zanklaians (no. 51) in C5e planned to found an Ionian *polis*. Zankle sent a delegation to Ionia and invited colonists, but the only positive response came from some Milesians (whose *polis* had been enslaved by the Persians) and Samian aristocrats who felt obliged to flee Samos on account of their participation in the Ionian Revolt (Hdt. 6.22). However, the colony never materialised owing to the intervention of Anaxilas of Rhegion (Hdt. 6.23); but *c.*446 the site was colonised by the Sikel leader Douketios with the assistance of Archonides I of Herbita and possibly Corinth (no. 227), whence Douketios may have set out (Diod. 12.8.2, 29.1; Maddoli (1977–78); Demand (1990) 55–57). Kale Akte is normally located in the vast region of Marina di Caronia, but the exact location of the ancient city is still uncertain (Scibona (1987) 9–12; recent investigations have not clarified the problem (Bonanno (1997–98) 433), although a fortified plateau with traces of a regular urban layout is described by Bonacasa Carra (1974) 111–12, table 6.3. *Barr.* C.

Kamikos (*Καμικός*) Hdt. 7.170 (*πόλις*), Strabo 6.2.6; schol. Pind. *Pyth.* 6.5a (*Σικελικὴ πόλις*). According to Hdt. 7.170.1, Kamikos was in his day a possession of Akragas (no. 9; *πόλιν Καμικόν, τὴν κατ' ἐμὲ Ἀκραγαντῖνοι ἐνέμοντο*; cf. Diod. 4.78.2); according to schol. Pind. *Pyth.* 6.5a, it was a Sikel town and was taken by exiles during the reign of Theron (cf. *RE* x. 1836–37; Berve (1967) 135); according to Strabo 6.2.6, it was a barbarian community. It was the legendary seat of Kokalos (Diod. 4.78.2; Strabo 6.2.6). Fischer-Hansen (2002) 134. *Barr.* C.

Maktorion (*Μακτώριον*) Hdt. 7.153.1 (*πόλις*). According to Hdt. 7.153.1, a *polis* located above (i.e. inland from) Gela (no. 17); Steph. Byz. 429.7, citing Philistos (= *FGrHist* 556, fr. 3), reports that it was founded by one Momnon (*Μόμνων*), a name which seems not to be Greek (though the text could be corrupted: Jacoby, *ad loc.*); its ethnic identity was, accordingly, presumably not (originally?) Greek. Its location is uncertain; it is normally identified with Monte Bubbonia (Manni (1976*a*) 187, (1981) 199; Bejor (1991) 305; *Barr.*, tentatively). *Barr.* AC.

Menai, Menainon (*Μεναί, Μέναινον*) Apollodoros (*FGrHist* 244) fr. 5 = Steph. Byz. 444.12 (*πόλις*); Diod. 11.78.5 (*πόλις*); Ptol. *Geog.* 3.4.7. From Diod. 11.78.5 and 14.78.7, it appears that Menai was situated in the vicinity of Morgantina (no. 37), and it has been identified with modern Mineo (Messina (1992); Holloway (1990) 148; *Barr.*; see also *Noai* below). Menai was founded by the Sikel king Douketios in 459, and in his report of the foundation Diod. 11.78.5 calls it a *polis* (*Μέναινον πόλιν ἔκτισε*), presumably in both the urban and the political sense. Diodorus' brief report leaves the impression of a city founded according to Greek principles, but its ethnic identity must originally have been Sikel, and at 14.78.7 (r396) Diodorus implicitly describes it as Sikel. At the presumed site of Menai (Mineo) are remains of a primitive Sikel Archaic circuit wall (Messina (1992) 147), attesting to activity at the site before Douketios' foundation in 459; a subsequent Hellenised phase is attested by finds from the C4–Hellenistic cemeteries (Messina (1992) 146–47). *Barr.* C.

Menai (*Μέναι*) Diod. 11.88.6. This is the *patris* of Douketios (Diod.) and was relocated to Palike in 453 (Diod.). Presumably not identical with the preceding Menai. Not in *Barr.*, but C (Diod.).

Motyon (*Μότυον*) Diod. 11.91.4 (*φρούριον*). Uncertain location. Diod. 11.91.4 (r451) describes Motyon as a *phrourion* in the territory of Akragas (no. 9). It is not clear whether it was a permanently settled site or simply a military installation. It was taken by the Sikel leader Douketios in 451, but recaptured the following summer by Akragantine forces (Diod. 11.91.1–4). The route of Douketios into Akragantine territory after the conquest of Aitna-Inessa (Diod. 11.91.1) suggests that Motyon was located in the north-eastern part of Geloan-Akragantine territory; the site of Sabucina, which is strongly fortified and reveals more indigenous traits than sites such as Monte Saraceno and Monte Bubbonia, may be the best candidate. However, the identification remains unresolved (Manni (1976*a*) 201–2, (1981) 206). *Barr.* = Vassallaggi, AC.

Omphake (*Ὀμφάκη*) Paus. 8.46.2 (*πόλισμα Σικανῶν*); Philistos (*FGrHist* 556) fr. 19 = Steph. Byz. 493.8 (*πόλις*). Uncertain location. According to Paus. 8.46.2 (cf. 9.40.4), Antiphemos, founder of Gela, sacked Omphake, a *polisma Sikanon*, and took from that city an image made by Daidalos; if historical, the report implies that Omphake was conquered shortly after the foundation of Gela. Omphake was occupied by Syracusan mercenaries after the fall of the Deinomenids in 466/5 (*P Oxy.* 665 = (*FGrHist* 577) fr. 1). Omphake is normally identified with Butera (*supra*) in the foothills inland from Gela (no. 17; Manni (1976a) 185–86; Gargini (1993c) 462–63; Adamesteanu (1994–95); *Barr.*, tentatively). *Barr.* AC.

Palike (*Παλική*) Diod. 11.88.6 (*πόλις*), 90.1 (*πόλις*); Steph. Byz. 496.6 (*πόλις*). Palike was founded by the Sikel leader Douketios in 453 (Diod. 11.88.6) but was soon razed to the ground (*κατεσκάφη*) in unknown circumstances (Diod. 11.90.1; cf. Demand (1990) 55–57). The picture of Palike given by Diod. 11.90.1 is that of a city founded according to Greek customs, with strong walls and the *chora* portioned out in *kleroi.* The Hellenic inspiration seems apparent (cf. Bell (1984–85) 505–6; Demand (1990) 55–57). *Trinakria* has been thought to be an alternative name for Palike, and in that case Palike was destroyed by the Syracusans in 440 (Diod. 12.29.2; cf. Casevitz (1972) 106 *ad* 29.2), but the identification seems uncertain (Manni (1981) 237–38). Palike was situated close to the pan-Sikelian sanctuary of the *Palikoi.* The sanctuary was embellished with colonnades and other public buildings (Diod. 11.89.8 (r453)). The location and identity of the sanctuary near Lake Naftia north-west of Syracuse (no. 47) is confirmed by epigraphic evidence (Gentili (1962–63)). The plateau of Rocchicella above the sanctuary, with remains of Archaic and circuit walls, Classical(?) habitation structures, and Archaic architectural terracottas from a sacred building, is

now identified with the city of Palike (Martin *et al.* (1979) fig. 226; Manni (1981) 213; Di Stefano and Gulletta (1994) 281; Maniscalo and McConnell (1997–98)), which cannot therefore have been founded *ab novo* by Douketios. In *Barr.*, Palike is registered as unlocated but near *Palikon Limne*, cf. *Palicorum Stagna.*

Trinakie (*Τρινακίη*) Diod. 12.29.2 (*πόλις*). Sikel town of unknown location; for attempts at identification with such towns as Palike, Piakos and Triocala, see Manni (1976*b*) 609–10 and (1981) 237–38. According to Diod. 12.29.2–4, Trinakie was one of the leading Sikel cities in the time of Douketios and was destroyed by Syracuse (no. 47) after Douketios' death. *Barr.* C.

Tyrakinai (*Τυρακῖναι*) Steph. Byz. 642.9 (*πόλις*); listed in the C3s Delphic catalogue of *theorodokoi* (*BCH* 45 (1921) col. IV.101), between Heloron (no. 18) and Kamarina (no. 28), but unlocated (so *Barr.*, but see Messina (1991) for a suggested site with Hellenistic remains); the only indication that it existed in the Classical period is *IG* II² 10467, an epitaph for *Μενίσκη Τυρακίνη* dated "s.IV a.(?)"; Manganaro (1964*a*) 423–24, 433–34; Manni (1981) 240–41. *Barr.* H, but *IG* II² 10467 attests C if correctly dated to C4.

2. *Unidentified Settlements*

Butera Situated in the foothills of the Geloan plain *c.*12 km north of Gela (no. 17), and most often identified with Omphake (Bejor (1985); *infra*). There are no Archaic or Classical urban remains, but there is significant C7e evidence of Greek presence from the cemetery. C7–C6 votive finds and C5 architectural terracottas testify to extra-urban sanctuaries (Bejor (1985) 223). On the basis of the very unusual funeral rites employed in Greek C7 burials—the practice of *akephalia* (burial of the head separately from the body), with parallels only at Gela and Cretan Prinias—Adamesteanu (1994–95) interprets the C7 settlement phase at Butera as Cretan and fully Greek, and identifies it with Omphake, founded at the same time as Gela, but soon taken by that city (cf. Paus. 8.46.3). Fischer-Hansen (2002) 134–35. *Barr.* AC, s.v. Omphake, tentatively identified with Butera.

Monte Bubbonia Situated on the mountain ridge above the river Gela valley, *c.*20 km north-east of Gela (no. 17). A settlement that occupied a fortified plateau, with a sanctuary on a separately fortified acropolis. The ancient name is unknown; Omphake and Maktorion (so *Barr.*) have been suggested (Pancucci (1980–81) and (1992) with refs.). Contacts with Gela are attested already by C7s, shortly after the foundation of Gela, and from that period onwards the site became strongly Hellenised: C6 *naiskoi* of Geloan type were erected on the acropolis; an orthogonally planned urban layout has been traced on a lower plateau; tombs at Monte Bubbonia employed Greek colonial burial customs; and tomb gifts were predominantly Greek. A C5f coin hoard (*IGCH* 2071, cf. p. 308) contains coins of Akragas, Kamarina, Gela, Himera, Leontinoi, Zankle, Messana, Selinous and Syracuse, Akanthos and Athens, and points to a wide commercial network. Fischer-Hansen (2002) 136–43. *Barr.* = Maktorion, AC.

Monte Desusino A hill-top site *c.*20 km west of Gela (no. 17), securing Geloan influence towards Akragas (no. 9) and the territory of the lower Himera valley. The ancient name is unknown, but the site has been tentatively identified with the *phrourion* named Phalarion (Diod. 19.108.2). The impressive 5.5 km-long fortification has an Archaic phase constructed in irregularly sized and irregularly hewn blocks, but also with parts built in a more careful technique, known from the Greek walls at Leontinoi (no. 33). C4 refurbished walls, gates and urban layout are attributed to the period of Timoleon (Adamesteanu (1963) 27–31; Ghizolfi (1992) 332). Foundations on the highest part of the plateau of a major building, oriented east-west, have revealed Greek masonry technique and are attributed to a *naiskos* of Greek type. However, on the evidence of the sporadic finds of C6 Greek pottery and tiles, the Hellenisation of this site may have been rather tenuous in the Archaic period. Fischer-Hansen (2002) 149. *Barr.* = Phalarion? C.

Monte Gibil Gabel A fortified hill-top site 5 km south-west of Caltanisetta which secured the upper Salso valley in the region of Enna, with evidence of at first Geloan and later Akragantine influence. The ancient name is unknown. Remains of formal habitation scattered over more terraces may be primarily Timoleontic, as corroborated by numismatic evidence. However, there are several C6l Greek finds from the plateau and from the cemetery (Orlandini (1962) 99–101; Di Noto (1992); Wilson (1996) 100). A dry-stone circuit wall in indigenous technique is attributed to a C6m Hellenised phase; a later reinforcement is attributed to the period of Timoleon. A small C6e shrine is mixed native and Greek according to its structural details and finds. The indigenous tombs were replaced by Greek-type trench tombs in C6l. The few undisturbed graves have yielded Attic vases and a fragment of a terracotta statuette of Demeter. Fischer-Hansen (2002) 157. *Barr.* AC.

Monte Iudica Sikel settlement on a hill near Castel di Iudica, with sporadic remains of C8–C5 habitation and with some evidence of contacts with the Greek world from the Archaic period (Corretti (1992)); the cemetery is Hellenistic. The site has been tentatively identified with such ancient toponyms as Ergetion, Imachara (no. 26) and Herbita (no. 23; cf. Corretti (1992) 379; Wilson (1996) 75). Recently, Manni (1976b) 615 and (1981) 211 has tentatively proposed an identification with ancient Noai (tentatively followed by *Barr.*). Fischer-Hansen (2002) 172–73. For Noai, cf. Apollodoros (*FGrHist* 244) fr. 6 = Steph. Byz. 477.21 (πόλις).

Monte San Mauro Situated on a plateau *c.*25 km north-east of Gela (no. 17) in the border area between the Geloan and Chalkidian zones of influence—a strategic position commanding the upper Gela–Maroglio valley. The site occupies an extensive plateau with habitation areas, sanctuaries and cemeteries distributed over five separate hill-tops and adjacent slopes. The settlement has been identified with Omphake, or Maktorion, or Galeria (no. 16) or simply as a Greek settlement of unknown identity (Spigo (1979), (1986) 20). A recent suggestion identifies the site with Leontinoi's foundation of Euboia (no. 15), and the interpretation of the site as Chalkidian is supported by epigraphic evidence (*infra*). A monumental building has been interpreted as public or "administrative", an interpretation supported by the finds from the building which include C6e fragments of a law code pertaining, *inter alia*, to homicide, written in the Chalkidian alphabet and tentatively associated with the lawgiver Charondas (Cordano (1986*b*) 41; *IGDS* no. 15). C7–C6 habitation remains reveal some regularity of orientation, and some of the structures are remarkable for their typology (houses of *pastas* type) and for their contents (Lagona (1973) 297; Spigo (1986)). Apart from habitation, the buildings also served as workshops and magazines for the production of *pithoi* and *arulae*, which suggests the presence of a *temenos* of Demeter (Spigo (1979) 31–32). Fischer-Hansen (2002) 143–49. *Barr.* A, but some of the archaeological remains are C.

Monte Saraceno Settlement on a plateau above the river Salso *c.*20 km north of Licata (ancient Phintias). The ancient name is unknown; Adamesteanu (1956)—followed by Manni (1981) 151 and *Barr.*—suggests that it is to be identified with Kakyron (*supra*). In any case, the settlement, indigenous in origin but Hellenised from C7l (Miccichè (1989) 31–34), secured Geloan-Akragantine influence in the upper Himera valley (Gargini (1993*a*)). By C6 Monte Saraceno was Hellenised: a monumental temple and smaller *naiskoi* were erected on the acropolis (*supra*). From C6 the lower slope was urbanised and there are clear traces of urban planning of a type known from Akragas (no. 9)—probably a reflection of Akragantine expansion in the time of Phalaris (cf. Berve (1967) 130)—with the use of *plateiai*, *stenopoi* and even *ambitus*; urban remains offer richer evidence of Greek housing than Kamarina, Heloron, Kasmenai and Akrai (Calderone (1980–81)). There is evidence of workshop areas inside the habitation zones, but also of smaller *temene* (Calderone (1984–85) 536–38). Fischer-Hansen (2002) 149–52. *Barr* = Kakyron?, AC.

Vassallaggi Settlement south-west of Caltanisetta in the Salso valley, *c.*40 km north of Licata (ancient Phintias). The identity of the site is unknown, but it is often identified with Motyon (so *Barr.*). The Greek influence in this originally indigenous settlement commenced in C6e (De Miro (1962) 143; cf. Miccichè (1989) 56, 183 with refs.), and may be connected with the foundation of Akragas (no. 9) in 588. The increasing Hellenisation should probably be seen against the background of the Akragantine expansion under Phalaris (De Miro (1962); Berve (1967) 130; Luraghi (1994) 254–55). A regular urban layout is attested, with houses raised on terraces, and a single wide *plateia* dividing the habitation area into two sections (De Miro (1980) 723–24). C5m destruction levels have been interpreted as testimony (ibid.) that the city was Motyon, which was taken by Douketios in 451 (Diod. 11.91.1). The revitalisation of the site (ibid.; cf. Merighi (1963)) would in that case reflect the reconquest of Motyon by Akragas (Diod. 11.91.4). A *temenos* with a *naiskos* and altar is known from the habitation area; the votive remains seem to point to a cult of Demeter and Persephone (De Miro (1962) 143–44; Tusa and De Miro (1983) 246–50). An open space between *temenos* and gate is interpreted as an agora, and the overall urban layout shows similarities with the northern part of the Himera plateau. The tomb finds from the cemetery are primarily Greek (Orlandini (1971); cf. Johnston (1973)). The numismatic evidence from the site has revealed close C5s ties with Akragas (Merighi (1963)). Fischer-Hansen (2002) 153–57. *Barr.* = Motyon, C, but A is attested by C6e finds (*supra*).

It is clear that the majority of the sites listed here were indigenous communities. Indigenous communities, however, were affected by the presence of Greeks in various ways: a major Greek *polis* might conquer an indigenous community and incorporate it into its territory, as Akragas did in the case of Kamikos; Greeks might destroy indigenous

settlements (Trinakie); indigenous community founders would work with an eye to Greek traditions (Douketios; cf. Rizzo (1970) 58–66); or Greek ways of life might penetrate into indigenous populations ("Hellenisation"). Some of the indigenous communities may well have been city-states—e.g. the foundations of Douketios,—but apart from that there is very little evidence on the status of the sites listed above.

In some cases it cannot be decided whether a settlement was Greek or indigenous; this is true even of settlements referred to by historical writers (e.g. Maktorion), but the difficulties involved in establishing the ethnic identity of a given settlement is nicely illustrated by settlements known from archaeological evidence and not securely identified with an ancient toponym, such as Butera, Monte San Mauro and Monte Saraceno.[19] These sites present a very strong degree of Hellenisation and may possibly have to be identified with Greek colonial foundations whose sites are unknown; e.g. Euboia (no. 15) may perhaps be at Monte San Mauro. However, they may also be the sites of Greek cities not mentioned by the written sources, or they may be indigenous communities, or communities of mixed ethnicity. Furthermore, although indigenous Sicilian settlements are normally fortified by means of earth and stone ramparts (Bonacasa Carra (1974)), several of the sites in question date to C6–C5, a period when these sites were often under Hellenic influence. Special circumstances or pressure of time made it convenient also at Greek sites to employ this technique, for instance at Himera and Kamarina (Bonacasa Carra (1974) 94, 115–18). The characteristic type of Sicilian *naiskoi* erected in Sikel settlements are often indistinguishable from the buildings known from the sanctuaries in the Greek colonies, and Greek cults, above all that of Demeter and Persephone, are widely attested at the indigenous sites.[20] In other words, the interrelations of Greek and indigenous populations are very complex and cannot be approached *simply* in terms of "Hellenisation".

It should also be noted that Greek influence and expansion were not always quietly accepted by the indigenous populations. In C6, the colonising expedition of Pentathlos of Knidos lost its leader when it supported Selinous in a war against Segesta (cf. Lipara (no. 34)), and the expedition of Dorieus was crushingly defeated by Phoenicians (cf. Herakleia (no. 21)).

A number of the Sikel settlements in the interior listed above reveal a high degree of Hellenisation by the early Classical period, the outcome of cultural change under the influence of the Greek cities on the coast. However, Greek influence, or even domination, crumbling under the pressures of internal strife, led to a C5f Sikel movement aiming at greater political autonomy. Such a movement has been linked to the democratic movements within the Greek cities, for instance at Syracuse, where the democratic faction invited the Sikel cities to support the revolt against Thrasyboulos (Diod. 11.68.1 (r466)).

The Sikel leader Douketios, variously called *hegemon*, *basileus* or *aphegoumenos ton Sikelon* (Diod. 11.76.2, 78.5, 88.6), appears in the sources for the first time in connection with the collaboration between Sikel tribes and the democratic party in Syracuse in 461/60.[21] After the fall of the Deinomenids and the establishment of democratic rule at Syracuse there followed a period of internal consolidation and, with the help of Sikel tribes led by Douketios, Hieron's settlers were expelled from Aitna/Katane and the city was resettled with its former inhabitants (Diod. 11.76.1–3). The Sikels had nursed a grudge against the inhabitants of Aitna since their occupation of Sikel land, and this land was now portioned out between themselves and the Syracusans.

However, Sikel territory remained independent of the Greek colonial cities, and Douketios founded a new city, Menainon (Diod. 11.78.5 (r459/8)), near or at Menai, his birthplace (cf. Diod. 11.88.6), somewhere on the inland edge of the plain of Katane. Douketios also distributed land in Greek fashion and extended his authority inland by the capture of Morgantina. Menainon/Menai are unlocated, the latter possibly to be identified with modern Mineo; however, the heartland of Douketian territory seems to have been the region of Caltagirone in central-eastern Sicily.

[19] Settlements such as Monte Bubbonia and Monte Saraceno excavated in the 1950s and 1960s were defined as Greek *poleis* by their investigators, for instance by Adamesteanu: "we now have evidence of the Hellenisation of the interior regions, not only of the coast. These towns are characterised by their sanctuaries as formally Greek, and no longer indigenous settlements backward in their development. We are confronted by real Greek centres, the result of a fusion of indigenous and Hellenic elements—they were *poleis* already in the first half of the fifth century and not just insignificant indigenous settlements" (Adamesteanu (1956) 145). Some of the sites listed above may be connected with the historical cities of Omphake, Maktorion, Kakyron and show that these played a political, an economic and a cultural role not dissimilar to that of the coastal cities. The interpretation of the early investigators has been taken up by later scholars, for instance by Uhlenbrock, who defines the settlements at Monte San Mauro and at Monte Saraceno as anonymous sub-colonies of Gela (Uhlenbrock (1988) 122–23); the term *polis* is used for all the Hellenised Sikelian settlements by Bonacasa Carra (1974) 103; cf. Miccichè (1989) *passim*.

[20] For exhaustive treatments of these Sicilian sites, see Miccichè (1989); Domínguez (1989); and Fischer-Hansen (2002).

[21] For surveys of the Sikel movement under Douketios, see Rizzo (1970), with Meister (1975); Sjöquist (1973) 50–60; and Consolo Langher (1997) 61–69.

Sikel self-assertion was by C5m strong enough to muster an uprising of the Sikel communities. A league of Sikel cities may have existed before Douketios, but it is attested in the sources for the first time during his rule. The Sikels entered into a Greek-inspired *synteleia* of "homoethnic" cities under the leadership of Douketios in 453 (Diod. 11.88.6), perhaps not merely a military alliance, though this is what Diodorus emphasises, but rather a wider economic and political collaboration (Manni (1976*a*) 201), and a new capital of the unified Sikels was founded at Palike (Diod. 11.90.1). Douketios modelled his foundations on the Greek *polis*—and cities such as Morgantina, Henna, Longane, Abakainon (for which see the entries below) and other centres listed above struck Greek-inspired autonomous coins from C5m. According to the sources, the *synteleia* excluded the city of Hybla, possibly because it was not considered a Sikel city proper but a city with a significant Greek element (Manni (1976*a*) 202).

Syracuse and Akragas reacted to the growing influence of the Sikel movement. Douketios had led campaigns against Aitna/Inessa, the Dorian-Sikel settlement which had received the *xenoi* expelled from Aitne/Katane, and later a Sikel anti-Akragantine stance led to the capture of the Akragantine *phrourion* Motyon. The threat to Akragas was averted with the help of Syracuse, which had been drawn into the conflict (Diod. 11.91.1 (r451)).[22] A year later the Sikel alliance was defeated at Nomai by the Syracusans and Motyon was regained by the Akragantines; several of the Sikel survivors escaped to scattered forts and Sikel settlements (Diod. 11.91.2–4). Douketios, who had given himself up to the Syracusans, was sent into exile at Corinth (no. 227) (Diod. 11.92). However, with the probable connivance of Syracuse, which wanted to control Sicily's Tyrrhenian coast, he returned a few years later with a contingent of Greeks to found the city of Kale Akte, in collaboration with Archonides, the ruler of Herbita (Diod. 12.8.2 (r446)). The foundation was seen by Akragas as evidence of Syracusan territorial ambitions and as a breach of the treaty between the two cities. In the ensuing battle, Syracuse defeated Akragas (Diod. 12.8.2–4), but Douketios and the Sikel movement gained little advantage. The death of Douketios in 440 hindered the establishment of new alliances and put an end to the Sikel movement (Diod. 12.29.1). Syracuse successfully stifled Sikel independence and subjugated the Sikel cities; only the city of Trinakie offered resistance (Diod. 12.29.2–4); this city is otherwise unknown and is possibly to be understood as a symbolic name for a Sikel alliance, though it has also been identified with the cities of Palike or Piakos (Manni (1981) 237–38; Loicq-Berger (1967) 212). Heavy tributes were imposed on the Sikel cities subject to Syracuse (Diod. 12.30.1 (r439); Thuc. 6.20.4), but the settlements of the interior retained their independence (Thuc. 6.88.4). There are even traditions of democratic institutions, for instance the *ekklesia* at the indigenous site of Kentoripa (no. 31) (Diod. 13.83.4 (r406)).

The Sikels took the side of Athens during the first Athenian expedition to Sicily in 415 (Thuc. 3.103.1, 4.25.9); for the subsequent alliances of the Sikels and Athens, and for the military help offered by the Sikel cities, see Thuc. 6.45, 62.5, 88.4 and 7.57.11; Archonides of Herbita is specifically called a *philos tois Athenaiois* by Thuc. 7.1.4. Later, during the Carthaginian–Greek conflicts, the Sikels supported the Carthaginians (Diod. 13.59.6 (r409), 14.7.5 (r404)), though *some* Sikel tribes supported the Greek cities (Diod. 13.86.5). A number of indigenous cities obtained autonomy as an outcome of these conflicts, but most were later resubjugated by the Syracusans under Dionysios I. The Hellenisation of the Sikels gathered further momentum and is finally reflected in the C4 Timoleontic refoundations of Greek cities on several of the originally Sikel sites.

II. The *Poleis*

5. Abakainon (Abakaininos) Map 47. Lat. 38.05, long. 15.05. Size of territory: ? Type: B:*β*. The toponym is *Ἀβακαίνη, ἡ* (Diod. 14.90.3) or *Ἀβάκαινον, τό* (Diod. 19.65.6; Steph. Byz. 2.11). The city-ethnic is *Ἀβακαινῖνος* (C4s coins, *infra*; Diod. 14.78.5; Steph. Byz. 2.15).

Abakainon is called a *polis* in the urban and political senses at Diod. 14.90.3 (r393) and 19.65.6 (r315), and in the urban sense at 14.90.4 (r393). The passage at 14.90.3 describes it as a *polis symmachis* of Magon, and in a later period it was part of the *symmachia* of Agathokles, alongside such *poleis* as Kamarina, Leontinoi, Katane and Messana (Diod. 19.65.6 (r315), 19.110.4 (r311)). The internal collective use of the city-ethnic is found on coins struck *c.*400 (*infra*), and the external collective use is found in Diod. 19.110.4 (r311).

In 396, Dionysios I deprived Abakainon of a part of its *chora*, which was handed over to his new foundation, Tyndaris (no. 49; Diod. 14.77.5). Abakainon was situated south-east of Tyndaris, at modern Tripi. The ancient city, destroyed by the modern, is poorly known. However, Diodorus' report (14.90.3) that in 393 Carthaginian troops

[22] For an analysis of the conflicts, see Manni (1976*a*) 201–4.

defeated by Dionysios took refuge in the city (ἔφυγον εἰς τὴν πόλιν) suggests that by this date it was fortified. There are sporadic Greek remains from C6, and substantial Greek remains from C4 (Villard (1954)); the investigation of the extensive cemetery north of the city has brought to light also monumental C4 tombs of the type known from Leontinoi (Bacci and Spigo (1997–98)); the city minted a Greek-style coinage from C5m (*infra*).

Abakainon struck silver coins (litra, hemilitron) from *c.*C5m: *obv.* laureate head, bearded (an indigenous god assimilated to Zeus) or beardless (assimilated to Apollo), or, on later coinage, female head (nymph, or Demeter or Persephone); *rev.* wild boar and acorn, at times a grain of barley or sow and piglet, legend: *ABA*, *ABAK* (above acorn) *IN* (below), *ABAK* (on *obv.*) *AINI* (on *rev.*), *ABAKAININON* (Head, *HN*² 118; Bertino (1975); *SNG Cop. Sicily* 1–6). In C4s, the city struck in bronze: (1) Probably from the time of Timoleon: *obv.* female head; *rev.* forepart of bull, or forepart of man-headed bull, legend: *ABA*, *ABAK*[*AINI*]*NON*, *ABAKAININΩN* (Head, *HN*² 118; Bertino (1975) 124–26; *SNG Cop. Sicily* 7); (2) *c.*344–338: *obv.* head of Dioskouros, legend: *ABA*; *rev.* "free horse", legend: *ABA*; the *obv.* type may indicate influence from the mint of Tyndaris or, more generally, from southern Italy (Bertino (1975) 124–26).

6. Adranon (Adranites) Map 47. Lat. 37.40, long. 14.50. Size of territory: ? Type: B:*α*. The toponym is Ἄδρανον, τό (Diod. 14.37.5, 16.68.9; Steph. Byz. 28.1). The city-ethnic is Ἀδρανίτας (-ης): C4s coins (*infra*) and Diod. 16.68.9.

Adranon was founded by Dionysios I *c.*400, and in his report of the foundation Diod. 14.37.5 refers to it as a *polis* (πόλιν ἔκτισεν), presumably in both the urban and the political senses; it is called *polis* in the urban sense at Diod. 16.68.9 (r345/4); it is called a *polis mikra* in the urban sense at Plut. *Tim.* 12.2 and *polichnion* at 12.3. The chronological relationship between Adranon and the neighbouring indigenous site of Mendolito (contemporary or successive sites?) is as yet unclarified (Albanese (1991) esp. 548, 552–53).

The internal collective use of the city-ethnic is found on C4s coins (*infra*), and the external collective use in Diod. 16.68.9, 69.3 (r345/4). A *stasis* is mentioned at Plut. *Tim.* 12.2. In 344/3, Timoleon received Adranon into his *symmachia*, and the city presumably provided him with armed forces (Diod. 16.69.3; Plut. *Tim.* 12.6).

There are Greek finds from C6l at Adranon, but the majority of the finds from the habitation area and adjacent cemeteries belong to the Dionysian foundation and date from C4–C3; the finds suggest a local production of red-figure pottery. The impressive ashlar isodomic double curtain-wall, enclosing an area of about 60 ha, probably dates from the period of Dionysios' foundation (its gates are mentioned at Plut. *Tim.* 12.6). Votive deposits found within the urban area have revealed a sanctuary of Demeter. Survey of site: Marotta D'Agata and Spigo (1984). Adranos, identified by the Greeks with Hephaistos and presumably the patron divinity of the city as well as a divinity honoured throughout Sicily, had a temple in the city (Plut. *Tim.* 12.2, 6; *LIMC* 1: 229–30).

Adranon began minting bronze coins under Timoleon: (1) *obv.* Apollo, legend: *ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝ*; *rev.* lyre; (2) *obv.* head of local river-god (Adranos?); *rev.* butting bull, legend: *ΑΔΡΑΝΙΤΑΝ* (Head, *HN*² 118–19; *LIMC* 1: 230; Karlsson (1995) 154–55 with refs.; *SNG Cop. Sicily* 10–12). A single known litra has *obv.* head of nymph; *rev.* bull, fish in exergue, and legends: *ΠΙΑΚΙΝΟΣ* and *ΑΔΡΑΝ*, a joint issue of Piakos (no. 43; possibly at Mendolito), and Adranon suggesting proximity and collaboration between these two communities (Jenkins (1975) 87–92; see also the entry for Piakos).

7. Agyrion (Agyrinaios) Map 47. Lat. 37.40, long. 14.30. Size of territory: ? Type: B:*α*. The toponym is Ἀγύριον, τό (Diod. 1.4.4, 14.9.2), Ἀγουρίον (Ptol. *Geog.* 3.4.7), or Ἀγύρινα (Steph. Byz. 23.19). The city-ethnic is Ἀγυριναῖος (Diod. 4.24.1).

Diodorus calls his native city a *polis* in the political sense at 14.9.2 (r404) and 14.95.4 (r392); the urban sense is found in 14.95.5 (r392); *politai* is found at 14.95.5–6. The internal collective use of the city-ethnic is found on C5l and C4 coins (*infra*), and Diodorus uses the collective city-ethnic e.g. at 14.65.5.

At 14.95.4–7 (r392), Diodorus describes Agyrion as ruled by the (Hellenised?) tyrant Agyris, allegedly the most powerful Sicilian ruler after Dionysios I; the city is described as walled (τοῦ τείχους, 14.95.6), as having an acropolis (14.95.5) and *c.*20,000 citizens (πολίτας οὐκ ἐλάττους δισμυρίων, 14.95.4), and Agyris as wealthy (χρημάτων πολλῶν, 14.95.5). Agyris concluded a *symmachia* with Dionysios I and campaigned with him *pandemei* (14.95.7).

In the time of Timoleon, Agyrion was ruled by the tyrant Apolloniades, who was, however, deposed by Timoleon, whereupon the Agyrians were granted Syracusan citizenship (Diod. 16.82.4; cf. Moggi (1976) 357, who suggests that the population was transferred to Syracuse (no. 47)). Timoleon later settled 10,000 new colonists in Agyrian

territory (ἡ Ἀγυριναία), said to be sizeable (Diod. 16.82.5; the territory (*chora*) is mentioned also at Diod. 14.95.2, from which passage it appears that in C4e it extended as far as the river Chrysas). In view of Diod. 16.83.3, this was presumably a regular refoundation of Agyrion. It is there reported that the prosperity brought about by Timoleon (cf. R. P. A. Patanè (1992) 77) led to the erection of a splendid theatre, temples, a *bouleuterion*, an agora, a circuit wall with towers, and monumental tombs (Diod. 16.83.3); however, as Lewis (1994) 121 points out, Diodorus puts a suspicious amount of emphasis on his native city. But the appearance of the town in this report is clearly that of a Greek *polis* (cf. Hansen and Fischer-Hansen (1994) 85). Actual urban remains are scanty, and the archaeological evidence for cult sites is tenuous, consisting merely of a few architectural terracottas (Bejor (1984*a*) 63). The size and location of the theatre is, somewhat hypothetically, reconstructed on the basis of mediaeval documents (R. P. A. Patanè (1992) 77–80). The circuit wall, no longer extant but depicted on an eighteenth-century AD drawing, is dated to C4s on the basis of this evidence (ibid. 80–82).

A bronze coinage of Agyrion, revealing Akragantine influence, is known from possibly as early as C5m (cf. Bejor (1984*a*) 62), but at least from C5l, the period of the tyrant Agyris: *obv.* eagle with closed wings of Akragantine type; *rev.* wheel, legend: ΑΓΥΡΙΝΑ, ΑΓΥΡΙΝΑΙ, ΑΓΥΡΙΝΑΙΟΝ, ΑΓΥΡΙΝΑΙΩΝ (Head, *HN*² 124; *SNG Cop. Sicily* 126). C4s: *obv.* types: Herakles or Apollo or male head or river-gods; *rev.* leopard and hare or man-headed bull, legend: ΠΑΛΑΓΚΑΙΟΣ; horse, or female figure sacrificing or warrior, with legend on some issues: ΑΓΥΡΙΝ, ΑΓΥΡΙΝΑΙ or ΑΓΥΡΙΝΑΙΩΝ (Head, *HN*² 125; R. P. A. Patanè (1992) 69: from the period of Timoleon's refoundation; *SNG Cop. Sicily* 127–29). During Timoleon's rule Agyrion issued a series of *symmachia* coins: *obv.* head of Zeus or Athena or river-god, legend: ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΙΟΣ *rev.* fulmen and eagle or club or free horse, legend: ΑΓΥΡΙΝΑΙΩΝ (Head, *HN*² 125; Cutroni Tusa (1980–81) 491; Karlsson (1995) 157, 163).

8. Aitna (Aitnaios) Map 47. Location of Aitna I as Katane, but Aitna I with a larger territory (Diod. 11.49.1), the location and territorial size of Aitna II being unknown. Type: A:α (I), A?:α–β (II). The toponym is Αἴτνα, ἡ (Pind. *Pyth.* 1.60; fr. 105a, Maehler); or Αἴτνη (Diod. 11.49.1; Strabo 6.2.3), though for example Diod. 11.66.4 and 67.7 (r466) calls it Κατάνη. The city-ethnic is Αἰτναῖος (C5f coins, *infra*; Pind. *Nem.* 9.30).

Aitna I Aitna (I) is called a *polis* by Pind. *Pyth* 1.31 and 61, presumably in the urban as well as the political sense (cf. Hansen (2000) 175–76; cf. Diod. 11.66.4 (r466)). Δᾶμος is found in Pind. *Pyth.* 1.70. The internal collective use of the city-ethnic is found on coins (*infra*); the external collective use is found in Pind. *Nem.* 9.30. For the individual use of the city-ethnic, see below on the athletic record of Hieron and Chromios.

In 476, Hieron transferred the populations of Katane (no. 30) and Naxos (no. 41) to Leontinoi (no. 33), renamed Katane as *Aitna*, and settled his new foundation with 10,000 *oiketores*: 5,000 from the Peloponnese and 5,000 from Syracuse (no. 47; Diod. 11.49.2; cf. Schaefer (1961) 293); though the report on the relocation of populations refers to both Katane and Naxos, Katane (with parts of adjacent territories) was the site refounded as Aitna: καὶ τὴν μὲν Κατάνην μετωνόμασε Αἴτνην, τὴν δὲ χώραν οὐ μόνον τὴν Καταναίαν ἀλλὰ καὶ πολλὴν τῆς ὁμόρου προσθεὶς κατεκληρούχησε, μυρίους πληρώσας οἰκήτορας. (Cf. Strabo 6.2.3, who focuses exclusively on Katane in his report on the foundation of Aitna.) Deinomenes, Hieron's son, ruled the city as βασιλεύς (Pind. *Pyth.* 1.60–61). Chromios was installed by Hieron as τῆς Αἴτνης ἐπίτροπος and so presumably was the guardian of Deinomenes while he was still a minor (Schol. Pind. *Nem.* 9; cf. *RE* III. 2454; Puech (1958) 19). Pind. *Pyth.* 1.62 says that Hieron founded the city Ὑλλίδος στάθμας ἐν νόμοις, presumably indicating that Aitna was intended as a Dorian city.

After Hieron's death in 466, his brother Thrasyboulos enlisted the help of the Aitnaians in his unsuccessful attempt to suppress the uprising of the Syracusans against him (Diod. 11.67.7); at Aitna the rule of Deinomenes survived long enough for him to erect a commemorative monument for Hieron by Onatas at Olympia (Paus. 6.12.1–2, 8.42.8–10), but by 461 Hieron's settlers were expelled after long fighting (πλείοσι μάχαις) with Syracuse as well as with the Sikels under Douketios (Diod. 11.76.3); the original Katanaians returned (Strabo 6.2.3) and a new geopolitical arrangement followed (Diod. 11.76.3: κατεκληρούχησαν τὴν γῆν, i.e. the Sikels and the Syracusans). The Aitnaians retired to Inessa and founded a new Aitna (Strabo 6.2.3), on which see below, *Aitna II*.

With Diod. 11.49.2, scholars see Hieron's foundation as a "plan . . . thoroughly dominated by concern for mercenaries" (Demand (1990) 51), and Thrasyboulos indeed used Aitnaian forces in his power struggle at Syracuse (*supra*). In addition, Timaios (*FGrHist* 566) fr. 142a = schol. Pind. *Nem.* 1.1 and Diod. 11.49.2 stress another, personal, motive of

Hieron's: his wish to become an *οἰκιστής* with heroic honours (cf. Trumpf (1958) 131 and Harrell (2002) 444–47). Hieron did in fact receive heroic honours at Aitna (I) in his capacity as oecist (Diod. 11.66.4); according to Strabo, he was buried at Aitna (I), but his tomb was destroyed by the Katanaians on their return (6.2.3).

The phase of Aitna (I) is not archaeologically distinguishable from that of Katane (no. 30); however, the construction of the theatre (*TGR* II. 428–30, C5?) may perhaps be attributed to Hieron in the light of the tradition that Aischylos composed and performed *The Women of Aitna* in honour of the newly founded city (Aesch. fr. 25, Mette). C5 votives attest to a sanctuary of Demeter, highly suggestive given the importance of this cult for the Deinomenids (Dunbabin (1984) 64; White (1964)). The cult of Zeus became important at Aitna during the reign of Hieron (cf. Pind. *Pyth* 1.29; *Ol.* 6.96), an importance reflected in the type of a seated Zeus (Aitnaios) found on the coins of the new foundation.

Hieron won victories at Olympia and at Delphi (refs. in *Olympionikai* 221) and was proclaimed a citizen of Aitna (*Αἰτναῖος*) according to schol. Pind. *Nem.* 1.1 = Timaios (*FGrHist* 566) fr. 142a, a custom followed by Chromios as well (ibid.). Chromios was victorious at the Nemean chariot race (Pind. *Nem.* 1, date uncertain) and in the same event at Sikyon (no. 228; Pind. *Nem.* 9, in 476 or 474).

Aitna soon struck coins: a single surviving tetradrachm, probably from the time of its foundation (476), has on the *obv.* quadriga with Athena as charioteer and a Nike above, as at Syracuse; *rev.* Zeus enthroned, holding thunderbolt and an eagle-tipped sceptre. A single surviving drachm has *obv.* horseman; *rev.* type similar to the tetradrachm. The *rev.* of both denominations carries the legend *AITNAION* (Boehringer (1968) 76–79; Kraay (1976) 212). A magnificent tetradrachm with *obv.* head of a Silenos, legend: *AITNAION*; *rev.* seated Zeus, was issued either by the Aitnaians a few years before 461 or by them as an inauguration issue when they refounded Aitna (II). This second issue also has litrai with *rev.* thunderbolt, legend: *AITNA*(*ION*) (Boehringer (1968) 80–98; Kraay (1976) 212–13; Manganaro (1996*b*) 308).

Aitna II The Aitnaians were expelled from Aitna (I) in 461, retired to Inessa, a Sikel site 80 stades inland from Katane on Mt. Etna, and refounded their community there, proclaiming Hieron *oikistes* and preserving the name of Aitna (Strabo 6.2.3; Diod. 11.76.3). The location of Aitna II is unknown, although various attempts have been made to identify the site (Bombaci and Massa (1990) 290–93). At its foundation this new community was presumably a *polis*, as indicated by the proclamation of an oecist (Strabo 6.2.3; cf. also *infra* on coins), but its later history was tumultuous: in 451, Douketios took the city and in this connection Diod. 11.91.1 mentions a person whom he describes as *ὁ ἡγούμενος αὐτῆς* (*sc. Αἴτνης*). Syracusan *hippeis* in conflict with Dionysios I took Aitna in 405 (Diod. 13.113.3), and the site formed the base of opposition to Dionysios (14.7.7, 8.1, 9.5); Dionysios sent *presbeis* urging the exiles who had gathered with the *hippeis* at Aitna to return to Syracuse, but the majority remained at Aitna (Diod. 14.9.6–8). In 403 the settlement (termed *phrourion* in this connection) was taken by Dionysios (Diod. 14.14.2). In 396 Dionysios I persuaded the "Campanians living at Katane" to relocate to Aitna, and here it is again described as a *phrourion* (Diod. 14.58.2), which is not incompatible with its being a *polis* (cf. Thuc. 8.62.3; Nielsen (2002)), but Dionysios obviously treated it as a dependency. Close connections with Syracuse may have been facilitated by the foundation history of Aitna. On the other hand, Syracusan control over the area of Aitna (II) may have a history going back beyond the original foundation: according to Diod. 11.26.7, Gelon planned to build a temple of Demeter at Aitna, but because of his death it was never completed (Diod. 11.26.7). However, the date (the reign of Gelon) reveals that the "Aitna" in question must have been Inessa (= the later Aitna II) and not Aitna I founded by Hieron only in 476, and so the passage reveals that Gelon held a dominion in the territory of Katane/Aitna II (cf. Freeman (1891–94) ii. 524–25).

If Aitna can be presumed to have remained a *polis* during all these events, its identity as a Hellenic *polis* may be uncertain after the settlement of Campanians at the site: in 396 Himilkon sent ambassadors to "the Campanians in possession of Aitna", urging the city to cut its ties with Dionysios (Diod. 14.61.4), and Diod. 16.67.4 (r345) again refers to "the Campanians living at Aitna"; however, in 339 Timoleon "destroyed the Campanians at Aitna, having forced them to surrender by siege" (Diod. 16.82.4), and Aitna appears in the C3s list of Delphic *theorodokoi* in Sicily (*BCH* 45 (1921) 25, col. IV 96; Manganaro (1964*a*) 420, 432), presumably as a fully Hellenic community.

The *polis* status of C5 Aitna II is to some extent dependent upon the attribution to Aitna II of some litrai and, especially, of one C5m tetradrachm with *obv.* Silenos, legend: *AITNAION*; *rev.* seated Zeus, cf. Bombaci and Massa (1990) 289 (*supra*). The stylistic affinity between this issue and issues of Naxos (no. 41) and Katane (no. 30) has been seen by some, though perhaps not entirely convincingly, as

evidence of a C5m *sympoliteia* between these cities in the face of Syracusan pressure (Bombaci and Massa (1990) 289). The Campanian mercenaries settled at Aitna II struck Timoleontic *symmachia* bronze coins in 342–339: (1) *obv.* head of Zeus Eleutherios, legend: ΖΕΥΣ ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΙΟΣ; *rev.* thunderbolt, legend: ΑΙΤΝΑΙΟΝ (Bombaci and Massa (1990) 289; Karlsson (1995) 157; cf. Talbert (1974) 181, 187–88); (2) *obv.* head of Athena or Persephone, legend: ΑΙΤΝΑ[ΩΝ]; *rev.* "free horse" (Bombaci and Massa (1990) 289; *SNG Cop. Sicily* 13; *SNG Cop. Suppl.* 60).

9. Akragas (Akragantinos) Map 47. Lat. 37.20, long. 13.35. Size of territory: 5. Type: A:*a*. The toponym is Ἀκράγας, ἡ (Pind. *Ol.* 2.6; Thuc. 6.4.4), the city-ethnic is Ἀκραγαντῖνος (Hdt. 7.165; *IGDS* no. 182a).

Akragas is called a *polis* in the urban sense by Empedokles fr. 112.2 (DK): ἀν' ἄκρα πόλεος (acropolis itself occurs at Diod. 13.84.3 (r406)), by Xen. *Hell.* 2.2.24 (cf. Pind. *Ol.* 2.93 and *Pyth.* 12.1) and by Ps.-Skylax 13 (where it is listed under the heading πόλεις Ἑλληνίδες αἵδε); in the political sense *polis* occurs in Thuc. 6.4.4, 7.46.1. The *politeia* was described by Aristotle (Arist. fr. 479); Empedokles has *patris* (fr. 157.2, DK) and ἄστυ (fr. 112.1, DK).

The internal collective use of the city-ethnic is found on C5s coins (*infra*), the internal individual use in Empedokles fr. 157.1, DK. The external collective use is found at Hdt. 7.165 and in *IGDS* nos. 95 and 182 (C5); the external individual use is found in *Hesperia* 43 (1974) 322, no. 3.6 (331–324) and presumably in *IGDS* no. 182b (C5); it is applied also to Empedokles (e.g. Arist. *Cael.* 279^{b}16).

Akragas was founded by Gela (Thuc. 6.4.4), according to other sources with the participation of a Rhodian contingent (Pind. fr. 105, Bowra; Polyb. 9.27.8), 108 years after the foundation of Gela, i.e. *c.*580 (Thuc. 6.4.4), 100 years before the Olympic victory of Theron at the 76th Olympiad (476) according to Pindar (*Ol.* 2.166–69 with schol.). The oecists were Aristonoos and Pystilos (Thuc. 6.4.4). Of the two oecists mentioned in the sources, one may have come from Gela, the other from Gela's *metropolis*, Rhodos (cf. Leschhorn (1984) 52–53; Musti (1992)). The archaeological evidence, above all that from the Montelusa cemetery, is in agreement with the time of foundation given by the literary sources (Waele (1971) 88–97; De Miro (1988*b*) 240–44). The institutions of Akragas were modelled on those of Gela (Thuc. 6.4.4: νόμιμα τὰ Γελῴων).

The foundation of Akragas secured Geloan interests westwards. It is therefore not easy to map Akragantine and Geloan spheres of influence since sites such as Vassallaggi and Sabucina may have had first a Geloan, later an Akragantine phase. However, territorial ambitions under Phalaris secured territory westwards to the river Halykos and Selinountine territory with the site of Minoa, a city founded by Selinous (Hdt. 5.46.2); a *palladion* taken as spoils from the city of Minoa was dedicated to Athena Lindia by the Akragantines (Lind. Chron. (*FGrHist* 532) fr. 30 = Xenagoras (*FGrHist* 240) fr. 17). A number of *phrouria* laid out by Phalaris in Akragantine territory in the Himera valley are listed by Diod. 19.108.1–2 ((rC6); cf. Polyaen. 5.1.3), but the tradition that Phalaris had a *phrourion* on the Eknomos hill may be a late fabrication; the site is normally located somewhere in the hills above Licata (Bejor (1989d)). Spoils captured from Kokalos dedicated to Athena Lindia are listed in the Lindian Chronicle ((*FGrHist* 532) fr. 27 = Xenagoras (*FGrHist* 240) fr. 14; survey of sources: Braccesi and De Miro (1992) 8–12). Kamikos, the seat of Kokalos, was somewhere in the Akragantine hinterland (cf. Hdt. 7.170.1, who calls it a *polis* inhabited in his day by Akragantines: πόλιν Καμικόν, τὴν κατ' ἐμὲ Ἀκραγαντῖνοι ἐνέμοντο; Diod. 4.78.2; De Miro (1962)). Under Theron, Himera came within the Akragantine sphere of influence, and the domination of Akragas in the decade 483–472 is reflected in the crab appearing on the *rev.* of the coins of Himera (Hdt. 7.165; Bonacasa (1992); cf. the entry for Himera). The influence of Akragas over a vast area of central Sicily is inferred also from the circulation of C5s Akragantine bronze coins (Vassallo (1983)). The settlement pattern in the *chora* of Akragas is little known, and only a few suburban sanctuaries are known, among them the sanctuary dedicated to chthonic divinities at Palma di Montechiaro on the coast 20 km south-east of Akragas (Castellana (1994)). There is evidence of a number of C6 *phrouria* and C6 Hellenised settlements along the coast between Gela and Akragas (Bejor (1987); Castellana (1994) 302–4). Plut. *Dio* 49.1 mentions a site in Akragantine territory called Νέα πόλις which is, however, unlocated. Diod. 13.81.3 (r406) refers to κτήσεις in the territory when it was evacuated in the face of the Carthaginian threat.

According to Diog. Laert. 8.63, Akragas had a population of 800,000 inhabitants at the time of Empedokles, an obvious exaggeration (Waele (1979)). According to Diod. 11.53.5, 4,000 Akragantines and Himeraians were killed in battle against Hieron in 472, but the number of Akragantines is not specified. At 12.8.4 Diodorus relates that a thousand Akragantines were killed at the battle of Himera in 446. At the time of the Carthaginian conflicts, Akragas had, accord-

ing to Diod. 13.84.4, 90.3, a population of more than 20,000 citizens and with resident foreigners not less than 200,000 inhabitants (cf. Waele (1979)).

The constitutional history of the city was eventful. Within ten years of its foundation, power was seized by Phalaris (*c.*570–554), who is described as a *τύραννος ἐκ τῶν τιμῶν* by Arist. *Pol.* 1310^{b}28. His reign was a period of expansion, with several victories over the indigenous population, in particular the victory over the Sikanian stronghold of Uessa (Polyaen. 5.1.4), and the conquest of Minoa; the Akragantine dedication to Athena Lindia of a *palladion* was booty taken from this town (Lind. Chron. (*FGrHist* 532) fr. 30 = Xenagoras (*FGrHist* 240) fr. 30). Phalaris may have extended Akragantine influence to Himera (no. 24), see Arist. *Rh.* 1393^{b}11ff., who reports that the Himeraians chose him as *στρατηγὸς αὐτοκράτωρ*. The rule of Phalaris was followed by those of Alkamenes and Alkandros (Heracl. Lemb. 69). Though there may have been a democracy in existence before the tyranny of Theron (E. W. Robinson (1997) 78–80, based on Diod. 11.48.6–8), tyranny persisted at Akragas during C5f, and Theron (489/8–473/2), variously described as *μούναρχος* (Hdt. 7.165) or *βασιλεύς* (Timaios (*FGrHist* 566) fr. 93), with Gelon defeated the Carthaginians and their ally Terillos at Himera in 480 (Hdt. 7.166; Diod. 11.20–22); Theron's son Thrasydaios was installed as tyrant in Himera (Diod. 11.48.6). Theron died after a reign of sixteen years and was honoured as a hero (Diod. 11.53.1–2); he was succeeded by Thrasydaios in Akragas (Timaios (*FGrHist* 566) fr. 93), who for a year exercised power *παρανόμως καὶ τυραννικῶς* (Diod. 11.53.3). The subsequent conflict with Hieron and the fall of Thrasydaios led to the establishment of a democratic government in 471 (Diod. 11.53.5) and the return to their native country of the *ἀρχαῖοι πολῖται*, who were given back their civic rights (Diod. 11.76.5). Empedokles is reported (by Diog. Laert. 8.66 = Timaios (*FGrHist* 566) fr. 2) to have put an end to an oligarchy "of the 1,000" (*τὸ τῶν χιλίων ἄθροισμα*) which had existed for three years, but refused the offer of *βασιλεία* (Xanthos (*FGrHist* 765) fr. 33; Arist. fr. 865), thereby obtaining a cessation of *stasis* and bringing about political equality (Neanthes (*FGrHist* 84) fr. 28). Exactly when this occurred is uncertain, but E. W. Robinson (1997) 78–80 assumes that it was some years *after* the fall of the tyranny, possibly *c.*454–442, and if so the city experienced a three-year oligarchic interlude.

Akragas took part in the war against Douketios (Diod. 11.91.3–4 (r451)). The rivalry with Syracuse led to a war which involved allies on both sides and ended in an Akragantine defeat at Himera, with envoys concluding peace at Syracuse (Diod. 12.8.2–4 (r446), 26.3). The Athenian expedition to Sicily in 422 led to an alliance between Athens (no. 361) and Akragas in 422 (Thuc. 5.4.6); Akragas hindered the passage through its territory of troops allied with Syracuse (no. 47) in 415 (Thuc. 7.32.1) and remained neutral (Thuc. 7.33.2, 58.1); following a *stasis*, citizens friendly to Syracuse were expelled (Thuc. 7.50.1).

In C5l Akragas became involved in the Carthaginian invasion of Sicily. It did not succeed in bringing help to Selinous (no. 44) in 409 (Diod. 13.56.1), but received the survivors (Diod. 13.58.3). In its turn Akragas was besieged and taken by the Carthaginians in 406 (Diod. 13.85–89). The inhabitants took refuge first at Gela (no. 17) and afterwards at Leontinoi (no. 33; Diod. 13.89–90), and the city itself was destroyed by Himilkon (Diod. 13.108.2). The prosperity brought by the reign of Timoleon led to the refoundation of Akragas by Megillos and Pheristos of Hyele (Plut. *Tim.* 35.2; for the problem of an Ionian city refounding a Dorian city, see Talbert (1974) 204–5).

The existence of *archontes*, *boule* and *dikasterion* is attested for C5 (Timaios (*FGrHist* 566) fr. 134 = Diog. Laert. 8.64; cf. Asheri (1992*a*)). *Strategoi* and the *ekklesia* are attested for 406 (Diod.87.4–5). The passing of a decree preparing for resistance against Carthage is mentioned in Diod. 13.81.2 (r406).

In 356/5 a citizen of Akragas served as *theorodokos* of Epidauros (no. 348; *IG* IV^{2}.1 95.11.91), and *c.*331–324 one of its citizens was appointed *proxenos* by Athens (no. 361; *Hesperia* 43 (1974) 322, no. 3). Reception of envoys is attested at Diod. 11.68.1 (r466); the sending of envoys is attested in Diod. 12.8.4 (r446).

The city was surrounded on the west by the river Hypsas and on the east by the river Akragas, with their confluence just below the city. Ancient remains at the estuary may attest harbour structures (Waele (1971) 4), and a small coastal trading station (serving as a harbour, cf. *epineion* at Strabo 6.2.5), contemporary with the foundation of Akragas, is inferred from the vast C6e–C5 cemetery on the Montelusa hill near the coast (De Miro (1988*b*) 240–44; earlier research: Waele (1971) 6).

Akragas lay about 4 km from the coast on a low sloping plateau surrounded on the north, east and south by a ridge of hills, the northernmost of which may have been the acropolis with a temple of Athena, the eastern and southern hills being occupied by other important sanctuaries. The steep slopes created natural defences, in part strengthened by walls raised on the crest of the hills (Polyb. 9.27.3–4). The

C6e circuit wall was built in local limestone in an ashlar technique. Eight or nine gates gave access to the city at natural openings in the ridge of hills (cf. P. Marconi (1929) 32–41, fig. 15). Diod. 13.81.3 refers to τείχη in reference to 406 when it was decided to evacuate the territory and take refuge behind the fortifications.

The hill of Athena, used as a retreat during the assault of the Carthaginians (Diod. 13.85.4 (r406)), is normally interpreted as the acropolis of the city (Polyb. 9.27.6). Polyb. 9.27.7 locates the temples of Athena and Zeus Atabyrios on the highest point of the city, but whether the Athenaion (probably the sanctuary of Athena Polias) and the temple of Zeus were located on the highest point of the mediaeval city of Girgenti or further south on the "Rupe Atenea" hill is still not clear; also all of the hills in the north and north-east may have constituted a single acropolis (Waele (1971) 217–22).

Akragas presents one of the most impressive examples of Sicilian urban planning. Although the fully excavated *insulae* are mainly of later date, the urban layout of the Archaic and Classical city may be reconstructed as an orthogonally planned city with *plateiai* oriented east–west, and *stenopoi* oriented north–south; investigations in the habitation area west of the Olympieion point to C6s–C5e for the overall urban layout (De Miro (1980) 711–15, (1992) 155). The north-western part of the city had a slightly different orientation. The urban area comprised *c.*625 ha including the surrounding hills, while the habitation area on the plateau comprised *c.*140 ha (Hoepfner and Schwandner (1994) 5). C5f witnessed significant building activity at Akragas (see e.g. Diod. 11.25), with several allusions to the high standard of living of the inhabitants (e.g. Heraclid. Pont. fr. 76, Wehrli; Diod. 13.81.4–5).

The *bouleuterion* and the *ekklesiasterion* were situated centrally in the urban layout on the small hill of S. Nicola (De Miro (1988*a*) 66, fig. 2). The hill was laid out as a sanctuary in C6, but from the C4 became the focus of civic structures, perhaps with a surrounding agora. The C4l *bouleuterion*, replacing C6–C4 temples, was built on the northern part of the hill on an artificial terrace supported by a new, monumental terrace wall which endows the area with some monumentality. The seating capacity was *c.*300 (De Miro (1985–86)). The *ekklesiasterion* was situated south of the *bouleuterion* on the southern slope of the S. Nicola hill (De Miro (1988*a*) 66, fig. 2). The *koilon*, covering about 1,250 m², had a seating capacity of *c.*3,000 (Hansen and Fischer-Hansen (1994) 57 with refs.). The excavators date the structure to C4–C3, though earlier dates have been suggested, such as the period of the refoundation of Akragas by Timoleon, 339 (cf. Plut. *Tim.* 35.2), or even C5 (Greco and Theodorescu (1983) 45, 79). The open space north-east of the Olympieion sanctuary has tentatively been identified with a lower, mercantile(?) agora (Fiorentini (1990) 17).

Stoas are now known from the early urban history (De Miro (1977) 95–96). The remains of a theatre(?) mentioned by Fazello (sixteenth century AD) is surmised in the S. Nicola area, near the other public buildings, but there are no remains. A C5 fountain house was part of the sanctuary of Demeter below the Rupe Atenea (Siracusano (1983)). Public works begun after the victory at Himera in 480 included underground conduits to carry waste water away from the city constructed by the architect Phaeax. The "swimming-bath", *kolumbethra*, mentioned by Diodorus, seven stades in circumference, probably fed the water supply of the city (Diod. 11.25.3–4 (r480); cf. also Waele (1971) 52, 113; Wilson (2000) 7).

The sources refer to cults of Zeus, Hera, Apollo, Athena, Demeter, Kore and Hermes (Waele (1971) 185–207). The epithet of the Athena of the sanctuary located on the acropolis (Diod. 13.85.4; Polyb. 9.27.7; *supra*) is uncertain. The Geloan-Rhodian origin of the settlers may suggest Lindia, but in Polyaen. 6.51 we have Polias. A Rhodian origin of the major city cults is corroborated by the Rhodian origin of the cult of Zeus Atabyrios located on the acropolis (Polyb. 9.27.7). According to Polyaen. 5.1.1, a temple was dedicated to Zeus Polieus, but it is most likely the same cult. A cult of Demeter is known from Pind. *Pyth.* 12.1–2 and from Polyaen. 5.1.1 (a *thesmophorion*). The cult statue of Apollo in a suburban Asklepieion (Polyb. 1.18.2) was the work of Myron (Cic. *Verr.* 4.43.93).

A survey of the remains of the urban sanctuaries comprises the following: C5e remains of a Doric temple (temple "E") partly incorporated in the Christian basilica of S. Maria dei Greci, in the mediaeval city of Girgenti, possibly the temple of Athena Polias (P. Marconi (1929) 77–80; Waele (1971) 110). Rupe Atenea: at S. Biagio, a C5e *naiskos* (temple "C") dedicated to Demeter (P. Marconi (1929) 66–72; Waele (1971) 199–200; Hinz (1998) 74–79). The row of sanctuaries on the southern crest of the city, from east to west: temple "D", C5m, cult unknown (P. Marconi (1929) 72–76); temple "F", C5s, cult unknown (ibid. 80–86); "Tempietto di Villa Aurea", C6l, cult unknown (ibid. 46); temple "A", C6l, cult unknown (ibid. 51–57; T. Van Compernolle (1989) 51–54); Olympieion (temple "B"), 480–*c.*440(?) (Diod. 13.81.1–4; Polyb. 9.27.9; Marconi (1929) 57–66; Bell (1980); T. Van Compernolle (1989) 60–68, (1992) 62–67). Archaic architectural terracottas from east of the Olympieion are taken as

evidence of an Archaic sanctuary in the vicinity, unknown cult (P. Marconi (1929) 46, 155–56). A sanctuary to the west of the Olympieion at gate 5; a C6s temple *in antis* and a "lesche" or *oikos*, from the C5 sanctuary enlarged with a stoa or porticus and other buildings (De Miro (1977) 94–100). Further west, the C5l temple "G"; in the cella, remains were found of an earlier Archaic *naiskos* (P. Marconi (1929) 86–87). Near the sanctuary of the chthonic divinities (Waele (1971) 195–99; Hinz (1998) 79–90): temple "I", C5m; north of this, remains of two C6 *naiskoi* possibly superseded by temple "I" in C5m. The central part of the city, the S. Nicola hill, was laid out as a sanctuary with at least two temples in the Archaic period; the structure of one was partly reused in a C4e *naiskos*, the cult was possibly that of Demeter (Polacco (1988); Hinz (1998) 90–91). The identification of the C5s suburban sanctuary located between the city and the coast (P. Marconi (1929) 87–93) as that of Asklepios rests upon Polyb. 1.18.2, but must remain uncertain.

The only cemetery of the city itself yet examined in any detail is that of Contrada Pezzino west of the city, dating from the period of the foundation to C5l, and again from C4s (De Miro (1989)). Further cemeteries were dispersed along the roads leading south and east from the city.

Xenokrates won a Pythian victory in 490 (Pind. *Pyth.* 6) and an Isthmian victory in, presumably, 472 (Pind. *Isth.* 2); Exainetos (496), Empedokles (496) and Theron (476) won in the Olympic Games (*Olympionikai* 167, 170, 220), and Exainetos (*Olympionikai* 341, 346) was particularly honoured in 412 when he entered the city in a chariot and was escorted by all the chariots of the Akragantines, 300 chariots each drawn by two white horses (Diod. 13.82.7). According to Pausanias, Akragas set up a bronze group in Olympia to commemorate a C5e(?) defeat of the Phoenicians at Motya (Paus. 5.25.5; cf. *LSAG* 274), and a statue of Apollo was dedicated at Delphi 475–450: Ἀκραγαντῖνοι τ[ôι Ἀπόλ]λονι (Bousquet (1959) 149–50). For the dedication of the spoils taken at Minoa to Athena Lindia by the Akragantines, see *supra*.

Akragas initiated coinage *c.*520/510 with an issue of didrachms on the Attic standard: *obv.* eagle standing in profile, legends: AKPAΓANTOΣ, or, later, AKPA, AKPAΓAΣ (see Brugnone (1978) for the use of the sign Λ = *alpha*); *rev.* crab with, on some later groups, officials' names or abbreviations. The terminal date of the first issue is a little before 470 (Jenkins (1970) 162–64; C. Boehringer (1984–85) 119–22; *SNG Cop. Sicily* 20–40). The tetradrachm replaced the didrachm as the main denomination *c.*464: main types as above, legend: AKPAΓANTOΣ (*SNG. Cop. Sicily* 41–45); also lower denominations based on the litra (*SNG Cop. Sicily* 46–51). Just before its destruction in 406, Akragas struck sophisticated issues, some signed, and some issues now used the city-ethnic as legend: AKPAΓANTINON (*SNG Cop. Sicily* 53), while AKPAΓANTINΩN is found in C4l–C3e. Rare gold issues from the same period (*SNG Cop. Sicily* 52) may reflect minting in response to the need to pay mercenaries (cf. Gela (no. 17)). The first bronze coinage of Akragas, from *c.*430, was cast shapes (Westermark (1979); *SNG Cop. Sicily* 61–63); later coins were struck in bronze; types: *obv.* eagle; *rev.* crab, some inscribed AKPAΓANTINON (Vassallo (1983); Westermark (1984); *SNG Cop. Sicily* 65–90). The city as refounded by Timoleon *c.*338 struck *symmachia* coins of the free horse type (Karlsson (1995) 161; *SNG Cop. Sicily* 91–92).

10. Akrai (Akraios) Map 47. Lat. 37.05, long. 14.55. Size of territory: ? Type: C:α. The toponym is Ἄκραι, αἱ (Thuc. 6.5.2; Diod. 23.4.1); Steph. Byz. 62.5 has Ἄκρα; the city-ethnic is Ἀκραῖος (*IG* XIV 215.3 (C3)).

The only (implicit) reference to Akrai as a *polis* is in the treaty of 263 between Rome and Syracuse (Diod. 23.4.1), which lists the *poleis* assigned to Hieron II and uses *polis* in the political sense. The internal collective use of the city-ethnic is found in *IG* XIV 215; it is also found as the epithet of Zeus Akraios, if the conjecture by Wilamowitz is accepted (*IG* XIV 203).

Lack of the name of an oecist and of a mint are factors which make the *polis* status of Akrai uncertain and tend to suggest a military settlement protecting the territory of Syracuse (no. 47; Di Vita (1956), (1987)) rather than a *polis*. There are very few sources for the Archaic and Classical periods, and no mention of the city from between the period of its foundation (Thuc. 6.5.2) and the encampment of Dion in its vicinity (Plut. *Dio* 27 (r357)). All in all, the status of Akrai seems uncertain. Thucydides uses the toponym without qualification, implying, perhaps, a *phrourion* controlling Syracusan dominion, though it *may* possibly have been a dependent *polis* founded as a fortress (as has been suggested for Kasmenai (no. 29) by Hansen (1997*a*) 36).

Akrai was founded by Syracuse (no. 47) in 664 (Thuc. 6.5.2) *c.*36 km west of Syracuse itself, as the outcome of Syracuse's policy of subjugating a large part of south-east Sicily (Di Vita (1987)). There is evidence for small nucleated settlements and farmsteads in the hinterland (Curcio (1979) 87–88; Marotta D'Agata *et al.* (1994) 196), but the size of Akraian territory is uncertain, and it was in any case part of the Syracusan dominion. A C4 relief of Demeter and Apollo

from Serra Palazzo, a few kilometres from Akrai, may indicate a suburban sanctuary (Orsi (1920)).

Akrai occupied a plateau west of modern Palazzolo Acreide between the upper reaches of the Tellaro and Anapo valleys. The city was defended by steep slopes and a circuit wall raised on the edge of the plateau. Only short stretches are extant, built as a solid ashlar wall dated to C4f (Bernabò Brea (1956) 21–25, fig. 9). *IG* XIV 217 (Hell.) mentions a *pyla Selinountia* (Pugliese Carratelli in Bernabò Brea (1956) 2; Manganaro (1965) 204–5 supplies an alternative reading). The urban site occupied the central part of the plateau, covering about 35 ha (Bernabò Brea (1956)). Evidence for the early urban history of Akrai is limited, early remains being sparse. The most conspicuous remains are the C3 theatre (Mitens (1988) 84–87) and the C2 *bouleuterion* (Gneisz (1990) 302). However, there are traces of early town planning which may go back to the time of foundation (Voza and Lanza (1994)). The east-west *plateia* spans the whole city from the Syracusan gate in the area of the probable agora, the theatre and *bouleuterion* to the Selinountine gate.

The C6s temple of Aphrodite on a hill above the city has a history going back to C7m (Bernabò Brea (1986); for the attribution: *IG* XIV 206, 208). There is epigraphic evidence for cults of Hera (*IG* XIV 208), Zeus Akraios (*IG* XIV 203: Διός [Ἀγο]ραίου, emended to [Ἀκ]ραίου by Wilamowitz), Artemis (*IG* XIV 217) and Kore (*IG* XIV 217; cf. Hinz (1998) 119). See further Pugliese Carratelli (1956) and Bernabò Brea (1986) 13.

The cemeteries of Akrai are located on the adjoining plateau south of the city, Contrada della Pineta (in use C7–C5) and on the Colle Orbo, located above the city outside the west gate (C7 and C6; Bernabò Brea (1956) 114–17).

11. Alaisa (Alaisinos) Map 47. Lat. 38.00, long. 14.15. Size of territory: ? Type: B:β. The toponym is Ἄλαισα, ἡ (Diod. 14.16.2, 4). The city-ethnic is Ἀλαισῖνος (C4m coins, *infra*; Diod. 23.4.1).

According to Diod. 14.16.2, Alaisa was founded by Archonides of Herbita in 403/2, in order to house veteran mercenaries, a *symmikton ochlon* that the war against Dionysios had brought to the city, as well as poor citizens of Herbita (no. 23) itself; in the report of the foundation, Alaisa is called a *polis* (πόλιν ἔκτισεν Ἄλαισαν), presumably in both the urban and the political sense. Another tradition held that it was a foundation by Himilkon of Carthage (Diod. 14.16.4). In the Roman period, however, the Herbitan origin of the city was considered a disgrace by its citizens (Diod. 14.16.3), and this may explain the variant tradition. The internal collective use of the city-ethnic is found on C4s coins (*infra*), and the external collective use in Diod. 23.4.1 (r263).

Alaisa was member of Timoleon's *symmachia* (cf. Diod. 16.73.2 (r342/1)), as can be inferred from its minting of Timoleontic *symmachia* coins (*infra*).

Alaisa is identified with Castel di Tusa on the north coast of Sicily, where there are substantial remains of an ancient urban site: habitation structures that reveal an orthogonal layout with an agora; a circuit wall in ashlar technique; a monumental stoa; and remains of two temples, of which one must have been of Apollo (*infra*), all Hellenistic (Scibona (1976*b*)). The *epiklesis* of Apollo—Archagetas (*infra*)—is testimony to the importance of his cult.

Alaisa struck Greek-style bronze coins from the time of Timoleon's *symmachia* (*c.*340): *obv.* Apollo, legend: ΑΡΧΑΓΕΤΑΣ; *rev.* torch and stalks of barley, legend: ΣΥΜΜΑΧΙΚΟΝ (*SNG Cop. Sicily* 132); also Zeus Eleutherios type: *obv.* head of Zeus Eleutherios with short hair, legend: ΖΕΥΣ ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΙΟΣ; *rev.* torch between ears of corn, legend: ΑΛΑΙΣΙΝΩΝ ΣΥΜΜΑΧΙΚΟΝ. Other types depict Apollo (legend: ΑΡΧΑΓΕΤΑΣ) and the nymph Sikelia (legend: ΣΙΚΕΛΙΑ). Lower bronze denominations have *obv.* griffin, *rev.* free horse, legend: ΚΑΙΝΟΝ (*SNG Cop. Sicily* 132–34). See Head, *HN*² 125–26; Talbert (1974) 188–89; Bernabò Brea (1975) 21; Karlsson (1995) 150, 165 n.3 with refs.

12. Alontion (Alontinos) Map 47. Lat. 38.05, long. 14.40. Size of territory: ? Type: C:γ. The toponym is Ἀλοντίον, τό (Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.51.2; Ptol. *Geog.* 3.4.2). The city-ethnic is Ἀλοντῖνος (C4e coins, *infra*).

No source calls Alontion a *polis*, but it is included here on account of its C4e coins.

According to legend, Patron of Akarnania, guide of Anchises (Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.51.2; for the Akarnanian origin of Patron, cf. Fromentin (1998) 256 *ad* Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.51.2), settled at Alontion, which would seem to indicate a claim to Greek identity, and by C4e it minted Greek-style coins (*infra*). Alontion has been identified with San Marco d'Alunzio (Bruno (1963) 141–48), in origin a Sikel site, but with some evidence of C4 Hellenisation. The few documented Greek structures are the remains of a (probably Hellenistic) circuit wall built in isodomic technique and a suburban temple. In addition, coin types suggest cults of Greek divinities (*infra*).

Alontion struck bronze coins from C4e: *obv.* head of Athena; *rev.* cuttlefish, legend: ΑΛΟΝΤΙΝΟΝ. According

to Karlsson (1995) 150, fig. 3, Alontion issued Timoleontic *symmachia* coins with the short-haired Zeus Eleutherios (but no refs. are given, ibid. 166 n. 3); Rutter (1997) 168 includes Alontion in his list of C4s Timoleontic *symmachia* coins.

13. Apollonia (Apolloniates) Map 47. Lat. 38.00, long. 14.35. Size of territory: ? Type: C:*α*? The toponym is *Ἀπολλωνία, ἡ* (Diod. 16.72.5). The city-ethnic is *Ἀπολλωνιάτης* (Diod. 16.72.5).

At 16.72.5, Diodorus reports that Apollonia, which with Engyon (no. 14) had been ruled by the tyrant Leptines, had its *autonomia* restored by Timoleon in 342/1; in his brief report of the incident, Diodorus refers to Apollonia as a *polis* in the political sense and uses the collective city-ethnic; it is called a *polis* in the urban sense at Diod. 20.56.4 (r307).

According to Steph. Byz. 106.4–5 (as emended by Clüver), Apollonia was located near Kale Akte and Alontion (i.e. on the north coast of Sicily), and urban remains on the plateau of Monte Vecchio, Commune of S. Fratello, have been identifed with Apollonia; the remains testify to circuit walls and habitation structures built in isodomic masonry of local marble (Bernabò Brea (1975) 15; Scibona (1976*a*)). However, Manni (1981) 145 opts for modern Pollina, pointing out that according to Diod. 16.72.5, Apollonia was near Engyon. According to Diod. 20.56.4, the city was taken by Agathokles in 307 after a short siege, and this suggests that it was fortified by this date.

14. Engyon (Engyinos) Map 47. Lat. 37.45, long. 14.35. Size of territory: ? Type: C:*α*. The toponym is *Ἔγγυον, τό* (Diod. 16.72.3; Steph. Byz. 271.13, for which see Meineke *ad loc.*). The city-ethnic is *Ἐγγυῖνος* (Diod. 16.72.4, 6) and *Ἔκγυ*(*ῖνος*?, cf. *infra*).

Engyon is called a *polis* in the urban and political (cf. *τυραννουμένη*) senses at Diod. 16.72.4 (r342/1) in a passage which also uses the collective city-ethnic (cf. 16.72.6). In 342/1, the city was ruled by the tyrant Leptines, who was, however, deposed when Timoleon restored the *autonomia* of Engyon (Diod. 16.72.3–5).

According to Diod. 4.79.7, the famous sanctuary of the *Meteres* at Engyon was of Cretan origin (Manganaro (1996*c*) 130 n. 13 with refs.), perhaps an indication that Greek identity was claimed for the city (*infra*).

The location of Engyon is uncertain, though we are told that the neighbouring city was Agyrion (no. 7), located 100 stades away (Diod. 4.80.5). Manganaro has, on the basis of Hellenistic inscriptions (*φα*[*τία*] *Ἔκγυ*[*ίνων*]?) on bullets found at Troina, suggested this as the site of Engyon, and the possible attestation of a civic organisation with *phratriai* is of some importance as an indication of Greek identity (Manganaro (1964*b*), (1996*c*) 130; *contra* Manni (1976*b*) 606–7).

At Troina, the archaeological remains of a circuit wall and the evidence from tombs do not antedate C4m; there is no evidence of an original Sikel settlement. However, the identification of Troina with Engyon (accepted by *Barr.*) cannot be considered absolutely certain (Militello (1961); Bejor (1989*a*)).

15. Euboia (Euboeus) Map 47. Unlocated. Type: C:*α*. The toponym is *Εὔβοια, ἡ* (Callim. *Aet.* II fr. 43.52, Pfeiffer; Ps.-Skymnos 287; cf. Freeman (1891–94) i. 380: "Its name, recording the home-memories of the men of Leontinoi, is the earliest distinct instance of the name of a land being used as the name of a town; for there was a town as well as an island of Naxos, but there was no town of Euboia"); in Hdt. 7.156.3 the city-ethnic is given as *Εὐβοεύς* (to which is added *ὁ ἐν Σικελίῃ*; cf. Camassa (1989*a*) 391–92: "uno specifico riferimento agli abitanti del centro [i.e. the city of Euboia] e non . . . una designazione dei coloni d'ascendenza euboica in Sicilia"). The site of Euboia is unidentified, but it was presumably located somewhere in the hinterland of Leontinoi (no. 33) where the presence of Chalkidian Greeks is well documented (Procelli (1989)). The city has been tentatively identified with different modern towns and localities (cf. Camassa (1989*a*) 392), most recently with the site of Monte San Mauro near Caltagirone (Frasca (1997)). *Barr.* (following Manni (1981)) suggests a location at the ACH site at Licodia Euboia.

The only Classical source to mention Euboia is Hdt. 7.156.3, which reports that Gelon subjected it to the same treatment as Megara, i.e. the *pacheis* received citizenship at Syracuse (no. 47) while the *demos* was sold into slavery; this ought to imply a Euboian population socially differentiated into *pacheis* and *demos*, and since the other communities relocated by Gelon were certainly *poleis*—*viz.* Kamarina (no. 28) and Megara (no. 36)—the presumption is that Euboia was a *polis* as well (cf. Seibert (1979) 226, 228). Strabo 10.1.15 also reports Gelon's relocation of the city and implies that it meant a change of status for Euboia: it became a Syracusan *phrourion*, and the inference is that it was a *polis* prior to that (*Εὔβοια . . . ἣν Γέλων ἐξανέστησε, καὶ ἐγένετο φρούριον Συρακοσίων*; cf. the entry for Leontinoi, which became a *phrourion* of Syracuse in the later 420s). Euboia is called a *polis* by Ps.-Skymnos 287 in reference to the time of foundation. The external collective use of the city-ethnic is found at Hdt. 7.156.3.

Only two events of Euboian history are known: its foundation and its destruction. It was founded by Leontinoi (no. 33) (Strabo 6.2.6). The date of the foundation is unknown and must be inferred from the context in which the literary sources mention it: Strabo 6.2.6 discusses its foundation together with the foundations of Himera (no. 24), Kallipolis (no. 27) and Selinous (no. 44), which may suggest a C7 date for the foundation; however, Ps.-Skymnos 287–88 treats the foundation alongside that of Mylai, so a C8l date cannot be entirely excluded. Euboia's existence as a *polis* ended when *c.*485–483 Gelon sold its *demos* into slavery and relocated the *pacheis* to Syracuse (Hdt. 7.156.3; chronology: Dunbabin (1948) 416); after that it was a Syracusan *phrourion* (Strabo 10.1.15).

16. Galeria (Galarinos) Map 47. Unlocated (Manni (1981) 175–76; Scibona (1989) 536). Type: C:*β*. The toponym is *Γαλερία* or *Γαλαρία*, *ἡ* at Diod. 16.67.3, 19.104.1; the city-ethnic is *Γαλαρῖνος* (C5m coins, *infra*).

Galeria is called a *polis* in the urban and political senses at Diod. 16.67.3 (r345/4); *politai* are mentioned at Diod. 19.104.1 (r312). The internal collective use of the city-ethnic is found on C5m coins (*infra*). According to Steph. Byz. 196.11, Galeria was a foundation by the Sikel Morgos; it is included here on account of its Greek-inspired coinage (*infra*).

Reception of an embassy is implied by Diod. 16.67.3 (r345/4): Entella sent for help against the Carthaginians, and Galeria responded by sending 1,000 hoplites, who were all killed.

Galeria struck two distinct issues of silver litrai. The earlier issue dates to C5m: *obv.* Zeus seated on throne holding eagle-tipped sceptre, legend: *ΣΟΤΕΡ*; *rev.* Dionysos standing, holding kantharos and vine, legend: *ΓΑΛΑ*. The iconography is known from coins of Aitna (no. 8) and Naxos (no. 41), but the style is indigenous. A later issue dates to 430–420 and is known from three specimens: *obv.* Dionysos holding kantharos and thyrsos; *rev.* vine and bunch of grapes, legend: *ΓΑΛΑΡΙΝΟΝ* (Head, *HN*² 139; Jenkins (1975) 83–85; Marwitz (1982) 56; Cutroni Tusa (1984–85) 290). The type depicting Zeus Soter seems to indicate a Greek cult (Gabrici (1959) 19; Marwitz (1982)).

17. Gela (Geloios, Geloaios) Map 47. Lat. 37.05, long. 14.15. Size of territory: 4 in C7; for the C6–C5e dominion, see below. Type: A:*α*. The toponym is *Γέλη*, *ἡ* (Hdt. 7.153.1) or *Γέλα* (*F.Delphes* III.4 452 (*c.*474); Thuc. 4.58). The uncontracted city-ethnic is *Γελοαῖος* (*IGDS* no. 132 (550–525)), contracted to *Γελῷος* (Hdt. 7.154.1; Thuc. 7.58.1; *IGDS* no. 158 (C5e)); the form *Γελεαῖος* is found in *SEG* 24 303 (C6–C5), possibly an Ionic form, but see *IGDS* notes *ad* 132 and Cordiano (1995), who suggests reading *Ϝελεάτας*, i.e. the city-ethnic of Hyele (no. 54), not Gela.

Gela is called *polis* in the political sense by Thuc. 6.4.3, and in the urban sense by Thuc. 6.4.3 and Theopomp. fr. 358. *Polites* occurs at Hdt. 7.155.1 and *astos* at Hdt. 7.156.2. Its *politeia* was described by Aristotle (Arist. fr. 491). A C5 bronze weight is inscribed *δαμοσ<ί>α* (*IGDS* no. 152). It is called *patris* in Empedokles fr. 156.4 (DK).

The internal collective use of the city-ethnic is found in *IGDS* no. 153 (C5e) and on C5 coins (*infra*). The external collective use is found in Hdt. 7.156.2 and Thuc. 7.58.1; the external individual use is found in *IGDS* no. 132 (550–525), *IvO* 142 (*c.*488) and *IG* II² 8460 (C4e).

Gela was founded 45 years after Syracuse, i.e. in 689/8, by colonists from Rhodos and Crete (Thuc. 6.4.3); according to Hdt. 7.153.1 by Lindians (no. 997) from Rhodos. The oecists were the Rhodian Antiphemos and the Cretan Entimos (Thuc. 6.4.3; cf. the C6–C5 dedication to Antiphemos: *IGDS* no. 135, indicating a cult of the oecist (Orlandini (1968) 44–46)). The colonists instituted *νόμιμα Δωρικά* at Gela (Thuc. 6.4.3). Early Geloan expansion into the hinterland may be inferred from the sack of Omphake, a *πόλισμα Σικανῶν*, by Antiphemos (Paus. 8.46.2 (rC7)); and conflicts between Geloans and the indigenous population are attested in other sources, e.g. Artemon (*FGrHist* 569) fr. 1 and the Lindian Temple Chronicle 25 = Xenagoras (*FGrHist* 240) fr. 12, which mentions an *ἀκροθίνιον ἐξ Ἀριαίτου* dedicated to Athena Lindia by the Geloans. It was probably this expansionist policy that led to the foundation of Akragas (no. 9), which was founded 108 years after Gela's own foundation, i.e. *c.*580 (Thuc. 6.4.4; cf. Pind. *Ol.* 2.93 with schol. 576).

The plateau of Gela dominated the coastal plain and the vast inland lowland. Apparently, the plain was mainly agricultural and without settlements. It was delimited by a row of hills settled with indigenous sites which all came under Geloan influence in C7f, soon after the foundation of Gela. Two of the larger cities were Omphake (perhaps modern Butera: see most recently Adamesteanu (1994–95) 113), subjected by Gela early on (*supra*), and Maktorion (possibly modern Monte Bubbonia: Bejor (1991) 305). The tracts along the valleys of the rivers Salso (ancient Himera), Dessueri and Maroglio (ancient Gela and its tributaries) came under Gela's influence from C6e, as far inland as Caltanisetta (sites of Sabucina; Gibil Gabib) and Caltagirone (site of Monte San Mauro, perhaps a Chalkidian settlement and therefore on the edge of the Geloan area of influence) (Orlandini (1962); see Euboia (no.

15)). Eastwards the border between Gela and Kamarina (no. 28) was marked by the Dirillo valley, with a rural sanctuary at Feudo Nobile dedicated to chthonic divinities (Canzanella (1989)). Westwards Geloan influence may have reached as far as the river Platani (ancient Halykos), the eastern frontier of Selinous (no. 44). In C7 the immediate hinterland of Gela comprised an area of about 375 km², but the period of Hippokrates and Gelon saw a Geloan dominion comprising large tracts of north-east (Chalkidian) and south-east (Syracusan) Sicily. Philistos (*FGrHist* 556) fr. 5 implies a C6m treaty of *symmachia* between Gela and Kamarina, and possibly between Gela and Syracuse (no. 47).

From *c.*505, Gela was governed by tyrants, beginning with the rule of Kleandros and Hippokrates, sons of the Olympic victor Pantares (*Olympionikai* 151). Kleandros was tyrant for seven years (Hdt. 7.154.1; Arist. *Pol.* 1316ª37), and after him his brother Hippokrates took over *τὴν μουναρχίην*, also for seven years (Hdt. 7.155.1; cf. 6.23.3 and Thuc. 6.5.3: *τύραννος*). Hippokrates conducted an aggressive foreign policy both against the indigenous population (Hdt. 7.154.2–3) and against the Greek cities of Kallipolis (no. 27), Naxos (no. 41), Zankle (no. 51) and Leontinoi (no. 33), all of which he "enslaved" (Hdt. 7.154.2). He also managed to defeat the Syracusans in battle and to lay siege to their city, but this conflict was settled through arbitration by Corinth (no. 227) and Korkyra (no. 123) by which Syracuse had to cede Kamarina to Hippokrates (Hdt. 7.154.2–3). Kamarina was then refounded by Gela with Hippokrates as oecist (Thuc. 6.5.3; Philistos (*FGrHist* 556) fr. 15). When Kamarina was destroyed by Gelon in 484, the Geloans refounded it once again *c.*461 (Thuc. 6.4.3; Diod. 11.76.5); see further Berve (1967) 137–40. Zankle and its ruler Skythes were dependent allies of Hippokrates (Hdt. 7.154.2; see Zankle/Messana (no. 51)).

On Hippokrates' death, the citizens of Gela attempted to free themselves from tyranny, but Gelon, the former *doryphoros* of Hippokrates, defeated them in battle and took power (Hdt. 7.155.1). When in 485 Gelon became tyrant of Syracuse, he moved his seat as well as "more than half" of the Geloan *astoi* to that city (Hdt. 7.156.2). The government of Gela was entrusted to Gelon's brother, Hieron (Hdt. 7.156.6), who later inherited the tyranny of Syracuse and was succeeded at Gela by another brother, Polyzalos (*F.Delphes* III.4 452: [*Γ*]*élaς . . . à*[*ν*]*ásσ*[*ον*]). Tyranny at Gela presumably came to an end in 466/5 (Berve (1967) 141).

In 405 Himilkon besieged, pillaged and destroyed (?) Gela (Diod. 13.108–111.1–2), and after the defeat of Dionysios the peace treaty between Carthage and Syracuse (no. 47) stipulated that Gela be an *ateichistos* tributary of Carthage (Diod. 13.114.1; *Staatsverträge* 210). Gela was one of the Timoleontic refoundations (Plut. *Tim.* 35.1–2; Talbert (1974) 153–55, 204).

Our sources for the military strength of Gela provide us with scanty information about the size of the *polis*: a contingent of 500 *hippeis* is mentioned by Diod. 13.83.2 (rC5s; cf. Timaios (*FGrHist* 566) fr. 26a). In 415, during the Athenian attack, 200 Geloan cavalry assisted Syracuse (Thuc. 6.67.2), and the same number was sent in 413 (Thuc. 7.33.2). In 414 a small contingent from Gela under the command of Gylippos marched to the support of Syracuse (Thuc. 7.1.5), and in 413 a navy (*nautikon*) of five ships as well as 400 *akontistai* were sent to Syracuse (Thuc. 7.33.1). At the battle of Himera in 406 a contingent from Gela fought at the side of Kamarina (no. 28) and Syracuse (no. 47) (Diod. 13.86.5). A C6–C5 Geloan defeat at the hands of Rhegion (no. 68) is attested by *SEG* 24 303.

Civil war is attested, as in all other major Sicilian *poleis*: an early *stasis* (C7–C6) was resolved without bloodshed by an ancestor of Gelon (Hdt. 7.153.2). Another *stasis*, in which Dionysios I interfered, is mentioned for the year 406: the *demos* rose against the *despoteia* of the *dynatotatoi* and succeeded owing to Dionysios' assistance; in this connection the *ekklesia* and *psephismata* are mentioned (Diod. 13.93.2–4; Berger (1992) 23–25).

Diplomatic activities comprise reception of envoys (implied by Diod. 11.68.1 (r466)) as well as sending of envoys (Timaios (*FGrHist* 566) fr. 22 (r424); Diod. 13.93.4 (r406)). In 424, Gela hosted a pan-Sicilian peace congress, which had developed from an *ekecheiria* between Kamarina (no. 28) and Gela (Thuc. 5.58, 65; Timaios (*FGrHist* 566) fr. 22). A Geloan served as Epidaurian *theorodokos* in 356/5 (*IG* IV².1 95.II.83). Another was appointed Samian *proxenos* in C4l (*IG* XII.6 33).

The rulers of C5f Gela displayed their power at the Panhellenic sanctuaries. Gelon was victorious at Olympia in 484 (*Olympionikai* 158; *IvO* 143 and Paus. 6.9.4; Harrell (2002)); and Polyzalos was victor at Delphi *c.*478 (*SEG* 3 396; *LSAG* 266, 275 no. 9; *F.Delphes* III.4 452; cf. Harrell (2002) 460–62). For Gelon's donations at Delphi: *Syll.*³ 33–34 (cf. Harrell (2002) 453–55). Gela had a *thesauros* at Olympia (Paus. 6.19.15), a richly furnished C6m building, restructured in C5f (Mertens-Horn and Viola (1990) 238–39). Communal consultation of oracles is implied by Diod. 13.108.4, which also attests to an internal communal dedication of a bronze image of Apollo.

The city occupied the east–west-oriented coastal plateau, and during C7–C5 a part of the lowland plain to the north

(Spagnolo (1991)). The easternmost part of the plateau, with C7 sanctuaries, is normally regarded as the acropolis of the city (there is no ancient attestation of the term). The monumental C6 temple was replaced by a C5e temple located further east (Orlandini (1968) 21–25; T. Van Compernolle (1989) 68–69). The major divinity of the sanctuary was Athena, probably Athena Lindia (Fischer-Hansen (1996) 322–27 with refs.). There are clear signs of some continuity of Greek occupation during the C4f and of continuity of cult.

The central part of the plateau was probably the main habitation area in the Archaic and early Classical periods, delimited further to the west by the early cemeteries (Shepherd (1995) 60–70). There is evidence of C8l Greek occupation, a pre-colonial phase apparently supporting the statement by Thuc. 6.4.3 that an area of Gela called Lindioi was occupied before the founding of Gela (for a colonisation of Gela in two phases, see Wentker (1956); Fiorentini and De Miro (1983)). (Mortuary evidence, too, indicates a Greek presence from the end of C8.) Architectural terracottas have revealed a large sanctuary, consisting of at least two monumental temples (Fischer-Hansen (1996) 327–32 with refs.); the identity of the divinity is uncertain; Orlandini (1968) 31 suggests Zeus Atabyrios.

No traces of a circuit wall from the period of foundation have been found so far, though the existence of—presumably early—walls is implied by Thuc. 6.4.3. There are remains of a C6 circuit wall, possibly raised in connection with C6l civic strife (Orlandini (1961) 141–44), or, if in part of later origin, in connection with the threat of the Carthaginians in C5l (De Miro and Fiorentini (1976–77) 434–35). Fortifications in C4l are attested by Diod. 19.107.5 (r317) and 19.110.2–3 (r311).

Little is known of the habitation area on the plateau (Buongiovanni and Canzanella (1990) 13). The Archaic city incorporated the north slope of the plateau and part of the plain below (Spagnolo (1991)). The size of the Classical city, including a part of the lowland plains to the north but excluding the western cemetery and including the eastern sanctuary, was about 200 ha. There is clear evidence of the destruction by the Carthaginians in 405, but also of a re-establishment of the Greek settlement soon after (Fiorentini (2002)). The Timoleontic refoundation of Gela with a new overall urban plan comprised habitation quarters in terraces along the north slope and on part of the upper plateau, incorporating also a new industrial quarter, public baths and the western part of the plateau, enclosed by the impressive circuit walls at Capo Soprano (Buongiovanni and Canzanella (1990) 20–22; Panvini (1996) 100–20).

There is further evidence of urban cults: a sanctuary on the southern slope was dedicated to Hera (Orlandini (1968) 31–33; *IGDS* nos. 137–38), and close by was the *heroon* for the *oikistes* Antiphemos (*supra*). Gela was surrounded by a number of suburban sanctuaries (surveys: Orlandini (1968); Fiorentini (1985)), with paramount importance assigned to sanctuaries for Demeter (Kron (1992); Hinz (1998) 55–69). Other sanctuaries, previously thought to be suburban, are now known to have been located within the northern boundary of the city (Orlandini (1968) pl. 1.5.6; Spagnolo (1991) 69). The stay of Aischylos at Gela surely implies that the city had a theatre in C5m. A C7–C5 building complex located on the coast south-east of the plateau near the estuary of the river Gelas has been interpreted as harbour structures (Fiorentini (1985) 22; Panvini (1996) 54–57).

Gela began minting on the initiative of Gelon, *c.*490–485. The first issue was of didrachms and tetradrachms on the Attic–Euboian standard, *obv.* naked rider; *rev.* forepart of man-headed bull, legends: $\Gamma E \Lambda A \Sigma$ (Jenkins (1970) 25). A second issue, mostly of tetradrachms, *c.*480–470, is strongly influenced by the Syracusan mint and has *obv.* four-horse chariot with a flying Nike above; *rev.* forepart of man-faced bull, legends: $\Gamma E \Lambda$, $\Gamma E \Lambda A \Sigma$. Issues with the same *obv.* and *rev.* types, and variants including didrachms and drachms, are known until C5l (*SNG Cop. Sicily* 251–66); drachms have *obv.* legend $\Gamma E \Lambda O I O N$ (Jenkins (1970) 49). Tetradrachms from *c.*440–430 have the standard *rev.* type, but a standing female figure crowns the bull's head with a wreath (a local nymph or water-goddess in the role of Nike?); legend: $\Sigma O \Sigma I \Pi \Pi O \Lambda I \Sigma$. The *obv.* type is very similar to *obv.* dies from Himera (Jenkins (1970) 71–72). From *c.*425 the tetradrachms carry the *obv.* legend $\Gamma E \Lambda \Omega I O N$; $\Gamma E \Lambda A \Omega$[..]; $\Gamma E \Lambda A \Sigma$ (*SNG Cop. Sicily* 269–70, 277, 279). Smaller denominations (didrachms and litrai) have as types horseman or head of river-god or Demeter and the legend $\Gamma E \Lambda A \Sigma$ or $\Gamma E \Lambda \Omega I \Omega N$ (*SNG Cop. Sicily* 271–75, 280–81). A gold coinage (dilitron and litra) was issued in C5l, probably to pay the mercenary armies fighting the Carthaginians in 406/5 (Diod. 13.93). The *rev.* of the gold litra has as type head of the deity Sosipolis, legend: $\Sigma \Omega \Sigma I \Pi O \Lambda I \Sigma$ (*SNG Cop. Sicily* 276). Bronze coinage began *c.*420 (Jenkins (1979); *SNG Cop. Sicily* 282–87). The refoundation of Gela by Timoleon was marked by a new issue of silver litrai; the *obv.* type of a warrior sacrificing a ram is variously interpreted as Antiphemos, the oecist of Gela, or as Timoleon himself in the guise of the oecist of New Gela (Jenkins (1979); *SNG Cop. Sicily* 288).

18. Heloron (Ailoros) Map 47. Lat. 36.50, long. 15.05. Size of territory: ? Type: A:*α*. The toponym is *Ἕλωρον, τό* (Ps.-Skylax 13) or *Ἕλωρος* (*BCH* 45 (1921) IV.100 (230–210); Steph. Byz. 270.3). The city-ethnic is *Αἰλῶρος* (Diod. 23.4.1) or *Ἑλωρίτης* (*Etym. Magn.* 333.3).

Heloron is explicitly called a *polis* (*πόλις Ἕλωρον*) in the urban sense in Ps.-Skylax 13, where this phrase is found under the general heading *οἰκοῦσι δὲ καὶ Ἕλληνες* (which is opposed to *οὗτοι μὲν βάρβαροι*), but apart from that there is no evidence for its status in the Archaic and Classical periods. The evidence for Heloron as a *polis* in the political sense is C3: like Akrai (no. 10), the city is listed in the treaty between Syracuse and Rome of 263 as a *polis* assigned to Hieron II (Diod. 23.4.1 = *Staatsverträge* no. 479); this may suggest dependence on Syracuse (no. 47) at an earlier date (*infra*). In assessing the *polis* status of Heloron, the fact that it is listed in the Delphic list of *theorodokoi* (230–210) (*BCH* (1921) IV.100; cf. Manganaro (1964*a*) 420) may have some retrospective value. According to Ael. *NA* 12.30, Heloron was once a *Συρακοσίων φρούριον*. There are no written sources for the foundation of Heloron, and there are no coins. Heloron is here defined as a *polis* type *A* on the basis of Ps.-Skylax 13, but its *polis* status is uncertain given the proximity of Syracuse; it cannot be excluded that Heloron was an early military outpost in the southern dominion of Syracuse, though it *may* have been a dependent *polis* founded as a fortress (as has been suggested for Kasmenai by Hansen (1997*a*) 36; cf. Akrai (no. 10) and Kasmenai (no. 29)).

To the west, Heloron's territory bordered upon the territory of Kamarina (no. 28). Heloron was founded on a coastal plateau about 18 km south of Syracuse and *c.*400 m to the north of the river Tellaro (= ancient Heloros); (morphology of the site: Voza (1978) pl. 37, 1; plan of site: Voza (1980–81) pl. 130). Archaeological evidence points to a foundation in C8l–C7e (Voza (1973a) 117 no. 381; (1978)); so Syracuse secured its interests southwards before founding the secondary colonies of Akrai, Kasmenai and Kamarina (Di Vita (1956)). An abundance of Greek C7–C6m material is known from the site, whereas limited C5 material suggests that this was a period of recession. The city prospered during the period of Timoleon, and above all in the Hellenistic period. The C6 circuit wall was built in a pseudo-isodomic technique as a double curtain-wall with internal fill (*emplekton*), in all 2.80 m wide (Orsi *et al.* (1966) 310–12). A local limestone was used, as well as odd material, such as a C6 tombstone (*IGDS* no. 98). The Archaic circuit wall was incorporated in the C4 fortification when the wall was strengthened and towers were added (Orsi *et al.* (1966) 220–31). The C4 circuit wall is known on the north, west and south of the town, its course following the edge of the habitation plateau; the eastern side facing the sea also seems to have been fortified.

The habitation area comprised about 9 ha. The 1,500 seating capacity of the C4–C2 theatre (*infra*) gives some indication of population size in the late Classical period.

The main routes across the plateau were not laid out in straight lines but in accordance with the uneven terrain—uncommon in Western Greek urban planning (Voza (1980–81) 686–87). Though this road system is known primarily from its Hellenistic phase, there is little doubt that its origin is Archaic. An open space bordered by public buildings on the highest point of the plateau is interpreted as an agora (Voza in *Storia della Sicilia* i. 550, fig. 90). The main urban area in the south-western part of the city was on a grid plan and delimited on the north by a C4m(?) *temenos* (the so-called Asklepieion) of unknown cult (Orsi *et al.* (1966) 287–88, 320). Sparse remains of habitation structures in the southernmost part of the area are of C8l–C7e date and reveal affinities with contemporary architecture from Megara (no. 36) and Syracuse (no. 47; Voza (1978), (1980–81) 685–86). Yet another *temenos* marked the southern limit of the city: a C4s temple dedicated to Demeter (Voza (1973*a*) 118–19; Hinz (1998) 116–18) and smaller *thesauroi/naiskoi.*

A suburban Demeter sanctuary spanning the Archaic and the Hellenistic periods was located near the coast north of Heloron (Voza (1973*a*) 123–26; *Storia della Sicilia* i. 548; Hinz (1998) 111–16). The Hellenistic programme of public building included a small C4–C2 theatre outside the southern perimeter of the city (Orsi *et al.* (1966) 232–35, 324–27; Mitens (1988) 89–91). Hesychius refers to an *Ἑλώριος ἀγών* (s.v.) celebrated at the river Heloros and possibly to be connected with the city.

19. Henna (Hennaios) Map 47. Lat. 37.35, long. 14.15. Size of territory: ? Type: B:*β*. The toponym is *Ἔννα, ἡ* (Diod. 14.14.6). The city-ethnic is *Ἐνναῖος* on C5m coins (*infra*); *Ἐνναῖος* is found in *SEG* 30 1123.8 (C4l–C3m; cf. *SEG* 32 914) and Philistos (*FGrHist* 556) fr. 5 and Diod. 14.14.7 (r403).

Henna is called a *polis* in the urban sense in *SEG* 30 1123.13 (C4l–C3m; cf. *SEG* 32 914) and Diod. 14.14.7–8 (r403). The internal collective use of the city-ethnic is found on C5m coins (*infra*); the external collective use of the city-ethnic is attested in Philistos (*FGrHist* 556) fr. 5 (rC6m) and in *SEG* 30 1123.8 (C4l–C3m; cf. *SEG* 32 914) and Diod. 14.14.7 (r403), and the external individual use in Diod. 14.4.6 (r403).

A C6m alliance with Syracuse is attested by Philistos (*FGrHist* 556) fr. 5. In 403, the city experienced a brief tyranny under Aeimnestos, a citizen of Henna itself who acted at Dionysios I's instigation; shortly after his rise to power, however, Dionysios fomented a *stasis* during which he broke into the city and deposed Aeimnestos (Diod. 14.14.6–8). In C4l–C3m Henna gave assistance to the people of Entella, who had been driven from their city and were received by the Hennans *καὶ πόλι καὶ χώραι* (*SEG* 30 1123.8–13; cf. *SEG* 32 914). The grateful Entellans after their return granted *isopoliteia* to the people of Enna (*SEG* 30 1123.16 (C4l–C3m); cf. *SEG* 32 914).

According to Steph. Byz. 271.4, Henna was a foundation by Syracuse (no. 47; *κτίσμα Συρακοσίων*) established in 664. While this may be evidence that a Greek identity was claimed for the city, the historicity of the report is doubtful, as is the suggestion that it derives from Philistos of Syracuse (*FGrHist* 556, fr. 5; Manni (1981) 169). All evidence points to a Sikulan site strongly Hellenised: the archaeological evidence attests to some degree of Hellenisation already from C6e (*pace* Vallet (1962) 42), and the degree of Hellenisation is significant from C5m, when Greek-style coinage is introduced and the cemeteries bear a strong Greek stamp (Fiorentini (1980–81) 599); cf. also the reference to an agora at Diod. 14.14.7 (r403); late sources refer to a theatre (Polyaen. 8.21 (r214); Frontin. *Str.* 4.7.22). Traces of the circuit wall of the acropolis (cf. Polyaen. 8.21) are known; the published drawings suggest a Hellenistic date (Orsi (1931) 384–88; Fiorentini (1980–81) 599; Martorana (1982–83); Bejor and Marotta D'Agata (1989)). The cult of Demeter at Enna was famous; the sources for the cult are mainly literary (Diod. 5.3.1–3; Strabo 6.2.6), whereas the archaeological evidence is tenuous, and the suggested location of the Demeter sanctuary on a rocky spur north of the settlement plateau remains uncertain (Orsi (1931) 379; Hinz (1998) 121–24), though a C3 inscription referring to *Dam[ater]* or *Dam[atriastan]* was found in the vicinity (*IGDS* no. 198).

The strongest evidence of C5m Hellenisation is provided by the minting of silver litrai from perhaps as early as *c.*450: *obv.* quadriga driven by Demeter holding torch; *rev.* Demeter sacrificing at altar holding torch, legend: *HENNAION*; a variant issue has *obv.* head of Demeter; *rev.* Demeter sacrificing at altar (Gabrici (1959) 12–15; Jenkins (1975); Cammarata (1987)). Henna issued bronze coinage in the period of Timoleon: (1) *obv.* head of Demeter, legend: *ΔAMAT* or *ΔAMATHP*; *rev.* torch between ears of corn, or head of ox with filleted horns, legend: *ENNA*; (2) *obv.* head of Demeter, legend: *ΔAMATHP*; *rev.* goat before torch of Demeter between ears of corn, legend: *ENNA* (*SNG Cop. Sicily* 234); see Bejor and Marotta D'Agata (1989) 191; Talbert (1974) 181 and Cammarata (1987).

20. Herakleia (1) (Herakleotes) Map 47. Lat. 37.25, long. 13.15. Size of territory: ? Type: B:*α*. The original name was *Minoa* (*Μινώη, ἡ* (Hdt. 5.46.2), *Μινῷα* (Diod. 4.79.1)); the new, or additional, name *Herakleia* (*Ἡράκλεια*, Polyb. 1.18.2) is commonly assumed to have originated with the seizure of the city by the remnants of the expedition of the Spartan Dorieus (Hdt. 5.46.2; *RE* VIII. 437). The double name, *Herakleia Minoa*, is rare (Polyb. 1.25.9: *Ἡράκλεια ἡ Μινῷα*); Herakleia is common (Polyb. 1.18.2; Diod. 19.71.7); but Minoa appears as well (Heracl. Lemb. 59; Diod. 16.9.4; Plut. *Dio* 25.11). The city-ethnic is *Ἡρακλεώτης* (Diod. 20.56.3 and possibly *IG* XII.6 38 (C4l), on which see *infra*).

Hdt. 5.46.2 calls it an *ἀποικίη* of Selinous (no. 44); the oecist(s) and the date of foundation are unknown, but the date must be post-628 (date of Selinous' foundation). It is called a *polis* only in later sources: in the urban sense at Plut. *Dio* 25.6 (r time of Dion) (cf. *πολισμάτιον* at Plut. *Dio* 25.5), and in the political sense at Diod. 16.9.4 (r357). A description of its constitution was included among the 158 Aristotelian *politeiai* (Heracl. Lemb. 59; Arist. no. 55; Gigon, which uses *polis* in a mythological account of the foundation by Minos of Crete). The external collective use of the city-ethnic is found in Diod. 20.56.3 (r307). *IG* XII.6 38 (C4l) is a decree by Samos (no. 864) granting proxeny etc. to *Ἐπινωΐδης Εὐδήμου Ἡρακλεώτης* and a reasonable case can be made that the honorandus originated from the present Herakleia (Kebric (1975), (1977) 3–4; Shipley (1987) 164).

There are very few sources for the Archaic and Classical periods. Nothing is known of the political and institutional life apart from the notice of mythic stamp that Minos imposed Cretan laws on the city (Heracl. Lemb. 59; cf. Perlman (1992)).

Shortly before 500, Minoa was captured by those Lakedaimonians who, under the leadership of Euryleon, had survived the ill-fated expedition of Dorieus (Hdt. 5.46.2). The city seems to have been defeated by Akragas in C6l or C5e, Lind. Chron. (*FGrHist* 532) fr. 30 = Xenagoras (*FGrHist* 240) fr. 17 recording a dedication at Lindos by Akragas of a *palladion* taken *ἐκ Μινώιας*. Though the date of this episode is uncertain, it is most often seen as the aftermath of the occupation of western Sicily by Euryleon and the Spartans (Luraghi (1994) 41, 233–34). During Theron's reign (488–473) Herakleia seems to have been a city within

the dominion of Akragas (no. 9), possibly after its conquest by Theron (cf. Diod. 4.79.4 with Fontana (1978)). After the fall of the Deinomenids, the city seems to have been involved in the fighting between the disenfranchised mercenaries, who occupied the city, and the Syracusans, who with the Akragantines eliminated the mercenaries (see *FGrHist* 577 fr. 1). The city must have come into Carthaginian hands by the treaty of 383 between Carthage and Dionysios I (Diod. 15.17.5); when Dion sought refuge in Herakleia in 357, the city was still under Carthaginian dominion (Plut. *Dio* 25.5; Diod. 16.9.4), ruled by an *ἄρχων* (Plut.) or an *ἐπιστάτης* (Diod.), but it is described as in Akragantine territory (Diod.). By the treaty of 339 it reverted to the Greek area (Diod. 16.82.3) and was refounded by Timoleon (Talbert (1974) 159–60). In 314 it became Carthaginian once again (Diod. 19.71.7).

Herakleia was founded by Selinous (Hdt. 5.46.2), and the colony may have served to secure the eastern border of Selinous' territory which was threatened by Akragantine expansion during the reign of Phalaris (De Miro (1962) 144–46). The foundation date is uncertain, but the perspective of a powerful Selinous securing its eastern border towards Akragas as well as archaeological evidence (*infra*) suggest a C6m date. However, the city was presumably within the Akragantine dominion already by C6l and at least from C5e (*supra*); Akragas was located only 25 km to the east.

The size and exploitation of the *chora* of Herakleia is little known. An area of *c.*6 km² has been surveyed, and a C6 farmstead or workshop found *c.*350 m north of the city (Wilson and Leonard (1980)).

The city was founded on a low coastal promontory (modern Capo Bianco) on the estuary of the river Halykos (modern Platani). On the north side the plateau slopes gently down to the Halykos valley, on the south side erosion has produced vertical cliffs, and part of the habitation area of the Greek city may have been destroyed. A 6 km-long stretch of the circuit wall is preserved on the north-east and west sides facing the river valley and the hinterland; it is unknown whether the cliff facing the sea was fortified. The C5 wall was strengthened, with square towers built in small blocks of sandstone, but superseded by a C4l gypsum ashlar wall with an upper structure of sun-dried brick (Tusa and De Miro (1983) 177–78; De Miro (1994) 480 dates the earliest phase of the circuit wall to C6). At the time of Timoleon's refoundation a new defensive wall was erected within the earlier city, reducing its size by a half (De Miro (1958*a*)).

There is evidence of C6s occupation, but the early history of the site has not been fully investigated, and the size of the area occupied by the early city is still unknown. (The city did occupy the area of the later Hellenistic town, but probably also, at least in part, the western plateau within the first phase circuit wall—in all *c.*60–70 ha). The Timoleontic refoundation was laid out as an orthogonally planned city, with east–west-oriented *stenopoi*, north–south-oriented *plateiai*, and the single *insulae c.*32 m wide, like other Timoleontic refoundations (De Miro (1958*b*), (1980) 716–21). The urban facilities included a C4l theatre (De Miro (1955)).

The Archaic cemetery with fairly numerous tombs from the period 550–500 is located just outside the circuit wall north-east of the city. The cemetery was bisected by a road, and there are indications of social differentiation (De Miro (1965) 10–11; Wilson (1996) 92).

21. Herakleia (2) Map 47. Unlocated site in western Sicily, in the region of Eryx. Type: C:*a*. The toponym is *Ἡρακλείη, ἡ* (Hdt. 5.43) and *Ἡράκλεια, ἡ* (Diod. 4.23.3). A city-ethnic is not attested.

Following the advice of Antichares of Eleon and the affirmation of the Delphic oracle that he would succeed, Dorieus of Sparta, who was of royal and so Heraklid descent, set out to found a colony in the region of Eryx (Hdt. 5.43), which, according to Antichares, belonged to the descendants of Herakles (Hdt. 5.43; cf. Paus. 3.16.5). However, Dorieus' expeditionary force was severely defeated by an alliance of Phoenicians and Egestans (Hdt. 5.46.1; cf. Diod. 4.23.3 and Paus. 3.16.5). In the aftermath of the disaster Euryleon, the sole survivor of the *synktistai*, and the remnants of the expedition captured Herakleia Minoa (no. 20) and ousted the tyrant Peithagoras of Selinous (Hdt. 4.46.2). Referring to the death of Dorieus as a thing of the past, Herodotos dates the defeat of the expedition prior to *c.*481/80 (7.158), or to 491/90 as argued by some scholars (Merante (1970*a*)); the beginning of the expedition is connected with the destruction of Sybaris (no. 70) by Kroton (no. 56) in *c.*510 (Hdt. 5.45; cf. Merante (1970*a*), (1970*b*) 131–33, who argues for an earlier chronology). According to Diod. 4.23.3, Dorieus did in fact succeed in taking back the land of the Herakleidai, and founded a *polis* named Herakleia (*ἔκτισε πόλιν Ἡράκλειαν*) which prospered for a period before being razed to the ground by the Carthaginians. Thus, it cannot be ruled out that a Spartan settlement did exist for a period and was then destroyed by the Phoenicians (cf. Bérard (1957) 260–66; Stauffenberg (1960) esp. 189–98; De Vido (1989)

with further refs.; Asheri (1988) for an analysis of the relationship between Greeks, Phoenicians and Elymians).

22. Herbes(s)os (Herbessinos) Map 47. Unlocated, but presumably at Montagna di Marzo (so *Barr.*). Type: C:γ. The toponym is *Ἔρβήσσος, ὁ* (Diod. 20.31.5; Philistos (*FGrHist* 556) fr. 9 = Steph. Byz. 275.6); or *Ἔρβήσος* (Polyb. 1.18.5). The city-ethnic is *Ἔρβησσῖνος* (Diod. 14.7.6 (r404); C4s coins, *infra*).

Herbessos is called a *polis* in the urban sense at Diod. 14.7.6 (r404). The internal collective use of the city-ethnic is found on C4s coins (*infra*); the external collective use is found at Diod. 14.7.6 (r404) and 14.78.7 (r396). The latter passage records a peace treaty between Herbessos and Dionysios I.

Herbessos is described as a Sikel community at Diod. 14.7.6 (r404) and 78.7 (r396), but is included here on account of its C4s Greek-style coinage (*infra*). In addition, Greek C6e epigraphic material from Montagna di Marzo, the presumed site of Herbessos, includes votives to Herakles (cf. *IGDS* 166–68).

The location of the city is unknown, though it is possibly to be located at Montagna di Marzo (Bejor (1989*b*) 280); Diod. 14.7.6 (r404) suggests that it was fortified by C5l. The urban remains from this site are of C6m Sikel walls with C4 reinforcements in ashlar masonry, from the Greek period. There are some traces of urban planning, but whether these are Douketian or Timoleontic is uncertain. However, the majority of the urban remains, as well as the cemeteries, are Hellenistic (Cutroni Tusa and Moreschini (1992)).

Herbessos struck bronze coins from *c.*325, or a little earlier: *obv.* female head (Sikelia?), legend: *ΕΡΒΗΣΣΙΝΩΝ*; *rev.* forepart of man-headed bull (Head, *HN*² 143; *SNG Cop. Sicily* 292; a Timoleontic coinage: Talbert (1974) 181; Karlsson (1995) 165 n.3 (F); Bejor (1989*b*) 279 with further refs.).

23. Herbita (Herbitaios) Map 47. Unlocated (cf. C. Boehringer (1981) 100–3; Bejor (1989c)). Type: C:γ. The toponym is *Ἔρβιτα, ἡ* (Ephor. fr. 91 = Steph. Byz. 275.8; Diod. 14.16.1). The city-ethnic is *Ἐρβιταῖος* (C4s coins, *infra*; Diod. 14.15.1).

Herbita is called a *polis* in the urban sense at Diod. 14.15.1 and 16.1 (r403). The internal collective use of the city-ethnic is found on C4s coins (*infra*), and the external collective use in Diod. 12.8.2 (r446), 14.15.1 (r403), 14.78.7 (r396) (cf. *SEG* 30 1117 (C4l–C3m)).

Both in 446 and in 403, Herbita was ruled by a man called "Archonides"; Archonides I is described as *δυναστεύων* at Diod. 12.8.2 (cf. Thuc. 7.1.4, quoted *infra*), and Archonides II as *ἐπιστάτης* at Diod. 14.16.1. However, at Diod. 14.16.1 a peace treaty with Dionysios I is said to have been concluded by *ὁ δῆμος ὁ τῶν Ἐρβιταίων*, and at 14.78.7 agreements are described as concluded between Dionysios and *τοὺς Ἐρβιταίους*. (See also below on colonisation.) *IG* II² 32 (385/4) is probably a grant of proxeny by Athens (no. 361) to Archonides II, his brother Demon, and their descendants. A C4l–C3m *symmachia* between Herbita and Entella is attested in *SEG* 30 1117.15.

Recently, Greek-style silver and bronze coins of Herbita have come to light; they date from the period of Timoleon (*c.*350–325), and were found in the region of Gangi. Silver (probably litrai): *obv.* head of Apollo, legend: *HEPBITAI*; *Rev.* Apollo seated on Ionic capital. The smaller bronze denominations carry on *obv.* female head, legend: *HEPBITAIΩN*; *rev.* standing youth with spear (C. Boehringer (1981); Bejor (1989*c*) 284).

Herbita was involved in colonisation on two occasions: in 446, when Archonides I collaborated with Douketios in the foundation of Kale Akte (Diod. 12.8.2), and in 403, when Archonides II founded the city of Alaisa (no. 11), a foundation which eclipsed its mother city to the degree that its inhabitants denied their origin (Diod. 14.16.2–4; see Cataldi (1982); cf. *supra* 190). According to Diod. 14.16.2, Alaisa was founded by Archonides II in order to house veteran mercenaries, a *symmikton ochlon* that the war against Dionysios had driven into the city, as well as poor citizens of Herbita itself; the latter are said to have actively encouraged his plans.

In a passage referring to 446, Diod. 12.8.2 describes Herbita, or at least its ruler Archonides I, as Sikel; and the city may be described as Sikel again at Diod. 14.78.7 (r396). The Greek name *Archonides* of two of its rulers may indicate a pretension to Greek identity (C. Boehringer (1981) 95); but Thuc. 7.1.4 describes Archonides I as *τῶν . . . Σικελῶν βασιλεύων τινῶν*. By C4s, however, the city issued Greek-style coins (*supra*).

24. Himera (Himeraios) Map 47. Lat. 37.55, long. 13.50. Size of territory: 5. Type: A:α. The toponym is *Ἱμέρη, ἡ* (Hdt. 7.165.1) or *Ἱμέρα* (Thuc. 6.62.2; *SEG* 11 1223a (C5f)). The city-ethnic is *Ἱμεραῖος* (C6l coins, *infra*; Thuc. 7.1.3).

Himera is repeatedly described as a Hellenic *polis* (Thuc. 6.62.2; Xen. *Hell.* 1.1.37; Ps.-Skylax 13); it is called a *polis* both in the territorial sense (Thuc. 6.62.2) and in the urban sense (Xen. *Hell.* 1.1.37; Ps.-Skylax 13), and in the urban and political senses combined (Aen. Tact. 10.22). The political sense is

found in Diod. 11.48.6 (r476). Paus. 6.4.11 uses *πολιτεία* in a reference to C5e, and the *politeia* was included in the Aristotelian collection of constitutions (fr. 515.1). Thuc. 6.5.1 calls Himera an *ἀποικία*, and it is described as the *patra* of the C6 poet Stesichoros (Test. A26, Davies); cf. *SEG* 29 414.4 (*c.*450) where [*πάτραι*] is a possible restoration (cf. *CEG* I 393 for other restorations).

The internal collective use of the city-ethnic is found on C6l coins (*infra*). The external collective use of the city-ethnic is attested by *SEG* 30 1079 (C6m) and Thuc. 7.1.3, 58.2. Individually, the ethnic is often applied to Stesichoros (e.g. Pl. *Phdr.* 244A; *IG* XII.5 444.73.85b (C3f)); see also *AM* 87 (1972) 114–15 no. 6 for a possible Archaic instance of the external individual use. The use is also attested in Pl. *Prt.* 335E.

Himera was founded by Zankle (no. 51) and exiles from Syracuse (no. 47) called *οἱ Μυλητίδαι* (Thuc. 6.5.1; but Strabo 6.2.6 says: *οἱ ἐν Μυλαῖς ἔκτισαν Ζαγκλαῖοι*). The oecists were Eukleides, Simos and Sakon (Thuc. 6.5.1; cf. *IGDS* no. 165). The year of foundation, 648, is inferred from the notice that the city was inhabited for 240 years before its destruction in 409 (Diod. 13.62.4). The continued ties with Zankle are revealed by Skythes, ruler of Zankle, who *c.*493 went to Himera as an exile (Hdt. 6.24), and if the text on a bronze plaque found at Himera is correctly reconstructed by Brugnone (1997) 271–74 as *φυ]λὰ Δανκλαῖα*, this may be taken as evidence of an "ethnic" *phyle* of Zanklaian colonisers at Himera. But the ethnic composition of the city was mixed, the colonisers being mostly Chalkidian, i.e. Ionians, but some Syracusans, i.e. Dorians; and while the local dialect was a corresponding mixture, Chalkidian *νόμιμα* prevailed (Thuc. 6.5.1).

The territory was called *ἡ Ἱμεραία* (*χώρα*) (Thuc. 3.115.1; Diod. 13.61.4 (r409)). The C5 immediate hinterland with a number of rural settlements, delimited by border fortresses, encompassed *c.*50 km² (Belvedere (1988) 196–206, (2000)). The territory of Himera stretched over a vast area, estimated at *c.*700 km², divided to the south from the territories of Gela (no. 17) and Akragas (no. 9) by the Monte Cassero hills, and in the west at the river Thermos from the territory of the Phoenician city of Soloeis. However, within the territory of Himera were scattered indigenous settlements, and the dividing line between the dominions of Himera, Gela and Akragas is not always clear (Vassallo (1996)). *SEG* 30 1079 (C6m) seems to attest to fighting between Himera and *Sikanoi* (cf. Thuc. 3.115.2). For the Archaic and Classical settlement pattern of the Himeraian territory, see Belvedere (1988) 196–206.

According to Diod. 13.62.4, *c.*3,000 *andres* were captured during the destruction in 409, but it seems impossible to convert this number into a population estimate (cf. the few army figures below). The C5e population has been calculated at 20,000, including a rural population of 10,000, by Asheri (1973), but this figure is probably on the low side, if one takes into account that the size of the urban centre of Himera is now calculated to be *c.*80 ha (Allegro and Vassallo (1992) 147–48).

Himera was pillaged and destroyed by the Carthaginians in 409; 3,000 surviving men were put to death (*κατέσφαξεν*), women and children were distributed to the victorious enemy and presumably enslaved (Diod. 13.59.4–62.5), and the site was abandoned (Diod. 11.49.4; Strabo 6.2.6), though there is some archaeological and numismatic evidence for re-occupation from *c.*405 until the defeat of Dionysios I at Kronion in 383/2, when Himera became part of Carthaginian territory for good (Diod. 15.16.3). Later references to Himera must therefore be to the survivors who were settled at Thermai, on the border of Greek and Phoenician spheres of interest (Cic. *Verr.* 2.2.86; cf. Diod. 14.47.6, 56.2).

According to Arist. *Rh.* 1393^{b}10–22, Phalaris, the tyrant of Akragas *c.*570–554, was elected *strategos autokrator* by the Himeraians, but the historicity of the report is doubtful (Berve (1967) 130). By C5e, however, the city was certainly ruled by tyrants. The earliest attested tyrant is Terillos (*τύραννος*, Hdt. 7.165) who, expelled by Theron of Akragas, attempted to return as an ally of the Carthaginians, seeking help also from Anaxilaos of Rhegion (Hdt. 7.165). The ensuing battle at Himera in 480 led to the victory of Theron and Gelon (Diod. 11.20.3ff.; cf. Zahrnt (1993)). Theron conceded the tyranny of Himera to his son Thrasydaios (Diod. 11.48.6). The Himeraians rebelled against the tyranny of Thrasydaios; Theron, having curbed the insurrection, repopulated Himera with Doric and "other" colonists to whom he granted citizenship (Diod. 11.48.6–49.4). Not until 460 were those who escaped the intervention of Theron able to return to Himera (Diod. 11.76.4). During the Peloponnesian War, Himera remained loyal to Syracuse (no. 47) by not admitting the Athenian fleet in 415 (Thuc. 6.62.2) and by entering into an alliance with Gylippos against the Athenians in 414 (Thuc. 7.1.4; Diod. 13.7.7). One thousand hoplites/light-armed troops, and 100 cavalry joined Gylippos on his march to Syracuse (Thuc. 7.1.5).

A bronze plaque attests to the existence of *φρατρίαι* at Himera (Brugnone (1997) 274–79) and may also attest to a system of *phylai* (Brugnone (1997) 271–74).

At least three Himeraian athletes won Panhellenic victories: Ischyros at Olympia in 516 (*Olympionikai* 137) and Krison thrice at Olympia in C5m (*Olympionikai* 294, 306, 312). Particularly interesting is Ergoteles, who won no fewer than eight Panhellenic victories (two at Olympia (*Olympionikai* 224, 251) and two each at Delphi, Nemea and Isthmia). A Cretan by birth, he was a naturalised Himeraian and competed as such (Paus. 6.4.11; cf. Pind. *Ol.* 12 and *SEG* 11 1123a celebrating Olympic success; Phlegon (*FGrHist* 415) fr. 1.13).

Himera was founded on a north–south-oriented oblong hill between the river Torto to the west and the river Himera to the east, commanding the lower Himera valley. The city occupied also the coastal plain below, though whether this comprised a harbour settlement near the estuary is as yet uncertain (Bonacasa (1976) 5–14 for a general description of the site).

A stretch of a presumably Archaic (no precise date) stone and earth rampart is known from the southern edge of the plateau, with a semicircular projection in the south-east corner and a small stretch running northwards defending the east side of the plateau (Bonacasa Carra (1974) 110–11; Bonacasa (1980–81) 855, pl. 117, fig. 2), revealing that habitation covered all of the plateau at least from the Archaic period. A wall of sun-dried bricks along the outer edge of the plateau on the northern side of the sanctuary is with some uncertainty dated to C5e and connected with the Carthaginian conflict of 480. Dividing the upper city from the city on the plain below, the wall may have functioned as a *diateichisma* (Allegro (1991) 71). The walls are mentioned by Diod. 13.59.7–9 in reference to the siege in 409. The upper city occupied about 32 ha, the lower city about 50 ha (Allegro and Vassallo (1992) 145–47).

Corresponding to the traditional date of foundation (648), there is sporadic evidence of a C7m settlement on the coastal plain below the upper plateau near the estuary of the river Himera. The more substantial urban remains on the plateau of Himera are from C7s, suggesting a gradual urban development from plain to plateau (Vassallo (1997) 85–90). Two Archaic urban phases are known. Already the earlier (C7l–C6e) shows features of planning, but it was soon replaced by a new overall urban layout, probably as a result of destructions of the early city and a refoundation *c.*580–570 (Allegro (1997)). Although the Archaic town plan is impressive in its size and regularity, the remains suggest that even in this second period habitation was concentrated in certain areas: the northern area (near the sanctuary) and the southern area (near the main route to the *chora*). Recent investigations have given indications of a 6.20 m-wide north–south-oriented *plateia* uniting the main parts of the plateau (Allegro (1988–89) 656).

Theron's repopulation of Himera in 476 (*supra*) resulted in further developments and reorganisation of the city, indicated by changes in the layout of single *insulae* (Belvedere (1976) 580–82; Allegro (1988–89) 657). A redistribution of land may be inferred from C5e epigraphic evidence (Brugnone (1997)).

The lower city had an urban plan from C7s, with later changes which correspond to the phases of the city outlined above (Allegro and Vassallo (1992)). Recently a C5f suburban quarter east of the city has been revealed between the right bank of the river and the Archaic cemetery (ibid. 139 n. 40; cf. Diod. 13.75.2 (r408)). The cemetery with tombs from the early history of Himera until *c.*525 is located near the coast east of the Himera valley (Vassallo (1991), (1993–94)). From C6l and for all of C5 two new cemeteries were in use south of the city and on the plateau west of the city (Di Stefano (1970) 319–21; (1976)); tomb material (amphoras) reveals a wide commercial network (Vassallo *et al.* (1991)).

The north-eastern corner of the plateau is occupied by a sanctuary with remains of four C7s–C5e temples (Bonacasa (1970); Allegro (1991)), probably dedicated to Athena, like the city itself and its *chora* (Diod. 5.3.4). A sanctuary of Demeter with at least two C6–C5 *naiskoi* was located in the north-western quarter of the upper city (*Himera* II. 194–205; Hinz (1998) 166–67). A monumental stone temple, "Temple of Victory", again presumably dedicated to Athena (Bonacasa (1980) 269), was built in the lower city in C5e (P. Marconi (1931); T. Van Compernolle (1989) 48–51, (1992) 55–58), probably to commemorate the victory over Carthage in 480 (cf. Diod. 11.25.1) or built by Theron in connection with his resettlement of the colony in 476 (cf. P. Marconi (1931) 127 for an earlier Archaic phase). Attested cults include, in addition to that of Athena (Diod. 5.3.4), those of Zeus Soter (C5l: Manni Piraino (1974) 267–69); Herakles (Diod. 5.3.4; Bonacasa (1991)); the nymph Himera (coins; cf. Cic. *Verr.* 2.2.87); Tyche Soteira and Zeus Eleutherios (Pind. *Ol.* 12.1–3).

Himera began minting drachms on the Euboian–Chalkidian standard *c.*550–540: *obv.* cock; *rev.* incuse square with sunk and raised triangles within a square incuse field (*SNG Cop. Sicily* 294–96, 297 (obol)). Later issues have *rev.* hen in a square incuse field, and there are several variations of the basic type (*SNG Cop. Sicily* 298–301). An early issue has *obv.* legend *HIMEPAION*,

abbreviated on later issues to *HI*, *HIME* (*SNG Cop. Sicily* 301). Other coin legends are names of mint officials, in full or abbreviated: *ΛΥ*, *ΤΥ*, *ΤΥΧΟΝ*, *ΣΟΓ*[*ΕΝΕΣ*]. Lower denominations carry related types (Kraay (1984); C. Boehringer (1984–85) 105–8; Molinari (1986)). The first series ends *c.*484/3 with the expulsion of Terillos; Akragantine control at Himera *c.*483–470 is reflected in an issue of didrachms on the Attic standard: *obv.* cock, some with legend *HIMEPA*; *rev.* crab (Jenkins (1971); *SNG Cop. Sicily* 302–3, 304 (drachm)). During the subsequent period of Syracusan influence a new coinage was introduced with the principal denomination based upon the Syracusan tetradrachm: *obv.* quadriga, crowned by Nike; *rev.* nymph Himera pours a libation at an altar, at her side a Silenos bathes in a fountain with a spout in the form of a lion's head (*SNG Cop. Sicily* 306). A variant has on the *obv.* biga, legend: *ΠΕΛΟΠΣ*; *rev.* figure of nymph named *HIMEPA* (Kraay (1976) 215, pl. 765). This issue may celebrate the victory of Ergoteles at Olympia in 472 or 464, and according to Biucchi (1988) the series may commence as late as 464. A late tetradrachm known from one issue only has *obv.* quadriga galloping, above flying Nike with wreath and tablet with inscription (signature ?); *rev.* nymph at altar and Silenos bathing under lion-head spout, legend: *H MEP AION*, probably from very shortly before the 409/8 disaster (C. Boehringer (1989) 34). Lower denominations are litrai: *obv.* forepart of winged, man-headed monster; *rev.* goat-rider; hemidrachms: *obv.* goat-rider, *rev.* Nike holding a phlaston (*SNG Cop. Sicily* 307–11). Bronze coinage was introduced *c.*420 (Kraay (1979); *SNG Cop. Sicily* 313–19). Coins were minted during the resettlement period *c.*405–383/2: lower bronze denominations with legend *IME*; C4 issue of silver litrai: *obv.* Herakles; *rev.* palladion, legend: *IMEPAION* (C. Boehringer (1989)). There is some evidence of coinage during the reign of Timoleon; an issue influenced by the Zeus Eleutherios type, after the battle of Krimissos in 342/1: *obv.* Kronos, legend: *KPONOΣ*; *rev.* eagle and thunderbolt, legend: *IMEPAIΩN* (C. Boehringer (1989) 36). On the evidence of bronze ingots counterstamped with Himeraian mint types, flans, bronze bars and slags, the public mint has been identified with a structure inside the sanctuary in the north-eastern corner of the plateau (Cutroni Tusa (1982a)).

25. Hippana (Hipanatas) Map 47. Lat. 37.40, long. 13.25 (Monte dei Cavalli). Size of territory: ? Type: C:*β*. The toponym is *Ἱππάνα, ἡ* (Polyb. 1.24.10); Diod. 23.9.5 has *Σιττάνα, ἡ*. The city-ethnic is *Ἱπανάτας* (C5m coins, *infra*).

Hippana is called a *polis* only by later sources such as Polyb. 1.24.10 (r258), who uses *polis* in the urban sense; it is included here on account of its Classical Greek-style coinage (*infra*) and a *kerykeion* inscribed *ΔAMOΣION* and *IΠA*, restored *Ἱπα*[*νατᾶν*] by Manganaro (1997).

Hippana is commonly identified with the site of Monte dei Cavalli in the territory of Himera, but the evidence for this identification is not conclusive. The urban remains are mainly from a C4m–C3m phase, which is interpreted as a Timoleontic refoundation of the originally indigenous settlement. Strongly built circuit walls in ashlar were raised on an acropolis and around the lower habitation plateau, 30 ha in area. There are some remains of public structures, a shrine and a theatre of Greek type. Aerial photography has revealed formal planning on the lower plateau: Mitens (1988) 104; Michelini (1992); Vassallo (1991).

Rare C5m silver litrai (*obv.* eagle on column, legend: *IΠANATAN*; *rev.* dolphin and scallop) have been attributed to Hippana (Head, *HN*² 147; Manganaro (1997) 127 n. 6, 129); the types, although ultimately based upon types of Akragas, seem to reflect Carthaginian (Motyan) influence (Manganaro (1997) 129). C4m bronze coins are restruck on Punic coins: *obv.* bull, legend: *IΠA* in exergue; *rev.* Astragalos(?) (Manganaro (1997)).

26. *Imachara (Imacharaios) Map 47. Unlocated. *Barr.* tentatively locates Imachara at modern Vaccarra di Nicosia (lat. 37.50, long. 14.20); cf. Cataldi (1990) 243–44. The precise location is unknown, however; a C5 *kerykeion* inscribed *Ἰμαχαραίων δαμόσιον* (*IG* XIV 589; *LSAG* 269, 276.23, dating it to 475–450; *IGDS* no. 199, dating it to C5) was found in the region of modern Nissoria, and it may be of relevance that a rich C5–C4, mainly Corinthian coin hoard was found in the same area (*IGCH* 2133; Cataldi (1990) 244). Pelagatti (1964–65) 252 suggests a location at Mendolito on the basis of a Sikulan inscription *iamakaram*(?) found there. Type: C:*β*.

The toponym **Ἰμαχάρα* is suggested by the city-ethnic (*infra*); Ptol. *Geog.* 3.4.7 lists *Ἡμιχάρα ἢ Ἰμιχάρα* among the *poleis mesogeioi tes Sikelias*. The city-ethnic is *Ἰμαχαραῖος* (*IGDS* no. 199 (C5); C4 coins, *infra*).

No source calls Imachara a *polis*, but it is included here on account of (1) its C5 *kerykeion* (*supra*; for a full discussion of this type of evidence from Sicily, see Manganaro (1996*c*) 141–44; (1997)), and (2) its C4 coins. Both of these attest the internal collective use of the city-ethnic, indicate a high degree of Hellenisation, and suggest *polis* status.

The mint of Imachara is known from two specimens only, both silver litrai: *obv.* head of Hera, legend: *IMAXAPAIΩN*; *rev.* butting bull (Jenkins (1975) 90–92).

27. Kallipolis (Kallipolites) Map 47. Unlocated. Type: A:*α*. The toponym is *Καλλίπολις* (Strabo 6.2.6). The city-ethnic is *Καλλιπολίτης* (Hdt. 7.154.2).

Kallipolis is implicitly called a *polis* in both the urban and the political senses by Herodotos: at 7.154.2 he mentions Hippokrates' aggression against a number of communities, including Kallipolis; he then goes on to state that, Syracuse excepted, none of the *poleis* mentioned escaped being enslaved by Hippokrates (*οὐδεμία ἀπέφυγε δουλοσύνην πρὸς Ἱπποκράτεος*; cf. Hansen (2000) 205). So Kallipolis was a *polis* which Hippokrates *c.*495 turned into one of his dependencies (Dunbabin (1948) 380–82, 402; Vallet (1978) 119–20). It is described as an *apoikia* by Ps.-Skymnos 286 (cf. *κτίζειν* in Strabo 6.2.6). The external collective use of the city-ethnic is found in Hdt. 7.154.2.

Only two events are known from the history of Kallipolis: its foundation and its "enslavement" by Hippokrates (*supra*). It was founded by Naxos (no. 41; Strabo 6.2.6). The date of the foundation is unknown, but Ps.-Skymnos 286 mentions it alongside Naxos' other foundations (Leontinoi (no. 33), Zankle (no. 51) and Katane (no. 30)), and this may suggest that it was founded contemporaneously with them (i.e. C8l; M. Miller (1970) 35, 86). In Strabo's day it was deserted (6.2.6).

Various sites have been brought forward as candidates for the site of Kallipolis, but it remains unidentified (Camassa (1989*b*)), though recent finds at San Marco south of Naxos are promising in this connection (Pelagatti (1981) 295 n. 5). In general, the fact that, like Katane and Leontinoi, it was a colony of Naxos suggests a location in the coastal plain south of Naxos or on the slopes of Mt. Etna; in any case, the foundation of Kallipolis should be seen as a part of the Chalkidian occupation of north-eastern Sicily. The siege mentioned by Hdt. 7.154.2 implies that Kallipolis was fortified by C5e.

28. Kamarina (Kamarinaios) Map 47. Lat. 36.50, long. 14.25. Size of territory: 4. Type: A:*α*. The toponym is *Καμάρινα*, *-ης*, *ἡ* (Hdt. 7.154.3, 156.2; Thuc. 6.75.4). The city-ethnic is *Καμαριναῖος* (*IvO* 266.2 (480–475); Hdt. 7.156.2).

In Ps.-Skylax 13, Kamarina is listed as the first toponym after the heading *πόλεις Ἑλληνίδες αἵδε*, where *polis* is used in the urban sense; *polis* in the political sense occurs at Pind. *Ol.* 5.4, 20 and Thuc. 3.86.2. *Asty* is found at Hdt. 7.156.2, *astos* in Pind. *Ol.* 5.14, and *politeuma* in Timaios (*FGrHist* 566) fr. 22 (r424).

The internal collective use of the city-ethnic is found on C5 coins (*infra*); the external collective use is found in Hdt. 7.156.2 and Thuc. 7.58.1. The external individual use is found in Diod. 1.68.6 (r528) and *F.Delphes* III.3 202.4 (266). A remarkable example is found in *IvO* 266.2 (480–475), a dedication at Olympia by a Mantinean who became both a *Καμαριναῖος* and a *Συρακόσιος*, and so was probably a citizen of Kamarina who in 484 was made a citizen of Syracuse by Gelon (Hansen (1996) 184 and *infra*).

The territory of Kamarina (Pelagatti (1980–81) pl. 168; Di Stefano (2000) (*chora*), (1984–85) 728, fig. 1 (territory)) is called *ἡ γῆ ἡ Καμαριναίων* in Thuc. 6.5.3 and *ἡ Καμαριναία* at Thuc. 6.78.4. It functioned as a buffer zone between the Geloan and Syracusan spheres of influence; Philistos (*FGrHist* 556) fr. 5 suggests that the river Hyrminios (Irminio) formed the border between Syracuse (no. 47) and Kamarina. A number of C6–C4 farmsteads, some with adjacent cemeteries, are known from the lowland plains of the Hypparis (Ippari), the Oanis (Rifriscolaro) and the Hyrminios river valleys. The orientation of farmsteads located in the hinterland coincides with that of the city, and the size of the area allotted to the single farmsteads is divisible by the size of the urban *insulae*, suggesting an organisation of the agricultural area analogous to that of the C5 city (Di Stefano (1993–94) 1378–81; Cordano and Di Stefano (1997) 297–99). Investigations have also shown that a system of roads joined the city with its cemeteries and the farmsteads located in the further hinterland (Pelagatti (1980–81) 723–29; Di Stefano (1984–85) 762–64). On the estuary of the river Hyrminios, at Contrada Maistro *c.*15 km south-east of Kamarina, a harbour settlement founded contemporaneously with Kamarina may mark the border between the territories of Kamarina and Syracuse. The site, which had a Demeter sanctuary (Cordano (1997)), was abandoned in C6l (Di Stefano (1987*b*)). To the north-west the river Achates (Dirillo) formed the border with Geloan territory. An important C5l coin hoard (*IGCH* 2095) from the C6–C5 border settlement of Scornavacche (ancient identity unknown) in the Dirillo valley has revealed contacts with the main Greek cities of Sicily. Inland the territory of Kamarina was delimited by the Hyblaian mountains, which constituted the border of the territories of Kasmenai (no. 29) and Akrai (no. 10), and further northwards of Leontinoi (no. 33). The Sikels of the mountainous hinterland were allied with Kamarina during the C6m war with Syracuse (Philistos (*FGrHist* 556) fr. 17). During the Hippokratean

phase (*infra*), Kamarina was apparently forced to break with previous Sikel allies such as the city of Ergetion (Polyaen. 5–6; cf. Philistos (*FGrHist* 556) fr. 10 with Sinatra (1998)) of uncertain location in the Hyblaian hills. However, the impression given by the evidence is that of a network of contacts with the Sikel hinterland, as far north as the foothills of the Hyblaian mountains, a vast area with a number of Sikel sites revealing a strong degree of C6 Hellenisation (Di Stefano (1987*a*), (1988–89) with refs.). The immediate hinterland of Kamarina comprised about 50–70 km², the larger territory (dominion?) about 500 km².

Kamarina was founded by Syracuse (no. 47), 135 years after the foundation of Syracuse itself, i.e. *c.*598 (Thuc. 6.5.3); the date is confirmed by the archaeological evidence (*infra*). The oecists were Daskon and Menekolos, the former a Syracusan and the latter probably a Corinthian, as suggested by onomastic evidence (Cordano (1987)).

Philistos (*FGrHist* 556) fr. 5 (rC6m) refers to treaties of alliance between Kamarina and Sikels, Gela (no. 17) and other (presumably Greek) communities in a C6m war with Syracuse. According to Thuc. 6.5.3, the Kamarinaians were made *anastatoi* by Syracuse after a revolt (*ἀπόστασις*); this happened *c.*552–549 (schol. Pind. *Ol.* 5.16), probably in connection with the war attested in Philistos (*FGrHist* 556) fr. 5 in which both Syracuse and Kamarina were assisted by allies. However, the site was apparently not depopulated: not only is Parmenides of Kamarina attested as victor at Olympia in 528 (*Olympionikai* 125), but there is no archaeological evidence of a break in habitation (Lentini (1983) 5–6) or in the use of the Archaic cemetery (Pelagatti (1976–77) 523–26; (1978*b*)); so Kamarina probably continued to exist, possibly as a dependent *polis* of Syracuse (cf. *apostasis* in Thuc. 6.5.3 and the statement by Hdt. 7.154.3: *Συρηκοσίων δὲ ἦν Καμάρινα τὸ ἀρχαῖον*). After the defeat of Syracuse by Hippokrates of Gela in the C5e (492?) battle at Heloros, Kamarina passed, after arbitration by Corinth (no. 227) and Korkyra (no. 123), from Syracuse to Gela (Hdt. 7.154.3), as payment for the release of Syracusan prisoners of war (Thuc. 6.5.3). Hippokrates, acting as oecist himself, refounded the city *c.*490 (Thuc. 6.5.3; Philistos (*FGrHist* 555) fr. 15; Timaios (*FGrHist* 566) fr. 19). Casevitz (1985) 168, 172–73 shows that the term used by Thucydides to describe Hippokrates' refoundation (= *κατοικίζω*) mainly designates the settling of new inhabitants and may be used for the "colonisation" of a site already inhabited. The term used by Philistos and Timaios (= *συνοικίζω*) implies the participation in the new foundation of various unspecified groups (Cordano (1992) 7). In 484 Gelon destroyed Kamarina (Hdt. 7.156.2; Thuc. 6.5.3) and transferred all Kamarinaians to Syracuse, where they received citizenship (Hdt. 7.156.2); prior to that, Gelon had installed Glaukos of Karystos as his governor in Kamarina, and the occasion for his destruction of the city was presumably its execution of Glaukos (schol. Aeschin. 3.189; Demand (1990) 47–48). Kamarina now probably ceased to exist until its refoundation by Gela in 461; at least, a decrease in the archaeological evidence covering the years 484–461 suggests that the site was uninhabited or only sparsely inhabited in this period (Giudice (1988) esp. 56–57). In 461 (Diod. 11.76.5) Kamarina was refounded by Gela (Thuc. 6.5.3). In 427 this third Kamarina was allied with Leontinoi (no. 33) and Athens (no. 361) against Syracuse (Thuc. 3.86.2, 6.75.3). At the Congress of Gela in 424 it was decided that Kamarina was to receive Morgantina (no. 37) on condition of the payment of *ἀργύριον τακτόν* to Syracuse (Thuc. 4.65.1). This congress had been called on the initiative of Gela (no. 17) and Kamarina after they had ended a mutual war by *ekecheiria* (Thuc. 4.58; Timaios (*FGrHist* 566) fr. 22). In 422 Phaiax "won over" Kamarina to Athens (Thuc. 5.4.6), but the city was allied with Syracuse as well (Thuc. 6.88.2) and eventually sided with her (*infra*). In 405 Kamarina suffered from Carthaginian attacks (Diod. 13.108.3), and Dionysios I forced the inhabitants (*τοὺς ἐκεῖ*) to relocate to Syracuse (Diod. 13.111.3); but the Kamarinaians (with the Geloans) left Syracuse for Leontinoi *τῷ Διονυσίῳ διαφόρως ἔχοντες* (113.4). The 405 peace treaty between Dionysios and Carthage decreed that Kamarina be *ateichistos* and pay tribute to Carthage (Diod. 13.114.1). A Timoleontic reinforcement of the population is reported by Diod. 16.82.7, and the archaeological evidence points to a revival of the city in C4s (Talbert (1974) 149–50; Pelagatti (1976)).

Kamarinaian military forces assisted Syracuse during the conflict with Athens (Thuc. 6.67.2), although the city initially attempted neutrality, allied as it was to both parties (Thuc. 6.88.2); Thuc. 7.33.1 mentions contingents of 500 hoplites, 300 *akontistai* and 300 *toxotai*; a contingent of twenty cavalry is mentioned at Thuc. 6.67.2. In 406 Kamarinaian forces fought with Gela and Syracuse against the Carthaginians at the battle of the river Himera (Diod. 13.86.5), and Menes of Kamarina was commander on this occasion (13.87.5); Kamarinaian forces assisted Dionysios again in 397 (Diod. 14.47.6), and in 357 troops from the city assisted Dion (Diod. 16.9.5; Plut. *Dio* 27.1).

Reception of envoys is attested at Thuc. 6.75.3; sending of envoys is mentioned in Timaios (*FGrHist* 566) fr. 22 (r424).

At the refoundation in 461 a system of civic subdivisions was introduced whereby the citizens were organised into phratries (subdivided into *triakades* (Cordano (1992); Murray (1997)).

Glaukos of Karystos presumably ruled the city as tyrant on behalf of Gelon (Berve (1967) 142). Apart from that, the form of constitution is unknown, though there are glimpses of its working: a death sentence passed by the assembly is recorded in reference to *c.*484 by schol. Aeschin. 3.189, and a meeting of the assembly (*ξύλλογος*) is attested in Thuc. 6.75.3–4. Thuc. 4.25.7 refers to a faction which allegedly in 425 was ready to betray the city to Syracuse (cf. Thuc. 6.88.1 for the general hostility of Kamarina towards Syracuse).

Parmenides of Kamarina was victorious at Olympia in 528 (Diod. 1.68.6 = *Olympionikai* 125), and so was Psaumis in 456 and 452 (*Olympionikai* 280, 292; cf. Pind. *Ol.* 4–5).

The town of Kamarina was founded on a narrow coastal plateau between the rivers Hypparis and Oanis (for the situation of the city in relation to rivers, see Cordano and Di Stefano (1997)). During the C4s/Timoleontic phase the site comprised a fortified area of not less than 150 ha. There is no evidence of a circuit wall contemporary with the foundation. The C6s circuit wall, with later phases, probably enclosed an area larger than that ascertained for the earliest habitation phase. It was built as a double curtain-wall in a mixture of ashlar and small polygonal techniques with internal fill. Part of the upper structure in sun-dried brick has been found, and there were gates corresponding to the routes westwards to Gela (no. 17), inland, and eastwards to Heloron (no. 18) and Syracuse (no. 47). An outer *proteichisma* wall was raised outside the north wall along the river Hypparis (Pelagatti (1970); Cordano and Di Stefano (1997) 294–96).

Structural remains from the earliest phases of the site have been found above all in the western part of the later city, close to the coast on the promontory proper, near the estuary of the river Hypparis and the harbour. The Archaic remains show an organic layout with an overall alignment of the individual structures and a specific cult area, the Athena Polias sanctuary on the highest part of the plateau. Habitation in the early period consisted of single houses and house plots with open areas. The orientation was respected by the Geloan refoundation of 461 (Pelagatti (1976) 122–25). The C5 city comprised three *plateiai*, whereas the north-eastern part of the city with two further *plateiai* belongs to the C4s/Timoleontic foundation; for the public works of this phase, fortifications and sewers, see Cordano and Di Stefano (1997) 292–97. The part of the city facing the sea and the port was from early times laid out as public space; the vast area may have been divided into a mercantile agora and a civic-political agora (Pelagatti (1984–85) 683–94; Di Stefano (1993–94) 1367–71). Recent investigations at the mouth of the river Hypparis have uncovered remains of an impressive harbour structure, in part going back to the Archaic period (Di Stefano (1990)).

The major sanctuary of the city, undoubtedly dedicated to Athena, has roots in the Archaic period, but the extant remains of the temple are of C5f (Di Stefano (1984–85) 729–37). Athena was the patron divinity of Kamarina (schol. Pind. *Ol.* 5), and the epithet Poliaochos is used by Pind. *Ol.* 5.10–11. An archive of C5m lead tablets listing citizens and the phratries and *triakades* to which they belonged (Cordano (1992)) was deposited in the temple (Di Stefano (1992)) and demonstrates the importance of Athena. The *rev.* type of litrai issued after the 461 resettlement depicts Athena armed, and the cult statue of Athena Polias may have portrayed her as Athena Promachos (Rutter (1997) 138). Votive terracottas from the site show Athena also as Ergane (Martin *et al.* (1979) 520). C5l coin types depicting the main divinities of the city, Herakles and Athena (Westermark and Jenkins (1982) 57–8; Westermark (1998) 376), and personifications of the river-god Hipparis and the nymph Kamarina may also be evidence of cults (Lacroix (1965) 115–16). Apollo Patroos is attested in C5 (Manganaro (1995) 98–103). A suburban sanctuary of Demeter south of the city has yielded a few architectural remains and rich votive deposits. Figurines of the type showing Demeter with a piglet attest to the Thesmophorian aspect of the cult (Giudice *et al.* (1979); cf. Pelagatti (1980–81) 716–18; Hinz (1998) 119–21).

The earliest cemeteries were situated to the north-east (Dieci Salme) and the east (Rifriscolaro) of the city. About 2,000 tombs are known at Rifriscolaro from the period of the first generation of settlers (Pelagatti (1980–81) 719–23). The Classical cemetery belonging to the 461 refoundation was located south-east of the city at Passo Marinaro, where about 8,000 m² have been investigated so far (Di Stefano (1984) 55 n. 1 with refs.; Orsi (1990)).

Coinage began after the refoundation of Kamarina by Hippokrates with an issue of didrachms on the Attic standard: *obv.* helmet on a shield; *rev.* palm-tree flanked by greaves, legend: *KAMAPINAION* or *KAMAPI* (Westermark and Jenkins (1980)). This issue lasted only to 484, when the city ceased to exist. Kamarina as resettled in 461 by Gela issued a series of silver litrai: *obv.* flying Nike; below, a swan; *rev.* Athena standing and armed, legend: *KAMAPINAION* (*-OΣ*); this issue ended *c.*440 (*SNG*

Cop. Sicily 158–60). A survey of fractional coins is found in Westermark and Jenkins (1982) 48–52. The next issue dates from *c.*420, the period of full Syracusan influence: tetradrachms on the Syracusan standard, *obv.* Athena as charioteer; *rev.* head of Herakles in lion-skin (*SNG Cop. Sicily* 161–63; a rare variant has *rev.* head of Herakles: Westermark (1998)). Some dies are signed by engravers. Didrachms have *obv.* head of the river-god Hipparis; *rev.* nymph Kamarina riding a swan (*SNG Cop. Sicily* 164); legend *KAMAPINA*, *KAMAPINAION*. Hemidrachms have *obv.* head of nymph; *rev.* flying Nike with shield (Westermark and Jenkins (1980)). Litrai have *obv.* head of Athena; *rev.* Nike with wreath; the legend *KAMAPINAIA* probably implies *σφραγίς vel sim.*; one rare litra has *rev.* head of Herakles wearing lion-skin (Westermark and Jenkins (1982) 56–57). These issues ended with the banishment of the inhabitants in 405 (Westermark and Jenkins (1980); Cutroni Tusa (1987)). A single gold coin may be from an issue struck as a result of Carthaginian pressure in 405 (Westermark and Jenkins (1980) no. 206; Rutter (1997) 148, 154). Bronze was minted from C5s (*SNG Cop. Sicily* 166–69); a bronze issue of C4s depicts *obv.* Athena with helmet, legend: *KAMAPINAIΩN*; *rev.* free horse prancing (*SNG Cop. Sicily* 170).

29. Kasmenai (Kasmenaios) Map 47. Lat. 37.05, long. 14.50. Size of territory: ? Type: A:*α*. The toponym is *Κασμένη*, *ἡ* (Hdt. 7.155.2), *Κασμέναι* (Thuc. 6.5.2). The city-ethnic is *Κασμεναῖος* (Steph. Byz. 364.2).

Kasmenai is called a *polis* in the urban sense at Hdt. 7.155.2. Apart from the entry in Steph. Byz., the city-ethnic is attested only as a conjecture in Philistos (*FGrHist* 556) fr. 5 (Pais (1894) 560–64; recently sustained by Di Vita (1987)), which, if accepted, yields an attestation of the external collective use rC6m.

Kasmenai was founded in 644/3 (Thuc. 6.5.3) by Syracuse (no. 47), probably as a colony, although there is no mention of an oecist. The location and the urban layout (*infra*) point to a military settlement (Di Vita (1990) 350). Kasmenai was a *polis* according to Herodotos, and the site is defined as type *A* here, but the *polis* status must remain uncertain, though Pais' conjecture of Philistos (*FGrHist* 556) fr. 5 (*supra*) would tend to support *polis* status by providing an instance of the external collective ethnic. Hansen (1997*a*) 36 classifies Kasmenai as a dependent *polis* of Syracuse, i.e. as a *polis* founded as a fortress. See also Akrai (no. 10) and Heloron (no. 18).

If the conjecture in Philistos (*FGrHist* 556) fr. 5 (*supra*) is correct, Kasmenai was allied with the Syracusans against Kamarina in C6m. A C5e bronze plaque (*IGDS* no. 219) found near Monte Casale is a grant (*ἐψαφίσαν[το]*) of *ateleia* etc., possibly by Kasmenai (though this is highly uncertain, see *IGDS* no. 219 with refs.). The text refers to *γάμοροι*, and according to Hdt. 7.155.2 the Syracusan *gamoroi* expelled by the *demos* in a civil strife in 491 took refuge at Kasmenai. Cf. Asheri in *CAH* v². 768.

Kasmenai is with near certainty identified as the urban site on the top of Monte Casale *c.*12 km west of Akrai (Marotta D'Agata and Moreschini (1992)). The settlement was founded on a high plateau (*c.*70 ha), bounded by steep slopes and with no direct access to a hinterland. Apart from the natural defences the plateau was protected by a sturdy circuit wall 3.4 km long, 3m wide, built in megalithic technique and with at least three square towers along the north side. Its date is uncertain, but the wall is often considered to be contemporary with the foundation, or a little later (Adamesteanu (1986) 110). A double curtain-wall, a *diateichisma*(?), along the south-eastern side of the north-west plateau, the upper terrace and so-called acropolis, may date from C4f, and may therefore be taken as a later reinforcement due to Carthaginian pressure (Martin *et al.* (1979) 531, fig. 73).

The settlement was laid out according to a well-defined plan already in C7s. The urban plan consists of at least forty narrow streets oriented north-north-west to south-south-east, at right angles to the long axis of the plateau and delimiting *insulae c.*25 m wide: an early stage of Western Greek urban planning (Martin *et al.* (1979) 533). The rather simple layout may reflect the function of a fort or garrison defending the territory of Syracuse. Quite apart from the apparent lack of a *chora*, the morphology of the site is unsuitable for a colony proper, and the nature of the votive material from the shrine may also point to a military function (Di Vita (1961); Marotta D'Agata and Moreschini (1992) 291). However, against this it should be noted that "The sheer number of inhabitants, some 7–8,000 altogether, shows that the site must have been a proper town, and that some 2,000 soldiers max. must have been garrisoned in the town *with their families*. Also, no more than *ca.* 60% of the town has been excavated and the absence of e.g. an agora and public space in general carries no weight as the evidence stands" (Hansen (2000) 198–99). An analysis of aerial photographs of the plateau of Monte Casale also shows that unexcavated areas were part of the urban layout (Martin *et al.* (1979) pl. on p. 528).

The only public architecture known at Kasmenai is the *temenos* with temple located on the western plateau and

aligned with the overall urban layout. The sanctuary was squeezed into a small area otherwise given over to habitation (Voza (1976–77) 561–62). The temple has two phases: an early one *c.*560 and a later one 525–500 (Ciurcina (1977) 72–73), but the *temenos* has a C7l origin. A votive deposit of hundreds of javelins, swords and arrowheads indicates a cult of a martial divinity (*supra*).

30. Katane (Katanaios) Map 47. Lat. 37.30, long. 15.05. Size of territory: 4. Type: A:*a*. The toponym is *Κατάνη, ἡ* (Hecat. fr. 73; Thuc. 6.51.3; C5f coins, *infra*) or *Κατάνα* (*IG* IV².1 95.II.71 (356/5)). The city-ethnic is *Καταναῖος* (Thuc. 7.57.11; C5m coins; *IG* II² 162 (C4f)).

Katane is called a *polis* in the urban sense by Hecat. fr. 73 and Thuc. 6.51.1–2, and in the political sense at Thuc. 7.14.2 and in Arist. *Pol.* 1274ª24, a passage which also refers to the *πολῖται*. It is called *patris* by Diod. 11.49.2 (r476) and 11.76.3 (r461).

The internal collective use of the city-ethnic is found on C5m coins (*infra*), and the external use in Thuc. 6.3.3 and *IG* I³ 291.b.II.15 (415); the external individual use is attested by Arist. *Pol.* 1274ª23 (rC6s) and *IG* II² 162 (C4f).

The territory is termed *γῆ* at Thuc. 3.116.1 and *chora* by Diod. 11.49.1 (r476), who names it *Καταναία* (ibid.). It comprised parts of the fertile plains delimited inland by Etna and the Monti Siracusani with the Sikel settlements of Hybla Geleatis, Inessa, Kentoripa (no. 31) and Piakos (no. 43; Manganaro (1996*a*) 26), in all about 400 km². However, Leontinoi (no. 33), the earlier foundation, may have dominated part of this area, leaving a more limited area for the direct use of Katane. Chalkidian expansion far inland to the south-west of Katane and Leontinoi is revealed by the Chalkidian legal texts found at the settlement of Monte San Mauro (Frasca (1997)). The C6m indigenous centres show a notable degree of Hellenisation, probably evidence of a Chalkidian dominion comprising also the lowland plains of the rivers Simeto, Dittaino (for a *phrourion* at M. Turcisi, cf. Procelli (1988–89)) and Trigonia. The *chora* of Katane was bounded to the south by the territory of Leontinoi (cf. Thuc. 6.65.1) and to the north by that of Naxos (no. 41; Procelli (1989) 684–89; Manganaro (1996*a*) 25, 29). The territory suffered from an eruption of Etna in 426/5 (Thuc. 3.116), and in 415/14 it was ravaged by Syracusan forces (Thuc. 6.75.2).

Katane was founded by "Thoukles and the Chalkidians from Naxos" (Thuc. 6.3.2; cf. Hellan. fr. 82), after these had founded Leontinoi in the fifth year after the foundation of Syracuse (i.e. 729: Thuc. 6.3.2). According to Thuc. 6.3.3, the Katanaians "themselves made Euarchos their oecist" (Leschhorn (1984) 11–13), implying that the city obtained autonomous status soon after its foundation. Thuc. 6.3.3 possibly implies that the Greeks drove out the Sikel population, and there is tenuous archaeological evidence supporting this (Procelli (1992)).

In 476, Hieron transferred the populations of Katane and Naxos to Leontinoi, renamed Katane as *Aitna* and settled it with 10,000 *oiketores*: 5,000 from the Peloponnese and 5,000 from Syracuse (Diod. 11.49.2); though the report on the relocation of populations refers to both Katane and Naxos, Katane seems to have been the site refounded as Aitna (no. 8.I): *καὶ τὴν μὲν Κατάνην μετωνόμασε Αἴτνην, τὴν δὲ χώραν οὐ μόνον τὴν Καταναίαν ἀλλὰ καὶ πολλὴν τῆς ὁμόρου προσθεὶς κατεκληρούχησε, μυρίους πληρώσας οἰκήτορας*. (Cf. Strabo 6.2.3, who focuses exclusively on Katane in his report on the foundation of Aitna.) After Hieron had died in 466, the Katanaians returned in 461 and expelled the Aitnaians (Strabo 6.2.3), according to Diod. 11.76.3 after several battles (*πλείοσι μάχαις*) between the Hieronian settlers and Syracuse as well as the Sikels under Douketios. Cf. further Aitna (no. 8.I). In 403 Dionysios I was able to take possession of Katane through the betrayal of the city by the *strategos* Arkesilaos: the inhabitants were sold into slavery and the city granted to Campanians (Diod. 14.15.1–3), who in their turn were transplanted to Aitna in 396. After that date the demographic history of the city becomes obscure: it is mentioned again in 353 when it was taken by Kallippos, Dion's murderer (Plut. *Dio* 58.4). In 394, the surviving Katanaians were settled by Rhegion (no. 68) in Mylai (Diod. 14.87.1), but presumably had to scatter across the island when Mylai fell to Dionysios later that year (Diod. 14.87.3).

Katane was presumably among the *Chalkidikai poleis* allied with Leontinoi (no. 33) in its war with Syracuse (no. 47) in 427 and may, with its ally, have sent an embassy to Athens asking for help in 427 (Thuc. 3.86.2–3; cf. Andoc. 3.30 with Albini (1964) 100). Nikias' letter at Thuc. 7.14.2 mentions Katane as an ally (*ξύμμαχος*) of Athens (no. 361) in 414/13 (though Diod. 13.4.2 reports that it was originally in favour of Syracuse); the treaty was concluded (*ἐψηφίσαντο . . . ξυμμαχίαν Ἀθηναίοις*) in 415 at an assembly (*ἐκκλησία*) attended by Athenian *strategoi* and against the wishes of a pro-Syracusan faction (Thuc. 6.50.3–51.2). Cf. *IG* I³ 291.b.II.15 (415): a payment by Katane to Athens.

IG II² 162 is a C4f grant of Athenian proxeny to two men of Katane. A citizen of Katane served as *theorodokos* of Epidauros (no. 348) in 356/5 (*IG* IV².1 95.II.71; cf. Manganaro (1996*a*) 46 n. 81).

There is no evidence for Archaic or C5 tyranny at Katane. According to Arist. *Pol.* 1274ª23, Charondas of Katane

legislated for his own city as well as for other Chalkidian cities. An *ekklesia* is attested for 415 (Thuc. 6.51.2) and a *strategos* is mentioned at Diod. 14.15.1 (r403). In 344, the city was ruled by the tyrant Mamerkos/Markos, who initially sided with Timoleon (Diod. 16.69.4) but then joined Carthage only to be betrayed by οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ who handed Katane over to Timoleon (Plut. *Tim.* 34).

The urban layout at Katane is virtually unknown. The initial settlement occupied the acropolis above the coastal plain and harbour, today occupied by Piazza Dante and the Convento dei Benedettini; structural remains from this period are scarce, but Protocorinthian material confirms a C8s Greek presence (Rizza (1980–81) 769, pl. 186.1–2, (1981) 316, figs. 4–6), and there are remains of C6 habitation structures (Giudice *et al.* (1979) 139–40). Traces of C8 habitation have been revealed below the acropolis near the ancient coastline (A. Patanè (1993–94) 907), and the size and location of the ancient harbour are reviewed by Lagona (1996). In the later Classical period the habitation area incorporated also the lower plateau, probably with an agora located on the site of the later Roman forum close to the theatre and *odeion*. The theatre where the *ekklesia* met in 415 (Frontin. *Str.* 3.2.6) was located on the southern slopes of the plateau. Remains date mainly from the Roman period, but its size (seating capacity *c.*7,000) may reflect that of the Greek theatre (Mitens (1988) 100–3; *TGR* ii. 428–30, C5?). The few Greek remains are from C5 (Anti (1947) 125, 128; Bacci (1980–81*a*)). The adjacent Roman *odeion* may also have had a Greek predecessor, possibly a *bouleuterion* (proximity of theatre and *bouleuterion* is known from other sites; cf. Kolb (1981) 88).

On the southern slope of the acropolis a rich C6–C4 votive deposit has revealed a sanctuary. The cult of the early phase may have been that of Hera, although the evidence is tenuous. The votive terracottas show that from C5 the cult was that of Demeter and Kore, with whom Hieron, as a Deinomenid, had special bonds (Rizza (1960), (1996) 12–13, pl. 1; Hinz (1998) 161–63).

The central area of the Roman city may suggest the approximate extent of the Greek city. To the west this was delimited by the acropolis, to the north by the C6l–C5e cemetery (Orsi (1918)), to the north-east by the river Amenanos, and to the south-east by the sea, in all occupying an area of 75–100 ha (cf. Rizza (1996) 11–12). According to Thuc. 6.51.1 (r415), the city had a circuit wall, destroyed in 403 by Dionysios (Diod. 14.15.2–3).

Katane began striking coins rather late compared with other Sicilian *poleis*, perhaps due to political or economic dependence on Naxos (Manganaro (1996*a*) 29): minting started *c.*461 on the Attic standard (with denominations based on the tetradrachm) at the time of the return of the former inhabitants relocated by Hieron to Leontinoi (for a survey of the coinage, see Manganaro (1996*b*)). The types are *obv.* man-headed river-god Amenanos crowned by a flying Nike; *rev.* Nike running and holding a wreath or fillet, legends: *KATANE*, *KATANAION* or, more rarely, *KATANAIOΣ* (Manganaro (1996*b*) 307–8; *SNG Cop. Sicily* 174–75). These issues are sometimes thought to predate 476 (Head, *HN*² 130, followed by Marotta D'Agata *et al.* (1987) 156), but there is greater consensus for dating them as an inauguration issue, to 461 (Stazio (1978) 191, 194; Manganaro (1996*b*) 305). After C5m the *obv.* type of the tetradrachms, a quadriga, reveals the influence of Leontinian and Syracusan issues; *rev.* head of Apollo, legend: *KATANAION*, from C5l *KATANAIΩN* (Manganaro (1996*b*) 309; *SNG Cop. Sicily* 176–79). From *c.*402 tetradrachms were signed by the engravers Herakleides and Euainetos: *obv.* Apollo *en face*; *rev.* quadriga, legend: *KATANAIΩN* (Manganaro (1996*b*) 309–10; *SNG Cop. Sicily* 180). Varied issues of lower denominations *c.*450–402 are based upon drachms and fractions (types: quadriga, head of Amenanos, Silenos, bull) and upon the litrai and fractions (types: Silenos, stylised thunderbolt) (C. Boehringer (1982); Manganaro (1996*b*) 308, 310–11; *SNG Cop. Sicily* 181–84)). The earliest bronze coinage is dated *c.*405 (Manganaro (1996*b*) 311); coins with *rev.* butting bull were probably minted by Mamerkos and the Campanian mercenaries settled at Katane by Dionysios between 403 and 396 (Manganaro (1996*b*) 312–13; *SNG Cop. Sicily* 184). Timoleontic issues follow in C4m: *obv.* head of nymph; *rev.* man-headed bull, Amenanos (Manganaro (1996*b*) 313).

A group of C5l hemidrachms, *obv.* head of Apollo, legend: *ΛEON*; *rev.* butting bull, legend: *KATANAIΩ*, may be evidence of collaboration between Leontinoi and Katane in the face of Syracusan pressure in 404–403 (Manganaro (1996*b*) 311–12; C. Boehringer (1998) 51), or—perhaps rather—it may be an issue of the Campanian mercenaries settled in Katane by Dionysios I in 403; in that case the legend *ΛEON* may attest to Leontinian dependence upon Katane (Kraay (1976) 229; Corretti *et al.* (1990) 532).

31. Kentoripa (Kentoripinos) Map 47. Lat. 37.35, long. 14.45. Size of territory: ? Type: C:γ. The toponym is *Κεντόριπα, τά* (Thuc. 6.94.3; Polyb. 1.9.4; Strabo 6.2.4) or *Κεντούριπαι, αἱ* (Ptol. *Geog.* 3.4.7). The city-ethnic is *Κεντόριψ* in Thuc. 7.32.1 and *Κεντοριπῖνος* on C4 coins (*infra*) and in Diod. 13.83.4, 14.78.7, etc.

Thuc. 6.94.3 calls Kentoripa a *πόλισμα Σικελῶν*; it is called a *polis* in the urban sense at Diod. 16.82.4 (r339), where the political sense is possibly a connotation. *Politai* is found in Porph. *De vita Pythag.* 21 (rC6l) (= Aristox. fr. 17, Wehrli). The internal collective use of the city-ethnic is found on C4 coins (*infra*), and the external collective use in Thuc. 7.32.1, Porph. *De vita Pythag.* 21 (rC6l) (= Aristox. fr. 17, Wehrli) and Diod. 13.84.4 (rC5l).

Thuc. 6.94.3 describes Kentoripa as a Sikel community; and it is implicitly described as Sikel at Diod. 14.78.7 (r396). A claim or pretension to Greek identity may be implied by the Greek names of its Classical rulers (Damon, Nikodemos; *infra*) and Greek-style coins were issued by the Timoleontic refoundation (*infra*).

At 6.94.3, Thucydides relates how in 414 the Athenians won over Kentoripa by *homologia*, and at 7.32.1 the *Kentoripes* are described as Athenian *symmachoi* in 413. In 396, Damon, the ruler of Kentoripa, made a *syntheke* with Dionysios I (Diod. 14.78.7); this Damon may possibly have been appointed *proxenos* by Athens (no. 361) (*IG* II² 32 (385/4)). Reception of a *presbeia* from Akragas (no. 9) is attested at Diod. 13.83.4 (rC5l). A meeting of the *ekklesia* is attested by Diod. 13.83.4 (rC5l).

Porph. *De vita Pythag.* 21 (rC6l) (= Aristox. fr. 17, Wehrli) refers to a tyrant by the name of Simichos who renounced his rule upon becoming a Pythagorean. At Diod. 14.78.7 (r396) a Damon is described as *δυναστεύων Κεντοριπίνων*, and at 16.82.4 (r339), a Nikodemos is described as *Κεντοριπίνων τύραννον* and is said to have been ousted from his city by Timoleon, who gave Syracusan citizenship to its freed inhabitants (ibid.). The phrase used by Diodorus, *Συρακοσίους ἐποίησε*, suggests to Moggi, *Sin.* 357 that the inhabitants, along with those of Agyrion (no. 7), were transferred to Syracuse; Agyrion was later assigned new citizens (Diod. 16.82.5), and so presumably was Kentoripa, although this is not explicitly stated. A Timoleontic refoundation is, however, reflected in the striking of a new coinage (*infra*) and in craft production of Greek type (R. P. A. Patanè (1992) 69, 73).

The archaeological evidence from the city's Hellenised phase is mainly C4s and Hellenistic, but urban remains are few (Marotta D'Agata and Rizza (1987) esp. 236–38; R. Patanè (1988)).

Bronze litrai were struck briefly under Timoleon after the ousting of Nikodemos in 339/8 (cf. R. P. A. Patanè (1992) 69): *obv.* head of Kore surrounded by dolphins (so-called Euainetos type, taken over from Syracuse); *rev.* leopard, legend: *ΚΕΝΤΟΡΙΠΙΝΩΝ* (Head, *HN*² 135; *SNG Cop. Italy* 209).

32. Kephaloidion (Kephaloiditas) Map 47. Lat. 38.00, long. 14.00. Size of territory: ? Type: C:*γ*. The toponym is *Κεφαλοίδιον, τό* (Diod. 14.56.2; C5l–C4e coins, *infra*); or *Κεφαλοιδίς* (Archestratos of Gela fr. 35.6, Olson and Sens; Strabo 6.2.5); Ptol. *Geog.* 3.4.3 has *Κεφαλοίδις, ἡ Κεφαλωίδης*. The city-ethnic is *Κεφαλοιδίτας* (C5l–C4e coins, *infra*); schol. Theoc. *Id.* 1.118b gives *Κεφαλοίδιος*.

No source calls Kephaloidion a *polis* (though *ταύτης* at Diod. 20.56.3 (r307) may mean "this *polis*"; a *chora* is referred to at Diod. 20.77.3 (r306)); it is included here on account of a coinage presumably struck by/in the community and on stylistic grounds dated to C5l–C4e (Cutroni Tusa and Tullio (1987) 211). Both silver (drachms, hemidrachms and litrai) and bronze coins were struck: *obv.* head of Herakles; *rev.* butting bull (from C4m replaced by a Pegasos on bronzes). The legends are unusual and difficult to interpret; the following variants are found: (a) *obv. ΕΚ ΚΕΦΑΛΟΙΔΙΟΥ*, *rev. ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΩΤΩΝ*; (b) *obv. ΚΕΦΑΛΟΙΔΙΤΑΝ*, *rev. ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΩΤΑΝ*; (c) *ΚΕΦΑΛΟΙΔΙΤΑΝ*. While (c) can be interpreted as an ordinary legend of a civic coinage of Kephaloidion, (a) and (b) seem to involve a foreign group, the *Herakleiotai*, of unknown origin. *Ek Kephaloidiou* of (a) probably means "based on Kephaloidion" (Kraay (1979) 29) and suggests that the *Herakleiotai* had been admitted to Kephaloidion as a group; the double legend of (b), naming both the Kephaloidians and the Herakleiotans, suggests that the latter had been admitted to citizenship by a block grant but kept their individual identity; this would suggest that Kephaloidion was a *polis* at the time of the minting of these coins (Head, *HN*² 118; Consolo Langher (1961); Cutroni Tusa and Tullio (1987) 210–11). (Bernabò Brea (1975) 24–29 assigns the issues to a period of autonomy, independent from Carthaginian rule, after the treaty with Himilkon (*infra*); cf. also Jenkins (1975) 92–99 for a downdating of some of the issues to the period of Timoleon.)

Kephaloidion was originally a settlement located on the confines of Himeraian and Sikel territories. In 396, Himilkon of Carthage concluded a treaty of friendship with Himera and "those settled at the *phrourion* of Kephaloidion" (*τοὺς τὸ Κεφαλοίδιον φρούριον κατοικοῦντας*: Diod. 14.56.2). Whether these latter were Greeks is not clear, but they were presumably not Himeraians. At Diod. 14.78.7 (r396) Kephaloidion is implicitly described as Sikel, but the Greek-style coinage discussed above suggests Hellenisation; it was captured *διὰ προδοσίας* by Dionysios I in 396 (Diod. 14.78.7) and is not met with again before the time of Agathokles (Diod. 20.56.3 (r307), 77.3 (r306)). The archaeological evidence at the site is mainly Hellenistic, but the

massive circuit wall in polygonal technique may go back to C4; the layout of the mediaeval city may in its main lines coincide with that of the ancient city (Cutroni Tusa and Tullio (1987) 211–14).

33. Leontinoi (Leontinos) Map 47. Lat. 37.15, long. 15.00. Size of territory: 4. Type: A:*α*. The toponym is *Λεοντῖνοι* (*IG* I³ 54.1; Thuc. 6.3.3). The city-ethnic is *Λεοντῖνος* (Thuc. 3.86.2–3).

Leontinoi is called a *polis* both in the urban sense (Thuc. 5.4.3–4; Hdt. 7.154.2) and in the political sense (Thuc. 3.86.2; Arist. *Pol.* 1316ᵃ35–39). The territorial sense is a connotation at Thuc. 5.4.3, and the political sense is a connotation at Hdt. 7.154.2 (cf. Hansen (2000) 175–76, 205). *Politai* is used at Thuc. 5.4.2, and so is *demos*. The internal collective use of the city-ethnic is attested on C5f coins (*infra*), and the external collective use by Hdt. 7.154.2, Thuc. 5.4.2 and *IG* I³ 54.18 (C5m). The external individual use of the ethnic is found at Xen. *An.* 2.6.16, Pl. *Ap.* 19E and *CEG* 2 830.1 (C4f).

Leontinoi was one of the early Chalkidian colonies in Sicily, founded by Chalkidians from Naxos under the leadership of Theokles five years after the foundation of Syracuse (i.e. traditionally 729: Thuc. 6.3.3; cf. Hellan. fr. 82). However, Theokles can hardly have been the oecist of Leontinoi, as well as Naxos (cf. Leschhorn (1984) 12).

Leontinoi is the only primary colony of the Greek West situated inland. According to Strabo 6.2.7, the territory (*γῆ*, Thuc. 5.4.2; *χώρα*, Diod. 5.8.2) of Leontinoi, called *ἡ Λεοντίνη* (Thuc. 5.4.4, 6.65.1) or *τὸ Λεοντίνων*/*Λεοντῖνον πεδίον* (Theopomp. fr. 225a.60; Diod. 4.24.1), belonged to the Naxians; this must refer to the Naxian origin of Leontinoi. The territory of Leontinoi probably encompassed most of the modern plain of Catania, about 400 km². It is not possible to define a borderline between Katanaian and Leontinian territory. The sources stress the beauty of Leontinoi's *chora* (Diod. 4.24.1) and the importance of grain crops (Diod. 14.58.1 (rC4e)). The north gate of Leontinoi led to the Leontine plain (Polyb. 7.6). The Chalkidian dominion reached far inland along the Simeto and the Dittaino river valleys, possibly as far as Monte San Mauro, Grammichele, Morgantina and Kenturipe (Procelli (1989); see Katane (no. 30)).

The population history of Leontinoi was eventful: according to Thuc. 6.4.1, the group of Megarians led by Lamis who eventually founded Megara (no. 36) for some time lived as citizens (*ξυμπολιτεύειν*) at Leontinoi but were expelled (*ἐκπεσεῖν*). In 476, Hieron of Syracuse transplanted the populations of Naxos (no. 41) and Katane (no. 30) to Leontinoi (Diod. 11.49.2). After the Congress of Gela in 424, new citizens (*politai*) were enrolled in Leontinoi, and the *demos* contemplated a redistribution of land. The result was civil war, in which *οἱ δυνατοί* summoned the Syracusans. The *demos* was expelled, whereas *οἱ δυνατοί* moved to Syracuse (no. 47), where they obtained citizen rights, although "later" (*ὕστερον*) some returned to the old city (Thuc. 5.4.2–4; cf. Dreher (1986)). Leontinoi ceased to be a *polis*, and its site was turned into a *phrourion* of Syracuse (Diod. 12.54.7); the Athenians had the refoundation of Leontinoi as one of their principal alleged motives for undertaking the expedition to Sicily in 415 (Thuc. 6.33.2, 48.1, etc.). In 405/4 Leontinoi was resettled by citizens of Gela (no. 17) and Kamarina (no. 28; Diod. 13.113.4), and the treaty concluded that year between Dionysios I and Carthage stipulated that like, e.g., Gela, the city was to be *autonomos*, and this must have meant the refoundation of the city (Diod. 13.114.1). Two years later (403/2), Dionysios conquered Leontinoi and moved all its inhabitants to Syracuse (Diod. 14.14–15); in 396 Dionysios resettled Leontinoi with, allegedly, 10,000 mercenaries (Diod. 14.78.2). In 339, the population was transplanted to Syracuse by Timoleon (Diod. 16.82.7).

From Thuc. 3.86.2–3 it appears that in 427 Leontinoi had treaties of *symmachia* with "the Chalkidian *poleis*", Kamarina and Rhegion (no. 68), and that these allies were also allied with Athens (by individual treaties; see ML 63–64 with comm.), and that they were capable of acting as a body (*HCT ad loc.* on *οἱ τῶν Λεοντίνων ξύμμαχοι*). Thuc. 4.24.9 attests to a treaty of *symmachia* between Leontinoi and Naxos in 425. During the reign of Dionysios II, Leontinoi seceded from Syracuse and twice resisted attempts to reconquer the city, the first by Philistos in 356/5 (Diod. 16.16.1), the second in 342/1 by Timoleon (Diod. 16.72.2).

Leontinian *φυγάδες* are mentioned at Thuc. 6.19.1. Several wars fought by Leontinoi are attested: a C6 war with Megara *peri ges horon* is referred to by Polyaen. 5.47.1, and a C5s war with Syracuse by Thuc. 3.86.2. Campaigns are mentioned at, e.g., Thuc. 4.25.10, and a *στράτευμα τῶν Λεοντίνων* at Thuc. 4.25.11. The C7l–C6e tyrant Panaitios served as *polemarchos* (Polyaen. 5.47.1). Leontinoi was conquered by Hippokrates and made a dependency of Gela (Hdt. 7.154.2) *c.*496/5 (Luraghi (1994) 128–29, 148–50).

Reception of envoys is attested by Diod. 14.14.3; *IG* I³ 54.4–6 (C5s) names three Leontinian *presbeis*, and Gorgias was sent as an envoy to Athens in 427 (Pl. *Hp. mai.* 282B). A citizen of Leontinoi served as *theorodokos* of Epidauros (no. 348) in 356/5 (*IG* IV².1 95.II.66).

In the Archaic period Leontinoi was sometimes ruled by a tyrant; two are mentioned by our sources: Panaitios, who in C7l changed the oligarchy (Arist. *Pol.* 1315^{b}34–37) to tyranny *ek demagogias* (Arist. *Pol.* 1310^{b}29, 1316^{a}37; Luraghi (1994) 11–20) and Ainesidamos (Paus. 5.22.7). A C6 *stasis* between the *demos* and the ruling oligarchs is reported by Polyaen. 5.47.1 and another *stasis* in 424 between the *dynatoi* and the *demos* by Thuc. 5.4.2–3 (Berger (1992) 25–26). Symbouleutic oratory (*en toi demoi*) at Leontinoi is mentioned by Pl. *Hp. mai.* 128A.

The urban layout of Leontinoi is known in some detail from the description given by Polyb. 7.6. The defensive system of the city is among the best preserved in Sicily. The C6 circuit wall enclosed the San Mauro and Metapiccola hills and the central valley with gates at either end (Rizza (1978); for chronology, see Tréziny (1986) 187; for the fortification of the Leontinian acropolises, cf. Diod. 14.58.1 (r396)). The C6e(?) outer ashlar circuit wall of the east and south side of Colle San Mauro crossed the narrow San Mauro valley with a pincer-like gateway (the Syracusan gate of Polybios) and continued along the west and south sides of the Metapiccola plateau. The defences were destroyed by Hippokrates *c.*496/5, reconstructed and extended in C5m and destroyed in C5l (cf. Diod. 14.14.4; Rizza (1955) 281–88, 346–76; cf. Dreher (1986)). The north gate has been identified in the substantial remains of a C5 ashlar wall in isodomic technique, and part of the foundation of a round tower was found in the northern outlet of the San Mauro valley (Martin *et al.* (1979) 585; Spigo (1980–81*a*) 794). The city was walled again in 356/5 (Diod. 16.16.1) and besieged in 342/1 (Diod. 16.72.2). A theatre is attested in C4m (during the reign of Dion) when it housed a meeting of the assembly (Plut. *Dio* 42.8–43.1).

Archaeological evidence (habitation structures and abundant C8–C7 ceramic material) has revealed a first Greek habitation phase on the Colle San Mauro. There are indications of an initial close relationship between Greek and Sikel settlers (Rizza (1962), (1978)). The C7–C6 settlement phase incorporated also the Metapiccola hill, and the total extent of the two plateaux with the central valley within the C6 circuit wall was about 40 ha. There are remains of terraced houses on the western slope of the Metapiccola hill overlooking the San Mauro valley (corroborating the description given by Polybios). These are mainly Hellenistic, but they have a C7 phase (Rizza (1980–81) 767–68; Spigo (1980–81*a*) 793–94). According to Thuc. 5.4.4, one district in the city was called Phokaia. Neapolis, another part of the city, was attacked by Timoleon in 342/1 (Diod. 16.72.1), and was perhaps originally an extra-urban settlement founded by Hieron in 476 to house the inhabitants from Katane (no. 30) and Naxos (no. 41) (Diod. 11.49.2). According to Polyb. 7.6, the agora was situated in the central valley, as were the law courts, *dikasteria*; his mention of sanctuaries on the city plateaux is confirmed by the archaeological evidence (Barletta (1983) 38–45). Extensive C5s–C4e cemeteries lay on plateaux north of the city, at some distance from it, whereas tombs, spanning the Archaic and Hellenistic periods, lay just outside the south gate of the city along the road leading to Syracuse (Martin *et al.* (1979) 585–87; Rizza (1982)).

From the evidence of the coins, Artemis or Demeter (cf. Diod. 5.4.2) and Apollo were venerated at Leontinoi. An external collective dedication of a silver *phiale* at Delos is recorded in *I.Delos* 104.93 (366) and *IG* II^{2} 1643.21 (C4m).

The earliest coinage, based upon the Syracusan–Attic standard, was issued in connection with Hieron's settlement of the inhabitants of Katane and Naxos at Leontinoi in 476 (C. Boehringer (1998) 43–44). This first series of tetradrachms use the Syracusan *lambda* in the legend and reveal strong Syracusan stylistic influence: *obv.* quadriga and Nike; *rev.* lion's head (a pun on the city's name) surrounded by four grains of barley, legend: ΛΕΟΝΤΙΝΟΝ (C. Boehringer (1998) pl. 10.1–5, 7–10, etc.; *SNG Cop. Sicily* 334–37). A second series, from *c.*466, have similar *obv.* but with a running lion in exergue (as in the Syracusan "Demarateion" coinage); *rev.* female head (Artemis or Demeter), or head of Apollo wearing laurel wreath, legend: ΛΕΟΝ, ΛΕΟΝΤΙΝΟΝ (*SNG Cop. Sicily* 341–43; C. Boehringer (1998) pls. 10.14–19, 11.30–32). A third series of tetradrachms belong *c.*450: *obv.* laureate head of Apollo; *rev.* lion head surrounded by barley grains, legend: ΛΕΟΝ, ΛΕΟΝΤΙΝΟΝ, ΛΕΟΝΤΙΝΟΣ (with Chalkidian *lambda*, cf. Johnston (1975); *SNG Cop. Sicily* 346–52; C. Boehringer (1998) 47, pl. 11.33–37, etc.). Lower denominations carry related types, and on *rev.* of litrai a naked youth (river-god or Apollo) offering a libation at an altar (*SNG Cop. Sicily* 353–57; cf. C. Boehringer (1998) 47–48 for the change in the system of denominations with refs. to plates). The issue of tetradrachms may have continued until *c.*415 (C. Boehringer (1998) 50–51). For an issue of hemidrachms possibly indicating collaboration between Leontinoi and Katane or Leontinian dependence upon Katane, see entry for Katane. Bronze coins were issued from *c.*405 (*SNG Cop. Sicily* 358–61; C. Boehringer (1998) 51–52).

Leontinoi founded the colony of Euboia (no. 15) (Strabo 6.2.6) at an unknown site in the Chalkidian hinterland,

perhaps as early as C8l if it was contemporaneous with the foundation of Mylai (no. 38; the two sites are coupled by Ps.-Skymnos 287–88); Euboia seems to have been a settlement of some importance in C5f, since it was worthy of being relocated by Gelon (Hdt. 7.156.3; Camassa (1989*a*)).

34. Lipara (Liparaios) Map 47. Lat. 38.30 long. 14.55. Size of territory: 2 (= size of island). Type: A:*α*. The toponym is *Λιπάρα, ἡ* (*SEG* 37 414 (C5f)); Antiochos (*FGrHist* 555) fr. 1; Thuc. 3.88.2; cf. *Λιπάραι* in Polyb. 34.11.19, where the plural "die Stadt Lipara [i.e. in contradistinction to the island] zu bezeichnen scheint, da Polyb. sonst *Λιπάρα* sagt" (Ziegler in *RE* xiii. 719; cf., however, Diod. 5.7.1 claiming homonymity between island and *polis*); *Μελιγουνίς* is said by later sources to have been an earlier name of *Λιπάρα* (Callim. *Hymn.* 3.47; Strabo 6.2.10). The city-ethnic is *Λιπαραῖος* (C5s coins, *infra*; Thuc. 3.88.2), although *Κνίδιος* (*ἐλ Λιπάραι*) seems to have been used as well (*SEG* 37 414 (C5f)).

Lipara is called a *polis* in the urban sense by Antiochos (*FGrHist* 555) fr. 1 = Paus. 10.11.3 (r time of foundation) and Arist. *Mete.* 367^{a}6. In later sources Lipara is called a *polis* in the political sense at Polyb. 1.21.5 and in the urban sense at Diod. 14.56.2 (r396). The internal collective use of the city-ethnic is attested by C5s coins (*infra*) and the external collective use in Thuc. 3.88.2, Arist. *Mete.* 367^{a}6 and presumably on the C5f Liparan dedication at Delphi (*Syll.*^{3} 14 (C6l–C5e) = *SEG* 34 405, 37 414; cf. *BTCGI* 9: 101ff). The individual use of the ethnic is found in *F.Delphes* III.4 401 (315) and *IG* II^{2} 9214 (C3e).

Mythology told of a settlement of the island by Liparos (Diod. 5.7.5), who founded the *polis* and was joined by Aiolos (ibid. and 4.67.4; cf. Hom. *Od.* 10.1). The historical community was founded by *apoikoi* from Knidos (no. 903; Thuc. 3.88.2; Antiochos (*FrGHist* 555) fr. 1; Strabo 6.2.10; cf. Hornblower (1991) 496). However, according to Diod. 5.9.2–5, the foundation was the outcome of a joint Knidian-Rhodian expedition to western Sicily under the leadership of Pentathlos of Knidos, in the fiftieth Olympiad, i.e. 580–576. Pentathlos was killed in war supporting Selinous (no. 44) against Segesta, and the leadership of the group was taken over by Gorgos, Thestor and Epithersides; the expedition found at Lipara 500 indigenous inhabitants of Aiolos' line whom they joined. Antiochos of Syracuse (*FGrHist* 555, fr. 1 as preserved in Paus. 10.11.3), while agreeing on the leadership of Pentathlos, differs *inter alia* from Diodorus' account in naming only Knidians as colonisers (as does Thuc. 3.88.2), and in stating that before settling at Lipara the expedition had founded a *polis* at Cape Lilybaion (Pritchett (1999) 98–100), from which they were expelled by Elymians and Phoenicians. For the role of Knidians in the venture, see also the C5f Delphic dedicatory inscription: *τοὶ Κνίδιοι [ἐ]λ Λιπάραι* (*F.Delphes* II.1 142; *LSAG* 351 n. 1; *Syll.*^{3} 14; *SEG* 37 414; Bernabò Brea and Cavalier (1991) 102–3). According to the Eusebian chronology, the foundation took place in 630/29, but Diodorus' date is supported by the chronology of the votive material from the urban sanctuary and by mortuary evidence (Bernabò Brea and Cavalier (1991) 137, 150).

Lipara was the centre of habitation among the Aiolian Islands (Thuc. 3.88.2: *οἰκοῦσι δ' ἐν μιᾷ τῶν νήσων οὐ μεγάλῃ, καλεῖται δὲ Λιπάρα*), of which there were seven in all (Diod. 5.7.1; Strabo 6.2.10), known also as *αἱ Λιπαραίων νῆσοι* (ibid. and 1.3.10; Polyb. 1.25.4; Diod. 12.54.4, 14.103.2, cf. *Syll.*^{3} 14). Lipara itself, measuring 37.5 km^{2}, is fertile (cf. *καρπόφορος* at Diod. 5.10.3 and *εὔκαρπος* at Strabo 6.2.10), and there is sporadic evidence of single farmsteads and agricultural activity from C6. However, the area exploited for agricultural purposes was not limited to Lipara but included the other islands (Thuc. 3.88.2; Diod. 5.9.4–5); Diodorus gives a detailed account of the socio-economic development of the community, referring *inter alia* to such institutions as *syssitia*, absence of private property and close community control of the agricultural areas which were publicly owned (ibid. without source reference).

In 427/6 the Liparaians were *symmachoi* of Syracuse (no. 47), and in that year the Athenians and Rhegians ravaged their territory (Thuc. 3.88.1–4; Diod. 12.54.4). According to Diod. 5.9.4, the community maintained a fleet which was manned by a group of citizens devoting themselves specifically to that duty, while the rest were occupied with agriculture. The existence of a fleet may also be inferred from the repeated defeats of Etruscan forces (*infra*). A *strategos* is attested in 393 (Diod. 14.93.4). The Liparaians fought several wars against the Etruscans, at least until the battle of Kyme (474), and they won several victories which were commemorated by monuments at Delphi (Diod. 5.9.5; Strabo 6.2.10; Paus. 10.11.3; cf. Rota (1973) and Colonna (1984)), dedications that may be taken as evidence of extreme wealth on the island (Paus. 10.16.7). At the time of Hieron, but before 474, the Etruscans besieged and captured Lipara (Callim. fr. 93, Pfeiffer; Tzetz. *Chil.* 8.889–92). In 396 Himilkon occupied the *polis* of Lipara and exacted 30 tal. from the inhabitants (Diod. 14.56.2). In 393 (396 according to Roman chronology) the Liparaian *strategos* Timositheos liberated Roman ambassadors taken prisoner by Liparaian pirates while on

their way to Delphi; for this service the Romans conferred on Timositheos the right of public hospitality (Diod. 14.93).

Lipara's relations with Delphi seem to have been close: consultation of the oracle in the face of the Etruscan threat is attested by Paus. 10.16.7; in C5–C4 the city put up votives and dedicated booty taken from the Etruscans (Diod. 5.9.5; Paus. 10.11.3, 16.75; cf. *Syll.*³ 14; Rota (1973) and Colonna (1984)); a Delphic grant of proxeny to two Liparaians is recorded in *F.Delphes* III.4 401 (315), and Lipara was among the cities visited by the *theoroi* of Delphi in C3s (Manganaro (1964*a*); *SEG* 22 455, col. 4.117).

The city was founded on a promontory *c.*65 m above sea level; the "acropolis" of the city (a modern designation) comprised habitation, but there was also a lower city on the western slope of the "acropolis". The site had two harbours, probably north and south of the promontory (Diod. 5.10.1). The circuit wall built in a polygonal technique and raised *c.*500 enclosed the acropolis and part of the lower city; however, the exact course is not wholly clarified (Bernabò Brea (1987) 20). In C4f the perimeter of the circuit wall was enlarged to incorporate the C4 expansion of the lower city; the new wall was built in ashlar, isodomic technique as a double curtain-wall with internal fill, 3.80 m wide, strengthened with towers (ibid. 20–23). The most extensive cemetery with *c.*2,000 tombs lay to the north of the city (Bernabò Brea and Cavalier (1991) 146–54).

No Greek remains of habitation from the Archaic and Classical periods are extant, but early Greek presence is evidenced by votive deposits. The only known public building is the C4 *prytaneion* (Diod. 20.101.2 (r304)). Votive deposits testify to sanctuaries within the urban area (Bernabò Brea and Cavalier (1977) 89–91). Further votive deposits delimited by primitive *peribolos* walls indicate simple *temene.* Sporadic finds of architectural terracottas testify to a temple or *naiskos* (Bernabò Brea and Cavalier (1991) 139). There is evidence of suburban sanctuaries, one probably dedicated to Demeter (Bernabò Brea and Cavalier (1977) 133–35; (1991) 158–59).

A C6m inscription restored *AIO*[*ΛOY*] (Bernabò Brea and Cavalier (1977) 90) may testify to a cult of this mythical figure (cf. Diod. 20.101.2 (r304) for dedications allegedly set up by Aiolos and kept in the *prytaneion*). A cult of Hephaistos is adduced from C5s coins, easily explained in the light of volcanic activity on the Lipari islands. Coins also testify to a cult of Apollo. A C4–C3 dedication probably attests to a cult of Artemis (Manganaro (1979); Bernabò Brea and Cavalier (1991) 90, 158), and there is epigraphic evidence for a cult of Aphrodite (Bernabò Brea and Cavalier (1991) 90; cf. 168 for refs. to iconographic testimonies). A cult of Dionysos is sometimes inferred from the abundant New Comedy terracottas (Bernabò Brea and Cavalier (1991) 161–62).

Lipara struck a bronze coinage based upon the litra from C5s (survey in Bernabò Brea and Cavalier (1991) 109–21). The *obv.* depicts a male head with helmet or, more likely, a *pilos* and therefore Hephaistos; *rev.* ship's stern; legend: *ΛIIΠAPAION*; lower denominations lack the stern (*SNG Cop. Sicily* 1084–85). A rare issue of Lipara and Mytistratos with the legends *ΛIIΠ* and *MY* suggests some agreement or understanding between the two cities, but the nature of this is uncertain (Bernabò Brea and Cavalier (1991) 112–13). A second issue, probably of C4 rather than C5l, based on the litra but of reduced weight, with lower denominations, has *obv.* young, naked seated Hephaistos holding hammer and kantharos; *rev.* dolphin, among variants: head of Apollo(?), *rev.* legend: *ΛIIΠAPAIΩN* (*SNG Cop. Sicily* 1088–96; for the date, see Bernabò Brea and Cavalier (1991) 117–18). Another C4 issue may indicate cultural and political kinship with Taras (Bernabò Brea and Cavalier (1991) 114).

35. *Longane (Longenaios) Map 47. Lat. 38.05, long. 15.10. Size of territory: ? Type: C:*β*. The forms of the city-ethnic suggest such forms for the toponym as **Λογγάνη* or **Λογγήνη*, but the only attested form is *Λογγώνη*, in Steph. Byz. 418.19, who gives the corresponding ethnic as *Λογγωναῖος*; Steph. cites Philistos (= *FGrHist* 556, fr. 38), but for which detail is unclear. The city-ethnic is *Λονγεναῖος* in *IG* XIV 319 (= *IGDS* no. 200; cf. Hornbostel and Hornbostel (1988) 234), a C5m *kerykeion* inscribed *Λονγεναῖος ἐμι δεμόσ(ιος)*; it is *Λογγαναῖος* on C5l coins (*infra*).

On the basis of Polyb. 1.9.7, Longane is located near Mylai (no. 38), and the river Longane (ibid.) may be the river Loitanos of Diod. 22.23. The city has been tentatively identified with the considerable remains of a settlement on Monte Ciappa, above modern Rodi and Milici, where C5 evidence of Hellenisation is found in the form of ashlar technique in the circuit wall, a rectangular building complex outside the walls (perhaps a sanctuary), and, finally, mortuary evidence (Ryolo di Maria (1950–51); Massa (1991); Bernabò Brea and Carettoni (2000)). However, other sites with urban remains have been put forward as candidates for the site (Wilson (1988) 125).

No Archaic or Classical source calls Longane a *polis*, but the *kerykeion* (*supra*) and the Greek-style coins (*infra*) suggest that it was a *polis* and suggest Hellenisation as well.

Longane minted bronze litrai from C5l, a date suggested by the similarity with Geloan coins of *c.*415–405: *obv.* Herakles wearing lion skin, legend: ΛΟΓΓΑΝΑΙΟΝ; *rev.* personification of river-god, Longanos (Jenkins (1975) 99–101; Massa (1991) 250–51). (Manganaro (1984) 36–37 argues for a *c.*C4m date for this coinage and therefore reads the legend not as an ethnic but as an adjective.) If Longane is correctly located inland somewhere between Milazzo and Tyndaris (no. 49), its coinage is virtually the only coinage in that area.

36. Megara (Megareus) Map 47. Lat. 37.10, long. 15.10. Size of territory: 4. Type: A:α. The toponym is Μέγαρα, τά (Thuc. 6.49.4, 75.1), or Μεγαρίς (Ps.-Skylax 13) (it is unclear what is meant by τὸ Μεγαρικόν at Polyaen. 1.27.3 (r483)); this is the simple name which is qualified in different ways to distinguish it from Megara Nisaia (no. 225): Thuc. 6.94.1 has Μέγαρα τὰ ἐν Σικελίᾳ, and Theopomp. fr. 70 has Μέγαρα τῆς Σικελίας. In addition to the toponym proper, the plural of the city-ethnic may be used to designate the city (in contradistinction to the *community*): Thuc. 6.4.1: Μεγαρέας ᾤκισαν (cf. Ziegler in *RE* XV.1. 206; see also *HCT* on Thuc. 6.94.1). According to Ephor. fr. 137a/b (as paraphrased by Strabo 6.2.2 (a) and Ps.-Skymnos 264 (b)), the original name was Ὕβλα (presumably from the Sikel king Hyblon (Thuc. 6.4.1)). The city-ethnic is Μεγαρεύς (Hdt. 7.156.2; Philistos (*FGrHist* 556) fr. 5), which is also qualified in different ways to distinguish it from the ethnic of Megara Nisaia: Μεγαρεὺς ὁ ἐν Σικελίῃ (Hdt 7.156.2; cf. Pl. *Leg.* 630A); Thuc. 6.4.1: Μεγαρεὺς ὁ Ὑβλαῖος.

Megara is called a *polis* in the urban sense at Thuc. 6.4.2 and Ps.-Skylax 13; Hdt. 7.156.2 does not explicitly call it a *polis* in the political sense, but that it was so is the obvious implication of the passage, which discusses Megara alongside other communities that were obviously *poleis*. At Thuc. 6.4.3 *metropolis* almost certainly applies to Megara Nisaia (no. 225) (*HCT ad loc.*). Pl. *Leg.* 630A uses πολίτης about one of its citizens. The external collective use of the city-ethnic is found in Hdt. 7.156.2, Philistos (*FGrHist* 556) fr. 5 (rC6m) and Pl. *Leg.* 630A.

The name of the territory was presumably Μεγαρίς (cf. *IvO* 22. fr. ab.1 (C6l) with Dubois *ad loc.* in *IGDS* p. 34; cf. Diod. 4.78.1 and Steph. Byz. 588.7); it is termed χώρα at Thuc. 6.4.2 and γῆ at 6.94.1. It consisted of the coastal lowland on both sides of the city facing the bay of Augusta and was demarcated by the territories of Leontinoi (no. 33) and Syracuse (no. 47), i.e. by the valleys of the river Porcaria (ancient Pantakyas) and the river Anapo (ancient Anapos) respectively. It measured *c.*400 km² (Vallet, Villard and Auberson (1983) 149–50; De Angelis (1994) 92–93). According to Steph. Byz. 588.7, Styella was a *phrourion* in the territory of Megara (cf. Steph. Byz. 645.4 citing Philistos (*FGrHist* 556) fr. 20). Styella has been tentatively located on the western confines of Megara's territory (Bernabò Brea (1968) 178–79). In C7l, Megara was involved in war περὶ γῆς ὁρῶν with Leontinoi; it was fought during the reign of Panaitios of Leontinoi (Polyaen. 5.47; for the C7l date of Panaitios: Luraghi (1994) 11–14).

According to Thuc. 6.4.1–2 Megara was founded by a colonising expedition from Megara Nisaia (no. 225) led by Lamis. The expedition at first settled at Trotilos on the river Pantakyas, whence it moved on to Leontinoi and settled (ξυμπολιτεύειν) there with the Chalkidians for a while; it was, however, expelled (ἐκπεσεῖν) and went on to settle at Thapsos. Here Lamis died; the remnants of the expedition left Thapsos and founded Megara (Μεγαρεῖς Ὑβλαῖοι) on land put at their disposal by the Sikel king Hyblon (for an analysis of the textual transmission of the tradition of the Sikels and the foundation of Megara, see Graham (1988)). According to Thucydides the Megarians were driven out by Gelon (in 483) 245 years after the foundation, giving a foundation date of 728, thus later than the foundation of Syracuse. A different tradition was followed by Ephor. fr. 137, whose account is preserved in Strabo 6.2.2 (and Ps.-Skymnos 264–77). According to this tradition, Megara (given the initial name of Ὕβλα) was founded ten generations after τὰ Τρωικά by the same expedition, led by Theokles of Athens, which also founded Naxos (no. 41). The Athenian origin here ascribed to Theokles (who was from Euboian Chalkis (no. 365)) undoubtedly reflects later Athenian claims to have played a role in the early colonial enterprises in Sicily (Bérard (1957) 78–79); Theokles' expedition included both Ionians, who founded Naxos, and Dorians (mostly Megarians), who founded Megara, and according to Ps.-Skymnos 276–77 this double foundation was the result of *stasis* (along ethnic lines?) among the colonisers. According to Strabo 6.2.4, the foundations of Megara, Naxos and Syracuse were roughly contemporary, but a group of Dorians who had left the group settling at Megara were picked up by Archias and joined his group of colonists in founding Syracuse; so in this tradition the foundation of Megara preceded that of Syracuse (ibid.; cf. Ps.-Skymnos 276–77). Archaeological evidence has revealed Greek presence at Megara from C8m (Villard and Vallet (1964) 15–32) and therefore contemporary with the earliest Greek presence at Syracuse (Pelagatti (1978*c*) 130–33); the

evidence for C8m Greek contacts in the hinterland of Megara at Villasmundo is not necessarily associated with the foundation of the colony (Voza (1973*b*)).

A C6m treaty of *symmachia* with Syracuse is attested by Philistos (*FGrHist* 556) fr. 5, and Megarian troops assisted Syracuse in a war against Kamarina. In C5e Megara initiated a war *against* Syracuse (Hdt. 7.156.2) but with disastrous results: Megara was unable to withstand a siege by Gelon, partly because of *stasis* (Polyaen. 1.27.3), and *c.*483 the city had to accept terms whereby the *demos* was sold into slavery whereas the *pachees* were relocated to Syracuse and received citizenship there (Hdt. 7.156.2); Megara ceased to exist as a *polis*, its site lay abandoned in 415 (Thuc. 6.49.4), and the territory was held by Syracuse (Thuc. 6.94.1). The city must have been refounded by Timoleon *c.*338; admittedly, Megara is not specifically mentioned as a Timoleontic refoundation, but archaeology proves a refoundation, which must be related to Timoleon's programme of refoundations (Talbert (1974) 149).

We know next to nothing of the type of constitution at Megara. A C6 *stasis* may be hypothesised as causing the expulsion of citizens received as exiles at Selinous (*IvO* 22; *IGDS* no. 28). One Diognetos was ἄρχων when the city was attacked by Gelon in 483 (Polyaen. 1.27.3). The term αἰσιμνάτας in *IvO* 22 (C6l) refers to a magistracy attested also in Megara Nisaia (no. 225) and other Megarian colonies (cf. Dubois on *IGDS* no. 28 fr.b.5–6 with refs.); however, from the context it is not discernible whether the reference is to Selinous (no. 44) or to Megara. For the office in general, see Asheri (1979*b*) 490. *IvO* 22 mentions a *halia* ([hα]λία διαίτεσ[ε]; Arena (1989) no. 52 fr. h.4; Asheri (1979*b*)), but again it is uncertain whether the reference is to Megara and whether ἁλία should be interpreted as an *ekklesia* or as a special court (Asheri (1979*b*) 490). *IGDS* no. 20 is a *lex sacra* of C6e.

The evidence for cults is meagre: a dedication to *heroes theoi* (Arena (1989) no. 78) and an uncertain C3 dedication to Aphrodite (Manni Piraino (1975) 150). Apart from this there is the indirect evidence of a C6f sacrificial law set up by one Pasaratos, or for a local, otherwise unknown, hero Pasaratos (*SEG* 26 1084 = *IGDS* no. 20; cf. Sartori (1980–81) 267). Cf. also Manni (1975) 190–91 and Vallet (1991) 515 for numismatic evidence of doubtful provenance.

Megara was founded on a flat coastal plateau of *c.*81 ha, previously uninhabited. Only a small part of the total area of habitation has been investigated. Soon after the foundation the urban area was laid out with habitation, public spaces and main lines of communication, respected by the later C7 urban phase, when the city was organised according to major and minor transversal axes with *insulae* organised in five districts laid out around a central agora (Vallet *et al.* (1976)). The five districts may mirror different contingents among the early settlers, reflecting the five *komai* of the *metropolis* Megara Nisaia (Strabo 8.6.22; cf. Vallet *et al.* (1983) 145–46); or they may simply be the successors of early scattered habitation areas, each with public spaces and sanctuaries (Polignac (1999) 227), superseded in C7l by a centralised urban layout implying standardised modules for the habitation lots (Tréziny (1999)). The earliest habitation remains are C8l houses of a type known also at Syracuse and Naxos. Yet a habitation area has been investigated on the southern plateau, *c.*500 m south of the main urban area. Remains of a gate and a C7m double-faced circuit wall in rough stones with internal fill, strengthened on the outside by a trench, have been laid bare. C8 habitation, a C7 potters' workshop and a sanctuary of C7f–C6 reveal the impressive extent of the early colony: a settlement measuring *c.*60 ha (Broise *et al.* (1983); Gras (1984–85); Tréziny (1999) 176–79). On the assumption that about half of this area was urbanised, the C7 population has been estimated at *c.*2,000 (De Angelis (1994) 97–99), probably a much too pessimistic assessment (Hansen (1997*b*) 74 n. 153). The C7m circuit wall was replaced in C6s by a well-built ashlar wall, of which a stretch is preserved on the northern side of the city and landwards by stretches of a long curving wall, in all *c.*1,500 m, with semicircular towers on the outside (Vallet *et al.* (1983) 97–101).

The C6 building near the agora, unconvincingly identified as a *prytaneion* (Vallet *et al.* (1983) 62–69; cf. S. G. Miller (1978) 229–30), is undoubtedly a public structure; another monumental structure from *c.*640 on the south side of the agora is also furnished with banquet rooms and may have had a public function (Vallet *et al.* (1983) 77–81; Kiderlen (1995) 14–17, 215). C7s stoas lined the agora on its north and east sides.

A number of sacred buildings were located adjacent to, or in the vicinity of, the agora: a two-cella *heroon* facing the agora may have housed a cult of the oecist Lamis (Vallet *et al.* (1976) 209–11, (1983) 62). Two C7s *naiskoi*, one with an internal row of columns but both without peristasis, delimited the agora on its south side (Vallet *et al.* (1983) 48–49, 69–70); small single-cella temples, *naiskoi*, are known from various locations in the vicinity of the agora (Vallet *et al.* (1983) 44, 62; Polignac (1999) 215). The C6e Doric temple located on the central part of the plateau (Orsi (1921) 153–76; Villard and Vallet (1954) 13–24) and C6 temples on the sea front

reveal a belt of sanctuaries encircling the habitation area (Polignac (1999) 216–20; for sanctuaries and cults, see also Hinz (1998) 141–43). The Timoleontic foundation occupied primarily the north-eastern corner of the Archaic city and was later restricted to an area of 12 ha by the C3l fortification erected before the final destruction of the city by Marcellus in 213 (Livy 24.34.2). Timoleon's city followed, with modifications, the layout of the Archaic city, the agora was re-established, and sanctuaries and a stoa were erected in the vicinity (Vallet *et al.* (1983) 168–74).

The Archaic cemeteries were located to the north, west and south of the city: the graves are mainly of C7–C6 with very few C8 graves. A social elite is indicated by rich, monumental cella tombs (Shepherd (1995) 56–60 with refs.), and social differentiation is also attested by Herodotos' distinction between the *demos* and *hoi pachees* (7.156.2).

Megara did not issue coins during its Archaic existence, and the attribution of a silver litra inscribed *ΜΕΓΑ* to the Timoleontic refoundation (Head, *HN*² 151) is far from universally accepted (Vallet (1991) 515 with refs.).

Megara was the *metropolis* of Selinous (no. 44), founded in 649 according to Diod. 13.59.4, or in 628 according to Thuc. 6.4.2.

Messana (Messanios) See below **51. Zankle**.

37. Morgantina (Morgantinos) Map 47. Lat. 37.25, long. 14.30. Size of territory: ? Type: C:*β*. The toponym is *Μοργαντίνη*, *ἡ* (Thuc. 4.65.1; 36.5.7); *Μοργαντῖνα*, *ἡ* (C5m coins, *infra*; Diod. 11.78.5); or *Μοργαντῖνον* (Diod. 14.78.7); Strabo 6.1.6 has *Μοργάντιον*, *τό*. The city-ethnic is *Μοργαντῖνος* (C4s coins, *infra*).

Morgantina is called a *polis* in the urban sense at Diod. 11.78.5 (r459), where the political sense may be a connotation. The internal collective use of the city-ethnic is found on C4 coins.

Most scholars have identified Morgantina with the Archaic, Classical and Hellenistic town investigated on the *c.*3 km-long Serra Orlando ridge, near Aidone (an identification based mainly upon numismatic evidence: Dubois, *IDGS* pp. 226–27). The Classical and Hellenistic city occupied the lower ridge, whereas the Archaic town was situated on the Cittadella hill which rises to the east, and which, in itself, consists of an upper acropolis and two lower plateaux.

Morgantina was originally a non-Greek community (Tsakirgis (1995) 125; Antonaccio (1997) 168–70), and at Diod. 14.78.7 (r396) it is implicitly described as Sikel. The Archaic settlement of Morgantina has revealed Greek contacts primarily from the mid-sixth century. The Cittadella and adjacent areas have yielded valuable evidence of sanctuaries and *naiskoi* of Greek type. Foundations of a mid-sixth-century *hekatompedon* have been excavated on the upper plateau and a rich harvest of architectural terracottas found on the lower plateaux are evidence of a *naiskos* in this part of the Archaic settlement too (Barletta (1983) 49–67; Antonaccio (1997)). A fortification wall was added to the already considerable natural defences of the site in C5e, possibly in response to the expedition of Hippokrates of Gela (Sjöquist (1973) 45–46; cf. Hdt. 7.154).

The cemeteries, situated on the slopes of the Cittadella hill, have revealed clear evidence of Greek contacts and acculturation from the Archaic period (Lyons (1996)). However, tomb typology suggests continuity of Sikel culture, albeit with some Hellenisation of tomb architecture and typology, and Archaic Morgantina may not have been a mono-ethnic community (Lyons (1996); see also Antonaccio (1997)). Architectural terracottas and other remains of buildings attest to important C6m–C6l religious structures, some in Greek style (Barletta (1983) 49–67; for sanctuaries, see Hinz (1998) 124–34). A survey of the archaeological evidence, with bibliography, is found in Tsakirgis (1995); cf. also Antonaccio (1997). By *c.*460, Greek-style coinage was introduced with types that attest to Greek cults (*infra*). Moreover, a *kylix* of *c.*460 carries an inscription (*SEG* 38 949) indicating the existence of Greek-style civic subdivisions (*eikades*).

The C5e destruction phase of Morgantina is most often linked to the activities of Hippokrates of Gela in north-eastern Sicily. When captured and refounded by Douketios in 459/8, it became an *axiologos polis* according to Diod. 11.78.5. The new settlement on Serra Orlando was a city founded according to Greek customs: a formal urban layout with *plateiai* and *stenopoi* has its origin in this period, though the rich evidence for public buildings dates primarily to the Hellenistic period (Bell (1988) 314–16; Tsakirgis (1995) 126–27). The acts of foundation and the terminology employed by Diodorus in connection with Douketios' foundations in the period 459–458 are similar to those known from Greek colonial foundations: the presence of an *oikistes*, the planning of an urban centre, and the division of the *chora* into lots (cf. Rizzo (1970) 58–66; Bell (1984–85) 505–6; (1988) 320–21).

The peace concluded between the Sicilian cities at the Congress of Gela in 424 implies that Morgantina had been within the sphere of influence of Syracuse prior to 424 (Thuc. 4.65.1); but by the Peace, Syracuse (no. 44) handed over Morgantina to Kamarina (no. 28) in return for a speci-

fied payment (*ἀργύριον τακτόν*). Morgantina is next listed among the cities taken by Dionysios I during his campaign against the Sikels in 396 (Diod. 14.78.7), and later the city is mentioned in connection with the war between Magon and Dionysios I (Diod. 14.95.2).

Morgantina issued an unusually rich coinage which has been divided into the following main groups by Erim (in Buttrey *et al.* (1989) 3–67): (1) silver litrai from *c.*465–450, stylistically related to contemporary litrai of Gela: *obv.* bearded head wearing *taenia* (an unidentified local divinity); *rev.* ear of grain, legend: *ΜΟΡΓΑΝΤΙΝΑ* (retrograde, *gamma* and *rho* written in early forms); (2) *c.*370–350: tetradrachms of Syracusan type with legend *ΜΟΡΓΑΝΤΙΝΩΝ* in exergue on *rev.*, known in two specimens only; (3) silver litrai, three issues, 344–317: (a) 1¼ litra: *obv.* head of Athena in triple-crested helmet, *en face*, legend: *ΜΟΡΓΑΝΤΙΝΩΝ*; *rev.* Nike seated on rock (*rev.* type reveals stylistic affinities with coins of Terina), legend as on *obv.*: *SNG Cop. Sicily* 471); (b) litra: *obv.* female head in profile (Persephone or Artemis, or long-haired Apollo?), legend: *ΜΟΡΓΑΝΤΙΝΩΝ*; *rev.* horseman in chlamys thrusting spear (*SNG Cop. Sicily* 472); (c) a rare issue known from two specimens, a variant of (3a) above; (4) bronze coinage, 330–317: (a) *obv.* head of Athena in Attic helmet, legend: *ΜΟΡΓΑΝΤΙΝΩΝ*; *rev.* lion devouring head of stag (*SNG Cop. Sicily* 473–74); (b) *obv.* head of *Sikelia*(?) or male divinity; *rev.* eagle standing on snake, legend: *ΜΟΡΓ*, *ΜΟΡΓΑΝ* (*SNG Cop. Sicily* 475); (c) *obv.* head of Apollo(?), legend: *ΛΑΒΟΣ*; *rev.* tripod, legend: *ΜΟΡΓΑΝ*. The latter issues are probably Timoleontic (Erim in Buttrey *et al.* (1989) 14–29; Karlsson (1995) 155, 166 n. 3(J)).

38. Mylai (Mylaios) Map 47. Lat. 38.15, long 15.15. Size of territory: 2. Type: A:*α*. The toponym is *Μυλαί, αἱ* (Hecat. fr. 79 = Steph. Byz. 461.6; Thuc. 3.90.2). The city-ethnic is *Μυλαῖος* (*SEG* 24 313–14 (C5e); Diod. 12.59.5).

Mylai is described as a *πόλις Ἑλληνὶς . . . καὶ λιμήν* in Ps.-Skylax 13 (cf. Hansen (2000) 198); it is also called a *polis* in the urban sense at Diod. 14.87.3 (r394) and by Ps.-Skymnos 288 (r time of foundation). The external collective use of the city-ethnic is found in *SEG* 24 313–14 (C5e) and in Diod. 12.54.4 (r427).

Even so, Mylai is often thought not to have been been a *polis* but simply a fortified outpost (*phrourion*) of Zankle/Messana (no. 51; Ziegler in *RE* XVI: 1042; Bernabò Brea and Cavalier (1992) 118; Dubois in *IGDS ad* no. 5). Certainly, relations between Mylai and Zankle/Messana seem to have been close. (a) Mylai was founded by Zankle (Ps.-Skymnos 287; cf. Strabo 6.2.6) in 716 (Euseb. *Chron. sub Ol.* 16.1). (b) Thuc. 3.90.2 describes it as *Μυλαὶ αἱ Μεσσηνίων* and states that *ἔτυχον δύο φυλαὶ ἐν ταῖς Μυλαῖς τῶν Μεσσηνίων φρουροῦσαι*. (c) The term *phrourion* is applied to the site in Diod. 12.54.5 *bis* (r427) and 19.65.3 (r315). Finally (d), Theophr. *Hist. pl.* 8.2.8 uses the phrase *ἐν Σικελίᾳ τῆς Μεσσηνίας ἐν ταῖς καλουμέναις Μύλαις*, which seems to indicate that Mylai was conceived of as situated in the territory of Messana (so Ziegler in *RE* XVI. 1042).

However, the following should be noted. *Re* (a), the report on the foundation does not state the purpose of the foundation and there is no compelling *a priori* reason why Mylai should not have been planned as an ordinary colony and thus as a *polis*; but even if it is assumed that it was planned as a military outpost, the examples of Kasmenai (no. 29) and Akrai (no. 10) indicate that this need not militate against its being a *polis* (cf. Hansen (1997*a*) 36), although then presumably a dependent *polis*. Much more importantly, our earliest sources on Mylai are two dedications of spoils by Messana (no. 51) at Olympia that are inscribed *ΜΕΣΣΕΝΙΟΙ ΜΥΛΑΙΟΝ* (*SEG* 24 313–14 (C5e)); this of course indicates military confrontation(s) between Mylai and Messana and that "Mylai, at least before being defeated, had been a self-governing community and undoubtedly a *polis*" (Hansen (2000) 198); see also below on colonisation. *Re* (b+c), the application of the term *phrourion* does not exclude *polis* status for Mylai (cf. Thuc. 8.62.3 describing the uncontroversial *polis* of Sestos (no. 672) as a *phrourion*), and in fact Diodorus varies between *phrourion* (12.54.5, 19.65.3) and *polis* (14.87.3). The fact that Mylai in 426 was garrisoned by Messanian forces indicates close military collaboration and suggests again that Mylai was a dependency of Messana, as does Thucydides' phrase *Μυλαὶ αἱ Μεσσηνίων*. Describing the events of 426, however, Diod. 12.54.2 classifies the inhabitants of Mylai as *Μυλαῖοι* not as *Μεσσήνιοι*, and this indicates that it was a community with an identity of its own, distinct from that of Messana. *Re* (d), the fact that Mylai may have been conceived of as situated in Messanian territory does not mean that it cannot have been a *polis*, since small *poleis* situated inside the territory of larger *poleis* are a well-attested phenomenon (Hansen (1997*a*) 31). If Mylai was thus situated, this may help to explain Thucydides' statement (6.62.2) that Himera (no. 24) was the *only* Greek *polis* on the Tyrrhenian coast of Sicily (a statement which in any case may refer primarily to north-western Sicily), since a dependent *polis* inside the territory of another *polis* may have counted as a *polis* only in internal matters (Hansen (1995) 73–74). To conclude, the Messanian dedications at Olympia indicate

that Mylai was a *polis* in C5e, and Ps.-Skylax that it was still a *polis* in C4; it seems to have been a dependent *polis* of Zankle/Messana, and it is conceivable that its political status may have been subject to change (Hansen (2000) 198).

Although presumably situated in the territory of Zankle/Messana (*supra*), the existence of a separate name—ἡ Μυλαῖτις χώρα (Polyb. 1.23.7) or τὸ Μυλαῖον πεδίον (Polyb. 1.9.7)—indicates that at least by C3m, and presumably before, Mylai had its own territory (Hansen (2000) 198). The size of Mylai's territory is uncertain, but the fertile coastal plain east and west of the city comprises about 75 km². The border with Zankle may have been defined by the famous sanctuary of Artemis Phakelitis located somewhere east of Mylai (Saporetti (1979); Bernabò Brea and Cavalier (1992) 116; cf. also the entry for Zankle). To the west, Mylai bordered upon the territory of Tyndaris from 396 (cf. Strabo 6.1.2), and to the south-west upon the territory of the indigenous city of Longane.

In 427 the Athenians occupied Mylai, forcing upon it an alliance against Messana (Thuc. 3.90.3: ἠνάγκασαν ὁμολογίᾳ). In 394 the Rhegians settled at Mylai those Naxians and Katanaians who had survived Dionysios I's *exandrapodismos* of their cities in 403 (Diod. 14.87.1). Later the same year the city was captured by Messana, and the Naxians (and presumably the Katanaians) were allowed to leave *hypospondoi* (Diod. 14.87.3).

The town of Mylai was situated on a high promontory, the acropolis (mentioned at Thuc. 3.90.3) crowning the 6.5 km-long alluvial peninsula joining it to the inland plain. The settlement was founded on an indigenous site. The original Greek settlement seems to have occupied only the upper plateau, though in a later period habitation may have progressed to the slopes below, closer to the sea and the harbour known from the sources (Ps.-Skylax 13). There are no structural traces of the Archaic or Classical city, nor of the defences mentioned by Thuc. 3.90.3 (ἐρύματα, cf. the *poliorkia* at Diod. 12.54.4 (r427)). Mylai was still fortified in C4l (Diod. 19.65.3 (r315)). The cemetery located along the principal route across the isthmus took over the site of the indigenous, Bronze Age settlement. The earliest tombs are of C8l, thus confirming the Eusebian date (716) for the foundation; this cemetery continued in use also in the late Archaic period (Bernabò Brea and Cavalier (1959), (1992)).

According to Strabo, "the Zanklaians in Mylai" founded Himera (6.2.6: τὴν Ἰμέραν οἱ ἐν Μυλαῖς ἔκτισαν Ζαγκλαῖοι (r648)). If this means that Mylai was the *metropolis* of Himera (no. 24), it will support the suggestion that Mylai itself was a *polis* in the Archaic period.

39. Mytistratos (Mytiseratinos) Map 47. Lat. 37.35, long. 14.00. Size of territory: ? Type: C:β. The toponym is transmitted as Μυτισέρατος in Philistos (*FGrHist* 556) fr. 39 = Steph. Byz. 465.12; Polyb. 1.24.11 has Μυττίστρατον, τό, and Diod. 23.9.4 Μυτίστρατος, ἡ (Diod. 23.9.4). The city-ethnic is given as Μυτισερατῖνος by Steph. Byz. 444.13; Steph. explicitly cites Philistos (= *FGrHist* 556) fr. 39 for this form, but presumably wrongly; cf. Jacoby's app. crit. *ad loc.*

Mytistratos is called a *polis* (in the urban sense) only by Diod. 23.9.4 (r258), but it is included here on account of the Greek-style coinage (*infra*).

Mytistratos is, on numismatic evidence, identified with Monte Castellazzo di Marinopoli. The few C6–C5 and C4 urban remains, including a circuit wall built in an ashlar technique, are classified as Greek; the later phase with evidence of formal layout is probably Timoleontic (Fiorentini (1992) 303–4). The main settlement was destroyed in C3f, but habitation continued on an adjoining terrace. Tombs of the investigated cemetery are dated to C4s (Fiorentini (1992) 302–5).

Three series of C4 bronze coins are attributed to Mytistratos, the first two probably Timoleontic: (1) *obv.* head of Hephaistos, legend: MYTI; *rev.* free horse; (2) *obv.* head of Hephaistos; *rev.* wreath and pellets, legend: MY (retrograde). A coin of the latter series carries the legends ΛΙΠ (*sc.* Lipara (no. 34); retrograde) and MY on *rev.*, and is evidence of C4m collaboration between the two cities (cf. entry for Lipara). The third issue (C4s): *obv.* head of Hephaistos; *rev.* flowers, legend: MYT (Fiorentini (1992) 301; Karlsson (1995) 165, 166).

40. Nakone (Nakonaios) Map 47. Unlocated (Tegon (1993) 159–61). Type: C:β. The toponym is Νακόνη, ἡ (Steph. Byz. 468.3 = Philistos (*FGrHist* 556) fr. 26). The city-ethnic is Νακοναῖος (C5l coins, *infra*) or Νακωναῖος (C4s coins, *infra*; *SEG* 30 1119.5 (C4l–C3m)).

No Archaic or Classical source calls Nakona a *polis*, but it is included here on account of its Classical Greek-style coinage (*infra*) and *SEG* 30 1119 (C4–C3), a Greek decree of Nakona attesting to the existence of a citizen body (*politai*: l.8), a *boule* (l.3), and an assembly (*halia*: l.3), etc.; the decree concerns measures taken to restore civic order after a period of *diaphora* (l.10); cf. *SEG* 32 914 pp. 257–58. The internal collective use of the city-ethnic is found on Classical coins (*infra*) as well as in *SEG* 30 1119.5.

Nakone minted two series of bronze coins from C5l (Head, *HN*² 159): (1) *obv.* head of nymph, legend: NAKONAION; *rev.* Dionysos seated on ass and holding

kantharos (*SNG Cop. Sicily*, *Suppl.* 71); lower denomination: *rev.* goat; C4s issues in a period of Campanian occupation have been associated with Timoleon and his *symmachia*: (2a) *obv.* head of Demeter or Persephone, legend: ΚΑΜΠΑΝΩΝ; *rev.* free horse, legend: ΝΑΚΩΝΑΙΩΝ; (2b) similar but *rev.* Pegasos (Cutroni Tusa (1970) 256–57; Tegon (1993) 158–59).

41. Naxos (Naxios) Map 47. Lat. 37.50, long. 15.15. Size of territory: 4. Type: A:*α*. The toponym is Νάξος, ἡ (Thuc. 4.25.7, 6.3.1; *I.Delos* 380.85 (rC5); cf. Rutherford (1998) 83). The city-ethnic is Νάχιος (coins *c.*525, *infra*), or Νάξιος (coins *c.*430, *infra*; Hdt. 7.154.2; Thuc. 7.57.11).

Naxos is called a *polis* in the urban sense at Thuc. 4.25.8, 9 and 6.3.1, 50.3, and it is listed, with Tauromenion, as a *polis Hellenis* by Ps.-Skylax 13, although presumably it no longer existed by the time this treatise was compiled (cf. Flensted-Jensen and Hansen (1996) 137); *polis* in the political sense is found at Thuc. 7.14.2, and the urban and political senses are combined at Hdt. 7.154.2 (cf. Hansen (2000) 205). *Patris* is found at Diod. 11.49.2 (r476).

The internal collective use of the city-ethnic is found on coins from *c.*525 (*infra*); the external collective use is found in Hdt. 7.154.2 and Thuc. 6.50.3 and *IG* XI.2 245b4 (rC5; cf. Rutherford (1998) 82–83). Externally and individually the ethnic is applied to the oecist Theokles (*Suda* s.v. ἐλεγείνειν: Θεοκλῆς Νάξιος; cf. Bérard (1957) 77 n. 1) and to the Olympionikes Teisandros (Pind. fr. 23, Maehler).

The name of the territory is unknown; it is termed γῆ at Thuc. 4.25.8. Its extent is not fully known. However, Naxian influence penetrated above all southwards across the Santa Venera and Alcantara river valleys, as borne out by the foundation of the colonies at Leontinoi (no. 33), Katane (no. 30) and Kallipolis (no. 27). The site of Kallipolis is unknown, but the listing of the city with Katane and Leontinoi suggests a location either in the coastal plain south of Naxos or on the slopes of Mt. Etna (see Kallipolis (no. 27)). The rich C6–C4 votive deposit from the Demeter and Kore sanctuary in the otherwise unknown secondary settlement at Francavilla *c.*4 km inland along the Akesines (modern Alcantara) river valley has revealed Naxian penetration north-westwards (Spigo (1989); Spigo and Rizzo (1993–94); Hinz (1998) 156–58). To the north the territory bordered upon that of Messana, by whose infantry and navy Naxos was attacked in 425 (Thuc. 4.25.7). Naxos may have had a sanctuary or a secondary settlement also on the higher area of the later foundation of Tauromenion (no. 48) (Bacci (1980–81*b*) 742, (1984–85) 722–23); according to Diod. 14.88.1, the original colonists had expelled the native population from the site of Tauromenion.

Naxos was the earliest Greek colony in Sicily (for the sources for its history, see Cordano (1984–85)). It was founded by settlers from Chalkis (no. 365) on Euboia one year before the foundation of Syracuse, i.e. traditionally 735/4 (Thuc. 6.3.1; cf. Diod. 14.88.1), and the traditional date (as well as ties with Euboia) is confirmed by ceramic finds from the earliest period of settlement, 740–730 (Pelagatti (1981) 304–11; Lentini (1993–94) 1009). The oecist was Theokles (Thuc. 6.3.1). The primary status of Naxos is borne out by the tradition that the *theoroi* of the Sicilian colonies offered sacrifice in the sanctuary of Apollo Archegetes at Naxos before setting sail from Sicily (Thuc. 6.3.1). Ephor. fr. 132 (cf. Ps.-Skymnos 273–74) describes the oecist Theokles as an *Athenian*, but that undoubtedly reflects later Athenian claims to have played a role in the early colonial enterprises in Sicily (Bérard (1957) 78–79). Later sources mention Ionian and Megarian participation (Ephor. fr. 137). Some of the settlers may have come from Cycladic Naxos (cf. Hellan. fr. 82). The Cycladic origin of some of the settlers is supported by the similarity between the coin types used by Sicilian Naxos and by Cycladic Naxos, above all the prominence of Dionysos (Leschhorn (1984) 10 n. 7). In addition, the lettering of the Enyò inscription from the Scalià sanctuary matches that used in Cycladic Naxos (Guarducci (1985)).

Naxos was subdued by Hippokrates of Gela, who took the city after a siege (Hdt. 7.154). In 476, Hieron of Syracuse transplanted the population of Naxos (and Katane) to Leontinoi, where they were presumably granted citizenship (Diod. 11.49.2), and it seems that he settled new colonists at Naxos (Diod. 11.49.2: ἰδίους οἰκήτορας ἀπέστειλεν, though the interest here seems to centre on Katane; but see *infra*). The expatriated Naxians presumably returned after Hieron's death, as did the Katanaians (Diod. 11.76.3; Asheri (1980)).

According to Thuc. 3.86.2, the *Chalkidikai poleis* to which Naxos belonged were *symmachoi* of Leontinoi in its conflict with Syracuse in 427, and the allies seem to have acted as a single body on an embassy to Athens (no. 361) (*HCT ad loc.*); Leontinoi is specifically named alongside ἄλλοι Ἕλληνες ξύμμαχοι at Thuc. 4.25.9 in reference to Messana's attack on Naxos in 425. During the Athenian attack on Syracuse, Naxos was allied with Athens (Thuc. 7.14.2), and at the battle of Epipolai at Syracuse in 414 *hippeis* from Naxos supported the Athenians (Thuc. 6.98.1; cf. 7.57.11).

In 403 Naxos was betrayed by one of its own citizens, Prokles, described as ὁ τῶν Ναξίων ἀφηγούμενος, and so

presumably a military commander. He surrendered Naxos to Dionysios I, who subjected the city to an *exandrapodismos* from which it never recovered; the *chora* of the city was handed over to the Sikels (Diod. 14.15.2–3). A C5 *genos* of the *Amphikleidai* organising Naxian *theoriai* to Delos is argued by Rutherford (1998). Naxian survivors were settled at Mylai (no. 38) during the conflict between Dionysios, Rhegion (no. 68) and Messana (no. 51) in 394 (Diod. 14.87.3; cf. McKechnie (1989) 37), but had to find new homes after the Messanians took Mylai (ibid.). In 358 the Naxians were finally settled at Tauromenion (no. 48) by Andromachos (Diod. 16.7.1); Tauromenion had been a site in Naxian territory (*supra*), but was constituted as a Greek *polis* only in C4f. Andromachos himself was its leading citizen when Timoleon arrived in Sicily (Diod. 16.68.8; Plut. *Tim.* 10.6–8); Marcellin, *Vita Thucydidis* 27 describes him as exercising *monarchia*. See further the entry for Tauromenion. Naxos itself, however, may not have been completely abandoned: C3 habitation and cult activity is attested there (Pelagatti (1976–77) 544–45, (1980–81) 706).

So far, the only evidence of civic subdivisions at Naxos consists of inscriptions on two clay bullets with *patronymika*, implying citizen groups possibly matching a system of *phylai* or *phratriai*. The chronology of the inscriptions, of C5e and C5l, indicates continuity of this civic organisation from before until after the period of Hieron (Cordano (1988)).

The cult of Dionysos was of major importance at Naxos, as shown by the coin types (Cutroni Tusa (1984–85) 296–97) and the number of Silenos antefixes (Pelagatti (1977) 50–55). A C7l *cippus* carries a dedication to a warrior-goddess Enyò (Guarducci (1985)), and other evidence points to a cult of the armed Athena (Lentini (1993–94) 1016–17).

Teisandros of Naxos was victorious four times at the Olympic Games (*Olympionikai* 94 (572) with refs.) and achieved the same number of Pythian victories (Paus. 6.13.8).

The town of Naxos was founded on a low coastal peninsula, Capo Schisò, and material from the initial C8l habitation phase extend over an area of *c.*10 ha (Pelagatti (1981) 295–97; survey in Pelagatti (1993); bibliography in Lentini (1998) 99–100). The earliest evidence of urban layout is of C7, with main street axes linking the central part of the city westwards with sanctuaries, eastwards with the harbour, and northwards with a *kerameikos* (Pelagatti (1981) 297–302). The exceptional character of habitation near the harbour reveals social differentiation (Lentini (1984–85) 815–21).

Though a stretch of a Bronze Age fortification laid bare in the Archaic city near the coast ("Castello area") may have been reutilised by the first Greek settlers (Lentini (2001) 7), Naxos was apparently not fortified before C6m or C6l, probably as a result of the threat posed by the expansion of Gela (no. 17) in north-eastern Sicily (Naxos eventually had to accept Geloan hegemony (Hdt. 7.154.2)). The walls, built in polygonal masonry with the use of local black lava basalt rock, are preserved on three sides: along the river Santa Venera and along the two coastlines of the peninsula; northwards the course remains to be clarified. Gates protected by towers were located in alignment with streets of the C7 city which covered an area of *c.*35 ha. The earliest, C7l, polygonal *temenos* wall of the sanctuary south of the city may have functioned also as a dyke along the river Santa Severa (Pelagatti (1964); (1972); Gras (1998)). Thuc. 4.25.8 attests to the existence of fortifications in 425 (Flensted-Jensen (1995) 128); the fortifications were destroyed (*κατασκάπτειν*) by Dionysios in 403 (Diod. 14.15.2).

The conquest of the city by Hippokrates in 493 (Hdt. 7.154) has left no clear traces in the archaeological record, apart from its possible reflection in a C5e structural phase of the circuit wall (Lentini (1984–85) 813).

It is not entirely clear from Diod. 11.49.1–2 whether he meant to imply the settlement of a new population at Naxos after the deportation of the inhabitants by Hieron in 476, but the archaeological evidence attests to replanning and resettlement. The Hieronian city was laid out in accordance with a unitary, strictly orthogonal system with narrow *insulae* and with a new orientation (Pelagatti (1976–77) 537–43; Belvedere (1987) with refs.; Lentini (1998) 72–86). Rectangular bases found at the crossing of *plateia* and *stenopoi* have been interpreted as *horoi* marking the confines of city districts (Pelagatti (1977) 44–46) or as altars (Spagnolo (1991) 66 n. 78). For the archaeological evidence for the destruction in 403 and the C4e history of Naxos, see Lentini (2002).

An agora is with near certainty identified near the ancient harbour in the north-eastern corner of the city (Lentini (1993–94) 1010–12); for harbour installations, see Pelagatti (1976–77) 538, Lentini (1993–94) 1009, and Blackman (1997–98).

A C7l sanctuary in the south-west corner of the city, near the estuary of the river Santa Venera, at first within the urban area, was superseded by a C6s *hekatompedon* outside the city wall. Altars, bases for votive *stelai*, and ovens for ceramic production go back to the early phase of the sanctuary. The identification of the cult as that of Aphrodite, as yet

uncertain, rests upon the testimony of App. *B. Civ.* 5.109, but the river Onobalas mentioned by Appian is normally taken to be the river Serina or Selina near Taormina and not the river Santa Venera (cf. Ziegler, *RE* XVI.2. 2078; Valenza Mele (1977) 504–5). Other interpretations: a Heraion, though with no clear evidence (*pace* ibid. 505–6); sanctuary of Apollo Archegetes (Guarducci (1985)), but this was situated outside the city according to Thuc. 6.3.1; cf. *HCT ad loc.* A location for the Apollo sanctuary near the harbour on the north side of the peninsula, closer to the C8 phase city, seems most logical (Pelagatti (1978*a*) 138; Valenza Mele (1977) 505), a location also supported by App. *B Civ.* 5.109, which situates the altar of Apollo north of the city near an anchorage. At least four C7–C4 small urban shrines were located within the Archaic and Classical city (Pelagatti (1977) 46–48, (1981) 301, (1984–85) 680–83). The cults of these are uncertain. An important suburban sanctuary extended over a vast area west of the city across the river Santa Venera (Lentini (1993–94) 1012–25, (1998) 87–96). There are remains of two shrines, altars and votive deposits (prime period: C6m). The two shrines were protected by *peribolos* walls or embankments. The architectural terracottas, of local production, indicate richly decorated buildings.

The C8l–C5f cemetery was situated north of the city (Pelagatti (1980–81) 697–701; Lentini (1986)). The C5 cemetery is located west of the city, on the other side of the river Santa Venera, south-west of the sanctuary (Pelagatti (1976–77) 544).

Naxos minted coins from *c.*525 on the Chalkidian–Euboian standard (Cahn (1944)). The main denomination is the drachm, the smaller denomination the obol (litrai) (C. Boehringer (1984–85) 113–16): *obv.* head of Dionysos; *rev.* bunch of grapes, legend on both denominations: the ethnic *NAXION* (*SNG Cop. Sicily* 485). This issue most likely terminated in 493, when the city was taken by Hippokrates. In 461, when the expatriated Naxians (presumably) returned from Leontinoi, a new coin type was commissioned: a magnificent tetradrachm on the Syracusan–Attic standard; *obv.* head of Dionysos; *rev.* squatting Silenos, legend: *NAXION* (Head, *HN*² 160; Kraay (1976) pl. 44.756); lower denominations are drachms and litrai inscribed *NAXI*, *NAXION* (*SNG Cop. Sicily* 486–92). New issues in 430 carry similar types, legend: *NAXION*, *NAΞION*, *NAΞIΩN* (Head, *HN*² 160; *SNG Cop. Sicily* 493). The last issue of 403 has *obv.* Apollo or Silenos, legend: *NEOΠOΛI*; *rev.* river-god Assinos on the smaller denominations (Head, *HN*² 160–61; *SNG Cop. Sicily* 495–96). Bronze coinage was introduced *c.*410 (Rutter (1997) 152).

Naxos became the *metropolis* of Leontinoi (no. 33) and Katane (no. 30) shortly after its own foundation (Thuc. 6.3.3); other sources list also Kallipolis (no. 27; Strabo 6.2.6) and even Zankle (no. 51; Ps.-Skymnos 286).

42. Petra (Petrinos) Map 47. Unlocated (cf. Bejor (1982) 825–26, 830–31; Guletta (1994) 495–96; Gargini (1997)). Type: C:*γ*. The toponym is *Πέτρα* (Ptol. *Geog.* 3.4.7). The city-ethnic is *Πετρῖνος* (C4s coins, *infra*; *SEG* 30 1121.19 (C4l–C3m); Diod. 23.18.5). Diod. 23.18.5 (r254) describes the *Petrinoi* as in possession of an urban centre, implicitly described as a *polis*. Petra merits inclusion here on account of its C4s Greek-style coins, restruck on litrai of Dionysos I: *obv.* bearded short-haired male head (Zeus?), legend: *ΠETPINΩN*; *rev.* seated Aphrodite playing with dove (Robinson (1948); Cutroni Tusa (1982*b*) 843–44; Karlsson (1995) 166 n. 3(L)).

43. Piakos (Piakinos) Map 47. Unlocated, but possibly to be identified with Mendolito, near Adranon (Jenkins (1975) 90; Manni (1981) 219; see also entry for Adranon (no. 6)). Type: C:*γ*. The toponym is *Πιακός* (Steph. Byz. 522.1). The city-ethnic is *Πιακῖνος* (C5s coins, *infra*). No literary source apart from Steph. Byz. mentions Piakos, which is included here on account of its Greek-style coinage, consisting of C5s bronze coins, fractions of litra: *obv.* head of river-god; *rev.* dog attacking deer, on smaller denominations simply a dog; *obv.* legend: *ΠIAKIN* or *ΠIAK* (Head, *HN*² 164; Jenkins (1975) 87–92; Manganaro (1984) 34). A silver litra of *c.*400 is inscribed with the names of both Piakos and Adranon (no. 6), suggesting proximity and collaboration between these two communities: *obv.* head of nymph, legend: *ΠIAKINOΣ*; *rev.* butting bull and fish in exergue, legend: *AΔPAN* (Jenkins (1962), (1975) 90, 92).

44. Selinous (Selinousios) Map 47. Lat. 37.35, long. 12.50. Size of territory: 5. Type: A:*α*. The toponym is *Σελινόεις*, *ἡ* (*IvO* 22.9 (C6l)); *Σελινοῦς* (Hdt. 5.46.2; Thuc. 6.4.2). The city-ethnic is *Σελινόντιος* (C6l coins; *IGDS* no. 78 (*c.*450)); *Σελινούντιος* (Thuc. 7.58.1); *Σελινούσιος* (Hdt. 5.46.2; Xen. *Hell.* 1.2.10); or *Σελινύσιος* (*CID* II 4.1.46 (361/60)).

Selinous is called a *polis* in the urban sense by Xen. *Hell.* 1.1.37 and is listed by Ps.-Skylax 13 under the heading *πόλεις Ἑλληνίδες αἵδε*; it is referred to as a *polis* in the political sense at Thuc. 6.20.2–3 and 6.48.1. A C6l legal text from Olympia dealing with exiles from Megara (no. 36; *IvO* 22; *IGDS* no. 28) in fr. f.3 refers to *ἀ πό*[*λι*]*ς*; according to Asheri (1979*b*), the inscription records a treaty between the *polis* of Selinous and a group of exiles from Megara; however, the fragmentary state of the inscription does not allow us to

determine whether the reference is to Megara or to Selinous. A C5m *lex sacra* refers to τὰ hιαρὰ τὰ δαμόσια (A.18) and τôι βομôι τôι δαμασίοι (B.10; Jameson *et al.* (1993)).

The internal collective use of the city-ethnic is attested on C5m coins (*infra*) and in *IGDS* no. 78 (*c.*450; Arena (1989) no. 53); the external collective use is attested in Diod. 5.9.2 (rC6f), Hdt. 5.46.2, Thuc. 6.20.4 and Xen. *Hell.* 1.2.10. The external individual use is found in *IGDS* no. 67 (C6l), *IG* XII.5 444.65.79b (C3f (rC5l)), and *F.Delphes* III.1 391.2 (*c.*360).

According to Thuc. 6.4.2, Selinous was founded 100 years after the foundation of its *metropolis* Megara, i.e. *c.*628/7. The oecist Pammilos was possibly from the original mother city, Megara Nisaia (no. 225), although the text is ambiguous (cf. *HCT ad loc.* and Casevitz (1985) 105, 109 n. 27), and a Megara Hyblaian origin cannot be excluded. Diod. 13.59.4 supports the Eusebian date for the foundation of Selinous: 242 years before its destruction in 409/8, i.e. *c.*651/50 (source: Bérard (1957) 244–46). Diodorus' date is consistent with the chronology of the recently excavated Buffa and Manuzza cemeteries (Tusa (1982) 191–94; Rallo (1982)).

Selinous was the westernmost Greek colony on the south coast of Sicily, founded on the confines of Phoenician and Elymian territories. The size of Selinous' territory varied, and borders changed (see La Genière (1978)). The C7l immediate hinterland may have comprised 300–400 km². A sanctuary of Herakles near the Hellenised Elymian settlement at Monte Castellazzo di Poggioreale, *c.*30 km north of Selinous, is deduced from the C6e dedication to Herakles by one Aristylos in the Selinountian alphabet and in Doric dialect (*IGDS* no. 84; Falsone (1992) 307–8); stone quarries in the catchment area of Selinous served the early building programmes in the sanctuaries of the colony (Peschlow-Bindokat (1990)). With the foundation of Minoa in C6f/m (*infra*) the area within Selinountian influence may have encompassed *c.*1,200–1,800 km², and there is clear evidence of Selinountine architects at work by C6 in the Contrada Mango sanctuary at Segesta (Tusa (1961); de La Genière (1978)). The original, indigenous settlement of Monte Adranone, situated on the western border of Selinountine territory, *c.*30 km north-west of Selinous, resettled by Selinountines in C6m, served as a fortified outpost until C5l (Fiorentini (1995)). The site is perhaps the *kome* Adranon mentioned by Diod. (23.4.2) in connection with the Punic wars, not to be confused with the Adranon (no. 6) founded by Dionysios.

After initial peaceful co-existence (Tusa (1983) 302–14; Zahrnt (1993) 355–57), a long history of conflicts with the non-Greek populations can be traced: an alliance of Selinous and a colonising expedition led by Pentathlos of Knidos (*c.*580–576) was defeated by the Elymians (Diod. 5.9.2–3), and conflicts between Greeks, Elymians and Phoenicians are also reflected in the failed expedition of Dorieus in 510 (Hdt. 5.46.1), if not already by the C6 inscription commemorating Aristogeiton, who fell at Motya (*IGDS* no. 73; Mafoda (1995)). In 480, however, Selinous was the only Greek city of Sicily supporting Carthage against Theron of Akragas and Gelon of Syracuse (Diod. 11.21.4–5, 13.55.1). In 466, Selinous assisted Syracuse in expelling the tyrant Thrasyboulos (Diod. 11.68.1). A victory of uncertain date is mentioned in the 460–409 inscription (*IGDS* no. 78) from temple "G" (*infra*) revealing conflicts *c.*C5m with Elymians and/or Phoenicians. Not all relations with the non-Greek populations were hostile, however, and there may have been *epigamia* between Selinous and Segesta (Thuc. 6.1.2 with *HCT*).

In 416 the conflict with Segesta (*supra*) led Selinous to ally itself with Syracuse (Thuc. 6.6.2), and accordingly it supported Syracuse in its war with Athens (Thuc. 6.65.1, 67.2, 7.58.1; cf. Diod. 13.4.2 (r415)). The territorial disputes between Segesta and Selinous in 416 (Thuc. 6.6.2; Diod. 12.82.3) and 410 (Diod. 13.43.1–4) ultimately led to the destruction of Selinous in 409 by Carthage (Diod. 13.55–57), when the houses were burnt or torn down, 16,000 were killed, 5,000 taken prisoners, and 2,600 escaped to Akragas (no. 9; Diod. 13.57.6–58.3). The city was recaptured and fortified by Hermokrates, who also laid waste the territories of Motya and Panormos (Diod. 13.62.3–5 (r409)). As an outcome of adversities suffered by the Carthaginians, Himilcar was forced to sign a peace treaty with Dionysios I in 405, in which, however, it was stipulated that Selinous (and several other cities) were to be unfortified and pay tribute to Carthage (Diod. 13.114.1; *Staatsverträge* no. 210). Yet conflicts between the Greek cities and Carthage continued, and Dionysios, with Selinous and Himera (no. 24), attacked Motya in 397 (Diod. 14.47.7), which implies that, in addition to the eastern Sicilian cities, Himera and Selinous had also come within Dionysios' hegemony. A second peace treaty of 392 was in most matters similar to that of 405 (Diod. 14.96.3; *Staatsverträge* no. 233). It seems, however, that Selinous (and the other cities subjected to Carthage by the previous treaty) were now handed over to Dionysios I (see Stylianou (1998) 207). In a peace treaty of *c.*374 Selinous, its territory, and Akragas were again ceded to the Carthaginians (Diod. 15.17.5 with Stylianou (1998) *ad loc.*; *Staatsverträge* no. 261). Selinous was recaptured by Dionysios in 368, but an

armistice was agreed and the old borders were re-established (Diod. 15.73.2–4), and when Dion visited Herakleia Minoa (west of Selinous) in 357, this city was controlled by Carthage (Diod 16.9.4). In the 339 treaty between Timoleon and Carthage, Selinous was left within the Carthaginian sphere of interest (Diod. 16.82.3; *Staatsverträge* no. 344; cf. Talbert (1974) 83–85), and this was confirmed by the treaty between Agathokles and Carthage in 314 (Diod. 19.71.7).

A few scattered sources shed some light on the military strength of Selinous and the size of its population. A contingent of hoplites from Selinous fought alongside the Syracusans in 415 (Thuc. 6.67.2); later, Selinountine *psiloi* and *hippeis* marched to Syracuse under the command of Gylippos (Thuc. 7.1.3–5; cf. Diod. 13.4.7 (r414)); *hippeis* are mentioned also in Diod. 11.21.4 (r480). A navy is implied by Thucydides' reference to two *nees* . . . *Selinountiai* at 8.26.1 (cf. Xen. *Hell.* 1.2.8 for another two). In reference to 410, Diod. 13.44.3 describes Selinous as a *polis polyandrousa*, and a hint of the C5l size of population is found in the figures of 16,000 inhabitants killed and 5,000 captives taken by the Carthaginians in 409 (Diod. 13.57.6); this had already been preceded by the loss of 1,000 men in an ambush (Diod. 13.44.4 (r410)). Even so, 2,600 escaped to Akragas (Diod. 13.58.3). A full mobilisation of forces is mentioned in Diod. 14.47.7 (r397).

Diplomatic activities include the reception of envoys (Diod. 11.68.1 (r466)) as well as the sending of envoys (Diod. 11.21.4 (r480), *bibliaphoroi*, cf. 13.54.3 (r409), 13.43.7, 44.4 (r409)). *F.Delphes* III.1 391 (*c.*360–355) is a grant of various privileges by Delphi (no. 177) to a man of Selinous. A grant of *politeia* to Selinountians by Ephesos (no. 844) is recorded by Xen. *Hell.* 1.2.10; it was prompted by the destruction of the city.

What we know about the constitution indicates that Selinous was mostly governed by tyrants, at least in the Archaic period. Tyranny is attested in connection with the C6l expedition of Dorieus, whose *συγκτίστης* Euryleon liberated the Selinountians from the *mounarchos* Pythagoras but went on to assume monarchical power himself (Hdt. 5.46.2; cf. Luraghi (1994) 54–55; Mafoda (1995)). An earlier tyranny at Selinous (C6m or C6f) may be suggested by the anecdote of "Theron, son of Miltiades" assuming tyrannical power by a stratagem (Polyaen. 1.28.2; full discussion: Luraghi (1994) 52–54). The *αἰσιμνάτας* of *IvO* 22 (*IGDS* no. 28 (C6l)) refers to a magistracy attested also in Megara Nisaia (no. 225) and other Megarian colonies (Dubois *ad IGDS* no. 28 fr.b.5–6 with refs.); however, the context does not make clear whether the reference is to Selinous or to Megara (for the office in general, see Asheri (1979*b*) 490). The text may mention a *halia*: hα]λίᾳ διαίτεσ[ϵ (see Arena (1989) no. 52 fr. h.4; Asheri (1979*b*)). Whether this Selinountine(?) *halia* should be interpreted as an *ekklesia* or a special court is uncertain; Asheri opts for an *ad hoc* tribunal (Asheri (1979*b*) 490). Two C5 public enactments are preserved: a *lex sacra* of C5m (Jameson *et al.* (1993)) and *IGDS* no. 78 = *IG* XIV 268 (C5m/s), which lists Selinountine divinities and incorporates a decree. A *metoikos* at Selinous is mentioned by Callim. fr. 201 (Pfeiffer) *Dieg.* IX.15–16 (referring to the period before Timaios wrote, cf. *FGrHist* 566, fr. 148). A C6–C5 dedicatory inscription attests the existence of a *πατριά* whose members are given as two groups of women (Lazzarini no. 880e; cf. Jameson *et al.* (1993) 90); it is not clear whether this was a public or a private institution.

A C5f dedication by the citizens of Selinous and the metopes of Temple C testify to the Selinountian pantheon in which the principal divinity seems to be Zeus (*IG* XIV 268; *SEG* 38 960; *SEG* 43 628; *IGDS* no. 78; see also Jameson *et al.* (1993)).

Selinous had a *thesauros* at Olympia (Paus. 6.19.11 (rC5)). The foundation of the building has with some probability been identified, and C5e architectural terracottas have with some uncertainty been associated with it (Mertens-Horn and Viola (1990) 240).

The town of Selinous was founded on a vast plateau, *c.*1.3 km long, oriented roughly north–south between the ancient river Selinous, from which the city took its name (Douris (*FGrHist* 76) fr. 59), to the west, and the river Cotone to the east. The site comprises three hills separated by the river valleys, the city occupying the central plateau, while the two lateral plateaux, the Gaggera to the west and the Marinella to the east, were dedicated to sanctuaries (Martin *et al.* (1979) 637–53; cf. Parisi Presicce (1984) fig. 2 and 127–32 for topographical surveys). The southern plateau, facing the coast and often regarded as the acropolis of the city, owes its acropolis-like appearance to an artificial accentuation of the morphology of the site due to C4l and C3l defensive structures (Di Vita (1980)).

C7m/s habitation remains on the northern, Manuzza plateau (Rallo (1976–1977), (1984)) and on the "acropolis" (Fourmont (1984–85)) have revealed an overall coherence in the urbanisation of the two areas. Unusually, a cemetery is situated within the urban area on the Manuzza. A large part of the "acropolis" was laid out as a *temenos* from C7. There is also coherence between the three major plateaux of the site

from C7: the Manuzza plateau and "acropolis", the Marinella plateau east of the river Hypsas with a C7 shrine (Gullini (1993)), and the Gaggera plateau west of the river Selinous with the Malophoros sanctuary and the C7l *megaron* (Romeo (1989) 40, no. 64). The main east–west axis on the "acropolis" joined the estuaries of the two rivers and the harbours of Selinous, the eastern harbour possibly military, the western harbour possibly commercial.

In the second urban phase, from *c.*C6e, the habitation area and urban layout encompassed also the east and west slopes of the central plateau with parts of the confining valleys (de La Genière and Rougetet (1985); Mertens (1999) 188–90). Habitation on the northernmost part of the Manuzza plateau was laid out on a different orientation to that employed on the "acropolis" and on the southern part of Manuzza plateau, and an agora at the junction of these separate urban districts is similar to the location of the agora at Megara (Mertens (1999) 190–93). Rallo (1976–77) 731 has suggested that the differences in orientation could reflect different populations, and a Corinthian ethnic group has been deduced from epigraphic and tomb evidence (cf. de La Genière (1977) 257; *IGDS* nos. 72 and 79). The C6–C5 urban area comprised about 100 ha (Mertens (1989) fig. 4, (1999) fig. on p. 188).

A theatre, possibly serving as the meeting place for the assembly, is mentioned in Callim. fr. 201, Pfeiffer, *Dieg.* IX.22–23 (referring to the period before Timaios wrote, cf. *FGrHist* 566, fr. 148).

So far none of the defensive walls of the "acropolis" can be dated earlier than the C5l Hermokratean structures of 409, when the Syracusan exiles seized Selinous for a short period in connection with the Carthaginian war (Diod. 13.63.3–4; ibid. 185–86). By contrast, the outer circuit wall and gates in the Hypsas valley, marking the eastern limit of the city, are of C6f and C5e (Mertens (1989) 138–39). A circuit wall across the Manuzza plain was probably raised by Hermokrates in 409 (ibid. 139–43). The sophisticated fortification and gate system on the north side of the acropolis, comparable with the Euryalos fortification at Syracuse, may in its final phase be the work of Agathokles during his short occupation of Selinous in 307 (Diod. 20.56.3; cf. Lawrence (1979) 295; Mertens (1989) 110–31, 151).

The central and south-eastern part of the "acropolis" was from early on occupied by at least two *temene* (Gabrici (1929)); the south *temenos* with two parallel temples of C5f, "O" and "A" (divinities unknown). The central *temenos* has traces of simple C7l–C6e *naiskoi.* There is no structural evidence for a major C6 peripteral temple, but architectural terracottas are taken as evidence for one. As part of the C6f regular urban plan, the sanctuary was enclosed by *peribolos* walls from 580 to 560 (Østby (1995)). A large artificial terrace supported by a huge, stepped retaining wall of ashlar masonry on the east slope of the acropolis, dated prior to C6m, permitted an enlargement of the *temenos* and the erection of new buildings: temple "C" (date controversial: before C6m or *c.*530–520) replaced the earlier, conjectural temple, with an altar to the east and a monumental stoa on top of the retaining wall marking the east side of the *temenos* (Di Vita (1967), (1984)). Architectural fragments and sculpture reused in the later fortifications are from an otherwise unknown sanctuary, possibly near the agora (Mertens (1999)). The *temenos* was enlarged in C5e to make room for the monumental temple "D".

On the basis of epigraphic evidence, above all the inscription (*IGDS* no. 78) from temple "G" (*infra*), temple "C", with its predecessor, is attributed to Apollo (Bejor (1977) 449; *IGDS* no. 51). The dedicatees of the *c.*480–450 temples "A", "O" and "D" are more uncertain. Three monumental temples, "E", "F" and "G", were aligned on the Marinella hill east of the Hypsas valley (Berve and Gruben (1963) 426–32; Gullini (1993)). Temple "G" (C6l, not completed) is among the most monumental of antiquity; the inscription from the *adyton* mentions a victory, a number of divinities, and a dedication to these in gold to the value of 60 tal. put up *εἰς τὸ Ἀπολλόνιον* (Calder (1963), (1964); *IGDS* no. 78). The occasion of the victory is unknown, but historical and epigraphical evidence dates the inscription between 460 and 409 (Calder (1963) 54–62). The temple is often interpreted as the *Apolloneion* mentioned in the inscription, but the evidence is inconclusive, and the identification of the temple as an *Olympieion* has won support (Tusa (1967); Bejor (1977); *infra*). The cult of the C6m temple "F" is unknown, but the closed *peristasis* may indicate a mystery cult, e.g. of Dionysos or Demeter. Temple "E", of C7l–C5m, has been identified as a Heraion (*IGDS* no. 56).

At least four sanctuaries were located on the Gaggera hill west of the river Selinous (Gabrici (1927); Tusa *et al.* (1984–85) 574–81). The major sanctuary of Demeter Malophoros (*IGDS* no. 54), located near the coast and harbour, had an initial phase in C7l–C6e and a monumental aspect established by C6s with a temple, a monumental altar and a *peribolos* wall, later embellished with a C5l *propylon.* The votive material is immensely rich (Gabrici (1927); recent surveys: Dewailly (1992) 1–36 and Hinz (1998) 144–52). The cult of the adjacent C6m *temenos* was that of Hekate (*IGDS* no. 55). To the north, a sanctuary of Zeus

Meilichios bordered on that of Demeter (Gabrici (1927) 91–107; Tusa (1977)), with a cult that is characterised by a number of C6s–C5 crude and simple stone *stelai* carrying votive inscriptions (earliest C6m: *IGDS* nos. 45, 50; Jameson *et al.* (1993) 89–107, 132–36) and by later *defixiones* (*IGDS* nos. 35, 39, 40). To the south, a *peribolos* wall, parallel to that of the Demeter sanctuary, enclosed yet another *temenos* and temple of uncertain cult (Parisi Presicce (1984) 21–24). A C6 temple "M" marks the north end of the row of sanctuaries (Sguaitammati (1993)).

The inscription from temple "G" (*IGDS* no. 78) mentions Zeus, Phobos, Herakles, Apollo, Poseidon, the Tyndaridai, Athena, (Demeter) Malophoros and Pasikrateia (Persephone?). The second part of the dedication, the decree, mentions an *Apolloneion* and Zeus (Calder (1963); *IGDS* no. 78). A cult of Zeus Agoraios is revealed by the episode of Euryleon seeking refuge at the altar of Zeus Agoraios (Hdt. 5.46.2). Coin types suggest cults of Artemis and Apollo, and the river-gods Selinous and Hypsas.

The earliest cemetery is the one situated in the south-east of the Manuzza plateau dating from before C7m and in use throughout C7, the early material reflecting the Megarian origin of Selinous (Rallo (1982)). Contemporaneously and in subsequent periods cemeteries were laid out on the hills surrounding the urban site: C7m on the Buffa hills north-east of the Manuzza plateau (Tusa (1982) 196–202); C6e and C5, mainly inhumation tombs, some cremation and a few child *enchytrismos* burials on the Gaggera hills west of the Manuzza plateau, and C7s tombs on the Galera hills north of the Manuzza plateau (Vallet and Villard (1958)).

Selinous was one of the first Sicilian cities to issue coins, *c.*540–530: staters probably initially on the Corinthian standard but at the end of the Archaic phase on the Attic. Types: *obv.* celery leaf (*σέλινον*); *rev.* patterned punch-mark in incuse square (*SNG Cop. Sicily* 591–93; *SNG Cop. Suppl.* 73). Later issues have *rev.* celery leaf in incuse square, legend: *ΣΕΛΙ* with variations (*SNG Cop. Sicily* 594). Three smaller fractions carry *rev.* celery leaf, or flower, or pellets (Cutroni Tusa (1975); C. Boehringer (1984–85) 116–19; *SNG Cop. Sicily* 595–96). A unique drachm carries the unabbreviated city-ethnic as legend (Cutroni Tusa (1988–89) 370–71). Confirmation of Corinthian influence on early Sicilian coinage and imports of bullion from the Aegean area is given by a C6l coin and bullion hoard found near Selinous (ibid. (1988–89) 397–98). Minting of Syracuse-inspired tetradrachms began *c.*450: *obv.* sacred chariot with Apollo and Artemis, legend: *ΣΕΛΙΝΟΝΤΙΟΝ*; *rev.* naked youth, the river-god Selinous, offering a libation at an altar in a sanctuary, l. below cock, on r. celery leaf and statue of bull, legend: *ΣΕΛΙΝΟΣ* (*SNG Cop. Sicily* 597). The types of the lower denomination (didrachms) are: *obv.* Herakles fighting Cretan bull, legend: *ΣΕΛΙΝΟΝΤΙΟΝ*; *rev.* river-god Hypsas, legend: *ΗΥΨΑΣ* (*SNG Cop. Sicily* 601); on smaller denominations, *obv.* nymph seated on rock (*SNG Cop. Sicily* 602–3). The issues continue with variants until 409 (*SNG Cop. Sicily* 604–6). Bronze coinage was issued at least from *c.*420 (Price (1979); Rutter (1997) 142); however, an issue of cast coins may go back to 450–440 (Cutroni Tusa (1997–98) 646–47).

Selinous founded the colony of (Herakleia) Minoa (no. 20) (Hdt. 5.46.2) on the estuary of the river Platani *c.*C6f/m to secure its eastern territory against Akragantine expansion, but after the short-lived rule of Euryleon, the colony was taken by Akragas (no. 9); during Theron's reign (488–473) it seems to have been a city within Akragantine dominion, possibly after conquest by Theron (cf. Diod. 4.79.4 with Fontana (1978); see further Herakleia (no. 20)).

45. (Sileraioi) Map 47. Unlocated (cf. Manni (1981) 225). Type: C:*γ*. The *Sileraioi* are known exclusively from their rare C4s Greek-style bronze coinage: *obv.* forepart of man-headed bull, legend: *ΣΙΛΕΡΑΙΩΝ* (retrograde); *rev.* naked warrior, legend: *ΣΙΛ* (retrograde) (Head, *HN*² 169–70; Talbert (1974) 181; *SNG Cop. Sicily* 607).

46. (Stielanaioi) Map 47. Lat. 37.10, long. 14.55: the location is, however, uncertain, and Bernabò Brea (1968) 178–82 argues for a location in the hinterland of Megara Hyblaia. Size of territory: ? Type: C:*γ*.

The *Stielanaioi* struck coins from *c.*460 onwards; they may have been based at the *Στύελλα* of Steph. Byz. 588.7, but see Manni (1974) 64 and (1981) 227, who points out that a form such as **Στιελάνη* is to be expected on the basis of the ethnic *Stielanaios.* The *Stielanaioi* are included here on account of their Greek-style coinage: this coinage began with an issue of silver litrai *c.*460: *obv.* forepart of man-headed bull, legend: *ΣΤΙΕΛΑΝΑΙΟ*(*Ν*) (retrograde); *rev.* male figure (river-god?) sacrificing at altar. Later issues (drachms and lower denominations): *obv.* male head laureate (river-god or, perhaps more likely, Apollo); *rev.* forepart of man-headed bull, legend: *ΣΤΙΑ* (Head, *HN*² 171; Bernabò Brea (1975) 49–51; Holloway (1975) 142–43; Manganaro (1984) 35–36; survey of find-places: Cutroni Tusa (1997–98) 630; cf. *AIIN* 42 (1995) pl. 26, fig. 2). The types reveal strong influence from the contemporary mints of Katane and Leontinoi. The *Stielanaioi* are considered a Greek community by Mirone (1928), followed by Ziegler

(1940), founded C5e in the hinterland of Katane (no. 30) and Leontinoi (no. 33) in the aftermath of the Deinomenid aggression against these cities.

47. Syrakousai (Syrakosios) Map 47. Lat. 37.05, long. 15.15. Size of territory: 5. Type: A:*α*. The toponym is *Συράκουσ(σ)αι, αἱ* (Hecat. fr. 74; Thuc. 5.4.3; *IG* IV².1 95.1.39 (356/5)) or *Συρήκουσαι* (Hdt. 7.156.1); Pind. *Ol.* 6.6 and Bacchyl. *Ep.* 5.104 have *Συρακόσσαι*; *Συράκοσαι* is found at Pind. *Pyth.* 2.1. The city-ethnic is *Συρακόσιος* (C5 coins, *infra*; Thuc. 3.103.1; *IGDS* no. 94 (474)) and *Συρηκόσιος* (Hdt. 7.155.2). Also spelled *Συραϙόσιος* (C6l–C5e coins, *infra*; *IGDS* no. 93 (*c.*480); cf. *IG* v.1 217 (C5e): [*Συρ*]*αϙουσίον*).

Syracuse is called a *polis* both in the urban sense (Hdt. 7.155.2; Thuc. 6.65.3; Ps.-Skylax 13) and in the political sense (Hdt. 7.154.2; Thuc. 6.36.2 and Xen. *Hell.* 1.1.28). Its *politeia* was described by Aristotle (Arist. fr. 602.1). *Politeuesthai* is found at Arist. *Pol.* 1312^{b}9, *polites* at Arist. *Pol.* 1303^{a}38, *politeuma* at Arist. *Pol.* 1303^{b}26, *damosios* at *SEG* 38 368 (*c.*475), and *demos* at Thuc. 6.35.1. *Astoi* referring to the citizens is found at Pind. *Pyth.* 3.71 and *asty* referring to the city occurs in *AG* 13.15 (C4e). For *Patris*, see Thuc. 6.68.8; 69.3 and Isoc. 3.23.

The internal collective use of the city-ethnic is attested on coins from C6l onwards (*infra*); the external collective use is found in *IvO* 661 (C6), *IGDS* no. 89 (485–470), Hdt. 3.125.2 and Thuc. 3.103.1. The external individual use is attested in *Egypt-Delta* I 694/511 (C6–C5), *IvO* 266 (*c.*480), Thuc. 4.58, *IG* II² 101.2 (372/1) and *CID* II 4.1.40 (360).

Syracuse was founded by Archias, a Heraklid from Corinth (no. 227; Thuc. 6.3.2; cf. Strabo 8.6.22). According to Strabo 6.2.4 and Ps.-Skymnos 279–82 the founders included a group of Dorians who had come to found Megara (no. 36) but fell out with the other colonists and then joined the Corinthian founders of Syracuse. The exact date of the foundation, as well as its date relative to those of the other early colonies in Sicily, is much debated: according to Thuc. 6.3.1 (probably based on Antiochos of Syracuse), the city was founded only a year after Naxos, the earliest of the Sicilian colonies. On the other hand, Ephor. fr. 137a (*apud* Strabo 6.2.2) stated that Naxos (no. 41) and Megara (no. 36) were the earliest colonies, and the unemended text of Strabo 6.2.4 presupposes that Megara was founded shortly before Syracuse. Thuc. 6.3.2 gives the foundation date as 733/2 (supported by Eusebios, cf. Bérard (1957) 120 with refs.). However, a date *c.*C8m is indicated by Marmor Parium (*FGrHist* 239) A 31, which places Archias seven generations after Temenos and the return of the Herakleidai.

The name of the territory was *ἡ Συρακοσία* (Thuc. 6.52.2); it is termed *γῆ* at Thuc. 7.42.6 and *χώρα* at 6.45. After its foundation, Syracuse quickly expanded its territory; by C8l it extended as far to the south-west as Heloron (no. 18), a Syracusan colony founded in C8l–C7e; by 664 it extended inland as far as Akrai (no. 10), a colony founded in that year (Thuc. 6.5.2); by C7s it had expanded further westwards to Kasmenai (no. 29), a colony founded in 644 (Thuc. 6.5.3). To the north, Thapsos formed the border with Megara (no. 36); Kamarina (no. 28) was founded in 598 on the border between the areas of influence of Syracuse and Gela (Di Vita (1956), (1987)). Heloron, Akrai and Kasmenai were possibly constituted as dependent *poleis* in the territory of Syracuse (see the respective entries); Kamarina was also in one way or another dependent on Syracuse. Herodotos reports that Kamarina of old belonged to Syracuse (7.154.3), and Thucydides refers to a C6m *apostasis* from Syracuse by Kamarina (6.5.3). The C7–C6 Syracusan dominion comprised an area of about 3,000–3,500 km². During the C5f rule of the Deinomenidai, Syracuse incorporated or exercised influence over the territories of Kamarina, Megara, Leontinoi and Naxos; by 440 all native communities were ruled by Syracuse (Diod. 12.29.2–4); after Dionysios I's peace with Carthage in 392, Syracuse ruled over all of central and eastern Sicily (Karlsson (1992) map 2.a), and over parts of South Italy including Rhegion (no. 68) and southern Calabria.

The size of the population is unknown, and it must have been subject to constant changes due to the many relocations carried out during the Classical period. The known incorporations of foreign groups into the Syracusan citizen body are the following: (1) Gelon transplanted and granted Syracusan citizenship to (a) all the Kamarinaians, (b) half of the Geloans, (c) the *pachees* of Megara, (d) the *pachees* of the city of Euboia (Hdt. 7.156.2–3); (e) he also granted citizenship to more than 10,000 mercenaries (Diod. 11.72.3). (2) After the congress in Gela in 424, the *dynatoi* of Leontinoi were relocated to Syracuse and were granted citizenship (Thuc. 5.4.2; cf. Xen. *Hell.* 2.3.5). (3) Dionysios I enlarged the citizen body by enrolling (a) *eleutheromenoi* as *neopolitai* (Diod. 14.7.4); (b) the inhabitants of Leontinoi, who were granted citizenship (Diod. 14.15.4); (c) the inhabitants of Italian Kaulonia, who were granted citizenship and *ateleia* for five years (Diod. 14.106.3); (d) the inhabitants of Italian Hipponion (though it is not specified at Diod. 14.107.2 that these received citizenship). (4) Timoleon (a) made the people of Agyrion (and possibly Kentoripa) citizens of Syracuse (Diod. 16.82.4); (b) relocated the population of Leontinoi to

Syracuse (and presumably granted them citizenship, though this is not specified at Diod. 16.82.7); (c) settled 5,000 new colonists (Diod. 16.82.3; cf. Plut. *Tim.* 23); and (d) later several myriads more (40,000 according to Diod. 16.82.5; perhaps 60,000 according to Athanis (*FGrHist* 562) fr. 2; cf. Talbert (1974) 30). In the Classical period, Syracuse was the largest city of Sicily (Hecat. fr. 74; Thuc. 7.58.4), in extent second only to Akragas, for which city Diod. 13.84.3 (r406) gives the figure of 20,000 citizens. Drögemüller (1969) 100 suggests an urban population of 40,000–45,000 for Syracuse, a guesstimate which may be a little on the high side in view of the size of the C5 habitation area, *c.*150 ha (*infra*). It is impossible to estimate the number of citizens from the few hints given by Thucydides about the size of the Syracusan army in 415 (6.67.2: *πανδημεί*, number of cavalry given as 1,200).

Treaties of C6m with Megara, Enna (Kasmenai? cf. the entry for Kasmenai) and presumably Gela are strongly implied by Philistos (*FGrHist* 556) fr. 5, who refers to a war between Syracuse and Kamarina and their allies. In 492 a treaty with Hippokrates of Gela after his defeat of the Syracusans came about through arbitration by Corinth (no. 227) and Korkyra (no. 123) (Hdt. 7.154.3; cf. Thuc. 6.5.3). Gelon's victory at Himera induced nearly all the cities of Sicily to recognise his power and to enter into a *symmachia* with him (Diod. 11.26.2). Syracuse was a party to the pan-Sicilian agreement concluded at the Congress of Gela in 424 by which it ceded Morgantina (no. 37) to Kamarina (no. 28) in return for a specified payment (Thuc. 4.65.1). During the war with Leontinoi (no. 33) in the 420s, Syracuse had treaties of *symmachia* with the Dorian cities of Sicily (except for Kamarina) and with Italian Lokroi (no. 59; Thuc. 3.86.2–3) and Lipara (no. 34) (Thuc. 3.88.3), and it ruled a number of Sikel communities *kata kratos* (103.1), receiving *aparche* from them (Thuc. 6.20.4).

Numerous Syracusan exiles are on record; the earliest are the Myletidai mentioned at Thuc. 6.5.1 who joined the Zanklaians (no. 51) in founding Himera (no. 24) in 648. Exiles are attested under Deinomenid rule (Diod. 11.67.5), and in C5m several sentences of exile were decreed by *petalismos* (Diod. 11.87.4 (rC5m)). Exiles collaborated with the Athenians during their attack (Thuc. 6.64.1). A collective sentence of exile was passed on the *strategoi* after the battle of Kyzikos (Xen. *Hell.* 1.1.27). In 406 a general recall of exiles was voted by the assembly (Diod. 13.92.4–7).

The city waged numerous wars; the earliest known is the C6m war with its colony Kamarina in which both were supported by allies (Philistos (*FGrHist* 556) fr. 5). Apart from the military victories of the Deinomenidai, the most spectacular triumph was that of the democracy which, eventually joined by all Sicilian *poleis* except Akragas (no. 9) (Thuc. 7.33, 58), defeated the invading Athenians (Thuc. 6–7). The Deinomenidai raised huge armies, but these can hardly have been recruited from Syracuse alone, and Deinomenid employment of mercenaries was extensive (Parke (1933) 10–13); in 480 Gelon raised 50,000 foot and 5,000 horse (Diod. 11.21); Thrasyboulos raised 15,000 soldiers (Diod. 11.67.7 (r466)) and controlled a navy (Diod. 11.68.3 (r466)). But even during Deinomenid rule there are references to civic forces proper (Diod. 11.67.5: *politikai dynameis*). In 471, 2,000 Syracusans fell in battle against Akragas (Diod. 11.53.5).

In 439, the democracy had 100 triremes constructed (Diod. 12.30.1), and Thucydides twice refers to eighty ships in action (7.22.1, 38.1). *Trierarchoi* are attested at Xen. *Hell.* 1.1.28 (cf. *IG* II² 105.37 (368/7)), naval commanders at Thuc. 7.25.1, and a *nauarchos* at Diod. 11.88.4 (r453). Navies are mentioned also at e.g. Thuc. 7.52.1 (seventy-six ships); Xen. *Hell.* 1.2.10 (twenty-five ships), and Diod. 13.13.1 (r413) (seventy-four ships). Hoplites are mentioned at Thuc. 6.67.2, (*pandemei*, but no figure); a corps of 600 *epilektoi* is attested for 461 (Diod. 11.76.2; cf. Thuc. 6.96.3 for 600 *logades* hoplites) and 3,000 *stratiotai epilektoi* are attested for 409 (Diod. 13.59.1). *Akontistai* are attested at Thuc. 6.67.2 and *psiloi* at 6.52.2, 7.78.3. *Hippeis* are mentioned at e.g. Thuc. 6.67.2, where they are said to number not less than 1,200. The democracy too hired mercenaries (Thuc. 7.48.5). During the democracy the board of *strategoi* had fifteen members (five from each tribe?), but during the Athenian invasion it was reduced to three *strategoi autokratores* (Thuc. 6.73.1), perhaps one from each tribe. *Strategoi* are referred to also at e.g. Thuc. 6.40.2; Xen. *Hell.* 1.1.27; *IG* II² 105.36 (368/7); and Diod. 11.91.2 (r451). Dionysios I in 405 raised 30,000 foot, 1,000 horse and 50 ships (Diod. 13.109.2).

Sending of envoys is attested at Diod. 11.68.1 (r466), Thuc. 4.58 (Congress of Gela), 73.2, 75.2; reception of envoys is attested at Diod. 12.8.4 (446) and 13.44.4 (r410). A grant of proxeny by Delphi (no. 177) to a citizen of Syracuse is recorded by *F.Delphes* III.1 437 (331/30); *IG* II² 101 (373/2) is an honorific decree for a citizen of Syracuse by Athens (no. 361). The inhabitants of Antandros (no. 767) decreed honorific citizenship to the citizens of Syracuse in recognition of military help (Xen. *Hell.* 1.1.26). For block grants of Syracusan citizenship, see above. A citizen of Syracuse served as *theorodokos* of Epidauros (no. 348) in 356/5 (*IG* IV².1 95.I.39; cf. II.61).

The constitution of Syracuse is known almost exclusively from literary sources, and the only relevant inscriptions are

a few dedications found in Olympia and Delphi (*infra*). Hippys of Rhegion (*FGrHist* 554) fr. 4 refers to a *Pollis Argeios* describing him as having been king (ἐβασίλευσε) of Syracuse, presumably before C5 (Carlier (1984) 467; he is described as *tyrannos* in Arist. fr. 602.1). However, the original constitution of the city was an aristocracy of *Gamoroi* (Marmor Parium (*FGrHist* 239) 36 (rC7l–C6e); cf. also *IGDS* no. 219 with Dubois' comm.; Diod. 8.11), who ruled both the *demos* (Hdt. 7.155.2) and a serf population called the *Kyllyrioi* (ibid. and Arist. fr. 603). In C5e the *Gamoroi* were expelled by the *demos* and retired to the Syracusan colony of Kasmenai (no. 29), whence they were brought back by Gelon, to whom the *demos* handed over both itself and the *polis* (see E. W. Robinson (1997) 120–22 with Arist. *Pol.* 1302^{b}31–32 for democracy at Syracuse at this stage). Gelon moved his seat from Gela (no. 17) to Syracuse, and from that point the city was ruled by the tyrant dynasty of the Deinomenidai: Gelon (485–478/7; see Berve (1967) 142–47), Hieron (478–466; see Berve (1967) 147–52), and Thrasyboulos (466/5). The assembly is attested during Gelon's reign (Diod. 11.26.6). The tyranny was brought to an end in 466/5, when the Syracusans revolted against Thrasyboulos (Arist. *Pol.* 1312^{b}10–16) and expelled him in collaboration with forces from Gela (no. 17), Akragas (no. 9), Selinous (no. 44) and Himera (no. 24) (Diod. 11.67.5–68.5); Arist. *Pol.* 1312^{a}10–11 suggests that the Deinomenidai may have been weakened by internal rivalry. Democracy was now reintroduced (Arist. *Pol.* 1316^{a}32–33; Diod. 11.68.6), and at least some of the population relocations carried out by Gelon were reversed (Diod. 11.76.3–5; Strabo 6.2.3). The assembly (*ekklesia*) passed a decree (*epsephisanto*) to the effect that only *archaioi politai* were entitled to hold office (Diod. 11.72.2). Seven thousand of the mercenaries enfranchised by Gelon were thus excluded from office (Diod. 11.73.1), though they remained citizens (Arist. *Pol.* 1303^{b}1); this led to civil war (ibid.), which the mercenaries lost (Diod. 11.76.2; cf. Arist. *Pol.* 1303^{a}38ff). A *koinon dogma* by all the *poleis* of Sicily then reversed all population relocations of C5f and assigned Messana (no. 51) to the mercenaries (Diod. 11.76.5 (r460)). The democracy lasted until the tyranny of Dionysios I (for the democracy in this period, see Rutter (2000)); during the democracy, the working of the assembly is attested (Thuc. 6.32.3, 72.1; Diod. 11.72, 92.2; cf. Thuc. 6.35. 2 for a *demou prostates* and Diod. 11.92.2 (r451) for a hint of the procedure of *probouleusis* (Rutter (2000) 145)), and foreign policy was among its responsibilities (Thuc. 7.2.1); magistracies were originally filled by election (Diod. 11.73.1); Thuc. 6.38.5 suggests that a law specified a minimum age for office holding. The procedure of *petalismos* was instituted in imitation of Athenian ostracism to prevent the appearance of new tyrants; it led to several banishments, but had to be revoked because it alienated the upper class (Diod. 11.86–87; Rutter (2000) 146–48). After the victory over Athens the *demos* assumed still greater power (Arist. *Pol.* 1304^{a}27–29: ὁ δῆμος ... ἐκ πολιτείας εἰς δημοκρατίαν μετέβαλε). An important revision of the legislative code took place in this period (412/11) according to Diodorus: a commission of *nomothetai* presided over by Diokles drew up the so-called Laws of Diokles (13.35); one reform changed the procedure for appointing magistrates from election to sortition (13.34.6). Tyranny returned to Syracuse with Dionysios I, who ruled the city from his appointment as *strategos autokrator* in 406 (Diod. 13.95.1) to his death in 367 (see further Caven (1990)). Dionysios presumably carried out a γῆς ἀναδασμός to consolidate his grip on power (Diod. 14.7.4–5 (r404)). *IG* II^{2} 105.35–37 (368/7) suggests that in formal terms the democratic constitution remained in existence during Dionysios' reign (cf. Arist. *Oec.* 1349^{a}14, 26, 34 for the *ekklesia* during his reign). After his death several tyrants were in power until the intervention of Timoleon in 344 put an end to a period of unrest and reintroduced democracy (see Talbert (1974)). By the later C4 the city was ruled by "the oligarchy of the Six Hundred" until tyranny returned once more with Agathokles (see Wickert in *RE*^{2} iv.2. 1518–23).

Syracuse experienced perhaps more *staseis* than any other Greek *polis*: Berger (1992) 34–49 studies nineteen cases from the Archaic period down to the age of Timoleon. One *stasis* occurred prior to the foundation of Himera in 648: Thuc. 6.5.1 mentions that a group of *phygades* from Syracuse στάσει νικηθέντες joined the Zanklaians in founding Himera (Berger (1992) 34). Another *stasis* occurred "in ancient times" and developed from a conflict between office-holders into a conflict involving all citizens; it led to a change in the constitution (Arist. *Pol.* 1303^{b}20–26; cf. Berger (1992) 35). Plut. *Mor.* 825C, relating this event, mentions a βουλή convened to solve the political differences.

One of the earliest known public enactments is a law regulating funerary expenses which is attested during Gelon's reign (Diod. 11.38.2). A death sentence and execution are recorded by Diod. 11.91.2 (r451); confiscation of property of convicts is attested by Diod. 13.93.2 (r406).

An eponymous *epipolos* is attested from the time of Timoleon onwards (Diod. 16.70.6 (r344)). Arist. *Pol.* 1303^{b}23 has a general reference to *archai* "in ancient times"; the *boule* is attested in the same period (by Plut. *Mor.* 825C (*supra*))

and is mentioned in *IG* II² 105.36 (368/7). Thucydides provides some general references to officials (7.73.3: οἱ ἐν τέλει ὄντες; 7.73.4: οἱ ἄρχοντες); and Diod. 11.92.2 (r451) has a general reference to *archontes* convening the assembly (cf. 13.91.4 (r406)). *IG* II² 105.35 (368/7) also provides a general reference to *archontes*.

A system of *phylai* is attested by Thuc. 6.100.1; it served *inter alia* as the basis for the army organisation (cf. Plut. *Nic.* 14.6). The number of *strategoi* indicates that there were three *phylai*; they were presumably the traditional Dorian set of Hylleis, Dymanes and Pamphyloi (Jones, *POAG* 173–76). A roster of all Syracusan citizens as organised into their *phylai* was stored in the Olympieion (Plut. *Nic.* 14.6 (r415), see 229).

Eisphora is attested during the reign of Dionysios I (Arist. *Pol.* 1313ᵇ26ff, *Oec.* 1349ᵇ6); tribute received from subjected natives is attested in Thuc. 6.20.4. According to Diod. 14.46.1 (r398), a sizeable body of Carthaginians lived in Syracuse as free non-citizens.

The splendidly celebrated Panhellenic victories of Hieron (*Olympionikai* 221, 234, 246; Pind. *Ol.* 1, *Pyth.* 1–3; Bacchyl. *Ep.* 3–5; cf. Harrell (2002)) were not the only victories won by Syracusans; see *Olympionikai* 51 (648), 219 (476), 248 (468), and 334 (420). In C5f, Astylos of Kroton was proclaimed a *Syrakosios* at several of his Olympic victories (*Olympionikai* 186–87), and Diod. 11.1.2 describes him as such. Dikon of Kaulonia must have been among the Kaulonians relocated to Syracuse by Dionysios I (*supra*); he was proclaimed a *Syrakosios* at his subsequent victories (*Olympionikai* 388–89) and is described as such by Diod. 15.14.1 (cf. Stylianou (1998) *ad loc.*). For a C4l victor in the Arkadian *Lykaia*, see *IG* V.2 550.20.

The principal divinities of Syracuse seem to have been Apollo, Artemis, Athena and Zeus (Olympios), to all of whom temples were erected in the Archaic period (*infra*).

All preserved communal dedications are of C5. *IG* v.1 217 is presumably a C5f dedication by Syracuse at Sparta (no. 345). Whereas Gelon dedicated spoils from the battle of Himera (480) at Delphi in his own name (ML 28 = *IGDS* no. 93; cf. Diod.11.26.7; for the structure: Krumeich (1991)), spoils from the victory at Kyme in 474 were dedicated jointly at Olympia by Ἱάρον ὁ Δεινομένεος καὶ τοὶ Συρακόσιοι (ML 29 = *IGDS* no. 94; cf. *Horos* 1 (1983) 59; Yalouris (1980) 14–15; O. Hansen (1990); Harrell (2002)). A treasury was built at Olympia from the spoils of Himera (Paus. 6.19.7: ὁ Καρχηδονίων θησαυρός; for the structural remains: Mallwitz (1956–58)); in it were housed offerings by, presumably, "Gelon and the Syracusans" (ibid.). For a dedication at Olympia by the Syracusans of spoils taken from Akragas, see *IGDS* no. 95; Yalouris (1980) 16; and *SEG* 11 1212a (cf. *SEG* 15 252). A herald's staff was also dedicated at Olympia (*SEG* 38 368 (*c.*475)). At Delphi a treasury was constructed from the spoils taken from the defeated Athenians (Paus. 10.11.5). For attempts to identify both an Archaic and a Classical treasury of the Syracusans in the architectural remains at Delphi, see Partida (2000) 77–80, 135–46.

The town was founded on the island of Ortygia, an ideal site with harbours on either side: in the east the Lakkios, the Small Harbour, in the west the Great Harbour (for a geomorphological survey of settlement and territory, see Mirisola and Polacco (1996)). Traces of Sikel habitation confirm the tradition that the first Greek settlers ousted the original inhabitants (Thuc. 6.3.2; cf. Martin *et al.* (1979) 655–57; Frasca (1983)).

Archaeological evidence confirms a C8s foundation date, and C8 habitation remains on Ortygia are similar to contemporary remains from Megara and Naxos. A north–south artery, joining the major sanctuaries, and with orthogonally laid out *stenopoi*, has an early origin (Pelagatti (1982) 135–38; Voza (1984–85) 669–72, (1993–94) 1283–87). The city expanded on to the mainland, the coastal plain of Achradina, from C8 (Voza (1976–77) 551–53), and from C7l–C6e a narrow isthmus may have joined Ortygia with its hinterland (cf. Strabo 1.3.18; Kapitän (1967–68)). The main east-west *plateia* of the Achradina originated in the C8–C7 as a route linking Ortygia with the Fusco cemetery. There is C5–C4 evidence of orthogonal town planning (Voza (1976–77) 551–61, (1980–81) 681–82). Ortygia and the inner Achradina comprised an area of *c.*50 ha.

The C4 extension of the city northwards—obliterating the C7–C4 cemeteries and joining the areas of the Achradina and Neapolis—is probably to be connected with the Timoleontic settlement of new colonists (Diod. 16.82.3). The periphery of the city was taken up with public buildings, and the outskirts of the Neapolis by theatres. Tyche, located to the east, with the sanctuary of Tyche and the upper plateau of Epipolai, were not urbanised; however, from the time of the conflict with Athens, the size of the city was about 150 ha, and in the Hellenistic period as much as 200 ha.

The island of Ortygia and the coastal plain of Achradina were probably fortified during the Archaic period (implied by the mention of a siege by Hippokrates of Gela in the 490s (Hdt. 7.154.2) and by the mention of walls during the revolt against Thrasyboulos in 465 (Diod. 11.67.8; see also 11.73.1)); however, the archaeological evidence is poor (Drögemüller

(1969) 47–48, 55–56). From the reign of Dionysios I, Ortygia served as a strongly fortified palace of the tyrants (Diod. 14.7.2–4; cf. Hansen and Fischer-Hansen (1994) 29; for remains of a circuit wall, see Martin *et al.* (1979) 666; Karlsson (1992) 22–23), a palace later razed to the ground by Timoleon (Diod. 16.70.4).

The plateau of Epipolai was probably not fortified before forts were laid out there by the Athenians, and the various counter walls and cross walls were raised by the Syracusans during the war of 414/13 (Thuc. 6.99–100, 7.4–7). Dionysios I fortified Epipolai, first along the northern scarp (Diod. 14.18.2–8 (r401)), later along the southern scarp; it was a circuit wall running for *c.*9 km, and according to Diod. 15.13.5 the "greatest possessed by a Greek city" (Winter (1971) 314–15; Karlsson (1992) 21, fig. 1, 23–38, 71). The west gate and the Euryalos fort were probably begun by Dionysios, but the fully developed system of bastions and ditches belong to the time of Timoleon, with the final complex from C3m (Winter (1963); Lawrence (1979) 295–99).

The Archaic agora has with some uncertainty been located west of the Athenaion (modern Piazza del Duomo) (Pelagatti (1982) 136–37). A Classical (and Roman) agora is normally taken for granted in the southern part of the Achradina (modern Piazza Marconi/Foro Siracusano), but the evidence is inconclusive (Bernabò Brea (1947); Martin *et al.* (1979) 675).

The island of Ortygia was the seat of at least three major sanctuaries: (a) in the north, the sanctuary of Apollo, with a C6e Doric temple (Cultera (1951); Barletta (1983) 72–78), with a history going back to C8; (b) the so-called C6l Ionic temple is located on the elevated central part of the island (G. V. Gentili (1967); Barletta (1983) 86–90); it is uncertain to whom the temple was dedicated (G. V. Gentili (1967) 80 suggests Artemis); it was not completed, perhaps as a result of a revision of building programmes by the Deinomenidai, who initiated instead the construction of the adjacent Athenaion; (c) the Doric temple of *c.*480–470, now incorporated into the Renaissance cathedral, probably built by Gelon to replace earlier structures (Orsi (1919); T. Van Compernolle (1989) 45–48, (1992) 51–55). It is normally taken for granted that this is the temple dedicated to Athena (Cic. *Verr.* 2.4.124–25), and according to Gras (1990) the two temples mentioned in Gelon's treaty with the Carthaginians (Diod. 11.26.2) were temples of Athena in Syracuse and in Himera. Remains from the *temenos* include traces of a stepped altar, parapet and architectural fragments in Ionic style (Barletta (1983) 78–86). Investigations have recently revealed a monumental entrance to the *temenos* and evidence of a C7l–C6e *naiskos*(?), altar and votive pits south of the Athenaion (Voza (1993–94) 1286–87). A sanctuary of *Olympian Earth* was located on the tip of Ortygia (Ath. 462B).

Large quantities of C5l–C4e votive deposits (Martin *et al.* (1979) 680–86; Hinz (1998) 102–7) found in the mainland Achradina district (modern Piazza Victoria) provide evidence of a sanctuary of Demeter and Persephone, perhaps the one embellished with two temples by Gelon after the victory at Himera in 480 (Diod.11.26.7), located in the suburbs (*proasteion*) and destroyed by the Carthaginians in 396 (Diod. 14.70.4). A C4 graffito with a dedication to Artemis Pheraia points to a cult also of Artemis in this sanctuary (Voza (1973*c*) 106–7). A *proasteion* is not compatible with a location so near the city centre according to Polacco (1986) 23 n. 6, who suggests that the Demeter sanctuary should rather be located west of the city near the Olympieion. An Apollo sanctuary was located near the theatre in the Temenites, a locality on the outskirts of Achradina (Thuc. 6.75.1, 7.75.1; for history and terminology: Drogemüller (1969) 48 n. 36, 56–57). The sanctuary is now tentatively identified with the remains of an Archaic temple laid out on a terrace above the theatre (Voza (1993–94) 1289–90).

After the fall of the tyranny, the Syracusans raised a statue of Zeus Eleutherios and founded an annual festival of *eleutheria* (Diod. 11.72.2 with Barrett (1973) 30 n. 20; for a survey of other festivals, see Trojani in Polacco and Anti (1981) 26–29). The major suburban cult was that of Zeus Olympios west of the river Anapos (Diod. 10.28.1 (r491)). The extant remains are those of a C6m gigantic Doric temple, with evidence of a C7 predecessor (Orsi (1903); Lissi (1958)). A neighbouring hamlet, Polichene at Thuc. 7.4.6 but Polichne at Diod. 13.7.6, was fortified by the Athenians in 414. A suburban Artemis sanctuary was located on the north-east outskirts of the Epipolai plateau, at the Hexapylon gate leading northwards to Megara and Katane (Orsi (1900)).

Two Greek theatres are known at Syracuse. (1) The larger is situated on the outskirts of the Neapolis district, the Temenites, on the slope of the Epipolai. In its main construction phase, the period of Hieron II (271–216), it had a seating capacity of 14,000–17,000; earlier Archaic or Classical phases have not been demonstrated convincingly (Polacco and Anti (1981); Polacco (1990)). However, literary sources attest to an earlier phase of this theatre at least from C5e, and at least from C4m it was built of stone (Trojani in Polacco and Anti (1981) 41–43 with refs.). A C5s architect by the name of Damokopos was associated with the building of

the theatre (cf. Eust. *Od.* 3.68), and Aischylos produced the *Women of Aitna* for Hieron in 476 (see Trojani in Polacco and Anti (1981) 34–36 with refs.). A theatre is mentioned by Diod. 13.94.1 (r406), and was used as *ekklesiasterion* in 336 (Plut. *Tim.* 34.3, 38.3). (2) About 100 m to the west, rock cuttings from a rectangular structure are evidence of a *theatron* with rectangular seating and a *cavea* with a diameter of 27.5 m; its seating capacity was about 1,000. Its chronology is uncertain, though possibly C6l–C5e (G. V. Gentili (1952); Drögemüller (1969) 48–49); according to Bernabò Brea (1967) 99, the interpretation of the rectangular structure as a predecessor of the large theatre is quite uncertain, and it cannot be excluded that this building served as the meeting place for smaller political bodies or even as a *bouleuterion* (Ginouvès (1972) 61–62; Kolb (1981) 92). A prison is attested in Diod. 11.86.5 (rC5m) and in Plut. *Dio* 57.3 (Hansen (2002) 36–37).

The earliest, Fusco, cemetery laid out east of the city was later followed by an arc of cemeteries lying around the city from there to Tyche in the west. The Archaic cemeteries in the outer Achradina district were taken over by habitation when the Classical city expanded, pushing the Hellenistic cemeteries further out. (For a survey with bibliography: Lanza (1989); add Voza (1993–94) 1292; Shepherd (1995) 52–56; see also Frederiksen (1999)).

Minting began about 510/500 (C. Boehringer (1984–85) 122–24) with coins on the Euboic–Attic standard and the tetradrachm as the main denomination: *obv.* quadriga, legend: ΣΥΡΑΦΟΣΙΟΝ or ΣΥΡΑ; *rev.* an incuse mill-sail design with a female head, probably the nymph Arethusa, in the centre (*SNG Cop. Sicily* 614; standard corpus of Syracusan coins until *c.*425: E. Boehringer (1929); recent survey: Rutter (1997) 114–16, 121–29). The lower denomination is a didrachm with *obv.* rider and side-horse; *rev.* similar to the tetradrachm issue (C. Boehringer (1984–85) pl. 13.8–9). A new issue was probably introduced by Gelon *c.*480 with basically the same types though more developed in design: the charioteer crowned by a Nike, and Arethusa on the *rev.* occupying the whole field and surrounded by four dolphins, legend: ΣΥΡΑΦ/ΚΟΣΙΟΝ (Rutter (1997) 124 fig. 121; *SNG Cop. Sicily* 617–18; *SNG Cop. Suppl.* 74; C5f chronology, followed here: Rutter (1998)). Lower denominations (didrachms and drachms): *obv.* horseman; *rev.* Arethusa (*SNG. Cop. Sicily* 615–16). The next phase, from shortly before 470, saw a rich issue of tetradrachms with the now canonical types; types of the lower denominations: drachms, *obv.* horseman, *rev.* Arethusa; obols, *obv.* Arethusa, *rev.* four-spoked wheel (with ΣΥΡΑ between the spokes); litrai, *obv.* Arethusa, legend: ΣΥΡΑ, *rev.* Cuttlefish (*SNG Cop. Sicily* 620–34). This issue culminated in a series of tetradrachms and an innovative issue of decadrachms, now dated 470–*c.*466 and no longer connected with the 480 victory of Gelon at Himera in 480: *obv.* as above but with lion in exergue, *rev.* Arethusa wearing wreath, legend: ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΟΝ (Rutter (1993), (1998) pl. 67.3–4). From *c.*460 the *obv.* type carried *ketos* in exergue (*SNG Cop. Sicily* 635–51). The Attic weight standard and the *obv.* design came to exert great influence on the coinages of the neigbouring cities of Gela, Katane and Leontinoi (Kraay (1976) 210–11; Rutter (1998)).

By C5l, tetradrachms with the canonical types in a free style were produced by workshops at times operating with engravers who signed their dies (Rutter (1997) 144–46; *SNG Cop. Sicily* 666). One issue of the die-cutter Kimon has two letters on the *obv.*: ΣΩ, possibly a reference to a cult of Arethousa Soteira (Cahn (1993)). C5l also saw large issues of smaller denominations; of special interest are drachms with *rev.* type showing the legendary Sikanian hero Leukaspis (*SNG Cop. Sicily* 665, 673). Before 400 the standard legend becomes ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ (Head, *HN*² 175; *SNG Cop. Sicily* 674, 681, etc.). Bronze and gold issues belong to the end of C5 and should be seen in the light of first the Athenian and later the Carthaginian invasions under Dionysios I, with high denominations in silver, decadrachms signed by engravers (C. Boehringer (1993); Rutter (1997) 146–47, 154–58; bronzes: Morcom (1998); *SNG Cop. Sicily* 683–700, 720–22). 100-litrai electrum coins were minted by Dionysios I and II: *obv.* Apollo; *rev.* Artemis, legend: ΣΩΤΕΙΡΑ; smaller denominations were minted as well (*SNG Cop. Sicily* 701–10). Under Timoleon the Corinthian connection is underlined by Corinthian-type pegasi minted at Syracuse (*SNG Cop. Sicily* 711–12); later the Zeus Eleutherios and the free horse types become common for the cities under Timoleon's hegemony (Talbert (1974) 182–90; Karlsson (1995); *SNG Cop. Sicily* 725).

Syracuse founded several colonies. The earliest was Heloron (no. 18), founded in C8l–C7e. Akrai (no. 10) was founded in 664, and Kasmenai (no. 29) in 644 (Thuc. 6.5.2). Kamarina (no. 28) was founded *c.*598 (Thuc. 6.5.3), and within a few decades waged war on its *metropolis* (Philistos (*FGrHist* 556) fr. 5). The tyrant Hieron founded the city of Aitna (no. 8) in 476 (Diod. 11.49.1–2); and Dionysios I founded Adranon (no. 6) (Diod. 14.37.5 (r399)), probably Adria (no. 75), possibly Ankon (no. 76), certainly Issa (no. 81); cf. Stylianou (1998) *ad* 13.4–5 at p. 196), Lissos (no. 82) (Diod. 15.13.4 (r *c.*385); see Stylianou (1998) *ad loc.*), and

Tyndaris (no. 49). Tauromenion (no. 48) too may possibly be a Dionysian foundation.

48. Tauromenion (Tauromenitas) Map 47. Lat. 37.50, long. 15.15. Size of territory: ? Type: [A]:*β*. The toponym is *Ταυρομένιον, τό* (Timaios (*FGrHist* 566) fr. 33; Theophr. fr. 165); or *Ταυρομενία, ἡ* (Diod. 22.7.4). The city-ethnic is *Ταυρομενίτας* (*I.Delos* 103.60 (372–367); C4 coins, *infra*; Diod. 16.7.1 (r358)); or *Ταυρομένιος* (Diod. 16.68.8 (r344)). See further Ziegler (1934) 28.

Ps.-Skylax 13 lists Tauromenion under the heading *πόλεις Ἑλληνίδες αἵδε*, side by side with Naxos (no. 41), although the two cities did not exist contemporaneously; this presumably means that the text has been compiled from sources of different dates. Diod. 14.59.3 calls it a *polis* in the urban sense, but the reference is to the year 396, at which time the site was not yet a Greek city (see below on the foundation). As a Hellenic community it is called a *polis* in the urban sense at Diod. 16.7.1 (r358) and in the political sense at Diod. 16.68.8 (r344).

The internal collective use of the city-ethnic is found on C4 coins (*infra*); the external collective use is found in *I.Delos* 103.60 (372–367; cf. *IG* II² 1638B.43), Diod. 16.68.9 and Plut. *Tim.* 11.4 (r344); the external individual use is found in Diod. 16.7.1 (r358), and is often applied to the historian Timaios (cf. *FGrHist* 566, tt. 1, 4e, 5, 13); see also *IdiCos* ED 52A.13 (C3).

Tauromenion became a Greek *polis* in C4f. At 16.7.1, Diodorus describes what would appear to be the foundation: in 358 Andromachos, the father of the historian Timaios, gathered the remnants of the Naxians whose city had been destroyed by Dionysios I in 403 (Diod. 14.15.2–3), had them settled on the Monte Tauro above the abandoned site of Naxos, and named the place Tauromenion. The city soon became populous and wealthy. There is reason to believe, however, that this was *not* the point at which the Greek *polis* of Tauromenion originally came into being: not only is Andromachos described as *Tauromenites* at this very point, but, much more importantly, a communal dedication by the *Tauromenitai* at Delos is listed in Delian inventories which antedate by several years the event described by Diodorus: see *I.Delos* 101.40 (372–367), 103.60 with Rutherford (1998) 83, and this indicates that the *polis* existed prior to the enfranchisement of the Naxians and prior to 364 (ibid.). Nor was the site created *ab novo* in 358, at least not according to Diodorus himself, who gives the following information on Tauromenion prior to 358: in 403, upon his destruction of Naxos, Dionysios handed its *chora* over to the neighbouring Sikels (14.15.3); in 396 the Carthaginian Himilkon induced the Sikels to create a fortified centre on the Monte Tauro, a site which they named *Tauromenion* (but see Bennet (1977) 85) and which Diodorus describes by the term *polis* (14.57.2); in 394/3 Dionysios attempted without success to take the Sikel *polis* of Tauromenion by siege (14.87.4–88.4); however, by the treaty in 392 between Dionysios and Carthage, Tauromenion was assigned to Dionysios, who proceeded to expel most of the Sikels and settle selected mercenaries at the site (14.96.4). If this Dionysian settlement of mercenaries was not in fact the foundation of the Greek *polis* (it may have struck coins, *infra*), then the *polis* must have come into being after this event and before the inscribing of the Delian inventories *c.*374–367. The reason why Diodorus seems to think of the settlement of Naxians at Tauromenion in 358 as the *foundation* of the city may be that he drew his information from Timaios, the son of Andromachos, who may have described the event "in maiorem gloriam patris" (so Ziegler (1934) 30; cf. Bennet (1977) 86–87; Timaios was reputedly partial to his father, see Marcellin. *Vita Thucydidis* 27). So as a Greek *polis* Tauromenion was a C4f foundation; however, there is some archaeological evidence of C7 Greek presence at the site; Ps.-Skymnos 289 lists Tauromenion, with Himera (no. 24), among the Chalkidian foundations, thus implying an early date, but this is most probably an error. Strabo 6.2.3 lists Tauromenion as a city founded by the Zanklaians of Hybla; the passage is confused, but may be explained on the assumption that Zanklaians (= Messanians) who had been ousted from Messana in 396 by Himilkon (Diod. 14.58.3) took refuge in Aitnaian Hybla (although there is no direct evidence for this), and later participated in the foundation of Tauromenion (Strabo 6.2.3; cf. Consolo Langher (1996c) 542 for this suggestion). For a survey of research and interpretations, see Ziegler (1934), Bennet (1977) 84, and Consolo Langher (1996*c*).

The size of the territory is unknown. It may have remained Sikel although under Greek suzerainty (Diod. 14.96.4; cf. Consolo Langher (1996c) 538 n. 6). By C4l there were a number of *phrouria* in the territory (Polyaen. 5.3.6; cf. Steph. Byz. 168.15).

Not much is known about the institutions and political structure of C4 Tauromenion. When Timoleon arrived at Tauromenion, its leading citizen was Andromachos: Diod. 16.68.8 describes him as *ὁ τῆς πόλεως ἡγούμενος*, and Plut. *Tim.* 10.6–8 as *ὁ τὴν πόλιν ἔχων καὶ δυναστεύων*; Marcellin. *Vita Thucydidis* 27 describes him as exercising *monarchia*; he may, then, have been a tyrant (so Talbert

(1974) 114–15) and if so, his enfranchisement of the Naxians (*supra*) joins the long list of tyrannical population transfers in Sicilian history. Plut. *Tim.* 10.7 says that he led the *politai* νομιμῶς καὶ δικαίως, but if the ultimate source for that statement is Timaios, its reliability is questionable; it is at least possible that some Tauromenitai left the city in opposition to Andromachos (cf. Jacoby's comm. *ad* Timaios (*FGrHist* 566) fr. 33). The existence of a civic army is suggested by Diod. 16.7.9 (r344), and reception of envoys is attested by Plut. *Tim.* 11.2 (r344). An external communal dedication at Delos is attested by *I.Delos* 103.60 (372–367).

The site of the Sikel, later Greek city of Tauromenion north of Naxos, and originally in the *chora* of this city (it had been conquered by force at the foundation of Naxos; cf. Diod. 14.88.1), was well chosen: it is an easily defendable site on the Monte Tauro, 200–300 m above sea level.

The urban remains are mainly Hellenistic and Roman. The Greek city was undoubtedly fortified: remains of a circuit wall are extant near the agora (cf. also Freeman (1891–94) iv. 109–10). The settlement was fortified already during the Sikel C4e phase according to Diod. 14.87.4–88.4. The settlement comprises *c.*65 ha, excluding the upper part of Monte Tauro above the city (perhaps a fortified acropolis). C7–C5l Greek presence has been revealed by sherds found in the area of the agora, spanning the period from the early history of Naxos until its destruction by Dionysios in 403 (Bacci (1980–81*b*) 742, (1997)). C6 architectural fragments of Naxian type attest to an extra-urban sanctuary in the territory of Naxos (Bacci (1984–85) 722–23), situated within the later city in what was to become the agora of Tauromenion on the plateau west of the theatre. Epigraphic and architectural evidence, and similarities with the theatre at Syracuse, point to a C3e Greek origin for the famous Roman theatre (Polacco (1982) 438–40). Tauromenion may have had a C4 overall urban scheme of habitation and public structures laid out on terraces along the slopes of Monte Tauro (Bacci (1997)).

A rare silver dilitron with Naxian types: *obv.* laureate head of Apollo (Archagetes); *rev.* squatting Silenos; legend: ΝΕΟΠΟΛΙ[ΤΩΝ] (Cahn (1944) 146 no. 149), has been attributed to the mercenaries of Dionysios' 392 settlement, although the issue may have been made only after the death of Dionysios (S. Calderone (1956); followed by Consolo Langher (1996*c*) 538–39). A large bronze coinage in three denominations was struck in the reign of Andromachos *c.*357–344. Types: *obv.* head of Apollo Archagetes laureate, legend: ΑΡΧΑΓΕΤΑΣ; *rev.* bull walking or galloping, at times man-headed, or bull-head protome, legend: ΤΑΥΡΟΜΕ, ΤΑΥΡΟΜΕΝΙΤΑΝ, with variations (*SNG Cop. Sicily* 916–20). The type and legend of Apollo Archagetes (cf. App. *B Civ.* 5.12.109) testify to Tauromenion's ambition to be the heir of Naxos (for the period of Timoleon, see Brugnone (1980) 279). The type of Apollo, influenced by a type known from earlier issues of the Chalkidic cities, is crucial testimony to the importance of the Tauromenian mint (Consolo Langher (1996*c*) 550–55). The issues of the Timoleontic period (345–338) were a *symmachia* coinage with two groups of hemilitra: *obv.* head of Apollo laureate, legend: ΑΡΧΑΓΕΤΑ(Σ) or head of Zeus Eleutherios; *rev.* lyre, tripod, galloping bull or bunch of grapes, legend: ΤΑΥΡΟΜΕΝΙΤΑΝ (Consolo Langher (1996*c*) 555–67; cf. also Karlsson (1995); *SNG Cop. Sicily* 921–26).

49. Tyndaris (Tyndarites) Map 47. Lat. 38.10, long. 15.05. Size of territory: ? Type: B:*α*. The toponym is Τυνδαρίς, ἡ (*BCH* 45 (1921) iv.93 (230–210); Strabo 6.2.1), or Τυνδάριον (Ptol. *Geog.* 3.4.2). The city-ethnic is Τυνδαρίτης (*IGUR* ii 823 (Hell.); Diod. 13.69.3) or Τυνδάριος (Diod. 23.5 (r263/2)).

Tyndaris is called a *polis* in connection with its foundation in 396 in Diod. 14.78.5, a passage which presumably uses *polis* primarily in the urban sense although the presence of the terms πολιτεύεσθαι and πολιτογραφοῦντες indicates that the term may carry the political sense as well (cf. Hansen (2000) 175–76). According to the text, the community πολλοὺς πολιτογραφοῦντες quickly grew to number more than 5,000: this implies grants of citizenship and registration of citizens, and thus shows that Tyndaris was a *polis*; the city furthermore struck coins in C4m (*infra*), concluded a treaty of *symmachia* with Timoleon (Diod. 16.69.3, a passage which also mentions armed forces of the city) and had a Delphic *theorodokos* in C3s (*BCH* 45 (1921) iv.93 (230–210)). The internal collective use of the city-ethnic is found on C4m coins (*infra*); the external collective use is found in Diod. 16.69.3 (r344); and the external individual use is found in *IGUR* ii 823 (Hell.).

Tyndaris was founded as a fortress by Dionysios I in 396 (Diod. 14.78.5; cf. Consolo Langher (1996*b*)) on the coast *c.*60 km west of Messana (no. 51). The city was populated with 600 Peloponnesian Messenians expelled from Zakynthos (no. 141) and Naupaktos (no. 165; Asheri (1983)). Territory for the new community was taken from that of the city of Abakainon (no. 5; Diod. 14.78.5), and the defeat of Magon at Abakainon by Dionysios finally secured the territory of Tyndaris (Diod. 14.90.4). The Messenians named their city

Tyndaris after the cult of the *Tyndaridai*. By admission of new settlers shortly after the foundation the population of Tyndaris grew to more than 5,000 (Diod. 14.78.6).

The territory bordered inland upon that of Abakainon; to the east it was delimited by the territory of Mylai, and further inland by the Sikel site of Longane. The territory may have comprised some hundreds of km², but that is difficult to ascertain. A close relationship with the neighbouring site of Agathyrnon is suggested by C4l (C3 according to Consolo Langher (1965)) bronze coinage with types *obv.* head of Apollo, legend: ΤΥΝΔΑΡΙΣ; *rev.* armed warrior, legend: ΑΓΑΘΥΡΝΟΣ (the eponym of Agathyrnon; cf. Diod. 5.8.2); however, the coins may be a reference to annexation of Agathyrnian territory by Tyndaris, rather than testimony of an alliance (Consolo Langher (1965) 82 n. 66; Lacroix (1965) 46–47).

The city was built in a strong military position on the top of a rocky promontory with precipitous cliffs facing seawards and with access only from the east. The town was located on a narrow plateau with three *plateiai* oriented north-east–south-west laid out on three levels along the length of the plateau, orthogonally crossed by *stenopoi*. The size of the city was about 14 ha. The extant remains are Roman, but there are traces of a Timoleontic C4m phase, and the origin of the town plan probably goes back to the time of its foundation (Bernabò Brea and Cavalier (1965)). A circuit wall was erected inland along the south-east and south-west sides of the city. The first wall, going back to the Dionysian foundation, was built in rough stones faced with plaster and strengthened at intervals with pilasters built in ashlar. In C3e(?) the wall was replaced by a 4.5 m-wide double curtain-wall built in ashlar with internal fill strengthened with a number of square towers and a deep pincer-shaped gate (Säflund (1937) 412–17; Barreca (1959)). A stretch of the wall descending obliquely north-west protected access to the harbour below the city (Barreca (1957)).

An agora was probably located on the south-east side of the habitation area in the region of the later Roman *forum*. No buildings of the Greek phase are extant, but near the *forum* a theatre with its back to the circuit wall and facing the upper, principal *plateia* has a Greek phase dating to *c.*300; the *koilon* had a diameter of 76 m and a seating capacity of *c.*3,000 (Bernabò Brea (1964–65)).

A cult of the Dioskouroi, the *Tyndaridai*, is not explicitly attested, but coin types give clear evidence that such a cult was of major importance (Ziegler (1943) 1785; Consolo Langher (1965) 66). A second, Timoleontic, series of coins have as type a head of Apollo (Consolo Langher (1965) 81). A Zeus cult is attested by C3 bronze coin types depicting a statue of Zeus, possibly the Messenian Zeus Ithomatas (Ziegler (1943) 1785). Athena, Poseidon, Dionysos and Kore(?) are shown on C3 coin types (ibid.), and Artemis Eupraxia on a C2 dedicatory relief (Fischer-Hansen (1992) no. 12).

Tyndaris struck bronze coins in C4m, consisting of hemilitra with fractions, trias and uncia: pre-Timoleontic: *obv.* female head (Helen), legend: ΤΥΝΔΑΡΙΣ; *rev.* rider/Dioskouros (Consolo Langher (1965), (1996b) 581; *SNG Cop. Sicily* 948). Second issue (Consolo Langher (1965), (1996*b*) 584; *SNG Cop. Sicily* 949): *obv.* head of Apollo, legends: ΤΥΝΔΑΡΙΔΟΣ, ΤΥΝΔΑΡΙΤΑΝ; *rev.* cock, or horse's head, or free horse (for the "Free Horse", Timoleontic *symmachia* coinage, see Karlsson (1995) and Consolo Langher (1997) 183–85, 188).

50. (Tyrrhenoi) Map 47. Unlocated. Type: C:γ. The *Tyrrhenoi* are known exclusively from their C4s Greek-style bronze coinage: *obv.* head of Athena wearing Attic helmet, legend: ΤΥΡΡΗ; *rev.* standing armed Athena (Head, *HN*² 190; Cutroni Tusa (1970) 264–65). The coins, whose types reveal Athenian influence, are restruck on C4s Syracusan issues. They may belong to an anti-Syracusan ethnic group, perhaps Tyrrhenian mercenaries fighting Timoleon (cf. Diod. 16.82.2 (r339/8); Cutroni Tusa (1970) 266). A settlement site of the *Tyrrhenoi* has tentatively been identified with sporadic habitation remains at modern Alimena in the territory of Himera (no. 24) (Bejor (1984*b*) with refs.); other proposals include a location in the region of Syracuse–Aitna (Cutroni Tusa (1970) 266).

51. Zankle (Zanklaios)**/Messana** (Messanios) Map 47. Lat. 38.10, long. 15.35. Size of territory: 4. Type: A:α. The toponym is, for *Zankle*, Δάνκλε (*SEG* 11 1180.8 (C6); coins of C6l, *infra*) or Ζάγκλη, ἡ (Hecat. fr. 72; Hdt. 7.164.1). The city-ethnic is Δανκλαῖος (*IGDS* no. 2 (C5e); coin *c.*461, *infra*) or Ζαγκλαῖος (Hdt. 6.22.2). For *Messana*, the toponym is Μεσσάνα (*IG* IV².1 95.11.78 (C4m); Μεσσήνη, ἡ (Hdt. 7.164.1); or Μεσήνη (Polyaen. 5.2.18). The city-ethnic is Μεσσήνιος (*SEG* 28 431); Μεσήνιος (Polyaen. 5.2.18); Μεσσένιος, Μεσσάνιος (coins, *infra*).

Zankle is called a *polis* in the urban sense at Hdt. 6.23.3 and 7.164.1, and in the urban and political senses combined at Hdt. 7.154.2 (Hansen (2000) 205); it is called *patris* at Diod. 11.76.5 (r460). *Messana* is called a *polis* in the urban sense at Thuc. 4.25.10–11 and in the political sense at Thuc. 6.4.6; it is called *patris* at Diod. 14.50.5 (r399).

The city-ethnic of *Zankle* is found in the internal collective use on C5f coins (*infra*) and in the external collective use

in *IGDS* no. 2 (C5e), Hdt. 6.22.2 and Antiochos of Syracuse (*FGrHist* 555) fr. 9; the external individual use is found in Paus. 5.25.11 (rC6l); the city-ethnic of *Messana* is found in the internal collective use on C5 coins (*infra*) and in the external collective use in *IGDS* nos. 4–5 (488–485) and Thuc. 5.5.1; the external individual use is found in *SEG* 28 431 (*c.*467–450) and Diod. 14.40.4 (r399).

According to Thuc. 6.4.5, Zankle was originally settled by pirates from the Chalkidian colony of Kyme (no. 57), possibly implying some early pre-colonial phase (see Antonelli (1996) for a full discussion). At a later date a number of Chalkidian and other Euboian settlers joined the settlement, the oecists being Perieres from Kyme and Krataimenes from Chalkis (Thuc. 6.4.5; Callim. *Aet.* II fr. 43.58–59, Pfeiffer, with Ehlers (1933)). The implication may be that Zankle was founded in two stages: at first the settlement served merely to secure Kymaian-Chalkidian trading interests; later, with the participation of oecists, it was founded as a *polis*. According to Ps.-Skymnos 283–86 (possibly drawing on Ephor. fr. 137a; cf. Strabo 6.2.2–3), however, Zankle was founded by Naxos (no. 41) as a sub-colony at the same time as Katane (no. 30) and Leontinoi (no. 33), i.e. *c.*735–730. The date seems to be confirmed by the archaeological evidence (Bacci (1978); Scibona (1986) 448) and also by the Zanklaian participation in the foundation of Rhegion (no. 68) *c.*730.

The foundation of Mylai (no. 38) in C8l as a secondary colony of Zankle (Euseb. *Chron.* 90bH) testifies to a Zanklaian area of influence along the north coast of Sicily. In 648, Zanklaians and Syracusan exiles, the so-called *Myletidai*, founded Himera (no. 24) in western Sicily (Thuc. 6.5.1; Diod. 13.62.4). The continued ties with Himera are revealed by the fact that Skythes, the king of Zankle in C5e, went there as an exile (Hdt. 6.24.1). New Zanklaian settlers at Himera in the same period may be deduced from the mention of a [*φύ*]*λα Δανκλαία* in a bronze plaque from Himera (Brugnone (1997) 271–72 *et passim*). To the south the territory of Naxos formed a natural border (Thuc. 4.25.7)—all in all a *chora* of quite vast dimensions. (For the confines of Zanklaian territory and that of Longane, see Massa (1991) 253.) Its name was *Μεσσηνία* (Theophr. *Hist. pl.* 8.2.8), and by C4e it was apparently dotted with fortified *phrouria* (Diod. 14.57.5–6). It is called *γῆ* by Thuc. 6.4.5, *χώρα εὐδαίμων* at Paus. 4.23.6, and Hdt. 6.23.5 has a reference to *οἱ ἀγροί*. Its borders are mentioned at Diod. 14.40.4 (r399).

The change of name from Zankle to Messana occurred *c.*488/7 and was the result of tumultous events: at the time of the Ionian Revolt, Zankle had sent messengers to Ionia and invited settlers to participate in the foundation of an Ionian *polis* at Kale Akte (Hdt. 6.22.2; cf. C. Marconi (1994)). A number of Samian aristocrats wanted to flee Samos on account of their role in the Ionian Revolt; they accepted the invitation and arrived at Lokroi Epizephyrioi (no. 59) at a time when the Zanklaian forces were laying siege to a Sikel town; the Rhegian tyrant Anaxilas persuaded the Samians to capture the undefended town of Zankle, which they did (Hdt. 6.23.2–3). The Zanklaians called upon their ally, Hippokrates, the tyrant of Gela (at this time Zankle was presumably a subordinate ally of Hippokrates, who had defeated the city in an earlier war, cf. Hdt. 7.154.2); Hippokrates arrived with an army and deposed Skythes, the ruler of Zankle (called *basileus* (Hdt. 6.23.1) or *mounarchos* (Hdt. 6.23.4); cf. Carlier (1984) 469–70). Hippokrates then negotiated with the Samians and betrayed the Zanklaians to them in return for "half of all the moveable property and slaves in the town, and everything in the open country" (Hdt. 6.23.5). He enslaved the greater part of the betrayed Zanklaians, but turned the 300 "leading men among them" over to the Samians (6.23.6). Later, Anaxilas of Rhegion drove out the Samians, founded a city of mixed ethnicity, and changed the name to *Messana* after his own original homeland (Thuc. 6.4.6).

The treaty of 405 between Dionysios and Carthage stipulated that Messana be *autonomos* (Diod. 13.114.1; *Staatsverträge* no. 210). In 399 the Messanian army deserted their generals in a war against Dionysios because the *demos* had not ratified the campaign (Diod. 14.40 5; Costabile (1978)). In 396 Himilkon captured Messana, which was now allied with Dionysios (Diod. 14.57), but in 395 the city was repopulated by Dionysios, who settled 1,000 Lokrians, 4,000 Medmaians and 600 Peloponnesian Messenians (who were, however, quickly relocated to Tyndaris), and the city became practically a Syracusan colony, above all of military stamp (Diod. 14.78.5). The pro-Dionysian faction, however, was expelled again in 394 (Diod. 14.88.5).

Monarchy is attested at Zankle in the time of Skythes (*supra*), who, however, seems to have been a subordinate of Hippokrates of Gela (*supra*). Diod. 11.48.2 (r476) describes Anaxilas as being at his death tyrant of both Rhegion and Zankle (cf. Berve (1967) 156). In 461, "the Rhegians with the Zanklaians" expelled the sons of Anaxilas and liberated their cities (Diod. 11.76.5). The *koinon dogma* agreed upon by the Sicilian cities after the fall of the tyranny at Syracuse stipulated that all the mercenaries installed by tyrants in the cities of the island were to settle *ἐν τῇ Μεσσηνίᾳ* (Diod. 11.76.5; cf. *CAH*² v. 157; Freeman (1891–94) ii. 316–17). A *stasis* broke

out in 424–422 during which one party called in help from Lokroi; the Lokrians sent some *epoikoi* who were later driven out (Thuc. 5.5.1). Another *stasis* is mentioned for the year 415 (Thuc. 6.74.1); cf. Polyaen. 5.2.18. Ethnic animosities seem to have played a role in these *staseis* (Berger (1992) 54–55). In 337, Timoleon deposed the tyrant Hippon (Plut. *Tim.* 34.3).

IGDS no. 2.9, C6 = *SEG* 11 1180) reads [*τοῖ*]*ς συνμά*[*χ*]-, and the inscription presumably recorded or referred to a treaty of *symmachia* between Zankle and one or more unknown partner(s). In 426 Messana entered into a *symmachia* with Athens (Thuc. 3.90.4). The alliance was short-lived, and the next year Syracusans and Lokrians occupied Messana, which had revolted from Athens (Thuc. 4.1.1).

A Messanian army and navy are mentioned at Thuc. 4.25.7; Diod. 14.40.4 (r399) mentions an army of 4,000 foot and 400 horse, in addition to thirty triremes. The organisation of the army was probably based on a system of *phylai*, since at 3.90.2 Thucydides says that there were *δύο φυλαὶ ἐν ταῖς Μυλαῖς τῶν Μεσσηνίων φρουροῦσαι*. Commanders (*strategoi*) are mentioned at Diod. 14.40.5 (r399).

Olympic victories were achieved by Leontiskos in 456 and 452 (*Olympionikai* 271, 285) and by Symmachos in 428 (*Olympionikai* 325). A C6 communal Zanklaian dedication of spoils at Olympia is found as *SEG* 11 1180.9, 1205 and 15 246 (= *IGDS* no. 2); Messanian dedications are attested by *SEG* 24 313–14 (C5e). In communal mourning the Messenians dedicated a bronze statue at Olympia to commemorate a chorus of boys who drowned on their way to a festival at Rhegion (Paus. 5.25.2–5 (rC5m); Cordano (1980); Pritchett (1999) 252–54). In 356/5, a citizen of Messana served as Epidaurian *theorodokos* (*IG* IV².1 95.11.78).

Zankle was founded near the narrowest point of the Straits *c.*10 km south of Cape Pelorus on a low coastal plateau facing a natural, sickle-shaped harbour from which the city took its Sikel name (Thuc. 6.4.5). The ancient city has suffered heavily from the later urban history of the site and from numerous earthquakes and landslides: the Archaic and Classical remains are often 4–5 m below the present surface. The settlement lay along the inner harbour and upon the sickle-shaped peninsula that enclosed the harbour. The main area of habitation seems to have been the area west and south of the harbour, stretching *c.*1 km inland from the coast in an area confined to the south by the river Cammaro and to the north-east by the harbour—in all *c.*50–60 ha (Vallet (1958) 113–16, pl. I; Scibona (1986)). No remains of the Archaic or Classical circuit wall are known (for *poliorkiai*, see Hdt. 7.154.2 (490s); Plut. *Tim.* 34.3 (r337); cf. Diod. 14.56.4, 57.3, 58.3, 78.5 and 87.1 attesting the existence of fortifications in the 390s). During C5 the size of the habitation area may have been somewhat restricted compared to the Archaic city; the C5 cemetery is located inside the area of the Archaic city, though this may simply indicate a change in location of habitation area (Scibona (1986) 450, 453). There is some evidence of an overall orthogonal plan from the early period of the settlement (Bernabò Brea (1972–73) 176–77; Scibona (1986) 449–52). The harbour is known from early coin types, some of which seem to show it equipped inside with buildings or wharves. Several kilns attest to an extensive industrial quarter inside the urban area (Bacci (1995) 640). A theatre is mentioned by Plut. *Tim.* 34.4. (r337); the same passage refers to schools (*didaskaleia*).

On the outermost part of the sickle-shaped peninsula was a sanctuary; the cult is unknown, but the finds show that its history goes back to the period of foundation (Orsi (1929) 38–46). This is the main archaeological testimony of cult from the city itself, apart from the C5 votive relief from a sanctuary(?) dedicated to the chthonic divinities (Orsi (1912)). For extra-urban sanctuaries, there is the tradition of the Poseidon sanctuary on Cape Pelorus (Diod. 4.85.5–6 (r time of foundation)). The striding Zeus shown on the *obv.* of the single known tetradrachm from an issue struck probably in 461 commemorating the liberation from tyranny may refer to the cult of Eleutheria (cf. *infra*).

Coinage began *c.*525 with drachms based upon the Euboian standard, with as lower denominations obols and onkiai (C. Boehringer (1984–85) 108–19). The first issue is known in four series, lasting to the conquest of Zankle by Hippokrates. The *obv.* type, a dolphin within a sickle-shaped harbour, refers to the name and setting of the city (Belloni (1977)), legends: *ΔΑΝΚ*, *ΔΑΝΚΛ*, *ΔΑΝΚΛΕ*; *rev.* incuse squares with shell in centre (*SNG Cop. Sicily* 387–88). An example with incuse repetition of the obverse is a unique example of the incuse fabric of Magna Graecia used in Sicily (C. Boehringer (1984–85) 109, pl. 11.3).

The Samian occupation 494/3–489/8 is reflected in tetradrachms struck on the Euboian–Attic standard, the *obv.* with a frontal lion scalp, the *rev.* with a prow of a ship (the *samaina*), and on some a retrograde letter of the sequence A to E. Each letter probably represented one year's coinage, and the letter sequence therefore corresponds to the five years of Samian occupation. Of the lower denominations the diobols carry the additional symbol of a helmet on the *rev.* (Barron (1966) 40–43; *SNG Cop. Suppl.* 68).

The first issues of Anaxilas' regime, spanning the period 488–480, were tetradrachms struck on the Euboian–Attic

standard with *obv.* lion's head facing; *rev.* forepart of calf, legend: *ΜΕΣΣΕΝΙΟΝ* (Caccamo Caltabiano (1993) 17–31). From 480 Anaxilas struck tetradrachms with *obv.* biga of mules; *rev.* running hare, in commemoration of his victory at Olympia, legend: *ΜΕΣΣΕΝΙΟΝ*; this becomes the canonical C5 type, with smaller denominations—mainly litrai and its fractions (ibid. 31ff; *SNG Cop. Sicily* 389–90).

The fall of the tyranny in 461 allowed for a short period the re-establishment of the Zanklaian faction, which struck a commemorative issue known from a unique tetradrachm: *obv.* Zeus at altar hurling thunderbolt; *rev.* dolphin, shell, legend: *ΔΑΝΚΛΑΙΟΝ*; litrai have the legend *ΔΑΝ* (Caccamo Caltabiano (1993) 63–66, 238; cf. also Lacroix (1965) 24–25). These were soon followed by Messanian issues. The legend of the reverse changed the earlier Ionic spelling to Doric *ΜΕΣΣΑΝΙΟΝ* or *ΜΕΣΣΑΝΙΩΝ* *c.*450 (*SNG Cop. Sicily* 393–94). Later issues use the four-stroke *sigma* instead of the rounded Chalkidian letter (Caccamo Caltabiano (1993) 68–69; *SNG Cop. Sicily* 396–97). The rare issue of a gold coinage *c.*455 may reflect the demands of a military campaign (Stazio (1988) 506–7; Caccamo Caltabiano (1993) 73–75). An issue from *c.*425 carries on the *obv.* the personification of the city (a female charioteer) and the legend *ΜΕΣΣΑΝΑ* (Caccamo Caltabiano (1993) 101–3; *SNG Cop. Sicily* 399–406). Bronze coinage with related types and the legend *ΜΕΣ*(*Σ*) began *c.*425 (Caccamo Caltabiano (1993) 111–14; *SNG Cop. Sicily* 417–19).

Zankle founded Mylai (no. 38) in 716, presumably as a dependent *polis* (*supra*); in collaboration with Syracusan exiles, it founded Himera (no. 24) in 648; and it also participated in the foundation of Rhegion (no. 68) *c.*730.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Adamesteanu, D. 1956. "Monte Saraceno ed il problema della penetrazione rodio-cretese nella Sicilia meridionale", *ArchCl* 8: 121–46.

——1963. "Note di topografia siceliota. Parte I", *Kokalos* 9: 19–48.

——1986. "Quadro storico delle fortificazioni greche della Sicilia e della Magna Grecia", in Leriche and Tréziny (1986) 105–10.

——1994–95. "Butera: sede temporanea di una colonia greca arcaica", *AttiMGrecia* 3: 109–17.

Albanese, R. M. 1991. "Mendolito", *BTCGI* 9: 545–61.

Albanese Procelli, R. M. 1997. "Le etnie dell'età del ferro e le prime fondazioni coloniali", in Tusa (1997) 511–20.

Albini, U. 1964. *Andocide* De Pace: *introduzione e commento* (Florence).

Allegro, N. 1988–89. "Himera 1984–1988: ricerche dell'Istituto di Archeologia nell'area della città", *Kokalos* 34–35: 637–58.

——1991. "Il santuario di Athena sul Piano di Imera", in *Di terra in terra* 65–85.

——1997. "Le fasi dell'abitato di Himera", in Isler and Käch (1997) 65–80.

—— and Vassallo, S. 1992. "Himera—Nuove ricerche nella città bassa (1989–1992)", *Kokalos* 38: 79–149.

Anello, P. 1997. "Le popolazioni epicorie della Sicilia nella tradizione letteraria", in Tusa (1997) 539–57.

Anti, C. 1947. *Teatri greci arcaici di Minosse a Pericle* (Padua).

Antonaccio, C. 1997. "Urbanism at Archaic Morgantina", *Acta Hyperborea* 7: 167–93.

Antonelli, L. 1996. "La falce di Crono: considerazioni sulla fondazione di Zancle", *Kokalos* 42: 315–25.

APARCHAI = ΑΠΑΡΧΑΙ: nuove ricerche e studi sulla Magna Grecia e la Sicilia antica in onore di P. E. Arias I–II (Pisa, 1982).

Arena, R. 1989. *Iscrizioni di Sicilia. i: Iscrizioni di Megara Iblea e Selinunte* (Milan).

Asheri, D. 1973. "La populazione di Imera nel V sec. a.C.", *RivFil* 101: 457–65.

——1979*a*. "La colonizzazione greca", in *Storia della Sicilia,* i: 87–139.

——1979*b*. "Rimpatrio di esuli a Selinunte: Inschriften von Olympia, nr. 22", *AnnPisa* 9: 479–97.

——1980. "Rimpatrio di esuli e ridistribuzione di terre nelle città siceliote *c.*466–461", in *Studi Manni* 143–57.

——1983. "La diaspora e il ritorno dei Messini", in E. Gabba (ed.), *Tria Corda: Studies in Honour of A. Momigliano* (Como) 27–42.

——1988. "Carthaginians and Greeks", in *CAH* iv². 739–80.

——1992*a*. "Agrigento libera: rivolgimenti interni e problemi costituzionali, *c.*471–446 a.C.", in Braccesi and De Miro (1992) 95–111.

——1992*b*. "Sicily, 478–431 B.C.", in *CAH* v². 147–70.

——1996. "Colonizzazione e decolonizzazione", in S. Settis *et al.* (eds.), *I Greci: Storia Cultura Arte Società*, i: *Noi e i Greci* (Turin) 73–115.

Ashton, R., and Hurter, S. (eds.) (in association with G. Le Rider and R. Bland) 1998. *Studies in Greek Numismatics in Memory of Martin Jessop Price* (London).

Bacci, G. M. 1978. "Ceramica dell' VIII e VII secolo a.C. a Messina", *CronCatania* 17: 100–3.

——1980–81*a*. "Catania 1980", *Kokalos* 26–27: 746–48.

——1980–81*b*. "Ricerche a Taormina negli anni 1977–1980", *Kokalos* 26–27: 737–45.
——1984–85. "Taormina (1984): scavi e restauri presso le terme Romane", *Kokalos* 30–31: 722–25.
——1995. "Messina", *EAA sec. suppl. 1971–1995* 3: 639–41.
——1997. "Taormina", *EAA sec. suppl. 1971–1995* 5: 526–27.
——and Spigo, U. 1997–98. "Tripi—necropoli di *Abakainon*: Dati preliminari", *Kokalos* 43–44: 335–46.
Barletta, A. B. 1983. *Ionic Influence in Archaic Sicily: The Monumental Art* (Gothenburg).
Barreca, F. 1957. "Tindari colonia dionigiana", *RendLinc* 12: 125–34.
——1959. "Precisazioni circa le mura greche di Tindari", *RendLinc* 14: 105–13.
Barrett, W. S. 1973. "Pindar's Twelfth *Olympian* and the Fall of the Deinomenidai", *JHS* 93: 23–35.
Barron, J. P. 1966. *The Silver Coins of Samos* (London).
Bats, M., and d'Agostino, B. (eds.) 2000. *Euboica: l'Eubea e la presenza euboica in Calcidica e in Occidente*, Collection Centre Jean Bérard 16/ *AnnArchStorAnt*—Quaderno 12 (Naples).
Bejor, G. 1977. "Problemi di localizzazione di culti a Selinunte", *AnnPisa* 7: 439–57.
——1982. "Città di Sicilia nei decreti da Entella", *AnnPisa* 3.12: 815–40.
——1984*a*. "Agira", *BTCGI* 3: 60–66.
——1984*b*. "Alimena", *BTCGI* 3: 184–85.
——1985. "Butera", *BTCGI* 4: 219–25.
——1987. "Casellazzo di Palma di Montechiaro", *BTCGI* 5: 98–101.
——1989*a*. "Engio", *BTCGI* 7: 185–88.
——1989*b*. "Erbesso", *BTCGI* 7: 278–82.
——1989*c*. "Erbita", *BTCGI* 7: 283–89.
——1989*d*. "Ecnomos", *BTCGI* 7: 101–2.
——1990. "Iccara", *BTCGI* 8: 230–33
——1991. "Mactorio", *BTCGI* 9: 304–7.
——and Marotta D'Agata, A. R. 1989. "Enna", *BTCGI* 7: 189–95.
——and Morel, J.-P. 1984. "Assoro", *BTCGI* 3: 331–35.
Bell, M. 1980. "Stylobate and Roof in the Olympieion at Akragas", *AJA* 84: 359–72.
——1984–85. "Recenti scavi nell'agora di Morgantina", *Kokalos* 30–31: 501–20.
——1988. "Excavations at Morgantina, 1980–85: Preliminary Report XII", *AJA* 92: 313–42.
Belloni, G. G. 1977. "La 'falce-porto' sulle monete di Zancle", *Aevum* 51: 1–9.
Belvedere, O. 1976. "Tipologia e sviluppo delle abitazioni", in *Himera* ii. 575–94.
——1987. "Himera, Naxos, Camarina, tre casi di urbanistica coloniale", *Xenia* 14: 5–20.
——1988. "Topografia storica", in *Himera* iii. 189–225.
——2000. "Il territorio di Himera e il problema della *chora* coloniale in Sicilia", *AttiTaranto* 40: 707–55.
Bennet, E. R. 1977. "La fondation de Tauroménion: Diodore, XIV.59,1–2 et XVI, 7,1", *REG* 90: 83–87.
Bérard, J. 1957. *La Colonisation grecque de l'Italie méridionale et de la Sicile dans l'antiquité* (Paris).
Berger, S. 1992. *Revolution and Society in Greek Sicily and Southern Italy*, *Historia* Einzelschriften 71 (Stuttgart).
Bernabò Brea, L. 1947. "Scavi nell' area dell'antica agorà", *NSc* 196–97.
——(with G. Pugliese Carratelli and C. Laviosa). 1956. *Akrai* (Catania).
——1957. *Sicily before the Greeks* (London).
——1964–65. "Due secoli di studi, scavi e restauri del teatro di Tindari", *RivIstArch* 14–15: 99–144.
——1967. "Studi sul teatro greco di Siracusa", *Palladio* 17: 97–154.
——1968. "Il crepuscolo del re Hyblon", *PP* 23: 161–86.
——1972–73. "Attività della Soprintendenza alle Antichità per la Sicilia Orientale", *Kokalos* 28–29: 161–92.
——1975. "Che cosa conosciamo dei centri indigeni della Sicilia che hanno coniato monete fino all'età di Timoleonte", in *Le emissioni dei centri siculi fino all'epoca di Timoleonte e i loro rapporti con la monetazione delle colonie Greche di Sicilia*, Atti IV Convegno del Centro internazionale di studi numismatici, Napoli, 1973, *AIIN* suppl. 20 (Rome) 3–51.
——1986. *Il tempio di Afrodite di Akrai*, Cahiers Centre Jean Bérard 10 (Naples).
——1987. "Le fortificazioni greche di Lipari", in *Saggi in onore di Guglielmo de Angelis d'Ossat* (Rome) 19–24.
——and Carettoni, G. F. 2000. "Longane", *Quaderni di Archeologia*, Università di Messina 1: 7–57.
——and Cavalier, M. 1959. *Mylai* (Novara).
————1965. "Scavi in Sicilia II. Tindari—area urbana: l'insula IV e le strade che la circondano", *BdA* 50: 205–9.
————1977. *Il castello di Lipari e il Museo Archeologico Eoliano* (Palermo).
————1991. "Lipari (isola)", *BTCGI* 9: 81–185.
————1992. "Milazzo", *BTCGI* 10: 115–40.
Bertino, A. 1975. "Le emissioni monetali di Abaceno", in *Le emissioni dei centri siculi fino all'epoca di Timoleonte e i loro rapporti con la monetazione delle colonie Greche di Sicilia*, Atti IV Convegno del Centro internazionale di studi numismatici, Napoli, 1973, *AIIN* suppl. 20 (Rome) 105–26.
Berve, H. 1967. *Die Tyrannis bei den Griechen* i–ii (Munich).
——and Gruben, G. 1963. *Greek Temples, Theatres and Shrines* (London).
Biucchi, C. Arnold. 1988. "La monetazione d'argento di Himera classica—I tetradrammi", *NumAntCl* 17: 85–100.
Blackman, D. 1997–98. "Naxos 1998: Trireme Shipsheds", *Kokalos* 43–44: 471–74.
Boehringer, C. 1968. "Hierons Aitna und das Hieroneion", *JNG* 18: 67–98.
——1981. "Herbita", *NumAntCl* 10: 95–114.

Boehringer, C. 1982. "Kataneische Probleme: Silberne Kleinstmünzen", in *Actes du 9² Congrès International de Numismatique* (Bern, Louvain and Luxembourg 1982) 71–83.
—— 1984–85: "Der Beitrag der Numismatik zur Kenntnis Siziliens im VI Jahrhundert v. Chr.", *Kokalos* 30–31: 103–31.
—— 1989. "Himera im IV Jahrhundert v. Chr.", in G. Le Rider, K. Jenkins, N. Waggoner and U. Westermark (eds.), *Kraay–Mørkholm Essays. Numismatic Studies in Memory of C. M. Kraay and O. Mørkholm* (Louvain-la-Neuve) 29–40.
—— 1993. "Die Münzprägungen von Syrakus unter Dionysios: Geschichte und Stand der numismatischen Forschungen", in *La monetazione dell'età diongiana*, Atti dell' VIII Convegno del Centro internazionale di studi numismatici, Napoli 29 maggio–1 giugno 1983 (Rome) 65–89.
—— 1998. "Zur Münzgeschichte von Leontinoi in klassischer Zeit", in Ashton and Hurter (1998) 43–53.
Boehringer, E. 1929. *Die Münzen von Syrakus* (Berlin).
Bombaci, A. A. M. and Massa, M. 1990. "Inessa", *BTCGI* 8: 286–303.
Bonacasa, N. 1970. "L'area sacra", in *Himera* ii. 51–235.
—— 1976. "Introduzione", in *Himera* ii. 1–26.
—— 1980. "Dei e culti di Himera", in *Studi Manni* 257–69.
—— 1980–81. "Cantiere di Himera", *Kokalos* 26–27: 854–55.
—— 1991. "Himera: La Saga di Eracle tra mito e storia", in *Studi di filologia classica in onore di Giusto Monaco* (Palermo) 1431–39.
—— 1992. "Da Agrigento a Himera: la proiezione culturale", in Braccesi and De Miro (1992) 133–50.
Bonacasa Carra, R. M. 1974. "Le fortificazioni ad aggere della Sicilia", *Kokalos* 20: 92–118.
Bonanno, C. 1997–98. "Scavi e indagini nel territorio di Caronia e San Marco D'Alunzio", *Kokalos* 43–44: 423–51.
Bondi, S. F. 1979. "Penetrazione fenicio-punica e storia della civiltà punica in Sicilia: la problematica storica", in *Storia della Sicilia* i. 163–225.
Bousquet, J. 1959. "Inscriptions de Delphes", *BCH* 83: 146–92.
Braccesi, L., and De Miro, E. (eds.) 1992. *Agrigento e la Sicilia greca*, Atti della settimana di studio, Agrigento, 2–8 maggio 1988 (Rome).
Broise, H., Gras, M., and Tréziny, H. 1983. "Mégara Hyblaea: Bilan des fouilles récentes sur le plateau sud (1977–1982)", *MEFRA* 95: 647–50.
Brugnone, A. 1978. "Annotazioni sul segno Λ (= *alpha*)", *Kokalos* 24: 69–76.
—— 1980. "Annotazione sull'Apollo Archegete di Nasso", in *Studi Manni* 277–91.
—— 1997. "Legge di Himera sulla ridistribuzione della terra", *PP* 52: 262–305.
Bruno, O. 1963. "Alunzio: la leggenda delle origini", *Archivio Storico Siciliano* 14: 81–157.
Buongiovanni, A. M., and Canzanella, M. G. 1990. "Gela", *BTCGI* 8: 5–65.
—— Cordano, F., and Pelagatti, P. 1985. "Camarina", *BTCGI* 4: 286–314.
Burn, A. R. 1935. "Dates in Early Greek History", *JHS* 55: 130–46.
Buttrey, T. V., Erim, K. T., Groves, T. D., and Holloway, R. R. 1989. *The Coins*, Morgantina Studies 2 (Princeton).
Caccamo Caltabiano, M. 1993. *La monetazione di Messina: con le emissioni di Rhegion dell'età della tirannide*, Antike Münzen und Geschnittene Steine 12 (New York and Berlin).
Cahn, H. A. 1944. *Die Münzen der sizilischen Stadt Naxos* (Basel).
—— 1993. "Arethusa Soteira", in M. Price *et al.* (eds.), *Essays in Honour of Robert Carson and Kenneth Jenkins* (London) 5–6.
Calder, W. M. 1963. *The Inscription from Temple G at Selinus*, *GRBM* 4 (Durham, NC).
—— 1964. "Further Notes on *IG* XIV 268 and Other Tufa Inscriptions from Selinus", *GRBS* 5: 113–21.
Calderone, A. 1980–81. "Monte Saraceno: scavi dell'abitato nel biennio 1978–79", *Kokalos* 26–27: 601–12.
—— 1984–85. "Monte Saraceno di Ravanusa: abitato del terrazzo inferiore", *Kokalos* 30–31: 535–38.
Calderone, S. 1956. "I *neopolitai* di Tauromenion", in *Studi in onore di Aristide Calderini e Roberto Paribeni* (Milan) 69–78.
Camassa, G. 1989*a*. "Eubea di Sicilia", *BTCGI* 7: 391–97.
—— 1989*b*. "Gallipoli di Sicilia", *BTCGI* 7: 544–48.
Cammarata, E. 1987. "La storia di Enna (V–I sec. a.C.) ricostruita attraverso la sua monetazione: la zecca ennese", *Ennarotary* 1: 27–33.
Canzanella, G. 1989. "Feudo Nobile", *BTCGI* 7: 447–49.
Carlier, P. 1984. *La Royauté en Grèce avant Alexandre* (Strasbourg).
Casevitz, M. 1972. *Diodore de Sicile: Bibliothèque historique, livre XII*, Les Belles Lettres (Paris).
—— 1985. *Le Vocabulaire de la colonisation en grec ancien* (Paris).
Castellana, G. 1994. "Palma di Montechiaro", *BTCGI* 13: 300–10.
Cataldi, S. 1982. "La *boetheia* dei Geloi e degli Herbitaioi ai Campani di Entella", *AnnPisa* ser. 3, 12: 887–89.
—— 1990. "Imacara", *BTCGI* 8: 238–47.
Caven, B. 1990. *Dionysius I, Warlord of Sicily* (New Haven).
Ciurcina, C. 1977. "Nuovi rivestimenti fittili da Naxos e da altri centri della Sicilia Orientale", *CronCatania* 16: 66–81.
Colonna, G. 1984. "Apollon, les Etrusques et Lipara", *MEFRA* 96: 557–78.
Consolo Langher, S. 1961. "Gli Ἡρακλεῖ ὧται ἐκ Κεφαλοιδίου", *Kokalos* 7: 166–98.
—— 1965. "Documentazione numismatica e storia di Tyndaris nel sec. IV a.C.", *Helikon* 5: 63–96.
—— 1996*a*. *Siracusa e la Sicilia greca: tra età arcaica ed alto ellenismo* (Messina).
—— 1996*b*. "Tindari nella politica di Dionisio I e nelle operazioni strategiche di Timoleonte", in Consolo Langher (1996*a*) 575–89.
—— 1996*c*. "Andromaco e Tauromenio: dalla indipendenza politica ed economica di età timoleontea alla sottomissione ad Agatocle", in Consolo Langher (1996*a*) 537–74.

——1997. *Un imperialismo tra democrazia e tirannide: Siracusa nei secoli V e IV a.C.* (Rome).
Cook, R. M. 1946. "Ionia and Greece in the Eighth and Seventh Centuries B.C.", *JHS* 66: 67–98.
Cordano, F. 1978. "Leggi e legislatori calcidesi", *Miscellanea greca e romana* 6: 89–98.
——1980. "I 'Messeni dello Stretto' e Pausania", *PP* 35: 436–40.
——1984–85. "Le fonti letterarie per la storia di Naxos", *NSc* 305–16.
——1986*a*. *Antiche fondazioni greche: Sicilia e Italia meridionale* (Palermo).
——1986*b*. "Le leggi calcidesi di Monte San Mauro di Caltagirone", *Miscellanea greca e romana* 10: 33–60.
——1987. "Contributo onomastico alla storia di Camarina arcaica", *Kokalos* 33: 121–27.
——1988. "Gruppi gentilizi presso i nassii di Sicilia", *BdA* 73 fasc. 48: 18–22.
——1992. *Le tessere pubbliche dal tempio di Atena a Camarina* (Rome).
——1997. "Un documento arcaico da Contrada Maestro (Camarina)", *PP* 52: 349–54.
——and Di Stefano, G. 1997. "Il fiume e la città nella Sicilia meridionale: il caso di Camarina", in *Uomo, acqua e paesaggio*; Atti dell'Incontro di studio sul tema Irreggimentazione delle acque e trasformazione del paesaggio antico, S. Maria Capua Vetere, 22–23 novembre 1996 (Rome) 289–300.
Cordiano, G. 1995. "Contributo allo studio della fondazione e della storia della *polis* di Pissunte nel V sec. a. C. (Per una rilettura di *SEG* XXIV 303)", *Quaderni Urbinati di Cultura Classica* 49: 111–23.
Corretti, A. 1992. "Monte Iudica", *BTCGI* 10: 377–80.
——Marotta D'Agata, A. R., Milanezi, S., and Rizza, G. 1990. "Lentini," *BTCGI* 8: 524–55.
Costabile, F. 1978. "Strateghi ed assemblea nelle πολιτεῖαι di Reggio e Messina", *Klearchos* 20: 19–57.
Cultera, G. 1951. "L'Apollonion—Artemision di Ortigia di Siracusa", *MonAnt* 41: 701–860.
Curcio, A. 1979. "Resti di fattorie antiche nella Vallata del Tellaro", *SicArch* 12.41: 79–90.
Cutroni Tusa, A. 1970. "I *Καμπανοί* ed i *Τυρρηνοί* in Sicilia attraverso la documetazione numismatica", *Kokalos* 16: 250–67.
——1975. "Aspetti e problemi della monetazione arcaica di Selinunte (inizi-480 B.C.)", *Kokalos* 21: 154–72.
——1980–81. "Recenti studi e ricerche sulla monetazione della Sicilia antica", *Kokalos* 26–27: 480–502.
——1982*a*. "Una officina monetale a Himera? Il problema cronologico", *II Quaderno Imerese* (Rome) 167–74.
——1982*b*. "Contributi della monetazione alla identificazione di siti menzionati nelle iscrizioni da Entella", *AnnPisa* 12: 841–48.
——1984–85. "Recenti studi e ricerche sulla monetazione della Sicilia antica", *Kokalos* 30–31: 277–97.
——1987. "Intervento su Camarina arcaica", *Kokalos* 33: 202–4.
——1988–89. "Recenti studi e ricerche sulla monetazione della Sicilia antica", *Kokalos* 34–35: 367–403.
——1997–98. "Numismatica", *Kokalos* 43–44: 625–700.
——and Moreschini, D. 1992. "Montagna di Marzo", *BTCGI* 10: 229–35.
——and Tullio, A. 1987. "Cefalù", *BTCGI* 5: 209–21.
De Angelis, F. 1994. "The Foundation of Selinous: Overpopulation or Opportunities?", in G. R. Tsetskhladze and F. De Angelis (eds.), *The Archaeology of Greek Colonisation: Essays Dedicated to Sir John Boardman* (Oxford) 87–110.
Demand, N. H. 1990. *Urban Relocation in Archaic and Classical Greece: Flight and Consolidation* (Bristol).
De Miro, E. 1955. "Heraclea Minoa: il teatro", *NSc* 266–80.
——1958*a*. "Heraclea Minoa: scavi eseguiti negli anni 1955–56–57", *NSc* 232–87.
——1958*b*. "Eraclea Minoa e l'epoca di Timoleonte", *Kokalos* 4: 69–82.
——1962. "La fondazione di Agrigento e l'ellenizzazione del territorio fra il Salso e il Platani", *Kokalos* 8: 122–52.
——1965. *L'Antiquarium e la zona archeologica di Eraclea Minoa* (Rome).
——1977. "Nuovi santuari ad Agrigento e a Sabucina", *CronCatania* 16: 94–104.
——1980. "La casa greca in Sicilia: testimonianze nella Sicilia centrale dal VI al III sec. a.C.", in *Studi Manni* 707–37.
——1985–86. "Il bouleuterion di Agrigento", *Quaderni dell'istituto di archeologia della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia della Università di Messina* 1: 7–12.
——1988*a*. "Architettura civile in Agrigento ellenistico-romana e rapporti con l'Anatolia", *Quaderni dell'istituto di archeologia della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia della Università di Messina* 3: 63–72.
——1988*b*. "Akragas, città e necropoli nei recenti scavi", in *Veder greco: le necropoli di Agrigento*, Mostra internazionale Agrigento, 2 maggio-31 luglio 1988 (Rome) 235–52.
——1989. *Agrigento: la necropoli greca di Pezzino* (Messina).
——1992. "L'urbanistica e i monumenti pubblici", in Braccesi and De Miro (1992) 151–56.
——1994. "Eraclea Minoa", *EAA sec. suppl. 1971–1994* 2: 480–81.
——and Fiorentini, G. 1976–77. "Gela—Scavi dell'acropoli 1973–1975", *Kokalos* 22–23: 430–48.
De Vido, S. 1989. "Eraclea di Dorieo", *BTCGI* 7: 229–33.
Dewailly, M. 1992. *Les statuettes aux parures du sanctuaire de la Malophoros à Sélinonte*, Cahiers Centre Jean Bérard 17 (Naples).
Di Noto, C. A. 1992. "Monte Gibil Gabel", *BTCGI* 10: 352–59.
Di Stefano, C. A. 1970. "La necropoli", in *Himera* i. 317–31.
——1976. "I vecchi scavi nelle necropoli di Himera", in *Himera* ii. 781–830.
Di Stefano, G. 1984. "Camarina VII: scavi nella necropoli orientale di Passo Marinaro e il contesto di rinvenimento della nuova defissione", *BdA* 69, fasc. 26: 55–56.

Di Stefano, G. 1984–85. "Ricerche a Camarina e nel territorio della provincia di Ragusa (1980–1984)", *Kokalos* 30–31: 727–99.
—— 1987*a*. "Il territorio di Camarina in età arcaica", *Kokalos* 33: 129–207.
—— 1987*b*. "Camarina VIII: l'emporio greco arcaico di Contrada Maestro sull'Irminio", *BdA* 72, fasc. 44–45: 129–40.
—— 1988–89. "Indigeni e greci nell'entroterra di Camarina", *Kokalos* 34–35: 89–105.
—— 1990. "Camarina 1990: nuove ricerche e recenti scoperte nella baia e nell'avamporto", *Rassegna di archeologia subacquea, Atti* 5: 175–206.
—— 1992. "Notizie preliminare sul rinvenimento delle tessere", in Cordano (1992) 113–20.
—— 1993–94. "Camarina", *Kokalos* 39–40: 1367–81.
—— 2000. "La *chora* di Camarina", *AttiTaranto* 40: 689–705.
—— and Gulletta, M. I. 1994. "Palice", *BTCGI* 13: 280–82.
—— and Marotta D'Agata, A. R. 1987. "Chiaramonti Gulfi", *BTCGI* 5: 276–80.
—— —— 1996. "Ragusa", *BTCGI* 14: 538–47.
Di terra in terra: nuove scoperte archeologiche nella provincia di Palermo, Catalogo della Mostra, Museo archeologico di Palermo (Palermo, 1991).
Di Vita, A. 1956. "La penetrazione siracusana nella Sicilia sud-orientale alla luce delle più recenti scoperte archeologiche", *Kokalos* 2: 177–205.
—— 1961. "Un contributo all'urbanistica greca di Sicilia: Casmene", in *Atti 7º Congresso Internazionale di Archeologia Classica* 1958 ii (Rome) 69–77.
—— 1967. "Per l'architettura e l'urbanistica greca d'età arcaica: la stoa nel temenos del tempio C e lo sviluppo programmato di Selinunte", *Palladio* 17: 3–60.
—— 1980. "Contributo per una storia urbanistica di Selinunte", in *Studi Manni* 803–29.
—— 1984. "Selinunte fra il 650 ed il 409: un modello urbanistico coloniale (con appendice di A. Di Vita and M.A. Rizzo)", *ASAtene* 62: 7–68.
—— 1987. "Tucidide VI 5 e l'epicrazia siracusana: Acre, Casmene e Camarina", *Kokalos* 33: 77–87.
—— 1990. "Town Planning in the Greek Colonies of Sicily from the Time of their Foundations to the Punic Wars", in J.-P. Descœudres (ed.), *Greek Colonies and Native Populations*, Proceedings of the First Australian Congress of Classical Archaeology held in Honour of Emeritus Professor A. D. Trendall (Oxford) 343–63.
Domínguez, A. J. 1989. *La Colonización Griega en Sicilia: Griegos, Indígenas y Púnicos en la Sicilia Arcaica: Interacción y Aculturación* i–ii, *BAR* International Series 549 (Oxford).
Dreher, M. 1986. "La dissoluzione della polis di Leontini dopo la pace di Gela (424 a.C.)", *AnnPisa* 16: 639–60.
Drögemüller, H.-P. 1969. *Syrakus: Zur Topographie und Geschichte einer griechischen Stadt* (Heidelberg).
Dunbabin, T. J. 1948. *The Western Greeks: The History of Sicily and South Italy from the Foundation of the Greek Colonies to 480 B.C.* (Oxford).
Ehlers, W. 1933. *Die Gründung von Zankle in den Aitia des Kallimachos* (Ohlau).
Falsone, G. 1992. "Monte Castellazzo di Poggioreale", *BTCGI* 10: 307–12.
Fiorentini, G. 1980–81. "Enna e territorio", *Kokalos* 26–27: 598–600.
—— 1985. *Gela: la città antica e il suo territorio: Il museo* (Palermo).
—— (ed.). 1990. *Gli edifici pubblici civili di Agrigento antica* (Agrigento).
—— 1992. "Monte Castellazzo di Marianopoli", *BTCGI* 10: 300–7.
—— 1995. *Monte Adranone* (Rome).
—— 2002. "L'età dionigiana a Gela e Agrigento", in Bonacasa *et al.* (2002) 147–67.
—— and De Miro, E. 1983. "Gela proto-arcaica: dati topografici, archeologici e cronologici", *ASAtene* 61: 53–106.
Fischer-Hansen, T. 1992. *Campania, South Italy and Sicily: Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek* (Copenhagen).
—— 1996. "The Earliest Town-Planning of the Western Greek Colonies: With Special Regard to Sicily", *CPCActs* 3: 317–73.
—— 2002. "Reflections on Native Settlements in the Dominions of Gela and Akragas—as Seen from the Perspective of the Copenhagen Polis Centre", *CPCPapers* 6: 125–86.
Flensted-Jensen, P. 1995. "The Bottiaians and their *Poleis*", *CPCPapers* 2: 103–32.
—— and Hansen, M. H. 1996. "Pseudo-Skylax' Use of the Term *Polis*", *CPCPapers* 3: 137–67.
Fontana, M. J. 1978. "Terone e il *τάφος* di Minosse", *Kokalos* 24: 201–19.
Fourmont, M. H. 1984–85. "Sélinonte: 1980–1984", *Kokalos* 30–31: 558–64.
Frasca, M. 1983. "Una nuova capanna 'sicula' a Siracusa, in Ortigia: tipologia dei materiali", *MEFRA* 95: 565–98.
—— 1997. "È anonima la città siculo-greca di Monte San Mauro di Caltagirone?", *PP* 52: 407–17.
Frederiksen, R. 1999. "From Death to Life: The Cemetery of Fusco and the Reconstruction of Early Colonial Society", in Tsetskhladze (1999) 229–65.
Freeman, E. A. 1891–94. *The History of Sicily from the Earliest Times* i–iv (Oxford).
Fromentin, V. (ed.) 1998. *Denys d'Halicarnasse: Antiquités Romaines: Introduction Générale, livre I* (Paris).
Gabrici, E. 1927. *Il santuario della Malophoros a Selinunte*, *MonAnt* 32.
—— 1929. "Acropoli di Selinunte", *MonAnt* 33: 61–112.
—— 1959. *Problemi di numismatica greca della Sicilia e Magna Grecia* (Naples).

Gargini, M. 1993*a*. "Monte Saraceno", *BTCGI* 12: 13–19.
——1993*b*. "Nome", *BTCGI* 12: 384–86.
——1993*c*. "Omface", *BTCGI* 12: 462–64.
——1997. "Petra: riesame della documetazione storica e archeologica", in G. Nenci (ed.), *Seconde giornate internazionale di studi sull'area Elima*, Gibellina 22–26 October 1994, Atti I (Pisa and Gibellina) 799–805.
Gentile, B. (ed.) 1996. *Catania Antica*, Atti del Convegno della S.I.S.A.C., Catania 23–24 maggio 1992 (Pisa and Rome).
Gentili, G. V. 1952. "Nuovo esempio di 'theatron' con gradinata rettilenea a Siracusa", *Dioniso* 15: 122–30.
——1962–63. "Cinturone eneo con dedica da Paliké", *RM* 69–70: 14–20.
——1967. "Il grande tempio ionico di Siracusa: i dati topografici e gli elementi architettonici raccolti fino al 1960", *Palladio* 17: 61–84.
Ghizolfi, P. 1992. "Monte Desusino", *BTCGI* 10: 331–34.
Giangiulio, M. 1983. "Greci e non-greci in Sicilia alla luce dei culti e delle legende di Eracle", in various authors, *Modes de contacts et processus de transformation dans les sociétés anciennes*, CEFR 67 (Pisa and Rome) 785–845.
——1989. "Ergezio", *BTCGI* 7: 344–49.
——1990*a*. "Ibla Geleatide (Gereatide)", *BTCGI* 8: 226–29.
——1990*b*. "Iperisia", *BTCGI* 8: 310–11.
Ginouvès, R. 1972. *Le Théâtron à gradins droits et l'odéon d'Argos* (Paris).
Giudice, F. 1988. "La seconda e terza fondazione di Camarina alla luce dei prodotti del commercio coloniale", *Quaderni dell'istituto di archeologia della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia della Università di Messina* 3: 49–57.
—— *et al.* 1979. "Catania: scavo all'interno del muro di cinta del Monastero dei Benedettini", *CronCatania* 18: 129–41.
Gneisz, D. 1990. *Das antike Rathaus: Das griechischen* Bouleuterion *und die frührömische* Curia (Vienna).
Graham, A. J. 1988. "Megara Hyblaea and the Sicels", in O. Lordkipanidze (ed.), *Local Ethno-Political Entities of the Black Sea Area in the 7th–4th Centuries B.C.: Materials of the 4th All-Union Symposium Dedicated to the Problems of the Ancient History of the Black Sea Littoral* (Tbilisi) 304–21.
——1990. "Pre-colonial Contacts: Questions and Problems", in J.-P. Descœudres (ed.), *Greek Colonies and Native Populations*, Proceedings of the First Australian Congress of Classical Archaeology held in Honour of Emeritus Professor A. D. Trendall (Oxford) 45–60.
Gras, M. 1984–85. "Ricerche sul Pianoro Meridionale dell'abitato de Megara Hyblaia", *Kokalos* 30–31: 801–4.
——1986. "Aspects de la recherche sur la colonisation grecque: à propos du Congrès d'Athènes: notes de lecture", *RBPhil* 64: 5–21.
——1990. "Gélon et les temples de Sicile après la bataille d'Himère", *AnnArchStorAnt* (Archeol) 12: 59–69.
——1998. "De l'appareil polygonal: commentaire depuis Naxos de Sicile", in M. C. Lentini (ed.), *Naxos a quarant'anni dall'inizio degli scavi*, Atti della tavola rotonda, Giardini Naxos 26–27 October 1995 (Messina) 101–8.
Greco, E., and Theodorescu, D. 1983. *Poseidonia—Paestum II: L'Agora* (Rome).
Guarducci, M. 1985. "Una nuova dea a Naxos in Sicilia e gli antichi legami fra la Naxos siceliota e l'omonima isola delle Cicladi", *MEFRA* 97: 7–34.
Guletta, M. I. 1994. "Petra", *BTCGI* 13: 494–98.
Gullini, G. 1993. "Vent'anni di ricerche sulla collina orientale di Selinunte", in *Studi sulla Sicilia occidentale in onore di V. Tusa* (Padua) 73–84.
Hackens, T. (ed.) 1988. *Navies and Commerce of the Greeks, the Carthaginians and the Etruscans in the Tyrrhenian Sea*, Revue du Groupe européen d'études pour les techniques physiques, chimiques et mathématiques appliquées à l'archéologie 20 (Strasbourg).
Hannestad, L. 1996. "Absolute Chronology: Greece and the Near East *c.*1000–500 BC", *ActaArch* 67: 39–49.
Hansen, M. H. 1995. "Kome: A Study in How the Greeks Designated and Classified Settlements which were not *Poleis*", *CPCPapers* 2: 45–81.
——1996. "City-Ethnics as Evidence for *Polis* Identity", *CPCPapers* 3: 169–96.
——1997*a*. "A Typology of Dependent *Poleis*", *CPCPapers* 4: 29–37.
——1997*b*. "The Polis as an Urban Centre: The Literary and Epigraphical Evidence", *CPCActs* 4: 9–86.
——2000. "A Survey of the Use of the Word *Polis* in Archaic and Classical Sources", *CPCPapers* 5: 173–215.
——2002. "Was the *Polis* a State or a Stateless Society", *CPCPapers* 6: 17–47.
——and Fischer-Hansen, T. 1994. "Monumental Political Architecture in Archaic and Classical Greek *Poleis*: Evidence and Significance", *CPCPapers* 1: 23–91.
Hansen, O. 1990. "On the Helmet Dedicated by Hieron to Zeus at Olympia", *Hermes* 118: 498.
Harrell, S. H. 2002. "King or Private Citizen: Fifth-Century Sicilian Tyrants at Olympia and Delphi", *Mnemosyne* 55: 439–64.
Himera i = A. Adriani *et al.*, *Himera*, i: *Campagne di scavo 1963–1965* (Rome, 1970).
Himera ii = N. Allegro *et al.*, *Himera* ii: *Campagne di scavo 1966–1973* (Rome, 1976).
Himera iii = O. Belvedere *et al.*, *Himera* iii: Prospezione archeologica nel territorio (Rome, 1988).
Hinz, V. 1998. *Der Kult von Demeter und Kore auf Sizilien und der Magna Graecia*, Palilia 4 (Wiesbaden).
Hodos, T. 1997. "Intermarriage in the Western Greek Colonies", *OJA* 18: 61–78.
Hoepfner, W., and Schwandner, E.-L. 1994. *Haus und Stadt im klassischen Griechenland*² (Munich).

Holloway, R. R. 1975. "Le emissioni di Agyrion, Aluntion, Entella, Hipana, Nakone, Stiella", in *Le emissioni dei centri siculi fino all'epoca di Timoleonte e i loro rapporti con la monetazione delle colonie Greche di Sicilia*, Atti IV Convegno del Centro internazionale di studi numismatici, Napoli 1973, *AIIN* suppl. 20 (Rome) 133–56.

——1990. "The Geography of the Southern Sicels", in J. P. Descœudres (ed.), *Eumousia. Ceramic and Iconographic Studies in Honour of Alexander Cambitoglou* (Sydney) 147–53.

Hommages Vallet (1999) = *La Colonisation grecque en Méditerranée occidentale*, Actes de la rencontre scientifique en hommage à Georges Vallet, Rome-Naples, 15–18 novembre 1995 (Rome).

Hornblower, S. 1991. *Commentary on Thucydides*, i: *Books 1–3* (Oxford).

Hornbostel, G., and Hornbostel, W. 1988. "Syrakusanische Herolde", in H. Büsing and F. Hiller (eds.), *Bathron: Beiträge zur Architektur und verwandten Künsten für Heinrich Drerup zu seinem 80. Geburtstag von seinen Schülern und Freunden* (Saarbrücken) 233–45.

Huss, W. 1985. *Geschichte der Karthager*, HdA 8.3 (Munich).

Isler, H. P., and Käch, D. (eds.) 1997. *Wohnbauforschung in Zentral- und Westsizilien*, Fünfundzwanzig Jahre Zürcher Ausgrabungen auf dem Monte Iato, Zürich, 28 February–3 March 1996. Akten (Zürich).

Jameson, M. H., Jordan, D. R., and Kotansky, R. D. 1993. *A* Lex Sacra *from Selinus*, *GRBM* 11 (Durham, NC).

Jenkins, G. K. 1962. "Piakos", *SchwMbll* 12.46: 17–20.

——1970. *The Coinage of Gela*, AMUGS ii (Berlin).

——1971. "Himera: The Coins of Akragantine Type", in *La monetazione arcaica di Himera fino al 472 a.C*, Atti II Convegno del Centro internationale di studi numismatici, Napoli 1969, *AIIN* suppl. 16–17 (Rome) 21–33.

——1975. "The Coinage of Enna, Galaria, Piakos, Imachara, Kephaloidion and Longane", in *Le emissioni dei centri siculi fino all'epoca di Timoleonte e i loro rapporti con la monetazione delle colonie Greche di Sicilia*, Atti IV Convegno del Centro internazionale di studi numismatici, Napoli 1973, *AIIN* suppl. 20 (Rome) 77–103.

——1979. "The Fifth-Century Bronze Coins of Gela and Kamarina", in *Le origini della monetazione di bronzo in Sicilia e in Magna Grecia*, Atti VI Convegno del Centro internazionale di studi numismatici, Napoli, 1977 *AIIN* 25 suppl. (Naples) 181–89.

Johnston, A. W. 1973. "A Graffito from Vassallagi", *ZPE* 12: 265–69.

—— 1975. "Sicilian notes, 𐅁, 𐅂, 𐅃, 𐅄 and the Date of the Demareteion", *ZPE* 17: 153–56.

Kapitän, G. 1967–68. "Sul Lakkios, porto piccolo di Siracusa del periodo greco: ricerche di topografia sottomarina", *Archivo storico Siracusano* 13–14: 167–80.

Karlsson, L. 1992. *Fortification Towers and Masonry Techniques in the Hegemony of Syracuse, 405–211 B.C.* (Stockholm).

——1995. "The Symbols of Freedom and Democracy on the Bronze Coinage of Timoleon", *Acta Hyperborea* 6: 149–69.

Kebric, R. B. 1975. "Duris of Samos: Early Ties with Sicily", *AJA* 79: 89.

——1977. *In the Shadow of Macedon: Duris of Samos*, *Historia* Einzelschriften 29 (Wiesbaden).

Kiderlen, M. 1995. *Megale Oikia* (Hürth).

Kolb, F. 1981. *Agora und Theater, Volks- und Festversammlung* (Berlin).

Kraay, C. M. 1976. *Archaic and Classical Greek Coins* (London).

——1979. "The Bronze Coinage of Himera and 'Himera' ", in *Le origini della monetazione di bronzo in Sicilia e in Magna Grecia*, Atti VI Convegno del Centro internazionale di studi numismatici, Napoli, 1977, *AIIN* suppl. 25 (Rome) 26–52.

——1984. *The Archaic Coinage of Himera*, Centro internazionale di studi numismatici, Bibliotheca 1 (Naples).

Kron, U. 1992. "Frauenfeste in Demeterheiligtümern: Das Thesmophorion von Bitalemi. Eine archäologische Fallstudie", *AA* 611–50.

Krumeich, R. 1991. "Zu den goldenen Dreifüssen der Deinomiden in Delphi", *JdI* 106: 37–62.

Lacroix, L. 1965. *Monnaies et colonisation dans l'occident grec* (Brussels).

La Genière, J. de 1977. "Réflexions sur Sélinonte et l'ouest Sicilien", *CRAI* 251–64.

——1978. "Ségeste et l'hellénisme", *MEFRA* 90: 33–48.

—— and Rougetet, J. 1985. "Recherches sur la topographie de Sélinonte: Campagne 1985", *RendLinc* 40: 289–97.

Lagona, S. 1973. "La ricerca archeologica nel territorio di Caltagirone", *Archivio Storico per la Sicilia Orientale* 69: 289–305.

——1996. "Catania: il problema del porto antico", in Gentile (1996) 223–30.

Lanza, M.-T. 1989. "Honoring the Dead", in B. D. Westcoat (ed.), *Syracuse, the Fairest Greek City: Ancient Art from the Museo Archeologico Regionale 'Paolo Orsi'* (Rome and Atlanta) 111–12.

Lawrence, A. W. 1979. *Greek Aims in Fortification* (Oxford).

Leighton, R. 1999. *Sicily before History: An Archaeological Survey from the Palaeolithic to the Iron Age* (London).

Lentini, M. C. 1983. "Camarina VI: un pozzo tardo-arcaico nel quartiere sud-orientale", *BdA* 68 fasc. 20: 5–30.

——1984–85. "Naxos: esplorazione nell'abitato proto-arcaico orientale—casa a pastàs n. 1", *Kokalos* 30–31: 809–38.

——1986. "Naxos nel quadro dei rapporti tra Egeo e Tirreno: gli apporti delle esplorazioni più recenti", *AttiTaranto* 26: 415–32.

——1990. "Le oinochoai 'a collo tagliato': un contributo alla conoscenza della ceramica di Naxos di VIII–VII secolo a.C.", *BdA* 76: 67–82.

——1992. "Un secondo contributo sulla ceramica di Naxos: idrie e anfore", *BdA* 77: 11–34.

——1993–94. "Nuove esplorazioni a Naxos (scavi 1989–1994)", *Kokalos* 39–40: 1001–25.

——1998. "Le ultime esplorazioni a Naxos (1983–1995)", in M. C. Lentini (ed.), *Naxos a quarant'anni dall'inizio degli scavi*, Atti della tavola rotonda, Giardini Naxos, 26–27 October 1995 (Messina) 71–100.

——2001. "The Two Naxos Cities: A Fine Link between the Aegean Sea and Sicily", in M. C. Lentini (ed.), *The Two Naxos Cities: A Fine Link between the Aegean Sea and Sicily*, Exhibition Catalogue, Athens and Island of Naxos 14 June–31 July 2001 (Palermo) 3–8.

——2002. "Testimonianze della prima metà del IV secolo a.C. a Naxos", in Bonacase *et al.* (2002) 223–41.

Leriche, P., and Tréziny, H. (eds.) 1986. *La Fortification dans l'histoire du monde grec*, Actes du colloque internationale, Valbonne, décembre 1982 (Paris).

Leschhorn, W. 1984. *'Gründer der Stadt': Studien zu einem politisch-religiösen Phänomenen der griechischen Geschichte* (Stuttgart).

Lewis, D. M. 1994: "Sicily, 413–368 B.C.", *CAH* VI². 120–55.

Link, S. 1992. "Die Gesetzgebung des Zaleukos", *Klio* 74: 11–24.

Lissi, E. 1958. "Scavo presso l'Olympieion", *NSc* 197–223.

Loicq-Berger, M. P. 1967. *Syracuse: Histoire culturelle d'une cité grecque*, Coll. Latomus 87 (Brussels).

Luraghi, N. 1994. *Tirannidi arcaiche in Sicilia e Magna Grecia da Panezio di Leontini alla caduta dei Dinomenidi* (Florence).

Lyons, C. L. 1996. *The Archaic Cemeteries*, Morgantina Studies 5 (Princeton).

Maddoli, G. F. 1977–78. "Ducezio e la fondazione di Calatte", *AnnPerugia* 15: 149–56.

Mafoda, G. 1995. "La tirannide a Selinunte nella dinamica storica del VI sec. a.C.", *AnnPisa* ser. 3.24: 1333–43.

Malkin, I. 1998. *The Returns of Odysseus: Colonisation and Ethnicity* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London).

Mallwitz, A. 1956–58. "Architektur eines Schatzhauses", *OlBer* 7: 29–55.

Manganaro, G. 1964*a*. "Città di Sicilia e santuari panellenici nel III e II sec. a.C.", *Historia* 13: 414–39.

——1964*b*. "Per l'identificazione di Troina con Engyon", *Siculorum Gymnasium* 17: 251–52.

——1965. "Ricerche di antichità e di epigrafia siceliote", *ArchCl* 17: 183–210.

——1979. "Una vittoria navale dei Liparaioi sui Tyrrhenoi e l'inizio della monetazione bronzea a Lipara", in *Le emissioni dei centri siculi fino all'epoca di Timoleonte e i loro rapporti con la monetazione delle colonie Greche di Sicilia*, Atti IV Convegno del Centro internazionale di studi numismatici, Naples, 1973, *AIIN* suppl. 20 (Rome) 91–122.

——1984. "Dai *mikrà kermata* di argento al *chalkokratos kassiteros* in Sicilia nel V. sec. a.C.", *JNG* 34: 11–39.

——1995. "Sikelika", *Quaderni Urbinati di Cultura Classica* 49: 93–109.

——1996*a*. "Per una storia della *Chora Katanaia*", in Gentile (1996) 19–59.

——1996*b*. "La monetazione di Katane dal V al I sec. a.C.", in Gentile (1996) 303–21.

——1996*c*. "Alla ricerca di poleis mikrai della Sicilia centro-orientale", *Orbis Terrarum* 2: 129–44.

——1997. "Un kerykeion perduto degli Hipanatai e la ubicazione di Hipana", *Orbis Terrarum* 3: 127–30.

Maniscalo, L., and McConnell, B. E. 1997–98. "Ricerche e scavi attorno *Palike*", *Kokalos* 43–44: 173–88.

Manni, E. 1974. "Noterelle iblensi", *Kokalos* 20: 61–76 (= *Scritti minori* 325–39).

—— "Da Megara Iblea a Selinunte: le divinità", *Kokalos* 21: 174–95.

——1976*a*. " 'Indigeni' e colonizzatori nella Sicilia preromana", in D. M. Pippidi (ed.), *Assimilation et résistance à la culture gréco-romaine dans le monde ancien*, Travaux du VIe Congrès International d'Études Classiques, Madrid 1974 (Paris) 181–211 (= *Scritti minori* 97–137).

——1976*b*. "Su alcuni recenti proposte di identificazione di centri antichi della Sicilia", in *L'Italia préromaine et la Rome républicaine: mélanges offerts à Jacques Heurgon*, CEFR 27 (Rome) 605–17 (= *Scritti minori* 355–67).

——1981. *Geografia fisica e politica della Sicilia antica*: *Testimonia Sicilia Antiqua* I,1 (Rome).

——1990. *Scritti minori* = E. Manni, *Σικελικὰ καὶ Ἰταλικά: Scritti minori di storia antica della Sicilia de dell'Italia Meridionale* i–ii, *Kokalos* suppl. 8 (Rome).

Mannino, K. 1986–87. "La monetazione di Kalacte", *Quaderni dell'istituto di archeologia della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia della Università di Messina* 2: 125–34.

Manni Piraino, M. T. 1974. "Alcune iscrizioni inedite dall'area sacra e dall'abitato di Himera", *Kokalos* 20: 265–71.

——1975. "Koiné alfabetica fra Siracusa, Megara Iblea e Selinunte", *Kokalos* 21: 121–53.

Marconi, C. 1994. "*ΚΑΛΗ ΑΚΤΗ—ΚΑΛΛΙΣΤΗ ΖΑΝΚΛΗ* (Hdt. 6, 22–24)", *AnnPisa* 24: 873–77.

Marconi, P. 1929. *Agrigento: Topografia ed arte* (Florence).

——1931. *Himera: lo scavo del Tempio della Vittoria e del temenos* (Rome).

Marotta D'Agata, A. R. and Moreschini, D. 1992. "Monte Casale", *BYCGI* 10: 289–96.

—— and Rizza, G. 1987. "Centuripe", *BTCGI* 5: 234–43.

—— —— and Savalli, I. 1987. "Catania", *BTCGI* 5: 153–77.

—— and Spigo, U. 1984. "Adrano", *BTCGI* 3: 27–38.

—— A. R., Garozzo, B., and Moreschini, D. 1994. "Palazzolo Acreide", *BTCGI* 13: 189–204.

Martin, R., Pelagatti, P., Vallet, G., and Voza, G. 1979. "Le città greche: le città ellenizzate", in *Storia della Sicilia* i. 483–764.

Martorana, G. 1982–83. "Kore e il prato sempre fiorito di Enna", *Kokalos* 28–29: 113–22.

Marwitz, H. 1982. "Epigraphisch-numismatisches zu einer Strigilinschrift", *SchwMbll* 127: 53–59.

Massa, M. 1990. "Inico", *BTCGI* 8: 303–8.
—— 1991. "Longane", *BTCGI* 9: 250–58.
McKechnie, P. 1989. *Outsiders in the Greek Cities in the Fourth Century BC* (London and New York).
Meister, K. 1975. "Review of Rizzo 1970", *Gnomon* 47: 772–77.
Mele, A. 1979. *Il commercio greco arcaico: prexis ed emporie*, Cahiers du Centre Jean Bérard 4 (Naples).
—— 1988. "Il Tirreno tra commercio eroico ed emporia classica", in Hackens (1988) 56–68.
Merante, V. 1970*a*. "Sulla cronologia di Dorieo e su alcuni problemi connessi", *Historia* 19: 272–94.
—— 1970*b*. "Sui rapporti greco-punici nel Mediterraneo occidentale nel VI secolo a.C.", *Kokalos* 16: 98–138.
Merighi, C. 1963. "Note sulla monetazione di alcuni centri greci o ellenizzati in provincia di Caltanisetta", *ArchCl* 15: 97–101.
Mertens, D. 1989. "Die Mauern von Selinunt", *RM* 96: 87–154.
—— 1999. "Verso l'agora di Selinunte", in *Hommages Vallet* (1999) 185–93.
Mertens-Horn, M., and Viola, L. 1990. "Archaische Tondächer westgriechischer Typologie in Delphi und Olympia", *Hesperia* 59: 235–48.
Messina, A. 1991. "*Tyrakinai*, 'città de Sicilia, piccola ma florida' ", *Journal of Ancient Topography* 1: 166–68.
—— 1992. "Mineo", *BTCGI* 10: 145–51.
Miccichè, C. 1989. *Mesogheia: archeologia e storia della Sicilia centro-meridionale dal VII al IV secolo a.C.* (Caltanisetta and Rome).
Michelini, C. 1992. "Monte dei Cavalli", *BTCGI* 10: 324–28.
Militello, E. 1961. "Troina: scavi effettuati dall'Istituto di Archeologia dell'Università di Catania 1968–1960", *NSc* 322–404.
Miller, M. 1970. *The Sicilian Colony Dates: Studies in Chronography* i (Albany, NY).
Miller, S. G. 1978. *The Prytaneion: Its Function and Architectural Form* (Berkeley and Los Angeles).
Mirisola, R., and Polacco, L. 1996. *Contributi alla paleografia di Siracusa e del territorio siracusano (VIII–V sec. a.C.)*, Memorie (Istituto Veneto): Classe di scienze morali, lettere ed arti 66 (Venice).
Mirone, S. 1928. "Stiela, topografia e numismatica", *ZfN* 37: 29–55.
Mitens, K. 1988. *Teatri greci e teatri ispirati all'architettura greca in Sicilia e nell'Italia meridionale c. 350–50 a.C.*, *AnalRom* suppl. 13 (Rome).
Molinari, M. C. 1986. "Considerazioni sulle emissioni frazionarie di Imera in età arcaica", *RIN* 88: 21–35.
Morcom, J. 1998. "Syracusan Bronze Coinage in the Fifth and Early Fourth Centuries BC", in Ashton and Hurter (1998) 287–91.
Morel, J.-P. 1963. "Recherches archéologiques et topographiques dans la région d'Assoro (province d'Enna, Sicile)", *MEFRA* 75: 263–301.
—— 1984. "Greek Colonization in Italy and in the West: Problems of Evidence and Interpretation", in T. Hackens *et al.* (eds.), *Crossroads of the Mediterranean*, Archaeologia Transatlantica II (Providence, RI, and Louvain-la-Neuve) 123–61.
Morris, I. 1996. "The Absolute Chronology of the Greek Colonies in Sicily", *ActaArch* 67: 51–59.
Mossé, C. 1999. "Timoléon et la recolonisation de la Sicile grecque", in *La Colonisation grecque en Méditerranée occidentale*, Actes de la rencontre scientifique en hommage à Georges Vallet, Rome and Naples, 15–18 novembre 1995, *CEFR* 251 (Rome) 249–56.
Murray, O. 1997. "Rationality and the Greek City: The Evidence from Camarina", *CPCActs* 4: 493–504.
Musti, D. 1976. "Problemi della storia di Locri Epizefirii", *Atti Taranto* 16: 23–146.
—— 1992. "Le tradizioni ecistiche di Agrigento", in Braccesi and De Miro (1992) 27–45.
Nielsen, T. H. 2002. "*Phrourion*: A Note on the Term in Classical Sources and in Diodorus Siculus", *CPCPapers* 6: 49–64.
Orlandini, P. 1961. "La terza campagna di scavo sull'acropoli di Gela", *Kokalos* 7: 137–44.
—— 1962. "L'espansione di Gela nella Sicilia centro-meridionale", *Kokalos* 8: 69–120.
—— 1968. "Gela—Topografia dei santuari e documentazione archeologica dei culti", *RivIstArch* NS 15: 20–66.
—— 1971. "Vassallaggi (San Cataldo): Scavi 1961, i: La necropolis meridionale", *NSc* suppl.
Orsi, P. 1900. "Siracusa: Nuovo Artemision a Scala Greca", *NSc* 353–87.
—— 1903. "L'Olympieion di Siracusa", *MonAnt* 13: 369–92.
—— 1912. "Rilievo ieratico", *NSc* 456.
1918. "Catania: scoperte varie di antichità negli anni 1916–1917", *NSc* 53–71.
—— 1919. "Gli scavi intorno a l'Athenaion di Siracusa negli anni 1912–1917", *MonAnt* 25: 353–762.
—— 1920. "Palazzolo Acreide (Akrae)—Rilievo apollineo", *NSc* 332–33.
—— 1921. "Megara Hyblaia 1917–1921", *MonAnt* 27: 109–80.
—— 1929. "Messina: 'Tracce di un santuarietto arcaico verso la punta della Zancle. B) Indizi di una grande necropoli di Messana' ", *NSc* 38–58.
—— 1931. "Enna: studi preliminari sulla topografia dell'antica Enna", *NSc* 373–94.
—— 1990. *La necropoli di Passo Marinaro a Camarina: campagne di scavo 1904–09*, ed. M. Teresa Lanza, *MonAnt* ser. misc. 4.
—— Currò Pisanì, M.T., Militello, E., and Piscione, V. 1966. "Eloro", *MonAnt* 47: 203–340.
Osborne, R. 1998. "Early Greek Colonization: The Nature of Greek Settlement in the West", in N. Fischer and H. van Wees (eds.), *Archaic Greece: New Approaches and New Evidence* (London) 251–69.

Østby, E. 1995. "Chronological Problems of Archaic Selinus", *Acta Hyperborea* 6: 83–101.
Pais, E. 1894. *Storia della Sicilia e della Magna Grecia* (Turin).
Pancucci, D. 1980–81. "Recenti scavi sull'acropoli di Monte Bubbonia (1976–79)", *Kokalos* 26–27: 649–55.
—— 1992. "Monte Bubbonia", *BTCGI* 10: 279–83.
Panvini, R. 1996. *ΓΕΛΑΣ: Storia e archeologia dell'antica Gela* (Turin).
Papadopoulos, J. K. 2000. Review of Bats and d'Agostino (2000), *AJA* 104: 134–35.
Parisi Presicce, C. 1984. "La funzione delle aree sacre nell'organizzazione urbanistica primitiva delle colonie greche alla luce della scoperta di un nuovo santuario periferico di Selinunte", *ArchCl* 36: 19–132.
Parke, H. W. 1933. *Greek Mercenary Soldiers from the Earliest Times to the Battle of Ipsus* (Oxford).
Partida, E. C. 2000. *The Treasuries at Delphi: An Architectural Study* (Jonsered).
Patanè, A. 1993–94. "Saggi di scavi all'interno del Castello Ursino di Catania", *Kokalos* 39–40: 901–7.
Patanè, R. P. A. 1988. "Ricerche e problemi di archeologia centuripina", *SicArch* 21: 93–100.
—— 1992. "Timoleonte a Centuripe e ad Agira", *CronCatania* 31: 67–82.
Pelagatti, P. 1964. "Naxos: relazione preliminare delle campagne di scavo 1961–1964", *BdA* 49: 149–65.
—— 1964–65. "Intervento", *Kokalos* 10–11: 245–52.
—— 1969. "Discussione", *DialArch* 3: 141–46.
—— 1970. "Un decennio di ricerche archeologiche in provincia di Ragusa (1960–70)", *SicArch* 3, fasc. 10: 5–16.
—— 1972. "Naxos II: ricerche topografiche e scavi 1965–1970, relazione preliminare", *BdA* 57: 211–20.
—— 1976. "Camarina: le fasi edilizie dell'abitato greco", *BdA* 61: 122–32.
—— 1976–77. "L'attività della Soprintendenza alle Antichità della Sicilia Orientale", *Kokalos* 22–23: 519–50.
—— 1977. "Sacelli e nuovi materiali architettonici a Naxos, Monte San Mauro e Camarina", *CronCatania* 16: 43–65.
—— 1978*a*. "Naxos nell'VIII e nel VII secolo a.C.", *CronCatania* 17: 136–41.
—— 1978*b*. "Camarina", *StEtr* 46: 571–74.
—— 1978*c*. "Siracusa: elementi dell'abitato di Ortigia nell'VIII e nel VII secolo a.C.", *CronCatania* 17: 119–33.
—— 1980–81. "L'attività della Soprintendenza alle Antichità della Sicilia Orientale", *Kokalos* 26–27: 694–730.
—— 1981. "Bilancio degli scavi a Naxos per l'VIII e il VII sec. a.C.", *ASAtene* 59: 291–311.
—— 1982. "Siracusa: le ultime ricerche in Ortigia", *ASAtene* 60: 117–63.
—— 1984–85. "Ricerche nel quartiere orientale di Naxos e nell'agora di Camarina", *Kokalos* 30–31: 679–94.
—— 1993. "Nasso", *BTCGI* 12: 265–312.
—— and Voza, G. (eds.) 1973. *Archeologia nella Sicilia sud-orientale* (Naples and Syracuse).
Perlman, P. 1992. "One Hundred-Citied Crete and the 'Cretan *Πολιτεία*' ", *CP* 87: 193–205.
Peschlow-Bindokat, A. 1990. *Die Steinbrücke von Selinunt: die Cave di Cusa und die Cave di Barone* (Mainz a.R.).
Plassart, A. 1921. "La liste des théoroques", *BCH* 44: 1–85.
Polacco, L. 1982. "La posizione del teatro di Siracusa nel quadro dell'architettura teatrale greca in Sicilia", in *APARCHAI* 431–43.
—— 1986. "I culti di Demetra e Kore a Siracusa", *NumAntCl* 15: 21–40.
—— 1988. "Alcune osservazioni sui culti nel santuario presso S. Nicola ad Agrigento", *Quaderni dell'istituto di archeologia della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia della Università di Messina* 3: 59–62.
—— (ed.) 1990. *Il teatro di Siracusa* II (Padua).
—— and Anti, C. (con la collaborazione di M. Trojani) 1981. *Il teatro di Siracusa* I (Rimini).
Polignac, F. de 1995. *Cults, Territory, and the Origins of the Greek City-State* (Chicago).
—— 1999. "L'installation des dieux, et la genèse des cités en Grèce d'occident, une question résolue? Retour à Mégara Hyblaea", in *Hommages Vallet* (1999) 209–29.
Price, M. J. 1979. "Selinous", in *La monetazione arcaica di Himera fino al 472 a.C*, Atti II Convegno del Centro internationale di studi numismatici, Naples, 1969, *AIIN* suppl. 16–17 (Rome) 79–90.
Pritchett, W. K. 1999. *Pausanias Periegetes* ii, *APXAIA ΕΛΛΑΣ* 7 (Amsterdam).
Procelli, E. 1988–89. "Modi e tempi della ellenizzazione calcidese ai margini della Piana di Catania", *Kokalos* 34–35: 121–24.
—— 1989. "Aspetti e problemi dell'ellenizzazione calcidese nella Sicilia orientale", *MEFRA* 101: 679–89.
—— 1992. "Appunti per una topografia di Catania pregreca", *Kokalos* 38: 69–78.
Puech, A. 1958. *Pindare*, iii: *Néméennes* (Paris).
Pugliese Carratelli, G. 1956. "Silloge delle epigrafi acrensi", in Bernabò Brea (1956) 151–81.
Rallo, A. 1976–77. "Scavi e ricerche nella città antica di Selinunte: relazione preliminare", *Kokalos* 22–23: 720–33.
—— 1982. "Selinunte: le ceramiche del VII secolo a. C. della necropoli meridionale di Manuzza dopo gli scavi 1978", *ASAtene* 60: 203–18.
—— 1984. "Nuovi aspetti dell'urbanistica selinuntina", *ASAtene* 62: 81–91.
Ridgway, D. 1992. *The First Western Greeks* (Cambridge).
—— 1998. "L'Eubea e l'Occidente: nuovi spunti sulle rotte dei metalli", in Bats and d'Agostino (2000) 311–22.
Rizza, G. 1955. "Leontini: campagne di scavi 1950–1951 e 1951–1952: la necropoli della Valle S. Mauro; le fortificazioni meridionali della città e la porta di Siracusa", *NSc* 281–376.

Rizza, G. 1960. "Stipe votiva di un santuario di Demetra a Catania", *BdA* 45: 247–61.
——1962. "Siculi e greci sui colli di Leontini", *CronCatania* 1: 3–27.
——1978. "Leontini nell'VIII e nel VII secolo a.C", *CronCatania* 17: 26–37.
——1980–81. "Attività dell'Istituto di Archeologia dell'Università di Catania: scavi e ricerche in Sicilia negli anni 1976–79", *Kokalos* 26–27: 764–70.
——1981. "Leontini e Katane nell'VIII e nel VII secolo a.C.", *ASAtene* 59: 313–17.
——(ed.) 1982 (1991). *Scavi nelle necropoli di Leontini (1977–1982)*, *CronCatania* 21.
——1996. "Catania in età greca: l'evidenza archeologica", in Gentile (1996) 11–18.
Rizzo, F. P. 1970. *La repubblica di Siracusa nel momento di Ducezio* (Palermo).
Robinson, E. S. G. 1948. "Petra or Eryx?", *NC* 6.8: 131–33.
Robinson, E. W. 1997. *The First Democracies: Early Popular Government Outside Athens*, *Historia* Einzelschriften 107 (Stuttgart).
Romeo, I. 1989. "Sacelli arcaici senza peristasi nella Sicilia greca", *Xenia* 17: 5–54.
Rota, L. 1973. "Gli ex-voto dei Liparesi a Delfi", *StEtr* 41: 143–58.
Rutherford, I. 1998. "The Amphikleidai of Sicilian Naxos: Pilgrimage and Genos in the Temple Inventories of Delos", *ZPE* 122: 81–89.
Rutter, N. K. 1993. "The Myth of the 'Damareteion' ", *Chiron* 23: 171–88.
——1997. *Greek Coinages of Southern Italy and Sicily* (London).
——1998. "The Coinage of Syracuse in the Early Fifth Century BC", in Ashton and Hurter (1998) 307–15.
——2000. "Syracusan Democracy: 'Most Like the Athenian'?", in R. Brock and S. Hodkinson (eds.), *Alternatives to Athens: Varieties of Political Organisation and Community in Ancient Greece* (Oxford) 137–51.
Ryolo di Maria, D. 1950–51. "Il Longano e la sua battaglia", *Archivio Storico Siciliano* 4: 347–88.
Säflund, G. 1937. "Unveröffentlichte antike Steinmetzzeichen und Monogramme aus Unteritalien und Sizilien mit besondere Berüchsichtigung der Stadtmauer von Tyndaris", in *Scritti in onore di Bartolemeo Nogara* (Vatican) 409–20.
Sammartano, R. 1998. *Origines Gentium Siciliae: Ellanico, Antioco, Tucidide* (Rome).
Saporetti, C. 1979. "Sul tempio di Diana nella zona di Milazzo (Sicilia)", *Geo-Archeologia* 1–2: 43–84.
Sartori, F. 1980–81. "Storia costituzionale della Sicilia antica", *Kokalos* 26–27: 263–84.
Schaefer, H. 1961. "*Πόλις μυρίανδρος*", *Historia* 10: 292–317.
Scibona, G. 1976*a*. "Apollonia", *PECS* 72.
——1976*b*. "Halaisa", *PECS* 374.
——1985. "Capo D'Orlando", *BTCGI* 4: 425–28.
——1986. "Punti fermi e problemi di topografia antica a Messina", *AttiTaranto* 26: 433–58.
——1987. "Caronia", *BTCGI* 5: 8–15.
——1989. "Galaria", *BTCGI* 7: 535–39.
Seibert, J. 1979. *Die politischen Flüchtlinge und Verbannten in der griechischen Geschichte* (Darmstadt).
——1982–83. "Die Bevölkerungsfluktuation in den Griechenstädten Siziliens", *Ancient Society* 13–14: 33–65.
Sguaitammati, M. 1993. "Les metamorphoses du Temple M ou l'art de noyer des données de fouille dans une fontaine", in *Studi sulla Sicilia Occidentale in onore di Vincenzo Tusa* (Padua) 151–57.
Shepherd, G. 1995. "The Pride of Most Colonials: Burial and Religion in the Sicilian Colonies", *Acta Hyperborea* 6: 51–82.
——1999. "Fibulae and Females: Intermarriage in the Western Greek Colonies and the Evidence from the Cemeteries", in Tsetskhladze (1999) 267–300.
Shipley, G. 1987. *A History of Samos* (Oxford).
Sinatra, D. 1998. "Camarina: città di frontiera?", *Hesperìa* 9: 41–52.
Siracusano, A. 1983. *Il santuario rupestre di Agrigento* (Rome).
Sjöquist, E. 1973. *Sicily and the Greeks: Studies in the Interrelationship between the Indigenous Populations and the Greek Colonists* (Ann Arbor).
Snodgrass, A. M. 1977. *Archaeology and the Rise of the Greek State: An Inaugural Lecture* (Cambridge).
——1994. "The Growth and Standing of Early Western Colonies", in G. R. Tsetskhladze and F. de Angelis (eds.), *The Archaeology of Greek Colonisation: Essays Dedicated to Sir John Boardman* (Oxford) 1–10.
Sordi, M. 1961. *Timoleonte* (Palermo).
Spagnolo, G. 1991. "Recenti scavi nell'area della vecchia stazione di Gela", *Quaderni dell'istituto di archeologia della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia della Università di Messina* 6: 55–70.
Spigo, U. 1979. "Monte San Mauro di Caltagirone: aspetti di un centro greco della Sicilia interna", *BdA* 64.4: 21–42.
——1980–81*a*. "Lentini", *Kokalos* 26–27: 789–94.
——1980–81*b*. "Ricerche a Francavilla di Sicilia", *Kokalos* 26–27: 777–86.
——1986. "L'anonimo centro greco di Monte S. Mauro di Caltagirone nel quadro dell'arcaismo siceliota: prospettiva di ricerca", *Miscellanea greca e romana* 10: 1–32.
——1989. "Francavilla di Sicilia", *BTCGI* 7: 484–88.
——and Rizzo, C. 1993–94. "Ricerche a Francavilla di Sicilia 1989–91", *Kokalos* 39–40: 1039–57.
Stauffenberg, von A. Schenk 1960. "Dorieus", *Historia* 9: 181–215.
Stazio, A. 1978. "La monetazione delle città euboiche d'Occidente", *AttiTaranto* 18: 167–208.
——1988. "Le monete nella città dello stretto di Messina", *Revue du Groupe européen d'études pour les techniques physiques, chimiques et mathématiques appliquées à l'archéologie* 20: 501–8.

Storia della Sicilia = R. Romeo (ed.), *Storia della Sicilia* i–ii (Naples, 1979–80).

Studi Manni = *Philias Kharin: miscellanea di studi classici in onore di Eugenio Manni* (Rome, 1980).

Stylianou, P. J. 1998. *A Historical Commentary on Diodorus Siculus Book 15* (Oxford).

Talbert, R. J. A. 1974. *Timoleon and the Revival of Greek Sicily 344–317 B.C.* (Cambridge).

Tegon, M. 1993. "Nacona", *BTCGI* 12: 157–65.

Tréziny, H. 1986. "Les techniques grecques de fortification et leur diffusion à la périphérie du monde grec d'Occident", in Leriche and Tréziny (1986) 185–200.

——1999. "Lots et îlots à Mégara Hyblaea: questions de métrologie", in *Hommages Vallet* (1999) 141–83.

Trumpf, J. 1958. "Stadtgründung und Drachenkampf. (Exkurse zu Pindar, Pythien I)", *Hermes* 86: 129–57.

Tsakirgis, B. 1995. "Morgantina: A Greek Town in Central Sicily", *Acta Hyperborea* 6: 123–47.

Tsetskhladze, G. R. (ed.) 1999. *Ancient Greeks East and West*, *Mnemosyne* suppl. 196 (Leiden, Boston and Cologne).

Tusa, S. (ed.) 1997. *Prima Sicilia: alle origini della società siciliana* (Palermo).

Tusa, V. 1961. "Il santuario arcaico di Segesta", in *Atti 7 Congresso Internazionale di Archeologia Classica* 2 (Rome) 31–40.

——1967. "Le divinità e i templi di Selinunte", *Kokalos* 13: 186–93.

——1977. "Nuovi rinvenimenti nell'area del santuario della Malophoros a Selinunte", *CronCatania* 16: 115–18.

——1979. "La problematica archeologica relativa alla penetrazione fenicio-punica e alla storia della civiltà punica in Sicilia", in *Storia della Sicilia* i. 154–61.

——1982. "Ricerche e scavi nelle necropoli selinuntine", *ASAtene* 60: 189–202.

——1983. "Greci e non greci in Sicilia", in various authors, *Modes de contacts et processus de transformation dans les sociétés anciennes*, *CEFR* 67 (Pisa and Rome) 299–314.

—— and De Miro, E. 1983. *Sicilia Occidentale* (Rome).

—— *et al.* 1984–85. "Selinunte", *Kokalos* 30–31: 557–81.

Uhlenbrock, J. P. 1988. *The Terracotta Protomai from Gela: A Discussion of Local Style in Archaic Sicily* (Rome).

Vagnetti, L. 1991. "L'encadrement chronologique et les formes de la présence égéenne en Italie", in J. de La Genière (ed.), *Épéios et Philoctète en Italie: données archéologiques et traditions légendaires*, Actes du Colloque, Lille, 1987, Cahiers du Centre Jean Bérard 16 (Naples) 9–20.

——1996. "Espansione e diffusione dei Micenei", in S. Settis (ed.), *I greci.* 2.1. *Una storia greca. Formazione* (Turin) 133–72.

Valenza Mele, N. 1977. "Hera ed Apollo nella colonizzazione euboica d'occidente", *MEFRA* 89: 493–524.

Vallet, G. 1958. *Rhégion et Zancle: histoire, commerce et civilisation des cités chalcidiennes du détroit de Messine*, *BEFAR* 189 (Paris).

——1962. "La colonisation chalcidienne et l'hellénisation de la Sicile orientale", *Kokalos* 8: 30–51.

——1978. "Les cités chalkidiennes du Détroit et de Sicile", *AttiTaranto* 18: 83–143.

——1980. "Note sur la 'maison' des Deinoménides", in *Studi Manni* 2139–56.

——1988. "Après le XXVIe Convegno di studi sulla Magna Grecia: quelques réflexions sur le Détroit de Messine", in Hackens (1988) 161–72.

——1991. "Megara Iblea", *BTCGI* 9: 511–34.

—— and Villard, F. 1958. "La date de fondation de Sélinonte: les données archéologiques", *BCH* 82: 16–26.

—— —— and Auberson, P. 1976. *Fouilles de Mégara Hyblaea*, i: *Le quartier de l'agora archaique* (Rome).

—— —— —— 1983. *Megara Hyblaea*, iii: *Guida agli Scavi: Introduzione alla storia di una città coloniale d'Occidente* (Rome).

Van Compernolle, R. 1983. "Femmes indigènes et colonisateurs", in various authors, *Modes de contacts et processus de transformation dans les sociétés anciennes*, *CEFR* 67 (Pisa and Rome) 1033–49.

——1992. "Lo stanziamento di *apoikoi* greci presso Capo Zefirio (capo Bruzzano) nell'ultimo terzo dell' VIII secolo a.C.", *AnnPisa* 22.3: 761–80.

Van Compernolle, T. 1989. "Architecture et tyrannie", *AntCl* 58: 44–70.

——1992. *L'Influence de la politique des Deinomenides et des Emménides sur l'architecture et l'urbanisme sicéliotes* (Louvain).

Van Effenterre, H., and Ruzé, F. 1994. *Nomima: Recueil d'inscriptions politiques et juridiques de l'archaïsme grec* i–ii, *CEFR* 188 (Paris).

Vassallo, S. 1983. "La circolazione della moneta bronzea di Agrigento nel V sec. a.C.", *RIN* 85: 17–34.

——1991. "Montagna die Cavalli", in *Di terra in terra* 117–25.

——1993–94. "Ricerche nella necropoli orientale di Himera in località Pestavecchia (1990–1993)", *Kokalos* 39–40: 1243–55.

——1996. "Il territorio di Himera in età arcaica", *Kokalos* 42: 199–223.

——1997. "Indagini in un quartiere della città bassa di Himera", in Isler and Käch (1997) 81–90.

—— *et al.* 1991. "Himera—necropoli di Pestavecchia", in *Di terra in terra* 89–112.

Villard, F. 1954. "Tripi (Messina): Ricerche ad Abacaenum", *NSc* 46–50.

—— and Vallet, G. 1954. "Mégara Hyblaea, iv: La campagne de 1952", *MEFRA* 66: 13–38.

—— —— 1964. *Mégara Hyblaea*, ii: *La céramique archaïque* (Rome).

Voza, G. 1968–69. "Intervento", *Kokalos* 14–15: 357–64.

——1973*a*. "Eloro", in Pelagatti and Voza (1973) 117–26.

Voza, G. 1973*b*. "Villasmundo—necropoli in Contrada Fossa", in Pelagatti and Voza (1973) 57–63.
——1973*c*. "Esplorazioni nell'area delle necropoli e dell'abito", in Pelagatti and Voza (1973) 81–107.
—— 1976–77. "L'attività della Soprintendenza alle Antichità della Sicilia Orientale II", *Kokalos* 22–23: 551–86.
——1978. "Eloro in età protoarcaica", *CronCatania* 17: 134–35.
——1980–81. "L'attività della Soprintendenza alle Antichità della Sicilia Orientale I", *Kokalos* 26–27: 674–93.
——1984–85. "Attività nel territorio della Soprintendenza alle Antichità di Siracusa nel quadrennio 1980–1984", *Kokalos* 30–31: 657–77.
——1993–94. "Attività archeologica della Soprintendenza di Siracusa e Ragusa", *Kokalos* 39–40: 1281–94.
—— and Lanza, M. T. 1994. "Acre", *EAA sec. suppl. 1971–94* 1: 38–39.
Waele, J. A. de 1971. *Acragas Graeca: die historische Topographie des griechischen Akragas auf Sizilien, Historischer Teil* (the Hague).
——1979. "La populazione di Acragas antica", in *Studi Manni* 747–59.
Wentker, H. 1956. "Die Ktisis von Gela bei Thucydides", *RM* 63: 129–39.
Westermark, U. 1979. "The Fifth Century Bronze Coinage of Akragas", in *Le origini della monetazione di bronzo in Sicilia e in Magna Grecia*, Atti VI Convegno del Centro internazionale di studi numismatici, Napoli, 1977, *AIIN* 25 suppl. (Rome) 3–25.
——1984. "The bronze hemilitra of Akragas", *NumAntCl* 13: 71–84.
——1998. "A New Tetradrachm of Kamarina", in Ashton and Hurter (1998) 373–77.
—— and Jenkins, G. K. 1980. *The Coinage of Kamarina* (London).
—— ——1982. "Notes on Some New or Rare Coins of Kamarina", *NumAntCl* 11: 47–58.
White, D. 1964. "Demeter's Sicilian Cult as a Political Instrument", *GRBS* 5: 261–79.
Wilson, R. J. A. 1982. "Archaeology in Sicily 1977–81", *AR* 27: 84–105.
——1988. "Archaeology in Sicily 1982–87", *AR* 34: 105–50.
——1996. "Archaeology in Sicily 1988–95", *AR* 42: 59–123.
——2000. "Aqueducts and Water Supply in Greek and Roman Sicily: The Present *Status Questionis*", in G. C. M. Jansen (ed.), *Cura Aquarum in Sicilia: Proceedings of the Tenth International Congress on the History of Water Management and Hydraulic Engineering in the Mediterranean Region*, Syracuse, 16–22 May 1998 (Leiden) 5–36.
—— and Leonard, A. 1980. "Field Survey at Heraclea Minoa (Agrigento), Sicily", *JFA* 7: 219–39.
Winter, F. E. 1963. "The Chronology of the Euryalos Fortress at Syracuse", *AJA* 67: 363–87.
——1971. *Greek Fortifications* (London).
Yalouris, N. 1980. "Olympia et la Grande-Grèce", *Atti Taranto* 20: 9–23.
Zahrnt, M. 1993. "Die Schlacht bei Himera und die sizilische Historiographie", *Chiron* 23: 353–90.
Ziegler, K. 1934. "Tauromenion", *RE* vA.1. 27–32.
——1940. "Stiela", *RE* suppl. vii. 1232–36.
——1943. "Tyndaris", *RE* vii.2A. 1776–90.

ITALIA AND KAMPANIA

TOBIAS FISCHER-HANSEN, THOMAS HEINE NIELSEN, CARMINE AMPOLO

I. The Region

In antiquity, two different names were used to designate (most of) the area under consideration in this chapter: *Italia* and *Megale Hellas*. Neither of them, however, regularly included the Greek communities (Kyme, Neapolis and Pithekoussai) in Kampania (ἡ Καμπανία (Ps.-Skylax 10)) which are included here as well. Whereas *Italia* was certainly used in the Classical period, *Megale Hellas* may be a post-Classical formation.

(i) *Italia* The usual toponym is Ἰταλία (-ίη), ἡ (*IG* IV².1 95.1.46 (359); *IG* II² 10438 (C4); Hdt. 6.127.1; Arist. *Pol.* 1274ᵃ24). The name seems to designate, primarily, the Greek cities in South Italy and their territories; similarly, the ethnic Ἰταλιώτης designates the Greek inhabitants of tese cities (Hdt. 4.15.2; Plin., *Ep.* 7.327B; Arist. *Rh.* 1398ᵇ15; Thuc. 6.44.3, 7.57.11).[1] This ethnic is used almost exclusively externally and collectively (preceding refs.), but a single instance of the external individual use is found in the epitaph *IG* II² 8942 (365–340).

The definition and delimitation of *Italia* has been and still is a controversial issue, especially among Italian scholars (cf. Ronconi (1997); Musti (1996) with further refs.). By the Hellenistic and Roman periods, *Italia* comprised all of Italy from the tip of the toe as far north as the Alps, including even Massalia (no. 3) (Polyb. 2.14). A detailed discussion of the gradual expansion of the concept of *Italia* is omitted here,[2] and the following account focuses on the Classical period. It is based on contemporary sources, and it excludes Hellenistic and Roman sources unless they can be shown to be quotations or reliable paraphrases of Classical authors.

It is impossible to say anything about Hekataios' conception of *Italia*. Citing Hekataios (Ἑκαταῖος Εὐρώπῃ), Steph. Byz. applies the classification πόλις Ἰταλίας to Capua (fr. 62), Medma (fr. 81), Lokroi (fr. 83), Kaulonia (fr. 84) and Krotalla (fr. 85), and *Kaprie[ne]* is called a νῆσος Ἰταλίας (fr. 63).[3] Whereas Stephanos undoubtedly found the toponyms (Medma, etc.; cf. fr. 80) in Hekataios' work, we have no guarantee that the site classification πόλις Ἰταλίας stems from Hekataios as well (Hansen (1997*a*) 17–18). In Steph. Byz. there are close to 100 occurrences of πόλις Ἰταλίας, and it is used with reference to, e.g., Rome (548.11), Spina (584.12) and Genoa (202.19). Now, considering what we know about the concept of *Italia* in, e.g., Antiochos and Herodotos (*infra*), it is most unlikely that Hekataios would classify Capua as a πόλις Ἰταλίας (fr. 62) and Capri as a νῆσος Ἰταλίας (fr. 63), although explanations for this usage, based upon political and archaeological evidence, have been put forward (Ronconi (1997) 111). It follows that πόλις Ἰταλίας in frr. 62–63, and consequently in frr. 81, 83–85 too, must be Stephanos' own classification of the toponyms he found in Hekataios' work. It follows that we have no information whatsoever about the extent of *Italia* according to Hekataios. We do not even know whether he used the toponym Ἰταλία at all.

In the Περὶ Ἰταλίας of Antiochos of Syracuse (*FGrHist* 555, frr. 2–5, 9, 12), the ancient name of *Italia* is said to have been *Oinotria*, the region only later taking its name from the eponymous hero *Italos* (fr. 2). The *Italia* of Antiochos extended across the peninsula from the river Laos to Metapontion (fr. 3), thus excluding, e.g., Taras and its hinterland, Iapygia (frr. 3, 12; see Prontera (1986) 307–9 fig. 4). On the other hand, Soph. fr. 598 (Radt = Pearson fr. 598) as transmitted in Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.12.2 seems to *include* Taras in *Italia*, since *Italia* is there said to stretch ἀπ' ἄκρας Ἰαπυγίας μέχρι πορθμοῦ Σικελικοῦ. See further Lepore (1988) 134–37.

Luca Soverini, University of Pisa, collaborated with the authors in the compilation of the site databases, contributing valuable references and insights. The authors would like to thank Dr. Keith Rutter for commenting on a draft of this text.

[1] Cf. Herennius Philo, *De diversis verborum significationibus* 98.1: Ἰταλοὶ καὶ Ἰταλιῶται διαφέρει. Ἰταλοὶ γάρ εἰσιν οἱ ἐξ ἀρχῆς χώραν οἰκήσαντες. Ἰταλιῶται δὲ ὅσοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐπῴκησαν μετὰ ταῦτα.

[2] For surveys, see Lepore (1988); Musti (1996); Ameruoso (1996).

[3] In fr. 80 Ἰταλίας has been restored by Meineke.

For Herodotos, *Italia* seems to have covered the Greek colonial region from Kroton (5.43) via Sybaris, Siris (1.145, 5.43, 6.127.1, 8.62) and Metapontion (4.15.1) as far as, and including, Taras (1.24.7, 3.136.1), i.e. to the border between Greek and Iapygian territory, without a precise indication of the geographical limits. For Herodotos the northern boundary of *Oinotria* was in the region of Hyele (1.167), and perhaps as far north as the river Sele (as in Strabo 6.1.1), as argued by Ronconi ((1988–89), (1997) 116), though this is less certain.

In Thucydides, *Italia* signifies the coastal region from the promontory of Rhegion (4.24.4) to Iapygia (7.33.4), settled with Greek colonies, of which the following are mentioned as being Italian: Rhegion (3.86.2, 5, 4.24.4, 6.44.2), Lokroi (3.86.2, 5.5.1, 6.44.2, 7.25.3, 8.91.2), Kaulonia (7.25.2), Thourioi (6.104.1–2, 7.57.11), Metapontion (7.33.4, 57.11) and Taras (6.44.2, 6.104.1, 8.91.2); in addition, at 6.104.2 (on which see *HCT ad loc.*), Terina is implicitly described as in *Italia.*

Another historical account of the concept of *Italia* is found in Strabo 5.1.1, where *Italia* (= Oinotria) is said originally to have comprised the area from the straits to the Gulf of Taranto in the east and as far as Poseidonia to the north. The sources for this concept are not given by Strabo, but they will have been of C5 and C4 (Musti (1996) 38; Ronconi (1997) 116–18).

(ii) *Megale Hellas* The meaning of the expression *ἡ Μεγάλη Ἑλλάς* is likewise controversial;[4] in view of the cultural level and the economic and political strength of the Greek colonies of South Italy in the Archaic period, the designation could have been coined in C7l or C6e, but there is no direct evidence for so early a use of the expression, the first occurrence being in Polybios (*infra*).

The area covered by the designation is uncertain, and different definitions are found in different ancient authors. According to Ps.-Skymnos 304ff, *Μεγάλη Ἑλλάς* comprised South Italy south of a line joining Terina to Taras (cf. Steph. Byz. 617.5–6; Musti (1988) 83). In Athenaios (523E) it is used synonymously with *Ἰταλία* about all the Greek settlements in South Italy. For Pliny (*HN* 3.95), *Magna Graecia* comprised only the region around Lokroi Epizephyrioi and Taras, whereas in Servius (*ad Aen.* 1.569) it extended as far north as Kyme. In the course of time the Latin translation *Magna Graecia* came to be used by the Roman authors, much as in scholarship today, to designate the region of the Greek colonies in South Italy (Livy 31.7.11).

According to Strabo 6.1.2, *Megale Hellas* comprised not only the Gulf of Taranto, the coast as far as the straits and an unspecified part of the interior, but also Sicily. Strabo is the only author to include Sicily in *Megale Hellas*, and his *Σικελία* is therefore often explained either as a later gloss or as an extension of the designated area by a local, patriotic author—such as Timaios or Antiochos—or as evidence of a gradual chronological extension of the concept to comprise first *Italia* and then *Sikelia.* However, the concept of *Megale Hellas* is of little or no importance in Strabo, who hardly makes use of it. For a rather strained interpretation of Strabo 6.1.2 that avoids subsuming Sicily under *Megale Hellas*, see Maddoli (1981) 16–19.[5] The question must remain open.[6]

Finally, in a Strabonian context, the concept of *Megale Hellas* comprised also various non-Greek *ethne* in so far as they were Hellenised (Ameruoso (1996) 42–45, 92–97).

The earliest extant use of *Megale Hellas* is found in Polybios, in an account of an anti-Pythagorean incident of C6l–C5m (Polyb. 2.39.1; cf. Maddoli (1981) 10, 91). The use of the expression by Athenaios (523E) in connection with the history of Siris may, with Polybios, support a C6 origin (Maddoli (1981) 28). On the other hand, there is no support for the common assumption that the expression was used in a C6 context by Timaios (*FGrHist* 566, fr. 13); the fragment is found in a schol. Pl. *Phdr.* 279C which quotes Timaios *verbatim*; however, *ἡ Μεγάλη Ἑλλάς* introduces the quotation *without being part of it* (cf. Cantarella (1967) 16 n. 23; Musti (1988) 80, 88, 91; Ameruoso (1996) 13–21).

The prevalent explanations of the expression tend to assume that it existed in the Archaic and Classical periods, an assumption for which the evidence is weak (*supra*). It has been seen as relating to the growth, the increase (*auxesis*) in power and in cultural and economic importance of South Italy after the Greek foundations.[7] More generally, it has been explained by the wealth and power of the area (cf. Strabo 6.1.2 and Ath. 523E, connecting it with the great size

[4] See Mustilli (1964) 36; Cantarella (1967); Maddoli (1981); Mele (1981); and Musti (1988); a *Forschungsberichte* is found in Ameruoso (1996) 3–11.

[5] Maddoli suggests reading Strabo as referring to two correlative units, Megale Hellas *and* Sicily, *two* objects of the verb *ἀφῄρηντο*. The idea put forward by Momigliano (1929)—that the *extension* of *Megale Hellas* to comprise Sicily goes back to Antiochos and is accordingly *earlier* than its *restriction* to the Greek part of South Italy—has not won adherence; cf. Cantarella (1967) 13 n. 8 and Maddoli (1981).

[6] Musti (1988) 72–3; Cazzaniga (1971). A survey of the debate is found in Ameruoso (1996) 37–46, cf. ibid. 96–97.

[7] Maddoli (1981) 22–27, referring to Strabo 6.1.2 and with discussion of the terms *αὐξάνεσθαι*, *αὐξηθῆναι*; for criticism, see Musti (1988) 63–65.

of the population), possibly in comparison with Greece proper, as stressed by some modern scholars (cf. Musti (1988) 82, 84–85). The designation *maior Graecia* is employed by Livy (31.7.11) and does seem to imply some comparison with Greece itself; also, the contrast between the rich Achaian colonies and their poor *metropoleis* in Peloponnesian Achaia should not be overlooked. However, according to Cantarella (1967) 16–19, *Megale Hellas* was used in an absolute sense, and not comparatively: in fact, *Megale Hellas* was used about Greece itself by Euripides (*Med.* 440; *Tro.* 1115), and *Hellas* about western Greece by Pindar (*Pyth.* 1.75), and so there is no apparent difference in meaning between the two expressions (*Hellas*/*Megale Hellas*) during C5 (Cantarella (1967) 16–17).

Some scholars, again assuming an Archaic origin for the expression, have tied the concept of a western *Megale Hellas* to the spread of Pythagorean customs and philosophy.[8] According to Calderone (1975) 45–46, a concept of *Megale Hellas* based upon the extent of Pythagoreanism would explain Strabo's inclusion of Sicily, which is not attested in other sources. Cantarella (1967) adds a further dimension: a religious connotation—a sort of "*Graeca sacra*".

To conclude: even if it is correctly transmitted, the isolated passage in Strabo is not enough to show that *Μεγάλη Ἑλλάς* was ever a common designation of what we today call "the Western Greeks". Furthermore, the sources we have indicate that the concept of *Megale Hellas* took shape only after the Classical period, and grew in importance from C2l onwards. In Archaic and Classical sources innumerable attestations show that *Italia* was the predominant designation of that part of the coast of South Italy which was inhabited by Greek settlers. If the designation *Μεγάλη Ἑλλάς* was coined in C6 in, e.g., Pythagorean circles, it did not catch on until much later and should be regarded as insignificant in the Archaic and Classical periods.

The Inventory below describes three Greek *poleis* situated in Kampania: Kyme, Neapolis and Pithekoussai. The region of Kampania probably took its name from the important city of Capua (cf. Polyb. 3.91.2–4, 118.3) or from the *campus*: the fertile coastal plain (cf. Diod. 12.31.1; Plin. *HN* 3.63). In Roman times, the region extended from Sinuessa in the north to the Gulf of Naples and the Sorrento peninsula in the south, but the cities of Kampania listed by Strabo 5.4.3–11 and Ptol. *Geog.* 3.1.6 are of little relevance in the present context. The name *Kampania* occurs for the first time at Ps.-Skylax 10, where the Greek cities of Kyme, Neapolis and Pithekoussai are listed as *poleis Hellenides*, presumably reflecting a pre-Samnite situation. According to Diod. 12.31.1 (r438), the *ethnos* of the *Kampanoi* was formed in C5, but the ethnic identity of the *Campani* is more uncertain (Frederiksen (1984) 134–57; Cerchiai (1995) 187–94). Rutter attributes the C5l coins of the *Kampanoi* (Rutter, *HN*[3] p. 64) to the inhabitants of Capua, arguing that the *ethnos* of the Kampanians in Diodorus (*loc. cit.*) means the people of Capua and its neighbourhood, *Kampania* only later acquiring its wider geographical connotation (Rutter (1979) 81–83).

Earlier sources attributed the two (related) Oscan *ethne* of the Ausonians and the Opikians to the areas which later constituted *Kampania* (cf. Steph. Byz. 479.15: *Νῶλα, πόλις Αὐσόνων* = Hecat. fr. 61). Whether these were one and the same people or two different *ethne* is discussed by Strabo 5.4.3, with reference to (i) Antiochos (*FGrHist* 555, fr. 7), who considered them one and the same; (ii) Arist. *Pol.* 1329[b]19–20, who probably followed Antiochos; and (iii) Polyb. 34.11.5–7, who believed they were distinct. Kyme was founded in Opikia, according to Thuc. 6.4.5 (cf. also Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.53.3), and in Ps.-Skylax (15) the Opikians constitute one of the Samnite subgroups (for the term *Opici*, see Dubuisson (1983)). The Ausonians too were most likely a distinct entity, to be identified with the Latin *Aurunci* (Festus, *De verborum significatione* 18M; cf. Livy 2.16.8; Dion. Hal *Ant. Rom.* 6.32.1).

Inside the areas outlined above, Greek communities begin to appear *c.*750–725, the earliest being Kyme and Pithekoussai in Kampania, founded from Euboia at this date.[9] In C8l Achaians founded Sybaris (725–700) and Kroton (*c.*709/8),[10] Spartans founded Taras (*c.*706), and Chalkidians Rhegion.[11] In C7e Lokroi Epizephyrioi was founded by Lokrians; *c.*660 Siris was founded, possibly by Ionians from Kolophon (no. 848); and *c.*630 Metapontion was founded by Achaians who responded to an invitation from Sybaris; and Thourioi was founded in the later 440s by an Athenian-led Panhellenic expedition. Such "primary"

[8] Ciaceri (1927) i. 188–90; Mele (1981); Maddoli (1981) 11; Musti (1988) 88–89, 91 with refs. to, above all, Iambl. *VP* 29–30; 166; Cic. *De or.* 2.154, 3.139, etc.

[9] Recent attempts to discard or downplay Euboian colonisation in the West, on the basis of argued lack of archaeological evidence (cf., e.g., Papadopoulos (2000) 135) are disregarded in this chapter. At Naxos, for instance, the influence of Euboian pottery has been amply demonstrated (Pelagatti (1981) 305–11; Lentini (1990); (1992) 11–14, 25), and evidence such as the spread of the Euboian alphabet to Etruria (Ridgway (1998*a*) 315–16) and the evidence of the calendars (Trümpy, *Monat.* 39–43) support the literary sources for Euboian colonisation.

[10] The earliest Greek finds from Sybaris and Kroton are, apparently, East Greek rather than Peloponnesian (Ridgway (2002) 137).

[11] For the details of the foundation dates, see the entries in the Inventory *infra*.

colonies as these went on to found "secondary" colonies of their own: Lokroi founded Hipponion and Medma (in C7); Kroton founded Kaulonia (presumably in C7s) and Terina (*ante* 460); Kyme founded Neapolis (*c.*470); Sybaris founded Laos (*ante* 510) and Poseidonia (*c.*600); Pandosia was founded by Sybaris or Kroton (contemporary with the foundation of Metapontion), and Pyxous was a foundation by Mikythos, the ruler of Rhegion and Messana (*c.*471). Herakleia, the last Greek foundation in *Italia*, was founded in 433/2 as a joint enterprise by Taras and Thourioi, and replaced Siris, whose inhabitants were expelled. Finally, colonists from other parts of the western Mediterranean founded secondary colonies in *Italia*: in C7, Zankle is reported to have founded Metauros in Bruttium, and Hyele was founded by Phokaians who had left Alalia on Corsica shortly after the battle of Alalia *c.*540–535.

The dates of foundation given in the previous section are derived partly from the literary tradition, partly from archaeological investigations,[12] two types of evidence that generally produce roughly similar dates. Obviously, there is a risk of circular argument when a chronology of Greek Geometric pottery based upon the colonial dates furnished by the literary tradition is in its turn used to confirm the literary tradition (Burn (1935) 134–35; Bérard (1957) 279; Van Compernolle (1992) 776–78). This danger can only be avoided by employing a chronology of Geometric wares based on Near Eastern archaeology or on Near Eastern finds from South Italy, such as the scarab with the name of Bocchoris found at Pithekoussai (cf. most recently Hannestad (1996) and Morris (1996)). This is not the place for a detailed discussion of this problem, and three points must suffice.

(1) The study by Bérard, though dated in matters of detail, is still valid as regards its overall conclusion: that the chronological *sequence* of the foundation dates, established by archaeological investigations, is well in keeping with that established on the basis of literary traditions (Bérard (1957) 279–99, esp. 299). The recent study of the foundation chronology of Lokroi Epizephyrioi by Van Compernolle (1992) merely confirms this conclusion.

(2) The establishment of a chronology based solely upon archaeological data such as the Bocchoris scarab found in Pithekoussai and the Near Eastern contexts of Greek Geometric pottery (although these are still somewhat uncertain, cf. Hannestad (1996) 44–49) do seem to confirm the traditional chronology, and a skeleton outline of the earlier foundation dates can be established on the basis of (i) *Pithekoussai*: founded 750–740 (most recent discussions in Neeft (1994) 150 n. 9 "*c.*740"; Coldstream (1995); d'Agostino (1999*a*) 56–58); (ii) *Kyme*: the archaeological evidence indicates Greek settlers at Kyme from *c.*750–725, thus suggesting a first settlement phase contemporary with the settlement of Pithekoussai (d'Agostino (1999*a*) 54); (iii) *Taras*: founded in C8l, according to the literary tradition (706 according to Eusebios; cf. Antiochos (*FGrHist* 555) fr. 13; Ephor. fr. 216; Arist. *Pol.* 1306^{b}27–31; cf. Van Compernolle (1992) 774). The archaeological evidence confirms the traditional foundation chronology (Lo Porto (1970) 357–58; De Juliis (1983) 429; Boschung (1994) 177); (iv) *Lokroi Epizephyrioi*: according to Strabo 6.1.7, the foundation took place a little after the foundation of Kroton (trad. 709/8) and Syracuse (trad. 734/3); according to Polyb. 12.6b.9, at the time of the First Messenian War (*c.*735–717); according to Eusebios, at the time of the Olympiad 25.1 or 26.4 (679/8 or 673/2). A foundation in the first decades of C7 is now confirmed by the archaeological evidence (Van Compernolle (1992) 779–80).

(3) The chronological divergences found in several of the literary sources rarely amount to more than *c.*25 years, for instance in the figures given for the foundation of Kroton, founded 709/8 (contemporary with the foundation of Sybaris) according to Eusebios, but contemporary with the foundation of Syracuse (734/3) according to Antiochos, a discrepancy that is hardly significant for early Archaic history (Asheri (1979) 94), and that is also acceptable in the classification of ceramic styles (Morris (1996) 58).

Another caveat is that the different literary "dates of foundation" may possibly refer to different moments in the process of colonisation of the different colonies; accordingly, a rigid chronological framework should be avoided (Gras (1986) 11–13; Morris (1996) 55–57): sites may have been colonised in phases, as were Gela (no. 17) and Siris (no. 69); foundations may have been the result of colonial processes evolving over longer periods of time, as in the case of Sicilian Megara Hyblaia (with the preliminary failed settlements at Trotilon and Thapsos), Taras (with a first settlement of Satyrion) and Lokroi (with a tradition for early settlers at Cape Zephyrion); see the respective entries *infra*. Precolonial Greek contacts with indigenous communities further complicate the issue: there is evidence of Greek presence in the colonial regions prior to the traditional foundation dates.[13] The chronological framework of these early

[12] See the details in the individual entries.

[13] The bibliography is too comprehensive to be cited fully here, but note Graham (1990) 45–52; de La Genière (1983) 258–61; D'Andria (1990) 282–84; Guzzo (1988) 152–65.

contacts may depend on a revision of the dating of the "pendent-semicircle skyphoi" (Snodgrass (1994) 5).

Alongside the "historical" accounts of the foundation of colonies, there existed traditions of heroic foundations and foundation myths that served to legitimise or ennoble the colonial foundations, by projecting the history of the Greek cities back in time into the Heroic Age of the Trojan War and traditions of the *nostoi* (Bérard (1957) 301–83), or to the more distant period of the Argonauts (ibid. 392–97) and to the exploits of Herakles, the latter obviously evidence of later, mainly Dorian colonial propaganda (Giangiulio (1983)). There are traditions connected with the foundations of Diomedes in Daunia (Musti (1984); see also introduction to the Adriatic region in this volume); the foundation of Metapontion was ascribed to Nestor (Bérard (1957) 325); one of the early foundation phases of Siris was considered to be Trojan (Ronconi (1974–75); Moscati Castelnuovo (1989) 47–56); Philoktetes and Epeios were connected with foundations of settlements such as Lagaria and Petelia in the regions of Kroton and Sybaris, and Philoktetes died at Krimisa according to the same traditions (Musti (1991); Giangiulio (1991*a*)); the Athenian Menestheus was held to be the *oikistes* of Skylletion, certainly an example of later Athenian self-assertion.[14]

Whether there is any direct connection between these heroic traditions and the widespread evidence of Mycenaean contacts with the West (Vagnetti (1992), (1996) 152–59) remains an open question (Leighton (1999) 184–86). However, whereas Minoan contacts are not so far documented, Mycenaean contacts with South Italy (and Sicily), sporadic from C16 to C15, increased significantly in C14–C13 with a Mycenaean presence attested, for instance, at Scoglio del Tonno (Taras), on Lipari, and at Thapsos near Syracuse (Vagnetti (1991), (1996) 141–43, 152–53, 168). The late Bronze Age maritime trading posts and the hunt for metal resources and other trade goods were pioneering activities for the later western Greek expansion. Indeed, trade must have played a paramount role in the early colonisation of the West: the development of the concept of trade, the significance of the historical trade links of Euboian and Phokaian traders, and the commercial aspect of C8–C6 colonisation have been traced in studies by Mele ((1979), (1988)).

Metal resources such as iron played an important role from early times, as already mentioned, and did so again later, when Pithekoussai presumably acted as an intermediary in this trade (Ridgway (1992) 109–10). Timber also became an important commodity: it could be obtained from several regions, but the Sila mountains in Bruttium were a particularly important supplier (Meiggs (1982) 462–66). Commerce was at times closely associated with piracy and trade in slaves (for which see Morel (1984) 143). According to Thuc. 6.4.5, Zankle was founded by pirates from Kampanian Kyme, and according to Ephor. fr. 137a (= Strabo 6.2.2), Tyrrhenian pirates had created difficulties for early Greek commerce in the region of the straits. The importance of the trading route through the Straits of Messina has been discussed on several occasions by Vallet (most recently in Vallet (1988)) and need not detain us here, but the links across the straits between Zankle and Rhegion, between Naxos and Lokroi, and between Mylai and Metauros played a significant role as well in joining together the two coastal territories and creating a cultural and political *koine* (Vallet (1988) 172). Indeed, Rhegion and Zankle/Messana are most often treated together in regional studies.

Although there are obvious geomorphological differences between the sites of the various colonies, e.g. between Metapontion and Hyele, the traditional division of colonies into "trading colonies" (Hyele) and "agricultural colonies" or "population colonies" (Metapontion) is no longer tenable: workshops played a major role in Metapontion (see entry and Fischer-Hansen (2000) 101–2 with refs.), and Hyele did have a *chora* (see entry); even Pithekoussai has in recent years been shown to have had a large population and a *chora* (see entry). The commercial and maritime activities of the "agricultural colonies" are revealed by their location near the coast, often near rivers offering harbour facilities and access to the hinterland populated by indigenous peoples favourable to trading contacts, as well as by the lack of evidence of a monopoly over contacts with their *metropoleis*: imported Corinthian, East Greek and Attic pottery is found at the same sites.

The formation of extensive dominions *inter alia* by the foundation of secondary settlements is a central element in the Archaic history of the powerful Italiote *poleis* of Sybaris, Kroton, Lokroi and, to a lesser extent, Metapontion. Sybaris, for example, founded at least Laos and Poseidonia, and seems to have controlled an area of some 3,000 km² (Ampolo (1992) 247); according to Strabo 6.1.13, the city ruled four neigbouring *ethne* and had twenty-five *poleis hypekooi*. One of these dependencies of Sybaris was the *Serdaioi*, whether it was an *ethnos* or a *polis hypekoos*.

[14] For full discussions and lists of "Gründungsmythen", see Prinz (1979) 138–65 and Leschhorn (1984) 360–86; for the importance of oecists in numismatic iconography, cf. e.g. Lacroix (1965) esp. 75–100 and Guarducci, *EG* ii. 660–61.

C.550–525, this community concluded a treaty of friendship "for ever" with Sybaris and its allies (ML 10), and this seems to indicate that a hegemonic league was one of the mechanisms employed by Sybaris to control its dominion. The dependencies seem to have persisted as individual political communities. To the *Serdaioi*, for instance, has been ascribed a series of C6l coins: the silver coinage, of which only eight or nine specimens are known, is on the Achaian standard: *obv.* Dionysos standing with kantharos and vine, legends ΣΕΡ/ΣΕΡΔ; *rev.* grapes. An obol has *obv.* bearded head; *rev.* legend ΣΕΡ (Rutter, *HN*[3] 1717–20). The issue is connected with South Italy, because the weight standard is Achaian and the letter *san* is used for *sigma*, but the double-relief fabric differs from the Achaian incuse fabric which was normal at the time (Rutter, *HN*[3] pp. 3–4; and *infra*). However, a date in C5e, i.e. after the treaty ML 10 and the fall of Sybaris, might explain the fabric.[15] Most scholars now attribute the series to the *Serdaioi* of the treaty, and the location of the mint in South Italy is confirmed by a specimen from a coin hoard found in Calabria composed of otherwise exclusively South Italian issues (*IGCH* 1887; Rutter, *HN*[3] p. 142). The *Serdaioi* probably resided somewhere on the Tyrrhenian coast in the hinterland of Laos and Skidros; for recent discussions, see E. Greco (1990) and Ampolo (1992) 245–53 with refs.

Strabo's report (6.1.13) that Sybaris ruled four neighbouring *ethne* suggests that Sybaris in its heyday controlled non-Greek communities. Other Greek colonies, however, faced difficulties in their relations with the indigenous populations. The early history of Taras, for example, is characterised by conflicts with the Daunians and Messapians,[16] and several armed clashes are on record (see Taras (no. 71)). In general, the literary tradition depicts the initial contacts between Greeks and indigenous populations as ranging from enmity and conflict to peaceful co-existence; and at Pithekoussai there is archaeological evidence for intermarriage with indigenous women.[17]

However, the process of colonisation did have profound effects on the indigenous settlement pattern: settlements disappeared or moved to locations further inland as the colonising process led to Greek occupation of large tracts of land, control of which was also marked by the establishment of extra-urban sanctuaries. Indigenous cities within the dominion of the larger Greek foundations developed into what can best be classified as "satellite cities".[18]

The early Greek foundations seem to have developed rapidly into *poleis*, and the very process of colonisation may have been of paramount significance here (Hansen (2000) 147–48). Thus, the earliest Greek lawgivers, Charondas and Zaleukos, may have been active in the West already from C7m, and these (and later) legislators from Sicily and South Italy won a certain renown. Zaleukos of Lokroi Epizephyrioi is a shadowy figure, but he was known to Ephor. fr. 139 (= Strabo 6.1.8) and Demosthenes (24.139–41; cf. Musti (1976) 48–50, 72–81; Link (1992)); the legislation of Charondas of Katane was used also in other Chalkidian cities in Sicily (Arist. *Pol.* 1274[a]23–24) and is attested at Rhegion before the tyranny of Anaxilas (Cordano (1978)). In fact, the evidence for urban planning, territorial divisions and political architecture in the early colonies has prompted the suggestion that the early development of the *polis* as an institution took place, or at least was accelerated, in the colonial foundations (cf. e.g. Snodgrass (1977) 33, (1994) 8–9; Ridgway (1992) 108–9; Polignac (1995) 118–27).

In terms of interaction, political unity was a development of C5l in *Italia*. Prior to the formation of the Italiote League in C5l, the larger *poleis* struggled with each other for influence. During C6, Lokroi and its ally Rhegion defeated Kroton at the battle of Sagra (Strabo 6.1.10); Siris, though allied to Lokroi, was sacked by an alliance of Metapontion, Kroton and Sybaris (Just. *Epit.* 20.1.10); and *c.*510 Sybaris itself was severely defeated by Kroton (see Sybaris (no. 70)). It is doubtful whether the alliance comprising Kroton, Metapontion and Sybaris—all three Achaian foundations—represents political unity based on shared Achaian ethnicity, since it is unknown how long the alliance existed and since such shared identity, if it did exist, did not prevent the sack of Sybaris by Kroton. C5 is characterised by a series of hegemonies by the major *poleis*: first by Kroton, later by Lokroi, and finally by Taras. Pythagoreanism has been seen as a movement linking the Greek colonies of the area, though internal unrest and *stasis* also kept them apart.

[15] Select bibliography: Cahn (1978); Zancani Montuoro (1980); Guarducci (1982); Ampolo (1992) 247–53; E. Greco (1990); Arnold-Biucchi (1993).

[16] See Introduction to the Adriatic 321–25.

[17] For the relationships between indigenous women and the colonists, see Van Compernolle (1983), who discusses the evidence in relation to the different types of colony. Even in Syracuse, normally taken to be a foundation where the indigenous population was oppressed or expelled, there is evidence of local influence on the burial rites of the Greek colonists (Leighton (1999) 235–37); a too simplistic picture should be avoided, since the evidence is often ambiguous: de La Genière (1983) 257; Morel (1984) 124–35; Asheri (1996) esp. 88–92, 96–98.

[18] De La Genière (1983) 261–69 citing evidence mainly from Calabria-Basilicata; Polignac (1995) esp. 89–127. See also the descriptions of the territories/dominions of the individual *poleis* in the Inventory below. For the indigenous peoples of eastern Apulia and Calabria, the Daunians, Peuketians and Messapians and the few Greek settlements in these territories, see the Introduction to the Adriatic.

However, in C5l federalism appeared. A league of the Achaian colonies Sybaris (no. 70.V), Kroton (no. 56) and Kaulonia (no. 55) was set up *c.*430–420, or at least some time before 417, reportedly in imitation of a league of the Achaian *metropoleis* (Polyb. 2.39.6; for full discussion, see De Sensi Sestito (1984*a*) 90–93 and (1994) 197–205; Lombardo (1987)). This league had a common seat in the sanctuary of Zeus Homarios, which has, however, not yet been identified with certainty; see De Sensi Sestito (1982*b*), (1984*b*); Osanna (1989); later, it developed into a league comprising all the Italiote Greek cities. The emergence of the Italiote League was caused by the pressure which Samnite-Oskan peoples brought to bear on the Greek *poleis*: Kyme was conquered in 421, Poseidonia *c.*410, and Laos and Skidros *c.*390.[19] Samnite-Oskan invasions caused Leukanian pressure further south, with incursions into Thourian territory (Diod. 14.101.1 (r390)). It should be noted that instances of C5m federalism are attested among the indigenous peoples of Central and South Italy, for instance among the Kampanians in control of several of the Greek cities on the Tyrrhenian coast (Frederiksen (1984) 137–38) and among the Brettians during C4m (Lombardo (1996) 209–15).

The policies of Dionyios I in South Italy, his ambition to control the straits and his imperialistic designs in the Adriatic, contributed to the renewal of the Italiote League in 393 (Diod. 14.91.1), with the inclusion of Thourioi (Diod. 14.101.1) and probably also of Rhegion (cf. Diod. 14.100.1; cf. Vallet (1958) 379; Lombardo (1987) 60) and Hipponion (Lombardo (1989) 438). But in spite of this, Kaulonia and Hipponion succumbed to Dionysios' aggression, as did for a period Kroton and Rhegion, whereas the position of Lokroi, an ally of Dionysios, was strengthened (cf. Diod. 14.40, 44, 78, 87, 90, and 91.1 for the *symmachia* of 393).[20] The Italiote League was defeated by Dionysios at the river Eleporos in 389, and although some of the major *poleis* preserved their independence, the smaller *poleis* of Kaulonia and Hipponion were razed to the ground (Diod. 14.104–7 (r389/8)). However, continued Dionysian aggression was interspersed with Carthaginian involvement on the side of the Italiote cities, and a refoundation of the Italiote League in 383 may be implied by Diod. 15.15.2, with a restoration of Hipponion shortly afterwards (Diod. 15.24.1; cf. Stylianou (1998) 203). After the conquest of Kroton by Dionysios in 379 (Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 20.7.3), Taras took over the leadership of the Italiote League, though the seat of the league was placed in Herakleia (De Sensi Sestito (1994) 211–16). Taras, under the leadership of Archytas, may have entered into an alliance with Syracuse, securing its own influence over Herakleia and Metapontion and its dominant role in the Italiote League (Brauer (1986) 43–59).

In C4m the Leukanians conquered several Italiote cities and large tracts of the region (Diod. 14.101–5, 15.5; Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 20.7.3), but recent research has revealed a picture of co-existence between Leukanians and Greeks, as evidenced for instance by the C4 settlement of Laos,[21] and Oskans were peacefully admitted to Neapolis, where they shared citizenship with the Greek communities (cf. Frederiksen (1984) 139–40).

The Inventory below describes twenty-three *poleis* situated in Kampania (Kyme, Neapolis and Pithekoussai) and in Italia as outlined above. In addition, there existed in the area under consideration the following Archaic/Classical settlements/communities which cannot be shown to have been *poleis*.[22]

1. *Pre-Hellenistic Settlements not Attested as* Poleis

AMI (. . .) (*AMI* (. . .) Some scholars read the second letter as a sigma). This otherwise unknown community is attested by five C6l incuse coins (four staters and one drachm) on the Achaian standard. The type is the Sybarite bull looking back, with, on the staters only, a locust in full above, legends written retrograde on *obv.* and *rev.*: *AMI* (or *AΣI*?); Parise (1972) 104; Gorini (1975) 13, 115; Parise (1984); Rutter, *HN*[3] 1356–7. The type suggests that Ami(. . .) was, prior to 510, a community within Sybaris' dominion (see Sybaris (no. 70.I)). However, only one coin has a certain provenance: a specimen in *IGCH* 1889, found at "Cittanuova 45 km north-east of Reggio"; for the coinage as testimony of a Sybarite dominion, see Parise (1984) 253, (1988) 307–8; and Guzzo (1981) 49. The legends have been seen as tenuous evidence for a site, "Amina" or "Aminaia", situated in Poseidonian–Sybarite territory, and reflecting the presence of the *Aminaioi*, a people of Thessalian origin mentioned by

[19] For a survey, see Frederiksen (1984) 136–42; cf. also Asheri (1996) 90–91 for the concept of "decolonisation", and Purcell (1994) 395 for co-existence. Cf. Larsen (1968) 95–97.

[20] For a full discussion, see De Sensi Sestito (1984*a*) 103–21 and (1994) 205–11.

[21] See the entry for Laos in the Inventory below, and cf. Tréziny (1983) for the difficulty of distinguishing Greek and non-Greek sites.

[22] Brentesion is treated in the Inventory of the Adriatic (no. 78), and the following nine Messapian and Daunian settlements are found in the Introduction to the Adriatic chapter: Egnatia, Elpiai, Hydrous, Hyria, Hyrion, Kallipolis and Rhodiai, and the two unnamed foundations planned by Dionysios the Younger. For introductory remarks on the Adriatic region and the types of non-*polis* sites there, see also the Introduction to the Sicilian Inventory.

Arist. fr. 505); cf. Bérard (1957) 397 n. 1 and Ampolo (1992) 237; for a full discussion of the coinage and the various interpretations of it, see Parra (1984). *Barr.* 46, A.

Dikaiarcheia (*Δικαιάρχεια*) Polyb. 3.91.4 (*polis* by implication; *Δικαιαρχῖται*); Strabo 5.4.6 (*πόλις*, to which is added: *ἦν δὲ πρότερον μὲν ἐπίνειον Κυμαίων*; later it became an *emporion megiston*, ibid.; cf. Diod. 5.13.2). It was originally a secondary settlement (*epineion*) of Kyme (no. 57; Strabo 5.4.6), but later became a Samian foundation (Steph. Byz. 533.19: *κτίσμα Σαμίων ἥτις καὶ Δικαιάρχεια*; Euseb. (Hieron. 104 Helm *ad* Ol. LXII 2): *Samii Dicaearchian condiderunt quam nunc Puteolos vocant*; cf. Hegesandros, *FHG* IV p. 421, fr. 44 *apud* Ath. 14.656C), possibly founded by fugitives from Polykrates, i.e. *c.*535–524 (Mitchell (1975) 87 n. 57); the name "Dikaiarcheia" is often taken to be that of the Samian foundation (Bérard (1957) 55). In 421, Dikaiarcheia presumably, like Kyme, fell under Samnite-Oskan control (Diod. 12.76.4; Livy 4.44.2). The site of Dikaiarcheia is a small knoll overlooking the bay of Baiae; it is well protected on three sides and has a sheltered harbour below in the Gulf of Naples. A few Greek sherds are tenuous evidence of Greek presence before the establishment of the Samian foundation *c.*531–528 (De Franciscis (1971); Zevi (1993*b*)). There are no structural remains from Greek Dikaiarcheia, though some problematical evidence suggests C5 terracing and the existence of a circuit wall; the Augustan temple may have had a pre-Roman Greek phase (C5 or C3); see De Franciscis (1971). *Barr.* 44, AC.

Kerilloi (*Κηρίλλοι*) Strabo 6.1.4. According to Strabo, near Laos (no. 58); possibly a harbour controlled by Laos, see E. Greco (1986) 128. It has been identified with modern Cirilla (Roman Cerilli). A Sybarite origin is implied by von Stauffenberg (1963) 69. *Barr.* 46, H, but an earlier origin could be argued.

Krimissa (*Κρίμισσα*) Lycoph. *Alex.* 911 (*βραχύπτολις*); schol. Lycoph. *Alex.* 911 (*πόλις*); Strabo 6.1.3; Steph. Byz. 385.1 (*πόλις*); cf. Giangiulio (1987) and (1991*a*) for sources. Strabo mentions a *palaia Krimissa* founded by Philoktetes, but goes on to cite Apollodoros for the information that Philoktetes colonised the promontory (*ἄκρα*) of Krimissa. According to Steph. Byz. 385.1–2, Krimissa was a *polis Italias* near Kroton (no. 56) and Thourioi (no. 74); the precise location, however, is unknown. A conjoining of the *akra* (Apollodoros *apud* Strabo) and the "sacred Krimissa" mentioned in connection with the foundation of Kroton by Myskellos (Diod. 8.17) has prompted the identification of Krimissa with the sanctuary of Apollo Alaios at the promontory Cirò (Punta Alice). However, the city proper may rather have been located in the vicinity of the sanctuary (at modern Cirò Marina?; cf. Giangiulio (1987)). A bronze plaque dated *c.*475 and "found near Krimissa" is dated by reference to an eponymous *demiourgos* (Arena (1996) no. 53 = *LSAG* 261.30), but it is unclear in which community he held office. *Barr.* 46, AC.

Krotalla (*Κρόταλλα*) Hecat. fr. 85; Steph. Byz. 386.18 (*πόλις*); unknown from other sources. Not in *Barr.*

Lagaria (*Λαγαρία*) Strabo 6.1.14 (*φρούριον*). According to legend, Lagaria was founded by Phokians led by the hero Epeios (Strabo 6.1.14). It was located "after" (*μετά*) Thourioi (no. 74), according to Strabo (*loc. cit.*; cf. Bérard (1957) 336–39). The site of Lagaria has not been identified with any certainty, but various suggestions include Amendolara (*supra*; de La Genière (1990), (1991*b*)) and S. Maria d'Anglona, in the territory of Siris (no. 69) (Osanna (1992) 94). *Barr.* 46, AC.

Lametinoi (*Λαμητῖνοι*) Hecat. fr. 80 (toponym only); Steph. Byz. 409.9 (*πόλις*). According to Steph. Byz. 409.9–11 as emended by Meineke, Lametinoi took its name from the river Lametos near Kroton (no. 56); the precise location is uncertain, however, and various locations have been suggested in the Lamentine Plain (the Lamentine Gulf was opposite that of Skylletion: Arist. *Pol.* 1329^{b}12–13; Strabo 6.1.4; cf. Spadea (1990b)). An inscribed bronze plaque (*IGSII* no. 21, "non ante IV.um saec. a Ch. n.") found near S. Eufemia Lamezia, is normally attributed to Terina (no. 73; so *IGSII* and Spadea (1979); see also the entry for Terina). *Barr.* 46, A.

Makalla (*Μάκαλλα*) Arist. *Mir. ausc.* 107; Lycoph. *Alex.* 927; Steph. Byz. 427.4 (*πόλις*); *Etym. Magn.* 574.19 (*πόλις*); schol. Thuc. 1.12.2, Hude (*πόλις*); cf. Giangiulio (1991*b*) 293. A legendary foundation by Philoktetes, Makalla has not been identified with any certainty, but it was probably located, with the other Philoktetan sites, somewhere between Kroton (no. 56) and Sybaris (no. 70) (Bérard (1957) 344–46; Giangiulio (1991*b*) with refs.). Musti (1991) has argued that the (mainly) C4(?) traditions of heroic foundations in Magna Graecia, e.g. those of Philoktetes, most often refer to partly Hellenised indigenous sites (cf. Lagaria, *supra*). *Barr.* 46, AC.

Molpa, see **Palinouros** (*infra*).

Palinouros (*Παλίνουρος*) and **Molpa** (*Μόλ(πα)*) Palinouros is known primarily as the location of the death of

Palinouros, the pilot of Aeneas (Strabo 6.1.1). Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.53.2 refers to a *limen ho Palinouros*, but this need not imply an urban settlement, and the tradition is, in any case, late and mythical. At the indigenous settlement investigated at Tempa della Guardia mortuary evidence has revealed some Hellenisation and contacts with the Greek world. The settlement was abandoned in C5e, but a sanctuary continued in use until C3 and finds of coins of Hyele (no. 64) suggest that the area became part of the territory of Hyele (E. Greco (1975) 100–8). A coinage on the Achaian standard and in the incuse fabric, inscribed with the retrograde abbreviations *ΠΑΛ* and *ΜΟΛ* on *obv.* and *rev.* respectively (*infra*) has been attributed to Pal(inouros)—either to the indigenous settlement at Tempa della Guardia or to an as yet unidentified Greek settlement on the promontory, and even to the promontory as such (E. Greco (1975) 94–99, (1987*b*); Mafettone (1994) esp. 284–87)—and to a city Mol(pa, -pe), identified with Città di Molpa, a rocky plateau south of the river Lambro (ancient river Melpes, cf. Plin. *HN* 3.72), to the south of the Palinouros peninsula. On the plateau a few indigenous habitation remains have been found, but there are no Greek remains. The *ΠΑΛ–ΜΟΛ* coins are known only in three specimens: *obv.* and *rev.* type is a wild boar, the two known staters have legends *ΠΑΛ–ΜΟΛ* (*supra*); the single known drachm has the legend *ΠΑΛ* on *obv.* in exergue, while the *rev.* is anepigraphic (Gorini (1975) 13, 117–18; Giacosa (1994); Rutter, *HN*[3] 1105–6). On the basis of fabric and standard, the coins are normally connected with the coinage of Sybaris, and the two communities are thought to have been part of Sybaris' dominion (Parise (1988) 308–9; cf. Sybaris (no. 70.I)), though a dependence upon Siris has been argued by other scholars on account of the Ionic style of the wild boar (Neutsch (1980) 164; cf. Parise (1972) 106 n. 57; E. Greco (1975) 96–97). Palinouros: *Barr.* 46, AC; Molpa: *Barr.* 46, A.

Parthenope (*Παρθενόπη*) Strabo 14.2.10; Steph. Byz. 504.7 (*πόλις*). According to legend as transmitted by Strabo (14.2.10) and Steph. Byz. 504.6–7, Parthenope was a Rhodian foundation (Bérard (1957) 63–64). The more consistent tradition is that Parthenope was either an *apoikia* or, like Dikaiarcheia (*supra*), an *epineion* of Kyme (no. 57), and that the site was later destroyed by its *metropolis* (Lutatius *apud* Serv. *ad* Verg. *G.* 4.563 (= fr. 7, Peter); Bérard (1957) 56; Raviola (1990)). Parthenope became the district of *Palaiopolis* when Kyme founded neighbouring Neapolis (no. 63) in C5, and by C4s the two distinct, neighbouring urban nuclei—(Parthenope =) Palaiopolis and Neapolis—formed one political community (Livy 8.22.5) by the name of Neapolis, which suggests that Neapolis absorbed the earlier site (see the entry for Neapolis, *infra*). However, the sources do seem to suggest an early, autonomous settlement of Parthenope (Raviola (1990) 59–60). The settlement was maritime and the location on a promontory just south of ancient Neapolis, present-day Pizzofalcone on the Gulf of Naples, offered no *chora* or only a very limited one. The settlement site (*c.*25 ha) was situated on the extreme spur, with steep slopes on three sides and with a saddle joining it to its hinterland and its cemetery. The tombs are mainly cist-slab tombs dated 675–550. Of special interest is the presence of Italo-Corinthian vases of a type known from Kyme and Pithekoussai (Frederiksen (1984) 85–87, 90–95; De Caro (1974), (1985)). Part of a C6 circuit wall (i.e. of the pre-Neapolis phase) located between the hill of Parthenope and the coast is taken as evidence of a fortified harbour or perhaps even of a protected harbour settlement (Napoli (1967) 380–83). The cult of the eponymous siren Parthenope (Dionys. Per. 357) was of early origin; the ancient sources locate it by the sea near the river Sebeto (see Canciani (1994)). The cult was later taken over by Neapolis, where the siren Parthenope is represented on C5s coins (Rutter (1979) 44–45; for games held in her honour, cf. Strabo 5.4.7). *Barr.* 44, AC.

Petelia (*Πετηλία*) Strabo 6.1.3 (*μητρόπολις τῶν Λευκανῶν*; cf. Lasserre *ad loc.*); *BCH* 45 (1921) col. IV.86; Steph. Byz. 519.15 (*πόλις*). One of the legendary foundations of Philoktetes situated somewhere between Kroton (no. 56) and Sybaris (no. 70) and the *metropolis* of the Leukanians, according to Strabo 6.1.3. The city is now identified with modern Strongoli (for the site: Osanna (1992) 198). A *c.*475 inscription from this site carries a text dated by reference to an eponymous *demiourgos* (*SEG* 4 74; *LSAG* 261.28; Arena (1996) no. 51); since there is limited evidence for independent communities in this region, the text suggests a close relationship with Kroton (Giangiulio (1989) 44–45). The sources for the mythical foundation of Petelia are late (Bérard (1957) 344; Intrieri (1989)), and the site may have had a primarily Leukanian C4 history. *Barr.* 46, C.

Plateeis (*Πλατεεῖς*) In Ps.-Skylax 12, the chapter on Leukania, the sixth toponym listed after the heading *πόλεις εἰσὶν αἵδε* is *Πλατεεῖς*. The text may be corrupt (Müller, *ad loc.*; Bérard (1957) 148 n. 4); however, Giangiulio (1996) finds confirmation of a settlement with the name of Plateeis in the episode recorded in Iambl. *VP* 261 of a flight of a group of *epheboi εἰς Πλατέας* (cf. Giangiulio (1996) 39). Not in *Barr.*

Skidros (*Σκίδρος*) Hdt. 6.21.1; Steph. Byz. 575.1 (*πόλις*); Steph. Byz. 575.1–2 cites the C4s–C3e historian Lykos of Rhegion for the ethnic *Σκιδρανός* (= *FGrHist* 570, fr. 2). According to Hdt. 6.21.1, Sybarite refugees settled at Skidros (and Laos) after 510. The location of Skidros is unknown, but it was in the dominion of Sybaris (no. 70.I), probably on the Tyrrhenian coast in the vicinity of Pyxous and Laos. Various identifications have been suggested, principally Belvedere Marittimo, originally put forward by Bérard ((1957) 146–47); however, the evidence is tenuous (Luppino (1985)). Other propositions (such as San Nicola Arcella, a small harbour *c.*3 km north of Laos (no. 58)) are discussed and rejected by Di Vasto (1992). E. Greco (1992*a*) 473–77 suggests Sapri near Pyxous, a location tentatively followed by *Barr.* 46. Skidros may have been either an indigenous settlement with settlers from Sybaris after 510 or a town or a military installation (cf. Bérard (1957) 146) with mainly Greek inhabitants. *Barr.* 46, A.

Skylletion (*Σκυλλήτιον*, *Σκυλάκιον*) Diod. 13.3.5 (r415); Strabo 6.1.10 (*πόλις*); Ptol. *Geog.* 3.1.10 (*πόλις*); Steph. Byz. 579.7 (*πόλις*); the curious description of Skylletion as a *πόλις Σικελίας* by Steph. Byz., though he cites Eudoxos of Knidos (fr. 320, Lasserre), is attributed to Steph. Byz. himself by Lasserre *ad loc.* Legend attributed the foundation of Skylletion to Athenians returning from Troy (Strabo 6.1.10; cf. Plin. *HN* 3.95 and Solin. 2.10). Historically, Skylletion was probably founded in the Archaic period, on the route of Krotoniate interests on the Ionian side of the peninsula: black-figured sherds from the site (Spadea (1989) 70 fig. 1) and the tradition of a heroic foundation may reflect a history going back into the Archaic period. In the Classical period, it was a Krotoniate possession, but was handed over to Lokroi (no. 59) by Dionysios I (Strabo 6.1.10). A survey of the site is found in Arslan (1969–70): archaeological evidence for Greek Skylletion is very scarce, and there are no structural remains. Sporadic finds of Attic red-figured sherds indicate a settlement of *c.*16 ha (Spadea (1989) 69–71). A cult of Athena Skyllatia has been conjectured on the basis of the perhaps corrupt Athena Skyletria in the *Alexandra* of Lykophron (852–55). The name of *Scolacium Minervium* assumed by the Roman foundation of Scolacium also seems to confirm an earlier Greek cult of Athena Skyllatia (Giannelli (1963) 176–78; architectural terracotta: Orlandini (1977)). A series of anepigraphic bronze coins of C4s has, on the basis of its *rev.* type and provenance, been attributed to Skylletion: *obv.* young male head; *rev.* Skylla swimming left, rarely *Σ* (or *M*) (Visonà (1990); Rutter, *HN*³ 2565); *SNG Cop. Italy* 1992–93). *Barr.* 46, C.

SO (. . .) (*ΣO* (. . .)) This Archaic community is known only from a rare C6l silver coinage struck on the Euboic standard, but employing the Achaian incuse fabric. The type is the Sybarite bull looking back, with legend *ΣO* retrograde on *obv.* (Gorini (1975) 12, 115–16; Parise (1972) 105 n. 55 for specimens, one with the known provenance of Roggliano; Rutter, *HN*³ 1728). The issue has been connected with a hypothetical Archaic site "Sontia", thought of as the main city of the Leukanian Sontini (Plin. *HN* 3.98). The coinage may attest a settlement within the dominion of Sybaris (no. 70.I; cf. *AMI* (. . .), *supra*), but the weight standard employed points to other interpretations, such as an issue struck with special regard to Sybarite, Etruscan or Rhegian border trade (E. Greco (1990) 43 n. 19; Parise (1988) 308). Not in *Barr.*, but cf. *Barr.* 45 Sontini, R.

2. *Unidentified Settlements*

Amendolara A settlement on the hill of S. Nicola halfway between Sybaris (no. 70) and Siris (no. 69). The indigenous site was strongly Hellenised by C7–C6, as attested by material finds, sanctuary (?), habitation structures and urban planning; it may have been a dependent settlement of Sybaris and it was apparently destroyed along with Sybaris in 510. Amendolara has been tentatively identified with Lagaria (*supra*; cf. de La Genière (1984); Osanna (1992) 132–34, 163–64). *Barr.* 46, A.

Incoronata A settlement on the hill of Incoronata in southern Basilicata, above the river Basento, *c.*7 km west of Metapontion (no. 61), on the border between Sirite and Metapontine territory. Habitation and other structures, as well as rich finds of Greek ceramics, point to a Greek settlement of some importance from *c.*700. Earlier finds attest contacts with the Greek world from *c.*750. The settlement phase came to an end *c.*630, probably as a result of the foundation of Metapontion. The site is normally taken to be an unknown "*emporion*" on the confines of Greek colonial territory (that of Siris (no. 69)) and the indigenous hinterland. Also, Incoronata has been tentatively identified with settlements known from the written sources, such as Lagaria (*supra*). Greek graffiti and stylistic affinities of the ceramics point to an East Greek origin of the settlers. See Orlandini (1986*b*); De Siena (1990); Lombardo and Giannotta (1990)). *Barr.* 45, A.

Some of these settlements/communities may indeed have been *poleis*: e.g. Skylletion may have struck coins. On the other hand, the ethnic identity of the communities listed is

not always obvious. On the status of the communities which were not *poleis* we are poorly informed.

II. The *Poleis*

52. Herakleia (Herakleios) Map 45. Lat. 40.15, long. 16.40. Size of territory: 4. Type: A. The city may initially have been called by another name (Antiochos (*FGrHist* 555) fr. 11), but the only known toponym is *Ἡράκλεια, ἡ* (Antiochos (*FGrHist*) fr. 11 *apud* Strabo 6.1.14; *IG* XIV 645.II.2 (C4l)); or *Ἡρακλέα* (*IG* XIV 645 II.32 (C4l)); Ps.-Skylax 14 has *Ἡράκλειον*. The city-ethnic is *Ἡράκλειος* (C4 coins, *infra*; *IG* XIV 645.I.11 (C4l)), also spelled *Ἡράκληιος* (C4 coins, *infra*). Only after the Classical period does *Ἡρακλεώτης* appear (*BE* (1964) no. 247 (C1); Diod. 13.3.4 (r415); Strabo 6.1.14), but *Ἡράκλειος* is none the less often qualified by *ἀπ' Ἰταλίας* to distinguish it from the ethnics of other cities of the same name (*CID* II 6.B.2 (*c.*358); *BCH* 23 (1899) 501 nos. 16–17 (both C4)).

Herakleia is called a *polis* in the urban sense at *IG* XIV 645.I.64 (C4l) and implicitly at Ps.-Skylax 14, where Herakleion is the first toponym listed after the heading *πόλεις εἰσὶν αἵδε* (cf. Diod. 12.36.4 (r433/2)); it is called a *polis* in the political sense at *IG* XIV 645.I.2, I.95 (C4l), etc. *Damos* is found at *IG* XIV 645.I.119 (C4l). The internal collective use of the city-ethnic is found on C4 coins (*infra*) and at *IG* XIV 645.I.11 (C4l); the external collective use is found in *CID* II 6.B.2 (*c.*358) and Diod. 13.3.4 (r415); the external individual use is found in *BCH* 23 (1899) 501–2 nos. 16–17 (C4) and *BCH* 63 (1939–41) 150 (C4). *Patris* is found in *Anthologia Lyrica Graeca* 1 p. 11, Diehl.

Herakleia was a joint foundation of Taras (no. 71) and Thourioi (no. 74): after a war for influence in the Siritis (Antiochos (*FGrHist*) fr. 11; cf. *IvO* 254–56 (*c.*440) and Diod. 12.23.2 (r444)) these two cities made an agreement to found a joint colony (Antiochos *loc. cit.* = *Staatsverträge* 158). According to Antiochos (*loc. cit.*), however, the city was founded in the name of Taras (*τὴν ἀποικίαν κριθῆναι Ταραντίνων*), and confirmation of Tarantine predominance may be seen in the fact that Herakleia's eponymous official was an ephor (*IG* XIV 645.I.1 (C4l); *SEG* 30 1162–70 (C4l–C3e); cf. also *IG* XIV 645.I.146 (C4l) for the term *ῥήτραι* = laws). Diod. 12.36.4 dates the foundation to 433/2 and treats it as a purely Tarantine enterprise (as does Strabo 6.1.14; cf. 6.3.4 (r330s), where Herakleia is described as "in Tarantine territory" and a war between Taras and the Messapians *περὶ Ἡρακλείας* is mentioned). According to Diodorus (*loc. cit.*), the city was founded at the site of Siris (no. 69), whose inhabitants were deported. According to Antiochos (*FGrHist* 555) fr. 11, "Herakleia" was not the original name: the city was thus named only after having changed its location (*Ἡράκλειαν δ' ὕστερον κληθῆναι, μεταβαλοῦσαν καὶ τοὔνομα καὶ τὸν τόπον*), and a combination of Diodorus and Antiochos would suggest that the city was originally founded as Siris at the site of Siris, but later relocated and then named Herakleia. Such a reconstruction is not, however, supported by the archaeological evidence, which clearly shows Herakleia to have occupied the site of Siris (*infra*). According to Strabo 6.1.14, Siris served as the *epineion* of Herakleia, but the reference is not to the historical Siris but to the legendary *polis Troïke* of the same name.

In the *chora*, traces of land division have been examined by Guy (1995). Sacred land belonging to Dionysos and Athena Polias is attested by *IG* XVI 645.I, II (C4l) respectively. These *Tabulae Heracleenses* (C4l) deal with the recovery and the measuring of the fields belonging to the two divinities, probably from the time of the foundation in 433/2 (Sartori (1967) 37–76). To the north along the river Cavone (ancient Akalandros) the territory of Herakleia bordered upon Metapontine territory, the western border being constituted by the natural strongpoint of the hills of Anglona with the settlement of Santa Maria d'Anglona. This originally indigenous site with a history of C7–C6 Hellenisation (see Siris (no. 69)) has revealed sporadic C5l settlement remains and a C4 sanctuary of Demeter and Artemis (Rüdiger (1969); Osanna (1992) 98, 109–10 no. 10). A city (*polis*) of Pandosia is mentioned by Plut. *Pyrrh.* 16.5 in connection with Pyrrhos' encampment near Herakleia in 280 and at *IG* XIV 645.12, 54, 64, etc.). This Pandosia is now commonly identified with the settlement of Anglona (Sartori (1967) 28 n. 52, 95; E. Greco (1992*b*) 34, 37; *Barr.* 45). Other C5–C4 sanctuaries are known in the *chora* (Bini (1989); Osanna (1992) 97–105). Farmsteads seem to have been concentrated mainly along the valley of the river Sinni (ancient Siris) and to a lesser degree in the valley of the river Agri. In C4e a line of border fortifications was laid out along south-western hills bordering upon Leukanian territory. Harbour settlements near the estuary of the river Sinni are inferred from cemeteries. To the south the territory of Herakleia was delimited by rural sites in the valley of the Torrente S. Nicola. In total the territory comprised about 350 km² (overall view: Osanna (1992) 97–114).

Herakleia was a member of the Italiote League (*Staatsverträge* 230), and in C4 the city became the seat of

the League, which had previously been centred on Kroton (no. 56; Polyb. 2.39.5–6). Alexander the Molossian transferred the seat to Thourioi (no. 74) (Strabo 6.3.4); he also reconquered the city from the Leukanians, who must then have taken it (Livy 8.24.4 (r326)).

Several citizens of Herakleia were appointed *proxenoi* by Delphi (no. 177) in C4: *BCH* 23 (1899) 501 no. 16, 502 no. 17, and *BCH* 63 (1939–41) 150; the latter two were appointed *theorodokoi* as well.

A system of civic subdivisions, involving two different kinds of groupings, is attested for C4l by *IG* XIV 645; see further Jones, *POAG* 162–64 with refs. A tyranny at Herakleia is mentioned by Phainias fr. 16, Wehrli, but its historicity is doubtful since the story associated with it is located in Metapontion (no. 61) by other sources (Berve (1967) 610–11).

IG XIV 645.I.49–50 (C4l) refers to legal proceedings initiated by the ὀρισταί against private citizens who had encroached upon sacred land. The inscription (e.g. at I.55) distinguishes between hιαρά and Fιδία land. The following officials are attested: an eponymous *ephoros* (*IG* XIV 645.I.1 (C4l); *SEG* 30 1162–70 (C4l–C3e)); an annual board of two πολιανόμοι (*IG* XIV 645.I.96–97, I.104, I.164–65 (C4l)); an annual board of σιταγέρται in charge of a public granary (*IG* XIV 645.I.102 (C4l)); two boards of ὀρισταί (*IG* XIV 645.I.2 (C4l)) presumably elected (hαιρεθέντες: *IG* XIV 645.I.9 (C4l)) *ad hoc*; a *grammateus* (*IG* XIV 645.I.188 (C4l)). The assembly = ἀλία, is mentioned at *IG* XIV 645.I.12, II.9–10 (C4l), and qualified as κατάκλητος "specially summoned" (Sartori (1953) 96; Ghinatti (1996) 87). The work carried out by the ὀρισταί and recorded by *IG* XIV 645 (C4l) was decreed by the *katakletos alia* (I.12). Two month names (Ἀπελλαῖος, Πάναμος) are attested by *IG* XIV 645.I.2, 101 (C4l). The onomastics of *IG* XIV 645 indicate that non-Greeks had been absorbed into the citizenry (Lomas (2000) 178–79).

The city was situated on the low and narrow east–west-oriented plateau (modern Policoro), between the estuaries of the rivers Akiris and Siris, the site of the C8 foundation of Siris (no. 69). The evidence suggests some measure of occupation of the Policoro plateau from the Siris phase to the C5s foundation of Herakleia (Hänsel (1973) 491; Adamesteanu (1985*a*) 63).

Herakleia occupied two main areas of habitation: an upper city and a lower plateau to the south, divided from the upper city by a depression occupied already from the Archaic period by sanctuaries. A C5 ashlar circuit wall has been revealed on the south and south-east side of the "acropolis", on the northern side of the plateau, and sporadically along its southern side, implying a primary habitation of the plateau. A subsequent phase comprising the lower city was previously seen as a result of the growing importance of Herakleia in C4e as head of the Italiote League (Adamesteanu (1985*b*) 98). Recently an overall, contemporary 433/2 occupation of the whole site has been argued, comprising an urban area of *c.*140 ha (Giardino (1998) 192–93). Habitation on the central part of the upper plateau was laid out on both sides of the east–west *plateia* which crossed the middle of the plateau. The area has been interpreted as a *kerameikos* with workshops inserted into the domestic structures, and in use from C5 to early third century AD. The interpretation of the urban layout of the lower city is based upon aerial photography; this has revealed a plan of at least eight *plateiai*; although the orientation is generally east–west, it is different from that of the upper city. The lower city is protected on its southern, eastern and western sides by C4–C3 ashlar circuit walls, strengthened with towers and an outer ditch. The slope and valley between the upper and lower plateau were reserved for sanctuaries and areas of public use, such as the agora, lying outside the urban plans of the upper and lower city (Neutsch (1967) 110–50; Hänsel (1973); Adamesteanu (1985*b*); Giardini (1992), (1998)). Cult had continued uninterrupted in the sanctuary of Demeter from the Siris phase through C5 to C4, when structures were laid out on a system of terraces, an architectural sophistication reflecting the status of Herakleia as head of the Italiote League (Pianu (1989); for the cult: Neutsch (1967) 134–36, (1980) 158–65; Sartori (1980); Hinz (1998) 187–93). The sanctuary housed also the cults of Artemis Soteira (Neutsch (1967) 134), and Artemis Bendis was venerated in her role as divinity of *asylia* (Pianu (1989) 108; Curti (1989) 28–29). Other votive material indicates a cult of Athena, attested also by the coin types (*infra*); Athena Polias is attested at *IG* XIV 645.II.5 (C4l). The central area of the valley was occupied by the sanctuary of the "Archaic Temple", of uncertain cult, which was enlarged in C5–C3 to comprise various religious buildings, treasuries, a *hestiaterion*(?), as well as a vast public space interpreted as the agora (Pianu (1991)). The sacred lands of Athena and Dionysos attested by the *Tabulae* probably occupied the area north of the city, since this area has been shown to have been unoccupied. The cemeteries were located to the east, south and west of the city; rites were mainly inhumation in cist-slab tombs, and some graves are rich in tomb gifts reflecting the city's ceramic production (Degrassi (1967); *Da Leukania a Lucania* 151–97). Cults of Hestia and Aphrodite are attested by *IG* XIV 646 (C4–C3).

Herakleia minted silver coins from the time of its foundation on the Achaian–Thourian standard, but with the Tarantine system of denominations (Van Keuren (1994)). The first series, *c.*432–420, were diobols: *obv.* head of Herakles, or Athena in Attic helmet; *rev.* lion, legend *HE* (*SNG Cop. Italy* 1098–1100), or Herakles strangling lion, legend: *HE*, *hEPAKΛEIΩN*, *hHPAKΛEIΩN* (Van Keuren (1994) nos. 23–40; Rutter, *HN*³ 1358–60). Staters were issued *c.*430–400(?): *obv.* head of Athena, helmet decorated with olive wreath; *rev.* Herakles seated on a rock pouring a libation, legend *HPAKΛHIΩN*, sometimes retrograde (Van Keuren (1994) no. 1; Rutter, *HN*³ 1362). Later series of staters and diobols *c.*420–C4l have types: *obv.* head of Athena wearing Attic helmet, decorated with hippocamp or Skylla, on one die the legend *AΘANAΣ*; *rev.* Herakles standing or kneeling, fighting the Nemean lion (Rutter, *HN*³ 1363ff; *SNG Cop. Italy* 1101–4, 1115–32). The dies of some issues are signed *APIΣTOXENOΣ*, a die-engraver also known from Metapontion (Rutter, *HN*³ 1373). From *c.*334 a new issue of diobols and staters, possibly related to Alexander the Molossian (Van Keuren (1994) 28–29, 32), have *rev.* Herakles standing, holding club and lion skin (Rutter, *HN*³ 1381, 1383; *SNG Cop. Italy* 1105–14). The types with Herakles are obviously connected with his cult in a city named after him, and on the reverse of the early staters he may be pouring a libation in the role of *oikistes* (Rutter (1997) 47). A single issue of gold (quarter-stater) of C3e has been attributed to Herakleia (Van Keuren (1994) no. 124; Rutter, *HN*³ 1421); bronze coinage was introduced in C4 (Rutter, *HN*³ 1436ff; *SNG Cop. Italy* 1133–43). Herakleian and Tarantine C4l–C3 silver fractions have similar types and suggest federal production.

A communal donation towards the rebuilding of the Delphic temple is recorded by *CID* II 6.B.2 (*c.*358).

53. Hipponion (Hipponieus) Map 46. Lat. 38.40, long. 16.05. Size of territory: 3. Type: [A]. The toponym is *Ἱππώνιον*, *τό* (Archestratos fr. 35.8, Olson and Sens). The corresponding city-ethnic is found as *Ϝειπονιεύς* in *SEG* 11 1211 (525–500), and C4 coins (*infra*) use the form *Ἱππωνιεύς* (abbreviated as *ϜEIΠ* on the earliest C4 coins: *RE* viii.A. 2005: Lombardo (1989) 452); Ps.-Skylax 12 and Douris (*FGrHist* 76) fr. 19 have *Ἱππώνιον* for the toponym (*Ἱππώνειον* is found at App. *B Civ.* 5.91). The corresponding city-ethnic *Ἱππωνιεύς* is found at Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 20.7.3 (r388) and *F.Delphes* III.1 179 (C4l–C3e); at Thuc. 5.5.3 the MSS have *Ἰτωνέας*, which is commonly and probably correctly emended to *Ἱππωνέας* or *Ἱππωνιᾶς* (cf. Hornblower (1996) 434–35; Lombardo (1989) 452); but Steph. Byz. 342.10 does mention an *Ἰτώνη . . . Ἰταλίας* (which may, however, be identical with Hipponion: *RE* viii.A. 2004–5; *contra* Lombardo (1989) 452). Finally, Diod. 15.24.1 (r379) has *Ἱππωνιάτης*, and *Ἱππωνείτης* is found in *SEG* 2 635 (Hell.).

Hipponion is one of ten toponyms listed at Ps.-Skylax 12 after the heading *πόλεις εἰσὶν Ἑλληνίδες αἵδε*, where *polis* is used in the urban sense (cf. Douris (*FGrHist* 76) fr. 19 and Diod. 14.107.2 (r388)); Thuc. 5.5.3 calls the Hipponieis *apoikoi* of the Lokrians. The internal collective use of the city-ethnic is attested on C4 coins (*infra*); the external collective use is attested by *SEG* 11 1211 (525–500), probably by Thuc. 5.5.3 (*supra*) and by Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 20.7.3 (r388) and Diod. 15.24.1 (r379); the external individual use is found in *F.Delphes* III.1 176 (C4l–C3e), which describes a man as *Λοκρὸς ἐκ τῶν Ἐπι[ζε]φυρίων Ἱππωνιεύς* (*infra*).

Hipponion was a colony founded by Lokroi (no. 59) (Thuc. 5.5.3; cf. Ps.-Skymnos 308 and Strabo 6.1.5). Archaeological evidence points to a foundation in C7l (*infra*). The scanty evidence shows very varied relations between Hipponion and its *metropolis*: (a) *SEG* 11 1211 (525–500), a joint dedication by Hipponion, Medma (no. 60) (also a Lokrian colony), and Lokroi (cf. Lombardo (1989) 429) at Olympia of spoils taken from Kroton (no. 56), implies a military alliance between colony and mother city, but has nothing on its origin or duration (Hornblower (1996) 434–35), and nothing about the political status of Hipponion *vis-à-vis* Lokroi (Lombardo (1989) 428–31); (b) Thuc. 5.5.3 attests to a war between Lokroi and Hipponion and Medma but gives no explanation of the issues involved (see further Lombardo (1989) 431–40); (c) *F.Delphes* III.1 176 (C4l–C3e) is a Delphic grant of proxeny etc. to a man described as *Λοκρὸς ἐκ τῶν Ἐπι[ζε]φυρίων Ἱππωνιεύς*; this unique combination of city-ethnics presumably indicates some kind of political interdependence between the two communities (Graham (1964) 94; Savalli (1989) 467), but (*pace* Graham (1964) 94–95) this evidence can hardly be retrojected into the Archaic and Classical periods (cf. Hornblower (1996) 434–35).

Evidence from cemeteries and sanctuaries points to a C7l foundation date for Hipponion (*infra*), confirmed by Greek influence in local, indigenous tombs—for instance at Torre Galli (Arslan (1986) esp. 1031–32, 1042, 1052–54; Lombardo (1989) 424 n. 29). Evidence of Greek presence in the territory of Hipponion comes primarily from the area between the city and the coast, where ceramic evidence indicates Greek presence from C6 (see also the entry for Medma). The

coastal *chora* of Hipponion was consolidated by C5: the evidence is a coastal sanctuary (dedicated to Persephone?) and C5–C4 remains of, presumably, agricultural and maritime structures (Ianelli (1989); Givigliano (1989) 745–46). The coastal plain, between Nicotera and the river Angitula, covers about 120 km², but the territory of Hipponion would have comprised about 200 km² if the valleys south of the city were part of the territory. Agathokles of Syracuse built an *epineion* (Strabo 6.1.5), and remains of this have been identified on the coast below Hipponion between the rivers S. Anna and Trainiti at Castello Bivona and Porto Salvo (Lena (1989) 601–7). The route between Hipponion and the coast was consolidated by C5, with an extra-urban sanctuary near the coast at Castello Bivona (Givigliano (1989) 748–51).

Hipponion may have been a member of the Italiote League (Lombardo (1989) 438). An alliance of Hipponion with Lokroi (cf. Lombardo (1989) 429) and, presumably, Medma in C6l is implied by *SEG* 11 1211 (525–500), a joint dedication by these three cities of spoils taken from Kroton. Thucydides' phrasing at 5.5.3 (ὁ πρὸς Ἱππωνιᾶς καὶ Μεδμαίους πόλεμος) suggests that Hipponion and Medma were allies in the war against Lokroi *c.*422.

In 388 Hipponion was conquered by Dionysios I of Syracuse, who relocated the inhabitants to Syracuse (no. 47), razed the city, and handed over its territory to the Lokrians (Diod. 14.107.2; cf. Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 20.7.3). Apparently, not *all* Hipponieis were relocated; at least, when describing the refoundation of the city at 15.24.1 (r379), Diodorus states that the Carthaginians restored the city to the "Hipponiates in exile", and these may have been exiled when Dionysios took the city; Diodorus' phrasing leaves open the possibility that exiles other than Hipponieis were settled in the refounded city (Lombardo (1989) 439). In 356, the city was subdued by the Brettians (Diod. 16.15.2); but any long-lasting Brettian possession of the city is hardly to be assumed (cf. Lombardo (1989) 440–43).

F.Delphes III.1 176 (C4l–C3e) is a grant of proxeny etc. by Delphi (no. 177) to a man described as Λοκρὸς ἐκ τῶν Ἐπι[ζε]φυρίων Ἱππωνιεύς (*supra*).

Hipponion was founded on a steep-sided plateau *c.*500 m above sea level. There are no traces of the Greek urban layout or habitation structures, which have all been obliterated by the mediaeval city. However, the extant remains of the *c.*6 km-long circuit wall and the morphology of the site indicate a fortified area of about 80 ha; the urbanised area, presumably about the size of the mediaeval city, comprised about 40 ha (Aumüller (1994) 248 fig. 1). The city probably had an urban layout similar to that of other Greek colonies, with open unoccupied spaces (Ianelli and Giviglaino (1989) 677–81). The circuit wall has four structural phases (Aumüller (1994); Ianelli (2000*a*)): the first phase ("A"), C6s–C5f, had foundations roughly constructed of boulders, possibly supporting a brick superstructure. The second phase ("B"), C5s–C4f, is an ashlar wall with rectangular towers, unusually placed inside the curtain-wall. The destruction and later enlargement of this phase is possibly connected with destruction by Dionysios I in 388 and the later Carthagian-sponsored refoundation of the city. Later phases are connected with the incursions of the Brettians and possibly with the wars of Agathokles. The eastern part of the city, the Cofino plateau, though not urbanised, was fortified from the early history of the city, but may have been separated from the central area by a transverse wall, a sort of *diateichisma*, at a later date (Aumüller (1994) fig. 1 "a–a" and "b–b"; cf. also Ianelli and Givigliano (1989) 672–77, 679 pl. 53). The sanctuaries are, primarily, situated along the east and north edge of the plateau, a system of "*sacra cintura*" known, for instance, from Akragas and Lokroi (Parra (1996*b*), (2000)): to the north on the top of "Belvedere-Telegrafo" is a C6m *temenos* with *naiskoi* and a monumental, C6l peripteral Doric temple; to the east is the *temenos* "Contorno del Castello"; a C5l–C4e Ionic temple is located on the Cofino plateau; *c.*150 north-west of temple are remains of a small *temenos* with votive deposits and *naiskos*(?) and a *via sacra* (Quilici (1990)). The evidence for the cults is above all C5f *pinakes* of Lokrian type with Persephone–Kore iconography (cf. Strabo 6.1.5), though one type is unique, with an Aphrodite iconography not known from the Lokroi *pinakes* (Parra (1989) 559–65, (1996*b*) 142–43; Hinz (1998) 211–12). C4 figurines indicate a Demeter cult (Ianelli (1996*c*) 147). A very rich votive deposit in "località Scrimbia" covers the period *c.*570–C5 and testifies to a wealthy aristocracy (Sabbione (1996); Hinz (1998) 212). Cults of Zeus, Athena and Hermes seem to be indicated by the coin types (*infra*), as does one of a local nymph Pandina. The C7–C6 cemeteries were located on the western outskirts of city, originally outside the circuit walls, perhaps later within (Arslan (1986); M. D'Andria (1989); Ianelli (2000b)).

Like its *metropolis* Lokroi, and the other Lokrian subcolony of Medma, Hipponion did not issue coins until C4m, when it initiated a bronze coinage. The first phase is dated before the Brettian conquest in 356 or after, on the basis of Brettian influence on letters in the legend *FEI* or *FEIII* (cf. Lombardo (1989) 441–43, who argues for periods of Hipponian autonomy in C4s–C3e). *Obv.* head of Hermes;

rev. eagle, or amphora or *kerykeion* (Rutter, *HN*³ 2243–54; *SNG Cop. Italy* 1829–30). Later issues have *obv.* head of Zeus, or Apollo, with *rev.* types similar to those of the earlier issues; legend: ΕΙΠΩΝΙΕΩΝ (Rutter, *HN*³ 2246ff; *SNG Cop. Italy* 1831–34). One issue depicts a goddess Pandina (possibly influenced by Terina: Rutter (1997) 78), legend: ΠΑΝΔΙΝΑ (Rutter, *HN*³ 2251; *SNG Cop. Italy* 1834). A small issue of staters on the Corinthian standard has been attributed to Hipponion on the basis of the *kerykeion* symbol on the *rev.* (Rutter, *HN*³ 2242).

54. Hyele (Hyeletes)/**Elea** (Eleates) Map 46. Lat. 40.10, long. 15.10. Size of territory: 2. Type: A. The earliest form of the toponym is Ὑέλη, ἡ (possibly on C5f coins, cf. Masson, *REG* 108 (1995) 231; Hdt. 1.167.3; cf. Antiochos (*FGrHist* 555) fr. 8 *apud* Strabo 6.1.1). The corresponding city-ethnic is Ὑελήτης (C5 coins, *infra*). This form is replaced in the Classical period by Ἐλέα, ἡ (Antiochos (*FGrHist* 555) fr. 8 *apud* Strabo 6.1.1; Pl. *Soph.* 216A; Ps.-Skylax 12). The corresponding city-ethnic is Ἐλεάτης (*IG* IV².1 258 (C4); Arist. *Rh.* 1400ᵇ7), also spelled Ϝελεάτας (*BE* (1987) no. 758 (C4)) and possibly in *SEG* 24 303 (C6–C5) as re-interpreted by G. Cordiano (1995*a*).

Hyele is called a *polis* in the urban sense at Hdt. 1.167.3 (where Rosén's conjecture ἐκτίσαντο is preferable to codd. ἐκτήσαντο); and "Elea" is one of ten toponyms listed at Ps.-Skylax 12 after the heading πόλεις εἰσὶν Ἑλληνίδες αἵδε, where *polis* is used in the urban sense. *Polites* is found in Speusippos fr. 3. The internal collective use of the city-ethnic is found on C5 coins (*infra*); the external collective use is found in Arist. *Rh.* 1400ᵇ7 and possibly in *SEG* 24 303 (C6–C5) as reinterpreted by G. Cordiano (1995*a*); and the external individual use is found at *IG* IV².1 258 (C4) and *BE* (1987) no. 758 (C4).

Hyele was founded by Phokaians (= Alalians (no. 1)) who had abandoned the Phokaian colony of Alalia on Corsica shortly after the battle of Alalia (*c.*540–535) in which they had defeated Etruscan and Carthaginian forces but suffered severe losses themselves (Hdt. 1.166–67); according to Ps.-Skymnos 250, a contingent from Massalia (no. 3) participated in the foundation. The site on which the city was founded was uninhabited before the arrival of the Hellenes (Bencivenga Trillmich (1990) 365).

The territory of Hyele was delimited by the hills of Mt. Gelbison and Mt. Cavallara and the Classical fortresses located there, such as that of Moio della Civitella (E. Greco and Schnapp (1986); Bencivenga Trillmich (1990) 366–67 fig. 367). The earlier contention that Hyele had no *chora* (Pugliese Carratelli (1970*b*) 12–14) has been abandoned (cf. for instance Morel (1988) 438–40); Gras (1985) 422–23 calculates the arable hinterland of Hyele as *c.*13 km², suggesting that a large part of the *chora*, above all the wooded slopes of the inland hills, was exploited for timber. E. Greco and Schnapp (1983) 382–83 suggest that the territory within a distance of 4–5 km of Hyele was suitable for farming. The largest territorial extension, as bounded by Poseidonian territory to the north, and at the Palinuros peninsula, delimiting the territory of Pyxous (no. 67) on the south, is *c.*400–500 km²; however, the degree of Hyele's control over this larger area is uncertain; Strabo 6.1.1 hints at armed conflicts with Poseidonia (no. 66) and the Leukanians, but supplies no date. No sanctuaries or second-order settlements are known in the territory (Bencivenga Trillmich (1990) 366).

According to Strabo 6.1.1, the offshore islands of the Oinotrides offered good anchoring places, while the estuaries of the rivers Alento and Fiumarella north and south of the acropolis also offered harbour facilities (cf. Johannowsky (1982) 234). Apart from these mercantile aspects the city has all the appearances of a "population-colony" with a *chora* (cf. Morel (1988) 438–40, 461).

Attempts have been made to estimate the size of Hyele's population at the time of its foundation from the number of Phokaian ships that survived the battle at Alalia: twenty *pentekonteres* according to Hdt. 1.166.2. A crew of eighty with families gives a figure of between 240 and 320 per ship, in all *c.*4,800–6,400 persons (Gras (1985) 421–22); other calculations have reached a similar figure of *c.*6,000 (Johannowsky (1982) 225). However, it is important to bear in mind that the limited agricultural resources were not the sole means of support for the population, which had important commercial contacts as well (Morel (1982); Gras (1985) 421–25); cf. also the remarks by Strabo 6.1.1 on the city's reliance on the sea.

Hyele was member of the Italiote League against Dionysios in 387 (Polyaen. 6.11). A squadron of twelve triremes is attested in Polyaen. 6.11 (r389). Two citizens of Hyele were involved in the Timoleontic refoundation of Akragas (no. 9) (Plut. *Tim.* 35.2).

There are few sources for the political organisation of Hyele; but a C5f tyranny is reported by Diod. 10.18.1–2 and Diog. Laert. 9.26. Parmenides was allegedly the legislator at Hyele, his native city, and each year the *archai* had to exact an oath from the *politai* to the effect that they would observe the laws of Parmenides (Plut. *Mor.* 1126A/B; Diog. Laert. 9.23; Talamo (1989)). The earliest preserved public enactment is a 242 *asylia* decree for Kos (*IGDGG* no. 59).

Hyele was founded on a coastal plateau, more prominent in antiquity when the coastline reached further inland on both sides of the promontory. The city comprised four main zones (overview: Krinzinger (1994)): (a) the acropolis, at first used for habitation and later the site of Hyele's main cults; (b) the western slope of the acropolis, "Weststadt", divided from the main urban zone (c) by the north–south circuit wall ("Krinzinger-wall-B"), and protected on the north by "wall-A"; (c) the main urban zone in the southern plain, "Südstadt" ("Unterstadt") and Vignale ("Oststadt"), protected westwards by "wall-C", northwards by "wall-A", and southwards towards the coast by "wall-E"; (d) a smaller zone on the north slope, "Nordstadt", protected by a separate circuit wall, "wall-D" (Krinzinger (1979), (1986)). The whole site was fortified *c.*520 shortly after the foundation, but obviously not fully urbanised, thus offering plenty of space for farming and husbandry. The division of the city into quarters by *diateichismata* walls goes back to the early history of the site, suggesting some sort of social division or a division based upon different functions such as habitation, commerce or workshops (survey of research: Gassner and Sokolicek (2000) 95–97). The circuit wall follows the crest of the hill from the acropolis to the top of Casteluccio, whence it turns southwards to incorporate a large part of the southern plain to the coast. The walls run for *c.*4 km and enclose an area of *c.*64 ha, comprising the "Nordstadt"; but during the early history of the site the habitation area was probably confined to the acropolis and the adjacent hill, and covered *c.*9 ha. The walls were of sun-dried brick upon a foundation of local sandstone in polygonal masonry. The C5e witnessed a monumentalisation of the early structure, with the use of accurate ashlar masonry and with towers raised at intervals of about 40–60 m, the upper structures still in sun-dried bricks, with a C5 course that comprised also the "Unterstadt" (Gassner and Sokolicek (2000)). A third phase in C4–C3 saw various repairs and reinforcements (Krinzinger (1979), (1986)). The Archaic habitation, or "polygonal phase", is known above all from the acropolis and its southern slope. The urban aspect is irregular, but there is some evidence of orthogonal planning, with a *plateia* along the south flank of the acropolis, cutting obliquely into the hill, and houses laid out on terraces on both sides of short *stenopoi*. On the acropolis the streets were laid out not orthogonally but in accordance with the morphology of the terrain. The lower wall structures are in local sandstone in a polygonal technique, whereas the upper structures are in sun-dried brick; there is evidence of a water supply and drainage (*Velia* iii; Krinzinger and Gassner (1997)). A large residential building, perhaps a ruler's house from C6l, was located further along the crest of the hill (Bencivenga Trillmich 1983). The lower city, "Südstadt", was also extensively occupied from the Archaic period, and there is evidence of urban planning from the C6l–C5e phase (Krinzinger (1992–93) 29–37). The Vignale zone in the lower city reveals urban organisation and orthogonal layout of the *per strigas* type from C5m (Krinzinger (1992–93); Krinzinger *et al.* (1999)). The morphology of the site may have favoured a system of habitation on terraces, a system of urbanisation well known in the Ionian cities, such as Ephesos and others.

The *cavea* structure under the C3 and later Roman theatre has, without substantial evidence, been interpreted as the remains of a *bouleuterion* of *c.*470–460 (Bencivenga Trillmich (1994) 93–94). A Greek phase of the Roman theatre is perhaps evidenced by a C5e polygonal *analema* wall (ibid. 90–92). In a later phase the *cavea* may have had a wooden covering, *ikria* (ibid. 89–90, 92–93). The Archaic habitation structures on the acropolis gave way to a monumental *temenos* probably already by the late Archaic period (for a survey of the archaeological evidence for sanctuaries at Hyele, see Hinz (1998) 180 n. 1046). A large quasi-isodomic terrace wall ("Ionic-Lemnian technique") gave space for a C5e Ionic temple, probably of Athena Polias (Bencivenga Trillmich (1990) 371 n. 26; Miranda (1982)). The terrace north-east of the temple with the sanctuary of Poseidon Asphaleios (Guarducci (1966) 280–82) is part of this reorganisation of the acropolis. The foundations of a C6 cult building on the western extremity of the acropolis in conjunction with votive material and inscriptions are all taken as evidence of a cult of Hera going back to the foundation of the city (Tocco Sciarelli (1997) 228–29). Another sanctuary, situated further along on the crest north-east of the acropolis, with an open paved space with stoas on three sides, is attributed to Poseidon Asphaleios by a C4m inscription (Guarducci (1966) 280–82). A well-built ashlar *temenos* wall and steps of access on the north slope belong to a C5 sanctuary of Zeus, identified by a C5m cippus (Krinzinger (1994) 37, 54 n. 52 "Zeus Agoraios"; *LSAG* 464 E); Miranda takes the Zeus inscriptions from the "Altar-terrasse" as evidence of a Zeus Polieus cult (Miranda (1982) 171–72; cf. *IGDGG* no. 53). The C5 cemetery was possibly laid out on the top of Castelluccio (Bencivenga Trillmich (1990) 369–70), but the evidence is meagre. Early excavation maps indicate a cemetery outside the south wall ("section E"), between the city and coast.

Hyele began minting silver coins on the Phokaian standard in C6s, with issues of drachms, diobols and, possibly, obols and eighth-obols (Williams (1992)): *obv.* forepart of a

lion devouring its prey; *rev.* an incuse pattern. No legends name the mint, but the attribution to Hyele rests on both provenance and *obv.* type (Rutter, *HN*³ 1259–63; *SNG Cop. Italy* 1521–22). The so-called auriol-class of diobols are less certainly attributed to Hyele (Rutter (1997) 33; cf. *IGCH* 2352). A new series from *c.*465 consists of didrachms on the Italic–Tarantine standard (Rutter, *HN*³ p. 118): *obv.* lion roaring, *rev.* head of the nymph Hyele; legend: ΥΕΛΗ (cf. Masson, *REG* 108 (1995) 231), ΥΕΛΗΤΕΩΝ, ΥΕΛΗΤΩΝ, at times retrograde, at first on *obv.* in exergue, later on *rev.* (Rutter, *HN*³ 1264; *SNG Cop. Italy* 1523–26); later types: *obv.* female head; *rev.* lion (*SNG Cop. Italy* 1527–28). Lower denominations from *c.*465: drachms, diobols and obols: *obv.* head of the nymph Hyele, the dies of the drachms marked with a letter in an alphabetical sequence; *rev.* owl; legend: ΥΕΛΗ (Rutter, *HN*³ 1265–67; *SNG Cop. Italy* 1529–34). After C5m, didrachms of a more advanced style were introduced: *obv.* Athena wearing richly ornamented Attic helmet similar to the type at Thourioi; *rev.* lion seizing stag; legends as above (Rutter, *HN*³ 1270; *SNG Cop. Italy* 1535–37); the drachms, diobols and obols have the same types as before. This series too has letters in an alphabetical sequence. Various silver issues were continued from C4e into Cl: *rev.* lion crouching (Rutter, *HN*³ 1277ff; *SNG Cop. Italy* 1538–92); sophisticated dies depict the head of Athena *en face* and with the signature perhaps of the engravers (*SNG Cop. Italy* 1560); the *obv.* type sometimes depicts Athena in Phrygian helmet (Rutter, *HN*³ 1291, 1295). Bronze coinage was introduced in C5s: *obv.* head of nymph, or of Herakles; *rev.* owl (Rutter, *HN*³ 1320–21; *SNG Cop. Italy* 1554–55). Later bronze types: *obv.* head of Herakles, or Athena, or Zeus; *rev.* lion, or owl, or tripod; legends as above (Libero Mangieri (1986) 116–23; Rutter, *HN*³ 1325ff; *SNG Cop. Italy* 1593–1611). The late silver and bronze issues indicate cults of Athena, Apollo, Zeus and Herakles in addition to that of the nymph Hyele (Breglia (1966); Ebner (1978); Williams (1992)).

55. Kaulonia (Kauloniatas) Map 46. Lat. 38.25, long. 16.35. Size of territory: 3. Type: [A]. The toponym is Καυλωνία, ἡ (Ps.-Skylax 13); an earlier form was Αὐλωνία (Hecat. fr. 84; Strabo 6.1.10; cf. Ps.-Skymnos 320–22 and Steph. Byz. 147.8–10; cf. also the legend ΑΥΛ on a C5e coin (*infra*)). The city-ethnic is Καυλωνιάτας (C5–C4e coins; Polyb. 2.39.6 (rC5)); ΑΥΛ on a C5e coin (*infra*) may abbreviate an earlier *Αὐλωνιάτας.

Kaulonia is the second toponym listed at Ps.-Skylax 13 after the heading πόλεις εἰσὶν αἵδε, where *polis* is used in the urban sense, cf. Diod. 14.103.3; Ps.-Skymnos 320 (r foundation) calls it *apoikia.* The internal collective use of the city-ethnic in found on C5 coins (*infra*); the external collective use is found in Iambl. *VP* 262 and Polyb. 2.39.6 (both rC5). For the external individual use of the city-ethnic, see Paus. 6.3.11, commenting on the C4f athlete Dikon of Kaulonia.

Kaulonia was an Achaian foundation (Strabo 6.1.10; Paus. 6.3.12); it was founded by Kroton (no. 56) (Ps.-Skymnos 318–19; Steph. Byz. 147.9–10). The *oikistes* was Typhon from Aigion (Paus. 6.3.12; Morgan and Hall (1996) 209). Serv. *ad Aen.* 3.553 describes it as a colony of Lokroi (no. 59). The existence of a C6e circuit wall (Tréziny (1989) 129) points to a foundation in C7s, though Greek finds go back to C8l (Tréziny (1988) 205).

The name of the territory was Καυλωνιᾶτις (Thuc. 7.25.2). The territory of Kaulonia functioned as a buffer zone between Lokroi and Kroton. The border between Lokrian and Kaulonian territory was probably formed by the river Sagra (Giangiulio (1989) 221–24, 251–52), whereas the border between Krotoniate and Kaulonian territory must remain more uncertain, perhaps to be located somewhere in the region of Skylletion, in which case the territory would measure *c.*200 km². There is some archaeological evidence for an ancient harbour near the estuary of the river Assi (Ianelli, Mariottini and Lena (1993)). C6m–C5m architectural fragments of about six roofs found on the hill of Passoliera *c.*1 km to the south of Kaulonia testify to an important extra-urban sanctuary (Barello (1995) 65–86).

A federation of Kaulonia, Kroton (no. 56) and, presumably, Sybaris on the Traeis (no. 70.V) was established at some uncertain date in C5 with the foundation of a federal sanctuary of Zeus Homarios (Polyb. 2.39.6; Walbank, *HCP ad loc.* and (2000) 24). The location of the federal sanctuary of Zeus Homarios is uncertain, but the sanctuary of Punta Stilo is one of the more convincing suggestions (*infra*). The find of a heavy limestone cover from a container in the sanctuary has been taken as evidence of a treasury or archive similar to that known from Lokroi (Ianelli (1992*a*)). In C5s, Kaulonia was, with Taras (no. 71) and Metapontion (no. 61), involved in arbitration between Kroton and returning exiles (Iambl. *VP* 262).

In 389 Kaulonia was besieged and taken by Dionysios I of Syracuse (Diod. 14.103ff), in spite of help from Kroton and from the Italiote League. The citizens of Kaulonia were relocated to Syracuse (no. 47), granted citizenship and exempted from taxes for five years (Diod. 14.106.3); the city was razed to the ground, and the territory handed over to Lokroi

(no. 59; Diod. 14.106.2). This may perhaps explain the tradition of a Kaulonia of the Lokrians (Steph. Byz. 369.19), and the tradition (in Serv. *Aen.* 3.553) that Kaulonia was a foundation of Lokroi. A refoundation *c.*357 by Dionysios II of Syracuse may be inferred from Diod. 16.10.2, 11.3; cf. Plut. *Dion.* 26.7. The C4m–s circuit wall also implies a refoundation (*infra*).

The Pythagoreans probably played a political role during C6l–C5f, but the evidence is not very good (Dicaearchus fr. 34, Wehrli: Pythagoras in Kaulonia; Iambl. *VP* 267: list of Pythagoreans in Kaulonia). Nothing else is known about the political organisation, unless one accepts the attribution to Kaulonia of a C5e inscription (*IGSII* 20 = *SEG* 4 71) testifying to civic subdivisions (Jones, *POAG* 168) and to the existence of an eponymous *damiorgos*; its provenance, however, remains uncertain (Arena (1996) no. 52).

Kaulonia was founded on sloping terrain facing the sea (survey of evidence: Ianelli (1992*b*)). There is little archaeological evidence for the Archaic or Classical city, but it extended inside the area of the later circuit wall, possibly in three separate areas, with an early settlement on the Faro of Punta Stilo and a C6 settlement extending as far north as "Colle A" and southwards on the Piazzatta hill; the different areas of habitation may each have had their own orientations, but the evidence is uncertain (Orsi (1914); Tréziny (1989) 156). The well-preserved circuit wall postdates the 389 destruction and is of C4m or C4s (Tréziny (1989) 155–57). C6 and C5 phases have been investigated inside tracts of the later wall. The C6 circuit wall probably had the same northern and western (though not including Orsi's "Neapolis occidentale") extension as the Hellenistic city. To the south it remains uncertain whether Orsi's "Neapolis meridionale" was part of the Archaic city. The Archaic walls therefore delimited an area of either 35–36 ha or 45–46 ha, the latter figure being the extent of the Hellenistic city. Eastwards, facing the sea, there is evidence of a C5 (and C6?) circuit wall (Tréziny (1989), esp. 129–32, 156–57). The city was refounded after the 389 destruction, and the remains of urban structures are mainly C4m (Ianelli and Rizzi (1985)). Apart from the Classical temple and its Archaic predecessor, there are remains of numerous smaller *naiskoi* and *thesauroi* in the vast *temenos* at Punta Stilo below the city on the coast (Barello (1995)). The identity of the deity honoured there is uncertain. The main coin type suggests that the chief divinity of Kaulonia was Apollo (Lacroix (1965) 159–61), possibly with the epithet Daphnephoros (Caccamo Caltabiano (1990)), but see Giannelli (1963) 179–82 and Kraay (1976) 68–69. An alternative suggestion is a cult of Zeus Homarios established by the Achaian League of Kaulonia, Kroton and Sybaris perhaps already in C5s (Torelli (1988) 593); Osanna (1989) interprets the rectangular theatre-like structure in the *temenos* as the seat of the Achaian League, though this should perhaps rather be looked for in neutral territory (Giannelli (1963) 182–83). Substantial walls, votives and architectural terracottas on the hill of the Faro di Punta Stilo inside the urban area belong to a major C6 sanctuary, possibly the earliest of Kaulonia (Barello (1995) 19–29). The cemeteries were located outside the circuit wall, north-west of the city (Orsi (1914)).

Dikon of Kaulonia was a successful athlete who won victories at all four Panhellenic festivals (Paus. 6.3.11). At his earlier victories he was proclaimed a Kaulonian (*Olympionikai* 379 (392)), but he was probably among the Kaulonians relocated to Syracuse by Dionysios I (*supra*), and he was proclaimed a *Syrakosios* at his subsequent victories (*Olympionikai* 388–89) and is described as such by Diod. 15.14.1 (r384) (cf. Stylianou (1998) *ad loc.*).

Kaulonia struck an incuse silver coinage from *c.*525, on the Achaian standard (Kraay (1960), (1978); Rutter, *HN*³ 2035ff), according to some scholars possibly from as late as 510 (Montani Pertosa (1993)). Initially, only staters were struck, but smaller denominations were issued in the late incuse phase. The type (on which see Rutter (1997) 30–31) is a striding, naked Apollo (*supra*) with a branch in his raised right hand, and on his outstretched left arm a small running naked figure holding a similar branch in each hand; in a field a stag. Legends are the abbreviated ethnic, often retrograde, *ΚΑΥΛ*, *ΚΑΥΛΟ* (Rutter, *HN*³ 2035–43; *SNG Cop. Italy* 1698–1702). A single triobol die carries the earlier form of the name *ΑΥΛ* (Kraay (1976) 169; Rutter, *HN*³ 2041). A double-relief coinage was introduced 480–475, with the same *obv.* type as on the incuse coinage; *rev.* stag; legends: *ΚΑΥΛ*, *ΚΑΥΛΩΝΙΑΤΑΣ*, *ΚΑΥΛΟΝΙΑΤΑΝ*; the double-relief coinage carries a complex system of letters or symbols (Rutter, *HN*³ 2044ff; *SNG Cop. Italy* 1703–32). Similar types appear on some smaller denominations (Rutter, *HN*³ 2060ff). Bronze coinage was issued from C5s: *obv.* head of horned river-god (the Sagra?); *rev.* stag (Rutter, *HN*³ 2069). Kaulonian coinage comes to an end with the conquest by Dionysios I in 389/8.

56. Kroton (Krotoniatas) Map 46. Lat. 39.05, long. 17.05. Size of territory: 4 (dominion: 5, *infra*). Type: A. The toponym is *Κρότων*, *ἡ* (Hdt. 3.131; *IG* IV².1 95.42 (356/5)). The city-ethnic is *Κροτονιάτας* (*LSAG* 104.22 = *SEG* 40 426 (510–470)), sometimes spelled *Ϙροτονιάτας* (*SEG* 11 1211

(525–500); coins, *infra*), Κροτωνιάτης (Thuc. 7.35.2; Arist. fr. 600.1), or Κροτωνιήτης (Hdt. 3.137.1).

Kroton is called a *polis* in the urban and political senses combined at Hdt. 3.137.3, and in Hdt. 8.46.1 it is subsumed under the heading *polis*, where *polis* occurs in the political sense (Hdt. 8.42.1, 49.1); Kroton is the third toponym listed at Ps.-Skylax 13 after the heading πόλεις εἰσὶν αἵδε, where *polis* is used in the urban sense. The Aristotelian collection of *politeiai* seems to have included a Κροτωνιατῶν πολιτεία (Heracl. Lemb. 68; Arist. fr. 523, Gigon).

The internal collective use of the city-ethnic is found on coins from C5l (*infra*); the external collective use is attested in a C6l–C5e Delphic inscription (*LSAG* 104.22 = *SEG* 40 426), and in *SEG* 11 1211 (C5), Hdt. 3.137.2 and Thuc. 7.35.2. The external individual use of the city-ethnic is attested in Hdt. 3.125.1, 5.47.1; *CID* II 51.III.9 (339); Arist. *Gen. an.* 752^{b}25.

Kroton was an Achaian foundation (Hdt. 8.47; Peloponnesian in Ps.-Skymnos 328; Spartan participation (Paus. 3.3.1) is a tradition probably no older than the victory over Sybaris and the expedition of Dorieus (C6l)). The colony was founded in 709/8 (Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 2.59.3; Jer. *Chron.* also gives Ol. 17.3, and the foundation is here treated as contemporary with that of Sybaris, as in other sources, e.g. Strabo 6.2.4, cf. 6.1.12; the Armenian Eusebios gives Ol. 17.4, i.e. 708/7). A date not long after the foundation of Syracuse (733) is implied by Antiochos' statement that the oecist Myskellos of Rhypes in Achaia (cf. Hippys (*FGrHist* 554) fr. 1) received support from Archias the oecist of Syracuse (*FGrHist* 555, fr. 10). See also Giangiulio (1989) 134–48 for a reappraisal of the Delphic traditions and Myskellos. The verse oracles relating to Myskellos (Diod. fr. 8.17; Antiochos and Hippys (*locc. citt. supra*)) are not genuine but "quasi-historical" according to Fontenrose (1978) Q28–30, Q139–140. However, Delphi probably did play an important role in the foundation: the Delphic tripod is depicted already on the earliest Krotoniate coinage (*infra*). Herakles is named as the mythical founder on C5s coin legends (Lacroix (1965) 76–79 pl. 5.7–8; cf. Diod. 4.24.7 and Heracl. Lemb. 68). Cf. further Morgan and Hall (1996) 206–8.

The name of the territory is ἡ Κροτωνιῆτις γῆ at Hdt. 5.45, or simply ἡ Κροτωνιᾶτις (Thuc. 7.35.1; Alkimos (*FGrHist* 560) fr. 2). To the north-east the river Hylias (modern Fiumenica?) formed the border with the territory of Sybaris (no. 70)/Thourioi (no. 74) (Thuc. 7.35.2). The Lakinian promontory and the rivers Aisaros and Krimisa may mark the limits of the early territory. Later the *chora* of Kroton was delimited to the north by the sanctuary of Apollo Alaios, to the south by that of Hera Lakinia, and inland by the adjoining hills (Giangiulio (1989) 215–32). In a 1984 survey 238 settlements and single farmsteads were recorded; by 450–350 the territory measured about 270 km² (Carter and D'Annibale (1984); Carter *et al.* (1990)).

The tradition of Philoktetes (Apollodorus (*FGrHist* 244) fr. 167 = Strabo 6.1.3), and that of the Krotoniate possession of the bow of Herakles (*Mir. ausc.* 840^{a}20), may reflect Krotoniate expansion or ambitions on the confines of Sybarite territory (Mele (1983*a*) 36–39) or in regard to the indigenous populations (Giangiulio (1991*a*) 49–53). The expansion of Kroton is indicated by the foundation of two colonies in C7: Kaulonia (no. 55) on the Ionian Sea (Ps.-Skymnos 318–22), comprising also the territory of Skylletion; and Terina (no. 73) on the Tyrrhenian Sea (Ps.-Skymnos 306–7). The territorial ambition of Kroton towards the south-west was blocked at the river Sagra, theatre of the C6m war between Kroton and Lokroi (no. 59) (Strabo 6.1.10) in which Kroton was surprisingly defeated. The maximum territorial expansion of Kroton was attained after the victory over Sybaris *c.*510, and for this period a Krotoniate dominion is attested by coins with two ethnics: in addition to that of Kroton, those of Sybaris (no. 70) (ϘPO-ΣY), Pandosia (no. 64) (ϘPO-ΠΑΝΔΟ) and Temesa (no. 72) (ϘPO-TE); cf. also coins inscribed ΣΥ-ΛΑF (*infra*). As shown by Parise, this numismatic evidence points not to an alliance but to a dominion controlled by Kroton (Parise (1982); cf. Stazio (1983*b*) 967–70). Kroton may have treated the cities in the dominion as dependencies, since there is evidence of a Krotoniate governor (*exarchos*) at Sybaris (Iambl. *VP* 74; Minar (1942) 70). In C5, Kroton opposed the refoundation of Sybaris (Diod. 11.90.4, 12.10.2, cf. 11.3) and waged war against Thourioi (no. 74) with the help of the Pythagoreans returning from exile (Polyb. 2.39.4; Iambl. *VP* 264). In C5s, however, its dominion disintegrated (Kahrstedt (1918) 185; *RE* xi. 2024–25).

A number of important sanctuaries were located in the territory: that of Hera Lakinia on the promontory *c.*10 km to the south of Kroton had a C6 origin and had developed into a pan-Italiote sanctuary by C5l. The Classical temple was a major structure of unparalleled splendour in Magna Graecia (Orsi (1911*b*); Spadea (1996)). The other major sanctuary in the territory, at Cirò (Punta Alice), is probably that of Apollo Alaios founded by Philoktetes (Lycoph. *Alex.* 920; dedication of the bow of Herakles, *Mir. ausc.* 840^{a}20); it secured the territorial interests of Kroton southwards (Maddoli (1983) 336; Musti (1991) 25–27). Inland sanctuaries in the *chora* of Kroton have been found at Giammiglione

and at S. Anna (Spadea (1983) 137–38; Osanna (1992) 177–79). In 413, the city denied an Athenian army passage through the territory (Thuc. 7.35.2). Control of the territory may also be implied by Hdt. 5.45.2 mentioning a presumably public grant of land to Kallias of Elis. A C6l exile is attested in Hdt. 5.47.1; cf. Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 20.1.7 for C5e exiles. A C5s recall of exiles is reported in Iambl. *VP* 263.

The military forces of Kroton at the C6 battle on the river Sagra reputedly numbered 130,000 or 120,000 men (Strabo 6.1.10; Just. *Epit.* 20.3.4–5) and 100,000 men in 510 (Diod. 12.9.5). These, obviously, are unreliable figures, but it seems correct that, after the victory over Sybaris, Kroton had the largest population of the Greek cities in Italy (cf. Diod. 14.103.4 (r389)); 10,000 citizens, the estimate of Beloch (1922) iii.1 306–7, may be correct.

Kroton was of Achaian origin, but relations with homeland Achaia are almost invisible in our sources (Morgan and Hall (1996) 211–14). By C6m the Achaian cities of Italy seem to have formed an alliance, e.g. in the war against Siris (no. 69), which was defeated by Kroton (no. 56), Metapontion (no. 61) and Sybaris (no. 70.I) (Just. *Epit.* 20.2.4). In C5l, Kroton with Kaulonia (no. 55) and Sybaris on the Traeis (no. 70.V) organised the first Italiote League (Polyb. 2.39.5–6; Walbank (2000) 23–24), later enlarged or refounded in opposition to Dionysios I of Syracuse and the Leukanians (Diod. 14.91.1 (r393), describing it as a *symmachia* with a *synedrion*, cf. 101.1; *Staatsverträge* 230). However, Dionysios' victory on the river Eleporos in 389 was followed by a twelve-year period of dependency on the tyrant of Syracuse (Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 20.7).

In 356/5, a citizen of Kroton served as *theorodokos* of Epidauros (no. 348) (*IG* IV².1 95.42); *IG* II² 406 (C4s) is possibly a fragment of a grant of proxeny for a Krotoniate. Reception of envoys is attested in Diod. 12.9.3 (rC6l). Sending of envoys is reported in Phylarchos (*FGrHist* 81) fr. 45 (rC6l) and Iambl. *VP* 263 (rC5s).

The constitution of Kroton is known only from late sources of doubtful value, principally Iamblichos' *De Vita Pytagorica* of the third to fourth century AD. It was aristocratic/oligarchic until C5m (Iambl. *VP* 255), from C6l to C5m seemingly under strong Pythagorean influence (Minar (1942) 1–71), though both democratic and tyrannical interludes are recorded. A *gerousia* with its *archeion* as well as *archontes* are attested for C6l (Dicaearchus fr. 33, Wehrli; Timaeus (*FGrHist* 566) fr. 44; cf. Iambl. *VP* 126: *archeion* of the 1,000), but such constitutional details are all that is known (Minar (1942) 8), though it may be inferred from the democratic revolution of C6l (*infra*) that, e.g., access to offices was denied the *demos*. A meeting of the *ekklesia* is attested for C6l (Diod. 12.9.4); the *synkletos*, which in connection with this meeting is distinguished from the *demos* (ibid.), may possibly be identical with either the *gerousia* or with the "1,000", a body attested in Iambl. *VP* 45, 126 (rC6l). For the interpretation of the 1,000 as the original Archaic assembly, see Sartori (1953) 116 and Ghinatti (1996) 82–86. Another possibility is that the 1,000 were a/the council (Val. Max. 8.12.15. *Ext.* 1; cf. Minar (1942) 8). Democracy was introduced in C6l (Robinson (1997) 76) (shortly after the victory over Sybaris, since one of the causes of the revolution reported by Iambl. *VP* 255 was dissatisfaction with the arrangements proposed for the conquered Sybarite land) after a violent uprising against the Pythagoreans (Iambl. *VP* 257–62); the initial demands for reform included popular access to magistracies and assemblies, and *euthynai* of officials by representatives chosen by lot ἐκ πάντων (ibid. 257); some of these constitutional demands may have been met (Minar (1942) 56). After the final democratic victory there followed sentences of exile, a redistribution of land and a cancellation of debts (Iambl. *VP* 262), though these measures have been thought to have occurred only in C5m (Minar (1942) 57–60); see also Robinson (1997) 76–77, who accepts the whole account as referring to C6l. A tyrant, Kleinias, is with some uncertainty dated to C5e (Minar (1942) 72; Luraghi (1994) 72–75). All that is known of him is that he secured his tyranny with the aid of exiles (presumably non-Krotoniate) and slaves, and proceeded to execute and exile the *epiphanestatoi*; he may also have brought other *poleis* under his sway (Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 20.7.1); his revolt seems to have been against a reconstituted oligarchy (cf. *epiphanestatoi*), though it is not known how it replaced the C6l democracy (Berger (1992) 20). A *prytanis* is attested in C5e (Ath. 522C); the office of *strategos* is attested as well (Kratinos fr. 223, Kock). Oligarchs were in power again in C5m, when the Pythagoreans were overthrown, but the constitutional history after Kleinias is obscure (Minar (1942) 73ff).

Kroton was founded on a coastal plain, delimited on one side by the Castello hill, the acropolis of the ancient city. There is no clear evidence of a pre-Greek indigenous settlement (Sabbione (1982) 251, 259), but according to Ephor. fr. 140 it had been inhabited by Iapygians. A C4–C2 circuit wall is known from various locations along the hills delimiting the urban centre. The morphology of the Collina del Castello and the S. Lucia hills suggests a coherent fortification system similar to Euryalos at Syracuse. The C4 evidence suggests a continuous circuit (cf. the siege of 317 reported in Diod.

19.3.3), the river Aisaros being fortified along the banks or/and with chains across the river, in all 13 km in length (cf. Livy 24.3.1). The fortified area comprised *c.*620 ha (cf. Diod. 21.4 (r295)); Livy 23.30.7 refers to an *arx*, probably the acropolis comprising the S. Lucia hills (Spadea (1983) 158–61).

The evidence suggests that the Greek colonists settled simultaneously over the whole of the later urbanised area, from the acropolis near the coast to the north circuit wall, i.e. including the area north of the river Aisaros. The character of the urban layout in the different zones suggests an initial settlement pattern organised in several *kleroi* (Spadea (1983) 124–27; Lattanzi (1988) 554). The earliest urban organisation with a regular layout has a C7l–C6e origin. There are indications that Kroton was provided with a new town plan after Dionysios' defeat of the Italiote League at the river Eleporos in 389, but the alterations relative to earlier grid systems are unclear (Spadea (1983) 152–54). The harbour mentioned by Strabo (6.1.12) may have been located on the estuary of either the river Aisaros or the river Neaithos. According to Diod. 12.9.3, Sybarite exiles sought refuge at altars in the agora *c.*510 (cf. Hdt. 3.137.1).

The archaeological evidence for urban sanctuaries is limited to the C6 Hera Eleutheria(?) sanctuary "Vigna Nuova" on the outskirts of the city (Spadea (1983) 144–50) bridging *polis* and *chora* (Lattanzi (1981) 224–25). Other urban sanctuaries, however, are indicated by sporadic finds of C7–C6 architectural terracottas (Spadea (1983) 136–37). A cult of Zeus Soter is inferred from coin legends (*infra*), and the seat of the Achaian League in the sanctuary of Zeus Homarios has tentatively been located in the sanctuary of Hera Lakinia (De Sensi Sestito (1982*b*)). A festival at Kroton with monetary prizes is mentioned in Timaios (*FGrHist* 566) 45 (rC6l); cf., however, Ath. 522A with Dunbabin (1948) 370.

Remains of an ashlar structure in the area of the Nuova Vigna is interpreted as part of a theatre of uncertain date (Cristofani (1970) 269), but structural remains of a theatre have not been substantiated (Todisco (1990) 149–51). A theatre used for public games is mentioned by Iambl. *VP* 126 (rC5?). Kroton's major cemetery on the Carrara hill, delimiting the city on its eastern side, goes back to C8l. The house of the athlete Astylos who had himself proclaimed as a Syracusan after victories at Olympia was on that account turned into a prison (Paus. 6.13.1 (r480s); Hansen (2002) 36–37).

Attested cults include those of Hera Lakinia (*LSAG* 261 no. 21 (C6s); Diod. 13.3.4), with an important festival (*Mir. ausc.* 96), Apollo (*Mir. ausc.* 109; Iambl. *VP* 261; cf. also coinage, *infra*), the Muses (Iambl. *VP* 264), Demeter (Timaeus (*FGrHist* 566) fr. 131) and Zeus Meilichios (*SEG* 17 42 (C6–C5)).

Participation in the games at Olympia is attested from 672 to 480. Kroton was famous for its athletes (Strabo 6.1.12), who achieved an amazing number of victories (cf. Miller (2000) 286–87; Mann (2001) 164–91), of which twenty-six are mentioned in our sources (*Olympionikai* 38, 87, 90, 92, 100, 104, 109, 115, 122, 126, 129, 133, 135, 139, 145, 148, 153, 166, 172, 178, 179, 186, 187, 196, 197, 198). Astylos, however, the winner of various races in 484 and 480, was on both occasions proclaimed a *Syrakosios* (cf. Mann (2001) 188–89, 246–48). One of the most famous Krotoniate athletes, Phayllos, never achieved an Olympic victory, but was a triple *Pythionikes* prior to 480 (Hdt. 8.47 (twice in the pentathlon and once in running: Paus. 10.9.2); cf. *RE* xix.2. 1903–4).

Architectural fragments of Krotoniate type from Olympia and Delphi may testify to Krotoniate *thesauroi* (Heiden (1990) 44; Mertens-Horn and Viola (1990) 244–45). *LSAG* 104.22 = *SEG* 40 426 (510–470) is an external communal dedication to Pythian Apollo, presumably of spoils taken from Sybaris. *SEG* 11 1211 (C5), on the other hand, is a dedication at Olympia of spoils taken *from* Kroton and dedicated by the Hipponians (no. 53), the Medmaians (no. 60) and the Lokrians (no. 59) (cf. Lombardo (1989) 429). C5s Krotoniate publication of a public document at Delphi is attested at Iambl. *VP* 263. Communal consultation of the Delphic oracle is reported by Just. *Epit.* 20.2.5, 3.1–3 (rC6s).

Kroton minted an incuse coinage on the Achaian standard from *c.*530, mainly staters and drachms. The principal type, and sole type initially, is the Delphic tripod, legend: $\varphi PO, \varphi POT, \varphi POTO, \varphi POTON$ (Stazio (1983*a*) 369–74; Parise (1990*b*); Rutter, *HN*³ 2075–94, 2100–6; *SNG Cop. Italy* 1735–64). The tripod refers to the importance of the cult of the Pythian Apollo, alluded to more specifically on C5l types (*infra*). For Apollo Pythios at Kroton: Iambl. *VP*, 28.9–10, 35.261, discussed by Maddoli (1983) 336. A variant type with a flying eagle on the *rev.* (Stazio (1983*a*) 375–77; Rutter, *HN*³ 2095, 2108; *SNG Cop. Italy* 1765–69) is either an "alliance" or "dominion" coin (unknown alliance city; Kraay (1976) 168 suggests Hipponion) or a reference to Zeus at Kroton or to special ties between Kroton and Olympia—an interpretation perhaps supported by later issues with a seated eagle on a column (*infra*) (Stazio (1983*a*) 375–76). The dominion issues (*supra*; Rutter, *HN*³ p. 168) all have the Krotoniate tripod on the *obv.*, with legend φPO whereas the *rev.* type varies: Sybaris (no. 70.II): bull standing r. looking back, legend: ΣY (Rutter, *HN*³ 2098); Pandosia (no. 64): bull standing r. looking back (relief in incuse square), legend:

ΠΑΝΔΟ (Rutter, *HN*³ 2097); Temesa (no. 72): tripod, legend: ΤΕ also C5 stater, double relief, *obv.* tripod, legend: ΤΕ; *rev.* helmet, legend ΡΟ (Gorini (1975) 26–27; Rutter, *HN*³ 2080 with refs.; *SNG Cop. Italy* 1828).

Smaller denominations (triobols, diobols and obols) in double relief were minted from C6l and through the C5: *obv.* tripod; *rev.* a variety of types known from other mints: Pegasos, cuttlefish, hare, cock, crab and wheel (Stazio (1983*a*) 377–80; Rutter, *HN*³ 2125ff; *SNG Cop. Italy* 1785–94). The issue is explained as denominations used to make up the weight of Krotoniate staters to that of coins minted on other standards, or as politically motivated issues (Stazio (1983*a*) 381–84; Rutter, *HN*³ p. 170).

The full transition from an incuse to a double-relief coinage took place *c.*435, at first with the tripod on both *obv.* and *rev.* (Rutter, *HN*³ 2113–19; *SNG Cop. Italy* 1770–72), the *obv.* type later replaced by other types: an eagle seated on an Ionic capital (Stazio (1983*a*) 384–85; Rutter, *HN*³ 2141; *SNG Cop. Italy* 1775–81); Herakles seated and the legend ΟΙΚΙΣΤΑΣ claiming Herakles as founder of the city (cf. Diod. 4.24.7; Stazio (1983*a*) 385; Rutter, *HN*³ 2139; *SNG Cop. Italy* 1773–74). The cult of the Pythian Apollo is alluded to in types with Apollo shooting arrows at the Python (Lacroix (1965) 158–61; Rutter, *HN*³ 2140; *SNG Cop. Italy* 1773). By C5l the Ρ is replaced by Κ and Ο by Ω, with legends ΚΡΟ, ΚΡΟΤ, ΚΡΟΤΟΝ, ΚΡΟΤΩΝΙΑΤΑΝ, ΚΡΟΤΩΝΙΑΤΑΣ.

Types on the later issues include *obv.* head of Hera Lakinia, *rev.* seated Herakles (Rutter, *HN*³ 2159; *SNG Cop. Italy* 1800–4), both types reflecting the importance of Kroton in the Italiote League (Stazio (1983*a*) 390–94). A C4e type with the infant Herakles strangling snakes was also adopted by a number of cities in Asia Minor, reflecting a monetary league or a common use of "Greek fighting Barbarian" symbolism (Stazio (1983*a*) 391–92; Rutter, *HN*³ 2157; *SNG Cop. Italy* 1804–5). Bronze coinage was introduced *c.*400 (Stazio (1983*a*) 394–95; Rutter, *HN*³ 2202ff; *SNG Cop. Italy* 1821–27).

Kroton was the *metropolis* of Kaulonia (no. 55) (Ps.-Skymnos 318–19), founded in C7s, and of Terina (no. 73) (Ps.-Skymnos 306–7), founded at the latest *c.*460.

57. Kyme (Kymaios) Map 44. Lat. 40.50, long. 14.05. Size of territory: 4. Type: A. The toponym is Κύμη, ἡ (Thuc. 6.4.5), spelled Κύμε on C5f coins (*infra*); the Doric form is Κύμα (ML 29 (474)); it is qualified by τῆς Ἰταλίας at Diod. 11.51.1 (r474). The city-ethnic is Κυμαῖος (C5f coins, *infra*; Diod. 11.51.2 (r474)).

Kyme is called a *polis* in the political sense at Thuc. 6.4.5 (cf. Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 7.6.4 (rC6l)), and it called *polis Hellenis* in the urban sense at Ps.-Skylax 10 (cf. Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 7.4.1 (rC6l); Diod. 12.76.4 (r421)). The internal collective use of the city-ethnic is attested on C5 coins (*infra*). The external collective use is found in Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 7.4.3 (rC6l), Diod. 11.51.2 (r474) and 12.76.4 (r421). The external individual use is found in Paus. 10.12.8 (rHell.).

Kyme was the earliest of the Greek colonies in Italy and Sicily (Strabo 5.4.4). The archaeological evidence indicates Greek settlers at Kyme from *c.*750–725, which is contemporary with the earliest Greek evidence from Pithekoussai, thus suggesting a first settlement phase contemporary with that site (d'Agostino (1999*a*) 54, (1999*b*) 207–11). The city was founded by Euboian Chalkis (no. 365) (Thuc. 6.4.5: Χαλκιδικὴ πόλις) or by Chalkis and Eretria (no. 370) (Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 7.3). According to Strabo 5.4.4, there were two groups of settlers: one led by Hippokles from Euboian Kyme, and one led by Megasthenes from Chalkis.

Kyme's hinterland was fertile, but the city was a maritime settlement (Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 7.3.2 (r524/3)). There is a tradition of harbour stations in Kymaian territory, such as Dikaiarcheia, which may have been an *epineion Kymaion* during its early history (Strabo 5.4.6 (rC8–C7?)); however, at this site mineral extraction may also have played a role (cf. Mele (1979) 43–45; and Dikaiarcheia in the list of non-*polis* sites, *supra*). Kymaian territory extended southwards to the site of Parthenope, perhaps originally one of the *epineia* of Kyme (Strabo 5.4.7; cf. Parthenope in the list of non-*polis* sites, *supra*). Neapolis (no. 63) was probably founded as a C5 colony of Kyme. Kymaian territory extended northwards to the river Klanios, the border between the Greek and Etruscan areas of influence (Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 7.3.3 (r524/3)). The territory comprised *c.*280 km² (Frederiksen (1984) 68–69 map 2). There is little evidence of sanctuaries in Kymaian territory; however, the Demeter sanctuary on the north-west plateau of Neapolis predates the foundation of this city and may perhaps be taken as evidence of a rural sanctuary in Kymaian territory (E. Greco (1987*a*) 488–89), and traditions about the travels of Herakles point to rural sanctuaries dedicated to this hero. The cultural influence of Greek Kyme in the Italic regions should not be underestimated, a salient point being the Euboic-Kymaian origin of the Etruscan alphabet. The *political* influence of Kyme in Central Italy was considerable already in C6l, as indicated by the embassy sent by Aricia to Kyme asking for help against the Etruscans (Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 7.5.1).

Numerous military confrontations with non-Greek populations are on record (cf. Mele (1987)): in 524, the city defeated an invading force of Etruscans, Umbrians and Daunians (Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 7.3); in 504, Kyme successfully supported Aricia and defeated Etruscan forces (Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 7.5); in 474, Kyme in alliance with Hieron of Syracuse defeated Etruscans in a great naval battle off Kyme (Diod. 11.51; cf. ML 29); and in 421, Kyme fell to the Samnites, who subjected the city to an *exandrapodismos* and resettled it themselves (Diod. 12.76.4), while surviving Kymaians fled to Neapolis (Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 15.6.5; Lomas (2000) 178).

An alliance with Aricia is attested by Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 7.5.2 (rC6l). An alliance with Hieron of Syracuse is attested by Diod. 11.51.1, and this alliance defeated Etruscan forces in the great naval battle at Kyme in 474 (Diod. 11.51.2 (r474); cf. ML 29).

Kyme was conquered by Kampanians in 421, but although the city was subjected to *exandrapodismos* and resettled with Kampanians, Greek culture survived (Diod. 12.76.4; Strabo 5.4.4), and Ps.-Skylax 10 lists Kyme as a *polis Hellenis*.

Exiles during the tyranny of Aristodamos are mentioned at Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 7.10.4. Sending of envoys is attested at Diod. 11.51.1 (r *c.*474); reception of envoys is attested at Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 7.5.1 (rC6l).

According to Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 7.3.4, Kyme in C6l, during the conflicts with the Etruscans, raised an army of 4,500 foot and 600 horse; the city also possessed a navy at this time (ibid., cf. 7.5.3 for a navy amounting to ten ships). A *hipparches* is mentioned at Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 7.4.4 (rC6l). A *strategos* is mentioned by Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 7.5.2 (rC6l).

Information on the C6l constitution and political institutions is found in the account by Dionysios of Halikarnassos of the tyranny of Aristodamos (504–490); this account is influenced by stereotypical perceptions of tyranny (Berve (1967) 160), and it is uncertain to what degree the information on the political organisation of Kyme found in it is historical. With that caveat, it may be noted that according to Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 7.4.4, Kyme before the rise of Aristodamos was an aristocracy (described as an oligarchy at 7.6.4; Ghinatti (1996) 120–22). Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 7.4.4–5 refers to a *boule* (cf. 7.5.2), and a *bouleuterion* is mentioned at 7.7.3. The citizen body is depicted as divided into οἱ δυνατοί and ὁ δῆμος which was οὐ πολλῶν τινων κύριος (7.4.4–5). At Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 7.7.3 is a general reference to οἱ ἐν τέλει. After the C6l victory over the Etruscans, Aristodamos emerged as *prostates tou demou* (Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 7.4.5) by *demagogia*, and this implies the existence of an assembly (cf. 7.5.2 and ἐκκλησία at 7.7.5). After a successful command in war against the Etruscans in support of Aricia (7.5–7), Aristodamos launched a *coup d'état* and took power as tyrant, and, according to Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 7.8.1, carried out a γῆς ἀναδασμὸς καὶ χρεῶν ἄφεσις etc. as a stereotypical tyrant. After the overthrow of Aristodamos, the *patrios politeia* was restored (Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 7.11.4).

Death sentences passed by the C6 aristocracy/oligarchy are mentioned in Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 7.7.4 (rC6l).

Kyme occupied a high, isolated plateau in the Phlegraian Fields north of Cape Misenum. The settlement was founded on the saddle between the acropolis near the coast and Monte Grillo inland. The Greeks replaced an indigenous settlement, though it is uncertain whether they did so directly or after some hiatus (d'Agostino (1999*a*) 61). The acropolis and the settlement plateau were fortified from at least C6m, and possibly already from C6e, by a circuit wall built in isodomic ashlars, a double curtain-wall with internal fill (Pagano (1993); d'Agostino (1999*b*) 208–9). Seawards and eastwards along the Monte Grillo the walls exploited the natural steep slopes; to north and south the plateau was accessible from the hinterland and the wall was strengthened and provided with fortified gates, and probably also with an external ditch along the stretch facing Capuan and Etruscan territories (d'Agostino (1999*a*) 54; Fratta (2002) 61). The walls enclosed an area of *c.*80 ha, including the acropolis and part of the Monte Grillo which has revealed some traces of habitation in the Archaic period (Fratta (2002) 68).

There are few urban remains from the Greek period, but it is likely that the agora preceded the Roman *forum* and that the Roman road system followed an earlier Greek system. There is also some evidence of a *diateichisma* wall dividing the western and eastern city quarters (D'Onofrio (2002) 136–40). From the description of Aristodamos' homecoming after the victory at Aricia in 504 (Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 7.7.1) it is apparent that Kyme had at least two harbours. These were probably located below the acropolis, but any evidence has been obliterated by the Roman harbour structures, by silting and by bradyseisms (Paget (1968) 152–59; Morhauge *et al.* (2002)). Kyme had other harbour facilities in the bay of Misenum (Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 7.3.2 (r524/3)).

Part of the substructures of the Roman "Temple of Zeus" on the acropolis is from a C5m monumental Greek temple (Burelli and Valenza Mele (1989) 19). The sanctuary of Apollo (Paus. 8.24.5) was located on the lower terrace of the acropolis (cf., however, Clark (1977) 483 n. 8); the only Greek

remains are those of the C5 stereobate of a peripteral temple (Frederiksen (1984) 75). On the south-eastern slope of the acropolis the subterranean galleries, "Cave of the Sibyl", is at least in part C6–C5, but the function of the structure (an oracular cult, a heroon or tomb) is uncertain (Clark (1977) 484, fig. 1). The only identified sanctuary on the city plateau is an Archaic shrine in the outermost south-western corner of the city, inside the circuit wall, probably a C7 Heraion (Valenza Mele (1977) 500, 524; Pagano (1993) fig. 1.2; Fratta (2002) 49, 69). The epigraphic evidence for a Hera cult at Kyme goes back to *c.*650; she was possibly an oracular divinity with precedence over Apollo (*IGDGG* no. 14; cf. no. 15).

The cemeteries are of the utmost importance for the study of Kymaian history (Gábrici (1913)). They define the limits of the city from the C8, occupying quite an extensive area already from this period, and with single tombs, among the most ancient, found up to 3 km from the city without evidence of smaller Greek satellite settlements. Rich, aristocratic C8l–C7e tombs show close similarities with aristocratic tombs in Eretria, thus revealing close ties between the two cities in a period not long after the foundation of Kyme (Albore-Livadie (1979)).

Kyme began striking coins *c.*475. Three weight standards were employed in the early coinage of Kyme, the earliest issues being drachms on the Chalkidian (a single specimen is known) and didrachms on the Euboic–Attic standard (Rutter (1979) 15–16, 91; Rutter, *HN*³ p. 66). The Attic standard most likely derived from Syracuse and may reflect the alliance with Hieron and the establishment of a Syracusan garrison on Pithekoussai in C5f (cf. Strabo 5.4.9; Rutter (1979) 93). Types: *obv.* lion's scalp flanked on either side by boar's heads; *rev.* mussel shell; legends: *KYME*, *KYMAION* (Rutter (1979) 9–10; Rutter, *HN*³ 513–14). Shortly after the initial coinage, Kyme adopted the Phokaian standard from Hyele; the same types were employed in the different issues. The heraldic motif was probably an allusion to the temple of Apollo where the Kymaians kept the teeth of the Erymanthian boar killed by Herakles (Paus. 8.24.5; Lacroix (1965) 142–46; Rutter (1979) 9–10; Rutter, *HN*³ 515). The type was revived on C5l issues. The lion's scalp is above all known as a Samian type and may reflect Samian participation in the settlement at Dikaiarcheia in C6l (see Dikaiarcheia in the list of non-*polis* sites, *supra*). To the same early period are attributed two gold issues: *obv.* female head, or helmet; *rev.* on both, mussel shell (Rutter (1979) 17–18; Rutter, *HN*³ 511–12). Later issues of didrachms: *obv.* lion's scalp and boar's heads; *rev.* female head, perhaps a nymph personifying the city (Rutter (1979) 11; Rutter, *HN*³ 520; *SNG Cop. Italy* 357). Smaller denominations are drachms and obols. The rendering of some *rev.* types reveals Syracusan artistic influence. The most consistent issue has as *obv.* type the female head (Rutter, *HN*³ 521, 528, *SNG Cop. Italy* 358–68). An *obv.* type of Athena with Corinthian helmet is modelled on Corinthian types and must also reflect Syracusan influence (Rutter (1979) 11, 94–95; Rutter, *HN*³ 524; *SNG Cop. Italy* 369). Nearly all series have a mussel shell as *rev.* type, though with different secondary motifs such as a crab—of special interest as evidence of Himeran–Akragantine influence or even of an otherwise unknown alliance (Rutter (1979) 12, 92; Rutter, *HN*³ 524); *rev.* legends: *KYME* or *KYMAION*. After the Samnite occupation of Kyme, *c.*430–420, the mint was closed and minting for Kyme and other Kampanian cities was transferred to Neapolis, where coins continued to be struck in the name of Kyme (Rutter (1979) 8–41, 91–96).

A public festival is attested for C6l in Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 7.11.3. The numismatic evidence (*supra*) suggests cults of Athena, Herakles and Apollo, and possibly the nymph Kyme. Communal oracle consultation in C5e is implied by Ps.-Skymnos 243.

According to Thuc. 6.4.5, *leistai* from Kyme were the original settlers of Zankle (no. 51). Neapolis (no. 63) was probably a C5 foundation of Kyme (Strabo 5.4.7).

58. Laos (La(w)inos) Map 46. Lat. 39.45, long. 15.50. Size of territory: 2 (?). Type: [A]. The toponym is *Λᾶος* (Hdt. 6.21.1; Strabo 6.1.1; Ps.-Skylax 12 (emended, *infra*)). The city-ethnic is *ΛαϜῖνος* or *Λαῖνος* (C6l coins, *infra*).

In Ps.-Skylax 12, under the heading *πόλεις Ἑλληνίδες αἵδε*, the text [*Ἐλαὰ Θουρίων ἀποικία*] has been emended to read: *Ἐλέα, Λᾶος Θουρίων ἀποικία*; if the emendation is accepted, Laos is here classified as a *polis* type [A] in the urban sense as well as an *apoikia*. After the defeat of Sybaris by Kroton in 510 but before 494 (Hdt. 6.21.1), refugee Sybarites settled at Laos (a Sybarite colony: Strabo 6.1.1 and *infra*), being *τῆς πόλιος ἀπεστερημένοι*; whether this implies *polis* status for Laos is uncertain. *Polis* in the urban sense is found in Diod. 14.101.3 (r390). The internal collective use of the city-ethnic is found on C4l bronze coins (*infra*); earlier legends employ the nominative singular of the city-ethnic (Guarducci, *EG* II: 618).

Laos was a colony of Sybaris (no. 70.I) (Strabo 6.1.1; see further below on coinage) and refugee Sybarites settled there (and at Skidros) after the Krotoniate defeat of Sybaris in 510 (Hdt. 6.21.1). If correctly emended, Ps.-Skylax 12 (*supra*) describes Laos as a colony of Thourioi (no. 74); the

text may confuse Thourioi with Sybaris, or it may refer to a C5s refoundation of Laos by Thourioi or more generally to Thourian influence at Laos. The date of foundation is unknown; the *terminus ante quem* for the existence of the Greek community is *c.*510, when it commenced minting (*infra*). Prior to 510, Laos may have been an Oinotrian community dependent upon Sybaris and subsequently, from C6l to C5f, a mixed Oinotrian-Greek settlement.

The size of the territory of C6 Laos amounted to *c.*100 km² when calculated on the basis of the deserted indigenous settlements and of Sybarite influence in the territory from Orsomarso to Grisolia (bordering on the territory of Kerilloi) and including some of the territory on the right bank of the river Lao (E. Greco (1995*a*)).

Diod. 14.101.3 (r390) seems to describe Laos as a Leukanian settlement, and so Laos may have been conquered by the Leukanians in C5l. The city, however, seems not to have lost its Greek identity completely, and the C4 Leukanian town was mixed Greek and non-Greek (E. Greco and Schnapp (1989) 45–46); if correctly emended, Ps.-Skylax 12 (*supra*) lists Laos under the heading *poleis Hellenides*, and the city issued C4s bronze coins inscribed ΛΑΙΝΩΝ and with both Greek and Leukanian magistrates' names (*infra*).

The site of the Archaic city is unknown, but it is here taken for granted that Archaic-C5 Laos was located in the vicinity (E. Greco and Schnapp (1989) 49–51) of C4 Leukanian Laos (*infra*). According to Strabo 6.1.1, Laos was a river and a *polis* a short distance from Hyele on the Tyrrhenian coast, but this reference may be to the C4 site, even though Strabo describes it as a colony of Sybaris (cf. E. Greco and Schnapp (1989) 51; Caruso (1977)). C4 Laos has been identified with the settlement on the hill of S. Maria del Cedro, *c.*3 km to the south of the estuary of the river Lao (E. Greco (1995*a*); E. Greco, Luppino and Schnapp (1989)). The desertion of the C6 indigenous settlements in the hinterland of Laos was probably the result of Sybarite expansion, and the "heroon of Drakon" (Strabo 6.1.1) may reflect Greek control over the territory, though the source is late (E. Greco and Schnapp (1989); E. Greco (1995*a*) 71–73). The urban site excavated on the Marcellina hill has *not* (yet) revealed remains earlier than C4s (E. Greco and Schnapp (1989) 51), and so the history of the Greek city is known primarily from the literary sources and from the numismatic evidence. Diod. 14.101.3 (r390) suggests that Laos was fortified.

Laos initiated coinage *c.*510 with issues of incuse staters, drachms and triobols on the Achaian standard (Rutter, *HN*³ p. 176); the types were based upon the Sybarite bull type with some variations: *obv.* man-headed bull looking back (river personification), legend: ΛΑϜΙ, *rev.* same type but incuse, and *obv.* legend completed by ΝΟΣ (retr.), i.e. ΛαϜῖνος (the city-ethnic (Guarducci, *EG* ii. 618) and not the locality Laino, as suggested by Zancani Montuoro (1949); Sternberg (1973); Gorini (1975) 13; Rutter, *HN*³ 2270–72; *SNG Cop. Italy* 1145). Double-relief staters and triobols dating to *c.*475–450 have *obv.* man-headed bull looking back and acorn in exergue, legend: ΛΑΙ; *rev.* similar but no acorn (Sternberg (1973); Rutter, *HN*³ 2275–76; *SNG Cop. Italy* 1146–49); an issue of triobols and smaller issues carries acorn as *rev.* type (Rutter, *HN*³ 2278–81). The acorn is a type on the triobols of Sybaris (no. 70.III); see further Rutter (1997) 43 for connections between the coinages of Sybaris and Laos. An issue of drachms and triobols is dated after 453: *obv.* man-faced bull, legend ΛΑΙ, *rev.* similar (Rutter, *HN*³ 2286–88). These types cease in C5m—that is, *c.*50 years before the Leukanian occupation. A punch with the type of Sybaris has been found at Laos (unpublished). In C4l, Laos, now a mixed Leukanian–Greek community, issued bronze coins inscribed ΛΑ, ΛΑΙΝΩΝ and with magistrates names (Cantilena (1989); Rutter, *HN*³ 2289ff; *SNG Cop. Italy* 1150–51, 1155–57).

A series of C6l double-relief staters have types: *obv.* Krotoniate tripod and legend ΣΥ; *rev.* bull looking back, legend ΛΑΙ (Gorini (1975) 26; Rutter, *HN*³ 2273). These are attributed by Kraay to Sybaris (no. 70.II), the Krotoniate tripod revealing the status of Sybaris (no. 70.II) as within the political sphere of Kroton though partly maintaining its own influence on Laos (Kraay (1958) 35; Parise (1982) 106–7; cf. Cantilena (1989) 32, who sustains the attribution to Laos). An issue of diobols (Rutter, *HN*³ 2284–85) may be an "alliance coinage" reflecting Laos' participation in the refounding of Sybaris (no. 70.III) in 453.

59. Lokroi (Lokros) Map 46. Lat. 38.15, long. 16.15. Size of territory: 3 (cf. *infra*). Type: A. The toponym is Λοκροί, οἱ (Hdt. 6.23.1; Thuc. 6.44.2; *IG* iv².1 95.41 (356/5); Ps.-Skylax 13), qualified by (οἱ) Ἐπιζεφύριοι at Hdt. 6.23.1, possibly by Hecat. fr. 83 *apud* Steph. Byz. 419.3, and by Thuc. 7.1.1; at Pl. *Tim.* 20A, Λοκρίς is possibly the toponym (so *RE* vii.2. 1304). The city-ethnic is Λοκρός (*IvO* 144.1 (*c.*472); Thuc. 4.1.2; Pl. *Leg.* 638B), qualified by Ζεφύριος at Pind. *Ol.* 10.13, 11.15; by ἀπὸ Ζεφυρίου in *IvO* 144 (472); and by οἱ Ἐπιζεφύριοι at Arist. *Pol.* 1274ª22. On onomastics, see further Niutta (1977) 257–58.

Lokroi is called a *polis* in the political sense at Pind. *Ol.* 10.13, 98; Pl. *Tim.* 20A, *Leg.* 638B; Dem. 24.139, and *I.Locri* 1.1,

etc. (C4m–C3m); and in the urban sense at Thuc. 7.35.2 and Ps.-Skylax 13, where Lokroi is the first toponym listed after the heading *πόλεις εἰσὶν αἵδε*. A *Λοκρῶν πολιτεία* was included in the Aristotelian collection of 158 *politeia* (frr. 547–48, Rose; Heracl. Lemb. 60); *πολιτεύεσθαι* is found in Arist. *Pol.* 1273^{b}31, 1274^{a}22. *Patris* is found in *SEG* 29 951 (C4; *CEG* II 835).

The internal collective use of the city-ethnic is found on C4s coins (*infra*) and in *I.Locri* 9.5 (C4m–C3m); the external collective use is found in *SEG* 11 1211 (525–500), cf. Lombardo (1989) 429; *SEG* 24 304–5 (C6–C5), 311–12 (*c.*480s); Thuc. 3.115.6, 4.1.2; Arist. *Pol.* 1274^{a}22, 1307^{a}38. The external individual use is found in *IvO* 144.1, 3 (*c.*472); *IG* II^{2} 3052 (328/7) and Timaios (*FGrHist* 566) fr. 43.

Lokroi was founded by Lokrians, but already in antiquity it was debated whether the founders had been West or East Lokrians (Ephor. fr. 138 *apud* Strabo 6.1.7; Ps.-Skymnos 312–16). The colonists first settled at Cape Zephyrion (modern Capo Bruzzano), but a few years later they moved to a permanent site at the "hill of Epopis" with the co-operation of Syracusans and possibly of others (Strabo 6.1.7); the passage in Strabo is corrupt, and it is uncertain whether he named others as participating in the relocation; however, Tarentines may have participated, and Pausanias' statement (3.3.1) that Lokroi was a Lakedaimonian foundation may be a reflection of (alleged) Tarantine participation (cf. Sourvinou-Inwood (1974) 189; Van Compernolle (1992) 762–63; see further Bérard (1957) 199–209 and Niutta (1977) 260–61). According to Strabo 6.1.7, the foundation took place a little after the foundation of Kroton (710) and Syracuse (733), and according to Polyb. 12.6b.9 at the time of the First Messenian War (*c.*735–717); according to Eusebios at the time of Olympiad 25.1 or 26.4 (679/8 or 673/2). A foundation in the first decades of C7 is now confirmed by archaeological evidence (survey: Sabbione (1982) 277–93). Perhaps as early as C6m a foundation legend modelled upon that of Taras was in existence; it is discussed by Sourvinou-Inwood (1974).

The name of the territory was *ἡ Λοκρίς* (Thuc. 3.99, 103.3). The southern border between the territories of Lokroi and Rhegion (no. 68) was marked by the river Halex (modern Galati) (Strabo 6.1.9; according to Paus. 6.6.4 by the river Kaikinos; cf. Costabile (1992) 166–68). The river Sagra, theatre of the C6 battle between Lokroi and Kroton (no. 56) (Strabo 6.1.10), separated Lokrian from Kaulonian territory; the Sagra is identified with the modern river Allaro near Kaulonia (no. 55) or with the modern river Torbido near Gioiosa Ionica (Osanna (1992) 214, 222 n. 47). The *chora* of Lokroi comprised at first only the *c.*110 km^{2} coastal plain within the line of foothills of the Sila mountains, although for the moment there is a lack of agrarian structures from the Archaic period that might be associated with Lokroi (Sabbione (1982) 293–97; Osanna (1992) 205–7). Lokrian territory soon extended to the borders of Rhegion and Kaulonia, and by C7l–C6e Lokrian dominion extended to the Ionian Sea, where Medma (no. 60), Metauros (no. 62) and Hipponion (no. 53) were founded (Musti (1976) 108–20; Cordiano (1995*b*) 88–91; and the respective entries). In 389 Dionysios I of Syracuse handed over to Lokroi the territory of Kaulonia, whose inhabitants had been relocated to Syracuse (no. 47; Diod. 14.106.3); in 388 the inhabitants of Hipponion were relocated to Syracuse, and its territory handed over to Lokroi (Diod. 14.107.2); Skylletion was also handed over to Lokroi (Strabo 6.1.10), and Medma may also have been given to Lokroi (*RE* xiii.2. 1333). Hipponion was lost again in 379 (Diod. 15.24); and Kaulonia seems to have been refounded *c.*357 by Dionysios II of Syracuse, as may be inferred from Diod. 16.10.2 and 11.3 (cf. Plut. *Dio* 26.7). A C4m war with the Leukanians is reported in Just. *Epit.* 31.3.3. A *kome* in Lokrian territory is very likely referred to in *FGrHist* 577, fr. 2.10 (r427/6). A *peripolion*, i.e. military fortress in the territory, is mentioned in Thuc. 3.99.

A C6 alliance with Siris (no. 69) is reported by Just. *Epit.* 20.2.10, and a C6 alliance with Rhegion (no. 68) by Strabo 6.1.10. An alliance with Syracuse is attested by Thuc. 3.86.2. A treaty was concluded with Athens (no. 361) in 422 (Thuc. 5.5.2–3); a treaty with Sparta (no. 345) in 411 is indicated by Thuc. 8.91.1, which attests to Lokrian naval forces serving with the Peloponnesians. After the congress of Gela in 424, Lokroi sent *epoikoi* to Sicilian Messana (no. 51), which was experiencing a *stasis* at that point, one faction inviting the Lokrians; the *epoikoi* were, however, soon expelled, but during their residence Messana was dependent on Lokroi (Thuc. 5.5.1). In 396, 1,000 Lokrians were relocated by Dionysios I of Syracuse to Sicilian Messana (Diod. 14.78.5).

The existence of a Lokrian navy is attested by Thuc. 4.1.2 (ten ships), 8.91.1, and Diod. 12.54.4 (r427) (five ships). A contingent of 300 soldiers is mentioned at Thuc. 3.103.3. Late sources report 15,000 (Just. *Epit.* 20.3.4) or 10,000 (Strabo 6.1.10) Lokrian troops as having fought in the C6 battle at the Sagra. *Polemarchoi* are attested in the Lokroi Tables (*I.Locri* 21.5 (C4m–C3m)).

Sending of envoys is attested in Diod. 8.32.1 (rC6); reception of envoys is attested in Diod. 14.44.6 (r398). *F.Delphes* III.1 176 (prior to 280) is a grant of proxeny etc. by Delphi (no. 177) to a man described as *Λοκρὸς ἐκ τῶν*

Ἐπι[ζε]φυρίων Ἱππωνιεύς (on which see further Hipponion (no. 53)). A citizen of Lokroi served as Epidaurian *theorodokos* in 356/5 (*IG* IV².1 95.41).

A system of three *phylai*, each subdivided into ten or eleven demes, is attested by the C4m–C3m Lokrian Tables (Jones, *POAG* 168–69). This system was used to fill boards of officials comprising three members (Jones, *POAG* 169); the eponymous magistracy rotated among the *phylai* (Jones, *POAG* 170). The existence of *phatrai* is implied by the existence of a magistrate styled *φάταρχος* (De Franciscis (1972) *tab.* 22; Costabile (1992) 212).

The constitution of Lokroi prior to the tyranny of Dionysios II (*infra*) is described as an aristocracy in Arist. *Pol.* 1307ᵃ34ff. According to Polyb. 12.5.6–7, nobility was conditional upon being a descendant of the women who had belonged to the "100 houses" of the founding Lokrians. In addition to some unspecified *archontes*, Polyb. 12.16.6 mentions the office of *κοσμόπολις*, who seems to have been the chief magistrate at the time referred to (Walbank, *HCP ad loc.*); at Polyb. 12.16.10 is a reference to the "1,000", presumably the council (Walbank, *HCP ad loc.*) or the assembly; since *βωλά* was the name of the council in C4s (*infra*) and *δᾶμος* that of the assembly in democratic Lokroi (*infra*), Polybios' information presumably refers to the aristocratic constitution. A *gerousia* seems to be indicated by Porph. *Vita Pythagorae* 56 (rC6l), but see *RE* xiii.2. 1347. A differentiated system of officials for this period is indicated by Pl. *Tim.* 20A. *Nomophylakes* are attested in Stob. 4.2.19. In 356, when Dionysios II was expelled from Syracuse, he found refuge in Lokroi (Just. *Epit.* 21.2.9); in 352 he became tyrant and ruled Lokroi for six years (Just. *Epit.* 21.3.9; *RE* xiii.2. 1335). In 346, the Locrians expelled Dionysios, and a severe *stasis* broke out, which led to the establishment of a more democratic constitution (Arist. *Pol.* 1307ᵃ38; Strabo 6.1.8; Berger (1992) 27), which is reflected in the Lokrian Tables (*infra*), e.g. in the formula *ἔδοξε τᾶι βωλᾶι καὶ τῶι δάμωι* (*I.Locri* 4.7, etc. (C4m–C3m)).

Ephor. fr. 138 (cf. Strabo 6.1.8) states that tradition held the Lokrians to have been the earliest community to employ written laws. The reference is to the code of Zaleukos, who was *nomothetes* at Lokroi according to Arist. *Pol.* 1274ᵃ22 (cf. Iambl. *VP* 130, 172) and whose activity is dated to not long after the foundation of the city (Gagarin (1986) 129–30 n. 27). Civic turmoil is reported to have preceded the legal code of Zaleukos (Arist. fr. 555; Gagarin (1986) 58–59). A law, presumably of C4 (cf. *νόμος ἐστὶ*), regulated the conditions under which landed property could be alienated (Arist. *Pol.* 1266ᵇ19–21).

After the constitutional reforms of the 340s, the eponymous official was an *archon* (see *SEG* 30 1172; *I.Locri* 1.1, etc. (C4m–C3m)). A *βωλά* is mentioned in *I.Locri* 1.2, etc. (C4m–C3m). The following boards of officials are attested (all C4m–C3m): *ἐπισκευαστῆρες* (*I.Locri* 21.2), *ἐπιστάται* (*I.Locri* 3.13), *ἱερομνάμονες* (*I.Locri* 2.1), *λογιστῆρες* (*I.Locri* 32.7), *πρόβωλοι* (*I.Locri* 2.3), *πρόδικοι* (*I.Locri* 2.5) and *τοιχοποιοί* (*I.Locri* 3.8). A *φάταρχος* is mentioned in *I.Locri* 8.6 and a *θευκόλος* in *I.Locri* 21.6 (both C4m–C3m). Whether the *βασιλεύς* mentioned in *I.Locri* 1.2, etc. (C4m–C3m) was a civic magistracy is unresolved (*SEG* 45 1443). Decrees of the assembly are referred to in *I.Locri* 2.7, 9, 10, etc. (C4m–C3m). A probouleutic procedure is indicated by the formula *δόγματι βωλᾶς καὶ δάμω* (*I.Locri* 2.7, 9, 10, etc. (C4m–C3m)) or *ἔδοξε τᾶι βωλᾶι καὶ τῶι δάμωι* (*I.Locri* 4.7, etc. (C4m–C3m)).

The literary tradition mentions a first settlement of Lokrians at Cape Zephyrion, but as yet there is no archaeological evidence for such a settlement (Van Compernolle (1992)). After a few years the colonists relocated to the historical site of Lokroi, with evidence of Greek settlers from *c.*700, which fits Strabo's chronology (6.1.7) but is earlier than the Eusebian foundation date (Van Compernolle (1992)). According to Foti (1976) 358 there is evidence of indigenous "cohabitation" with the Greek settlers, reflecting the tradition of a period of peaceful co-existence found in Polyb. 12.5.10 (Sabbione (1982) 277–98). Lokroi was not, therefore, founded on virgin soil, but on the site of an indigenous community (*RE* xiii.2. 1310); C8l contacts between the indigenous population and Greeks are attested by ceramic evidence (Sabbione (1982) 279). The city was founded on the slopes of a mountain ridge, the hill of Epopis according to Strabo 6.1.7, with three peaks Mannella, Abbadessa and Castellace (Foti (1976) pl. 27; survey of site: Costamagna and Sabbione (1990)), incorporating the coastal plain between the Portigliola and Ficareto river valleys. It must have had harbour facilities, now possibly identified on the Ficareto estuary (*infra*).

The 7 km circuit wall (overall plan in Costabile (1992) 36, pl. 13) encircled a vast area of *c.*240 ha, of which the area south of the "Dromos" comprises *c.*80 ha. The upper part of the city, though enclosed by the circuit wall, is morphologically irregular and not readily accessible for habitation. The extant wall is mainly Hellenistic, but stretches of it use earlier, C6 elements in their structure, particularly in the areas of Centocamere and of the Marasà sanctuary (Barra Bagnasco (2000) 11–12, 30); lengths of isodomic structure are dated to C5m–C4m, whereas the curtain-wall in ashlar strengthened

with towers is dated to C4m–C3e (Foti (1976) 346–49; cf. De Franciscis (1972) 163–69 on *pyrgopoiia* in the Lokrian Tables). A siege is reported for C4m by Strabo 6.1.8. The vast area encircled by the circuit wall was never fully urbanised. The main zones of habitation comprised the two main urban complexes on the lower plain inside the city wall and the habitation area "Caruso" in the upper part of the city, where the theatre was also located—possibly in the vicinity of an (unidentified) agora (*infra*). The "Dromos", a road of ancient origin apparently preserving the ancient name, divided the city into an upper and a lower part. Extensive habitation areas have been excavated south of the "Dromos": to the west, the so-called Centocamere with several *insulae* and a regular, orthogonal layout, and to the east, the *insulae* near the Marasà sanctuary. The evidence points to a C5e origin, and to two later, C3 phases (for the extensive excavations of the lower city, see Barra Bagnasca (1977), (1989*a*, *b*, *c*)). Habitation extended up the slopes north of the "Dromos" (Osanna (1992) 218, fig. 16). The orientation of the *insulae* (lengthwise following the slope, the short side facing the sea) facilitated drainage.

To the south and nearer the coast—separated from the habitation area of Centocamere by a 14 m-wide *plateia*—*insulae* of irregular shape and various systems of drainage, basins and kilns have revealed an industrial and artisan quarter, primarily of C4 (Barra Bagnasco (1976) 380–82, pl. 35: H1–H3, 403–4). This area between the city wall and the *plateia* of the city to the north seems not to have been occupied in the Archaic period, apart from single stoas and the monumental gate; a mercantile agora related to the sea and harbour was situated here in this period (Osanna (1992) 215).

The chronological framework of the development of urbanisation is not very clear, but there is testimony of a C6m orthogonal urban organisation of the area between the theatre and the sea, and of the monumentalisation of the sanctuaries of Stoà ad U (*infra*), Marasà Sud, Marasà and Marafioti, a culminating point of urban development—reflected also in the territorial expansion in this period (Barra Bagnasco (1996*a*); Parra (1998) 314).

The C6 circuit wall separated the habitation area from the coast, but gates—with monumental drainage conduits—sanctuaries and harbour facilities (cf. Thuc. 6.44.2; 7.25.2) outside the city wall were all part of an early, integrated urban layout (Barra Bagnasco (2000)).

The richly decorated house and a votive deposit located outside the sanctuary of Aphrodite of Marasà Sud has been interpreted as a *hestiaterion* or a *prytaneion* (Barra Bagnasco (1996*a*) 57; cf. however, Barra Bagnasco (1996*b*) 28–29 identifying it as a sanctuary of Adonis-Aphrodite). The theatre, situated in the upper part of the city, was built originally in C4m, but since it was rebuilt in later periods, its seating capacity of *c.*4,500 can only tentatively be assumed for the original phase (Parra (1977–78), (1998)). It may have served democratic assemblies as well (Costabile (1992) 322 n. 11).

Several sanctuaries were scattered across the upper parts of the city and in the lowland areas, primarily in the vicinity of the circuit wall (surveys: Torelli (1976); Zuntz (1971) 158–73). The "Casa Marafioti" Doric temple of 540–530, with remains limited to parts of the foundation and foundation trenches (Orsi (1911*a*) 27–41, 49–62), was situated inside the circuit wall on a spur near the theatre and agora(?), and was part of a larger *temenos* overlooking the lower city (for an agora(?), theatre and *temenos*: Parra (1998) 311–12); the dedicatee of the sanctuary has been identified as Zeus Olympios (which is not accepted unanimously) on the basis of the Olympieion archive found in the vicinity (De Franciscis (1972); *SEG* 29 950; Costabile (1992)). Votive deposits found near the theatre attest to cults of Athena, Artemis, Persephone, Dionysos and a local hero (Parra (1998) 315–17). The sanctuary of Persephone, and of Demeter and Aphrodite(?), at Mannella, probably "the most famous Persephone sanctuary in Italy" mentioned by Diodorus (23.4.3 (r205)), is located north of the city, outside the city wall in the Mannella valley (see Torelli (1976) 158 n. 16 with refs.; Hinz (1998) 203–6). The sanctuary is above all known from the votive *pinakes* with the cultic representations of the rape of Persephone, *Hieros Gamos*, sacrificial scenes, etc. (Prückner (1968); Sabbione (1996)). An Athena sanctuary with a simple *naiskos* of uncertain date lies inside the circuit wall at the top of the Mannella hill, which may have formed the acropolis of the city (Orsi (1909) 323; (1911*a*) 62). The location could indicate a sanctuary of Athena Polias, but the votive terracottas show Athena primarily as a Promachos. The monumental C5 Ionic temple, placed within a larger *temenos* in the Marasà area in the lower city, can be traced back to C7 (De Franciscis (1979); Gullini (1976) 411–36). It has without strong evidence been attributed to Aphrodite (Prückner (1968) 12), but the possible origin of the Ludovisi throne in the sanctuary may support this identification. In the area of the Centocamere, south of the circuit wall, a series of *oikoi* were laid out so as to form a U-shaped structure (conventionally called Stoà ad U); they formed a single sacred structure, built in C7e with two short wings which were prolonged and enlarged in C6m, on either side of a central space. In the open space inside the wings of the stoa

371 *bothroi* with remains of sacred meals and some votive material indicate cult activity; C4 graffiti suggest that the sanctuary was dedicated to Aphrodite (Torelli (1976) 147–56; cf. Musti (1976) 65–70). A bronze phiale from the Olympieion sanctuary with a dedication to Aphrodite may refer to this or to the Marasà sanctuary (Costabile (1992) 97–101, 113). Twenty single square rooms laid out along the south side of the circuit wall, with yet another complex further to the south, are probably part of this extensive C4 sanctuary complex (Barra Bagnasco (1976) 379–80, pl. 35, "S1–S2"). An extra-mural sanctuary with remains of a C6l–C5 cult building north-east of the Stoà ad U and south of the circuit wall (Barra Bagnasco (1990*b*), (1996*b*) 28–30) is attributed to Aphrodite on the basis of dedicatory graffiti and a C5f votive inscription (Barra Bagnasco and Pugliese Carratelli (1990)), and the cult is therefore to be seen in conjunction with the Stoà ad U and the Marasà sanctuary. Votive deposits discovered outside the city by the main route to the eastern cemetery attest a C5–C4 cult of Zeus (Barra Bagnasco (1996*c*)) and a sanctuary of Demeter, probably a Thesmophorion, delimited by a *temenos* wall outside the south-eastern corner of the city wall was in use from C6s (Grattarola (1994); Milanesio (1996); Hinz (1998) 206–8).

The cemeteries are located mainly in the middle and lower plain encircling the city at the localities of Vallone di Canale, Contrada Lucifero (with 1,676 tombs, primarily C6: Orsi (1909) 319, (1913)), Monaci (with Greek material from C8l–C7e); Parapezza and Tribona (Foti (1976) 359–61; Osanna (1992)).

The patron divinity was presumably Athena, who appeared to Zaleukos in a dream to give him his laws (Arist. fr. 555). A local calendar is attested by the Lokrian Tables, which name twelve months and attest to an intercalary month (see Niutta (1977) 266).

Communal oracle consultation is reported by Arist. fr. 555 and Aristox. fr. 117, Wehrli. Several citizens of Lokroi won Olympic victories: Euthykles in 488 (*Olympionikai* 180 (pentathlon)), Euthymos in 484, 476 and 472 (*Olympionikai* 191, 214, 227 (boxing)), Hagesidamos in 476 (*Olympionikai* 218 (boys' boxing)) and Keton in 448 (*Olympionikai* 297 (pentathlon)). Eunomos won a Pythian victory in a musical contest (Timaeus (*FGrHist* 566) fr. 43). A communal dedication of 525–500 (cf. Lombardo (1989) 429) with Hipponion (no. 53) and Medma (no. 60) at Olympia commemorates a victory over Kroton (no. 56) (*SEG* 11 1211). Paus. 6.19.6 mentions an Archaic communal dedication of a boxwood image of Apollo, possibly in commemoration of the battle of the Sagra (*LSAG* 286). De La Genière suggests that the architectural remains of the so-called "Monoptoros of the Sikyonians" at Delphi are the remains of a Lokrian treasury (de La Genière (1986); Griffin (1982) 108 too is very doubtful about the traditional attribution of this building to Sikyon). The evidence, mainly iconographic, for a Western Greek origin of this treasury is strong, though the Lokrian candidature must remain hypothetical.

Lokroi did not strike its own coins until C4; the start of minting is dated with some uncertainty to 375–350 (survey of Lokrian mint: Pozzi Paolini (1976)). Staters and drachms with Corinthian types and on the Corinthian standard were issued from before C4m to C3e, revealing strong ties with eastern Sicily: *obv.* Pegasos; *rev.* head of Athena in Corinthian helmet, legends: Λ, ΛΟ, ΛΟΚ, ΛΟΚΡΩΝ (Pozzi Paolini (1976) 221–33; Rutter, *HN*³ 2336ff; *SNG Cop. Italy* 1868–70). A contemporary issue of staters on an Italic standard has *obv.* head of Zeus, legend: ΖΕΥΣ; *rev.* seated Eirene, legend: ΕΙΡΕΝΕ (Pozzi Paolini (1976) 242–47; Rutter, *HN*³ 2310); this was followed *c.*C4m by an issue of staters with *obv.* head of Zeus with unkempt hair and beard, legend: ΛΟΚΡΩΝ; *rev.* eagle devouring hare, both types with many variants (Pozzi Paolini (1976) 247–52; Rutter, *HN*³ 2311ff; *SNG Cop. Italy* 1858–59, 1861–62). Later issues have *obv.* eagle devouring hare; *rev.* thunderbolt with different symbols and legend: ΛΟΚΡΩΝ (Pozzi Paolini (1976) 255–61; Rutter, *HN*³ 2318; *SNG Cop. Italy* 1865–66). Lower denominations are triobols, diobols and obols (Pozzi Paolini (1976) 267–73; Rutter, *HN*³ 2329ff; *SNG Cop. Italy* 1860). The Lokrian Zeus type may reflect the Syracusan Zeus Eleutherios (*supra*; cf. also Cutroni Tusa (1993–94) 478–79 for Lokrian–Syracusan contacts). At the time of Alexander the Molossian or Pyrrhos, Lokroi also issued a gold coinage, denomination one-tenth of a gold stater on the Attic standard: *obv.* head of eagle, legend: ΛΟ; *rev.* winged thunderbolt (Pozzi Paolini (1976) 279–84; Rutter, *HN*³ 2345; *SNG Cop. Italy* 1857).

A unique tetradrachm on the Euboic–Attic standard has *obv.* biga of mules driven by a charioteer crowned by Nike, legend: ΛΟ; *rev.* running hare. It has been interpreted as a Messanian–Lokrian alliance coinage of 425 (cf. Thuc. 5.5.1), but see Pozzi Paolini (1976) 218–20 for typological and technical anomalies.

Bronze coinage commenced *c.*350; C4s types show mainly Zeus and Athena, C3e also Persephone, Apollo and Herakles (Pozzi Paolini (1976) 284–96; Rutter, *HN*³ 2353ff; *SNG Cop. Italy* 1871–98).

Lokroi was the *metropolis* of Hipponion (no. 53) and Medma (no. 60) (Thuc. 5.5.3; cf. Hornblower (1996) 434–35);

the former founded in C7l, the latter in C7 (see further the entries for these two cities). According to Steph. Byz. 437.3, Metauros (no. 62) was also a Lokrian foundation; see further the entry for this city.

60. Medma (Medmaios) Map 46. Lat. 38.30, long. 16.00. Size of territory: 2. Type: [A]. The toponym is *Μέδμη, ἡ* in Hecat. fr. 81 *apud* Steph. Byz. 440.5; Ps.-Skylax 12 and C4 coins (*infra*) have *Μέσμα*; Ps.-Skymnos has *Μέδμα* and Strabo 6.1.5 has *Μέδαμα, ἡ*. The city-ethnic is *Μεδμαῖος* in *SEG* 11 1211 (525–500) and presumably at Thuc. 5.5.3, where the MSS give *Μελαῖοι*, which is commonly and probably correctly emended to *Μεδμαῖοι* (Hornblower (1996) 434–35); *Μεσμαῖος* is found on C4 coins (*infra*).

Mesma is one of ten toponyms listed at Ps.-Skylax 12 after the heading *πόλεις εἰσὶν Ἑλληνίδες αἵδε*, where *polis* is used in the urban sense. Thuc. 5.5.3 describes the Medmaians as *apoikoi* of Lokroi Epizephyrioi. The internal collective use of the city-ethnic is found on C4 coins (*infra*); the external collective use is found in *SEG* 11 1211 (525–500), Thuc. 5.5.3 (*supra*), and Diod. 14.78.5 (r396). The external individual use has been restored in Hermodorus, *De Platone* fr. C.III.35, Lasserre (rC4–C3) (cf. Steph. Byz. 440.7 with Settis (1965) 131; Philippos of Opous (*FGrHist* 1011) fr. 1; Test. 5 and fr. 15b, Lasserre).

Medma was a foundation of Lokroi (no. 59; Thuc. 5.5.3; Ps.-Skymnos 308; Strabo 6.1.5), bordering on Lokroi itself (Thuc. 5.5.3, *supra*). Archaeological evidence points to a foundation in C7 (Paoletti (1981*b*) 147). The scanty evidence shows very varied relations with the *metropolis*: (a) *SEG* 11 1211 (525–500) is a dedication by Hipponion (no. 53), also a Lokrian colony, Medma and Lokroi (cf. Lombardo (1989) 429) of spoils taken from Kroton (no. 56) and thus a testimony to an alliance between colony and *metropolis*; (b) Thuc. 5.5.3 (*supra*) attests to a war between Lokroi and its two neighbouring colonies Medma and Hipponion *c.*422. See further Hipponion (no. 53).

The foundation of Medma (and Hipponion) was the result of Lokrian expansion across the Aspromonte through the Métramo valley to gain access to the Tyrrhenian Sea by circumventing Rhegion (no. 68) and Messana (no. 51) at the straits (Bérard (1957) 209–10; Settis (1965) 121–22). As a result of Lokrian expansion, the Chalkidian (Zanklaian) site of Metauros on the Tyrrhenian coast near Medma came under Lokrian influence or even occupation (see Metauros (no. 62)). For the chronology of the Lokrian expansion there is useful evidence from local indigenous sites, such as that from Torre Galli, where the cemetery reveals Greek influence C7l–C6m, which probably coincides with the foundation of Medma and Hipponion (Guzzo (1982*b*) 250). Studies in the hinterland of Medma have revealed Greek influence from C7l (Cantarelli (1974–75) 34–37). The *chora* of Medma was the Rosarno valley and the lower slopes of the Aspromonte, the crest of these hills dividing Medma from Lokrian territory; in all, the territory measured *c.*100 km². According to Strabo 6.1.5, Medma had a harbour named *Emporion*, the location of which is uncertain (Settis (1989)), though some locate it at Nicotera (cf. Pontrandolfo (1993)).

An alliance between Lokroi (cf. Lombardo (1989) 429), Hipponion and Medma is attested by *SEG* 11 1211 (525–500), a joint dedication by these cities at Olympia of spoils taken from Kroton (Settis (1965) 122). Some kind of treaty with or dependency upon Kroton is probably indicated by C5e Krotoniate coinage with the legend *ΜΕ* (Settis (1965) 123 and Gorini (1985); rejected by Moltrasio (1972–73) 175; cf. *infra*). Thucydides' phrasing at 5.5.3 (*supra*): *ὁ πρὸς Ἱππωνιᾶς καὶ Μεδμαίους πόλεμος*, suggests that Hipponion and Medma were allies in the war against Lokroi *c.*422.

In 396, Dionysios I of Syracuse relocated 4,000 Medmaians to Sicilian Messana (no. 51; Diod. 14.78.5); if this is correct (and it was disputed by, for example, Beloch (1923) iii.2 190), it probably meant a depopulation of Medma, but depopulation is not supported by the archaeological evidence (Paoletti (1981*b*) 150). When the populations of Kaulonia (no. 55) and Hipponion (no. 53) were relocated to Sicily in 389 (Diod. 14.106.3, 107.2), Dionysios handed over their territories to Lokroi (no. 59), and it is not impossible that the same happened in the case of Medma (*RE* xii.2. 1333). The figure of 4,000 is the only indication of the order of size of the Medmaian population, and if it is historical, it probably refers to the entire population (Settis (1965) 125).

The settlement of Medma was located on the site of present-day Rosarno and has therefore been accessible to sporadic investigations only. The ancient site joined a larger plateau by a narrow, easily defendable isthmus. The larger plateau had an extent of about 130–140 ha, but the urbanised area in its western part comprised only about 30–35 ha (surveys: Paoletti (1981*a*) 47–54 fig. 8; (2001)). There are traces of habitation from the Archaic and Hellenistic periods, with evidence of C5s urban layout joining habitation areas and sanctuaries (Sabbione (1981*a*); Paoletti and Parra (1985)). The C4 remains conflict with the passage in Diodorus describing the C4e deportation of the inhabitants of Medma to Messana by Dionysios I (Diod. 14.78.5; cf. Paoletti (1981*b*)

150), at least if this passage is taken to indicate complete depopulation.

The sanctuaries seem to have been situated on the outskirts of the habitation area (Iannelli (1996)). Most of the archaeological evidence is from votive deposits and not from structural remains (Orsi (1913); Paoletti (1996*c*); Hinz (1998) 209–10). The votive terracottas are associated above all with the C5f cult of Kore and Persephone. Finds also emphasise the importance of Athena Promachos and possibly Athena Hippia (Orsi (1913) 100–7; Agostino (1996)). The Athena Promachos could indicate a *poliad* cult. On the north-eastern edge of the plateau (zone "S. Anna") outside the urban centre, C6–C4 votive deposits are evidence of a *temenos* with a cult of Athena, revealed by figurines of Athena enthroned, and also of Athena Hippia as shown by several horse figurines (Parra (1996*a*); Hinz (1998) 210). C3–C2 epigraphical evidence attests a cult of Demeter (Cygielman (1980)).

A C5–C4 cemetery has been investigated on the confining plateau (Lattanzi (1988) 591–92).

Medma began striking coins in C4f, contemporaneously with the *metropolis* Lokroi Epizephyrioi (no. 59). However, an earlier coinage was issued as an ally or dependency of Kroton, probably as early as C5e, as is indicated by two Krotoniate series of staters carrying the legend *ME*: the first series has *obv.* eagle standing on Ionic capital, legend *ΡPO*; *rev.* tripod, corn-grain, legend *ΡPOT* and in exergue *ME* (Gorini (1985) 130–31); the second series, more uncertainly interpreted as a Medmaian-Krotoniate coinage, has *obv.* head of Hera Lakinia; *rev.* seated Herakles holding cup, legends: *KPOTΩNIATAΣ* and *ME* (Gorini (1985) 131); for the historical context of this coinage, see Gorini (1985) 128–33; however, for the rejection of such an alliance coinage, see Rutter, *HN*³, p. 168. Staters of Corinthian type were issued under the influence of Syracuse and Dionysios I from C4m; two types have been documented: (1) *obv.* winged Pegasos and monogram of the letters *ME*; *rev.* helmeted head of Athena (Gorini (1985) 133; Rutter, *HN*³ 2424; *SNG Cop. Italy* 1899); (2) *obv.* winged Pegasos; *rev.* head of Athena and letter M (Gorini (1985) 133; Rutter, *HN*³ 2425). Bronze coinage was issued from C4e, the *obvs.* depicting heads of Apollo and Persephone (?) and the *revs.* the nymph Mesma or Pan, with various similar types; the *obv.* or *rev.* carries the legend *MEΣMAIΩN* (Gorini (1985) 136–38; Rutter, *HN*³ 2426ff; *SNG Cop. Italy* 1900–1), while some *obvs.* are inscribed *MEΣMA*, possibly a reference to the eponymous nymph (Guarducci, *EG* ii. 626).

In 525–500, Medma, with Hipponion (no. 53) and Lokroi (no. 59) (cf. Lombardo (1989) 429), dedicated at Olympia spoils taken from Kroton (no. 56) (*SEG* 11 1211).

61. Metapontion (Metapontinos) Map 45. Lat. 40.25, long. 16.50. Size of territory: 4. Type: A. The toponym is *Μεταπόντιον, τό* (Bacchyl. 11.116, Maehler; Hdt. 4.15.1; Antiochos (*FGrHist* 555) fr. 12; C5l coins, *infra*); Antiochos (*FGrHist* 555) fr. 12 gives *Μέταβον* as an earlier name. The city-ethnic is *Μεταποντῖνος* (Hdt. 4.15.1–3; Thuc. 7.33.5).

Metapontion is called a *polis* in primarily the territorial sense, with the urban sense as a connotation (Antiochos (*FGrHist* 555) fr. 12). It is listed as a *polis* in the urban sense at Ps.-Skylax 14, where Metapontion is the second toponym listed after the heading *πόλεις εἰσὶν αἵδε*. At Bacchyl. 11.114, Mähler, *polis* presumably refers to legendary times (*infra*). *Asty* is found in Bacchyl. 11.12, Maehler. The internal collective use of the city-ethnic is attested abbreviated as *METAΠONTIN* on C6s coins (Rutter (1997) 28); the external collective use is attested in Hdt. 4.15.2–3 and Thuc. 7.33.5; and the external individual use in *IG* ɪ³ 1007 (500–475), *Syll.*³ 25 (C5m) and Arist. *Metaph.* 984ª7.

Metapontion was, according to Antiochos (*FGrHist* 555) fr. 12, founded by Achaians (cf. Ps.-Skymnos 326ff) who had been sent for by the Achaian Sybarites (no. 70.I) who wanted support against Taras (no. 71). Euseb. *Chron. Arm.* under *Ol.* 1 dates the foundation to 733/2, but the archaeological evidence suggests a foundation *c.*630 (*infra*). The foundation legend was that the site had previously been occupied by a Greek city founded by Nestor and the Pylians on their return from Troy but later destroyed by the Samnitai (Strabo 6.1.15); in, e.g., Bacchyl. *Ep.* 11.114, Mähler, *Achaioi* should probably be understood in the Homeric sense as referring to this mythical foundation (Pugliese Carratelli (1973) 51). According to Ephor. fr. 141, the oecist was Daulios, the tyrant of Krisa; according to Strabo 6.1.15, it was Leukippos of Achaia, and this seems to have been the epichoric tradition, since his head is on some C4s coins (Head, *HN*² 78; Rutter, *HN*³ 1552–53, etc.). The historicity of this tradition, however, is rendered suspect by Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 19.3, where the trick by which Leukippos obtained the site for his foundation is associated with Kallipolis (Morgan and Hall (1996) 211; see also Mele (1996)).

The territory is termed *χώρη* at Hdt. 4.15.2; Strabo 6.1.4 names it *ἡ Μεταποντίνη*, possibly deriving the name from Antiochos (*FGrHist* 555, fr. 3a); it is the area confined by the valleys of the rivers Cavone and Bradano, calculated to comprise about 200 km². The limit of the *chora* was inland about

13 km from Metapontion at the border fortress at Cozzo Presepe (Osanna (1992) 54, 82). The area of influence may have been more extensive from C6m (Osanna (1992) 53–54), when the territory of Siris (no. 69) was taken over by the Achaian alliance of Metapontion (no. 61), Sybaris (no. 70.I) and Kroton (no. 56) (Just. *Epit.* 20.2.4). The *chora* of Metapontion is above all known for the agrarian land division and scattered farmsteads, in evidence from C6s to C4, over an area of *c.*20,000 ha (Carter (1990), (1993), (2000)). Sanctuaries are attested in the *chora* of Metapontion from C7m-l. An Artemision (?) is documented at San Biagio (cf. votives and Bacchyl. 11.117, Mähler; Arena (1996) no. 64). A sanctuary of Hera, epigraphically attested (Arena (1996) no. 75), on the border of Tarantine territory has votive material going back to C7m; the temple ("Tavola Palatine") is dated *c.*530. From C6 a number of spring sanctuaries were spread regularly across the territory, probably spaced according to the land division of the *chora*. The most important are at Incoronata, San Biagio and Pantanello (Osanna (1992) 40, 50, 54). The outermost border sanctuary at the site of Cozzo Presepe was monumentalised C5 (Carter (1994)).

A war (possibly C5m: Morgan and Hall (1996) 210) with Taras (no. 71) concerning control of territory is attested by Antiochos (*FGrHist* 555) fr. 12.

On the basis of the seating capacity of the *ekklesiasterion* (*infra*), the total population of the *polis* may tentatively be estimated at max. 40,000, of whom some 12,500 could be accommodated in the town itself (Carter (1990) 406 with n. 2).

Metapontion may have been a member of the Italiote League (*Staatsverträge* 230). An alliance with Sybaris (no. 70.I) and Kroton (no. 56) in a C6f war against Siris (no. 69) is reported by Just. *Epit.* 20.2.3–4. In C5s, Metapontion was, with Taras (no. 71) and Kaulonia (no. 55), involved in arbitration between Kroton and returning exiles (Iambl. *VP* 262). A treaty of *symmachia* with Athens (no. 361) is attested in Thuc. 7.33.5. Naval forces and *akontistai* are attested at Thuc. 7.33.5.

Reception of envoys in C4f is attested in Polyaen. 5.2.22. Two citizens of Metapontion are listed as *proxenoi* of the Aitolian Confederacy in *IG* IX² 1.17.A.II.74–75 (*c.*260–230). A citizen of Metapontion served as *theorodokos* of Epidauros (no. 348) in 356/5 (*IG* IV².1 95.49).

Sources for the political organisation of Metapontion are scanty, though there is some tenuous evidence of a tyranny by Archelaos at Metapontion in the Archaic period (Berve (1967) 610–11; Luraghi (1994) 76 with refs.; for archaeological evidence possibly supporting the tradition of Archelaos' murder, see De Siena (1999) 234–35). An aristocratic or oligarchic regime at Metapontion may perhaps be inferred from the story that Pythagoras took refuge at Metapontion, where he died (Aristox. fr. 18, Wehrli). According to Thuc. 7.57.11, the Metapontines supported Athens against Syracuse in 413 because internal conflicts (*stasiotikoi kairoi*) left them no other choice (cf. *HCT ad loc.*); this may mean that in 413 democrats were in the ascendancy (Berger (1992) 28), and democracy may also be implied by the *symmachia* with Athens mentioned at Thuc. 7.34.4. For a possible attestation of an eponymous official (rendered in Oscan as *meddix*) in C4e, see Tagliamonte (1994) 167–68. A board of officials called ἀκοαστῆρες is mentioned in Hesych. s.v. A private dedication of C4–C3e describes the female dedicator as [--]α Πωγ. Θέαντω, where Πωγ. is interpreted as an "abbreviation of a deme or phyle, referring to the father of the dedicator Θέαντος" (*SEG* 38 997 *comm.*).

Metapontion was founded on a low plateau near the coast between the rivers Basento and Bradano. C7e evidence has revealed a mixed pre-colonial Greek (Ionic?) and indigenous settlement(s) (cf. De Siena (1986)), whereas the Achaian foundation can be dated to *c.*630 (Adamesteanu (1982) 309–13). A C6m circuit wall with extensive use of sun-dried brick was raised on the edge of the settlement plateau enclosing an area of 140–45 ha. C5 saw some restructuring, and C4–C3 a strengthening with use of ashlar and reused blocks from older buildings, and a systematisation of drainage canals and city gates (Adamesteanu (1973b) 156–68). A sizeable agora (cf. Hdt. 4.15.4), delimiting the southern side of the large *temenos*, was part of the urban layout from its earliest phase. The main public monument is the *ekklesiasterion*/theatre, with a history spanning C7–C3. The seating capacity of the C5e structure has been calculated at about 7,500–8,000 (Mertens and De Siena (1982)). The interpretation of the structure as an *ekklesiasterion* is supported by the related, circular meeting places in Akragas and in Poseidonia (Hansen and Fischer-Hansen (1994) 65–67). The monumental size and the apparently excessive seating capacity imply a use also outside the purely political sphere (Mertens (1982); Carter (1994) 182). The *ekklesiasterion* was replaced C4–C3 by a theatre with a seating capacity of *c.*6,500 (Paus. 6.19.12; Mertens and De Siena (1982)). A Zeus Agoraios cult is attested by a C6f inscribed stele found near the theatre (Adamesteanu (1979); the inscription may refer to the function of the *ekklesiasterion* and not to the agora as such, according to E. Greco (1995*b*) 89–90). Other sanctuaries are evidenced by walled enclosures, the larger with two altars, perhaps the sanctuary of Apollo mentioned by Herodotos (4.15); C5 coins depicting Apollo testify to the

importance of his cult (Stazio (1973) 83–84). For the *mantineion* of Apollo, cf. Theopomp. fr. 248.

There is numismatic evidence of athletic games at Metapontion: the first C5m series of Metapontine double-relief issues has as *rev.* type a standing figure of Acheloos, naked and pouring a libation, accompanied by the legend *AXEΛOIO AEΘΛON* (*infra*).

The major urban *temenos* between the agora and the habitation area was laid out on vast dimensions at the time of foundation or shortly after; later it comprised four major temples and several minor temples or shrines; by C4 it was delimited from the agora by a fence-like structure, from the *kerameikos* by a drainage canal, and from the habitation zone by a stoa-like building (Mertens (1985)). It was dedicated to Athena (Adamesteanu (1976) 163); an Archaic cippus has the epiklesis [*Hy*]*gi*[*e*]*ias* or [*Ai*]*gi*[*d*]*ias* (Arena (1996) no. 68; see Graf (1981) 171, suggesting a cult of Athena Polias). To Apollo Lykeios was dedicated the C6e "Peripteral temple A1", whence comes rich C6e votive material (Adamesteanu (1970); Arena (1996) nos. 56, 57, 58). For Apollo Lykeios Nikaios, possibly referring to a victory over Siris (no. 69) in 530, see Adamesteanu (1970) 319 and Arena (1996) no. 60. Stones shaped as anchors may reflect a cult of Apollo Archegetes (Adamesteanu (1974) 28). It is not known to which deity the C6m "Peripteral temple B1" was dedicated (Adamesteanu (1970) 319–20; Graf (1981) 170–71, 174 n. 61). The temple was reconstructed *c.*540 (= "Peripteral temple B2"; Adamesteanu (1974) 27; Mertens (1985) 658). The "Peripteral temple A2" was constructed *c.*540, but the dedicatee deity is unknown. "*Oikos C2*" *c.*500 replaces an earlier shrine. C6l–C5e witnessed a monumentalisation of the sanctuary with the C5f "Temple D" (Mertens (1985) 661–63), where the cult is again unknown. In addition to Apollo, votives and various inscriptions mention Athena, Hera, Aphrodite, Artemis and Hermes (cf. Graf (1981) 171), and a C5 cult of Demeter is possibly attested as well (Hinz (1998) 217). For urban cults add Zeus Agoraios: Adamesteanu (1979); Arena (1996) no. 59 (C6f). For the *Διὸς Ἀγλαῖο* cippus and the reading "Zeus Aglaios", cf. Bottini (1989) 565–66. C5 coin types and votive deposits add further evidence of the cult of Apollo, Apollo Karneios, Demeter, Zeus Ammon, Athena, Hermes, Dionysos and Herakles (Stazio (1973) 84–86), but also of a number of lesser divinities and, in C4s, the cult of the hero/*oikistes* Leukippos (Lacroix (1965) 85–89). Further epigraphic evidence: C5 sherds with graffiti naming Athene (Hygieia?) (Arena (1996) no. 68 (C5f)); Aphrodite (Arena (1996) nos. 73 (C6l) and 74 (C5e)); for an inscription naming Hermes, see Adamesteanu (1975*a*) 252. Monumental drains delimiting the agora, *kerameikos* and *temenos* are probably C4; however, the morphology of the terrain presupposes a system of drainage at least from the C6m (cf. Adamesteanu (1975*a*) 247–48, 251–52). The overall layout and the delimitation of public spaces were in place by C7s, but the basic elements of the orthogonal town plan are C6m. The degree of development of the individual *insulae* is not clarified, but a gradual development, as known from most other sites, is probable (Adamesteanu (1973) 168–77, (1982) 309–11; Mertens (1982) 104–7). The *kerameikos* dates back to C6m (F. D'Andria (1975)). About 325 burials have been investigated at Pantanello, *c.*3 km north of the city. C6e Greek burials, probably those of the first settlers in the *chora*, took over the originally indigenous burial place; from C6l the number of burials increased significantly, and the cemetery continued in use until C4 (Prohaszka (1995); Carter (1998) 167ff, 236ff). The Crucina cemetery, just outside the city wall, contained about 600 burials, including early, monumental chamber tombs, possibly also that of the tyrant Antileon (Carter (1998) 8, 26; De Siena (1999) 233–35; for the topography of the cemeteries of Metapontion, see Lo Porto (1966) 183–231).

Communal consultation of the Delphic oracle is attested by Hdt. 4.15.3. Bacchyl. 11, Mähler, celebrates a Pythian victory by Alexidamos in boys' wrestling. Metapontion had a treasury at Olympia (Paus. 6.19.11; cf. Polemo fr. 20, Pr.). Architectural remains at Olympia and at Delphi have been attributed to Metapontian *thesauroi* (Mertens-Horn and Viola (1990) 245–46). An image of Zeus was dedicated by the people of Metapontion at Olympia (Paus. 5.22.5) but cannot be dated. The famous golden harvest dedicated by the Pylian founders at Delphi according to Strabo 6.1.15 (cf. Courby (1927) 268; Lacroix (1965) 154–58) has been taken as evidence of a Metapontine communal dedication (Vatin (1991) 55–56, whose readings, however, must be treated with great caution).

The coinage of Metapontion began *c.*550, with silver staters in the incuse fabric on the Achaian standard; the type is an ear of barley, though some issues carry secondary symbols such as a grasshopper or a dolphin, and on later issues: ram's head, mule's head and lizard. Legends are *MET*, *META*, *METAΠ* at times retrograde (Rutter, *HN*^{3} 1459; *SNG Cop. Italy* 1158–73; for the mint, see Stazio (1973); Noe and Johnston (1984); Johnston (1990)). The staters were struck in three phases on broad, medium and dumpy flans; smaller denominations were struck in a complex system which provides transitional issues between incuse and double-relief fabrics: drachms, triobols, diobols, obols and a

quarter-stater: types: *obv.* and *rev.* barley grain, sometimes with *revs.* ox-head, or head of man-faced bull (Rutter, *HN*³ 1487, 1492; *SNG Cop. Italy* 1174–81, *Suppl.* 42). Double-relief coinage was introduced *c.*C5m; staters: *obv.* ear of barley; *rev.* five barley grains forming a star, legends:*ΜΕΤΑ*, *ΜΕΤΑΠ* on *obv.* and *rev.* respectively (Rutter, *HN*³ 1490; *SNG Cop. Italy* 1182), followed by issues with *obv.* types and legends as above, but with divinities as *rev.* types (cf. Stazio (1973) 80–85 for interpretations of these): (a) river-god Acheloos, legend *ΑΧΕΛΟΙΟ ΑΕΘΛΟΝ* (Noe and Johnston (1984) 56–57, 90; Rutter, *HN*³ 1491; *SNG Cop. Italy* 1183 (late)); (b) Apollo holding branch and bow (Rutter, *HN*³ 1496; *SNG Cop. Italy* 1185); (c) Herakles with club over shoulder (Rutter, *HN*³ 1495; *SNG Cop. Italy* 1184), or Herakles sacrificing at altar (Rutter, *HN*³ 1494; Noe and Johnston (1984) no. 312). Diobols have *obv.* as above, *rev.* head of Acheloos (Rutter, *HN*³ 1492; *SNG Cop. Suppl.* 42). A new C5l issue of staters has as *obv.* types heads of divinities (Rutter, *HN*³ 1505ff): Apollo Karneios (or Hermes Parammon or Zeus Ammon), Apollo, Zeus (at times with epithet *ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΙΟΣ*), Dionysos, Demeter, and personifications such as Homonoia, Nike, Hygieia and Soteria identified by epithets; *rev.* ear of barley, legends as above and *ΜΕΤΑΠΟΝΤΙΟΝ*, *ΜΕΤΑΠΟΝΤΙΝΩΝ* (*SNG Cop. Italy* 1186–1207; Noe and Johnston (1984) nos. 481, 495, 523–24 for full toponym and ethnic). Some dies were signed, some unusually with the name Aristoxenos in full (Stazio (1973) 87; Noe and Johnston (1984) 62–65). Lower denominations C5l have *obv.* ear of barley; *rev.* crescents and pellets (Rutter, *HN*³ 1498–99; *SNG Cop. Italy* 1230); later, from last quarter of C4 *obvs.* with divinities as above (Rutter, *HN*³ 1594ff; *SNG Cop. Italy* 1231–38). Bronze coins were introduced C5s (Johnston (1989)): *obv.* tripod, legend: *ΜΕΤΑ*; *rev.* ear of barley (Rutter, *HN*³ 1637; *SNG Cop. Italy* 1250, 1270); C4f issues have *obv.* Hermes sacrificing over thymiaterion; *rev.* ear of barley, legend *ΜΕ* and an unusual identification of denomination, *ΟΒΟΛΟΣ* (Rutter, *HN*³ 1639; *SNG Cop. Italy* 1242); also bronze coins with *obv.* head of Nike or Demeter, *rev.* ear of barley and ithyphallic herm (Rutter, *HN*³ 1641; *SNG Cop. Italy* 1243). In C4m more silver issues were struck, depicting heads of divinities and personifications as above (Johnston (1990); Rutter, *HN*³ 1554ff; *SNG Cop. Italy* 1218–29). A reference to the origin of the city is found in an issue of staters and gold coinage with the head of Leukippos (Lacroix (1965) 85–86; Stazio (1973) 89–91; Rutter, *HN*³ 1552; *SNG Cop. Italy* 1208–17). Gold tetrobols were struck from *c.*340–330, perhaps at the time of Alexander the Molossian to pay mercenaries: *obv.* head of Leukippos, or of Nike, legend *ΜΕΤΑΠΟΝ* (Stazio (1973) 91–92; Johnston (1990) 41–45; Rutter, *HN*³ 1629; *SNG Cop. Suppl.* 43).

62. Metauros (Mataurinos) Map 46. Lat. 38.25, long. 15.55. Size of territory: 1. Type: C. The toponym is *Μέταυρος* (Strabo 6.1.5) or *Μάταυρος* (Steph. Byz. 437.3). The city-ethnic is *Ματαυρῖνος* (Steph. Byz. 437.4).

No Archaic or Classical source calls Metauros a *polis*. It is included here as a type C on account of Steph. Byz. 437.4, which describes the C6 poet Stesichoros as a native of Metauros: *Στησίχορος Εὐφήμου παῖς Ματαυρῖνος γένος, ὁ τῶν μελῶν ποιήτης*. Stephanos does not provide a source reference, but the fact that Stesichoros was normally considered a Himeraian (cf. Stesichoros TA33, 35–36, Davies) tends to suggest that he drew this information from a written account and not from memory. *If* this source really described Stesichoros by the city-ethnic of Metauros (see Musti (1976)), then the city *may* have been a *polis* in C6 since such use of the city-ethnic often indicates that the site to whose toponym the ethnic is related was a *polis* (Hansen (1996) 182–87), especially in external contexts as in this case.

Metauros was a foundation either of Zankle (no. 51) (Solin. 2.11) or of Lokroi (no. 59; Steph. Byz. 437.3). As indicated above, the political status of Metauros is highly uncertain, and it is not clear whether we should envisage a river-harbour settlement in Lokrian territory or a *polis*, at least for a period, founded by Zankle and later subject to Lokroi. The prevailing interpretation takes Metauros to be an originally Chalkidian, i.e. Zanklean, foundation later occupied by Lokroi, at about the time when that city founded Hipponion (no. 53) and Medma (no. 60), i.e. C7s (De Franciscis (1960); Settis (1965) 116–17; Musti (1976) 88–89). The archaeological evidence (*infra*) suggests a Greek settlement rather than a Hellenised non-Greek site.

The river Metauros delimited the territory of Rhegion (no. 68) and Metauros, which may have been founded by Zankle (and Rhegion?, *infra*) in opposition to Lokrian expansion, later becoming part of Lokrian territory (*supra*). The territory of Metauros is delimited to the south by the Petracce (river Metauros) and to the north by the territory of Medma. There is indirect evidence of an extra-urban sanctuary 500 m to the south-east of the city (Orsi (1902), (1923)). Sporadic finds of *arulae c.*1 km to the south may indicate another extra-urban sanctuary, though habitation or a cemetery cannot be ruled out (Sabbione and Soverini (1950) 145). Architectural terracottas of a Greek temple have been reported near Gioia Tauro (Gagliardi (1958)).

The settlement of Metauros occupied a flat plateau, *c.*1 km from the coast and *c.*2 km to the north of the river Metauros. The extent of the settlement is unknown: it may have comprised the area of the plateau only, or part of the terrace below as well, but a conservative estimate is that the settlement comprised about 60 ha. De Franciscis (1960) 59 suggested that the settlement was located on the plain and that the upper plateau was the acropolis of the city; however, the few remains in the lower city are Roman.

The settlement was delimited northwards and southeastwards by cemeteries, where a large number of tombs have yielded useful evidence of the cultural connections of Metauros: the C7f–C6 tombs contained mixed Greek and indigenous grave goods indicating a mixed population; the Greek wares reveal ties with the Chalkidian cities of Zankle and Rhegion and above all with Mylai, but overall a wide commercial network is revealed by the tomb material (De Franciscis (1960); Sabbione (1981*b*), (1986)). Later, Greek acculturation was total, and a period of Lokrian influence is revealed by Lokrian and Medmean coroplastic finds and a change in funeral rites (Sabbione (1987); Cordiano (1995*b*) 91 n. 29). Burials cease C6l, and very few tombs are known from C5. Such evidence may point to a termination of settlement C5l–C4e, perhaps due to Leukanian pressure.

63. Neapolis (Neapolites) Map 44. Lat. 40.50, long. 14.15. Size of territory: 1 or 2 Type: A. The toponym is *Νεήπολις* (C5 coin, *infra*) or *Νεάπολις* (Ps.-Skylax 10; Strabo 5.4.7), *ἡ* (Dion. Hal. 15.6.2 (rC4s)). The city-ethnic, always on coins, is *Νεοπολίτες*, *Νεοπολίτης*, *Νεοπολίτας*, *Νηοπολίτας*, *Νευπολίτης*, *Νουπολίτης*, or *Νειοπολίτης*: see Head, *HN*² 39; Rutter (1979) 142–58. *Νεαπολίτης* is found in Diod. 16.18.1 (r356) and Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 15.5–6 (rC4s).

Neapolis is called a *polis* in the urban sense (Ps.-Skylax 10), whereas the sources for *polis* used in the political sense are late (*SEG* 12 378.6 (242); Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 15.5.1, 6.5 (rC4s)). The internal collective use of the city-ethnic is found on C5l coins (Rutter, *HN*³ 557); the external collective use is found in Timaios (*FGrHist* 566) fr. 98 and Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 15.6.4 (rC4s); and the external individual use in Diod. 16.18.1 (r356).

Neapolis was founded *c.*470 on the initiative of Kyme (no. 57; Ps.-Skymnos 242–43; cf. Strabo 5.4.7); the date is based on the chronology of Syracusan involvement in Kymaian history and upon evidence from the Castel Capuano cemetery (Frederiksen (1984) 94, 101–7; Valenza Mele (1993) 197–98). The city was subsequently settled also by Chalkidians (no. 365), Pithekoussaians (no. 65) and Athenians (no. 361), taking its name "Neapolis" only at this time (Strabo 5.4.7; cf. Lomas (2000) 174). Euboian involvement in the foundation, via Kyme or Chalkis, is supported by evidence from the calendar (Trümpy, *Monat.* 42–43). Exactly how these later arrivals merged with the earlier Kymaian foundation is uncertain (Raviola (1991) 20–23). Neapolis had a C7 predecessor, Parthenope, but the relationship between the two settlements is not wholly clarified. Parthenope (*Παρθενόπη*: Strabo 14.2.10; ethnic *Παρθενοπαῖος*: Steph. Byz. 504.7) is called a *polis* in a late source (Steph. Byz. 504.6), but its *polis* status is highly uncertain. Parthenope was probably originally an *epineion* of Kyme, comparable with the settlement of Dikaiarcheia (see entry in list of non-*polis* sites *supra*). The identification of Parthenope on the hill of Pizzofalcone, adjoining the later settlement of Neapolis, is based upon evidence from its cemetery with tombs dating to 675–550, implying that Parthenope became the district of Palaiopolis when Kyme founded neighbouring Neapolis in C5f, with an as yet unexplained hiatus in the chronology of the early and later settlement (cf. Raviola (1990) 19). The more consistent tradition is that Parthenope was either an *apoikia* or an *epineion* of Kyme, and that the site was later destroyed by its *metropolis* (Lutatius *apud* Serv. auct. *ad* Verg, *G.* 4.563 = fr. 7, Peter; sources: Bérard (1957) 56; Raviola (1990)); but the sources also seem to suggest that the settlement was autonomous during its early history and not just an early stage of the later Neapolis (summary of evidence: Raviola (1990) 59–60). By C4s the two distinct, neighbouring urban nuclei, Parthenope (= Palaiopolis) and Neapolis, formed one political community (Livy 8.22.5), suggesting the absorption of the earlier site by the later settlement of Neapolis (cf. Lomas (2000) 174; see further Parthenope in list of non-*polis* sites *supra*).

Neapolis was founded within the Kymaian dominion (cf. Strabo 5.4.7). Its territory was not extensive: *c.*20 km² (Lepore (1967) 142, 146–48). The city was a maritime settlement and had a narrow *chora* bounded by a number of Oscan sites situated not far inland (Polyb. 3.91.4). The city was separated from its hinterland by the river Clanis. Apart from the uncertain evidence of a sanctuary of Athena at Sorrento (Surrento) (Strabo 5.4.8), perhaps reflected in the numismatic evidence (Rutter (1979) 94–95), extra-urban or suburban sanctuaries are not attested. The Demeter sanctuary of the "Convento di S. Gaudioso" within the urban area of Neapolis had an Archaic pre-foundation phase and is therefore interpreted as situated in the *chora* of Kyme prior to the foundation of Neapolis, perhaps demarcating the

southern limit of the territory of Kyme (E. Greco (1985*a*) 188–89). At some point after the Hieronian *teichos* on Pithekoussai had been abandoned, Neapolis assumed control of the island (Strabo 5.4.9).

Neapolis may have obtained some understanding with Rome as a bulwark against Dionysios of Syracuse (Timaios (*FGrHist* 566) fr. 32; but see Jacoby, comm. *ad loc.*); in 327 the city entered into a *foedus aequum* with Rome (Livy 8.26.6; *Staatsverträge* 410). An alliance with the Samnites in C4s is attested by Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 15.5.2. A navy is attested for C4s (Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 15.6.3).

Reception of envoys is attested in Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 15.5.1, 2 (rC4s). The *presbeis* sent by Taras to Neapolis in C4s were *proxenoi* of Neapolis according to Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 15.5.2.

Neapolis received refugees from Kyme when that city fell to the Samnites in 421, according to Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 15.6.4; it is not clear from the text whether the Kymaians were granted citizenship, and the coins struck by the Neapolitan mint *in the name of Kyme* (Rutter (1979) 96) may indicate that Kymaian identity remained alive at Neapolis (cf. Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 15.6.4, reporting the existence of a group of Kymaians at Neapolis *c.*327; cf. Lomas (2000) 178). At an unknown date (C4?), Neapolis, after a *stasis*, received some Kampanians as *synoikoi*; obviously these were granted citizenship, since they were entitled to hold the office of *demarchos* (Strabo 5.4.7; cf. Livy 8.21ff; Lomas (2000) 177–78).

Neapolis experienced a *stasis*, presumably in C4 (Strabo 5.4.7). The office of *demarchos*, at first given only to Greeks, but later to non-Greeks absorbed into the citizenry as well (Strabo 5.4.7; cf. Lomas (2000) 177–78), may indicate a democratic constitution. A *boule*, an *ekklesia* and the procedure of *probouleusis* are attested for C4s by Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 15.6.1–3 (cf. Ghinatti (1996) 103–6).

Neapolis was founded on a sloping coastal plateau, where bradyseism has caused changes to the coastline and hindered an identification of the ancient harbour site. The plateau was fortified by a circuit wall *c.*3.8 km long and enclosing an area of *c.*75 ha; it is a C4 double curtain-wall in ashlar with internal fill, but stretches built in another type of tufa rock and in a different technique go back to the period of foundation *c.*470 (Napoli (1959) 31–40; Fratta (2002) 68–69). One isolated stretch may testify to a *diateichisma* wall rather than a C4 enlargement of the urban area. The location of the gates of the Greek city is based upon the main territorial routes, the mediaeval gates of Naples and upon the location of the cemeteries (E. Greco (1985*a*) 191–99).

The layout of the ancient city is clearly mirrored in the city plan of the mediaeval city, one of the most spectacular examples of the survival of an ancient street plan, with three east–west *plateiai* and about twenty north–south *stenopoi* clearly revealing the orthogonal urban layout (Castagnoli (1956) 36–37). The use of long narrow *insulae* is very similar to the town plans of C5 Himera (no. 24) and Naxos (no. 41) and therefore possibly comtemporary with the foundation, or slightly later. To judge from the evidence provided by the street plan as preserved in the mediaeval city, most of the area inside the circuit wall was urbanised; there are, however, no structural remains of habitation, but on the basis of better-known sites, E. Greco (1985*a*) 199–216 estimates two rows of ten houses per *insula*, with seven or eight inhabitants per house, and hence an urban population of 1,000–8,000 inhabitants. The elevated north-western part of the city formed an acropolis-like area which fell outside the regular urban layout and was very likely destined for sanctuaries, as indicated by votive deposits (E. Greco (1985*a*)).

The remains of monumental Roman structures in the upper part of the city adjoining the "acropolis" provide strong evidence for the location of an upper, probably political agora, and a lower, probably mercantile agora (E. Greco (1985*a*) 208, (1985*b*)); the Roman theatre of the lower agora (*forum*) probably had a Greek predecessor, but there is no archaeological evidence (Johannowsky (1985)). There is evidence of *ephebeia* and *gymnasia* in the Hellenistic period (Strabo 5.4.7).

Rich votive deposits from the area of S. Aniello, mainly C5–C4 in date and of a type ascribed to Demeter and the chthonic divinities, indicate a major sanctuary with a history going back to a pre-foundation phase situated in the north-western "acropolis" area of the city (Borriello and De Simone (1985)). A number of literary sources, albeit late, attest the importance of the Demeter cult at Neapolis (Stat. *Silv.* 3.5.79, 4.8.45–47; Cic. *Balb.* 55). A cult of the Siren Parthenope, the eponymous nymph of Parthenope (on which see the Introduction, *supra*), is attested in late sources only, but a cult of her father, Acheloos, is indirectly attested by representation of the river-god on C5 coins (Rutter (1979) 44–45 for sources). According to Timaios (*FGrHist* 566) fr. 98, the Athenian *nauarchos* Diotimos played an important role as instigator of a torch race in honour of the Siren Parthenope at Neapolis (Frederiksen (1984) 104–6; Raviola (1991) 24–27; for an overall survey of sources, see Valenza Mele (1993) 168, 171).

The four known cemeteries were situated along the cardinal east, north, west and south/south-west radial roads, with inhumation, cist-slab tombs and tile tombs dating to

C5–C4, replaced in C4l by cremation tombs (Borriello *et al.* (1985) 228–31). The evidence from the cemetery of Castel Capuano confirms the foundation date, with burials from *c.*470 (ibid. 232–74).

The coinage of Neapolis has been exhaustively treated by K. Rutter, who divides it into four main periods between 450 and 385 (Rutter (1979) 42–59). Minting began *c.*450 (ibid. 46) or *c.*470 at the time of foundation (Cantilena (1985); Valenza Mele (1993) 172). The earliest coinage is represented by a single specimen of a didrachm on the Euboian standard: *obv.* head of Parthenope in profile; *rev.* forepart of bearded man-faced bull, Acheloos, father of Parthenope; legend: ΝΕΗΠΟΛΙΣ (Rutter (1979) 46, 142; Rutter, *HN*³ 545). There are stylistic affinities with the coins of Gela (the *rev.* type) and Syracuse (the *obv.* type). *C.*450 commenced a more regular issue of didrachms, obols and minor fractions on the Phokaian standard (Rutter (1979) 46). The head of Parthenope, normally shown in profile, at times in three-quarter view (Rutter (1979) 52; Rutter, *HN*³ 546, 552, 563; *SNG Cop. Italy* 385), continues as the most frequent *obv.* type until the city ceased to coin *c.*385. The *rev.* has a river-god, either the local stream Sebethis or Sebethos (named on an obol (Rutter, *HN*³ 558)), or perhaps rather Acheloos attested in local myths (Rutter (1979) 43–45), here represented as a walking bull, at first as in nature, later with a human face or head, at times accompanied by a female figure, probably Nike, flying above and crowning the bull with a garland (an allusion to games held in honour of Parthenope?: Rutter (1979) 45). The *rev.* has legend ΝΕΗΠΟΛΙΤΗΣ, ΝΕΗΠΟΛΙΤΕΣ or variations, for which see the onomastic section above (*SNG Cop. Italy* 386–94). One issue carries the ktetic ΝΕΟΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΟΝ on the *obv.* (cf. Guarducci, *EG* ii. 623; Rutter (1979) 47; Rutter, *HN*³ 546). From *c.*420 some issues have on the *obv.* a helmeted head of Athena of Corinthian inspiration (Rutter, *HN*³ 554; *SNG Cop. Italy* 382–83), not easily explained in C5s Neapolis, but according to K. Rutter possibly reflecting Diotimos' visit there mentioned by Timaios (*FGrHist* (566) fr. 98; cf. Rutter (1979) 45, 95; Frederiksen (1984) 104–5; for Athenian settlers at Neapolis, see *supra*). Most obols have *obv.* head of Athena, at times wearing Attic helmet; *rev.* mussel shell, on early issues, later forepart of man-faced bull, legend ΝΕΟΠΟΛΙΤΕΩΝ and abbreviations thereof (Rutter (1979) 50–51, 58; Rutter, *HN*³ 548, 555; *SNG Cop. Italy* 384). Neapolis minted coins for the Kampanian Samnite communities: Kyme *c.*420–380, Capua *c.*415–400, Hyria 405–385, Nola 400–380, Allifae 400–395, and for the Fistelians 405–400 and the Fenserni 400–390 (Rutter (1979)).

64. Pandosia (Pandosinos) Map 46. Unlocated (see further Ciaceri (1928)ii. 158–60; Storti (1994) 331–32); probably near Cosentia in the upper Krathis valley, by the river Acheron (Strabo 6.1.5; coins, *infra*); not to be confused with Pandosia in the territory of Herakleia (no. 52). Size of territory: ? Type: [A]. The toponym is Παν̄δοσία, ἡ (Ps.-Skylax 12; Strabo 6.1.5) or Παν̄δοσίη (Dodonian oracle *apud* Steph. Byz. 499.19). The city-ethnic is Παν̄δοσῖνος (Classical coins, *infra*; *IG* vii 2225B.54 (C2f)).

Pandosia is one of ten toponyms listed at Ps.-Skylax 12 after the heading πόλεις εἰσὶν Ἑλληνίδες αἵδε, where *polis* is used in the urban sense. The internal collective use of the city-ethnic is found (as ΠΑΝΔΟΣΙΝ) on Classical coins (*infra*). The external individual use is found in *IG* vii 2225B.54 (C2f).

Ps.-Skymnos 326–29 describes Pandosia (with Kroton (no. 56), Thourioi (no. 74) and Metapontion (no. 61)) as an Achaian foundation. Numismatic evidence (*infra*) suggests that the city was a dependency of Sybaris (no. 70) and later of Kroton (cf. Mazzarino (1963) 69; Storti (1994) 332 with refs.). According to Eusebios (Helm 181; Schöne 78), the foundation of Pandosia was contemporary with that of Metapontion: *Ol.* 1.4 = 773; it is not, however, clear whether the reference is to this Pandosia or the one near Herakleia (*RE* xviii. 551; Storti (1994) 332). In any case, the Eusebian date for Metapontion is unreliable. According to Strabo 6.1.5, tradition held that Pandosia was once the royal seat of the Oinotrians.

By *c.*500 Pandosia with Kroton struck staters on the Achaian standard and with the incuse technique: *obv.* tripod, legend ϘPO; *rev.* bull of Sybarite type within incuse square, legend: ΠΑΝΔΟ (Gorini (1975) 27; Parise (1982) 105–6, 114; Stazio (1983*b*) 967–69; Rutter, *HN*³ 2097). The legends and the *obv.* type suggest dependency upon Kroton, but the *rev.* type depicting the Sybarite bull suggests earlier dependence upon Sybaris (*RE* xviii. 552: Giangiulio (1989) 233 n. 67). By C5s Pandosia was striking staters of its own in double relief: *obv.* head of nymph Pandosia, legend: ΠΑΝΔΟΣΙΑ; *rev.* naked youth offering libation, personification of river Krathis, legend: ΚΡΑΘΙΣ (Rutter, *HN*³ 2449). *C.*400, staters and thirds depict *obv.* head of Hera Lakinia; *rev.* seated, naked Pan with dog, in front herm with *kerykeion* affixed, legend: ΠΑΝΔΟΣΙ, ΠΑΝΔΟΣΙΝ, in field mint-mark Φ, similar to mint-marks known from Hyele, Neapolis, Thourioi and other mints (Rutter, *HN*³ 2450–52).

65. Pithekoussai (Pithekoussaios) Map 44. Lat. 40.45, long. 13.55. Size of territory: 1. Type: A. The toponym is

Πιθηκοῦσ(σ)α, ἡ (Pherecydes (*FGrHist* 3) fr. 54; Ps.-Skylax 10; Ptol. *Geog.* 3.1.69); *Πιθηκοῦσ(σ)αι, αἱ* (*Mir. ausc.* 833*a*; Strabo 5.4.9). For the change between singular (denoting the main island) and plural (denoting the archipelago), see Coretti and Soverini (1990) 327. The city-ethnic is *Πιθηκουσσαῖος* (Strabo 5.4.7 (rC5?)).

Pithekoussai is called a *polis* in the urban sense at Ps.-Skylax 10, and the external collective use of the city-ethnic is found in Strabo 5.4.7 (rC5?). However, Pithekoussai has often been denied the status of a *polis* and described as an *emporion*, i.e. trading station (see Hansen 4 (1997*b*) 99 n. 91; most recent discussion: Boffa (1998)). Bartoloni and Cordano (1978) denied *polis* status to Pithekoussai because: (a) the site is not described as an *apoikia* and no oecist is named; (b) there is no evidence for a political organisation of the community; (c) there is no evidence of social stratification; (d) though predominantly Greek, the population was of mixed ethnicity. While some of these points, such as the mixed ethnic identity of the population, are irrefutable (Buchner (1978); Ridgway (1992) 111–18, (1998*b*), (2000) 183–85), others are to a large degree based on absence of evidence, and recent archaeological investigations suggest that the community may not have been exclusively a trading station; for a recent review of the status of Pithekoussai, see Ridgway (2000) 185–86. The following should be noted:

(1) Some kind of political organisation and social stratification is in fact suggested by Strabo's report (5.4.9) of a *stasis*.

(2) As Ridgway (1992) 50–51 and d'Agostino (1999*b*) 213–17 point out, the mortuary evidence does actually indicate some social stratification.

(3) A territory seems *not* to be absent: there is sporadic evidence of C8–C7 Greek presence over much of the island, which suggests that Pithekoussai had a *chora* and that the settlement aimed at some agricultural self-sufficiency. The extent of arable land has been estimated at *c.*10–20 km² (De Caro (1994)). At Punta Chiarito on a promontory on the south coast, *c.*12 km from the acropolis of Pithekoussai, two LGI–LGII farmsteads, abandoned *c.*680, were succeeded in C7*s* by a Greek settlement proper, probably destroyed in C6*f* by a natural catastrophe (Gialanella (1994)). So even if Pithekoussai may have been primarily a commercial settlement, that cannot be considered to be its only role (see also d'Agostino (1999*b*) 218–20).

(4) The urban characteristics of Pithekoussai are no different from other C8 western Greek settlements (for an overall topographical plan, see Buchner and Ridgway (1993) Carta topografica): Pithekoussai was situated on the island of the same name (Ps.-Skylax 10) in the Gulf of Naples facing Kyme and Cape Misenum. The settlement was founded on the promontory of Monte di Vico on the north-west coast of the island, a site defended by natural steep slopes on all sides, and with bays forming natural harbours on both sides. The plateau, relatively flat, formed a habitation area of about 6 ha. Although no habitation structures are extant, sherds found over most of the surface of the plateau testify to extensive C8 habitation (Buchner (1975) 63–64). There is some evidence of pre-colonial trading contacts (Ridgway (1992) 107–8; cf. d'Agostino (1999*a*) 56–58), but the archaeological data from the "Gosetti-Akropolis dump" and from the Mazzola excavation date the foundation to *c.*750 (Neeft (1994) 150 n. 9 ("*c.*740"); Coldstream (1995); d'Agostino (1999*a*) 56–58). Surface finds on the Monte di Vico plateau also give evidence of habitation from C6 to C4, and C6–C4 architectural terracottas are, with the foundation structures of a temple, testimony of sanctuaries (Coretti and Soverini (1990) 336–37; Ridgway (1992) 37–39, 86–87).

The finds from the plateau and from the "Gosetta dump", and from the workshop quarter of Mazzola (*infra*), seem to indicate some interrruption, or at least regression, in the habitation of the site *c.*700–600, seen by some as evidence of Kymaian domination in this period (d'Agostino and Soteriou (1998) 368).

The principal habitation site was on the Monte di Vico, but during the early history of the settlement, habitation also extended along the ridge of Mezzavia and Mazzola, where noteworthy workshops have been excavated (Buchner (1975); Ridgway (1992) 91–101). The whole area of Pithekoussai, including the Valle di S. Montano with cemeteries, and the lowland plain, with the probable harbour, between Monte di Vico and the ridge of Mezzavia, comprises about 75 ha (Buchner (1975) 66). Within the first generations after the foundation the population may have risen to 5,000–10,000 (Ridgway (1992) 101–3). Morris (1996) 57 suggests a minimum population of 4,000–5,000. A vast cemetery occupies the Valle di S. Montano south and south-west of the Monte di Vico, where the *c.*1,300 C8–C7 cremation and inhumation tombs investigated correspond to about one-tenth of the estimated extent of the cemetery (Buchner and Ridgway (1993)). In terms of wealth, the cemetery is similar to those known from most other Greek settlements in the West (Buchner (1982); Ridgway (1992) 50–51; Neeft (1994) 154). The single find of greatest interest is probably the late Geometric "Nestor's cup" (C. F. Russo (1993); Vos (1993)), the earliest (C8*s*) attestation of the *symposion* (Murray (1984)). The C5 tombs are few and poor (Buchner and Ridgway (1993)).

In the lower city, a sanctuary, possibly a Heraion, is likewise attested by C7l–C6e architectural terracottas from Pastola, between the Mazzola ridge and the sea, west of the acropolis (d'Agostino (1994–95) 86–91). A rich C7e votive deposit from the same area has been taken as evidence of a *heroon* on the assumption that a tomb found there was part of the same complex as the deposit (d'Agostino (1994–95)).

At the very least, this evidence suggests that the political status of Pithekoussai must remain an open question.

Little is known of the history of Pithekoussai. According to Strabo 5.4.9, Pithekoussai was founded by Eretrians (no. 370) and Chalkidians (no. 365); Livy 8.22.6 (cf. Mele (1979) 32) names only Chalkidians. Apart from this, no account of the foundation survives. The settlers found the site unoccupied (Buchner (1975) 64), but mixed marriages—evidenced by, e.g., fibula typology—may have occurred in a later phase, *c.*C8l (Buchner (1975) 77–80; Coldstream (1993)). According to Livy (*loc. cit.*), the Chalkidians moved on to Kyme (no. 57); however, in the account of the foundation of Kyme by Dionysios of Halikarnassos, Pithekoussai does not appear as a first stage or halting place for the Chalkidian and Eretrian founders of Kyme (*Ant. Rom.* 7.3.1). According to Strabo 5.4.7, Pithekoussaians participated, with Athenians and Chalkidians, in a resettling of Neapolis at an unspecified date. Hieron of Syracuse constructed a *teichos* on the island, but the personnel had to abandon it because of seismic activity (Strabo 5.4.9). The island was then taken over by Neapolis, who lost it in an unspecified war (ibid.).

66. Poseidonia (Poseidoniatas) Map 45. Lat. 40.25, long. 15.00. Size of territory: 4. Type: A. The toponym is *Ποσειδανία*, *ἡ* (ML 10.6–7 (550–525)); *Ποσειδωνία* (Ps.-Skylax 12; Strabo 6.4.13); or *Ποσειδωνιάς*, *ἡ* (Ps.-Skymnos 248). The city-ethnic is *Ποσειδανιάτας* (C5f coins, *infra*); *Ποσειδωνιάτης* (Aristox. fr. 124, Wehrli), or *Ποσειδωνιήτης* (Hdt. 1.167.4).

Poseidonia is one of ten toponyms listed at Ps.-Skylax 12 after the heading *πόλεις εἰσὶν Ἑλληνίδες αἵδε*, where *polis* is used in the urban sense, and it is called a *polis* in the political sense in ML 10.7 (550–525). The internal collective use of the city-ethnic is found on C5f coins (*infra*); the external collective use is found in Aristox. fr. 124, Wehrli, and Strabo 6.1.3 (rC5l–C4e); the external individual use is found in Iambl. *VP* 239 and 267 (rC6l–C5m), Diod. 11.65.1 and Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 9.56.1 (r468).

Poseidonia was founded by Sybaris (no. 70.I) (Ps.-Skymnos 249; cf. Strabo 6.1.1). According to Solin. 2.10, the city was founded by unspecified Dorians; if historical, these Dorians may have been Troizenians (no. 357), since, according to Arist. *Pol.* 1303^{a}30, Troizenians had participated in the foundation of Sybaris itself (cf. Steph. Byz. 639.9, where Steph. associates the toponym *Troizen* with Italy and cites Charax = *FGrHist* 103, fr. 61). The literary tradition offers only a *terminus ante quem* for the foundation, *viz. c.*530, provided by Herodotos, who at 1.167.4 refers to the city as in existence when Hyele (no. 54) was founded (*c.*540–535). Archaeological evidence suggests a foundation date of *c.*600 (E. Greco (1981*a*); *Poseidonia* ii. 73 n. 7). At Strabo 6.1.1 an initial Sybarite settlement distinct from the later city is mentioned and described as a *teichos*; the location and status of this *teichos* is still unsolved (Greco (1979); Tréziny (1992); Junker (1993) 2–3).

Suburban sanctuaries of Demeter(?) 3–4 km to the east of Poseidonia and of Artemis(?) (cf. Diod. 4.22.3.) reflect the C6e expansion of the city's influence (E. Greco (1987*a*) 480–81). The C6–C5 *chora* of Poseidonia was delimited to the north by the river Sele and the important sanctuary of Hera (*infra*), to the east by the foothills bordering the coastal plain, and to the south by the sanctuary of Poseidon(?) at Agropoli (Fiammenghi (1985*a*)). Other important extra-urban sanctuaries of Demeter and Hera are known at S. Nicola di Albanella (Cipriani (1989); Cipriani and Ardovino (1989–90); Hinz (1998) 176–80) and at Fonte, 14 km from Poseidonia (E. Greco (1979) 19). Greek and indigenous graves respectively mark the boundary of Poseidonian territory *c.*14 km to the east of the city. There is evidence of an Archaic Greek rural settlement near the Heraion at the Foce del Sele and of harbour installations on the estuary of the river Sele. The C6–C5 territory of Poseidonia comprised about 200 km² (E. Greco (1979); Greco, Stazio and Vallet (1987)).

The most important of the extra-urban sanctuaries was the Heraion located on the left bank of the river Sele (ancient Silaris) close to the estuary, on the northern border of Poseidonian territory (Strabo 6.1.1; Solin. 2.7). The evidence suggests that the foundation of the Heraion was contemporary with the foundation of Poseidonia (Tocco Sciarelli *et al.* (1989) 67–90). On the sanctuary, see Zancani Montuoro and Zanotti-Bianco (1951–54); Parise Badoni (1989); de La Genière (1997*b*). The cult of Demeter is attested at several sanctuaries in the *chora* (Cipriani and Ardovino (1989–90)).

In ML 10.7, a treaty of *symmachia* between Sybaris (no. 70.I) with allies and the Serdaioi, Poseidonia is listed as *proxenos* of the agreement; Poseidonia itself here appears to be outside the Sybarite alliance, and its function as *proxenos* is

not easy to interpret (ML *ad loc.*); however, the inscription attests the ability of Poseidonia to conduct foreign policy and to enter into interstate relations. According to Strabo 6.1.3, Poseidonia had a number of *symmachoi* in C5l–C4e when the city was defeated by the Leukanians. A war of uncertain date with Hyele (no. 54) is attested in Strabo 6.1.1.

Poseidonia was conquered by the Leukanians in C5l–C4e, probably after the fall of Kyme (E. Greco (1992*b*) 249). During C4s the Greek identity of the community was effaced, and the Greek language was no longer spoken (Aristox. fr. 124, Wehrli), but though the Poseidoniatai are described as "wholly barbarianized" (Aristox. fr. 124, Wehrli), the persistence of at least one ancient Greek religious festival is reported (ibid.; cf. Ampolo (1989–90)); in Ps.-Skylax 12 Poseidonia is listed as a *polis Hellenis* and Greek-style coinage persisted (*infra*), and Lomas (2000) 178 questions whether Poseidonia was in fact barbarianized "to the extent that Aristoxenus would have us believe".

The only evidence for the internal political life at Poseidonia is the C5m *ekklesiasterion* (*infra*) with its implication of an assembly. A C6l–480 bronze *olpe* from a tomb in the area of the city (Arena (1996) no. 32) is inscribed with four Greek names, each of which is preceded by two letters (*πα*, *βυ*, *δυ bis*); "the letters preceding the names are sigla identifying the bearers as members of some civic subdivision, whether a phyle, demos or otherwise" (*SEG* 43 855 *comm.*).

Poseidonia was founded on an irregular limestone plateau, later bounded by a circuit wall, running for 4,750 m and mainly of C4l Leukanian and Roman date (Schläger (1962); Blum (1987)). There are, however, remains of a Greek circuit wall inside the later walls, east of the south gate (Schläger (1962) 22), and the Greek city probably did have a circuit wall, at least contemporary with the building of the large temples, as indicated by the fact that the north and south gates were laid out in accordance with the orientation of the temples. The extent of the C6–C5 habitation area, estimated at *c.*125 ha, is indicated by several large cemeteries (E. Greco (1979) 12–13; Pontrandolfo (1987)) and sanctuaries situated along the edge of the urban area (Greco, Stazio and Vallet (1987); Pedley *et al.* (1993)).

Although the orthogonal urban layout with narrow *insulae* and the use of *plateiai* and *stenopoi* is of Roman date, it was probably Greek in origin, as suggested by the very similar evidence from Metapontion (no. 61), also an Achaian colony (Castagnoli (1956) 39–44; Schläger (1965) 188–97; E. Greco and Theodorescu (1990) 87). The main divisions of the city were formed by a broad central, civic belt: the agora and the two large *temene*, dividing the habitation area into two main zones. The public space constituted about 25 per cent of the area inside the walls (E. Greco and Theodorescu (1994) 236). There is no certain evidence of the extent of the C6 habitation, but it probably comprised *c.*70 ha of the urban area. The political function of the agora is revealed by an *ekklesiasterion* and a *heroon*. The C5m–C4 circular *ekklesiasterion* had a seating capacity of 1,000–1,700 (E. Greco and Theodorescu (1983) 34–49, 79–81; Hansen and Fischer-Hansen (1994) 69–72). A *heroon*, or cenotaph, has been recognised in the sunken limestone chamber containing rich grave goods and in C4 surrounded by a *peribolos* wall (Sestieri (1955*a*); E. Greco and Theodorescu (1983) 25–33, 74–79). The location of the structure suggests a political cult, possibly that of the *oikistes*. The small ante-temple located west of the *ekklesiasterion* possibly housed a poliad cult; the altar in the *ekklesiasterion* lies on the axis of this temple, thus suggesting some overall planning (E. Greco and Theodorescu (1983) 65 fig. 8 "T").

The major divinity of the southern *temenos* was Hera. The main temple was the C6m "*Basilica*" (Heraion I), a Heraion according to the epigraphic evidence (Guarducci (1952); *LSAG* 252, 260 no. 3; *SEG* 29 982; Arena (1996) no. 19). Apart from her warrior aspect, she was also *kourotrophos* (Ardovino (1986) 107, 113). There were other cults (survey of cults: Ardovino (1986)): Hera Hippia: G. Greco (1992) 254–55; Hera and Zeus: Stern (1980); but Hera, the patron deity, enthroned and holding a phiale is the commonest type of votive. The second major temple was the "Temple of Poseidon" (Heraion II) (*c.*460–450), normally identified as a Heraion, though Torelli (1987) 60–62) suggests Apollo Hiatros (Cipriani (1997) 221–22 suggests Zeus). There were several other structures in the sanctuary already from the Archaic period, e.g. a C6l temple located on the northern edge of the *temenos* (Bertarelli Sestieri (1987–88) 107–8 pl. 2). Votive finds indicate cults of Athena, Aphrodite and Artemis in addition to that of Hera and *kourotrophoi*, and a number of anatomical votives and the type of "infant in swaddling clothes" suggest a healing divinity or a Meter (Bertarelli Sestieri (1989)). The stele (a *horos*?) of Chiron (C6e) suggests a "precinct of Chiron" (*LSAG* 252, 259 no. 2; Arena (1996) no. 50.25). A precinct of Zeus Xenios is inferred from a (lost) inscription (Cipriani (1997) 223; Arena (1996) no. 23), and several smaller temples, as well as various altars and votive deposits add to the furnishings of the sanctuary (Sestieri (1955*b*), (1956); Bertarelli Sestieri (1987–88); Cipriani (1997) 215–16; cf. also Mertens (1993) 93 n. 868: architectural remains from at least eight different Archaic roofs). The row

of altars, various votive deposits, and *horoi* east of the two large temples indicate the eastern limit of the sanctuary (Bertarelli Sestieri (1987–88) 94–95, 114). There is C6(?) evidence of a Demeter sanctuary on the southern confines of the Heraion (Cipriani and Ardovino (1989–90) 346 with refs.), and the Demeter cult is attested in various locations of Poseidonia (Cipriani (1997) 222–23; Hinz (1998) 171–76). Finally there are epigraphic attestations of various cults: of *Pais*, as an epiclesis of Hera (?), of Athena, Zeus Xenios, Chiron (if not a personal name), and of the nymphs (Ardovino (1980); Arena (1996) no. 51). A cult of Poseidon must have played an important role in the city, as we can infer from the city's name and from the coin type depicting a striding Poseidon. There is evidence of a Herakles cult in the Leukanian period, but for the Greek period the evidence is uncertain, though there are many references to Herakles myths in the architectural sculptures of the Heraion del Sele (see Cipriani (1997) 223–24, stressing the *polis* aspect of Herakles cults). In the northern sanctuary there is one major temple, a C6l–C5e "Temple of Demeter" (Krauss (1959)), and a cult of Athena is inferred from votive material (Sestieri (1955*b*) 40). A C6f *sacellum* located to the south of the major temple is the earliest identified temple at Poseidonia, known only from its architectural terracottas (Mertens (1993) 93, 127). An Aphrodite shrine was probably situated to the north of the Athena temple (Sestieri (1955*b*) 40), and a C6e *naiskos* lay between the Athenaion and the agora (*Poseidonia* ii. 64). The cult of Poseidon must have been important in the first settlement (at Agropolis?; cf. schol. Lycoph. *Alex.* 724) but is not attested in the major settlement except on the coins (*infra*). Important Greek cemeteries occupied extensive areas to the north, south-east and south of the city (Mello and Libero Mangieri (1996) 332–33, 335–37).

Parmenides of Poseidonia won both the *stadion* and the *diaulos* at Olympia in 468 (*Olympionikai* 235–36).

Poseidonia began minting silver coins *c.*530–525 with issues in the Achaian incuse fabric, although the weight system used was the "Phocaean–Phoenician" standard, as at Hyele (see Taliercio Mensitieri (1987)). Drachms, obols and hemiobols were struck in addition to staters (Rutter, *HN*³ 1107ff). The type depicts a striding Poseidon, a trident in his raised right hand; legends: *ΠΟΣ*, *ΠΟΣΕΙ*, *ΠΟΣΕΙΔΑΝΙ* (Gorini (1975) 30–32; Rutter, *HN*³ 1107; *SNG Cop. Italy* 1271–76, 1294–96). Some coins carry the additional legend *ϜΙΣΣ*, the meaning of which is disputed (Rutter, *HN*³ *ad* 1108). The suggestion that it refers to Is, oecist of Sybaris, has won some acceptance (Guarducci, *EG* ii. 661), though it cannot be excluded that the legend refers to an unknown locality implying some sort of league membership (Gorini (1975) 208). The minting of incuse staters stopped *c.*510–500, perhaps as a result of the destruction of Sybaris, and until *c.*470 the city struck only minor denominations (Rutter (1997) 57). *C.*470 Poseidonia introduced a double-relief coinage employing the Achaian weight standard, possibly influenced by refugees from Sybaris (no. 70.II) (Kraay (1967) 133; Rutter (1997) 42). Types depict *obv.* Poseidon striding; *rev.* bull standing; legend: *ΠΟΣ*, *ΠΟΣΕ*, *ΠΟΣΕΙ*, *ΠΟΣΕΙΔΑΝΙ*, *ΠΟΣΕΙΔΑΝΙΑΤΑΝ* (Rutter, *HN*³ 1114; *SNG Cop. Italy* 1277–93, 1297–1308). Denominations included staters, drachms, diobols, obols, hemiobols and possibly octobols (Rutter, *HN*³ 1116ff). The additional legend *ΣΕΙΛΑ* on one issue may refer to the river Seilaros/Silaris (?) or, perhaps more plausibly, may read *ΜΕΓΥΛ*, a name and a possible reference to an otherwise undocumented *oikistes* (Guarducci, *EG* ii. 698–99; Rutter, *HN*³ 1114). Bronze coinage with types of the double-relief silver coinage and continued use of the city-ethnic for the legend (*ΠΟΣΕΙ*, *ΠΟΣΕΙΔ*, *ΠΟΣΕΙΔΑΝΙΑΤΑΝ*) starts *c.*420 (Grunauer (1973) 38; Rutter, *HN*³ 1151ff; *SNG Cop. Italy* 1309–23). To the later C5 belongs a gold triobol inscribed *ΠΟΣ* (Rutter, *HN*³ 1115). The Leukanian conquest did not mean the end of the coinage (Rutter (1997) 76–77).

67. Pyxous Map 46. Lat. 40.05, long. 15.30. Size of territory: ? Type: B. The toponym is *Πυξοῦς*, *-οῦντος* (Diod. 11.59.4 (r *c.*471); Strabo 6.1.1; Steph. Byz. 540.11: there described as a *polis Sikelias*, but mistaken Sicilian locations are not uncommon in Stephanos, cf. Bencivenga Trillmich (1988) 725 n. 60. C6s coins inscribed *ΠΥΞΟΕΣ* (Libero Mangieri (1981); Rutter, *HN*³ p. 143) may belong to this city, and the legend may be the uncontracted toponym (so Head, *HN*² 83–84; but see further Rutter, *HN*³ p. 143). *Πύξις* in Steph. Byz. 540.8, possibly derived from Hekataios, may refer to Pyxous or, more likely, to another site (it is described as *ἐν μεσογαίῃ τῶν Οἰνώτρων*). A city-ethnic is not attested apart from the entries in Steph. Byz. (540.8, 10).

No Archaic or Classical source calls Pyxous a *polis*, but it is included as a type B here on account of the following evidence: (a) Diod. 11.59.4, where it is reported that it was founded as a *polis* in 471/0 by Mikythos, the tyrant of Rhegion (no. 68) and Zankle/Messana (no. 51); it may have been founded as a military outpost (Johannowsky (1992)), but the classification suggested by Diodorus may well be correct; (b) the C6s incuse coins (staters and a single specimen of a third-stater) on the Achaian standard depicting the

Sybarite bull and inscribed *obv.* ΣΙΡΙ, ΣΙΡΙΝΟΣ, *rev.* ΠΥΞ, ΠΥΞΟΕΣ (Gorini (1975) 9; Rutter, *HN*³ 1722, 1727; *SNG Cop. Italy* 1387; *SNG Cop. Suppl.* 53). These coins *may* have been struck by Pyxous under the aegis of Sybaris (cf. Parise (1972) 102–4) and another community, presumably Siris (no. 69) or a community, Sirinos(?), in the vicinity of Pyxous (no. 67). The issue has been subdivided into either four series (Libero Mangieri (1981)) or two series (Sternberg (1980); cf. also Moscati Castelnuovo (1989) 94–100; Rutter, *HN*³ p. 143). *If* the coins were so minted, it follows that Pyxous existed prior to Mikythos' foundation of the site, and that the community was able to enter into close relations with Siris(?) and Sybaris (no. 70), of which latter it may have been a dependency. What is less clear, however, is whether Pyxous can be considered a *Hellenic* community prior to Mikythos' foundation.

If Pyxous as founded by Mikythos was indeed a *polis*, it may have been a failure, for Strabo 6.1.1 reports that it was left by the settlers πλὴν ὀλίγων though he does not specify a date for the depopulation; Pyxous does not appear in Ps.-Skylax, pointing to C4m as a *terminus ante quem*. The C5m indigenous settlement at Roccagloriosa 7 km from Pyxous (Gualtieri (1993)) has been interpreted as a Leukanian replacement of Pyxous. According to Cordiano (1995*a*), a new reading of the Olympia inscription *SEG* 24 103, previously thought to refer to a conflict between Rhegion and Gela, should rather be taken as evidence of conflicts between Hyele and Rhegion, perhaps brought about by Rhegian expansion and the foundation of Pyxous by Mikythos. The extent of Pyxous' territory is uncertain; prior to the defeat of Sybaris by Kroton, Pyxous would hardly have been autonomous, but rather part of the dominion of Sybaris; as founded by Mikythos, it may have been a dependency of Rhegion.

The site of ancient Pyxous is almost certainly to be identified with Roman Buxentum, mediaeval and present-day Policastro, located on a knoll on the left bank of the river Policastro on the Gulf of Laos (*Talaos Kolpos*) (Bencivenga Trillmich (1988) fig. 1). Recent excavations have revealed two phases of the circuit wall of the Greek settlement incorporated in the mediaeval walls: a C5f phase constructed in ashlar with upper structures in sun-dried brick and a C4l phase in a polygonal technique. The walls enclosed an area of about 11 ha, of which perhaps only about 6 ha was used for habitation. There are no other structural remains from the Greek phase; there is evidence of cult activity in the form of fragments of C5–C4 votive figurines. The C5f phase corresponds well with the tradition of the foundation of Pyxous by Mikythos. However, if Bencivenga Trillmich (1988) is right in maintaining that there is no material of an earlier period, the site did not have an earlier indigenous or Greek history and cannot therefore have issued the C6l coins discussed above (for a different view, see Johannowsky (1992)).

68. Rhegion (Rheginos) Map 46. Lat. 38.05, long. 15.40. Size of territory: 5. Type: A. The toponym is Ῥέγιον (C5 coins, *infra*); Ῥήγιον, τό (Hdt. 1.167.3; Thuc. 4.1.3; *IG* I³ 1178.4 (433/2)). The city-ethnic is Ῥεγῖνος (*SEG* 48 1252 (*c.*550–500); C6l coins, *infra*; ML 63 (433/2)); Ῥηγῖνος (Hdt. 7.170.3; Thuc. 6.46.2).

Rhegion is called a *polis* both in the political sense (Thuc. 3.86.2, 6.44.2–3; Arist. *Pol.* 1316ᵃ38) and in the urban sense (Thuc. 6.44.3, Ps.-Skylax 12; Heracl. Lemb. 55). The Aristotelian collection of 158 *politeiai* included a Ῥηγίνων πολιτεία (Heracl. Lemb. 55; Arist. fr. 585, Gigon); ἀστός is found at Hdt. 7.170.3; πάτρα (= *patris*) is found in *IG* I³ 1178.2 (433/2; cf. *CEG* I 12; ML 63).

The internal collective use of the city-ethnic is found on coins from C6l (*infra*). The external collective use is attested in *SEG* 11 1205 (*c.*500), *SEG* 24 303–5 (C6–C5), ML 63.12 (433/2), Hdt. 7.170.3 and Thuc. 6.44.3; the external individual use is found in *SEG* 48 1252 (*c.*550–500), *CEG* I 388 (*c.*450–425), Arist. *Pol.* 1274ᵇ23 and Timaios (*FGrHist* 566) fr. 43.

Rhegion was a colony of Chalkis (no. 365) (Thuc. 6.44.3; Ps.-Skymnos 311–12; Diod. 14.40.1; Strabo 6.1.6), and Euboian involvement in the foundation is supported by calendar evidence (Trümpy, *Monat.* 43–44); Peloponnesian Messenians also participated in the foundation according to Antiochos (*FGrHist* 555) fr. 9 and Heracl. Lemb. 55. According to Antiochos (*FGrHist* 555) fr. 9, the Zanklaians (no. 51) sent for the colonists and appointed the *oikistes* Antimnestos. The participation of Messenian refugees from the First Messenian War dates the foundation to C8s (*CAH*² iii.3. 323–24). According to Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 19.2, the city was founded by Artimedes of Chalkis. By the Classical period there existed a well-developed foundation myth (Antiochos (*FGrHist* 555) fr. 9; Heracl. Lemb. 55).

On the Ionian coast along the river Halex (cf. Cordiano (1995*b*)) Rhegion was bounded by the territory of Lokroi (no. 59), and on the Tyrrhenian coast by the river Petrace and the territory of Metauros (no. 62) (Costamagna (1986) 479–84 fig. 1). The territory is termed γῆ at Thuc. 4.24.2; its name was ἡ Ῥηγίνη (Thuc. 7.35.2). The site of Rhegion is perhaps the only site with agricultural resources on the southern Aspromonte, and these were exploited from C7;

the walled site of Serro di Tavola is interpreted as a C6s *phrourion* in control of inland routes and the Tyrrhenian coast (Costamagna (1986) 495–502; Cordiano (1995*b*) 83–88, 104–7). An extra-urban cult of Herakles is attested by a C5f inscription from Castellace, south of Metauros (*IGDGG* no. 41; Givigliano (1987) 95; Cordiano (1995*b*) 103–4); evidence of a Demeter cult at Grufò Saline Ioniche is offered by a C5s inscription (*IGDGG* no. 42; for Demeter in Rhegian territory, see Hinz (1998) 169–70). An estimate of the size of the territory is still largely based upon the evidence presented by Vallet (1958) 133–37, who estimated it at *c.*1,000–1,300 km² (cf. Cordiano (1995*b*)). The influence of Rhegion extended over a much larger area, as shown by the foundation of Pyxous (no. 67) *c.*476–465 (Diod. 11.59.4; Strabo 6.1.1) and the pressure on Lokrian territorial aspirations (cf. Cordiano (1995*b*) esp. 92–94).

Rhegion was presumably a member of the Italiote League (*Staatsverträge* 230). The city was allied to Lokroi (no. 59) at the battle of Sagra in C6 (Strabo 6.1.10), but war between it and Lokroi is attested during the reign of Anaxilas (schol. Pind. *Pyth.* 1.99a, 2.36c, Drachmann). An alliance with Taras (no. 71) in 473 is implied by Hdt. 7.170.3, who reports that 3,000 Rhegians fell in a battle fought by the Rhegians and the Tarantines against Iapygians (cf. Diod. 11.52.3–4, who calls the Rhegians *symmachoi* of Taras). *IGDGG* no. 38 (*c.*450) is a *kerykeion* inscribed ΡΕΓΙΝΟΝ; ML 63 (= *Staatsverträge* 162) is a 433/2 renewal of an alliance with Athens (no. 361) originally concluded in the 440s; in 415, however, the city refrained from supporting the Athenian effort against Syracuse (Thuc. 6.44.3, 46.2; Diod. 13.3.5), though it did make a payment to Athens (*IG* I³ 291.b.II.19 (*c.*415)). A *symmachia* with Leontinoi (no. 33) in 427 is attested by Thuc. 3.86.3. A peace treaty with Dionysios I of Syracuse was concluded in 399 (Diod. 14.40.7; cf. 14.90.7) and in 389 (Diod. 14.107.4) when the city had to surrender its navy, pay 300 tal., and turn over 100 hostages to Dionysios. Rhegion was taken and destroyed by Dionysios I of Syracuse in 387 (Diod. 14.111–12), who sold off as slaves those inhabitants who were not able to raise a ransom of one silver *mina*. The city was refounded by his son Dionysios II, and a part of the city was for a short period called by the name of Phoibia (Strabo 6.1.6). The independence of Rhegion was restored by Leptines and Kallipos of Syracuse in 351 (Diod. 16.45.9).

In C5s, Rhegion experienced a period of *stasis* (Thuc. 4.1.3), and there were Rhegian *phygades* at Lokroi urging that city to invade Rhegian territory (Thuc. 4.1.3).

According to Hdt. 7.170.3, Rhegion lost 3,000 men in battle against the Iapygians in 473 (cf. Diod. 11.52.3–4). An army of 6,000 foot, 600 horse and fifty triremes was deployed in 399 (Diod. 14.40.3). In 427 and 425, Rhegian naval forces assisted the Athenian operations in the west (Diod. 12.54.4; Thuc. 4.25.2). In C4e, Rhegion possessed a navy comprising seventy triremes (Diod. 14.107.4; cf. 14.8.2; 14.40.3), but the city was stripped of its navy by Dionysios I in 389 (Diod. 14.106.3). Appointment of *strategoi* is mentioned at Diod. 14.40.3 (r399) (cf. 14.87.1 (r394)), and 14.108.4 (r388) indicates that such appointments were made by election.

Sending of envoys is attested by Thuc. 3.86.3 (cf. ML 63.1) and by Diod. 14.40.7 (r399), 106.2 (r389). Reception of envoys is attested in Diod. 14.8.2 (r404) and 44.4–6 (r398). Diplomatic activity is further attested by the C5m *kerykeion* (*supra*). Two or more citizens are listed as *proxenoi* of Tenos (no. 525) in *IG* XII Suppl. 313.7 (C3m). According to Arist. *Pol.* 1274ᵇ23, Androdamas of Rhegion at an unknown date (Zahrnt (1971) 16 n. 27) served the Thraceward Chalkidians as *nomothetes*. A citizen of Rhegion served as *theorodokos* of Epidauros (no. 348) in 356/5 (*IG* IV².1 95.47).

The constitution preceding the tyranny of Anaxilas is described as an oligarchy at Arist. *Pol.* 1316ᵃ35ff. It is presumably this constitution that is referred to in Heracl. Lemb. 55: it is described as an aristocracy employing the laws of Charondas and administered by 1,000 men αἱρετοὶ ἀπὸ τιμημάτων. According to Antiochos (*FGrHist* 555) fr. 9, the Rhegian ἡγεμόνες (= the 1,000?) were all of Messenian *genos* in this period. In 494 the constitution changed "from oligarchy to the tyranny of Anaxilas" (Arist. *Pol.* 1316ᵃ37f). Anaxilas conquered Zankle (no. 51) and changed its name to Messana (Hdt. 6.23.2; Thuc. 6.4.6); he was then tyrant of both Rhegion and Zankle/Messana (Diod. 11.48.2; Berve (1967) 156): Rhegion was governed by his son Leophron while he himself ruled Zankle/Messana (schol. Pind. *Pyth.* 2.38). After the battle of Himera in 480 he concluded a treaty with Gelon and was left in possession of Messana (schol. Pind. *Pyth.* 1.112). At the death of Anaxilas in 476 Mikythos succeeded to the tyranny (Diod. 11.48.2) both at Rhegion and Zankle/Messana (Diod. 11.59.4). In 465 the sons of Anaxilas took over power from Mikythos, but they were soon expelled and Rhegion was "liberated" (Diod. 11.76.5 (r461)). C5s Rhegion went through a period of *stasis* culminating in 425 (Thuc. 4.1.3; Berger (1992) 29–30). Four *nomothetai* are mentioned in Iambl. *VP* 172 (cf. 130 referring to them as composers of a *politeia* (r *c.*C5m): Minar (1942) 48, 85). A meeting of the *ekklesia* is attested for 398 by Diod. 14.44.5 (cf. Arist. *Oec.* 1349ᵇ18; Ael. *VH* 5.20) and again for 345/4 (Diod. 16.68.5); for a survey of *strategoi* and assemblies in C4f, see Costabile (1978).

Rhegion was founded on a narrow sloping plateau near the sea between the river Calopinace (ancient Apsias) and the river Annunciata. It was one of the early Chalkidian foundations, probably founded shortly after Naxos and Zankle (730–720) as corroborated by C8l and C7 ceramic finds, structural evidence being absent (Sabbione (1981*b*) 275–81; cf. also Spadea (1987)).

The harbour was located on the estuary of the ancient Apsias, outside the urban area (Vallet (1958) 130–31; Martorano (1985) 234–36). Spadea suggests a harbour location on the estuary of the Fumara dell'Annunciata, below the city and near the recent urban investigations at the Lido (Spadea (1986) 461–62).

The urban layout is largely unknown, apart from the remains of a few public buildings, the location of sanctuaries, and the circuit wall. The course of the early fortification remains uncertain, though part of a C6–C5(?) dried brick wall is preserved (Guzzo (1982*b*) fig. at p. 129). Significant stretches of a C4 double curtain-wall are preserved along the coast and inland along the Aspromonte hills (refs.: Guzzo (1982*b*) fig. at p. 130; Tréziny (1986) 192 n. 64). It is uncertain whether the wall is earlier or later than the alleged destruction of the city by Dionysios I in 387 (cf. Diod. 14.111–12); fortifications are attested by Diodorus before (14.90.5 (r393)) and after (16.45.9 (r350)) the destruction. The area within the C4 circuit wall comprised about 70 ha, obviously less during the Archaic period if part of the Aspropomonte hills were outside the fortified area.

Evidence of public architecture is mostly late. In connection with the *ekklesia* held by the Rhegians in 344, on the occasion of Timoleon's visit, a *bema* is mentioned (Diod. 16.68.4–5; Plut. *Tim.* 10.1–4; Costabile (1978) 45–49). Part of a C4 *koilon* situated on the upper slopes of the city belong to a theatre or an *ekklesiasterion*; the diameter of the structure, *c.*50 m, gives a seating capacity of about 1,500–1,600. Martorano (1985) interprets the structure as an *ekklesiasterion* on the basis of size and features perhaps not compatible with a theatre proper, and P. Orsi (1922) has interpreted the remains as an *odeion*, but these interpretations are uncertain (Todisco (1990) 137–41; Hansen and Fischer-Hansen (1994) 72–74).

Little is known of Rhegion's major sanctuaries. The importance of Apollo at Rhegion is reflected in the foundation myth of the city (Lacroix (1965); Costabile (1979)) and in the name "Phoibia" given to a quarter in the city (*supra*). The oldest explicit evidence of a temple of Apollo, however, is a C1l honorary decree (*ILS* 5471). The location is unknown, but it was possibly in the lower part of the city (Vallet (1958) 123–24, 250–51; cf. Sabbione (1981*b*) 278). A sanctuary, possibly for the chthonic divinities, was located close to the theatre and proves the public character of the whole area (Vallet (1958) 121–23). A C5 graffito refers to Zeus Keraunos (Mosino (1995)). According to Thuc. 6.44.3, Artemis had a sanctuary outside the city by the coast (see further Vallet (1958) 79, 130–31). There are remains of yet another suburban temple, "de la Marina" (Vallet (1958) 124 pl. II.3 (number left out but temple indicated to the south-west of Hellenistic cemetery no. 10)). So far no Archaic tombs have been located, all tomb evidence being C4-Hellenistic (Spadea (1986)).

Communal oracle consultation is reported by Aristox. fr. 117, Wehrli. Anaxilas was victorious in the mule race in 480 at Olympia (*Olympionikai* 208) and the cithara-player Ariston participated in the Pythian Games (Timaeus (*FGrHist* 566) fr. 43). Rhegion possibly made a communal dedication at Delphi shortly after the abolition of tyranny in 461 (*IGDGG* no. 37; cf. also 38: a *kerykeion* possibly also connected with the abolition of tyranny). At Olympia dedications of weapons commemorate C6–C5 victories over Lokroi (no. 59) and Gela (no. 17) (Yalouris (1980) 15; *OlBer* viii. 102 pl. 48.1; pls. 36, 38; *SEG* 24 304–5; *IGDGG* nos. 33–34).

Rhegion commenced its coinage *c.*510 with a small issue of drachms on the Euboic standard and in the incuse technique; the type depicts a man-faced bull (probably the river-god of the river Apsias), above a locust; the *obv.* legend $PEΓINON$ (retr.) is in the Chalkidian script (C. Boehringer (1984–85) 111–12; Rutter, *HN*³ 2468). The next issue, struck *c.*494 at the beginning of the reign of Anaxilas, consists of staters and drachms on the Euboic standard, in double relief, similar to Messanian issues and like them inspired by Samian types: *obv.* lion mask facing; *rev.* calf's head and legend $PEΓINON$ (retr.) (Caccamo Caltabiano (1993) 17–18, 25–26; Rutter, *HN*³ 2469; *SNG Cop. Italy* 1923). Lower denominations have the same *obv.* type, *rev.* $PEΓ$ in dotted circle (Caccamo Caltabiano (1993) 26–27). A small issue of tetradrachms on the Attic standard, with types as above, were struck *c.*485–480 (Caccamo Caltabiano (1993) 28). *C.*480, still during the reign of Anaxilas, Rhegion and Messana simultaneously struck tetradrachms and fractions on the Attic standard: *obv.* mule biga; *rev.* running hare and, on Rhegian coins, the legend $PEΓINON$ (retr.); lower denominations have *obv.* running hare, *rev.* legend $PEΓ$ in dotted circle (Caccamo Caltabiano (1993) 53–56; Rutter, *HN*³ 2472ff; *SNG Cop. Italy* 1924–27). The abolition of tyrannical rule at Rhegion in 461 led to a new coinage from *c.*C5m: tetradrachms and drachms with *obv.* lion mask as above; *rev.*

seated male figure surrounded by a wreath, probably the oecist Iokastos, legendary founder of the city; legend: ΡΕΓΙΝΟΝ, on later issues ΡΗΓΙΝΟΣ (Lacroix (1965) 44–45; Stazio (1978) 195–96; Rutter, *HN*³ 2477ff, 2488ff; *SNG Cop. Italy* 1928–30, 1932 (obol)). The revival of coinage at Rhegion has been connected with the appearance of overstruck Athenian tetradrachms in this city and at Messana, reflecting Athenian influence in South Italy and the foundation of Thourioi in 444 (Kraay (1976) 219). The *rev.* type was changed *c.*420 to a head of Apollo, legends ΡΗΓΙΝΟΣ, ΡΗΓΙΝΟΝ, ΡΗΓΙΝΩΝ (Rutter, *HN*³ 2494; *SNG Cop. Italy* 1933–34). A later issue with *obv.* head of Apollo; *rev.* lion mask (Rutter, *HN*³ 2501; *SNG Cop. Italy* 1945–52) is attributed to 356–351 and the refoundation of Rhegion by Dionysios II, see *supra* (Kraay (1976) 22). Bronze coinage, with types similar to the silver, was introduced in C5s (Caccamo Caltabiano (1979); Rutter, *HN*³ 2513ff; *SNG Cop. Italy* 1939–40).

Rhegion was the *metropolis* of Pyxous, founded in 476–465 by Mikythos (Diod. 11.59; Strabo 6.1.1; see further the entry for Pyxous).

69. Siris (Sirites) Map 46. Lat. 40.15, long. 16.40. The location indicated by *Barr.* (lat. 40.10, long. 16.40) is not followed here. *Barr.* locates Siris *c.*5 km south of Herakleia Leukania in accordance with one literary tradition which suggests separate locations for the two sites (*infra*). However, in our entries for Siris and Herakleia Leukania we locate both communities on the plateau of modern Policoro, a location suggested by the archaeological evidence and at present widely accepted. Size of territory: ? Type: A. The toponym is Σῖρις, ἡ (*SEG* 19 618 (C6–C5); Hdt. 8.62.2); on the name Πολιεῖον (*Mir. ausc.* 106; Strabo 6.1.14; Steph. Byz. 531.12), see *infra*. Σ(ϵ)ιρίτις, which properly denotes the territory, is sometimes used almost as a toponym (Antiochos (*FGrHist* 555) fr. 12; Strabo 6.1.14). The city-ethnic is Σιρίτης (Hdt. 6.127.1); Σιρῖνος of the C6 coin legends may also be the city-ethnic (*infra*): Steph. Byz. 572.12 lists this as a form of the ethnic.

Antiochos (*FGrHist* 555) fr. 12 should probably be emended to read δυεῖν οὐσῶν πόλεων, τοῦ Μεταποντίου . . . <τῆς δὲ Σιρίτιδος>; if accepted, the text calls Siris a *polis* in, primarily, the territorial sense, with the urban sense as a connotation. The external collective use of the city-ethnic is found in Timaios (*FGrHist* 566) fr. 51 (rC7) *apud* Ath. 12.232C; the external individual use is found in Hdt. 6.127.1 (rC6f). Siris is implicitly described as *patre* (= *patris*) in Hdt. 6.127.1–4.

The literary tradition presents a number of traditions on the origin, foundation and early history of Siris; the evidence is quite confusing and difficult to correlate with the archaeological evidence (see e.g. Lombardo (1986); Sacchi (1990); Osborne (1998) 265–67). A synthesis yields the following picture.

According to Strabo 6.1.14, Ionians fleeing from Lydian rule conquered a non-Greek (Chonian) *polis* and changed the name from Siris to Polieion (cf. *Mir. ausc.* 106; Steph. Byz. 531.11, 572.10; *Etym. Magn.* 680.11), a name that is, however, not often found in the sources relating to the Greek city. Strabo does not specify who these Ionians were or the date of their capture of Siris; but Ath. 12.523C (= Arist. fr. 601) and Timaeus (= *FGrHist* 566, fr. 51) identifies them as from Kolophon (no. 848), and since Gyges (*c.*680–645) is known to have conquered Kolophon (Hdt. 1.14.4), a synchronisation of the capture of Kolophon and the foundation of Polieion would produce a foundation date of *c.*660 (Ronconi (1980); Lombardo (1986) 63–64). The historicity of this tradition of a Kolophonian foundation was rejected by Beloch (1894) 606–7, but is accepted by Demand (1990) 31–33; a C6e–m loom weight inscribed in the Ionian alphabet may possibly support an Ionian presence at Siris (*LSAG* 286). The foundation date of *c.*660 implied by the synchronisation with Gyges' capture of Kolophon does not square well with the archaeological evidence, which points to a foundation date of C8l–C7e. Strabo's report (6.1.14) that Siris was a Rhodian foundation is unique.

According to Antiochos (*FGrHist* 555) fr. 12, Sybaris (no. 70.I) invited Achaian colonists to settle in Italy to create a buffer against Taras (no. 71); two sites were at the disposal of the settlers, Metapontion and Siris, and the Sybarites advised settling Metapontion since the new community would then *also* control Siris. This seems to imply that Siris lay empty or was controlled by Sybaris; Just. *Epit.* 20.2.4 reports that an alliance of Metapontion (no. 61), Sybaris (70.I) and Kroton (no. 56) conquered Siris, and this would seem the probable occasion after which Sybaris could control Siris; this conquest is usually dated to C6f (Giangiulio (1989) 249–50; Sacchi (1990) 151) and archaeological evidence confirms a *c.*C6m destruction of Siris (Adamesteanu (1975*b*) 527). But Metapontion seems to have been founded *c.*630 (see the entry for Metapontion), and in any case the city can hardly have participated in the war that provided the preconditions for its own foundation. This combination of the evidence, then, runs into difficulties. Furthermore, Siris seems to have existed and minted coins in C6l (*infra*),

and with legends in Achaian script. According to Just. *Epit.* 20.2.10, Siris was allied to Lokroi (no. 59) during the conflict with Metapontion, Sybaris and Kroton.

Though Hdt. 8.62.1 may imply that Siris was unoccupied in C5e, it does seem to have been occupied when Taras (no. 71) and Thourioi (no. 74) fought for control of the site shortly after the foundation of Thourioi; the war was ended by a mutual agreement between the two cities to found a joint colony (Antiochos (*FGrHist* 555) fr. 11; *Staatsverträge* 158). Diod. 12.36.4 dates the foundation of this colony to 433/2, and he reports that it was founded at the site of Siris, whose inhabitants were deported. According to Antiochos (*FGrHist* 555) fr. 11, "Herakleia" was not the original name of the colony: the city was thus named only after having changed its initial location. A combination of Diodorus and Antiochos would suggest that the city was originally founded as Siris on the site of Siris, but later relocated and then named Herakleia; such a reconstruction is not, however, supported by the archaeological evidence, which clearly shows Herakleia to have occupied the site identified with Siris (see further the entry for Herakleia). According to Strabo 6.1.14, Siris served as the *epineion* of Herakleia, but the reference here is not to the historical Greek Siris, but to a legendary Siris, a *polis Troike*, of which there are no archaeological remains. So, by the 430s Siris had been replaced by Herakleia (no. 52).

The territory is called Σ(ε)ιρίτις (Antiochos (*FGrHist* 555) fr. 3; Arist. *Pol.* 1329^{b}21). The sources refer to a foundation near the river Siris, but there is no archaeological evidence for such a site, and Siris is therefore normally identified with the settlement on the hill of Policoro (*infra*). The archaeological evidence indicates Greek settlers on the plateau of Policoro from C8l, and the Kolophonian settlers (*supra*) therefore had Greek predecessors. Greek presence in the Siritis from the C8s has been documented at other sites also, most importantly at Incoronata *c.*18 km to the north of Siris. Incoronata had a cultural appearance very similar to that of Siris, and the site is therefore interpreted as an *emporion* of this city, located on the northern border of Sirite territory (Orlandini (1986*a*), (1986*b*)); it was destroyed by Metapontion (no. 61) at the time of the foundation of that city *c.*630 (Osanna (1992) 40–42; Sacchi (1990) esp. 146–59). Ionian influence was curtailed by the foundation of Metapontion and so confined within the valley of the river Cavone from C7s. The northern border of Siris' territory centred upon the Hellenised indigenous settlement at Termitito (Osanna (1992) 94). The *chora* of Siris extended along the coast and somewhat inland along the Sinni and Agri river valleys, as attested by the border sites of S. Maria d'Anglona and Piano Sollazzo, which are Hellenised from C7s, but the influence of Siris undoubtedly reached the Tyrrhenian coast (Osanna (1992) 92–96, 109–10). To the south the territory was bounded by the Siris valley and beyond that by Sybarite territory. There is no evidence of sanctuaries in the territory of Siris prior to the foundation of Herakleia (Osanna (1992) 96).

The C8l–C7e settlement founded on the narrow, coastal east–west oriented plateau (*c.*1,700 × 100/150 m), modern Policoro, is here identified with Siris. The easternmost part of the plateau was fortified on its west side by a ditch and forms an acropolis (Hänsel (1973) 401–4 fig. 1, 429–41, 443–46, 461–63). Remains of C7–C6 mudbrick circuit walls along the edge of the Policoro plateau (Hänsel (1973) 429–43, 492; Adamesteanu (1980*b*) 82–85) show that habitation, although concentrated in separate areas, covered most of the plateau. The sporadic structural remains on the plateau (Adamesteanu and Dilthey (1978) 521–25 fig. 12) and ashlar foundations of two large structures (temples?) on the acropolis date from *c.*700 (Adamesteanu (1980*b*) 76–78). There are traces of habitation and workshops also outside and south of the plateau; the location of several cemeteries seems to indicate separate nuclei of habitation areas (Tagliente (1986*a*), (1986*b*)). The archaeological evidence confirms a destruction *c.*C6m (= the Achaian conquest of Just. *Epit.* 20.3.4?), but there are also some signs of continuous settlement (Adamesteanu (1975*b*) 527). The vast C5 public area, an agora(?), on the southern slope above the sanctuary of the "Archaic Temple", may have had an Archaic origin. Sanctuaries were located at springs rising on the southern slope of the plateau. The sanctuary of Demeter identified by C5–C4 epigraphic evidence (Neutsch (1967) 134–36, (1980)) originated in C8l–C7e (Adamesteanu (1980*b*) 78 n. 24, 86–87 with refs.; (1982) 301, 303 fig. 2; for scepticism on the evidence, see Hinz (1998) 193–94). The divinity of the C6e "Archaic Temple" to the west of the Demeter sanctuary is unknown; cult was practised from C7m (Adamesteanu (1974) 97, (1980*b*) 87–88; Mertens-Horn and Viola (1990) 249–50). Further west, yet another sanctuary with remains of two or three C6l *naiskoi* and votive material testify to the overall public character of the southern slope of the plateau. The cult is uncertain, though a votive *pinax* found on the site with a representation of Apollo and Herakles may point to these divinities (Neutsch (1980) 153–54). Fragments of late Archaic architectural terracottas found above in the western area of the plateau have been taken as evidence of one or more *naiskoi*

(Adamesteanu and Dilthey (1978) 525 fig. 53; Adamesteanu (1980*b*) 88–89). The major urban cult was that of Athena Ilias, presumably the patron divinity (*Mir. ausc.* 106; Strabo 6.1.14). Other evidence of cult includes a C6l–C5e bronze plaque listing objects, in Achaian script, belonging to the sanctuary, *epi Siri* and *epi dromo*, of a female divinity which is with some uncertainty identified as Hera, Athena or Demeter (Guarducci (1958) 52, 57–58: C6s; *LSAG* 287: *c.*475; Guarducci, *EG* i. 117–18). Circumstantial evidence suggests a cult of Artemis Bendis (Hänsel (1973) 457). The Archaic cemeteries are found on the outermost western part of the plateau, with evidence of burials inside the circuit wall (Adamesteanu (1975*b*) 526–27, (1980*a*)), but mainly in an extensive area to the west of the plateau (Contrade Cerchiarito, Schirone and Madonelle) (Adamesteanu (1974) 111–16). Such separate well-defined cemeteries point to separate nuclei of settlement. The funerary road, later the continuation of the *plataia* of Herakleia, was originally an important artery of the territory, also leading to the *chora* of Dionysos known from C4 but possibly of more ancient origin (see the entry for Herakleia Leukania).

An architectural fragment from Olympia has been taken as evidence of a treasury of Siris (Mertens-Horn and Viola (1990) 242).

Siris may have minted coins. An issue of C6s incuse staters on the Achaian standard carry the Sybarite type of a bull looking back and double legends in the Achaian alphabet: *obv.* ΣIPINOΣ (retr.), *rev.* ΠΥΞΟΕΣ or ΠΥΞ (Gorini (1975) 9, 95–98; Sternberg (1980); Rutter, *HN*³ 1722; *SNG Cop. Italy* 1387; *SNG Cop. Suppl.* 53). A single third-stater with *obv.* legend ΣIPI is attested (Sternberg (1980) 127, 139; Moscati Castelnuovo (1989) 94 n. 7; Rutter, *HN*³ 1727). The interpretation of these coins is uncertain. The legend ΣIPINOΣ is either a city-ethnic of Siris or a toponym (Sirinos; see Pyxous (no. 67)). *If* it is the city-ethnic of Siris, the coinage may be a joint issue of Siris and Pyxous, though it is a problem that the two sites are situated far apart, or of Siris and some otherwise unknown locality near Siris (cf. Gallo (1996) 97–100). The initial issue is normally dated *c.*550–540 (Moscati Castelnuovo (1989) 94–100; Sternberg (1980) unconvincingly interprets the early Siris coinage as a prototype for Sybaris' coinage and dates it 560–550). The Sybarite bull type dates the issue to after the destruction of Siris by Sybaris *et al.* (*supra*), and the coinage therefore represents a Siris within Sybaris' dominion, rather than an issue of an independent city (cf. Parise (1972) 102–4; Guzzo (1989) 41, 46). The coinage has been divided into four series (Libero Mangieri (1981) or into two series (Sternberg (1980)) terminating *c.*510 contemporary with the fall of Sybaris.

70. Sybaris (Sybaritas) Map 46. Lat. 39.45, long. 16.30. Size of territory: 5. Type: A. The toponym is Σύβαρις, ἡ (Hdt. 5.44.1; Ar. *Vesp.* 1435). The city-ethnic is Συβαρίτας (ML 10 (550–525); C5l coin, *infra*), in the Ionic dialect Συβαρίτης (Hdt. 6.127.1).

Sybaris I. Sybaris is called a *polis* in the urban sense at Hdt. 5.45.1 and Theophr. *Hist. pl.* 1.9.5, and in the political sense at Hdt. 6.21.1 and at Arist. *Pol.* 1303ª26, 29, where Sybaris is the first of eight examples listed under the heading *polis.* The Aristotelian collection of *politeiai* seems to have included a Συβαριτῶν πολιτεία (132, Gigon = fr. 583, Rose). It is called an ἀποικία at Ps.-Skymnos 340. The internal collective use of the city-ethnic is attested on coins from C6l, once in nom. sing. (*infra*). The external collective use is found in ML 10 (550–525); Hdt. 5.44.2; Antiochos (*FGrHist* 555) fr. 12; and Arist. *Pol.* 1303ª32. The external individual use is found at Hdt. 5.47.1 (rC6s) and 6.127.1 (rC6f) and *IG* II² 2326.4 = *SEG* 32 217 (C3, r616). Sybaris is implicitly described as *patre* (= *patris*) in Hdt. 6.127.1–4.

Sybaris was founded in the last quarter of C8 (721/20: Ps.-Skymnos 360; or 709/8: Euseb. *Chron.* 91b Helm), a date confirmed by archaeological evidence (Guzzo (1982*a*)). It was commonly regarded as an Achaian foundation (Antiochos (*FGrHist* 555) fr. 12; Ps.-Skymnos 340), but Arist. *Pol.* 1303ª29 describes it as a joint foundation of Troizenians (no. 367) and Achaians. Solin. 2.10 describes it as founded by Troizenians and Sagaris, the son of the Lokrian Aias; Ant. Lib. *Met.* 8.7 describes it as a Lokrian foundation, but this Lokrian tradition is presumably simple aetiology, entirely without historical value (Papathomopoulos *ad* Ant. Lib. 8.7). The oecist is reported to have been Is of Helike (Strabo 6.1.12; Pugliese Carratelli (1972–73) 17; Morgan and Hall (1996) 204; Bugno (1999)).

Greek finds show that the *chora* of Sybaris extended as far as the valleys of the rivers Krathis and Sybaris (modern Coscile). Northwards the settlement of Amendolara (= Lagaria according to de La Genière (1991*b*)) delimits the Sybarite and Sirite areas of influence, southwards the border between Sybarite and Krotoniate areas of influence is unclear (Guzzo (1982*a*)). There is archaeological evidence, as early as C8, of Sybarite influence far inland along the routes offering shortcuts to the Tyrrhenian coast (survey in de La Genière (1978) 344–54), and the defeat of Sybaris by Kroton (no. 56) in 510 is reflected in the abandonment of

sites on the Tyrrhenian coast, e.g. at Petrosa di Scalea (cf. E. Greco (1990) 47, 51–52). An important Athena sanctuary (cf. *CEG* 394; C5s graffito: Arena (1996) no. 28.9) with C7 temples was located in the hinterland of Sybaris on the plateau of Timpone della Motta (Francavilla Marittima; de La Genière (1989); R. Russo (1996); Maaskant Kleibrink (2000); Ridgway (2002) 135–36), the site of an earlier indigenous settlement identified by some as Lagaria (cf. Strabo 6.1.14). There is evidence of a rural sanctuary of Hera further inland en route for Laos, mentioned on the inscribed axe found at S. Sosti (Arena (1996) no. 36.15; cf. Steph. Byz. 589.14 with discussion by Lucca (1994)).

The heyday of Sybaris was the Archaic period down to 510, the date of its crushing defeat at the hands of the Krotoniates. In the C6f war against Siris (no. 69), Sybaris was allied with Kroton (no. 56) and Metapontion (no. 61) (Just. *Epit.* 20.2.3–4). By C6m at the latest Sybaris had come to control a vast dominion (comprising, according to the inflated report by Strabo 6.1.13, four neighbouring *ethne* and twenty-five *poleis hypekooi*; cf. Ampolo (1992) 246 with refs.); in extent, the dominion of Sybaris may have been as large as *c.*3,000 km² (Ampolo (1992) 247). At least one of the mechanisms employed by Sybaris to control its dependencies was a hegemonic *symmachia*: ML 10 (550–525) shows the city as the leader of an alliance including the Serdaioi and other unspecified *symmachoi*. Apparently some of the cities and communities in the dominion of Sybaris issued coins, while others did not; this may perhaps be a reflection of differences in degree of dependency. Numismatic evidence suggests that Laos (no. 58), Temesa (no. 72) and the unidentified settlements or communities of Ami[-] and the So[-] were also subordinate to Sybaris (Parise (1984) 253, (1988) 307–9; cf. also Rutter (1997) 22–27 and the list of pre-Hellenistic settlements *supra*). According to Diod. 12.9.2 (rC6), Sybaris granted citizenship to many foreigners, and this may possibly be connected with the control of the dominion (Rutter (1970) 171). The city was also active as coloniser, founding Laos (no. 58) prior to 510 and Poseidonia (no. 66) *c.*600; see also Skidros in the list of non-*polis* sites *supra*.

The large figures reported for the number of citizens (100,000 *astoi*: Ps.-Skymnos 341; 300,000 *politai*: Diod. 10.23, 12.9.2) or armed forces (300,000 men: Diod. 10.23 and Strabo 6.1.13; 50,000 horse: Ath. 519C = Timaeus (*FGrHist* 566) fr. 50), although obviously legendary, may all the same indicate a very populous city; the size of the urban area (*c.*500 ha, *infra*) confirms that Sybaris was indeed a large city.

The city was founded on a row of coastal dunes parallel to the coast between the rivers Krathis and Sybaris. It had a perimeter of 50 stades (*c.*9–10 km) according to Strabo 6.1.13, possibly implying a circuit wall though there is no archaeological evidence of such a wall. However, recent investigations indicate that the extent of the city was about 500 ha. Most of the urban remains lie under 4 m-deep alluvial deposits, not, however, unequivocally to be connected with Kroton's destruction of Sybaris (Strabo 6.1.13). However, the destruction of 510 is archaeologically attested and revealed by destroyed and flooded strata (Guzzo (1976) 51, (1997) 379). Only about 5 ha (1 per cent of the presumed urban area!) has been investigated by excavations. The earliest Greek material confirms a foundation in C8l (Guzzo (1982*a*)) but the structural remains are later, and it is uncertain whether the first phase comprised one large settlement or a plurality of smaller nucleated settlements (Guzzo (1982*a*) 241, 243). The C7–C6 remains came to light in two zones, "Parco di Cavallo" and "Stombi", *c.*1,800 m apart, and revealed some consistent orientation though the overall urban layout of the city is uncertain (Carando (1999)). An industrial quarter is evidenced by kilns (Various authors (1972), (1973), (1988–89)). Architectural fragments from "Parco di Cavallo" testify to a major C6s temple (a Heraion?), and there is further evidence of a monumental rectangular C6 building, probably with a public purpose (Zancani Montuoro (1972–73*a*); Various authors (1988–89) 27–28).

There is little evidence for cults: Zeus and Apollo are listed as *proxenoi* ("guarantors") of the *symmachia* treaty ML 10 (550–525). Dorieus, who had supported Kroton against Sybaris (Hdt. 5.44–45), founded a sanctuary with a temple for Athena Krathia (Hdt. 5.45) after the defeat of Sybaris by Kroton, and votive material from "Stombi" possibly refers to Athena (Zancani Montuoro (1972–73*a*) 67); further evidence for Athena in *CEG* 394 (600–550). A number of sources refer to the cult of Hera at Sybaris (Ael. *VH* 3.43; Ath. 518C; cf. also Torelli (1988) 594), and *c.*C6m structural remains have been attributed to a Heraion (*supra*). Whether the later Thourian cults of Zeus, Athena, Aphrodite, Dionysos and Herakles (see entry for Thourioi) were in vogue in Sybaris is unknown (cf. Zancani Montuoro (1972–73*a*) 57). A festival with large monetary prizes is hinted at by Ath. 522D.

Two citizens of Sybaris achieved Olympic victories: Philytas in 616 (*Olympionikai* 71 (boys' boxing)) and Kleomrotos in C6f (*CEG* 394 (event unknown)), and it seems that already by C6f Sybaris rewarded its victors handsomely (Mann (2001) 69–70, discussing *CEG* 394 (6f)). The Sybarites seem to have had treasuries at Olympia (Paus.

6.19.9; Mertens-Horn and Viola (1990) 240–46) and at Delphi (Strabo 9.3.8) with rich dedications (Ath. 605A–B). For attempts to identify a C6m treasury of the Sybarites in the architectural remains at Delphi, see Partida (2000) 261–63. In C6m, the city published a public document at Olympia (ML 10). Communal consultation of the Delphic oracle is reported by Ael. *VH* 3.43 (rC6s).

For the possible existence of a system of civic subdivisions, see Jones, *POAG* 164–65. Little is known of the constitution prior to 510; an early *stasis* is attested in Arist. *Pol.* 1303ª25–31: it seems to have been rooted in ethnic differences and ended with the expulsion of the Troizenians by the Achaians. In general, the information relating to the king/tyrant Telys and his rise to power suggests that prior to his reign Sybaris was an oligarchy, and the importance of the aristocracy is attested by the participation of Smindyrides of Sybaris in the competition for the hand of the daughter of the tyrant Kleisthenes of Sikyon (Hdt. 6.127; Diod. 8.19). Telys is described as *basileus* at Hdt. 5.44.1, as *tyrannos* at Hdt. 5.44.2; cf. Carlier (1984) 470, and his rule as a *tyrannis* at Heraclid. Pont. fr. 49, Wehrli. Diod. 12.9.2 describes him as having risen to power as a *demagogos*, e.g. by having persuaded the Sybarites to exile 500 of the *euporotatoi* citizens and confiscate their property. The exiles found refuge at Kroton (no. 56), and Telys sent an embassy demanding the extradition of the exiles on threat of war (Diod. 12.9.3). The Krotoniates opted for war, and in the ensuing battle in 510 they won a decisive victory (Diod. 12.9.5–6), killed off the larger part of the Sybarite army and went on to sack the city (Hdt. 6.21; Diod. 12.10.1). Thus Sybarite power was eliminated and the phase of Sybarite history often referred to as "Sybaris I" came to an end.

Sybaris II. However, the defeat did not mean the annihilation of Sybaris. Some citizens escaped to the Sybarite colonies of Laos (no. 58) and Skidros (Hdt. 6.21.1), but other survivors must have remained, as appears from several pieces of evidence: (1) incuse coins inscribed with the abbreviated ethnics of both Kroton and Sybaris (ϘPO-ΣΥ) indicate that Sybaris passed into dependency on Kroton (see §2a in the numismatic section *infra* and the entry for Kroton); and this is confirmed by (2), the report that the Krotoniates appointed a governor at Sybaris (Iambl. *VP* 74; Minar (1942) 74; Rutter (1970) 169); (3) when besieged by the Krotoniates in 467, the Sybarites called on Hieron of Syracuse for help (Diod. 11.48.4). This implies a (fortified) settlement at the site of Sybaris (Rutter (1970) 174), the ability to conduct foreign policy, and an (unsuccessful) attempt to obtain some independence from Krotoniate hegemony. There is, thus, no doubt that a *polis* of Sybaris continued to exist, but it was now a dependent *polis* of Kroton (cf. Kahrstedt (1918) 181–82). To this "Sybaris II" have been attributed the coins described in §2b of the numismatic section *infra.*

The size or status of Sybarite territory in this period is unknown. The earlier dominion of Sybaris was dissolved, and cities like Temesa (no. 72) and Laos (no. 58) were now probably dependencies of Kroton (no. 56) as revealed by the second issue of Sybaris, Kroton and Laos mentioned in §2a of the numismatic section *infra.* Iambl. *VP* 255 (rC6l) seems to indicate that at least some Sybarite land was appropriated by Kroton (Rutter (1970) 169).

Dorieus founded a sanctuary of Athena Krathia after the defeat of Sybaris by Kroton (Hdt. 5.45) and the cult probably continued during C5. The importance of the Athena sanctuary on the plateau of Timpone della Motta (Francavilla Marittima) remained undiminished during the C5 (de La Genière (1989) 494–95).

For "Sybaris II", as well as for the following phases of the city, the archaeological evidence is limited. The destruction of "Sybaris I" is documented (*supra*), but there is continuity of life throughout C5, although the finds from and structures attributable to C5e are few. Attribution of single strata or structural remains to the different phases outlined above and below is not possible as the finds most often have a longer lifespan than that allowed for the individual phases of Sybarite history (Guzzo (1976) 51–52).

Sybaris III. According to Diod. 11.90.3–4 and 12.10.2, fifty-eight years after the 510 catastrophe (i.e. in 453) a Thessalian or a man named Thessalos (11.90.3) or, more unlikely, Thessalians, refounded (12.10.3) the city (*ἐξ ἀρχῆς ᾤκισε τὴν Σύβαριν*: 11.90.3; *συνῴκισαν*: 12.10.2). However, after a while (five years?) the Sybarites were driven out by the Krotoniates (12.10.2, cf. 11.90.4), and sent *presbeis* to Sparta (no. 345) and Athens (no. 361) requesting assistance and reinforcements in their attempt to return (Diod. 12.10.3–4). This phase, "Sybaris III", from *c.*453 to the initial stages of the foundation of Thourioi (no. 74), is probably reflected in a new series of double-relief coins (cf. §3 in the numismatic section *infra*).

Sybaris IV. During the first phase of the process which eventually led to the foundation of Thourioi in 446/5, Sybaris was reinforced by Athenians and Peloponnesians (Diod. 12.10.4) and seems indeed still to have been called, and located at, Sybaris (coins; cf. *RE* iv². 1008; Rutter (1973) 163). The community was strongly dominated by Sybarites,

and a period of serious *stasis* was caused by the claims of the original Sybarites to privileges in the political, cultic and economic spheres of life; the Sybarites, however, were put to death almost to the last man or expelled, thus paving the way for the foundation of Thourioi proper (Diod. 12.11.1–4; cf. Arist. *Pol.* 1303^{a}31–33 and Strabo 6.1.13). To this initial "Sybarite" phase of Thourioi = "Sybaris IV" have been attributed the coins described in §4 of the numismatic section *infra*.

V. Sybaris on the Traeis. The Sybarites expelled from Thourioi (no. 74) in 446/5 (cf. "Sybaris IV", *supra*), settled by the river Traeis according to Diod. 12.22.1 (this settlement remains unlocated). According to Strabo 6.1.14, one tradition (τινές) said that Sybaris on the Teuthras (emended to Traeis by Meineke) was founded by Rhodians. This tradition *may* reflect a Rhodian settlement, otherwise unknown, in the region where the Sybarites later settled, or, more likely, the tradition is mistaken (Walbank (2000) 24). To Sybaris on the Traeis are ascribed the coins described in §5 of the numismatic section *infra*. According to Polyb. 2.39.6, Sybaris combined with Kroton (no. 56) and Kaulonia (no. 55) to form an Achaian confederation in imitation of the homeland Achaians. The date of this confederation, and thus of the Sybaris participating in it, is uncertain, but the date is probably C5s, and the reference would then be to Sybaris on the Traeis (Walbank, *HCP ad loc.* and (2000) 24; Mele (1983*a*) 86 n. 546; Giangiulio (1989) 177 n. 52, 197). If the alliance dates to 430–420, this is the best evidence for *polis* status of Sybaris on the Traeis, apart from its coins. In any case, the city was soon (after χρόνον τινά: Diod. 12.22.1) destroyed by the Brettians and thus Sybaris came to a final end (ibid.).

Sybaris seems to have struck coins in all its different phases and manifestations.

§1. *Coins of Sybaris I.* Coins on the Achaian standard were struck from *c.*540, possibly as the earliest of the Achaian incuse coinages of South Italy. At first only staters were minted, but gradually lower denominations with the same type were also struck (drachms, triobols and obols). The type shows a bull facing left with head turned back, normally interpreted as a river divinity. Legends: ΣY, ΣYB, ΣYBA, $\Sigma YBAPITA\Sigma$ (Guarducci, *EG* i. 112, ii. 618; Gorini (1975) 10–11; Rutter, *HN*^{3} 1729–39; *SNG Cop. Italy* 1388–93). Sybaris I struck coins in some quantity, coins which circulated from the Ionian to the Tyrrhenian coast. Alongside this coinage are found other series in the same incuse fabric, on the Achaian standard and with the same type (bull looking back), but with legends referring to cities other than Sybaris itself: Siris (no. 69) or Sirinos/Pyxous (no. 67), and two unknown sites named Ami- and So- (Euboic standard). An issue of incuse staters and drachms on the Achaian standard, though with the type of a boar and the retrograde legends $\Pi A\Lambda$ (*obv.*) and $MO\Lambda$ (*rev.*), thought to have been made at some settlement of Palinouros and/or Molpa, has also been placed within the Sybarite sphere of influence (Parise (1972) esp. 102–11; Gorini (1975) 9, 12–13). These issues are interpreted as having been struck under a C6s hegemony or dominion of Sybaris, rather than as an alliance coinage (see the entries for these sites in Inventory and in list of non-*polis* sites *supra*).

§2. *Coins of Sybaris II.* (a) Incuse coins (staters and triobols) with *obv.* Krotoniate tripod, legend: $\wp PO$; *rev.* Sybarite bull, legend: ΣY, as well as staters and triobols with *obv.* Krotoniate tripod with ΣY r. and octopus l.; *rev.* Sybarite bull, legend: ΛAI (for Laos (no. 58)) in exergue (Gorini (1975) 26.1; Rutter, *HN*^{3} p. 145) can be ascribed to an early phase of Sybaris II (C6l) when the city was subordinate to Kroton (no. 56). (b) To this Sybaris may also belong incuse staters similar to, but stylistically more advanced than, those of §1, as well as triobols with *obv.* standing bull, legend: ΣY; *rev.* amphora incuse; and obols with *obv.* bull; *rev.* acorn incuse (Kraay (1958) 15–16; Gorini (1975) 12.10–11, dated to 530–510; Rutter, *HN*^{3} 1740–43; *SNG Cop. Italy* 1394–95 (triobols)).

§3. *Coins of Sybaris III.* This phase, "Sybaris III", from *c.*453 to the foundation of Thourioi (no. 74), is probably reflected in a new series of double-relief coins issued under Poseidonian influence. Staters: *obv.* striding Poseidon; *rev.* bull facing right, legend: ΣYB (Rutter, *HN*^{3} 1743). Triobols and obols: *obv.* striding Poseidon; *rev.* bird (Rutter, *HN*^{3} 1744–45; *SNG Cop. Italy* 1397). In this period Sybaris also issued coins jointly with Poseidonia (no. 66) and Laos (no. 58). Poseidonia and Sybaris III: triobols with *obv.* Poseidon, legend: ΣY; *rev.* bull facing right, legend: $\Pi O\Sigma$ (Rutter, *HN*^{3} 1746–49; *SNG Cop. Italy* 1399–1401). Laos and Sybaris III: diobols with *obv.* bull, legend: ethnic of Laos; *rev.* two circles (as on diobols of Laos proper), legend: ΣYBA or Σ and Λ, for Laos (Rutter, *HN*^{3} 2284). Some triobols of Laos: *obv.* bull; *rev.* acorn (cf. §2b), legend: ΣY on the *obv.* (Rutter, *HN*^{3} 2282; *SNG Cop. Italy* 1398).

§4. *Coins of Sybaris IV.* To the initial phase of the Sybarite–Athenian settlement of Thourioi = Sybaris IV have been ascribed two issues with the ethnic $\Sigma YBAPI$ and ΣYBA in the Ionic alphabet, and types *obv.* helmeted head of Athena (a reference to the Athenian involvement in the

foundation?); *rev.* (first series) bull looking back in the style of Sybaris I (Rutter, *HN*³ 1750; *SNG Cop. Italy* 1402–4); *rev.* (second series) bull with lowered head butting, in the exergue a fish—a symbol not found on earlier Sybarite coinage (Rutter, *HN*³ 1753; Rutter (1989) 251; Bugno (1997)).

§5. *Coins of Sybaris on the Traeis.* A late coinage in the incuse technique: staters with the bull type and the *obv.* legends: in exergue ΣΥ retrograde and in field ΒΑΡ (Kraay (1958) 29–32; Gorini (1975) 12.12, 105), is assigned to Sybaris on the Traeis, as is a triobol of *c.*400: *obv.* horseman; *rev.* standing bull, legend: ΣΥΒΑΡΙΤΟΝ (Rutter, *HN*³ 1754–56).

71. Taras (Tarantinos) Map 45. Lat. 40.30, long. 17.15. Size of territory: 4 (C5). Type: A. The toponym is Τάρας (C6l–C4 coins, *infra*; Hdt. 1.24.1; *IG* IV².1 95.43 (356/5)), ὁ (Thuc. 6.104.2) or ἡ (Strabo 6.3.3). The city-ethnic is Ταραντῖνος (C5l–C4 coins, *infra*; Hdt. 7.130.3; Antiochos (*FGrHist* 555) fr. 11).

Taras is called a *polis* in the urban sense by Antiochos (*FGrHist* 555) fr. 13, and implicitly at Ps.-Skylax 14 where Taras is the third toponym listed after the heading πόλεις εἰσὶν αἵδε; in the political sense it is called a *polis* in Thuc. 6.44.2; Pl. *Leg.* 637B; Theopomp. fr. 233; and *SGDI* 1567/4620 (C4l–C3e). A Ταραντίνων πολιτεία (Heracl. Lemb. 57; Arist. fr. 607, Gigon) was included among the 158 Aristotelian *politeiai*; *politeuesthai* is found at *Pol.* 1320ᵇ14. *Demos (ho Tarantinon)* is found in Arist. *Pol.* 1320ᵇ13 and Theopomp. fr. 100, and *demosios* in Theopomp. fr. 233. It is called πάτρη (= *patris*) in *AG* 7.715.1 and *patris* in *CEG* II 833 (C5l–C4e).

The internal collective use of the city-ethnic is attested on C5l coins (*infra*); the external collective use is found in Lazzarini (1976) nos. 971–72 (500–475); *IvO* 254–56 (*c.*440); Hdt. 3.136.2; Antiochos (*FGrHist* 555) fr. 12; and Theopomp. fr. 233. The external individual use is found in *IG* XII.9 187A (= ML 82 (*c.*411)) and *IG* XII.9 187B (C4e).

Taras was a colony of Sparta (no. 345; Antiochos (*FGrHist* 555) fr. 13; Ephor. fr. 216; Pl. *Leg.* 637B; Arist. *Pol.* 1306ᵇ31; cf. Cartledge (1979) 123–24 and Malkin (1994) 128 with n. 68) founded in C8l (706 according to Euseb. *Chron.* 91, Helm; cf. Van Compernolle (1992) 774). By the late Archaic (Nafissi (1999) 246, 255) and Classical periods there existed a full legendary account of the foundation (*locc. citt.*): Taras was founded by the so-called *Partheniai* (*locc. citt.*), a group of Spartan citizens (ἐκ τῶν ὁμοίων, Arist.) who had become *atimoi* (Antiochos) and attempted revolution (Arist.). The *oikistes* was Phalanthos (Antiochos). The city owed its name to the hero Taras, eponym also of the river Taras (Antiochos); see Lo Porto (1964) 178–84; Moscati Castelnuovo (1991); Malkin (1994) 115–42; Nafissi (1999) 251–58. The foundation of Taras is connected with that of Satyrion, mentioned in the oracle to Phalanthos (Diod. 8.21.3) and probably earlier than Taras. Satyrion is identified with settlement remains at Saturo on the coast *c.*12 km to the south-east of Taras, where Lakonians occupied the Iapygian site a few years before settling at Taras (Lo Porto (1964)). Satyrion probably continued as a trading station serving Taras.

The name of the territory was ἡ Ταραντίνη (Antiochos (*FGrHist* 555) fr. 3 *apud* Strabo 6.1.4); it bordered on the territory of Brentesion (no. 78) (Strabo 6.3.6). It was soon occupied by sanctuaries, which seem to have delimited the *chora*, and by several small Greek(?) settlements, at times fortified, and cemeteries situated in the hills surrounding the plain of Taras (Corchiaro (1981); E. Greco (1995*b*) 87); however, none of these settlements is with certainty identified as Tarantine (Lamboley (1996) 6), and in any case they were soon eclipsed by Taras itself (E. Greco (1981*b*); Nenci (1987) 198 (Cavallino)). From C7 to C4m the *chora* gradually expanded towards the north-east and south-east, and grew from *c.*350 km² to *c.*1,000 km² (Alessio and Guzzo (1989–90); Osanna (1992) 11–16). Early warfare against Metapontion (no. 61) for control or expansion of the territory seems implied by Strabo 6.1.15. In the Classical period Taras fought several wars against both Greek and non-Greek communities, presumably for territorial control: in 473, the city was severely defeated by the Iapygians (Diod. 11.52.3–4; cf. Hdt. 7.170.3–4); C5f victories over the Messapioi and the Peuketioi were commemorated at Delphi (Lazzarini (1976) no. 971; cf. Paus. 10.10.6: Messapioi; Lazzarini (1976) no. 972; cf. Paus. 10.13.10: Peuketioi). Dedications of spoils taken from Thourioi (no. 74) were made at Olympia *c.*440 (*IvO* 254–56 = ML 57); Antiochos (*FGrHist* 555) fr. 11 explicitly states that the latter war was fought for control of the Siritis. The war was ended by an agreement to found a joint colony which developed into Herakleia (no. 52) (ibid. = *Staatsverträge* 158). In C4, the city under Archytas had close ties with Dionysios II of Syracuse, securing Syracusan influence in the Adriatic (Pl. *Ep.* 7.339D; Dem. 61.46; Brauer (1986) 43–59). Also in C4, Taras fought the Messapioi (Iambl. *VP* 197), and the Leukanians (Diod. 16.61.4 (r356); cf. Diod. 16.62.4, 88.3). Such wars induced the city to seek help from Sparta (no. 345) in 340 (Sparta sent Archidamos: Theopomp. fr. 232; Diod. 16.62.4, 63.1) and from Alexander I of Epeiros in 334–330 (Strabo 6.3.4; Just.

Epit. 12.2.1, 23.1.15). Conflicts with the local population may have been a feature of Tarantine life right from the beginning, for the city itself presumably took over the site of a pre-existing non-Greek community (Lo Porto (1970) 356).

During the period of democratic rule in C4 Taras was very powerful, and its military forces comprised the largest fleet of Magna Graecia (naval forces are attested already by Thuc. 8.91.2). Allegedly, Taras could muster 30,000 infantry, 3,000 cavalry and 1,000 *hipparchoi* (Strabo 6.3.4) in the age of Archytas. Diodorus has 20,000 infantry and 2,000 cavalry (20.104.2 (r303)) as the citizen troops mobilised by Kleonymos in 303. And Taras was known as the most populous of the cities of Magna Graecia (Ps.-Skymnos 330). If the army figures are of the right order of magnitude, Taras, at its peak in C4, must have had a citizen population of over 100,000 plus an unknown number of foreigners and slaves (on the basis of these army figures, Wuilleumier (1939) 173–74 calculates a C4m citizen population of 240,000 and a C4l one of 155,000; Beloch (1886) 302 suggests 60,000 for C3l). The large extent of the C5–C4 city, *c.*530 ha, may support a high population figure, though the intramural area included the cemetery (Polyb. 8.28.7).

In C5l–C4e, Taras was presumably a member of the Italiote League (*Staatsverträge* 230). A treaty of *symmachia* with Rhegion (no. 68) is attested for 473 by Diod. 11.52.3 (cf. Hdt. 7.170.3). Some kind of treaty (*συμβῆναι*) between Taras and Thourioi (no. 74) concerning a joint colony is implied by Antiochos (*FGrHist* 555) fr. 12 = *Staatsverträge* 158, and Taras seems to have been the senior partner in this collaboration (*τὴν ἀποικίαν κριθῆναι Ταραντίνων*). Thuc. 8.91.2 refers to Tarantine naval forces supporting Sparta against Athens, thus implying a treaty with Sparta. The arrangement with Sparta which led to the expedition of Archidamos in 344 is described as a *symmachia* by Theopomp. fr. 232 and Diod. 16.62.4, 63.1.

A board of *strategoi* is attested down to C3e (Zonar. 8.2); their number is unknown (Urso (1998) 1–10). Diog. Laert. 8.79 (rC4m) refers to a law stipulating that the office of *strategos* could not be held in two consecutive years. However, Archytas exceptionally served continuously (from 367 or from 356) for six (Ael. *VH* 7.14) or seven years (Aristox. fr. 48, Wehrli; cf. Strabo 6.3.4; only *Suda*, s.v. *Ἀρχύτας*, describes him as *στρατηγὸς αὐτοκράτωρ*, but it is uncertain whether this refers to an office of the Italiote League or an extraordinay office of the city as attested for C3e (Zonar. 8.2: 281)). Plut. *Quaest. Graec.* 42 (= Theophr. fr. 133, Wimmer) describes a meeting of the assembly at which a *strategos* refused to recognise the outcome of a vote taken by show of hands, but it is unclear whether he was relying on the constitutional powers of the office to do so. *Strategoi* were appointed by election (Ael. *VH* 7.14).

An exile is mentioned at Hdt. 3.138.1. Reception of envoys in C4m is attested in Aristox. fr. 50, Wehrli, and implied by Hdt. 3.138.2 (rC6l); sending of envoys is attested in Theopomp. fr. 232 and Diod. 16.62.4 (r346/5). Citizens of Taras were appointed *proxenoi* by Eretria (no. 370) *c.*411 (*IG* XII.9 187A = ML 82) and C4e (*IG* XII.9 187B), by Athens (no. 361) in C4m (*IG* II² 248), and by Delphi (no. 177) in C4l (*F.Delphes* III.1 135). Two citizens served as *theorodokoi* of Epidauros (no. 348) in 356/5 (*IG* IV².1 95.44).

A C4l–C3e inscription may suggest the existence of some system of civic subdivisions (Jones, *POAG* 161). At 3.126.2 Herodotos refers to a *τῶν Ταραντίνων βασιλεύς*; if by *basileus* Herodotos means *tyrannos* (the two terms are sometimes interchangeable, cf. 5.44.1 and 44.2; Luraghi (1994) 76–77), Taras may have experienced a tyranny in C6l. However, since Taras was a Spartan colony, the existence of some kind of formal monarchy is not impossible (Malkin (1994) 132 with n. 87; add: Phot. s.v. *ῥ̓ήτρα*; Nafissi (1999) 251). Democracy was introduced shortly after the Persian Wars (Arist. *Pol.* 1303ª5); prior to that the constitution was a *politeia*, presumably favouring the *gnorimoi*, since Aristotle reports that the change of constitution was occasioned by heavy losses among the *gnorimoi* in a war against the Iapygians. At *Pol.* 1291ᵇ23, too, Aristotle presumably classifies Taras as a democracy, and at *Pol.* 1320ᵇ11–14 Taras is again classified as a democracy combining democratic sortition and oligarchic election in the selection of magistrates: all *archai* were *dittai*, and on each board some positions were filled by lot and others by election; or, alternatively, some magistracies were filled by election, others by sortition. Strabo 6.3.4 refers to C4 Taras as a democracy. No *stasis* proper is on record (Berger (1992) 53), but the foundation legend included a *stasis* immediately after the foundation (Just. *Epit.* 3.4.11) in which, among others, the oecist was exiled (Malkin (1994) 129–30).

Arist. *Pol.* 1320ᵇ11ff refers to a plurality of boards of magistrates. The existence of *ephoroi* at the *metropolis* Sparta as well as the C5s Tarantine colony Herakleia (*IG* XIV 645.1.1 (C4l); *SEG* 30 1162–70 (C4l–C3e)) may suggest the existence of this office at Archaic and Classical Taras as well, but it is attested only from C3e (*SEG* 40 901), when the office was eponymous. The *ῥ̓ητροφύλακες* (*Etym. Magn.* s.v. *ῥ̓ήτρα*) were probably charged with the custody of the laws. The interpretation of the numerous monograms found on C4

coins is disputed: they may be names of *ephoroi* (Brunetti (1960) 48–50), monetary magistrates or artists, or of chief civic magistrates (Rutter, *HN*³ pp. 95–96). A *prytanis* and an ἐπιστατ[-] are attested by C4–C2 epigraphic evidence (Viola (1894) 61.3). The assembly was named ἁλίαια (i.e. ἁλία: Hesychius s.v.).

The almost triangular Tarentine peninsula terminates in the isthmus, the *akropolis* according to Strabo 6.3.1. The lagoon, Mare Piccolo, with the inner harbour was reached by the natural waterway to the west of the isthmus, the *stoma tou limenos* of Strabo 6.3.1 (the artificial canal between the acropolis-isthmus and the eastern hinterland was cut in C15 AD, and the modern island status of the isthmus is not ancient). The acropolis, a low plateau measuring *c.*16 ha (Lo Porto (1970) 362) surrounded by steep slopes, may have been strengthened with an ashlar circuit wall in C6 (ibid. 359; Strabo 6.3.1 seems to imply that the whole city, including the acropolis, was fortified). The isthmus was the site of the earliest Greek settlement and the early sanctuaries; the archaeological evidence confirms the traditional C8l date for the foundation (Lo Porto (1970) 357–58; De Juliis (1983) 429; Boschung (1994) 177). No structural remains of the early habitation phases are extant, but the evidence from Ortygia (Syracuse) suggests a C6 origin for the east–west *plateia* with orthogonally joined *stenopoi* in accordance with a *per strigas* urban system (Lo Porto (1970) 361–62).

The early settlement had extended as far as the nearest part of the adjoining eastern plateau at least by C5, and Strabo 6.3.1 locates the agora immediately to the east below the acropolis in the narrow space delimited to the west by the Archaic cemetery. From C5s the urban area measured *c.*530 ha (E. Greco (1981*b*) 150–51); a *c.*10 km-long circuit wall built in 450–430 incorporated the new urban extension and the Archaic cemeteries, with two long straight walls constructed as a double ashlar wall, joining the Mare Piccolo and the Mare Grande (Lo Porto (1970) 362–64). Sporadic evidence makes it possible to reconstruct a Hippodamian urban plan, probably contemporary with that of Thourioi (444/3; E. Greco (1981*b*) 157); new cemeteries and public spaces were laid out inside the C5 circuit (for the Archaic and later cemeteries: Moreschini (1988); Lippolis (1994*b*)).

The eastern and western ends of the acropolis were laid out as sanctuaries from the early history of the colony: the east was the location of the C6e "Temple of Poseidon", the earliest known monumental stone temple in Magna Graecia (Filippi (1976)). The divinity to whom the temple was dedicated is, however, uncertain: Stazio (1967) 306–7 suggests Persephone, but Lippolis (1982) 90 Hera. To the west an ashlar foundation has been taken to be part of the stereobate of a temple of monumental size (Lo Porto (1970) 376; but see Lippolis (1982) 84–86). Sanctuaries were laid out outside the acropolis on the eastern plateau, along the Mare Piccolo where there is some evidence of C6 cult (Lippolis (1982) 117ff). The whole coastal zone seems to have been laid out as a vast sanctuary with several *heroa* between the harbour and the cemeteries which have produced C6 evidence of funeral and foundation cults (Jacobone (1988)).

The inner harbour, the Mare Piccolo, was famous in antiquity (Strabo 6.3.1; Polyb. 10.1); it was the only natural harbour in the Gulf of Taranto and the basis for Taras' economy and wealth. Ashlar walls of uncertain date are interpreted as piers (Lippolis (1982) 98). A harbour (*limen*) called Hydrous is mentioned by Ps.-Skylax 14. Fishermen were, according to Arist. *Pol.* 1291^{b}23, very numerous at Taras. Significant socio-economic differentiations are implied by Arist. *Pol.* 1320^{b}10, where it is reported that the *aporoi* were allowed the use of private property in order to win their favour for the constitution.

There is only sparse evidence of public buildings: a stepped structure near the agora has been interpreted as a *bouleuterion* or as a theatre (Todisco (1990) 149). A theatre near the agora was used for a C3l reception of Roman ambassadors (Dion. Hal. 19.5.8; Polyb. 8.30.7 (r213); cf. Todisco (1990) 146–49). A *prytaneion* is attested *c.*360 (Ath. 700D; Miller (1978) no. 434).

A cult of, among others, the Atreidai is attested at Arist. *Mir. ausc.* 840^{a}6–7 (Malkin (1994) 57–60; for a survey of Tarantine cults: Pugliese Carratelli (1970*a*); Hinz (1998) 182–87). A tomb of (Apollo) Hyakinthos is mentioned at Polyb. 8.28.2, and Hyakinthos may be depicted on coins (*infra*). A cult of Dionysos may be inferred from C5e numismatic evidence (*infra*); cf. Pl. *Leg.* 637B. A cult of the Dioskouroi may be inferred from numismatic evidence (*infra*; Wuilleumier (1939) 519–22). A cult of Zeus Eleutherios is referred to in Hesych. s.v. Ἐλευθέριος Ζεύς. *Anth. Pal.* 6.129 (Leonidas of Taras) concerns a dedication to Athena Koryphasia(?), of spoils taken from the Leukanians. However, the occasion is uncertain (C3e?), and it is not certain that Athena Koryphasia was worshipped in Taras (Gow-Page, *HE* 2 (XXXIV) 344–45). The evidence for other cults is uncertain: Aphrodite Basilis (Osanna (1990)); Persephone (extra-urban sanctuary: Wuilleumier (1939) 396); Apollo Alaios (C4 inscription on marble *louterion*: Buononato (1960)); hero cults of Phalanthos and Taras (Lacroix (1965) 89–100; Leschhorn (1984) 31–41). Public sacrifices accompanied by *demosiai hestiaseis* are mentioned

by Theopomp. fr. 233. A festival of Dionysos is attested by Pl. *Leg.* 637B.

Communal consultation of the oracle at Dodona is attested in *SGDI* 1567/4620 (C4l–C3e). *Syll.*³ 295 (C4) attests a grant of *promanteia* by Delphi (no. 177) to the Tarantines (Roux (1990)). From 520 to 336, Tarantine athletes won several Olympic victories (*Olympionikai* 130–31, 212, 230, 238, 307, 397, 436, 457). In 500–475, a monument commemorating a victory over the Messapioi was dedicated at Delphi (Lazzarini (1976) no. 971; cf. Paus. 10.10.6; Beschi (1982) 232), and in the same period one commemorating a victory over the Peuketioi was dedicated, also at Delphi (Lazzarini (1976) no. 972; cf. Paus. 10.13.10; Beschi (1982) 236). Dedications of spoils taken from Thourioi (no. 74) were made at Olympia *c.*440 (*IvO* 254–56 = ML 57). At Delphi architectural terracottas have be taken as evidence of a Tarantine treasury (Le Roy (1967) 70–87).

Taras initiated silver coinage about 520–510 (Cahn (1968)) or slightly later (Westermark (1979) 291; Rutter, *HN*³ p. 92) in the incuse technique on the Achaean standard with *nomoi* divided into thirds as at Metapontion (for surveys of Tarantine coinage with refs., see Stazio (1970); Fischer-Bossert (1999); Rutter, *HN*³ pp. 92–93). The earliest *obv.* type shows a kneeling youth holding lyre and flower, presumably Hyakinthos or Eros; legend: ΤΑΡΑΣ (Rutter, *HN*³ 824; *SNG Cop. Italy* 766). The subsequent main *obv.* type of the *nomoi* depicts a dolphin rider (Taras or Phalanthos); legend: ΤΑΡΑΣ (Rutter, *HN*³ 826; *SNG Cop. Italy* 765). Double-relief coins were minted from C5e: *obv.* dolphin rider; *rev.* various types (e.g. hippocamp, four-spoked wheel, or female head); legends: ΤΑΡΑΣ, ΤΑΡ (Westermark (1979); Rutter, *HN*³ 827, 833, 838; *SNG Cop. Italy* 767–78). These were accompanied by fractions of the *nomos*: third-, sixth-, tenth- (= litra), twentieth- (= hemilitra), and sixth-litra with a variety of *obv.* and *rev.* types (dolphin, shell, wheel or hippocamp: Rutter, *HN*³ 828ff; *SNG Cop. Italy* 783–86). A unique stater in Naples has *rev.* seated male figure holding a kantharos and distaff, probably the hero Taras, normally referred to as the "oecist" type but here revealing a connection with the cult of Dionysos (Cahn (1968) 71–72; Rutter, *HN*³ 843), legend: ΤΑΡΑΣ; *rev.* dolphin rider, legend: ΤΑΡΑΣ. From C5m the types of the *nomoi* are *obv.* dolphin rider, legend: ΤΑΡΑΣ/ΤΑΡΑΝΤΙΝΩΝ; *rev.* seated male figure, the "oecist" (Rutter, *HN*³ 844; *SNG Cop. Italy* 779–82); half-*nomoi* (drachms) have *obv.* hippocamp; *rev.* female head (Rutter, *HN*³ 839; *SNG Cop. Italy* 787–88). From C5s a horseman becomes the normal *obv.* type; *rev.* dolphin rider, legend: ΤΑΡΑΝΤΙΝΩΝ. These are the main types throughout C4 with some variants (Rutter, *HN*³ 847ff, 868ff; *SNG Cop. Italy* 797–829); *obv.* types have two riders, the Dioskouroi (Rutter, *HN*³ 898; *SNG Cop. Italy* 830); new fractions appeared in C4 (Rutter, *HN*³ 907ff). In C4s the city struck in gold on the Attic standard on more than one occasion, usually with *obv.* type: head of Hera; *rev.* young Taras appealing to seated Poseidon (stater), dolphin rider (half-stater), infant Taras with wool and distaff (sixth-stater), kantharos (twelfth-stater; Rutter, *HN*³ 901–4); time of Alexander the Molossian: stater with usual *obv.*, *rev.* horseman, in field sometimes thunderbolt; twentieth-stater with *obv.* Helios; *rev.* thunderbolt (Rutter, *HN*³ 905–6; *SNG Cop. Italy* 831–34). Bronze coins were minted only in C3 (Rutter, *HN*³ p. 106).

Taras was the founder of Herakleia (no. 52), which was originally a joint colony of Taras and Thourioi (no. 74) (Antiochos (*FGrHist* 555) fr. 12). The foundation of Herakleia involved the displacement of the previous inhabitants of Siris (no. 69; Diod. 12.36.4 (r433)).

72. Temesa (Temesaios) Map 46. Lat. 39.05, long. 16.10. Size of territory: ?. Type: B:β. The toponym is Τεμέσεια, ἡ (Polyb. 13.10.3); Τεμέση, ἡ (Strabo 6.1.5; Steph. Byz. 615.1); Τεμέσ(σ)α, ἡ (Lycoph. *Alex.* 1067; Paus. 6.6.7); attractive, but still uncertain, is the identification with Homeric Τεμέση (Hom. *Od.* 1.184; Biraschi (1982)). Steph. Byz. 615.2 gives the city-ethnic as Τεμεσαῖος and this form is found in Callim. *Aet.* fr. 85.10, Pfeiffer, and may be abbreviated as ΤΕ and ΤΕΜ on C6–C5 coins (*infra*) unless the legends abbreviate the toponym. For the location of Temesa, still not resolved, at Casalina di S. Sosti or further southwards at Fiumefreddo Bruzio, see Massaro (1982) 22 with refs. Recently sporadic archaeological evidence has been investigated on the fertile plain of Campora S. Giovanni near the coast in the Savuto valley, but the evidence is inconclusive, though the cultural assemblage is indeed C6s–C5f Greek (De Sensi Sestito and Valentini (1990) esp. 137–42). Spadea (followed by *Barr.*) argues for a location at the Piano della Tirena, where the urban remains include parts of a circuit wall and habitation. However, these are mainly C4 and therefore belong primarily to the Oskan-Brettian-Hellenistic period (Spadea (1990*a*)), leaving the location of the Archaic city still unresolved (E. Greco (1986) 129–30, with reference also to the analogous case of Laos).

Temesa is called *polis* only by late sources (Strabo 6.1.5; Steph. Byz. 615.1; Paus. 6.6.11); however, its C6–C5 coinage (*infra*) suggests that it was a *polis* in the Archaic and Classical

periods, albeit probably mostly a dependency of larger *poleis* (*infra*).

According to Strabo 6.1.5, Temesa was a foundation of the Ausonians, and the settlement accordingly was originally not Greek but indigenous. A later Greek or Hellenising phase is, however, suggested by the tradition of heroic colonisation by Aitolians led by Thoas, who in their turn were later ousted by Brettians (Strabo 6.1.5). This tradition may be connected with the activities of Alexander the Molossian in South Italy (Biraschi (1982) 36–37). Other Greek traditions are that of Polites, a companion of Odysseus, who had a *heroon* near Temesa (Strabo 6.1.5; cf. Mele (1983*b*)), and that of the Olympic victor Euthymos of Lokroi who fought this Polites when the Lokrians had captured the city (Strabo 6.1.5; cf. Paus. 6.6.4–11 for a variant of the myth, referring also to a painting depicting personifications of the young Sybaris and of the *polis* of Temesa). Greek identity is suggested also by the Greek-style coinage (*infra*). All these elements suggest that Temesa was an Oinotrian city (schol. Hom. *Od.* 1.184), strongly Hellenised, prior to 510 within the dominion of Sybaris (no. 70.I) and after 510 in the dominion of Kroton (no. 56), and from *c.*480, some time after the Medmean, Hipponian and Lokrian defeat of Kroton, in the dominion of Lokroi (no. 59).

The territories of Temesa and Terina (at S. Eufemia Vetere(?), cf. Terina (no. 73)) were adjacent (Strabo 6.1.5); Temesa is often located in the area of the estuary of the river Savuto, ancient Sabutus (*supra*). Sybaris controlled the valleys of the rivers Krathis and Sabutus and the access to the Tyrrhenian Sea, and so Temesa may have been within Sybaris' dominion. After Kroton's victory over Sybaris, Temesa seems to have become a part of Kroton's dominion, as indicated by its coinage (*infra*). It was later held by Lokroi, as suggested by the traditions associated with Euthymos (*supra*); numismatic evidence dates Lokrian control to C5m (*infra*), whereas dates based upon written evidence point rather to *c.*480, in which case it was followed by a new period of Krotoniate influence (see De Sensi Sestito (1982*a*) for a full discussion).

Temesa with Kroton struck silver coins on the Achaian standard. Initially, i.e. C6l, it was an incuse coinage with the tripod of Kroton and legends in the Achaian script: TE (sometimes retrograde) and $\wr PO$, one issue with the *rev.* type: flying eagle, contemporary with the "dominion-coinage" of Kroton (see the entry for Kroton, *infra*; Stazio (1982) 96–99; Parise (1982) 107–10, (1990*a*); Rutter, *HN*³ p. 167); dumpy flan incuse issues (similar type and legend) of *c.*480 are also known (Stazio (1982) 98). From C5m Temesa struck double-relief staters: *obv.* tripod of Kroton; *rev.* Corinthian helmet, the emblem of Temesa, legend: TE or TEM on *obv.* and *rev.* (Stazio (1982) 94–95, 99; Rutter, *HN*³ 2566; *SNG Cop. Italy* 1828). A Krotoniate C5s issue of double-relief staters has *obv.* tripod, legend $\wr PO$, *rev.* Corinthian helmet, legend TE; lower denominations are without TE, but the *rev.* type ensures their attribution to this group (Stazio (1982) 96; Rutter, *HN*³ 2122–24). The affiliation of Temesa to Kroton is clear and the evidence suggests that Temesa was part of the Krotoniate dominion from C6l, though from C5m less dependent upon Kroton, as possibly reflected in the tradition of Lokrian influence (*supra*; Prontera (1982) 42, 47; De Sensi Sestito and Valentini (1990)).

73. Terina (Terinaios) Map 46. Lat. 38.55, long. 16.15. Still unlocated (Spadea (1979); cf. Spadea (1990*a*)) though most often located at S. Eufemia Lamezia (thus *Barr.* with query). Size of territory: ? Type: [A]. The toponym is $Tέρινα$ (*IG* IV².1 95.45 (356/5); Ps.-Skylax 12), or $Tέρεινα$ (Lycoph. *Alex.* 726; Ps.-Skymnos 306). The city-ethnic is $Tεριναῖος$ (C5l coins, *infra*; *IG* II² 10438 (C4m)) or $Tερειναῖος$ ([Plut.] *X orat.* 845C (rC4s)).

Terina is one of ten toponyms listed at Ps.-Skylax 12 after the heading $πόλεις εἰσὶν Ἑλληνίδες αἵδε$, where *polis* is used in the urban sense (cf. Polyaen. 2.10.1 (rC5s); Diod. 16.15.2 (r356/5)). The internal collective use of the city-ethnic is found on C5 coins (*infra*); the external collective use is found in Polyaen. 2.10.1 (rC5s); the external individual use is found in *IG* II² 10438 (C4m) and [Plut.] *X orat.* 845C (rC4s).

Terina was founded by Kroton (no. 56) (Ps.-Skymnos 306–7; Phlegon (*FGrHist* 257) fr. 31); the date of foundation is unknown, and the *terminus ante quem* is *c.*460, the date at which the city began issuing coins (Rutter (1997) 61). Terina may have been founded after the Krotoniate defeat of Sybaris *c.*510 (De Sensi Sestito (1985) 199–200); if the foundation was earlier, it probably antedated the C7–C6f Lokrian foundations of Hipponion (no. 53) and Medma (no. 60) (Spadea (1979); Giangiulio (1989) 233–38). After *c.*510, Sybaritan influence in the area was replaced by Krotoniate influence, as demonstrated by coin hoards (De Sensi Sestito (1985)).

A war with Thourioi (no. 74) is attested a few years after 444/3 (Polyaen. 2.10.1). Terina was besieged and taken by the Brettians in 356 (Diod. 16.15.2), and the city became a Brettian community, surviving the conquest of Alexander the Molossian *c.*325 (Livy 8.24.4).

A citizen of Terina served as *theorodokos* of Epidauros (no. 348) in 356/5 (*IG* IV².1 95.45). An inscribed bronze plaque (of C4 or later) found near S. Eufemia Lamezia has been tentatively attributed to Terina (*IGSII* no. 21); in l. 10 it mentions a πρύτανις, an office known also from Kroton (Ath. 522C (rC5e)). The same inscription possibly attests the existence of a system of civic subdivisions of a territorial disposition (Jones, *POAG* 167–68). Terina was presumably fortified in 356/5 when it was besieged by the Brettians (ἐκπολιορκεῖν: Diod. 16.15.2).

C5–C4 (*infra*) coins attest to cults of the eponymous nymph and Nike, who seem to have become assimilated (Lacroix (1965) 126; Rutter (1997) 61–62). A cult of the local nymph Pandina may be indicated by C4 bronze issues, perhaps reflecting the influence of Hipponion (Giannelli (1963) 171–74).

In all probability, a citizen of Terina was victorious at Olympia in 392: the victor's full name has been corrupted, but Africanus gives Τεριναῖος as his first name, and the victor was thus probably from Terina (see *Olympionikai* 376).

Terina commenced minting *c.*460; *c.*460–440 there are three main issues of staters and fractions on the Achaian standard: (a) staters: *obv.* head of river-nymph Terina, legend: *TEPINA*; *rev.* standing wingless Nike holding branch, legend: *NIKA*, within an olive wreath (Holloway and Jenkins (1983) no. 1; Rutter, *HN*³ 2567); (b) staters: *obv.* as above, but later style; *rev.* standing winged Nike with branch and wreath (Holloway and Jenkins (1983) nos. 2–3; Rutter, *HN*³ 2568); (c) staters: similar types, but Nike on *rev.* has raised arms (Holloway and Jenkins (1983) no. 4; Rutter, *HN*³ 2569; *SNG Cop. Italy* 1994). Smaller denominations are drachms: *obv.* as above, legend *TEPEI*; *rev.* winged Nike standing facing; diobols have legend *TEPE* cruciform on *rev.* (Holloway and Jenkins (1983) nos. 6–8; Rutter, *HN*³ 2571–73). By C5l and C4f types are *obv.* head of Terina; *rev.* winged Nike seated on amphora, cippus or four-legged seat in various attitudes and holding various attributes (ball, bird, *kerykeion*), on some issues a phiale with which she pours a libation or draws water from a fountain—a merging of the river-nymph Terina and Nike. From *c.*440, legend *TEPINAION*; on C4f issues legend *TEPINAIΩN*, and, on some issues, *rev.* *TEPINA* (Holloway and Jenkins (1983) 10–93; Rutter, *HN*³ 2574ff, 2627ff; *SNG Cop. Italy* 1995–2013; *SNG Cop. Suppl.* 58). Smaller fractions are drachms, triobols, diobols and obols, with similar types and legends: *TE*, *TEPE*, *TEPI* (Holloway and Jenkins (1983) 25–29, 70; Rutter, *HN*³ 2631–32, 2634–42; *SNG Cop. Italy* 2014–27). Bronze coinage was introduced C4l (Holloway and Jenkins (1983) nos. 119–28; Rutter, *HN*³ 2644ff), with similar types (*SNG Cop. Italy* 2032–34), or with *rev.* crab, or hare, or hippocamp (*SNG Cop. Italy* 2035–41); other types: *obv.* lion mask; *rev.* head of Apollo (*SNG Cop. Suppl.* 59); one issue has *obv.* head of goddess Pandina, legend: *ΠΑΝΔΙΝΑ*, shared with coins of Hipponion; *rev.* winged seated Nike (Holloway and Jenkins (1983) no. 125; Rutter, *HN*³ 2650).

74. Thourioi (Thourios) Map 46. Lat. 39.45, long. 16.30. Size of territory: 3/4. Type: A. The toponym is Θούριοι, οἱ (Thuc. 6.61.6; Pl. *Euthydemus* 271C; *IG* IV².1 95.1.43 (356/5)); Thuc. 6.104.2 may use Θουρία as the name of the *city* (in contradistinction to the *territory* for which it is the usual Thucydidean name) and so may Ps.-Skylax 13 (but see Tod (1953) for a full discussion of the toponym); Diod. 12.10.6 (r446) has Θούριον besides his usual Θούριοι, which he uses in nine passages (e.g. 12.9.1; cf. *Mir. ausc.* 846ᵇ33). The city-ethnic is Θούριος (Thuc. 6.104.3; C5 coins, *infra*; *IG* II² 8895 (C4m); cf. Tod (1953) 202).

Thourioi is called a *polis* in the urban sense at Ps.-Skylax 13, and at Arist. *Pol.* 1303ᵃ26, 31 Thourioi is the second of eight examples listed under the heading *polis. Politeia* is found in the sense of "citizenship" at Thuc. 6.104.2, and in the sense of "constitution" at Arist. *Pol.* 1307ᵃ30 and 1307ᵇ7; *politeuein* is found at Xen. *Hell.* 1.5.19. A C5s bronze *kerykeion* found at Brindisi is inscribed δαμόσιον Θουρίων, δαμόσιον Βρενδεσίνων (*IG* XIV 672). It is called πάτρη (= *patris*) in the epitaph of Herodotos transmitted in Steph. Byz. 315.16–316.2.

The internal collective use of the city-ethnic is found on coins from the 440s onwards (*infra*); the external collective use is found in *IvO* 254–56 (= ML 57 (*c.*440): Tarantine dedications of spoils taken from Thourioi; cf. Antiochos (*FGrHist* 555) fr. 11); Thuc. 7.33.6; Pl. *Leg.* 636B; and Arist. *Pol.* 1307ᵇ6; and the external individual use is found in Xen. *An.* 5.1.2, *IG* II² 8895 (C4m), *CID* II 23.8 (341/0) and *I.Lindos* 2.C.38 (C1 rC5).

The foundation of Thourioi was the outcome of a process which began with an appeal in 446 by refugee Sybarites (Diod. 11.90.3–4) to Sparta (no. 345) and Athens (no. 361) for assistance and reinforcement in their attempt to re-create their city and community in the face of Krotoniate opposition (Diod. 12.10.3; for the sources of Diodorus, see Rutter (1973) and De Sensi Sestito (1976); see also Sybaris (no. 70.IV)). This request was granted by the Athenians, who sent ten ships, partly manned by Peloponnesians (Diod. 12.10.4; Ehrenberg (1965) 301). This expedition may have

been led by the Athenians Lampon and Xenokrates (Diod. 12.10.4), but most scholars (cf. *infra*) refer their participation to the 444/3 foundation of Thourioi proper (*infra*). In this initial phase of the foundation of Thourioi, Sybaris was reinforced by Athenians and Peloponnesians (Diod. 12.10.4), and seems indeed still to have been called, and located at, Sybaris (coins; cf. *RE* iv². 1008; Rutter (1973) 163). The community was strongly dominated by Sybarites. However, their claims to privileges in political, cultic and economic spheres of life resulted in a serious *stasis*, and they were put to death almost to the last man or expelled, thus paving the way for the foundation of Thourioi proper (Diod. 12.11.1–4; cf. Arist. *Pol.* 1303ª31–33). These events probably occurred in 445/4 (Diod. 12.22.1). The foundation proper of Thourioi followed in 444/3 (in the archonship of Praxiteles: Ps.-Plut. *X orat.* 835D; cf. Dion. Hal. *Lys.* 1.2). According to Diod. 12.11.3, the victors of the *stasis* themselves sent to Hellas for new settlers; Ps.-Plut. *X orat.* 835D seems to think that Athens was in charge of the foundation, whereas Dion. Hal. *Lys.* 1.2 says that the colonists were sent by *Ἀθηναῖοί τε καὶ ἡ ἄλλη Ἑλλάς*. Diodorus' description of the initial system of *phylai* (*infra*) confirms that settlers had a wide variety of origins (12.11.3; cf. 12.35.1: *ἐκ πολλῶν πόλεων*; on Athens' role in the foundation, see Rutter (1973) 164–67, arguing that it has been exaggerated). It was, presumably, this second group of colonists from the mainland that was led by Lampon and Xenokrates (cf. Kagan (1969) 158; De Sensi Sestito (1984*a*) 81), though Diod. 12.10.4 is then guilty of confusion unless these men led both expeditions. Lampon is named as the *oikistes* by Plut. *Mor.* 812D, though other sources describe him as a *mantis* or *exegetes* (see refs. in Kagan (1969) 168 n. 36) performing only a temporary task (see Graham (1964) 36–37; Leschhorn (1984) 132–33; and Malkin (1987) 254–57). The identity of the oecist was, in fact, a matter of dispute which in 434 led to a *stasis* that was solved by reference to the Delphic oracle, which declared that Apollo himself should be recognised as the oecist (Diod. 12.35.3).

The name of the territory was *ἡ Θουρία* (Thuc. 6.61.7) or *Θουριὰς γῆ* (Thuc. 7.35.1); it is termed *χώρα* at Arist. *Pol.* 1307ª29ff. Almost immediately after its foundation the city engaged in extensive warfare, presumably to secure control of a sizeable territory. The Spartan exile Kleandridas became a citizen of Thourioi (Thuc. 6.104.2) and led campaigns against Terina (no. 73) (Polyaen. 2.10.1), and this may attest to territorial ambitions on the Tyrrhenian coast. Kleandridas also led Thourian forces against the Leukanians (Polyaen. 2.10.2) and was likewise the commander in a war against Taras (no. 71) (Diod. 12.23.2 (r444)) in which both cities struggled for influence in the Siritis (Antiochos (*FGrHist* 555) fr. 11). Dedications by Taras at Olympia *c.*440 of spoils taken from Thourioi (*IvO* 254–56 = ML 57) attest to some Tarantine success, and the territorial conflict was finally ended *c.*434 by an agreement to found a joint colony, though in the name of Taras (Antiochos, *loc. cit.*); the colony developed into the city of Herakleia (no. 52). Iambl. *VP* 264 attests to C5s hostilities between Thourioi and Kroton (cf. Guzzo (1986) 201), but according to Diod. 12.11.3 Thourioi established *philia* with Kroton, presumably not long after the foundation.

Smaller agricultural settlements, some in the form of single villas, are above all known from the C4–C3 territory (Osanna (1992) 148–49; Guzzo (1997) 379). The border between Thourian and Leukanian/Brettian territory is not very clear; the southern Brettian site at Castiglione di Paludi is interpreted as a Brettian military installation (Osanna (1992) 146–49; De Sensi Sestito (1992) 350–53). The border was marked by a row of Thourian *phrouria*, such as the one at Torre Mordillo, where a lead seal carrying the inscription *ΘΟΥ*[-] has been found (Colburn (1977) 478, 521), and the one at Sierra Castello (Guzzo (1986) 203). One *phrourion* is known by name: Lagaria, located somewhere inland *μετὰ Θουρίους* (Strabo 6.1.14), as yet not identified with certainty but sometimes identified with the settlement at Amendolara (cf. de La Genière (1991*b*)). *Phrouroi*, presumably the personnel manning these installations, are referred to by Arist. *Pol.* 1307ᵇ9. Nothing is known of the size of the population, the only available figures being army numbers (*infra*).

Thourioi was a member of the Italiote League (Diod. 14.91.1 (r393) and 101.1 (r390); *Staatsverträge* 230). Some kind of treaty with Kroton (no. 56) soon after the foundation is implied by Diod. 12.11.3. The C5s bronze *kerykeion* inscribed *δαμόσιον Θουρίων, δαμόσιον Βρενδεσίνων* and found at Brindisi (*IG* xiv 672) may also testify to some formalised collaboration between the two communities, possibly during the conflict between Taras and Thourioi in the period prior to the foundation of Herakleia in 434 (Antiochos (*FGrHist* 555) fr. 11; De Simone (1956)). This conflict itself was also ended by a treaty (Antiochos (*FGrHist* 555) fr. 11 = *Staatsverträge* 158). According to Thuc. 7.33.6, Athens (no. 361) in 413 negotiated for a full alliance with Thourioi; whether a treaty was concluded is unclear, but Thourioi did assist the Athenian effort against Syracuse (no. 47) (Thuc. 7.35.1, 57.11; cf. Diod. 13.11.1 (r413)). However, after the Athenian defeat at Syracuse, Thourioi is found assisting Sparta (no. 345) with naval forces

(Thuc. 8.35.1, 61.2; Xen. *Hell.* 1.5.9), which implies a treaty. In 389 the city suffered a severe defeat by the Leukanians but managed to conclude peace via the mediation of Leptines of Syracuse (Diod. 14.101.1–102.3). A little after 379, Dionysios I sent a navy against Thourioi without success (Ael. *VH* 12.61 with Jacquemin (1979)). Collaboration with Corinthian forces sent out to reinforce Timoleon is attested at Plut. *Tim.* 16.2. In 356 the city was subdued by the Brettians (Diod. 16.15.2; cf. Plut. *Tim.* 16.2).

In 413, Thourioi assisted the Athenian attack on Syracuse with 700 hoplites and 300 *akontistai* (Thuc. 7.35.1). Naval forces (ten ships) are attested at Thuc. 8.35.1, commanded by Dorieus *tritos autos* (cf. Thuc. 8.61.2 and Xen. *Hell.* 1.5.19). A contingent of 14,000 *pezoi* and *c.*1,000 horse is recorded by Diod. 14.101.2 (r390). A board of *strategoi* was elected by the assembly (*τὸν δῆμον . . . χειροτονήσοντα*); a law stipulated a five-year period between *strategiai*; but the law was repealed, and this started off a process by which the constitution developed into a *dynasteia* of the young reformers (Arist. *Pol.* 1307^{b}6–19). Plato may allude to this event at *Leg.* 636B, where he describes *gymnasia* and *sysitia* as breeding grounds of young citizens inclined to revolution. The Spartan exile Kleandridas became a citizen of Thourioi (Thuc. 6.104.2; Plut. *Per.* 22.3) and served as *strategos* in wars against Taras (Strabo 6.1.14), Terina and the Leukanians (Polyaen. 2.10.1–2).

Reception of envoys is recorded by Thuc. 6.104.2 and sending of envoys at Diod. 14.101.2 (r390). *F.Delphes* III.4 388 (325–300) may possibly be a grant by Delphi (no. 177) of proxeny, etc. to a man of Thourioi. A man of Thourioi was granted hereditary citizenship and other honours by Zeleia (no. 764) in the Propontis *c.*330–300 (*AM* 9 (1884) 58–60 no. 3 = Michel 531). *Theorodokoi* of Epidauros (no. 348) at Thourioi are attested by *IG* IV^{2}.1 95.II.43, 52 (C4m).

A system of *phylai* was established soon after the foundation, in which the citizens were enrolled on the basis of their origin; the ten *phylai* were named: Arkas, Achaïs, Eleia, Boiotia, Amphiktyonis, Doris, Ias, Athenaïs, Euboïs and Nesiotis (Diod. 12.11.3; see Jones, *POAG* 165–67).

According to Diod. 12.11.3–4, Thourioi was founded as a democracy, and the city's law code was drawn up by Charondas of Thourioi (apparently a namesake of the famous legislator of the Archaic period, *pace* Mühl, *Klio* 22 (1929) 439), but Heraclid. Pont. tells us that it was Protagoras of Abdera who wrote the laws (fr. 150, Wehrli = Diog. Laert. 9.8.50). It has been suggested that he based his laws on those of Charondas and Zaleukos (De Sensi Sestito (1984*a*) 82). Several *staseis* are recorded (Berger (1992) 33–34); one involved the identity of the oecist (Diod. 12.35.3 (r434)) and in another anti-Athenians were defeated and exiled (Thuc. 7.33.5–6; Berger (1992) 33). In 413, however, after the Athenian defeat at Syracuse, 300 pro-Athenians were exiled, one of them Lysias (Dion. Hal. *Lys.* 1; Plut. *Mor.* 835E). Aristotle refers to two further *staseis*, both perhaps posterior to 413: the first (*Pol.* 1307^{a}27–33) is given as an example of change from oligarchy in the direction of democracy: the passage testifies to the existence of a property qualification for office holding (*archai*); the qualification was lowered and the number of magistracies (*archeia*) increased after pressure from the *demos*; the chronological reference is uncertain (De Sensi Sestito (1992) 344ff: 440s; Berger (1992) 33–34: *c.*413). The city seems to have attempted control of land ownership, even among its own citizens; but large landholdings were acquired unconstitutionally by the *gnorimoi* and had to be given up by the owners after a *stasis* (Arist. *Pol.* 1307^{a}29–33; Jacquemin (1979)).

The second passage (*Pol.* 1307^{b}6–19) describes a process by which the constitution developed (from a democracy?) into a *dynasteia* of young military leaders (*supra*); the chronological reference is again uncertain. The passage testifies to the existence of *symboloi*: they seem to have been entrusted with general supervision of the constitution; the passage also refers to *archontes* in general.

Thourioi was situated on part of the site of Archaic Sybaris (no. 70.I), and the assertion by Diod. 12.10.3 (cf. Strabo 6.1.13) that the city was moved to another site is not convincing in view of the archaeological evidence. According to Diod. 12.10.6 (rC5s), the city had a circuit wall, not archaeologically attested so far. The city was laid out with four *plateiai* and three *stenopoi*, named respectively Herakleia, Aphrodisia, Olympias, Dionysias, and Heroa, Thuria, Thurina (Diod. 12.10.7; Castagnoli (1971); for the textual problems, see Vallet (1976) 1030–32; Lapini (1997)). Hippodamos is called Thourian in some traditions, and the town plan of Thourioi has been attributed to him, though the tradition is ambiguous (see e.g. E. Greco (1997)). Whether the streets named by Diodorus correspond to twelve city quarters distributed to the tribes, also listed by Diodorus (*supra*), is doubtful (Vallet (1976) 1027–28), but the overall orthogonal urban layout as described by Diodorus has found confirmation in the archaeological evidence: the C5l–C4f city plan *was* orthogonal, and the sporadic remains of habitation are oriented according to the urban layout (*infra*; cf. E. Greco (1997) 437–38; recent investigation of Hippodamian layout: E. Greco and Luppino (1999)). The technique of construction of the sparse habitation remains is rather similar to that of Archaic Sybaris (Guzzo (1988–89) 20–23, 87, 178, 240–48, 290–304, 365). There

are overall traces of a levelling of the remains of the Sybarite phase in preparation for the foundation of Thourioi (ibid. 23). An east–west-oriented *plateia*, going back to the time of foundation (ibid. 20), terminated near the coast in C4(?) harbour structures of uncertain use (Zancani Montuoro (1972–73*b*)). Remains of public architecture are meagre, and the extant structures are mainly ascribable to Roman Copia. The agora is mentioned at Theophr. fr. 97, but the tradition that Herodotos was buried there is rejected outright by Jacoby (*RE* suppl. ii. 214), although there can be no doubt that Herodotos was a citizen of Thourioi (Arist. *Rh.* 1409^{a}28) and probably moved to Thourioi in 444/3 (Plut. *Mor.* 604F).

A cult of Athena may be inferred from coin types (*infra*). A cult of Boreas was instituted by decree in C4f (Ael. *VH* 12.61) after this divinity had wrecked a navy of Dionysios I on its way to Thourioi; Boreas was voted citizenship, and an annual festival instituted (Jacquemin (1979)). The cults of Sybaris and Thourioi are not always easily separated (cf. Giannelli (1963) 101–16). The cult of Hera is documented for Sybaris (see Sybaris (no. 70.I)) and may have continued in Thourioi, though the coin type of Hera Lakinia (*infra*) probably has no connection with the Sybarite cult of Hera (cf. Giannelli (1963) 103). C3 numismatic evidence may suggest at least C3 cults of Apollo, Demeter and Artemis (*SNG Cop. Italy* 1507–10, 1513–18). A cult of Apollo is also suggested by the tradition of Apollo as the *oikistes* (*supra*; and cf. Giannelli (1963) 105). The division of Thourioi into quarters by streets named after Herakles, Aphrodite, the Olympian Zeus and Dionysos (Diod. 12.10.7) may indicate cults of these divinities. A cult of Diomedes at Thourioi is attested at Polemon, *FGH* III 122 no. 23.

Communal consultation of the Delphic oracle is recorded in Diod. 12.35.3 (r434). *Syll.*^{3} 295 (C4) is a Delphic decree confirming an earlier grant of *promanteia* to Thourioi (Roux (1990); Gauthier, *BE* (1991) 486–87 no. 306). A grant by an individual Thourian towards the rebuilding of the Delphic temple is recorded in *CID* II 23.8 (341/40).

Damon of Thourioi was victorious at Olympia in 376 (*Olympionikai* 403: *stadion* race) and in 372 (*Olympionikai* 407: *stadion*). The Rhodian exile Dorieus won several Panhellenic victories also at Nemea, Isthmia and Delphi (*Syll.*^{3} 82; *Olympionikai* 322); he was a Thourian citizen (Xen. *Hell.* 1.5.19) and participated at Olympia, etc. as a Thourian (Paus. 6.7.4), as did his relative Peisidoros (ibid.; *Olympionikai* 356); cf. Pugliese Carratelli (1972–73) 29.

Thourioi struck coins in silver from *c.*440 on the Achaian standard; denominations: distaters, staters and triobols (Rutter (1979) 44–45; Rutter, *HN*^{3} p. 146). Thourioi took over the types of Sybaris (no. 70.IV) with some changes: *obv.* head of Athena wearing Attic helmet, reflecting Athenian influence; *rev.* bull, derived from Sybaris but with butting head, or, later, charging, and with fish in exergue. Legend on *rev.* ΘΟΥΡΙΩΝ; some issues have initials or symbols of magistrates or names of die-engravers (Rutter, *HN*^{3} 1770ff; *SNG Cop. Italy* 1405–30, 1432–63 (distaters, staters); 1470–88 (triobols)). The exceptionally abundant issues of distaters and staters suggests that Thourioi had ample stocks of silver, perhaps in the form of bullion brought from Athens (Kraay (1976) 184–85). One specimen has *obv.* head of Hera Lakinia, a Kampanian type and a unique example of die sharing by a Kampanian mint and a Thourian mint (Rutter (1979) 60–61; Rutter, *HN*^{3} 1796; *SNG Cop. Italy* 1431). Bronzes were issued early and nearly contemporary with the silver coinage, employing the same types (Rutter, *HN*^{3} 1903ff; *SNG Cop. Italy* 1494–1506).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Adamesteanu, D. 1970. "Ἀργοὶ λίθοι a Metaponto", in V. Mirosavljević *et al.* (eds.), *Adriatica Praehistorica et Antiqua: Miscellanea G. Novak Dicata* (Zagreb) 307–24.

——1973. "Problemi topografici ed urbanistici metapontini", *AttiTaranto* 13: 153–86.

——1974. *La Basilicata Antica: Storia e Monumenti* (Cava dei Tirreni).

——1975*a*. "Il santuario di Apollo e urbanistica generale", *NSc* suppl.: 15–311.

——1975*b*. "L'attività archeologica in Basilicata", *AttiTaranto* 15: 517–30.

——1976. "Santuari metapontini", in U. Jantzen (ed.), *Neue Forschungen in griechischen Heiligtümern, Internationales Symposion in Olympia vom bis 10. bis 12. Oktober 1974* (Tübingen) 151–66.

——1979. "Διὸς ἀγορά a Metaponto", *PP* 34: 296–312.

——1980*a*. "Una tomba arcaica di Siris", in Krinzinger *et al.* (1980) 31–36.

——1980*b*. "Siris: il problema topografico", *AttiTaranto* 20: 61–93.

——1982. "Siris e Metaponto alla luce delle nuove scoperte archeologiche", *ASAtene* 60: 301–13.

Adamesteanu, D. 1985*a*. "Siris", in Bianco and Tagliente (1985) 57–64.
——1985*b*. "Heraclea", in Bianco and Tagliente (1985) 93–102.
—— and Dilthey, H. 1978. "Siris: nuovi contributi archeologici", *MEFRA* 90: 515–65.
Agostino, R. 1996. "Medma: il deposito votivo in località Calderazzo (saggi 1964–1966)", in Lattanzi *et al.* (1996) 112–15.
Albore-Livadie, C. 1979. "Remarques sur un groupe de tombes de Cumes", in *Contribution à l'étude de la société et da la colonisation eubéennes*, Cahiers du Centre Jean Bérard 2 (Naples) 53–58.
Alessio, A., and Guzzo, P. G. 1989–90. "Santuari e fattorie ed est di Taranto: elementi archeologici per un modello di interpretazione", *ScAnt* 3–4: 363–96.
Ameruoso, M. 1996. *Megále Hellás: genesi, storia ed estensione del nome*, Studi pubblicati dall'Istituto Italiano per la Storia Antica 61 (Rome).
Ampolo, C. 1989–90. "Fra economia, religione e politica: tesori e offerte nei santuari Greci", *ScAnt* 3–4: 271–79.
——1992. "La città dell'eccesso per la storia di Sibari fino al 510 a.C.", *Atti Taranto* 32: 213–54.
——1994. "Tra empória ed emporía: note sul commercio in età arcaica e classica", in d'Agostino and Ridgway (1994) 29–36.
APARCHAI = ΑΠΑΡΧΑΙ. Nuove ricerche e studi sulla Magna Grecia e la Sicilia antica in onore di P. E. Arias i–ii (Pisa 1982).
Ardovino, A.M. 1980. "Nuovi oggetti sacri con iscrizioni in alfabeto acheo", *ArchCl* 32: 50–66.
——1986. *I culti di Paestum antica e del suo territorio* (Naples).
Arena, R. 1996. *Iscrizioni Greche arcaiche di Sicilia e Magna Grecia*, iv: *Iscrizioni delle colonie Achee* (Milan).
Arnold-Biucchi, C. 1993. "A New Coin of the Serdaioi(?) at the ANS", in M. Price *et al.* (eds.), *Essays in Honour of Robert Carson and Kenneth Jenkins* (London) 1–3.
Arslan, E. A. 1969–70. "Relazione preliminare sugli scavi effettuati nel 1966–7–8–9 a Roccellatta di Borgia (Scolacium)", *AttiCSDIR* 2: 17–72.
——1986. "Necropoli 'INAM' di Vibo Valentia-Hipponion", *AnnPisa* 16: 1029–58.
Asheri, D. 1979. "La colonizzazione greca", in Romeo (1979–80) i. 87–142.
——1996. "Colonizzazione e decolonizzazione", in S. Settis *et al.* (eds.), *I Greci: Storia Cultura Arte Società*, i: *Noi e i Greci* (Turin) 73–115.
Aumüller, T. 1994. "Die Stadtmauer von Hipponium: Ergebnisse der Bauforschung am Nordostflügel der griechischen Stadtmauern von Vibo Valentia", *RM* 101: 241–78.
Barello, F. 1995. *Architettura greca a Caulonia: edilizia monumentale e decorazione architettonica in una città della Magna Grecia* (Florence).
Barra Bagnasco, M. 1976. "Problemi di urbanistica locrese", *Atti Taranto* 26: 375–408.
—— (ed.) 1977. *Locri Epizefiri* i (Florence).
—— (ed.) 1989*a*. *Locri* ii (Turin).
——1989*b*. *Locri* iii (Turin).
——1989*c*. "Locri Epizefiri: campagne di scavo 1988–89 a Marasà sud", *Atti Taranto* 29: 595–605.
——1990. "Nuovi documenti sul culto di Afrodite a Locri Epizefiri", *PP* 45: 42–61.
——1996*a*. "La casa in Magna Grecia", in D'Andria and Mannino (1996) 41–66.
——1996*b*. "Il culto extramuraneo di Afrodite", in Lattanzi *et al.* (1996) 27–30.
——1996*c*. "La stipe e le terrecotte di Zeus a Locri Epizefiri", in Lattanzi *et al.* (1996) 55–57.
——2000. "Spazi interni ed esterni alle mura nella zona costiera di Locri Epizefiri: un esempio di pianificazione", *Orizzonti: Rassegna di archeologia* 1: 11–33.
—— and Pugliese Carratelli, G. 1990. "Nuova dedica locrese ad Afrodite", *PP* 45: 62–64.
Bartoloni, G., and Cordano, F. 1978. "Calcidesi ed eretriesi nell'Italia centrale e in Campania nel secolo VIII a.C.", *PP* 33: 321–30.
Bats, M., and d'Agostino, B. (eds.) 1998. *Euboica: L'Eubea e la presenza euboica in Calcidica e in Occidente*, Collection Centre Jean Bérard 16/ *AnnArchStorAnt*—Quaderno 12 (Naples).
Beloch, J. 1886. *Die Bevölkerung der griechische-roemische Welt* (Leipzig).
——1894. "Siris", *Hermes* 29: 604–10.
Beloch, K. J. 1912–1927. *Griechische Geschichte*² i–iv (Berlin and Leipzig).
Bencivenga Trillmich, C. 1983. "Resti di casa greca di età arcaica sull' acropoli di Elea", *MEFRA* 95: 417–48.
——1988. "Pyxous-Buxentum", *MEFRA* 100: 701–29.
——1990. "Elea: Problems of the Relationship between City and Territory, and of Urban Organization in the Archaic Period", in Descœudres (1990) 365–71.
——1994. "Il teatro sull'acropoli di Elea: rendiconti dello scavo ed alcune considerazioni sulle fasi edilizie ed urbanistiche", in *Velia* iii. 87–96.
Bérard, J. 1957. *La Colonisation grecque de l'Italie méridionale et de la Sicile dans l'antiquité* (Paris).
Berger, S. 1992. *Revolution and Society in Greek Sicily and Southern Italy*, *Historia* Einzelschriften 71 (Stuttgart).
Bertarelli Sestieri, A. 1987–88. "I confini del santuario urbano meridionale di Poseidonia: note topografiche relative agli scavi 1951–1953", *RendNap* 61: 87–123.
——1989. "Statuette femminile arcaiche e del primo classicismo nelle stipi votive di Poseidonia: i rinvenimenti presso il tempio di Nettuno", *RivIstArch* 12: 5–47.
Berve, H. 1967. *Die Tyrannis bei den Griechen* i–ii (Munich).
Beschi, L. 1982. "I donari tarentini a Delfi: alcue osservazioni", *APARCHAI* i. 227–38.
Bianco, S., and Tagliente, M. (eds.) 1985. *Il museo nazionale della Siritide di Policoro: archeologia della Basilicata meridionale* (Rome and Bari).

Bini, M. P. 1989. "Territorio di Eraclea", in *Siris–Eraclea* 15–21.
Biraschi, A. M. 1982. "Aspetti e problemi della più antica storia di Temesa nella tradizione letteraria", in Maddoli (1982) 29–39.
Blum, I. 1987. "Le mura", *AttiTaranto* 27: 575–89.
Boehringer, C. 1984–85. "Der Beitrag der Numismatik zur Kenntnis Siziliens im VI. Jahrhundert v. Chr.", *Kokalos* 30–31: 103–26.
Boffa, G. 1998. "L'insediamento euboico a Pitecusa", *PP* 53: 144–60.
Borriello, M. R., and De Simone, A. 1985. "La stipe di S. Aniello", in *Napoli antica* 159–74.
—— *et al.* 1985. "Le necropoli urbani", in *Napoli antica* 228–74.
Boschung, D. 1994. "Die archaischen Nekropolen von Tarent", in Lippolis (1994*a*) 177–83.
Bottini, A. 1989. "La Basilicata", *AttiTaranto* 29: 553–69.
Brauer, G. C. 1986. *Taras: Its History and Coinage* (New York).
Breglia, L. 1966. "Notizie sulla monetazione arcaica di Velia", in *Velia* i. 227–38.
Brunetti, L. 1960. "Nuovi orientamenti sulla zecca di Taranto", *RIN* 62: 5–132.
Buchner, G. 1975. "Nuovi aspetti e problemi posti dagli scavi di Pitecusa con particolare considerazioni sulle oreficerie di stile orientalizzante antico", in *Contribution à l'étude de la société et de la colonisation eubéennes*, Cahiers du Centre Jean Bérard 2 (Naples) 59–86.
—— 1978. "Testimonianze semitiche dell'VIII sec. a.C a Pithekoussai", *PP* 33: 130–42.
—— 1982. "Articolazione sociale, differenze di rituale e composizione dei corredi nella necropoli di Pithecusa", in G. Gnoli and J. P. Vernant (eds.), *La Mort: les morts dans les societés anciennes* (Cambridge) 275–87.
—— and Ridgway, D. 1993. *Pithekoussai*, i: *La necropoli, tombe 1–723 scavate dal 1952 al 1961*, *MonAnt* ser. monograph 4 (Rome).
Bugno, M. 1997. "Un aspetto numismatico della presenza ateniese in Magna Grecia", *Ostraka* 6: 385–87.
—— 1999. *Da Sibari a Thurii: la fine di un impero*, Études 3, Centre Jean Bérard (Naples).
Buononato, A. 1960. "Taranto: dedica ad Apollo Aleo", *NSc* 428–31.
Burelli, L., and Valenza Mele, N. 1989. " 'Cuma", *BTCGI* 7: 7–42.
Burn, A. R. 1935. "Dates in Early Greek History", *JHS* 55: 130–46.
Caccamo Caltabianco, M. 1979. "La monetazione bronzea di Reggio nel V secolo a.C.", *CronCatania* 18: 167–81.
—— 1990. "Kaulos", *LIMC* 5: 973–74.
—— 1993. *La monetazione di Messana: con le emissioni di Rhegion dell'età della tirannide* (Berlin).
Cahn, H. A. 1968. "Early Tarentine Chronology", in C. M. Kraay and G. K. Jenkins (eds.), *Essays in Greek Coinage Presented to Stanley Robinson* (Oxford) 59–74.
—— 1978. "Serdaioi", *SchwMbll* 28: 81–85.
Calderone, S. 1975. "La conquista romana della Magna Grecia", *AttiTaranto* 15: 34–81.
Canciani, F. 1994. "Parthenope", *LIMC* 7: 191.
Cantarella, R. 1967. " *Ἡ μεγάλη Ἑλλάς*", *AttiTaranto* 7: 11–25.
—— 1974–75. "Introduzione ambientale alla tradizione geografica di Medma", *AttiCSDIR* 6: 31–54.
Cantilena, R. 1985. "La monetazione", in *Napoli antica* 352–67.
—— 1989. "Rinvenimento di un'officina monetale a Laos: problemi di circolazione e di produzione monetaria", in E. Greco *et al.* (1989) 25–42
Carando, E. 1999. "Sibari–Thuri: note per una revisione dei dati", *AION (Archeol)* NS 6: 165–76.
Carlier, P. 1984. *La Royauté en Grèce avant Alexandre* (Strasbourg).
Carter, J. C. 1990. "Metapontum: Land, Wealth, and Population", in Descœudres (1990) 405–41.
—— 1993. "Taking Possession of the Land: Early Greek Colonization in Southern Italy", in R. T. Scott and A. R. Scott (eds.), *Eius Virtutis Studiosi: Classical and Postclassical Studies in Memory of Frank Edward Brown (1908–1988)* (Hannover and London) 342–67.
—— 1994. "Sanctuaries in the *chora* of Metaponto", in S. E. Alcock and R. Osborne (eds.), *Placing the Gods: Sanctuaries and Sacred Space in Ancient Greece* (Oxford) 161–98.
—— 1998. *The Chora of Metaponto: The Necropoleis* i–ii (Austin, Tex.).
—— 2000. "La chora di Metaponto: risultati degli ultimi 25 anni di ricerca archeologica", *AttiTaranto* 40: 771–92.
—— and D'Annibale, C. 1984. "Ricognizioni topografiche nel territorio di Crotone", *AttiTaranto* 24: 546–51.
—— *et al.* 1990. *The Chora of Croton 1983–89*, University of Texas at Austin.
Cartledge, P. 1979. *Sparta and Lakonia: A Regional History 1300–362 BC* (London).
Caruso, I. 1977. "Fonti letterarie e dati archeologici per l'ubicazione di Laos", *Klearchos* 19: 19–36.
Castagnoli, F. 1956. *Ippodamo di Mileto e l'urbanistica a pianta ortogonale* (Rome).
—— 1971. "Sull'urbanistica di Thurii", *PP* 26: 301–7.
Cazzaniga, I. 1971. "L'estensione alla Sicilia della espressione Magna Grecia in Strabone (VI 1, 2)", *PP* 26: 26–31.
Cerchiai, L. 1995. *I Campani* (Milan).
Ciaceri, E. 1927–32. *Storia della Magna Grecia* i–iii (Milan, Rome and Naples).
Cipriani, M. 1989. *S. Nicola di Albanella: scavo di un santuario campestre nel territorio di Poseidonia–Paestum* (Rome).
—— 1997. "Il ruolo di Hera nel santuario meridionale di Poseidonia", in J. de La Genière, *Héra: Images, espaces, cultes*, Collection du Centre Jean Bérard 15 (Naples) 211–25.
—— and Ardovino, A. M. 1989–90. "Il culto di Demetra nella *chora* pestana", *ScAnt* 3–4: 339–51.
Clark, R. J. 1977. "Vergil, *Aeneid*, 6, 40 ff. and the Cumaean Sibyl's Cave", *Latomus* 36: 482–95.
Colburn, O. C. 1977. "Torre Mordillo (Cosenza): scavi negli anni 1963, 1966, e 1967", *NSc* 423–526.

Coldstream, J. N. 1993. "Mixed Marriages at the Frontiers of the Greek World", *OJA* 12: 89–107.

—— 1994. "Prospectors and Pioneers: Pithekoussai, Kyme and Central Italy", in Tsetskhladze and De Angelis (1994) 47–59.

—— 1995. "Euboean Geometric Imports from the Acropolis of Pithekoussai", *BSA* 90: 251–67.

Corchiaro, A. 1981. "Contributo per la carta archeologica del territorio a sud-est di Taranto", *Taras* 1: 53–75.

Cordano, F. 1978. "Leggi e legislatori calcidesi", *Miscellanea greca e romana* 6: 89–98.

Cordiano, G. 1995*a*. "Contributo allo studio della fondazione e della storia della *polis* di Pissunte nel V sec. a. C. (per una rilettura di *SEG* XXIV 303)", *Quaderni Urbininati di Cultura Classica* 49: 111–23.

—— 1995*b*. "Espansione territoriale e politica colonizzatrice a Reggio (ed a Locri Epizefiri) fra VI e V secolo a. C.", *Kokalos* 41: 79–121.

Corretti, A., and Soverini, L. 1990. "Ischia di Castro", *BTCGI* 8: 327–70.

Costabile, F. 1978. "Strateghi e assemblea nelle *ΠΟΛΙΤΕΙΑΙ* di Reggio e Messina", *Klearchos* 20: 19–57.

—— 1979. "Il culto di Apollo quale testimonianza della tradizione corale e religiosa di Reggio e Messana", *MEFRA* 91: 525–45.

—— (ed.) 1992. *Polis ed Olympieion a Locri Epizefiri: costituzione, economia e finanze di una città della Magna Grecia: editio altera e traduzione delle tabelle locresi* (Catanzaro).

Costamagna, L. 1986. "Il territorio di Rhegion: problemi di topografia", *AttiTaranto* 26: 475–512.

—— and Sabbione, C. 1990. *Una città in Magna Grecia: Locri Epizefiri* (Reggio di Calabria).

Courby, F. 1927. *La Terrasse du Temple*, Fouilles de Delphes ii (Paris).

Cristofani, M. 1970. "Crotone", *EAA* suppl. vol. 1970: 269–70.

Curti, E. 1989. "Il culto di Artemis-Bendis ad Eraclea", in *Siris-Eraclea* 23–30.

Cutroni Tusa, A. 1993–94. "La numismatica in Sicilia: Bilancio di un quinquennio", *Kokalos* 39–40: 401–86.

Cygielman, M. 1980. "Demetra Elouia a Medma", *ZPE* 37: 99–102.

d'Agostino, B. 1994–95. "La 'Stipe dei Cavalli' di Pitecusa", *AttiMGrecia* 3: 9–108.

—— 1996. "Pithekoussai and the First Western Greeks", *JRS* 9: 302–9.

—— 1999*a*. "Pitecusa e Cuma tra greci e indigeni", in *La Colonisation grecque en Méditerranée occidentale*, Actes de la rencontre scientifique en hommage à Georges Vallet 1995, *CEFR* 151 (Rome) 51–62.

—— 1999*b*. "Euboean Colonisation in the Gulf of Naples", in G. R. Tsetskhladze (ed.), *Ancient Greeks West and East*, Mnemosyne, suppl. 196 (Leiden) 207–27.

—— and D'Andria, A. (eds.) 2002. *Cuma: nuove forme di intervento per lo studio del sito antico*, Atti della Giornate di Studio—Naples, 12 February 2001, *AIONArchStAnt Quad* 14 (Naples).

—— and Ridgway, D. (eds.) 1994. *APOIKIA: i più antichi insediamenti greci in Occidente: funzioni e modi dell'organizzazione politica e sociale: scritti in onore di Giorgio Buchner*, *AnnArchStorAnt* 1 (Naples).

—— and Soteriou, A. 1998. "Campania in the Framework of the Earliest Greek Colonization in the West", in Bats and d'Agostino (1998) 355–68.

Da Leukania a Lucania: la Lucania centro-orientale fra Pirro e i Giulio-Claudii, Venosa, Castello Pirro del Balzo, 8 November 1992–31 March 1993 (Rome, 1992).

D'Andria, F. 1975. "Scavi nella zona del *Kerameikos* (1973)", in *Metaponto* i, *NSc* suppl. i: 355–452.

—— 1990. "Greek Influence in the Adriatic: Fifty Years after Deuamont", in Descœudres (1990) 281–90.

—— and Mannino, K. (eds.) 1996. *Ricerche sulla casa in Magna Grecia e in Sicilia*, Atti del Colloquio Lecce, 23–24 June 1992 (Galatina).

D'Andria, M. 1989. "Recenti campagne di scavo alla necropoli occidentale di Hipponion", in *Giornate . . . Hipponion* 765–86.

De Caro, S. 1974. "La necropoli di Pizzofalcone in Napoli", *RendNap* 49: 36–37.

—— 1985. "Partenope-Palaepolis: la necropoli di Pizzofalcone", in *Napoli antica* 99–102.

—— 1994. "Appunti per la topografia della *chora* di Pithekoussai nella prima età coloniale", in d'Agostino and Ridgway (1994) 37–45.

De Franciscis, A. 1960. "Metauros", *AttiMGrecia* 3: 21–67.

—— 1963–64. "Pozzuoli: la Cattedrale, tempio augusteo", *FA* 18–19: no. 7467.

—— 1971. "Pozzuoli *ἐπίνειον τῶν Κυμαίων*", *RendNap* 46: 109–14.

—— 1972. *Stato e società in Locri Epizefiri: l'archivio dell'Olympieion Locrese* (Naples).

—— 1979. *Il santuario di Marasà in Locri Epizefiri*, i: *Il tempio arcaico* (Naples).

Degrassi, N. 1967. "Meisterwerke frühitaliotischer Vasenmalerei aus einem Grab in Policoro", in *Herakleiastudien* 193–231.

De Juliis, E. M. 1983. "L'attività archeologica in Puglia nel 1983", *AttiTaranto* 23: 421–46.

Demand, N. H. 1990. *Urban Relocation in Archaic and Classical Greece: Flight and Consolidation* (Bristol).

Descœudres, J.-P. (ed.) 1990. *Greek Colonies and Native Populations*, Proceedings of the First Australian Congress of Classical Archaeology Held in Honour of Emeritus Professor A. D. Trendall (Oxford).

De Sensi Sestito, G. 1976. "La fondazione di Sibari-Thurii in Diodoro", *RendIstLomb* 110: 243–58.

—— 1981. "I Dinomenidi nel basso e medio Tirreno fra Imera e Cuma", *MEFRA* 93: 617–42.

——1982*a*. "Crotone e la conquista locrese di Temesa", in Maddoli (1982) 205–10.
——1982*b*. "Il santuario del Lacinio nella lega achea ed italiota", in *Miscellanea di studi storici* ii (Univ. della Calabria, Cosenza) 13–33.
——1984*a*. *La Calabria in età arcaica e classica: Storia—Economia—Società* (Rome and Reggio di Calabria).
——1984*b*. "La funzione politica dell'Heraion del Lacinio al tempo delle lotte contro i Lucani e Dionisio I", in M. Sordi (ed.), *I santuari e la guerra nel mondo classico*, Contributi dell'Istituto di Storia antica della Università del Sacro Cuore 10 (Milan) 41–50.
——1985. "Momenti ed aspetti della storia di Terina attaverso la circolazione monetario nel suo territorio", *Rivista Storica Calabrese* 6: 199–208.
——1992. "Da Thurii a Copia", *AttiTaranto* 32: 329–78.
——1994. "Il federalismo in Magna Grecia: la Lega italiota", in L. Aigner Foresti *et al.* (eds.), *Federazioni e federalismo nell'Europa antica*, Bergamo, 21–25 settembre 1992 (Milan) 195–216.
—— and Valentini, G. 1990. "Sulla tracce di Temesa? Materiali greci arcaici da Campora S. Giovanni", in Various authors (1990) 133–49.
De Siena, A. 1986. "Metaponto: nuove scoperte in proprietà Andrisani", in *Siris-Polieion* 135–56.
——1990. "Contributi archeologici alla definizione della fase protocoloniale del Metapontino", *Bollettino Storico della Basilicata* 6: 73–88.
——1999. "La colonizzazione achea del Metapontino", in D. Adamesteanu (ed.), *Storia della Basilicata*, i: *L'Antichità* (Bari) 211–45.
De Simone, C. 1956. "Un caduceo di bronzo proveniente da Brindisi", *ArchCl* 8: 15–23.
Di Bello, F. 1997. *Elea-Velia: polis, zecca e monete di bronzo* (Naples).
Di Vasto, F. 1992. "Skidros: a proposito di una nuova ipotesi", *PP* 47: 263–64.
D'Onofrio, A. 2002. "Primi dati sull'urbanistica di Cuma: l'area tra il Foro e le fortificazioni settentrionali", in d'Agostino and D'Andria (2002) 133–52.
Dubuisson, M. 1983. "Les *opici*: Osques, Occidentaux ou Barbares?", *Latomus* 42: 522–45.
Dunbabin, T. J. 1948. *The Western Greeks* (Oxford).
Ebner, P. 1978. "Velia: Monete", *PP* 33: 68–73.
Ehrenberg, V. 1965. "The Foundation of Thurii", in *Polis und Imperium* (Zürich and Stuttgart) 298–315.
Fiammenghi, C. A. 1985. "Agropoli: primi saggi di scavo nell'area del castello", *AnnArchStorAnt* 7: 53–74.
Filippi, F. 1976. "Nuovi saggi nell'area del tempio arcaico di Taranto", *Ricerche e studi* (Museo Francesco Ribezzo, Brindisi) 9: 67–82.
Fischer-Bossert, W. 1999. *Chronologie der Didrachmenprägung von Tarent, 510–280 v. Chr.* (Berlin).
Fischer-Hansen, T. 2000. "*Ergasteria* in the Western Greek world" in, *Polis and Politics* 91–120.
Fontenrose, J. 1978. *The Delphic Oracle: Its Responses and Operations* (Berkeley).
Foti, G. 1976. "La topografia di Locri Epizefirii", *AttiTaranto* 16: 343–62.
Fratta, F. 2002. "Per una rilettura del sistema di fortificazioni di Cuma", in d'Agostino and D'Andria (2002) 21–73.
Frederiksen, M. (ed. with additions by N. Purcell) 1984. *Campania* (Rome and Hertford).
——1986. "Napoli e i Greci d'Occidente dal 450 al 350 a.C.: circa vecchi problemi e nuove prospettive", in *La monetazione della Campania antica*, Atti VII convegno del Centro internazionale di studi numismatici, Naples, 20–24 April 1980 (Naples) 3–22.
Gabrici, E. 1913. "Cuma", *MonAnt* 22: 9–871.
Gagarin, M. 1986. *Early Greek Law* (Berkeley and London).
Gagliardi, E. 1958. "Il gruppo equestre fittile di Metauro", *AttiMGrecia* 2: 33–36.
Gallo, I. (ed.) 1989. *Momenti di storia salernitana nell'antichità*, Collana di studi storici salernitani 4 (Naples).
Gallo, L. 1996. "Policastro Bussentino", *BTCGI* 14: 96–114.
Gassner, V., and Sokolicek, A. 2000. "Die Befestigungsanlagen von Velia: Vorbericht zu den Grabungen von Velia: Vorbericht zu den Grabungen in der Unterstadt 1997–1999", *ÖJh* 69: 95–129.
Ghinatti, F. 1996. *Assemblee greche d'Occidente* (Turin).
Giacosa, G. 1994. "Una inedita dracma incusa di Palinuro e Molpa", *SchwMbll* 44.175/6: 61–66.
Gialanella, C. 1994. "Pithecusa: gli insediamenti di Punta Chiarito: relazione preliminare", in d'Agostino and Ridgway (1994) 169–204.
Giangiulio, M. 1983. "Locri, Sparta, Crotone e le tradizioni leggendarie intorno alla battagila della Sagra", *MEFRA* 95: 473–521.
——1987. "Crimis(s)a", *BTCGI* 5: 460–62.
——1989. *Ricerche su Crotone arcaica* (Pisa).
——1991*a*. "Filottete tra Sibari e Crotone: osservazioni sulla tradizione letteraria", in de La Genière (1991*a*) 37–53.
——1991*b*. "Macalla", *BTCGI* 9: 293–99.
——1996. "Plateesi", *BTCGI* 14: 38–40.
—— and Sabbione, C. 1985. "Capo Colonna (2)", *BTCGI* 4: 409–19.
Giannelli, G. 1963. *Culti e miti della Magna Grecia: contributo alla storia più antica delle colonie greche in Occidente* (Florence).
Giardino, L. 1992. "Herakleia e la sua chora", in *Da Leukania a Lucania* 136–41.
——1998. "Aspetti e problemi dell'urbanistica di *Herakleia*", in *Siritide e Metapontino: storie di due territori coloniali*, Atti dell'incontro di studio Policoro, 31 October–2 November 1991, Cahiers du Centre Jean Bérard 20 (Naples) 171–207.

Giornate . . . Hipponion – Various authors, "Giornate di studio su Hipponion-Vibo Valentia", *AnnPisa* 19 (1989) 413–876.

Givigliano, G. P. 1987. "Castellace", *BTCGI* 5: 95–97.

——1989. "L'organizzazione del territorio", in *Giornate . . . Hipponion* 737–64.

Gorini, G. 1975. *La monetazione incusa della Magna Graecia* (Milan).

——1985. "Per uno studio della monetazione di Medma", *NumAntCl* 14: 127–40.

Graf, F. 1981. "Culti e credenze religiose della Magna Grecia", *AttiTaranto* 21: 157–85.

Graham, A. J. 1964. *Colony and Mother City in Ancient Greece* (Manchester).

——1990. "Pre-colonial Contacts: Questions and Problems", in J.-P. Descœudres (ed.), *Greek Colonies and Native Populations*, Proceedings of the First Australian Congress of Classical Archaeology held in Honour of Emeritus Professor A. D. Trendall (Oxford) 45–60.

Gras, M. 1985. *Trafics tyrrhéniens archaïques*, *BEFAR* 258 (Rome).

——1986. "Aspects de la recherche sur la colonisation grecque: à propos du Congrès d'Athènes: notes de lecture", *RBPhil* 64: 5–21.

Grattarola, A. 1994. "Un inedito di Paolo Orsi: la stipe votiva di Parapezza a Locri", *Prospettiva* 75–76: 55–64.

Greco, E. 1975. "Velia e Palinuro: problemi di topografia antica", *MEFRA* 87: 81–142.

——1979. "Ricerche sulla *chora* poseidoniate: il 'paesaggio agrario' dalla fondazione della città alla fine del sec. IV a. C.", *DialArch* 2: 7–26.

——1981*a*. "La ceramica arcaica a Poseidonia", in various authors, *Il commercio greco nel tirreno in età arcaica*, Atti del seminario in memoria di Mario Napoli (Naples) 56–66.

——1981*b*. "Dal territorio alla città: lo sviluppo urbano di Taranto", *AnnArchStorAnt* 3: 139–57.

——1985*a*. "L'impianto urbano di Neapolis greca: aspetti e problemi", *AttiTaranto* 25: 187–219.

——1985*b*. "*Forum duplex*: appunti per lo studio delle agorai di Neapolis in Campania", *AnnArchStorAnt* 7: 125–35.

——1986. "Strabone e la topografia storica della Magna Grecia", in Maddoli (1986*a*) 121–34.

——1987*a*. "La città e il territorio: problemi di storia topografica", *AttiTaranto* 27: 471–99.

——1987*b*. "Palinuro", in F. Della Corte (ed.), *Enciclopedia Virgiliana* iii. 938–39.

——1990. "Serdaioi", *AnnArchStorAnt* 12: 39–57.

——1992*a*. "L'impero di Sibari: Bilancio archeologico-topografico", *AttiTaranto* 32: 459–85.

——1992*b*. *Archeologia della Magna Grecia* (Rome and Bari).

——(ed.) 1995*a*. *Città e territorio nelle colonie greche d'Occidente*, ii: *Laos* (Taranto).

——1995*b*. "Sulle città coloniali dell'Occidente greco antico", in *Les Grecs et l'Occident*, Actes du colloque de la Villa "Kérylos" (1991), *CEFR* 208 (Rome) 83–94.

——1997. "Ippodamo e Thurii", *Ostraka* 6: 435–39.

—— and Luppino, S. 1999. "Ricerche sulla topografia e sull'urbanistica di Sibari-Thuri-Copiae", *AION (Archeol.)* NS 6: 115–64.

———— and Schnapp, A. (eds.) 1989. *Laos*, i: *Scavi a Marcellina 1973–1985* (Taranto).

—— and Schnapp, A. 1983. "Moio della Civitella e le territoire de Velia", *MEFRA* 95: 381–415.

———— 1986. "Fortification et emprise du territoire: le cas de Velia", in Leriche and Tréziny (1986) 209–19.

———— 1989. "Laos: topografia e storia", in E. Greco *et al.* (1989) 43–56.

—— and Theodorescu, D. 1983. *Poseidonia-Paestum*, ii: *L'Agora*, *CEFR* 42 (Rome).

———— 1990. "Poseidonia-Paestum: un example d'integration urbaine a l'époque medio-republicaine", in *Akten des XIII internationalen Kongresses für klassische Archäologie Berlin 1988* (Mainz am Rhein) 85–100.

———— 1994. "L'agora de Poseidonia: une mise au point", *CRAI* 227–37.

—— Stazio, A., and Vallet, G. (eds.) 1987. *Città e territorio nelle colonie greche d'occidente*, i: *Paestum* (Taranto).

Greco, G. 1992. "La ripresa delle indagini allo Heraion di Foce Sele", *AttiMGrecia* 1: 247–58.

Griffin, A. 1982. *Sikyon* (Oxford).

Grunauer von Hoerschelmann, S. 1973. "Die Bronzeprägung von Poseidonia", in *La monetazione di bronzo di Poseidonia-Paestum*, Atti III convegno Centro internazionale di studi numismatici, Naples 1971, *AIIN* suppl. 18–19: 25–45 (Rome).

Gualtieri, M. (ed.) 1993. *Fourth Century B.C. Magna Graecia: A Case Study* (Jonsered).

Guarducci, M. 1952. "Dedica arcaica alla Hera di Poseidonia", *ArchCl* 4: 145–52.

——1958. "Iscrizione arcaica della regione di Siri", *AttiMGrecia* 2: 51–61.

——1966. "Divinità fauste e infauste nell'antica Velia", in *Velia* i. 279–94.

——1982. "Ancora sui Serdaioi", *SchwMbll* 32: 1–7.

Gullini, G. 1976. "Architettura a Locri", *Atti Taranto* 16: 409–39.

Guy, M. 1995. "Cadastres en bandes de Métaponte à Agde: questions et méthodes", in *Hommages à Andre Nickels*, Études Massaliètes 4 (Paris) 427–41.

Guzzo, P. G. 1976. "Tra Sibari e Thurii", *Klearchos* 18: 27–64.

——1981. "Vie istmiche della Sibaritide e commercio tirrenico", in M. Mello (ed.), *Il commercio greco nel Tirreno in età arcaica*, Atti del seminario in memoria di M. Napoli, Salerno 1977 (Salerno) 35–55.

——1982*a*. "La Sibaritide e Sibari nell'v VIII e nel VII sec. a.C.", *ASAtene* 60: 237–50.
——1982*b*. *Le città scomparse della Magna Grecia* (Rome).
——1986. "Fortificazioni nella Calabria settentrionale", in Leriche and Tréziny (1986) 201–7.
——1988. "L'archeologia delle colonie arcaiche", in *Storia della Calabria* 137–226.
——(ed.) 1988–89 = Various authors 1988–89, "Sybaris", *NSc* suppl. iii.
——1989. "Ipotesi sulla forma archeologica di Siris", in *Siris-Eraclea* 37–47.
——P.G. 1997. "Thurii e la sibaritide", *Ostraka* 6: 379–84.
Hackens, T. (ed.) 1988. *Navies and Commerce of the Greeks, the Carthaginians and the Etruscans in the Tyrrhennian Sea*, Revue du Groupe européen d'études pour les techniques physiques, chimiques et mathématiques appliquées à l'archéologie 20 (Strasbourg).
Hannestad, L. 1996. "Absolute Chronology: Greece and the Near East *c.* 1000–500 BC", *ActaArch* 67: 39–49.
Hänsel, B. 1973. "Scavi eseguiti nell'area dell'acropoli di Eraclea negli anni 1965–1967", *NSc* 400–92.
Hansen, M. H. 1996. "City-ethnics as Evidence for *Polis* Identity", *CPCPapers* 3: 169–96.
——1997*a*. "Hekataios' Use of the Word *Polis* in his *Periegesis*", *CPCPapers* 4: 17–27.
——1997*b*. "Emporion: A Study of the Use and Meaning of the Term in the Archaic and Classical Periods", *CPCPapers* 4: 83–105.
——2000. "The Hellenic *Polis*", in *Thirty City-State Cultures* 141–87.
——2002. "Was the *Polis* a State or a Stateless Society?", *CPCPapers* 6: 17–47.
——and Fischer-Hansen, T. 1994. "Monumental Political Architecture in Archaic and Classical Greek *Poleis*: Evidence and Historical Significance", *CPCPapers* 1: 23–90.
Heiden, J. 1990. "Der archaischen Dächer von Olympia", *Hesperia* 59: 41–46.
Herakleiastudien = B. Neutsch *et al.*, *Archäologische Forschungen in Lukanien*, ii: *Herakleiastudien*, *RM-EH* 11 (Heidelberg, 1967).
Hinz, V. 1998. *Der Kult von Demeter und Kore auf Sizilien und der Magna Graecia*, *Palilia* 4 (Wiesbaden).
Holloway, R. R., and Jenkins, G. K. 1983. *Terina* (Bellinzona).
Hornblower, S. 1996. *A Commentary on Thucydides*, ii: *Books IV–V.24* (Oxford).
Ianelli, M. T. 1989. "Hipponion-Vibo Valentia: documentazione archeologica e organizzazione del territorio", in *Giornate . . . Hipponion* 683–736.
——1992*a*. "Il contesto archeologico del coperchio di teca da Caulonia: l'area a Sud del tempio dorico", in Costabile (1992) 29–35.
——1992*b*. "*Monasterace Marina*", *BTCGI* 10: 190–217.
——1996*a*. "I santuari di Medma nella topografia urbana", in Lattanzi *et al.* (1996) 93–94.
——1996*b*. "Hipponion: il santuario in località Cofino", in Lattanzi *et al.* (1996) 144–54.
——2000*a*. "Una difesa monumentale: le mura di cinta", in Ianelli and Ammendolia (2000) 37–49.
——2000*b*. "I simboli del trapasso: le necropoli e i riti funerari", in Ianelli and Ammendolia (2000) 69–77.
——and Ammendolia, V. (eds.) 2000. *I volti di Hipponion: Vibo Valentia, Museo Archeologico "Vito Capialbi"* (Soveria Mannelli).
——and Givigliano, G. 1989. "Hipponion-Vibo Valentia: la topografia (carta archeologica)", in *Giornate . . . Hipponion* 627–81.
——and Rizzi, S. 1985. "Kaulonia: indagini ed ipotesi sull'impianto urbano di età ellenistica alla luce delle più recenti campagne di scavo", *Rivista storica Calabrese* 6: 281–316.
——Mariottini, S., and Lena, G. 1993. "Kaulonia—Rinvenimenti archeologici subacquei tra il tempio dorico e il fiume Assi", *Archeologia subacque: studi, ricerche e documenti* 1: 1–20.
Intrieri, M. 1989. "Petelia fra tradizione mitica e documentazione storica", *Miscellanea di studi storici* 7: 9–33.
Jacobone, C. 1988. *Le stipe votive di Taranto* (Rome).
Jacquemin, A. 1979. "ΒΟΡΕΑΣ Ο ΘΟΥΡΙΟΣ", *BCH* 103: 189–93.
Johannowsky, W. 1982. "Considerazioni sullo sviluppo urbano e la cultura materiale di Velia", *PP* 37: 225–46.
——1985. "I teatri", in *Napoli antica* 209–13.
——1992. "Appunti su Pyxous-Buxentum", *AttiMGrecia* 1: 173–83.
Johnston, A. 1989. "The Bronze Coinage of Metapontum", in G. Le Rider *et al.* (eds.), *Kraay–Mørkholm Essays. Numismatic Studies in Memory of C. M. Kraay and O. Mørkholm* (Louvain-la-Neuve) 121–36.
——1990. *The Coinage of Metapontum* 3, *NNM* 164 (New York).
Junker, K. 1993. *Der ältere Tempel in Heraion am Sele: verzierte Metopen in architektonischen Kontext* (Vienna).
Kagan, D. 1969. *The Outbreak of the Peloponnesian War* (Ithaca, NY, and London).
Kahrstedt, U. 1918. "Zur Geschichte Grossgriechenlands im 5. Jahrhundert", *Hermes* 53: 180–87.
Kraay, C. M. 1958. "The Coinage of Sybaris after 510 B.C.", *NC* 18: 13–36.
——1960. "Caulonia and South Italian Problems", *NC* 20: 53–81.
——1967. "Gli stateri a doppio rilievo di Poseidonia", *AttiMGrecia* 8: 113–35.
——1976. *Archaic and Classical Greek Coins* (London).
——1978. "The Chronology of Caulonia Once Again", *AIIN* 25: 9–21.

Krauss, F. 1959. *Die Tempel von Paestum*, i.1: *Der Athenatempel* (Berlin).

Krinzinger, F. 1979. "Le mura urbane di Velia", *AttiTaranto* 19: 355–64.

—— 1986. "Die Stadtmauern von Velia", in Leriche and Tréziny (1986) 121–24.

—— 1992–93. "Velia: Grabungsbericht 1988–1992", *Römische historische Mitteilungen* 34–35: 25–42.

—— 1994. "Intorno alla pianta di Velia", in *Velia* iii. 19–54.

—— and Gassner, V. 1997. "Velia—neue Forschungen auf der Akropolis", *ÖJhBeibl* 66: 230–52.

—— —— Grabner, J., and Sokolicek, A. 1999. "Archäologische Forschungen in der Oststadt von Velia", *ÖJhBeibl* 68: 53–99.

—— Otto, B., and Walde-Psenner, E. (eds.) 1980. *Forschungen und Funde: Festschrift Bernhard Neutsch* (Innsbruck).

Lacroix, L. 1965. *Monnaies et colonisation dans l'occident grec* (Brussels).

La Genière, J. de 1964. "Alla ricerca di abitati antichi in Lucania", *AttiMGrecia* 5: 129–38.

—— 1978. "C'è un 'modello' Amendolara?", *AnnPisa* ser. 3.8: 335–54.

—— 1983. "Entre grecs et non-grecs en Italie du sud et Sicilie", in various authors, *Modes de contacts et processus de transformation dans les sociétés anciennes*, CEFR 67 (Pisa and Rome) 257–72.

—— 1984. "Amendolara", *BTCGI* 3: 210–14.

—— 1986. "Un ex-voto locrese a Delfi?", *AnnPisa* 16: 395–409.

—— 1989. "Francavilla Marittima", *BTCGI* 7: 492–97.

—— 1990. "Lagaria", *BTCGI* 8: 405–8.

—— (ed.) 1991*a*. *Épéios et Philoctète en italie: données archéologiques et traditions légendaires*, Actes du Colloque, Lille, 1987, Cahiers du Centre Jean Bérard 16 (Naples).

—— 1991*b*. "L'identifacation de Lagaria et ses problèmes", in de La Genière (1991*a*) 55–66.

—— (ed.) 1997*a*. *Héra: Images, espaces, cultes*, Collection du Centre Jean Bérard 15 (Naples).

—— 1997*b*. "Premiers résultats des nouvelles fouilles de l'Héraion de Foce del Sele", in de La Genière (1997a) 173–79.

Lamboley, J.-L. 1996. *Recherches sur les messapiens IVe–IIe siècle avant J.-C.*, *BEFAR* 292 (Rome).

Lapini, W. 1997. "Le strade di Turii (Diod. 12.10.7)", *RivStorAnt* 17: 7–20.

Larsen, J. A. O. 1968. *Greek Federal States: Their Institutions and History* (Oxford).

Lattanzi, E. 1981. "Attività archeologica della soprintendenza archeologica della Calabria nel 1981", *AttiTaranto* 21: 217–36.

—— (ed.) 1987. *Il museo nazionale di Reggio Calabria* (Rome and Reggio di Calabria).

—— 1988. "Attività archeologica della soprintendenza archeologica della Calabria nel 1988", *AttiTaranto* 28: 544–63.

—— *et al.* (eds.) 1996. *I Greci in Occidente: Santuari della Magna Grecia in Calabria* (Naples).

Lazzarini, M. L. 1976. *Le formule delle dediche votive nella Grecia archaica* (Rome).

Leighton, R. 1999. *Sicily before History: An Archaeological Survey from the Palaeolithic to the Iron Age* (London).

Lena, G. 1989. "Vibo Valentia: geografia e morfologia della fascia costiera e l'impianto del porto antico", in *Giornate . . . Hipponion* 583–607.

Lentini, M. C. 1990. "Le oinochoai 'a collo tagliato': un contributo alla conoscenza della ceramica di Naxos di VIII–VI secolo a.C.", *BdA* 76: 67–82.

—— 1992. "Un secondo contributo sulla ceramica di Naxos: idrie e anfore", *BdA* 77: 11–34.

Lepore, E. 1967. "Neapolis greca nel quinto secolo a.C.", in *Storia di Napoli*, i: *Età classica* (Naples) 141–92.

—— 1988. "La Magna Grecia tra geografia e storia", in M. Sordi (ed.), *Geografia e storiografia nel mondo classico*, Contributi dell'Istituto di Storia antica dell'Università del Sacro Cuore 14 (Milan) 127–44.

Leriche, P., and Tréziny, H. (eds.) 1986. *La Fortification dans l'histoire du monde grec*, Actes du Colloque Internationale, Valbonne, December 1982 (Paris).

Le Roy, C. 1967. *Fouilles de Delphes*, ii: *Les terres cuites architectoniques* (Paris).

Leschhorn, W. 1984. *"Gründer der Stadt": Studien zu einem politisch-religiösen Phänomenen der griechischen Geschichte* (Stuttgart).

Libero Mangieri, G. 1981. "Sibari, Sirino e Pissunte", *RIN* 83: 3–26.

—— 1986. *Velia e la sua monetazione* (Lugano).

Link, S. 1992. "Die Gesetzgebung des Zaleukos", *Klio* 74: 11–24.

Lippolis, E. 1982. "Le testimonianze del culto in Taranto greca", *Taras* 2: 81–135.

—— (ed.) 1994*a*. *Catalogo del Museo Nazionale Archeologico di Taranto*, iii.1: *Taranto: La necropoli: aspetti e problemi della documentazione archeologica tra VII e I sec. a.C.* (Taranto).

—— 1994*b*. "Il problema topografico", in Lippolis (1994*a*) 41–66.

Lomas, K. 2000. "The Polis in Italy: Ethnicity, Colonization, and Citizenship in the Western Mediterranean", in R. Brock and S. Hodkinson (eds.), *Alternatives to Athens: Varieties of Political Organization in Ancient Greece* (Oxford) 167–85.

Lombardo, M. 1986. "Siris-Polieion: fonti letterarie, documentazione archeologica e problemi storici", in *Siris-Polieion* 55–86.

—— 1987. "La Magna Graecia dalla fine del V secolo a.C. alla conquista romana", in G. Pugliese Carratelli (ed.), *Magna Grecia: lo sviluppo politico, sociale ed economico* (Milan) 55–88.

—— 1989. "Fonti letterarie e problemi della storia di Ipponio", in *Giornate . . . Hipponion* 419–62.

——1996. "Greci e 'indigeni' in Italia meridionale nel IV secolo a.C.", in *Le IVe siècle av. J.-C.: Approches historiographiques: Études réunis par Pierre Carlier* (Paris) 205–22.
—— and Giannotta, M. T. 1990. "Incoronata", *BTCGI* 8: 276–84.
Lo Porto, F. G. 1964. "Satyrion (Taranto): scavi e scoperte nel luogo del più antico insediamento laconico in Puglia", *NSc*: 177–279.
——1966. "Metaponto: scavi e ricerche archeologiche", *NSc* 136–231.
——1970. "Topografia antica di Taranto", *AttiTaranto* 10: 343–83.
Lucca, R. 1994. "*ΗΡΑ ΕΝ ΠΕΔΙΩΙ*" per la cultualità di Sibari", *Hesperìa* 4: 49–52.
Luppino, S. 1985. "Belvedere Marittimo", *BTCGI* 4: 29–32.
Luraghi, N. 1994. *Tirannidi arcaiche in Sicilia e Magna Grecia da Panezio di Leontini alla caduta dei Dinomenidi* (Florence).
Maaskant Kleibrink, M. 2000. "Enotri, greci e i primi culti nell' 'Athenaion' a Francavilla Maritima", *Magna Græcia* 33.1–2: 18–30.
Maddoli, G. F. 1981. "Megale Hellas: genesi di un concetto e realtà storico-politiche", *AttiTaranto* 21: 9–32.
—— (ed.) 1982. *Temesa e il suo territorio*, Atti del Colloquio di Perugia e Trevi 30–31 May 1981 (Taranto).
——1983. "I culti di Crotone", *AttiTaranto* 23: 313–43.
—— (ed.) 1986. *Strabone: contributi allo studio della personalità e dell'opera* ii (Perugia).
Maffettone, R. 1994. "Palinuro", *BTCGI* 13: 282–95.
Malkin, I. 1987. *Religion and Colonization in Ancient Greece* (Leiden).
——1994. *Myth and Territory in the Spartan Mediterranean* (Cambridge).
Mann, C. 2001. *Athlet und Polis im archaischen und frühklassischen Griechenland*, Hypomnemata 138 (Göttingen).
Martorano, F. 1985. "Il porto e l'*ekklesiasterion* di Reggio nel 344 a.C.: ricerche di topografia e di architettura antica su una *polis* italiota", *Rivista storica Calabrese* 6: 231–57.
Massaro, G. D. 1982. "Brevi linee di una storia della ricerca di Temesa", in Maddoli (1982) 15–26.
Mazzarino, S. 1963. "Metropoli e colonie", *AttiTaranto* 3: 51–85.
Meiggs, R. 1982. *Trees and Timber in the Ancient Mediterranean World* (Oxford).
Mele, A. 1979. *Il commercio greco arcaico: prexis ed emporie*, Cahiers Centre Jean Bérard 4 (Naples).
——1981. "La Megale Hellas pitagorica: aspetti politici, economici e sociali", *AttiTaranto* 21: 33–80.
——1983*a*. "Crotone e la sua storia", *AttiTaranto* 23: 9–87.
——1983*b*. "L'eroe di Temesa tra Ausoni e Greci", in various authors, *Modes de contacts et processus de transformation dans les sociétés anciennes*, *CEFR* 67 (Pisa and Rome) 848–96.
——1987. "Aristodemo, Cuma e il Lazio", in M. Cristofani (ed.), *Etruria e Lazio Arcaico*, *QArchEtr* 15: 155–77.
——1988. "Il Tirreno tra commercio eroico ed emporia classica", in Hackens (1988) 56–68.
——1996. "Culti e miti nella storia di Metaponto", *Hesperìa* 7: 9–32.
Mello, M., and Libero Mangieri, G. 1996. "Poseidonia", *BTCGI* 14: 301–95.
Mertens, D. 1982. "Das Theater-Ekklesiasterion auf der Agora von Metapont", *Architectura: Zeitschrift für Geschichte der Baukunst* 12: 93–124.
——1985. "Metapont: ein neurer Plan des Stadtzentrums: ein Kurzbericht etc.", *AA* 645–71.
——1993. *Der Alte Heratempel in Paestum und die Archaische Baukunst in Unteritalien* (Mainz am Rhein).
—— and De Siena, A. 1982. "Metaponto: il teatro-ekklesiasterion I", *BdA* 67: 1–60.
Mertens-Horn, M., and Viola, L. 1990. "Archaische Tondächer westgriechischer Typologie in Delphi und Olympia", *Hesperia* 59: 235–50.
Milanesio, M. 1996. "L'area sacra di Parapezza", in Lattanzi *et al.* (1996) 49–54.
Miller, S. G. 1978. *The Prytaneion: Its Function and Architectural Form* (Berkeley and Los Angeles).
——2000. "Naked Democracy", in *Polis and Politics* 277–96.
Minar, E. L. 1942. *Early Pythagorean Politics in Practice and Theory* (Baltimore).
Miranda, E. 1982. "Nuove iscrizioni sacre di Velia", *MEFRA* 94: 163–74.
Mitchell, B. M. 1975. "Herodotus and Samos", *JHS* 95: 75–91.
Moltrasio, F. 1972–73. "Profilo storico di Medma", *AttiCSDIR* 4: 171–89.
Momigliano, A. 1929. "*Ἡ μεγάλη Ἑλλάς*", *BFC* 36: 47–9 (= *Quinto Contributo* (Rome, 1975) 843–45).
Montani Pertosa, E. 1993. "L'Apollo degli incusi di Caulonia: un eco della grande bronzistica arcaica", *Xenia Antiqua* 2: 5–12.
Morel, J.-P. 1982. "Les Phocéens d'Occident: nouvelles données, nouvelles approches", *PP* 37: 479–500.
——1984. "Greek Colonization in Italy and in the West (Problems of Evidence and Interpretation)", in T. Hackens *et al.* (eds.), *Crossroads of the Mediterranean*, Archaeologia Transatlantica ii (Providence, RI, and Louvain-la-Neuve) 123–61.
——1988. "Les Phocéens dans la mer Tyrrhénienne", in Hackens (1988) 429–61.
Moreschini, D. 1988. "Catalogo delle tombe arcaico-classiche della necropoli di via Argentina a Taranto", *AnnPisa* 18: 891–936.
Morgan, C., and Hall, J. M. 1996. "Achaian *poleis* and Achaian colonisation", *CPCActs* 3: 164–232.
Morhauge, C., *et al.* 2002. "Il problema della localizzazione del porto greco antico di Cuma: nuovi metodi e risultati preliminari", in d'Agostino and D'Andria (2002) 135–65.

Morris, I. 1996. "The Absolute Chronology of the Greek Colonies in Sicily", *ActaArch* 67: 51–59.

Moscati Castelnuovo, L. 1989. *Siris: Tradizione storiografica e momenti della storia di una città della Magna Grecia*, *CollLatomus* 207 (Brussels).

——1991. "Iloti e fondazione di Taranto", *Latomus* 50: 64–79.

Mosino, F. 1995. "Graffito vascolare greco da Reggio Calabria", *Xenia Antiqua* 4: 23–24.

Müller, D. 1987. *Topographischer Bildkommentar zu den Historien Herodots* (Tübingen).

Murray, O. 1984. "The Greek Symposion in History", in E. Gabba (ed.), *Tria corda: Scritti in onore di Arnaldo Momigliano* (Como) 257–72.

Musti, D. 1976. "Problemi della storia di Locri Epizefirii", *AttiTaranto* 27: 23–146.

——1984. "Il processo di formazione e diffusione della tradizioni greche sui Dauni e su Diomede", in *La civiltà dei Dauni*, *Atti del XIII Convegno, Manfredonia 1980* (1984) (also in D. Musti, *Strabone e la Magna Grecia.: città e popoli dell'Italia antica*² (Padua, 1994) 173–95).

——1988. "L'idea di *ΜΕΓΑΛΗ ΕΛΛΑΣ*", in D. Musti, *Strabone e la Magna Grecia: Città e popoli dell'Italia antica* (Padua, 1994) 61–94.

——1991. "Lo sviluppe del mito di Filottete da Crotone a Sibari: Tradizioni achee e troiane in Magna Grecia", in de La Genière (1991*a*) 21–35.

——1996. "Italia", in F. Della Corte (ed.), *Enciclopedia Virgiliana* iii. 34–40.

Mustilli, D. 1964. "Civiltà della Magna Grecia", *AttiTaranto* 3: 5–47.

Nafissi, M. 1999. "From Sparta to Taras: *Nomima*, *Ktiseis*, and Relationships between Colony and Mother City", in S. Hodkinson and A. Powell (eds.), *Sparta: New Perspectives* (London) 245–72.

Napoli antica = various authors, *Napoli Antica*, Catalogo della mostra, Naples 1985 (Naples, 1985).

Napoli, M. 1959. *Napoli greco-romana* (Naples).

——1967. "Topografia e archeologia", in *Storia di Napoli*, i: *Età classica* (Naples) 375–507.

Neeft, K. 1994. "In Search of Wealth and Status in the Valle di San Montano", in d'Agostino and Ridgway (1994) 149–55.

Nenci, G. 1987. "Cavallino", *BTCGI* 5: 194–202.

——1988. "Gli insediamenti fino alla colonizzazione greca", in *Storia della Calabria* 323–46.

Neutsch, B. 1967. "Untersuchungen im Bereiche des ehemaligen Wohngebietes von Herakleia", in *Herakleiastudien* 110–80.

——1980. "Documenti artistici del santuario di Demetra a Policoro", *AttiTaranto* 20: 149–73.

Niutta, F. 1977. "Le fonti letterarie ed epigrafiche", in Barra Bagnasco (1977) 253–355.

Noe, S. P. (and Johnston, A.) 1984. *The Coinage of Metapontum* i–ii, Additions and Corrections by A. Johnston, *NNM* 32 and 47 (New York).

Orlandini, P. 1977. "Sei antefisse dell'Italia meridionale nei depositi del Castello Sforzesco", *Notizie del chiostro del monastero maggiore: Rassegna di studi del Civico museo archeologico e del Civico gabinetto numismatico di Milano* 19–20: 56–58.

——1986*a*. "Fase precoloniale nella Basilicata sud-orientale ed il problema dell'Incoronata", in *Siris-Polieion* 49–54.

——1986*b*. *I greci sul Basento: Mostra degli scavi archeologici all'Incoronata di Metaponto 1971–1984* (Como).

Orsi, P. 1902. "Gioia Tauro (Metaurum): scoperte varie", *NSc* 127–30.

——1909. "Lokroi Epizephyrioi", *NSc* 319–26.

——1911*a*. "Locri Epizephyrii", *NSc* suppl. 3–76.

——1911*b*. "Croton: prima campagna di scavi al santuario di Hera Lacinia", *NSc* suppl. 77–124.

——1913. "Rosarno (Medma): esplorazione di un grande deposito di terrecotte ieratiche", *NSc* suppl. 55–140.

——1914. "Caulonia: campagne archeologiche del 1912, 1913, 1915", *MonAnt* 23: 685–947.

——1922. "Reggio Calabria: scoperta di antica odeon", *NSc* 168–71.

——1923. "Gioia Tauro (Metaurum): scoperte varie", *NSc* 127–30.

Osanna, M. 1989. "Sull'ubicazione del santuario di Zeus *Homarios* in Magna Grecia", *DialArch* 7: 55–63.

——1990. "Sui culti arcaici di Sparta e Taranto: Afrodite Basilis", *PP* 45: 81–94.

——1992. *Chorai coloniali da Taranto a Locri: documentazione archeologica e ricostruzione storica* (Rome).

Osborne, R. 1998. "Early Greek Colonisation? The Nature of Greek Settlement in the West", in N. Fisher and H. van Wees (eds.), *Archaic Greece: New Approaches and New Evidence* (London) 251–69.

Østby, E. 1987. "Osservazioni sui templi di Locri Epizefirii", *ActaAArtHist* 6: 1–58.

Pagano, M. 1993. "Ricerche sulla cinta muraria di Cuma", *MEFRA* 105: 847–71.

Paget, R. E. 1968. "The Ancient Ports of Cumae", *JRS* 58: 152–69.

Paoletti, M. 1981*a*. "Contributo al *corpus* delle terrecotte medmee e Carta archeologica di Rosarno", in Paoletti and Settis (1981) 47–92.

——1981*b*. "Nota storica conclusiva", in Paoletti and Settis (1981) 145–50.

——1996. "Medma: il deposito votivo in località Calderazzo (scavi Orsi 1912–1913)", in Lattanzi *et al.* (1996) 99–104.

——2001. "Rosarno", *BTCGI* 17: 1–51.

——and Parra, M. C. 1985. "Nuove ricerche sull'abitato di Medma: Saggi a Rosarno in località 'Pian delle Vigne',. *Rivista Storica Calabrese* 6: 217–29.

——and Settis, S. (eds.). 1981. *Medma e il suo territorio: materiali per una carta archeologica* (Bari).

Papadopoulos, J. K. 2000. Review of Bats and d'Agostino (1998), *AJA* 104: 134–35.

Parise, N. F. 1972. "Struttura e funzione delle monetazioni archaiche di Magna Grecia", *AttiTaranto* 12: 87–129.
——1982. "Crotone e Temesa: testimonianze di una monetazione d'impero", in Maddoli (1982) 103–18.
——1984. "Gli stateri a leggenda 'Ami' ", *AnnArchStorAnt* 6: 251–54.
——1988. "Le emissioni monetarie di Magna Grecia fra VI e V sec. a.C.", in *Storia della Calabria* 305–21.
——1990*a*. "Riconsiderazioni su Crotone e Temesa", in Various authors (1990) 155–58.
——1990*b*. "Moneta e società in Magna Grecia: l'esempio di Crotone", in *Crise et transformation des societés archaïques de l'Italie antique au Ve siècle av. J.-C.*, Actes de la table ronde, Rome, 19–21 November 1987, *CEFR* 137 (Rome) 299–306.
——1996. "Lo statere italiota fra Sibari e Turi", *NumAntCl* 25: 97–103.
Parise Badoni, F. 1989. "Foce del Sele", *BTCGI* 7: 467–71.
Parra, M. C. 1977–78. "Saggi di scavo al teatro di Locri Epizephyrii (Campagna 1976)", *Archivio storico per la Calabria e la Lucania* 44–45: 7–42.
——1984. "AMI (---ΣMA)", *BTCGI* 3: 214–21.
——1989. "Pinakes di Hipponion: alcune note", *AnnPisa* 19: 559–66.
——1996*a*. "Medma: la stipe 'dei cavallucci' in località Sant'Anna", in Lattanzi *et al.* (1996) 116–17.
——1996*b*. "I culti a Hipponion", in Lattanzi *et al.* (1996) 139–43.
——1998. "Il teatro in Locri tra spettacoli o culto: per una revisione dei culti", *AnnPisa* 4.3: 303–22.
——2000. "Santuari per i greci: archivi per gli archeologi", in Ianelli and Ammendolia (2000) 51–60.
Partida, E. C. 2000. *The Treasuries at Delphi: An Architectural Study* (Jonsered).
Pedley, J. G. *et al.* 1993. *The Sanctuary of Santa Venera at Paestum*, Archaeologia Perusina 11 (Rome).
Pelagatti, P. 1981. "Bilancio degli scavi a Naxos per l'VIII e il VII sec. a.C.", *ASAtene* 59: 291–311.
Pelosi, A. 1987. "Topografia e storia: e lo scontro tra thurini e lucani del 389 a.C.", *AnnArchStorAnt* 9: 197–209.
Pianu, G. 1989. "Scavi al santuario di Demetra a Policoro", in *Siris-Eraclea* 95–112.
——1991. "Spazi e riti nell'agora di Eraclea Lucana", in R. Étienne and M.-Th. Le Dinahet (eds.), *L'Espace sacrificiel dans les civilisations méditerranéennes de l'antiquité*, Actes du Colloque tenu à la Maison de l'Orient, Lyon, 4–7 June 1988 (Paris) 201–4.
Polignac, F. de 1995. *Cults, Territory, and the Origins of the Greek City-State* (Chicago and London).
Pontrandolfo, A. 1987. "Le necropoli dalla città greca alla colonia latina", *AttiTaranto* 27: 225–65.
Poseidonia i = E. Greco and D. Theodorescu, *Poseidonia-Paestum*, i: *La "Curia"* (Rome, 1980).
Poseidonia ii = E. Greco and D. Theodorescu, *Poseidonia-Paestum*, ii: *L'Agora* (Rome, 1983).
Pozzi Paolini, E. 1976. "Locri Epizefirii: la monetazione", *AttiTaranto* 16: 217–301.
Prinz, F. 1979. *Gründungsmythen und Sagenchronologie*, *Zetemata* 72 (Munich).
Prohászka. M. 1995. *Reflections from the Dead: The Metal Finds from the Pantanello Necropolis at Metaponto: A Comprehensive Study of Grave Goods from the 5th to the 3rd Centuries B.C.* (Jonsered).
Prontera, F. 1982. "Temesa e Terina: note di geografia storica del basso Tirreno", in Maddoli (1982) 41–48.
——1986. "*Imagines Italiae*: sulle più antiche visualizzazioni e rappresentazioni geografiche dell'Italia", *Athenaeum* 74: 295–320.
Prückner, H. 1968. *Die lokrischen Tonreliefs: Beitrag zur Kultgeschichte von Lokroi Epizephyrioi* (Mainz am Rhein).
Pugliese Carratelli, G. 1970*a*. "Per la storia dei culti di Taranto", *AttiTaranto* 10: 133–46.
——1970*b*. "Nascita di Velia", in *Velia* ii. 7–18 (= *Scritti sul mondo antico* (1976) 351–64).
——1972–73. "Le vicende di Sibari e Thurii", *AttiMGrecia* 13–14: 17–33.
——1973. "Problema della storia di Metaponto arcaica", *AttiTaranto* 13: 49–66.
——1978. "Per la storia dei culti delle colonie euboiche d'Italia", *AttiTaranto* 18: 221–30.
Purcell, N. 1994. "South Italy in the Fourth Century B.C.", in *CAH*² vi. 381–403.
Quilici, L. 1990. "Note di topografia sul santuario di Cófino a Vibo Valentia", *PP* 45: 119–34.
Raviola, F. 1990. "La tradizione letteraria su Parthenope", *Hesperìa* 1: 19–60.
——1991. "La tradizione letteraria sulla fondazione di Neapolis", *Hesperìa* 2: 19–40.
Ridgway, D. 1992. *The First Western Greeks* (Cambridge).
——1998*a*. "L'Eubea e l'Occidente: nuovi spunti sulle rotte dei metalli", in Bats and d'Agostino (1998) 311–22.
——1998*b*. "The Carthaginian Connection: A View from San Montano", in R. Rolle, K. Schmidt and R. F. Docter (eds.), *Archäologische Studien in Kontaktzonen der antiken Welt* (Göttingen) 301–18.
——2000. "The First Western Greeks Revisited", in D. Ridgway *et al.* (eds.), *Ancient Italy in its Mediterranean Setting: Studies in Honour of Ellen Macnamara*, Accordia Specialist Studies on the Mediterranean 4 (2000) 179–91.
——2002. "Archaeology in Sardinia and South Italy 1995–2001", *AR* 48: 117–38.
Robinson, E. W. 1997. *The First Democracies: Early Popular Government Outside Athens*, *Historia* Einzelschriften 107 (Stuttgart).
Romeo, R. (ed.) 1979–80. *Storia della Sicilia* i–ii (Naples).

Ronconi, L. 1974–75. "Sulle origini storiche di Siri", *AttiVen* 133: 41–64.
——1980. "Polieion", in Krinzinger *et al.* (1980) 385–91.
——1988–89. "L'*Italia* in Erodoto", *AttiVen* 147: 185–97.
——1997. "La terra chiamata *Italia*", in C. Antonetti (ed.), *Il dinamismo della colonizzazione greca: Espansione e colonizzazione greca di età arcaica: metodologie e problemi a confronto*, Venice, 10–11 November 1995 (Naples) 109–19.
Roux, G. 1990. "Une querelle de préséance à Delphes: les promanties des Tarantines et des Thouriens", *ZPE* 80: 23–29.
Rüdiger, V. 1969. "Santa Maria D'Anglona (Com. Tursi, Prov. Matera). Scavi nell'anno 1967", *NSc* 171–97.
Russo, C. F. 1992. "L'iscrizione della *kotyle* 168–9: Appendice I", in Buchner and Ridgway (1993) 743–50.
Russo, R. 1996. "Athena Alata sul Timpone della Motta (Francavilla Marittima)", *AnnPisa* 4.1: 523–39.
Rutter, N. K. 1970. "Sybaris: Legend and Reality", *GaR* 17: 168–76.
——1973. "Diodorus and the Foundation of Thurii", *Historia* 22: 155–76.
——1979. *Campanian Coinages 475–380 B.C.* (Edinburgh).
——1989. "Athens and the Western Greeks in the Fifth Century B.C.: The Numismatic Evidence", in G. Le Rider *et al.* (eds.), *Essays in Honour of C. M. Kraay and O. Mørkholm* (Louvain-la-Neuve) 245–57.
——1997. *Greek Coinages of Southern Italy and Sicily* (London).
Sabbione, C. 1981*a*. "Scavi a Rosarno dal 1977 al 1980: note preliminari", in Paoletti and Settis (1981) 93–119.
——1981*b*. "Reggio e Metauros nell'VIII–VII sec. a.C.", *ASAtene* 59: 275–89.
——1982. "Le aree di colonizzazione di Crotone e Locri Epizefiri nell'VIII e VII sec. a.C.", *ASAtene* 60: 251–99.
——1983. "Crotone: l'artigianato artistico", *AttiTaranto* 23: 243–301.
——1986. "Metauros e Mylai", *AttiTaranto* 26: 221–36.
——1987. "Metauros", in Lattanzi (1987) 108–14.
——1996. "Il santuario di Persefone in contrada Mannella", in Lattanzi *et al.* (1996) 32–39.
—— and Soverini, L. 1990. "Gioa Tauro", *BTCGI* 8: 142–52.
Sacchi, C. 1990. "Problemi storico-archeologici della siritide e del metapontino tra VIII e il VII secolo", *PP* 45: 135–59.
Sartori, F. 1953. *Problemi di storia costituzionale italiota* (Rome).
——1967. "Eraclea di Lucania: Profilo storico", *Herakleiastudien* 16–95.
——1980. "Dediche a Demetra in Eraclea Lucana", in Krinzinger *et al.* (1980) 401–15.
——1997. "Schemi costituzionali nell'occidente greco", in C. Antonetti (ed.), *Il dinamismo della colonizzazione greca. Espansione e colonizzazione greca di età arcaica: metodologie e problemi a confronto*, Venice, 10–11 November 1995 (Naples) 43–57.
Savalli, I. 1989. "Considerazioni su 'FD' III, 1, 176", *AnnPisa* 19: 463–69.
Schläger, H. 1962. "Zu den Bauperioden der Stadtmauer von Paestum", *RM* 69: 21–26.
——1965. "Zu Paestaner Problemen", *RM* 72: 182–97.
Sestieri, P. C. 1955*a*. "Il sacello-heroon poseidoniate", *BdA* 40: 53–64.
——1955*b*. "Ricerche poseidoniati", *MEFRA* 67: 35–48.
——1956. *Paestum: la città, la necropoli preistorica in Contrada Gaudo, lo Heraion alla Foce del Sele* (Rome).
Settis, S. 1965. "Fonte letterari per la storia e la topografia di Medma", *Athenaeum* 43: 114–41 (= Settis (1987) 119–46).
——1989. "Emporio di Medma", *BTCGI* 7: 176–78.
Siris-Eraclea = M. Torelli (ed.), *Studi su Siris-Eraclea*, Archeologia perusina 8 (Rome, 1989).
Siris-Polieion = *Siris-Polieion: fonti letterarie e nuova documentazione archeologica*, Incontro studi—Policoro, 8–10 June 1984 (Galatina, 1986).
Snodgrass, A. M. 1977. *Archaeology and the Rise of the Greek State: An Inaugural Lecture* (Cambridge).
——1994. "The Growth and Standing of Early Western Colonies", in Tsetskhladze and De Angelis (1994) 1–10.
Sourvinou-Inwood, C. 1974. "The Votum of 477/6 B.C. and the Foundation Legend of Locri Epizephyrii", *CQ* 24: 186–98.
Spadea, R. 1979. "Fonti su un insediamento della piana di S. Eufemia Lamezia (Terina?)", *Klearchos* 21: 5–53.
——1983. "La topografia", *AttiTaranto* 23: 119–66.
——1986. "Le città dello Stretto e il loro territorio: Reggio Calabria", *AttiTaranto* 26: 459–74.
——1987. "Reggio", in Lattanzi (1987) 80–107.
——(ed.) 1989. *Da Skylletion a Scolacium: il parco archeologico a Scolacium* (Rome and Reggio di Calabria).
——1990*a*. "Scavi sul Piano della Tirina", in Various authors (1990) 165–76.
——1990*b*. "Lamezia", *BTCGI* 8: 417–22.
——(ed.) 1996. *Il tesoro di Hera: scoperte nel santuario di Hera Lacinia a Capo Colonna di Crotone* (Rome).
Stazio, A. 1966. "La documentazione archeologica in Puglia", *AttiTaranto* 6: 265–86.
——1970. "Aspetti e momenti della monetazione tarantina", *AttiTaranto* 10: 147–61.
——1973. "Osservazioni sulla monetazione di Metaponto", *AttiTaranto* 13: 67–106.
——1978. "La monetazione delle città euboiche d'Occidente", *AttiTaranto* 18: 167–208.
——1982. "Temesa—La documentazione numismatica", in Maddoli (1982) 93–101.
——1983*a*. "Problemi della monetazione di Crotone", *AttiTaranto* 23: 369–98.
——1983*b*. "Monetazione greca e indigena nella Magna Grecia", in *Modes de contacts et processus de transformation dans les sociétés anciennes*, *CEFR* 67 (Pisa and Rome) 963–78.

Stern, E. M. 1980. "Zeus und die Tempel von Paestum", *Meded* 42: 43–66.

Sternberg, H. R. 1973. "Die Münzprägung von Laos *c.*510–440 v Chr.", in *Actes du 8e Congrès International de Numismatique* (New York and Washington) 143–62.

——1980. "Die Silberprägrung von Siris und Pyxus", *AttiTaranto* 20: 123–40.

Storia della Calabria = S. Settis (ed.), *La Calabria Antica*, i (Rome and Reggio di Calabria, 1988).

Storti, S. 1994. "Pandosia Bruzia", *BTCGI* 13: 330–40.

Stylianou, P. J. 1998. *A Historical Commentary on Diodorus Siculus Book 15* (Oxford).

Tagliamonte, G. 1994. *I figli di Marte: mobilità, mercenarie e mercenariato Italici in Magna Grecia e Sicilia* (Rome).

Tagliente, M. 1986*a*. "Policoro: nuovi scavi nell'area di Siris", in *Siris-Polieion* 129–33.

——1986*b*. "Nuclei di abitato arcaico nel territorio di Policoro", in Orlandini (1986*b*) 193–98.

Talamo, C. 1989. "Elea e le 'buone leggi' di Parmenide", in I. Gallo (1989) 25–33.

Taliercio Mensitieri, M. 1987. "Aspetti e problemi della monetazione di Poseidonia", *AttiTaranto* 27: 133–83.

Tocco Sciarelli, G. 1997. "Il culto di Hera ad Elea", in de La Genière (1997*a*) 227–34.

—— Greco, G., and De Fidio, P. 1989. "*Heraion* di Foce Sele: nuovo prospettive di ricerca", in Gallo (1989) 35–90.

Tod, M. N. 1953. "Thurii or Thuria?", in *Γέρας Αντονίου Κεραμοπούλλου* (Athens) 197–205.

Todisco, L. 1990. "Teatro e *theatra* nelle immagini e nell' edilizia monumentale della Magna Grecia", in G. Pugliese Carratelli (ed.), *Magna Grecia: Arte e Artigianato* (Milan) 103–58.

Torelli, M. 1976. "I culti di Locri", *AttiTaranto* 16: 147–84.

——1987. "Paestum romana", *AttiTaranto* 27: 33–115.

——1988. "I culti", in *Storia della Calabria* 589–612

Tréziny, H. 1983. "Main-d'oeuvre indigène et hellénisation: le probleme des fortifications lucaniennes", in *Architecture et société de l'archaïsme grec à la fin de la république romaine*, *CEFR* 66 (Paris and Rome) 105–18.

——1986. "Les techniques grecques de fortification et leur diffusion à la périphérie du monde grec d'Occident", in Leriche and Tréziny (1986) 185–200.

——1988. "Kaulonia (Calabre): urbanisme et fortifications à la lumière des fouilles récentes", *RA* 205–12.

——1989. *Kaulonia*, i: *Sondages sur la fortification nord (1983–1985)*, Cahiers du Centre Jean Bérard 13 (Naples).

——1992. "Autour de la fondation de Poseidonia", *AnnArchStorAnt* 14: 45–61.

Tsetskhladze, G. R., and De Angelis, F. (eds.) 1994. *The Archaeology of Greek Colonisation: Essays Dedicated to Sir John Boardman* (Oxford).

Urso, G. 1998. *Taranto e gli* xenikoì strategoí: *studi pubblicati dall'istituto italiano per la storia antica* 66 (Rome).

Vagnetti, L. 1991. "L'encadrement chronologique et les formes de la présence égéenne en Italie", in de La Genière (1991*a*) 9–20.

——1992. "Ricerche recenti sulla relazioni fra l'Egeo e l'Occidente mediterraneo", in G. Maddoli (ed.), *La micenea: guida storica e critica* (Bari) 217–34.

——1996. "Espansione e diffusione dei Micenei", in S. Settis (ed.), *I greci*, ii.1: *Una storia greca: formazione* (Turin) 133–72.

Valenza Mele, N. 1977. "Hera ed Apollo nella colonizzazione euboica d'Occidente", *MEFRA* 89: 493–524.

——1993. "Napoli 1", *BTCGI* 12: 165–239.

Vallet, G. 1958. *Rhégion et Zancle: histoire, commerce et civilisation des cités chalcidiennes du détroit de Messine* (Paris).

——1976. "Avenues, quartiers et tribus à Thourioi, ou comment compter les cases d'un damier (à propos de Diod. XII,10 et 11)", in *L'Italie préromaine et la Rome républicaine: mélanges offerts à J. Heurgon*, *CEFR* 27 (Rome) 1021–32.

——1988. "Après le XXVIe Convegno di studi sulla Magna Grecia: quelques réflexions sur le Détroit de Messine", in Hackens (1988) 161–72.

Van Compernolle, R. 1983. "Femmes indigènes et colonisateurs", in various authors, *Modes de contacts et processus de transformation dans les sociétés anciennes*, *CEFR* 67 (Pisa and Rome) 1033–49.

——1992. "Lo stanziamento di *apoikoi* greci presso Capo Zefirio (capo Bruzzano) nell'ultimo terzo dell'VIII secolo a.C.", *AnnPisa* 22: 761–80.

Van Keuren, F. 1994. *The Coinage of Heraclea Lucaniae* (Rome).

Various authors 1972. *Sibari*, iii, *NSc* suppl.

Various authors 1973. *Sibari*, iv, *NSc* suppl.

Various authors 1988–89. *Sibari*, v, *NSc* suppl. iii.

Various authors 1990. *A sud di Velia*, i: *Ricognizioni e ricerche 1982–1988* (Taranto).

Vatin, C. 1991. *Monuments votifs de Delphes* (Rome).

Velia i = *Velia e i Focei in Occidente*, in *PP* 21 (1966) 153–420.

Velia ii = *Nuovi studi su Velia*, in *PP* 25 (1970) 5–300.

Velia iii = G. Greco and F. Krinzinger (eds.), *Velia: Studi e ricerche* (Modena, 1994).

Viola, L. 1894. "Taranto: nuove scoperte epigrafiche", *NSc* 60–71.

Visonà, P. 1990. "The Coinage of Skylletion: An Archaeological Note", *SchwMbll* 40: 91–93.

von Stauffenberg, A. S. 1963. *Trinakria: Sizilien und Grossgriechenland in archaischer und frühklassischer Zeit* (Munich and Vienna).

Vos, O. 1993. "Bibliografia—1991", in Buchner and Ridgway (1993) 751–59.

Wade-Gery, H. T. 1932. "Thucydides the Son of Melesias: A Study of Periklean Policy", *JHS* 52: 205–27.

Walbank, F. W. 2000. "Hellenes and Achaians: 'Greek Nationality' Revisited", *CPCPapers* 5: 19–33.

Westermark, U. 1979. "Overstrikes of Taras on Didrachms of Acragas", in O. Mørkholm and N. M. Waggoner, *Greek Numismatics and Archaeology: Essays in Honor of Margaret Thompson* (Wetteren) 287–93.

Williams, R. T. 1992. *The Silver Coinage of Velia*, Royal Numismatic Society, Special Publication 25 (London).

Wuilleumier, P. 1939. *Tarente des origines à la conquête romaine* (Paris).

Yalouris, N. 1980. "Olympie et la Grande-Grèce", *AttiTaranto* 20: 9–23.

Zahrnt, M. 1971. *Olynth und die Chalkidier: Untersuchungen zur Staatenbildungen auf der Chalkidischen Halbinsel im 5. und 4. Jahrhundert v.Chr.* (Munich).

Zancani Montuoro, P. 1949. "Siri-Sirino-Pixunte", *Archivio storico per la Calabria e la Lucania* 18: 1–20.

——1972–73*a*. "Divinità e templi di Sibari e Thurii", *AttiMGrecia* 23–24: 57–68.

——1972–73*b*. "Uno scalo navale di Thurii", *AttiMGrecia* 23–24: 76–79.

——1980. "Serdaioi?", *SchwMbll* 30: 57–61.

—— and Zanotti-Bianco, U. 1951–54. *Heraion alla foce del Sele* i–ii (Rome).

Zevi, F. (ed.) 1993*a*. *Puteoli* (Naples).

——1993*b*. "Da Dicearchia a Puteoli: 'La città del governo giusto' ", in Zevi (1993*a*) 9–15.

Zuntz, G. 1971. *Persephone: Three Essays on Religion and Thought in Magna Graecia* (Oxford).

THE ADRIATIC

JOHN WILKES, TOBIAS FISCHER-HANSEN

I. The Region

The long arm of the Adriatic Sea extends for *c.*800 km northwards with an average breadth of 175 km. In the south at its narrowest point the Straits of Otranto are 75 km wide, while further north the screen of islands along the east (Dalmatian) shore reduces the width of open space to *c.*150 km. The east coast is rocky with long sections of steep cliffs, but it has many inlets and bays, while on the west the Italian shore is low and generally devoid of safe anchorages. In the north the delta of the river Po, whose silting has advanced the coast several miles since antiquity (cf. already Strabo 5.1.7), is flanked by marshy lagoons. The peninsula of Istria separates the Gulfs of Rijeka (Fiume) from those of Venice and Trieste, whose depth nowhere exceeds 25 fathoms. Rainfall is heavy in the north-east (up to *c.*1,500 mm) and further south along the coast of Montenegro and northern Albania. The north-east wind (Bora) in winter and sudden squalls in other seasons were the main hazards to Adriatic navigation, well known in the Greek world. The ancient name was *Adrias* (*infra*). In C5 it may have denoted only the northern part, but by C4 the northern limit of Epeiros at Cape Linguetta marked the boundary between the Ionian and Adriatic Seas. The Adriatic may take its name from the river (cf. Beaumont (1936) 204) or from the city of Adria (no. 75), perhaps more widely believed today (Colonna (1974) 13 n. 42; Braccesi (1977) 65). In Hdt. 4.33, 5.9.3, Adria is the area north of the Eridanos, whereas the Ionian Sea is all of the Adriatic (in the modern sense), from the Keraunian mountains to the uppermost Adriatic: Ἰόνιος κόλπος (Hdt. 6.127.2, 7.20.2); and the uppermost Adriatic is designated ἐν τοῦ Ἰονίου κόλπου μυχῷ at Strabo 7.5.9. In Hecat. fr. 90 (= Steph. Byz. 28.14–29.5) the *kolpos Adrias* seems closely knit with the river Adria and the city Adria (for further analyses, see Braccesi (1977) 64–66; Vattuone (2000) esp. 14, 36–37).

Carmine Ampolo has collaborated on the entry for Brentesion (no. 78) and on the list of Hellenised Hellenistic Apulian sites.

There were close and reciprocal cultural contacts across the Adriatic between the neighbouring regions of Apulia and southern Illyria from the prehistoric and through the historic periods. The tradition of Cretan settlers in the lower Adriatic seems to reflect contacts between Iapygia and Illyria (Strabo 6.3.2; Hellan. fr. 79; cf. analysis by Nenci (1978) 50–58 with sources), and even a common origin of Iapygian and Illyrian tribes is widely acknowledged (ibid. 51). Daunian pottery is found northwards along the western Adriatic coast in Picenum and as far north as the Po delta, in Istria and along the eastern Adriatic coast of modern Slovenia, Bosnia and Croatia. Bronzes and other objects from the various Balkan cultures are widely represented in finds from the Salento peninsula and at Otranto, and a C8–C6 "cultural *koinē*" has been suggested for the eastern and western Adriatic (cf. also Colonna (1974) 16 n. 60; D'Andria (1982) 110–14; Landolfi (1987)); even the Illyrian and Messapian languages are to some extent similar (Wilkes (1992) 68–69). There is evidence of local Illyrian red-figured vase production as early as C4, which has been seen as an offshoot of the better-known Loukanian red-figured vase production (D'Andria (1990); survey of C4 contacts across the Adriatic: D'Andria (2002)). It should also be noted that Illyrian pottery and metal wares are widely found in Apulia and also further afield in the Greek world (D'Andria (1984)).

According to Hdt. 4.49, Illyria extended from Epeiros to Venetia, whereas Illyris occupied a more restricted region according to Ps.-Skylax 22. (For the political geography of the eastern Adriatic as it was known to the C4 Greek world, with an analysis of the relevant passages in Ps.-Skymnos and Ps.-Skylax, see Wilkes (1992) 91–104.) Greek pottery from indigenous tombs and the type of architecture employed in the settlement fortifications show the penetration of Greek influence into the Illyrian hinterland. A survey of early contacts with the Greek world, from before the C7 colonisation and later through the C6 and C5, with an account of the settlement pattern and urban development of the single Illyrian sites is found in Ceka (1983) and Wilkes (1992). The Greek colonisers at Apollonia and Epidamnos

found developed proto-urban societies in the territory chosen for their foundations, and the colonies in the Adriatic were for this reason few in number and in any case limited to the coastal zones (Wilkes (1992)).

The first Greek records of the area and its indigenous peoples appear to have been compiled in C6 (names of local peoples survive from the works of Hekataios of Miletos (frr. 86–97)), and one poet of C7 (Alcm. fr. 172) already knew of the Adriatic (V)eneti. None of the early writers specifies a historical Greek presence north of Epidamnos (no. 79) before the end of C6, but there seems little doubt there was such a presence, whether of established traders or colonisers. The contemporary historical record commences with Herodotos, while Thucydides furnishes much detail about the affairs of Epidamnos, including the role of the Illyrian Taulantii in their internal conflicts.

In the south-western Adriatic, Iapygia (comprising the Salentine peninsula and, in some sources, the Gargano) was traditionally subdivided into the territory of the Daunians in the north, that of the Peuketians in the centre, and that of the Messapians in the south.

According to Hdt. 4.99, Iapygia comprised the Salentine peninsula from Leuca in the south to a line between Brentesion (no. 78) and Taras (no. 71) in the north. According to Thuc. 7.170, the Messapians were an Iapygian tribe. Messapian culture, as revealed by the diffusion of the Messapian language, is also represented further north in Peuketia and Daunia. For Ps.-Skylax 14, Iapygia comprised also the Greek cities of Herakleia (no. 52), Metapontion (no. 61) and Taras (no. 71); analysis of the ancient sources: Nenci (1978) 43–50; Lamboley (1996) 304–6.

Iapygia was wide open to Greek influence from across the Ionian Sea, but its urbanised settlements formed a bulwark against Greek foundations, of which there are only few examples, see *infra*. Daunians participated on the side of the Etruscans in the 524/3 conflict with Kyme (no. 57) (Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 7.3–4), and the strength of the C5e Messapian settlements is attested by their defeat of Taras in 473 and the subsequent Iapygian expedition as far as Rhegion (no. 68). Though the outcome of this—the conquest of Rhegion, according to Diod. 11.52—may have been exaggerated in the sources, it does at least reflect the military strength of some Messapian cities.

According to Strabo 6.3.5, the Peuketians and Daunians had the same origin as the Iapygians, though epigraphy has shown a strong Oskan element in Daunian culture. The region of Daunia and Peuketia is also without Greek colonies—apart from the uncertain example of Hyria in the Gargano. However, Greek influence is documented by the cult of Diomedes at Argyrippa and at other sites. But even so, the Peuketians are seen as quite different from the Oinotrians, who were more in contact with the Greek colonies of Siris (no. 69) and Metapontion (no. 61) (cf. Hecat. fr. 89 and later sources; Lamboley (1996) 305–6). The mid-Adriatic region of the Pikenoi (Picenum) and the Ombrikans (Umbria) has in recent years seen a spate of research revealing the extent of Greek contacts. The earliest evidence of Attic imports at Numana and at other sites in the Picene region dates to *c.*520–510, and is therefore somewhat later than that known at the Padanian sites of Spina (no. 85) and Adria (no. 75). The region functioned as a commercial intermediary between Greece and Etruria, and the Celtic regions in the north (Landolfi (1987), (2000)).

The Adriatic coast of Italy from Apulia to Picenum and Umbria is with few exceptions not so well provided with natural harbours as the coast of Illyria and Epeiros (cf. Strabo 7.5.10). Apart from the good harbours of Ankon and Numana, there is evidence of other ports of call along the mid-Adriatic coast at Santa Marina di Focara, at Pisaurum and at Ariminum, where finds of Greek pottery confirm visits and coastal trade, probably to be seen in the perspective of the Greek trade with Spina and Adria (Luni (1982) esp. 68–75, (1995)). The sites of Spina and Adria in Etruria Padana are discussed in the site entries.

Etruscan thalassocracy in the Adriatic, undoubtedly weakened by Hieron's victory at Kyme in 474 (Diod. 11.51), may have been on the wane already earlier as a result of Greek expansion in Magna Graecia and the defeat of the Etruscan and Daunian alliance at Kyme in 523/2 (Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 7.2). The Adriatic became wide open to Greek trade from C6s, perhaps no less intense than that of the Tyrrhenian coast, as shown by pottery and other Greek products from the indigenous settlements in the hinterland, see *supra*. Whether to define the status of these settlements, and above all that of Spina and Adria, which provide the most evidence, as trading stations—*emporia* rather than as fully-fledged foundations, *apoikiai* or *poleis*—may in the future be answered only by a close analysis of the political and social organisation (cf. entries).

There are no grounds for the notion, advanced from time to time, that Greeks of Archaic and Classical times were repelled from penetrating the Adriatic by the climate or by the hostility of the inhabitants. From the time when Phokaian navigators first explored it (Hdt. 1.163), the Adriatic was as much open to Greek seafarers as it was in a later age to the Venetians, who, relying on ships of basically

similar design, controlled it for centuries. Nor does it seem that organised piracy was a significant deterrent before C4. The Illyrian power of Agron and Teuta, which arose in C3s, was reputedly the first organised threat to Adriatic shipping to come from that quarter (Polyb. 2.2.4). Native hostility to the Greek settlement on Pharos (no. 84) in C4e (Diod. 15.14.2) appears to have been a local quarrel, and not a symptom of general hostility to the Greek presence in the area (later the two groups were to unite against Roman and Italian settlers). Etruscan expansion towards the Po in C6 might have proved as hostile to Greek activity on the eastern shore of Italy as it had on the west, but the volume of commerce which appears to have passed through Spina seems to negate this, while the other local groups (Piceni, Umbri and Veneti) offered the prospect of stable relationships.

Several hero cults connected with the aftermath of the Trojan War recall early voyages of exploration. That of Diomedes is centred on his burial on the Tremitic islands (*Insulae Diomedeae*) north of Monte Gargano, which over the ages has been the landfall for many approaching Italy from the south-east. His cult is found also at many places in central and southern Italy but was concentrated among the Peuketioi in northern Apulia; it also appears on the east coast at Melaina Korkyra (no. 83), and in central Dalmatia the promontory between Split and Šibenik (Cape Ploča[1]) bore his name. He was also worshipped among the Umbrians at Spina and Adria, and further north among the (V)eneti near the source of the river Timavus deep in the Gulf of Trieste.

The tale of the exploits of Diomedes, playing the role of oecist at various sites in Daunia (Fantasia (1972) 115–19) and at Adria and Spina, and the diffusion of his cult along the eastern and western Adriatic coast (Strabo 5.1.8–9, 6.3.9), with a temple in his honour at Ankon (no. 76), has been attributed to the influence of Syracuse (no. 47). The C4 foundations of Dionysios I corresponded in large measure to those of Diomedes, reflecting a wish to legitimise the Adriatic ambitions of the Syracusan dynast (Braccesi (1977); Briquel (1987); Coppola (1988)). But the cult of Diomedes in the Adriatic has a history going back to the late C6. The dedicatory graffiti to Diomedes and, probably, to Athena on C6–C5 Attic sherds from the island of Palagruža in the Adriatic between the Gargano and the coast of Croatia have recently revealed a sanctuary of Diomedes; this has with near certainty identified the islands as the *nesoi Diomedeiai*, where the hero had his tomb (Strabo 6.3.9; Plin. *HN* 3.151). The graffiti are valuable evidence for a Greek trade route along the lower Illyrian coast, across the middle Adriatic and along the western Adriatic to Spina (no. 85) and Adria (no. 75); Kirigin and Čače (1998); Colonna (1998)).

A healing cult associated with Podalirius at Monte S. Angelo at the southern end of Gargano (Strabo's Drion) was already known in C4. Its oracular or divinatory role may have passed to a shrine of a local Daunian hero later identified with the seer Kalchas on the same hill.

On the east shore the legend of Kadmos the Phoenician, who with his queen Harmonia migrated from Thebes to rule the Illyrian Enchelei around Lake Ohrid, was at least as old as C5. He was credited with founding *Lychnidos* (Ohrid) and *Bouthoe* (Budva) on the coast of Montenegro. He was also linked with northern Epeiros, and further north with a local serpent cult at a place named Epidaurum (Cavtat near Dubrovnik). The tale of Phaethon, son of Helios, whose misadventure with the horses of the solar chariot caused Zeus to destroy him with a thunderbolt, ended with his fall into the river Eridanos, where his grieving sisters were transformed into amber-dropping trees. An identification with the river Po had already been made in C6, while the name of Hesiod's Elektrides (Amber Islands) which lay at its mouth was later attached to islands in the Quarnero (modern Cres and Lošinj). The story that the elderly and wise Trojan Antenor brought the leaderless Eneti from Paphlagonia to a home at the head of the Adriatic (he was later identified as founder of Patavium) was current in C5e. Though he appears also at Melaina Korkyra (no. 83), the whole notion is likely to be a fiction based on a coincidence between the names of the Eneti of Asia Minor and the Adriatic Veneti.[2]

By C4s some islands in the Quarnero had been named Apsyrtides after Apsyrtos, the ill-fated brother of Jason of the Argonauts. The fantastic tale of their return voyage by a branch of the Danube (Danuvius) which flowed into the head of the Adriatic, described by Apollonios Rhodios, can only be explained by the coincidence of the names Istria and Ister, the Greek name for the lower Danube, though the notion of a Danube–Adriatic passage appears to have been current in C5. Similar coincidences can explain the alleged Colchian foundation of Olkinion (Ulcinj) on the coast of Montenegro and their settlement further south at Orikos in the Bay of Vlora. Colchians are also credited with the foundation of Pola near the southern tip of Istria. There is no reason to doubt the assumption that all Greek contact with

[1] For remains of a sanctuary here, see Dujmušić (2002).

[2] For the tradition of Aineias at Melaina Korkyra, see Vanotti (2002).

the Adriatic was by sea from the south.[3] Tales of overland contacts, though often repeated, have a consistently fantastic quality. One might explain the tale, repeated by Strabo 7.5.9, that pottery from Thasos (no. 526) and Chios (no. 840) could be found in the bed of the river Neretva as one of the miracles of rivers in the limestone karst of Dalmatia, which suddenly disappear underground and resurface on the other side of a mountain range. In the same category must be placed a story that ships sailing in the Black Sea were visible from a mountain near the Adriatic at a gap in which there was a market where the goods of Lesbos, Thasos and Chios coming from the direction of the Black Sea could be exchanged for the amphorae of Korkyra coming from the Adriatic (Arist. *Mir. ausc.* 104). Like the fantasy of a passage into the Adriatic from the Danube, the stories were perhaps based on the strange behaviour of rivers, coincidences of names, and the equations of Greek and local myths. More intriguing is Herodotos' story of the offerings to Delian Apollo by the Hyperboreans (4.33). Wrapped in wheat-straw these were passed into Skythia and then through a succession of different peoples, which seems an authentic echo of the mechanics of prehistoric trade. Their journey continued westward as far as the Adriatic, where they first came into Greek hands at Dodona in Epeiros. One interpretation is that the offerings were pieces of amber which had travelled the well-established route between the Baltic and the head of the Adriatic, but the embellishment of the tale arose from a wish to demonstrate that the fame of Delos had spread even beyond the limits of the known world.

Tales of Kadmos the Phoenician in the Adriatic have from time to time encouraged notions of a Phoenician presence, but evidence to support this has proved hard to find, and the first historical record of a Greek is the tradition of Cretans in Iapygia preserved by Herodotos, while Hydrous (Otranto), described as a *λιμὴν . . . ἐπὶ τῷ τοῦ Ἀδρίου ἢ τῷ τοῦ Ἰονίου κόλπου στόματι* in C4 by Ps.-Skylax 14, also had a Cretan foundation legend, though no similar traditions are attached to Barion (Bari) (Andreassi and Cataldi (1984)) or nearby Neapolis (Menchelli *et al.* (1996)), both of which later struck coins with Greek legends. The first fully documented Greek presence is that of the Eretrians of Euboia, who had preceded the Corinthians on Melaina Korkyra, where they had enjoyed better relations with the local inhabitants, and also established a settlement on the island of Orikos in the Gulf of Vlora (= *Vlora* above?), which controlled several routes to the interior.

[3] Evidence of shipwrecks from C5 is reviewed by Petrić (2002).

The mineral wealth of the region is often taken as the economic reason behind the Syracusan C4 expansion into the upper Adriatic, but the evidence is not unequivocal. The passage in Strabo 7.7.8 referring to the silver mines of Damastion is often used as evidence of mineral riches, but these may not be so relevant for Illyria.[4] The coinage of Damastion (May (1939)), bullion rather than commercial according to Schwabacher (1943), reveals kinship with the coinage of the cities of Chalkidike, e.g. Olynthos (no. 588), rather than with that of Corinth (no. 227) and Illyria (most recently Ceka (1994*b*)). Bitumen, timber (Meiggs (1982) 355–56) and slaves were probably the merchandise traded.

In spite of their earlier hostility, Corinthians along with other Dorians collaborated with Korkyra (no. 123) in the foundation of Epidamnos (no. 79) in 627, a city known later as Dyrrhachion, where the main incentive may have been a closer access to the sources of Illyrian silver. The vigorous contests between factions linked with local peoples suggest a community that comprised a significant element of wealth based on commerce with the hinterland, which was partly under the control of a civic official. The settlement later known as Apollonia (no. 77) was founded by Corinthians around the end of C7 and, like Epidamnos, was a point of departure for several routes inland and was also to receive additional settlers from Mainland Greece (historical surveys: Salmon (1984) 270–80; De Fidio (1994)). Famed for its rich pastures, the territorial expansion of Apollonia is implied in the dedication at Olympia of spoils from the destruction of the Euboian-Lokrian settlement at Thronion. During C6 Corinthian products begin to appear around the northern Adriatic but not in the quantity of Attic products in the following century. In C7 the Rhodians, already active in the colonisation of Sicily, joined with Kos in a settlement of Elpiai on the coast of northern Apulia, but there is no indication that it ever flourished or contributed significantly to any links with the local Daunians, who were evidently less receptive than their Messapian neighbours to the south. A late tradition attributes its foundation to Diomedes, along with Kanousion and Arpi, for which it served as a port, and a similar tradition existed for Sipous or Sipontion near Manfredonia, whose name was said to derive from the Greek word for cuttlefish (*sepia*). Hyria in Calabria was reputedly settled by Cretans returning from Sicily, while Hyrion (Uria) on the coast north of Gargano struck coins with a Greek legend, though only in C3. The harbour of

[4] For Damastion, the sources of silver and the significance of the C5 hoard from Hollm in Albania, see Cabanes (2002).

Brentesion (Brindisi (no. 78)) was never exploited before Roman times. Though doubtless known to Greek sailors (one tradition makes it a Cretan foundation, another attributes it to Aitolians under Diomedes) and also serving as occasional refuge to Tarentine exiles, the settlement at Brentesion, although remaining mainly in the hands of the Messapians, became somewhat assimilated to a Greek *polis* (see no. 78).

In C8 Corinth, under the leadership of the Bakchiadai, initiated trading contacts in the lower Adriatic region attested by finds from Brentesion and Hydrous. There is testimony of Euboian and Corinthian imports from C8 and C7f in the settlements of the central Salentine—at Cavallino, Vaste, but above all at Hydrous; for a survey of Greek finds from the Salentine peninsula: D'Andria (1982), esp. 115–16 for C8 Corinthian material, (1984); Various authors (1994).

The first Greek settlement in Dalmatia apparently took place on Melaina Korkyra early in C6 when, in alliance against Periander of Corinth, Knidos (no. 903) with the support of Korkyra (no. 123) sent a colony to the island which they named in honour of their ally.

Greek imports to Etruscan settlements north of the Apennines, notably Felsina, began in C6 and probably reached there by way of Numana, perhaps at the same time that Sicilian exiles occupied the harbour at Ankon on the north side of Mt. Cornero in C4e. Further north lay the Veneti, with their distinctive culture, while to the south of the Etruscans in the Po valley dwelt the Umbrians and Piceni, whose principal settlements lay inland. They appear to have made little use of the harbour at Ankon, while their other settlements at Numana, Ariminum, Pisaurum and Ravenna never amounted to much. Strabo 5.1.7 records a settlement of Thessalians at Ravenna, perhaps attracted by the horses and rich soil of the region, but in spite of assistance from the Umbrians, the venture failed, perhaps because of hostility from the Etruscans.

A large volume of Greek goods reached the port of Spina (no. 85) and the Po valley, probably to the exclusion of any other area.[5] A dedication of spoils in its treasury at Delphi may derive from a successful elimination of a local competitor in open warfare. Silting from the Po was a constant threat to the city, but more damaging was the collapse of Etruscan power north of the Apennines in the face of the advancing Gauls.

According to Strabo 8.6.16, Aiginetans founded a colony *en ombrikois*, probably archaeologically attested in Adria (no. 75). Adria was a slightly later foundation and was never to match Spina in the volume of its commerce; yet it was to enjoy a longer history probably because of its superior location for longer distance trading in tin and similar products with northern and western Europe.

In Dalmatia the Knidian venture on Melaina Korkyra may have failed, but by C4e two colonies had become established in the islands of Pharos (Hvar (no. 84)) and Issa (Vis, (no. 81)), both of which survived until the Roman conquest. In 385 Dionysios of Syracuse assisted the Parians to establish a settlement on Pharos, having already sent a colony to the Adriatic and founded "a city called Lissos" (no. 82) (Diod. 15.13.4). In the following year, after the native Illyrians had summoned help from the mainland against the Parians, the commander of Lissos came with a force of triremes and inflicted heavy losses on the Illyrians in their lighter ships. The place from which Dionysios' fleet came could be the later Illyrian fortress of Lissos (Lezhe) at the mouth of the river Drin in northern Albania, which has an impressive circuit of late Hellenistic masonry fortifications, but is more likely to be in fact the other Greek colony in the area, Issa (Vis) on the island of the same name and known from other evidence to be a Syracusan foundation. Issa was the more successful of the two, later establishing settlements on Melaina Korkyra at Lumbarda, perhaps in C3, and on the mainland among the Illyrians at Epetion (Stobreč) and Tragourion (Trogir)[6] which still existed in C2.

Dionysios I further secured his Syracusan Adriatic empire with new foundations in the eastern Adriatic at Ankon (no. 76), Spina (no. 85) and Adria (no. 75); the somewhat ambiguous term "Dionysios' Adriatic empire" is widely employed in modern scholarship.

Pharos (no. 84) later fell under Illyrian control, while Issa (no. 81) maintained an independence which ended only when, according to one tradition, it persuaded the Romans to cross the Adriatic and crush the Illyrian power of Agron and Teuta. The first surviving Greek account of the Adriatic is the *Periplous* of *c.*330, attributed to Skylax of Karyanda, which contains some material of much earlier date (15–27). In addition to the names of native peoples and places, including several "cities" of the Liburnians in the north-east Adriatic and those of the main Greek settlements, the text records the Greek names for several of the lesser islands (Elektrides, Apsyrtai, Mentorides, Proterius, Krateia, Olunta, Melite and Elaphites).

[5] Greek imports in Istria and Kvarner are surveyed by Mihovilić (2002).

[6] For archaeological evidence for Greek settlement, including walls and votives, see Kovačić (2002) and Babić (2002).

1. *Pre-Hellenistic Settlements not Attested as* Poleis

Bouthoe (*Βουθόη*, *Βουθοίη*) Ps.-Skylax 24–25 (*ἐμπόριον*?); *Etym. Magn.* 207.11 (*πόλις τῆς Ἰλλυρίδος*); Steph. Byz. 219.19 (*πόλις Ἰλλυρίδος*). The few Greek remains are primarily from the Hellenistic-Roman cemetery (Papović and Popović Ljubiša (1996)). *Barr.* 49, C.

Elpiai (*Ἐλπίαι*) Strabo 14.2.10; Steph. Byz. 269.15 (*πόλις ἐν Δαυνίοις*, *κτίσμα Ῥοδίων*). Lycoph. *Alex.* 1129 (*πόλις*). Possibly a joint Rhodian and Koan colony which disappeared in face of Daunian hostilities (Tiné Bertocchi (1989); Lamboley (1996) 21–32). *Barr.* 45, AC.

Hydrous (*Ὑδροῦς*, *Ὑδρόεις*) Ps.-Skylax 14 (*λιμήν*), 27 (*πόλις ἐν τῇ Ἰαπυγίᾳ*); Steph. Byz. 62.3 (*Ἰαπυγίας πόλις*), 646.13 (*πόλις Ἰταλίας*); Strabo 6.3.5 (*πολίχνη*); Paus. 6.19.9. Allegedly founded by Cretans guided by Biennos (Steph. Byz. 169.3–4). Though Hellenised to some extent, it was principally an indigenous site, and almost all remains are Roman (D'Andria and Moreschini (1994); Lamboley (1996) 207–13). *Barr.* 45, AC.

Hyria (*Ὑρία*; *Ὑρίη*) Hdt. 7.170.2 (*πόλις*); a Iapygian–Messapian *polis* allegedly founded by the Cretans under Minos (Hdt. 7.170.2; cf. D'Andria (1993); Lamboley (1996) 120–35). *Barr.* 45, AC.

Kallipolis (*Καλλίπολις*) Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 19.3 (*ἐπίνειον*). Allegedly an *apoikia* of Leukippos, but no Greek remains have been found (Lamboley (1996) 243–45). *Barr.* 45, AC.

Pellion (*Πέλλιον*; *Pelion*) Arr. *Anab.* 1.5.5 (*πόλις*); Livy 31.40.4 (*urbs*). Pelion was a city in the Dassaretis (Hammond and Walbank (1988) 41 n. 1; Ceka (1990) fig. 1.20; Wilkes (1992) 123–24). Bosworth (1980) 68–70 argues that Arrian's Pellion is Pella. *Barr.* 49, H, but C must be added, if the identity between *Πέλλιον* and *Pelion* is accepted.

Rhodiai (*Ῥοδίαι*) Strabo 6.3.5 (*πόλις Ἑλληνίς*); Ptol. 3.1.67. A Messapian city partly Hellenised by C4 (Ciongoli (1990); Lamboley (1996) 171–81). *Barr.* 45, AC.

Thronion (*Θρόνιον*) *CEG* 390 (C5m) = *I.Apoll.* 303; Paus. 5.22.3 (*πόλισμα* (rC5m)). Unlocated but situated somewhere in the Abantis region, south-south-east of Apollonia, probably near Amantia (Hammond (1967) 384–85, 493–95, 523; Ceka (1990) 217); Cabanes (1995) 32. *Barr.* 49, C.

Planned but unlocated Athenian colony An Athenian decree of 325/4 lists ships and equipment for a colony (*apoikia*) in the Adriatic (*IG* II² 1629.165–271 = Tod 200). The location of the planned colony is unknown and a matter of conjecture—somewhere in the vicinity of Adria (no. 75) and Spina (no. 85), where Athens had strong C5 trade contacts, or on the coast of Apulia in the southern Adriatic. Possibly the settlement was never realised, though the use of the term *epoikoi* (224–25) may indicate that a foundation was indeed carried out (Braccesi (1977) 296–300); the term has even been taken to indicate a strengthening of an already existing *emporion* (Fantasia (1972) 137). The site-classification used in the decree is "naval station" (220: *ναύσταθμον*).

The oecist was Miltiades of Lakiadai, probably a descendant of the younger Miltiades. The foundation was planned as a protection (*φυλακή*) against Tyrrhenian pirates—by *Tyrrhenoi* are probably meant Etruscans, though other meanings cannot be excluded (Braccesi (1977) 287–96). For the historical significance of the decree, see Vallet (1950); Fantasia (1972) 136–39; Braccesi (1977) 300–6; Leschhorn (1984) 186–88.

Two foundations by Dionysios the Younger Two colonies in Apulia founded by Dionysios II in 359/8 are mentioned by Diod. 16.5.3, but without any information about their names and locations. The purpose was protection against Illyrian pirates, and the foundations were most likely on the coast. The sites are unknown, but conjectures have been put forward, such as Hydrous, Istros, Neapolis and others (survey in Uggeri (2002) 312–13).

II. The *Poleis*

75. Adria Map. 40. Lat. 45.05, long. 12.05. Size of territory: ? Type: C:*β*. The toponym is *Ἀδρία*, *ἡ* (Hecat. fr. 90; Strabo 5.1.8, MSS) or *Ἄτρία* (Strabo 5.1.8; Steph. Byz. 143.16). The only source for a city-ethnic is Steph. Byz. 29.3–4. Hsch. s.v. *Ἀδριανοί* refers to the Celtic tribes living along the coastline of the Adriatic. Adria is called a *polis* in the urban sense by Strabo, once illustrious, but in his own times a *polismation* (5.1.8 (rC5–C4)); in Hecat. fr. 90 we have no guarantee that the classification of Adria as a *polis* stems from Hekataios.

Adria was possibly a C6l foundation of Aigina (no. 358), as indicated by some of the C5f dedicatory graffiti in the Aiginetan alphabet from the site, combined with Strabo 8.6.16: *ἀποίκους δ' ἔστειλαν Αἰγινῆται εἰς . . . Ὀμβρικούς* (Colonna (1974); Dubois, *IGDGG* pp. 181–87);

however, a graffito in the Ionic alphabet is also known from the site (Johnston (1979)). The foundation myths are linked with the local dynast Adrios, son of Ionios (Theopomp. fr. 128) or with Diomedes (Steph. Byz. 143.16, see *supra* 000). In C4f Adria was, apparently, refounded by Dionysios I (Theopomp. fr. 128; Tzetzes *ad* Lycophr. 631; *Etym. Magn.* 18.54–57). According to Just. *Epit.* 20.1.9, Adria was a Greek foundation (*Graeca urbs*); whereas the city was founded by the Etruscans according to Plutarch and other Roman sources (Plut. *Cam.* 16; Livy 5.33.7; Plin. *HN* 3.120).

Adria rose alongside an ancient branch of the river Po (between the Adige and the Po), in the territory of the Henetikians (Venetians) (implicitly Strabo 5.1.7), today about 25 km from the coast of the Adriatic Sea, which took its name from the city (Strabo 5.1.8; cf. also 7.5.9), if not from the river Adria (Steph. Byz. 28.14–15). If the conjecture of an Aiginetan foundation (*supra*) is valid, Adria lay in the territory of the Ombriakians (Umbrians). However, the borderline between Venetian and Umbrian territory is rather fluid (cf. Colonna (1974) 11–12) and, according to Steph. Byz. 143.16, Adria was situated in Tyrrhenia.

There are no extant urban Greek remains, though there are vestiges of housing structures in wood, as known from Venetian palafittic habitation structures. Attic sherds from the settlement area attest contact with the Greek world already from C6f, culminating in C5–C4, but decreasing in the course of C4 (Colonna (1974) 5; Giangiulio (1984) 44), and there is no archaeological evidence of a *c.*385 foundation by Dionysios I. By C4m Adria fell victim to invasions by the Gauls (Ps.-Skylax 18.2, see Colonna (1974) 11–12; Peretti (1979) 201–2).

Dedicatory graffiti to Apollo (*IGDGG* no. 70) and Eris(?) (*IGDGG* no. 72) have revealed a Greek sanctuary, no other language being represented among the finds (Colonna (1974) 8–10). The archaeological evidence, including the nomenclature of the graffiti, suggests that C4 Syracusan settlers at Adria were anticipated by settlers from Aigina.

Evidence of public works is scarce; the *philistina fossa* of Plin. *HN* 3.16.120–21 has tentatively been interpreted as a canal or drainage system built by Philistos the Syracusan sent into exile by Dionysios I, with his residence at Adria(?). The evidence is tenuous, and Philistos may have been exiled in the Adriatic generally speaking or at Epeiros (Wikén (1937) 144–45; cf. Fogolari and Scarfi (1970) 36 n. 23). Extensive cemeteries east, south and south-west of the settlement are mainly C4 and Roman. Tombs from the Archaic period are so far rarely attested (Giangiulio (1984) 43).

As for the Late Classical period, it should be noted that the tradition found in Just. *Epit* 20.1.9: *Adria . . . Graeca urbs*, reflects the undoubted presence of Greeks at Adria, and the Greek foundation myth according to which Adria was founded by Diomedes (*supra*) may reflect a C4 attempt to legitimise Syracuse's Adriatic empire (Briquel (1987) 257–59).

Most likely we have to do with a Greek trading station in Etruscan-Venetian territory—the pre-Roman finds have revealed very strong ties with Etruscan culture; from C4s the site was occupied by the Gauls.

76. Ankon (Ankonites) Map 42. Lat. 43.35, long. 13.30. Size of territory: ? Type: A:*β*, see *infra.* The toponym is *Ἀγκών, ὁ* (Ps.-Skylax 16; Strabo 6.3.10). The city-ethnic is *Ἀνκωνείτης* (*I.Dyrrh.* 20 (C2–C1)) or *Ἀγκωνίτης* (*SGDI* 2612.3; Steph. Byz. 18.17–18, quoting Artemidoros). Ankon is called a *polis* in the urban sense by Ps.-Skylax 16 and described retrospectively as a *πόλις Ἑλληνίς* by Strabo 5.4.2 (r387). The internal and collective use of the city-ethnic is probably attested in abbreviated form on some C3–C2 bronze coins (*ΑΓΚΩΝ*, *SNG Cop. Italy* 82–83). The external and individual use is found in a Delphic proxeny decree of 167 (*SGDI* 2612.3).

According to Strabo 5.4.2, Ankon was colonised *c.*387 by Syracusan refugees who had fled from Dionysios I, but the city may have been part of Dionysios' Adriatic empire, and he may have been responsible for the settlement (Woodhead (1970) 511–12; Braccesi (1977) 220–22). According to Plin. *HN* 3.111, Ankon was, with Numana, a foundation of the Sikeloi, and according to Catullus (36.13) and Juvenal (4.40), the city was a Doric foundation. Strabo 5.4.2 locates Ankon in Pikenian territory, Ps.-Skylax 16 among the Umbrians. Braccesi and others seem to hold that Ankon was a Greek trading post, possibly strengthened during the reign of Dionysios I and his expansion into the Adriatic, but not a colonial foundation with a well-defined urban layout (Braccesi (1977) 220–23, 246); cf. Spina (no. 85) and Adria (no. 75).

The C7 indigenous settlement rose on a coastal, bow-shaped promontory which enclosed a harbour (Strabo 5.4.2; settlement history: Luni (1995) 193–96 fig. 4). The settlement consisted of an acropolis with a sanctuary and, below, a town comprising both a public area and a habitation area—at least in Roman times. There are remains of a C4 circuit wall fortifying the acropolis (Sebastiani (1983)). The urban remains are mainly Roman, but there are sporadic finds of Greek sherds, mainly Attic of C6–C5. The remains of a Greek temple on the acropolis have been dated to the period

of Dionysios I, *c.*380–370, or to the period of Agathokles, 316–289 (Bacchielli (1985); D'Andria (2002) 120–22). The sources suggest a temple dedicated to Aphrodite, perhaps Euploia. But by analogy with various Dorian/Corinthian Aphrodite sanctuaries, Cordano (1993) prefers Aphrodite Akraia; cf. Juvenal (4.40) and Catullus (36.16.13) and the obverse type of the C3s–C2 coins (*SNG Cop. Italy* 82–83). It has recently been suggested that the Syracusan (Dionysian) settlement was located on the neighbouring hill of Montagnolo (*EAA sec. suppl.* 1971–94 1 (1994) 224).

77. Apollonia (Apolloniates) Map 49. Lat. 40.45, long. 19.30. Size of territory: probably 5. Type: A:*α*. The toponym is *Ἀπολλωνία, ἡ* (Hdt. 9.92–93; *I.Apoll.* 303 = *CEG* 390 (C5m)). The city-ethnic is *Ἀπολλωνιάτης* (Hdt. 9.92.2; *CID* II 4.I.18 (360)). Apollonia is called a *polis* both in the urban sense (Hdt. 9.93.1, 94.2; Ps.-Skylax 26) and in the political sense (Arist. *Pol.* 1290^{b}11–12). In the accounts of the Delphic *naopoioi*, Apollonia is listed under the heading *πόλεις καὶ ἰδιῶται* (*CID* II 4.I.14, II.1–22 (360)). The citizens are described as *astoi* in Hdt. 9.93–94. The collective use of the ethnic is attested externally in the dedication on a victory memorial set up by the Apolloniates at Olympia (*CEG* 390 = *I.Apoll.* 303), also cited by Paus. 5.22.3 (cf. *infra*), and in *CEG* 809 = *I.Apoll.* 307 (C4m). The individual use of the ethnic is attested externally in literary sources (Hdt. 9.92.2) and in inscriptions (*F.Delphes* III.1 4.3 = *I.Apoll.* 304 (C4f); *IG* II^{2} 350.10 = *SEG* 35 77 (C4s)).

According to Thuc. 1.26.2, Apollonia was founded by Corinthians (no. 227) only (cf. Braccesi (1977) 92 n. 4), and according to Plut. *Mor.* 552E the contingent was led by Periander, which suggests a date of *c.*600 for the foundation. According to a variant tradition, a contingent of 200 Corinthians was led by one Gylax, after whom the city was named Gylakeia (Steph. Byz. 105.22, 214.9–10; cf. *Γυλάκειον πεδίον* in a second century AD inscription from Apollonia, *I.Apoll.* 213). Alternatively, Ps.-Skymnos 439–40 and Strabo 7.5.8 claim that Apollonia was founded by colonists from Corinth and Korkyra (no. 123) (*I.Dyrrh.* 29). In *Pol.* 1303^{a}25–28, 36–38, Aristotle adduces Apollonia as an (undated) example of *stasis* caused by the arrival of new colonists. The foundation myth told by the Apolloniates was that their city had been founded by Apollo (*CEG* 390 = *I.Apoll.* 303 = Paus. 5.22.3; cf. coins of the Roman period (Head, *HN*^{2} 314)).

The tradition mentioning Periander indicates that the foundation took place during his reign, although his personal involvement remains uncertain (cf. Berve (1967) 21; Salmon (1984) 211; foundation chronology *c.*600: Van Compernolle (1953); Ducat (1962) 174–78). The foundation of Apollonia and Epidamnos (no. 79) probably reflects Corinthian expansion in the Adriatic after the subjugation of Korkyra (Salmon (1984) 222–24) and Corinthian trade attracted by the mineral wealth of the region (Braccesi (1977) 98–103).

The lack of Protocorinthian pottery confirms a foundation date of *c.*600 (Mano (1983) 232–34; *Apollonia d'Illyrie* iv. 855). The population was Hellenic, and the colonists from Corinth and Korkyra were reinforced by most of the inhabitants of Dyspontion (no. 250) near Olympia, who are said to have fled to Epidamnos and Apollonia after the destruction of their city *c.*570 (Strabo 8.3.32; Ducat (1962) 175–76).

The growth and territorial aspirations of Apollonia may have led to conflict with neighbouring settlements, such as the C5m war with Thronion in the Abantis attested in the inscription from Olympia (also cited by Paus. 5.22.3) which commemorates spoils taken from Thronion by the Apolloniates (*I.Apoll.* 303 (C5m); cf. Hammond (1967) 493–95). Paus. 5.22.4 records that spoils were also given to the Corinthians. For Apollonia's dominance over Thronion and Byllis (no. 92), see Hammond (1967) 523. In the conflict between Corinth and Korkyra in 435 Apollonia sided with Corinth (Thuc. 1.26.2; see Salmon (1984) 274–80). In C4m the Apolloniates are listed in the Corinthian inscription commemorating Timoleon's victory over Carthage at the river Krimissos in 344 (*CEG* 809 = *I.Apoll.* 307; see Talbert (1974) 76–77).

The constitution was organised democratically, but offices of state were restricted to the descendants of the original colonists, who constituted a minority of the citizens (Arist. *Pol.* 1290^{b}11–14). This peculiar form of democracy may have been preceded by an oligarchy which was overturned because the ruling oligarchs embezzled public money (Arist. *Pol.* 1305^{b}39–40 with 1306^{a}6–9). However, the chronology is uncertain, and the sequence of constitutions may have been the opposite (cf. Aubonnet in the Budé edn., p. 161 n. 5). The *polis* was famous for its good laws (*εὐνομωτάτη*, Strabo 7.5.8), and is reputed to have practised expulsion of foreigners (*xenelasia*) on the Spartan model (Ael. *VH* 13.15). There is a C4s Delphic proxeny decree for a citizen of Apollonia (*I.Apoll.* 310), and an Apolloniate is granted *isopoliteia* in the Molossian kingdom by a federal decree of *c.*343–331 (*I.Apoll.* 308). Apollonia figures in the C4s Argive list of *theorodokoi* as one of the most northerly cities of the itinerary (*SEG* 23 189.I.14 = *I.Apoll.* 309). Communal oracle consultations at Dodona and Delphi are reported in an anecdote told at Hdt. 9.93–95; cf. Fontenrose

(1978) Q161. Meneptolemos of Apollonia was victorious in the boys' race *c.*504–500 (Paus. 6.14.13; *Olympionikai* 162).

The colony was founded near the coast, ἐν τῷ Ἰωνίῳ κόλπῳ (Hdt. 9.92.2), in the land of the Taulantioi (Ps.-Skylax 26), and now lies between the estuaries of the river Seman (ancient Apsos) and the river Vjosë (ancient Aous) at modern Pojani in southern Albania (morphology and site plan: *Apollonia d'Illyrie* i. 523–26 fig. 3). The name of the territory was ἡ Ἀπολλωνία χώρα (Hdt. 9.93.1, 94.2). Coin finds show that C4 Apollonia had contacts over a wide territory, perhaps as extensive as modern Albania (Mano (1976) fig. 3). There are traces of indigenous settlements and ancient routes in the territory (Praschniker (1922–24) fig. 2), remains of a C4 Doric temple of unknown cult at Stylassi *c.*800 m south of the city, no longer extant (Praschniker (1922–24) 40–42 fig. 14; *I.Dyrrh.* 14), and some indications of a river harbour on the Aous (Praschniker (1922–24) 55–57).

Most of the urban remains are Hellenistic or Roman, and are dispersed along the crest and on the slopes of the range of hills on which the city was founded. A C6? ashlar circuit wall fortified the acropolis and upper settlement area (*c.*20 ha). The lower city (*c.*110 ha) was protected by an extensive C4–C3 ashlar and brick circuit wall, furnished with a number of gates (Koch (1989) 218–20; *Apollonia d'Illyrie* ii. 763–78; *Apollonia d'Illyrie* iii. 977–85; *Apollonia d'Illyrie* iv. 857–60); the city withstood sieges in C4l (Diod. 19.70.7 (r314); 81.1 (r312)). A C6s Doric hexastyle temple was raised on the southern peak of the acropolis; fragments of a C6 sculptural frieze reveal Ionic traits. The cult was that of Apollo (*I.Apoll.* 315.51) and possibly Artemis (*Apollonia d'Illyrie* i. 529). Public buildings below the acropolis consist of a C4s urban temple (*Apollonia d'Illyrie* iii. 976), a C3m theatre seating *c.*8,000 (Isler, *TGR* i. 227), C4–C3 stoas and a C3 nymphaeum (Strabo 9.3.16; see Koch (1989) 222–25), and various structures probably from the time of Dionysios I (Lamboley (2002)). There are vestiges of an urban layout dating to 450–380, with a street grid of 61 m × 61 m and streets 5.95–6.30 m wide (Koch (1989) 218–19).

The cemeteries were laid out in the Kryegyata valley east of the city: C7l–C5 tumuli and sarcophagi, C4–C3 chamber tombs, C3–C1 cremation tombs (Ceka (1994*a*); *Apollonia d'Illyrie* iv. 854–56). Tomb gifts and rites were similar to those at Epidamnos and Korkyra (Mano (1983) 232).

The major cult was probably that of Apollo, as indicated by the foundation myth (*supra*) as well as the name of the city. Also, the Apolloniatans dedicated summer crops fashioned in gold to the Delphic Apollo (Plut. *Mor.* 402A). Other communal cults are Helios (Hdt. 9.93) and Artemis, also frequently invoked (*I.Apoll.* 1, 33). C3l inscriptions with dedications to Artemis Limnatis and Artemis Proscopa show the importance of her cult (cf. Cabanes (1986) 152–55, and coin evidence).

The calendar month Haliotropios (*I.Apoll.* 315.2) and Psydreos (*I.Apoll.* 387 (C4l)) are known also from Ambrakia, Bouthrotos, Dodona, Epidamnos and Korkyra, and suggest a Corinthian origin for the calendar (Hadzis (1994); Trümpy, *Monat.* 155–59).

Apollonia struck silver coins *c.*450–350. Denominations: stater (didrachms), tridrachms and drachms. Korkyraian types: *obv.* cow suckling calf; *rev.* stellate squares; legend: ΑΠ (*SNG Cop. Illyricum* 370). Bronze coins were struck from C4l. Types: *obv.* lyre; *rev.* obelisk of Apollo; legend: ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΟΣ (Lacroix (1965) 155). From C4m staters on the Corinthian standard and with Corinthian types and legend: ΑΠΟΛ (Kraay (1976) 126).

78. Brentesion (Brendesinos) Map. 45. Lat. 40.40, long. 18.00. Size of territory: ? Type: C:*β*. The toponym is Βρεντέσιον, τό (Hdt. 4.99.5) or Βρεντήσιον (*Etym. Magn.* 212.23). The city-ethnic is Βρενδεσῖνος (*IG* xiv 672 (C5m)) or Βρεντέσιος (Heracl. Lemb. 56) or Βρεντέσινος (Polyb. 10.1.8–9; Strabo 6.3.6). Brentesion is called a *polis* in late sources only, in Polyb. 10.1.9 referring to the Roman colony of C3m and retrospectively in Strabo 6.3.6 referring to the mythical period. Strabo describes Brentesion as a barbarian city in territory opposed to that of the Tarantines and with a Messapian name. However, its status as a Greek or at least partly Hellenised *polis* of the Classical period is indicated by a C5m *kerykeion* inscribed δαμόσιον Θουρίων. δαμόσιον Βρενδεσίνων (*IG* xiv 672 = Jeffery, *LSAG* 284 no. 13, pl. 54), perhaps a testimony of an alliance between Brentesion and Thourioi (De Simone (1956); Greco (1993) 302). Though not explicitly mentioned in the sources, Brentesion must have played a leading role in the Iapygian wars with Taras (no. 71) and Rhegion (no. 68) (Hdt. 7.170.3; Diod. 11.52 (r473)). The importance of its use as a port is attested in Hdt. 4.99.5, where we find the term *limen.* πόλις βασιλευομένη at Strabo 6.3.6 concerns the mythical period but may refer to the Messapian kingships (C5). A *boule* of the Brendisioi is known from a late source (Roman), but it is of some importance because it refers to a Greek philosopher (*IG* xiv 674; Ghinatti (1996) 120). The foundation story of Brentesion has Cretan elements (Strabo 6.3.6), as has the origin of the Iapygians (Hdt. 7.170.2; Antiochos (*FGrHist* 555) fr. 6), perhaps an indication of early Hellenisation. According to Strabo 6.3.6, Phalanthos of Taras settled in Brentesion when

he had been exiled from Taras, a tradition perhaps reflecting early contacts between the Greek colony and Iapygia (Fantasia (1972) 119–20).

The epigraphic evidence is mainly Messapian, the Greek inscriptions being primarily from the Roman period. Archaeological remains are mainly Hellenistic (Cataldi (1985); Lamboley (1996) 58–79).

79. Epidamnos (Epidamnios)/**Dyrrhachion** (Dyrrachinos) Map 49. Lat. 41.20, long. 19.25. Size of territory: ? Type: A:*a*. The toponym is *Ἐπίδαμνος, ἡ* (Thuc. 1.2.1; *SEG* 43 335 (C6s)). The city-ethnic is *Ἐπιδάμνιος* (Hdt. 6.127.2; *IG* II² 350.9 (331/0), 3052.2 (328/7)). The later toponym, *Δυρράχιον* (Strabo 7.5.8), is first attested in the C3l Delphic list of *theorodokoi* (*BCH* 45 (1921) IV.57), whereas the corresponding city-ethnic, *Δυρ(ρ)άχινος*, is attested on coins as early as C5m (*infra*). Epidamnos is called a *polis* in the urban sense (Thuc. 1.24.1; Ps.-Skylax 26), in the territorial sense (Thuc. 1.24.5–6), and in the political sense (Thuc. 1.25.1). In Arist. *Pol.* 1304ᵃ13–14, Epidamnos is one of six communities subsumed under the heading *polis* (1303ᵇ32). The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally on coins (*infra*) and externally in Thuc. 1.24.1. For the individual and external use, see *Ἀμφίμνηστος Ἐπιστρόφου Ἐπιδάμνιος*, one of the suitors of Agariste of Sikyon (Hdt. 6.127.2 (r *c.*580)), and the Attic citizenship decree for a named Epidamnian (*IG* II² 350 = *SEG* 35 77 (C4s)). It is implicitly described as *patre* (= *patris*) in Hdt. 6.127.1–4.

Epidamnos was founded in either 627 or 625 (Hieron. Chron. 97b, Helm) by Korkyraians (no. 123) (Thuc. 1.24.1; Ps.-Skymnos 435–36) assisted by some Corinthians (no. 227) and other Dorians (Thuc. 1.24.2). The oecist was *Φαλίος Ἐρατοκλείδου Κορίνθιος*, a descendant of Herakles, and he was summoned from Korkyra's *metropolis* in accordance with ancestral traditions (Thuc. 1.24.2). Epidamnos and Apollonia (no. 77) were the only true C7 colonies in the Adriatic, the outcome of Corinthian expansion and trade attracted by the mineral wealth of the region (Braccesi (1977) 98–103). In *c.*570 inhabitants from the destroyed Eleian city of Dyspontion (no. 250) migrated to Epidamnos and Apollonia (Strabo 8.3.32; for the chronology: Ducat (1962) 175–76). The city was strong and populous (Thuc. 1.24.3), but civil strife over many years (*στασιάσαντες*) and wars with the neighbouring indigenous towns left it weak. Internal strife led ultimately to the conflicts between Epidamnos, Korkyra and Corinth. *C.*437 the *demos* expelled the aristocratic faction (*οἱ δυνατοί*), which then concluded an alliance with the neighbouring peoples and with Korkyra. In 435 Epidamnos sent envoys (*presbeis*) to Korkyra pleading mediation, but this was rejected (Thuc. 1.24.5–7). Following the advice of Delphi, the Epidamnians gave up their colony to Corinth, a garrison of Corinthians was sent to the aid of Epidamnos, and the Epidamnians were reinforced by new colonists of Corinthians, Leukadians (no. 126) and Ambrakiots (no. 113) (Thuc. 1.25), who obtained equal rights with the other citizens (Thuc. 1.27.1). The result was a siege of the city by the Korkyraians and the exiled Epidamnians (Thuc. 1.26.5). The war between Corinth and Korkyra led to the defeat of the Corinthian fleet, the conquest of Epidamnos in 434, and the reintroduction of an "aristocratic" constitution (for the "Kerkyraika" (Thuc. 1.24–55), see Hornblower (1991) 66–97; Salmon (1984) 282–85; for the *stasis*, see Gehrke, *Stasis* 60–62).

There are few sources for the later history of Epidamnos and Apollonia (no. 77), but in the C4s Illyrian kings came to play a major part. Epidamnos was given over to Glaukias, king of the Illyrians, by the Korkyraians in 313 (Diod. 19.78.1), and Illyrian dynasts may have been in power before this if coin legends naming Monoun, *basileos*, are C4s and refer to the father of Glaukias, as argued by Ceka (1972) 25–27.

The constitution was originally a narrow oligarchy which was changed piecemeal into a more moderate form of oligarchy (Arist. *Pol.* 1301ᵇ14–15): the phylarchs were replaced by a council (*boule*); among the full citizens (*politeuma*) the magistrates were under obligation to attend the assembly (*heliaia*); and the single *archon* was another oligarchic element of the constitution (Arist. *Pol.* 1301ᵇ21–25). After a *stasis* probably in 437, the oligarchic constitution was changed into a democracy: the people (*demos*) exiled the members of the ruling class (*hoi dynatoi*, Thuc. 1.24.5), and citizens hitherto excluded from the *politeia* were apparently enfranchised (Arist. *Pol.* 1304ᵃ13–17). But in 433 the Epidamnian democrats had to surrender the city to the besieging Korkyraians on the following terms: the new colonists were sold into slavery, the Corinthian garrison was imprisoned (Thuc. 1.29.5), and the exiles were restored to Epidamnos (Diod. 12.30.5). As a result, the constitution was changed once again: one supreme official (*arche*) was in charge of the (financial) administration (Arist. *Pol.* 1287ᵃ4–8), and another official, called *poletes*, was in charge of all trade between Epidamnos and its barbarian neighbours (Plut. *Mor.* 297F). Artisans employed on public works were public slaves (Arist. *Pol.* 1267ᵇ16–19).

Epidamnos was situated in Illyris, in the territory of the Taulantioi, an Illyrian tribe (*ethnos*, Thuc. 1.24.1), on the coast at modern Durrës in central Albania.

The town was founded on an isthmus (Thuc. 1.26), according to some later sources the name of the peninsula was Dyrrhachion (Eratosthenes *apud* Steph. Byz. 244.10–11; cf. Strabo 7.5.8), whereas according to App. *B Civ.* 2.39 Dyrrachion was the name of the harbour, Epidamnos the name of the upper city. According to Paus. 6.10.8, there was a short distance between the two cities. However, there is no archaeological evidence for separate settlements. The few Greek remains lie beneath the Roman, mediaeval and modern city, but they confirm a foundation date of *c.*625 (Hidri (1987)); see also D'Andria (1990) 285 for noteworthy early Archaic finds and also now Davis, et al. (2003). There are architectural remains of two C6l sanctuaries situated on the outskirts of the modern city, but the location in relation to the ancient city is unknown (Korkuti (1994) 403). A fortification wall is implicitly attested for the 430s by Thuc. 1.26.5.

A cult of Herakles is deduced from a C6–C5 relief of Herakles with votive inscription (*I.Dyrrh.* 1); a C4–C3 inscription mentions Asklepios (*I.Dyrrh.* 2); and a C4–C3 inscription the *theoi megaloi* (*I.Dyrrh.* 3 (restored)). Coins offer evidence of cults of Herakles and Zeus (*infra*). According to Paus. 6.19.8, the Epidamnians dedicated a treasury at Olympia, now identified in foundation III of the Treasury Terrace. C6s roof fragments have been assigned to the building (Mallwitz (1972) 165–71; Mertens-Horn and Viola (1990) 239–40). Kleosthenes, son of Pontis, from Epidamnos, was victor in the chariot race at Olympia in 516 (Paus. 6.10.6; *Olympionikai* 141).

The names of the months Haliotropios (*I.Magnesia* 46.3 = Rigsby no. 96), Apellaios, Machaneus and Panamos (*I.Dyrrh.* 580, 582–83) suggest a Corinthian origin for the calendar (Hadzis (1994): Trümpy, *Monat.* 161).

Dyrrhachion struck coins (1) *c.*450–350, staters with Korkyraian types: *obv.* cow suckling calf; *rev.* stellate squares; legend: ΔΥΡ, or Δ (*SNG Cop. Illyricum* 421–28); (2) *c.*350–229, staters on the Corinthian standard and with Corinthian types: *obv.* Pegasos; *rev.* Athena, behind club; legend: ΔΥΡΑΧΙΝΩΝ, ΔΥΡ, Δ (*SNG Cop. Illyricum* 429–32); (3) *c.*300–200, drachms with Corinthian types: *obv.* head of Herakles; *rev.* Pegasos; legend as *supra* (*SNG Cop.* 433–42) (Ceka (1972) 22, 57–66). An otherwise unknown C4s Illyrian dynast, Monoun, struck tridrachms of Korkyraian type with the legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩ ΜΟΝΟΥΝΙΟΥ ΔΥΡ (Ceka (1972) 23–27; *SNG Cop. Illyricum* 528). (4) Bronze coins were struck from C4l: *obv.* head of Dodonaian Zeus; *rev.* tripod; legend: ΔΥΡ, and magistrates' names (*SNG Cop. Illyricum* 501–23; Ceka (1972) dates to C4). Three silver staters (*obv.* head of Athena, *rev.* Pegasos, legend: Ε or Ε and ϙ) struck in C5 and probably prior to the Peloponnesian War may represent the earliest coins of the city (using the name *Epidamnos*) presumably struck in collaboration with Corinth (no. 227). Kraay (1976) 84 no. 248; Miraj (2002).

80. Herakleia (Herakleiotes) Map 20. Unlocated. Type A:*α*. The toponym is Ἡρακλεία, ἡ (Ps.-Skylax 22). The city-ethnic is attested in the collective and internal sense on C4 coins: ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΟΤΑΝ (*infra*). Herakleia is called a *polis Hellenis* in the urban sense at Ps.-Skylax 22. Its status as a *polis* in the political sense is indicated by the C4 mint (*infra*).

Herakleia had a harbour (*limen*, Ps.-Skylax 22), but its location has not been established satisfactorily. Its origin is unknown, though most scholars take it to be one of the Adriatic foundations of Dionysios I (see coin evidence below). Herakleia is usually located on the island of Pharos, where most of the coins have been found (Brunšmid (1898) 54; Dukat and Mirnik (1976) 181–82. For a recent suvey of coin distribution, see Kirigin (1990) 294–95). Attempts to identify Herakleia with various sites in the eastern Adriatic, such as the Knidian foundation on Korkyra Melaina, are unconvincing (Braccesi (1977) 106–8).

Herakleia struck bronze coins in C4 on the Syracusan standard. Types: (1) *obv.* Herakles; *rev.* bow and club; legend: ΗΡΑ or ΗΡΑΚ or ΗΡΑΚΛ or ΗΡΑΚΛΕ (Brunšmid (1898) 1–15; *SNG Cop. Illyricum* 535–37), and in one case ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΟΤΑΝ (Dukat and Mirnik (1976) 181). (2) C4(?), *obv.* female head; *rev.* dolphin; legend: HRA (Brunšmid (1898) 16).

81. Issa (Issaios) Map 20, island. Lat. 43.05, long. 16.05; city not indicated on map. Size of territory: 3. Type: A:*α*. The toponym Ἴσσα, ἡ is used about both the island and the city (Ps.-Skylax 23). At Diod. 15.13.4, *contra* e.g. Stylianou (1998) 193–95, one should reject Ἴσσαν as a plausible emendation of MS Λισσόν or Λίσον. For the emendation of 15.14.2, see *infra*. The city-ethnic is Ἴσσαιος (*Syll.*³ 141.2 (C4–C3)). Issa is called a πόλις Ἑλληνίς in the urban sense by Ps.-Skylax 23. That Issa was a *polis* in the political sense too is indicated by its mint (*infra*) and the colonisation decree of *c.*300 (*infra*). The collective and internal use of the city-ethnic is attested in the colonisation decree (*Syll.*³ 141.2) and on C3 bronze coins (*infra*).

According to Ps.-Skymnos 413–14, Issa was a Syracusan foundation (*apoikia*), and this tradition is confirmed by some of the names of the *c.*250 Issaian colonists sent to Melaina Korkyra (no. 83) (*SEG* 40 511, 43 348). Issa is normally believed to have been founded by Dionysios I in connection with his

establishment of colonies in the Adriatic (Diod. 15.13.1–5 (r385); see esp. Braccesi (1977) 230–32; Stylianou (1998) 196), although there is no unequivocal literary or archaeological evidence for this (cf. Beaumont (1936) 202; and see *infra*), and archaeological evidence indicates a settlement of Greeks prior to Dionysios' interference (Sanader (2002)), just as sporadic finds of Archaic Greek pottery from Issa and Pharos attest earlier contacts with the Greek world; also, the hero Ionios, though first attested on C4 coins from Issa (*infra*), may have had an earlier cult on the island of Issa (Braccesi (1977) 75–76, 229 n. 106).

Issa served as a naval station when Dionysios' governor (*eparchos*) of Issa in 384 engaged in a naval battle against the Illyrians in support of the Knidian colony of Pharos (Diod. 15.14.2, where Ἴσσῃ is a plausible conjecture for MSS Λισσῷ or Λισσῇ or Λίσῃ (Vial (Budé), followed by Fraser (1993) 169 and Stylianou (1998) 197; the emendation is rejected by Woodhead (1970) 508 n. 1 and Braccesi (1977) 227–32; however, the distance makes it unlikely that Dionysios' ships came from Lissos). The presence of a Syracusan *eparchos* at Issa indicates that the colony was a dependent *polis*.

The main source for the political organisation of Issa is a colonisation decree of *c.*300–250 (*Syll.*³ 141 = *Staatsverträge* 451), passed by the *demos* (l. 3: ἔδοξε τῷ δήμῳ). The eponymous official is a *hieromnamon* (l. 1), and the Issaians sent as colonists to Melaina Korkyra are divided into the three Doric tribes: Dymanes, Hylleis and Pamphyloi (18ff). The decree was passed in the month of Machaneus (1), also attested in the Korkyraian calendar (Trümpy, *Monat.* 161). The decree was previously connected with Dionysios I's activities in the northern Adriatic and dated *c.*385 (*Syll.*³ 141), but has later been downdated to *c.*300 (Fraser (1993) 170ff; C4–C3 in *LGPN* 3) or C3f (Rendić-Miočević (1965); Woodhead (1970) 508–10; cf. *SEG* 43 348).

Issa is situated at modern Vis on the north side of the island off the coast of ancient Dalmatia, on a slope on the west side of a large bay, one of the largest natural ports of Dalmatia. The immediate hinterland covers about 1,000 ha, but Issa probably controlled the entire island, a territory of about 140 km². Possible evidence for Greek land division is identified by Zaninović (2002). Greek finds go back to the Archaic period, though the nature of the finds is uncertain (Kirigin (1990) 303, 310). There are few urban remains of the C4 Greek city. The C4 circuit wall, built in ashlar technique, may have had an Archaic predecessor (ibid. (1990) 303). The C4 wall enclosed an area of *c.*9.8 ha. There are traces of a street grid and habitation structures (Zaninović (1976*a*); Kirigin (1990); Cambi (2002) 49–55). The known cemetery is Hellenistic (Kirigin (1990) 303). The present archaeological record indicates that there was no Greek settlement before *c.*330 (Kirigin (1990) 310; cf. Visonà (1995) 56–57), but "Only approximately 10% of the city of Issa is said to have been explored thus far" (Visonà (1995) 57 n. 10), and the archaeological record is not necessarily incompatible with a foundation date in the reign of Dionysios I.

Issa struck bronze coins from C4f (Gorini (1993)) or C4s (Visonà (1995); Mandinić and Visonà (2002)): (1) according to Gorini (1993), overstrikes on Dionysian issues; according to Visonà (1995), rather *c.*330–320 transitional issues to Issa's civic issues. Types: *obv.* head of Ionios; *rev.* dolphin; legend: *IONIO*(*Σ*) (*SNG Cop. Illyricum* 538–39); (2) C3, various types. Legend: *IΣ*, on some *IΣΣA* (*SNG Cop. Illyricum* 540–44; Dukat and Mirnik (1976) 183–84).

82. Lissos (Lissates) Map. 49. Lat. 41.45, long. 19.35. Size of territory: ? Type: C:*β*. The toponym is Λίσσος, ἡ (Diod. 15.13.4; on 14.2, see *supra*; App. *Ill.* 21) or ὁ (Polyb. 2.12.3). The collective and internal form of the city-ethnic is attested on C2 coins (*SNG Cop. Illyricum* 524: *ΛIΣΣATAN*). Lissos is called a *polis* in the urban sense by Diod. 15.13.4 (rC4e).

Lissos was founded shortly before 385 by Dionysios I (Diod. 15.13.4; following Vial (Budé), Stylianou (1998) 194 defends the MS reading Λισσόν against the emendation Ἴσσαν, preferred by e.g. Beloch (1922) 118 n. 2).

Lissos was founded on the steep slope of a hill, modern Lezha, on the south bank of the river Drin, near its estuary (anc. Drilo) (May (1946) 54–56), a site already occupied by Illyrian settlers (Prendi and Zheku (1972)). The site of Akrolissos, listed by Strabo 7.5.8 as a *polis* apart, is normally identified as the fortress lying above Lissos on the height of Mali Selbuemit, an interpretation indicated by Polyb. 8.13.1, who describes this as a fortress separated from the city itself (for the topography of Lissos and Akrolissos, see Praschniker and Schober (1919)).

Extensive circuit walls are from different phases: a C4 phase comprised only an upper acropolis of *c.*2.3 ha. Walls in ashlar blocks, strengthened with square towers, were raised down the slope of the hill to the river Drin in C3–C2; with a perimeter of 2,150 m they enclosed a lower settlement area of *c.*22 ha (Prendi and Zheku (1972); Fraser (1993) 169 n. 17). *Diateichisma* walls divided the city into zones, perhaps based upon different functions. The city had a harbour on the river bank (Koch (1989) 140–43; Ceka (1990) 222–23 fig. 11). The urban features are rather similar to those of local Illyrian sites, but the south-west gateway is very sophisticated and

shows characteristics of Syracusan (Dionysian) C4 military architecture. Although the archaeological remains, including the circuit wall, are now dated mainly to the Hellenistic period, it cannot be precluded that Lissos was a Dionysian foundation on a smaller scale (Stylianou (1998) 194).

83. Melaina Korkyra (Korkyraios) Map 20. Lat. 43.00, long. 17.00. Size of territory: 4 (*c.*300 km²). Type: A:*α*. The toponym *Μέλαινα Κόρκυρα, ἡ* (Ps.-Skymnos 428; Strabo 7.5.5.) is used for both the island and the city (Strabo 7.5.5). The city-ethnic *Κορκυραῖος* is attested on C3 coins (*infra*). The colony is referred to as a *polis* in the urban sense in the colonisation decree passed by the Issaians (no. 81; *Syll.*³ 141.4, 9, 17) and in some late sources (Strabo 7.5.5; Plin. *HN* 3.152: *oppidum*). That it was a *polis* in the political sense too is indicated by the C3 coins (*infra*).

According to Ps.-Skymnos 428, Strabo 7.5.5 and Plin. *HN* 3.152, Melaina Korkyra was a Knidian colony. But a C4–C3 decree passed by the Issaians and found in modern Lumbarda (probably = ancient Melaina Korkyra) lays down regulations for an *ab novo* colonisation by Issaians (*Syll.*³ 141). Some historians assume that there were two colonies on the island, the first one founded by Knidians in perhaps C6 (Beaumont (1936) 174)—unlocated, but perhaps situated at Vela Luka on the west coast—and the other founded by Issaians—situated at modern Lumbarda on the east coast—see (Braccesi (1977) 104–6; Kirigin (1990) 293). A preferable reconstruction seems to be that the original Knidian settlement had died out before the new Issaian foundation, and that the Issaians were resettling a place already occupied in the past by the Greeks (Graham (1964) 43). Note, however, that Melaina Korkyra was still referred to as a Knidian colony in the Roman period.

The foundation by Issaians is attested in the inscription found on Korčula (Korkyra Melaina) near modern Lumbarda (*Syll.*³ 141; *SEG* 17 312, 19 435, 40 511, 43 348 = Lombardo (1993) *passim* with rich bibliography; Lombardo (2002)) now dated to C3f (Woodhead (1970) 508–9 following Rendić-Miocević (1983) 192) or C4–C3 (Fraser (1993) 170ff and *LGPN* 3), see also Braccesi (1977) 311–12. The decree may have been a treaty between Issa and the otherwise unknown Illyrian dynasts Pyllos and Dazos, allowing the foundation of a colony on their territory (*Staatsverträge* 451). Or Pyllos and Dazos, being either Issaians or Illyrians, were the oecists of the colony (Braccesi (1977) 310). The Issaian foundation may have been located at Lumbarda, where the inscription was found, in eastern Korčula; for archaeological remains and discussion of the colony's location, see Radić and Bass (2002). There are a few urban remains and a C3 cemetery in the vicinity (Braccesi (1977) 309–16; Kirigin (1990) 311). On the walls (*Syll.*³ 141.4–5, 17), see Maier (1959–61) 204–6. The settlers were Dorians, and the three Dorian tribes Hylleis, Dymanes and Pamphyloi are named in the inscription (l.18). Onomastic studies indicate that the Issaian colonisers came originally from Syracuse (no. 47) (Fraser (1993)), but there was an Illyrian element too (Woodhead (1970) 510). The inscription throws valuable light on the distribution of land in the city and in the *chora* of the colony (Asheri (1971)). For possible traces of land division, see Zaninović (2002).

A rare series of C4 bronze coins were struck by the Korkyraians of Melaina Korkyra, whether the Knidian foundation or the Issaian is not clear. Types: *obv.* Apollo; *rev.* ear of corn; legend: *ΚΟΡΚΥΡΑΙΩΝ* (Brunšmid (1898) 69 listing specimens, one with legend *ΚΟΡΚΥ* (Dukat and Mirnik (1976) 182)). For the uncertain evidence of a C4 bronze coinage with *obv.* male head; *rev.* "Knidian lion", no legend and no attested provenance from Korčula—but attested from the island of Issa (Kirigin (1990) 293).

84. Pharos (Pharios) Map 20. Lat. 43.15, long. 16.35. Size of territory: 1. Type: A:*α*. The toponym *Φάρος, ἡ* is used for both the island and the *polis* (Ps.-Skylax 23). *Φάρος, ὁ* is attested only once (Polyb. 5.108.7). According to Strabo 7.5.5, the toponym was originally *Πάρος*. The city-ethnic is *Φάριος* (C4 coins, *infra*). Pharos is called a *πόλις Ἑλληνίς* in the urban sense by Ps.-Skylax 23. The political sense is attested in a funerary epigram of C4–C3 (*SEG* 31 604.1 = *CEG* 662). The collective and internal use of the city-ethnic is attested on the C4 coins (*infra*). For the individual and external use, see *Δημήτριος ὁ Φάριος* (Polyb. 2.65.5 (r222)).

Pharos was a colony (*apoikia*) founded by Paros (no. 509) in 385 with the assistance of Dionysios I of Syracuse according to Diod. 15.13.4, 14.1–2, whereas only Paros is mentioned as the founder by Ephor. fr. 89, by Ps.-Skymnos 426–27, and by Strabo 7.5.5. Two decrees of C3l, one passed by the *polis* of Pharos, the other by the *polis* of Paros, refer to Pharos as a colony of Paros (*SEG* 23 489a11–16, 29–30; for the date: *SEG* 43 349). Archaeological evidence suggests the possibility that the colony of 385 was preceded by "pre-colonial" Greek settlement (Gaffney *et al.* (2002)).

Pharos, modern Stari Grad, lies innermost in a narrow bay on the north side of the island of Pharos (modern Hvar). The fertile hinterland (plain of Jelsa), *c.*20 km², is cut off from the rest of the island by a mountain range; the

easternmost part of the plain was retained under Illyrian control (Kirigin (1990) 296 fig. 3, 301–2). The *chora* shows traces of a land division, with 1,000 × 200 m lots, which may go back to the Greek period (cf. Hellenistic(?) *horos* stone: Brunšmid (1898) 20.5; Cambi (2002) 56–57; Slapšak (2002)). The Greek settlers found the site occupied by Illyrians (pre-Greek defences: Kirigin (1990) 299; cf. Diod. 15.14.1), and an armed conflict between the Illyrians and the colonists was won by the colonists only because the Syracusan commander in, probably, Issa (no. 81) sent a squadron (Diod. 15.14.1–2; see, Stylianou (1998) 193–97, and *supra* 332).

There are few urban remains; the size of the Greek city is estimated to comprise between 1.5 ha and 6 ha (Kirigin (1990) 299; Cambi (2002) 56–57). According to Diodorus, the Parian settlers fortified their city (Diod. 15.14.1), and there are traces of circuit walls in "Cyclopean" and in masonry technique (Zaninović (1976*b*); Cambi (2002) 56, 70); for remains of walls and for local pottery, see Jeličič-Radonić (2002) and Kirigin *et al.* (2002).

Pharos struck a rich series of coins from C4 (Head, *HN*² 318; Dukat and Mirnik (1976) 182–83). Silver types: *obv.* Zeus; *rev.* goat or serpent; legend: *ΦΑΡ* or *ΦΑΡΙ* (Brunšmid (1898) 41–46). Bronze, in four denominations: (1) Types as above. Legend: *ΦΑ* or *ΦΑΡΙΩΝ* (*SNG Cop. Illyricum* 545–46). (2) Types: *obv.* Persephone; *rev.* goat; legend: *ΦΑ* (*SNG Cop. Illyricum* 547–48). (3) Types: *obv.* Dionysos; *rev.* kantharos; legend: *ΦΑ* (*SNG Cop. Illyricum* 549–50). Coin finds reveal a wide commercial network from Makedonia to Sicily (Kirigin (1990) 301). A series of overstrikes carrying the legend *ΔΙ* or *ΔΙΜ* have been attributed to an otherwise unknown *polis* of Dimos, but the type was most likely issued by a Pharian magistrate or ruler (Dukat and Mirnik (1976) 182; Rendić-Miočvić (1983) 193).

85. Spina (Spinites) Map. 40. Lat. 44.40, long. 12.05. Size of territory: ? Type: A:*β*. The toponym is *Σπίνα, ἡ* (Eudoxus fr. 358, Lasserre; Strabo 5.1.7). No matter whether one accepts Müller's insertion of the toponym <*Σπίνα*> in Ps.-Skylax 17, there can be little doubt that Spina must be the *πόλις Ἑλληνίς* referred to in the passage. The text is probably corrupt, but Spina is the only city which both topographically and historically fits the text as transmitted (Peretti (1979) 202–16). Apart from a reconstructed form at Steph. Byz. 584.13, the only attestation of the city-ethnic is *Σπινιτῶν* at Strabo 5.1.7. According to Strabo 5.1.7, Spina had dwindled to a small village but was once a famous Hellenic *polis*: *ἡ Σπίνα, νῦν μὲν κωμίον, πάλαι δὲ Ἑλληνὶς πόλις ἔνδοξος*. The archaeological record indicates that the period referred to is C6l–C4 (*infra*), and, combining the archaeological record with the almost universally accepted interpretation of Ps.-Skylax, Spina is therefore included in this Inventory as a *polis*.

According to one tradition, Spina was a Greek colony (Strabo 5.1.7; Just. *Epit.* 20.1.11; Plin. *HN* 3.120: founded by Diomedes), but Hellan. fr. 4 (= Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.18.4, 28.3) describes the town as a Pelasgian foundation. It was founded in Umbrian territory (Just. *Epit.* 20.1.11) or what was originally Umbrian territory before the C6 Etruscan expansion (cf. Pareti (1961) 411–12). By C4m the city fell victim to Celtic invasions (Peretti (1979) 201–2).

The settlement, *c.*6 km west of present-day Comacchio (prov. Ferrara), was originally situated on the coast (Strabo 5.1.7, though it lay further inland in his time) on the estuary of one of the tributaries of the river Po, *viz.* the river Spinos (Steph. Byz. 584.14).

Aerial photographs have revealed an irregular perimeter and ramparts, a north-west/south-east street grid, with housing plots separated by channels and dykes, and excavations have laid bare the remains of timber houses. The habitation area extended over *c.*6 ha and was linked to the sea by a 15 m-wide canal, probably built by Etruscan engineers (Uggeri and Uggeri Patitucci (1974); for the urbanisation in an Etruscan setting, see Gulletta (1994) 256 n. 43). The city is Etruscan, but it is profoundly Hellenised with its Greek "merchant-houses", etc., involved in the dispersal of Greek goods. Greek presence is attested by the finds of Greek graffiti from the site (Colonna (1974)); cf. the vast quantity of Attic C6l–C4 vases from the Valle Trebba cemetery (see *infra*). The evidence indicates a substantial Greek presence at Spina.

Two sectors of the cemetery have been laid bare, one with *c.*1,413 tombs, another with *c.*2,650 tombs. The grave goods, primarily vases destined for use in banquets, reflect wide commercial C6–C3 contacts with Greece—mainly Athens (no. 361), with rich finds of Attic red-figure vases covering the period 480–375 (Alfieri (1979), (1994); Berti and Guzzo (1993)). The contacts with the Greek world were sealed by a treasury at Delphi (see *infra*).

A cult of Apollo at Spina can be deduced from the Spinetan treasury at Delphi, and graffiti attest cults of Dionysos and Hermes at S. Maria della Tomba, and votive busts a cult of Demeter (*IGDGG* no. 77b, c; Gulletta (1994) 258; Mambella (1984)).

According to Strabo 5.1.7, the city had a treasury at Delphi, not archaeologically identified (for attempts, cf. Alfieri (1979) xlvii n. 28). The description of the contents of the treasury indicates some wealth (Polemon *apud* Ath. 13.606A).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Alfieri, N. 1979. Spina: *Museo archeologico nazionale di Ferrara*, 1 (Bologna).

—— 1994. *Scritti minori*, i: *Spina e la ceramica attica* (Rome).

Andreassi, G., and Cataldi, S. 1984. "Bari", *BTCGI* 3: 406–28.

Apollonia d'Illyrie i = P. Cabanes *et al.*, "Apollonia d'Illyrie (Albanie)", *BCH* 118 (1994) 521–29.

Apollonia d'Illyrie ii = M. G. Amore *et al.*, "Apollonia d'Illyrie (Albanie)", *BCH* 119 (1995) 761–81.

Apollonia d'Illyrie iii = C. Balandier *et al.*, "Apollonia d'Illyrie (Albanie)", *BCH* 120 (1996) 971–93.

Apollonia d'Illyrie iv = P. Cabanes *et al.*, "Apollonia d'Illyrie (Albanie)", *BCH* 121 (1997) 848–70.

Asheri, D. 1971. "Supplementi coloniari e condizione giuridica della terra nel mondo greco", *RivStorIt* 1: 77–91.

Babić, I. 2002. "The North-East Town Walls of the Antique Trogir", in Cambi *et al.* (2002) 397–414.

Bacchielli, L. 1985. "*Domus Veneris quam Dorica sustinet Ancon*", *ArchCl* 37: 106–37.

Beaumont, R. L. 1936. "Greek Influence in the Adriatic", *JHS* 56: 159–204.

Beloch, J. 1922. *Griechische Geschichte*, iii.1: *Bis auf Aristoteles und die Eroberung Asiens* (Berlin and Leipzig).

Berti, F., and Guzzo, P. G. (eds.) 1993. *Spina: storia di una città tra Greci ed Etruschi* (Ferrara—Castello Estense, 26 September 1993–15 May 1994) (Ferrara).

Berve, H. 1967. *Die Tyrannis bei den Griechen*, 2 vols (Darmstadt).

Bonacasa, N., Braccesi, L., and De Miro, E. (eds.) 2002. *La Sicilia dei due Dionisî*, Atti della settimana di studio, Agrigento, 24–28 February 1999 (Rome).

Bosworth, A. B. 1980. *A Historical Commentary on Arrian's* History of Alexander, i (Oxford).

Braccesi, L. 1977. *Grecità adriatica: un capitolo della colonizzazione greca in Occidente*² (Bologna).

Briquel, D. 1987. " 'Spina condita a Diomede': osservazioni sullo sviluppo della leggenda dell'eroe nell'Alto Adriatico", *PP* 42: 241–61.

Brunšmid, J. 1898. *Die Inschriften und Münzen der Griechischen Städte Dalmatiens*, Abhandlungen des archäologisch-epigraphischen Seminares der Universität Wien 13 (Vienna).

Cabanes, P. 1986. "Nouvelle inscriptions d'Albanie méridionale", *ZPE* 63: 137–55.

—— 1995. *Études Epigraphiques 2: Corpus des inscriptions grecques d' Illyrie méridionale et d' Épire I: Inscriptions d' Épidamne-Dyrrhachion et d' Apollonia* (Paris).

—— 2002. "La présence grecque sur la côte orientale de l'Adriatique en Illyrie du Sud", in Cambi *et al.* (2002) 51–63.

Cambi, N. 2002. "Urbanistica e architectura del IV secolo a.C. ad oriente dell'Adriatico", in Bonacasa *et al.* (2002) 47–75.

—— Cace, S., and Kirigin, B. (eds.) 2002. *Greek Influence along the East Adiatic Coast*, Proceedings of the International Conference held in Split from 24. to 26 September 1998 (Split).

Cataldi, S. 1985. "Brindisi", *BTCGI* 4: 150–90.

Ceka, H. 1972. *Questions de numismatique illyrienne avec un catalogue des monnaies d'Apollonie et de Durrhachium* (Tirana).

—— 1983. "Processi di trasformazioni nell' Illiria del sud durante il periodo arcaico", in *Modes de contacts* 203–18.

—— 1990. "Städtebau in der vorrömischen Periode in Südillyrien", in *Akten des XIII: Internationalen Kongresses für Klassische Archaölogie* (Berlin, 1988) (Mainz a. R.) 215–29.

—— 1994*a*. "Apollonia", *EAA sec. suppl.* 1981–94 1: 280–81.

—— 1994*b*. "Dibattito", *Atti Taranto* 34: 199–200.

Ciongoli, G.-P. 1990. "Rudiae", in F. D'Andria (ed.), *Archeologia dei Messapi: Catalogo della Mostra*, Lecce, Museo Provinciale 'Sigismondo Castromediano', 7 October–7 January 1991 (Bari) 217–19.

Colonna, G. 1974. "I greci di Adria", *RivStorAnt* 4: 1–21.

—— 1998. "Pelagosa, Diomede e le rotte dell'Adriatico", *ArchCl* 50: 363–78.

Coppola, A. 1988. "Siracusa e il Diomede adriatico", *Prometheus* 4: 221–26.

Cordano, F. 1993. "Due note adriatiche", *Hesperìa* 3: 145–53.

D'Andria, F. 1982. "Il Salento nell' VIII e VII sec. a.C.: nuovi dati archeologici", *ASAtene* 60: 101–16.

—— 1984. "Documenti del commercio arcaico tra Ionio ed Adriatico", *Atti Taranto* 24: 321–77.

—— 1990. "Greek Influence in the Adriatic: Fifty Years after Beaumont", in *GCNP* 281–90.

—— 1993. "Oria", *BTCGI* 12: 505–12.

—— F. 2002. "L'Adriatico: i rapporti tra le due sponde: stato della questione", in Bonacasa *et al.* (2002) 117–37.

—— and Moreschini, D. 1994. "Otranto", *BTCGI* 14: 127–42.

Davis, J. L. *et al.* 2003. "The Durres Regional Archaeological Project: Archaeological Survey in the Territory of Epidamnus/Dyrrhachium in Albania", *Hesperia* 72: 41–119.

De Fidio, P. 1994. "Corinto e l'Occidente tra VIII e VI sec. a.C.", *Atti Taranto* 34: 47–141.

De Simone, C. 1956. "Un caduceo di bronzo proveniente da Brindisi", *ArchCl* 8: 15–23.

Dubois, *IGDGG* = L. Dubois. 1995. *Inscriptions grecques dialectales de Grande Grèce* I: *Colonies eubéennes. Colonies ioniennes. Emporia* (Geneva).

Ducat, J. 1962. "L'archaïsme à la recherche de points de repère chronologiques", *BCH* 86: 165–84.

Dujmušić, S. B. 2002. "The Archaeological Excavations on Cape Ploča", in Cambi *et al.* (2002) 485–97.

Dukat, Z., and Mirnik, I. 1976. "Pre-Roman Coinage on the Territory of Modern Yugoslavia", *BIALond*: 175–210.

Fantasia, U. 1972. "La leggende di fondazione di Brindisi e alcuni aspetti della presenza greca nell'Adriatico", *AnnPisa* 2: 115–39.

Fogolari, G., and Scarfi, B. M. 1970. *Adria Antica* (Venice).

Fontenrose, J. 1978. *The Delphic Oracle: Its Responses and Operations* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London).

Fraser, P. M. 1993. "The Colonial Inscription of Issa", in P. Cabanes (ed.), *L'Illyrie méridionale et l'Épire dans l'antiquité* ii, Actes du IIe colloque international de Clermont-Ferrand réunis par Pierre Cabanes, 25–27 October 1990 (Paris) 167–74.

Gaffney, V,. *et al.* 2002. "Secret Histories: The Pre-Colonial Archaeological Context for Greek Settlement of the Central Adriatic Islands", in Cambi *et al.* (2002) 25–50.

GCNP = J.-P. Descœudres (ed.), *Greek Colonists and Native Populations: Proceedings of the First Australian Congress of Classical Archaeology held in Honour of Emeritus Professor A. D. Trendall* (Oxford, 1990).

Ghinatti, F. 1996. *Assemblee greche d'Occidente* (Turin).

Giangiulio, M. 1984. "Adria", *BTCGI* 3: 38–56.

Gorini, G. 1993. "La circolazione in ambiente adriatico", in *La monetazione dell'età dionigiana*: *Atti dell' VIII Convegno del Centro internazionale di studi numismatici*, Napoli 29 maggio–1 giugno 1983 (Rome) 277–312.

Graham, A. J. 1964. *Colony and Mother City in Ancient Greece* (Manchester).

Greco, E. 1993. *Archeologia della Magna Grecia* (Rome and Bari).

Gulletta, M. I. 1994. "Eco di voci greche da Spina, l'etrusca '*civitas in Umbris*' ", in S. Alessandrì (ed.), *'Ιστορία: studi offerti dagli allievi a Giuseppe Nenci in occasione del suo settantesimo compleanno* (Galatina) 245–60.

Hadzis, C. 1994. "Fêtes et cultes à Corcyre et à Corinthe: calendriers d'Epire, calendriers des cités coloniales de l'Ouest et calendrier de Corinthe", *AttiTaranto* 34: 445–52.

Hammond, N. G. L. 1967. *Epirus* (Oxford).

—— and Walbank, F. W. 1988. *A History of Macedonia,* iii (Oxford).

Hesperìa = *Hesperìa. Studi sulla grecità di Occidente.*

Hidri, H. 1987. "Nekropoli antik i Dyrrahut", *Iliria* 17.1: 153–000.

Hornblower, S. 1991. *A Commentary on Thucydides*, i (Oxford).

I.Apoll. = P. Cabanes and N. Ceka (eds.), *Inscriptions d'Épidamne-Dyrrhachion et d'Apollonia* 2A: *Inscriptions d'Apollonia d'Illyrie*, Études épigraphiques 2: Corpus d'inscriptions grecques d'Illyrie méridionale et d'Épire I.2 (Athens, 1997).

I.Dyrrh. = P. Cabanes and F. Drini (eds.), *Inscriptions d'Épidamne-Dyrrhachion et d'Apollonia* 1: *Inscriptions d'Épidamne-Dyrrhachion*, Études épigraphiques 2: Corpus des inscriptions grecques d'Illyrie méridionale et d'Épire I (Athens, 1995).

Jeličič-Radonić, J. 2002. "Pharos—città antica: nuove scoperte archeologiche dalla Faros greca ed ellenistica", in Cambi *et al.* (2002) 221–40.

Johnston, A. W. 1979. "An Athenian rho in the Adriatic?", *ZPE* 34: 277–80.

Kirigin, B. 1990. "The Greeks in Central Dalmatia: Some New Evidence", in *GCNP* 291–321.

—— and Čače, S. 1998. "Archaeological Evidence for the Cult of Diomedes in the Adriatic", *Hesperìa* 9: 63–110.

—— Hayes, J., and Leach, P. 2002. "Secret Histories: The Pre–Colonial Archaeological Context for Greek Settlement of the Central Adriatic Islands", in Cambi *et al.* (2002) 25–50.

Koch, G. 1989. *Albanien: Kunst und Kultur im Land der Skipetanen* (Cologne).

Korkuti, M. 1994. "Durazzo", *EAA sec. suppl.* 1971–94 2: 403–4.

Kovačić, V. 2002. "Nuove scoperte nella Tragurion ellenistica", in Cambi *et al.* (2002) 375–95.

Kraay, C. M. 1976. *Archaic and Classical Greek Coins* (London).

Lacroix, L. 1965. *Monnaies et colonisation dans l'occident grec* (Brussels).

Lamboley, J.-L. 1996. *Recherches sur les messapiens IVe–IIe siècle avant J.-C.*, *BEFAR* 292 (Rome).

—— 2002. "La nuova documentazione archeologia di IV secolo as Apollonia", in Bonacasa *et al.* (2002) 217–21.

Landolfi, M. 1987. "I traffici con la Grecia e la ceramica attica come elemento del processo di maturazione urbana della civiltà picena", in G. B. Montanari (ed.), *La formazione della città in Emilia Romagna: prime esperienze urbane attraverso le nuove scoperte archeologiche*, Studi e documenti di archeologia 3 (Bologna) 187–99.

—— 2000. "Greci e piceni nelle Marche in età arcaica", *Hesperìa* 12: 125–48.

Leschhorn, W. 1984. *'Gründer der Stadt'*: *Studien zu einem politisch-religiösen Phänomen der griechischen Geschichte* (Stuttgart).

Lombardo, M. 1993. "Lo *psephisma* di Lumbarda: note critiche e questioni esegetiche", *Hesperìa* 3: 161–88.

—— 2002. "I Greci a Kerkyra Melaina (*Syll.* 141): pratiche colonali e ruolo degli indigeni", in Cambi *et al.* (2002) 121–40.

Luni, M. 1982. "Nuove tracce della frequentazione greca dell'adriatico occidentale e riconoscimento dello scalo marittimo greco di S. Marina di Focara (Pesaro)", *RendLinc* ser. 8, 36: 45–75.

—— 1995. "Fase protourbana nella regione medioadriatica nel V–VI secolo a.C. e frequentazione commerciale greca", in A. Calbi and G. Susini (eds.), *Pro popolo arimenese*, Atti del convegno internazionale *Rimini antica*, Rimini, October 1993, Epigrafia e antichità 14 (Faenza) 183–225.

Maier, F. G. 1959–61. *Griechische Mauerbauinschriften* i–ii (Vienna).

Mallwitz, A. 1972. *Olympia und seine Bauten* (Darmstadt).

Mambella, R. 1984. "Su di una iscrizione vascolare 'siracusana' di IV secolo a.C. ad Adria", *StEtr* 52: 171–81.

Mandinić, M. B., and Visonà, P. 2002. "Monetary Circulation on the Island of Vis (Issa), *c.*350 B.C.–A.D. 600", in Cambi *et al.* (2002) 319–74.

Mano, A. 1976. "Les rapports commerciaux d'Apollonie avec l'arrière-pays illyrien", *Iliria* 4: 307–16.

—— 1983. "Problemi della colonizzazione ellenica nell' Illiria meridionale", in *Modes de contacts* 227–38.

May, J. M. F. 1939. *The Coinage of Damastion and the Lesser Coinages of the Illyro-Paeonian Region* (Oxford).

—— 1946. "Macedonia and Illyria", *JRS* 36: 48–56.

Meiggs, R. 1982. *Trees and Timber in the Ancient Mediterranean World* (Oxford).

Menchelli, S., Mannino, K., and Gianotta, M. T. 1996. "Polignano a Mare", *BTCGI* 14: 115–27.

Mertens-Horn, M., and Viola, L. 1990. "Archäische Tondächer westgriechischer Typologie in Delphi und Olympia", *Hesperia* 59: 235–48.

Mihovilić, K. 2002. "Greek and Hellenistic Finds in Istria and the Kvarner Bay", in Cambi *et al.* (2002) 499–520.

Miraj, L. 2002. "The Earliest Coinage of Epidamnos/Dyrrachion as a Source", in Cambi *et al.* (2002) 435–70.

Modes de contacts = various authors, *Modes de contacts et processus de transformation dans les sociétés anciennes*, Actes du colloque de Cortone, 24–30 May 1981, *CEFR* 67 (Pisa and Rome, 1983).

Nenci, G. 1978. "Per una definizione della *'Iαπυγία*", *AnnPisa* NS 8: 43–58.

Panvini Rosati, F. 1974. "Monetazione preromana sulla costa adriatico-italica", *RIN* 76: 83–93.

Papović, S., and Popović Ljubiša, B. 1996. *Antička Budva* (Budva and Belgrade).

Pareti, L. 1961. "La tradizione antica su Spina", in L. Pareti, *Studi minori de storia antica*, ii (Rome) 409–21.

Peretti, A. 1979. *Il periplo di Scilace: studio sul primo portolano del Mediterraneo* (Pisa).

Petrić, M. 2002. "Greek Influence on the East Adriatic Coast—Marine Archaeological Evidence", in Cambi *et al.* (2002) 471–84.

Praschniker, C. 1922–24. "Muzakhar und Malakastra: Archäologische Untersuchungen in Mittelalbanien", *ÖJhBeibl* 21–22: 6–223.

—— and Schober, A. 1919. *Archäologische Forschungen in Albanien und Montenegro*, Schriften der Balkankommission, Antiqv. Abt. 8 (Vienna).

Prendi, F., and Zheku, K. 1972. "La ville illyrienne de Lissus, son origine et son système de fortification", *Iliria* 2: 239–68.

Radić, D., and Bass, B. 2002. "Back to the Current Greek Reality on Korčula: The Ground Situation Reviewed, New Evidence, and Future Investigations", in Cambi *et al.* (2002) 289–302.

Rendić-Miočević, D. 1965. "Zur Frage der Datierung des Psephisma aus Lumbarda (*Syll.*³ 141)", *ArchIug* 6: 77–86.

—— 1983. "I Greci in Dalmazia e i loro rapporti col mondo illirico", in *Modes de contacts* 187–202.

Salmon, J. B. 1984. *Wealthy Corinth: A History of the City to* 338 *B.C.* (Oxford).

Sanader, M. 2002. "Issa before Dionysius of Syracuse?", in Cambi *et al.* (2002) 311–18.

Schwabacher, W. 1943. "Illyrian-Paeonian Silver Coins", *ActaA* 14: 83–91.

Sebastiani, S. 1983. "Sulle fasi urbane di Ancona antica", *ArchCl* 35: 287–96.

Slapšak, B. 2002. "New Observations on the Regular Land Division in the Chora of Pharos", in Cambi *et al.* (2002) 195–220.

Spina: storia di una città tra Greci ed Etruschi, Ferrara—Castello Estense, 26 September 1993–15 May 1994 (Ferrara, 1993).

Stylianou, P. J. 1998. *A Historical Commentary on Diodorus Siculus Book* 15 (Oxford).

Talbert, R. J. A. 1974. *Timoleon and the Revival of Greek Sicily* 344–317 *B.C.* (Cambridge).

Tiné Bertocchi, F. 1989. "Elpia", *BTCGI* 7: 166–74.

Uggeri, G. 2002. "Dalla Sicilia all'Adriatico: rotte marittime e vie terrestri nell'età dei due Dionisî (405–344)", in Bonacasa *et al.* (2002) 295–320.

—— and Uggeri Patitucci, S. 1974. "Topografia e urbanistica di Spina", *StEtr* 42: 69–97.

Vallet, G. 1950. "Athènes et l'Adriatique", *MEFRA* 62: 33–52.

Van Compernolle, R. 1953. "La date de la fondation d'Apollonie d'Illyrie", *AntCl* 22: 50–64.

Vanotti, G. 2002. "Enea a Corcira Melaina", in Cambi *et al.* (2002) 77–81.

Various authors 1994. *Corinto e l'occidente*, *AttiTaranto* 34.

Vattuone, R. 2000. "Teopompo e l'Adriatico: ricerche sui frammenti del libro XXI delle Filippiche (FF128–123 Jacoby)", *Hesperìa* 10: 11–38.

Visonà, P. 1995. "Colonization and Money Supply at Issa in the 4th Century B.C.", *Chiron* 25: 55–62.

Wikén, E. 1937. *Die Kunde der Hellenen von dem Lande und den Völkern der Apenninenhalbinsel bis* 300 *v. Chr.* (Lund).

Wilkes, J. 1992. *The Illyrians* (Oxford and Cambridge, Mass.).

Woodhead, G. 1970. "The 'Adriatic Empire' of Dionysius I of Syracuse", *Klio* 52: 503–12.

Zaninović, M. 1976*a*. "Issa", in *PECS* 417.

—— 1976*b*. "Pharo", in *PECS* 690.

—— 2002. "L'antica divisione Greca della terra sulle isole Hvar (Lesina), Vis (Lissa) e Korčula (Curzola)", in Cambi *et al.* (2002) 261–87.

EPEIROS

PETER FUNKE, NIKOLA MOUSTAKIS, BARBARA HOCHSCHULZ

I. The Region

The basic meaning of ἡ ἤπειρος is "the mainland", by contrast with the ocean or an island (Hom. *Il.* 3.90; Hdt. 8.66.1; Ar. *Ach.* 534; Xen. *Hell.* 6.1.4; Pl. *Phd.* 111A). In the course of the Archaic and Classical periods, however, the word became common as a toponym designating a specific part of north-western Greece (Franke (1955) 3–30). Whereas in Homer the Akarnanian mainland opposite Ithaka is called ἡ Ἤπειρος (*Il.* 2.635), both Hekataios (frr. 26, 106) and later Hellanikos (fr. 83) place the mainland called Ἤπειρος further north. The first precise delimitation of the region is found in Pindar (*Nem.* 4.51–53), who says that ἁ Ἄπειρος stretches "from Dodone to the Ionian Sea". Pindar's statement stands isolated, and neither Ἤπειρος nor Ἠπειρῶτις is used as a toponym in C5 prose and drama, although Thucydides demonstrates that he has a detailed knowledge of the ethnic and political organisation of the region (2.80.5–6).

It is only in C4 that ἡ Ἤπειρος (Ἄπειρος) becomes a well-defined toponym designating the region stretching from the Keraunian mountains in the north to the Ambrakian Gulf in the south (Xen. *Hell.* 6.1.7; Ephor. fr. 129b; Lycurg. 1.26; *IG* IV².1 95.23, 73, 122.60). The exact delimitation of the region of Epeiros was in dispute throughout Antiquity. Amphilocheia was part of Epeiros according to Strabo 7.7.1 and 8; but did not belong to Epeiros according to Strabo 9.5.1. There was no clearly defined boundary to the north between Epeiros and Illyria and to the east between Epeiros and the peoples living east of the Pindos Range. Thus, Apollonia (no. 77) belongs to Epeiros according to Strabo 2.5.40 and 16.2.43, but to Illyria according to Steph. Byz. 105.20 and 214.9. The population of these regions was culturally mixed and under shifting domination. Accordingly, this chapter of the Inventory includes some settlements in southern Illyria near the lower reach of the river Aoos. The coastal cities in southern Illyria, on the other hand, as well as Amphilocheia are treated in the chapter about the Adriatic (321–37).

In C4 the toponyms ἡ Ἤπειρος (Ἄπειρος) and Ἠπειρῶτις were purely geographical (Theopomp. fr. 382; Lycurg. 1.26); the inhabitants of the region invariably described themselves as members of either a *polis* (*SGDI* 1351.5 (C4s): Ἀνδρόκκας Δωδωναῖος) or an *ethnos* (*SGDI* 1351.11: Φίλων Ὀνόπερνος (cf. Hammond (1967) 526, 538–39; cf. Ps.-Skylax 28, 30–32). The ethnic Ἀπειρωτάς (Ἀπιρωτάς, Ἠπειρωτής) takes on a political connotation only in C4 when, under Molossian leadership, all the previously independent Epeirotic tribes were united and called σύμμαχοι τῶν Ἀπειρωτᾶν (*SGDI* 1336 (C4s); see Cabanes (1976) 155–85). Thereafter the collective use of the regional ethnic is attested both externally (*I.Magnesia* 32.5–6 (C2e); see also *SEG* 23 189.11 (*c.*330)) and internally on C3 coins (Franke (1961) 121, 125–33; *SNG Cop. Epirus* 104, 106) and in the official designation of the federation and its magistrates (*SGDI* 1350 (C2e); *SEG* 16 385 (C3l); *I.Magnesia* 32.42 (C2e)).

In the Epeirotic federation, the affiliation of a citizen with his city and/or tribal unit is recorded by an ethnic added to his name, either a city-ethnic (e.g. Ἐρχέλαος Δωδωναῖος: Cabanes (1976) 586 no. 70.6 (C4)) or an ethnic denoting a subdivision of one of the three major tribes: the Molossians, the Thesprotians and the Chaonians (e.g. Ἀμφικόριος Ἀρκτάν: *SEG* 15 384.9 (370–368)). Sometimes both the subtribal ethnic and the city-ethnic are recorded (Ἀνδροκάδης Ἀρκτὰν Εὐρυμεναῖος (*SEG* 15 384.10–11)). In lists of names in which such subdivisional ethnics are recorded, the names of the three major tribes are sometimes added as headings (Μολοσσῶν Ἀνδρόκκας Δωδωναῖος ... Θεσπ<ρ>ωτῶν οἵδε Δόκιμος Λαρισαῖος ... (*SGDI* 1351 (C4s)). Before the creation of the federation, names recorded in external contexts are specified by an ethnic indicating membership of one of the three major tribes (Νικαρέτα Θεσπρωτίς (*IG* II² 8840 (C4m); Ἀντάνωρ Εὐθυμίδου Χαονίς (*F.Delphes* III.4 409.8 (C4l/C3e)). In the federation, the usual naming custom is to use either the regional ethnic (Αἴσωπος Ἠπειρώτης (*IG* II² 8855 (C4s)) or the regional and tribal ethnics combined (Σίμακος Φαλακρίωνος Ἠπειρώτης ἀπὸ Θεσπρωτῶν (*IG* IV².1 98.19–20 (C3f)). The recording

of the tribal affiliation by ἀπὸ plus an ethnic in the genitive is attested only for the three major tribes and testifies to their status as political sub-units of the federation.

The many different ways of recording the *ethnikon* testify to the variety and development of the ethnic and political structure of Epeiros. The tremendously complex organisation of the Epeirote tribes is difficult to analyse due to lack of sources (cf. Franke (1955); Hammond (1967); Larsen (1968); Cabanes (1976); Hammond (1994)). A high number of ethnics is attested; but they do not form an unambiguous pattern, due to the often multi-levelled hierarchical organisation of the Epeirote tribes. Accordingly, it is impossible to draw a clear line between "tribal ethnics" indicating membership of the overriding tribal structure and "city-ethnics" in the proper sense.

The Epeirote tribes were settled κωμηδόν at least to the end of C5. The political transformation of the region began in C5 (Thuc. 2.80.5–6) and went hand in hand with a gradual urbanisation, just as in the other parts of north-western and central Greece. Ps.-Skylax 30–32 claims that Epeiros was still settled κατὰ κώμας in C4, but archaeological research in the region has demonstrated that by C4 urban centres had emerged in many places (Dakaris (1987); Ceka (1990); Corvisier (1991)). In C3–C2 Epeiros became dotted with urban centres, which were almost all destroyed by the Romans when, in 168, Aemilius Paulus had seventy Epeirote cities razed to the ground (Strabo 7.7.3, quoting Polyb. for the information; Livy 45.34.1–6; Plut. *Aem.* 29.1–5).

This inventory of Epeirote *poleis* is restricted to communities whose status as *polis* is securely attested before 300. Consequently we have excluded *poleis* founded in the Hellenistic or Roman period on sites with no older remains of urban settlement. Furthermore, we have omitted many epigraphically attested *ethnika*, already listed in Cabanes (1976) 134–41. Another community excluded from the inventory is one attested in a question put to the oracle in Dodona in C4l by the πόλις ἁ τῶν Χαόνων (*SEG* 15 397). Since no toponym is added to the mention of the Chaonians, it is impossible to decide whether the reference is to Phoinike (no. 107)—the *polis* which was the centre of the tribe of the Chaonians—or whether the term *polis* is here used as a designation of the entire tribal organisation (Larsen (1968) 280 n. 3; Cabanes (1976) 156, 174; Hansen (1998) 130). In the latter case *polis* is used in the political sense, without having the urban sense, as a connotation.

The written sources, on the one hand, contain only a few, scattered pieces of information about Epeiros in the Classical period and provide us with an inadequate picture of the settlement pattern of the region before *c.*300. There is, on the other hand, archaeological evidence of numerous settlements of C5–C4. Many of them have significant remains of urban structures: defence circuits and fortifications, habitation quarters, etc. (1) Some of these archaeological sites have been identified with ancient toponyms and are recorded in an alphabetically ordered list below. A number of settlements which are classified as *polis*, *limen* or *oppidum* by post-Classical authors are still unlocated. Since it cannot be excluded that they existed in the pre-Hellenistic period, they are also recorded in the list. (2) Others have not so far been linked to a toponym attested in the written sources; these settlements are named after the modern toponym and are likewise recorded below in an alphabetically ordered list.

1. *Pre-Hellenistic Settlements not Attested as* Poleis

Baiake (Βαιάκη) Steph. Byz. 156.16: πόλις τῆς Χαονίας, Ἑκαταῖος. Stephanos quotes Hecat. fr. 104 for the toponym but not necessarily for the site-classification (Hansen (1997) 17–18). One MS (P) has Βαλάκη, but the alphabetical arrangement of Stephanos' texts shows that Βαιάκη is the preferable reading. Hammond (1967) 471–72, however, prefers Βαλάκη, which he takes to be identical with Βαλλιακή. According to Strabo 7.5.8, Balliake was located between Apollonia (no. 77) and Orikos (no. 103). Next, following most editors of Strabo in believing that Βαλλιακή must be related to or identical with Βύλλις (*infra* no. 92), he accepts Βυλλιακή as a plausible emendation of both Βαλλιακή in Strabo and Βαιάκη in Stephanos. Finally, he identifies this Bylliake (for which there is no ancient authority whatsoever) with modern Plaka. As soon as the unwarranted emendation of Strabo and Stephanos is discarded, we are left with the unlocated settlement Βαιάκη, mentioned by Hekataios as quoted by Stephanos. Whether Strabo's Balliake is identical with Hekataios' Baiake is a moot point. Not in *Barr.*, but Hecat. fr. 104 indicates A.

Bouneima (Βούνειμα) Steph. Byz. 182.9 (πόλις Ἠπείρου); in Steph. Byz. 631.3 the reading is Βουνίμων. Hammond (1967) 660 identifies Bouneima with Moni Voutsa. In *Barr.* 54 unlocated, A? C?.

Charadros (Χάραδρος) Polyb. 21.26.7, or Χαράδρα (Polyb. 4.63.4). Identified with Palaia-Philippias. *Polis* status in the Hellenistic period is attested by a C2m treaty with Ambrakia (no. 113) concerning the frontiers (*SEG* 35 665), but there is no indication of *polis* status before C3 apart from a C4?

defensive wall (Dakaris (1971*b*) Fig. 30); cf. Cabanes and Andreou (1985); Charneux and Treheux (1988)). *Barr.* 54, C.

Cheimerion (*Χειμέριον*) Thuc. 1.46.4 (*λιμήν*); Strabo 7.7.5; Steph. Byz. 690.9 (*ἄκρα*). Dakaris identifies Cheimerion with the ancient remains of modern Stigkia about 4–5 km west of Ephyra. An acropolis of 1 ha was fortified probably already in the Archaic period (Dakaris (1972) 80, 96, 134 fig. 22). *Barr.* 54, C but A may attested as well (*supra*).

Chimera (*Chimera*) Plin. *HN* 4.1.4 (*castellum*). Identified with Himarë, walls of C4s (Corvisier (1991) 219, 287). In *Barr.* 49 only RL, but see *loc. cit.*

Elaias Limen (*Ἐλαίας λιμήν*) Ps.-Skylax 30; Ptol. *Geog.* 1.14.5, situated near Kerentza. It was probably the harbour of Elea (no. 95; Dakaris (1972) 134). See also Cheimerion (s.v. Ephyra (no. 96)). *Barr.* 54, C?.

Elina (*Ἐλίνα*) *SGDI* 1561 (C1). Elina is identified with Dymokastro (Dakaris (1972) 102), fortified in C4 (ibid. fig. 31). *Barr.* 54, C.

Hekatompedon (*Ἑκατόμπεδον*) Ptol. *Geog.* 3.14.7 (*πόλις*). Corvisier (1991) 287 identifies Hekatompedon with Lekel and he reports C4? walls. In *Barr.* 49 identified with Saraquinishti and dated R.

Helikranon (*Ἑλίκρανον*) Polyb. 2.6.3. Hammond (1967) 660 identifies Helikranon with Chrysorrachi, where some remains from C5 have been found (Corvisier (1991) 202). In *Barr.* 54 only H.

Ilium (*Ilium*) Town on the *Peutinger Table*; cf. also Verg. *Aen.* 3.336. Hammond (1967) 660 identifies Ilium with Dhespotikon; C4? walls (Corvisier (1991) 284). In *Barr.* 54 only R.

Kas(s)iope (*Κασ(σ)ιόπη*) Strabo 7.7.5; Ptol. *Geog.* 3.14.2 (*λιμήν*). Probably *Kastrosykia*, walled in C4 (Dakaris (1971*b*) 51). In *Barr.* Kastrosykia is identified with Berenike and Kassiope with Kassiopi. Only HRL, but C seems to be attested too.

Nerikos (*Νήρικος*) Hsch. 5.18.1 (*πόλις Ἠπείρου*); probably a confusion with Nerikos in Akarnania: Steph. Byz. 473.20 (*πόλις Ἀκαρνανίας*); see also Thuc. 3.7.4. *Barr.* 54, C.

Onchesmos (*Ὀγχησμός*) Ptol. *Geog.* 3.14.2; Strabo 7.7.5 (*λιμήν*). Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.52.2; Cic. *Att.* 7.2.1. Located north of Saranda (Hammond (1976*b*)); probably the seaport of Phoinike (no. 107). *Barr.* 54, C.

Oropos (*Ὠρωπός*) Steph. Byz. 711.11–12 (*πόλις ἐν Θεσπρωτίᾳ*). Dakaris (1971*b*) 52, 80, 96 identifies Oropos with Voulista Panaghia. Dakaris (1971*b*) 80 describes a walled settlement in C. *Barr.* 54, A? C?

Panormos (*Πάνορμος*) Ptol. *Geog.* 3.14.2 (*λιμήν*); Strabo 7.7.5 (*λιμὴν μέγας*). Corvisier (1991) 287 identifies Panormos with Borsh and reports C4? walls. Not in *Barr.*

Photike (*Φωτική*) Hierocl. *Synecdoc.* 652.5 (*πόλις*); Procop. *Aed.* 4.1.37 (*πολίχνιον*). Hammond (1967) 659 identifies it with Paramythia, where Dakaris (1972) 99, 115 fig. 31 shows a fortified C4 acropolis. Samsari (1994) 18 identifies Photike with the ancient remains at the sites of Limponi and Lambobithra near Paramythia. In *Barr.* 54 only RL.

Sybota (*Σύβοτα λιμήν*) Thuc. 1.50.3 (*τῆς Θεσπρωτίδος λιμὴν ἐρῆμος*), 3.76.1 (*λιμήν*); Ptol. *Geog.* 3.14.5 (*λιμήν*). *Barr.* 54, C.

Thesprotia (*Θεσπρωτία*) Steph. Byz. 310.16–17 (*πόλις καὶ χώρα ἔξω τοῦ Ἀμβρακικοῦ κόλπου*); cf. Strabo 7.7.8. Unlocated. *Θεσπρωτία* is possibly connected with the C3l–C1e city-ethnic *Θεσπρωτός* (*IG* IX^{2}.1 31A.47; *F.Delphes* III.2 83; *SEG* 27 203.13–14, 16–17; *SEG* 13 248.9) and could have been the urban centre of the Thesprotians after C4l. *Barr.* 54, C.

Trampya (*Τραμπύα*) Steph. Byz. 631.3 (*πόλις τῆς Ἠπείρου πλησίον Βουνίμων*); cf. Lycoph. *Alex.* 800 (mythological tradition). Hammond (1967) 660 identifies it with Voutonosi. In *Barr.* 54 recorded s.v. Trampya, A? C? H.

2. *Unidentified Classical Settlements*

Ano Parakalamo C5e (Corvisier (1991) 202). Not in *Barr.*

Arachovitsa C5 (Corvisier (1991) 202). Not in *Barr.*

Belishove C5l (Corvisier (1991) 288). Not in *Barr.*

Elimi C4 defensive wall (Dakaris (1972) 100–2, fig. 31). Hammond (1967) 79–80 describes the remains of the walls but gives no precise dating. *Barr.* 54, C.

Grammenos/Vourta Walls dated C5–C4 (Corvisier (1991) 214, 282). Not in *Barr.*

Kalivo *c.*5 km east of Bouthroton (no. 91). C5–C4 fortification wall (Corvisier (1991) 287). *Barr.* 54, AC.

Karos Walls dated C5–C4 (Corvisier (1991) 287). Not in *Barr.*

Kastriza Fortified in C4 (Dakaris (1972) 100, 115 fig. 31). Only H recorded in *Barr.* 54.

Kastrosykia Fortified in C4; probably a seaport of Kassopa (no. 100; Dakaris (1971*b*) 51 fig. 30); cf. Kassopa (no. 100). Not in *Barr.*

Khoika C4? defensive wall (Dakaris (1972) 97, 115 fig. 31). *Barr.* 54, C.

Kleisoura With a C4? outer wall (Dakaris (1971*b*) 53 fig. 30). *Barr.* 54, C?

Klimatia Walls dated C5 (Corvisier (1991) 202). *Barr.* 54, C?

Koutsi C4 (Dakaris (1972) 100–2, 115 fig. 31). Not in *Barr.*

Lukovë C4s (Corvisier (1991) 219). Not in *Barr.*

Matohasanaj Fortified in C5l (Corvisier (1991) 288). Not in *Barr.*

Mouzakeika Probably fortified in C4 (Dakaris (1971*b*) 52–53 fig. 30). *Barr.* 54, C.

Oraiokastron (formerly *Lachanokastro*) Hammond (1967) 270–71, 660 describes the remains of the walls but gives no precise dating. *Barr.* 54, C? H? L?

Phaskomelia Possibly fortified in C4 (Dakaris (1972) 102, 115 fig. 31). *Barr.* 54, C.

Psina Hammond (1967) 190–91 describes the remains of the walls but gives no precise dating; Dakaris (1972) fig. 31 suggests C4? *Barr.* 54, C.

Pyrgos Walls dated C5 (Dakaris (1972) 104, fig. 52), probably part of the *peraia* of Korkyra (no. 123) which is mentioned in Thuc. 3.85.2. *Barr.* 54, A? C.

Ripes Walls dated C5–C4 (Corvisier (1991) 287). Not in *Barr.*

Riza (near *Preveza*) Walls dated C5 though possibly Archaic (Corvisier (1991) 201). Not in *Barr.*

Riziani Dakaris (1972) 112, fig. 31 supposes that a settlement existed in C5 but that it was not fortified. Hammond (1967) 88 reports ancient buildings but gives no precise dating. *Barr.* 54, C?

Selo C5 settlement (Corvisier (1991) 218). Only H recorded in *Barr.*

Tatzat With reference to Philippson (1956) 63 n. 4, where he reports an ancient fortification. *Barr.* 54, C?

Zuka d' Ajtoj Settlement of C5–C4 (Corvisier (1991) 287). *Barr.* 54, AC (Çukë e Ajtojt).[1]

[1] The following sites are recorded in *Barr*, Map 54, as C but have not yielded any sign of urban settlement: (1) *Ag. Georgios*—Dakaris (1971*b*) fig. 30 classifies Ag. Georgios as an open settlement in C4; (2) *Ag. Panagia*—Hammond (1967) 177–78 describes fortifications but gives no precise dating; (3) *Aidonia*—Hammond (1967) 55, 67 refers only to remains of house foundations, which may be ancient; Dakaris (1971*b*) fig. 30 classifies Aidonia as an open settlement in C4; (4) *Alpokhori*—Dakaris (1971*b*) fig. 30 classifies Alpokhori as an open settlement in C4; (5) *Anthousa*—Dakaris (1972) 100–36 describes Anthousa as an open village in C4–C2; (6) *Bestia*—Dakaris (1971b) 52 describes Bestia as an unwalled settlement in C4–C2; (7) *Chalkis*—even Hammond (1967) 255, 703 has doubts that Chalkis is an ancient settlement; (8) *Dhrovian*—Hammond (1967) 120 describes the remains of the walls but gives no precise dating; (9) *Doliane*—Hammond (1967) 86–87 refers just to a wall near Doliane but gives no dating; (10) *Dovroï*—Hammond (1967) 251 mentions no signs of fortifications; (11) *Epitaphion*—Hammond (1967) 152 without dating; (12) *Gradetsi*—Hammond (1967) 181 describes the remains of the walls but gives no precise dating; (13) *Hani Emin Aga*—Hammond (1967) 157–58 describes the remains of the walls without precise dating; (14) *Kalarritai*—Hammond (1967) 178–79 describes the remains of the walls without precise dating; (15) *Kalogeritsa*—Hammond (1967) 158–59 describes the remains of the walls but gives no precise dating; (16) *Kalokhori*—Hammond (1967) 189–90 describes the remains of the walls but gives no precise dating; (17) *Kastri*—Hammond (1967) 163–64 describes the remains of the walls but gives no precise dating; (18) *Kastrion*—Hammond (1967) 67 describes the remains of the walls but gives no precise dating; (19) *Kastriotissa*—Hammond (1967) 149–50 describes the remains of the walls but gives no precise dating; (20) *Kastro*—Dakaris (1971B) fig. 30 classifies Kastro as an open settlement in C4; (21) *Kato Zalongon*—Hammond (1967) 188 describes the remains of the walls but gives no precise dating; (22) *Kerasson*—Dakaris (1971*b*) fig. 30 classifies Kerasson as an open settlement in C4; (23) *Kheimadio*—Dakaris (1971*b*) fig. 30 classifies Kheimadio as an open settlement in C4; (24) *Malçan*—Hammond (1967) 97 describes the remains of the walls but gives no precise dating; (25) *Masklinitsa*—Dakaris (1972) figs. 28, 31 record only graves in C5–C4; (26) *Mesokhora*—Hammond (1967) 251 mentions no fortification; (27) *Moni Sosinou*—Hammond (1967) 196 describes the remains of the walls but gives no precise dating; (28) *Palaiokastro*—Hammond (1967) 212 describes only a Byzantine fortification; (29) *Palaiokhori*—Hammond (1967) 164–65 mentions a walled ancient site. Dakaris (1971*b*) fig. 30 classifies Palaikhori as an open settlement in C4; (30) *Palaiokhori* (*Yiatelyio*)—Hammond (1967) 251 describes a wall without precise dating; (31) *Paliouri-Dragoumi*—Hammond (1967) 192–93 describes a wall without precise dating; (32) *Philiates*—Hammond (1967) 86 reports only remains of a tower but gives no precise dating; (33) *Phloriada*—Heuzey (1860) 307 describes the site as an enceinte with towers and dwellings inside and outside the walls but gives no precise dating; (34) *Polystaphylon*—Hammond (1967) 57 mentions only that there was probably a village site in ancient times; (35) *Romano*—Dakaris (1971*b*) 52 describes an unwalled settlement in C6–C4; (36) *Sinou*—Hammond (1967) 90 mentions walls but gives no precise dating; (37) *Skamneli*—Hammond (1967) 263–64 describes walls but gives no precise dating; (38) *Solomos*—Hammond (1967) 242 describes the remains of the walls but gives no precise dating; (39) *Strongyli*—Dakaris (1971*b*) fig. 30 classifies Strongyli as an open settlement in C4; Hammond (1967) 61: "Although I have not visited the place it is safe to assume that it was occupied in classical Greek times, as well as in Roman times, and was a dependency of Rogous"; (40) *Vagalat*—Hammond (1967) 96 describes the remains of the walls but gives no precise dating; (41) *Vitsa*—Vokotopoulou (1986) *passim* calls Vitsa a village; (42) *Voedros Han*—Hammond (1967) 151 describes the remains of the walls but gives no precise dating; (43) *Voutonosi*—Hammond (1967) 261 describes the remains of the walls but gives no precise dating; (44) *Vrosina*—Hammond (1967) 187 describes the remains of the walls but gives no precise dating.

II. The *Poleis*

86. Amantia (Amantieus) Map 49. Lat. 40.25, long. 19.45. Size of territory: ? Type: B. The toponym is *Ἀμαντία, ἡ* (Ps.-Skylax 26; Lycoph. *Alex.* 1043) or *Ἄβαντία* (C3l/C2e Delphic list of *theorodokoi*: Plassart (1921) col. IV 56). The city-ethnic is *Ἀμαντιεύς* (Ps.-Skylax 27).

Amantia is attested as a *polis* in the urban sense in Lycoph. *Alex.* 1043 (*εἰς Ἀμαντίαν πόλιν*). Also, Ps.-Skylax indicates that Amantia was of some importance by listing it as the only site between the two *poleis* of Apollonia (no. 77) and Orikos (no. 103) (Ps.-Skylax 26, where *Ἀμαντία* seems to denote the territory rather than the urban centre of the *polis*; cf. Steph. Byz. 82.23: *Ἀμαντία Ἰλλυρίων μοῖρα*). Apart from the collective and external use of the city-ethnic found in Ps.-Skylax, the only attestation in Greek sources of the city-ethnic is in Steph. Byz. 83.1.

Cults of Aphrodite (Ceka (1990) 218) and Athena (Tzouvara-Souli (1979) fig. 1) are attested; they are probably of Hellenistic date.

Amantia is identified with the ancient remains near Plocë (Corvisier (1991) 288); it was fortified in C5; the walls were about 2,100 m long and enclosed an area of roughly 20 ha. A temple and a stadium have been found south of the walls (Ceka (1990) 217–18). Ceka (1990) 217 suggests that Amantia replaced Thronion (cf. 328), which was destroyed by Apollonia (no. 77) in C5m.

87. Artichia Map 54. Unlocated, not in *Barr.* Type: C. The toponym is *Ἀρτιχία, ἡ*. The only thing we know about Artichia is that in, probably, 355 a *theorodokos* was appointed to host *theoroi* from Epidauros: *Ἀρτιχία. Σχιδᾶς* (*IG* IV².1 95.30), cf. Perlman (2000) 278. Cabanes (1997*a*) suggests locating Artichia in the Parauaia in the Permet basin.

88. Batiai Map 54. Lat. 39.15, long. 20.50. Size of territory: 1 or 2. Type: A. The toponym is *Βιτία, ἡ* (Theopomp. fr. 206) or *Βατίαι, αἱ* (Theopomp. fr. 382 *apud* Strabo 7.7.5).

The earliest evidence of Batiai as a *polis* is Theopomp. fr. 206, where Batiai is mentioned together with Elateia (no. 94), Pandosia (no. 104) and Boucheta (no. 90) as *πόλεις τῶν Κασσωπαίων*. Since these three sites are mentioned by Dem. 7.32 as being colonies of Elis (no. 251), it seems reasonable to suppose that Batiai too was an Elean colony. Batiai was a *polis* belonging to the Kassopians (Theopomp. fr. 206), who in turn formed a section of the Thesprotians (Strabo 7.7.5). In C4s Batiai was a dependency of Kassopa (no. 100).

Batiai is identified with the ruins of the Kastri hill 3 km south of Rizovouni (Podogora), 3.5 km east of the modern village of Thesprotiko (plain of Lelovo), an advantageous position controlling the plain and the main route to central Epeiros (Dakaris (1971*b*) 183). The construction of a polygonal wall around the hill makes good use of the natural formation of the ground. Its construction is dated to the period after 343/2. It was 1,400 m in circumference and enclosed an area of 10.1 ha (ibid. 185). The principal northern side (main entrance) was protected by large towers. Four other gates have been identified in the north-east, south, south-west and north-west corners (ibid. 186 figs. 45–46). Traces of a polygonal wall are also visible inside the town, indicating the existence of a walled acropolis (ibid.). In the northern part of the acropolis is preserved a wall, which may have enclosed a shrine or a *temenos* (ibid.). Four cisterns have been found with a total capacity of about 300–400 m³ (ibid.). Dakaris (1971*b*) 87 states that it is impossible to determine the specific functions of the buildings inside the town.

89. [Berenike] Map 54. Lat. 39.02, long. 20.45. Size of territory: ? Type: C. Berenike was a *polis* founded by Pyrrhos II in C3s (Steph. Byz. 164.3: App. *Mithr.* 4). The town was situated at modern Michalitsi (Dakaris (1971*b*) fig. 30, *pace Barr.*). The place, however, was fortified already in C4s (Dakaris (1971*b*) fig. 30). Dakaris (1971*b*) 51 supposes that Berenike was a seaport of Kassopa (no. 100) in addition to the one at modern Kastrosykia. Therefore the precursor of Berenike can perhaps be recognised as a dependent *polis* from C4s, *viz.* a dependency of Kassopa.

90. Boucheta (Bouchetios) Map 54. Lat. 39.10, long. 20.50. Size of territory: 1 or 2. Type: A. The toponym is *Βούχετα, τά* (Dem. 7.32; Theopomp. fr. 206) or *Βουχέτιον, τό* (Theopomp. fr. 382; Strabo 7.7.5) or *Βούχετον, τό* (Polyb. 21.26.8). The city-ethnic is *Βουχέτιος* (*IG* IX².1 512 (C3)).

Boucheta is classified as a *polis* in the urban sense by Dem. 7.32 and by Theopomp. fr. 206. It is also regarded as a colony of Elis (no. 251) (Dem. 7.32). The individual use of the city-ethnic is attested externally in a C3 sepulchral inscription found in Palairos (no. 131) (*IG* IX².1 512). Boucheta was a *polis* belonging to the Kassopians (Theopomp. fr. 206), who in turn formed a section of the Thesprotians (Strabo 7.7.5). In C4s Boucheta was a dependency of Kassopa (no. 100).

According to tradition, Boucheta was situated in the Kassopaia at the river Louros at a short distance from the sea. Dakaris (1971*b*) 177 fig. 9 and Hammond (1976*a*) locate it on a secluded hill, where ruins of the Byzantine castle of Rogoi are visible, on the right bank of the river Louros. This

was an advantageous position near the Ambrakian Gulf, to which Boucheta was connected by the navigable Louros. Dakaris (1971*b*) 178 suggests that Boucheta was the port of Elateia (no. 94) and Batiai (no. 88).

The site was settled from prehistoric times. Corvisier (1991) 201 suggests that, already in the Archaic period, 0.75 ha was fortified. By C5l an isodomic wall with eight towers had been built and enclosed an area of 1.5 ha. The only gate was in the north-west corner (Dakaris (1971*b*) 181 fig. 47). When in C4f the settlement extended westward, the wall with interval towers was increased and now enclosed up to 3.5 ha, with a population of about 1,000. The gateway was situated on the western side (ibid.).

The visible remains of the urban structure have been destroyed by building activity in mediaeval and modern times; the only traces are of a large ancient building on the southern foothill which can be followed for about 80 m; it might be a stoa-shaped structure which probably served as a wharf or shipyard of the navigable river (ibid. 182–83 fig. 47).

91. Bouthroton (Bouthrotios) Map 54. Lat. 39.45, long. 20.00. Size of territory: ? Type: A. The toponym is *Βουθρωτός* (Hecat. fr. 106 = Steph. Byz. 709.16–18) or *Βουθρωτόν* (Strabo 7.7.5). The individual use of the city-ethnic *Βουθρώτιος* is attested internally in a C3m dedication (*SEG* 36 567).

Bouthroton is attested as a *polis* in the urban sense at Hecat. fr. 106; it is unlikely that there was a *polis* in Epeiros as early as 500, unless it was a Greek colony (Hansen (1997) 20). There is no tradition of a Greek colony, but excavations have yielded Protocorinthian, Corinthian and Attic pottery of C7 to C5. It is perfectly possible that there was a Greek colony unattested but for the quote from Hekataios (Hammond (1967) 474; Hansen (1997) 20).

Bouthroton was situated about 6 km from modern Saranda. Ptol. *Geog.* 3.14.4 lists Bouthroton as part of Thesprotia. Bouthroton was the urban centre of the Prasaiboi, as is demonstrated by several Hellenistic proxeny decrees and manumission inscriptions found in Bouthroton (*SEG* 32 622–25, 36 561–68, 38 470–519).

The acropolis was protected by three circuit walls. The oldest wall was constructed between C6 and C5. Further fortified extensions are dated from C5–C4 and C3 (Bergemann (1998) 50). The walls surrounded 3.7 ha (Corvisier (1991) 287). A C4 stoa and a C4l theatre on the south slopes of the acropolis have been excavated (Bergemann (1998) 50).

92. Byllis (Byllion) Map 49. Lat. 40.35, long. 19.45. Size of territory: ? Type: B. The toponym is *Βύλλις, ἡ* (*SEG* 38 542 (C3–C2); Plut. *Brut.* 26.4) or *Βουλλίς* (Ptol. *Geog.* 3.13.4). The city-ethnic is *Βυλλίων* (*SEG* 43 334 (oracular lead tablet of C4m); *SEG* 24 449.1 (C3s); Hellenistic coins (Head, *HN*² 314–15)) or *Βουλινός* (Ps.-Skylax 27).

The only attestation of Byllis as a *polis* is in Steph. Byz. 190.12 (*πόλις Ἰλλυρίδος*). The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested externally in a C4m oracle inquiry (*SEG* 43 334) and internally by C3–C2 coins (Head, *HN*² 314–15).

The territory of the Bylliones is quite well identified by Ceka (1987) 135–36. He describes a trapezoidal territory on the right side of the rivers Luftinje and Aoos, extending in the west to the Malakastra mountains, in the south-west to Kalivac, and in the south-east to Rabie. This territory corresponds quite well with the tradition (Strabo 7.5.8; Ptol. *Geog.* 3.13.4).

Byllis was part of the Atintania (Ceka (1987) 141, map). Ptol. *Geog.* 3.13.4 mentions Byllis under the heading *Ἐλυμιωτῶν*. Byllis was the urban centre of the *κοινὸν Βυλλιόνων* which is attested in C3s (*SEG* 24 449). Ceka (1987) 137 traces the origin of the *koinon* back to C4m. The Bylliones acted for the first time as a political unit *c.*C4m, when they posed an oracle inquiry to Dodone (Dakaris *et al.* (1993) 56).

The town of Byllis was situated at the right side of the Aoos, at modern Gradisht. It was fortified in C4m (Ceka (1990) 221). The wall enclosed an area of 28 ha (Corvisier (1991) 288). The archaeological remains confirm that Byllis was a political and cultural centre of the region in the Hellenistic period. Excavations have brought to light an agora, two stoas (C3s), a C3m theatre for *c.*7,500 spectators, a stadium (C3s), a cistern and a peristyle temple of C3s (Ceka (1990) 224–29).

93. Dodone (Dodonaios) Map 54. Lat. 39.30, long. 20.45. Size of territory: ? Type: B. The toponym is *Δωδώη, ἡ* (Aesch. *PV* 658; Hdt. 1.46.2). The city-ethnic is *Δωδωναῖος*, and the external use is attested both collectively (Hdt. 2.57.1) and individually (*SGDI* 1351 (C4s), 1355 (undated)).

Usually Dodone is mentioned as an oracle (Hdt. 2.52) or a sanctuary (Eur. *Phoen.* 983). Dodone was the religious, political and cultural centre of the Molossian League and later of the Epirote League. Copies of the decrees (proxeny and citizenship decrees, manumission records) of the Molossian and Epirote League were set up in Dodone (the oldest decrees: Cabanes (1976) 534–40 no. 1 (370–368), no. 2 (shortly before 330), no. 3 (before 330)). From these inscriptions we know of the main institutions and the most important magistrates of the Molossian and Epeirote

League; but we have no information about the institutions of the city itself. For the Molossian League are attested *basileus*, *prostates*, *grammateus*, *damiorgoi*, *synarchontes*, *hieromnemones* (Cabanes (1976) 534–40 nos. 1–3) and an *eklesia* (*sic*) (ibid. 541 no. 5).

Attested cults include Zeus Dodonaios or Naios (Hom. *Il.* 16.233; Cabanes (1976) 550 no. 24 (C5); Dem. 18.253); Dione (Cabanes (1976) 550 no. 24 (C5)); Themis (ibid. 560 no. 22 (C4)); Apollo (ibid. 560 no. 22 (C4)); Aphrodite and Herakles (Dakaris (1993*a*) 19–20).

Dodone is situated 22 km south-west of modern Ioannina at the foot of Mt. Tomaros (Dakaris (1993*a*) 6). The acropolis was surrounded by a C4 polygonal wall which enclosed an area of 3.4 ha (Dakaris (1971*a*) 72–73). It had ten towers, two main gates (in the north-east and south-west) and a small gate in the south (Dakaris (1993*a*) 34–35). On the acropolis some foundations of buildings and a rectangular cistern hewn out of the rock are noticeable, but not yet completely excavated (Dakaris (1971*a*) 75).

The main sanctuary was situated below the acropolis. The central cult site was the prophetic oak. In C5l the first temple was built, simple in construction with *pronaos* and cella (Evangelidis and Dakaris (1959) 27; Dakaris (1960) 6; Dieterle (1999) ch. iii.1).

The Molossian and Epeirote federal coins had among other types the head of Zeus Dodonaios and Dione, eagle, thunderbolt or oak leaves, all referring to the oracle at Dodone. Legend: ΜΟΛΟΣΣΟΝ or ΑΠΕΙΡΩΤΑΝ (Franke (1961) 93–97, 150–56; *SNG Cop. Epirus* 105–34).

94. Elateia Map 54. Lat. 39.10, long. 20.40. Size of territory: ? Type: A. The toponym is Ἐλάτεια, ἡ (Dem. 7.32; Steph. Byz. 264.3), Ἐλάτρεια (Theopomp. fr. 206) and Ἐλάτρια (Strabo 7.7.5; Steph. Byz. 264.5). The only attestation of a city-ethnic is in Steph. Byz. 264.4–5.

Elateia is classified as a *polis* in the urban sense by Dem. 7.32 and by Theopomp. fr. 206. It is also regarded as being a colony of Elis (no. 251) (Dem. 7.32). Elateia was a *polis* belonging to the Kassopians (Theopomp. fr. 206), who in turn formed a part of the Thesprotians (Strabo 7.7.5). In C4s Elateia was a dependency of Kassopa (no. 100).

Elateia controlled the plain east of the river Louros and also the northern highland region (Dakaris (1971*b*) 173). The location of Elateia has been much in dispute (cf. Dakaris (1971*b*) n. 456). Hammond (1967) 477–78 and Dakaris (1971*b*) 171 locate it convincingly at the foot of Mt. Zalongo north of the village Paliorophoro. This site was settled from prehistoric times. Probably colonists established themselves on the north side of the hill, where the most ancient remains of buildings have been found (Dakaris (1971*b*) 172). Dakaris (ibid.) 172 suggests that in C5l the settlement was fortified with a polygonal wall of 1,690 m in circumference, which enclosed an area of 12.7 ha corresponding to a population of about 3,800. The main gate was in the south-east leading to the Louros plain and Boucheta (no. 90), a second gate was in the south, a third in the east, and a fourth in the north (ibid. 174). There were at least two cemeteries outside the main section of the walled town (ibid. 176). The uneven nature of the terrain necessitated the construction of terraces and the building of tiered streets. There are no signs of grid planning of the town (ibid. 175 figs. 43 and 44).

95. Elea (Eleaios) Map 54. Lat. 39.25, long. 20.35. Size of territory: ? Type: B. The toponym is Ἐλέα, ἡ (*BCH* 80 (1956) 300 (C4l–C3m)) or *Ἐλεία (Franke (1961) 300–7, arguing that MS Ἐλεδ in Ps.-Skylax 30 should be emended Ἐλεία or Ἐλέα instead of Ἐλαία, as the coins carry the legend ΕΛΕΑΤΑΝ or ΕΛΕΑΙ(ΩΝ); according to Franke (1961) 300, the toponym Ἐλαία—derived from Thuc. 1.46.4 (ἐν τῇ Ἐλαιάτιδι) and Ptol. *Geog.* 3.14.5 (Ἐλαίας λιμήν)—is erroneous, and the passages should be emended Ἐλεάτιδι and Ἐλείας respectively. The city-ethnic is Ἐλεαῖος (*SGDI* 1351 (C4s); coinage: Franke (1961) 43) and later Ἐλεάτας (coinage: Franke (1961) 44–45).

According to Ps.-Skylax 30, Elea was just a harbour (λιμήν), but the archaeological, numismatic and epigraphical record reveals that in C4s Elea must have been a *polis*. Franke (1961) 301–2 suggests that Elea was a colony of Corinth (no. 227). The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally on C4s coins (*infra*). The individual use of the city-ethnic is attested externally in a C4s manumission inscription from Dodone (no. 93) which records the name of a witness from Elea (*SGDI* 1351).

Elea was situated in the region of Elaiatis which, in turn, was part of the region of Thesprotia (Thuc. 1.46.4; Ps.-Skylax 30). This is confirmed by a C4s manumission inscription from Dodona recording an Ἐλεαῖος among the Thesprotian witnesses (*SGDI* 1351).

Dakaris (1972) 97 identifies Elea with Charauge (near modern Veliani) on the slopes of the Korila and describes it as a fortified settlement of 10 ha (Dakaris (1987) 75). Gates are visible in the south-western and eastern part (Dakaris (1972) figs. 42 and 43). The city was grid-planned and had an agora (Dakaris (1971*b*) 184), a Hellenistic theatre comparable in size to the small theatre of Kassopa (no. 100), and two stoas to the west and east of the theatre (Dakaris

(1971*b*) 178, (1972) figs. 42 and 43), probably of the Hellenistic period.

For a short period between *c.*360 and 335 Elea struck bronze coins: *obv.* head of Persephone facing, or Pegasos; *rev.* Kerberos, or trident; legend: *ΕΛΕΑΤΑΝ* or *ΕΛΕΑΙ(ΩΝ)* (Franke (1961) 40–41; *SNG Cop. Epirus* 49–50).

96. Ephyra (Ephyros) Map 54. Lat. 39.15, long. 20.30. Size of territory: ? Type: A. The toponym is *Ἐφύρα, ἡ* (Strabo 7.7.5) or *Ἐφύρη* (Thuc. 1.46.4), later *Κίχυρος* (Strabo 7.7.5; Paus. 1.17.4). Dakaris (1972) 29 suggests that the site was renamed after 343/2. The city-ethnic is *Ἔφυρος* (Paus. 9.36.3).

Ephyra is called a *polis* in the urban sense by Thucydides in a passage where he explicitly distinguishes between the *polis* Ephyra and its harbour Cheimerion (1.46.4). Like Elea, Ephyra was situated in the region of Elaiatis, which in turn was part of the region of Thesprotia (Thuc. 1.46.4).

Thucydides' description of Ephyra as lying inland and above the harbour has led to the identification of Ephyra with the ancient settlement at Xylokastro near modern Likouresi, 800 m north of the junction of the river Kokkytos with the Acheron. This site was inhabited from the prehistoric period and was already in LH III a fully developed settlement with a fortified acropolis enclosing an area of 4.24 ha (Dakaris (1972) 80 fig. 40); the settlement was the same size in C4 (ibid. 115). A gate has been found in the southern part (ibid. fig. 40). The identification of the ancient remains on the opposite hill (Dakaris (1993*b*)) with the Nekromanteion mentioned in Hdt. 5.92*γ* is now untenable in the light of Baatz (1999), who shows that the excavated building was an aristocratic residence erected between C4l and C3l, whereas the Nekromanteion must have been situated at the foot of the hill instead.

97. Eurymenai (Eurymenaios) Map 54. Lat. 39.40, long. 20.55. Size of territory: ? Type: B. The toponym is *Εὐρυμεναί, αἱ* (Diod. 19.88.4: *εἰς Εὐρυμενὰς πόλιν Ἠπειρωτικήν* (rC4l)). The city-ethnic is *Εὐρυμεναῖος* (*SEG* 15 384 (370–368)).

Eurymenai is called a *polis* in the urban sense by Diod. 19.88.4, reporting the siege, conquest and destruction of the *polis* in 312. The individual use of the city-ethnic is attested externally in two C4f Molossian citizenship decrees (*SEG* 15 384.11, 28) in which a citizen of Eurymenai occurs as *damiorgos*: *δαμιοργῶν Ἀνδροκάδεος Ἀρκτᾶνος Εὐρυμεναίων*. In C4f Eurymenai was a member of the Molossian Koinon and belonged to the tribe of the *Arktanoi* (ibid.).

Eurymenai is identified with the ancient remains of modern Kastritsa, which is situated on the south side of the lake of Ioannina (Hammond (1997) 31); the site, however, is identified with Tekmon (no. 109) by Cabanes (1997*b*) 116. The site was settled from the prehistoric period (Dakaris (1951), (1952)). In C4 the settlement on the hill was fortified. The area enclosed by the circuit measures *c.*34.4 ha (Corvisier (1991) 214; Vokotopoulou (1970)).

98. Gitana Map 54. Lat. 39.35, long. 20.15. Size of territory: ? Type: B. The toponym is *Γίτανα, τά* (Polyb. 27.16.5). In the MSS the toponym is either *Γίτωνα* (P) or *Γείτανα* (Va) and *Γίτανα* is an emendation based on *Gitana* at Livy 42.38.1. Dakaris (1972) 36 suggests that *Γίτανα* is probably a corruption of *Τίτανα* or *Τιτάνη*, derived from the word *τίτανος*, "gyps", which suits the location of the the site. For seal impressions inscribed with the toponym, see Preka-Alexandri (1996) 197–98.

Livy 42.38.1 calls Gitana a meeting place of the Epeirote League (*concilio Epirotarum*). A C4m manumission inscription naming the eponymous *prostates* of the Thesprotians testifies to the importance of this town already in the Classical period and shows that Gitana belonged to the Thesprotian tribal community (*SEG* 26 717).

According to the C4m manumission inscription, Themis was worshipped in Gitana (*SEG* 26 717); Tzouvara-Souli (1979) appendix fig. 1 mentions a cult of Aphrodite but does not suggest any date.

Gitana is situated near Philiates on the north-west side of the limestone mountain Brysella at the confluence of the Kalpakiotikos and Kalamas, which was navigable up to this point (Dakaris (1972) 35). According to Polyb. 27.16.4–6, Gitana was situated *c.*16 km from the sea.

In C4 an area of 28 ha was enclosed with a circuit wall running for 3,000 m (Dakaris (1972) 115), and the town was grid-planned. The agora has been identified in the western part, and a small theatre has been discovered outside the wall (undated, but presumably C3–C2). The main gate was in the northern side, and further gates were situated to the north-west, west and between the lower town and the acropolis (Dakaris (1987) 75 and (1972) figs. 53–54).

99. Horraon (Horraitas) Map 54. Lat. 39.15, long. 20.55. Size of territory: ? Type: B/C. The toponym is *Ὄρραον, τό* (*SEG* 35 665A.18 (C2m)). The city-ethnic is *Ὁρραίτας* (Cabanes (1976) 586 no. 70.5) or *Ὁρραείτας* (*SEG* 35 665 (C2m)) or *Ὁρ(ρ)είτας* (*GGM* I 239.45 = Dikaiarchos(?); cf. *BCH* 109 (1985) 522–23). The rough breathing is attested in the Latin form *Horreum* (Livy 45.26.4).

Horraon is not explicitly classified as a *polis* in any source; but in a decree of *c.*330, a citizen of Horraon is recorded among the *hieromnemones* of the Molossian *koinon* (Cabanes (1976) 539–40 no. 3; cf. *BCH* 109 (1985) 522). It follows that Horraon was a member of the *koinon* and probably a *polis* in the political sense. The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested externally in a C2m treaty (*SEG* 35 665A.24). The individual use of the city-ethnic is attested externally in a C4 manumission document (Cabanes (1976) 586 no. 70). Horraon has been identified by Cabanes and Andreou (1985) 520 with the ancient remains near Ammotopos. Excavations show that Horraon was fortified before C4m (*AR* (1976–77) 43). The enclosed area measures *c.*7.2 ha (Corvisier (1991) 284). The city was grid-planned, and some houses of C4m–s have been excavated (Dakaris (1989) 42–44; Hoepfner and Schwandner (1994) 147–50).

100. Kassopa (Kassopaios) Map 54. Lat. 39.10, long. 20.40. Size of territory: 5 (*c.*900 km²: Hoepfner and Schwandner (1994) 120). Type: A. The toponym is *Κασσώπα* (*IG* IV².1 95.25 (355); *BCH* 45 (1921) IV.51 (C3l)), in *koine Κασσώπη, ἡ* (*SEG* 36 555 (C2s); Steph. Byz. 365.21) or *Κασσωπία* (Diod. 19.88.3 (rC4l)). The city-ethnic is *Κασσωπαῖος* (C4 coins (*infra*); *I.Magnesia* 32.51 (C2e); *IG* VII 188.11 (C2e)) or *Κασσωπός* (Herodoros (*FGrHist* 31) fr. 35; Ps.-Skylax 31).

The earliest source classifying Kassopa explicitly as a *polis* in the political sense is a C4l/C3e dedication on a statue base (*SEG* 34 589). The evidence for Kassopa as a *polis* in the urban sense is literary and retrospective (Diod. 19.88.3: *Κασσωπίαν πόλιν* (rC4l)). The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested externally in *IG* VII 188.11 (= Ager (1996) no. 85) and internally on the C4 coins (Franke (1961) 69–70) and on weights stamped with the inscription *Κα[σσωπαίων]* (*SEG* 35 673). The individual use of the city-ethnic is attested externally in *IG* IX².1 243.4 (C3)).

Kassopa was situated in a region called *Κασσωπία* (Dem. 7.32; Theopomp frr. 206–7; Ps.-Skylax 31–32) or *Κασσιοπαία* (Plut. *Mor.* 297B) or *Κασσιόπη* (Ptol. *Geog.* 3.14.8), which was part of Thesprotia (Strabo 7.7.5). In most cases it is impossible to determine whether the evidence concerns the *polis* Kassopa or the region Kassopia. The territory was delimited by the river Acheron, the Ionian Sea and the Gulf of Ambrakia, and must have been *c.*900 km² in size (Thuc. 1.46.4; Ps.-Skylax 31; Ps.-Skymnos 447, 453, and Strabo 7.7.1, 5). To Kassopaia belonged in C4 four smaller towns of 5 to 8 ha (Batiai (no. 88), Berenike (no. 89), Boucheta (no. 90), and *Kastrosykia* (probably = *Κασσιόπη λιμήν*, mentioned in Ptol. *Geog.* 3.14.2; Strabo 7.7.4)), one medium-sized town (Elateia (no. 94)) and two large towns (Pandosia (no. 104) and Kassopa (Corvisier (1991) 87; see also the map in Hoepfner and Schwandner (1994) 116)).

According to Strabo 7.7.5, the Kassopaians were Thesprotians, and *c.*330–325 they became members of the Epeirote Federation (Hoepfner and Schwandner (1994) 116). From C4m Kassopa was the political centre of the region and is recorded in the C4m list of *theorodokoi* from Epidauros (*IG* IV².1 95.25). The attested political institutions are all of the Hellenistic period (*SEG* 15 383 (C2)). A C3–C2 honorific decree passed by the *πόλις Κασσωπαίων* (*SEG* 35 671) suggests that there was a popular assembly. The archaeological evidence (*infra*) indicates that these institutions existed already in C4 (Hoepfner and Schwandner (1994) 119).

Kassopa is identified with the remains of an ancient settlement near modern Kamarina. Situated on the slopes of Mt. Zalongo, Kassopa had a dominating position with a superb view of the Gulf of Ambrakia. The C4m defence circuit enclosed an area of 30 ha (Hoepfner and Schwandner (1994) 123). The agora is situated south of the main road, in the westernmost part of the town. The place was probably chosen because of its magnificent view. The town was grid-planned, and the west side of the agora was probably from the beginning reserved for public buildings. The open *ekklesiasterion* of C3l (Hansen and Fischer-Hansen (1994) 62–63) most likely had a predecessor in the form of a natural theatre. A temple of Aphrodite was built about C4m (Hoepfner and Schwandner (1994) 120–45 figs. 94 and 95). The main deity of the town seems to have been Aphrodite (coins (*infra*), temple, *SEG* 15 383 (C2)). A C4–C3 theatre is located in the western part of the city (*TGR* ii. 231).

The Kassopaians struck silver and bronze coins in the period 342–330/25: *obv.* head of Aphrodite wearing stephanos or boucranion; *rev.* serpent or dove; legend (sometimes on *obv.*): *ΚΑΣΣΩΠΑΙΩΝ* (Franke (1961) 69–75; *SNG Cop. Epirus* 43–45).

101. Nikaia Map 49. Lat. 40.30, long. 19.45. Size of territory: ? Type: C. The toponym is *Νίκαια* (Steph. Byz. 474.17). The only attestation of the city-ethnic is in Steph. Byz. 475.2.

Nikaia is called *polis* only by Steph. Byz. 474.20 (*πόλις ἐν Ἰλλυρίδι*). It has been included in this inventory because of the remains of a fortified C5–C4 settlement which is too large to be a *kome* (*infra*), combined with the site-classification in Steph. Byz. Nikaia was a member of the *koinon* of the Bylliones, as is apparent from a C2l inscription which mentions a *Σώστρατος … Βυλλίων ἀπὸ Νικαίας* (Leonardou (1925–26) 25 no. 140.11; Robert (1928) 433–34). A Hellenistic

(?) manumission inscription found at Nikaia records the *strategos eponymos* of the *koinon* of the Bylliones (*SEG* 35 696).

The ancient remains near Klos have been identified with Nikaia. The site was fortified in C5. The area enclosed by the wall measures *c.*18 ha (Corvisier (1991) 288). The city plan of Nikaia is similar to that of Amantia (Ceka (1990) 218–19).

102. Olympa (Olympastas) Not in *Barr.* Lat. 40.25, long. 19.35. Size of territory: ? Type: C. The toponym is *'Ολύμπα, ά* (terracotta stamp (*infra*)), in *koine 'Ολύμπη, ἡ* (Steph. Byz. 491.3). The city-ethnic is probably *'Ολυμπαστάς* (C3–C2 coins (*infra*)).

Olympa is called a *polis* only by Steph. Byz. 491.3 (*πόλις Ἰλλυρίας*). The reason for including Olympa in this inventory is the evidence for *polis* status in the Hellenistic period, combined with the remains of a fortified C5–C4 settlement which is too large to be a *kome* (*infra*). The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally on the C3s–C2f coins (*infra*). A C3l dedication to Zeus Megistos mentions a *politarches*, the *synarchontes* and a *grammateus* (*SEG* 35 697).

Bronze coins of C3s–C2f with the legend *ΟΛΥΜΠΑΣΤΑΝ* and a terracotta stamped with *ΟΛΥΜΠΑΣ*, all found near Mavrove, have led to the identification of the ancient remains at this site with Olympa (Dautaj (1981); Ceka (1988)). The site was fortified in C5l/C4e (ibid. 80–81). The enclosed area measures *c.*15 ha (Corvisier (1991) 288). The plan of the town is similar to that of Phoinike (Ceka (1990) 220).

103. Orikos (Orikios) Map 49. Lat. 40.20, long. 19.30. Size of territory: ? Type: A. The toponym is *Ὤρικος, ὁ* (Hdt. 9.93.1; Polyb. 7.14d) or *'Ωρικός* (*SEG* 43 339 (C5m); Ps.-Skylax 26), *ὁ* (Polyb. 7.14.d) or *'Ωρικόν, τό* (Cass. Dio 41.45.1; Strabo 7.5.8 (conj.)). The city-ethnic is *'Ωρίκιος* (*IG* IX 1² 4. 1203(C3)).

Orikos is classified as a *limen* by Hecat. fr. 106 and Hdt. 9.93.1. But it is called a *polis* in the urban sense at Ps.-Skylax 26 and in Hellenistic sources (Apollodoros fr. 300; Ps.-Skymnos 441, describing Orikos as a *Ἑλληνὶς πόλις*).

In the Classical period Orikos was probably part of the *peraia* of Korkyra mentioned by Thuc. 3.85.2. The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested externally in a Korkyraian decree of C3l (*I.Magnesia* 44.46 = *IG* IX².1 1196) and internally in a C3 oracle inquiry (*IG* IX 1² 4. 1203) and on C3–C2 coins (Head, *HN*² 314–15; Hammond (1967) 639).

According to the ancient sources, Orikos was situated on the Ionian coast near the Acroceraunian mountains at a distance of 80 miles from Salentinum (Plin. *HN* 3.145); the site has been identified with the ancient remains found on an island in the southern part of the Gulf of Valona, which already in Antiquity became connected with the mainland (Plin. *HN* 2.204), i.e. modern Pascha Liman (Hammond (1976*c*)). Orikos is situated on a small promontory which is easily defensible on the landward side. The settlement covered an area of 5 ha (Corvisier (1991) 287). The archaeological remains are scarce. Hammond (1967) 127 reports a post-Classical circuit wall and towers.

104. Pandosia (Pan-) Map 54. Lat. 39.15, long. 20.34. Size of territory: ? Type: A. The toponym is *Παν̓δοσία, ἡ* (Dem. 7.32; Theopomp. fr. 206; Strabo 7.7.5). The only attestation of a city-ethnic is in Steph. Byz. 499.22. Hellenistic coins bear an abbreviated form of the city-ethnic: *ΠΑΝ* (Head *HN*² 321; Dakaris (1971*b*) 169). Pandosia is classified as a *polis* in the urban sense by Dem. 7.32 and by Theopomp. fr. 206. It is also regarded as being a colony of Elis (no. 251) (Dem. 7.32). Pandosia was a *polis* belonging to the Kassopians (Theopomp. fr. 206), who in turn formed a section of the Thesprotians (Strabo 7.7.5, 6.1.5). In C4s Pandosia was a dependency of Kassopa (no. 100). Pandosia is recorded in the C4m list of *theorodokoi* from Epidauros (*IG* IV².1 95.24).

An oracle from Dodona, misinterpreted by Alexander I, shows that Pandosia was built on three hills near the Acherusian lake and the river Acheron (Strabo 6.1.5) and was situated in the region of Kassopaia (Dem. 7.32; Strabo 7.7.5). On the basis of the literary sources, Hammond ((1967) 477–78, 674–75, with map) identified Pandosia with Gourana near modern Trikastro (accepted by *Barr.*). Dakaris, on the other hand, combined the thesis of Leake ((1835) 4.55, 73, 75) with that of Philippson (1956) 106 and identified Pandosia with the ancient remains of a site near Kastri: a rounded hill in the middle of the Acheron plain rising to a height of 107 m between Kanalikon and Ephyra. Contrary to the ancient description, the Acheron flows to the south of this hill. Dakaris counters this objection with the suggestion that the course of the Louros has changed and that in Antiquity the river-bed was on the southern side of the hill (Dakaris (1971b) 164).

Pandosia was connected with the sea by the Acherusian lake and the navigable river Acheron. Dakaris believes that a port existed on the south side of the lake at Dromos Skalomatos, where oak keels of ancient vessels have been found. Another port may have existed on the north side of the lake near the south wall of Pandosia, because ancient metal rings were formerly affixed to the rocks for tying up

small ships. The bridge mentioned by Plin. *HN* 4.1.4 probably linked the main settlement on Kastri hill with the two northern hillocks (Dakaris (1971*b*) 170).

The site was settled from the prehistoric period (Corvisier (1991) 201). The way Philip besieged and pillaged the land of the colonists (Dem. 7.32) was one normally adopted against walled cities. Therefore the conquest of Pandosia by Philip II (343/2) constitutes the *terminus ante quem* of the older walls. This date is in accordance with the style of the walls and the political role Pandosia played at this time. Dakaris suggests that Pandosia was fortified between C5l and 343/2; the polygonal enclosure encompassed an area of 13.1 ha (Dakaris (1971*b*) 167). The settlement is divided into two parts by an inner wall (ibid. 167 with fig. 42; cf. *AR* (2000–1) 67). The wall was reinforced with twenty-two towers and had two gates on the eastern side, the southern one leading to the Acherousian lake (Dakaris (1971*b*) 167 with fig. 42). From the very few remains of buildings it is impossible to reconstruct the city plan (ibid. 168). The nature of the terrain makes it most unlikely that the city was grid-planned (ibid. 167). On the hill-top two large cisterns are preserved (ibid. 169–70).

105. Passaron Map 54. Lat. 39.40, long. 20.45. Size of territory: ? Type: C. The toponym is *Πασσαρών*, *-ῶνος* (Plut. *Pyrrh.* 5.5) and *Passaron* (Livy 45.26.4). Passaron is not called a *polis* in any ancient source. It is described as an *oppidum* by Livy 45.26.4 and as a *χωρίον τῆς Μολλοτίδος* by Plut. *Pyrrh.* 5.5.

Passaron is located near Gardiki on the hill above Radotovi in the north-west of modern Ioannina (Dakaris (1987) 72). Decrees found at this site (*SEG* 26 719 mentioning the *prostates* of the Molossoi (after 264); Cabanes (1976) 545–46 no. 13) as well as the literary tradition (Plut. *Pyrrh.* 5.5) indicate that Passaron with its temple was the political centre of the Molossians, where the Molossian kings and people exchanged oaths (Plut. *Pyrrh.* 5.5). The fortification of the acropolis covering an area of 3.65 ha dates from C5s (Dakaris (1987) 72); in C4l a new defence circuit enclosed an additional area of 10 ha (Corvisier (1991) 213–14). Three cisterns and three gates in the north, south-east and west have been identified. The cavea of a theatre, lying outside the fortification, has been excavated (Dakaris (1987) 72 fig. 1). A C4 temple (Evangelidis (1952) 306–8) at the foot of the hill is thought to have been the official sanctuary of the Molossoi, where, probably, Zeus Areios was worshipped (Plut. *Pyrrh.* 5.5).

106. Phanote (Phanoteus) Map 54. Lat. 39.35, long. 20.20. Size of territory: ? Type: C. The toponym is *Phanote* (Livy 43.21.4, 45.26.3). The city-ethnic is *Φανοτεύς* (Polyb. 5.96.6, 27.16.4).

Phanote is called a *polis* at Polyb. 5.96.4 (*ἐπὶ τῆς τῶν Φανοτέων πόλεως*); Livy classifies it as *urbs* (45.26.3) and as *castellum Epiri* (43.21.4). The only reason to include Phanote as a possible *polis* in the Classical period is the combination of the Hellenistic site-classification with the remains of a fairly large C4l settlement (*infra*).

Phanote is no longer localised at Raveni (Hammond (1967) 660; *Barr.*) but at modern Doliane (Dakaris (1972) 40–41). The town was built on a hill on the right side of the Kalamas. An area of *c.*5.3 ha was fortified in C4l (ibid. 154). The main gate was on the northern side (ibid. fig. 56). The cemetery was discovered *c.*200 m further north (ibid. 155).

107. Phoinike Map 54. Lat. 39.50, long. 20.05. Size of territory: ? Type: B. The toponym is [*Φοιν*]*ίκα*, *ἡ* (*SEG* 23 189.I.12 (*c.*330)).

Phoinike is called a *polis* in the urban sense by Polyb. 2.5.5 and 2.8.4. *Polis* status in C4 is strongly indicated by the epigraphical and archaeological record: an oracle inquiry of C4l/C3e from Dodone (no. 90) filed by *ἁ πόλις ἁ τῶν Χαόνων* is ascribed to Phoinike (Dakaris *et al.* (1993) 58 = *SEG* 15 397.4). Phoinike seems to have been the political centre of the Chaonians from C4m (Cabanes (1976) 115–16). Phoinike is recorded in the C4s list of *theorodokoi* from Argos (*SEG* 23 189; Charneux (1966*a*) 156–239, (1966*b*). The patron god was probably Athena Polias (*SEG* 15 397.4 (C4l/C3e)).

Phoinike has been identified with the ancient site on the hill above modern Finik in southern Albania, where a small walled acropolis of about 1.5 ha can be traced back to C5 (Corvisier (1991) 218; Budina (1986) 119: 6 ha). In the Hellenistic period the city grew to cover up to 57 ha.

108. Poionos Map 54. Unlocated, not in *Barr.* Type: C. The toponym is *Ποιωνός*. The only thing we know about Poionos is that in, probably, 355 a *theorodokos* was appointed to host *theoroi* from Epidauros: *Ποιωνός. Ἄδματος* (*IG* IV².1 95.27), if the reading *Ποιωνός* is correct. Cabanes (1997*a*) 97 has no doubt, and Perlman (2000) 182 rejects the conjecture *Τόρωνος* suggested by Baunack (1895) 56 and again by Dakaris (1972) 34. Hammond (1967) 519 suggests that Poinonos might be a personal name. If so, the Thesprotians had four *theorodokoi.* Because of the geographical order in the list, Cabanes (ibid.) supposes that Poionos was a harbour between Thesprotia and Korkyra (no. 123).

109. Tekmon Map 54. Lat. 39.40, long. 20.55. Size of territory: ? Type: C. The toponym is *Τέκμων* (Steph. Byz. 611.21)

or *Tecmon* (Livy 45.26.4, 10). The only source for the city-ethnic is Steph. Byz. 611.21.

Tekmon is called a *polis* by Steph. Byz. 611.21 (*πόλις Θεσπρωτῶν*) and an *oppidum* by Livy (45.26.4). The only reason to include Tekmon in this inventory is the site-classification in Steph. Byz. combined with the remains of a fortified C4 settlement which is much too large to be a *kome* (*infra*).

Tekmon is identified with the ancient remains of modern Kastritsa, which is situated on the south side of the lake of Ioannina (Cabanes (1997b) 116). Hammond, however, ((1997) 31) prefers to identify this site with Eurymenai (no. 97). The site was settled from the prehistoric period (Dakaris (1951), (1952)). In C4, the settlement on the hill was fortified and the walls enclosed an area of *c.*34.4 ha (Corvisier (1991) 214; Vokotopoulou (1970)). Unlocated in *Barr.* and only H.

110. Torone Map 54. Lat. 39.31, long. 20.10. Size of territory: 1 or 2. Type: C. The toponym is *Τορώνη, ἡ* (Ptol. *Geog.* 3.14.5).

Torone is mentioned by Ptol. *Geog.* 3.14.5 in a context which indicates that it was either a *polis* or a harbour. If we accept Dakaris' emendation of *Ποίωνος* into *Τόρωνος* (Dakaris 1972) 34), Torone may be recorded in the C4m list of *theorodokoi* from Epidauros (*IG* IV².1 95.27 as emended already by Baunack (1895) 56, rejected by Perlman (2000) 182, see *supra* 108), which would indicate that the settlement was a *polis* in C4m. Against this view, see Cabanes (1997*a*) 97.

In Ptolemy's list Torone is recorded between the mouth of the Thyamis and Sybota. Accordingly, Dakaris (1972) 115 with fig. 49 locates Torone on a peninsula in the northern part of Sybota Bay (= modern Lygia) and suggests that the site belonged to the *peraia* of Korkyra (no. 123), referred to by Thuc. 3.85.2. This place was settled from the Archaic period. Probably in C5 the open settlement was transformed into a small fortified acropolis of 1.2 ha. It expanded to the south and west; by 427 it had grown to 21.5 ha, and in C4 it covered 58 ha (Corvisier (1991) 205–6; Dakaris (1972) 115 figs. 49–51). Three parts can be distinguished: part A, fortified already before 427 with gates to the south, east and west (ibid. fig. 51); part B, also fortified before 427 with a gate probably in the east; and part C, fortified after 427 with a gate in the west (ibid. fig. 50).

111. Zmaratha Map 54. Unlocated, not in *Barr.* Type: C. The toponym is *Ζμαράθα, ἡ* The only thing we know about Zmaratha is that in, probably, 340–338 a *theorodokos* was appointed to host *theoroi* from Epidauros: *Ζμαράθαι. Ἐπίν(ι)κος Νικάνδρου* (*IG* IV².1 95.76); cf. also Perlman (2000) 259.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Ager, S. L. 1996. *Interstate Arbitrations in the Greek World 337–90 B.C.* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London).

Baatz, D. 1999. "Wehrhaftes Wohnen: ein befestigter hellenistischer Adelssitz bei Ephyra (Nordgriechenland)", *AntW* 30: 151–55.

Baunack, J. 1895. "Zu den Inschriften aus Epidauros", *Philologus* 54: 16–63.

Bergemann, J. 1998. *Die römische Kolonie von Butrint und die Romanisierung Griechenlands* (Munich).

Budina, D. 1986. "Phoinice à la lumière des recherches archéologiques récentes", *Iliria* 1986.1: 118–21.

——1990. "Antigoneia: eine Stadt der hellenistischen Periode", in *Akten des XIII. Internationalen Kongresses für Klassische Archäologie, Berlin 1988* (Mainz) 556–59.

Cabanes, P. 1976. *L'Épire de la mort de Pyrrhos à la conquête romaine 272–167 av. J.C.* (Paris).

—— (ed.) 1987. *L'Illyrie méridionale et l'Épire dans l'Antiquité,* i: *Actes du colloque international de Clermont-Ferrand, 22–25 October 1984* (Adosa).

——1997*a*. "Remarques sur la géographie historique des villes épirotes et sur la notion politique d'Épire dans l'antiquité", in *Αφιέρωμα στον N. G. L. Hammond, Makedonika* suppl. 7 (Thessalonica) 95–104.

——1997*b*. "*ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΕΣ ΕΞΕΛΙΞΕΙΣ*", in Sakellariou (1997) 115–17.

——and Andreou, J. 1985. "Règlement frontalier entre Ambracie et Charadros", *BCH* 109: 499–544.

Ceka, N. 1987. "Le koinon des Bylliones", in Cabanes (1987) 135–49.

——1988. "Münzen aus Olympe", in A. Eggebrecht (ed.), *Albanien: Schätze aus dem Land der Skipetaren* (Mainz) 275.

——1990. "Städtebau in der vorrömischen Periode in Südillyrien", in *Akten des XIII. Internationalen Kongresses für Klassische Archäologie, Berlin, 1988* (Mainz) 216–29.

Charneux, P. 1966*a*. "Liste argienne de théarodoques", *BCH* 90: 156–239.

——1966*b*. "Premières remarques sur la liste argienne de théarodoques", *BCH* 90: 710–14.

——and Tréheux, J. 1988. "Sur le réglement frontalier entre Ambracie et Charadros", *BCH* 112: 359–73.

Corvisier, J.N. 1991. *Aux origines du miracle grec: peuplement et population en Grèce du Nord* (Paris).

Dakaris, S. I. 1951. "Ἀνασκαφὴ εἰς Καστρίτσαν Ἰωαννίνων", *Prakt* 173–83.
——1952. "Ἀνασκαφὴ εἰς Καστρίτσαν Ἰωαννίνων", *Prakt* 362–86.
——1960. "Τό ἱερόν τῆς Δωδώνης", *ArchDelt* 16: 4–40.
——1971*a*. *Archaeological Guide to Dodona* (Athens).
——1971*b*. *Cassopaia and the Elean Colonies* (Athens).
——1972. Θεσπρωτία (Athens).
——1987. "Organisation politique et urbanistique de la ville dans l'Épire antique", in Cabanes (1987) 71–80.
——1989. Κασσώπη: Νεώτερες ανασκαφές 1977–1983² (Ioannina).
——1993*a*. *Dodona* (Athens).
——1993*b*. Το νεκρομαντείο του Αχέροντα (Athens).
—— Christidis, A. Ph., and Vokotopoulou, J. 1993. "Les lamelles oraculaires de Dodone et les villes de l'Épire du Nord", in Cabanes (1987) 55–60.
Dautaj, B. 1981. "La forteresse de Mavrove et son identification avec la cité illyrienne Olymp", *Iliria* 1981.1: 57–91.
Dieterle, M. 1999. *Dodona: religionsgeschichtliche und historische Untersuchungen zur Entstehung und Entwicklung des Zeus-Heiligtums* (Hamburg).
Evangelidis, D. 1952. "Ἡ ἀνασκαφὴ εἰς Ροδοτόπι", *Prakt* 306–25.
—— and Dakaris, S. I. 1959. Τὸ ἱερόν τῆς Δωδώνης, ArchEph (Athens).
Franke, P. R. 1955. "Alt-Epirus und das Königtum der Molosser" (diss. Erlangen).
——1961. *Die antiken Münzen von Epirus: Text und Katalog* (Wiesbaden).
Funke, P. 1997. "Polisgenese und Urbanisierung in Aitolien im 5. und 4. Jh. v.Chr.", *CPCActs* 4: 145–88.
Hammond, N. G. L. 1967. *Epirus: The Geography, the Ancient Remains, the History and the Topography of Epirus and Adjacent Areas* (Oxford).
——1976*a*. "Bouchetion", in *PECS* 160.
——1976*b*. "Onchesmos", in *PECS* 652.
——1976*c*. "Orikon", in *PECS* 655.
——1994. "The Illyrians and North-West Greeks", *CAH* vi². 422–43.
——1997. "Γεωφυσικοί χαρακτήρες και ιστορική γεωγραφία της Ηπείρου", in Sakellariou (1997) 12–31.
Hansen, M. H. 1997. "Hekataios' Use of the Word *Polis* in his *Periegesis*", *CPCPapers* 4: 17–27.
——1998. *Polis and City-State: An Ancient Concept and its Modern Equivalent*, *CPCActs* 5.
—— and Fischer-Hansen, T. 1994. "Monumental Political Architecture in Archaic and Classical Greek *Poleis*", *CPCPapers* 1: 23–90.
Heuzey, L. 1860. *Le Mont Olympe et l'Acarnanie* (Paris).
Hoepfner, W., and Schwandner, E.-L. *et al.* 1994. "Kassope: Bericht über die Ausgrabungen einer spätklassischen Streifenstadt in Nordwestgriechenland", in W. Hoepfner and W. Schwandner (eds.), *Haus und Stadt im klassischen Griechenland*² (Munich) 114–74.
Larsen, J. A. O. 1968. *Greek Federal States: Their Institutions and History* (Oxford).
Leake, W. M. 1835. *Travels in Northern Greece* (London).
Leonardou, B. 1925–26. "Ἀμφιαρείου ἐπιγραφαί", *ArchEph* 9–45.
Perlman, P. 2000. *City and Sanctuary in Ancient Greece: The* Theorodokia *in the Peloponnese*, Hypomnemata 121 (Göttingen).
Philippson, A. 1956. *Die griechischen Landschaften: der Nordwesten der griechischen Halbinsel*, i: *Epirus und Pindos* (Frankfurt am Main).
Plassart, A. 1921. "Inscriptions de Delphes: la liste delphique des théarodoques", *BCH* 45: 1–85.
Preka-Alexandri, K. 1996. "A Group of Inscribed Seal Impressions of Thesprotia, Greece", in M.-F. Boussac and A. Invernizzi (eds.), *Archives et sceaux du monde hellénistique*, Torino, Villa Gualino, 13–16 January 1993 (Paris) 195–98.
Robert, L. 1928. "Notes d'épigraphie hellénistique XXX", *BCH* 52: 433–34.
Sakellariou, M. B. (ed.) 1997. ΗΠΕΙΡΟΣ: 4000 χρόνια ελληνικής ιστορίας και πολιτισμού (Athens).
Samsari, D. K. 1994. Η ρωμαϊκη αποικία της Φωτικής στη Θεσπρωτία της Ηπείρου: Ιστορικό γεωγραφική και επιγραφική συμβολή (Ioannina).
Tzouvara-Souli, C. 1979. Η λατρεία των γυναικείων θεότητων εις την αρχαίαν Ηπείρον: Συμβολή εις την Μελέτην της θρησκείας των αρχαίων Ηπειρώτων (Ioannina).
Vokotopoulou, I. 1970. "Καστρίτσα Ἰωαννίνων", *ArchDelt* 25: 305.
——1986. Βίτσα: Τά νεκροταφεῖα μιᾶς μολοσσικῆς κώμης, i–iii (Athens).

AKARNANIA AND ADJACENT AREAS

HANS-JOACHIM GEHRKE, ECKHARD WIRBELAUER

I. The Region

No ancient name for the region as a whole existed, but for the main part of the mainland, the name *Ἀκαρνανία* is attested (Hecat. frr. 110–11; Hdt. 2.10.3 (*Ἀκαρνανίη*); Thuc. 2.80.8; Xen. *Hell.* 6.2.37; *IG* II² 237.35 (C4); *IG* IX².1 393.3 (C3)). The ethnic is *Ἀκαρνάν* (Hdt. 1.62.4, 7.221; *SEG* 42 1041 (C4)), the feminine form *Ἀκαρνανίς* (*IG* IX².1 585.2 (Pagasai, *c.*300)) or *Ἀκαρνάνισσα* (*IG* II² 2332.97 (183/2)). The collective use of the ethnic is attested externally in Attic inscriptions of C4 (*IG* II² 43.B.12 (= *Staatsverträge* 257 (377)); 96.8), internally in local inscriptions of the Hellenistic period (*IG* IX².1 3A; *IG* IX².1 583 (Olympia, 216)), and very often in literary sources (e.g. Thuc. 2.30.1; Xen. *Hell.* 4.6.4; Arist. fr. 477); for the individual and external use, cf. *Ἀκαρνὰν ἐξ Ἀλυζέας* (*SEG* 42 1041 (Ephesos, C4); cf. *LGPN* IIIA 367, s.v. *Πόλλυς*) and *Ἀκαρνὰν Θυρρειεύς* (*SGDI* 2658 (Delphi, 315–280)). The region itself is called *χώρα* (Thuc. 2.102.2, 6) and *ἔθνος* (Ps.-Skylax 34); this last term is also used to denote the community of the Akarnanians (*IG* IX².1 583.11–12, 56 (Olympia, 216)), for which we find *τὸ πλῆθος τῶν Ἀκαρνάνων* as well (ibid. 56). The normal term for the political unit, i.e. the Akarnanian federal state, is *τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἀκαρνάνων* (Xen. *Hell.* 4.6.4; *IG* IX².1 208.7, 9–10 (C2)). Owing to the nature of the region, there was a distinction between inland Akarnania (*ἡ μεσόγεια τῆς Ἀκαρνανίας*, Thuc. 2.102.1), part of which was *τὸ Ἀκαρνανικὸν πεδίον* near the river Acheloos (Thuc. 2.102.2), and the coastal region (*ἡ ἄλλη Ἀκαρνανία ἡ περὶ θάλασσαν*, Thuc. 2.33.2; cf. *οἱ ἀπὸ θαλάσσης Ἀκαρνᾶνες*, Thuc. 2.80.1, and *οἱ ἐπὶ θαλάσσης ἄνω Ἀκαρνᾶνες*, Thuc. 2.83.1).

The frontiers of Akarnania were the Gulf of Arta to the north, between Argos Amphilochikon (no. 115) and Actium (cf. no. 114; Strabo 7.7.56, 10.2.1, 7), the Ionian Sea to the west, from Actium to Oiniadai (no. 130) (Thuc. 2.102.2; Strabo 10.2.1), and the river Acheloos to the east (*IG* IX².1 3A; Strabo 8.2.3, 10.2.1; for the inconsistencies in Strabo, cf. Gehrke (1994) 108–9), thus bordering on Argos Amphilochikon and on the Agraians to the north-east, on Aitolia to the east.

The common designation of the islands opposite the west coast of Greece, and especially of Akarnania, is "the Ionian islands". The name covers Korkyra (no. 123), Leukas (no. 126), Kephallenia, Ithaka (no. 122) and Zakynthos (no. 141), and has been used since the last years of the eighteenth century when the French called their new possessions in the Ionian Sea "les îles Ioniennes".[1] They adopted the ancient terms for the sea in this region (cf. Treidler (1929)): *Ἰόνιος κόλπος* (Hecat. frr. 91, 92; Skylax (*FGrHist* 709) T 4; Hdt. 6.127; Thuc. 1.24.1); other terms: *Ἰόνιος πόντος* (Hdt. 7.20; Eur. *Phoen.* 208) or simply *Ἰόνιον* (Arist. *Pol.* 1329^{b}20) and, poetically, *Ἰόνιον κῦμα* (Hes. fr. 372.8, MW), *Ἰόνιος πόρος* (Pind. *Nem.* 4.53; Aesch. fr. 32 B.327, Mette; Soph. fr. 337, Radt), named after Io (Aesch. *PV* 840) or a certain Illyrian Ionios (Theopomp. fr. 128a). The terms normally designated the southern part of the Adriatic Sea between Greece and Italy. Occasionally, some islands were seen to belong to the same regional unit as Akarnania (Thuc. 2.7.3: Korkyra (no. 123), Kephallenia, the Akarnanians and Zakynthos (no. 141); cf. Thuc. 2.30.2: the position of Kephallenia *κατὰ Ἀκαρνανίαν καὶ Λευκάδα*; and Strabo 8.2.2: *Ἀκαρνανία καὶ αἱ προκείμεναι νῆσοι, Ζάκυνθος καὶ Κεφαλληνία καὶ Ἰθάκη καὶ Ἐχινάδες*).

Unlike the other islands, Kephallenia was divided between four *poleis* (*τετράπολις οὖσα, Παλῆς, Κράνιοι, Σαμαῖοι, Πρῶννοι*: Thuc. 2.30.2). A number of sources testify to co-operation between the four *poleis* and a common identity of all Kephallenians: *IG* II² 96 = *Staatsverträge* 262; cf. also *Κεφαλλᾶνες ἐκ Κρανίων* (*IG* IX.1 276.3 (Opous, C3–C2?)) or *Κεφαλλὴν/-ῆνες ἐκ Παλέων* (*F.Delphes* III.4 376.3–4 (suppl., 358/7); *BCH* 68–69 (1944–45) 121 no. 32.4 (Delphi, C3)) or *Κεφαλλὰν ἐκ Πρώννων* (*IG* IX².1 8.3–4 (suppl., C3)). Dreher (1995*b*) 199 n. 116 and, implicitly, Bengtson (*Staatsverträge* 262) have assumed the existence of a Kephallenian federal state; but this seems unwarranted. Unlike the Akarnanians and other federal states, the

[1] Steinhart and Wirbelauer (2002) 50. For this reason, the island of Kythera was included among the Ionian islands. Since this island lies outside the Ionian Sea, we have excluded it from the present study. Cf. also Thiry (2001) 132ff.

Kephallenian *poleis* did not strike common coins, and each of them seems to have been an independent polity (Paleis (no. 132) in 435; Kranioi (no. 125) in 431/30(?); Pronnoi (no. 135) in 377; Same (no. 136) in 189/8). From outside, the islanders were often seen simply as Kephallenians (especially at Athens; cf. Thuc. 3.94.1–2; Dem. 32.9, and Aristotle's *Κεφαλλήνων πολιτεία* no. 79, Gigon). A Kephallenian Confederacy with common institutions is not explicitly attested, and what united the Kephallenians seems to have been a geographical and ethnic identity (cf. the eponymous common ancestor, Kephalos) rather than some kind of political organisation.

From C8, the whole region was one of the centres of Corinthian colonisation, especially Korkyra (no. 123), Ambrakia (no. 113), Anaktorion (no. 114), Leukas (no. 126); cf. Domingo-Forasté (1988); Jouan (1990). One of the Corinthian colonies on the mainland, Anaktorion, became a member of the Akarnanian Confederacy during the Peloponnesian War (Thuc. 4.49; see *infra*), while Ambrakia, on the northern side of the Gulf of Arta, remained independent. A special case is Amphilochian Argos (no. 115), east of the Gulf: not belonging to the Akarnanian Confederacy, it maintained special relations with the *κοινόν* (Gehrke (1994–95) 43).

Akarnania was organised as a federal state already in Classical times (Gehrke (1994–95) 42–43; Beck (1997) 31–43). In C5s–C4, the mint of the Confederacy may have been at Stratos (no. 138) (silver drachms and fractions). Types: *obv.* head of Acheloos; *rev.* Ϝ within incuse square; cf. Kraay (1976) 129 and no. 443; *SNG Cop. Acarnania* 405–6. Like many *poleis* of the region, the Akarnanian *koinon* struck coins on the Corinthian standard too (pegasi, *c.*350–330; cf. *BMC Corinth* 113).[2] The interpretation of these coins as federal has been questioned by Dany (1999) 280–81.

The members of the Confederacy were divided into *πόλεις* and *ἔθνη* (*IG* IX².1 583.40 (Olympia, 216); Habicht (1957) 109–10), *ἔθνος* being the term designating a member state of the Confederacy without an urban centre. Thus, the Akarnanian communities are categorised as *poleis* only if there are other indications of *polis* status—for example, an urban centre. In the region as a whole, altogether thirty settlements seem to have been *poleis* (including possible *poleis* placed in category C). They are described in the inventory below. The letters . . . *λε*[*ις*?] at the end of the list in *IG* IX².1 582.49 (from Magnesia, *c.*207) may indicate an Akarnanian *polis* we cannot identify. We have classified it as C at the end of the Inventory.

A number of communities are attested as *poleis* only by Steph. Byz.: Akra (62.6), Apollonia (106.3–4), Aspalatheia (134.5: *πόλις Ταφίων*), Athenai (35.1ff, from Demetrios of Skepsis, perhaps founded as a fortification by the Athenians *c.*450 (Kirsten (1937) 2210)), Erysiche (281.10ff, see *infra*), Psophis (704.20–21; this name is also attested in Zakynthos (no. 141), Taphos (609.3: *πόλις Κεφαλληνίας, νῦν δὲ Ταφιοῦσσα*, attested as a *polis* also Eur. *HF* 60 (*ἄστυ* in 1080), but in a mythological context (destruction by Amphitryon)); the question whether the island of Taphos (Meganisi?) was a *polis* remains open. With Taphos was also connected the place-name Telebois (*μοῖρα τῆς Ἀκαρνανίας, ἀπὸ Τηλεβόου*, 620.14), but likewise in a mythical context. Melos is referred to by Steph. Byz. 450.14 only as *κώμη τῆς Ἀκαρνανίας*. Whether these names (except for Athenai) represent historical toponyms remains dubious.[3]

The remaining names attested in the sources and the archaeological sites, especially those included in *Barr.*, are the following.

1. *Pre-Hellenistic Settlements not Attested as* Poleis

Ambrakos (*Ἄμβρακος*) Steph. Byz. 85.10 (*πολίχνιον*); Polyb. 4.61.4, 63.4. Ps.-Skylax 33 speaks of an *ἐπὶ θαλάττης τεῖχος*, meaning obviously Ambrakos; for *τεῖχος* as "fort, fortress", i.e. a fortification located in the territory of a *polis*, see Flensted-Jensen (1997) 120–21. Fortified settlement (Hammond (1967) 138). *Barr.* C.

Dioryktos (*Διόρυκτος*) Polyb. 5.5.12; Dion. Hal. *Ant.* 1.50.4. In *Barr.* a settlement of C?, but no settlement is attested.

Ellomenon (*Ἐλλομενόν*) Thuc. 3.94.1 is our only source, and there is no authority for *Barr.*'s Hellomenon. On Leukas (no. 126), and probably a second-order settlement. *Barr.* C.

Euboia (*Εὔβοια*) Strabo 10.1.15 (*τόπος*). Mentioned by Strabo in a retrospective context. *Barr.* A?

[2] Coins of the Akarnanian Confederacy are listed by Imhoof-Blumer (1878) 13–46; *BMC Thessaly* 168–70; *BMC Corinth* 113; Head, *HN*² 333–34; Grose (1926) nos. 5387–97; *SNG Copenhagen* 418–24; *IGCH* nos. 145, 147, 201, 236, 312, 1971, 2187; *SNG Stockholm* 1365–69; *SNG Paris, Delepierre* 1209; *SNG Tübingen* 1564–66; Taliercio Mensitieri and Spagnoli [1993] pl. 3; *CH* viii. 506.

[3] The Epidaurian list of *theorodokoi*, *IG* IV².1 95.33–38, has, between Argos and Aitolian Proschion, the places Akripos, Hyporeiai, Therminea and Phyleia. According to Robert (1940) 107–8, Hyporeiai was Akarnanian. So the other places, especially Akripos, which is named between Argos and Hyporeiai, may have been part of Akarnania too. Nevertheless, we have excluded them from this Inventory because there is no additional evidence for their being Akarnanian. See Perlman (2000) 69.

Idomene (*Ἰδομενή*) Thuc. 3.112.1. Place in Amphilochia, north of Argos (no. 115), with two hills, a higher and a lower one, according to Pritchett (1992) 37ff at modern Paliokoulia and Alonaki (the last one perhaps the site of a sanctuary, ibid. 45–46; cf. Schoch (1997) 39–40). According to *Barr.* a fortress and a sanctuary. *Barr.* C.

Ithoria (*Ἰθωρία*) Polyb. 4.64.9 (*χωρίον*). Fortified hilltop settlement (Bommeljé *et al.* (1987) 74, s.v. Agios Elias). *Barr.* C.

Kraneia (*Κράνεια*) Theopomp. fr. 229 (*χωρίον Ἀμβρακιωτῶν*). Probably identical with Steph. Byz. 377.17: *Κορώνεια . . . φρούριον τῆς Ἀμβρακίας* (Hammond (1967) 140). *Barr.* C.

Krenai (*Κρῆναι*) Thuc. 3.105.2 (*χωρίον*). Place in southern Amphilochia, *pace* Pritchett (1992) 13ff and Schoch (1997) 39, to be located at modern Palaioavli at the southeast corner of the Gulf of Arta: Hammond (1967) 248 n. 1. *Barr.* C.

Metropolis (*Μητρόπολις*) Thuc. 3.107.1, location and function unknown, near Olpai (Pritchett (1992) 26–27; Schoch (1997) 48–49). *Barr.* C.

Nellos (*Νῆλλος* or *-ον*) *IG* II² 43.B.37–38. Also called Arkadia (Diod. 15.45.3). Unlocated fortified settlement on Zakynthos (no. 141), where the exiled Zakynthian democrats in 375 had established a temporary splinter community (Dreher (1995*b*) 177–78). *Barr.* C.

Nerikos (*Νήρικος*) Hom. *Od.* 24.377 (*πτολίεθρον*); Thuc. 3.7.4; Strabo 10.2.8; Eust. *Od.* 2.327.31. Fortified place perhaps in the *peraia* of Leukas (no. 126). *Barr.* C.

Nesos (*Νῆσος*) Probably the harbour of Thyrreion (no. 139). Not in *Barr.*

Olpai (*Ὅλπαι*) Thuc. 3.105.1 (*τεῖχος*). Fortified settlement in the territory of Argos Amphilochikon (no. 115), used by the Akarnanians and (probably) the Argeians as the seat of their common law court, situated 25 stades from Argos, usually located at modern Agrilovuni (see e.g. Pritchett (1992) 22–25 or Schoch (1997) 37–38), where remains of a peribolos wall (Hammond (1967) 204–5) and of a large temple (Rhomaios (1918) 116) have been found. *Barr.* C.

Ptychia (*Πτυχία*) Thuc. 4.46.3 (*νῆσος*); Steph. Byz. 538.10 (*νῆσος παρὰ τῇ Κερκύρᾳ*). The island of Ptychia mentioned by Thuc. 4.46.3 has been identified with the modern island of Vido (Bürchner (1922) 1411–12 no. 9; Dontas (1965) 139–40 n. 3). *Barr.* C.

Sauria (*Σαυρία*) Diod. 19.67.4. Fortified place in central Akarnania, to be located at modern Rigani (Pritchett (1991) 8–9, 13–14). In 314 a place of refuge for the population of southern Akarnania, especially from Oiniadai (no. 130; Diod. 19.67.4); for a discussion of the historical circumstances, see Freitag (1994) 222–23. *Barr.* C.

2. *Unidentified Classical Settlements*

Ag. Mina Remains of a "town of no small importance" (Benton (1932) 233) on the island of Kalamos, probably of the Classical and/or Hellenistic periods. *Barr.* C?

Ag. Pandeleimona Port and small fortress with finds from the Classical and/or Hellenistic periods, perhaps belonging to Astakos (no. 116) (Murray (1982) 57–61; Schoch (1997) 41–42). *Barr.* C.

Kalamos Benton (1932) 233–34 gives some information about ruins of various periods on the island of Kalamos: e.g. a round tower at Xylokastro. Not in *Barr.*

Kharakti (= *Kastro tou Sordatou*) See Pronnoi (no. 135).

Limena Vatheos (= *Ormos Vathy*) Remains of an ancient settlement with "a classical foundation" (Benton (1932) 232) on the island of Meganisi, which is usually identified with ancient Taphos. *Barr.* A? or C?

Lykoniko Fortified place south of Monastiraki (Akarnania), Pritchett (1992) 108–13: probably a fortress (or two), but the existence of a settlement is not to be excluded. *Barr.* C?

Palatia Possibly a settlement of the Classical period.

Psara Near the place Psara (or Psari), south of the modern village of Konopina, remains of at least two ancient cemeteries, ruins of houses on two hills, one of them called Kastro (information from local inhabitants), and numerous sherds (many of them black-glazed) and tile fragments indicate a settlement of Classical/Hellenistic times. The site is a candidate for an Akarnanian urban centre, which, however, in the present state of research cannot be identified with any of the places attested in our written sources. Not in *Barr.*

Sterna Fortified sanctuary and settlement on Mount Sterne in the territory of Palairos (no. 131). *Barr.* A?C.

II. The *Poleis*[4]

112. Alyzeia (Alyzaios) Map 54. Lat. 38.45, long. 20.55. Size of territory: 2. Type: A. The toponym is Ἀλύζεα, ἡ (*SEG* 15 393 (Dodona, C5–C4); *SEG* 42 1041 (Ephesos, C4)) and (in literary sources) Ἀλύζια (Thuc. 7.31.2), Ἀλύζεια (Xen. *Hell.* 5.4.65–66), Ἀλυζία (Ps.-Skylax 34) or Λύζεια (Hecat. fr. 111). The city-ethnic is Ἀλυζαῖος (on C4s coins, *infra*; *IG* VII 2418.18 (355–351), with a variant in the same inscription: Ἀλυζῆος (ibid. 5, cf. *SEG* 37 531.11)), or Ἀλυζεύς (*IG* IX².1 582.49 (Magnesia, *c.*207)), or—with reference to the Confederacy—Ἀκαρνάν ἐξ Ἀλυζέας (*SEG* 42 1041 (Ephesos, C4); cf. *LGPN* IIIA 367, s.v. Πόλλυς).

Alyzeia is called a *polis* in the urban sense by Ps.-Skylax 34. The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested externally in a decree from Thebes (no. 221) (*IG* VII 2418.5, 16, 18 (355–351)) and internally on coins (see *infra*) and on an undated tile stamp (*IG* IX².1 450); the individual use is attested externally in two inscriptions from Dodona (*SEG* 15 395 (C5–C4)) and Ephesos (*SEG* 42 1041 (C4)).

Whether Alyzeia was founded by Corinth (no. 227) is disputed (for a discussion, see Domingo-Forasté (1988) 23–25; Schoch (1997) 33). According to ancient tradition, the eponymous hero of the *polis* was Alyzeus, son of Penelope's father Ikarios and brother of Leukadios (*Alkmaionis* fr. 5, Bernabé; Ephor. fr. 124; Strabo 10.2.9).

Alyzeia was a member of the Akarnanian Confederacy (*SEG* 42 1041; cf. *IG* IX².1 582.49 (*c.*207)), during the Third Sacred War allied with Thebes (no. 221) (*IG* VII 2418), and a member of the Hellenic League of 323 (*Staatsverträge* 413). In 413 slingers and javelin-throwers from Alyzeia were raised by the Athenians (Thuc. 7.31.2, 5). An Athenian honorific decree of C4s may have bestowed *proxenia* on a citizen of Alyzeia (*SEG* 21 340.7–8: . . . κράτους Ἀλ[ύζειον πρόξενον]; cf. Diod. 18.11.1). *Theorodokoi* to host *theoroi* from Argos (no. 347) and Epidauros (no. 348) are attested for C4 (*SEG* 23 189.1.6 (330–324); *IG* IV².1 95.19).

The urban centre lay at a distance of 15 stades from the sea, the important harbour and precinct of Herakles at modern Mytikas (Strabo 10.2.21; Murray (1982) 114–21).

Alyzeia must have been fortified before 391 (ibid. 112–13). There are remains of the circuit walls 2.3 km long (apart from the southern wall, which has almost completely disappeared), with twenty-four towers, mostly of polygonal construction (ibid. 106–13), and a fortified acropolis at the north-east extremity of the city (ibid. 110–11). The walls enclosed an area of 27 ha.

Alyzeia struck coins between 350 and 330 (*BMC Corinth*, lviii, with reference to Imhoof-Blumer (1878) 47; Head, *HN*² 329). Corinthian staters (*c.*340–290; types: *obv.* Pegasos; *rev.* Athena) with the legend ΑΛΥΖΑΙΩΝ or ΑΛΥ were found in Sicilian hoards (Talbert (1971) 61; *IGCH* nos. 88, 2144–45, 2151, 2180–81, 2187–88; Taliercio Mensitieri and Spagnoli (1993) pl. 5f); *SNG Cop. Acarnania* 280–82. Contemporary bronze coins show types related to the cult of Herakles (Head, *HN*² 429).

113. Ambrakia (Ambrakiotes) Map 54. Lat. 39.10, long. 21.00. Size of territory: 4. Type: A. The toponym is Ἀνπρακία, ἡ (*SEG* 41 540A.7 (C6); cf. Cassio (1994) 103 l.7; *SEG* 44 463) or Ἀμπρακία (Thuc. 4.42.3) or Ἀμβρακία (most common; see e.g. Xen. *Hell.* 6.2.3; Ps.-Skylax 33). The city-ethnic is Ἀμπρακιώτας, -της (Hdt. 8.45; Thuc. 1.46.1; Xen. *An.* 1.7.18; ML 27.11 (479); *CID* II 4.III.28 (363), and coin legends, see *infra*) or Ἀμβρακιῶτας, -της (Hellan. fr. 83; *IG* II² 236.b.6 (338/7); and coin legends, see *infra*) or Ἀμβρακιάτ[ης] (Parke (1967) 267 no. 12; *SGDI* 3184: Ἀμβρακιά[τας] from Dodona (*c.*C3)) or Ἀμβρακῖνος (Philistos (*FGrHist* 556) fr. 62).

Ambrakia is called a *polis* in the urban sense by Thuc. 3.105.4, 110.1, 112.1, 8, 113.2, 4, 5; Ps.-Skylax 33; and in the political sense by Thuc. 3.113.6 and 7.25.9; it is subsumed under the heading *poleis* at Thuc. 2.9.2, 3. A *polites* is attested in an inscription (*SEG* 41 540A.9 (C6)), and among the Aristotelian *politeiai* there was one of Ambrakia (fr. 481.1). In an early inscription Ambrakia is referred to as *patris* (*SEG* 41 540A.9 (C6)).

The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested externally on the Serpent Column from Delphi (ML 27.11) and in other inscriptions (*IG* II² 236.b.6; *SEG* 9 2.19, 56–57 = Tod 196 (330–325)), internally on coins (see *infra*; cf. the undated tile stamp *SEG* 34 588c). The individual use of the city-ethnic is attested externally, especially in inscriptions at Delphi (*CID* II 4.III.28; *SEG* 31 535.2 (both C4)).

The name of the territory was Ἀμβρακία (Archestratos fr. 16.1, Olson and Sens = *Suppl. Hell.* 146.1; Ps.-Skylax 33; *Etym. Magn.* 81.3–4). It is briefly described by Polyb. 21.26.3–4. Ambrakia bordered on the Thesprotians (Hdt.

[4] According to the conventions of the database, the ethnics attested in the inscriptions of the Akarnanian Confederacy are classified as *external* because they were not found "inside" the respective *poleis*. On the other hand, the decrees of Korkyra, Same and Ithaka recorded in Magnesia are considered to be internal, because the written documentation alone is external whereas the decisions were taken in the *poleis* mentioned and the wording is their own. By contrast, the decrees summarised by the Magnesians with κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ δὲ ἐψηφίσαντο are seen as *external*, the original wording being unknown.

8.47) and on the Amphilochians (Hecat. fr. 26; Thuc. 2.68.5), and was situated in the region of Dryopis (Dion. Calliphon. 30, *GGM* I 239); Athanadas (*FGrHist* 303) fr. 1). It had a *λιμὴν κλειστός* (Ps.-Skylax 33; Dion. Calliphon. 29–30, *GGM* I 239), and a fort *Ἄμβρακος* stood in the lagoons of the river Arachthus (Polyb. 4.61.4–8, 63.1–2; Steph. Byz. 85.10 calls it a *πολίχνιον*), which can be identified with remains on the island of Phidokastro (Hammond (1967) 138; Tzouvara-Souli (1992) 208–9). Two other settlements are mentioned by Steph. Byz. (381.13 with reference to Theopomp. fr. 229 (*Κράνεια· χωρίον Ἀμβρακιωτῶν*), 377.17 (*Κορώνεια· φρούριον τῆς Ἀμβρακίας*)). Another fortress, Herakleia, with a sanctuary of Herakles, occurs in a Hellenistic inscription (*SEG* 35 665.A.18, 27 (*c.*160)). The territory was divided into *μέρη* (*Δεξαμεναί*, Steph. Byz. 225.10) and a *μέρος ποτ' Ὄρραον* (*SEG* 35 665.A.18, 20 (*c.*160)) are attested), but they must not have been administrative units.

Ambrakia was founded by Corinthians (no. 227) (Thuc. 2.80.3; Dem. 3.34) at the time of Kypselos (Strabo 7.6.6, 10.2.8; Ant. Lib. *Met.* 4.4), i.e. between 657/6 and 627/6 (for the date of Kypselos, see Gehrke (1990) 34). The oecist was Gorgos, son of Kypselos (Ps.-Skymnos 455; Nic. Dam. (*FGrHist* 90) fr. 59.1; Strabo 10.2.8 (MS Gargasos); Ant. Lib. *Met.* 4.4 (MS Torgos); one coin attested: Kraay (1976) no. 428 with the name added).

After the expulsion of the tyrant Periander (Arist. *Pol.* 1304^{a}31–33, 1311^{a}40–^{b}1; cf. Plut. *Mor.* 768F (rC6)), Ambrakia was organised as a moderate oligarchy with a low census, later as a democracy (Arist. *Pol.* 1303^{a}20–25; Diod. 17.3.3; cf. Gehrke, *Stasis* 19; Schütrumpf and Gehrke (1996) 455). After the battle of Chaironeia, an oligarchy was established, supported by a Makedonian garrison, but after the death of Philip II, Ambrakia became democratic again (Diod. 17.3.3, 4.3; cf. Gehrke, *Stasis* 19). The historical circumstances of the tyranny of a certain Phalaikos (or Phaylos) in Ambrakia (e.g. Ant. Lib. *Met.* 4.4–5) remain dubious, cf. Keyßner (1938) 1612.

Ambrakia was a member of the Hellenic League against Persia (Hdt. 8.45, 47, 9.28.5, 9.31.4; *Staatsverträge* 130). Before the Peloponnesian War, it sided with the Corinthians (no. 227) against Korkyra (no. 123) and acted, consistently, as a Spartan ally during the war (Thuc. 2.9.2, 2.80.5, 3.105.1, 6.104.1, 8.106.3), although in 426 it was forced to conclude a *symmachia* and a treaty with the Akarnanians and the Amphilochians (Thuc. 3.114.3; *Staatsverträge* 175). In 395, Ambrakia became a member of the alliance between Boiotia, Athens (no. 361), Corinth (no. 227) and Argos (no. 347) against Sparta (no. 345) (Diod. 14.82.3; *Staatsverträge* 225), but it sided with Sparta against Athens and Korkyra in 375 and 373/2 (Xen. *Hell.* 5.4.65–66, 6.2.3). Ambrakia is attested as a member of the Corinthian League of 338/7 (*IG* II^{2} 236.b.6; *Staatsverträge* 130) and of the Hellenic League of 323 (*Staatsverträge* 413). In 317/16, it was allied with Olympias (Diod. 19.35.7).

Ambrakia was engaged with contingents in the following battles: against Korkyra on the river Arachthus *c.*600 (*CEG* I 145; cf. Hammond (1967) 493; Andreou (1991) 436–38); against the Perrhaibians together with Corinth (no. 227) in C6 (*SEG* 41 540A.7; cf. Cassio (1994) and *SEG* 44 463); at Salamis with seven ships (Hdt. 8.45); at Plataiai with 500 hoplites (Hdt. 9.28.5, 31.4); at Epidamnos in 435 with eight ships (Thuc. 1.27.2); at Sybota in 433 with 27 (Thuc. 1.46.1); and against Korkyra together with Leukas (no. 126) in 427 with thirteen ships (Thuc. 3.69.1). In 425, Ambrakia went to war against Akarnania and Amphilochian Argos (no. 115) with at least 3,000 hoplites (Thuc. 3.105.1), and in 414, three Ambrakian ships joined the Corinthian fleet (Thuc. 6.104.1). In 405, the Ambrakian Euantidas fought under Lysander's command at Aigos potamoi (Paus. 10.9.10). In 375 and 373/2, Ambrakia supported the Peloponnesian navy with six ships (Xen. *Hell.* 5.4.65–66, 6.2.3).

The patron deities were Apollo Soter (or Agyieus) and Herakles; cf. the *aition* reported by Ant. Lib. *Met.* 4 (cf. *SEG* 35 665.B.33–34, 45 (C2), with Cabanes and Andréou (1985) 513, 531, 533–34; Jacoby, comm. in Athanadas (*FGrHist* 303); Tzouvara-Souli (1992) 197–200). The Ambrakians used a Dorian calendar like Corinth (no. 227) and Korkyra (Bischoff (1919) 1592 no. 32; cf. Cabanes and Andréou (1985) 536–37). Sophron of Ambrakia is recorded as a winner in the Olympic Games of 432 (*Olympionikai* 321).

The eponymous hero of the *polis* was Ambrax, son of Thesprotos and grandson of Lykaon (Steph. Byz. 84.22–85.1; Eust. *Comm. Dionys. Per.* 493, but see Hecat. fr. 26) or son of Dexamenos and grandson of Herakles (Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.50.4). According to another version, Ambrakia, daughter of the Dryopian king Melaneus or Augeas or Phorbas, son of Helios, was eponymous (cf. Ant. Lib. *Met.* 4.3; Steph. Byz. 85.1–2, 225.11–12; Eust. *Comm. Dionys. Per.* 493).

Ambrakian *theorodokoi* are attested for *theoroi* from Argos (no. 347; *SEG* 23 189.1.10 (330–324)), Delphi (no. 177) (*SEG* 31 535.2 (*c.*320)) and Epidauros (no. 348) (*IG* IV^{2}.1 95.32, 81–82 (356/5)). In the Delphic decree a grant of *proxenia* was added to the grant of *theorodokia* (*SEG* 31 535.3).

Public architecture is not attested before the Hellenistic period, nor are there ruins of older public buildings except

for the remains of a late Archaic temple (Tzouvara-Souli (1992) 43; Lang (1996) 296 with n. 529). The acropolis was situated on the hill called Perranthes (Livy 38.4.1, 4.6, 5.2; cf. Hammond (1967) 143). The walls mentioned by Livy (38.4.4) belong primarily to the time of Pyrrhos; they enclose an area of *c.*130 ha, but there are remains of the older walls of late Archaic or Classical times (Hammond (1967) 141–44, 481, 584–85, 659; Cabanes and Andréou (1985) 525–27 (sketch); Pritchett (1992) 120 with reference to Catling; Tzouvara-Souli (1992) 26–31; Andréou (1993) 93–94; Lang (1996) 296). The city buildings follow a plan with a rectangular road system (Tzouvara-Souli (1992) 31–33; Andréou (1993) 93–94; Lang (1996) 297–98) in both Archaic and Classical times. It has been suggested that one of the two theatres attested by archaeology goes back to C4l (*TGR* ii. 129) and is the one referred to at Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.50.4 (cf. Frederiksen (2002) 72).

Ambrakia struck coins on the Corinthian standard and with Corinthian types (pegasi) in about 480, in the 430s and in C4s (Kraay (1977), (1979), and Talbert (1971); *IGCH passim* (cf. p. 395); Kraay (1976) 126–28; Taliercio Mensitieri and Spagnoli (1993), especially pls. 3 and 5b–f, h, i, l; *CH* viii. 226, 450, 530). They bear the legends *AMΠPAKIOTAN*, *AMΠPAKIΩTAN*, or *AMBPAKIΩTAN* and various abbreviations (Head, *HN*² 319–20; Franke (1961) 323–32; Hammond (1967) 717–31; Tzouvara-Souli (1992) 127–32; cf. Kraay (1976) 123–27; Stazio (1995) 181 and the articles cited above). *SNG Cop. Acarnania* 1–20.

114. Anaktorion (Anaktorieus) Map 54. Lat. 38.55, long. 20.50. Size of territory: 2. Type: A. The toponym is *Ἀνακτόριον* (Thuc. 1.55.1; *IG* iv².1 95.22 (356/5)), originally *Fανακτόριον* (cf. the city-ethnic *Fανακτοριῆς*). The city-ethnic is *Ἀνακτοριεύς* (coins with *ANAKTOPIEΩN* (*infra*); *IG* ix².1 3A.24 (263?)), originally *Fανακτοριεύς* (ML 27.10 (Delphi, 479), and the earliest coin legend), or *Ἀνακτόριος* (Hdt. 9.28.5; Thuc. 1.46.1; coins with *ANAKTOPIΩN* (*infra*)).

Anaktorion is called a *polis* in the urban and political senses simultaneously by Thuc. 4.49 (Hansen (1998) 32–33); in the urban sense implicitly by Ps.-Skylax 34, and in the political sense Anaktorion is subsumed under the heading *poleis* at Thuc. 1.46.1–2 and 2.9.2–3.

The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested externally on the Serpent Column from Delphi (ML 27.10 (479)) and internally on coins (see *infra*). The individual use of the city-ethnic is attested in the inscription concerning the cult of Artemis Leukophryene in Magnesia (*IG* ix².1 582.5 (*c.*207)).

The name of the territory was *Ἀνακτορία γῆ* (Thuc. 1.29.3) situated *ἐπὶ τῷ στόματι τοῦ Ἀμβρακικοῦ κόλπου* (Thuc. 1.55.1, 4.49), 40 stades from Actium (Strabo 10.2.7). Anaktorion possessed a *λιμήν* (Ps.-Skylax 34) inside the Gulf of Arta and another *ἐκτός*, at the sanctuary of Apollo Aktios (Strabo 10.2.7). Anaktorion was part of Akarnania according to the *theorodokoi* lists (*IG* iv².1 95.8 + 22; *SEG* 36 331.A.15 + 20 (both C4s)) and Ps.-Skylax 34.

Anaktorion was founded by Corinthians (no. 227; Paus. 5.23.3; Steph. Byz. 92.15–16; the participation of Korkyra (no. 123) is disputed; cf. Domingo-Forasté (1988) 6–42; De Fidio (1995) 125ff) at the time of Kypselos (657/6–627/6; for the date, see Gehrke (1990) 34; Strabo 10.2.8; Nic. Dam. (*FGrHist* 90) fr. 57.7). For a discussion of Plut. *Mor.* 552E (colonisation of Anaktorion under Periander's rule), see Domingo-Forasté (1988) 8–11. The oecist was Echiades (Nic. Dam. *loc. cit.*). Thucydides' description of Anaktorion as *Κορινθίων πόλις* (4.49) indicates that in C5 it was still, at least to some extent, controlled by its *metropolis*.

During the Great Persian War, Anaktorion belonged to the Hellenic League (Hdt. 9.28.5, 31.4; ML 27.10; *Staatsverträge* 130). It is attested as a *symmachos* of Sparta (no. 345) in 431 and 429 (Thuc. 2.9.2, 80.5) and entered into alliance with Thebes (no. 221) during the Third Sacred War (*IG* vii 2418). In the battle of Plataiai, Anaktorion was present, together with Leukas (no. 126), with 800 hoplites (Hdt. 9.28.5). During the Korkyra campaign of 435, it joined the Corinthians (no. 227) with one ship under its own commander (Thuc. 1.46.1).

Being founded by Corinthians, Anaktorion was *κοινὸν Κερκυραίων καὶ ἐκείνων* (Thuc. 1.55.1). In 432 it was captured by the Corinthians and received new Corinthian settlers (ibid.; Losada (1972) 17). When it was captured by Athenians and Akarnanians in 425, the Akarnanians sent new colonists (Thuc. 4.49, probably reflected in Ps.-Skymnos 460–61). After that, Anaktorion must have been a member of the Akarnanian Confederacy (Freitag (1996) 85–86, attested in *IG* ix².1 3A.24 (263?), 583.8 (216), 582.41 (*c.*207)).

Theorodokoi were appointed to host *theoroi* from Argos (no. 347) (*SEG* 23 189.1.3 (330–324)), Epidauros (no. 348) (*IG* iv².1 95.22, 76–77 (356/5)) and Nemea (*SEG* 36 331.A.20–23 (331/30–313)). The public assembly of Anaktorion was called *halia*, the eponymous magistrate was a *prytanis* (*IG* ix².1 212.1, 3 (C4–C3)); cf. Sherk (1990*a*) 257.

The famous sanctuary of Apollo Aktios was situated outside the city (Thuc. 1.29.3; cf. *IG* ix².1 583.14–15, 54 (Olympia, 216) and 582.40–41 (Magnesia, *c.*207)), with a temple of

Apollo (Strabo 7.7.6), a *Helenaion*, other unknown structures ἐν τ[ῶι ἄ]λσει and *parembolai*, i.e. places for camping visitors (*IG* IX².1 583.38–41; cf. Habicht (1957) 98–102). There was a festival (ἡ Ἀκτιάς, *IG* IX².1 583.45; cf. *BE* (1956) 11) with *agones*. From C4 onward, some types of coins refer to this cult and festival.

The circuit of the city walls was described by Leake (1835) 493–94 (cf. Strauch (1996*a*) 377). Thucydides reports at 4.49 that Anaktorion in 425 was betrayed to the Athenians, an indication that the town was fortified.

Anaktorion struck coins on the Corinthian standard and with Corinthian types (pegasi) in the 430s and in C4s (Imhoof-Blumer (1878) 53ff; Kraay (1979) 53, 55; Domingo-Forasté (1988) 132–46 and (1993); Talbert (1971) 61; *IGCH passim* (cf. p. 395); Taliercio Mensitieri and Spagnoli (1993) pl. 3; *CH* viii. 159, 167, 232; cf. in general Head, *HN*² 329). The coins bear the legends *ANAKTOPIEΩN*, *ANAKTOPIΩN* and various abbreviations, the oldest coins use initial *F*.

115. Argos (Argeios) Map 54. Lat. 38.55, long. 21.10. Size of territory: 3. Type: A. The toponym is Ἄργος, τό (Thuc. 3.105.2; *IG* IV².1 95.33 (356/5)) or Ἄργος τὸ Ἀμφιλοχικόν (Hecat. fr. 102c; Thuc. 2.68.1, 3). The city-ethnic is Ἀργεῖος (Thuc. 3.105.1; Cabanes (1976) 586 no. 70.7 (Dodona, C4)) and Ἀργεῖος ὁ Ἀμφίλοχος (*IG* IX².1 186.16 (Magnesia, *c.*207)) or Ἀμφίλοχος ἐξ Ἄργεος (*F.Delphes* III.4 407 (325–275)).[5]

Argos is called a *polis* in the urban sense by Thuc. 2.68.9, 3.105.1, 106.3, and by Ps.-Skylax 34; the territorial sense is a connotation at Thuc. 2.68.4 and 6, as is the political sense at 2.68.4. At Hecat. fr. 102c = Strabo 6.2.4 we cannot be certain that the term *polis* stems from Hekataios.

The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested externally by Thucydides (see *supra*) and internally on C4s coins (see *infra*). The individual use of the city-ethnic is attested externally in an Athenian proxeny decree (*IG* II² 374.11–12 (322/1)) and in Dodona (see *supra*).

The territory was called Ἀργεῖα (Thuc. 3.105.1, 106.3) or Ἀμφιλοχία (Thuc. 3.105.2). There existed at least three other settlements within the territory: Olpai (τεῖχος, Thuc. 3.105.1), Metropolis (Thuc. 3.107.1; Pritchett (1992) 25–27) and Krenai (χωρίον, Thuc. 3.105.2). In C5, Limnaia (no. 127) was part of the Argeia too (Thuc. 2.80.8). The Argeia was situated between Epiros and Akarnania; cf. also *IG* IV².1 95.33.

The mythical founder of Argos was Amphilochos (Hecat. fr. 102c; Thuc. 2.68.3; Ps.-Skymnos 455–57, according to Ephor. fr. 123b together with his father and brother, *sc.* Akarnan), the son of Alkmaion (Ephor. fr. 123b) or Amphiaraos (Thuc. 2.68.3; Ps.-Skymnos 455–57). According to Thuc. 2.68.5, only the Argeians (together with the Ambrakiot settlers expelled at about 440 BC, see infra), probably the population of the urban centre, were Hellenes while the other Amphilochians were Barbarian (for a discussion of the problem *cf.* Hammond [1967] 419; Hornblower [1991] 353–3).

Whether Argos was a member of the Akarnanian Confederacy is disputed (Klaffenbach (1957) XVIII against Beloch (1922) 291). In about 440 the Amphilochians were expelled by Ambrakian settlers, but some two years later, with Athenian aid, they were resettled together with Akarnanians in Argos, while the Ambrakian settlers were exposed to *andrapodismos* (Thuc. 2.68.5–7; Gehrke, *Stasis* 34). At least there must have been a special relationship between Argos and the Akarnanian Confederacy (Gehrke (1994–95) 43 with n. 6).

The Argeian/Akarnanian physician Euenor was honoured by the Athenians with proxeny (*IG* II² 242 + 373 (337/6)), later citizenship (*IG* II² 374 (322/1)). Argeian *theorodokoi* hosted *theoroi* from Argos (no. 347) (*SEG* 23 189.1.9 (330–324)) and Epidauros (no. 348) (*IG* IV².1 95.33).

The surviving walls at the site of Neochori are described by Pritchett (1992) 20–21 (with pls. 22–25), those of Palaioavli, Pritchett's candidate for Argos, ibid. 17 (with pls. 9–21). Argos is commonly connected with the ruins near Ag. Ioannis/Neochori (Heuzey (1860) 282ff; Oberhummer (1887) 26–27; Strauch (1996*c*); *Barr.*); for a recent discussion, see Hammond (1967) 246 and Pritchett (1992) 13–21, who locate Argos at Palaioavli (cf. Schoch (1997) 38); but the remains at Neochori are much more impressive and thus a better candidate for a major *polis* site than the ruins at Palaioavli (probably ancient Krenai, see *supra* 353). Thucydides' description of the unsuccessful Ambrakian attack on Argos in 430 indicates that the city was fortified (Thuc. 2.68.9).

Argos struck coins of silver and bronze on the Corinthian standard and with Corinthian types in C4s (Talbert (1971) 61; *IGCH passim* (cf. p. 396); Taliercio Mensitieri and Spagnoli (1993) pls. 3, 5; *CH* viii. 159, 167, 232, 431; cf. in general Imhoof-Blumer (1878) 82–97). The coins bear the legends *APΓIΩN*,

[5] Perhaps other Argeioi are mentioned in Greek inscriptions, but normally an Argeios will be identified with a citizen of the famous city in the Argolid. But the Argeios named in the inscription published by Cabanes (1976) 586 no. 70.7 (Dodona, C4) looks like a neighbour of the two other persons, a Horraitas and a Dodonaios; cf. also the Argeioi in *IG* IX.1² 1 25.10, 49–50; 30.21, 24, 29.

ΑΡΓΕΩΝ, *ΑΡΓΕΙΩΝ*, or *ΑΜΦΙΛΟΧΩΝ* and various abbreviations. *SNG Cop. Acarnania* 308–22.

116. Astakos (Astakenos) Map 54. Lat. 38.35, long. 21.05. Size of territory: 2. Type: A. The toponym is *Ἀστακός*, *ἡ* (Thuc. 2.30.1, 33.1) or *Ἀστακοί* (only in inscriptions: *IG* IV².1 95.14 (356/5); *SEG* 36 331.A.52 (331/30–313)). The city-ethnic (not attested before the Hellenistic period) is *Ἀστακός* (*IG* IX².1 443 (C3–C2); *IG* IX².1 208.4, 33 (C2); cf. Klaffenbach (1957) 87) or *Ἀστακηνός* (*SEG* 43 35 (C3)). A C4 Attic inscription (*IG* II² 266) has *Ἀκαρνᾶνες ἐξ Ἀσ[τακοῦ* (*vel Ἀσ[τακῶν*]). There was another city named Astakos in Bithynia (no. 737). Well known, e.g. as a member of the Delian League, this *polis* (destroyed and refounded by the Bithynian king Zipoites near the former site) took the name Nikomedeia in early C3. Therefore, all Astak(en)oi attested in Hellenistic inscriptions must be seen as citizens of the Akarnanian *polis*, e.g. the *paroikos* Nikon Astakenos at Rhamnous (*SEG* 43 53 (C3 after 229)). Only the *πατρὶς Ἀστακίη* (*SEG* 4 105 (Rome, first century AD)) may refer poetically to Nikomedeia, cf. e.g. Nonnus, *Dion.* 14.327, 16.166 or *Anth. Pal.* 7.627.3.

Astakos is called a *polis* in the urban sense by Ps.-Skylax 34, who also classifies Astakos as a *limen*. Thuc. 2.30.1 has *χωρίον*.

The collective use of the equivalent of the city-ethnic is attested externally in an Athenian inscription (*IG* II² 266) and internally on a stamped tile (*IG* IX².1 443 (C3–C2)). The individual use of the city-ethnic is attested externally in, e.g., *SEG* 43 53 (Rhamnous, C3), see n. 7. The bay near Astakos is named *Ἀστακηνὸς κόλπος* by Strabo 10.2.21.

Steph. Byz. 137.6 calls Astakos *Κεφαλληνίας ἄποικον*, but, according to Kirsten ((1940) 298), it may have been a colony of Corinth (no. 227), like Anaktorion (no. 114), Ambrakia (no. 113) and Leukas (no. 126; cf. Wacker (1996*a*) 99 with n. 6; Schoch (1997) 42; *contra* Klaffenbach (1957*a*) x).

According to the *theorodokoi* lists, Astakos was part of Akarnania (*IG* IV².1 95.8 + 14 (356/5)). After the expulsion of the tyrant Euarchos in 431 (Thuc. 2.30.1), repeated after his return in 429, Astakos became an Athenian ally and, probably, a member of the Akarnanian Confederacy (cf. Gomme *ad* Thuc. 2.102.1). The membership is attested only later (*IG* IX².1 208, 209 (C2)). *Theorodokoi* to host *theoroi* are attested in Epidauros (no. 348; *IG* IV².1 95.14, 63 (356/5)) and in Nemea (*SEG* 36 331.A.52–53 (331/30–313)).

Ruins of a sanctuary of Zeus Kara(i)os have been found 200 m west of the western gate; they can be identified by an inscription of C2 (*IG* IX².1 434). The remains of the ancient walls, visible today as foundations of a mediaeval wall, are poorly preserved (Wacker (1996*a*) 101). The masonry suggests different phases (Murray (1982) 69–70), the first being probably C5 (Oberhummer (1887) 212; Philippson and Kirsten (1958) 395).

Astakos struck silver coins perhaps only in C4s, on the Corinthian standard and with Corinthian types: *obv.* Pegasos; *rev.* head of Athena with an *astakos* (i.e. a crayfish); legend: *ΑΣ* (Imhoof-Blumer (1878) 97–99; Head, *HN*² 329; *CH* viii. 232).

117. Derion (Derieus) Map 54. Lat. 38.40, long. 21.20. Size of territory: 1. Type: C. The toponym is *Δήριον*, *τό* (*SEG* 36 331.A.41 (331/30–313)). The city-ethnic is *Δεριεύς* (*IAEpi* 42.61, 65 (C3); Diod. 19.67.4 (r314)) or *Δηριεύς* (*IG* IX².1 3A.23 (263?)).

Derion is probably to be connected with the ruins at Skourtou in central Akarnania (Rhomaios (1918) 113–14; cf. the discussion by Pritchett (1992) 81–85); it is not attested as a *polis* in our sources. If the identification with the ruins of Skourtou is correct, Derion had an urban centre and may have been a *polis* already in C5–C4, not just one of the *ἔθνη* attested in *IG* IX².1 583.40 (Olympia, 216).

The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested externally by Diod. 19.67.4 (r314). The individual use of the city-ethnic is attested externally in an inscription from the Asklepieion at Epidauros (*IAEpi* 42.61, 65 (C4l–C3e)) and in the treaty of 263(?) between the Aitolians and Akarnanians (*IG* IX².1 3A.23).

According to the Nemean *theorodokoi* list, Derion was part of Akarnania (*SEG* 36 331.A.15 + 41 (331/30–313)). At least in 314 it was a member of the Akarnanian Confederacy (Diod. 19.67.4; *IG* IX².1 3A.23; cf. also the *theorodokoi* lists cited below). In C4l–C3e Aristarchidas of Derion was appointed *proxenos* by Epidauros (no. 348) for having hosted *theoroi* from there (*IAEpi* 42.61, 65). Other *theorodokoi* are attested in the Nemean List (*SEG* 36 331.A.41–43 (331/30–313)).

The remains of the site at Skourtou have recently been described by Pritchett (1992) 81–85, who refers to the acropolis, a possible temple site (citing Woodhouse) and the walls, and mentions "pieces of glazed pottery" of C5 (ibid. 85). However, there is a problem concerning the walls: Diodorus speaks of *<ἀν>οχύρων καὶ μικρῶν χωρίων* and of *διεσπαρμένης τῆς οἰκήσεως* and mentions *Δεριεῖς* in that context (19.67.3–5). But *<ἀν>οχύρων* is a conjecture (by Reiske and Dindorf); the MSS have *ὀχύρων*, and Diodorus writes in general terms.

118. Echinos (Echinaios) Map 54. Lat. 38.55, long. 20.55. Size of territory: 1. Type: B. The toponym is *Ἐχίνεος*, ὁ (*IG* IV².1 95.17 (356/5)) or *Ἐχῖνος* (*SEG* 36 331.A.24 (331/30–313)). The city-ethnic is *Ἐχιναῖος* (*IG* II² 208.1, 7 (suppl.) = *Staatsverträge* 325 (349/8)). Perhaps more Akarnanian Echinaioi are mentioned in Greek inscriptions, but normally an Echinaios will be identified with a citizen of the homonymous city in Malis, cf. e.g. *SEG* 25 642 (168/7).

Echinos is, in all probability, to be located at the ancient site of the Kastro of Prophitis Elias (Pritchett (1992) 93–101). Echinos is commonly located on the bay of Rouga (Heuzey (1860) 375–76; Oberhummer (1887) 36; Philippson (1905); Klaffenbach (1957) 33). But Rouga is an obvious place for the harbour of Thyrreion (no. 139). According to an inscription found during an excavation at Rouga by L. Kolonas (not yet published), its probable name was Nesos.

Echinos is not attested as a *polis*. The Hellenistic poet Rhianos of Bene called it *ἄστυ* (Steph. Byz. 292.16–17: *Ἐχίονος ἄστυ*, *Ἔχιον*(?) *ἄστυ conj.* Jacoby, *FGrHist* 265, fr. 34). As a member of the Akarnanian Confederacy which had an urban centre and presumably struck coins, Echinos was probably a *polis*, at least from C4 (*infra*).

The external use of the city-ethnic is attested in an Attic decree of 349/8 (*IG* II² 208, the individual use in line 1, the collective in line 7 (suppl.)). For the individual use, see also *Ἀκαρνὰν ἀπ' Ἐχίνου*, in a funerary epigram from Kos (*IG* IX².1 579.6 (C3)).

According to the *theorodokoi* lists, Echinos was part of Akarnania (*IG* IV².1 95.8 + 17 (356/5); *SEG* 36 331.A.15 + 24 (331/30–313)). The mythical founder and eponym was Echinos (Rhianos (*FGrHist* 265) fr. 34 = Steph. Byz. 292.16–17). Membership of the Akarnanian Confederacy is well attested (*IG* II² 208.1, 6ff = *Staatsverträge* 325 (349/8), cf. *IG* IX².1 579.6 (C3)).

Echinos sent envoys to Athens (no. 361) in 349/8 (*IG* II² 208; cf. Wilhelm (1889) 127–30), and there were Echinaian *theorodokoi* to host *theoroi* from Epidauros (no. 348) and from Nemea (*supra*).

The remains of the site of Kastro to be identified with Echinos are described by Pritchett (1992) 93–97, who mentions Geometric, Classical and Hellenistic pottery. The walls have been compared with those of Rhamnous and Eleutherai by Heuzey (1860) 381–82. A *temenos* of Apollo is attested in an epigram found at the Kastro (*IG* IX².1 238.5; cf. now Pritchett (1992) 95).

A Pegasos-type stater on the Corinthian standard (*obv.* head of Athena with fish-hook; legend: E) has tentatively been attributed to Echinos (Imhoof-Blumer (1878) 100; Head, *HN*² 329). Since then, eight coins of this type have been found in Sicilian and South Italian hoards (Talbert (1971) 62; *IGCH* no. 2187; Taliercio Mensitieri and Spagnoli (1993) especially pls. 1, 3; *CH* viii. 232); the coinage can be dated to C4s: *SNG Cop. Acarnania* 324.

119. Euripos (Euripios) Map 54. Lat. 38.55, long. 21.00. Size of territory: 1. Type: B. The toponym is *Εὔριπος*, ὁ (Ps.-Skylax 34 according to the MS; cf. Marcotte (1985) 254; *IG* IV².1 95.15 (356/5)). The city-ethnic is *Εὐρίπιος* (*ArchDelt* 22B.2 (1967) 321; *BE* (1970) 343 (C3s); cf. Antonetti (1987) 100–1; Strauch (1996*a*) 282–83, 319; but the connection with the Akarnanian Euripos is not beyond doubt; there are also inscriptions relating to other *euripoi*/*Euripoi*, e.g. *SEG* 3 415).

Euripos is presumably to be located west of the site Saradiniko on the west bank of the river Nissis near Loutraki (described by Pritchett (1994) 192–95). Pritchett (1992) 90–92 locates Euripos on the Bay of Rouga, but for the connection of that site with the harbour of Thyrreion, see above Echinos (no. 118); cf. Kirsten (1941*a*) 108 n. 3; Schwandner in *AA* (1991) 614. Euripos is not attested as a *polis* in the sources, but from the passage of Ps.-Skylax (*supra*) and, particularly, from the *theorodokoi* lists concerning Akarnania (see *infra*), we have to infer that it was a member of the Akarnanian Confederacy. Since remains of a Classical and Hellenistic urban settlement with a cemetery exist west of the above-mentioned Late Hellenistic/Roman site of Saradiniko (information from E.-L. Schwandner), Euripos was probably a *polis*, at least from C4.

The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested externally in a C3s building inscription at Makryada (*ArchDelt* 22B.2 (1967), but see *supra*).

Euripian *theorodokoi* hosted *theoroi* from Epidauros (no. 348) (*IG* IV².1 95.15 (356/5); cf. *SEG* 35 306) and from Nemea (*SEG* 36 331.A.28–30 (331/30–313)). The Pegasos-type staters with an *E* assigned to Echinos (no. 118) may have been coins of Euripos as well.

120. Herakleia Map 54. Lat. 38.55, long. 20.55? The location of Herakleia is unknown, *pace Barr.* map 54, Pritchett suggests the area of Vonitsa ((1992) 2–3, 97–101; cf. *SEG* 42 379), but the question has to remain open. Thus, there are no identifiable ruins to show that Herakleia had an urban centre; nor is Herakleia mentioned in the *theorodokoi* lists. Type: C. The toponym is *Ἡράκλεα* (*SEG* 1 94; cf. *LSAG*² 127–28, 131 no. 13 (C7–C6)) or *Ἡράκλεια* (Steph. Byz. 303.16, 304.2).

Herakleia is not mentioned as a *polis* in the ancient sources. Pliny records it under *Acarnaniae . . . oppida* (*HN* 4.5).

Because of the Corinthian interests in the region, the inscription on the golden phiale of C7–C6 found in Olympia (*SEG* 1 94; cf. *supra*) is connected with Pliny's *Heraclia* by Pritchett (1992) 100–1, *contra* L. Antonelli; cf. *SEG* 45 404.

Coins of C5s with the legend *HPAKΛEΩTΩN* or monograms attributed by Imhoof-Blumer (1878) 101–12 to the Akarnanian Herakleia may have been struck by another Herakleia (cf. Head, *HN*² 328–34; Rhomaios (1918) 115). *SNG Cop. Acarnania* 325.

121. Hyporeiai (Hyporeates) Map. 54. Unlocated, not in *Barr.* Type: C. The toponym is *Ὑπώρειαι* (*IG* IV².1 95.35 (356/5)). The ethnic is *Ὑπωρεά(της)* (*IG* IX².1 587.3 (C4); cf. *SEG* 39 281).

On the location, see Pritchett (1992) 79 n. 1: "L. Robert, Hellenica 1 (1940) 106–108, has shown . . . that it [sc. Hyporeiai] was an Akarnanian town and he suggests from its position that it was in eastern Akarnania on the Aitolian frontier 'au pied des monts'."

Hyporeiai is attested only twice: as a toponym in an Epidaurian *theorodokoi* list, and on an Athenian grave *stele* from the Piraeus (both cited above). Since the deceased of *IG* IX².1 587 is called *Ἀκαρνάν Ὑπωρεά(της)* (Robert (1940) 106–8), Hyporeiai must have been a member of the Akarnanian Confederacy in C4. So it may have been a *polis* (cf. *loc. cit.*), although an *ἔθνος* (cf. Habicht (1957) 109–10) cannot be excluded.

A *theorodokos* to host *theoroi* from Epidauros (no. 348) is attested for 356/5 (*IG* IV².1 95.35 (356/5)).

122. Ithaka (Ithakesios) Map 54. Lat. 38.25, long. 20.40. Size of territory: 2. Type: A. The toponym is *Ἰθάκα, ἡ* (*I.Magnesia* 35.37 = Rigsby (1996) 212–14 no. 85 (*c.*207)) or *Ἰθάκη* (Ps.-Skylax 34). The city-ethnic is *Ἰθακήσιος* (Bacchyl. fr. 29; Eur. *Cyc.* 277; Arist. *Ithac. Pol.* fr. 511) or *Ἴθακος* (*I.Magnesia* 36.4, 27; this form of the ethnic is also found on coins (*infra*) but is otherwise confined to poetry and to Odysseus, e.g. Eur. *Cycl.* 103).

Ithaka is attested as a *polis* in the urban sense by Ps.-Skylax 34 and in the political sense by Eur. *Cyc.* 276 (but in a mythical context). The earliest epigraphical attestation of the political sense is in an Ithakan decree from Magnesia (*I.Magnesia* 36.4, 27 (*c.*207)). *Polis* status in C6 may be inferred from the cult of the goddess Athena Polias (*IG* IX².1 1614 (C6), *contra* Cole (1995) 301–4. Ithaka is included among the Aristotelian *politeiai* (Arist. frr. 509–14).

The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested externally in the Aristotelian *Ἰθακησίων πολιτεία* (no. 68, Gigon) and internally on the coins (see *infra*).

The name of the island is *Ἰθάκη* (Hom. *Il.* 2.632; *Od.* 1.18). It is identical with that of the city and the territory (Ps.-Skylax 34). The place *Ἁλαλκομεναί* called *ἡ τῶν Ἰθακησίων πόλις* (Plut. *Mor.* 301D) or *πόλις ἐν Ἰθάκῃ τῇ νήσῳ* (Steph. Byz. 75.14) is commonly identified with the site at the Aëtos mountain (Partsch (1890) 57–58; Strauch (1996*b*)), but it seems to be a mythological fiction (Wirbelauer (1998) 248–51). Other toponyms on Ithaka attested in ancient sources derive from the *Odyssey*. The island is situated near Kephallenia (Strabo 10.2.11–12; Steph. Byz. 328.12; cf. Strabo 8.2.2).

From the fact that Kephallenian cities were members of the Second Athenian Naval League, Dreher (1995*b*) 191, 199, infers Ithakan membership of the League too. The only *psaphisma* of Ithaka known to us is the inscription from Magnesia on the Maeander (*I.Magnesia* 36.29 (*c.*207)).

There was a sanctuary of Athena Polias and Hera Teleia (*IG* IX².1 1614 (C6); cf. *I.Magnesia* 36.30) and a cave sanctuary at the Polis bay (Benton (1934–35), (1938–39); Steinhart and Wirbelauer (2002) 334–35, Mycenaean to Roman times) with dedications, particularly to the Nymphs and to Herakles and Odysseus. The veneration of Athena and Odysseus is also attested on some coins (Head, *HN*² 428 (C4–C3)). A sanctuary and temple of Apollo were situated in the saddle east of the Aëtos mountain (Symeonoglou, *Prakt* (1986) 236–37, pl. 104a; cf. *SEG* 38 432 (C6–C3) and *IG* IX².1 1685). The existence of a *stadion* is to be concluded from the mention of the games called *Odysseia* in *I.Magnesia* 36.16.

The settlement in the saddle east of Aëtos, presumably the urban centre of Ithaka, had a fortified acropolis on the summit of the mountain and polygonal city walls (C5–C4; sketch map: Heurtley and Lorimer (1932–33) pl. 1; renewed: Symeonoglou, *Prakt* (1985) 202; cf. especially Kilian (1975)) and several buildings (Symeonoglou, *Prakt* (1984ff); *Ergon* (1984ff); Steinhart and Wirbelauer (2002) 331; Randsborg (2002) 1.109, 2.282–83). The city walls enclose an area of *c.*12 ha. A harbour (*λιμήν*) is recorded by Ps.-Skylax 34. There are other remains of polygonal walls scattered on various sites in the northern part of the island.

The eponym of Ithaka was Ithakos (Hom. *Od.* 17.207), brother of Neritos and son of Pterelaos (Akousilaos (*FGrHist* 2) fr. 43), cf. Wirbelauer (1998) 280–83.

The patron deity of Ithaka was Athena Polias (*IG* IX².1 1614 (C6); cf. *SEG* 27 180; *LSAG*² 231 no. 3). There was a festival called *Odysseia* at least in the Hellenistic period (*I.Magnesia* 36.16).

Ithaka struck bronze coins from C4 to C2. Types: *obv.* head of Athena or Odysseus; *rev.* fulmen in olive wreath, or Odysseus, or cock; legend: *ΙΘΑ*, *ΙΘΑΚΩΝ* (Postolakas (1868) 90; Head, *HN*² 428; Grose (1926) nos. 6697–99; *SNG Cop. Acarnania* 478).

123. Korkyra (Korkyraios) Map 54. Lat. 39.35, long. 19.55. Size of territory: 5. Type: A. The toponym is *Κορκού[ρα]* (Korinna col. II.36, Campbell), *Κόρκυρα*, *ἡ* (*IG* I³ 364.1, 7 = ML 61 (433/2); *IG* IV².1 95.28 (356/5)) or *Κέρκυρα* (*IG* II² 5224.2 = *CEG* 469 (C4f); Hdt. 7.145.2; Thuc. 3.70.3). The name of the island is the same as that of the *polis* (Ps.-Skylax 29). The city-ethnic is *Ϙορϙυραῖος* (*F.Delphes* III.4 454 = *LSAG*² 233 and 234 no. 15 (*c.*500–475); cf. *SEG* 31 546, 547), *Κορκυραῖος* (*IG* II² 97 (375); on coins, cf. Head, *HN*² 327 (C4)) or *Κερκυραῖος* (*Agora* XVII 517 (C5–C4)), which is the only form attested in literary sources (Hdt. 7.15.3; Thuc. 3.70.1).[6]

Korkyra is called a *polis* both in the urban sense (Thuc. 3.72.3, 74.2; Xen. *Hell.* 6.2.17, 24; Ps.-Skylax 29) and in the political sense (Thuc. 1.55.1, 3.70.1; Dem. 24.202). The territorial sense is a connotation at Thuc. 1.37.3. The citizen of Korkyra is called *polites* by Thuc. 3.70.2 and Xen. *Hell.* 6.2.22, and the *polis* was included among the Aristotelian *politeiai* (fr. 517.1).

The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested externally in different inscriptions (e.g. *IG* II² 97 (375)) and in Classical authors (e.g. Hdt. 7.154.3; Thuc. 1.32.2), and internally on coins (Head, *HN*² 327 (C4)). The individual use of the city-ethnic is attested externally in Delphi (*CID* II 5.I.2 (359/8)) and Athens (*IG* II² 9010 (C4s)). It is called *patris* in *IG* II² 5224, an inscription which is dated to *c.*375 on formal grounds; however, the grave associated with the *stele* seems to date to the third quarter of C5; the *stele* was presumably erected in 375 when Korkyra joined the Second Athenian Naval Confederacy (cf. *IG* II² 96); see Knigge (1972) and (1988) 99–100.

The name of the territory is *Κερκυραία* (Thuc. 1.30.1) or *Κορκυραία* (Strabo 7.75). *Κερκυραία* (Strabo 7 fr. 6) as the name of the *peraia* around Buthroton is supposed by Bürchner (1922) 1401, 1417 (cf. Thuc. 3.85.2; Strauch (1997) 227). The island of Ptychia mentioned by Thuc. 4.46.3 has been identified with the modern island of Vido (Bürchner (1922) 1411–12 no. 9; Dontas (1965) 139–40 n. 3). The mountain *Ἰστώνη* had a *τεῖχος*/*τείχισμα* held by the oligarchs in 427–425 with 600 men (Thuc. 3.85.4, 4.2.3, 46.2). On the north coast of the island lay a town named Kassiope with a port and a temple of Zeus Kasios (Adler (1919) 2267; Bürchner (1919), (1922) 1413 no. 13; Schwabl (1972) 320–21, see also *SEG* 23 395).

The position of Korkyra was excellent for the traffic between Greece and Italy (Thuc. 1.36.2, 44.3; Xen. *Hell.* 6.2.9; cf. Partsch (1887) 57; Kiechle (1979); Thiry (2001) 139–40).

For the foundation of Korkyra we have two different traditions. Strabo 6.2.4 says that it was founded in the same year as Syracuse (no. 47), i.e. traditionally in 733; Euseb. *Chron.* (translated by Jerome), however, gives the year 706, which better fits the archaeological evidence (cf. Coldstream (1977) 185; Kalligas (1984); De Fidio (1995) 90–94; Lang (1996) 301). The *metropolis* was Corinth (no. 227) (Hdt. 3.49.1; Thuc. 1.25.3, 38.1; cf. *Corinth* VIII.3 23 = *SEG* 28 380 (C4)), but we hear also of Eretrians (no. 370) from Euboia as colonists before the Corinthians (Plut. *Mor.* 293AB; for a discussion, see Kalligas (1984); De Fidio (1995) 64–65; Parker (1997) 55–57). The oecist was the Bacchiad (Timaios (*FGrHist* 566) fr. 80; schol. Ap. Rhod. 4.1212–14, 1216) Chersikrates from Corinth (Strabo 6.2.4). Perhaps the inscription *Χερσικρατιδᾶν πατρωιστᾶν* (Klaffenbach (1940) 164–65 no. 3) is related to a cult for Chersikrates as *heros ktistes.* The mythical eponym is Korkyra, daughter of Asopos (Korinna, *PMG* 645 col. III.21; schol. Pind. *Ol.* 6.144; Diod. 4.72.1; Paus. 5.22.6).

The foreign relations of Korkyra are amply attested. The Korkyraians concluded an *ἐπιμαχία* with Athens (no. 361) in 433 (Thuc. 1.144.1–2; *Staatsverträge* 161) and an alliance in 427 (Thuc. 3.75.1; *Staatsverträge* 172). In 375, Korkyra became a member of the Second Athenian Naval League (*IG* II² 96–97 = *Staatsverträge* 262–63; Dreher (1995*a*) 13–14; *contra*: Cargill (1981) 68ff) and, in 340 or later, a member of the Hellenic League against Philip II (Dem. 18.237; *Staatsverträge* 343; cf. *CEG* II 809). For C4 (C3: Parke), a *sympoliteia* with the Orikioi (no. 103) is attested (Parke (1967) 261 no. 6 = *SEG* 23 474; for further information, see Strauch (1997) 227 n. 72).

The Korkyraians were involved in the following wars and engagements. In C7 (664?), Korkyra and Corinth (no. 227) fought the first naval battle in Greek history, as far as Thucydides knew (1.13.4). About 600, the Arniad Charops (not Arniadas, cf. *SEG* 36 541) was killed in a naval campaign

[6] Attic inscriptions of C5/C4 use both forms (*Κερκ* . . . , *Κορκ* . . .), while in Hellenistic and Roman times *Κορκ* . . . is preferred. Outside Attika, the epigraphical evidence usually has *Κορκ* . . . (exception: *SEG* 31 548–50 (Delphi, C5–C3), but cf. the note of the *SEG* editor on Vatin's readings; *SEG* 25 354 (Sikyon, n. d.)). Therefore, editors (at least those of non-Attic inscriptions) should avoid restoring *Κερκ* . . . without special arguments (e.g. in *I.Didyma* 214A.II.11 (C1), the restoration [*Κορ*]*κυραῖος* seems preferable), cf. now Hallof in *IG* IX².1 4 p. 1.

on the river Arachthus (*CEG* I 145; Hammond (1967) 493; Andreou (1991) 436–38). Before the Persian wars, the Korkyraian fleet was among the best in Greece (Thuc. 1.14.2; Kiechle (1979) 175). Sixty ships were sent to Salamis, but remained in western waters (Hdt. 7.168.3). Before the Peloponnesian War, the Korkyraian navy was the second largest in Hellas, surpassed only by the Athenian (Thuc. 1.33.1). Korkyra could muster 110 ships against the Corinthians, of which about seventy were lost in the battle of Sybota (in 433, Thuc. 1.47.1, 54.2). In 373/2, the Spartans under Mnasippos besieged Korkyra without success (Xen. *Hell.* 6.2.3–26). In 345/4, two Korkyraian ships joined Timoleon (Plut. *Tim.* 8.5). Three *strategoi* (Mikiades, Aisimides and Eurybatos) are attested as commanding the fleet in 433 (Thuc. 1.47.1, 48.3).

Korkyraian envoys were sent to Athens in 433 (Thuc. 1.31.2–44), in 427 (Thuc. 3.71.2) and in 375 (*IG* II² 96). The envoys Thersandros and Simylos died in Athens (*IG* II² 5224 = *CEG* II 469 (C4f, r433/2?); cf. Knigge (1988) 99–100).

Before the Hellenistic period, Korkyra gave *proxenia* to Menekrates of Oiantheia (no. 166) (*CEG* I 143 (625–600?); but cf. *SEG* 44 441 and *Nomima* I 34 (*c.*550)) and to some Corinthians (Thuc. 3.70.1), and Korkyraians were granted *proxenia* in Delphi (no. 177) (*SEG* 31 534 (C4); *F.Delphes* III.4 406.2–4 (C4–C3); for *proxenoi* of Delphi, cf. Empereur (1981) 418).

Theorodokoi were appointed in Korkyra to host *theoroi* from Argos (no. 347) (*SEG* 23 189.I.13 (330–324); cf. Cabanes (1969) 551; *SEG* 26 427 and 36 337), Delphi (no. 177) (*F.Delphes* III.4 406.2–4 (C4–C3)), Epidauros (no. 348) (*IG* IV².1 95.28 (356/5)) and Nemea (*SEG* 36 331.B.6–7 (331/30–313)).

Several Korkyraian *Olympionikai* are attested (111, 118, 155(?), 161, 168, 409? (C6–C4)). The famous bronze bull in Delphi was a communal dedication of the Korkyraians (Paus. 10.9.3–4; *F.Delphes* III.1 2 (*c.*480); cf. *LSAG*² 113 no. 13; *F.Delphes* III.4 454 = *LSAG*² 233 and 234 no. 15 (*c.*500–475); cf. Bommelaer (1991) 103–4 no. 104; Jacquemin (1999) 64–65, 320 no. 122). Another bronze bull was dedicated at Olympia (Paus. 5.27.9).

In C7–C6, Korkyra was under the rule of the Corinthian tyrant Periander (Hdt. 3.52.6). During the Archidamian War, there was a *stasis* between democrats and oligarchs (Thuc. 3.70–85; Diod. 12.57, 13.48; cf. Gehrke, *Stasis* 88–93). Thereafter, Korkyra was democratic (for 375, see *IG* II² 96 = *Staatsverträge* 262; *IG* II² 97 = *Staatsverträge* 263), but suffered from civil strife several times: in 411/10 (Diod. 13.48.5ff), in 375/4 (Diod. 15.46.2, 47.1) and in 361, when the oligarchs came to power once again (Aen. Tact. 11.15).

The oldest public enactment (C7) is attested indirectly by proxeny given by the *damos* to Menekrates of Oiantheia (no. 166) (*CEG* I 143.3). *Nomoi* are mentioned by Xen. *Hell.* 5.4.64, 375. A law court can be inferred from Thuc. 3.70.3. The eponymous magistrate was a *prytanis* (*IG* IX².1 786.1 (C4)), together with whom *synarchoi* are mentioned (Klaffenbach (1940) 163 no. 1 (C4)). A *boule* and *bouleutai* are attested by Thuc. 3.70.5–6. Explicitly, the term *halia* does not occur earlier than in Hellenistic inscriptions (e.g. *IG* IX².1 786.5 (C4)). But since we know of decisions of the Korkyraian people before that date (*CEG* I 143.3, 5–6; Thuc. 3.71.2), we have to conclude that the *halia* had existed since the Archaic period.

From inscribed lead tablets found at Palaiopolis (*c.*500) we are informed about the Korkyraian system of civic subdivisions (Kalligas (1971); cf. Jones, *POAG* 159–61; Hadzis (1993); *Nomima* II 73), a combination of proper names given in gen. pl./sing. with a feminine ordinal adjective. A different kind of civic subdivision is attested in the form of a subethnic on the back of one of the tablets: *Εὔρυλλος Ἀμφινεύς* (*SEG* 41 543). Two members of the Dorian *phyle* Hylleis are recorded in *IG* IX².1 798.3, 5 (C2); cf. *SEG* 25 609; Kalligas (1971) 87).

The acropolis (Thuc. 3.72.3) was situated in the southern part of the city (Bürchner (1922) 1411). A *τεῖχος* with *πύργοι* is mentioned by Xen. *Hell.* 6.2.15, 17, 20 (373/2). Whether the remains of a wall with gates and towers between the ports of Hyllos and Alkinoos can be identified with Xenophon's *τεῖχος* is a matter of discussion; for: Schmidt (1890) 46 and pl. II; Spetsieris-Choremis (1997) 12 (C5–C4); against: Kaletsch in Lauffer (1989) 503, who dates this wall to the Hellenistic period. Archaeological evidence for the urban structure is reported by Lang (1996) 299–301.

The most important public buildings were the *bouleuterion* (Thuc. 3.70.6: *ἐς τὴν βουλήν*) and the *prytaneion* (*I.Magnesia* 44.40, 42 (*c.*207)). The agora, where in C5 most of the oligarchs lived (Thuc. 3.72.3), was situated in the northern part of the city near the northern harbour (Thuc. 3.72.3, 74.2).

A *νεώριον* is attested by Thuc. 3.74.2 (cf. *ναώριον*: *SEG* 13 384.10, 11 (C2)), who likewise mentions two Korkyraian ports (3.72.3), the *Ὑλλαϊκός* (*Ὑλλικός*, Apoll. Rhod. 4.1125) or *Ὕλλου* (schol. Dionys. Per. 493 = *GGM* II.450) *λιμήν*, and the *λιμὴν ὁ πρὸς αὐτῇ* [*sc. τῇ ἀγορᾷ*] *καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἤπειρον* (commonly identified with the *Ἀλκίνου λιμήν*, schol. Dionys. Per. 493). Xen. *Hell.* 6.2.36 has only one *λιμήν τῶν Κερκυραίων*. According to Ps.-Skylax 29,

Korkyra had three good harbours near the city, but the identification of the third remains doubtful.

The patron deity of Korkyra was Apollo Korkyraios (Kalligas (1968) 313 = *LSAG*² 453 no. A (C5)). On his cult, see also Kalligas (1969*a*) 54–58; (1968) 304–13 (C6 and later). Sanctuaries for the following deities are attested: Artemis (Rodenwaldt (1939); Schleif *et al.* (1940); Riemann (1943) (C6); votive inscriptions: Klaffenbach (1940) 163–64 no. 1 (C4); no. 2 (C3)); Apollo Pythios (Klaffenbach (1940) 165–66 no. 5 = *LSAG*² 234 no. 17 (C5)); Hera Akr(a)ia (*IG* IX.1 698 = *LSAG*² 234 no. 18 (C5), identified by Dontas (1965), (1976), and Kalligas (1969*a*) 51, 53, with one of the three temples known in the Mon Repos area; for the Heraion near the *polis*, see Thuc. 3.81.2); the Dioskouroi (Thuc. 3.75.3; for a *horos* *Διοσκούρων* found near the Menekrates monument, see *IG* IX².1 883.II (C4)); Dionysos (Thuc. 3.81.5; for traces of a possible cult place, see Cremer (1981); Lang (1996) 299–300). There was a *temenos* of Zeus (Thuc. 3.70.4; for the cults of Zeus in Korkyra, see Schwabl (1972) 336 no. 9 (337); (1978) 1477) and one of the *heros Alkinoos* (Thuc. 3.70.4). Outside the city, a temple of Zeus Kasios existed in Kassiope (see *supra*) and one of Artemis in the southern part of the Kanopi peninsula (Lang (1996) 299 no. 540).

The Korkyraians used the Dorian calendar of Corinth (no. 227) (Bischoff (1919) 1592 no. 31; Hadzis (1995)). The oracle of Dodona was consulted by the Korkyraians in C5 (Parke (1967) 260 nos. 2, 3), and in C4 (C3: Parke) together with the Orikioi (no. 103) (ibid. 261 no. 6 = *SEG* 23 474). In Delphi, Korkyra held the *promanteia* (*F.Delphes* III.4 389 (C4); cf. Vatin (1981) 445; *SEG* 31 555).

In about 627, Epidamnos (no. 79) was founded by Korkyraians together with Corinthian and other Dorian settlers (Thuc. 1.24.2; Diod. 12.30.2; cf. Gomme (1945–81) i. 159; Gehrke, *Stasis* 60–61 n. 4). According to Strabo 7.5.8, Apollonia (no. 77) was a *κτίσμα Κορινθίων καὶ Κερκυραίων*, and Korkyra participated probably in the colonisation of Leukas (no. 126; together with Corinth (no. 227), Plut. *Them.* 24.1, from Theophrastos; Frost (1980) 201–2).

Anaktorion (no. 114) is recorded as a place common to Korkyraians and Corinthians before 432 (Thuc. 1.55.1), which may suggest that it was a shared foundation too (but see *supra* 356). Kiechle (1979) 179 supports the hypothesis that Korkyra was involved in the colonisation of the Dalmatian island of Melaina Korkyra (no. 83) carried out by the Knidians (no. 903).

During C6–C4, Korkyra struck coins (silver and bronze) following local tradition in both standard and design. Silver denominations: stater, drachm, triobol, diobol, obol. Types: *obv.* often cow (suckling calf) or amphora; *rev.* often stellate or floral pattern; legend: the Archaic coins are anepigraphic, but from about 450 onward, they are generally inscribed *KOP*. After 338, Korkyra began to strike staters similar to those of Corinth but with the legends *KOP*, *KOPKYPAIΩN* or *K*. A few have been found in hoards from Sicily and Magna Graecia (Talbert (1971) 61; Taliercio Mensitieri and Spagnoli (1993) especially pls. 3, 5h). *IG* I³ 383.91–93 (429/8) mentions *Korkyraioi stateres* (cf. Regling (1929) 2175). Head, *HN*² 325–28; Kraay (1976) 123, 128–29; *IGCH passim* (cf. p. 398); Spetsieris-Choremis (1981) = *CH* viii. 41; cf. ibid. 52, 53, 160, 450; *BMC Thessaly* 115–67; *BMC Corinth* 112; *SNG Cop. Acarnania* 140–69.

124. Koronta (Korontaios) Map 54. Lat. 38.35, long. 21.10. Size of territory: 2. Type: B. The toponym is *Κόροντα, τά* (Thuc. 2.102.1) or *Κορόνται, αἱ* (*IG* IV².1 95.12 (356/5); *SEG* 36 331.A.49 (331/30–313)). The city–ethnic is *Κορονταῖος* (*IG* IX².1 583.6 (216), 582.2 (*c.*207)).

Koronta is not explicitly attested as a *polis* but named together with Stratos (no. 138) *καὶ ἄλλων χωρίων* (*sc.* of Akarnania) by Thuc. 2.102.1. Since it was a member of the Akarnanian Confederacy, struck coins in C4–C3 and had a walled urban centre (with the highest degree of probability the site near modern Chrysovitsa: Pritchett (1992) 102–3; Schoch (1997) 43–44), it is to be classified as a *polis* of type B.

The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally in abbreviated form (*K* (*infra*) or *KO* on coins (see s.v. Torybeia (no. 140)). The individual use of the city-ethnic is attested externally in Hellenistic inscriptions (see *supra*).

Koronta was part of Akarnania (*IG* IV².1 95.8 + 12 (356/5); *SEG* 36 331.A.15 + 49 (331/30–313)), lying in the *mesogeia* (Thuc. 2.102.1). From the account of Thucydides (especially 2.102.1) we have to conclude that Koronta belonged to the Akarnanian Confederacy already in C5. It is explicitly attested as a member in C3 (*IG* IX².1 583, 582).

In 429, a group of citizens loyal to the Peloponnesians was exiled by the Athenians (Thuc. 2.102.1).

Theorodokoi are attested in Koronta to host *theoroi* from Epidauros (no. 348; *IG* IV².1 95.12 (356/5)) and Nemea (*SEG* 36 331.A.49–51 (331/30–313)).

The walls of the presumed site of Koronta near Chrysovitsa were built of polygonal and horizontal masonry (Pritchett (1992) 103 with pls. 77–81). Kirsten dated them to the Hellenistic period (Philippson and Kirsten (1958) 635 n. 15), but given the well-founded general observations by Pritchett ((1992) 115ff), an earlier date seems preferable.

A Pegasos-type stater of Corinthian standard has been attributed to Koronta. *Obv.* Pegasos; *rev.* head of Athena with Makedonian shield; legend: K (Imhoof-Blumer (1878) 114; Head, *HN*² 329). Since then, eight coins of this type have been found in Sicilian and South Italian hoards (Talbert (1971) 61; *IGCH* 88, 2030, 2180, 2185, 2187, 2198; Taliercio Mensitieri and Spagnoli (1993) especially pls. 1, 3); this coinage can be dated to C4s. For other coins, see Torybeia (no. 140); *SNG Cop. Acarnania* 323.

125. Kranioi (Kranios) Map 54. Lat. 38.10, long. 20.30. Size of territory: 2 or 3. Type: A. The toponym is *Κράνιοι* (Thuc. 5.35.7; *IG* IX.1 276.3 (Opous, C3–C2?)) or *Κράναια* (schol. Thuc. 1.27.2, Hude). The city-ethnic is *Κράνιος* (Thuc. 2.30.2, 33.3; *I.Magnesia* 35.39 (*c.*207)) or *Κράνειος* (*Etym. Magn.* 507.31).

Kranioi is referred to as a *polis* in the urban sense by the term *τετράπολις* at Thuc. 2.30.2, where the use of city-ethnics instead of toponyms indicates that the political sense is a connotation (Hansen (2000) 174 n. 3 and 208); cf. Xen. *Hell.* 6.2.33: *τὰς ἐν τῇ Κεφαλληνίᾳ πόλεις*.

The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested externally in Hellenistic inscriptions (*I.Magnesia* 35.39 (*c.*207); *IG* IX.1 276.3 (Opous, C3–C2?)) and by Thuc. 2.30.2, 33.2, and internally in various abbreviations, on C5–C4 coins (see *infra*). The individual use of the city-ethnic is attested externally in an honorific decree from Delphi (*F.Delphes* III.3 204.3 (162/1?)).

The name of the territory is given by Thuc. 2.33.3 as *ἡ Κρανίων γῆ*. It included the southern part of the island of Kephallenia without the peninsula to the west (cf. Paleis (no. 132)).

The eponym of the island was the hero Kephalos, son of Deion(eus) and father of Pronos, Samos, Peleus and Kranios, the eponyms of the four Kephallenian *poleis* (Gehrke (1994) 110–12; Wirbelauer (1998) 269–80).

In 431, an Athenian envoy was sent to Kephallenia to ascertain the Kephallenian views on the growing conflict (Thuc. 2.7.3; Diod. 12.43.5). The Corinthian aggression in the winter of 431/30 (Thuc. 2.33.3) indicates that Kranioi was pro-Athenian; its inhabitants may have been among the Kephallenians who supplied ships to the Athenians under Demosthenes during the campaign in 426 (Thuc. 3.94–98) and hoplites in 413 (Thuc. 7.31.2). In 421 the Athenians settled Messenians and other people from the Peloponnesos in Kranioi (Thuc. 5.35.7). They were expelled by the Spartans in 401 (Diod. 14.34.2–3). In 373/2 the Kranioi may have been among the Kephallenians who became members of the Second Athenian Naval League (*Staatsverträge* 262 and 267 = *Agora* XVI 46; Xen. *Hell.* 6.2.33, 37; cf. Dreher (1995*b*) 191, 199) and of the Corinthian League of 338/7 (*Staatsverträge* 403). The Argive *theorodokoi* list *SEG* 23 189.I.20 (330–324) mentions Kephallenia; so at least one of the four Kephallenian *poleis* appointed *theorodokoi* to host *theoroi* from Argos (no. 347).

Archontes as judges in one city of Kephallenia (probably Kranioi or Paleis (no. 132): Wirbelauer (1998) 341–42) are attested by Dem. 32.9; cf. 14, 22–23.

A sanctuary of Demeter and Kore is mentioned in a late inscription (Kalligas (1978); *SEG* 30 517 (C1)). Whether the foundations with orthostats on the acropolis belong to this temple or to another one has to remain open (cf. Kalligas (1969*b*) 270–72). A rural sanctuary of C6 was discovered at Minies; its remains are now covered or destroyed by the modern airport (Kalligas (1973) 83–84; Randsborg (1995) 97).

The acropolis is situated on the top of the hill in the south-western part of the settlement (Kalligas (1969*b*) 270–72). Polygonal and ashlar walls exist on three sides of the town, and there are two other stretches connecting the main wall with the plain of Kútavos, probably the ancient harbour of Kranioi (for Mycenaean remains and those of C5–C4, see Partsch (1890) 80–84 with pl. 2; Benton (1932) 224–25; Kalligas (1969*b*) 272, (1978) 137; Steinhart and Wirbelauer (2002) 333; Randsborg (2002) i.106–8, ii.275–81, 299–307).

According to Kraay (1976) 96, the Kranioi were the first Kephallenians to strike coins: silver coins of C5–C4. Denominations: triobol, trihemiobol, obol. Types: *obv.* mostly ram's head; *rev.* bow, often in incuse square; legend: *KP*, *KPA*, *KPANI*. Bronze coins were issued from C5 onward. Types: *obv.* head of ram or of bull, male figure, identified by head with Kephalos, the mythical eponym; *rev.* head of Kephalos; legend: *KPA*, *KP*, *K* or *H*, monograms (Babelon, *Traité* ii.1 no. 1229: *KEΦA*; see Postolakas (1868) 91–94; Babelon, *Traité* ii.1. 907–10; 2. 791–96; Head, *HN*² 427, and cf. Kraay (1976) 96; *SNG Cop. Acarnania* 452–59).

126. Leukas (Leukadios) Map 54. Lat. 38.50, long. 20.45. Size of territory: 4. Type: A. The toponym is *Λευκάς, ἡ* (Thuc. 3.94.2; Xen. *Hell.* 6.2.3; *IG* IV².1 95.20 (356/5)). The city-ethnic is *Λευκάδιος* (Hdt. 8.45; Thuc. 3.94.2; ML 27.10 (479); *IG* II² 104 = *Staatsverträge* 278 (368)). According to Ps.-Skylax 34, the *polis* of Leukas was called *Ἐπιλευκάδιοι* in earlier times. This name of a *πόλις μετὰ Ἀκαρνανίαν* is known also to Steph. Byz. 274.11 (from Hecat. fr. 110).

Leukas is called a *polis* in the urban sense by Ps.-Skylax 34 and in the political sense by Thuc. 1.30.3. At Thuc. 3.94.2 *polis* is used in the urban and political senses simultaneously. It was included among the Aristotelian *politeiai* (no. 101, Gigon); for the use of *politeia* in connection with Leukas, cf. Arist. *loc. cit.*). At Hecat. fr. 102c = Strabo 6.2.4 we cannot be certain that the term *polis* stems from Hekataios.

The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested externally on the Serpent Column from Delphi (ML 27.10) and in Hdt. 8.45 and Thuc. 3.94.2; internally it is found on C5–C4 coins (*ΛΕΥΚΑΔΙΩΝ* and various abbreviations). The individual use of the city-ethnic is attested externally in several inscriptions (e.g. *IAEpi* 14 (Epidauros, C4–C3)) and by Hdt. 9.38.2.

The *polis* of Leukas (Ps.-Skylax 34) was situated on the island of the same name (Harp. s.v.), which was also, *qua* territory, called *Λευκαδία* (Thuc. 3.94.1). To the north and north-east, the Leukadians bordered on the Thesprotians (Hdt. 8.47). An isthmus with an artificial channel (*dioryktos*) connected the northern part of the island with the mainland (Strabo 10.2.8; cf. Partsch (1889) 2–7; (1907), Fiedler (1996) 159). A part of the mainland opposite was, as *peraia*, under Leukadian control (Thuc. 3.94.2). Part of this *peraia* may have been the fortified place Nerikos (Thuc. 3.7.4; Strabo 10.2.8), which can be identified tentatively with the ruins near Ag. Georgios (dominating the southern entrance into the Leukas channel), as suggested by Fiedler ((1996) 159–60, 162) and others. Other place-names attested for Leukas island are Ellomenon (Thuc. 3.94.1) and Phara (Ps.-Skylax 34); in all probability, they were dependent settlements; they cannot be located with certainty (for the proposals, see Fiedler (1996) 159–60 and s.v. Palairos (no. 131)). There are various remains on the island (see in general Fiedler (1996) 161–68), among them a Doric temple at Agios Ioannis Rodakis (Dörpfeld (1927) 263–64).

Leukas was founded during the reign of the tyrant Kypselos (Strabo 10.2.8, for the date (657/6–627/6), see Gehrke (1990) 34; Oberhummer (1887) 76 proposed *c.*635) by Corinthians (no. 227) (e.g. Hdt. 8.45; Thuc. 1.30.2; Ps.-Skylax 34; Dem. 9.34.). New settlers arrived in the time of his successor Periander (Plut. *Mor.* 552E). The oecist was Pylades (Nic. Dam. (*FGrHist* 90) fr. 57.7), and the colonists were sent out by Kypselos and his son Gorgos (Strabo 10.2.8).

According to the *Alkmaionis* (fr. 5, Bernabé; Ephor. fr. 124 = Strabo 10.2.9), Leukadios, son of Ikarios, Penelope's father, was the eponym of Leukas.

Leukas was a member of the following leagues: Hellenic League of 481 (ML 27.10; Hdt. 8.45 *et passim*; *Staatsverträge* 130), Peloponnesian League (Thuc. 2.9.3; Diod. 12.42.4 (r431); Paus. 10.9.10 (r405)), Second Athenian Naval League (*IG* II² 104 = *Staatsverträge* 278 (368); cf. Dreher (1995*b*) 191 with n. 122), Hellenic League against Philip II (Dem. 18.237; Aeschin. 3.95–98 (256); cf. *Staatsverträge* 343) and against Antipater in 323 (*Staatsverträge* 413). Leukas did not enter the Akarnanian Confederacy until the years 280/265 (cf. *IG* IX².1 3A.24 (263?); cf. Funke *et al.* (1993) 134; Schoch (1997) 74).

In 435, Leukas was allied with Corinth (no. 227) against Epidamnos (no. 79) (Thuc. 1.26.1, 27.2) and against Korkyra (no. 123) in 433 (Thuc. 1.46.1). During the Corinthian War, it was allied with Boiotia, Athens (no. 361), Corinth and Argos (no. 347) (Diod. 14.82.3; *Staatsverträge* 225). In 368, Leukas concluded a treaty(?) with Athens (no. 361) (*IG* II² 104 = *Staatsverträge* 278).

Leukas was engaged in the following campaigns and battles: in the battle of Salamis with three ships (Hdt. 8.45); at Plataiai together with Anaktorion (no. 114) with 800 hoplites (Hdt. 9.28.5); at Epidamnos and Sybota with ten ships (Thuc. 1.27.2, 46.1); in the campaign of 427 with thirteen ships (together with Ambrakia (no. 113); Thuc. 3.69.1, cf. Diod. 30.40.5); in 414 with two ships sent to Taras (no. 71; Thuc. 6.104); in the battle of Aigos potamoi (405) under Telykrates in Lysander's fleet (Paus. 10.9.10); against Korkyra, supporting the Lakedaimonian fleet, in 373/2 (Xen. *Hell.* 6.2.3, 26); following Timoleon to Sicily with one ship in 345/4 (Plut. *Tim.* 8.5). The Leukadian mercenary leader Euthymos first fought under Timoleon, later against him, and was executed by him *c.*339 (ibid. 30.6–9 and 32).

Leukadian envoys took the oaths on a treaty with Athens (*IG* II² 104 = *Staatsverträge* 278). The Leukadians Nausigenes and Euandros were appointed *proxenoi* by Epidauros (no. 348) (*IAEpi* 14 (C4–C3)). *Theorodokoi* were appointed to host *theoroi* from Argos (no. 347) (*SEG* 23 189.1.8 (330–324)), Epidauros (no. 348) (*IG* IV².1 95.20 (356/5); *IAEpi* 14) and Nemea (*SEG* 36 331.B.9–13 (331/30–313)). In the 320s, Leukas imported 15,000 *medimnoi* of grain from Kyrene (no. 1028) (*SEG* 9 2.20 = Tod 196).

In the Archaic or early Classical period the constitution changed from oligarchy to democracy. An Archaic law seems to have prescribed the preservation of the old *κλῆροι*. The abolition of this law led to a democratisation of the Leukadian constitution, perhaps in C6–C5 (Arist. *Pol.* 1266^{b}21–24; Gehrke, *Stasis* 101). Magistrates are attested generally, as *ἀρχαί*, by Arist. *Pol.* 1266^{b}24. Münsterberg (1973) 43 records more than sixty names of officials on Leukadian coins.

An agora is attested explicitly only for the Hellenistic period (*forum*, Livy 33.17.12 (r197)); no remains of it have yet been found (Fiedler (1996) 162). From a votive inscription on a miniature bronze helmet crest we know of a dedication to Athena (*IG* IX².1 1237(C6)). A temple of Apollo was situated near the isthmus and the *polis* of Leukas (Thuc. 3.94.2; Strabo 10.2.9; Plut. *Pomp.* 24, but cf. Dörpfeld (1927) 271). There were temples of Hera (*Heraeum*, Livy 33.17.2, near the city) and of Aphrodite Aineas (Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.50.4, on an island between the *dioryktos* and the *polis*, cf. the mention of a temple of Aphrodite in a Messenian inscription of C2: Themelis (1993) 35; Strauch (1997) 240 with n. 120); for the remains of a temple at Ag. Ioannis Rodakis, see *supra*.

The site of the λιμήν (Ps.-Skylax 34) is unknown (Fiedler (1996) 162). Two moles have been found at the southern end of the Leukas channel (Murray (1982) 226ff; (1988) 101ff; Fiedler (1996) 162; Schoch (1997) 20). The acropolis (*arx*, Livy 33.17.11 (r197)) was presumably situated on the northern hill of the city (Fiedler (1996) 162). There are only a few, undated remains of a city wall (cf. *muri*, *moenia*: Livy 33.17.4, 9–10, 13 (r197)) and of other walls to the north and northwest of the ancient *polis* (Fiedler (1996) 161–63). The remains of houses dating to the Classical/Hellenistic period were laid out in accordance with a grid-plan street system (Fiedler (1996) 161–62).

The Leukadian mint is the oldest known in Akarnania, and its coins had the widest circulation. The silver coinage started in about 490 and was strongly influenced by Corinth (no. 227) (Carter (1993); cf. Anaktorion (no. 114)). Next to the Corinthian, the Leukadian pegasi are the coins most frequently found in Sicilian and South Italian hoards (Talbert (1971) 60, 62; *IGCH passim* (cf. p. 401); Taliercio Mensitieri and Spagnoli (1993) especially pls. 3, 5c (more than 500 pieces); *CH* viii. 53, 95, 159, 160, 167, 226, 232, 264, 506). Denominations: stater, drachm and smaller fractions. Types: *obv.* Pegasos; *rev.* head of Athena; legend: Λ, sometimes ΛΕΥ or ΛΕΥΚΑΔΙΩΝ. Smaller C4 denominations struck in bronze with various types. More than sixty names of officials are attested on Leukadian coins (Münsterberg (1973) 43; for the coins, see generally Postolakas (1868) 54–89; Imhoof-Blumer (1878) 115–38; Head, *HN*² 329–31. *SNG Cop. Acarnania* 326–76, *Suppl.* 249–50).

127. Limnaia (Limnaios) Map 54. Lat. 38.50, long. 21.10. Size of territory: 2. Type: B. The toponym is Λιμναία, ἡ (Thuc. 2.80.8, 3.106.2; *IG* IV².1 95.8 (356/5)). The city-ethnic is Λιμναῖος (*IG* IX².1 588.9–10 (Sparta, C2)).[7]

Limnaia is not attested as a *polis* in ancient sources. It is mentioned under the heading Ἀκαρνανία in an Epidaurian and a Nemean *theorodokoi* list (C4) and was, at least in Hellenistic times, a member of the Akarnanian Confederacy (see *infra*). Whether it was a *polis* or an *ethnos* in this Confederacy in the Classical period has to remain open. It is called a κώμη ἀτείχιστος by Thuc. 2.80.8. The walls at Karvassaras (modern Amphilochia) to be identified with the site of Limnaia, however, suggest an urban centre. But they cannot be dated with certainty (cf. *infra*).

Thuc. 2.80.8 mentions Limnaia as a village in the Argeia, i.e. the territory of Argos Amphilochikon (no. 115) which was destroyed by a Spartan army under Knemon. Limnaia seems to have had a common frontier with Medion (no. 129) (to the south-west?) and with the Agraioi (Thuc. 3.106.2). According to Polyb. 5.5.14, the καλουμένη Λιμναία was a coastal site in the Gulf of Arta. Limnaia is attested as a part of Akarnania in an Epidaurian *theorodokoi* list (*IG* IV².1 95.8). It was a member of the Akarnanian Confederacy (*IG* IX².1 588.9–10 (Sparta, C2); cf. *IG* IX².1 3A). *Theorodokoi* were appointed to host *theoroi* from Epidauros (no. 348; *IG* IV².1 95.8) and Nemea (*SEG* 36 331.A.31–33 (331/30–313)).

As the evidence stands, the most likely reconstruction is that, in C5s, Limnaia was a κώμη belonging to Argos (no. 115), but by 356/5 it had become a political unit and acquired the status of *polis*. The urban centre was fortified, and the community became a member of the Akarnanian Confederacy in its own right. See Medion (no. 129) and Phoitiai (no. 134).

The walls at Amphilochia, with polygonal masonry, are described and discussed by Pritchett (1992) 2–6, 118–19; according to Winter (1971) 98, 111, they are not earlier than the last quarter of C4.

128. *Matropolis (Matropolites) Map 54. Lat. 38.35, long. 21.15. Size of territory: 2. Type: B. The toponym is *Ματρόπολις, ἡ (see the ethnic), in *koine*: Μητρόπολις (Polyb. 6.64.3–4). The city-ethnic is Ματροπολίτας (*IG* IX².1 3B.4, 8 (C3); cf. Freitag (1994) 223–24 no. 11).[8]

[7] Perhaps other Akarnanian Limnaians are mentioned in Greek inscriptions, but normally a Limnaios will be identified with a citizen of the Thessalian city Limnaion, see *infra* 679; see Stählin (1926); Daux (1955) 38; *SEG* 15 340 and 19 379.

[8] Perhaps other Akarnanian Matropolitai are mentioned in Greek inscriptions, but normally a Matropolitas will be identified with a citizen of the homonym Thessalian city (no. 403) (cf. e.g. *SEG* 27 123.11; Daux (1955) 37–38). The same problem concerns the coinage of Matropolis (Isler (1996) 170–71 n. 17). This Matropolis is not to be confused with the Μητρόπολις καλουμένη mentioned by Thuc. 3.107.1 in the territory of Argos Amphilochikon (Pritchett (1992) 25–27).

*Matropolis is not attested as a *polis* before C3, when the term is found in the urban sense in Polyb. 4.64.4 (r219) and in the political sense in an inscription concerning a boundary dispute between Oiniadai (no. 130) and *Matropolis found in Aitolian Thermos (*IG* IX².1 3B.8 (C3)). But the *polis* status of *Matropolis in the Classical period is strongly indicated by the toponym itself, the coinage of C4 (see *infra*), the membership of both the Aitolian and the Akarnanian Confederacies (see *infra*), and the existence of an urban centre at the site of Palaiomanina (identified convincingly with *Matropolis by Pritchett (1991) 8–15; cf. Freitag (1994) 224 and see *infra*).

In C3s *Matropolis belonged to the Stratos district (*Στρατικὸν τέλος*) of the Aitolian Confederacy (*IG* IX².1 3B.2 (before 230); cf. Swoboda (1913) 332–33 n. 6; Klaffenbach (1957) xx; Guarducci, *EG* II 554; Freitag (1994) 223–24). Later on, it is attested as a member of the Akarnanian *koinon* (*IG* IX².1 209, 208 and 588.11 (C2); cf. *IG* IX.2 61.5 (Lamia, 216–212)), part of which it must have been before the Aitolian conquest of about 250 (*IG* IX².1 3A; cf. Klaffenbach (1957) xx).

*Matropolis had an acropolis (*ἄκρα*) as a part distinct from the city (Polyb. 4.64.4). The site of Palaiomanina fits very well the Polybian report, which is decisive for the identification (Pritchett (1991) 11–12, with reference to Kirsten). The walls of the acropolis, in trapezoidal masonry, are flanked with towers, while the enceinte of the city is constructed of polygonal blocks (for a description, see Pritchett (1991) 9–12, who reports Geometric pottery and metal objects found on the site: ibid. 10).

A Pegasos-type stater of Corinthian standard (*obv.* Pegasos; *rev.* head of Athena with Makedonian shield and monogram *MA*) has been attributed to *Matropolis (Imhoof-Blumer (1878) 142–43; Head, *HN*² 331). Since then eighteen coins of this type have been found in Sicilian and South Italian hoards (Talbert (1971) 62; *IGCH* 2030, 2180, 2183, 2185, 2187; Taliercio Mensitieri and Spagnoli (1993) especially pls. 1, 3; *CH* viii. 167). This coinage can be dated to C4s. *SNG Cop. Acarnania* 399.

129. Medion (Medionios) Map 54. Lat. 38.45, long. 21.10. Size of territory: 2. Type: B. The toponym is *Μεδεών* (Thuc. 3.106.2) or *Μεδιών* (*IG* IV².1 95.13 (356/5); *SEG* 23 189.1.2 (suppl., Argos, 330–324); cf. Cabanes (1969) 550; *SEG* 36 331.A.44 (Nemea, 331/30–313); Steph. Byz. 440.1). The city-ethnic is *Μεδιώνιος* (Mastrokostas (1965) 159 no. 17 = *SEG* 25 633 (stamped roof-tile of C4–C3)).

Medion is not attested as a *polis* before Polyb. 2.2.7, 11, 2.3.1 and 6 (r231), where the term is found in the urban sense. But in *theorodokoi* lists of C4 it is recorded under the heading Akarnania, it is attested as a member of the Akarnanian Confederacy in C3, it struck coins (see *infra*) and had a walled urban centre (near modern Katouna (Pritchett (1991) 83–88), where Medion is securely located by a tile stamp (*SEG* 25 633) found there). So it was probably a *polis* already in the Classical period.

The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested externally in Hellenistic inscriptions (*IG* IX².1 388.1 (Megara, C3), 582.46 (Magnesia, *c.*207)) and internally by a tile stamp (*SEG* 25 633 (C4–C3)) and in abbreviated form (*ΜΕ*) on C4s coins (*infra*). The individual use of the city-ethnic is likewise attested externally in Hellenistic inscriptions (*IG* IX².1 583.21 (Olympia, 216), 582.4 (Magnesia, *c.*207)).

The name of the territory was *Μεδιωνία* (Polyb. 2.3.1). Medion is named among the other Akarnanian places in *theorodokoi* lists of C4 (see *infra*). It was a member of the Akarnanian Confederacy (*IG* IX².1 583, 582) and appointed *theorodokoi* to host *theoroi* from Argos (no. 347) (*SEG* 23 189.1.2 (330–324); cf. Cabanes (1969) 550), Epidauros (no. 348) (*IG* IV².1 95.13 (356/5)) and Nemea (*SEG* 36 331.A.44–46 (331/30–313)).

The walls of Medion, today poorly preserved, were of polygonal masonry (for a description, see Pritchett (1991) 85–88). Remains of a Doric temple (C4?) and a *horos* inscription of a cult place of Asklepios are reported by Schwandner, *AA* (1989) 651.

Some bronze coins of C4s have been attributed to Medion by Imhoof-Blumer (1878) 139–41; Head, *HN*² 331; Hammond (1967) 729. Types: *obv.* head of Athena or Apollo; *rev.* tripod or owl between *M* and *E*. *SNG Cop. Acarnania* 397–98.

130. Oiniadai (Oiniadas) Map 54. Lat. 38.25, long. 21.10. Size of territory: 3. Type: A. The toponym is *Οἰνιάδαι, οἱ* (Thuc. 1.111.3; Soph. *Tr.* 510; Polyb. 4.65.4–5; *IG* IV².1 95.9 (356/5)); *Οἰνειάδαι* (Hippoc. *Epid.* 5.1.3–8). According to Steph. Byz. 281.10–11, the original toponym was *Ἐρυσίχη*, probably a construct by Hellenistic authors (Freitag (1994) 22). The city-ethnic is *Οἰνιάδας* (Thuc. 2.82, 3.94.1; *IG* IX².1 3A.22, 24–25 (263?)).

Oiniadai is called a *polis* in the urban sense by Thuc. 2.102.2 and Ps.-Skylax 34. The earliest attestation of the political sense is in a C3 decree (*IG* IX².1 3B.7–8). The word *πατρίς* is used by Diod. 18.8.6 (r *c.*325/4; see Jehne (1994) 241–43).

The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested externally by Thuc. 2.82 and 3.94.1 as well as in an inscription concerning a boundary dispute (*IG* IX².1 3B.3–4, 7–8 (C3 before 230))

and internally on C3 coins (*infra*) and on a stamped tile (*SEG* 42 486 (C3–C2)).

The territory is called χώρα (*IG* IX².1 3B.3–4 (C3); Polyb. 21.32.14) or οἱ περὶ Οἰνιάδαις τόποι (Thuc. 2.102.6) or ἡ Οἰνιάς (schol. Thuc. 2.102). It was situated in south-western Akarnania, at a distance of about 70 stades from the mouth of the river Acheloos (Strabo 10.2.2). It is attested as part of Akarnania in the *theorodokoi* lists (see *infra*). To the north, Oiniadai bordered on the territory of *Matropolis (no. 128) (*IG* IX².1 3B).

The Argive hero Alkmaion passes for the founder of Oiniadai, while his son Akarnan gave his name to the whole region (Thuc. 2.102.5–6; Jouan (1990); Gehrke (1994–95) 46–48).

Messenians from Naupaktos (no. 165) attacked Oiniadai in 456/5 and forced its population to leave their town, but in the next year the Oiniadai returned (Paus. 4.25.3). In 325/4 (Jehne (1994) 241–43), the Oiniadai were driven out by the Aitolians (Diod. 18.8.6; Plut. *Alex.* 49.8). On Kassander's advice the Oiniadai left their settlement in 314 and moved to Sauria (Diod. 19.67.4; cf. Freitag (1994) 222–23). Strabo 10.2.2 mentions an old Oiniadai at a greater distance from the sea; the matter remains a mystery (for a discussion, see Freitag (1994) 226–27).

According to Freitag (1994) 236 with n. 97, Oiniadai did not become a member of the Akarnanian Confederacy until 424, when the *polis* was forced to join the Athenian League (Thuc. 4.77.2; Kagan (1974) 281). In the years before, Oiniadai had supported the Lakedaimonians against the Akarnanians and Athenians (Thuc. 2.82). In 263(?), Oiniadai is attested as part of the Akarnanian *koinon* (*IG* IX².1 3A.22).

Oiniadai appointed *theorodokoi* to host *theoroi* from Epidauros (no. 348; *IG* IV².1 95.9 (356/5)) and Nemea (*SEG* 36 331.A.34–7 (331/30–313)).

An acropolis (ἄκρα) is attested by Polyb. 4.65.5–11 (r219). Remains of an edifice consisting of a complex of thirteen rooms on a hill-top near the acropolis may have been a dwelling house (cf. Powell (1904) 214). The existence of a city wall in the 450s is indicated by Thucydides' reference to a *poliorkia* by the Athenians (1.111.3; cf. Paus. 4.25.2 claiming that in 456/5 the Messenians of Naupaktos (no. 165) tried to take Oiniadai using scaling ladders and μηχανήματα); Plutarch mentions a wall of Oiniadai at the time of the Periklean expedition to Akarnania (Plut. *Per.* 19.3); in 219, Philip V fortified Oiniadai (again?; Polyb. 4.65.5ff). There are substantial remains of a regular polygonal wall over 6 km in length (described by Powell (1904) 146ff and Kirsten (1937) 2215ff). It enclosed the acropolis and the lower city, an area of altogether 59 ha, and may date from C5–C4 (Winter (1971) 236; Pritchett (1992) 117–18, against Kirsten (1937) 2224, who argued that only the acropolis had been enclosed by a wall until Philip V fortified Oiniadai in 219). Inside the circuit, few remains of streets and houses are discernible (cf. the plan by Kirsten (1937) 2217–18). The results of recent archaeological investigations have been published by Kolonas, Serbetis and Schmidt (1992).

There are remains of a small temple on the western side of the harbour of Oiniadai, where a fragment of a foot from a statue has been found. Powell (1904) 205 suggests that it might have been Athena the Saviour, who was worshipped as the goddess of the sailors in the Piraeus.

The evidence for silver coins remains doubtful (Head, *HN*² 331). Bronze coins of C3 have the legend *OINIAΔAN* (Imhoof-Blumer (1878) 15–17, 151; Grose (1926) 5372–9; *IGCH* 145, 311–12; *SNG Cop. Acarnania* 400–3).

131. Palairos (Palaireus) Map 54. Lat. 38.50, long. 20.50. Size of territory: 2. Type: B. The toponym is Πάλαιρος (Epicharm. fr. 38, Kaibel (CGF); *IG* IV².1 95.21 (356/5)). The city-ethnic is Παλαιρεύς (Thuc. 2.30.1; *IG* IX².1 582.47 (Magnesia, *c.*207)) or Παλαιραῖος (*SEG* 9 2.35 = Tod 196 (Kyrene, 330–325)).

Palairos is not attested as a *polis* before the Hellenistic period unless one accepts a conjecture in the text of Ps.-Skylax 34: the MS has an otherwise unknown *polis* Φαρά listed between Leukas (no. 126) and Alyzeia and situated opposite Ithaka (and Kephallenia); instead of Φαρά, Wirbelauer (1998) 221–22 conjectures Πάλαιρος. Palairos was probably a *polis* already in C5: it was a member of the Akarnanian Confederacy, it had an urban centre, and it seems to have struck coins (see *infra*). Palairos is called a *polis* in two inscriptions of C2–C1 (*SEG* 27 156, 157).

The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested externally in an inscription from Kyrene (*SEG* 9 2.35 = Tod 196 (330–326)) as well as by Thuc. 2.30.1 and internally in two mutilated honorific inscriptions (*SEG* 27 156, 157 (C2–C1)). The external and individual use is attested in the feminine form on a grave *stele*: Παλαιραία (*IG* IX².1 379.2 (undated)).

Palairos was situated on the Plagia peninsula and bordered to the west on the Leukadian *peraia* (Wacker (1999)). In 431 the Corinthian *polisma* Sollion (no. 137) on the southern side of the peninsula (*supra*) was given to Palairos by the Athenians (Thuc. 2.30.1).

*c.*330–325, the *polis* received 10,000 *medimnoi* of grain from Kyrene (no. 1028) (*SEG* 9 2.35 = Tod 196).

Palairos was part of Akarnania according to the *theorodokoi* lists (see *infra*). The earliest explicit attestation of Palairos as a member of the Akarnanian Confederacy is C3l (*IG* IX².1 582 (Magnesia, *c.*207); cf. *IG* IX².1 3A), but the addition of Ἀκαρνάνων to the city-ethnic found both in Thuc. 2.30.1 (Παλαιρεῦσι Ἀκαρνάνων) and in the Kyrenaian grain inscription (*SEG* 9 2.35 = Tod 196 (330–326): Ἀκαρνάνων Παλαιραίοις) is a very strong indication that Palairos was a member from C5 onwards.

Palairos appointed *theorodokoi* to host *theoroi* from Argos (no. 347) (*SEG* 23 189.1.5 (330–324)), Epidauros (no. 348) (*IG* IV².1 95.21 (356/5)) and Nemea (*SEG* 36 331.A.16–19 (331/30–313)).

The agora of Palairos with public buildings was possibly situated in the northern part of the upper city (Wacker (1996*b*) 94). Several cults of different deities are attested for Palairos but cannot be connected with existing remains. Outside the city, on the mountain Profitis Ilias, was a C4 extra-urban sanctuary (Faisst and Kolonas (1990)). On the way to this site, about 100 m from the north-western corner of the city wall, a shrine of Artemis has been located (Camp (1977) 280–81; Wacker (1996*b*) 97–98). To the south-west of Profitis Ilias, on the summit of the mountain Sterna above the old village of Plagia, there are impressive remains of what must have been a fortified sanctuary controlled by Palairos (according to unpublished tile stamps: information from E.-L. Schwandner); other references concerning the site are given by Pritchett (1994) 205–7, who identifies it erroneously with Sollion (no. 137) (see *supra*).

There are virtually no traces left of walls or public architecture on the acropolis of Palairos, situated on the eastern summit of the upper city (Kirsten (1942) 2458). The acropolis and lower town were fortified. The existing circuit of walls of cyclopean, polygonal and horizontal masonry was not erected as late as C3, as suggested by Kirsten, but most likely in C5; see Murray (1982) 145; Pritchett (1992) 115–19. Wacker (1999) 81–90 gives a description of the different phases of the construction of the walls. In the whole area of the city, remains of houses are visible, in the western part of the upper city in an orthogonal structure (Wacker (1996*b*) 94; cf. Lang (1994) 243).

There is only slight evidence for Palaerean coinage: a Pegasos with monogram read by Imhoof-Blumer (1878) 153 as ΠΑΛΑΙΡ(ΟΣ); cf. Head, *HN*² 331.

132. Paleis (Paleus) Map 54. Lat. 38.15, long. 20.25. Size of territory: 2 or 3. Type: A. The toponym is Παλεῖς (*F.Delphes* III.4 376.4 (suppl. 358/7)) or Πάλη, ἡ (schol. Thuc. 1.27.2, Hude). The city-ethnic is Παλεύς (Hdt. 9.28.5; Thuc. 1.27.2, 2.30.2; *I.Magnesia* 35.39 (*c.*207); Paus. 6.15.7; *Etym. Magn.* 507.31) or Παλαιεύς (Polyb. 5.3.4, 5.2, 16.6, 17.5, 100.8).

Paleis is referred to as a *polis* in the urban sense by the term τετράπολις at Thuc. 2.30.2, where the use of city-ethnics instead of toponyms indicates that the political sense is a connotation (Hansen (2000) 174 n. 3, 208); cf. Xen. *Hell.* 6.2.33: τὰς ἐν τῇ Κεφαλληνίᾳ πόλεις.

The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested externally by Hdt. 9.28.5, 31.4; Thuc. 1.27.2, 2.30.2; and in a Hellenistic inscription from Magnesia (*I.Magnesia* 35.39) and internally, in abbreviation, on coins (see *infra*). The individual use is attested externally as Κεφαλλήν ἐκ Παλέων in a Delphic inscription (*BCH* 68/9 (1944–45) 121 no. 32.4 (C3)).

The territory of Paleis lies in the western part of the island of Kephallenia (cf. Thuc. 2.30.2; Paus. 6.15.7), today called Paliki.

Hdt. 9.28.5 (cf. 31.4) erroneously lists 200 hoplites from Paleis among the Greeks fighting at Plataiai (cf. Bürchner (1921) 210, 212–13; Wirbelauer (1998) 319–20).

In 435 the Paleis supported the Corinthian campaign against Korkyra (no. 123) with four ships (Thuc. 1.27.2). For membership in the Second Athenian Naval League and the Corinthian League, other alliances, military matters, envoys, *theorodokoi*, officials, taxation and founding myth, see the collective attestations of Kephallenians cited s.v. Kranioi (no. 125).

A [. . .]στρατίδας was appointed *proxenos* by Delphi (no. 177) in 358/7 (*F.Delphes* III.4 376.4 (suppl.)).

A sanctuary of Poseidon(?) was discovered in the southern part of the Paliki peninsula at Valtsa (cf. Randsborg (1995) 97 and (2002) ii.59, 310). The acropolis of Paleis was situated on a hill at a distance of 1.5 km to the north of the modern town of Lixuri. Remains of the walls described by travellers up to the eighteenth century have disappeared because the stones were reused in buildings in Lixuri (Bürchner (1921) 211; Steinhart and Wirbelauer (2002) 333–34; Randsborg (2002) ii. 281–82).

The silver coinage of Paleis started with a single type (*BMC Peloponnesus* 84 no. 1: *obv.* ram with legend Π; *rev.* pine-cone and sprays, all in incuse square), before 431. From 431 onward, Paleis struck silver coins. Denominations: tetrobols and smaller fractions. Types: Kephalos or Persephone (wearing barley wreath); legend: ΠΑ and/or ΚΕΦΑΛΟΣ or ΚΕΦΑ. Bronze coins date from C5–C2 (see in general Postolakas (1868) 94–96; Biedermann (1887) 67–68; Head, *HN*² 427–28; Babelon, *Traité* ii.2. 795–802;

Grose (1926) nos. 6684–93; Kraay (1976) 96; *SNG Cop. Acarnania* 460–68).

133. Phara Map 54. Lat. 38.40, long. 21.35. Size of territory: ? Type: A. Our only source is Ps.-Skylax 34, where πὸλις Φαρά is listed between Leukas (no. 126) and Ithaka (no. 122). Following Partsch (1889) 20, *Barr.* places Phara on Leukas and identifies the settlement with modern Pyrgi. But in Ps.-Skylax, Phara is listed *after* Leukas, and if Phara had been a *polis* on Leukas, Ps.-Skylax would undoubtedly have classified Leukas as a *dipolis* island. Thus, Phara must either have been one of the small islands between Leukas and Ithaka or situated on the coast of Akarnania in the *peraia* of Leukas. If we accept Ps.-Skylax's text as it stands, Phara must be classified as an unlocated *polis* in Akarnania. Alternatively, one may assume a corruption and conjecture Πάλαιρος (Wirbelauer (1998) 221–22; see *supra* 368).

134. Phoitiai (Phoitieus) Map 54. Lat. 38.40, long. 21.10. Size of territory: 2. Type: [A]. The toponym is Φοιτίαι, αἱ (*IG* IV².1 95.11 (356/5)) or Φυτία, ἡ (Thuc. 3.106.2). The city-ethnic is Φοιτιεύς (*CID* II 1.II.16, 23 (362/1)) or Φοιτιάς (*IG* IX².1 390.10 (C5)) or Φοίτιος (Hellan. fr. 30 = Steph. Byz. 669.15).

The only attestation of Phoitiai as a *polis* (in the urban sense) is at Polyb. 4.63.7–9, but in the Delphic *naopoioi*'s accounts of C4f the Phoitieis are recorded under the heading ταίδε τῶν πόλεων (*CID* II 1.I.27 and II.16). It was probably a *polis* already in C5: it was a member of the Akarnanian Confederacy and it had an urban centre (see *infra*).

The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested externally in the Delphic accounts (*CID* II 1.II.16 (362/1)). The individual use is attested externally in a proxeny decree of Stratos (*IG* IX².1 390.10 (C5)) and in *CID* II 1.II.23 (362/1).

The territory (ἡ Φυτία, Thuc. 3.106.2) belonged to the Akarnanian region, according to the *theorodokoi* lists (see *infra*). The eponym of Phoitiai was Phoitios, son of Alkmaion and grandson of Amphiaraos (Steph. Byz. 669.13–14).

The fact that a Phoitian is attested as *bolarchos* of Stratos (no. 138) in a proxeny decree of C5l (*IG* IX².1 390.9–10) shows that Phoitiai was either a civic subdivision of Stratos or a dependent *polis*. In 362/1 Phoitiai and Stratos contributed jointly to the Delphic *naopoioi's* fund (*CID* II 1.II.16, 23), which indicates that Phoitiai was (now?) a *polis* side by side with Stratos and undoubtedly, like Stratos, a member of the Akarnanian Confederacy. Membership is explicitly stated in the Aitolian–Akarnanian treaty of *c.*263 (*IG* IX².1 3A.23). Phoitiai appointed *theorodokoi* to host *theoroi* from Epidauros (no. 348) (*IG* IV².1 95.11 (356/5)) and from Nemea (*SEG* 36 331.A.47–48 (331/30–313)).

Ruins of a Doric temple are visible near Vlyziana (Kirsten (1941*b*) 440; Philippson and Kirsten (1958) 397; Schoch (1997) 57). Phoitiai is commonly located at the site of the Porta hills, 2 km to the north of Bambini (Pritchett (1991) 4–7; Schoch (1997) 56–58). There one can find remains of two acropoleis, to the north and to the south (Kirsten (1941*b*) 438–39), and a circuit of walls about 2.8 km long, with eighteen (Noack) or eleven (Kirsten) towers, mostly of polygonal masonry (Noack (1916) 217ff; Kirsten (1941*b*) 438–42; Pritchett (1991) 6–9). The date proposed by Noack and Schoch ((1997) 57–58), C5–C4, is preferable to that of Kirsten ((1941*b*) 440: C3, before 219).

The attribution to Phoitiai of some silver and bronze coins of C4m–C3m with the legend ΦΥ or Φ is not beyond doubt; cf. Imhoof-Blumer (1878) 152–55; Head, *HN*² 331; Kirsten (1941b) 437.

135. Pronnoi (Pronnos) Map 54. Lat. 38.10, long. 20.45. Size of territory: 2 or 3. Type: A. The toponym is Πρόννοι, οἱ (Polyb. 5.3.3) or Πρῶννοι, οἱ (*IG* IX².1 8.3–4 (suppl., C3); *BCH* 45 (1921) col. II.142 (C3–C2)) or Πρώναια (schol. Thuc. 1.27.2, Hude); cf. Πρώνησος in Strabo 10.2.13. The city-ethnic is Προνναῖος (Thuc. 2.30.2) or Πρῶννος (*IG* II² 43.B.12 = *Staatsverträge* 257 (377)) or Πρόνοος (*Etym.Magn.* 507.31).

Pronnoi is referred to as a *polis* in the urban sense by the term τετράπολις at Thuc. 2.30.2, where the use of city-ethnics instead of toponyms indicates that the political sense is a connotation (Hansen (2000) 174 n. 3, 208); cf. Xen. *Hell.* 6.2.33: τὰς ἐν τῇ Κεφαλληνίᾳ πόλεις.

The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested externally in an Athenian *psephisma* (*IG* II² 43.B.12 (377)) and internally on the coins (see *infra*). The individual use is attested externally in Hellenistic inscriptions (see *supra*).

Pronnoi was situated in the south-eastern part of the island of Kephallenia (cf. Thuc. 2.30.2).

Pronnoi was a member of the Second Athenian Naval League (*IG* II² 43.B.12 = *Staatsverträge* 257 (377); cf. Dreher (1995*b*) 190) and of the Corinthian League of 338/7 (*IG* II² 236.b.12 = *Staatsverträge* 403). For other alliances, military matters, envoys and *theorodokoi*, taxation and founding myth, see the collective attestations of Kephallenians cited s.v. Kranioi (no. 125).

Pronnoi is commonly identified with the site on the Pachni hill, where there are some remains of a Classical and Hellenistic settlement (C5–C3; Randsborg (2002) i. 30, 87; ii.

57, 261–64). This site matches Polybios' description of Pronnoi as a *πολισμάτιον δυσπολιόρκητον* almost to perfection (Polyb. 5.3.4). But we know about another acropolis in the Pronnoi territory, at Palaiokastro with remains of Mycenaean and Byzantine walls, and a rock-cut altar with three steps within (Steinhart and Wirbelauer (2002) 157 pls. 63–64; Randsborg (2002) i. 15–20, 84–86; ii. 57, 258–62). For other finds, see now the catalogue in Randsborg (2002) i. 4–36; ii. 54–59. Near the chapel of Ag. Georgios, 3 km north of Skala, the foundations of a Doric temple (C6–C3) are visible (Kalligas (1969*b*) 273–76; Steinhart and Wirbelauer (2002) 156, 158, pls. 65–66, 335; Randsborg (2002) i. 12–13; ii. 58), perhaps a cult of Poseidon in reaction to earthquakes, cf. Wirbelauer (1998) 182–88).

Pronnoi struck silver (triobols and smaller fractions) and bronze coins in C4 and/or C3. Silver types: *obv.* head of Kephalos, or female head; *rev.* club; legend: *ΠΡΩΝΝΩΝ* or monogram with barley-corn. Bronze types: *obv.* head of Zeus; *rev.* monogram with pine-cone, which is interpreted as the symbol of Zeus Aine(s)ios (Postolakos (1868) 97–98; Biedermann (1887) 71; Head, *HN*² 428; Babelon, *Traité* ii. 2. 807–8; Grose (1926) 6694; Kraay (1976) 96; *SNG Cop. Acarnania* 469–71).

136. Same (Samaios) Map 54. Lat. 38.15, long. 20.40. Size of territory: 2 or 3. Type: A. The toponym is *Σάμα, ἡ* (*BCH* 45 (1921) col. II.136, 140; *IG* IX².1 2.9, 27 (both C3–C2)) or *Σάμη* (Strabo 10.2.10; schol. Thuc. 2.30.2) or *Σάμος, ὁ* (Strabo 10.2.10; schol. Thuc. 2.30.2; schol. Dionys. Per. 524 = *GGM* II 450; schol. Hom. *Il.* 2.634, Erbse) or *Σάμαια* (schol. Thuc. 1.27.2, Hude). The city-ethnic is *Σαμαῖος* (Thuc. 2.30.2; *I.Magnesia* 35.15, 16, 18, 27, 29 (*c.*207); *Etym. Magn.* 507.31; schol. Thuc. 2.30.2, Hude).[9]

Same is referred to as a *polis* in the urban sense by the term *τετράπολις* at Thuc. 2.30.2, where the use of city-ethnics instead of toponyms indicates that the political sense is a connotation (Hansen (2000) 174 n. 3, 208); cf. Xen. *Hell.* 6.2.33: *τὰς ἐν τῇ Κεφαλληνίᾳ πόλεις*.

The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally in a Samaian decree from Magnesia (*I.Magnesia* 35.15, 16, 18, 27, 29 (*c.*207)) and on coins (see *infra*).

Same was situated in the northern and north-eastern part of Kephallenia (cf. Thuc. 2.30.2). In the northern peninsula today called Erisos, in the Pylaros valley, there are some remains of settlements and fortified places, e.g. a small fortress of polygonal masonry at Pyrgos (C5–C3; Partsch (1890) 64–65; Steinhart and Wirbelauer (2002) 194 pl. 78; for a survey, see Randsborg (2002) i. 53–60; ii. 54–59). There are foundations of a temple outside the *polis* on the top of the hill Alpovuni (Partsch (1890) 72 and pl. 2; Randsborg (1995) 96 and (2002) ii.58).

For league membership, alliances, military matters, envoys, *theorodokoi*, taxation and foundation myth, see the collective attestations of Kephallenians cited s.v. Kranioi (no. 125).

Two acropoleis are known to Livy (38.29.10), one called Cyneatis or Cyatis. Partsch (1890) 59–72 gives a description of their wall circuit and of the walls joining them. The remains are of polygonal and rectangular masonry (C4?, certainly C3; Randsborg (2002) i. 43–52; ii. 57–58, 264–75).

Same struck various silver and bronze coins from C5 onward. Denominations: tetrobols and smaller fractions. *Obv.* male head (Apollo? or Kephalos?) or Athena; *rev.* hound or ram; legend: *ΣAMAIΩN*, *ΣAMAI*, *ΣA* or monogram (Postolakas (1868) 98–101; Biedermann (1887) 69–71; Head, *HN*² 428; Babelon, *Traité* ii. 2. 803–6; Grose (1926) nos. 6695–6; cf. also *IGCH* 183; Kraay (1976) 96; *SNG Cop. Acarnania* 472–77).

137. Sollion Map 54. Unlocated. Type: A. The toponym is *Σόλλιον, τό* (Thuc. 2.30.1 with schol.; 3.95.1, 5.30.2). The only source for a city-ethnic is Steph. Byz. 581.9–10, who suggests *Σολλιεύς*. Sollion is called both a *polisma* and a *polis* in the urban sense at Thuc. 2.30.1. At 3.95.1 and 5.30.2 Thucydides uses the toponym without any site-classification.

Thucydides describes Sollion as *Κορινθίων πόλισμα* (2.30.1), which indicates that Sollion was a colony of Corinth (no. 227) (Graham (1962), (1964) 118–19), *pace* Salmon (1984) 277–78, who overlooked that Thuc. 2.30.1 uses *polis* synonymously with *polisma.* However, the colony was not an independent community, for at Thuc. 5.30.2 we are told that the Athenians had not complied with the terms of the Peace of Nikias and surrendered Sollion to the Corinthians. The inference is that Sollion was a dependent *polis*, a colony that to some extent was under Corinthian supremacy (Graham (1964) 118–42). Sollion was conquered by the Athenians in 431/0 and handed over to the *polis* of Palairos (no. 131), Thuc. 2.30.1: *οἱ . . . Ἀθηναῖοι . . . Σόλλιον τε Κορινθίων πόλισμα αἱροῦσι καὶ παραδιδόασι Παλαιρεῦσιν Ἀκαρνάνων μόνοις τὴν γῆν καὶ πόλιν νέμεσθαι*. The presumption is that Sollion thereafter was the harbour of Palairos (Thuc. 3.95.1) and had ceased to be a *polis.*

[9] Perhaps other Samaioi are mentioned in Greek inscriptions, but sometimes the distinction between the various cities or ethnics beginning with *Σαμ-* is impossible.

The exact location is unknown (cf. Pritchett (1992) 87–88, (1994) 205–7, who identifies Sollion with the ruins of Sterna (see Palairos (no. 131)) and the recent discussions: Wacker (1996*b*) 96–97 and Schoch (1997) 21–22), but from Thuc. 3.95.1 one has to infer that Sollion lay on the south side of the Plagia peninsula, probably in or near Zaverda Bay.

138. Stratos (Stratios) Map 54. Lat. 38.40, long. 21.20. Size of territory: 2. Type: A. The toponym is *Στράτος* (Thuc. 2.80.8; *IG* IV².1 95.10 (356/5)), *ὁ* (Polyb. 5.13.10), or *ἡ* (Paus. 6.2.1). The city-ethnic is *Στράτιος* (Thuc. 2.81.2; *IG* IX².1 390.1–2 (C5); *CID* II 1.II.17, 22 (362/1); cf. *Στρατικός*, *IG* IX².1 3A.25 (263?)).

Stratos is called a *polis* in the urban sense by Thuc. 2.81.2, 4–5, 2.102.2, 3.106.1. The territorial sense is a connotation at Thuc. 2.80.8. The political sense is attested in a C5 proxeny decree of Stratos (*IG* IX².1 390.1–2). The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested externally in the Delphic contribution list *CID* II 1.II.17 (362/1) and by Thucydides (see *supra*), and internally in the proxeny decree mentioned above as well as on the coins (see *infra*). The individual use of the city-ethnic is attested externally in *CID* II 1.II.22 (362/1), and internally in a manumission inscription (*IG* IX².1 394.4, 10 (C2)).

Stratos was part of Akarnania (*IG* IV².1 95.8 + 10 (356/5); *SEG* 36 331.A.15 + 38 (331/0–313); Strabo 10.2.2), lying in the interior (Thuc. 2.102.1; Strabo 10.2.3) beside the river Acheloos (Polyb. 5.6.6) as *πόλις μεγίστη τῆς Ἀκαρνανίας* (Thuc. 2.80.8). Its territory is called *Στρατίων γῆ* (Thuc. 3.106.2). The *Στρατικὸν τέλος* of the Aitolian Confederacy included at least, besides Stratos itself, the *poleis* of Oiniadai (no. 130) and Matropolis (no. 128) (*IG* IX².1 3B.2 (C3 before 230)).

Stratos was a member of the Akarnanian Confederacy and the seat of the federal institutions (Xen. *Hell.* 4.6.4 (r389); *IG* IX².1 393 (C3)). Klaffenbach (1957*a*) XIV suggests that the central position of Stratos in the Confederacy—attested by Xen. *Hell.* 4.6.4)—may be traced back to 424.

During the Peloponnesian War (in 429), citizens loyal to the Peloponnesians suffered expulsion by the Athenians (Thuc. 2.102.1). In 314, on the advice of Cassander, many Akarnanians moved to Stratos (Diod. 19.67.4; see Freitag (1994) 222–23 for the historical circumstances).

Stratos honoured Lysias from Megara (no. 225) and his two sons with *proxenia* (*IG* IX².1 390 (C5)) and appointed *theorodokoi* to host *theoroi* from Epidauros (no. 348) (*IG* IV².1 95.10 (356/5)) and Nemea (*SEG* 36 331.A.38–40, B.38–40 (331/30–313)). A Stratian Olympic winner with unknown name is attested for 368 (*Olympionikai* 416(?)). He was honoured with a statue by Lysippos (Paus. 6.2.1).

The oldest attested public enactment is the proxeny decree of C5 (*IG* IX².1 390), which mentions a *bolarchos* from Phoitiai (no. 134) (ibid. 390.9).

To the west of the middle hill lay the agora of Stratos, with large *stoai*, a *bouleuterion* and a great altar, all of C4 (Schwandner, *AA* (1991) 614, (1992) 669, (1993) 678, (1995) 783, (1996) 555–56 with pls. 2–3, (1997) 509–10; Lang (1994) 243). The ruins of the Doric temple of Zeus (C4; cf. *IG* IX².1 394.4, 18 (suppl., C2), and *IG* IX².1 395 (C4, perhaps a list with contributions to the temple building)) have been studied by Picard and Courby ((1924); cf. Zschietzschmann (1931) 334–35; Wurster (1973) 209–10; Bankel (1984)). At a distance of about 4 km to the west of Stratos (site of Spathari), remains of an Archaic temple (C6, with Hellenistic restorations and, probably, a Geometric predecessor) have recently been excavated (Schwandner (1994), *AA* (1995) 784–86, (1996) 557–58). Midway between this temple and the city, another extra-urban sanctuary existed, which was discovered in 1993 (Schwandner, *AA* (1995) 783–84). The C4 theatre of Stratos (now excavated: Schwandner, *AA* (1993) 678, (1996) 555–56, (1997) 509; *TGR* ii: 302) accommodated *c.*8,000 spectators (Lang (1994) 243).

The acropolis of Stratos was situated on the northern edge of the city. The circuit of walls (Pritchett (1989) 137–39) built of pseudo-isodomic masonry and surrounding both the fortified acropolis and the town was about 7.5 km long and enclosed an area of *c.*80 ha. According to Thuc. 2.81.2, Stratos was a walled city in 429, which suggests (*pace* Winter (1971) 112 n. 26) that the existing enceinte dates from at least C5 (Pritchett (1992) 115–16; Gehrke (1994–95) 44–45); at present archaeology dates the fortification to C4l (Schwander and Kolonas (1996)).

Stratos struck silver coins *c.*450–400. Denominations: pentobols and smaller fractions. Types: *obv.* head of Acheloos; *rev.* head of Kallirhoë; legend: *ΣΤΡΑΤΙΩΝ*, *ΣΤΡΑ*, *ΣΤΡ*, *Σ* (Imhoof-Blumer (1878) 156–67; Head, *HN*² 331–32; Grose (1926) no. 5380; *IGCH* nos. 88, 208; *SNG Cop. Acarnania* 404). Besides that, there is a Pegasos type of C4s (Talbert (1971) 62; Kraay (1976) 126 with pl. 24 no. 437). For the federal coins struck at Stratos, see 352 *supra.*

139. Thyrreion (Thyrieus) Map 54. Lat. 38.50, long. 21.00. Size of territory: 2. Type: B. The toponym is *Θύρρειον*, *τό* (*IG* IV².1 95.16 (356/5); *SEG* 36 331.A.26 (331/30–313); in Ps.-Skylax 34 one should read *Θύρρειον* instead of the MS's *Οὐριτόν*; see Kirsten (1961); Marcotte (1985) 255) or *Θύριον* (Polyb. 4.6.2, 24.3; *Θούριον* in Polyb. 18.10.10, 28.5.1). The city-ethnic is *Θύρρειος* (*IG* IX².1 3A.23 (263?)) or *Θυρρεύς*

(*IG* IX².1 582.46 (*c.*207)), *Θυριεύς* (Xen. *Hell.* 6.2.37), *Θυρρειεύς* (*SGDI* 2658 (315–280)) or *Θούριος* (Androtion (*FGrHist* 324) fr. 65 = Steph. Byz. 320.21).

Thyrreion was never called a *polis* before Hellenistic times (*IG* IX².1 243.2 (C3), 244.5–6 (C3–C2, restored); *SEG* 13 327.7–8 (*c.*192, restored)), unless one accepts Kirsten's emendation of Ps.-Skylax 34 (see *supra*). Xenophon speaks, in connection with *poleis* in Akarnania, of the *Thyrreians* having a *χωρίον καρτερόν* (*Hell.* 6.2.37). However, Thyrreion was a member of the Akarnanian Confederacy, had a walled urban centre and struck coins in C4 (see *infra*); so it was probably a *polis* in the Classical period.

The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested externally in inscriptions of C3 (*IG* IX².1 3B.3; IX².2 243.2) and by Xen. *Hell.* 6.2.37, and internally on coins and tile stamps (*IG* IX².1 366; *SEG* 25 632 (C3)). The individual use of the city-ethnic is attested externally in Hellenistic inscriptions (*SGDI* 2658 (Delphi, 315–280); *IG* IX².1 3A.23 (263?)) and internally in *SEG* 43 227.4–6 (167?).

Thyrreion was part of Akarnania (Xen. *Hell.* 6.2.37; *IG* IV².1 95.8 + 16 (356/5); *SEG* 36 331.A.15 + 26 (331/30–313)). As a member of the Akarnanian Confederacy, it is not explicitly attested before about 263 (*IG* IX².1 3A.23; cf. also IX².2 582 (Magnesia, *c.*207)), but considering the mention of the community in Xen. *Hell.* 6.2.37 and in the *theorodokoi* lists (*supra*), membership can be traced back at least to C4.

Xenophon regarded the Thyrreians as brave soldiers (*Hell.* 6.2.37). *c.*300, Herakleitos of Thyrreion was appointed *proxenos* by Delphi (no. 177) (*SGDI* 2658; cf. *LGPN* IIIA 195 s.v. *Ἡράκλειτος*). Thyrreion appointed *theorodokoi* to host *theoroi* from Argos (no. 347) (*SEG* 23 189.I.4 (330–324, restored)), Epidauros (no. 348) (*IG* IV².1 95.16 (356/5)) and Nemea (*SEG* 36 331.A.26–7 (331/30–313)). A sanctuary of Zeus Meilichios is attested in a C5 *horos* inscription (Mastrokostas (1965) 157 no. 11 = *SEG* 25 630).

The acropolis of Thyrreion is mentioned in an unpublished inscription of C3; for the ruins, see Pritchett (1992) 89–90 with references. The walls are described by Kirsten (1956) 58–59 (with Noack's plan) and Pritchett (1992) 89–90 (with bibliography); for recent excavations at Thyrreion, see *BCH* 114 (1990) 758. According to Xen. *Hell.* 6.2.37, Thyrreion must have been fortified already in C4 (cf. Lang (1994) 242). According to an inscription found during excavation at Rouga by L. Kolonas, Thyrreion had a harbour, probably by the name of "Nesos".

In C4s, Thyrreion struck staters of Corinthian type and standard (pegasi), with the legends *Θ*, *ΘΥ*, *ΘΥΡ*, *ΘΥΡΡ* (Imhoof-Blumer (1878) 168–74). Most of the surviving specimens (more than 300 pieces) have been found in hoards from Sicily and Magna Graecia (Talbert (1971) 62; Taliercio Mensitieri and Spagnoli (1993) especially pl. 3). Some bronze coins were struck in the same period. Types: *obv.* Athena; *rev.* owl; legend: *ΘΥΡΡΕΩ* (Head, *HN*² 332–33; Grose (1926) nos. 5381–86; Hammond (1967) 726, 729; *IGCH passim* (cf. p. 408); Taliercio Mensitieri and Spagnoli (1993) especially pl. 5l; *CH* viii. 159, 167, 232, 506, 580; Liampi (1996) 174; *SNG Cop. Acarnania* 407–16).

140. Torybeia (Torybeieus) Map 54. Lat. 38.45, long. 21.05(?). Size of territory: 2(?). Type: B. The toponym is *Τορύβεια, ἡ* (*IG* IV².1 95.18 with *SEG* 11 411 (356/5)) or *Τύρβειον, τό* (*SEG* 23 189.I.7 (suppl., 330–324); *F.Delphes* III.3 203.5 and Flacelière (1937) 441 n. 1 (suppl., both 272)). The city-ethnic is *Τορυβειεύς* (*CID* II 26.18, 19 (suppl., C4)) or *Ἀκαρνάν ἐκ Τυρβείυν* (*F.Delphes* III.3 203.5 and Flacelière (1937) 441 n. 1 (suppl.)).

Torybeia is not attested as a *polis*. But in C4 *theorodokoi* lists it is recorded under the heading Akarnania, and in C3 it is attested as a member of the Confederacy (see *infra*). If one accepts the identification of the ruins of Komboti with Torybeia (cf. Kirsten (1940) 298ff; Klaffenbach (1957) 36; Pritchett (1992) 104–8; Hoepfner and Schwandner (1994) 340 n. 333) and the interpretation of the coins given below, there can be little doubt that Torybeia was a *polis* already in the Classical period.

The collective use of the city-ethnic is perhaps attested internally on coins (in abbreviation, see *infra*); the external and individual use is attested in two Delphic inscriptions (*CID* II 26.18, 19 (suppl., C4); *F.Delphes* III.3 203.5 (C3)).

Torybeia was part of Akarnania (*IG* IV².1 95.8 + 18 with *SEG* 11 411) and is attested in 272 as a member of the Akarnanian *koinon* (*F.Delphes* III.3 203.5 and Flacelière (1937) 441 n. 1 (restored)). It appointed *theorodokoi* to host *theoroi* from Argos (no. 347) (*SEG* 23 189.I.7 (330–324, restored)) and Epidauros (no. 348) (*IG* IV².1 95.18; *SEG* 11 411); cf. Cabanes (1985) 346–47.

The *kastro* of Komboti, presumably the site of Torybeia, shows remains of an agora and stoas (Heuzey (1860) 350ff; Pritchett (1992) 104–8) as well as a circuit wall of mostly polygonal masonry (Pritchett *loc. cit.*). The city was built on a grid plan ("Streifenstadt") with characteristic house types of a certain luxury (bathrooms); see Hoepfner and Schwandner (1994) 218, 306, 320 with fig. 305; Lang (1994) 242–43.

Imhoof-Blumer ((1878) 112–13) reports two small silver coins of similar type and of equal weight with types: *obv.* Acheloos; *rev.* *KO* or *TO* below the cross of a capital *T*. Since

Imhoof-Blumer could not know of the inscriptions attesting Akarnanian Torybeia, he interpreted *KO* and *TO* as names of officials. Both Koronta (no. 124) and Torybeia were situated in central Akarnania and, in the light of the epigraphical evidence, we should now tentatively interpret the letters as abbreviations of the city-ethnics *KO*(*PONTAIΩN*) and *TO*(*PYBEIΩN*). If so, this would be the first evidence of Torybeian coinage.

141. Zakynthos (Zakynthios) Map 54. Lat. 37.45, long. 20.55. Size of territory: 4. Type: A. The toponym is *Ζάκυνθος*, *ἡ* (Hdt. 6.70.2, 9.37.4; Thuc. 2.80.1; *IG* IV 619.9 (Argos, C3)). The city-ethnic is *Ζακύνθιος* (Hdt. 3.59.1, 6.70.2; Thuc. 1.47.2, 2.9.4; *SEG* 40 507 (C5–C4); *IG* II² 43.B.35 = *Staatsverträge* 257 (373/2); for the date, see now Dreher (1995*a*) 18).

Zakynthos is called a *polis* in the urban sense by Xen. *Hell.* 6.2.3 and Ps.-Skylax 43. Under the heading *πόλεις*, Zakynthos is listed as an ally of Athens (no. 361) in 431 (Thuc. 2.9.1, 4) and in 373/2 as a member of the Second Athenian Naval League (*IG* II² 43.32, 70, 78, B.35–38).

The use of the city-ethnic is attested externally in an Attic inscription (*IG* II² 43.B.35) and in the authors quoted above, and internally on the coins (see *infra*). The individual use is attested externally in various inscriptions (e.g. *SEG* 40 507 (Michalitsi, C5–C4); *IG* V 1 1457.7 (Messene, C4–C3)).

The name of the territory is *νῆσος Ζάκυνθος* (Thuc. 2.66.1). There was a place *Νῆλλος* occupied by democrats during a *stasis* in 373/2 (*IG* II² 43.B.35; cf. Xen. *Hell.* 6.2.2; Diod. 15.45.2 calls it *Ἀρκαδία*; for a discussion, see Mitchel (1981) 73ff). The island was situated *πρὸ τοῦ Κορινθιακοῦ κόλπου* (Strabo 2.5.20) near Elis (no. 251) (Thuc. 2.66.1; cf. Strabo 8.2.2, 10.2.18, 17.3.20), Kephallenia (Diod. 16.6.5, 9.4) and Ithaka (no. 122) (Heliod. *Aeth.* 5.22.5). Zakynthos formed a regional unit together with Korkyra (no. 123), Kephallenia and Akarnania (Thuc. 2.7.3).

According to Thuc. 2.66, Zakynthos was a colony of the Achaians. This seems not implausible. In the mythical tradition, the founder of the city was Zakynthos, son of Dardanos, from Arkadian Psophis (no. 294; Paus. 8.24.3), which is perhaps spun out of the name of the Zakynthian acropolis (cf. the alternative name *Ἀρκαδία* for *Νῆλλος*; see *supra*). Another tradition is reflected in Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.50.3 and Steph. Byz. 294.3, who mentions Bateia as the oecist of the island.

In 433, 1,000 Zakynthian hoplites joined the Korkyraians against Corinth (no. 227) (Thuc. 1.47.2). At the beginning of the Peloponnesian War (431), Athens sent an envoy to Zakynthos to ascertain the Kephallenians' loyalty (Thuc. 2.7.3; cf. Diod. 12.43.5). During the Peloponnesian War, Zakynthos was allied with Athens (e.g. Thuc. 2.7.3, 9.4, 66; Ar. *Lys.* 394) and supported the Athenians with money, infantry and ships (Thuc. 2.9.4–5, 3.94–95, 4.8.2–5, 4.13.2, 7.31.2, 57.7).

After the Peloponnesian War, Zakynthos became oligarchic. At the beginning of C4, the tyrant Dionysios of Syracuse settled, among others, 600 Messenian exiles from Naupaktos (no. 165) and Zakynthos in Sicilian Messana (no. 51) (Diod. 14.78.5 (r396)). Probably during the Corinthian War, the oligarchs were driven out of Zakynthos by the democratic faction (Diod. 15.45.2, misplaced); but a few years later, presumably after the King's Peace (386), they in turn exiled the democrats. These democrats were brought to *Νῆλλος* by the Athenian general Timotheos in 375. They sided with the Athenians, while the oligarchs in the town were allied with Sparta (no. 345), sent envoys to Sparta, and in 374 supported the Peloponnesian fleet under Mnasippos against Korkyra (Xen. *Hell.* 6.2.2–3; Diod. 15.45.2–3; *IG* II² 43.B.37–38; Gehrke, *Stasis* 198–99). Zakynthos entered the Second Athenian Naval League, probably in 373/2 (*IG* II² 43.B.35–38 = *Staatsverträge* 257; cf. Gehrke, *Stasis* 198). The island was the base for Dion's operations before his return to Sicily (Plut. *Dio* 22.8–25.2), and he had Zakynthian mercenaries in his army (Diod. 16.31.7; Plut. *Dio* 57.2, 4 (r357–354)). In 338/7 Zakynthos became a member of the Corinthian League (*IG* II² 236.b.12 (suppl.); cf. *Staatsverträge* 403).

The Zakynthian Menalkos was appointed *proxenos* by the Messenians (*IG* V.1 1425 (C4–C3)). A Zakynthian winner is attested for an unknown Athenian festival (*IG* II² 2312.7 (suppl., C4f)).

The following cult sites are attested: a temple of Apollo (Plut. *Dio* 23.3 (r357)) and a temple of Aphrodite (Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.50.3) with statues of Aphrodite and Aineias. Benton (1932) 217 reports traces of another temple.

There existed a *stadion* in Zakynthos (Plut. *Dio* 23.4 (r357)) and a harbour (Ps.-Skylax 43), situated near the town (Heliod. *Aeth.* 5.18.3). The name of the acropolis was *Ψωφίς* (Paus. 8.24.3; Steph. Byz. 705.4, citing Paus.).

According to Strabo 3.4.6 and App. *Hisp.* 25, Saguntum in Spain was a colony of Zakynthos, but that seems to be derived from the similarity of the names (cf. *SEG* 42 972.2). Steph. Byz. (159.11–13) calls the Libyan city of Barka a *κτίσμα Πέρσεως Ζακύνθου Ἀριστομέδοντος Λύκου*, obviously a mythographical construction possibly connected with Psophis, which is attested as a Libyan *polis* in Steph. Byz. 705.2. Hdt. 3.59 mentions Zakynthians in Cretan Kydonia (no. 968). Their relationship to the inhabitants of our island is not clear.

From C5 onward, Zakynthos struck silver "drachms and smaller fractions with the type of a tripod, thus initiating the Apolline theme which was to remain prominent throughout Zacynthian coinage" (Kraay (1976) 96). Types: *obv.* Apollo laureate; *rev.* tripod; legend: ΖΑ, ΖΑΚΥΝΘΙΩΝ, or ΖΑΚΥΝΘΟΣ on the reverse (Postolakas (1868) 102–8; *BMC Peloponnesus* xxxix–xlii, 94–104; Babelon, *Traité* ii. i. 901–6; ii. 2. 773–92; Head, *HN*² 429–31; Grose (1926) nos. 6700–11; Kraay (1976) 96, cf. *IGCH* 153; *SNG Cop. Acarnania* 479–81).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Adler, A. 1919. "Kasios", *RE* x.2. 2265–67.

Andreou, I. 1991. "*Τὰ επιγράμματα του πολυανδρίου της Αμβρακίας*", *ArchDelt* 41 (1986) 425–45.

Andréou, J. 1993. "Ambracie, une ville ancienne se reconstitue peu à peu par les recherches", in Cabanes (1993) 91–101.

Antonetti, C. 1987. "Le popolazioni settentrionali dell'Etolia: difficoltà di localizzazione e problemi dei limiti territoriali, alla luce della documentazione epigrafica", in Cabanes (1987) 95–113.

Bankel, H. 1984. "Moduli an den Tempeln von Tegea und Stratos? Grenzen der Fußmaßbestimmung", *AA* 413–30.

Beck, H. 1997. *Polis und Koinon: Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Struktur der griechischen Bundesstaaten im 4. Jahrhundert v. Chr.*, *Historia* Einzelschriften 114 (Stuttgart).

Beloch, K. J. 1922. *Griechische Geschichte*² iii.1 (Berlin and Leipzig).

Benton, S. 1932. "The Ionian Islands", *BSA* 32: 213–46.

—— 1934–35. "Excavations in Ithaca III: The Cave at Polis I", *BSA* 35: 45–73.

—— 1938–39. "Excavations in Ithaca III: The Cave at Polis II", *BSA* 39: 1–51.

Berktold, P., Schmid, J., and Wacker, C. (eds.) 1996. *Akarnanien: eine Landschaft im antiken Griechenland* (Würzburg).

Biedermann, G. 1887. *Die Insel Kephallenia im Altertum* (Munich).

Bischoff, H. 1919. "Kalender", *RE* x.2. 1568–1602.

BMC Corinth, see Head and Stuart Poole (1889).

BMC Peloponnesus, see Gardner and Stuart Poole (1887).

BMC Thessaly, see Gardner and Stuart Poole (1883).

Bommelaer, J.-F. 1991. *Guide de Delphes: le site* (Athens).

Bommeljé, S., *et al.* 1987. *Aetolia and the Aetolians: Towards the Interdisciplinary Study of a Greek Region* (Utrecht).

Bürchner, L. 1919. "Kassiope", *RE* x.2. 2314–15.

—— 1921. "Kephallenia", *RE* xi.1. 193–215.

—— 1922. "Korkyra" and "Korkyraia, *RE* xi.2. 1400–16, 1417.

Cabanes, P. 1969. "A propos de la liste argienne de théarodoques", *REG* 82: 550–51.

—— 1976. *L'Épire de la mort de Pyrrhos à la conquête Romaine (272–167 av. J.C.)* (Paris).

—— 1985. "Le pouvoir local au sein des États fédéraux: Épire, Acarnanie, Étolie", in *La Béotie antique*, Actes du colloque international à Lyon et à Saint-Etienne, 16–20 May 1983 (Paris) 343–57.

—— (ed.) 1987. *L'Illyrie méridionale et l'Épire dans l'antiquité*, Actes du colloque international de Clermont-Ferrand, 22–25 October 1984 (Clermont-Ferrand).

—— (ed.) 1993. *L'Illyrie méridionale et l'Épire dans l'antiquité*, Actes du IIe colloque international de Clermont-Ferrand, 25–27 October 1990 (Paris).

—— and Andréou, J. 1985. "Le règlement frontalier entre les cités d'Ambracie et de Charadros", *BCH* 109: 499–544, 753–57.

Camp, J. 1977. "Inscriptions from Palairos", *Hesperia* 46: 277–81.

Cargill, C. 1981. *The Second Athenian League* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London).

Carter, C. 1993. "The Staters of Leucas: A Numismatic and Historical Study", in Stazio *et al.* (1993) 35–42.

Cassio, A. C. 1994. "I distici del *polyandrion* di Ambracia e l' 'io anonimo' del epigramma greco", *Studi Micenei ed Egeo-Anatolici* 33: 101–17.

Coldstream, J. N. 1977. *Geometric Greece* (London).

Cole, S. G. 1995. "Civic Cult and Civic Identity", *CPCActs* 2: 292–325.

Cremer, M. 1981. "Zur Deutung des jüngeren Korfu-Giebels", *AA* 317–28.

Dany, O. 1999. *Akarnanien im Hellenismus: Geschichte und Völkerrecht in Nordwestgriechenland* (Munich).

Daux, G. 1955. "L'expansion étolienne vers le nord à la fin du IIIème siècle avant J.C.", in *Studia antiqua Antonio Salać septuagenario oblata* (Prague) 35–39.

De Fidio, P. 1995. "Corinto e l'Occidente tra VIII e VI sec. a.C.", in Stazio and Ceccoli (1995) 47–141.

Domingo-Forasté, D. 1988. "A History of Northern Coastal Acarnania to 167 B.C.: Alyzeia, Leukas, Anaktorion and Argos Amphilochikon" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Santa Barbara).

—— 1993. "The Fourth-Century Mint of Anaktorion", in Stazio *et al.* (1993) 43–59.

Dontas, G. S. 1965. "*Τοπογραφικὰ θέμματα τῆς πολιορκίας τῆς Κερκύρας τοῦ ἔτος 373 π.Χ.*", *ArchEph* 139–44.

—— 1976. "Denkmäler und Geschichte eines kerkyräischen Heiligtums", in U. Jantzen (ed.), *Neue Forschungen in griechischen Heiligtümern: Internationales Symposion in Olympia vom 10. bis 12. Oktober 1974* (Tübingen) 121–33.

Dörpfeld, W. 1927. *Alt-Ithaka: Ein Beitrag zur Homerfrage*, 2 vols. (Munich).

Dreher, M. 1995*a*. *Hegemon und Symmachoi: Untersuchungen zum Zweiten Athenischen Seebund*, Untersuchungen zur antiken Literatur und Geschichte 46 (Berlin and New York).

——1995*b*. "Poleis und Nicht-Poleis im Zweiten Athenischen Seebund", *CPCActs* 2: 171–200.

Empereur, J.-Y. 1981. "Inscriptions de Delphes", *BCH* 105: 417–27.

Faisst, G. W., and Kolonas, L. 1990. "Ein monumentaler Stufenaltar bei Palairos in Akarnanien", *AA* 379–95.

Fiedler, M. 1996. "Zur Topographie der Polis Leukas", in Berktold *et al.* (1996) 157–68.

Flacelière, R. 1937. *Les Aitoliens à Delphes: Contribution à l'histoire de la Grèce centrale au IIIe siècle av. J.-C.*, BEFAR 143 (Paris).

Flensted-Jensen, P. 1997. "Some Problems in *Polis* Identification in the Chalkidic Peninsula", *CPCPapers* 4: 117–28.

Franke, P. R. 1961. *Die antiken Münzen von Epirus*, i: *Poleis, Stämme und Epirotischer Bund bis 27 v. Chr. Katalog und Untersuchungen* (Wiesbaden).

Frederiksen, R. 2002. "The Greek Theatre: A Typical Building in the Urban Centre of the *Polis*?", *CPCPapers* 6: 65–124.

Freitag, K. 1994. "Oiniadai als Hafenstadt: einige historisch-topographische Überlegungen", *Klio* 76: 212–38.

——1996. "Der Akarnanische Bund im 5. Jh. v. Chr.", in Berktold *et al.* (1996) 75–86.

Frost, F. J. 1980. *Plutarch's Themistocles* (Princeton).

Funke, P., Gehrke, H.-J., and Kolonas, L. 1993. "Ein neues Proxeniedekret des Akarnanischen Bundes", *Klio* 75: 131–44.

Gardner, P., and Stuart Poole, R. 1883. *A Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum: Thessaly to Aitolia* (London).

————1887. *A Catalogue of Greek Coins in the British Museum*: *Peloponnesus (excluding Corinth)* (London).

Gehrke, H.-J. 1990. "Herodot und die Tyrannenchronologie", in W. Ax. Palingenesia (ed.), *Memoria rerum veterum: neue Beiträge zur antiken Historiographie und Alten Geschichte: Festschrift für Carl Joachim Classen zum 60. Geburtstag* (Stuttgart) 33–49.

——1994. "Strabon und Akarnanien", in A. M. Biraschi (ed.), *Strabone e la Grecia* (Naples) 93–118.

——1994–95. "Die kulturelle und politische Entwicklung Akarnanienns vom 6. bis zum 4. Jahrhundert v.Chr.", *Geographia Antiqua* 3/4: 41–48.

Gomme, A. W., *et al.* 1945–81. *A Historical Commentary on Thucydides*, 5 vols. (Oxford).

Graham, A. J. 1962. "Corinthian Colonies and Thucydides' Terminology", *Historia* 11: 246–52.

——1964. *Colony and Mother-City in Ancient Greece* (Manchester).

Grose, S. W. 1926. *Catalogue of the McClean Collection of Greek Coins: Fitzwilliam Museum*, ii (Cambridge).

Habicht, C. 1957. "Eine Urkunde des Akarnanischen Bundes", *Hermes* 85: 86–122.

Hadzis, C. 1993. "Les Amphineis à Corcyre et la dedicace du péripolarque à l'Ashmolean Museum", in Cabanes (1993) 201–9.

——1995. "Fêtes et cultes à Corcyre et à Corinthe: calendriers d'Epire, calendriers des cités coloniales de l'Ovest et calendrier de Corinthe", in Stazio and Ceccoli (1995) 445–52.

Hammond, N. G. L. 1967. *Epirus: The Geography, the Ancient Remains, the History and the Topography of Epirus and Adjacent Areas* (Oxford).

Hansen, M. H. 2000. "A Survey of the Use of the Word *Polis* in Archaic and Classical Sources", *CPCPapers* 5: 173–215.

Head, B. V., and Stuart Poole, R. 1889. *A Catalogue of Greek Coins in the British Museum: Corinth, Colonies of Corinth, etc.* (London).

Heurtley, W. A., and Lorimer, H. L. 1932–33. "Excavations in Ithaca I: LH III—Protogeometric Cairns at Aetós", *BSA* 33: 22–65.

Heuzey, L. 1860. *Le Mont Olympe et l'Acarnanie* (Paris).

Hoepfner, W., and Schwandner, L. 1994. *Haus und Stadt im klassischen Griechenland*[2], Wohnen in der klassischen Polis 1 (Berlin).

Hornblower, S. 1991. *A Commentary on Thucydides*, i: *Books I–III* (Oxford).

Imhoof-Blumer, F. 1878. "Die Münzen Akarnaniens", *NZ* 10: 1–180.

Isler, H. P. 1996. "Der akarnanische Flußgott Acheloos in der Bildkunst", in Berktold *et al.* (1996) 169–72.

Jacquemin, A. 1999. *Offrandes monumentales à Delphes*, BEFAR 304 (Athens).

Jehne, M. 1994. *Koine Eirene, Untersuchungen zu den Befriedungs- und Stabilisierungsbemühungen des 4. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.*, *Hermes* Einzelschriften 67 (Stuttgart).

Jouan, F. 1990. "Les Corinthiens en Acarnanie et leurs prédécesseurs mythiques", in F. Jouan and A. Motte (eds.), *Mythe et politique: Actes du Colloque de Liège, 14–16 septembre 1989* (Paris) 155–66.

Kagan, D. 1974. *The Archidamian War* (Ithaca, NY, and London).

Kalligas, P. G. 1968. "*Χρονικά*: *Ἀρχαιότητες και μνήμεια Ιονίων νήσων*", *ArchDelt* 23B: 302–22.

——1969*a*. "*Τὸ ἐν Κερκύρᾳ ἱερὸν τῆς Ακραίας Ἥρας*", *ArchDelt* 24A: 51–58.

——1969*b*. "*Χρονικά*: *Κεφαλληνία*, *Ἰθάκη*", *ArchDelt* 24B: 268–77.

——1971. "An Inscribed Lead Plaque from Korkyra", *BSA* 66: 79–94.

——1973. "News from the Archaeological Museum at Argostoli, Cephallenia", *AAA* 6: 83–87.

——1978. "'*Ιερὸ Δήμητρας καὶ Κόρης στὴν Κράνη Κεφαλλονιᾶς*", *ArchEph* 136–48.

——1978–79. "*Ἀρχαιολογικὰ εὑρήματα ἀπὸ τὴν Ἰθάκη*", *Κεφαλληνιακὰ Χρονικά* 3: 45–69.

——1984. "*Κέρκυρα*, *ἀποικισμός καί ἔπος*", *ASAtene* 60: 57–67.

Keyßner, K. 1938. "Phalaikos", *RE* xix.2. 1612.

Kiechle, F. 1979. "Korkyra und der Handelsweg durch das Adriatische Meer im 5. Jh. v. Chr.", *Historia* 28: 173–91.

Kilian, K. 1975. "Die Befestigung auf dem Aetos von Ithaka: Vergleichsmöglichkeiten zu Epirus und Südalbanien", in A. Benac (ed.), *Agglomérations fortifiées Illyriennes*, (Sarajevo) 217–22.

Kirsten, E. 1937. "Oiniadai", *RE* xvii.2. 2204–28, 2557.

—— 1940. "Aitolien und Akarnanien in der älteren griechischen Geschichte", *Neue Jahrbücher für Antike und deutsche Bildung* 115 (1940) 298–316 = idem., *Landschaft und Geschichte in der antiken Welt: Ausgewählte kleine Schriften, Geographica Historica* 3 (Bonn, 1984) 103–30.

—— 1941*a*. "Bericht über eine Reise in Aitolien und Akarnanien," *AA* 56: 99–119.

—— 1941*b*. "Phoitiai", *RE* xx.1. 436–43.

—— 1942. "Palairos", *RE* xviii.2. 2455–67.

—— 1956. *Die griechische Polis als historisch-geographisches Problem des Mittelmeerraumes* (Bonn).

—— 1961. "Uriton", *RE* ix A.1. 1029–30.

Klaffenbach, G. 1932. *IG* IX².1 1.

—— 1940. See Schleif, Rhomaios and Klaffenbach (1940).

—— 1957. *IG* IX².1 2.

Knigge, U. 1972. "Die Gesandtenstelen im Kerameikos", *AAA* 5: 258–65.

—— 1988. *Der Kerameikos von Athen* (Athens).

Kolonas, L., Serbetis, E. D., and Schmidt, E. 1992. "*Ἀνασκαφή Οἰνιαδῶν: Τά Νεώρια: Ἡ Πόλη* (*Α'* & *Β'*)", *Archaiognosia* 6 (1989/90) 153–74.

Kraay, C. M. 1976. *Archaic and Classical Coins* (London).

—— 1977. "The Earliest Issue of Ambracia", *NumAntCl* 6: 35–52.

—— 1979. "The Coinage of Ambracia and the Preliminaries of the Peloponnesian War", *NumAntCl* 8: 37–66.

Lang, F. 1994. "Veränderungen des Siedlungsbildes in Akarnanien von der klassisch-hellenistischen zur römischen Zeit", *Klio* 76: 239–54.

—— 1996. *Archaische Siedlungen in Griechenland: Struktur und Entwicklung* (Berlin).

Lauffer, S. (ed.) 1989. *Griechenland: Lexikon der historischen Stätten: von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart* (Munich).

Leake, W. M. 1835. *Travels in Northern Greece*, iii (London).

Liampi, K. 1996. "Ein neuer Münzfund aus Thyrreion", in Berktold *et al.* (1996) 173–82.

Losada, L. A. 1972. *The Fifth Column in the Peloponnesian War* (Leiden).

Marcotte, D. 1985. "Le premier koinon acarnanien et la fin de la seconde ligue délienne: note critique", *AntCl* 54: 254–58.

Mastrokostas, E. 1965. "Inschriften aus Ätolien, Akarnanien und Westlokris", *AM* 80: 152–59.

Mitchel, F. W. 1981. "The Nellos (IG II² 43 B 35–38)", *Chiron* 11: 73–77.

Münsterberg, R. 1973. *Die Beamtennamen auf den griechischen Münzen: Geographisch und alphabetisch geordnet*, Subsidia epigraphica 3 (Hildesheim; reprint of the edn. of 1911–27).

Murray, W. M. 1982. "The Coastal Sites of Western Akarnania: A Topographical-Historical Survey" (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, Ann Arbor).

—— 1988. "The Ancient Harbour Mole at Leukas, Greece", in A. Raban (ed.), *Archaeology of Coastal Changes*, Proceedings of the 1. International Symposium "Cities on the Sea—Past and Present", Haifa, Israel, 22–29 September 1986, *BAR* International Series 404 (Oxford) 101–18.

Noack, F. 1916. "(Befestigte griechische Städte in Ätolien und Akarnanien)", *AA* 31: 215–39.

Oberhummer, E. 1887. *Akarnanien, Ambrakia, Amphilochia, Leukas im Altertum* (Munich).

Parke, H. W. 1967. *The Oracles of Zeus: Dodona, Olympia, Ammon* (Cambridge, Mass.).

Parker, V. 1997. *Untersuchungen zum Lelantischen Krieg und verwandten Problemen der frühgriechischen Geschichte*, *Historia* Einzelschriften 109 (Stuttgart).

Partsch, J. 1887. *Die Insel Korfu: Eine geographische Monographie*, Petermanns Mitteilungen, Erg.-Heft 88 (Gotha).

—— 1889. *Die Insel Leukas: Eine geographische Monographie*, Petermanns Mitteilungen, Erg.-Heft 95 (Gotha).

—— 1890. *Kephallenia und Ithaka: Eine geographische Monographie*, Petermanns Mitteilungen, Erg.-Heft 98 (Gotha).

—— 1907. "Das Alter der Inselnatur von Leukas", *Petermanns Mitteilungen* 269–78.

Perlman, P. 2000. *City and Sanctuary in Ancient Greece: The Theorodokia in the Peloponnese* (Göttingen).

Philippson, A. 1905. "Echinos", *RE* v.2. 1921.

—— (ed. by E. Kirsten after author's death) 1956, 1958. *Die Griechischen Landschaften: Eine Landeskunde*, ii: *Der Nordwesten der griechischen Halbinsel*, Part 1: *Epirus und der Pindos*, with Appendix by E. Kirsten: *Beiträge zur historischen Landeskunde von Epirus und Kerkyra* (Frankfurt, 1956). Part 2: *Das westliche Mittelgriechenland und die westgriechischen Inseln*, with Appendix by E. Kirsten: *Beiträge zur historischen Landeskunde des westlichen Mittelgriechenland und der vorgelagerten Inseln* (Frankfurt, 1958).

Picard, C., and Courby, F. 1924. *Recherches archéologiques à Stratos d'Acarnanie* (Paris).

Plassart, A. 1921. "Inscriptions de Delphes: la liste des théorodoques", *BCH* 45: 1–85.

Postolakas, A. 1868. *Κατάλογος τῶν ἀρχαίων νομισμάτων τῶν νήσων Κερκύρας Λευκάδος Ἰθπάκης Κεφαλληνίας Ζακύνθου καὶ Κυθήρων συλλεχθέντων μὲν ὑπὸ Παύλου Λάμπου δωρηθέντων δὲ τῷ Ἐθνικῷ τῆς Ἑλλάδος Πανεπιστημίῳ* (Athens).

Powell, D. 1904. "Oeniadae I: History and Topography", *AJA* 8: 137–237.

Pritchett, W. K. 1989. *Studies in Ancient Greek Topography*, vi (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London).
—— 1991. *Studies in Ancient Greek Topography*, vii (Amsterdam).
—— 1992. *Studies in Ancient Greek Topography*, viii (Amsterdam).
—— 1994. *Essays in Greek History* (Amsterdam).
Randsborg, K. 1995. *Hjortspring: Warfare and Sacrifice in Early Europe* (Aarhus).
—— 2002. *Kephallénia: Archaeology and History: The Ancient Greek Cities*, *ActaArch* 73.1/2 (Copenhagen).
Regling, K. 1929. "Stater", *RE* iii A.2. 2172–77.
Rhomaios, K. A. 1918. "Ἀνὰ τὴν Ἀκαρνανίαν", *ArchDelt* 4: 105–24.
Riemann, H. 1943. "Zum Artemistempel von Korkyra", *ÖJh* 58: 32–38.
Rigsby, K. 1996. *Asylia: Territorial Inviolability in the Hellenistic World* (Berkeley).
Robert, L. 1940. *Hellenica: Recueil d'épigraphie, de numismatique et d'antiquités grecques*, i (Limoges).
Rodenwaldt, G. 1939. *Der Artemistempel: Bildwerke*, Korkyra: archaische Bauten und Bildwerke 2 (Berlin).
Salmon, J. B. 1984. *Wealthy Corinth: A History of the City to 338 B.C.* (Oxford).
Schleif, H., Rhomaios, K. A., and Klaffenbach, G. 1940. *Der Artemistempel: Architektur, Dachterrakotten, Inschriften*, Korkyra: archaische Bauten und Bildwerke 1 (Berlin).
Schmidt, B. 1890. *Korkyraeische Studien: Beiträge zur Topographie Korkyras und zur Erklärung des Thukydides, Xenophon und Diodoros* (Leipzig).
Schoch, M. 1997. *Beiträge zur Topographie Akarnaniens in klassischer und hellenistischer Zeit*, Studien zur Geschichte Nordwest-Griechenlands 2 (Würzburg).
Schütrumpf, E., and Gehrke, H.-J. 1996. *Aristoteles: Politik, Buch IV–VI*, translated with an introduction by Eckart Schütrumpf, with a commentary by Eckart Schütrumpf and Hans-Joachim Gehrke (Berlin).
Schwabl, H. 1972. "Zeus", *RE* x A.1. 253–376.
—— 1978. "Zeus", *RE* suppl. xv. 993–1481.
Schwandner, E.-L. 1994. "Spáthari—Tempel ohne Säulen und Gebälk?", in E.-L. Schwandner (ed.), *Säule und Gebälk: Zu Struktur und Wandlungsprozeß griechisch-römischer Architektur*, Bauforschungskolloquium in Berlin vom 16. bis 18. Juni 1994 veranstaltet vom Architekturreferat des DAI, Diskussionen zur Archäologischen Bauforschung 6 (Mainz) 48–54.
—— and Kolonas, L. 1996. "Beobachtungen am Zeusheiligtum von Stratos", *IstMitt* 46: 187–96.
Sherk, R. 1990*a*. "The Eponymous Officials of Greek Cities I", *ZPE* 83: 249–88.
—— 1990*b*. "The Eponymous Officials of Greek Cities II", *ZPE* 84: 231–95.
Spetsieris-Choremis, A. 1981. "'Θεσαυρὸς' ἀργυρῶν Κερκυραϊκῶν στατήρων", *ArchEph* 52–73.
—— 1997. *Ancient Kerkyra*² (Athens).
Stählin, F. 1926. "Limnaion", *RE* xiii.1. 707–8.
Stazio, A. 1995. "Corinto e l'Occidente fino alla fine V sec. A.C. nella documentazione numismatica", in Stazio and Ceccoli (1995) 179–92.
—— and Ceccoli, S. (eds.) 1995. *Corinto e l'Occidente*, *AttiTaranto* 34.
—— Taliercio Mensitieri, M., and Vitale, R. (eds.) 1993. *La monetazione corinzia in Occidente*, Atti del IX Convegno del Centro Internazionale di Studi Numismatici. Napoli, 27–28 ottobre 1986 (Rome).
Steinhart, M., and Wirbelauer, E. 2002. *Aus der Heimat des Odysseus: Reisende, Grabungen und Funde auf Ithaka und Kephallenia bis zum ausgehenden 19. Jahrhundert*, Kulturgeschichte der antiken Welt 87 (Mainz).
Strauch, D. 1996*a*. *Römische Politik und griechische Tradition: die Umgestaltung Nordwest-Griechenlands unter römischer Herrschaft*, Quellen und Forschungen zur Antiken Welt 22 (Munich).
—— 1996*b*. "Alalkomenai", *Neue Pauly* i. 429.
—— 1996*c*. "Amphilochoi, Amphilochia", *Neue Pauly* i. 613.
—— 1997. "Aus der Arbeit am Inschriften-Corpus der Ionischen Inseln: IG IX, 1²4", *Chiron* 27: 209–54.
Swoboda, H. 1913. *Lehrbuch der Griechischen Staatsaltertümer*, 6th edn (Tübingen).
Talbert, R. J. A. 1971. "Corinthian Silver Coinage and the Sicilian Economy, c. 340 to c. 290, B.C., *NC* 11: 53–66.
Taliercio Mensitieri, M., and Spagnoli, E. 1993. "Presenza monetale di Corinto e colonie in Sicilia e in Magna Grecia nel IV e III secolo a.C.", in Stazio *et al.* (1993) 87–115.
Themelis, P. 1993. "Damophon von Messene: sein Werk im Lichte der neuen Ausgrabungen", *Antike Kunst* 36: 24–40.
Thiry, S. 2001. "Aspects géopolitiques de l'histoire des iles ioniennes aux époques classique et hellenistique", *Historia* 50: 131–44.
Treidler, H. 1929. "Das Ionische Meer im Altertum: Geschichte und Ursprung seines Namens", *Klio* 22: 86–94.
Tzouvara-Souli, Ch. 1992. *Ἀμβρακία*, Studies on Arta 1 (Arta).
Vatin, C. 1981. "Monuments votifs de Delphes", *BCH* 105: 429–59.
Wacker, C. 1996*a*. "Astakos", in Berktold *et al.* (1996) 99–103.
—— 1996*b*. "Die antike Stadt Palairos auf der Plagia-Halbinsel in Nordwest-Akarnanien", in Berktold *et al.* (1996) 91–98.
—— 1999. *Palairos: Eine historische Landeskunde der Halbinsel Plagia in Akarnanien* (Munich).
Wilhelm, A. 1889. "Attische Psephismen", *Hermes* 24: 108–52.
Winter, F. E. 1971. *Greek Fortifications* (Toronto).
Wirbelauer, E. 1998. "Kephallenia und Ithaka: Historisch-geographische und quellenkritische Untersuchungen zu zwei Inseln im Ionischen Meer", (Habilitationsschrift, Freiburg). Published in part in Steinhart and Wirbelauer (2002).
Wurster, W. 1973. "Dorische Peripteraltempel mit gedrungenem Grundriß", *AA* 200–11.
Zschietzschmann, W. 1931. "Stratos", *RE* ivA.1. 331–36.

AITOLIA

KLAUS FREITAG, PETER FUNKE, NIKOLA MOUSTAKIS

I. The Region

Already in the Homeric period (Hom. *Il.* 2.638) *ἡ Αἰτωλία* (Hecat. fr. 15; Thuc. 3.96.1; Xen. *Hell.* 4.6.1) was a region north of the Corinthian Gulf bounded to the west by the river Acheloos and to the east by Cape Antirrhion. In the north Aitolia bordered on the tribal territories of the Perrhaibians, the Athamanians, the Ainians and the Oitaians (Strabo 10.2.21). Of the coastal cities Homer and Hesiod mention only those connected with mythology (Hom. *Il.* 2.638–40; Hes. fr. 10.a63). In C6?/C5 they had developed into fully-fledged *poleis* which, apart from Proschion, were independent of the Aitolian tribal organisation (Thuc. 3.102.5), whose sphere of influence was restricted to the hinterland (Hdt. 6.127.2; Thuc. 3.94.3–98.5). Only in C5l/C4 did the Aitolians regain possession of the coastal region, and only in stiff competition with the neighbouring Akarnanians, Achaians and Lokrians. The territorial changes are reflected in Strabo's self-contradictory account of the western boundary of Aitolia (8.2.3 *versus* 10.2.1; cf. Funke (1991*a*) 181f; cf. also Strabo's subdivision of Aitolia into *Αἰτωλία ἀρχαία* and *Αἰτωλία ἐπίκτητος* (10.2.3)).

The reintegration of the Aitolian coast seems to have been closely connected with the transformation of the region from a tribal state into a federation (Larsen (1968) 78–80, 195–215; Funke (1997); Corsten (1999) 133–59; Grainger (1999); Scholten (2000) 9–25). Originally, the three major Aitolian tribes—the Apodotai, the Ophiones and the Eurytanes—had been subdivided into numerous smaller units (Thuc. 3.94.4–5, 101.1). This organisation was now abandoned and replaced by a federal structure which combined a strong central power with a plurality of member states, formed by an emancipation of the sub-tribes. In C4, if not earlier, the old Aitolian coastal cities (Xen. *Hell.* 4.6.1) joined the federation as new member states.

The tribal ethnic is *Αἰτωλός*, attested externally in numerous archaic and classical sources (Hom. *Il.* 2.638; Hes. fr. 198.9; Hdt. 6.127.2; Thuc. 1.5.3; Soph. *OC* 1315; Ar. *Eq.* 79; *SEG* 28.408; *IG* I³ 190). A rare variant form is *Αἰτώλιος* (Hom. *Il.* 4.399; Steph. Byz. 55.13). From C4 onwards the tribal ethnic denotes membership of the new federal state and is attested externally (RO 35 (367); *Syll.*³ 563 = *IG* IX².1 192 (C3l)) as well as internally on coins (Head, *HN*² 334–35) and in federal decrees (*IG* IX².1 1.5 (C3m)). The federation itself is called *τὸ κοινὸν* (*τὸ*) *τῶν Αἰτωλῶν* (*IG* IX².1 6.1 (C3f); RO 35.8 (367)). The names of the member states are sometimes recorded in interstate relations (*I. Magnesia* 28.9–26 (*c.*200); *SEG* 38 1476 (206/5). Inside the Aitolian Federation a citizen's affiliation with his *polis* is indicated by the addition of a city-ethnic, and usually in the form: name (+ patronymic) + city-ethnic. Internally the city-ethnic is added directly to the name (+ patronymic): *Πολύκριτος Καλλιεύς* (*IG* IX².1 3A.16 (C3f)); *Κλεισίας Λύκου Πλευρώνιος* (*IG* IX².1 53.1 (C3m)); *Δαμόκριτος Στρατάγου Καλυδώνιος* (*IG* IX².1 30.21 (C2e)). Externally an Aitolian is identified either by the tribal ethnic alone: *Φίλλακος Αἰτωλός* (*IG* II² 7994 (C4); *F. Delphes* III 4 387.1–4 (*c.*320–310)) or by the city-ethnic alone: *Θρασύβουλος Καλυδώνιος* (Lys. 13.71), or in the form of *Αἰτωλὸς ἐκ/ἀπό* + city-ethnic in the genitive: (—name patronymic—*ο*]*υ Αἰτω*[*λῶι ἐκ Μ*]*ακυνέας* (*BCH* 23 (1899) 356 no. 2 (C4l)). The ethnics which signify affiliation with a member state of the Federation can reasonably be described as city-ethnics, in so far as the members of the Aitolian Federation seem frequently to fulfil the political criteria for being a *polis* and, furthermore, seem frequently to have had an urban centre, thus conforming to the observation expressed in the *Lex Hafniensis.*

These ethnics are attested in great numbers in sources of C3/C2, but most of them have not yet been located, mainly because the archaeological investigation of Aitolia is still in its first stage. For a good survey of the state of research, see Bommeljé (1987). An additional problem is that almost all these ethnics are attested in Hellenistic sources only, and cannot be adduced as evidence of classical *poleis* unless they are supported by archaeological evidence of earlier periods. Recently this problem has become a focus of discussion. The investigations once conducted by E. Kirsten induced him to

argue that, in large parts of north-western Greece, urbanisation began in C3/C2. But recent research shows that urbanisation in Aitolia was contemporaneous with the political shift from a tribal to a federal state, which in several member states began in C4 and resulted in the formation of urban habitation centres (Funke (1987), (1997)).

One example is the Aitolian city of Kallion/Kallipolis. According to Thucydides (3.96.3) the *Καλλιεῖς* were still a sub-tribe of the Ophionians, one of the three large Aitolian tribes, but later they became inhabitants of a separate member state of the Aitolian Federation, with an urban centre, called *Κάλλιον* or, significantly, *Καλλίπολις* (Polyb. 20.11.11). The affiliation with the Aitolian tribe of the Ophionians had become obsolete, and instead we find in C3/C2 inscriptions one of the following forms of a city-ethnic: *Καλλιεύς* (*IG* IX².1 3A.16, 19) or *Αἰτωλὸς ἐκ Καλλίον* (*SEG* 11 415.38) or *Καλλιπολίτας* (*IG* IX².1 18.4, 206.3) or *Αἰτωλὸς ἐκ Καλλιπόλιος* (*IG* IX².1 783). In the 1970s the excavations of the ancient nucleated settlement at Veluchovo (west of modern Lidoriki) not only confirmed the identification of this town with Kallipolis (*SEG* 28 504); they also showed that the town grew up already in C4 (Themelis (1979), (1983) 237ff; Bakhuizen (1992)).

Archaeological evidence of the same kind from other sites of inland Aitolia supports the inference that numerous member states of the Aitolian Federation were centred on a large nucleated settlement, i.e. a town. This conclusion matches the description of Aitolia at Ps.-Skylax 35; and the distinction between *πόλεις* and *ἔθνη* attested in an Akarnanian inscription of C3l (*IG* IX².1 583.40) points in the same direction and seems to reflect the settlement pattern of north-western Greece in general.

The numerous unlocated Aitolian ethnics of C3/C2 combined with the unidentified remains of Aitolian urban settlements of C5/C4 must lead to the conclusion that, as the evidence stands, it is impossible to suggest even a rough estimate of the number of Aitolian *poleis* in the Classical period. What one can do is, as an appendix to the Inventory of identifiable *poleis*, add (1) a list of all the unlocated Aitolian ethnics (*infra* 386–87) and (2) a list of Hellenistic and undated settlements which may have been *poleis* already in the Classical period (*infra* 387–88).

Finally, there are four communities which are attested in C4 sources, but excluded from the Inventory *infra*, because we cannot prove that they were *poleis* rather than *ethne*. Among the relatively few Aitolian inscriptions of the Classical period are two boundary stones, each recording the border between two named communities. One marks the border between the Eiteaioi and the Eoitanes (*IG* IX².1 116.1–3 (C4): *τέρμων Εἰτεαίων Ἐοιτάνω[ν]*), the other the border between the Arysaioi and the Nomenaioi (*AD* 22 (1967) 322 (C4): *τέρμων Ἀρυσάων Νωμεναίων*). The two stones provide us with information about four communities which were all members of the Aitolian Federation (Funke (1997) 162 with n. 75). What we cannot know is whether these communities were organised as tribes settled in *komai*, like the Kallieis mentioned by Thucydides at 3.96.3, or were *poleis*, like Makynea (see *infra*). It is impossible to ascertain whether the four ethnics recorded on the two stones are city-ethnics (testifying to *polis* status) or regional ethnics (testifying to some form of tribal organisation). In 1987, however, a C3 tombstone set over a certain *Στομᾶς Νουμεναι<ε>ύς* was found at Palairos in Akarnania (Antonetti (1987*b*) 97; cf. *SEG* 38 435). The editor connected the ethnic *Νουμεναι<ε>ύς* with the Aitolian ethnic *Νωμεναῖος*, and, if she is right, the individual and the external use of an ethnic suggests that it was a city-ethnic rather than a regional ethnic (Funke (1997) 183 n. 75). Thus, one might list the Noumenaioi in the Inventory as a *polis* type C. But, as the evidence stands, it seems preferable to list all four communities here rather than in the Inventory.

The Inventory of *poleis*, here, as elsewhere, is preceded by a list of pre-Hellenistic settlements excluded from the Inventory. The list consists of two parts: (1) named and identified settlements of the Archaic and Classical periods which seem not to have been *poleis*, or for which the information derived from written sources and archaeological evidence is insufficient to warrent inclusion in the Inventory. (2) Unidentified archaeological sites which have significant remains of urban structures of the Classical period (defence circuit, habitation quarters, etc.); see Bommeljé (1987) 75–113.

1. *Pre-Hellenistic Settlements not Attested as* Poleis

Akragas (*Ἀκράγας*) Steph. Byz. 62.16 (*πόλις Αἰτωλίας*). Probably, Akragas, Akrai and Akropolis designate the same site (Pritchett (1989) 134f). Akragas is identified with the ancient remains of Lithovounion. Bommeljé (1987) 93f report on a totally vanished double-scaled wall which has never been dated precisely, some very scanty architectural remains probably of a temple, and a large cemetery dated from C5l–C4e. *Barr.* C.

Akrai (*Ἄκραι*) Polyb. 5.13.9 (*περὶ τὴν καλουμένην πόλιν Ἄκρας*), probably identical with Akragas (Pritchett (1989) 134f; Antonetti (1990) 237f); see *supra* Akragas.

Akropolis (*Ἀκρόπολις*) Steph. Byz. 63.20 (*πόλις Αἰτωλίας*), probably identical with Akragas (Pritchett (1989) 134f); see *supra* Akragas.

Ithoria (*Ἰθωρία*) Polyb. 4.64.9f (*χωρίον . . . ὀχυρότητι δὲ φυσικῇ καὶ χειροποιήτῳ διαφέρει*). Ithoria is identified with Ag. Ilias: C/H fortification, habitation site, acropolis walls, wall of a lower town, finds from C4 to C1 AD (Bommeljé (1987) 74). Not in *Barr.*

Krokyleion (*Κροκύλειον*) Thuc. 3.96.2 (without any site-classification). Krokyleion is identified with Filothei (Goumaioi). Hellenistic? fortified settlement, acropolis wall (Bommeljé (1987) 82). *Barr.* C.

Oichalia (*Οἰχαλία*) Hom. *Il.* 2.730 (*πόλις Εὐρύτου*); cf. also Steph. Byz. 488.1; Strabo. 10.1.10 (*Οἰχαλία, κώμη ἐν Αἰτωλίᾳ περὶ τοὺς Εὐρυτᾶνας*). No indication of *polis* status in the Classical and Hellenistic periods. Perhaps to be identified with modern Koryskhades. *Barr.* C.

Olenos (*Ὤλενος*) Hom. *Il.* 2.638f (*Αἰτωλῶν δ' ἡγεῖτο Θόας Ἀνδραίμονος υἱός, οἳ Πλευρῶν' ἐνέμοντο καὶ Ὤλενον ἠδὲ Πυλήνην*); Hellan. (*FGrHist* 4) fr. 118 = Strabo. 10.2.6 (*Ὤλενον δὲ καὶ Πυλήνην ὀνομάζει πόλεις ὁ ποιητὴς Αἰτωλικάς*) referring to Homer; Steph. Byz. 707.12 (*πόλις Αἰτωλίας*). No indication of *polis* status in C7–C4. Unlocated (discussion see Kirsten (1937) 2444f; Antonetti (1990) 277f). *Barr.* undated.

Paianion (*Παιάνιον*) Polyb. 4.65.3 (*πόλις*). No indication of *polis* status before C3. Paianion is identified with Mastron. C?/H remains of fortifications, double-scaled wall (Kirsten (1942); Bommeljé (1987) 96; cf. also Funke (1987) 92–94; Antonetti (1990) 277). Not in *Barr.*

Potidania (*Ποτιδανία*) Thuc. 3.96.2 (without any site-classification); cf. Livy 28.8.9 (*in propinquis castellis Potidaniae atque Apolloniae*); Steph. Byz. 533.18 (*πόλις Αἰτωλίας*). The city is also mentioned in the C3/C2 *theorodokoi* list from Delphi: *ἐν Ποτειδανίαι* (*BCH* (1921) col. IV 58). The city-ethnic is *Ποτειδανιεύς* (*IG* IX².1 9.13 (C3f)). Potidania is located near Kambos (Lerat (1952) i. 8, 76, 192; Antonetti (1990) 294f). Potidania issued coins in C3s/C2f (Liampi (1996) *passim*). Not in *Barr.*

Pylene (*Πυλήνη*) See the Inventory s.v. Proschion.

Rhion (*Ῥίον*) Steph. Byz. 545.14 (*πόλις Αἰτωλίας*); cf. Thuc. 2.86.2 (*τὸ Ῥίον τὸ Μολυκρικόν*). Dependent harbour of Molykreion (see the Inventory s.v. Molykreion). Not in *Barr.*

Teichion (*Τείχιον*) Thuc. 3.96.2 (without any site-classification). Teichion was part of the region of the Apodotoi. It must have been situated near the Locrian border (Fiehn (1934)). *Barr.* C.

Thermos (*Θέρμος*) Steph. Byz. 310.3 (*πολίχνιον Αἰτωλίας*); Polyb. 5.6.6 (*τὸν ἐν τοῖς Θέρμοις τόπον*); Strabo. 10.3.2 (*ἐν Θέρμοις τῆς Αἰτωλίας*). In Archaic and Classical times Thermos was the religious centre of the Aitolian tribes, since C4 of the Aitolian Federation (Funke (1997) 154). There is no explicit indication of *polis*-ness apart from the city-ethnic: *Θέρμιος* (*IG* IX².1 102.8 (C2e)), *Θρέμιος* (*IG* IX².1 91.1.4 (C5e)); *ktetikon*: *Θερμικός* (Steph. Byz. 310.3). *Barr.* AC.

2. *Unidentified Classical Settlements*

Amvrakia Situated north of Thermos. C/H, scanty remains of an acropolis wall (Bommeljé (1987) 76; Antonetti (1990) 224f). Not in *Barr.*

Analipsis C/H, remains of a fortified settlement (Bommeljé (1987) 76; Antonetti (1990) 237). Not in *Barr.*

Dorikon C/H, remains of a wall (Bommeljé (1987) 80). *Barr.* AC.

Drymon C/H, small fortification (Bommeljé (1987) 81. Not in *Barr.*

Dyo Ekklesies C?/H, remains of a fort (Bommeljé (1987) 107). Not in *Barr.*

Klepa C/H?, scanty remains of a fortified settlement (Bommeljé (1987) 89). Not in *Barr.*

Klima C/H, a fortified hill-top settlement (Bommeljé (1987) 89). Not in *Barr.*

Koniakos C/H, fortified settlement (Bommeljé (1987) 90). *Barr.* C.

Kryonerion (Galatas) In the past the site was probably erroneously identified with ancient Chalkis, or with the harbour of Kalydon. C/H, scanty remains of walls (Bommeljé (1987) 91; Antonetti (1990) 283). Not in *Barr.*

Levka C/H, remains of walls, ancient buildings (Bommeljé (1987) 91). Not in *Barr.*

Lidorikion C/H, remains of a fortified settlement (Bommeljé (1987) 92–93). *Barr.* A?C.

Makrini-Mount Gyros C/H, scanty remains of a fortified settlement (Bommeljé (1987) 94). Not in *Barr.*

Malevros C/H, remains of an ancient fortified settlement; remains of a C5 Doric temple on the acropolis (Bommeljé (1987) 95; Antonetti (1990) 236). A C4 boundary stone has been found there, marking the border between two tribes: *Τέρμων—Ἀρυσάων Νωμεναίων* (Mastrokostas (1967) 322). Not in *Barr.*

Milea-Mount Bouchori C/H, remains of a circuit wall (Bommeljé (1987) 97). Not in *Barr.*

Perista C/H, remains of a fortified settlement, an aqueduct (Bommeljé (1987) 102). *Barr.* A?C.

Petrokhorion C/H, remains of a fortification wall (Bommeljé (1987) 103). Not in *Barr.*

Sykea (Palaiokastro Koniakos) C/H, fortified settlement and (fortified) acropolis (Bommeljé (1987) 108). *Barr.* C.

Tsoukka C/H, small fortified settlement (Bommeljé (1987) 111). *Barr.* C.

II. The *Poleis*

142. Agrinion (Agrinieus) Map. 55. Lat. 38.40, long. 21.20. Size of territory: 2? Type: B. The toponym is *Ἀγρίνιον, τό* (Polyb. 5.7.7; Hsch. A797). The city-ethnic is *Ἀγρινιεύς* (*Syll.*³ 603.3 (C2e)) or, once and probably in error: *Ἀγλινιεύς* (*IG* IX².1 625.2 (C2e)).

Agrinion is called a *polis* in the urban sense (Diod. 19.67.4 (r314)). The individual and internal use of the city-ethnic is attested for citizens serving as magistrates in the Aitolian Confederacy (*IG* IX².1 618.3); the external use is attested for a Delphic hieromnemon (*Syll.*³ 603.3, C2e).

At 19.67.4 Diodoros reports that, in 314, King Kassander of Macedon convened an *ekklesia* of the Akarnanians and persuaded them to leave the small and unfortified settlements and move into a few *poleis* of which Stratos, Sauria and Agrinion are explicitly mentioned. As a result the Derieis (*SEG* 36 331.A.41 (C4s); *IG* IV²1 96.61, 65 (C3m)) and other Akarnanians were synoecised into Agrinion (Diod. 19.67.4). Shortly afterwards Agrinion was besieged and conquered by the Aitolians (Diod. 19.68.1). It seems reasonable to infer that Agrinion must have been a *polis* during the last decades of the Classical period. Agrinion may have been an urban settlement founded by the Agrinian *ethnos*, but there is no evidence (Antonetti (1987*a*); 236; Dany (1999) 37f).

Agrinion is identified with Megali Chora (once Zapandi) situated *c.*3 km north-west of modern Agrinion, with remains of a fortified settlement (defence circuit, stoa, houses) of uncertain date but undoubtedly going back to C4 (Bommeljé (1987) 96; Antonetti (1990) 236f; Strauch (1996) 255f).

143. Aigition Map. 55. Lat. 38.30, long. 22.10. Size of territory: ? Type: A. The toponym is *Αἰγίτιον, τό* (Thuc. 3.97.3). In his account of the Athenian attack on Aigition in 426. Thucydides calls Aigition a *polis* in the urban sense, describing how the inhabitants found refuge in the hills above the city: *ὑπέφευγον γὰρ οἱ ἄνθρωποι καὶ ἐκάθηντο ἐπὶ τῶν λόφων τῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως*. From Thucydides' account it is reasonable to infer that Aigition was a relatively small fortified settlement. On its *polis* status, see the exchange of views between M. H. Hansen and P. Funke in Funke (1997) 173–76 and Hansen (2000) 200. There is no other mention of Aigition in any source. Aigition was situated some 80 stades from the sea in the country settled by the Apodotai, one of the three major Aitolian tribes (Thuc. 3.97.2; Funke (1997) 148). It must have been close to the border between Aitolia and Lokris, and has been identified with the ancient Classical–Hellenistic remains near Strouza. One km west of the village Strouza—now abandoned—is a fortified settlement ("Strouza A") and a hill-top stronghold ("Strouza B") and not far away is the so-called Fortress on Mt. Boucheri (Bommeljé (1987) 75; Bommeljé *et al.* (1981–88); Pritchett (1991) 67–75; Strauch (1996) 256).

144. Akripos Map 55. Unlocated, not in *Barr.* Type: C. The toponym is *Ἄκριπος* (*-ον*?). The only thing we know about Akripos is that in, probably, 355 a *theorodokos* was appointed to host *theoroi* from Epidauros: *Ἀκρίπωι. Μύστρων* (*IG* IV²1 95.34). In the document, Akripos, Hyporeiai, Therminea, Phylea, and Proschion (ll. 34–38) are listed after Amphilocheian Argos (l. 33) and before Syracuse (l. 39). While Hyporeiai seems to have been part of Akarnania (cf. Robert (1940); *LGPN* s.v. *Ἐχεμένης* and *Φιλοίτιος*), the other sites were presumably Aitolian towns situated in the borderland between Aitolia and Akarnania; see Antonetti (1987*b*) 100f and Funke (1997) 183 n. 73.

145. Chalkis (Chalkideus) Map. 55. Lat. 38.20, long. 21.35. Size of territory: 1 or 2. Type: A. The toponym is *Χαλκίς, ἡ* (Hom. *Il.* 2.640; Thuc. 1.108.5; Strabo 9.4.8), or *Χάλκεια, ἡ*

(Polyb. 5.94.8; cf. Walbank (1957) 625), or *Ὑποχαλκίς* (Hecat. quoted by Steph. Byz. at 651.13, not recorded as a fragment in *FGrHist* 1).

The city-ethnic is, possibly, *Χαλκ[ιδεῖς]* (Alcm. fr. 24.18, Calame), perhaps denoting both Euboian and Aitolian Chalkis.

Chalkis is called a *πόλιν Κορινθίων* at Thuc. 1.108.5. It is unwarranted with some editors to delete *πόλιν*. Thus, Thucydides classified Chalkis as a *polis*, primarily in the urban sense, but the genitive *Κορινθίων* points to the political sense as a connotation. Quoting Hekataios, Steph. Byz. (651.13) lists Hypochalkis as a *polis*, but it is uncertain whether the site-classification stems from Hekataios (Hansen (1997) 17–18).

Chalkis is called Aitolian by Homer (*Il.* 2.639) and Alkman (fr. 24, Calame); but Thucydides' description of the city as Corinthian indicates that Chalkis was a Corinthian dependency, though probably not a colony settled by Corinthians (Salmon (1984) 213, 268, 277–79). During the later part of the Archidamian War Chalkis was controlled by Athens (Thuc. 2.83.3).

Chalkis was situated on a small coastal plain between M. Chalkis (Varassova) and M. Taphiassos (Klokova) (Strabo. 9.4.8). On the coast, upon the hill Hag. Triadha at modern Kato Vasiliki, are the remains of a defence circuit and some houses belonging to a settlement of the Classical and Hellenistic periods (Woodhouse (1897/1973) 106–14; Bommeljé (1987) 112; Antonetti (1990) 283f; Dietz *et al.* (1998), (2000)).

For the control of the Corinthian Gulf, Chalkis was a strategically important harbour (Thuc. 2.83.3; Polyb. 5.94.8; cf. Freitag (2000) 53–57). Above the city on the southern slope of M. Varassova are substantial remains of a C5?–C4 fortress (Noack (1916) 238f; Bommeljé (1987) 112; Ober (1992) 165; Houby-Nielsen and Moschos in Dietz *et al.* (1998) 255–57). Chalkis may have struck coins in C4 (unpublished).

146. Halikyrna Map 55. Lat. 38.25, long. 21.30. Size of territory: 1 or 2. Type: [A]. The toponym is *Ἁλίκυρνα, ἡ* (Strabo 10.2.21; Steph. Byz. 74.17). At Ps.-Skylax 35 *Ἁλίκαρνα* is a conjecture for MS *Μύκαρνα*; cf. Plin. *HN* 4.6). The only attestation of a city-ethnic is in Steph. Byz. 74.17.

At Ps.-Skylax 35 Halikyrna is one of three toponyms listed after the heading *πόλεις ἐν αὐτῇ εἰσὶν αἵδε*, where the term *polis* is used in the urban sense. The late sources have *κώμη*.

According to Ps.-Skylax, Halikyrna was situated between Kalydon and Pleuron. Halikyrna is identified with the ancient remains near modern Agios Symeon (Khilia Spitia). Among the archaeological remains are scanty remains of a fortified settlement (C?) and graves of C8 (Bommeljé (1987) 74).

147. Kallion (Kallieus)**/Kallipolis** (Kallipolites) Map. 55. Lat. 38.35, long. 22.10. Size of territory: ? Type: B. The toponym is *Καλλίπολις, ἡ* (*IG* IX².1 783.2 (C3l), 676.11 (C2m); Polyb. 20.11.11) or *Κάλλιον* (*SEG* 11 415.38 (C3s)). The city-ethnic is *Καλλιεύς* (*IG* IX².1 3.A.16, 19 (C3m)) or *Καλλιπολίτας* (*IG* IX².1 154 (C3e); *SEG* 28 504 (C2/C1); *SEG* 48 602 (undated); cf. Nachmanson (1907) 64; Klaffenbach (1936) 367; Funke (1987) 95 Anm. 44).

The earliest references to Kallipolis as a *polis* are of the Hellenistic period (*IG* IX².1 154), but the toponym as well as the archaeological remains show that the *polis* status of the settlement goes back to the Classical period.

The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally on a preserved specimen of the seal of the *polis* (Pantos (1985) 545f), and externally in a decree of C3l (*IG* IX².1 186); the individual and external use is found in a Delphic proxeny decree of *c.*425–375 (*F.Delphes* III.1 422.3–4) and in references to citizens serving as federal magistrates (*IG* IX².1 3.A.16, 19 (C3)).

The city was situated in the interior of Aitolia at Velouchovo, in the central part of the Mornos valley (= ancient Daphnos) (Laffineur (1977); *SEG* 28 504 (C2/C1)). In C4 Kallion/Kallipolis became the urban centre of the tribe of the Kallieis, who in C5/C4 were still part of the large Aitolian tribe of the Ophiones (Thuc. 3.96.3). Kallipolis was founded in C4m at the latest, and was from the outset laid out as a planned city. Excavations have revealed substantial remains of a defence circuit (enclosing an area of *c.*25 ha) with a separate wall of the acropolis, a C3 *bouleuterion* (Gneisz (1990) no. 29), a stoa, a theatre, and two sanctuaries (Antonetti (1990) 289–92). Among the excavated houses are remains of an archive (C4s) in which were found over 600 seals of C3/C2 (Pantos (1985); Habicht (1985) 44–46; Funke (1987) 95f, (1991*b*) 326, (1997) 171–72; Themelis (1999) 431–36). On the archaeological remains, see Themelis (1979), (1999); Bakhuizen (1992), (1994); Vroom (1993); Strauch (1996) 291–94.

Votive offerings of the Hellenistic period testify to cults of Demeter and Kore (*SEG* 40 458 (C3–C2)), Artemis (*IG* IX².1 155 (C3–C2)) and Eileithya (*IG* IX².1 156, undated). A C5 *lex sacra* contains a ban on entering an otherwise unknown sanctuary (*SEG* 16 368; cf. Antonetti (1990) 287–96).

148. Kalydon (Kalydonios) Map. 55. Lat. 38.20, long. 21.30. Size of territory: 2? Type: [A]. The toponym is *Καλυδών, ἡ* (Hom. *Il.* 2.640; Thuc. 3.102.5; Xen. *Hell.* 4.6.1). The city-ethnic is *Καλυδώνιος* (Lys. 13.71; Pantos (1985) no. 238).

In the *Iliad* Kalydon is described as a *polis* in the Heroic Age (Hom. *Il.* 9.531). At Ps.-Skylax 35 Kalydon is the first of three toponyms listed after the heading *πόλεις ἐν αὐτῇ εἰσὶν αἵδε*, where the term *polis* is used in the urban sense. The earliest epigraphical reference to a *πόλις Καλυδωνίων* is on a C2 statue base (*IG* IX².1 140.1).

The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally in a dedication of C5l (*SEG* 32 550, partly restored) as well as in the public seal (Pantos (1985) no. 238; cf. Pantos (1988), undated), and externally in Xen. *Hell.* 4.6.1. The individual and external use is attested in an Athenian citizenship decree for Thrasyboulos of Kalydon (Lys. 13.71; cf. *IG* I³ 102 + add. 946).

In the Catalogue of Ships Kalydon is recorded as an Aitolian city (*Il.* 2.640), but it can be inferred from Thuc. 3.102.5 that in C6/C5 Kalydon had parted company with the other Aitolians. Originally an independent *polis*, Kalydon became in C5/C4 a member of the Early Achaian Federation and in 389 Kalydon was besieged by the Akarnanians and their allies (Xen. *Hell.* 4.6.1–4); but in 367/6 Epameinondas expelled the Achaian garrison from Kalydon (Diod. 15.75.1–2), whereafter the city seems to have joined the Aitolian Federation (Buckler (1980) 188–91; Merker (1989); Bommeljé (1988) 310). A pair of *damiourgoi* served as eponymic officials (*IG* IX².1 138 (C4l)); cf. Veligianni-Terzi (1977) 64f; Sherk (1990) 260). In, probably, 355, *theorodokoi* were appointed to host *theoroi* from Epidauros (*IG* IV²1 95.7).

According to Thucydides, Kalydon and its neighbour Pleuron were situated near the Corinthian Gulf in the northern part of the littoral in the region called *Αἰολίς* (Thuc. 3.102.5; Hsch. s.v. *Αἰολικὸν θέαμα*). According to Strabo 10.2.21 and Plin. *HN* 4.6, Kalydon was situated 7.5 Roman miles from the coast, near the river Euenos. The city possessed its own harbour at the coast (Paus. 7.21.5; cf. Freitag (2000) 40–52).

Kalydon is securely identified with the ancient settlement at the spur of Mt. Arakynthos *c.*9 km east of Messolonghion; and the archaeological investigation of the remains shows that, as early as the Archaic period, the city had close cultural connections with the other centres of the Corinthian Gulf, especially Corinth.

A C4 defence circuit of *c.*4 km with gates and towers encloses a settlement situated on and between two hills of which the western constituted a separately fortified acropolis with a citadel. The walls enclosed an area of *c.*25 ha. Of the ancient remains the most important are the temples of Artemis Laphria (C7, rebuilt several times), Apollo Laphrios and Dionysos, all situated in a suburban *temenos* a little to the south of the city. On the archaeological evidence, see von Geisau (1919); Poulsen and Rhomaios (1927) 50f; Dyggve *et al.* (1934); Dyggve (1948), (1951); Knell (1973) 448–53. See also *AR* (2001–2) 44–45 for the new Danish–Greek excavations at the site.

The principal cult of Kalydonian Artemis Laphria goes back to the Archaic period (Paus. 4.31.7, 7.18.8–19.1, 7.20.2); the sanctuary of Apollo Laphrios is attested through a C6 boundary stone (*IG* IX².1 149; cf. Strabo 10.2.21). A cult of Zeus Soter is mentioned in Hellenistic manumission records (*IG* IX².1 137.86 (C2m); *SEG* 25 621.8 (C2)), and Pausanias (7.21.1) has a reference to a cult of Dionysos Kalydonios (Antonetti (1990) 241–69). Stelai inscribed with public documents were set up in the sanctuary of Laphreion (*IG* IX².1 170.4 (C4l/3e); 186.6–7 (C3l)).

149. Makynea (Makyneus) Map. 55. Lat. 38.20, long. 21.45. Size of territory: 1 or 2. Type: B. The toponym is *Μακυνέα, ἡ* (Bourguet (1899) 356 no. 2), *Μακυνία* (Strabo 10.2.21), *Μακύνεια* (Steph. Byz. 429.9–10), *Μάκυνα* (Archytas of Amphissa fr. 1, Powell). The city-ethnic is *Μακυνεύς* (*IG* IX².1 13.VI.22 (C3l)), *Μακύνιος* (*SEG* 25 621.11f (C2s)).

Makynea is not explicitly called a *polis* in any Archaic or Classical text. Strabo wavers between *polichnion* (10.2.4) and *polis* (10.2.21; cf. Steph. Byz. 429.16), and at 10.2.6 he criticises Hellanikos (fr. 118) for classifying Makynea as a *polis* founded in the Heroic Age. That Makynea was a *polis* in the Classical period is indicated by a C4 proxeny decree from Delphi, in which the individual and external use of the city-ethnic is attested (Bourguet (1899) 356 no. 2: *Αἰτω[λῶι ἐκ Μα]κυνέας*; cf. Sordi (1969) 356; Funke (1997) 161).

Makynea seems originally to have been a Lokrian community (Plut. *Mor.* 294E; cf. Lerat (1952) i. 7, 34f), but by C5 it had become part of Aitolia (Hohmann (1908) 17f; Bosworth (1974) 177).

Makynea was situated in the borderland between Aitolia and Lokris near Cape Rhion at the eastern spur of Mt. Taphiassos (modern Klokova). A suggested identification is with Palaiokastro at Mamaku, *c.*3 km north-west of Rhion. Here are the remains of a fortified settlement of C4(?)/C3 with a theatre *extra muros* (Woodhouse (1897/1973) 327; Lerat (1952) i. 82–84, 189–91; Bommeljé (1987) 95; Bommeljé and Vroom (1995) 94).

150. Molykreion (Molykreus) Map. 55. Lat. 38.20, long. 21.45. Size of territory: 1 or 2. Type: [A]. The toponym is *Μολύκρειον, τὸ* (Thuc. 2.84.4, 3.102.2), *Μολύκρεια, ἡ* (Hellan. (*FGrHist* 4) fr. 118; Ps.-Skylax 35; Strabo 9.4.8, 10.2.6; Plut. *Mor.* 162E), *Μολυκρία* (Polyb. 5.94.7; Diod. Sic. 12.60.3; Paus. 9.31.6; Steph. Byz. 455.12), *Μολύκριον* (Paus. 5.3.6), or *Ὀλύκραι* (Hecat. fr. 112). The city-ethnic is *Μολυκρεύς* (*IG* IX²,1 14.6 (C3f), 35.7 (C2m)) with *Μολύκριος* and *Μολυκραῖος* as attested variant forms (Steph. Byz. 455.14–16).

At Ps.-Skylax 35 Molykreia is the last of three toponyms listed after the heading *πόλεις ἐν αὐτῇ εἰσὶν αἵδε*, where the term *polis* is used in the urban sense. Molykreion is explicitly called a *polis* at Diod. Sic. 12.60.3 (r 426) again in the urban sense.

In C6/C5 Molykreion was within the Corinthian sphere of influence (Gschnitzer (1958) 124f; Graham (1962), (1983) 137ff), but by C5m it had passed into the Athenian sphere (Salmon (1984) 266) and from, probably, C5l it was under Aitolian influence (Benecke (1934) 8). Thucydides (3.102.2) describes Molykreion as a Corinthian colony that had become an Athenian satellite (*τὴν Κορινθίων μὲν ἀποικίαν, Ἀθηναίων δὲ ὑπήκοον*).

In the sources Molykreion is located at the spur of Mt. Taphiassos (modern Varassova) (Strabo 10.2.4, 21) near Cape Rion (Polyb. 5.94.7; Strabo 9.4.8, 10.2.21; Plut. *Mor.* 162E; Plin. *HN* 9.28; Ptol. 3.15.3; Steph. Byz. 545.13–14). The phrase *τὸ Ῥίον τὸ Μολυκρικὸν* (Thuc. 2.86.2; cf. Strabo. 8.2.3; Steph. Byz. 545.14) indicates that the cape was within the territory of the city, which, then, must have been situated at the cape itself (Oldfather (1918), (1933) 36), or a little inland by modern Velvina. Here, *c.*4 km from the coast at modern Helleniko, are the remains of a C4 settlement (defence circuit, temple, stoa and houses; cf. Woodhouse (1897/1973) 328; Lerat (1952) i. 84–86; 188–89; Bommeljé (1987) 112; cf. Freitag (2000) 58–67). At Cape Rhion was a major sanctuary of Poseidon (Thuc. 2.84.4; Ps.-Skylax 35; Paus. 10.11.6; Diod. Sic. 12.48.1; Plut. *Mor.* 345C). Molykreion was responsible for the administration of the sanctuary and the organisation of the festival associated with the sanctuary, called *τὰ Ῥίεια* (*IG* IV 428.10 (C3); Plut. *Mor.* 162E; cf. Klaffenbach (1936) 375; Pfister (1914); Knell (1973) 454ff; Cabanes (1988) 65ff).

151. *Phola (Pholaieus) Map 55. Unlocated, not in *Barr.* Type: C. The toponym is, presumably, **Φόλα* (reconstructed from the various forms of the city-ethnic). The city-ethnic is either *Φολαιεύς* (*IG* II² 10482 (C4f)) or *Φολάντιος* (*IG* IX²,1 17.28, 24.11, 13 (C3s); 25.61, 71 (C3s)) or *Φολᾶς* (*IG* IX²,1 31.115, 138 (C2f)). Phola was indisputably a *polis* in the Hellenistic period (*strategos* (*IG* IX²,1 31.115, 138), *grammateus* (*IG* IX²,1 25.61, 71)). The only evidence that it was already a *polis* in the Classical period is the name *Τίτυρμος Φολαιεύς*, recorded in two Attic sepulchral inscriptions (*IG* II² 10036 (C5l–C4e), 10482) where the individual and external use of the ethnic indicates that it is a city-ethnic rather than a sub-ethnic; see Hansen (1996) 172–73, 195.

152. Phylea Map. 55. Unlocated, not in *Barr.* Type: C. The toponym is *Φυλέα, ἡ*. The only thing we know about Phylea is that in, probably, 355 a *theorodokos* was appointed to host *theoroi* from Epidauros: *Φυλέα. Φιλοίτιος* (*IG* IV²,1 95.37), see Akripos (*supra*).

153. Pleuron (Pleuronios) Map. 55. Lat. 38.25, long. 21.25. Size of territory: ? Type: A. The toponym is *Πλευρών, ἡ* (Hom. *Il.* 2.639; Thuc. 3.102.5). The city-ethnic is *Πλευρώνιος* (Hom. *Il.* 23.635; *IG* IX²,1 3A.17 (C3); Strabo 10.2.24).

Pleuron is called a *polis* in the urban sense by Bacchylides at *Ep.* 5.149–51; cf. Daimachos (*FGrHist* 65) fr. 1. The earliest epigraphical reference to a *πόλις Πλευρωνίων* is on a C3 statue base (*IG* IX²,1 70.1.) The collective internal use of the city-ethnic is attested at *IG* IX²,1 70.1. For the external use, see *IvMag 28.9* = *IG* IX²,1 186.9 (C3l). The individual and external use is attested in a proxeny decree from Delphi (*Syll.*³ 621.1–2 (C2f)).

In the Catalogue of Ships Pleuron is recorded as an Aitolian city (*Il.* 2.639; cf. Visser (1997) 601ff); but it can be inferred from Thuc. 3.102.5 that in C6/C5 Pleuron had parted company with the other Aitolians. Pleuron was originally an independent *polis.* In C5/C4 it became—like Kalydon—a member of the early Achaian Federation. In C4m/s it became integrated into the Aitolian Federation, as did the neighbouring *poleis* (Bommeljé (1988) 302ff). The affiliation with Aitolia, however, is not explicitly attested until C3, when citizens of Pleuron repeatedly filled federal offices (e.g. *IG* IX²,1 13.13–14 (C3f)).

In C3s Pleuron was destroyed, but the city was soon rebuilt at a nearby but more elevated place (Strabo 10.2.4; cf. Ehrhardt (1978) 251f.; Funke (1987) 94 with n. 40). According to Strabo 10.2.23, old Pleuron was situated on the coast between the rivers Acheloos and Euenos near Kalydon (cf. Strabo 10.2.4, 3.6). The settlement has not yet been found, but presumably it was close to new Pleuron, which has been identified with the ancient settlement at modern Kato Retsina, on the southern side of Mt. Arakynthos; cf.

Woodhouse (1897/1973) 128ff; Kirsten (1951*a*); Bommeljé (1987) 104; Antonetti (1990) 281f; Weißl (1999) 106ff.

The only cult attested is one of Athene (Stat. *Theb.* 2.727; Dion. Calliphon. 57; cf. Antonetti (1990) 282).

154. Proschion (Proscheios) Map. 55. Unlocated. Type: B. The toponym is *Πρόσχιον, τό* (Thuc. 3.102.5, 106.1; Steph. Byz. 536.22) or *Πρόσχεον* (*IG* IV²1 95.38 (355)). The city-ethnic is *Πρόσχειος* (*F.Delphes* III 4 213.2 (325–275)).

Proschion is not called a *polis* in any ancient text, but in, probably, 355 *theorodokoi* were appointed to host *theoroi* from Epidauros (*IG* IV² 95.38), and a citizen of Proschion is honoured in a Delphic proxeny decree of the early Hellenistic period (*supra*). Combined, the two sources indicate that Proschion was a *polis*, at least in the late Classical period. The individual and external use of the city-ethnic is attested in the proxeny decree from Delphi (*supra*).

According to Strabo (10.2.6) Pylene—mentioned in the Homeric Catalogue of Ships (*Il.* 2.639)—was later moved to a more elevated place and renamed Proschion; cf. Ath. 411A; Hsch. s.v. *Πυλήνη*. Proschion was situated west of Pleuron and Kalydon near the river Acheloos (Thuc. 3.102.5, 106.1). The city must have been close to modern Aitolikon, but has not yet been securely identified; cf. Woodhouse (1897/1973) 138f.; Kirsten (1951*b*); Antonetti (1990) 278–80; Pritchett (1991) 18ff; Strauch (1996) 356f.

155. Therminea Map 55. Unlocated, not in *Barr.* Type: C. The toponym is *Θερμινέα, ἡ*. The only thing we know about Therminea is that in, probably, 355 a *theorodokos* was appointed to host *theoroi* from Epidauros: *Θερμινέαι. Ἐχεμένης* (*IG* IV².1 95.36), see Akripos (*supra*).

156. Trichoneion (Trichonieus) Map 55. Lat. 38.30; long. 21.30. Size of territory: ? Type: B. The toponym is *Τριχόνειον, τό* (*F.Delphes* III 4 125.1 (C3s); *Syll.*³ 509.9 (C3s)), *Τριχώνιον* (Polyb. 5.7.8). The city-ethnic is *Τριχονιεύς* (*IG* IX².1 5.6 (C3m)), *Τριχονειεύς* (Tod 137.12), *Τριχονεύς* (*IG* IX².1 17.8 (C3f)), *Τριχωνιεύς* (Pol. 18.10.9), *Τριχωνεύς* (Pol. 4.3.5), *Τριχόνιος* (*IG* IX².1 3A.2), *Τρικωνιεύς* (Paus. 2.37.3); for other forms, see also Steph. Byz. 638.8–10.

The only author to call Trichoneion a *polis* is Steph. Byz. (638.8), but that Trichoneion was a *polis* and a member of the Aitolian Federation already in C4f is implied by an Athenian decree of 367 in which the Trichoneians are charged with having broken a sacred truce (Tod 137). The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested externally in this decree (l. 12) and internally on two stamped tiles (*IG* IX².1 125–6 (undated)). The individual use of the city-ethnic is attested externally in an inscription from Magnesia (*IG* IX² 187.2–3 (C2e)).

Trichoneion was one of the most important cities in Aitolia. The identification of Trichoneion with modern Gavalou on the south bank of Lake Trichonian was first suggested by Leake (1835) 55. In this area have been found very scanty remains of a large fortified settlement of the Classical and Hellenistic periods, as well as numerous tombs (Bommeljé (1987) 83, 110f; Antonetti (1990) 238–240).

APPENDIX

1. *Unidentified Ethnics Attested in Hellenistic Sources*

Only one occurrence recorded for each ethnic.

Aiklymios *IG* IX².1 36.8 (C2m): *Νικόβουλος Αἰκλύμιος*.

Andreatas *IG* IX².1 101.10 (C2m): *Ἀριστέας Ἀνδρεάτας*.

Antaieus *IG* IX².1 17.11 (C3m): *Γρίπαλος Ἀνταιεύς*. Perhaps part of Locris or Phocis (Lerat (1952) i. 72).

Aperantos *Syll.*³ 539A.8f (C3l): *Θεόδοτος Ἀπεραντός*; cf. Antonetti (1987*b*) 98).

Ap(e)irikos *F.Delphes* III.4 163 = Rigsby (1996) 163.3 (C3l): *Τελέσαρχος Ἀπ[ε]ιρικός*.

Arakyneus *IG* IX².1 17.81 (C3m): *Ἀστύλος* (?) *Ἀρακυνεύς*.

Attaleus *IG* IX².1 95.2 (C3l): *Εὐξίθεος Ἀτταλεύς*.

Boutaieus *IG* IX².1 13.34 (C3f): *Φιλέας Αἰγίσθου Βουταιεύς*. Perhaps part of Locris (Lerat [1952) i. 20f, ii. 183; cf. *infra* 391.

Chasilios *IG* IX².1 17.92 (C3m): (name) *Φυσκίνιος Χασίλιος* (= Kasilios?).

Choleos *IG* IX².1 9.10 (C3): *Ἀρχίδαμος Χωλέος*.

Daian *IG* IX².1 3A.21 (C3f): *Ἀρίστων Δαιάν*.

Dardios, -eos *IG* IX².1 96.21 (C2): *Σύμμαχος Εὐρυδάμου Δάρδιος*; *IG* IX².1 99.12 (C2m): *Φερένικος Δάρδεος*.

Dastiadas *Syll.*³ 539A.6 (C3l): *Λάμιος Δαστιάδας*. Perhaps part of Locris (Lerat (1952) i. 68; cf. *infra* 391.

Dexieus *IG* IX².1 25.71–2 (C3s): Ἄγις Δεξιεύς. Perhaps part of Locris (Lerat (1952) i. 71, ii. 184).

Eggoraios *IG* IX².1 31.51 (C3s): Εὔαρχος Ἐγγοραῖος.

Eidaios *IG* IX².1 177.21 (C3l): Λυκίσκος Εἰδαῖος.

Ertaios *IG* IX².1 3A.18 (C3m): Ἀρίσταρχος Ἐρταῖος.

Ethanios *IG* IX².1 31.185–6 (C3s): Φαλαυσίας Ἠθάνιος.

Eukyleis *IG* IX².1 625.15 (C2e): Εὐκυληΐς; cf. Lerat (1952) i. 91. Perhaps part of Locris (Lerat (1952) i. 70) (= Oikyleis?).

Haimonieus *F.Delphes* III 3 221.3 (C3l): Νυμφόδοτος Αἱμονιεύς.

Hermattios *IG* IX².1 188.35 (C3l): Ἀλέξων Ἑρμάττιος.

Hyposeirios *IG* IX².1 17.6–7 (C3m): Στρατόνικος Ὑποσείριος.

Istorios *IG* IX².1 638.3.5 (C2): Ἐπίλαος Ξεννία Ἱστώριος. Perhaps part of Locris (Lerat (1952) i. 66); cf. also Kirsten (1942) 2367 and *infra*.

Kaphreus *IG* IX².1 632.3 (C2m): Λύκος Καφρεύς. Perhaps part of Locris (Lerat (1952) i. 66; cf *infra* 391.

Kasilios *IG* IX².1 25.56 (C3s): Δίων Κασίλιος (= Chasilios?).

Kerreatas *Syll.*³ 603.4 (C2e):—λαος Κερρεάτας.

Kottaeus *F.Delphes* III 4 103.5–6 (C3l): Θεόδωρος Κοτταεύς.

Lepadaios *F.Delphes* III 4 362.6–7 (C3l): Μενεκράτας Λεπαδαῖος. Part of Aitolia (?) (*LGPN* s.v. Μενεκράτης).

Machetieus *IG* IX².1 69.3–4 (C2f): Στόμιος Χαβρία Μαχετιεύς. Perhaps part of Locris (Lerat (1952) i. 71).

Mystakeus *IG* IX².1 59.B7 (C3l): Ταυρίων Μυστακεύς. Perhaps part of Lokris (Lerat (1952) i. 64).

Neapolitas *IG* IX².1 96.15 (C2): Ἀγίας Νεοπολίτας.

Oikyle(i)eus *IG* IX².1 31.90 (C3s): Δαμόκριτος Οἰκυληεύς; *Syll.*³ 564.4 (C3l): Λάμιος Οἰκυλεεύς. Perhaps part of Locris (Lerat (1952) i. 70) (= Eukyleis?).

Oribatos *IG* IX².1 137.25 (C2m): Ἀντίφιλος Ὀρίβατος.

Paphanos *IG* IX².1 17.13 (C3m): Ἀλεξιμένης Πάφανος.

Peleios *IG* IX².1 97.14f (C2e): Δρωπίνας Πελήιος.

Pellotios *IG* IX².1 12.23 (C3f): Παντάρχης Πελλώτιος.

Perochtheos *IG* IX².1 639.8.9f (C2m): Τελέσαρχος Νικομάχου Περόχθεος. Perhaps part of Locris (Lerat (1952) i. 67; cf. *infra* 391.

Phalikaioi *SGDI* 2136.2 (C2s): Φαλικαῖοι. Perhaps part of Locris (Lerat (1952) i. 63f).

Philotaieus *IG* IX².1 96.23 (C3l): Λέων Μικκία Φιλωταιεύς; cf. *IG* IX².1 105.2f (C2m): Νικασὼ Φιλωταΐς.

Phoistan *Syll.*³ 523.5 (C3s): (name) Φοιστάν.

Phyllaios *IG* IX².1 634.8 (C2s): Στρατόλαος Φυλλαῖος. Perhaps part of Locris (Lerat (1952) i. 65; cf. *infra* 391.

Phyrtaios *SGDI* 1949.16 (C2f): Θωπίας Φυρταῖος; cf. also the first list s.v. Phytaion.

Plygoneus *SGDI* 1978.7 (C2e): Κλέων Πλυγονεύς. Perhaps part of Locris or Phocis (Lerat (1952) i. 59; cf. *infra* 391).

Porios *IG* IX².1 638.13.14 (C2m): Νίκαρχος Πώριος. Perhaps part of Locris (Lerat (1952) i. 65f; cf. *infra* 391.

Potanaios *SGDI* 2137.15 (C2s): Ἐπίνικος Καλλιμάχου Ποταναῖος.

Proennios *IG* IX².1 109.10 (C2m): Ἄνδρων Προέννιος.

Psolountios *SEG* 25 621.10 (C2): Ἄγριος Κλεοξένου Ψολούντιος.

Ptolemaieus *F.Delphes* III 3 220.6 (C3l): Τίμαρχος Πτολεμαιεύς.

Pyrrh(aios) Jardé (1902) 263 no. 14.4 (C3s): Εὐρύδαμος Πυρρ[αῖος]. Perhaps part of Locris or Phocis (Lerat (1952) i. 62).

Rhadanios *F.Delphes* III 4 362.8 (C3l): Λυκέας Ῥαδάνιος.

Rhadeos *IG* IX².1 96.24–5 (C2): Νικόστρατος Ἀρίστωνος Ῥάδεος.

Spattios *IG* IX².1 188.33–4 (C3l): Πειθόλαος Σπάττιος. Perhaps part of Locris (Lerat (1952) i. 67).

Tapheieus *IG* IX².1 13.18 (C3f): Ἀντιλέων Ταφειεύς.

Thai(i)os *IG* IX².1 638.13.11 (C2): Πολεμαίνετος Θαῖος; *IG* IX².1 639 2.13 (C2): Λέων Θαιῖος. Perhaps part of Locris (Lerat (1952) i. 66f, 69; Nachmanson (1907) 65; cf. *infra* 391.

Thyriskaios *IG* IX².1 4.7–8 (C3l): Πολέμαρχος Θυρισκαῖος.

Titdaios *IG* IX².1 9.11 (C3): (name) Τιτδαῖος (= Titraios?).

Titraios *IG* IX².1 11.48 (C3m): Λάμιος Τιτραῖος (= Titdaios?).

Tnimaios *IG* IX².1 105.11–2 (C2m): Ξεννίας Τνιμαῖος.

Tragantios *IG* IX².1 109.7–8 (C2m): Ἐμπεδίχων Τραγάντιος.

2. *Hellenistic and Undated Settlements*

Aigai (Αἰγαί). Steph. Byz. 39.2f (πόλις Αἰτωλίας). Unlocated, not in *Barr.*

Apollonia (Ἀπολλωνία). Livy 28.8.9 (*in propinquis castellis Potidaniae atque Apolloniae*); city-ethnic: Ἀπολλωνιεύς (*F.Delphes* III 4 164.6f (C3l)). Apollonia probably issued coins in C3s/C2f (Liampi (1996) *passim*). Unlocated.

Arsinoe (Ἀρσινόη). Cf. Konope.

Boukation (?). *IG* IX².1 97.14 (Βουκατιεῖς (C2e)). Boukation (?) is identified by some with the remains of a large fortified Hellenistic settlement in the modern village of Paravola; cf. Bommeljé (1987) 101.

Ellopion (Ἐλλόπιον). Polyb. 11.7.4; Steph. Byz. 269.1 (πόλις Αἰτωλίας). Identified with ancient remains near to

Mesovouni, south-east of Morosklava (Woodhouse (1897/1973) 1f), not in *Barr.*

Ephyra (*Ἐφύρα*). Strabo 8.3.5 (*καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἀγραίᾳ τῆς Αἰτωλίας Ἔφυρα κώμη*); Steph. Byz. 291.4 (*κώμη Αἰτωλίας Ἐφύρα*); Plin. *HN* 4.6 (*Aetolorum populi . . . Ephyri*). Unlocated, not in *Barr.*

Konope/Arsinoe (*Κωνώπη/Ἀρσινόη*). Strabo 10.2.22 (*Ἀρσινόης πόλεως, ἣ κώμη μὲν ἦν πρότερον καλουμένη Κωνώπα, κτίσμα δ' ὑπῆρξεν Ἀρσινόης*); Steph. Byz. 126.1 (*Ἀρσινόη, πόλις Αἰτωλίας*), 401.6 (*Κωνώπη, πόλις Ἀκαρνανίας*); cf. also Polyb. 4.64.3f, 5.7.7, 5.13.9 (without any site-classification); city-ethnic: *Ἀρσινοεύς* (*IG* IX².1 624.4 (C2)). Konope/Arsinoe is identified with modern Angelokastron. Hellenistic remains (Bommeljé (1987) 77). Arsinoe is a city foundation of C3f (Antonetti (1989) 73f, (1990) 273–76). It is uncertain whether Konope—the settlement replaced by Arsinoe—can be classified as a *polis*; at Strabo 10.2.22 it is classified as a *κώμη*.

Kyniadai (*Κυνιάδαι*). C3/C2 *theorodokoi* list from Delphi: *ἐγ Κυνιάδαις* (*BCH* (1921) col. IV 121); cf. Strabo 10.2.21 (*λίμνη Κυνία*). Unlocated, not in *Barr.*

Lysimacheia (*Λυσιμάχεια*). Steph. Byz. 423.10f (*Λυσιμάχεια. πόλις Αἰτωλίας*); cf. also Polyb. 5.7.7f and Strabo 10.2.22 (*polis* status not indicated). The city is also mentioned in the C3/C2 *theorodokoi* list from Delphi: *ἐν Λυσιμαχείᾳ* (*BCH* (1921) col. IV 74). The city-ethnic is *Λυσιμαχεύς* (*IG* IX².1 3A.20 (C3m)). Lysimacheia is identified with modern Mourstianou. Scanty Hellenistic remains of a walled settlement (Bommeljé (1987) 94). The city of Lysimacheia was founded between 285 and 281 (Antonetti (1989) 73f; Hatzopoulos (1988) 21); there is no indication of *polis* status before this time.

Mesata (*Μεσάτα*). *IG* XII 8 151.12 (*Σείρακον Ἰσχομάχου Αἰτωλὸν ἐγ Μεσάτας* (C3)). Unlocated, not in *Barr.*

Metapa (*Μέταπα*). Polyb. 5.7.8f (*πόλις*); Steph. Byz. 448.12 (*πόλις Ἀκαρνανίας*); city-ethnic: *Μετάπιος* (*Syll.*³ 539 A.8f (C3l)). No indication of *polis* status before C3. Metapa is identified with modern Ano Bourlesa, where remains of an ancient habitation have been found (Bommeljé (1987) 97).

Pamphia (*Παμφία*). Polyb. 5.8.1 (*κώμη Παμφία*); cf. also Polyb. 5.13.7; city-ethnic: *Πανφιεύς* (*IG* IX².1 105.9 (C2m)). Pamphia is identified with the modern site Goustiani (= Foustiani). "Ancient remains are only suggested" (Bommeljé (1987) 100).

Perantia (*Περαντία*). Steph. Byz. 517.3 (*πόλις Αἰτωλίας*). Unlocated, not in *Barr.*

Phana (*Φάνα*). Herod. *De prosod. cath.* 3.1.256.11 (*πόλις Αἰτωλίας*); Paus. 10.18.2 (*Φάναν πυργήρεα κώμην*). Steph. Byz. 657.15 calls Phana *πόλις Ἰταλίας*, convincingly emended by Klaffenbach (IG IX².1 p. 81.53f) to *πόλις Αἰτωλίας*; cf. the note in Herod. (*supra*). Phana is identified by Bommeljé ((1987) 107) with the ancient remains at the modern site Stamna (Stathmos Sideroporta), whereas Pritchett (1991) 36f localises Phana at modern Treis Ekklesies; not in *Barr.*

Pherai (*Φεραί*). Steph. Byz. 662.16 (*πόλις Αἰτωλίας*). Unlocated, not in *Barr.*

Phistyon (*Φίστυον*). *IG* IX².1 97.2 (C2e); cf. Nikandros (*FGrHist* 271–2) fr. 3). The ethnic is *Φίστυος* (*IG* IX².1 100.9 (C2m)). The identification of Phistyon with the remains of the modern site Neromanna is only a conjecture. The suggestion is based mainly on the proximity of the sanctuary of Aphrodite Phistyis at nearby Kryonero. Bommeljé ((1987) 99f; cf. Antonetti (1990) 230) reports undated remains of a well-preserved fortified settlement. The principal cult was that of the Syrian Aphrodite in Phistyon (*IG* IX².1 108.4–5 (C2m), 95.2 (C3l); cf. Antonetti (1990) 230–35.

Phytaion (*Φύτειον*). C3/C2 *theorodokoi* list from Delphi: *ἐν Φυταίωι* (*BCH* (1921) col. IV 46); Polyb. 11.7.5 = Steph. Byz. 675.15 (*πόλις Αἰτωλίας*); cf. also Polyb. 5.7.7 (without any site-classification); city-ethnic: *Φυταιεύς* (*IG* IX².1 24.6f (C3e); 186.14 (C3l)); perhaps also *Φυρταῖος* (*SGDI* 1949.16 (C2f)). Phytaion is identified by Pritchett (1989) 133f with the ruins at Palaiochori south of Kapsorachi; cf. also Bommeljé (1987) 100.

The(s)tiai (*Θεσσταί*). C3/C2 *theorodokoi* list from Delphi: *ἐν Θεσσταιᾶς* (*BCH* (1921) col. IV 75); Polyb. 5.7.7 (*Θεστιεῖς*); city-ethnic: *Θεστιεύς* (*IG* IX².1 30.6 (C3l); *F.Delphes.* III 3 220.4 (C3l)). Civic institutions (*ἐκκλησία, ταμίας, πολιτικὸς νόμος τᾶς πόλιος τῶν Θεστιέων*) in C2 (*SEG* 23 398). Thestiai is identified with modern Ano Volochos. Hellenistic fortifications (Bommeljé (1987) 112).

Thorax (*Θώραξ*). Steph. Byz. 321.3 (*πόλις Αἰτωλίας*). Unlocated, not in *Barr.*

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Antonetti, C. 1987*a*. "Agraioi et Agrioi: Montagnards et bergers: un prototype diachronique de sauvagerie", *DHA* 13: 199–236.

——1987*b*. "Le popolazioni settentrionali dell' Etolia: difficoltà di localizzazione e problema di limiti territoriali, alle luce della documentazione epigrafica", in P. Cabanes (ed.), *L'Illyrie méridionale et l' Épire dans l'antiquité*, Actes du colloque international de Clermont-Ferrand, 22–25 octobre 1984 (Adosa) 95–113.

——1989. "Makedoniká: rassegna e discussione di nuovi materiali epigrafici (1985–1987)", *Paideia* 44: 64–77.

——1990. *Les Étoliens: image et religion* (Paris).

——1995. "Alcmane del'occidente greco (nota al fr. 24 Calame)", *Hesperìa* 5: 25–36.

Bakhuizen, S. C. 1992. "The Town Wall of Aitolian Kallipolis", in S. van de Maele and J. M. Fossey (eds.), *Fortificationes Antiquae* (Amsterdam) 171–84.

——1994. "Velouchovo-Kallipolis 1993, Newsletter", *NIA* 3: 21–29.

BCH (1921) = Plassart.

Benecke, H. 1934. "Die Seepolitik der Aitoler" (diss. Hamburg).

Bommeljé, S. 1988. "Aeolis in Aetolia: Thuc. 3.102.5 and the Origin of the Aetolian Ethnos", *Historia* 37: 297–316.

—— and Dorn, P. K. (eds.) 1987. *Aetolia and the Aetolians: Towards the Interdisciplinary Study of a Greek Region* (Utrecht).

—— and Vroom, J. 1995. "Deserted and Untilled Lands: Aetolia in Roman times", *Pharos* 3: 67–130.

—— *et al.* 1981–88. "Strouza (Aigition): A Historical-Topographical Fieldwork", *ArchDelt* 36, B1: 236–48.

Bosworth, A. B. 1974. "Early Relations between Aetolia and Macedon", *AJAH* 1: 164–81.

Bourguet, É. 1899. "Inscriptions de Delphes: sur trois archontes du IVe siècle", *BCH* 23: 353–69.

Buckler, J. 1980. *The Theban Hegemony 371–362 B.C.* (Cambridge, Mass.).

Cabanes, P. 1988. "Les concours des naia de Dodone", *Nikephoros* 1: 49–84.

Corsten, T. 1999. *Vom Stamm zum Bund: Gründung und territoriale Organisation griechischer Bundesstaaten* (Munich).

Couve, L. 1894. "Inscriptions de Delphes", *BCH* 18: 226–70.

Dany, O. 1999. *Akarnanien im Hellenismus: Geschichte und Völkerrecht in Nordwestgriechenland* (Munich).

Dietz, S., *et al.* 1998. "Surveys and Excavations in Chalkis, Aetolia 1995–1996: First Preliminary Report", *Proceedings of the Danish Institute at Athens* 2: 233–317.

—— *et al.* 2000. "Greek Danish Excavations in Aetolian Chalkis 1997–1998", *Proceedings of the Danish Institute at Athens* 3: 223–307.

Dyggve, E. 1948. *Das Laphrion. Der Tempelbezirk von Kalydon (mit einem religionsgeschichtlichen Beitrag von F. Poulsen)* (Copenhagen).

——1951. "A Second Heroon at Calydon", in G. E. Mylonas (ed.), *Studies Presented to D. M. Robinson* i (Washington) 360–64.

—— Poulsen, F., and Rhomaios, K. A. 1934. *Das Heroon von Kalydon* (Copenhagen).

Ehrhardt, C. 1978. "Demetrius ὁ Αἰτωλικός, and Antigonid Nicknames", *Hermes* 106: 251–53.

Fiehn, K. 1934. "Teichion", *RE* v A1. 125.

Fraser, P. M., and Matthews, E. (eds.) 1997. *A Lexikon of Greek Personal Names (LGPN)*, iiiA: *The Peloponnese, Western Greece, Sicily and Magna Graecia* (Oxford).

Freitag, K. 2000. *Der Golf von Korinth: Historisch-topographische Untersuchungen von der Archaik bis in das 1. Jh. v. Chr.* (Munich).

Funke, P. 1987. "Zur Datierung befestigter Stadtanlagen in Aitolien: historisch-philologische Anmerkungen zu einem Wechselverhältnis zwischen Siedlungsstrukturen und politischer Organisation", *Boreas* 10: 87–96.

——1991*a*. "Strabone, la geografia storica e la struttura etnica della Grecia nord-occidentale", in F. Prontera (ed.), *Geografia storica della Grecia antica* (Rome and Bari) 174–93.

——1991*b*. "Zur Ausbildung städtischer Siedlungszentren in Aitolien", in E. Olshausen and H. Sonnabend (eds.), *Geographica Historica* 5: 313–32.

——1997. "Polisgenese und Urbanisierung in Aitolien im 5. und 4. Jh. v. Chr.", *CPCActs* 4: 145–88.

Geisau, H. von 1919. "Kalydon", *RE* x.1, 1763–66.

Gneisz, D. 1990. *Das antike Rathaus: das griechische Bouleuterion und die frührömische Curia* (Vienna).

Graham, A. J. 1962. "Corinthian Colonies and Thucydides' Terminology", *Historia* 11: 246–52.

——1983. *Colony and Mother City in Ancient Greece*^{2} (Chicago).

Grainger, J. D. 1999. *The League of the Aitolians* (Leiden).

Gschnitzer, F. 1958. *Abhängige Orte im griechischen Altertum* (Munich).

Habicht, C. 1985. *Pausanias und seine "Beschreibung Griechenlands"* (Munich).

Hansen, M. H. 1996. "City-Ethnics as Evidence for *Polis* Identity", *CPCPapers* 3: 169–96.

——1997. "Hekataios' Use of the Word *Polis* in his *Periegesis*", *CPCPapers* 4: 17–27.

——2000. "A Survey of the Use of *Polis* in Archaic and Classical Sources", *CPCPapers* 5: 173–215.

Hatzopoulos, M. B. 1988. *Une Donation du roi Lysimaque* (Athens).

Hohmann, W. 1908. "Aitolien und die Aitoler bis zum Lamischen Kriege" (diss. Halle).

Jardé, A. 1902. "Inscriptions de Delphes", *BCH* 26: 246–86.
Kirsten, E. 1937. "Olenos (6)", *RE* xvii.2. 2443–45.
—— 1942. "Paianion", *RE* xviii.1. 2363–74.
—— 1951*a*. "Pleuron", *RE* xxi.1. 239–43.
—— 1951*b*. "Proschion", *RE* xli. 840–42.
Klaffenbach, G. 1936. "Neue Inschriften aus Ätolien", *SBBerlin* 358–88.
Knell, H. 1973. "Der Artemistempel in Kalydon und der Poseidontempel in Molykreion", *AA* 88: 448–61.
Laffineur, R. 1979. "Kallion", *BCH* 103: 631–34.
Larsen, J. A. O. 1968. *Greek Federal States* (Oxford).
Leake, W. M. 1835. *Travels in Northern Greece* (London).
Lerat, L. 1952. *Les Locriens de l' ouest*, 2 vols. (Paris).
Liampi, K. 1996. "*Η νομισματική παραγωγή της Ποτιδανίας, πόλεως των Αποδοτών*", in *ΧΑΡΑΛΤΗΡ: Αφιέρωμα στη Μάντω Οικονομίδου* (Athens) 157–64.
Mastrokostas, E. I. 1967. "*Ἀρχαιότητες καὶ μνημεία Αἰτωλοακαρνανίας: Αἰτωλία*", *ArchDelt* 22: 318–24.
Merker, I. L. 1989. "The Achaians in Naupaktos and Kalydon in the Fourth Century", *Hesperia* 58: 303–11.
Nachmanson, E. 1907. "Freilassungsurkunden aus Lokris", *AM* 32: 1–70.
Noack, F. 1916. "Befestigte griechische Städte in Aetolien und Akarnanien", *AA* 215–44.
Ober, J. 1992. "Towards a Typology of Greek Artillery Towers: The First and Second Generations (c. 375–275 B.C.)", in S. van de Maele and J. M. Fossey (eds.) 147–69.
Oldfather, W. A. 1918. "Antirrhion", *RE* suppl. 3: 125–26.
—— 1933. "Molykria", *RE* xxxi. 34–40.
Pantos, P. A. 1985. *Τα σφραγίσματα της αιτωλικής Καλλιπόλεως* (Athens).
—— 1988. "Das Wappen von Kalydon: ein Beitrag zur Identifizierung des Statuentypus der Artemis Laphria", in *Praktiká tou ChII Diethnoús klasikés archaiologías*, ii (Athens) 167–712.
Pfister, F. 1914. "*Ῥίεια*", *RE* A: 802–803.
Plassart, A. 1921. "Inscriptions de Delphes: la liste des théodoroques", *BCH* 45: 1–85.
Poulsen, F., and Rhomaios, K. 1927. *Erster vorläufiger Bericht über die dänisch-griechischen Ausgrabungen von Kalydon* (Copenhagen).
Pritchett, W. K. 1989. *Studies in Ancient Greek Topography*, vi (Berkeley).
—— 1991. *Studies in Ancient Greek Topography*, vii (Amsterdam).
Rigsby, K. 1996. *Asylia: Territorial Inviolability in the Hellenistic World* (Berkeley and Los Angeles).
Robert, L. 1940. "Une ethnique dans une épitaphe attique", *Hellenica* i: 106–8.
Rousset, D. 2002. *Le Territoire de Delphes et la terre d'Apollon* (Paris).
Salmon, J. 1984. *Wealthy Corinth: A History of the City to 338 B.C.* (Oxford).
Scholten, J. B. 2000. *The Politics of Plunder: Aitolians and their* Koinon *in the Early Hellenistic Era, 279–217 B.C.* (Berkeley).
Sherk, R. K. 1990. "The Eponymous Officials of the Greek Cities: I", *ZPE* 83: 249–80.
Sordi, M. 1969. "Die Anfänge des aitolischen Koinon", in F. Gschnitzer (ed.), *Zur griechischen Staatskunde* (Darmstadt) 343–99.
Strauch, D. 1996. *Römische Politik und Griechische Tradition: die Umgestaltung Nordwest-Griechenlands unter römischer Herrschaft* (Munich).
Themelis, P. G. 1979. "Die Ausgrabungen in Kallipolis (Ost-Aetolia 1977–78)", *AAA* 12: 245–79.
—— 1983. "Delphi und Umgebung im 8. und 7. Jhdt.", *ASAtene* 61: 213–57.
—— 1999. "Ausgrabungen in Kallipolis (Ost-Aetolien)", in W. Hoepfner (ed.), *Geschichte des Wohnens*, i (Ludwigsburg) 427–40.
Veligianni-Terzi, C. 1977. *Damiurgen: zur Entwicklung einer Magistratur* (diss. Heidelberg).
Visser, E. 1997. *Homers Katalog der Schiffe* (Stuttgart and Leipzig).
Vroom, J. A. C. 1993. "The Kastro of Veloukovo (Kallion): A Note on the Surface Finds", *Pharos* 1: 113–38.
Walbank, F. W. 1957. *A Historical Commentary on Polybius*, i (Oxford).
Weißl, M. 1999. "Die Befestigung der jüngeren Stadtanlage von Pleuron in Aitolien", *ÖJh* 68: 106–58.
Woodhouse, W. J. 1897/1973. *Aetolia: Its Geography, Topography and Antiquities* (Oxford).

WEST LOKRIS

DENIS ROUSSET

I. The Region

The name of the region is Λοκρίς, ἡ (Thuc. 3.95.3; *Hell. Oxy.* 21.3; Ps.-Skylax 35). The same name is used for the region inhabited by the East Lokrians (see Nielsen (2000) 95–96 and *infra*). The East and West Lokrians belonged in fact to the same *ethnos*, as is apparent from Aeschin. 2.116 and the lists of *hieromnemones* of the Amphiktyonic League in which the two seats for the Lokrians were given one to the East and one to the West Lokrians (Lefèvre (1998) 79–83). Thus the ethnic Λοκρός without further qualifications may designate a West Lokrian (e.g. *CID* II 31.34; *IG* VII 3055 (C4m); cf. Hecat. fr. 113; Thuc. 3.97.2; Dem. 18.150). Within the region, Λοκρός alone is used both collectively (*IG* IX².1 667: τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Λοκρῶν (C2m)) and individually (*IG* IX².1 681 (C2m)).

In inscriptions the official and unambiguous designation of the West Lokrians is Λοκροὶ οἱ Ἑσπέριοι. This regional ethnic is attested in the collective and internal sense in *IG* IX².1 718: Λοϙρῶν τῶν Ϝεσπαρίων (C5f) and *IG* IX².1 665: τῶν Λοκρῶν τῶν Ἐσ[περίων] (C4m). The collective and external use is attested in *CID* II 5.II.46 (C4m). For the individual and external use, see *CID* II 74.I.70 (337). This form of the regional ethnic is also found in literary sources (*Hell. Oxy.* 21.3; Arist. fr. 574; Theopomp. fr. 80.7; Ps.-Skylax 36); cf. προσεσπέριοι in Diod. 14.34.2 (r404). The designation οἱ Ὀζόλαι Λοκροί, however, is attested in literary sources only from C5m onwards (Hdt. 8.32.2; Thuc. 1.5.3; Xen. *Hell.* 4.2.17; Ps.-Skylax 36; Arist. fr. 574).

The frontiers of the region inhabited by the West Lokrians are difficult to establish, because lists of Lokrian cities are few and fragmentary, and because the boundary between the Lokrians and the Aitolians was drawn differently at different periods. To the east the Lokrian cities bordered on the port of Kirrha, the *hiera chora* dedicated to Apollo and the *polis* of Delphi (no. 177). Towards the north-east the Lokrians extended as far as the foothills of Parnassos and the Phokian *poleis* (*infra* 399). To the north, it is hard to establish the precise extent of the mountainous hinterland inhabited by Lokrians. There is no doubt that the frontier with Aitolia ran north of Physkeis and the land belonging to the Laphrioi (located only recently: *BCH* 93 (1969) 86; *infra*). But in the Hellenistic period there were many communities whose affiliation with either Lokris or Aitolia is unknown, such as the Peleoi, the Phalikaioi and the Potanaioi, all in the neighbourhood of Amphissa (Lerat (1952) i. 62–64; Rousset (2002) 13–15). North of Naupaktos (no. 165) and near the Bouttians there were several communities that have not yet been located (Akotieis, Boutaieis, Dastiadai, Istorioi, Kaphreis, Perochtheoi, Phyllaioi, Porioi and Thaioi); see Lerat (1952) i. 65–70, 192. Finally, to the west, Makynea and Molykrion, both originally belonging to Lokris, became Aitolian at an early date,[1] and that happened to Naupaktos too after 338 (*infra*). Similarly, other cities, such as Eupalion, became part of what Strabo at 10.2.3 calls Extended Aitolia (Αἰτωλία Ἐπίκτητος); see Lerat (1952) i. 7, ii. 62.

The Lokrian settlements were scattered along the north coast of the Corinthian Gulf and in the mountainous hinterland, which no doubt explains the region's lack of political unity in the Classical period and later. In C4m, as well as after 167, the centre of the Lokrian Federation was Physkeis, a mountain town near the Aitolian border (*infra*). But the two major Lokrian cities—the port of Naupaktos (no. 165) and Amphissa (no. 158), facing the plain of Kirrha—each had its own history. Furthermore, Amphissa seems not to have belonged to the Lokrian Federation.

Were it not for Thucydides' account of the events of 426 (3.95.3–96.2 and 101–2), we would know almost nothing of the Lokrian communities of the Classical period, apart from Amphissa and Naupaktos. Thucydides, however, did not describe the communities he mentions in 3.101.2–102.1 as *poleis*, and one may ask whether the ethnics he lists are

[1] Makynea, originally a Lokrian settlement (Plut. *Mor.* 295A; Lerat (1952) i. 7, 34) but Aitolian from the Classical period onwards (*supra* 384). Molykrion, presumably originally a Lokrian settlement (Plut. *Mor.* 162E; Ptol. 3.14.3; Lerat (1952) i. 7, 35–36) but Aitolian from the Classical period onwards (*supra* 385).

city-ethnics or regional ethnics denoting peoples scattered across quite a wide area and settled in a number of villages. It is worth remembering that, according to Thuc. 1.5.3, the Lokrians—like the Aitolians and Akarnanians—lived in the old-fashioned way, i.e. in unfortified villages. In that case, when did the West Lokrians begin to live in urban fortified centres, each organised as a *polis* in the political sense? Given the absence of archaeological excavations in the region, it is better to follow Lerat ((1952) i. 218–19) and refrain from dating the preserved fortifications to C4 rather than to the Hellenistic period. It is therefore impossible with any certainty to date the organisation of West Lokris into *poleis* before the Hellenistic period. This uncertainty is a serious obstacle to classifying all the Lokrian communities according to the categories applied in the present work. Some settlements, however, can tentatively be classified as type C *poleis* on the basis of what is known about their status in the Classical and Hellenistic periods combined with an evaluation of how far it might be legitimate to interpret this evidence retrospectively.

A final note of warning: our ignorance about the northern frontier of West Lokris and about the number of separate communities and cities, including their location, makes it hard to assess the size of their territories. An estimate is given only for some of the cities in the eastern part of the region, near Delphi (no. 177), where the political map can be reconstructed with some confidence, at least for the Hellenistic period.

Pre-Hellenistic Settlements not Attested as Poleis

Erythrai (*Ἐρυθραί*) Port of Aitolia Epiktetos near Eupalion (Livy 28.8.8; cf. Pantos (1985) 159 no. 132 = *SEG* 37 427). Called a *polis* by Steph. Byz. 280.10 and perhaps to be located at Monastiraki (Lerat (1952) i. 29–30 and 192–95; Pritchett (1991) 52–60). *Barr.* C.

Eupalion (*Εὐπάλιον*) Lokrian settlement mentioned by Thucydides at 3.96.2 and 3.102.1. References in post-Classical sources include Strabo 9.4.8, 10.2.3; Steph. Byz. 286.8–9. The ethnic *Εὐπαλιεύς* is attested in C3–C2 inscriptions from Thermos and the Naupaktos region (*IG* IX².1 10, 13, 17, 640; *SEG* 17 265–66). Apart from Steph. Byz., Eupalion is not attested as a *polis* in any source. Eupalion was situated at modern Soulè-Eupalion, where there is an undated defence circuit enclosing an area of *c.*2 ha (Lerat (1952) i. 98–102, 192–95; Pritchett (1991) 60–61). *Barr.* C.

Laphron (*Λαφρον -ος*?) Known from the C3l list of Delphic *theorodokoi* (*BCH* 45 (1921) 26.IV.122: *ἐν Λαφρωι*) and from a C2s manumission inscription (*BCH* 93 (1969) 86) testifying to the ethnic, membership of the Lokrian Federation, and a location near modern Milea. *Barr.* C.

Oineon (*Οἰνεών*) Lokrian settlement mentioned by Thucydides at 3.95.3, 98.3 and 102.1. It was probably a harbour, as stated by Steph. Byz. 485.18–19: *Οἰνεών, Λοκρίδος λιμήν*; cf. Lerat (1952) i. 195–96. Near Oineon was a sanctuary of Nemean Zeus, where, reputedly, Hesiod died (Thuc. 3.96.1). This *Οἰνεών* is probably identical with *Οἰνόη*, where Hesiod died according to two other sources (*Certamen Homeri et Hesiodi* 14; Tzetzes, *Vita Hesiodi*). Similarly, it is possible that the *Οἰνοαῖοι*—attested in inscriptions from Aitolia (*IG* IX².1 6, 7 (C3f)), Delphi (*Syll.*³ 539A (C3l)) and Lokris (*IG* IX².1 681 (C2m))—were the inhabitants of *Οἰνεών*/*Οἰνόη*. The settlement must be located east of Eupalion and Erythrai in the region of Klima, Marathias or Glypha (Lerat (1952) i. 195–97; Pritchett (1991) 52–60). *Barr.* C.

Phaistinos (*Φαιστῖνος*) A Lokrian from Phaistinos is honoured with *proxenia* in a C3s inscription from Delphi (*F.Delphes* III.1 442), and C2s manumission inscriptions found in Panormos testify to its sanctuary of Apollo (Lerat (1952) i. 47–48, 115–23). *Barr.* C.

Physkeis (*Φυσκεῖς*) *IG* IX².1 680.II.2; Plut. *Mor.* 294E. In the Hellenistic period a *polis* (*IG* IX².1 704.1 (*c.*200)) but unattested in sources of the Archaic and Classical periods. It was the centre of the Lokrian Federation after 167 (*IG* IX².1 667; Lerat (1952) ii. 97–98) and an inscription of C4m found in Physkeis shows that it must by then have been the capital of the federation of the Hesperian Lokrians (*IG* IX².1 665). There is, however, no indication that Physkeis was a *polis* at that time. Physkeis was situated at modern Malandrino. Some remains date from the Classical period, but the impressive fortifications enclosing an area of *c.*15 ha are still undated (Lerat (1952) i. 123–37, esp. 136). *Barr.* AC.

Polis (*Πόλις*) Classified as a *kome* by Thuc. 3.102.1, a civic subdivision of the Hyaians (no. 160). *Barr.* C.

II. The *Poleis*

157. Alpa (Alpaios) Map. 55. Lat. 38.25, long. 22.10, but see *infra.* Type: C. The toponym is *Ἄλπα* (*BCH* 45 (1921) 25

IV.120 (C3l)) or Ἀλόπη (Strabo 9.4.9; Steph. Byz. 77.12). The city-ethnic is Ἀλπαῖος, used in the external and individual sense in three inscriptions of C2 (Rousset (2002) 251.51, 89; *IG* IX².1 672 and 708), and in the external and collective sense in Thuc. 3.101.2, where the evidence of the three Hellenistic inscriptions shows that Ἀλπαῖοι is a convincing conjecture for MSS Ὀλπαῖοι.

Apart from Steph. Byz. 77.12, Alpa is not called a *polis* in any source, and the main reason for interpreting Ἀλπαῖος as a city-ethnic and including Alpa in this inventory of Archaic and Classical *poleis* is the C3 list of *theorodokoi*, interpreted retrospectively, and combined with Thucydides' information at 3.101.2 that, in 426, the Alpaioi had to provide hostages to the Peloponnesian League alongside a number of other Lokrian communities, three of which were presumably *poleis* (Amphissa (no. 158), Chaleion (no. 159) and Oianthea (no. 166)) and the others of which may have been. The passage shows that Alpa must have been a political community, and may perhaps have been a *polis*.

Lerat ((1952) i. 13–15 and 212–13) showed that the Alpaioi must have been settled in the neighbourhood of Physkeis and Phaistinos, but he refrained from placing Alpa on the map. Philippson and Kirsten ((1951) map and 740 no. 64) suggested one possible location, but a different one in (1958) 629 n. 34 and 669 no. 62: *viz.* Makrysi-Kokorista, accepted in *Barr.* for no good reason. As the evidence stands, Alpa ought to be left unlocated.

158. Amphissa (Amphisseus) Map. 55. Lat. 38.30, long. 22.20. Size of territory: 2. Type: A. The toponym is Ἄμφισσα, ἡ (Hdt. 8.32.2; Dem. 18.143; Aeschin. 3.125; Ps.-Skylax 36; *IG* IV².1 95.4 (C4m)) or, in inscriptions, sometimes Ἄνφισσα (*SEG* 39 441 (C3)). The city-ethnic is Ἀμφισσεύς (Thuc. 3.101.2; Dem. 18.150; Aeschin. 3.113; *CID* II 118.5 (C4f)) or, in inscriptions, sometimes Ἀνφισσεύς (*CID* V index s.v.). Apart from the feminine Ἀμφισσίς, Ἀμφισσαία is also attested (*IG* II² 8088 (C3l)). Both the toponym and the ethnic may have the geminate -σσ- written simplex (*CID* II 31.79 (C4m)). Amphissa is called a *polis* in the urban sense at Hdt. 8.32.2 and Ps.-Skylax 36. That it was a *polis* in the political sense as well is indicated by the appointment of an Epidaurian *theorodokos* in Amphissa (*IG* IV².1 95.4 (C4m)), the presence of Amphissaians among the Delphic *naopoioi* (*CID* II 31.79 (C4m)) and *hieromnemones* (*CID* II 43.23 (341)), and by the Amphiktyonic League's declaration of war upon Amphissa in 340/39 (Aeschin. 3.128–29). The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally in an inscription of C2 (*BCH* 126 (2002) 85; *IG* IX².1 750.29) and on Hellenistic coins (Head, *HN*² 337), and externally in Thuc. 3.101.2 and in a Delphic dedicatory inscription of C4–C3 (*BCH* 73 (1949) 258). The individual use is attested externally in Delphic C4 inscriptions (*CID* II 118.5, 31.79) and internally in a first century AD inscription from Amphissa (*IG* IX².1 755.4).

The territory of Amphissa bordered on that of Myania (no. 164) to the south (Thuc. 3.101.2). To the north it extended as far as the Phokian *poleis*, as appears from the sources for the conflict of 395 (*Hell. Oxy.* 21.2–3; Paus. 3.9.9; *contra* Xen. *Hell.* 3.5.3; cf. Rousset (2002) 162–64). To the east the C4 frontier with Delphi (no. 177) is mentioned at Plut. *Mor.* 249F (r354 or 353). To the south-east the territory of Amphissa was contiguous with the sacred land of Apollo. The occupation of the *hiera chora* at the beginning of the Fourth Sacred War of 340–338 (Dem. 18.150; Aeschin. 3.113) was followed by a redrawing of the frontier to the detriment of the Amphissaians (Rousset (2002) 86.8.30–31 (r335/4)). From these Classical sources, as well as from later documents, it appears that Amphissa possessed a larger territory than the other Lokrian *poleis*.

In 480 Amphissa served as a place of refuge for the Phokians and the Delphians (Hdt. 8.32.2, 36.2). Amphissa is then not mentioned again in the sources until the Peloponnesian War (on the reference to the Amphissaians at Diod. 12.42.4 (r431), see Lerat (1952) ii. 37). Among the West Lokrians, who in 426 were allied with Athens, the Amphissaians were the first to change sides and join the Spartans (Thuc. 3.101.2). In the Third Sacred War, the Amphissaians were prepared to relieve Delphi from Phokian occupation (Diod. 16.24.4 (r356)), but soon had to submit to the Phokians (Diod. 16.33.3 (r354 or 353)). The Fourth Sacred War (340–338) was provoked by the Amphissaians (Aeschin. 3.113–29; Dem. 18.140–59), and ended with Philip's conquest of the city (Polyaen. 4.2.8) and the exile of some of the citizens. Aeschin. 3.129 states that the Amphissaians recalled the exiles soon after, and had their opponents exiled instead, but according to Diod. 18.56.5, the exile of the Amphissaians who had caused the Sacred War was still effective in 319. However, in spite of Strabo 9.4.8 (cf. 9.3.4), it seems that the city was not destroyed in 338 (Lerat (1952) ii. 53–54). It is apparent from the Amphiktyonic lists of 341–323 that Amphissa was not a member of the C4m federation of the Hesperian Lokrians which had its centre at Physkeis (*supra*). During this period an Amphissaian and a Hesperian took turns serving as the *hieromnemon* of the West Lokrians (Lerat (1952) ii. 57–60; Lefèvre (1998) 79, 295–96).

The mythical founder of Amphissa was Andraimon (Arist. fr. 569), whose tomb could still be seen in Amphissa in the second century AD (Paus. 10.38.5). Nothing is known about the political institutions of Amphissa prior to C2. In C4m the Amphissaians appointed a *theorodokos* to host the *theoroi* from Epidauros (no. 348) (*IG* IV².1 95.4).

In 321, when Amphissa was besieged by the Aitolians (Diod. 18.38.2), the city must have been fortified. There are still remains of the ancient acropolis wall, built partly in Lesbian masonry and enclosing an area of 1 ha. Furthermore, excavations have revealed sections of what may be a C4s defence circuit enclosing the town (*ArchDelt* 37 (1982) 208–10, 44 (1989) *Chron.* 190, 198–99, 50 (1995) *Chron.* 358, 51 (1996) Chron. 328.

159. Chaleion (Chaleieus) Map 55. Lat. 38.20, long. 22.20. Size of territory: 2? Type: A. The toponym is *Χαλειόν* (*IG* IX².1 717.7 (C5m); *BCH* 45 (1921) 23 IV.69 (C3l)) or, once, *Χάλαιον* (Hecat. fr. 113) or, in late inscriptions, *Χαλεόν*, *Χαληόν* (*CID* V 862, 1115 (C1)). The city-ethnic is *Χαλειεύς* (*IG* IX².1 718.47 (C5f), 717.7 (C5m)). Variant forms are *Χαλεύς* (*IG* IX².1 738 (C5)), *Χαλεεύς* (*BCH* 92 (1968) 30 (C4l–C3e)), *Χαληεύς* (*CID* V 20 (198/7)), *Χαλεάτης* (*CID* V 1249 (first century AD)) or *Χαλαῖος* (Thuc. 3.101.2). Chaleion is attested as a *polis* both in the urban sense (Hecat. fr. 113; *IG* IX².1 717.4 (C5m)) and in the political sense (*BCH* 92 (1968) 30 (C4l–C3e) = *IG* IX².1 739). The citizen is called *astos* (*IG* IX².1 717.14). The collective and internal use of the city-ethnic is attested in the treaty with Oianthea (*IG* IX².1 717 (C5m)) and on a C5 weight (*IG* IX².1 738); the collective and external use is attested at Thuc. 3.101.2. The individual use is attested both internally (*IG* IX².1 721C.5, 7 (C3)) and externally (*BCH* 92 (1968) 30.14 (C4l–C3e), Delphi).

The inscription, *BCH* 92 (1968) 30, which concerns the ownership of landed property in one *polis* by citizens from another *polis*, shows that Chaleion bordered on Tritea (no. 168). The treaty with Oianthea (*IG* IX².1 717) mentions the name of the territory (1: *Χαλείς*) and refers to the harbour of the city (4: *λιμένος τô κατὰ πόλις*).

Apart from *IG* IX².1 718—attesting to the participation of Chaleion in the C5f colonisation of Naupaktos (no. 165)—the best source for the status of Chaleion in C5 is the treaty with Oianthea (no. 166) *IG* IX².1 717; see Gauthier (1972) 222–25, 242–44, 286–92). It regulates the presence of Chaleian metics (6: *μεταϝοικêν*) in Oianthea, and vice versa. The inscription refers to *proxenoi*, *xenodikai*, *damiourgoi*, and to institutions of an aristocratic type, e.g. that jurors are to be appointed *aristindan*. The Chaleian board of *damiourgoi* is also attested in a C5f dedication to an unnamed hero (*IG* IX².1 720).

On the basis of the epigraphical evidence, Lerat ((1952) i. 198–205) has shown that Chaleion was situated at modern Galaxidi. The defence circuit at this site encloses an area of 8 ha and dates from C4l or C3e (ibid. 152–58; *ArchDelt* 33 (1978) *Chron.* 147–48, 44 (1989) *Chron.* 201 and 204).

160. *Hyaia (Hyaios) (with Polis) Map 55. Hyaia unlocated and not in *Barr.*; Polis located at lat. 38.25, long. 22.05, but see *infra*. Type: C. The toponym is *'Υαία* (Steph. Byz. 644.4: *'Υαία, πόλις Λοκρῶν τῶν 'Οζολῶν. τὸ ἐθνικὸν 'Υαῖος. Θουκυδίδης τρίτῳ* (*'Υαίους* at Thuc. 3.101.2)). In this note the toponym is probably generated by Stephanos from the ethnic in Thucydides and has no authority. Hyaia is attested as a *polis* in Hellenistic sources only (*infra*). The collective and external use of the city-ethnic is attested at Thuc. 3.101.2; for the individual and external use, see *F.Delphes* III.3 221 (C3l); *SEG* 44 438.6 (C2); *IG* IX².1 34.18 (C2).

Among the Lokrian peoples who were in contact with the Spartan Eurylochos in 426, Thucydides mentions the Hyaioi, "who did not submit to giving hostages until he had taken their village called Polis" (*'Υαῖοι οὐκ ἔδοσαν ὁμήρους πρὶν αὐτῶν εἷλον κώμην Πόλιν ὄνομα ἔχουσαν*, 3.101.2). This, our only early source, is open to several interpretations: (a) most of the Hyaians lived scattered around a single village which they called Polis; (b) the Hyaians were settled in a number of villages, one of which was called Polis; (c) the Hyaians were settled in one town (*polis*) plus one or more villages (*komai*), one of which was called Polis. Irrespective of which of the three interpretations one prefers, it can be assumed that the name Polis is derived from the term *polis* in the sense of *akropolis* (Hansen (1996) 36).

In the Hellenistic period the Hyaioi and the Polieis were distinct political communities, and each was a *polis*: *c.*200 the *πόλις 'Υαίων* set up a statue in Thermos (*IG* IX².1 71a), in C3e a *Δράκων Πολιεύς* served as hipparch of the Aitolian Federation (*IG* IX².1 8.12–13; cf. 17.5), and in 208 the *Πολιεῖς* were among those who recognised the Leukophryeneia of Magnesia on the Maiander (*I.Magnesia* 28.13).

If the Polieis of the Hellenistic period can be connected with the *kome* called Polis at Thuc. 3.101.2, the inference is that Polis had changed its status from *kome* to *polis*. A further inference is that the *polis* of the Hyaians did not have its urban centre at the settlement which in 426 was called Polis.

Lerat ((1952) i. 197, ii. 239) refrained from locating the Hyaians and Polis. Polis was tentatively located at modern

Glypha by Philippson and Kirsten (1951) 1391–96 and (1958) 319 n. 2, 636 n. 19; accepted in *Barr.* for no good reason. As the evidence stands, Polis ought to be left unlocated.

161. Hypnia (Hypneus) Map. 55. Lat. 38.25, long. 22.20. Size of territory: 1. Type: C. The toponym is *Ὑπνία, ἡ* (*F.Delphes* III.4 352.II.4 (*c.*190)). The city-ethnic is *Ὑπνιεύς* (*F.Delphes* III.4 352.II.24). In Steph. Byz. 335.17 the toponym is *Ἵπνος, Ἰπνέα*, possibly generated from the city-ethnic *Ἰπνέας* (acc. plur.) at Thuc. 3.101.2, where, however, *Ὑπνέας* is a plausible conjecture for MSS *Ἰπνέας*.

Hypnia is explicitly called a *polis* in the C2e *sympoliteia* with neighbouring Myania (no. 164; *F.Delphes* III.4 352.II.4–5). The treaty records the name of the territory (*Ὑπνιάς*, II.24–25), and refers to troops and officials in Hypnia (II.14–16). The Hellenistic evidence should be combined, retrospectively, with Thucydides' information at 3.101.2 that, in 426, the Hypnians had to provide hostages to the Peloponnesian League alongside a number of other Lokrian communities, three of which were presumably *poleis* (Amphissa (no. 158), Chaleion (no. 159) and Oianthea (no. 166)) and the others of which may have been. The passage shows that the Hypnians must have been a political community, and may perhaps have been a *polis*.

162. (Issioi) Map. 55. Unlocated. Type: C. Only the city-ethnic is known, *viz. Ἴσσιος*, attested in numerous Hellenistic inscriptions (*IG* IX².1 17A.56 (C3f), 638.13; *CID* V 17, 22, 104; *SEG* 41.514?). In Steph. Byz. 304.17 the toponym *Ἡσσός* is probably generated from the city-ethnic *Ἡσσίους* (acc. plur.) at Thuc. 3.101.2, where, however, *Ἰσσίους* is a plausible conjecture for MSS *Ἡσσίους*. Apart from Steph. Byz. 304.17, the Issioi are not described as a *polis* in any source, and the main reason for interpreting *Ἴσσιος* as a city-ethnic and including the Issioi in this inventory of Archaic and Classical *poleis* is Thucydides' information at 3.101.2 that, in 426, the Issioi had to provide hostages to the Peloponnesian League alongside a number of other Lokrian communities, three of which were presumably *poleis* (Amphissa (no. 158), Chaleion (no. 159) and Oianthea (no. 166)) and the others may have been. The passage shows that the Issians must have been a political community, and may perhaps have been a *polis*. The Issioi were probably settled between Tolophon (no. 167) and Oianthea (no. 166) (Lerat (1952) i. 32–34, 212–13).

163. (Messapioi) Map. 55. Unlocated. Type: [A]. Only the city-ethnic is known, *viz. Μεσσάπιος*, attested at Thuc. 3.101.2 in the collective and external sense, and in the individual and external sense in a single Delphic inscription recording a West Lokrian treasurer of 337 named *Χαιρέας Ὀρθαγόρ[α Μ]εσ[σ]άπιος* (*CID* II 74.I.51). The list of treasurers is headed by the stipulation *τὸν ταμίαν ἀποπέμπειν τὰς πόλεις* (l.4), an indication that the Messapioi were a *polis* in the political sense. There is no longer any basis for the traditional view (cf. Lerat (1952) i. 35) that Messapioi was the earlier name of the community called Physkeis from C3 onwards (Rousset (2002) 18). The attestation of a Messapian treasurer of 337/6 should be combined, retrospectively, with Thucydides' information at 3.101.2 that, in 426, the Messapians had to provide hostages to the Peloponnesian League alongside a number of other Lokrian communities, three of which were presumably *poleis* (Amphissa (no. 158), Chaleion (no. 159) and Oianthea (no. 166)) and the others of which may have been. The passage shows that the Messapians must have been a political community, and may perhaps have been a *polis*.

164. Myania (Myaneus) Map. 55. Lat. 38.30, long. 22.20. Size of territory: 1. Type: C. The toponym is *Μυανία, ἡ* (*F.Delphes* III.4 352.III.15 (*c.*190); *CID* V 631, 632 (138/7)) or *Μυονία* (Paus. 10.38.8; Steph. Byz. 462.9) or, once, *Μύων* (Steph. Byz. 465.17). The city-ethnic is, apparently, *Μυᾶνες* (pl.), on an ancient shield dedicated to Zeus in Olympia and quoted by Pausanias at 6.19.4–5 (*Μυάνων*) and 10.38.8 (*Μυᾶνες*). The form *Μυανεῖς* (*Μυανεύς*) appears in *F.Delphes* III.4 352.II.23–24, and the Attic-Ionic form *Μυονεῖς* (*Μυονεύς*) at Thuc. 3.101.2.

Myania is attested as a *polis* in the *sympoliteia* with Hypnia (no. 161) of *c.*190 (*F.Delphes* III.4 352.II.12–13). The main reason for classifying Myania as a *polis* in the Archaic and Classical periods is Thucydides' information at 3.101.2 that, in 426, the Myonians had to provide hostages to the Peloponnesian League alongside a number of other Lokrian communities, three of which were presumably *poleis* (Amphissa (no. 158), Chaleion (no. 159) and Oianthea (no. 166)) and the others of which may have been. The passage shows that the Myonians must have been a political community, and may perhaps have been a *polis*.

The persistence of the toponym down to the sixteenth century has made it possible to locate Myania at modern Agia Efthymia, where there are remains of an ancient cemetery and of a defence circuit enclosing an area of *c.*8 ha (Lerat (1952) i. 78–80, 170–72) and at least in part to be dated to C4 (*ArchDelt* 44 (1989) *Chron.* 214).

165. Naupaktos (Naupaktios) Map. 55. Lat. 38.20, long. 21.50. Size of territory: 2? Type: A. The toponym is

Ναύπακτος, ἡ (*IG* IX².1 718 (C5f); *IG* IV² 1 95.6 (C4m); Thuc. 1.103.3; Isoc. 12.94; Dem. 9.34). The city-ethnic is, once, *ΝαϜπάκτιος* (*IG* IX².1 718.40), but elsewhere in the same inscription (ll. 2, 14, 16, etc.) and in all other sources *Ναυπάκτιος* (*IvO* 259 (C5l?); Thuc. 2.92.3). Naupaktos is called a *polis* in the urban sense by Thuc. 3.102.5 and Ps.-Skylax 35. For *polis* in the political sense, see *IG* IX².1 609.10, a law of C6l, often assigned to Naupaktos (Koerner (1993) no. 47), though the ascription is far from certain (*Nomima* I no. 44). At Thuc. 2.9.1 and 4, the Messenians in Naupaktos are subsumed under the heading *poleis* and listed among the allies of Athens in 431. See also Diod. 15.66.5 (r460/59 or 456/5), 12.48.1 (r429). The city-ethnic is used in the collective and external sense in *IG* IX².1 718.2, etc.; *IvO* 259.1. The individual use is attested from C4s onwards, both externally (*SEG* 26 697 (C4); *IG* IX².1 3A.17; *F.Delphes* III.4 12.3 (C3f)) and internally (*IG* IX².1 613.5 (C3l)).

The territory is called *Ναυπακτία* (Aesch. *Suppl.* 262; Thuc. 3.102.2). Its frontiers are virtually unknown (see introduction *supra*). In the Hellenistic period the Bouttioi, situated *c.*5 km north of Naupaktos, are attested as a dependency of Naupaktos (Lerat (1952) i. 20–23, 76, 93–96, 191–92). On the frontier between Lokris and Aitolia north of Naupaktos, see *supra* 391. An Archaic law on landed property (*IG* IX².1 609) concerns the region of Naupaktos or the borderland towards Aitolia, but the ascription of the law to the city of Naupaktos is uncertain (*supra*).

According to Ps.-Skymnos 479, Naupaktos was a Dorian *polis* founded in the Heroic Age by Temenos. In C5f contingents of colonists were sent to Naupaktos from East Lokris and Chaleion (no. 159) (*IG* IX².1 718 = ML 20 = Koerner (1993) no. 47). In 456/5 the Athenians took Naupaktos away from the West Lokrians and gave it to Messenian exiles from the Peloponnese (Thuc. 1.103.3; Diod. 11.84.7; cf. Hornblower (1991) 160). The Messenians and the Naupaktians formed a *sympoliteia* (*IG* IX².1 fasc. 3 IX; see also Nielsen (2002) 60 n. 87; for a C2 echo of this *sympoliteia*, see *SEG* 41 331 and *BE* 1994 no. 341); they won several victories: one over Kalydon (no. 148), commemorated at Delphi (*BCH* 106 (1982) 196–99, 204), and one over the Akarnanians and Oiniadai (no. 130), commemorated in Olympia (*IvO* 259 (C5l?); Paus. 5.26.1). The Messenians of Naupaktos remained loyal to Athens during the Peloponnesian War (Thuc. 2.9.4; Diod. 12.48.1) and provided strong contingents of hoplites, testifying to the large size of the population (500 hoplites in 427 (Thuc. 3.75.1), 600 in 410 (Diod. 13.48.6)). In 400, after the end of the war, the Messenians were expelled, and Naupaktos was given back to the Lokrians (Diod. 14.34.2; Paus. 4.26.2, 10.38.10). Twice in C4 Naupaktos became an Achaian dependency, first between 389 and 367, and then again during the Third Sacred War and down to 338 (Diod. 15.75.2; Dem. 9.34; Lerat (1952) ii. 44–45, 49). In that year Naupaktos was captured by Philip II, who killed the Achaian garrison and gave the city to the Aitolians (Theopomp. fr. 235; Strabo 9.4.7; cf. Lerat (1952) ii. 54–55; Freitag (2000) 87).

IG IX².1 718 contains some information about the Lokrian political institutions in C5f. The inscription regulates the status and rights of the new colonists from Naupaktos, mentions the laws of Naupaktos, and refers to an official called *archos*, and the agora as the place where proclamations take place. *IG* IX².1 609 refers to *damiourgoi* and to three types of assembly: *preiga*, *polis* and *apoklesia*, but the ascription to Naukratos remains doubtful.

The divinities attested in the Classical period are Athena Polias (unpublished *sympoliteia*, cf. *supra*) and Apollo (Thuc. 2.91.1). In C4m Naupaktos appointed a *theorodokos* to host *theoroi* from Epidauros (no. 348) (*IG* IV².1 95.6).

Naupaktos is the only Lokrian city that we know for certain was fortified in C5. Thuc. 3.102.2–4 distinguishes an unfortified suburb (*proasteion*) from the "big wall" (*μέγα τεῖχος*), which ought to be a wall enclosing the town below the acropolis. The harbour seems to have been fortified too (Lerat (1952) i. 89). Remains of the ancient fortifications and other buildings have been unearthed during numerous excavations, but there is not yet a chronologically organised synthesis that indicates which of the urban remains can be dated to the Archaic and Classical periods.

166. Oianthea (Oiantheus) Map. 55. Lat. 38.15, long. 22.10. Size of territory: ? Type: A. The toponym is *Οἰανθέα*, ἡ (*IG* IX².1 717.7 (C5m); *IG* IV².1 95.5) or *Οἰάνθη* (Hecat. fr. 113) or *Οἰάνθεια* (Hellan. fr. 120); Polyb. 4.57.2; Paus. 10.38.9; and in the C2 manumission inscriptions (see *infra*), or *Εὐανθίς* (Ps.-Skylax 36) or *Εὐάνθεια* (Ptol. 3.14.3). The city-ethnic is *Οἰανθεύς* in the Archaic and Classical periods (ML 4.2 (C7–C6); *IG* IX².1 717.7 (C5m); Thuc. 3.101.2). *Εὐανθεύς* is an alternative form attested in the Hellenistic period (*CID* V 17 (C2f); *IG* IX².1 709a.2 (C2m)); cf. Lerat (1952) i. 41–44.

Oianthea is called a *polis* in the urban sense at Hecat. fr. 113; *IG* IX².1 717.4 (C5m) and Ps.-Skylax 36. The earliest attestation of Oianthea as a *polis* in the political sense is in a C2 manumission inscription (*IG* IX².1 709a.2); that it was a *polis* community in the Classical period as well is apparent from the treaty with Chaleion of C5m (*IG* IX².1 717) and the attestation of a C4m *theorodokos* to host *theoroi* from Epidauros

(no. 348) (*IG* IV² 95.5). The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally on Hellenistic coins (Head, *HN*² 338) and externally at Thuc. 3.101.2. The individual and external use is found on a C7–C6 cenotaph of a Korkyrean *proxenos* (ML 4.2); *patris* (*gaia*) is found ibid.

The treaty with Chaleion (no. 159) (*IG* IX² .1 717 (C5m)) mentions the name of the territory (2: *Οἰανθίς*) and refers to the harbour of the city (4: *λιμένος τô κατὰ πόλιν*). Apart from this treaty—which concerns the presence of Oianthean citizens in Chaleion and vice versa—little is known of the history of Oianthea in the Classical period. In 426 Oianthea had to provide hostages to the Peloponnesian League (Thuc. 3.101.2). *C.*373 the city was ruled by a tyrant (Polyaen. 8.46). Oianthea's relations with the Greek world are attested, for the Archaic period, by the *proxenos* buried in Korkyra (ML 4; see *Nomima* I no. 34) and, for the Classical period, by the *theorodokos* of C4m (*IG* IV².1 95.5). According to Plut. *Mor.* 294E, the city was founded by the hero Lokros. Plutarch's account may stem from an Aristotelian *politeia* (no. 104, Gigon).

167. Tolophon (Tolophonios) Map. 55. Lat. 38.20, long. 22.15. Size of territory: 1? Type: C. The toponym is *Τολφών* (*BCH* 45 (1921) 23.IV.70 (C3l); *CID* V 560, 564 (C2m); *IG* IX².1 715 (C2m)) or *Τολοφών, ἡ* (Dion. Calliphon. 66, Marcotte; Steph. Byz. 628.1). The city-ethnic is *Τολοφώνιος*, attested at Thuc. 3.101.2, where it is used in the collective and external sense. The individual use is attested both internally (*IG* IX².1 715 (C2m): *Τολφώνιος*) and externally at Delphi (Rousset (2002) 251.14 (C2)).

Tolophon is attested as a *polis* in the political sense in an inscription of C2m (*IG* IX².1 715) found *in situ* at Vidavi/Marmara and thus identifying the site. The reason for including Tolophon in this inventory of Archaic and Classical *poleis* is Thucydides' information at 3.101.2 that, in 426, the Tolophonians had to provide hostages to the Peloponnesian League alongside a number of other Lokrian communities, three which were presumably *poleis* (Amphissa (no. 158), Chaleion (no. 159) and Oianthea (no. 166)) and the others of which may have been. The passage shows that the Tolophonians must have been a political community, and may perhaps have been a *polis*. The remains of a defence circuit enclosing an area of *c.*3 ha are still undated (Lerat (1952) i. 50–51, 138–44).

168. Tritea (Triteus) Map. 55. Lat. 38.20, long. 22.20. Size of territory: 1. Type: A. The toponym is *Τριτέα, ἡ* (*BCH* 92 (1968) 30.8–9 (C4l–C3e) = *IG* IX².1 739). The city-ethnic is *Τριτεύς* (ibid. 14). Tritea is attested as a *polis* in the political sense (ibid. 14). The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested externally at Thuc. 3.101.2 and *BCH* 92 (1968) 30.14 (C4l–C3e). For the individual and external use, see *IG* IX².1 31.148, 174, 177 (214/13), and *CID* IV 96 (204/3).

The treaty between Chaleion (no. 159) and Triteia (*BCH* 92 (1968) 30, Delphi), which concerns the ownership of landed property in one *polis* by citizens from the other *polis*, shows that Tritea bordered on Chaleion, and that both communities were *poleis*. For C5 we have Thucydides' information at 3.101.2 that, in 426, the Triteians had to provide hostages to the Peloponnesian League alongside a number of other Lokrian communities, three of which were presumably *poleis* (Amphissa (no. 158), Chaleion (no. 159) and Oianthea (no. 166)) and the others of which may have been. The passage shows that Tritea must have been a political community, and may perhaps have been a *polis*. These sources as well as the manumission inscriptions from Delphi show that Tritea was situated at modern Pendeoria, where there is an undated defence circuit enclosing an area of *c.*1 ha (Lerat (1952) i. 51–52, 145–49, 211).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Freitag, K. 2000. *Der Golf von Korinth: historisch-topographische Untersuchungen von der Archaik bis in das 1. Jh. v. Chr.* (Munich).

Gauthier, P. 1972. *Symbola: Les étrangers et la justice dans les cités grecques* (Nancy).

Hansen, M. H. 1996. "*ΠΟΛΛΑΧΩΣ ΠΟΛΙΣ ΛΕΓΕΤΑΙ* (Arist. *Pol.* 1276ᵃ23): The Copenhagen Inventory of *Poleis* and the *Lex Hafniensis de Civitate*", *CPCActs* 3: 7–72.

Hornblower, S. 1991. *A Commentary on Thucydides*, I (Oxford).

Koerner, R. 1993. *Inschriftliche Gesetzestexte der frühen griechischen Polis*, Akten der Gesellschaft für griechische und hellenistische Rechtsgeschichte 9, ed. K. Hallof (Cologne, Weimar and Vienna).

Lefèvre, F. 1998. *L'Amphictionie pyléo-delphique: histoire et institutions* (Paris).

Lerat, L. 1952. *Les Locriens de l'Ouest*, 2 vols. (Paris).

Nielsen, T. H. 2000. "Epiknemidian, Hypoknemidian, and Opountian Lokrians: Reflections on the Political Organisation of East Lokris in the Classical Period", *CPCPapers* 5: 91–120.

Nielsen, T. H. 2002. "*Phrourion*: A Note on the Term in Classical Sources and in Diodorus Siculus", *CPCPapers* 6: 49–64.

Pantos, P. A. 1985. *Τα σφραγίσματα της αιτωλικής καλλιπόλεως* (Athens).

Philippson, A., and Kirsten, E. 1951. *Die griechischen Landschaften*: *Thessalien und der Spercheios-Senke*, vol. i, p. 2: *Das östliche Mittelgriechenland und die Insel Euboia* (Frankfurt-am-Main).

—— ——1958. *Die griechischen Landschaften*: *Der Nordwesten der griechischen Halbinsel, Epirus und der Pindos*, vol. ii, p. 2: *Das westliche Mittelgriechenland und die westgriechischen Inseln* (Frankfurt-am-Main).

Pritchett, W. K. 1991. *Studies in Ancient Greek Topography*, vii (Amsterdam).

Rousset, D. 1999. "Centre urbain, frontière et espace rural dans les cités de Grèce Centrale", in M. Brunet (ed.), *Territoires des cités grecques*, *BCH* suppl. 34 (Athens) 35–77.

——2002. *Le territoire de Delphes et la terre d'Apollon*, BEFAR 310 (Paris).

PHOKIS

JACQUES OULHEN

I. The Region

The name of the region is *Φωκίς*, *ἡ* (Hdt. 8.32.2; Thuc. 4.76.3; Xen. *Hell.* 3.5.4). The regional ethnic is *Φωκεύς* (Hom. *Il.* 2.517; Hdt. 1.46.2; Thuc. 1.107.2). The collective and internal use of the ethnic and/or ktetic is attested in abbreviated form (*ΦΩ* or *ΦΩKI*) on coins of, allegedly, C6l/C5e (Williams (1972) 9ff) and in its proper ethnic form on C4 coins (*ΦΩKEΩN*; Head, *HN*² 339) and in inscriptions (*CID* II 1.I.24 (361); *IG* IX.1 111.3 (C4s)), sometimes combined with a city-ethnic (*CID* II 5.II.50: *Φωκεῖς Τειθρώνιοι* (C4f)). The collective and external use is attested in inscriptions (*IG* II² 70 (C4f); cf. Klaffenbach (1949) 224; *IG* II² 236b.II.8 (338/7)) and in literature (Hdt. 7.203; Thuc. 1.107). The individual and internal use is attested in the *naopoioi* accounts (*CID* II 5.I.14 (C4f); cf. *CEG* II 799 (C4l)). The individual and external use is found on a C4 Attic tombstone (*IG* II² 10493) and in literature (Dem. 23.124). Phokis is described as a *χώρα* (Hdt. 8.32.2; Thuc. 8.108.3) and is once called *πατρίς* (*CEG* II 799 (C4l); cf. Nielsen, *Patris*). The term *ἔθνος* is used about the Phokians in various contexts (*Hell. Oxy.* 21.3; Ps.-Skylax 37) and in particular as a member of the Amphiktyonic League (Aeschin. 2.116). For *ὁ δῆμος ὁ τῶν Φωκέων*, see Dem. 19.81.

To the east Phokis borders on Boiotia (Thuc. 3.95.1), and the territory of Phanoteus (no. 190) is explicitly described as the frontier district (Thuc. 4.76.3). Mt. Heduleion, which lies north-east of Parapotamioi (no. 188), is often taken to be the boundary between Phokis and Boiotia (Strabo 9.3.16; schol. Dem. 19.148, 313–14c, Dilts). Orchomenos (no. 213) is the Boiotian frontier town to the north-east (Hdt. 8.34). According to Ps.-Skylax 37 and Paus. 10.1.2 (who do not mention Boulis (no. 174)), Antikyra (no. 173) is the eastern-most Phokian town towards the south-east. To the west Phokis borders on West Lokris. To the south-west, the plain of Kirrha is sometimes described as Lokrian (schol. Hom. *Il.* 2.520, Erbse). *Hell. Oxy.* 21.2–3 mentions a disputed region near Parnassos as being the origin of a conflict between the Phokians and the West Lokrians. Paus. 3.9.9 specifies that the Lokrians involved were the Amphissaians (no. 158). Xenophon, however, traces the origin of the conflict to a disputed region between Phokis and East Lokris (*Hell.* 3.5.3). To the north-east Phokis borders on Doris (Hdt. 8.31–32), and to the north it borders on East Lokris (Xen. *Hell.* 3.5.3). The strategic importance of the mountain pass at Hyampolis (no. 182) has been stressed by Ellinger (1993) 22–24, *contra* Pritchett (1996)). Strabo 9.3.1 reports that, previously, Phokis reached the coast of the Euboian Gulf, where it controlled the port of Daphnous (*infra* 401).

Involvement in the Persian War is the first securely dated attestation of the Phokians in Greek history (Hdt. 7.203.1). There can be no doubt that the Phokian *koinon* (*IG* IX.1 101 (C3l)) antedated the Persian War, but neither Phokian participation in the Delphic Amphiktyony nor the war between Phokis and Thessalia can be securely dated (Larsen (1968) 43–44; Giovannini (1971) 50–51; Sanchez (2001) 37–44; Ellinger (1993) 17–22). For the Phokian dedications in Delphi, see Jacquemin (1999) 52–53. In the sanctuary of Kalapodi, the oldest Archaic temples of C7e and the building programme of C6f have been attributed to the Phokian *koinon* (Felsch (1987); *Kalapodi* I: XVI; Ellinger (1993) 27–34). On purely *a priori* grounds the beginning of the Phokian coinage has been dated to C6l/C5e (Williams (1972) 11–12).

Next to nothing is known about the place of the *poleis* in the organisation of the *koinon*. Lack of sources makes it impossible to determine whether the *dioikismos* of 346 was accompanied by a shift from a primary assembly open to all Phokians to a federal assembly of representatives from the *poleis* (Daverio-Rocchi (1994); *contra* Larsen (1968) 40–48, 300–8). In a C6 context Plutarch mentions magistrates and tyrants installed by the Thessalians (*Mor.* 244B), but elsewhere he mentions a C6 tyrant of the Phokians (*Mor.* 859C). From the Archaic period (C6?) onwards, the *strategoi* were the principal magistrates (Kazarow (1899) 7–12), and in

I would like to thank my friend D. Rousset for discussing with me several of the issues treated in this chapter and for letting me see the manuscript of Rousset (2002) prior to its publication. I also owe a debt of gratitude to M. H. Hansen for his suggestions and improvements—and for his patience.

Pausanias two of the Phokian *strategoi* in the war against Thessalia are identified by city-ethnic: Roios of Ambryssos (no. 171) and Daiphantes of Hyampolis (no. 182) (Paus. 10.1.8 (rC6?); cf. Plut. *Mor.* 244C). The magistrates were elected by an assembly of unknown composition (Diod. 27.2 (rC4)), and the criterion for election was competence, which excludes rotation among the *poleis*. *Strategoi* were elected from those who had served as *phylarchoi* or *tamiai* (*Vat.Gr.* 2306B.205–15). The *poleis* seem to have retained some independence in foreign policy; thus, Abai (no. 169) was not forced to join the other *poleis* in the Third Sacred War (Paus. 10.3.2). Also, the Phokian envoys were those of the *poleis* (Aeschin. 2.142 (343)). Some C5 Phokian coins are inscribed with the abbreviated legend of one of the *poleis*: Lilaia in C5e? (Williams (1972) 17–18) and Neon in C5l (ibid. 42).

The Hellenistic treaty by Polemon on the foundation of Phokian *poleis* is lost except for the title: *Κτίσεις τῶν ἐν Φωκίδι πόλεων καὶ περὶ τῆς πρὸς Ἀθηναίους συγγενείας αὐτῶν* (*FGrHist* IIIB p. 484). The Homeric Catalogue of Ships records the following nine(?) communities: Kyparissos, Python, Krisa, Daulis, Panopeus (= Phanoteus), Anemoreia, Hyampolis, Parapotamioi(?) and Lilaia (Hom. *Il.* 517–26).

In the Archaic period the Phokian *poleis* appear in the accounts of the First Sacred War (Robertson (1978); Càssola (1980); Davies (1994)) and the war between the Phokians and the Thessalians (Ellinger (1993) 12–22), but the historiographic tradition of these events poses serious problems of interpretation. Only three *poleis* are attested: Krisa/Kirrha (no. 183), Hyampolis (no. 182 (city-ethnic, *supra*)) and Ambryssos (no. 171 (city-ethnic, *supra*)), and the status of Kirrha is highly questionable. Phokian participation in colonisation is so poorly attested that it is impossible to suggest a diffusion of the Phokian political system in the Archaic period (Schober (1924) 57–58).

For C5 there is no epigraphical evidence, apart from the attestion of two city-ethnics: *Delphoi* (*CID* I 8) and *Hyampolioi* (*SEG* 37 422). However, Phokian cities are attested by Herodotos (8.32–38; cf. Paus. 10.3.2, 33.8), who, however, restricts his list to sixteen *πόλεις* passed and destroyed by the Persians in 480: *viz.* Drymos, Charadra, Erochos, Tethronion, Amphikaia, Neon, Pedieis, Triteis, Elateia, Hyampolis, Parapotamioi, Abai, Panopeus (= Phanoteus), Daulis, *Aiolidai and Delphoi. The cities of southern Phokis are missing from the catalogue. Lilaia and Neon are also attested, by their C5 coinage.

In C4 sources, on the other hand, the Phokian *poleis* appear in several sources and in different contexts. In his account of the prelude to the Corinthian War, *Hell. Oxy.* 21 mentions Parapotamioi, Daulis, Phanoteus (no. 190), Elateia, Pedieis and Hyampolis, which reappears in Xenophon's account of Jason of Pherai's attack in 371 (*Hell.* 6.4.27).

Several Phokian *poleis* appear in the Delphic *naopoioi*'s lists of contributions to the rebuilding of the temple of Apollo in 373–346 (cf. *CID* II 4.14–15: *τάδε πόλεις καὶ ἰδιῶται ἐπάρξαντο*). Some of these contributions are from the *poleis* themselves, *viz.* Charadra (*CID* II 8.I.5), Pedieis (*CID* II 5.II.54) and Teithronion (*CID* II 5.II.50), some are from individual citizens identified by city-ethnic, *viz.* Lilaia (*CID* II 2.I.6) and Phanoteus (*CID* II 24.II.14).

Above all, the Phokian cities are attested in connection with the Third Sacred War. Their destruction in 346 is mentioned by Demosthenes at 19.61, and at 19.123 he reports that there were twenty-two *poleis* altogether. Pausanias has a list of twenty named *poleis* (in the urban sense) which were destroyed at the end of the Third Sacred War (10.3.2: *καὶ ἐς ἔδαφος ἁλοῦσαι κατεβλήθησαν τῶν Φωκέων αἱ πόλεις*). Pausanias distinguishes between (a) ancient cities known, first of all, from Homer: Lilaia, Hyampolis, Antikyra, Parapotamioi, Panopeus (= Phanoteus) and Daulis (Antikyra is missing from the Catalogue of Ships but included by Paus at 10.36.5); (b) the cities burnt down by Xerxes: Erochos, Charadra, Amphikleia, Neon, Tithronion and Drymea; and, finally, (c) the other cities which, apart from Elateia, had no record in history prior to 346: Trachis, Medeon, Echedamia, Ambryssos, Ledon, Phlygonion and Stiris. To these cities, all exposed to *dioikismos* (Diod. 16.60), Pausanias adds Abai, the only one that was not split up into *komai* (10.3.2: *τότε δὲ κατεσκάφησάν τε αἱ κατειλεγμέναι καὶ ἐς κώμας πλὴν Ἄβας ᾠκίσθησαν αἱ ἄλλαι*). Thus, Pausanias records twenty-one *poleis*, Demosthenes has twenty-two. The difference of one is variously explained (Beloch (1911) 439–40, *contra* Schober (1941) 477).

Due to the paucity of Classical sources about the regions of central Greece, the Hellenistic inscriptions must sometimes be used retrospectively, and they testify to the reliability of the list found in Pausanias; thus, the inclusion of Echedamia and Phlygonion may be based on an older inscription (Paus. 10.33.11). On the other hand, the list in Pausanias and the number of *poleis* reported by Demosthenes are not above suspicion. Inscriptions and the coins of C4 testify to the existence of some of the cities listed by Pausanias, but also to the existence of some cities which are absent from the list. Thus, Pedieis is mentioned in a list

of 358 of contributions to the rebuilding of the temple of Apollo (*CID* II 5.II.55) but is omitted by Pausanias. Furthermore, the payments of the Phokian fine to Delphi suggest the existence of two (?) other *poleis*, of which a broken city-ethnic is all that is preserved: *Πο[...]ου* (*CID* II 38.5 (C4s)) and *Τρωνειεῖς* (*CID* II 108.9). Finally, the existence of Triteis and *Aiolidai in C4 may seem suspicious but, conversely, of the cities attested exclusively in later sources (Boulis, Helikonioi, Stephane), at least Boulis seems to have existed in C4. Thus, the total of twenty-two *poleis* is a minimum. Furthermore the number may have varied over time due to ecological factors (changes of the stream bed of the Kephisos), external military pressures, and rivalry between neighbouring *poleis*. Triteis and *Aiolidai are attested only in Herodotos, and they may well have disappeared with their destruction in 480. Conversely, Boulis may have been founded in the course of C5.

The *dioikismos* suffered by the Phokian *poleis* in 346 did not lead to their disappearance as polities, and the *poleis* appear in the payments of the Phokian fine to Delphi: Elateia, Erochos, Lilaia, Medon, Po[---] in *c.*340 (*CID* II 37–38) and Charadra, Lilaia, Medeon, Teithronioi, Tronieis(?) and [Phlyg]oneis in *c.*320 (*CID* II 108). The *dioikismos* (Diod. 16.60) consisted in the destruction of the urban centres and their defence circuits and in the breaking up of the urban centres into villages.

Furthermore, one may question the degree of the destruction, presumably exaggerated by Demosthenes in his emotional description (19.65) and by the example of Ambryssos, adduced by Pausanias (4.31.5, 10.36.3). Here the archaeological evidence calls for circumspection. There are impressive remains of numerous defence circuits in Phokis, but there is no stratigraphic analysis of the evidence. Nevertheless, the *communis opinio* is that these walls are later than 346. The typology and date of these walls are based on the *a priori* assumption that all Phokian fortifications were completely destroyed in 346, and that this year, or rather the year 339/8, constitutes the *terminus post quem*. Even with the help of the Athenians and Thebans, one wonders how the Phokians, in addition to the huge fine, could afford such fortifications before C4l. But recent analyses of several Phokian defence circuits tend to place their date earlier than 346 (Ober (1992) 163–64: Lilaia *c.*356–346; Winter (1997) 262: Tithorea, Lilaia; McInerney (1999) 340–51). Whatever the merit of these dates, careful handling of the data is required. All Phokian fortifications were not razed to the ground in 346, and it seems that some of them underwent various repairs at various times.

However that may be, by Athenian and Theban intervention the Phokian cities were apparently refounded soon after the *dioikismos* (Paus. 10.33.8). Pausanias tells us that the Thebans in 339/8 had Ambryssos fortified with a double defence circuit (10.36.3). Without reporting the date or the context, Pausanias refers to the *anoikismos* of Lilaia (10.33.3) and that of Neon, refounded with the name of Tithorea (10.32.9). One may add Elateia, apparently fortified in 338 (Aeschin. 3.140, but cf. Dem. 6.15).

We do not know whether all cities were rebuilt. At least, the *dioikismos* resulted in the disappearance of Parapotamioi as a *polis*. Pausanias reports that the population of Parapotamioi had become impoverished and reduced in size, and that the Athenians and Thebans had it distributed among the other *poleis* (10.33.9). Other *poleis* may have suffered the same fate. Pedieis, already absent from Pausanias' list of dioikised *poleis* at 10.1.3, is unattested in later sources, and so is Trachis; but the silence of our sources may be fallacious.

Several *sympoliteiai* resulted in the temporary or definitive disappearance of Phokian cities. Some of them date from C2 (Phlygonion–Delphi, Phlygonion–Ambryssos, Stiris–Medeon). On the other hand, the annexation of Troneia by Daulis (*infra* 427) and of Erochos by Lilaia (*infra* 421) may go back to the Classical period.

In consequence of their expansionist policy, the Phokians succeeded for shorter periods in conquering *poleis* situated outside Phokis, and it is difficult to ascertain whether the Phokians' control of these *poleis* resulted in their incorporation into the Phokian *koinon*. In 457 the Phokians were forced by the Lakedaimonians to cede a *polis* in Doris which they had occupied (Thuc. 1.107.2). During the Third Sacred War Onomarchos took possession of three Boiotian *poleis*: Orchomenos (no. 213; Diod. 16.33.4) and Koroneia (no. 210; Diod. 16.35.3), both in 353/2, and, at an unknown date, Chorsiai (no. 202) and the fort of Tilphosaion (Dem. 19.148; Diod. 16.58.1). Two of these *poleis*, and perhaps all three, were exposed to *andrapodismos* in 346 (Dem. 19.325) and, perhaps, the destruction of their walls as well (Diod. 16.60.1; *contra* Sanchez (2001) 208–9 and 218). The inference is that they had been members of the Phokian *koinon*. Similarly, the Phokians took possession of some *poleis* in East Lokris in 351/50 (Diod. 16.38.2): Alponos (no. 379), Nikaia (no. 385) and Thronion (no. 388) (Aeschin. 2.138; Diod. 16.33.3). Strabo holds that once (*τὸ παλαιόν*) Daphnous in East Lokris belonged to Phokis (9.3.1), and refers to Daphnous as a Phokian *polis* at 9.3.17; cf. Steph. Byz. 222.14. It is not known when this Lokrian port belonged to Phokis (Glotz (1909) 531; Nielsen (2000) 107–8; *contra* Beloch (1911)). Onchoe

(*infra* 406), Pharygai (*infra* 403) and Knemis (Ps.-Skylax 61) may belong in the same context.

We know next to nothing about the exact size of the territory of the Phokian *poleis*, and comparison with modern centres does not help (*contra* Ruschenbusch (1991)). Furthermore, it is impossible to determine the frontiers of the *poleis* around Mt. Parnassos, of which at least a part was a no man's land. Here the approximate size of the territories is assessed by the drawing of Thiessen polygons, admittedly an imprecise method, but often sufficient when the purpose is to place a *polis* in one, or at most two, of the five groups used in this work.

1. *Ancient Toponyms not Denoting Pre-Hellenistic* Poleis

Some toponyms and names of communities are excluded from the inventory of *poleis*. They are listed below and belong to at least one of the following five categories. (1) Communities of unknown status mentioned in Classical literary sources: Kragalidai. (2) Communities not attested as Phokian *poleis* earlier than the Hellenistic period: Antaieis, Helikonioi, Pharygai, Pyrrha(?), Stephane. (3) Toponyms erroneously classified as Phokian *poleis* in late sources: (a) sites belonging in other regions: Aigostheneia, Erannos; (b) toponyms invented by misreading manuscripts: Groneia, Larisa, Patronis(?); (c) extrapolation or misinterpretation in late sources of information in earlier sources: Anemoreia, Apollonia, Boukaia, Hya(m)peia, Kirphis/Skirphai, Krisa, Kyparissos, Lykoreia, Melainai, Onchoe(?); (d) mythological *poleis*: Agatheia, Lykoreia; (e) pseudo-historical *poleis*: Krisa. (4) Toponyms designating sites attested in a context in which *polis* status is questionable: Naulochos. (5) Sites erroneously interpreted as *poleis* by modern historians: Glechon, Kleonai, Marathon.

1.1 *Communities of unknown status mentioned in Classical literary sources*

Kragalidai (*Κραγαλίδαι*) Unlocated. Various spellings of the name are attested in lexicographers and scholiasts, all probably derived from poor copies of Aeschin. 3.107–8: *Κραγαλίδαι* (Aeschin. 3.107, 108, Dilts; schol. Aeschin. 3.107); *Κραγαλλίδαι* (Aeschin. 3.107k; *Suda* Σ2349); *Κραναλλίδαι* (Harp. *K*80; *Suda* Σ2349); *Κρανγαλλίδαι* (Didymos in Harp. *K*80); *Κρακαλίδαι* (Hsch. *K*3923); *Ἀκραγ(γ)αλ(λ)ίδαι* (Aeschin. 3.107βf); *Ἀκραγαλίς* (*Suda* *A*951). The hinterland of Kirrha is called *Κρανγάλλιον* by the C3 historian Xenokrates (*FGrHist* 240) fr. 22, but this toponym is probably derived from *Κρανγαλλίδαι* (Schober (1924) 34; Rousset (2002) 33–34). Reminding his audience of the exploitations leading up to the First Sacred War, Aischines (3.107) mentions that the Kirrhaioi and Kragalidai had settled in the sacred land: *τὴν χώραν κατῴκησαν Κιρραῖοι καὶ Κραγαλίδαι, γένη παρονομώτατα*. And these Kragalidai are once again associated with the Kirrhaioi in the oracle quoted in 3.108: *ἀναιρεῖ ἡ Πυθία πολεμεῖν Κιρραίοις καὶ Κραγαλίδαις . . . καὶ τὴν χώραν καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐκπορθήσαντας καὶ αὐτοὺς ἀνδραποδισαμένους ἀναθεῖναι τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι*. The historiographic context of the First Sacred War is a moot point (Robertson (1978); Davies (1994)), and the absence of the Kragalidai in other sources for the war calls for circumspection. Some modern historians have connected the Kragalidai with an undatable crystallisation of local legends of Delphi (Davies (1994) 202). Thus, the existence of a hero Kragaleus allied with Herakles against Apollo (Ant. Lib. 4) may have led to the invention of these Kragalidai at the time when the struggle between Apollo and Herakles over the tripod came to constitute a representation of the First Sacred War (Parke and Boardman (1957) 276–78). Thus, even the existence of the Kragalidai is subject to doubt. The variant spellings attested in the lexicographers testify to their ignorance. But since there is no explicit evidence to the contrary, it seems better to assume the historicity of the Kragalidai. On the other hand, it is more difficult to decide their status. The text of Aischines is open to several interpretations, depending on (a) whether the term *γένος* denotes a race or a lineage or a civic subdivision; (b) whether the word *γένη* qualifies the Kragalidai only, or the Kirrhaioi and the Kragalidai combined; (c) whether the word *πόλιν* in the singular means the *polis* of the Kirrhaioi and the Kragalidai, or the *polis* of the Kirrhaioi and the *polis* of the Kragalidai. There is no way we can decide these issues, and it seems prudent not to trust the account of the *Presbeutikos Logos* (Hippoc. *Ep.* 27), who in connection with the Sacred War mentions the *ethnos* of the Krisaians and the *cities* found there in order to represent the Kragalidai as a *polis*. The description of the *Κρακαλίδαι* as *τῶν Κρισσαίων βασιλεῖς* (Hsch. *K*3923) is probably just an interpretation of Aichines' text. Not in *Barr.*

1.2 *Communities not attested as Phokian* poleis *earlier than the Hellenistic period*

Antaieis (*Ἀνταιεῖς*) The ethnic *Ἀνταιεύς* is attested in post-Classical inscriptions (e.g. *IG* IX² 1.1 17A.1.11 (C3m–s)), but it cannot be determined whether this possible *polis* was Aitolian, Lokrian or Phokian (Lerat (1952) i. 72). No date or location in *Barr.*

Helikonioi (*Ἑλικώνιος*) Unlocated. The Delphic manumission inscriptions of C2 provide us with at least one unquestionable attestation of the ethnic *Ἑλικώνιος* (*SGDI* 2241 (C2e); cf. *F.Delphes* III.1 333 (C2l): *Ἑλι*[*κώνιος*]). A C2–C1 sepulchral inscription from Thisbe (*Νείκη Ἑλικωνία* (*IG* VII 2348)) may provide us with the only other attestation of the ethnic. That this community should be located in the south-eastern part of Phokis is apparent from (1) the similarity between the ethnic and the name of Mt. Helikon, (2) the origin of the guarantor (Medeon) and the witnesses (Ambryssos) listed in the C2 manumission inscription, (3) the provenance of *IG* VII 2348. It can be cautiously suggested that the *Helikonioi* inhabited the site of Kyriaki, where some ancient remains have been dated to C4 (Fossey (1986) 35–39; Rousset (1999) 43–44); but the existence of a city in western Boiotia cannot be precluded. The nature of the inscriptions does not allow us to presume that the ethnic is a sub-ethnic rather than a city-ethnic (Robert (1946) 87; Hansen (1996) 194; Rousset (1999) 55). Irrespective of the status of the *Helikonioi* in the Hellenistic period, the silence of the sources for the Archaic and Classical periods precludes the inclusion in the Inventory of a *polis* of the *Helikonioi*. Not in *Barr.*

Pharygai (*Φαρύγαι*) reporting an embassy of 318, Plut. *Phoc.* 33.7 mentions the toponym *Φαρύγαι*, which he calls a *κώμη τῆς Φωκίδος*, but at Strabo 9.4.6 *Φαρύγαι* is identified with *Τάρφη* in East Lokris. Pritchett (1992) 151–55 denied its existence and took it to be an error for *Ναρύκα*, but Buckler (1989) 96 n. 17 has defended Plutarch's reference to a Pharygai in Phokis. Not in *Barr.*

Pyrrha (*Pyrrha*) In his list of Lokrian and Phokian toponyms (*HN* 4.7), Pliny mentions *Pyrrha*, which has been associated with *Πυρρ*[*αῖος*] in a list of Aitolian *hieromnemones* of C3s (*CID* IV 81). The site is unlocated and unattested before the Hellenistic period (Lerat (1952) i. 62). *Barr.* unlocated and undated.

Stephane (*Στεφάνη*) Unlocated. Both Herodian and Steph. Byz. mention a *πόλις Φωκίδος* called sometimes *Στεφάνη* (Hdn. III.1 328.24, 370.18; Steph. Byz. 585.9) and sometimes *Στεφαναῖον* (Hdn. III.1 370.18).

Two other passages are sometimes adduced in connection with this *πόλις Φωκίδος*: Herodian mentions a *Στεφαναῖον, ὄνομα τόπου* (III.2 426.33) and *Suda* has the entry *Στεφάνη πόλις* (*Σ*1065). Finally, Steph. Byz. has the ethnic *Στεφαναῖος*. A Boiotian inscription confirms the information brought by the lexica. In a C1f list of *proxenoi* of an unknown *polis* is the heading *Στεφανῖται* followed by three names, of which the second is . . . *ώνδης Διονυσοδώρου* (*SEG* 37 388.14–17). Although Stephanos attributes the ethnic *Στεφανίτης* to a Stephane in Paphlagonia, a name ending in *-ώνδης* suggests a *proxenos* coming from central Greece (*SEG* 42 436); thus the link between the ethnic and the toponym is likely, but not enough to show that Stephane was a Phokian *polis* in the Archaic and Classical periods. *Barr.* unlocated, C, town in Phokis, but no evidence supports C.

1.3 *Toponyms erroneously classified as Phokian* poleis *in late sources*

1.3a Sites belonging in other regions

Aigostheneia (*Αἰγοσθένεια*) Called a *πόλις Φωκίδος* by Steph. Byz. 44.7, quoting Arkadios. The toponym is mentioned by Ptol. *Geog.* 3.14.17 among the *τόποι Φωκίδος μεσόγειοι* and is probably mistaken for Megarian Aigosthena (no. 224) (cf. implicitly Meyer, *RE* XV. 164) rather than for one of the Phokian toponyms *Αἰγώνεια* (*F.Delphes* III.2 136) or *Αἴγαι* (schol. Ap. Rhod. 1.1165c) or *Αἰγαῖον πεδίον* (Eusth. *Comm. ad Dionys. Per.*, *GGM* II.240.6–7). Rousset (2002) 16.

Erannos (*Ἔρανος*) See Kyparissos (*infra*).

1.3b Toponyms invented by misreading manuscripts

Groneia (*Γρώνεια*) At Steph. Byz. 213.16, *Γρώνεια* is a misreading by Stephanos or his source of *Τρώνεια* (Schober (1924) 30; Robert (1960) 75; cf. no. 197). *Barr.* lists it as an unlocated Phokian city.

Larisa (*Λάρισα*) A Larisa is mentioned among other Phokian toponyms in two sources of the Roman imperial period: Dion. Calliphon. 81, Marcotte: *Ἐν τῇ μεσογείῳ . . . Κυπαρίσσου πόλις, Λαρισά τε, μετ' αὐτὴν Δαυλίς*, a passage which is probably the source of Plin. *HN* 4.27: *introrsus autem Larisa, Elatea et in ripa Cephesi, ut diximus, Lilaea* (cf. Rousset (1994) 302, *contra* Marcotte (1990) 135).

But even if one rejects the plausible conjecture of *Κρίσα* (Marcotte (1990) 133), there is no reason to make a *polis* of this Larisa, which is otherwise unattested in Archaic and Classical sources. Not in *Barr.*

Patronis (*Πατρωνίς*) The only source for this toponym is the account in Plut. *Sull.* 15.6 of the preparations for the battle of Chaironeia in 86. Some commentators have suggested an emendation of Plutarch's text. His *Πατρωνίς* was situated north-east of Tithorea near *Τρωνίς*, which is epigraphically attested and according to Pausanias was situated in the territory of Daulis (cf. Troneia (no. 197)). It is tempting in Plutarch to read {*πα*}*Τρωνίς*. On the other hand, a C4 Delphic inscription may provide us with an attestation of the ethnic *Πατρνωεῖς*. At *CID* II 108.9 [. . .]*ΤΡΩΝΕΙΕΙΣ* is normally interpreted as *Τρωνειεῖς*, the ethnic corresponding to *Τρνωίς*, but an equally possible restoration is [. . . *Πα*]*τρωνειεῖς*. Thus, Robert (1960) 75 (*pace* Schober (1924) 43) argues in favour of two distinct cities. But the topographical argument which permitted Robert to establish a distinction between Troneia and Patronis has been countered persuasively by McInerney (1997) 197–99. There is no proof that the sanctuary of a hero Archegetes at Troneia is to be located in the neighbourhood of the Phokikon. Thus, there is no basis for arguing that Troneia was situated south of Daulis and was different from Patronis, probably to be located north of Daulis (Plut. *Sulla* 15). As the evidence stands, the identification of *Πατρωνίς* with *Τρωνίς* seems the preferable solution (Leake (1835) ii. 104; Tillard (1911) 65; Kirsten (1951) 713; *Barr.*). *Barr.* C.

1.3c Extrapolation or misinterpretation in late sources

Anemoreia (*Ἀνεμώρεια*) Unlocated. The toponym is *Ἀνεμώρεια*, *ἡ* (Hom. *Il.* 2.521; cf. schol. 521a, Erbse; Eust. *Il.* 1 421.17, van der Valk; Lycoph. *Alex.* 1073; Strabo 9.3.15; Hdn. III.1 276.23, 2 476.10; Steph. Byz. 95.1; Hsch. *A*4483; Eust. *Il.* 421.17, van der Valk) or *Ἀνεμώλεια* (Strabo 9.3.13; Steph. Byz. 95.1, taking it to be the contemporary toponym; cf. Eust. *Il.* 1 421.17, van der Valk). Eustathios' statement that the toponym Anemoreia was changed into Hyampolis rests on a misreading of Strabo. The only sources to classify Anemoreia as a *πόλις Φωκίδος* are lexicographers (Steph. Byz.; Hsch.), grammarians (Herodian) and scholiasts (*in* Lycoph. *Alex.*). Apart from the scholiast, these sources paraphrase Strabo. He describes Anemoreia as a *τόπος* serving as the boundary between the Delphians and the Phokians after the Second Sacred War in C5m. Such an economical solution, which reduces the *polis* status of Anemoreia to a mistaken item of information in sources all derived from Strabo, does not accord with the observation that some items of information are absent from Strabo's account and too precise to be pure invention: *ἐξ οὗ δι' ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτὸς καταιγίζεται* (Herodian; Steph. Byz.) and *κειμένη ἐπὶ λόφου ὑψηλοῦ* (Steph. Byz.). These details must stem from an independent source, and so may the classification of Anemoreia as a *polis*. On the other hand, the evidence is insufficient to show that Anemoreia was a *polis* in the Archaic and Classical periods. It was probably just a *topos* (Rousset (2002) 29–30). It is not possible to verify the identification with the toponym *Ἀνέμαια*, mentioned in the Amphiktyonic regulations of 380 (*CID* I 115 n. 147). Attempts to locate Homeric Anemoreia are unconvincing. The frontier regulation attested at *F.Delphes* III.2 136 mentions a place called Katopterion, which must have been situated somewhere between Phlygonion and Delphi. According to Strabo, Anemoreia was situated below Katopterion: "a cliff extending from Parnassos". However, since it is impossible to locate Katopterion, there is no basis for the common identification of Anemoreia with the prehistoric site at Kastrouli or the village of Arachova (*pace* Lazenby and Hope Simpson (1970) 43; Dassios (1992) no. 114; *CID* I 115 n. 147; McInerney (1999) 307–8). *Barr.* unlocated and undated.

Apollonia (*Ἀπολλωνία*) Lexicographers and scholiasts mention an *Ἀπολλωνία* (Steph. Byz. 106.7) or *Ἀπολλωνιάς* (Steph. Byz. 395.10 = schol. Hom. *Il.* 519; Eust. *Il.* 519), stating that it was a new name for Homeric *Κυπάρισσος* (*Il.* 2.519). In Steph. Byz. 106.7 it is listed among the *poleis* called Apollonia. It is undoubtedly a "ghost-toponym", derived from the adjective *Ἀπολλώνιος*, often used to designate some locality in the territory of Delphi; cf., e.g., Pind. *Pyth.* 6.8–9 with schol.: *θησαυρὸς ἐν πολυχρύσῳ Ἀπολλωνίᾳ τετείχισται νάπᾳ*. The identification with Kyparissos is explained by the juxtaposition of Kyparissos and Delphi (*Πυθῶν*) at Hom. *Il.* 2.519. Any attempt to locate Apollonia is therefore doomed to fail (*pace* McInerney (1999) 306). *Barr.* unlocated and undated.

Boukaia (*Βούκαια*) The only source is *Etym. Magn.* 207.23: *Βούκαια. πόλις Φωκίδος ἐν τῷ Παρνασῷ*. But the entry shows that *Βούκαια* is the name of a famous sacrifice performed on Parnassos in memory of Deukalion and Pyrrha. The toponym *Βούκαια* is coined either directly from the name of the sacrifice or from the adjective *βουκαιεύς* (signifying a person participating in the sacrifice?), misinterpreted as an ethnic. The only other attes-

tation of the toponym is Schober's conjecture *Βούκαια* for MSS *Βοὲ καὶ Δριμύα* in Hierokles *Synekdemos* (643.9, Honigmann). By rejecting this conjecture and suggesting instead *Βοαὶ καί*, Honigmann has eliminated the other source for a *polis* called Boukaia. Not in *Barr.*

Hya(m)peia (*Ὑάμπεια*) The toponym Hyampeia designates one of the cliffs surmounting the sanctuary of Apollo at Delphi (Hdt. 8.39.1; Plut. *Mor.* 557A). But, knowing only the spelling *Ὑάπεια*, Steph. Byz. 644.14 classifies Hya(m)peia as a *πόλις Φωκίδος*. His interpretation is based on an erroneous interpretation of Strabo 9.3.15, where the geographer distinguishes Hyampolis from Hyampeia. Conversely, Eust. *Il.* 2.521 imagines a Hyampolis on Parnassos. *Barr.*: unlocated Phokian town.

Kirphis (*Κίρφις*) See Skirphai (*infra*).

Krisa (*Κρῖσα*) Hom. *Il.* 2.520 (*Κρίσα*); Pind. *Isthm.* 2.26 (*Κρίση*); *Hymn. Hom. Ap.* 269 (*Κρίσσα*); schol. Pind. *Pyth.* I, inscr. b. There is no epigraphical attestation. For the relation to the toponyms *Κίρρα* and *Κίρσα*, see *infra* 419. *Κρῖσα* is a Homeric toponym from which is derived the ethnic *Κρισαῖοι* (*Hymn. Hom. Ap.* 446). The aetiological aspect of this hymn is probably the reason why the future sanctuary of Apollo is called *Κρίση* and its inhabitants *Κρισαῖοι* (Lerat (1948), *contra* Skorda (1992) 62–63). The attestations in Homer and the hymn do not allow any localisation of the site (*contra*: Lerat (1948), but see *infra*). Later occurrences of the toponym *Κρῖσα* and the ethnic *Κρισαῖοι* are often a mere citation or reminiscence of the Homeric name in a poetic context (Pind. *Isthm.* 2.26; Soph. *El.* 180) or in a mythical context (Hecat. fr. 115a; Ephor. fr. 141). Alternatively, they are late authors' often confused attempts to give a historical interpretation of the Homeric poems (Strabo 9.3.3–4), and/or they are second-hand citations of sources referring sometimes to *Κρῖσα* and sometimes to *Κίρρα* (Plin. *HN* 4.7; Dion. Calliphon. 81(?); cf. *supra* s.v. Larisa; Ptol. *Geog.* 3.14.17). Modern scholars have mostly identified Homeric Krisa with the fortified Mycenaean site at Ag. Georgios (Hope Simpson (1981) 77; Skorda (1992) 44–46; Dassios (1992) no. 124), which, however, has no remains of the Archaic period. Scholars believing in an Archaic Krisa, as attested in the Hymn to Apollo or the sources for the First Sacred War, have suggested alternative locations, none of which is convincing (Skorda (1992) 62–65 followed by *Barr.*: Ag. Varvara; McInerney (1999) 312: Khrysso). With the toponym is associated an area called *Κρι(σ)σαῖον πεδίον* in Classical sources (Hdt. 8.32.2; Isoc. 14.31). This plain—situated between Amphissa and the port of Kirrha—is identical with the *Κιρραῖον πεδίον* which constituted part of the Sacred Land (*infra* 419). For the confusion of the two toponyms, see Lerat (1948); Robertson (1978); Càssola (1980); and Rousset (2002) 32–33. It may have added to the confusion that, in sources which had no connection with the First Sacred War, the name *Κρισαῖος κόλπος* was used to designate the Corinthian Gulf (Thuc. 2.69.1). Krisa is classified as a *polis* in numerous late sources (Paus. 10.37.5; Steph. Byz. 385.4; Hsch. *K*4145; *Suda K*2440; Eust. *Il.* I 419.7–8, 420.15, van der Valk). Stephanos and Eustathios cite Hekataios, but the context is probably mythological, so that nothing can be inferred from their use of the term *polis*. In the other sources it is impossible to determine whether the reference is to Homeric Krisa, in which case their use of the term *polis* can be dismissed, or to the Krisa mentioned in connection with the notoriously problematical First Sacred War, for which see Robertson (1978); Càssola (1980); and Davies (1994). The variation between the toponyms of Krisa and Kirrha is inextricably bound up with the historiographical tradition about the First Sacred War, and anything said about Krisa can be said about Kirrha as well; see *infra* 419. The distinction between the two entries in this inventory is purely formal. The First Sacred War, called *Κρισαῖος πόλεμος* by Kallisthenes ((*FGrHist* 124) fr. 1), was conducted against a polity called *Κρισαῖοι* in some sources and *Κιρραῖοι* in others (catalogue in Robertson (1978) 43; Càssola (1980) 258–59). The longest account we have of the First Sacred War is a rhetorical composition of C4–C3, called *Presbeutikos Logos* and inserted into the Hippocratic corpus (Littré 9.404–28 no. 27; cf. Smith (1990) 2–4). The speaker mentions the *Κρίσαιον πεδίον*, inhabited by the *Κρίσαιον ἔθνος* which was settled in numerous *πόλεις*, of which one, lying near the later hippodrome, was fortified and exposed to a long siege (Littré 9.406–8). To conclude: (1) whatever historical reality may be hidden behind this tradition, its inaccuracies and inconsistencies preclude any reliable reconstruction, and nothing can be deduced from the terminology used in these sources. (2) There is much to be said for the view that the *polis* status of Krisa/Kirrha in C6e is an aetiological invention which became prominent in the context of the Third and Fourth Sacred Wars in order to explain the obscure origin of the *hiera ge*. In that case, there is no reason to debate the historicity of such a *polis* any longer (cf. Kirrha (no. 183)). *Barr.* ACH.

Kyparissos (*Κυπάρισσος*) The first Phokian community recorded in the Homeric Catalogue of Ships (*Il.* 2.519). A variant form *Κυπαρισσοῦς* is found at Steph. Byz. 395.2 = Eust. *Il.* 2.519. Believed to have been the residence of

the hero Kyparissos (Nonnos, *Dion.* 13.123–24; Steph. Byz. 395.3; schol. Hom. *Il.* 2.519), it is also attested in the periphrastic form *Κυπαρίσσου πόλις* (Dion. Calliphon. 80). Citing Homer, Steph. Byz. 395.6 describes Kyparissos as a *πόλις ἐν Παρνασσῷ κατὰ τοὺς Δελφούς*. On the other hand, Strabo 9.3.13 = Eust. *Il.* 2.519 classifies Kyparissos as a *κώμη ὑπὸ τῇ Λυκωρείᾳ*. The absence of sources antedating the Roman period indicates that the information found in the late authors is pure guesswork concerning the status and location of a community known exclusively from Homer's text. The ignorance explains Pausanias' suggestion at 10.36.5 that Kyparissos was the ancient name for Antikyra. According to Steph. Byz. 295.10, Kyparissos was called Apollonia in a later period (*supra* 404). That its former name was Erannos (*Ἔραννος*) stems from its being mixed up with the Messenian Kyparissia (Steph. Byz. 395.7 with the note). The various attempts to locate Kyparissos are highly hypothetical (*contra* Lazenby and Hope Simpson (1970) 40; McInerney (1999) 306). Not in *Barr.*

Lykoreia (*Λυκώρεια*) In the Roman imperial period, apart from the Corycian Cave, the pilgrims coming to Delphi visited on Parnassos a site called *Λυκώρεια* (Plut. *Mor.* 394F, emendation of MS *Λυκουρίαν*). No matter whether this Lykoreia was a natural site or some kind of building, it was just a place in the territory of Delphi (cf. Rousset (2002) 34–35). But some ancient sources took Lykoreia to be a mythological *polis* founded by Deukalion (see *supra* 404). The sources do in fact disagree, some classifying Lykoreia as a *polis* (Paus. 10.6.2; *Suda Λ*829; *Marm. Par.* (*FGrHist* 239) A2, A4), others as a *kome* (Steph. Byz. 422.15) or just a *topos* (Strabo 9.3.3, cf. 9.3.13). The formulas used are even self-contradictory (*Etym. Magn.* 571.46: *πόλις Δελφίδος*; Steph. Byz. 422.16–17: *κώμη versus πολίτης*). *Barr.* unlocated, C, but no evidence supports C.

Melainai (*Μελαιναί*) Quoting Dioscorides, Galen mentions a *polis* called Melainai: . . . *βοῦς μελαῖνις. καὶ δηλοῦσθαί φησι τὴν ἐκ Μελαινῶν. πόλις δὲ αὕτη κατὰ τὸ Κρισαῖον πεδίον προκειμένη Κιρφίῳ* . . . The same toponym appears as the name of a simple locality in the *Presbeutikos Logos* in the Hippocratic corpus: *τὸ μὲν Κρισαῖον πεδίον . . . ᾧ Μελαιναὶ πρόσεισι* ((Ep.) 27, 9.406, Littré). The classification of Melainai as a *polis* rests on Dioscorides' misinterpretation of the Hippocrates passage (Rousset (2002) 35–37). *Barr.* unlocated and undated.

Onchoe (*Ὀνχόη*) Hdn. III.1 306.20 and Steph. Byz. 483.10 record an *Ὀνχόη, πόλις Φωκίδος*. There is no other evidence, but see *ad* Stephane *supra*). K. O. Müller (1824) 51 suggested that in Steph. Byz. *Ὀνχόη* had been mixed up with *Ἄνχόαι*, attested as an East Lokrian toponym at Strabo 9.2.18 and Plin. *HN* 4.26; cf. Oldfather (1918); Fossey (1990) 27–32. The reason for placing Anchoe in Phokis may have been either that the Kephisos, principally a Phokian river, was supposed to reappear at Anchoai (Strabo 9.2.18) or that this part of Lokris had once been under Phokian control; cf. *supra* 399. Not in *Barr.*

Skirphai (*Σκίρφαι*) Steph. Byz. 576.9 records Skirphai as a *πόλις Φωκική*, and he quotes the C4 historian Dieuchidas for the ethnics *Σκίρφιος* and *Σκιρφαῖος* ((*FGrHist* 485) fr. 11). Stephanos provides us with the only attestation of the toponym, which must be a variant form of *Κίρφις*. In Strabo 9.3.1 Kirphis is juxtaposed with Delphi and Daulis, and all three are called *χωρία*; but *Κίρφις* is nevertheless not a community but a mountain to the south of Delphi (Strabo 9.3.3; Hippoc. *Ep.* 27: *Κίρφιον*; Ant. Lib. 8.1; Pind. *Hyp. Pyth.* b, d; cf. Rousset (2002) 32). Not in *Barr.*

1.3d Mythological *poleis*

Agatheia (*Ἀγάθεια*) Called a *πόλις Φωκίδος* by Steph. Byz. 10.19, quoting Hellan. fr. 11. The fragment is about Deukalion, the father of Phokos, the eponymous hero of Phokis, and the reference is probably to an imaginary *polis.* However, it cannot be precluded that Stephanos is mistaking *Ἀγάθεια* for *Ἀγάθα*, a colony founded by the Phokaians of Massalia (cf. Ps.–Skym. 208).

Lykoreia (*Λυκώρεια*) See *supra.*

1.3e Pseudo-historical *poleis*

Krisa (*Κρῖσα*) See *supra.*

1.4 Toponyms designating sites attested in a context in which polis *status is questionable*

***Naulochos** (*Naulochus*) The toponym *Naulochum* appears in Plin. *HN* 4.7 in a muddled list of Phokian and Lokrian toponyms, some of which were names of *poleis.* The toponym reappears in the form *Nolo[chum]* in a second century AD delineation of frontiers (*F.Delphes* III.4 294), which permits us to place *Naulochum* somewhere between Kirrha and Antikyra, but as a local toponym without the status of *polis* (cf. Rousset (2002) 37). *Barr.* C.

1.5 *Sites erroneously interpreted as* poleis *by modern historians*

Glechon From Strabo's erroneous quote of Hesiod at 9.3.16: *παρὲκ Πανοπῆα διὰ Γλήχωνά τ' ἐρύμνην*, Schober (1924) 30 assumed the existence of a Phokian Glechon situated between Phanoteus (no. 190) and Orchomenos (no. 213). The improved reading [*διὰ Γ*]*ληχῶνα τέρειναν* in *PYale* 1.17 (= Hes. fr. 70.21, MW) has disposed of Glechon as a "ghost-toponym". Not in *Barr.*

Kleonai (*Κλεωναί*) In his account of a war between the Phokians and the Thessalians, Plutarch (*Mor.* 244D) tells us that the decisive battle took place *περὶ Κλεωνὰς τῆς Ὑαμπόλιδος*. Thus, Kleonai must have been a site somewhere in the territory of Hyampolis (no. 182). A mutilated inscription has led to the assumption that there was a community of "Kleoneis" (*AJA* 19 (1916) 334: *Κλεωνέ*[*ων*] *Κλεωνε*[*ῖς*]; see Schober (1924) 33). But a different reading of the inscription, which is probably just an ordinary tombstone, gives *ΚΛΕΩΝΙ*, e.g. *Κλεωνί*[*δας*]. As the evidence stands, there is no reason to assume the existence of a community of Kleoneis. The identification of Kleonai with modern Smixi, suggested by Pritchett (1996) 141–45, is unconvincing. *Barr.* unlocated, HR, but A attested as well.

Marathon (*Μαραθών*) At 9.3.13 Strabo writes: *ἑξῆς γὰρ ἐν τῇ παραλίᾳ μετὰ τὴν Ἀντίκυραν πολίχνιον ὄπισθεν ὁ Μαραθών*. On the basis of this passage some have assumed the existence of a *polichnion* called Marathon (Schober (1924) 36; cf. Baladié's translation in the Budé edn.). But the term *polichnion* may just as well be construed with Antikyra, in which case Marathon is a site in the territory of the *polichnion* of Antikyra. Even on the traditional interpretation of the passage, it must be taken into account that Strabo's site-classifications cannot be interpreted retrospectively, and that there is no other attestation of Marathon in Archaic or Classical sources. Marathon may have been situated at modern Aspra-Spitia, where there are no ancient remains antedating the Roman period (*contra* Rousset (1999) 74 and map no. 46; on the site, see Fossey (1986) 25; Dassios (1992) no. 91). *Pace* Dassios (1992) no. 83, the ruins mentioned at Palaiotarsos are not impressive enough to be those of a *polis*. The same may be said of the small remains at Grammatiko (= Dassios (1992) no. 84), where Rousset (1999) 74 no. 46 and (2002) 61 no. 45 tentatively proposes to locate Marathon. Not in *Barr.*

2. *Unidentified Settlements*

Of the archaeological sites mentioned in the bibliography (Dassios (1992)), some have not been identified and some are unidentifiable (Rousset (1999)). One must distinguish between (1) sites that should presumably be identified with a Phokian *polis*, although which one is not beyond doubt; (2) sites whose identification with a named *polis* can be questioned; (3) sites whose identification with a named *polis* must be rejected.

2.1

Drossochori Possibly not in Phokis (Dassios (1992) no. 122; Rousset (1999) no. 81, (2002) 66 no. 96). The precise date of the remains is unknown (from Archaic to Hellenistic?). Not in *Barr.*

Kastro Tseresi Fossey (1986) 54–56; Dassios (1992) no. 62; Rousset (1999) no. 36, (2002) 61 no. 36; cf. *Aiolidai (no. 170) and Trachis (no. 195). The site has produced ceramic material dating from C4 to Imperial times. *Barr.* registers the site as "Ano Tseresi, Palaiokastro" and (wrongly) identifies it with Phlygonion (no. 191).

Kyriaki Fossey (1986) 35–39; Dassios (1992) no. 72; Rousset (1999) no. 42, (2002) 61 no. 41; cf. *supra* 403, s.v. *Helikonioi. Barr.*, following Fossey (1986) 35–39, tentatively identifies the site with Trachis (no. 195).

Modi Dassios (1992) no. 21; Rousset (1999) no. 18, (2002) 61 no. 19, *Barr.* dates the site C, but the reference to Dassios (1992) 42 is wrong (Dassios is discussing Gournes (*infra*), tentatively (and questionably) identifying it with Ledon (no. 184)).

Palaia Phiva Dassios (1999) no. 26; Rousset (1992) no. 19, (2002) 61 no. 19; cf. Pedieis (no. 189). *Barr.* (following Dassios (1992) 40–41) tentatively identifies this site with Pedieis and dates it C.

Vourlia Amphikleias Dassios (1992) no. 20; Rousset (1999) no. 16, (2002) 60 no. 16; cf. Pedieis (no. 189) and Triteis (no. 196). Tentatively described as Classical by Dassios (1992) no. 20, but the date remains unknown. Not in *Barr.*

2.2

Gournes Dassios (1992) no. 32; Rousset (1999) no. 21, (2002) 61 no. 21. The nature and the date of the remains are poorly known; Dassios (1992) no. 32 tentatively suggests a C date; cf. Ledon (no. 184). Not in *Barr.*

Karakolithos Lolling (1989) 608; Fossey (1986) 59–61; Dassios (1992) no. 57; Rousset (1999) no. 37, (2002) 61 no. 37. The nature of the remains is poorly known; Fossey (1986) 56 and Dassios (1992) no. 57 tentatively propose a C–Hellenistic date; cf. Trachis (no. 195). *Barr.* identifies the site with Aiolidai (no. 170), but calls it "Bania", a modern site not marked on the map itself.

Rosoufi Dassios (1992) no. 68. The nature of the remains is poorly known; cf. *Aiolidai (no. 170); Dassios (1992) no. 67 hypothetically describes the scanty ceramic material at the site as prehistoric and Classical. Not in *Barr.*

Theotokos Dassios (1992) no. 3; cf. Lilaia (no. 185). The site has produced ceramic material dating from prehistoric to Byzantine times. The fortification may be C6 (Kase *et al.* (1991) 53). Not in *Barr.*

2.3

Grammatiko Dassios (1992) no. 84. Traces of walls hypothetically described as Classical(?) and Hellenistic(?) by Dassios; here Rousset (1999) 74 no. 46 and (2002) 61 no. 45 tentatively proposes to locate Marathon (cf. *supra* 407).

Kastrouli Zemenou Dassios (1992) no. 112; Rousset (2002) 63 no. 68. Dated to the Mycenean period (cf. S. Müller (1992) 490 no. 18). Identified with Kyparissos by McInerney (1999) 303; but cf. *supra* 406. Not in *Barr.*

Palaiotarsos-Kyriaki *Pace* Dassios (1992) no. 83; cf. *supra* s.v. Marathon. Dassios (1992) no. 32 hypothetically describes the remains as Classical. Not in *Barr.*

Panagitsa Dassios (1992) no. 30, *pace* Kirsten (1951) 741; cf. Triteis (no. 196). Finds from tombs excavated at the site have been dated from Geometric to Classical times (cf. Dassios (1992) no. 30). Not in *Barr.*

II. The *Poleis*

169. Abai (Abaios) Map 55. Lat. 38.35, long. 22.55. Size of territory: 1 or 2. Type: A. The toponym is Ἄβαι, αἱ (Hdt. 8.33; Diod. 16.58.4; *F.Delphes* III.2 230.5 (C2s)) or Ἄβαί (Kallisthenes (*FGrHist* 124) fr. 11) or Ἄβα/Ἄβη (Arist. fr. 617; Hdn. III.1 308.24–26; Steph. Byz. 1.1) or Ἄβαντα (Hsch. *A*65). The city-ethnic is Ἀβαῖος (*IG* IX.1 78.2 (C3l); Paus. 10.3.2). Abai is called a *polis* in the urban sense at Hdt. 8.33 in connection with Xerxes' invasion of Phokis in 480, when Abai was burnt to the ground and, retrospectively, at Paus. 10.3.2 (r346). The collective and external use of the city-ethnic is attested in a letter of Philip V to the Abaians (*IG* IX.1 78.2) and, retrospectively, in Paus. 10.3.2 (rC4m); cf. also 10.35.4. The individual and external use is attested in a C2s Delphic manumission (*F.Delphes* III.2 230.7) and in a first century AD proxeny decree (*F.Delphes* III.4 443).

Abai is commonly mentioned in literary sources in connection with the oracle of Apollo situated in its territory (Hdt. 8.27.5 (rC6?); for the date, see Ellinger (1993) 17–22; Hdt. 1.46.2 (rC6m), 8.33, 8.134; Soph. *OT* 899; Paus. 4.32.5 (r371); Diod. 16.58 (r347/6); Paus. 10.35.1–5). The location of the sanctuary is unknown (Ellinger (1993) 25, *contra* Yorke (1896) 298–302; McInerney (1999) 288–89). Abaios as the epithet of Apollo is attested in Hsch. *A*50 and confirmed by onomastic material (Sittig (1911) 52). The identity between the epithet and the city-ethnic may be the explanation of the use of the toponym to designate the sanctuary itself (Strabo 9.3.13).

There can be no doubt that Abai was a member of the Phokian *koinon*, although there is no explicit attestation. In the idiom ἐς Ἄβας τὰς Φωκέων (Hdt. 1.46.2 (rC6m) and 8.134.1 (rC5f)) the reference to the Phokians indicates location rather than political status, and that applies also to Kallisthenes (*FGrHist* 124) fr. 11. On the other hand, Pausanias' account of the fate of Abai in 346 implies that Abai belonged to the Phokian *koinon*. Pausanias asserts that Abai avoided the *dioikismos* because it participated neither in the occupation of the sanctuary in Delphi nor in the war (10.3.2). Diodorus, on the other hand, tells us that in 347 the Phokians built a *phrourion* on what was undoubtedly Abaian territory (16.58.4; cf. Dassios (1995), (1992) no. 43). The possible inferences from these two pieces of information are (a) that in 347 the Abaians no longer had control of their own territory, or (b) that Abai's participation in the war was purely defensive, or (c) that Abai's pacifist attitude is a later rewriting of history.

The site is enclosed by a fortification wall in polygonal masonry, a part of it in Lesbian style. Both the acropolis and the lower town were fortified, and the walls enclosed an area of *c.*16 ha. The wall enclosing the acropolis may be older than that enclosing the lower town, but the dates, based on style and *a priori* historical arguments, are disputed (Yorke (1896) 294–96: C5 or earlier; Scranton (1941) 160: C6; Fossey (1986) 78–79, 122–27: C5; Winter (1971) 103: the wall enclosing the lower town not earlier than C4). Pausanias mentions an agora and a theatre both of ancient construction (10.35.4: κατασκευῆς ἀρχαίας). The remains found in the neigh-

bouring sanctuary and in the cemetery date back to C7 (Fossey (1986) 164–65).

170. *Aiolidai (Aiolideus) Map 55. Lat. 38.25, long. 22.45. *Barr.* (with a query) locates it at modern Karakolithos, although in the directory this site is named "Bania", a modern site not marked on the map itself; cf. *supra* 408, s. v. *karakolithos*, and see *infra*). Size of territory: ? Type: A. The toponym is unattested and reconstructed from the city-ethnic. The city-ethnic is *Αἰολιδεύς*, attested at Hdt. 8.35.1 in its collective and external use. The *πόλις* of the *Αἰολιδεῖς* is known exclusively from Herodotos' account at 8.35.1 of Xerxes' march in 480 from Phanoteus towards Delphi when *Aiolidai was burnt to the ground: *Καὶ γὰρ τῶν Πανοπέων τὴν πόλιν ἐνέπρησαν καὶ Δαυλίων Αἰολιδέων* (*Αἰολίδων* MS P). Tillard (1911) 64 demonstrated that Valckenaer's conjecture *Λιλαιέων* must be rejected for topographical reasons. At *Mor.* 418A Plutarch mentions a group of persons in Delphi perhaps called the *Αἰολάδαι*, but there is no reason to connect them with the *Αἰολιδεῖς* attested in Herodotos (Rousset (2002) 28).

At Hdt. 8.35.1 *polis* is used in the urban sense, but the use of the city-ethnic instead of the toponym indicates that the political sense is a connotation; see Hansen (2000) 176, 205. The passage from Herodotos shows that the *polis* of the Aiolideis must have been situated between Daulis and Delphi. Assuming that the *polis* was fortified, one would have to exclude the site of Phokikon, where, however, some epitaphs of the Archaic period have been found (Fossey (1986) 57). On the other hand, *Aiolidai must then be identified with one of the three sites found along this route: (a) Rosoufi (= Dassios (1992) no. 68), the remains of which, however, are poorly attested; or (b) Kastro-Zemenou (McInerney (1999) 304 = Dassios (1992) no. 112), but the remains do not look like a permanent settlement and the alleged Archaic remains are questionable; (c) Kastro Teresi, where no remains of the Archaic period have been found (Tillard (1911) 66–68 = *Aiolidai; Fossey (1986) 54–56 = Phlygonion; Rousset (2002) 43 n. 46 = Trachis). In any case, one must abandon the identification of *Aiolidai with the remains at Bania (Schober (1924) 22). This site is to be identified with ancient Phlygonion (no. 191), and there is no basis for assuming a change of name from *Aiolidai to Phlygonion. To conclude, the location of *Aiolidai remains unresolved.

171. Ambryssos (Ambryssios) Map 55. Lat. 37.55, long. 22.40. Size of territory: probably 2. Type: B. The toponym is *Ἄμβρυσ(σ)ος*, *ἡ* (*SGDI* 2147.1 (C2m); Strabo 9.3.13; *SGDI* 2314.1 (C2l); Polyb. 4.25.2 (rC3s)). In late sources the toponym is sometimes *Ἄμβροσσος* (*IG* IX.1 12.2–3 (third century AD); Paus. 10.36.3) or *Ἄμβροσσός* (schol. Ap. Rhod. A54) or *Ἄμφρυσος* (Steph. Byz. 91.9). The city-ethnic is *Ἀμβρύσ(σ)ιος* (*SGDI* 2125.2 (C2e), 2147.5–6 (C2s) or *Ἀμφρύσιος* (Lycoph. *Alex.* 900) or, in late sources only, *Ἀμβρόσσιος* (*F.Delphes* III.3 431.6 (C1m)) or *Ἀμβρυσσεύς* (*F.Delphes* III.2 136.24 (C2m)) or *Ἀμβρο/ωσσεύς* (*IG* IX.1 18.12 (third century AD); Paus. 10.1.8 (rC6?); *IG* IX.1 18.12 (third century AD)). The earliest attestation of Ambryssos as a *polis* is of C2 (*IG* IX.1 10.1–2), but it is retrospectively attested as a *polis* in the urban sense at Paus. 10.3.2, where it is listed among the Phokian cities dioikised in 346. The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally in *IG* IX.1 10.1–2. The individual and external use is attested in a proxeny decree of C3 (*IG* IX.1 1.4) and in Pausanias' account of the C6(?) war between the Phokians and the Thessalians, where *Ῥοῖος Ἀμβροσσεύς* was the general of the Phokian infantry (Paus. 10.1.7–8). If one accepts the historicity of this war (but cf. Ellinger (1993) 17–22, *contra* Pritchett (1996)) we have here the oldest attestation of Ambryssos as a *polis*.

By C2s Ambryssos and Phlygonion (no. 191) had formed a *sympoliteia* with Phlygonion as the subordinate party, and a preserved delimitation of frontiers (*F.Delphes* III.2 136) shows that, at least then, the two communities bordered on Delphi (Rousset (2002) 128, 140, 155–60).

The *dioikismos* suffered in 346 shows that Ambryssos belonged to the Phokian *koinon*. Pausanias tells us that the defence circuit he saw had been built by the Thebans when they were at war with Philip II of Makedon, probably in the year between the Theban–Athenian alliance of 339 and the battle of Chaironeia in 338 (Ellis (1994) 781).

Ambryssos had a double defence circuit built by the Thebans in 339/8 (Paus. 4.31.5, 10.36.3). But some sections of the walls found during the excavations are a little later (Fossey (1986) 30; *BCH* 110 (1986) 706, 114 (1990) 762; for the date, see *ArchDelt* 38 (1983) 190–91). Pausanias mentions a small agora of unknown date. The principal sanctuary was that of Artemis Diktynnaia, whose statue was of Aiginetan workmanship (Rolley (1994) 276–77).

172. Amphikaia (Amphikleieus) Map 55. Lat. 38.40, long. 22.35. Size of territory: 1 or 2. Type: A. The toponym is *Ἀμφίκαια*, *ἡ* (Hdt. 8.33, most MSS; Steph. Byz. 90.3) or *τά* (Hdt. 8.33, Vat. gr. 123) or *Ἀμφίκλεια* (Paus. 10.33.9, quoting the *dioikismos* decree of 346 as his source for the changed spelling of the toponym). A local tradition according to which the toponym was *Ὀφιτεία* is reported by Paus.

10.33.11. Apart from Steph. Byz. 90.4, our only attestation of the city-ethnic is *Ἀμφικλειεύς* at Paus. 10.33.11.

Amphikaia is called a *polis* in the urban sense at Hdt. 8.33 and, retrospectively, at Paus. 10.3.1 and 2, in both passages in connection with Xerxes' invasion of Phokis in 480, when Amphikaia was burnt to the ground. Pausanias treats Amphikaia as a *polis* once again in connection with the *dioikismos* of the Phokian cities in 346 after the Third Sacred War (10.3.2–3 and 10.33.9: in the decree (*dogma*) about the destruction of the Phokian *poleis* the Amphiktyonians called it Amphikleia). Both sources show that Amphikaia was a member of the Phokian *koinon*.

The almost quadrangular fortification wall (*c.*250 m (east-west) × *c.*200 m (north–south)) is in trapezoidal masonry and has at least three towers on the western and two on the eastern side. A *diateichisma* encloses a small area in the eastern part of the fortification. The wall cannot be dated more precisely than C4–C3 (Frazer (1898) 420).

173. Antikyra (Antikyreus) Map 55. Lat. 38.20, long. 22.35. Size of territory: 2. Type: A. The toponym is *Ἀντίκυρα, ἡ* (Ps.-Skylax 37; Polyb. 27.16.6; Demetrios of Kallatis (*FGrHist* 85) fr. 5; Paus 10.3.1; *BCH* 66–67 (1942–43) 69 no. 1 (C2m)) or *Ἀντικύρα, ἡ* (Strabo 9.3.1). Paus. 10.36.5 reports a local tradition according to which the original toponym was *Κυπάρισσος*. Thus, the Antikyreis could claim mention in the Homeric Catalogue of Ships (*Il.* 2.519; cf. Paus. 10.3.1). This invention of a glorious past (for which see also Paus. 10.36.6, 10 and Steph. Byz. 99.4–5) may date from the time of the Third Sacred War (Diod. 16.23.5–6). The city-ethnic is *Ἀντικυρεύς* (*SGDI* 1872.8 (C2f); Polyb. 9.39.2 (rC3l)). Antikyra is called a *polis* in the urban sense by Ps.-Skylax 37 and, retrospectively, by Paus. 10.3.1 in connection with the *dioikismos* of 346. The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally on Hellenistic coins (Head, *HN*² 339) and in Hellenistic proxeny decrees (*IG* IX.1 1–3) and externally in Polyb. 9.39.2 (rC3l). The individual and external use is attested in Delphic inscriptions of C2 (*SGDI* 1872.8; *SEG* 18 190.5). In C3–C2 some federal coins were inscribed *AN*, probably an abbreviation of the city-ethnic *Ἀντικυρεύς* (Head, *HN*² 339; *SNG Cop. Phocis* 134).

A bronze statuette found in a sanctuary of Athena that was probably situated in the territory of Antikyra (Rousset (1999) 77 n. 55) has a dedicatory inscription which, according to the editor, is "Archaic": *Διόνδαι μ' ἀνέθεκαν τ' Ἀθάναι* (*BCH* 89 (1955) 257 (C6–C5?)). It is tempting to take the Diondai to be a civic subdivision, in which case the inscription is the oldest testimony we possess about Antikyra's political institutions.

A defence circuit is attested for C3l (Livy 26.26.1–3), but the few uncovered remains do not allow of a more precise date (*ArchDelt* 37 (1982) 205–6; Dassios (1992) no. 76). Pausanias lists an agora, a fountain and two *gymnasia*, one of which is called "ancient", but none can be dated. Excavations have revealed a sanctuary of Athena of the Archaic and Classical periods (*BCH* 89 (1955) 257 (C6f)). Pausanias mentions other sanctuaries: one of Poseidon and, first of all, one of Artemis (10.37.1), whose statue, by Praxiteles or his sons, was reproduced on the C2 coins struck by the city (*AM* 14 (1989) 229–32; Lacroix (1949) 309–10; Head, *HN*² 339).

174. Boulis (Boulios) Map 55. Lat. 38.15, long. 22.50. Size of territory: 2. Type: C. The toponym is *Βοῦλις, ἡ*, exclusively attested in late literary sources (Paus. 10.37.2–3; Steph. Byz. 182.5) or *Βούλια, Βούλεια, Βουλεία* (Ptol. *Geog.* 3.14.18). The city-ethnic is *Βούλιος* (Paus. 10.37.1–2, most MSS) or *Βουλίδιος* (some MSS and Steph. Byz. 182.6). According to Pausanias, the toponym was derived from the name *Βούλων*, the oecist of this colony founded by some of the *poleis* of Doris: *ὀνομάζεται ἀπὸ Βούλωνος ἀγαγόντος τήν ἀποικίαν ἀνδρός, συνῳκίσθη δὲ ἐκ πόλεων τῶν ἐν ἀρχαίᾳ Δωρίδι* (10.37.2).

The only sources in which Boulis is classified as a *polis* are Steph. Byz. and Ptol. *Geog.*, which lists Boulis among the *πόλεις μεσόγειοι*, using *polis* in a purely topographical sense, as in the case of the Attic demes which are also called *πόλεις μεσόγειοι* (3.15.22). Even if Pausanias' link between Boulis and Boulon is suspicious, there is no reason to reject his testimony about the foundation of Boulis. And the status of *apoikia* implies the status of *polis*. The date of the foundation, however, is unknown. With Herakleia as a possible analogy (Thuc. 3.92), it is tempting to connect the foundation with the strained relations between Doris and its neighbours in C5 (Thuc. 1.107). But that remains a hypothesis.

It is problematic, on the other hand, that Boulis is not listed by Pausanias as one of the *poleis* subjected to *dioikismos* in 346 (10.3.1–2). But this list is not exhaustive (see *supra* 400), and an argument from silence carries no weight. On the contrary, in a mutilated passage Pausanias connects the Boulioi with Philomelos, the Phokians and their assembly: *λέγονται δὲ οἱ Βούλιοι Φιλομήλου καὶ Φωκέων . . . σύλλογον τὸν κοινόν* (Paus. 10.37.2). No matter how the passage is emended, there must be some connection between the Boulioi and the Phokian assembly in the period 356–354. The inference seems to be that Boulis was a *polis* in the years 356–354. It is unknown whether the relations between the Boulioi and the Phokians were friendly or hostile. That depends on how the passage is emended. The text

has been interpreted in different ways (see the *apparatus* in the editions by Hitzig-Bluemner (1896–1910) and Rocha Pereira (1973–81)). The attempt to restore a form of the city-ethnic in *IG* IX.1 111.5 = *CID* II 38 is too far-fetched to be further discussed here; cf. *infra* no. 192.

The remains of Boulis' city walls are undated. The circuit is partly constructed in local limestone in trapezoidal masonry and a part of reddish *poros* stone in ashlar masonry (Leake (1835) ii.520–23; Dassios (1992) 65 no. 70; *ArchDelt* 36 (1981) 193–94 pl. 122d). The discovery of sherds of the Classical period ensures that the site was inhabited at that time (*ArchDelt* 36 (1981) 193). Pausanias mentions three sanctuaries: one of Megistos (undoubtedly Zeus), one of Artemis and one of Dionysos. The cult statues of the two last gods were of wood, but that does not warrant any conclusion about their date (Donohue (1988) 173–74).

175. Charadra (Charadraios) Map 55. Lat. 38.40, long. 22.30. Size of territory: 1 or 2. Type: A. The toponym is *Χαράδρα, ἡ* (Hdt. 8.33; *BCH* 57 (1933) 68 (C3e)). The city-ethnic is *Χαραδραῖος* (*SGDI* 1789.11 (C2f); Paus. 10.33.6). The form *[Χαρα]δραῖοι [Φωκ]εῖς* is attested in a C4f Delphic inscription (*CID* II 8.1.5). A C3e proxeny decree has *Φωκεὺς ἐκ Χαράδρας* (*BCH* 57 (1933) 68.2–3).

Charadra is called a *polis* in the urban sense at Hdt. 8.33 and, retrospectively, at Paus. 10.3.2, in both passages in connection with Xerxes' invasion of Phokis in 480, when Charadra was burnt to the ground. In the accounts of the Delphic *naopoioi* the [Chara]draioi are recorded as contributors (*CID* II 8.1.5: *[Χαρα]δραῖοι [Φωκ]εῖς*) in a fragmentary list whose lost heading undoubtedly had *ταίδε ταῖμ πολίων ἥνικαν vel sim.* (cf. *CID* II 4.1.3–4), and here *polis* is used in the political sense. Pausanias treats Charadra as a *polis* once again in connection with the *dioikismos* of the Phokian cities in 346 after the Third Sacred War (10.3.2–3). Pausanias' information is confirmed by the Delphic accounts where the Charadraioi are recorded among the Phokian communities that paid the annual fine (*CID* II 108.2 (322)). The collective and external use of the city-ethnic is attested in Delphic inscriptions (*CID* II 8.1.4, II 108.2). The individual and external use is found in the C3 Delphic proxeny decree (*BCH* 57 (1933) 68.2–3). The *dioikismos* suffered in 346 and the fine paid in 322 show that Charadra belonged to the Phokian *koinon*.

The identification of Charadra with Mariolata was established definitively by Tillard (1911) 62–64. The site is protected by an undated defence circuit in trapezoidal and pseudo-isodomic masonry, in some cases joggled. A *diateichisma* separated the acropolis to the south from the lower town to the north (Frazer (1898) 416). The southern part of the wall was enforced with at least five towers. The northern part is too poorly preserved to estimate the area enclosed by the city wall.

176. Daulis (Daulieus) Map 55. Lat. 38.30, long. 22.45. Size of territory: 1 or 2. Type: A. The toponym recorded in inscriptions and in authors of the Classical period is *Δαυλία, ἡ* (*SGDI* 2118.3 (C2e); Thuc. 2.29.3; *Hell. Oxy.* 21.5, Chambers), in later literary sources *Δαύλεια* (Steph. Byz. 221.10; Eust. *Il.* 2.520). Nevertheless, the lexicographers treat this form as recent (Steph. Byz. 221.10; *Etym. Magn.* 250.7), compared with *Δαυλίς, -ίδος, ἡ* attested in the Catalogue of Ships (Hom. *Il.* 2.520). The Homeric form is probably the reason why Daulis is the only form attested in Strabo (7.7.1, 9.3.1, 13) and Pausanias (10.3.1, 35.8). The form *Δαύλιον, τό* is found once in Polyb. 4.25.2 (rC3s). The restoration of the proxeny decree for *Δίων [B]ού[λων]ος ἐγ Δαυλίο[υ]* (*ArchEph* (1907) 102 (C1)) is questionable, and a preferable restoration is *'Επ<ι>δαυρίου*. The city-ethnic is *Δαυλιεύς* attested both in inscriptions (*SGDI* 1969.5 (C2e)) and in literary sources (Aesch. *Cho.* 674; Theopomp. fr. 385; Paus. 10.4.9), whereas *Δαύλιος* is found exclusively in literary sources (Hdt. 8.35.1; *Hell. Oxy.* 21.5).

Daulis is called *polis* in the urban sense by Hdt. 8.35.1 in connection with Xerxes' invasion of Greece in 480, when Daulis was burnt to the ground, and by *Hell. Oxy.* 21.5 in connection with a Theban attack on some Phokian cities in 395. In both passages the political sense is a connotation (Hansen (2000) 176). The collective use of the ethnic is attested internally in a decree of C2s passed by the *polis* of the Daulieis (*BCH* 59 (1935) 206–7) and externally in texts of the Classical period (Hdt. 8.35.1 and *Hell. Oxy.* 21.5). The individual and external use is attested in a C4s Delphic account in which a Daulian *grammateus* witnesses the payment of the fine imposed on the Phokians *poleis* (*CID* II 112.11: *[Δαυ]λιεύς γραμ[---]*). Daulis is recorded by Paus. 10.3.2 among the cities exposed to *dioikismos* in 346, which shows that it belonged to the Phokian *koinon*, an inference further confirmed by the Daulian citizen who witnessed the payment of the fine (*supra*). The territory is indirectly termed *χώρα* at *Hell. Oxy.* 21.5.

In 395 the Boiotians failed to conquer Daulis (*Hell. Oxy.* 21.5). The abortive attack suggests that Daulis was fortified; but the location of Daulis on the top of a steep hill may in itself have provided sufficient protection. The undated remains of the ancient defence circuit enclose an area of

*c.*200 × 250 m (Frazer (1898) 222; Dassios (1992) no. 54). Some sections are in polygonal masonry, some in trapezoidal, which is interpreted by Scranton (1941) 162 and 172 as evidence of successive phases of construction. The principal gate in the western side of the wall is cautiously dated by Winter (1971) 216 as "late Classical or Hellenistic". A *terminus ante quem* is, in any case, 198, when Daulis was conquered by the Romans (Livy 32.18.7).

177. Delphoi (Delphos) Map 55. Lat. 38.30, long. 32.30. Size of territory: probably 2 or 3. Type: A. The toponym is normally *Δελφοί, οἱ* (Hdt. 1.50.1; Pl. *Ap.* 20E; *F.Delphes* III.1 68.1 (*c.*400)); the epichoric form is sometimes *Δαλφοί* (coins (*infra*); *F.Delphes* III.1 294.13 (C5l/C4e)). The Boiotian form is *Βελφοί* (*Syll.*³ 201.23 (C4m)). The toponym is used with the definite article (*οἱ Δελφοί*) only rarely (Diod. 16.27.3). Referring to the sanctuary of Apollo rather than the town of Delphi, poets prefer the toponym *Πυθῶν* (Hom. *Il.* 2.519; Soph. *OT* 152) or *Πυθώ* (*Hymn. Hom. Ap.* 372; Ar. *Av.* 188–89). In prose *Δελφοί* often denotes the whole settlement, of which the sanctuary of Apollo was only a part (Thuc. 1.112.5), but sometimes the sanctuary alone (Thuc. 3.57.2). In *Hymn. Hom. Ap.* 269 the use of the toponym Krisa to designate Delphi is aetiological (Lerat (1948), *contra* Skorda (1992) 62–63). For the toponym Krisa, see 419. The city-ethnic is *Δελφός* (Bacchyl. 3.21, Maehler; *CID* I 8.1 (*c.*400)). Delphi is called a *polis* both in the urban sense (Hdt. 8.36.2; Ps.-Skylax 37) and in the political sense (*CID* I 9A.2–3 (C4m)). The earliest epigraphical attestation of a *πόλις τῶν Δελφῶν* is of 363/2 (*IG* II² 109a.27; cf. *CID* II 31.1 (358/7)). The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally in ktetic or abbreviated form on coins (*infra*) and in decrees (*CID* I 8 (*c.*400); *SEG* 16 307.3 (C4f); *F.Delphes* III.1.391.3 (C4f)) and externally in inscriptions (*IG* IV².1 122.77 (C4)) and in literary sources (Hdt. 8.36.2; Aeschin. 3.122). The individual use is attested internally in the *naopoioi* accounts (*CID* II 10.I.10 (357/6)) and externally in sepulchral inscriptions (*IG* II² 8478: *Δελφίς* (C4s)) and in literary sources (Hdt. 5.72.4).

It is difficult to determine the exact relation between the sanctuary of Apollo Pythios and the *polis* of Delphi. As far as territory is concerned, as demonstrated by Rousset (2002) *passim*, cf. 286–88, one must distinguish between (a) the territory of the *polis*, called *Δελφὶς* (*F.Delphes* III.4 175 (C3l)), in which houses and landed property were owned by the citizens (*CID* II 67.11–13 (C4f)) and controlled by them through grants of *enktesis* (*F.Delphes* III.4 378.7: *ἔμπασις* (C4s)); (b) land which was part of *Δελφίς*, but consecrated to Apollo (?) (cf. Rousset (2002) 292); it was let out to individuals (*CID* II 67.1) or communities (*CID* II 67.5) and was a source of income administered by the Amphiktyony (Sanchez (2001) 142–44); (c) the *hiera chora*, the former territory of Krisa/Kirrha(?), consecrated to Apollo after the First Sacred War; it was administered by the Amphiktyony and strictly separated from the territory of Delphi in the Classical and Hellenistic periods, see *infra* 419–20.

The extent of the territory of Delphi in the Classical period is not known, but the presumption is that it was roughly the same as in the Hellenistic period (cf. Rousset (2002) 71–175). To the west Delphi bordered on Amphissa (no. 158) (*F.Delphes* III.3 383 (C2e); Plut. *Mor.* 249E–F (rC4m)); to the east it bordered on the Phlygonioi (no. 191), incorporated into Delphi in C2e, whereafter the borderland was the territory owned in common (?) by Ambryssians (no. 171) and Phlygonians (*F.Delphes* III.2 136 (C2m)). According to Strabo 9.3.15 (rC5m), the site called Anemoreia (unlocated) was made the frontier between Delphi and the Phokians when the Lakedaimonians cut Delphi out of the Phokian *koinon*. To the south and south-west the territory bordered on the "Sacred Land" (cf. Krisa/Kirrha). To the north, it is unknown how far the territory stretched up Parnassos; it may have reached the Korykian Grotto (Rousset (2002) 160–62).

We have no information about the total number of citizens (Rousset (2002) 290), but the minimum number of adult male citizens can be established from some decrees passed by the Delphian assembly. When the people voted with pebbles, the decree passed sometimes records the number of votes cast, and three such decrees are preserved: the first records a total of 454 votes (*F.Delphes* III.1 294.I.2–3 (C4f); cf. Rougemont (1998) 164), the second over 400 votes (*CID* I 13.35–37 (C4f)), and the third 353 votes (Lerat (1943) 63). A decision made in C4m by the Labyades, one of the civic subdivisions (*infra* 414), was passed with 182 votes (*CID* I 9.A.21–22).

Being the seat of one of the two sanctuaries of the Pylo–Delphic Amphiktyony, Delphi, as the only *polis*, had two seats in the Amphiktyonic Council (*CID* II 36.I.24–25 (343/2); cf. Lefèvre (1998) 34–51). Delphi's participation in the Council is securely attested in 343/2 (*CID* II 36.I.24; cf. Lefèvre (1998) 34–51), but probably antedates this occurrence (Theopomp. fr. 63; cf. Sanchez (2001) 119). The original date of Delphi's admission to the Amphiktyony, however, cannot be positively established (Sanchez (2001) 118–20). It has sometimes been dated to the Archaic period and seen as a consequence of the First Sacred War in C6e

(e.g. Roux (1979) 16–19). Alternatively, it has been dated to the Classical period and seen as a consequence of the Lakedaimonian invasion of Phokis in C5m (e.g. Kahrstedt (1953) 750).

The original position of the sanctuary of Apollo, serving both the *polis* and the Amphiktyony, promoted collaboration as well as competition between the two organisations in religious (Lefèvre (1998) 239), military (ibid. 43) and financial (ibid. 257–64) matters. Nevertheless, the disputed view that the independence of the *polis* was sometimes interfered with by the Amphiktyony may merely reflect our ignorance of the organisation and working of the institutions; cf. for example the opposed interpretations of the Amphiktyonic involvement in the exile of Astykrates (Lefèvre (1998) 49, *contra* Sanchez (2001) 142–44, 171).

Geographically, Delphi was situated in Phokis (Hdt. 8.35.1; Eur. *Or.* 1094; Ps.-Skylax 37), but the Delphians refused to be called Phokians (Paus. 4.34.11). Supported by interested allies, the Delphians often clashed with the Phokians who tried to control the sanctuary of Pythian Apollo.

There is no mention of Delphi in the sources for the First Sacred War against Kirrha/Krisa (see 419–20 and no. 183). A number of sometimes conflicting sources concern what modern scholars call the Second Sacred War (cf. Thuc. 1.112.4), in which the Lakedaimonians opposed Phokian attempts to control the resources of Apollo's sanctuary in Delphi (schol. Eur. *Tro.* 9; Diod. 16.33.1; Paus. 10.15.1). The issue is difficult; thus it remains problematic that there is no mention of the Amphiktyony (Sanchez (2001) 106–9), and modern scholars agree in preferring Thucydides' account of a single Lakedaimonian intervention in 449 (1.112.4) to other sources' accounts of two interventions, one in 457 (Plut. *Cim.* 17.4) and one in 449, as well as a Boiotian intervention (Philoch. fr. 34a). Thucydides reports that the Lakedaimonians took possession of the sanctuary and gave it to the Delphians. Strabo (9.3.15) adds that the Lakedaimonians separated Delphi from the Phokian *koinon*. When the Lakedaimonians had left Phokis (Thuc. 1.112.5)—or three years later (Philoch. fr. 34b)—the Athenians sent an army, took possession of Delphi, and gave it to the Phokians (Thuc. 1.112.5). (Sanchez (2001) 116 prefers to connect the Strabo passage with the Peace of Nikias in 421, and Meiggs (1972) 423 is convinced that the Athenian campaign took place immediately after the Lakedaimonians' retreat.)

The status of the *polis* of Delphi was guaranteed in the Peace of Nikias in 421: "The sanctuary and the temple at Delphi, and the Delphian people shall be their own masters in legislation, in taxation and in administration of justice, both concerning their persons and their territory, according to their ancestral customs" (Thuc. 5.18.2; cf. Hornblower (1996) 472). This clause probably means that Delphi was free of the Phokian *koinon* after 421, and this state of affairs seems to have persisted in 356 when, at the beginning of the Third Sacred War, the Phokians justified their occupation of the sanctuary with a reference to their ancestral right to the oracle. Such a legitimation would have been superfluous if Delphi had been a member of the Phokian *koinon*. It was in all cases the Delphians who made decisions about access to the oracle, granted to the Phaselitans (no. 942) (*CID* I 8 (*c.*400) = *Staatsverträge* 218) and the Asklepiadai (*CID* I 11 (C4s?)), and the Skiathians (no. 520) (*CID* I 11 (C4s?) = *Staatsverträge* 295). There is no evidence that, during the Sacred War, the Delphians were forced to join the *koinon*. On the contrary, independence of the *koinon* is indicated by the fact that the Delphians kept their seats in the Amphictyony while the Phokians were excluded in 346.

Internal strife in, probably, C4f is indicated by the mention of penalties for "organisation of *stasis*" ([τ]ὰς στασιαρ[χίας] in the so-called Law of Kadys (*BCH* 50 (1926) 18.VII.14). In, presumably, C4e (but cf. Rougemont (1998) 161–62), the first of a number of *staseis* was caused by the dispute between two Delphic families (Arist. *Pol.* 1303^{b}37–4^{a}3; Heracl. Lemb. 52; Plut. *Mor.* 825B–C; Carrère (1984)). In 363, Astykrates and his associates, all Delphian citizens, were exiled by the Amphiktyonic Council and fled to Athens, where they obtained Athenian citizenship (*IG* II^{2} 109). Their property was confiscated and leased as property belonging to Apollo (*CID* II 67–72 (C4s)). Perhaps their enemies were, in turn, sent into exile a little later (*CID* II 73 (C4m)). This episode is often seen as reflecting international interference in the government of Delphi in C4f (Pomtow (1906); cf. *Syll.*^{3} 175–78; Buckler (1985); *contra* Sanchez (2001) 170). The penalty of exile, however, is attested already in C5e, when the Delphian Kobon was exiled for having subverted the Pythia (Hdt. 6.66).

The Aristotelian collection of *politeiai* included a constitution of the Delphians (fr. 494; see Musielak (1993)). In C2 Delphi was a democracy (Gauthier (1992)). The constitution of the Classical period has often been interpreted as an oligarchy (Roux (1979) 61–93; Salviat (1984); *contra* Gauthier (1990); Musielak (1993)), but, *pace* Roux (1979) 62–65, there is no basis for the view that the citizens were divided into two classes with different political rights. There was a popular assembly (Lerat (1943) 70–79), to which apparently all

citizens were admitted (*contra* Roux (1979) 70); it was called ἀγορά (*F.Delphes* III.1 294.1.1 (C4f)), which is the ancient term (Lerat (1943) 74), and later ἐκκλησία (*CID* II 32.58–60 (C4s)). An ordinary meeting of this assembly was called τέλειος. The formula σὺμ ψάφοις τâις ἐννόμοις is not attested before C3, but similar phrases show that a quorum was also required in C4: πλεθο[ύ]σης ἀγορâς (*Syll.*³ 257.14 (340/39)), or σὺμ ψάφωι τâι νικεούσαι (*Syll.*³ 265.3 (336/5); cf. Lerat (1943); Gauthier (1990) 86–89). Furthermore, three documents record the number of votes cast in favour of the motion (Gauthier (1990) 87): 454 votes (*F.Delphes* III.1 294.1.2–3 (C4f)), 400+ (*CID* I 13.35–37 (C4f)), and 353 (Lerat (1943) 63); for another fragmentary attestation, see Salviat and Vatin (1971) 52. The quorum is not known, but the strange formulation of *CID* I 13 suggests that it could have been 400 votes (Roux (1979) 69). The decisions passed by the assembly were *tethmoi* (*F.Delphes* III.1 294.1.1: ὅδ' ὁ τεθμός) or *nomoi* (Lerat (1943) 62: τὸν νόμ[ον ἀ]νγράψαι), or treaties (*CID* ¾ 13 (C4f)) or honorific decrees (*Syll.*³ 265 (336/5)). The *boula* had thirty members, divided into two sections of fifteen members, each serving six months (*CID* II 32.78–86; cf. Roux (1979) 71–77); the view that it may have been further subdivided into subsections is unconvincing (Tréheux (1980) 523–24). There is no evidence of *probouleusis* before C2 (Gauthier (1992) 123–26). In C4 the powers of the Council were primarily judicial and financial (Roux (1979) 76–77; Salviat (1984)). It did not, however, possess full powers in either judicial matters (Gauthier (1992) 130) or in financial administration, where, at least on one occasion, the *boula* was assisted by a board of thirteen προαιρετοὶ ὑπὸ τâς πόλιος (*CID* II 32.26–29 (C4s); cf. Bousquet (1988) 184; Roux (1979) 71, 76–77). There is no information about the composition of the Delphian lawcourts in C5–C4, but the existence of lawcourts in C4m is ensured by the grant of προδικία ποτὶ Δελφούς (*F.Delphes* III.1 392.7–8). A C4 law on maltreatment of parents mentions a public prison (Lerat (1943) 63: δαμοσίαν οἰκίαν). The archon who was the eponymous official is indisputably attested in C4f (*F.Delphes* III.1 391), possibly in C6 (Roux (1969) 47; *contra* Rougemont (1998) 161–62), and perhaps even in C6e (Pind. *Hyp. Pyth.* b). He must be distinguished from the board of eight *prytaneis*, a financial magistracy in charge of the sacred treasures of Apollo (Bousquet (1988) 143m; *contra* Roux (1979) 81–92).

Of the civic subdivisions, *phylai* are not attested earlier than C2 (*F.Delphes* III.3 238.10–11), and their number is unknown (for a hypothesis, see Roux (1979) 88). An enfranchisement act of C1 (*F.Delphes* III.6 79) mentions money lent by the tribe δάνειον φυλοτικόν. The entry Λαφριάδαι in Hsch. Λ436 is the only explicit attestation of *phratriai*. The Labyades are often called a *phratria* (cf. *CID* I p. 43 n. 68); however, we have no explicit evidence (Sebillote (1997)), but the mention of Poseidon Phratrios in *CID* I 9.B.13–14 supports the view. The Labyades are first attested in, presumably, C6l (*CID* I 1.9 *bis*; Roux (1969) 47–56). In C4m they had an assembly (*alia* A.41), some of its decisions required a quorum of 101 votes (B.9–10), and one of the enactments was passed with 182 votes (A.21–23). The group had laws (A.3) and magistrates (*tagoi*: A.23, *damiorgoi*: D.19–20); they performed public functions which in Attika were performed by the *phratriai* (*CID* I pp. 26–88). The group was subdivided into *patriai*. In the Law of Kadys on interest on loans (*BCH* 50 (1926) 15.9–10) a *patria* is mentioned alongside other groups called ἡρωισσταί and Θίασος, which may or may not have been civic subdivisions. We are totally ignorant of the nature of the *Thrakidai* mentioned at Diod. 16.24.3 in connection with the Phokians' occupation of the sanctuary in 356.

In C4s the Delphians conferred *proxenia* and other honours on citizens from e.g. Selinous (no. 44), Pellene (no. 240), Arethousa (no. 546) and Phleious (no. 355) (*F.Delphes* III.1 391, 395, 396; *SEG* 16 309). A citizen of Delphi was granted *proxenia* by the Athenians (no. 361) in C4e (*IG* II² 51). In C6l Timesitheos of Delphi was victorious in the Olympic and in the Pythian Games (*Olympionikai* 140, 146; Hdt. 5.72.4; Paus. 6.8.6).

Apollo Pythios was the protective divinity of the Delphians (*CID* I 10.8, 35 (C4e)). The Delphians controlled the oracle; they had the exclusive right to grant *promanteia*, and themselves possessed the first claim to consult the oracle (*F.Delphes* III.4 375 (C4m); Pouilloux (1952)). Strangers needed the assistance of Delphian *proxenoi* in order to consult the oracle (*CID* I 5.4 (C5?); *Syll.*³ 548 (C3s); cf. Gauthier (1972) 46–52; Pouilloux (1974)). Treaties about consultation of the oracle were concluded between Delphi and Phaselis (no. 942) (*CID* I 8; *Staatsverträge* 218 (*c.*400)) and Delphi and Skiathos (no. 520) (*CID* I 13 = *Staatsverträge* 295 (C4f)). Some of the revenues of the Delphians, such as the *pelanos*, were directly connected with the oracle (Amandry (1950) 86–103; cf. *CID* I 11: ἀτέλειαν τῶν ὁσίων). The temple of Apollo was, if not the property, then at least the possession of the Amphiktyones. In C6l (La Coste-Messelière (1946)), when the Amphiktyones had undertaken for the sum of 300 talents to reconstruct the temple, the Delphians had to pay a quarter of the costs and send out envoys to the various *poleis* to ask for contributions (Hdt. 2.180). Remains of this temple

are preserved, whereas the attribution to the previous temple of some architectural remains of C7 is still a moot point (Bommelaer (1991) 181–84). The Amphiktyony organised the Pythian Games, but the *theoroi* who performed the *epangelia* were sent out by the Delphians (*CID* I 10.45–46 (380) with pp. 118–19; *SEG* 24 379 (C4m); cf. Sourvinou-Inwood (1990) 299). These *theoroi* were hosted by *theorodokoi* appointed by the Delphian *polis* (Daux (1949) 4–11 = *Syll.*³ 90 (C5s?); *F.Delphes* III.4 4 (C4s)). Conversely, a Delphian *theorodokos* was appointed to host *theoroi* from Epidauros (no. 348) in 356 (*IG* IV².1 95.3). The other major sanctuary of the Delphian *polis* was that of Athena (Hdt. 8.39), whose temple of the Archaic period has been dated to C7–C6 (Bommelaer (1991) 56–59). Cults of other gods are known, but their existence in the Archaic and Classical periods is often unattested (Pomtow (1912); Roux (1976) 165–208). For the religious festivals, see *CID* I 58–60.

Apart from remains of the Mycenaean period (S. Müller (1992) 455–90), evidence of a settlement within the sanctuary can be traced back to C10, and remains of a house have been dated to C8m (Luce (1993)). The earliest dedications to Apollo(?) date from C9l (Rolley (1977) 135), and the first traces of the administration of the sanctuary can be dated to C7e (La Coste-Messelière (1969) 731–40). The first *peribolos* of *c.*575 may be connected with the formation of the Amphiktyony in Delphi (Luce (1992) 704). In its original form the fountain of Kastalia may date from C7l–C6m (Bommelaer (1991) 81–83). The Pythian hippodrome and *stadion* were probably placed in the Kirrhaian plain in the Classical period (Bommelaer (1991) 215; cf. *infra* 419).

The Panhellenic sanctuary at Delphi has been excavated and studied in detail by, principally, the French school. The sanctuary (2.3 ha) is densely built and centres on the so-called Sacred Way which winds its way down the slopes of the *temenos*. The most conspicuous features are: (1) the C4 Doric peripteral (6 × 15) temple of Apollo, which dominates the sanctuary; built after the earthquake of 373, it replaced a monumental C6 temple adorned with pedimental sculptures, which itself replaced one or more earlier buildings. Later tradition locates the oracle of Apollo in an underground chamber of the temple, no trace of which, however, has been found (Bommelaer (1991) 176–84); (2) a C4–Hellenistic theatre (*TGR* ii. 188–90; Bommelaer (1991) 207–12); (3) the treasuries: twenty buildings among the numerous constructions in the sanctuary have been identified, with varying degrees of certainty, as treasuries dedicated by individual Greek *poleis* or even non-Greek polities (cf. Strabo 5.1.3 (Etruscan Agylla)); apparently, most treasuries were constructed prior to the Hellenistic period, but the attribution of individual buildings to specific *poleis* depends largely on Pausanias. The *poleis* known to have constructed treasuries are (numerals prefaced with # refer to pl. V in Bommelaer (1991)): Syracuse (no. 47), cf. Jacquemin (1999) no. 453 (after 413); Kroton (no. 56), cf. Jacquemin (1999) no. 127 (C6l); Sybaris (no. 70), cf. Jacquemin (1999) no. 445 (C6); Spina (no. 85), cf. Jacquemin (1999) no. 443 (C5?); Korkyra (no. 123), cf. Jacquemin (1999) no. 123 (*c.*580); #124 Thebes (no. 221), cf. Jacquemin (1999) no. 461 (after 371 or after 346); #216 Megara (no. 225), cf. *F.Delphes* III.1 91–111, Jacquemin (1999) no. 659 and p. 54 (C6l/C5e); #308 Corinth (no. 227), cf. Hdt. 1.14.2, 51.3, 4.162.3, and Jacquemin (1999) no. 124 (C7l?); #121 Sikyon (no. 228), cf. Jacquemin (1999) no. 436 (C6l); #223 Athens (no. 361), cf. Xen. *An.* 5.3.5 and Jacquemin (1999) nos. 85 (C6e) and 86 (C5e); #122 Siphnos (no. 519), cf. Hdt. 3.57.2 and Jacquemin (1999) no. 441 (*c.*525); Akanthos (no. 559), cf. Jacquemin (1999) no. 2 (C5l or earlier); Poteidaia (no. 598), cf. Jacquemin (1999) no. 414 (C6 or C5); Klazomenai (no. 847), cf. Hdt. 1.51.2 and Jacquemin (1999) no. 112 (C6l); #219 Knidos (no. 903), cf. Jacquemin (1999) no. 118 (C6m; for the C6m dedicatory inscription *F.Delphes* III.1 289, see Bommelaer (1991) 142); #302 Kyrene (no. 1028), cf. *F.Delphes* II and *BCH* 112 (1988) 291–305, and Jacquemin (1999) no. 132 (334–324). The treasuries of the Athenians, the Sikyonians and the Siphnians were decorated with pedimental sculptures and reliefs in exquisite late Archaic style (Bommelaer (1991) 118–26, 133–36). And (4) commemorative dedications, outstanding among which are e.g. the Monument of the Admirals, dedicated to commemorate the Spartan victory at Aigos potamoi (cf. ML 95 (405)), and the Athenian thank offering for the victory at Marathon, honouring the commander Miltiades (Bommelaer (1991) 108–11), and, of course, the Greek thank offering for victories in the Persian War (ML 27). For treasuries and other monumental dedications, see the synthetic study by Jacquemin (1999).

Below the sanctuary of Apollo is the sanctuary of Athena (0.5 ha). The central features of this sanctuary are, from west to east: (1) the C6l temple of Athena Pronaia, which replaced an earlier construction; it is Doric peripteral (6 × 12); (2) a C5e Doric treasury, of unknown ownership; (3) the C6s Aiolic Treasury generally ascribed to Massalia (no. 3), which also housed dedications by Rome (cf. Diod. 14.93.4 (r393)); (4) a C4e *tholos*; and (5) a C4f Doric prostyle hexastyle temple, of Athena or possibly Artemis (Bommelaer (1991) 46–71).

The town of the Archaic and Classical periods is poorly attested, and occasional references in the inscriptions are

obscure (on the toponym of Thuia, see Jacquemin (1992)). It is not known where the assembly met (*contra* Roux (1979) 70); a public prison (δαμοσία οἰκία) is mentioned in a C4 text (Lerat (1943) 63); texts of C2 mention a *bouleion* (*F.Delphes* III.2 89) which has not been securely located (Bommelaer (1991) 144); and the location of the *prytaneion* is likewise unknown (*CID* II 81.A.16 (C4s)). A *dikasterion*—either a law-court or a court room—is mentioned in a C4f document (*F.Delphes* III.1 295, inv. 1373). The *gymnasion* in Delphi is of C4s (Bommelaer (1991) 72–79). It is commonly believed that the town of Delphi was unfortified. The walls situated on the rocky ridge west of the sanctuary have, tentatively, been attributed to Philomelos (Diod. 16.25.1; Bommelaer (1991) 217). The Logari tower east of the sanctuary may date from the same period (Bommelaer (1991) 41). South of the sanctuary are some undated remains of walls (P. Leriche, pers. comm.).

Delphi struck silver coins on the Aiginetan standard from C6l to C4m (356/5). (1) Several series of small denominations struck from C6l to C5m, and from C5l to C4m. Trihemiobol: *obv.* ram's head, beneath: dolphin; *rev.* goat's head facing between two dolphins; legend: at first anepigraphic, then ΔΑΛ on coins of C5m, ΔΕΛ on coins of C4. Tritartemorion: *obv.* head of (Ethiopian) negro; *rev.* goat's head facing between ΔΑ reversed, or three Ts in triangular pattern. Tetartemorion: *obv.* bull's head; *rev.* goat's head facing between ΔΑ reversed. (2) Tridrachms and didrachms struck in C5f. Tridrachm: *obv.* two rams' heads in juxtaposition, faces downwards, above two dolphins; legend: ΔΑΛΦΙΚΟΝ; *rev.* four incuse squares, in each of which a dolphin and a flower. Didrachm: *obv.* ram's head, beneath dolphin; legend: ΔΑΛΦΙΚΟΝ; *rev.* four incuse squares, in each of which a star (Kraay (1976) 121–22; Picard (1991) 33–36; *SNG Cop. Aetolia-Euboea* 139–48).

178. Drymos (Drymios) Map 55. Lat. 38.45, long. 22.35. Size of territory: probably 2. Type: A. The toponym is Δρυμός (Hdt. 8.33) or Δρύμος, ὁ (Eust. *Il.* 2.298.7, van der Valk) or Δρυμαία, ἡ (Paus. 10.3.2; 33.12) or Δρυμία (Steph. Byz. 239.18). The city-ethnic is Δρύμιος (*IG* IX.1 226.2 (C2f); *F.Delphes* III.4 277.25 (C2s); *SGDI* 1712.1 (C2m)). Apart from Δρυμιεύς at Steph. Byz. 239.19–20, the only attestation in literary sources of a city-ethnic is Δρυμαῖος in Paus. 10.33.12. According to Paus. 10.32.12, the original toponym (or city-ethnic?) was Ναυβολεῖς.

Drymos is called a *polis* in the urban sense at Hdt. 8.33 and, retrospectively, at Paus. 10.3.1 and 2, in both passages in connection with Xerxes' invasion of Phokis in 480, when Drymos was burnt to the ground. Paus. 10.3.2 treats Drymos as a *polis* in the urban sense in connection with the *dioikismos* of the Phokian cities in 346 after the Third Sacred War. The *dioikismos* suffered in 346 shows that Drymos belonged to the Phokian *koinon*. The collective and internal use of the city-ethnic is attested in a C2f agreement between Drymos and the Oitaian Federation (*IG* IX.1 226.2: ἡ πόλις τῶν Δρυμίων). The individual and external use is attested in Delphic inscriptions (*F.Delphes* III.4 277.25 (C2s)).

Drymos was protected by a large defence circuit of triangular shape. Today its base toward the south has completely disappeared, but remains of it were seen by Frazer (1898) 423–24. The western and eastern side stretched *c.*450 m and 350 m respectively, and were equipped with towers at regular intervals of *c.*50 m. At the northern end the circuit was divided by two *diateichismata* also equipped with towers. The whole fortification was thus subdivided into three sections of unequal size. The upper part enclosed an area of *c.*20 ha (Frazer (1898) 423–24; Dassios (1992) no. 2). It was built in irregular isodomic masonry, and was dated to C4l by Winter (1971) 36, 158. Paus. 10.33.12 mentions an ancient sanctuary of Demeter Thesmophoros and the celebration of Thesmophoria.

179. Echedameia (Echedamieus). Map 55. Unlocated. Type: B. The toponym is Ἐχεδάμεια, ἡ (Paus. 10.3.2) The city-ethnic is Ἐχεδαμιεύς (*SGDI* 1983.13 (C2e)). Echedameia is listed by Paus. 10.3.2 among the *poleis* (in the urban sense) exposed by Philip to *dioikismos* in 346. Pausanias was the only source for Echedameia until the discovery in 1863 (Wescher-Foucart) of a Delphic manumission inscription of 194 (*SGDI* 1983) in which both the vendors and one of the guarantors are recorded with the city-ethnic Ἐχεδαμιεύς as the second part of their name. The two vendors are further described as living in Tithronion.

Echedamia is still unlocated. Its absence from the list of cities sacked by the Persians in 480 has induced some scholars to assume a location in the southern part of Phokis (Bursian (1862) 1.182), but Lilaia is likewise absent from the list, which calls for circumspection. No topographical conclusion can be based on the fact that two Echedamieis were living in Tithronion (*SGDI* 1983).

180. Elateia (Elateus) Map 55. Lat. 38.40, long. 22.50. Size of territory: 3 or 4. Type: A. The toponym is Ἐλάτεια, ἡ (Hdt. 8.33; *Hell. Oxy.* 21.5; *F.Delphes* III.4 219.2 (C4l)) or Ἐλάτη (Hsch. *E*1887) or Ϝελατίη in a Boiotian inscription of C3s (*IG* VII 3171.26). The city-ethnic is Ἐλατεύς (*CID* II 38.14–16 (C4s)) or Ἐλατειεύς (*CID* II 38.3–5 (C4s); *SEG* 1 199.3 (C3m)). Elateia is called a *polis* in the urban sense at

Hdt. 8.33, and in Ps.-Skylax 61 Elateia is the third toponym listed after the heading *πόλεις . . . αἵδε*, where *polis* is again used in the urban sense; the political sense is found in *IG* IX.1 130.2 (C4). The collective and internal use of the city-ethnic is attested internally in a Hellenistic proxeny decree (*IG* IX.1 100.1: *ἁ πόλις τῶν Ἐλατέων* (C3l)). The individual and external use is found in a Delphic proxeny decree of C4s (*BCH* 73 (1949) 263 no. 11.4–5).

The territory is called *Ἐλάτεια* (Theophr. *Hist. pl.* 8.8.2) and it covered a large part of the Kephisos valley (*Hell. Oxy.* 21.5; Plut. *Sull.* 16.1: *τὰ Ἐλατικὰ πεδία*). Elateia controlled the valley, and its strategic importance is frequently attested (Dem. 18.169; Diod. 16.84.2; Strabo 9.3.2; see Pritchett (1982) 123–75). In later sources Elateia is repeatedly, and sometimes retrospectively, singled out as the largest of the Phokian *poleis* (schol. Dem. 18 no. 262, Dilts; Harp. *E*32; Strabo 9.2.19; Paus. 10.3.2, 34.1; Steph. Byz. 264.3). The exact size of the territory is unknown, but the possible disappearance of Pedieis (no. 189) after 346 and the unquestionable diappearance of Parapotamioi (no. 188) may have made Elateia the largest *polis* of Phokis. Thus, Elateia came to control the main pass between Phokis and Boiotia, which would explain the Athenian panic in 339 at the news of the fall of the city (Dem. 18.169).

Like the other Phokian *poleis*, Elateia was sacked and the city burned down by the Persians in 480 (Hdt. 8.33). In 395 the Boiotians overran the plain around Elateia and Pedieis (no. 189), and the population settled in the plain (*Hell. Oxy.* 21.5). In 346 it was one of the cities dioikised by Philip (Paus. 10.3.1). Membership of the Phokian *koinon* is ensured by the recording in C4s of two Elateians among the *archontes* of the Phokians (*CID* II 38.3–5) and by the Phokian dedication in Delphi in 304 and 301 celebrating the liberation of Elateia (*F.Delphes* III.4 219; Paus. 1.26.3, 10.18.7, 34.2; cf. Flacelière (1937) 47, 53–55, 61; Jacquemin (1999) 347).

The principal divinity of Elateia was Athena Kranaia (Paus. 10.34.7). Enactments of the Phokian *koinon* were set up in her sanctuary from at least C4 onwards. The records of the payments of the Phokian fine to Delphi were found there (*IG* IX.1 109–15 = *CID* II 37–42; cf. also *IG* IX.1 96 (C3)). Excavations of the sanctuary have revealed remains of the Archaic and Classical periods (Paris (1892) 253–99).

According to a tradition reported by Paus. 8.4.4, 10.34.2–3 and attested already in C2 (*SEG* 11 1107 (C2e); Paus. 7.15.5 (rC2m); cf. Habicht (1998) 67–69), Elateia was founded by the Arkadian Elatos, the son of Arkas. If it is true that the C5 Delphic statue group of Zeus, Kallisto and Elatos was dedicated by the Elateians, this foundation myth can be traced back to the Classical period. However, the attribution of the group to the Elateians is not above suspicion (*F.Delphes* III.4 142–44 (C5 reinscribed in C4; see Jacquemin (1999) 53)).

In C5 Elateia had a defence circuit, part of which collapsed in the earthquake of 426 (Demetrios of Kallatis (*FGrHist* 85) fr. 6). An anecdote of doubtful value reports a siege of Elateia by Pelopidas in 374 and refers to the gates of the wall (Polyaen. 2.38.1; cf. Schober (1924) 69, *contra* Ellinger (1993) 332). The defence circuit, or at least part of it, must have been destroyed as a consequence of the *dioikismos* in 346, as is confirmed by Demosthenes, who in 344 told the Athenians that there were rumours that Philip intended to have Elateia fortified (Dem. 6.14). In 338, after his capture of Elateia, Philip built a palisade and placed a garrison in the city (Aeschin. 3.140). In C2e both the acropolis and the lower town were protected by a circuit (Livy 32.24). Remains of walls in polygonal masonry were reported by ninetenth-century travellers (Lolling (1989) 177; Paris (1892) 25–33). All that can be seen today are some parts of a wall in Lesbian masonry and some of one in isodomic masonry (Dassios (1992) no. 38). The wall in isodomic masonry uncovered in the early twentieth century is undoubtedly the circuit enclosing the lower town (Paris (1892) 39).

The Archaic-looking drachm with the legend *ΕΛΑΤΕΟΝ* (retr.) recorded in Head, *HN*² 342 is rejected as a forgery by Babelon, *Traité* ii.3. 317–18 n. 2.

181. Erochos (Erochos) Map 55. Lat. 38.40, long. 22.35. Size of territory: 1 or 2. Type: A. The toponym is *Ἔρωχος* (Hdt. 8.33) or *Ἐρωχός* (Hdt. 8.33, Codex D; Paus. 10.3.2). The form *Ἐρόχ[οι]* attested in an undated inscription (*SEG* 27 143) is probably an Archaic spelling of *Ἐρώχωι*; cf. *infra*. The city-ethnic is *Ἐρωχός* (*CID* II 38.6 (337/6)). Erochos is called a *polis* in the urban sense at Hdt. 8.33 and, retrospectively, at Paus. 10.3.2, in both passages in connection with Xerxes' invasion of Phokis in 480, when Erochos was burnt to the ground. Paus. 10.3.2 treats Erochos as a *polis* once again in connection with the *dioikismos* of the Phokian cities in 346 after the Third Sacred War. The external and individual use of the city-ethnic is attested for two magistrates of the Phokian *koinon*, an *archon* and a *grammateus*, and a witness to the payment of the fine (*CID* II 38.4, 6, 14–15; cf. *IG* IX.1 111 (337/6)).

Erochos was situated at Ano Souvala (not Kato-Souvala as misprinted in *Barr.*). The location was definitively established by Tillard (1911) 61–63 and has been confirmed by the discovery of a dedication to *Δάματρι ἐν Ἐρώχωι* found in a sanctuary of Demeter situated *c.*2.5 km north-east of the

fortified settlement (*SEG* 27 143) at Kato-Souvala. In the sanctuary were found votive offerings of the Archaic, Classical and Hellenistic periods (*ArchDelt* 27 (1972) *Chron.* 386). The inscriptions are published only provisionally and cannot be dated with precision. But since all other attestations of toponym and ethnic have *omega*, the *omicron* in *EPOX*[*OI*] must stand for an *omega*. It follows that the *terminus ante quem* of the dedication is C4e, when *omega* became used for the long sound and *omicron* was restricted to the short.

The phrase ἐν Ἐρόχ[οι] shows that in C4e the sanctuary was situated in the territory of Erochos and that the toponym Ἔρωχος could be used to denote the territory as well as the city. But in the sanctuary were also found stamped tiles inscribed ΛΙΛΑΙΕΩΝ in letters datable to the Hellenistic period. Thus, at least the sanctuary was now controlled by the Lilaieis (no. 185), and, following Robert and Robert (*BE* (1978) 236), the presumption is that, when the tiles were made, Erochos had been incorporated into Lilaia. This assumption is probably confirmed by the double eponymous archons attested in Lilaia in C3l (*F.Delphes* III.4 133–35). To have two eponymous officials is not attested in any other Phokian *polis*, and a *sympoliteia* with Erochos offers a plausible explanation of the anomaly. When the incorporation took place is not known, but a *terminus post quem* is 337/6, the date of *CID* II 38 = *IG* IX.1 111; see *supra*.

The town of Erochos was situated on the top of the hill of Ag. Vassilios and was protected by a defence circuit, the foundations of which are still visible. The habitation quarters seem to have covered some of the area outside the wall (Dassios (1992) no. 10). The cemetery excavated at Kato-Souvala contains remains of C8 onwards (*AAA* 15 (1982) 76–85).

182. Hyampolis (Hyampolios) Map 55. Lat. 38.35, long. 22.55. Size of territory: 1 or 2. Type: A. The toponym is usually Ὑάμπολις, ἡ (Hom. *Il.* 2.521; Hdt. 8.28; Paus. 10.1.3; *IG* IX.1 86.1 (*c.*AD 100)). However, a scholiast on Homer (schol. Hom. *Il.* 521) and Eust. *Il.* 275.5, both citing the same source, claim that the locals (ἐγχώριοι) call it Ὑσάμπολις. In inscriptions, the city-ethnic is invariably Ὑαμπόλιος (*SEG* 37 422 (C5s)), whereas literary sources have Ὑαμπολίτης (Xen. *Hell.* 6.4.27). The interpretation of the toponym as a composite word whose second part is πόλις—whether correct or not—has led to the construction of variant forms of both toponym and city-ethnic. From the accusative written in two words, Ὑην πόλιν (*Hell. Oxy.* 21.5) or Ὑαν πόλιν (Diod. 16.56.1), some authors invented the nominative Ὑα (Strabo 9.2.3, 3.15), and this form was then connected with the Hyantes of Thebes (Paus. 10.35.5; Strabo 9.2.3), whereas the schol. Eur. *Or.* 1094 claim that Hyampolis is a foundation of Hyamos, the son of Lykoros. By analogy with *polis*—*polites*, the authors construct the city-ethnic Ὑαμπολίτης, which is the only form found in literary sources (Xen. *Hell.* 6.4.27; Paus. 10.1.8; Steph. Byz. 644.10).

Hyampolis is called a *polis* in the urban sense by Hdt. 8.33 in connection with Xerxes' invasion of Phokis in 480, when Hyampolis was burnt to the ground; by *Hell. Oxy.* 21.5 in connection with the Boiotian campaign into Phokis in 395; and retrospectively by Paus. 10.3.1, where Hyampolis is listed as one of the *poleis* exposed to *dioikismos* in 346. The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally in *SEG* 37 422.5 (C5s), where the Ὑανπόλιοι appear as guarantors of a loan. For the individual and external use, see *IG* VII 3055.39 (C4m), where an [Ὑαμ]πόλιος is attested as consulting the oracle of Trophonios at Lebadeia (no. 211).

The city was situated in the middle of a pass which was one of the main approaches to Phokis from the north (Paus. 10.1.11; Ellinger (1993) 22–27). In C1 the city bordered on Opous (no. 386; Strabo 9.2.23) and, being a border town, Hyampolis became the centre of legendary stories about the conflicts between Phokis and Thessalia in the Archaic period (C6?; cf. Ellinger (1993) 17–22). The sanctuary of Artemis Elaphebolia was situated in the territory of Hyampolis (*SEG* 37 422–23), and from C6(?) the Phokians celebrated the annual Elaphebolia in this sanctuary, commemorating their victory over the Thessalians (Plut. *Mor.* 244B–D, 660D, 1099E–F; cf. Ellinger (1993) 22–37). The recent excavations of the sanctuary of Artemis Elaphebolia and Apollo have revealed continuous habitation and utilisation from the Mycenaean age (*LH* IIIC) to the Byzantine period (Felsch and Kienast (1975); Felsch *et al.* (1980), (1987); Felsch and Siewert (1987); *Kalapodi* I: XVI–XVII). A C2 inscription lists the landed property belonging to Apollo and Artemis (*IG* IX.1 87). In connection with the Archaic wars between the Phokians and the Thessalians, Plut. *Mor.* 244D (rC6) mentions the toponym Κλεώναι, and some commentators have erroneously assumed the existence of a community dependent on Hyampolis (*supra* 407).

If one can trust Pausanias' piece of information that, in the C6 war against Thessalia, the Phokian cavalry was commanded by a Δαιφάντης Ὑαμπολίτης, it follows that Hyampolis was a member of the Phokian *koinon*, and that is further confirmed by the Phokian federal coinage: the female head on the reverse of some of the triobols struck in

C6l by the Phokians is usually taken to be the head of Artemis Elaphebolia (Williams (1972) 2), and a rare issue of C5m has on the obverse a kneeling Artemis armed with bow and quiver (Williams (1972) 43; Felsch and Siewert (1987) 687).

In C4e Hyampolis was fortified with a defence circuit, and in 395 the Boiotians made an abortive attack on the walls of the city (*Hell. Oxy.* 21.5). In 371 Jason of Pherai invaded Phokis, conquered the suburb (*τὸ προάστιον*) of Hyampolis and ravaged the *χώρα* (Xen. *Hell.* 6.4.27). Remains of the fortifications are still visible on the plateau where Hyampolis once lay. A circuit wall encloses an area of some 280 m (north–south) by 200 m (east–west). The wall is in trapezoidal masonry, with a dozen interval towers and is usually dated to C4s (Fossey (1986) 72–73). Paus. 10.35.6 mentions a small *bouleuterion*, a theatre near the gate and an ancient agora, and he believes that these buildings antedated the *dioikismos* of 346.

183. Kirrha (Kirrhaios) Map 55. Lat. 38.25, long. 22.30. Size of territory: ? Type A. The toponym is *Κίρρα, ἡ* (*CID* II 31.45, 46, 56 (C4m); Kallisthenes (*FGrHist* 124) fr. 1). *Κύρρα* is a *hapax* attested in *Marm. Par.* (*FGrHist* 239) A37. The relation between *Κίρρα* (*supra*), *Κρίσα* (Hom. *Il.* 2.520) and *Κίρσα* (Alc. fr. 7) has been debated since Antiquity (*Etym. Magn.* 515.18; Eust. *Il.* 1.420.15, van der Valk; cf. Robertson (1978); Parker (1997)). From a linguistic point of view the attested forms can easily be explained as phonetic variants of the same toponym; but an identification depends on (a) an identification of the corresponding ethnics *Κιρραῖοι* and *Κρισαῖοι*, mentioned in accounts of the First Sacred War; (b) the location of Homeric Krisa and Classical Kirrha. These questions have been debated since Antiquity (Strabo 9.3.3–4; Paus. 10.37.5; Steph. Byz. 385.7; for modern controversies over the First Sacred War, see *infra* 420). The city-ethnic is *Κιρραῖος* (Aeschin. 3.107–8; Dem. 18.152; Kallisthenes (*FGrHist* 124) fr. 1). Kirrha is called a *polis* in the urban sense at Aeschin. 3.108–9. All attestations of the city-ethnic testify to the collective and external use.

Since C4 at least, Kirrha was the name of the port of Delphi (*CID* II 31 (C4f); Polyb. 5.27.3; *F.Delphes* III.1 318 (C1); Paus. 10.37.4: *τὸ ἐπίνειον Δελφῶν*). Kirrha is classified as a *χωρίον* in Paus. 10.37.5, and at 10.37.6 he quotes an oracle in which it is described as a citadel (*πόλιος . . . πύργον*; cf. Diod. 9.16; Aeschin. 3.112; Fontenrose (1978) Q71).

With this harbour town was associated a territory called *Κιρραία χώρα* (Dem. 18.149) or *Κιρραῖον πεδίον* (Ps.-Skylax 37; cf. Rousset (2002) 183–87). In the Classical period this plain corresponded to the lower Pleistos valley, which stretches from Delphi and Amphissa to the port of Kirrha. Such a location explains the exploitation by the Amphissaians (Aeschin. 3.119) as well as the occasional reference to the plain as being Lokrian (schol. Hom. *Il.* 2.520). In other sources the plain is called *Κρισαῖον πεδίον* (Hdt. 8.32.2; Isoc. 14.31). The Pythian hippodrome and stadium were probably placed here in the Classical period (Bommelaer (1991) 215), and accordingly each of these two sports grounds were called *Κίρρα* by Pindar (*Pyth.* 3.74; 8.19) and Bacchylides (11.13). The variant *Κρίσα* (Pind. *Pyth.* 6.18; Soph. *El.* 730) has a Homeric touch (Lerat (1948)).

The port of Kirrha is ideally situated at modern Xeropighado (Dassios (1992) no. 128). There are some prehistoric remains (Hope Simpson (1981) 78; Skorda (1992) 42–43, 60–61), then a complete break, and then again partly excavated remains of C6s and later: (a) a defence circuit, part of which is described by the excavator as Classical (*ArchDelt* 49 (1994) *Chron.* 317–18). The circuit was still visible in the mid-nineteenth century (Ulrichs (1863) 207–8); (b) remains of Classical habitation (*ArchDelt* 34 (1979) *Chron.* 207, 49 (1994) *Chron.* 317) and habitation of the Roman period; (c) remains of the harbour and warehouses(?) (Rolley *et al.* (1990) 28–29); (d) a sanctuary probably dedicated to Apollo, Artemis and Leto with offerings dating back to C6m (Luce (1991)). It is probably(?) in Kirrha that one should place the common *παστάδες* mentioned in the Amphiktyonic law of 380 (*CID* I 10.22). The site was apparently not destroyed by the intervention of the *hieromnemones* instigated by Aischines in 340 (Aeschin. 3.123; Luce (1991)).

The port of Kirrha was situated on the territory consecrated to Apollo (Aeschin. 3.107) and administered by the Amphiktyony, which interfered with the collection of harbour dues (Aeschin. 3.119; *BCH* 118 (1994) 99–112 (C5)) and in the accommodation arrangements (*CID* I 10.2.2 (380)). Consequently, the port did not belong to the city of Delphi.

The extra-territorial status of Kirrha fits the only secure attestation of the ethnic *Κιρραῖοι* not related to the First Sacred War. At Dem. 18.152 the collective form *Κιρραῖοι* appears as a kind of pseudo-ethnic denoting the persons who in C4m had fraudulently settled the land consecrated to Apollo, the *Κιρραία χώρα* (18.149). The suggestion that the Kirrhaioi struck coins is based on an erroneous reading (Williams (1972) 72), and the only epigraphical attestation of the ethnic is questionable (*SGDI* 2505 (C4–C3); cf. Rousset (2002) 33, 213).

The *Κιρραία χώρα* was part of a larger area called *γῆ ἱερά* (*CID* I 10.21; Aeschin. 3.118). This sacred area

comprised, to the south, a large part of the Desphina peninsula (Rousset (1996), (2002) 58–59), and to the east it bordered on the Phokian *poleis* of Antikyra (no. 173) and Ambryssos (no. 171) (*F.Delphes* III.4 280B–D (C2s); Rousset (2002) 168–69). Agriculture and, in general, any kind of exploitation of the territory consecrated to Apollo was prohibited (*CID* I 10.15–17; Aeschin. 3.108–9); only the herds of Apollo were allowed to graze the plain (Rousset (2002) 192–205). The prohibition was repeatedly ignored by the Phokians during the Second and Third Sacred Wars (Paus. 10.15.1 (C5m); cf. Parke (1939) 65–71; Diod. 16.23.3 (C4m)). In 340, in the prelude to the Fourth Sacred War, the Amphissaians were accused by Aischines of having built farms and brickworks in the plain, of having refortified and resettled the harbour town, and of having levied taxes from the visitors (Aeschin. 3.113, 119).

The only Classical classification of Kirrha as a *polis* occurs in this context. In a speech delivered in 340, Aischines reminds the Amphiktyonic Council of the oracle which triggered the First Sacred War in C6e: to fight the Kirrhaioi and Kragalidai (described as *γένη*), to ravage their territory (*χώρα*) and their town (*πόλις* used in the urban sense), to expose the population to *andrapodismos*, to consecrate the land to Apollo, Artemis, Leto and Athena Pronoia, and to leave it untilled (Aeschin. 3.108; Fontenrose (1978) Q70). According to Aischines, the Council voted for war, and the Kirrhaioi and Kragalidai were exposed to the penalties described in the oracle, including the destruction of the *polis* (Aeschin. 3.109–11). It is unclear what *genos* denotes, and whether the *polis* is that of the Kirrhaioi or the Kragalidai, or a city common to both groups; see *supra* 402.

In addition to Aischines' account of the historical background to the Fourth Sacred War, we have a number of later historiographic accounts of the First Sacred War (Kallisthenes (*FGrHist* 124) fr. 1; Hippoc. *Ep.* 27, pp. 406–8, Littré; Diod. 9.16; Strabo 9.3.3–4; Plut. *Sol.* 11; Polyaen. 3.5, 6.13; Paus. 10.37.4–8; Pind. *Hyp. Pyth.* a and b). But these accounts are notoriously muddled and contradict one another (Robertson (1978); Lehmann (1980); Càssola (1980); Davies (1994)).

No Archaic remains antedating C6m have been found at Xeropighado (*supra* 419). No site fits the historiographic account of the events (siege and destruction of a fortified settlement), or the location (between Delphi and the Corinthian Gulf), or the chronology (C6e) (cf. Rousset (2002) 43–44). Another point to be taken into account is the marginal location of the port of Kirrha in relation to the peninsula of Desphina, which constituted the central part of the sacred land. This topography does not fit the historical traditions (cf., however, Pind. *Hyp. Pyth.* b).

The state of the evidence speaks against accepting Kirrha as a *polis* destroyed in C6e. On the contrary, the sources seem to substantiate the opposite view: that, in the Archaic period down to C6e, there was no *polis* of the Kirrhaioi whose territory had been consecrated to Apollo. The *polis* status of Krisa/Kirrha in C6e is an aetiological invention which became prominent in the context of the Third and Fourth Sacred Wars in order to explain the obscure origin of the *hiera ge*. In that case, there is no reason to debate the historicity of such a *polis* any longer (see Krisa, *supra* 419).

184. Ledon (Ledontios) Map 55. Lat. 38.40, long. 22.40, but see *infra*. Size of territory: 1 or 2. Type: B. The only attestations of the toponym *Λέδων, -οντος, ἡ* are in Paus. 10.2.2 and 33.1, also our only source for the city-ethnic: *Λεδόντιος* (10.33.1). The C2 bronze coins inscribed *ΛΕ* must be assigned to Elateia (no. 180); cf. *supra* 417.

Ledon is retrospectively called a *polis* by Pausanias, both in the political and in the urban sense: he tells us that Ledon, one of the *poleis* among the Phokians, was the fatherland of the *strategos* Philomelos (*πατρὶς δὲ αὐτῷ Λέδων τῶν ἐν Φωκεῦσιν ἦν πόλεων* (10.2.2 (r357))); and we hear that Ledon was one of the *poleis* exposed to *dioikismos* in 346 (10.3.2). The urban sense is dominant at 10.33.1, where Pausanias reports that Ledon had once been a *polis*, but that in his time the few surviving Ledontians had abandoned their *polis* and settled near the Kephisos. Ledon's fate in 346 shows that it was a member of the Phokian *koinon* (Paus. 10.3.2). The absence of Ledon from Herodotos' account at 8.35 has induced some scholars to suppose that Ledon may have been the successor of one of the settlements that disappear in the course of the Classical period, e.g. Pedieis (no. 189) (Leake (1835) ii. 89), but such an assumption does not square with the documents found later (*Hell. Oxy.*; *CID* II 5; cf. *infra* 424).

The location of Ledon cannot be established with certainty. According to Paus. 10.33.1, it lay in the Kephisos valley: a road leads from Tithorea to the ancient site of Ledon, situated some 40 stades from the river Kephisos, where the Ledontians were settled in the time of Pausanias. In light of the uncertain nature of the physical remains, the identification of Ledon with the site of Gournes Aghia Marina (Dassios (1992) no. 32) is questionable. An identification with Modi remains more satisfactory (Tillard (1911) map; Klaffenbach (1937); Kirsten (1951) 716, 741; *Barr.*), although others have suggested an identification of Modi with Triteis

(no. 196) (Dassios (1992) no. 21; McInerney (1999) 281–83). At Modi are the remains of a small fortification (100 × 100 m) in isodomic masonry, presumably of the Classical or Hellenistic period, whereas Tillard (1911) 54 suggests 338 as the *terminus ante quem*. The remains fit Ledon better than Triteis, a *polis* that disappears completely from all sources after 480 (cf. no. 196).

185. Lilaia (Lilaieus) Map 55. Lat. 38.40, long. 22.30. Size of territory: 1 or 2. Type: B. The toponym is *Λίλαια, ἡ* (Hom. *Il.* 2.523; Theopomp. fr. 385; Paus. 10.3.1 (rC4m); *BCH* 45 (1921) IV.41 (C2f), Oulhen). The form *Λίλαιον* is late and is only found in literary sources (Ptol. *Geog.* 3.14.14; *Suda* Λ538). The city-ethnic is *Λιλαιεύς* (*IG* IX.1 111 (C4s)).

Lilaia is not explicitly called a *polis* in any Archaic or Classical source. Paraphrasing Theopompos (fr. 385) and quoting the Homeric Catalogue of Ships (*Il.* 2.523), Strabo classifies Lilaia as a *polis* in the territorial sense (9.3.16). Theopompos is cited for the information that the river Kephisos rose near Lilaia (*ἐκ Λιλαίας . . . Φωκικῆς πόλεως*). We cannot be sure, however, that the term *polis* stems from Theopompos (cf. Jacoby *ad loc.*). Lilaia is retrospectively listed as a *polis* in the urban sense at Paus. 10.3.1, describing the *dioikismos* of the Phokian *poleis* in 346, and at 10.33.3 Pausanias reports that the city was refounded (*ἀνῳκίσθη αὐτοῖς ἡ πόλις*), presumably in C4l (*infra*).

The collective and external use of the city-ethnic is found in abbreviated form on some C5f coins (*infra*) and in an inscription of 322 recording the Phokians' payment of the fine imposed in 346 (*CID* II 108.6). For the individual and external use, see the [*Λι*]*λαιεῖς* and the [*Λι*]*λαιεύς* who made a contribution to the sanctuary of Apollo in Delphi (*CID* II 2.1.6, 9 (C4f)) and *Νικόδωρος Λιλαιεύς* who in 337/6 witnessed the Phokians' payment of the fine imposed in 346 (*IG* IX.1 111.14 = *CID* II 38).

Lilaia is not mentioned by Hdt. 8.33, 35, among the cities destroyed by the Persians in 480. Several commentators have suggested a topographical or historical explanation for the absence of Lilaia from Herodotos' list. For Valckenaer's unconvincing conjecture *Λιλαιέων* instead of MSS *Αἰολιδέων* at Hdt. 8.35, see *supra* 409. Some have taken Herodotos' omission of Lilaia as proof that, in 480, the city was part of Doris and had joined the other Dorian cities in siding with the Persians (Hdt. 8.31; cf. Leake (1835) ii. 89–90). A slightly modified version of this explanation has induced Williams (1972) 16–18 to interpret the coins inscribed *ΛΙ* as an autonomous issue struck immediately after the Persian invasion. But the coins are federal, and the precise dating is questionable, although stylistic criteria do point to a date in C5f (*infra*). The coins, the *dioikismos* in 346, and the recording of a Lilaian witnessing the payment of the Phokians' fine in 337/6 (*IG* IX.1 111) are sufficient proof that Lilaia was a member of the Phokian *koinon* in C5 and C4. Consequently, the inclusion of Lilaia as one of a Dorian *hexapolis* must be abandoned (Rousset (1989) 224–25).

After the *dioikismos* of 346 (Paus. 10.3.2) Lilaia was refounded (Paus. 10.33.3). Stamped tiles of the Hellenistic period (C3?) inscribed *ΛΙΛΑΙΕΩΝ* have been found in the sanctuary of Artemis at Erochos, from which Robert and Robert (*BE* (1978) 236) inferred that a *sympoliteia* had resulted in the incorporation of Erochos (no. 181) into Lilaia. In this context it may be worth noting that Lilaia is the only Phokian *polis* that had two eponymous officials, as attested in a series of documents of C3l (*F.Delphes* III.4 133–35). Later documents mention only one eponymous archon (*F.Delphes* III.2 125 (C2s)).

Lilaia bordered to the south on the foothills of Parnassos, to the east on a declivity dominating a small valley beneath which was the source of the river Kephisos. The lower town was presumably situated here (Frazer (1898) 411–14; Dassios (1992) 29–30 no. 5). Today only the uppermost part of the circuit wall is preserved (plan in Tillard (1911) 70). It is a kind of acropolis, and its connection with the circuit wall enclosing the lower town can no longer be determined. It is in isodomic masonry, with bevelled joints, and cannot be dated with certainty. A date after 338 was suggested by Tillard (1911) 75, a date *c.*356–46 by Ober (1992) 163–64. The wall is mentioned in connection with the siege of Lilaia by Philip V in C3l (Paus. 10.33.3).

It is uncertain, however, whether Archaic Lilaia was situated here. On a hill *c.*1 km north-west of the C4 fortifications are remains of a wall in polygonal masonry, perhaps of C6, covering an area of *c.*100 by 60 m (Keramopoulos (1917) 53 (C6?); Kase *et al.* (1991) 53 pl. 4.14 and 35; Dassios (1992) no. 3). Sherds of the early, middle and late Helladic periods have been found as well (Lazenby and Hope Simpson (1970) 44; *Teiresias* (1979) 19–27). Rather than a second-order settlement depending on Lilaia (Dassios (1992) no. 3), this site may well be Archaic Lilaia. Such a hypothesis is supported by the fact that excavations of the Classical site of Lilaia have produced no material of the Archaic period (*ArchDelt* 33 (1978) B1, 154–64). The hypothesis disproves the topographical argument adduced by Tillard (1911) 63 in order to explain the absence of Lilaia from Herodotos' account at 8.33–35 (*supra*).

Pausanias mentions an agora and a theatre, both undated (10.33.4). The source of the river Kephisos was traditionally

located at Lilaia (Hom. *Il.* 2.523; Theopomp. fr. 385; Paus. 9.24.1). It was the object of a cult performed by the Lilaians (Paus. 10.8.10), and a priest of Kephisos is mentioned in the documents of C3l mentioned above (*F.Delphes* III.4 133–35). A retaining wall in polygonal masonry near the source of the river may be dated to C6 (Frazer (1898) 414).

Some silver coins, usually dated to the period 480–421, were struck by the Phokian *koinon*, but instead of *ΦΟ* the legend is *ΛΙ*, probably an abbreviated form of *Λιλαιέων*, indicating that they were struck for Lilaia in particular. Denominations: triobol, diobol and obol on the Aiginetan standard. Types: *obv.* bull's head facing; *rev.* head of nymph or forepart of wild boar; legend: *ΛΙ* (Head, *HN*[2] 343; Babelon, *Traité* ii.3: 349–50 nos. 420–21).

186. Medeon (Medeonios) Map 55. Lat. 38.20, long. 22.40. Size of territory: probably 2. Type: B. The toponym is *Μεδεών -ῶνος, ὁ* (*Syll.*[3] 667.36 (C2 or C2f); Paus. 10.3.2; Steph. Byz. 439.19). The city-ethnic is *Μεδεώνιος* (*CID* II 37.3–4 (C4s); *SGDI* 2057.2 (C2e)). Medeon is not called a *polis* in any Archaic or Classical source, and the first explicit attestation of a *πόλις Μεδεωνίων* is in a C2e *sympoliteia* agreement between Medeon and Stiris (no. 193) (*Syll.*[3] 667.6 (C2 or C2f); cf. Migeotte (1984) no. 28); but Medeon is retrospectively attested as a *polis* in the urban sense at Paus. 10.3.2, where it is listed among the Phokian cities dioikised in 346. The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested externally in an inscription of 322 recording the Phokians' payment of the fine imposed in 346 (*CID* II 108.1: [*Μεδε*]*ώνιοι*) and internally in the C2f *sympoliteia* agreement (*supra*). For the individual and external use, see *Θρασύβουλος Αἰσχρίωνος Μεδεώνιος*, the *archon* of the Phokian *koinon* in 342 (*CID* II 37.3–4).

The fate of the city in 346 as well as the federal *archon* of 342 ensure that Medeon was a member of the Phokian *koinon*. There is no other public act of Medeon than the C2 *sympoliteia* agreement according to which Medeon disappears as a *polis* and becomes a *phratria* of Stiris.

The defence circuit surrounding the town of Medeon is built in an unparalleled type of regular polygonal masonry, with three towers in the north-western part (Camp (2000) 42). It measures 200 m (east–west) by 150 m (north–south) (Vatin (1969) 4 fig. 4). On the top of the hill are numerous terraces on which are the remains of some (public?) buildings. The cemetery was abandoned in C3m, according to Robert and Robert (*BE* (1970) 310) in connection with the *sympoliteia* which was probably entailed by a *synoikismos*. Only ruins were left in the time of Pausanias (10.36.6).

187. Neon (Ne(-))**/Tithorea** (Tithoreus) Map 55. Lat. 38.35, long. 22.40. Size of territory: probably 2. Type: A. The older toponym is *Νέων* (Hdt. 8.32.1) or *Νεών* (Paus. 10.2.4) or *Νέωνες* (Dem. 19.148) or *Νεῶνες* (Androtion (*FGrHist* 324) fr. 23; Paus. 10.3.2; cf. Harding (1994) 119–20). The corresponding city-ethnic is attested only in abbreviated form (as *NE*) on some C5 coins (*infra*). Steph. Byz. 473.11 suggests the forms *Νεώνιος* and *Νεωναῖος*. The later toponym is *Τιθορέα, ἡ* (Hdt. 8.32, cited by Paus. 10.32.8–9, in both sources designating a summit of Parnassos). At Paus. 10.32.9 the toponym is taken to designate first the region and later the town, replacing the older toponym of *Νεών*. The form *Τιθόρα* is attested both in texts and in inscriptions (Plut. *Sull.* 15.5 (rC1); *IG* IX.1 190.2 (2nd century AD)). *Τιθόρρα* (*BCH* 45 (1921) III.29, Oulhen (C2f)) and *Τιθύρρα* (*CID* II 131.9 (C3)) are variant forms found only in inscriptions. The city-ethnic is *Τιθορρεύς*, attested only in inscriptions (*IG* XI.1 99.3 (C3l)); *Τιθορεύς* is attested both in inscriptions and in literary texts (*IG* IX.1 66.25 (C2m); Paus. 10.32.11). *Τιθορεεύς* is attested once (Paus. 9.17.4).

Neon is called a *polis* in the urban sense at Hdt. 8.32.1 and 8.33 and, retrospectively, at Paus. 10.3.2 and 32.9, in both authors in connection with Xerxes' invasion of Phokis in 480, when Neon was burnt to the ground. Pausanias mentions Neon as a *polis* in the urban sense in connection with the battle of Neon in 354 (10.2.4) and also in connection with the *dioikismos* of the Phokian cities in 346 after the Third Sacred War (10.3.2–3). The collective and internal use of the city-ethnic is attested in abbreviated form (*NE*) on C5 coins (*infra*). All attestations of the city-ethnic *Τιθο(ρ)ρεύς* are Hellenistic or later (*supra*).

The problem of whether Tithorea was built on the top of the ruins of Neon depends on how one interprets Hdt. 8.32.1 and the slightly different story told by Plut. *Sull.* 15.5 and Paus. 10.32.9. *Pace* Leake (1835) ii. 79 and Ulrichs (1863) 119, the preferable solution is, with Tillard (1911) 56–60, to follow the account found in Pausanias: (a) in 480 Tithorea was the name of the peak of the mountain towering over the *polis* of Neon (Hdt. 8.32.1; Paus. 10.32.9); (b) the toponym Tithorea came to designate the surrounding region, i.e the territory of the *polis* of Neon (Paus. 10.32.9: *ἁπάσῃ τῇ χώρᾳ*); (c) the *polis* of Neon, demolished in 346, took the name of Tithorea when it was refounded on the same site by people returning from their temporary residence in the surrounding villages (Paus. 10.32.9: *ἀνῳκίσθησαν ἀπὸ τῶν κωμῶν*). It follows that the attempts to locate Neon somewhere in the Kephisos valley must be abandoned (Dassios (1992) no. 26, who identifies Neon with Palai Thiva; see Pedieis (no. 189)). The date

of the refoundation is not known, and the earliest attestations of the new toponym (*CID* II 131) and city-ethnic (*IG* IX.1 99) are of C3.

The federal coins inscribed *NE*, as well the fate of the city in 346, ensure that Neon was a member of the Phokian *koinon*. The classification of Tithorea as a Boiotian *polis* at Steph. Byz. 623.14 is probably just a mistake: the Theban occupation of Neon during the Third Sacred War, from 354 to 349, was apparently not followed by a political annexation of the city (Paus. 10.2.4; Dem. 19.148; Buckler (1989) 44–45, 100–11).

The events of 349 (Dem. 19.148) suggest that the city was fortified, but the remains of fortifications still visible may well be of a later date. The north-eastern part of the wall with its towers is in a fine state of preservation, and the date is much debated (after 338: Tillard (1911) 59–61, 75; Winter (1971) 158; *c.*356–46: Ober (1992) 163–64). A deep gorge lay immediately west of the town, and the town was protected by a defence circuit on the northern and eastern sides only. The wall was built in isodomic masonry with interval towers, ten of which are still visible. The wall enclosed an area of max. *c.*580 m (north–south) × 250 m (east–west). Paus. 10.32.10 mentions a *peribolos* wall enclosing an ancient agora. He also mentions several undated sanctuaries and the tomb of Antiope and Phokos (10.17.4, 32.10). According to legend, the region of Phokis was named after Phokos, who settled at Tithorea (Paus. 2.4.3, 29.3, 10.1.1).

Some silver obols, usually dated to the period 480–421, were struck by the Phokian *koinon*, but with the legend *NE* on the reverse, probably an abbreviated form of the city-ethnic, indicating that they were struck for Neon in particular. Types: *obv.* bull's head facing; legend: *OΦ*; *rev.* forepart of wild boar in incuse square; legend: *NE* (Head, *HN*² 343; Babelon, *Traité* ii.3. 349–52 no. 422; Williams (1972) 42).

188. Parapotamioi (Parapotamios) Map 55. Lat. 38.35, long. 22.50. Size of territory: probably 2. Type: A. The toponym is *Παραποτάμιοι, οἱ* (Hdt. 8.33; Strabo 9.3.16; Paus. 10.3.1); the form *Παραποταμία, ἡ* is attested only twice (Strabo 9.3.16 and Steph. Byz. 503.4), and dates from a time when Parapotamioi had disappeared as a city and denoted a geographical area only. The city-ethnic is *Παραποτάμιος* (*Hell. Oxy.* 21.5; Paus. 10.33.8 (r586)). In the Homeric Catalogue of Ships the line *οἵ τ' ἄρα παρ' ποταμὸν Κηφισὸν ἔναιον* (*Il.* 2.522) is commonly interpreted as a periphrastic reference to the Parapotaimoi (Paus. 10.3.2, *contra* 10.33.7). The pseudo-ethnics *Ἐπικηφίσιοι* (schol. Hom. *Il.* 2.522) and *Παρακηφίσιοι* (Steph. Byz. 707.6) are derived from the line in Homer and have no independent authority. All indisputable attestations of the city-ethnic are in literary sources, and at *SEG* 3 408.7 *[Τ]αρα[ν]τ[ίνωι]* could be proposed as a possible alternative to *[Π]αρα[πο]τ[αμίωι]*. Parapotamioi is called a *polis* in the urban sense by Hdt. 8.33 in connection with Xerxes' invasion of Phokis in 480, when Parapotamioi was burnt to the ground, and by Paus. 10.3.1–2 in connection with the *dioikismos* in 346. It is implicitly called a *polis* by *Hell. Oxy.* 21.5 in connection with the Boiotian campaign into Phokis in 395, where *polis* is used in the urban sense with the political sense as a possible connotation (Hansen and Nielsen (2000) 146). The collective and external use of the city-ethnic is attested in *Hell. Oxy.* 21.5. The only attestation of the individual and external use is Pausanias' mention of an *Αἰχμέας Παραποτάμιος*, allegedly a victor in the first Pythian Games of 586 (10.33.7). The merging of the toponym and the city-ethnic makes it difficult to distinguish between attestations of the city-ethnic (found at *Hell. Oxy.* 21.5: *ἡ τῶν Παραποταμίων χώρα*) and the toponym (found at Plut. *Sull.* 16.12: *ἡ ἀκρόπολις τῶν Παραποταμίων*).

Parapotamioi was situated on the north-western side of a hill called *Ἡδύλειον*, at a strategic point controlling the access to the Kephisos valley and close to the frontier of Phokis (schol. Dem. 19.148, nos. 313–14c, Dilts; cf. Davierо-Rocchi (1993)). Owing to its strategic position, it repeatedly became the battleground where the Phokian and Boiotian armies clashed during the Third Sacred War (Theopomp. fr. 385 = Strabo 9.3.16; schol. Dem. 19.20, no. 73b, Dilts; cf. Plut. *Sull.* 16.8).

At *Hell. Oxy.* 21.5 the territory is referred to as *ἡ τῶν Παραποταμίων χώρα*. According to Theopomp. fr. 385, Parapotamioi bordered on the *poleis* of Ambryssos (no. 171), Phanoteus (no. 190) and Daulis (no. 176). (Ambryssos is a mistake, but so far no satisfactory emendation has been suggested (Fossey (1986) 69; Marcotte (1988) 489; cf. the comment in the Budé edn. *ad loc.*).

Parapotamioi was never rebuilt after the *dioikismos* in 346, but its population was distributed between the other *poleis* refounded in the 330s by the Boiotians and Athenians (Paus. 10.33.8 (rC4s); cf. Plut. *Sull.* 16.12; Strabo 9.3.16). The *polis* ceased to exist, and its territory was presumably divided among some or all of the neighbouring *poleis*.

Parapotamioi had a small defence circuit of *c.*100 m × 80 m (Fossey (1986) 69–71; Dassios (1992) no. 51). The wall was built of small stones in Lesbian polygonal masonry. The workmanship is undistinguished, and the wall is difficult to date (Frazer (1898) 419; Fossey (1986) 69). This defence

circuit was retrospectively described as the *akropolis* of Parapotamioi by Plut. *Sull.* 16.12.

189. Pedieis (Pedieis) Map 55. Lat. 38.40, long. 22.40, but see *infra* for a discussion of the unresolved location. Size of territory: probably 2 (if identified with Palaia Phiva). Type: A. The toponym is *Πεδιεῖς, οἱ* (Hdt. 8.35; *Hell. Oxy.* 21.5). The city-ethnic is *Πεδιεύς* (*CID* II 5.II.54: *Πε[διε]ῖς* (373–346)). Pedieis is called a *polis* in the urban sense at Hdt. 8.33 in connection with Xerxes' invasion of Phokis in 480, when the town was burnt to the ground, and it is listed as a *polis* in the political sense in the Delphic *naopoioi* accounts, where the Pedieis appear as contributors in a list dated between 373 and 346 (*CID* II 5.II.55) and headed by the formula: *ταίδε τῶμ πολίων ἥνικαν* (II.25–26). This list testifies to the collective and external use of the city-ethnic.

In 395 the Boiotians overran the plain round Elateia and Pedieis (no. 189), and the population settled in the plain (*Hell. Oxy.* 21.5). Pedieis is not listed by Pausanias among the *poleis* exposed to *dioikismos* in 346; but that Pedieis was still a member of the Phokian *koinon* in C4f can be inferred from the Boiotian attack in 395 and the occurrence of the city-ethnic in *CID* II 5.II.54: *Φωκεῖς Πε[διε]ῖς*), dated between 373 and 346. The presumption is that Pausanias omitted the city from his list by mistake, and that it disappeared for good in 346 (cf. Parapotamioi (no. 188)). But, depending on the date of *CID* II 5, Pedieis may have disappeared earlier, which would also explain Pausanias' silence. For some historians' unconvincing link between Ledon (no. 184) and Pedieis, see *supra* 420.

Pedieis is still unlocated. The toponym as well as the account of *Hell. Oxy.* indicate that the city was situated in the plain, and probably adjacent to Elateia (no. 180). In Hdt. 8.33, Pedieis is placed between Neon (no. 187) and Triteis (no. 196), itself an unlocated town. Consequently, Pedieis is normally identified with the ancient site of Palaia Phiva (Schober (1924) 38; Klaffenbach (1937); *Barr.*). The remains described by early travellers are no longer visible (Ulrichs (1863) ii. 119; Frazer (1898) 407; Dassios (1992) no. 26): *viz.* a quadrangular defence circuit with a side of *c.*790 m and interval towers, semicircular on the outside and rectangular on the inner side. Such a description does not fit an Archaic wall, and accordingly Klaffenbach (1937) preferred to identify this site with the later site of Ledon (Paus. 10.33.1). But that remains a doubtful hypothesis. The recently described defence circuit at Vourlia (Rousset (1999) no. 16) is an alternative candidate according to Dassios (1992) no. 20.

190. Phanoteus, Panopeus (Phanoteus, Panopeus) Map 55. Lat. 38.30, long. 22.50. Size of territory: 1 or 2. Type: A. The toponym is *Πανοπεύς* (Hom. *Il.* 2.520; Ps.-Skylax 61; Ephor. fr. 31a), *ὁ* (Paus. 10.4.2), *ἡ* (*Etym. Magn.* 111.25) or, in the plural, *Πανοπεῖς* (Hdt. 8.34; Strabo 9.3.12 = Ephor. fr. 31b) or *Φανοτεύς* (Thuc. 4.89.1; Strabo 9.3.14) or *Φανατεύς* (*CID* I 9.D.29–30 (C4m); *IG* VII 3376.9 (C2)). A variant form, *Φανοτεία*, is exclusively attested in late authors (Polyb. 29.12.7; Livy 32.18). For other forms invented by the grammarians, see Steph. Byz. 657.17–18. The city-ethnic is identical with the toponym, and is either *Πανοπεύς* (Hdt. 8.35.1; Theopomp. fr. 385) or *Φανοτεύς* (*Hell. Oxy.* 21.5; *CID* II 24.II.14 (C4s); *SEG* 42 479.4 (C3)) or *Φανατεύς* (*SGDI* 1770.1 (C2f); *IG* VII 3376.12 (C2)). According to Strabo 9.3.14, *Πανοπεύς* is the older, and *Φανοτεύς* the later, form of the toponym, and the same observation applies to the city-ethnic. *Πανοπεύς* is found in literary sources only, *Φανοτεύς* both in literary sources and in inscriptions, whereas *Φανατεύς* is an epichoric variant form attested exclusively in inscriptions. At *SEG* 3 345.3, the restoration of *[Παν]οπεῖα* is not beyond suspicion.

Phanoteus is called a *polis* in the urban sense, with the political sense as a connotation, at Hdt. 8.35.1 in connection with Xerxes' invasion of Phokis in 480, when the town was burned to the ground (Hansen (2000) 175–76), and at *Hell. Oxy.* 21.5 in connection with the Boiotian campaign into Phokis in 395 (Hansen and Nielsen (2000) 146). The urban sense occurs at Ps.-Skylax 61 and, retrospectively, in Paus. 10.3.1–2 in connection with the *dioikismos* in 346. The collective and external use of the city-ethnic is found at Hdt. 8.35.1; *Hell. Oxy.* 21.5; *SEG* 42 479.4 (C3). The individual and external use is applied to the Phokian from Phanoteus who in 424 told the Lakedaimonians about the Athenian plan to attack Boiotia (Thuc. 4.89.1) and to an exile who in C4s contributed to the rebuilding of the temple in Delphi (*CID* II 24.II.14).

The territory of Phanoteus is called *ἡ Φανοτίς* at Thuc. 4.76.3, and is designated by the toponym at Hdt. 8.34; it is indirectly termed *χώρα* at *Hell. Oxy.* 21.5. Phanoteus is the easternmost *polis* of Phokis, bordering on Boiotian Chaironeia (no. 201) (Thuc. 4.76.3; Plut. *Lys.* 29.4 (rC4e); Paus. 9.40.12). A C3 inscription lays down the frontier between Phanoteus and Stiris (no. 193), situated south of Mt. Helikon (*SEG* 42 479), and according to Strabo 9.3.14, Phanoteus bordered on "the region round Lebadeia" (no. 211). In 395 the body of Lysandros was carried over the frontier of Boiotia and buried in the territory of Phanoteus (Plut. *Lys.* 29.4), testimony of Lakedaimonian alliance with Phokis in general rather than with Phanoteus in particular.

The Boiotian attack on Phanoteus in 395, as well as the *dioikismos* in 346, ensure that the *polis* belonged to the Phokian *koinon* in C4. Membership in C5, too, is to be assumed, but there is no explicit evidence (Thuc. 4.76.3, 89.1).

The eponymous hero of Phanoteus was Phanoteus, son of Phokos (Steph. Byz. 500.19; Paus. 2.29.2), and this foundation myth can be traced back to Archaic and Classical sources (Hom. *Il.* 23.665; Soph. *El.* 45; Pl. *Ion* 533B, *Resp.* 620C).

Phanoteus is situated on a steep-sided hill measuring *c.*600 m by 100 m, described as an *ἄκρα* by Polyb. 5.96.5. From *Hell. Oxy.* 21.5 it can be inferred that the site was fortified in 395. On the eminence are two types of remains: (a) on the southern slope is a stretch of a wall in "cyclopean" masonry, often interpreted as traces of a Mycenaean acropolis (Lazenby and Hope Simpson (1970) 42–43; Fossey (1986) 63–64; cf. Hom. *Il.* 17.307–8; Paus. 10.4.2); (b) apart from stretches where the escarpment offers sufficient protection, the entire hill is enclosed by a defence circuit, with eight interval towers on the western and southern sides. The length of the *peribolos* was seven stades according to Paus. 10.4.2. The wall was built partly in irregular trapezoidal masonry, unique in Phokis, and partly in isodomic masonry (Kirsten (1949a) 641–47; Fossey (1986) 63–64). A part of the wall may correspond to an internal *diateichisma.* This fortification, of which the western and southern parts are well preserved, cannot be dated with certainty: Camp (2000) 45 suggests the late 340s; but according to Winter (1971) it is "post Chaironeian", see *supra* 401. The early travellers describe a section of a wall which is no longer visible, perhaps the defence circuit of the lower town (Leake (1835) ii. 110–11; Frazer (1898) 218; Camp *et al.* (1997) 267 n. 29). The occupation of the suburbs (*proastion*) by the Boiotians, mentioned at *Hell. Oxy.* 21.5, indicates that the lower town was unfortified in 395. The famous passage in Paus. 10.4.1 about the absence of public buildings of Phanoteus in his own time carries no weight as evidence for the Archaic and Classical periods (Alcock (1995) 326–27).

191. Phlygonion (P(h)lygoneus) Map 55. Lat. 38.30, long. 22.45. Size of territory: probably 2. Type: B. In literary sources the toponym is *Φλυγόνιον, τό* (Paus. 10.3.2 (rC4m); Steph. Byz. 668.11; cf. *Phlegya* at Plin. *HN* 4.7.12). The variant form *Φλυγονία*, suggested by Steph. Byz. 668.12, is either a mere invention of the grammarians or a misinterpreted form of the name of the territory. In inscriptions of C3l and C2e the city-ethnic is invariably *Πλυγονεύς* (*SGDI* 2049 (C3l); for a list of attestations, see Daux (1936) 234–58; Lerat (1952) i. 59–60), but in a C2m regulation of the frontiers the city-ethnic is *Φλυγονεύς* (*F.Delphes* III.2 136.22) or *Φλυγωνεύς* (*F.Delphes* III.2 136.29). The only attestation of the city-ethnic in an inscription of the Classical period is restored, *viz.* [*Φλυγ*]*ονεῖς* or [*Πλυγ*]*ονεῖς* in *CID* II 108.10 (322). *Φλυγονιεύς* and *Φλυγόνιος* are found only in Steph. Byz. 668.12 and are presumably invented by the grammarians.

Phlygonion is recorded in Pausanias' list of *poleis* exposed to *dioikismos* in 346 (10.3.2). Pausanias' information is confirmed by the Delphic accounts, where the Phlygonians ([*Φ*/*Πλυγ*]*ονεῖς*) are recorded among the Phokian communities that paid the annual fine (*CID* II 108.10 (322)). Both sources ensure that Phlygonion belonged to the Phokian *koinon* in C4. The collective and external use of the city-ethnic is attested in this inscription. The individual and external use is attested in the Delphic manumission inscriptions of C3l/C2e (*SGDI* 2049.3, 20).

The existence of two different city-ethnics—*viz. Πλυγονεύς versus Φλυγονεύς* derived from *Φλυγόνιον*—has for a long time induced commentators to postulate the existence of two different cities: the Phokian city of *Φλυγόνιον* inhabited by the *Φλυγονεῖς*, and the Lokrian city of **Πλυγόνιον*, an unattested toponym derived from the city-ethnic *Πλυγονεύς* (Schober (1924) 39–40; Daux (1936) 234–58; Lerat (1952) i. 59–61; *contra* Colin at *F.Delphes* III.2 136), but both city-ethnics do in fact denote the same city (Rousset (1999) 43 n. 37 and (2002) 20–27).

Although the Persians must have passed Phlygonion on their march in 480 from Phanoteus to Delphi, the city is absent from Herodotos' list at 8.35. But no argument from silence can be based on this chapter. The *dioikismos* of Phlygonion in 346 (Paus. 10.3.2), as well as the Phlygonians' contribution to the fine in 322 (*CID* II 108) ensure that Phlygonion was a member of the Phokian *koinon.* The inscriptions of C2f show that, in 191/90, all Phlygonians had become Delphians (Daux (1936) 252–53). The C2m regulation of the frontiers between the Delphians (no. 177) and, on the other hand, the Ambryssians (no. 171) and Phlygonians shows that the two latter cities by then were united in a *sympoliteia* (*F.Delphes* III.2 136).

The ruins at Bania, where *Aiolidai has often been located (no. 170), are to be identified with Phlygonion (Robert and Robert, *BE* (1941) 8; Rousset (1999) 43 n. 37, (2002) 45). At the site is a small defence circuit in isodomic masonry, but its poor state of preservation does not allow of any more precise description (Schober (1924) 22; Dassios (1992) no. 113; Rousset (2002) 63 no. 69).

192. Po[---] Map 55. Unlocated. Type: C. The preamble of a payment in 337/6 of the fine imposed on the Phokians in 346 lists as one of the archons of the Phokians a *Κρίτωνος Πο*[----]*ου* (*CID* II 38.5). The letters *Πο*[----]*ου* must be a city-ethnic in the genitive case, but no other source testifies to a Phokian city whose city-ethnic fits *Πο*[...4–5...]*ος*. So far no satisfactory restoration or emendation has been suggested. J. Bousquet's suggestion at *CID* II 38 is unconvincing. The place called *Πούρεον* (*Syll.*³ 826.III.34 = *F.Delphes* III.4 280.C.34) from which he derived *Πο*[*υρεάτ*]*ου* is certainly not the name of a community. We have a choice among four possibilities: (a) an error by the mason; (b) a dialectal variant of a well-known Phokian ethnic *Π*/*Βο*[*υλιδί*]*ου*; (c) an ethnic of an unlocated *polis* of central Greece called *Πο*[*ταναί*]*ου* (Lerat (1952) i. 62–64, *contra* Rousset (2002) 15, 38); or (d) an ethnic of an otherwise unknown Phokian *polis*.

193. Stiris (Stirios) Map 55. Lat. 38.25, long. 22.45. Size of territory: 2. Type: B. The toponym is *Στῖρις*, *-ιος* (*Syll.*³ 647.24 (C2f); Paus. 10.3.2 (r346)) or *Στεῖρις* (*IG* IX.1 36.1 (C2f); Plut. *Cim.* 1.9). The city-ethnic is *Στίριος* (*SGDI* 1727.6 (C2f); *Syll.*³ 647.15) or *Στείριος* (*SEG* 42 479.3 (C3l); *Syll.*³ 647.5). The variant form *Στιριεύς* is attested once in an inscription of the Roman Imperial period (*IG* IX.1 48.7 (third century AD), and *Στιρίτης* is found once (Paus. 10.3.2). Neither the toponym nor the city-ethnic is attested prior to the Hellenistic period; but Stiris is listed by Paus. 10.2.3 as one of the *poleis* exposed to *dioikismos* in 346, which shows that, in C4m, it was a member of the Phokian *koinon*.

The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally in a *sympoliteia* agreement with Medeon (no. 186) of C2f? (*Syll.*³ 647) and externally in a C3 inscription which regulates the frontier between Stiris and Phanoteus (no. 190; *SEG* 42 479 (C3l)). The individual and external use is found in a Delphic manumission inscription of C2f (*SGDI* 1727).

Paus. 10.35.10 records a sanctuary of Demeter Stiritis with a temple in mudbrick in which was a very old image of the goddess. The epithet indicates that Demeter was the protective divinity of Stiris.

Stiris is situated on a low rocky hill, *c.*700 m long and 100 m across. Along the east side are the remains of an undated defence circuit in isodomic masonry (Fossey (1986) 32–33; Dassios (1992) no. 75; McInerney (1999) 319–20).

194. Teithronion (Teithronios) Map 55. Lat. 38.40, long. 22.35. Size of territory: probably 2. Type: A. As attested in inscriptions, the toponym is *Τείθρων* (*SEG* 1 198.5 (C4l/C3e); *SEG* 16 351.3 (*c.*200); *SGDI* 1983.3–4 (C2e)); in literary sources it is *Τεθρώνιον*, *τό* (Hdt. 8.33 most MSS; Paus. 10.3.2) or *Τεθρόνιον* (Hdt. 8.33, RSV) or *Τιθρώνιον* (Paus. 10.33.12; Steph. Byz. 624.6). On *Θρόνιον* at Ps.-Skylax 61, see Nielsen (2000) 107–8. The city-ethnic is *Τειθρώνιος* (*CID* II 108.7, 322; *SGDI* 1983.13 (C2e); in *CID* II 5.II.50 (C4f) it is combined with the regional ethnic: *Φωκεῖς Τειθρώνιοι*).

Teithronion is called a *polis* in the urban sense at Hdt. 8.33 and, retrospectively, at Paus. 10.3.1 and 2, in both passages in connection with Xerxes' invasion of Phokis in 480, when the town was burned to the ground. Paus. 10.3.2–3 treats Teithronion as a *polis* in the urban sense in connection with the *dioikismos* of the Phokian cities in 346 after the Third Sacred War. The city is listed as a *polis* in the political sense in the Delphic *naopoioi* accounts, where the Teithronioi appear as contributors in a list (*CID* II 5.II.50) headed by the formula: *ταίδε τῶμ πολίων ἤνικαν* (II.25–26). The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested externally in one of the receipts of the Phokian fine (*CID* II 108.7 (322)), and internally in a proxeny decree of C3–C2 (*IG* IX.1 222.10); the individual use is attested externally in a C4–C3 proxeny decree from Delphi (no. 177) (*SEG* 1 198.5).

The *dioikismos* of Teithronion in 346 (Paus. 10.3.2), as well as the city's contribution in 322 to the payment of the fine (*CID* II 108.7), ensure that Teithronion was a member of the Phokian *koinon*.

Teithronion is situated north of the river Kephisos at a bend of the river which surrounds the southern part of the city. It was protected by a defence circuit (*c.*400 × 200 m) in pseudo-isodomic masonry, with interval towers (Frazer (1898) 422–23; Dassios (1992) no. 14).

Tithorea (Tithoreus) See **187. Neon** (Ne(-)).

195. Trachis (Trachinios) Map 55. Lat. 38.20, long. 22.45, but see *infra* for a discussion of the unresolved location. Type: B. The toponym is *Τραχίν*, *ἡ* (Strabo 9.3.14) or *Τραχίς* (Paus. 10.3.2). The only attestation of a city-ethnic is at Strabo 9.3.14: *οἱ δ' ἐνοικοῦντες Τραχίνιοι*. Neither the toponym nor the city-ethnic is attested prior to the Hellenistic period; but Trachis is listed by Paus. 10.2.3 as one of the *poleis* exposed to *dioikismos* in 346, which shows that, in C4m, it was a member of the Phokian *koinon*.

The location of Trachis is unknown. The only indication is provided by Strabo, who places Trachis near Lebadeia (no. 211) (9.3.14: *πλησίον δὲ Λεβαδείας καὶ ἡ Τραχίν*). This piece of evidence leaves us with a choice between three different sites: Kyriaki (Fossey (1986) 35–39; *Barr.*), Kastro-Tseresi (Tillard (1911) 66–68; Fossey (1986) 54–56; Dassios (1992) no. 62) and Korakolithos (Dassios (1992) no. 57;

McInerney (1999) 300–2). Kastraki should probably be identified with Helikonioi (*supra* 403). At Kastro-Tseresi there is a small enclosure of roughly triangular shape, but only the north-western side of *c.*100 m and the north-eastern side of *c.*180 m are fortified. The longer southern side is protected by steep cliffs. The wall is in rusticated isodomic masonry which cannot antedate the Classical period, and no traces of the Archaic period have been found. Thus, the identification with *Aiolidai as proposed by Tillard (1911) 66–68 is dubious, whereas the site might fit Trachis (Rousset (1999) 43 n. 46, but more cautiously (2002) 45–46). The topographic information found in Strabo, however, makes a third site a better candidate: *viz.* Korakolithos. A small eminence is all that is still visible (Fossey (1986) 59; Dassios (1992) no. 57), but the existence of a settlement is indicated by a C5f–C2f cemetery found *c.*1 km to the west (*ArchDelt* 33 (1978) 152). Furthermore, Lolling mentions the remains—no longer visible—of a defence circuit of 240 "paces" (= 200m?) with the foundations of a tower. However, the regulation of the frontier between Phanoteus (no. 190) and Stiris (no. 193) (*SEG* 42 479) is not easily compatible with a C3 *polis* situated at Korakolithos; cf. the map in Rousset and Katzouros (1992) 211.

196. Triteis Map 55. Unlocated. Type: A. Triteis is known exclusively from one passage in Herodotos: at 8.35, enumerating the Phokian *poleis* burnt down by the Persians in 480, Herodotos records *Τριτεῖς* between Pedieis (no. 189) and Elateia (no. 180). The city is not mentioned in any other source (Lerat (1952) i. 51 n. 7). At 8.32.2 Herodotos tells us that many Phokians found refuge at Amphissa (no. 158) in Lokris, and Steph. Byz. 637.16 reports that there was a *Τρίτεια* situated between Phokis and West Lokris. On the basis of these two pieces of evidence Oldfather (1939) suggests that Lokrian Tritea, attested from C5m only, may have been founded by Triteians coming from Phokis; but cf. Klaffenbach (1937).

The location of Triteis is discussed by McInerney (1999) 281–83. The text of Herodotos suggests a location west of Elateia, which has induced some scholars to identify Triteis with the fortified enclosure at Modi (Lolling (1989) 90; Schober (1924) 43). But the chronology of this small fortification fits Ledon (no. 184) better than Triteis. Alternatively, Triteis has been located between Modi and Elateia at the village of Turkochorion-Panagitsa (Kirsten (1951) 741 no. 106, followed by Dakoronia, *ArchDelt* (1979) 194). To date, however, the only remains found there are of a cemetery used from the Geometric to the Classical period (*ArchDelt* 34 (1979) 193–94, 36 (1981) 222, 43 (1988) 232–33, 44 (1989) 221). The recent discovery of a fortification 2 km south-east of Modi (Dassios (1992) no. 20; cf. *supra* Pedieis) invites a reassessment of the issue.

197. Troneia (Troneieus) Map 55. Lat. 38.45, long. 22.40. Size of territory: 1 or 2. Type: B. The toponym is *Τρώνεια, ἡ*, attested in a Delphic manumission act to designate the place of origin of the slave (*SGDI* 2132.3 (188/7)). Steph. Byz. 213.16 and Hdn. III.1 276.35 both mention a *Γρώνεια, πόλις Φωκίδος*. This *Γρώνεια* is usually interpreted as a misreading of *Τρώνεια* (Robert (1960) 74–75; cf. *supra* 403, s. v. Groneia). The masculine form of the city-ethnic has become an issue. In an inscription of 322 recording the Phokians' payment of the fine imposed in 346 (*CID* II 108), one of the contributing communities is recorded as [---]*ΤΡΩΝΕΙΕΙΣ* (9), usually interpreted as the city-ethnic *Τρωνειεῖς*. But an equally possible restoration is [---*Πα*]*τρωνειεῖς*, derived from the toponym *Πατρωνίς* attested in Plut. *Sull.* 15.6 (Robert (1960) 75). Patronis, however, seems to be a ghost toponym (*supra* 404), from which it follows that the Troneieis are in fact attested in the inscription.

The only sources to classify Troneia as a *polis* are Steph. Byz. and Herodian (accepting the conjecture *Τρώνεια* for *Γρώνεια*). Furthermore, Troneia is absent from Pausanias' list of *poleis* exposed to *dioikismos* in 346 (10.3.1–2), but its contribution to the fine in 322 ensures that it was a member of the Phokian *koinon* and undoubtedly a *polis*. The external use of the city-ethnic is attested collectively in the payment of 322 (*CID* II 108.9). The individual and external use of the city-ethnic can be deduced from a manumission of C2s in which the origin of a slave is recorded as *τὸ γένος Τρωνίδα* (*SGDI* 2130.3).

Paus. 10.4.10 mentions a part of the territory of Daulis (no. 176) called *Τρωνίς* in which was situated the shrine of a founder hero, either Xanthippos or Phokos, who reappears in a second century AD inscription from Daulis (*IG* IX.1 61.50). This *Tronis* is undoubtedly the name of the territory of the city of Troneia, and the presumption is that, in the time of Pausanias, Troneia had been incorporated into Daulis (Robert (1960) 78–80).

Interpreting the three sources (Paus. 10.4.10; Plut. *Sull.* 15.6; *IG* IX.1 61), all commentators agree that Troneia should be located in the neighbourhood of Daulis, and two identifications have been suggested: (a) Kato Tseresi, south of Daulis, and (b) Ag. Marina west of Daulis.

Re (a): the historians who distinguished Troneia from Patronis suggested the site of Kato Tseresi lying south of

Daulis (Kirsten (1939)). Considering that this site can be identified with a small fort only, Robert (1960) 78–82 cautiously suggested a location somewhat south of Daulis (*contra* McInerney (1997) 197–99).

Re (b): a preferable site for Troneia has been proposed by historians who identify Patronis with Troneia (Tillard (1911) 64–66; Kirsten (1951) 713; cautiously Fossey (1986) 53; *Barr.*) and thus follow the topographical indication given by Plut. *Sull.* 15.6. This site is identified with Patronis by historians who, wrongly in my opinion, distinguish between Troneia and Patronis (Schober (1924) 38; Kirsten (1949*b*); Robert (1960). The site in question is at Ag. Marina, where there are remains on a rocky hill of which only the northern and eastern part had to be fortified. The wall is in two different types of masonry: the curtain is in joggled trapezoidal masonry, and the towers in isodomic masonry. The wall and the western escarpment enclose an area of *c.*100 m north–south by 150 m west–east and rise above the remains of a grid-planned lower town.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Alcock, S. 1995. "Pausanias and the *Polis*: Use and Misuse", *CPCActs* 2: 326–44.

Amandry, P. 1950. *La Mantique apollonienne à Delphes* (Paris).

Beloch, H. J. 1911. "Zur Karte von Griechenland—4. Daphnus", *Klio* 11: 439–42.

Bommelaer, J.-Fr. 1991. *Guide de Delphes: Le Site* (Athens).

Bousquet J. 1988. *Études sur les comptes de Delphes*, BEFAR 267 (Athens).

Buckler, J. 1985. "Thebes, Delphoi, and the Outbreak of the Third Sacred War", in P. Roesch and G. Argoud (eds.), *La Béotie antique* (Paris) 237–46.

——1989. *Philip II and the Sacred War*, *Mnemosyne* Suppl. 109 (Leiden, New York, Copenhagen and Cologne).

Bursian, C. 1862. *Geographie von Griechenland*, i (Leipzig).

Camp, J. 2000. "Walls and the *Polis*", *Polis and Politics* 41–57.

—— *et al.* 1997. "An Athenian Dedication to Herakles at Panopeus", *Hesperia* 66: 261–69.

Carrère, J. C. 1984. "La révolution de Cratès et la reconstruction des temples du sanctuaire d'Athéna Pronaia", in *Hommages à Lucien Lerat*, i (Besançon) 145–79.

Càssola, F. 1980. "Note sulla guerra crisea", in *Φιλίας χάριν, miscellanea in onore di E. Manni* (Rome) ii: 413–39.

Dassios, P. 1992. "*Συμβολή στήν τοπογραφία τῆς αρχαίας Φωκίδας*", *Phokika Chronika* (Amphissa) 4: 18–97.

——1995. "Diodoros Sikeliotes (XVI.58.4) and the Fortress at Mavrokastro", in J. M. Fossey (ed.), *Boeotia Antiqua*, v: *Studies on Boiotian Topography, Cults and Terracottas*, (Amsterdam) 35–41.

Daux, G. 1936. *Delphes au IIe et au Ier siècle av. J.C. depuis l'abaissement de l'Étoile jusqu'à la paix romaine 191–31 av. J.C.*, BEFAR 140 (Athens).

——1949. "Listes delphiques de théarodoques", *REG* 62: 1–30.

Daviero-Rocchi, G. 1993. "Insediamento coloniale e presidio militare alla frontiera focese-beotica", *Tyche* 8: 1–8.

——1994. "Strutture urbane e centralismo politico nel *koinon* focese", in L. Aigner Foresti *et al.* (eds.), *Federazioni e federalismo nell'Europa antica*, Bergamo 21–25 September 1992 (Milan) 181–94.

Davies, J. K. 1994. "The Tradition about the First Sacred War", in S. Hornblower (ed.), *Greek Historiography* (Oxford) 193–212.

Donohue, A. 1988. Xoana *and the Origin of Greek Sculpture* (Oxford).

Ellinger, P. 1993. *La Légende nationale phocidienne: Artémis, les situations extrêmes et les récits de guerre d'anéantissement*, *BCH* suppl. 27 (Athens).

Ellis, J. R. 1994. "Macedonian Hegemony Created", *CAH*[2] vi. 760–90.

Felsch, R. C. S. 1987. "Kalapodi: Bericht über die Grabungen im Heiligtum der Artemis Elaphebolos und des Apollon von Hyampolis 1978–1982", *AA* 1–99.

—— and Kienast, H. J. 1975. "Ein Heiligtum in Phokis", *AAA* 8: 1–24.

—— and Siewert, P. 1987. "Inschriften aus dem Heiligtum von Hyampolis bei kalapodi", *AA* 681–700

——, Kienast, H. J. and Schuler, H. 1980. "Apollon und Artemis oder Artemis und Apollon? Bericht von den Grabungen im neuentdeckten Heiligtum bei Kalapodi 1973–1977", *AA* 38–123.

—— *et al.* 1987. "Bericht über die Grabungen im Heiligtum der Artemis Elaphebolis und des Apollon von Hyampolis 1978–1982", *AA* 103: 1–99.

Flacelière, R. 1937. *Les Aitoliens à Delphes* (Paris).

Fontenrose, J. 1978. *The Delphic Oracle: Its Responses and Operations* (Berkeley and Los Angeles).

Fossey, J. M. 1986. *The Ancient Topography of Eastern Phokis* (Amsterdam).

——1990. *The Ancient Topography of Opountian Lokris* (Amsterdam).

Frazer, J. G. 1898. *Pausanias' Description of Greece*, v (London).

Gauthier, P. 1972. *Symbola: Les étrangers et la justice dans les cités grecques* (Nancy).
——1990. "Quorum et participation civique dans les démocraties grecques", *Cahiers du Centre Glotz* 1: 73–99.
——1992. "Les institutions politiques de Delphes au IIe siècle a.C.", in A. Jacquemin (ed.), *Delphes: cent ans après la grande fouille—Essai de bilan*, Colloque Athènes September 1992, *BCH* suppl. 36 (2000) 109–39.
Giovannini, A. 1971. *Untersuchungen über die Natur und die Anfänge der bundesstaatlischen Sympolitie in Griechenland* (Göttingen).
Glotz, G. 1909. "Philippe et la surprise d'Elatée", *BCH* 33: 526–46.
Habicht, C. 1998. *Pausanias' Guide to Greece*² (Berkeley and London).
Hansen, M. H. 1996. "City-Ethnics as Evidence for *Polis* Identity", *CPCPapers* 3: 169–96.
——2000. "A Survey of the Use of the Word *Polis* in Archaic and Classical Sources", *CPCPapers* 5: 173–215.
——and Nielsen, T. H. 2000. "The Use of the Word *Polis* in the Fragments of Some Historians", *CPCPapers* 5: 141–50.
Harding, Ph. 1994. *Androtion and the Atthis* (Oxford).
Hope Simpson, R. 1981. *Mycenaean Greece* (Park Ridge).
Hornblower, S. 1996. *A Commentary on Thucydides*, ii: *Books IV–V.24* (Oxford).
Jacquemin, A. 1992. "Thyia et Castalie", in J.-F. Bommelaer (ed.), *Delphes: centenaire de la 'Grand fouille' realisée par l'École française d'Athènes (1892–1903): actes du colloque Paul Perdizet, Strasbourg, 6–9 novembre 1991*, Université des sciences humaines de Strasbourg Travaux du Centre de recherche sur le Proche-Orient et la Grèce antique no. 12 (Leyden) 166–75.
——1999. *Offrandes monumentales à Delphes*, BEFAR 304 (Athens).
Kahrstedt, U. 1953. "Delphoi und das heilige Land des Apollon", in G. E. Mylonas and D. Raymond (eds.), *Studies Presented to David Moore Robinson*, ii (St. Louis) 749–57.
Kalapodi 1 = R. C. S. Felsch (ed.), *Kalapodi: Ergebnisse der Austrabungen im Heiligtum der Artemis und des Apollon von Hyampolis in der antiken Phokis*, i (Mainz, 1996).
Kase, E. W. *et al.* 1991. *The Great Isthmus Corridor Route: Explorations of the Phokis–Doris Expedition*, i (Dubuque, Ia.).
Kazarow, G. 1899. *De foederis Phocensium institutis* (Leipzig).
Keramopoulos, A. 1917. *Τοπογραφία Δελφῶν* (Athens).
Kirsten, E. 1939. "Tronis", *RE* vii.1. 659–60.
——1949*a*. "Panopeus", *RE* xviii.3. 637–49.
——1949*b*. "Patronis", *RE* xviii.2. 2292–95.
——1951. *Beiträge zur historischen Landeskunde des östlichen Mittelgriechenlands und Euboeas*, in A. Philippson and E. Kirsten, *Die griechischen Landschaften*, i: *Der Nordosten der griechischen Halbinsel*, part 2: *Das östliche Mittelgriechenland und die Insel Euboea* (Frankfurt).
Klaffenbach, G. 1937. "Pedieis", *RE* xix. 32–33.
——1949. "Zu griechischen Inschriften", *MusHelv* 6: 224–25.
Kraay, C. M. 1976. *Archaic and Classical Greek Coins* (London).
La Coste-Messelière, P. de 1946. "Les Alcméonides à Delphes", *BCH* 70: 271–87.
——1969. "Topographie delphique", *BCH* 93: 730–58.
Lacroix, L. 1949. *Les Reproductions de statues sur les monnaies grecques: la statuaire archaïque et classique* (Liège).
Larsen, J. A. O. 1968. *Greek Federal States: Their Institutions and History* (Oxford).
Lazenby, J. F. and Hope Simpson, R. 1970. *The Catalogue of the Ships in Homer's Iliad* (Oxford).
Leake, M. W. 1835. *Travels in Northern Greece* , 2 vols. (London).
Lefèvre, F. 1998. *L'Amphictionie Pyléo-Delphique histoire et institutions*, BEFAR 298 (Athens).
Lehmann, G. A. 1980. "Der Erste heilige Krieg, eine Fiktion?", *Historia* 29: 242–46.
Lerat, L. 1943. "Une loi de Delphes sur les devoirs des enfants envers leurs parents", *RPhil* 69: 62–86.
——1948. "Krisa", *RA* 621–32.
——1952. *Les Locriens de l'Ouest*, i–ii, BEFAR (Athens).
Lolling, H. G. 1989. *Reisenotizen aus Griechenland 1876 und 1877*, ed. B. Heinrich and H. Kalcyk (Berlin).
Luce, J.-M. 1991. "Les terres cuites de Kirrha", in J.-Fr. Bommelaer (ed.), *Actes du Colloque "Delphes: Centenaire de la Grande Fouille"* (Strasbourg) 263–75.
——1992. "Travaux de l'École Française en Grèce en 1991—L'aire du Char des Rhodiens", *BCH* 116: 686–704.
——1993. "Travaux de l'École Française en Grèce en 1992—Fouille de l'aire du pilier des Rhodiens", *BCH* 117: 619–31.
Marcotte, D. 1988. "Compte rendu de J. M. Fossey, *The Ancient Topography of Eastern Phokis*", *AntCl* 57: 488–91.
——1990. *Le Poème géographique de Dionysios, fils de Calliphon* (Louvain).
McInerney, J. 1997. "The Phokikon and the Hero Archegetès", *Hesperia* 66: 193–207.
——1999. *The Folds of Parnassos: Land and Ethnicity in Ancient Phokis* (Austin, Tex.).
Meiggs, R. 1972. *The Athenian Empire* (Oxford).
Migeotte, L. 1984. *L'Emprunt public dans les cités grecques* (Paris).
Müller, K. O. 1824. *Geschichte hellenischer Stämme und Städte*, i: *Orchomenos und die Minyer* (Breslau).
Müller, S. 1992. "Delphes et sa région à l'époque mycénienne", *BCH* 116: 445–96.
Musielak, M. 1993. "*Δελφῶν πολιτεία*", in M. Piérart (ed.), *Aristote et Athènes*, Actes de la table ronde: Centenaire de l'*Ἀθηναίων πολιτεία*, Fribourg (Suisse), 23–25 May 1991 (Paris) 106–7.
Nielsen, T. H. 2000. "Epiknemidian, Hypoknemidian, and Opountian Lokrians: Reflections on the Political Organisation of East Lokris in the Classical Period", *CPCPapers* 5: 91–120.
—— *Patris* = "The Concept of *Patris* in Archaic and Classical Sources" (CPC Papers 7: 49–76).

Ober, J. 1992. "Towards a Typology of Greek Artillery Towers: The First and Second Generations (c. 375–275 B.C.)", in S. van de Maehle and J. M. Fossey (eds.), *Fortificationes antiquae* (Amsterdam) 147–69.
Oldfather, W. 1918. "Anchoe", *RE* suppl. iii: 99.
—— 1939. "Triteia (2)", *RE* viiA.1. 243–44.
Paris, P. 1892. *Elatée*, BEFAR, ser. 1, 60 (Athens).
Parke, H. W. 1939. *A History of the Delphic Oracle* (Oxford).
—— and Boardman, J. 1957. "The Struggle for the Tripod and the First Sacred War", *JHS* 77: 276–82.
Parker, V. 1997. "Bemerkungen zum ersten Heiligen Kriege", *Rh.Mus.* 140: 17–37.
Perlman, P. 2000. *City and Sanctuary in Ancient Greece: The* Theorodokia *in the Peloponnese*, *Hypomnemata* 121 (Göttingen).
Picard, O. 1991. "Annexe: les monnaies", in Bommelaer (1991).
Pomtow, H. 1906. "Eine delphische Stasis im Jahre 363 v.Chr.", *Klio* 6: 89–126.
—— 1912. "Die Kultstätten der 'anderen Götter' von Delphi", *Philologus* 71: 30–100.
Pouilloux, J. 1952. "Promanties collectives et protocole delphique", *BCH* 76: 484–513.
—— 1974. "Les décrets delphiques pour Matrophanès de Sardes", *BCH* 98: 159–69.
Pritchett, W. K. 1982. *Studies in Ancient Greek Topography*, iv: *Passes* (Berkeley).
—— 1992. *Studies in Ancient Greek Topography*, viii (Amsterdam).
—— 1996. *Greek Archives, Cults and Topography* (Amsterdam).
Robert, L. 1946. *Hellenica*, iii (Paris).
—— 1960. "Hagia Marina en Phocide", *Hellenica* 11–12: 70–84.
Robertson, N. 1978. "The Myth of the First Sacred War", *CQ* 72: 38–73.
Rolley, C. 1977. *Fouilles de Delphes*, v.3: *Les Trépieds à cuve clouée* (Paris).
—— 1994. *La Sculpture grecque*, i: *Des origines au milieu du Ve siècle* (Paris).
—— *et al.* 1990. *Delphes: Oracles, cultes et jeux*, Les Dossiers d'Archéologie 151 (Dijon).
Rougemont, G. 1998. "La chronologie delphique à l'époque archaïque", *Topoi* 8.1: 161–66.
Rousset, D. 1989. "Les Doriens de la Métropole: étude de topographie et de la géographie historique", *BCH* 113: 199–239.
—— 1994. "Compte rendu de D. Marcotte, le poème géographique de Dionysios, fils de Calliphon", *REG* 107: 301–2.
—— 1996. "Territoire de Delphes et terre d'Apollon", in *L'Espace grec: 150 ans de fouilles de l'École française d'Athènes* (Paris) 45–51.
—— 1999. "Centre urbain, frontière et espace rural dans les cités de Grèce centrale", in *Territoire des cités grecques*, *BCH* suppl. 34 (Athens) 35–77.
Rousset, D. 2002. *Le Territoire de Delphes et la terre d'Apollon*, *BEFAR* 310 (Paris).
—— and Katzouros, P. P. 1992. "Une délimitation de frontière en Phocide", *BCH* 116: 197–215.
Roux, G. 1969. "Problèmes delphiques d'architecture et d'épigraphie", *RA* 29–56.
—— 1976. *Delphes, son oracle et ses dieux* (Paris).
—— 1979. *L'Amphictionie, Delphes et le temple d'Apollon au IVe siècle* (Lyon).
Ruschenbusch, E. 1991. "Phokis, Lebensraum und Bevölkerungszahl: Möglichkeiten und Grenzen bei der Faststellung von Einwohnerzahlen im griechischen Mutterland", *Geographica Historica*, Stuttgarter Kolloquium zur historische Geographie des Altertums 3, 1987 (Bonn) 299–312.
Salviat, F. 1984. "L'oligarchie à Delphes: rôle et composition de la *boula*", in *Hommages à Lucien Lerat*, ii (Besançon) 743–49.
—— and Vatin, C. 1971. *Inscriptions de la Grèce Centrale* (Paris).
Sanchez, P. 2001. *L'Amphictionie des Pyles et de Delphes: recherches sur son rôle historique, des origines au IIe siècle de notre ère*, *Historia* Einzelschriften 148 (Stuttgart).
Schober, F. 1924. *Phokis* (Jena).
—— 1941. "Phokis", *RE* xx. 474–96.
Scranton, R. 1941. *Greek Walls* (Cambridge, Mass.).
Sebillote, V. 1997. "Les Labyades: une phratrie à Delphes?", *Cahiers du Centre Glotz* 8: 39–49.
Sittig, E. 1911. "De Graecorum nominibus theophoris" (diss., Halle).
Skorda, D. 1992. "Recherches dans la vallée du Pleistos", in J.-Fr. Bommelaer (ed.), *Actes du Colloque "Delphes. Centenaire de la Grande Fouille"* 1991 (Strasbourg) 39–66.
Smith, W. D. (ed. and tr.) 1990. *Hippocrates: Pseudepigraphic Writings (Letters–Embassy–Speech from the Altar–Decree)* (London and New York).
Sourvinou-Inwood, C. 1990. "What is *Polis* Religion?", in O. Murray and S. Price (eds.), *The Greek City: From Homer to Alexander* (Oxford) 295–322.
Tillard, L. B. 1911. "The Fortifications of Phokis", *BSA* 17: 54–75.
Tréheux, J. 1980. "Sur les comptes du conseil à Delphes", *BCH* 104: 519–24.
Ulrichs, H. H. 1863. *Reise und Forschungen in Griechenland*, ii: *Topographische und archäologische Abhandlungen*, ed. A. Passow (Berlin).
Vatin, C. 1969. *Médéon de Phocide: rapport provisoire* (Athens).
Williams, R. T. 1972. *The Silver Coinage of the Phokians*, Royal Numismatic Society Special Publications 7 (London).
Winter, F. E. 1971. *Greek Fortifications* (Toronto).
——1997. "The Use of Artillery in Fourth-Century and Hellenistic Towers", *EchCl* 41, n. s. 16: 247–92.
Yorke, V. W. 1896. "Excavations at Abae and Hyampolis in Phocis", *JHS* 16: 291–312.

BOIOTIA

MOGENS HERMAN HANSEN

I. The Region

The name of the region is *Βοιωτία* (Hes. fr. 181; Ar. *Ach.* 160; Thuc. 1.12.3; *SEG* 28 461.28 (287–280)). The ethnic is *Βοιωτός* (Hom. *Il.* 2.494; Ducat (1971) no. 257) or *Βοιώτιος* (Hom. *Il.* 14.476; *CID* II 31.93 (C4f)). The collective use of the ethnic is attested externally in the epigram commemorating the Athenian victory over the Boiotians in 506 (*ἔθνεα Βοιοτὸν*: *IG* I³ 501 = *CEG* 179, restored from Hdt. 5.77.3–4) and internally on the obverse of the coins (*BOI*, *BOIΩ*: Head (1881) 21, 54) and in the C4f Boiotian proxeny decrees (*πρόξενον εἶμεν Βοιωτῶν*: *IG* VII 2407–8). For the individual and external use, see [*'E*]*πίδδαλος τὸπό*[*λλονι*] *Βοιότιος ἐχς 'Ερχ*[*ομενὸ*] (Lazzarini (1976) 374 (C5f)); for the internal use, see *Εὔβουλος Παναρμόστου Βοιώτιος* (*BCH* 99 (1975) 51.4 (C3f)). The Boiotian region is described with the terms *χώρα* (Hdt. 8.44.1; *Hell. Oxy.* 19.2) or *γῆ* (Soph. fr. 314.31, Radt; Hdt. 5.57.1), and from *c.*500 the term *ἔθνος* is used of the people (*IG* I³ 501; Hdt. 9.31.5–32.1; *Hell. Oxy.* 19.4; Aeschin. 2.116; Bakhuizen (1989)).

In the Homeric Catalogue of Ships, Orchomenos (no. 213) and Aspledon are described as Minyan settlements outside Boiotia (Hom. *Il.* 2.511; cf. Thuc. 4.76.3). In later sources both Orchomenos (Hdt. 8.34.1; Thuc. 1.113.1) and Aspledon (Strabo 9.2.41; Paus. 9.38.9) were considered Boiotian, and in the Archaic and Classical periods the frontiers of the whole region were the following: Boiotia bordered on Phokis, and the westernmost Boiotian *poleis* were Orchomenos (Hdt. 8.34.1), Chaironeia (no. 201) (Hecat. fr. 116; Thuc. 4.76.3), Lebadeia (no. 211) (Strabo 9.3.14) and Chorsiai (no. 202) (Ps.-Skylax 38). To the north Boiotia bordered on East Lokris, and the frontier must have run north of Hyettos (no. 207) and Kopai (no. 209) (no explicit evidence, Etienne and Knoepfler (1976) 197) and west of Anthedon (no. 200) (Strabo 9.2.13; cf. Hom. *Il.* 2.508). The easternmost Boiotian settlement was Delphinion in the Oropia (Strabo 9.2.6). Oropos (no. 214) was contiguous with Attika (Thuc. 4.99.1); it was under Athenian domination in the years *c.*500–411, *c.*375–366 and 338–322, but never integrated into Attika. Moving westward from Oropos (Heracl. Cret. 7–8, *GGM* 1.101) the Boiotian *poleis* bordering on Attika were Tanagra (no. 220) (Thuc. 3.91.3–5; Dem. 18.96), Hysiai (no. 208) (Hdt. 6.108.6) and Plataiai (no. 216) (Hdt. 6.108.3). In the years around 500 Hysiai was an Attic "deme" (Hdt. 5.74.1), and Plataiai may have been part of Attika as well (see *infra* 450). Eleutherai was originally a Boiotian settlement (Polemon fr. 2; Steph. Byz. 265.10) incorporated into Attika (Paus. 1.38.8) in, probably, 506 (Connor (1989) 8–16). After the Athenian defeat at Koroneia in 447, it became a Theban military outpost (Schachter (forthcoming)). It is a moot point whether it belonged to Boiotia once again in C4 (for: Camp (1991); against: Munn (1993) 8–9). Towards the Isthmus Boiotia bordered on Megaris, and the frontier ran along the ridge of Kithairon between Boiotian Kreusis and Megarian Aigosthena (no. 224) (Xen. *Hell.* 5.4.17–18).

The earliest attestation of a liaison among Boiotian *poleis* is a C6e dedication to Apollo Karykaios in Tanagra (no. 220) by a group of soldiers from Thebes (no. 221) (*LSAG* 94 no. 7; cf. Schachter (1996*b*) 16–17). Collaboration between the Boiotian *poleis* is attested in numerous sources of C6l. (a) Several Boiotian *poleis* began to strike coins in C6l, and from the very beginning all coins except those struck by Orchomenos (no. 213) had a common obverse type: the "Boiotian" shield. These early coins were struck by Akraiphia (no. 198), Hyettos (no. 207), Koroneia (no. 210), Mykalessos (no. 212), Tanagra (no. 220), Thebes (no. 221) and Thespiai (no. 222). (b) From *c.*520 onwards Herodotos and other sources refer to the Boiotians and make it clear that in war and diplomacy the Boiotian cities often acted in concert (Hdt. 5.74.2, 77.1–4, 6.108.4–5; Thuc. 3.65.2). (c) A Delphic inscription from *c.*500 records a treaty between the Boiotians and the Lokrians (*SEG* 41 506), and an Athenian dedication of 506 commemorates a victory over the Boiotians (*IG* I³ 501 = *CEG* 179). (d) Boiotarchs are attested in connection with Mardonios' invasion of Boiotia in 479 (Hdt. 9.15.1). This is commonly taken as evidence of an early federation or league led by Thebes and subsequently

dissolved in connection with the subjection of that city in 479 (Busolt and Swoboda (1926) 1413; Larsen (1968) 29–32). An alternative view is that the federation or league persisted, and from some coins of C5f with the legends *T* or *TA* (*obv.*) and *BO* or *BOI* (*rev.*) it is inferred that Tanagra took the place of Thebes as the head of the union (Buck (1979) 141–42; Beck (1997) 89).

A proper Boiotian federation, however, cannot be traced further back than C5m, and I shall here follow the generally accepted terminology and refer to the First Federation 446–386, the Second Federation 378–338, and the Third Federation 338–171.

(1) The constitution of the First Federation is known from *Hell. Oxy.* 19, describing its organisation in 395 (Salmon (1978)). The earliest explicit references to the federation are Thucydides' mention of Boiotarchs at the battle of Delion in 424 (Thuc. 4.91), and his mention of the Boiotarchs and the federal council in connection with the Boiotians' refusal to join an alliance with Corinth (no. 227) and Megara (no. 225) (Thuc. 5.38.2). There is no explicit evidence antedating the Peloponnesian War, but it is commonly (and reasonably) believed that this federation was formed in 447/6 after the Athenian defeat at Koroneia (Thuc. 1.113), and that Plataiai (no. 216) controlled two of the eleven Boiotian districts in the period down to 431 (*Hell. Oxy.* 19.3). The federation was dissolved in 386 in consequence of the King's Peace (Xen. *Hell.* 5.1.33).

(2) The federation was re-established in 378 (Xen. *Hell.* 5.4.63, 6.1.1; Isoc. 14.9; Diod. 15.28.1; cf. Buckler (1980) 15–45), and new Boiotarchs elected (Plut. *Pel.* 13.1; *Ages.* 24.6; cf. Buckler (1979)). The dissolution of this federation after the battle of Chaironeia in 338 is inferred from late sources (Diod. 16.87.3; Paus. 9.1.8, 4.27.10). A dissolution is rejected by Busolt and Swoboda (1926) 1431 n. 4, followed by Larsen (1968) 175–80. A re-establishment of the federation is assumed by Roesch (1965) 46–71, followed by Etienne and Knoepfler (1976) 241–42.

(3) That the defeat of Thebes in 338 and its destruction in 335 resulted in a reorganisation, perhaps even a re-establishment of the federation, is indicated (a) by the transfer of the capital of the federation from Thebes to Onchestos, *infra* 435; (b) by a new board of *aphedriateuontes*, attested from C3e onwards (*IG* VII 2723–4b; for the date, see Knoepfler (1992) 451, (2001*b*) 15–19).

The Boiotian *ethnos* was one of the members of the Amphiktyonic League (Lefèvre (1998) 70–73) and provided two *hieromnemones* (Aeschin. 2.116). *Poleis* attested in C4s as providing a *hieromnemon* are Haliartos (no. 206), Lebadeia (no. 211), Orchomenos (no. 213), Plataiai (no. 216), Tanagra (no. 220), Thebes (no. 221) and Thespiai (no. 222).

In Boiotia names of months are attested from C3 onwards, and since the same sequence of months is attested in all *poleis* without any discernible variation, the inference is that it is a federal calendar adopted by all the members during the Classical period. There is no evidence of individual *polis* calendars of the Archaic period. Some of the months are peculiar to Boiotia (*Παμβοιώτιος* and *Ἀλαλκομένιος*). Others, like *Ἑρμαῖος*, are found in Thessaly and north-west Greece (Roesch (1982) 1–85; Trümpy, *Monat.* 244–46).

In recent years the traditional dates of Boiotian coins have been changed as follows. (a) In Head, *HN*² and in *SNG* volumes published before the 1970s the earliest Boiotian coins are dated *c.*600–550; today a more recent date is universally accepted, either *c.*550–500 (Kraay (1976) 109) or *c.*500 (Schachter (1989) 85 n. 44). (b) The generally accepted chronology of the Boiotian coinage of the Classical period is based on the *a priori* assumption that, apart from Thebes, the individual *poleis* struck coins only when the federation was dissolved, i.e. in the years after the battle of Oinophyta (457–446), then after the King's Peace (386–374), and after the battle of Chaironeia in 338. The following three observations must lead to a revision of this chronology. (1) Some of the coins allegedly struck in the years 386–374 have legends in the epichoric alphabet, indicating a date before *c.*394 (Salmon (1978) 45–47). (2) There was no activity in the sanctuary of Nemea between *c.*410 and *c.*330, and of over 4,000 coins found in Nemea only four have been dated to that period: *viz.* one of Thebes (395–386), two of Tanagra (386–374), and one of Thespiai (386–374). Now, of the two coins of Tanagra, one (C1177) was found in a context of which 99 per cent antedate *c.*410 and 1 per cent postdate *c.*330, and the other (C1401) in a context of which 30 per cent antedate *c.*410, 70 per cent postdate *c.*330. The coin from Thespiai was found in a C3 context (*Hesperia* 48 (1979) pl. 25e, 51 (1982) pl. 15c, 53 (1984) pl. 34d; letter from S. G. Miller of 17 March 1995). The presumption is that the first coin was struck before *c.*410 and the two others presumably after 374. (3) The Myron hoard (*IGCH* 62), buried *c.*365 (Hepworth (1986) 37), includes fifteen of the so-called autonomous staters traditionally dated 386–374; two are from Haliartos (no. 206) and thirteen from Orchomenos (no. 213). Most of these coins are more worn than even the earliest of the Theban coins which were struck *c.*390 or even earlier (Hansen (1995*a*) 63 additional note). The inference from these three observations is that some of the "autonomous" Boiotian coins were struck before 386 and others after 374. Similarly, it seems likely that the period

457–446 has been too narrowly defined as well, and that many of the coins assigned to this period should be dated either before 457 or after 446.

1. *Pre-Hellenistic Settlements not Attested as* Poleis

Apart from major extra-urban sanctuaries,[1] our written sources provide us with information about sixty-six named Boiotian sites of the Archaic and Classical periods.[2] Of these sixty-one have been identified, most beyond reasonable doubt, some with a certain degree of probability only.[3] Five ancient toponyms, however, remain unlocated,[4] and, conversely, we have remains of two fairly small ancient settlements which cannot be convincingly matched with any of the toponyms found in the written sources.[5] Thus we know of a total of sixty-eight Archaic and Classical sites. Twenty-six are described below in the inventory of *poleis*. Of the remaining forty-two sites, ten were probably not settlements of the Archaic and Classical periods; some were just alternative names of *poleis*, some did not belong in Boiotia, etc.[6] It follows that, in addition to the twenty-six *poleis*, we have evidence of thirty-two non-polis settlements of which only one is an unidentified site known exclusively from the physical remains. Including two unidintified sites, forty-two sites are as follows.

Askra (*Ἄσκρη*) Hes. *Op.* 639–40 (*κώμη*); Ephor. fr. 1 (*κώμη*); Strabo 9.2.25; Paus. 9.29.1–2; Steph. Byz. 133.12 (*πόλις*). Askra had a walled acropolis with a C4 signalling tower surrounded by a presumed Archaic circuit with gates enclosing an area of *c.*4,000 m². The whole settlement covered an area of *c.*10 ha (Bintliff (1997*a*) 244). Sherds show resettlement of the site in the Dark Ages and a peak of activity in the Archaic and Classical periods, dropping off in the Hellenistic period. Askra was apparently under Thespiai (no. 222) in Hesiod's lifetime, but Arist. fr. 580 suggests that the Thespians drove out the Askra people after Hesiod's death (Snodgrass (1985); Fossey (1988) 142–45; Bintliff (1996)). *Barr.* AC.

Aspledon (*Ἀσπληδών*) Hom. *Il.* 2.511; cf. Hes. fr. 77; Strabo 9.2.41; Paus. 9.38.9 (*πόλις*); Steph. Byz. 135.8 (*πόλις*). Fossey (1988) 361–63. *Barr.* C, but A also attested through literary sources.

Aulis (*Αὐλίς*) Hom. *Il.* 2.496; Hes. *Op.* 651; Aesch. *Ag.* 191; Xen. *Hell.* 3.4.3; Ephor. fr. 119; *Hell. Oxy.* 20.3 (?); Ps.-Skylax 59 (*ἱερόν*); Nikokrates (*FGrHist* 376) fr. 1; Ps.-Skymnos 495 (*πόλις*); Dion. Calliphon. 88, *GGM* 1.241 (*πόλις*); Strabo 9.2.8 (*χωρίον*, *κώμη*, *λιμήν*); Paus. 9.19.6; Steph. Byz. 147.1. The sanctuary was that of Artemis Aulideia (*SEG* 25 542 (Roman)). The cult is attested from C6l (*SEG* 25 543; Schachter (1981–94) i. 94–98), and the remains of an aperipteral Doric temple are still visible. Aulis was one of the small unwalled settlements whose population was moved to Thebes (no. 221) (*Hell. Oxy.* 20.3: [*Αὐ*]*λίδος*) in connection with the major synoecism at the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War (Demand (1990) 83–85; Moggi, *Sin.* 197–204 prefers a date *c.*426–424). The archaeological record shows that the settlement was still inhabited in C4 and later (Fossey (1988) 68–74). *Barr.* AC.

Chalia (*Χαλία*) Theopomp. frr. 211–12 = Steph. Byz. 681.4–8 (*πόλις*). In fr. 212, Theopompos lists the Chalioi (*Χαλίοις*) alongside Aiolians, Boiotians, Orchomenians and Thebans. According to Jacoby's comment on the fragment, the context is a digression in book 15 about the prehistory of Thebes, which means that it is impossible from the use of the ethnic to make any inference about the status of Chalia in the Archaic and Classical periods (Fossey (1988) 77–78). *Barr.* AC.

Delion (*Δήλιον*) Hdt. 6.118.2; Thuc. 4.76.4–5 (*ἱερόν*); Ps.-Skylax 59 (*ἱερόν*); Strabo 9.2.7 (*ἱερόν*, *πολίχνιον*); Paus. 9.20.1; Steph. Byz. 226.13–14 (*ἱερόν*, *πολίχνιον*). A sanctuary of Apollo with a gilded statue allegedly dedicated by the Thebans (no. 221; Hdt. 1.118.2). In 424, when only a ruined stoa was left in the sanctuary, it was fortified by the Athenians (Thuc. 4.90.2) (Fossey (1988) 62–66; Schachter (1981–94) i. 44–47). *Barr.* C.

[1] The list of settlements excludes extra-urban sanctuaries (cf. Fossey (1988) 435 n. 107), each briefly treated under the *polis* to which it belonged: the Amphiaraion (Oropos), the Kabeirion (Thebes), Apollo Ptoios and the hero Ptoios (Akraiphia), Apollo Tegyraios (Orchomenos), Apollo Thourios (Chaironeia), Athena Itonia (Koroneia), Dionysos (Orchomenos), the Muses (Thespiai) and Zeus Hypatos (Thebes).

[2] Doubtful or spurious settlements mentioned in late sources only include a number of toponyms recorded in Strabo: *Θεράπναι* (9.2.24) and *Φοινικίς* (9.2.27) or in Steph. Byz.: *Ἄστυρα* (140.18), *Ἄχναι* (152.17–18), *Γέφυρα* (= Tanagra, Fossey (1988) 54), *Ζαῖα* (293.20), *Ἰσμήνη* (338.21), *Ἴτων* (342.10; cf. Armenidas (*FGrHist* 378) fr. 1), *Κελαίθρα* (372.8), *Ὅλμιον* (490.3), *Φιληνόριον* (665.21) and *Φλεγύα* (667.15). Furthermore, following Bakhuizen ((1989) 65–66), I have left out *Ἅρνη* (Hom. *Il.* 2.507; Hes. fr. 218; Strabo 9.2.35; Steph. Byz. 123.18, *πόλις*), which allegedly was swallowed up by Lake Kopais (Strabo 9.2.35). It seems to be a mythical toponym, not even to be placed on an atlas of Bronze Age settlements. However, Fossey (1988) 382–83 identifies Homeric Arne with a settlement (Magoula Balomenou) which has substantial remains from the Bronze Age plus some Roman and Late Roman.

[3] *Viz.* Aspledon, Delphinion, Donakon, Heleon, Hyle, Oinophyta, Okalea, Pharai, Skolos, Stephon, Tegyra, Tilphosaion and Trapheia; see Fossey (1988) 390–91.

[4] Eteonos/Skaph(l)ai, Keressos, Mideia, Metachoion and Nisa.

[5] Gla and Mali both recorded in *Barr.* as settlements of the smallest size.

[6] *Viz.* Drymos, Eleutherai, Graia, Kyrtone, Metachoion, Mideia, Nisa, Oinophyta, Tilphosaion and Gla.

Delphinion (*Δελφίνιον*) Strabo 9.2.6 (*ἱερὸς λιμήν*). Fossey (1988) 37–38. *Barr.* C.

Donakon (*Δονακών*) Paus. 9.31.7. Fossey (1988) 147–49. *Barr.* C.

Drymos (*Δρυμός*) Harp. *Δ*81 (*πόλις*) = Arist. fr. 405. Unlocated settlement near Panaktos and sometimes belonging to Athens (no. 361); see 624. Drymos means "oak wood". At Paus 9.3.4 it is uncertain whether the reference is to another settlement near Alalkomenai (no. 199) called *Δρυμός*, or to an oak wood described as a *δρυμός*. *Barr.* 59 C.

Eilesion (*Εἰλέσιον*) Hom. *Il.* 2.499; Strabo 9.2.17; Steph. Byz. 261.13 (*πόλις*). The form *Εἰρέσιον* is found at *Etym. Magn.* 303.11 (*πόλις*) and *Suda EI* 183 (*πόλις*); *Ἐρέσιον* is an unconvincing emendation at Dion. Calliphon. 90, *GGM* 1.241 (Fossey (1988) 127–30). *Barr.* AC.

Eleutherai (*Ἐλευθεραί*) Strabo 9.2.31; Steph. Byz. 265.10 (*πόλις*). Originally a Boiotian settlement which passed to Athens (no. 361) in, presumably, 506, but was not incorporated into Attika; see 431 *supra* and 624 *infra*. Eleutherai was famous for its sanctuary of Dionysos, with a *xoanon* removed to Athens (Schachter (1981–94) i. 174–76). *Barr.* AC.

Glisas (*Γλίσας*) Hom. *Il.* 2.504; Hdt. 9.43.2; Hellan. fr. 100; Strabo 9.2.31 (*κατοικία*); Paus. 9.19.2 (*ἐρείπια*); Steph. Byz. 209.16 (*πόλις*). Remains of a walled acropolis and (once) a walled lower town, both walls in polygonal masonry, with structures of C6l–C5f. Above it was the sanctuary of Zeus Hypatos (Fossey (1988) 217–23). *Barr.* AC.

Graia (*Γραῖα*) Hom. *Il.* 2.498. In the sources Graia was identified sometimes with Tanagra (no. 220) (Callim. fr. 711; Strabo 9.2.10; Paus. 9.20.1–2; *Etym. Magn.* 228.58), sometimes with Oropos (no. 214) or, rather, a place in the territory of Oropos (Arist. fr. 406.1–2; Strabo 9.2.10; Thuc. 2.22.3 and 3.91.3 as emended in accordance with Steph. Byz. 712.6–7). Most modern historians prefer the Aristotelian view, but disagree about the location. Fossey ((1970), (1988) 66–67; *Barr.*) suggests an identification with a Bronze Age settlement and points to modern Dhramesi. Beister (1985) prefers an identification with a settlement of the Archaic and Classical periods situated somewhere on the coast, but not yet located. See also Cosmopoulos (2001) 14, 127 n. 37. *Barr.* AC.

Harma (*Ἅρμα*) Hom. *Il.* 2.499; Philoch. fr. 113 (*κωμηταί*) = Strabo 9.2.11 (*κώμη ἔρημος*), 14 (*τῆς τετρακωμίας*); Paus. 9.19.4 (*ἐρείπια πόλεως*); Steph. Byz. 122.6 (*πόλις*). Settlement centred on a walled acropolis with structures of the Classical period. The walls, in polygonal masonry, are older than the buildings (Fossey (1988) 85–89). *Barr.* AC.

Heleon (*Ἑλεών*) Hom. *Il.* 2.500; Strabo 9.2.12 (*κώμη*), 14 (*τῆς τετρακωμίας*); Plut. *Mor.* 301A; Paus. 1.29.6. Acropolis settlement with well-preserved walls in Lesbian masonry and remains of several buildings (Fossey (1988) 89–95). The settlement covered *c.*3.3 ha (Bintliff (1997*a*) 244). *Barr.* AC.

Hippotai (*Ἱππόται*) Plut. *Mor.* 775A (*κώμη*). Walled acropolis? (Fossey (1988) 339–40). *Barr.* C.

Hyle (*Ὕλη* or *Ὕλαι*) Hom. *Il.* 2.500; 5.708; Mosch. *Ep. Bion.* 3.88 (cf. Gaertner (2001)); Strabo 9.2.20 (*κώμη*); Steph. Byz. 647.13. Remains of a walled acropolis and a walled lower town. The acropolis had two walls: a larger one of LH III B and a smaller one of the Archaic period, both in rubble masonry. In the lower town a small aperipteral temple of the late Geometric period (Fossey (1988) 235–43). *Barr.* AC.

Hyria (*Ὑρία*) Hom. *Il.* 2.496; Theopomp. fr. 211 = Steph. Byz. 651.15 (*πρότερον πολίδιον*); Strabo 9.2.12. Settlement with traces of an ancient circuit wall reported in 1966 (Fossey (1988) 75–76). *Barr.* AR.

Isos (*Ἴσος*) Strabo 9.2.14 (*ἴχνη πόλεως*). Substantial settlement with walled acropolis, perhaps a refortification of a Mycenaean enceinte (Fossey (1988) 257–61). *Barr.* AC.

Keressos (*Κερησσός*) Plut. *Cam.* 19.4; cf. *Mor.* 866F; Paus. 9.14.2–4 (*ἐχυρὸν χωρίον* = *Anth. Pal. App.* 6.73; see Fontenrose (1978) Q 204). Cf. the tombstone set over *Κερεσόδοτος* (*IG* VII 1927 (C5)) and the dedication by *Κερεσότιμος* (*SEG* 28 458 (C6–C5)). Unlocated fortified settlement in the territory of Thespiai (no. 222), where a major battle was fought between Boiotians and Thessalians in the Archaic period, but variously dated (Buck (1979) 108–10; Sordi (1993)). Not in *Barr.*

Korseia (*Κορσεία*) Paus. 9.24.5 (*πόλισμα*). Settlement with remains of a circuit wall in polygonal masonry and three towers in ashlar masonry (Fossey (1990) 58–61). *Barr.* C.

Kreusis (*Κρεῦσις*) Xen. *Hell.* 5.4.16–17, 6.4.3 (*τεῖχος*); Xen. *Ages.* 2.18; Strabo 9.2.25 (*ἐπίνειον*); Paus. 9.32.1 (*ἐπίνειον*); Steph. Byz. 383.6 (*πόλις*); *ἐν Κρείσυϊ* (*SEG* 24 361.27 (C4f)) is either a misspelling or a variant. Fortified port with substantial remains of a C4 circuit wall in ashlar masonry with a small section in Lesbian and polygonal

masonry (Fossey (1988) 157–63). The major Boiotian naval harbour on the Corinthian Gulf (Freitag (2000) 164–71). *Barr.* AC.

Kyrtone (*Κυρτώνη*, later *Κύρτωνες*) Paus 9.24.4 (*πόλισμα*) = Steph. Byz. 398.9 (*πόλις*). Settlement with remains of a circuit wall in polygonal masonry and a tower in ashlar masonry. In the neighbourhood, remains of what was possibly a temple (Fossey (1990) 52–57). *Barr.* C, but classified as a sanctuary. Perhaps an East Lokrian settlement; see 664.

Leuktra (*Λεῦκτρα*) Xen. *Hell.* 6.4.4 (*ἐν Λεύκτροις τῆς Θεσπικῆς*); Dem. 9.23; Diod. 15.53.2 (*τὸ Λευκτρικὸν πεδίον*); Harp. *Λ*14 (*χωρίον Βοιώτιον περὶ Θεσπιάς*); Plut. *Mor.* 773B (*κώμιον τῆς τῶν Θεσπιέων χώρας*); Strabo 9.2.39 (*τόπος*). Possibly a settlement (Fossey (1988) 154–57). *Barr.* C.

Medeon (*Μεδεών*) Hom. *Il.* 2.501 (*ἐϋκτίμενον πτολίεθρον*); Strabo 9.2.26; Dion. Calliphon. 99, *GGM* 1.241 (*πόλις*); Steph. Byz. 439.19 (*πόλις*). Settlement with remains of a circuit wall in polygonal masonry (Fossey (1988) 312–14). *Barr.* AC.

Metachoion (*Μετάχοιον*) Ephor. fr. 94a–b (a) = schol. Arist. *Eth. Nic.* 1116^{b}6 (*Μετατοίχου* MSS: *Μεταχοίου* Marx); (b) = Steph. Byz. 448.19 (*φρούριον*). A Classical fortress between Orchomenos (no. 213) and Koroneia (no. 210), perhaps near or on Mt. Laphystion (Buckler (1989) 72). Not in *Barr.*

Mideia (*Μίδεια*) Hom. *Il.* 2.507; Strabo 8.6.11 (*Μίδεα*); Steph. Byz. 451.17 (*πόλις*). Perhaps to be identified with Lebadeia (no. 211) (Paus. 9.39.1). If not, an unlocated settlement. Not in *Barr.*

Nisa (*Νῖσα*) Hom. *Il.* 2.508; Dion. Calliphon. 102, *GGM* 1.242. Unlocated.

Oinophyta (*Οἰνόφυτα*) Thuc. 1.108.3, 4.95.3, Pl. *Menex.* 242B; Arist. *Pol.* 1302^{b}29; Diod. 11.83.1; *SEG* 19 363 (C4s). Fossey (1988) 58–60. *Barr.* C, but neither the literary nor the archaeological evidence supports *Barr.*'s classification of Oinophyta as a settlement.

Okalea (*Ὠκαλέα*) Hom. *Il.* 2.501; *Hymn. Hom. Ap.* 242 (*Ὠκαλέην πολύπυργον*); Strabo 9.2.26–27; Dion. Calliphon. 99, *GGM* 1.241 (*πόλις*); Steph. Byz. 706.11 (*πόλις*). Fossey (1988) 314–18. *Barr.* C, but the literary evidence shows that it was a walled settlement in the Archaic period.

Olmones (*Ὄλμωνες*) Paus. 9.24.3, 34.10 (*κώμη*); Steph. Byz. 490.7 (*κώμη*); *IG* VII 2808a15 (after AD 212). Walled hill-top settlement with remains of a small number of buildings, one of them perhaps an early aperipteral temple (Fossey (1988) 296–98). *Barr.* C.

Onchestos (*Ὀγχηστός*) Hom. *Il.* 2.506; *IG* IX^{2}.1 170.5 (292); Heracl. Cret. 25, *GGM* 1.104 (*πόλις*); Paus 9.26.5 (*πόλις*). In 338 Onchestos became the capital of the Boiotian Federation (Roesch (1982) 266–82), and the federal *archon* was thereafter referred to as the "*Archon* in Onchestos" (*SEG* 27 60 (C4l); *IG* VII 1747.1 (C3f)). The remains of a C6s temple of Poseidon have been found (Schachter (1981–94) ii. 207). The settlement itself has been tentatively identified with a site of *c.*5 ha about 1 km west of the sanctuary of Poseidon. On the site were found fragments of monumental Doric architecture, traces of a fortification wall and of a Hellenistic *bouleuterion*, perhaps serving the Federation, and the plan of what appears to be an agora of Hellenistic date (Bintliff and Snodgrass (1985) 140; Schachter (1981–94) ii. 208). *Barr.* AC.

Peteon (*Πετεών*) Hom. *Il.* 2.500; Strabo 9.2.26 (*κώμη*); Steph. Byz. 519.13 (*πόλις*). Fossey (1988) 233–34. *Barr.* AC.

Salganeus (*Σαλγανεύς*) Nicocrates (*FGrHist* 376) fr. 1; Heracl. Cret. 26, *GGM* 1.105; Strabo 9.2.9 (*χωρίον*); Steph. Byz. 551.6 (*πόλις*). Settlement fortified in 313/12 (Diod. 19.77.4) with very few remains of the Classical period, and the circuit walls seen by early travellers were probably not ancient (Bakhuizen (1970) 6–12; Fossey (1988) 78–80; Gehrke (1988)). *Barr.* C.

Schedia (*Σχεδία*) *Etym. Magn.* 229.2 (*κώμη*). Hill-top settlement with remains of Ionic capitals, drums and bases (Fossey (1988) 52–56). *Barr.* AC.

Schoinos (*Σχοῖνος*) Hom. *Il.* 2.497; Strabo 9.2.22. Schoinos was one of the small unwalled settlements whose population was moved to Thebes (no. 221) (*Hell. Oxy.* 20.3) in connection with the major synoecism at the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War (Demand (1990) 83–85; Moggi, *Sin.* 197–204 prefers a date *c.*426–424). Remains of a circuit wall partly in polygonal masonry (C5l?, postdating the synoecism?) and partly in rubble work (C4f?) (Fossey (1988) 229–32). *Barr.* AC.

Stephon (*Στέφων*) Plut. *Mor.* 299C: fortified place (*χωρίον*) in the Heroic period when Tanagra (no. 220) was still settled in villages (*ἔτι τῆς Ταναγρικῆς κατὰ κώμας*

οἰκουμένης). Walled acropolis with defence circuit in polygonal masonry but no structural remains inside the walls (Fossey (1988) 49–52, 56). *Barr.* AC.

Tegyra (Τεγύρα) Lycoph. *Alex.* 646; Callisthenes (*FGrHist* 124) fr. 11 = Steph. Byz. 611.3 (πόλις); Plut. *Pelop.* 16–19. Settlement with a temple of Apollo Tegyraios and an oracle active in the Archaic period but closed down in C4 (Plut. *Pelop.* 16.5; *Mor.* 412B–D; Schachter (1981–94) i. 75). Walled acropolis with defence circuit in polygonal masonry observed by early travellers. In the neighbourhood, remains of what may be an aperipteral temple (Fossey (1988) 367–72). *Barr.* AC.

Teumessos (Τευμησσός) *Hymn. Hom. Ap.* 224; Eur. *Phoen.* 1100; Demosthenes Bithynius fr. 3 (ἄστυ); Strabo 9.2.24; Paus. 9.19.1 (χωρίον); Steph. Byz. 618.21 (ὄρος). Fossey (1988) 212–16. *Barr.* AC.

Tilphosaion (Τιλφωσαῖον) According to Strabo (9.2.27), Tilfossa was a spring (ἡ Τιλφῶσσα κρήνη) beneath Mt. Tilfossion (τὸ Τιλφωσσῖον ὄρος) with a sanctuary of Apollo Tilfossios (ὁ Τιλφώσσιος Ἀπόλλων). Again, τὸ Τιλφωσαῖον is attested as a mountain (schol. Dem. 19.141, 314c, Dilts; Ephor. fr. 153; Theopomp. fr. 301) and as a spring (Aristophanes Boeotus (*FGrHist* 379) fr. 4 (κρήνη δ' ἐν Βοιωτίᾳ ἡ Τιλφῶσσα)). The spring was deified as a goddess Τελφοῦσα or Τιλφῶσσα (Pind. fr. 198b) and worshipped together with Apollo (*Hymn. Hom. Ap.* 383–87) and Artemis (*SEG* 27 74 (C4–C3)). Remains of the sanctuary have been found *c.*400 m from the spring perhaps consecrated to the Praxidikai (Schachter (1990), (1981–94) iii. 60–62). According to Dem. 19.141, 148, there was a fort on the mountain; cf. Fossey (1992) 112–14, followed by *Barr.* (C).

Trapheia (Τράφεια) Nicander *Ther.* 887; Steph. Byz. 632.4 (πόλις). A primarily Mycenaean settlement with some remains of the Archaic period (Fossey (1988) 244–46). *Barr.* AC?

2. *Unidentified Settlements*

Gla Mycenaean settlement with a few remains of the Classical period, lying in the north-east bay of the Kopaïs in the territory of Kopai (no. 209) (Fossey (1988) 288). *Barr.*, C.

Mali Walled settlement with a separately walled acropolis and remains of buildings, lying south-east of Chorsiai (no. 202) (Fossey (1988) 194–95). *Barr.*, A.

Of these forty-two sites, thirty-two were probably settlements of the Archaic and Classical periods.[7] But some of them may have been *poleis* rather than non-*polis* settlements. Heleon, for example, seems to have had a territory of its own bordering on the territory of Tanagra (no. 220) (Paus. 1.29.6), and that is an indication that the settlement was a *polis*. Similarly, Harma is a rather sizeable settlement with impressive fortifications (Fossey (1988) 86–88) and is described by Pausanias as the ruins of a *polis* (9.19.4). Thus we must consider the possibility that all four members of what in the Hellenistic period was called the *Tetrakomia*, i.e. Pharai (no. 215), Mykalessos (no. 212), Heleon and Harma (Strabo 9.2.14), were *poleis* in the Archaic and/or Classical period (Etienne and Knoepfler (1976) 225–26). Conversely, some of the settlements included in the Inventory of *poleis* might perhaps be omitted, e.g. Alalkomenai (no. 199). Even allowing for some uncertainty, the Inventory leads to the conclusion that more than two-fifths of all the Boiotian settlements must have been considered to be *poleis*, either throughout the Archaic and Classical periods or at least for some time within these periods.

Many of these *poleis*, however, were small dependencies, and at least in the Classical period the Boiotian *poleis* seem to have formed a hierarchy with at least three different layers: during the First and Second Federations (*c.*446–386 and 378–338), the only truly independent *polis* was Thebes (no. 221), which, in addition to being the leading member of the confederacy, preserved its capacity to enter into relations with other *poleis* (*Staatsverträge* 273, 277, 283, 345; see *infra* 455). Below Thebes were several *poleis* which, being member states of the Federation, provided magistrates and councillors to the federal government and contingents to the federal army. Below these *poleis* were several little *poleis*, each depending on one of the larger *poleis* and with its own territory inside the territory of the larger *polis* but without any representation in the federal government. Chorsiai (no. 202), Eutresis (no. 205), Siphai (no. 218) and Thisbai (no. 223) were *poleis* depending on Thespiai (no. 222); Mykalessos (no. 212) and Pharai (no. 215) belonged to Tanagra; Erythrai (no. 203), Skolos (no. 219), Eteonos/Skaphlai (no. 204) and Hysiai (no. 208) were first connected with Plataiai (no. 216) in some form

[7] Of the 42 non-*polis* sites recorded above I exclude the following 10: Drymos (belongs rather with Attika), Eleutherai (Athenian after C6l), Gla (the Classical remains too insignificant to ensure that Gla was a settlement after the Mycenaean period), Graia (a settlement listed in the Homeric *Catalogue of Ships*, but unknown to all later commentators), Kyrtone (perhaps an East Lokrian settlement), Metachoion (a fortress rather than a settlement), Mideia (probably an old name for Lebadeia), Nisa (known only from the *Catalogue of Ships*, perhaps identical with Isos), Oinophyta (a fortress, not a settlement) and Tilphosaion (a fortress, not a settlement).

of *sympoliteia*, but were later subdued by Thebes, which also possessed Anthedon (no. 200), Oropos (no. 214) and Potniai (no. 217); Chaironeia (no. 201) lay within the territory of Orchomenos (no. 213) until after 424.

We are poorly informed about the status of all the settlements which were not *poleis*. The orthodoxy is that they were *komai* and, *mutatis mutandis*, had a status similar to the Attic demes (see Hansen (1995*b*) 69–71). But apart from phratries, attested in the late Hellenistic period only (Knoepfler (1981) 148–49), we know of no civic subdivisions in Boiotia (Jones, *POAG* 79). So, even supposing that these settlements were in fact *komai*, there is no evidence to show that *komai* were an element in the political organisation of Boiotia in the same way as they must have been in, e.g., Mantinea (no. 281) or Megara (no. 225).

Furthermore, only one Boiotian settlement is called *kome* in Archaic and Classical sources, *viz.* Askra (Hes. *Op.* 639–40; Ephor. fr. 1). Philoch. fr. 113 may have used the term *kometai* about the inhabitants of Harma. In all other cases the authority for Boiotian *komai* is either Strabo or Pausanias, but it is not legitimate to project their site-classifications back into the Archaic and Classical periods (see Hansen (1995*b*) 48–52). To conclude: the territory of a major Boiotian *polis*, e.g. Thebes or Thespiai or Tanagra, comprised a number of settlements of which some were *poleis* but some were not, and the relation between dependent *poleis* and other dependencies remains obscure.

II. The *Poleis*

198. Akraiphia (Akraiphieus) Map 55. Lat. 38.25, long 23.15. Size of territory: 2. Type: A. The toponym is *Ἀκραίφια, τά* (*IG* VII 4135.6 (C3s), 2871.1 (C1)) or (in literary sources only) *Ἀκραιφία, ἡ* (Hdt. 8.135.1; Steph. Byz. 63.1), *Ἀκραιφίαι* (Strabo 9.2.27), *Ἀκραίφνιον* (*Hell. Oxy.* 19.3), *Ἀκραίφνια* (Theopomp. fr. 362). The toponym denotes either the town (Hdt. 8.135) or the polity (*Hell. Oxy.* 19.3). The city-ethnic is *Ἀκραιφιεύς* (Ducat (1971) no. 260 = *SEG* 31 393 (C5f)) or (in literary sources only) *Ἀκραιφνιεύς* (Theopomp. (*FGrHist* 115) fr. 362); *Ἀκραίφνιος*, *Ἀκραιφνεώτης* (Ephor. fr. 229).

Akraiphia is called a *polis* both in the urban sense (Hdt. 8.135.1) and in the political sense (*Hell. Oxy.* 19.3).

The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally in a dedication from Ptoion (*LSAG* 93 and 95 no. 13; *SEG* 22 430 (both C6l)) and externally on a boundary stone of C4f–C3m (*IG* VII 2792; cf. Vottéro (2001) 115). The individual use of the city-ethnic is attested internally in a dedication: *Πυθίας ὀκραιφ[ιεύς]* (*LSAG* 93 and 95 no. 15 (*c.*500)) and externally in a list of *aphedriateuontes* (*IG* VII 2724a.2 (*c.*280–270)).

An inscription of C4f–C3m cut in the rock near Vristika marked the border between Akraiphia and Kopai (no. 209) as determined by the Boiotians (*IG* VII 2792; *SEG* 36 411; Lauffer (1986) 136; Vottéro (2001) 115), and, similarly, a C6 *horos* (Vottéro (2001) 117) probably records the border between the two *poleis* (*SEG* 30 440, 42 407): [*hóros Ἀ*]*κραι*[*φιέον κ*]*αὶ Κο*[*παίον*]. The size of the territory has been assessed at *c.*35 km² (Fossey (1988) 264, 198).

The eponymous official of Akraiphia was an *archon* (*LSAG* 93 and 95 no. 13 (C6l)). In C4e Akraiphia was united with Chaironeia (no. 201) and Kopai, and constituted one of the eleven Boiotian districts (*Hell. Oxy.* 19.3). The principal body of government was a *boule* to which only propertied citizens were admitted (*Hell. Oxy.* 19.2, 3). There is no explicit evidence for membership of the Second Federation whereas the attestation of an *aphedriateuon* from Akraiphia testifies to membership of the Third Federation (*IG* VII 2724.a.2 (*c.*280–270)). An eponymous *archon* is attested in C6s (*LSAG* 93, 95 no. 13).

The protecting god of Akraiphia was perhaps Zeus of some sort (*IG* VII 2733 (C5); Schachter (1981–94) iii. 93–95); cf. the C6l–C5e dedication to Zeus Oporeus (*SEG* 46 528). On Mt. Ptoion (Paus. 9.23.5–7; Pind. frr. 51b, 52f), *c.*4 km east of Akraiphia, was an oracular shrine (Hdt. 8.135; Pind. fr. 52g.A), since C7m consecrated to Apollo Ptoieus (Ducat (1971) 89 no. 50b (*c.*640); *IG* VII 27–29 (*c.*640–620), 4155 (C4l)) in association with a goddess and served by a male Akraiphian prophet (*IG* VII 4155). The oracle was especially famous in C6s (Schachter (1981–94) i. 52–73). Dedications of this period abound (Ducat (1971); Schachter (1981–94) iii. 295), including two by the Alkmaionids and Peisistratids (*IG* I³ 1469–70). At the sanctuary are remains of a *peribolos*, an oracular cave and a temple of C4l built on top of an older one (Lauffer (1959) 1528–40). The sanctuary was controlled by Akraiphia in the Archaic period (Ducat (1971) 448–50) as well as in the Hellenistic age (*IG* VII 4139.20–21 (C2l); Roesch (1982) 225ff); but when the oracle was consulted by Mys in 479, it was under Theban control (Hdt. 8.135.1; cf. Strabo 9.2.34). The Thebans may have dispossessed the Akraiphians of the oracle in C6s (Gullath (1989) 166), but a preferable explanation is that "the oracle may have remained within the direction of Akraiphia, although formally the sanctuary and the territory of Akraiphia were under Theban control" (Schachter (1981–94) i. 69).

Halfway (as the crow flies) between Akraiphia and the sanctuary of Apollo Ptoieus was a sanctuary of the Hero Ptoios, the descendant of Athamas, here worshipped in association with some goddess. A lower terrace has altars and a stoa of the Archaic period, the upper terrace a temple of C4l built over a C7 edifice. Between the two levels is an avenue of monumental tripod bases, dedicated by the *polis* of Akraiphia *c.*525–450 (*IG* VII 2734–35; *SEG* 22 430; Schachter (1981–94) iii. 11–21).

The acropolis was fortified with a double-faced wall: an outer face of hard limestone in trapezoidal coursed masonry, perhaps of C4, and an inner face of poros stone in ashlar coursed masonry, built in C3 and probably destroyed in 196. A *diateichisma* in polygonal work is either contemporary with or older than the limestone wall. There are substantial remains of a pentagonal tower of the Hellenistic period. The circuit enclosed an area of *c.*17 ha (Fossey (1988) 266–68; Garlan (1974) 98–112 and information from John Camp). The size of the lower town is unknown (Bintliff (1997*a*) 231) nor do we know whether there was a defence circuit enclosing the entire town. Buildings and streets have been uncovered at the western end of the town, and outside the town are four cemeteries with remains from the late Geometric, Archaic and Classical periods (Fossey (1988) 268). So far, more than 2,000 graves have been found (*AR* (1999–2000) 56). The settlement can be traced back to C8 (Fossey (1988) 269).

Akraiphia struck silver coins on the Aiginetan standard from *c.*500 to 480, from 456 to 446, and from 386 (or earlier) to 374 (or later). Denominations: stater, obol, hemiobol, trihemitartemorion; *obv.* Boiotian shield; *rev.* kantharos in incuse square (some). Legend: *A* (C5e) or *AK* (C5m) or *AKPH* (C4e) (Head, *HN*² 344; Babelon, *Traité* ii.3. 257–58; Schachter (1989) 85; Baldwin Brett (1955) 137 no. 1011; Etienne and Knoepfler (1976) 221 n. 768 suggest that the earliest issues may have been minted at (H)aliartos).

199. Alalkomenai Map 55. Lat. 38.25, long. 23.00. Located at Vouno *c.*1 km east of Solinarion (Knauss (1987) 42–68). Size of territory: 1. Type: C. The toponym is *Ἀλαλκομεναί, αἱ* (Strabo 9.2.27; Paus. 9.33.5). Apart from Steph. Byz. 68.19, there is no attestation of a city-ethnic.

The only author to call Alalkomenai a *polis* is Strabo, who retrospectively describes the site as a small *polis* situated in a plain (9.2.36). According to Paus. 9.33.5, the settlement was just a *κώμη*. But it may deserve inclusion in this inventory of *poleis* because it seems to have had a territory of its own, and especially because of its famous sanctuary of Athena, *τὸ Ἀλαλκομενεῖον* (IG IX².1 170.5 (C4l–C3e)) dedicated to the cult of *Ἀλαλκομενηὶς Ἀθήνη* (Hom. Il. 4.8; see Schachter (1981–94) i. 111–14). According to Steph. Byz. 68.18–19, the goddess had the epithet Polias, and her cult was linked with that of Zeus Polieus (Etym. Magn. 56.8–10; Schachter (1981–94) iii. 96). Since the sanctuary was in the lowlands (Paus. 9.33.5), the epithets Polias and Polieus must refer not to an acropolis cult but rather to cults of divinities protecting the *polis* (cf. Cole (1995) 301–3). The cult of Athena at the Alalkomenion was presumably an old one (Schachter (1981–94) i. 12), which would indicate that at least in the Archaic period Alalkomenai was probably a *polis* (Hansen (1995*a*) 32–33) with the cult of its protecting god located in an extra-mural sanctuary. Later Alalkomenai was incorporated into Koroneia (no. 210). The territory is called *Ἀλαλκομενία*; it must have been very small, but at least it included the fortified mountain Tilphosion (Ephor. fr. 153; Diod. 19.53.7). The Alalkomenion was located c.300 m north of Alalkomenai (Knauss (1987) 50).

200. Anthedon (Anthedonios). Map 55. Lat. 38.30, long. 23.25. Size of territory: 2. Type: A. The toponym is *Ἀνθηδών, ἡ* (Hom. *Il.* 2.508; Ps.-Skylax 59; Archestratos fr. 15.1; *I.Stratonikeia* 508.43 (C1)). The city-ethnic is *Ἀνθηδόνιος* (Palaiphatos 27; *IG* IX².1 27.4 (C3)), in the Boiotian dialect: *Ἀνθαδόνιος* (*IG* VII 2723.4 (C3e)).

Anthedon is called a *polis* in the urban sense in a C4 mythological treatise (Palaiphatos 27) and again in Heracl. Cret. (23, *CGM* I.104 (C3s)); that it was a *polis* in the political sense as well is apparent from the fact that *Ἀριστοκλεῖς Ἀγασιήω Ἀνθαδόνιος* appears *c.*285–280 among the *aphedriateuontes* (*IG* VII 2723.4). That its status as a *polis* in the political sense stems at least from the beginning of the Third Federation (i.e. from 338) is indicated by the eight victories at the four major Panhellenic games won *c.*300 by the pankratist Nikon of Anthedon (Steph. Byz. 96. 17–18; Phlegon of Tralles (*FGrHist* 257a) = *P Oxy.* 2082 4.27; see Knoepfler (1986*a*) 602–3). In Ps.-Skylax 59 Anthedon is described as a *teichos*, but it is unclear whether he took it to be a *polis* as well. The only epigraphical reference to Anthedon as a *polis* is a heavily restored proxeny decree of C3 (*SEG* 36 413 = Knoepfler (1986*a*) 624–30. The individual and external use of the city-ethnic is attested at *IG* VII 2723.4 (C3f); Plut. *Mor.* 300F: *Μυρτὶς ἡ Ἀνθηδονία ποιήτρια* (rC5); and Steph. Byz. 96.18–19 *Λεωνίδης Ζωγράφος, Εὐφράνορος μαθητής, Ἀνθηδόνιος* (rC4).

The territory is called *ἡ Ἀνθηδονία* (Strabo 9.2.13) and its size has been assessed at *c.*85 km² (Fossey (1988) 250).

Anthedon bordered on Tanagra (no. 220) to the south-east (Nicocrates (*FGrHist* 376 fr. 1) and on Thebes (no. 221) to the south-west (Heracl. Cret. 23, *GGM* 1.104). Herakleides tells us that the soil was poor and that almost all the inhabitants lived as fishermen (Heracl. Cret. 23, *GGM* 1.104; cf. Archestratos fr. 15.1). Although there is no explicit evidence, it is usually assumed that Anthedon belonged to Thebes (no. 221) and that its harbour was used as a naval base by the Thebans when in the 360s they built a fleet (Schläger *et al.* (1968–69) 90), but see Fossey (1992) 117–20). The attestation of an *aphedriateuon* from Anthedon testifies to membership of the Third Federation (*IG* VII 2723.4 (*c.*280–270)).

The protecting god of Anthedon was probably Zeus Karaios and Anthas, whose cult, however, is unattested before C2 (*IG* II² 2360; Schachter (1981–94) iii. 97 and letter of Dec. 1994).

The ancient town lay beside the sea around a tiny harbour (Strabo 9.2.13; Schläger *et al.* (1968–69)). A separately fortified hill about 30 m high was used for the acropolis. On the north side of the hill are the remains of a Hellenistic (Roesch (1976)) fortification wall built in ashlar masonry with interval towers. The city walls encompassed both the hill and the harbour and enclosed an area of 30 ha (Wallace (1979) 58; Bintliff (1997*a*) 244). Herakleides mentions an agora flanked with two stoas. The settlement can be traced back to the Neolithic period, and there are remains of the Geometric, Archaic and Classical periods (Fossey (1988) 255).

201. Chaironeia (Chaironeus) Map 55. Lat. 38.30, long. 22.55. Size of territory: 2. Type: A. The toponym is *Χαιρώνεια*, *ἡ* (Thuc. 1.113.1; *F.Delphes* III.3 96 = *SEG* 32 529 (*c.*313–300)), but in some Boiotian inscriptions *Χ*[*η*]*ρώνια* (*IG* VII 3170.10 (C3)) or *Χαιρωνήα* (*SEG* 38 380.1 (C1)). The toponym denotes either the town (Thuc. 1.113.1) or the polity (*Hell. Oxy.* 19.3) or the territory (Lycurg. 1.16). The city-ethnic is *Χαιρωνεύς* (*SEG* 15 282.4 (263–255)).

Chaironeia is called a *polis* presumably in the urban sense (Hecat. fr. 116; cf. Hansen (1995*a*) 55 n. 44) and in the political sense (Thuc. 4.76.3, 89.2; cf. Hansen (1995*a*) 21–24; Theopomp. fr. 407; *Hell. Oxy.* 19.3). The term *πόλισμα* is used by Aristophanes Boeotus (*FGrHist* 379) fr. 3 (C4)).

The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally as *XAIPΩNE* on coins of C4e (Head (1881) 44) and externally by Polyb. 27.1.4. For the individual use of the city-ethnic, see e.g. *Εὐρυφάοντος Καλλίφρονος Χαιρωνέως* (*SEG* 15 282.4, *grammateus* (263–255)).

The territory is called *Χαιρώνεια* (Lycurg. 1.16: *ἡ ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ μάχη*), and it was the westernmost region of Boiotia, bordered by Phokis to the west (Thuc. 4.76.3; cf. Hecat. fr. 116) and by Orchomenos (no. 213) to the north (Plut. *Cim.* 2.1). In C5f its territory was a part of the territory of Orchomenos (inference from Hdt. 8.34.1). The size of the territory has been assessed at *c.*55 km² (Fossey (1988) 342).

In C5 Chaironeia was a dependent *polis* under Orchomenos (*πόλιν Ὀρχομενίων*: Theopomp. fr. 407, probably referring to 446; *ἐς Ὀρχομενὸν ξυντελεῖν*: Thuc. 4.76.3, referring to 424), and was perhaps without any representation in the federal government. In 395, however, Chaironeia was united with Akraiphia (no. 198) and Kopai (no. 209), and constituted one of the eleven Boiotian districts (*Hell. Oxy.* 19.3). It is not known when Chaironeia changed its status from an Orchomenian dependency to one of the six *poleis* that provided one Boiotarch every third year. The principal body of government was a *boule*, to which only propertied citizens were admitted (*Hell. Oxy.* 19.2, 3). Chaironeia was a member of the Second Federation (*ἐπιβοηθεῖν*, Diod. 16.39.8) and of the Third Federation as well (*IG* VII 2724c.6 (245–240)). After 457 Chaironeia and Orchomenos served as a refuge for oligarchs from the other Boiotian *poleis* (Hellan. fr. 81); but in 446 Chaironeia was conquered by the Athenians and exposed to *andrapodismos* (Thuc. 1.113.1; Theopomp. fr. 407). From the abortive attempt in 424 to introduce a democracy, we can infer that Chaironeia must have had an oligarchic constitution. The democratic faction was supported by Athens and by some Orchomenians, but the *stasis* was quelled by armed assistance from the other Boiotians (Thuc. 4.76.2–3, 89.2; Hansen (1995*a*) 21–24).

Chaironeia must have been fortified in 424 (Thuc. 4.89.2) and again in 354 when the town was besieged by Onomarchos (Diod. 16.33.4; cf. Buckler (1989) 56). On the acropolis there are remains of (1) a circuit of cyclopean masonry, probably of the Archaic period; (2) Lesbian blocks, presumably Archaic; (3) a C4 ashlar circuit. Small extensions at the north-east corner of the cyclopean wall and at the north-west corner of the ashlar wall suggest that the lower city in the Archaic and Classical periods was walled and lay north of the acropolis. The acropolis walls enclose an area of *c.*15 ha. The size of the lower city is unknown (Fossey (1988) 376–79); Bintliff's guesstimate is *c.*23 ha ((1997*a*) 244). The settlement can be traced back to the early Helladic period (Fossey (1988) 380). Of public architecture the only known building is a small rock-cut theatre. A rectilinear *koilon* with eight steps, probably of the Classical period, was replaced in the early Hellenistic period by a curvilinear *koilon* of which fifteen steps are preserved (Dilke 45 (1950) 35–37; Isler (1994) 146).

The protecting god of Chaironeia may have been Zeus (Paus. 9.41.6; Schachter (1981–94) iii. 99). Other major divinities presumably worshipped in the Archaic and Classical periods are Apollo Thourios (Plut. *Sulla* 17.7, interpreted retrospectively by Schachter (1981–94) i. 43–44) with an extra-urban sanctuary at Thourion (Camp *et al.* (1992) 454–55), Dionysos (Plut. *Cim.* 2.2; Schachter (1981–94) i. 173–74) and Herakles (Plut. *Dem.* 19.2; Schachter (1981–94) ii. 2).

Chaironeia struck hemidrachms on the Aiginetan standard and bronze coins between 386 (or earlier) and 374 (or later). (1) Silver: *obv.* Boiotian shield; *rev.* club. Legend: *XAI*. (2) Bronze: *obv.* Boiotian shield; *rev.* club. Legend: *XAIPΩNE* (Head (1881) 44, *HN*² 344).

202. Chorsiai (Chorsieus) Map 55. Lat. 38.15, long. 22.55. Size of territory: 2. Type: A. The toponym *Κορσιαί, αἱ* (Dem. 19.141 codd. AY; Harp. *K*77; Ps.-Skylax 38) is attested in literary sources, and from the city-ethnic *Χορσιεύς* (*SEG* 3 342; Migeotte (1984) no. 11 (C2e)) we can infer that in the Boiotian dialect the toponym must have been *Χορσιαί*, which is the spelling offered by Steph. Byz. at 696.1, and perhaps attested in the Delphic list of *theorodokoi* of *c.*230–210 (*SEG* 36 500). It has been suggested that the *Κορσιαί* referred to by Demosthenes must be *Κορσεία* in north-west Boiotia near East Lokris (Etienne and Knoepfler (1976) 32–41), but Demosthenes' mention of Orchomenos (no. 213), Koroneia (no. 210) and Tilphoseion side by side with *Κορσιαί*, as well as the notes in Harp. and Ps.-Skylax, strongly support the traditional location of the site in southern Boiotia.

Ps.-Skylax 38 lists Chorsiai as the first toponym after the heading *πόλεις αἵδε*, where *polis* is used in the urban sense, and the settlement is presumably called a *polis* by Theopomp. fr. 167 = Harp. *K*77, quoting Dem. 19.141 for the toponym and Theopompos for the site-classification.

The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested externally in a treaty with Thisbai (*SEG* 3 342 (C2e)) and internally in a proxeny decree (*SEG* 22 410 (C2f)). There is no attestation of the individual use.

The name of the territory is unknown; its size has been assessed at *c.*40 km² (Fossey (1988) 186). A C4f inventory of *hestiatorion* equipment, presumably found in Chorsiai, indicates that Chorsiai in C4e was a dependent *polis* lying inside the territory of Thespiai (no. 222) (*SEG* 24 361, 30 441 (386–380), but cf. 47 520). The inscription testifies to a Heraion and a cult of Hera in Chorsiai (Schachter (1981–94) i. 238). For a possible cult of Zeus Soter, see *SEG* 36 417 (C6–C4 but heavily restored: Schachter (1981–94) iii. 99–100).

In 346 Chorsiai was destroyed by the Thebans, had its walls demolished and, like Orchomenos and Koroneia, the city was perhaps exposed to an *andrapodismos* (Dem. 19.141). The epigraphical and archaeological evidence shows that the city was soon resettled.

The only reference in written sources to walls is *ὠχυρωμένος* at Diod. 16.58.1, describing the Phokians' occupation of Chorsiai during the Sacred War down to 346. Remains of a coursed trapezoidal wall enclosed both the acropolis and the lower town on the east, north and west sides, whereas the south side was protected by cliffs. This circuit seems to date from the years after the battle of Leuktra; it was probably destroyed by the Thebans in 346 (Dem. 19.141), but re-erected later on in C4 in isodomic ashlar work. The walls enclose residential quarters of *c.*1 ha (Büsing and Büsing-Kolbe (1972) 79–87; Fossey (1986). According to Bintliff (1997*a*) 244, the habitation area amounted to between 1.7 and 4.5 ha. The settlement can be traced back to the early Helladic period, and there are remains of the Geometric, Archaic and Classical periods (Fossey (1988) 193).

203. Erythrai Map. 54. Lat. 38.15, long. 23.25. Size of territory: 1. Type: C. The toponym is *Ἐρύθραι, αἱ* (Hom. *Il.* 2.499 (for the accent see schol. *ad loc.*); Thuc. 3.24.2), denoting either the town (Eur. *Bacch.* 751) or the polity (*Hell. Oxy.* 19.3). There is no attestation of the toponym in epigraphical sources, and the only attestation of a city-ethnic is *Ἐρυθραῖος Παντία[ς]* (*SEG* 30 457 (C6l); cf. Fossey (1991) 181–89; Hansen (1995*a*) 46–47; for the sequence ethnic–name, see *IG* VII 2796). But *[Δ]ημαρέτ[η Μ]οιρίχου [Ἐ]ρυθραί[α]* (*IG* II² 8500 = *SEG* 14 194 (C4s)) may come from Boiotian Erythrai too, since *Μοίριχος* is a good Boiotian name, and since the *stele* was found in Eleusis, where several other sepulchral inscriptions commemorating Boiotians have been found (Koumanoudis (1961) 104).

The only reference in ancient literature to Erythrai having been a *polis* is Pausanias' remark: *Ὑσιῶν καὶ Ἐρυθρῶν ἐρείπιά ἐστι. πόλεις δέ ποτε τῶν Βοιωτῶν ἦσαν* (9.2.1). Pausanias' retrospective site-classification is supported by two observations: (a) in 479 Erythrai had a territory which must have been very small (Hdt. 9.15.3, 25.2: *ὁ Ἐρυθραῖος χῶρος*), and (b) a *sympoliteia* with Plataiai (no. 216) in C5m suggests that Erythrai had been a *polis* before it joined the *sympoliteia* and may perhaps still have been a dependent *polis* even after the union (*Hell. Oxy.* 19.3; Hansen (1995*a*) 16) by which its territory seems to have become a part of Plataiïs

(Strabo 9.2.24). Erythrai must have been annexed by Thebes (no. 221) before the synoecism of *c.*431 when its population was moved to Thebes (*Hell. Oxy.* 20.3; Demand (1990) 83–85; Moggi, *Sin.* 197–204). By 395, however, Erythrai had been repopulated, but was still lying within the territory of Thebes (*Hell. Oxy.* 19.3).

The acropolis was fortified by an undated defence circuit of rubble with no pretence to style enclosing an area of 1,600 m² (Fossey (1988) 117–18). A wall of the lower town "is only visible as a line in the fall of the land" (letter from Fossey, Jan. 1995). The walls are probably later than 431, when Erythrai is described as unfortified (*Hell. Oxy.* 20.3). Apart from a few LH III sherds, the settlement cannot be traced further back than the Classical period (Fossey (1988) 118).

204. Eteonos/Skaphai (Skaph(l)eus) Map 55. Unlocated. Type: C. The toponym was originally *Ἐτεωνός*, *ὁ* (Hom. *Il.* 2.497; Strabo 9.2.24), but it was changed into *Σκαφαί*, *αἱ* (*Hell. Oxy.* 20.3) or alternatively *Σκαφλαί* (*IG* II² 11654 (C4m); Strabo 9.2.24, erroneously emended *Σκάρφη* by all eds.). The change of name may perhaps be connected with the refoundation of the town in *c.*400 after the synoecism with Thebes (no. 221) in *c.*431. We know that Eteonos/Skaphlai was located near Skolos (no. 219) and occupied a hill (Hom. *Il.* 2.497) in the Parasopia (Strabo 9.2.24), but the precise location is unknown (Fossey (1988) 130–31).

Apart from Steph. Byz. (283.8), Eteonos/Skaphai is never called a *polis*, and the reasons for including the site in this inventory are (a) that a city-ethnic is attested in Classical sources (Hansen (1995*a*) 28, 48) and (b) that a *sympoliteia* with Plataiai in C5m suggests that Eteonos/Skaphlai had been a *polis* before it joined the *sympoliteia* and may perhaps still have been a dependent *polis* even after the union (*Hell. Oxy.* 19.3; Hansen (1995*a*) 16). Skaphai was one of the small unwalled settlements whose population was moved to Thebes (*Hell. Oxy.* 20.3) in connection with the major synoecism at the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War (Demand (1990) 83–85; Moggi. *Sin.* 197–204 prefers a date *c.*426–424).

Apart from Steph. Byz. 283.10, there is no attestation of a city-ethnic derived from the toponym Eteonos, but the city-ethnic *Σκαφ(λ)εύς* is attested in three Attic sepulchral inscriptions of C4: *IG* II² 11202: *Σακφλεύς* (C4f); *SEG* 15 161: *Σκαφλικά*, *Σκαφλικαί* (C4m, Eleusis); *SEG* 22 191: *Σκαφλικαί* (C4s, Eleusis); cf. also *SEG* 22 192 (second and third centuries AD). The only other attestation is in Men. *Dysc.* hypoth. 14: *ὑπεκρίνατο Ἀριστόδημος Σκαφεύς*. Cf. *IG* II² 11654: *ἐΣκαφλάων* (C4m) (Koumanoudis: *α<ί>ων*, but see *δραχμαων* in *IG* VII 3055.4).

205. Eutresis (Eutretidieus) Map. 54. Lat. 38.15, long. 23.15. Size of territory: 1. Type: C. The toponym is *Εὔτρησις*, *ἡ* (Hom. *Il.* 2.502; Eust. *Il.* 1.409.20, van der Valk; *Hell. Oxy.* 19.3, where the toponym denotes the polity). The only surviving attestation of the city-ethnic is in a Hellenistic dedication to Apollo: *Εὐτρειτιδιεῖες Ἀπόλλωνι* (*BCH* 28 (1904) 430–31 no. 1).

Strabo calls Eutresis a *κωμίον Θεσπιέων* (9.2.28), and in Steph. Byz. (287.21) it is classified as a *kome*. Eutresis is not called a *polis* in any extant source, but the reference at *Hell. Oxy.* 19.3 to what was probably a *sympoliteia* between Thespiai (no. 222), Thisbai (no. 223) and Eutresis suggests that Eutresis during the First Federation was a dependent *polis* dominated by Thespiai (Siewert (1977) 463; Hansen (1995*a*) 16); cf. *τοῖ Θεσπιέσσιν καὶ τοῖρ σὺν αὐτὸς* (*SEG* 31 358.5 (C5f)). The attestation of the city-ethnic further suggests that Eutresis was still a *polis* in the Hellenistic period during the Third Federation.

Excavations have revealed a part of a circuit wall. Its compartment construction has been taken to suggest a C4m date (Fossey (1988) 152), and it enclosed an area of between 13 and 20 ha (Bintliff (1997*a*) 244). The settlement can be traced back to the Neolithic period (Fossey (1988) 152).

206. Haliartos (Haliartios) Map 55. Lat. 38.25, long. 23.05. Size of territory: 2. Type: A. The toponym is *Ἀρίαρτος*, *ὁ* (Armenidas (*FGrHist* 378) fr.7) or *Ἁλίαρτος*, *ὁ* (Hom. *Il.* 2.503, cf. *PLond. Lit.* 6; Lys. 16.13; *IG* VII 2850 (C2–C1)), denoting either the town (Diod. 14.81.2 (r395)) or the territory (Xen. *Hell.* 3.5.17). In Boiotia the city-ethnic is either *Ἀριάρτιος* (*SEG* 25 554 (C5); Etienne and Knoepfler (1976) 221–25) or *Ἁλιάρτιος* (*IG* VII 2724.4–5 (*c.*280–270)); outside Boiotia it is always *Ἁλιάρτιος* (Thuc. 4.93.4). For the late appearance of the form *Ἁλιάρτιος*, see most recently Knoepfler (1992) 480–81.

Haliartos is listed as one of the Boiotian *poleis* in Thucydides' description of the battle of Delion (4.91.1, 93.4). It is called a *polis* in the urban sense by Heracl. Cret. 25 (*GGM* 1.104 (C3)) and in the political sense by the Oxyrhynchus historian (*Hell. Oxy.* 19.3). The term [*πο*]*λιτεία* (citizenship) in a proxeny and citizenship decree of C4l (*SEG* 28 453.8) strongly supports Knoepfler's restoration [*τᾶς πόλιος Ἀριαρτίων*] in lines 3–4 of the decree (*BCH* 102 (1978) 381, *pace* Fossey in *Boeotia Antiqua* 4 (1994) 49–51).

The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally on the reverse of a coin of C4f (*APIAPTION*: Head, *HN*² 345; see Etienne and Knoepfler (1976) 222 n. 771) and externally in a C5 dedication found near Onchestos (*SEG* 25 554).

For the individual and external use, see [Ἁλι]άρτιος (*CID* II 94.5), a *hieromnemon* of 327.

The territory was called Ἁλίαρτος (Xen. *Hell.* 3.5.17) or Ἁλιαρτία (Strabo 9.2.33; Paus. 9.33.4). Together with Lebadeia (no. 211) and Koroneia (no. 210), Haliartos constituted one of the eleven Boiotian districts (*Hell. Oxy.* 19.3). The size of the territory has been assessed at *c.*80 km² (Fossey (1988) 300). It comprised Onchestos (Strabo 9.2.33; *SEG* 25 554; Etienne and Knoepfler (1976) 223; Schachter (1981–94) ii. 206), Tilphossa and Okalea, as well as Medeon (Strabo 9.2.26). A line of fortifications, now dated to 371 (Fossey (1992) 112–14), indicates the border of the city towards Koroneia (Fossey (1988) 320). The Cambridge/Bradford survey of Boiotia has revealed that there is a band of almost empty territory running east–west just north of Askra, probably the border zone between the territory of Haliartos and that of Thespiai (no. 222) (Snodgrass (1990) 129). The Thebans' remark at Hdt. 5.79.2 that the Koroneians and Thespians are their neighbours indicates that Haliartos in 507/6 was a dependent *polis* and situated in what was then the territory of either Koroneia or Thebes.

Haliartos was a member of the First Federation (*Hell. Oxy.* 19.3), and the principal body of government was a *boule* to which only propertied citizens were admitted (*Hell. Oxy.* 19.2, 3). Haliartos was a member of the Third Federation; it provided one of the *hieromnemones* in 327 (*CID* II 94.5) and one of the *aphedriateuontes* in *c.*280–270 (*IG* VII 2724b.2). We have no evidence relating to the Second Federation. In C4l Haliartos seems to have awarded *proxenia* and *politeia* to a citizen from an unknown *polis* (*SEG* 28 453, restored).

On the acropolis have been found the remains of an Archaic sanctuary with a *stoa* (Coulton (1976) 240) and a temple of Athena (C7–C6), and the protecting god of Haliartos was probably Athena Itonia (*SEG* 32 456.8–9, cf. 44 408 (C3l); Schachter (1981–94) i. 116). Cults of Dionysos, Alkmene and the hero Aleas have been inferred from Plut. *Lys.* 28 (Schachter (1981–94) i. 9–10, 11–12, 176).

A small circuit of cyclopean masonry (Mycenaean?) with Lesbian (Archaic?) and trapezoidal (Classical?) repairs encloses the acropolis. An ashlar circuit, probably of C4, encloses the lower city and covers an area of *c.*42 ha (Fossey (1988) 301–5; Bintliff (1997*a*) 244). Haliartos was fortified when attacked by Lysandros in 395/4 (Xen. *Hell.* 3.5.17–19; Diod. 14.81.2; Paus. 3.5.3–5). All three passages refer to a circuit wall enclosing the whole city and not just the acropolis. Haliartos seems to have been an early Iron Age settlement located in and round the acropolis, and from there it spread down the slope to the south. The settlement can be traced back to the Neolithic period (Fossey (1988) 305–6). The urban centre reached its maximum size in C4 (Bintliff and Snodgrass (1988) 61–65). An important Classical cemetery outside Haliartos is reported in *AR* (1999–2000) 56.

Haliartos struck silver coins on the Aiginetan standard from *c.*456 to 446 and from *c.*400 (or earlier) to 374 (or later), and bronze coins from *c.*338 to 315. (1) Silver, 456–446: denominations: stater, triobol, obol, tetartemorion; *obv.* Boiotian shield, *rev.* amphora or kantharos in incuse square. Legend: *A* or *AP* or *API*. (2) Silver, C5l–C4f: denominations: stater, hemiobol; *obv.* Boiotian shield on which trident; *rev.* naked Poseidon. Legend: *APIAPTION* (or *-IOΣ*) in epichoric letters, which points to a date around 400 rather than after 386 (*supra* 432). (3) Bronze, 338–315: *obv.* Boiotian shield; *rev.* legend: *API* or *AΛI* in concave field (Head, *HN*² 345; Babelon, *Traité* ii.3. 270–74; Kraay (1976) 111–12; Etienne and Knoepfler (1976) 222; Hansen (1995*a*) 63 add. note; *SNG Cop. Boeotia* 187). The Archaic coins inscribed with an epichoric H and traditionally assigned to Haliartos are now believed to have been struck by Hyettos (no. 207; Etienne and Knoepfler (1976) 218–26). Conversely, Etienne and Knoepfler (1976) 221 n. 768 suggest that the C5e issues usually ascribed to Akraiphia (no. 198) may have been minted at (H)aliartos).

207. Hyettos (Hyettios) Map 55. Lat. 38.35, long. 23.05. Size of territory: 2. Type: [A]. Apart from the Latinised version in Plin. *HN* 36.128, the toponym Ὕηττος, ὁ is attested in two late sources only: Paus. 9.24.3–4, 36.6 and Steph. Byz. 646.14–15. But the personal name Ὕηττος (Hes. fr. 257 (C7–C6)) implies that the toponym goes back to the Archaic period. The city-ethnic is Ὑέτιος (*SEG* 24 300 (C6s)), Ὑείττιος (*IG* VII 1673.4 (*c.*240)), Ὑέττιος (*IG* VII 416.78 (C1)) or Ὑήττιος (*IG* VII 2833.4 (*c.*AD 200)).

The earliest explicit reference to Hyettos as a *polis* is in a military catalogue of *c.*250 (*SEG* 26 498.3–4). But other evidence implies that Hyettos was a *polis* in the Archaic and Classical periods as well. (a) *SEG* 24 300 (C6s): Θεβαῖοι τὸν hυετίον inscribed on a greave and undoubtedly commemorating a Theban victory over the Hyettans. (b) *Hell. Oxy.* 19.3: δύο δὲ παρείχοντο βοιωτάρχας Ὀρχομένιοι καὶ Ὑήττιοι (conj. Wilamowitz; Etienne and Knoepfler (1976) 230: MS Ὑσιαῖοι), which shows that in *c.*400 Hyettos was one of the *poleis* that participated in the running of the federal administration; cf. 19.2: παρ' ἑκάστῃ τῶν πόλεων. Further evidence of the close relations between Hyettos and Orchomenos (no. 213) is provided by a public dedication of *c.*400 set up by the Orchomenians on the acropolis of

Hyettos (now lost but seen in 1938 by M. Feyel, *BCH* 62 (1938) 165 n. 5; Etienne and Knoepfler (1976) 228–29).

The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally on the coins if Η is an abbreviation of *hυετίον* (*infra*), and externally in the Theban dedication *SEG* 24 300 (C6s). The individual and external use of the city-ethnic is attested in a list of *aphedriateuontes*: . . . *Ἀριστομάχω Ὑειττίω*: *IG* VII 1673.4 (*c.*240). The name of the territory is unknown; its size has been assessed at *c.*55 km² (Fossey (1988) 292).

During the First Federation, Orchomenos and Hyettos constituted two of the Boiotian districts and provided two Boiotarchs (*Hell. Oxy.* 19.3). The difference in size between the two cities indicates that, like the other small *poleis* around Lake Kopais, Hyettos provided one Boiotarch every third year and Orchomenos all the others (Etienne and Knoepfler (1976) 229–33). The principal body of government was a *boule* to which only propertied citizens were admitted (*Hell. Oxy.* 19.2, 3). Hyettos was a member of the Third Federation (*IG* VII 1673.4 (*c.*240)). There is no evidence concerning the Second Federation.

The acropolis was fortified by a wall of Lesbian masonry dating from *c.*500 with repairs of C4 and C2. The circuit encloses an area of *c.*6 ha. There are no traces of any wall around the lower city, which seems to have lain south and east of the acropolis (Etienne and Knoepfler (1976) 45–65). A surface survey of the urban centre shows that it covered *c.*26 ha (Bintliff (1999) 15). There are no traces of habitation antedating the Archaic period (Fossey (1988) 294–95).

Hyettos struck silver coins on the Aiginetan standard from *c.*500 to *c.*480. Denominations: stater, drachm, hemidrachm, obol, tetartemorion; *obv.* Boiotian shield; *rev.* mill-sail punch. Legend (first on *obv.* later on *rev.*): the epichoric letter h (Η) (Head (1881) 14–15, *HN*² 345; Kraay (1976) 109–10 under Haliartos (no. 206), but assigned to Hyettos by Etienne and Knoepfler (1976) 218–26 and 383–90; Schachter (1989) 85; *SNG Cop. Boeotia* 187–88).

208. Hysiai Map 55. Lat. 38.15, long. 23.20. Size of territory: 1. Type: C. The toponym is *Ὑσιαί, αἱ* (Hdt. 5.74.2; Eur. *Bacch.* 751), denoting the polity (Hdt. 6.108.6) or the town (Hdt. 9.15.3) or the territory (Thuc. 3.24.2). There is no attestation of the toponym in epigraphical sources, and the only attestation of a city-ethnic is in Steph. Byz. 653.9.

Apart from Pausanias' description of Hysiai as the ruins of what had once been a Boiotian *polis* (9.2.1), the only reference in ancient literature to Hysiai as a *polis* is in Harp. Υ15: *Ὑσιαί, τῆς Βοιωτίας πόλις*, quoting Hypereides' speech *For Xenophilos* (fr. 156, Sauppe) for the toponym and Euripides' *Antiope* (fr. 180, Nauck) for the site-classification, which, however, is applied to the Heroic Age and cannot be used as evidence for the status of Hysiai in the Archaic and Classical periods. The two main reasons for including Hysiai in this inventory are (a) that it had a territory of its own and (b) that it was placed right between Plataiai (no. 216) and the three small cities which are named by the Oxyrhynchus historian as *συμπολιτευόμεναι* with Plataiai (*Hell. Oxy.* 19.3): *viz.* Erythrai (no. 203), Skolos (no. 219) and Eteonos/Skaphai (no. 204). This location strongly indicates that Hysiai must have been one of the small members of the *sympoliteia* not mentioned explicitly by the Oxyrhynchus historian but referred to in the phrase *τῶν ἄλλων χωρίων*, and thus Hysiai was presumably a *polis*, perhaps a dependent *polis* after it joined the *sympoliteia*.

Hysiai had been annexed by Athens, probably in 519, and was still part of Attika in 506 (Hdt. 5.74.2, 6.108.6); but in 479 Hysiai was lying in Plataian territory (Hdt. 9.101.1), yet at the same time had a territory of its own which, however, must have been very small (Hdt. 9.25.3, cf. 6.108.6) bordering on Plataiai to the west (Hdt. 9.15.3, 25.3), Thebes to the north (Hdt. 6.108.6), Erythrai to the east (Hdt. 9.15.3) and Eleutherai to the south (Paus. 9.1.6). Later in C5 Hysiai seems to have been a member of the *sympoliteia* led by Plataiai (*Hell. Oxy.* 19.3) and must accordingly have been a part of Plataiïs (cf. Paus. 9.2.1).

A cult of Demeter is attested in inscriptions (*IG* VII 1670–71 (both C5e)) and in the sources for the battle of Plataiai, in which the sanctuary is described as that of Demeter Eleusinia (Hdt. 9.57.2, 62.2, 65.2, 69.1; Plut. *Arist.* 11.6; Paus. 9.4.3; Schachter (1981–94) i. 152–54). Pritchett (1979) associated the sanctuary with some remains of C5e found in the plain near modern Pantanassa, but a location on the hills just north of modern Kriekouki was suggested by Wallace (1985) 97–99. Of the settlement itself, remains of a circuit wall (undated) could still be seen at Kriekouki in the early twentieth century (Fossey (1988) 113), and there are pottery and small finds of the Archaic and Classical periods (ibid. 114).

209. Kopai (Kopaieus) Map 55. Lat. 38.30, long. 23.10. Size of territory: 3. Type: [A]. The toponym *Κῶπαι, αἱ* is attested in literary sources only (Hom. *Il.* 2.502; *Hell. Oxy.* 19.3, where it denotes the polity). The city-ethnic is *Κωπαιεύς* (Thuc. 4.93.4; *IG* VII 4149.15 (C1f)) or *Κωπαῖος* (Head, *HN*² 344 (C4f)) or *Κωπῆος* (*IG* VII 2792 (C4s)), which is the more common form in Boiotian inscriptions (Fossey in *LCM* 10 (1985) 39).

Kopai is listed as one of the Boiotian *poleis* in Thucydides' description of the battle of Delion (4.91.1, 93.4) and in the Oxyrhynchus historian's account of the federal constitution (*Hell. Oxy.* 19.3), both passages using *polis* in the political sense.

The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested externally on a C4s boundary stone (*IG* VII 2792) and internally on the reverse of a coin of C4f (*ΚΩΠΑΙΩΝ*: Head, *HN*² 344); the individual use is attested externally in a list of *aphedriateuontes*: *Ἀρισστοκράτιος* [*Ἐμ*]*τέδωνος Κωτ*[*ή*]*ω* (*IG* VII 2724d.5 (*c.*240)) and internally in a Hellenistic grave epigram (*IG* VII 2796.1).

An inscription of *c.*315 cut in the rock near Vristika marked the border between Kopai and Akraiphia (no. 198) (*IG* VII 2792; *SEG* 36 411; Lauffer (1986) 136), and, similarly, a *horos* of the late Archaic period probably records the border between the two *poleis* (*SEG* 30 440). The size of the territory has been assessed at *c.*105 km² (Fossey (1988) 264).

In 395 Kopai was united with Akraiphia and Chaironeia (no. 201) and constituted one of the eleven Boiotian districts (*Hell. Oxy.* 19.3). The principal body of government was a *boule*, to which only propertied citizens were admitted (*Hell. Oxy.* 19.2, 3). There is no explicit evidence concerning the Second Federation, but Kopai was a member of the Third Federation (*IG* VII 2724d.5 (*c.*240)).

A temple of Demeter is mentioned in Pausanias' description of Kopai (9.24.1), and a cult of Demeter Tauropolos is attested in an undated inscription found in Kopai (*IG* VII 2793, now lost); the bull on the C4 coins of Kopai (*infra*) indicates that Demeter Tauropolos was worshipped in Kopai already in the Classical period (Schachter (1981–94) i. 154–55).

A line of an ashlar wall (presumably of C4s) and possibly the position of a tower can still be observed (Fossey (1988) 278). The settlement is supposed to have covered *c.*23 ha (Bintliff (1997*a*) 244); it can be traced back to the Neolithic period, and there are remains of the Geometric, Archaic and Classical periods (Fossey (1988) 279).

Kopai struck silver obols on the Aiginetan standard and bronze coins between 386 (or earlier) and 374 (or later). (1) Silver: *obv.* Boiotian shield; *rev.* forepart of bull. Legend: *ΚΩΠΑΙΩΝ*. (2) Bronze: *obv.* Boiotian shield; *rev.* head of bull. Legend: *ΚΩ* (Head, *HN*² 344).

210. Koroneia (Koroneus) Map 55. Lat. 38.25, long. 22.55. Size of territory: 2. Type: A. The toponym is *Κορώνεια, ἡ* (Hom. *Il.* 2.503; Thuc. 1.113.2; *IG* II² 5222 (394); *SEG* 19 363 (C4s)), but a C6 dedication in Olympia has *Ϙορόνεια* (*LSAG* 93 and 95 no. 11). The toponym denotes either the town (*IG* IV².1 94.a.7) or the polity (Dem. 19.325) or the territory (*IG* II² 5222.VII.1 (394)). In most literary sources the city-ethnic is *Κορωναῖος* (Hdt. 5.79.2; Thuc. 4.93.4), but in inscriptions and some literary sources it is *Κορωνεύς* (Lazzarini (1976) 916; *CID* II 74.1.50 (337/6); *Hell. Oxy.* 19.3); once it is *Κορώνιος* (Strabo 9.2.29). Again, [*Ϙο*]*ρονε*[*ῆς*] has been restored on a C6l helmet dedicated to Olympian Zeus (*SEG* 42 381), and the oldest coins (500–480) are marked with a *Ϙ*, whereas the coins of the next series (from *c.*456–446) have the legend *KOPO* (Head, *HN*² 345).

Koroneia is perhaps called a *polis* in the urban sense by Hecat. fr. 117 (= Steph. Byz. 377.12, where Hekataios is quoted for the toponym but not necessarily for the site-classification). Koroneia is called a *polis* in the political sense in Thucydides' description of the battle of Delion (4.91.1, 93.4) and in the Oxyrhynchus historian's description of the Boiotian constitution (*Hell. Oxy.* 19.3).

The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally in abbreviated form on coins (*infra*) and externally in a C6 dedication in Thebes (Lazzarini (1976) 916) as well as in literary sources (Hdt. 5.79.2; Thuc. 4.93.4). The individual use is attested internally in a list of victors at the Pamboiotia (*SEG* 26 551 (C3s)) and externally in a sepulchral inscription from Thespiai: *Εὐκράτη Κορωνεῦ χαῖρε* (*IG* VII 2114 = *Choix* 49 (Hellenistic)).

The territory was called *Κορώνεια* (Thuc. 1.113.2; Arist. *Mir. ausc.* 842ᵇ3) or *ἡ Κορωνειακή* (Strabo 9.2.19, 28). The territory comprised Hermaion (a valley), Metachoion (a fortress between Koroneia and Orchomenos (no. 213), Ephor. fr. 94a), the sanctuary of Athena Itonia (Strabo 9.2.29; schol. Ap. Rhod. 1.551a) and Alalkomenai (no. 199) (Schachter (1981–94) i. 113). Its size has been assessed at *c.*95 km² (Fossey (1988) 322). Together with Haliartos (no. 206) and Lebadeia (no. 211), Koroneia constituted one of the eleven Boiotian districts (*Hell. Oxy.* 19.3). The principal body of government was a *boule*, to which only propertied citizens were admitted (*Hell. Oxy.* 19.2, 3).

Koroneia was allied with Thebes in 506 and earlier (Hdt. 5.79.2). The city was a member of the First Federation (*Hell. Oxy.* 19.3–4), the Second Federation (Diod. 16.35.3) and the Third Federation (*CID* II 74.50). A citizen of Koroneia was appointed *proxenos* by Delphi (no. 177) (*F.Delphes* III.3 102 (C4l)). In 359 a *theorodokos* was appointed to host *theoroi* from Epidauros (no. 348) (*IG* IV².1 94.a.7).

The protecting god of Koroneia was Athena Itonia, whose sanctuary seems to have been located just to the north of the acropolis (Alc. fr. 325; Bacchyl. fr. 15; Schachter (1981–94) i.

117–27), where excavations have uncovered the foundations of three buildings that can be traced back to C6 (Fossey (1988) 326). The cult is attested on a C6 lekane (Brit. Mus. B80) depicting Athena, her priestess and a serpentine consort, later identified with the chthonic Zeus. Her festival included hippic competitions (Pind. *Parth.* 2.46–49). The pan-Boiotian festival postdates the Classical period. Another important deity at Koroneia was Herakles Charops (Schachter (1981–94) ii. 3–10), whose sanctuary was close to and possibly shared with Zeus Laphystios (*SEG* 23 297.6–7; Schachter (1981–94) iii. 104–6). In inscriptions of C4–C3 is attested a cult of Demeter Thesmophoros (*IG* VII 2876; Schachter (1981–94) i. 155).

In 353/2 Koroneia was conquered by Onomarchos (Ephor. fr. 94a; Diod. 16.35.3) and became a Phokian stronghold (Dem. 19.148; Diod. 16.58.1) until 346, when Philip had the city handed over to the Thebans (Dem. 5.22, 6.13), who exposed it to an *andrapodismos* (Dem. 19.112, 325); but shortly afterwards Koroneia must have been resettled, since in 337/6 one of the Boiotian *tamiai* in Delphi was a Koroneian citizen (*CID* II 74.50).

Koroneia was a walled city when conquered by the Phokians in 353 (Ephor. fr. 94a; Diod. 16.58.1). There are remains of an undated polygonal circuit around the acropolis, enclosing an area of 38 ha (Fossey (1988) 325–26, letter of Jan. 1995); another circuit of unknown date enclosing the lower town could still be seen in the nineteenth century (Frazer (1898) v. 70). The settlement is supposed to have covered *c.*94 ha (Bintliff (1997*a*) 244); it can be traced back to the Neolithic period, and there are remains of the Geometric, Archaic and Classical periods (Fossey (1988) 326). The site of a possible theatre and above it remains of a Doric temple were noted by early travellers (Fossey (1988) 325).

Koroneia struck silver coins on the Aiginetan standard *c.*500–480, *c.*456–446 and in C5l–C4f, and bronze coins *c.*338–315. (1) Silver, *c.*500–480, denominations: drachm, obol, hemiobol, tetartemorion; *obv.* Boiotian shield; *rev.* letter ♀ in mill-sail or incuse square. (2) Silver, *c.*456–446, denomination: hemidrachm; *obv.* Boiotian shield; *rev.* Gorgon head. Legend: *KOPO*. (3) Silver, C5l–C4f, denominations: hemidrachm, obol; *obv.* Boiotian shield; *rev.* head of Athena Itonia or Gorgoneion. Legend: *KO* or *KOP* or *KOPO*. (4) Bronze, 338–315; *obv.* Boiotian shield; *rev.* legend: *KOP* in concave field (Head (1881) 14, 26, 45; *HN*² 345; Kraay (1976) 110–11; Schachter (1989) 85; *SNG Cop. Boeotia* 182–86).

211. Lebadeia (Lebadeus) Map 55. Lat. 38.25, long. 22.50. Size of territory: 2. Type: A. The toponym is Λεβάδεια, ἡ (Hdt 8.134.1; *IG* VII 3083.4–5 (C3s)), denoting either the town (*IG* IV².1 94.a.9; Theophr. *Hist. pl.* 4.11.8) or the territory (Xen. *Mem.* 3.5.4). According to Paus. 9.39.1, the original toponym was *Μίδεια*, mentioned in the Homeric Catalogue of Ships (Hom. *Il.* 2.507). The city-ethnic is Λεβαδεύς (*Hell. Oxy.* 19.3; *CID* II 102.1.11 (324/3)) or, once, Λεπαδεύς (*IG* XII.5 542.25 (C4m)), but in some Boiotian inscriptions it is Λεβαδειῆος (*IG* VII 3068.1 = Michel 635 (C3)).

Lebadeia is called a *polis* in the political sense at *Hell. Oxy* 19.3 and in a sacred law of C4m (*IG* VII 3055). The formula [τᾶς πόλιος τᾶς]Λεβαδε[ι]α[ί]ω[ν] is restored in *IG* VII 3086 of *c.*400, but see Schachter (1981–94) iii. 76 n.1.

The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally in a sacred law (*IG* VII 3055 (C4s); Schachter (1981–94) iii. 86–88) and externally in *Hell. Oxy.* 19.3. For the individual and external use, see *IG* XII.5 542.25 (C4m), a Karthaian *proxenos*, or *CID* II 102.1.11: Σωκράτε[ος Λ]εβαδειέο[ς], *hieromnemon* in 324/3.

The territory was called Λεβάδεια (Cratinus fr. 220; Xen. *Mem.* 3.5.4; Theophr. *Hist. pl.* 4.11.8) or ἡ Λεβαδιακή (Arist. *Hist. an.* 606ª1). Together with Koroneia (no. 210) and Haliartos (no. 206), Lebadeia constituted one of the eleven Boiotian districts (*Hell. Oxy.* 19.3). A *horos* of C4–C3 found some 4 km south-east of Lebadeia marks the border between Lebadeia and Koroneia (*SEG* 23 297). To the north-east Lebadeia bordered on the territory of Orchomenos (no. 213) (Arist. *Hist. an.* 606ª1, a passage which shows that Lake Kopais in C4 was considerably smaller than indicated in *Barr.*; cf. also Lauffer (1986) 136). The adjoining city to the north was Chaironeia (no. 201) (Plut. *Mor.* 849A (rC4)). The size of the territory has been assessed at *c.*95 km² (Fossey (1988) 322, 342).

Lebadeia was a member of the First Federation (*Hell. Oxy.* 19.3), and the principal body of government was a *boule*, to which only propertied citizens were admitted (*Hell. Oxy.* 19.2, 3). The city was sacked by Lysandros in 395 (Plut. *Lys.* 28.2). The city must have been a member of the Second Federation as well, since the *panegyris* celebrating the Boiotian victory at Leuktra took place in Lebadeia (*infra*), and the attestation of a *hieromnemon* in 324/3 testifies to membership of the Third Federation (*CID* II 102.1.11). *Theorodokoi* were appointed *c.*400 to host *theoroi* from Delphi (no. 177) (*Syll.*³ 90.14–15), and in 359 to host *theoroi* from Epidauros (no. 348) (restored in *IG* IV².1 94.a.9).

Lebadeia was famous for its oracle of Trophonios, with his brother Agamedes the mythical architect of Apollo's temple at Delphi (*Hymn. Hom. Ap.* 296). In his subterranean cave just outside Lebadeia, Trophonios was consulted

allegedly by Kroisos of Lydia (Hdt. 1.46.2) and Mys of Persia (Hdt. 8.134.1), and certainly in C4m by King Amyntas of Macedon (*IG* VII 3055.7–8). The cult is attested from C6 to the end of Antiquity (*IG* VII 3055: a sacred law of C4m regulating the consultations; Eur. *Ion* 300–2, 404–9; Paus. 9.39.2–14; Schachter (1991–94) iii. 66–89).

The protecting god of Lebadeia was probably Zeus Basileus and, allegedly following an oracle of Trophonios given before the battle of Leuktra in 371, a pan-Boiotian festival was set up at Lebadeia in honour of Zeus Basileus (Diod. 15.53.4). The festival was held under Theban sponsorship to celebrate their victory and included gymnic and hippic competitions (*IG* VII 552, 2532; *SEG* 23 332 (all C4m); Schachter (1981–94) iii. 109–18).

The city of Lebadeia was situated on the eastern bank of the river Herkyna (Paus. 9.39.2) beneath the modern city. The size of the city is still unknown (Bintliff (1997*a*) 231), and so far no traces of an ancient defence circuit have been found. Excavations have revealed some remains of C4 monumental buildings including a stoa and a temple of the Megale Meter (Fossey (1988) 345; Schachter (1981–94) ii. 127–30; Turner (1994)). To the west of the river Herkyna were the famous oracle of Trophonios and the sanctuary of Zeus Basileios with a Doric temple, of which there are still some remains, presumably dating from C3 (Fossey (1988) 345; Schachter (1981–94) iv. 112–13).

Lebadeia struck silver diobols on the Aiginetan standard from *c.*386 (or earlier) to 374 (or later) and bronze coins from *c.*338 to 315. (1) Silver: *obv.* Boiotian shield; *rev.* thunderbolt. Legend: ΛΕΒΑ. (2) Bronze: *obv.* Boiotian shield; *rev.* legend: ΛΕΒ in concave field (Head, *HN*² 346).

212. Mykalessos (Mykalessios) Map 55. Lat. 38.25, long. 23.30. Size of territory: 2? Type: A. The toponym is Μυκαλησσός, ἡ (Hom. *Il.* 2.498; Thuc. 7.29.2–3), denoting either the town (Thuc. 7.29.3–4) or the polity (Thuc. 7.30.3) or the territory (Hom. *Il.* 2.498). The city-ethnic is Μυκαλήσσιος (Thuc. 7.30.3). Neither the toponym nor the city-ethnic is attested in epigraphical sources.

Mykalessos is called a *polis* both in the urban and in the political sense by Thuc. 7.29–30. According to Strabo it was a *kome* (9.2.11, 14), whereas Paus. 9.19.4, retrospectively, describes Mykalessos as the ruins of a *polis*.

The collective form of the city-ethnic is attested internally in abbreviated form on coins (*infra*) and externally in Thuc. 7.30.3, paraphrased by Pausanias at 1.23.3.

In the Hellenistic and Roman periods Mykalessos was located in the territory of Tanagra (no. 220) (Strabo 9.2.11, 14; Paus. 9.19.8), and that seems to have been the case already in C5e (Fossey (1988) 83–84, 222–23; Hansen (1995*a*) 36–37). Within the Tanagraian territory, however, Mykalessos had its own territory, called Μυκαλησσός, which seems to have stretched as far as the Euboian Gulf (Paus. 9.19.5; Bakhuizen (1970) 20–21, 148–49), and so its area must be assessed as at least 50 and perhaps more than 100 km².

In 413 the city was sacked by Thrakian mercenaries, and a large part of the population was killed (Thuc. 7.29–30). Mykalessos was walled, but the circuit was not very high, and parts of it had collapsed (Thuc. 7.29.3). The wall reported by Lolling (1989) 508 may have been the remains of a circuit (Fossey (1988) 80–81). Thucydides describes Mykalessos as a small *polis*, and apart from houses the only buildings mentioned are some sanctuaries and a school (Thuc. 7.29.4–5). At the site are remains of an undated circuit wall in polygonal masonry and considerable architectural fragments. The settlement can be traced back to EH II and there are remains of the Archaic and Classical periods (Fossey (1988) 80–83). The large cemetery testifies to a peak of population in C6s (Ure (1940); Sparkes (1967) 128–30).

Mykalessos struck silver coins on the Aiginetan standard from *c.*500 to 480 and from 386 (or earlier) to 374 (or later). (1) *c.*500–480, denominations: stater, drachm, hemiobol; *obv.* Boiotian shield; *rev.* letter Μ in mill-sail or incuse square. (2) C5l–C4f, denominations: obol, hemiobol, tetartemorion, 1/8 obol; *obv.* Boiotian shield; *rev.* thunderbolt (some). Legend: Μ or ΜΥ (Head (1881) 47, *HN*² 346; Kraay (1976) 110; Schachter (1989) 85; *SNG. Cop. Boeotia* 190–91).

213. Orchomenos (Orchomenios) Map 55. Lat. 38.30, long. 23.00. Size of territory: 3. Type: A. The toponym is Ὀρχομενός, ὁ (Hom. *Il.* 2.511; Thuc. 3.87.4) or, in the Boiotian dialect, Ἐρχομενός (*LSAG* 93 and 95 no. 17 (*c.*475–450?)). The toponym denotes either the town (*IG* IV².1 94.a.8) or the polity (Dem. 19.325) or the territory (Thuc. 1.113.2). The city-ethnic is Ὀρχομένιος (Hdt. 9.16.1; *CID* II 74.I.36), but in Boiotian inscriptions almost always Ἐρχομένιος (*LSAG* 93 and 95 no. 11 (C6m)) and only occasionally Ὀρχομένιος (both forms are attested in *IG* VII 3172.17, 51–52 (223)).

Orchomenos is called a *polis* in the urban sense (Dem. 16.25 and implicitly in Ps.-Skylax 59), in the political sense (Thuc. 4.91.1, 93.4; *Hell. Oxy.* 19.2–3) and in the territorial sense (Pind. fr. 333.a.8, Maehler).

The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally in an abbreviated form on coins (*infra*) and externally on a

C6m helmet at Olympia commemorating a victory over Koroneia (no. 210) (*LSAG* 93 and 95 no. 11). For the individual and external use, see *Νικίας Ἑρμαίου Ἐρχομένιος* (*IG* II² 10036 (410–390)). See also in the C5 dedication from Delphi: [*Ἐ*]*πίδδαλος . . . Βοιότιος ἐχς Ἐρχ*[*ομενῶ*] (*LSAG* 93 and 95 no. 17 (*c.*475–450)).

The territory was called *γῆ ἡ Ὀρχομενίων* (Hdt. 8.34) or *ἡ Ὀρχομενία* (Theophr. *Hist. pl.* 9.13.1; Strabo 9.2.19) or *ἡ Ὀρχομενός* (Thuc. 1.113.2). (When denoting the city, the gender of the toponym is invariably masculine—the exception is Apol. Rhod. *Arg.* 4.257—thus *ἡ Ὀρχομενός* probably denotes the territory of Orchomenos with either *γῆ* or *χώρα* implied.)

To the north, Orchomenos bordered on Phokis and included Aspledon (Paus. 9.38.9), Kyrtone and Korseia (Paus. 9.39.1; cf. Etienne and Knoepfler (1976) 196) and Tegyra (Plut. *Pelop.* 16.1–3). To the south Orchomenos bordered on the territory of Lebadeia (no. 211) (Arist. *Hist. an.* 605ᵇ31; Paus. 9.39.1). Down to *c.*400 the territory of Orchomenos seems to have included Chaironeia (no. 201) (Hdt. 8.34.1; Thuc. 4.76.3; Theopomp. fr. 407), and after 457 Chaironeia and Orchomenos served as a refuge for oligarchs from the other Boiotian *poleis* (Hellan. fr. 81). But Chaironeia became free of Orchomenos at some time after 424 (Thuc. 4.76.3, 93.4) but before 395 (*Hell. Oxy.* 19.3). The size of the territory has been assessed at *c.*105 km² (Fossey (1988) 342); including Kyrtone and Korseia it was *c.*150 km. Together with Hyettos (no. 207), Orchomenos constituted two of the eleven Boiotian districts (*Hell. Oxy.* 19.3).

In the Catalogue of Ships Orchomenos is called *Μινύειος* and is not a part of Boiotia (Hom. *Il.* 2.511; cf. Thuc. 4.76.3). According to this tradition, Orchomenos and the Minyans had once ruled Boiotia and received tribute from the Boiotian cities (Isoc. 14.10; Diod. 15.79.5). On the Bronze Age palace and Mycenaean remains in Orchomenos, see Hiller (1989).

Orchomenos was a member of the First Federation, and, together with Hyettos, supplied two of the eleven Boiotarchs (*Hell. Oxy.* 19.3); but in 395 at the outbreak of the Corinthian War the Orchomenians joined Sparta and defected from the Federation (Xen. *Hell.* 3.5.6). The city was garrisoned by the Spartans from 395 to 375 or even later (Xen. *Hell.* 4.3.15, 5.1.29; Diod. 15.37.1), and the war between Thebes and Orchomenos went on until 371 (Xen. *Hell.* 6.4.10). In 370, however, Orchomenos was forced to rejoin the Boiotian Federation (Diod. 15.57.1), apparently without any representation in the federal government (only seven Boiotarchs in 365: *SEG* 34 355). An abortive *coup d'état* planned by the Orchomenian knights in collusion with some Theban exiles resulted in a Theban attack on Orchomenos in 364. The city was conquered, destroyed and exposed to an *andrapodismos* by which all men were killed while women and children were sold into slavery (Diod. 15.79.3–6; Dem. 16.4, 16.25, 20.109). But the site was not abandoned: and in 359 an Orchomenian *theorodokos* was appointed to host a *theoros* from Epidauros (no. 348) (*IG* IV².1 94.a.8). So in 364 Orchomenos must have been given to settlers who were loyal to Thebes. In 354 Orchomenos was conquered by Onomarchos (Diod. 16.33.4; Buckler (1989) 56) and occupied by the Phokians until their capitulation in the summer of 346 (Dem. 19.148; Aeschin. 2.141; Diod. 16.58.1). During the Phokian occupation the city was resettled by some Orchomenians, probably those who had escaped the *andrapodismos* of 364 (Aeschin. 2.141; Dem. 16.25; schol. Dem. 6.13, 21, Dilts). After the peace with the Phokians, Philip surrendered Orchomenos to the Thebans (Dem. 5.21–22), and the city seems to have suffered yet another *andrapodismos* (Dem. 19.112, 141, 325). When the Thebans had been defeated at Chaironeia, however, Orchomenos was refounded, this time with Philip's support, and the city was given back to the surviving Orchomenians (Paus. 4.27.10, 9.37.8); it joined the Federation again, and in 337/6 one of the Boiotian *hieromnemones* at Delphi was an Orchomenian (*CID* II 74.I.36, II.27). After the destruction of Thebes in 335, Orchomenos became once again a walled city (Arr. *Anab.* 1.9.10).

Orchomenos was a member of the Kalaurian Amphiktyony (Strabo 8.6.14; Schachter (1981–94) ii. 213–14; Tausend (1992) 12–13). In 452 Orchomenos may have been a member of the Delian League (*IG* I³ 260.IX.9, as restored by D. Lewis; see *CAH* v. 50).

The constitution of Orchomenos was oligarchic (Thuc. 4.76.3; Diod. 15.79.3), and we hear about some Orchomenian exiles who in 424 planned to set up democracies in Siphai (no. 218) and Chaironeia (Thuc. 4.76.3; cf. Hansen (1995*a*) 22). The principal body of government was a *boule*, to which only propertied citizens were admitted (*Hell. Oxy.* 19.2, 3). The Aristotelian collection of *politeiai* included a *Constitution of the Orchomenians* (Arist. frr. 578–82). Pausanias' reference at 9.34.10 to two Orchomenian *phylai*, if trustworthy, must refer to his own day (Jones, *POAG* 78–79). Orchomenian citizens were appointed *proxenoi* by Delphi (no. 177) (*F.Delphes* III.4 394 (C4s, but heavily restored)).

The protecting god of Orchomenos was Zeus with various epithets, of which Karaios (*SEG* 32 478 (C4f)) and Soter (Tod 197 (330/29)) are attested in Classical sources

(Schachter (1981–94) iii. 120–24). Other major divinities attested in the Archaic and Classical periods are (a) the Charites (Pind. *Ol.* 14.3–4; Ephor. fr. 152), whose sanctuary according to Paus. 9.38.1 was the oldest in Orchomenos (Schachter (1981–94) i. 140–41); (b) Dionysos, whose sanctuary housed a cult image by Myron (Paus. 9.30.1 (rC5m)); musical contests are attested *c.*400 (Schachter (1981–94) i. 180 n. 2), and a biennial rite in which the priest of Dionysos pursued women in ritual flight (and if he caught one might kill her) must antedate the Classical period (Plut. *Mor.* 299F; Schachter (1981–94) i. 179–81). An extra-urban sanctuary of the Classical period *c.*3.5 km north of Orchomenos has been assigned to Dionysos (Schachter (1981–94) i. 181). Asopichos of Orchomenos is recorded as victor in the Olympic Games of 488 (Pind. *Ol.* 14; *Olympionikai* 182).

The only explicit reference in written sources to walls is ὠχυρωμένος at Diod. 16.58.1, which shows that Orchomenos was fortified during the Phokian occupation, 353–346. Substantial remains of a polygonal and irregular trapezoidal wall enclose the acropolis and the western part of the town; it is crowned by a keep of ashlar masonry. The existing walls enclose an area of less than 40 ha, but the lower city must have extended further to the south, and the settlement may have covered altogether *c.*90 ha (Bintliff (1997*a*) 243). The date of the wall is disputed. Fossey (1988) 353 suggests the Archaic period for the polygonal masonry and the Classical for the ashlar; Scranton (1941) prefers C4m, whereas Lauffer (1974) 297–99 prefers to identify the remains with the walls erected in the 330s after the sack of Thebes in 335 (Arr. *Anab.* 1.9.10). For the Archaic and Classical periods the degree of urbanisation is virtually unknown, partly because the Classical remains were destroyed by the later Byzantine occupation and partly because the relevant material from Bulle's excavations was never published (Lauffer (1974) 311). Remains have been found of Archaic temples, one of them possibly the shrine of the Charites or of Dionysos (Fossey (1988) 354), and a theatre of C4s (Spyropoulos in *AR* 20 (1973–74) 20), apparently dedicated to the Charites (*BCH* 98 (1974) 224; Isler (1994) 268). The settlement can be traced back to the Neolithic period, and there are remains of the Geometric, Archaic and Classical periods (Fossey (1988) 353–59).

Orchomenos struck silver coins on the Aiginetan standard from *c.*500 to 480 and from *c.*400 (or earlier, *supra* 432) to 374 (or later), and bronze coins *c.*338–315. (1) Silver, *c.*500–480, denominations: obol, tritartemorion, hemiobol; *obv.* incuse; *rev.* sprouting corn-grain. Legend (on *obv.* or *rev.*): *E* or *EP*. (2) Silver, C5l–C4f: (a) denominations stater, hemidrachm; *obv.* Boiotian shield; *rev.* running horse or amphora. Legend: *EP*, *EPX* or *EPXO*. (b) Denominations tritartemorion, hemiobol, tetartemorion; *obv.* sprouting grain of corn; *rev.* horse or wreath or ear of corn. Legend (on *obv.* or *rev.*): *EP*. (3) Bronze, *c.*338–315, *obv.* Boiotian shield; *rev.* legend: *OPX* in concave field (Head (1881) 18–19, 48–49, 79, *HN*² 346–47; Kraay (1976) 110; Schachter (1989) 85; *SNG Cop. Boeotia* 192–208).

214. Oropos (Oropios) Map 55. Lat. 38.20, long. 23.45. Size of territory: 3. Type: B. The toponym is Ὠρωπός, ὁ (Hdt. 6.101.1; Dem. 16.11; *SEG* 19 363 (C4s); *SEG* 3 117.14 (303/2)), or, once, ἡ (Steph. Byz. 601.3) denoting either the town (Thuc. 8.60.1) or the territory (Hyp. 3.16). The city-ethnic is Ὠρώπιος (Thuc. 2.23.3; *I.Oropos* 1–2 = *IG* VII 4250–51 = RO 75 A–B (338–335); cf. Rhodes, *DGS* 116).

All attestations of Oropos as a *polis* are Hellenistic. Oropos is called a *polis* in the urban sense by Heracl. Cret. 7 (*GGM* 1.100 (C3s)) and in the political sense by Diod. 14.17.3 (rC4), and in some citizenship decrees of 322–312 (*I.Oropos* 4.7–8, 5.8–9, 6.9–10 = *IG* VII 4256–57 and *SEG* 15.264 (all C4l)).

The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally in two proxeny decrees of C4m (*I.Oropos* 1–2) and externally in many literary sources (Thuc. 2.23.3; Isoc. 14.20). The individual use of the city-ethnic is attested internally in a sepulchral inscription of C2 (*SEG* 15 303) and externally in an Attic naval catalogue of C5l (*IG* I³ 1032.170) and in a list of *aphedriateuontes* of 312–304: [*K*]ρατύλλω Ἀμφιδαμίω Ὠρωπίω (*IG* VII 2724a.5 (*c.*280–270)).

The name of the territory is Ὠρωπία (Thuc. 4.99.1) or Ὠρωπός (Hyp. 3.16), ὁ (Steph. Byz. 711.2) or ἡ (Steph. Byz. 601.3). It is sometimes referred to as being contiguous with Boiotia (*SEG* 37 100.142 (*c.*330)) and sometimes as being part of Boiotia (Paus. 1.34.1). Thucydides' account of the aftermath of the battle of Delion shows that Oropos was a border district between Attika and Boiotia (Thuc. 4.99.1). The size of the territory has been assessed at *c.*110 km² (Fossey (1988) 28). A survey has been conducted in the territory (Cosmopoulos (2001)).

According to the Boiotian historian Nikokrates (*FGrHist* 376) fr. 1, Oropos was originally a colony of Eretria (no. 370), and this piece of information is supported by a study of the local dialect, which was neither Boiotian nor Attic but a form of Ionic very close to that spoken by the Eretrians (Wilamowitz-Möllendorff (1886) 97–103). Oropos fell to Athens probably after 507/6 (since the settlement did not become an Attic deme), perhaps before 490 (Hdt. 6.101.1),

but perhaps only after the Persian destruction of Eretria (Knoepfler (1985) 52). During most of C5 Oropos was an Athenian dependency (Thuc. 2.23.3), but in 412/11 the city was conquered by the Boiotians, assisted by some Oropians (Thuc. 8.60.1; Gehrke, *Stasis* 125), and enjoyed a short period of independence (Lys. 31.9) until 402, when the losing side in a civil war appealed to Thebes. The Thebans captured the city and forced its population to leave their settlement on the coast and move 7 stades inland. The Oropians were first allowed to retain their political institutions, probably as a Theban dependency, but after a few years Oropos was annexed to the Boiotian Federation and all Oropians were made citizens of Thebes (Diod. 14.17.1–3; Theopomp. fr. 12). When the Boiotian federation was dissolved in 386 after the King's Peace, Oropos must have regained its independence, but some time between 375 and 373 the Oropians preferred to join Athens once again rather than be forced by Thebes to join the new Boiotian Federation (Isoc. 14.20, 37; Knoepfler (1986*b*) 90–93; *SEG* 36 442). Already in 366 (Diod. 15.76.1), however, Oropos was captured by the Eretrian tyrants (Aeschin. 3.85; Dem. 18.99). Faced with the threat of a major Athenian attack, they agreed to hand over Oropos to the Thebans and submit to international arbitration. The Thebans garrisoned the city, but the arbitration came to nothing, and Thebes annexed Oropos once again (Xen. *Hell.* 7.4.1; Diod. 15.76.1; schol. Dem. 18.99, 176, Dilts; 21.64, 204, Dilts). Two proxeny decrees passed by the Oropians in their *ekklesia* (RO 75 A–B) in probably 359/8 (Coulton (1968) 182) strongly suggest that Oropos, though depending on Thebes, was still a *polis*, and not just a municipality (Hansen (1995*a*) 39). After the defeat at Chaironeia, Oropos was transferred to Athens, perhaps already by Philip in 338 (Paus. 1.34.1; schol. Dem. 18.99, 176, Dilts; Robert (1960) 195), perhaps only in 335 after Alexander's destruction of Thebes (Knoepfler (1993) 295). During this period Oropos was ruled by a *demarchos* (*IG* II² 1672.272–3). Oropos regained its independence in 322, had it confirmed in 319 (Diod. 18.56.6), but became a member of the Third Boiotian Federation in the years 312–304 (Diod. 19.78.3; *IG* VII 2724a.5 (*c.*280–270)). In C4s Oropos awarded *proxenia* to a member of the Makedonian royal family and to a Makedonian nobleman (*I.Oropos* 1–2).

Remains of an undated fortification wall enclosing the acropolis are still visible along the west side, but only as a fall in the land with some debris. All remains of ancient structures have disappeared (Fossey (1988) 30 and letter of Jan. 1995).

Oropos was famous for its sanctuary of Amphiaraos situated east of the city. The Amphiareion was originally an underground oracle, allegedly consulted by Kroisos of Lydia (Hdt. 1.46.2) and by Mys of Persia (Hdt. 8.134), in C4s by Euxenippos on behalf of the Athenian *polis* (Hyp. 3.14–17). It was rebuilt and reorganised in C5s as a predominantly iatromantic sanctuary (Ar. fr. 21, *PCG*) administered by a *hiereus* and a *neokoros* (*I.Oropos* 276–77 (C4f); Schachter (1981–94) i. 19–26; Petrakos (1968) 61–129). The visible remains are mostly of C5l–C4s, and include a temple, an altar, separate baths for men and women, a small theatre, a Doric stoa and a larger theatre behind the stoa (*I.Oropos* 290–93 (C4s); Petrakos (1974) 26–57; Travlos (1988) 301–18).

In 329/8 the Athenians instituted the Great Amphiaraia as a Panhellenic quadrennial festival with competitions in athletics and music (*I.Oropos* 298). A contemporary list of victors records participants from, e.g. Sinope (no. 729), Kolophon (no. 848), Argos (no. 347) and Thebes (no. 221) in addition to numerous Athenians (no. 361) (*IG* VII 414 = *I.Oropos* 520; cf. Knoepfler (1993)).

215. Pharai Map 55. Lat. 38.20, long. 23.40. Size of territory: 1? Type: B. The toponym is Φαραί, αἱ, attested in Strabo 9.2.14 and Steph. Byz. 658.5 but not in any other source. The full form of the city-ethnic is unknown since it is attested only in the abbreviated form ΦΑ on the reverse of some coins of C4e (*infra*). The identification of Pharai with modern Ag. Pandeleimon is uncertain (Fossey (1988) 96; *Barr.*).

Pharai is not called a *polis* in any extant source, but the existence of a C4 mint strongly suggests that it must have been a *polis*, at least in the period after the King's Peace of 386.

According to Strabo (9.2.14–15), Pharai, Heleon, Harma and Mykalessos (no. 212) formed a τετρακωμία which lay in the territory of Tanagra (no. 220). All sherds and tombs found in the area date from the Archaic and Classical periods (Fossey (1988) 97).

Pharai struck silver obols on the Aiginetan standard between *c.*386 (or earlier) and 374 (or later): *obv.* Boiotian shield; *rev.* amphora. Legend: ΦΑ (Head, *HN*² 347; *SNG Cop. Boeotia* 211). On the Archaic issues traditionally assigned to Pharai, see s.v. Thespiai (no. 222).

216. Plataiai (Plataieus) Map 55. Lat. 38.15, long. 23.15. Size of territory: 3. Type: A. The toponym is Πλαταιαί, αἱ (RO 88.34–35 (C4m); *IG* IV².1 629 (C2); Hdt. 9.25.2), but some authors use the singular: Πλάταια, ἡ (Hom. *Il* 2.504; Thuc. 2.2.1 *et alibi*). The toponym denotes either the town (Thuc. 2.2.1) or the polity (Thuc. 2.2.3) or the territory (Xen. *Hell.* 5.4.48). The city-ethnic is Πλαταιεύς (ML 27.6 (479); *SEG* 9 2.44 (C4s); *IG* VII 1664.2–3 (C3); Hdt. 8.44.1; Thuc.

2.3.1; Lys. 23.2), and the *ktetikon* Πλαταικός is used as an ethnic only in the feminine (*IG* II² 10096 (C4m)); for one possible exception, see Aeschin. 3.162.

Plataiai is called a *polis* both in the urban sense (Hdt. 8.50.2; Thuc. 2.5.4, 3.68.3; Aen. Tact. 2.3) and in the political sense (Thuc. 2.2.2, 3.57.2; Isoc. 8.17, 14.1; Dem.16.25, 59.98); cf. *polites* at Thuc. 2.2.2, 3.65.3. At RO 88.34 (C4), *polis* is used in the urban and political senses simultaneously. The term ἄστυ is used by Hdt. 7.233.2.

The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally in abbreviated form on coins of C4e (*infra*; cf. also *IG* VII 1664.2–3 (C3)) and externally on the Serpent Column (ML 27.6 (479)). For the individual and external use, see, e.g. Ἐχίλαος Φιλωνίδου Πλαταιεύς in a Troizenian citizenship decree of 369 (*Syll.*³ 162.2–3 (369)). *Patris* is used about the community at Isoc. 14.13.

The name of the territory is γῆ Πλαταιίς (Thuc. 2.71.4); χώρα Πλαταιίς (Thuc. 3.58.5); Πλαταιᾶσιν (Thuc. 4.72.1); ἐν ταῖς Πλαταιαῖς (Xen. *Hell.* 5.4.48). In 506 the river Asopos was made the border between Plataiai and Thebes (Hdt. 6.108.6; Paus. 9.4.4). To the west Plataiai bordered on Thespiai (no. 222) (Hdt 8.50.2) and to the east on Hysiai (no. 208) (Hdt. 6.108.6), which was then a part of Attika (Hdt. 5.74.2). The size of the territory has been assessed at *c.*170 km² (Fossey (1988) 100). It is debated whether Plataiai too was a part of Attika from 519 onwards (for: Badian (1993) 117; against: Hammond (1992) 145). But at least from 479 Plataiai was a part of Boiotia. Plataiïs came to constitute two of the eleven Boiotian districts and included the small towns in the Parasopia which by then had entered into a *sympoliteia* with Plataiai; *viz.* Skolos (no. 219), Erythrai (no. 203), Eteonos/Skaphai (no. 204) and, undoubtedly, Hysiai (*Hell. Oxy.* 19.3). In 429 King Archidamos summoned the Plataians to show him the borders of Plataian territory (Thuc. 2.72.3). In 427/6 the territory was annexed by Thebes (Thuc. 3.68.2–3, 5.17.2).

Plataiai is described as a small town (Thuc. 2.77.2), and according to Poseidippos (fr. 29, C3e) it deserved to be called a *polis* only during the celebration of the Eleutheria (*infra*). Six hundred Plataian hoplites fought at Plataiai in 479 (Hdt. 9.28.6). When the Thebans made their nocturnal attack on Plataiai in 431, the urban population must have totalled at least some 2,000 persons (Thuc. 2.3.2; Hansen (1997) 27–28), and there were 400 to defend the city when the siege began in 429 (Thuc. 2.78.3).

In 519 (Thuc. 3.68.5; Hornblower (1991) 464–65) Plataiai entered into an alliance with Athens (Thuc. 2.73.3, 3.68.5; Hammond (1992) 144) whereby the Plataians were granted Athenian citizenship collectively (Thuc. 3.55.3, 63.2; Amit (1973) 75–78; Hornblower (1991) 449); the grant probably implied that a Plataian who moved to Athens was inscribed as a citizen without an individual decree passed by the people. The Plataians fought side by side with the Athenians at Marathon (Hdt. 6.108.1), and those who died in battle were buried with the Athenian (manumitted) slaves (Paus. 1.32.3; Hammond (1992) 147–50). In 480 the Persians occupied Plataiai, and destroyed the city by fire (Hdt. 8.50.2). Plataians fought in the battle of Plataiai in 479 (Hdt. 9.28.6), and after the battle Pausanias had all the victors take an oath that guaranteed the independence of the Plataian *polis* (Thuc. 2.71.2). At some time between the Persian and the Peloponnesian Wars, when the First Federation was organised as described by the Oxyrhynchus historian, Plataiai had some kind of *sympoliteia* with the small towns in the Parasopia, controlled two of the eleven districts of Boiotia, and provided two Boiotarchs (*Hell. Oxy.* 19.3; Kirsten (1950) 2302–3). It is apparent, however, from Thucydides' account (Thuc. 2.2.4, 3.65.2; Buck (1979) 153–54) that Plataiai had left the Federation when in the spring of 431 the city was attacked by the Thebans (Thuc. 2.2–6), assisted by some Plataian collaborators (Thuc. 2.2.2–3) of oligarchic convictions (Thuc. 3.65.2; Gehrke, *Stasis* 132).

During this period Plataiai was a democracy in which major decisions were made by the people in assembly (Thuc. 2.72.2; see Amit (1973) 66–71). In the years 429–427 Plataiai was besieged by the Lakedaimonians and the members of the Peloponnesian League (Thuc. 2.71–78, 3.20–24, 3.52–68). After its capture in 427, the men were killed, while the women were exposed to *andrapodismos* (Thuc. 3.68.2; Dem. 59.103). In 426 the city was razed to the ground (Thuc. 3.68.3) and settled by some Megarians plus a few Plataians who were loyal to Sparta (Thuc. 3.68.3). Some Plataian evacuees of 431 (Thuc. 2.6.4) and some who in 428 escaped the siege (Thuc. 3.24.2) were all granted Athenian citizenship (Dem. 59.103–4; Isoc. 12.94; Osborne (1982) D 1) and inscribed in the Attic tribes and demes (Lys. 23.2–3). After the destruction of Skione (no. 609) in 421, the Athenians gave the place to the Plataians (Thuc. 5.32.1), but many remained in Athens (Lys. 23.5–7). The Plataians were restored to their native city only after the King's Peace of 386 (Paus 9.1.4), and perhaps in connection with Sparta's occupation of the Kadmeia in 382 (Isoc. 14, hypoth.). They remained loyal to the Lakedaimonians after the liberation of Thebes in 379 (Xen. *Hell.* 5.4.14), and when the Thebans put pressure on the Plataians to join the Second Federation, they refused (Isoc. 14.8–9). As a result, Plataiai was conquered

and destroyed once again by the Thebans (Xen. *Hell.* 6.3.1, 3.5; Isoc. 14.1, 5, 7, 19, 35, 46), probably in 373 (Paus. 9.1.5–8; Tuplin (1986) 321 n. 2) rather than in 374 (Diod. 15.46.6). This time the Plataians were allowed to go into exile (Paus. 9.1.7). They found refuge in Athens once again, and had their previous grant of citizenship renewed (Diod. 15.46.6; cf. Isoc. 14.51–52). The town was still deserted and unfortified in 343 (Dem. 19.21, 112, 325), but the Plataians were repatriated by Philip II (Paus. 4.27.10, 9.1.8), undoubtedly in consequence of the peace of 338. They took an active part in the destruction of Thebes in 335 (Arr. *Anab.* 1.8.8; Diod. 17.13.5), whereupon the members of the Corinthian League decided to rebuild and refortify Plataiai (Arr. *Anab.* 1.9.10). Yet it may have taken another four years before the town and its walls were re-erected in 331 (Plut. *Alex.* 34.2, *Arist.* 11.9). Plataiai provided one of the *naopoioi* of 336/5 and must accordingly have joined the Boiotian Federation already before the destruction of Thebes (*CID* II 32.32). Plataiai is attested in 331 as providing one of the *hieromnemones* (*CID* II 86.13) and in C3e as providing one of the *aphedriateuontes*; it must accordingly have been a member of the Third Federation (*IG* VII 2724.5–6 (*c.*280–270)). Plataian citizens were appointed *proxenoi* by Aigina (no. 358) (Hdt. 9.85.3), Lakedaimon (no. 345) (Thuc. 3.52.5), and Chios (no. 840) (*PEP Chios* 50 (C4m)).

The protecting god of Plataiai was Hera (Plut. *Arist.* 18.1 (r479)), whose sanctuary before the destruction of Plataiai in 427 was outside the city (Hdt. 9.52.1), whereas the temple for Hera built by the Thebans in 427/6 was probably inside the walls alongside a new *katagogeion* measuring 200 × 200 feet (Thuc. 3.68.3). The goddess was worshipped by the Plataians at a festival called the "Little" Daidala. At irregular intervals were held the Greater Daidala, in which several Boiotian *poleis* participated—in the end perhaps all Boiotian *poleis*. The key features were a procession carrying a log dressed like a woman and a sacrifice in which the animals were burned up completely, together with the wooden altar on which they were placed (Paus. 9.2.7–3.9; Schachter (1981–94) i. 242–50). The hostel built by the Thebans indicates that the Daidala were an inter-*polis* festival already in C5s, and C6 terracotta figurines have been interpreted as evidence of the festival in the Archaic period (Schachter (1981–94) i. 244). What we know about the festival, however, belongs in the Hellenistic period (Knoepfler (2001*a*)). After the victory in 479 Pausanias made a sacrifice to Zeus Eleutherios in the agora of Plataiai (Thuc. 2.71.2–4), and thereafter the Plataians carried out annual rituals in honour of the fallen (Thuc. 3.58.4; Isoc. 14.61); but a regular cult of Zeus Eleutherios and the associated festival of Eleutheria were not instituted until C3 (Schachter (1981–94) iii. 124–43). The most famous temple in Plataiai was that of Athena Araia, with a cult image by Pheidias and paintings by Polygnotos and Onasias (Paus. 9.4.1–2; Plut. *Arist* 20.3).

Plataiai was a fortified city when attacked by Thebes in 431 (Thuc. 2.4.4, 75.4), but in 426 the walls were demolished (Thuc. 3.68.3), and were not re-erected until after the King's Peace of 386, now with Spartan help (Paus. 9.1.6). This circuit, however, was destroyed once again by the Thebans in 373 (Isoc. 14.19, 35; Dem. 6.30), and new walls were built only after the sack of Thebes in 335 (Arr. *Anab.* 1.9.10). Remains of all three phases are still to be seen: (1) Plataiai had no proper acropolis, but the oldest part of the settlement to the northwest, an area of 10 ha, was enclosed by a wall in Lesbian masonry—probably the one that was demolished in 426. (2) A new and much larger wall in polygonal masonry with interval towers enclosed an area of 80 ha. (3) Refounded in 335, the city was protected by a wall of coursed ashlar blocks enclosing an area of 70 ha (Fossey (1988) 102–7). The settlement can be traced back to the Neolithic period and there are remains of the Geometric, Archaic and Classical periods (Fossey (1988) 109). Traces of a (still undated) orthogonal town plan have been found in recent excavations (*AR* (1999–2000) 57).

Plataiai struck coins on the Aiginetan standard from *c.*386 (or earlier) to 374 (or later). Denominations: hemidrachm, diobol, obol; *obv.* Boiotian shield; *rev.* head of Hera. Legend: ΠΛΑ (Head, *HN*² 347; *SNG Cop. Boeotia* 212–14).

217. Potniai (Potnieus) Map 55. Lat. 38.20, long. 23.20. Size of territory: 1. Type: C. The toponym is Ποτνιαί, αἱ (*Hell.Oxy.* 20.3; Xen. *Hell.* 5.4.51). The city-ethnic is Ποτνιεύς (*ArchDelt* 3 (1917) 64 (C6)).

Potniai is called a *polis* in late sources only (Strabo 9.2.24; schol. Eur. *Or.* 317–18; Steph. Byz. 533.21), and Paus. 9.8.1 has just ἐρείπια. The reason for including Potniai in this inventory of *poleis* is the C6 attestation of a city-ethnic inscribed on a poros column drum dedicated to Apollo: [Ἀπόλ]λονι Ποτνιῆς (*ArchDelt* 3 (1917) 64; cf. Hansen (1995*a*) 32, 48). The only other attestation of the ethnic is as an epithet to Glaukos, the heroic founder of Anthedon: Γλαῦκος Ποτνιεύς (Aesch. frr. 450–53, Mette; cf. Schachter (1981–94) i. 228).

We have no information about the name of the territory. Potniai was one of the small unwalled settlements whose population was moved to Thebes (*Hell. Oxy.* 20.3) in connection with the major synoecism at the outbreak of the

Peloponnesian War (Demand (1990) 83–85; Moggi, *Sin.* 197–204 prefers a date *c.*426–424). The absence of physical remains of the Hellenistic period (Fossey (1988) 209) may indicate that, unlike the other small towns synoecised with Thebes in 431, Potniai was not resettled. Potniai was famous for its sanctuary of Demeter and Kore (Paus. 9.8.1), which was an ancient one (Schachter (1981–94) i. 159–60). The settlement can be traced back to the Protogeometric period (Fossey (1988) 209), but *po-ti-ni-ja* on a Theban Linear B tablet suggests that Potniai was inhabited in the Mycenaean period too (Schachter (1981–94) i. 159).

218. Siphai (Siphaieus) Map 55. Lat. 38.10, long. 23.05. Size of territory: 1. Type: A. The toponym is *Σῖφαι, αἱ* (Thuc. 4.76.2), but the singular form is also attested (Steph. Byz. 573.1), and according to Paus. 9.32.4 the toponym was *Τίφα*. The toponym denotes either the town (Thuc. 4.76.3) or the territory (Arist. *Part. an.* 696ª5). The only preserved attestation of the city-ethnic is *Σιφειεύς* (*IG* VII 207 = Michel 170 (C3s)).

Siphai is called a *polis* in the political sense by Thuc. 4.76.2–3, 89.2 (cf. Hansen (1995*a*) 21–23), and in the urban sense implicitly at Ps.-Skylax 38, where *Σίφαι καὶ λιμήν* is a convincing emendation of MSS *Σφάσις καὶ λιμήν*. In Ps.-Skylax *καὶ λιμήν*, an ellipsis of *πόλις καὶ λιμήν* (Flensted-Jensen and Hansen (1996) 142, 145), invariably goes with the preceding and not the following toponym (*pace* Müller in *GGM*).

The territory is called *Σῖφαι* (Arist. *Part. an.* 696ª5; Schwandner (1977) 519–20). It constituted the coastal region of the territory of Thespiai (no. 222) (Thuc. 4.76.3), and its size has been assessed at *c.*25 km² (Fossey (1988) 134). Steph. Byz. 573.1 calls Siphai an *ἐπίνειον τῆς Θεσπιακῆς*. A C4f inventory of Thespian *hestiatorion* equipment includes some in Siphai (*SEG* 24 361.25), which supports the assumption that Siphai was a dependent *polis* in Thespian territory.

From the abortive attempt in 424 to introduce a democracy, we can infer that Siphai must have had an oligarchic constitution. The democratic faction was supported by Athens, but the *stasis* was quelled by armed assistance from the other Boiotians (Thuc. 4.76.2–3, 89.2, 101.3; Hansen (1995*a*) 21–24).

Siphai was walled in 424 (*προδώσειν*: Thuc. 4.76.3). The existing circuit in ashlar masonry with square towers (of which seven are preserved) encloses both the acropolis and the settlement below to the north, east and south. A wall to the south separated the acropolis from the lower city. To the west was the Corinthian Gulf, and no traces of a wall have been found here. The wall is of C4 and, partly for historical reasons, Schwandner suggests a date between 363 and 330, but the nearby tower at Mavrovouni (Ano-Siphai) from *c.*400 points to earlier fortifications at Siphai as well (Schwandner (1977) 548–51). The circuit encloses an area of *c.*3 ha, of which only a part was used for settlement. The harbour was presumably to the south of the city. The settlement can be traced back to EH I–II, and there are remains of the Geometric, Archaic and Classical periods (Fossey (1988) 171).

Siphai had no mint, but stray finds on the acropolis of Thespian coins (Schwandner (1977) 547 n. 32) may suggest that such coins were legal tender in Siphai.

219. Skolos Map 55. Lat. 38.20/38.15, long. 23.25. Size of territory: 1. Type: C. Down to *c.*404 probably north of the river Asopos, after 404 south of the river, see *infra*. The toponym is *Σκωλος, ὁ* (Hom. *Il.* 2.497; Eust. *Il.* 1.404.24, van der Valk), denoting either the town (Xen. *Ages.* 2.22) or the polity (*Hell. Oxy.* 19.3). The toponym may have been derived from *σκόλοπες* "palisade" (letter from Schachter). Apart from Steph. Byz. 580.8, there is no attestation of an ethnic.

The only classification of Skolos as a *polis* is in Steph. Byz. 580.7. According to Strabo 9.2.23 it was a *κώμη τῆς Παρασωπίας*, and Paus. 9.4.4 has just *ἐρείπια*. What justifies the inclusion of Skolos in this inventory is only its membership of the *sympoliteia* headed by Plataiai (no. 216) (*Hell. Oxy.* 19.3; Hansen (1995*a*) 16).

We have no information about the name of the territory, which must have been very small. Down to 479 Skolos was in Theban territory (Hdt. 9.15.2, 65.1) and probably situated north of the river Asopos, which was the southern border of the territory of Thebes (Hdt. 6.108.6; cf. most recently Munn (1987) 121–24). After the Persian Wars Skolos became part of Plataian territory and a member of the *sympoliteia* which for some time constituted two of the eleven Boiotian districts (*Hell. Oxy.* 19.3). But by 431 Skolos must have been annexed by Thebes once again, since it was one of the small unwalled settlements whose population was moved to Thebes (*Hell. Oxy.* 20.3) in connection with the major synoecism at the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War (Demand (1990) 82–85; Moggi, *Sin.* 197–204). By 395 Skolos had been repopulated. It still belonged to Thebes (*Hell. Oxy.* 19.3), but since both Strabo 9.2.23 and, more importantly, Paus. 9.4.4 (cf. Wallace (1979) 89) place Skolos south of the river Asopos, the refounded village was probably located south of the Asopos in land that had been Theban territory since the destruction of Plataiai in 426.

220. Tanagra (Tanagraios) Map 55. Lat. 38.20, long. 23.35. Size of territory: 5. Type: A. The toponym is *Τάναγρα, ἡ* (ML 35, 36 = Lazzarini (1976) 998 (*c.*458); Thuc. 4.97.1), denoting either the town (Heracl. Cret. 8, GGM 1.101) or the polity (Xen. *Hell.* 5.4.49) or the territory (Thuc. 1.108.1). The city-ethnic is *Ταναγραῖος* (*LSAG* 93 and 95 no. 12 (C6); *SEG* 9 2.32 (C4s); Dem. 25.60) but in Boiotian inscriptions from C4 onwards mostly *Ταναγρῆος* (*IG* VII 3055.25 (C4m), 2723.2–3 (C3e)), attested already in C5f (*SEG* 29 1788.7; for the date, see Vottéro (2001) 183), and sometimes *Ταναγρεῖος* (*IG* VII 522.10 (C3s)). Roller (1989*a*) does not record the city-ethnic.

Tanagra is called a *polis* in the urban sense (Aristophanes Boeotus (*FGrHist* 379) fr. 2 *bis* = *P Oxy.* 2463.26; cf. Heracl. Cret. 8–10, *GGM* 1.101 (C3s)) and in the territorial sense (Xen. *Hell.* 5.4.49), and is listed as a *polis* in the political sense (Thuc. 4.91.1, 93.4; *Hell. Oxy.* 19.2–3).

The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally on a stamped tile of C5f (*SEG* 29 1788.7: *δαμοσία Ταναγρήων*) and in abbreviated form on coins (*infra*), and externally on a late C6 shield at Olympia commemorating a victory over an unknown enemy (*LSAG* 93 and 95 no. 12). For the individual and external use of the city-ethnic, see e.g. *Σ[κ]υθρίωνι Φορμίδα Τανα[γραίω]ι*, *naopoios* at Delphi in 335 (*CID* II 76.II.19–20).

The territory is called *Τάναγρα* (Thuc. 3.91.3–4) or *ἡ Ταναγραία* (Thuc. 4.76.4) or (later) *ἡ Ταναγραϊκή* (Strabo 9.2.11). During the First Federation the territory of Tanagra constituted one of the eleven Boiotian districts (*Hell. Oxy.* 19.3); it comprised Delion (Thuc. 4.76.4), Aulis (Nicocrates (*FGrHist* 376) fr. 1; Strabo 9.2.8), Salganeus (Nicocrates (*FGrHist* 376) fr. 1), and what was later called the *Tetrakomia*, i.e. Heleon, Harma, Mykalessos (no. 212) and Pharai (no. 215) (Strabo 9.2.14; Fossey (1988) 43–99 and 222–23). Tanagra was bordered on the east by Oropos (no. 214) (Heracl. Cret. 7–8, *GGM* 1.101), on the west by Skolos (no. 219), belonging to Thebes (Hdt. 9.15.2, 5.79.2; Xen. *Hell.* 5.4.49) and on the north by Anthedon (no. 200) (Nicocrates (*FGrHist* 376) fr. 1) and Glisas (Hdt. 9.43.2), belonging to Thebes (Strabo 9.2.31). Inclusive of the small dependent *poleis*, its size has been assessed at *c.*530 km² (Fossey (1988) 28).

Tanagra was allied with Thebes in 506 and earlier (Hdt. 5.79.2). The city was a member of the First Federation (*Hell. Oxy.* 19.3), during which the principal body of government was a *boule*, to which only propertied citizens were admitted (*Hell. Oxy.* 19.2, 3). It was a member of the Second Federation (Isoc. 14.9), providing one Boiotarch (*SEG* 25 553 = 32 476.14 (C4f); for the date, see *SEG* 45 431 and Vottéro (2001) 71), and of the Third Federation (*IG* VII 2724.7 (*c.*280–270)). Tanagran citizens were appointed *proxenoi* by Delphi (no. 177; *SGDI* 2674 (*c.*328)) and Eretria (no. 370) (*IG* XII.9 203 (C4s)). The Aristotelian collection of *politeiai* seems to have included a *Constitution of Tanagra* (Plut. *Mor.* 299C; Hansen (1995*a*) 53), which reported a tradition that the territory of Tanagra had once been inhabited *κατὰ κώμας* (Moggi, *Sin.* 82–84). During the crisis of 330–326, Tanagra received 10,000 *medimnoi* of grain from Kyrene (no. 1028) (RO 96.32).

The protecting god of Tanagra seems to have been Hermes, with the epithets Kriophoros and Promachos, each with his own temple—that of Promachos near the theatre (Paus. 9.22.1–2 (rC5m); *LSAG* 92 and 94 no. 7 (C7l–C6e); Schachter (1981–94) ii. 44–50; iii. 50). Other major divinities attested in the Archaic and Classical periods are Artemis Eileithyia (*IG* VII 546 (C5), 458 (C4–C3); Paus. 9.22.1; Schachter (1981–94) i. 193), Athena Longatis (*SEG* 31 497 (C4l–C3e)), Demeter Gephyraia (Hdt. 5.57–61; *REG* 12 (1899) 53–115; Schachter (1981–94) i. 162–63); Dionysos (*IG* VII 550 (C5); Paus. 9.20.4 (rC5); Schachter (1981–94) i. 183–85), Herakles (*SEG* 34 367: kantharoi inscribed *ἱαρός* and *Ἡρακλέους* (C6s); Schachter (1981–94) ii. 12; Andriomenou (1985) 113).

According to Thuc. 1.108.2–3, Tanagra was a walled city in 457, but following the battle of Oinophyta the Tanagrans had their walls demolished by the Athenians (cf. Diod. 11.82.5). The existing circuit of 2.2 km with forty-three towers was of mudbrick on a mostly isodomic ashlar sockle; it can be dated to the period *c.*425–375 and may have been erected after the King's Peace in 386 (Roller (1974), (1987)). Xenophon's mention at *Hell.* 5.4.49 of *τὸ τεῖχος*, however, must refer to the Theban stockade and not to the walls of Tanagra (Munn (1987) 124–26). The city walls enclose an area of 30 ha (Roller (1987) 223). Except, perhaps, for a temple of Hermes Promachos near the theatre (Paus. 9.22.2), all architectural remains seem to be later than the C4 circuit; and the orthogonal town plan, with insulae of 52 × 102 m, was clearly devised to fit the existing walls. Nothing of Archaic and C5 Tanagra is visible today (Roller (1989*b*) 157); but a surface survey of the town has been carried out by a team from Leiden, and a geo-prospection team has reconstructed the C4 street and insula plan across the city (*Teiresias* 32 (2002) 1). A depression in the ground is all that is left of a theatre seen by early travellers. It seems to be an integral part of the urban plan of C4f (Roller (1989*b*) 152–54). Herakleides describes Tanagra as a town inhabited

by farmers (9, *GGM* 1.101, 9). Outside the city walls a cemetery has been excavated with some 500 graves, the majority from C6l and C5s (Andriomenou (1985)).

Tanagra struck silver coins on the Aiginetan standard from *c.*500 to 446, and from before 410 to 374 (or later) (Hansen (1995*a*) 20–21), and bronze coins from *c.*338 to 315. Denominations: drachm, hemidrachm, obol. (1) Silver, *c.*500–480: *obv.* Boiotian shield with *TT* or *TA* in the side openings; *rev.* mill-sail incuse. Legend: *T* or *TT* (some). (2) Silver, *c.*480–456: *obv.* Boiotian shield with *TT* or *TA* in the side openings; *rev.* spokes of a wheel. Legend: *BO* or *BOI* or *TA*. (3) Silver, *c.*456–446 and C5l–C4f: *obv.* Boiotian shield; *rev.* forepart or head of horse (mostly). Legend: *TA* or *TAN* or *TANA*. (4) Bronze, *c.*338–315: *obv.* Boiotian shield; *rev.* Legend: *TAN* in concave field. (Head, *HN*² 347–48; Kraay (1976) 109–14; Schachter (1989) 85; *SNG Cop. Boeotia* 215–35).

*C.*560 Tanagra joined Megara (no. 225) in colonising Herakleia Pontike (no. 715) (Paus. 5.26.7; Burstein (1976) 15–18).

221. Thebai (Thebaios) Map 55. Lat. 38.20, long. 23.20. Size of territory: 5. Type: A. The toponym is *Φῆβαι, αἱ* (*LSAG* 93 and 95 no. 16 (*c.*470); Hom. *Il.* 5.804); the singular *Θήβη* or *Θήβα* is sometimes found in poetry (Hom. *Il.* 4.378; *IG* VII 2470.1 (*c.*300)). The toponym denotes either the town (Hdt. 1.92.1) or the polity (Dem. 19.325) or the territory (Xen. *Hell.* 5.2.25). The toponym is attested in linear B tablets. The composite *Ὑπόθηβαι* (Hom. *Il* 2.505) may refer to the early town built at the base of the Kadmeia = Thebai proper (letter from Schachter). The city-ethnic is *Θηβαίος* (*LSAG* 92 and 94 no. 7 (C6f); Hdt. 5.79.2), in the Boiotian dialect often *Θειβῆος* (*SEG* 28 465.4 (C4s)).

Thebes is called a *polis* in the urban sense (Hes. *Scut.* 105 (C6); Thgn. 1.1209; Pind. *Pyth.* 12.26; Bacchyl. 9.54; Hdt. 9.86.1; Dem. 18.216), in the political sense (Hdt. 9.13.3; Thuc. 3.62.3–4; Xen. *Hell.* 3.5.8; Arist. *Rh.* 1398ᵇ18–20; Dem. 19.138–41; RO 88.33 (C4); *SEG* 28 265.3–4 (C4m, but C4l by Gullath (1982) 112–13)), and in the territorial sense (Xen. *Hell.* 5.4.49; Isoc. 14.35). The term *polisma* is found at Men. *Sam.* 325, and *ἄστυ* is used by Dem. 18.215.

The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally on coins of C5s (Head (1881) 31–32) and externally on a dedication in Olympia of C6s (*SEG* 24 300). For the individual and external use of the city-ethnic, see Ducat (1971) no. 232: *Ἐπιχάρες* ho *Θεβ*[*αῖος*] (dedication in Ptoion (C6s)). *Patris* is found in Pind. *Isthm.* 1.12; Xen. *Hell.* 7.5.18, *An.* 3.1.4; Dem. 18.177; Aeschin. 2.164; *CEG* II 635 (C4).

The territory is called *Θηβαΐς* (Hdt. 9.65.1; Thuc. 3.58.5) or *Θῆβαι* (Xen. *Hell.* 5.2.25) or in later sources sometimes *Θηβαία* (Strabo 9.2.26). Before 506 Thebaïs extended south of the Asopos, but in 506 the river was made the border between Thebes and Plataiai (no. 216) (Hdt. 6.108.6; Paus. 9.4.4), and the territory of Thebes may then have comprised both Haliartos (no. 206) (inference from Hdt. 5.79.2) and presumably Akraiphia (no. 198) with Apollo's sanctuary at Ptoion (Hdt. 8.135.1; Schachter (1981–94) i. 69; cf. also Strabo 9.2.34; Paus. 9.23.5). To the east, Theban territory may have reached the coast and included Delion (Hdt. 6.118.2; Schachter (1981–94) i. 46). After the battle of Plataiai, Thebes was probably deprived of most of its former territory including the *Tetrakomia* (Hdt. 9.43.2; Fossey (1988) 222–23, probably relating to the period *c.*450–430; cf. Hansen (1995*a*) 37 with n. 137) and Delion (Thuc. 4.76.4). But at the beginning of the Peloponnesian War the Thebaïs must have comprised all the small towns that joined the synoecism and had their populations moved to Thebes (*Hell. Oxy.* 20.3). The size of its territory *c.*435 has been assessed at *c.*650 km² (Bakhuizen (1994) 314). In 427/6 the territory of Plataiai was incorporated into Thebes (Thuc. 3.68.2–3, 5.17.2). In 395 the Thebaïs constituted two of the eleven Boiotian districts and controlled the two Plataian districts as well (*Hell. Oxy.* 19.3) plus Oropos (no. 214) (Diod. 14.17.1–3) and Aulis (Xen. *Hell.* 3.5.5). Thebes suffered its next major set-back during the Spartan occupation in 382–379 (Xen. *Hell.* 5.2.25–36, 4.1–12), but when the Boiotian Federation had been re-established in 378–374, Thebes extended its territory to include Plataiai (from 373: Xen. *Hell.* 6.3.1; Paus. 9.1.5–8), Thespiai (after 377: Xen. *Hell.* 5.4.46–48, but before the autumn of 371: Xen. *Hell.* 6.3.5; Isoc. 8.17), Kreusis (Xen. *Hell.* 6.4.3) and Oropos (from 366: Xen. *Hell.* 7.4.1). We have no information about Anthedon (no. 200) (Gullath (1989) 164), and we do not know whether Orchomenos (no. 213) was annexed by Thebes after its destruction in 364 (Diod. 15.79.3–6). During the Third Sacred War, Koroneia (no. 210) and Orchomenos were held by the Phokians, but in 346 Philip handed them back to the Thebans (Dem. 5.21–22). Thebaïs must now have been bordered by Thisbai, Haliartos, Akraiphia, Tanagra (Xen. *Hell.* 5.4.49) and Athens (*πόλις ἀστυγείτων*: Aeschin. 3.133; Din. 1.38) and most have covered *c.*800 km². In 338 Thebes lost Plataiai, Orchomenos (Paus. 4.27.10), Thespiai and Oropos (Paus. 1.34.1), and after the destruction of Thebes in 335, what remained of its territory was given to the neighbouring cities (Hyp. 6.17; Diod. 18.11.3–4; Paus. 1.25.4; Gullath (1982) 77–82).

After the victory at Plataiai in 479, Thebes was besieged by the Greek army until it surrendered the leaders of the

pro-Persian faction (Hdt. 9.86–88). Shortly after the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War many small unfortified Boiotian towns were synoecised with Thebes, which thereby doubled its population. The towns merged with Thebes included Erythrai (no. 203), Eteonos/Skaphai (no. 204), Skolos (no. 219), (Au)lis, Schoinos and Potniai (no. 217) (*Hell. Oxy.* 20.3; Demand (1990) 83–85; Moggi, *Sin.* 197–204 prefers a date *c.*426–424). From 382 to 379 Thebes had to suffer a Spartan occupation (Xen. *Hell.* 5.2.25–36, 4.1–12); and by the peace of 338 a Makedonian garrison was placed on the Kadmeia (Diod. 16.87.3).

In 335 Thebes was conquered by Alexander and razed to the ground (Din. 1.24; Arr. *Anab.* 1.7–9; Diod. 17.7–14; Plut. *Alex.* 11.6–12; Gullath (1982) 60–85). More than 6,000 men were killed, and the remaining population, some 30,000 men, women and children, were exposed to *andrapodismos* and sold into slavery (Din. 1.24; Arr. *Anab.* 1.9.9; Diod. 17.13.3, 14.1; Plut. *Alex.* 11.12).

Thebes was the leading member of the First Federation (Thuc. 4.91.1; *Hell. Oxy.* 19.3); it re-established the Federation immediately after the liberation of the city in 379 (Plut. *Pelop.* 13.1) and dominated all the other member states (Isoc. 14.8–10; Aeschin. 3.142); and in spite of the defeat in 338, Thebes was still a member of the Third Federation between 338 and the destruction of the city in 335 (Arr. *Anab.* 1.7.11; *CID* II 74.1.72 (337/6)).

Membership of the Boiotian Federation did not prevent Thebes from joining one of the major leagues or from entering into alliance with other *poleis*: during the 370s Thebes was a member of the Second Athenian Naval Confederacy (*IG* II² 40, 43.24–25, 79; *IG* II² 1607.155) and in 339 Athens concluded an alliance with Thebes, not with the Boiotian Federation (Aeschin. 3.142; *Staatsverträge* 345).

Theban laws were traditionally ascribed to Philolaos of Corinth (Arist. *Pol.* 1274ª31–32), who probably lived in C7s. The Aristotelian collection of *politeiai* included a *Constitution of Thebes* (Arist. frr. 506–7). Down to the Spartan occupation of Kadmeia in 382–379 Thebes was an oligarchy, in C6l–C5e of the narrow type (*dynasteia*: Thuc. 3.62.3), later a more moderate oligarchy (ibid.; Arist. *Pol.* 1278ª25) ruled by a *boule* based on a property qualification (*Hell. Oxy.* 19.2). A bronze phiale of C6f is dedicated by λεϙτοὶ Θεβαῖοι, perhaps members of the nobility (Lazzarini (1976) no. 920, cf. p. 156), perhaps a body of officials (*LSAG* 92 and 94 no. 7; cf. Schachter (1989) 79), or, rather, a military elite (Schachter, forthcoming).

The Athenian victory at Oinophyta in 457 (Thuc. 1.108.3; Pl. *Menex.* 242B) and *stasis* in Thebes (Thuc. 3.62.5, 4.92.6) were followed by a brief period of democracy (Arist. *Pol.* 1302ᵇ28–9). The Athenians were expelled, *autonomia* recovered, exiles recalled and oligarchy restored after the Athenian defeat at Koroneia in 447/6 (Thuc. 1.113.2–4, 3.62.3). The principal body of government was a *boule*, to which only propertied citizens were admitted (*Hell. Oxy.* 19.2, 3). In C4e the leading oligarchs were divided into a pro-Athenian and a pro-Lakedaimonian faction (*Hell. Oxy.* 19.1, 20.1), and after a protracted *stasis* the pro-Lakedaimonians came to power in 382 with the Spartan occupation of Thebes (Xen. *Hell.* 5.2.25–36). Between 382 and 379 the constitution was again a *dynasteia* (Xen. *Hell.* 5.4.46). From 379 onwards Thebes was a democracy (Diod. 15.79.3; Polyb. 6.43; Buckler (1980) 20). In collusion with a faction in Thebes, some Theban exiles made an abortive attempt in 364 to reintroduce an aristocratic constitution (Diod. 15.79.3–5).

Thebes had a *boule* (Xen. *Hell.* 5.2.29), which prepared the matters to be put to the assembly (Diod. 17.9.1). An oracular response refers to a meeting of the popular assembly in 506 (Hdt. 5.79.1). It is unknown what powers it had during the oligarchy down to 379, but from then on major decisions were made by the people in assembly (Aeschin. 2.105; Dem. 18.213; Ar. *Anab.* 1.7.2). An eponymous *archon* is attested in C4s (*SEG* 28 466 (*c.*338)) and polemarchs from 382 (Xen. *Hell.* 5.2.25; Schaefer (1956) 1108–11). Thebes awarded *proxenia* to citizens from Opous (no. 386) (schol. Pind. *Ol.* 9.123c (C5f)), from Athens (no. 361) (Demosthenes: Aeschin. 2.141; Thrason: Aeschin. 3.138), and from unknown *poleis* (*IG* VII 2409 (C4m–C3m); cf. Vottéro (2001) 159; *SEG* 28 465 (C4s)). Theban citizens were appointed *proxenoi* by Athens (no. 361) (Pindar, Isoc. 15.166), Delphi (no. 177) (*F.Delphes* III.1 356 (327)); and Karthaia (no. 492) (*IG* XII.5 542.27 (C4m)).

The protective divinities of Thebes were probably Demeter Thesmophoros and Dionysos Kadmeios (Pind. *Isthm.* 7.1–5; Eur. *Bacch.* 1–12; Xen. *Hell.* 5.2.29; Paus. 9.15.5–6; Brackertz (1976) 73–78; Schachter (1981–94) i. 168, 187), but Athena Onka (Aesch. *Sept.* 164–65) and Athena Pronoia (*ArchDelt* 3 (1917) 36.2) are also attested as the protectors of Thebes (Soph. *OT* 18–19; *SEG* 32 493 (C4l); Schachter (1981–94) i. 129–32). Other major divinities attested in the Archaic and Classical periods are Herakles Promachos, whose sanctuary was outside the walls (Pind. *Nem.* 4.22–24; Isoc. 5.32; Xen. *Hell.* 6.4.7; Paus. 9.11.4; Schachter (1981–94) ii. 14–30); Aphrodite, the divine patron of the Theban polemarchs, whose sanctuary was on the Kadmeia (Xen. *Hell.* 5.4.4–7; Schachter (1981–94) i. 38–41); Apollo Ismenios, whose sanctuary was on the Ismenion hill (*IG* VII 2455 (C6); *SEG* 22 417 (C6); Pind. *Pyth.* 11.1–11; Paus. 9.10.2; Schachter

(1981–94) i. 77–85). The major extra-urban cults were Zeus Hypatos (Paus. 9.19.3), in whose sanctuary on Mt. Hypaton some remains of the Classical period have been found (Schachter (1981–94) iii. 102); and the Kabiroi: a mother goddess, her consort and two attending Kabiroi, usually represented as Hermes and Pan. It was a mystery cult reserved for the initiated and situated at the Kabirion, a natural cavity *c.*5.5 km west of Thebes. Monumental architecture at the sanctuary dates from the Hellenistic and Roman periods. The cult is attested from the Geometric to the Roman imperial period (*IG* VII 2457 (C6–C5), cf. *SEG* 36 458; Schachter (1986–94) ii. 66–110, (2003)). *Theorodokoi* were appointed in 359 to host *theoroi* from Epidauros (no. 348) (*IG* IV².1 94.a.4); in 360/59 Thebes was granted *promanteia* by the Delphians (no. 177) (*F.Delphes.* III.4 375). The Theban Ismenias was *hieromnemon* in 341 (*CID* II 43.229).

Citizens of Thebes are frequently attested as victors at the major Panhellenic festivals, e.g. at the Isthmian Games (Pind. *Isthm.* 1, 3–4, 7 (in 474, 458 and 454)), at the Nemean Games (schol. Pind. *Isthm.* 223.10, Drachmann (470s)), at the Olympic Games (Paus. 5.8.7 (680); see *Olympionikai* 33, 69, 136, 206, 352, 427, 441), at the Pythian Games (Pind. *Pyth.* 11 (474); Paus. 10.7.7 (r378), 7.8 (r346)), and at the Amphiareia (*IG* VII 414.4, 24, = *I.Oropos* 520 (329/8)). The city dedicated a treasury at Delphi to commemorate the victory at Leuktra (Bommelaer (1991) 129–30).

Thebes is called a fortified city in *c.*540 (Thgn. 1.1209) and again in 479 (Hdt. 9.41.2, 9.86–88), but it is uncertain whether the references are to the acropolis wall or to a wall enclosing the lower city as well, referred to at Xen. *Hell.* 5.4.53. In C4 the city had two circuits (Arr. *Anab.* 1.7.9–10, 8.5–6): an acropolis wall around the Kadmeia with the seven famous gates (Pind. *Pyth.* 11.12; Paus. 9.8.4) enclosed an area of *c.*32 ha, and a wall around the lower city enclosed an area of 350 ha (Bintliff (1997*a*) 243). Only a few traces are left (Symeonoglou (1985) 119). The acropolis wall seems to have followed the line of the late Helladic cyclopean wall, and the surviving traces of polygonal and isodomic masonry may be no more than Archaic and Classical repairs of the late Helladic wall (cf. Hes. *Scut.* 105). The short south side of the acropolis wall seems to have been a part of the city wall as well (Arr. *Anab.* 1.7.9–10). The great city wall was of mud-brick superimposed on a foundation of isodomic masonry and covered with tiles. The masonry suggests a C5 date. The synoecism of 431 must be the *terminus ante quem*, and the most likely *terminus post quem* seems to be the liberation of Boiotia from Athenian domination in 446 (Symeonoglou (1985) 118–22). The city wall was demolished in 335 (Aeschin. 3.157), but the acropolis wall was probably left to protect the Makedonian garrison on the Kadmeia (Hyp. 6.17; Arr. *Anab.* 1.9.9).

In the Archaic period much of the Kadmeia was inhabited (Fossey (1988) 204), but some Thebans, including Pindar, lived in the lower city (Paus. 9.25.3), which became densely populated after the erection of the greater circuit in C5m and the synoecism of *c.*431 (*Hell. Oxy.* 20.3). In the Classical period Thebes had at least twenty-three sanctuaries, twelve on the Kadmeia and eleven in the lower city (Symeonoglou (1985) 123–37). South-east of the Kadmeia are remains of the temple of Apollo Ismenias, built in C8s, rebuilt *c.*700 and again in C4 (Symeonoglou (1985) site 8 pp. 236–8), and in the lower town were found the foundations of a temple of the Classical period (Symeonoglou (1985) site 229 p. 299). The Theban *boule* (Xen. *Hell.* 5.2.29), as well as the federal council (*Hell. Oxy.* 19.4) and the Boiotarchs (Aeschin. 3.145), had their meeting place on the Kadmeia. In lower Thebes was the *polemarcheion* (Xen. *Hell.* 5.4.6), a hippodrome (Paus 9.23.2; Symeonoglou (1985) 140 and cat. no. 106), a C5 *stadion* and *gymnasion* (Paus. 9.23.1; Symeonoglou (1985) 140 cat. nos. 65, 169); an earlier *stadion* and *gymnasion* (of C6?) was situated outside the walls (Xen. *Hell.* 5.2.25; Symeonoglou (1985) 108–9). The agora in the lower city was flanked with several stoas (Xen. *Hell.* 5.2.29; Diod. 12.70.5). Thebes had a theatre (Paus. 9.16.6), which in C4 was used for meetings of the assembly (Plut. *Mor.* 799E–F); traces have been found in the northern part of the lower city (Symeonoglou (1985) 189–90). The city got most of its water through an impressive system of subterranean aqueducts already famous in antiquity (Heracl. Cret. 13, *GGM* 1.102) and still partly preserved (Symeonoglou (1985) 141–44).

Thebes struck silver coins on the Aiginetan standard from *c.*500 to 335. Denominations: stater, drachm, hemidrachm, obol, hemiobol, tetartemorion, in C4 also tritemorion; *obv.* mostly Boiotian shield; *rev.* down to 479: mill-sail; thereafter Herakles or Dionysos or amphora with symbols relating to Herakles or Dionysos. Legend: first Θ, later various abbreviations of the city-ethnic or occasionally the full form: $\Theta EBAION$. An abbreviated personal name, denoting the issuing magistrate, appears on the C4 amphora-type coins, and forty-five separate magistrates can be identified (Hepworth (1986) 35). A series of probably Theban coins struck *c.*386–379 have a kantharos on the *rev.* and the legend BOI or $BOI\Omega$. Some rare gold coins of C5l have *obv.* head of bearded Dionysos; *rev.* infant Herakles strangling serpents. Legend: ΘE. A small series of C4 bronze obols have *obv.* head of young Herakles; *rev.* club and other symbols

and magistrate's name (Head (1881) 11, 16–18, 23–24, 29–42, 54–55, 61–72; Kraay (1976) 109–14; Schachter (1989) 85; *SNG Cop. Boeotia* 241–355).

*C.*560 Thebes joined Megara (no. 225) in colonising Herakleia Pontike (no. 715) (*Suda* Η461; cf. Burstein (1976) 15–18).

222. Thespiai (Thespieus) Map 55. Lat. 38.15, long. 23.10. Size of territory: 4. Type: A. The toponym is Θεσπιαί, αἱ (Xen. *Hell.* 5.4.10; *IG* VII 1862 (Roman)), but Θέσπεια at Hom. *Il.* 2.498 and Hdt. 8.50.2. The toponym denotes either the town (*IG* IV².1 94.a.6; Dem. 6.30) or the polity (Isoc 8.17) or the territory (Xen. *Hell.* 5.4.41). The city-ethnic is Θεσπιεύς (*F.Delphes* III.4 148 (C5f); Xen. *Hell.* 4.2.20).

At Hes. *Op.* 222, πόλις probably denotes Thespiai. In sources of the Classical period Thespiai is called a *polis* in the urban sense (Hdt. 8.50.2; Xen. *Hell.* 6.3.1; Dem. 16.25) and in the political sense (*IG* I³ 72.6, 16 (C5l); Xen. *Hell.* 5.4.46; *Hell. Oxy.* 19.2–3; Isoc. 8.17; Dem. 16.25).

The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally in a proxeny decree of C3m (*SEG* 32 496.2–3) and externally on the Serpent Column (ML 27.6: Θεσπιῆς (479)). The individual and external use of the city-ethnic is attested in an Athenian proxeny decree of C5m for four named Thespians (*IG* I³ 23) and in Delphic inscriptions where a Thespian appears as *naopoios* at Delphi in 334 (*CID* II 79A.15). In the feminine, the *ktetikon* Θεσπική is sometimes used (*IG* II² 8834 (C4)). *Patra* (= *patris*) has been restored in *CEG* II 788 (*c.*350).

The territory is called ἡ Θεσπικὴ γῆ (Thuc. 4.76.3); ἡ τῶν Θεσπιῶν χώρα (Xen. *Hell.* 5.4.42) or just ἡ Θεσπική (Xen. *Hell.* 6.4.4); *Anth. Pal.* III.19.2 (r480) has Θεσπιάς. During the First Federation, Thespiai constituted two of the eleven Boiotian districts (*Hell. Oxy.* 19.3), including Siphai (no. 218) (Thuc. 4.76.3), Leuktra (Xen. *Hell.* 6.4.4), Eutresis (no. 205) and Thisbai (no. 223; *Hell. Oxy.* 19.3), Chorsiai (no. 202) (*SEG* 24 361, but cf. 47 520), Kreusis (Ps.-Skylax 38, as restored by Roesch (1980); Livy 36.21.5; but Xen. *Hell.* 6.4.3 shows that in 371 it belonged to Thebes), Askra (Hes. *Op.* 639–40 with 222; Arist. fr. 580), Keressos (Paus. 9.14.1–4; Plut. *Cam.* 19.4; *Mor.* 866F), Donakon (Paus. 9.31.7) and perhaps Hippotai (Plut. *Mor* 775A; Schachter (1996*a*) 104). Including the dependent *poleis* of Chorsiai, Thisbai, Siphai and Eutresis (no. 205), its territory covered *c.*425 km². Excluding these, it came to some 200 km². Thespiai bordered on Haliartos (no. 206) to the north, on Thebes to the east (Hdt. 5.79.2), on Plataiai (no. 216) to the south-east (Hdt. 8.50.2), and on Thisbai to the south-west (Xen. *Hell.* 6.4.3–4).

Thespiai was allied with Thebes in 506 and earlier (Hdt. 5.79.2). Seven hundred Thespians were killed at Thermopylai in 480 (Hdt. 7.202.1; cf. *Anth. Pal.* III.19), and the Thespians fled to the Peloponnese when the Persians attacked Boiotia and burned down the city of Thespiai (Hdt. 8.50.2). A force of 1,800 light-armed Thespians fought in the battle of Plataiai in 479 (Hdt. 9.30.1), and the Thespians are duly recorded on the Serpent Column commemorating the victory (ML 27.6). Thespiai was resettled and the Thespians admitted extra citizens to make up for the losses during the war (Hdt. 8.75.5; Schachter (1996*a*) 115). The city was a member of the First Federation and provided two Boiotarchs (*Hell. Oxy.* 19.3–4). The Thespians suffered severe losses in 424 in the battle of Delion (Thuc. 4.96.3, 133.1) and 101 names are recorded in the public funeral monument set up after the battle (*IG* VII 1888). The Thespians fought in the Boiotian army in the battle of the Nemea in 394 (Xen. *Hell.* 4.2.20; cf. *SEG* 2 186, 47 519). Thespiai was garrisoned by the Spartans in 379 and 378, under the supremacy of a harmost (Xen. *Hell.* 5.4.15, 41), but by the mid-370s Thebes had regained control of the neighbouring *poleis*, probably including Thespiai (Xen. *Hell.* 5.4.63). By 372 the Thespians had been forced by the Thebans to join the Second Federation (Isoc. 14.9: συντελεῖν εἰς τὰς Θήβας), providing one Boiotarch (*SEG* 25 553.14 (C4f: for the date, see *SEG* 45 431 and Vottéro (2001) 71)). Before the autumn of 371 (Xen. *Hell.* 6.3.5, 6.4.10) the city was sacked by the Thebans and depopulated (Diod. 15.46.6; Isoc. 6.27; Dem. 16.4, 25, 28). The Thespians, or some of them, withdrew to nearby Keressos (Paus. 9.14.2), but probably only after the sack of Thespiai (Tuplin (1986) 333–34; Buck (1994) 110 with n. 46). In 359, however, a Thespian *theorodokos* hosted *theoroi* sent from Epidauros (no. 348) (*IG* IV².1 94.a.6), and Aischylos of Thespiai was a victor in the Olympic Games, probably in 348 (*IAG* 26; *Olympionikai* 444); so Demosthenes' contention (19.325) that the city was still not rebuilt in 346 must be taken with a grain of salt. The Thespians took an active part in the destruction of Thebes in 335 (Diod. 17.13.5), and in C3e the city was resettled (Plut. *Dem.* 39.5; *IG* VII 1747 and 1751, military catalogues of C3e).

The constitution of Thespiai was oligarchic and based on a property qualification (*Hell. Oxy.* 19.3; Xen. *Hell.* 5.4.46). A democratic uprising in 414 was immediately quelled by the Thebans (Thuc. 6.95.2; Gehrke, *Stasis* 172). In 378 the constitution is classified as a *dynasteia*, and the democratic faction as living in exile in Thebes (Xen. *Hell.* 5.4.46). The principal body of government was a *boule*, to which only propertied citizens were admitted (*Hell. Oxy.* 19.2, 3). An eponymous

archon is attested *c.*386 (*SEG* 24 361.3; Sherk (1990) 287). The Aristotelian collection of *politeiai* included a *Constitution of Thespiai* (Heracl. Lemb. 76 = no. 59, Gigon). Thespian citizens were appointed *proxenoi* by Athens (no. 361) (*IG* I³ 23) and Delphi (no. 177) (*F.Delphes* III.1 96 (318–306), 416 (C4l)).

Apollo Archegetas seems to have been the protecting god of Thespiai. His cult was associated with the foundation of the *polis*, and was performed in a Doric peristyle temple of C5, *c.*2 km south-west of Thespiai (*SEG* 2 237 (C5f); Schachter (1981–94) i. 88–89, (1996*a*) 103). Other major cults attested in the Archaic and Classical periods are the nine Muses, whose sanctuary was in the Valley of the Muses *c.*6 km west of Thespiai (Hes. *Op.* 654–59; Paus. 9.30.1 (rC4e); Schachter (1981–94) ii. 151–58), Herakles (*BCH* 50 (1926) 390.4; *SEG* 15 324 (C5f); Schachter (1981–94) ii. 34–35), Dionysos (*IG* VII 1794 (C5); Schachter (1981–94) i. 192–95), Zeus Karaios (*SEG* 32 505 (C4l)); Zeus Saotes (*Anth. Pal.* 6.344 (330/29); Schachter (1981–94) iii. 150–53), and the Daimones (Michel 1102 (*c.*300); Schachter (1981–94) i. 149).

Surveys have shown that "the early city consisted of at least four separate nuclei, spread out over a total area of about 100 ha". In C5 and C4 they were merged together into one large conurbation (Snodgrass (1987–89) 57). Remains of the Geometric and Archaic periods, however, are scarce, and it has been suggested that the centre of Thespiai before 480 was at the temple of Apollo, and that the settlement was moved to its Classical site only after the Persian destruction in 480 (Schachter (1996*a*) 103–4).

The walls were demolished by the Thebans in 423 (Thuc. 4.133.1), re-erected with Spartan help in 378 (Xen. *Hell.* 5.4.41), demolished once more by the Thebans (Dem. 6.30; Isoc. 14.19, 35), probably before 373/2 (the date of Isoc. *Plat.*) and not yet rebuilt in 343 (Dem. 19.112). Three huge square blocks of the Classical city wall were discovered in 1987 (Bintliff and Snodgrass (1988) 67). The settlements covered an area of at least 50 and perhaps more than 100 ha (Bintliff (1997*a*) 243).

Thespiai struck silver coins on the Aiginetan standard from *c.*500 to 480 and from 386 (or earlier) to 374 (or later), and bronze coins from *c.*338 to 315. (1) Silver, *c.*500–480, denominations: stater, drachm, hemidrachm, obol; *obv.* Boiotian shield, some with *Θ* in one of the openings of the shield; *rev.* the letter *Θ* in mill-sail incuse square. The epichoric letter (Ⓘ), originally interpreted as a *Φ* and associated with Pharai (no. 215), but now interpreted as a *Θ* signifying Thespiai (Etienne and Knoepfler (1976) 219). (2) Silver, C5l–C4f, denominations: stater, hemidrachm, obol, hemiobol, tetartemorion; *rev.* Boiotian shield; *rev.* crescent and (on some) amphora or head of Aphrodite. Legend: *ΘΕΣ* or *ΘΕΣΠΙ* or *ΘΕΣΠΙΙΚΟΝ*. Some have the epichoric sigma (ϟ), pointing to a date earlier than 386. (3) Bronze, *c.*338–315: *obv.* Boiotian shield; *rev.* legend: *ΘΕΣ* in concave field (Head (1881) 15–16, 55–56; *HN*² 354; Etienne and Knoepfler (1976) 219; Schachter (1996*a*) 113; *SNG Cop. Boeotia* 397–405).

223. Thisbai (Thisbeus) Map 55. Lat. 38.15, long. 23.00. Size of territory: 3. Type: B. The toponym is *Θίσβη, ἡ* (Hom. *Il.* 2.502) or more frequently *Θίσβαι* in the plural (*Hell. Oxy.* 19.3; *F.Delphes* III.3 103.3 (300–280)), denoting the polity (*Hell. Oxy.* 19.3) or the territory (Xen. *Hell.* 6.4.3). The city-ethnic is *Θισβεύς* (*IG* VII 2724.b.6 (*c.*280–270); *SEG* 15, 282.4 (263–255)).

The earliest attestation of Thisbai as a *polis* is in a treaty with Chorsiai of C2e (*SEG* 3 342.4 = Migeotte (1984) no. 11), and the only attestation in a literary source is Paus. 9.32.2. The occurrence in C4l of a Thisban among the *aphedriateuontes*, however, shows that Thisbai was a *polis* at least from the beginning of the Third Federation (*IG* VII 2724b.6 (*c.*280–270)), and the reference at *Hell. Oxy.* 19.3 to what was probably a *sympoliteia* between Thespiai (no. 222), Eutresis (no. 205) and Thisbai suggests that during the First Federation Thisbai was a dependent *polis* dominated by Thespiai (Roesch (1965) 37; Siewert (1977) 463; Hansen (1995*a*) 16); cf. *τοῖ Θεσπιέσσιν καὶ τοῖρ σὺν αὐτὸς* (*SEG* 31 358.5 (C5f)). The size of its territory has been assessed at just over 100 km² (Fossey (1988) 176). A funeral epigram of *c.*500 indicates that the population of Thisbai consisted of citizens (*astoi*) and foreigners (*xenoi*) (*CEG* 112).

The only cults at Thisbai attested in sources of the Archaic and Classical periods are of Athena (*IG* VII 2230 (C6–C5); Schachter (1981–94) i. 133) and, perhaps, Demeter Achaia (*BCH* 50 (1926) 418 n. 4 (C3s); Schachter (1981–94) i. 170; for the date, see Vottéro (2001) 256).

The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally in Thisbai's copy of a treaty with Chorsiai (*SEG* 3 342 = Migeotte (1984) no. 11 (C2e)), but externally only in a Roman inscription (*IG* VII 2870.13 (AD 155)). For the individual and external use, see e.g. *Πύρρακος Ἰθουδαμίω Θισβεῖος* in a list of *aphedriateuontes* (*IG* VII 2724b.4 (*c.*280–270)). The territory was called *Θίσβαι* (Xen. *Hell.* 6.4.3).

Thisbai is attested as a member of the First Federation (*Hell. Oxy.* 19.3) and of the Third Federation (*IG* VII 2724b.4 (*c.*280–270)).

A circuit of *c.*2.5 km with interval square towers enclosed the city, which was situated with a rocky hill to the north, the foot of Mt. Helikon to the south, and in the narrow corridor between the two. Most of the wall is of pseudo-isodomic

trapezoidal or ashlar work, but one round tower on the northern hill (the acropolis) is in Lesbian masonry (Maier (1958)). The circuit enclosed an area of *c.*48.5 ha (Bintliff (1997*a*) 244). Maier (1958) 24–25 suggests a date between *c.*325 and 175, but the tower indicates a date between 375 and 325 (Buckler (1980) 283 n. 19) and Camp (2000) 43 suggests a date of 375–60. No remains of buildings have been identified. The settlement can be traced back to the early Helladic period, and there are remains of the Geometric, Archaic and Classical periods (Fossey (1988) 180).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Amit, A. 1973. *Great and Small Poleis* (Brussels).

Andriomenou, A. 1985. "La nécropole classique de Tanagra", in Argoud and Roesch (1985) 109–30.

Argoud, G., and Roesch, P. (eds.) 1985. *La Béotie antique: Lyon—Saint-Étienne 16–20 Mai 1983* (Paris).

Badian, E. 1993. "Plataea between Athens and Sparta", in *From Plataea to Potidaea: Studies in the History and Historiography of the Pentecontaetia* (Baltimore) 109–23.

Bakhuizen, S. C. 1970. *Salganeus and the Fortifications on its Mountains* (Groningen).

——1989. "The Ethnos of the Boeotians", in Beister and Buckler (1989) 65–72.

——1994. "Thebes and Boiotia in the Fourth Century B.C.", *Phoenix* 48: 307–30.

Baldwin Brett, A. 1955. *Catalogue of Greek Coins: Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* (Boston).

Beck, H. 1997. *Polis und Koinon: Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Struktur der griechischen Bundesstaaten im 4. Jahrhundert v. Chr.*, *Historia* Einzelschriften 114 (Stuttgart).

Beister, H. 1985. "Probleme bei der Lokalisierung des homerischen Graia in Böotien", in Argoud and Roesch (1985) 131–36.

——and Buckler, J. (eds.) 1989. *BOIOTIKA: Vorträge vom 5. Internationalen Böotien-Kolloquium zu Ehren von Professor Siegfried Lauffer*, 13–17 June 1986 (Munich).

Bintliff, J. 1996. "The Archaeological Survey of the Valley of the Muses and its Significance for Boeotian History", in Hurst and Schachter (1996) 193–224.

——1997*a*. "Further Considerations on the Population of Ancient Boeotia", in Bintliff (1997*b*) 231–52.

——1997*b*. *Recent Developments in the History and Archaeology of Central Greece: Proceedings of the 6th International Boeotian Conference* (London).

——1999. "Pattern and Process in the City Landscapes of Boeotia from Geometric to Late Roman Times", in Brunet (1999) 15–33.

——and Snodgrass, A. 1985. "The Cambridge/Bradford Boeotian Expedition: The First Four Years", *JFA* 12: 123–61.

————1988. "Mediterranean Survey and the City", *Antiquity* 62: 57–71.

Bommelaer, J.-F. 1991. *Guide de Delphes: le site* (Paris).

Brackertz, U. 1976. *Zum Problem der Schutzgottheiten griechischer Städte* (Berlin).

Brunet, M. (ed.) 1999. *Territoires des cités grecques.* BCH suppl. 34 (Paris).

Buck, R. J. 1979. *A History of Boeotia* (Edmonton).

——1994. *Boiotia and the Boiotian League 432–371 B.C.* (Edmonton).

Buckler, J. 1979. "The Re-establishment of the Boiotarchia (378 BC)", *AJAH* 4: 50–64.

——1980. *The Theban Hegemony 371–362 B.C.* (Cambridge, Mass.).

——1989. *Philip II and the Sacred War* (Leiden).

Büsing, H., and Büsing-Kolbe, A. 1972. "Chorsiai: eine Boiotische Festung", *AA* 74–87.

Burstein, S. M. 1976. *Outposts of Hellenism: The Emergence of Heraclea on the Black Sea* (Berkeley and Los Angeles).

Busolt, G., and Swoboda, H. 1926. *Griechische Staatskunde*, ii (Munich).

Camp, J. McK. 1991. "Notes on the Towers and Borders of Classical Boiotia", *AJA* 95: 193–202.

——2000. "Walls and the Polis", *Polis and Politics* 41–57.

—— *et al.* 1992. "A Trophy from the Battle of Chaironeia of 86 B.C.", *AJA* 96: 443–55.

Cole, S. G. 1995. "Civic Cult and Civic Identity", *CPCActs* 2: 292–325.

Connor, W. R. 1989. "City Dionysia and Athenian Democracy", *ClMed* 40: 7–32.

Cosmopoulos, M. B. 2001. *The Rural History of Greek City-States: The Oropos Survey Project*, Bar International Series 1001 (Oxford).

Coulton, J. J. 1968. "The Stoa at the Amphiaraion, Oropos", *BSA* 63: 147–83.

——1976. *The Architectural Development of the Greek Stoa* (Oxford).

Demand, N. 1990. *Urban Relocation in Archaic and Classical Greece* (Bristol).

Dilke, O. A. W. 1950. "Details and Chronology of Greek Theatre Caveas", *BSA* 45: 21–62.

Ducat, J. 1971. *Les Kouroi du Ptoion* (Paris).

Etienne, R., and Knoepfler, D. 1976. *Hyettos de Béotie et la chronologie des archontes fédéraux entre 250 et 171 avant J.-C.*, BCH suppl. 3 (Paris).

Flensted-Jensen, P., and Hansen, M. H. 1996. "Pseudo-Skylax' Use of the Term *Polis*", *CPCPapers* 3: 137–67.

Fontenrose, J. 1978. *The Delphic Oracle* (Berkeley).
Fossey, J. M. 1970. "The Identification of Graia", *Euphrosyne* 4: 3–22.
——(ed.) 1986. *Khóstia I* (Amsterdam).
——1988. *Topography and Population of Ancient Boiotia* (Chicago).
——1990. *The Ancient Topography of Opountian Lokris* (Amsterdam).
——1991. *Epigraphica Boeotica, i: Studies in Boiotian Inscriptions* (Amsterdam).
——1992. "The Development of Some Defensive Networks in Eastern Central Greece during the Classical Period", in S. van de Maele and J. M. Fossey, *Fortificationes Antiquae* (Amsterdam) 109–32.
Frazer, J. G. 1898. *Pausanias's Description of Greece*, 6 vols. (London).
Freitag, K. 2000. *Der Golf von Korinth: historisch-topographische Untersuchungen von der Archaik bis in das 1. Jh. v. Chr.* (Munich).
Gaertner, J. F. 2001. "[Mosch.] 3.88 und Pindars Geburtsort", *ActaAntHung* 41: 263–66.
Garlan, Y. 1974. "Études d'histoire militaire et diplomatique, ix: Recherches sur les fortifications d'Akraiphia", *BCH* 98: 95–113.
Gehrke, H.-J. 1988. "Zur Lokalisierung von Salganeus", in *Επετηρίς της Εταιρείας Βοιωτικων Μελετών Α'α'* (Athens) 403.
Gullath, B. 1982. *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte Boiotiens in der Zeit Alexanders und der Diadochen* (Frankfurt am Main).
——1989. "Veränderung der Territorien boiotischer Städte zu Beginn der hellenistischen Zeit am Beispiel Thebens", in Beister and Buckler (1989) 163–68.
Hammond, N. G. L. 1992. "Plataea's Relations with Thebes, Sparta and Athens", *JHS* 112: 143–50.
Hansen, M. H. 1995*a*. "Boiotian *Poleis*: A Test Case", *CPCActs* 2: 13–63.
——1995*b*. "*Kome*: A Study in How the Greeks Designated and Classified Settlements which were not *Poleis*", *CPCPapers* 2: 45–82.
——1997. "The Polis as an Urban Centre: The Literary and Epigraphical Evidence", *CPCActs* 4: 9–86.
Head, B. V. 1881. *On the Chronological Sequence of the Coins of Boeotia* (London).
Hepworth, R. G. 1986. "Epaminondas' Coinage", in *Proceedings of the 10th International Congress of Numismatics* (London) 35–40.
Hiller, S. 1989. "Die Stellung Böotiens im mykenischen Staatenverband", in Beister and Buckler (1989) 51–64.
Hornblower, S. 1991. *A Commentary on Thucydides*, i: *Books I–III* (Oxford).
Hurst, A., and Schachter, A. (eds.) 1996. *La Montagne des Muses* (Geneva).
Isler, H. P. 1994. "Descriptions of the Theatres of Chaironeia, Orchomenos and Tanagra", in P. C. Rosetto and G. P. Sartorio (eds.), *Teatri greci e romani* (Turin) ii. 146, 268, 302.
Kalcyk, H. *et al.* (eds.) 1986. *Studien zur alten Geschichte Siegfried Lauffer zum 70. Geburtstag dargebracht* (Rome).
Kirsten, E. 1950. "Plataiai", *RE* xx.2. 2255–2331.
Knauss, J. 1987. *Die Melioration des Kopaisbeckens durch die Minyer im 2. Jt. v. Chr.* (Munich).
Knoepfler, D. 1981. Review of R. J. Buck, *A History of Boeotia*, *Gnomon* 53: 140–49.
——1985. "Oropos colonie d'Érétrie", *Histoire et Archéologie* 94: 50–55.
——1986*a*. "Inscriptions de la Béotie orientale, ii: Anthedon", in Kalcyk *et al.* (1986) 595–632.
——1986*b*. "Un document attique à reconsidérer: le décret de Pandios sur l'Amphiaraion d'Oropos", *Chiron* 16: 71–98.
——1992. "Sept années de recherches sur l'épigraphie de la Béotie (1985–1991)", *Chiron* 22: 411–503.
——1993. "Adolf Wilhelm et la *pentétèris* des Amphiaraia d'Oropos", in M. Piérart (ed.), *Aristote et Athènes* (Paris) 279–302.
——2001*a*. "La fête des Daidala de Platées chez Pausanias: une clef pour l'histoire de la Béotie hellénistique", in D. Knoepfler and M. Piérart (eds.), *Éditer, traduire, commenter Pausanias* (Geneva) 343–74.
——2001*b*. "Le réintegration de Thèbes dans le *Koinon* béotien après son relèvement par Cassandre, ou les surprises de la chronologie épigraphique", in R. Frei-Stolba and K. Gex (eds.), *Recherches récentes sur le monde hellénistique* (Bern) 11–26.
Koumanoudis, S. N. 1961. "Une ville Béotienne dans Strabon", *RevPhil.* 35: 99–105.
Kraay, C. M. 1976. *Archaic and Classical Greek Coins* (London).
Larsen, J. A. O. 1968. *Greek Federal States: Their Institutions and History* (Oxford).
Lauffer, S. 1959. "Ptoion", *RE* xxiii.2. 1506–78.
——1974. "Orchomenos", *RE* suppl. xiv. 290–333.
——1986. *Kopais: Untersuchungen zur historischen Landeskunde Mittelgriechenlands* (Frankfurt am Main).
—— and Hennig, D. 1974. "Orchomenos", *RE* suppl. xiv. 333–55.
Lazzarini, M. L. 1976. *Le Formule delle dediche votive nella Grecia arcaica*, Atti della Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei 373 (Rome).
Lefèvre, F. 1998. *L'Amphictionie pyléo-delphique: histoire et institutions* (Paris).
Lolling, H. G. 1989. *Reisenotizen aus Griechenland 1876 und 1877*, ed. B. Heinrich and H. Kalcyk (Berlin).
Maier, F. G. 1958. "Die Stadtmauer von Thisbe", *MdI* 73: 17–25.
Migeotte, L. 1984. *L'Emprunt public dans les cités grecques* (Paris).
Munn, M. H. 1987. "Agesilaos' Boiotian Campaigns, X", *ClAnt.* 6: 106–38.

——1993. *The Defense of Attica: The Dema Wall and the Boiotian War of 378–75 B.C.* (Berkeley and Los Angeles).
Osborne, M. J. 1982. *Naturalization in Athens*, ii (Brussels).
Petrakos, V. K. 1968. *Ὁ Ὠρωπὸς καὶ τὸ Ἱερὸντοῦ Ἀμφιαράου (Ὠρωπός)* (Athens).
——1974. *τό Ἀμφιάρειο τοῦ Ὠρωποῦ* (Athens).
Pritchett, W. K. 1979. "Plataiai", *AJP* 100: 145–52.
Robert, L. 1960. "Sur une loi d'Athènes relative aux petites Panathénées", in *Hellenica* xi–xii (Paris) 189–203.
Roesch, P. 1965. *Thespies et la confédération béotienne* (Paris).
——1976. "Anthedon", in *PECS* 59.
——1980. "Le géographe Skylax et la côte méridionale de la Béotie" in, *Centre Jean Palerne, Memoires*, ii (Paris) 123–30.
——1982. *Études Béotiennes* (Paris).
Roller, D. W. 1974. "The Date of the Walls at Tanagra", *Hesperia* 43: 260–63.
——1987. "Tanagra Survey Project 1985: The Site of Grimadha", *BSA* 82: 213–32.
——1989*a*. *Tanagran Studies*, i: *Sources and Documents on Tanagra in Boiotia*, ii: *The Prosopography of Tanagra in Boiotia* (Amsterdam).
——1989*b*. "Recent Investigations at Grimádha (Tanagra)", *Boeotia Antiqua* 1: 129–63.
Salmon, P. 1978. *Etude sur la Confédération béotienne (447/6–386)* (Brussels).
Schachter, A. 1981–94. *Cults of Boiotia*, *BICS* 38.1 (1981), 38.2 (1986), 38.3 (1994), 38.4 (1981) (London).
——1989. "Boiotia in the Sixth Century B.C.", in Beister and Buckler (1989) 73–86.
——1990. "Tilphossa: The Site and its Cults", *CEA* 24: 333–40.
——1994. "Gods in the Service of the State: The Boiotian Experience", in L. A. Foresti *et al.* (eds.), *Federazioni e federalismo nell' Europa antica* (Milan) 67–85.
——1996*a*. "Reconstructing Thespiai", in Hurst and Schachter (1996) 99–126.
——1996*b*. "Costituzione e sviluppo del' *ethnos* beotico", *QUCC* 52: 7–29.
——2003. "Evolutions of a Mystery Cult: The Theban Kabiroi", in M. B. Cosmopoulos (ed.), *Greek Mysteries: The Archaeology and Ritual of Ancient Greek Secret Cults* (London and New York) 112–42.
——forthcoming. "Boiotian Military Elites".
Schaefer, H. 1956. "Polemarchos", *RE* suppl. viii. 1108–17.
Schlager, H. *et al.* 1968–69. "Der Hafen von Anthedon mit Beiträgen zur Topographie und Geschichte der Stadt", *AA* (1968) 21–202, (1969) 229–31.
Schwandner, E. L. 1977. "Die Böotische Hafenstadt Siphai", *AA* 513–51.
Scranton, R. L. 1941. *Greek Walls* (Cambridge, Mass.).
Sherk, R. 1990. "The Eponymous Officials of Greek Cities", *ZPE* 83: 279–88.
Siewert, P. 1977. "L'autonomie de Hyettos et la sympolitie thespienne dans les *Hélleniques d'Oxyrhynchos*", *REG* 90: 462–64.
Snodgrass, A. 1985. "The Site of Askra", in Argoud and Roesch (1985) 87–95.
——1987–89. "The Rural Landscape and its Political Significance", *Opus* 6–8: 53–70.
——1990. "Survey Archaeology and the Rural Landscape of the Greek City", in O. Murray and S. Price (eds.), *The Greek City from Homer to Alexander* (Oxford) 113–36.
Sordi, M. 1993. "La battaglia di Ceresso e la secessione di Tespie", *Boeotia Antiqua* 3: 25–33.
Sparkes, B. A. 1967. "The Taste of a Boeotian Pig", *JHS* 87: 116–30.
Symeonoglou, S. 1985. *The Topography of Thebes from the Bronze Age to Modern Times* (Princeton).
Tausend, K. 1992. *Amphiktyonie und Symmachie: Formen zwischenstaatlicher Beziehungen im archaïschen Griechenland*, *Historia* Einzelschriften 73 (Stuttgart).
Travlos, J. 1988. *Bildlexikon zur Topographie des antiken Attika* (Tübingen).
Tuplin, C. J. 1986. "The Fate of Thespiae during the Theban Hegemony", *Athenaeum* 74: 321–41.
Turner, L. A. 1994. "The History, Monuments and Topography of Ancient Lebadeia in Boeotia, Greece" (Ph.D. diss., University of Philadelphia).
Ure, P. N. 1940. "Mykalessos", *RE* suppl. vii. 496–510.
Vottéro, G. 2001. *Le Dialecte béotien (7e s.–2e s. av. J.-C.)* (Nancy).
Wallace, P. W. 1979. *Strabo's Description of Boiotia* (Heidelberg).
——1985. "The Sanctuary of Demeter at Plataia", in Argoud and Roesch (1985) 97–100.
Wilamowitz-Möllendorff, U. von 1886. "Oropos und die Graer", *Hermes* 21: 91–115.

MEGARIS, CORINTHIA AND SIKYONIA

RONALD P. LEGON

I. The Region

Megaris, Corinthia and Sikyonia constitute the Isthmus of Corinth and the territory immediately south of the Isthmus in the north-eastern Peloponnese. See Maps 57–58. This region has no specific identity in Greek nomenclature. It is set off from the territory of Attika and Boiotia by the mountains of Kithairon, Pateras and Kerata, but, despite these physical barriers, the Athenians regarded Megaris as originally part of Attika (Strabo 8.1.5–7). The region was conquered and settled by the Dorian Greeks between C11 and C9. Although there is no universal agreement regarding early Dorian settlement patterns, it seems most likely that their initial settlements were agricultural communities referred to as *komai*. By C8, in a process that is little recorded or understood (see Roebuck (1972) and Salmon (1984) 57–58), these *komai* coalesced into the city-states of Corinth (no. 227), Megara (no. 225) and Sikyon (no. 228), each with one major urban centre. From that point forward, throughout C7–C4, these states were remarkably stable, politically and territorially.

Many of the initial *komai* survived as towns within the consolidated *poleis*, and numerous other settlements are known within their territories. There seems to have been at least five second-order settlements in Megaris, eleven in Korinthia and five in the territory of Sikyon. These localities are enumerated in the entries for each of the three major *poleis*. Pagai (no. 226) and Aigosthena (no. 224), two Corinthian Gulf ports of Megara, were minor *poleis* by C3, but may have been *poleis* already in C4; they are described, along with Megara, in the Inventory below. Tenea, in the Corinthia, attained the status of *polis* only in Hellenistic times (*SEG* 13 248 (C1); Head, *HN*² 418).

In addition to controlling territory suitable for agriculture and animal husbandry, the Isthmian states occupied territory of the greatest military and commercial significance in Mainland Greece. Both Corinth and Megara straddled the narrow land bridge joining the Peloponnese to central Greece, and were in a position to interdict land traffic in both directions, although they were seldom powerful enough to accomplish this without the involvement of greater military powers. Equally important, both *poleis* possessed ports on the Saronic and Corinthian Gulfs, making them crucial transfer points and entrepôts in the trans-Hellenic and trans-Mediterranean sea trade, and contributing greatly to their prosperity, particularly in the case of Corinth, which controlled the shortest route across the Isthmus. The strategic location of the Isthmus states made them frequently the cockpit of power struggles among the Greek *poleis*, and, at crucial junctures in their history, with the external forces of Persia, Makedon and Rome. These circumstances make all the more remarkable the relative stability of the major *poleis* of the region.

II. The *Poleis*

1. *Megaris*

224. Aigosthena (Aigosthenitas) Map 58. Lat. 38.10, long. 23.15. Size of territory: probably 1. Type: [A]. The toponym is *Αἰγόσθενα, τά* (Xen. *Hell.* 5.4.18). The city-ethnic is *Αἰγοσθενίτας* (*IG* VII 1.5 (*c.*300); 43.2 (C3)) or *Ἠγοσθενίτης* (*IG* VII 207.4 (C3s)).

Aigosthena was situated in the territory of Megara (Xen. *Hell.* 5.4.18: *τῆς Μεγαρικῆς ἐν Αἰγοσθένοις*; cf. 6.4.26). In a difficult chapter, Ps.-Skylax 39 (on which see Flensted-Jensen and Hansen (1996) 142–43) refers to a plurality of *poleis* in Megaris under the heading *πόλεις αἵδε*, and the toponym *Aigosthena* has been plausibly restored from the MS reading *λιγόθθειναι* which follows this heading; accepting this, Aigosthena is here listed as a *polis* in the urban sense in a C4 source. C3 sources use *polis* in the political sense about the city (*IG* VII 207.4, 10 (C3s); 208.19, 21; 213.10, 219.5 (C3s–C2e)) and in C3s a citizen of Aigosthena served as

Delphic *theorodokos* (*BCH* 45 (1921) 11.28). This suggests that Aigosthena may in fact have been a *polis* by C4, as indicated by Ps.-Skylax. However, an inscription of *c.*300 describes Aigosthena as a *kome* of Megara (*IG* VII 1.19), so the city may have had a double status as both a *kome* and a *polis*, and in this case a dependent *polis* within the territory of Megara (Hansen (1995) 74–75); alternatively, the city developed into a *polis* only in the Hellenistic period.

The date of the impressive fortifications at Aigosthena is uncertain, but probably C4l–C3e (*PECS* s.v.; Winter (1971) 142 n. 56); on the site, see Benson (1895).

225. Megara (Megareus) Map 58. Lat. 38.00, long 23.20. Size of territory: 4. Type: A. The toponym is *Μέγαρα, τά* (*IG* I³ 1353 (C5s); Hdt. 9.14). The ethnic is *Μεγαρεύς* (Hdt. 9.21.1; Thuc. 1.103.4; *CID* II 4.1.6 (361/60); *SGDI* 3034 (C4)).

Megara is called a *polis* in the political sense by the C6m poet Theognis (53–58, etc.), in a late copy of a rC5 inscription (*IG* VII 53 = Tod 20.15) and in *CID* II 5.1.3–4, 6 (360). Thuc. 1.103.4 and Xen. *Vect.* 4.46 refer to Megara as a *polis* in the urban sense. The Aristotelian collection of *politeiai* included one of the Megarians (fr. 561). Thgn. 219 refers to his fellow Megarians as *πολιητέων*, but also as *ἀστοῖσιν* (24; cf. Tod 20.13 (*c.*479)). At Thgn. 788, *patre* (= *patris*) is used about Megara, and at Dem. 18.291–92 it is implicitly described as *patris*.

The internal collective use of the city-ethnic is found in Tod 20.5, 13 (*c.*479) and on C4 coins (*infra*) and in a C4l inscription: *ὁ δᾶμος* [*ὁ Μ*]*εγαρέων* (*IG* VII 1.12, 17); the external collective use is attested on the Serpent Column (ML 27.4 (479/8)) and in, e.g., Hdt. 9.21.1 and Thuc. 1.103.4. The internal individual use of the city-ethnic may be found as early as Theognis' self-description: *Θεύγνιδός . . . τοῦ Μεγαρέως* (22–23); the external individual use is attested in Hdt. 3.60.3 (rC6s), on a C4 gravestone (*Χαῖρις Θεγείτου Μεγα*[*ρ*]*εύ*[*ς*] (*SGDI* 3034, from Sparta)) and in *CID* II 63.16 (C4m). The territory is called *τὰ Μέγαρα* (*ἐγ Μεγάρω*<*ν*>: *IG* I³ 1353 (C5m); Thuc. 2.31.1) or *ἡ Μεγαρίς* (Hdt. 9.14; Thuc. 4.70.1) or *ἡ Μεγαρική* (Xen. *Hell.* 5.4.18). It is called *χώρα* in Ps.-Skylax 39.

Megara was situated on the Isthmus of Corinth, bounded by the Corinthian Gulf on the north, Mts. Kithairon, Pateras and Kerata on the east, separating Megarian territory from Attika and Boiotia, the Saronic Gulf on the south, and Mt. Gerania on the west, dividing Megaris and Corinthia. Legon (1981) 59–70 argues that Krommyon, Mt. Gerania and the Perachora peninsula were controlled by Megara after the Dorian invasions and were taken by Corinth (no. 227) in the conflicts of C8. Salmon (1984) 46–48 places the transition at least a century earlier. The Dorians seem to have settled the Megarid in five *komai*: *Ἡραεῖς, Πιραεῖς, Μεγαρεῖς, Κυνοσουρεῖς* and *Τριποδίσκιοι* (Plut. *Quaest. Graec.* 17; cf. Arist. *Poet.* 1448ª30ff; Legon (1981) 47–55; Jones, *POAG* 94–96). Another version of the early settlement pattern may be inferred from Strabo (9.1.10), where he reports that the Megarians interpolated a passage in Homer's *Iliad* linking Salamis with Polichna, Aigiroussa, Nisaia and Tripodes, to prove the pre-Dorian antiquity of their claim to Salamis. The implication is that the latter four places were all within Megarian territory. Rigsby (1987) 98–102 argues that this couplet presents a more accurate picture of the Megarid in the Dark Ages than does Plutarch's testimony. Synoecism appears to have occurred in C8 through the union of five *komai*, including the *kome* of Megara (Plut. *Quaest. Graec.* 17; cf. Moggi, *Sin.* 29–34).

Attested place-names in the Megarid include Aigiros, perhaps in the region of Vathikhoria, based on the incident of the "waggon-rollers" (Plut. *Quaest. Graec.* 59); Aigosthena (no. 224), in C4 a *kome* of Megara (*IG* VII 1.19) and possibly a dependent *polis* of Megara as well (*supra*); Eirenea, a village (Paus. 7.22.8); Kynosoura, Archaic–Classical evidence is lacking, but a C3 inscription (*IG* IV².1 42) refers to the *hekatostyes* of Kynosoura (see Legon (1981) 53 and nn. 23 and 32); Nisaia, the Saronic Gulf port of Megara (Thuc. 4.69; Paus. 1.39.4) associated with the island or promontory of Minoa (Thuc. 4.67; Paus. 1.44.3; Legon (1981) 29–32); Pagai (no. 226) (*IG* I³ 1353.5 (C5m)) was possibly a dependent *polis* of Megara by C4 (*infra*); Panormos, a harbour between Pagai and Aigosthena (Paus. 7.22.10); and Tripodiskos, tentatively identified in a central depression of Mt. Gerania, near the western edge of the Megarian plain (Thuc. 4.70.1; Paus. 1.43.8; Plut. *Quaest. Graec.* 17; Nicopoulou (1969), (1970); and Rigsby (1987)).

Megara's estimated peak population (C5) was 40,000, including 15,000 slaves and free non-citizens (Legon (1981) 23–24, 167–68, 258–59, 268–71).

Megara is attested as a member of the Peloponnesian League in C5e (e.g. Thuc. 1.103.4), probably having accepted the obligatory bilateral alliance with Sparta (no. 345) in C6l at approximately the same time as Corinth (no. 227) (see Legon (1981) 143–45). Megara broke away from the Peloponnesian League to become an ally of Athens (no. 361) in 461, but returned to the League in 448 (Thuc. 1.103.3–114; cf. Diod. 11.79 and 12.5). In C4 and beyond Megara frequently shifted allegiance and attempted to maintain neutrality among its larger neighbours and more distant powers (Legon (1981) 257–79, 285–95, 299–303).

Megara awarded *proxenia* to citizens of, e.g., Argos (no. 347) (*IG* VII 2 (C4l)), and Megarian citizens were appointed *proxenoi* by Athens (no. 361) in C4f (*SEG* 40 57) and by Delphi (no. 177) in 320–310 (*F.Delphes* III.1 161). A citizen of Megara served as Epidaurian *theorodokos* in 360/59 (*IG* IV².1 94.Ia.2).

Megara mustered 3,000 hoplite troops at full mobilisation during the C5e battles of the Persian Wars (Hdt. 9.28.6, 31.5), but less than half this number under similar circumstances in C4e (Legon (1981) 268–71, based on Diod. 15.31 and Xen. *Hell.* 5.2.11–22). Six *strategoi* are attested in C4s (*IG* VII 1–7; cf. Heath (1912–13)). Naval power is attested for Megara as early as its C7l sea battle with Samos (no. 864) (Plut. *Quaest. Graec.* 57). Megara contributed twenty triremes to the Greek fleets at Artemision (Hdt. 8.1.1) and Salamis (Hdt. 8.45).

The Megarians maintained that citizenship had been granted to only two non-Megarians: the hero Herakles and Alexander the Great (Plut. *Mor.* 826C). The denial of citizenship to Hermon the metic is recorded by Dem. 23.212, but see Paus. 10.9.4. For Athenians living as metics in Megara, see also Dem. 29.3; Lycurg 1.21; Plut. *Mor.* 605D. A casualty list of *c.*425–400 (*SEG* 39 411) attests to a group of *ἔποικοι* (l. 22), i.e. free non-citizens.

The existence of the three Dorian *phylai* at Classical Megara is attested by *SEG* 39 411, a casualty list of *c.*425–400 listing the fallen soldiers under the rubrics *Ὑλλῆς*, etc. A *hekatostys* is attested in C3s (*IG* IV².1 42.18–21), but evidence from Megarian colonies (*infra*) suggests that such units existed at a much earlier date (Jones, *POAG* 94). Plut. *Mor.* 295B reports the early existence of five *komai* (*Ἡραεῖς*, *Πιραεῖς*, *Μεγαρεῖς*, *Κυνοσουρεῖς*, *Τριποδίσκιοι*) in Megaris, and one of these, Tripodiskos, is called a *kome* at Thuc. 4.70.1 as well. There is no compelling evidence that these *komai* functioned as civic subdivisions or as units of public organisation (Jones, *POAG* 95–96; Hansen (1995) 72–73), though it is worth noting that the C6–C5 poet Sousarion refers to himself as a *Μεγαρόνεν Τριποδίσκιος* (fr. 1, West).

The Megarian constitution was oligarchic for most of the period between C7 and C5, briefly interrupted by the tyranny of Theagenes in C7s (Thuc. 1.126; Arist. *Pol.* 1305^{a}, *Rh.* 1357^{b}; Plut. *Quaest. Graec.* 18; Paus. 1.40.1, 41.2) and by the "unbridled democracy" in C6e (Arist. *Pol.* 1300^{a}15–19, 1302^{b}31–32, 1304^{b}35–40; Plut. *Quaest. Graec.* 18 and 59). Legon (1981) 105–19 argues that much of the *Theognidea*, e.g. 43–48, 43–60 and 182–92, also refers to the latter regime; cf. Robinson (1997) 114–17. A democratic faction seized power in 427 and had the leading oligarchs exiled. Renewed *stasis* in 424, however, resulted in the Athenian conquest of Nisaia and the long walls, whereupon the Megarians opened their gates to the Lakedaimonians under Brasidas. A radical oligarchic constitution was introduced, and, of the leaders of the democratic faction, some went into exile while others were executed (Thuc. 3.68.3, 4.66–74; Gehrke, *Stasis* 106–10). This oligarchy was still in power in C4e (Thuc. 4.74.3, cf. 5.31.6; Dem. 18.96). Diod. 15.40.4 reports an attempted *coup* that was defeated by the *demos* in 375, though it is more likely to have occurred in 369 after Leuktra (Legon (1981) 276–78). *C.*343 an attempt to introduce a pro-Makedonian faction into power was reported to Athens and thwarted by an Athenian relieving force under Phokion that fortified Nisaia and reconstructed Megara's long walls from the city to Nisaia (Dem. 19.294–95; Plut. *Phoc.* 15.1; cf. Legon (1981) 289–94).

The institution of ostracism is reported by schol. Ar. *Eq.* 855 (*ὠστρακοφόρουν … καὶ Μεγαρεῖς*), a report now supported by the finding of an inscribed C5l–C4e *ostrakon* at Megara (Kritzas (1987)). Decrees of C4l show that decisions were made by the *boule* and the *demos* in accordance with a probouleumatic procedure (*IG* VII 1–14; Rhodes, *DGS* 109–12), but these decrees reflect the constitution after 307. Other institutions known from C4 and later sources include a high court, "the three hundred" (Dem. 19.295), the *aisymnatai* (*IG* VII 15), five *demiourgoi* in C4 (*IG* VII 41) and five *polemarchoi* in C3 (*IG* VII 27–28). A *basileus* is attested as the eponymous official (*IG* VII 1–14); cf. a *grammateus boulas kai demou* (*IG* VII 1–14); a *grammateus tou damou* (*IG* VII 29); and a *grammateus ton synhedron* (*IG* VII 31).

The town centres on the twin hills of Karia and Alkathoa, both under 300 m (Threpsiades and Travlos (1934) and (1936), which are encircled by a 3.5 km perimeter wall (of C4?) enclosing an area of 140 ha (Alexandris (1970)). Long walls from the perimeter wall to the port of Nisaia, approximately 1.5 km distant, were built in C5m (Thuc. 1.103.4), destroyed in 424/3 (Thuc. 4.109.1), and briefly rebuilt in C4m (Plut. *Phoc.* 15); a section of the long walls has been uncovered; see P. Zoridis in *ArchDelt* 38 Chron. 1983 (1989) 39–40 with plate 22B; cf. *AR* (1990–91) 12.

The site and main physical features of the town of Megara are well known. Excavations have identified the agora, stoas, major arteries and portions of the circuit wall (Threpsiades and Travlos (1936)). The fountain house of Theagenes (C6) is Megara's most famous surviving monument (Gruben (1964)). The divinities honoured include Apollo, Artemis, Athena, Demeter, Dionysos and Zeus (Paus. 1.39–44; Hanell

(1934)). The principal divinity was Apollo Pythios (Paus. 1.42.5; *Syll.*³ 653.22 (C2); Meyer (1931) 201–2). On Alkathoa have been found the remains of a temple of Athena (Lauffer (1989) 415).

Orsippos was victor at Olympia in 720 (*IG* VII 52; Paus. 1.44.1 = *Olympionikai* 16; cf. nos. 23, 48, 49, 468). A Megarian treasury was built at Olympia in C6l–C5e (Paus. 6.19.12–14; Bol (1974)) and one at Delphi in C5–C4 (Bommelaer (1991) 126–28). In C4l the trumpeter Herodoros of Megara won the prize in all the four major Panhellenic games, ten times according Ath. 414F–415A, seventeen times according to Poll. 4.89–90); Ath. probably refers to the Olympia and Pythia, Poll. to the Isthmia and Nemea. From the time of the First Sacred War in C6e, Megara seems to have been frequently at odds with Delphi (no. 177) over the question of tolls levied on pilgrims to the sanctuary, and to have been involved in territorial disputes with its neighbours, Athens (no. 361) and Corinth (no. 227) (see Legon (1981) for details). The Megarians dedicated a statue of Apollo at Delphi in C5m for a victory over the Athenians at Nisaia (Paus. 10.15.1); cf. *MEFR* (1983) 631, 1.1. In C4m Megara contributed money to the rebuilding of Apollo's temple at Delphi after its collapse in 369 (*CID* II 4.1.6, II.55 (360)), and Megarians appear among the *naopoioi* (*CID* II 31.34 (354/3, etc.)).

Megara may have minted the disputed C6 "waggon wheel" coins (Head, *HN*² 393), but its first authenticated coinage is dated to C4: *obv.* head of Apollo; *rev.* Apollo's lyre. Legend: ΜΕΓΑΡΕ on the didrachm, ΜΕΓΑ and ΜΕΓ on smaller coins (Head, *HN*² 329–30; *SNG Cop. Attica-Aegina* 459–65).

Megara was an active coloniser from C8s to C7m, founding Megara Hyblaia (no. 36), one of the earliest Sicilian colonies *c.*750 (Thuc. 6.2.2; Strabo 5.270–82; Hellan. fr. 82; cf. Vallet and Villard (1952) for discussion of literary and archaeological evidence). Megara also sent the oecist Pammilos for Selinous (no. 44) in Sicily in C7m (Thuc. 6.4.2), but concentrated its further colonising activities in the Hellespontine and Black Sea regions. Megara was principal or sole founder of Kalchedon (no. 743) *c.*675 (Thuc. 4.75.2; Strabo 12.4.2; Pompon. 1.101), Selymbria (no. 679) *c.*660 (Ps.-Skymnos 715–16), Byzantion (no. 674) *c.*658 (Hdt. 4.144.2; Hsch. *Patria Constantinoupoleos* 5.3), Astakos (no. 737) (Memnon (*FGrHist* 434) fr. 12), Herakleia Pontike (no. 715) in C6m (Paus. 5.26.7) and possibly Olbia (no. 753). Since Megara was not a major factor in later Greek history, many of its early foundations were disputed in late sources. See Hanell (1934), esp. 161–204, for cult and calendar evidence that confirms Megarian influence in the colonies.

226. Pagai (Pagaios) Map 58. Lat. 38.05, long. 23.10. Size of territory: probably 1. Type: [A]. The toponym is Παγαί, αἱ (*IG* I³ 1353.5 (C5m)) or Πηγαί, αἱ (Thuc. 1.111.2; Ps.-Skylax 39). The city-ethnic is Παγαῖος (C2 coins: Head, *HN*² 417).

Pagai was situated in Megaris, according to Hellan. fr. 44 and Ps.-Skylax 39. In a difficult chapter (on which see Flensted-Jensen and Hansen (1996) 142–43), Ps.-Skylax 39 (C4) refers to a plurality of *poleis* in Megaris by the heading πόλεις αἵδε, and among the toponyms which follow this heading Πηγαί is securely preserved; it is thus likely that Pagai is here listed as a *polis* in the urban sense. Several sources indicate that Pagai was a *polis* in the political sense in the Hellenistic period: it legislated (*IG* VII 190), one of its citizens served as Delphic *theorodokos* (*BCH* 45 (1921) II.29 (230–220)), and it was a member of the Achaian Confederacy (Head, *HN*² 417). That it may already have been a *polis* by C4 is suggested by Ps.-Skylax 39. An inscription of *c.*300 refers to a plurality of *komai* in Megaris (*IG* VII 1.19); it seems likely that, like Aigosthena (no. 224), Pagai was one of these *komai*, and so the city may have had a double status as both a *kome* and a *polis* and in this case a dependent *polis* within the territory of Megara (Hansen (1995) 74–75); alternatively, the city developed into a *polis* only in the Hellenistic period. An Archaic inscription suggests a cult of Apollo Lykeios (*IG* VII 35). On the site are remains of undated walls (Hammond (1973) 438–40). Thuc. 1.103.4 shows that Pagai was fortified in C5m.

2. Corinthia

227. Korinthos (Korinthios) Map 58. Lat. 37.55, long. 23.55. Size of territory: 5. Type: A. The toponym is Κόρινθος, ἡ (Anac. 195, Gentili; Simon. fr. 40, Page; Hdt. 3.50.3), also spelled Ϙόρινθος (ML 24 = *IG* I³ 1143 (480/79)). The city-ethnic is Κορίνθιος (*IG* IV 355 (C5e); Hdt. 1.23), also spelled Ϙορίνθιος (*SEG* 41 540B.1 (C6m); *SEG* 23 264a.3 (540–525)).

Corinth is called a *polis* in the urban sense by Hdt. 8.61.2 and Thuc. 1.13.5. The territorial sense is a connotation at Thuc. 1.13.5 (second occurrence). The political sense is attested in C6m (Thgn. 893) and later by Xen. *Hell.* 4.4.2 and *CID* II 4.11.35 and 58. Aristotle also included Corinth in his collection of 158 *politeiai* (frr. 521–22). The term *asty* is used for Corinth on a C5e gravestone found on Salamis (ML 24 = *IG* I³ 1143) and by Simon. fr. 10, West.

The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally on C4 bronze coinage (*infra*), and externally in a C6 oracle reported by Hdt. 5.92β3 and on the Serpent Column (ML 27.2 (479/8)). The external individual city-ethnic is attested, e.g. in

SEG 41 540B.1 (C6m) and *SEG* 23 264a.3 (540–525), in *IG* IV 355 (C5e) and in Thuc. 6.104.1. Corinth is called *patris* in Xen. *Hell.* 4.4.6; Dem. 18.291–92, 20.52–54; and *CEG* II 720 (C4f; cf. *SEG* 27 298, 30 579 (with a suggestion of a slightly earlier date)).

The territory is called ἡ Κορινθία (Thuc. 4.42.1, 45.1; Xen. *Hell.* 4.8.8) or Κόρινθος: Anakreon uses the phrase εὐρυχόροιο Κορίνθου (fr. 195, Gentili). Estimated area was 900 km² (Beloch (1922) 276), situated in the north-eastern Peloponnese, and extending on to the Isthmus of Corinth (see Wiseman (1978) for a thorough survey). The boundary between Corinth and Megaris was Mt. Gerania. The peninsula of Perachora on the Isthmus passed into Corinthian control no later than C8l (Legon (1981) 67–69). Salmon (1984) 46–48 would place the transition at least a century earlier. On the east, the Corinthian coast was washed by the Saronic Gulf, in the north-west by the Corinthian Gulf. The river Nemea formed Corinth's western boundary with Sikyon (no. 228) (Strabo 8.6.25). The complexities of Corinth's southern boundaries with Kleonai (no. 351), Argos (no. 347) and Epidauros (no. 348) are discussed by Salmon (1984) 3–6. *Horoi* are recorded along the border between Corinth and Argos by Xen. *Hell.* 4.4.60. No other *poleis* are recorded as having existed within Corinthian territory in the Archaic and Classical periods. Located settlements in the territory of Corinth (see Wiseman (1978)) comprise Boukephalos (*Bucephalus*: Plin. *HN* 4.18; *Barr.*, AC); Kromna (Κρώμνα: Lycoph. *Alex.* 522 with schol; *Barr.*, AC; cf. *SEG* 22 219 (325–280), a sepulchral inscription over or a dedication by Ἀγάθων Κρωμνίτης); Krommyon (Κρομμυών: Thuc. 4.45.1; Ps.-Skylax 55; Xen. *Hell.* 4.4.13, 19, τεῖχος; Strabo 8.6.22; *Barr.*, AC); Oinoe (Οἰνόη: Xen. *Hell.* 4.5.19; Strabo 8.6.22; *Barr.* C); Schoinous (Σχοινοῦς: Strabo 8.6.4, 22; λιμήν *Barr.*, AC); Sidous (Σιδοῦς: Ps.-Skylax 55; Xen. *Hell.* 4.4.13, 19, τεῖχος; Ath. 82A–B, *Barr.*; AC); Solygeia (Σολύγεια: Thuc. 4.42.2–43.5, κώμη; *Barr.*, AC); Tenea (Τενέα: Xen. *Hell.* 4.4.19; Strabo 8.6.22, κώμη; Paus. 2.5.4; *Barr.*, AC), which developed into a *polis* in the Hellenistic period (see *SEG* 13 348 (C1) and Head, *HN*² 418); and Therme (Θερμά: Xen. *Hell.* 4.5.8; *Barr.*, AC); furthermore, Lechaion (Xen. *Hell.* 4.4.7; Pl. *Menex.* 245E) and Kenchreai (Κεγχρεία(ι): Thuc. 8.23.1, 5; Xen. *Hell.* 4.5.1), the two harbours of Corinth (Ps.-Skylax 40, 55; Paus. 2.2.3; Strabo 8.6.22; *Barr.* AC). Note also that Hdt. 5.92β1 refers to a δῆμος called Πέτρη, and that Theopomp. fr. 173 refers to two κῶμαι μεγάλαι καὶ πολυάνθρωποι called Asai and Mausos; Asai is unlocated (*Barr.*), whereas *Barr.* (following Wiseman (1978) 81) tentatively identifies Mausos with the C site at modern Mapsos.

The estimated C5 population is 70,000, including slaves and any non-citizens (Salmon (1984) 165–69). The three Dorian *phylai* (Hylleis, Pamphyloi and Dymanes), are attested only indirectly, through their presence in Corinthian colonies (Salmon (1984) 57). In C6, probably during the reign of the Kypselidai, the three Dorian *phylai* were replaced for political and military purposes by eight territorially defined *phylai*, in which districts of the various regions of the Corinthia were intentionally mixed by means of subdivisions designated as *hemiogdoa* and *triakada* (C2 decree found at Delos and reported by Robert (1948), (1960); cf. Jones (1980), *POAG* 97–103). There is no compelling evidence that subordinate settlements (*supra*) functioned as units of public administration (Salmon (1984) 417 n. 18), though a sub-ethnic (Κρωμνίτης (*SEG* 22 219 (325–280)) was presumably coined from the toponym of one of them.

Corinth was among the most steadfast allies of Sparta (no. 345) and most active members of the Peloponnesian League throughout C5 (Salmon (1984) 240–380). Corinth was probably allied to Sparta by C6m (ibid. 240ff), some time before they jointly participated in the Samian expedition *c.*525/4 (Hdt. 3.44–46). Corinth's prominence in the Peloponnesian League is widely attested in Herodotos (e.g. 5.92–93) and Thucydides (e.g. 1.67–72, 119–25.1). In 421 Corinth was an equal party to an alliance with Mantinea (no. 281), Elis (no. 251), Chalkidike and Argos (no. 347) (Thuc. 5.27ff), but did not repudiate the alliance with Sparta. In 395 Corinth broke away from Sparta and was instrumental in organising a series of bilateral alliances linking Corinth, Argos, Athens (no. 361) and Boiotia, but dissolved these arrangements and made a new alliance with Sparta at the time of the King's Peace (Diod. 14.82; Xen. *Hell.* 4.2.17, 5.1.36; Andoc. 3.22; cf. Salmon (1984) 348ff). Corinth attempted to remain neutral in C4m (Xen. *Hell.* 7.4.7–10; Salmon (1984) 379–82, 427–28), but joined Athens against Makedonia, probably without concluding a formal alliance (Dem. 18.237; Aeschin. 3.95; Strabo 9.2.37; cf. Salmon (1984) 383). Corinth was garrisoned by the Makedonians after Chaironeia (Polyb. 38.3.3; Ael. *VH* 6.1).

The founding of Corinth was described in myth. Aletes is alleged to have consulted the oracle at Dodona, and received Zeus's blessing for a foundation at Corinth (Paus. 2.4.3; Pind. *Ol.* 13.14; Satyros *P Oxy.* 2465 fr. 3.2 12–20). The proverb "δέχεται καὶ βῶλον Ἀλήτης" (Diogenian. 4.27; Zen. 3.22; Douris (*FGrHist* 76) fr. 84) may be traced back to Eumelos (Salmon (1984) 38). Based on a king list (Diod. 7.9), however, Bacchis may have been the actual founder, *c.*900. Legend

attributed the Corinthian synoecism to King Aletes at the time of the foundation. Salmon (1984) 57–58 concludes that Corinthia was unified from the time of the Dorian conquest, *c.*900 (Phot. *Lexicon*: *πάντα ὅκτω*).

During the Persian War Corinth mustered 5,000 hoplites at Plataiai in 479 (Hdt. 9.28.3) and forty triremes at Artemision and Salamis (Hdt. 8.1, 43). In the Peloponnesian War Corinth sent 3,000 hoplites and thirty triremes to Leukimme (Thuc. 1.27.2), ninety triremes to Sybota (Thuc. 1.46.1), forty triremes and 1,500 hoplites to restore the tyrant of Astakos (no. 116) (Thuc. 2.33.1), and 2,000 hoplites to Boiotia after Delion in 424 (Thuc. 4.100.1). Some 3,000 Corinthian hoplites fought at Nemea in 394 (Xen. *Hell.* 4.2.17). Corinth appointed eight *strategoi* to command its forces, one per tribe (Thuc. 1.46.2, 2.33.1, 7.7.1, 19.4, 34.2). Salmon (1984) 232–33 suggests that they "acted as a college, without an overall commander".

Few diplomatic envoys are named in the sources, but Hdt. 5.93.1 (rC6l) describes Sokles as *ἀπὸ Κορίνθου πρεσβεύων*, and Aineas, son of Okytos, and Euphamidas, son of Aristonymos, were signers of the Peloponnesian truce with Athens in 423 (Thuc. 4.119.2). Corinth awarded *proxenia* to citizens of Korkyra (no. 123) (Thuc. 3.70.1), and Corinthian citizens were appointed *proxenoi* by Karthaia (no. 492) (*IG* XII 5 542.14 (C4m)) and Delphi (no. 177) (*F.Delphes* III.1 178–79 (C4l)). In 356 a *theorodokos* was appointed to host *theoroi* from Epidauros (no. 348) (*IG* IV^2.1 95.2).

Monarchy gave way to the Bacchiad aristocracy in C8m (Diod. 7.9; Salmon (1984) 55–56). The tyranny of the Kypselids lasted from C7m to C6e (Arist. *Pol.* 1315^{b}22–26; Salmon (1984) 186–230). Thereafter, an oligarchic constitution characterised Corinth throughout C6, C5 and C4, interrupted only by a brief period of democracy 392–386 (*infra*) and the tyranny of Timophanes in 366 (Arist. *Pol.* 1306^{a}21–24). A Council of Eighty comprised of eight *probouloi* and seventy-two ordinary members (Nic. Dam. (*FGrHist* 90) fr. 60.2; cf. Will (1955) 609–15) existed by C4 and probably goes back to the time of the tyranny. This Council is probably the *γερουσία* mentioned by Diod. (16.65.6, 9) as involved in the dispatch of Timoleon to Sicily in 346/5 (Salmon (1984) 231). Thuc. 5.30.5 mentions a Corinthian *ξύλλογος* in 421, which must be an assembly.

Isopoliteia with Argos (no. 347) in C4e (Xen. *Hell.* 4.4.6; Diod. 14.92.1) led to joint administration of the Isthmian Games and some reciprocal political rights, but its further significance is disputed. Xen. *Hell.* 4.4.6 took it as a step toward the merger of the two *poleis*. Salmon (1984) 357–71 disputes this interpretation. Corinthian exiles are attested at the time of these events: 150 of these exiles fought under the Spartan Praxitas to retake Corinth (Xen. *Hell.* 4.4.9). The *isopoliteia* was dissolved by the terms of the King's Peace (Xen. *Hell.* 5.1.32–34). Salmon (1984) 354–62 argues that even the revolution of 392 (Xen. *Hell.* 4.4.2–5; Diod. 14.86.1–2) did not overturn the oligarchy, but Xen. *Hell.* 4.4.6 supports the view of Kagan (1962) 447–53 and Hamilton (1979) 260–78 that a democratic regime came to power briefly.

Corinth suffered threats and outbreaks of *stasis* during the tyranny of Periander (Hdt. 5.92*ζ*–*η*; Arist. *Pol.* 1284^{a}26–33, 1311^{a}20–22, 1313^{a}36–37, ^{b}21–23), in connection with the overthrow of the tyranny (Nic. Dam. (*FGrHist* 90) fr. 60), and in C4f during and after the Corinthian War: *stasis* between pro-Lakedaimonian and anti-Lakedaimonian factions broke out in 395 (*Hell. Oxy.* 10.3), and the core of the pro-Lakedaimonian faction was massacred in 392 (Xen. *Hell.* 4.4.1–5; cf. Buckler (1999)). Later in 392 the Corinthian exiles and their allies conquered Lecheion and won a battle fought against the Corinthians in the city (Xen. *Hell.* 4.4.9–11). The anti-Lakedaimonian democrats were expelled in turn after the King's Peace in 386, when the pro-Spartan oligarchy had been restored (Xen. *Hell.* 5.1.34). Corinthian exiles are found in Argos (Diod. 15.40.3) and in Athens (Dem. 20.51–57), and an attempted return in 375 ended in bloodshed (Diod. 15.40.3; for the date, see Stylianou (1998) 330–31). Another *stasis* occurred in 366/5, when Timophanes was appointed commander of a standing force of 400 mercenaries, but then set himself up as tyrant of Corinth, whereupon he was murdered by his brother Timoleon (Plut. *Tim.* 4.4; Arist. *Pol.* 1306^{a}22–24; Diod. 16.65.3–8).

The Akrokorinth was a "natural fortress" (Salmon (1984) 220) and traces of what are most likely Archaic fortifications have been found there (Carpenter in Bon *et al.* (1936) 1ff). Kypselos is credited with building the earliest fortifications around the city (rubble-filled stone with an average width of 2.4 m) and joining it to the Akrokorinth (A. N. Stillwell (1948) 14). Remains are dated to C7f (ibid.; Lang (1996) 171). The Classical city walls of Corinth were approximately 7.5 km in length, enclosing an urban area of 600–700 ha (Carpenter in Bon *et al.* (1936) 1–83). In C5m, long walls were built between Corinth and the port of Lechaion (Parsons in Bon *et al.* (1936) 84–125). These were breached by Praxitas in 392 (Xen. *Hell.* 4.4.13).

Public buildings included the *bouleuterion* (Diod. 16.65.6 (r346)), the Kyklopeian Springs constructed by the Bacchiads in C8–C7, the Sacred Spring, the springs of

Glauke (Paus. 2.3.5) and Peirene (Paus. 2.3.3; cf. Salmon (1984) 78–80 on the springs); and remains have been found of a *stadion* of C5f (Romano (1993) 43). Pausanias visited what remained of the Corinthian agora (2.2.5–3.1); the north stoa was built in several stages in C5; the early stage of the north building consisted of a stoa and shops (R. Stillwell *et al.* (1941) 212–28), the south stoa built in C4l (Broneer (1954) 1.4 and Williams (1980) 121), and a theatre (Paus. 2.3.6). The earliest theatre was built in C5l (R. Stillwell (1952) 131–33; cf. *TGR* ii. 152–55). Xen. *Hell.* 4.4.3 mentions a theatre in the context of Corinthian *stasis* in 392. Among the temples and shrines observed by Pausanias were the shrine of Tyche (2.2.7), the temple of Aphrodite (Strabo 8.6.20), the temple of Athena of the Bridle, and the temple of Zeus Supreme (2.4.5). Pausanias omits mention of the temple of Apollo built under the tyranny in C6m, which superseded an earlier temple of Apollo built in C7 by the Bacchiads (Salmon (1984) 78–79, 180). At Isthmia, the Corinthians built a temple of Poseidon and a sanctuary of Kyklopes (Ps.-Skylax 55; Paus. 2.2.2). At Perachora, Kypselos built the temple and altar of Hera Akraia in C6.

Among the cults attested in Corinth are those associated with Aphrodite, Hera, Medea, Athena, Bellerophon, Apollo, Poseidon, Ephesian Artemis, Dionysos, Hermes, Zeus of the Underworld, Zeus the All-Highest, Demeter, Kore, the Fates, Necessity and Violence, Pelagian and Egyptian Isis, and Serapis. (See Odelberg (1896) and Will (1955) 81–236.) Corinth was custodian of the sanctuary at Isthmia and presided over the Isthmian Games (Thuc. 8.9–10.1; Xen. *Hell.* 4.5.1–2; Paus. 2.2.2).

Consultation of the oracle at Delphi by the Bacchiad regime (C6e) is recorded by Hdt. 5.92*β*3. Corinthian victories are reported in the Olympic Games (*Olympionikai* 13, 14, 147, 152, 154, 229, 249–50, 367c), the Pythian Games (Pind. *Ol.* 13.37; *Anth. Pal.* 13.19), the Nemean Games (Pind. *Ol.* 13.44; *Anth. Pal.* 13.19), the Panathenaic Games (*Anth. Pal.* 13.19), and, of course, the Isthmian Games (Pind. *Ol.* 13.41; *Anth. Pal.* 13.19). The earliest known treasury at Delphi was dedicated by the Corinthian tyrant Kypselos (Hdt. 1.14.2; Plut. *Mor.* 164A, 400D–E). He also dedicated a gold colossus at Olympia in C7m (Pl. *Phdr.* 236B). The Olympieion allegedly built by Periander, near Corinth, was destroyed in C4e (Paus. 2.5.5).

Corinth had one of the most prolific mints in ancient Greece (see Kraay (1976) 78–88). C6f and later silver coins bore an image of Pegasos and the letter ϙ on the *obv.*, and a helmeted Athena on the *rev.*, with Aphrodite substituted for Athena on drachms and smaller denominations. The Corinthian weight standard was adopted in much of northwest Greece. Minting ceased during the greater part of the Peloponnesian War in C5l and resumed in C4e (Kraay (1976) 85–86). On C4 bronze coinage we find *K*, *KOP*, and *KOPINΘIΩN* (Head, *HN*² xlvii and 399ff; *SNG Cop. Corinth* 1–67).

Corinth was involved in the colonisation of Syracuse (no. 47), oecist Archias (Thuc. 6.3.2); Apollonia (no. 77), which was either a Corinthian foundation (Thuc. 1.26.2; Plin. *HN* 3.145; Plut. *Dio* 41.45.1; Steph. Byz. 105.21–22) or a joint foundation with Korkyra (Strabo 7.5.8; Ps.-Skymnos 439–40); Elea (no. 95); possibly Alyzeia (no. 112); Ambrakia (no. 113), oecist Gorgos (Strabo 7.7.6; Ps.-Skymnos 453–55; Thuc. 2.80.3); Anaktorion (no. 114) in C7l–C6e (Nic. Dam. (*FGrHist* 90) fr. 57.7; Strabo 10.2.8); Plut. *Mor.* 552E credits Periander with this foundation, but Anaktorion may have been jointly founded with Korkyra (Thuc. 1.55.1); possibly Astakos (no. 116); Korkyra (no. 123), oecist Chersikrates (Thuc. 1.26; Ap. Rhod. 4.1212 with schol.; Timaeus (*FGrHist* 566) fr. 80); Leukas (no. 126), founded by Kypselos (Hdt. 8.45; Thuc. 1.30.2; Ps.-Skylax 34); Sollion (no. 137); Chalkis (no. 145); Molykreion (no. 150); and Poteidaia (no. 598) in C6e, said to have been founded by Periander (Nic. Dam. (*FGrHist* 90) fr. 59.1). Corinth maintained active relations with its colonies. Thus, a Corinthian, Phalios, son of Eratokleides, was oecist at the Korkyran colony of Epidamnos in C7lm (Thuc. 1.24.1–2); in C5e, Corinth and Korkyra arbitrated between Syracuse and Hippokrates of Gela (Hdt. 7.154.3); as late as C5s, magistrates called ἐπιδημιουργοί were sent to Poteidaia (Thuc. 1.56.2), and in 346/5 Timoleon was sent to Syracuse on that city's own request to end the political chaos there (Diod. 16–65; see Talbert (1974)). See further Graham (1964) 118–53.

3. *Sikyonia*

228. Sikyon (Sikyonios) Map 58. Lat. 38.00, long. 22.45. Size of territory: 4. Type: A. The toponym is Σικυών, ὁ (Pind. *Ol.* 13.109; Thuc. 1.111.2; Xen. *Hell.* 4.2.14) or ἡ (Pind. *Nem.* 9.53); in local script up to C4l, it appears as Σεκυών (*SEG* 11 257 (C5f)). The ethnic is Σικυόνιος (ML 27.3 (479/8)), Σικυώνιος (*IG* v.1 1565 = Tod 120; Hdt. 5.69.1), or Σεκυώνιος (*SGDI* 3162; Griffin (1982) 62); Σϵϙυϝονιος is found in *LSAG* 140 and pl. 23 (C7).

In Classical sources Sikyon is called a *polis* in the political sense by Thuc. 8.3.2 and Xen. *Hell.* 7.1.44; the urban sense is found at Ps.-Skylax 41, and *asty* appears in Xen. *Hell.* 7.3.4 and Theopomp. fr. 176; *polis* in the territorial sense is found

in Xen. *Hell.* 7.3.3 (*ὅλην . . . τὴν πόλις*). The term *asty* is used for Sikyon at Xen. *Hell.* 7.3.4 and Theopomp. fr. 176 and 311. Xenophon refers to the *politeia* at *Hell.* 7.1.44 (*κατὰ τοὺς ἀρχαίους νόμους ἡ πολιτεία ἦν*), and Aristotle included Sikyon in his collection of 158 *politeiai* (Arist. fr. 598).

The internal collective use of the city-ethnic is found in *IG* IV 429.3 (C4s); the external collective use is attested in *IvO* 649 (C5f), on a C5m bronze greave dedicated at Olympia (Griffin (1982) 62; cf. *SEG* 31 369), and on the Serpent Column (ML 27.3 (479/8)); the external individual use is found on a C7 graffito from Delphi: *Σεϙυϝονιος* (*LSAG* 140 and pl. 23), in *IG* I³ 741 (C5e), on a C4f limestone base at Delphi: [*Κλ*]*έων ἐπόησε Σικυώνιος* (Tod 120), and in the historians (e.g. Hdt. 5.69.1; Thuc. 7.19.4). Sikyon is called *patra* (= *patris*) in *CEG* II 811 (356) and is implicitly called *patris* at Dem. 18.291–92 (cf. *IG* II² 448.55–56 (318/7)).

The territory is called *Σικυών* (Hdt. 1.145, 5.67.1; Thuc. 5.81.2) or *Σικυωνία* (Thuc. 4.101.3); it is called *χώρη* at Hdt. 5.67. The size of the territory has been estimated at 360–400 km² (Beloch (1922) 276). Sikyon's eastern boundary was the river Nemea, which divided its territory from Corinthia (Strabo 8.6.25). Sikyon was bounded by the Corinthian Gulf on the north, and by the river Sythas and the territory of Pellene (no. 240) on the west (Paus. 7.27.12). In the south, Sikyon was separated from the territory of Phleious (no. 355) by mountains—Apesas, Spiria and Trikaranon (Skalet (1928) 28). The main area of occupation and the city of Sikyon were located in a triangular coastal plain bounded by the rivers Asopus and Helisson (Skalet (1928) 1–4). Urban sites within Sikyonia included Titane, probably the most important site after Sikyon itself, but with little remaining (Paus. 2.11.3; *Barr.*, AC); Ephyra (Strabo 8.3.4; not in *Barr.*), Plataiai (Strabo 9.2.31; not in *Barr.*), Donoussa (Gonoussa; not in *Barr.*) (Paus. 5.18.7, 7.26.6; Hom. *Il.* 2.573), and Phoibia (alias Bouphia: Steph. Byz. 184.5 = Ephor. fr. 81; not in *Barr.*) called a *πόλισμα* (town) by Paus. 9.15.2. Forts identified in the sources are Epieikia (Xen. *Hell.* 4.2.14, 4.13); Derai (Gerai), a stronghold (Xen. *Hell.* 7.1.22); and Thyamia (Xen. *Hell.* 7.2.1, 23, 4.1.11).

The free population in C5 and C4 is estimated at 20,000 (Beloch (1922) 276). The three Dorian *phylai*—Hylleis, Pamphyloi and Dymanes—are attested, and an additional tribe, Aigialeis, established for the pre-Dorian population (Hdt. 5.68). These were abolished by the tyrant Kleisthenes, but restored after the fall of the tyranny in C6m (Hdt. 5.68).

Sikyon was dominated by Argos (no. 347) until the period of the Sikyonian tyranny, when Kleisthenes (C6e) fought a war with Argos (Hdt. 5.67–68). It was a member of the Peloponnesian League from C6l to 369 (the earliest notice of Sikyon's membership being in 494, when it supplied ships to the Spartan king, Kleomenes: Hdt. 6.92.1). In the reorganisation of the Peloponnesian League in 377, Sikyon was paired with Phleious (no. 355) and the communities of Akte in one of the ten divisions (Diod. 15.31.2). Sikyon was included as a subordinate party in the Athenian/Spartan alliance of 369 (Xen. *Hell.* 7.1.1, 15–23, 2.2). After Sparta's defeat at Leuktra in the same year, Sikyonia was invaded by Epameinondas, conquered and forced to join the Theban alliance (Xen. *Hell.* 7.1.18, 22, 44; 2.2, 3.2; Diod. 15.69.1). A Theban harmost is attested in Sikyon *c.*366 (Xen. *Hell.* 7.2.11 and 3.4, 9). By the time of Alexander's death a Makedonian garrison held Sikyon (*IG* II² 448). An inscription from C4l records a treaty between Athens (no. 361) and Sikyon (*Staatsverträge* no. 445).

In 480, Sikyon sent twelve ships to the Hellenic fleet at Artemision (Hdt. 8.1.2) and, later, fifteen to Salamis (Hdt. 8.43). In 479, Sikyon mustered 3,000 hoplites at Plataiai (Hdt. 9.28.4, 31.3). At Nemea, a century later, Sikyon mustered only 1,500 hoplites (Xen. *Hell.* 4.2.16). The tyrant Orthagoras was a general (*polemarchos*) according to *P Oxy.* 11, 1365, and Herodotos calls Perileos, the Sikyonian general who died at Mykale in 479, *strategos* (Hdt. 9.103.1). In C4m Euphron asked the people of Sikyon to choose *strategoi*, which they did (Xen. *Hell.* 7.1.45).

Few Sikyonian diplomats are named, but Damotimos, son of Naukrates, and Onesimos, son of Megakles, are recorded as signers of the one-year truce in 423 (Thuc. 4.119.2); cf. Thuc. 1.28.1 for Sikyonian *presbeis*. *Ἀγαθοκλεῖς Ἀμούνταο* was Sikyonian *proxenos* at Thespiai (no. 222) in Boiotia (*IG* VII 1724); and three Sikyonian *proxenoi* are noted in Messenia in C4s or later (Paus. 4.14). Kleandros and Sokles were *proxenoi* and *theorodokoi* of the Pisatans (no. 262) *c.*365–363 (*Syll.*³ 171; Perlman (2000) 64–65, 175). There is no evidence of grants of citizenship by Sikyon, or of free non-citizens. A citizen of Sikyon was granted citizenship by Athens (no. 361) in 323/2 (*IG* II² 448), and another by Eretria (no. 370) in C4s (*Eretria* XI 1).

The Dorian aristocracy of C8–C7 gave way to tyranny in C7m. Sikyon experienced a century of tyrannical rule (Arist. *Pol.* 1315ᵇ; Diod. 8.24; cf. Skalet (1928) 51–62 and Griffin (1982) 40–59, esp. 43–47 on chronology) under Orthagoras, Myron, Aristonymos, Isodemos, Kleisthenes and Aischines. The tyrant Kleisthenes reformed the tribal structure in C6f (Hdt. 5.67–68; Jones, *POAG* 103–6). After the overthrow of the tyranny of Aischines in C6m (Plut. *De Herod. Mal.* 21),

probably through Spartan intervention, oligarchy prevailed in Sikyon through most of C6, C5 and C4. Fearing that Sikyon might go over to Argos, the Spartans intervened again in 417 to establish a more extreme oligarchic regime (Thuc. 5.81.2). We do not know how long this regime remained in power, but Sikyon is referred to as supporting Sparta several years later, during the Sicilian campaign, under compulsion (Thuc. 7.58.3). There was an unsuccessful revolution in Sikyon in 375/4 (Diod. 15.40.4; for the date, see Stylianou 1998) 330–31), and the oligarchy survived a shift to the Theban alliance in 369 except for the brief democratic/tyrannical *coup* of Euphron in 367 (Xen. *Hell.* 7.1.44–46, 3.4–12; Diod. 15.70.3; Plut. *Arat.* 53). Outbreaks of *stasis* occurred in C6m when the tyranny was abolished (Plut. *Mor.* 859D), in 417 when a more narrow form of oligarchy was established (Thuc. 5.81.2), *c.*375 when a *coup* failed, probably planned by a democratic faction (Diod 15.40.4), in 367–366 when Euphron established a short-lived tyranny (Xen. *Hell.* 7.1.44–46, 2.11–15, 2–12), and *c.*340 when a pro-Macedonian group was headed by the "traitors" Aristratos and Epichares (Dem. 18.48, 295).

Artemis was the chief goddess of Sikyon, and Apollo the most revered god. The presence of Athena Polias or Poliouchos is disputed (for: Odelberg (1896) 31; against: Hitzig-Blümner, *Pausanias* 1.2, p. 537). *SEG* 11 257.6 (C5f) attests to athletic games at Sikyon (cf. Pind. *Nem.* 9).

The Sikyonians consulted the Delphic oracle on several important occasions in rC6m (Parke and Wormell (1956) nos. 23 (cf. Diod. 8.24 and Plut. *Mor.* 553A) and 28; Pliny, *HN* 36.9). Sikyonians are listed among the temple-builders (*naopoioi*) who restored the temple of Apollo at Delphi in C4m, e.g. Ξενότιμος Σικυώνιος (*CID* II 31.12 (356/5)). A collective donation of money by Sikyon towards this purpose is recorded in *CID* II 8.11.9 (C4m).

Tellis won the *stadion* at Olympia in 708 (*Olympionikai* 20); Myron, the tyrant, was chariot victor in 648 (Paus. 6.19.2; *Olympionikai* 52), and Kleisthenes, his descendant, won the chariot race in 576 or 572 (Hdt. 6.126.2; *Olympionikai* 96). Pythokritos, son of Kallinikos, the flute-player, won six consecutive victories at the Pythian Games in C6, and was honoured with a statue at Olympia (Paus. 6.14.9–10). Boukelos won the boys' boxing some time between 412 and 360 (Paus. 6.13.7; Hyde (1921) 120; *Olympionikai* 360). Sostratos was most prolific of all, winning the pancratic contests at Isthmia, Nemea, Olympia (*Olympionikai* 420, 425, 433) and Delphi (Paus. 6.4.2).

Sikyon built a prominent treasury at Delphi (Paus. 10.11.1). Archaeology has established a C5s building, but older C6f foundations beneath may be remains of a Sikyonian treasury of Kleisthenes' time, though the traditional attribution of the building to Sikyon is uncertain (Griffin (1982) 106–11). A treasury at Olympia was dedicated by the Sikyonian Olympic victor and tyrant "Myron and the Sikyonian *demos*" in C7m (Paus. 6.19.1–6), but letter-form dating assigns the archaeological remains to C5f (Jeffery (1990) 143–44). There may have been an earlier C7l structure (Herrman (1972) 99–100).

The town of Sikyon had a two-level acropolis. A C5 wall surrounded the city, and another wall protected the acropolis. The city walls enclosed an area of approximately 175 ha (this wall is mentioned in Xen. *Hell.* 4.4.14; Aen. Tact. 29.12; Diod. 11.88.2 (r453)). The agora is mentioned at Hdt. 5.67.1. The harbour must have had its own fortifications (see Skalet (1928) 7). In C4l, the city was relocated by Demeterios Poliorketes: the outer city wall was demolished, the lower acropolis wall was strengthened (2.5 m thickness), and a new wall was built surrounding the upper acropolis. The urban population moved from the old city on the plain below the acropolis to what had been the lower acropolis (Diod. 20.102; Plut. *Demetr.* 25; Strabo 8.6.25; Paus. 2.7.1; cf. Skalet (1928) 2–3; Griffin (1982) 23–24, 78).

The remains of public buildings in the city and on the acropolis are surveyed by Griffin (1982) 6–24. Most of the visible ruins date from Hellenistic and Roman times, including a theatre on the slope of the acropolis (*TGR* ii. 291–92; cf. Paus. 2.7.5; cf. Polyb. 29.24.6 and 25.2); but there is an Archaic temple rebuilt in the Hellenistic period. Paus. 2.9.6 mentiones a *bouleuterion* in the agora and a stoa ascribed to Kleisthenes, the C6 tyrant who also had a part of the *prytaneion* turned into a sanctuary for Melanippos (Hdt. 5.67). The C4l remains of a quadrangular hypostyle hall on the east side of the agora are usually identified with the *bouleuterion* referred to by Pausanias (Gneisz (1990) 351–52). Xen. *Hell.* 7.1.45 describes a gathering of the *demos* in the agora in 367–366. Pausanias describes (2.11.1–2) the remains of older temples on the original acropolis, whose precise location is still in dispute (Griffin (1982) 21–24). These sacred buildings include the temple of Athena, the sanctuaries of Artemis and Apollo, Hera, and Demeter, and the shrines of Karneian Apollo and Hera Prodromia.

The earliest Sikyonian coinage dated to C6l. Sikyon used the Aiginetan weight standard (Kraay (1976) 329). C5 silver coinage had types: *obv.* Chimaera, or Apollo kneeling with his bow and arrows; *rev.* dove (a symbol of Artemis) and the letter *Σ*. C4e coinage with legend *ΣΕ* or *ΣΙ*. See Head, *HN*² 409–12 and *SNG Cop. Phliasia-Laconia* 18–72.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Alexandris, O. 1970. "The Ancient Wall of Megara", *AAA* 3: 21–26 (in Greek).

Beloch, J. 1922. *Grieschische Geschichte*, iii.1² (Berlin and Leipzig).

Benson, E. F. 1895. "Aegosthena", *JHS* 15: 314–24.

Bol, P. C. 1974. "Die Giebelskulpturen des Schatzhauses von Megara", *AM* 89: 64–75.

Bommelaer, J.-F. 1991. *Guide de Delphes: le site* (Paris).

Bon, A., Carpenter, R., and Parsons, A. W. 1936. *Corinth*, iii.2: *The Defenses of Acrocorinth and the Lower Town* (Cambridge, Mass.).

Broneer, O. 1954. *Corinth*, i.4: *The South Stoa and its Roman Successors* (Princeton).

Buckler, J. 1999. "A Note on Diodorus 14.86.1", *CP* 94: 210–14.

Flensted-Jensen, P., and Hansen, M. H. 1996. "Pseudo-Skylax' Use of the Term *Polis*", *CPCPapers* 3: 137–67.

Gneisz, D. 1990. *Das antike Rathaus: das griechische Bouleuterion und die frührömische Curia* (Vienna).

Graham, A. J. 1964. *Colony and Mother City in Ancient Greece* (Manchester).

Griffin, A. 1982. *Sikyon* (Oxford).

Gruben, G. 1964. "Das Quellhaus von Megara", *ArchDelt* 19A: 37–41.

Hamilton, C. D. 1979. *Sparta's Bitter Victories: Politics and Diplomacy in the Corinthian War* (Ithaca, NY).

Hammond, N. G. L. 1973. *Studies in Greek History* (Oxford).

Hanell, K. 1934. *Megarische Studien* (Lund).

Hansen, M. H. 1995. "*Kome*: A Study in how the Greeks Designated and Classified Settlements which were not *Poleis*", *CPCPapers* 2: 45–81.

Heath, R. M. 1912–13. "Proxeny Decrees from Megara", *BSA* 19: 82–88.

Herrman, H. V. 1972. *Olympia: Heiligtum und Wettkampfstätte* (Munich).

Hyde, W. W. 1921. *Olympic Victor Monuments and Greek Athletic Art* (Washington).

Jeffery, L. H. 1990. *Local Scripts of Archaic Greece*² (Oxford).

Jones, N. F. 1980. "The Civic Organization of Corinth", *TAPA* 110: 161–93.

Kagan, D. 1962. "Corinthian Politics and the Revolution of 392 B.C.", *Historia* 9: 447–57.

Kraay, C. M. 1976. *Archaic and Classical Greek Coins* (London).

Kritzas, C. B. 1987. "Τὸ πρῶτο μεγαρικὸ ὄστρακον", *Horos* 5: 59–73.

Lang, F. 1996. *Archaische Siedlungen in Griechenland* (Berlin).

Lauffer, S. (ed.) 1989. *Griechenland: Lexikon der historischen Stätten* (Munich).

Legon, R. P. 1981. *Megara: The Political History of a Greek City-State to 336 B.C.* (Ithaca, NY).

Lippold, G. 1923. "Sikyon", *RE*² iv. 2528–49.

Meyer, E. 1931. "Megara", *RE* xv. 152–205.

Nicopoulou, Y. 1969. "Reports from the Megarid", *AAA* 2: 339–43.

——1970. "Reports from the Megarid", *ArchDelt* 25B: 99–120.

Odelberg, P. 1896. *Sacra Corinthia, Sicyonia, Phliasia* (Uppsala).

Parke, H. W., and Wormell, D. E. W. 1956. *The Delphic Oracle*, ii: *The Oracular Responses* (Oxford).

Perlman, P. 2000. *City and Sanctuary in Ancient Greece: The* Theorodokia *in the Peloponnese*, Hypomnemata 121 (Göttingen).

Rigsby, K. J. 1987. "Megara and Tripodiscus", *GRBS* 28: 93–102.

Robert, L. 1948. "Un décret dorien trouvé à Délos", *Hellenica* 5: 5–15.

——1960. "Addenda aux tomes I–X: tome V: décret dorien trouvé à Dêlos", *Hellenica* 11–12: 562–69.

Robinson, E. W. 1997. *The First Democracies: Early Popular Government Outside Athens*, *Historia* Einzelschriften 107 (Stuttgart)

Roebuck, C. 1972. "Some Aspects of Urbanization in Corinth", *Hesperia* 41: 96–127.

Romano, D. G. 1993. *Athletics and Mathematics in Archaic Corinth: The Origins of the Greek Stadion* (Philadelphia).

Salmon, J. B. 1984. *Wealthy Corinth: A History of the City to 338 B.C.* (Oxford).

Skalet, C. H. 1928. *Ancient Sicyon: With a Prosopographia Sicyonia* (Baltimore).

Stillwell, A. N. 1948. *Corinth*, xv.1: *The Potters' Quarter* (Cambridge, Mass.).

Stillwell, R. 1952. *Corinth*, ii: *The Theatre* (Princeton).

—— Scranton, R. L., and Freeman, S. E. (with contributions by H. E. Askew) 1941. *Corinth* i.2: *Architecture* (Cambridge, Mass.).

Stylianou, P. J. 1998. *A Historical Commentary on Diodorus Siculus Book 15* (Oxford).

Talbert, R. J. A. 1974. *Timoleon and the Revival of Greek Sicily 344–317 B.C* (Cambridge).

Threpsiades, J. C., and Travlos, J. 1934. "Archaeological Discoveries in Megara", *Prakt* 39–57 (in Greek).

—— ——1936. "Excavations in Megara", *Prakt* 43–56, 202–8 (in Greek).

Vallet, G., and Villard F. 1952. "Les dates de fondation de Mégara Hyblaea et de Syracuse", *BCH* 76: 289–347.

Will, E. 1955. *Korinthiaka: recherches sur l'histoire et la civilisation de Corinthe des origines aux guerres médiques* (Paris).

Williams, C.K. 1980. "Corinth Excavations, 1979", *Hesperia* 49: 107–34.

Winter, F. E. 1971. *Greek Fortifications* (Toronto and Buffalo).

Wiseman, J. 1978. *The Land of the Ancient Corinthians* (Gothenburg).

ACHAIA

CATHERINE MORGAN, JONATHAN M. HALL

I. The Region

The name of the region is Ἀχαΐα, ἡ (Thuc. 2.83.3, 84.3; Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.23, 7.1.41). The ethnic is Ἀχαιός (*IvO* 630.3 (C6–C5); Hdt. 1.145). The collective use of the ethnic is attested externally (Hdt. 1.145; Thuc. 2.9.2; Xen. *Hell.* 4.6.1; *IG* II² 112 (362/1)), and internally on federal coins dating to *c.*370–360 and inscribed *AXAIΩN* (Head, *HN*² 416); cf. *SEG* 14 375 (C4l). The external individual use is found in *IG* I³ 174.5: Λύκωνα τὸν Ἀχαιόν (425–410), and is frequently combined with an indication of local origin: Ἀχαιὸς Ὀλένιος (*SEG* 39 370a.A.7 (427–414)); Ἀριστέ[αν τὸν Ἀχαι]ὸν τὸν Αἰγιᾶ (*IG* II² 13 (399/8)); Κλέων Ἀχαιὸς ἐχ Φάρας (*IG* XII.8 637 (C4)); or Μανίδαι Ἀψεφέος [Ἀ]χαιῶι ἐξ Αἰγίρας (*BCH* 22 (1898) 261 n. 1 with *BCH* 62 (1938) 340–41 (326/5)). The region of Achaia is described as γῆ at Hdt. 8.73.1 and χώρα at Ps.-Skylax 42, while the population is termed ἔθνος τὸ Ἀχαιϊκόν at Hdt. 8.73.1.

Achaia spans the north coast of the Peloponnese, from the border with Sikyon at the river Sythas in the east to the river Larisos which marked the Eleian frontier in the west (Strabo 9.5). Mt. Skollis served as a common frontier between Elis, Dyme and Tritaia (Strabo 8.3.10) and in the south, Mts. Erymanthos, Aroania and Kyllini in northern Arkadia formed a striking natural barrier dividing Achaia from the central Peloponnese (Paus. 8.15.8–9, 17.5). Geographically and culturally, Achaia may be divided into four sub-regions, which show great variety in the pace and pattern of local development (Morgan and Hall (1996) 166–93). The narrow, alluvial coastal plain that runs from Aigeira to Neos Erineos attains a depth greater than one mile only east of Aigion, and is characterised by a series of headlands punctuated by the outflow of the rivers which originate in the inland mountains (Pellene, further to the east, appears distinct both in its topography and its role in history). The northern escarpments of the inland mountains are abrupt—Mt. Kyllini being a mere 13 miles from the coast—and rivers cut deep valleys which are mainly dry in summer. Routes inland are few—notably along the river Vouraikos towards modern Kalavryta, and the Meganeitas and Selinous valleys inland from Aigion—and the easiest communication in Antiquity was via the coast. To the west of this area lies the *chora* of Patrai, which in Classical times extended from Drepanon perhaps as far as Tsoukaleika, although the exact boundary of the *chora* of Olenos is hard to define. The interior is dominated by Mt. Panachaikon, situated 9 miles inland from Drepanon, with uplands—many over 5,000 feet—offering good summer pasture to complement the broad coastal plain. The Gulfs of Corinth and Patras reach their narrowest point at modern Rion, just outside Patras, offering the easiest crossing north to Aitolia. Thirdly, the area of Dyme (modern Kato Achaia) west of the river Peiros has a broad, continuous coastal plain surrounding lower and more undulating hill country (rising to 2,300 feet), which is well watered due to a comparatively high rainfall. It is possible that this area was extensively forested in Antiquity. Finally, the Pharai valley runs inland south of Panachaikon, rising in elevation and growing increasingly narrow towards the east; it is punctuated by small, well-watered plains (Philippson (1959) ch. 1; NID (1945) 162–66, 189–93).

According to literary sources, Achaia was divided into twelve regions. Hdt. 1.145 names these as Pellene, Aigeira, Aigai, Boura, Helike, Aigion, Rhypes, Patrees (Patrai), Pharees (Pharai), Olenos, Dyme and Tritaiees (Tritaia). Strabo 8.7.4, drawing on Herodotos, gives the same names in the same order. Ps.-Skylax 42 also follows this order, but omits Boura, Helike, Pharai, Olenos and Tritaia. The absence of inland Pharai and Tritaia is, of course, understandable in a treatise which purports to be a *periplous.* Helike had been engulfed by a tidal wave occasioned by an earthquake in 373 (Polyb. 2.41; Strabo 8.7.2; Paus. 7.24.6), while Boura was affected by the same event but was swiftly resettled by survivors who had escaped thanks to their absence on military service (Paus. 7.25.8–9)—an omission that may suggest that this particular section of Ps.-Skylax's work dates to a period immediately after the earthquake (see Flensted-Jensen and Hansen (1996) 137–38). Olenos had been abandoned due to weakness (Paus. 7.18.1), and its

inhabitants incorporated within Dyme (Strabo 8.7.4). Leontion and Keryneia, neither of which is mentioned by Classical sources, may have originally been hill sites (Anderson (1954) 73): Pausanias implies that Keryneia, situated between Helike and Boura, already existed when it received refugees from Mykenai (no. 353) shortly after 468, but that it was this increase in population that guaranteed Keryneia's future importance. Other late authors reflect these various reversals. Polyb. 2.41.7–8 omits Aigai, Rhypes, Helike and Olenos, but adds Keryneia and Leontion. Pausanias' list (7.6.1; cf. 7.18.7, 22.1, 22.6) largely accords with that of Herodotos, though he too adds the name of Keryneia and omits that of Patrai—perhaps because by his day it had been refounded as a Roman colony.

For Hdt. 1.145–146.1, the Ionians of Asia Minor had originated from Peloponnesian Achaia; the reason why they were organised into twelve *poleis* and were reluctant to admit new members was that they had been divided into twelve *mere* when they had occupied Achaia. At first sight, Herodotos appears to be establishing a direct contrast between the *poleis* of Ionia and the *mere* of Achaia, and this has led Sakellariou (1991) 14 to hypothesise that the emergence of *poleis* in Achaia must postdate the time of Herodotos. Yet if this was Herodotos' intention, it was misunderstood by later writers. Paus. 7.6.1 says that the Achaians immediately established *poleis* upon their arrival in Achaia, and Strabo 8.7.4 contrasts the village settlements of the Ionians with the *poleis* founded by the Achaians (although he had previously (8.7.1) described Achaia as already settled in *poleis* at the time of the Ionian "occupation"). However, far from being concerned with the political geography of Achaia in historical times, Herodotos' aim was to provide an *aition* for the restriction of membership of the Panionion to twelve cities. The *mere* of Achaia are introduced in the context of the protohistoric period prior to the return of the Herakleidai, whose arrival in Argos and Sparta supposedly forced the Achaians to migrate to the north Peloponnese (Paus. 7.1.5; cf. Hdt. 7.94; Strabo 8.7.1). If Herodotos subscribes to a view of Achaia at this time as relatively unurbanised, he is almost certainly reflecting a commonly held opinion: Homer mentions only Hyperesia (Aigeira), Gonoessa (Donoussa?), Pellene, Aigion, Aigai and Helike, and attaches to none a term such as *polis* or *ptoliethron* (Hom. *Il.* 2.573–75, 8.203; cf. 2.501, 505, 538, 546, 569, 584, 648–49, 677, 739). And since *polis* would have been an unsuitable term in this period, Herodotos uses the term *meros* which, together with its cognate *meris*, continued to be employed in Achaian contexts as a synonym for *chora* even after the appearance of urban centres (Strabo 8.7.2, 4, 5; Paus. 7.17.13). In short, the dictates of Herodotos' argument, together with the fact that *meros* could be used to describe a *chora* with or without an urban centre, makes it difficult to maintain that *poleis* cannot have existed by Herodotos' day.

According to Strabo 8.7.5, each of the twelve *mere* of Achaia was formed from seven or eight *demoi*. While it is possible that the "prehistory" of these *demoi* was invented during the Hellenistic period to bestow a deeper historical pedigree upon the members of the Achaian Confederacy, it is equally likely that they had existed during the Archaic period at least. Unfortunately, there is no epigraphic evidence for their existence in Achaia at any period—indeed, the only testimony for civic subdivisions comes in a C3 law (*Syll.*³ 531) which regulates citizenship at Dyme (no. 234) and names three *phylai*: Stratis (or Spatis), Dymaia and Thesmiaia. Jones, *POAG* 130–32, argues that the absence of *demoi* in this inscription indicates that they played no role in public administration, although he suggests that the *phylai*—which in Dyme, at any rate, seem to have had a geographical significance—were modelled on a pre-existing system of *demoi*. Archaeological evidence appears to suggest that the *physical* existence of the *demoi* continued long after the Archaic period, even if their political identity was lost after synoecism (see generally Rizakis (1995)).

Poleis are certainly attested in Achaia by C4. Xen. *Hell.* 6.5.29 includes Pellene (no. 240) in a list of *poleis* that gave aid to the Spartans during the Theban invasion of Lakonia in the winter of 370/69. Cicero says that Dikaiarchos, a pupil of Aristotle, wrote a *Constitution of the Pellenians* (Cic. *ad Att.* II 2 = no. 125, Gigon), and *IG* II² 220 (344/3) refers to *presbeis* from Pellene being entertained in the *prytaneion* at Athens. More explicit evidence is available for 367, when the Thebans decided to send *harmostai* to the *poleis* of Achaia (Xen. *Hell.* 7.1.43), and in a document thought to date to C4 (see *supra*), Ps.-Skylax 42 refers to the settlements of Achaia as *poleis*. Nevertheless, we are unable to find any good evidence that would allow us to date the emergence of Achaian *poleis* much, if at all, before C5 (Morgan and Hall (1996) 193).

Particularly relevant to this question is the issue of synoecism, which represents a frequent *topos* within the literary sources. Koerner (1974) has argued that many of these synoecisms should have already taken place by the end of C6, and cites the example of Dyme (no. 234), which is first named as the home city of an Olympic victor in 496 (*Olympionikai* 171); since the settlement of Paleia is named as the home of an earlier local victor (Paus. 7.17.6–7; *Olympionikai* 6), Koerner (1974) 469 assumes that the

toponym Dyme was adopted after the synoecism of formerly independent demes such as Paleia and Stratos (cf. Strabo 8.7.5; Steph. Byz. s.v. *Δύμη*). It is unclear whether Strabo 8.3.2 sought to imply a synchronism in juxtaposing the synoecisms of Dyme (no. 234), Aigion (no. 231) and Patrai (no. 239) with those of Mantinea (no. 281), Tegea (no. 297), Heraia (no. 274) and Elis (no. 251)—the last of which is dated to the period after the Persian Wars—but the archaeological record generally argues against C6 synoecisms (see also Moggi, *Sin.*) 93, 124, 126; Demand (1990) 61–64). It is not until the Classical period that there is any discernible emphasis on urban centres at the expense of rural sites in the Dyme region (Lakakis (1991); Lakakis and Rizakis (1992)). At Patrai the establishment of large rural sites some distance from the urban centre may indicate a certain degree of abandonment among intervening settlements (Petropoulos and Rizakis (1994)), while the commencement of urbanisation within the city of Aigion was a phenomenon of C5 (Papakosta (1991)). The process of synoecism was, no doubt, a lengthy one, but there is no evidence that would allow us to place the start of this process before 500—the date at which the issue of coinage, probably at Aigai (no. 229) (Babelon, *Traité* ii.1. 823–26; Head, *HN*² 412; Kroll (1996) 52 n. 14; *contra* Imhoof-Blumer (1883) 157; Jeffery (1990) 222), may provide the first clear indication of a self-conscious political identity (though see Martin (1995)).

It is often assumed that even if *poleis* were a relatively late phenomenon in Achaia, some form of overarching political organisation existed from an early period. Yet, while there is good evidence to indicate that the Achaian Confederacy existed prior to its refoundation in 280, it is difficult to subscribe to the view (e.g. Larsen (1968) 83) that the legend of Achaian colonial foundations in South Italy allows us to trace Achaian political unity back as far as C8 (Hall (forthcoming)). The local traditions recorded by Paus. 7.6.1–2 speak of a plurality of *basileis* in the early period. After the death of Teisamenos, son of Orestes and reputedly the leader of the Achaian migration to the northern Peloponnese, the rule (*κράτος*) of the Achaians was distributed among the four sons of Teisamenos—Daïmenes, Sparton, Tellis and Leontomenes—as well as being extended to their cousin, Damasias, and the unrelated Preugenes and his son, Patreus. The first explicit reference to a collective *boule* of the Achaians is found in an inscription (*SEG* 14 375) dating to C4l, though Hypereides (*Dem.* 5.18), in describing events of 324, speaks of a *syllogos* of the Achaians. However, the existence of the double *politeia* (i.e. citizenship of both an Achaian *polis* and the Achaian Confederacy) which was so central to the refounded Confederacy can probably be traced back to the first third of C4, since at some point shortly before 389 the Achaians enrolled the Aitolian city of Kalydon (no. 148) in the *politeia* of the Confederacy (Xen. *Hell.* 4.6.1; Larsen (1953) 809, (1968) 9; Koerner (1974) 485; cf. Polyb. 2.41.7–8). Xen. *Hell.* 6.4.18 even appears to regard Achaia itself as a *polis* in his description of the allies who rallied to the aid of Sparta immediately after the battle of Leuktra. The fact that a shipowner named Lykon is described as *Achaios* in *IG* I³ 174 (an Athenian honorific inscription which should predate 413) may—if it is not a simple ethnic (see *infra*)—testify to the Confederacy's existence at this date (cf. the grant of Athenian *proxenia* to *Ἀριστέαν τὸν Ἀχαιὸν τὸν Αἰγιᾶ* in *IG* II² 13 (C4e)), but earlier indications are difficult to substantiate. Patrai (no. 239) seems not to have consulted with other Achaian cities when it responded to Alkibiades' request to extend its walls to the sea (Thuc. 5.52.2), and Pellene (no. 240) appears to have acted independently in joining the Peloponnesian League in 431 (Thuc. 2.9.2). Nor does Thucydides' reference (1.111.3) to Perikles taking Achaians with him on his siege of Akarnanian Oiniadai in the 460s necessarily imply the existence of the Achaian Confederacy: they are simply referred to as *Ἀχαιούς* without any definite article and could be Achaian mercenaries as much as citizen-soldiers. Indeed, Thucydides refers far more frequently to the region of Achaia as a geographical pawn in Athenian and Spartan attempts to control the Corinthian Gulf than he does to the Achaians as a collective political entity (e.g. Thuc. 1.115.1, 2.86.1, 4, 2.92.5, 4.21.3, 5.82.1).

According to Polyb. 2.39.5–6, in C5m the Italian cities of Kroton (no. 56), Sybaris (no. 70) and Kaulonia (no. 55) met and decided to adopt the *politeia* of the Achaians. It has generally been assumed from this notice that by this date the Achaians both possessed a common *politeia* and held regular *synodoi* in the sanctuary of Zeus (see most recently Walbank (2000)). However, it should be remembered that Polybios' intention was not to document early Achaian history *per se* but to establish a historical credential which might prove his contention that the Achaian League of his own day enshrined age-old principles of equality and fairness. To emphasise these qualities, it was necessary to retroject them, and it should be noted that elsewhere (2.41.3–6) he attempts to trace the origins of the Achaian Confederacy back to the time of Teisamenos. Furthermore, it is not at all clear that the sanctuary of Zeus Hamarios/Homarios did act as a centre for the Achaian Confederacy as early as C5 (as argued by Aymard (1935) 454, among others). There is no

doubt that the Confederacy met in the sanctuary after its refoundation. Strabo (8.7.3; cf. Aymard (1935) 454 n. 1) describes how the *koinon* of the Achaians met in the Homarion from 280; Polyb. 5.93.10 recounts that a *stele* was erected here in 217 recording a mediation by the federal general, Aratos, to re-establish peace in Megalopolis; and an inscription from Arkadian Orchomenos which dates to 234–224 stipulates that the representatives of the Achaian Federation have to invoke Zeus Amarios and Athena Amaria (Foucart (1876)). This literary *terminus ante quem* of 280 can be pushed back to the late 370s or 360s—the date of the first stater coined by the Achaian Confederacy and depicting the head of Zeus (Head, *HN*² 416; cf. Kraay (1976) 101).

The sanctuary of Zeus Homarios belonged to Aigion (no. 231) (Livy 38.30.2), but almost certainly lay outside the city itself (Strabo 8.7.5). Interestingly, Pausanias does not mention the Homarion, which should not be confused with the coastal sanctuary of Zeus Homagyrios at Aigion (Paus. 7.24.2; cf. Aymard (1935) 454 n. 1, (1938) 279–80; Rizakis (1995) 200–1). Instead, he mentions (7.24.4) that the *synedrion* of the Achaians met at Aigion in his own day, but he implies elsewhere (7.7.2) that Aigion assumed a prominent place within Achaian historical consciousness only after the destruction of Helike (no. 235). Aymard (1938) 286–87, 293 therefore hypothesised that the sanctuary lay midway between Helike and Aigion, and that it was originally part of the *chora* of Helike, but became part of the territory of Aigion after the destruction of Helike and the redistribution of its *chora*. Yet this forces the meaning of Pausanias' testimony, which does appear to distinguish between an earlier meeting place at Helike and a later one near Aigion, and is now contradicted by the discovery of Achaian federal inscriptions which indicate that the Homarion lay not between Aigion and Helike but to the north-west of Aigion (see Parker (1998) 31 n. 77; Walbank (2000) 26). If any location functioned as a place of union for the Achaians in an earlier period, it is more likely to have been the sanctuary of Poseidon Helikonios than that of Zeus Homarios. The cult of Poseidon was associated with Helike as early as the Homeric epics (*Il.* 8.203; cf. Rizakis (1995) 101–2), and although it was traditionally treated as the meeting place of the Ionians of Achaia, it clearly retained its importance through to the destruction of Helike in 373 (Hdt. 1.148.1; Paus. 7.24.5, 6; Strabo 8.7.2). Indeed, one might argue that it could not have continued to act as a potent symbol of Ionian ancestral origins in the northern Peloponnese had it not retained its importance throughout the historical period. If so, then one might suppose that the sanctuary of Zeus Homarios became the federal sanctuary of the Achaians only after the destruction of Helike—the fact that federal coinage bearing the head of Zeus appeared very shortly after this destruction is particularly suggestive. In the absence of archaeological evidence, certainty is impossible, but there are good reasons to doubt the early existence of the Homarion as a federal centre and to view Polybios' testimony as an attempt to construct a historical legitimation for the Achaian Confederacy of his own day.

Two earlier events sometimes invoked in support of an early Achaian Confederacy command no greater credence. According to Paus. 7.25.6, when the Argives (no. 347) destroyed Mykenai (no. 353) in 468, Mykenaian refugees fled to Kleonai (no. 351), Makedon and Keryneia (no. 236) in the vicinity of Aigion and Helike. It has been argued (e.g. Larsen (1968) 81–82; Anderson (1954) 81) that this indicates the existence of a federal government which extended free passage to the foreign refugees through the "string of city-states" that lay to the east of Aigion. However, this argument seems predicated on an anachronistic view of state boundaries and ignores the fact that by tracing descent from the Herakleidai, the Mykenaians could claim ethnic ties with the Achaians (Hall (1997) 94–107). Finally, Anderson (1954) 80 has suggested that the independent stance of the Achaians during the Persian Wars indicates a common policy decision. Again, however, this is not an inevitable conclusion, especially since Achaia was barely—if at all—affected by the invasion of Xerxes. Collective participation would surely have been much more significant than collective non-participation. In short, there is little solid evidence for the existence of an Achaian Confederacy much before the very end of C5. And if the Confederacy postdates the emergence of *poleis* in Achaia, it becomes easier to explain why in the later period there are clear differences between the constitutions of individual Achaian *poleis*. *Damiourgoi*, for example, are not attested in every Achaian *polis*, and at Dyme (no. 234) an official named the *theokolos* appears to share equal rank with the *damiourgoi* (Koerner (1974) 474). Nevertheless, if the Confederacy itself is late, there is some evidence for an earlier, less formal and looser association of Achaian *mere* based on perceived ethnic affinity.

By C5 at the very latest, the Achaians were thought to constitute an *ethnos*. Hdt. 8.73.1 describes them as one of the seven *ethne* which inhabit the Peloponnese and adds that they have always been indigenous there, even if they had originally occupied another region within the Peloponnese. Thuc. 3.92.5, in describing the foundation of Herakleia Trachinia (no. 430) in 426, reports that the Spartans made a

proclamation to the effect that any Greek could join the new settlement with the exception of *ethne* such as the Ionians and Achaians. In Greek, the word *ethnos* carries a far wider semantic scope than its English derivations (Giovannini (1971) 14–16; Donlan (1985) 295), though it can certainly be applied to ethnic groups—that is, those whose common identity is predicated on kinship (however fictive) and an association with a primordial territory (Hall (1997) 25–26). The centrality of descent to notions of Achaian ethnic affinity is demonstrated by Herodotos' comment (8.47) that the people of Kroton (no. 56) are Achaian "by birth". A sense of collective identity was engendered among the historical Achaians by their belief that they were descended from heroes who, after being expelled by the Dorians from their original homes in Argos and Sparta, had migrated to Achaia, where they replaced the former Ionian population. Archaeologically, there are few material indications of sharp cultural discontinuity in Achaia, and we prefer to regard Achaian ethnicity as a constructed identity of the Early Iron Age rather than as the hazy memory of genuine migrations (Morgan and Hall (1996) 198, *contra* Sakellariou (1991)). For the Ionians of Asia Minor, origins in Mainland Greece formed an important aspect of their collective identity; Achaia was an obvious candidate, since the Achaians had to regard themselves as newcomers to the region if they were to substantiate their claim to being the descendants of the Homeric Achaians who had ruled in the Argolid and Lakonia. In fact, with the notable exception of the Athenians and the Arkadians who claimed autochthony, it was generally the rule for Greek populations to regard themselves as immigrants from other regions, and thus to circumvent the problem of ultimate origins. Nevertheless, the inventive character of this Ionian tradition is revealed by the existence of alternative, competing myths of ethnic origins which situated their *Urheimat* elsewhere in Greece, in Messenia (Mimnermos fr. 9, West; cf. Hom. *Il.* 11.690–93; Hes. fr. 33a, MW; Hellan. fr. 125; Hdt. 9.97; Pherecydes (*FGrHist* 3) fr. 155; Strabo 14.1.3; Paus. 7.2.1–2), or Boiotia (Hellan. fr. 101; Hdt. 1.146.1–2).

Territoriality is an important component of *ethnos* states, yet, as already noted, Achaia does not form a natural geographical or cultural unity. For this reason, we should perhaps follow Pausanias' view (7.1.1) that the geographical definition of Achaia was structured around the ethnic definition of its inhabitants, and not vice versa (Gschnitzer (1955); Koerner (1974) 458). The notion of Achaian territoriality was probably a gradual and aggregative creation, which began in the east of the region. It is the northern coastal *mere* of Pellene, Aigeira, Aigai, Helike and Aigion which are first attested in the literary sources (Hom. *Il.* 2.573–75, 8.203), and it is here that the earliest evidence for cult is attested. By contrast, references to the western and inland regions of Achaia are scarce in the literary record, although Olenos appears to be listed among the contingent from Eleia in the Catalogue of Ships (Hom. *Il.* 2.617). Furthermore, a variety of sources (Hom. *Il.* 2.575; Hdt. 7.94; Strabo 8.7.1; Paus. 7.1.1.) state that the earlier name of Achaia was Aigialos/Aigialeia—a designation more appropriate to the northern coastal area with its settlements of Aigion, Aigai and Aigeira.

The very latest *terminus ante quem* for the association of ethnic Achaians with the north coast of Achaia is C6m—the date at which the Spartans decided to repatriate the bones of the Achaian king, Teisamenos, which were said to have been discovered in the region of Helike (Paus. 7.1.8). Leahy (1955) dates this transferral between 560 and 555, and while there is no suggestion that the Achaians had been aware of Teisamenos' tomb prior to the Spartan "discovery", the connection of Teisamenos with eastern Achaia must have already been established for the Spartans to have made any political capital out of the event. If, on the other hand, Strabo 8.7.5 is right to derive the name of Dyme (no. 234) from the fact that it was the most westerly of the Achaian cities, then this should mark the completion of the territorial construction of Achaia (at least in a westerly direction). Mendone (1991) 68 argues that Dyme is attested in *Hymn. Hom. Ap.* 416–26, normally dated *c.*600, though the fact that it is mentioned as part of a sea voyage around the Peloponnese *after* Pylos and *before* Elis, Ithaka, Doulichion and Zakynthos may suggest that this is a different Dyme. In fact, a combination of literary and archaeological evidence suggests a date in C5 (and possibly even late in that century) for the synoecism of Dyme, and thus for the final stage in the territorial construction of Achaia (Lakakis and Rizakis (1992)).

Certainly in C5, *Achaios* appears to be used as a regional/ethnic designation rather than as a political label in the strict sense. The clearest indication of this is the bronze statue group, seen by Paus. 5.25.8–10 at Olympia, which depicted the Achaian heroes casting lots to see who would meet Hektor in single combat. Jeffery (1990) 221 assumed that this was a dedication by the Achaian Confederacy, but Paus. 5.25.8 simply describes it as the donation ἐν κοινῷ τοῦ Ἀχαιῶν ἔθνους, and the ethnic signification of the τἀχαιοί named on the monument is emphasised not only by the subject matter of the statue group but by the self-professed

derivation of descent from Pelops (via Teisamenos, Orestes and Agamemnon). A similar usage of *Achaios* appears to be indicated on the base of a statue erected at Olympia in 460 for the athlete Oibotas (Paus. 7.17.7). The inscription describes Oibotas as an Achaian, but his *patris* as Paleia (one of the demes of Dyme). It is possible that the attestation of Paleia is deliberately archaising, or it may provide evidence for a synoecism of Dyme *later* than 460 (cf. Demand (1990) 63–64). On another statue base at Olympia (*IvO* 630–31 (480–475)), the sculptor Athanodoros is described as *Achaios*: that this is not simply a political label may be suggested by the fact that his collaborator, Asopodoros, is described not as *Argeios* but as ὁ δ'ἐξ Ἄργεος εὐρυχόρω (probably indicating the Argive plain rather than the city of Argos itself). It is possible too that the *Achaios* attached to the shipowner Lykon in *IG* I³ 174 or to Aristeas of Aigion in *IG* II² 13 (see *supra*) is meant to indicate their *ethnos* rather than act as a political label, especially since in both cases it is applied externally (*contra* Koerner (1974) 486). In short, it should be reiterated that there is, at this period, no good evidence that the term "Achaian" carried its later political and juridical definition.

The inventory of *poleis* describes the sixteen settlements which were certainly (type A), probably (type B) or possibly (type C) *poleis* during the Archaic and/or Classical period. In addition, we have information about nine further Archaic and/or Classical settlements whose precise status is unknown.[1]

1. *Pre-Hellenistic Settlements not Attested as* Poleis

Antheia (Ἄνθεια) Paus. 7.18.6 (πόλισμα). Antheia, probably to be located at modern Ano Sykaina, was (re)settled after the *dioikismos* of Patrai (no. 239) in 279 (Paus. 7.18.6). It may have formerly been a *demos* of Patrai (Curtius (1851) 453; Moggi, *Sin.* 92–93). Although there is no firm evidence that it was ever a *polis* in the Archaic or Classical periods, Ath. 11.460d does refer to the *chora* of the Antheioi. Archaic sherds and burials on the site of a Classical villa complex at Ano Sykaina suggest settlement in the Late Archaic and Classical periods (Petropoulos and Rizakis (1994) sites 102, 103; *AR* (1955) 17). See Patrai (no. 239). No date in *Barr.*

[1] Teichos Dymaion is omitted from this list. It is described by Polyb. 4.59.4 and 4.83.1 as a φρούριον, but there are no indications that it was permanently settled.

Arba (Ἄρβα) Paus. 7.18.6 (πόλισμα). Arba, possibly to be located at modern Ano Kastritsi, was (re)settled after the *dioikismos* of Patrai (no. 239) in 279 (Paus. 7.18.6). It may have formerly been a *demos* of Patrai (Curtius (1851) 453; Moggi, *Sin.* 92–93), but there is no evidence that it was ever a *polis* in the Archaic or Classical periods. Slight indications for pre-Hellenistic settlement may be offered by C8 burial evidence at Ano Kastritsi (*ArchDelt* 30B (1975) 118; Petropoulos and Rizakis (1994) sites 113–16). See Patrai (no. 239). No date in *Barr.*

Argyra (Ἀργύρα) Paus. 7.18.6 (πόλισμα). Argyra, probably to be located at modern Mavropodia, was (re)settled after the *dioikismos* of Patrai (no. 239) in 279 (Paus. 7.18.6). It may formerly have been a *demos* of Patrai (Curtius (1851) 453; Moggi, *Sin.* 92–93), but there is no evidence that it was ever a *polis* in the Archaic or Classical periods. Settlement evidence from the Geometric and Classical periods has been reported (Petropoulos (1991) 256). See Patrai (no. 239). No date in *Barr.*

Boline (Βολίνα) (Paus. 7.23.4), Βολίνη (Paus. 7.18.6; Steph. Byz. 174.14), Βόλινον (*Etym. Magn.* 204.33–38)). Paus. 7.23.4 (πόλις), 7.2.6, 18.6 (πόλισμα); *Etym. Magn.* 204.33 (κώμη). Boline, probably to be located at Drepaneiko (2 km south of modern Drepano), was (re)settled after the *dioikismos* of Patrai (no. 239) in 279 (Paus. 7.18.6). It may formerly have been a *demos* of Patrai (Curtius (1851) 453; Moggi, *Sin.* 92–93), but there is no evidence that it was ever a *polis* in the Archaic or Classical periods. Surface remains from near Drepano suggest continuous and perhaps extensive settlement from the Protogeometric to Roman periods (Petropoulos (1991) 254; Morgan and Hall (1996) 183–84). See Patrai (no. 239). No date in *Barr.*

Donoussa (Δονοῦσσα) Paus. 7.26.13 says that Donoussa, which lay between Aigeira (no. 230) and Pellene (no. 240) and should probably be located at modern Ano Taratses (Rizakis (1995) 223–24), was a πόλισμα ὑπήκοον of Sikyon (no. 228). The *periegete* equates Donoussa with Homeric Γονόεσσα (*Il.* 2.573), which Eustathios (*Il.* 291.40) describes as an ἀκρωτήριον of Pellene and which Hesychios (4.442.23) classifies as a πόλις of the Peloponnese. Surface remains include sherds that predate the Hellenistic period (Anderson and Anderson (1975)). No date in *Barr.*

Erineos (Ἐρινεός, Ἐρινείος) Paus. 7.22.10 (λιμήν). In C5, Erineos lay within the territory of Rhypes (no. 243) (Thuc. 7.34.1). See Rhypes (no. 243). *Barr.* AC.

Mesatis (*Μεσάτις*) Paus. 7.18.6 (*πόλισμα*). Mesatis, probably to be located at modern Mygdalia, was (re)settled after the *dioikismos* of Patrai in 279 (Paus. 7.18.6). It may formerly have been a *demos* of Patrai (no. 239) (Curtius (1851) 453; Moggi, *Sin.* 92–93), but there is no evidence that it was ever a *polis* in the Archaic or Classical periods. Late Geometric and Classical burials at Mygdalia suggest occupation prior to the Hellenistic period (*ArchDelt* 43 B (1988) 168; Petropoulos (1990) 517 n. 28, (1991) 253; Petropoulos and Rizakis (1994) site 57). See Patrai (no. 239). No date in *Barr.*

Olouros (*Ὄλουρος*) Xen. *Hell.* 7.4.17. Olouros lay within the territory of Pellene (no. 240). See Pellene (no. 240). *Barr.* C.

Panormos (*Πάνορμος*) Thuc. 2.86.1; 4, cf. 2.92.1. Panormos' precise status is not specified by Thucydides, but it is clear that the settlement was a naval station within the territory of Patrai (no. 239). *Barr.* C.

None of these settlements is likely to have been a *polis*, although Archaic and Classical sources fail to specify whether they were considered demes or *komai*. All that can be said on the basis of evidence currently available is that sixteen of twenty-five known Archaic or Classical settlements were considered to be *poleis* throughout their period of existence or for at least some time within this period.

Almost all the *poleis* described in the inventory below are known to have been members of the Achaian Confederacy whose development was traced above. The Confederacy was not ethnically exclusive, however, and "at least as early as the beginning of the fourth century, overstepped the ethnic boundary and admitted non-Achaeans to citizenship" (Larsen (1968) 80), when the Kalydonians (no. 148) of Aitolia were made Achaian *politai* (Xen. *Hell.* 4.6.1; cf. Diod. 15.75.2 (r367/6) and Dem. 9.34 (suggesting that Lokrian Naupaktos (no. 165) was also a member of the Confederacy)). Its name was presumably *τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἀχαιῶν* (Diod. 15.49.2; Beck (1997) 63). It seems to have been highly stable: no secessionist movements or internal wars are on record (Beck (1997) 66), though Pellene (no. 240) sometimes acted independently (cf. Thuc. 2.9.2; Beck (1997) 62). The Confederacy struck coins *c.*370–360 (Head, *HN*² 416), and its constitution was described in the Aristotelian *Ἀχαιῶν πολιτεία* (no. 30, Gigon). It was presumably oligarchic (Beck (1997) 64), but not much is known about it: *SEG* 14 375 (C4l) attests the existence of a *βουλ*[*ὰ*] *τῶν Ἀχαιῶν* together with a board of *damiorgoi*, composed of contingents from individual member cities. The Confederacy conducted the foreign policy of the region, sending out embassies (Xen. *Hell.* 4.6.1) and concluding treaties (*Staatsverträge* 283, 290, 337, 343, 452). It was a member of the Peloponnesian League (Xen. *Hell.* 4.6.2–3; Beck (1997) 59). Federal forces are attested at Xen. *Hell.* 6.2.3 (naval forces) and 6.4.18 (infantry).

In C4f the constitutions of the Achaian *poleis* were oligarchic (Xen. *Hell.* 7.1.43), and had probably been so since 417, when the Lakedaimonians had forced the Achaians to adopt a political system that suited Sparta (no. 345) (Thuc. 5.82.1; Anderson (1954) 83–85). But after Epameinondas' conquest of Achaia in 366, the Thebans sent harmosts to the Achaian *poleis*, had the constitutions changed into democracies, and got the new democratic regime to send members of the oligarchic factions into exile. However, the exiles soon returned to their *poleis*, regained their position, reestablished the alliance with Lakedaimon and undoubtedly the oligarchic constitutions as well (Xen. *Hell.* 7.1.41–43; Buckler (1980) 188–91; Gehrke, *Stasis* 13–15).

II. The *Poleis*

229. Aigai (Aigaios) Map 58. Lat. 38.20, long. 22.20. Size of territory: 1 or 2. Type: [A]. The precise location of Aigai, which Paus. 7.27.12 situates close to the river Krathis, is uncertain, although it should probably be sought at either modern Akrata (Morgan and Hall (1996) 174; *Barr.*) or Kokinies near the village of Ambelos (Rizakis (1995) 214). The toponym is normally *Αἰγαί* (Hom. *Il.* 8.203; Hdt. 1.145; Ps.-Skylax 42), *αἱ* (Strabo 8.7.4), though *Αἰγά*, *ἡ* is also attested (*IG* II² 8404 (C4–C3e); Strabo 8.7.5). The city-ethnic is *Αἰγαῖος* (Classical coins (*infra*); Strabo 8.7.4).

The only Classical source to call Aigai a *polis* is Ps.-Skylax at 42, where *Αἰγαί* is the third toponym listed after the heading *πόλεις . . . αἵδε*, where *polis* is used in the urban sense. However, the appearance of coinage *c.*500 should probably be seen as a strong indication that Aigai was already a *polis* in the political sense by this date (Morgan and Hall (1996) 174, though see Martin (1995)). The internal collective use of the city-ethnic is attested on coins from *c.*500 onwards.

The toponym is already attested in Hom. *Il.* 8.203, and Hdt 1.145 (C5s) records Aigai as one of the original twelve Achaian *mere*—a term that is often used synonymously with *chora* in Achaian contexts, but need not necessarily imply the existence of an urban centre (Morgan and Hall (1996) 168–69).

According to Paus. 7.25.12 and 8.15.9, Aigai was abandoned due to "weakness", and its inhabitants incorporated within the *polis* of Aigeira (no. 230), where they were nevertheless permitted to retain their own ethnic (Strabo 8.7.4). The date at which this happened is not easy to determine: a *terminus post quem* may be provided by Aigai's inclusion in Ps.-Skylax's list of Achaian *poleis* (42)—a section which should probably be dated to the years around 370 (Morgan and Hall (1996) 167), and it may not be coincidental that coinage issues cease at about the same time (Head, *HN*² 412). Aigai is omitted from Polybios' list of Achaian *poleis* (2.41.7–8), which purports to describe the Achaian Confederacy prior to the time of Philip II and Alexander. On the other hand, *IG* II² 8404 (C4–C3e) commemorates a man who is described as an Ἀχαιὸς ἐξ Αἰγῶς, which might suggest that Aigai had not yet been abandoned by the beginning of C3 if indeed the inscription is C3e.

There is no explicit literary testimony for any colonial foundations originating from Aigai, but the homonymy between the river Krathis near Aigai and the river Krathis in the territory of Sybaris (no. 70) in South Italy has sometimes been taken to imply that some of the founders of Sybaris originated from the region of Aigai (Dunbabin (1948) 24; Bérard (1957) 141; Koerner (1974) 464; Giangiulio (1989) 166–67).

Aigai struck silver coins from *c.*500 to *c.*370 (Head, *HN*² 412). Minted on the Aiginetan standard and including triobols and obols, this coinage had previously been assigned to Aigion (no. 231) by both Imhoof-Blumer (1883) 157 and Jeffery (1990) 222, though the original attribution to Aigai has recently been defended by Rizakis (1995) no. 530 and Kroll (1996) 52 n. 14. The *obv.* is a punning type depicting the forepart of a goat and accompanied by the legend AIG; the *rev.* depicts the ivy-crowned head of a bearded Dionysos and has the legend *ΑΙΓΑΙΟΝ* or *ΑΙΓΑΙΩΝ* (Rizakis (1995) no. 530; *SNG Cop. Phliasia-Laconia* 125–26).

230. Aigeira (Aigeirates) Map 58. Lat. 38.10, long. 22.20. Size of territory: 1 or 2. Type: A. Aigeira, which ancient authors situated on a steep hill (Polyb. 4.57.5; Strabo 8.7.5), is located east of modern Krathio (Rizakis (1995) 215–16; *Barr.*) The toponym is Αἴγειρα, ἡ (Hdt. 1.145; Ps.-Skylax 42; Polyb. 2.41.8; Paus. 7.26.4), though Αἴγιρα is attested in *BCH* 22 (1898) 261 n. 1 (325 (cf. *BCH* 62 (1938) 340–41)) and *IG* XII.9 1187.34 (C3). The city-ethnic is regularly Αἰγειράτης from C4 onwards (*infra*).

Classified by Hdt 1.145 as one of the original twelve Achaian *mere*, it is listed by Ps.-Skylax 42 as the second toponym after the heading πόλεις . . . αἵδε, where *polis* is used in the urban sense; Theophr. *Phys. op.* 12.122 also uses *polis* in the urban sense, and the internal use of the collective city-ethnic on coinage from *c.*330 (*infra*) would indicate that Aigeira was by this period also a *polis* in the political sense; Polyb. 2.41.7–8 (rC4) calls it a *polis* in the political sense and attests to its membership of the Achaian Confederacy prior to the time of Philip II and Alexander. A citizen of Aigeira was appointed *proxenos* by Delphi (no. 177) in 325 (Ἀχαιὸς ἐξ Αἰγίρας: *BCH* 22 (1898) 261 n. 1 with *BCH* 62 (1938) 340–41).

Paus. 7.26.2 says that Aigeira was formerly called Ὑπερησία—a name known from Hom. *Il.* 2.573—though he seems to date this shift in nomenclature to the period of the Ionian settlement of Achaia (i.e. the Heroic Age). It is therefore surprising that he should attach the ethnic *Hyperesieus* to an athlete from Aigeira named Ikaros who won the *stade* in 688 (Paus. 4.15.1; *Olympionikai* 28). The term could be archaising, or it could indicate a period prior to the synoecism of Aigeira (Morgan and Hall (1996) 173). Such a synoecism is not explicitly attested by any source, though is perhaps suggested by the existence of a homonymous port (ἐπίνειον) of Aigeira some two and a half miles from the acropolis (Paus. 7.26.1). It may be that the name Hyperesia was originally applied to the acropolis area—known in later periods as the ἄκρα (Polyb. 4.58.4) or the ἄνω πόλιν (Paus. 7.26.1) and almost certainly to be associated with the plateau excavated since 1972 by the Austrian Archaeological Institute (see Alzinger (1972–73), (1976–77), (1981–82), (1983), (1985), (1986); Bammer (forthcoming))—but that after synoecism the ἐπίνειον of Aigeira gave its name to the whole *polis* (Morgan and Hall (1996) 173). The population of Aigeira expanded again when the *polis* incorporated the inhabitants of Aigai (Strabo 8.7.4). The date at which this happened is not easy to determine (cf. Aigai (no. 229)).

The archaeological evidence from the acropolis shows settlement dating back more or less continuously to the Neolithic period. Reappraisal of evidence from the acropolis has cast doubt upon the interpretation of foundations dating to C7s as those of a temple which Paus. 7.26.5 assigns to Artemis and Iphigeneia, and also upon the identification of an earlier C8 structure as a temple (Bammer (forthcoming), *contra* Gogos (1986); Alzinger (1982) 13–18, (1985) 426–30, 449–50). This evidence is more likely to relate to continuous settlement. Walls are certainly attested at Aigeira by C2 (Polyb. 4.57.3, 58.7), and their circuit—encompassing a separately acropolis wall enclosing 3.5 ha—has been traced

on the ground (Alzinger (1985) 392); recent investigations suggest that city walls existed prior to Hellenistic times (*AR* (2001–2) 36).

Aigeira began minting bronze coins *c.*C4m: *obv.* helmeted Athena or veiled female head; *rev.* forepart of a goat or standing goat in a wreath. Legends: *ΑΙΓΙ* or *ΑΙΓΙΡΑΤΑΝ* (Head, *HN*² 412; *SNG Cop. Phliasia-Laconia* 127).

231. Aigion (Aigieus) Map 58. Lat. 38.15, long. 22.05. Size of territory: 2 or 3. Type: [A]. The toponym is *Αἴγιον, τό* (Hom. *Il.* 2.574; Hdt. 1.145; Ps.-Skylax 42). The city-ethnic is usually *Αἰγιεύς* (*SEG* 40 54 (399/8); Diod. 19.66.3; Strabo 8.7.5) but *IG* II² 7946 (*c.*400) has *Αἰγαιεύς*.

Located at modern Egio (*Barr.*), Aigion was one of the original twelve Achaian *mere* (Hdt. 1.145). It is first described as a *polis* in the urban sense in Ps.-Skylax 42, where it is listed as the fourth toponym after the heading *πόλεις . . . αἵδε*; Polyb. 2.41.7–8 (rC4) calls it a *polis* in the political sense, and attests to its membership of the Achaian Confederacy prior to the time of Philip II and Alexander. The external collective use of the city-ethnic (*Αἰγιέες*) is attested in a supposedly C7 Delphic oracle cited by Ion of Chios (*apud Anth. Pal.* 14.73; Zenob. 1.57), but it is debatable whether Aigion's status as a *polis* in the political sense can really be retrojected as far back as C7—the date supposedly attributed to this apocryphal and much-cited Delphic consultation. The external collective use of the city-ethnic is attested in Diod. 19.66.3 (r313). The external individual use of the city-ethnic is found in an Athenian proxeny decree of 399/8 for *Ἀριστέας ὁ Ἀχαιὸς ὁ Αἰγιεύς* (*SEG* 40 54); cf. *IG* II² 7946 (*c.*400, epitaph).

Strabo says that Aigion was synoecised from seven or eight *demoi* (8.3.2; Moggi, *Sin.* 125–27), but although a number of rural sites appear in the archaeological record (see Morgan and Hall (1996) 177), we are poorly informed as to their ancient names.

Rescue excavations are beginning to yield a clearer picture of the urbanisation of Aigion (Papakosta (1991)). The evidence of Polyb. 11.9.8 reveals that a *bouleuterion*—probably housing meetings of the Achaian Confederacy (Walbank (1967) 280; Hansen and Fischer-Hansen (1994) 38)—was in existence by C3 at least, while Pausanias' description (3.12.7, 7.24.1) of the *mnema* of Talthybios in the agora of Aigion ought to suggest that the agora already existed by the late Classical period. Diod. 19.66.3 suggests that the city was fortified by C4l and mentions private houses within the circuit.

The sanctuary of Zeus Homarios, which belonged to Aigion, although it lay outside the city (Aymard (1935)), was certainly in existence by 280, when the *koinon* of the Achaians met there (Strabo 8.7.3). It is not entirely certain, however, that it had always served as a common meeting place for the Achaians. The fact that the issue of the earliest Achaian federal coinage, depicting the head of Zeus, cannot be pushed back further than the 360s may suggest that the sanctuary of Poseidon at Helike (no. 235) had formerly been a place of union for the Achaians and that this function was transferred to the Homarion after the destruction of Helike in 373 (Morgan and Hall (1996) 196, but see Walbank (2000)). From C5, an inscribed bronze *oinochoe* provides evidence for a sanctuary of Aigeus, although it is not known whether this signifies the hero or is a cult epithet for Poseidon (Robinson (1942); Morgan and Hall (1996) 177).

Xenophon of Aigion was victorious in the pankration at the Olympic Games of 380 (Paus. 6.3.13; *Olympionikai* 400).

A series of silver triobols, struck on the Aiginetan standard, was formerly assigned to Aigion (Imhoof-Blumer (1883) 157; Jeffery (1990) 222), but is now attributed to Aigai (no. 229) (Rizakis (1995) no. 530; Kroll (1996) 52 n. 14).

According to Paus. 6.3.12, Kaulonia (no. 55) in South Italy was colonised by Typhon of Aigion, though this receives no other literary support (Anderson (1954) 78; Koerner (1974) 464; Morgan and Hall (1996) 208–9).

232. Ascheion (Ascheieus) Unlocated. Type: B. The toponym is *Ἄσχεον, τό* (*CID* II 51.8 (339/8)) or *Ἄσχειον* (*BCH* 45 (1921) 11.63 (230–220)). The city-ethnic is *Ἀσχειεύς* (*F.Delphes* III.1 413 (C4s)) or *Ἀσχεύς* (*SEG* 1 74 (229/8)).

Ascheion is never identified explicitly as a *polis*, though a Delphic decree granting *proxenia* to two of its citizens (*F.Delphes* III.1 413 (C4s)) suggests that it was a *polis* in C4; there may also be some retrospective value in the fact that two men of Ascheion are listed as Delphic *theorodokoi* in *BCH* 45 (1921) 11.63 (230–220).

233. Boura (Bourios) Map 58. Lat. 38.10, long. 22.15. Size of territory: 2 or 3. Type: A. Situated near Keryneia (no. 236) by Paus. 7.25.8 and 40 stades from the sea by Strabo 8.7.5, Boura should probably be located either near Ano Diakophto (Morgan and Hall (1996) 175; *Barr.*) or on the left bank of the river Bouraïkos near Ag. Stephanos (Rizakis (1995) 209–10). The toponym is *Βοῦρα, ἡ* (Aesch. fr. 745a, Mette; Hdt. 1.145; Polyb. 2.41.8). The city-ethnic is usually *Βούριος* (Polyb. 2.41.13; *SEG* 1 74 (229/8), 12 1122 (C3)), though *Βουραῖος* (Tzetz. *Chil.* 37.179 (rC4s)) and *Βουρεύς* (Paus. 7.25.8–9 (r373)) are also found.

Classified by Hdt 1.145 as a *meros*, it is called a *polis* in the urban sense by Theophr. *Phys. op.* 12.122 (r373), and retrospective evidence is furnished by Polyb. 2.41.7–8 (rC4), who uses *polis* in the political sense and attests to its membership of the Achaian Confederacy in the time prior to Philip II and Alexander, and by Diod. 15.48.3 (r373), who uses the term in its urban sense. The external collective use of the city-ethnic is attested at Paus. 7.25.8–9 (r373); the external individual use is found at Tzetz. *Chil.* 37.179 (rC4s).

Boura was affected severely by the earthquake of 373 which destroyed Helike (no. 235) (Paus. 7.25.8–9), and is absent from the list of Achaian *poleis* in Ps.-Skylax 42 (C4f). Pausanias' comment (7.25.8–9) that Boura was swiftly refounded by inhabitants who had been away on military service during the earthquake may find some confirmation in the archaeological record from Kastro (if, indeed, Kastro is to be identified with ancient Boura; see *supra*) which appears to indicate virtual continuity from the late Archaic/early Classical period through until Roman times (Lauffer (1989) 160; Rizakis (1995) 209–12; Morgan and Hall (1996) 175). If so, then Ovid's assertion (*Met.* 15.293–95) that a city named Buris was under water by his own day is either mistaken or indicates that Buris should not be identified with Boura. That Boura was a *polis* after its refoundation is virtually certain, since in C3 the collective city-ethnic is used internally (*SEG* 1 1122), while the external use of the city-ethnic for an individual is also attested (*SEG* 1 74 (229/8)); cf. also Tzetz. *Chil.* 37.179 (rC4s). Similarly, in C3m a citizen of Boura named Archedamos was granted *proxenia* by Thermon (*IG* IX 1.1² 12e); cf. also Polyb. 2.41.7–8. That Boura was a *polis* prior to its destruction is impossible to prove, although it is highly likely.

There is no explicit testimony that Boura engaged in any colonial ventures to South Italy, though this is sometimes assumed on the basis of the homonymy between the river Sybaris in Sybarite territory and the Sybaris spring near Boura (Dunbabin (1948) 24; Bérard (1957) 141; Koerner (1974) 464; Giangiulio (1989) 166–67).

234. Dyme (Dymaios) Map 58. Lat. 38.10, long. 21.35. Size of territory:? Type: [A]. Paus. 7.17.5 locates Dyme near the river Larisos, marking the border between Achaia and Elis, which has led to its being associated with modern Kato Achaia (Rizakis (1995) 156; *Barr.*). The toponym is normally *Δύμη, ἡ* (Hdt 1.145; Thuc. 2.84.5; Ephor. fr. 84; Ps.-Skylax 42), though *Δύμα* (*IdiCos* ED 232.14 (C2)), *Δύμαι* (Plut. *Cleom.* 14.4) and *Δυμαῖαι* (*Etym. Magn.* 291.12–16) are also attested. The city-ethnic is *Δυμαῖος* (Ephor. fr. 84; *SEG* 14 375 (C4l)).

Hdt. 1.145 lists it among the original twelve *mere* of Achaia, but the only Classical source to call it a *polis* in the urban sense is Ps.-Skylax 42, where it is listed as the seventh toponym after the heading *πόλεις . . . αἵδε*; Polyb. 2.41.7–8 (rC4) calls it a *polis* in the political sense, and attests to its membership of the Achaian Confederacy prior to the time of Philip II and Alexander (cf. *SEG* 14 375 (C4l)). The internal collective use of the city-ethnic is found abbreviated on C4m coins (*infra*); the external collective use is found in Ephor. fr. 84; the external individual use is found in Theopomp. fr. 194 and probably in *SEG* 14 375 (C4l).

Strabo says that Dyme was synoecised from eight *demoi* (8.3.2; Moggi, *Sin.* 121–25), and there are other indications in generally late sources that the toponym was adopted relatively late. Thus Paus. 7.17.5 says that Dyme's original name was Paleia, while Steph. Byz. (s.v. *Δύμη*) say that its original name was Stratos; Strabo 8.7.5 compromises by hypothesising that Dyme was originally called Paleia and then Stratos.[2] It is possible that Paleia and Stratos were the names of two of the *demoi* that were synoecised, along with the *πολίχνη* of Teuthea (Strabo 8.3.11; Morgan and Hall (1996) 186–87). Determining the date of this synoecism is not easy: the toponym Paleia is attested as the *πατρίς* of an athlete named Oibotas on the base of a dedication referring to an Olympic victory in 756 but erected in 460 (Paus. 7.17.7, cf. 6.3.8; *Olympionikai* 6), though the name of Dyme appears to be familiar already to Hecat. fr. 121 (*c.*500). Koerner (1974) 469 argues that Dyme must have been synoecised prior to 496, the year in which Pataikos of Dyme won the trotting race at Olympia (Paus. 5.9.1; *Olympionikai* 171), though Pausanias does not attach the city-ethnic to Pataikos' name but merely says that he was an Achaian *from* Dyme. Demand (1990) 61–64 suggests that the synoecism that Strabo imagines must have involved the incorporation of Olenos (no. 238)—an event that would have to postdate Hdt. 1.145. On the other hand, the city-ethnic, which is certainly used on coinage dating to C4m (*infra*), is already attached to Oibotas' name on the retrospective victory dedication mentioned above. This should indicate that Dyme was a synoecised *polis* by 460. At this point, the *demoi* may have been reorganised within the three *phylai* of Stratis (or Spatis), Dymaia and Thesmiaia, which are attested in C3 (*Syll.*³ 531, with Jones, *POAG* 130–32). By C3, an eponymous magistrate named the *theokolos* is attested (Sherk (1990) 258), though there is no way of determining the antiquity of this office.

[2] The phrase *καὶ ἔτι πρότερον Πάλ[ι]εια, ὅτι ἄρ' ἐνῴκησαν <ἐν> τοῖς Παλ<ε>ειώταις* does not appear in all manuscripts. It is included in the Budé edition but omitted from the Loeb.

A late tradition told of a war between Dyme and Elis (no. 251) in 668 (Euseb. *Chron.* 1.28; Philostr. *Gymn.* 7), though this provides no explicit indications of Dyme's status in the Archaic period. In 367, it was "liberated" along with Naupaktos (no. 165) and Kalydon (no. 148) by Epameinondas of Thebes (Diod. 15.75.2).

According to Steph. Byz. (s.v. *Δύμη*), the original name of the *chora* was *Δύμη*, while for Polyb. 2.51.3 and Paus. 7.17.3 it was *Δυμαία*. The *chora* included the *polichne* of Teuthea (Strabo 8.3.11) and the *phrourion* of Teichos (Polyb. 4.59.4). The archaeological evidence suggests a dispersed settlement pattern until well into the Classical period (Morgan and Hall (1996) 189), with the foundations of a small Archaic temple being found at Santameri, in the south of the territory of Dyme (*ArchDelt* 22 B (1967) 216), and Classical elements—possibly to be associated with the temple of Athena Larisaia (Paus. 7.17)—being found to the south-west, at Katarchia. An urban centre is attested *c.*400 by Antimachos of Kolophon (*apud* Steph. Byz. s.v. *Δύμη*), who refers to *Δύμιον ἄστυ*, though archaeological evidence suggests the existence of settlement in the area of the later centre already from the Archaic period (Morgan and Hall (1996) 187).

In 496, Pataikos of Dyme won the trotting race at Olympia (*Olympionikai* 171). On Oibotas of Paleia, see *supra* 473–74.

Dyme minted in both silver (obols) and bronze by C4m; the standard employed was the Aiginetan. Types: *obv.* female head. Legend: *ΔΥ*. *Rev.* amphora or broad fish. Legend: *ΔΥΜΑ* (Head, *HN*² 414; *SNG Cop. Phliasia-Laconia* 143–46).

235. Helike (Helikeus) Map 58. Lat. 38.15, long. 22.10. Size of territory: 1 or 2. Type: A. Paus. 7.24.5 locates Helike 40 stades from Aigion (no. 231), while Strabo 8.7.2 (following Herakleides) places it 12 stades from the sea. This should put it between the rivers Selinous and Kerynitis (Morgan and Hall (1996) 175; *Barr.*). The city, which was overwhelmed by a tidal wave occasioned by an earthquake in 373 (Diod. 15.48.1–49.4; Polyb. 2.41.7; Strabo 8.7.2; Paus. 7.24.6; Ael. *NA* 11.19), was normally supposed to lie under water (cf. Ov. *Met.* 15.293–95), but sonar investigation suggests that it may actually lie inland under massive sedimentary deposits in the vicinity of Nea Keryneia (Petropoulos (1983); cf. Ptol. *Geog.* 3.14.36, who lists Helike among the inland cities of Achaia). However, Rizakis (1995) 203–4 finds all candidates for ancient Helike unconvincing. The toponym is usually *Ἑλίκη*, *ἡ* (Hom. *Il.* 2.575; *SEG* 36 718 (C5e); Hdt. 1.145) or *Ἑλίκα* (*Syll.*³ 90.12), though Theophr. *Phys. Op.* 12.122 cites a verse which gives the toponym as *Ἑλίκεια*. The city-ethnic is *Ἑλικεύς* (Diod. 15.49.3).

Helike is called a *polis* in the urban sense in Heraclid. Pont. fr. 46a (r373) and Theophr. *Phys. op.* 12.122 (r373), but is absent from Ps.-Skylax's list of Achaian *poleis* (42), which may suggest that this chapter was composed after 373. Retrospective evidence is provided by Polyb. 2.41.7 (rC4), who calls it a *polis* in the political sense, and by Diod. 15.48.3 (r373), who describes it as a *polis* in the urban sense. The internal collective use of the city-ethnic is probably found (abbreviated) on C4 coins (*infra*), and the external collective use is found in Diod. 15.49.3 (r *ante* 373). A citizen of Helike served as Delphic *theorodokos* in C5l (*Syll.*³ 90.12). According to Polyb. 2.41.6–7 (rC4), Helike had been a member of the Achaian Confederacy.

The early physical existence of Helike is attested in Hom. *Il.* 2.575 and in a C5e inscription (*SEG* 36 718; see also Soter and Katsonopoulou (1999)). Archaeological investigations have revealed the foundations of two small temples, one Archaic, the other Classical, at Nea Keryneia, which may possibly be associated with the acropolis of ancient Helike (Petropoulos (1990)). The most important sanctuary at Helike was, however, that of Poseidon Helikonios (Hom. *Il.* 8.203; Diod. 15.49.2–3; Strabo 8.7.2; Paus. 7.24.5–6), and it is quite likely that this sanctuary acted as a common place of union for the Achaians prior to the destruction of Helike, when that function was assumed by the sanctuary of Zeus Homarios near Aigion (Morgan and Hall (1996) 195–96, *contra* Aymard (1938) 286–87, 293; Walbank (2000)).

According to Strabo 6.1.13, Is of Helike was the founder of Sybaris (no. 70) in South Italy. The reading (*οἰκιστὴς δ' αὐτῆς Οἰσ<. . . ὁ> Ἑλικεύς*) is, however, unsure, and Bérard (1957) 141 n. 2 proposed either *<Σύβαρ>ις* or *<Σάγαρ>ις*.

A series of bronze coins, dating to C4f, depicts *obv.* head of Poseidon. Legend: *ΕΛΙΚ* (retr.). *Rev.* trident between dolphins in wreath (Head, *HN*² 414).

236. Keryneia (Keryneus) Map 58. Lat. 38.10, long. 22.10. Size of territory: 1 or 2. Type: C. Paus. 7.25.5 situates Keryneia above the road in an elevated position, and it is almost certainly to be located just south of the modern village of Mamousia, near Derveni (Rizakis (1995) 206; *Barr.*). The toponym is *Κερύνεια*, *ἡ* (Paus. 7.25.5); epichoric form: *Καρύνεια* (Polyb. 2.41.8). However, *Κερυνία* (Ael. *VH* 13.6) and *Καρυνία* (schol. Soph. *OC* 42) are also attested. The

epichoric city-ethnic is *Καρυνεύς* (*SEG* 15 113.34 (C3l), 254 (C2s); Polyb. 2.41.14 (rC4s)). *Καρυννεύς* is also attested (*I.Magnesia* 38 (C2l)).

Keryneia is not described as a *polis* in any Archaic or Classical source, but Polyb. 2.41.7–8 states that it was one of the *poleis* (in a political sense) that formed the Achaian Confederacy prior to the time of Philip II and Alexander. It was certainly a *polis* by C3, when it began to strike Achaian Confederate coinage (Head, *HN*² 417; *SNG Cop. Phliasia-Laconia* 236–38). Its precise status in earlier times is unsure, though Paus. 7.25.3–5 describes it as a *πόλισμα* and describes how it owed its strength to taking in refugees after the destruction of Mykenai (no. 353) in C5m (see also Anderson (1954) 73). Sculptural fragments appear to testify to the existence of an Archaic temple (*ArchDelt* 39 B (1984) 99).

237. Leontion (Leontesios) Map 58. Lat. 38.00, long. 21.55. Size of territory: ? Type: C. Leontion is probably to be located 3 km north of Kastritsi (Lauffer (1989) 380; *Barr.*). The toponym is *Λεόντιον* (Polyb. 2.41). The city-ethnic is *Λεοντήσιος* (*IvO* 300 (C2f); *SEG* 15 254 (C2s)).

No Archaic or Classical source calls Leontion a *polis*, but Polyb. 2.41.7–8 records it as one of the *poleis* (in the political sense) that constituted the Achaian Confederacy in the period prior to Philip II and Alexander. The external use of individual (*SEG* 26 530 (200); *IvO* 300 (C2f)) and collective (*SEG* 15 254 (120)) city-ethnics suggests strongly that it was a *polis* in the political sense by the end of C3, though this dates to after its refoundation by Antigonos Gonatas (Strabo 8.7.5; cf. Baladié *ad loc.*; Lauffer (1989) 380; Rizakis (1995) 308). The walls date back only as far as the Hellenistic period, though a theatre appears to belong to C4 (Lauffer (1989) 380; *TGR* ii. 251). By the Roman period, the territory was called *Λεοντησία* (Strabo 8.7.5).[3]

238. Olenos (Olenios) Map 58. Lat. 38.10, long. 21.40. Size of territory: ? Type: B. Paus. 7.18.1–2 and Strabo 8.7.4 situate Olenos between Dyme (no. 234) and Patrai (no. 239), and it is probably to be located west of modern Tsoukaleika (Rizakis (1995) 159–60; Morgan and Hall (1996) 181; *Barr.*). The toponym is *Ὦλενος, ἡ/ὁ* (Aesch. fr. 745b, Mette; Hdt 1.145; Polyb. 2.41.7). The city-ethnic is *Ὀλένιος* (*IG* v.1 1 (C5s)), *Ὠλένιος* (*SEG* 14 375.10 (C4l)).

No Archaic or Classical source calls Olenos a *polis*, but Polyb. 2.41.7 (rC4) calls it a *polis* in the political sense and attests to its membership of the Achaian Confederacy in the time prior to Philip II and Alexander (cf. *SEG* 14 375 (C4l)). Furthermore, a citizen of Olenos who made contributions to Sparta (no. 345) in the middle phase of the Peloponnesian War is described as *Ἀχαιὸς Ὀλένιος* (*IG* v.1 1; cf. *IG* ii² 62.6 where the restoration *τὸν Ὠλ[ένιον]* produces a pre-378 honorary decree for an Olenian) and this, together with the external application of the individual city-ethnic in a C4l inscription (*SEG* 14 375.10), ought to suggest that Olenos was a Classical *polis* in the political sense. The external collective use of the ethnic is found in Aesch. fr. 745c, Mette, and—referring to exiles—Ael. *NA* 5.29 (citing Theophr. fr. 109). Olenos is called a *πόλισμα* by the C3e poet Hermesianax (Paus. 7.18.1).

Olenos was abandoned due to "weakness" (Paus. 7.18.1), and its inhabitants were incorporated within Dyme (no. 234) (Strabo 8.7.1). Demand (1990) 61–64 argues that this must have taken place after the time at which Herodotos was writing, though Strabo 8.7.1 seems to imply that Olenos still existed by 280; it had certainly been abandoned by C2 (Polyb. 2.41.7). The territory (called *Ὦλενος γῆ* by Soph. fr. 300, Radt) probably included the settlements of Peirai and Euryteiai (Paus. 7.18.2). According to an ancient commentator (schol. vet. Pind. *Ol.* 1.37a), Pelops is supposed to have originated from the *polis* of Olenos.

239. Patrai (Patreus) Map 58. Lat. 38.15, long. 21.45. Size of territory: ? Type: [A]. The toponym is *Πάτραι, αἱ* (Thuc. 2.83.3; Ps.-Skylax 42). The city-ethnic is *Πατρεύς* (Hdt. 1.145; Thuc. 5.52.2; *SEG* 14 375 (C4l)), though *Πατραιεύς* appears to be attested in Polyb. 5.30.3, 95.7.

Underlying the modern coastal city of Patras (*Barr.*), Patrai is listed by Hdt. 1.145 as one of the original twelve *mere* of Achaia and is described as a *polis* (in the urban sense) by Ps.-Skylax 42 (C4f), where it is listed as the sixth toponym after the heading *πόλεις . . . αἵδε*. That it was considered to be a *polis* in the urban sense during C5l is rendered likely by Thucydides' notice (5.52.2) that in 419 the citizens of Patrai were persuaded by Alkibiades to extend their walls down to the sea; traces of these long walls have recently been found (*ArchDelt* 52 (1997) *Chron.* 273–75). Polyb. 2.41.7–8 (rC4) calls it a *polis* in the political sense, and attests to its membership of the Achaian Confederacy prior to the time of Philip II and Alexander (cf. *SEG* 14 375.9 (C4l)). The external collective use of the city-ethnic is found in Hdt. 1.145 and Thuc. 5.52.2, the external individual use in *SEG* 14 375.9 (C4l) and Paus. 6.4.6 (rC4s).

According to tradition, Patrai was originally formed by the synoecism of Aroe, Antheia and Mesatis (Paus. 7.18.2–6),

[3] The phrase *Ἡ δὲ Τριταία τῆς Φαραϊκῆς ἐφάπτεται κα<ὶ Λ>εοντησίας καὶ Λασιωνίας* does not appear in all manuscripts. It is included in the Budé edition but omitted from the Loeb.

three communities which shared the common cult of Artemis Triklaria (Paus. 7.19.1). In 279, Patrai underwent a *dioikismos*, and its inhabitants settled in the *polismata* of Mesatis, Antheia, Boline, Argyra and Arba as well as Patrai (Paus. 7.18.6). This suggested to Curtius ((1851) 437, 453) that these *polismata* had formerly been *demoi*, which had earlier been incorporated through a second process of synoecism. Moggi, *Sin.* 89–95 dates this latter synoecism to C6l or C5e, though it is worth noting that Herodotos' use in his list of Achaian *mere* (1.145) of the plural city-ethnic rather than the toponym may suggest that a multifocal settlement pattern still existed in C5m (Nilsson (1951) 22–23). In 429, the Peloponnesian fleet used Patrai, Panormos and Rhion as naval bases (Thuc. 2.83.3, 86.1–2, 92.5), and this has suggested to Larsen (1953) 802–3 that Patrai was by this time part of the Peloponnesian League.

The territory was called *Πατραϊκή* (Theophr. *Hist. pl.* 9.15.8, 20.2) and included the naval station of Panormos—modern Golimi—(Thuc. 2.86.1, 4, cf. 2.92.1) together with the settlements which were later to be resettled after *dioikismos*.

In C4m, Cheilon of Patrai won a string of wrestling victories at the Isthmian, Nemean, Olympic (*Olympionikai* 461, 465) and Pythian Games (Paus 6.4.6–7).

240. Pellene (Pelleneus) Map 58. Lat. 38.05, long. 22.35. Size of territory: 3 or 4. Type: A. The Attic–Ionic form of the toponym is regularly *Πελλήνη, ἡ* (Hom. *Il.* 2.574; Hdt. 1.145; Xen. *Hell.* 7.2.18; Ps.-Skylax 42); the epichoric form is *Πελ(λ)άνα* (*SEG* 11 1272 (C6); *IG* IV 510 (C6l); Pind. *Ol.* 9.98), though *Πελλίνα* is also attested (Steph. Byz. 515.12). The city-ethnic is *Πελληνεύς* in Attic–Ionic (Thuc. 2.9.2; *IG* II² 1388A.34 (398/7)) and *Πελλανεύς* in the epichoric dialect (*SEG* 3 83 (365–335); *IG* II² 220 (344/3)); later sources retrospectively use *Πελληναῖος* (Cic. *ad Att.* II 2; Plut. *Mor.* 399B). *Πελλπήνιος* is also attested (Lycoph. *Alex.* 922).

Almost certainly to be located on the Tserkova hill near the modern village of Pellini (Rizakis (1995) 225; *Barr.*), Pellene is the best-documented *polis* of Achaia. It is called a *polis* in the urban sense by Xen. *Hell.* 7.4.18 and Ps.-Skylax 42, where it is listed as the first toponym after the heading *πόλεις . . . αἵδε*, and in the political sense by Thuc. 8.3.2 and Xen. *Hell.* 6.5.29. In an honorific decree for some Pellenian *presbeis* passed by the Athenians in C4m (*IG* II² 220), *[ἡ πόλις τῶν Π]ελλα[νέων]* is restored in 15–16. Polyb. 2.41.7–8 attests to its membership of the Achaian Confederacy in the time prior to Philip II and Alexander. There was a *Πελληνέων πολιτεία* among the 158 constitutions collected by Aristotle (frr. 583–84), and Dikaiarchos (fr. 69, Wehrli) wrote a similar work (Cic. *ad Att.* II 2). *Polites* and *demos* are found in [Dem.] 17.10.

The internal collective use of the city-ethnic is found (abbreviated) on C4s coins (*infra*); the external collective use is attested in Thuc. 2.9.2, 8.3.2; Xen. *Hell.* 6.5.29; and *IG* II² 220.8 (344/3). The external individual use is attested in Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.11 and *IG* II² 1388A.34 (398/7) and *SEG* 3 83 (365–335).

The fact that a homonymous *kome* of Pellene existed between Pellene and Aigion (no. 231) (Strabo 8.7.5) may suggest that the *polis* of Pellene was the result of a series of synoecisms to which one of its constitutents gave its name (Koerner (1974) 468; Morgan and Hall (1996) 171). Other possible participants in this synoecism are Mysaion (Paus. 7.27.9), Kyros (Paus. 7.27.11), the harbour of Aristonautai (Paus. 7.26.14, cf. 2.12.2), Poseidion—which is explicitly called a *δῆμος* (Paus. 7.27.8)—and Olouros, which Xen. *Hell.* 7.4.17 describes as being besieged by the Pelleneis after its capture by the Arkadians (thus implying some form of urban settlement).

According to tradition, Pellene was exposed to *andrapodismos* and destroyed by Sikyon (no. 228) in C6e, but refounded shortly afterwards (Zenob. 1.57, citing Anaxandridas (*FGrHist* 404) fr. 1; *P Oxy.* 1241.III.2–12, citing Aristotle (not in Gigon), 1365.28–45). This is not definitive proof of Pellene's status as a *polis* in the Archaic period (*contra* Koerner (1974) 469), and it may be that the settlement that was destroyed was the *kome* of Pellene (Haussoullier (1917) 165–66). At the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War in 431, Pellene was the first Achaian city to join the Peloponnesian League (Thuc. 2.9.2–3; cf. Ar. *Lys.* 996); it was still allied with Sparta (no. 345) shortly after the battle of Leuktra (Xen. *Hell.* 7.2.2); action by its naval forces is attested at the battle of Abydos in 411 (Thuc. 8.106.3; Diod. 13.40.5; cf. Thuc. 2.9.3, 8.3.2, attesting to naval forces); infantry forces are attested at Thuc. 5.60.3, at the battle of the Nemea in 395 (Xen. *Hell.* 4.2.20), at Oneion in 369 (Xen. *Hell.* 7.1.15–16) and at Lechaion in 369 (Paus. 9.15.4). In 367, following the expulsion of oligarchs from the *poleis* of Achaia, Pellene allied herself with Thebes (no. 221) (Xen. *Hell.* 7.2.11), though the oligarchs swiftly resumed power and forged new alliances with both Sparta and Elis (no. 251) (Xen. *Hell.* 7.4.16–18). In the 330s, the Makedonians installed the tyrant Chairon ([Dem.] 17.10; Paus. 7.27.7; Ath. 509B) and Pellene was the only Achaian city not to join King Agis' anti-Makedonian league (Aeschin. 3.165; Curt. 6.1). By and large, the constitution of Pellene was normally oligarchic, and according to Harp. s.v. *Μαστῆρες*, the Aristotelian *Πελληνέων πολιτεία* attested the existence

of magistrates named *mastroi* (fr. 583). A period of democracy is implied by [Dem.] 17.10.

C4 sees a number of citizens of Pellene appointed to diplomatic offices: apart from the hospitality afforded to *presbeis* of Pellene by Athens (*IG* II² 220 (344/3)), a similar invitation to dine in the Athenian *prytaneion* is proffered to Andrion, son of Pausanias (*SEG* 3 83 (365–335)); Xen. *Hell.* 7.2.16 refers to a *proxenos* of the Phliasians (no. 355); in 340/39, Ekephylos, son of Charmides, was granted *proxenia*, *politeia*, *promanteia* and *prodikia* by Delphi (no. 177) (*BCH* 23 (1899) 349); and shortly after 338, Oikles was granted *proxenia* by the Boiotians (*SEG* 25 553).

Pellene's renown in the Panhellenic athletic circuit dates back as far as 542, when Phanas won victories in the *stade*, the *diaulos* and the *hoplitodromos* at the Olympic Games (Euseb. *Chron.* 1.67; *Olympionikai* 142–44). Sostratos won a victory in the boys' foot-race at Olympia in 460 (Paus. 6.8.1; *Olympionikai* 263), Promachos won the Olympic pankration in 404 (Paus. 7.27.5; *Olympionikai* 355) and in the third quarter of C4 the tyrant Chairon won two wrestling victories at Isthmia and four at Olympia (Paus. 7.27.5; *Olympionikai* 432, 437, 443, 447). A victory in boys' boxing by Philip, described as *Ἄζὰν ἐκ Πελλάνας*, is recorded by Paus. 6.8.5 and dated to 436 in *Olympionikai* 319 (see Nielsen and Roy (1998) 36–39). Pellene even hosted her own prize games, known variously as the Heraia (schol. Ar. *Av.* 1421), the Hermaia (schol. Ar. *Av.* 1421; schol. Pind. *Ol.* 9.116c) or the Theoxenia (Paus 7.27.4; schol. Pind. *Ol.* 7.156a). The games are already attested by C6l (*IG* IV 510; *Anth. Pal.* 13.19; cf. Bacchyl. 9.33, Jebb).

A cult to (Zeus) Mellichios is known in C6 (*SEG* 11 1272), but Apollo's importance at Pellene is suggested by the depiction of his head on silver and bronze coins dating to the period 370–322 (Head, *HN*² 415).

Pellene struck coins in both silver (triobols) and bronze in C4s: *obv.* head of Apollo or a lyre; *rev.* tripod or ram's head in a wreath. Legend: *ΠΕ* or *ΠΕΛ* (Head, *HN*² 415–16; *SNG Cop. Phliasia-Laconia* 209–23).

241. Pharai (Pharaieus) Map 58. Lat. 38.05, long. 21.45. Size of territory: ? Type: B. Paus. 7.22.1 situates Pharai near the river Peiros, and it is probably to be located at the modern village of Prevedos on the left bank of the river (Rizakis (1995) 186; *Barr.*). The toponym is regularly *Φαραί* (Polyb. 2.41.8), though *Φάρα, ἡ* is attested in a C4 inscription (*IG* XII.8 637). The city-ethnic is normally *Φαραιεύς* (*SEG* 1 74 (C3s); *IG* V.2 392 (C4–C3); Polyb. 2.41.12); the Ionic form is *Φαρεύς* (Hdt. 1.145).

Designated by Hdt. 1.145 as one of the original twelve *mere* of Achaia, Pharai is absent from Ps.-Skylax's list of Achaian *poleis* (42), though in this case the negative evidence should not be overstressed, since we would not expect to find an inland settlement recorded in a treatise composed as a *periplous* (Morgan and Hall (1996) 167). Polyb. 2.41.7–8 states that Pharai was one of the Achaian *poleis* (in the political sense) that constituted the Achaian Confederacy prior to the time of Philip II and Alexander. The external collective use of the city-ethnic is found in Hdt. 1.145 and Polyb. 2.41.12 (r280); the external individual use is found in *IG* V.2 392 (C4–C3).

A man of *Φάρα* is recorded in a C5l inscription listing Delphic *theorodokoi* (*Syll.*³ 90.3), and if this is a reference to a citizen of Achaian Pharai, then it might indicate *polis* status before 400. It is possible, however, that the reference is to Arkadian Phara (no. 290). A citizen of Pharai was appointed *proxenos* and *theorodokos* by Arkadian Lousoi (no. 279) in C4–C3 (*IG* V.2 392). The territory was called *Φαραϊκή* (Strabo 8.7.5; cf. Baladié *ad loc.*

242. Phelloe Map 58. Lat. 38.05, long. 22.25. Size of territory: 1 or 2. Type: B. Paus. 7.26.10 locates Phelloe on the mountain road from Aigeira (no. 230), and it may possibly be situated at Zachali/Seliana (Morgan and Hall (1996) 174; *Barr.*). The toponym is *Φελλόα* (-*η*), *ἡ* (*BCH* 70 (1946) 39B; Paus. 7.26.10).

Paus. 7.26.10 calls Phelloe a *πόλισμα* and claims that it had been settled ever since the Ionian occupation of Achaia. A C4m decree granting Delphic *proxenia* to an *Ἀχαιὸς ἐκ Φελλόας* (*BCH* 70 (1946) 39B) indicates that Phelloe was a *polis* in the political sense by C4. If an eponymous mythical hero named Phellos, mentioned in Hes. fr. 167 (MW), is to be associated with Achaian Phelloe (see West (1985) 91), this might suggest the existence of a political community in the Archaic period. Certainly, surface exploration and limited excavation in the area have revealed settlement evidence and burials dating from C8s and continuing into the Archaic and Classical periods (Alzinger (1986) 319–26; Morgan and Hall (1996) 174).

243. Rhypes (Rhyps) Map 58. Lat. 38.15, long. 22.00. Size of territory: ? Type: [A]. Paus. 7.23.4 situates Rhypes a little above the Aigion–Patrai road, some 30 stades from Aigion (no. 231). The identification is not certain, but it is often located on the Trapeza hill, 7 km west of Aigion (Rizakis (1995) 193; Morgan and Hall (1996) 179; *Barr.*). The toponym is *Ῥύπες* (Ps.-Skylax 42), *Ῥύπαι* (Strabo 8.7.5; Paus. 7.18.7) or *Ῥύπη* (Diod. 8.17.1). Steph. Byz. 548.4 also attests *Ῥυπαίη*. The city-ethnic is *Ῥύψ* (*SGDI* 1644 (C6); Hdt.

1.145; *SEG* 14 375 (C4l)). Pherecydes (*FGrHist* 3) fr. 163 has Ἄρυπες, presumably for the ethnic.

Rhypes is one of the original twelve *mere* of Achaia (Hdt 1.145) and is cited as a *polis* in the urban sense in Ps.-Skylax 42, where it is listed as the fifth toponym after the heading πόλεις . . . αἵδε. That status may possibly be retrojected, however, since according to Phot. *Lex.* p. 492.10, Aischylos (fr. 394, Nauck) had described Rhypes as a πόλις τῶν Ὠλενίων Ἀχαιῶν. An even earlier attestation of what appears to be the external individual city-ethnic Ῥυπ(ό)[ς] in an Archaic inscription (*SGDI* 1644) may just possibly indicate that Rhypes was a *polis* in the political sense during C6. In C4l, the external application of the individual city-ethnic is attested in *SEG* 14 375. The external collective use of the city-ethnic is found in Hdt. 1.145 (cf. Pherecydes (*FGrHist* 3) fr. 163). C4l membership of the Achaian Confederacy is suggested by *SEG* 14 375.8.

Anderson (1954) 73 suggests that Rhypes was abandoned in C4, though this does not accord with the archaeological evidence (Rizakis (1995) 193–94; Morgan and Hall (1996) 216 n. 19; Vordos (forthcoming)), and it would appear that it persisted until its destruction by Augustus, when its territory was distributed between Aigion (no. 231) and Pharai (no. 241) (Strabo 8.7.5), as well as Patrai (no. 239) (Paus. 7.18.7). The territory of Rhypes is designated variously (ἐν τῇ Ῥυπικῇ (Thuc. 7.34.1); τὴν δὲ χώραν Ῥυπίδα (Strabo 8.7.5)), and seems to have included Erineos, in the vicinity of the modern Lambiri (Thuc. 7.34.1), and Leuktron (Strabo 8.7.5).

Kroton (no. 56) in South Italy was reputedly founded by Myskellos of Rhypes (Antiochos (*FGrHist* 555) fr. 10; Hippys of Rhegion (*FGrHist* 554) fr. 1; Ps.-Skymnos 325; Diod. 8.17; Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 2.59.3; Strabo 6.1.12, 8.7.5; Solin. 2.10; Zenob. 3.42). However, Paus. 3.3.1 attributes Kroton's foundation to the Spartans (no. 345) (see further Giannelli (1963) 148–51; Koerner (1974) 463; Malkin (1987) 44–46, (1994) 62–64; Leschhorn (1984) 30; Giangiulio (1989) 136–39, 183–84).

244. Tritaia (Tritaieus) Map 58. Lat. 37.55, long. 21.40. Size of territory: ? Type: B. Paus. 7.22.6, 10 describes Tritaia as an inland city 120 stades from Pharai (no. 241), and it should probably be located on the Voundoukla plateau near the modern village of Hagia Marina (Rizakis (1995) 189; *Barr.*). The toponym is Τριταία (Polyb. 2.41.8; Strabo 8.3.10), though Τρίτεια is also attested (Paus. 6.12.9, 7.22.6). The city-ethnic is Τριταιεύς (Hdt. 1.145; *SEG* 1 74 (C3s); Polyb. 2.41.12).

Tritaia is described as one of the original twelve *mere* of Achaia by Hdt 1.145. It is absent from Ps.-Skylax's list (42), though—as in the case of Pharai (no. 241)—negative evidence is not conclusive, since one would normally not expect to find an inland *polis* listed in a treatise composed as a *periplous* (Morgan and Hall (1996) 167). Polyb. 2.41.7–8 (rC4) calls it a *polis* in the political sense, and attests its membership of the Achaian Confederacy in the period prior to Philip II and Alexander. The external collective use of the city-ethnic appears in Hdt. 1.145 and Polyb. 2.41.12. In C3, the city-ethnic is used externally and individually (*SEG* 1 74; *IG* v.2 368.77ff (*ante* 280)). Citizens of Tritaia are listed as *proxenoi* of Arkadian Kleitor (no. 276) in *IG* v.2 368.77ff (*ante* 280).

Cicero (*ad Att.* 6.2.2) implies that Tritaia was attached to Arkadia after the foundation of Megalopolis (no. 282), but this is contradicted by Paus. 6.12.8–9, who appears to attest Tritaia's independence in C2m (cf. Nielsen and Roy (1998) 38). Tritaia was eventually annexed by Augustus, and its territory assigned to Patrai (Paus. 7.22.6). An eponymous *damiorgos* is attested in C3 (Sherk (1990) 258–59).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Alzinger, W. 1972–73. "Aegeira", *ÖJh* 50 (Grabungen): 9–16.

——1976–77. "Grabungen Aegeira", *ÖJh* 51 (Grabungen): 30–34.

——1981–82. "Grabungen Aegeira", *ÖJh* 53 (Grabungen): 8–15.

——"Pausanias und der Tempel von Aigeira", *Tagung Innsbruck* 13–18.

——1983. "Aegeira", *ÖJh* 54 (Grabungen): 36–38.

——1985. "Aegira-Hyperesia und die Siedlung Phelloe in Achaia I", *Klio* 67: 389–451.

——1986. "Aegira-Hyperesia und die Siedlung Phelloe in Achaia, II, III", *Klio* 68: 6–62, 309–47.

Anderson, J. K. 1954. "A Topographical and Historical Study of Achaea", *BSA* 49: 72–92.

Anderson, J. G. T., and Anderson, J. K. 1975. "A Lost City Discovered", *CSCA* 8: 1–6.

Aymard, A. 1935. "Le Zeus fédéral achaien Hamarios-Homarios", in *Mélanges offerts à M. Octave Navarre* (Toulouse) 453–70.

——1938. *Les Assemblées de la confédération achaienne* (Bordeaux).

Bammer, A. "Aigeira-Hyperesia", in Greco (2003).

Beck, H. 1997. *Polis and Koinon*, *Historia* Einzelschriften 114 (Stuttgart).

Bérard, J. 1957. *La Colonisation grecque de l'Italie méridionale et de la Sicile dans l'antiquité: l'histoire et la légende*² (Paris).

Buckler, J. 1980. *The Theban Hegemony 371–362 BC* (Cambridge, Mass.).

Curtius, E. 1851. *Peloponnesos: eine historisch-geographische Beschreibung der Halbinsel*, i (Gotha).

Demand, N. 1990. *Urban Relocation in Archaic and Classical Greece: Flight and Consolidation* (Bristol).

Donlan, W. 1985. "The Social Groups of Dark Age Greece", *CP* 80: 293–308.

Dunbabin, T. J. 1948. *The Western Greeks: The History of Sicily and South Italy from the Foundation of the Greek Colonies to 480 B.C.* (Oxford).

Flensted-Jensen, P., and Hansen, M. H. 1996. "Pseudo-Skylax' Use of the Term *Polis*", *CPCPapers* 3: 137–67.

Foucart, P. 1876. "Fragment inédit d'un décret de la Ligue achéenne", *RA* 32: 96–103.

Giangiulio, M. 1989. *Ricerche su Crotone arcaica* (Pisa).

Giannelli, G. 1963. *Culti e miti della Magna Grecia: contributo alla storia più antica delle colonie greche in occidente* (Florence).

Giovannini, A. 1971. *Untersuchungen über die Natur und die Anfänge der bundesstaatlichen Sympolitie in Griechenland* (Göttingen).

Gogos, S. 1986. "Kult und Heiligtümer der Artemis von Aegeira", *ÖJh* 57: 108–39.

Greco, E. (ed.) 2003. *Gli Achei e l'identità etnica degli Achei d'Occidente*, atti del convegno internazionale di studi, Paestum 23–25 Febbraio 2002 (Paestum).

Gschnitzer, F. 1955. "Stammes- und Ortsgemeinden im alten Griechenland", *WS* 68: 120–44.

Hall, J. M. 1997. *Ethnic Identity in Greek Antiquity* (Cambridge).

—— forthcoming. "Myths of Greek Colonialism: The Case of South Italy and Achaean Identity", in G. Tsetskhladze and C. Morgan (eds.), *Art and Myth in the Colonial World* (Leiden).

Hansen, M. H., and Fischer-Hansen, T. 1994. "Monumental Political Architecture in Archaic and Classical Greek *Poleis*", *CPCPapers* 1: 23–90.

Haussoullier, B. 1917. *Traité entre Delphes et Pellana* (Paris).

Imhoof-Blumer, F. 1883. *Monnaies grecques* (Paris).

Jeffery, L. H. 1990. *The Local Scripts of Archaic Greece*² (Oxford).

Koerner, R. 1974. "Die staatliche Entwicklung in Alt-Achaia", *Klio* 56: 457–95.

Kraay, C. 1976. *Archaic and Classical Greek Coins* (London).

Kroll, J. H. 1996. "Hemiobols to Assaria: The Bronze Coinage of Roman Aigion", *NC* 49–78.

Lakakis, M. 1991. "*Αγρότικοι οικισμοί στη Δυμαία· Χώρα· η περίπτωση του Πετροχώριου*", in Rizakis (1991) 241–46.

—— and Rizakis, A. D. 1992. "Dyme, cité achéenne: son histoire à la lumière des fouilles récentes", in Rizakis (1992) 77–100.

Larsen, J. A. O. 1953. "The Early Achaean League", in G. Mylonas and D. Raymond (eds.), *Studies Presented to David Moore Robinson*, ii (St. Louis) 797–815.

—— 1968. *Greek Federal States: Their Institutions and History* (Oxford).

Lauffer, S. (ed.) 1989. *Griechenland: Lexicon der historischen Stätten von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart* (Munich).

Leahy, D. M. 1955. "The Bones of Tisamenos", *Historia* 4: 26–38.

Leschhorn, W. 1984. *"Gründer der Staat": Studien zu einem politisch-religiösen Phänomen der griechischen Geschichte* (Stuttgart).

Malkin, I. 1987. *Religion and Colonization in Ancient Greece* (Leiden).

—— 1994. *Myth and Territory in the Spartan Mediterranean* (Cambridge).

Martin, T.R. 1995. "Coins, Mints and the *Polis*", *CPCActs* 2: 257–91.

Mendone, L. 1991. "*Η Αχαΐα στους αρχαίους έλληνες και λατίνους συγγραφείς*", in Rizakis (1991) 67–73.

Morgan, C., and Hall, J. M. 1996. "Achaian *Poleis* and Achaian Colonisation", *CPCActs* 3: 164–232.

NID (Naval Intelligence Division) 1945. *Admiralty Handbook: Greece*, iii (London).

Nielsen, T. H., and Roy, J. 1998. "The Azanians of Northern Arkadia", *ClMed* 49: 5–44.

Nilsson, M. P. 1951. *Cults, Myths, Oracles and Politics in Ancient Greece* (Lund).

Papakosta, L. 1991. "*Παρατηρήσεις σχετικά με την τοπογραφία του αρχαίου Αιγίου*", in Rizakis (1991) 235–40.

Parker, R. 1998. *Cleomenes on the Acropolis*, Inaugural Lecture delivered before the University of Oxford on 12 May 1997 (Oxford).

Petropoulos, M. 1983. "*Ἑλίκη*", *Archaiologia* 9: 76–79.

—— 1990. "*Αρχαιολογικές ερευνές στην Αχαΐα*", in *Τόμος τιμητικός Κ. Ν. Τριανταφύλλου*, i (Patras) 495–537.

—— 1991. "*Τοπογραφικά της χώρας των Πατρέων*", in Rizakis (1991) 249–58.

—— and Rizakis, A. D. 1994. "Settlement Patterns and Landscape in the Coastal Area of Patras: Preliminary Report", *JRA* 7: 183–207.

Philippson, A. 1959. *Die griechischen Landschaften*, iii (Frankfurt).

Rizakis, A. D. (ed.) 1991. *Achaia und Elis in der Antike*, Akten des 1. internationalen Symposiums Athen, 19–21 May 1989, *Meletemata* 13 (Athens).

—— (ed.) 1992. *Paysages d'Achaie*, i: *Le bassin du Peiros et la plaine occidentale* (Athens).

—— 1995. *Achaïe I: Sources textuelles et histoire régionale* (Athens).

Robinson, D. 1942. "New Greek Bronze Vases", *AJA* 46: 194–97.

Sakellariou, M. B. 1991. "Le peuplement de l'Achaïe à la fin de l'âge du bronze et le début de l'âge du fer", in Rizakis (1991) 13–18.

Sherk, R. 1990. "The Eponymous Officials of Greek Cities I", *ZPE* 83: 249–88.

Soter, S., and Katsonopoulou, D. 1999. "Occupation Horizons Found in the Search for the Ancient Greek City of Helike", *Geoarchaeology* 14 (6): 531–63.

Vordos, A. "Rhypes: à la recherche de la métropole achéenne", in Greco (2003).

Walbank, F. W. 1967. *A Historical Commentary on Polybius*, ii (Oxford).

—— 2000. "Hellenes and Achaians: 'Greek Nationality' Revisited", in *CPCPapers* 5: 19–33.

West, M. L. 1985. *The Hesiodic Catalogue of Women: Its Nature, Structure and Origins* (Oxford).

ELIS

JAMES ROY

I. The Region

The region of Elis was bordered by Achaia to the north and north-east, by Arkadia to the east and south-east, and by Messenia to the south. The boundaries changed with time, especially that with Arkadia (Roy (2000)). The Eleians' original home appears to have been in the valley of the river Peneios in *κοίλη Ἦλις* (a name first found in Thuc. 2.25.3). In Homer they are usually called *Ἐπειοί* (e.g. *Il.* 4.537), but also *Ἠλείοι* (*Il.* 11.671); their home was *Ἦλις* (*Il.* 2.615, etc.). From their homeland they eventually expanded their power over the entire area later known as Elis (or Eleia, e.g. Thuc. 5.34.1), incorporating some territory directly into the Eleian state while imposing perioikic status on other communities.

Early Eleian expansion, and in particular the struggle with Pisa for control of Olympia, is obscure (*RE* v. 2373–91, xx. 1747–53). Surviving accounts are distorted by a desire to identify people and places mentioned by Homer (see especially the material from Apollodoros in Strabo book 8), and by the influence of later political interests (see Sordi (1994); Ulf (1997); Bilik (1998–99); and Nafissi (2001) on the historiography of Olympia and Elis). By C6, however, Elis (no. 251) dominated Pisa, and with it Olympia, and probably also Akroreia to the east and some territory south of the river Alpheios, and in C5 Elis extended its power to the Messenian border. Pisatis was incorporated directly into the Eleian state proper, as was territory down the coast at least as far as the harbour Pheia, while other areas (Akroreia, Lasion (no. 256) on the Arkadian border, Letrinoi (no. 258), Marganeis (no. 259) and Amphidolia (no. 247) near Pisatis, and all Triphylia) became perioikic (Roy (1997), (1999)). Elis then lost all perioikic territory after a war with Sparta *c.*400, but made considerable efforts—with varying success—to win it back. A notable, but brief, set-back was the breakaway of Pisa as an independent state from 365 until *c.*362. Elis ultimately achieved lasting control of the entire area, probably in 146 (Roy (1999); *RE* v. 2391–2416). The region of Elis from C6 onwards can therefore be divided into two categories:

(1) the territory of the Eleian state proper, all north of the river Alpheios, and including Pisatis except during its brief independence, 365–*c.*362; and
(2) the remaining territory, which was perioikic when under Eleian control, and otherwise independent or associated with states other than Elis.

The second category includes Triphylia, but in this Inventory the communities of Triphylia are treated in a separate chapter by Nielsen (540–46). The present chapter therefore deals with the Eleian state proper and with other Eleian territory north of the Alpheios. The total area of Eleian and perioikic territory north of the Alpheios was 2,120 km² according to Yalouris (1972*a*) 96.

There was considerable settlement within the region of Elis as a whole. Yalouris reported (*PECS* 299–300, in 1976) that 120 settlements have been found by excavation, and a further 160 by surface finds, adding that these settlements range from Paleolithic to Byzantine, and must mainly be small villages, hamlets and isolated farms. Cf. Yalouris (1972*a*), with the same figures, and also the statement that forty-nine towns—not identified—are recorded in the area by literary sources, twenty-seven north of the river Alpheios and twenty-two south of it; and see also Roy (1999).

Few known urban sites north of the river Alpheios have benefited from intensive archaeological investigation: apart from the town of Elis, Pylos (no. 263) has been thoroughly excavated (and Olympia, not a town), and Kyllene (no. 254) and Pheia have been examined. There remain, however, sites with archaeological material which may have been urban settlements but need further exploration, particularly at Elaionas (formerly Malapasi) (Sperling (1942) 83 no. 22); Goumero (Bon (1946) 29–30): Korifi (formerly Koukouvitsa) (Sperling (1942) 82 no. 13); and Vartholomio

I wish to thank the British Academy, the Fondation Hardt and the University of Nottingham Research Committee for support during the preparation of this chapter. I am grateful to Dr. S. Minon for permission to cite her unpublished doctoral thesis (which she is revising for publication) and to Drs. B. Eder, P. Flensted-Jensen, M. H. Hansen, Professor S. Hornblower, Drs. C. Morgan, T. H. Nielsen, and Professor P. Siewert for information and advice. Responsibility for the text remains entirely my own.

(*ArchDelt* 44 (1989) B.1.104–5). It is also the case that north of the river Alpheios very few ancient towns known from literary or epigraphical evidence have been precisely located: Elis, Pheia, Kyllene and Lasion have been identified with certainty, and Pylos very plausibly, while sites have been suggested for other communities (e.g. Gartsiko for Opous (no. 261)) but lack proof, and yet other ancient settlements can be located only approximately, or not at all.

Besides towns, Classical Elis had many villages and scattered farmsteads. Polyb. 4.73.5–9 described considerable settlement in C3l in villages, places of refuge and open countryside, which offered protection against attack, and clearly believed that this pattern of settlement was old. Much evidence for settlements in Classical Elis comes, however, from sources even later than Polybios, notably Strabo and Pausanias, and even Stephanos of Byzantion. Such evidence mentions numerous nucleated settlements, but its value varies.

Concerning the perioikic communities north of the river Alpheios there is less difficulty. Available evidence suggests that all such communities were *poleis* in the Classical period, and they are described below in the Inventory of *poleis*. In addition to evidence on particular communities, both Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.23 and Diod. 14.17.5 use the term *polis* for the perioikic communities of Elis generally at the time of the Eleian–Spartan War *c.*400. Moreover, the relationship between Elis and the perioikic communities was structured as a military alliance (*symmachia*) by C6l (Siewert (1994*a*); Ebert and Siewert (1999); Roy (1997)). The internal structure of the Eleian state is sometimes described as federal, but the limited evidence for the relationship between the Eleian state and settlements within that state's territory does not show a federal structure.[1] There may have been an amphiktyony of states connected with Olympia, though there is little evidence for it (Roy (1997) 296; cf. Taita (1999)): if it existed, it lost importance by 500 to the hegemonial alliance by which Elis structured its relations with its *perioikoi*. As subordinate allies, the perioikic *poleis* were enrolled by Elis in Elis' alliance of 420 with Athens (no. 361), Argos (no. 347) and Mantinea (no. 281) (Thuc. 5.47.8–9), and while of perioikic status they presumably contributed to the Peloponnesian League during Elis' own membership, though no such effort is directly recorded for *perioikoi* north of the river Alpheios (as it is implicitly for Lepreon (no. 306) in Triphylia, Thuc. 5.31.2–3). The perioikic communities in question are Letrinoi (no. 258), Marganeis (no. 259) and Amphidolia (no. 247), all fairly near Olympia; the four *poleis* of Akroreia (Alion (no. 246), Eupagion (no. 252), Opous (no. 261) and Thraistos (no. 264)), and Lasion (no. 256) east of Akroreia. (Both Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.30, 4.2.16, and Diod. 14.17.8 distinguish Lasion from Akroreia.) The four Akroreian communities (on which see Siewert (1987–88)) at least occasionally acted collectively. Once free from Eleian control *c.*400 (Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.30), the Akroreians sent a collective military contingent to support Sparta (no. 345) in 394 (Xen. *Hell.* 4.2.16), and may have formed a federal state. Their collective dedication at Olympia, made jointly with the Alasyes, may be dated either in C5l, when Akroreia was perioikic, or during independence in C4e (Siewert (1987–88) 8 n. 3). The Akroreians were again under Eleian control by 365, when Arkadia captured all the Akroreian *poleis* except Thraistos (no. 264) (Xen. *Hell.* 7.4.14). The Akroreians then again formed a state, possibly federal, since they and Pisa (no. 262) allied with Arkadia (Ringel *et al.* (1999)). This Akroreian state is not heard of again after the battle of Mantinea in 362, and Akroreia presumably reverted to Eleian control.

Four other communities which are each attested only by a single epigraphic reference—the Anaitoi (no. 248), the Metapioi (no. 260), the Chaladrioi (no. 249) and the Ewaoioi (no. 253)—were evidently *poleis*. They used the Eleian dialect and presumably belonged to the region of Elis in the widest sense, but it is impossible to determine whether they fell within the Eleian state proper or lay in perioikic territory (either north or south of the river Alpheios). They are included in the Inventory of Eleian *poleis* (though they may in fact have been Triphylian).

Within the Eleian state proper there were certainly towns other than Elis itself, but there is only limited Classical evidence that any of these settlements were considered to be *poleis*. Ps.-Skylax 43 calls Kyllene a *polis*, and for the inhabitants of Eleian Pylos Xenophon uses an ethnic (*Hell.* 7.4.26), which may be a sign of *polis* status (Hansen (1996)): Kyllene and Pylos are included, as possible cases, in the Inventory of *poleis*. There is, however, much later evidence of varying value. Strabo 8.3.31 reports a tradition that there were eight *poleis* in Pisatis: the report is probably taken from Apollodoros, and is antiquarian rather than contemporary (*RE* xx. 1737–39; Roy (2002*a*)). (No Classical source refers to any Pisatan community as a *polis*: cf. in Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.31 the

[1] Walter (1993) 118–21 considers seriously the possibility that there were subordinate *poleis* within the Elean state, and suggests that it may have been federal. Van Effenterre and Ruzé (1994–95) write without comment about "la Confédération des Eléens" (e.g. 1 no. 21). Siewert (1994*b*) 30 argues against the suggestion that Elis was a "Stammstaat".

term "rustics" (*χωρίτας*) referring to the Pisatans.) The obscure Pisatan community of the Alasyeis (no. 245) is included in the Inventory because, using its ethnic, it made a joint dedication at Olympia with the Akroreians in C5l or C4e (Siewert (1991)). (Pisa itself, because it briefly operated as an independent state 365–*c.*362, is also included in the Inventory.) For Elis apart from Pisatis there is also evidence of nucleated settlements, sometimes described as *poleis*. Paus. 5.16.2–8 states that the Sixteen Women, responsible for an important cult, were originally chosen from sixteen *poleis* which once existed in Elis (Bultrighini (1990) 165–73). Reports of the synoecism of Elis in 471 mention other settlements, called *poleis* by Diod. 11.54.1 (cf. Strabo 8.3.2). Ps.-Skylax 43, after calling Kyllene a *polis*, speaks of a *synoikia* of *poleis* farther inland in Elis (possibly a reflection of the synoecism). The archaeological evidence on Kyllene, Pheia and Pylos does not help to determine their formal status (though in the case of Pylos it does not suggest a highly developed community). Finally there are scattered post-Classical reports, often from Stephanos, describing individual settlements as *poleis*. This range of evidence raises problems.

First, there is the difficulty of deciding whether any individual subordinate settlement within the Eleian state proper was considered to be a *polis* in the Classical period. (It is unlikely that there would be only one single subordinate *polis* within the Eleian state: if any single subordinate settlement can be shown to have been a *polis*, that increases the likelihood that others were too.) The Anaitoi (no. 248), Metapioi (no. 260), Chaladrioi (no. 249) and Ewaoioi (no. 253) were probably *poleis*, but may not have lain within the Eleian state in the narrow sense. Dyspontion (no. 250) and Lenos (no. 257) produced Olympic victors, but are otherwise little known. Of communities that can be securely located within the Eleian state proper there is Classical evidence (however limited) for *polis* status only for Kyllene (no. 254), Pylos (no. 263) and the Alasyeis (no. 245). For other communities there is only later evidence, of varying value. It is thus possible that there were a number of subordinate *poleis* within the Eleian state, but the evidence to support this view is limited. Since there is, however, no direct evidence of a federal structure, Elis probably functioned as a unitary state, with internal subdivisions of a kind normal in a unitary *polis* (and possibly with dependent *poleis* within its territory).

The Inventory below describes twenty certain, probable, or possible *poleis* certainly or probably located in Elis as defined here. The following Archaic and Classical settlements have not been included in the Inventory. They are grouped in three categories: (1) settlements in Pisatis;[2] (2) settlements within the Eleian state proper but not described as Pisatan;[3] and (3) a settlement which might be located anywhere within the region of Elis (including Triphylia).[4]

[2] Other settlements in Pisatis may have existed in the Classical period, but evidence is lacking. *Kikysion* (*Κικύσιον*) was the biggest of the eight *poleis* of Pisatis (Strabo 8.3.31, 32), but its existence is not attested before the Hellenistic period. *Pharaia*/Pheraia (*Φαραία*, *Φηραία*) is mentioned only by Polybios 4.77.5 and Strabo 8.3.32, both identifying a road by it: Strabo puts it in Arkadia, but his text is corrupt when giving the location, and if it is correctly located at modern Nemuta (Pritchett (1989) 35–37), it was in territory considered Eleian in Pausanias' day (Paus. 8.26.3–4) and could have been part of Pisatis. However, the existence of Pharaia is not attested before the Hellenistic period, though it is dated C by the *Princeton Classical Atlas*.

[3] Other settlements are reported in Elis north of the river Alpheios, but their existence in the A or C periods is not attested. Oinoe (*Οἰνόη*, or *Βουνώα*) is known only from Strabo 8.3.5 as a place 120 stades from Elis on the road to Lasion (MSS emended: a different emendation would put Oinoe on the road to the sea). A location at ruins near modern Kulogli (officially Oinoe) has been suggested, but questioned (*RE* xvii. 2240–44 no. 10): Sperling (1942) 83 n. 14 found no remains there earlier than Roman. Ancient attempts were made (*RE* xvii. 2240–44 no. 10) to identify Oinoe with a probably non-existent *polis* Ephyra (on which see below) related to Homeric Ephyra. Orthia (*Ὀρθία*) was a *demos* of Koile Elis, home of Physkoa, who bore Narkaios to Dionysos (Paus. 5.16.6), but is not otherwise attested. Petra (*Πέτρα*): Paus. 6.24.5 reports the tomb of the sophist Pyrrhon (*c.*360–271) at Petra, near the town of Elis, and says that in ancient times Petra was a *demos*, without mentioning other remains: Petra presumably existed at the time of Pyrrhon's death, but is not attested earlier. Phyteion (*Φύτειον*) was referred to in C3 by Istros (*FGrHist* 334) fr. 40, but is not attested earlier: Steph. Byz. 675.17–19 calls it a *polis* of Koile Elis, with ethnic. Pyrgus is mentioned only by Livy 27.32.7 (r209) as a *castellum* not far from the town of Elis, apparently capable of sheltering 4,000 people and 20,000 animals (which must be exaggerated, but suggests a settlement larger than a simple fort). It is not identical with Pyrgos or Pyrgoi in Triphylia (Pritchett (1989) 73), and, though some MSS have Phyrcum *vel sim.* for the name, it is most unlikely to be identical with Phyrkon near Lepreon mentioned by Thuc. 5.49.1. Thalamai (*Θαλάμαι*) was a C locality in Koile Elis: a location near Mt. Skollis has been suggested (*KlPauly* v. 642 no. 2). Polyb. 4.75.2 (cf. 4.84.2) "the *chorion* which they call Thalamai" shows that it was not a *polis* in his day, and Xen. *Hell.* 7.4.26 might refer to a fortress or a natural stronghold rather than a settlement: there is therefore no good evidence that Thalamai was ever a settlement. Thrious (*Θριοῦς*) was a *polis* of Achaia, and later of Elis, bordering on Patrai (Steph. Byz. 318.7–10; cf. Pliny *HN* 4.22). Clearly a real community, as an inscription of C2 or C1 shows (*SEG* 15 524, *Θριάσιοι*: cf. *SEG* 45 409), it is unknown earlier. Bon (1946) 20–23 proposed for Thrious a location at Aspra Litharia near Santameri where he found C material; but Thrious is likely to have been Eleian—if it ever was—after boundary changes in the Roman period (*KlPauly* iv. 549–551 on Patrai).

[4] Asiane (*Ἀσιανή*) is known only from Steph. Byz. 131.4–5 as a *polis* of Elis. Mention of Bouprasion (*Βουπράσιον*) in Homer (*Il.* 2.615, etc.) caused a clear ancient desire to identify it as a town (Strabo 8.3.8), but there is no evidence that it was a *polis* (*RE* iii. 1058). Brysiai (*Βρυσιαί*) is known only from Steph. Byz. 188.2–3 as a *polis* of Elis: this is possibly a mistake for Lakonian Bryseai (*RE* iii. 927). Mention of Ephyra (*Ἐφύρη*, *Ἔφυρα*) in Homer *Il.* 2.659, etc. provoked later attempts to locate it in Elis (Strabo 8.3.5), but there are no good grounds for believing in an Eleian Ephyra (*KlPauly* ii. 301 no. 4): cf. Oinoe (above). Kyme (*Κύμη*) is known only from Steph. Byz. 392.22 as a *polis* of Eleia. Pind. *Ol.* 6.34 said that Aipytos ruled Arkadians at Phaisana (*Φαισάνα*) on the Alpheios, but Istros (*FGrHist* 334) fr. 41 (C3) said Phaisana was in Elis: if indeed in Elis, it could be north or south of the Alpheios, though it has been suggested that it should be identified with Phrixa in Triphylia (*KlPauly* iv. 695). Phaisana could in any case be purely mythical.

1. *Pre-Hellenistic Settlements not Attested as* Poleis

A. *Settlements of Pisatis*

Harpina (*Ἅρπινα*) Ethnic only in Steph. Byz. 125.3–5. One of the eight *poleis* of Pisatis (Strabo 8.3.32). Paus. 6.21.8 saw the ruins of the *polis* Harpina, including altars. Probably to be located near modern Miraka (Baladié (1978) 268; Papahatzis (1979) 382 n. 8, despite *RE* vii. 2407–9 art. *Harpina*): at the locality Frangonisi there are archaeological remains ranging from the Archaic to the Roman periods and including traces of Archaic and Classical walls and Classical graves (McDonald and Hope Simpson (1972) 320–21 no. 723; cf. ibid. 306–7 nos. 323 and 324). See also Luc. *De mort. Peregr.* 35; cf. Pritchett (1989) 35–36. Thuc. 5.50.3 is emended to give a reference to Harpina. According to Paus. 6.21.8, Oinomaos founded Harpina. Roy (2002*a*) 232–33, 235–43, (2002*b*) 254. *Barr.* AC.

Herakleia (*Ἡράκλεια*) An ethnic is not attested, save for the forms given by Steph. Byz. 304.3–5, cf. 303.21, after a list of communities of this name. Strabo 8.3.32 calls it one of the eight *poleis* of Pisatis, and Paus. 6.22.7 a *kome* of Elis (no. 251): both mention a shrine of the nymphs Ioni(a)des, with healing waters. On a likely location beside medicinal springs near modern Pournari, see Panayotopoulos (1991). *Barr.* dates Herakleia AC; there is, however, no evidence attesting its existence in the Archaic period, and the only evidence of its existence in the Classical period is surface finds at the site proposed by Panayotopoulos. Identifying Herakleia in Pisatis with the Herakleia of the Archaic Kypselid dedication at Olympia (see *SEG* 45 404) is purely speculative, and implausible. Roy (2002*a*) 232–33, 235–39, 242–43.

Salmone (*Σαλμώνη*, also *Σαλαμώνα* and *Σαλμωνία*) Ethnic only in Steph. Byz. Salmone is one of the eight *poleis* of Pisatis, near the source of the river Enipeus (modern Lestenitsa) (Strabo 8.3.31–32). Salmoneus, son of Aiolos, founded the *polis* Salmonia in Elis beside the Alpheios (Diod. 4.68.1). Steph. Byz. 552.5–7: a *polis* of Pisatis. *IvO* 18 (*c.*425, *LSAG* no. 20) is an agreement between two individuals for one to rent to the other 18 plethra of "the land in Salamona". On a likely location, see Panayotopoulos (1991). Roy (2002*a*) 232–33, 235, 237–42. *Barr.* C.

B. *Settlements of Elis Proper*

<A>griades (*Ἀγριάδες*) Apparently one of the communities from which Elis was synoecised in 471 (Strabo 8.3.2), but there is manuscript corruption, and the name—if indeed truly a name—is uncertain. Not attested elsewhere. Roy (2002*b*) 254. Not in *Barr.*, but C would be attested by acceptance of its inclusion in the synoecism.

Hyrmine (*Ὑρμίνη*, also *Ὑρμίνα* and *Ὅρμιναι*) In Hom. *Il.* 2.616 one of the limits of the land of the Epeioi. Paus. 5.1.11 gives Aktor as the (mythical) founder of the *polis* Hyrmina in Eleia: Strabo 8.3.10 says that Hyrmine was a *polichnion*, but no longer exists. Mentioned also by Echephylidas (*FGrHist* 409) fr. 3 (probably C4), Menelaos (*FGrHist* 384) fr. 2 and Pliny, *HN* 4.13. It has not been certainly located, but the name apparently survived for a hill near Kyllene (no. 254) (Servais (1964)). To be dated AC (so *Barr.* with a query) if it existed from Homeric times.

Myrtountion (*Μυρτούντιον*) Steph. Byz. 464.14–16 s.v. *Μύρσινος*: a *polis* of Elis, later called Myrtountion, with ethnic. Strabo 8.3.10: Myrsinos (Hom. *Il.* 2.616) is the present-day Myrtountion, a *katoikia* by the sea on the road from Dyme (no. 234) to Elis (no. 251). On a suggested site near the lagoon of Kotiki, see Servais (1964) 37. To be dated AC (so *Barr.*) if it existed from Homeric times.

Pheia (*Φειά*, and several variant forms, *KlPauly* iv. 721) An important harbour town (e.g. Thuc. 2.25.3–5), with fortifications (Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.30; Roy (1999) 162–63). Diod. 12.43.4 (r430) describes it as a *chorion*, Strabo 8.3.12 calls it a *polichne*; cf. Paus. 5.18.6, referring to Hom. *Il.* 7.132–35. The site has been explored archaeologically, including examination of remains now under the sea (Yalouris (1957); Themelis (1968)); there was settlement from prehistoric times, and in particular a flourishing town from the Archaic period to later Roman times (though oddly not dated A in *Barr.*). Yalouris did not report traces of a city wall round the settlement as a whole, but did record ancient fortification of the hill Pontikokastro, which he identified as the ancient acropolis.

C. *Settlement within the Entire Region of Elis*

Andria (*Ἀνδρία*) Known as a *polis* of Elis with ethnic *Ἀνδριεύς* only from Steph. Byz. 94.15–17 (citing Teupalos (*FGrHist* 408) fr. 1 (probably C4)). The ethnic may have been in Teupalos' text. Unlocated. No date in *Barr.*, but C if Teupalos (*supra*) is C4.

There are also archaeological remains of Classical (or Archaic–Classical) settlements, not yet identified with

known ancient communities, at the following sites in Elis north of the Alpheios.[5]

2. *Unidentified Settlements*

Elaionas (formerly *Malapasi*) Small Classical settlement: Sperling (1942) 83 no. 22. Not in *Barr.*

Goumero Fortified Classical settlement: Bon (1946) 29–30. Not in *Barr.*

Korifi (formerly *Koukouvitsa*) Fortified Classical settlement: Sperling (1942) 82 no. 13. Not in *Barr.*

Vartholomio Archaic–Classical settlement (reported as prehistoric to Roman): *ArchDelt* 44 (1989) B.1.104–5. Not in *Barr.*

Thus, we know of thirty-two settlements in Archaic and Classical Elis as defined here. As already stated, twenty of these were *poleis* throughout the Archaic and Classical periods or at least for some time during these periods. About the status of the remaining twelve settlements we are too poorly informed to allow any inference. It should, however, be stressed here that Andria may possibly have been located outside Elis as defined here (and the same is true of four of the settlements described in the Inventory: the Anaitoi (no. 248), Metapioi (no. 260), Chaladrioi (no. 249) and Ewaoioi (no. 253)).

[5] Material at other sites may also be from A or C settlements, as follows. Probable cases are Aspra Spitia, map 58, lat. 21.47, long. 37.38 (McDonald and Hope Simpson (1972) 308–9 no. 329); Flokas, map 58, lat. 21.37, long. 37.39 (ibid. 304–5 no. 316 and *ArchDelt* 25 (1970) B.1.194, 26 (1971) B.1.194, 28 (1973) B.1.199–201, 38 (1983) B.1.109); Kafkonia, map 58, lat. 21.37, long. 37.42 (McDonald and Hope Simpson (1972) 320–21 no. 733; cf. 306–9 nos. 327 and 328 (listed as Kavkania); *BCH* 83 (1959) *Chron.* 656; *ArchDelt* 20 (1965) B.1.210, 27 (1972) B.1.270, 39 (1984) B.1.78); Koskinas, map 58, lat. 21.38, long. 37.46 (see esp. *ArchDelt* 25 (1970) B.1.191–93, also 33 (1978) B.1.78, 45 (1990) B.1.109, 47 (1992) B.1.120–21, 48 (1993) B.1 105–6); Strefi, map 58, lat. 21.33, long. 37.40 (McDonald and Hope Simpson (1972) 320–21 no. 718; cf. 304–5 no. 309). Possible cases are Kladheos, map 58, lat. 21.39, long. 37.40 (ibid. 306–7 no. 325); Latzoï, map 58, lat. 21.34, long. 37.43 (ibid. no. 320 (with a note on its commanding position in the Lestenitsa valley)); Mayiros, map 58, lat. 21.41, long. 37.41 (ibid. no. 319 (listed as Mayira)); Palaiochori, map 58, lat. 21.16, long. 37.49 (Sperling (1942) 84 no. 28); Platanos, map 58, lat. 21.37, long. 37.40 (McDonald and Hope Simpson (1972) 306–7 no. 318). At Olena, map 58, lat. 21.34, long. 37.45, there is an ancient village, not closely dated (Bon (1946) 29).

Cemeteries at the following sites suggest that there will have been settlements nearby: Borsi, map 5, lat. 21.26, long. 37.55 (*C*) (*ArchDelt* 48 (1993) B.1.103); Glifa, map 58, lat. 21.08, long. 37.51 (C6) (*ArchDelt* 45 (1990) B.1.111); Paliokritharies, map 58, lat. 21.21, long. 37.54 (ancient) (*ArchDelt* 48 (1993) B.1.102); Palouki, map 58, lat. 21.20, long. 37.46 (*C*) (*ArchDelt* 35 (1980) A.37–59, B.1.170, Hatzi (1982) and (1980)); Stafidhokambos, map 58, lat. 21.17, long. 37.54 (*C*) (*ArchDelt* 47 (1992) B.1.113–14, 48 (1993) B.1.103–5, 49 (1994) B.1.194; Arapoyianni (1996–97)); Yeraki, map 58, lat. 21.24, long. 37.47, ancient, possibly connected with fortified settlement of Korifi (Koukovitsa) to east) (*ArchDelt* 35 (1980) B.1.169–71).

The *polis* structure of Archaic and Classical Elis as defined here depends of course on the evidence currently available. It should be noted that, given the large area concerned and the often lacunose evidence, it is possible, even likely, that other settlements, though not at present explicitly attested for the Archaic and Classical periods, did in fact exist then, and it is also possible that some settlements (especially within the Eleian state proper) for which there is currently no clear evidence of *polis* status in the Archaic and Classical periods were in fact *poleis*. These, however, are mere possibilities which could be tested only if new evidence appears. On present evidence the pattern is as follows. Throughout the perioikic areas the *polis* was the universal form of political organisation at least by C5l; in most cases we have little evidence about earlier circumstances. The very large territory of the Eleian state proper was organised as a *polis* by C6m; but there is evidence that Alasyaion (no. 245), Kyllene (no. 254) and Pylos (no. 263) also had the status of *polis*, and they were therefore presumably subordinate *poleis* within the territory of Elis. It follows that at least from the Classical period the entire area was organised in *poleis*, much of it admittedly in the exceptionally large *polis* of Elis.

II. The *Poleis*

245. Alasyaion (Alasyeus) Map 58. Unlocated. Type: C. The toponym is Ἀλασυαῖων (MSS at Strabo 8.3.10, usually amended); the city-ethnic is Ἀλασυεύς (>Ἀλασῶες (nom. pl.) in Siewert (1991) no. 3 = *IvO* 258 (C5m–C4e)); Steph. Byz. 72.17–20 s.v. Ἀλήσιον suggests Ἀλησιεύς. Ale(i)sion, a Homeric place in Elis (*Il.* 2.617) with a hill or mound (*Il.* 11.757), was later (Strabo 8.3.10) identified with Alasyaion, described by Strabo as a *chora* around Amphidolia (no. 247) with a monthly market and previously a *polis* of Pisatis. In C5l or C4e the Alasyeis and the Akroreioi made a joint inscribed dedication at Olympia (Siewert (1991) no. 3): the dedication with collective ethnics suggests that Alasyaion may at the time have been a dependent *polis* of Elis (no. 251). It was presumably situated at the border of Pisatis and Amphidolia, and therefore probably not adjacent to Akroreia. According to Steph. Byz. 72.17–20 its founder was Alesios, son of Skillous or of Gargettos.

246. Alion Map 58. Unlocated. Type: B. The toponym Ἄλιον (or Ἄλιος) occurs only in Diod. 14.17.8 (following MS P, most editors print Ἄλιον). It was a perioikic community. It is described retrospectively as a *polis* (in the political

sense) of the Akroreians *c.*400 (Diod. 14.17.8); Xen. *Hell.* 7.4.14 refers collectively to the *poleis* of the Akroreians in 365, without naming Alion (*supra*, on Akroreia).

247. Amphidolia (Amphidolos) Map 58. Unlocated. Type: A. The toponym is *Ἀμφιδολία, ἡ* (Strabo 8.3.24) and *Ἀμφιδολίς, -ίδος, ἡ* (Strabo 8.3.10). The city-ethnic is *Ἀνφίδολος* (Siewert (1991) no. 2 (C5–C4e)) or *Ἀμφίδολος* (Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.25). Though not precisely located, Amphidolia lay in hilly territory west of Olympia; Meyer (*RE* xx. 1739) suggests that it did not extend into the upper valley of the river Lestenitsa, leaving a route on purely Eleian territory between Elis (no. 251) and Pisatis. In Strabo's day Margalai (presumably = Marganeis) was in Amphidolia (8.3.24), and Alasyaion (no. 245) near it (8.3.10).

In the years following *c.*400 it is seen to function as a *polis*: it is described as a (perioikic) *polis* in the political sense at Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.23 and 30, and the Amphidoloi made a dedication at Olympia in C5 or C4e (Siewert (1991) no. 2), which provides an instance of the external collective use of the city-ethnic, as does Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.26 (cf. 4.2.16, where it is used to name a military contingent). It is not known when Amphidolia became subordinate to Elis, but presumably no later than adjacent Pisatis. Like all Eleian *perioikoi*, it was freed at the end of the Eleian–Spartan war *c.*400 (Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.25, 30; Roy (1997) 299–304). It probably then joined the Peloponnesian League, and in 394 sent troops (*sphendonetai*) to fight with Sparta (Xen. *Hell.* 4.2.16). Its later history is unknown; it was presumably regained by Elis *c.*362 if not before (cf. Xen. *Hell.* 6.5.2 with Tuplin (1993) 183–85).

248. (Anaitoi) Map 58. Unlocated. Type: B. The toponym is not attested. The city-ethnic is *Ἀναίτο[ς]*, known only from *IvO* 10 (*c.*475–450), where the collective and external use is attested in a 50-year treaty of friendship with the equally unknown Metapioi (no. 260) (Minon (1994) no. 10; *Staatsverträge* 111). Since the treaty is in Eleian dialect, both the Anaitoi and the Metapioi presumably belong to the region of Elis, but may have been located anywhere in the region, either within the Eleian state proper or in perioikic territory north or south of the river Alpheios. The existence of an ethnic and the capacity to enter into a treaty with another community strongly suggest that the Anaitoi were a *polis*. Failure to observe the treaty is to be sanctioned by the *proxenoi* and the *manteis* (in Eleian *mantier*), and ultimately by the *iaromaoi*: these are all known as Eleian officials at Olympia, but do not necessarily imply direct subordination to Elis (251). Cf. Metapioi (no. 260).

249. (Chaladrioi) Map 58. Unlocated. Type: B. The toponym is not attested. The city-ethnic is *Χαλάδριος* known only from *IvO* 11 = Minon (1994) no. 9, an agreement of C5e in which the internal and collective use is attested: hereditary Chaladrian citizenship is granted to a man called Deukalion, together with status equal to a *proxenos* and to a *damiorgos* (Gauthier (1972) 42–44) and possession of "the land in Pisa". The community evidently had officials with the titles *proxenos* and *damiorgos*. The *damos* had considerable authority: the final clause in the decree is to apply "unless the *damos* decides otherwise". There seems no doubt that the Chaladrioi formed a *polis*. The text is in Eleian dialect, but the community is otherwise entirely unknown, and could belong anywhere in the region, either within the Eleian state proper or in perioikic territory north or south of the river Alpheios. For the suggestion that the land which the Chaladrioi evidently controlled in Pisa was land for camping during Olympic festivals, available for use at other times, see Roy (1997) 313 n. 31: control of such a plot need not mean that the territory of the Chaladrioi was in or even very close to Pisatis.

250. Dyspontion (Dyspontios) Map 58. Unlocated. Type: C. The toponym is *Δυσπόντιον, τό* (Strabo 8.3.32; Tryphon fr. 15.5). The city-ethnic is *Δυσποντεύς* (Tryphon fr. 15.5) or *Δυσπόντιος* (Paus. 6.22.4 (rC6f)).

It is called a *polis* in the urban sense in Tryphon fr. 15.5 = Steph. Byz. 245.19; Paus. 6.22.4 provides an instance of the external collective use of the city-ethnic in reference to C6f.

Strabo 8.3.32 puts it in Pisatis on the mountain road from Olympia to Elis (no. 251) (*RE* xx. 1737; *contra* Baladié (1978) 114), but does not call it one of the eight *poleis* of Pisatis. It produced one or two early Olympic victors (Phlegon (*FGrHist*) 257 fr. 4 (r772) and possibly fr. 6 (r672), where the text is disturbed), described as "Eleian(s) from Dyspontion". Paus. 6.22.4 reports that it was a perioikic community, though presumably not Pisatan since it joined Pisa in revolt against Elis *c.*570, and was destroyed. Strabo 8.3.32 says that Dyspontion was destroyed and that most of its inhabitants emigrated to Epidamnos (no. 79) and Apollonia (no. 77). There is no evidence of its later existence. Because of the Olympic victors, it may have been a *polis*. Dysponteus (or Dyspontos, Tryphon fr. 15.5), son of Oinomaos, was the oecist of Dyspontion (Paus. 6.22.4).

251. Elis (Eleios) Map 58. Lat. 21.20, long. 37.55. Size of territory: 5 (not precisely known, but in excess of 1,000km²). Type: A. The toponym is in local dialect *Fâλις* (*SEG* 12

371.38), elsewhere Ἄλις (Pind. *Ol.* 1.78; *SEG* 27 1194 (*c.*335)) or Ἥλις, -ιδος, ἡ (Hom. *Il.* 2.615; Pl. *Hp. mai.* 281A; Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.23). The city-ethnic is in local dialect Ϝαλεῖος (*IvO* 2) or rarely on coins ΑΛΕΙΟΝ (Seltman (1921) 30 no. 120), elsewhere Ἀλεῖος (Pind. *Isthm.* 2.24) or Ἠλεῖος (Hom. *Il.* 11.671; Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.25). On distinguishing the Eleian ethnic from that of Alea (no. 265) in Arkadia, see Nielsen (1996) 118.

Elis is attested as a *polis* both in the urban sense (Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.27, 7.4.14; Ps.-Skylax 43) and in the political sense (Hdt. 8.73.2; Thuc. 5.47.3 (cf. *IG* I³ 83); Gorgias fr. 10 (= Arist. *Rh.* 1416ᵃ1–4); Pl. *Hp. mai.* 281C; Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.27, 7.4.17). *Politai* is used of the citizens by Hdt. 2.160 and Pl. *Hp. mai.* 282E and Xen. *Hell.* 7.4.16. There was an Aristotelian *politeia* of the Eleians (Heracl. Lemb. 21; Arist. frr. 499–500); cf. Plut. *Adv. Col.* 1126C (reform of the *politeia* of the Eleians by Plato's pupil Phormio) and Arist. *Pol.* 1306ᵃ16–19 (*politeia* as conduct of state business among the Eleians). *Asty* is used of the town Elis by Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.26, 7.4.32 (cf. 3.2.27: τὰ προάστια).

The collective use of the city-ethnic is found internally in Siewert (1991) no. 4 (C6l) and on C6l–C5 coins (*infra*) and externally in ML 27.9 (479–478); Hecat. fr. 25.2; Hdt. 4.148.4; Thuc. 1.27.2. The individual use is found internally in *IvO* 271 = *LSAG* no. 19 (*c.*450–425?) and externally in Hdt. 5.45.2; Pl. *Ap.* 19E; Dem. 18.295; *IG* II² 8528 (C4e); *IG* VII 414.22–23, 25–26 (C4m); and *IG* II² 3827 (C4m). Elis is implicitly described as *patris* at Dem. 18.291–92 (cf. Hdt. 6.127.1–4 implicitly describing it as *patre*).

The territory was called Ἥλις (already in Hom. *Il* 2.615; also Hdt. 6.70.2; Thuc. 2.66.1), and also Ἠλεῖα (Hdt. 4.30.1; Thuc. 2.25.3). Κοίλη Ἥλις was used for the area of the valley of the river Peneios (first by Thuc. 2.25.3), believed to be the area originally controlled by the Eleians (cf. Arist. fr. 500). The territory was at least sometimes understood as including perioikic areas: Thuc. 5.34.1, putting Lepreon (no. 306) on the border of Lakonike and Eleia, must include in Eleia at least Triphylia north of Lepreon, if not Lepreon itself; and Diod. 14.17.8 (r400) apparently includes Lasion (no. 256) in Elis. There is, however, no reason to suppose that perioikic territory was formally incorporated into the Eleian state proper in the Classical period (Roy (1997) 297–98; cf. Roy (1999)).

Apart from the town of Elis, there were numerous other settlements in Eleia, including urban sites, though their status is often not clear. Within the Eleian state proper Alasyaion (no. 245), Kyllene (no. 254) and Pylos (no. 263) may have been (dependent) *poleis*, while other settlements are reliably or plausibly reported especially at Harpina, Herakleia and Salmone (all in Pisatis), and at Hyrmine, Myrtountion and Pheia. There was also the sanctuary at Olympia, run by Elis at least from C6. Elis also controlled perioikic communities north of the river Alpheios at Amphidolia (no. 247), Letrinoi (no. 258), Marganeis (no. 259), Lasion (no. 256) and (in Akroreia) Alion (no. 246), Eupagion (no. 252), Opous (no. 261) and Thraistos (no. 264), besides numerous perioikic communities in Triphylia south of the Alpheios (on which see Nielsen, in this volume 540–46).

There is very limited evidence on population size: 3,000 hoplites from Elis are recorded in 418 (Thuc. 5.58.1, 75.5) and 3,000 jointly from Elis, Triphylia, Akroreia and Lasion in 394 (Xen. *Hell.* 4.2.16).

Though there is no hard evidence of a Spartan–Eleian alliance before the Persian Wars (Hdt. 8.72, 9.77.3; Paus. 5.4.7), Elis may have been among the earliest members of the Peloponnesian League (Tausend (1992) 167); membership lasted till Elis quarrelled with Sparta (no. 345) over Lepreon in 420 (Thuc. 5.31.1–5, 34.1). War between Sparta and Elis *c.*400 (Roy (1997) 283–84, 299–304) was ended by a treaty under which Elis evidently rejoined the Peloponnesian League, since it is seen as Sparta's ally in 394 (Xen. *Hell.* 4.2.16), 382 (Diod. 15.31.2) and 374 (Xen. *Hell.* 6.2.3). Elis' membership of the League finally ended in the aftermath of Leuktra (Roy (1994)). *C.*500 Elis made a treaty, for 100 years and agreeing *inter alia* mutual military support, with the otherwise unknown Ewaoioi (no. 253) (*IvO* 9), in which Elis was the superior partner (Roy (1998) 367–68; Roy and Schofield (1999)). Treaties of *symmachia* with Corinth (no. 227), Argos (no. 347) and Lepreon (no. 306) are mentioned at Thuc. 5.31.1; Elis formed a major alliance in 420–418 with Athens (no. 361), Argos (no. 347) and Mantinea (no. 281) (Thuc. 5.47; *IG* I³ 83), and in 370 an alliance with Arkadia, Argos (no. 347) and Thebes (no. 221) (Diod. 15.62.3; Dem. 16.12, 19–20; see Roy (1994) 190), which broke down when Elis and Arkadia went to war in 365 (Xen. *Hell.* 7.4.12; Diod. 15.77.1–2). *IG* II² 112 (362/1) records a treaty of *symmachia* between Elis and Athens (no. 361), Arkadia, Achaia and Phleious (no. 355). Elis was a member of the League of Corinth set up by Philip II in 338–337 (cf. RO 76; Hammond and Griffith (1979) 623–46).

A supposed early synoecism of Elis (Paus. 5.4.3) by Oxylos seems unhistorical (so rightly Moggi, *Sin.* 160). In 471 (Diod. 11.54.1), "after the Persian Wars" (Strabo 8.3.2), the Eleians were synoecised (συνῳκίσθησαν, both authors). Diodorus says the Eleians were synoecised from numerous small *poleis* into one; Strabo that they had previously lived κωμηδόν,

and then came together into the *polis* Elis from many *demoi*. Strabo also says that the Eleians were synoecised from the *perioikides*, a term presumably used in a purely local sense, not suggesting that subordinate perioikic communities were incorporated (Roy (1997) 285–89). There may be other references to this synoecism in Ps.-Skylax 43 (a *συνοικία πόλεων* in Elis) and in Leandr(i)os (*FGrHist* 492) fr. 13 (Eleians lived in *komai* and were then gathered into one *polis*). The ancient sources do not clarify the nature of the synoecism (Moggi, *Sin.* 157–66; Roy (1997) 286–89, (2002*b*)). A unitary Eleian state certainly existed before 471, as did the town Elis (Eder and Mitsopoulos (1999); see also Yalouris (1994) on the town in the Archaic period and later). Political restructuring within Elis may have accompanied the synoecism: see Gehrke, *Stasis* 55, 365–67; but note the scepticism of Walter (1993) 118 and n. 19, 124 and n. 55. Strabo's report (8.3.15) that Hypana in Triphylia was synoecised into Elis must—if accurate—refer to a period after C3 (Moggi, *Sin.* 164 n. 18).

The following Eleian refugees are attested: commanders exiled during the Persian Wars (Hdt. 9.77.3); oligarchs, after a failed oligarchic *coup c.*400 (Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.27–29: cf. Paus. 3.8.4–5); democrats driven out of the town of Elis in 365 (Xen. *Hell.* 7.4.16, 26); Eleians exiled by oligarchs in 343 (Dem. 19.260, 294; Paus. 4.28.4, 5.4.9; Diod. 16.63.4–5; cf. Dem. 9.27 and 18.295); and pro-Makedonian exiles restored after Alexander overcame Thebes in 335 (Arr. *Anab.* 1.10.1: presumably exiled when Elis tried to leave the League of Corinth on the death of Philip (Diod. 17.3.5, cf. 17.8.5)). *C.*350(?) a law was passed (supplementing an earlier text) about the return of exiles and the treatment of their relatives and property (*DGE* 424). In 365 there were Arkadian exiles in Elis (Diod. 15.77.1).

Elis took part in the Persian Wars (ML 27.9; cf. Hdt. 8.72.3, 9.77.3). Eleian hoplite contingents are recorded in 418 (Thuc. 5.58.1) and 394 (Xen. *Hell.* 4.2.16); 300 *logades* are mentioned by Thuc. 2.25.4; 300 was also the number of the special guard which is attested in C4 (Xen. *Hell.* 7.4.13, 16, 31) and whose commander is mentioned at Xen. *Hell.* 7.4.31 (Pritchett (1974) 223). Commanders (*hegemones*) are mentioned at Hdt. 9.77. A *hipparchos* is attested at Xen. *Hell.* 7.4.19, and *hippeis* are mentioned at *Hell.* 7.4.16, 26. An Eleian navy is mentioned or implied by Thuc. 1.27.2, 46.1, 2.9.3 (cf. Diod. 14.34.1); it was presumably served by the harbours at Pheia (Thuc. 2.25.4) and Kyllene (2.84.5). The Eleian Teutiaplos was evidently a commander in the Peloponnesian fleet in 427 (Thuc. 3.29.2).

An Eleian embassy went to Corinth (no. 227) and then Argos (no. 347) in 421 (Thuc. 5.31.1, cf. 5.44.2); for Eleian diplomatic activity cf. Hippias' claims to be preferred as ambassador (Pl. *Hp. mai.* 281A) and Hdt. 2.160.1 and Xen. *Hell.* 7.1.38. A quarrel between Elis and Lepreon (no. 306) was arbitrated by Sparta (no. 345), but Elis refused to accept the verdict (Thuc. 5.31.3; Roy (1998)). In C5f, Elis itself passed a verdict in a case of unknown nature, involving Athens (no. 361), Thespiai (no. 222), the Boiotians and the Thessalians (*SEG* 26 475, 31 358).

The earliest award of proxeny by Elis (with a guarantor) is recorded by an unpublished inscription of *c.*550–500 (Marek (1984) 23; Taeuber (1991) 112). An inscription of C5m records an award of citizenship (Taita (2001) 57–60). If the Chaladrians (no. 249) were a community within Elis proper, the award of Chaladrian citizenship (*IvO* 11 (*c.*500–475); Minon (1994) no. 9) presumably made the recipient an Eleian citizen; but the Chaladrians may have been perioikic.

Elis announced the holding of the Olympic Games, and the beginning of the Olympic truce (Rougemont (1973); Jameson *et al.* (1993); cf. Thuc. 5.49.1–4). An unpublished inscription of C5m records an award of citizenship and *theorodokia* (Taeuber (1991) 112). The Tenedian honorand of *IvO* 39 (C3 or C2e) was hereditary *theorodokos* of Elis, and entertained *theoroi*. It may have been Elis which developed the system of *theorodokia* (Perlman (2000) 18–20), naturally in order to facilitate the *epangelia* for the Olympics. Hippias of Elis dated the first Olympic Games to 776, but archaeological evidence suggests that the Games gained major popularity only from C8l (Morgan (1990) 26–56). Besides that of Zeus, numerous other cults developed at the sanctuary of Olympia (Paus. 5.15.3–10). There was also an important oracle of Zeus (Jacquemin (1999–2002), hereafter J.) on Paus. 5.13.11). The first temple at Olympia was that of Hera (*c.*600) (J. on Paus. 5.16.1), followed by the temple of Zeus in the second quarter of C5 (J. on Paus. 5.10.2–12.8). No earlier than C5 the shrine of Pelops (Pelopion) was surrounded by a hexagonal enclosure, and a monumental porch was added in C4 (J. on Paus. 5.13.1). The last temple built in the Altis was the Metröon (C5l) (J. on Paus. 5.20.9). All these buildings stood within the defined sacred area, the Altis (see J. on Paus. 5.10.1). On a terrace north of the Altis twelve (?) treasuries were built by different Greek *poleis* to store offerings: the earliest was that of Gela (no. 17) (*c.*600), while others belonged to Megara (no. 225), Metapontion (no. 61), Selinous (no. 44), Kyrene (no. 1028), Sybaris (no. 70), Byzantion (no. 674), Epidamnos (no. 79), Syracuse (no. 47), Sikyon (no. 228) and an unknown state (J. on Paus. 6.19.1–15; there are difficulties reconciling Pausanias and the archaeological findings). Two buildings were built close to each

other south of the Altis, the older *c.*550–500 and the other C5e, and they were joined by further construction in C4; they have been identified as the *bouleuterion*, though it has been doubted whether that was their original function (Gneisz (1990) 340–1; J. on Paus. 5.23.1; note the reservations of Morgan and Coulton (1997) 112–13). North of the Altis a *prytaneion* was constructed in C5e (Miller (1978) 86–91, 235–239). The original *stadion* was moved east out of the Altis by C6m, and developed and extended later (Mallwitz (1988)). Classical Greeks believed in early conflict between Elis and Pisatis for control of Olympia, but it is difficult to construct a reliable narrative from the surviving accounts: at any rate Elis effectively controlled Olympia by some time in C6. Both the town of Elis and the Olympic sanctuary served as political centres for the polis Elis from the C6 onwards. Various Elean officials (e.g. the *hellanodikai*) carried out duties at both places, and their duties concerning the sanctuary and the Games overlapped with their other responsibilities (Minon (1994) ii. 508–9; Roy (1999) 159, (2002*b*) 257). The use of both Elis and Olympia for political purposes made the Elean *polis* remarkably bicentral. The sanctuary, though under Elean control and sometimes exploited by Elis (Roy (1998)), attracted Greeks from other communities in large numbers, and received a multitude of dedications (described by Paus.) from both individuals and *poleis*, including armour and weapons dedicated to celebrate victory in war. Texts of documents such as inter-state treaties were displayed there, and the large gatherings at the Games were an occasion for political speeches and pronouncements to the Greek world. The sanctuary's Panhellenic character of course made control all the more valuable to Elis.

As civic subdivisions, twelve *phylai* are attested in 368. The number was reduced to eight in 364 because of territory lost in war with Arkadia (Paus. 5.9.4–6), and apparently remained at eight (Paus. 5.16.7). See Jones, *POAG* 142–45, and Roy (1997) 297–98.

The form of constitution changed several times in Elis (Gehrke, *Stasis* 52–57, 365–67; cf. Bultrighini (1990)). In C6 an extreme oligarchy was largely controlled by a few families (Arist. *Pol.* 1306^{a}13–19), though probably later became more moderate (but, *pace* Gehrke, the Chaladrian decree *IvO* 11 may not be directly relevant). Elis then became democratic, possibly in the synoecism of 471 (Diod. 11.54.1; Strabo 8.3.2), and—despite an attempted oligarchic *coup d'état c.*400 (Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.27–29; cf. Paus. 3.8.4–5)—retained democratic constitutional forms until 365, when oligarchs took control (Xen. *Hell.* 7.4.15–16). Reconciliation between oligarchs and democrats (*DGE* 24) may be dated *c.*350, and may have been followed by constitutional reform by Plato's pupil Phormio (Plut. *Adv. Col.* 1206C). Probably in 343 there was an oligarchic *coup d'état* (Dem. 19.260, 294; Paus. 4.28.4, 5.4.9; Diod. 16.63.4–5; cf. Dem. 9.27 and 18.295). After Philip's death Elis tried to break away from the League of Corinth (Diod. 17.3.5, cf. 17.8.5), apparently exiling pro-Makedonians; after Alexander overcame Thebes, Elis took back these exiles (Arr. *Anab.* 1.10.1).

On public enactments, see Minon (1994) ii. 514–16. Examples of laws are *IvO* 4 (Minon (1994) no. 6 (*c.*500–480), law concerning the *theokolos*); *IvO* 2 (Minon (1994) no. 14 (*c.*475–450), decree concerning Patrias); *DGE* 424 (*c.*350(?), law concerning exiles). Lawcourts are attested in an inscription of C6 found at the town of Elis (Siewert (1994*b*) and (2001)). It is notable that Olympian Zeus was often involved in sanctions for offences (e.g. *IvO* 2, 3; Minon (1994) ii. 516–26); this involvement extended to the treaty with the Ewaoioi (no. 253) (*IvO* 9; Roy and Schofield (1999)), and to the penalty imposed on Sparta (no. 345) for alleged breach of the Olympic truce in 420 (Thuc. 5.49.1–50.4; Roy (1998)). Elis also held Olympic tribunals, delivering judgments and penalties (Thuc. 5.49.1–50.4 (cf. Hyp. frr. 111–12); Siewert (1981); Minon (1994) ii. 490–95; Roy (1998)).

As eponymous officials (Sherk (1990*b*) 233–34), *damiorgoi* are attested in *IvO* 17 (C5l–C4e, number unknown), *SEG* 15 241 (C4, two *damiorgoi*), *DGE* 424 (C4m, one *damiorgos*). Cf. *IvO* 39 (C3 or C2e), with eponymous *hellanodikai*.

On the *boule*, see Minon (1994) ii. 509–11. There was an early oligarchic council of ninety *gerontes*, in which membership was for life, and election was dominated by a few families so that, even among the oligarchs, few gained membership (Arist. *Pol.* 1306^{a}13–19). By *c.*525–500 there was a council of 500 (*IvO* 7 = Minon (1994) no. 1; cf. reference to a council in *IvO* 3 = Minon (1994) no. 5 (*c.*500–475)), presumably later replaced by the council of 600 found in 420 (Thuc. 5.47.9).

On other officials, see e.g. Thuc. 5.47.9 (*demiourgoi* and *thesmophylakes*) and Minon (1994) ii. 473–509. In *IvO* 9 (*c.*500) τελεστὰ appears as a generic term for an official, as opposed to an ordinary citizen (Fέτας). Officials called *mastroi* had powers to review actions of other magistrates (*IvO* 2 (*c.*475–450)) and judicial decisions (*SEG* 31 358 (*c.*475–470)). Among other officials the *hellanodikai* were important, but the development of the office is not clear (Jones, *POAG* 142–45 with nn. at 152–53; Bultrighini (1990) 146–65); the original title was possibly *diaitater* (Ebert and Siewert (1999)). The administration of Olympic affairs

overlapped considerably with other functions of Eleian officials (Minon (1994) ii. 508–9; Roy (1999) 159).

On the assembly, see Minon (1994) ii. 511–13. There are references to meetings of an assembly as *damos plethyon* in *IvO* 7 (= Minon (1994) no. 1 (*c.*525–500)) and 3 (= Minon (1994) no. 5 (*c.*500–475)). There is a reference to a decision of the *damos* in *IvO* 13 (= Minon (1994) no. 12 (*c.*475–450)), and in *IvO* 7 the *damos* has power to take a definitive decision in jurisdiction.

For the public architecture of Elis, see the description of the town Elis by Paus. 6.23.1–26.3. Architectural fragments suggest that there were several monumental structures already in the Archaic period (Yalouris, *PECS* 299–300 ("Elis"); Eder and Mitsopoulos (1999) 25–35). While at least some functions of the state took place at the town Elis by C6 (Siewert (1994*b*)), there were also buildings for such purposes at Olympia, which may have been the major seat of Eleian government in C6 (Hansen and Fischer-Hansen (1994) 86–89).

There was a *bouleuterion* at Olympia (see Gneisz (1990) 340–41, dating its first phase to C6s). On the C5e *prytaneion* at Olympia, see Miller (1978) 86–91, 235–39. There was an agora at Elis (Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.28 (r *c.*400); Martin (1951) 311–13, cf. 241–44 on two areas at Olympia which he saw as agoras). On the south stoa (*c.*450–425) and the west stoa (C5 or early C4) at Elis, see Coulton (1976) 237; at Olympia there were the Echo Stoa of *c.*340–330 (Jacquemin (1999–2002) on Paus. 5.21.17), and others. At Elis the temple of Athena on the acropolis was probably erected in the Archaic period (Yalouris, *PECS*). The cult site at Olympia was already well established in the Archaic period (Morgan (1990) 26–56; Sinn (1994) on early developments); see also Yalouris, *PECS* 646–650. The theatre at Elis was first built *c.*300 (Glaser (2001); *TGR* ii. 207). On *gymnasia* at Elis, see Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.27 (*c.*400); on the *gymnasion* at Olympia, see Wacker (1996), dating the first phase (p. 24) to C4 or C3e.

On a plan of settlement in the town of Elis from the Classical to the Roman periods the area of settlement is shown as between 4 and 5 km², extending north of the river Peneios (Yalouris (1972*b*) 141; see also Yalouris (1994)). Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.27 says that *c.*400 the *gymnasia* were near the suburbs (*proastia*), but on Yalouris' plan they are shown near the centre of the area of settlement, which may have grown after *c.*400. The hill Kaloskopi became the acropolis of Elis (Yalouris, *PECS*: cf. Xen. *Hell.* 7.4.15 (r365) and Paus. 6.26.3), but was apparently not fortified until 312 (note the wording of Diod. 19.87.2–3). The town of Elis was unwalled *c.*400 according to Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.27 (Roy (1997) 299–304). No walls are shown on Yalouris' plan, and no remains of walls have been reported from subsequent archaeological investigation.

The most important cult at Elis was that of Zeus Olympios, under Eleian control at least from C6 (Siewert (1987–88) 7), and Elis organised the Olympic festival and the Heraia at Olympia (*KlPauly* iv. 286–88, ii. 1031–32). On Eleian victors at Olympia, Delphi and Nemea, see Crowther (1988). Eleians did not participate in the Isthmian Games (e.g. Paus. 5.2.2). Communal dedications by the Eleians at Olympia are attested in C6 (Siewert (1991*b*) nos. 4–8) and C4 (*DGE* 423); on the surprising rarity of Eleian dedications at Olympia, see Taeuber (1991) 113.

Elis had its own calendar, with some month names not known from elsewhere (Samuel (1972) 95–97, 284, 288, 294; Trümpy, *Monat.* 199–201).

From C6l Elis struck silver coinage on the Aiginetan standard, mainly staters but also smaller denominations. From C5l bronze coins were also struck. Most coins carried the Eleian city-ethnic (or an abbreviation), but from C5e coins were also struck with the legend ΟΛΥΝΠΙΚΟΝ (spelt with kappa or koppa), clearly in connection with Olympic festivals. Frequent types were Olympian Zeus and his attributes (thunderbolt, eagle), and also Hera (Head, *HN*² 419–25; Seltman (1921) on silver coinage only; Kraay (1976) 103–7; Franke (1984); *SNG Cop. Phliasia-Laconia* 352–418). There is no reason to accept Seltman's view that Eleian coinage was essentially a "temple coinage" (Warren (1962); Nicolet-Pierre (1975)).

Elis established four colonies in southern Epeiros: Boucheta (no. 90), Elateia (no. 94), Pandosia (no. 104) and Batiai (no. 88) (Theopomp. fr. 206; Dem. 7.32; Strabo 7.7.5). Though not precisely dated, the foundations are assigned to C8–C6 (Hammond (1967) 427, 478; Dakaris (1971) 16, 30–33).

Varying legendary accounts of the foundation of Elis existed in the Classical period, giving prominence to the role of Oxylos, but also reflecting in one way or another Elis' relations with Aitolia (cf. Hdt. 8.73), Elis' relations with Sparta, and Elis' struggle with Pisa for control of Olympia. The accounts are heavily affected by political considerations of the Classical period. See Sordi (1994).

252. Eupagion Map 58. Unlocated. Type: B. The toponym *Εὐπάγιον* occurs only in Diod. 14.17.8 (all modern editors wrongly accept Wesseling's emendation: *Ἐπιτάλιον*, impossible because it lay south of the Alpheios). A city-ethnic is not attested. It was a perioikic community. It is

described as a *polis* (in the political sense) of the Akroreians *c.*400 (Diod. 14.17.8); Xen. *Hell.* 7.4.14 refers collectively to the *poleis* of the Akroreians in 365, without naming Eupagion (*supra*, on Akroreia).

253. (Ewaoioi) Map 58. Unlocated. Type: B. The toponym is not attested. The city-ethnic is *'Ε*ϝ*αοίος* (*IvO* 9; Roy and Schofield (1999)); the ethnic had previously been read as *'Ερ*ϝ*αοίος* and referred to Heraia (no. 274) in Arkadia, or as *'Ευ*ϝ*αοίος* and referred to an unknown Eleian community; but see Roy and Schofield (1999). The inscription attests the collective and external use of the city-ethnic.

The community is known only from *IvO* 9 of *c.*500, a 100-year alliance with Elis (no. 251). The alliance may well be an example of the hegemonial alliance by which Elis structured its relations with its *perioikoi* (Siewert (1994*a*); Ebert and Siewert (1999); Roy (1997) 292–95); if so, the Ewaoioi will have been a perioikic *polis* somewhere in the region of Elis.

254. Kyllene (Kyllenios) Map 58. Lat. 21.05, long. 37.55. Size of territory: unknown, presumably 1 or 2. Type: A. The toponym is *Κυλλήνη*, *ἡ* (Thuc. 1.30.2; Ps.-Skylax 43). The external and individual use of the city-ethnic *Κυλλήνιος* occurs in Hom. *Il.* 15.518), but is not found in Classical sources. Called a *polis* (and *limen*) only by Ps.-Skylax 43 (Flensted-Jensen and Hansen (1996) 148), Kyllene is often called *epineion* as a base for the Eleian fleet (e.g. Thuc. 1.30.2). By *c.*400 it was fortified (Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.30; Roy (1997) 299–304; cf. Diod. 19.66.2 (r314); Polyb. 5.3.1 (r218)). Strabo 8.3.4 calls it a *kome metria*, with a remarkable ivory statue of Asklepios; Paus. 6.26.4 mentions sanctuaries of Asklepios and Aphrodite and a popular cult of Hermes. On its location and archaeological remains, see Servais (1961), who makes a convincing case for identifying it with the physical remains immediately adjacent to modern Killini (despite the lack of conclusive documentary evidence). There was a town on that site at least from C5 to the Roman imperial period; there is no direct evidence of ancient fortifications in place, but Servais (1961) 140) found numerous large blocks of stone which he identified as having once belonged to ancient fortifications. Kyllene had cults of Asklepios (Strabo 8.3.4; Paus. 6.26.4), Aphrodite (Paus. 6.26.4) and Hermes (Paus. 6.26.4). Only the reference in Ps.-Skylax 43 suggests that Kyllene had the status of a *polis*.

255. Laris(s)a Map 58. Unlocated, not in *Barr.* Type: A. Larisa was situated in the borderland between Elis (no. 251) and Achaian Dyme (no. 234) according to Theopomp. fr. 386, who calls it a *polis* in the urban sense. The location may be confirmed by a reference in the MSS of Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.23 (*κατὰ Λάρισσαν*) to a toponym "Larissa" on a route through Achaia into Elis, though modern editors generally follow Portus' emendation to *κατὰ Λάρισον*, referring to the river between Achaia and Elis (Strabo 8.7.5). Nothing else is known about this Laris(s)a (cf. Hansen (2000) 193), and, according to the references in Theopompos and Xenophon, it could have been in either Achaia or Elis.

256. Lasion (Lasionios) Map 58. Lat. 21.45, long. 37.50. Size of territory: unknown but probably 2. Type: A. The toponym is *Λασιῶν*, *ὁ* (Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.30). The city-ethnic is *Λασιώνιος* (Xen. *Hell.* 4.2.16). Lasion is described by Polyb. 4.73.1 (r219/18) as a *polis* in the urban sense; Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.23, 30 describes it as a (perioikic) *polis* in the political sense. The external collective city-ethnic is used by Xen. *Hell.* 4.2.16 (r394) for a military contingent; the external individual use is attested in the Hellenistic period (Euphorion of Chalkis fr. 47, de Cuenca, *apud* Ath. 44F).

It is not known when Lasion became perioikic: it certainly was by the Eleian–Spartan war of *c.*400, after which it became independent (Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.30) and probably joined the Peloponnesian League, sending troops (hoplites) to support Sparta (no. 256) in 394 (Xen. *Hell.* 4.2.16). It was claimed as Arkadian *c.*400 (Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.30), and joined the Arkadian League in the 360s (Xen. *Hell.* 7.1.26, where "the others" must refer to Lasion). In 365 it was captured by Elis (no. 251), or Arkadian exiles backed by Elis, but was soon recaptured by Arkadia (Xen. *Hell.* 7.4.12–13; Diod. 15.77.1). The site has been identified (though without documentary proof) and examined but not excavated (Pritchett (1989) 28–30).

257. Lenos Map 58. Unlocated. Type: C. The community is known only from Phlegon (*FGrHist* 257) fr. 7, quoted by Steph. Byz. 413.17–18 for the toponym *Λῆνος* and the city-ethnic *Ληναῖος*.

A *Ληναῖος* was Olympic victor in 588 (Phlegon (*FGrHist* 257) fr. 7 = Steph. Byz. 413.17–18). Steph. Byz. 413.17 describes it as a *chora* of Pisatis, but it may have been a *polis* because of the Olympic victor, whose ethnic was presumably given by Phlegon.

258. Letrinoi (Letrinos) Map 58. Probably lat. 21.25, long. 37.40. Size of territory: unknown, presumably 1 or 2. Type: A. The toponym is *Λετρῖνοι*, *οἱ* (Paus. 6.22.8) or *Λέτρινα*, *ἡ* (Lyc. *Alex.* 54). The city-ethnic is *Λετρῖνος* (Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.25), or *Λεδρῖνος* (Siewert (1991*b*) no. 9 (C6s)).

Letrinoi lay 120 stades from Olympia and 180 from Elis (no. 251) on the Olympia–Elis road through the plain (Paus.

6.22.8); locations near modern Ag. Ioannis (*RE* xii. 2148, xx. 1732–55) and near Pirgos (Sperling (1942) 85) have been suggested: Pirgos is more likely because Classical remains have been found there but not at Ag. Ioannis (Pirgos: *BCH* 108 (1984) *Chron.* 770 and McDonald and Hope Simpson (1972) 320–21 no. 717; Ag. Ioannis: ibid. 302–3 no. 306).

It is described as a (perioikic) *polis* in the political sense at Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.23, 30. The external collective city-ethnic is used on a C6s dedication at Olympia (Siewert (1991) no. 9), and by Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.25 and 4.2.16 ((r394) for a military contingent). When Letrinoi became perioikic is not known: it was certainly perioikic by the Eleian–Spartan war of *c.*400. It then became independent (Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.25, 30) and probably joined the Peloponnesian League, sending troops (*sphendonetai*) to support Sparta (no. 345) in 394 (Xen. *Hell.* 4.2.16). Elis probably recovered it by *c.*362 (cf. Xen. *Hell.* 6.5.2 with Tuplin (1993) 183–85). Paus. 6.22.8 says that it was originally a *polisma*, but in his day had only a few buildings with a temple and statue of Artemis Alpheiaia. According to Lyc. *Alex.* 53–55, the bones of Pelops were at Letrina. Letreus, son of Pelops, was oecist of Letrinoi (Paus. 6.22.8).

259. Marganeis (Marganeus) Map 58. At or near lat. 21.30, long. 37.40. Size of territory: unknown, presumably 1 or 2. Type: A. The toponym is *Μαργανεῖς* (Xen. *Hell.* 7.4.14) or *Μάργανα* (Diod. 15.77.4), and the same site is probably meant by *Μαργάλαι* (MS at Strabo 8.3.24) and *Μάργαια* (Steph. Byz. 432.11–12). The city-ethnic is *Μαργανεύς* (Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.25).

It was apparently near Olympia (Xen. *Hell.* 7.4.14). A location between modern Floka and Strefi west of Olympia has been suggested (*KlPauly* iii. 1020), but the site with Classical material at Salmoni (formerly Koukoura) (McDonald and Hope Simpson (1972) 304–5 no. 308: see also ibid. 320–21 no. 722) would suit well.

It is called a (perioikic) *polis* in the political sense at Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.23–25, 30. The external collective use of the city-ethnic is found in Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.25, 4.2.16.

When Marganeis became perioikic is not known: it was certainly perioikic by the Eleian–Spartan war of *c.*400, after which it became independent (Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.25, 30). It then probably joined the Peloponnesian League. It sent troops to support Sparta (no. 345) in 394 (Xen. *Hell.* 4.2.16). In 371/0 Elis (no. 251) claimed that Marganeis should belong to Elis (Xen. *Hell.* 6.5.2); it was Eleian by 365, when it was captured by Arkadia (Xen. *Hell.* 7.4.14; Diod. 15.77.4), but was soon recaptured by Elis (Xen. *Hell.* 7.4.26). It was probably fortified; Xen. *Hell.* 7.4.14 notes that it was captured because of treachery, and Strabo 8.3.24 says that it was not a natural stronghold, implying man-made defences. In Strabo's day (ibid.) it was part of Amphidolia (no. 247).

260. (Metapioi) Map 58. Unlocated, not in *Barr.* Type: B. The toponym is not attested. The city-ethnic is *Μετάπιος*, known only from *IvO* 10 (*c.*475–450), where the collective and external use is attested in a 50-year treaty of friendship with the equally unknown Anaitoi (no. 248) (cf. Minon (1994) no. 10; *Staatsverträge* 111). Since the treaty is in Eleian dialect, both Anaitoi and Metapioi presumably belong to the region of Elis, but may have been located anywhere in the region, either within the Eleian state proper or in perioikic territory north or south of the river Alpheios. The collective use of the city-ethnic and the capacity to enter into a treaty with another community strongly suggest that the Metapioi were a *polis*. On the difficulty of identifying the Classical community with the Mycenaean Me-ta-pa, see Roy (1997) 313–14. Cf. Anaitoi (no. 248).

261. Opous (Opountios) Map 58. Unlocated. Type: B. The toponym is *Ὀπούς* (Diod. 14.17.8), also *Ὀφιοῦς* (*BCH* 45 (1921) 11.128). The city-ethnic is *Ὀπούντιος* (*IG* v.2 368.135–7 (C3)). It was a perioikic community, perhaps to be identified with the ruins of an ancient acropolis at Gartsiko (*KlPauly* iv. 323 no. 2). It is described as a *polis* (in a political sense) of the Akroreians *c.*400 (Diod. 14.17.8); Xen. *Hell.* 7.4.14 refers collectively to the *poleis* of the Akroreians in 365, without naming Opous. There were two Opountian *proxenoi* at Kleitor in Arkadia at a date before 221 (*IG* v.2 368.135–37). Strabo 9.4.2 regarded Opous as insignificant, but noted that it renewed its kinship with the Opuntian Lokrians (*supra*, on Akroreia).

262. Pisa (Pisatas) Map 58. Unlocated. Type: B (in *c.*365–362). The toponym is *Πίσα, ἡ* (Ringel *et al.* (1999) a + c line 7 (365–362); Pind. *Ol.* 1.18). The city-ethnic is *Πισάτας* (*IvO* 36 = *DGE* 422 (365–362); Xen. *Hell.* 7.4.28).

It seems clear that in the Archaic period Elis struggled with an independent community Pisa; the ethnic *Πισαῖος* is often used of it (e.g. Paus. 6.22.4), and Stesichoros (fr. 86, Page = Strabo 8.3.31, on which see Hansen (1998) 124–32) called it a *polis*; in its territory lay Olympia (where one of its own citizens was victorious in 724, according to Paus. 5.8.6 = *Olympionikai* 15), and it struggled with Elis for control of Olympia and of Pisatan territory generally. Elis eventually prevailed—perhaps *c.*570—and incorporated Pisatan territory into the Eleian state. Because reports of these events are distorted by later interests (Sordi (1994)), little is

known about the Archaic Pisatan state save that its rulers were remembered as kings or tyrants (on early Pisatan history, see *RE* xx. 1746–53). Pisa later broke away from Eleian control, and again formed an independent, or at least self-governing, state 365–*c.*362, but was then reabsorbed into the Eleian state. It merits inclusion in this Inventory primarily because it was quite possibly a *polis* in 365–*c.*362. No source explicitly calls it a *polis*, but the internal collective use of the city-ethnic is found in *IvO* 36 = *DGE* 422 (365–362) and the external collective use in Xen. *Hell.* 7.4.28; it issued coins and conducted a foreign policy (*infra*). However, several points should be borne in mind when assessing the form taken by the independent Pisatan state of 365–*c.*362. First, there is no reason to believe in the existence of a town Pisa (*infra*). Secondly, there were other towns in Classical Pisatis: Alasyaion (no. 245) is included in this Inventory, and Harpina, Herakleia and Salmone are listed above among the settlements not included, but a strong case can be made that yet other towns also existed in Classical Pisatis (Roy (2002*a*)). According to the criteria used in the present work to determine whether a community should be included, only Alasyaion merits inclusion: but the evidence on towns in Pisatis is such that there is a real possibility that several Pisatan towns were *poleis* in the Classical period (Roy (2002*a*)). If there were such *poleis*, then presumably during the Classical period, except for the period 365–*c.*362, they were subordinate *poleis* within the territory of Elis (cf. the cases of Kyllene (no. 254) and Pylos (no. 263), both within Elis but not in Pisatis). In that case the towns could have been subordinate *poleis* of Pisatis in 365–*c.*362. Alternatively, the independent state of Pisatis may have been not a *polis*, but a confederacy of several small *poleis*: in the limited surviving evidence there is no indication of a federal structure, but equally nothing to exclude it. Thus Pisatis in 365–*c.*362 may have been (1) a *polis* with no central town Pisa but with several towns not of *polis* status within its territory; or (2) a *polis* with no central town Pisa but with several subordinate *poleis* within its territory; or (3) not a *polis* but a confederacy uniting several small *poleis*. Despite this last possibility, Pisa is here included in the Inventory of *poleis* because its status as a *polis* is likely; but, if in fact a *polis*, it may have had a somewhat anomalous composition.

The extent of the territory of the independent Pisatan state is unknown, but presumably included some or all of the supposed eight *poleis* of Pisatis (see the Introduction and Alasyaion (no. 245) in this Inventory). Despite ancient attempts to argue for a town Pisa (countered by Apollodoros in Strabo 8.3.31), there is no reliable evidence, literary or archaeological, for a town of that name, and no reason to believe in it (*KlPauly* iv. 866–67).

Pisa's claim to Olympia was still remembered *c.*400 (Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.31, where the other claimants, besides the Eleians, must be Pisatan). When war broke out between Arkadia and Elis (no. 251) in 365, the Arkadians occupied various pieces of Eleian territory (Xen. *Hell.* 7.4.14), including Pisa, which became an independent state. It was probably a puppet-state of the Arkadians: the Arkadians were able to draw on Olympic treasures (Xen. *Hell.* 7.4.33–34; Diod. 15.82.1), as the Pisatans themselves may have done for their gold coinage, and it was often said that the Olympic Games of 364, regarded as a non-Olympiad by the Eleians (Diod. 15.78.3), were held by the Pisatans and the Arkadians (Xen. *Hell.* 7.4.28–29; Diod. 15.82.1; Paus. 6.4.2) or even by the Arkadians alone (Paus. 6.8.3, 6.22.3; cf. Xen. *Hell.* 7.4.35). The Pisatan state none the less appears to have had the forms of an independent state. It is not heard of again after the battle of Mantinea in 362, and presumably rapidly returned to Elis, which had regained control of Olympia before the Olympic Games of 360.

Pisa made treaties with Arkadia and Akroreia and with Messenia and Sikyon (no. 228) (Ringel *et al.* (1999)). A Pisatan decree (*IvO* 36 = *DGE* 422) appointed two Sikyonians *proxenoi* and *theorodokoi*: the decree was dated by three eponymous Pisatan *hellanodikai* (not noted in Sherk (1990*b*)).

Pisa minted gold coins bearing the head of Zeus and with the legend ΠΙΣΑ (Head, *HN*² 426). Pisa held the Olympic Games of 364 (Diod. 15.78.2–3), though (as noted *supra*) Arkadia was often said to have been involved in organising the games. It is clear that for a brief period Pisa discharged typical functions of an independent Greek state, and can be regarded as such, even if it was probably in fact a puppet-state of the Arkadian federation.

Pisos was founder of Pisa (*RE* xx. 1806 no. 1). The genealogical claim that Olympia, consort of Pisos, was a daughter of Arkas (*Etym. Magn.* s.v. Olympia) may be an attempt, from the period of Pisatan independence, to connect Pisa and Arkadia.

263. Pylos (Pylios) Map 58. Lat. 21.30, long. 37.55. Size of territory: unknown, presumably 1 or 2. Type: C. The toponym is Πύλος, ὁ (Xen. *Hell.* 7.4.16; Strabo 8.3.7). The city-ethnic is Πύλιος (Xen. *Hell.* 7.4.26).

The only evidence which suggests that Pylos may have been a *polis* is the use of a collective ethnic twice in a single passage by Xenophon (*Hell.* 7.4.26), but it is notable that

Xenophon appears to include in the "Pylians" both Eleian exiles and non-Eleian foreigners, though possibly through imprecision in the narrative.

There was ancient confusion about the location because of the desire to identify Homeric Pylos, and the existence of other sites called Pylos in the western Peloponnese (*RE* xxiii. 2131–33 no. 3). The site at modern Armatova near Agrapidokhori, which has been thoroughly excavated (Coleman (1986)), is very probably Pylos. Xen. *Hell.* 7.4.16 (r365) says that Eleian exiles seized Pylos and were joined by many of the Eleian *demos* because it was a *chorion kalon*; the Eleians captured the Pylians and their *chorion* (ibid. 26). The excavation has shown a significant Classical nucleated settlement from *c.*425, but without monumental architecture of any kind: communal buildings, if any, must have been of the same character as the houses (Coleman (1986) 67). The archaeological findings are compatible with destruction in the 360s. Pylos was reputedly founded by the Megarian Pylon, then destroyed by Herakles, and refounded by the Eleians (Paus. 6.22.5).

264. Thraistos (Thraistios) Map 58. Unlocated. Type: A. The toponym is *Θραῖστος* or *Θραῖστον* (Diod. 14.17.8), but *Θραῦστος* or *Θραῦστον* in Xen. *Hell.* 7.4.14. The city-ethnic is *Θραίστιος* (*IG* IX.1²138 (C4e)).

Thraistos was an Akroreian community, and therefore perioikic, but is not more precisely located. It is described as a *polis* of the Akroreians (either as a town or as a political community) in 365 by Xen. *Hell.* 7.4.14. The external collective use of the city-ethnic is found in *IG* IX.1² 138 (C4e).

It sent judges to Kalydon (no. 148) in Aitolia, probably in C4e (*IG* IX.1² 138), because the inscription is dated by two sets of eponymous officials, the second set (two *damonomoi*) are likely to have been officials of Thraistos (Sherk (1990*a*) 260). Unlike the other Akroreian *poleis*, Thraistos was not captured by the Arkadians in 365 (Xen. *Hell.* 7.4.14); it is therefore unknown whether it formed part of the Akroreian state of 365–*c.*362. Its own particular history is not otherwise known: it will have shared the fate of the Akroreians (see Introduction). On Thraistos, see Nielsen (1995) 93.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Arapoyianni, X. 1996–97. "*Νεκροταφείο κλασικών χρόνων και ταφικός τύμβος από τον νομό Ηλείας*", in *Acts of the 5th International Congress of Peloponnesian Studies 6–10 September 1995*, Peloponnesiaka suppl. 22 (Athens) i. 321–47.

Baladié, R. 1978. *Strabon: Géographie (Livre VIII)*, Budé edn., v (Paris).

Bilik, R. 1998–99. "Hippias von Elis als Quelle von Diodors Bericht über den elisch-spartanischen Krieg?", *Ancient Society* 29: 21–47.

Bon, A. 1946. "*ΗΛΕΙΑΚΑ*", *BCH* 70: 15–31.

Bultrighini, U. 1990. *Pausania e le tradizioni democratiche (Argo e Elide)* (Padua).

Coleman, J. E. 1986. *Excavations at Pylos in Elis*, *Hesperia* suppl. 21 (Princeton).

Coulton, J. J. 1976. *The Architectural Development of the Greek Stoa* (Oxford).

Crowther, N. B. 1988. "Elis and the Games", *L'Antiquité classique* 57: 301–10.

Dakaris, S. 1971. *Cassopaia and the Elean Colonies* (Athens).

Ebert, J., and Siewert, P. 1999. "Eine archaische Bronzeurkunde aus Olympia mit Vorschriften für Ringkämpfer und Kampfrichter", *OlBer* 11: 391–412.

Eder, B., and Mitsopoulos, V. 1999. "Zur Geschichte der Stadt Elis vor dem Synoikismos von 371 v. Chr.", *ÖJh* 68 (Beiblatt): 1–40.

Flensted-Jensen, P., and Hansen, M. H. 1996. "Pseudo-Skylax' Use of the Term *Polis*", *CPCPapers* 3: 137–67.

Franke, P. 1984. "Olympia und seine Münzen", *AntW* 15.2: 14–26.

Gauthier, P. 1972. *Symbola: les étrangers et la justice dans les cités grecques* (Nancy).

Glaser, F. 2001. "Das Theater von Elis und das Problem einer holzernen Skene", in V. Mitsopoulos-Leon (ed.), *Forschungen in der Peloponnes*, Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut Sonderschriften 38 (Athens) 253–62.

Gneisz, D. 1990. *Das antike Rathaus: das griechische Bouleuterion und die frührömische Curia* (Vienna).

Hammond, N. G. L. 1967. *Epirus: The Geography, the Ancient Remains, the History and the Topography of Epirus and Adjacent Areas* (Oxford).

—— and Griffith, G. T. 1979. *A History of Macedonia*, ii: *550–336 B.C.* (Oxford).

Hansen, M.H. 1996. "City-Ethnics as Evidence for *Polis* Identity", *CPCPapers* 3: 169–96.

—— 1998. *Polis and City-State: An Ancient Concept and its Modern Equivalent*, *CPCActs* 5.

—— 2000. "A Survey of the Use of the Word *Polis* in Archaic and Classical Sources", *CPCPapers* 5: 173–215.

—— and Fischer-Hansen, T. 1994. "Monumental Political Architecture in Archaic and Classical Greek *Poleis*: Evidence and Historical Significance", *CPCPapers* 1: 23–90.

Hatzi, G. E. 1980. "*Κεραμική υστεροκλασσικών χρόνων από την Αμαλιάδα*", *ArchDelt* 35A: 37–59.
——1982. "*Κεραμεική υστεροκλασσικών χρόνων από την Αμαλιάδα*", *EEHM* 1: 489–504.
Jacquemin, A. 1999–2002. Commentary in J. Pouilloux and A. Jacquemin, *Pausanias: Livres V and VI* (Paris).
Jameson, M. H., Jordan, D. R. and Kotansky, R. D. 1993. *A Lex Sacra from Selinous*, *GRBS* Monographs 11 (Durham, NC).
Kraay, C. M. 1976. *Archaic and Classical Greek Coins* (London).
Mallwitz, A. 1988. "Cult and Competition Locations at Olympia", in W. J. Raschke (ed.), *The Archaeology of the Olympics: The Olympics and Other Festivals in Antiquity* (Madison) 79–109.
Marek, C. 1984. *Die Proxenie* (Frankfurt am Main, Bern, and New York).
Martin, R. 1951. *Recherches sur l'agora grecque* (Paris).
McDonald, W. A., and Hope Simpson, R. 1972. "Archaeological Exploration" and "Appendix", in W. A. McDonald and G. R. Rapp (eds.), *The Minnesota Messenia Expedition* (Minneapolis) 117–47, 263–322.
Miller, S. G. 1978. *The Prytaneion: Its Function and Architectural Form* (Berkeley and Los Angeles).
Minon, S. 1994. "Les tablettes éléennes du VIe et du Ve siècle: étude dialectologique et historique", 2 vols. (thèse de doctorat, École Pratique des Hautes Études, Paris).
Morgan, C. 1990. *Athletes and Oracles: The Transformation of Olympia and Delphi in the Eighth Century B.C.* (Cambridge).
—— and Coulton, J. J. 1997. "The *Polis* as a Physical Entity", *CPCActs* 4: 87–144.
Nafissi, M. 2001. "La prospettiva di Pausania sulla storia dell'Elide: la questione Pisate", in D. Knoepfler and M. Piérart (eds.), *Éditer, traduire, commenter Pausanias en l'an 2000* (Neuchâtel) 301–21.
Nicolet-Pierre, H. 1975. "Remarques sur la chronologie relative des plus anciennes séries de statères éléens", *RNum* 17: 6–18.
Nielsen, T. H. 1995. "Was Eutaia a *Polis*? A Note on Xenophon's Use of the Term *Polis* in the *Hellenika*", *CPCPapers* 2: 83–102.
——1996. "Arkadia: City-Ethnics and Tribalism", *CPCActs* 3: 117–64.
Panayotopoulos, G. 1991. "Questions sur la topographie éléenne: les sites d'Héracleia et de Salmoné", in A. D. Rizakis (ed.), *Achaia und Elis in der Antike*, Akten des 1. Internationalen Symposiums, Athens, 19–21 May 1989 = *Meletemata* 13, Institut für Griechische und Römische Antike, Nationales Hellenisches Forschungszentrum (Athens) 275–81.
Papahatzis, N. 1979. *Παυσανίου Ἑλλάδος Περιήγησις*, iii: *Μεσσηνιακὰ καὶ Ἠλιακά* (Athens).
Parke, H. W. 1967. *The Oracles of Zeus: Dodona, Olympia, Ammon* (Oxford).
Perlman, P. 2000. *City and Sanctuary in Ancient Greece: The* Theorodokia *in the Peloponnese*, *Hypomnemata* 121 (Göttingen).
Pritchett, W. K. 1974. *The Greek State at War*, ii (Berkeley and London).
——1989. *Studies in Ancient Greek Topography*, vi, University of California Publications in Classical Studies 33 (Berkeley).
Ringel, E., Siewert, P., and Taeuber, H. 1999. "Die Symmachien Pisas mit den Arkadern, Akroreia, Messenien, und Sikyon: ein neues Fragment der 'Arkadischen Bündnisstele' von 365 v. Chr.", *OlBer* 11: 413–20.
Rougemont, G. 1973. "La hiéroménie des Pythia et les 'trêves sacrées' d'Éleusis, de Delphes et d'Olympie", *BCH* 97: 75–106.
Roy, J. 1994. "Thebes in the 360s BC", in *CAH*^{2} vi. 187–208.
——1997. "The *Perioikoi* of Elis", *CPCActs* 4: 282–320.
——1998. "Thucydides 5.49.1–50.4: The Quarrel between Elis and Sparta in 420 B.C., and Elis' Exploitation of Olympia", *Klio* 80: 360–68.
——1999. "Les cités d'Élide", in J. Renard (ed.), *Le Péloponnèse: Archéologie et Histoire* (Rennes) 151–76.
——2000. "The Frontier between Arkadia and Elis in Classical Antiquity", *Polis & Politics* 133–56.
——2002*a*. "The Pattern of Settlement in Pisatis: The 'Eight *Poleis*' ", *CPCPapers* 6: 229–47.
——2002*b*. "The Synoikism of Elis", *CPCPapers* 6: 249–64.
—— and Schofield, D. 1999. "*IvO* 9: A New Approach", *Horos* 13: 155–65.
Samuel, A. 1972. *Greek and Roman Chronology: Calendars and Years in Classical Antiquity* (Munich).
Seltman, C. T. 1921. *The Temple Coins of Olympia* (Cambridge).
Servais, J. 1961. "Recherches sur le port de Cyllène", *BCH* 85: 123–61.
——1964. "Le site de Khlémoutsi et l'Hyrminé homérique", *BCH* 88: 9–50.
Sherk, R. 1990*a*. "The Eponymous Officials of Greek Cities I", *ZPE* 83: 249–88.
——1990*b*. "The Eponymous Officials of Greek Cities II", *ZPE* 84: 231–95.
Siewert, P. 1981. "Eine Bronze-Urkunde mit elischen Urteilen über Böoter, Thessaler, Athen, und Thespiai", *OlBer* 10: 228–48.
——1987–88. "Triphylien und Akroreia: Spartanische 'Regionalstaaten' in der westlichen Peloponnes", in *Acts of the 3rd International Congress of Peloponnesian Studies, Kalamata, 8–15 September 1985*, *Peloponnesiaka* suppl. 13 (Athens) ii. 7–12.
——1991. "Staatliche Weihungen von Kesseln und anderen Bronzegeräten in Olympia", *AM* 106: 81–84.
——1994*a*. "Symmachien in neuen Inschriften von Olympia", in L. A. Foresti *et al.* (eds.), *Federazioni e federalismo nell'Europa antica (Bergamo, 21–25 settembre 1992)* (Milan) 257–64.

Siewert, P. 1994*b*. "Eine archäische Rechtsaufzeichnung aus der antiken Stadt Elis", in G. Thür (ed.), *Symposion 1993: Vorträge zur griechischen und hellenistischen Rechtsgeschichte (Graz-Andritz, 12.–16. September 1993)*, Akten der Gesellschaft für griechische und hellenistische Rechtsgeschichte 10 (Vienna) 17–32 (with F. Gschnitzer, ibid. 33–34).

—— 2001. "Zwei Rechtsaufzeichnungen der Stadt Elis", in V. Mitsopoulos-Leon (ed.), *Forschungen in der Peloponnes*, Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut Sonderschriften 38 (Athens) 245–52.

Sinn, U. 1994. "Die Entwicklung des Zeuskultes von Olympia bei Strabo (VIII.3.30 p. 353f.)", in A. M. Biraschi (ed.), *Strabone e la Grecia* (Naples) 145–66.

Sordi, M. 1994. "Strabone, Pausania e le vicende di Oxilo", in A. M. Biraschi (ed.), *Strabone e la Grecia* (Naples) 137–44.

Sperling, J. 1942. "Explorations in Elis, 1939", *AJA* 46: 77–89.

Taeuber, H. 1991. "Elische Inschriften in Olympia", in A. D. Rizakis (ed.), *Achaia und Elis in der Antike*, Akten des 1. Internationalen Symposiums, Athens, 19–21 May 1989 = *Meletemata* 13, Institut für griechische und römische Antike, Nationales Hellenisches Forschungszentrum (Athens) 111–14.

Taita, J. 1999. "Un'anfiziona ad Olimpia? Un bilancio sulla questione nell'interpretazione storiografica moderna", *Quaderni di Acme* 39: 149–86.

—— 2001. "Indovini stranieri al servizio dello stato spartano", *Dike* 4: 39–85.

Tausend, K. 1992. *Amphiktyonie und Symmachie: Formen zwischenstaatlicher Beziehungen im archaischen Griechenland*, *Historia* Einzelschriften 73 (Stuttgart).

Themelis, P. G. 1968. "Φειά", *ArchDelt* 23.B1: 162.

Tuplin, C. 1993. *The Failings of Empire: A Reading of Xenophon* Hellenica *2.3.11–7.5.27*, *Historia* Einzelschriften 76 (Stuttgart).

Ulf, C. 1997. "Die Mythen um Olympia—politischer Gehalt und politische Intention", *Nikephoros* 10: 9–51.

van Effenterre, H., and Ruzé, F. 1994–95. *Nomima: Recueil d'inscriptions politiques et juridiques de l'archaïsme grec*, 2 vols.

Wacker, C. 1996. *Das Gymnasion in Olympia: Geschichte und Funktion* (Wurzburg).

Walter, U. 1993. *An der Polis teilhaben: Bürgerstaat und Zugehörigkeit im archaischen Griechenland*, *Historia* Einzelschriften 82 (Stuttgart).

Warren, J. A. W. 1962. "A Neglected Hoard of Elean Coins", *NC* 2: 413–15.

Yalouris, N. 1957 "Δοκιμαστικαί ἔρευναι εις τον κόλπον της Φειάς Ηλείας", *ArchEph* 1957 (1961): 32–43.

—— 1972*a*. "The City-State of Elis", *Ekistics* 33.195 (February): 95–96.

Yalouris, N. 1972*b*. "Ἀνασκαφὴ ἀρχαίας Ἤλιδος", *Prakt* 1972 (1974) 139–42.

—— 1994. "Elide 2°", in F. Carinci *et al.* (eds.), *Enciclopedia dell'arte antica classica e orientale, Secundo Supplemento 1971–1994* (Rome) 453–56.

ARKADIA

THOMAS HEINE NIELSEN

I. The Region

The name of the region is Ἀρκαδία, ἡ (*IvO* 266 (C6l–C5e); Thuc. 1.2.3), or Ἀρκαδίη in the Ionic dialect (Hom. *Il.* 2.603; Hdt. 1.66.2). The ethnic proper is invariably Ἀρκάς (Hom. *Il.* 2.611; *IvO* 147.148 (C5f)), but the ktetic Ἀρκαδικόν sometimes serves as the plural (*infra*). The collective use of the ethnic proper is attested externally in Hom. *Il.* 2.611 and often in literature, whereas it does not occur in inscriptions before the foundation of the Confederacy in 370 (*CEG* II 824.10 (369)); *IG* II² 112.15 (362)); internally it is attested (in the form *APKAΔIKON* or different abbreviations thereof (cf. Xen. *Hell.* 6.5.6) on C5 coins (for which see R. T. Williams (1965) and *SNG Cop. Argolis* 164–90) and in the C4 federal decree *IG* V.2 1.3 (360s). The individual use is found externally in *IvO* 147.148 (C5f) and Thuc. 5.49.1, and internally in *IG* V.2 549.550 (C4l). The region Arkadia is described as χώρα (Hdt. 1.66.1; Xen. *Hell.* 6.5.21), and from C5 onwards the people are described by such terms as ἔθνος (Hdt. 8.73.1), φυλή (Xen. *Hell.* 7.1.23) and λαός (*CEG* II 824.2 (369)); see further Nielsen (1999).

The earliest source for the extent of Arkadia is probably the Homeric *Catalogue of Ships* (*Il.* 2.603–14), which describes the eastern plain and Parrhasia as Arkadian, in addition to Rhipe, Stratie and Enispe, communities that are otherwise unknown.[1] The northern border with Achaia is not very well attested in Archaic and Classical sources, but Herodotos includes Nonakris (no. 285) and Pheneos (no. 291) in Arkadia (Hdt. 6.74.2). The border with Achaia ran north of Kynaitha (no. 278), always described as Arkadian (e.g. by Polyb. 4.20–21), but exactly where it ran in the earlier period is uncertain, since it is possible that the northern district Azania once included territory later considered to be Achaian (Nielsen and Roy (1998) 36–39); in the present Inventory, however, Kynaitha is considered to be the northernmost Arkadian community. The western border with Elis (no. 251) and Triphylia was particularly unstable. The city of Lasion (no. 256) must have been right in the border zone between Elis and Arkadia, since it was the object of dispute between Eleians and Arkadians for long periods in Antiquity (cf. Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.30, 7.4.12; Diod. 14.17.8, 15.77.1; Polyb. 4.73.1, 74.1); in the present context the border is considered to run slightly to the east of Lasion, which is therefore not included here but treated by Roy in the Eleian Inventory (no. 256). The border with Triphylia is a problem in itself: though the area was under Eleian control during C5 (Roy (1997)), some of the communities in Triphylia were sometimes considered to be Arkadian; Phrixa(i) (no. 309), for example, was described as Arkadian by Pherekydes (*FGrHist* 3) fr. 161, and Triphylia as such ended up being considered a part of Arkadia (cf. Ps.-Skylax 44; Nielsen (1997) 131, 155–56). In the present work, however, Triphylia is treated as an individual region (next chapter). For a full discussion of the western border of Arkadia, see Roy (2000*a*). The southern border with Lakonike ran from Phigaleia (no. 292) in south-western Arkadia (Hdt. 6.83.2) to Parrhasia, which bordered on Lakonike (Thuc. 5.33.2), to Eutaia (no. 270), south of Tegea (no. 297), which was on the Lakonian border (Xen. *Hell.* 6.5.12). The western border with Thyreatis and Argolis was quite stable, but it is possible, it should be noted, that the Arkadian Eua mentioned by Theopomp. fr. 60 was the one in the Thyreatis (no. 331) (for which see Christien and Spyropoulos (1985)), and that the Hysia mentioned as Arkadian by Pherekydes (*FGrHist* 3) fr. 5 was Hysiai in the Argolid (so Bölte in *RE* IX (1916) 540 and Shaw (1999) 284–85). If so, the border here may also have fluctuated a

I would like to thank Dr. Björn Forsén, Dr. Jeannette Forsén, Prof. Hector Williams and Dr. James Roy for valuable comments on this chapter.

[1] See however Steph. Byz. 271.1–3 for Enispe. For an attempt to locate Enispe, see Syriopoulos (1973). Other Archaic/Classical toponyms which are mere names to us are Ἀλλάντιον: Theopomp. fr. 33 = Steph. Byz. 76.1–2: πόλις … καὶ Ἀρκαδίας (Hejnic (1961) 119). A mistake is not impossible (*RE* I (1894) 1583–84); confusion with Pallantion seems possible as well. Βουκολιών: Thuc. 4.134.2. Δελφουσία: Androtion (*FGrHist* 324) fr. 7 = Steph. Byz. 225.3: ἔστι καὶ Δελφουσία πόλις Ἀρκαδίας, ὡς Ἀνδροτίων ἐν β' Ἀτθίδος; commonly taken to be a mistake for Thelphousia; cf. Harding (1994) 98–99 with refs. Διόπη: Pherekydes (*FGrHist* 3) fr. 159 = Steph. Byz. 233.10: πόλις Ἀρκαδίας, ὡς Φερεκύδης (Hejnic (1961) 119). Ἑλυμία: Xen. *Hell.* 6.5.13. Λαοδικεῖον: in Oresthis, place of battle in 423. Φέα: Pherekydes (*FGrHist* 3) fr. 159: πόλις τῆς Ἠλίδος, οἱ δὲ τῆς Ἀρκαδίας (Hejnic (1961) 119). Confusion with Eleian Pheia seems likely. See also Hejnic (1961) 119–20.

little, but in the present Inventory neither Eua nor Hysia(i) is considered to be Arkadian.

Our written sources provide us with information about seventy named settlements of the Archaic and Classical periods in Arkadia as thus delimited.[2] Of these, fifty-three have been located, with certainty or with varying degrees of probability. Fifteen ancient toponyms, however, remain unlocated; there is no example of a major urban settlement that cannot be matched with a toponym attested in the written sources (but see, e.g., Dipoina(i) and Kallia(i) in the following list for identifications that remain hypothetical). Thirty-nine settlements are described in the Inventory of *poleis* below. The other thirty-one settlements in alphabetical order are as follows.[3]

1. *Pre-Hellenistic Settlements not Attested as* Poleis

Akakesion (*Ἀκακήσιον*) Unlocated. Paus. 8.27.4 (r371/70, *πόλις*), 8.36.10 (*πόλις*); Steph. Byz. 56.5 (*πόλις*). *Barr.* R, but C is indicated by Paus. 8.27.4.

Akontion (*Ἀκόντιον*) Unlocated. Paus. 8.27.4 (r371/70, *πόλις*); Steph. Byz. 61.15 (*πόλις*). *Barr.* R, but C is indicated by Paus. 8.27.4.

Aphrodision (*Ἀφροδίσιον*) Paus. 8.44.2 (*χωρίον*). *Barr.* AC.

Athenaion (*Ἀθήναιον*) Paus. 8.44.2 (*χωρίον*). *Barr.* C.

Basilis (*Βάσιλις*) Paus. 8.29.1, without indication of type of site, but presumably a settlement, since a mythical *oikistes* is mentioned (so *Barr.*). *Barr.* dates it AC with reference to Paus. 8.29.5, which, however, gives no indication of the date of its existence (it was in ruins in Pausanias' day).[4] But Basilis is possibly to be located near modern Kyparissia, *c.*20 km north-west of Megalopolis (no. 282): here recent rescue excavations by A. V. Karapanagiotou have brought to light a candidate for Basilis: a city with a rectangular street plan and a fortification wall with rectangular towers, of considerable size (18 ha) though not excavated in its entirety, and dated by the excavator to C5e; the earliest material is C6 ceramic material; a C6–C4 sanctuary is located 1.5 km from the city (information derived from public lecture by A. V. Karapanagiotou in Athens, May 2002; for earlier finds at the site, see Bather and Yorke (1892–93) 229–30; Jost (1985) 170). If not to be equated with Basilis, the site may be ancient Trapezous (no. 303) (Paus. 8.29.5).

Bathos (*Βάθος*) Paus. 8.29.1. Regarded as a settlement by *Barr.*, but perhaps rather a sanctuary (Paus. 8.29.1: *Βάθος ἐστὶν ὀνομαζόμενον, ἔνθα ἄγουσι τελετὴν διὰ ἔτους τρίτου θεαῖς <ταῖς> Μεγάλαις*; Bather and Yorke (1892–93) 229: "The site excavated appears to be that of a small shrine". No date in *Barr.*, but AC is attested (Bather and Yorke (1892–93) 228–29; Jost (1985) 170).

Charisia(i) (*Χαρισία(ι)*) Unlocated. Paus. 8.3.4, 27.3 (r371/70, *πόλις*). No date in *Barr.*, but C is indicated by Paus. 8.27.3.

Dasea(i) (*Δασέα(ι)*) Paus. 8.27.4 (r371/70, *πόλις*), 8.36.9 (*ἐρείπια*); Steph. Byz. 220.7 (*πόλις*). *Barr.* AC (but the reference is to Paus. 8.36.3; C is indicated, however, by Paus. 8.27.4).

Dipoina(i) (*Δίποινα(ι)*; but cf. Jost (1986*a*) 152 n. 69) Unlocated (but see *infra*). Paus. 8.27.4 (r371/0, *πόλις*). With Kallia and Nonakris (for both of which see the present list) it formed a Tripolis, reportedly synoecised into Megalopolis (no. 282) (Paus. 8.27.3). No date in *Barr.*, but C is indicated by Paus. 8.27.3. Meyer (1939*a*) 50–58 briefly describes two ancient settlements (not in *Barr.*) at Kastro Galatas/Kastro tis Monovizas and Kerpini (both on the map in Jost (1985)), which should probably be identified with two of the three

[2] For some toponyms which may or may not be names of settlements, see the preceding note; they are disregarded in the following.

[3] The following list diverges from the *Barr.* directory of Map 58 by excluding the following settlements from consideration as not demonstrably Archaic or Classical or not demonstrably settlements *vel sim.*: Apheidantes: an urban deme of Tegea; Boukolion: a mere toponym, cf. n. 1 above; Brenthe: listed as C, but see Jost, *Comm.* 28.7; Anemosa: listed as AC but the reference is to Paus. 8.35.9 (cf. Jost, *Comm.* 35.9); Delphousia: see n. 1 above; Diope: a mere toponym; cf. n. 1 above; Elymia: not demonstrably a settlement; Enispe: see n. 1 above; Eugeia = Eutaia, cf. the entry for Eutaia; Gareatai: a deme of Tegea (Paus. 8.45.1), but not demonstrably a settlement and not attested for A or C; Hypsous: listed as AC, but the reference is to Paus. 8.35.7 (cf. Jost, *Comm.* 35.7); Korytheis: a deme of Tegea (Paus. 8.45.1) but not demonstrably a settlement and not demonstrably A or C; Laodikeion: a mere toponym, cf. n. 1 above; Manthouria: not securely located or dated, cf. Jost, *Comm.* 44.7–8; Melea: Lakonian, not Arkadian (cf. Shipley, *infra* 575); Nostia: a variant name of Nestane, cf. the entry for Nestane in the Inventory; Oios/Oiatai: Lakonian, not Arkadian, cf. Shipley, *infra* no. 339; Potarchidai: a deme of Tegea (Paus. 8.45.1), unlocated and undated (Jost, *Comm.* 45.1); Propous: not a settlement (Pritchett (1969) 128); Rhipe: cf. n. 1 above; Stratie: cf. n. 1 above; Thyraion: listed as AC, but the reference is to Paus. 8.35.7 (cf. Jost, *Comm.* 35.7). On the other hand, some sites are included in the list though dated outside the Archaic–Classical period by *Barr.*, e.g. Akakesion which is dated R by Barr., but for which C is indicated by Paus. 8.27.4 (r371/70); such cases are noted in the text of the list.

[4] *Τοῦ δὲ χωρίου τοῦ ὀνομαζομένου Βάθους σταδίους ὡς δέκα ἀφέστηκε καλουμένη Βάσιλις· ταύτης ἐγένετο οἰκίστης Κύψελος ὁ Κρεσφόντῃ τῷ Ἀριστομάχου τὴν θυγατέρα ἐκδούς· ἐπ' ἐμοῦ δὲ ἐρείπια ἡ Βάσιλις ἦν καὶ Δήμητρος ἱερὸν ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐλείπετο Ἐλευσινίας*. Cf. Jost, *Comm.*

communities constituting the Tripolis (Dipoina(i) and Kallia(i), according to Meyer).

Haimoniai (*Αἱμονιαί*) Paus. 8.44.1 (*Αἱμονιαὶ πόλις ἦσαν τὸ ἀρχαῖον*); Steph. Byz. 50.4 (*πόλις*). *Barr.* AC (cf. Roy *et al.* (1992)).

Iasaia (*Ἰασαία*) Paus. 8.27.3 (r371/70, *πόλις*). Not in *Barr.*; C indicated by Paus. 8.27.3.

Kallia(i) (*Καλλία(ι)*) Unlocated (but see *infra*). Paus. 8.27.4 (r371/70, *πόλις*), 27.7 (*κώμη*). With Dipoina(i) and Nonakris (for both of which see the present list) it formed a Tripolis, reportedly synoecised into Megalopolis (no. 282; Paus. 8.27.3). No date in *Barr.*, but C is indicated by Paus. 8.27.3. Meyer (1939*a*) 50–58 briefly describes two ancient settlements (not in *Barr.*) at Kastro Galatas/Kastro tis Monovizas and Kerpini (both on the map in Jost (1985)), which should probably be identified with two of the three communities constituting the Tripolis (Dipoina(i) and Kallia(i), according to Meyer).

Kaous (*Καοῦς*) Listed in *Barr.* as unlocated; for a suggested location, see Jost (1985) 65–66, (1986*b*). Paus. 8.25.1 (*κώμη*), Steph. Byz. 355.13 (*κώμη*). *Barr.* attaches no date, but C is attested (cf. Jost (1985) 65–66, (1986*b*)).

Knauson (*Κναῦσον*) Unlocated. Paus. 8.27.3 (r371/70, *πόλις*). No date in *Barr.*, but C is indicated by Paus. 8.27.3.

Lykoa, Lykaia (*Λυκόα, Λύκαια*) Paus. 8.27.3 (r371/70, *πόλις*). *Barr.* AC, but the reference is to Paus. 8.36.7; Paus. 8.27.3 indicates C, and there are remains of a late Archaic–Classical temple (Voyatzis (1999) 154 (Mainalon); Pikoulas (1999*c*) 126–27).

Lykoatai, Lykoa (*Λυκοᾶται, Λυκόα*) Unlocated. Polyb. 16.17; Paus. 8.27.4 (r371/70, *πόλις*). Listed in *Barr.* (as "Lykaia") as unlocated and not given a date; but Paus. 8.27.4–5 indicates C.

Lykouria (*Λυκουρία*) Paus. 8.19.4 (*χωρίον*). *Barr.* AC?, but the reference is to Paus. 8.19.4; however, AC is archaeologically attested; cf. Erath (1999*a*) 223–25.

Mainalos (*Μαίναλος*) Paus. 8.2.3 (*πόλις* "in ancient times"). Located by *Barr.* near Daria, but the location is uncertain (Jost, *Comm.* 36.8); cf., however, Pikoulas (1999*c*) 120–21, 127–28. *Barr.* AC, but the reference is to Paus. 8.36.8; C existence is indicated by its Olympic victors (*Olympionikai* 362, 377); cf. Jost, *Comm.* 36.8.

Makaria (*Μακαρία, Μακαρέαι*) Paus. 8.27.4 (r371/70, *πόλις*). *Barr.* puts it on the map near the river Alpheios, but its ruins have disappeared (Jost, *Comm.* 36.9). *Barr.* AC, but the reference is to Paus. 8.36.9; Paus. 8.27.4 indicates C existence.

Melainai (*Μελαιναί*) Paus. 8.26.8. Listed in the *Barr.* directory as unlocated and with no date attached; however, Pikoulas (1999*a*) 304–5 suggests that it should be located at Helliniko of Paloumba, an "important archaeological site . . . unquestionably occupied by a settlement", which is proved by pottery to have been Archaic and Classical.

Nonakris (*Νώνακρις*) Unlocated. Paus. 8.27.4 (r371/70, *πόλις*). With Dipoina(i) and Kallia(i) (for both of which see the present list) it formed a Tripolis, reportedly synoecised into Megalopolis (no. 282) (Paus. 8.27.3). Not in *Barr.*, but C is indicated by Paus. 8.27.3. Not to be confused with the *polis* of Nonakris (no. 285). Meyer (1939*a*) 50–58 briefly describes two ancient settlements (not in *Barr.*) at Kastro Galatas/Kastro tis Monovizas and Kerpini (both on the map in Jost (1985)), which should probably be identified with two of the three communities constituting the Tripolis (Dipoina(i) and Kallia(i), according to Meyer).

Onkeion (*Ὄγκειον*) Paus. 8.25.4. Listed as unlocated by *Barr.* and with no date attached, but see Meyer (1957*b*) 13ff for a possible location with AC remains.

Paror(e)ia (*Παρωρ(ε)ία*) Paus. 8.27.3 (r371/70, *πόλις*), 8.35.6–7. No date is attached in *Barr.*, but Paus. 8.27.3 indicates C.

Peraitheis (*Περαιθεῖς*) Paus. 8.27.3 (r371/70, *πόλις*), 8.36.7. *Barr.* AC, though the reference is to Paus. 8.3.4; Paus. 8.27.3 indicates C, and there are some A archaeological remains (Pikoulas (1999*a*) 276).

Proseis (*Προσεῖς*) Unlocated. Paus. 8.27.4 (r371/70, *πόλις*). No date is attached in *Barr.*, but C is indicated by Paus. 8.27.4.

Ptolederma (*Πτολέδερμα*) Unlocated. Paus. 8.27.3 (r371/70, *πόλις*). No date is attached in *Barr.*, but Paus. 8.27.3 indicates C.

Soumateion (*Σουμάτειον*) Unlocated in *Barr.*, but see Pikoulas (1999*c*) 127. Paus. 8.27.3 (r371/70, *πόλις*). No date is attached in *Barr.*, but Paus. 8.27.3 indicates C, and so the site proposed by Pikoulas (1999*c*) 116.

Thisoa (*Θισόα*) Paus. 8.27.4 (r371/70, *πόλις*); *Barr.* gives HR, but Paus. 8.27.4 indicates C. Cf. *Pharos* 2 (1994) 39–89.

Thoknia (*Θωκνία*, *Θωκνεῖς*) Paus. 8.27.4 (r371/70, *πόλις*), 8.29.5. *Barr.* AC, but the reference is to Paus. 8.29.5; Paus. 8.27.4 indicates C.

Trikolonoi (*Τρικόλωνοι*) Paus. 8.27.3 (r371/70, *πόλις*). *Barr.* AC, but the reference is to Paus. 8.35.6; Paus. 8.27.3 indicates C. Jost, *Comm.* 35.6.

Zoiteion (*Ζοιτείον*) Paus. 8.27.3 (r371/70, *πόλις*). *Barr.* AC, but the reference is to Paus. 8.35.6–7; Paus. 8.27.3 indicates C.

Some of these settlements may have been *poleis*. Mainalos, for example, probably produced an Olympic victor in 400 (*Olympionikai* 362, 377; cf. Roy (1972*b*) 49) and was presumably a Mainalian community (Nielsen (1996*a*) 148); so it may have been a *polis* by analogy with Mainalian communities such as Pallantion (no. 289) and Helisson (no. 273). Conversely, communities such as, e.g., Pylai (no. 295) and Phorieia (no. 293) which have been included in the Inventory might perhaps be omitted. But even allowing for a margin of uncertainty, the Inventory points to the conclusion that *c.*60 per cent of all Arkadian settlements were considered to be *poleis* at some time or throughout the Archaic and Classical periods.

A distinctive feature of the Arkadian *polis* structure was the existence of the so-called *tribal states*, states based on populations living settled in several minor communities (Roy (1972*b*), (1996); Nielsen (1996*a*) 132–43). In the Classical period there existed four such tribal states: the Eutresians, the Kynourians, the Mainalians and the Parrhasians. In the Archaic period a fifth tribe, the Azanians, existed, but if they ever formed a tribal *state*, this had disintegrated before C5, and during the Classical period the former Azanian communities appear as individual *poleis* and are described as such below in the Inventory (Nielsen (1996*a*) 139; Nielsen and Roy (1998)). We know next to nothing about the internal political structure of the Eutresians; the Mainalians, on the other hand, are quite well documented (Nielsen (1996*a*) 134–38): their state was composed of a number of local communities which were organised as *poleis*, and six such Mainalian *poleis* are described in the Inventory below. It is very likely that both the Parrhasians and the Kynourians were subdivided into *poleis* as well, but the evidence is less substantial in these cases, and only two communities of each of these two tribal states are described in the Inventory.

Besides the tribal *poleis* there were in Arkadia a number of more conventional *poleis*. Some of the larger *poleis* developed local dominions. Mantinea (no. 281), for example, created a hegemonic league in C5s (Nielsen (1996*c*) 79–84), and so did Orchomenos (no. 286) in C4f (Nielsen (1996*c*) 84–86). However, the small communities subjugated by Mantinea and Orchomenos continued to function as *poleis*: they became dependent *poleis* and are duly described as such in the Inventory.

There is hardly any contemporary evidence for the status of those settlements which were not *poleis*. It is clear, however, from Xen. *Hell.* 5.2.6–7 and *IPArk* no. 9.7–8 that Mantinea possessed a number of *komai*, which played a role in the organisation of the *polis*. In his description of the synoecism of Megalopolis (no. 282), Diod. 15.72.4 refers to twenty unnamed Mainalian and Parrhasian communities as *komai*, but this classification runs counter to contemporary sources which regularly describe, e.g., Mainalian communities as *poleis*; it is probably prompted by the context of synoecism, for according to C4 theory *poleis* arose through synoecisms of *komai* (Arist. *Pol.* 1252^{b}27 with Demand (1990) 14–27 and Hansen (1995*b*) 52–61). But apart from Helisson (no. 273) (which became a Mantinean *kome* by the conclusion of the C4f treaty *IPArk* no. 9), no individual community is classified as a *kome* by Archaic or Classical sources. So although we have evidence for second-order settlements in several Arkadian *poleis*, we do not know what status they enjoyed, since we do not know whether the evidence pertaining to Mantinea can be generalised.

Even though the existence of a C5 Arkadian Confederacy has been argued by, for instance, Wallace (1954), there is very little evidence for such an organisation (Roy (1972*d*); Nielsen (1996*d*)), and the only attested political unification of the region remains the short-lived C4 Confederacy (for which see Larsen (1968) 180–95; Dušanić (1970); Nielsen (1996*c*) 93–100; Roy (2000*b*)) that united Arkadia from 370 to 363. At the latter date it split into two factions, which seem never to have been reunited (Nielsen (1996*b*) 356–59), although some kind of Confederacy still existed in C4l (Piérart (1982)).

II. The *Poleis*

265. Alea (Aleos) Map 58. Lat. 37.50, long. 22.25. Size of territory: 3. Type: B. The toponym is *Ἀλέα*, *ἡ* (*IG* IV.1^{2} 103.45 (C4m); *SEG* 23 189 (*c.*330)). The city-ethnic is *Ἀλεός* (*IG* I^{3} 80 (421)); *IvO* 30 (C5s–C4f) has *Ἀλειός* (cf. Nielsen (1996*a*) 118); Classical coins use the form *Ἀλεάτας* (often abbreviated) in the legends (*infra*; cf. Roy (1972*a*) 331).

There is no certain attestation of *polis* in references to Alea, but Theopomp. fr. 242 (= Steph. Byz. 69.20) may have classed Alea as a *polis* (cf. Whitehead (1994) 119), and the πόλις τῶν Ἀλειῶν of *IvO* 295 (*c.*275–250) is probably our city (cf. Nielsen (1996*a*) 118).

The collective use of the ethnic is attested internally in Classical coin legends (*infra*; cf. Roy (1972*a*) 331) and externally in *IvO* 30 (C5s–C4f), for which see Nielsen (1996*a*) 118. The individual use is found externally on *IG* I³ 80 (421).

The territory occupied *c.*110 km².[5] There is a temple(?) at Anemomilo, in the pass leading to Orchomenos (no. 286); with it are associated Classical sherds (Meyer (1939*a*) 29; Jost (1985) 108).

It may be assumed that Alea was a member both of the Peloponnesian League (Nielsen (1996*c*) 87) and the Arkadian Confederacy (ibid. 94–95). *IG* IV.1² 103.45 (C4m) records a payment of ἐφόδια to two people ἐς Ἀλέαν, and the presumption is that Alea received an embassy from Epidauros (no. 348). *IvO* 30 (C5s–C4f) is a grant of *proxenia* by Alea to an Athenian (cf. Nielsen (1996*a*) 118), and *IG* I³ 80 (421) is a grant by Athens (no. 361) of *proxenia* to a man of Alea; *SEG* 23 189.25 (*c.*330) records an Argive *theorodokos* in Alea.

IvO 30 (C5s–C4f), a grant of *proxenia*, is the oldest known public enactment of Alea; from its enactment formula (ἔδοξε Ἀλειοῖς) the existence of an assembly may be inferred, but otherwise the political institutions of the city are unknown.

The well-preserved walls of Alea are probably C3 (Meyer (1939*a*) 26). The acropolis measured 14.3 ha, and on it was a building which Meyer identified as a military barracks. The city below the "Stadtberg" occupied 14.6 ha; no substantial remains are extant, but scattered remains seem to be of houses. See Meyer (1939*a*) 19–29; Papachatzis (1994) 265–66.

Head, *HN*² 446 dates the first coinage of Alea to *c.*430; Babelon, *Traité* ii.3. 630 proposes 421. The legend abbreviates the ethnic Ἀλεάτας (Roy (1972*a*) 331) to *AΛ*, *AΛE*, *AΛEA*; Lacroix (1968) 325 n. 4 cites the legend *AΛE*[*A*]*TAN* (C4 according to Jost (1985) 526). The types show Artemis (Babelon, *Traité* ii.3 nos. 946–49), Athena (ibid. no. 950), Herakles (ibid. no. 951) and Helios (Lacroix (1968) 325 n. 4). Both bronze and silver coins are known. Denominations are triobol (Babelon, *Traité* ii.3 no. 951), obol (ibid. no. 946), and tritartemorion (ibid. no. 947). *SNG Cop. Argolis* 213–14.

Alean coins seem to indicate cults of Athena Alea and Artemis (Jost (1985) 107–9). Alea may have consulted the oracle at Delphi before 300 (cf. Paus. 8.23.1 with Fontenrose (1978) 353); *IvO* 295 (*c.*275–250) is probably an Alean dedication, and *IvO* 30 (C5s–C4f), although an Alean document (cf. Nielsen (1996*a*) 118), was put up at Olympia.

266. Alipheira (Aliphereus) Map 58. Lat. 37.35, long. 21.50. Size of territory: 2–3. Type: C. The toponym is Ἀλίφειρα, ἡ (Polyb. 4.78.3; *SEG* 25 448.15 (C3s)), or Ἀλίφηρα (Paus. 8.27.4). The city-ethnic is Ἀλιφειρεύς (Polyb. 4.77.10; *SEG* 25 449.2 (C2)) or Ἀλιφηρεύς (*CIG* 1936 (Hell.); Paus. 8.27.7); see Orlandos (1967–68) 9–10.

Alipheira is well attested only in Hellenistic sources, where it is called a *polis* both in the urban sense (Polyb. 4.78.11 (r219)) and in the political sense (*SEG* 25 447.9 (C3)). Since Alipheira certainly existed before C3 (*infra*), the city may possibly have been a *polis*.

The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally in *SEG* 25 449 (C2f) and externally in Polyb. 4.77.10 and *IvO* 48 (C2); the external individual use is found in *CIG* 1936 (Hell.).

The territory covered *c.*100 km²; *SEG* 25 449 (C2f) has been interpreted as a demarcation of the border of Alipheira.

According to Paus. 8.27.4, Alipheira was in 371 a part of the tribal state of the Kynourians (Nielsen (1996*a*) 132–34, 140–41), and it can be inferred from a combination of *IG* V.2 1.40 (360s) and Paus. 8.27.4 (r371) (with Nielsen (1996*a*) 132–34) that the city was a member of the Arkadian Confederacy. Membership of the Peloponnesian League may also be assumed (Nielsen (1996*c*) 87).

According to Paus. 8.27.4, Alipheira was one of the cities that the Arkadian Confederacy had voted to incorporate into Megalopolis (no. 282); whether this decision was implemented is not certain. According to Paus. 8.26.5, a part of the population actually relocated to Megalopolis, but the city was not abandoned. In C3 Alipheira was, at least sometimes, controlled by Megalopolis (Polyb. 4.77.10); but it also appears as a *polis* (*SEG* 25 447).

Alipheira was centred on a hill rising to 686 m above sea level. The hill measures 800 × 65 m and was fortified before 370 (Orlandos (1967–68) 32). The city proper seems to have lain outside these walls and to have occupied the area

[5] Most of the territorial sizes given in this Inventory are based on the map in Jost (1985); on this map Jost has indicated the probable borders of the major *poleis*. She comments: "Il va de soi que les limites . . . sont approximatives: elles marquent la zone frontalière dont seuls quelques points . . . sont assurés." It may be added that these points are most often known from Pausanias, and so the borders indicated reflect the Roman period. In general, there is no way of knowing whether this corresponds to Archaic and Classical conditions, a problem further complicated by the fact that we do have information which indicates that borders could fluctuate even within the Archaic and Classical periods (Nielsen (1996*b*) 181). So the territorial sizes given here are merely educated guesses.

north-east of the acropolis (ibid. 41). The lower city too was fortified (Pritchett (1989) 44, no dates). In the eastern part of the acropolis was the sanctuary of Athena, with a temple constructed *c.*500–490; votives go back to C6m (Jost (1985) 80). In addition to the temple, the sanctuary included a colossal statue of Athena dating to C5 (ibid. 81). In the north-western part of the hill was a sanctuary of Asklepios with a C4s temple (ibid. 81).

267. Asea (Aseates) Map 58. Lat. 37.25, long. 22.20. Size of territory: 2. Type: A. The toponym is *Ἀσέα, ἡ* (Xen. *Hell.* 6.5.15); in the great Delphic catalogue of *theorodokoi* (*c.*230–210) we find the entry *ἐν Ἀσέωι*, but this form is unique (*BCH* 45 (1921) 111.9). The city-ethnic is *ΑΣΕΑΤΑΝ* on the Achaian federal bronze coinage of the city (Head, *HN*² 418 (*c.*190s)); this enables us to emend the *ἀθεᾶται*/*ἀσθεᾶται* of the MSS at Xen. *Hell.* 7.5.5 to *Ἀσεᾶται*.

Asea is classified as a *polis* in the territorial sense (with the political sense as a possible connotation) at Xen. *Hell.* 7.5.5, a passage that also provides an instance of the external collective use of the city-ethnic. Strabo 8.3.12 classifies Asea as a *κώμη τῆς Μεγαλοπολιτίδος*, but the reference is to C1.

The territory is implicitly referred to at Xen. *Hell.* 7.5.5 as *polis* (Nielsen (1996*c*) 72–73). The size of the territory has been estimated at *c.*60 km² by Forsén and Forsén (1997) 175. The city of Asea was not the only place of habitation: Forsén and Forsén (1997) 173 report that they have found between twenty and thirty sites dating from the Archaic to the Hellenistic periods in the *chora*. Some of these were presumably isolated farmsteads, but at least four seem to have been small villages connected with sanctuaries: one is situated only 1.5 km from the Vigla temple, while another was probably situated close to a temple of Athena of which Forsén and Forsén have found scattered architectural remains dating to C4; in addition, two other sites may have been villages and one of these was possibly also connected with a sanctuary (Forsén and Forsén (1997) 172–74).

Two important temples have been excavated in the territory of Asea. (a) At Vigla, on the border with Pallantion (no. 289) (Forsén and Forsén (1997) 170), is a temple dedicated to Athena and Poseidon; it is dated to C6 (Østby (1995*b*) 348–50). This temple was preceded by a smaller temple built of wood and clay *c.*630–620 (Voyatzis (1990) 34). (b) At Ag. Elias, on the border with (presumably) Peraitheis, a large temple dates from *c.*500 (Forsén *et al.* (1999)).

Forsén and Forsén (1997) 176 estimate that the urban population could have been max. 2,000–3,000. The total population of the *polis* is estimated at 2,500–3,500 at the most. It is impossible to give any estimate of the number of adult male citizens.

Asea was a Mainalian city (Paus. 8.27.3; Nielsen (1996*a*) 132–34). Membership of the Arkadian Confederacy can be assumed, both on the basis of Xen. *Hell.* 6.5.11, where the city is described as the rallying place of the federal army in 370, and because the Mainalians as such were members of the Confederacy (*IG* v.2 1.16 (360s)); membership of the Peloponnesian League may also be assumed, probably mediated by the Mainalian tribal state (Nielsen (1996*c*) 87, 100).

According to Paus. 8.27.3, Asea was among the communities that the Arkadian Confederacy voted to relocate to Megalopolis (no. 282); however, it is not known whether this relocation was ever wholly or partly carried out (Moggi (1974) 87–88).

Asea was centred on a fortified acropolis rising to 54 m and measuring 240 × 120 m. The fortification may be C4e (Forsén and Forsén (1997) 169; Forsén *et al.* (2002) 96); Forsén *et al.* (2002) 100 suggest that a temple was erected on the acropolis during the late Archaic–Classical (?) period. The lower city was fortified too, but the wall here seems to be later than the acropolis wall, probably C3 (Forsén *et al.* (2002) 96; Forsén and Forsén (1997) 167–68; Holmberg (1944) 132–42); it probably enclosed all of the lower city. Forsén and Forsén (1997) 166–67 and Forsén *et al.* (2002) 100–2 report that they found Archaic and Classical pottery around the acropolis, and that the area yielding finds was at least 13 ha, but perhaps twice as large (the eastern area of the site having been covered with alluvium brought down by the river Alpheios). The area inside the lower wall was built up for habitation; some of the houses contained Hellenistic finds, but others contained nothing and may possibly be older (Forsén and Forsén (1997) 169).

268. Dipaia (Dipaeus) Map 58. Not securely located, but it is clear from Paus. 8.30.1 that Dipaia must have been situated in the upper Helisson valley; it is probably to be identified with the ancient remains near Davia (Jost (1973) pl. 9.1–3; Pikoulas (1992–93) 204; Pikoulas (1999*c*) 126): lat. 37.20, long. 22.15. Size of territory: ? Type: B. The toponym is the plural of the ethnic at Hdt. 9.35.2 (*ἐν Διπαιεῦσι*; cf. the comment by Steph. Byz. 234.14–15), but at Isoc. 6.99 we find *Δίπαια, ἡ*. The city-ethnic is *Διπαεύς* in *SEG* 23 179 (C4f); at Paus. 6.7.9 *Διπαιεύς* is an emendation of *Διπεεύς*; Paus. 8.30.1 has *Διπαιεύς*, and the C2 coinage of the city uses the legend *ΔΙΠΑΙΕΩΝ* (Head, *HN*² 418).

At 8.27.3 (r371) Pausanias retrospectively lists Dipaia as a *polis*, and at 3.11.7 (rC5f) it is classified as a *polisma*. The

collective use of the ethnic is attested externally in Hdt. 9.35.2 and on *SEG* 23 179 (C4f); the individual use of the ethnic is attested externally at Paus. 6.7.9 (r440) (*Olympionikai* 314).

The name of the territory is unknown; Paus. 8.30.1 refers to it, contemporaneously, as ἡ Διπαιέων χώρα. In the 460s an apparently major battle was fought near Dipaia between Sparta (no. 345) and an Arkadian alliance (Hdt. 9.35.2; Isoc. 6.99).

A C4f inscription (*SEG* 23 179) mentions the Διπαεές; the nature of the inscription is not clear, but Bradeen (1966) 321 thinks that it is a fragment of a record of a judgment by a foreign board of arbitration in a dispute involving the city of Dipaia. Dipaia was a Mainalian city (Paus. 3.11.7, 6.7.9, 8.27.3; for the last passage, see Nielsen (1996*a*) 132–34), but this is the only explicitly attested membership of a larger organisation; however, membership of the Arkadian Confederacy can be inferred from a combination of Paus. 8.27.3 (r271) and *IG* v.2 1.16 (360s; see further Nielsen (1996*c*) 95–96, 100–1), and membership of the Peloponnesian League may be assumed (ibid. 87). According to Paus. 8.27.3 (r371), Dipaia was among the communities that the Arkadian Confederacy voted to relocate to Megalopolis (no. 282); however, it is unknown whether this decision was implemented (Moggi (1974) 83–84).

If Dipaia is to be identified with the remains at Davia (*supra*), then the city was centred on a fortified acropolis.

In C5m, *c.*440 according to *Olympionikai* 314, Dipaia produced an Olympic victor.

269. Euaimon (Euaimnios) Unlocated (but see Howell (1970) 82). Size of territory: ? Type: B. The toponym is Εὐαίμων (*IG* V.2 343 = *IPArk* no. 15.7, 49–50 (C4m); Steph. Byz. 283.14). The city-ethnic is Εὐαίμνιος (*IG* v.2 343 = *IPArk* no. 15.3 (C4m)).

No Archaic or Classical source describes Euaimon as a *polis*, though Theopomp. fr. 61 (= Steph. Byz. 283.14–15) may have done so (Whitehead (1994) 119; Nielsen (1996*c*) 71); *IG* v.2 343 = *IPArk* no. 15 is a treaty between Euaimon and Orchomenos (no. 286), concluded ἐπὶ τοῖς ϝίσϝοις καὶ τοῖς ὑμοίοις (ll. 4–6), and the nature of the document thus suggests that Euaimon was a *polis*; Dubois (1986) 148, 159 proposes to restore [ἰν πόλι ϝε]κατέραι in ll. 56–57. The same treaty uses the collective ethnic to refer to the community of Euaimon (2–3, 53–54, 75–76, 83).

The treaty *IPArk* no. 15.2 describes itself as an agreement of συϝοικία and provides for the inclusion of the Euaiminians into the Orchomenian citizen body (*IPArk* p. 135); however, Euaimon probably continued to exist (cf. Steph. Byz. 283.14–15; Dušanić (1978) 338; Nielsen (1996*c*) 71), and may thereafter have been a dependent *polis* of Orchomenos.

In *IPArk* no. 15.6–7, τὰ δὲ ἱερὰ τὰ ἰν Εὐαίμονι is presumably a reference to communal cults in Euaimon which were to be preserved after the agreement, but the local pantheon is otherwise unknown (Jost (1985) 115, 120).

270. Eutaia Map 58. Lat. 37.20, long. 22.20. Size of territory: 1 or 2. Type: A. The MSS of Xen. *Hell.* (at 6.5.12, 21) vary between Εὔταια, Εὐγαία and Εὐγέα, ἡ (Tuplin (1986) 27–28); since later sources such as Paus. 8.27.3 and Steph. Byz. 287.19 use the τ-form, this form has become customary in scholarly literature.

At *Hell.* 6.5.12 Xenophon uses *polis* three times about Eutaia, presumably primarily in the sense of town, although the meaning "territory" may be a connotation in the phrase πόλιν ὅμορον οὖσαν and "political community" in οὐκ ἠδίκησε τὴν πόλιν.

The name of the territory is unknown, but the territory is probably referred to as *polis* by Xen. *Hell.* 6.5.12. To the south Eutaia bordered on Lakonia (Xen. *Hell.* 6.5.12).

Eutaia was a Mainalian city (Paus. 8.27.3; Nielsen (1996*a*) 132–34). Membership of the Arkadian Confederacy is proved by Xen. *Hell.* 6.5.12; membership was probably mediated by the tribal state of the Mainalians (Nielsen (1996*c*) 95). Membership of the Peloponnesian League may be assumed (ibid. 87).

According to Paus. 8.27.3, Eutaia was among the communities that the Arkadian Confederacy voted to relocate to Megalopolis (no. 282). It is unknown whether the relocation was ever carried out: the site seems not to have been abandoned, since coins of the Arkadian and Achaian Confederacies have been found there (Loring (1895) 50; Pikoulas (1988) 70–73).

At *Hell.* 6.5.12, Xenophon mentions that in 370 Eutaia raised troops, which were put under the command of the Arkadian Confederacy.

Eutaia was located at modern Lianos; the site has not been excavated. Xen. *Hell.* 6.5.12 mentions οἰκίαι, and Loring (1895) 50 as well as Pikoulas (1988) report numerous antiquities at Lianos; Pikoulas (1988) reports an abundance of sherds and minor architectural fragments in the fields.

At *Hell.* 6.5.12 Xenophon mentions a τεῖχος. The reference may be to the poor fortification found on the hill of Agios Konstantinos which overlooks the site (Pikoulas (1988) 75). If so, the lower city proper was possibly unfortified.

271. Gortys (Kortynios) Map 58. Lat. 37.30, long. 22.20. Size of territory: probably 2 or 3. Type: B. The toponym is *Κόρτυς*, *ἡ* (Hsch. s.v. *Κορτύνιοι*) or *Γόρτυς*, *-υνος*, *ἡ* (Pl. *Leg.* 708A); Paus. 5.7.1 and Hsch. s.v. *Ἑκατομβαῖος* have *Γόρτυνα*, *-ης*, *ἡ*. The city-ethnic is *Κορτύνιος* (*Syll.*³ 49 (C5f)); *ΚΟΡΤΥΝΕΩΝ* from **Κορτυνεύς* is found on C2 coins (Dubois (1986) 287).

The only source that classifies Gortys as a *polis* is Paus. 8.27.4 (r371) and 28.1 (*κώμη τὰ ἐπ' ἐμοῦ, τὰ δὲ ἔτι ἀρχαιότερα πόλις*), but the external collective use of the city-ethnic is found on a C5f dedication of spoils at Delphi (*Syll.*³ 49). The ethnic is attested as a personal name already in C6 (Nielsen (1996*a*) 122).

Gortys was a Kynourian community (Paus. 8.27.4; Nielsen (1996*a*) 132–34). Membership of the Peloponnesian League can be assumed (Nielsen (1996*c*) 87); membership of the Arkadian Confederacy is proved by a combination of *IG* v.2 1.40 (360s) and Paus. 8.27.4 (Nielsen (1996*a*) 132–34).

According to Paus. 8.27.4, Gortys was among the communities that the Arkadian Confederacy voted to relocate to Megalopolis (no. 282). It is, however, unknown whether this decision was implemented, and the site seems not to have been abandoned (Moggi (1974) 91–92).

C5f military activity by Gortys can be inferred from *Syll.*³ 49 (*Κορτύνιοι δεκάταν πολεμίων*), a dedication of spoils set up at Delphi.

The site of Gortys is situated on the western bank of the river Lousios/Gortynios near the modern village of Atsicholo. It is dominated by two sanctuaries: an upper sanctuary with a fortified "acropolis" and a lower sanctuary. The upper sanctuary was dedicated to Asklepios and contains a C4e stoa (Jost (1985) 204), a C5l–C4e fountain house (ibid.), and a C5l–C4e prostyle Doric temple (ibid.). The acropolis measures 425 × 160/100 m. The fortifications were constructed entirely in local stone, at least some of which was quarried on the acropolis itself (Martin (1947–48) 112). In general, archaeology points to a date after 370 for the fortifications. Martin (1947–48) 139 believes that the fortifications were erected by Megalopolis/the Arkadian Confederacy as a military outpost protecting Megalopolitan territory; a large number of C4 Arkadian federal coins have been found on the acropolis (ibid.), pointing to a C4m date for the fortifications. Furthermore, there are no remains on the acropolis linking the fortifications to the city of Gortys (Martin (1947–48) 142). If Martin is right, this is not really the acropolis of Gortys, but a military fort; this interpretation is accepted by Jost (1999) 197, but the fortification may also have served the local population, turning Gortys into a settlement of the *ville acropole* type described by Jost (1999) 193–98. The lower sanctuary lay 500 m north of the acropolis, and the residential area was presumably situated between the two sanctuaries (*BCH* 79 (1955) 335): at least one house excavated there dates to C4 (*BCH* 80 (1956) 402), but in contrast to the sanctuaries, the city proper is not well known, and no sketch of it can be given (for a plan, see Papachatzis (1994) 298). The lower sanctuary was likewise dedicated to Asklepios and contains a stoa of, possibly, C4 (*BCH* 79 (1955) 340), a C4s bath (Jost (1985) 205) and a large temple, laid out *c.*370 but apparently never finished (ibid. 206–7). There is no obvious explanation for the existence of two Asklepieia, and apart from Asklepios the local pantheon is not well known (ibid. 202–3, 205).

272. Halous Map 58. Lat. 37.45, long. 22.00. Size of territory: probably 2 or 3. Type: C. The toponym is *Ἅλους* (*-ουντος*), *ὁ* at Paus. 8.25.2; the entry *ἐν* h*αλέιος* in the Delphic catalogue of *theorodokoi* of C5l–C4e (ed. by Daux in *REG* 62 (1949) p. 6 l. 10) may refer to this site, using an older form of the toponym (Daux *ad loc.* and Meyer (1957*a*) 86).

The city deserves inclusion in this Inventory only because it may have had a Delphic *theorodokos* in C5l–C4e (*supra*), and thus was possibly a *polis* (Perlman (1995) 116, 121, 135). Meyer (1939*a*) 78–83 identified Halous with the Palaiokastro at Syriamou, south-west of Thaliades (no. 299). The site consists of a small walled hill with the habitation area, unwalled, below. The wall runs for *c.*640 m and encloses an area of 1.7 ha; it dates from C4, according to Meyer; sherds and tiles from the walled area date to the Classical and Hellenistic periods. In the habitation area outside the wall Meyer made "massenhaften Ziegel- und Scherbefunde". The inhabited area was considerable, according to Meyer, but he does not estimate the size of the city proper.

273. Helisson (Heliswasios) Map 58 (not precisely located; cf. Bölte (1913*a*); Pikoulas (1992–93) 204, (1999*c*) 125–26). Lat. 37.35, long. 22.15. Size of territory: probably 1 or 2. Type: A. The toponym is *Ἑλισόντι* in *SEG* 37 340.9–10 (C4f), which points to the nominative *Ἑλισ(σ)οῦς* or *Ἑλισ(σ)ὼν* (< *Ἑλισϝ-*), *ὁ*, for which see te Riele (1987) 171–72 and Dubois (1988) 289; Paus. 8.27.3 (r371) has *Ἑλισσών* and Diod. 16.39.5 (r352) *Ἑλισ(σ)οῦς*. The city-ethnic is *Ἑλισϝάσιος* in *SEG* 37 340; it is later written *Ἑλισφάσιος* (*IG* IV².1 42.2, 16–17 (*c.*300); Polyb. 11.11.6); see Dubois (1988) 288.

Helisson is called *polis* in the urban sense by *SEG* 37 340.6–7 (C4f) and Diod. 16.39.5 (r352), and in the political

sense by *SEG* 37 340.5 (C4f). The individual use of the ethnic is unattested, but the collective use is found externally in *SEG* 37 340 (C4f), *IG* IV².1 42.2 (*c.*300) and in Polyb. 11.11.6.

The territory is referred to as χώρα by *SEG* 37 340.5 (C4f) and Polyb. 11.11.6 (r207).

Helisson was a Mainalian city (Paus. 8.27.3 (r371); Nielsen (1996*a*) 132–34), and it can be inferred from a combination of *IG* V.2 1.16 (360s) and Paus. 8.27.3 (r371) (cf. Nielsen (1996*a*) 132–34) that the city was a member of the Arkadian Confederacy. Membership of the Peloponnesian League may be assumed (Nielsen (1996*c*) 87).

In C4f, Helisson concluded a treaty with Mantinea (no. 281) (*SEG* 37 340), whereby all citizens of Helisson became Mantinean citizens; the city of Helisson was left in existence as a κώμη of Mantinea, but continued to be a *polis* none the less (*SEG* 37 340.6–7); it is debatable whether Helisson was to survive as a *polis* merely in the urban sense (so Rhodes (1995) 97), or whether the city was constituted as a dependent *polis* within the Mantinike (so Hansen (1995*a*) 39, (1995*b*) 73–74; Nielsen (1996*c*) 67–70). The treaty does not call itself a *sympoliteia*, but simply a σύνθεσις (*SEG* 37 340.2); it has, however, become customary to refer to the agreement as a *sympoliteia*, for which concept see Hansen (1995*b*) 56. After the treaty, Helisson—like the other dependencies of Mantinea—was entitled to send a *thearos* to the Mantinean board of *thearoi* (8–9: θεαρὸν ἦναι ἐξ Ἑλισό[ν]τι κατάπερ ἐς ταῖς ἄλλαις πόλισι).

According to Paus. 8.27.3 (r371), Helisson was among the communities that the Arkadian Confederacy voted to relocate to Megalopolis (no. 282); it is not known, however, whether this decision was implemented, and the city still existed in 352, when it was captured and pillaged by the Spartans (Diod. 16.39.5).

No *theorodokos* is attested for Helisson, but *SEG* 37 340.9–10: τὰς θεαρίας δέκεσθαι κὰ τὰ πάτρια suggests that the city *was* connected to some system of *theorodokia*. By the treaty *SEG* 37 340 (C4f), Helisson adopted the Mantinean constitution and thus became a democracy (Nielsen (1996*c*) 69–70); it is, however, clear from the inscription (which among other things mentions a body of local laws, νόμοι (l. 15)) that Helisson had its own constitution *before* the agreement, although what form it took is unknown. The treaty is the only surviving public enactment of Helisson; at l. 17 it refers to a local board of ἐπιμελεταί (te Riele (1987) 180; Nielsen (1996*a*) 160 n. 56).

The local pantheon is unknown, but in *SEG* 37 340.9–10 τὰς θυσίας . . . τὰς ἰν Ἑλισό[ν]τι is presumably a reference to local communal cults which were to be preserved after the unification of Helisson and Mantinea. For a C4 hero relief from Helisson, see Damaskos (1990–91).

274. Heraia (Heraieus) Map 58. Lat. 37.35, long. 21.50. Size of territory: 4. Type: A. The toponym is Ηερ[αί]α in *REG* 62 (1949) p. 6 ll. 11–12 (C5l–C4f); Ἡραία, ἡ is found at Xen. *Hell.* 2.30.9, 6.5.22; Ps.-Skylax 44; and *IPArk* no. 23.7 (C3). The city-ethnic is Ἐραεύς in *SEG* 11 1045 (*c.*500); *IPArk* no. 15.19 (C4m) and Xen. *Hell.* 6.5.11 have Ἡραεύς; Thuc. 5.67.1 and Xen. *Hell.* 6.5.22 have Ἡραιεύς; coins have ΗΡΑΕΩΝ (Babelon, *Traité* ii.3 no. 1015).

Heraia is listed as the third toponym after the heading πόλεις αἱ μεγάλαι αἵδε (where *polis* is used in the urban sense) in Ps.-Skylax 44; at Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.30 it is implicitly described as a *polis* in the urban and territorial senses combined (for the idiom, cf. Diod. 2.43.6 and see Smyth, *Greek Grammar* §1096); at Arist. *Pol.* 1303ᵃ15–16 there is a reference to a change of *politeia* in Heraia, in a passage (1302ᵇ40, 1303ᵃ15) where Heraia is listed as the fourth of six examples of the observation that a *polis* (in the political sense) consists of sometimes disproportionate parts. At Paus. 8.26.1 there is a reference to a temple of Dionysos Polites, but its date is unknown.

The collective use of the city-ethnic is found internally on coins (Babelon, *Traité* ii.3 no. 1015), and externally in *SEG* 11 1045 (*c.*500); Thuc. 5.67.1; *IPArk* no. 15.19 (C4m); and Xen. *Hell.* 6.5.11. The individual use is found externally on *IG* II² 2327 (rC6) and *IG* IV².1 96.35 (C3f).

Xen. *Hell.* 6.5.22 (ἀπαλλάττονται (*sc.* the Arkadian federal troops) ἐκ τῆς Ἡραίας) suggests that the toponym could designate the territory as well as the city, since it is a reasonable inference from the context that the federal troops were operating not in the city, but in the territory of Heraia (so Bölte (1913*b*) 415). Its size was *c.*265 km². Bölte (1913*b*) estimated the citizen population at min. 2,000.

According to Strabo 8.3.2, Heraia was synoecised (at an unknown date: Bergese (1985)) from nine δῆμοι. These demes were perhaps minor settlements in the territory. Their identity is unknown, but Bölte (1913*b*) 412 counted Melainai and Bouphagion among them. A site which he identified with Bouphagion is described by Meyer (1939*a*) 103–6, but Jost (1985) 76–77 rejects the identification of this site with Bouphagion. The impressive fortifications of the site and its acropolis are Hellenistic (Meyer (1939*a*) 106; Jost (1985) 76 states that they are Classical), but large quantities of Archaic and Classical sherds were found at the site (Meyer (1939*a*) 102), which perhaps had a temple on the acropolis

(ibid. 106). Meyer (1957*b*) 20 identified another site, Loutra Ireas, near Betsi as another Heraian "Dorf".

A number of fortresses in the territory are known; one at Ochthia on the border with Thelphousa (no. 300) is described by Meyer (1939*a*) 100–1: sherds at the site go back to the Archaic period. Near Paloumba is another fortified site (including a temple) with sherds going back to the Archaic period, for which see Meyer (1939*a*) 102 and Pikoulas (1999*a*) 304–5 (suggesting that this may be Melainai).

The symmachy treaty ML 17 (*c.*500) was traditionally thought of as concluded between Elis (no. 251) and Heraia; however, Dubois (1985) correctly pointed out that the form *'Ερϝαοῖοι* (the then accepted reading) would be unique for the Heraian ethnic (cf. Roy (1997) 293–94); a recent re-examination of the text (by Roy and Schofield (1999)) has established that the name of Elis' partner was in fact *'Εϝαοῖοι*, which should probably be thought of as an otherwise unknown minor community in Eleia (see Ewaioioi (no. 253)).

Heraia fought with Sparta (no. 345) at Mantinea in 418 (Thuc. 5.67.1), and was thus a member of the Peloponnesian League. The city was loyal to Sparta even after Leuktra (Xen. *Hell.* 6.5.11), although it eventually joined the Arkadian Confederacy (*IG* v.2 1.58 (360s)). Heraian military activity is attested, in addition to Thuc. 5.67.1, by Xen. *Hell.* 6.5.11 and *SEG* 11 1045 (*c.*500), a dedication of spoils taken from the Heraians and set up by an unknown Arkadian community.

IPArk no. 15.19 (a treaty of *sympoliteia* between Euaimon (no. 269) and Orchomenos (no. 286)) stipulates that the Heraians are to act as arbiters in case of conflicts over property rights. A Delphic *theorodokos* resided in Heraia in C5l–C4e (*REG* 62 (1949) p. 6 ll. 11–12). Nothing is known about the form of constitution at Heraia, but from the passage at Arist. *Pol.* 1303^{a}15–16 it can be inferred that at some point there was a constitutional reform there whereby the procedure for the appointment of magistrates was changed from election to sortition. Bölte (1913*b*) 415 dates the reform to 370.

At Diod. 15.40.2 (r375) a Heraia is described as a *χωρίον ὀχυρὸν*; if this is a reference to this city (which has been disputed; cf. Stylianou (1998) *ad loc.*), it may mean that the city was fortified (Bölte (1913*b*) 414): early travellers saw the remains of well-built walls, but these may have been Hellenistic (ibid. 408 and 415). The city of Heraia seems to have occupied a large area (Jost (1985) 73), but since the site has not been systematically investigated, no description of the urban layout is possible (Philadelpheus (1931–32) reviews the remains at Heraia).

Heraian coinage began *c.*510; the earliest coins are hemidrachms and obols: *obv.* head of Hera; *rev.* *E*, *EP*, *EPA* or *EPAI*; see R. T. Williams (1970) and *SNG Cop. Argolis* 231–33. By C5l–C4 the city struck in silver (*SNG Cop. Argolis* 234–36) and possibly even in iron (for which see Köhler (1882*a*)), and by C4 in bronze (*SNG Cop. Argolis* 236–41). Attested denominations are triobol, diobol, trihemiobol, obol and hemiobol. The legends are *E*, *EP*, *EPA*, *EPAI*, *H*, *HP*, *HPAEΩN* (Head, *HN*^{2} 448; Babelon, *Traité* ii.1 nos. 1211–23 and ii.3 nos. 1000–15). The most common types depict female deities (Artemis and Athena), but Pan is found too (Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner (1964) 103).

The pantheon of Heraia is discussed by Jost (1985) 70–77. Heraians achieved two Olympic victories in C6 (*Olympionikai* 132, 138) and six in C5 (*Olympionikai* 189, 200, 205, 313, 317, 344).

275. Kaphy(i)ai (Kaphyieus) Map 58. Lat. 37.45, long. 22.15. Size of territory: 4. Type: B. The toponym is *Καφυιαί*, *αἱ* in *IG* IV^{2}.1 122 (C4); it is *Καφύαι* in Michel 489 (C4) and Theophr. *Hist. pl.* 4.13.2. The city-ethnic is *Καφυιεύς* in *F.Delphes* III.4 191 (C5f) and *CID* II 12.1.2 (341/40); *Καφυεύς* is found in *IG* II^{2} 66c (*c.*400); cf. Roy (1972*a*) 333–34.

There is no certain attestation of *polis* in any Archaic or Classical source: in Theopomp. fr. 77.3 *πόλις* probably does not stem from Theopompos. The earliest source that classifies Kaphy(i)ai as a *polis* is *Staatsverträge* 476.25, 92 (*c.*265).

The city-ethnic is found externally in the collective use in *F.Delphes* III.4 191 (C5f), and in the individual use in *IG* II^{2} 66c (*c.*400) and *CID* II 12.1.2 (341/40).

The territory occupied *c.*220 km^{2}. A Classical sanctuary in the territory is reported by *ArchDelt* 37 (1982) 116 and *AR* 37 (1991) 25; for another, see Pritchett (1969) 125 and Jost (1985) 112. For a possible fortress, see Jost (1985) 112.

Kaphy(i)ai was a member of the revived Peloponnesian League of King Areus of Sparta (no. 345) for the Chremonidean War (*Staatsverträge* 476.25), but membership of the early Peloponnesian League may be assumed as well (Nielsen (1996*c*) 87). Membership of the Arkadian Confederacy is not explicitly attested, but may be assumed (ibid. 95).

Kaphy(i)an military activity can be inferred from *F.Delphes* III.4 191 (C5f), a dedication of spoils taken *TON [ΠΟ]ΛΕΜΙΟΝ* and set up at Delphi. A citizen of Kaphyiai was Athenian *proxenos* in C5l and had the grant renewed after the fall of the Thirty (*IG* II^{2} 66c with Walbank (1978) 151–53).

The city of Kaphy(i)ai was, like Mantinea (no. 281), situated in a plain and not centred on an acropolis (Pritchett

(1969) 123–24). It was located south-east of the modern village of Chotoussa, and the site is covered with Classical sherds and other remains (Pritchett (1969) 123–24; Howell (1970) 81; Jost (1985) 111). There are also remains of a circuit wall with round towers at Kaphy(i)ai, but they have not been systematically investigated (Pritchett (1969) 123–24). Among isolated finds from the city is an Archaic bronze statuette, reported by von Gaertringen and Lattermann (1911) 42 with table 13.2.

The Kaphy(i)an pantheon is almost unknown (Jost (1985) 110–11); Theophr. *Hist. pl.* 4.13.2 reports that Agamemnon was held to have planted a *platanos* in the city.

276. Kleitor (Kleitorios) Map 58. Lat. 37.55, long. 22.05. Size of territory: 5. Type: A. The toponym is found as [Κλε(ι)]τορ in *IG* IV 510 (C5f), as Κλείτωρ, ὁ in Pind. *Nem.* 10.47; *SEG* 20 716 (C4), and as Κλήτωρ in *SEG* 23 189 (*c.*330). The city-ethnic is Κλειτόριος (Paus. 5.23.7 (rC6s); Maddoli (1992) 260; *Syll.*³ 291 (332)) or Κλητόριος (Xen. *Hell.* 5.4.36; *IG* v.2 1.52 (360s)), abbreviated to ΚΛΕΤΟ on C5 coins (Head, *HN*² 446).

No Archaic or Classical source explicitly calls Kleitor a *polis*, but at Xen. *Hell.* 5.4.37 the city is referred to as a *polis* in the political sense.

The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally on C5 coins (Head, *HN*² 446) and externally in Paus. 5.23.7 (rC6s) (cf. Maddoli (1992) 260); *IG* v.2 1.52 (360s); and Xen. *Hell.* 5.4.36. The individual use is attested externally in *IvO* 167 (C4f) and *CID* II 51.7 (C4m).

The name of the territory was Κλειτορία (Theophr. *Hist. pl.* 9.15.6; Polyb. 4.11.2). Pausanias mentions a number of sites inside the territory: Leukasion, Mesoboa, Nasoi, Oryx, Halous (no. 272), Thaliades (no. 299) (8.23.8–24.3), Soron, Paion (no. 288), Seirai, Argeathai, Lykountes and Skotane (cf. Jost (1985) 42–46). Of these, Paion and Thaliades were probably, and Halous possibly, *poleis* at some time (see the respective entries); but whether they were dependent *poleis* within Kleitorian territory in the Archaic and Classical periods is unknown, though not impossible. About the other toponyms, nothing is known. On the basis of the map in Jost (1985), the size of the territory can be estimated at *c.*625 km², but this includes Lousoi (no. 279), Paion, Thaliades and Halous: it is unknown whether all of these ever formed part of Kleitor prior to the Roman era. For two C4s fortresses, see Pikoulas (1999*b*) 144–53.

Kleitor was almost certainly an Azanian community (K. Tausend (1993) 15); however, if the Azanians ever formed a political unit, this had broken up before C5 (Roy (1972*b*) 44, (1996) 110; Nielsen (1996*a*) 139). Kleitor may just possibly have headed a small hegemonic league in northern Arkadia (Nielsen (1996*c*) 86–87). The city was a member of the Peloponnesian League (Xen. *Hell.* 5.4.36–37) before the foundation of the Arkadian Confederacy of which it was a member (*IG* v.2 1.52 (360s)), and probably a leading one since it, like Mantinea (no. 281) and Tegea (no. 297), provided two of the ten oecists who founded Megalopolis (no. 282) (Paus. 8.27.2 (r371)).

C6s military activity can be inferred from Paus. 5.23.2 (Maddoli (1992) 260), referring to spoils dedicated at Olympia and, according to the accompanying epigram, taken by the Kleitorians πολλᾶν ἐκ πολίων χερσὶ βιασσάμενοι. At *Hell.* 5.4.36 Xenophon has a brief reference to a war in 379 between Kleitor and Orchomenos (no. 286) (cf. Roy (1972*c*)); for this war the Kleitorians had hired mercenaries (ibid.), but it is not clear whether they conducted the war exclusively with mercenaries. Xen. *Hell.* 5.4.37 refers to the ἄρχων τῶν παρὰ τοῖς Κλητορίοις ξένων, but it is not clear whether he was a citizen or a mercenary as well.

Xen. *Hell.* 5.4.36 mentions negotiations between Sparta (no. 345) and Kleitor, and *SEG* 20 716.14–15 refers to an embassy which travelled from Kyrene (no. 1028) to Kleitor; a Kleitorian was appointed Delphic *proxenos* in 332 (*Syll.*³ 291), and *IG* v.2 368 is a long C3e catalogue of *proxenoi* of Kleitor. *IPArk* no. 30, a sacred law of *c.*525, may belong to Kleitor. *C.*330 an Argive *theorodokos* resided at Kleitor (*SEG* 23 189.II.22). In C4f the constitution was presumably democratic (Roy (1972*c*) 79). *SEG* 20 716.18–19 (C4m) mentions a sentence of exile passed by the Kleitorians.

Like Mantinea, Kleitor was situated in a plain and had no acropolis (Jost (1985) 40; Winter (1989) 198 with fig. 3). The Hellenistic fortification wall is 2,500 m long and encloses an area of *c.*58 ha (Petritaki (1996) 83–84). It is built of stone throughout (Winter (1989) 198); it is "among the most advanced anywhere in the Peloponnese", and so Winter (1989) 199 dates it to *c.*300. Inside the walled area are numerous ancient remains, and a theatre is discernible (Petritaki (1996) 85; cf. *TGR* ii. 237); ceramic evidence suggests that the earliest phases of the construction may go back to C4 (Petritaki (2001)). Outside the wall are late Archaic and Classical graves (Petritaki (1996) 84).

According to Head, *HN*² 446, minting at Kleitor began *c.*C5m; Babelon, *Traité* II.1. 877–88 dates its start somewhat earlier. The city struck in both silver (*SNG Cop. Argolis* 217–25) and bronze (from C4; *SNG Cop. Argolis* 226–30). Known denominations are triobol, obol, hemiobol and possibly tetartemorion (*SNG Cop. Argolis* 218). Recurrent

types show Athena, horses and Helios (cf. Lacroix (1968)). Legends are *ΚΛ*, *ΚΛΗ*, *ΚΛΕΤΟ*.

The Kleitorian pantheon is imperfectly known; Athena Koria was probably the most important divinity (Jost (1985) 41–42). Prestigious games were celebrated at Kleitor (Pind. *Nem.* 10.47; Lazzarini (1976) no. 865 (C5f)).

Delphic *promanteia* is granted to a Kleitorian by *Syll.*³ 291 (332). Two Olympic victors from the city are on record, in 384 (*Olympionikai* 395) and in 376 (*Olympionikai* 406). In C6s (Paus. 5.23.7; for which see Maddoli (1992) 260), the city set up a dedication of spoils at Olympia.

277. Koila Unlocated (Meyer (1957a) 86). Size of territory: ? Type: C. The toponym is *Κοίλα* in *REG* 62 (1949) p. 6 ll. 4–5 (C5l–C4e); an ethnic is not attested. Koila deserves inclusion in this Inventory solely because it may have had a Delphic *theorodokos* in C5l–C4e (*REG* 62 (1949) p. 6 ll. 4–5), and thus was possibly a *polis* (Perlman (1995) 116, 121, 135).

278. Kynaitha (Kynaitheus) Map. 58. Lat. 38.00, long. 22.05. Size of territory: 3. Type: C. The toponym is *Κύναιθα*, *-ης*, *ἡ* (Polyb. 4.17.3, 9.17.1). The city-ethnic is *Κυναιθεύς* (Aristox. fr. 135, Wehrli; Polyb. 4.16.11); Paus. 5.22.1 has *Κυναιθαεύς*, and Steph. Byz. 393.4 cites *Κυναιθαιεύς* in addition to the two forms listed here.

No Archaic or Classical source mentions Kynaitha, but Polybios at 4.16.11 calls it a *polis* in the political sense, and at 9.17.1 in the urban sense; at 4.17.10 he uses *πατρίς*, and at 17.11 *πολιτεία*. However, since there is a C4 occurrence of the city-ethnic in the external individual use (Aristox. fr. 135, Wehrli), the city must have existed in the Classical period and was possibly a *polis* (Nielsen (1996*a*) 131–32), as it certainly was in C3 (see, e.g., the description of a *stasis* given by Polyb. 4.17–18 and 9.17).

The name of the territory is unknown; at 4.17.5, Polybios terms it *γῆ*. It occupied *c.*125 km². There are no important remains in the territory (Jost (1985) 53), and the major part of the city itself is probably hidden beneath modern Kalavryta (Meyer (1939*a*) 107 and Howell (1970) 96; but see Petropoulos (1985) 65–66).

279. Lousoi (Lousiatas) Map 58. Lat. 38.00, long. 22.05. Size of territory: ? Type: B. The toponym is *Λουσοί* in *IG* v.2 399 (C5e); Bacchyl. *Ep.* 11.96 has *Λοῦσος*, but this refers to a spring at the sanctuary of Artemis Hemera, and need not be the form behind the locative *Λουσοῖ* found in *IG* v.2 394.132 (*c.*200); see Bölte (1927) 1891. Arist. *Mir. ausc.* 842ᵇ2 and *IG* v.1 1387.2 (C3) have *Λουσοί*, *οἱ*. Theophr. *Hist. pl.* 9.15.8, 16.8 has *Σοῦσα*, commonly taken to be a corruption of *Λοῦσα*, *τὰ*, see Bölte (1927) 1891. In C5, the ethnic is found both as *Λουσεάτας* (*IG* v.2 387.8 (C5s)) and as *Λουσιάτας* (*IG* v.2 387.2 (C5s)); later only *Λουσιάτας* is found, e.g. Xen. *An.* 7.6.40; Xen. *An.* 4.2.21, 7.11–12 has *Λουσιεύς* (cf. Philostr. *De gymnastica* 12 (r708)); Paus. 8.18.8 uses *Λουσεύς* retrospectively (rC6).

Lousoi may be called a *polis* in a treaty dating to 500–475 (*Nomima* 1 no. 57, but cf. Dubois (1986) 220); a series of decrees dating to C4l onwards (*IG* v.2 388–96) frequently refers to the city as a *polis* in the political sense. The collective use of the city-ethnic is found internally in *IG* v.2 387 (C5s) and externally in *IG* v.2 358 (C3f?) and Polyb. 4.18.11. The external individual use is found in Xen. *An.* 7.6.40 (cf. Philostr. *De gymnastica* 12 (r708) and Paus. 8.18.8 (r546)).

The name and size of the territory are unknown; *IPArk* no. 22 (C3) may be a delimitation of the border between Lousoi and Achaian Boura (no. 233). Stangl (1999*b*) estimates that the territory could support max. 1,000 individuals. For a Classical watch-tower in the territory, see K. Tausend (1999*b*) 306–7.

Lousoi was probably an Azanian community (K. Tausend (1993) 15); however, if the Azanians ever formed a political unit, this had broken up before C5 (Roy (1972*b*) 44, (1996) 110; Nielsen (1996*a*) 138). The city may have been party to a treaty as early as 500–475 (*Nomima* 1 no. 57, but cf. Dubois (1986) 220). A C3f(?) treaty with Stymphalos (no. 296) is preserved as *IG* v.2 358 (= *Staatsverträge* 560).

The earliest public enactment of Lousoi is a C5s list of *proxenoi* (*IG* v.2 387); *IPArk* no. 20, a sacred law of *c.*525, may belong to Lousoi. The decrees *IG* v.2 388–96 (C4l onwards) attest to an eponymous *damiorgos*, a board of *damiorgoi* and an *oikonomos*. From the enactment formulas (e.g. *ἔδοξε τᾶι πόλι τῶλ Λουσιατᾶν* (*IG* v.2 389), *ἔδοξε τῶι δάμω(ι) τῶλ Λουσ[ι]ατᾶν* (*IG* v.2 390)), the existence of an assembly may be inferred. An *enktesis* grant is found in *IG* v.2 394 (C3l). According to Paus. 8.18.8, Agesilas of Lousoi was victorious in the Pythian Games in 546; Eurybatos of Lousoi is recorded as Olympic victor as early as 708 (*Olympionikai* 22); cf. S. Tausend (1999).

The acropolis of Lousoi is crowned by a C4 fortification wall, possibly of mudbrick on a polygonal stone foundation, and encloses an area of 0.3 ha (Petropoulos (1985) 67–73). South of the acropolis is the most important feature of the community of Lousoi: the sanctuary of Artemis Hemera (Jost (1985) 47), the pre-eminent divinity of the city. The temple is Hellenistic, but an older structure probably existed (Jost (1985) 49; Voyatzis (1990) 36). For a plan of the sanctuary, see Jost (1985) pl. 5.1. K. Tausend (1993) suggests

that the sanctuary at Lousoi was originally the cultic centre of the Azanian tribe, and owed its continual importance to this fact. The city lay *c.*1 km west of the sanctuary, at Phournoi, where there are numerous ancient remains (Jost (1985) 48). Private houses of C4–C3 have been found; see *AR* (1984–85) 23, (1985–86) 28, (1988–89) 33–34, and Mitsopoulos-Leon (1985) 96.

Apart from Artemis, no other divinities are securely attested at Lousoi (Jost (1985) 50) unless *IPArk* no. 20, mentioning Demeter, belongs to Lousoi. The city certainly celebrated games in honour of Artemis by C3 (*IG* v.1 1387) but may already have done so in C4 when the series of decrees granting *theorodokia* commences (*IG* v.2 388–96); cf. S. Tausend (1999) 372–73.

280. Lykosoura (Lykourasios) Map 58. Lat. 37.25, long. 22.00. Size of territory: ? Type: C. The toponym is *Λυκόσουρα, ἡ* (*SEG* 41 332.45 (*c.*230–190)); the MSS of Pausanias have different variants of this form (Meyer (1927) 2417–18). The city-ethnic is *Λυκουράσιος* in *SEG* 41 332.1 (*c.*230–190); Pausanias (e.g. 8.27.6 (r371/70)) uses *Λυκοσουρεύς* (Meyer (1927) 2417).

The collective use of the city-ethnic is found internally in *SEG* 41 332.22–23 (*c.*230–190) and externally in Paus. 8.27.5 (r371) (probably taken over from a historiographic source, see Nielsen (1996*b*) 296). No Archaic or Classical source mentions Lykosoura. At 8.27.4 (r371), Pausanias states that Lykosoura was among the communities that the Arkadian Confederacy voted to relocate to Megalopolis (no. 282); however, he goes on to explain that this decision was not implemented (8.27.6), because the city resisted the relocation. Since the very first source that mentions Lykosoura (*SEG* 41 332 (*c.*230–190)) describes it as a *polis* (in the political sense, e.g. l. 3) and refers to the *politai* (ll. 7–8), it is possible that at the foundation of Megalopolis the city was left as a dependent *polis* inside Megalopolitan territory. Three other cities that resisted the synoecism (Lykaia, Trikolonoi and Trapezous (no. 303)) were either forced to relocate (Lykaia and Trikolonoi) or annihilated (Trapezous). It is thus rather remarkable that Lykosoura was spared, and we should look for an explanation. According to Paus. 8.27.6, the inhabitants of the city took shelter in the sanctuary of Despoina and were spared "*Δήμητρός τε ἕνεκα καὶ Δεσποίνης*". The best explanation, then, seems to be that the city was allowed to exist in order to look after the important sanctuary at which it was situated (see also the judicious remarks by Meyer (1927) 2431 on the importance of the sanctuary in comparison with the city). And in fact, the decree *SEG* 41 332 (*c.*223–190) that shows Lykosoura acting as a *polis* concerns business related to the sanctuary. This points to the conclusion that after the synoecism Lykosoura was a dependent *polis* in charge of an important sanctuary inside the *polis* of Megalopolis (see Meyer (1927) 2431–32, suggesting that citizens of Lykosoura were *also* citizens of Megalopolis; cf. Jost (1999) 194).

Before the synoecism of Megalopolis, Lykosoura belonged to the Parrhasian tribe (Paus. 8.27.4; Nielsen (1996*a*) 132–34). In C5s the Parrhasians, and thus probably Lykosoura, were members of a local hegemonic league led by Mantinea (no. 281), for which see Nielsen (1996*c*) 79–86. Membership of the Peloponnesian League may be assumed; it was probably mediated by the Parrhasian tribe (Nielsen (1996*c*) 97, 89, 100–1). Membership of the Arkadian Confederacy through the Parrhasian tribe can be inferred from Paus. 8.27.4 (cf. Nielsen (1996*c*) 87, 89, 100–1).

The date at which the monumental buildings in the sanctuary at Lykosoura were erected is not certain, but may be C4 (Jost (1985) 178). Above the sanctuary is the walled acropolis of the city; Meyer (1927) 2426 dates the wall to C5–C4 (so *PECS*). Ancient temple remains were reused in a chapel (Meyer (1927) 2426). The city proper (termed *ἄστυ* by Paus. 8.27.5) was on the northern slope of the acropolis, west of the sanctuary; Meyer (1927) 2426 reports that "der ganze Nord- und Ostabhang ist mit antiken Trümmern übersät".

281. Mantinea (Mantineus) Map 58. Lat. 37.35, long. 22.25. Size of territory: 4. Type: A. The epichoric and Doric form of the toponym is *Μαντινέα, ἡ* (*SEG* 37 340.6 (C4f); *IG* v.1 1124 (C5l)); the regular Ionic form is *Μαντινέη* (Hom. *Il.* 2.607; Hdt. 4.161.2), but Hecat. fr. 123 (= Steph. Byz. 13.8) apparently used the synaloiphic form *Μαντίνη*. The Attic form is *Μαντίνεια* (Eupolis fr. 99.30, K&A; Thuc. 5.55.1). The city-ethnic is invariably *Μαντινεύς* (Hdt. 4.162.2; *CID* II 1.II.24 (360)). For ethnic and toponym, see further Bölte (1930) 1290–92.

Mantinea is called *polis* in the urban sense at Thuc. 5.33.2, Ephor. fr. 79, Ps.-Skylax 44 (who lists it as the second toponym after the heading *πόλεις αἱ μεγάλαι αἵδε*, where *polis* is used in the urban sense), and at Isoc. *Paneg.* 126; in the territorial sense at Xen. *Hell.* 5.2.6; and in the political sense at Hdt. 7.202 and 204, Thuc. 5.47.3, and *IG* I³ 83.15–17 (420). Hermippos *apud* Ath. 4.41 (rC6) uses *πολῖται* (Hdt. 4.161.2 (rC6m) has *ἀστοί*); Isoc. *Paneg.* 125 uses *πολιτεία* (opposed to *μοναρχίαι*); Ael. *VH* 2.23 (rC5s) uses *πολιτεύεσθαι*; and Polyb. 6.43.1 *πολίτευμα* (achronic

reference). At 5.69.1 Thucydides uses *πατρίς* (cf. *CEG* II 887 (C4)).

The collective use of the city-ethnic is found internally in *SEG* 37 340 (C4f), and externally at Hdt. 4.161.2 (rC6m), Bacchyl. fr. 21, Thuc. 3.107.4, *IvO* 16.17 (C5m) and *IG* I³ 83.4 (420); the individual use is attested externally only, e.g. Hdt. 4.162.2 (rC6m), *SEG* 26 330 (C4), *CID* II 1.II.24 (360) and Xen. *Hell.* 7.1.23.

The territory occupied *c.*295 km² (cf. Hodkinson and Hodkinson (1981) 275 n. 128), and its name was *ἡ Μαντινική* (Thuc. 5.64.5; Xen. *Hell.* 6.5.15). However, the passage at Thuc. 5.64.4 (*βοηθεῖν δὲ καὶ Ἀθηναίους ἐς . . . Μαντίνειαν*) suggests that the toponym could also designate the territory. The territory is termed *γῆ* by Hdt. 9.77.3, Thuc. 5.64.5 and Xen. *Hell.* 5.2.4, and *χώρα* at Xen. *Hell.* 6.5.15; for the territory, see Hodkinson and Hodkinson (1981) 242–46. The neighbours were, to the north, Orchomenos (no. 286); to the east, Argos (no. 347); to the south, Tegea (no. 297); and to the west, Mainalia. Extra-urban sanctuaries are known, e.g. one of Herakles mentioned at Thuc. 5.64.5 (for which see Pritchett (1969) 46–49); see also Jost (1985) 132–41. The important sanctuary of Poseidon Hippios, the tutelary god of the city (Brackertz (1976) 68–71), was situated 1.3 km south of the city; it has been located, but no substantial finds have been published (Jost (1985) 136); however, the web site of the Hellenic Ministry of Culture (www.culture.gr s.v. 'The Sanctuary of Hippios Poseidon' as assessed 21 January 2003) reports: "The excavations of Th. Spyropoulos in 1985–95 revealed remains of the Archaic temple and important objects of the same period (clay akroterion of Lakonic type bearing Gorgoneion, pottery of Archaic and Classical date, idols, etc.). The excavations also uncovered later buildings and tombs preserving ancient liberative inscriptions dedicated to Hippios Poseidon." For a group of four C4 fortified watch-towers in the territory, see Pikoulas (1995) cat. nos. 38–41; see also Jost (2001–2) esp. fig. 1, noting a new tower at Simiades.

The town of Mantinea (the date of whose foundation is uncertain; see Hodkinson and Hodkinson (1981) 256–61) was not the only settlement in Mantinean territory. A number of sources state that at the *dioikismos* in 385 (*infra*) the Mantineans were dispersed to the old villages, *komai*, which was their old pre-synoecistic way of life. It seems likely that these villages were the ones from which the city was originally synoecised (*infra*); but it is unknown whether they were inhabited between the original synoecism and the *dioikismos* (Hodkinson and Hodkinson (1981) 261–63), although it seems probable (Bölte (1930) 1318; Hodkinson and Hodkinson (1981) 264; Jost (1986*a*) 155). The identity of these *komai* is not clear from Classical sources, but Pausanias mentions a number of sites that are possibly to be identified with at least some of them (Jost (1986*a*) 155–56). Hodkinson and Hodkinson (1981) 262 have identified two of the villages with surviving remains: (a) Nestane (no. 284), *c.*7.5 km west of Mantinea town. The site occupies the hill of Nestani, measures 160 × 40 m, and was fortified *c.*370 (Hodkinson and Hodkinson (1981) 247). There are some foundations on the summit, and a few Classical and Hellenistic sherds were found there (Howell (1970) 87). A lower ridge runs east–west for 350 m and is probably the site of the village (Hodkinson and Hodkinson (1981) 246–48); (b) Maira, *c.*5.7 km north of Mantinea town (ibid. 248–50). At modern Gourtsouli, probably ancient Ptolis, just north of the town, there is evidence of cult and habitation down to C6l, thereafter of cult only (ibid. 252–56); see, however, *AR* (1990–91) 26 reporting early Hellenistic habitation on the eastern slope.

It seems reasonably certain that at least in some periods the Mantinike included a number of settlements which were themselves organised as *poleis*. Thus, Nestane had its own ethnic in C4, which indicates that the city was organised as a *polis* (and thus as a dependent *polis* within Mantinean territory) since no Arkadian sub-ethnics are known (Nielsen (1996*a*) 117–32); it is likely that during the *dioikismos* Nestane and (some of) the other individual *komai* rose to *polis* status (Polyb. 4.27.6 (r385)), and that this was recognised at the new synoecism in 370 (Xen. *Hell.* 6.5.3). However, even prior to the *dioikismos* the Mantinike included other *poleis* besides Mantinea. Thus, it is clear from the treaty *SEG* 37 340 (C4f) that by this treaty the Mantinike was enlarged to cover the territory of Helisson (no. 273), and that Helisson persisted as a (dependent) *polis* within Mantinean territory; the text furthermore shows that Helisson was not the only *polis* in this position; others may have been some of the original *komai* or other Mainalian communities such as Dipaia (no. 268), etc.; cf. Nielsen (1996*c*) 66–70.

At Thermopylai Mantinea contributed 500 hoplites (Hdt. 7.202), and in 420, 1,000 soldiers helped to protect the Olympic Games against an anticipated Spartan attack. According to Lys. 34.7, the Mantineans did not number 3,000; it is not possible to give any exact estimate of the size of population on this basis (cf. Forsén (2000) 36–39); Xen. *Hell.* 5.2.7 implies that in 385 residence in the town was the norm in Mantinea.

Mantinea was a member of the Hellenic League against Persia (Hdt. 7.202) and of the Peloponnesian League (Thuc. 5.29.2; Xen. *Hell.* 5.2.3; cf. Tuplin (1977)), but relations with

Sparta (no. 345) were very varied and seldom easy (Nielsen (1996*c*) 90–91). In 421 Mantinea defected from the League and concluded an alliance with Argos (Thuc. 5.29.1), which was followed the next year by the conclusion of a quadruple alliance of Argos (no. 347), Athens (no. 361), Elis (no. 251) and Mantinea (Thuc. 5.47 = *IG* I³ 80). However, after the defeat at Mantinea in 418 (exactly when is unknown), Mantinea came to terms with Sparta again (Thuc. 5.81.1); and it remained an ally of Sparta (Xen. *Hell.* 5.2.1) down to the foundation of the Arkadian Confederacy after Leuktra.

Inside Arkadia, Mantinea was a major power, and in C5s it led a league that included all the Parrhasians and some of the Mainalians (see Nielsen (1996*c*) 79–84 for details), who were reduced to dependencies. In C4f Helisson was reduced to dependent status through a treaty of what amounts to *sympoliteia* (*SEG* 37 340). The city was also a leading member of the Arkadian Confederacy (*IG* v.2 1.34 (360s)); the move towards the foundation of the Confederacy probably began in Mantinea (Larsen (1968) 183; Dušanić (1970) 285), and it was the home town of the important federal leader Lykomedes (for whom see Xen. *Hell.* 7.1.23–24, 1.39, 4.2–3), who was one of the two oecists that the city supplied for the foundation of Megalopolis (no. 282) (Paus. 8.27.2). Mantinea was likewise a chief actor in the crisis that led to the dismemberment of the Confederacy in 363 (Xen. *Hell.* 7.4.33ff; Larsen (1968) 189; Roy (1971*a*) 588). After the Confederacy split up, Mantinea seems, like Megalopolis, to have been the leading city of a continued but smaller Confederacy (*Staatsverträge* 290; Diod. 15.94.1–3 (r361), 16.39.1–3 (r352); *Staatsverträge* 337, 342; cf. Nielsen (1996*b*) 356–59).

According to Strabo 8.3.2, Mantinea was originally synoecised from five *demoi* (termed *komai* at Diod. 15.5.4; cf. Ephor. fr. 79). At Xen. *Hell.* 5.2.7, it is stated that settlement in (four) *komai* was the old way of the Mantineans, given up by 385; but the *dioikismos* that year meant a return to this settlement pattern, and the implication is that the original synoecism was the reverse process. The synoecism cannot be dated (Hodkinson and Hodkinson (1981) 257–61). In 385, the Spartans undid the synoecism by *dioikismos*, described in our sources by the terms διοικίζειν (Xen. *Hell.* 5.2.7; Isoc. *De Pace* 100; Ephor. fr. 79.2; Polyb. 4.27.6), μετοικεῖν (Diod. 15.12.2) and ἀνάστατον ποιεῖν (Isoc. *Paneg.* 126). However, in 370 the city was synoecised again (Xen. *Hell.* 6.5.3–5).

Mantinean military activity is attested by, e.g., Hdt. 7.202 and Thuc. 5.69.1; commanders are mentioned at Hdt. 7.203 and Thuc. 5.69.1. Ephor. fr. 54 implies that public instruction in fighting under arms was given at Mantinea from an early date; Bölte (1930) 1317 assumes that this institution was inspired by Sparta. Bacchyl. *Ep.* fr. 1.2–3 with schol. Pind. *Ol.* 10.83a suggest that Mantinean hoplites carried the trident of Poseidon as a blazon (Anderson (1970) 18).

The military leaders who were late for Plataiai were exiled (Hdt. 9.77.2); in *IG* v.2 261.18 = *IPArk* no. 7 (C5m) there is a reference to φεύγοντες, and in connection with the *dioikismos* 60 προστάται τοῦ δήμου went into exile (Xen. *Hell.* 5.2.6). Reception of an embassy is implied by Hdt. 4.161.2 (rC6m), and Thuc. 5.44.2 mentions the sending of an embassy.

According to Thuc. 5.29.1 and Xen. *Hell.* 5.2.7, Mantinea was a democracy, and according to Arist. *Pol.* 1318^{b}27 it had been a democracy of the old, moderate type in which officials were appointed by electors chosen by election from all citizens and serving in rotation (Larsen (1950)). Political decision making, on the other hand, was left to the *demos* in assembly (cf. Xen. *Hell.* 6.5.4–5). This old type of democracy corresponds to a C4 *politeia* (Arist. *Pol.* 1297^{b}24–5) in the sense of "citizen constitution", and Mantinea is in fact described as a πολιτεία in this sense by Isoc. *Paneg.* 4.125–26 (r385). Robinson (1997) 113–14 believes that Mantinea was a democracy already by C6, and Waisglas (1956) argues for the C6m existence at Mantinea of an elective office of βασιλεύς. During the *dioikismos*, the constitution was aristocratic (Xen. *Hell.* 5.2.7). In connection with the *dioikismos* there is evidence of a sharp divide within the citizenry between on the one side οἱ ἀργολίζοντες and οἱ τοῦ δήμου προστάται and on the other οἱ βέλτιστοι (Xen. *Hell.* 5.2.6).

The earliest surviving public enactments are a fragmentary law (*IG* v.2 261 = *IPArk* no. 7 (C5m)) and the treaties recorded at Thuc. 5.47 and *SEG* 37 340 (C4f). *IG* v.2 262 = *IPArk* no. 8 (C5m) records a verdict and refers to δικασσταί at l. 19. Ael. *VH* 2.23 (rC5s) mentions a νομοθέτης, and in *SEG* 37 340.6 (C4f) there is a general reference to νόμοι τῶν Μαντινέων as well as a reference to procedural laws (ll. 11–12).

A council is attested by Thuc. 5.47.9 (cf. *IG* v.2 289 (C4), for Ζεὺς Εὐβωλής); it possibly had 300 members (*SEG* 37 340.24 (C4f)). The eponymous official was a δαμιοργός (*SEG* 37 340.20 (C4f)) who probably headed a board (Thuc. 5.47.9). Boards of ταμίαι (*IG* v.2 261.7 (C5m)), θεωροί (Thuc. 5.47.9), πολέμαρχοι (Thuc. 5.47.9), σταλογράφοι (*SEG* 37 340.18 (C4f)) and θεσμοτόαροι (*SEG* 37 340.20) are attested as well. For the assembly, see Xen. *Hell.* 6.5.4–5. A system of five *phylai* is attested, but its function is unknown (*IG* v.2 271 (C4m); Jones, *POAG* 132–35).

The city of Mantinea was situated on level ground and had no acropolis. The town had two periods of existence: down to the *dioikismos* in 385, and from the new synoecism in 370. The first town was fortified (Xen. *Hell.* 5.2.1), but the wall was pulled down at the *dioikismos* when the site was abandoned (Xen. *Hell.* 5.2.7). In 370 it was decided to refortify (and obviously reoccupy) the town (Xen. *Hell.* 6.5.3). The preserved wall, though probably following the course of the pre-385 wall (Hodkinson and Hodkinson (1981) 257–58), is the one built in 370 (though it has been thought to incorporate parts of the earlier wall (Scranton (1941) 57ff)). It encloses an area of 124 ha (Hodkinson and Hodkinson (1981) 256) and runs for 3,942 m with ten gates and 126 towers; it was constructed in mudbrick on a stone foundation (Winter (1989) 191). Not much is known about the degree of urbanisation reached by the pre-385 city; archaeology does not reveal much, and the best information comes, in fact, from the written sources. From Thuc. 5.47.11 it appears that it had an agora with a sanctuary of Zeus; from *SEG* 37 340 it appears that there was a *boleion* (for which see Winter (1987) 240–41), and Xen. *Hell.* 5.2.1–7 refers to houses. But even the post-370 city is imperfectly known, since the excavations have been directed primarily towards the area of the agora, which was laid out on the site of the old agora (Winter (1987) 240). Here several stoas have been found, one of which may be a relic of the first town (ibid. 239–40). West of the agora is a C4 theatre (ibid. 240; cf. *TGR* ii. 313) with an artificial embankment (Dilke (1950) 45–46). Near the theatre are several Classical temples (Jost (1985) 130–31). The "vast private sector" of the city is completely unknown (Hodkinson and Hodkinson (1981) 259), but at *Hell.* 7.5.15 Xenophon refers to houses in the second city too.

The rich pantheon of Mantinea is discussed by Jost (1985) 124–42. The patron divinity was Poseidon Hippios, in whose honour festivals were celebrated (Jost (1985) 133, 290). According to Xen. *Hell.* 5.2.1, the Spartans in 386/5 accused the Mantineans of manipulating ἐκεχειρία to avoid campaigning. C5 communal consultation of the Delphic oracle is suggested by Paus. 8.36.8 (Hejnic (1961) 29).

Several C5 Olympic victors are on record (*Olympionikai* 163, 193, 202, 254, 256, 265); spoils were dedicated at Delphi *c.*423 (Thuc. 4.134.2), and a C5 dedication in Olympia is mentioned at Paus. 5.26.6 (a wingless Nike by Kalamis, for whom see Pollitt (1990) 46).

Mantinea struck silver coins from *c.*500 to 385, and silver and bronze from 370 onwards. Denominations: tritetartemorion, hemiobol, obol, trihemiobol, triobol and drachm. (1) Silver, 500–385. Types: *obv.* bear or acorn; *rev.* acorn(s); legend (sometimes on *obv.*): *M* or *MA* or *MAN* or *MANT*. (2) Silver, 370 onwards. Types: *obv.* Odysseus or Athena; *rev.* altar of Poseidon or trident; legend (sometimes on *obv.*): *M* or *MANTI* or *MANTIN*. (3) Bronze, 370 onwards. Types: *obv.* Athena; *rev.* Poseidon or trident; legend: *MAN*. (4) A particularly interesting C4 issue showing a dancing hoplite has been studied by Lacroix (1967). Head, *HN*² 449–50; *SNG Cop. Argolis* 242–54.

282. Megale polis (Megalopolites) Map. 58. Lat. 37.25, long. 22.05. Size of territory: 4–5. Type: A. The toponym is Μεγάλα πόλις, ἡ (*CID* II 5.1.24 (358)), or Μεγάλη πόλις in Attic (Dem. 16.4); the form Μεγαλόπολις is late but occurs, e.g., at Strabo 8.4.5. The city-ethnic is Μεγαλοπολίτας (*CID* II 4.III.50 (360)) or in Attic Μεγαλοπολίτης (*IG* II² 161.2 (C4m)).

Megalopolis is called a *polis* in the urban sense at Dem. 16.25 and *Syll.*³ 559.29 (r371–368), and it is listed (as Μεγαλοπολῖται) as a *polis* in the political sense in the accounts of the Delphic *naopoioi* at *CID* II 4.III.1, 50 (360) under the heading τάδε πόλεις καὶ ἰδιῶται ἐπάρξαντο; Diod. 18.70.1 (r318) refers to the πολῖται. The territorial sense of *polis* (with the political sense as a possible connotation) occurs in Xen. *Hell.* 7.5.5 (for which see Nielsen (1996*c*) 72–73). The collective use of the ethnic is attested externally in, e.g., *CID* II 4.III.50 (360) and Isoc. 5.97; the individual use is attested externally in *CID* II 4.III.55–56 (360).

Megalopolis was a creation of the Arkadian Confederacy and was synoecised by a board of ten *oikistai*, two each from Mantinea (no. 281), Tegea (no. 297), Kleitor (no. 276), the Mainalians and the Parrhasians (Paus. 8.27.2). The synoecism is known principally from Diod. 15.72.4, who gives a compressed account of an *event* and dates the synoecism to 368; and from Paus. 8.27.1–8, who gives a detailed account of the original *plan* for the foundation as well as an account of the *implementation* of this plan, and dates the synoecism to shortly after Leuktra. The two accounts are, apparently, irreconcilable, and it has been customary to follow one and reject the other; however, the differences concern chiefly the date and the extent of the synoecism, and the difficulties may be at least partly removed by the realisation that Pausanias' account is primarily *prescriptive*, whereas that of Diodoros is *descriptive*: thus, the decision to synoecise may have been taken shortly after Leuktra (Paus.) but the implementation may have been postponed to 368 (Diod.). The real problem, however, is the extent of the synoecism. According to Diod. 15.72.4, the city was created by a synoecism whereby twenty *komai* belonging to the Parrhasians

and Mainalians were relocated to a new site (accepted by, e.g., Moggi (1974) and Demand (1990) 113); according to Paus. 8.27.3–4, the synoecism was *planned* as a much larger enterprise, which was to absorb thirty-nine different *poleis*, among them some former Lakedaimonian perioikic communities. However, Pausanias himself goes on to explain that the decision was *not* implemented exactly as planned (8.27.5–8). So, although by the Roman period Megalopolis seems to have controlled all the sites listed by Pausanias (Roy *et al.* (1988) 180), it is not safe to assume that the synoecism originally had the extent implied by his list. What happened in 368 was thus a synoecism of smaller dimensions than originally envisaged, and the synoecism may primarily have involved Parrhasian and Mainalian communities (Diod.), though Eutresian communities are likely to have been involved as well (cf. Paus. 8.27.5, stating that Eutresian Trikolonoi unsuccessfully resisted incorporation). As in many other cases, the synoecism was probably planned, and certainly carried out, as a relocation of only a part of the population of the settlements concerned (Roy (1968) 159). Among the communities situated in Megalopolitan territory, at least Lykosoura (no. 280) seems to have survived as a dependent *polis*, and there may have been some others (Roy (2000*a*) 139).

The ancient sources (Paus. 8.27; Diod. 15.72.4) agree that Megalopolis was intended to serve as protection against Sparta (no. 345). For a modern but highly speculative discussion of the ideology behind the foundation, see Braunert and Petersen (1972). In 361 the city suffered a serious crisis as some of the relocated populations left for their old settlements and called upon Mantinea for support; the rebellion was, however, overcome with Theban assistance (Diod. 15.94.1); nor did the Spartans succeed in a *dioikismos* of the city in 352 (Dem. 16.30; Diod. 16.39).

If the territory comprised all the communities listed at Paus. 8.27.3–4, it will have occupied 1,500 km² (Roy *et al.* (1988) 179). If, however, the reconstruction of Moggi (1974), based on Diodoros, is preferred, the territory will have measured *c.*400 km², somewhat larger than that of Tegea but smaller than that of Kleitor. A survey has been carried out in the territory; from the preliminary reports it appears that even after the synoecism there was considerable habitation in the rural areas, both in dispersed farmsteads and in nucleated settlements (Roy *et al.* (1992)). Almost all other information about the territory comes from the late account of Pausanias, which is discussed in detail by Jost (1973).

There is no good evidence relating to the size of the population; for what it is worth, Diod. 18.70.1 states that in 318 the city managed to put 15,000 men under arms, but this figure includes metics and slaves (Bury (1898) 16); Gardner *et al.* (1893) 3 supposes a total population of 65,000.

Megalopolis was a federal foundation, and the city was, of course, a member of the Arkadian Confederacy (*IG* v.2 1.23 (360s)). It is often believed that the city was intended to serve as the capital of the Confederacy (Bury (1898); Braunert and Petersen (1972) 81ff). Certainly, the fact that the city provided ten *damiorgoi* for the Confederacy, whereas Tegea (no. 297) and Mantinea provided only five each (*IG* v.2 1.1, 23, 34 (360s)), suggests that the city did somehow enjoy a favoured position within the Confederacy, but greater precision on this point is impossible (Roy (2000*b*); Tsiolis (1995) 51, 54). When the Confederacy split in 363, Megalopolis sided with Tegea and Boiotia against Mantinea, Athens (no. 361) and Sparta. According to Polyb. 4.33.9, after the battle of Mantinea in 362, Megalopolis was the centre of an Arkadian alliance: *Μεγαλοπολῖται καὶ πάντες οἱ κοινωνοῦντες Ἀρκάδων τῆς αὐτῶν συμμαχίας κτλ*. This presumably means that the city posed as the leader of one faction of the Confederacy; at least, we know that the federal assembly, *Myrioi*, held a session in Megalopolis in 348/7 (Dem. 19.10; Aeschin. 2.157); since there is no reason to believe that the Confederacy had reunited by this date (cf. *Staatsverträge* 337 (342)), this probably means that Megalopolis claimed to represent the Arkadian Confederacy; but Mantinea probably did so as well; see Nielsen (1996*b*) 356–59 for further discussion.

From Dem. 16.28 it appears that in the 350s Megalopolis was allied to Thebes (no. 221); from Diod. 16.39 it is clear that the city had alliances with Argos (no. 347), Sikyon (no. 228), Messene (no. 318) and Orneai (no. 354) as well. *Staatsverträge* 337 attests to an alliance with Athens in 342.

Xen. *Hell.* 7.5.5 refers to Megalopolitan troops. Diod. 18.56.5 (r318) refers to exiles from the city. Dem. 16.1 refers to the sending of an embassy, and Dem. 19.10, Aeschin. 2.157 and *SEG* 20 716.20 (C4) to reception of embassies. Two citizens were appointed Athenian *proxenoi* in C4m (*IG* II² 161), and another received Delphic *proxenia* in the 330s (*I.Delphes* III.4 380–81). An Epidaurian *theorodokos* resided in the city in C4l–C3e (*IAEpid* 42.3).

Being a federal foundation, Megalopolis was probably originally a democracy, since the Confederacy was democratic (Larsen (1968) 180). The earliest reference to a public enactment is Diod. 18.70.1 (r318): *οἱ Μεγαλοπολῖται . . . ἐψηφίσαντο*; *IG* v.2 431.3 (C4) has been restored to refer to a council. A board of *damiorgoi* is referred to in *IG* v.2 431.2; the office of *agonothetes* is attested by *IG* V.2 450 (C4s). It is

as good as certain that a system of six *phylai* was created at the foundation of the city, but on its functions we have no information (*IG* v.2 451 (C3l–C2e) and 468 (C4–C3) with Jones, *POAG* 135–38).

The public architecture included a *bouleuterion* (Paus. 8.30.9, without indication of its date; cf. Hansen and Fischer-Hansen (1994) 40), a stoa erected by Philip II of Makedon (Paus. 8.30.6; cf. Gardner *et al.* (1893) 59–66 and *AR* (1993–94) 17–18, (1994–95) 13); in addition, Paus. 8.30.7 has a reference to unspecified *ἀρχεῖα*. In the agora (for which see Gardner *et al.* (1893) 101–6) there was a sanctuary with a temple of Zeus Soter (C4) (cf. *AR* (1993–94) 17). The theatre had a seating capacity of *c.*20,000 (Gardner *et al.* (1893) 42; *TGR* ii. 262–63) and was built when the city was founded (Gardner *et al.* (1893) 69, 75; cf. *AR* (2001–2) 28). Finally, the city housed a C4m assembly hall which served the Confederacy (Paus. 8.32.1; cf. Gardner *et al.* (1893) 17–23) as well as the city itself (Tsiolis (1995) 51–54). So the city was able to house federal institutions, and a federal assembly met in the city in 348/7 (Dem. 19.10; Aeschin. 2.165); it is unknown, however, whether the assembly met in the city in the 360s; Harp. s.v. *Myrioi* states: *Μύριοι ἐν Μεγάλῃ πόλει … πολλάκις μνημονεύουσι οἱ ἱστορικοί*, but this need not refer to meetings in the 360s (cf. Dem. 19.10; Aeschin. 2.165). None the less, Braunert and Petersen (1972) 81 believe that the city was *planned* as the capital of the Confederacy.

The city wall of Megalopolis was erected when the city was founded and was *c.*9 km long (Loring in Gardner *et al.* (1893) 115); it withstood a siege during the revolt of Agis (Aeschin. 3.165) in 331, but in 318 certain sections had to be repaired (Diod. 18.70.2). It was a mudbrick wall on a stone foundation (ibid.). The area enclosed by walls measured *c.*350 ha; this area, however, includes the river Helisson, which divided the city in two. Since the excavations have been directed exclusively at the agora and the theatre, there is no way of knowing how densely populated this large area was; it is usually assumed that the city was much too large for its population (Gardner *et al.* (1893) 116). This was certainly the case in C3l (Polyb. 2.55.2, 5.93.5); however, as Moggi (1974) 105–7 has argued, the extreme lack of population in C3l was probably due to exceptional circumstances. In any case, a drop in population is normally assumed for C3 Arkadia in general (Sallares (1991) 106), and so it is problematical to use the evidence about the C3 level of population retrospectively for C4. Even on the most cautious estimate—that only 100 ha was occupied by habitation and that each ha accommodated only 100 people—the urban population of the city would have been 10,000.

Free non-citizens, *ξένοι*, are referred to by Diod. 18.70.1 (r318). The patron deity was either Athena Polias (Paus. 8.31.9; Jost (1985) 230) or Zeus Lykaios (Brackertz (1976) 85–87). In general, the Megalopolitan pantheon reflects the fact that the city was founded by synoecism of pre-existing states: in the city are found several doublets of cults that belonged to the communities from which the city was synoecised (Nilsson (1951) 18–22; Jost (1985) 221–33, (1994) 225–28). Most importantly, there was a *peribolos* of Zeus Lykaios in the agora. Cf. Jost (1996).

In C4m Megalopolis applied to the Amphiktyonic League for membership (*Syll.*³ 224).

During the 360s and later, Megalopolis struck staters with *obv.* Pan; *rev.* Zeus Lykaios; legend: *ΑΡΚ* in monogram (Head, *HN*² 445). A series of triobols and obols with similar types and legends may belong to C4l (Head, *HN*² 445; Warren (1969) 39; *SNG Cop. Argolis* 191–200). In addition, bronze coins with similar types and legends were struck (Head, *HN*² 445; *SNG Cop. Argolis* 201–10); *SNG Cop. Argolis* 208 shows Athena and Pan.

283. Methydrion (Methydrieus) Map 58. Lat. 37.40, long. 22.10. Size of territory: probably 2. Type: B. The toponym is *Μεθύδριον, τό* (Thuc. 5.58.2; *REG* 62 (1949) p. 6 l. 6 (C5l–C4e); Paus. 8.12.2). The city-ethnic is *Μεθυδριεύς* at Xen. *An.* 4.1.27; *IPArk* no. 14.6–7 (360s, from Orchomenos) has *Μετιδριήων*, which points to an epichoric toponym **Μετίδριον*.

The only Classical source that possibly classified Methydrion as a *polis* is Theopomp. fr. 344.18 (= Porph. *Abst.* 2.16); at Paus. 8.27.4 (r371) the city is listed as a *polis.* The collective use of the city-ethnic is found internally on coin legends (Head, *HN*² 451) and externally in *IPArk* no. 14.6–7; the individual use is found externally at Xen. *An.* 4.6.20.

Thuc. 5.58.2 (*προϊόντες ἀπαντῶσι τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐν Μεθυδρίῳ*) suggests that the toponym could designate the territory as well. An inscription from Orchomenos refers to a point where the borders of Methydrion met those of Orchomenos (no. 286) and Torthyneion (no. 302) (*IPArk* no. 14.4–6); this allows the conclusion that C4m Methydrion had a well-defined territory and that it abutted those of Torthyneion and Orchomenos; in the fragmentary C5l–C4e Delphic list of *theorodokoi,* the city is listed just before Torthyneion (*REG* 62 (1949) p. 6 ll. 6–9).

According to Paus. 8.27.4, Methydrion was in 371 one of a number of communities whose relationship to Orchomenos could be described by the phrase *συντελεῖν εἰς*. It is unclear exactly what this means, but Methydrion was presumably in

one way or another a dependency of Orchomenos (cf. Hejnic (1961) 37–38; Roy (1972*c*) 78; Nielsen (1996*b*) 231–36; (1996*c*) 84–86).

At Petrovouni, 3 km west of the city, a sanctuary has been found; the temple is Hellenistic, but architectural fragments and votives go back to C7 (Jost (1985) 215).

Membership of the Peloponnesian League may be assumed; in 418, a League army camped in the territory of the city (Thuc. 5.58.2). Membership of the Arkadian Confederacy can be inferred from Paus. 8.27.4 (r371). It is furthermore not impossible that the *synteleia* of Orchomenos mentioned at Paus. 8.27.4, and of which Methydrion was a part, was an organisation based on formal treaties (Nielsen (1996*b*) 234).

According to Paus. 8.27.4, Methydrion was among the communities that the Arkadian Confederacy voted to relocate to Megalopolis (no. 282). *IPArk* no. 14 (360s) seems to demarcate the border with Orchomenos and may be taken to indicate that steps were taken to implement this decision (cf. *IPArk* on no. 14; Nielsen (1996*c*) 84). However, it is uncertain whether Megalopolis in the Classical period effectively controlled the city, which was clearly not abandoned (Moggi (1974) 93–94; Nielsen (1996*b*) 316–19).

In C5l–C4e a Delphic *theorodokos* resided in the city (*REG* 62 (1949) p. 6 l. 6). The earliest surviving reference to a public enactment by Methydrion is *I.Magnesia* 38.61, which attests to a C3l *asylia* decree for Magnesia.

The preserved fortification wall at Methydrion is Classical, C5 according to von Gaertringen and Lattermann (1911) 31, C4 according to Jost (1985) 213 n. 8. The wall encloses an area of 11 ha (von Gaertringen and Lattermann (1911) 31). They noted some foundations, sherds and tiles inside the wall, and suggested the existence of a large temple (but gave no date, ibid. 23, 31). The oldest find at the site is an Archaic statuette of Zeus (Jost (1985) 214–15). According to Theopomp. fr. 344.27–8 (= Porph. *Abst.* 2.16), Methydrion was a small, poor place (*μικροῦ καὶ ταπεινοῦ ὄντος τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ χωρίου*). Several Arkadian towns, such as Halous (no. 272) and Pallantion (no. 289), consist of a fortified acropolis with the residential area unfortified below. It is not clear whether Methydrion was such a city; if it was, the fortified area can be equated with the acropolis.

Cults of Zeus Hoplosmios and Poseidon Hippios are attested (Jost (1985) 214), and Theopomp. fr. 344 mentions *θυσίαι δημοτελεῖς* and public *ἑορταί*. According to Paus. 8.36.2, citizens of Methydrion achieved Olympic victories before 371 (*Olympionikai* 410–11).

From Methydrion comes a bronze coinage of, presumably, C4 (Meyer (1932) 1389–90), though other dates have been proposed, see ibid. and Moggi (1974) 93 n. 72. The legend is *ΜΕΘΥΔΡΙΕΩΝ*; the types show *rev.* Zeus; *obv.* Kallisto in the shape of a woman, falling back pierced by an arrow with Arkas on the ground beside her: this type is "aus Orchomenos entlehnt" (Meyer (1932) 1389); on the significance of this, see Nielsen (1996*b*) 234–36.

284. Nestane (Nestanios) Map 58. Lat. 37.35, long. 22.30. Size of territory: 1 or 2. Type: C. Steph. Byz. 478.7 uses the toponym *Νοστία* and cites Theopomp. fr. 175; Paus. 8.7.4 has *Νεστάνη, ἡ*. An ethnic derived from the latter toponym, *Νεστάνιος*, was used by Ephor. fr. 234 (= Steph. Byz. 478.8).

In C4m, Nestane may have been a dependent *polis* inside Mantinean territory; see above Mantinea (no. 281) and Hansen (1995*b*) 74, Nielsen (1996*a*) 131–32, (1996*c*) 66–67. For the site, see above Mantinea (no. 281).

285. Nonakris (Nonakrieus) Map 58. Lat. 38.00, long. 22.15; for the location, see Pikoulas (1986*a*). Size of territory: 1 or 2. Type: A. The toponym is *Νώνακρις, ἡ* (Hdt. 6.74.2). The ethnic is *Νωνακριεύς* (Steph. Byz. 480.3–4, citing Aristophanes = Ar. fr. 861 (*PCG*)).

Nonakris is called *polis* three times at Hdt. 6.74.1–2, in the territorial sense. Name and size of the territory are unknown. In Theophrastos' day Nonakris was presumably situated inside the territory of Pheneos (no. 291) (Theophr. fr. 160; Meyer (1937*a*) 860); if the city was still in existence, the presumption is that it was a dependent *polis* within the territory of Pheneos. But it may already have been so in C5, since Herodotos (6.74.2) describes it as a *πόλις . . . Ἀρκαδίας πρὸς Φενεῷ*.

Nonakris was probably an Azanian community (K. Tausend (1993) 15); however, if the Azanians ever formed a political unit, this had broken up before C5 (Roy (1972*b*) 44, (1996) 110; Nielsen (1996*a*) 138). At the presumed site of Nonakris, Archaic and Classical pottery has been found, together with some poor architectural fragments (Pikoulas (1986*a*)).

286. Orchomenos (Orchomenios) Map 58. Lat. 37.45, long. 22.20. Size of territory: 3. Type: A. The literary form of the toponym is *Ὀρχομενός, ὁ* (Hom. *Il.* 2.605; Thuc. 5.61.4; Xen. *Hell.* 6.5.15), and the corresponding city-ethnic *Ὀρχομένιος*. In the epigraphical record we find the toponym *Ἐρχομενός* (*BCH* 45 (1921) 11.114 (*c.*230–210)) with the ethnic *Ἐρχομένιος* (ML 27.4 (479)); the epichoric ethnic *Ἐρχομίνιος* is found in *IPArk* no. 15.3–4 (360–350) and the toponym is restored [*Ἐρχομιν*]*ός* in l. 51 (for Arkadian *ι* for *ε* before nasal, see Buck (1955) 145).

Orchomenos is classified as a *polis* in the political sense at Hdt. 7.202, 204, and called *polis* in the urban sense at Xen. *Hell.* 6.5.11 and Ps.-Skylax 44, who lists it as the fourth toponym after the heading πόλεις αἱ μεγάλαι αἵδε where *polis* is used in the urban sense; Diod. 19.63.5 (r315) uses πολῖται. The collective use of the city-ethnic is found externally in ML 27.4 (479) and Thuc. 5.61.5, and internally on coin legends (Head, *HN*² 451 (C4)). The individual use is found externally in *IvOlb* 4 (C4) and Xen. *An.* 2.5.37.

The territory occupied *c.*145 km² or, according to Meyer (1939*b*) 890, *c.*230 km². For a short description of the territory, see Jost (1985) 113–14. It was divided into two sub-plains: the southern was the smaller and higher (630 m); the northern was larger and lower (620 m), but suffered from drainage problems (Jost (1985) 114). The city itself was centred on a hill rising to 929 m and situated in a dominating position between the two plains. A number of sanctuaries in the border zones of the territory are attested by written sources, but none has been securely identified (cf. Jost (1985) 119–21). Prior to the foundation of Megalopolis (no. 282), Orchomenos was, presumably, the centre of an organisation comprising a number of minor *poleis* dependent on it, among which were Methydrion (no. 283), Thisoa (no. 301) and Teuthis (no. 298) (Paus. 8.27.4 (r371)); exactly how this organisation functioned is unclear, and it is also unclear whether these minor *poleis* were conceived of as situated within Orchomenian territory. Cf. Nielsen (1996*b*) 231–36, (1996*c*) 84–86.

The only indication we have of the order of size of the Orchomenian population is the fact that the city fielded 600 hoplites at Plataiai in 479 (cf. Forsén (2000) 36–39).

C4 membership of the Peloponnesian League is proved by Xen. *Hell.* 5.4.37, and can be inferred for C5 on the basis of Thuc. 5.61.4, 63.2. At 5.61.5 Thucydides relates how Orchomenos in 418 joined the quadruple alliance of Argos (no. 347), Athens (no. 361), Elis (no. 251) and Mantinea (no. 281): after a siege, the city agreed to join the alliance and give hostages to the Mantineans, and we may therefore consider Orchomenos to be the subordinate party to this treaty. On the other hand, the C4m treaty of *sympoliteia* between Orchomenos and Euaimon (no. 269) (*IPArk* no. 15) was expressly concluded ἐπὶ τοῖς ϝίσϝοις καὶ τοῖς ὑμοίοις (ll. 4–5). Although the city at first opposed the Arkadian Confederacy, owing to hatred (ἔχθρα) of Mantinea (Xen. *Hell.* 6.5.11), Orchomenos did eventually join the Confederacy (*IG* v.2 1.46 (360s)).

In 480, 120 Orchomenian hoplites were present at Thermopylai (Hdt. 7.202), and the next year 600 fought at Plataiai (Hdt. 9.28.4). In 378/7 Orchomenos fought a war with Kleitor (no. 276) (Xen. *Hell.* 5.4.36), and in 370 hoplites of the city fought against Mantinean troops in Orchomenian territory (Xen. *Hell.* 6.5.13). An Orchomenian *strategos* is implied by Hdt. 7.202 and 204, and a board of πολέμαρχοι is attested by *IPArk* no. 14.31–32 (360s). A citizen of Orchomenos was appointed *proxenos* by Olbia (no. 690) in C4 (*I.Olbia* 4 = Dubois (1996) 17) and one by Tegea (no. 297) in C4l (*SEG* 11 1051); the earliest attested grant by the city itself dates to C3f (*SEG* 25 443). The earliest surviving public enactment is *IPArk* no. 15 of 360–350, a treaty of *sympoliteia* with Euaimon; the earliest decrees date to C3f: e.g. *SEG* 25 443. Execution of citizens is referred to by Diod. 19.63–65 (r315). In C4 we find boards of θεαροί and πολέμαρχοι (*IPArk* no. 14.30–31 (360s)).

Orchomenos occupied the top and southern slope of the Kalpaki hill, which rises to 939 m. The hill was enclosed with a circuit wall *c.*350–325 (Winter (1989) 195). It has been suggested that there was no proper urban site within the fortifications (Osborne (1987) 118), and certainly no substantial residential area has yet come to light, which, however, may not be very significant since the archaeological investigations have been directed primarily towards the agora, the theatre and the temple of Artemis. Furthermore, it should be noted that von Gaertringen and Lattermann (1911) 20 concluded that there was habitation within the circuit "bis tief in die Hellenistische Zeit". Cf. Jost (1999) 240 n. 51.

The city proper seems to have been situated at the foot of the southern slope of the Kalpaki hill (Meyer (1939*b*) 890) both before the construction of the circuit wall and after its abandonment; here Geometric and Archaic material has come to light (Blum and Plassart (1914) 81–88), as well as Roman material (Meyer (1939*b*) 893). Attention has been directed primarily at sacred buildings. At least one and perhaps two temples were built in the Archaic period in the lower city; the building which was definitely a temple measured 31.3 × 13.3 m with six times thirteen columns; it is unknown to which divinity it was dedicated (Jost (1985) 118–19; Voyatzis (1990) 32–33).

Pausanias at 8.13.2 explicitly states that the προτέρα πόλις was on the Kalpaki hill, but that in his day habitation was under (ὑπό) the circuit wall, and so far the archaeological material supports this. We may then believe him when he implies that in the Classical period habitation was within the circuit wall. The inference is that in C4 the city was moved from the southern slope to the hill when the wall was constructed (so Winter (1989) 194–95), although habitation in the former town seems not to have ceased (cf. *PECS* s.v.

Orchomenos, p. 654). But the urban history of Orchomenos is by no means entirely clear.

The fortification wall encloses the upper part of the Kalpaki hill; it was 2,300 m long and enclosed an area of *c.*20 ha. It was constructed *c.*350–325 (Winter (1989) 195); however, Thuc. 5.61.5, Diod. 12.79.2 (r418) and Xen. *Hell.* 6.5.13 mention a τεῖχος, but where this ran is unknown.

The agora was laid out in a single building programme in C4s (Winter (1987) 235–39). The northern and eastern edges of the agora were flanked by stoas of C4s; the eastern stoa is sometimes thought to have been a *bouleuterion* (e.g. Blum and Plassart (1914) 73); but Winter (1987) 238–39 thinks that it was simply a stoa. West of the agora is a C4l theatre (Winter (1987) 235; *TGR* ii. 229), and south of the agora, on a terrace supported by a retaining wall is a poros temple of Artemis Mesopolitis (Jost (1985) 117–18); the preserved remains are probably C4, but Winter (1991) 213 suggests that it had an Archaic predecessor.

The patron divinity was presumably Artemis Mesopolitis (Meyer (1939*b*) 904); on the basis of the theatre and a C4l–C3e dedication describing a man as ἀγωνοθετήσας Διονύσωι and found in the theatre (*SEG* 11 1104) we may assume the existence of a festival of Dionysos.

The Orchomenian mint was late; according to Head, *HN*² 451 it began to function immediately after 370; according to Babelon, *Traité* ii.3. 624 it began after 362. The legend is *EP* (*SNG Cop. Argolis* 267), or *EPXOMENIΩN* (*SNG Cop. Argolis* 265–66). All known coins are of bronze. Some interesting coin types show *obv.* Artemis kneeling, sometimes with a dog behind her, shooting an arrow; *rev.* Kallisto falling back pierced by an arrow, on the ground beside her her child Arkas, sometimes with his name in monogram (*SNG Cop. Argolis* 265–66); these types are found copied at Methydrion, one of the cities thought to have been a dependency of Orchomenos (see Methydrion (no. 283)).

287. Oresthasion (Oresthasios) Map 58, probably at modern Anemodhouri (see Pikoulas (1988) 102ff); lat. 37.25, long. 22.10. Size of territory: 1 or 2. Type: A. The toponym is Ὀρέσθειον, τό (Pherekydes (*FGrHist* 3) fr. 135a; Thuc. 5.64.2); at Paus. 8.27.3 (r371) the toponym is Ὀρεσθάσιον. The city-ethnic is Ὀρεσθάσιος (*IvO* 147.148). For a discussion of onomastics, see Meyer (1939*c*) 1014–15.

Oresthasion is called a *polis* by Pherekydes (*FGrHist* 3) fr. 135a and by Eur. *El.* 1273–75, in both cases presumably in the urban sense; Paus. 8.27.3 (r371) retrospectively lists it as a *polis.* The external individual use of the city-ethnic is found in *IvO* 147.148 (C5f) and *SEG* 20 716.23 (C4m).

The name of the territory was Ὀρεσθίς (Thuc. 4.134.1); its size is unknown. In 423 a battle was fought in the territory between the Tegean and Mantinean Leagues (for which see Nielsen (1996*c*) 79–86) at a place called Λαοδικεῖον (Thuc. 4.134.1).

Oresthasion was a Mainalian city (Paus. 8.27.3; Nielsen (1996*a*) 132–34). The city seems to have been an important centre for assembling Peloponnesian League troops (Hdt. 9.11.2; Thuc. 5.64.3; Pikoulas (1988) 109–10, 205–11); membership of the League may thus be assumed, but it was probably *via* the Mainalian tribal state (Nielsen (1996*c*) 100–1). Membership of the Arkadian Confederacy can be inferred from Paus. 8.27.3, and was probably again *via* the Mainalian tribe.

According to Paus. 8.27.3, Oresthasion was one of the communities that the Arkadian Confederacy voted to relocate to Megalopolis (no. 282). It is likely that the city came under Megalopolitan control, but it was probably not abandoned since a surface survey has brought to light numerous Hellenistic sherds at the probable site of the city, see Pikoulas (1988) 102–4.

According to Pikoulas (1988) 102, the hill of Groumourou at Anemodhouri, rising to 70 m, was an ideal acropolis for the site at Anemodhouri (= Oresthasion). The hill-top measures 44 × 30 m; it has yielded sherds and remains of a pre-Classical fortification wall (Pikoulas (1988) 104). According to Pikoulas (1988) 102, the *megalos archaios oikismos* of Oresthasion covered an area of 450 × 200 m. The area is filled with sherds spanning the Archaic to Hellenistic periods, and column drums lie exposed (ibid.). No remains of fortifications of the lower city are visible.

In C5f, in 472 according to *Olympionikai* 231, a citizen of Oresthasion won an Olympic victory (*IvO* 147.148).

288. Paion Map 58. Lat. 37.55, long. 22.00. Size of territory: ? Type: A. The toponym is Παιον at Hdt. 6.127.3 (cf. Nielsen and Roy (1998) 8 n. 17). No city-ethnic is attested.

The city is called *polis* at Hdt. 6.127.3, and in the same passage πάτρη is implicitly used about it (cf. Hdt. 6.126.3, 127.3). *C.*230–210 a Delphic *theorodokos* resided in the city (*BCH* 45 (1921) 11.72).

Paion was an Azanian community (Hdt. 6.127.3); however, if the Azanians ever formed a political unit, this had broken up before C5 (Roy (1972*b*) 44, (1996) 110; Nielsen (1996*a*) 138).

Paion was situated at modern Skoupi. The acropolis was constituted by a small, separately fortified plateau measuring 34 × 65 m (Meyer (1942) 2399). Here Papandreou

believed he saw the foundations of a temple and another building (*Prakt* (1920) 125).

The city wall did not enclose the whole city, but just the upper city (Meyer (1942) 2399). It was 516 m long and possibly dates to C4 (ibid.). A large cistern (11 × 8 m) was built into the city wall (ibid.).

The extent of the city is not stated by any authority, but there was probably occupation both inside and outside the wall (ibid.). Papandreou seems to believe that the site was of considerable size (*Prakt* (1920) 128–29). Inside the wall there are remains of foundations, and tiles and sherds cover the ground. A plan of the site is found in Papachatzis (1994) 269.

For a possible suburban temple (undated), see *Prakt* (1920) 128; a passage in Herodotos connects the Dioskouroi with Paion (Hdt. 6.127.3), but that is all we know about the pantheon of the city.

289. Pallantion (Pallanteus) Map 58. Lat. 37.30, long. 22.20. Size of territory: 2. Type: A. The toponym is *Βαλλά[ντιο]ν* in a Delphic catalogue of C5l–C4e (Daux (1949) 6–8) and *Παλλάντιον, τό* in Xen. *Hell.* 6.5.9 and *SEG* 11 1084.21–22 (*c.*318–316); the toponym was possibly used by Stesichoros; cf. Paus. 8.3.2 = Stesichoros; fr. 85, Davies = fr. 5, Page. *SEG* 11 1084.6 (*c.*318–316) gives the ethnic as *τοὶ Παλλαντέες*; the singular is found as *Παλλαντεύς* in *CID* II 5.21 (358); the MSS of Xen. *Hell.* have *Παλλαντεῖς* at 7.5.5, but editors often print *Παλλαντιεῖς*. At Diod. 15.59.3 the MSS have *οἱ Παλλάντιοι* or *Παλλαντίνοι*, but this form is unique (cf., however, the entry in Steph. Byz. with Meyer (1949) 231). According to Meyer (1949) 231, the genuine form of the toponym (coined on the basis of the ethnic *Παλλαντέυς*) is *Παλλάντειον*; this form is found only once, in the great Delphic catalogue of *theorodokoi* dating to *c.*230–210 (*BCH* 45 (1921) III.7). For a discussion of name and ethnic, see Meyer (1949) 231–32.

Pallantion is described as a *polis* in the political sense in *SEG* 11 1084.10 (cf. *SEG* 25 442 and 33 276 (*c.*318–316)), and in the territorial sense (with the political sense as a possible connotation) at Xen. *Hell.* 7.5.5 (for which see Nielsen (1996*c*) 72–73). The collective use of the city-ethnic is found internally on Classical coins (*infra*) and in *SEG* 11 1084.6 (*c.*318–316), and externally in Xen. *Hell.* 7.5.5 and *SEG* 33 276.9 (*c.*318–316).

The name of the territory is unknown; Paus. 8.44.5 terms it *Παλλαντικὸν πεδίον*, and it is referred to as *polis* by Xen. *Hell.* 7.5.5 (for which see Nielsen (1996*c*) 72–73). Meyer (1949) 233 estimates its size at *c.*30 km², but Jost (1985) at *c.*55 km². The *Suda* s.v. Stesichoros states that this poet was an exile from Pallantion (= Stesichoros Test. A19 and 35, Davies).

Pallantion was a Mainalian city (Paus. 8.27.3; Nielsen (1996*a*) 132–34). Membership of the Peloponnesian League is not explicitly attested, but may be assumed (Nielsen (1996*c*) 87, 101) and it was probably *via* the Mainalian tribe. Membership of the Arkadian Confederacy may be inferred from Diod. 15.59.3 (r370) and Paus. 8.27.3 (r371). In *c.*318–316, Pallantion concluded a treaty of friendship with Argos (no. 347) (*SEG* 11 1084).

According to Paus. 8.27.3, Pallantion was among the communities that the Arkadian Confederacy voted to relocate to Megalopolis (no. 282); but, for whatever reason, the decision seems not to have been implemented (Moggi (1974) 85–87), and the city was not under Megalopolitan control in 318: in this year the city was captured by Polyperchon, and some citizens were taken captives, but Pallantion negotiated for their release via Argos (no. 347), not Megalopolis (*SEG* 11 1084).

According to Xen. *Hell.* 7.5.5, Epameinondas counted on Pallantion as an ally for the battle of Mantinea in 362, but it is unknown whether Pallantian troops actually fought in the battle. In *c.*318–316, Pallantion sent an embassy to Argos, and the envoys were all granted Argive *proxenia* (*SEG* 11 1084.27). In C5l–C4e a Delphic *theorodokos* resided in Pallantion (Daux (1949) 6–8).

Pallantion was centred on a hill of moderate height; the city proper was situated in the plain at the northern and eastern foot of the hill; it appears to have occupied a considerable area (Frazer (1898) iv. 421). The lower town has not been excavated, but remains of Classical buildings have been found reused, and Classical sherds have also come to light (Jost (1985) 199). A Classical cemetery has also been identified (ibid.).

The acropolis of Pallantion was fortified, but the date of the wall has not been established. Inside the wall, on the top of the acropolis and on its southern slope, are no fewer than four modest temple buildings (for which see Østby (1995*a*)); all the buildings seem to belong to a single programme of construction dating to *c.*600–550, and later modifications are discernible (ibid. 54).

According to Head, *HN*² 451, Pallantion began to strike coins *c.*400; Babelon, *Traité* ii.3. 665–68 dates the coinage to 421–371; it is a silver coinage on the Aiginetan standard; all known coins have a young beardless male (= Apollo or the eponymous hero Pallas) on the *obv.* and the legend *ΠΑΛ*, *ΠΑΛΛΑΝ* on the *rev.* Known denominations are the obol and the hemiobol. *SNG Cop. Argolis* 270.

290. Phara Unlocated, but presumably in western Arkadia, see Meyer (1957*a*) 82–86 and Pritchett (1989) 36–37. Size of territory: ? Type: C. The toponym is *Φάρα, ἡ* in *REG* 62 (1949) p. 6 l. 3. An ethnic is not attested. Phara deserves inclusion in this Inventory solely because it may have had a Delphic *theorodokos* in C5l–C4e (*REG* 62 (1949) p. 6 ll. 4–5), and thus was possibly a *polis* (Perlman (1995) 116, 121, 135). But the Phara in question may well be that in Achaia (Rizakis (1995) no. 689; cf. Pharai (no. 241) in the Achaian Inventory).

291. Pheneos (Pheneeus) Map 58. Lat. 37.55, long. 22.20. Size of territory: 4. Type: B. The toponym is *Φενεός* (*ὁ/ἡ*; cf. Steph. Byz. 662.5) in Hom. *Il.* 2.605; *IG* v.2 360 (C5–C4); *SEG* 23 189.23 (*c.*330). The ethnic is *Φενεεύς* in *SEG* 39 1365 (470–450). Other forms are *Φενικός* and *Φενεάτης*; the former may lie behind the Classical coin legend *ΦENIKON* (Head, *HN*² 452; Roy (1972*a*) 334–36), whereas the latter seems to make its appearance only in C3 (ibid. 335–36).

No Archaic or Classical source describes Pheneos as a *polis*, but Hejnic (1961) 42 has pointed out that it follows *a fortiori* from Hdt. 6.75.1: *Νώνακρις . . . πόλις ἐστὶ τῆς Ἀρκαδίας πρὸς Φενεῷ*, that Herodotos considered Pheneos to be a *polis*; Polyb. 2.52.2 (r225) calls it a *polis* in the political sense, and Eratosthenes fr. IIIB 105, Berger (= Strabo 8.8.4) in the urban sense.

The collective use of city-ethnic is attested internally on C4 coin legends (Head, *HN*² 452) and externally in *SEG* 39 1365 (470–450); the individual use is found in *IG* IV².1 96.48 (C3f).

The territory occupied *c.*345 km²; this, however, includes Nonakris (no. 285), which perhaps as early as C5 was a dependent *polis* inside the territory of Pheneos (see *supra* s.v. Nonakris). Its name was *Φενική* (Polyb. 4.68.1) or *ἡ Φενεατικὴ χώρα* (Paus. 8.14.5); Theophr. fr. 160, Wimmer, suggests that the toponym could designate the territory as well. The territory is termed *πεδίον* by Theophr. *Hist. pl.* 3.1.2, 5.4.6. It must have suffered from severe problems of drainage (Strabo 8.8.4; Baker-Penoyre (1902); Knauss (1990)). Stangl (1999*a*), (1999*b*), estimates that the territory could support max. 5,000 individuals. In addition to Nonakris and Pheneos itself, the territory included Lykouria *c.*4 km south-west of Pheneos, a site that seems to have been a substantial village (Knauss (1990) 50–51; cf. K. Tausend (1999*c*)). For Classical watch-towers, see K. Tausend and Erath (1997) 2; K. Tausend (1999*b*) 308–12. Three extra-urban sanctuaries are archaeologically attested (K. Tausend and Erath (1997); Erath (1999*b*)).

Pheneos was an Azanian community (Steph. Byz. 662.6); however, if the Azanians ever formed a political unit, this had broken up before C5 (Roy (1972*b*) 44, (1996) 110; Nielsen (1996*a*) 138).

*C.*330 an Argive *theorodokos* resided in Pheneos, and *c.*300 (*SEG* 23 189.23) one of its citizens was granted Argive *proxenia* (*SEG* 30 356).

In Pheneos only the sanctuary of Asklepios in the lower city has been excavated (Jost (1985) 29–30). It was a city with a habitation area beneath a fortified acropolis. The earliest part of the acropolis wall dates to C4 (Bölte (1938) 1970; Jost (1985) 31); good C5 sherds have been found at the site (Simpson and Lazenby (1970) 91). A recent survey suggests that the urban centre occupied *c.*20 ha (Stangl (1999b) 178).

The principal deity of Pheneos was Hermes (Paus. 8.14.10; Bölte (1938) 1972–73; cf. Jost (1985) 27–37), in whose honour games were celebrated (schol. Pind. *Ol.* 7.153a). A festival with games in honour of the Dioskouroi is attested by *SEG* 39 1365 (470–450). Before 460, Pheneos set up a statue of Hermes in Olympia (Paus. 5.27.8); it was made by Onatas (for whom see Pollitt (1990) 36–39). Neolaidas of Pheneos won the boys' boxing contest at Olympia *c.*392 (*Olympionikai* 380).

The coinage of Pheneos begins C5l (421, according to both Head, *HN*² 452 and Babelon, *Traité* ii.3. 598). The legends are: *ΦE*, *ΦENIKON*, *ΦENEΩN*. The city struck in both silver (*SNG Cop. Argolis* 271–73) and bronze (*SNG Cop. Argolis* 274–77). Known denominations are hemiobol, obol, triobol, drachm and stater. The most commonly depicted divinities are Demeter and Hermes. The magnificent C4 staters depict Demeter (Maia?) on the *obv.*; *rev.* Hermes running with the infant Arkas, to which is sometimes added the legend *APKAΣ*. The staters are collected and described by Schultz (1991), who dates them to 360–340.

292. Phigaleia (Phigaleus) Map 58. Lat. 37.25, long. 21.20. Size of territory: 3. Type: [A]. The city-ethnic is *Φιγαλεύς* (Hdt. 6.83.2; *IvO* 161 (C4e)). The toponym is not attested in Archaic or Classical sources; Rhianos *apud* Steph. Byz. 664.10 and Polyb. 4.3.8 have *Φιγάλεια, ἡ*, but *IG* v.2 419.6 (*c.*240) and Diod. 15.40.2 (r374) have *Φιάλεια, ἡ*; see further Meyer (1938) 2065–67, who argues for the forms *Φιγαλέα* and *Φιγαλία*.

Phigaleia is listed (as *Φιγαλεῖς Ἀρκάδες*) as a *polis* in the political sense in the accounts of the Delphic *naopoioi* at *CID* II 4.III.1, 45 (*c.*360) under the heading *τάδε πόλεις καὶ ἰδιῶται ἐπάρξαντο* and in Diod. 15.40.1, 40.2 (r374), and in the urban sense at Polyb. 4.3.7. *IvO* 161 (C4e) uses *πατρίς* about the city. The collective use of the city-ethnic is

attested externally in *CID* II 4.III.45 (*c.*360); the individual use is found externally at Hdt. 6.83.2 and in *IvO* 161 (C4e).

The territory occupied *c.*125 km²; its mountainous character is well brought out by Jost (1985) 82–83. It is termed χώρα by *IG* V.2 419 (*c.*240) and Polyb. 4.3.7. A possible inland port on the river Neda is described by Cooper (1972) 359–62. On a promontory overlooking the Neda valley and with city and port within sight is a free-standing C4 watch-tower (ibid. 363). Phigaleia probably had a number of second-order settlements; one such, *c.*1 km west of the city, is briefly noticed by Cooper and Myers (1981) 133, who hypothesise "a number of satellite villages" (ibid.); one such was associated with the sanctuary at Bassai (Yalouris (1979) 90). At Bassai, on the southern slope of Mt. Kotilion, the sanctuary of Apollo Bassitas or Epikourios (cf. Cooper (1968) 103 n. 5) can be traced back to *c.*C8s or *c.*700 (Jost (1985) 93; Voyatzis (1990) 43). *C.*620–580 a monumental temple was built (for a plan, see Jost (1985) pl. 22.2; Kelly (1995) fig. 1) which was oriented north–south. It is possible that the construction of a new temple was begun *c.*500 (Yalouris (1979) 94–96; Jost (1985) 94); however, the famous Classical temple was built in C5s (Jost (1985) 95). It is a Doric peripteral temple measuring 16.13 × 38.87 m and oriented north–south, with six times fifteen columns, and is built of local limestone (for a plan, see Cooper (1968) 104). A large number of other Archaic and Classical buildings stood within the sanctuary (Yalouris (1979) 90). Just above Bassai, on Mt. Kotilion, two simple temples without peristasis have been excavated (see Jost (1985) pl. 22.3 for a plan). They were presumably parts of a single sanctuary (Jost (1985) 97) that can be traced back to C8–C7 (ibid.). The temples were erected contemporaneously with the first temple at Bassai, i.e. *c.*625–600 (Cooper (1968) 103 n. 7). For other extra-urban sanctuaries, see Cooper (1972) 363–67 and *AR* (1995–96) 12.

K. Tausend (1993) 16 argues that Phigaleia was an Azanian city, but this is highly unlikely (Roy (1972*b*) 44 n. 6; Nielsen (1996*a*) 160 n. 61; Nielsen and Roy (1998) 33–36); in any case, if the Azanians ever formed a political unit, this had broken up before C5 (Roy (1972*b*) 44, (1996) 110; Nielsen (1996*a*) 138). Membership of the Peloponnesian League is not explicitly attested, but can be assumed (Nielsen (1996*c*) 87, 92); the same is true of membership of the Arkadian Confederacy (ibid. 94–95). According to Polyaen. 6.27.2, Phigaleia sent an embassy to Argos (no. 347) to conclude a *symmachia*; Meyer (1938) 2070, 2082, believes that the passage refers to C5l; see, however, Robertson (1992) 234–35, 240, 243–44 and esp. 250–52, arguing that this passage simply reflects an aetiological mythic complex. The earliest attested treaty to which Phigaleia was a party is *Staatsverträge* 476 of *c.*267–265, a treaty between Athens (no. 361) and Sparta (no. 345) with allies. A citizen of Phigaleia was appointed *proxenos* by the Aitolian Confederacy *c.*270 (*IG* IX.1 13.19).

Phigaleian exiles are mentioned by Diod. 15.40.2 (r374). From the same passage it can be inferred that Phigaleia was a democracy in 374 (Roy (1973) 138). A system of *phylai* is attested in *IG* V.2 421 (undated); *damiorgoi* are mentioned in *IG* V.2 423 (undated).

The agora is mentioned in *IG* V.2 421.7 (undated); Polyb. 4.79.5 refers to a *polemarchion*; Diod. 15.40.2 (r374) mentions a theatre. A C4–C3 fountain is found too (Papachatzis (1994) 352–53). The acropolis was separately fortified (Cooper and Myers (1981) fig. 4); there are no remains on the acropolis (Jost (1985) 86). "Fortifications embrace a large area, approximately 1.5 km north–south and 1.3 km east–west" (Cooper and Myers (1981) 124; a plan is found as fig. 4); "Stretches of the circuit may date as early as the 5th c. B.C. but in the mid 4th c. B.C. portions were rebuilt" (Cooper in *PECS* s.v. Phigalia). Meyer (1938) 2069 supposes that not all the area of the city was actually occupied by habitation, but that the city was built to give shelter to herds of cattle; on the other hand, Cooper and Myers (1981) 133 note that roof-tiles, some Classical, are scattered across most of the site, indicating habitation and/or other roofed buildings. According to Cooper in *PECS* s.v. Phigalia, "considerable remains of the Archaic, Classical, and Roman periods lie exposed". For a C4 intra-mural temple of Zeus Soter and Athena, see *AR* (1996–97) 47.

A Polias divinity is attested by *IG* V.2 421 (undated). The principal deity of the city was Dionysos (Meyer (1938) 2083–84), in whose honour festivals (Diod. 15.40.2 (r374)) and mysteries (Jost (1985) 85 with refs.) were celebrated; recently, a C4 intramural temple dedicated to Athena and Zeus Soter has been excavated; at the temple a number of inscriptions were found, among which grants of *proxenia* to citizens of Megalopolis (no. 282) and Byzantion (no. 674), etc., and an Archaic votive inscription to Athena (*Ergon* (1996) 41–47). *SEG* 23 240 is a C4 dedication to Hygieia.

Citizens of Phigaleia achieved Olympic victories in C6 (*Olympionikai* 95, 99, 102) and C4 (*Olympionikai* 392); the latter athlete won three Isthmian victories as well (*CEG* II 826). The city as such donated money for the construction of the new temple at Delphi in the 360s (*CID* II 4.III.45).

293. Phorieia (Phoriaeus) Unlocated. Type: C. The toponym is Φορίεια in Steph. Byz. 670.7, who cites Ephor. fr. 55 for the ethnic Φοριαεύς. The city's only claim to

inclusion in this Inventory is the fact that it had its own ethnic; since sub-ethnics are practically unknown in Arkadia, the ethnic may be a city-ethnic; cf. Nielsen (1996*a*) 117–32.

294. Psophis (Psophidios) Map 58. Lat. 37.50, long. 21.55. Size of territory: 4. Type: A. The toponym is *Ψωφίς, ἡ* (Theophr. *Hist. pl.* 9.15.2; Polyb. 4.70.3). The city-ethnic is invariably *Ψωφίδιος* (Hecat. fr. 6). Psophis is called *polis* in the political sense in *IvO* 294 (C4s; see comm. *IvO* and Meyer (1959) 1426), and in the urban sense at Polyb. 4.70.4 (r219). The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally on C5 coins (Head, *HN*² 453) and externally in *SEG* 24 299 (C6s) and at Hecat. fr. 6.

The territory occupied *c.*280 km². No second-order settlements are known. The mountains Malea and Lampeia were sacred to Pan (Jost (1985) 57). On Mt. Aphrodision was a sanctuary with several buildings, among which a C5 temple (9.9 × 7.4 m) and a C5 stoa stand out; the votives date back to the Archaic period (Jost (1985) 58–59). According to Paus. 8.25.1, the border with Thelphousa (no. 300) was marked by a stele with *ἀρχαῖα γράμματα*.

Psophis is not attested as having been a member of any larger organisation during our period, but according to Polyb. 4.70.3, it was an Azanian community; however, if the Azanians ever formed a political unit, this had broken up before C5 (Roy (1972*b*) 44, (1996) 110; Nielsen (1996*a*) 138). Paus. 5.24.2 refers to undatable military activities by Psophis; however, *SEG* 24 299 is a C6s dedication of a shield by the city at Olympia, indicating that it was conducting military campaigns by that time.

No Psophidian *proxenoi* are known, but at 6.16.7 Pausanias refers to an (undatable) sculptural group at Olympia which he thought represented Eleian *proxenoi* of Psophis.

Psophis was situated in a remarkable, almost peninsular position between the rivers Erymanthos and Aroanios (see Jost (1985) pl. 10.1), a position commented upon by Polyb. 4.70.7–10 and well brought out by Pritchett (1989) 23–24. For what it is worth, Polybios at 4.70.3 calls the city a *παλαιὸν Ἀρκάδων κτίσμα*. For Archaic stray finds from the site, see Jost (1985) 57. Several sections of retaining walls can be found inside the circuit (Papandreou (1920) 138). Within the circuit are numerous ancient remains and sherds (ibid. 138–41); some of the larger foundations may be of temples (cf. Jost (1985) 55–57), and there are traces of a *proasteion* as well (Papandreou (1920) 142). The circuit wall enclosed an area of 80 ha (Meyer (1959) 1424). It is of Scranton's class C5 (isodomic trapezoidal: quarry face, p. 170), which he dates 425–375 (Scranton (1941) 85). Polybios refers to private houses in Psophis three times (4.72.1 twice (*οἰκιῶν*), 8 (*οἰκήσεις*)). The acropolis, too, is mentioned by Polyb. 4.71.11, 72.1 (r219). An acropolis wall is not visible (Pritchett (1989) 28) and there are no ancient remains on the acropolis (Papandreou (1920) 138).

Athena Polias is presumably attested on coin types (Jost (1985) 55), and Papandreou (1920) 139 assumes that Artemis Erykine was the patron divinity of the city.

The coinage of Psophis began in C5f (Head, *HN*² 453). The Classical coinage was in silver only. Known denominations are tritemorion, hemiobol, obol, trihemiobol and tetrobol. The legend is *ΨΟΦΙΔΙΟΝ* or abbreviations thereof. Frequent types are *obv.* Keryneian stag; *rev.* fish (with acorn) in incuse square, and *obv.* head of Athena; *rev.* club (of Herakles). In C4l the city began to strike in bronze. *SNG Cop. Argolis* 280–82.

295. Pylai (Parpylaios) Unlocated, but presumably in western Arkadia (Meyer (1957*a*) 81). Type: C. Steph. Byz. 538.19 mentions a *Πύλαι* as a *τόπος Ἀρκαδίας*; Meyer (1957*a*) 81 connects this place with the ethnic *Παρπυλαῖος* (*SEG* 18 157 (C5)). If accepted, Pylai may claim inclusion in this Inventory because it had its own ethnic; since sub-ethnics are practically unknown in Arkadia, the ethnic may be a city-ethnic; cf. further Nielsen (1996*a*) 117–32.

296. Stymphalos (Stymphalios) Map 58. Lat. 37.50, long. 22.30. Size of territory: 3. Type: A. The toponym is *Στύνφαλος* in *SEG* 35 371 (C5f); Ps.-Skylax 44, *SEG* 36 147.B fr. d.7 (*c.*368) and Polyb. 4.68.6 have *Στύμφαλος, ὁ* (cf. *ἡ* at Paus. 8.22.2), and Hom. *Il.* 2.608 has *Στύμφηλος*. The city-ethnic is *Στυμφάλιος* (Pind. *Ol.* 6.99; *SEG* 20 716.20 (C4m)).

Stymphalos is listed as the fifth toponym after the heading *πόλεις αἱ μεγάλαι αἵδε* (where *polis* is used in the urban sense) at Ps.-Skylax 44. In the political sense *polis* is used about the city in, e.g., *IG* v.2 352 (C4s) and *SEG* 32 370 *quater* (*c.*315); *πολίτης* is found in *IG* v.2 351.3 (C4l), *πολιτεία* in *IG* v.2 358 (C3f), and *πολιτεύειν* in *IPArk* no. 17.176 (C4l). The internal collective use of the city-ethnic is found in *IG* v.2 352.1–2 (C4l) and on C4 coins (Head, *HN*² 454); externally, the individual use is found at Xen. *An.* 1.1.11 and in *IG* iv²1 102 A23 (C4), and the collective use in Pind. *Ol.* 6.99 and *SEG* 20 716.20 (C4m).

The lake near the city was called *ἡ Στυμφηλὶς λίμνη* (Hdt. 6.76.3); the size of this lake varied, and it sometimes extended to the southern part of the city, which itself occupied the lacustrine plain. The size of the territory was *c.*180

km². Near Lafka, *c.*6 km south-west of the city, is a late Classical/Hellenistic cemetery, and Doric architectural fragments.

Stymphalian membership of the Peloponnesian League may be assumed (Nielsen (1996*c*) 87). Membership of the Arkadian Confederacy is proved by Xen. *Hell.* 7.3.1 (Bölte (1931) 447). A treaty of *symbola* was concluded with Athens (no. 361) in C4m (cf. *Staatsverträge* 279; *SEG* 36 147), and one with Demetrias = Sikyon (no. 228) in C4l (*IPArk* no. 17); in C3f a treaty of *sympoliteia vel sim.* was concluded with Lousoi (no. 279) (*IG* V.2 358).

In *SEG* 36 147 fr. a.4 (*c.*368) occurs the expression *πρ]οξένων πρεσβ*[, which may indicate the exchange of envoys and the existence of *proxenia* relations between Athens and Stymphalos before the final conclusion of the treaty (of *symbola*); see Walbank (1986) 333 note *ad* fr. a.4 and 350–51; Stymphalos granted *proxenia* to an unknown man in C4s (*IG* v.2 352), and had one of its own citizens appointed Delphic *proxenos* and *theorodokos c.*360 (*Syll.*³ 189); an Argive *theorodokos* resided in the city *c.*330 (*SEG* 23 189.24).

The earliest surviving public enactments are a series of C4s decrees (*IG* v.2 351–56), for which see Taueber (1981). A death sentence is recorded at *SEG* 20 716.20 (C4m). A *boule* is attested at *IG* v.2 351 and 356 (C4s), and a board of *prostatai bolas* at *IG* v.2 351; a board of *damiorgoi* at *IG* v.2 351 too. An assembly (*ἐκκλησία*) is attested at *IPArk* no. 17.194; its ordinary name was probably *polis* (*IG* v.2 352 (C4s)).

The public architecture of Stymphalos is still imperfectly known; the agora has not been located with certainty (H. Williams (1984) 186; but see Bölte (1931) 443 and Jost (1985) 104–5). An area of seating cut in the bare rock south of the acropolis suggests the existence of a theatre (H. Williams (1983) 200, (1984) 176–77; cf. Frederiksen (2002) 67). The acropolis is included within the circuit; here three temples are known, not all of them firmly dated, but one possibly dedicated to Athena Polias is C4m (H. Williams, pers. comm.) and has yielded late Archaic and Classical sculpture (H. Williams *et al.* (1997) 44, pers. comm.).

Pind. *Ol.* 6.99 uses the phrase *ἀπὸ Στυμφαλίων τειχέων*, thus suggesting the existence of a C5f fortification; at 8.8.4, Strabo mentions a siege of Stymphalos by Iphikrates, which probably occurred in 369 (Dušanić (1970) 332 n. 9). The preserved wall is C4m or C4l, and is constructed in mudbrick on a stone foundation (H. Williams and Price (1995) 8; Williams *et al.* (1997) 66). It was 2,300 m long and is described by H. Williams (1983), (1984); it seems to have enclosed an area of at least 40 ha (calculated on the basis of H. Williams (1983) fig. 1).

According to Paus. 8.22.1–2, old Stymphalos was not in the same place as the known city, but we have no idea about where this can have been (Jost (1985) 101, 105); however, at the village of Lafka, part of a well-preserved polygonal circuit wall has been found, thus providing a possible candidate for early Stymphalos (H. Williams, pers. comm.). The later city was "laid out as an orthogonally planned town some time in the fourth century (= 375–350, p. 8); it had a sophisticated grid of streets and blocks apparently laid out on a module of 110 Doric feet, or 36 m, for width of street and block, inside a well-built circuit of stone and mud brick walls that encompassed a relatively low acropolis near the lake as well as the flat terrain to the north and east of it" (H. Williams and Price (1995) 1). So far, the earliest pottery from the site is Late Archaic (ibid. 8); sufficient Classical pottery has now been found to push the existence of the town back into C5 (H. Williams *et al.* (1997) 41, 43; part of the road system may also predate C4: ibid. 42). There is evidence for several late Archaic or early Classical peri-urban Doric temples (H. Williams and Price (1995) 20; H. Williams *et al.* (1997) 67).

Athena Polias is attested by *SEG* 11 1111 (C4), but the patron deity of the city was probably Artemis: she is depicted on coins, and her sanctuary was used for publication of decrees (*IG* v.2 351.9–10 (C4l)). In C5, Dromeus of Stymphalos was *periodonikes* (Knab (1934) no. 3).

According to Head, *HN*², the coinage of Stymphalos began *c.*400; according to Babelon, *Traité* ii.3. 593–94 it began *c.*420. The city struck in both silver and bronze. The legend is *ΣΤ*, *ΣΤΥΜΦΑ* (bronze coins), and *ΣΤΥΜ*, *ΣΤΥΜΦΑ*, *ΣΤΥΜΦΑΛ*, *ΣΤΥΜΦΑΛΙΟΝ*, *ΣΤΥΜΦΑΛΙΩΝ* (silver coins). Known denominations are obol, triobol and stater. The types depict Artemis, Herakles and the Stymphalian birds. The *rev.* type of the staters (Herakles with club) is discussed by Schefold (1963–64). *SNG Cop. Argolis* 283–87.

297. Tegea (Tegeatas) Map 58. Lat. 37.30, long. 22.25. Size of territory: 4. Type: A. The toponym is *Τεγέα*, *ἡ* (*IG* IV 510 (C5f); Pind. *Ol.* 10.66), or in Ionic *Τεγέη* (Hom. *Il.* 2.607; *IvO* 268 (*c.*460)); Diod. 11.66.3 (r467/6) has *Τεγέαι*. The city–ethnic is invariably *Τεγεάτας* (*IG* v.2 159 (C5); *SEG* 37 676 (C4f)), of which the Ionic form is *Τεγεήτης* (Hdt. 1.65.1).

Tegea is called a *polis* in the political sense at Simon. 122, Diehl = *Anth. Pal.* 7.512, possibly C5f (Molyneux (1992) 201), or *c.*369 (Pritchett (1985) 217–19), Hdt. 7.202, 204, and *SEG* 11 1051 (C4e); in the urban sense *polis* is used about it at Thuc.

5.62.2, Xen. *Hell.* 7.5.8 and Ps.-Skylax 44, who lists it as the first toponym after the heading *πόλεις αἱ μεγάλαι αἵδε*, where *polis* is used in the urban sense. The territorial sense of *polis* (with the political sense as a possible connotation) occurs in Xen. *Hell.* 7.5.5 (for which see Nielsen (1996*c*) 72–73). Xen. *Hell.* 6.5.7 and *IG* v.2 39 (C4) use *πολῖται*, whereas *IG* v.2 3.11 (C5l–C4e) makes a distinction between *Ϝαστός* and *ξένος*. There was an Aristotelian *Τεγεατῶν πολιτεία* (frr. 608–9). *IPArk* no. 5 (*c.*324) uses *πολιτεύειν* at l. 21, and at l. 28 it uses *πολιτικός* to distinguish the ordinary lawcourt of the city from an *ad hoc* court, called *τὸ δικαστήριον τὸ ξενικόν* and presumably composed of citizens from a foreign *polis* (*IPArk* p. 65), established to adjudicate the claims of returning exiles. *SEG* 22 287 (C3) uses *πατρίς* about the city and the poetess Anyte *πάτρα* (*Anth. Pal.* 6.153 = Gow and Page 11). A C4 tile is stamped *ΔΑΜΟΣΙΟΣ* (*IG* v.2 170.1).

The collective use of the city-ethnic is found internally in *IG* v.2 159 (C5), and externally in ML 27.3, Hdt. 1.65.1 and Thuc. 4.143.1. The individual use is found externally in Hdt. 9.9.1, Thuc. 2.67.1, *IG* I³ 1371 *bis* (*c.*410) and *SEG* 37 676 (C4f).

The territory occupied *c.*385 km². It is described as a *καλὸν πεδίον* in a C6 oracle reported at Hdt. 1.66.2. Its name was (*ἡ*) *Τεγεᾶτις* (*χώρα*) (Thuc. 5.64.4; Xen. *Hell.* 6.5.15). Hdt. 1.66.4 calls the territory *τὸ πεδίον τὸ τῶν Τεγεητέων*, and it is termed *χώρα* at Xen. *Hell.* 6.5.6. The border with Lakonia is referred to at Hdt. 8.124.3 (*οὗροι οἱ Τεγεητικοί*). Near this border, at Analipsis, was a Classical sanctuary which seems to have been associated with a small settlement (Jost (1985) 161). At Mavriki south-east of the city was a C6 Doric marble temple (Voyatzis (1990) 29–30). Just north of the city, on Ag. Sostis, is an Archaic sanctuary which perhaps included a C5 temple (Jost (1985) 155). For two C4 fortified watch-towers in the territory, see Pikoulas (1995) cat. nos. 42–43. According to Strabo 8.3.2, Tegea was (at an uncertain date) synoecised from nine demes, whose names are given at Paus. 8.45.1. The nature of the settlement pattern and the political organisation before the synoecism are completely unknown, but the areas of the demes can be roughly located (cf. Voyatzis (1990) 10–11 with fig. 2); two of the demes, those of the Karyatai and the Oiatai, seem to have been annexed by the Spartans at an early date and to have alternated between inclusion in Tegea and Sparta (no. 345) (cf. Shipley (1997) 233–34, 238–39; Nielsen (1999) 49).

Tegea fielded 500 hoplites for Thermopylai (Hdt. 7.202), but at Plataiai the city provided 1,500 (Hdt. 9.27.3) in addition to 1,500 *psiloi* (Hdt. 9.61.2); at the battle of Nemea in 394 the city may have fielded upwards of 2,400 hoplites (Roy (1971*b*) 440). Finally, the *stasis* of 370 sent 800 oligarchs into exile at Sparta (Xen. *Hell.* 6.5.10). These figures suggest a substantial population, but its exact size cannot be estimated (cf. Forsén (2000) 36–39), and it is, furthermore, not known how large a fraction of the population resided in the town.

According to Hdt. 1.66.3, the Spartans in C6f planned to subject Tegea to an *exandrapodismos*, but were unsuccessful. It is often believed that it was this conflict that led, around C6m, to the conclusion of the treaty *Staatsverträge* 112 (cf. p. 11); an alliance between Tegea and Sparta antedating the Persian Wars is certainly implied by Hdt. 9.26.2, but the treaty *Staatsverträge* 112 is now thought to belong to C5f (Cawkwell (1993) 368–70; Braun (1994) 42–45; cf. Osborne (1996) 287–89). C5 membership of the Peloponnesian League can be inferred from numerous passages in Thucydides (2.67.1, 5.32.3, 57.2, 67.1), and C4 membership is proved by, e.g., Xen. *Hell.* 4.2.13. A C5f alliance with Argos (no. 347) can be inferred from Hdt. 9.35.2 (cf. Strabo 8.6.19, who gives a vague chronological reference: *μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ναυμαχίαν*): Argos assisted Tegea in a battle against Sparta (Hdt.), and Tegea assisted Argos against Mykenai (no. 353) (Strabo). The same Herodotean passage allows the inference that Tegea at one point in C5f was the leader of an anti-Spartan alliance comprising all Arkadia except Mantinea (no. 281); cf. Nielsen (1996*b*) 218–20. From Thuc. 4.134.1 it appears that Tegea, like Mantinea, was the leader of a local alliance; cf. Nielsen (1996*c*) 79–86.

In 370, Tegea joined the Arkadian Confederacy, but only after a bloody civil war which sent 800 oligarchs into exile (Xen. *Hell.* 6.5.6–9). Tegea became a leading member providing oecists for the foundation of Megalopolis (no. 282) (Paus. 8.27.2). When the Confederacy split in two in 363, Tegea with Megalopolis remained loyal to Boiotia (Xen. *Hell.* 7.5.5), whereas Mantinea joined Sparta; Diod. 15.82.2 refers to Tegea as the leader of the faction opposing Mantinea.

Tegean military commanders are referred to at Hdt. 7.202 and 204, and *στρατηγοί* are mentioned in a C4m law (*IPArk* no. 3.9). Five hundred Tegean hoplites were present at Thermopylai (Hdt. 7.202); 1,500 hoplites and 1,500 other troops fought at Plataiai (Hdt. 9.28.3, 61.2), and Tegean troops fought at Mantinea in 418 (Thuc. 5.67.1) and at Nemea in 394 (Xen. *Hell.* 4.2.20).

A Tegean envoy to the Persian king is mentioned at Thuc. 2.67.1, and according to Diod. 15.82.3 Tegea in 362 sent an embassy to Boiotia; Tegea received envoys from Corinth (no. 227) and Argos (no. 347) in 421 (Thuc. 5.32.3) and from

Epidauros (no. 348) in C4f (*IG* IV²1 102.A.II.102). In C4e, the city granted *proxenia* to a man from Orchomenos (no. 286) (*SEG* 11 1051), and in C4m two Tegeans were granted Delphic *proxenia* (*SEG* 31 560); in C4–C3 an Argive *theorodokos* resided in Tegea (*SEG* 33 283).

A system of four, presumably territorial, *phylai* is attested, but its functions are unknown; Paus. 8.53.6 names them Κλαρεῶτις, Ἱπποθοῖτις, Ἀπολλωνιᾶτις and Ἀθανεᾶτις, and these names occur on a C3 inscription (*IG* v.2 36) as Ἱπποθοῖται, Ἀπολλωνιᾶται, etc.; Jones, *POAG* 139–42. There was an Aristotelian Τεγεατῶν πολιτεία (fr. 608), but there is no direct evidence about the *form* of constitution; however, a *stasis* is described at Xen. *Hell.* 6.5.7; this *stasis* brought the *demos* to power, and it can be inferred that prior to the *stasis* Tegea was an oligarchy governed in accordance with οἱ πάτριοι νόμοι; a θεσμός is referred to in *IPArk* no. 1.8, 19–20 (C5). The earliest surviving public enactment is *SEG* 11 1051 of C4e (ἔδοξε τᾶι πόλι τῶν Τεγεατᾶν). The eponymous official was presumably the priest of Athena Alea (*IPArk* no. 4 n. 1 (C4)); a board called οἱ Τριακάσιοι (*IPArk* nos. 2.20–21, 3.8 (C5l–C4e)) was presumably a council, and one called οἱ πεντέκοντα possibly its executive committee (*IPArk* no. 1.20 with n. 7 (C5l–C4e)). In addition, there is evidence of boards of θεαροί (Xen. *Hell.* 6.5.7); δαμιοργοί (*IPArk* no. 2.28 (C5l–C4e)); ἐσδοτῆρες (= *poletai*) (*IPArk* no. 3.48 (C4m)); and hιερομνάμονες (*IPArk* no. 2.22–23 (C5l–C4e)). In addition, *IPArk* no. 2.5 attests to a hιεροθύτας, and *SEG* 11 1070 (C4l) to an *agonothetes*. The existence of an assembly can be inferred from *SEG* 11 1051 (C4e): ἔδοξε τᾶι πόλι, for which formula see Rhodes (1995) 95–96. A local calendar is attested by *IPArk* no. 2.29–30 (C5l–C4e).

The layout of the city of Tegea is not well known, though there are indications that by the end of the Archaic period the sanctuary of Athena Alea was at the heart of a well-developed site (Morgan (1999) 396–97); Ødegård (*AR* (2000–1) 32) refers to various C6s and C5 finds from the city area. A circuit wall and two gates are mentioned at Xen. *Hell.* 6.5.8–9 in reference to 370; however, Diod. 12.79.3 (r418) mentions a *poliorkia* of Tegea, thus suggesting that the city was walled at this date. Furthermore, at 5.62.2 Thucydides states that in 418 some people in Tegea were willing to betray the city to the democratic quadruple alliance (καί τινες αὐτοῖς καὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει [*sc.* of Tegea] ἐνεδίδοσαν τὰ πράγματα); if insiders were necessary to conquer the city, we may assume that it was fortified. The preserved remains of the C4e wall show it to have been constructed in mudbrick on a stone foundation (Bérard (1892) 548; cf. Voyatzis (1990) 12); traces of the wall were reportedly found in four places, thus giving a very rough indication of its course (Bérard (1892) 547; cf. Voyatzis (1990) fig. 3), and this course has now been confirmed in its basic assumptions (*AR* (2000–1) 32) except for the fact that the sanctuary of Athena Alea seems to have been *outside* the wall. The area enclosed by the wall seems to have had the shape of "an irregular ellipse, with the long axis measuring 2,000 metres and the short axis 1,400 metres" (Voyatzis (1990) 12; cf. Bérard (1892) 547). It measured max. *c.*190 ha. *IPArk* no. 5 (324) refers to *oikiai*, but there is, unfortunately, no way of knowing how densely populated the large area inside the wall was. At 5.17.2 Polybios refers to the acropolis, but this has so far escaped identification (Voyatzis (1990) 16–17; cf. Bérard (1892) 541–42).

Little is known about public architecture. Xen. *Hell.* 7.4.36 refers to a *desmoterion* and to a *demosia oikia*. There are remains of a C4 theatre (Callmer (1943) 121; *TGR* ii. 270). A C3 inscription refers to the agora (*SEG* 22 280.24). But the most famous Tegean structure was, of course, the temple of Athena Alea; the first monumental temple was constructed C7l (Voyatzis (1990) 11); the Classical temple was constructed *c.*345–335 (Norman (1984) 191–93).

An Athena Poliatis is attested by Paus. 8.47.5 and *IG* v.2 77 (Roman, but the divinity is presumably much earlier; see Burkert (1995) 208), but the real patron divinity of Tegea was Athena Alea (Voyatzis (1990) 14; cf. Jost (1985) 142–65). Festivals are attested by *IPArk* no. 2.26 (C5l–C4e) and *IPArk* no. 5.21–22 (324); games in honour of Athena Alea are attested as early as Pind. *Ol.* 7.83 (cf. *IG* v.2 75 (C6l), 113 (C5e); Jost (1985) 374); a στάδιον χῶμα γῆς is mentioned by Paus. 8.47.4; a starting line block of uncertain but possibly late Classical date is published by Pakkanen, *Tegea Stadium*. A Pythian victor is attested for 554 (Paus. 10.7.7), a Nemean for C5 (Dubois (1986) TE 1), and an Olympic for 308 (Diod. 20.37.1). Dedications of Spartan and Persian spoils were set up in the temple of Athena Alea (Hdt. 1.66.4, 9.70.3), and in 423 the city sent Mantinean spoils to Delphi (Thuc. 4.134.1); in Delphi, too, the city dedicated Spartan spoils and erected a stoa in *c.*369 (cf. *SEG* 31 558–59; Vatin (1988) 453–59).

According to Head, *HN*² 454, the mint at Tegea began to strike *c.*420; hoard evidence, however, may point to the Archaic period for the first coinage (cf. *IGCH* 11, buried *c.*480; *Hesperia* 24 (1955) 135–36). The city struck on the Aiginetan standard and minted in silver, bronze and iron; the single surviving iron coin (C5s) is discussed by Köhler (1882*b*) (cf. also MacIsaac (1988) 48–49): *obv.* Gorgoneion; *rev.* owl + ΤΕΓΕ. Known denominations are hemiobol, trihemiobol, obol and triobol; in addition, a single

didrachm is known, for which see Schwabacher (1939) 15–18. The most common types are Gorgoneion, head of Athena Alea and owl. Legends: *T*, *TE*, *TEΓ*, *TEΓE*, *TEΓEA*, *TEΓEATAN* (*-ΩN*) or *AΘANAΣ AΛEAΣ*. *SNG Cop. Argolis* 288–313.

298. Teuthis (Teuthidas) Map 58. Lat. 37.35, long. 22.00. Located at modern Dimitsana; see Jost (1985) 212 and Pikoulas (1986*b*). Size of territory: ? Type: C. The toponym is *Τεῦθις*, *ἡ* (Paus. 8.28.4); the ethnic is *Τευθίδας*, attested on Hellenistic coins (Head, *HN*² 418). At 8.28.4 Pausanias states that *πάλαι δὲ ἦν πόλισμα ἡ Τεῦθις*, but the only reason for including it in this Inventory is the fact that according to Paus. 8.27.4 (r371) Teuthis was, prior to the foundation of Megalopolis (no. 282), among the communities whose relationship to Orchomenos (no. 286) could be described by the phrase *συντελεῖν ἐς*. The other communities so described are Methydrion (no. 283) and Thisoa (no. 301), both of which were probably *poleis*. So, by analogy, we may class Teuthis as a possible *polis*.

According to Paus. 8.27.4, Teuthis was among the communities that the Arkadian Confederacy decreed to relocate to Megalopolis; it is unknown, however, whether this decision was implemented, and the site seems not to have been abandoned at the synoecism (Pikoulas (1986*b*)).

The city proper lay below the acropolis. The site is now occupied by the village of Dimitsana, and so the degree of ancient urbanisation cannot be estimated; but Pikoulas (1986*b*) 116 reports considerable numbers of Archaic and Hellenistic sherds, but fewer Classical. The acropolis was fortified (ibid. 110 with map 1 at 101). The date of the impressive fortification is uncertain, but it is not earlier than C4 and is probably Hellenistic (ibid. 113).

299. Thaliades Map 58. Lat. 37.45, long. 21.55. Size of territory: ? Type: C. Paus. 8.25.2 has the toponym *Θαλιάδες*, *αἱ*; the Archaic coinage of the city has the legend *ΘAΛI*, probably an abbreviation of the otherwise unattested city-ethnic. The only reason for including the city in this Inventory is the existence of this Archaic coinage (Head, *HN*² 456; Six (1888) 103). The *obv.* type shows Hermes; attested denominations are obol and tetrobol. *SNG Cop. Argolis* 317.

Meyer (1939*a*) 75–78 describes "pseudopolygonale" fortification walls at the site of Thaliades (modern Vaklia), a small temple on the separately fortified acropolis and three further small temples in the immediate surroundings of the city (all four temples undated); the sherds at the site range from Classical to Hellenistic, but Jost (1985) 44 refers to earlier material. Cf. Jost (1985) 44–45.

300. Thelphousa (Thelphousios) Map 58. Lat. 37.45, long. 21.55. Size of territory: 4. Type: B. The toponym shows several variants: (1) *Θέλφουσα* (*IG* v.2 412 (Classical)); (2) *Θελ[φ]ούσσα* (*BCH* 45 (1921) 11.73 (*c.*230–210)); (3) *Τέλφουσα*, *ἡ* (Polyb. 2.54.13); (4) *Θέλπουσα*, *ἡ* (Paus. 8.25.1). The ethnic shows the corresponding variations: (1) *Θελφούσιος* (*IG* v.2 1.64 (360s)); (2) *[Θε]λ[π]ούσ[σ]ιος* (*IG* iv 727.B.13 (C4l)); (3) *Τελφούσιος* (Polyb. 4.73.2); (4) *Θελπούσιος* (Head, *HN*² 418). In addition, Steph. Byz. s.v. has *Θάλπουσα*, *Θαλπούσιος*. Finally, a C5e dedication at Olympia has *κἀρυξ δαμόσιος Θελφοίσιος* (*SEG* 11 1254a), which points to the form **Θέλφοισα* for the toponym. For a discussion of toponym and ethnic, see Meyer (1934) 1618.

Thelphousa is called a *polis* in the political sense at *SEG* 12 371 (242), and in the urban sense at Polyb. 2.54.13; it is referred to as *πάτρα* in *IG* v.2 412.2 (Classical). The city-ethnic is found in the external individual use in *IG* ix.1² 31.89 (C3l) and Phld. *Acad. Ind.* 20.8, Dorandi (rC3f); the collective use is found internally on C4 coins (abbreviated to *ΘEΛ*: Head, *HN*² 456) and externally in *IG* v.2 1.64 (360s).

The territory occupied *c.*275 km² and was called *Τελφουσία* (Lycoph. *Alex.* 1040; Polyb. 4.60.4). Steph. Byz. 306.5 describes Thelphousa as a *πόλις Ἀρκαδίας τοῦ Ὀρχομενοῦ*. Orchomenos (no. 286) seems to have ruled a number of dependent *poleis* (Nielsen (1996*c*) 84–86), but there is no other evidence that Thelphousa was one of these (Meyer (1934) 1619). At 8.25.1 Pausanias mentions a *kome* by the name of *Καοῦς*; the settlement may have existed by C4e (Jost (1986*b*) 644), and its *raison d'être* was presumably to look after the sanctuary of Asklepios Kaousios (Jost (1986*a*) 149). Kaous, at modern Voutsi, lay 6.5 km north of the city (Jost (1985) 63). *C.*2 km south of the city Meyer (1957*b*) 13ff found traces of a settlement which includes a C6l–C5e temple and thus existed in the Classical period; it must have constituted a second-order settlement of Thelphousa, possibly to be identified with ancient Onkeion (Paus. 8.25.4; cf. Jost (1985) 66). Another small settlement in the same general area is mentioned by Meyer (1957*b*) 15. For a possible settlement at Bertsia, see Jost (1985) 67. A fortress called *Στράτος*, *ἡ* was likewise situated in Thelphousian territory (Polyb. 4.73.2; Meyer (1934) 1619). It has not yet been located. The territory was dotted with sanctuaries (see Jost (1985) 66 (Classical), 67 (Archaic/Classical), 68 (possibly a temple), 68–69, 69 (a temple and Archaic votives)).

K. Tausend (1993) 18 argues that Thelphousa was an Azanian community, but certainty is impossible (Nielsen and Roy (1998) 33–36). In any case, even if the Azanians ever formed a political unity, this had broken up before C5 (Roy

(1972*b*) 44, (1996) 110; Nielsen (1996*a*) 139). Membership of the Peloponnesian League is not explicitly attested, but may be assumed (Nielsen (1996*c*) 87); membership of the Arkadian Confederacy is attested by *IG* v.2 1.64 (360s).

IG v.2 412 is a Classical epigram commemorating fallen warriors, and may perhaps be connected with the battle fought at Thelphousa in 352 (Diod. 16.39.6). Thelphousian diplomatic activity is implied by the C5e dedication of a herald's staff at Olympia which was inscribed *κâρυξ δαμόσιος Θελφοίσιος* (*SEG* 11 1254a).

The form of constitution is unknown; a Classical epigram commemorating fallen warriors refers to their saving the *εὐνομίαν . . . πατέρων* (*IG* v.2 412.6). Otherwise the earliest preserved public enactment is *SEG* 12 371 of 242, an *asylia* decree for Kos; it attests to an assembly in the enactment formula *ἔδοξε τâι πόλι τῶ[ν] Θελφουσίων*.

"Ancient Thelphousa is situated on the left bank of the Ladon about one kilometer north of the hamlet of *Toubitsi*" (Pritchett (1989) 38). The city was situated on a hill and covered an extensive area on the lower slopes, not all of which was occupied (Jost (1985) 62). Numerous scattered remains have been found, particularly in the lower city (ibid.). For a plan, see Jost (1986*b*) fig. 4. The only well-known feature of the city is the agora. It was huge, measuring 130 × *c.*120 m, and was laid out on an artificial terrace supported by a retaining wall (Jost (1986*b*) 638). The agora was flanked by stoas on all four sides, the western stoa, however, running for only half the length of the agora; on the southern side, the agora was flanked by a C4 stoa which measured at least 78 × 7 m (ibid.). For a plan, see Jost (1986*a*) fig. 5. All in all, the layout and construction of the agora is C4 (Jost (1986*b*) 642). No monumental structures have been found on the acropolis (ibid. 637). The city was walled, and traces of the wall are extant, but have not been investigated separately; cf. Meyer (1939*a*) 86–87. It may, however, be noted that a Classical epigram (= *IG* v.2 412) commemorating fallen warriors probably refers to the wall (*ἔρκεα πύργων*).

Thelphousa began minting *c.*400 and struck in both silver and bronze, the bronze issues beginning perhaps only *c.*323 (Babelon, *Traité* ii.3. 621–22); the legends used are: *Θ*, *ΘΕΛ* (Head, *HN*² 456; Babelon, *Traité* ii.3 nos. 935–39). Types: Demeter Erinys, the horse Erion (= Arion), and later Apollo. The known silver coins are obols on the Aiginetan standard. *SNG Cop. Argolis* 318.

301. Thisoa (Thisoaios) Map 58. Lat. 37.40, long. 22.05. Size of territory: 1 or 2. Type: B (?). The toponym does not appear until *BCH* 45 (1921) III.5 (*c.*230–210), which gives *Θισόα, ἡ*; the MSS of Pausanias have *Θεισόα* (which Rocha-Pereira prints) and *Θισόα* (which Casevitz prints); cf. 8.27.4, 28.3. The city-ethnic is *Θισοαῖος*, which points to the toponym *Θισόα*; the ethnic occurs in, e.g., *CID* II 5.1.23–24 (358) and *IG* v.2 511 (C3l–C2e).

Thisoa is listed as a *polis* in the urban or political sense at Paus. 8.27.4 (r371), and refers to itself as a *polis* in the political sense in *IG* v.2 510–11 (C3l–C2e). The ethnic is found in the external individual use in *SEG* 14 455 (C4f), for which see Roy (1972*c*) 78; the internal collective use is found in *IG* v.2 510–11 (C3l–C2e).

The name and size of the territory are unknown; Paus. 8.28.3 (*ἐν Θεισόᾳ τῇ Μεθυδριεῦσιν ὁμόρῳ*) and 8.28.4 (*τῇ χώρᾳ δὲ τῇ Θεισόᾳ*) suggest that the toponym could be used as the name of the territory. At Paus. 8.27.3 (r371) Thisoa is listed among a number of communities whose relationship to Orchomenos (no. 286) could be described by the expression *συντελεῖν ἐς*. It is not clear what this means, but it suggests that prior to 371 Thisoa was a dependency of Orchomenos (Nielsen (1996*c*) 84–86).

Membership of the Arkadian Confederacy can be inferred from Paus. 8.27.4; the same passage claims that Thisoa was one of the communities that the Arkadian Confederacy decreed to relocate to Megalopolis (no. 282), but it is not known whether the decision was implemented.

SEG 14 455 (C4f) attests to a Delphic grant of *proxenia* to a Thisoaian; this man could conceivably originate from Kynourian Thisoa (for which see Paus. 8.27.3), but it is more likely that he was a citizen of the Thisoa under discussion (Roy (1972*c*) 78).

Thisoa was located at modern Karkalou. The city proper, unwalled, lay below the acropolis on a plateau (Jost (1985) 212). The acropolis was walled, but the fortification has not been dated; it may be C3 (Jost (1985) 212 n. 1). Remains of buildings have been found both on the acropolis and in the lower city; the oldest remains reported are C3 (*Prakt* (1911–12) 243).

302. Torthyneion (Torthyneus) Map 58 (at the Kolinos hill 1 km north-west of Lasta; see Pikoulas (1990–91)). Lat. 37.40, long. 22.10. Size of territory: ? Type: B. The toponym is *Τορθύ[νε]ον, τό* (*Syll.*³ 90.9 = *REG* 62 (1949) 4–12 (C5l–C4e)). The ethnic is found in the genitive plural as *Τορθυνήων* in *IPArk* no. 14.6 (360s).

Though Torthyneion occurs in two Classical sources only, these are enough to establish the community as a probable *polis*: (1) *Syll.*³ 90.9 = *REG* 62 (1949) 4–12 (C5l–C4e) attests the existence of a Delphic *theorodokos* at Torthyneion, and

(2) *IPArk* no. 14.5–7 has the ethnic in the external collective use (cf. Nielsen (1996*a*) 131–32) and attests to a Torthynean territory with fixed borders: *ἀπὺ τῶι ὁρίοι τῶι . . . τῶν Ὀρχομενίων καὶ τῶν Τορθυνήων καὶ Μετιδριήων κοινοῖ*. In 262, a citizen of Torthyneion was awarded Aitolian *proxenia* (*IG* IX.1² 17).

There are clear indications of habitation at Torthyneion, with abundant sherds ranging from the Geometric to the Hellenistic periods (Howell (1970) 99–100; Pikoulas (1990–91) 140–43). There are remains of fortification walls too (Pikoulas (1990–91) 144–45).

303. Trapezous (Trapezountios) Map 58. Lat. 37.25, long. 22.05. Size of territory: 1 or 2. Type: C. The toponym is *Τραπεζοῦς* (Hdt. 6.127.3); the ethnic is *Τραπεζούντιος* (Paus 8.27.5 (r371)).

Trapezous is called *polis* in the urban or political sense at Paus. 8.27.4 (r371) and—implicitly—*πάτρη* at Hdt. 6.127.3. The collective use of the ethnic is found at Paus. 8.27.5 (r371), probably taken over from a historiographic source.

The territory is called *χώρα Τραπεζουντία* at Paus. 8.29.1. According to Paus. 8.27.4, Trapezous was among the communities that the Arkadian Confederacy decreed to relocate to Megalopolis (no. 282); however, the Trapezountioi resisted the decision, but a part of the population was relocated by use of force, whereas another part left the Peloponnese (Paus. 8.27.5). The synoecism thus meant the end of the city's existence (cf. Meyer (1937*b*) 2213).

The city was a Parrhasian community and a member of the Arkadian Confederacy (Paus. 8.27.4; Nielsen (1996*a*) 132–34). Membership of the Peloponnesian League is not explicitly attested, but may be assumed; it was probably mediated by the tribal state of the Parrhasians (Nielsen (1996*c*) 100–1), and the same is true of the C5 alliance with Mantinea (no. 281) (ibid. 79–86).

There is a very brief report on an excavation at a site which may be Trapezous (modern Mavria) by Stephanos in *Prakt* (1907) 123; he reports remains of several buildings and sherds "of Hellenic times" (i.e. Hellenistic; cf. Jost (1985) 170). However, recent rescue excavations near modern Kyparissia (*c.*20 km north-west of Megalopolis) by A. V. Karapanagiotou have brought to light a new candidate for Trapezous: a city with a rectangular street plan and a fortification wall with rectangular towers, of considerable size (18 ha) though not excavated in its entirety, and dated by the excavator to the earlier fifth century; the earliest material is C6 ceramic material; a C6–C4 sanctuary is located 1.5 km from the city (information derived from public lecture by A. V. Karapanagiotou in Athens, May 2002; for earlier finds at the site, see Bather and Yorke (1892–93) 229–30; Jost (1985) 170). If not to be equated with Trapezous, the site may be ancient Basilis (Paus. 8.29.5).

According to Paus. 8.31.5, some old *xoana* of Hera, Apollo and the Muses found at Megalopolis had been transferred to the city from Trapezous; the likely date is the 360s, and we may thus assume that before that date Trapezous possessed cults of these divinities; cf. Jost (1985) 169.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Anderson, J. K. 1970. *Military Theory and Practice in the Age of Xenophon* (Berkeley and Los Angeles).

Baker-Penoyre, J. 1902. "Pheneus and the Pheneatiké", *JHS* 22: 228–39.

Bather, A. G., and Yorke, V. W. 1892–93. "Excavations on the Probable Sites of Basilis and Bathos", *JHS* 13: 227–31.

Bérard, V. 1892. "Tégée et la Tégéatide", *BCH* 16: 529–49.

Bergese, L. B. 1985. "Una pagina di storia Arcade: la fondazione di Erea", *AnnPisa* 15: 1095–1101.

Blum, G., and Plassart, A. 1914. "Orchomène d'Arcadie: fouilles de 1913: topographie, architecture, sculpture, menus objects", *BCH* 38: 71–88.

Bölte, F. 1913*a*. "*Ἑλισσών*", *RE* viii. 95.

——1913*b*. "Heraia", *RE* viii. 407–16.

——1927. "Lousoi", *RE* xiii. 1890–99.

——1930. "Mantinea", *RE* xiv. 1290–1344.

——1931. "Stymphalos", *RE* ivA. 436–53.

——1938. "Pheneos", *RE* xix. 1963–80.

Brackertz, U. 1976. *Zum Problem der Schützgottheiten griechischer Städte* (Berlin).

Bradeen, D. W. 1966. "Inscriptions from Nemea", *Hesperia* 35: 320–30.

Braun, T. 1994. "*ΧΡΗΣΤΟΥΣ ΠΟΙΕΙΝ*", *CQ* 44: 40–45.

Braunert, H., and Petersen T. 1972. "Megalopolis: Anspruch und Wirklichkeit", *Chiron* 2: 57–90.

Buck, C. D. 1955. *The Greek Dialects: Grammar, Selected Inscriptions, Glossary*² (London).

Burkert, W. 1995. "Greek *Poleis* and Civic Cults: Some Further Thoughts", *CPCPapers* 2: 201–9.

Bury, J. B. 1898. "The Double City of Megalopolis", *JHS* 18: 15–22.

Callmer, C. 1943. *Studien zur Geschichte Arkadiens bis zur Gründung des arkadischen Bundes* (Lund).

Cawkwell, G. 1993. "Sparta and her Allies in the Sixth Century", *CQ* 43: 364–76.

Christien, J., and Spyropoulos, T. 1985. "Eua et la Thyréatide-topographie et histoire", *BCH* 109: 455–66.

Cooper, F. A. 1968. "The Temple of Apollo at Bassae: New Observations on its Plan and Orientation", *AJA* 72: 103–11.

——1972. "Topographical Notes from Southwest Arcadia", *AAA* 3: 359–67.

—— and Myers, J. W. 1981. "Reconnaissance of a Greek Mountain City", *JFA* 8: 123–34.

Damaskos, D. N. 1990–91. "Ὑστεροκλασικὸ ἀνάγλυφο ἥρωα-ἱππέα ἀπὸ τὴν Ἀρκαδία", *Horos* 8–9: 99–105.

Daux, G. 1949. "Listes Delphiques de théarodoques", *REG* 62: 1–30.

Demand, N. H. 1990. *Urban Relocation in Archaic and Classical Greece: Flight and Consolidation* (Bristol).

Dilke, O. A. W. 1950. "Details and Chronology of Greek Theatre Caveas", *BSA* 65: 21–63.

Dubois, L. 1985. "Deux notes de dialectologie grecque", *Glotta* 63: 45–49.

——1986. *Recherches sur le dialecte arcadien*, ii: *Corpus dialectal* (Louvain-la-Neuve).

——1988. "À propos d'une nouvelle inscription arcadienne", *BCH* 112: 279–90.

——1996. *Inscriptions grecques dialectales d'Olbia du Pont* (Geneva).

Dušanić, S. 1970. *Arkadski Savez IV Veka* (Belgrade).

——1978. "Notes épigraphiques sur l'histoire arcadienne du IVe siècle", *BCH* 102: 332–58.

Erath, G. 1999*a*. "Archäologische Funde im Becken von Pheneos", in K. Tausend (1999*a*) 199–237.

——1999*b*. "Heiligtümer und Kulte Nordostarkadiens: der archäologische Befund", in K. Tausend (1999*a*) 238–46.

Fontenrose, J. 1978. *The Delphic Oracle: Its Responses and Operations* (London).

Forsén, B. 2000. "Population and Political Strength of Some Southeastern Arkadian *Poleis*", *CPCPapers* 5: 35–55.

Forsén, J., and Forsén, B. 1997. "The *Polis* of Asea—A Case Study of How Archaeology can Expand our Knowledge of the History of a *Polis*", *CPCPapers* 4: 163–76.

—— —— and Karlsson, L. 2002. "The Walls of Asea", *OpAth* 27: 83–104.

—— —— and Østby, E. 1999. "The Sanctuary of Agios Elias: Its Significance, and its Relations to Surrounding Sanctuaries and Settlements", *CPCActs* 6: 169–91.

Frazer, J. G. 1898. *Pausanias' Description of Greece*, 6 vols. (London).

Frederiksen, R. 2002. "The Greek Theatre: A Typical Building in the Urban Centre of the *Polis*?", *CPCPapers* 6: 65–124.

Gardner, E. A., Loring, W., Richards, G. C., and Woodhouse, W. J. 1893. *Excavations at Megalopolis 1890–1891* (London).

Hansen, M. H. 1995*a*. "Boiotian *Poleis*—A Test Case", *CPCActs* 2: 13–63.

——1995*b*. "*Kome*: A Study in How the Greeks Designated and Classified Settlements which were not *Poleis*", *CPCPapers* 2: 45–81.

—— and Fischer-Hansen, T. 1994. "Monumental Political Architecture in Archaic and Classical Greek *Poleis*: Evidence and Historical Significance", *CPCPapers* 1: 23–90.

Harding, P. 1994. *Androtion and the* Atthis: *The Fragments translated with Introduction and Commentary* (Oxford).

Hejnic, J. 1961. *Pausanias the Perieget and the Archaic History of Arcadia*, Rozpravy Československé Akademie Věd seš. 17, ročn. 71 (Prague).

Hodkinson, H., and Hodkinson, S. 1981. "Mantineia and the Mantinike: Settlement and Society in a Greek Polis", *BSA* 76: 239–96.

Holmberg, E. J. 1944. *The Swedish Excavations at Asea in Arcadia* (Lund).

Howell, R. 1970. "A Survey of Eastern Arcadia in Prehistory", *BSA* 65: 79–127.

Imhoof-Blumer, F. W., and Gardner, P. 1964. *A Numismatic Commentary on Pausanias* (repr. in Chicago; originally published in *JHS* 6–8).

Jost, *Comm.* = M. Jost, "Commentaire", in *Pausanias: Description de la Grèce*, tome VIII, livre VIII: *L'Arcadie*, texte établi par M. Casevitz, traduit et commenté par M. Jost, avec la collaboration de J. Marcadé, Les Belles Lettres (Paris, 1998) 161–293.

Jost, M. 1973. "Pausanias en Mégalopolitide", *REA* 75: 241–67.

——1985. *Sanctuaires et cultes d'Arcadie*, Études Péloponnésiennes 9 (Paris).

——1986*a*. "Villages d'Arcadie antique", *Ktema* 11: 145–58.

——1986*b*. "Thelpousa de l'Arcadie en 1938–1939", *BCH* 110: 633–45.

——1994. "The Distribution of Sanctuaries in Civic Space in Arkadia", in S. E. Alcock and R. Osborne (eds.), *Placing the Gods: Sanctuaries and Sacred Space in Ancient Greece* (Oxford) 217–30.

——1996. "Les cultes dans une ville nouvelle d'Arcadie au IVème siècle: Megalopolis", in P. Carlier (ed.), *Le IVe siècle av. J.-C.: approches historiographiques*, Collection Études Anciennes 15 (Paris) 103–9.

——1999. "Les schémas de peuplement de l'Arcadie aux époques archaïque et classique", *CPCActs* 6: 192–247.

——2001–2. "Un réseau de défense du territoire en Mantinique", in *Πρακτικά του ζ' Διεθνούς Συνεδρίου Πελοποννησιακών Σπουδών (Τρίπολις 24–29 Σεπτεμβρίου 2000*, ii (Athens) 295–308.

Kelly, N. 1995. "The Archaic Temple of Apollo at Bassai: Correspondences to the Classical Temple", *Hesperia* 64: 227–77.

Knab, R. 1934. *Die Periodonikai: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der gymnischen Agone an den 4 griechischen Hauptfeste* (Giessen).

Knauss, J. 1990. "Der Graben des Herakles im Becken von Pheneos und die Vertreibung der stymphalischen Vögel", *AM* 105: 1–52.
Köhler, U. 1882*a*. "Peloponnesisches Eisengeld", *AM* 7: 377–79.
——1882*b*. "Zur Geschichte des griechischen Münzwesens", *AM* 7: 1–7.
Lacroix, L. 1967. "Les monnaies de Mantinée et les traditions arcadiennes", *BAcadRoyBelg* 53: 303–11.
——1968. "Hélios, les Azanes et les origines de Cleitor en Arcadie", *BAcadRoyBelg* 54: 318–27.
Larsen, J. A. O. 1950. "Aristotle on the Electors of Mantinea and Representative Government", *CPh* 45: 180–83.
——1968. *Greek Federal States: Their Institutions and History* (Oxford).
Lazzarini, M. L. 1976. *Le Formule delle dediche votive nella Grecia arcaica* (Rome).
Loring, W. 1895. "Some Ancient Routes in the Peloponnese", *JHS* 15: 25–89.
MacIsaac, J. D. 1988. "Phliasian Bronze Coinage", *ANSMN* 33: 45–55.
Maddoli, G. 1992. "L'epigramma dei Clitori a Olimpia (Paus. V 23, 7)", *PP* 47: 256–62.
Martin, R. 1947–48. "Les enceintes de Gortys d'Arcadie", *BCH* 71–72: 81–147.
Meyer, E. 1927. "Lykosura", *RE* xiii. 2417–32.
——1932. "Methydrion", *RE* xv. 1387–91.
——1934. "Thelphusa", *RE*² vA. 1618–20.
——1937*a*. "Nonakris 1", *RE* xvii. 859–61.
——1937*b*. "Trapezus", *RE*² vi. 2212–14.
——1938. "Phigaleia", *RE* xix. 2065–85.
——1939*a*. *Peloponnesische Wanderungen: Reisen und Forschungen zur antiken und mittelalterlichen Topographie von Arkadien und Achaia* (Zürich and Leipzig).
——1939*b*. "Orchomenos 4", *RE* xvii. 887–905.
——1939*c*. "Oresthasion", *RE* xviii. 1014–16.
——1942. "Paion", *RE* xviii. 2398–2400.
——1949. "Pallantion", *RE* xviii.2. 231–34.
——1957*a*. "Arkadisches", *MusHelv* 14: 81–88.
——1957*b*. *Neue peloponnesische Wanderungen* (Bern).
——1959. "Psophis", *RE* xxiii.2. 1421–28.
Mitsopoulos-Leon, V. 1985. "Lousoi: Ergebnisse neuer Forschungen", *ÖJh* (Beiblatt) 56: 93–98.
——(ed.). 2001. *Forschungen in der Peloponnes*, Akten des Symposions anläßlich der Feier *100 Jahre Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut Athen*, Sonderschriften Band 38 (Athens).
Moggi, M. 1974. "Il sinecismo di Megalopoli", *AnnPisa* 3.4: 71–107.
Molyneux, J. H. 1992. *Simonides. A Historical Study* (Wauconda, Il.).
Morgan, C. 1999. "Cultural Subzones in Early Iron Age and Archaic Arkadia?", *CPCActs* 6: 382–456.
Nielsen, T. H. 1996*a*. "Arkadia: City-Ethnics and Tribalism", *CPCActs* 3: 117–63.
——1996*b*. "*Πολλᾶν ἐκ πολίων*: The Polis Structure of Arkadia in the Archaic and Classical Periods" (diss. Copenhagen).
——1996*c*. "A Survey of Dependent *Poleis* in Classical Arkadia", *CPCPapers* 3: 63–105.
——1996*d*. "Was there an Arkadian Confederacy in the Fifth Century?" *CPCPapers* 3: 39–62.
——1997. "*Triphylia*: An Experiment in Ethnic Construction and Political Organisation", *CPCPapers* 4: 129–62.
——1999. "The Concept of Arkadia: The People, their Land, and their Organisation", *CPCActs* 6: 16–88.
——and Roy, J. 1998. "The Azanians of Northern Arkadia", *ClMed* 49: 5–44.
Nilsson, M. P. 1951. *Cults, Myths, Oracles, and Politics in Ancient Greece* (Lund).
Norman, N. J. 1984. "The Temple of Athena Alea at Tegea", *AJA* 88: 169–94.
Orlandos, A. K. 1967–8. *Η Ἀρκαδική Ἀλίφειρα καὶ τὰ μνημεῖα της* (Athens).
Osborne, R. 1987. *Classical Landscape with Figures* (London).
——1996. *Greece in the Making 1200–479 BC* (London and New York).
Østby, E. 1995*a*. "I templi di Pallantion", *ASAtene* 68–69 (1990–91): 53–93.
——1995*b*. "Templi di Pallantion e dell' Arcadia: confronti e sviluppi", *ASAtene* 68–69 (1990–91): 285–391.
Pakkanen, *Tegea Stadium* = J. Pakkanen, "Starting Line Block from the Tegea Stadium" (forthcoming).
Papachatzis, N. D. 1994. *Παυσανίου Ἑλλάδος Περιήγησις: Βιβλία 7 καὶ 8. Ἀχαϊκά και Ἀρκαδικά* (Athens).
Papandreou, G. 1920. "*Ψωφὶς—Ψωφιδία*", *Prakt*: 130–46.
Perlman, P. 1995. "*Θεωροδοκοῦντες ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν*: Panhellenic *Epangelia* and Political Status", *CPCActs* 2: 113–64.
Petritaki, M. 1996. "*Κλείτωρ*: *μία πόλη τὴς Ἀρκαδικής Ἀζανίας*", *Technes and Archaiologia* 61: 81–88.
——2001. "*Θέατρο Κλείτορος—η αναδυομένη εικόνα του μνημείου μέσα από τα πρώτα ανασκαφικά στοιχία*", in Mitsopoulos-Leon (2001) 120–25.
Petropoulos, M. 1985. "*Τοπογραφικά βορειας Αρκαδίας*", *Horos* 3: 63–73.
Philadelpheus, A. 1931–32. "*Ἀνασκαφαὶ Ἡραίας*", *ArchDelt* 57–70.
Piérart, M. 1982. "Argos, Cleonai et le Koinon des Arcadiens", *BCH* 106: 119–38.
Pikoulas, Y. A. 1986*a*. "*Ἡ Νώνακρις καὶ ὁ ἐντοπισμὸς της*", in *Praktika: B' Topikou Synedriou Akhaikon Spoudon* (Athens) 313–18.
——1986*b*. "*Ὁ ἀρχαῖος οἰκισμὸς τῆς Δημητσάνας*", *Horos* 4: 99–123.
——1988. *Η νότια Μεγαλοπολιτική χώρα από τόν 8 ο. ώς τόν 4 ο. μ. Χ. αιώνα* (Athens).

——1990–91. "*Τὸ Τορθύνειον τῆς Ἀρκαδίας*", *Horos* 8–9: 135–52.
——1992–93. "*Τὸ οδικό δίκτυο της κεντρικής Αρκαδίας*", in *Praktika, Tou 2. Diethnous Synedriou Peloponnesiakon Spoudon*, Tomos ii (Athens) 201–6.
——1995. *Οδικὸ δίκτυο καὶ ἄμυνα ἀπὸ τὴν Κόρινθο στὸ Ἄργος καὶ τὴν Ἀρκαδία* (Athens).
——1999*a*. "The Road-Network of Arkadia", *CPCActs* 6: 248–319.
——1999*b*. "*Κλειτορία: Διαβάσεις καὶ ἄμυνα*", *Horos* 13: 137–54.
——1999*c*. "'*Ο ἄνω ροῦς τοῦ Ἐλισσόντος: Ὁδικὸ δίκτυο καὶ οἰκιστικὸ πλέγμα*", *Horos* 13: 97–132.
Pollitt, J. J. 1990. *The Art of Ancient Greece: Sources and Documents*² (Cambridge).
Pritchett, W. K. 1969. *Studies in Ancient Greek Topography*, ii: *Battlefields* (Berkeley).
——1985. *The Greek State at War*, iv (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London).
——1989. *Studies in Ancient Greek Topography*, vi (Berkeley).
Rhodes, P. J. 1995. "Epigraphical Evidence: Laws and Decrees", *CPCActs* 2: 91–112.
Rizakis, A. D. 1995. *Achaïe*, i: *Sources textuelles et histoire regionale* (Athens).
Robertson, N. 1992. *Festivals and Legends: The Formation of Greek Cities in the Light of Public Ritual* (Toronto, Buffalo, and London).
Robinson, E. W. 1997. *The First Democracies: Early Popular Government Outside Athens*, *Historia* Einzelschriften 107 (Stuttgart).
Roy, J. 1968. "Studies in the History of Arcadia in the Classical and Hellenistic Periods" (diss. Cambridge).
——1971*a*. "Arcadia and Boeotia in Peloponnesian Affairs 370–362 B.C.", *Historia* 20: 569–99.
——1971*b*. "Tegeans at the Battle near the River Nemea in 394 B.C." *PP* 26: 439–41.
——1972*a*. "Ethnics of Northeastern Arcadia (Pheneos, Caphyae, and Alea)", *Athenaeum* 50: 330–36.
——1972*b*. "Tribalism in Southwestern Arcadia in the Classical Period", *Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 20: 43–51.
——1972*c*. "Clitor and Orchomenus", *CQ* 22: 78–80.
——1972*d*. "An Arkadian League in the Earlier Fifth Century?" *Phoenix* 26: 129–36.
——1973. "Diodorus Siculus XV 40—The Peloponnesian Revolutions of 374 B.C.", *Klio* 55: 135–39.
——1996. "*Polis* and Tribe in Classical Arkadia", *CPCPapers* 3: 107–12.
——1997. "The *Perioikoi* of Elis", *CPCActs* 4: 282–320.
——2000*a*. "The Frontier between Arkadia and Elis in Classical Antiquity", *Polis & Politics* 133–56.
——2000*b*. "Problems of Democracy in the Arcadian Confederacy 370–362 BC", in R. Brock and S. Hodkinson (eds.), *Alternatives to Athens: Varieties of Political Organization and Community in Ancient Greece* (Oxford) 308–26.
—— and Schofield, D. 1999. "IvO 9: A New Approach", *Horos* 13: 155–65.
—— Lloyd, J. A., and Owens, E. J. 1988. "Tribe and Polis in the Chora at Megalopolis: Changes in Settlement Pattern in Relation to Synoikism", in *Praktika: Tou XII Diethnous Synedriou Klassikes Archaiologias, Athena 4–10 September 1983* (Athens) 179–82.
————1992. "Two Sites in the Megalopolis Basin: Suggested Locations for Haemoniae and Cromnus", in J. A. Sanders (ed.), *ΦΙΛΟΛΑΚΩΝ: Lakonian Studies in Honour of Hector Catling* (Athens) 185–94.
Sallares, R. 1991. *The Ecology of the Greek World* (London).
Schefold, K. 1963–64. "Herakles in Stymphalos", *SchMB* 10–15: 111–12.
Schultz, S. 1991. "Die Staterprägung von Pheneos", *SNR* 71: 47–89.
Schwabacher, W. 1939. "Contributions to Greek Numismatics", *NC* 1–20.
Scranton, R. L. 1941. *Greek Walls* (Cambridge, Mass.).
Shaw, P.-J. 1999. "Olympiad Chronography and 'Early' Spartan History", in S. Hodkinson and A. Powell (eds.), *Sparta: New Perspectives* (London) 273–309.
Shipley, G. 1997. " 'The Other Lakedaimonians': The Dependent Perioikic *Poleis* of Laconia and Messenia", *CPCActs* 4: 189–281.
Simpson, R. H., and Lazenby, J. F. 1970. *The Catalogue of Ships in Homer's Iliad* (Oxford).
Six, J. P. 1888. "Monnaies grecques, inédites et incertaines", *NC* 97–137.
Stangl, G. 1999*a*. "Zur Hydrographie der Becken von Pheneos und Lousoi", in K. Tausend (1999*a*) 28–35.
——1999*b*. "Bevölkerungsgeschichte von Pheneos und Lousoi", in K. Tausend (1999*a*) 171–80.
Stylianou, P. J. 1998. *A Historical Commentary on Diodorus Siculus Book 15* (Oxford).
Syriopoulos, C. T. 1973. "The Homeric 'Windy Enispe': A Prehistoric Settlement in North-Western Arcadia near the River Ladon", *BSA* 68: 193–205.
Taueber, H. 1981. "Sikyon statt Aigeira: neue Beobachtungen zur Stele von Stymphalos (IG V/2, 351–357", *ZPE* 42: 179–92.
Tausend, K. 1993. "Zur Bedeutung von Lousoi in archaischer Zeit", *ÖJh* 63: 13–26.
——(ed.) 1999*a*. *Pheneos und Lousoi: Untersuchungen zu Geschichte und Topographie Nordostarkadiens*, Grazer Altertumskundliche Studien 5 (Frankfurt am Main).
——1999*b*. "Fortifikatorische Anlagen in den Gebieten von Lousoi und Pheneos", in K. Tausend (1999*a*) 306–20.
——1999*c*. "Die Siedlungen im Gebiet von Pheneos", in K. Tausend (1999*a*) 331–42.

——and Erath, G. 1997. "Ein antikes Heiligtum in der Pheneatike", *ÖJh* Hauptblatt 66: 1–8.

Tausend, S. 1999. "Sportstätten und Agone in Lousoi und Pheneos", in K. Tausend (1999*a*) 370–79.

te Riele, G.-J.-M.-J. 1987. "Hélisson entre en sympolitie avec Mantinée: une nouvelle inscription d'Arcadie", *BCH* 111: 167–90.

Tsiolis, V. 1995. "El 'Thersilion' de Megalópoli: funciónes y cronología", *Gerión* 13: 47–68.

Tuplin, C. J. 1977. "Kyniskos of Mantinea", *LCM* 2: 5–10.

——1986. "Four Textual Notes on Xenophon *Hellenica* VI", *Philologus* 130: 24–28.

Vatin, C. 1988. "Monuments Votifs de Delphes", *BCH* 105: 429–59.

von Gaertringen, H., and Lattermann, H. 1911. *Arkadische Forschungen: aus dem Anhang zu den Abhandlungen der königl. preuss. Akademie der Wissenschaften vom Jahre 1911. Mit 13 Tafelen und 16 Abbildungen im Text* (Berlin).

Voyatzis, M. E. 1990. *The Early Sanctuary of Athena Alea at Tegea and Other Archaic Sanctuaries in Arcadia*, SIMA-PB 97 (Göteborg).

——1999. "The Role of Temple Building in Consolidating Arkadian Communities", *CPCActs* 6: 130–68.

Waisglas, A. A. I. 1956. "Demonax, *Βασιλέυς Μαντινέων*", *AJP* 77: 167–76.

Walbank, M. B. 1978. *Athenian Proxenies of the Fifth Century B.C.* (Toronto).

——1986. "Athens and Stymphalos: *IG* II², 144+", *Hesperia* 55: 319–54.

Wallace, W. P. 1954. "Kleomenes, Marathon, the Helots, and Arkadia", *JHS* 74: 32–35.

Warren, J. 1969. "The Earliest Triobols of Megalopolis", *MN* 15:31–40.

Whitehead, D. 1994. "Site-Classification and Reliability in Stephanus of Byzantium", *CPCPapers* 1: 99–124.

Williams, H. 1983. "Stymphalos: A Planned City of Ancient Arcadia", *EchCl* 27: 194–204.

——1984. "Investigations at Mytilene and Stymphalos, 1983", *EchCl* 28: 169–86.

——and Price, S.-M. C. 1995. "Excavations at Stymphalos, 1994", *EchCl* 14: 1–22.

—— *et al.* 1997. "Excavations at Ancient Stymphalos, 1996", *EchCl* 16: 23–73.

Williams, R. T. 1965. *The Confederate Coinage of the Arcadians in the Fifth Century B.C.*, NNM 155 (New York).

——1970. "The Archaic Coinage of Arcadian Heraea", *ANSMN* 16: 1–12.

Winter, F. E. 1987. "Arkadian Notes I: Identification of the Agora Buildings at Orchomenos and Mantinea", *EchCl* 31: 235–46.

——1989. "Arkadian Notes II: The Walls of Mantinea, Orchomenos and Kleitor", *EchCl* 33: 189–200.

——1991. "Early Doric Temples in Arkadia," *EchCl* 35: 193–220.

Yalouris, N. 1979. "Problems Relating to the Temple of Apollo Epikourios at Bassai", in J. N. Coldstream and M. Colledge (eds.), *Greece and Italy in the Classical World*, Acta of the XI International Congress of Classical Archaeology (London) 89–104.

TRIPHYLIA

THOMAS HEINE NIELSEN

I. The Region

The name of the region is *Τριφυλία, ἡ* (Dem. 16.16; Diod. 15.77.2 (r366)). The ethnic is *Τριφύλιος* (Xen. *Hell.* 4.2.16; *SEG* 35 389.1 (*c.*399–369)). The collective use of the ethnic is attested externally in Xen. *Hell.* 6.5.2, and internally in a decree found at Makiston (no. 307) (*SEG* 35 389 (*c.*399–369)). The individual use is attested—externally—only once, on a C4 gravestone from Attika, *IG* II² 10461: *Μαρσύας Ἀνδροκλέους Τριφύλιος*. No Classical source describes Triphylia by the terms *χώρα* or *γῆ*, but Hdt. 4.148.4 uses *χώρα* of the area occupied by Lepreon (no. 306), Makiston, Phrixa(i) (no. 309), Pyrgos (no. 310), Ep(e)ion (no. 304) and Noudion (no. 308); a late source, Dionysios Periegetes (at 409), uses the expression *Τριφυλὶς γαίη*. No source describes the Triphylians as an *ἔθνος vel sim.*, probably by coincidence.

Geographically, Triphylia is equated by modern scholars with the area between the river Alpheios south of Olympia and the river Neda north of Messenia (e.g. Tuplin (1993) 184); there are, however, considerable difficulties involved in establishing what the ancient Greeks themselves considered to be Triphylia, because (a) before C4, the concept of Triphylia probably did not yet exist (Niese (1910) 13; Nielsen (1997) 133–44); this means that no information about the extent of "Triphylia" can be found in Herodotos or Thucydides; (b) later sources such as Strabo and Pausanias are influenced by the debate of Homeric scholars who located the kingdom of Nestor in Pisatis and what was later called Triphylia (Strabo 8.3.3; Niese (1910) 35ff).[1]

For an outline of what was in Antiquity considered to be Triphylia we must begin with Polybios and work backwards to the period when the region was created. At 4.77.9 Polybios states that Triphylia comprised the following *poleis*: Samikon, Lepreon (no. 306), Hypana, Typaneiai, Pyrgos (no. 310), Ep(e)ion (= Aipion) (no. 304), Bolax, Stylangion and Phrixa(i) (no. 309). From Polyb. 4.80.13 it appears that Epitalion (no. 305) too was considered to be Triphylian. The passage at 4.77.9 employs the present tense (*ἔχει* [*sc.* *ἡ Τριφυλία*] *ἐν αὐτῇ πόλεις ταύτας*), and thus strictly speaking refers to C2; but the passage at 4.80.14 employs the past tense (*παρέλαβε . . . πᾶσαν ὑφ' ἑαυτὸν πεποιημένος τὴν Τριφυλίαν*), and thus refers to the year 219. Since the extent of Triphylia implied by the two passages is virtually identical, this does not constitute a problem. It may be noted that all communities treated as Triphylian by Polybios were situated in the area between the river Alpheios and the river Neda.

Moving back into C4, Makiston (no. 307) is explicitly attested as Triphylian by a C4 inscription originating from the Triphylian federation itself (*SEG* 35 389). The importance of this should be stressed: since Makiston does not appear in Polybios' list, this list cannot simply be retrojected back into the Classical period. But Makiston too was situated between the Neda and the Alpheios.

At *Hell.* 3.2.30 Xenophon reports that one of the terms of the peace treaty agreed upon by Elis (no. 251) and Sparta (no. 345) *c.*400 was the following: *τὰς Τριφυλίδας πόλεις ἀφεῖναι* (*sc.* the Eleians) *Φρίξαν καὶ Ἐπιτάλιον καὶ Λετρίνους καὶ Ἀμφιδόλους καὶ Μαργανέας*. This passage is open to more than one interpretation: (a) it may—on a strict reading—be taken to mean that all communities listed were Triphylian; (b) since Amphidoloi (no. 247) and probably also Letrinoi (no. 258) and Marganeis (no. 259) were north of the Alpheios (see Map 58), it may mean that only Phrixa(i) (no. 309) and Epitalion (no. 305) are thought of as Triphylian; (c) accepting Grote's *καί* after *ἀφεῖναι*, it may be taken to mean that Phrixa(i) and Epitalion (and by implication the other items on the list) are *not* considered Triphylian. Item (c) would eliminate the significance of the passage as a source for the extent of Triphylia, and accepting it means tampering with the text. Item (b) seems more likely, since Phrixa(i) and Epitalion are both considered Triphylian by Polybios. Certainty is impossible, however,

[1] Strabo, of course, does not hide this fact; see 8.3.3: *λέγω δὲ ταῦτα, συμβάλλων τά τε νῦν καὶ τὰ ὑφ' Ὁμήρου λεγόμενα*. On Pisatis, see the Eleian Inventory by Roy, *supra* 489–92, and Roy (2002).

since Triphylia was also a political concept which may well have included communities outside geographical Triphylia proper (whatever that was). For example, Diodoros records in reference to the year 366/5 that Lasion (no. 256) was a *Τριφυλίας χωρίον* (Diod. 15.77.1); this may simply be a slip (Nielsen (1997) 150 n. 133; cf. Stylianou (1998) *ad loc.*), but it cannot entirely be excluded that Lasion had been a part of Triphylia as a political entity (Lasion is treated as Eleian in the present work, *supra* 499). On balance, it seems best to accept (a); it must then be emphasised that (a) means accepting that sites north of the Alpheios are here described as Triphylian although the only other sources to do so are Diod. 15.77.1 (on Lasion; cf. Stylianou (1998) *ad loc.*) and Stephanos of Byzantion (s.v. *Ἀκρώρειοι* and *Ἀμφίδολοι*, in both cases without source reference). This may mean that Xenophon was careless, though this is an unsatisfactory hypothesis in the light of his personal acquaintance with the area. A better explanation is that Triphylian identity may initially have been claimed by/for communities north of the Alpheios but that this was a short-lived phenomenon of which there are no traces in later sources of any note. (The communities north of the Alpheios are treated by Roy, *supra* 489–504).

Four of the communities described as Triphylian by Polybios reappear in Hdt. 4.148.4, in a list of Minyan foundations: *viz.* Lepreon (no. 306), Phrixa(i) (no. 309), Pyrgos (no. 310) and Ep(e)ion (no. 304). Herodotos' list includes Makiston (no. 307) and Noudion (no. 308) as well. Since Makiston is explicitly attested as Triphylian by a C4 inscription (*SEG* 35 389), we may assume that Noudion became Triphylian too (if it survived into C4).

Summing up, we may tentatively conclude that Triphylia came to be conceived of as the area west of Arkadia between the Neda and the Alpheios, and that it comprised the following major sites: Bolax, Ep(e)ion (no. 304), Epitalion (no. 305), Hypana, Lepreon (no. 306), Makiston (no. 307), Noudion (no. 308), Phrixa(i) (no. 309), Pyrgos (no. 310), Samikon, Stylangion and Typaneiai, although it is uncertain whether all of these ever existed contemporaneously. Of the communities explicitly described as Triphylian, those securely located were all south of the Alpheios and north of the Neda; so was Skillous, which we may then include, although it is described as Triphylian only by Pausanias at 5.6.4 (see, however, Xen. *Hell.* 6.5.2 with Tuplin (1993) 183–84). The border towards Arkadia is not explicitly attested, but it presumably ran west of Heraia and Alipheira, but east of Ep(e)ion and Typaneiai (Nielsen (1997) 155; cf. Roy (2000)).

The written sources associate thirty[2] toponyms with Triphylia.[3] Of these, three (Akroreioi, Amphidoloi (no. 247) and Lasion (no. 256)) are probably described as Triphylian by mistake;[4] another nine (Aipy, Amphigeneia, Arene, Dorion, Helos, Kyparissia, Pteleos, Samos and Thryon) seem to be purely legendary or prehistoric; one (Chaa) is the name of a fort, and eight (Epeion, Epitalion, Lepreon, Makiston, Noudion, Phrixa[i], Pyrgos and Skillous) of the remaining seventeen belong to communities which are described as *poleis* in the Inventory below; three (Alorion, Chalkis and Bolax) of the remaining nine are unlocated, and it is unknown whether they existed in the Archaic and Classical periods. The remaining six are as follows.

1. *Pre-Hellenistic Settlements not Attested as* Poleis

Hypana (*Ὕπανα*) Polyb. 4.79.9 (*πόλις*). Meyer (1957) 33–34; Pritchett (1989) 49–50, 55–58. Among the remains are those of a possibly C4 theatre, and a phase of the fortification wall is C4 as well (Nielsen (2002) 609–10 with refs.). *Barr.* C.

Pylos (*Πύλος*) Unlocated. Strabo 8.3.1 (*πόλις*), 3.14, 3.26. According to Strabo 8.3.30, Pylos was at an unspecified date (Moggi, *Sin.* 168 proposes a date *c.*460; cf. Demand (1990) 64 who proposes a C5m date) synoecised into Lepreon (no. 306) by Elis (no. 251). Moggi, *Sin.* no. 26; *Neue Pauly* x. 618. *Barr.* AC.

Pyrgoi (*Πύργοι*) Strabo 8.3.22; Steph. Byz. 541.6 (*πόλις*); presumably to be distinguished from the Pyrgos (no. 310) of

[2] Four unlocated communities (the Anaitoi, the Ewaoioi, the Metapioi and the Chaladrioi) known only from epigraphical documents may possibly have been located in Triphylia; they are treated by Roy in the Eleian Inventory, *supra* 489–504. On the Ewaoioi, see also Roy and Schofield (1999).

[3] 1. Aipy (Strabo 8.3.24); 2. Akroreioi (Steph. Byz. 64.5); 3. Alorion (Strabo 8.3.25); 4. Amphidoloi (Steph. Byz. 89.19); 5. Amphigeneia (Strabo 8.3.25); 6. Arene (Steph. Byz. 117.15; Eust. *Il.* 1.459.2); 7. Bolax (Polyb. 4.77.9); 8. Chaa (Strabo 8.3.21); 9. Chalkis (Strabo 8.3.13); 10. Dorion (Strabo 8.3.25); 11. Ep(e)ion (Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.30; cf. Tuplin (1993) 183–84; Polyb. 4.77.9); 12. Epitalion (Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.30; cf. Tuplin (1993) 183–84; Polyb. 4.80.13); 13. Helos (Strabo 8.3.25); 14. Hypana (Polyb. 4.77.9; Strabo 8.3.13); 15. Kyparissia (Strabo 8.3.22; Steph. Byz. 395.1); 16. Lasion (Diod. 15.77.1); 17. Lepreon (Polyb. 4.77.9; Strabo 8.3.11; Paus. 5.5.3); 18. Makiston (*SEG* 35 389 (*c.*399–369); Paus. 6.22.4; Strabo 8.3.13); 19. Noudion (Hdt. 4.148, cf. *supra*); 20. Phrixa(i) (Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.30; cf. Tuplin (1993) 183–84; Polyb. 4.77.9); 21. Pylos (Strabo 8.3.7; Eust *Il.* 1.458.33); 22. Pyrgoi (Strabo 8.3.22; cf. *KlPauly* iv. 1259); 23. Pyrgos (Polyb. 4.77.9); 24. Pteleos (Strabo 8.3.25); 25. Samikon (Polyb. 4.77.9; Paus. 6.25.6; Steph. Byz. 553.4); 26. Samos (Strabo 8.3.19); 27. Skillous (Xen. *Hell.* 6.5.2; cf. Tuplin (1993) 183–84; Paus. 5.6.4; Steph. Byz. 575.3); 28. Stylangion (Polyb. 4.77.9; Steph. Byz. 588.9); 29. Thryon (Strabo 8.3.24); 30. Typaneai (Polyb. 4.77; Strabo 8.3.15).

[4] On these three communities, see Roy's introduction to the Eleian Inventory. *supra* 489–93.

Hdt. 4.148.4 and Polyb. 4.77.9; cf. *KlPauly* iv. 1259; Pritchett (1989) 75; however, Müller (1987) 840–41 (followed by *Barr.*) identifies the two. *Barr.* AC.

Samikon (*Σαμικόν*) Polyb. 4.79.9 (*πόλις*); cf. Pritchett (1989) 64; Nielsen (2002) 610. *Barr.* C.

Stylangion (*Στυλάγγιον*) Polyb. 4.79.9 (*πόλις*). *Barr.* H, but cf. Pritchett (1989) 72 for "definitely Classical" sherds; Nielsen (2002) 611.

Typaneiai (*Τυπανέαι*) Polyb. 4.77.9, 79.4 (*πόλις*). *Barr.* C, but cf. Meyer (1957) 56–59 for A. See also Pritchett (1989) 46–58 and Nielsen (2002) 611–12.

At least four (Hypana, Samikon, Stylangion and Typaneiai) of these *may* in fact possibly have been *poleis*. Admittedly, we have no evidence whatsoever for their political status prior to the Hellenistic period, but they are listed as *poleis* at Polyb. 4.77.9, and there is good reason to trust Polybios' site-classification for this period (Nielsen (1997) 132). Since the archaeological record at these sites goes back to the Archaic and/or Classical periods, they surely existed in these periods and may possibly already have been *poleis*. Pyrgoi was presumably a second-order settlement in the territory of Lepreon (Pritchett (1989) 75) and so was Pylos after its inclusion in Lepreon.

2. *Unidentified Settlements*[5]

Prasidaki Settlement associated with Archaic–Classical sanctuary, described below, s.v. Lepreon (no. 306); cannot be convincingly connected with any ancient toponym.[6]

So, of fifteen settlements known to have existed in the Archaic and Classical periods, eight were considered to be *poleis* either throughout these periods or at least for some time within them. The topography of the region was thoroughly studied by Pritchett (1989) 1–78, whose identifications are followed here. In addition to such settlements, there was an important sanctuary of Artemis Limnatis at Kombothekra, but it is unknown which *polis*/*poleis* had the supervision of it (Sinn (1978), (1981)).

In C5, all communities of the later Triphylia were dependencies of Elis (no. 251) (Roy (1997) 283–85); however, when the Eleian *perioikis* was broken up by Sparta (no. 345) *c.*400, the former Eleian dependencies united and formed a small federal state (Nielsen (1997) 148–55). Two decrees (*SEG* 35 389 and 40 392 (both C4f)) passed by this state have survived (cf. Siewert (1987); Nielsen (1997) 148–49; Ruggeri, *L'État fédéral*). The decrees mention a body called *τοὶ Τριφύλιοι* (*SEG* 35 389.1 and 40 392.1), presumably an assembly, and an eponymous *damiorgos* who was the head of a board (*SEG* 40 392.3). One decree grants Triphylian citizenship as such (*SEG* 40 392; Siewert (1987) 276), whereas the other grants citizenship in Makiston (no. 307) (*SEG* 35 389; Siewert (1987) 275; Nielsen (1997) 149). It thus seems that there were two levels of citizenship in Triphylia, which may then reasonably be described as a small federal state. See further Nielsen (1997) 148–55.

The Triphylians supplied Sparta with hoplites who fought in the battle of Nemea in 394 (Xen. *Hell.* 4.2.16) and were thus members of the Peloponnesian League; from Xen. *Hell.* 6.5.2–3 it can be inferred that the Triphylians took the oath of the second Common Peace of 371. In the 360s the Triphylians were members of the Arkadian Confederacy (*IG* v.2 1.20; Xen. *Hell.* 7.1.26). It is uncertain when the Triphylian Federation broke down; from Polyb. 4.77–80 it appears that it no longer existed in 219. See further Nielsen (1997) 152–53.

II. The *Poleis*

304. Ep(e)ion Map 58. Lat. 37.35, long. 21.50. Size of territory: 1 or 2. Type: A. The toponym is *Ἔπιον* (Hdt. 4.148.4), *τό* (cf. Steph. Byz. 302.16, who enters it as *Ἤπιον*); Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.30 has *Ἤπειον*, and Polyb. 4.77.9 has *Αἴπιον*. A city-ethnic is attested only in Steph. Byz.

Ep(e)ion is called a *polis* in the urban sense at Hdt. 4.148.4; Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.31 uses *polis* of the city twice, first in the urban, then in the political sense, in both cases with the territorial sense as a connotation; and a comparison between *Hell.* 3.2.23 and 31 shows that Xenophon thought of Ep(e)ion as a *polis* in the political sense too (Nielsen (1995) 88).

The territory is termed *χώρα* by Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.30. From Hdt. 4.148.4 and Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.23, 31 it appears that in C5s (at the latest) Ep(e)ion was a perioikic community of Elis (no. 251) (Roy (1997) 283–85). Xenophon attributes to the Eleians the claim that they had originally bought the territory of Ep(e)ion from *τῶν τότε ἐχόντων τὴν πόλιν* (*Hell.* 3.2.31). The identity of these "holders" is unknown; Xenophon's phrasing suggests that, at the time of the sale, Ep(e)ion was not controlled by its own original population; Niese (1910) 7 suggested that it was held by Arkadians (cf. Roy (1997) 290).

[5] The minor archaeological sites of the district are surveyed by Yalouris (1973). Some of these may have been settlements; see e.g. Yalouris (1973) 158; cf. Pritchett (1989) 75; Müller (1987) 839–40.

[6] Recently, Arapogianni (1999) 168 has suggested that the site at Prasidaki is ancient Pyrgos.

*C.*400 Ep(e)ion was liberated from Eleian rule and made *autonomos* (Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.31); presumably the city now joined the Triphylian Federation and through it, in 369 at the latest, the Arkadian Confederacy (Nielsen (1997) 152–54).

Pritchett (1989) 57 (followed by *Barr.*) located Ep(e)ion at modern Trypiti (formerly Bitsibardi). Here are "a good sprinkling of sherds, convincing evidence for a settlement", the stylobate foundations of an ancient structure, a retaining wall and many tiles (Pritchett (1989) 52). Earlier scholars have noted walls of ashlar masonry, tiles and pottery of the Classical period, as well as blocks and column drums (ibid. 51). The acropolis covers an area of 150 × 25 m. The oldest find noted thus far is an Archaic sima (Papakonstantinou (1982)).

305. Epitalion (Epitalieus) Map 58. Lat. 37.40, long. 21.30. Size of territory: 1 or 2. Type: A. The toponym is *Ἐπιτάλιον* (Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.30), *τό* (Strabo 8.3.24). The city-ethnic is *Ἐπιταλιεύς* (Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.25).

Epitalion is called a *polis* in the political sense by Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.30. The city-ethnic is found in the external collective use at Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.25.

The territory is termed *χώρα* by Strabo 8.3.24. It appears from a combination of Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.20, 25 and 30 that by C5l (at the latest) Epitalion was a perioikic community of Elis (no. 251) (cf. Roy (1997) 283–85). During the war between Sparta (no. 345) and Elis *c.*400 Epitalion seceded from Elis and joined Sparta (Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.25). The Spartans placed a garrison and a harmost in the city with some Eleian refugees after the second Spartan invasion of Elis (Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.29). According to Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.30, Epitalion was formally liberated from Eleian rule by the peace treaty concluded between Sparta and Elis after the war (Nielsen (1997) 137–39); it is a safe inference from Xenophon's description of the city as a *Τριφυλὶς πόλις* (*Hell.* 3.2.30) that Epitalion now joined the Triphylian Federation with which it presumably joined the Arkadian Confederacy *c.*369 (Nielsen (1997) 153–55).

The site of Epitalion, at modern Aghulinitsa, has as yet yielded no Archaic or Classical finds, though the Hellenistic and Roman town has been found (Themelis (1968); Papachatzes (1982) 223; Pritchett (1989) 75–76).

306. Lepreon (Lepreatas) Map 58. Lat. 37.25, long. 21.45. Size of territory: probably 3. Type: A. The toponym is *Λέπρεον* (Hdt. 4.148.4; Thuc. 5.31.4); Ps.-Skylax 44 has *Λεπρέων*, and Paus. 5.5.3 *Λέπρεος*; the gender of the toponym in the Classical period is commonly taken to be neuter (for which see Polyb. 4.79.2), but Ar. *Aves* 149 (*τὸν Ἠλεῖον Λέπρεον*) presupposes the masculine (cf. Paus. 5.5.3). The city-ethnic is *Λεπρεάτας* (*-της*); Heracl. Lemb. 42 has *Λεπρεεῖς* as if from **Λεπρεεύς*.

Lepreon is called a *polis* in the urban sense by Hdt. 4.148.4 and Aristotle (Heracl. Lemb. 42; Arist. no. 99, Gigon) and in the political sense by Thuc. 5.31.5. The city-ethnic is attested epigraphically in the external collective use on the Serpent Column (ML 27.11) and in *IG* v.2 1.20 (360s); in literature it is found at Hdt. 9.28.4, Thuc. 5.31 *quater*, Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.25 and Ps.-Skylax 44. The external individual use is found in Dubois (1986) Phi. 5.2 (C3). *Patris* is found in *CEG* II 382 (C5f; completely restored).

The territory of Lepreon is described as *χώρα* in Ps.-Skylax 44, and as *γῆ* by Thuc. 5.31.2, 3. Sometime before the Peloponnesian War the city ceded half its territory to the Eleians as part of a treaty of *symmachia* and now had to pay 1 tal. (presumably each year) for the right to exploit this part of the territory (Thuc. 5.31.2; *Staatsverträge* 164). According to Strabo 8.3.30, Lepreon at some point absorbed Pylos by synoecism (Moggi, *Sin.* 168 proposes a date *c.*460; cf. Demand (1990) 64). There were a number of second-order settlements in the territory of Lepreon: one was associated with a large temple at Prasidaki (see *infra*) unless this was in fact Pyrgos (no. 310), as suggested by Arapogianni (1999) 168, itself a *polis* (*infra*). East of modern Tholo is a settlement which existed from the Archaic period (Yalouris (1973) 158; cf. Pritchett (1989) 75; Müller (1987) 839–40). At modern Kakovatos Classical sherds are reported by Yalouris (1973) 164. At 5.49.1, Thucydides mentions a *teichos* called Phyrkon which must have been in Lepreatan territory (see *HCT ad loc.*). A fortress that is a possible candidate for Strabo's *Χάα* (8.3.21) is briefly discussed by Pritchett (1989) 61–62; it may have existed in the Classical period. A temple by the river Neda, at modern Prasidaki, is thought to have belonged to Lepreon (Pritchett (1989) 60 n. 138; see, however, Arapogianni (1999) 168, suggesting that Prasidaki was in fact Pyrgos). It was a monumental Doric limestone temple of the late Classical period; it had an Archaic predecessor; the votives at the site go back to C7m and, according to Yalouris, there was an *ἀξιόλογος ἀρχαίος οἰκισμός* associated with the temple, which thus was perhaps situated in a second-order settlement of Lepreon (Yalouris (1971); cf. Yalouris (1973) 155, reporting remains of a wall and many buildings). The temple was dedicated to Athena *Agorios* (Arapogianni (1999), who interprets the epithet as equivalent to *Agoraios*).

Lepreon provided 200 hoplites for the battle of Plataiai in 479 (Hdt. 9.28.4), but this is the only indication we have for the order of size of the population.

Lepreon was a member of the Hellenic League against Persia (ML 27.11; Hdt. 9.28.4); in C5s the city was a perioikic

community of Elis (cf. Hdt. 4.148.4; Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.23, 25; Paus. 3.8.3; Roy (1997) 283–85). The city was briefly liberated from Eleian rule by Sparta (no. 345) in 421 and received a Spartan garrison (Thuc. 5.31.4; cf. 5.34.1; Roy (1998); Hunt (1998) 174; Falkner (1999)); however, the city was reconquered by Elis (no. 251) before the end of C5 (cf. Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.23, 25), but must have been liberated again by the peace treaty concluded between Elis and Sparta *c.*400 (Roy (1997) 291). Nothing is known with certainty about the position of Lepreon in the united Triphylian state of *c.*400–369, but it was probably the central city of Triphylia, since it seems that Lepreon represented Triphylia in the Arkadian Confederacy of which it is securely attested as a member (*IG* v.2 1.20 (360s); Nielsen (1997) 153–54).

Nothing is known about the form of constitution, but there was an Aristotelian treatise on the *politeia* of Lepreon; the only surviving fragment attests to the existence of laws on adultery, on *atimia* and on admission to citizenship (Heracl. Lemb. 42; Arist. no. 99, Gigon).

Lepreon was situated on a steep hill north of modern Lepreo (formerly Strovitzi), *c.*7 km from the coast. The acropolis was fortified; the remains are mostly of the Hellenistic period, but an earlier phase may be C4 (*PECS* s.v. Lepreon, 499). On the acropolis was a Doric temple of Demeter dating to *c.*375–350; it was without sculptural ornamentation but had a predecessor (Knell (1979), (1983)).

The lower city was fortified too (Pritchett (1989) 60), but the wall has not been dated. The extent of the lower city was considerable, according to Frazer (1898) iii. 474 (cf. Pritchett (1989) 59). Heracl. Lemb. 42 refers to an agora.

In the Classical period, Lepreon may have produced as many as seven Olympic victors: *Olympionikai* 267 (*c.*460); nos. 276, 309 (*c.*C5m); no. 331 (424); no. 338 (420); no. 360 (*c.*400); no. 405 (*c.*376); no. 426 (*c.*360). Furthermore, Antiochos (*Olympionikai* 360) was victorious in the *pentathlon* twice in both the Isthmian Games (cf. Nielsen, *Lepreon*) and the Nemean Games.

307. Makiston (Makistios) Map 58. Lat. 37.35, long. 21.40. Size of territory: possibly 3. Type: A. The toponym is found mostly in oblique cases in the Classical period: Hdt. 4.148.4 gives *Μάκιστον* in the accusative, Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.30 *Μακίστου* in the genitive; Arist. Heracl. Lemb. 55 and a C3 inscription (for which see *AR* (1996–97) 49) have *Μακίστῳ* in the dative; thus the gender is unknown. Strabo has *τὸ Μάκιστον* at 8.3.18, but *τὸν Μάκιστον* at 8.3.16; Steph. Byz. at 428.11 gives *Μάκιστος* without source reference; however, at 450.3 he cites Hekataios (= *FGrHist* 1, fr. 122) for the form *Μήκιστον*, which tips the balance in favour of the neuter for C5. The city-ethnic is *Μακίστιος* (*SEG* 35 389.2–3 (*c.*399–369); Xen. *An.* 7.4.16). Schol. Eur. *Or.* 4 has *ἐν Τριφυλίᾳ . . . ἐν Μακέστῳ*, and correspondingly Steph. Byz. 428.14–15 states: *τὸ ἐθνικὸν . . . εὕρηται καὶ Μακέστιος διὰ τοῦ ε ψιλοῦ*.

Makiston is called a *polis* in the urban sense at Hdt. 4.148.4; there is no attestation of *polis* in the political sense specifically applied to Makiston, but from Hdt. 4.148.4 and Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.23, 25 it appears that Makiston was one of the *perioikides poleis* of Elis (no. 251) (Roy (1997) 283–85); for the urban and territorial senses combined, see Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.30 (for the idiom, cf. Diod. 2.43.6, and see Smyth, *Greek Grammar* §1096); *πολιτεύεσθαι* is attested in *SEG* 35 389 (*c.*399–369). The external collective use of the city-ethnic is attested in *SEG* 35 389.2–3 (*c.*399–369) and at Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.25; Paus. 6.22.4 provides an instance referring to C6f. The external individual use is found in Xen. *An.* 7.4.16 (*Σιλανὸς Μακίστιος*).

It is likely that the city controlled the sanctuary of Poseidon Samios at Samikon (Strabo 8.3.13; Bölte (1930) 777–78; Tausend (1992) 19–21).

In C5s (at the latest) Makiston was a perioikic community of Elis (cf. Hdt. 4.148.4 and Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.23, 25; Roy (1997) 283–85); in the period *c.*400–369 Makiston was a member of the Triphylian federation (*SEG* 35 389 (*c.*399–369)), an organisation that was capable of granting Makistian citizenship to foreigners (*SEG* 35 389; cf. Nielsen (1997) 149); magistracies (*τέλεα*) and a *nomos* are attested for C4f (ibid.; cf. Siewert (1987) 276). The city presumably joined the Arkadian Confederacy with the rest of Triphylia *c.*369 at the latest (Nielsen (1997) 152–55).

Makiston was presumably situated at modern Mázi (Pritchett (1989) 65; followed by *Barr.*); this site was a large town and there are remains of houses and probably of public buildings (Trianti (1985) 22). Two burial areas of C4 have been excavated (ibid.); the acropolis was fortified (Trianti (1985) 21; Pritchett (1989) 68) and contained a Doric peripteral temple, probably of C5e (Trianti (1985) 23–24); the temple was presumably dedicated to Athena (ibid. 24–33). After *c.*400–369 (*SEG* 35 389) the city is mentioned as existing only once (*AR* (1996–97) 49 (C3)), and it is absent from Polybios' list of Triphylian cities at 4.77.9; it may have ceased to exist by 219, the date to which Polybios' description of Triphylia refers.

308. Noudion Unlocated. Type: A. The toponym is *Νούδιον* at Hdt. 4.148.4. A city-ethnic is not attested. Noudion is called a *polis* in the urban sense at Hdt. 4.148.4. Herodotos is the only source to mention Noudion; it may possibly have been destroyed by the Eleians during their expansion into Triphylia.

309. Phrixa(i) Map 58. Lat. 37.40, long. 21.45. Size of territory: 1 or 2. Type: A. The toponym is *Φρίξαι*, *αἱ* in Hdt. 4.148.4; Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.30 has *Φρίξα*, *ἡ* (as Polyb. 4.77.9). Strabo 8.3.12 has *Φρίξη*. A city-ethnic is unattested apart from the entry in Steph. Byz. The territory was possibly homonymous with the city (Strabo 8.3.12).

Phrixa(i) is called a *polis* in the urban sense at Hdt. 4.148.4 and in the political sense at Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.30. In C5m Phrixa(i) seems to have been considered to be Arkadian (Pherekydes (*FGrHist* 3) fr. 161), but from a combination of Hdt. 4.148.4 and Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.23, 30 it appears that in C5l (at the latest) the city was a perioikic community of Elis (no. 251) (Roy (1997) 283–85). However, according to Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.30, Phrixa(i) was formally liberated from Eleian rule by the peace treaty concluded between Sparta (no. 345) and Elis after their war in *c.*400; it is a safe inference from Xenophon's description of the city as a *Τριφυλὶς πόλις* (*Hell.* 3.2.30) that Phrixa(i) now joined the Triphylian Federation with which it presumably entered the Arkadian Confederacy *c.*369 (Nielsen (1997) 152–54).

Phrixa(i) was located on a steep hill on the left bank of the river Alpheios (Pritchett (1989) 70–71; followed by *Barr.*). Yalouris describes the site as a Classical town with an acropolis, and reports remains of walls, abundant sherds and tiles, and the foundations of a large building (Yalouris (1973) 170–71).

310. Pyrgos Map 58. *Barr.* follows Müller (1987) 839–40 in identifying Pyrgos with the Pyrgoi of Strabo 8.3.22 and locating it at Ag. Ilias south-west of Lepreon at lat. 37.25, long. 21.40; Arapogianni (1999) 168 identifies Pyrgos with the site at Prasidaki; here, however, both these sites are considered second-order settlements of Lepreon (no. 306), and Pyrgos is located at Bambes in accordance with Pritchett (1989) 73–75, more or less where *Barr.* puts 'Selinous' (cf. Lauffer (1989) 352–53), at lat. 37.35, long. 21.35. Size of territory: ? Type: A. The toponym is *Πύργος*, *ὁ* at Hdt. 148.8 and Polyb. 4.77.9, 80.13 (both giving the accusative without article, though). The city-ethnic is unattested.

Pyrgos is called a *polis* in the urban sense at Hdt. 4.148.4; Polyb. 4.77.9 describes it as a *polis* too, and *c.*230–210 a Delphic *theorodokos* resided in Pyrgos. (If Pyrgos is identified with Bambes (*infra*), then the Delphic *theorodokos ἐν Πύργωι* (for which see Oulhen (1992) 43, l. 89) presumably resided in Herodotos' Pyrgos, since Phrixa(i), located only 5 km north-east of Bambes, is the next Triphylian entry in the list.) In C5 Pyrgos was probably the victim of Eleian aggression (Hdt. 4.148.4), but apart from that nothing is known about the political history of the city in the Archaic and Classical periods; it may be assumed, however, that it became a perioikic dependency of Elis (no. 251) (Roy (1997) 283–85), was liberated *c.*400, joined the Triphylian Federation and through it the Arkadian Confederacy (Nielsen (1997) 152–54).

Pyrgos was probably located at modern Bambes (Pritchett (1989) 73–75). Here a small C5e temple of Zeus has been found, situated on a hill (Yalouris (1954) 290). Around the hill have been found four groups of houses, thus revealing a city of C5s (ibid. 291) with traces of earlier occupation (Yalouris (1958) 194). According to the excavator, the site was an important city occupying a considerable area, which has yielded Archaic and Classical pottery as well as displaced Archaic and Classical Doric columns (Yalouris (1956) 187, 191; Yalouris (1958) 194, 198).

311. Skillous (Skilluntios) Map 58. Lat. 37.35, long. 21.35. Size of territory: ? Type: A. The toponym is *Σκιλλοῦς*, *ὁ* (Xen. *An.* 5.3.7, 8; Paus. 5.6.6). The city-ethnic is *Σκιλλούντιος* (Xen. *Hell.* 6.5.2). Siewert (1991) 82 restores *IvO* 930 *Σκι*[*λλόντιοι*]. The territory of the city is called *ἡ γῆ ἡ Σκιλλουντία* at Paus. 5.6.6, but the toponym could presumably also be used to denote the territory (Paus. 5.6.6: *παρέχεται δὲ ὁ Σκιλλοῦς καὶ ἄγρας θηρίων κτλ*).

Skillous is—presumably—repeatedly referred to as a *polis* in the political sense in *IvO* 16 (*c.*450–425) (for which see Koerner (1993) no. 44 at 130 and Roy (1997) 296). Xen. *Hell.* 6.5.2 describes Skillous as a *polis* in the political sense too, and Xen. *An.* 5.3.7–8 twice uses *πολῖται* about the inhabitants. The city-ethnic is found in the external collective use in *IvO* 16 and Xen. *Hell.* 6.5.2; Paus. 6.22.4 provides an instance referring to C6f.

In C5s Skillous was presumably a perioikic community of Elis (no. 251) (Roy (1997) 283–85); if so, it must have been liberated from Eleian rule by the peace treaty concluded by Sparta (no. 345) and Elis after their war in C5l–C4e (for which see Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.23–31), and it may have joined the new Triphylian Federation and through it the Arkadian Confederacy (Nielsen (1997) 152–54); a board of officials (*damiorgoi*) is attested for C5m (*IvO* 16; Koerner (1993) 130). However, not much is known about the history of Skillous in C4e, apart from the fact that Xenophon lived there; according to *An.* 5.3.7, he was settled there by the Lakedaimonians (*ὑπὸ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων οἰκισθέντος*), but it is not clear how the Lakedaimonians could grant land in a foreign *polis* unless they did so with Skillountian acceptance and collaboration (cf. Hunt (1998) 174). Skillous may have granted citizenship to Xenophon: in *An.* 5.3.10 he refers to his own sons and those of *τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν* which seems to indicate that Xenophon too was a

citizen; if so, it may be suggested that he served as *proxenos* of the Lakedaimonians at Skillous, since at Diog. Laert. 2.51 it is reported that *αὐτῷ προξενίαν ἔδοσαν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι* but not in which state. In 371, the Eleians claimed that Skillous was a *polis* belonging to them, but the implications of this claim are uncertain (Tuplin (1993) 183–85). After 371, Skillous disappears from the records.

Skillous probably dedicated a bronze vessel in Olympia C5l–C4e (*IvO* 930; cf. Siewert (1991) 82).

Skillous was presumably situated at modern Kampouli at Makrisia; here abundant evidence of Classical habitation has been found (Pritchett (1989) 67 n. 151 with refs.; followed by *Barr.*).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Arapogianni, X. 1999. "*Αναθηματική επιγραφή από το Πρασιδάκι Ηλείας*", *Horos* 13: 167–72.

Bölte, F. 1930. "Makiston", *RE* xiv. 774–79.

Demand, N. H. 1990. *Urban Relocation in Archaic and Classical Greece: Flight and Consolidation* (Bristol).

Dubois, L. 1986. *Recherches sur le dialecte arcadien*, ii: *Corpus dialectal* (Louvain-la-Neuve).

Falkner, C. 1999. "Sparta and Lepreon in the Archidamian War (Thuc. 5.31.2–5)", *Historia* 48: 385–96.

Frazer, J. G. 1898. *Pausanias' Description of Greece.* 6 vols. (London).

Hunt, P. 1998. *Slaves, Warfare, and Ideology in the Greek Historians* (Cambridge).

Knell, H. 1979. "Der Demetertempel in Lepreon", *AAA* 12: 53–59.

—— 1983. "Lepreon: der Tempel der Demeter", *AM* 98: 113–47.

Koerner, R. 1993. *Inschriftliche Gesetzestexte der frühen griechischen Polis*, ed. K. Hallof (Vienna).

Lauffer, S. 1989. *Griechenland: Lexikon der historischen Stätten: von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart* (Munich).

Meyer, E. 1957. *Neue peloponnesische Wanderungen* (Bern).

Müller, D. 1987. *Topographischer Bildkommentar zu den Historien Herodots* (Tübingen).

Nielsen, T. H. 1995. "Was Eutaia a *Polis*? A Note on Xenophon's Use of the Term *Polis* in the *Hellenika*", *CPCPapers* 2: 83–102.

—— 1997. "*Triphylia*: An Experiment in Ethnic Construction and Political Organisation", *CPCPapers* 4: 129–62.

—— 2002. *Arkadia and its* Poleis *in the Archaic and Classical Periods*, Hypomnemata 140 (Göttingen).

Nielsen, *Lepreon* = T. H. Nielsen, "A *Polis* as a Part of a Larger Identity Group—Glimpses from the History of Lepreon" (forthcoming).

Niese, B. 1910. "Drei Kapitel eleischer Geschichte", in *Genethliakon Carl Robert zum 8. März 1910* (Berlin) 3–47.

Oulhen, J. 1992. "Les Théarodoques de Delphes, i: Texte" (thèse de doctorat, Paris).

Papachatzes, N. D. 1982. *Παυσανίου Ἑλλάδος Περιήγησις. Βιβλία 4., 5., καὶ 6. Μεσσηνιακά καὶ Ηλιακά* (Athens).

Papakonstantinou, H. 1982. "*Υστεροαρχαική σίμη από την Τριφυλία*", *AAA* 15: 238–43.

Pritchett, W. K. 1989. *Studies in Ancient Greek Topography*, vi (Berkeley).

Roy, J. 1997. "The *Perioikoi* of Elis", *CPCActs* 4: 282–320.

—— 1998. "Thucydides 5.49.1–50.4: The Quarrel between Elis and Sparta in 420 B.C., and Elis' Exploitation of Olympia", *Klio* 80: 360–68.

—— 2000. "The Frontier between Arkadia and Elis in Classical Antiquity", *Polis & Politics* 133–56.

—— 2002. "The Pattern of Settlement in Pisatis: The 'Eight *Poleis*'", *CPCPapers* 6: 229–47.

—— and Schofield, D. 1999. "IvO 9: A New Approach", *Horos* 13: 155–65.

Ruggeri, *L'État fédéral* = C. Ruggeri, "L'état fédéral de la Triphylie: remarques sur l'histoire politique et constitutionelle", forthcoming.

Siewert, P. 1987. "Die neue Bürgerrechtsverleihung der Triphylier aus Másí bei Olympia", *Tyche* 2: 275–77.

—— 1991. "Staatliche Weihungen von Kesseln und anderen Bronzegeräten in Olympia", *AM* 106: 81–84.

Sinn, U. 1978. "Das Heiligtum der Artemis Limnatis bei Kombothekra", *AM* 93: 45–82.

—— 1981. "Das Heiligtum der Artemis Limnatis bei Kombothekra", *AM* 96: 25–71.

Stylianou, P. J. 1998. *A Historical Commentary on Diodorus Siculus Book 15* (Oxford).

Tausend, K. 1992. *Amphiktyonie und Symmachie: Formen zwischenstaatlicher Beziehungen im archaischen Griechenland*, *Historia* Einzelschriften 73 (Stuttgart).

Themelis, P. G. 1968. "Thryon–Epitalion", *AAA* 2: 201–4.

Trianti, A.-I. 1985. *Ο γλυπτός διάκοσμος του ναού στο Μάζι της Ηλείας* (Thessalonica).

Tuplin, C. 1993. *The Failings of Empire: A Reading of Xenophon* Hellenica *2.3.11–7.5.27*, *Historia* Einzelschriften 76 (Stuttgart).

Yalouris, N. 1954. "*Ἀνασκαφὴ εἰς Μπάμπες Μακρυσίων*", *Prakt* 290–98.

—— 1956. "*Ἀνασκαφὴ Μπαμπῶν Μακρυσίων*", *Prakt* 187–92.

—— 1958. "*Ἀνασκαφὴ Μπαμπῶν Μακρυσίων*", *Prakt* 194–98.

—— 1971. "*Κλασσικός ναός εἰς περιοχήν Λεπρέου*", *AAA* 4.2: 245–51.

—— 1973. "*Ὁδηγός ἀρχαιότητων ἀρχαίας Τριφυλίας (νῦν Ὀλυμπίας)*", *Olympiaka Chronika* 4: 149–82.

MESSENIA

GRAHAM SHIPLEY

I. The Region

Perhaps no region of Mainland Greece can be regarded as typical in how it adopted the *polis*, but Messenia may be more unusual than most, for the simple reason that between C8l and C4e it had no autonomous civic communities, but was ruled by a colonial power, the Lakedaimonians. Such *poleis* as existed before its first, partial liberation in 369 were perioikic *poleis* dependent on Sparta. Four can be identified with a high degree of confidence: Aithaia (no. 312), Asine (no. 313), Mothone (no. 319) and Thouria (no. 322). A fifth, Kyparissos (no. 317), may have been perioikic, though it did not necessarily become a *polis* at all until after 369. Five more—Aulon (no. 314), Kardamyle (no. 315), Korone (no. 316), Pharai (no. 320) and Thalamai (no. 321)—are candidates for *polis* status before 369, though Aulon's status is especially uncertain.

For the relatively short period between 369 or 338 and the notional cut-off date of the Copenhagen Polis Project, 323, the coarse resolution afforded by the literary and archaeological evidence in its present state makes it difficult to ascertain exactly how many *poleis* existed. The chief *polis* was the new "capital", Messene-Ithome (no. 318), founded in 369. Chance has preserved epigraphic attestations of Asine and Thouria from just before and just after 300. At this time and in the Hellenistic period, these and probably other former perioikic *poleis*, such as Mothone, continued to exist as *poleis* within Messenia, probably in a federal arrangement (see Messene (no. 318)). Others, such as the possible Classical *poleis* of Aulon and Kardamyle, continued to exist as settlements, but we do not know whether they remained *poleis*. New *poleis* may have been created after 369 as counterweights to those still in Spartan hands.

For C2–C1 we possess documents from the *poleis* of the new "Laconian League" (more precisely, *koinon* of the Lakedaimonians), probably founded by Flamininus, which embraced some places west of Taygetos (e.g. Gerenia).[1] Of the four later Eleutherolaconian *poleis* (members of the "League of Free Laconians" or *koinon* of the Eleutherolaconians, set up by Augustus) in this region—Leuktra, Thalamai, Alagonia and Gerenia—only Thalamai provides convincing evidence that it was earlier a perioikic *polis* of Sparta.

The fragmentary evidence at our disposal almost certainly underrepresents the number of *poleis* at any given time, as well as concealing the appearance of new cities and the disappearance of existing ones. Earlier scholarship on Messenian landscapes is dominated by topographical research, notably the extended explorations of Valmin ((1930) and other works of his) and the excellent doctoral thesis by Roebuck (1941). Excavation has tended to focus on the important prehistoric sites such as "Nestor's palace", while much historical discussion centres on the Second Messenian War and the topography of the surrounding legends, as told by Pausanias and others (see e.g. Kiechle (1959)). The post-Second World War Minnesota Messenia Expedition, or MME (McDonald and Rapp (1972)), set a benchmark for multi-period surveys, but despite the extended discussion of the ancient periods by Lazenby and Hope Simpson (1972), as well as other relevant studies by Hope Simpson, the main focus of that survey was explicitly prehistoric and its methods largely non-intensive. The data produced did not permit full differentiation between Classical and Hellenistic times, though they did allow broad conclusions to be drawn about the distribution of settlements and changes through time. The recent PRAP survey (*infra*) has refined our understanding of the landscape in some respects, but a renewal of exploration of larger centres, and a comprehensive synthesis of ancient settlement in Messenia, are still to be hoped for.

Archaeology has thus produced only piecemeal evidence for the major centres.[2] Detailed site histories cannot be written except for Messene (no. 318), where a successful campaign of excavations has been conducted for many years by the Archaeological Society of Athens. Generally, the

[1] On the history of the League, see most recently the synthetic treatment by Kennell (1999).

[2] For an overview of topographical and historical problems, the articles of Meyer in *RE*, reprinted as Meyer (1978), can scarcely be bettered; his conclusions are summarised in his various articles in *KlPauly*.

chronological data are extremely crude—understandably, given the state of knowledge in pottery chronology for the Hellenistic and Roman periods at the times when most exploration took place. Major questions of toponymic identification remain unresolved, and a number of first- and especially second-order sites doubtless lie completely undetected. The lack of historical writings about Classical Messenia, let alone writings by Messenians during the Spartan occupation, caused our ancient counterparts, such as Strabo, the same kinds of onomastic problems as ourselves. We can only hope to do better once we have fuller archaeological and, if possible, epigraphic evidence.

For the general character of the system of perioikic *poleis* in Archaic and Classical Lakonike (the Spartan-dominated territory), the reader should consult the introduction to the Lakedaimon inventory. Up to now, scholars have had difficulty in establishing which Messenian communities were perioikic. As a result of the work of the Copenhagen Polis Centre, however, it seems clear that the Spartan perioikic system was intrinsically *polis*-based: *perioikoi* normally lived in *poleis* (see the introduction to the Lakedaimon inventory), and these were dependent upon Sparta (see Shipley (1997)). Harrison and Spencer (1998) 160 raise (though they also reject) the possibility that any nucleated settlement in Messenia must be perioikic, but this is to put the cart before the horse; the correct approach is to find out first which settlements were *poleis*, and this will reveal which settlements were probably perioikic. For example, although Harrison and Spencer (1998) 156 state that the known communities of the west coast, such as Kyparissos and Aulon, were "clearly" perioikic, closer examination shows that the evidence for the *polis* status of those settlements, and therefore their perioikic nature, is not clear-cut. In the following pages the normal criteria of the Copenhagen Polis Centre have been adopted.

While it is true that, given the inadequacies of the evidence, the only safe assumption is that at any given period there were more *poleis* than can be demonstrated, it seems likely that the small number of known *poleis* does in part reflect a relatively sparse population. Beloch (1886) 149 argued for low population levels in both Laconia and Messenia, and although Roebuck (1941) proposed a potential population of 112,000 for Messenia south of the river Neda in the late Hellenistic period, this has been considered too high.[3] Archaeological survey has tended to confirm the existence of a relatively sparse population. The MME identified a sharp increase in rural site numbers in the Classical period in the richer agricultural regions of Messenia (the Alpheios valley, Stenyklaros, the Pamisos valley) and an increase in coastal settlement, perhaps reflecting improved trading conditions during independence (McDonald and Hope Simpson (1972) 145). There remained, however, a general lack of dispersed rural sites and a marked gap in settlement in the west. The Pylos Regional Archaeological Project (PRAP) has built on the work of the MME in the west, and its work has important implications for the nature of rural settlement in Spartan Messenia (Davis (1998*a*, *b*, *c*) and other works). Through a more intensive survey method the PRAP confirmed, at least for the area around Pylos, the finding of the MME that Messenia lacked a scatter of small rural sites, making the region untypical of Mainland Greece in the Classical period (see Davis (1998*b*) 284–88). Harrison and Spencer (1998) 159–60 link this unusual settlement pattern to Spartan domination, which may have inhibited normal demographic patterns and settlement evolution.

The situation of the numerically dominant semi-free, or unfree, population of Messenia, the helots (*heilotai*), has been outlined in the Lakedaimon chapter. Thucydides states that most were "descendants of the old-time Messenians who had once been enslaved, whereby they were all called Messenians" (1.101.2). Earlier debates centred around the number and timing of helot revolts (e.g. Wade-Gery (1966); de Ste Croix (2002)). It is agreed that helots worked the land and gave up a large part of their produce to the Spartans, though the precise degree of freedom they enjoyed and the extent to which they were able to construct and reproduce a "normal" social structure and economic environment are endlessly debated.[4]

Zunino (1997) has explored the evidence for Messenian religion during the Spartan occupation, concluding that the Messenians were not denatured but maintained their identity through Hellenic cult practices even under the colonial yoke. Her work has tilted the balance towards the view that the Messenian helots were more like other Greek agricultural communities than used to be imagined.[5] The complex question of how Messenian identity crystallised and was rhetorically exploited by Spartans and Athenians in C5 has been perceptively examined by Figueira (1999) and Luraghi (2002).

[3] Hope Simpson (1972) 99 n. 131; McDonald and Hope Simpson (1972) 144, 145; McDonald and Rapp (1972) 254–55.

[4] Oliva (1986); Talbert (1989); Ducat (1990), (1994), (2002); Cartledge (1991); Hodkinson (1992); Whitby (1994). See also now Luraghi and Alcock (2003).

[5] For a concise list of known cults, see Meyer (1978). See also Singor (1993) or Alcock (2002). On dependency relations in Laconia, see also Shipley (2002).

Harrison and Spencer's rejection of the view that any nucleated settlement must be perioikic is based not on an appreciation of the *polis*-based nature of perioikic status, but on the evidence of the unique eleven-roomed late Archaic farmhouse at Kopanaki in north-central Messenia (Kaltsas (1983)), tentatively interpreted as evidence against the view that helot communities were dispersed. It is, however, strictly irrelevant, for it is not a nucleated settlement but a single building and (since *perioikoi* lived in *poleis* as far as we know) does not bear on the matter of perioikic settlement. That said, the Kopanaki building, violently destroyed around 475, is susceptible of various interpretations. Did helots work there for an absentee Spartan landlord? Did they work under the supervision of one or more Spartiates, or of *perioikoi*, or without supervision? Did citizens of a perioikic *polis* occupy this outlying large farmstead—though no *polis* can be conclusively shown to have lain within easy reach? We cannot yet answer these fundamental questions about society in Messenia. However, the lack of dispersed small sites, detected by the MME for Messenia in general and confirmed for the west coast by the PRAP (Harrison and Spencer (1998) 160), tells against a landscape dotted with dispersed helot farms and in favour of a high degree of centralised residence in "a few fairly large towns or villages", whether perioikic or in some cases run by helots themselves—or, one might add, in helot barracks such as we may have at Kopanaki.

Regarding the *perioikoi* of Messenia as opposed to Laconia, a special question arises: were they normally of Lakedaimonian or Messenian origin? It may be significant that two of the most prominent and securely attested perioikic *poleis*, Asine (no. 313) and Mothone (no. 319), had populations that were believed to be (wholly or partly) neither Messenian nor Lakedaimonian in origin but descended from exiles from the Argolid to whom the Lakedaimonians had given new homes. Perhaps the Spartans hoped to increase security and control of the helot population by introducing alien ethnic communities who were heavily indebted to them.[6] The same model may have been followed in another marginal area of Lakonike, at Thyrea (no. 346) in north-eastern Laconia. Indeed, the only specific non-helot communities where we hear of actual or potential unrest in the Classical period, Aithaia (no. 312) and Thouria (no. 322) in C5m and Aulon (no. 314) *c.*399, are places where an alien population had *not*, so far as we know, been installed. This leaves it open whether the restless communities were descended from Messenians rather than Lakedaimonians, a possibility raised by Harrison and Spencer (1998) 156, though there is no direct evidence either way. Whichever was the case, the *perioikoi* of Messenia surely had the status of Lakedaimonians, like those of Laconia.

For the purposes of this Inventory, the division of Laconia from Messenia is set between Oitylos (no. 340) and Thalamai (no. 321), to the second of which (or at least the nearby islet of Pephnos and the mainland opposite) the Messenians of Pausanias' time laid claim (Paus. 3.20.6; cf. 3.26.3, 6). In the Roman period, however, the boundary lay between Laconian Gerenia and Alagonia on the one side (Paus. 3.26.11) and Messenian Abia on the other (Paus. 4.30.1), specifically at Choirios Nape (modern Sandava gorge; Paus. 4.1.1). Gerenia and Alagonia had, it appears, been given to Sparta by Octavian (as was Kardamyle, Paus. 3.26.7) in punishment for the Messenians having supported Antony and Cleopatra.[7] Messenia in this study will thus include the district and islet of Pephnos between Thalamai and Leuktra, as well as the sometime *poleis* of Thalamai, Leuktra, Kardamyle, Gerenia and Alagonia, even though four of these were Eleutherolaconian *poleis* in the early Imperial period (the exception, Kardamyle, being directly subject to Sparta at that time).

Messenia is not named by Homer, Messene only at *Od.* 2.15, where Ortilochos' home is wrongly located in Messenian Pharai instead of Arkadian (Meyer, *KlPauly* iii. 1251). Some settlements later situated in Messenia, however, are named by the poet. At *Il.* 9.150–52 = 9.292–94 (repeated by Strabo 8.4.5) we have a list of the seven cities that Agamemnon, lord of Sparta, gave to Achilles: Kardamyle, Enope, holy Poieessa (or "grassy Hire"), fertile Pharai, deep-meadowed Antheia, fine Aipeia and vine-clad Pedasos—all said to be near Pylos and the sea. Enope was later identified with Pellana, Kardamyle or Gerenia; Hire with Mesola or Abia; Antheia with Asine or Thouria, Aipeia with Thouria or Mothone, and Pedasos with Mothone or Korone (see *infra*); even if these identifications were imaginary, the list may imply that Sparta already possessed south-eastern Messenia in Homer's day (Meyer, *KlPauly* iii. 1251). The seven cities are discussed by Valmin (1930) 206–13 and Hope Simpson (1966).

The Spartans' conquest of Messenia probably proceeded by stages (Lazenby (1972) 84–86). In C8l they captured

[6] Müller (1855) 40–41 points out that the Spartan retention of Mothone and Asine after 369 may have been facilitated by the fact that populations were not ethnic Messenians.

[7] On the boundaries reflected in Strabo and Pausanias, see Le Roy (2001) 232–36.

mainly "the Stenyklaros plain and the lower plain west of the Pamisos" (ibid. 85). In the Second Messenian War (C7m), centred around Stenyklaros (Forrest (1980) 70–71; Lazenby (1972) 85–86), the inhabitants of the Hyameitis, Pylos and Mothone, still unconquered, were among those fighting against the Spartans (ibid. 85). The Spartans captured Arkadian Phigaleia (no. 292) in 659 (ibid. 86; Paus. 8.39.3) and the Messenian stronghold on Mt. Eira some time later (on its location, see Valmin (1930) 118–20). Paus. 4.27.9 refers to 287 years of Messenian exile, implying (if one counts back from 369) that it began in 656. Epameinondas' allusion (Plut. *Mor.* 194B) to 230 years of Messenian oppression may imply a C7l stage in the conquest, when the Nauplians were settled at Mothone (no. 319) (Paus. 4.35.2), but we should not place too much weight on such seemingly exact dates (even leaving aside the more radical chronological anxieties of Shaw (1999), (2003)). By *c.*600 at the latest, then, the whole of Messenia was under Spartan control (Lazenby (1972) 86).

At the end of the colonial period, there were two main stages in the removal of Messenia from Spartan control (cf. Meyer (1978) 265–68; Shipley (2000)). In 369 and the years immediately following, Messene (no. 318) was founded and parts of central and northern Messenia detached from Sparta; but the process was still going on in 365/4 when the Arkadians attacked Kyparissos and Koryphasion (Diod. 15.77.4). Ps.-Skylax's (46) laconic description of "Lakedaimon" begins with Mothone (no. 319) and Asine (no. 313), and thus reflects the situation between 369 and 338. After Philip II's victory at Chaironeia in 338, Messenia received extra territory as a reward for supporting the king and for having remained neutral (summary at Alcock (1998) 182).

The usual name for the region before the foundation of the new capital was *Μεσσάνα* (Pind. *Pyth.* 4.126) or *Μεσσήνη* (Tyrtaios fr. 5, West; Hellan. fr. 124; Ar. *Lys.* 1141; Ephor. fr. 18b; Xen. *Hell.* 5.2.3, 7.4.9 (but at 7.1.27 and 36 of the city); Pl. *Leg.* 683C, D (early Messene as a *polis*); Ps.-Skylax 45; Isoc. 12.72 (*Μεσσήνη* counterposed to *Λακεδαίμων*); ibid. 177 etc.; Isoc. 4.61, 6.11, 16, 19, etc., referring to Messenia generally). Thuc. 4.41.2 refers to Pylos as located "in the former *Μεσσηνὶς γῆ*", whereas at 4.3.2 he locates it *ἐν τῇ Μεσσηνίᾳ ποτὲ οὔσῃ γῇ*.

The region is called *Μεσσανία* (*ἡ*) in *SEG* 12 219 (322–310) and *Μεσσηνία* by Polyb. 2.5.1 and by Strabo 8.4.1, who says it was originally named *Μεσσήνη*. The Classical usages of the feminine adjective, as in *τῇ Μεσσηνιᾳ ποτὲ οὔσῃ γῇ* (Thuc. 4.3.2), *γῆ Μεσσηνίᾳ* (Eur. *P. Oxy.* 27.2458), *Μεσσηνία χώρα* (Ps.-Skylax 45), are not evidence for *Μεσσηνία tout court* being used as a name for the region; that is a later usage, perhaps from C3 on (Meyer (1978) 159–60, 284), though Theophr. fr. 172 (if accurately quoted by Steph. Byz.) could be the earliest attestation. *Μεσσηνία* does not occur in literary texts after Thucydides until Menander (and then perhaps as a feminine ethnic?); cf. Diod. 12.61.4 (with reference to the Pylos incidents).[8]

The ethnic is *Μεθάνιος* (*IvO* 247 (C5f); cf. Bauslaugh (1990)), *Μεσάνιος* (*IG* I³ 1355 (*c.*475–450)), *Μεσσάνιος* (ML 74 (*c.*421)), or *Μεσσήνιος* (Thuc. 1.101.2, 2.9.4). Prior to 369, the ethnic is found in the internal collective use in a C5f dedication of Athenian spoils from Korone (*LSAG* Messenia no. 3); externally, the collective use is found in *IvO* 247 (C5f); ML 74 (*c.*421) and in Thuc. 1.101.2, 2.9.4. The external individual use is found in *IG* I³ 1455 (*c.*475–450). For the construction of Messenian identity to which these instances of the ethnic testify, see Figueira (1999). After 369, *Μεσσήνιος* developed into the city-ethnic of the new *polis* of Messene (no. 318).

Before 369 Messenia (or Messene) may have comprised only the two plains of Stenyklaros and Makaria. After 369 Sparta retained control of Asine (no. 313), Mothone (no. 319) and perhaps Pharai (no. 320), while Thouria (no. 322) may have become independent (Valmin (1930) 24–25). Ps.-Skylax 45 in C4m makes Kyparissos (no. 317) already Messenian. After 338 it is enlarged on all sides and was probably bounded by the Neda on the north, the Pamisos in the south-east, the Taygetos on the east, and the sea on the west. Control of the Dentheliatis in the south-east was disputed with Sparta for centuries (Tac. *Ann.* 4.43; Pikoulas (1991)). Valmin (1930) 26–30 discusses its Hellenistic extent, 30–33 its Roman. Valmin (1930) 39 notes that the name Makaria for the lower plain is only in Strabo, though Steph. Byz. 427.8–9 may preserve a reference.[9] For boundary markers between Messenia and Lakonike in Roman times, see Hope Simpson (1972) 99 n. 129 with references, including *IG* v.1 1431.

1. *Identification of Place-names with Known Locations*

Excluding geographical items such as capes, mountains and rivers, and names of cult places consisting simply of the name of a deity and a term such as "sanctuary" or "temple",

[8] For a map showing modern sites and ancient places, see Meyer (1978) 171–74. Roebuck (1941) 30 n. 12, notes that Bölte (*RE* iii. 1278–79) and Larsen (*RE* xix. 817) rebut Kahrstedt's suggestion (*Griechische Staatsrecht* i. 5–6) that *Λακωνική* refers only to perioikic territory.

[9] s.v. Makareai, a town of Arkadia also known as Makaria and called Beata by the Romans.

our sources purport to transmit the names of fifty-five places in Messenia from the Archaic to Roman periods. First it is necessary to dispose of one name that is probably corrupt: (S120)[10] †Thea (*Θέα*, Philoch. *apud* Steph. Byz. 308.4; probably a doublet of Aithaia, q.v. *infra*).

A further five alleged settlements or *poleis* appear to be doublets of real places elsewhere:

(S121) *Haliartos* (*Ἁλίαρτος*) Listed by Ptol. *Geog.* 3.14.42; perhaps a doublet of Haliartos (no. 206) in Boiotia.

(—) *Pteleon* (*Πτελεόν*) Included by Hom. *Il.* 2.594 among Pylian places, which oddly include Helos. Plin. *HN* 4.5.15 includes Pteleon, Helos and Dorion among inland towns in Messenia. This Pteleon is otherwise unattested (that at 2.697 is in Achaia Phthiotis; others are in Ionia and Boiotia), and given the presence of Laconian Helos in Homer's list, it cannot be presumed to be Messenian. MME no. 701 Vresto (Pikoulas (2001), hereafter *ΛΟΠ* no. 504; Archaic to mediaeval, 10 ha in area) is tentatively identified as Pteleai (*sic*) (cf. Hope Simpson (1972) 98 n. 108), but the question remains open.

(S122) *Tripolis* (*Τρίπολις*) Mentioned without further details by Steph. Byz. 637.8; *KlPauly* v. 964.

(S123) *Troizen* (*Τροιζήν*) Listed by Ptol. *Geog.* 3.14.42; perhaps a doublet of the Troizen (no. 357) in the Argolid.

(S124) *Zankle* (*Zancle*) Plin. *HN* 4.5.15. Was an epitomator confused by mention of Sicilian Zankle (no. 51) at Paus. 4.23.7?

In two cases, while the place-name is real, there is no firm basis for regarding it as the name of a settlement:

(—) *Dera* (*Δέρα*) *IG* v.1 1429 = *SEG* 41 325 (C2); probably the same as *Derai* (*Δέραι*), Paus. 4.15.4. Probably a district.

(S119) *Pephnos* or *Pephnon* (*Πέφνος* or *Πέφνον*) Islet with cult, and the coastal locality opposite (Apollod. fr. 196 *apud* Steph. Byz. 520.5–9; Paus. 3.26.2, citing but not quoting Alkman). Valmin (1930) 204 follows Forster in locating it at modern Pephnos (*LS* ii. 300, LL149, formerly Platsa).

Two places, though very probably settlements at certain periods, did not exist primarily as nucleated settlements: the first may have been a settlement only during the Messenian revolt of C5m; the second may have existed primarily to service a cult site.

[10] Serial numbers prefixed by S refer to the catalogue in Shipley (1997).

(S76) *Ithome* (*Ἰθώμη*) A mountain; the source of the cult title of Zeus Ithomatas, whose sanctuary lay in the *polis* of Messene (no. 318) from 369. A settlement in Hom. *Il.* 2.729; allegedly a *polisma* during the First Messenian War (Paus. 4.9.1, etc.), but not necessarily more than a fortified place (see Hope Simpson (1972) 97 n. 90). Defended and fortified in the Messenian Revolt of the 460s (e.g. Thuc. 1.101.2–3, 102.2); a *χωρίον* at Thuc. 1.102.3, perhaps suggesting a settlement. Archaeological survey suggests limited occupation in the surrounding area before the foundation of Messene (McDonald and Hope Simpson (1972) 145, 146). Ithome was also, however, the official name of the new *polis* of Messene for a time (*infra*).

(S136) *Limnai* (*Λίμναι*) A *χωρίον* with a famous sanctuary of Artemis Limnatis (Paus. 4.4.2, 31.3); probably MME no. 138,Volimnos Artemisias (Bronze to Classical and especially Hellenistic, 2 ha in size), a "[p]robable refuge site and shrine" (rather than no. 548, Brinda: see *infra* under Alagonia; see also Meyer (1978) 179–80). *KlPauly* iii. 668 (Meyer, "Limnai 2") with further references, including *RE* iiiA. 1312 (Bölte). Meyer rejects the suggestion of Valmin (1930) 190–94 that it is Ag. Phloros. Hope Simpson (1972) 98 n. 104 follows Roebuck (1941) 118–21; cf. Hope Simpson (1966) 115–16. Findspot of *IG* v.1 1375–77 (Roman).

A further nine places may be legendary, or may not have existed as nucleated settlements after the Lakedaimonian conquest of Messenia:

(S70) *Amphigeneia* (*Ἀμφιγένεια*) Hom. *Il.* 2.593; Strabo 8.3.24, 25; Steph. Byz. 89.12–18, citing Apollod. fr. 186 and Antimachos, presumably the Kolophonian commentator on Homer.

(S88) *Denthalioi* Steph. Byz. 225.8–9: "a *polis*, one of those disputed between the Messenians and Lakedaimonians", with an ethnic of the same form; cf. *Denthiades* (*Δενθιάδες*), Ath. 1.31C–D, who cites Alkman (*PMG* 92) for wine from this place, a fort (*ἔρυμα*) in Spartan territory; also the toponymic adjective (in its masculine singular accusative form), *Δένθιν*, ibid. (this is the word Alkman, as quoted, actually uses; it suggests a shorter place-name than *Denthiades*). Cf. also the river Dentheios, *Etymologicum Symeonis* 1.344.22. All these should be situated in the *Dentheliates ager*, whose history is outlined by Tac. *Ann.* 4.43. Probably Denthalioi *vel sim.* was believed to have been a settlement at the time of the First Messenian War. On Dentheliatis, see Pikoulas (1991) and Shipley (2000) 386.

(S89) *Echeiai* (*Ἐχειαί*) Strabo 8.4.4: the Spartan king Teleklos (reigned *c.*760–*c.*740) is said to have founded (*οἰκίσαι*) this along with Poiaessa and Tragion. Lazenby (1972) 84 assumes it was in the vicinity of the river Nedon.

(S90) *Hyameia* (*Ὑάμεια* (Paus. 4.14.3; Steph. Byz. 644.6–7)) or *Hyameitis* (*Ὑαμεῖτις* (Ephor. fr. 116 *apud* Strabo 8.4.7)) Both are described as one of the five *poleis* into which Kresphontes "divided Messene" about two generations after the Trojan War, the others being Stenyklaros, Pylos, Rhion and Mesola. Probably, in Classical times at least, these were districts rather than nucleated settlements. Hope Simpson (1972) 97 n. 87 concurs, following Valmin (1930) 24.

(S91) *Mesola* (*Μεσόλα*) Another *polis* of Kresphontes; evidently, from the description by Ephor. fr. 116 *apud* Strabo 8.4.7 (repeated by Nic. Dam. *apud* Steph. Byz. 447.1–2), a district. In Strabo it extends to the gulf between Taygetos and Messenia; he says it may be Homeric Ire/Hire, 8.4.5. Hope Simpson (1972) 97 n. 86 follows Valmin (1930) 23, 207–8, making Mesola approximate to the territories of Thouria (no. 322) and Pharai (no. 320).

(S93) *Rhion* (*Ῥίον*) Another *polis* of Kresphontes; possibly, like Hyameia, Mesola and Stenyklaros, a district rather than a settlement; "opposite Tainaron" (Ephor. fr. 116 *apud* Strabo 8.4.7); possibly Korone (no. 316), but Hope Simpson (1972) 97 n. 88 follows Valmin (1930) 169 and Hope Simpson (1966) 127 n. 11 in placing Rhion at or near Asine (no. 313), perhaps at MME no. 512 itself (ancient Asine, mediaeval Coron, modern Koroni).

(S94) *Stenyklaros* (*Στενύκλαρος*) Another *polis* of Kresphontes (Ephor. fr. 116 *apud* Strabo 8.4.7). Named by Hdt. 9.64.2 but not called a *polis*; it could be a district. Cf. *πεδίον . . . Στενυκληρικόν* (Paus. 4.33.4, cf. 4.3.7). Hope Simpson (1972) 97 n. 85 follows Valmin (1933–34) 12 (*contra* Valmin (1930) 82–85) and Roebuck (1941)) in proposing no site. Probably removed from Messene (no. 318 in 182 (Lazenby (1972) 92, citing Roebuck (1941) 102 and n. 167); probably regained 146 (*Syll.*[3] 736). *KlPauly* v. 358 (Meyer); *RE* iiiA. 2339ff (Bölte).

(S95) *Tragion* (*Τράγιον*) *See* Echeiai *supra.*

(S82) *Trikka* (*Τρίκκα*) Mentioned by Hom. *Il.* 2.729 (*Τρίκκη*) alongside Ithome and Oichalia but not again until Paus. 4.3.2, for whom it was a deserted spot in Messenia.[11]

[11] Strabo 8.4.4 reports a temple of Asklepios Trikkaios in Messenian Gerenia, a replica of that in Thessalian Trikka.

We may note in passing that the *Makareai* or *Makaria* recorded as an Arkadian *polis* by Steph. Byz. 427.7–9 may be a doublet of the plain of Makaria in central Messenia (cf. Valmin (1930) 39).

Of the thirty-six historical settlements that remain, eighteen have locations that are disputed or highly uncertain; at best we know the general area where they lay. Two of these may refer to a single place (Hire, Poiaessa). Some may be more mythical than real, while some may have been (or were believed to have been) predecessors of known places under different names.

(S68) *Aipeia* (*Αἴπεια*) One of Agamemnon's seven *ptoliethra* (Hom. *Il.* 9.152 = 9.294). For Strabo 8.4.5 it is Thouria (no. 322), though he says others located it at Mothone (no. 319); for Steph. Byz. 53.15 it is a *polis* in Lakonike. Modern Aipeia, formerly Phormi (*ΛΟΠ* no. 305), is no guide.

(S69) *Aipy* (*Αἰπύ* or *Αἶπυ*) The *ἐΰκτιτον Αἰπύ* of Hom. *Il.* 2.592, it is located in Messenia by Steph. Byz. but was perhaps in Triphylia (e.g. MME no. 245, Ag. Dimitrios, near ancient Lepreon (no. 306); Neolithic, Bronze Age). A *polis* only in Steph. Byz. 54.4, not in Homer or in Strabo 8.3.24, who considers that either word may be the name and either the epithet, and that Aipy is the former name of one of (a) Margalai in Amphidolia, (b) a place in Makistia, or (c) Epitalion (see *infra* under Thryon). Zachos (1984) links Aipy with Strabo's *Aipasian* plain and reaffirms the identification with Ag. Dimitrios.

(S18) *Aithaia* (*Αἴθαια* (no. 312)) In south-central Messenia (probably fairly close to, but not at, modern Aithaia, formerly Delimimi (*ΛΟΠ* no. 304; the fortified acropolis near Aithaia is probably Thouria (no. 322)).

(S85) *Ampheia* (*Ἄμφεια*) Alleged town in north-eastern Messenia at the time of the First Messenian War (C8l). It is not mentioned by Homer or Strabo. It was a former *polisma* (*πόλισμα ἦν*), small and located on a lofty hill-top close to Lakonike (Paus. 4.5.9). (See Lazenby (1972) 84; Hope Simpson (1972) 97 n. 89. It is unlikely to be attested in *IG* v.1 1426 (C4l–C3e); see Roebuck (1941) 9 n. 20 but now Matthaiou (1990–91) 269 n. 1.) The proposed site (MME no. 211, Kokkala Loutrou; cf. Pikoulas (1987–88)) has no reported finds later than Geometric. (Valmin (1930) 13, 74–77 proposes MME no. 608, Elliniko Desylla (Desyllas is formerly Dousila, *ΛΟΠ* no. 984): late Classical fortifications, Hellenistic pottery; but this is perhaps a fort rather than a town, see *MME* 319. Modern Ano Ampheia and Kato Ampheia in south-central Messenia, both correspon-

ding to the former Gardiki (*ΛΟΠ* nos. 397–98), are no guide).

(S86) *Andania* (Ἀνδανία) North-west of Messene, this was a settlement by 217 (Polyb. 5.92.6) and a *parvum oppidum* in 191 (Livy 36.31.7) but may well, even then, have been a community centred upon a sanctuary rather than a *polis*; the Messenians did not wish to resettle it in 369 (Paus. 4.26.6). Lazenby (1972) 92 (see also Hope Simpson (1972) 98 n. 92), citing Roebuck (1941) 102 and n. 167, suggests that it was detached from Messene (no. 318) in 182, when Messene was required to rejoin the Achaian Confederacy, and was regained in 146. It was revived with new regulations in 92/1 (*IG* v.1 1390 = *Syll.*³ 736), but Paus. 4.33.6 saw ruins. A possible site is MME no. 607, Ag. Athanasios (Divari) at Konstandinoi (Classical to Roman; see also Valmin (1930) 89–99; for the name Konstandinoi, cf. *ΛΟΠ* no. 2020; see also Meyer (1978) 186), with a Bronze Age predecessor at MME no. 212, Ag. Taxiarchos Polichnis (MH? LH IIIC). Pikoulas (1987–88) 483 suggests that Andania is to be located at Desyllas.

(S71) *Antheia* (Ἄνθεια) One of Agamemnon's seven *ptoliethra* (Hom. *Il.* 9.151 = 9.293). Strabo 8.4.5 seems inclined to identify it as Asine (no. 313), though others say Thouria (no. 322). *IG* v.1 1426 (*SEG* 11 1029, Messene (C4l–C3e)) was once thought to name either Antheia or Ampheia, but see now under Ampheia (*supra*). *KlPauly* i. 371 (Kiechle, suggesting that the identification with Thouria was made only because the site was unknown); Kiechle (1960) 56ff (modern Antheia, formerly Venzami or Veis Aga (*ΛΟΠ* no. 434), is no guide).

(S72) *Arene* (Ἀρήνη) A sometime Spartan possession, in north-eastern Messenia (Hom. *Il.* 2.591; Paus. 4.2.4, 5; Strabo 8.3.19 (cf. 8.3.23, 24, 8.4.6); Steph. Byz. 117.15–17). For Strabo, it was perhaps Samikon and certainly not Erana; possibly MME no. 302, Kleidi Kato Samikou (Bronze Age site, *c.*1.5 ha; Samiko is the former Ali Tselepi, *ΛΟΠ* no. 3688) with no. 707 Kastro Kato Samikou (Archaic to Roman, *c.*1.8 ha). See Hope Simpson (1972) 94 and nn. 97, 99 (also 98 n. 110), referring to MME nos. 701, 707.

(S20) *Aulon* (no. 314) In north-western Messenia, near Kyparissos and the river Neda.

(S87) *Charadra* (Χαράδρα) Strabo 8.4.4. Founded by Pelops along with Leuktron and "Thalamoi", it may have lain in the area of Kardamyle (no. 315) (Niese (1906) 117; *KlPauly* i. 1130 (E. Meyer)).

(S73) *Dorion* (Δώριον) Hom. *Il.* 2.594. Strabo 8.3.24 saw nothing, but Paus. 4.33.7 saw ruins near Andania. It appears to be attested epigraphically as Δούρεον, *BCH* 44 (1921) 12 col. II.84 (Delphi (*c.*200): ἐν Δουρέωι; this observation is due to Meyer (1978) 211, but I have corrected the spelling). Possibly MME no. 222, Malthi Vasilikou (Valmin (1938) 13, (1930) 112–17 on the excavations, 104–7, 111–12, 116–18 on questions of identification; Roebuck (1941) 7 n. 16), but this site is Bronze Age only); if there was a historical Doureon, this would also rule out a less likely candidate, MME no. 201, Elliniko Mouriatadas, which existed only in LH III times.

(S74) *Enope* (Ἐνόπη) Another of Agamemnon's seven *ptoliethra* (Hom. *Il.* 9.150 = 9.292). For Strabo 8.4.5 it is Pellana, Kardamyle or Gerenia; Paus. 3.25.8 simply identifies it as Gerenia (see *infra*), in which case it lay on the eastern side of the Messenian Gulf.

(S56) *Erana* (Ἔρανα) Placed by Strabo 8.3.23 (where MSS have Ἔρενα, Ἔρενα) on the coast between Kyparissos and Pylos and distinguished from Arene (*supra*). MME no. 406, Dialiskari Marathopolis (or D. Marathou, *ΛΟΠ* no. 2341) is suggested by Valmin (1930) 136–41 (H, R), but Stone and Kampke (1998) regard that site as a Roman villa; another suggestion is MME no. 408, Aghia Kyriaki (Roman) (suggested in the *MME* catalogue but not at Hope Simpson (1972) 98 n. 102).

(S75) *Ire/Hire* (Ἰρή/Ἱρή) One of Agamemnon's seven *ptoliethra* (Hom. *Il.* 9.150 = 9.292, Ἰρὴ/Ἱρὴ ποιήεσσα, "grassy (H)Ire", or ἱρὴ Ποιήεσσα, "holy Poieessa"). Either Ire or Poiaessa (*infra*) must be a concoction of ancient scholarship. For Strabo 8.4.5 (cf. 8.4.1) it is either a place near Megalopolis (no. 282) or the same as Mesola. Paus. 4.30.1 (followed by *MME*) identifies it with Abia, but if it was connected with Mt. (H)Eira (Paus. 4.7.10–23.4 *passim* and 4.27.4, 9) it is, rather, in north-central Messenia and may be correctly identified with MME no. 611, Ag. Athanasios Kakaletriou (two forts, one Archaic, the other Classical and Hellenistic; for the spelling of Kakaletriou, see *ΛΟΠ* no. 1278); cf. Hope Simpson (1972) 98 n. 93.

(S77) *Oichalia* (Οἰχαλία) Homeric site (Hom. *Il.* 2.730); *c.*8 stades (1.5 km) from Andania (Paus. 4.33.4). Pherekydes (*FGrHist* 3) fr. 82a (schol. Soph. *Trach.* 354) located it "at Thoule (i.e. "goodness knows where") in Arkadia"; cf. Eust. *Il.* 1.461.18, 21–22, 31–32, 516.26–27. *KlPauly* iv. 251; *RE* xvii. 2097ff no. 2.

(S78) *Pedasos* (Πήδασος) One of Agamemnon's seven *ptoliethra* (Hom. *Il.* 9.152 = 9.294). For Strabo (8.4.3 with

8.4.5) it is Mothone (no. 319), though some say Korone (no. 316).

(S92) *Poiaessa* (*Ποιάεσσα*) Possibly an area; but since Homer only twice mentions *ἱρὴν Ποιήεσσαν* (or *Ἰρὴν*/*Ἱρὴν ποιήεσσαν*; *Il.* 9.150 = 292), either Ire/Hire or Poiaessa must be a fiction. See under Ire/Hire.

(S60) *Polichne* (*Πολίχνη*) Attested only in Pausanias (4.33.6), who locates it in north-western Messenia; no evidence of *polis* status beyond the suggestive name. Marked in north-western Messenia, *Barr.* Hope Simpson (1972) 98 n. 103 does not contest the suggestion of Valmin (1930) 79–81, 101–3, to locate it at MME no. 233, Stilari Ano Kopanakiou (Bronze Age, Classical, Hellenistic, possibly Roman; 0.4 ha; the "Ano" is unofficial, *ΛΟΠ* no. 1788), but notes that Roebuck (1941) 12 stresses the difficulty of locating toponyms in the Soulima valley.

(S62) *Thryon/Thryoessa* (*Θρύον*/*Θρυόεσσα*) Steph. Byz. 318.15–20; Plin. *HN* 4.5.15; in Homer (*Il.* 2.592 = *Hom. Hymn to Apollo*, 423 and 11.711–12) Thryoessa is a Pylian town on the river Alpheios, in Pliny and Steph. Byz. a Messenian town; for Strabo 8.3.24 it is later Epitalion (*Ἐπιτάλιον* (no. 305) (Steph. 274.15–16)); not listed separately here since it is never attested as Spartan or Messenian, only as Triphylian (Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.25; it joins Sparta) and later Eleian (Polyb. 4.80); proposed sites include MME no. 303, Ag. Georgios Epitaliou (Epitalio was formerly Agoulinitsa, *ΛΟΠ* no. 1147; BA, Cl–R, *c.*3 ha) and no. 715, Samakia Epitaliou (Archaic to Roman, *c.*5 ha).

A further eight are placed with probability at or near known sites:

(S55) *Abia/Abea/Abeia* (*Ἀβία*/*Ἀβέα*/*Ἀβεία*) This was a *polis* in 182, when it separated from Messene (no. 318) and joined the Achaian Confederacy (Polyb. 23.17.2: *Ἀβία*; cf. *IG* I.1 1374.4–6 (late Hellenistic?): *Ἀβεατῶν πόλις*; *IG* ff.1 1353 (Hellenistic?): *Ἀβειᾶται*) and down to Hadrianic times (*IG* V.1 1352 = *SEG* 11 967; Paus. 4.30.1, etc.: *Ἀβία*). It may have been a *polis* since 338 or earlier, but there is no written or archaeological evidence before C2. Pausanias says it is Homeric Hire or Ire (4.30.1), but that is more plausibly placed at Mt. (H)Eira near Andania (see *supra*). *IG* V.1 1356 (C5? cf. *LSAG* 206 no. 6 (*c.*C5e?)) and 1357 (C5; *LSAG* 206 no. 9, "*c.*450?") are votive stelae possibly from Abia, the former dedicated by two *hιαροί*, perhaps on behalf of the community. Abia is probably MME no. 545, Avia (formerly Paliochora, *ΛΟΠ* no. 3; Hellenistic? Roman); Valmin (1930) 181–82; Meyer (1978) 178 notes Classical finds at MME no. 144, Ag. Georgios, *c.*500 m from Mikra Mantineia.

(S38) *Alagonia* Probably MME no. 548, Ag. Ilias Brindas (Classical to Roman), see *infra.*

(S102) *Kalamai* Probably Giannitsa near modern Kalamata, see *infra.*

(S58) *Kolonis/Kolonides* On the western side of the Messenian Gulf; plausibly identified as one of two sites, see *infra.*

(S57) *Gerenia* Probably MME no. 146, Zarnata Kambou (Classical to Roman), see *infra.*

(S48) *Leuktron* At or near MME no. 148, Lefktro Stoupas, see *infra.*

(S21) *Thalamai* (no. 321) Probably MME no. 150, Svina Koutiphariou (now Platanos Thalamon, *ΛΟΠ* no. 3427).

(S21) *Thouria* (no. 322) Probably MME no. 137, Ellinika Aithaias, not far north of modern Thouria.

Finally, ten names are attached with certainty, or high probability, to known settlement remains (two of them refer to the same place), though some identifications remain inferential.

(S19) *Asine* (no. 313) MME no. 512, Bourgo Koronis (mediaeval Coron).

(S34) *Kardamyle* (no. 315) MME no. 147, Kastro Kardamylis.

(S59) *Korone* (no. 316) MME no. 502, Petalidi.

(S109) *Koryphasion* MME no. 9, Paliokastro Petrochoriou (Bronze Age, Protogeometric and Classical to Roman finds; 1.4 ha), see *infra.*

(S35) *Kyparissos* (no. 317) MME no. 70, Kastro Kyparissias.

(S11) *Messene* (no. 318) MME no. 529, Mavrommati (for spelling with *mm* cf. *ΛΟΠ* no. 2393).

(S36) *Mothone* (no. 319) MME no. 412, Methoni.

(S79) *Pharai* (no. 320) MME no. 142, Kastro Kalamatas.

(—) *Prote* MME no. 407, Proti, see *infra.*

(S81) *Pylos* The same as Koryphasion, see *infra.*

Messenia is a much more "Homeric" landscape than Laconia. The scholarly industry of trying to identify legendary and Homeric places began early, perhaps because of the lack of sources and documents for the Classical period. Homeric Pteleon, Amphigeneia and Trikka have no plausible location in the landscape, and only the first is assumed to have been a settlement. Homeric Ithome has a known location, but was not necessarily a settlement. Among the thirty-six places with certain or possible locations, eight that have Homeric names and were presumably real places at some early date are located only in a general area or are assigned (usually by ancient authorities) to different places:

Aipeia (Thouria (no. 322) or Mothone (no. 319)).
Aipy (Margalai, or a place in Triphylia, or Epitalion (no. 305); possibly MME no. 245).
Antheia (Asine (no. 313) or Thouria (no. 322)).
Arene (possibly Samikon, possibly MME no. 302).
Enope (Pellana, Kardamyle (no. 315), or Gerenia).
Pedasos (Mothone (no. 319) or Korone (no. 316)).
Thryon/Thryoessa (possibly Epitalion (no. 305), for which two locations have been proposed).
Hire/Ire/Poiaessa (either in north-central or in south-eastern Messenia).

Homeric Dorion (possibly at the Bronze Age site known by its modern name of Malthi) and Oichalia (near ancient Andania) are not certainly identified, but are more confidently tied to specific localities. Homeric Kyparisseeis may have been succeeded at a different location by Messenian Kyparissos (no. 317), whose site is known. Homeric Kardamyle (no. 315) and Phere (if it is Pharai (no. 320)) are more or less securely tied to actual historical sites. Homeric Pylos is presumed to be a different site from Classical Pylos (see under Pylos, *infra*). An oddity is that of the five *poleis* of Kresphontes (Hyameia, Stenyklaros, Pylos, Rhion and Mesola) only the third is mentioned in Homer, while of Teleklos' three foundations of Echeiai, Poiaessa and Tragion, only the second—perhaps—occurs in Homer.

2. *Identification of* Poleis

Of the fifty-five place-names with which we started, we should first exclude spurious names and non-settlements (including Ithome). The thirty-six historical settlements can now be classified for the purposes of investigating the Archaic and Classical *poleis* of Messenia.

The Inventory describes eleven settlements, covering every place that, in the Archaic or Classical period, was certainly a *polis* (Asine (no. 313), Kyparissos (no. 317), Mothone (no. 319) and, after 369, Messene (no. 318) itself), probably a *polis* (Aithaia (no. 312) and Thouria (no. 322)), or possibly a *polis* (Aulon (no. 314), Kardamyle (no. 315), Korone (no. 316), Pharai (no. 320) and Thalamai (no. 321)).

Before the eleven Archaic and Classical *poleis* are catalogued, the other twenty-five settlements of all periods will be described briefly. There is a strong possibility that some were *poleis* before 300—either perioikic *poleis* before 369 or settlements subsequently elevated to *polis* status—but happen not to have been recorded in surviving evidence from the Classical period. Because in some cases the issues are more problematic than for similar places in Laconia, and because it is sometimes possible to be more precise than was the case in Shipley (1997), a little more detail will be given here than for the equivalent places in the Lakedaimon inventory.

3. *Ancient Settlements without Demonstrable Archaic or Classical Occupation*

In seventeen cases among the twenty-five known settlements, there is no firm evidence that the place was a settlement in the Archaic or Classical periods, but only at some later or (usually) earlier date. Details of some have already been given in the list of possible settlements *supra*:

(S55) Abea/Abia/Abeia (see *supra*) may not have existed before C2.

(S68) Aipeia (see *supra*) did not exist under this name in Classical times, though possibly it had been renamed Thouria.

(S69) Aipy (see *supra*) did not exist under this name in Classical times, though possibly it had changed its name.

(S85) Ampheia (see *supra*) probably did not exist in Classical times.

(S86) Andania (see *supra*) was a settlement by C3l and presumably existed earlier as a sanctuary, but the Messenians reportedly did not wish to resettle it after 369 (Paus. 4.26.6).

(S71) Antheia (see *supra*) did not exist under this name in Classical times, but possibly had been renamed Asine; it is extremely doubtful whether it is named in a C4l–C3e inscription (see under Ampheia *supra*).

(S72) Arene did not exist under this name in Classical times, though possibly it had been renamed Samikon.

(S87) Charadra is only attested in Strabo and is possibly legendary.

(S73) Dorion is not mentioned after Homer and before Strabo, unless it existed as Doureon *c.*200 (*BCH* 44 (1921) 12 col. II.84 (Delphi (*c.*200)); it must be doubtful whether Pausanias could be sure the ruins he was shown were those of Dorion, let alone whether it existed in the Archaic/Classical periods.

(S74) Enope did not exist under this name in Classical times, though possibly it existed under the name Gerenia or under another name.

(S56) Erana is attested only in Strabo 8.3.23 (who distinguishes it from Arene), and may have existed only in the Roman period.

(S75) Ire/Hire is either a doublet of Poiaessa or existed under another name in Classical times, possibly Abia.

(S77) Oichalia was shown to Pausanias as "the place formerly called Oichalia" (4.2.2), where the Messenians did not wish to resettle after 369; probably only Homeric (the name Oichalia has been adopted by the former Ali Tselepi, *ΛΟΠ* no. 3080).

(S78) Pedasos did not exist under this name in Classical times, though possibly it had been renamed Mothone or Korone.

(S92) Poiaessa is probably purely Homeric (if not a doublet of Hire/Ire).

(S60) Polichne, attested only in Paus. 4.33.6. Cf. Valmin (1930) 92, 99–103.

(S62) Thryon did not exist under this name in Classical times, though possibly it had been renamed Epitalion.

The remaining seven settlements had, or probably had, Archaic or Classical occupation but cannot plausibly be shown to have been *poleis* at that time (two names refer to the same site):

4. *Pre-Hellenistic Settlements not Attested as* Poleis

Alagonia (*Ἀλαγονία*) (S38) Attested only in the Imperial period, when it was an Eleutherolaconian *polis* (Paus. 3.12.7; 30 stades (5.6 km) from Gerenia, 3.26.11); but the highly probable location (MME no. 548, Aghios Ilias, or Gaitses, at Brinda, the last now renamed Voreio, *ΛΟΠ* no. 719), adjoining the Sandava gorge (ancient Choirios Nape, Paus. 4.1.1), has Classical to mediaeval finds. Meyer (1978) 177–78; Hope Simpson (1972) 95 fig. 6.2, 98 n. 105, concurring with Valmin (1930) 187–89. (Alternatively, at Zarnata Kambou: see *infra*, under Gerenia; Meyer (1978) 177–78.) *Barr.* locates it at Anatoliko and dates it C.

Gerenia, Gerena (*Γερηνία, Γέρηνα*) (S57) First attested in *IG* v.1 1336 = *SEG* 11 950 (date corrected to C2 at *SEG* 13 268; C3–C2 in *LGPN* IIIa, s.v. *Νικάνδριππος*). Cf. Strabo 8.3.29, 4.4–5. Paus. 3.26.8 says its population is Messenian, though it is Eleutherolaconian (cf. 3.21.7). It may have existed shortly after Messenia's independence; there is no definite evidence, though its identification with MME no. 146, Zarnata Kambou, is reasonably certain (prehistoric, Classical to Roman, mediaeval; traces of ancient circuit wall; probable findspot of C5 stelae *IG* v.1 1337–38; cf. another (C5?) in *SEG* 11 951). (Another proposed location, Kitries, has few finds, but Zarnata may nevertheless be Alagonia (Meyer (1978) 177)). For the location, see Valmin (1930) 182–86; Hope Simpson (1972) 98 n. 105 with refs. It may have belonged to the Messenian *koinon* after 338/7 (Lazenby (1972) 90). Since Kardamyle, further south-east, had to be detached from Messenia in order to be given to Sparta by Augustus (Paus. 3.21.6), it seems that Gerenia, too, must have been Messenian at that time, and therefore not a member of the *koinon* of the Lakedaimonians founded after 195; this would be consistent with its having ceased to be perioikic in 338. Sanctuary of Machaon attested in C2 (*IG* V.1 1336.19; *SEG* 11 949). *Barr.* C (Zarnatas?).

Kalamai (*Καλάμαι*) (S102) First attested in Polyb. 5.92.4, where it is a settlement (*χωρίον*) captured by Lykourgos in 217—implicitly a defensible one since it is taken by treachery. Although Kalamai probably existed in C4, there is no evidence that it was a *polis*. It is a *kome* in Paus. 4.31.3; Steph. Byz. 347.16 alone calls it a *polis*, but cites only Pausanias, who does not. Plausibly located at MME no. 537, Giannitsa, *c.*6 km east of Kalamata (Classical and Hellenistic site with C4–C3 buildings, fortifications; now Elaiochori, *ΛΟΠ* no. 1106) or at nearby MME no. 140, Sola Perivolakion (LH III, Hellenistic? Roman, 0.8 ha; squared blocks, inscriptions). (Cf. Meyer (1978) 180–81 for full references; Roebuck (1941) 122–23, followed by Hope Simpson (1972) 98 n. 104; cf. Hope Simpson (1966) 119 and n. 27.) This locality is argued for on topographical grounds regarding Lykourgos' invasion route in 217, supported by epigraphic finds naming Kalamai (*IG* v.1 1369–70) from the area of the church 20 minutes (*c.*2 km?) away at Ag. Vasileios. Meyer, *KlPauly* v. 51 (with refs. to earlier literature), prefers to put it at modern Kalamai *c.*2 km north-west of Kalamata (usually identified with Pharai). *Barr.* HR (Perivolakia/Sola).

Kolonis, Kolonides (*Κολωνίς, Κολωνίδες*) (S58) It was a settlement by 188 and is plausibly linked with an excavated Classical cemetery, but is not attested before Plut. *Philop.*

18.3 (cf. Paus. 4.34.8, 12), unless possibly in Hom. *Il.* 17.111. In Plut. *Philop.* 18.3 it is a *kome*. It remains possible that it was founded as a *polis* after 369 to isolate Asine (no. 313) and Mothone (no. 319), which were still Spartan (Lazenby (1972) 89). One proposed site, Kastelia–Vounarion (MME no. 507; excavated by Valmin (1930) 171–73; presumably *ΛΟΠ* no. 1589, Kasteli Neas Koronis, formerly in the *dimos* of Kollonides) is Classical to Roman and mediaeval; Hope Simpson (1972) 99 n. 125 (following Hope Simpson (1966) 125) prefers MME no. 107, Kaphirio (Roman settlement). The people of Kolonides in Pausanias' time claimed to be Athenians by origin who later dorianised (Paus. 4.34.8). Full bibliography in Meyer (1978) 197. Lazenby (1972) 89 suggests that Kolonides and Korone (which bordered it: Paus. 4.34.8) may have been founded post-369 to isolate still-perioikic Asine and Mothone; if so, Kolonis was probably made "independent" from Messene (no. 318) when it was required to join the Achaian Confederacy in 191 (Lazenby (1972) 92). *Barr.* C (Vournaria).

Koryphasion (*Κορυφάσιον*) (S109) Koryphasion (which presumably meant "headland"; cf. LSJ s.v. *κορυφή*, i. 3) was the Lakedaimonian name for the then uninhabited promontory of Pylos, opposite the island of Sphakteria, on the northern side of modern Navarino Bay (Thuc. 4.3.2). *Pylos* (*Πύλος*) (S81) was presumably the Messenian name for the same place (preserving the Bronze Age *pu-ro*, found in Linear B tablets from the nearby "palace of Nestor"). Paus. 4.36.1–5 (referring to *ἡ Πύλος* on Koryphasion) takes it to be Nestor's home (Hom. *Il.* 2.153, etc.; *Od.* 3.4, where it is called a *ptoliethron*). Pylos is located in Messenia, and is distinguished from other Pyloi, by Strabo 8.3.7 (*τοῦ Μεσσηνιακοῦ Πύλου*, masc., *τοῦ κατὰ Κορυφάσιον*), 8.4.2 (*Πύλος ἡ Μεσσηνιακή*, this time fem.), etc. It is implicitly called a *polis* at 8.4.6, but this is vague. It is different from Triphylian Pylos and Eleian Pylos; Homer's Pylos may be a fourth site, that of the excavated Bronze Age palace, MME no. 1, Ano Englianos Choras. (On the tablets, see Bennet (1998).) On all four sites, see Meyer in *KlPauly* iv. 1249–51. Modern Pylos is a fifth site, formerly Neokastro Navarinou (*ΛΟΠ* no. 3549), on the south side of the bay. Valmin (1930) 146–51 discusses the locations of Pylos, Sphakteria and Koryphasion. For the migration of the name "Pylos" since the Bronze Age, see Davis (1998*a*) p. xx. The headland was garrisoned during 425–421 and 418–409 (or 408) by Messenian exiles (Thuc. 4.41.2, 5.35.6–7; Xen. *Hell.* 1.2.18). In 365 it was taken by Arkadians (not Argives as Alcock (1998) 183 has it) (Diod. 15.77.4). The headland site (MME no. 9, Paliokastro Petrochoriou) has Bronze Age, Protogeometric and Classical to Roman finds, including the C5 fortification connected with the Athenians' operations in 425. Lazenby (1972) 86 suggests that it was left uninhabited after the conquest of Messenia was completed *c.*600. Recent survey confirms the dearth of Classical settlement in the area (Harrison and Spencer (1998) 160). The lower-lying settlement between the lagoon (smaller than in modern times) and the bay, at MME no. 401, Divari Gialova (cf. *ΛΟΠ* no. 841), had Archaic to Roman monument bases, etc., and was substantial in Hellenistic times (at least 1.5 ha; *MME* 310–11 no. 401; see also Pritchett (1965) 6–29). Alcock (1998) 183 speculates that the fort and the "true" *polis* may date from post-365; but it is not certain that it ever was a *polis*. Meyer, *KlPauly* iii. 312 notes that Osmanaga village is now Koryphasion (cf. *ΛΟΠ* no. 1806) and cross-refers to his article on Pylos at *KlPauly* iv. 2149–50, where he notes C5 fortification. It was a small place in Imperial times, but claimed to be Nestor's home; the fort is late thirteenth century AD, named Palaiokastro, later Palaio Avarino, once the Turkish fort was built on the south side of the bay at modern Pylos. Meyer also cites Pompon. 2.52; Plin. *HN* 4.55; Ptol. *Geog.* 3.14.31; Tab. Peut. 7.5; Meyer (1951); idem, *RE* xxiii. 2114–15; Marinatos, *PP* 16 (1961) 225–26; plan, *JHS* 16 (1896) fig. 3 (reproduced in Spencer (1998) 175). Full refs. in Meyer (1978) 201–3. *IG* v.1 1418 (= *SEG* 11 1004) and 1419 (= *SEG* 11 1003) are LCl stelae found in the vicinity, with single names on them. *KlPauly* iv. 1249–51 (Meyer): "Pylos 1" (cols. 1249–50), Koryphasion; "Pylos 2" (col. 1250), Triphylian Pylos; "Pylos 3" (col. 1250), Eleian Pylos; "Pylos 4" (cols. 1250–51), site of the BA palace, Hom. *Il.* 2.153 = 2.295, 9.591, 11.682, 712; *Od.* 3.4 (*πτολίεθρον*), similarly 3.485, 15.193. *Barr.* AC.

Leuktron, Leuktra (*Λεῦκτρον*, *Λεῦκτρα*) (S48) Leuktron is not attested (except in Linear B) before Strabo 8.4.4, though he claims it was founded by Pelops. Plut. *Pelop.* 20.7 tells that in the run-up to the battle of Leuktra in 371 the Thebans were uncertain whether the *πολίχνιον* of Leuktron in Laconia was meant in the relevant oracle, but we cannot rely on this as evidence for its existence then. Plin. *HN* 4.5.16 lists it, and in Paus. 3.21.7 it is an Eleutherolaconian *polis*. Valmin (1930) 203–4 locates it at the village of Leftro. If *re-u-ko-to-ro* ("Leuktron"?) in the Pylos tablets is the name of the predecessor of Thouria (no. 322) (see Bennet (1998) 122, 124), the toponym has migrated to its present site. The probable site, MME no. 148, Leftro Stoupas, has Bronze Age, Classical to Roman, and mediaeval remains. *IG* v.1 1329 is a late Archaic or Classical cultic stele found in a field near Leuktra; Hope

Simpson (1972) 98 n. 100 says that Leuktron must have been occupied in the Archaic period, but direct evidence seems lacking. Roebuck (1941) 30–31 n. 17, notes that Heidemann (1904) 51 suggests it was a Messenian foundation after 369, but again evidence is lacking. See also Meyer (1978) 176. *Barr.* AC (Stoupa).

Prote (*Πρωτή*) A deserted island, Thuc. 4.13.3; Ps.-Skylax 45 (depending on the orthography: TLG reads *πρώτη Μεσσήνη καὶ λιμήν*, *Κυπάρισσος*, but one could read (as Meyer evidently does) *Πρωτή*, *Μεσσήνη*, *καὶ λιμὴν Κυπάρισσος*. Ps.-Skylax uses *πρώτη* elsewhere to pick out the first *polis* in a region, though in every other case the phrase *πρώτη πόλις* occurs, so Meyer may be right.) See Meyer, *KlPauly* iv. 1195–96. It is described as *νησίον καὶ πολίχνιον* in Strabo 8.3.23. It is also named in Plin. *HN* 4.55, Ptol. 3.14.44 and Steph. Byz. 537.16–17, who claims the ethnic is *Protaios*, but there are no parallels. The island has a substantial late Classical (?) and Hellenistic settlement, including a Hellenistic fortress enclosing 2.8 ha (MME no. 407, Próti; better Protí, *ΛΟΠ* no. 3536). Archaeological evidence confirms that it was apparently uninhabited in C5 but was a settlement by C1, and possibly as early as C4. Valmin (1930) 141–45: rock-cut inscriptions (including *IG* v.1 1533 (C5); *SEG* 11 1005 (C6) = *LSAG* 206 no. 2 (C6?)); ancient fortress on south point, probably C4e at earliest; pottery (cites Niese (1906) 131). Full refs. in Meyer (1978) 204. *Barr.* C.

In addition, a few significant Archaic or Classical settlements might be linked with unlocated known toponyms. They include MME no. 216, Krebeni Kato Melpeias (Krebeni Melpeias was formerly Krebeni Garantza, *ΛΟΠ* no. 2430; Bronze Age, Classical, Hellenistic, *c.*9 ha), in northern Messenia. Others are cited under particular sites in this introduction or in the main Inventory.

Some of the settlements listed *supra*, both those attested in sources and those known only from archaeological evidence, may have been *poleis* in the Classical period. Indeed, good candidates for Classical *polis* status, in addition to the "possible" *poleis* in the main part of the Inventory, are not hard to find: the strongest candidates are perhaps Alagonia, Gerenia, Kolonis and Leuktron. If any of these places was a *polis* before 369, it presumably had perioikic status.

On the other hand, many of these settlements had only small territories, and at least two, neither of which has been assigned to the Inventory of *poleis*, are described as *komai* (a category not inconsistent with *polis* status) after the Classical period: Kolonis (Plut. *Philop.* 18.3) and Kalamai (Paus. 4.31.3).[12] There is also the stray comic reference from the Hellenistic period to an unnamed *kome* in the vicinity of Thouria (no. 322). As with *poleis*, since no place is called a *kome* twice, there were probably more of which we hear nothing. Such places may have been dependent upon larger perioikic centres. On local settlement hierarchies, see Shipley (1992).

II. The *Poleis*

312. Aithaia (Aithaieus) Unlocated. Type: B. (S18). The toponym is probably *Αἴθαια* (Philoch. fr. 32a *apud* Steph. Byz. 46.4; *vv.ll. Αἰθαία*, *Αἰθάλα*); *Θέα* at Philoch. fr. 32b (*apud* Steph. Byz. 308.4 s.v. *Θεά*, also citing Thuc.), is probably a doublet. The city-ethnic is probably *Αἰθαιεύς* (Thuc. 1.101.2; *vv.ll. Αἰθαλεύς*, *Αἰθεεῖς*, *Αἰθνεεῖς*; restored on the basis of Steph. Byz. 46.5, who attributes it to Thuc.).

Aithaia is not located with certainty, but may have been near Thouria (no. 322) in south-eastern Messenia, the only other perioikic *polis* to revolt in 465 (Thuc. 1.101.2). Valmin (1930) 61–64 suggests Samarina (Santa Marina), north-east of the village of Kalogeraki (or rather Kalogerorachi: see *MME* 314), or one of several sites in the vicinity, such as Karteroli further south (Mycenaean, Hellenistic). See also Roebuck (1941) 30–31 and 7 n. 16; Lazenby (1972) 86; Hope Simpson (1972) 94 and 98 n. 95. One possible site is MME no. 137, Ellinika Aithaias (at Aithaia, formerly Delimimi, *ΛΟΠ* no. 304: Meyer (1978) 183); but this is more probably Thouria (no. 322). If it is Karteroli, it had a Hellenistic existence and so did not cease to exist after the liberation of Messenia; but nothing is known about the status of Aithaia after C5.

Aithaia is never called a *polis* in Classical sources, but apparently it was by Philoch. fr. 32a, who included it as "one of the 100". It may be assumed to have been a perioikic *polis* during Spartan rule on the basis of Thuc. 1.101.2, the only Archaic or Classical use of the city-ethnic (external collective). There is no evidence for the name or extent of its territory; it is assigned to Lakonike in Philoch. fr. 32a (as is Thea, its possible double, in fr. 32b).

Unlike Mothone (no. 319) and Asine (no. 313), Aithaia is not said to have been the home of exiles from another *polis*. The ethnic affiliation of its population therefore depends on whether the *perioikoi* in Messenia were originally Lakedaimonians, even Spartiates, or ethnic Messenians

[12] References to *komai* in Laconia and Messenia are assembled by Shipley (1997) 261–63.

elevated above their helot compatriots. Malkin (1994) 85 tentatively advances Thouria (no. 322) and Aithaia as possible C8 foundations. Lazenby (1972) 86 assumes that the people of Thouria and elsewhere were still "free Messenians" after the conquest.

Given its possible location, it would have been detached from Sparta (no. 345) in 338 rather than 369. Lazenby (1972) 90 suggests it may have belonged to a Messenian *koinon* after 338/7.

313. Asine (Asinaios) Map 58. Lat. 36.45, long. 21.55. Size of territory: 2 or 3. Type: [A]. (S19). The toponym is *Ἀσίνη, ἡ* (Hdt. 8.73.2; Thuc. 4.13.1; Xen. *Hell.* 7.1.25; Ps.-Skylax 46). Although Xen. *Hell.* 7.1.25 places it in *Λάκαινα*, the Messenian town is presumably meant, since *Lakaina* is probably equivalent to *Lakonike*, the territory controlled by Sparta (no. 345); it is explicitly distinguished from Laconian Asine at e.g. Strabo 8.4.1 (*τῆς Μεσσηνιακῆς Ἀσίνης*) and Steph. Byz. 131.11–13 (*Ἀσίνη, πόλις Λακωνικὴ . . . δευτέρα Μεσσήνης παρὰ τὴν Λακωνικήν*). The city-ethnic is *Ἀσιναῖος* (Xen. *An.* 5.3.4; *Hell.* 7.1.25; *IG* II² 8387a (C4)); it is specified as *Ἀσιναῖος ἐγ Μεσσαν[ίας]* in *SEG* 12 219 = *BCH* 77 (1953) 166 (Delphi, 322–310).

Paus. 4.34.12 locates Asine 40 stades (7.3 km) from Kolonides and a similar distance from Cape Akritas. Hdt. 8.73.2 locates it *πρὸς τῇ Καρδαμύλῃ*, which must mean opposite Kardamyle. The *polis* is usually (so *Barr.*) located at MME no. 512, Bourgo Koronis (mediaeval Coron, the name having migrated hither), possibly legendary Rhion (see introduction to this chapter). Asine was sometimes identified with Homer's Antheia (Strabo 8.4.5). Valmin (1930) 169 suggests that Rhion is the eastern part of Cape Akritas, on the western side of the Thouriate Gulf, rather than its northeastern side. For a summary of the arguments about its location, see Hope Simpson (1972) 97–98 n. 91 (citing Roebuck (1941) 19–22; *contra* Valmin (1930) 164–68, 169, (1934–35) 44–46). The earliest find is an early Archaic Protocorinthian sherd (cf. Valmin (1930) 178; Hope Simpson (1957) 249). Cf., however, *SEG* 11 985 (second century AD), a decree of Korone found at modern Koroni, which the editors in *SEG* suspect may cause the orthodox view to be revised, though Roebuck (1941) 19–22 presumes that the stone was transported from the site of ancient Korone (no. 316) at Petalidi. See also Meyer (1978) 198–99.

Asine is implicitly called a *polis* in Hdt. 8.73.2, where *polis* is used in the urban and/or political sense; in Ps.-Skylax 46, where *polis* is used in the urban sense, Asine (presumably the Messenian one, cf. *infra*) is listed as the first toponym after the heading *πόλεις αἵδε* (though Mothone (no. 319), listed second, ought to have been named first). Otherwise it is called a *polis* only in post-Classical sources: e.g. *IG* IV 679 (C3l–C2e) where the *polis* of the *Ἀσιναίων* asks to take part in the rites of Demeter at Hermione.

The internal collective use of the city-ethnic occurs in Hellenistic decrees (e.g. *SEG* 11 986 (C3–C2)). The external collective use occurs in Xen. *Hell.* 7.1.25, and the external individual use in Xenophon's references to Neon of Asine (*infra*), in *IG* II² 8387a (C4) and in *SEG* 12 219 (322–310), a grant of proxeny, *theorodokia*, etc. by Delphi to two citizens of Asine.

Asine was peopled with the expelled population of Argolic Asine (Dryopians, cf. Hdt. 8.73.2) when it was destroyed (Theopomp. fr. 383 *apud* Strabo 8.6.11; Paus. 3.7.4, 4.8.3, 14.3; cf. 4.24.4, 34.9) after the First Messenian War (Lazenby (1972) 85; Harrison and Spencer (1998) 154). Its territory was supposedly exempt from the general allotment of land after the conquest of Messenia (Paus. 4.24.4).

In 425, during the Sphakteria campaign, the Spartans sent to Asine for timber with which to make siege engines (Thuc. 4.13.1). Later, in the Peloponnesian War, the Spartan commander Gylippos had ships sent there (Thuc. 6.93.3).

Neon of Asine (most likely from Messenian Asine) took a leading part in the expedition of the Ten Thousand (Xen. *An.* 5.3.4, etc.; he is also called *Λακωνικός*, 7.2.29 (for a possible reason for the variation, see Shipley (1997) 209)). In 369 or 368 the Arkadians attacked Asine; again, presumably Messenian Asine is meant (and it is not contradicted by *τῆς Λακαίνης*) since there was a Spartan garrison (*φρουρά*) there; they defeated it, killing its Spartiate commander and devastating the outskirts (*proasteion*) of the city (Xen. *Hell.* 7.1.25). After the Spartans lost part of Messenia, the Asinaians were allowed to remain in their homeland (*κατὰ χώραν*, Paus. 4.27.8); Asine was in fact within the part of Messenia retained by Sparta until 338 (Shipley (2000) 385). Hence, perhaps, it is put in Lakedaimon, not Messenia, by Ps.-Skylax 46. After 338/7 it may have belonged to a Messenian *koinon* (cf. Lazenby (1972) 90). The population was presumably a mixture of Argolic Asinaians (Dryopians; cf. Hdt. 8.73.2) and pre-existing Messenians and/or Lakedaimonians.

Asine was certainly perioikic; the use of its ethnic for its citizen Neon conforms to the rule whereby Lakedaimonian *perioikoi* are identified by their city-ethnics (Shipley (1997) 209; Hansen (1996) 185).

314. Aulon (Aulonites) Map 58. Lat. 37.20, long. 21.40. Size of territory: 1 or 2. Type: C. (S20). The toponym is *Αὐλών, ὁ*

(Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.25, 3.3.8, 3.3.10; Strabo 8.3.25, cf. 8.5.1; Paus. 4.36.7), which presumably describes the location (LSJ s.v. *αὐλών*, "hollow, defile, glen"). The (possible) city-ethnic is *Αὐλωνίτης* (Xen. *Hell.* 3.3.8; Steph. Byz. 147.7).

Paus. 4.36.7 places Aulon between Kyparissos (no. 317) and the river Neda. Valmin (1930) 107–11 (and *Barr.*) locates it at MME no. 601, Vounaki Palioneriou (cf. Roebuck (1941) 25–26 n. 95; for the name Palioneri, cf. *ΛΟΠ* no. 3124), a fortified site with an area of 0.8 ha, and with Hellenistic, Roman and possibly Classical finds. Hope Simpson (1972) 94 and n. 101, however, suggests MME no. 602, Ag. Ilias, a Classical and Hellenistic site of at least 3 ha with a good view over the coastal route.

Aulon is called a *polis* only by Steph. Byz. 147.6, who lists it as "one of the 100 *poleis*", suggesting a Classical or Hellenistic source such as Theopompos; it is not clear whether *polis* is here used in the urban or the political sense. It is not certain, however, that Aulon was a *polis* in the Classical period. A possible comparandum is Laconian *Σκιρῖται*, whose name may be a sub-regional ethnic rather than a city-ethnic. Roebuck (1941) 25–26 n. 95 (followed by Hope Simpson (1972) 98 n. 101) takes Aulon in Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.25 (where Agis invades Elis *δι' Αὐλῶνος*, "via Aulon" or "through the *aulon*") to be a district. At *Hell.* 3.3.10 Xenophon uses the preposition *ἐπί* with the dative to locate men previously sent to Aulon (*ἐπ' Αὐλῶνι*); this, again, may possibly suggest that the name denotes a geographical location rather than a *polis*, though there may also have been a *polis*. At 3.3.8 Xenophon says (with reference to *c.*399) that the conspirator Kinadon was sent to Aulon to bring back "certain of the Aulonitai" and certain helots; Roebuck (ibid.) accepts that this passage probably refers to a town. It is implicitly called an *oppidum* by Plin. *HN* 4.5.14, who lists it first among the westward *oppida* of Elis.

Aulon may well have been a perioikic *polis* during the period of Spartan rule in Messenia. Kinadon, the conspirator sent to arrest certain *Aulonitai*, is described by Xen. *Hell.* 3.3.5 as "not of the *homoioi*" (the full-citizen Spartiates), while at 3.3.11 he is reported to have said that he aspired to be "a lesser man (*ἧττων*) than none in Lakedaimon". He has generally been assumed to have belonged to the class of "inferiors" (*ὑπομείονες*) attested only in the enumeration of his fellow-plotters at Xen. *Hell.* 3.3.6. As a demoted Spartiate, Kinadon could still have had authority over *perioikoi*. Roebuck (1941) 30 n. 13 and Spencer (1998) 176 assume that Aulon was perioikic. If perioikic, the population of Aulon may have been ethnically Messenian or Lakedaimonian, depending on whether colonists were sent by Sparta.

The external collective use of the city-ethnic (if it is one) occurs at Xen. *Hell.* 3.3.8.

No name is given to the territory of Aulon. Given its proposed location, it would have been lost by Sparta (no. 345) in 369. It was probably bounded by the territory of Triphylia on the north. Aulon may have belonged to a Messenian *koinon* after 338/7 (cf. Lazenby (1972) 90).

315. Kardamyle (Skardamylites) Map 58. Lat. 36.50, long. 22.15. Size of territory: 1. Type: C. (S34). The toponym is *Καρδαμύλη, ἡ* (Hom. *Il.* 9.150 = 9.252; Hdt. 8.73.2; Strabo 8.4.1, etc.; Paus. 3.26.7). The city-ethnic may be *Καρδαμυλίτης* (Hdn. III.2 530.22; Steph. Byz. 357.17; these could refer to Kardamyle in Chios (no. 840; Thuc. 8.24.3), but that was not a *polis*). Both late authors state that the locals used the form *Σκαρδαμυλίτης*.

Strabo 8.4.4 locates Kardamyle "on a deserted rock" between Leuktron and Pharai (no. 320), which does not mean that it had been abandoned. Paus. 3.26.7 locates it 60 stades (11 km) after Leuktra (overestimating by a factor of two; Valmin (1930) 199) and an unspecified distance before Gerenia. It is generally identified with MME no. 147, Kastro Kardamylis (Archaic to mediaeval remains, as well as prehistoric). Hope Simpson (1972) 98 n. 100 notes that early Doric columns have been found (citing *ArchDelt* 22 (1967) B.1 206; see also *ArchDelt* 20 (1965) B 208).

Kardamyle is not called a *polis* in Classical sources, but Hdt. 8.73.2 identifies Messenian Asine (no. 313), which he describes as a *polis*, as "the Asine by (or opposite) the Laconian Kardamyle (*Καρδαμύλῃ τῇ Λακωνικῇ*)", possibly implying that Kardamyle was at least as prominent a place as Asine, and so possibly a *polis*. It is called a *polisma* by Paus. 3.26.7. Herodotos' description of Kardamyle as "Laconian" (*Λακωνική*) implicitly places it in Lakonike, the territory of Sparta (no. 345). Steph. Byz. 357.17, while citing Herodotos, places it in Messenia, perhaps reflecting the changed circumstances of the Roman period (though the words *πόλις Μεσσηνίας* are restored from the parallel passage in Eust. *Il.* 743.17).

Kardamyle is one of Agamemnon's seven *ptoliethra* (Hom. *Il.* 9.150 = 9.292). It is generally thought to have been a perioikic *polis* during Spartan rule over Messenia (e.g. Roebuck (1941) 30–31 n. 17). Though situated between two Eleutherolaconian *poleis*, Leuktra and Gerenia, it did not join that League when it was founded under Augustus, being instead detached from Messenia and given to Sparta (Paus. 3.26.7). Since the Eleutherolaconian league was largely a refoundation of the *koinon* of the Lakedaimonians that was

set up after after the Roman take-over in 195, Kardamyle had probably not been a member of that body either, which probably means that it ceased to be perioikic in 338, when Philip II detached southern Messenia and the Dentheliatis from Sparta (Shipley (2000) 385–86).

316. Korone (Koronaios) Map 58. Lat. 36.50, long. 21.55. Size of territory: 2 or 3. Type: C. (S59). The toponym is *Κορώνη, ἡ* (Apollodoros *apud* Steph. Byz. 378.1; Strabo 8.4.5; Paus. 4.34.4) or *Κορωνεία* (*IG* v.1 34 = *SEG* 11 479 (second century AD)). Strabo 8.4.5 cites the view that it was Homer's Pedasos; Paus. 4.34.5 states that its original name was Aipeia. The city-ethnic is *Κορωναῖος* but occurs first on C2m coins of the Achaian Confederacy inscribed *Ἀχαιῶν Κορωναίων* (Head, *HN*² 433); cf. *SEG* 11 985 (second century AD), a decree of the *polis*. On Korone's location, see Hope Simpson (1972) 97–98 n. 91; Roebuck (1941) 19–22; Valmin (1930) 171–80, (1934–35) 44–46; Meyer (1978) 195–96.

Korone is called a *polis* only by late sources such as Strabo 8.4.5, Paus. 4.34.4, *SEG* 11 985 (second century AD), and Steph. Byz. 378.1. However, if Korone is correctly identified with MME no. 502, Petalidhi (rather than mediaeval Coron, modern Koroni, which is identified with ancient Asine), the archaeological evidence suggests the possibility that it was a Classical *polis*. The main evidence is the supposed date of the substantial city walls, which Valmin (1930) 178 regards as including renovations from Epameinondas' time.

At 4.34.5, Pausanias says that it was originally called Aipeia, but was renamed *Koroneia* by its Theban oecist, Epimelides (for whom there was a hero shrine at Korone, 4.34.6), after the liberation of Messenia; the name was shortened to *Korone* by the Messenians (*Κορώνεια* is actually found in inscriptions of Roman date from Sparta (*supra*)). This suggests a *re*foundation *c.*369; however, Lazenby (1972) 89 and Hope Simpson (1972) 99 n. 125 suggest that Korone (and Kolonides) *were founded* in the aftermath of 369 to isolate perioikic Asine (no. 313) and Mothone (no. 319).

Under Spartan rule, the surrounding area was one of the most densely settled in Messenia (Harrison and Spencer (1998) 159). The important Classical sanctuary of Apollo Korythos (Paus. 4.34.7) probably lay in Korone's territory. Votives there include *SEG* 42 342, 40 362+ (*c.*460?), a bronze spear-butt dedicated by the Messenians, possibly celebrating a victory over the Spartans during the revolt of the 460s (cf. Bauslaugh (1990); *LSAG* Messenia no. 3 (*c.*C5e?)). Other early votives include *SEG* 11 993 (*c.*500). Full refs. in Meyer (1978) 196–97. Paus. 4.34.4 locates Korone 20 stades (3.7 km) from an inland spring, Plataniston, which supplied the town. At 4.34.6 he notes temples of Artemis Paidotrophos, Dionysos and Asklepios, as well as a hero shrine to Epimelides.

317. Kyparissos (Kyparissieus) Map 58. Lat. 37.15, long. 21.40. Size of territory: 3 or 4. Type: [A]. (S35). The toponym is *Κυπάρισσος, ἡ*, in Ps.-Skylax 45 (cf. Plin. *HN* 4.5.15); elsewhere it is *Κυπαρισσία, ἡ* (Strabo 8.3.22; *Κυπαρισ(σ)ῖνα* in MSS; cf. 8.3.25; Steph. Byz. 395.1) or *Κυπαρισσιαί* (Paus. 4.36.7). The city-ethnic is *Κυπαρισσιεύς* (*IG* v.1 1421 (C4–C3); Head, *HN*² 433) or *Κυπαρισσεύς* (Polyb. 5.92.5; *SEG* 11 1021 (C2–C1); Strabo 8.3.22). The *polis* is plausibly located at MME no. 70 (Kyparissia), a site with Classical walls, Hellenistic and Roman buildings; a settlement of 1 ha or more (modern Kyparissia is also called Arkadia, *ΛΟΠ* no. 2000). For the walls, see Valmin (1930) 129–31 (parts are C5 or later; some black-figured pottery); Hope Simpson (1972) 99 n. 123 (where "#72" should read "#70") cites Valmin (1930) 131–32 on the extent of the fortifications. Full references in Meyer (1978) 204–5.

In Ps.-Skylax 45, where *polis* is used in the urban sense, Kyparissos may be the first toponym listed after the heading *πόλεις αἵδε*. It seems also to be implicitly described as a *polis* in the urban sense in Diod. 15.77.4 (r365/4). In the political sense, *polis* is not attested until the Roman era (*SEG* 11 1025 (C2–C1); *πόλει* is a near-certain restoration). However, the decree *IG* v.1 1421 (C4–C3) demonstrates that it was a *polis* in the political sense long before that date: it uses the internal collective city-ethnic (1–2), attests to the existence of a territory ruled by the Kyparissians (*ε[ἴ] τίς κα ἐσάγῃ εἰς τὰν χώραν τῶν Κυπαρισσιέων . . .*, 1–2), and names a board of officials called *οἱ πεντηκοστολόγοι* (9), a name that suggests the raising of customs dues. Moreover, *IG* v.2 390 (C4l–C3e) is a grant of proxeny and *theorodokia* by Arkadian Lousoi (no. 279) to two citizens of Kyparissos (cf. Perlman (2000) 241–42); and Polyb. 5.92.5 attests that in 217 the people were able to mobilise military forces.

The internal collective use of the city-ethnic occurs in *IG* v.1 1421 (C4–C3); the external collective use is attested at Polyb. 5.92.5, and the external individual use in *IG* v.2 390 (C4l–C3e).

In 365/4, when Kyparissos was captured by Arkadian forces, it was evidently a defended settlement (Diod. 15.77.4) and thus quite probably perioikic; alternatively, it became a *polis* only after this time; cf. Roebuck (1941) 30 n. 12; Harrison and Spencer (1998) 156.

318. Messene (Messenios)**/Ithome** (Ithomaios) Map 58. Lat. 37.10, long. 21.55. Size of territory: 4 or 5. Type: A. (S11).

The name of the *polis* founded in 369 is regularly *Μεσσήνη, ἡ* (Dem. 16.25; Lycurg. 1.62), to which corresponds the city-ethnic *Μεσσάνιος* (*CID* II 4.1.28 (360)), but it is also called *Ἰθώμη, ἡ* (Ps.-Skylax 45; *F.Delphes* III.4 6 (326 or 316); Diod. 19.54.4 (r316)), to which the corresponding city-ethnic was probably *Ἰθωμαῖος*, abbreviated as *ΙΘΩΜ* on C4s coins (Head, *HN*² 432). *Μεσσήνη*, as is normal in earlier literature (*supra* 550), could still denote the region (e.g. Xen. *Hell.* 5.2.3; see Meyer (1978) 159–60, 283). The two names are combined at Ps.-Skylax 45: *ἔθνος Μεσσήνη* (the regional name) *καὶ πόλεις ἐν αὐτῇ αἵδε· . . . Ἰθώμη ἐν μεσογείᾳ κτλ.* (the name of the *polis*). Roebuck (1941) 37 and Lazenby (1972) 89 note that until at least the end of C4 the *polis* was apparently called Ithome; thereafter Messene was the usual name (cf. *KlPauly* ii. 1488).

In *CID* II 4.1.14–15 and 28 (360), where *polis* is used in the political sense, Messene is one of the polities listed (as *Μεσσάνιοι*) after the heading *τάδε πόλεις καὶ ἰδιῶται ἐπάρ[ξαν]το*; the political sense is found also at Isoc. 6.87. In the urban sense, *polis* is found in Dem. 16.25. The earliest literary mention of Messene as an existing *polis* is in Xen. *Hell.* 7.1.27; here he does not explicitly call it a *polis*; however, later he mentions the recognition of its *autonomia* (7.1.36: *αὐτόνομον εἶναι ἀπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων*), which suggests that he did consider it a *polis*.

The usual city-ethnic, *Μεσσάνιος*, is of course attested before the foundation of the *polis*, for it was also the regional ethnic of the Messenians (e.g. *IG* I³ 1355 (475–450); ML 74 (*c.*421); Thuc. 4.9.1; see Figueira (1999) and Luraghi (2002) for the development of Messenian identity). After 369, the internal collective use of the city-ethnic is attested by coins inscribed *ΜΕΣΣΑΝΙΩΝ* (*infra*) and in *IG* V.1 1425.10 (C4l–C3e); the external collective use is found e.g. in *SEG* 29 405.10 (365/4), *CID* II 4.1.28 (360), *IG* II² 225.6 (343/2) and in Xen. *Hell.* 7.4.27, 7.5.5. The external individual use is found in *F.Delphes* III.4 4 (340), *IG* II² 9347 (C4m), *IG* IV².1 122.129 (C4) and *IvO* 172 (360–300). We cannot, however, always determine whether the ethnic functions as a city-ethnic and thus refers to citizens of the *polis* of Messene specifically, or as a regional ethnic and thus to members of the wider community (*ethnos*) of Messenians. A particularly ambiguous instance is found in *Syll.*³ 224 (*c.*345), a response by the Amphictyonic League to a request by the *Μεγαλοπολῖται* and the *Μεσσήνιοι* for membership of the League: the fact that *Μεσσήνιοι* occurs alongside *Μεγαλοπολῖται* suggests that it is here a city-ethnic, whereas the request to become an Amphictyonic member suggests that it may be the regional ethnic, since the League was organised on the basis of *ethne* (Lefèvre (1998) 17–20). When it functions as the regional ethnic, it is sometimes amplified by the addition of a phrase denoting a local community of Messenia, e.g. *Μεσσάνιος ἐκ Θουρίας* (*BCH* 6 (1882) 221 no. 53 = *F.Delphes* III.4 5 (315–280)) and *Μεσσάνιος ἐξ Ἰθώμης* (*BCH* 6 (1882) 221 no. 52 = *F.Delphes* III.4 6 (post-327/6)); cf. *ΜΕΣΣΑΝΙΩΝ ΙΘΩΜ*[*ΑΙΩΝ*] on coins of *c.*330–280 (Head, *HN* ² 431–32). This plurality of usage may reflect the fact that a federal structure was probably introduced after 369, no doubt under Theban influence, in which the new *polis* played the leading role. The *koinon* is attested in *I.Magnesia* 43 (207/6): *τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Μεσσηνίων* (cf. Lazenby (1972) 90; Meyer (1978) 283, arguing for isopolity rather than sympolity; see Polyb. 23.17.2 on Abia, Thouria and Pharai; also McDonald and Hope Simpson (1972) 145; Davis (1998*a*) p. xxx). In that case the *symmachia* treaty of the Arkadian Confederacy with the Messenians (*SEG* 22 339, Olympia (365/4)) may have been concluded with a Messenian *koinon* rather than with the *polis* of Messene alone, as may the treaty of *symmachia* with Athens (no. 361) *et al.* attested in *IG* II² 225 (343/2). The city of Messene was no doubt meant to be dominant, not least for the sake of the stability and security of the region. To that extent the other *poleis* of post-liberation Messenia can be regarded as dependent *poleis*, but there seems to have been considerable *polis* autonomy: see Kyparissos (no. 317) for a decree on customs and proxeny relations of that *polis* in C4–C3; note also that Mothone (no. 319) minted its own coins *c.*C3 (Head, *HN*² 433). Even *c.*240 the *polis* of Messene made its own treaty of isopolity with Phigaleia (no. 292) (*IG* V.2 419 = *Syll.*³ 472; Meyer (1978) 283). These indications may hold good for C4 also; strong central control by Messene was perhaps a development of C3s or even C3l rather than C4. It was perhaps during C3 that Messenia came to replace Messene as the usual name of the region (Meyer (1978) 284). The federal arrangement appears to have ended in 182, when Messene was required to rejoin the Achaian Confederacy separately from the three *poleis* to its south-east—Abia, Thouria (no. 322) and Pharai (no. 320), which joined the league individually (Polyb. 23.17.2). Cf. also under Mothone *infra*, with reference to 191.

Messene was founded after the first Boiotian invasion of Laconia by Epameinondas and his allies in 370/69 (Roebuck (1941) 27–39). Although Epiteles of Argos was put in charge of building the *polis* (Paus. 4.26.7), Epameinondas was evidently regarded as the oecist, since statues were erected to him (Paus. 4.31.10, 32.1); he was revered as such in the second century AD (Paus. 9.14.5, 15.6). For an account of how he organised the construction of Messene and other *polismata*, see

Paus. 4.27.5–7 (cf. Roebuck (1941) 31–32 n. 21). Philip II was honoured as second oecist for his benefactions after Chaironeia (Strabo 8.4.8). The inhabitants of the new *polis* included former helots (Isoc. 6.28; cf. Roebuck (1941) 34), expatriated Messenians, and "others who so wished" (Diod. 15.66.1; cf. Lycurg. 1.62: *Μεσσήνην . . . ἐκ τῶν τυχόντων ἀνθρώπων συνοικισθεῖσαν*).

The territory of the new *polis* probably embraced the upper Messenian plain and the western part of the lower one, marching with those of Korone (no. 316) to the south, Pylos to the south-west (if it was a *polis*), and Kyparissos (no. 317) to the west and north-west (Meyer (1978) 150); probably also with that of Thouria (no. 322) to the east; and with those of the Arkadian *poleis* to the north—unless Dorion and Andania to the north, and Ampheia to the north-east, were *poleis*. For a possible network of Late Classical/Early Hellenistic forts in the *chora*, see Hope Simpson (1972) 94 with 98–99 nn. 117–20; Roebuck (1941) 39–40 n. 68, 59–60, 64–65, 122–24; Valmin (1930) 67–73, 78–82, 90, 92–93. *SEG* 34 321 lists graffiti from a fort at Vasiliko near Messene, probably dating to C5m and later.

C4 treaties concluded by Messene include one with Pisa (no. 262) and Sikyon (no. 228) (Ringel *et al.* (1999) 417–20), and at least two with Athens (no. 361) (*Staatsverträge* 337 and 343 (on which see, however, Roebuck (1941) 52 n. 113); Dem. 16.9 with Roebuck (1941) 47); though not explicitly attested, alliances with Boiotia/Thebes (no. 221) (cf. Xen. *Hell.* 7.5.4–5), Arkadia and Argos (no. 347) may be assumed to have been concluded immediately after the foundation (Roebuck (1941) 40–41). Messenian troops fought on the anti-Spartan side in the battle of Mantinea in 362 (Diod. 15.85.2). Messene was a party to the *koine eirene* concluded after the battle (Diod. 15.89.1; Ryder (1965) 84–85, 140–44) and thus gained international recognition of its existence (Roebuck (1941) 47). An alliance with Megalopolis (no. 282) is attested by Diod. 16.39.2–3 (r352/1) and one with Philip II was concluded *c.*344 (Roebuck (1941) 49). Messene also became a member of the Corinthian League ([Dem.] 17.4; Roebuck (1941) 55 n. 120); see, however, *supra* for the possibility that the contracting party in such cases was the *ethnos* of the Messenians and not the *polis* of Messene.

Exiles restored by Alexander the Great are attested in [Dem.] 17.4. *IG* v.1 1425 (C4l–C3e) is a grant of proxeny by Messene to a citizen of Zakynthos (no. 141); citizens of Messene were granted proxeny by Delphi (no. 177) in 340 (*F.Delphes* III.4 4) and 326–316 (*F.Delphes* III.4 6). Grants of proxeny and *theorodokia* by Argos (no. 347) to citizens of Messene are listed in *SEG* 13 243 (post-315).

A C4l–C3e decree (*IG* v.1 1425.2) attests to the existence of a *phyle* named *Δαϊφοντίς*, and it seems probable that a system of five *phylai* was created at the foundation in 369 (Jones, *POAG* 146–48). The existence of a calendar is attested by *IG* v.1 1425 (C4l–C3), where a month is referred to by number: δυωδ(εκάτω) ϵ΄.

Although Meyer (1978) 151 supposes the city's original constitution to have been "oligarchic-timocratic", decrees of the *polis* demonstrate the existence of democratic institutions. *IG* v.1 1426 (C4l–C3e) is a decree for citizens of another *polis* (cf. under Ampheia in the introduction, *supra*) who receive *ἰσ[οπολιτείαν]* and *[γᾶς τε καὶ οἰκίας ἔγκτ]ασιν* (*SEG* 11 1029, 41 321). *IG* v.1 1425 is a possibly C4–C3 proxeny decree of the *damos* (*ἔδοξε τῶι δάμωι*) for a citizen of Zakynthos (no. 141) (though it is downdated to C2–C1 by Roebuck at *SEG* 11 1030). *IG* v.1 1435 (= *SEG* 11 1037) is a C4–C3 list of names. In *SEG* 43 135 = 41 320 (317), the Messenians made a treaty with Polyperchon and his son Alexandros for the installation of a garrison on Mt. Ithome; the text mentions the *damos*, presumably of Messene. *SEG* 45 290 = 41 322 (C3e), an alliance of Messene with Lysimachos, probably dates from immediately before 295/4 (Matthaiou (1990–91)) and mentions ephors of the city (line 23; cf. Polyb. 4.4.2–3, 4.31.2). *IG* v.1 1471 (C4), from the Artemis Limnatis sanctuary, suggests that a priest, presumably that of Zeus Ithomatas, was the annual eponym of the city. Arist. *Rh.* 1418^{b}11 refers to the *Μεσσηνιακὴ ἐκκλησία*, presumably the assembly of the *polis* (or the Messenian Federation?).

The site is located below Mt. Ithome by Paus. 4.31.4, at a distance of *c.*40 stades (7.3 km) from the sources of the river Pamisos (4.31.4) and *c.*80 stades (15 km) from its mouth (4.34.1). It is MME no. 529, Mavrommati (Geometric to Roman, including a Geometric figurine), where excavations have been carried out for the Archaeological Society of Athens, latterly by Themelis (see e.g. *AR* 47 (2000–1) 48–49; references prior to 1973 collected by Meyer (1978) 137). The site is at a considerable elevation (350–400 m above sea level: ibid. 139), in a hollow between three hills. Diod. 15.67.1 appears to say that the city was built in 85 days, though this can hardly have extended beyond a fort capable of housing the Theban garrison. The completed walls are among the finest (cf. Paus. 4.31.5) and best preserved in Greece. They cannot be shown to postdate C4, and should predate Cassander's unsuccessful siege of 316–315 (Diod. 19.54.4, 64.1; Meyer (1978) 140–41, 142). They are *c.*8 km long and enclose *c.*290 ha (Meyer (1978) 138), not all of which was built up. The "Arkadian gate" in the north wall is the

best-known city gate surviving from ancient Greece (photograph of part of the wall and a tower: *MME* pl. 9.3). Mt. Ithome, above the town, has polygonal fortifications probably dating from the helot revolt of the 460s (Meyer (1978) 149). An unpublished C4 inscription (*SEG* 45 297) contains financial accounts of the construction and repair of public and cult buildings. Stamped roof-tiles with fragmentary legends have been found in the C4l construction fill of the sanctuary of Demeter (see *SEG* 45 333–34). The city exhibits a Hippodamian plan. Some C4 buildings have been excavated (e.g. a two-storey hall with Ionic interior colonnade, dated C4s: Orlandos, *Ergon* (1957) 147–48). Most buildings and sculptures, however, notably the Asklepieion complex, are Hellenistic or Roman; see e.g. Themelis (1994*a*) on the sculptor Damophon (also Alcock (1998) 183, 186–87).

The important Messenian cult of Zeus Ithomatas, depicted on the city's first coins (*infra*), was based at Messene (Paus. 4.33.2). Other cults from the generations after its foundation include Artemis Limnatis (*IG* v.1 1442 (C3–C2); temple excavated: Le Bas (1844–45); Meyer (1978) 149); Artemis Ortheia (Themelis (1994*b*)); Athena Kyparissia, with cult officials (*SEG* 23 209–10 (C3)); Asklepios and Hygieia (e.g. *SEG* 38 339 (*c.*220?), 45 301 (C2)); Acheloös (*SEG* 41 360+ (early Hellenistic)); the Dioskouroi (*SEG* 45 302 (*c.*300)); Eilethyia (*SEG* 41 359 (C4–C3), 45 303 (C3)); Herakles (*SEG* 41 362 (C3)); Hermes (*SEG* 41 361 (C3–C2)); and Poseidon (*SEG* 45 305 (seemingly Late Classical/Early Hellenistic)). See also Jost (1996). On hero cults, see Themelis (2000). Note also *SEG* 45 324 (C4?), a musical notation (cf. *SEG* 43 164, 44 382) in Doric mode, found in the Hierothysion and presumably originating from a cult. The temple of Pamisos at MME no. 530, Ag. Phloros (ACHR), excavated by Valmin (1938), may have lain in the territory of Messene. An Archaic stele was dedicated to the river Pamisos: *LSAG* 206 no. 1 ("*c.*550?"; now C6 or later, *LSAG*² 448 no. A; Richter (1949) 89–90).

As early as 368, Damiskos of Messene (whose later career included Nemean and Isthmian victories) won the boys' *stadion* at Olympia (*Olympionikai* 417); the victory of Damaretos of Messene in boys' boxing is placed *c.*344 by Moretti (*Olympionikai* 448), and that of Telestas, also in boys' boxing, in 340 (*Olympionikai* 453).

Messene initiated minting in both silver and bronze shortly after the foundation. Silver of 369–330 (staters, triobols, obols, hemiobols on the Aiginetan standard): *obv.* head of Demeter; *rev.* Zeus Ithomatas striding and wielding thunderbolt and holding eagle, or tripod. Legends: *ΜΕΣ*, *ΜΕΣΣΑΝΙΩΝ*. Bronze of 369–330: *obv.* head of Demeter; *rev.* *ΜΕ* in plain concave field, or tripod, or Zeus Ithomatas. Legend: *ΜΕ*. A series of Milesian staters is dated by Babelon to 338–336: *obv.* head of Demeter; *rev.* Zeus Ithomatas with thunderbolt and eagle. Legend: *ΜΕΣΣΑΝΙΩΝ*. A series of Attic tetradrachms postdates 330: *obv.* head of Demeter; *rev.* Zeus Ithomatas wielding thunderbolt and holding eagle, in front a tripod. Legends: *ΜΕΣΣΑΝΙΩΝ* or *ΜΕΣΣΑΝΙΩΝ ΙΘΩΜ(ΑΙΩΝ)*. Head, *HN*² 431–32; Babelon, *Traité* ii.3 nos. 1025–34; *SNG Cop. Phliasia–Laconia* 496–503.

319. Mothone (Mothonaios) Map 58. Lat. 36.50, long. 21.40. Size of territory: 2 or 3. Type: A. (S36). The toponym is given as *Μεθώνη*, *ἡ*, by Thuc. 2.25.1 (cf. Plin. *HN* 4.51.5; Strabo 8.4.3; Steph. Byz. 440–41); but as *Μοθώνη* in Ps.-Skylax 46 (also Paus. 4.3.10). That the latter is correct for the Classical and at least the early Hellenistic period is suggested by C3 coins with the legend *ΜΟ* (Head, *HN*² 433; Babelon, *Traité* ii.3 no. 1035; *SNG Cop. Phliasia–Laconia* 537). The former spelling was perhaps an assimilation to Methone (no. 541) in Makedonia, just as Methana (no. 352) in the Argolid was sometimes misspelled Methone in some MSS of Thucydides (as noted by Strabo 8.6.15 = Theopomp. fr. 384). The city-ethnic is *Μοθωναῖος* in Paus. 4.18.1 and on third century AD coins (Head, *HN*² 433).

Mothone is called a *polis* in the urban sense by Thuc. 2.25.2; at Ps.-Skylax 46, where *polis* is used in the urban sense, Mothone is the second (or first) toponym listed after the heading *πόλεις αἵδε*.

Mothone is located in Lakonike by Thuc. 2.25.1 (cf. Diod. 11.84.6 (r454)), and in Lakedaimon by Ps.-Skylax 46. Mothone's territory (*ἡ Μοθωναία*, Paus. 4.35.6) would have been bounded by those of Asine (no. 313) to the east, Pylos to the north, and possibly Korone (no. 316) to the north-east and Kolonides (if, as Lazenby and Hope Simpson (1972) suggest, it was founded post-369 to isolate Asine and Mothone). Mothone is assumed to have been perioikic by Harrison and Spencer (1998) 156; this seems certain, since the Athenians twice thought it worth attacking. It remained perioikic after 369, being listed under Lakedaimon by Ps.-Skylax 46. It was probably dependent upon Messene after 338, perhaps as a member of a Messenian Federation (see under Messene, *supra*).

The city is securely located at MME no. 412, Methoni (Archaic to mediaeval pottery, graves, architectural fragments), mediaeval Modon with its Venetian fortress. Hope Simpson (1972) 98 n. 96 notes evidence of late Archaic habitation, citing *ArchDelt* 21 (1966) B.1 164; at p. 99 n. 121,

however, it is stated that the precise date of (*sc.* other) remains at Methoni is uncertain. Full references in Meyer (1978) 200–1. Valmin (1930) 152–54 notes a Classical or Hellenistic cemetery *c.*1.5 km to the north. In 454, it was taken by Tolmides (Diod. 11.84.6); in 431 it was fortified, but weak and unmanned (Thuc. 2.25.1; cf. *HCT ad loc.*; cf. also Diod. 12.43.2–3, which mentions an unsuccessful Athenian siege). The walls and harbour mole were incorporated into the spectacular Venetian fortifications (Meyer (1978) 200).

Pausanias gives Mothone a legendary origin, its harbour having been built by King Dotadas (4.3.10), and its name before the Trojan War having been Pedasos (see Hom. *Il.* 9.152 = 9.294 and *supra* 549, 553–54). The same is asserted by Strabo 8.4.3, who notes that some people locate Homer's Aipeia here. More plausibly, at 4.24.4 Pausanias says that Mothone was founded by exiles from Nauplia, who were not expelled after Leuktra (4.37.8).

320. Pharai (Pharaiates) Map 58. Lat. 37.00, long. 22.10. Size of territory: 1 or 2. Type: C. (S79). The toponym is *Φαραί, αἱ*, in Xen. *Hell.* 4.8.7, Polyb. 16.16.3, Paus. 4.16.8; *Φηραί* is found in Strabo 8.4.4 and Steph. Byz. 658.4 (cf. *Pherae* at Nep. *Conon* 1.1); Ptol. *Geog.* 3.14.31 has *Φεραί*. The city-ethnic was *Φαραιάτης*, according to Strabo 8.7.5, who explicitly distinguishes it from the ethnic of Achaian Pharai (no. 241); cf. Paus. 4.30.3; *Φαραῖτης* is found in Steph. Byz. 658.5.

Pharai was clearly a *polis* by 182, when it joined the Achaian Confederacy separately from Messene (Polyb. 23.17.2); but earlier references are vague about its status. Xen. *Hell.* 4.8.7 refers to it as a *chora*, but not in such a way as to exclude a *polis*, and it was clearly already a settlement. Archaeological evidence suggests that it was a significant settlement from early times, and a fortified *polis* at least post-369. It is plausibly located at modern Kalamata (officially Kalamai), specifically MME no. 142, Kastro Kalamatas (LH III, Geometric to mediaeval; extent not stated; Hellenistic foundations, C4(?) city walls, Archaic to Roman funerary reliefs). The Classical fortifications appear to have occupied a much smaller area than those of the Hellenistic period (Hope Simpson (1972) 99 n. 124). See Meyer (1978) 181 for full bibliography. Ancient authors identified it with Pharai or Phere (*Φήρη, ἡ*), home of Diokles (a descendant of the river Alpheios: Hom. *Il.* 5.543, *Od.* 3.488 = 15.186) and one of Agamemnon's seven *ptoliethra* (*Il.* 9.151 = 9.293; cf. 2.743). In Pausanias, it has a legendary oecist (4.30.2) and is described as having been a *polis* during the Second Messenian War (4.16.8).

To the west, the temple of Poseidon at Akovitika will have lain within the territory of Pharai; finds there include C6 and C5 votives to Pohoidan (*SEG* 25 431), tiles with *δαμόσιος* stamps (*SEG* 25 432 (C6–C5)), and the earliest Messenian text, a C6m(?) relief pithos dedicated to Poseidon (*LSAG*² addenda, p. 448 no. 1a; Themelis (1969) fig. 4, (1970) figs 1–2, pl. 37). Cultic rock-cut inscriptions, seemingly Late Archaic or Early Classical, are found about an hour away (*c.* 6km?)and include votives to Kore, Pan and the Tityroi(?) (see *IG* v.1, addenda): *IG* v.1 1362 a–g; cf. *SEG* 11 969 (*LSAG* 206 no. 5 (*c.*C5e?)). Paus. 4.31.1 mentions the grove of Apollo Karneios; if correctly identified with MME no. 540, 1 km east of Ag. Pantes near Kalamata, this should date back to Geometric and Archaic times.

After 369, Pharai may, like Mothone (no. 319), have been dependent on Messene within a loose federal structure (cf. Lazenby (1972) 90).

321. Thalamai (Thalamates) Map 58. Lat. 36.45, long. 22.20. Size of territory: 1. Type: C. (S33); *LS* ii. 299–300 LL150. The toponym is *Θαλάμαι, αἱ* (Theopomp. fr. 172 *apud* Steph. Byz. 306.1; Polyb. 16.16.3). The city-ethnic is *Θαλαμάτης* (*IG* v.1 1312 = *SEG* 11 945 (Hell.); Paus. 3.21.7).

No Archaic or Classical source calls Thalamai a *polis*, but archaeological evidence suggests that it was a settlement and thus possibly a *polis*. Its location is very probably MME no. 150, Svina Koutipharíou (now Platanos Thalamon, *ΛΟΠ* no. 3427; for modern Thalamai see *ΛΟΠ* no. 1222), where there are Classical walls and a Hellenistic well-house, and where Archaic to Roman finds have been made, including a C7(?) terracotta statuette (cf. *LS* ii. 299–300, LL150; Levi (1971) ii. 96 n. 271; Hope Simpson (1972) 98 n. 100; Dickins (1904–5); Valmin (1930) 204–5).

Theopomp. fr. 172 *apud* Steph. Byz. 306.1 assigns Thalamai to Messenia; Pausanias implicitly places it in Lakonike, since he includes it in book 3, but attributes it to Messenia in connection with the legend of Tyndareos (3.1.4) and says that the Messenians claim that the district containing Pephnos (only 4 km away) was once theirs (3.26.3).

Wide (1893) 313 collects references to the famous cult of the Dioskouroi at Thalamai. *IG* v.1 1316, a C5e votive stele to Apollo Kabatas, is probably from Thalamai; *IG* v.1 1317 is a C4–C3 votive statue to Pasiphae.

322. Thouria (Thouriates) Map 58. Lat. 37.05, long. 21.00. Size of territory: 1 or 2. Type: B. (S21). The toponym is *Θουρία, ἡ* (Polyb. 23.17.2; restored in *IG* v.1 1387.4 (C3)); *Θευρία, ἡ* is found in *IG* v.1 213.19 (= *SEG* 38 333+; now dated post-403, *LSAG*² 201 no. 52, addenda p. 448). Ptol.

Geog. 3.14.43 has *Θούριον*. Strabo 8.4.5 says that it is Homeric Aipeia (Hom. *Il.* 9.152 = 9.294) but notes that others locate Antheia (9.151, 293) here. Paus. 4.31.1 opts for the latter identification. The city-ethnic is *Θουριάτης* (Thuc. 1.101.2; *SEG* 11 972+ (C2m); Paus. 4.31.1) and *Θουριεύς* (*IvO* 46 (C2m)). *Θου*[*ριέ*]*ων* is restored in *SEG* 11 974 (C1), though *Θου*[*ριατ*]*ῶν* seems equally possible. Androtion *apud* Steph. Byz. 320.22, s.v. *Θυρέα*, where the ethnic is unexpectedly *Θούριος*, may be a garbled C4 reference to this *polis* and may preserve a further variant of the name. Thouria would have been detached from Sparta either in 338 or, perhaps more likely, in 369, and under the probably federal arrangements that followed the foundation of Messene (*supra*) we find the phrase *Μεσσάνιος ἐκ Θουρίας* applied to a citizen of the *polis* (*BCH* 6 (1882) 221 no. 53 = *F.Delphes* III.4 5 (315–280)). The feminine *Θουρία* (*IG* II² 8895 (C4m)) may refer to this or another, similarly named *polis*.

Thouria was the only perioikic polity apart from Aithaia (no. 312) to revolt in 465 (Thuc. 1.101.2). It is not explicitly called a *polis*, however, before *IvO* 46 (a C2m boundary adjudication with Megalopolis (no. 282)), where it is called *polis* in the political sense. But it was probably a *polis* long before: Thuc. 1.101.2 uses the external collective city-ethnic, and if it refers to the present city, *IG* II² 8895 (C4m) attests the external individual use. Finally, a citizen of Thouria was granted proxeny at Delphi (no. 177) *c.*316 (*BCH* 6 (1882), 221 no. 53; *F.Delphes* III.4 5).

The site of Thouria is probably MME no. 137, Ellinika Aithaias, not far north of modern Thouria (Aithaia is the former Delimimi, *ΛΟΠ* no. 304; the latter was formerly Phroutzalokamara, *ΛΟΠ* no. 1237). From Ellinika come Bronze Age and Protogeometric to Roman finds; the extent of the historical site is not stated in the literature (cf. McDonald and Rapp (1972) 243). See Lazenby (1972) 86 and Hope Simpson (1972) 98 n. 94 for more details; Valmin (1930) 51, 56–61; Meyer in *KlPauly* v. 801–2, s.v. Thuria; Meyer (1978) 182. The late Classical or Hellenistic fortifications at Ellinika are C4l–C3e (Hope Simpson (1972) 98 n. 111, (1966) 123–24; illustrated, *MME* pl. 9.4). Paus. 4.31.2 says that the city was formerly on higher ground, where he saw ruined walls and a sanctuary of the Syrian goddess; while the sanctuary would have been Hellenistic, the walls may have been Classical.

Paus. 4.31.1 includes Thouria in his account of Messenia. Strabo 8.4.4 implies that it is a *polis* with a territory. It was probably detached from Sparta (no. 345) in 338/7 rather than 369, since Sparta seems to have retained the land around the head of the Messenian (or Thouriate) Gulf (Shipley (2000) 385). In the early Hellenistic period, Stephanus Comicus, *Philolakon*, fr. 1 *apud* Athen. 469 a–b (*κώμη μὲν οὖν τίς ἐστι περὶ τὴν Θουρίαν*) implies that at least one subordinate centre existed in this district in the time of King Pyrrhos.

Various public institutions and officials are named in inscriptions, but only in the Hellenistic period: e.g. *IG* v.1 1379 (C2–C1), 1380 (C2), 1384 (C2l), 1386 (*c.*C2), 1388 (undated). They imply a democratic constitution at that time, which may have existed since 369 or 338.

In *c.*C4e a festival of Poseidon, the *Ποhοίδια*, was held at Thouria (*IG* v.1 213).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Alcock, S. E. 1998. "Liberation and Conquest: Hellenistic and Roman Messenia", in Davis (1998*c*) 179–91.

—— 2002. "A Simple Case of Exploitation? The Helots of Messenia", in P. Cartledge, E. E. Cohen and L. Foxhall (eds.), *Money, Labour and Land: Approaches to the Economies of Ancient Greece* (London and New York) 185–99.

Bauslaugh, R. A. 1990. "Messenian Dialect and Dedications of the 'Methanioi' ", *Hesperia* 59: 661–68.

Beloch, J. 1886. *Die Bevölkerung der griechisch-römischen Welt*, Historische Beiträge zur Bevölkerungslehre 1 (Leipzig); repr. as *Studia historica* 60 (Rome, 1968).

Bennet, J. 1998. "The Linear B Archives and the Kingdom of Nestor", in Davis (1998*c*) 111–33.

Cartledge, P. A. 1991. "Richard Talbert's Revision of the Spartan–Helot Struggle: A Reply", *Historia* 40: 379–81.

Davis, J. L. 1998*a*. "Glimpses of Messenia Past", in Davis (1998*c*) pp. xxix–xliii.

—— 1998*b*. "From Pausanias to the Present", in Davis (1998*c*) 272–91.

—— (ed.) 1998*c*. *Sandy Pylos: An Archaeological History from Nestor to Navarino* (Austin, Tex.).

de Ste Croix, G. E. M. 1972. *The Origins of the Peloponnesian War* (London).

—— 2002. "The Helot Threat", in Whitby (2002) 190–95; repr. from de Ste Croix (1972).

Dickins, G. 1904–5. "Thalamae", *BSA* 11: 124–36.

Ducat, J. 1990. *Les Hilotes*, *BCH* suppl. 20 (Paris).

—— 1994. "Les conduits et les idéologies intégrétrices concernant les esclaves de type hilotique", in J. Annequin and M. Garrido-Hory (eds.), *Religion et anthropologie de l'esclavage et des formes de dépendance* (Paris) 17–28.

—— 2002. "The Obligations of Helots", in Whitby (2002) 196–211; repr. from Ducat (1990) ch. 6.

Figueira, T. J. 1999. "The Evolution of the Messenian Identity", in Hodkinson and Powell (1999) 211–44.

Forrest, W. G. 1980. *A History of Sparta 950–192 BC*² (London).
Hansen, M. H. 1996. "City-Ethnics as Evidence for *Polis* Identity", *CPCPapers* 3: 169–96.
Harrison, A. B., and Spencer, N. 1998. "After the Palace: The Early 'History' of Messenia", in Davis (1998*c*) 147–62.
Heidemann, L. 1904. "Die territoriale Entwicklung Lacedämons und Messeniens bis auf Alexander den Grossen" (Diss. University of Berlin).
Hodkinson, S. 1992. "Sharecropping and Sparta's Economic Exploitation of the Helots", in Sanders (1992) 123–34.
——and Powell, A. (eds.) 1999. *Sparta: New Perspectives* (London).
Hope Simpson, R. 1957. "Identifying a Mycenaean State", *BSA* 52: 231–59.
——1966. "The Seven Cities Offered by Agamemnon to Achilles", *BSA* 61: 113–31.
——1972. "Topographical Commentary", in McDonald and Rapp (1972) 93–96 (notes on 97–99).
Jost, M. 1996. "Messenian Cults and Myths", in *OCD*³ 965.
Kaltsas, N. 1983. "*Ἡ ἀρχαϊκὴ οἰκία στὸ Κοπανάκι τῆς Μεσσηνίας*", *ArchEph*: 207–37.
Kennell, N. 1999. "From Perioikoi to Poleis: The Laconian Cities in the Late Hellenistic Period", in Hodkinson and Powell (1999) 189–210.
Kiechle, F. 1959. *Messenische Studien: Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der messenischen Kriege und der Auswanderung der Messenier* (Kallmünz).
——1960. "Pylos und der pylische Raum in der antiken Tradition", *Historia* 9: 1–67.
Lazenby, J. F. 1972. "The Literary Tradition", in McDonald and Rapp (1972) 81–93.
——and Hope Simpson, R. 1972. "Greco-Roman Times: Literary Tradition and Topographical Commentary", in McDonald and Rapp (1972) 81–99.
Le Bas, P. 1844–45. "Voyages et recherches archéologiques . . . en Grèce et en Asie Mineure, pendant les années 1844 et 1845", *RA* 1.2 (October): 421–38.
Lefèvre, F. 1998. *L'Amphictyonie pyléo-delphique: histoire et institutions* (Paris).
Le Roy, C. 2001. "Pausanias et la Laconie ou la recherche d'un équilibre", in D. Knoepfler and M. Piérart (eds.), *Éditer, traduire, commenter Pausanias en l'an 2000*, Recueil de travaux publiés par la Faculté des Lettres et de Sciences Humaines 49 (Geneva) 223–37.
Levi, P. (ed.) 1971. *Pausanias: Guide to Greece*, 2 vols. (Harmondsworth).
Luraghi, N. 2002. "Becoming Messenian", *JHS* 122: 45–69.
——and Alcock, S. E. (eds.) 2003. *Helots and Their Masters in Laconia and Messenia*. Hellenic Studies 4 (Cambridge, Mass., and London).
Malkin, I. 1994. *Myth and Territory in the Spartan Mediterranean* (Cambridge).
Matthaiou, A. P. 1990–91. "*Συνθήκη Λυσιμάχου καὶ Μεσσηνίων*", *Horos* 8–9: 269–70.
McDonald, W. A., and Hope Simpson, R. 1972. "Archaeological Exploration", in McDonald and Rapp (1972) 117–47.
—— and Rapp, G. R. jun. 1972. "Perspectives", in McDonald and Rapp (1972) 240–61.
————(eds.) 1972. *The Minnesota Messenia Expedition: Reconstructing a Bronze Age Regional Environment* (Minneapolis).
Meyer, E. 1951. "Pylos und Navarino", *MusHelv* 8: 119–36.
——1978. *Messenien und die Stadt Messene* (offprint from *RE* suppl. xv. 136–289) (Munich).
Müller, C. 1855. *Geographi Graeci minores*, i (Paris; repr. Hildesheim, 1965).
Niese, B. 1906. "Neue Beiträge zur Geschichte und Landeskunde Lakedämons", *Göttingische gelehrte Nachrichten* 101–42.
Oliva, P. 1986. "Die Helotenfrage in der Geschichte Spartas", in K. Christ (ed.), *Sparta*, Wege der Forschung 622 (Darmstadt) 317–26.
Perlman, P. 2000. *City and Sanctuary in Ancient Greece: The* Theorodokia *in the Peloponnese*, Hypomnemata 121 (Göttingen).
Pikoulas, Y. A. 1987–88. "*Τὸ πόλισμα Ἄμφεια* (*Παυσ.* 4.5.9)", in *Πρακτικά τοῦ Γ΄ Διεθνοῦς Συνεδρίου Πελοποννησιακῶν Σπουδῶν, Καλαμάτα 8.–15. Σεπτεμβρίου 1985, Πελοποννησιακά, Παράρτημα 13, τόμος Β΄* (Athens) 479–85.
——1991. "*Ἡ Δενθελιᾶτις καὶ τὸ ὁδικὸ τῆς δίκτυο: σχόλια στὴν* IG V1, 1431", in *Πρακτικὰ τοῦ Γ΄ Τοπικοῦ Συνεδρίου Μεσσηνιακῶν Σπουδῶν (Φιλιατρὰ—Γαργαλιάνοι 24–26 Νοεμβρίου 1989)*, *Πελοποννησιακά* suppl. 18 (Athens) 279–88.
——2001. *Λεξικὸ τῶν οἰκισμῶν τῆς Πελοποννήσου: παλαιὰ καὶ νέα τοπωνύμια*, *Ἡ μεγάλη βιβλιοθήκη* (Athens).
Pritchett, W. K. 1965. *Studies in Ancient Greek Topography*, i (Berkeley).
Richter, G. M. A. 1949. *Archaic Greek Art against its Historical Background* (New York).
Ringel, E., *et al.* 1999. "Die Symmachien Pisas mit den Arkadern, Akroreia, Messenien und Sikyon", *OlBer* 11: 413–20.
Roebuck, C. A. 1941. "A History of Messenia from 369 to 146 BC" (diss., University of Chicago).
Ryder, T. T. B. 1965. *Koine Eirene: General Peace and Local Independence in Ancient Greece* (Oxford).
Sanders, J. M. (ed.) 1992. *Φιλολάκων: Lakonian Studies in Honour of Hector Catling* (London).
Shaw, P.-J. 1999. "Olympiad Chronology and 'Early' Spartan History", in Hodkinson and Powell (1999) 273–309.
——2003. *Discrepancies in Olympiad Dating and Chronological Problems of Archaic Peloponnesian History. Historia* Einzelschriften 166 (Stuttgart).

Shipley, G. 1992. "*Perioikos*: The Discovery of Classical Lakonia", in Sanders (1992) 211–26.

—— 1997. "'The Other Lakedaimonians': The Dependent Perioikic *Poleis* of Laconia and Messenia", *CPCActs* 4: 189–281.

—— 2000. "The Extent of Spartan Territory in the Late Classical and Hellenistic Periods", *BSA* 95: 367–90.

—— 2002. "Hidden Landscapes: Greek Field Survey Data and Hellenistic History", in D. Ogden and A. Powell (eds.), *Hellenistic History: New Perspectives* (London and Swansea) 177–98.

Singor, H. W. 1993. "Spartan Land Lots and Helot Rents", in *De Agricultura: in memoriam Pieter Willem de Neeve* (Amsterdam) 31–60.

Spencer, N. 1998. "The Battle of Sphacteria (425 BC)", in Davis (1998*c*) 171–76.

Stone, D., and Kampke, A. 1998. "Dialiskari: A Late Roman Villa on the Messenian Coast", in Davis (1998*c*) 192–98.

Talbert, R. J. A. 1989. "The Role of the Helots in the Class Struggle at Sparta", *Historia* 38: 22–40.

Themelis, P. 1969. "Ἱερὸν Ποσειδῶνος εἰς Ἀκοβίτικα Καλαμάτας", *AAA* 2: 352–57.

—— 1970. "Ἀρχαϊκὴ ἐπιγραφὴ ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος εἰς Ἀκοβίτικα", *ArchDelt* 25A: 109–25.

—— 1994*a*. "Damophon of Messene: New Evidence", in K. A. Sheedy (ed.), *Archaeology in the Peloponnese: New Excavations and Research* (Oxford) 1–37.

—— 1994*b*. "Artemis Ortheia at Messene: The Epigraphical and Archaeological Evidence", in R. Hägg (ed.), *Ancient Cult Practice from Epigraphical Evidence* (Stockholm) 101–22.

—— 2000. Ἥρωες και ήρωα στη Μεσσηνία, Βιβλιοθήκη τῆς ἐν Ἀθήναις Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας 210 (Athens).

Valmin, M. N. 1930. *Études topographiques sur la Messénie ancienne* (Lund).

—— 1933–34. "Rapport préliminaire de l'expédition en Messénie, 1933", *Bulletin de la Société Royale des Lettres de Lund* 9–24.

—— 1934–35. "Rapport préliminaire de l'expédition en Messénie, 1934", *Bulletin de la Société Royale des Lettres de Lund* 1–52.

—— 1938. *The Swedish Messenia Expedition*, Skrifter utgivna av Kungliga Humanistiska Vetenskapssamfundet i Lund 26 (Lund).

Wade-Gery, H. T. 1966. "The 'Rhianos-hypothesis'", in E. Badian (ed.), *Athenian Society and Institutions: Studies Presented to Victor Ehrenberg on his 75th Birthday* (Oxford) 289–302.

Whitby, M. 1994. "Two Shadows: Images of Spartans and Helots", in A. Powell and S. Hodkinson (eds.), *The Shadow of Sparta* (London and New York) 87–126.

Whitby, M. (ed.) 2002. *Sparta*, Edinburgh Readings on the Ancient World (Edinburgh).

Wide, S. 1893. *Lakonische Kulte* (Leipzig; repr. Darmstadt, 1973).

Zachos, C. L. 1984. "Ἐὔκτιτον Αἰπύ", *BSA* 79: 325–29.

Zunino, M. L. 1997. *Hiera Messeniaka: la storia religiosa della Messenia dall'età micenea all'età ellenistica*, Fonti e testi: raccolta di storia e filologia (Udine).

LAKEDAIMON

GRAHAM SHIPLEY

I. The Region

The *polis* of *Sparte* (no. 345) (in the local Doric dialect *Sparta*) was also called *Lakedaimon*. Its citizens, the *Spartiatai* (Spartans, Spartiates) were the dominant class in a larger state whose members were the *Lakedaimonioi*. Thus all Spartans were Lakedaimonians, but most Lakedaimonians were not Spartans. All Lakedaimonians were free and were citizens of *poleis*; but the other *poleis* were dependent upon Sparta, and their citizens were known as the *perioikoi*, "dwellers around" (*sc.* around Sparta). The perioikic communities could be referred to as *perioikides poleis* (see refs. in Shipley (1997) 207–9) and the territory in which they were located was sometimes called the *perioikis* (ibid. 200, 216–17).[1]

The army that earned such a spectacular reputation between C6 and C4 was not the Spartan army but the Lakedaimonian. Sparta exercised military power and political leadership while depending heavily upon the *perioikoi*, who made roughly the same numerical contribution to the army as themselves (cf. Hdt. 9.10.1, 11.3: 5,000 *Spartietai* and 5,000 select *perioikoi* for the Plataiai campaign in 479). The *perioikoi* seem to have conceded to Sparta the right to decide on peace and war, and to have regarded Sparta's wars as their wars (Thuc. 4.8.1; Xen. *Hell.* 1.3.15, 6.5.21; Shipley (1997) 214–15). Sparta's two kings were in fact "kings of the Lakedaimonians" (e.g. Alcm. fr. 5.2.1.20, Page; Hdt. 6.58.2; Hampl (1937) 22). By C6l Sparta had a naval capability (Hdt. 4.54.1; Cartledge (1979) 142–43), even though it was one of the most important Greek city-states not situated on a coast; doubtless those of the *perioikoi* who lived in coastal towns played a major role in the Lakedaimonian navy. For access to the sea, the Spartans relied upon the port of Gytheion (no. 333) (Diod. 11.84.6 (r456/5); Xen. *Hell.* 6.5.32; Ps.-Skylax 46; Cartledge (1979) 228), some 40 km to the south of Sparta, which was possibly a perioikic *polis* in Classical times.

The third main group in the population, and the one that arguably made the greatest numerical contribution to Lakedaimonian military success (Hdt. 9.10.1, 28.2; Hunt (1998) 33–39), was the helots or *heilotai*. Variously explained in etymological terms as the descendants of the people of Helos or of captives (from the root of ἑ͂λον), they were composed mainly of the subjugated population of the pre-existing towns and villages of Messenia, the south-west Peloponnese west of Mt. Taÿgetos, an area the Lakedaimonians had conquered in C8. The suppression of a Messenian rising in C7m was perhaps the point at which the Spartans set up the full-blown helot system. Helots were akin in some respects to the land-bound serfs of mediaeval Europe and early modern Russia, but were tied to the Spartan *polis* rather than to individual landowners. They were required to surrender part of their agricultural produce to support a non-productive Spartiate citizen body which devoted its energies, at least in the late Archaic and Classical periods, to military and (on a narrow front) cultural excellence. They were periodically terrorized by the Spartans. They were allegedly subject to periodic declarations of war by the Spartan ephors (Plut. *Lyc.* 28.7; MacDowell (1986) 37). Plutarch goes on to describe the Krypteia, a sort of initiation ritual whereby young Spartiate soldiers would randomly murder able-bodied helots (for a bloodless version see Pl. *Leg.* 633B–C). Yet they seem, like the *perioikoi*, to have identified Sparta's wars as theirs (*supra*). At Plataia in 479 they heavily outnumbered their Spartan masters and the *perioikoi* (Hdt. 9.10.1, 28.2); yet they remained loyal, though there were periodic helot revolts before and after this date. Spartan and Lakedaimonian control of the Messenian helots was no doubt exercised partly through the several perioikic *poleis* west of Taÿgetos. The helots should not be thought of as slave gangs, estate slaves, or even state slaves,

[1] The areas covered include Sparta/Lakedaimon, the island of Kythera, and areas that were under Spartan control for prolonged periods, but excluding Messenia. Although much of Messenia was Lakedaimonian territory in the Classical period, I end Laconia before Kardamyle, since the latter was Messenian immediately before Augustus' boundary changes (Paus. 3.26.7). In Pausanias' day, Messenia began just north-west of Gerenia, at the Choirios valley (4.1.1).

The following abbreviations are used in addition to standard ones:

LS i, ii = W. G. Cavanagh *et al.*, *Continuity and Change in a Greek Rural Landscape: The Laconia Survey*, i (London, 2001); ii (London, 1996).

Distances are prefaced by "*c.*" only if an ancient author gives them as approximate. Serial numbers prefixed by "S" refer to the catalogue in Shipley (1997).

but as communities which were typically Greek in all respects (some may even have lived in nucleated settlements) but were prevented from organising politically: that is to say, into *poleis*.

Intermediate groups included "inferiors" (ὑπομείονες), a term that occurs only once (Xen. *Hell.* 3.3.6) and may cover more than one kind of demoted Spartiate.[2] *Mothakes* (μόθακες, Phylarchos (*FGrHist* 81) fr. 43) were probably the sons of poor Spartiates who were sponsored through the training by wealthier men (rather than being, as some have supposed, the illegitimate children of Spartiates by helot women).[3] The *trophimoi* (Xen. *Hell.* 5.3.9), sons of *xenoi* who had been admitted to the Spartan upbringing or *agoge* (ἀγωγή), would have been a similar group.[4] From *mothakes* we should probably distinguish *mothones* (μόθωνες), who may have been sons of helot families who were attached to Spartan households and brought up as personal attendants to Spartans.[5] *Neodamodeis* (νεοδαμώδεις) were probably full Spartiates who had been promoted from the helot ranks.[6] Chattel slaves probably existed too.[7] Most of the population of *Lakonike* (*infra*), however, was made up of Spartiatai, *perioikoi* and helots.

Beloch's estimate for the combined C5l population of Laconia and Messenia, 55,000 including 18,000 free men and their families, is probably of the right order; it makes Laconia–Messenia the least populous part of the Peloponnese, with one-tenth of its inhabitants.[8] As archaeological survey progresses, it may be possible to improve on these estimates. R. Catling, for example, has estimated the population of the Laconia Survey area (*c.*70 km², not prime land but near Sparta) as 875 in late Archaic and early Classical times, falling to 705 in the late Classical period. From these figures, crude totals for mainland Laconia may be extrapolated of 45,000 and 32,000 respectively, or 64,000 and 45,000 if Thyreatis and Kythera (no. 336) are included.[9]

Λακεδαίμων, one of the two names of the *polis* of Sparta, also serves as a geographical term for the region around Sparta. Ps.-Skylax divides the central and southern Peloponnese into Elis (43), Arkadia (44), Messene (45), "Lakedaimon *ethnos*" (46) and Argos with the Argeia (49). Lakedaimon is the nearest part of Europe to Crete (47). His Lakedaimon begins with Methone (no. 319) and (presumably Messenian) Asine (no. 313), reflecting the continued Spartan possession of southern Messenia after 369.[10] It ends at Prasiai (no. 342), which is in Kynouria, and "Methana" (possibly a corruption of Anthana (no. 324), which was in Thyreatis, the northernmost part of Kynouria). He then mentions the inland *poleis*: Sparta (no. 345) "and many others" which he does not name.

In Homer, Lakedaimon is both a settlement (*Od.* 4.702, paired with Pylos; 13.414) and a region containing *Sparte* and eight other centres of population (*Il.* 2.581–85). Five of these (Pharis, Bryseiai, Augeiai—later Aigaiai/Aigiai—Amyklai and Helos) are in the Eurotas valley, three (Messe, Laas and Oitylos) in the Tainaron peninsula (modern Mani). In Herodotos' striking formulation, "there is in Lakedaimon the *polis* of Sparta" (Hdt. 7.234.2: ἔστι ἐν τῇ Λακεδαίμονι Σπάρτη πόλις); elsewhere, he makes "the whole of Lakedaimon" embrace the homelands of both *perioikoi* and *Spartiatai* (Hdt. 6.58.2). As a geographical term in Classical authors, Lakedaimon approximates to Sparta's core territory, but extends wider, embracing the middle Eurotas valley and possibly (in Homer) the Helos plain and Tainaron peninsula. It may thus have included the territories of perioikic *poleis* such as Geronthrai (no. 332) and Pellana (no. 341). Since Hom. *Il.* 2.581 describes Lakedaimon as "hollow" (*koile*), which certainly does not describe the situations of Messe, Las and Oitylos, the passage may perhaps be evidence of the extent of Spartan power even before the conquest of Messenia in *c.*735–710. Perhaps the Spartans also conquered the Malea peninsula[11] of south-eastern Laconia at this time; the foundation of Boia, for example, is attributed to a Heraklid (son of Herakles), suggesting an early origin (Paus. 3.22.11).

In Pherekydes (*FGrHist* 3) fr. 168 (Οἴτυλος . . . ἡ πόλις ἡ ἐν τῇ Σπαρτῇ) *Sparte* seems, as *Lakedaimon* often does, to denote the region and not the town of the Spartiates.

However, the wider Lakedaimonian territory formed by the *chorai* of Sparta and those of the perioikic towns, plus Messenia, was generally called *Lakonike* (Λακωνική, from Λάκων) rather than Lakedaimon (or Sparta).[12] Perioikic Kythera (no. 336), however, is repeatedly said by Thucydides

[2] MacDowell (1986) 42–46.

[3] MacDowell (1986) 46–51; Hodkinson (2000) 355–56.

[4] Hodkinson (2000) 342. *Agoge*: Xen. *Hell.* 5.3.9.

[5] *Etym. Magn.* s.v. μόθων; Hodkinson (2000) 336.

[6] Thuc. 5.34.1; MacDowell (1986) 39–42.

[7] Myron (*FGrHist* 106) fr. 1 *apud* Ath. 271f; MacDowell (1986) 37–39.

[8] Beloch (1886) 149; at p. 150 he cites Clinton's earlier estimates of *c.*99,000 including a free population of *c.*24,000, making Laconia–Messenia about one-sixth of the total population of the Peloponnese.

[9] R. W. V. Catling (2002).

[10] Müller, *GGM* 1: 40–41, points out that the Spartan retention of Methone and Asine was facilitated by the fact that populations were not ethnic Messenians but descendants of exiled Argives and Naupaktians to whom the Lakedaimonians had granted a home.

[11] Ps.-Skylax 46. Also called Maleai (fem. pl., Polyb. 34.7.12 = Strabo 8.5.1). Also Maleia, Ephor. fr. 145 = Ps.-Skymnos 537.

[12] The name "Lakonia" (modern Greek Λακωνία) has no justification beyond the Imperial Latin form *Laconia* (e.g. Plin. *HN* 4.5.16).

to "lie opposite" *Lakonike* (4.53.2, 54.3; cf. 7.26.2), suggesting that *Lakonike* may be restricted to the mainland. It occurs as a toponym first in Herodotos (1.69.4, cf. 6.58.1; but cf. *Hymn. Hom. Ap.* 410: *Λακωνίδα γαῖαν*); later as an adjective with *chora* (Xen. *Hell.* 6.2.9). Damaratos (Hdt. 7.235.1) uses *τὴν Λάκαιναν χώραν*, by which Herodotos perhaps intends to convey the Spartan habit of speech or simply the change of voice.

Since *Lakonike* denoted the total territory controlled by Sparta and the Lakedaimonians, its extent varied through time. In Classical sources, it includes coastal territories (Thuc. 3.7.2; cf. 8.6.5) as well as places in the Spartan *chora* proper such as Therapnai (Isoc. *Hel.* 63.4) and Thornax (Hdt. 1.69.4). Pellana (no. 341) and Geronthrai (no. 332), both within easy reach of Sparta, were probably dependent *poleis* in the Archaic and Classical periods, and presumably within *Lakonike*. Writers include Messenia within *Lakonike*, since the Spartans conquered it in C8l (southern Messenia is included even after the rest was lost in 369): west of Taÿgetos, *Lakonike* includes Kardamyle (no. 315) (Hdt. 8.73.2), Methone (no. 319) (Thuc. 2.25.1), Messenian Asine (no. 313) (in *τῆς Λακαίνης*, Xen. *Hell.* 7.1.25), and even the Sphagiai islands off the west coast (Xen. *Hell.* 6.2.31). By C8l or earlier Sparta controlled the peninsulas of Tainaron and Malea; in Classical sources *Lakonike* explicitly includes Tainaron (Thuc. 7.19.4), Epidauros Limera (no. 329) (Thuc. 7.26.2), and Las (no. 337) (Thuc. 8.91.2). In C6 or earlier Sparta gained Kynouria, the eastern seaboard beyond the crest of Parnon (a mountain named only at Paus. 2.38.7).[13] Prasiai in Kynouria was now part of *Lakonike* (Thuc. 2.56.6). The northern part of Kynouria, Thyreatis on the borders of Argeia and *Lakonike* (Thuc. 2.27.2, 4.56.2), was captured from the Argives *c.*545 and thereafter administered by the Lakedaimonians (Hdt. 1.82.2). *Lakonike* was now bounded on the north-east by Argive territory. In the area containing the headwaters of the two great rivers of the Peloponnese, Eurotas and Alpheios, the frontier was with Arkadia, specifically Tegea (no. 297) (cf. Hdt. 8.124.3). The borderland of Skiritis was in *Lakonike* (Thuc. 5.3.3); it contained the settlement of Oios (no. 339) or Oion (Xen. *Hell.* 6.5.24). Nearby Karyai may have been placed in *Lakonike* by Theopomp. fr. 238 (*apud* Steph. Byz. 362.5). Closer to Sparta, Sellasia is "close to *Lakonike*" in the MSS of Xen. *Hell.* 2.2.13 (but see Sellasia (no. 343)); it was, rather, *part of Lakonike* from the time of its foundation in C6s. The Lakedaimonians also possessed Aigytis, in the hill-land bordering the western Arkadian plain; this area, too, may have contained dependent *poleis* (Paus. 8.27.4).[14]

After Epameinondas' invasions of 370/69 and 369, much of Messenia was confiscated and given to the new foundation of Messene, while in the north-west Aigytis and part or all of Skiritis were absorbed into the new Arkadian capital of Megalopolis (no. 282). In 338/7 Philip II confiscated the remaining northern lands as well as Thyreatis. After the battle of Sellasia (222) the eastern seaboard and several inland towns were detached from Sparta, probably for the first time. Finally, the Roman general Flamininus removed the southern *perioikoi* in 195. The Dentheliatis continued to alternate between Spartan and Messenian control from C2 until well into the Roman period, but after 195 other changes were modest.[15]

Excluding geographical items such as capes, mountains and rivers, and names of cult places consisting simply of the name of a deity and a term such as "sanctuary" or "temple", our sources purport to transmit the names of eighty-four places in Laconia (including the islands of Kythera and Aigilia) from the Archaic to Roman periods.

First it is necessary to dispose of four names that are probably erroneous, spurious, invented or corrupt:

(S116) Lerne (from Ptol. *Geog.* 3.14.43, misplaced from the Argolid)
(S117) †Litai (Apollodoros *apud* Steph. Byz. 418.15) = Aigiai?
(S118) Oinoë (Ptol. *Geog.* 3.14.43) = Oinous (no. 338)? Oios (no. 339?)
(S120) †Thea (Philoch. *apud* Steph. Byz. 308.4) = Messenian Aithaia (no. 312)?

A further five alleged settlements or *poleis* are recorded in the surviving epitome of Stephanos of Byzantion without a source being named, and there is no other evidence for them:

(S127) Aphidna (Steph. Byz. 149.16–17)
(S112) †Ataia (Steph. Byz. 141.10) = Aigiai?
(S113) Dyrrhachion (Steph. Byz. 244.4–5)
(S114) Etaieis (Steph. Byz. 283.6–7), related to Etis (no. 330)?
(S52) Tenos (Steph. Byz. 622.2–3), unless *IG* v.1 931.12 (*SEG* 13 259+) refers to this Tenos

[13] Cf. Cartledge (1979) 15.

[14] Lepreon, however, is between *Lakonike* and *Eleia* (Thuc. 5.34) and not in *Lakonike*.

[15] For details of Spartan territory after 369, see Shipley (2000) esp. summary at 386–87.

In nine cases among the seventy-five valid place-names that remain, there is no firm basis in the source evidence for regarding the place as a settlement: (S119) Pephnos (modern Platsa?) is an islet with cult activity but no probable settlement; (S130) Harpleia (Xirokambi?) and (S106) Skiritis are geographical areas, though the latter may have had some sort of political organisation (see *infra*); (S104) Onogloi (spelling uncertain) and (S107) Stathmoi,[16] both inferred from adjectives in Alkman (fr. 92, Page) but lacking confirmation, may also be districts; they have no known locations; (S125) Aigila (Kionia?), (S129) Epidelion (near Voutama?), and (S108) Therapne (Menelaia) are probably exclusively cult places—the last despite the statements of Pliny and late authors that it was a *polis* (Plin. *HN* 4.5.16; cf. Shipley (1997) 264–65); finally, (S105) Phoinikous, on Kythera, may be only a harbour (possibly Avlemon[as]).[17]

Of the remaining sixty-six possible settlements for which names are plausibly preserved, two have no plausible location or even an approximate locality: (S110) Aitolia (if real) and (S13) Chen (no. 328) if real, though possibly it was near Etis (no. 330).

Eighteen named settlements have suggested locations that are disputed or highly uncertain, though we know the general area in which they lay:

(S126) Alesiai (Tseramio?)[18]
(S83) Aphroditia (no. 325) (east of Neapoli Voion?)
(S111) Astron (Astros?)
(S40) Biadina (eastern side of Laconian gulf)
(S64) Bryseiai (Ag. Vasileios?)
(S84) Etis (no. 330) (area of Neapoli Voion)
(S115) Genesion (north-eastern Laconia, possibly Argive, no proposed site)
(S65) Helos (one of several sites)
(S43) Hypsoi (outer Mani, no proposed site)
(S44) Iasos (headwaters of Evrotas)
(S103) Karystos (area of Dyrrachi or upper Xerilas valley)
(S47) Leukai (near Molaoi?)
(S66) Messe (Cape Tigani?)
(S15) Oinous (no. 338) (upper Kelephina valley)
(S67) Pharis (Vapheio?)
(S99) Pleiai/Palaia (Apidia?)
(S100) Selinous (Ag. Athanasios Nerotriviou?)
(S8) Side (no. 344) (east of Neapolis Voion)

Another eight are placed with confidence in particular areas, though their identification with actual sites is more speculative or debatable:

(S1) Anthana (no. 324) (Tsiorovos? Nisi Ag. Andrea? Nisi Paraliou Astrous?)
(S128) Arainos (Ageranos)
(S29) Asine (Laconian) (Skoutari?)
(S30) Eua (no. 331) (Elliniko? Loukou?)
(S96) Glympeis (Glyppia? Kosmas?)
(S97) Krokeai (one of various sites near Krokees)
(S98) Neris (Kourmeki? Tsiorovos?)
(S10) Thyrea (no. 346) (Nisi Paraliou Astrous? Nisi Ag. Andrea?)

A further twenty-three are placed with reasonable certainty at or near known settlement sites:

(S63) Aigaiai/Aigiai (Palaiochora Aigion; see *infra*)
(S12) Aigys (no. 323) (Tsamaina Kamaras)
(S37) Akriai (Kokkinia; see *infra*)
(S39) Asopos (Plytra; see Kyparissia)
(S22) Belbina (no. 326) (one of various sites near Chelmos)
(S42) Hippola (Kipoula)
(S24) Karyai (Analipsi Vourvouras? see *infra*)
(S31) Kotyrta (Kastelli Daimonias)
(S25) Kromnos (no. 334) (Martiakos Paradision)
(S46) Kyparissia (Boza and Kastelli Goula)
(S14) Kyphanta (no. 335) (Kyparissi)
(S26) Leuktra (north-western Laconia, Leondari?)
(S27) Malea (north-western Laconia, Mali or Maliokambos Voutsara)
(S49) Marios (one of various sites near Mari)
(S131) Messapeai (Analipsi Anthchoriou; see *infra*)[19]
(S16) Oios (no. 339) (Ai-Gianni Kerasias)
(S17) Pellana (no. 341) (one of various sites at or near Pellana)
(S50) Polichna (Poulithra)
(S32) Psamathous (Porto Kagio? see *infra*)
(S28) Sellasia (no. 343) (Palaiogoulas)
(S53) Teuthrone (Skopas Kotrona)
(S134) Thornax (Geladari? see *infra*)[20]
(S135) Trinasos (Trinisa; see *infra*)[21]

[16] Cartledge (1979) 172 gives the name as Stathmos.

[17] Cartledge (1979) 283, following Huxley (1972) 37, suggests the bay of Avlemon/Avlemonas.

[18] Identified as a settlement from archaeological evidence.

[19] Messapeai is identified as a settlement rather than purely a cult site on the basis of archaeological evidence (*LS* ii. 293, GG108 with refs.).

[20] Thornax is identified as a settlement rather than purely a cult site on the basis of archaeological evidence (LS ii. 355–57, H45).

[21] Trinasos was unlike a *polis* in Pausanias' judgement (3.22.3): a *phrourion* rather than a *polis*; Ptol. *Geog.* 3.14.32: an *epineion*; however, it may have been a settlement as well as a guard-post: *LS* ii. 296, JJ126 with ref.; Doukas (1922) 91–93.

Finally, fifteen names are attached with certainty to known archaeological settlement remains:

Aigilia Island
(S2) Boia (no. 327) (Neapoli Voion)
(S3) Epidauros Limera (no. 329) (Epidavros Limira)
(S41) Geronthrai (no. 332) (Geraki)
(S23) Gytheion (no. 333) (Gytheio)
(S45) Kainepolis (Kyparissos; see *infra* s.v. Tainaron)
(S4) Kythera (no. 336) (Palaiokastro, Kythira)
(S5) Las (no. 337) (Passava)
(S6) Oitylos (no. 340) (Oitylo)
(S7) Prasiai (no. 342) (Leonidi)
(S51) Pyrrhichos (Pyrrichos; Paus. 3.21.7)
Sparta (no. 345) (Sparti)
(S9) Tainaron (Sternes)
(S101) Tyros (Kastri Tyrou)
(S54) Zarax (Ierakas)

As a footnote to this list, we may note that Homer names ten places in Laconia. Four that presumably belonged to real places at some early date cannot be securely related to remains on the ground: Bryse(i)ai, Helos, Messe and Pharis. Another four are securely tied to actual Archaic to Roman sites: Augeiai (assuming it is Aigai), Las, Oitylos and Sparte (*Il* 2.584), to which two not listed above can be added: Lakedaimon (as the name of a settlement) and Amyklai (*Il.* 2.584), one of the five constituent villages of Classical Sparta (for all five of which, see Sparta (no. 345).

The sixty-six settlements (or possible settlements (i.e. excluding the nine non-valid names and nine non-settlement toponyms) can now be classified for the purposes of the investigation into Archaic and Classical *poleis.*

The main Inventory below describes twenty-four settlements, covering every place in Laconia (including Kythera and the borderlands) that, in the Archaic or Classical period, was certainly a *polis* (type A, nine places), probably a *polis* (type B, five places), or possibly a *polis* (type C, ten places).

Ten places were settlements, and in some cases *poleis*, at some period other than Archaic or Classical, and are not described in detail:

(S128) Arainos (Roman place)
(S39) Asopos (middle Hellenistic and Roman; see *infra* s.v. Kyparissia)
(S40) Biadina (Roman *polis*)
(S115) Genesion/Genese (Roman place)
(S43) Hypsoi (Roman, possibly Hellenistic place)
(S45) Kainepolis (Eleutherolaconian *polis*; see under *infra* s.v. Tainaron)
(S47) Leukai (possible Hellenistic *polis*)
(S66) Messe (early place, Roman *polis*)
(S67) Pharis (early place)[22]
(S51) Pyrrhichos (Eleutherolaconian *polis*)

Before the Inventory, the remaining thirty-two named settlements that had, or may have had, an Archaic or Classical existence, but were not *poleis*, are described briefly in alphabetical order, with the addition of a non-settlement, Skiritis, the subject of a special discussion at the end of this section.

1. *Pre-Hellenistic Settlements not Attested as* Poleis

Aigiai, Aigaiai (*Αἴγιαι, Αἴγαιαι*) (S63; cf. S112, S117). Possibly a settlement; Strabo 8.5.3 identifies it with Homer's Augeiai (cf. *Il.* 2.583); Paus. 3.21.5 (*πόγίσμα*), 3.21.7; etc. Located at Palaiochora Aigion near Aigies (Waterhouse and Hope Simpson (1961) 114; *LS* ii. 296, JJ124; followed by *Barr.*). Archaic to Roman cult site now excavated and identified as sanctuary of Artemis (Bonias (1998)). *Barr.* AC.

Aigilia (*Αἰγιλία*)/**Ogylos** (*Ὤγυλος*) Steph. Byz. 41.5–6 refers to an island named *Αἴγιλα* (*Αἰγίλιος*) and situated *μεταξὺ Κρήτης καὶ Πελοποννήσου* (cf. Ps.-Skylax 113; Plut. *Cleom.* 31(52).2, 32(53).1); at 706.3–4, he refers to an island *μεταξὺ Πελοποννήσου καὶ Κρήτης* which is called *Ὤγυλος* (*Ὠγύλιος*); these two names presumably both refer to the island of Antikythera/Lious (*RE* xvii.2. 2079). This small island was the site of a C5 fortification (Spartan or Athenian?) at Palaiokastro (cf. *Barr.* Map 57); it may have been the scene of military action during the expedition of Konon and Pharnabazos against Kythera (no. 336) (Xen. *Hell.* 4.8.7–8; Foss (1974–75) *ad* no. 10). In C4f, the fort was enlarged to enclose *c.*30 ha (Waterhouse and Simpson (1961) 160–63), perhaps by Konon (Foss (1974–75) 42; Cartledge (1979) 283). There is no explicit evidence to link the island with Sparta (no. 345). It may possibly have been a *polis*, though the evidence is exiguous: undated sling bullets may preserve abbreviated forms of the ethnic *Αἰγίλιος* (*IG* v.1 951; cf. Foss (1974–75) no. 9); *IG* v.1 948 (C4), a dedication to *Ἀπόλλων Αἰγιλεύς* by two foreigners. No date in *Barr.*, but C is attested by archaeology and epigraphy (*supra*).

[22] Jeffery (1976) 114 suggests that since Pharis and Geronthrai were conquered at the same time (Paus. 3.2.6), they may both have become perioikic. The difference between them is that Paus. 3.20.3 speaks of Pharis as a former *polis.*

Aitolia (*Αἰτωλία*) (S110) Doubtful Classical *polis*. Androtion (*FGrHist* 324) fr. 63 *apud* Steph. Byz. 55.13–15 apparently catalogued Aitolia among Laconian *poleis*. The rather precise citation by Stephanos suggests a genuine quotation, but the implausible name and the absence of other evidence leave this an uncertain case. Possibly the name is a corruption of another, genuine name. No date in *Barr.* but Androtion (*supra*) attests C.

Akriai (*Ἀκριαί*) (S37) Probable Archaic and Classical cult site and/or settlement; later a *polis* (e.g. *IG* v.1 1189 (*c.*C2); *IG* vii 415, late Hellenistic or early Roman; name restored in 417; etc.; cf. Polyb. 5.19.8). Located at Kokkinia (S37) (followed by *Barr.*), a large middle Geometric to mediaeval settlement, but in Archaic and Classical times possibly only a cult site (temple of Mother of Gods; *LS* ii. 308–9, MM219). *Barr.* gives only HRL, but see *supra*.

Alesiai (*Ἀλεσίαι*) (S126) Possible Classical settlement; Paus. 3.20.2 (*χωρίον*). Possibly at Tseramio Ag. Ioanni (extensive Classical site, probably also Hellenistic or Roman; *LS* ii. 289, GG85; S126, followed by *Barr.* (without indication of date)).

Asine (*Ἀσίνη*) (S29) Thuc. 4.54.4; Xen. *Hell.* 7.1.25 (?);[23] Polyb. 5.19.5; Strabo 8.5.2. Classical settlement, possibly at Skoutari (*LS* ii. 301, LL162; S29 followed by *Barr.*). *Barr.* AC.

Astron (*Ἄστρον*) (S111) Ptol. *Geog.* 3.14.33 (implicit *πόλις*). Possible Archaic and Classical settlement, possibly at Nisi Paraliou Astrous (fortified Bronze Age and Protogeometric to Roman settlement with acropolis; *LS* ii. 277, AA6; Phaklaris (1990) 56–78; Goester (1993) 91–93, 99; S111, followed by *Barr.* (C)); but see Anthana (no. 324) and Thyrea (no. 346).

Bryseai (*Βρυσέαι*) (S64) Early and possibly Classical settlement; e.g. Hom. *Il.* 2.583; Paus. 3.20.3 (*χωρίον*, former *πόλις*), 3.20.4. Possibly at Ag. Vasileios (prehistoric, Classical–Hellenistic site; Waterhouse and Hope Simpson (1960) 80–81; *LS* ii. 290, 291–92, GG87, GG339, GG101 respectively; treated as unlocated by *Barr.* without indication of date).

Glyppia, Glympeis (*Γλυππία*, *Γλυμπεῖς*) (S96) Possible Classical settlement and Hellenistic *kome* and/or *polis*; e.g. Polyb. 4.36.5 (*Γλυμπεῖς*, a seeming city-ethnic possibly implying *polis* status); Paus. 3.22.8 (*κώμη*). Probably at Glyppia (formerly Lymbiada, Ta Lymbia); C4 to Roman finds, mainly post-C4; *LS* ii. 281–82, BB31; Phaklaris (1990) 153–57; Shipley (2000) 379). *Barr.*, though citing S96, dates it H; but see *supra*.

Helos (*Ἕλος*) (S65) Hom. *Il.* 2.584 (*πτολίεθρον*); Hellan. fr. 188; Thuc. 4.54.4; Xen. *Hell.* 6.5.32; Theopomp. fr. 13; Strabo 8.5.2 (*κώμη*, former *πόλις*), 8.3.12; Paus. 3.2.7, 20.6, 22.3. Early settlement, perhaps revived as a *kome* and/or *polis* in late Hellenistic or Roman times; in C4e a site of festivals (*IG* v.1 213). Possibly at Ag. Stephanos, a possible Classical or Hellenistic settlement (*LS* ii. 299, KK141; S65, followed by *Barr.* (A?)).

Hippola (*Ἱππόλα*) (S42) Classical settlement. Paus. 3.25.9 (*πόλις*); *IG* v.1 1336 (*πόλις*). The ethnic, *Ἱππολαῖος*, occurs in e.g. *IG* v.1 1312 (*SEG* 11 945 (Hell.)); Steph. Byz. 336.2 gives *Ἱππολαΐτης*, which may be invented. From the distances given by Pausanias, Hippola is probably a Geometric to Hellenistic site near Kipoula, which preserves the name (*LS* ii. 304, LL188). Ruined in Pausanias' day (3.25.9), it may by then have relocated *c.*1.4 km south to Kounos (*LS* ii. 304, LL193). *Barr.* AC.

Iasos (*Ἴασος*) (S44) Paus. 7.13.7 (*πόλισμα* (rC2)), 8.27.3 (r371, but text uncertain; cf. S44). Possible Archaic and Classical settlement, possibly at DD45, Analipsi Vourvouras, but see Karyai (*infra*); Iasos was probably nearer Sparta (no. 345) (Pikoulas (1987) 137–39; *LS* ii. 284). *Barr.* tentatively suggests that Iasos be equated with Karyai.

Karyai (*Καρύαι*) (S24) Thuc. 5.55.3; Xen. *Hell.* 6.5.25, 7.1.28; Theopomp. fr. 238; Paus. 3.10.7 (*χωρίον*), 4.16.9. Archaic and Classical settlement, whose destruction for medism gave rise to Caryatid statues (Vitruv. 1.1.5; Huxley (1967)). Probably at Analipsi (Geometric to Hellenistic acropolis, Classical houses, pottery including C5m–C2m; *LS* ii. 284, DD45; Pikoulas (1987) 137–39; *Barr.*).[24]

Karystos (*Κάρυστος*) (S103) Strabo 10.1.6 (*τόπος* of Aigys), citing Alkman (cf. fr. 92d, Page, *apud* Ath. 31D) for wine from Karystos. Possible Archaic settlement, possibly near Dyrrachi or the upper Xerilas valley (Pikoulas (1988*a*) 239, no. II); *Barr.*, citing S103, treats it as unlocated, with no indication of date, though Alkman (*supra*) attests to A.

Kotyrta (*Κοτύρτα*) (S31) Classical settlement. Thuc. 4.56.1; *IG* v.1 951.10–11 (C2; *polis*). The ethnic, *Κοτυρτάτης*, occurs in e.g. *IG* v.1 961.8–9, 11 (post-195); Steph. Byz. 379.14 gives *Κοτυρταῖος*, which may be invented. Probably at Kastelli Daimonias, a hill with ancient foundations and Geometric, Classical to Hellenistic, and possible Roman

[23] Cartledge (1979) 300 gives reasons for seeing Xen. *Hell.* 7.1.25 as a reference to Messenian Asine, despite *τῆς Λακαίνης*.

[24] "Karyatis" as the name of a district is an invention of modern scholarship.

finds (*LS* ii. 311, NN239). Public buildings are evidenced by C5l terracotta reliefs; there are architectural fragments, cultic and cemetery material, and evidence of cults of Artemis and Asklepios (e.g. *AR* 2 (1955) 15). *Barr.* AC.

Krokeai (*Κροκέαι*) (S97) Paus. 3.21.4 (*κώμη* with quarry, cf. 2.3.5), 3.12.5; Steph. Byz. 385.13. Possible Archaic and Classical settlement and later *kome*, near the source of *lapis lacedaemonius*; probably at Krikiles (Archaic to Roman?) rather than Krokées (formerly Levetsova); Protogeometric finds nearby (*LS* ii. 295, JJ120; S97, followed by *Barr.* (AC)).

Kyparissia (*Κυπαρισσία*) (S46) Classical cult site and settlement. Strabo 8.5.2 (*polis*). Probably the same as the ruined "*polis* of the Parakyparissian Achaians" (i.e. Achaeans beside Kyparissia), of Paus. 8.22.9. (Possible attestations of an ethnic—e.g. *IG* IV².1 390; *SEG* 33 290 (*c.*90–80); Grunauer-von Hoerschelmann (1978) 60, 162—are inconclusive, or may refer to places with similar names. Cf. Kennell (1999) 195.) Very probably at Cape Kastelli, the evident location of the sanctuary of Athena Kyparissia (Paus. 3.22.9), where ancient remains around the foot of of the hill may be at the site of Pausanias' ruins and Strabo's Kyparissia. It appears to have moved less than 2 km east–south-east to *Asopos* (e.g. *IG* V.1 962.7 (Hell.); Strabo 8.5.2; modern Plytra, mediaeval Asopolis; see Kourinou and Pikoulas (1989)), which had the Athena sanctuary on its acropolis. Since the inhabitants of Kyparissia were known as Achaians, Kyparissia may have been believed to be a pre-Dorian foundation like Geronthrai. The Hyperteleaton, the perioikic sanctuary of Apollo at modern Phoiniki, was in the territory of Asopos (Paus. 3.22.10), so will have been in the territory of Kyparissia earlier. *Barr.* C.

Leuktra, Leuktron (*Λεῦκτρα*, *Λεῦκτρον*) (S26) Thuc. 5.54.1; Xen. *Hell.* 6.5.24. Classical settlement in north-western Laconia. (Not to be confused with Messenian Leuktron or Leuktra.) Called a *polis* only by Paus. 8.27.4 (r371). Probably Leondari, which partly preserves the name (Hellenistic architectural fragments; Archaic, Classical but mainly Hellenistic; Roman sherds; fortified acropolis; possible Archaic cemetery: Pikoulas (1988*a*) 131–35, no. 92). Paus. 8.27.4, if we accept the Niese–Pikoulas emendation, includes it among the former Aigytian and/or Skiritan *poleis* taken from Sparta and synoecised into Megalopolis (no. 282) (it was in Aigytis rather than Skiritis; for its Megalopolitan affiliation see Plut. *Cleom.* 6.3 (27.3); *Pelop.* 20.7). It may have been settled by Spartans and/or other Lakedaimonians in the late Archaic period. *Barr.* AC.

Malea, Melea (*Μηλέα*, *Μαλέα*, presumably the original Doric form) (S27) Xen. *Hell.* 7.1.28; Paus. 8.27.4. Classical settlement in north-west Laconia. (Not to be confused with Cape Malea in the south-east.) Probably Mali (also called Maliokambos) at Voutsaras (formerly Zaimi; Pikoulas (1988*a*) 129–31 no. 91), which preserves the name. Called a *polis* only by Paus. 8.27.4 (r371), in the same context as Leuktra; it certainly belonged to Aigytis. Its territory is *ἡ Μαλεᾶτις* (Xen. *Hell.* 6.5.24). The large settlement (15 ha) has Archaic and early Classical tiles and pottery, a C5e inscribed grave stele, walls, architectural fragments including a possible stoa, and probably a cemetery (Pikoulas (1988*a*) 130, (1985) 85–86 no. 1; *SEG* 35 357). The evidence is consistent with abandonment or relocation around the time of the founding of Megalopolis (no. 282). *Barr.* AC.

Marios (*Μαριός*) (S49) Classical settlement. Paus. 3.21.7 (*polis*), 3.22.8 (*polisma*). Modern Mari is consistent with Pausanias' distances; there are several possible sites nearby (*LS* ii. 286, FF263, 287, 262 and 66). The archaeological evidence suggests an Archaic and Classical settlement, and Paus. 3.22.8 mentions an "old" sanctuary of all the gods (as well as another of Artemis). *Barr.* gives no date.

Messapeai (*Μεσσαπέαι*) (S131) Theopomp. fr. 245 *apud* Steph. Byz. 447.8; Paus. 3.20.3 (*temenos* of Zeus Messapeus; cf. *SEG* 26 460, 39 373). Archaic to Hellenistic settlement and cult site, at Analipsi Anthochoriou (prehistoric, Protogeometric to Hellenistic settlement and cult site; *LS* ii. 293, GG108). For another shrine of Zeus Messapeus, see under Sparta (no. 345). Treated as unlocated by *Barr.* (C), citing S131.

Neris (*Νηρίς*) (S98) Possible Classical town site and later *kome*, e.g. Paus. 2.38.6 (*κώμη*). Possibly at Kourmeki Kato Dolianas (late Hellenistic to late Roman unfortified site; *LS* II: 277, AA3; Phaklaris (1990) 94–96; *Barr.*, following S98, and adding a question mark), alternatively (or earlier?) at Tsiorovos (C5–late Roman fortified town site with C5l/C4e walls; *LS* ii. 276, AA1, but see Anthana (no. 324)).

Pleiai, Palaia (*Πλεῖαι*, *Παλαιά*) (S99) Possible Archaic and Classical settlement and later *kome*: Livy 25.27.2 (*Pleiae*); Paus. 3.22.6 (*Παλαιά*, *κώμη*); *IG* V.1 602 (early third century AD). Possibly at Apidea (prehistoric, Protogeometric to Hellenistic, Roman (?), and Byzantine site; *LS* ii. 307–8, MM216; *Barr.* (AC), following S99). Possibly two separate settlements, however.

Polichna (*Πολίχνα*) (S50) Classical settlement. Polyb. 4.36.5 (r220). Probably Poulithra, approximately preserving

the name (fortification, Classical pottery, Hellenistic tombs: *LS* ii. 282, BB35; Phaklaris (1990) 141–42). The name may imply *polis* status, but it may be too close to Prasiai to be a separate *polis*. *Barr.* H, but see *supra*.

Psamathous (*Ψαμαθοῦς*) (S32) Ps.-Skylax 46 (*λιμήν*); Strabo 8.5.2 (*πόλις*); Paus. 3.25.4. Classical harbour and possibly settlement, possibly near Porto Kagio (Hellenistic, post-Roman; *LS* ii. 306, LL209; *Barr.* following S32, but without indication of date, though Ps.-Skylax 46 attests C).

Selinous (*Σελινοῦς*) (S100) Paus. 3.22.8 (*κώμη*). Possible Classical settlement and later *kome*, possibly at Ag. Athanasios Nerotriviou (ashlar walls, BG pottery; *LS* ii. 286, FF98; same location as *Barr.*).

Skiritis (*Σκιρῖτις*) See at end of this list.

Tainaron (*Ταίναρον*) (S9) Classical sanctuary with probable Classical settlement and possible *polis*; also a geographical location (Hdt. 7.168.2; Thuc. 7.19.4), specifically the cape of that name (Strabo 8.4.1) with its famous sanctuary of Poseidon (e.g. Paus. 3.25.4–8). Pherekydes (*FGrHist* 3, fr. 39 = schol. Ap. Rhod. 1.102) calls it a *polis* (named after its founder, Tainaros), a cape and a sanctuary, but it is uncertain whether *polis* here stems from Pherekydes or the scholiast. *Ταίναρος, ἡ*, in Pind. *Pyth.* 4.43–44 (462), may refer to the cape or the cult site. Tainaros is later the official name of the "New City", *Kainepolis* (neatly rendered "New Taenarum" by Cartledge and Spawforth (1989) 174, 175; named e.g. in *IG* v.1 1249 = *SEG* 23 200 (second to third century AD; cf. Paus. 3.21.7, Eleutherolaconian *polis*), which probably came into existence after Gytheion (no. 333) became independent of Sparta (no. 345) *c.*195 and before C. Iulius Lakon was honoured there (*IG* v.1 1243, found near Kainepolis (early first centuryAD)). *Ταινάριος* is attested as an ethnic from Late Hellenistic times (e.g. *IG* v.1 210, 211–12 = *SEG* 11 648–49 (C1 or earlier); possibly in *IG* v.1 1271 (Hell.?), but may already refer to Kainepolis (as in *IG* v.1 1244 = *SEG* 23 199 (198–211 AD)). The Classical settlement of Tainaron probably lay beside the sanctuary of Poseidon at Ag. Asomatoi (also called Kionia) at Sternes on the east side of the cape (*LS* ii. 306, LL210; cf. ii. 305, LL201; Moschou (1975); Moskou (1976–78)). Tainaron was the site of a mercenary hiring fair at least from the late 330s (Cartledge and Spawforth (1989) 21). *Barr.* AC.

Teuthrone (*Τευθρώνη*) (S53) Classical settlement. Paus. 3.21.7 (*polis*). The ethnic is *Τευθρώνιος* (*IG* v.2 538 (C1/first century AD)). Its acropolis was very probably Paliokastro Kolokythias (*LS* ii. 306, LL204; C4e fortification), with the main settlement probably at Skopas Kotrona (large site finds including Classical to Roman, mainly late Classical and Roman; *LS* ii. 305–6, LL203). Paliokastro may have formed part of a system of coastal defence during the Corinthian War (Moschou and Moschos (1981)). The story of an Athenian *oikistes* named Teuthras (Paus. 3.25.4) could be classical. *Barr.* C.

Thornax (*Θόρναξ*) (S134) Archaic and Classical settlement with important cult of Apollo, not *polis*; e.g. Paus. 3.10.8, 11.1. Probably Laconia Survey site H45, Geladari (prehistoric and Late Archaic to Ottoman settlement and cult site, *LS* ii. 355–57; *Barr.*, tentatively and citing S134). So close to Sparta, it cannot have had a corporate existence unless it was part of the *obe* of Pitana (see Sparta (no. 345)); it may have been simply a cult site.

Trinasos (*Τρινασός*) (S135) Paus. 3.22.3 (*φρούριον* rather than *πόλις*); Ptol. *Geog.* 3.14.32 (*Τρίνασος, ἐπίνειον*). Possible Archaic and Classical settlement, not *polis*; probably at Trinisa, but there are no clear remains (*LS* ii. 296, JJ126; *Barr.* (C) following S135).

Tyros (*Τύρος*) (S101) Classical sanctuary and probable settlement. *Τύρος* (Steph. Byz. 643.5, no site-classification). The ethnic is attested in the early Hellenistic period (*Τυρῖται*, *Syll.*³ 407 = *F.Delphes* III.1 68 (275)). If Tyros was a *polis*, its *chora* would have included the major cult site of Apollo Tyritas; the cult of Apollo Tyritas is attested earlier by votives, e.g. *IG* v.1 1517 (*SEG* 11 893; late Archaic?). Cf. Hansen (1995*a*) 68. The alternative restorations of an ethnic, *T*[*υρίτης*] and *Z*[*αράχιος*], on the same block as *Syll.*³ 407 (part of the Aigos potamoi monument) would be strong evidence that one of these places was a perioikic *polis* in C5l (cf. ML 95 j–k). Admittedly, Tyros is a *κώμα Λακεδαιμονίων* in *Syll.*³ 407, but being a *kome* in C3e is not incompatible with being a *polis* then or earlier. The site is very probably the acropolis of Kastri Tyrou (formerly Lygarias; late Classical to late Roman; Roman inscriptions, coins; fortification wall including polygonal masonry; *LS* ii. 281, BB28; Phaklaris (1990) 142–45), near the cult site of Apollo Tyritas (C7–C4l; C6 temple, votives; *LS* ii. 281, BB29; Phaklaris (1990) 173–78). *Barr.* C.

Zarax (*Ζάραξ*) (S54) Possible Classical settlement. Polyb. 4.36.5 (r219); Paus. 3.21.7 (*polis*). The ethnic is *Ζάραξ* (sic), *SEG* 17 143 (with 18 146; Argos, probably C3l), also the earliest attestation of the place; later *Ζαράχιος* (*IG* v.1 931 (*c.*C2m)). A possible restoration of the Aigos potamoi monument (cf. s.v. Tyros) would make Zarax a probable

perioikic *polis* in C5l. The acropolis at Ierakas (formerly Limin Ierakos) is consistent with Pausanias' distances; its name partly preserves the ancient name. It is a fortified hill with Late Classical or Hellenistic masonry (*LS* ii. 310, NN231). For Paus. 3.24.1 it has a good harbour, but by 272 had declined more than any other future Eleutherolaconian *polis*; he clearly assumes it existed much earlier. It repulsed Lykourgos in 219 (Polyb. 4.36.5; Cartledge and Spawforth (1989) 34 suggest the fortifications postdate 274). Paus. 3.24.1 refers to a temple of Apollo, but it need not be older than 300. According to Paus. 1.38.4 the *polis* was named after the Lakedaimonian hero Zarex, who had a shrine on the Sacred Way west of Athens; this could be a Classical myth, though it recalls possible anti-Spartan inventions like the Athenian origin of Tyrtaios (Figueira (1999) 230–31). *Barr.* C.

The *Skiritis* (*Σκιρῖτις*) (S106) deserves a special word.[25] For the name of this upland territory between Sparta and Tegea (no. 297), see e.g. Thuc. 5.33.1, Xen. *Hell.* 6.5.24, *Cyr.* 4.2.1; for its extent (*c.*100 km²), see Pikoulas (1987) 127–34. The ethnic is *Σκιρίτης* (e.g. Thuc. 5.67.1). The *Skiritai* were a special corps within the Lakedaimonian army, having the privilege of occupying the left wing while the Spartans held the right. In view of their geographical location, they may have been Arkadians by descent, as they asserted in C2m (*Syll.*³ 665 = *IvO* 47; cf. Pikoulas (1987) 122). *Skiritis* was presumably not a *polis* (Bölte (1929) 1323; *contra* Niese (1906) 112 n. 2). The name *Skiritai* presumably derives from a place, however, putting it in the category of *Ortsnamen* rather than *primitive Volksnamen* (cf. Hansen (1996) 174 with refs.; the toponym [*Σ*]*κίρον* (acc.) occurs in *F.Delphes* III.4 239 (220–217)). In Classical sources it occurs only in the plural[26] and as the name of a group; in principle it could be either a city-ethnic or a (sub-)regional ethnic.[27] Which of these it was depends on whether there was an urban centre from which the name derived, and on whether the *Skiritai* were organised as a political community. The *Skiritai* may in fact have belonged, in Classical times or earlier, to a settlement of *Skiros*, as asserted by Steph. Byz. 575.7–8, who calls Skiros a *κατοικία* in Arkadia near the Mainalians and Parrhasians. One might support this with an argument from analogy: the other sub-regions of Laconia whose names have similar feminine terminations (Thyreatis, Belbinatis, Aigytis, Maleatis) were also in the north, and each contained a settlement from which its name presumably derived. On the other hand, the link with Arkadia could refer to the period after 338 when part or all of the Skiritis had probably been awarded to Tegea (no. 297) by Philip II (cf. Polyb. 9.28.7, etc.; Shipley (2000) 371). The *Skiritai* may have enjoyed perioikic status (as suggested by Pikoulas (1987) 144), but *Σκιρῖται* is nowhere used in any way that suggests a community organised into a *polis*, and there is as yet no Classical evidence for the existence of a central settlement, let alone a *polis*. At *Hell.* 5.2.24, indeed, Xenophon appears to distinguish the *Skiritai* from the *perioikoi*. *Σκιρῖται*, then, is probably a "regional ethnic" denoting the inhabitants of a region but not a *polis*. (Cf. also discussion of Aigys, *infra.*)

In addition, a few significant Archaic or Classical settlements have not been linked with known toponyms. They include the following.

2. *Unidentified Settlements*

Armakades *LS* ii. 279, AA20: upland settlement (or cult site) in Thyreatis. Not in *Barr.*

Marmaralono, Ag. Petros *LS* ii. 280, AA23: hill-top (fortified?) with late Classical to early Hellenistic settlement, controlling the route west from Thyreatis (Argive?). Not in *Barr.*

Paliochora *LS* ii. 281, BB27: settlement in fertile upland plain *c.*8 km west of ancient Tyros (*supra*). Not in *Barr.*

Keramidaki, Kamara *LS* ii. 283, CC259: C4l–second century AD settlement. Not in *Barr.*

Paizoulia, Valtaki *LS* ii. 296, JJ125: substantial Classical to Roman pottery scatter with Roman structures. Not in *Barr.*

Some of the settlements listed above, both those attested in sources and those known only from archaeological evidence, may have been *poleis* in the Classical period. Statistically, indeed, this is highly likely to have been the case: given that some of the places of whose *polis* status we can be confident are attested as *poleis* in only one or two sources, it must be a matter of chance that they and not others are so recorded. Good candidates for *polis* status are not hard to find. The cult places at Aigiai and Akriai have substantial remains, possibly indicative of full-blown settlements. Other significant Classical sites include Alesiai, Astron, Bryseai, Iasos, Messapeai and Pleiai, if their locations are correctly identified. Some of these were *poleis* in the

[25] The fundamental modern study is Pikoulas (1987).

[26] *Σκιρίτης* is used in the singular only as a ktetic: Diod. 15.32.1, *Σκιρίτης λόχος*.

[27] For these terms see Hansen (1996) esp. 174–76, 187–90.

Hellenistic period, namely Akriai (cf. S37) and possibly Asine (cf. S29) and Glyppia (cf. S96); they may simply have failed to be named in surviving sources. Helos is also possible, since Xenophon may imply *polis* status; but it seems unlikely that the Spartans recognized a *polis* whose name mirrored that of the helots. Karyai may have had a city-ethnic corresponding to the feminine form used for the well-known statue type, and may have been politically organised if it did medise in the Persian wars; if the story is true, however, it also ceased to exist thereafter. More speculatively, the Skiritis may have contained a *polis* (*supra*). If any of these places were *poleis*, they presumably had perioikic status. On the other hand, many of these settlements had only small territories, and several are described as *komai* (a category not inconsistent with *polis* status) in the Classical or Hellenistic period.[28] As with *poleis*, since no place is called a *kome* in two sources, there were probably more of them than we hear of. Such places may have been dependent upon larger perioikic centres.[29]

Thus, of 56 known Archaic and/or Classical settlements, 24 were organised as *poleis*.

II. The *Poleis*

323. Aigys (Aigyeus) Map 58. Lat. 37.15, long. 22.10. Size of territory: 1? Type: C. (S12). The toponym is *Αἶγυς*, *ἡ*, not used before Ephor. fr. 117 *apud* Strabo 8.5.4 (dat. *Αἴγυι*; *Αἴτυι* codd.); Steph. Byz. 45.1. The ethnic attested in Classical times is *Αἰγυεύς* (Theopomp. fr. 361 *apud* Steph. Byz. 45.6–7); in post-C4 sources *Αἰγύτης* (e.g. Paus. 3.2.5).

It is possible that Ephor. fr. 117 regards Aigys as a *polis* in the political and urban senses; however, he refers to legendary times, and the passage is not conclusive evidence that Aigys was a *polis* in Ephoros' day. Paus. 3.2.5 (rC8e) gives an anachronistic version of history in which Aigys, already a perioikic *polis*, was enslaved by the Lakedaimonians under Archelaos (*c.*775–*c.*760). The (external) collective use of the ethnic *Aigyeis* occurs only in Theopomp. fr. 361 *apud* Steph. Byz. 45.6–7 (*Αἰγυέας αὐτούς φησιν*), but we do not know whether he used it as a "sub-regional" ethnic or as a city-ethnic.

If Aigys existed as a named settlement from late Classical to Roman times, it was probably Tsamaina Kamaras in the south of Megalopolitan territory, which has C4l–second century AD pottery (*LS* ii. 283, CC258; Pikoulas (1982–83) 264, (1988*a*) 139–47 no. 95). Both Paus. 8.27.4 and Theopomp. fr. 361 would be consistent with Aigys existing as a named settlement only from *c.*C4l. We are left with no certain evidence that Aigys was ever a perioikic *polis*, but it was a settlement after C4m and perhaps in early times. If it was not an Archaic and Classical *polis*, then *Aigyeis* (like the later *Aigytai* and possibly like *Skiritai*) may have been a sub-regional ethnic denoting inhabitants of this area who were not politically organised.

The territory was Aigytis (e.g. Polyb. 2.54.3; *Syll.*[3] 665, post-164). Pikoulas ((1988*a*) 141, 143) identifies it as the valley of the Xerilas, ancient Karnion, on the basis of Paus. 8.34.5. Strabo 10.1.6 (citing Alkman, *PMG* 92) may be correct in calling Karystos a "place (*τόπος*) of Aigys near Arkadia" (Shipley (1997) 263 no. 103). In Strabo and Steph. Byz., Aigys belongs to *Lakonike*. Aigytis may have embraced Leuktron and perhaps Kromoi (Pikoulas (1988*a*) 143; Shipley (2000) 371–72).

324. Anthana Map 58. Lat. 37.20, long. 22.50. Size of territory: 1? Type: A. (S1). The toponym is *Ἀνθήνη*, *ἡ* (Thuc. 5.41.2; Lys. fr. 21, Sauppe). In the Doric dialect it is *Ἀνθάνα* (Steph. Byz. 95.11), which is a plausible restoration (in place of *Μέθανα*) in Ps.-Skylax 46. The city-ethnic *Ἀνθανεύς* is attested (or was invented) by Steph. Byz. 95.15.

Anthana is called a *polis* in the urban sense by Thuc. 5.41.2, and presumably by Ps.-Skylax 46 (accepting *Ἀνθάνα* for *Μέθανα*).

Thuc. 5.41.2 places Anthana (with Thyrea) in Kynouria, and says it was a Lakedaimonian possession in C5l (*νέμονται ... Λακεδαιμόνιοι*); Harp. s.v. (quoting Lys. fr. 31 for the toponym) puts it in *Lakonike*, and Ps.-Skylax (as restored, *supra*) in Lakedaimon; Paus. 2.38.6 seemingly in Thyreatis. It will have remained Spartan until 338, when Philip II assigned some Spartan territory to Argos (no. 347) (Shipley (2000) 371, 376–77); it may never have been retaken. Given that its location is disputed, the extent and borders of its territory must remain uncertain. Several possible locations have been proposed in Thyreatis, the northern part of Kynouria, the area long disputed by Sparta and Argos (cf. Thuc. 5.41.2). Tsiorovos and Nisi Agiou Andrea both have Classical to Roman pottery (Shipley (1997) 226 no. 1; cf. 230–31 no. 10; see also under Neris, *supra* 575), but Frazer (1898) iii. 309 points out that, if we read *Ἀνθάνα* in

[28] References to *komai* are assembled by Shipley (1997) 261–63. The only pre-Hellenistic reference to a *kome* is Xenophon's description of S16, Oion (*Hell.* 6.5.25). The inhabitants of S101, Tyros, described their town as a *kome* in 275. Two settlements are described as *komai* in Hellenistic sources: S22, Belbina (C1 papyrus, perhaps quoting Phylarchos) and S65, Helos (Strabo). Pausanias adds the rest: S1, Anthana; S30, Eua; S96, Glyppia; S97, Krokeai; S98, Neris; S99, Pleiai/Palaia; and S100, Selinous.

[29] On local settlement hierarchies, see Shipley (1992).

Ps.-Skylax 46, it would be a coastal place; this would rule out Tsiorovos. (On the problems of identification, see summary in Shipley (1993) 132–33.) *Barr.*'s location, "on Mt. Zavitsa", presumably derives from the possible location of Athana at Tsiorovos, a village 2 km west–south-west of the mountain (cf. Phaklaris (1990) 41 fig. 3).

According to Paus. 2.38.6, Anthana was formerly inhabited by Aiginetans; these would be the ones who in C5l also settled at nearby Thyrea with the permission of the Lakedaimonians (Thuc. 2.27.2), as Pausanias is aware (2.29.5).

Whether Anthana is Nisi Paraliou Astrous or Nisi Agiou Andrea, it was a fortified acropolis in late Classical and early Hellenistic times (for Nisi Paraliou Astrous, see Shipley *LS* ii. 277, AA6; Phaklaris (1990) 56–78; Waterhouse and Hope Simpson (1961) 131; Goester (1993) 91–93, 99; for Nisi Agiou Andrea, see Shipley *LS* ii. 279, AA19; Phaklaris (1990) 47–55; Goester (1993) 84–88, 97–98).

325. Aphroditia, Aphrodisia Unlocated. Type: C. (S83). The toponym is Ἀφροδισία, ἡ (Thuc. 4.56.1 codd.), perhaps best emended to the laconizing Ἀφροδιτία, as by Herodian (repeated by Steph. Byz. 150.24), less plausibly Ἀφροδισιάς (Paus. 3.22.11, 8.12.8; Steph. Byz. 150.17). A city-ethnic is not attested. Aphroditia's location is unknown (*LS* ii. 312–13, NN251), but was presumably in the same region as Etis and Side, the other two *poleis* from which Boia is said to have been synoecised (Paus. 3.22.11).

In Thuc. 4.56.1, Aphroditia is a coastal place with a guard-post. The only reference to it as a *polis* is Paus. 3.22.11 (retrospective but referring to legendary times), apparently in both the topographical and the personal/political senses (repeated by Steph. Byz. 150.17). Steph. Byz. 150.24 seems to infer χωρίον from Thuc. Aphroditia may still have existed in C4m or later (see Boia (no. 327)). The only reason for including it here is analogy with Side, which was, according to Paus. 3.22.11, like Aphroditia synoecised into Boia, presumably in C4s; Side is described as a *polis* (in the urban sense) by Ps.-Skylax 46 and was, then, a *polis* before the synoecism; Aphroditia may possibly have been one as well. See further Boia (no. 327), Etis (no. 330) and Side (no. 344).

The name implies a cult of Aphrodite. Paus. (3.22.11, 8.12.8) says the town was founded by Aineias. It is not attested after C4 (except in Paus. 3.22.11), and if it disappeared as a *polis* by *c.*300, both cult and legend should predate that time.

326. Belbina (Belbinetes?) Map 58. Lat. 37.15, long. 22.15. Size of territory: 1? Type: C. (S22). The toponym is Βελβίνα, ἡ (Plut. *Cleom.* 4.1 (25.1), 4.4 (25.4); Ptol. *Geog.* 3.14.43; Hsch. s.v.; restored in Phylarchos *apud P Oxy.* xv. 1801 (C1l) (*PGC* Adesp. 1043 (K/A) = fr. 343, Austin); Phylarchos is thus the earliest source. Βελεμίνα is regular in Paus.; but at 3.21.3 and 8.35.3–4 it is a sub-region, not a settlement. (At 8.27.4 Βλένινα (Teubner) is presumably a scribal error.) The city-ethnic Βελβινήτης is attested (or invented?) by Steph. Byz. 161.13. Paus. 3.21.3 locates Belemina 100 stades (18 km) beyond Pellana. The settlement was probably not on the hill of Chelmos (*LS* ii. 283, CC41); Pikoulas (1988*a*) 122 regards *Belminatis chora* or Belemina as the area around Chelmos. Possible sites for Classical Belemina/Belbina, if there was one, are Vardouka Skortsinou (C4 to Roman finds) and three less precisely dated sites near Giakoumaiika (Pikoulas (1988*a*) 120–21 nos. 75, 77). Geometric to Archaic finds in the area (Pikoulas (1988*a*) 119 no. 74, I, II) tend to push the existence of this possible *polis* back before 300.

Belbina is called a *polis* in the topographical sense by Ptol. *Geog.* 3.14.43 and Steph. Byz. 161.12, in the (urban and) political sense only by Paus. 8.27.4 (r369), in his list of *poleis* from which Megalopolis (no. 282) was founded. It is called a *kome* by Phylarchos and Hsch.

Belbina is explicitly placed in *Lakonike* by Phylarchos and by Paus. 3.21.3. The area is Βελμινᾶτις χώρα (Polyb. 2.54.3), *ager Belbinates* (Livy 38.34.8), or Βλεμινᾶτις (Strabo 8.3.12). As the territory of a *polis*, if it existed before the synoecism of Megalopolis, it will have bordered on those of its fellow Aigytian towns Leuktron and Malea to the north-west and of the Arkadian towns of Oresthasion (no. 287) to the north and Eutaia (no. 270) to the north–north-east. Athenaion, a C3l fort (Plut. *Cleom.* 4.1 (25.1)), may have been an important pre-C3 cult place.

327. Boia (Boiates) Map 58. Lat. 36.30, long. 23.04. Size of territory: 2? Type: A. (S2). The toponym is Βοΐα, ἡ (Ps.-Skylax 46); Βοία, ἡ (Strabo 8.5.2); or Βοιαί, αἱ (e.g. Polyb. 5.19.8; Paus. 1.27.5, 3.21.7, 3.22.11, etc.; second century AD grave-epigram, Forrest (1972)). The city-ethnic is Βοιάτης (e.g. Paus. 3.22.13; restored in *IG* v.1 932 (C2m); cf. *SEG* 11 894). The *polis* is located *c.*200 stades (*c.*37 km) from Epidauros Limera by Paus. 3.23.6. It lay in the Malea (Malias) peninsula, at or immediately north of Neapolis Voion (formerly Vatika; *LS* ii. 312–13, NN251; Pikoulas (1988*b*); (S2), followed by *Barr.*). Epigraphic finds (especially *IG* v.1 952, late Hellenistic) confirm the presence of a *polis* before Roman times even if they do not preserve its name.

Boia is first called a *polis*, in the urban sense, by Ps.-Skylax 46; in the political sense in *IG* v.1 932 (if correctly restored (C2m)). According to Paus. 3.22.11, Boia was founded by

Boios the Heraklid, who brought men from three *poleis*, Etis, Aphrodisia and Side; but since Aphroditia (no. 325) existed in C5l and Side (no. 344) was a *polis* in or not long before C4m, it seems that the three did not disappear early; in fact the ruins of Etis (no. 330) were still visible in the second century AD. Neither Aphroditia nor Side is attested after C4 except in Paus. 3.22.11 (retrospectively) and Steph. Byz. (derivatively). Possibly these *poleis* or settlements synoecised with an existing *polis* of Boia in the late Classical period, perhaps as a result of changes in the Spartan state following 369. See further Aphroditia (no. 325), Etis (no. 330) and Side (no. 344).

The collective and internal use of the city-ethnic occurs only on Roman coins (Head, *HN*² 433). The collective and external use occurs in *IG* v.1 932, otherwise only in literary texts such as Paus. 3.23.13.

Ps.-Skylax 46 lists Boia under *Λακεδαίμων ἔθνος*, and the *polis* can be assumed to have been perioikic (cf. Paus. 1.27.5 (r456/5): *τῶν περιοίκων Βοιάς*). The only evidence for the extent of its territory, or for cult places, is post-C4 (Paus. 3.23.2, 6). Supposing Boia to have been founded in C4m (*supra*), it certainly absorbed the territory of Etis, less than a mile away (if Paus. 3.22.13 is correctly restored).

Archaeological evidence for the Classical *polis* is so far lacking, though Paus. 3.22.13 mentions temples that could be Classical.

328. Chen (Cheneus) Unlocated. Type: C. (S13). The toponym is *Χήν*, *ὁ* (oracle *apud* Diog. Laert. 1.30, 106, whose source may be Eudoxos of Knidos, *c.*390–*c.*340; see 1.29–30). The Classically attested city-ethnic is *Χηνεύς* e.g. Pl. *Prt.* 343A, the earliest evidence for the place. Paus. 10.24.2 and Diod. 9 frr. 5–7 put Chen, birthplace of Myson (one of the seven wise men), in Thessalia, but sources cited by Diog. Laert. 1.106–7, of whom the earliest is Aristoxenos (born *c.*370), located it in Laconia or Arkadia.

Chen is called a *polis* only by Steph. Byz. 692.13; Aristox. fr. 130, Wehrli, *apud* Diog. Laert. 1.108 implicitly calls it a *κώμη*.

The C1 gravestone of a Lakedaimonian from Koroneia (*IG* VII 2936) is the only epigraphic evidence for the external use of the individual city-ethnic (in the form *Χήν*); the literary evidence comprises Plato and Eudoxos (*supra*).

329. Epidauros (Epidaurios) Map 58. Lat. 36.45, long. 23.00. Size of territory: 2? Type: A. (S3). The toponym is *Ἐπίδαυρος*, *ἡ* (Thuc. 4.56.2, 6.105.2; Ps.-Skylax 46), distinguished from its famous homonym in the Argolid by the addition of *ἡ Λιμήρα* (Thuc. 4.56.2, 6.105.2; cf. Strabo 8.6.1: *ἡ Λιμήρα Ἐπίδαυρος*, citing Artemidoros). The city-ethnic is *Ἐπιδαύριος*, restored in *IG* v.1 931.24–25 (*SEG* 11 894, 13 259 (*c.*C2m); for the attribution to Epidauros Limera see *SEG ad loc.*; J. and L. Robert, *BE* (1953) 138 no. 76), and occurs on votives from the Hyperteleaton (e.g. *IG* v.1 1005 (Hellenistic)). In a proxeny decree of one of the *poleis* of Keos (*IG* XII.5 542.22–23; Karthaia (no. 492)? (C4m)), it is [*Ἐπιδ*]*αύριος ἐκ τ*[*ῆ*]*ς Λακ*[*ωνικῆς*] (or *Λακ*[*εδαίμονος*]?).

Epidauros is called a *polis* in the urban sense by Ps.-Skylax 46 (*πόλις καὶ λιμήν*); the first references to it as a *polis* in the political sense are Hellenistic: e.g. *IG* v.1 932 (Epidauros Limera (C2m); cf. *SEG* 11 894). The proxeny decree from Keos is the only example of the external individual use of the city-ethnic.

Ps.-Skylax 46 lists the city under *Λακεδαίμων ἔθνος*; in *IG* XII.5 542.22–23 it belongs to *Λακ*[*ωνικῆς*] or *Λακ*[*εδαίμονος*]. Its territory is not directly named, but Thucydides refers to its *γῆ* being ravaged by the Athenians (4.56.2, 6.105.2; cf. 7.18.3, 7.26.2). It is presumed to have been a perioikic *polis*; in Thuc. 6.105.2 an attack upon it is an attack upon the Lakedaimonians. Its C2 boundary dispute with Zarax is recorded in *IG* v.1 931 (*supra*); in Paus. 3.23.6 its territory marches with that of Boia (no. 327).

According to Paus. 3.23.6–7, Epidauros Limera was founded by envoys from the Asklepieion of Argolic Epidauros. If true, this would imply a date after *c.*500. Pausanias records various features in the town and its territory (3.23.7–10). The fortification walls on the acropolis may be C5 in part, with an extension possibly in C4m (Lawrence (1979) 147). The fortified area enclosed *c.*3 ha; the lower town was probably much more extensive (Hasluck (1907–8) 179–82; Lawrence (1979) 146–47; *LS* ii. 310–11, NN235; Zavvou (1996–97)).

330. Etis (Eteios?) (Map 58.) Lat. *c.*36.30 (?), long. *c.*23.05. Size of territory: ? Type: C. (S84). The toponym is *Ἦτις*, *-ιδος*, *ἡ* (first in Paus. 3.22.11). The city-ethnic is *Ἠτεῖος* (Steph. Byz. 305.2), and it occurs in one of the two versions of an oracle quoted by Diog. Laert. 1.106–7, which may have a C4 or earlier origin (see Chen (no. 328)). The obscure *polis* of *Ἐταιεῖς* (Steph. Byz. 283.6–7; Shipley (1997) 266 no. 114) may be a doublet of Etis. If Etis is correctly restored in Paus. 3.22.13, it was "not more than 7 stades" (1.3 km) from Boia. A possible location is Palaiokastro Neapoleos (*LS* ii. 313, NN253), but there is no definite archaeological evidence.

Etis is called a *polis* only by Paus. 3.22.11 (retrospectively); it is here reported that Etis, with Aphroditia and Side, were synoecised into Boia, presumably in C4s (cf. no. 327); since Side is described as a *polis* (in the urban sense) by Ps.-Skylax

46, it was presumably a *polis* prior to the synoecism, and Etis may possibly have been one as well. See further Aphroditia (no. 325), Boia (no. 327) and Side (no. 344). The only possible attestation of the city-ethnic is individual and external, if it is recognized in the oracle cited *supra*.

Paus. 3.22.13 (if correctly restored) describes Etis as in ruins. It may have disappeared in C4m. If so, Pausanias' sanctuary of Asklepios and Hygieia will have been Classical.

According to Paus. 3.22.11, 8.12.8, it was founded by Aineias; if it disappeared before 300, this myth, too, may have a Classical or Archaic origin.

331. Eua (Euitas) Map 58. Lat. 37.20 (?), long. 22.40 (?). Size of territory: ? Type: C. (S30). The toponym is *Εὔα*, *ἡ* (Theopomp. fr. 60, if this refers to Eua in Thyreatis (Nielsen (1996*a*) 44, (2002) 106–7); again at Paus. 2.38.6).

A city-ethnic may be attested as early as *c.*500 in the form *Εὐϝαος* (*SEG* 35 378 (ML 17, *Syll.*³ 9, *LSAG* 220 no. 6, *IvO* 9 (*c.*500)), assuming it refers to this place (see Dubois (1985); *contra* Morgan (1999) 414, 450–51 n. 212; see now also Roy and Schofield (1999) suggesting that the inscription refers to an otherwise unknown community of the Ewaoioi (no. 253) in the wider region of Elis)). Other forms occur once each: *Εὐίτας* (*SEG* 13 267, from Phonemenoi (C4)); *Εὐάτης*, on a Hellenistic stamped tile (*SEG* 30 377; cf. 35 287, 39 367) from Anemomylos Ellinikou; *Εὐαεύς*, on a coin of Eua when a member of the Achaean League (*BCH* 39 (1915) 118). Hill (1917) notes an Achaean League hemidrachm with the legend *ΕΥ* (cf. Nielsen (1996*b*) 119–20; *SEG* 35 287); Phaklaris (1990) 103–4 doubts that the coin belongs to Eua. *Εὐαῖος* (Steph. Byz. 283.13) may be an invention.

Eua is probably Elliniko, a settlement with Geometric to Roman finds near Anemomylos, the findspot of *SEG* 30 377. Anemomylos, a Classical to Roman cult site, is possibly the sanctuary of Asklepios, of whom a statuette was found. Less plausibly, Eua could be the nearby site now renamed Eva (near Moni Loukous) with the excavated villa of Herodes Atticus and a cult of Asklepios (so Phaklaris (1990) 78–90, 96–104, 185–92); but Eva is mainly Roman, and for Pritchett not a nucleated settlement ((1965–91) vi. 87–89). (See also *LS* ii. 277, AA5 Eva, Moni Loukous; 278, AA10 Anemomylos, Elliniko; 278, AA13 Elliniko; Goester (1993) 81–84, 100–6).

It is possible that Eua was called a *polis* by Theopomp. fr. 60, but there is no certainty that Steph. Byz. (the source of the fragment) is not adding his own gloss. The city-ethnic is used individually and presumably internally on the C4 gravestone from Phonemenoi (*SEG* 13 267), and this is the primary reason for its inclusion here (cf. Hansen (1996)). The Hellenistic stamped tile cited above preserves a collective internal use, as does the Achaean League coin. The city-ethnic is used collectively and externally in the Eleian treaty of *c.*500, if it refers to Eua (see *supra*).

Pausanias appears to place Eua in Thyreatis. It will have been Spartan between C6m and C4m (Shipley (2000) 377). It was later a member of the Achaean Confederacy (*BCH* 39 (1915) 118). The extent and borders of Eua's territory are uncertain, but it will have included the important cult site of Asklepios at modern Eva, which may have had a late Classical origin. If the ethnics all refer to the same place, and it is Elliniko, it has a long life, though the archaeological evidence suggests late Classical and Hellenistic decline. The nearby sanctuary, however, may have continued to flourish. The Hellenistic stamped tile is evidence of the capacity to take a communal decision about a building project, perhaps at the nearby sanctuary. Elliniko also has fortification walls (Phaklaris (1990) 78–90, esp. 80–81).

332. Geronthrai (Geronthretes) Map 58. Lat. 36.60, long. 22.45. Size of territory: 2? Type: C. (S41). The toponym is *Γερόνθραι*, *αἱ* (e.g. Paus. 3.21.7, but MSS also have *Γεράνθραι* (e.g. Paus. 3.2.6, repeated by Steph. Byz. 203.13)); *Γερένθραι* occurs later (Hierocl. *Synecd.* 647.9, second half of sixth century AD)). The city-ethnic is *Γερονθρήτης* (*IG* v.1 1111; cf. *SEG* 11 911+ (C2s), the earliest attestation of the place); Doricised as *Γερονθράτας* (*IG* v.1 1113 (Hellenistic); *Γερανθράτης* (Paus. 3.2.6; Steph. Byz. 203.14).

Geronthrai is first called a *polis* in the political sense in *IG* v.1 1111 (C2s). Paus. 3.2.6 (rC8m) says it was a perioikic *polis* when captured by King Teleklos (*c.*760–740) (Cartledge (1979) 109), but this cannot be relied upon. If the name lists *IG* v.1 1133–34 (*infra*) are public records of athletic victories by people (citizens) of Geronthrai (Hodkinson (1999) 156–57), then it was possibly a *polis* by *c.*500. Decrees of the *polis* use the city-ethnic collectively and internally; see *IG* v.1 1111, 1113 (both Hellenistic). Externally it is used collectively by Paus. 3.2.6.

According to Pausanias, the Dorians of Lakedaimon under Teleklos replaced the Achaian population of the pre-Heraklid settlement with *ἐποίκους* from among their own number (3.22.6, cf. 3.2.6). The probable Archaic and Classical *polis* was presumably perioikic. It was probably lost to Sparta in 195 (Shipley (2000) 379–80). Archaeological and epigraphic finds, especially the name lists *IG* v.1 1133–34 (*c.*500; *LSAG* 201 no. 46, *SEG* 11 918) and the victory stele, *IG* v.1 1120 (C5; *SEG* 17 189+), found on the acropolis, make the

existence of an important Archaic and Classical settlement a virtual certainty. In the Hellenistic period the city granted proxenies with various combinations of rights (*IG* v.1 1110–13).

Two sepulchral inscriptions commemorating men fallen in battle (ἐμ πολέμοι) may provide evidence of Geronthriate military forces (*IG* v.1 1124 (= *SEG* 11 915, 33 313; *LSAG* 202 no. 60 (C5s)) and 1125 (= *SEG* 11 916, 33 313; *LSAG* 201 no. 58 (C4e)); see Hodkinson (2000) 250–54.

Paus. 3.22.7 names a temple of Apollo on the acropolis; Archaic and Classical sculptures may derive from it (Wace and Hasluck (1904–5); Wace (1904–5); de Waele (1997) 77–81). Excavations have confirmed the existence of a Hellenistic circuit wall and of Classical and Hellenistic buildings, abandoned in C3l (Crouwel *et al.* (1995) 47–52, (1996) 90–98, (1997) esp. 58–60, 63–65, 70, 72, (1999) 24, 25–33).

IG v.1 1120 (C5) lists athletic victories, but the name and location of the festival are missing. Pausanias and Hellenistic votives testify to cults, but none need be early other than the temple of Apollo destroyed by fire (Paus. 3.22.7); probable capitals and votives from it have been found, as well as Archaic to Classical votive pottery, relief sculptures, and architectural fragments (Crouwel *et al.* (1995), (1996), (1997); Wace and Hasluck (1904–5)). *IG* v.1 1113 (Hellenistic) refers to the sanctuary of Apollo. *IG* v.1 1118 is a C3l/C2 votive relief to Eleusia (i.e. Demeter); her cult may have existed earlier.

333. Gytheion (Gytheates) Map 58. Lat. 36.5, long. 22.35. Size of territory: 2? Type: B (but see *infra*). (S23). The toponym is Γύθειον, τό (Xen. *Hell.* 1.4.11; Ps.-Skylax 46; Strabo 8.5.2), later also Γύθιον (Strabo 8.3.12; Paus. 1.27.5); once Γύθυον (Jalabert (1904) 8–9, no. 5, Sidon (C2)). The city-ethnic is Γυθεάτης, first in *IG* v.1 1165 (C2s) and usually thus in Hellenistic and Roman texts, also coins (Head, *HN*² 433–34); once Γυθειάτης (*IG* v.1 1111 (*SEG* 11 911 (C2s))).

No Archaic or Classical source explicitly calls Gytheion a *polis*, but is seems very likely that Xen. *Hell.* 6.5.32 thinks of it as a *polis* in the urban sense: καὶ τὰς μὲν ἀτειχίστους τῶν πόλεων ἐνεπίμπρασαν, Γυθείῳ δέ, ἐνθὰ τὰ νεώρια τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἦν, καὶ προσέβαλλον τρεῖς ἡμέρας; it is explicitly called a *polis* (in the urban sense) by Diod. 11.84.6 (r456) only. The only individual internal use of the city-ethnic is *IG* v.1 1176 (Imperial date). The only individual external use is *IG* v.1 1111 (C2s); in Jalabert (1904) 8–9, no. 5 (*supra*) the fuller specification Λακεδαιμόνιος ἀπὸ Γυθύου is used. The city-ethnic is used collectively and internally in *IG* v.1 1165 (C2s) and on Roman coins; externally in *IG* v.1 1147 (*SEG* 15 222+, *c.*AD 122–135).

Gytheion is placed in Lakedaimon by Ps.-Skylax 46; implicitly in *Lakonike* by Diod. 11.84.6 (r456). Tolmides ravaged its *chora* in 456 (Diod. 11.84.6). Paus. 3.21.6 locates Gytheion 30 stades (5.5 km) from Aigiai, on the sea, and about the same distance from Trinasos (3.22.3). Epigraphic and archaeological finds confirm the site as the modern town of Gytheio (formerly Marathonisi). The city was evidently fortified in 370–369 (Xen. *Hell.* 6.5.32, quoted *supra*; Ps.-Skylax 46: τεῖχος). Archaeological finds, however, begin in the Archaic period. *SEG* 11 926 (C5) is a bronze goat dedicated to Apollo—ineios (Karneios?). Nearby, rock-cut cult inscriptions have been found: *IG* v.1 1154 (*SEG* 11 927 (C5)) is to Zeus Terastios; *IG* v.1 1155 (*SEG* 11 928, 15 223 (*c.*C5)) may relate to Zeus Kappotas (Paus. 3.22.1); *IG* v.1 1153 is a Classical (?) relief to the Eleusinian goddess. For Hellenistic cults of the *polis*, see e.g. *IG* v.1 1152 (C2), 1144 (C2/C1e). Rescue archaeology has brought to light Hellenistic structures and many more of Roman date (*AR* 26 (1979–80) 32; 35 (1988–89) 31; Roman at *AR* 38 (1990–91) 27 and earlier). See generally Giannakopoulos (1987); *LS* ii. 296–97, JJ218+.

Gytheion served the Lakedaimonians as naval base: Diod. 11.84.6 (r456) refers to it as an ἐπίνειον where there are νεώρια (similarly Paus. 1.27.5; Cic. *Off.* 3.11.49 (rC5e)). For other references to the Spartan dockyards here, see e.g. Thuc. 1.108.5 (not naming Gytheion); Xen. *Hell.* 1.4.11. Ps.-Skylax 46 adds a fort. Falkner (1994) argues that Gytheion developed into a naval base only in C5l. For Roman-period ship sheds, see Scoufopoulos and McKernan (1975).

334. Kromnos (Kromnites) Map 58. Lat. 37.20, long. 22.05. Size of territory: 1? Type: C. (S25). The toponym is Κρῶμνος, ὁ, first in Xen. *Hell.* 7.4.20, 26; used alongside Κρώμνα or Κρῶμνα, ἡ, by Kallisthenes (*FGrHist* 124) fr. 13 *apud* Ath. 452AB (cf. Steph. Byz. 388.3–7; Suda s.v.); Κρῶμοι, οἱ, e.g. Paus. 8.3.4, 27.4 (r371). The possible city-ethnic Κρωμνίτης occurs in *IG* II² 9094 (365–340), and in *SEG* 22 219 (Corinth, 325–280); but both could belong to Paphlagonian Kromna (no. 723) (cf. Steph. Byz. 388.4–5), though it seems much more likely that in particular *SEG* 22 219, found at Corinth, refers to the Kromna which was a subordinate settlement of Corinth (no. 227).

Kromnos is called a *polichnion* in the urban sense by Kallisthenes (*FGrHist* 124) fr. 13 *apud* Ath. 452AB, if the words in question are not added by Athenaios. It is called a *polis*, apparently in the urban and political senses, by Paus.

8.27.4 (r371). *IG* II² 9094 and *SEG* 22 219, if they belong to this Kromnos (*supra*), both attest the external individual use of the city-ethnic.

The town probably lay at Martiakos Paradision (Classical to early Hellenistic pottery: Pikoulas (1988*a*) 161–64 no. 121; Roy *et al.* (1992) 190–93; *Barr.*). Accepting the Niese–Pikoulas emendation of Paus. 8.27.4 (Niese (1899) 540 n. 1; Pikoulas (1987) 137, 148), it belonged to Aigytis and/or Skiritis in his day or earlier. It was temporarily recaptured from the Arkadians in 365 (Xen. *Hell.* 7.4.20, 27) by Archidamos, who left a garrison (*φρούρα*) there. Now or earlier, the town was synoecised into Megalopolis (no. 282) (Paus. 8.27.4); it was ruined but "not quite vanished" in Pausanias' day (8.34.6). The pottery (C5m–C4) suggests a Classical foundation (Pikoulas (1988*a*) 161–64; *AR* 29 (1982–83) 28–29; *BCH* 107 (1983) 764–67), possibly by Lakedaimonians. The finds are consistent with abandonment during or after C4.

The story that the town was named after Krom(n)os, son of Lykaon (Paus. 8.3.4 with Steph. Byz. 388.7) could be a Classical myth (Roy (1968)).

335. Kyphanta (Kyphantaseus) Map 58. Lat. 37.00, long. 23.00. Size of territory: 1? Type: B. (S14). The toponym is *Κύφαντα, τά* (Polyb. 4.36.5; Paus. 3.24.2); *Κύφας, ὁ*, is found in Hdn. III.1 57.16. The city-ethnic is *Κυφαντασής*, restored with certainty in *IG* XII.5 542.21 (Karthaia (no. 492)? (C4m)), the earliest evidence for the place.

It is called a *polis* only by Ptol. *Geog.* 3.14.43 (urban sense); however, the appearance of one of its citizens in a catalogue of *proxenoi* from Keos (*IG* XII.5 542.21, Karthaia (no. 492)? (C4m)) proves that it was a polity already in the Classical period.

Pausanias implicitly places Kyphanta in *Lakonike* (named at e.g. 3.23.11). Its territory perhaps marched with that of Prasiai (no. 342), since Pausanias gives the distance from Prasiai to Kyphanta (3.24.3): Kyphanta is *c.*100 stades (*c.*18 km) from Zarax and *c.*10 stades (*c.*1.8 km) inland (3.24.2); 200 stades (37 km) from Prasiai by sea (3.24.3). It was probably at Kyparissi (ancient fort with polygonal masonry, presumably late Classical or Hellenistic; *LS* ii. 282–83, BB38). It was ruined in Pausanias' day (3.24.2); if correctly identified, the archaeology points to occupation into Roman times (Wace and Hasluck (1908–9) 173–74; Hood (1956) 12).

336. Kythera (Kytherios) Map 58. Lat. 36.15, long. 23.05. Size of territory: 4 (262 km²). Type: A. (S4). The island (called *Κύθηρα* at Hdt. 7.235.2 and *ἡ Κυθηρίη νῆσος* at 1.82.2) and the town were homonymous, so the toponym was *Κύθηρα, τά* (Ps.-Skylax 46: *νῆσος καὶ πόλις*). The city-ethnic is *Κυθήριος* (Thuc. 4.54.1, the earliest evidence for the town; *IG* II² 9110, C4e).

Kythera is called a *polis* in the urban sense by Ps.-Skylax 46. There are many references to a *πόλις τῶν Κυθηρίων* in the urban sense (e.g. Thuc. 4.54.1 and Xen. *Hell.* 4.8.8), but it appears that no source uses *polis* in the political sense about the community, surely by coincidence. Its *politeia* was the subject of an Aristotelian treatise (Heracl. Lemb. 54; Arist. no. 88, Gigon).

The external individual use of the city-ethnic is found in Ephor. fr. 2 (*apud* Ath. 352C) and *IG* II² 9110 (C4e); the external collective use occurs in Thuc. 4.54.1, 2; Xen. *Hell.* 4.8.8; RO 96.48, 52 (Kyrene, 330–326), a record of grain donations by Kyrene (no. 1028) to the *Kytherioi* amounting to 8,100 *medimnoi*.

Ps.-Skylax 46 places Kythera in Lakedaimon. Thuc. 4.53.2 and perhaps 7.26.2 seem to imply that *Lakonike* does not include Kythera, though usually it includes all places under Spartan control; at 4.53.2 he locates Kythera the island opposite *Lakonike* (*ἐπίκειται ... τῇ Λακωνικῇ*). The territory of the *polis* is *ἡ Κυθηρία* (Xen. *Hell.* 4.8.7). Its inhabitants are Lakedaimonians and *perioikoi*, but used (in C5l?) to be administered by a magistrate called the *kytherodikes* and were garrisoned (Thuc. 4.53.2). According to Hdt. 1.82.2, the island had been taken from the Argives prior to C6m. For the strategic importance of the island to Sparta (no. 345), see Hdt. 7.235.2.

The *polis* was on the homonymous island, *c.*10 stades (*c.*1.8 km) inland (Paus. 3.23.1) at Palaiokastro (Huxley (1972) 38–39; Cartledge (1979) 122). Xen. *Hell.* 4.8.8 mentions the fortification walls of the *polis*; cf. Huxley (1972) 38–39. The second settlement on the island was (*ἡ*) *Σκάνδεια* (*KlPauly* v. 221; *RE* iiiA. 438), probably at Palaiopolis Kastriou; post-Bronze Age archaeological evidence begins in C6 (Huxley (1972) 34). Skandeia, the *epineion* of Kythera according to Paus. 3.23.1, is called *ἡ ἐπὶ θάλασσῃ πόλις* at Thuc. 4.54.1 (to be contrasted with *ἡ ἄνω πόλις*, i.e. Kythera town itself, at 4.52.2) and *τὸ ἐπὶ τῷ λιμένι πόλισμα* at 4.54.4; it is apparently thought of as *a part* of Kythera town and not as a *polis* in its own right (Hansen (1995*b*) 43–44; Shipley (1997) 227–28; see also the note by Hansen in *CPCActs* 4: 173–75). Hdt. 1.105.3 mentions the famous sanctuary of Aphrodite, which was at Palaiokastro (Waterhouse and Hope Simpson (1961) 148ff; alternative location: Huxley (1972) 35 with fig. 6, pl. 4). (The island was the mythical place of arrival of the goddess (Hes. *Theog.* 198).) For lead sling-bullets found on Kythera, on the island of Antikythera, and

in its main town of Aigilia (fortified in C5), see *IG* v.1 951. On Antikythera/Aigilia, see further *supra* 573.

In 424, the Athenians with allies attacked Kythera (Thuc. 4.53.1), captured Skandeia (54.1), and defeated the Kytherians in battle outside the city (54.2); there had already been contact between the Athenians and some of the Kytherians before the attack (54.3), and soon after the battle an agreement was reached (54.4, *ξύμβασις*): the Athenians took over Skandeia and placed a garrison in the city of Kythera (ibid.). A little later, the Kytherians were enrolled in the Delian League on the conditions *οἰκοῦντας τὴν ἑαυτῶν φόρον τέσσαρα τάλαντα φέρειν* (Thuc. 4.57.4); they are not, however, named in the extant tribute quota lists. The Athenian–Spartan treaty in Thuc. 4.118.4 stipulates that the Athenians on Kythera are not to have dealings with Peloponnesian League members (*μὴ ἐπιμισγομένους ἐς τὴν ξυμμαχίαν*). The Peace of Nikias stipulated that the Athenians restore Kythera to the Lakedaimonians (Thuc. 5.18.7); however, Kytherian forces joined the Athenians in the attack on Syracuse (Thuc. 7.57.6), so "it had evidently not been evacuated by 413" (*HCT* IV: 399 *ad* 7.26.2). In 393, Pharnabazos landed on Kythera; *οἱ ἔχοντες τὴν πόλιν τῶν Κυθηρίων* left the fortifications and were sent *hypospondoi* to *Lakonike*, whereupon Pharnabazos had the *teichos* repaired and left a garrison and the Athenian Nikophemos as harmost (Xen. *Hell.* 4.8.8).

According to Thuc. 7.57.6 the Kytherians were Dorians and colonists (*ἄποικοι*) of the Lakedaimonians. They had the capacity to organise themselves militarily during the Peloponnesian War (Thuc. 4.54.1, cf. 7.57.6).

IG v.1 937 (*SEG* 11 896 (C4)) is a dedication to the *Tyndaridai* by an *ἁρμοστήρ*, perhaps the Spartan *Kytherodikes* (Cartledge (1979) 244) or possibly an Athenian commander (cf. Xen. *Hell.* 4.8.8; MacDowell (1986) 30).

337. Las (Laos) Map 58. Lat. 36.40, long. 22.30. Size of territory: 1? Type: A. (S5). The toponym is *Λᾶς*, *ὁ* (Ps.-Skylax 46); alternatively *Λᾶ*, *ἡ* (Thuc. 8.91.2, 92.3). Steph. Byz. 404.5 lists the feminine, but comments (6–7) *λέγεται καὶ ἀρσενικῶς*. Sometimes it is unclear which is being declined: e.g. at Hom. *Il.* 2.585, the earliest mention. The city-ethnic *Λᾶος* in Steph. Byz. 404.9 is confirmed by coins of AD 193–211 (Head, *HN*² 436) and *Horos* 10–12 (1992–98) 564 (Hadrianic).

Las is called a *polis* in the urban sense by Ps.-Skylax 46 (*πόλις καὶ λιμήν*).

Paus. at 3.24.6 locates Las 40 stades (7 km) "right" (i.e. west) of Gytheion (no. 333) and 10 stades (1.8 km) from the sea; at 3.24.8 it is *c.*30 stades (*c.*5.5 km) from Hypsoi, which is at the edge of Spartan territory. It was probably near Chosiari, on the hill with the Frankish castle of Passava (so *Barr.*, following S5); in the land beneath the acropolis, Classical finds have been noted (*LS* ii. 300, LL153; Giannakopoulos (1987) 52–54 and 51 fig. 12 notes Archaic finds from Chosiari).

Las is explicitly assigned to *Lakonike* by Thuc. 8.91.2. Its territory would have been bounded on the east by that of Gytheion (cf. Paus. 3.24.6), on the west by that of Pyrrhichos (3.25.2). Paus. 3.24.7 refers to the spring of Galako, which presumably existed earlier; his sanctuaries of Asklepios and Artemis Daphnaia at Hypsoi (3.24.8), and of Diktynna Artemis on a cape (3.24.9), need not be Classical, but the tomb of the hero Las at nearby Arainos (3.24.10) is more likely to be.

The acropolis has produced Protogeometric to Roman finds, including a late Archaic or early Classical votive stele (*IG* v.1 1217). Paus. 3.24.6 says that the city was formerly on the summit of Asia, where the ruins of the old city and its fortification walls were situated. A stretch of polygonal walling has been found (Forster (1906–7) 232–34; cf. Traquair (1905–6) 262 fig. 3), suggesting that Passava is Mt. Asia.

On the acropolis was Pausanias' ruined temple of Athena Asia (3.24.7); it could be Classical, as could his "ancient" statue of Hermes (ibid.). His temples of Dionysos and of Asklepios on Mt. Ilion, and of Apollo Karneios by Knakadion, need not be old, though Apollo Karneios is a classic cult of Laconia. His story of the oecist Las, buried at Arainos (3.24.10), may have a Classical origin.

According to Ephor. fr. 117 *apud* Strabo 8.5.4, Las was *eulimenos*, and Ps.-Skylax mentions a *limen*; Thuc. 8.91.2, 92.3, mentions naval activities at, presumably, this harbour. The harbour of Las was probably at Vathy Bay, where there are Roman remains (Forster (1906–7) 233). This is supported by the location of the tomb of the founding hero, Las, on the promontory of Arainos (Paus. 3.24.10), probably modern Ageranos on the south side of Vathy Bay (Waterhouse and Hope Simpson (1961) 118 n. 28).

338. Oinous (Woinountios) Unlocated. Type: B. (S15). The toponym is *Οἰνοῦς*, *ὁ*, Androtion (*FGrHist* 324) fr. 49 *apud* Steph. Byz. 486.9; Ath. 31CD. The city-ethnic is *Ϝοινόντιος* on the bronze plaque *SEG* 13 239 (*LSAG* 169 no. 22; *BCH* 77 (1953) 395ff; Argos, *c.*475?), the earliest evidence for Oinous and the only attestation of the city-ethnic (an external, individual use) apart from Steph. Byz. 486.10, *Οἰνούντιος*.

Androtion (*FGrHist* 324) fr. 49 *apud* Steph. Byz. 486.9 calls Oinous a *πολίχνιον*, if accurately cited by Steph. Byz. (the unusual noun and the use of *ὡς* may make this more likely). Ath. 31CD makes it a *χωρίον* near Pitane, but may be drawing an inference from Alkman. Oinous is ascribed to *Lakonike* by Steph. Byz. 486.9–10; doubtless it lay in the valley of the river Oinous (Ptol. *Geog.* 2.65.7ff, 66.7.; Livy 34.28.1), the modern Kelephina.

The attestation of a C5e proxeny decree of Argos (no. 347) in favour of a citizen of Oinous (*SEG* 13 239; *LSAG* 169 no. 22; *BCH* 77 (1953) 395ff: *Ἁλιαίαι ἔδοξξε πρόξενον ἐμεν Γνόσσταν τὸν Ϝοινόντιον τοῖς Ἀργείοις*) is a salutary reminder of the paucity of our evidence and the likelihood that a significant number of Classical perioikic *poleis* simply fail to be named in our written sources.

339. Oios (Oiates) Map 58. Lat. 37.20 (?), long. 22.25. Size of territory: 1 (2?). Type: C? (S16). The toponym is *Οἰός*, *ὁ* (Aesch. *Mysoi* fr. 416, the earliest mention, but preserved only by Steph. Byz. 487.5); *Οἰῷ* (dat.) at Xen. *Hell.* 6.4.24 and *Οἰόν* (acc.) at 6.5.25 could be masculine or neuter; the assumption that the nominative is *τὸ Οἰόν* may have no foundation other than similarity with the Attic deme. At Paus. 8.27.4, however, *Οἰόν* (nom.) is a likelier emendation than *Οἰός* (Pikoulas (1987) 137, 148, (1988*a*) 145 n. 445, 239, following Niese (1899) 540 n. 1). The city-ethnic is *Οἰάτης* (Xen. *Hell.* 6.5.26). (Paus. 8.45.1 refers to *Οἰᾶται*, a *δῆμος* of Tegea (no. 297) in early times; it may refer to the same place.)

Attestations of Oios as a *polis* are only post-C4 and implicit. Paus. 8.27.4 (r371) may combine the topographical and political senses.

The only attested collective external use of the ethnic is at Xen. *Hell.* 6.5.26, where he calls it a *κώμη* (Hansen (1995*a*) 74).

At *Hell.* 6.5.24 Xenophon assigns Oios to *Lakonike*; at 6.5.24, 25, specifically to Skiritis. It is the only settlement explicitly included in Skiritis in any source (Pikoulas (1987) 135). In Paus. 8.27.4 (r371), if correctly read, Oion is an Aigytian and/or Skiritan *polis*; but Skiritis had probably been subsumed under Aigytis by then.

Oios was possibly at Ai-Gianni Kerasias (Kerasia was formerly Arvanitokerasia; Loring (1895) 60 and n. 141; Pikoulas (1987) 135–37 and n. 35; cf. (1988*a*) 239 no. 1) where Romaios identified a sanctuary of Demeter (*PAE* 1907: 121); unauthorized excavation later revealed a large building. Xen. *Hell.* 6.5.26 mentions that attacking Arkadians went up on to the roofs of houses (*ἐπὶ τῶν οἰκιῶν*). (See also *LS* ii. 283, DD43.) If correctly identified, Oios may have existed only in the Classical period.

340. Oitylos (Oitylios?)/**Beitylos** (Beityleus) Map 58. Lat. 36.40, long. 22.25. Size of territory: 1 (2?). Type: C. (S6). The toponym is *Οἴτυλος*, *ὁ*, first in *Il.* 2.585; Pherekydes (*FGrHist* 3) fr. 168; Paus. 3.21.7, etc.; but **Βείτυλος* is implied by the earliest epigraphic attestations of the city-ethnic, in Hellenistic and Roman inscriptions. Strabo 8.4.4 gives *Βαίτυλος* as an alternative, perhaps an error for *Βείτυλος*; cf. *Βίτυλα*, Ptol. *Geog.* 3.14.43. The city-ethnic *Οἰτύλιος* given by Steph. Byz. 487.17 is perhaps purely inferential. The few genuine attestations, all post-C4, are of *Βειτυλεύς*, e.g. *IG* v.1 935 (Kythera, C2).

Oitylos is called a *polis* in the topographical sense by Pherekydes (*FGrHist* 3) fr. 168 using the unusual expression "the *polis* in Sparta"; but as he is writing about mythological material, and as this usage is unparalleled, it does not amount to reliable evidence of *polis* status (cf. Hansen and Nielsen (2000) 148–49).

Paus. locates Oitylos 150 stades (27 km) from Hippola (3.25.10) and *c.*80 stades (*c.*15 km) from Thalamai (3.26.1). It is near modern Oitylo (formerly Vitylo). Architectural fragments found in churches could be from the ancient *polis*; part of a possible cult building has been uncovered, and a possible defensive wall (*AR* (4) (1957) 10; *LS* ii. 300–1, LL154; Waterhouse and Hope Simpson (1961) 121). Pausanias' *xoanon* of Karneian Apollo in the agora may be old. The archaeological evidence to date is too imprecise to confirm that Oitylos was a Classical *polis*, though that remains a possibility.

341. Pellana (Pellaneus) Map 58. Lat. 37.10, long. 22.20. Size of territory: 1 (2?). Type: B. (S17). The Doric form of the toponym is *Πελλάνα*, *ἡ*, as in Pausanias' citation (3.26.2) of Alkman (fr. 23, Page). In earlier sources the name is *Πελλήνη*, *ἡ*: e.g. Xen. *Hell.* 7.5.9. In Strabo 8.4.5 (*Πέλαννα*, *Πέλανα* codd.) and 8.7.5, however, it is neuter plural: *Πέλλανα*, *τά*. The city-ethnic is *Πελλανεύς* or *Πελληνεύς*; either can be restored in *IG* XII.5 542.20 (Karthaia (no. 492)? (C4m)). *Πελληνεύς* occurs at Polyb. 18.17.1.

Pellana is called a *polis* only retrospectively, by Diod. 15.67.2 *bis* (r369/8) (*Παλλίνην*, *Παλλήνην* codd.), using *polis* in both the topographical and the political senses. Polyb. 4.81.7 makes it part of a *τρίπολις*, implying that it is itself a *polis*. For Paus. 3.21.2 Pellana was a *polis* "of old". The only Classical attestation of the city-ethnic is individual and external, in *IG* XII.5 542.20–1 (Karthaia (no. 492)? (C4m)), which lists a man of Pellana as *proxenos* of the issuing *polis* and provides confirmation that it was a polity in C4m. A C4l sepulchral inscription commemorating a man fallen in

battle (ἐν πολέμοι) may provide evidence of Pellanian military forces (Zavvou (1999) 65–66 no. 6); see Hodkinson (2000) 250–54.

Pellana belongs to *Lakonike* (or Lakedaimon?) in *IG* XII.5 542; to *Lakonike* in Diod. 15.67.2 (r369/8); it is a Λακωνικὸν χωρίον in Strabo 8.7.5. Polyb. 4.81.7 refers to τὴν ἐν τῇ τριπόλει . . . Πελλήνην, possibly referring to Aigys (no. 323), Belbina (no. 326) and Pellana (no. 341) with their *chorai* (cf. perhaps the *tripolim* bordering on Megalopolitan territory in Livy 35.27.10). In Diod. 15.67.2 (r369/8) it has a χώρα that is ravaged by the Arkadians. It was 100 stades (18 km) from Belemina (Paus. 3.21.3), and more than *c.*50 stades (*c.*9 km) from Sparta (3.20.10 with 3.21.1). It is probably Palaiokastro Pellanas and/or Spilies Pellanas (major prehistoric site with Hellenistic (?) and Roman (?) finds). (*LS* ii. 288, GG69; ibid. GG264; cf. Spyropoulos (1998) and Pikoulas (1999)).

Pausanias' sanctuary of Asklepios (3.21.2) may be late Classical or post-C4. According to Paus. 3.21.2 (cf. 3.1.4) it was founded by Tyndareos; this could well be a pre-Hellenistic legend.

342. Prasiai (Brasiates) Map 58. Lat. 37.10, long. 22.55. Size of territory: 2? Type: A. (S7). The toponym is Πρασιαί, αἱ, first in Ar. *Pax* 242; Thuc. 2.56.6, 6.105.2; Xen. *Hell.* 7.2.2–3; Πρασία (Ps.-Skylax 46); Βρασιαί (e.g. Paus. 3.21.7). According to Paus. 3.24.4 its name was Ὀρειᾶται before the Lakedaimonians took it over; an archaizing or poetic form of that name, Ὀρειοί, appears in the grave epigram *IG* v.1 723 (*SEG* 11 864.3 (C3f or possibly C4s)). The city-ethnic is Βρασιάτης (e.g. Paus. 3.24.4; Steph. Byz. 184.10) and Πρασιεύς (Strabo 8.6.14; Steph. Byz. 534.17).

Prasiai is called a *polis (kai limen)* at Ps.-Skylax 46, using *polis* in the urban sense; Thuc. 2.56.6 twice calls it a πόλισμα (cf. Flensted-Jensen (1995) 129–31; Hansen (1998) 21, 25), once adding ἐπιθαλάσσιον. If *IG* v.1 723 (*supra*) refers to it, it is here called *patris*.

The territory is termed γῆ by Thuc. 2.56.6. The C7–C5 sanctuary of Apollo Tyritas at the *kome* of Tyros (11 km north of Plaka), and that of Apollo Maleatas at Kosmas in Mt. Parnon, may both have lain in the territory of Prasiai (unless Tyros was a *polis*). Thuc. 2.54.6 assigns Prasiai to *Lakonike*, Ps.-Skylax 46 to Lakedaimon. It also belonged to Kynouria (as indicated by the extent of this area), periodically disputed between Sparta and Argos (Thuc. 5.14.4, 41.2). By C3l it was Argive again (Polyb. 4.36.5; Shipley (2000) 378). Strabo 8.6.2 locates it on the Ἀργολικὸς κόλπος; Pausanias calls the area *Lakonike* (e.g. 3.23.11).

According to Strabo 8.6.14, Prasiai was one of seven cities in the Kalaureian Amphiktyony, the Lakedaimonians paying their dues on their behalf (presumably after they captured Kynouria in C6m). This perhaps preserves a non-Lakedaimonian ethnic categorization of Prasiai (*OCD*³ 273).

In 430, Prasiai was captured and plundered by the Athenians who also ravaged its territory (Thuc. 2.56.6; cf. Ar. *Pax* 242); it was raided by Athenian forces twice again later (Thuc. 6.105.2, 7.18.3). In 366, Peloponnesian League troops assembled at Prasiai (Xen. *Hell.* 7.2.2–3).

Prasiai was 200 stades (37 km) by sea from Kyphanta (no. 335) (Paus. 3.24.3). The town was at Paralia Leonidiou, with an acropolis at Plaka, south of Leonidi, where ancient remains have been found; there has been no systematic investigation of the area. Finds from *c.*C7l to Roman are evidence of a nucleated settlement. There are ancient towers and foundations on the acropolis hill between the two harbours (*LS* ii. 282, BB33; Phaklaris (1990) 129–37). We have no Classical evidence of cults, but Paus. 3.10.7 names Ino and Dionysos, sanctuaries of Asklepios and Achilles which may be Classical, and a headland cult with small statues. Paus. 3.24.3–4 gives the story of Semele and the baby Dionysos in explanation of the name of the *polis*; this may have had a Classical origin.

343. Sellasia (Sellasieus?) Map 58. Lat. 37.10, long. 22.30. Size of territory: 1 (2?). Type: B. (S28). The toponym is Σελλασία, ἡ, first at Xen. *Hell.* 2.2.13, etc., unless we read Σελλασίην at Hdt. 6.74.1. Σελασία (e.g. Polyb. 2.65.7) may be a genuine alternative, as may Ἑλλασία in MSS of Diod. 15.64.1, 6 *bis* (cf. Stylianou (1998) *ad* 64.1). The city-ethnic may be Σελλασιεύς, not attested before (and perhaps invented by) Steph. Byz. 561.4, or Σελασιεύς (ibid. 559.13).

Sellasia is called a *polis* in the urban and political senses combined (cf. Hansen (2000) 175–76) by Diod. 15.64.1 (r369/8); it is nowhere explicitly called a *polis* in the political sense, but Diod. 15.64.1 (r369/8) may imply perioikic status.

There is no direct evidence for Sellasia's territory, but Plut. *Agis* 8.1 makes it one of the boundaries of Spartan territory in Agis IV's proposals. Sellasia is placed in *Lakonike* by Theopomp. fr. 11, if correctly reproduced by Steph. Byz. (561.2–3). The phrase πλησίον τῆς Λακωνικῆς is deleted by editors of Xen. *Hell.* 2.2.13; perhaps another word (such as πόλει, πολιχνίῳ or πολίσματι) stood before τῆς Λακωνικῆς (e.g. ἐν Σελλασίᾳ, πόλει τῆς Λακωνικῆς).

Paus. 3.10.7 places the ruins on the main road just before Thornax. Polyaen. 3.11.6 probably implies that Sellasia was

200 stades (37 km) from Sparta (it is actually 20–25 km). The probable location is the rounded hill of Palaiogoulas (so *Barr.*), Laconia Survey site A118 (late Archaic to early Hellenistic; *LS* ii. 321–23, A118), rather than the nearby mountain-top fortress at Ag. Konstantinos (B111, late Archaic to middle Hellenistic). From archaeological evidence, Sellasia was probably founded in C6m and abandoned in C3 (Catling (2002) 238–40). It was seen in ruins by Pausanias (3.10.7).

A cult of Artemis at Sellasia is implied by Hsch. s.v. *Σελασία*. A cult of the *Dioskouroi* in or near Sellasia is indicated by *IG* v.1 919 (*LSAG* 200 no. 24; *SEG* 42 307+ (*c.*525?)), a votive found near the modern village of Sellasia (formerly Vourlia). *IG* v.1 920 (*SEG* 11 889 (C6)) is a votive to an unnamed deity.

344. Side Map 58. Lat. 36.30(?), long. 23.10(?) Size of territory: 1? Type: A. (S8): no archaeological site known; NN354 Velanidia proposed on topographical grounds (Hasluck (1907–8) 174; *LS* ii. 313, NN354; Ag. Georgios near Velandia is supported by Pikoulas (2002) 236). The toponym is *Σίδη, ἡ*, only in Ps.-Skylax 46; Paus. 3.22.11. A city-ethnic is not attested.

Side is called a *polis* (in the urban sense) only by Ps.-Skylax 46 (*πόλις καὶ λιμήν*), and retrospectively by Pausanias, who says that it was one of three *poleis* from which Boia was synoecised in early times (see Boia (no. 327); cf. also Aphroditia (no. 325) and Etis (no. 330)).

Ps.-Skylax 46 lists Side under Lakedaimon. Paus. 3.22.11 says it was named after Side, daughter of Danaos; this could reflect a Classical foundation myth.

345. Sparta (Spartiates)**/Lakedaimon** (Lakedaimonios) Map 58. Lat. 37.05, long. 22.30. Size of territory: 5. Type: A. Two different toponyms are used for the central settlement of *Lakonike*:

(1) *Σπάρτη, ἡ*, (Hom. *Il.* 2.582; Tyrtaios fr. 4.4; Thgn. 785 = Anon. Megarensis (*c.*480); Hdt. 1.68.5; Thuc. 1.130.1, 4.3.2; Xen. *Hell.* 7.1.28; Ps.-Skylax 46; *SEG* 22 460 *post* 369); in Doric *Σπάρτα* (Alc. fr. 360.2, Liberman (Aeolic); Pind. *Pyth.* 1.77; *IG* XII.9 286 (*c.*500–475); *IvO* 160.1 (C4e); *IG* V.2 173.37 (C4m)). Sometimes Homer seems to think of *Sparte* as an area (*Od.* 11.460), as does Pherekydes (*FGrHist* 3) fr. 168 (cf. Oitylos (no. 340)).

(2) *Λακεδαίμων, ἡ* (Hdt. 1.82.1), also a word for the region (see *supra* 570). It was already the name of the settlement in the late Bronze Age (Hall (2000)). Lakedaimon, probably in the sense of the city of Sparta, includes the Amyklaion (treaty quoted at Thuc. 5.18.10). For *Lakedaimon* (without *πόλις*) as probably meaning the town, see Pind. *Pyth.* 4.49; Hdt. 1.82.1; Thuc. 1.43.1; Xen. *Hell.* 2.3.8; *IG* IV².1 122.xxi.1 (C4s); Polyb. 8.33.8. In a C4l dedication by a Lakedaimonian victor at Olympia (*Syll.*³ 1069 = *IvO* 171, 316), Lakedaimon is said to be 660 stades (121 km) from Olympia, which should refer to the city of Sparta rather than its territory. See further Hall (2000) 78–79.

Sometimes the two seem to be combined for variety's sake: Maiandrios sails "to Lakedaimon" (though this could be the region) and meets Kleomenes who is "ruling Sparta" (Hdt. 3.148.1). At other times the distinction seems deliberate: if Dorieus had remained in Sparta, he would have been king of Lakedaimon (Hdt. 5.48). On other occasions the variation seems to have no special significance: the kings may rule in Sparta (Hdt. 1.65.1) or in Lakedaimon (Hdt. 1.67.1); Ainesias is ephor in Sparta (Thuc. 2.2.1), Pleistolas in Lakedaimon (Thuc. 5.25.1).

The city-ethnic also has two versions:

(1) *Σπαρτιάτης* (Thuc. 1.128.3, 2.25.2; Xen. *Hell.* 3.3.5, 7.4.19); Doric *Σπαρτιάτας* (*LSAG*² 446 no. 16a (*c.*550); *IvO* 263 (C6); *IvO* 244 (C6/C5e)); Ionic *Σπαρτιήτης* (Hdt. 8.42.2, 9.54.2).

(2) *Λακεδαιμόνιος* (Pind. *Pyth.* 4.257; Hdt. 1.6.2; Thuc. 1.6.4; Xen. *Hell.* 1.2.18; *SEG* 11 1180a (C6f); *SEG* 26 476 (C6?); *IvO* 247 (C6l/C5e); ML 22 (490–480), no. 67 (*c.*427); *IG* II² 43.A.9 (378/7)).

Σπαρτιᾶται denotes only the citizens of Sparta, the dominant *polis*. *Λακεδαιμόνιοι* strictly denotes all Lakedaimonians (Spartans and *perioikoi*), but today it is often translated as if Greek authors used it as a synonym for "Spartans". This misconception may be based partly on the false premiss that the *perioikoi* were treated almost as badly as helots. It is, of course, true that the Spartans held almost all decision-making power in *Lakonike*; and when Thuc. 1.10.2 comments on the underdeveloped physical urban form of the "*polis* of the Lakedaimonians", he certainly means the town of Sparta. Sparta was the dominant political community, purporting to speak for all Lakedaimonians; this may be why "Lakedaimonians" often appears to denote the Spartans. This need not be true in every case, however. When Simonides, in his epigram on Thermopylai (Hdt. 7.228.2), asks the passer-by to take a message to "the Lakedaimonians", he may mean what he says. The same consideration may apply to Thucydides' statements that the Lakedaimonians do not make their allies pay tribute but favour oligarchies (1.19.1), and that it was Lakedaimonian fear of growing Athenian power that led to war (1.24.5). A telling pairing of the two ethnics is at Thuc. 1.128.3, where King Pausanias *ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος* is sent for by the

Σπαρτιᾶται: though king of the wider Lakedaimonian community, he is recalled because the Spartans will it.

The claim to "speak for *Lakonike*" may explain why a Spartiate abroad is usually called *Lakedaimonios*, the only epigraphic exception being the lion dedicated to Hera in Samos by Eumnastos Spartiates (Dunst (1972) 140–44; *LSAG*² 446 no. 16a (*c.*550)). On the other hand, there are no demonstrable examples of "Lakedaimonios" being used as the ethnic of an individual *perioikos*: as far as we know, he is always called by the ethnic of his own *polis* (e.g. Gytheates, Oinountios; Hansen (1996) 185 and n. 96; Shipley (1997) 209). Therefore, when we encounter *Λακεδαιμόνιος* individually, we can probably assume it means a Spartan. Thus, in *IG* XII.5 542, a C4m catalogue of *proxenoi* from (presumably) Karthaia (no. 492), while three citizens of perioikic *poleis* of *Lakonike* are listed with their city-ethnics (20–22), a *Lakedaimonios* is also catalogued (18), and he ought to be a Spartan, as ought the two Lakedaimonians attested as Eleian *proxenoi* in C6 (*SEG* 11 1180a (C6f); *SEG* 26 476 (C6?)) and the Lakedaimonian sculptor who signed *Corinth* VIII.3 15 (C5l–C4e).

The short form *Λάκων* (*SEG* 31 559 (369/8); Arist. *Pol.* 1271ᵇ28) is less common. It is sometimes used in poetic and colloquial contexts (Ar. *Ach.* 305; Hdt. 1.68.2) or for variety. It seems to be interchangeable with *Λακεδαιμόνιος*, but can be applied specifically to *Spartiatai* (Xen. *An.* 2.1.3, 5, 5.31) as well as to Lakedaimonians in general (cf. Xen. *An.* 5.1.15, where it is applied to a man explicitly described as being a *perioikos*).

Both *Sparte* and *Lakedaimon* are described as a *polis*.

(1) *Sparte*: A rare, perhaps unique, epigraphic description of Sparta as a *polis* is in Tod 204 (*καὶ οὐκ ἀναστήσω Ἀθήνας οὐδὲ Σπάρτην . . . οὐδὲ τῶν ἄλλων πόλεων οὐδεμίαν*), where the political sense may also be present. For the Archaic period we have Tyrtaios fr. 4.4, West, with connotations of state and perhaps country; frr. 8 and 10 seem to use *polis* in the political sense. Hdt. 7.234.2 combines the urban and political senses of *polis* with a reference to Lakedaimon the district, and includes the *polis* of *Sparte* within Lakedaimon (*ἔστι ἐν τῇ Λακεδαίμονι Σπάρτη πόλις*). Ps.-Skylax 46 implicitly includes *Sparte* among the inland *poleis* of Lakedaimon. Couplings of *πόλις* in the urban sense with *Σπαρτιᾶται* occur at Xen. *Hell.* 6.5.28: *οἱ δὲ Σπαρτιᾶται ἀτείχιστον ἔχοντες τὴν πόλιν* and 7.5.11: *ἐν τῇ πόλει τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν*. Whereas the urban sense of *polis* is somewhat rare, the political sense occurs somewhat more frequently (e.g. Xen. *Lac.* 1.1, cf. 10.4). Phrases combining *πόλις* and *Σπαρτιᾶται* occur more often (Thuc. 1.132.1; Anaximenes, *Ars rhetorica* 24.3; Isoc. *Hel.* 63, *Panath.* 41, 65; Arist. *Pol.* 1271ᵇ11). There seem to be no examples of Sparta or the *Spartiatai* being described as a *polis* in the rarer territorial sense, unless Tyrt. fr. 4 (*supra*) or Thuc. 5.63.4 (*ἀπάγειν στρατιὰν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως*) are examples.

(2) *Lakedaimon*: Lakedaimon is never explicitly called a *polis* in the urban sense, though *Λακεδαίμων* on its own often clearly denotes the city (e.g. the Corinthians deliver a speech *ἐν Λακεδαίμονι* (Thuc. 1.43.1)) and *ἡ Λακεδαιμονίων πόλις* in the urban sense is found at Thuc. 1.10.2; note also that at Aen. Tact. 2.2 the ethnic *Λακεδαιμόνιοι* is coupled with *πόλισμα* (cf. Flensted-Jensen (1995) 129). However, at Pl. *Leg.* 683D *polis* is used about Lakedaimon primarily in the urban sense (*τρεῖς πόλεις κατοικίζειν, Ἄργος, Μεσσήνην, Λακεδαίμονα*; cf. Hansen (2000) 178), but the political sense is a connotation, and the reference is to the mythical period. Lakedaimon is also called a *polis* in the political sense (Xen. *Hell.* 5.2.32; cf. 5.3.25, 4.23; *Lac.* 9.4; Pl. *Resp.* 599D; Isoc. *Paneg.* 64). The phrase "*polis* of the Lakedaimonians" in the political sense also occurs at Thuc. 5.23.2, where the text of a treaty couples "the Lakedaimonians and Athenians" as *τὼ πόλεε*; cf. 8.2.3; Xen. *Hell.* 2.1.14, 3.5.6; Arist. *Eth. Nic.* 1180ᵃ25; *CID* II 4.11.48, 360). Sometimes, when *Λακεδαίμων* is not called a *polis*, the name possibly refers to the wider *polis* embracing *Spartiatai* and *perioikoi* (Thuc. 5.28.2). Apparently, *Λακεδαίμων* is not described as a *polis* in the territorial sense. For *Λακεδαιμόνιοι*, Thuc. 8.40.2 provides a probable example (there are more slaves in Chios than in any *polis* except that of the Lakedaimonians). Lakedaimon is also called an *ἔθνος* in the sense of an ethnic territory containing *poleis* (Ps.-Skylax 46: *Λακεδαίμων ἔθνος . . . καὶ πόλεις ἐν αὐτῇ*, including Sparta itself). For the perioikic *poleis* see Hdt. 7.234.2: *Λακεδαιμονίων . . . πόλιες πολλαί* (*perioikoi* and Spartans together); Isoc. *Areop.* 7: *Λακεδαιμόνιοι . . . ἐκ φαύλων καὶ ταπεινῶν πόλεων*; Ps.-Skylax 46: *εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλαι πολλαὶ πόλεις Λακεδαιμονίων*.

Without being explicitly coupled with *Sparte* or *Lakedaimon* the urban sense of *polis* occurs at Hdt. 6.58.1, Thuc. 1.134.1; Xen. *Hell.* 3.3.10–11; Isoc. 5.48; the political sense occurs at Xen. *Hell.* 1.6.5, 3.3.4, 4.2.9.

The term *πολῖται* is applied to Spartans (Hdt. 6.85.2, 9.35.1) and Lakedaimonians (Xen. *Hell.* 5.4.13, 7.4.20, 21; Aeschin. 1.180). Without being explicitly coupled with Spartiates or Lakedaimonians, *politai* occurs at Xen. *Hell.* 5.4.28, 23, 6.4.26.

There are many references to the *πολιτεία* of the Lakedaimonian or Spartan state. Sometimes it is that of the

Spartiatai (Isoc. *Panath.* 109), much more often that of the *Lakedaimonioi* (Thuc. 1.18.1; Xen. *Hell.* 2.3.34; Arist. *Pol.* 1269[a]29). *Λακεδαιμονίων πολιτεία* was the title of works by Xenophon (*Lac.*), Kritias (DK no. 88 frr. 6–9, 32–37), and Aristotle (frr. 539–51). Occasionally *πολιτεία* is linked with *Λακεδαίμων* (Pl. *Leg.* 712D). We also find *ἡ Λακωνικὴ πολιτεία* (Arist. *Pol.* 1272[b]33) and *ἡ Λακώνων πολιτεία* (Ephor. fr. 118 *apud* Strabo 8.5.5).

The verb *πολιτεύομαι* is used in laudatory accounts of the Lakedaimonian constitution (Isoc. 3.24; Dem. 20.105).

The terms *τὸ πολιτικόν* (Xen. *Hell.* 4.4.19) and *οἱ πολιτικοί* (Xen. *Hell.* 7.1.28) are used to distinguish Lakedaimonian (including perioikic) forces from those of the allies. Polyb. 6.45.3 refers to *τῆς πολιτικῆς χώρας*, "the land divided among the citizens" (see Hodkinson (1986) 385).

Sparte is called an *asty* in Thgn. 785 = Anon. Megarensis (*c.*480, Hdt. 7.220.4; and Simon. fr. 11.29, West[2]; *ἄστοι* occurs at Hdt. 6.57.2, 61.2 (cf. Hansen (1997) 10–11).

Sparta is called *patris* in *IG* XII.9 286 (Eretria, C6) and Xen. *Lac.* 1.2 and [*πατ*]*ρώιη π*[*ό*]*λις* in Simon. fr. 11.32, West[2]. Lakedaimon is called "the *akropolis* of Greece" and *patris* in Lysander's monument commemorating the battle of Aigos potamoi (ML 95c; *SEG* 33 439; *F.Delphes* III.1 50). Cf. Xen. *Hell.* 7.1.30 (*patris*) and Hdt. 9.76.1 (*patre*).

The different uses of the two city-ethnics are found as follows.

(1) *Spartiates*: internally, *Spartiates* is not attested in the Archaic or Classical periods. The external individual use is found in *LSAG*[2] 446 no. 16a (*c.*550) and *IvO* 263 (C6) (Dunst (1972) 140–44); and in Hdt. 7.226.1, 8.42.2; Thuc. 2.66.2, 4.11.2; Xen. *Hell.* 5.4.39, 7.1.25; *An.* 4.8.25. The external collective use is found in *IvO* 244 (= *LSAG* 199 no. 10 (C6f?)); and in Hdt. 1.65.4, 67.1; Thuc. 1.28.3, 132.1; Xen. *Hell.* 3.3.5, 4.3.23, 6.5.21.

(2) *Lakedaimonios* is much more common than *Spartiates*. The internal collective use occurs in the list of contributions to the "Spartan" war fund (*IG* V.1 1; ML 67, with *SEG* 39 370+, 44 342; *LSAG* 201 no. 55 and Matthaiou and Pikoulas (1989); Loomis (1992) (C5l/C4e)) and the treaty with the *Aitoloi*/*Erxadieis* (ML 67 *bis* (*c.*426?); cf. *IG* V.1 219.2 (C5)). The external individual use (on which see *supra*) is found in C6 in *SEG* 11 1180a (C6f) and 29 408+ (*LSAG* 199 no. 20; Olympia (*c.*C6s)); in C5 in *SEG* 28 724 (Eretria, C5l) and *IG* XI.2 161.B.59 (Delos), votive by *Λυσάνδρου Λακεδαιμονίου* (Lysander was a *mothax*, see *supra* 570); and in C4 in Tod 135 (367); *IG* XII.5 542.18 (C4m). The external collective use is found in ML 22 (*c.*490–80); *IvO* 247 (C5e); *IG* I[3] 522, 425; *F.Delphes* III.4 462.A.3 (375/4); *CID* II 4.II.48 (360); Hdt. 1.6.3; Thuc. 5.77.1 (certainly equivalent to *Spartiatai* here); Xen. *Hell.* 1.2.18. Coupled with the wider ethnic "Dorian" it occurs in *CID* II 32.43: *Δωριέων Εὔθιππος Λα*[*κε*]*δαιμόνιος* (C4l). For the use of the variant ethnic *Lakon*, see *SEG* 31 559 (Delphi, 369–368), weapons captured from *Λακόνων*; the external individual use is found in Xen. *An.* 2.1.5, 5.31.

The territory, when referred to as *ge* or *chora* in prose, is always that of the Lakedaimonians (Thuc. 8.58.3; Xen. *Hell.* 6.5.24; Ps.-Skylax 46; *F.Delphes* III.1 6, 369), never of the Spartans. Between C6s and 371 Sparta controlled two-fifths of the Peloponnese (Thuc. 1.10.2), an area of *c.*8,500 km[2] (Cartledge (1979) 7). (For Lakedaimon the region, and for *Lakonike*, see Introduction).

The Eurotas valley, with or without the hills of Vardounia and the coastal plain of Helos including Gytheion (no. 333) to its west, has sometimes been considered the Spartan "core territory". Even if such an entity was not juridically defined or precisely bounded (which it may have been), it seems likely that Sparta had a contiguous territory which was ringed by those of perioikic *poleis*. In the Classical period it would have been bounded on the north by those of Pellana (no. 341) (Plut. *Agis* 8.1) and Sellasia (no. 343), on the east by that of Geronthrai (no. 332), to the south perhaps by that of Gytheion, and on the west by the crest of Taÿgetos and/or the area known as Dentheliatis. The Archaic and Classical territory of Sparta proper amounted to *c.*270 km[2], of which almost half was prime arable land (Catling (2002)). There are no ancient references to the so-called *Spartiatike ge*, a figment of modern scholarship. Instead, post-Classical authors refer to "the land belonging to the *asty*" (Plut. *Lyc.* 8.5) or "the civic land" (*πολιτικὴ γῆ*: Polyb. 6.45.3; see MacDowell (1986) 91–92; Hodkinson (1986) 385).

Notoriously, the Spartan land economy was based on extraction. The Spartans expropriated a large part of the agricultural produce of helot cultivators, mostly in Messenia but also in Laconia (Tyrt. frr. 6–7 *apud* Paus. 4.14.5; Myron (*FGrHist* 106) fr. 2 *apud* Ath. 657d; Plut. *Lyc.* 24.2; *Mor.* 239D–E). Their farms were allegedly assigned as *kleroi* (plots) to individual Spartiates from which to draw their contributions to the communal messes (*syssitia*). Lykourgos was believed to have allocated 9,000 *kleroi* to the Spartiates and 30,000 to the *perioikoi* (Plut. *Lyc.* 8.5). The Spartans supposedly held equal *kleroi* from the state (possibly called "the ancient portion", Heracl. Lemb. 12; or "the anciently distributed portion", Plut. *Mor.* 238E); but Hodkinson (2000) argues that it is the helots' tribute, and doubts that the *kleros* system existed.

Spartiate numbers probably peaked in C5e; they may have increased after new farmland was opened up in C6m (Catling (2002) 210–11). Referring to 480, Hdt. 7.234.2 makes Damaratos say that the *polis* of Sparta contains approximately 8,000 men—possibly the only remotely reliable estimate of total Spartiate numbers. At Plataiai in 479 there were 5,000 Spartans (Hdt. 9.28.2), perhaps formally two-thirds of the total levy (Cartledge (1979) 207–8). Arist. *Pol.* 1270^{a}36–38 reports that there were "once" 10,000 Spartiatai. According to Diod. 11.63.1–2, the earthquake of *c.*465 and subsequent shocks killed more than 20,000 Lakedaimonians, but this is no basis for reliable statistics (Cartledge (1979) 218, 222). In 480, the total population in citizen families may have been *c.*35,000–40,000 (Cartledge (1979) 222). At Nemea in 394, there were some 6,000 Lakedaimonian hoplites (Xen. *Hell.* 4.2.16). At Leuktra in 371, there were only 700 Spartiates (Xen. *Hell.* 6.4.15), plus half as many left at home (6.4.17), suggesting a total Spartiate class of *c.*1,050. On the causes of the decline in Spartiate numbers, commonly called "oliganthropy", see Hodkinson (1986), (2000) 406–23.

The Lakedaimonians were the leaders of the Hellenic League which defeated the Persian invasion of 480–479 (Thuc. 1.18.2; ML 27 coil 2; Brunt (1953)). They were likewise the leaders of the "Peloponnesian League" (a modern name), referred to in our sources as "the Lakedaimonians and the allies" (Thuc. 1.108.1) or "the Peloponnesians" (Thuc. 1.1.1). This system of alliances, often one-sided, probably came into being during C6 and functioned until the League was dissolved after the Spartans' defeat at Leuktra (371), which caused the loss of most of Messenia and some of the *perioikoi*. (These alliances did not involve the *perioikoi*; as members of the Lakedaimonian *polis*, they and the Spartans formed a single party in treaties.) In 506 the Corinthians (no. 227) showed that allies could restrain Sparta, causing an expedition to be halted (Hdt. 5.91–93). Soon after, *c.*504, decision-making procedures were regularised (Cartledge (1979) 147–48). On the League, see Cartledge (2002); Salmon (1984) ch. 17; Gschnitzer (1978).

There are many references to the Lakedaimonian–Peloponnesian alliance (e.g. Thuc. 1.108.1) and to other alliances made by the Lakedaimonians (e.g. *Staatsverträge* II nos. 112, 144, etc.). An important epigraphic example from Sparta, dating from perhaps 460–380, is the treaty between the Lakedaimonians and the Aitolian Erxadieis (ML 67 *bis* (p. 312); *SEG* 26 461, 42 308+; *LSAG*^{2} 447G, 448), which contains the key phrase *hεπομ]ένος hόπυι κα Λα[κεδαιμόνιο]ι hάγιονται* (for similar formulations, see Hdt. 1.151.3; Xen. *Hell.* 2.2.20, 4.6.2, 5.3.26; *Lac.* 15.2; Isoc. 12.180). When a treaty or alliance involves Sparta, the contracting party is the *Λακεδαιμόνιοι*: *I.Dél.* 6–7 87 fr. a.1 (402–399): *hιάλε τὰ τέλε τὸν Λακεδαιμονίον*; Thuc. 5.18.1: *σπονδὰς ἐποιήσαντο Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι*.

Exiles are attested at Thuc. 5.72.1; Xen. *Hell.* 1.1.32, *An.* 1.1.9; and Theopomp. fr. 240.

The Spartans, with the Lakedaimonians, enjoyed the greatest military reputation of any hoplite army from the late Archaic period until their catastrophic defeat by the Thebans at Boiotian Leuktra in 371. On the Serpent Column celebrating victory over Xerxes, the Lakedaimonians head the list of Greek allies (ML 27). As in other matters, it is generally as Lakedaimonians, not Spartans, that the army takes the field (Hdt. 6.72.1; Thuc. 2.66.1, 5.33.1; Xen. *An.* 7.6.1; cf. *IG* I^{3} 86.d–g.14, 417; *IG* II^{2} 107.43 (368/7)), and indeed the shield badge was often a *Λ* for *Λακεδαιμόνιοι* (Eupolis fr. 359, Kock; Theopomp. fr. 402; cf. Xen. *Hell.* 4.4.10, 7.5.20; see further Lazenby (1985) 30); booty is taken from the Lakedaimonians (*IvO* 247; *LSAG* 182 no. 4 (*c.*C5m?); Bauslaugh (1990); *IG* I^{3} 522, 425; *F.Delphes* III.4 462.A.3 (375/4)); Leuktra was remembered as a Lakedaimonian defeat (Parian Chronicle of 264/3: *IG* XII.5 444; Tod 205.84). It is possible that in practice each of the five divisions, *lochoi*, of the hoplite army was recruited primarily from one *oba* of the *polis* (*infra*), without there being any formal link (Singor (1999) 74–75). Chief command of the land army was normally held by one or both kings; that of the navy in the Classical period by a *nauarchos* (Thuc. 2.66.2; Xen. *Hell.* 1.5.1), sometimes with an *epistoleus*, secretary (*Hell.* 2.1.7). Further details of Spartan military organisation and its chronological development may be found in Lazenby (1985) and Sekunda and Hook (1998).

The *perioikoi* were integral to the army; at Plataiai there were 10,000 Lakedaimonians, of whom only half were Spartans (Hdt. 9.28.2). Until the late Classical period, however, they were probably brigaded separately from Spartiates (Lazenby (1985) 15–16). At times they exercised command in the navy (Thuc. 8.22.1). Helots also normally served: Hdt. 9.10.1 says that at Plataiai there were seven helots to each Spartan (no doubt an exaggeration; see further Hunt (1998) 33–39).

Spartans of military age were required to reside in the city (Xen. *Lac.* 5; Plut. *Lyc.* 15.3–4), but their private farms were presumably spread all over the core territory of Lakedaimon and probably the whole of *Lakonike*; perhaps their families resided there.

Envoys are regularly sent to and from Lakedaimon or the Lakedaimonians, not Sparta or the Spartans (though see

Hdt. 1.141.4, 6.85.1, 7.149.2, etc.): (a) *to Lakedaimon*: Hdt. 9.7.1; Thuc. 3.85.3, 92.3; Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.12; cf. *IG* II² 1.45 (403/2); (b) *to the Lakedaimonians*: Ktesias (*FGrHist* 688) T 7, cf. fr. 30); Dem. 20.73; Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 32.3; (c) *from Lakedaimon*: Thuc. 1.139.3; *IG* II² 106.7 (368/7); (d) *from the Lakedaimonians*: Hdt. 7.153.1; Thuc. 1.28.1; Xen. *Hell.* 5.4.22; Ktesias (*FGrHist* 688) T 7. The Lakedaimonians acted as arbitrators between Elis (no. 251) and Lepreon (no. 306) in 421 (Thuc. 5.31.4).

Proxenia, too, is conducted in the name of the Lakedaimonians. For *proxenoi* of the Lakedaimonians in other *poleis*, see e.g. Thuc. 3.52.5 (Plataiai (no. 216)); 5.43.2 (Athens (no. 361)); 5.59.5 (Argos (no. 347)); Xen. *Hell.* 5.4.22 (Athens); 6.1.3 (Pharsalos (no. 413)). For Lakedaimonians acting as *proxenoi* of other *poleis*, see *SEG* 11 1180a (*LSAG* 199 no. 15 (C6f) (Elis (no. 251)); *SEG* 26 467 (C6?) (Elis); *IG* XII.5 542.18 (Karthaia (no. 492)? (C4m)); Thuc. 5.76.3 (Argos). According to Hdt. 6.57.2, it was a royal privilege to appoint Spartans (*astoi*) to act as *proxenoi* of foreign states (Cartledge (1987) 108, 245–46); however, grants of proxeny to Lakedaimonians by foreign *poleis* are attested, e.g. *IG* II² 106.14 (368/7).

Citizenship grants may have been enacted by allowing the sons of favoured *xenoi*, such as Xenophon (Diog. Laert. 2.54), to proceed through the *agoge* and join the Lakedaimonian army (cf. the *τρόφιμοι* of Xen. *Hell.* 5.3.9). Poor Spartans could be sponsored through the upbringing (cf. Introduction). At times of crisis even helots might be offered citizenship in return for military service (Thuc. 4.80.3, 5.34.2; Xen. *Hell.* 6.5.28–29); some were selected for elevation to the citizen body as *νεοδαμώδεις* (Thuc. 7.19.3, 8.5.1; Xen. *Hell.* 3.1.4), presumably as members of the Lakedaimonian *damos* rather than the Spartan. A grant of citizenship is attested prior to the Persian War by Hdt. 9.35.1.

In later political theory the Spartan constitution was famously "balanced", containing elements of monarchy, oligarchy and democracy through the combination of kingship, council and popular assembly. To these were added five ephors elected annually by shouting. This constitution—the renowned *eunomia*—and the social organisation that went with it were attributed to Lykourgos, who, if he was not wholly legendary, may have enacted reforms in C7e (Forrest (1980) 55–58). (On Archaic developments see Hodkinson (1997).) The Great Rhetra, of which a seemingly genuine (C7e?) text in early Doric has come down to us (Plut. *Lyc.* 6), established (or recognised) the *phylai* and *obai* (tribes and villages), the *gerousia*, or council of elders (twenty-eight plus the two kings), and an *apella* or assembly of Spartan citizens. The *phylai* (civic tribes) may have been the standard Dorian ones: Pamphyloi, Hylleis, and Dymanes (Tyrt. fr. 19, West; Jones, *POAG* 118). The peculiar social practices of Classical Sparta, however, were perhaps partly "reinstitutionalizations" (Finley (1981)) of traditional customs, given new meaning *c.*C6m in order to strengthen Sparta's military security.

The C4 Athenian orator Lykourgos was able to produce a text of a Spartan law (*Leoc.* 129), so at least some laws were written down. New laws probably required the initial backing of an ephor, after which they were discussed by the *gerousia* and only then by the assembly (MacDowell (1986) 6–7). In the Archaic and Classical periods the Spartans inscribed few public documents, but important examples include the list of war contributions and the treaty with the Erxadieis, both cited above. A stele recording a treaty with Athens is to be put up at the Amyklaion (rather than Sparta), according to Thuc. 5.18.10 (cf. 5.23.6). Possibly the earliest preserved decree of the Lakedaimonians is a C3 resolution in Doric dialect granting *asylia* to Kos (*SEG* 12 371 (Kos, 242)), beginning *Λακεδαιμονίων δόγμα*. It avoids, perhaps deliberately, the wordy formulas of normal Hellenistic decrees. Cf. Thuc. 5.77.

Spartan civic order was famously stable (Thuc. 1.18.1), but the accounts of the foundation of its colony at Taras (no. 71) in C8l include references to instability and *stasis* (Antiochos (*FGrHist* 555) fr. 13; Arist. *Pol.* 1306^{b}31).

On trial procedures and punishments, see MacDowell (1986) 135–50. Hdt. 6.57.4–5 states that the kings adjudicated cases concerning heiresses (cf. Hodkinson (2000) 94–95), adoption and public roads. Arist. *Pol.* 1285^{a}6–7 adds religious matters. Beyond that, the extent of kings' functions is debatable (MacDowell (1986) 123–26; see *supra* on *proxenoi*). The *gerousia* was the ultimate capital court for *Spartiatai* (Xen. *Lac.* 10.2; cf. Arist. *Pol.* 1294^{b}33–34, 1275^{b}10). Ephors could perhaps impose the death penalty on *perioikoi* (Isoc. 12.181), no doubt after due process. They probably did so upon the rebel Kinadon, apparently an inferior (Xen. *Hell.* 3.3.11). Probably the assembly did not try cases except those involving disputed royal succession, and then not automatically (MacDowell (1986) 133–35). A death sentence against a king is attested by Xen. *Hell.* 3.5.25 (on trials of kings, see de Ste Croix (1972) 350–53).

The eponymous official was the *ephoros* (*IG* v.1 213.66, 73–74, 81, 90 (C5s or C4e), 1228; Thuc. 2.2.1), who acted as chairman (Sherk (1990) 241–43) of the board of five (Arist. *Pol.* 1272*a*6). According to tradition, the high office of *ephoros* was instituted by Lykourgos (Hdt. 1.65.6) or by King Theopompos (Arist. *Pol.* 1313^{a}26ff). Ephors are attested in

manumission *stelai* from Tainaron, e.g. *IG* v.1 1228–33 (C5l–C4e). The ephors were elected annually ἐκ τοῦ δήμου παντός (Arist. *Pol.* 1270^{b}7–8; see Rahe (1980); Rhodes (1981)). The ephors' official residence was the *ephoreion* (Xen. *Ages.* 1.36).

The council was called γερουσία (Dem. 20.107; Arist. *Pol.* 1270^{b}24, 1272^{b}37; Ar. *Lys.* 980 has γερωχία; Xen. *Lac.* 10.3 calls it γεροντία). It was composed of thirty members who held tenure for life and acted as the probouleumatic body: the two kings were members *ex officio*, and the remaining twenty-eight members were chosen by the assembly from among citizens above the age of 60 (Pl. *Leg.* 691D–692A; Plut. *Lyc.* 26; Michell (1952) 135–40).

The post of *kytherodikes*, magistrate in charge of Kythera (no. 336), was probably a special institution; there is no evidence that Sparta appointed *harmostai* as governors of perioikic *poleis* in the normal course of events (Cartledge (1979) 179; MacDowell (1986) 28–30). The existence of lesser magistrates seems certain from Xen. *Lac.* 8.3.

The existence of an assembly is attested already in the Great Rhetra (Plut. *Lyc.* 6.2). Meetings of the assembly are attested in Thuc. 6.88.18 (cf. 1.67.3, 87.1) and Xen. *Hell.* 2.2.19, 3.2.23, 5.2.11, etc. (Andrewes (1966) 6). The assembly was presided over by the ephorate (Thuc. 1.87.1–2; Andrewes (1966) 13–14). In Thuc. 5.77.1, a treaty with Argos voted by the assembly, the name is ἐκκλησία τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων (cf. Thuc. 1.87.2; 5.34.1; Aeschin. 1.180). Its early epichoric name was possibly *apella* (Plut. *Lyc.* 6.2), but see de Ste Croix (1972) 346–7. In Xen. *Hell.* 3.3.8 is a unique reference to ἡ μικρὰ καλουμένη ἐκκλησία.

The city of Sparta is 48 km from the sea, further than most major *poleis*. Its location is modern Sparti. The low acropolis (now Palaiokastro), "standing out to no conspicuous height" (Paus. 3.17.1), overlooks the northern end of the town. The layout of the town is increasingly well understood (Cartledge (1979) 102–29; Raftopoulou (1998); Kourinou (2000)). In Classical and even Hellenistic times the city had no regular street plan (Raftopoulou (1998) 127). It was, as Thucydides famously remarked (1.10.2), an unimpressive urban entity, discontinuously settled (κατὰ κώμας; cf. Hansen (1997) 34–35), but apparently somewhat densely built up in the 360s (Aen. Tact. 2.2). Only the completion of the city wall paved the way for the infilling of the *asty* (probably from C3l on: Kourinou (2000) 59–60, 277). Sparta comprised four neighbouring villages: Pitana in the northern and north-western part of the city, Limnai to the east, Mesoa in the south and south-west, and Kynosoura (Konooura, Konosoura) in the south-east (Kourinou (2000) 89–95, 279–80). (Xenophon mentions rich houses on the east bank of the Eurotas, *Hell.* 6.5.27; cf. 7.5.11.) A fifth village, Amyklai, lay *c.*6 km south at modern Amykles and included the sanctuary of Apollo Hyakinthios. These probably corresponded to the five Classical *obai* (civic subdivisions) of the *polis* (on which see Wade-Gery (1958) and Lazenby (1985) 51–52). The main roads and gates have been traced in part (Kourinou (2000) 67–75, 131–54, 277–78), as have the bridges across the Eurotas and its tributaries (Armstrong, Cavanagh and Shipley (1992); superseded by Kourinou (2000) 77–88, 278–79). The agora (Xen. *Hell.* 3.3.5; Paus. 3.11.2–11), once thought to lie east or south-east of the acropolis (Cartledge and Spawforth (1989) 128), has now been placed on its summit (Kourinou (2000) 99–129, 280, esp. 108). The C5 Persian stoa (Paus. 3.11.3) built to celebrate the victory over Xerxes may have lain on the north-western side of the agora (Kourinou (2000) 109–14, 281). The famous C6m Skias was designed by Theodoros of Samos (Paus. 3.12.10). The excavated "Round Building", sometimes thought to be the Skias, is now tentatively dated C3/C2 and identified as the Choros (Paus. 3.11.9), successor to an earlier structure or space where the *Gymnopaidiai* took place (Kourinou (2000) 114–27, 281). *Palaistrai* are referred to at Pl. *Tht.* 162B.

The Archaic and Classical town of Sparta was without a city wall (Xen. *Hell.* 6.5.28), a fact which contributed to Spartans' military reputation (Lys. 33.7). They apparently built a rudimentary one in 317 under the threat of invasion from Cassander (Just. *Epit.* 14.5.5, 7), though this is not archaeologically confirmed. The C3e ditches and palisades (Paus. 1.13.6; Plut. *Pyrrh.* 27.5; Polyb. 5.19.4) were expanded into walls with a circuit of 48 stades (Polyb. 9.26a.2), enclosing *c.*209 ha (Cartledge and Spawforth (1989) 133). (For details of the walls, see Kourinou (2000) 35–66.)

Burials took place at the margin of each of the four main *obai* and thus within the "urban" area, continuing for several generations after the single city wall was built in C3. The earliest burials are thus evidence for the boundaries of the *obai* (Kourinou (2000) 215–19, 283–84). One C6e–C5m cemetery contained two-storey tombs (Raftopoulou (1998) 134–35).

There is little evidence for the Classical management of water-supply and drainage before C3, only some C4 drains in different *obai* (Kourinou (2000) 229–33, 284–85).

The Rhetra of Epitadeus, alleged by Plut. *Agis* 5.2–4 (cf. Arist. *Pol.* 1270^{a}15–34) to be a C5 decree allowing land to be disposed by will, is probably fictitious (Hodkinson (1986) 389–91, (2000) 90–94). Spartans could certainly acquire and dispose of private land; on the mechanisms of inheritance, notably the effects of partible transmission, see MacDowell

(1986) 89–110; Hodkinson (1986), (2000). Sparta differed from many *poleis* in permitting women to own and bequeath land; Arist. *Pol.* 1270^{a}15–34 estimates that in his day two-fifths of the land belonged to them. (On other aspects of women's life in Sparta, see Cartledge (1981); Schaps (1979); MacDowell (1986) 71–88.) Some land in perioikic communities was assigned to the kings (Xen. *Lac.* 15.3). Land in *Lakonike* was sometimes granted to homeless groups of outsiders: at Methone (no. 319) to Nauplians (Paus. 4.24.4, 27.8), at Messenian Asine (no. 313) to the Argive Asinaians (Paus. 4.8.3, 14.3, 27.8, 34.9), and at Thyrea (no. 346) to the Aiginetans (Thuc. 2.27.2, 4.57.1, 3). We do not know whether in such a case the perioikic community in question was consulted, but it is possible.

Spartan citizens made regular contributions in kind to the common messes (*syssitia*) (Arist. *Pol.* 1271^{a}26–37, 1272^{a}13–15; Hodkinson (2000) 190–99), and probably paid the cost of their sons' education (Ducat (1999) 48). A system of *eisphora* is mentioned (and criticised) by Arist. *Pol.* 1271^{b}11–15 (Hodkinson (2000) 189–90). It is disputed whether the *perioikoi* paid taxes; the account of Ephor. fr. 117 (*apud* Strabo 8.5.4) is not creditworthy (but see Hodkinson (2000) 188, 190). Helots, of course, paid a fixed proportion of their agricultural produce, or a fixed amount, to the Spartan state. On the realities of wealth and property in Classical Sparta, which recent research suggests was closer to "normal" Greek societies than previously thought, Hodkinson (2000) supersedes previous studies.

Despite the notorious secrecy of Sparta (Thuc. 5.68.2) and periodic expulsions of aliens (Ar. *Av.* 1012–13; Thuc. 1.144.2, 2.39.1), foreigners did reside there: Xen. *Mem.* 1.2.6 refers to *xenoi* "visiting Lakedaimon" (*ἐπιδημεῖν ἐν Λακεδαίμονι*; cf. Hodkinson (2000) 337 with n. 6).

The Lakedaimonians were proverbially pious (on cults see Wide (1893); Ziehen (1929); Parker (1989)). The *Dioskouroi* were among the most popular heroes. At Sparta, cult worship was also paid to Leukippides, Lykourgos, Agamemnon, Orestes, Talthybios and the ephor Chilon. The major festivals were devoted to Apollo: the Karneia (Hdt. 7.206.1, 8.72); Gymnopaidia(i) (Thuc. 5.82.2, 3; Xen. *Hell.* 6.4.16); and Hyakinthia (Hdt. 9.11.1). Important Archaic and Classical cult places include the temple of Athena Chalkioikos, built on the acropolis by Gitiadas (Paus. 3.17.2; Dickins (1906–7); on Gitiadas, see Romano (1980) 129–32: he may have been active C6m). That of Athena Poliachos was the premier intra-urban cult site, shared by all five *obai* (Cartledge (1979) 55, 106). At the edge of the city, beside the river Eurotas, was the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia (first temple *c.*700, second *c.*575–560; Dawkins (1929); Boardman (1963)). Other sanctuaries identified from archaeological evidence include those of Athena Alea (Xen. *Hell.* 6.5.27), Artemis Agrotera (converted to or combined with Artemis Kyparissia *c.*C3), Poseidon Tainarios and the Phoibaion (Hdt. 6.61.3; on these see Kourinou (2000) 155–213). There was another important cult of Apollo at Thornax just north of the city (Paus. 3.10.8; probably LS site H45, Geladari).

On a ridge overlooking the south-eastern part of the city across the Eurotas stands the Menelaion, or sanctuary of Menelaos and Helen, established *c.*700 near the site of a late Bronze Age mansion; the third Menelaion dates from C5e (Cartledge (1979) 120–21, 155). At Amyklai, Bathykles of Magnesia built the temple of Apollo known as the Amyklaion, where important public documents were lodged (Thuc. 5.18.11; Paus. 3.18.9; Tomlinson (1992)). Its colossal Archaic statue of Apollo, some 15 m high, was a key monument in Laconia (Parker (1989) 146). Amyklai was one of a ring of sacred sites protecting the city at a few kilometres' distance, such as Zeus Messapeus on the Tsakona ridge (Catling and Shipley (1989); Catling (1990)), another cult site of Messapian Zeus at Messapeai in the plain to the south, a hill-top sanctuary of unknown identity to the east at Phagia (LS site U3002), and the Eleusinion at Kalyvia Sochas to the south. Most or all of these were mutually inter-visible.

A regular calendar of festivals involving both Spartans and *perioikoi* took place around Laconia. (Agonistic culture within Laconia is discussed by Hodkinson (1999) 148–60.) The "Damonon inscription" *IG* v.1 213 (*SEG* 38 333+; *LSAG*^{2} 201 no. 52, addenda p. 448 (post-403)) records the victories of Damonon, and his son at several of them: the Pohoidaia for Poseidon (in Sparta, Thouria and Helos), the Athanaia (at Sparta), the Eleuhinia (at Kalyvia Sochas?), the Ariontiai (probably at Sparta), the Lithehia (in the Malea peninsula?), the Parparonia in Thyreatis, and the Maleateia (probably at the sanctuary of Apollo Maleatas at modern Kosmas). *IG* v.1 222 (*SEG* 30 402+; *LSAG* 199 no. 22 (*c.*530–500?)), a votive to (Apollo) Karneios, commemorates a victor at the Athanaia.

The calendar appears to have been same throughout Lakedaimon. It began in midsummer (Trümpy, *Monat.* 140). Months attested as Lakedaimonian (never Spartan) in Archaic or Classical texts are *Ἀρτεμίσιος* (Thuc. 5.19.1; also *IG* v.1. 11 (C1)), *Γεράστιος* (Thuc. 4.119.2) and *Καρνεῖος* (Thuc. 5.54.2; cf. Epidauros Limera (no. 329) (Hellenistic)).

The Spartans not infrequently consulted the Delphic oracle, for example in C8l (Parke and Wormell (1956) i. 71–73; ii. no. 46), C7e (Hdt. 1.65.2–4; Xen. *Lac.* 8.5; Plut. *Lyc.* 6), C6e

(Hdt. 1.66.2, 67.4), and in 426 (Thuc. 3.92.5). In C4, Lakedaimonians served the Delphic Amphiktyony as *naopoioi* (*CID* II 31.35, 356; 31.75, 345) and *hieromnamones* (*CID* II 32.43 (C4l)).

Numerous Spartan victors at international games are known, particularly from Archaic and Classical times (*Olympionikai* 17–18, 21–22, 24, 30, 32, 34–35, 37, 40–47, 50, 55, 57, 59, 60–68, 70, 72–73, 75–76, 78, 80, 82–86, 91, 108, etc.; for the importance of Olympic competition to Spartans, see Hodkinson (1999) 160–76, (2000) 307–11, 319–23); two *periodonikai* are on record (Paus. 6.1.7, 2.1; Knab (1934) 8). In surviving victory dedications, victors use the ethnic Λακεδαιμόνιος, e.g. *SEG* 11 1227 (*c.*500) (cf. *SEG* 32 217.3–4 (r628); 15 (r384)). In 420, Spartans were excluded from the Olympic Games by the Eleian authorities due to an alleged breach of the Olympic Truce (Thuc. 5.49.1–50.4, on which see Roy (1998); cf. Hodkinson (2000) 329 n. 10).

Communal dedications by the *Spartiatai* are rare: see *IvO* 244 (C6f?). Those in the name of the Lakedaimonians include ML 22, a dedication to Zeus Olympios; cf. Hdt. 1.51.4; *CID* II 4.II.48 (360); 3.II.28 (358); 24.I.15 (336) (donations to Delphi).

Coinage, like luxuries generally, was proverbially eschewed by the late Archaic and Classical Spartans (Xen. *Lac.* 7.2; Plut. *Lyc.* 24.2), though Xen. *Lac.* 14.3 alleges that this law is no longer observed (cf. Hodkinson (2000) 154–76). Only under Areus I (309/8–265) and intermittently thereafter was coinage struck (Grunauer-von Hoerschelmann (1978)).

It is often asserted that Sparta founded only one overseas colony, at Taras (no. 71), founded according to tradition in 706 (Antiochos of Syracuse (*FGrHist* 555) fr. 13; see Cartledge (1979) 123–24; Malkin (1994) 115–42). Malkin (1994), however, has shown that the Spartans were active colonizers, both inside and outside the Peloponnese. According to Strabo 8.4.4, King Teleklos (*c.*760–740) established colonies at Poieëssa, Echeiai and Tragion in south-eastern Messenia some time before the main conquest of Messenia. Whether the perioikic towns of Messenia were colonies is debatable; Malkin (1994) 85 tentatively advances Thouria (no. 322) and Aithaia (no. 312) as possible C8 foundations. Both Geronthrai (no. 332) and Pharis (S67) are said to have been captured from their Achaian inhabitants (Paus. 3.2.6). Geronthrai was resettled by the "Dorians occupying Lakedaimon" (3.22.6), but Pharis may have gone out of existence (cf. 3.20.3). The Spartans settled Minyans in six Triphylian towns (Hdt. 4.148.4), of which Lepreon (no. 306) was resettled in 421 (Thuc. 5.31.4, 34.1). Sparta colonized Herakleia in Trachis (no. 430) in 432 (Thuc. 3.92.1; Malkin (1994) 219–35). Links with Sparta as a *metropolis* were claimed by various communities. Thera (no. 527) was allegedly an *apoikia* of Lakedaimon (Hdt. 4.147.1), as were Knidos (no. 903) (Hdt. 1.174.2; Malkin (1994) 80–81), Kythera (no. 336) (Thuc. 7.57.6; Malkin (1994) 81–82), and Melos (no. 505) (Hdt. 8.48; Thuc. 5.84.2, etc.; Malkin (1994) 74–76). Several Cretan cities came to believe the same (Malkin (1994) 8, 78–80).

The Spartans and/or Lakedaimonians regarded themselves as an immigrant population, having arrived as Dorians (Thuc. 3.92.3) or, in a developed version of the myth, returned (a feature of Dorian ideology unique to Sparta) after the Trojan War together with the descendants of Herakles, the *Herakleidai* (Hdt. 9.26.2, 4; Malkin (1994) 15–45, esp. 43).

346. Thyrea Map 58. Lat. 37.25(?), long. 22.40. Size of territory: 1? Type: A. (S10). The toponym is Θυρέα, ἡ (Thuc. 4.56.2, 57.3), which is also a name for the surrounding area (cf. Hdt. 1.82.2; Thuc. 4.57.3, if the wording implies that the place captured was not the *polis* town). The plural form Θυρέαι seems to be used only of the district (e.g. Hdt. 1.82.2, who uses it despite having just given the singular form for the district; Isoc. 6.99). A city-ethnic is not attested in Classical evidence.

Although Thyrea is never quite explicitly called a *polis*, Thucydides in effect twice calls it a *polis* in the topographical sense (4.57.1 with 4.57.3).

Thuc. 2.27.2 and 4.56.2 says that the Lakedaimonians gave the exiled Aiginetans one of their own frontier possessions, Thyrea in Kynouria, as a new home. At 2.27.2 the expressions "Thyrea to live in (οἰκεῖν) and the land to cultivate . . . The land (named) Thyreatis . . ." clearly imply that Thyrea was *already* a nucleated settlement, and Thyreatis its territory. Later he tells how the Athenians attacked the Aiginetans as they were building a fort on the coast, whereupon they retreated ἐς . . . τὴν ἄνω πόλιν ἐν ᾗ ᾤκουν (4.57.1). Here, too, it is a reasonable inference that the inland town existed *before* the Aiginetans started building the coastal fort. When the Athenians "capture Thyrea and burn the *polis*" (4.57.3), this equally implies that the town was called Thyrea like the district, otherwise Thucydides would have given its name.

The "upper *polis*", the main part of Thyrea, has been variously located (see Shipley (1997) 231, and cf. Shipley (1993)). The MSS of Thuc. place it *c.*10 stades (*c.*1.8 km) inland, which might suit Kastraki Kato Meligous, but archaeological confirmation is lacking (Phaklaris (1990) 104–5, late Hellenistic and

Roman sherds; Goester (1993) 93 and 99, Roman architectural fragments, pottery including Classical to Hellenistic). Other proposed locations are *LS* ii. 278, AA13, Elliniko (favoured by Phaklaris (1990) 78–90, Geometric to Roman; Goester (1993) 55–81, fortifications C4s), identified above as Eua (no. 331); 277, AA5, Eva Monis Loukous (Phaklaris (1990) 96–104, mainly Roman); 279, AA16, Marmaralona Xerokambiou (Phaklaris (1990) 111–17, prehistoric, Geometric to Classical). (See also Phaklaris (1990) 18–20 on Thyreatis; Pritchett (1965–91) vi. 94–101, vii. 215–22.)

The Aiginetan fort next to the sea must be one of three promontories in the bay of Astros. It is unlikely to be at Cherronisi in the centre of the bay, which is a small, rounded hill not easy to fortify; pottery may include Classical and probably Hellenistic pieces (Goester (1993) 88, 98, though Phaklaris (1990) 40–46 reports nothing later than C6). The fort may have been at Nisi Agiou Andréa (*LS* ii. 279, AA19; Phaklaris (1990) 51 fig. 12; Goester (1993) 84–88, 97–98), which has a street grid and a Classical circuit wall with towers. This could, however, be a late Classical to Hellenistic successor of the fort on the same site, since the Aiginetans had not completed their work when the Athenians attacked and may have had no opportunity to resume it. Alternatively, this site may be Anthana (no. 324), and the site of the Aiginetan fort might be Nisi Paraliou Astrous, where there is a Classical circuit wall (Goester (1993) 91–93, undated; 99). Of course, no trace of the fort may survive at all.

The district of Thyrea is placed in Argolis by Hdt. 1.82.2 prior to *c.*545; at 6.76.2 it is a coastal place within reach of Tiryns and Nauplion. It is placed on the borders of Argeia and *Lakonike* by Thuc. 4.56.2 (cf. 8); in Kynouria by Thuc. 5.41.2.

Thuc. 2.27.3 suggests that Thyreatis (or Thyrea, cf. 4.56.2) is the *chora* of a *polis*. Hdt.'s *χῶρος . . . Θυρέη* (1.82.1) and *Θυρέαι* (1.82.2), like Thuc.'s *Θυρέα* (2.27.2, 4.56.2, 5.41.2), *Θυρεᾶτις γῆ* (*supra*) and *χώραν* (4.57.2), will be different names for the *chora* of the *polis* of Thyrea, which existed before the Aiginetans came (though there may have been a time when the area was called Thyrea but did not contain a *polis*). The cult of Polemokrates at Eua (Paus. 2.38.6; modern Eva) and that of Parparos on a nearby mountain (Marmaralona, Xerokambi) may have been in the territory of Thyrea.

Though there is implicit evidence that the *polis* existed before the Lakedaimonians' grant to the Aiginetans, there is no written evidence that it survived later. Thucydides' juxtaposition of "Thyrea and the *polis* of Anthana" (no. 324) (5.41.2) could imply that Thyrea is not now a *polis*; perhaps it ceased to exist in 424. If, however, Thyrea was Nisi Agiou Andrea, it had a long post-C4 life.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Andrewes, A. 1966. "The Government of Classical Sparta", in *Ancient Society and Institutions: Studies Presented to Victor Ehrenberg on his 75th Birthday* (Oxford) 1–20; repr. in M. Whitby (ed.), *Sparta*, Edinburgh Readings on the Ancient World (Edinburgh, 2002) 49–68.

Armstrong, P., Cavanagh, W. G., and Shipley, G. 1992. "Crossing the River: Reflections on Routes and Bridges in Laconia from the Archaic to Byzantine Periods", *BSA* 87: 293–310.

Bauslaugh, R. A. 1990. "Messenian Dialect and Dedications of the 'Methanioi' ", *Hesperia* 59: 661–68.

Beloch, J. 1886. *Die Bevölkerung der griechisch-römischen Welt*, Historische Beiträge zur Bevölkerungslehre 1 (Leipzig); repr. as *Studia historica* 60, L'Erma di Bretschneider (Rome, 1968).

Boardman, J. 1963. "Artemis Orthia and Chronology", *BSA* 58: 1–7.

Bölte, F. 1929. "Sparta", *RE* iiiA.2. 1–1528.

Bonias, Z. 1998. *Ένα αγροτικὸ ιερό στις Αιγιές Λακωνίας*, *Δημοσιεύματα τοῦ Ἀρχαιολογικοῦ Δελτίου* 62 (Athens).

Brunt, P. A. 1953. "The Hellenic League against Persia", *Historia* 2: 135–53.

Cartledge, P. 1979. *Sparta and Lakonia: A Regional History 1300–362 BC*, Cities and States of Ancient Greece (London, Boston and Henley).

—— 1981. "Spartan Wives: Liberation or Licence?", *CQ* 75: 84–105.

—— 1987. *Agesilaos and the Crisis of Sparta* (London).

—— 2002. "The Origins and Organisation of the Peloponnesian League", in M. Whitby (ed.), *Sparta*, Edinburgh Readings on the Ancient World (Edinburgh) 223–30; repr. from Cartledge (1987) 9–13.

—— and Spawforth, A. 1989. *Hellenistic and Roman Sparta: A Tale of Two Cities* (London and New York).

Catling, H. W. 1990. "A Sanctuary of Zeus Messapeus: Excavations at Aphyssou, Tsakona, 1989", *BSA* 85: 15–35.

Catling, R. W. V. 2002. "The Survey Area from the Early Iron Age to the Classical Period", in Cavanagh *et al.* 151–256.

—— and Shipley, D. G. J. 1989. "Messapian Zeus: An Early Sixth-Century Inscribed Cup from Lakonia", *BSA* 84: 187–200.

Cavanagh, W. G., and Walker, S. E. C. (eds.) 1998. *Sparta in Laconia: Proceedings of the 19th British Museum Classical Colloquium held with the British School at Athens and King's and University Colleges, London (6–8 December, 1995)*, British School at Athens Studies 4 (London).

Cavanagh, W. G., Crouwel, J., Catling, R. W. V., and Shipley, G. 1996. *Continuity and Change in a Greek Rural Landscape: The Laconia Survey*, ii: *Archaeological Data*, BSA suppl. 27 (London).

—— —— —— —— 2002. *Continuity and Change in a Greek Rural Landscape: The Laconia Survey*, i: *Methodology and Interpretation*, BSA suppl. 26 (London).

Coldstream, J. N., and Huxley, G. L. (eds.) 1972. *Kythera: Excavations and Studies Conducted by the University of Pennsylvania Museum and the British School at Athens* (London).

Crouwel, J. H., Prent, M., Fiselier, J., and de Waele, J. A. K. E. 1997. "Geraki: An Acropolis Site in Laconia: Prelimin{in}ary Report on the Third Season (1997)", *Pharos* 5: 49–83.

—— —— MacVeagh Thorne, S., Brodie, N., Wijngaarden, G.-J., and de Waele, J. A. K. E. 1996. "Geraki: An Acropolis Site in Lakonia: Preliminary Report on the Second Season (1995)", *Pharos* 4: 89–120.

—— —— —— Wijngaarden, G.-J., and Sueur, D. 1995. "Geraki: An Acropolis Site in Lakonia: Preliminary Report on the First Season (1995)", *Pharos* 3: 41–65.

—— —— van der Vin, J., Lulof, P., and Dooijes, R. 1999. "Geraki: An Acropolis Site in Lakonia: Preliminary Report on the 1995 Season", *Pharos* 7: 21–49.

Dawkins, R. M. (ed.) 1929. *Artemis Orthia*, *JHS* suppl. 5 (London).

de Ste Croix, G. E. M. 1972. *The Origins of the Peloponnesian War* (London).

de Waele, J. A. K. E. 1997. "Spolia from the Byzantine Churches in Geraki", in Crouwel *et al.* (1997) 49–83.

Dickins, G. 1906–7. "The Hieron of Athena Chalkioikos", *BSA* 13: 145–56.

Doukas, P. C. 1922. *Ἡ Σπάρτη διὰ μέσου τῶν αἰώνων* (New York); repr. Sparti: Papagiannopoulos, n.d., *c.*1984.

Dubois, L. 1985. "Deux notes de dialectologie grecque", *Glotta* 63: 45–48.

Ducat, J. 1999. "Perspectives on Spartan Education in the Classical Period", in Hodkinson and Powell (1999) 43–66.

Dunst, G. 1972. "Archaische Inschriften und Dokumente der Pentekontaetie aus Samos", *AM* 87: 99–163.

Falkner, C. 1994. "A Note on Sparta and Gytheum in the Fifth Century", *Historia* 43: 495–501.

Figueira, T. J. 1999. "The Evolution of the Messenian Identity", in Hodkinson and Powell (1999) 211–44.

Finley, M. I. 1981. "Sparta and Spartan Society", in M. I. Finley, *Economy and Society in Ancient Greece* (London) 24–40.

Flensted-Jensen, P. 1995. "The Bottiaians and their *Poleis*", *CPCPapers* 2: 103–32.

Forrest, W. G. 1972. "A Metrical Inscription", in Coldstream and Huxley (1972) 314.

—— 1980. *A History of Sparta 950–192 BC*² (London).

Forster, E. S. 1906–7. "Laconia, II: Topography. §1: Gythium and the North-West Coast of the Laconian Gulf", *BSA* 13: 219–37.

Foss, C. 1974–75. "Greek Sling Bullets in Oxford", *AR* 21: 40–44.

Frazer, J. G. 1898. *Pausanias' Description of Greece: Translated with a Commentary*, i–vi (London).

Giannakopoulos, P. E. 1987. *Τὸ Γύθειον: Ἀρχαιολογικὴ καὶ ἱστορικὴ ἄποψις ἀπὸ τῆς προϊστορικῆς ἐποχῆς μέχρι τοῦ Μεγάλου Κωνσταντίνου*² (Athens).

Gigon, O. (ed.) 1987. *Aristotelis opera*, iii (Berlin).

Goester, Y. C. 1993. "The Plain of Astros: a Survey", *Pharos* 1: 39–112 (pp. 97–106, "Surface Finds", by C. T. F. Vermeulen Windsant).

Grunauer-von Hoerschelmann, S. 1978. *Die Münzprägung der Lakedaimonier*, Antike Münzen und geschnittene Steine 7 (Berlin).

Gschnitzer, F. 1978. *Ein neuer spartanischev Staatsvertrag und die Verfassung des Peloponnesischen Bundes*, Beiträge zur klassischen Philologie 93 (Meisenheim am Glan).

Hall, J. M. 2000. "Sparta, Lakedaimon and the Nature of Perioikic Dependency", *CPCPapers* 5: 73–89.

Hampl, F. 1937. "Die lakedämonischen Periöken", *Hermes* 77: 1–49.

Hansen, M. H. 1995*a*. "*Kome*: A Study in How the Greeks Designated and Classified Settlements which were not *Poleis*", *CPCPapers* 2: 45–81.

—— 1995*b*. "Boiotian *Poleis*—A Test Case", *CPCActs* 2: 13–63.

—— 1996. "City-Ethnics as Evidence for *Polis* Identity", *CPCPapers* 3: 169–96.

—— 1997. "The *Polis* as an Urban Centre: The Literary and Epigraphical Evidence", *CPCActs* 4: 9–86.

—— 1998. *Polis and City-State: An Ancient Concept and its Modern Eqivalent*, *CPCActs* 5.

—— 2000. "A Survey of the Use of the Word *Polis* in Archaic and Classical Sources", *CPCPapers* 5: 173–215.

—— and Nielsen, T. H. 2000. "The Use of the Word *Polis* in the Fragments of Some Historians", *CPCPapers* 5: 141–50.

Hasluck, F. W. 1907–8. "§2: The Promontory of Malea and Epidauros Limera", in Wace and Hasluck (1907–8) 167–82.

Hill, G. F. 1917. "Eua in Arcadia", *NC*⁴ 17: 319.

Hodkinson, S. 1986. "Land Tenure and Inheritance in Classical Sparta", *CQ* 80: 378–406.

—— 1997. "The Development of Spartan Society and Institutions in the Archaic Period", in Mitchell and Rhodes (1987) 83–112.

—— 1999. "An Agonistic Culture? Athletic Competition in Archaic and Classical Spartan Society", in Hodkinson and Powell (1999) 147–87.

—— 2000. *Property and Wealth in Classical Sparta* (London).

——and Powell, A. (eds.) 1999. *Sparta: New Perspectives* (London).

Hood, M. S. F. 1956. "Archaeology in Greece, 1956", *AR* 3: 3–23.

Hunt, P. 1998. *Slaves, Warfare, and Ideology in the Greek Historians* (Cambridge).

Huxley, G. L. 1967. "The Medism of Caryae", *GRBS* 8: 29–32.

——1972. "The History and Topography of Ancient Kythera", in Coldstream and Huxley (1972) 33–40.

Jalabert, L. 1904. "Nouvelles stèles peintes de Sidon", *RA* 4: 1–16.

Jeffery, L. H. 1976. *Archaic Greece: The City-States c.700–500 BC* (London).

Kennell, N. M. 1999. "From *Perioikoi* to *Poleis*: The Laconian Cities in the Late Hellenistic Period", in Hodkinson and Powell (1999) 189–210.

Knab, R. 1934. *Die Periodoniken: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der gymnischen Agone an den 4 griechischen Hauptfesten* (Giessen).

Kourinou, E. 2000. *Σπάρτη: Συμβολὴ στὴ μνημειακὴ τοπογραφία της*, *Διδακτορικὴ διατριβή*, *ΗΟΡΟΣ*, *Ἡ μεγάλη Βιβλιοθήκη* (Athens).

——and Pikoulas, Y. A. 1989. "*Ἐπιγραφὴ ἀπὸ τὸν Ἄσωπο (Πλύτρα) Λακωνίας*", *Horos* 7: 125–27.

Lawrence, A. W. 1979. *Greek Aims in Fortification* (Oxford).

Lazenby, J. F. 1985. *The Spartan Army* (Warminster).

Loomis, W. T. 1992. *The Spartan War Fund:* IG *V1, 1 and a New Fragment*, *Historia* Einzelschriften 74 (Stuttgart).

Loring, W. 1895. "Some Ancient Routes in the Peloponnese", *JHS* 15: 25–89.

MacDowell, D. R. 1986. *Spartan Law*, Scottish Classical Studies 1 (Edinburgh).

Malkin, I. 1994. *Myth and Territory in the Spartan Mediterranean* (Cambridge).

Matthaiou, A. and Pikoulas, Y. A. 1989. "*Ἔδον τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ποττὸν πόλεμον*", *Horos* 7: 77–124.

Michell, H. 1952. *Sparta*: *Τὸ κρυπτὸν τῆς πολιτείας τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων* (Cambridge).

Mitchell, L. G., and Rhodes, P. J. (eds.). 1997. *The Development of the Polis in Archaic Greece* (London and New York).

Morgan, C. 1999. "Cultural Subzones in Early Iron Age and Archaic Arkadia?", *CPCActs* 6: 382–456.

Moschou, L. 1975. "*Τοπογραφία Μάνης*: *Ἡ πόλις Ταίναρον*", *AAA* 8.2: 160–77.

——and Moschos, T. 1981. "*Το αρχαίο φρούριο της Τευθρώνης*", *ArchEph*: 10–22.

Moskou, L. 1976–78. "Topographie du Magne: à propos de la région du Ténare *Κιστέρνες—Ἅγιοι Ασώματοι*", in *1st Peloponnesian Congress*, ii. 45–54.

Nielsen, T. H. 1996*a*. "*Πολλᾶν ἐκ πολίων*: The *Polis* Structure of Arkadia in the Archaic and Classical Periods" (Ph.D. diss., University of Copenhagen).

——1996*b*. "Arkadia: City-Ethnics and Tribalism", *CPCActs* 3: 117–63.

——2002. *Arkadia and its Poleis in the Archaic and Classical Periods*, Hypomnemata 140 (Göttingen).

Niese, B. 1899. "Beiträge zur Geschichte Arkadiens", *Hermes* 34: 520–52.

——1906. "Neue Beiträge zur Geschichte und Landeskunde Lakedämons", *Göttingische gelehrte Nachrichten* 101–42.

Parke, H. W., and Wormell, D. E. W. 1956. *The Delphic Oracle*, 2 vols. (Oxford).

Parker, R. 1989. "Spartan Religion", in Powell (1989) 142–72.

Phaklaris, P. V. 1990. *Αρχαία Κυνουρία: Ανθρωπινή δραστηριότητα και περιβάλλον*, *Δημοσιεύματα τοῦ Ἀρχαιολογικοῦ Δελτίου* 43 (Athens); also as published Ph.D. thesis (Thessalonica, 1985).

Pikoulas, Y. A. 1982–83. "*Τοπογραφικὰ Αἴγυος καὶ Αἰγύτιδος*", in *Πρακτικὰ τοῦ Α′ Τοπικοῦ Συνεδρίου Λακωνικῶν Μελετῶν (Μολάοι 5–7 Ἰουνίου 1982)*, Pelop. Suppl. 9 (Athens) 257–67.

——1985. "*Ἐπιγραφὲς ἀπὸ τὴν Ἀρκαδία*", *Horos* 3: 85–86.

——1987. "*Συμβολὴ στὴν τοπογραφιὰ τῆς Σκιρίτιδος*", *Horos* 5: 121–48.

——1988*a*. *Ἡ νότια Μεγαλοπολιτικὴ χώρα ἀπὸ τὸν 8ο π.Χ. ὡς τὸν 4ο μ.Χ. αἰῶνα*, *Διδακτορικὴ διατριβή*, *ΗΟΡΟΣ*, *Ἡ Μεγάλη Βιβλιοθήκη* (Athens).

——1988*b*. "*Ἡ ἀνατολικὴ ἀκτὴ τοῦ Μαλέα: κόλπος Μονεμβασίας*", *Λακωνικαὶ Σπουδαί* 9: 277–85.

——1999. "*Πελλάνα Λακωνίας*: *Ὁ δρόμος, ποὺ εἶναι τεῖχος . . .*", *Horos* 13: 235–38.

——2002. "*Η χερσόνησος τοῦ Μαλέα: ἀπολγισμὸς καὶ προοπτικές. Σχεδίασμα ἔρευνας*", *Αρέσκουσα* (Neapoli Voion, Lakonia) 2: 229–46.

Powell, A. (ed.) 1989. *Classical Sparta: Techniques behind her Success* (London).

Pritchett, W. K. 1965–91. *Studies in Ancient Greek Topography*, i–vi, University of California Publications, Classical Studies (Berkeley, 1965–89); vii (Amsterdam, 1991).

Raftopoulou, S. 1998. "New Finds from Sparta", in Cavanagh and Walker (1998) 125–40.

Rahe, P. A. 1980. "The Selection of Ephors at Sparta", *Historia* 29: 385–401.

Rhodes, P. J. 1981. "The Selection of Ephors at Sparta", *Historia* 30: 498–502.

Romano, I. B. 1980. "Early Greek Cult Images: (diss., University of Pennsylvania).

Roy, J. 1968. "The Sons of Lycaon in Pausanias' Arcadian King-List", *BSA* 63: 287–92.

——1998. "Thucydides 5.49.1–50.4: The Quarrel between Elis and Sparta in 420 B.C., and Elis' Exploitation of Olympia", *Klio* 80: 360–68.

——and Schofield, D. 1999. "*IvO* 9: A New Approach", *Horos* 13: 155–65.

Roy, J. and Lloyd, J. A., and Owens, E. J. 1992. "Two Sites in the Megalopolis Basin", in Sanders (1992) 185–94.

Salmon, J. B. 1984. *Wealthy Corinth: A History of the City to 338 BC* (Oxford).

Sanders, J. M. (ed.) 1992. *Φιλολάκων: Laconian Studies in Honour of Hector Catling* (London).

Schaps, D. M. 1979. *Economic Rights of Women in Ancient Greece* (Edinburgh).

Scoufopoulos, N. C., and McKernan, J. G. 1975. "Underwater Survey of Ancient Gytheion, 1972", *INJA* 4: 103–6.

Sekunda, N., and Hook, R. 1998. *The Spartan Army*, Osprey Military Elite Series 66 (Oxford).

Sherk, R. 1990. "The Eponymous Officials of Greek Cities, II", *ZPE* 84: 231–95.

Shipley, G. 1992. "*Perioikos*: The Discovery of Classical Lakonia", in Sanders (1992) 211–26.

——1993. Review of Pritchett, *SAGT* vi–vii, in *CR* 107: 131–34.

——1996. "Archaeological Sites in Laconia and the Thyreatis", in Cavanagh *et al.* (1996) 263–313.

——1997. "'The Other Lakedaimonians': The Dependent Perioikic *Poleis* of Laconia and Messenia", *CPCActs* 4: 189–281.

——2000. "The Extent of Spartan Territory in the Late Classical and Hellenistic Periods", *BSA* 95: 367–90.

Singor, H. W. 1999. "Admission to the *Syssitia* in Fifth-Century Sparta", in Hodkinson and Powell (1999) 67–89.

Spyropoulos, T. G. 1998. "Pellana: The Administrative Centre of Prehistoric Laconia", in Cavanagh and Walker (1998), 28–39.

Stylianou, P. J. 1998. *A Historical Commentary on Diodorus Siculus Book 15* (Oxford).

Tomlinson, R. A. 1992. "The Menelaion and Spartan Architecture", in Sanders (1992) 247–55.

Traquair, R. 1905–6. "Laconia: Mediaeval Fortresses", *BSA* 12: 259–76.

Wace, A. J. B. 1904–5. "Laconia, Geraki, 2: Sculptures", *BSA* 11: 99–105.

——and Hasluck, F. W. 1904–5. "Laconia, Geraki, 1: Excavations", *BSA* 11: 91–99.

—— —— 1907–8. "South-Eastern Laconia", *BSA* 14: 161–82.

—— —— 1908–9. "East-Central Laconia", *BSA* 15: 158–76.

Wade-Gery, H. T. 1958. "The Spartan Rhetra in Plutarch, Lycurgus VI", in *idem*, *Essays in Greek History* (Oxford) 37–85; repr. from *CQ* 36 (1943–44) 57–78.

Waterhouse, H., and Hope Simpson, R. 1960. "Prehistoric Laconia, Part I", *BSA* 55: 67–107.

—— —— 1961. "Prehistoric Laconia, Part II", *BSA* 56: 114–75.

Wide, S. 1893. *Lakonische Kulte* (Leipzig; repr. Darmstadt, 1973).

Zavvou, E. P. 1996–97. "*Ἡ χώρα τῆς Ἐπιδαύρου Λιμηρᾶς*", in *5th Peloponnesian Congress* ii. 497–508.

——1999. "*Ἐπιγραφὲς ἀπὸ τὴ Λακωνία*", *Horos* 13: 63–70.

Ziehen, L. 1929. "Sparta: Kulte", *RE* iii.A. 1453–1525.

ARGOLIS

MARCEL PIÉRART

I. The Region

The hinterland of the Argolic Gulf (ὁ Ἀργολικὸς κόλπος (Ps.-Skylax 49, 50)) comprises the Kynouria to the west, the Argive plain, or Argeia (*IG* IV 506.3 (C6m); Ps.-Skylax 49), to the north, and the peninsula known as the Argolic Akte (Ephor. fr. 18c; Diod. 12.43.1; Polyb. 5.91.8; cf. Jameson *et al.* (1994) 13–15) to the east.

At the western end of an alluvial plain of *c.*250 km², on the site where later the city of Argos grew up, habitation is attested from the Neolithic period. From MH onwards the site had become a nucleated settlement of some size, but not large enough to deserve the name of "city" or "town". Further extended in LH, it was still smaller than Mykenai and Tiryns. The toponym Ἄργος, which was used in the following period, seems to be a Greek word, which is rather surprising for a site of that time (Leukart (1994) 307; but see Frisk (1960) s.v. "Unerklärt, sicher vorgriechisch" and Chantraine (1968) s.v.). In Homer, however, the toponym designates one of the cities of the Achaians in the broad sense of this term (Hom. *Il.* 2.115, 3.75, 4.52), and in particular the "capital" of the kingdom of Diomedes (*Il.* 2.559). In the poem, the plural of the corresponding ethnic (Ἀργεῖοι) is used metonymically about all the Greeks. It is not always easy to distinguish the mythical sources from those relating to the Dorian town. The earliest attestation of the adjective Ἀργεῖος used as a proper city-ethnic seems to be in C7m in Tyrtaios (fr. 23a.15, West). Later the inhabitants of Argos always claimed that they were the descendants of the *Argeioi* of the Homeric poems.

According to Hdt. 1.82.2, the Argives once controlled the entire western coast of the Argolic Gulf as far as Cape Malea and the island of Kythera (cf. no. 336); but this is extremely unlikely (Kelly (1976) 40, 73, 116–17). From C6m until 338, the plain of Thyrea or Kynouria was controlled by Sparta (Piérart (1997) 326–27, (2001) 34–36, for the name). In a study of the natural borders of the Argive plain, the watershed offers a reliable guide-line: to the north, the Tretos Pass separates the Corinthian Gulf from that of Argos; to the east is the Arachnaion massif; to the west rises the range of the Arkadian mountains. It follows that Argos (no. 347) naturally tried to secure for itself the political control of the entire valley of the rivers Inachos and Charadros. The plan was implemented by destroying and incorporating Tiryns (no. 356) in C5m, Mykenai (no. 353) in C5m, Orneai (no. 354) in C5l and Kleonai (no. 351) with the sanctuary at Nemea in C4l. Furthermore, the following settlements were dependencies of Argos: Oinoe in the valley of Charadros, Lyrkeion in the upper valley of Inachos, Nauplia and Asine on the coast, and Hysiai situated in its own valley towards Arkadia.

The name of the region is Ἀργολίς, -ίδος, ἡ (Hdt. 1.82.2, 6.92.1; Aesch. *Suppl.* 236, adjective) with Ἀργόλας as a rare ethnic, attested only in poetry (Eur. *Rhes.* 41; Ar. fr. 311, *PCG*), and Ἀργολικός as the corresponding *ktetikon* (Dem. 52.5; Ps.-Skylax 49; Polyb. 5.91.8). All are derived from Ἄργος, but not coined before the Dorian period (Leukart (1994) 307–8). In modern scholarship "Argeia and Akte together are known as the Argolid (*Argolis* in Greek)" (Jameson *et al.* (1994) 13); but the ancient Greek nomenclature was, in fact, more variable. *Argolis* (Paus. 8.1.2) and even *Argeia* (Paus. 8.1.1) designates sometimes the whole north-eastern part of the Peloponnese, including Corinthia and Sikyonia. The *periploi* mention Kleonai (no. 351) (Ps.-Skylax 49) and Phleious (no. 355) (Ps.-Skymnos 523–24) as adjacent to the Argolic Gulf (Ps.-Skylax) and Akte (Ps.-Skymnos). Both dominated a fertile valley, traversed by a road of major commercial and military importance.

Epidauros (no. 348) (Paus. 2.8.5) and Troizen (no. 357) (Paus. 2.8.5), Hermion (no. 350) (Hdn. III.2 724.2–3) and Halieis (no. 349) (Ephor. fr. 56), where the inhabitants of Tiryns (no. 356) were settled after their expulsion by the Argives, were all called Argolic cities. Thus, from Antiquity onwards, the toponym Ἀργολίς denoted the entire peninsula connected with the Argive plain, but the mountains divided the region into two parts: the territory of Argos itself and the peninsula called Akte, adjacent to the Saronic Gulf. In the sources it is not always easy to determine how many cities are included under the heading "the cities of Akte". The

phrase *ὅσαι κατέχουσι τὴν Ἀκτὴν πόλεις* (Ps.-Skymnos 523) implies that there were several, but according to Paus. 2.8.5, the inhabitants of Argolid Akte (*οἱ τὴν Ἀργολίδα Ἀκτὴν οἰκοῦντες*) were the Epidaurians and the Troizenians only. Viewed from the sea, Akte lies at the south-eastern limit of the Saronic Gulf and separated from the Gulf of Hermion by Cape Skyllaion (Eudoxos, fr. 350.9, Lasserre; Polyb. 5.91.8). In addition to the cities mentioned above, Akte comprised the peninsula of Methana (cf. no. 352) and the island of Kalauria (cf. no. 360). On the island was a sanctuary of Poseidon which, according to Strabo 8.6.14, was the seat of an amphiktyony of seven cities, *viz.*, originally, Hermion (no. 350), Epidauros (no. 348), Aigina (no. 358), Athens (no. 361), Prasieis (no. 342) (later replaced by Sparta (no. 345)), Nauplia (later replaced by Argos (no. 347)) and Boiotian Orchomenos (no. 213) (Tausend (1992) 12–19; Hall (1995) 584–85).

The historians tend to juxtapose Epidauros, Troizen, Hermion (and Halieis), and the soldiers from these *poleis* often fought side by side (Hdt. 8.43, 72, 9.28.4, 31.3–4; Thuc. 1.27.2, 8.3.2; Xen. *Hell.* 4.2.16, 6.2.3, 7.2.2). But the solidarity attested in the army of the Peloponnesian League does not exclude fervent local disputes between neighbours (cf. Troizen and Epidauros: *IG* IV².1 75 (cf. *SEG* 11 505, 31 328); Troizen and Hermion: *IG* IV 751, 791 (all late Hellenistic)).

The Argolic *poleis* supported themselves by agriculture and stock breeding, in the coastal regions supplemented by fishing (cf. Baladié (1980) 215–16). Stock breeding was normally confined to the border regions and resulted in disputes over boundaries, difficult to determine in mountainous terrain (Jameson *et al.* (1994) 596–606).

Both the date and the composition of the *periplous* ascribed to Ps.-Skylax are disputed, but the chapters on Argos and Argolis (49–52, 54) seem to reflect the period after the Tirynthians (no. 356) had moved to Halieis (no. 349) in C5f: of the coastline of the Argolic Gulf, Argos (no. 347) controls 150 stades, Epidauros (no. 348) 30, Halieis (no. 349) 100, Hermion (no. 350) 80, and Cape Skyllaion is in the territory of Troizen (no. 357) (Baladié (1980) 215; Jameson *et al.* (1994) 568–72). The inhabitants of the *poleis* on Akte in particular supported themselves by fishing (Baladié (1980) 211–20). Looking sea-wards, the cities of the peninsula were open to cultural influences from overseas communities, and as a result came to differ from the *polis* of Argos. Cut off from the sea by a belt of marshes along the coast, Argos became primarily an inland *polis*, whose policy was shaped, above all, by its opposition to neighbouring Sparta (no. 345), the great power of Greece.

Our written sources provide us with information about twenty-nine named settlements in Argolis of the Archaic and Classical periods. With one exception (Kerkas) they have all been identified, most beyond reasonable doubt, some with a certain amount of probability only. As against eleven *poleis* there are eighteen non-*polis* settlements.[1] Furthermore, we have remains of no fewer than thirty-two small nucleated settlements which cannot be convincingly matched with any of the toponyms found in the written sources.[2] Thus we know of sixty-one Archaic and Classical settlements altogether, of which eleven were *poleis* and are described below in the Inventory. With a few additions and omissions, the following list comprises those sites listed in *Barr.* as settlements of the Archaic and/or Classical periods.

1. *Pre-Hellenistic Settlements not Attested as* Poleis

Asine (*Ἀσίνη*) Hom. *Il.* 2.560; Strabo 8.4.4, 6.3, 10, 11, 17; Paus. 2.36.4. Captured by the Argives in C8l (Frödin and Persson (1938) 437) and reduced to the status of *kome*; cf. Vollgraff (1916) 221.32 = *SEG* 19.317 (C4l): *Ἀσίνα*. *Barr.* AC.

Eileoi (*Εἰλεοί*) Paus. 2.34.6 (*χωρίον*). Jameson *et al.* (1994) 30–33. *Barr.* AC.

Elaious (*Ἐλαιοῦς*) Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.5.2; Steph. Byz. 263.23. Pritchett (1991) 170–73. *Barr.* AC.

Genesion (*Γενέσιον*) or **Genethlion** (*Γενέθλιον*) Paus. 2.38.4 (*χωρίον*), 8.7.2. Pritchett (1965) 131–34. Shipley (1997) 266 adduces Steph. Byz. 202.11: *Γενέση πόλις Λακωνικῆς*; a C5m dedication found at Xeropighado shows that the site was at that time in Argolis (Piérart (2001) 28–29). *Barr.* AC.

[1] Doubtful or spurious settlements, mostly mentioned in late sources only, are Argos (*Ἄργος*) (Steph. Byz. 112.24: *πόλις … κατὰ Τροιζῆνα*); Dia (*Δῖα*) (Steph. Byz. 229.1–3: *πόλις … Πελοποννήσου περὶ τὸ Σκύλλειον*); Dryope (*Δρυόπη*) (Steph. Byz. 239.23: *πόλις περὶ τὴν Ἑρμιόνα*); Eiones (*Ἠιόνες*) (Hom. *Il.* 2.561; Strabo 8.6.13 (*κώμη, ναύσταθμον*); Jameson *et al.* (1994) 121–22, 480); Genethlion (*Γενέθλιον*) = Genesion (Paus. 2.34.9 (*χωρίον*)), cf. Pritchett (1965) 131–34, settlement near Troizen; Halioussa (*Ἁλιοῦσσα*) (Paus. 2.34.8 (*λιμήν*); island near Spetsai); Hyrnethion (*Ὑρνήθιον*) (Paus. 2.28.3 (*χωρίον*); settlement near Epidauros); Kelenderis (*Κελένδερις*) (Paus. 2.32.9 (*λιμήν*); harbour near Troizen); Kyneteia (*Κυνέτεια*) (Steph. Byz. 393.7 (*πόλις Ἄργους*) citing Kallimachos (fr. 55, Pfeiffer)); Lampe (*Λάμπη*) (Steph. Byz. 410.5 (*πόλις … τῆς Ἀργολίδος*), citing Philon); Melina (*Μέλινα*) (Steph. Byz. 442.11 (*πόλις Ἄργους*), citing Lycophron *Alex.* 403); Rhodoussa (*Ῥοδοῦσσα*) (Steph. Byz. 547.3 (*πόλις τῆς Ἀργείας*)); Saminthos (*Σάμινθος*) (Thuc. 5.58.5, a passage that offers no clue to whether Saminthos was a tract of land or a settlement); Sphairia (*Σφαιρία*) (Paus. 2.33.1; island near Kalauria, sometimes identified with Kalauria).

[2] The list includes only sites that are explicitly called "settlement", "village" or "town" in the inventories of Faraklas (1972*a* and *b*), (1973); Foley (1988), Runnels and Munn (1994), and Mee and Forbes (1997). None of the settlements is recorded in *Barr.*

Hysia or **Hysiai** (*Ὑσία*, *Ὑσιαί*) Thuc. 5.83.2; Strabo 8.6.17; Paus. 2.24.7 (*ἐρείπια Ὑσιῶν ἐστι πόλεώς ποτε ἐν τῇ Ἀργολίδι*), 2.27.1, 54.7. Cf. Vollgraff (1915) 372 D 10 = *SEG* 13 242 (C3s)). Pritchett (1980) 54–64. *Barr.* AC.

Kenchreai (*Κεγχρεαί*) Paus. 2.24.7 (*χωρίον*); Strabo 8.6.17. Pritchett (1980) 54–64; Pikoulas (1995) 270–71. *Barr.* AC.

Kerkas (*Κερκάς*) Suda *A*942 (*πόλις*) = *FGrHist* 2 T1; near Nauplia(?). Later attested as a *kome* (*SEG* 11 1084 (C4l); cf. Piérart (1997) 335). Not in *Barr.* Unlocated.

Lerna (*Λέρνα*) Aesch. *Prom.* 652, 677; *Tetr.* 15 D fr. 130; Eur. *Phoen.* 613; Strabo 8.6.2 (*χωρίον*); Paus. 2.36.6–7. Baladié (1980) 87–88, 111–12. *Barr.* AC.

Lessa (*Λῆσσα*) Paus. 2.25.10 (*κώμη*). Rupp (1976). *Barr.* C.

Lyrkeia (*Λύρκεια*) Strabo 6.2.4, 8.6.17; Paus. 2.25.4–5; Hesych. *Λ*632 (*Λυρκείου δῆμον . . . ἔστι δὲ καὶ ὄρος καὶ πόλις*); *SEG* 17 143.3 (C3s) (*Λύρκειον*). Pritchett (1980) 12–17; Pikoulas (1995) 263–64. Prior to C5f, Lyrkeia may have been a dependent *polis*; cf. the sub-ethnic *Λυρκειεύς* (Piérart (1997) 334–35 (C6l/C5e)). No date in *Barr.*, but the inscription published by Piérart (1997) suggests AC.

Mases (*Μάσης*) Hom. *Il.* 2.562; Strabo 8.6.10, 17; Paus. 2.35.11, 36.1–3 (*ἐπίνειον*); Steph. Byz. 435.5 (*πόλις*). Jameson *et al.* (1994) 374–76: "If Mases ever reached the status of a *polis*, by the classical period it could only have been a subunit of Hermion" (376). *Barr.* AC.

Midea (*Μιδέα*) or **Mideia** (*Μίδεια*) Strabo. 8.6.11; Paus. 2.25.9, 6.20.7, 8.27.1 (*πόλισμα*). *Barr.* No date.

Mysia (*Μυσία*) Paus. 2.18.3 (*χωρίον*). *Barr.* AC(?).

Nauplia (*Ναυπλία*) See s.v. Argos (no. 347).

Oinoa (*Οἰνόα*) or **Oinoe** (*Οἰνόη*) or **Oine** (*Οἴνη*) *IG* IV 823.57 (C4); Paus. 1.15.1 (*ἐν Οἰνόῃ τῆς Ἀργείας*), 2.25.2–3 (cf. *SEG* 38 314), 10.10.4; Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.8.6, 2.5.3; Hsch. *O*316; Pediasimus, *De duodecim Herculis laboris* 8 (Myth. Graec. I). Pritchett (1980) 2–12, (1991) 222–26; Pikoulas (1995) 260–61. *Barr.* AC.

Philanorion (*Φιλανόριον*) *IG* IV²·1 75.16, 34 (*Φιλανορεία*); Paus. 2.36.3. Jameson *et al.* (1994) 33–36, 596–606. *Barr.* AC.

Temenion (*Τημένιον*) Strabo 8.6.2; Paus. 2.38.1. Dorovinis (1997). *Barr.* AC.

Thermasia (?) Paus. 2.34.6 (*ἱερὸν Δήμητρος ἐστιν ἐπίκλησιν Θερμασίας*). Jameson *et al.* (1994) 121–22, 480. *Barr.* C.

2. *Unidentified Settlements*

Ano Phanari Faraklas (1972*a*) figs. 15a–b; Foley (1988) 172: 7 (settlement and watch-tower in the territory of Epidauros (no. 348)). C.

Ag. Ioannis Runnels and Munn (1994) F4 (village, region of Fournni). ACH.

Ag. Ioannis Faraklas (1972*a*) 12; Foley (1988) 176: 15. Settlement and sanctuary (territory of Epidauros (no. 348)). C.

Ag. Leonidhas Faraklas (1972*a*) 11; Foley (1988) 176: 16. Settlement and watch-tower (territory of Epidauros (no. 348)). C.

Berbati Foley (1988) 177:19. Settlement, in the Argive plain. C.

Brinies (or *Dherpeza*) Runnels and Munn (1994) 475: C42 (village (?), region of Koiladha). H.

Chinitsa Runnels and Munn (1994) 424: A 12 (village(?), region of Porto-Cheli (Halieis (no. 349))). C.

Choritsa Foley (1988) 177: 20. "In the C period, it was probably a town." AC.

Fousia Faraklas (1973) figs. 12a–16b; Foley (1988) 193: 85 (unfortified settlement; territory of Troizen (no. 357)). AC.

Giftokastro Faraklas (1972*a*) 12; Foley (1988) 180: 31. Settlement (territory of Epidauros (no. 348)). AC.

Helliniko Faraklas (1972*a*) 12; Foley (1988) 181: 33. Fortified settlement in the territory of Epidauros (no. 348). C.

Iria (?) Faraklas (1972*a*) 13; Foley (1988) 182: 40 (fortified settlement(?) in the territory of Epidauros (no. 348)). A(?)C.

Kalloni (*Ag. Yioryios*) Faraklas (1972*b*) 15; Foley (1988) 182: 42 (settlement in the territory of Troizen (no. 357)). C.

Kapari Runnels and Munn (1994) 504: E78 (village(?), region of Hermioni). H.

Katsingri (*Prophitis Ilias*) Foley (1988) 183: 48 (temple and lower town in the territory of Argos (no. 347)). A.

Kinetta Hill-top west of Kinetta. Runnels and Munn (1994) 492: E36 (village, region of Hermioni). AC.

Korakia Island Runnels and Munn (1994) 463: B105 (village(?), region of Kranidhi). H.

Koroni Faraklas (1972*a*) 12; Foley (1988) 185: 58 (fortified settlement in the territory of Epidauros (no. 348)). C.

Koufo Runnels and Munn (1994) 522: G11 (village(?), region of Iliokastro). A(C).

Koukouras Runnels and Munn (1994) 431: A 49 (village(?), region of Porto-Cheli (Halieis (no. 349))). (C)H.

Lemonodhasos Faraklas (1972*b*) 15; Foley (1988) 185: 63 (settlement uncertain in C). C(?).

Loutro Runnels and Munn (1994) 444: B5 (village(?), region of Kranidhi). C.

Magoula sta Ilia Runnels and Munn (1994) 519: G1: (village(?), region of Iliokastro). AC.

Magoula Mee and Forbes (1997) 65, 68, 143–44: MS 60 (settlement of Methana Peninsula (no. 352)). AC.

Melindra (*Milindra*) Runnels and Munn (1994) 438: B20 (village, region of Kranidhi). H.

Oga Mee and Forbes (1997) 65, 68, 146–48: MS 67 (settlement of Methana Peninsula (no. 352)). C.

Panayitsa Runnels and Munn (1994) 438: B4 (village(?), region of Kranidhi). H.

Petrothalassa Faraklas (1973) 9; Foley (1988) 196: 105 (where it is called Thalassopetra); Runnels and Munn (1994) 483: E6 (village or small town, region of Hermioni). H.

Pigadhaki Faraklas (1972*a*) 11; Foley (1988) 193: 89 (fortified settlement in the territory of Epidauros (no. 348)). C.

Sambariza Magoula Runnels and Munn (1994) 484: E9 (village, region of Hermioni). A.

Thermisi Kastro Runnels and Munn (1994) 480: E3 (village, region of Hermioni). A(C).

Tracheia Faraklas (1972*a*) 12; Foley (1988) 198: 109 (fortified settlement in the territory of Epidauros (no. 348)). C.

II. The *Poleis*

347. Argos (Argeios) Map 58. Lat. 37.40, long. 22.45. Size of territory: 5. Type: A. The toponym is Ἄργος, τό (Hdt. 1.82.5; *IvO* 630.3 = *SEG* 11 1249 (480–475?); ML 77.15 = *IG* I³ 370 (418–414); *IG* IV 583.1 (C4l); on this name, see Hall (1995) 580). The city-ethnic is Ἀργεῖος (*SEG* 3 395 = *LSAG* 168.4 (C7l/C6e); *NIEpi* 10.4–5 (470s); Bacchyl. *Ep.* 1.142, 2.4–5). Argos is called a *polis* in the urban sense (*SEG* 11 1084.6 (C4l); Hdt. 6.82.1; Thuc. 5.59.3; Xen. *Hell.* 4.7.3), in the political sense (ML 42B.32–33 (C5m); *SEG* 11 1084.25 (C4l); Thuc. 5.67.2; Aen. Tact. 11.8), and in the territorial sense (Xen. *Hell.* 4.7.2). Πολιήτης is found in Hdt. 6.76.2. The oldest attestation of the city-ethnic in a historical context is in Tyrtaios (fr. 23a.15, West = *P Oxy.* 3316). The collective use is attested internally in *SEG* 13 239 (*c.*475), on coins (*infra*) and in a C4l/C3e dedicatory inscription (*IG* IV 487) and externally in a dedication of Corinthian spoils at Olympia (*SEG* 11 1203 (*c.*500–480)), in the list of Argives killed at Tanagra in 458 (ML 35 = *IG* I³ 1149) and in literary sources (Hdt. 1.31.2; Thuc. 1.102.4; Arist. *Pol.* 1270ᵃ2). The individual use is attested internally in a C3 honorific decree (*IG* IV 585) and externally on a bronze plaque found in Epidauros (*SEG* 26 449 (C5e)), in an honorific decree of Epidauros (*NIEpi* 10.5–6 (470s)) and in literary sources (Hdt. 9.75; Xen. *Hell.* 1.3.13). *Patris* is found in Thuc. 2.68.4 and *IG* IV².1 618 (C4).

The territory of Argos is referred to as γᾶς τᾶς Ἀργείας in a law of C6m (*IG* IV 506.3, 10 = *Nomima* I 100; cf. Thuc. 2.27.2) and as ἡ Ἀργείων χώρη at Hdt. 7.149.3; at Thuc. 4.133.2 the toponym Ἄργος designates the territory of the city (ὁ νεὼς τῆς Ἥρας . . . ἐν Ἄργει). The plain of Argos covers *c.*275 km² and is surrounded by mountains from which streams flow into the valley. The whole region covers almost 1,300 km², most of which is mountainous. To the north the divide between the hinterland of the Argolic Gulf and that of the Corinthian Gulf follows the Tretos range. The Arkadian mountains tower over the plain to the west: Lyrkeion, Artemision, Kreopolos and Parthenion. To the east is the Arachnaion massif, and to the south the plain ends at the Argolic Gulf. After the destruction of Asine in C8l and the conquest of Nauplia in C7, Argos dominated the entire valley, which seems to form a natural unit and is well suited to being the territory of one polity (Piérart (1997)). But the political status of some dependent communities remains obscure. Nauplia may just possibly have been a dependent *polis*: it is called Ἀργείων ναύσταθμον at Strabo 8.6.2; but Ps.-Skylax 49 calls it πόλις καὶ λιμήν, thus suggesting that as late as C4 it may have been more than just a harbour town (cf. Hansen (1997) 36–37). There is, however, no other evidence to support Ps.-Skylax's classification of Nauplia as a *polis*, and the application of the term to Nauplia may be an error (cf. Hansen (2000) 196 n. 49). Others were allies—e.g. Orneai (no. 354) (Thuc. 5.47.1) and perhaps Mykenai (no.

353)—and some were perioikic cities—e.g. Lyrkeia and probably Tiryns (no. 356) (Piérart (1997) 334–36). From C5m the territory of Argos comprised Hysiai, Tiryns, Midea and Mykenai (Paus. 8.27.1). Orneai—almost certainly situated at Kato Belesi = modern Lyrkeia—was incorporated in C5l (Moggi (1974)) but was still a *polis* in 352/1 according to Diod. 16.34.3, 39.4. The boundary stones between Argos and Corinth (no. 227) were removed in 392 when the two *poleis* united (Xen. *Hell.* 4.4.6), but the occupation of Corinth by Argos was terminated in 387/6 by the King's Peace (Xen. *Hell.* 5.1.34). In *c.*C4l the territory of Argos grew to *c.*1,400 km² by the annexation of Kleonai (no. 351) (Piérart (1982); Perlman (2000) 148–49), which dominated the neighbouring valley of Nemea with the sanctuary of Zeus where one of the four Panhellenic festivals was celebrated every second year (Golden (1998) 11, table i). It is more difficult to assess the increase in territory due to the incorporation of Kynouria to the south-west. The toponym denotes both the plain of Thyrea and the plateau further south, which was probably acquired by the Argives in 338 as far as and including Zarax (Piérart (2001); but see Shipley (2000) 378). Argos was mainly an agricultural *polis* (Piérart (1997) 332), and according to Lehmann (1937) 77–78 the Argive plain may in Antiquity have produced some 320,000 hl of grain per year. Nevertheless, Argos was one of the principal recipients of grain from Kyrene (no. 1028) during the grain crisis of 330–326 (Tod 196.7).

For the size of population the only information we possess is some army figures. According to Hdt. 7.148.2, 6,000 Argives were killed in 494 at the battle of Sepeia, and the city suffered a severe shortage of manpower during the next generation (Hdt. 6.83.1). Nevertheless, at Nemea in 394, the Argives could muster *c.*7,000 hoplites (Xen. *Hell.* 4.2.17), to whom should be added a contingent of knights (Charneux (1991) 316 n. 126). A total of perhaps 7,500 hoplites and knights in the field army corresponds to some 12,000 adult male citizens of hoplite status (Hansen (1985) 11–13, 16–21).

The early history of Argos and the rule of King Pheidon (Hdt. 6.127.3; Arist. *Pol.* 1310^{b}26–28; Ephor. fr. 115) is too obscure to be told. Similarly, the existence of amphiktyonies dominated by Argos in the Archaic period is still a moot point (Tausend (1992) 8–12; Piérart (1995)). After the crushing defeat at Sepeia in 494 (Hdt. 6.77–80), Argos observed a strict neutrality and declined the invitation to join the Hellenic League against Persia (Hdt. 7.148–52). The Argive resentment of Sparta (no. 345) led to a *rapprochement* with Athens (no. 361), but after his ostracism Themistokles found refuge in Argos (Thuc. 1.135.3). Argos took advantage of the weakening of Sparta during the revolt of the helots and succeeded in destroying Mykenai (no. 353) and expelling its population (Diod. 11.65; Paus. 2.16.5, 5.23.3, 7.25.5–6, 8.27.1, 33.2; Strabo 8.6.19; Piérart (1992) 377–82). A few years later Argos, now a democratic *polis*, concluded an alliance with Athens (Thuc. 1.102.4 (*c.*460)), and in 458, 1,000 Argives supported the Athenians in the battle of Tanagra (Thuc. 1.107.5). At the same time Argos played a dominant role in a treaty (ML 42 (C5m)) between Knosos (no. 967) and Tylisos (no. 992) and concluded alliances with neighbouring *poleis* (cf. Hdt. 9.35.2 implying a C5f alliance with Tegea (no. 297) and the decree *SEG* 11 1084 (C4l) renewing friendly relations with Pallantion (no. 289)).

In 451 a thirty years' peace was concluded between Argos and Sparta (Thuc. 5.14.4; *Staatsverträge* 144). It was strictly observed; but those Peloponnesians who in 421 were dissatisfied with the Peace of Nikias approached Argos, and a treaty was concluded with Mantinea (no. 281), Elis (no. 251), Corinth (no. 227) and the Chalkidians (Thuc. 5.28, 31 = *Staatsverträge* 190). After the breakdown of the attempt to renew the thirty years' peace, a new treaty was concluded in 420 with Mantinea, Elis and Athens (Thuc. 5.47.8; *IG* I³ 83 = *Staatsverträge* 193). According to Thucydides, the ensuing war between Argos and Epidauros (no. 348) was provoked by the Athenians for strategic reasons (Thuc. 5.26.2, 53–58, 75.4–5). It resulted in 418 in the battle of Mantinea (Thuc. 5.66–73) in which Argos, Orneai (no. 354) and Kleonai (no. 351) lost 700 men (Thuc. 5.74.3). A fifty-year alliance was concluded in 418 between Sparta and Argos, now dominated by a pro-Lakedaimonian faction (Thuc. 5.77–79 = *Staatsverträge* 194), but the restoration of the democratic regime at Argos led to a new *rapprochement* with Athens (Thuc. 5.82.5; *IG* I³ 86 = *Staatsverträge* 196).

By forming a quadruple alliance in 395 with Boiotia, Athens (no. 361) and Corinth (no. 227), Argos for the first time joined an organisation ruled by a *synedrion* (Diod. 14.82.1 = *Staatsverträge* 225). In the Corinthian War Argos was involved in numerous military operations, some of which took place in its own territory (Xen. *Hell.* 4.2.17–22, 3.15–21, 4.19, 7.2.1–4). In 392 the Argives annexed Corinth and forced their own laws on the Corinthians (Xen. *Hell.* 4.4.1–6), but Corinth regained its independence by the King's Peace in 387/6 (Xen. *Hell.* 5.1.34–36). Argos was a party to the *koine eirene* of 362 (*IG* IV 556 = *Staatsverträge* 292) and observed neutrality during the war against Philip of Makedon in 340–338 (Dem. 18.64), but in 338/7 the Argives joined the Corinthian League (Arr. *Anab.* 1.17.8), and in the 330s they were appointed arbitrators in a dispute referred to

the *synedrion* of the League by two of the members (*IG* XII.3 1259 = RO 82 = Ager (1996) 3). Argos recovered Thyrea (*supra*) and may for a short period have dominated Epidauros (no. 348) (*IG* IV².1 69 and *SEG* 11 400, see *infra* 607). After the death of Alexander the Great, Argos joined the anti-Makedonian alliance (Diod. 18.11.2).

In the course of the Archaic and Classical periods the constitution of Argos changed from monarchy to oligarchy and then to democracy. According to tradition, the dynasty of Temenids was deposed two generations after Pheidon (in C6f, if one accepts the synchronism suggested at Hdt. 6.127.3). But the king (βασιλεύς) was kept as an eponymous official (ML 42.43 (C5m); cf. Hdt. 7.149.2). The principal body of government was now the *damiourgoi* (δαμιοργοί), a board of first nine and later six officials with judicial and financial powers (*IG* IV 614 = *Nomima* I 87 (575–550); *SEG* 11 314 (C6) = *Nomima* I 88). In spite of growing resentment among the commoners, the oligarchy was still upheld after the defeat at Sepeia (Diod. 10.26; cf. Gehrke, *Stasis* 24–25); but after the Persian Wars the constitution was changed into a democracy (Gehrke, *Stasis* 361–63), and ostracism was introduced in order to avoid a return to monarchy or a *dynasteia* (Arist. *Pol.* 1302*b*18–19). Apart from two short oligarchic episodes, the democracy lasted to the end of the Classical period. The democratic constitution was briefly overturned in 417 and was seriously under threat in 370 (Gehrke, *Stasis* 26–33). (1) During the Heraia celebrated in February 417 a pro-Lakedaimonian faction of Argives supported by the Lakedaimonians overthrew the democracy and introduced an oligarchic constitution (Thuc. 5.81.2; Arist. *Pol.* 1304ª25–27; Aen. Tact. 17.2–4, but see Labarbe (1974)). But only half a year later a counter-revolution brought the democrats back to power; some of the oligarchs were killed, and others were exiled (Thuc. 5.82.2; Diod. 12.80.3; Plut. *Alc.* 15.4). (2) After the battle of Leuktra, the oligarchs planned a *coup d'état*; but their plans were disclosed. In the aftermath 1,200 wealthy citizens were killed, and others exiled (Diod. 15.57.3–58.4). It is a moot point whether the *stasis* described at Aen. Tact. 11.7–8 refers to (1) or (2) (Stylianou (1998) 414).

During the democracy, decisions (called δόκημα, *SEG* 34 282.15 (330–300)) were made by the people (ὁ δᾶμος τῶν Ἀργείων, *SEG* 34 282.4; cf. Thuc. 5.28.1) meeting in assembly (ἁλιαία τελεία, *SEG* 30 355.1 (330–300); cf. *SEG* 34 282.6 (330–300)) at regular intervals, probably every month (*SEG* 30 355.1), but a meeting could be adjourned and held as an extraordinary meeting in the following month (ἀμβόλιμος, *SEG* 11 1084.1–2 (C4l)). The assembly was chaired by the president of the council (ἀρήτευε βωλᾶς ὁ δεῖνα, *SEG* 34 282.3), which indicates a probouleumatic procedure (Piérart (2000) 303, *pace* Rhodes, *DGS* 71). The council was assisted by a secretary (γροφεὺς βωλᾶς) and seems to have had a term of office of six months (Tod 179.15; cf. Rhodes, *DGS* 71). Alongside the βωλά there was another council, called "The Eighty" (ὀγδοήκοντα, Thuc. 5.47.9), presumably subdivided into four sections of twenty, one for each of the four *phylai* (Ϝικαδέες; *SEG* 33 286 (C4l)).

Other boards of officials were the five *strategoi* (Thuc. 5.59.5; *SEG* 29 361 (400)) and, as commanders of the cavalry, two *ilarchoi* from each *phyle* (*SEG* 11 293 (C4–C3); Charneux (1991) 314–17), further a board of four *hieromnemones*, one from each *phyle*, associated with the administration of the Heraion (*IG* IV 517 (C5)), and a board of *artynai* (ἀρτῦναι) mentioned in the treaty of 420 alongside the Council and the Eighty (Thuc. 5.47.9). See Piérart (2000) 305–6 for details.

After the destruction of Tiryns (no. 356) and Mykenai (no. 353), Argos possessed a large public domain, called δαμοσία καὶ ἱερὰ χώρα (*SEG* 41 282 (C1)) and presumably administered by the *phylai* (Kritzas (1992) 236–40; cf. *SEG* 41 284; Piérart (1997) 332–33). Argos had its own calendar, and nine months are known (Charneux (1990) 397–402; Trümpy, *Monat.* 143–44).

The Argive citizens were subdivided into the three Dorian *phylai* (Hylleis, Dymanes, Pamphyloi), to which a fourth *phyle* was added perhaps as late as C5m: *viz.* the Hyrnathioi (Ephor. fr. 15; *IG* IV 487–88 (C4l/C3e) = *SEG* 11 293). Each *phyle* was further subdivided into twelve artificial units, probably called *phatrai* (φάτραι) and named after local heroes, e.g. Τεμενίδαι (*SEG* 29 361.III.18 (400); cf. Piérart (2000) 299). In each *phyle*, finances were handled by a board of twelve (δυώδεκα), probably one from each *phatra* (*SEG* 41 284). In *c.*330 a new civic subdivision was added to the two others: in all probability the *pentekostys* (πεντηκοστύς), e.g. Κλεωναί (*SEG* 30 355.3 (330–300)). Members of the same *phatra* might belong to different *pentekostyes*. Membership of the civic subdivisions was hereditary, but the subdivision into *pentekostyes* was at least to some extent territorial. From *c.*330 naturalised citizens had to be inscribed in a *phyle*, a *phatra* and a *pentekostys* (*ISE* no. 41.11–13 (C3f)). In personal names a sub-ethnic was sometimes added to the name and patronymic, first the *phyle* (*IG* IV 517 (C5)), later the *phatra* (*SEG* 30 355.4–5) or the *pentekostys* (*SEG* 30 355.3) or a combination of the two (*IG* IV 616 (C4l) = *SEG* 33 288); for the whole system and its chronology, see Piérart (2000) 297–301.

In C4l block grants of citizenship were bestowed on the cities of Rhodos (no. 1000), Aspendos (no. 1001) and Soloi (no. 1011) (*SEG* 34 282.4–8). In C5f Argos granted proxeny to a citizen of Oinous (no. 338), one of the Lakedaimonian perioikic *poleis* (*SEG* 13 239), in C5s to a citizen of Sparta (no. 345) (Thuc. 5.76.3), and later in C4 to citizens of Athens (no. 361) (*SEG* 30 355), Pheneos (no. 291) (*SEG* 30 356) and Lampsakos (no. 748) (*SEG* 30 360). Argive citizens received grants of proxeny from Sparta (Thuc. 5.59.5), Athens (*IG* II² 78, ethnic restored), Epidauros (no. 348) (*SEG* 26 445 (C4m)) and Megara (no. 225) (*IG* VII 2 (C4)). Reception of envoys is recorded in Hdt. 7.148.1 and in Thuc. 5.31.1; *IG* IV².1 102B.II.203 (400–350) records a payment to a κάρυκι ἐς Ἄργος. Sending of envoys is attested at Hdt. 7.151, 9.12; Thuc. 5.30.3 and Xen. *Hell.* 1.3.13 (cf. 4.7.3).

Metics (πεδάϝοικοι) are attested in lists of C5 (*IG* IV 552, 615 (C5?); *Inv.* E 88 (C5m)). According to Hdt. 6.83, followed by Diod. 10.26, the slaves (οἱ δοῦλοι) seized power in Argos in 494 and married the widows of the Argives killed in the battle of Sepeia. They were later expelled by the descendants of the Argive citizens and found refuge in Tiryns (no. 356). However, Arist. *Pol.* 1303ᵃ6–8, followed by Plut. *Mor.* 245F, calls them περίοικοι and asserts that many of them became citizens after the defeat at Sepeia. There is no clue to resolving this problem. Probably, the inhabitants of the dependent *poleis* had an inferior status and acquired the status of full citizens only with the introduction of the democracy in *c.*470–460 (Paus. 8.27.1; cf. Piérart (1997) 327–31).

The protective deity of Argos was Apollo Lykeios (Cole (1995) 302; Foley (1988) 139–40; *SEG* 13 240.9 (C4l/C3e)). His temple in the agora has not been found, but the remains of an altar, inscribed as belonging to Apollo Lykeios, have been recovered (Pariente *et al.* (1998) 218). Other important urban cults were those of Zeus Larisaios (Paus. 2.24.3; Piérart (1996)) and Athena Polias (*SEG* 11 314 (C6f)), both with their sanctuaries on the Larisa hill. On the south slope of the Deiras hill were the sanctuaries of Athena Oxyderkas (Paus. 2.24.2; Piérart (1996)) and the oracular shrine of Apollo Pythaeus or Deiradiotas (Paus. 2.24.1; *BCH* 33 (1909) 172; Foley (1988) 140; Piérart (1990)).

The territory of Argos was protected by the goddess Hera, whose principal sanctuary lay some 10 km north-east of Argos (Billot (1997)). The most famous festival of Argos was the Heraia celebrated at the Heraion in connection with a procession from the town (Hdt. 1.31.2; Pind. *Nem.* 10.24; Paus. 2.20.3; Hall (1995) 592–96). The Heraia were a Panhellenic festival announced by *theoroi*, since *c.*330 hosted in the various *poleis* by *theorodokoi*, of whom a fragmentary list has been preserved (*SEG* 23 189 (*c.*330), see Perlman (2000) 100–4, 149–55). The festival of Hera Argeia included competitions called *Hekatombaia*, and a C5f bronze prize hydria from the games has been found in Sinope (no. 729) (*SEG* 30 1456; cf. *SEG* 30 52 (430–420), 366 (460–450), 367 (440), 648 (430–420) with Amandry (1980) 211–17). The priestesses of Argive Hera served for life, and the list of priestesses, collected by Hellan. frr. 74–84, served in C5s as a kind of Panhellenic chronology (Thuc. 2.2.1). After the subjection of Kleonai (no. 351), Argos assumed the presidency of the Nemean Games, and the C4l list of *theorodokoi* found at Nemea was probably drawn up by the Argives (*SEG* 36 331; Perlman (2000) 131–55).

Argive citizens were victorious in the Olympic Games (*Olympionikai* 204 (480), 210 (476), 222 (472), 241 (468), 260 (460), 298 (448), 335 (420) and 464 (328)); in the Pythian Games (Paus. 10.7.4 (586, 582, 578); Pind. *Nem.* 10.25); in the Isthmian Games (Pind. *Nem.* 10.26); in the Nemean Games (Paus. 1.29.5 (rC5f), 2.20.6); in the *Lykaia* (*IG* V 2 549 (C4s)); and in the *Amphiaraia* (*IG* VII 414 (C4s)). Argos made several communal dedications at Olympia (*IvO* 250 = *SEG* 11 1203 (500–480?), 251 (500–480); *SEG* 11 1203 nos. 3–5 (500–480): Corinthian spoils) and Delphi (Jacquemin (1999) nos. 71 (C6e), 72 (C6e), 74 (C5f), 70 (456), 68 (C5m), 67 (C5l), 69 (369)). Consultation of the oracle at Delphi is recorded by Hdt. 6.19.1.

The site of Argos is dominated by two hills, one much higher than the other: to the south, Larisa with escarpments rising to *c.*290 m (ἄκρα: Strabo 8.6.7; ἀκρόπολις: Strabo 8.6.9; Paus. 2.24.1), and to the north Profites Elias, called Aspis (the shield), a rocky outcrop of less than 90 m. Its real name was almost certainly Deiras (Piérart (1990) 327–28). Larisa and Deiras were both surrounded by a defence circuit, of which only parts have been recovered. The oldest remains date from C6. In the Classical period the walls seem to have enclosed an area of over 200 ha (Lang (1996) 174 and Abb. 34). An attempt in 417/16 to construct a set of long walls down to the sea was stopped by Spartan intervention (Thuc. 5.82.5–83.2). The ancient town grew up on the south side of the Larisa hill. The habitation area was organised around the axes of the thoroughfares. The oldest of the city's two theatres was built into the eastern spur of Larisa hill, called Pron (the promontory). It had a nearly rectangular *koilon* of between thirty-seven and thirty-eight straight rows of seats accommodating *c.*2,700–3,000 persons, and it seems to have served as meeting-place of the assembly and the courts (*TGR* ii. 123). In C3e a curved theatre of the canonical type was constructed in its vicinity (Piérart (1998) 344–45;

Hansen and Fischer-Hansen (1994) 56–57; *TGR* ii. 125–26). The agora (Thuc. 5.47.11) occupied a low-lying area below the theatre. Here stood the temple of Apollo Lykeios, the most famous sanctuary of the city of Argos (Paus. 2.19.3), where public enactments were set up (Thuc. 5.47.11; *SEG* 34 282.16). The oldest known public political building is the hypostyle hall; it was constructed *c.*475–450 and probably served as *bouleuterion* (Bommelaer and des Courtils (1994)) (*SEG* 31 315, 41 284). East of this, some Archaic buildings apparently used for administrative purposes were replaced in the period 450–425 by a large building flanked by three colonnades. It was used as a *gymnasion* and served a number of other purposes. It contained a long narrow court flanked by a colonnade (Pariente *et al.* (1998) 213–14, 218). North of this building a C4s *stadion* 180 m (= 1 stade) long was laid out towards the east (ibid. 216, 218–19). The north and east sides of the agora were bordered by two stoas (ibid. 214–15). In, probably, 315 Kassander's general Apollonides had the *prytaneion* burnt down and killed 500 Argives who were gathered in the building (Diod. 19.63.2). The prison of Argos is mentioned in Arist. *Rh.* 1375^{a}5–6.

In literary sources (Ephor. frr. 115, 176) the invention of coinage is erroneously attributed to Pheidon, the C7f king of Argos. But Argos struck coins only from C5e (before *c.*480) and onwards. (1) Silver, from before 480 onwards; denominations: drachm, tetrobol, hemidrachm and smaller denominations down to tetartemorion; types: *obv.* forepart of wolf; *rev.* *A* in incuse. (2) These types are also found on a C5–C4 issue of iron coins. (3) Silver, from *c.*421 onwards; denominations: stater, drachm and smaller denominations; types: *obv.* head of Hera wearing *stephanos*; *rev.* various types, often two dolphins swimming in opposite direction, legend: on some *ΑΡΓΕΙΟΝ* or *ΑΡΓΕΙΩΝ*. (4) Bronze from C4 onwards with various types (for the date, see *IGCH* no. 11 and Kraay (1976) 96); Babelon, *Traité* ii.3. 447–75; *SNG Cop. Argolis* 1–66).

348. Epidauros (Epidaurios) Map 58. Lat. 37.40, long. 23.10. Size of territory: 4. Type: A. The toponym is *Ἐπίδαυρος* (Pind. *Isthm.* 8.68; *IG* iv².1 122.12 (C4)), either *ὁ* (Hom. *Il.* 2.561) or *ἡ* (Hdt. 3.52.7; Thuc. 2.56.4–5). The city-ethnic is *Ἐπιδαύριος* (ML 27.4 (479); *IG* iv².1 47.2–3 (C4); Hdt. 5.82–84). Epidauros is called a *polis* both in the urban sense (Thuc. 5.75.5; Ps.-Skylax 54; *IG* iv².1 115.14, 25 (C4l)) and in the political sense (*IG* iv².1 48–51 (C4s–C3f); Xen. *Hell.* 6.5.29). The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally in an honorific decree (*NIEpi* 10.5–5 (470s): *τὸπιδαύριοι*) and in a dedication of an Argive (*SEG* 26 449 = *Nomima* ii 28 (C5f)), and externally on the Serpent Column in Delphi (ML 23.4) and in literary sources (Hdt. 5.82–84; Thuc. 1.27.2; Xen. *Hell.* 4.2.16). The individual use is found internally in a dedication of an Epidaurian (*SEG* 11 438 (C4s)) and externally at Delphi, where an Epidaurian made a dedication to Apollo in C5 (*F.Delphes* iii.4 195) and an Astias of Epidauros served as *naopoios* in 356/5 (*CID* ii 31.35), and in Olympia on a monument commemorating the Olympic victor Aristion (*IvO* 165 (C4m); *Olympionikai* 415). It is presumably called *patra* (= *patris*) in *IG* iv².1 619 (C4?).

The name of the territory is *ἡ Ἐπιδαυρία γῆ* (Thuc. 4.45.2) or *ἡ Ἐπίδαυρος*, where the toponym denotes the territory (Thuc. 5.55.1, 77.1; Xen. *Hell.* 7.1.18; cf. Ps.-Skylax 50, 54: *ἡ Ἐπίδαυρος χώρα*). It covered 473 km² (Jameson *et al.* (1994) 18). The frontier between Epidauros and Troizen (no. 357) was near Methana (no. 352) (Thuc. 4.45.2); to the west, the frontier towards Argos (no. 347) was at Mt. Arachnaion. The Epidaurians possessed part of the coast of the Argolic Gulf but had no harbour there (Ps.-Skylax 50). A C5 dedication found in the Iria plain indicates that the plain belonged to Epidauros (*SEG* 24 274; cf. Jameson *et al.* (1994) 570).

In 480 Epidauros provided eight triremes at Artemision (Hdt. 8.1.2) and ten at Salamis (Hdt. 8.43), as well as 800 men at Plataiai in 479 (Hdt. 9.28.4). Assuming that there is no overlap between the forces, Jameson *et al.* (1994) 556–59 estimates the military strength of Troizen at 2,800 men, and the total population at *c.*16,000 minimum and 23,500 maximum.

Epidauros was a member of the Kalaurian amphiktyony (Strabo 8.6.14; Tausend (1992) 12–19). In C5e, after the Argive defeat at Sepeia, Epidauros gave shelter to some Argive refugees (*SEG* 26 449 = *Nomima* ii 28 (C5f); cf. Lambrinoudakis (1990)).

Epidauros fought on the Greek side in the Persian War (Hdt. 8.1.2, 43, 9.28.4), and is recorded on the Serpent Column in Delphi (ML 27.4) and in Olympia (Paus. 5.23.1–2). It was a member of the Peloponnesian League (Thuc. 5.57.1). Alongside the Corinthians they defeated the Athenians at Halieis in 460/59 (Thuc. 1.105.1). In 435 the Epidaurians supported Corinth (no. 227) against Korkyra (no. 123) with five triremes (Thuc. 1.27.2). From 430 the Athenians ravaged the territory of Epidauros (Thuc. 2.56.4–5, 4.45.2, 6.31.2).

Controlling a territory which bordered on the Gulf of Argos but also had an excellent harbour on the Saronic Gulf, Epidauros occupied a strategic position and was an indispensable link in all relations between Athens (no. 361) and

Argos (no. 347). A war between Argos and Epidauros was fought in 419–418, caused by a sacrifice owed by the Epidaurians to Apollo Pythaios (Thuc. 5.53.1). The territory of Epidauros was repeatedly plundered by the Argives (Thuc. 5.54.3–55.4). The Epidaurians received a Lakedaimonian garrison, and an Argive attack on the town was called off (Thuc. 5.56). After the battle of Mantinea, the Athenians, being allied with the Argives, built a blockading wall around the town of Epidauros, but in 418/17 a peace was concluded between Lakedaimon and Argos in which it was stipulated that the blockading wall be pulled down and the Argive and Athenian troops withdrawn from the territory of Epidauros (Thuc. 5.77.1). After the Athenian defeat at Syracuse, Epidauros took an active part in the mobilisation of a Peloponnesian fleet (Thuc. 8.3.2), and after the battle of Aigos potamoi in 405, a statue was set up in Delphi of the commander of the Epidaurian squadron (Paus. 10.9.10). Epidauros fought on the Spartan side in the battle of Nemea (Xen. *Hell.* 4.2.16) and remained loyal to Sparta (no. 345) even after the battle of Leuktra (Xen. *Hell.* 6.2.3, 7.2.2). In 369 Epaminondas ravaged the territory of Epidauros but failed to conquer the city (Diod. 15.69.1). Alongside Sparta and other members of the Peloponnesian League, Epidauros concluded an alliance with Athens in 370/69 (Xen. *Hell.* 7.1.1, 2.2; Arist. *Rh.* 1411ª11–13; cf. *Staatsverträge* 274); but in 366/5 Epidauros appears as an ally of Thebes (no. 221) (Isoc. 6.91; cf. *Staatsverträge* 285). After the battle of Chaironeia in 338, Epidauros may have become a dependency of Argos (Burford (1969) 17), and there may have been an Argive klerouchy in Epidauros (*IG* IV².1 69 and *SEG* 11 400, if restored: [*εὐεργέ*]*ταν εἶμεν τοῦ* [*δάμου Ἀργείων ἐν Ἐ*]*πιδαύρωι κα*[*τοικούντων. ἔλεξε*] *Πειθίλα*[*ς*]). Epidauros joined the revolt against Makedonia after the death of Alexander the Great (Diod. 18.11.2).

In C5s the sanctuary of Asklepios transformed Epidauros into a Panhellenic site visited by pilgrims from all parts. Contacts with other *poleis* increased because of the pilgrims and the erection of monumental buildings in the sanctuary. Construction began in the second quarter of C4, and the accounts mention heralds sent not only to neighbouring *poleis* but even to some more remote cities, such as Athens, Tegea (no. 297) and Thebes (no. 221) (*IG* IV².1 102, 103), from which artisans came to Epidauros (Burford (1969) 16–18). From the 350s, inscriptions attest to the sending out of *theoroi* and the appointment of *theorodokoi* in other *poleis*. We have preserved lists of *theorodokoi* in the various *poleis* recorded region by region in accordance with the itinerary of the *theoroi* (*IG* IV².1 94–95 = Perlman (2000) E1–2 (350s)), decrees endowing individuals with the title of *theorodokos*, sometimes connected with the title of *proxenos* (*SEG* 26 445 = Perlman (2000) E12 p. 200 (C4m)), and chronologically organised surveys of such decrees passed by the Epidaurians (*IG* IV².1 96 = Perlman (2000) E3 (C3f)). For an account of the institution of *theorodokia*, see Perlman (2000) 81–95. Citizens of Epidauros were appointed *proxenoi* by Karthaia (no. 492) (*IG* XII.4 542.15–16 (C4m)) and Megara (no. 225) (*IG* VII 13 (C4l)).

The Aristotelian collection of *politeiai* included a constitution of the Epidaurians (Arist. fr. 498), and the first entry in Plutarch's *Aitia Graeca* may stem from this work: there were in Epidauros 180 enfranchised citizens; they constituted the *politeuma* from which were elected the councillors (*bouleutai*), in Epidauros called *artynoi*. Most of the common people were settled in the countryside and nicknamed *κονίποδες*, i.e. those with dust on their feet (Plut. *Mor.* 291E). No date is indicated, but the narrow *politeuma* points to an oligarchy in the Archaic period. In C7s Epidauros was ruled by a tyrant called Prokles, whose daughter was married to Periander, the tyrant of Corinth (no. 227) (Hdt. 3.50–52). The numerous decrees passed in C4 by *boule* and *demos* (Rhodes, *DGS* 74) point to a democratic constitution.

The Epidaurians were Dorians (Hdt. 1.146.1, 7.99.2–3), and in C4 the citizens were organised into four *phylai*: two of the old Dorian *phylai*, Dymanes and Hylleis, and two other *phylai*, Azantioi and Hysminatai (*IG* IV².1 106.III.37–40 (C4)). The subdivision into *phylai* was applied in the working of political institutions, the composition of boards of officials, and the organisation of the army. The four *phylai* were further subdivided into at least thirty-nine territorial units (Jones, *POAG* 107–11; Perlman (2000) 85–87). The names of these units were used as sub-ethnics to identify Epidaurian citizens) (see *IG* IV².1 58.5: *Τιμοκράτης Παγασίνα*). The combination of a personal and a territorial subdivision of the citizenry remains problematic. Perhaps the citizens were reassigned to the various *phylai* in accordance with their place of residence.

In C4 decrees were passed by the *boule* and the *demos* and authenticated by a magistrate called *κατάλογος βουλᾶς* (*SEG* 26 445 (C4m); cf. Rhodes, *DGS* 73–74). The priest of Asklepios served as eponymous official (*IG* IV².1 103; cf. Sherk (1990) 267–68). The Epidaurian calendar was of the Doric type, and all months are attested (Trümpy, *Monat.* 140–43).

At Ps.-Skylax 54 (cf. Paus. 2.29.1) the urban centre is described as *πόλις καὶ λιμήν*. It lay on the Saronic Gulf west of Aigina (no. 358) and the peninsula of Methana (no. 352).

The remains are partly submerged and have not been systematically explored. The town occupied a peninsula consisting of two hills, Nisi, with a harbour on either side. Pausanias saw six temples in the town, on the acropolis and near the harbour (2.29.1). The theatre was situated on the western slope of the acropolis and has been excavated (Deilaki-Protonotariou (1972), (1973)). It dates to C4–Hell. (*TGR* ii. 213), accommodated some 5,000–6,000 persons, and had seats inscribed with the names of magistrates and citizens of the period *c.*350–200 (*SEG* 26 452). A boundary stone inscribed *ὅρος ἀγορᾶς* found on the neck of the peninsula indicates that the agora was near the theatre (*SEG* 26 452). Epidauros was fortified in C5 (Thuc. 5.56.5, 75.5).

The sanctuary of Asklepios was situated inland some 9 km south of the harbour. The peak of Mt. Kynortion, which rises behind the theatre, was consecrated to Apollo Maleatas, whose sanctuary was believed to be very old (Paus. 2.27.7). The remains indicate that it was in continuous use from C7s onwards (Paus. 2.27.7; Lambrinoudakis (1980)). Apollo Maleatas was persistently associated with Asklepios, originally a hero with healing powers, later worshipped as the god of medicine and the tutelary god of Epidauros (Paus. 2.26.3). His cult can be traced back to C6 (*IG* IV².1 136 (C6l/C5e)). From C4f onwards the Epidaurians implemented an ambitious building programme. The accounts are partially preserved (*IG* IV².1 102–20 (C4–C3e)). Famous architects and sculptors were invited, among them Polykleitos the Younger, allegedly responsible for the plans of the theatre (*TGR* ii. 208–10) and the *tholos* (Paus. 2.27–8.1; cf. Roux (1961); Burford (1969)).

Several Epidaurian citizens were victorious in the Olympic Games (*Olympionikai* 19 (712), 74 (608), 77 (600), 223 (472), 415 (368)). Participation in the Nemean Games is indicated by the city's possession of an *oikos* in Nemea (*SEG* 26 420; Miller (1990) 71, 119). The Asklepiaia can be traced back to C6l through the victory in boxing and *pankration* won by Themistios, the ancestor of Pytheas of Aigina, who was active *c.*490–480 (Pind. *Nem.* 5.53). Whereas Apollo Maleatas is closely associated with Asklepios in the healing inscriptions, there is no connection with the Games before C3m (Perlman (2000) 82). In the beginning the Games mostly attracted local contestants, but in C4 they acquired Panhellenic status. Thus, the rhapsode Ion of Ephesos (no. 844) took part in the games *c.*390 (Pl. *Io* 530B; cf. Sève (1993)).

Epidauros struck coins of silver and bronze from *c.*350 onwards. (1) Silver on the Aiginetan standard, *c.*350–323 or later; denominations: drachm, hemidrachm, obol, tetartemorion; types: *obv.* head of Asklepios laureate; *rev.* *E* or *ΕΠ* within laurel wreath; or *obv.* head of Apollo; *rev.* Asklepios enthroned holding sceptre and extending his right hand over a serpent, with a dog beneath the throne (a depiction of the cult statue of Asklepios described in Paus. 2.27.2); legend: *ΕΠ*. (2) Bronze, after *c.*350; types: *obv.* head of Asklepios; *rev.* Epione (the wife of Asklepios) holding a *phiale*; legend: *ΕΠ* (Head, *HN*² 441–42; *SNG Cop. Argolis* 114–30).

According to Hdt. 7.99.3, Epidauros colonised Kos (no. 499), Nisyros (no. 508) and Kalymna (no. 485); in the Archaic period the Epidaurians controlled Aigina (no. 358; Hdt. 5.83.1).

349. Halieis (Halikos) Map 58. Lat. 37.20, long. 23.10. Size of territory: 2. Type: A. The toponym is *Ἁλιεῖς, οἱ* (*IG* I³ 1147.3 (*c.*460); Xen. *Hell.* 6.2.3; Diod. 11.78.2), or *Ἁλία, ἡ* (Ps.-Skylax 50) or, in a late source only, *Ἁλική* (Paus. 2.36.1). The city-ethnic is, in the plural form, *Ἁλιεῖς* (Xen. *Hell.* 4.2.16), from **Ἁλιεύς* which, however, is unattested (Steph. Byz. 73.12); instead we find the *ktetikon Ἁλικός* (*IG* IV².1 122.69 (C4)), which is attested in the plural form as well (Bacchyl. fr. 4.49; *IG* IV².1 122.80: *[ἁ πόλι]ς ἁ τῶν Ἁλικῶν*). Halieis is called a *polis* implicitly in the urban sense (Ps.-Skylax 50; cf. Flensted-Jensen and Hansen (1996) 142) and explicitly in the political sense (*IG* IV².1 122.74, 80 (C4)). The external use of the city-ethnic is attested both collectively (*IG* I³ 75.6–7, 19, 27 (424/3); *IG* IV².1 122.80 (C4); Xen. *Hell.* 4.2.16, 7.2.2) and individually (*IG* IV².1 121.120 (C4), 122.69 (C4)). The internal collective use of the city-ethnic *Tirynthioi* is attested on C5 coins (*infra*).

The territory is called *γῆ Ἁλιάς* (Thuc. 2.56.5, 4.45.2) and its area is estimated at 84 km² (Jameson *et al.* (1994) 18). The earliest community was probably Dryopian (Bacchyl. fr 4.49; Callim. fr. 705, Pfeiffer; cf. Jameson *et al.* (1994) 63–65). Remains of a settlement at Halieis can be traced back to the Geometric period. The town flourished in the Archaic and Classical periods (Jameson *et al.* (1994) 435–37). It may have been a *polis* already in the Archaic period, but the absence of Halieis from the victory dedications at Olympia and Delphi (Paus. 5.23.1–2; ML 27) indicates that, if it was a *polis*, it must have been a dependent *polis*, dominated by, probably, Hermion (no. 350) as may be inferred from Ephor. fr. 56 (cf. Jameson *et al.* (1994) 75). In *c.*460 Halieis must have been ceded by Hermion to the Tirynthians (no. 356) after they had been expelled from Tiryns by the Argives (Hdt. 6.83.1–2; Strabo 8.6.11–12; Paus. 2.25.8). They formed a community called *Ἁλιεῖς οἱ ἐκ Τίρυνθος* at Hdt. 7.137.2, though

on their coins they used their original city-ethnic: *TIPYNΘIΩN* (*infra*). In 460/59 a battle between the Athenians and the Peloponnesians was fought at Halieis (Thuc. 1.105; *IG* I³ 1147.3); the territory of Halieis was repeatedly ravaged by the Athenians during the Peloponnesian War (Thuc. 2.56.5, 4.45.2 (r425)), and in 425/4 the Halieis concluded an alliance with the Athenians in which they handed over a fortified port for the duration of the war (*IG* I³ 75 = *Staatsverträge* 184). Halieis was a member of the Peloponnesian League (Diod. 11.78.2; Xen. *Hell.* 4.2.16) until after the battle of Leuktra in 371. Halieis may have been among the *poleis* won over by Epameinondas in 369 (Diod 15.69.1; cf. Jameson *et al.* (1994) 80).

The only known source for the constitution of Halieis is a bronze plaque inscribed in the Argive alphabet with a public enactment of C5f, allegedly found at Hermion but now commonly assigned to Halieis (*IG* IV 554 = *SEG* 11 315 = *Nomima* I 107; cf. Jameson (1974) 68–69; *contra* Brandt (1992)). A tentative date of *c.*480, suggested at *LSAG* 169 no. 20, is probably too high. The document concerns the calling to account of officials in charge of the treasures of Athena and mentions an assembly (*haliaia*), a *boule*, and some magistrates (*synartyontes* and *tamiai*).

The natural harbour of Halieis (*limen* at Ps.-Skylax 50) was one of the best along the coast; the sea-ward approach stretched for 1,300 m and narrowed to less than 300 m. The town, today partly submerged, was situated on a small promontory dominating the southern bay of Porto-Cheli. A defence circuit connected the town with an acropolis on which there was a modest temple, perhaps to Athena (Jameson (1974) 73–74). Halieis was fortified in C5 (cf. *IG* I³ 75.11 (425/4)); the circuit was of mudbrick on conglomerate foundations with interval towers; fortification on the site can be traced back to at least C7 (Jameson *et al.* (1994) 435); Lang (1996) 176 with refs.). The walls enclosed an area of 18 ha, of which some 15 ha were suitable for habitation in C4m. Assuming a population density of 250 per ha, the town may in C4m have had some 3,750 inhabitants (Jameson *et al.* (1994) 551). The north-eastern quarter of the lower town was built on a grid plan from C6f (Rudolph (1984)). Outside the walls were found remains of a Classical *stadion* (Romano (1993) 36), a stoa and a C7e temple to Apollo (Jameson (1974) 71–72). In C4, after the miraculous cure of a citizen by a snake from the Asklepieion in Epidauros, the *polis* of Halieis consulted the Delphic oracle and was instructed to build a temple with a statue of Asklepios (*IG* IV².1 122.69–82; cf. Edelstein and Edelstein (1945) 423.33). Excavations show that the town was abandoned in C3e at the latest (Jameson *et al.* (1994) 436–37), but an inscription still uses the city-ethnic Ἁλικός in Epidauros in 220/19 (*IG* IV².1 42.10–11). Fishermen may have used the site sporadically, as they had when the Tirynthians settled in Halieis in C5f (Baladié (1980) 267).

Halieis struck bronze coins in C4. Types: *obv.* head of bearded Herakles or head of Apollo laureate; *rev.* palm tree or club; legend: *TI* or *TIPY* or *TIPYNΘIΩN* (Head, *HN*² 443; *SNG Cop. Argolis* 148–55).

350. Hermion (Hermioneus) Map 58. Lat. 37.25, long. 23.15. Size of territory: 4. Type: A. The epichoric form of the toponym is Ἑρμιών, -όνος ἡ, attested both in inscriptions (*IG* IV².1 102.107, 204, 228 (C4f)) and in literary sources (Hdt. 8.73.2; Xen. *Hell.* 6.2.4; Polyb. 2.52.2). The Ionic form Ἑρμιόνη, ἡ is mostly attested in literature (Hom. *Il.* 2.560; Aristocles in *Anth. Pal. App.* 4.45 (C3); Strabo 8.6.3; Paus. 2.32.7; but see also *IG* IV 619.5 (late?)). The city-ethnic is Ἑρμιονεύς (*IG* IV 683 = *Hesperia* 22 (1953) 148–54 no. 1 = *LSAG* 182.8 (C5m); *IG* I³ 31.2 (C5m)). Hermion is called a *polis* in the urban sense (Ps.-Skylax 51) and is repeatedly listed under the heading of *polis* used in the political sense (Hdt. 8.42.1, 43.1, 49.l; Thuc. 8.3.2). The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally in abbreviated form on coins from C4m on (*infra*) and externally in inscriptions (ML 27.5 (479); *Syll.*³ 32 = *LSAG* 182.7 (C5f); *IG* I³ 31.2 (C5)) and in literature (Hdt. 9.28.4; Thuc. 1.27.2; Xen. *Hell.* 4.2.16). The individual use is found internally in dedications to Demeter Chthonia (*Hesperia* 22 (1953) 148–54 nos. 1–4 (C5–C4)) and externally in inscriptions (*CID* II 5.1.12 (C4f)) and in literature (Hdt. 7.6.3 (rC6m)).

The name of the territory is ἡ Ἑρμιονὶς γῆ (Thuc. 2.56.5). It comprised the south-eastern part of Akte. Hermion bordered on Troizen (no. 357) to the north-east, on Epidauros (no. 348) to the north-west, and on Halieis (no. 349) to the south-west (Thuc. 2.56.5). The territory covered 276 km² (Jameson *et al.* (1994) 18). It also comprised the islands of Pityoussa (Spetses), Aristera (Spetsopoula), Aperopia (Dokos) and Hydrea (Hydra) (Paus. 2.34.8–9). In C6s a group of Samian refugees bought the island of Hydra from Hermion for some money they had exacted from the Siphnians, whereupon they handed over the island in trust to the Troizenians (Hdt. 3.59.1). Prior to *c.*460, when the Tirynthians settled at Halieis, that site may have been controlled by Hermion (Ephor. fr. 56; Jameson *et al.* (1994) 75).

Hermion provided three triremes at Salamis in 480 (Hdt. 8.43) and 300 men at Plataiai in 479 (Hdt. 9.28.4). Assuming that there is no overlap between the two forces, Jameson *et*

al. (1994) 556–59 estimate the military strength of Hermion at 900 men, and the total population at *c.*5,000 minimum and 7,500 maximum. During the grain crisis in 330–326 Hermion received 8,000 *medimnoi* from Kyrene (no. 1028) (Tod 196.40). A communal dedication at Delphi is attested by *Syll.*³ 32 (C5f); cf. Jacquemin (1999) no. 314.

Hermion was a Dryopian community (Hdt. 8.43, 78.2). It was a member of the Kalaurian amphictyony (Strabo 8.6.14; Tausend (1992) 12–19) and of the Peloponnesian League (Thuc. 8.3.2). It fought on the Greek side in the Persian War (Hdt. 8.43, 72, 9.28.4, 31.4), and is recorded on the Serpent Column in Delphi (ML 27.5) and in Olympia (Paus. 5.23.2). The importance of the cities on Akte for Athenian maritime interests resulted in an alliance between Hermion and Athens (no. 361), concluded either *c.*450 (*IG* I³ 31 = *Staatsverträge* 150) or *c.*425 (Mattingly (1996) 34–35). In 435 Hermion supported Corinth (no. 227) against Korkyra (no. 123) with one trireme (Thuc. 1.27.2). During the Peloponnesian War the territory of Hermion was plundered by the Athenians (Thuc. 2.56.5). After the Athenian defeat at Syracuse, Hermion took an active part in the mobilisation of a Peloponnesian fleet (Thuc. 8.3.2), and after the battle of Aigos potamoi in 405, a statue was set up in Delphi of the commander of the squadron from Hermion (Paus. 10.9.10). Hermion fought on the Spartan side in the battle of Nemea (Xen. *Hell.* 4.2.16) and remained loyal to Sparta (no. 345) even after the battle of Leuktra (Xen. *Hell.* 6.2.3, 7.2.2). Hermion may have been among the *poleis* won over by Epameinondas in 369 (Diod 15.69.1; cf. Jameson *et al.* (1994) 80). Alongside Sparta and other members of the Peloponnesian League, Hermion concluded an alliance with Athens in 370/69 (Xen. *Hell.* 7.2.2; cf. *Staatsverträge* 274). Hermion joined the revolt against Makedonia after the death of Alexander the Great (Diod. 18.11.2). *IG* IV².1 102B.II.203 (400–350) records a payment to a *κάρυκι . . . ἐς Ἑρμιόνα*.

We have no information about the political institutions of Hermion, and there is no support in the sources for the view that the Aristotelian collection of *politeiai* included a constitution of the Hermionians (*pace* Arist. III p. 635, Gigon).

In Ps.-Skylax 51 Hermion is classified as a *πόλις καὶ λιμήν*. The town lay on the Gulf of Hydra. In the Archaic and Classical periods it was situated at the tip of a headland between two well-protected natural harbours, but later, perhaps in C2 or C1, it was moved *c.*1 km westwards to the far end of the peninsula and to the lower slopes of Mt. Pron (Paus. 2.34.9; Jameson *et al.* (1994) 584–90). The older town was fortified with a defence circuit in trapezoidal masonry. Some stretches of the wall and the remains of a round tower can still be seen. The wall has tentatively been dated to C4, perhaps C4l (Jameson *et al.* (1994) 585–86). The walls enclosed an area of 22.5 ha, of which some 8.5 ha were available for habitation in C6, and almost 17 ha in C4. Assuming a population density of 250 per ha, the town may in C4m have had some 4,200 inhabitants (ibid. 551). Paus. 2.34.10 records seven sanctuaries in the old town; that of Poseidon has been matched with the foundations of a temple of C6l (ibid. 589–90). The most famous cult was that of Demeter Chthonia, for whom Lasos of Hermion composed a dithyramb (fr. 702, *PMG* (C6s); Paus. 2.35.5–8; Ael. *NA* 11.4).

Hermion struck coins of silver and bronze from *c.*350. (1) Silver triobols and obols on the Aiginetan standard; types: *obv.* head of Demeter Chthonia wearing corn-wreath; *rev.* corn-wreath and, sometimes, torch(es); legend: *EP*. (2) Bronze: *obv.* head of Demeter Chthonia, sometimes facing; *rev.* torch and *EP* within corn-wreath (Head, *HN*² 442; *SNG Cop. Argolis* 136–44). The full form of the city-ethnic, *EPMIONEΩN*, is attested on coins of the Roman period (*SNG Cop. Argolis* 145).

351. Kleonai (Kleonaios) Map 58. Lat. 37.50, long. 22.45. Size of territory: 3. Type: B. The toponym is *Κλεωναί, αἱ* (Hom. *Il.* 2.570; Thuc. 6.95.1; Ps.-Skylax 49; *IG* IV².1 103.69 (C4f)). The city-ethnic is *Κλεωναῖος* (*SEG* 11 290.6 (*c.*560?) = ML 9; Pind. *Nem.* 10.42). Kleonai is attested as a *polis* in late sources only (Polyb. 2.52.1, 2; Paus. 2.15.1), but its status as a *polis* in the Archaic and Classical periods is ensured by its mint, its control of the Nemean Games, its Panhellenic victors, and the proxeny decrees for Kleonaian citizens (*infra*). The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally in abbreviated form on C5–C4 coins (*infra*) and externally on a C6f bronze plate from Olympia (*SEG* 31 365) and in literary sources (Pind. *Nem.* 10.42; Thuc. 5.67.2). The individual use is attested internally in a C6m dedication (*SEG* 11 290.6) and externally in two Athenian C4 proxeny decrees for citizens of Kleonai (*IG* II² 63 and 365 (on which latter, see *infra*)).

Kleonai was squeezed in between Corinth (no. 227) and Argos (no. 347) (Paus. 2.15.1–2; Strabo 8.6.19). Its territory covered some 135 km², and its total population has been assessed at *c.*8,000 persons (Sakellariou and Faraklas (1971) 122, 125, 128). Hostile relations with Corinth (Plut. *Cim.* 17.1–2) made Kleonai an ally of Argos, and the Kleonaians assisted the Argives when, in the 460s, they conquered and destroyed Mykenai (no. 353) (Strabo 8.6.19; cf. Diod. 11.65).

Some of the surviving Mykenaians settled in Kleonai (Paus. 7.25.6). During the Peloponnesian War Kleonai was still allied to Argos (Thuc. 5.67.2, 72.4, 74.3). A citizen of Kleonai was appointed *proxenos* by Athens prior to 378/7 (*IG* II² 63). If the restoration [*Κλεωναῖ*]*ον* in an Athenian proxeny decree of 323/2 (*IG* II² 365; cf. Piérart and Touchais (1996) 62–64) is accepted, the inference is that Kleonai was still a *polis* in C4l (Piérart (1982) 129) and that is further confirmed by the bronze coins struck by Kleonai in C4l (*infra*). But at some point in C4l Kleonai was incorporated into Argos and became a civic subdivision of that *polis* (*SEG* 30 355 (C4l); *IG* IV 616 (*c.*315)). Remains of a polygonal acropolis fortification with interval towers and a defence circuit of the lower town (Scheer (1989) 332) may antedate the incorporation of Kleonai into Argos.

The biennial Panhellenic games held in the sanctuary of Zeus in Nemea (on which see Hart (1977)) were controlled by Kleonai in C5f (Pind. *Nem.* 4.17, 10.42); they had probably been organised by Kleonai from their foundation in 573 (Euseb. 101b, Helm) and continued to be so until Kleonai was integrated into Argos in C4l. Citizens of Kleonai were victors in the Olympic Games in 732 and 456 (*Olympionikai* 12 and 273) and in the Nemean Games in C6m (*SEG* 11 290 = ML 9).

Paus. 2.15.1 records a sanctuary of Athena, apparently of the Archaic period. A sanctuary of Herakles is mentioned at Diod. 4.33.3. Remains found at Archaia Nemea have been tentatively identified with this sanctuary by Frickenhaus (Karo (1913) 114).

The sanctuary of Zeus in the valley of Nemea was excavated by S. Miller (1990), and in it was found a C4l list of *theorodokoi* for the Nemean Games, presumably drawn up by Argos when it took over control of the games *c.*315 (Perlman (2000) 105–55).

Kleonai struck coins of silver on the Aiginetan standard *c.*471–421 and of bronze in C4l. (1) Silver (C5); types: *obv.* head of Herakles (obol), or lion's skin (hemiobol), or bunch of grapes (tetartemorion); *rev.* incuse square; legend: *Κ*. (2) Bronze (C4l); types: *obv.* head of Herakles; *rev.* parsley wreath; legend: *ΚΛ* or *ΚΛΕ* or *ΚΛΕΩ* (Babelon, *Traité* ii.3. 481–84; *SNG Cop. Argolis* 111–13). For the date of the bronze coins, see Miller (1976) 192). On later coins the city-ethnic is spelled out: *ΚΛΕΩΝΑΙΩΝ* (Head, *HN*² 441).

352. Methana (Methanaios) Map 58. Lat. 37.35, long. 23.20. Size of territory: 2. Type: A? The toponym is *Μεθάνα*, *ἡ* (*IG* IV 853.20 (first century AD)), in the Ionic dialect *Μεθάνη*, *ἡ* (Ps.-Skylax 46; cf. *infra*) or *Μεθώνη*, *ἡ* (Thuc. 4.45.2 *bis*, but most editors emend the first occurrence and delete the second; see Maurer (1995) 75) or *Μέθανα*, *τά* (Thuc. 5.18.7; Strabo 8.6.15; Paus. 2.34.1, 3–4). The city-ethnic is *Μεθαναῖος*, attested in the full form exclusively on coins of the Roman period, in abbreviated form on C4l/C3e coins (infra). Methana is called a *polis* in the urban sense (Ps.-Skylax 46), provided that Müller *ad loc.* is right in supposing that *Μεθάνα πόλις καὶ λιμήν* is misplaced from the Argolic section and erroneously listed among the Lakedaimonian perioikic *poleis* (Shipley (1997) 226).

The territory of Methana was the volcanic peninsula on the south coast of the Saronic Gulf. The last attested eruption of the volcano was in C3f (Strabo 1.3.18; Paus. 2.34.1; cf. Baladié (1980) 158–63). The peninsula is separated from the continent by an isthmus 1,200 m long and 300 m wide. It was an ideal military base, and in 425 the Athenians (no. 361) occupied Methana and built a wall across the isthmus (Thuc. 4.45.2). The Peace of Nikias stipulated the restitution of the peninsula to the Lakedaimonians (no. 345) (Thuc. 5.18.7).

In C5 and probably C4 Methana was under Troizenian domination (Thuc. 4.118.4; cf. *HCT ad loc.*; Paus. 2.34.1). The classification of Methana as a *polis* in Ps.-Skylax (if correctly interpreted *supra*) and the C4 coins (*infra*) indicate that Methana was a dependent *polis* (Mee and Forbes (1997) 68–69). In the Hellenistic period Methana was controlled by the Ptolemaic kings (Robert (1960) 156–60) and renamed *Ἀρσινόη ἡ ἐν Πελοποννήσωι* (*OGIS* 102; *SNG Cop. Argolis* 147).

The town was on the west coast of the peninsula; it covered an area of *c.*5 ha in the Archaic and *c.*8 ha in the Classical period. The acropolis was protected by a defence circuit partly in trapezoidal irregular and partly in isodomic ashlar masonry with square towers; it covered an area of *c.*1 ha. The probable date is C4s. Apart from the urban centre there were two large second-order settlements on the eastern side of the peninsula, one at Oga (*c.*6 ha) and one at Magoula (*c.*2 ha), neither of them recorded in *Barr.* Furthermore, the peninsula is dotted with smaller sites, some of which can be interpreted as farmsteads and some as small hamlets. The number of sites reached its peak in C5l, and there were considerably fewer sites in C4 (Mee and Forbes (1997) 57–69).

Methana struck bronze coins in C4l and C3e: *obv.* head of Hephaistos in conical *pilos*; *rev.* *ΜΕ* or *ΜΕΘ* in cornwreath (Gill (1997) 278–79; *SNG Cop. Argolis* 146).

353. Mykenai (Mykenaios) Map 58. Lat. 37.45, long. 22.45. Size of territory: 2? Type: A. The Doric form of the toponym

is *Μυκάνα*, ἡ (IG IV 498.11; cf. Mitsos (1949) 74) or, in the plural, *Μυκάναι*, αἱ (Pind. *Pyth.* 4.49). In the Ionic dialect the toponym is *Μυκήνη* (Hom. *Il.* 4.52, 7.180, 11.46); in later literature, however, the preferred form is *Μυκῆναι* in the plural (Pind. *Pyth.* 4.49; Eur. *Heracl.* 85; Thuc. 1.10.1; Diod. 11.65.5; Strabo 8.6.10), first attested in the Catalogue of Ships (Hom. *Il.* 569). The Doric form of the city-ethnic is *Μυκανεύς* (ML 27.7 (479); *IG* IV 497 (C2e)); in literature it is *Μυκηναῖος* (Hom. *Il.* 15.638; Hdt. 7.202; Eur. *Heracl.* 187; Thuc. 1.9.2). The collective and external use of the city-ethnic is attested in inscriptions (ML 27.7) and in literature (Hdt. 7.202). The individual use of the adverbial equivalent is attested internally (*IG* IV 492.1–2: *Φραhιαρίδας Μυκανέαθεν*; cf. *SEG* 40 334 (C5e)).

Mykenai is referred to as being a *polis* in a bronze plaque of C5e (*IG* IV 492.3, cf. *SEG* 40 334: *παρ' Ἀθαναίας ἐς πόλιος ἰκέτας ἔγεντο*), where *polis* is used either in the sense of acropolis (Lambrinoudakis (1990) 180) or in the urban sense (Marcadé *apud* Lambrinoudakis (1990) 183–85). Mykenai is not called a *polis* in any other Archaic or Classical source, but retrospectively by Diod. 11.65.5 (r468) and Paus. 5.23.3 (r480). *Polis* status in the political sense is strongly indicated by the role Mykenai played in the Persian War. At Hdt. 7.202.1 and 204.1 the Mykenaians are listed among the *poleis* that defended Thermopylai, and they are mentioned on the Serpent Column in Delphi (ML 27.7). There is no clue to the problem of whether Mykenai was a *dependent polis* in the Archaic period (Piérart (1997)). In the Hellenistic period Mykenai was a *kome* of Argos (no. 347) (*IG* IV 498.2 (C3–C2)).

After the battle of Sepeia, Mykenai dissociated itself from Argos. It provided 80 men at Thermopylai in 480 (Hdt. 7.202) and, together with Tiryns (no. 356), 400 men at Plataiai in 479 (Hdt. 9.28.4). As a result, Mykenai is recorded on the Serpent Column in Delphi (ML 27.7) and in Olympia (Paus. 5.23.2: *Ἀργείων οἱ Μυκήνας ἔχοντες*). During this period Mykenai may have been in charge of the Argive Heraion (Kritzas (1992) 232). In *c.*460, taking advantage of the weakness of Sparta after the earthquake in 464, the Argives and their allies besieged the Mykenaians, who found refuge behind their Cyclopean walls (Diod. 11.65.3; Paus. 7.25.5–6). Mykenai was starved into surrender and exposed to an *andrapodismos* (Diod. 11.65.5) whereby the surviving Mykenaians were transferred, some to Kleonai (no. 351), some to Keryneia (no. 236), and some to Makedonia (Paus. 7.25.6). The city itself was demolished and its territory divided among Argos, Kleonai and Tenea (Diod. 11.65.2–5; Paus. 2.16.5, 5.23.3, 8.27.1; Strabo 8.6.19, where *Τενεατῶν* is a convincing emendation of MS *Τεγεατῶν*; cf. Piérart (1992) 377–82). The walls were probably dismantled on this occasion (Boethius (1921–23) 415).

354. Orneai (Orneates) Map 58. Lat. 37.45, long. 22.35. Size of territory: 1–2. Type: C. The toponym is *Ὀρνεαί*, αἱ (Ar. *Av.* 399; Thuc. 6.7.1–2) or *Ὀρνειαί* (Hom. *Il.* 2.571). The city-ethnic is *Ὀρνεάτης* (Thuc. 5.67.2; Plut. *Mor.* 401D, quoting a dedication of C4l), in Ionic *Ὀρνεήτης* (Hdt. 8.73.3). The collective and external use is the only one attested in the sources (e.g. Hdt. 8.73.3; Thuc. 5.67.2). The only source in which Orneai is called a *polis* (in the urban sense) is Diod. 16.34.3 (r353/2) and 39.4 (r352/1: *ἐπὶ πόλιν Ὀρνεὰς τῆς Ἀργείας*). Paus. 8.27.1 (rC5) calls Orneai a *polisma*, but, referring to his own time, Strabo classifies Orneai as a *kome* (8.6.17; cf. Steph. Byz. 496.1). If Diodorus' classification of Orneai as a *polis* can be trusted, it must have been a dependent *polis* lying in Argive territory. Orneai's status as an ally of Argos (no. 347) (Thuc. 5.67.2) as well as the use of the collective city-ethnic in a C4l communal dedication set up in Delphi (Jacquemin (1999) no. 381, see *infra*) support the information obtained from Diodorus that Orneai was still a political community and not just an Argive municipality.

Pausanias (8.27.1) cites the Argive synoecism of Tiryns (no. 356), Hysiai, Orneai (no. 354), Mykenai (no. 353) and Mideia as a model for the synoecism of Megalopolis (no. 282) decided in 371/70 and carried out in 368. The Argive subjection of the other cities in Argolis, however, was a protracted process, not a proper synoecism, and Pausanias' information about Orneai is in conflict with other sources testifying to the *polis* status of Orneai in C4 (Demand (1990) 59–60; Piérart (1997) 334–38).

After the battle of Mantinea in 418, Orneai and Kleonai (no. 351) are described by Thucydides as being allies of Argos (Thuc. 5.67.2, 72.4, 74.3). In 416/15 a Lakedaimonian army invaded the territory of Argos. The Lakedaimonians conquered Orneai, fortified the place, settled it with exiled Argives, and left a garrison when they withdrew. But assisted by an Athenian expeditionary force, the Argive army attacked Orneai, chased the settlers away and demolished their settlement (Thuc. 6.7.1–2; Diod. 12.81.4–5). According to Paus. 2.25.6, the inhabitants were transferred to Argos (Moggi, *Sin.* 210–13). Subsequently, Orneai was resettled, and in 353/2 the Lakedaimonians defeated an Argive army in a battle near Orneai and conquered the town after a short siege (Diod. 16.34.3 and 39.4, where the same story is told once again, but in reverse order: at 39.4 the conquest of Orneai precedes the battle). According to Diod. 16.39.4, the

Lakedaimonians attacked Orneai because it was allied with Megalopolis (no. 282). In, probably, C4l the Orneatai defeated a Sikyonian invasion army and had their victory commemorated by a communal dedication in Delphi (Jacquemin (1999) no. 381; Paus. 10.18.5; Plut. *Mor.* 401D: *Ὀρνεᾶται ἀπὸ Σικυωνίων*).

Orneai has been located at Palaiokastraki, i.e. modern Lirkia (Paus. 2.25.5). Remains of a defence circuit in polygonal masonry are still visible; it is undated but perhaps of C4s (Pritchett (1980) 25–27; Pikoulas (1995) 267–70).

355. Phleious (Phleiasios) Map 58. Lat. 37.50, long. 22.40. Size of territory: 3. Type: A. The toponym is *Φλειοῦς, -ντος, ὁ* (Simon. 9.4, Maehler; Hdt. 7.202; Thuc. 5.58.1); the adverbial form *Φλειϝόνταθεν* is attested in a C5f dedication from Olympia (*SEG* 11 1212). The city-ethnic is *Φλειάσιος* (Hdt. 8.72; *CID* II 31.78 (C4m)), or occasionally *Φλειήσιος* (*CID* II 4.1.49–53 (C4f)), in late sources often *Φλιάσιος* (Diod. 11.32.1). The epichoric form is [*Φλει*]*ϝάσιος* (*SEG* 26 415 (*c.*500)). Phleious is called a *polis* both in the urban sense (Xen. *Hell.* 4.4.15) and in the political sense (Xen. *Hell.* 5.3.10–12; *IG* IV².1 620 (C4–C3), where [*ἁ πόλι*]*ς ἁ τῶν Φλειασ*[*ίων*] is a plausible restoration). Phleious is called an *asty* at Xen. *Hell.* 7.2.6 and 15. The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally on C5 coins (*infra*) and externally in inscriptions (ML 27.5 (479); *IG* II² 112.3 (362/1); *CID* II 10.1.16 (357/6)) and in literature (Hdt. 9.28.4; Thuc. 4.70.1; Pl. *Phd.* 57A). The individual and internal use is found in *SEG* 29 415 (*c.*500), and the external use is found in *IG* IV².1 69 = *SEG* 11 400.5 (C4f)) and in Xen. *Hell.* 7.1.1.

The name of the territory was *ἡ Φλειασία* (Thuc. 5.83.3, 115.1, 6.105.3) or *Φλειοῦς* (Xen. *Hell.* 4.4.15). It covered *c.*135 km² of fertile plain (Meyer (1941) 272) along the upper reach of the river Asopos. The valley is ringed by mountains and it bordered to the south on Argos (no. 347) and Orneai (no. 354) (Xen. *Hell.* 7.2.1), to the east on Kleonai (no. 351) and the plain of Nemea (Xen. *Hell.* 7.2.5), to the north on Sikyon (no. 228) (Xen. *Hell.* 7.2.1) and to the west on Arkadia (Xen. *Hell.* 7.2.10). The roads through its territory gave access to the other regions of the Peloponnese, and its strategic importance is reflected in the sources.

Phleious provided 200 men at Thermopylai in 480 (Hdt. 7.202), 1,000 men at Plataiai in 479 (Hdt. 9.28.4), and 400 men to Brasidas' expedition in 424 (Thuc. 4.70.1). At *Hell.* 5.3.16 Xenophon quotes the Lakedaimonians for the statement that Phleious had 5,000 adult male citizens, probably an exaggerated figure (= a total population of 20,000 minimum, with 150 persons per km²!) and hardly compatible with Prokles of Phleious' concession that Phleious was one of the small *poleis* (Xen. *Hell.* 6.5.44). On the other hand, if Xenophon is right that more than 1,000 pro-Spartan Phleiasians were in exile in 381 (*Hell.* 5.3.17), Phleious must have been among the most populous Peloponnesian *poleis.*

Phleious fought on the Greek side in the Persian War (Hdt. 7.202, 8.72, 9.28.4), and is recorded on the Serpent Column in Delphi (ML 27.5) and in Olympia (Paus. 5.23.2). It was a member of the Peloponnesian League (Thuc. 7.57.2; Xen. *Hell.* 5.2.8). Having Argos (no. 347) as its arch-enemy and being involved in numerous wars with the Argives, Phleious usually sided with Sparta (no. 345) and the members of the Peloponnesian League. Thus, in 435 the Phleiasians supported Corinth (no. 227) against Korkyra (no. 127) (Thuc. 1.27.2); 400 men joined Brasidas in 424 (Thuc. 4.70.1); and in 418, when Agis attacked Argos, the invasion army rallied at Phleious (Thuc. 5.57). After the oligarchic *coup d'état* in Argos in 417, Phleious sheltered the exiled Argives (Thuc. 5.83.3) and was subsequently exposed to several Argive incursions into its territory (Thuc. 5.83.3, 115.1, 6.105.3). At the beginning of the Corinthian War Phleious remained neutral (Xen. *Hell.* 4.2.16), but numerous raids by Iphikrates' mercenaries forced the Phleiasians to ask for and admit a Spartan garrison (Xen. *Hell.* 4.4.15, 5.3.15). The government imposed by the Spartans (*infra*) remained loyal to Sparta after Leuktra (Xen. *Hell.* 7.2.2). Together with Sparta the Phleiasians approached the Athenians in 369 (Xen. *Hell.* 7.1.1; *Staatsverträge* 274), and in 362/1 they concluded an alliance with the Athenians (*IG* II² 112; *Staatsverträge* 290). Phleious joined the Greek revolt against Makedonia after the death of Alexander the Great (Paus. 1.25.4).

Phleiasian citizens received grants of proxeny from Athens (no. 361) (*IG* I³ 80.14–16 (421/20)) and from Epidauros (no. 348) (*SEG* 11 400 (375–350)). Phleious granted proxeny to a citizen of Pellene (no. 240) and released him without ransom when he was taken prisoner (Xen. *Hell.* 7.2.16). The Phleiasians sheltered the Argive priestess of Hera who fled Argos after having set the temple on fire (Thuc. 4.133.3).

Information about diplomatic activities is sparse, but we hear about Phleiasian envoys to Sparta (Xen. *Hell.* 5.3.14, 24) and Athens (Xen. *Hell.* 7.1.1). Several Phleiasians served as *naopoioi* in Delphi (*CID* II 74.77 (337/6), 75.II.50 (336/5)). In 498 Timainetos of Phleious won the hoplite race in Nemea (Paus. 10.7.7), and another Nemean victor is celebrated by Bacchyl. 9, Maehler.

The only information we have about the constitution of

Phleious in the Archaic period is the tradition that in C6 the city was ruled by a tyrant called Leon, allegedly a friend of Pythagoras (Diog. Laert. 1.12, 8.8). There is no foundation for Gigon's view that the Aristotelian collection of *politeiai* included a constitution of Phleious (Arist. no. 142). In C4e Phleious seems to have been a democracy with *ekklesiai* attended by all citizens (Xen. *Hell.* 5.3.16; cf. *ψηφισάμενοι* at 5.3.21). In 395 some pro-Spartan citizens were exiled and had their property confiscated (Xen. *Hell.* 4.4.15, 5.2.10). With Spartan support they were repatriated in 384 (Xen. *Hell.* 5.2.9), but in 381 they appealed to Sparta once again because they could not recover the property confiscated in 395. A Lakedaimonian army under Agesilaos invaded Phleious and laid siege to the city assisted by more than 1,000 exiled Phleiasians whom he had trained and organised into *syssitia* (Xen. *Hell.* 5.3.10–17). The Phleiasians endured a siege of 20 months but were starved into surrender in 379. The judicial purge after the conquest was carried out by a commission of 100 men (50 of the exiles and 50 of the besieged); Agesilaos imposed a new constitution, presumably an oligarchy, and left a garrison in Phleious (Xen. *Hell.* 5.3.21–25; Isoc. 4.126; Diod. 15.19.3; cf. Gehrke, *Stasis* 127–31). A number of the besieged Phleiasians went into exile (Diod. 15.40.5; Xen. *Hell.* 7.2.5) but took possession of two strongholds in Phleiasian territory: with Sikyonian support they held Thyamia, and with Argive support they held Trikaranon (Xen. *Hell.* 7.2.1, 7.4.1, 11), from where they attacked Phleious in 374 (Diod. 15.40.5; Roy (1973); Stylianou (1998) 330–31) or perhaps in 370 (Buckler (1980) 292 n. 1). In 367/6, with the support of an army from Arkadia and Elis (no. 251), the exiles organised a major nocturnal attack on Phleious, which failed (Xen. *Hell.* 7.2.5–9), as did later attacks launched first by the Argives and the Arkadians and later by the Sikyonians (no. 228) and Pellenians (no. 240) (Xen. *Hell.* 7.2.10–15).

The only known public act is a sacred law, perhaps of C6f (*IG* IV 439 = *LSAG* 150 n. 1). A decree found on Delos was attributed to Phleious by Robert (1948) 5–15, but to Corinth (no. 227) by Jones (1980).

The town of Phleious lay on a ridge rising to *c.*60 m above the plain. On the top of the ridge was a citadel called *akra* (Xen. *Hell.* 4.4.15) or *akropolis* (Xen. *Hell.* 5.3.15); it was mostly uninhabited and used for growing grain (Xen. *Hell.* 7.2.8). An urban survey of the town indicates that it covered an area of *c.*60 ha (Alcock (1991) 428 fig. 3). The town was fortified with a defence circuit, *c.*4 km long, probably of mudbrick on a stone socle in ashlar masonry and with interval towers. Some stretches of the stone socle can still be seen in the foundations of the "Corinthian Gate" (Xen. *Hell.* 7.2.11) in the north-east corner of the wall. The acropolis was separately fortified. The wall has tentatively been dated to C4e (Xen. *Hell.* 7.2.7–8; Alcock (1991) 435–37).

An agora has been identified at the western end of the acropolis ridge (Alcock (1991) 432). Of the monumental buildings only two antedate the Hellenistic period: the "Hypostyle Hall" tentatively dated to the Archaic period (Blegen (1925) 30–31; Biers (1971) 445), and the "Palati", a rectangular "basilica" (*c.*34 × 26 m) with a courtyard surrounded by columns and open to the sky, probably of C5s. It may have had rows of seats arranged to look out on the central courtyard, and it may have been used as a *bouleuterion* and/or a *dikasterion* (Biers (1971), (1973)). A *πολεμάρχειος στοά* of *c.*500 is attested in literary sources (Ath. 210B; cf. Roux (1958) 161–70). A theatre north of the Hypostyle Hall may go back to C4 (*TGR* ii. 117).

The principal cult was that of Ganymede (Hebe), whose sanctuary on the acropolis is known exclusively from Paus. 2.13.3–4. An extra-urban sanctuary of Hera is mentioned by Xen. *Hell.* 7.2.1, 6, 11–13.

Phleious may have struck silver staters on the Euboic standard in C6, and undoubtedly struck coins of silver and bronze on the Aiginetan standard from *c.*431 to *c.*322. (1) Silver, C6; types: *obv.* *Φ* between the legs of a triskeles; *rev.* incuse square divided into eight triangles. (2) Silver and bronze, *c.*431 to *c.*322; denominations: drachm, hemidrachm, trihemiobol, obol and fractions in bronze; types: *obv.* bull or forepart of bull, first walking, then butting and later butting with head facing; *rev.* wheel, or ivy-wreath, or wavy exergue line (river Asopos). Some C4 bronze coins have *obv.* head of Asopos. Legends: on C5 drachms: *obv.* *ΦΛΕΙΑ*, *rev.* *ΣΙΟΝ*. Other denominations: *rev.* *Φ*. (Babelon, *Traité* ii.3. 509–16; Head, *HN*² 408–9; Kraay (1976) 100; *SNG Cop. Phliasia* 1–17.)

356. Tiryns (Tirynthios) Map 58. Lat. 37.35, long. 22.50. Size of territory: 2? Type: B. The toponym is *Τίρυνς -νθος, ἡ* (Hom. *Il.* 2.559; Hdt. 6.77.1, 83.2; Ps.-Skylax 49). A variant form, *Τίρυνθος*, is found in [Hes]. *Sc.* 81. The city-ethnic is *Τιρύνθιος* (ML 27.6 (479); Hdt. 9.28.4, 31.3); these examples testify to the collective and external use of the city-ethnic. For the external and individual use, see *P Oxy.* 222.1.42 (r468).

Apart from Pind. *Ol.* 10.68, where Tiryns is called a *polis* in a mythological context, Tiryns is classified as a *polis* in late sources only (Mosch. *Megara* 38; Paus. 2.25.8; Steph. Byz. 625.17); *asty* is found at Bacchyl. 10.57, Maehler, but again in a mythological context. *Polis* status in the Archaic and early

Classical periods, however, is strongly indicated by the sacred laws of *c.*600 (*SEG* 30 380; see *infra*) and by Tiryns' participation in the Persian War on a par with communities which were all *poleis* (ML 27.6). In the Archaic period Tiryns was probably a *polis* dependent on Argos (no. 347) (Piérart (1997) 335–36). After the battle of Sepeia, however, Tiryns was freed from Argive supremacy and, together with Mykenai (no. 353), it provided 400 men at Plataiai in 479 (Hdt. 9.28.4) and is recorded on the Serpent Column in Delphi (ML 27.6) and in Olympia (Paus. 5.23.2: *ἐκ δὲ χώρας τῆς Ἀργείας Τιρύνθιοι*). In Olympia in 468 a Tirynthian was the winning pugilist in the boys' category (*Olympionikai* 244; *P Oxy.* 222.1.42). Shortly afterwards Tiryns was taken over by Argive slaves (*douloi*; cf. *supra* 605) expelled from Argos by the sons of those who fell at Sepeia; after some years of peaceful relations, war broke out between Argos and the former slaves in Tiryns, who eventually were defeated by the Argives (Hdt. 6.83.1–2). They found refuge in Epidauros (no. 348) and Hermion (no. 350), and settled Halieis (no. 349) (Hdt. 7.137.2; Strabo 8.6.11). Some of the inhabitants may have been incorporated into the population of Argos (no. 347) (Paus. 8.27.1). Tiryns was demolished, and part of the booty won by the Argives on this occasion could still be seen by Pausanias in the Argive Heraion and in the temple of Apollo Lykeios (2.17.5, 8.46.3).

The sacred laws of *c.*600, inscribed in "serpentine" style, are the oldest known documents in which *haliaia* and *demos* are juxtaposed (*SEG* 30 380, 1–4, 8–9: *ἀλιαία*, *δᾶμος*); and magistrates mentioned repeatedly in the laws are the *hieromnamones* and the *plativoinarchos* (*SEG* 30 380 = *Nomima* I 78: *ἱαρομνάμονες*, *πλατιϝοίναρχος*).

In Pausanias' day only ruins were left of Tiryns, but the acropolis, called Likymna, with its Cyclopean walls was still impressive (Paus. 2.25.8, 9.36.5). The Archaic temple on the top of the acropolis has been attributed sometimes to Hera (Frickenhaus (1912)), sometimes to Athena (Foley (1988) 145–47). An Archaic sanctuary of Herakles is attested in the serpentine inscriptions (*SEG* 30 380 n. 15). Further C6 architectural spolia from the acropolis include the probable remains of a *propylon* or stoa (Schwandner (1988)).

So far no remains of an Archaic settlement have been found on the plain below the acropolis. Evidence of a substantial post-Mycenaean settlement on the "Unterburg" is well documented, and although occasional sections of post-Geometric walls have been found, along with a couple of C7 graves on the surrounding plain, the location of the related settlement(s) has yet to be securely established. This has tempted some historians to see Tiryns as a *polis* without an urban centre (Koerner (1985)). It would, however, be most unwise, given the very limited extent of excavation on the surrounding plain, to draw negative conclusions about an absence of related settlement. The location of graves and settlement traces throughout the Early Iron Age (from LHIIIC onwards) suggests that the inhabitants of Tiryns lived in settlements clustered on the plain immediately surrounding the acropolis (Morgan and Coulton (1997) 93).

357. Troizen (Troizenios) Map 58. Lat. 37.30, long. 23.25. Size of territory: 4. Type: A. The epichoric form of the toponym is *Τροζάν*, *-ᾶνος*, *ἡ* (*IG* IV 748.3 (C4f)). The Ionic form *Τροιζήν*, *-ῆνος*, *ἡ* is found in most of the literary sources (Hom. *Il.* 2.561; Hdt. 8.41.1; Thuc. 1.115.1; Xen. *Hell.* 6.2.3) and in inscriptions (ML 23.8; Michel 452.1 (C4l); *IG* IV 798.2 (Imp.)); variant forms are *Τροζήν* (Andoc. 3.3) and *Τρυζήν* (*IG* IV 619.4 (late?)). Ps.-Skylax 52, 54 uses the toponym *Τροιζηνία*, *ἡ*. The Doric form of the city-ethnic is *Τροζάνιος* (ML 27.5, 95h; *IG* IV².1 122.10 (C4); *IG* IV 748.6 (C4f)); the Ionic form is *Τροιζήνιος* (Hdt. 3.59.1; Thuc. 1.27.2; Xen. *Hell.* 4.2.16); mixed forms are *Τροζήνιος* (Dem. *Ep.* 2.19; *IG* II² 1425.227 (C4f)), *Τροιζάνιος* (*SEG* 9 2.43 (C4l); *IG* IV 727A.2 (C3)) and *Τροιζείνιος* in a C3l Boiotian proxeny decree (*SEG* 23 286.2).

Troizen is called a *polis* in the urban sense (Dem. *Ep.* 2.18; Ps.-Skylax 52), in the political sense (Arist. *Pol.* 1335ᵃ15, 20; Hyp. 5.32; Michel 452.6 (C4l)) and in the territorial sense (Hyp. 5.31). In the C4f accounts of the Delphic *naopoioi* the Troizenioi are recorded as contributors (*CID* II 4.1.9) under the heading *ταίδε τᾶμ πολίων ἤνικαν* (*CID* II 4.1.3–4), where *polis* is used in the political sense (cf. also Diod. 12.78.2 (r419/18) and *IG* IV 750.12 = Bielman (1994) 19 (C3e)).

The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally in a citizenship decree of 369(?): *ὁ δᾶμος ὁ Τροζανίων* (*IG* IV 748.6, 17–18 = *Syll.*³ 162) and externally on the Serpent Column in Delphi (ML 27.5 (479)) and in Hdt. 3.59.1; Thuc. 8.3.2; Xen. *Hell.* 4.2.16. The individual and external use is attested in the thank-offering for the victory at Aigos potamoi (*Ἀπολλόδωρος Καλλιφῶνος Τροζάνιος*: ML 95; Paus. 10.9.10 (r405/4)).

The name of the territory is *Τροιζενία* (Thuc. 5.45.2) or *γῆ Τροιζηνίς* (Thuc. 2.65.5); *χώρα* is found at *IG* IV 748.4. It covered 354 km² and included the west coast of the Saronic Gulf from Methana (no. 352) to Cape Skyllaion (Jameson *et al.* (1994) 18). After the death of Alexander the Great, Troizen lost the island of Kalauria (no. 360), which then became an independent *polis*.

Troizen provided five triremes at Salamis in 480 (Hdt.

8.43), and 1,000 men at Plataiai in 479 (Hdt. 9.28.4). Assuming that there is no overlap between the two forces, Jameson *et al.* (1994) 556–59 estimate the military strength of Troizen at 2,000 men, and the total population at *c.*11,500 minimum and 16,500 maximum. During the grain crisis in 330–326 Troizen received 6,000 *medimnoi* from Kyrene (no. 1028) (Tod 196.45). *IG* IV².1 102B.II.203 (400–350) records a payment to a *κάρυκι . . . ἐς Τροζάνα*.

Troizen presided over the Kalaurian amphiktyony (Strabo 8.6.14; Tausend (1992) 12–19) and was a member of the Peloponnesian League (Diod. 12.78.2 (r420)). It fought on the Greek side in the Persian War (Hdt. 8.1.2, 43, 9.28.4, 102.3, 105), and is recorded on the Serpent Column in Delphi (ML 27.5) and in Olympia (Paus. 5.23.2). During the Persian occupation of Attika the Athenians' wives and children found refuge in Troizen (Hdt. 8.41.1; Plut. *Them.* 10.5; ML 23.8, a C3 copy found in Troizen of a C4m text, quoted by Aischines in 348 (Dem. 19.303)). It was occupied by the Athenians in 460/59, but these had to surrender the city again in the peace of 446/5 (Thuc. 1.115.1, 4.21.3). In 435 the Troizenians supported Corinth (no. 227) against Korkyra (no. 123) with two triremes (Thuc. 1.27.2). In 425 the Athenians occupied and fortified Methana (no. 352) and used it as a base for raids against the neighbouring communities. After the Athenian defeat at Syracuse, Troizen took an active part in the mobilisation of a Peloponnesian fleet (Thuc. 8.3.2) and in the naval operations (ML 95 (405)). Troizen fought on the Spartan side in the battle of Nemea (Xen. *Hell.* 4.2.16) and remained loyal to the Spartans even after the battle of Leuktra (Xen. *Hell.* 6.2.3, 7.2.2). In 369(?) Epaminondas ravaged the territory of Troizen but failed to conquer the city (Diod. 15.69.1). Alongside Sparta and other members of the Peloponnesian League, Troizen concluded an alliance with Athens in 370/69 (*IG* IV 748 (369); *IG* II² 1425.227, 230 (368/7); Xen. *Hell.* 7.2.2; cf. *Staatsverträge* 274). After the Greek defeat at Chaironeia, a pro-Makedonian faction came to control Troizen (Hyp. 5.31; Lycurg. 1.42; cf. Whitehead (2000) 340), possibly as the result of a *stasis*, since a number of citizens were sent into exile and at least some of them obtained citizen rights in Athens (Hyp. 3.31; Osborne (1983) T72). In 325 Demosthenes found refuge in Troizen (Dem. *Ep.* 2.18–19; Plut. *Dem.* 26.5), and after the death of Alexander the Great in 323, Troizen joined the revolt against Makedonia (Diod. 18.11.2; Paus. 1.23.3–5).

The Aristotelian collection of *politeiai* included a constitution of the Troizenians (Arist. frr. 613–15). The only preserved *psephisma* of the Classical period is a citizenship decree proposed by a named citizen and passed by the *boule* and the *demos* (*IG* IV 748 = *Syll.*³ 162 (369?)), apparently in accordance with a probouleumatic procedure (Rhodes, *DGS* 77–78). Another citizenship decree is referred to at Hyp. 5.31. A decree of C4l or C3e records the name of the proposer and of the *prostates* of the *boule*, and refers to a board of *damiourgoi* (Wilhelm (1974) i. 38). A C4 dedication of fourteen named *damiourgoi* and *prytaneis* (*δαμιοργοὶ καὶ πρυτάνιες*) is consecrated to *τᾶι ἥρώσσαι*, i.e. Phaedra (*IG* IV 764). Public enactments were set up in the sanctuary of Apollo Thearios (*IG* IV 748.15–16).

The citizens were organised into *phylai* (*IG* IV 748), of which there were at least three and presumably four. Of the three Dorian tribes, the Hylleis are attested (*IG* IV 750.8 (C3e)); the existence of the Dymanes is indicated at Steph. Byz. 74.8, and it is then a fair guess that the Pamphyloi were to be found in Troizen too. The Scheliadai (*Σχελιάδας*: *IG* IV 748.24) constituted another *phyle*, which, *pace* Jones, *POAG* 111, cannot have contained all the non-Dorian citizens, since sortition conducted by a magistrate called *δεκαδεύς* was used when a naturalised citizen was assigned to a *phyle* (*IG* IV 748.20–22). In *c.*390 exiles from Siphnos (no. 519) found refuge in Troizen (Isoc. 19.23). Two Troizenians are attested as Athenian metics in C4s (*IG* II² 1673 = *SEG* 34 122.57–58). In C4l a citizen of Troizen was appointed *proxenos* by Megara (no. 225) (*IG* VII 7; cf. Rhodes, *DGS* 111).

Baukis of Troizen is attested as victor in the Olympic Games in 400 (*Olympionikai* 358), and in C6s Damotimos of Troizen won a race in Thebes (*IG* IV 801 = *LSAG* 181.2).

The calendar was of the Doric type, to judge from the months attested in Troizen: *viz.* Geraistios (Ath. 639C; cf. Trümpy, *Monat.* 199), Artemitios (*IG* IV 840.9 (C3)) and Apellaios (Wilhelm (1908) 73 (C3?)).

The urban centre was situated below Mt. Aderes and dominated a coastal plain *c.*2 km wide along the Gulf of Poros. The town had an acropolis with a sanctuary of Athena Sthenias (Paus. 2.32.5). In C6m a temple was built on the slopes of the acropolis (Jameson *et al.* (1994) 72), which Welter (1941) 20 tentatively identified as that of Aphrodite Akraia (Paus. 2.32.6). The agora was situated in the upper part of the habitation area, and the temple of Apollo Thearios in the agora was the oldest of all temples known to Paus. 2.31.6. A *prytaneion* is attested in a decree of C4l/C3e (Wilhelm (1974) i. 38). An extra-urban complex with a *stadion*, associated with Asklepios and Hippolytos, dates from C4l or C3e (Welter (1941) 35–38; Jameson *et al.* (1994) 83).

Troizen was apparently fortified in 369 (Diod. 15.69.1) but the sparse remains of a defence circuit in polygonal mason-

ry are tentatively dated to C3e (Welter (1941) 12), a date which, according to Maier (1959) no. 32, is pure guesswork. For the construction of a *diateichismos* in 146, see *IG* IV 757 = Maier (1959) no. 32.

At Ps.-Skylax 52 Troizen is classified as a πόλις καὶ λιμήν. The name of the harbour was Πώγων, and the Greek fleet rallied there before the battle of Salamis (Hdt. 8.42.1; Strabo 8.6.14).

The foundation myth, like that of Athens, involved both Athena and Poseidon. According to Paus. 2.30.6, the myth was reflected in the oldest types of Troizenian coins, which combined the head of Athena with the trident of Poseidon. Troizen struck silver coins on the Attic standard from *c.*460 onwards. Denominations: drachm, pentobol, triobol, diobol, obol. Types: *obv.* head of Athena facing, or head of Apollo (Thearios?); *rev.* trident, sometimes in incuse square; legend: ΤΡΟ (Head, *HN*² 443; *SNG Cop. Argolis* 156–59).

Troizen was the *metropolis* of Halikarnassos (no. 886) (Hdt. 7.99.3; *IG* IV 750 = Bielman (1994) 19.27–28), Myndos (no. 914) (Paus. 2.30.9) and Theangela (no. 931) (Robert, *Coll. Froehner* 53 = Bielman (1994) 40.5–6 (*c.*200)). Continued close relations between the colonies and their *metropolis* are attested in several inscriptions (Wilhelm (1974) i. 39; Rostovtzeff (1931); Bielman (1994) 19, 40, 43). Furthermore, in collaboration with Achaians from Helike (no. 235), the Troizenians colonised Sybaris (no. 70), but were soon expelled (Arist. *Pol.* 1303ª29–30) and founded Poseidonia (no. 66) instead (Bérard (1957) 215–17).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Ager, S. L. 1996. *Interstate Arbitrations in the Greek World 337–90 BC* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London).

Alcock, S. E. 1991. "Urban Survey and the Polis of Phlius", *Hesperia* 60: 421–63.

Amandry, P. 1980. "Sur les concurs argiens", *Études argiennes*, *BCH* suppl. 6 (Athens) 211–252.

Baladié, R. 1980. *Le Péloponnèse de Strabon: étude de géographie historique* (Paris).

Bérard, J. 1957. *La Colonisation grecque de l'Italie méridionale et de la Sicile dans l'Antiquité* (Paris).

Bielman, A. 1994. *Retour à la liberté: libération et sauvetage des prisonniers en Grèce ancienne* (Paris).

Biers, W. R. 1971. "Excavations at Phlius, 1970", *Hesperia* 40: 424–47.

—— 1973. "Excavations at Phlius, 1972", *Hesperia* 42: 102–20

Billot, M.-F. 1997. "Recherches archéologiques récentes à l'Héraion d'Argos", in J. de la Genière (éd.), *Héra: images, espaces, cultes* (Naples) 11–81.

Blegen, C. W. 1925. "Excavations at Phlius, 1924", *Art and Archaeology* 20: 23–33.

Boethius, C. A. 1921–23. "Excavations at Mycenae", *BSA* 25: 408–15.

Bommelaer, J.-F., and des Courtils, J. 1994. *La Salle hypostyle d'Argos* (Paris).

Brandt, H. 1992. "IG IV 554: aus Argos oder Halieis?", *Chiron* 22: 83–90.

Buckler, J. 1980. *The Theban Hegemony 381–362 BC* (Cambridge, Mass., and London).

Burford, A. 1969. *The Greek Temple Builders at Epidauros* (Liverpool).

Chantraine, P. 1968. *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque*, i: *A–Δ* (Paris).

Charneux, P. 1990. "En relisant les décrets argiens I", *BCH* 114: 395–415.

—— 1991. "En relisant les décrets argiens II", *BCH* 115: 297–323.

Cole, S. G. 1995. "Civic Cult and Civic Identity", *CPCActs* 2: 292–325.

Deilaki-Protonotariou, E. 1972. "Das neue Theater in Alt-Epidauros", *AAA* 5: 347–58.

—— 1973 (1977). "Chronika", *ArchDelt* 28B: 83–87.

Demand, N. H. 1990. *Urban Relocation in Archaic and Classical Greece: Flight and Consolidation* (Bristol).

Dorovinis, V. K. 1997. "Téménion, le port antique d'Argos: mentions chez les auteurs anciens et modernes et indications sur son emplacement depuis la fin du XVIIIe siècle", in A. Pariente and G. Touchais (eds.), *Argos et l'Argolide: Topographie et urbanisme* (Paris) 291–313 (in Greek with French summary).

Edelstein, E. J., and Edelstein, L. 1945. *Asclepius: A Collection and Interpretation of the Testimonies*, 2 vols. (Baltimore).

Faraklas, N. 1972*a*. *Ancient Greek Cities*, XII: Ἐπίδαυρος (Athens).

—— 1972*b*. *Ancient Greek Cities*, X: Τροιζῆνα, Καλαύρεια, Μύκανα (Athens).

Faraklas, N. 1973. *Ancient Greek Cities*, XIX: Ἑρμιόνη, Ἁλιεῖς (Athens).

Flensted-Jensen, P., and Hansen, M. H. 1996. "Pseudo-Skylax' Use of the Term Polis", *CPCPapers* 3: 137–67.

Foley, A. 1988. *The Argolid 800–600 B.C.: An Archaeological Survey* (Göteborg).

Frickenhaus, A., Müller, W., and Oelmann, F. 1912. *Tiryns* (Athens).
Frisk, H. 1960. *Griechisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, i: *A–Ko* (Heidelberg).
Frödin, G., and Persson, A. W. 1938. *Asine* (Stockholm).
Gigon, O. 1987. *Aristotelis Opera*, iii: *Librorum deperditorum fragmenta* (Berlin and New York).
Gill, D. 1997. "The Coinage of Methana", in Mee and Forbes (1997) 278–81.
Golden, M. 1998. *Sport and Society in Ancient Greece* (Cambridge).
Hall, J. M. 1995. "How Argive was the 'Argive' Heraion? The Political and Cultic Geography of the Argive Plain, 900–400 B.C.", *AJA* 99: 577–613.
Hansen, M. H. 1985. *Demography and Democracy* (Herning).
—— 1997. "A Typology of Dependent *Poleis*", *CPCPapers* 4: 29–37.
—— 2000. "A Survey of the Use of the Word *Polis* in Archaic and Classical Sources", *CPCPapers* 5: 173–215.
—— and Fischer-Hansen, T. 1994. "Monumental Political Architecture in Archaic and Classical Greek Poleis: Evidence and Historical Significance", *CPCPapers* 1: 23–90.
Hart, D. P. 1977. "The Ancient Nemean Games", *Canadian Journal of History of Sport and Physical Education* 8: 24–34.
Jacquemin, A. 1999. *Offrandes monumentales à Delphes* (Paris).
Jameson, M. H. 1974. "A Treasury of Athena in the Argolid", in D.W. Bradeen and M. F. McGregor (eds.), *FOROS: Tribute to B. D. Merritt* (New York) 67–75.
—— Runnels, C. N., and van Andel, T. H. (eds.) 1994. *A Greek Countryside: The Southern Argolid from Prehistory to the Present Day* (Stanford, Calif.).
Jones, N. F. 1980. "The Civic Organization of Corinth", *TAPA* 110: 161–93.
Karo, G. 1913. "Archäologische Funde in Jahre 1912", *AA* 95–132.
Kelly, T. 1976. *A History of Argos to 500 B.C.* (Minneapolis).
Koerner, R. 1985. "Tiryns als beispiel einer frühen dorischen Polis", *Klio* 67: 452–57.
Kraay, C. M. 1976. *Archaic and Classical Greek Coins* (London).
Kritzas, C. 1992. "Aspects de la vie politique et économique d'Argos au Ve siècle avant J.-C.", *BCH* suppl. 22: 231–40.
Labarbe, J. 1974. "Un putsch dans la Grèce antique: Polycrate et ses frères à la conquête du pouvoir", *Ancient Society* 5: 21–41.
Lambrinoudakis, V. 1980. "Staatskult und Geschichte der Stadt Epidauros", *ARCHAIOGNOSIA* 1: 39–63.
—— 1990. "Un réfugié argien à Épidaure au Ve s. avant J.-C.", *CRAI* 174–85.
Lang, F. 1996. *Archaische Siedlungen in Griechenland: Struktur und Entwicklung* (Berlin).
Lehmann, H. 1937. *Argolis*, i: *Landeskunde der Ebene von Argos und ihrer Randgebiete* (Athens).
Leukart, A. 1994. *Die frühgriechischen Nomina auf -tas und -as: Untersuchungen zu ihrer Herkunft und Ausbreitung (unter Vergleich mit den Nomina auf -eús)* (Vienna).
Maier, F. G. 1959. *Griechische Mauerbauinschriften*, i (Heidelberg).
Mattingly, H. B. 1996. *The Athenian Empire Restored: Epigraphical and Historical Studies* (Ann Arbor).
Maurer, K. 1995. *Interpolation in Thucydides* (Leiden).
Mee, C., and Forbes, H. (eds.) 1997. *A Rough and Rocky Place: The Landscape and Settlement History of the Methana Peninsula, Greece* (Liverpool).
Meyer, E. 1941. "Phleius", *RE* xxxix. 269–90.
Miller, S. G. 1976. "Excavations at Nemea, 1975", *Hesperia* 45: 174–202.
—— 1990. *Nemea: A Guide to the Site and Museum* (Berkeley).
Mitsos, M. T. 1949. "Inscriptions of the Eastern Peloponnesus", *Hesperia* 18: 73–77.
Moggi, M. 1974. "I sinecismi e le annessioni territoriali di Argo nel V secolo a. c.", *AnnPisa* iv.4: 1249–63.
Morgan, C., and Coulton, J. J. 1997. "The *Polis* as a Physical Entity", *CPCActs* 4: 87–144.
Osborne, M. J. 1983. *Naturalization in Athens*, ii (Brussels).
Pariente, A., Piérart, M., and Thalmann, J.-P. 1998. "Les recherches sur l'agora d'Argos: résultats et perspectives", in A. Pariente and G. Touchais (eds.), *Argos et l'Argolide, topographie et urbanisme* (Paris) 211–31.
Perlman, P. 2000. *City and Sanctuary in Ancient Greece: The* Theorodokia *in the Peloponnese*, *Hypomnemata* 121 (Göttingen).
Piérart, M. 1982. "Argos, Cléonai et le Koinon des Arcadiens", *BCH* 106: 119–38.
—— 1990. "Un oracle d'Apollon à Argos", *Kernos* 3: 319–33.
—— 1992. "Deux notes sur l'histoire de Mycènes (Ve, III/IIes)", *Serta Leodiensia secunda* (Liège) 377–87.
—— 1995. "*Ὑπ' Ἀργείων ἐπεβλήθη ζημίη* (Hérodote VI 92): Aspects des relations extérieures d'Argos au Ve s.", in E. Frézouls and A. Jacquemin (eds.), *Les Relations internationales* (Leiden) 297–308.
—— 1996. "Pour une approche du panthéon argien par la mythologie: le bouclier d'Athéna", *Kernos* 9: 171–94.
—— 1997. "L'attitude d'Argos à l'égard des autres cités d'Argolide", *CPCActs* 4: 321–51.
—— 1998. "L'itinéraire de Pausanias à Argos", in A. Pariente and G. Touchais (eds.), *Argos et l'Argolide, topographie et urbanisme* (Paris) 337–56.
—— 2000. "Argos: une autre démocratie", *Polis and Politics* 297–314.
—— 2001. "Argos, Philippe II et la Cynourie (Thyréatide): les frontières du partage des Héraclides", in R. Frei-Stolba and K. Gex (eds.), *Recherches récentes sur le monde hellénistique* (Bern) 27–43.
—— and Touchais, G. 1996. *Argos: une ville grecque de 6000 ans* (Paris).
Pikoulas, Y. A. 1995. *Ὁδικὸ δίκτυο καὶ ἄμυνα: Ἀπὸ τὴν Κόρινθο στὸ Ἄργος καί τὴν Ἀρκαδία*, *Ἡ Μεγάλη Βιβλιοθήκη ἀρ.* 2 (Athens).

Pritchett, W. K. 1965. *Studies in Ancient Greek Topography: Part I* (Berkeley).
—— 1980. *Studies in Ancient Topography: Part III* (Berkeley and Los Angeles).
——1991. *Studies in Ancient Greek Topography: Part VII* (Amsterdam).
Robert, L. 1948. *Hellenica*, v (Paris).
——1960. *Hellenica*, xi–xii (Paris).
Romano, D. G. 1993. *Athletics and Mathematics in Archaic Corinth: The Origins of the Greek Stadion* (Philadelphia).
Rostovtzeff, M. 1931. "Trois inscriptions hellénistiques de Theangela en Carie", *REA* 33: 5–25, 209–18.
Roux, G. 1958. *Pausanias en Corinthie (Livre II, 1 à 15): Texte, Traduction, Commentaire archéologique et épigraphique* (Paris).
——1961. *L'Architecture de l'Argolide aux IVe et IIIe siècles avant J.-C.* (Paris).
Roy, J. 1973. "Diodorus Siculus XV 40—The Peloponnesian Revolutions of 374 B.C.", *Klio* 55: 135–39.
Rudolph, W. 1984. "Excavations at Porto-Cheli and Vicinity, Preliminary Report, VI", *Hesperia* 53: 123–70.
Runnels, N. R., and Munn, M. H. 1994. "A Register of Sites", in Jameson *et al.* (1994) 415–538.
Rupp, D. W. 1976. "The Altars of Zeus and Hera on Mt. Arachnaion in the Argeia, Greece", *JFA* 3: 261–68.
Sakellariou, M. B., and Faraklas, N. 1971. *Ancient Greek Cities*, iii: *Corinthia-Cleonaea* (Athens).
Scheer, R. 1989. "Kleonai", in S. Lauffer (ed.), *Griechenland: Lexikon der historischen Stätten* (Munich) 332.
Schwandner, E. L. 1988. "Archäische Spolien aus Tiryns: Ausgrabungen in Tiryns 1982/83", *AA* 269–84.
Sève, M. 1993. "Les concurs d'Épidaure", *REG* 106: 303–26.
Sherk, R. 1990. "The Eponymous Officials of Greek Cities, I", *ZPE* 83: 249–88.
Shipley, G. 1997. " 'The Other Lakedaimonians': The Dependent Perioikic *Poleis* of Laconia and Messenia", *CPCActs* 4: 189–320.
—— 2000. "The Extent of Spartan Territory in the Late Classical and Hellenistic Periods", *BSA* 95: 367–90.
Stylianou, P. J. 1998. *A Historical Commentary on Diodorus Siculus Book 15* (Oxford).
Tausend, K. 1992. *Amphiktyonie und Symmachie: Formen zwischenstaatlicher Beziehungen im archaïschen Griechenland*, *Historia* Einzelschriften 73 (Stuttgart).
Vollgraff, W. 1915. "Novae inscriptiones Argivae", *Mnemosyne* 43: 365–84.
—— 1916. "Novae inscriptiones Argivae", *Mnemosyne* 44: 46–71, 219–38.
Welter, G. 1941. *Troizen und Kalaureia* (Berlin).
Whitehead, D. 2000. *Hypereides, The Forensic Speeches: Introduction, Translation and Commentary* (Oxford).
Wilhelm, A. 1908. "Inschriften aus Halikarnassos und Theangela", *ÖJh* 11: 53–75.
——1974. *Kleine Schriften*, 2 vols. (Leipzig).

THE SARONIC GULF

THOMAS J. FIGUEIRA

I. The Region

Enumeration of the Saronic Gulf islands was incorporated into ancient geographical surveys. Pliny, who does not distinguish the Saronic Gulf from the Gulf of Nauplia, mentions Calauria, Plateis, Belbina, Lasia and Baucidias as opposite Troizen (no. 357), and, opposite Epidauros (no. 348), Cecryphalos, Pityonesos and Aegina (*HN* 4.56–57). Moreover, off Cape Speiraion, lay Eleusa, Adendros, the two Craugiae, the two Caeciae and Selacosa (Plin. *HN* 4.57); Aspis (Steph. Byz. 134.17) was off Cenchreae (Plin. *HN* 4.57), and the Methouriades (Steph. Byz. 440.12; *Methurides*, Plin.) in the bay of Megara (Plin.). Pomponius Mela notes Pitynussa and Aegina, adjoining the Epidaurian coast, and Calauria near the Troizenian shore (*Chor.* 2.109). Tiny size, lack of attestations, and a nomenclature in which naming after gross features predominates indicate the insignificance of these islands (Philippson and Kirsten (1959) 42–46). Kekryphaleia was the largest of the Saronic islands lying between Aigina and Epidauros, and in 459 it was the site of a naval battle of the First Peloponnesian War in which Athens (no. 361) defeated Corinth (no. 227) and its allies (Thuc. 1.105.1; Diod. 11.78.2; Steph. Byz. 372.1–3). There is no evidence regarding its political status and history, which were probably linked with those of Aigina (Bürchner (1921)).

II. The *Poleis*

358. Aigina (Aiginatas) Map. 57. Lat. 37.45, long. 23.30. Size of territory: 2 (85.9 km²). Type: A. The toponym is *Αἴγινα, ἡ* (Hom. *Il.* 2.562; Thuc. 1.105.2; *IG* IV².1 102.270 (C4f)). The city-ethnic is *Αἰγινήτης* (*IG* I³ 259.VI.18), in Doric *Αἰγινάτας* (*IvO* 143.2 (488); *SEG* 46 474 (C5e)). Aigina is attested as a *polis* in the political sense (*ἔθνος*: Pind. *Isthm.* 5.22; Bacchyl. 13.185; Hdt. 2.178.3), in the urban sense (Hdt. 6.88.1; Dem. 23.211; Ps.-Skylax 53) and as totality of territory = *asty* + *chora* (Xen. *Hell.* 2.2.9). At Bacchyl. 13.71 (*πόλιν ὑψιάγυιαν*) the reference is presumably to the acropolis. For a reference to Aigina as *asty*, see Bacchyl. 13.188. The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally on C4 coins (abbreviated as *ΑΙΓΙ* (Head, *HN*² 397)) and externally in inscriptions (ML 27.3 (479–478); *ATL* (*IG* I³ 259.VI.18); the Spartan War Contribution Accounts (*SEG* 39 370.A3 (C5 or C4)), and in literature (Hdt. 3.59.4, 8.93.1; Thuc. 1.14.3; Xen. *Hell.* 5.1.2). The external individual use is found in Hdt. 4.152.3, 8.93.1; *IvO* 143.2 (488); *SEG* 46 474 (C5e); *CID* II 31.78 (345)). *Patra* (= *patris*) is attested in Pind. *Ol.* 8.20 and *IG* II² 7965 (C4m).

Aigina was structurally atypical because of high economic output from commerce (Arist. *Pol.* 1291ᵇ24). It had two or three harbours (cf. Ps.-Skylax 53) and a flourishing *emporion* (Dem. 23.211; Ephor. fr. 176). Demographic indicators derive from fleet mobilisations. During the C5e acme, the total population was 35,000–45,000, with 7,000–10,000 slaves/freedmen and 1,500–2,500 males of or above hoplite rank (Figueira (1981) 22–52). This level was attained through assimilation of mainly servile immigrants. In spite of serious exaggeration, Arist. fr. 475.1 testifies to an exceptionally high number of slaves, and fr. 475.2 may imply a high number of foreigners (Figueira (1991) 84–86, (1993) 206–8). Naturalisation was limited or protracted. Even an *euergetes*, the *naukleros* Lampis (C4m), only achieved *ateleia* as a metic (Dem. 23.211). Refounded Aigina (C4) had a substantially lower population. Inscriptions attest to foreigners in residence (e.g. *IG* IV 50). For Aigina, geographical perceptions reinforced cultural affinities. On social structure, cf. Winterscheidt (1938).

For Aiginetan history, see the chronological table in Figueira (1993) 409–18 with refs.; also Amit (1973) 9–60. In C8m–C7l, Aigina had *sub-political* status under foreign hegemony. Hegemony by Argos (no. 347) was mediated through the cult league of Apollo Pythaieus (Hdt. 6.92.1–2; cf. Pheidon's apocryphal minting: Ephor. fr. 115). Aigina participated in the Kalaurian Amphiktyony (Strabo 8.6.14). In C7l, Aigina was controlled by Epidauros (no. 348) and became independent in a violent secession (Hdt. 5.83.1–2).

Hellenistic inscriptions mention a *pentapolis* that might indicate a synoecism (Felten (1975) 42–52). Subsequent Aiginetan membership in the Peloponnesian League is unlikely. In 506, the "Heraldless War" began with the Athenians (no. 361) (Hdt. 5.80.2). Aigina submitted to Persia before Marathon (Hdt. 6.49.1). Effective medising was precluded by a hostage taking by Kleomenes I (Hdt. 6.73.2). In the early 480s, *stasis* flared in an Athenian-inspired populist uprising under Nikodromos (an aristocratic exile). After brutal suppression, fugitives became Athenians, later assisting against Aigina (Hdt. 6.88–91); see Gehrke, *Stasis* 15–16. In 481, the Aiginetans joined the Hellenic League (Hdt. 7.145.1; ML 27.3), winning the *aristeia* at Salamis (Hdt. 8.93.1).

Remaining aloof from the Delian League until 457–456, Aigina was reduced to tributary status (Thuc. 1.108.4). It belonged to the Island district (*IG* I³ 270.v.37) and is registered in the tribute lists from 454/3 (*IG* I³ 259.vi.18) to 432/1 (*IG* I³ 279.i.88) a total of ten times, twice completely restored, paying a *phoros* of 30 tal. in all years except 450/49, when the payment was 26 tal., 1,200 dr. (*IG* I³ 263.iv.39, ethnic restored), and 432/1, when it was either 9 or 14 tal. Returning fugitives and pro-Athenians promoted a cult of Athena Polias (*IG* IV 29–32). Tributary status ended with an expulsion in 431. Aiginetans scattered, fled to Kydonia (no. 968), or were harboured in the Thyreatis (as a Spartan dependency: Thuc. 2.27.2); some assisted Spartan campaigning (4.57.1–4). An Attic *apoikia*, in which a remnant population was supplemented by reinforcing settlers, occupied Aigina, claiming to represent the Aiginetan *polis* (Thuc. 2.27.1; 8.69.3); the 5 per cent import/export tax was levied there (Ar. *Ran.* 362–64, 380–81 with schol.). See also Figueira (1991) 79–128.

In 405, Lysander refounded Aigina (Xen. *Hell.* 2.2.9). Under Spartan *harmostai*, Aigina fought in the Corinthian War (*Hell.* 5.1.1–24), causing damage that helped motivate Athens toward the King's Peace (*Hell.* 5.1.29). When fighting flared up in 378, the Aiginetans resumed raiding (*Hell.* 5.4.61, 6.2.1) that is unclearly demarcated from later attacks (350–340s) probably taken in conjunction with Makedonia (Demades fr. 67).

Except for the Attic *apoikia*, politics was dominated by aristocratic clans or phratries (*patrai*), celebrated by Pindar (*Pyth.* 8.38), the status of whose members (*pakhees*: Hdt. 6.91.1; *dynatoi*: Paus. 3.4.2) is also witnessed by chamber tombs (see Jeffery (1974)). An Aristoteleian *politeia* is attested (Arist. fr. 475). Two outstanding figures were Krios, who resisted Kleomenes (Hdt. 6.50.2–3), and his son Polykritos, a leader at Salamis (8.92.1–2). Aigina's fleet was the predominant military instrument (Thuc. 1.14.3), supposedly making the Aiginetans thalassocrats 490–480 (Diod. 7 fr. 11). An agreement with Athens (450–446) makes security arrangements (*IG* I³ 38). A notable C4e enactment mandated execution for Athenians taken on Aigina (Diog. Laert. 3.19 (r390s)). Significant Aiginetan diplomacy included the message of Polyarchos, probably a Spartan *proxenos*, that the walls of Athens were being reconstructed in 478 (Plut. *Them.* 19.2) and covert agitation at Sparta (no. 345) on the eve of the Peloponnesian War (Thuc. 1.67.2). In the 480s and later, Aigina was a haven for Attic ostracised (Dem. 26.6; *Adespota Comica* 3.40, Kock). Likely Aiginetan *proxenoi* at Athens were Aristeides and Thoukydides Melesiou. A *proxenos* at Plataia is attested (Hdt. 9.85.3). For a possible Aiginetan *proxenos* for Rhodos at Naukratis (no. 1023), see *Syll.*³ 110.

The *epinicia* of Pindar and the status of Aiakos as a judge of souls attest to the quality of the legal system (especially toward *xenoi*). The *Aegineticus* of Isokrates (19) was delivered in an Aiginetan court by a Siphnian exile. The *boule* and *demos* are attested in post-Classical inscriptions only (e.g. *IG* IV 1.1). The *thearoi* were a prestigious board, whose duties probably transcended cult supervision (schol. Pind. *Nem.* 3.122a–b with Figueira (1981) 314–21). A doubtful civic eponymous is the priest of Aphaia used to date Archaic construction at the sanctuary (*IG* IV 1580). Tribes and demes are attested in an inscription of 159–144 (*IG* IV 1.43–44).

Additional cults (with attested festival: *): Athena, Aiakos*, Aiakidai, Aphaia*, Aphrodite*, Apollo Pythios/Delphinios*, Apollo and Poseidon, Damia and Auxesia*, Poseidon Hippourios* and Zeus Hellanios*. The Hydrophoria was celebrated in the month Delphinios to Apollo Delphinios as *oikistes* (schol. Pind. *Nem.* 5.81a–b). At Salamis the Aiakidai were ritually summoned (Hdt. 8.64.2, 83–84). A doubtful Delphic consultation by the Aiginetan exiles none the less became proverbial (*CPG* 1.22–23). Gold stars were dedicated for the *aristeia* at Salamis (Hdt. 8.122). A *polyandrion*, commemorating casualties at Plataia, was dedicated in 469 (Hdt. 9.85.3). Aiginetans were prominent at Delphi after the Third Sacred War (Figueira (1993) 356–58). *IG* IV 39 and 1588 are inventories of dedications inscribed under the *apoikia*. Aiginetans are attested as victors at all the major Panhellenic games: the Olympic (Pind. *Ol.* 8), the Pythian (Pind. *Pyth.* 8), the Nemean (Pind. *Nem.* 3–8; Bacchyl. 12–13) and the Isthmian (Pind. *Isthm.* 5–6, 8–9). Aiginetans won altogether twenty-eight attested major victories (e.g. *SEG* 39 255). Note Praxidamas *Olympionikes* in 544, victorious in the Nemean and Isthmian Games as well, and the first to have his statue set up at Olympia (Pind. *Nem.* 6.15–18; Paus. 6.18.7); see further Mann (2001) 192–235.

Public architecture and art (on which Aigina lavished its wealth) can only be summarised. See Welter (1938*b*) and Walter (1993). Pausanias mentions a temple of Aphrodite, Aiakeion, Phokeion, *kryptos limen* and its mole, theatre, *stadion* (C5–C4 according to Krinzinger (1968)), temples of Apollo, Artemis and Dionysos, Asklepieion, a temple of Hekate, and extra-urban sanctuaries of Aphaia and Damia/Auxesia (2.29.6–30.5). The acropolis on Cape Colonna was impressive as excavations of (e.g.) the C6l Apollo temple(s) and Thearion have confirmed (published in the series *Alt-Ägina*). The *temenos* and temple of Aphaia have had a long history of excavation, since the recovery of sculptures by the Dilettanti in 1811 (Ohly (1976) pp. xi–xiii; Bankel (1993)). The Hellanion on Mt. Oros is demonstrated by excavation to have been another important sanctuary. The military harbour with its ship sheds (480s) was a "state of the art" facility (see Knoblauch (1972)). Remains have been found of the circuit of fortifications of the city, extended in C5e against the Attic threat (Welter (1938*a*) 480–85). The walls enclosed an area of *c.*52 ha (Figueira (1981) 39–40. Aigina was besieged in 460/59 (Thuc. 1.105.2; Lys. 2.49), and the walls demolished in 457 (Thuc. 1.108.4). Aigina is attested as a walled city in 389 (Xen. *Hell.* 5.1.2; cf. Aen. Tact. 20.5).

The mint was the earliest producer of silver (from 560 to 540). The Aiginetan standard was much imitated. Its "turtles", the coins *par excellence* of the Peloponnesos (Poll. 9.74), minted in huge numbers and with high purity, were widely disseminated, dominating circulation in several regions (*IGCH* (1974) 394; Figueira (1998) 36–41, 116–27). Aiginetan money was critical in the monetisation of the Archaic economy. In C5m, the obverse design became a tortoise, while the reverse type remained a conventional incuse square. In C4, the city-ethnic in abbreviation (e.g. *AIΓI*) was affixed to the reverse. Denominations: didrachm stater, drachm, triobol, obol, hemiobol (C6–456); stater, drachm, triobol, obol, hemiobol (from C4e). Bronze coins were struck in C4l or C3: *obv.* two or three dolphins circling around the letter *A*; *rev.* incuse square divided into five compartments, sometimes with legend *AI* in upper compartments (Head, *HN*² 394–98; *SNG Cop. Attica-Aegina* 501–39; *SNG München*, Attika, Megaris, Äigina).

As a long-distance trading community, Aigina was not an active coloniser, but colonised Kydonia (no. 968) in 519, Adria (no. 75) *c.*C6l, and Damastion in Illyria after 431 (Strabo 8.6.16). With Miletos (no. 854) and Samos (no. 864), Aigina was significant at Naukratis (no. 1023) (Hdt. 2.178.3).

The Aiginetan claim to autochthony (Hellan. fr. 27) rested on their identity as the Myrmidons metamorphosed from ants by Zeus at the behest of his son Aiakos (Hes. fr. 205, MW; hence the toponym *Myrmidonia*: Steph. Byz. s.v. *Μυρμιδονία*). Historiography suggests successive waves of settlers (Paus. 2.29.5).

359. Belbina (Belbinites) Map. 58. Lat. 37.30, long. 23.55. Size of territory: 1 (*c.*7 km²). Type: A. The toponym is *Βέλβινα, ἡ*, the name of the island being identical with that of its *polis* (Ps.-Skylax 51; Strabo 8.6.16). The city-ethnic is *Βελβινίτης* (Hdt. 8.125.2) or *Βελβινείτης* (Teles, *Peri Phyges* p. 27, Hense (C3f)). Belbina is called a *polis* in the urban sense by Ps.-Skylax 51. Its status as a *polis* in the political sense is indicated by its appearance among the members of the Delian League in the assessment decree of 425/4 (*IG* I³ 71.I.88), where the city-ethnic is used in the external and collective sense. For the individual sense, see the ancedote in Hdt. 8.125.2, where Themistokles admits that he would never have come to fame if he had been a Belbinites. For Belbina's proverbial insignificance see also Teles (*supra*).

In the decree of 425/4 (*supra*) Belbina was assessed at the modest sum of 300 drachms. Poor and sparsely populated, Belbina may not have seemed worth assessing before, in which case 425 may be its first actual assessment. Or Belbina may have been assessed in an *apotaxis* from a larger neighbour, in which an overarching dependency on Athens weakened an earlier regional subordination. Remains of a nucleated settlement have not been excavated (Ross (1840–43) i. 4, ii. 172–73).

360. Kalaureia (Kalaureates) Map. 58. Lat. 37.30, long. 23.30. Size of territory: 2 (31 km²). Type: A. The toponym is *Καλαύρεα, ἡ* (*Syll.*³ 359.1–2 (C4l)) or *Καλαύρεια* (Dem. 49.13) or *Καλαυρία* (Ps.-Skylax 52). According to the C3 historian Antikleides ((*FGrHist* 140) fr. 9) the island was originally called *Εἰρήνη*, but *Καλαύρεια* is attested as early as Hecat. fr. 125. The city-ethnic is *Καλαυρεάτας* (*Syll.*³ 359.4–5). Kalaureia is called a *polis* in the urban sense at Ps.-Skylax 52 and in the political sense in a C4s decree: *ἔδοξε τᾶι πόλι τῆν Καλαυρεατᾶν* (*Syll.*³ 359.3–5) where the city-ethnic is used in the collective and internal sense. The external individual use is attested in C3 honorary decrees from Epidauros (no. 348) (*IG* IV² 96.43) and Delphi (no. 177) (*SEG* 14 402).

From possibly C6l (Hdt. 3.59.1) and during C5–C4l Kalaureia was a possession of Troizen (no. 357); the Aristotelian constitution of the Troizenians treated Kalaureia (Arist. fr. 614), and the C5l sculptor Pison could be described as "from Kalaureia of the Troizenians" (*ἐκ Καλαυρείας τῆς Τροιζηνίων*) (Paus. 10.9.8; cf. 6.3.5). The island served as a naval station: a fleet of Timotheos used it

in 374 (Dem. 49). After the Lamian War, the *polis* is presented as the political authority for a grant of *ateleia* to Siphnos in *IG* IV 839 = *Syll.*³ 359 (C4l)). The eponymous magistrate was a *tamias* (*IG* IV 839, 841). [Plut.] *Mor.* 846F has been taken to imply the authority of local officials at Kalaureia just before the death of Demosthenes. In general, see Welter (1941) 53–57.

According to Ps.-Skylax 52, Kalaureia had a harbour (limen) and its urban centre contained an agora in which a (Hellenistic?) *bouleuterion* has been excavated (cf. *IG* IV 841.24). The nearby Heroon may be connected with both Asklepios and/or Demosthenes (*IG* IV 847; see Welter (1941) 51–52). At Kalaureia was located the sanctuary of Poseidon Kalauros, known from C8e with a temple from 6Cl, expanded in C5l–C4 (ibid. 45–50) and four stoas of C5l–C4l (Coulton (1976) 242–43). The sanctuary served as an asylum (Ephor. fr. 150), hence the alternative toponym *Eirene*. In refuge there, Demosthenes committed suicide; and his μνῆμα stood within the sanctuary, perhaps represented by a circular foundation west of the temple (Attic decree cited in [Plut.] *Mor.* 851C; [Dem.] *Ep.* 2.20; Plut. *Dem.* 29.1–30.6). At some point, probably during the First Peloponnesian War, a cult of Ποσειδῶν Καλαυρεάτης was begun in Attica or cult treasures were transferred there from Kalaureia (note *IG* I³ 369.74; cf. Thuc. 1.115.1, 4.21.3; in general, see Wide and Kjellberg (1895); Welter (1941) 43–50).

The Kalaurian Amphiktyony centred on the sanctuary of Poseidon, having a membership of Hermion (no. 350), Epidauros (no. 348), Aigina (no. 358), Nauplia, Athens (no. 361), Prasiai (no. 342) and Minyan (Boiotian) Orchomenos (no. 213); cf. Strabo 8.6.14. Argos (no. 347) later participated for Nauplia, and Sparta (no. 345) for Prasiai. It may have originated *c.*700 (before the synoecism of Troizen) as a sacralized site for the ransoming of captives, redemption of property, and protected interaction. The amphiktyony existed in the Hellenistic period (*IG* IV 842 (C3 or C2)). See Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (1896); Harland (1925); Kelly (1966); Figueira (1981) 185–88, 219–20; Tausend (1992) 12–19; Hall (1995) 584–85). Cults of Aphrodite, Artemis, Asklepios, Athena Apaturia and Zeus Soter are also attested (Welter (1941) 62).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Amit, M. 1973. *Great and Small Poleis* (Brussels).

Bankel, H. 1993. *Der spätarchaische Tempel der Aphaia auf Aegina* (Berlin).

Bürchner, L. 1921. "Kekryphaleia", *RE* xxi. 125–26.

Coulton, J. J. 1976. *The Architectural Development of the Greek Stoa* (Oxford).

Felten, F. 1975. "Die Spätrömische Akropolismauer, Inschriften", *Alt-Ägina* 1.2 (Mainz/Rhein).

Figueira, T. 1981. *Aegina* (New York).

——1991. *Athens and Aigina in the Age of Imperial Colonization* (Baltimore).

——1993. *Excursions in Epichoric History* (Lanham, Md.).

——1998. *The Power of Money* (Philadelphia).

Hall, J. M. 1995. "How Argive was the 'Argive' Heraion? The Political and Cultic Geography of the Argive Plain, 900–400 B.C.", *AJA* 99: 577–613.

Harland, J. P. 1925. "The Calaurian Ampictyony", *AJA* 29: 160–71.

Jeffery, L. 1974. "*IG* I², 1007: An Aiginetan Grave Inscription", in D. W. Bradeen and M. F. McGregor (eds.), *ΦΟΡΟΣ: Tribute to Benjamin Dean Meritt* (New York) 76–79.

Kelly, T. 1966. "The Calaurian Amphictyony", *AJA* 70: 113–21.

Knoblauch, P. 1972. "Die Hafenanlagen der Stadt Ägina", *ArchDelt* 27A: 50–85.

Krinzinger, F. 1968. "Untersuchungen zur Entwicklungsgeschichte des griechischen Stadions" (diss. Innsbruck).

Mann, C. 2001. *Athlet und Polis im archaischen und frühklassischen Griechenland*, Hypomnemata 138 (Göttingen).

Ohly, D. 1976. *Die Aegineten*, i (Munich).

Philippson, A., and Kirsten, E. 1959. *Die griechische Landschaften*, iii.1 (Frankfurt am Main).

Ross, L. 1840–43. *Reisen auf den griechischen Inseln der ägäischen Meeres* (Stuttgart and Tübingen).

Tausend, K. 1992. *Amphiktyonie und Symmachie: Formen zwischenstaatlicher Beziehungen im archaischen Griechenland*, *Historia* Einzelschriften 73 (Stuttgart).

Walter, H. 1993. *Ägina* (Munich).

Welter, G. 1938*a*. "Aeginetica XIII–XXIV", *AA* 480–540.

——1938*b*. *Aigina* (Berlin).

——1941. *Troizen und Kalaureia* (Berlin).

Wide, S., and Kjellberg, L. 1895. "Ausgrabungen auf Kalaureia", *AM* 20: 267–326.

Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, U. von 1896. "Die Amphictyonie von Kalaurea", *NAkG* 158–70.

Winterscheidt, H. 1938. "Aigina. Eine Untersuchung über seine Gesellschaft und Wirtschaft" (diss. Cologne).

ATTIKA

MOGENS HERMAN HANSEN

I. The Region

The region is usually called ἡ Ἀττική (*SEG* 21 644.13 (C4s); Thuc. 1.2.5; Xen. *Hell.* 1.7.22; Lycurg. 1.115; Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 33.1; Men. *Dysc.* 1), to which γῆ (Hdt. 6.102) or χώρη (Hdt. 5.64.2) is sometimes added. But, seen as the territory of the Athenian *polis*, Attika is also called ἡ γῆ ἡ Ἀθηναίων (Thuc. 2.57). To the north, Attika bordered on Boiotia (Dem. 18.96; Xen. *Mem.* 3.5.25), and to the west on Megaris (Ps.-Skylax 57). Including the small islands but excluding Oropos, Attika covered *c.*2,550 km² (Busolt and Swoboda (1926) 758). Oropos covered some 110 km² and was contiguous to Attika (Thuc. 4.99.1); it was under Athenian domination in the years *c.*500–411, *c.*375–366 and 338–322, but never integrated into Attika (see *supra* 449). Moving westward from Oropos (Heracl. Cret. 7–8, *GGM* I 101), the Boiotian *poleis* bordering on Attika were Tanagra (Dem. 18.96), Hysiai (Hdt. 6.108.6) and Plataiai (Hdt. 6.108.3). In the years around 500, Hysiai was an Attic "deme" (Hdt. 5.74.2), and Plataiai may have been part of Attika as well (see *supra* 450). The northernmost Attic demes were Rhamnous (Paus. 1.33.2), Aphidna (Heracl. Cret. 6, *GGM* I 101), Dekeleia (Thuc. 7.19.2; Hdt. 9.15.1), Phyle (Strabo 9.2.11), Oinoe (Hdt. 5.74.2; Thuc. 2.18.1–2) and Eleusis (Thuc. 1.114.2; Ps.-Skylax 57). North of these demes, in the western part of Attika, lay three strongholds: Drymos, Panakton and Eleutherai. Drymos, still unlocated, was divided between Boiotia and Attika (Arist. fr. 405 = Harp. Δ81; cf. Dem. 19.326; *IG* II² 1672.271 (329/8)). Panakton was at first a bone of contention (Hellan. fr. 126), but in the Classical period it belonged to Attika (Thuc. 5.3.5, 42.1; cf. Rocchi (1988) 180–81). Eleutherai was originally a Boiotian settlement (Polemon fr. 2; Steph. Byz. 265.10) incorporated into Attika (Paus. 1.38.8) in, probably, 506 (Connor (1990) 8–16). It is a moot point whether it belonged to Boiotia once again in C4 (for: Camp (1991); against: Munn (1993) 8–9). On the roads leading from Attika into Boiotia, see Ober (1985) 111–29; Funke (2000).

Towards the Isthmus, the frontier with Megara ran along the ridge of Mt. Kerata (Van de Maele (1992)). Between Attika and Megaris there was an untilled borderland, called Ἱερὰ Ὀργάς, which was sacred to the Eleusinian goddesses. After a dispute between the two *poleis* settled by arbitration, the Hiera Orgas was defined and marked with stone *stelai* in the years 352/1–350/49 (Dem. 13.32; Didymus, *In Dem. Comm.* 14.31–15.10 = Androtion (*FGrHist* 324) fr. 30; *IG* II² 204; cf. Rocchi (1988) 188–94).

Along the northern frontier major forts were placed at Rhamnous (Ober (1985) 7.1d), Aphidna (2a), Dekeleia (2b), Phyle (3a), Panakton (4a), Oinoe (4b) and Eleusis (8f). Dekeleia was conquered and garrisoned by the Peloponnesians during the second part of the Peloponnesian War, from 413 to 404 (Thuc. 7.18.1, 19.1–2; Xen. *Hell.* 1.1.33–35, 2.3.3). In the 370s a long wall (the so-called Dema wall) was built in north-west Attika to close the gap between Mt. Parnes and Mt. Aigaleos (Munn (1993)). In southern Attika, major forts were placed along the coast at Anaphlystos (Ps.-Skylax 57), Sounion (Thuc. 8.4; Ps.-Skylax 57) and Thorikos (Xen. *Hell.* 1.2.1; Ps.-Skylax 57).

The sources for the unification of Attika are conveniently collected and carefully discussed in Moggi, *Sin.* 44–81, who also gives a copious literature survey. For a recent judicious account, see Parker (1996) 11–17. The local myth was that, alongside Athens, there were eleven (Steph. Byz. 33.18–20; *Etym. Magn.* 352.53) or twelve (Philoch. fr. 94) other *poleis* in Attika which, eventually, were incorporated into Athens by Theseus. The other *poleis* included Tetrapolis (*sic*), Dekeleia, Eleusis, Aphidna, Brauron and Thorikos (Philoch. fr. 94). This tradition can be traced back to Hekataios (fr. 126; cf. Hansen (1997) 25–26); the unification of Attika is presupposed in the Homeric Catalogue of Ships (*Il.* 2.546–56), and it is described in Thucydides 2.15.1–2: originally Attika was divided between a number of *poleis*; but Theseus closed down the *prytaneia* and *bouleuteria* of all the other *poleis*, had their magistracies discontinued and created instead one centralised *polis* with one *bouleuterion* and one *prytaneion*. The settlement pattern continued unchanged, and Theseus' alleged unification of Attika is in fact the only example in our sources of a political synoecism which was not

accompanied by a relocation of (part of) the population. In other sources the unification of Attika is described as a proper physical synoecism (Isoc. 10.35; Diod. 4.61.8; Plut. *Thes.* 24.1). In Classical Athens Theseus' synoecism of Attika was celebrated at a festival called *Synoikia* (Thuc. 2.15.2; *IG* I³ 244C.16; Deubner (1966) 36–38; Parker (1996) 14). Thucydides seems to have shared the Athenians' belief that the political unification of Attika took place almost a thousand years before the Peloponnesian War (in 1259 according to *Marm. Par.* A 20).

Modern historians are divided over the issue, and, by and large, there are three different positions. (1) There was a once-and-for-all synoecism in the Mycenaean period, and the core of Thucydides' account can be accepted, if stripped of its mythological dress (Padgug (1972)); (2) the unification of Attika was a piecemeal process that took place in C9 and C8 (Snodgrass (1982) 668; Whitehead (1986) 9; Hornblower (1991) 263–64); (3) the unification was an even more protracted process, and the subjection of Eleusis and the Tetrapolis took place in C7 (Hignett (1952) 35–37; Moggi, *Sin.* 68).

Re (1) The archaeological evidence does not lend much support to the idea of a C14 unification of Attika (Diamant (1982) 43; cf. Parker (1996) 11). And, if there was a unified Mycenaean kingdom of Attika, it probably collapsed towards the end of the Bronze Age (Andrewes (1982*a*) 362). Moreover, from the late Protogeometric through the Middle Geometric period, i.e. *c.*950–800, Athens seems to have been the only nucleated settlement in Attika, and the rest of the region may even have been uninhabited (Mersch (1996) 83).

Re (3) The evidence for a late incorporation of Eleusis and the Tetrapolis is thin. (a) The reference to a king of Eleusis in the Homeric Hymn to Demeter 96–97 concerns the Heroic period and is probably part of the later foundation myth; and Herodotos' story about a battle at Eleusis in which Tellos was killed need not refer to a battle against the Eleusinians (Padgug (1972) 136–40); (b) in the prevailing version of the Athenian foundation myth τετράπολις is used not as an adjective meaning "with four *poleis*", but as a proper name denoting one *polis*, allegedly created by some kind of *sympoliteia* between its four constituent parts: Marathon, Trikorinthos, Oinoe and Probalinthos (cf. *Syll.*³ 930 (C4m)). Tetrapolis is recorded as one only of the twelve original Attic *poleis* (Philoch. fr. 94). The citizens had their own city-ethnic *Τετραπολεύς, of which (so far) only the plural form is attested (*IG* II² 1358.II.40 (C4m)). Tetrapolis had its own *archon* (ibid.), and its own representation in Delphi (*Syll.*³ 541 = *F.Delphes* III.2 18 (C3l)) and on Delos (Philoch. fr. 75). This foundation myth can be traced back to C5s (Eur. *Heracl.* 80). The Athenians obviously believed that the rites practised in the Classical period were the last vestiges of what had once been a *polis* in the proper sense, i.e. a self-governing polity. But we must not infer from the foundation myth that it reflects a historical fact and that Tetrapolis was an independent community in the Dark Ages. The absence of remains of settlements in north-east Attika before *c.*800 indicates that the tradition about the *polis* of Tetrapolis is an invention of C7–C6. The cooperation between the four communities and their common institutions may have been a result of the *stasis* in C7s and C6f (*infra* 628–29). Also, a modified version of Tetrapolis was an administrative unit in the Classical and Hellenistic periods, being the coastal *trittys* of Aiantis (*IG* I³ 1131 (C5m)), but Probalinthos was transferred to Pandionis. And the old unit of all four communities persisted as a cult organisation (*Syll.*³ 930 (C4m)).

Re (2) We are left with a piecemeal unification in C9–C8 as the most likely solution to the problem: the population of Attika, living in and around Athens in C10 and C9, grew rapidly in the course of C8–C7, and step by step it occupied the hitherto thinly populated or even uninhabited parts of Attika (Mersch (1996) 83–84). But then Athens must have been the only community in Attika in the Early and Middle Geometric period, and the unification of the region cannot have consisted in the incorporation into Athens of communities which were *poleis* with their own *bouleuteria* and *prytaneia.* An acceptance of the archaeological evidence as it stands today implies not just a downdating, but a rejection of Thucydides' account of the unification of Attika and of the Athenian foundation myth. It follows that there is no reason in this inventory to include separate entries for an Archaic Eleusis or an Archaic Tetrapolis.

The prevailing view of the settlement pattern of Attika in the late Archaic and Classical periods has been that each of the 139 Kleisthenic demes was centred on a nucleated settlement, either a village or in some cases a township (Whitehead (1986) 9–10, 29), and that there is no clear evidence of anyone living and farming out on his own in the country (R. Osborne (1985) 15–22: literary evidence; 22–36: archaeological evidence). An alternative view is that only a part of the population was settled in the nucleated centre and that a significant part of the population of a deme lived in isolated farmsteads (Langdon (1991)).

The latter view is supported (a) by the rapidly growing archaeological evidence, e.g. the isolated houses found during the excavations conducted at the new airport

(Steinhauer (2001)); (b) by a growing consensus that the towers and houses found in great numbers all over Attika must have been the homes of the cultivators and not just used for bivouacking (Hoepfner (1999) 247, 253, 259–60); (c) by a new study of the epigraphical evidence which shows that an *oikia* situated in rural Attika often denotes a residential house, and that both leases and security *horoi* provide us with ample evidence of isolated farmsteads (Jones (2000)); (d) by the hypothesis of alternating residence in town and countryside according to the seasons. Ownership of one *oikia* in Athens and one in the countryside is well attested, at least for wealthy Athenians, and double residence (cf. Pl. *Leg.* 745E) is an important but neglected problem (Hansen (1987*a*) 64).

The evidence for nucleated settlements in Attika is, in fact, more problematical than the evidence for dispersed settlement. In spite of intensive archaeological fieldwork conducted in all parts of Attika, only two other nucleated settlements of the Classical period, apart from Athens and the Peiraieus, have been found so far: Thorikos and Halai Aixonides (Hoepfner (1999) 247–56; Goette (1999) 162–64). The houses found in Rhamnous postdate the Classical period, and the houses found in Sounion are supposed to be directly connected with the administration of the sanctuary (Travlos (1988) 405; *contra* Goette (1999) 165–66). Remains of other nucleated centres of any importance are conspicuous by their absence. Conversely, the survey of one small coastal deme, Atene, seems to show that this deme cannot have had a nucleated centre (Lohmann (1993) 126–36); and Dem. 57.10 indicates that in C4m most members of the deme Halimous lived dispersed on their farms (Hansen (1997) 71 n. 111).

On the other hand, the written sources show that the typical Attic deme had a nucleated centre. Admittedly, no literary source refers to or describes the urban centre of any of the demes; and the ten relevant occurrences in Herodotos (Powell (1938) 85) do not substantiate the claim that *demos* in Herodotos is best translated as "village" (Whitehead (1986) 48); but Aristotle states that the Athenians used the word *demos* to denote what the Dorians call a *kome*, i.e. a village (*Poet.* 1448^{a}35–37; Hansen (1995) 71); a C4 deme decree about the demarcation of the *agora* of Sounion forbids the erection of houses inside the boundaries (*IG* II^{2} 1180), and *archontes komes* are attested for Phaleron in the *rationes centessimarum* (*IG* II^{2} 1598A.9, 18; cf. *IG* II^{2} 3103). This piece of evidence fits what we know from a late source: that Peiraieus, Phaleron, Xypete and Thymaitadai formed what was called the Tetrakomos (Pollux 4.105: τετράκωμος; cf. Lewis (1963) 33). Thus, in spite of the absence of physical remains, most Attic demes must have been centred on a nucleated settlement. It is superfluous in this publication to provide a list of the 139 Attic demes, for which see Traill's directory to *Barr.* map 59, based on Traill (1986). According to Traill (*Barr.* 59) there were no settlements in Classical Attika other than the centres of the demes. Other sites of the Archaic and Classical periods are classified as forts, sanctuaries, tumuli, etc. On forts, see *supra*. The major extra-urban sanctuaries were those of Artemis at Brauron (Travlos (1988) 55–80), of Poseidon at Sounion (ibid. 404–29), and of Demeter and Persephone at Eleusis (ibid. 91–169). Theatres of the Classical period are found and/or attested outside Athens-Peiraieus in six demes: *viz.* Acharnai (*IG* II^{2} 1206.6–7 (C4l)), Aixone (*IG* II^{2} 1197.21 (*c.*300); Isler (1994) 311–12 (C5l)), Eleusis (*IG* II^{2} 1187.10–11 (C4m)), Ikaria (Isler (1994) 199 (C4)), Sphettos (*SEG* 36 187.10 (C4s)) and Thorikos (Isler (1994) 308–9 (C5e)).

II. The *Poleis*

361. Athenai (Athenaios) Map 59. Lat. 38.00, long. 23.45. Size of territory: 5. Type: A. The toponym is Ἀθῆναι, αἱ (Hom. *Il.* 2.546; Ar. *Nub.* 207; Lys. 6.25; Pl. *Leg.* 753A; *IG* I^{3} 1178.1 (433/2)), in Doric Ἀθᾶναι (*IG* IV^{2} 1 94.3 (359)). The toponym usually denotes the town (Dem. 56.9; Ps.-Skylax 57), but sometimes the town plus its hinterland (ML 23.4; Din. 2.25) and sometimes the political community (Thuc. 1.44.2; Pl. *Leg.* 753A; Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 19.4). The city-ethnic is Ἀθηναῖος (Solon fr. 4.30, West; Dem. 1.1; ML 15 (506), 27.2 (479/8); *CID* II 32.33 (C4m)), in the Doric dialect Ἀθαναῖος (*IvO* 30 (C5)).

Athens is called a *polis* in the territorial sense (Thuc. 2.48; Dem. 10.63; Din. 1.77; ML 23.4 (C4m)), in the urban sense (Hdt. 7.133.2; Thuc. 2.57; Dem. 18.204, 230; *IG* I^{3} 136.4 (413/12)), and in the political sense (Hdt. 6.106.2; Thuc. 1.70.6; *Hell. Oxy.* 9.3; Theopomp. fr. 88; Arist. *Pol.* 1304^{a}10; *IG* I^{3} 92.8 (416/15)). *Polis* in the sense of *akropolis* is used in fixed idioms down to C4e (*IG* I^{3} 4B.3 (485/4); *IG* II^{2} 17.10 (394/3), see Henry (1982); Thuc. 2.15.6). The urban centre is called *asty* (Pl. *Phdr.* 230D; Dem. 42.7; *Hesperia* suppl. 29 p. 4.13), and during the civil war of 404/3 the oligarchs residing in Athens are frequently referred to as οἱ ἐξ ἄστεως (Lys. 12.55; Xen. *Hell.* 2.4.7; Dem. 20.12); the term *polisma* is found at Hdt. 1.143.2 and Aesch. *Eum.* 668. For Athens as the *patris* of the Athenians, see Solon fr. 36.8, West; Plato Com. fr. 217,

PCG; Isoc. 10.35). A C4 epigram describes an Athenian *klerouchos* as having a double *patris*: *viz.* Athens and Samos (*CEG* 594.10–11).

The collective sense of the city-ethnic is attested internally in abbreviated form on coins (*infra*), in inscriptions (*IG* I³ 14.22–24 (C5m); *IG* II² 1.3–4 (403/2)) and in literary sources (Solon fr. 4.30, West; Pl. *Euthphr.* 2A; Dem. 1.1) and externally in inscriptions (ML 25 (479); *SEG* 33 440A (375/4)) and literary sources (Pind. *Pyth.* 1.76; Hdt. 1.29.1; *Hell. Oxy.* 1.2). The individual use is in a few cases attested internally (Thuc. 1.1.1; Pl. *Prt.* 311C), whereas attestations of the external use abound (ML 27.2 (479/8); *CID* II 4.1.67 (361/60); *IG* XII.5 542.36–41 (C4m); Tod 196.5 (330–326)). Kleisthenes wanted membership of a *demos* (*infra*) to become part of an Athenian citizen's full name (Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 21.4), and in C4 this reform had caught on so that, inside Attika, a citizen was called by name, patronymic and demotic (*IG* II² 5228–7855; Whitehead (1986) 69–75). Klerouchies excepted (*IG* XII.6 252–76: Samos (366–322)), attestations of the demotic used outside Athens and Attika are rare (*IG* XII.5 113 (C4s from Paros)).

In the Classical period, Athens was probably the most populous of all the Hellenic *poleis*. In the Persian War, Athens provided 9,000 hoplites at Marathon (Nep. *Milt.* 5; *Suda* *I*545; cf. Paus. 10.20.2) and 8,000 at Plataiai (Hdt. 9.28.6). At Artemision they provided 127 ships (Hdt. 8.1.1), and 180 at Salamis (Hdt. 8.44.1). In 431 Athens had a field army of 15,800 men, of whom 13,000 were citizen hoplites; a defence force of 16,000, of whom 3,000 were metic hoplites, and a navy of 300 triremes (Thuc. 2.13.6–7; Hansen (1981)). There were altogether some 50,000–60,000 adult male citizens (Rhodes (1988) 271–77; Hansen (1988) 23–25). Due to the plague in 430–426, war casualties during the Peloponnesian War, and the siege of 405/4, the number of citizens dropped to some 25,000–30,000 in *c.*400 (Hansen (1988) 14–28). During C4 the number of Athenian citizens living in Attika must have been in the range of 30,000, ± a few thousand (Hansen (1985) 65–69; (1994)). The war effort in the Lamian War of 323/2 (Diod. 18.10.2, 11.3; *IG* II² 1631.167–74) presupposes that there must have been no fewer than 30,000 full citizens living in Attika (Hansen (1985) 37–40; (1994) 308–10). The result of a census conducted by Demetrios of Phaleron during the decade 317–307 was 21,000 Athenians and 10,000 metics (Ath. 272C). The census, called *exetasmos*, was probably a military review of able-bodied citizens of military age (Hansen (1985) 29–35; (1994) 301–2). For lower population figures, see Gomme (1933) 27: 43,000 in 431; Ruschenbusch (1984) and Sekunda (1992): *c.*21,000 in C4. Numbers of free foreigners and slaves fluctuated constantly in accordance with trade and prosperity (Xen. *Vect.* 2.1–7; Hansen (1988) 10–12). Ten thousand metics were counted in Demetrios' census (Ath. 272C), perhaps an army figure rather than a population figure (Hansen (1985) 31–32), and comparing the number of C4 tombstones commemorating metics (650, of whom 40 per cent are women) with those commemorating citizens (2,110, of whom 35 per cent are women), we can infer that there must have been a sizeable population of metics (Nielsen *et al.* (1989) 419; Hansen *et al.* (1990) 26). Down to the end of C4, *c.*875 citizens of 149 different *poleis* (Abdera, Abydos, etc.) and *c.*150 persons from forty different regions and islands (Achaia, Aitolia, etc.) are attested as foreign residents of Athens (Osborne and Byrne (1996)). Classical sources testify to more than 100 citizenship decrees (Osborne (1981–83) D 1–25 and T 1–82), in most cases individual and purely honorific grants of citizenship to foreign notables, but foreign residents were naturalised too (T 30–31), and especially in C5 there were also some block grants to, for example, the Plataians in 427 (Dem. 59.104–5; D 1) and to the Samians in 405/4 (*IG* II² 1.51–5; D 4). We have no reliable evidence for the number of slaves, but rough, exaggerated estimates indicate that the number of slaves may even have equalled the number of free (Hyp. fr. 33, Sauppe; Ath. 272C; Isager and Hansen (1975) 15–18). However, the estimate of 30,000 slaves working in the silver mines in C4s is on the high side (Lauffer (1979) 155–62). Sallares (1991) 57 suggests 11,000 max. in C5m.

This is not the place to survey the history of Athens, and the rest of this entry comprises (A) the relations with other *poleis*; (B) the constitution, including the civic subdivisions; (C) the Athenian religion; (D) the urban centre of Athens, including Peiraieus; and (E) the Athenian coinage.

(A) Athenian membership of leagues and large alliances starts with the Hellenic League, formed in 481 against Persia (Hdt. 7.132.2, 145.1; *Staatsverträge* 130) and the Athenians are recorded among the victors on the Serpent Column in Delphi (ML 27.2) and in Olympia (Paus. 5.23.1). The Athenians were the hegemonic leaders of the Delian League, 478–404 (Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 23.5; Thuc. 1.95–97; *Staatsverträge* 132; Meiggs (1972); Schuller (1974)). In the years 404–395 they were members of the Peloponnesian League (Xen. *Hell.* 2.2.20; *Staatsverträge* 211). Between 378/7 and 338 they were the hegemonic leaders of the Second Athenian Naval League (*IG* II² 43; Paus. 1.25.3; *Staatsverträge* 257; Cargill (1981); Dreher (1995)), and in 338/7 they joined the Corinthian League (*IG* II² 236; *Staatsverträge* 403). Athens was a

member of the Delphic amphiktyony and provided *ex officio* one of the two Ionic *hieromnemones* (Aeschin. 2.116; *CID* II 94.4 (328/7); Lefèvre (1998) 63–69). The Athenians possessed a treasury in Delphi (Partida (2000) 48–70), and eight communal dedications by the Athenians have been found (Jacquemin (1999) 315–16). *SEG* 14 350 is a *c.*500 dedication at Olympia (Ἀθεναῖοι [τ]ὸν ἐγ Λέμν[ο]), and *SEG* 22 346 (C5f) is one of Persian spoils.

The Athenians sent out heralds (κήρυκες, ML 45.9 (C5s)) and envoys, called first ἄγγελοι (Hdt. 5.73.1), from C5s mostly πρέσβεις (*IG* II² 43.72–77 (378/7)); the envoys were sent to other *poleis* (Thuc. 5.22.3) or to monarchs (Thuc. 2.67.2) or to federal governments (*IG* II² 116, 176: Thessaly in 361/60) or to international peace conferences (Xen. *Hell.* 6.3.1–3 (372/1)). Mostly boards of envoys were sent out, often ten at a time (Aeschin. 2.18 (347/6); Mosley (1973) 55–63). For an (incomplete) list of ninety-two attested embassies sent out from Athens in the Archaic and Classical periods, see Kienast (1973) 595–611. Conversely, foreign embassies were received in Athens by the *prytaneis* and admitted to the *boule* and the *ekklesia* (*IG* I³ 40.12–14 (446/5); Mosley (1973) 78–79). Two examples are envoys from Leontinoi in 433/2 (*IG* I³ 54) and envoys from Dionysios I of Syracuse in 368/7 (*IG* II² 105). Athenian *theorodokoi* hosted *theoroi* sent from Delphi in C5l (*Syll.*³ 90.16–17) and from Epidauros in 359 (*IG* IV²1 94.1a.3).

Athens had *proxenoi* in most Greek *poleis*. To the end of the Classical period close to 100 are attested in inscriptions. These *proxenoi* are citizens of sixty-three different Hellenic *poleis*, of two Phoenician city-states—Sidon (*IG* II² 141, 343) and Tyros (*IG* II² 342)—and three were the kings of Makedon (Walbank (1978) 1), of the Pelagonians (*IG* II² 190) and of the Messapians (Walbank (1978) 70; Marek (1984), excluding 5, 8, 14, 21, 42, 53, 59, 65, 68, 72, 76 and 80, but adding *SEG* 40 57, 72; *SEG* 45 59, 76). To these *proxenoi* must be added all those mentioned in literary sources (Thuc. 3.2.3; Dem. 7.38, etc.; Monceaux (1886) 321–23, fourteen attestations). Conversely, in the same period, Athenian citizens are attested as *proxenoi* appointed by different Hellenic *poleis*. Thus, in C4m, Karthaia on Keos lists a minimum of fifteen and perhaps twenty different Athenians as their *proxenoi* in Athens (*IG* XII.5 542.35–45). For attestations in literary sources, cf. Aeschin. 3.138 and Monceaux (1886) 323–25, fourteen attestations)

Athenians were victorious in all the Panhellenic games. In the Olympic Games, thirty-five victories are attested covering the period 696–328. Victors include Kylon (640?) (Hdt. 5.71.1), Miltiades (560) (Hdt. 6.36.1), Peisistratos (532) (Hdt. 6.103.2), Alkibiades (416) (Thuc. 6.16.2) and, perhaps, Demades (328) (*Suda* Δ414); see *Olympionikai* 56, 106, 124, 345, 467. In the Pythian Games, twenty victories from *c.*542 to 374. Victors include Chabrias in 374 (Dem. 59.34); see Kyle (1987) A3, 4, 15, 17, 29, 30, 42, 43, 58, 71, P95, 107; Krause (1841) 105–6). In the Nemean Games, thirty victories from C6l to C4e. Victors include Alkibiades (Paus. 1.22.6) and Lysis (Pl. *Lysis* 205C); see Kyle (1987) A1, 4, 15, 29, 42, 45, 57, 58, 64, 74, 78). In the Isthmian Games, twenty-four victories from C5e to C4f. Victors include, perhaps, Plato (*Proleg. Plat. Phil.* 2, p. 198, Hermann); see Kyle (1987) A1, 15, 18, 29, 42, 57, 74, 78, P86, P107 (Plato); Krause (1841) 222). The Athenians organised the Panathenaic Games, which were Panhellenic (*IG* II² 2311 (C4f); Pl. *Leg.* 833A–B; Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 54.7, 60.3; Kyle (1987) 33–39). In addition to Athenians, many foreigners are attested as victors (*IG* II² 2312 (C4); Kyle (1987) 38 n. 28.

(B) The *Constitution of the Athenians* is the only surviving one out of the 158 Aristotelian *politeiai* (Rhodes (1981); Chambers (1990); Keaney (1992)), and since its rediscovery in 1890 it has been the backbone of any reconstruction of the history of the Athenian constitution, starting with Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (1893).

According to the local traditions, Athens was originally ruled by hereditary *basileis* (Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 41.2, frr. 1–2; Hellan. (*FGrHist* 323a) fr. 23), and these traditions are usually believed to contain a core of truth (Carlier (1984) 359–72). Kingship was replaced by government by magistrates appointed from the rich and well-born (Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 3.1: ἀριστίνδην καὶ πλουτίνδην). The most powerful magistrates were the nine *archontes* (Thuc. 1.126.8: Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 13.3), of whom the chief was the eponymous official (*IG* I³ 4A.14–175 (485/4)). The Athenian list of *archontes*, published in C5l (ML 6), went back to the archonship of Kreon in 683/2 (Hieronymus p. 93, Helm), or 684/3 (Develin (1989) 27–28)). According to Herodotos (5.71.2), an important political assembly was the *prytaneis* of the forty-eight *naukrariai*; but we do not know what a *naukraria* was, nor even whether the word is connected with *naus* ("ship") or *naos* ("temple") (Billigmeier and Dusing (1981)). That Athens had an Assembly of the People is extrapolated from later evidence (Solon fr. 36.1–2; Andrewes (1982) 387). And the Athenians did not themselves know whether the Council of the Areopagos—composed of all ex-archons—had been instituted by Solon (Plut. *Sol.* 19; Arist. *Pol.* 1273^{b}35–41) or had existed long before his time (Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 1273^{b}41–74^{a}3; see Wallace (1989) 3–47).

During C7 growing social and economic tensions produced a series of political crises from about 630 to 530, of

which the most important resulted in the *coup* of Kylon, the laws of Drakon, the reforms of Solon, and the tyranny of Peisistratos. In 636 or 632 an Athenian called Kylon attempted to set himself up as *tyrannos* of the city. The *coup* failed, Kylon fled, and his followers were put to death (Hdt. 5.71; Thuc. 1.126.3–12; Welwei (1992) 133–37). A few years later, in 621 (Develin (1989) 31), Athens acquired its first written code of laws, compiled by Drakon (Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 7.1; Arist. *Pol.* 1274^{b}15–16). His law of homicide remained in force, with modifications (*IG* I^{3} 104; Tulin (1996) 3–19), right down to the time of Demosthenes (Dem. 23.51); but the rest of his laws, whose penalties were "written not in ink but in blood" (Plut. *Sol.* 17.3; Arist. *Pol.* 1274^{b}15–18), were superseded in the very next generation by those of Solon (Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 7.1).

In 594, rich and poor united to give the archon Solon plenary power to dictate a compromise (Welwei (1992) 161–206). He began with a general amnesty (Plut. *Sol.* 19.4), then abolished enslavement for debt (Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 6.1) and gave freedom to those so enslaved, even those who had been sold abroad (Solon fr. 36.8–15). Next, he freed the indebted tenants, the *hektemoroi*, from the sixth-parts they paid to their landlords and allowed them to hold their land free of obligations (Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 6.1; Solon fr. 36.3–6); but he set himself against a redistribution of the land (Solon fr. 34; Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 11.2). Besides his economic reforms, Solon also reformed the administration of justice. According to later tradition he set up a People's Court, called the *Heliaia* (Arist. *Pol.* 1273^{b}35–^{a}3; Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 7.3, 9.1), manned by sworn jurors (Arist. *Pol.* 1274^{a}3; Hansen (1983) 153–55, (1989) 242–49, 258–61 *contra* Ostwald (1986) 10–11) and gave every party to any lawsuit the right to appeal to the *Heliaia* against the award of the magistrates (Lys. 10.16; Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 9.1). Since Solon's time the Athenians were divided into four property classes: *pentakosiomedimnoi* (men worth 500 *medimnoi* "measures" of natural produce), *hippeis* (knights), *zeugitai* (owners of a yoke of oxen) and *thetes* (literally "menials", day-labourers) (Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 7.3). The *thetes* were excluded from all state offices (Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 7.3–4), and to the most important offices the electors—probably the People's Assembly (Solon fr. 5.1–2)—could appoint only citizens from the top two classes (Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 8.1, 26.2, 47.1; Hignett (1952) 101–2). However, of Solon's constitutional reforms the most important, according to the tradition, was his creation of a Council of Four Hundred, 100 from each of the four tribes (Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 8.4). Solon carried out a new codification of the laws (Solon fr. 36.18–20; Hdt. 1.29.1; Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 7.1; Rhodes (1981) 130–35; fragments in Ruschenbusch (1966)), and "the Laws of Solon" were not revised till 410–399, when they were recodified.

Neither side was satisfied with Solon's compromise (Solon frr. 34, 37), and the citizen body was soon split into three competing factions (*staseis*): the "Men of the Plain" (i.e. the plain around Athens) led by Lykourgos, the "Men beyond the Mountains" (i.e. beyond Hymettos and Pentelikon) led by Peisistratos, and the "Men of the Coast" led by the Alkmaionid Megakles (Hdt. 1.59.3; Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 13.4; Andrewes (1982*b*) 393–98). In 561 Peisistratos became tyrant in a *coup* (Hdt. 1.59.4–6; Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 14.1). Apart from two long periods of exile, he ruled Athens until 527 (Hdt. 1.59.3–64.3; Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 14.1–17.2). He was succeeded by his son Hippias (527–510), who met gradually increasing opposition from the aristocrats, many of whom were forced into exile (Hdt. 5.62.2; Thuc. 6.59.4; Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 19.3). Two of those who remained attempted a *coup* in 514: the young Harmodios and his lover Aristogeiton tried to murder Hippias at the Panathenaia festival, but succeeded only in killing Hippias' younger brother, Hipparchos. They were instantly put to death (Hdt. 5.55–57; Thuc. 6.54–58; Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 18), and were later regarded as democratic heroes (Thuc. 1.20.2, 6.53.3; Ath. 695B). Statues of the tyrant-slayers were put up in 509 and again in 477 (Plin. *HN.* 34.17 (509); *Marm. Par.* (*FGrHist* 239) A54 (477)), and a cult for Harmodios and Aristogeiton was instituted (Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 58.1).

In 510 the Peisistratid tyrants were expelled from Athens, but the revolution ended in a power struggle between the returning aristocrats, led by Kleisthenes, and those who had stayed behind, led by Isagoras. With the help of the ordinary people (the *demos*), Kleisthenes successfully opposed Isagoras (Hdt. 5.66–73), and, reforming the Solonian institutions of 594, he made Athens a democracy. The term *demokratia* can be traced back to *c.*470 (*SEG* 34 199; Aesch. *Supp.* 604; Hansen (1986); *contra* Raaflaub (1998) 37) and may go back to Kleisthenes' reforms of 508/7 (Hdt. 6.131.1). Kleisthenes' major reforms were to divide Attika into 139 municipalities (*demoi*), which in turn were distributed among ten tribes (*phylai*). Citizen rights were linked to membership of a deme, and a Council of Five Hundred was introduced, with fifty representatives from each of the ten tribes and a fixed number of seats assigned to each of the demes (Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 21.2–6). Finally, to avoid a new tyranny (Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 22.3) or, rather, to avoid a repeat of the power struggle of 510–507, Kleisthenes introduced ostracism (Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 22.1, 3–4; Brenne (2001); Siewert (2002)).

During the next century the new democracy was buttressed by other reforms: in 501, command of the army and the navy was transferred from the polemarch to a board of ten popularly elected generals (*strategoi*) (Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 22.2). In 487/6 the method of selection of the nine archons was changed from election to selection by lot from an elected short list (Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 22.5). Ephialtes' reforms of 462 deprived the Council of the Areopagos of its political powers, which were divided between the Assembly (*ekklesia*), the Council of Five Hundred (*boule*) and the People's Court (*dikasterion*) (Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 25.2). Shortly afterwards, on the initiative of Perikles, political pay was introduced for the People's Court (Arist. *Pol.* 1274a8–9) and the Council (*IG* I³ 82.20), so that even poor citizens could exercise their political rights. Athenian citizenship became a much-coveted privilege, and in 451 Perikles had a law passed confining citizenship to the legitimate sons of an Athenian mother as well as father (Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 26.4; Patterson (1981); Hansen (1985) 73–76).

The defeats in the Peloponnesian War resulted in a growing opposition to democracy, and twice the anti-democratic factions succeeded for some months in establishing an oligarchy: in 411 an oligarchy led by a Council of Four Hundred (Thuc. 8.47–98; Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 29–33; Gomme, Andrewes and Dover (1981) 153–256), followed by an equally short-lived mixed constitution in 411/10 based on 5,000 enfranchised citizens (Thuc. 8.97.1–2; Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 33.1–2); and in 404/3 a radical oligarchy under a junta which fully earned the name "the Thirty Tyrants" (Xen. *Hell.* 2.2–4; Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 35–38; Diod. 14.3.7). In 403/2 democracy was restored in a modified form (Hansen (1999) 300–4; *contra* Bleicken (1994) 64–66). Legislation (in 403) and all jurisdiction in political trials (*c.*355) were transferred from the people in assembly to the panel of 6,000 jurors acting as both legislators (*nomothetai*) and judges (*dikastai*) (Hansen (1999) 167–68, 181–83). In the 330s a kind of minister of finance was introduced (*ho epi te dioikesei*) (*SEG* 19 119). He was elected for a four-year period and could be re-elected, and for twelve consecutive years the administration of Athens was entrusted to Lykourgos (Hyp. fr. 139, Sauppe; Burke (1985)). Most of these reforms were allegedly a return to the "ancestral" or "Solonian" democracy (Andoc. 1.83; Aeschin. 3.257; Hansen (1999) 296–300), but the gradual and moderate transformation of the democratic institutions came to an abrupt end in 322/1 when the Makedonians after their victory in the Lamian War abolished the democracy and had it replaced by a "Solonian" oligarchy (Diod. 18.18.4–5).

After the restoration of democracy in 403/2, more specifically in the age of Demosthenes (355–322), the Athenian democracy was organised as follows (Hansen (1999) 55–295). Political rights were restricted to adult male Athenians. Women, foreigners and slaves were excluded (Dem. 9.3). An Athenian was inscribed into his father's *phratria* (*infra* 632) at the age of 3 or 4 (*P Oxy.* 2538.11.24–28), and at the age of 18 he became a member of his father's deme (Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 42.1; Dem. 30.15, 39.29), with his name inscribed in the deme's roster (the *lexiarchikon grammateion*: Aeschin. 1.103; Harp. *Λ*17); but as ephebes, most young Athenians (Lycurg. 1.76; Hansen (1988) 3–6, (1994) 302–4; *contra* Rhodes (1981) 503) were liable for military service for two years (Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 42; Burckhardt (1996) 26–75) before, at the age of 20, they could be inscribed in the roster of citizens who had access to the Assembly (the *pinax ekklesiastikos*: Dem. 44.35). Full political rights were obtained only at the age of 30, when a citizen was allowed to present himself as a candidate at the annual sortition of magistrates (Xen. *Mem.* 1.2.35) and of jurors (Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 63.3) (who served both as legislators and as judges).

In the People's Assembly (Hansen (1987*a*)), called *he ekklesia*, any citizen over 20 years of age had the right to speak and to vote (Xen. *Mem.* 3.6.1). The people (*demos*) met forty times a year (Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 43.3), mostly on the Pnyx hill (Aeschin. 3.34); a meeting was normally attended by at least 6,000 citizens, the quorum required for, among other things, ratification of citizenship decrees (Dem. 59.89), and a session lasted only a couple of hours (Aeschin. 1.112). The Assembly was summoned by the fifty *prytaneis* and chaired by the nine *proedroi* (Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 44.2–3). Apart from some obligatory items on the agenda, all matters debated by the people had to be debated first in the Council of Five Hundred and passed in the form of a *probouleuma* (Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 45.4). The debate consisted of a number of speeches made by the politically active citizens (Dem. 1–10, 13–16), and all votes were taken by a show of hands (*cheirotonia*), assessed by the *proedroi* without any exact count of the hands (Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 44.3). The Athenians distinguished between laws (general and permanent rules, called *nomoi*) and decrees (temporary and/or individual rules, called *psephismata*: Andoc. 1.87; *SEG* 26 72.55–56 (375/4)). The Assembly was not allowed to pass *nomoi* (Dem. 1.19, 3.10–11) but did, by decree, make decisions on foreign policy and on major issues of domestic policy (Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 43.6). Furthermore, the Assembly was empowered (a) to elect the military and financial magistrates (Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 43.1, 44.4), (b) to initiate legislation (*nomothesia*) by appointing a panel of legislators (*nomothetai*, Dem. 3.10–13), and (c) to initiate a political trial (*eisangelia eis ton demon*) by appointing a

panel of judges (a *dikasterion*: Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 43.4; Dem. 19.116).

Citizens over 30 years of age were eligible to participate in the annual sortition of a panel of 6,000 jurors (*hoi omomokotes*: Ar. *Vesp.* 662) who for one year served both as legislators (Dem. 24.21) and as judges (Dem. 24.148–51). When a *nomos* was to be enacted, the Assembly decreed to appoint for one day a board of, e.g., 1,000 legislators (*nomothetai*) selected by lot from the 6,000 jurors (Dem. 24.20–38; Aeschin. 3.38–40). Having listened to a debate, the *nomothetai* decided by show of hands about all amendments of "Solon's laws", i.e. the Solonian law code of 594/3 as revised and codified in 403/2 (Andoc. 1.82–85). Boards of *nomothetai* were appointed only infrequently, and to legislate once in a month was considered excessive (Dem. 24.142) (Hansen (1999) 161–77).

Jurisdiction was much more time-consuming (Hansen (1999) 178–224; Todd (1993)). The People's Court (*dikasterion*) met *c.*200 days in a year. On a court day, members of the panel of 6,000 jurors came to the agora in the morning, and by sortition from among those who presented themselves were appointed a number of courts, made up of 201 or 401 judges each in private actions and 501 or more in public actions. Each court was presided over by a magistrate, and in a session of some eight hours the judges had to hear and decide either one public action or a number of private actions (Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 63–69). The two most important types of political trial were the public action against unconstitutional proposals (*graphe paranomon*), against proposers of decrees (Aeschin. 3.3–8), and the denunciation to the people in assembly (*eisangelia eis ton demon*: Hyp. 3.7–8), used most frequently against generals charged with treason and corruption (Dem. 13.5).

In addition to the decision-making organs of government (*ekklesia—nomothetai—dikasterion*), Athens had about 1,200 magistrates, called *archai* (Hansen (1999) 225–45; Develin (1989)). They were appointed from among citizens over 30 who presented themselves as candidates (Lys. 6.4). About 100 were elected by the *ekklesia* (Aeschin. 3.14), whereas the other 1,100 were picked by lot (Dem. 39.10): *viz.* 500 councillors and *c.*600 other magistrates, often organised in boards of ten with one representative from each tribe (*IG* II² 1388.1–12). The period of office was restricted to one year, and magistrates selected by lot could not hold the same office more than once (Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 62.3). Prior to entering office, magistrates had to undergo an examination (*dokimasia*) before a *dikasterion* (Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 55.2–5) and, when their term of office expired, they had to render accounts (*euthynai*) before another *dikasterion* (Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 54.2, 48.4–5).

The magistrates' principal tasks were to summon and preside over the decision-making bodies and to see to the execution of the decisions made (Arist. *Pol.* 1322^{b}12–17). Apart from routine matters, the magistrates could not decide anything but only prepare the decisions (Arist. *Pol.* 1298^{a}28–32). The Council of Five Hundred prepared business for the *ekklesia* (Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 45.4) and the *nomothetai* (Dem. 24.48), the other magistrates for the *dikasteria* (Aeschin. 3.29).

By far the most important board of magistrates was the Council of Five Hundred, called *he boule hoi pentakosioi* (Andoc. 1.96; Rhodes (1972)). It was composed of fifty persons from each of the ten *phylai*, who for a tenth of the year (a prytany of 36 or 35 days) served as *prytaneis*, i.e. as an executive committee of the Council, which in turn served as an executive committee of the Assembly. The Council met every day except holidays in the *bouleuterion* on the agora to run the financial administration of Athens and to consider in advance every matter to be put before the *demos* (Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 43.2–49.5).

Of the other boards of magistrates, the most important were the ten generals (*strategoi*) who commanded the Athenian army and navy (Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 61.1–2; Hamel (1998)); the Board for the Theoric Fund (*hoi epi to theorikon*), who in the 350s under Euboulos supervised the Athenian financial administration (Aeschin. 3.24–25); and the nine archons who in most public and private actions had to summon and preside over the People's Court and supervised the major festivals, e.g. the Panathenaia and the Dionysia (Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 55–59).

In all matters the initiative was left to the individual citizen, in this capacity called *ton Athenaion ho boulomenos hois exestin* (*SEG* 26 72.34; Hansen (1999) 266–68). At any time about 1,000 citizens must have been active as speakers and proposers of *nomoi* and *psephismata* or as prosecutors and *synegoroi* before the People's Court. But it was always a small group of about a score of citizens who more or less professionally initiated Athenian policy (Hansen (1999) 268–72). They were called *rhetores* (Hyp. 3.4, 8) or *politeuomenoi* (Dem. 3.29–31), whereas the ordinary politically active citizen is referred to as an *idiotes* (Dem. *Prooem.* 13). There were no political parties, and the people did not vote according to the crack of their leaders' whip (Hansen (1999) 277–87). But by persuasion and charisma major political leaders sometimes succeeded in dominating the political assemblies for a longer period, as did Perikles from 443 to his

death in 429 (Thuc. 2.65.10), and Demosthenes in the period 341–338 (Dem. 18.320).

The ordinary citizens were reimbursed for their political activity as *ekklesiastai* or *nomothetai* or *dikastai* or *bouleutai* (Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 62.2; Dem. 24.21). Very few of the magistrates were paid on a regular basis (Hansen (1979); *contra* Gabrielsen (1981)), but many obtained perquisites instead (Isoc. 7.24–27; Hansen (1980*a*)). Speakers and proposers in the political assemblies were unpaid, and those who attempted to make a profit out of politics were regarded as sycophants and liable to punishment (Dem. 59.43).

The Council of the Areopagos was a survival of the Archaic period (Wallace (1989)), and in the period 461–404 mainly a court for cases of homicide (Philoch. fr. 64). In C4, however, the activity of the Areopagos was again progressively enlarged in connection with the attempts to revive the "ancestral" or "Solonian" democracy (Din. 1.62–63; Lycurg. 1.52; Hansen (1989)).

Athenian civic subdivisions comprise *phylai*, *trittyes*, *demoi* and *phratriai* (Jones (1999) 51–220). During the periods covered by our sources neither the *genos* (Parker (1996) 59–65) nor the *oikos* (Hansen (1998) 135–37) was a civic subdivision in the proper sense. In the Archaic period the Athenian citizens were organised into four *phylai*: *viz.* Geleontes, Argadeis, Aigikoreis and Hopletes (Hdt. 5.66.2). Each *phyle* was headed by a "king" (*phylobasileus*) and subdivided into three *trittyes* and twelve *naukrariai* (Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 8.3). This organisation was still maintained in C4 for religious purposes (*Hesperia* 4 (1935) 19–32 no. 2.33–35). In the years after 508/7 Kleisthenes implemented a new organisation whereby Attika was divided partly into three districts—the town of Athens with its immediate hinterland (*asty*), the coast (*paralia*), and the inland (*mesogeia*)—and partly into 139 municipalities of varying size, called *demoi*. Each *demos* was headed by a *demarchos*, and many had a nucleated centre where the members held their meetings, called *agorai* (Osborne (1985); Whitehead (1986)). Next, the 139 *demoi* were distributed over thirty *trittyes*, with ten *trittyes* in each of the three districts. Each *trittys* consisted of from one to ten *demoi* (Siewert (1982)). Finally, ten *phylai* were formed, each consisting of three *trittyes*, one picked by lot (Hansen (1987*b*)) from each of the three districts. The ten *phylai* were named after local heroes and called Erechtheis, Aigeis, Pandionis, Leontis, Akamantis, Oineis, Kekropis, Hippothontis, Aiantis and Antiochis (Jones (1999) 151–94). All these civic subdivisions were basically territorial, but membership was hereditary (Hdt. 5.69; Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 21.2–4; Arist. *Pol.* 1319^{b}19–27; Traill (1975), (1986)). According to Traill (1986) 123, there were 140 demes, Acharnai being a divided deme, but see Whitehead (1987) 443. In the Archaic period, all Athenians were organised into *phratriai* (*IG* I^{3} 104.18, 23 (C7l)), gentilician groups with hereditary membership, but also locally based (Lambert (1993); Jones (1999) 195–220). This system persisted in the Classical period and was not co-ordinated with the distribution into demes. Thus, Theodoros of Dekeleia (*LGPN* no. 96) and Pantakles of Oion (*LGPN* no. 19) both belonged to the *phratria* of the Demotionidai (*IG* II^{2} 1237.2, 11 (396/5)).

(C) The patron divinity of Athens was Athena, in this function called "Athena who watches over Athens" (*Ἀθηνᾶ ἡ Ἀθηνῶν μεδέουσα*: ML 23.4–5 (C4m but r480)), or Athena Poliouchos (Ar. *Eq.* 581–85) or Athena Polias (Aeschin. 2.147), an epithet which originally denoted the *akropolis* rather than the *polis* (Cole (1995) 301–2). Athena was worshipped under many different forms, each specified by an epithet denoting function or origin, and each manifestation of Athena had its own sanctuary, its own personnel and its own rites. In the Archaic and Classical periods at least seventeen different manifestations are attested: *viz.* Athena Areia (Paus. 1.28.5), Boulaia (Ant. 6.45), Epi Palladio (*IG* I^{3} 369.71 (423/2)), Ergane (*IG* I^{2} 561 (C4)), Hephaistia (*IG* II^{2} 223B.4 (343/2)), Hippia (Paus. 1.30.4; cf. Thuc. 8.67.2), Hygieia (*IG* I^{3} 506 (C5m)), Itonia (*IG* I^{3} 383.151–52 (429/8)), Lemnia (Paus. 1.28.3), Nike (*IG* I^{3} 36.5–6 (424/3)), Pallas (*IG* I^{3} 647 (C6l)), Pallenis (*IG* I^{3} 383.121–22 (429/8)), Parthenos (*IG* I^{3} 850 (C5f)), Phratria (*IG* II^{2} 2344.1 (C4e)), Polias (*IG* I^{3} 375.6 (410/9)), Poliouchos (*IG* I^{3} 775 (C5e)) and Zosteria (*IG* I^{3} 369.92 (423/2)). For the other gods, see Nilsson (1967) 383–601.

In addition to the cults of all the gods, there were cults of heroes, of whom some 300 are attested in the sources (Kearns (1989) 139–207), ranging from Herakles (Dem. 19.125; Harp. *H*14; Woodford (1971)) to the poet Sophokles under the name of Dexion (*Etym. Magn.* 256.6–12; Kearns (1989) 154).

During the democracy many new cults were introduced. Some of them were purely or primarily political, *viz.* the cults of the tyrannicides Harmodios and Aristogeiton (Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 58.1), of the ten eponymous heroes (*IG* II^{2} 1140 (C4e); Kron (1976)), of Zeus Boulaios and Athena Boulaia in the *bouleuterion* (Ant. 6.45), of Zeus Eleutherios, connected with the victory over the Persians at Plataiai (Thuc. 2.71.2; Raaflaub (1985) 125–47), of Theseus in the (still unlocated) Theseion (Aeschin. 3.13), reformed *c.*475 with the recovery of his bones (Plut. *Thes.* 36.2) and culminating in

C4 with Theseus seen as the father of Athenian democracy (Dem. 59.75; Paus. 1.3.3–4; Garland (1992) 82–98), and in C4 of Demokratia, democracy personified (*IG* II² 1496.131–41 (332/1); Alexandri-Zahou (1986)). Other new cults were those of foreign gods, such as Thracian Bendis (Pl. *Resp.* 327A–28A; Simms (1988)), or cults of gods of foreigners, such as Phoenician Aphrodite worshipped by Kitians, or Isis worshipped by Egyptians (*IG* II² 337 = RO 91 (333/2)).

A substantial part of the Athenian law code consisted of a sacrificial calendar regulating all public sacrifices (*Hesperia* 4 (1935) 5–32; Lys. 30.18; Clinton (1982)), and of the *c.*600 civilian *archai*, some 200 were exclusively or principally engaged in the administration of the sanctuaries and organisation of the sacrifices and festivals in honour of the divinity of the sanctuary in question (Hansen (1980*b*) 155, 162–63). The rites were performed by priests (*hiereis*) and priestesses (*hiereiai*) who were not themselves *archai* (Dem. *Prooem.* 55.2; Busolt and Swoboda (1926) 1171). In the Archaic period, all public priesthoods were filled for life from among members of the *gene*, hereditary groups of upper-class Athenians, based on descent in the male line and apparently subdivisions of the *phratriai* (Aeschin. 2.147; *IG* I³ 6 (C5f); Parker (1996) 56–66, 284–327). In the course of the Classical period the democratic *polis* took over, and an increasing number of priesthoods were filled from among all Athenians. The first attested example is the priestess of Athena Nike (*IG* I³ 35 = ML 44 (C5m)).

In a year of 354 days, some 60 days were devoted to annual festivals (Mikalson (1975)) paid for by the *polis* and organised by *polis* officials (Deubner (1966)). The Athenian festival calendar is different from, but closely related to, the Ionian calendar: the Athenian months of Poseideon and Anthesterion are found in many Ionian *poleis*, but Mounychion is peculiar to Athens, and the common Ionian months of Artemision and Apatourion are not found in Athens (Trümpy, *Monat.* 6–18).

The major Athenian festivals were: (a) Panathenaia: a festival of the goddess Athena, celebrated in the days around her birthday on 28 Hekatombaion (schol. Pl. *Resp.* 327A). The Athenians distinguished between the Greater Panathenaia, introduced in 566/5 and held every four years (Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 18.2–3, 60.1–3; *IG* II² 2311–12 (C4f)), and the Lesser Panathenaia, celebrated in the other three years (*Agora* XVI 75 (C4s)). At the Greater Panathenaia Athena was honoured with a grand procession, Panhellenic athletic competitions (*IG* II² 2311–12 (C4f); Neils (1992)), and recitation of the Homeric poems (Lycurg. 1.102; Jensen (1980) 145–49). (b) The Eleusinian Mysteries: a festival of Demeter and Persephone, celebrated in Athens and Eleusis in the month of Boedromion and restricted to those who had been, or wished to be, initiated into the Mysteries (with no distinction drawn between citizens, foreigners and slaves) (*SEG* 30 61 (C4m); Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 57.1; Andoc. 1.110ff; Clinton (1974)). (c) Thesmophoria: a fertility festival, celebrated in the month of Pyanopsion on the Pnyx by married women of citizen status in honour of Demeter (schol. Ar. *Thesm.* 80; Brumfield (1985) 70–103). (d) Apatouria: a festival celebrated in the *phratriai* in the month of Pyanopsion (schol. Ar. *Ach.* 146). On the third day of the festival citizens had their sons registered in their phratries (Dem. 39.4), and their daughters were presented to the members (Isae. 3.73, 76, 79; Cole (1984) 233–37). (e) *Ta kat' agrous Dionysia*: the rural Dionysia were celebrated in the month of Poseideon in all the demes (*SEG* 33 147.31 (C4f)). The principal ceremony was a phallic procession (Ar. *Ach.* 241–83; Whitehead (1986) 212–22). (f) Anthesteria: a festival of Dionysos celebrated in the month of Anthesterion when the Athenians opened and drank the new wine (Plut. *Mor.* 655E) and celebrated a ceremonial wedding between Dionysos and the wife of the *archon basileus* (Dem. 59.74–84; Hamilton (1992)). (g) *Ta en astei Dionysia*: the Greater Dionysia, celebrated in the month of Elaphebolion for Dionysos Eleuthereus, whose sanctuary was situated on the south slope of the Acropolis. In addition to phallic and other processions, the Greater Dionysia were the setting for performances of tragedies, comedies, satyr plays and dithyrambs (*IG* II² 2319–23 (C3e, rC4); Pickard-Cambridge (1968)). (h) Thargelia: a festival of Apollo, celebrated in the month of Thargelion. Two scapegoats (*pharmakoi*) were driven out of the city. The festival included a procession and choral competitions for choirs of men and boys (Ant. 6.11–13; Harp. *Φ*5; Bremmer (1983)). (i) Dipolieia: a festival of Zeus Polieus, celebrated in the month of Skirophorion. The sacrifice of a bull with an axe was followed by a ceremonial homicide trial of the axe, conducted before the Court of the *Prytaneion* (Paus. 1.24.4, 28.10; Parke (1977) 162–67).

(D) Settlements beneath the Acropolis can be traced back to C8 (Lang (1996) 152–63), and Snodgrass (1987–89) 60–62 has classified Athens as an instance of his "Model B" (56), *viz.* "a sprawling loose-knit group of settlements" which over time grew to form a conurbation. The change from a group of small villages to a conurbation took place when the lower town was enclosed with a defence circuit (*infra*). The agora of the Archaic town with the *prytaneion* and the Theseion (Paus. 1.17–18) lay north-east of the Acropolis (Dontas

(1983)). Both the Acropolis and the lower town were sacked and burnt down by the Persians in 480 (Hdt. 8.53.2) and again in 479 (Hdt. 9.13.2). For archaeological remains of the Persian destruction of the Akropolis, see Hurwit (1999) 136.

During the Dark Ages and the early Archaic period the only fortification was the C13l cyclopean walls of the Acropolis (Hurwit (1999) 74–80). In C6l, however, the town had a separate defence circuit (Thuc. 6.57.1–3), demolished by the Persians in 480/79 (Hdt. 9.13.2; Thuc. 1.89.3, 93.2). This wall may have been constructed in C6f (Vanderpool (1974); Weir (1995)), but no traces have yet been found. In spite of Spartan protests, a new larger wall was built in 479/8 (Thuc. 1.89.3–93.2). This so-called Themistoklean wall was built of mudbrick on a stone socle with seventeen gates and numerous interval towers (Wycherley (1978) 11–18; Judeich (1931) 124–44). It was repaired twice in the Classical period: in the years 395/4–392/1 at the instigation of Konon (Xen. *Hell.* 4.8.9–10) and again in 338/7 at the instigation of Demosthenes (Aeschin. 3.27; Dem. 18.300); both repairs are visible in the preserved part of the wall at Kerameikos (Ohly (1965) 360–76). The line of the Themistoklean wall has been accurately traced, and it can be established that it enclosed an area of almost 211 ha. The walls of Peiraieus were first built by Themistokles during his archonship in 493/2 (Thuc. 1.93.3), but demolished in 480/79 (*supra*), then rebuilt in 479/8 (Thuc. 1.93.3–8). The walls, of polygonal masonry (Garland (1987) 163–65), were 60 stades long (Thuc. 2.13.7) and enclosed an area of *c.*305 ha. The Long Walls were built in the years 458–457. The northern wall ran from Athens to Peiraieus, the southern wall from Athens to Phaleron (Thuc. 1.107.1 and 108.2). A new wall, running parallel to the northern wall, *c.*184 m to the south, was built *c.*445 (Harp *Δ*44; Pl. *Grg.* 455E; Judeich (1931) 155–60). The Long Walls and the walls of Peiraieus were demolished in 404 (Xen. *Hell.* 2.2.20, 23), but rebuilt, in ashlar masonry (Garland (1987) 165–67), in the years 395/4–392/1 (Xen. *Hell.* 4.8.9–10; *IG* II² 1656–64) and repaired in the years after 338/7 (*IG* II² 244; Maier (1961) nos. 1–10). For a preserved section of the Long Walls, see *AAA* 5 (1972) 339–46. The Acropolis was besieged by the Athenians opposing Kylon *c.*636 (Thuc. 1.126.9), by the Lakedaimonians and the Athenians opposing Hippias in 510 (Hdt. 5.64.2), by the Athenians opposing Isagoras in 508 (Hdt. 5.72.2), and by the Persians in 480 (Hdt. 8.52). Athens with Peiraieus was besieged by the Lakedaimonians and their allies in 405/4 (Xen. *Hell.* 2.2.4, 10–20).

Most of the buildings serving the major Athenian political institutions have been located, and of several, substantial remains are still visible. The *prytaneion* lay somewhere north-east of the Acropolis (Plut. *Sol.* 19.4, quoting a Solonian law of C6e; *SEG* 33 115 (C3m); Dontas (1983) 60–62). The *bouleuterion* has been found on the west side of the agora (Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 48.1; Wycherley (1957) 128–37; Thompson and Wycherley (1972) 29–38). The "Old *Bouleuterion*" of *c.*500 (Shear (1995); *contra* Miller (1995)) was from *c.*400 used as a *Metroon* and housed the public archives (Dem. 19.129; Sickinger (1999)) and was replaced by the new *bouleuterion* (Thompson and Wycherley (1972) 31–34). South of the *bouleuterion* was a building called *tholos* (Andoc. 1.45) or *prytanikon* (*Agora* XV 89.40 (C3m)) where the fifty *prytaneis* resided (Wycherley (1957) 179–84; Thompson and Wycherley (1972) 41–46). In front of this complex lay the monument of the ten eponymous heroes where bills and some public enactments were set up (Isae. 5.38; Wycherley (1957) 85–90; Thompson and Wycherley (1972) 41–46).

Athens was one of the few *poleis* that had a separate meeting-place of the popular assembly. Since *c.*500 or perhaps *c.*460 it was placed on the hill of the Pnyx (Pnyx I), and it was twice reconstructed: *c.*400 (Pnyx II) and again in the 330s (Pnyx III) (Thompson (1982); Hansen (1989) 129–65; Forsén and Stanton (1996)).

No remains have been found of the homicide courts (Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 57.3). The most important was the Areopagos, meeting on the Hill of Ares (Dem. 23.65–66), the Palladion, presumably in Phaleron (schol. Aeschin. 2.87), the Delphinion near the Olympieion (Paus. 1.19.1), and a court *en Phreatto* near the Zea harbour in Peiraieus (Boegehold (1995) 43–50). The People's Court had its principal rooms in the agora (Ant. 5.10–11; Lys. 19.55). In the north-east corner of the agora beneath the stoa of Attalos have been found the foundations of a large square peristyle of *c.*300, and beneath that the foundations of five buildings (A–E). Building A of C5l had a floor area of 900 m² and may have been the so-called *Heliaia* (Dem. 47.12), i.e. the *Heliaia* of the *Thesmothetai* (*IG* I³ 75.6) (Hansen (1989) 232–37; Boegehold (1995) 11–15). In the Lykourgan period there was a central law court (Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 63.2), probably a predecessor of the square peristyle (Boegehold (1995) 15–16, 108–13). Other public buildings used as court-rooms were the Stoa Poikile (*IG* II² 1641B.38–40 (C4m)) and the Periklean Odeion (Dem. 59.52), which is in fact the only known building large enough to accommodate the occasional panels of 2,000 or even 2,500 *dikastai* (Lys. 13.35; Din. 1.52). Associated with the lawcourts was the prison (*desmoterion*) (Pl. *Phd.* 59D; Hunter (1997)), perhaps to be identified with a building of C5m in the south-west corner of the

agora (Camp (1986) 113–16). Some of the offices serving (boards of) magistrates are known from written sources (Wycherley (1957) 20–25, 126–84) and/or from archaeological evidence (Camp (1986) 100–35), *viz.* the *Stoa Basileios* (Dem. 25.23), the *Thesmotheteion* (Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 3.5), the *Strategion* (Dem. 42.14), the *Poleterion* (Dem. 25.57) and the *Argyrokopion* (*IG* I³ 1453.5, 8, 11).

Apart from the walls and the purely political architecture, Athens had an abundance of monumental buildings erected by the *polis*, including temples and shrines and elaborate edifices serving the navy. In this context it suffices to single out three peaks of building activity: the first under Peisistratos and his sons in C6s, the second under Perikles in C5s, and the third under Lykourgos in C4s.

(1) On the Acropolis the Peisistratids' principal activity was the renovation of the temple of Athena Polias (Boersma (1970) no. 48); in the agora they were responsible for the altar of the Twelve Gods (Thuc. 6.54.6–7; Gadbery (1992)), the *enneakrounos* which was the most famous fountain of Athens (Thuc. 2.15.5; Boersma (1970) no. 100) and, on the west side, a trapezoidal building with a columned courtyard (Building F, Boersma (1970) no. 144), believed by some to have served the Solonian *boule* (Rhodes (1972) 18–19), by others to have housed the Peisistratid family (Camp (1986) 45). East of the Acropolis they laid the foundations of a giant dipteral temple for Zeus Olympios (Arist. *Pol.* 1313^{b}23; Boersma (1970) no. 70).

(2) The monuments invariably associated with Perikles are the temples on the Acropolis (Thuc. 2.13.3; Lycurg. fr. 58; Hurwit (1999) 154–221, 313–18): the Parthenon (447–432), the Propylaia (437–432) and, after his death, the temple of Athena Nike (427–422) and the Erechtheion (421–407). Furthermore, the Odeion south of the Acropolis (*c.*440–430; Hurwit (1999) 216–17, 317), and the Hephaisteion, west of the agora (450–440?: Boersma (1970) 59–61, no. 58). The most expensive single item of Perikles' building programme, however, was the construction of ship sheds for the triremes in Peiraieus (*neosoikoi*: Dem. 22.76), which presumably cost 1,000 tal. but were demolished under the Thirty in 404/3 (Isoc. 7.66).

(3) A building programme begun under Euboulos was interrupted by the war against Makedon, but resumed and finished under Lykourgos during the twelve years he was in charge of the Athenian finances (Hintzen-Bohlen (1997)). The programme is attested in a posthumous honorary decree for Lykourgos of 307/6 which singles out, in the Peiraieus, the completion of altogether 372 ship sheds, *neosoikoi* (*IG* II² 1627.398–405) and the Arsenal, *skeuotheke* (*IG* II² 1668 (347/6)); in Athens, the erection of a Panathenaic *stadion*, the furnishing of the theatre of Dionysos with a grand auditorium (*koilon*) in marble, the gymnasium at the Lykeion (*IG* II² 457.5–9; Plut. *Mor.* 852C), and, we can add, the rebuilding and extension of the assembly place on the Pnyx (= Pnyx III, *supra*).

*C.*600 the agora was moved to its later place, and *c.*500 it was marked with *horoi* (*IG* I³ 1087–89; Camp (1986) 38). In addition to sanctuaries and buildings serving the Council and the courts, the agora was adorned with a number of stoas: the Stoa Basileios from perhaps C6m (Lang (1996) 152–53), the Stoa Poikile from C5f (Camp (1986) 68–72), the Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios from *c.*430–420 (Camp (1986) 105–7), and the South Stoa from *c.*430–420 (Camp (1986) 122–28). Finally, the large square building formerly called the *Heliaia* was probably a shrine of Aiax and in C4f was used as storeroom for large quantities of imported grain (Stroud (1998) 85–108).

In Athens and Peiraieus there were at least three theatres: the famous theatre of Dionysos on the south slope of the Acropolis (*IG* II² 410.39 (335/4); Pickard-Cambridge (1946)), an unlocated theatre known exclusively from a C4s account of leases (*Agora* XIX L6.147–48), and the theatre in Mounichia (Lys. 13.32; McDonald (1943) 51–54; Garland (1987) 161).

In addition to private *gymnasia* (Xen. *Ath. Pol.* 2.10), Athens had three major public *gymnasia* (Dem. 24.114; Hyp. 1.26.22–4), all placed outside the walls in the suburbs of Athens (Kyle (1987) 71–92): Akademeia (*IG* I³ 1091; Harp. *A*56), where Plato had his school (Diog. Laert. 3.5–7), Lykeion (*IG* II² 457B.7–8 (307/6); Harp. *A*30) where Aristotle taught (Diog. Laert. 5.2, 10) recently found in the excavations of Odos Rigilles (*AR* (2001–2) 8), and Kynosarges (*IG* I³ 134; Plut. *Them.* 1.3) frequented by Antisthenes (Diog. Laert. 6.13). There was no monumental *stadion* in Athens until Lykourgos had one built near the river Ilissos for the Great Panathenaia of 330 (*IG* II² 351.16–20 (330/29); Plut. *Mor.* 841D; Kyle (1987) 92–95). There was also a hippodrome (Dem. 47.53; Xen. *Hipparch.* 3.14) which lay outside the city near Echelidai (*Etym. Magn.* 340.53) and was not necessarily a monumental building (Kyle (1987) 95–97).

Very little is known about the residential quarters of Athens in the Classical period (Hoepfner (1999) 239–45), and the best evidence is still part of an industrial quarter between the agora and the Pnyx, excavated in the 1950s (Thompson and Wycherley (1972) 173–82).

The inhabitants of Athens were buried outside the walls. Graves lined all the major roads, and several large cemeteries

were placed along the northern part of the walls stretching from the Sacred Gate in the north-west to the Diocharian Gate in the north-east (Kurtz and Boardman (1971) 91–96). From C6 onwards the main cemetery was at Kerameikos (Knigge (1988)).

In the Archaic period, the Athenian harbour was at Phaleron (Hdt. 6.116). In the Classical period, Athens had three harbours, all in Peiraieus (Ps.-Skylax 57): two smaller ones, Zea (*SEG* 19 80.10 (C3s)) and Mounichia (*SEG* 41 13 (C5f)), both east of the Akte peninsula, and a larger one, Kantharos (schol. Ar. *Pax* 145), west of the peninsula (map in Travlos (1988) 347). Zea, Mounichia and the southern side of Kantharos were military harbours (*IG* II² 1627.401–5 (330/29)). The commercial harbour, the *emporion*, (*SEG* 26 72.21; *IG* I³ 1101.A–B (C5m)) stretched along the eastern and northern sides of Kantharos (Garland (1987) 83–95). The *emporion* was reserved for overseas commerce (Dem. 34.26–28, 42–44; Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 51.4; Gauthier (1981) 7–13). The *emporion* included five large pillared halls (schol. Ar. *Pax* 145). The Great Stoa, or Barley Hall, was the storage place for imported grain (schol. Ar. *Ach.* 548). The second, called Deigma, was a market-hall for merchants and bankers (Xen. *Hell.* 5.1.21). The urban centre of Peiraieus was laid out by Hippodamos of Miletos in C5f (Arist. *Pol.* 1267ᵇ22–23). The residential area was laid out on a grid plan with insulae subdivided into plots of equal size, on which were built roughly similar terrace houses (Hoepfner and Schwandner (1994) 22–50).

Only a very rough guesstimate can give us an idea of the size of the urban population. The walls of Athens and Peiraieus enclosed altogether 600 ha (Athens: 211 ha, Peiraieus: 300 ha; the space between the Long Walls: 100 ha). The space between the Long Walls was probably uninhabited except during the Peloponnesian War (Thuc. 2.17.3). If we assume that half of the remaining 500 ha were inhabited, and that the population density was 250 persons per ha (Jameson *et al.* (1994) 549–51), the result is an urban population of *c.*62,500 persons to which must be added the population of the suburbs (Isoc. 16.13). Now, tombstones and bouleutic quotas indicate that in C4 *c.*7.5–9 per cent of the citizens belonged to the six urban demes (Hansen *et al.* (1990) 32–35). Let us assume that they lived in the urban area; that, say, twice as many had migrated from Attika into Athens (Hansen (1989) 87–90); and that the number of metics and slaves living in Athens-Peiraieus equalled the number of citizens. The result is an urban population of between 47,000 and 56,000 persons in the age of Demosthenes.

(E) Athens had its own mint from *c.*550. The first series of coins, the so-called *Wappenmünzen*, may have been struck from silver imported from Thrace (Kraay (1962) 33); the silver used for the so-called owls came from the Laureion mines (Ar. *Av.* 1106: *γλαῦκες Λαυρειωτικαί*). (1) Silver coins on the Euboic standard *c.*550–525, the so-called *Wappenmünzen*. Denominations: mostly didrachm, but in the later phase also tetradrachm, drachm and obol. Types: *obv.* a great variety of types including triskeles, amphora, owl, wheel, Gorgoneion, *etc.*; *rev.* incuse square, sometimes diagonally quartered and sometimes with head of panther. (2) Silver coins on the Attic standard *c.*520 onwards, the so-called owls. Denominations: decadrachm (only in C5f), tetradrachm, didrachm, drachm, triobol, diobol, obol and (in C4) fractions down to hemitartemorion. Types: *obv.* head of Athena in helmet adorned with three olive leaves; *rev.* owl in incuse square with olive branch in top left corner. Legend: *AΘE*. The minting of silver coins was interrupted during the Decelean War and resumed not later than *c.*393 (Ar. *Eccl.* 819). During this period the Athenians struck coins of gold and bronze with similar types, the gold coins probably in 407/6, the bronze coins down to 393. The minting of silver coins was resumed in C4e, and the C5 types were used with small stylistic changes, the most important being that Athena's full face eye was replaced by a profile representation. (3) In C4s the small fractions were replaced by bronze coins with similar types (Starr (1970); Kraay (1976) 55–77; Kroll and Walker (1993); *SNG Cop. Attica* 1–82). In C5–C4 imitations of Athenian silver coins were struck in Egypt, in Phoenicia, in Asia Minor and in India (Mørkholm (1974); Kraay (1976) 73–74, 76–77, 292–93; Buttrey (1982); *SNG Cop. Attica* 105–10; *Suppl.* 1244–45). Athenian coins and imitations in great numbers have been found in Sicily, in Egypt, along the Syrian coast, and in southern Asia Minor. None has been found in the Pontic region and in the Propontis, and very few in Thrace and along the west coast of Asia Minor (Isager and Hansen (1975) 46–49, 215–17, 222).

That Athens did not take part in the Archaic colonisation is a widespread but seriously misleading belief. In the Archaic period Athens colonised Sigeion (no. 791) (C7l); Elaious (no. 663) (C7l and C6m); Chersonesos (no. 661) (C6m); Paktye (no. 671) (C6m); Sestos (no. 672) (C6m); Kardia (no. 665) (C6m); Lemnos (nos. 502–3) (*c.*500); Imbros (no. 483) (*c.*500), and sent klerouchs (?) to Chalkis (no. 365) (506–C5e). In C5 Athens sent colonists and/or klerouchs to Skyros (no. 521) (476/5); Eion (no. 630) (476); Neapolis (no. 677) (C5?); Neapolis (no. 63) (C5m); Andros (no. 475) (C5m); Sybaris 3 (no. 70) (446/5); Thourioi (no. 74)

(444/3); Brea (no. 624) (*c.*445); Chersonesos (no. 661) (C5m); Histiaia (no. 372) (446–404?); Karystos (no. 373) (C5m); Amphipolis (no. 553) (437/6); Astakos (no. 737) (435/4); Amisos (no. 712) (430s); Sinope (no. 729) (430s); Aigina (no. 358) (431–405); Naxos (no. 507) (C5m); Poteidaia (no. 598) (430–404?); Kolophon (no. 848) (427); Antissa (no. 794) (427); Eresos (no. 796) (427); Mytilene (no. 798) (427); Pyrrha (no. 799) (427); Skione (no. 609) (421); Melos (no. 505) (415); Miletouteichos (no. 751) (*c.*410); Plakia (no. 757) (?); Skylake (no. 761) (?). In C4 Athens sent colonists and/or klerouchs to Poteidaia (no. 598) (362/1); Chersonesos (no. 661) (C4f); Elaious (no. 663) (353–43); Sestos (no. 672) (353/2); Samos (no. 865) (365–22); *naustathmon* in the Adriatic (*IG* II² 1629.165–272) (425/4).

362. Eleusis Map 59. Lat. 38.05, long. 23.35. Size of territory: 1 or 2. Type: B. The toponym is *Ἐλευσίς, -ῖνος, ἡ* (Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 39.1; Xen. *Hell.* 2.4.43; Diod. 14.35.6). No city-ethnic is attested, but the official name of the polity seems to have been *οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι οἱ Ἐλευσῖνι κατοικοῦντες* (Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 39.2, 5, 40.4). There is no reason to assume that Eleusis was a *polis* in the early Archaic period, but in the years 403–401 it was a self-governing polity settled with the core of the oligarchic faction in the civil war 404/3. It is not called a *polis* in any source, but it seems to have had the same status as a klerouchy. The Eleusinians remained Athenian citizens and are described as *epitimoi* and *Athenaioi*. The official name of the polity seems to have been *οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι οἱ Ἐλευσῖνι κατοικοῦντες* (*supra*), just as the C4 klerouchs in Poteidaia were called *οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι οἱ ἐν Ποτειδαίᾳ κατοικοῦντες* (Dem. 7.10). Like klerouchs, they could return to Athens and reactivate their full Athenian citizenship. Considering the full self-government enjoyed by the community, Eleusis in 403–401 must be included in this inventory as a *polis* type B.

During the oligarchic regime in 404/3, the Thirty wanted to secure Eleusis for themselves as a possible refuge and had many of the Eleusinians executed (Xen. *Hell.* 2.4.8–10). In connection with the restoration of the democracy in 403, it was decided that those of the oligarchs from Athens who so wished could leave Athens and have Eleusis as their residence alongside those of the Eleusinians whom they wanted to retain. Thus, the new *polis* was created by a synoecism of oligarchs from both communities (Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 39.3: *συνοικεῖν*). The oligarchs in Eleusis were banned from Athens, and the democrats in Athens from Eleusis. The Eleusinian oligarchs were still Athenian citizens (*ἐπίτιμοι*), but self-governing (*κυρίους καὶ αὐτοκράτορας ἑαυτῶν καὶ τὰ ἑαυτῶν καρπουμένους*). They were explicitly banned from holding office in Athens, unless they left Eleusis and registered as ordinary Athenian citizens once again. Eleusis was to be a member of the Peloponnesian League like Athens, and the Eleusinians and Athenians were to share the Eleusinian sanctuary and the mysteries (Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 39.1–5; Diod. 14.35.6; Cloché (1915) 256–59, 278–95; Loening (1987)).

Soon afterwards it was reported to Athens that the oligarchs in Eleusis had begun to hire mercenaries (Xen. *Hell.* 2.4.43), and, according to a late source (Just. *Epit.* 5.10.8–11), they even attacked Athens. In 401/0 (Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 40.4) the Athenians marched out in full force (Xen. *Hell.* 2.4.43) and laid siege to Eleusis (Lys. 25.9). Some of the oligarchs deserted and joined the Athenian democrats (ibid.). During a meeting between the two sides, the Athenians killed the Eleusinian *strategoi* and persuaded the Eleusinians to give up Eleusis and move back to Athens, where a new amnesty was declared (Xen. *Hell.* 2.4.43; Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 40.4).

The bronze coins struck in C4–C3 and inscribed *ΕΛΕΥΣΙ* were for the requirements of the Eleusinian festivals and have no relation to the oligarchic *polis* of 403–401. Types: *obv.* Triptolemos in winged car drawn by snakes; *rev.* pig standing on bacchos. Legend: *ΕΛΕΥΣΙ* and, on one, *ΑΘΕ* (Head, *HN*² 391; *SNG Cop. Attica* 414–19). The legend is probably an abbreviated form not of the ethnic *ΕΛΕΥΣΙ(ΝΙΩΝ)* but of the *ktetikon ΕΛΕΥΣΙ(ΝΙΑΚΟΝ)*, and the coin inscribed *ΑΘΕ* reveals that such coins were struck by the Athenian mint for the festival of the Mysteries, not by the Eleusinians (Kroll and Walker (1993) 26–28).

363. Salamis (Salaminios) Map. 59. Lat. 38.00, long. 23.35. Size of territory: 2 (93 km²). Type: A. The toponyn is *Σαλαμίς, -ῖνος, ἡ* (Hom. *Il.* 2.557; Aesch. *Pers.* 273; Thuc. 2.93.4; *IG* I³ 1.2 (C6l)), denoting both the island (Hdt. 8.76.2) and the town (Ps.-Skylax 57; cf. Strabo 9.1.9). An older toponym is *Κυχρεία* (Aesch. *Pers.* 570; *SEG* 26 121.32 (C1l); Strabo 9.1.9). The city-ethnic is *Σαλαμίνιος* (*IG* I³ 748 (C5e); Dem. 19.251). Salamis is called a *polis* in the urban sense at Ps.-Skylax 57, and in the territorial sense (but in a mythological context) at Cratinus fr. 246. Salamis is called the *metropolis* of Cypriote Salamis at Aesch. *Pers.* 894. The collective use of the city-ethnic is probably attested internally in abbreviated form on coins (*infra*) and externally in an Athenian decree of C4l (*IG* II² 1260.19) and in literature (Aeschin. 1.25; Dem. 19.251). The individual use is attested internally in sepulchral monuments found on Salamis (*IG* II² 10173, undated) and externally in those found in Attika

(*IG* II² 10176 (C4m)) and in literary sources (*Λέων ὁ Σαλαμίνιος*, killed by the Thirty in 404 (Xen. *Hell.* 2.3.39)).

In C6e a war between Athens and Megara over Salamis (Solon frr. 1–3, West; Plut. *Sol.* 8) ended with an Athenian victory and the conquest of Salamis. The credit for the victory goes in some sources to Solon (Plut. *Sol.* 9; Dem. 19.251; Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 17.2), in others to Peisistratos (Aen. Tact. 4.8–12). During the *stasis* in C6f Athens seems to have lost Salamis once again to the Megarians (Plut. *Sol.* 12.5), and the dispute over Salamis was eventually submitted to Lakedaimonian arbitration. The Athenians seem to have invoked an allegedly interpolated line about the Athenians in the Homeric Catalogue of Ships (*Il.* 2.558), and the Lakedaimonians found for the Athenians (Plut. *Sol.* 10; Arist. *Rh.* 1375ª29–30). In the sources the Athenian side was represented by either Solon or Peisisteros (Strabo 9.1.10), but modern historians prefer a date of *c.*520–510, associating the Lakedaimonian arbitrator Kleomenes (Plut. *Sol.* 10.6) with King Kleomenes of Sparta. For a full account, see Taylor (1997) 21–47.

In C6l Salamis was settled with a contingent of Athenians who were liable to pay taxes and give military service to Athens (*IG* I³ 1). The commonly accepted view is that these Athenians were klerouchs, although perhaps of a peculiar kind (Cargill (1995) pp. xxiv, 60; for a different view see Taylor (1997) 63–74). The only explicit evidence is schol. Pind. *Nem.* 2.19. In the C6l Athenian decree concerning Salamis, *τ[ὸς ἐ Σ]αλαμ[ῖνι κλερόχ]ος* has been restored by most editors (*IG* I³ 1.1 = ML 14; Koerner (1993) 1). More important is that a lease of confiscated property on Lemnos of 387/6 compares "klerouchs on Lemnos" to "those on Salamis" (*Agora* XIX L3.33–34: *γῆν τὸς κλερόχος καὶ* [---- *καθά]περ τοῖς ἐς Σαλαμ[ῖνα]*. And in an honorary inscription of *c.*325, *Ἀθηναίων ὁ δῆμος ὁ ἐν Σαλαμῖνι* appears alongside *Ἀθηναίων ὁ δῆμος ὁ ἐν Ἴμβρωι* (*IG* II² 3206; *SEG* 46 261; cf., however, Salomon (1997) 96–101).

The epigraphic evidence, principally sepulchral monuments, shows that, in addition to metics and slaves (*IG* II² 1570.II.42 (*c.*330)), the population of Salamis consisted partly of Athenians registered with their demotics and partly of so-called Salaminioi. A good many tombstones found on Salamis commemorate Athenians with ordinary demotics (*IG* II² 7101 (C4, etc.); Lys. 13.44; see Taylor (1997) 267–316, nos. 9, 10, 16, 18, 29, etc.). Some two score tombstones with known provenance were set over Salaminioi; a few were found on Salamis, but the majority in Attika (*IG* II² 10171–215 with addenda in Taylor (1997) 263–316). Who these Salaminians were is still a moot point. No link can be established between the *genos* of the Salaminioi attested in Athens in C4 (*IG* II² 1232 (C4l); *Agora* XIX L4a (363/2)) and the Salaminioi who were named after the island of Salamis (Taylor (1997) 47–63; Parker (1996) 312). Salaminians named after the island of Salamis must be distinguished from Salaminioi from the *polis* on Cyprus. The latter are sometimes specified as being *Σαλαμίνιοι ἀπὸ Κύπρου* (*IG* II² 10217–18 (C4)). *Pace* Taylor (1997) 136, 264, it is unbelievable that all the tombstones found in Attika commemorate Salaminioi from Cypriot Salamis. Most of them, perhaps all, are probably Salaminioi from the island in the Saronic Gulf (so also Osborne and Byrne (1996) 272–76). Finally, in spite of all the prosopographical information we possess, there is not one single attestation of a person who is recorded both as a Salaminian and as belonging to one of the Athenian demes. The only evidence of an Athenian who is both a Salaminian and a member of a deme is Moirokles of Eleusis (*SEG* 28 103.6–7 (332/1); cf. *SEG* 31 109A), who is presumably identical with *Μοιροκλῆς Σαλαμίνιος* at Harp. *M*36. He may be a Salaminios naturalised by the Athenians, like *Ἡρακλείδης ὁ Κλαζομένιος* (Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 41.3), or he may be one of the Athenians living on Salamis. The sources do not support Taylor's view that the ethnic *Salaminios* designates a full Athenian citizen who happens to reside on Salamis and that all Salaminians were inscribed in the 139 demes ((1997) 123–58). The population of Salamis was probably divided into Salaminians and Athenians (for a parallel, see *IG* XII.8 668, a decree mentioning side by side the Athenian *demos* (*sc.* on Skyros) and those who live on Skyros, *infra* 774). The presumption is that the so-called Salaminians were never integrated into the Athenian state. They had no representation in the Council of Five Hundred, and never filled any other Athenian office (Develin (1989)); they are not attested as jurors in the People's Court (Kroll (1972)), and were presumably excluded from the *ekklesia* as well. Both groups were entitled to pass decrees, both the *demos* of the Athenians on Salamis (*IG* II² 3206 (*c.*325)) and the *demos* of the Salaminians (*IG* II² 1260.19 (C4l); *IG* II² 1225.4 (C3m)). The eponymous official was the *ἄρχων εἰς Σαλαμῖνα* (*IG* I³ 1.7–12 (C6l); *IG* II² 3093 (C4e); *IG* II² 1227.1 (C2s)), who was an Athenian magistrate, selected by lot (Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 54.8) and paid by the Athenians (*Ath. Pol.* 62.2) like other overseas magistrates.

The rural Dionysia were celebrated on Salamis (Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 54.8; *IG* II² 3093 (C4e)), and there were cults of the nymph Salamis (*IG* II² 1955 (*c.*320); *obv.* of C4 coins (*infra*)), of Aias (Hdt. 8.64.2; *SEG* 26 121.32 (C1l); *rev.* of C4 coins (*infra*)), and of Athena Skiras (Hdt. 8.94.2).

The town was situated on the eastern side of the island, north of Kynousura. It was fortified, but the C4 circuit wall was rebuilt in C3m (*IG* II² 1225.11–12) and later, but today only the faint outline of the walls can be observed (Haider (1989) 596). In the town was an agora with a C4e statue of Solon (Aeschin. 1.25; Dem. 19.251) and one of three monuments commemorating the battle of 480 (Paus. 1.36.1; schol. Aesch. *Pers.* 303; Lycurg. 1.73; *IG* II² 1228.27–28 (C1)); another was on Kynousura, where remains of it were seen by Stewart and Revett (Hammond (1973) 304–10). On the north-west tip of the island at Boudoron was a fortress mentioned in connection with the Peloponnesian raid on Salamis in 429/8 (Thuc. 2.93.4, 94.3, cf. 3.51.2).

The Salaminians struck bronze coins in C4. Types: *obv.* female head (nymph Salamis?); *rev.* Boiotian shield and sword in sheath with strap (shield of Aias?). Legend: *ΣΑΛΑ*. The beginning of this coinage is now dated *c.*400 (Kroll and Walker (1993) 215). The legend is probably the abbreviated form of the ethnic, *Σαλα(μινίων)*, indicating that the coins were struck on Salamis by the Salaminians. Taylor (1997) 193–95 suggests as an alternative that the legend is *Σαλα(μῖνος)* or *Σαλα(μινιακόν)*, and that the coins were struck in Athens (Head, *HN*² 392; *SNG Cop. Attica* 455–58).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Alexandri-Zahou, O. 1986. "Demokratia", in *LIMC* (Zürich and Munich) iii.1. 372–74.

Andrewes, A. 1982*a*. "The Growth of the Athenian State", *CAH*² iii.2. 360–91.

——1982*b*. Solon to Pisistratus", *CAH*² iii.2. 392–416.

Billigmeier, J. C., and Dusing, M. S. 1981. "The Origin and Function of the Naukraroi at Athens: An Etymological and Historical Explanation", *TAPA* 111: 11–16.

Bleicken, J. 1994. *Die athenische Demokratie*² (Paderborn).

Boegehold, A. 1995. *The Lawcourts at Athens*: *The Athenian Agora*, xxviii (Princeton).

Boersma, J. S. 1970. *Athenian Building Policy from 561/0 to 405/4 B.C.* (Groningen).

Bremmer, J. 1983. "Scapegoat Rituals in Ancient Greece", *HSCP* 87: 299–320.

Brenne, S. 2001. *Ostrakismos und Prominenz in Athen. Attische Bürger des 5. Jhs. v. Chr. auf den Ostraka* (Vienna).

Brumfield, A. 1985. *The Attic Festivals of Demeter and their Relation to the Agricultural Year* (New York).

Burckhardt, L. A. 1996. *Bürger und Soldaten Aspekte der politischen und militärischen Rolle athenischer Bürger im Kriegswesen des 4. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.* (Stuttgart).

Burke, E. M. 1985. "Lycurgan Finances", *GRBS* 26: 251–64.

Busolt, G., and Swoboda H. 1926. *Griechische Staatskunde*, ii (Munich).

Buttrey, T. V. 1982. "Pharaonic Imitations of Athenian Tetradrachms", in *Proceedings of the 9th International Congress of Numismatics, Berne, September 1979* (Louvain-la-Neuve) 137–40.

Camp, J. M. 1986. *The Athenian Agora* (London).

——1991. "Notes on the Towers and Borders of Classical Boiotia", *AJA* 95: 193–202.

Cargill, J. 1981. *The Second Athenian League* (Berkeley and Los Angeles).

——1995. *Athenian Settlements of the Fourth Century B.C.* (Leiden).

Carlier, P. 1984. *La Royauté en Grèce avant Alexandre* (Strasbourg).

Chambers, M. 1990. *Aristoteles: Staat der Athener* (Berlin).

Clinton, K. 1974. *The Sacred Officials of the Eleusinian Mysteries*, *TAPS* 64.

——1982. "The Nature of the Late Fifth-Century Revision of the Athenian Law Code", *Hesperia* suppl. 19: 27–37.

Cloché, P. 1915. *La Restauration démocratique à Athènes en 403 avant J.-C.* (Paris).

Cole, S. G. 1984. "The Social Function of Rituals of Maturation: The Koureion and the Arkteia", *ZPE* 55: 233–44.

——1995. "Civic Cult and Civic Identity", *CPCActs* 2: 292–325.

Connor, W. R. 1990. "City Dionysia and Athenian Democracy", in J. Rufus Fears (ed.), *Aspects of Athenian Democracy* (Copenhagen) 7–32.

Deubner, L. 1966. *Attische Feste*² (Hildesheim).

Develin, R. 1989. *Athenian Officials 684–321 B.C.* (Cambridge).

Diamant, S. 1982. "Theseus and the Unification of Attica", *Hesperia* suppl. 19: 38–47.

Dontas, G. S. 1983. "The True Aglaurion", *Hesperia* 52: 48–63.

Dreher, M. 1995. *Hegemon und Symmachoi: Untersuchungen zum zweiten athenischen Seebund* (Berlin).

Forsén, B., and Stanton, G. (eds.) 1996. *The Pnyx in the History of Athens* (Helsinki).

Funke, P. 2000. "Grenzfestungen und Verkehrsverbindungen in Nordost-Attika: zur Bedeutung der attisch-boiotischen Grenzregion um Dekeleia", *Polis & Politics* 121–31.

Gabrielsen, V. 1981. *Remuneration of State Officials in Fourth-Century B.C. Athens* (Odense).
Gadbery, L. M. 1992. "The Sanctuary of the Twelve Gods in the Athenian Agora: A Revised View", *Hesperia* 61: 447–89.
Garland, R. 1987. *The Piraeus* (London).
—— 1992. *Introducing New Gods* (London).
Gauthier, Ph. 1981. "De Lysias à Aristote (*Ath. Pol.* 51.4): le commerce du grain à Athènes et les fonctions des sitophylaques",. *RHist.* 59: 5–28.
Goette, H. R. 1999. "Städtische Siedlungen in Attika", in E.-L. Schwandner and K. Rheidt (eds.), *Stadt und Umland* (Mainz am Rhein) 160–67.
Gomme, A. W. 1933. *The Population of Athens in the Fifth and Fourth Centuries B.C.* (Oxford).
—— Andrewes, A., and Dover, K. J. 1981. *A Historical Commentary on Thucydides V Book VIII* (Oxford).
Haider, P. W. 1989. "Salamis", in S. Lauffer (ed.), *Griechenland: Lexikon der historischen Stätten* (Munich) 594–97.
Hamel, D. 1998. *Athenian Generals: Military Authority in the Classical Period* (Leiden).
Hamilton, R. 1992. *Choes and Anthesteria* (Ann Arbor).
Hammond, N. G. L. 1973. *Studies in Greek History* (Oxford).
Hansen, M. H. 1979. "*Misthos* for Magistrates in Classical Athens", *SymbOslo* 54: 5–22.
—— 1980*a*. "Perquisites for Magistrates in Fourth-century Athens", *ClMed* 32: 105–25.
—— 1980*b*. "Seven Hundred *Archai* in Classical Athens", *GRBS* 21: 151–73.
—— 1981. "The Number of Athenian Hoplites in 431 B.C.", *SymbOslo* 56: 19–32.
—— 1983. *The Athenian Ecclesia: A Collection of Articles 1976–83* (Copenhagen).
—— 1985. *Demography and Democracy* (Herning).
—— 1986. "The Origin of the Term *Demokratia*", *LCM* 11: 35–36.
—— 1987*a*. *The Athenian Assembly in the Age of Demosthenes* (Oxford).
—— 1987*b*. "Did Kleisthenes Use the Lot when Trittyes were Allocated to Tribes?" *AW* 15: 43–44.
—— 1988. *Three Studies in Athenian Demography* (Copenhagen).
—— 1989. *The Athenian Ecclesia*, ii: *A Collection of Articles 1983–89* (Copenhagen).
—— 1994. "The Number of Athenian Citizens *Secundum* Sekunda", *EchCl* 38: 299–310.
—— 1995. "*Kome*: A Study in How the Greeks Designated and Classified Settlements which were not *Poleis*", *CPCPapers* 2: 45–81.
—— 1997. "The Polis as an Urban Centre: The Literary and Epigraphical Evidence", *CPCActs* 4: 9–86.
—— 1998. *Polis and City-State: An Ancient Concept and its Modern Equivalent*, *CPCActs* 5 (Copenhagen).
—— 1999. *The Athenian Democracy in the Age of Demosthenes*[2] (Bristol).
—— *et al.* 1990. "The Demography of the Attic Demes: The Evidence of the Sepulchral Inscriptions", *AnalRom* 19: 25–44.
Henry, A. 1982. "Polis/Akropolis, Paymasters and the Ten Talent Fund", *Chiron* 12: 91–118.
Hignett, C. 1952. *A History of the Athenian Constitution to the End of the Fifth Century B.C.* (Oxford).
Hintzen-Bohlen, B. 1997. *Die Kulturpolitik des Eubulos und des Lykurg: die Denkmäler- und Bauprojekte in Athen zwischen 355 und 322 v.Chr.* (Berlin).
Hoepfner, W. (ed.) 1999. *Geschichte des Wohnens 5000 v.Chr.—500 n.Chr. Vorgeschichte—Frühgeschichte—Antike* (Ludwigsburg).
—— and Schwandner, W. 1994. *Haus und Stadt im klassischen Griechenland*[2] (Munich).
Hornblower, S. 1991. *A Commentary on Thucydides*, i (Oxford).
Hunter, V. 1997. "The Prison of Athens: A Comparative Perspective", *Phoenix* 51: 296–326.
Hurwit, J. M. 1999. *The Athenian Acropolis* (Cambridge).
Isager, S., and Hansen, M. H. 1975. *Aspects of Athenian Society* (Odense).
Isler, H. P. 1994. "Descriptions of Attic theatres", in P. C. Rossetto and G. P. Sartorio (eds.), *Teatri greci e romani,* ii (Rome) 132–35, 221, 227–28, 276–78, 308, 311–12.
Jacquemin, A. 1999. *Offrandes monumentales à Delphes* (Paris).
Jameson, M. H., Runnels, C. N., and van Andel, T. H. 1994. *A Greek Countryside* (Stanford, Calif.).
Jensen, M. S. 1980. *The Homeric Question and the Oral-Formulaic Theory* (Copenhagen).
Jones, N. F. 1999. *The Associations of Classical Athens* (New York and Oxford).
—— 2000. "Epigraphic Evidence for Farmstead Residence in Attica", *ZPE* 133: 75–90.
Judeich, W. 1931. *Topographie von Athen* (Munich).
Keaney, J. J. 1992. *The Composition of Aristotle's Athenaion Politeia* (New York and Oxford).
Kearns, E. 1989. *The Heroes of Attica*, *BIALond* suppl. 57.
Kienast, D. 1973. "Presbeia", *RE* suppl. xiii. 499–628.
Knigge, U. 1988. *Der Kerameikos von Athen* (Athens).
Koerner, R. 1993. *Inschriftliche Gesetzestexte der frühen griechischen Polis*, ed. K. Hallof (Vienna).
Kraay, C. M. 1962. *The Composition of Greek Silver Coins* (Oxford).
—— 1976. *Archaic and Classical Greek Coins* (London).
Krause, J. H. 1841. *Die Pythien, Nemen und Isthmien* (Leipzig).
Kroll. J. H. 1972. *Athenian Bronze Allotment Plates* (Cambridge, Mass.).
—— and Walker, A. 1993. *The Greek Coins: The Athenian Agora*, xxvi (Princeton).
Kron, U. 1976. *Die Zehn attischen Phylenheroen*, *MDI Athen* 5. Beiheft.

Kurtz, D. C., and Boardman, J. 1971. *Greek Burial Customs* (London).
Kyle, D. G. 1987. *Athletics in Ancient Athens* (Leiden).
Lambert, S. D. 1993. *The Phratries of Attica* (Ann Arbor).
Lang, F. 1996. *Archaische Siedlungen in Griechenland* (Berlin).
Langdon, M. M. 1991. "On the Farm in Classical Attica", *CJ* 86: 209–13.
Lauffer, S. 1979. *Die Bergwerkssklaven von Laureion*² (Wiesbaden).
Lefèvre, F. 1998. *L'Amphictionie pyléo-delphique: histoire et institutions* (Paris).
Lewis, D. M. 1963. "Cleisthenes and Attica", *Historia* 12: 22–40.
Loening, T. C. 1987. *The Reconciliation Agreement of 403/402 B.C. in Athens* (Stuttgart).
Lohmann, H. 1993. *Atene* (Cologne).
Maier, F. G. 1961. *Griechische Mauerbauinschriften*, ii (Heidelberg).
Marek, C. 1984. *Die Proxenie* (Frankfurt am Main).
McDonald, W. A. 1943. *The Political Meeting Places of the Greeks* (Baltimore).
Meiggs, R. 1972. *The Athenian Empire* (Oxford).
Mersch, A. 1996. *Studien zur Siedlungsgeschichte Attikas von 950 bis 400 v. Chr.* (Frankfurt am Main).
Mikalson, J. D. 1975. *The Sacred and Civil Calendar of the Athenian Year* (Princeton).
Miller, S. G. 1995. "Old Metroon and Old Bouleuterion in the Classical Agora of Athens", *CPCPapers* 2: 133–56.
Monceaux, P. 1886. *Les Proxénies grecques* (Paris).
Mørkholm, O. 1974. "A Coin of Artaxerxes III", *NC* 1–4.
Mosley, D. J. 1973. *Envoys and Diplomacy in Ancient Greece* (Stuttgart).
Munn, M. H. 1993. *The Defense of Attica: The Dema Wall and the Boiotian War of 378–375 B.C.* (Berkeley and Los Angeles).
Neils, J. 1992. *Goddess and Polis: The Panathenaic Festival in Ancient Athens* (Princeton).
Nielsen, T. H. *et al.* 1989. "Athenian Grave Monuments and Social Class", *GRBS* 30: 411–20.
Nilsson, M. P. 1967. *Geschichte der griechischen Religion*³ (Munich).
Ober, J. 1985. *Fortress Attica: Defense of the Athenian Land Frontier, 404–322 B.C.* (Leiden).
Ohly, D. 1965. "Kerameikos-Grabung: Tätigkeitsbericht 1956–61", *AA* 80: 277–376.
Osborne, M. J. 1981–83. *Naturalization in Athens*, i–iv (Brussels).
—— and Byrne, S. G. 1996. *The Foreign Residents of Athens* (Leuven).
Osborne, R. 1985. *Demos: The Discovery of Classical Attika* (Cambridge).
Ostwald, M. 1986. *From Popular Sovereignty to the Sovereignty of Law* (Berkeley and Los Angeles).
Padgug, R. A. 1972. "Eleusis and the Union of Attika", *GRBS* 13: 135–50.
Parke, H. W. 1977. *Festivals of the Athenians* (London).
Parker, R. 1996. *Athenian Religion: A History* (Oxford).
Partida, E. C. 2000. *The Treasuries at Delphi: An Architectural Study* (Jonsered).
Patterson, C. 1981. *Pericles' Citizenship Law of 451–50 B.C.* (New York).
Pickard-Cambridge, A. W. 1946. *The Theatre of Dionysus in Athens* (Oxford).
—— 1968. *The Dramatic Festivals of Athens*, 2nd edn. by J. Gould and D. M. Lewis (Oxford).
Powell, J. E. 1938. *A Lexicon to Herodotus* (Cambridge).
Raaflaub, K. 1985. *Die Entdeckung der Freiheit* (Munich).
—— 1998. "Power in the Hands of the People: Foundations of Athenian Democracy", in I. Morris and K. Raaflaub (eds.), *Democracy 2500? Questions and Challenges* (Dubuque, Ia.) 31–66.
Rhodes, P. J. 1972. *The Athenian Boule* (Oxford).
—— 1981. *A Commentary on the Aristotelian* Athenaion Politeia (Oxford).
—— 1988. *Thucydides History*, ii (Warminster).
Rocchi, G. D. 1988. *Frontiera e confini nella Grecia antica* (Rome).
Ruschenbusch, E. 1966. *Solonos Nomoi*, *Historia* Einzelschriften 9 (Wiesbaden).
—— 1984. "Zum letzten Mal: Die Bürgerzahl Athens im 4.Jh. v.Chr.", *ZPE* 54: 253–69.
Sallares, R. 1991. *The Ecology of the Ancient Greek World* (London).
Salomon, N. 1997. *Le Cleruchie di Atene* (Pisa).
Schuller, W. 1974. *Die Herrschaft der Athener im Ersten Attischen Seebund* (Berlin).
Sekunda, N. 1992. "Athenian Demography and Military Strength 338–22 B.C.", *BSA* 87: 311–55.
Shear, T. L. jun. 1995. "Bouleuterion, Metroon and the Archives at Athens", *CPCPapers* 2: 157–90.
Sickinger, J. P. 1999. *Public Records and Archives in Classical Athens* (Chapel Hill, NC).
Siewert, P. 1982. *Die Trittyen Attikas und die Heeresreform des Kleisthenes* (Munich).
—— 2002. *Ostrakismos-Testimonien*, i (Stuttgart).
Simms, R. R. 1988. "The Cult of the Thracian Goddess Bendis in Athens and Attica", *AncW* 18: 59–76.
Snodgrass, A. 1982. "Central Greece and Thessaly", *CAH*² iii.1. (Cambridge) 657–95.
—— 1987–89. "The Rural Landscape and its Political Significance", *Opus* 6–8: 53–70.
Starr, C. G. 1970. *Athenian Coinage 480–449* (Oxford).
Steinhauer, G. 2001. "The Road-Network and Settlement Pattern in the Mesogaia in the Area of the Spata Airport", in Ch. Doumas *et al.* (eds.), *Eleftherios Venizelos-Athens International Airport* (Athens) 95–105.
Stroud, R. S. 1998. *The Athenian Grain-Tax Law of 374/3 B.C. Hesperia* suppl. 29

Taylor, M. C. 1997. *Salamis and the Salaminioi: The History of an Unofficial Athenian Deme* (Amsterdam).

Thompson, H. A. 1982. "The Pnyx in Models", *Hesperia* suppl. 19: 133–47.

—— and Wycherley, R. E. 1972. *The Athenian Agora*, xiv: *The Agora of Athens* (Princeton).

Todd, S. C. 1993. *The Shape of Athenian Law* (Oxford).

Traill, J. S. 1975. *The Political Organization of Attica*, *Hesperia* suppl. 14.

—— 1986. *Demos and Trittys* (Toronto).

Travlos, J. 1988. *Bildlexikon zur Topographie des antiken Attika* (Tübingen).

Tulin, A. 1996. *Dike Phonou: The Right of Prosecution and Attic Homicide Procedure* (Berlin).

Van de Maele, S. 1992. "Le réseau Mégarien de défense territoriale contre l'Attique à l'époque classique (V^{e} et IVe S. av. J.-C.)", in S. Van de Maele and J. M. Fossey (eds.), *Fortificationes Antiquae* (Amsterdam) 93–107.

Vanderpool, E. 1974. "The Date of the Pre-Persian City-Wall of Athens", in D. W. Bradeen and M. F. McGregor (eds.), *Φορος*: *Tribute to Benjamin Dean Meritt* (New York) 156–60.

Walbank, M. B. 1978. *Athenian Proxenies of the Fifth Century B.C.* (Toronto).

Wallace, R. W. 1989. *The Areopagos Council, to 307 B.C.* (Baltimore).

Weir, R. G. A. 1995. "The Lost Archaic Wall around Athens", *Phoenix* 49: 247–58.

Welwei, K.-W. 1992. *Athen: vom neolitischen Siedlungsplatz zur archaischen Grosspolis* (Darmstadt).

Whitehead, D. 1986. *The Demes of Attica 508/7–c.250 B.C.* (Princeton).

—— 1987. Review of Traill (1986) in *Phoenix* 41: 441–43.

Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, U. von 1893. *Aristoteles und Athen*, i–ii (Berlin).

Woodford, S. 1971. "Cults of Heracles in Attica", in D. G. Mitten *et al.* (eds.), *Studies Presented to George M. A. Hanfmann* (Mainz) 211–25.

Wycherley, R. E. 1957. *The Athenian Agora*, iii: *Literary and Epigraphical Testimonia* (Princeton).

—— 1978. *The Stones of Athens* (Princeton).

EUBOIA

KARL REBER, MOGENS HERMAN HANSEN, PIERRE DUCREY

I. The Island

The name of the island is *Εὔβοια, ἡ* (Hom. *Il.* 2.535–36; Pind. *Ol.* 13.112; Hdt. 4.33.2; Dem. 19.87; Aeschin. 3.88; *IG* I³ 40.77 (C5s); *IG* XII.9 207.44 (C3e)), meaning "rich in cattle"; cf. the *obv.* types of the coins of Eretria (no. 370) and Karystos (no. 373). Alternative toponyms are *Μάκρις*, "Long Island", because it stretched for 1,200 stades from Cape Kenaion to Cape Geraistos (Callim. *Hymn* 4.20; Strabo 10.1.2; Steph. Byz. 283.20) or *Ἀβαντίς* (Hes. fr. 296, MW; cf. Hom. *Il.* 2.536: *Ἄβαντες*) or *Ἑλλοπία*, after the people inhabiting the northern part of the island (Strabo 10.1.3; Steph. Byz. 268.17), or *Ὄχη*, after the mountain near Karystos (Strabo 10.1.3; but see Knoepfler (1997) 353 n. 14). The ethnic is *Εὐβοεύς* (Hdt. 8.20.1; Thuc. 1.113.2; Hyp. 6.11) or *Εὐβοιεύς* (*IG* II² 149.6 (C4m); *IG* XII.9 207.72 (C3e)). In poetry the term *polis* is sometimes used about the whole island (Eur. *Ion* 294; fr. 658; cf. Hansen (1998) 130–31). The collective use of the ethnic is found internally on C4 coins (*infra*) and in inscriptions (*IG* XII.9 207.72 (C3e)), and externally in inscriptions (*CID* II 129A.3 (C3)) and in literary sources (Hdt. 8.4.2; Dem. 22.72). The individual and external use is found in inscriptions (*CID* II 74.II.26 (337/6)).

In the Homeric Catalogue of Ships (*Il.* 2.536–39) Euboia is inhabited by the Abantes, and they are settled in seven cities: Chalkis (no. 365), Eretria (no. 370), Histiaia (no. 372), Kerinthos, Dion (no. 368), Karystos (no. 373) and Styra (no. 377). Five others are recorded in the Athenian tribute lists: *viz.* Athenai Diades (no. 364), Grynchai (no. 371), Posideion (no. 376), the Diakrioi en Euboia (no. 366) and the Diakreis at Chalkis (*Διακρῆς ἀπὸ Χαλκιδέων* (no. 367)). Kerinthos, on the other hand, is missing from the lists. Two settlements not recorded in the tribute lists are called *polis* in sources of the Classical period: *viz.* Orobiai (no. 374) (Thuc. 3.89.2) and Dystos (no. 369) (Theopomp. fr. 149). Altogether thirteen communities deserve inclusion in the inventory as having been *poleis*, or having possibly been *poleis*, in the period down to C4m. By then Euboia had become a *tetrapolis* island (Ps.-Skylax 58; cf. Dem. 23.213), divided between Chalkis, Eretria, Histiaia/Oreos and Karystos (*IG* II² 124.8, 16; cf. Knoepfler (1997) 352).

On the basis of some coins issued in Chalkis (no. 365) and inscribed *EY* or *EYB*, it is still a widespread belief that there was an Euboian federal state in C4e and perhaps even in C5l (Wallace (1956); Brunt (1969); Cawkwell (1978); Picard (1979)). However, following Larsen (1968) 97–103 and Beck (1997) 28, we prefer to believe that, apart from a short-lived or even abortive attempt to organise a *koinon* in 340, there was no Euboian federation before C2e (Knoepfler (2001) 122 with n. 97).

In addition to these four *poleis* there were about 100 other settlements, principally attested as demes of Eretria (no. 370) and Histiaia/Oreos (no. 372).

In the Hellenistic period Eretria was subdivided into some fifty-five to sixty demes (*infra* 652). Most of them are first attested in inscriptions of C3e, but several have a history that stretches back into the Classical period, occasionally even into the Archaic period. Some of them were originally *poleis* (Dystos (no. 369), Grynchai (no. 371), Peraia (no. 375) and Styra (no. 377)), but others were probably demes from the outset. Of all these demes, some were centred on a nucleated settlement, but we cannot be sure that all had such a settlement; dispersed settlement may have dominated in some of the demes.

In the Hellenistic period Histiaia/Oreos was subdivided into some thirty demes, of which only a few can be traced back to the Classical period (*infra* 656), principally those which were originally *poleis* (Athenai Diades (no. 364), Dion (no. 368), Orobiai (no. 378) and Posideion (no. 376)). Herodotos, however, mentions a number of *komai* (8.23.2), and the presumption is that in the Classical period there were quite a few second-order settlements in Histiaian territory, in addition to the *poleis* mentioned above.

This chapter is written jointly by Karl Reber and Mogens Herman Hansen, except for the description of Eretria (no. 370), which is by Mogens Herman Hansen (651–54 and 655) and Pierre Ducrey (654–55). We are grateful to Denis Knoepfler for his numerous and very helpful notes on our manuscript.

Only one single deme of Chalkis is known (*infra* 648), and none of Karystos (*infra* 658), but the presumption is that these two *poleis* were organised like Histiaia/Oreos and Eretria.

The inference is that on the island of Euboia there may have been over 100 nucleated settlements, of which only a dozen or so were *poleis* in the Archaic and early Classical periods, and only four were left by C4m. Thus, like Attika but unlike most other regions, there was in Euboia an astonishing number of second-order settlements compared with *poleis*. With a few additions and omissions, the following list comprises those listed in *Barr.* as settlements of the Archaic and/or Classical periods.

1. *Pre-Hellenistic Settlements not Attested as* Poleis

Aidepsos (*Αἰδηψός* or *Αἴδηψος*) Strabo 10.1.3, 9.4.2; Steph. Byz. 45.13 (*πόλις*); Plin. *HN* 4.64; Ath. 73C; Arist. *Mete.* 366ª29; Plut. *Mor.* 668C; Plut. *Sulla* 26.5. Prehistoric settlement at modern Koumbi. Later moved south to the region near the sulphur springs. Settlement in the territory of Histiaia/Oreos (no. 372) which obtained *polis* status only after the reign of Gordian III (Papavasiliou (1907); Geyer (1903) 89–91; Gregory (1979)). *Barr.* AC.

Aigai (*Αἰγαί*) Hom. *Il.* 13.21 and *Od.* 5.381; Theophr. *Hist. pl.* 9.20.5; Strabo 9.2.13, 8.7.4; Steph. Byz. 39.3; Nonnus, *Dion.* 13.164. Not precisely located, possibly situated near the monastery of Galataki at modern Limni. A deme of Chalkis (no. 365) attested in a Delphic proxeny decree of C4l–C3e (*F.Delphes* III.1 424; cf. Knoepfler (1997) 406 n. 11). A sanctuary of Poseidon is attested (Strabo 9.2.13, but see Knoepfler (2000) 338. According to Bakhuizen (1985) 125–27, not a settlement but the name of Mt. Kandili (Geyer (1903) 91–93). *Barr.* AC.

Aigilea (*Αἰγίλεα*) Hdt. 6.101.1 (*χωρίον*). *Pace Barr.* not an island but a site on the coast of Euboia near Eretria (Knoepfler (1997) 402); the name of the small island west of Styra (no. 377) is Aigleia (Hdt. 6.107.3). Perhaps to be identified with Aigalea (Knoepfler (1997) 425 n. 142), an Eretrian deme belonging to the first district (Knoepfler (1997) 379) and second *phyle* (*IG* XII.9 246A.5). *Barr.* C.

Aiglepheira (*Αἰγλέφειρα*) *IG* XII.9 249B.333. Aiglepheira is attested in C3e as a deme of Eretria (no. 370) belonging to the fourth *phyle* and the first district, and probably situated near nineteenth-century Aglephira (Knoepfler (1997) 366, 403). *Barr.* C.

Amarynthos (*Ἀμάρυνθος*) *IG* XII.9 188.17–18 (*c.*400); Strabo 10.1.10 (*κώμη*); Steph. Byz. 83.17 (*νῆσος* (corruption)); Paus. 1.31.5; Ael. *NA* 12.34. A deme of Eretria (no. 370) attested in lists of citizens of C3e (*IG* XII.9 247; Knoepfler (1997) 397). The famous sanctuary of Artemis Amarysia was probably situated somewhere north of the hill of Palaioekklesias, where there are remains of an ancient settlement (Sapouna-Sakellaraki (1992); Knoepfler (1988), (2001) 139 n. 201). *Barr.* AC.

Argoura (*Ἄργουρα*) Dem. 21.132, 164; Harp. *A*222 (*πόλις*); Steph. Byz. 37.19 (*πόλις*), 114.1 (*τόπος*). Situated in the territory of Chalkis (no. 365) (Harp.), but precise location unknown. Whereas Baumeister places Argoura north of Chalkis (Geyer (1903) 44–45), Knoepfler prefers to identify Argoura with modern Lefkandi on the estuary of the Lelas river (Knoepfler (1981), (1997) 353 with n. 12). Bérard (1985), however, favours the neighbouring "bay of Shelman". Tritle (1992) points to the ancient remains on the hill of Vrakchos at Vasiliko; cf. Coulton (1996). *Barr.* C.

Choireai (*Χοιρέαι*) Hdt. 6.101.1. Situated in the territory of Eretria (no. 370) (Hdt.) and in C3 attested as a deme of Eretria (*IG* XII.9 222.1) situated somewhere in the first district (Knoepfler (1997) 359, 403; cf. Knoepfler (2001) 103–4). Undated in *Barr.* but AC are attested in Hdt.

Ellopia (*Ἑλλοπία*) Hdt. 8.23.2 (*τῆς Ἑλλοπίας μοίρας*; cf. Müller (1987) 320); *P Oxy.* 2528.5–12; Steph. Byz. 268.17 (*χωρίον*); Eusth. *Il.* 1.431.13. Unlocated. Part of the territory of Histiaia/Oreos (no. 372) (Hdt. 8.23.2), but treated as a separate circuit of jurisdiction in the Athenian regulations for Hestiaia of C5s (*IG* I³ 41.102–3; Koch (1991) 203). The tyrant Philistides forced the Ellopians to move to Histiaia/Oreos (Strabo 10.1.3, perhaps quoting Theopomp. fr. 387), describes the migration as a *metoikesis* which took place after the battle of Leuktra [*sic*]). Undated in *Barr.* but C attested.

Elymnion (*Ἐλύμνιον*, *Ἐλυμνία*) Ar. *Pax* 1126 with schol.; Soph. frr. 437, 888; erroneously described as an island by Steph. Byz. 269.19 (*νῆσος Εὐβοίας πόλιν ἔχουσα*) and Hesych. (*E*2226). Tentatively located at modern Limni (Knoepfler (1997) 418 n. 102). In the Archaic period Elymnion belonged to Chalkis (no. 365), and Elymnians were allegedly among those who colonised Kleonai (no. 580) on Athos (Heracl. Lemb. 62), but in the Hellenistic period Elymnion is attested as a deme of Histiaia/Oreos (no. 372) (*IG* XII.9 1187.2 (C3); cf. Gehrke (1994) 339–40; Reber (2002) 42). *Barr.* AC.

Geraistos (*Γεραιστός*) Hom. *Od.* 3.177; Hdt. 8.7.1; Thuc. 3.3.5; Eur. *Cyc.* 295; Dem. 4.34; Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 22.8; Strabo 10.1.2, 7 (*κατοικίαν ἀξιόλογον*); schol. Lucian 21.25 (*πόλις*). The southern promontory of Euboia (*ἀκρωτήριον*, Philoch. fr. 30) with a harbour (Thuc. 3.3.5; schol. Hom. *Od.* 3.177) and a sanctuary of Poseidon (Ps.-Skylax 58; *IG* XII.9 44.14 = *Hesperia* 37 (1968) 189.39ff = *SEG* 44 710 (C3s); Schumacher (1993)). Situated in the territory of Karystos (no. 373) (Hdt. 9.105) at modern Kastri (*Hesperia* 37 (1968) 185). *Barr.* AC.

Harpagion (*Ἁρπάγιον*) Ath. 601F (*τόπος*). Unlocated settlement probably situated in the territory of Chalkis (no. 365) (Geyer (1903) 44) perhaps near Vatonda (Ulrichs (1863) 224) or modern Nea Lampsaksos (Themelis (1969), *pace* Bakhuizen (1985) 142 n. 59). *Barr.* C.

Kerinthos (*Κήρινθος*) Hom. *Il.* 2.538; Theogn. 891; Ps.-Skymnos 576; Strabo 10.1.3, 5 (*πολείδιον*); Plin. *HN* 4.64 (*urbs*). Located to a hill near the sea at modern Krya Vrysi, north of Mantoudi and east of modern Kerinthos, on the estuary of a river identified with the ancient Boudoros (Ulrichs (1863) 227; Pernier (1921); Sampson (1975)). Homer's mention of Kerinthos in the Catalogue of Ships indicates that it was an independent community (Gehrke (1994) 338). According to Strabo 10.1.3, Kerinthos was conquered by the Ellopians and is sometimes classified as a deme of Histiaia/Oreos (no. 372) (Vischer (1877) 598ff; Bakhuizen (1985) 127). A preferable view is that, from the Archaic period on, Kerinthos belonged to Chalkis (Theogn. 891; cf. Gehrke (1994) 338; Knoepfler (1997) 353). *Barr.* AC.

Kotylaion (*Κοτύλαιον*) Nonnus, *Dion.* 13.163. A deme of Eretria (no. 370) (*IG* XII.9 249B.31–44, 368–69; Knoepfler (1997) 368, 384). Named after the neighbouring mountain (Aeschin. 3.86; Steph. Byz. 379.11). The exact location is disputed. Gehrke (1988) 20–30 locates Kotylaion in the region of Mt. Servouni, whereas Knoepfler (1997) 368 prefers a location at modern Vrysi/Episkopi where the mediaeval castle of La Cuppa (Koder (1973) 105–6) stands on top of C4 fortification walls. *Barr.* C.

Kyme (*Κύμη*) Steph. Byz. 392.22 (*πόλις*). The existence of an Euboian Kyme is doubted by some scholars (Knoepfler (1997) 358 and n. 47). According to Gehrke (1994) 341–42, however, the toponym can be traced back to the fifteenth century, which supports the attestation in the sources of an ancient Kyme and indicates a location near modern Kyme on the east coast of Euboia (cf. Reber (2001) 453–54). Possible locations are the hill of Kastro at Ano Potamia (Sampson (1981) 42–45) or the hill of Viglatouri at Oxylithos (Sapouna-Sakellaraki (1998) 59–61). Not in *Barr.*

Kyrnos (*Κύρνος*) Hdt. 9.105. Kyrnos lay in the territory of Karystos (no. 373) but is still unlocated. Herodotos connects the toponym with the battle between the Athenians and the Karystians in the years 476–469. Since Kyrnos is not explicitly called a settlement by Herodotos, it is only hesitatingly included in this list (cf. Geyer (1903) 107; Keller (1985) 200). Not in *Barr.*

Marmarion (*Μαρμάριον*) Strabo 10.1.6; Steph. Byz. 434.2 (*πόλις*); Nonnus, *Dion.* 13.164. Settlement in southern Euboia between Styra (no. 377) and Karystos (no. 373), lying in the territory of Karystos. Renowned for its marble quarries and a sanctuary of Apollo Marmarios. Undated in *Barr.*

Metropolis (*Μητρόπολις*) Steph. Byz. 451.8 (*πόλις*). An unlocated site situated on an eminence in the territory of Histiaia/Oreos (no. 372), fortified and garrisoned by Chabrias in 377/6 (Diod. 15.30.5; see Bakhuizen (1985) 39). Bakhuizen's view ((1972) 137–38, repeated (1985) 39) that Metropolis was the urban centre of Chalkis (no. 365) is correctly rejected by Picard (1979) 253–55, who takes Metropolis to be a small unlocated fortress. However, the name Metropolis suggests that it was the original urban centre of the *polis* of Histiaia (no. 372) before the *metoikesis* to Oreos (Kastro); see *infra* 657. Undated in *Barr.* but C attested by Diod.

Oichalia (*Οἰχαλία*) Hecat. fr. 28 (as emended by Knoepfler (1997) 386–87); Strabo 10.1.10 (*κώμη*); Steph. Byz. 488.2 (*πόλις*); Plin. *HN* 4.64. In the myths Oichalia was a *polis* ruled by Eurytos and destroyed by Herakles (Soph. *Trach.* 74–75, 244, 351–65; Strabo 10.1.10). It is attested in C3e as a deme of Eretria (no. 370) belonging to the first *phyle* (*IG* XII.9 245B.12). It also belonged to the fifth district and has tentatively been located near modern Kyme (Knoepfler (1981) 312, (1997) 385–87). *Barr.* C, but A is attested by Hecat. fr. 28.

Panakton (*Πάνακτον*) Knoepfler (2001) 11.1 (C3–C2). It is attested in C3e as a deme of Eretria (no. 370) belonging to the third *phyle* (*IG* XII.9 247.I.1). It also belonged to the third district and has tentatively been located in the valley of Prasino (Knoepfler (1997), (2001) 155–58). Undated in *Barr.*

Parthenion (*Παρθένιον*) Steph. Byz. 503.19 (*πόλις*). It is attested in C3e as a deme of Eretria (no. 370) belonging to the fourth *phyle* (*IG* XII.9 249B.218–19). It also belonged to the third or fourth district and has tentatively been located at modern Partheni (Knoepfler (1997) 366, 402). *Barr.* C.

Porthmos (*Πορθμός*) Harp. *Π*82 (*πόλις*); schol. Dem. 9.33, no. 37, Dilts (*ἐπίνειον τῆς Ἐρετρίας*); *Suda Π*2074 (*πόλις*). A fortified settlement destroyed by Philip II in 342 (Dem. 9.58, 10.8) situated in the territory of Eretria (no. 370) (Dem. 9.33), but not (yet?) attested as a deme (Knoepfler (1997) 358). On the basis of the similarity with the mediaeval toponym Protimo, a location near modern Aliveri is commonly assumed (Knoepfler (1997) 354, 358); cf. also *IG* XII.9 99 (C2), found in Aliveri and restored [*Πορθ*]*μέων* in Lauffer and Kirsten (1953) 344. *Barr.* C.

Tamynai (*Ταμύναι*) Aeschin. 3.88; Dem. 21.162; Strabo 10.1.10 (*πόλις*); Harp. T3 (*πόλις*); Steph. Byz. 600.6 (*πόλις*); *Suda T*66 (*πόλις*). Situated in the territory of Eretria (Strabo). In C3e attested as a deme of Eretria (no. 370) (*IG* XII.9 249B.87) belonging to the fourth *phyle* and the fourth district and situated at modern Palaiokastro near modern Avlonari (Knoepfler (1997) 403, 438 n. 236). Strabo mentions a sanctuary of Apollo, and Aischines mentions a hippodrome. In 348 a battle was fought at Tamynai between an Athenian force under Phokion and a faction of the Eretrians under Kleitarchos (Aeschin. 2.169; Plut. *Phoc.* 12; cf. Knoepfler (1981); Tritle (1992)). *Barr.* AC.

Teleidai (*Τηλείδαι*) *IG* XII suppl. 555.1.21. Teleidai is attested in C3e as a deme of Eretria (no. 370) belonging to the first *phyle* (*IG* XII.9 245B.306). It also belonged to the fifth district and has tentatively been located near C19 Tilida (Gehrke (1994) 332; Knoepfler (1997) 385). *Barr.* C.

Zarex (*Ζάρητρα*, presumably a corruption of **Ζάρηκα*, Knoepfler (1997) 418 n. 106). Plut. *Phoc.* 13.4. A deme of Eretria (no. 370) (*IG* XII.9 191C.7 (C4l)) belonging to the first *phyle* (*IG* XII.9 245A.7) and the second district (Knoepfler (1997) 403) and situated near modern Zakra/Zarakes (ibid. 357). For recently recovered remains of the Archaic period, see *BCH* 123 (1999) 793–94. *Barr.* AC.[1]

[1] A number of unlocated and undated settlements, some of them presumably spurious, are attested in late sources only: Akontion (*Ἀκόντιον*), Steph. Byz. 61.16 (*πόλις*); Akra (*Ἄκρα*), Steph. Byz. 62.5 (*πόλις*); Akragas (*Ἀκράγας*), Steph. Byz. 62.16 (*πόλις*); Ares Aretos (*Ἄρης Ἄρητος*), Steph. Byz. 117.18, quoting Theopomp. fr. 148 (*χωρίον*), cf. Knoepfler (1997) 411 n. 49; Arethousa (*Ἀρέθουσα*), Steph. Byz. 116.5 (*πόλις*), erroneously mixed up with the fountain near Chalkis (Knoepfler (1997) 353 n. 13); Chios (*Χίος*), Steph. Byz. 693.14 (*πόλις*); Dia (*Δῖα*), Steph. Byz. 229.2 (*πόλις*), erroneously mixed up with Thessalian Dia (Hatzopoulos and Psoma (1998–99)); Eteonos (*Ἐτεωνός*), Steph. Byz. 283.8 (*πόλις*); Kaphereus (*Καφηρεύς*), Steph. Byz. 370.12 (*ἐπίνειον*); Methone (*Μεθώνη*), Steph. Byz. 441.2 (*πόλις*); Nysa (*Νῦσαι*), Steph. Byz. 479.10 (*πόλις*) and Plin. *HN* 4.64; Oreste (*Ὀρέστη*), Steph. Byz. 495.7 (*πόλις*); Rynchai (*Ῥύγχαι*), Steph. Byz. 547.17 (*χωρίον*); cf. no. 371; Siris (*Σιρίς*), Nonnus, *Dion.* 13.163 (*ἕδρα*); Skia (*Σκιά*), Steph. Byz. 574.15 (*πολίχνιον*); Styga (*Στύγα*), Nonnus, *Dion.* 13.163; Sphekeia (*Σφηκεία*), Steph. Byz. 595.7 (*πόλις*); Trychai (*Τρῦχαι*), Steph. Byz. 639.15; cf. no. 371.

2. *Unidentified Settlements of the Archaic and Classical Periods*[2]

Ag. Ilias Classical sherds at the top of a prominent hill near modern Psachna (Sackett *et al.* (1966) 54 no. 30). *Barr.* AC.

Ag. Paraskevi Classical sherds and tombs, walls of monumental building (temple?) (Sackett *et al.* (1966) 56 no. 33) *Barr.* AC.

Ag. Triada Sackett *et al.* (1966) 66 notes a Classical tomb. The modern village of Triada is about 5 km east of Paschna, called Kriezoti in memory of Nikolaus Kriezoti. *Barr.* C.

Ag. Vasileios Abundant evidence of a Classical fortified settlement (Sackett *et al.* (1966) 44–45 no. 14). *Barr.* C.

Arkhampolis The ancient name is not known. M. Wallace (in Keller (1985) 265) suggests Aigai. It is an Archaic and Classical settlement situated in a deep gorge near modern Evangelismos. It covers an area of *c.*1.6 ha and was fortified with walls and towers. Remains of houses, temples and terrace walls are visible (Keller (1985) 263; Panagopoulou (1995); Reber (2001) 451–53). A large quantity of slag testifies to an iron industry from the Archaic period through late Antiquity. *Barr.* C.

Helleniko According to Sackett *et al.* (1966) 42 no. 11, a minor farming settlement, but at Kastradakhi there are remains of a fortification wall. Possibly the site of Posideion (no. 376). *Barr.* AC.

Khironisi A fair-sized Classical site, perhaps to be identified with ancient Dion (no. 378) (Sackett *et al.* (1966) 38–39 no. 4). *Barr.* AC.

Lefkandi A very large settlement from the LH IIIC period through the Geometric period. Deserted *c.*700 (Popham *et al.* (1980); Popham *et al.* (1990–93); Popham and Lemos (1996); see also Morris (2000) 218–56) and Argoura (*supra* 644).

Palaiochori Classical sherds and remains of walls with blocks in position (Sackett *et al.* (1966) 48 no. 20). See Orobiai (no. 374). *Barr.* AC.

Philagra A Classical–Hellenistic fortified site on a hill on the east coast of Euboia near modern Giannitsi. Under the walls of the Venetian castle remains of Classical and

[2] We have omitted two sites recorded as settlements in *Barr.* (1) *Graia*, according to *Barr.* unlocated settlement near Eretria in A and C. (2) *Khili*, *Barr.*'s reference is Sackett *et al.* (1966) 83. According to Knoepfler (1997) 388, *Khili* is a cape.

Hellenistic fortification walls are visible, and the surface is scattered with sherds of these two periods. It is either a fort or a settlement of C4l or C3e (Reber (2001) 454–56).

Prokopion, Kastro A substantial settlement in the Classical period (Sackett *et al.* (1966) 45–46 no. 16). *Barr.* C.

II. The *Poleis*

364. Athenai Diades (Athenites) Map 55. Lat. 38.50, long. 23.00. Size of territory: 1? Type: [A]. The toponym is *Ἀθῆναι Διάδες, αἱ* (Aesch. fr. 61, Mette; *IG* I³ 268.v.28; Strabo 10.1.5). The city-ethnic is *Ἀθηνίτης* (*IG* I³ 71.1.79; *IG* II² 43.90) or, once, *Ἀθηνήτης* (Eratosthenes fr. IIIB 102, Berger) or *Ἀθηναῖος* (*IG* I³ 264.IV.20). Athenai Diades is called a *polis* in the urban sense by Ephor. fr. 24, but only in a mythological context: Ephoros states that the *polis* was founded by Dias, the son of Abas. The political sense is attested in *IG* II² 43.78 and 90, where the Athenitai under the heading *πόλεις* are listed as members of the Second Athenian Naval League. The collective and external use of the city-ethnic is attested in the Athenian tribute lists (*supra*). In C3m the ethnic appears as a demotic (*IG* XII.9 1186.2).

According to Strabo 10.1.5, Athenai Diades was situated at Cape Kenaion near Oreos. However, the urban centre has not yet been precisely located. Ulrichs (1863) 237 identified Athenai Diades with Dion (no. 368) and suggested a location at modern Lichas. The separate listing of Dion and Athenai Diades in the Athenian tribute lists disproves the identification, and, following Vischer (1857) 661, the prevailing view is that Athenai Diades should be identified with the hill of Kastelli at Gialtra Loutra (Sackett *et al.* (1966) 37 no. 3). Nothing is known about the size of the territory; but since the Kenaion peninsula accommodated both Athenai Diades and Dion, the territory can hardly have exceeded 25 km². The hill of Kastelli at Gialtra Loutra has never been excavated. It seems appropriate for an acropolis, and remains of walls can be seen at various places. Surface finds indicate that the site was settled continuously from the Neolithic until the Roman period (Sackett *et al.* (1966) 37 no. 3; Reber (2001) 456 fig. 13).

Athenai Diades was a member of the Delian League and may have been among the original members (*ATL* iii. 198–99). It belonged to the Island district (*IG* I³ 269.v.26) and is recorded in the tribute lists mostly by toponym (*IG* I³ 263.IV.32) but sometimes by city-ethnic (*IG* I³ 279.I.85) from 452/1 (*IG* I³ 261.III.26) to 416/15 (*IG* I³ 289.I.12), a total of thirteen times, three times completely restored, paying a *phoros* of 2,000 dr. (*IG* I³ 264.IV.20) raised to 4,000 dr. (*IG* I³ 268.v.28) in, probably, 445/4 (*IG* I³ 267.IV.28), reduced to 2,000 dr. in 443/2 (*IG* I³ 269.v.26) and raised again to 4,000 dr. in 416/15 (*IG* I³ 289.I.12). It was assessed for tribute in 425/4 (*IG* I³ 71.I.79 (1 tal.)). Athenai Diades (and Dion (no. 368)) are attested as dependencies of Histiaia/Oreos (no. 372) in the last decade of C5 (*IG* XII.9 188.18–19 = *Staatsverträge* 205: post-411; Knoepfler (2001) nn. 338–39: post-404).

Athenai Diades must have recovered its independence in C4e since it is recorded among the original members of the Second Athenian Naval League (*IG* II² 43.90), whereas the Histiaians are recorded somewhat later (B18). The Athenitai may have left the League together with Thebes (no. 221) in 371 or shortly afterwards (Dreher (1995) 173).

Thus the presumption is that Athenai Diades was a *polis* in the political sense down to C4f. In Ps.-Skylax 58, however, Euboia is described as a *tetrapolis*, cf. Dem. 23.213 and lines 14–15 of *IG* II² 124 which seem to presuppose a total of four *poleis* on Euboia in 357. The inference is that by C4m Athenai must have been incorporated into Histiaia/Oreos (no. 372) (Knoepfler (1997) 352), and in C3m it is duly attested as a Histiaian deme (*IG* XII.9 1186.2).

365. Chalkis (Chalkideus) Map 55. Lat. 38.25, long. 23.35. Size of territory: 5. Type: A. The toponym is *Χαλκίς, -ίδος, ἡ* (Hom. *Il.* 2.537; Hecat. fr. 129; Aeschin. 3.89; *IG* I³ 41.71). In order to distinguish Euboian Chalkis from homonymous cities, it is sometimes called *Χαλκὶς ἡ ἐν Εὐρίπῳ* (Aen. Tact. 4.1). According to Hecat. fr. 129 the toponym was originally *Εὔβοια*, perhaps to be identified with modern Lefkandi (Bakhuizen (1985) 96). The city-ethnic is *Χαλκιδεύς* (Aeschin. 3.89; *CEG* 179.3 (*c.*505)), sometimes further specified: *Χαλκιδεύς τῶν ἀπ' Εὐρίπου* (*IG* XII.6 42.15 (C4l)) or *Χαλκιδεῖς οἱ ἐξ Εὐβοίας* (Xen. *Hell.* 4.2.17). Chalkis is called a *polis* both in the political sense (*IG* I³ 40.5; *IG* II² 44.14; Philiskos fr. 3, *CGF*) and in the urban sense (Hecat. fr. 129; Eur. *Iph. Aul.* 168; Aen. Tact. 4.1; Ps.-Skylax 58). The collective use of the the city-ethnic is attested internally in abbreviated form on C6–C5 coins (*infra*) and externally in inscriptions (*CEG* 179.3; *IG* I³ 40.5, 21) and in literary sources (Hdt. 5.99; Arist. *Pol.* 1289ᵇ39). The individual and external use is attested in inscriptions (*CID* II 31.79 (345/4)) and in literary sources (Aeschin. 3.89).

The territory of Chalkis is called *ἡ ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ Χαλκιδική* (Arist. *Hist. an.* 496*b*25–26). To the south Chalkis bordered on Eretria (no. 370), and according to Bakhuizen (1985) 127–31 the frontier followed the mountain

ridge of Voudochi, Olympos, Xirovouni and Skoteini, ending at modern Kimi. According to Knoepfler, however, it ran east of the river Lelantos, and the territory of Chalkis included Argoura, now located south of the river (Knoepfler (1997) 353; cf. (1981)). To the north Chalkis bordered on Histiaia/Oreos (no. 372). The frontier was at Mts. Kandili and Pyxaria (Bakhuizen (1985) 127–31), but, at least in the Archaic period, the territory included Kerinthos north of Pyxaria (Thgn. 891–94; Gehrke (1994) 336–39; Knoepfler (1997) 352–53 with n. 10) but not Elymnion (Gehrke (1994) 339–40; Knoepfler (1997) 418 with n. 102). In C4 it covered *c.*825 km².

Part of Euboia was called *Διακρία* (*Etym. Magn.* 268.3; schol. Lycoph. *Alex.* 374), presumably to be located in Chalkidian territory north-east of Chalkis (Geyer (1903) 45; Knoepfler (1997) 376 with n. 194). This region seems, at least in C5, to have been the home of two different communities, which, in the Athenian tribute lists, are recorded separately from the *Χαλκιδῆς* (*IG* I³ 71.I.71), *sc.* the *Διακρῆς ἀπὸ Χαλκιδέον* (no. 367; *IG* I³ 71.I.83–84) and the *Διάκριοι ἐν Εὐβοίαι* (no. 366) (*IG* I³ 71.I.93–94); see infra 650.

Like most other Euboian *poleis*, Chalkis was subdivided into *demoi*, of which only one is attested: a Delphian decree of *c.*315–285 (*F.Delphes* III.1 424.1–2) bestows proxeny on [Kl]eochares of Chalkis of the deme of Aigai, (*δήμου Αἰ[γ]αίων*, a restoration of *ΛΙ.ΛΙΩΝ*; cf. Strabo 8.7.4, 9.2.13; see Jones, *POAG* 73; Knoepfler (1997) 406 n. 11).

Next to nothing is known about the history of Chalkis before 506. Apart from colonisation (*infra* 649), the only event reported in the sources is the semi-mythical Lelantine War, fought in C8s or C7f between Eretria (no. 370) and Chalkis and their allies over the possession of the Lelantine Plain (Parker (1997); *infra* 652). In 506 the Chalkidians joined the Peloponnesians and the Boiotians in an abortive attack on Athens (no. 361) (Hdt. 5.74.2). The Athenians then invaded Euboia and inflicted a defeat on the Chalkidians; they confiscated the land belonging to the *hippobotai* and gave it to 4,000 klerouchs (Hdt. 5.77; *CEG* 179). In 480 the Athenians handed over twenty hulls of triremes to the Chalkidians on which they fought in the battles of Artemision (Hdt. 8.1.2) and Salamis (Hdt. 8.46.2). They are recorded on the Serpent Column (ML 27.8). Chalkis was a member of the Delian League, and may have been among the original members (*ATL* iii. 198–99). It belonged to the Island district (*IG* I³ 269.v.31) and is recorded in the tribute lists from 448/7 (*IG* I³ 264.IV.23) to 416/15 (*IG* I³ 289.I.31, partly restored), a total of eleven times, three times completely restored, paying a *phoros* of 5 tal. in 448/7 (*IG* I³ 264.IV.23), reduced (*sic*) to 3 tal. after the revolt of 446 (*IG* I³ 270.v.32 (442/1)). It was assessed for tribute in 425/4 (*IG* I³ 71.I.71, 10 tal.), and in 413 Chalkis was still listed among the paying members (Thuc. 7.57.4). In 446 Chalkis defected from Athens; but the revolt was quenched by an Athenian army under Perikles (Thuc. 1.114.1–3; Plut. *Per.* 23.4). Chalkis may have defected once again in 424/3 together with other Euboian *poleis* (Philoch. fr. 130). The treaty between Athens and Chalkis (*IG* I³ 40) by which Chalkis was brought back into the League may belong in either year. It is dated to 446/5 in *IG* I³ but to 424/3 by Mattingly (1996) 53–67, 161–62, 372–77, 391–94. The treaty prescribed that the Chalkidians swear loyalty towards Athens (21–23) and give hostages (47); moreover, their self-government in administration of justice was restricted in matters punishable by death, exile or loss of rights (74–76); cf. Balcer (1978). Chalkis was still loyal to Athens in 411 (Thuc. 8.95.6) but defected after the Athenian defeat at Eretria (Thuc. 8.95.7; Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 33.1; Diod. 13.47.3). During the rule of the Thirty, many Athenian democrats fled to Chalkis (Lys. 24.25).

Chalkis was among the original members of the Second Athenian Naval League (*IG* II² 43.80; Diod. 15.30.1), and a treaty between Athens and Chalkis was concluded in 378/7 (*IG* II² 44). But together with Thebes (no. 221) and the other Euboian *poleis*, Chalkis left the League in 371 (Xen. *Hell.* 6.5.23; Dreher (1995) 173) and fought against the Athenians at Mantinea in 362 (Diod. 15.85.2, 6). In 357, Chalkis was torn by *stasis* between a pro-Theban and a pro-Athenian faction (Aeschin. 3.85–86; Diod. 16.7.2), and was presumably conquered by exiles operating from Eretria (Aen. Tact. 4.1–4). Both the Thebans and the Athenians invaded Euboia; the Thebans were expelled from Euboia (Dem. 22.14); a new treaty was concluded, and Chalkis rejoined the Naval League (*IG* II² 124.16, 147; Aeschin. 3.85). In 349/8 an Athenian army under Phokion was sent to assist Ploutarchos of Eretria. It landed at Argoura on Chalkidian territory (Dem. 21.132) and was opposed by an Euboian army under Kallias of Chalkis (Aeschin. 3.86–87). Phokion won the battle of Tamynai (Aeschin. 2.169–70; Plut. *Phoc.* 12–13), a peace was concluded, and Chalkis rejoined the Naval League (*IG* II² 125; Aeschin. 2.12, 3.88). In 340 some kind of short-lived league with a common council was established under the leadership of Kallias of Chalkis (Aeschin. 3.89, 94; *Staatsverträge* 342); it included Chalkis, Eretria (no. 370) and Histiaia/Oreos (no. 372). Because of the contemporary issue of a common Euboian coinage (*supra* 643; *infra*) the union has sometimes been interpreted as a federation (*Staatsverträge* 342; Picard (1979)), but see Beck (1997) 28.

The constitution of Chalkis (Gehrke, *Stasis* 37–41) was among the 158 *politeiai* described by Aristotle and his pupils (frr. 618–20). In the Archaic period oligarchy alternated with tyranny (Arist. *Pol.* 1316^{a}31–32; Hes. *Op.* 654–57), and in one case a tyranny may even have been followed by what Aristotle classifies as a democracy (Arist. *Pol.* 1304^{a}29–31; see Aubonnet *ad loc.* and *LGPN* I s.v. *Φόξος*). In C6l Chalkis was an oligarchy governed by a class of *hippobotai* (Arist. *Pol.* 1289^{b}36–39; Hdt. 77.2), in another context described as an aristocracy based on a census requirement (Arist. fr. 618). After the Athenian victory in 506, the *hippobotai* were expelled, and their property handed over to 4,000 Athenian klerouchs (Hdt. 5.77.2). A brief democratic interlude may have followed (Thgn. 893–94); but the *hippobotai* returned when the Athenian klerouchs were withdrawn in 490 in connection with the Persian invasion of Euboia (Hdt. 6.100), and they were still in power when Perikles invaded Euboia in 446 (Plut. *Per.* 23.4). After the surrender of Chalkis, the *hippobotai*'s property was confiscated, divided into 2,000 *kleroi* and given to, probably, the other Chalkidians and some foreigners (Ael. *VH* 6.1). It is unlikely that the Athenians sent klerouchs to Chalkis as they did to Histiaia/Oreos (no. 372) (Figueira (1991) 256–60). There is no direct evidence, but the ensuing treaty between Athens and Chalkis (*IG* I^{3} 40) indicates that from now on Chalkis had a democratic constitution (Gehrke, *Stasis* 40). In 357 there may have been an outbreak of *stasis* in Chalkis as there was in the other Euboian *poleis* (Diod. 16.7.2). In the 340s Chalkis was ruled by Mnesarchos and his sons, Taurosthenes and, especially, Kallias. They were probably democratic leaders, and there is no reason to trust Aischines' allegation that they were tyrants (3.89, 92). Both obtained Athenian citizenship (Hyp. 1.20; Din 1.44), probably in 341/40 (Osborne (1983) T 73).

Together with the other Euboian *poleis*, Chalkis was a member of the Amphictyonic League (Lefèvre (1998) 59–63) and provided in some years one of the two Ionian *hieromnemones* (*CID* II 32.44; 74.I.34–35). Athenian envoys were sent to Chalkis (*IG* II^{2} 124.16), and Chalkidian envoys were sent to Athens (*IG* I^{3} 40.12–17; *IG* II^{2} 44.8; Aeschin. 3.91).

No public enactment antedating the Hellenistic period is preserved and the only attested political institution is a *boule* referred to as a decision-making institution in 446/5 (*IG* I^{3} 40.62–63).

The only cults attested in classical sources are those of Zeus Olympios (*IG* I^{3} 40.35, 61–62) and Athena (*IG* II^{2} 44.17). Two Chalkidian citizens are attested as victors in the Olympic Games (*Olympionikai* 121 in 532 and 459 in 332) and one in the Pythian games (Plin. *HN* 35.35 (C5)). In C4m Chalkis was a walled city with an agora (Aen. Tact. 4.1–4; cf. Strabo 10.1.8 (r334)) and, in the agora, a funeral monument of C6? set over Kleomachos of Pharsalos (Plut. *Mor.* 761A; Bakhuizen (1985) 24–25). The acropolis was at Mt. Vathrovoúnia in the south-east part of the city. The acropolis and part of the city as well were protected by a C4e circuit wall of *c.*2 km enclosing an area of *c.*12.5 ha. In 411 the town of Chalkis was connected with the mainland by a bridge, and in 334 a fortress was erected on a hill immediately west of the bridge near Aulis (Diod. 13.47.3–6; Strabo 10.1.8; Bakhuizen (1985) 48–52). The harbour is mentioned at Ps.-Skylax 58; cf. Thuc. 8.95.6. At Chalkis there are a number of natural harbours, but no ancient remains have been found (Bakhuizen (1985) 54–57). A rock on the Kallimani hill is inscribed *ΦΟΙ* : *ΟΡΟΣ*, probably a boundary mark of C4e (*ArchDelt* 31 (1976) 147).

Chalkis struck silver coins *c.*550–506, *c.*490–465, and coins of silver and bronze *c.*337–308. Coins were struck first on the Euboic standard (tridrachm, drachm, hemidrachm), later on the Attic standard (tetradrachm, didrachm and tetrobol). (1) Silver C6: *obv.* facing quadriga (tridrachm) or facing horseman and horse (drachm) or facing horseman (hemidrachm); *rev.* incuse of mill-sail pattern. (2) Silver C6–C5: *obv.* eagle in flight, sometimes carrying a snake; *rev.* wheel in square or triangular incuse. Legend: *ΨΑΛ*. (3) A small issue of tetradrachms of probably 506 has *obv.* Boiotian shield. Legend: *Ψ*. *Rev.* wheel of Chalkis (Kraay (1976) 90). (4) Silver (drachm, hemidrachm, obol, hemiobol) and bronze 337–308; *obv.* head of the nymph Chalkis (silver) or bust of Hera (bronze); *rev.* eagle carrying a snake. Legend: *ΧΑΛ* (Picard (1979) 16–54). (5) "Federal" issues of C4. Silver (tetradrachm, didrachm, drachm): *obv.* head of nymph Euboia; *rev.* bull. Bronze: *obv.* head of nymph Euboia or bull; *rev.* grapes. Legend: *ΕΥ* or *ΕΥΒ* (Head, *HN*^{2} 357–59; Kraay (1976) 89–91; *SNG Cop. Aetolia-Euboea* 432–46; for the "federal" issues, see Wallace (1956); Kraay (1976) 93; Picard (1979); Brunner (1998)).

Chalkis was involved in the colonisation of Naxos (no. 41), Zankle (no. 51), Kyme (no. 57), Neapolis (no. 63), Pithekoussai (no. 65), Rhegion (no. 68), Kleonai (no. 580) and possibly Skiathos (no. 520). Furthermore, on the basis primarily of onomastic similarity, Chalkis is often assumed to have been heavily involved in the colonisation of the Chalkidic peninsula; see further Flensted-Jensen (1998) 57–70 with refs. and (2000) 125–31 with refs.

366. Diakrioi en Euboia Map 55. Unlocated, not in *Barr.* Type: C. *Διακρία* (*Etym. Magn.* 268.3) or *Διάκρια* (schol.

Lycoph. *Alex.* 374) denotes the Euboian mountain district north-east of Chalkis (no. 365) (Bakhuizen (1985) 141 n. 49). This region was inhabited by the Διάκριοι (*IG* I³ 71.I.94; Lycoph. *Alex.* 375) and the Διακρεῖς (no. 367) (*IG* I³ 71.I.83; see *supra* 643).

The Διάκριοι ἐν Εὐβοίαι were members of the Delian League. They belonged to the Island district (*IG* I³ 71.I.93–94) and are recorded twice in the tribute lists, in 429/8 (*IG* I³ 282.III.24) and in 417/16 (*IG* I³ 288.I.2–3), in both cases heavily but plausibly restored, paying a *phoros* of 1 tal. and 2,000 dr. (*IG* I³ 282.III.24). They were assessed for tribute in 425/4 (*IG* I³ 71.I.94: 1 tal., 2,000 dr.).

Membership of the Delian League indicates that the Diakrioi constituted a self-governing political community, but there is no indication that it was centred on a nucleated settlement. For the possible identification of the Diakrioi en Euboia with the Eretrian deme of Peraia, see no. 375.

367. Diakres apo Chalkideon Map 55. Unlocated. Type: [A]. On Diakria, see no. 366. The Athenian assessment decree of 425/4 records both the Διακρεῖς ἀπὸ Χαλκιδέον (*IG* I³ 71.I.83–84) and the Διάκριοι ἐν Εὐβοίαι (no. 366) (*IG* I³ 71.I.93–94). The Diakres must accordingly have been different from the Diakrioi, and formed perhaps a short-lived splinter community of Chalkis (no. 365) settled in the Diakria in the northern part of the territory of Chalkis in the years after 446 when Chalkis was controlled by Athens (no. 361) (Geyer (1924) 224). The Diakres are recorded in the tribute lists from 434/3 (*IG* I³ 278.VI.25–26) to 416/15 (*IG* I³ 289.I.15–16), a total of six times, twice completely restored, paying a *phoros* of first 800 dr. (*IG* I³ 278.VI.25) but 3,000 dr. in 416/15 (*IG* I³ 289.I.15–16). It was assessed for tribute in 425/4 (*IG* I³ 71.I.83–84: 2,000 dr.). In 434/3 the Diakres appear as the fourth of thirteen communities listed under the heading πόλεις (*IG* I³ 278.VI.18 and 25–26).

Membership of the Delian League indicates that the Diakres constituted a self-governing political community, but there is no indication that it was centred on a nucleated settlement.

368. Dion (Dieus) Map 55. Lat. 38.50, long. 22.50. Size of territory: 1? Type: [A]. The toponym is Δῖον, τό (Hom. *Il.* 2.538; Strabo 10.1.5; Steph. Byz. 232.2). The city-ethnic is Διεύς (*IG* II² 43.88). Apart from πτολίεθρον at Hom.*Il.* 2.538, Steph. Byz. is the only source in which Dion explicitly is called a *polis*; but the political sense is implicitly attested in *IG* II² 43.78 and 88, where the Dieis under the heading πόλεις are listed as members of the Second Athenian Naval League; and membership of the Delian League and the Second Athenian Naval League strongly indicates *polis* status until, at least, 371 (*infra*). The external use of the city-ethnic/demotic is attested collectively in the Athenian tribute lists (*IG* I³ 263.IV.31) and individually in Hellenistic inscriptions (*IG* XII.9 1187.3 (C3m); *SEG* 34 909.52 (C2–C1)).

According to Strabo 10.1.5, Dion was situated at Cape Kenaion near Oreos. However, the urban centre has not yet been precisely located. Following Ulrichs ((1863) 237, see *supra* 647), Geyer (1903) 99 suggested a location at modern Lichas. Sapouna-Sakellaraki (1994–95), followed by *Barr.*, prefers the hill of Kastri on the western shore of the Kenaion peninsula. But Homer describes Dion as an αἰπὺ πτολίεθρον (Hom. *Il.* 2.538; cf. Nonnus, *Dion.* 13.161: κραναὸν πέδον), and in the Athenian tribute lists the Dians are often specified as Διεῖς ἀπὸ Κεναίο (*IG* I³ 279.I.86). The presumption is that Dion was situated somewhere on Mt. Kenaion. Lichas would fit, but autopsy (Reber) revealed nothing but remains of the Byzantine period. An alternative location is Khironisi, whose position fits the information given by Ptol. *Geog.* 3.15.25 (cf. Reber (2001) 456–60).

Dion was a member of the Delian League, and may have been among the original members (*ATL* iii. 198–99). It belonged to the Island district (*IG* I³ 269.V.25) and is recorded in the tribute lists from 451/50 (*IG* I³ 262.I.28) to 432/1 (*IG* I³ 280.I.80), a total of twelve times, once completely restored, paying a *phoros* of 1,000 dr. in 451/50, but in all subsequent years 2,000 dr. (*IG* I³ 264.IV.31). It was assessed for tribute in 425/4 (*IG* I³ 71.I.78). From the Athenian regulations for Histiaia/Oreos (no. 372) of C5s it appears that Dion was a deme of Histiaia/Oreos, but was a separate circuit of jurisdiction (*IG* I³ 41.100–2 = *SEG* 32 3; Koch (1991) 175, 202). Similarly, Dion (and Athenai Diades (no. 364)) are attested as dependencies of Histiaia/Oreos in the last decade of C5 (*IG* XII.9 188.18–19 = *Staatsverträge* 205, post-411; Knoepfler (2001) nn. 338–39, post-404). Thus, in C5s, Dion seems to have had a double status partly as a *polis* depending on Histiaia/Oreos and partly as a *demos* of Histiaia/Oreos.

Dion must have recovered its independence in C4e, since it is recorded among the original members of the Second Athenian Naval League (*IG* II² 43.88), whereas the Histiaians are recorded somewhat later (B18). Dion may have left the League together with Thebes (no. 221) in 371 or shortly afterwards (Dreher (1995) 173). The presumption is that Dion was a *polis* in the political sense down to C4f. In Ps.-Skylax 58, however, Euboia is described as a *tetrapolis*; cf. Dem. 23.213 and the treaty with Athens of 357 (*IG* II² 124.15–16), which testifies to a total of four *poleis* on Euboia in 357. The inference is that by C4m Dion had been incorporated into

Histiaia/Oreos (no. 372) (Moggi, *Sin.* 290–92). In C3m Dion is attested as a deme of Histiaia/Oreos (*IG* XII.9 1187.3).

369. Dystos Map 55. Lat. 38.20, long. 24.10. Size of territory: 1? Type: A. The toponym is *Δύστος, ὁ* (Theopomp. fr. 149; *IG* XII.9 88.3, Rom.). Steph. Byz. 246.5 suggests an ethnic *Δύστιος*, but inscriptions invariably record the ablative form of the toponym: *Δυστό(θεν)* (*IG* XII.9 191.9; cf. Knoepfler (2001) 357), mostly in an even more abbreviated form: either *Δυστ* or *Δυς* or *Δυ* (ibid.).

Dystos is called a *polis* in the urban sense by Theopomp. fr. 149: *Θεόπομπος ἐν Φιλιππικῶν κδ "ἀποστήσας δὲ τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ περιοικίδι τῶν Ἐρετριέων ἐστράτευσεν ἐπὶ πόλιν Δύστον"*. Since the fragment comes from the fourteenth book of the *Philippika*, the year must be 349/8. Following Knoepfler (1981) 301, we believe that the subject of the verb is probably Kleitarchos, the exiled political leader who with a contingent of Phokian mercenaries and supported by Eretrian citizens attacked the tyrant Ploutarchos, controlled the Eretrian *perioikis*, and attacked the *polis* of Dystos. Theopompos' use of the term *polis* is open to three different interpretations: (1) *Polis* is used in the sense of town without any implications about the political status of the community (thus Knoepfler (1997) 332). (2) Theopompos was misinformed and believed, erroneously, that Dystos was a *polis* (a possibility suggested by Hansen and Nielsen (2000) 145). (3) Like Grynchai (no. 371) and Styra (no. 377), Dystos had once been a *polis*, but was transformed into an Eretrian deme in, probably, C5f, and now combined the status of being an Eretrian civic subdivision with being a kind of dependent *polis* (thus Hansen and Nielsen (2000) 145–46; cf. Hansen (2000) 209–10). This view is supported by the fact that Dystos was the dominant, perhaps even the only deme of the sixth Eretrian *phyle* (cf. Knoepfler (1997) 403).

The size of the territory is unknown. At the southern end of the valley of Dystos is a rock inscription *ΟΡΟΣ ΔΗΜΟΥ* (Apostolidis and Apostolidis (1990–91), and a boundary stone with the same inscription was found at the foot of the hill near the chapel of Ag. Giorgios (*IG* XII.9 78 (C5–C4); Apostolidis and Apostolidis (1990–91)). Dystos is attested as a settlement in the prehistoric period (Sackett *et al.* (1966) 76 no. 84) and was refounded in the Archaic period (Hoepfner (1999) 352). Dystos may have been a Dryopian settlement (Geyer (1903) 111). In C4 it was an Eretrian deme belonging to the second district (Knoepfler (1997) 381).

The characteristic hill in the valley of Dystos accommodated both the acropolis and the settlement. Long stretches are preserved of a C4 defence circuit with interval towers and a gate in the eastern part. The circuit encloses an area of *c.*5 ha. From the gate a road leads to a large terrace in the northern part of the town where, probably, the agora was situated. Many of the houses are well preserved and in some cases a second storey can be traced. House K dates from C6, and the more elaborate house J probably from C4. The acropolis on the top of the hill was fortified with a separate defence circuit. Some foundations of buildings not yet excavated may be remains of sanctuaries. An undated subterranean gallery was discovered in 1998 (*BCH* 123 (1999) 794). The cemeteries lay at the foot of the hill (Hoepfner (1999)). West of the hill was a lake, now drained. This lake has traditionally been identified as the lake drained by Chairephanes (*IG* XII.9 191 (322–308)), but Knoepfler (1997) 380–81 has pointed out that this lake was situated near Ptechai, which belonged to a different district from that of Dystos; cf. Knoepfler (2001) 191–94.

370. Eretria (Eretrieus) Map 55. Lat. 38.25, long. 23.50. Size of territory: 5. Type: A. The toponym is *Ἐρέτρια, ἡ* (*IG* XII.9 196.10, 12 (C4s); Hdt. 1.61.2; Lys. 20.14). The toponym usually denotes the urban centre (Ps.-Skylax 58) but sometimes the city plus hinterland = the territory of Eretria (*IG* XII.9 197.12–14 (C4); cf. Knoepfler (2001) 53). The city-ethnic is *Ἐρετριεύς* (*IvO* 248 (C5e); ML 27.8 (479); *IG* XII.9 188.17 (*c.*400); Xen. *An.* 7.8.8; Arist. *Pol.* 1289^{b}39). Variant forms of the city-ethnic are *Ἐρέτριος* or *Ἐρετριαῖος* or *Ἐρετριάτης*. But they are found only in late lexicographers and have no authority (Steph. Byz. 276.8–9; *Etym. Magn.* 371.7; Phot. *Lex.*).

Eretria is called a *polis* both in the urban sense (*IG* XII.9 196.10–11; Thuc. 8.95.3, 6; Dem. 9.57; Ps.-Skylax 58) and in the political sense (*IG* XII.9 187.9 (*c.*410); *IG* II² 16.B.2 (394/3); Knoepfler (2001) 1.6–7 (C4s), 3.7 (330–320); Hdt. 6.106.2; Aeschin. 3.94). In an inscription of C6s, *polis* denotes the urban centre rather than the acropolis (*SEG* 41 725B = *Nomima* I 91; cf. Flensted-Jensen *et al.* (2000) 165). The community is described as *patris* in one of Plato's epigrams (*AG* 7 256 = Diehl fr. 10, but perhaps spurious) and the town as an *asty* (Thuc. 8.95.4). The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally in Eretrian citizenship and proxeny decrees (Knoepfler (2001) 1.10–11; *IG* XII.9 187B.12 (C4f), 195.5 (C4s)) and externally in a C5e dedication in Olympia (*IvO* 248) and on the Serpent Column (ML 27.8). The individual and external use is attested in a casualty list of 424/3(?) from Tanagra (*IG* VII 585.1.16–17), in a Delphic list of *tamiai* of 337/6 (*CID* II 74.47), and in a C4m list of *proxenoi* of Karthaia (no. 492) (*IG* XII.5 542a8).

The territory of Eretria is called ἡ Ἐρετρία (Thuc. 8.60.1, 8.95.6) or ἡ Ἐρετρικὴ χώρη (Hdt. 6.101.1; cf. Pl. *Leg.* 698D). In C4m it covered *c.*1500 km² and was subdivided into five districts (Knoepfler (1997) 371–73, map on 402), called χῶροι (*IG* XII.9 189.24–25; Knoepfler (1997) 376). To date, only one district is known by name: *viz.* Μεσόχωρος (*IG* XII.9 241.37; Knoepfler (1997) 375–77). Each district was further subdivided into a number of territorial demes (*IG* XII.9 241; Wallace (1947) 119–24; Knoepfler (1997) 371), actually called δῆμοι (*SEG* 41 723; Knoepfler (1997) 374) and each headed by a demarch (Δήμαρχος, *IG* XII.9 189.23–24). There were altogether some fifty-five to sixty demes (Knoepfler (1997) 358), of which more than fifty are attested in the preserved inscriptions (Jones, *POAG* 75–76 with *corrigenda* in Knoepfler (1997) 355–58). Some of the demes were former *poleis* which had been incorporated into Eretria and reduced to the status of *demoi.* Such were Styra (no. 377), possibly, Grynchai (no. 371) and Dystos (no. 369) and, perhaps, Peraia (no. 375).

The Eretrian citizen body was subdivided into, probably, six tribes (Knoepfler (1997) 390–92), called *phylai* (*SEG* 45 1141). Two of them are known by name: *viz.* Μηκισστίς (*IG* XII *suppl.* 548.4–5 = *Nomima* I 39 (C5e)) and Ναρκίττις (*REG* 108 (1995) p. xxxix). A third was probably called Μελανηίς (Strabo 10.1.10; Knoepfler (1997) 393). They were named after local heroes and were thus different from the six old Ionian *phylai* (Knoepfler (1997) 392–93). Each *phyle* was composed of a number of demes drawn from all five *choroi.* Thus, one *phyle* comprised all citizens from twelve demes plus some citizens from the demes of Grynchai, Pereia and Styra whose members were divided between all six Eretrian *phylai* (*IG* XII.9 245 and *Suppl.* 555; Knoepfler (1997) 393–400). Whereas the organisation into *phylai* must go back to *c.*500 or earlier, the subdivision into five districts must have been introduced some time in C4f (Knoepfler (1997) 392).

According to Strabo 10.1.10, Eretrias' military strength was recorded on an ancient *stele* set up in the sanctuary of Artemis Amarysia. The figures he reports are 3,000 hoplites, 600 *hippeis* and 60 chariots. For the *andrapodismos* of 490, see *infra.* In C4l Eretria had some 6,000 adult male citizens, as can be inferred retrospectively from a cluster of lists of names of *c.*280 (Knoepfler (1997) 395). (a) From a fragmentary list of ephebes organised into the five districts (*IG* XII.9 241 = Wallace (1947) 120 (C4l–C3e)) it can be inferred that a year class of ephebes numbered some 150–200 young Eretrians, both hoplites and *psiloi* (cf. Knoepfler (1997) 404). (b) Some large lists of names with patronymics and demotics are probably a roster of Eretrians organised into their *phylai* (I: *IG* XII.9 245; II: *IG* XII.9 246; III: *IG* XII.9 247 + 252 + unpublished fragment (Knoepfler (1997) 397); IV: unpublished fragment (Knoepfler (1997) n. 318); V–VI: no lists preserved)); see Knoepfler (1997) 395–400. *IG* XII.9 245 is almost complete and has 869 names preserved, plus about sixty names now lost = a total of 930 names. On the assumption that there were six *phylai* of equal size, *c.*5,500 Eretrians were recorded on the lists. A year class of 150–200 ephebes corresponds to a force of some 4,200–5,000 citizens of military age (18–59) and fit for military service, and to a total adult male citizen population of *c.*5,750–6,850 minimum, including those over 60 and those unfit for military service (Hansen (1985) 12). Since the army seems to have been organised in accordance with the five districts, the presumption is that the lists organised into *phylai* were a roster of all adult male Eretrian citizens.

Next to nothing is known about the history of Eretria before *c.*500. Apart from colonisation (*infra*), the only event reported in the sources is the semi-mythical Lelantine War, fought in C8s or in C7f (Plut. *Mor.* 868E; Parker (1997)) between Eretria and Chalkis (no. 365) and their allies over the possession of the Lelantine Plain (Thuc. 1.15.3; Hdt. 5.99.1; Strabo 10.1.12; Hes. *Op.* 654 and Plut. *Mor.* 153F, 760E–761A; cf. *Staatsverträge* 102). In 499 Eretria supported the Ionian revolt with five triremes (Hdt. 5.99.1). Their crews assisted in the capture of Sardes, and their *strategos* was killed in the ensuing battle of Ephesos (Hdt. 5.102.3; cf. also Lysanias (*FGrHist* 426) fr. 1). Therefore, Eretria was the first main target of the Persian punitive expedition against Hellas in 490 (Hdt. 6.98.1). Having pillaged the countryside, the Persians laid siege to Eretria, and on the seventh day the city was betrayed by two leading citizens and conquered (Hdt. 6.100–1); the sanctuaries were burnt down, and the population exposed to *andrapodismos*: men, women and children were sent to Sousa and were settled in the neighbourhood where their descendants still lived in C5m (Hdt. 6.106.2, 107.2, 115, 118–19; Pl. *Menex.* 240A; Philostr. *VA* 1.24, probably based on Ktesias (letter from Knoepfler)). In spite of the *andrapodismos* the Eretrians were capable of fighting with seven triremes at Artemision (Hdt. 8.1.2) and at Salamis (Hdt. 8.46.2). Together with Styra (no. 377) they provided 600 hoplites at Plataiai (Hdt.9.28.5) and are duly recorded on the Serpent Column (ML 27.8).

Eretria was a member of the Delian League, and may have been among the original members (*ATL* iii. 198–99). It belonged to the Island district (*IG* I³ 269.v.30) and is recorded in the tribute lists from 448/7 (*IG* I³ 264.iv.11) to 430/29 (*IG* I³ 281.ii.51), a total of nine times, twice completely

restored, paying a *phoros* of, perhaps, 6 tal. (*IG* I³ 264.IC.11) but later 3 tal. (*IG* I³ 281.II.51), perhaps from 441/40 (*IG* I³ 271.II.97). It was assessed for tribute in 425/4 (*IG* I³ 71.I.67: 15 tal.), and in 413 Eretria was still listed among the paying members (Thuc. 7.57.4). In 446 Eretria joined Chalkis in defecting from Athens; but the revolt was quenched by an Athenian army under Perikles (Thuc. 1.114.1–3). The conditions imposed on Eretria seem to have been similar to those of Chalkis (*IG* I³ 39; 40.40–43; *supra* 648), and no klerouchy is attested (Gehrke, *Stasis* 64 n. 9). On the other hand, a decree of 442/1 ordered that the sons of the richest Eretrians be sent to Athens as hostages (Hesych. *E*5746; Phot. *E*1908). The assessment in 425/4 resulted in yet another Euboian revolt, which Eretria probably joined (Philoch. fr. 130; Paus. 1.29.2; cf. Knoepfler (1996)). After initial contacts with Sparta (no. 345) in 413 (Thuc. 8.5.1), Eretria defected from Athens once again in 411 in connection with the Athenian defeat in the naval battle fought outside the harbour of the city (Thuc. 8.95.3–6).

In *c.*400 Eretria concluded an alliance with Histiaia/Oreos (no. 372) (*IG* XII.9 188 = *Staatsverträge* 205; cf. Knoepfler (2001) 82), and in 394 one with Athens (no. 361) (*IG* II² 16 = *Staatsverträge* 229). In C4e a *sympoliteia* agreement was concluded with Keos (*SEG* 14 530 = *Staatsverträge* 232; but see Cargill (1981) 136 n. 14). The Eretrians were among the original members of the Second Athenian Naval League (*IG* II² 43.81). But they probably left the League together with Thebes (no. 221) in 371 or shortly afterwards (Dreher (1995) 173; Knoepfler (1995) 331–33). In any case, Eretria cannot have been a member of the League when in 366 Themison, the tyrant of Eretria, dispossessed Athens of Oropos (no. 214) (Diod. 15.76.1). Like the other Euboian *poleis*, however, Eretria was torn by *stasis* between a pro-Theban and a pro-Athenian faction (Gehrke, *Stasis* 65). In 357 both Athenian and Theban forces invaded the island and clashed in several battles and skirmishes. The Athenians won, and the Euboian *poleis* rejoined the League (Diod. 16.7.2; Aeschin. 3.85; Dem. 8.74; *IG* II² 124.16 = Tod 153, improved readings in Knoepfler (1995) 335–37; Brunt (1969) 247–48). In 349/8 an Athenian army under Phokion came to the rescue of Ploutarchos, the tyrant of Eretria, who, however, betrayed the Athenians (Plut. *Phoc.* 12–13; Gehrke (1976) 7–11). After the Athenian victory at Tamynai, Eretria joined the League again, as attested in the Athenian decree of, probably, 343 (*IG* II² 125; cf. *SEG* 34 67, 45 1210). The Eretrians provided *synedroi* for the *synedrion* and contributed a *syntaxis* of 5 tal. (Aeschin. 3.94, 100). In the same period Philip of Makedon seems to have infiltrated Euboia (Dem. 9.57, 10.8; Brunt (1969) 251–52), and in 342 he had the leaders of his faction in Eretria installed as tyrants (*infra*). After their expulsion in 341 a new alliance between Athens and Eretria was concluded (*IG* II² 230; see Knoepfler (1985)). In 340 some kind of short-lived league with a common council was established under the leadership of Kallias of Chalkis (Aeschin. 3.89, 94; *Staatsverträge* 342); it included Eretria, Chalkis (no. 365) and Histiaia/Oreos (no. 372). Because of the contemporary issue of a common Euboian coinage (*supra* 643) the union has sometimes been interpreted as a federation (*Staatsverträge* 342; Picard (1979)), but see Beck (1997) 28.

The Eretrian constitution was one of the 158 *politeiai* described by Aristotle and his pupils (Heracl. Lemb. 40 = Arist. no. 45, Gigon; cf. Plut. *Mor.* 293A, 298B). In the Archaic period Eretria was an oligarchy governed by the class of *hippeis* who formed the core of the Eretrian army (Arist. *Pol.* 1289^{b}33–39, 1306^{a}33–39; *Ath. Pol.* 15.2). This constitution was overturned in C6s and perhaps before 510 (*IG* XII.9 p. 147.111–24) at the instigation of a certain Diagoras (Arist. *Pol.* 1306^{a}35–36; Heracl. Lemb. 40), and it was replaced by "a democracy" (Gehrke, *Stasis* 63; cf. *IG* XII *Suppl.* 549A: [ἔδοξε τῆι βουλῆ]ι καὶ τῶι [δήμωι] (C5e); cf. Knoepfler (2001) 74 n. 293). The common view that, in 446, a democratic constitution was either maintained or, alternatively, imposed by the Athenians (Balcer (1978) 56; Gehrke, *Stasis* 64) is based on an analogy with a not altogether convincing interpretation of the Athenian regulations for Chalkis (*ATL* iii. 150 no. 15). An honorary decree of *c.*411, passed by the *boule* alone and not by (the *boule* and) the *demos*, indicates that the defection from Athens in 411 was followed by the introduction of an oligarchic constitution (*IG* XII.9 187A). But a somewhat later honorary decree inscribed on the same *stele* is passed by the *boule* and the *demos*, suggesting a democracy in C4e (*IG* XII.9 187B).

Later in C4 Eretria was ruled by a number of tyrants (Berve (1967) 301–2): Themison from before 366 to 357 (Aeschin. 3.85; Dem. 18.99; Diod 15.76.1), Menestratos in 352 (Dem. 23.124), Plutarchos from before 350 to 348 (Dem. 5.5, 9.57, 21.110, 200; Aeschin. 3.86; Plut. *Phoc.* 12–13). Plutarchos was deposed by the Eretrian *demos* led by Kleitarchos (schol. Dem. 5.5), but after a short period of democratic government (Dem. 9.57), Kleitarchos was himself in 342 installed by Philip of Makedon as *tyrannos* of Eretria together with Hipparchos and Automedon (Dem. 9.58; cf. 18.71, 79–81, 295; Aeschin. 3.103; Harp. *I*15; Gehrke (1976)). In the following year, however, Eretria was besieged and conquered by an Athenian force (Philoch. fr. 160), and the tyrants were expelled again

(schol. Aeschin. 3.85; Diod. 16.74.1). A democracy was set up (Philoch. fr. 160), an anti-tyranny law passed by the Eretrian people (*IG* XII.9 190 (*c.*340)), and a sacred law belongs in the same context (*IG* XII.9 189 = *LSCG* 92). Decrees passed under the new democratic regime are introduced with the formula ἔδοξεν τεῖ βουλεῖ καὶ τοῖ δήμοι (*IG* XII.9 189.4 (*c.*340)), or ἔδοξεν τοῖ δήμοι (Knoepfler (2001) 2 (330–320)) or, once, ἔδοξε τεῖ ἐκκλησίει (Knoepfler (2001) 1.2–3), and bills are often moved by a board of *probouloi* (*IG* XII.9 191.35).

The eponymous officials were a board of three *archontes* (*LSAG* 84 no. 9; *SEG* 34 898 (C6l); *IG* XII.9 191.A.8 (C4l); cf. Sherk (1990) 238). The principal military officials were a board of *strategoi* (*IG* XII.9 191.44; Hdt. 5.102.3) and a board of five *taxiarchoi* (*IG* II² 230b.12–17), each presumably commanding a regiment provided by one of the five districts (Knoepfler (1997) 372). Alongside the five(?) *taxeis* there was a cavalry of, probably, 500 *hippeis* = 100 per district (*IG* II² 230a.3–4 as restored by Knoepfler (1985) = *SEG* 35 59).

Together with the other Euboian *poleis* Eretria was a member of the Amphiktyonic League (Lefèvre (1998) 59–63), and provided in some years one of the two Ionian *hieromnemones* (Aeschin. 2.116; *CID* II 102.I.9), in other years a *tamias* (*CID* II 74.47). Athenian envoys were sent to Eretria in 357/6 (*IG* II² 124.16) and in 340 (Aeschin. 3.100). Eretrian envoys were sent to Athens (*IG* II² 230b). Eretria granted citizenship to a man of Sikyon (no. 228) (Knoepfler (2001) 1 (C4s)) and *proxenia* to citizens of Opous (no. 386) (Knoepfler (2001) 4 (C4l)) and Taras (no. 71) (*IG* XII.9 187A and B (C5–C4) = Knoepfler (2001) ii–iii); see also Knoepfler (2001) 2 (330–320). Eretrian citizens received *proxenia* from Delphi (no. 177) (*SEG* 16 319 (C4–C3)) and Karthaia (no. 492) (*IG* XII.5 542.8 (C4m)). In C4s Eretria had a *theorodokos* to host *theoroi* from Nemea (*SEG* 36 331.B.41–43 (331/0–313)).

Only one Eretrian citizen is attested as victor in the Olympic Games (*Olympionikai* 177 (*c.*492)), and none in any of the other major Panhellenic games.

The Pantheon of Eretria in the Classical period is almost exclusively known from inscriptions and archaeological evidence (Schachter (1992) 18–21; Novaro (1996)). The tutelary god of Eretria was Apollo Daphnephoros (*IG* XII.9 191.10, 49; Knoepfler (2001) 17), in whose sanctuary public enactments were published (*IG* XII.9 210.26–29). Divinities worshipped in the town itself were Aphrodite? (Themelis (1982) 179), Asklepios (*IG* XII.9 194 (C4–C3); *LSCG* 93), Dionysos (*IG* XII.9 192, 207.45 with *SEG* 34 896 (C3e?)), Hera (*IG* XII.9 189.27), Poseidon (Knoepfler (2000)) and Demeter, for whom *thesmophoria* are attested (Plut. *Mor.* 298B, probably derived from the Aristotelian *Politeia*; cf. Metzger (1985); Willers (1991)). The two major extra-urban cults were those of Artemis Amarysia at Amarynthos with musical contests (*IG* XII.9 189 = *LSGC* 92; *IG* XII.9 191.57, 59, 195.10–12; Knoepfler (1988) 383–91) and Apollo at Tamynai (Harp. *T*3; Strabo 10.1.10; *IG* XII.9 90–92).

The Eretrian calendar is typically Euboian. The month Antestherion is attested in C4s (*IG* XII.9 189 = *LSCG* 92), and the months Apatourion, Lenaion and Heraion in the C3 law concerning the Dionysian artists (*IG* XII.9 207; see Trümpy, *Monat.* 39–41).

The city of Eretria is bordered to the south by the sea, to the west by a stream, to the north by a hill which naturally became the acropolis; to the east was an area of marshy ground. The ancient port lay partly in the same vicinity as the modern port.

The urban area of modern Eretria in the 1960s gives some idea of its extent in C4. At that time, it was surrounded by a high city wall which, starting from the sea in the west, followed the western side of the acropolis, then ran along its steepest slope on the north, then turned south to the sea to complete the circuit. The port itself was fortified by a curtain-wall and towers. At intervals along the city wall were posterns, a monumental gate to the west (Krause (1972)) and an eastern gate that has not been found. We know that the city was protected by a wall in 490, since the Persians had to lay siege for six days, and Eretria fell only because of treachery (Hdt. 6.101.2), whereafter the walls were demolished (Strabo 10.1.10). In our current state of knowledge it is impossible to date the first fortifications with any certainty. The existing wall, with its gates, posterns and towers, dates from C4. It was about 4,260 m in length; the total area enclosed by the wall was about 81.5 ha. The top of the acropolis was 123 m from the sea. Eretria was besieged in 341 (Philoch. fr. 160).

The first traces of occupation on the acropolis date to the second millennium (*AntK* (1994) 94–96, (1995) 108–19, (1996) 107–11). Middle Helladic remains have been found in the plain, not far from the future agora. During the Protogeometric period (C9), only the tombs attest to some sort of human presence (*AntK* (2000) 134–45). The first evidence of settlement, dating from C8, comes from three areas: near the port, on the site of the later sanctuary of Apollo, and at several places at the foot of the acropolis. The buildings were oval or apsidal in plan, with the entrance on the short side (*AntK* (1981) 85–86, (2000) 128–30, (2001) 84–87). A group of tombs also dates from C8; their location was marked on the ground by a triangular stone structure, and they contained exceptionally rich grave-goods (bronze

cauldrons, gold jewellery, iron weapons, a bronze spearhead). They have been interpreted as a heroon. The remains of later buildings nearby have been attributed to a heroic cult (Bérard (1970)).

The oldest buildings in the area of the sanctuary of Apollo Daphnephoros, apsidal in plan, were followed at the end of C8 by a longer edifice (a *hekatompedon*), also with an apse. Because of the altar at its east end and the finds of offerings and pottery, this has been identified as the first temple of Apollo, the city's chief divinity. A second temple, rectangular in plan, perhaps Ionic, preceded the large Doric hexastyle temple of C6l which was burned down by the Persians in 490 (Hdt. 6.101.3; Auberson (1968)).

To the north of the temple of Apollo, a sacrificial area with a deposit of sacred objects has yielded numerous offerings, the earliest dating from C8; some came from the Middle East, others from Egypt and from the West. The cult celebrated there was perhaps dedicated to a female divinity (Huber (2003)). The foundations of another sanctuary were discovered cut in the rock at the top of the acropolis; they were accompanied by offerings similar to those found in the sacred deposit in the sacrificial area. The divinity honoured is uncertain, but the offerings suggest that it may have been female (*AntK* (1994) 97–99).

Among the other religious buildings for which there is archaeological evidence, the temple of Dionysos, located next to the theatre (Auberson (1976)), may date from C4e, while the siting of a *thesmophorion* on the south slope of the acropolis is controversial (Metzger (1985); Muller (1996) 165–68; Willers (1991)). Several clues suggest that a sanctuary of Asklepios was situated in the neighbourhood of the House of the Mosaics. The large sanctuary of Artemis Amarynthia lies outside the city but in the *chora*, about 10 km to the south. Its approximate location is known, but the temple proper has not yet been found (Knoepfler (1988)).

No public or official buildings have yet come to light. However, we do know the location of the agora from the Archaic and Classical periods, which was near the sanctuary of Apollo Daphnephoros. The porticos along four sides have been located or partially cleared. The function of an elegant circular building (*tholos*) on the east side of the agora remains unknown. To the north of the agora a large fountain provided a public water-supply; long sections of the conduits have been uncovered. Other conduits for supplying fresh water and carrying away waste have been found under several streets.

The main street linked the west gate to the east gate, passing to the south of the theatre and along the southern flank of the acropolis. Halfway between the two gates, another street branched off towards the agora, skirting the sanctuary of Apollo on the way. Other streets have been found in various parts of the city, the longest in the western quarter (Reber (1998)).

Eretria had a huge theatre (*TGR* ii. 215–16), and some of the earliest phases may date to C4; cf. *IG* xii.9 193.6 (C4l), a gymnasium, a palaestra and baths. Although the visible remains of these buildings are no older than the Hellenistic period, it is reasonable to suppose that they were already functioning in C4 or even earlier.

The Classical and Hellenistic areas of the city are well known thanks to the systematic exploration of the vast houses, some of which are particularly luxurious (Reber (1998); Ducrey *et al.* (1993)).

Eretria struck silver coins on the Aiginetan standard, *c.*525–446 and *c.*411–400. Denominations: tetradrachm, didrachm, drachm, diobol, obol, hemiobol. The most common types are *obv.* cow scratching itself, sometimes with a bird on its back; *rev.* octopus in incuse square. The legend ΕΡΕΤΡΙΕΩΝ is found only on C2 bronze coins (Head, *HN*² 360–64; Kraay (1976) 91–92; *SNG Cop. Aetolia-Euboea* 468–96). It is not known whether the C4 and C3 "federal" issues were struck by Eretria (Wallace (1956)) or by Chalkis (no. 365) (Picard (1979)); see also Brunner (1998) and *supra* 649.

Eretria was involved in the colonisation of Dikaia (no. 568), Mende (no. 584), Methone (541), Okolon (626), Pharbelos (no. 591), Pithekoussai (no. 65) and Skabala (no. 607).

371. *Grynchai (Gryncheus) Map 55. Lat. 38.25, long. 24.10. Size of territory unknown but presumably 1 or 2. Type: B. The toponym is *Γρύγχαι or *Γρύνχαι, αἱ (reconstructed from the form Γρυνχῆθεν (*IG* xii.9 249B.361 (C3)) combined with the variant forms; cf. Knoepfler (1997) 359); variant forms are Ῥύγκαι (Steph. Byz. 547.17) and Τρύχαι (Steph. Byz. 639.15). The city-ethnic is Γρυνχεύς (*IG* i³ 270.v.22) or Γρυγχεύς (*IG* i³ 71.i.81) or Βρυνχειεύς (*IG* i³ 264.iv.12) or Βρυγχειεύς (*IG* i³ 265.ii.69). Grynchai is not called a *polis* in any source, but the attestation of the community in the Athenian tribute lists is an indication of *polis* status, as is the peculiar incorporation of the Gryncheis into all six Eretrian *phylai* (*infra*). Grynchai has been located near modern Krieza, where tombs and architectural fragments have been found (Gehrke (1988) 33–34; Knoepfler (1997) 384 with n. 250).

Grynchai was a member of the Delian League, and may have been among the original members (*ATL* iii. 198–99). It

belonged to the Island district (*IG* I³ 270.v.22) and is recorded in the tribute lists from 451/50 (*IG* I³ 262.I.24) to 416/5 (*IG* I³ 289.I.23), a total of thirteen times, three times completely restored, paying a *phoros* of 1,000 dr. (*IG* I³ 262.I.24). It was assessed for tribute in 425/4 (*IG* I³ 71.I.81: 2,000 dr.).

In C5l (Knoepfler (1997) 354), Grynchai became a deme of Eretria (no. 370), belonging to the third district (Knoepfler (1997) 384, 402). The Gryncheis were divided among all six Eretrian *phylai* (*IG* XII.9 245A.158, 246A.181ff, 247.I.9; Knoepfler (1997) 393–400).

372. Histiaia (Histiaieus)**/Oreos** (Oreites) Map 55. Lat. 38.55, long. 23.05. Size of territory: down to C4m probably 4, in C4m 5. Type: A. The toponym is first *Ἱστίαια, ἡ* (Hom. *Il.* 2.537; Strabo 10.1.3); or *Ἱστιαία, ἡ* (*IG* XII.5 594.2; Hdt. 8.66.1); or *Ἑστίαια, ἡ* (Thuc. 7.57.2; Ps.-Skylax 58; Arist. *Pol.* 1303ᵇ33; *IG* I³ 41.89); later it is *Ὠρεός* (Aeschin. 3.103; Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 33.1; Dem. 18.79; *IG* II² 682.14 (C3e)), either *ἡ* (Thuc. 8.95.7; Paus. 7.26.4) or *ὁ* (Xen. *Hell.* 5.4.56; Strabo 10.1.3, 5). The corresponding city-ethnics are *Ἱστιαιεύς* (Hdt. 8.23.1; Xen. *Hell.* 2.2.3; *CID* II 75.II.47 (336/5); *IG* II² 8939 (C4)), *Ἑστιαιεύς* (Thuc. 7.57.2) and *Ὠρείτης* (Xen. *Hell.* 5.4.56; *SEG* 27 17.5 (C4m); *IG* IV 617.3 (C4l); *CID* II 93.51 (329/8)). The change of name (Robert (1951) 179 n. 2) is explicitly mentioned in several sources (Paus. 7.26.4; schol. Thuc. 1.114), and at Strabo 10.1.3 it is connected with the establishment of an Athenian klerouchy in 446. But the sources testify to a considerable overlap between the two names (cf. Strabo 10.1.4). Both toponyms are attested in Thucydides, Hestiaia at 7.57.2 and Oreos at 8.95.7. The earliest attestation of the toponym Oreos is in Ar. *Pax* 1047, 1057, whereas the toponym Histiaia (in a contemporary context) is attested as late as C4f (*IG* XII.5 594.12 = *Staatsverträge* 287), and the city-ethnic Histiaieus in inscriptions of C3 (*CID* II 126.2 (C3f); *IG* XII.9 1186.12 (C3s)) and on coins of C2 (Head, *HN*² 364–65). Histiaia/Oreos is called a *polis* both in the urban sense (Hdt. 8.23.2; Ps.-Skylax 58; Dem. 9.61, 62) and in the political sense (Xen. *Hell.* 5.4.57; Dem. 9.59–60; Aeschin. 3.94; Arist. *Pol.* 1303ᵇ32–3; *IG* XII.5 594.3 (C4f); *IG* XII.9 188.6–7 (C4f)). *Πολίτης* is found in Semon. 9.62. The collective sense of the city-ethnic is attested internally on C4 coins (*infra*) and externally in inscriptions (*IG* XII.5 594.15 (C4f)) and in literature (Hdt. 8.23.2; Thuc. 7.57.2; Dem. 23.213). The individual and external use is attested in inscriptions (IG XII.9 7.9 (C4m); *CID* II 93.51 (329/8)) and in literature (Hdt. 8.23.1; Aeschin. 3.223).

The territory is called *ἡ γῆ ἡ Ἱστιαιώτις* (Hdt. 7.175.2, 8.23.2). From C4m it comprised all of northern Euboia, some 850 km², and bordered on the territory of Chalkis (no. 365). At 23.213 Demosthenes claims that the Oreitans inhabited a quarter of the island (*μέρος τέταρτον*). The exact frontier is unknown, but it seems to have crossed the island north of Kerinthos but south of Elymnion (Gehrke (1994) 336–41). Down to C4f Dion (no. 368) and Athenai Diades (no. 364), both on the Kenaion peninsula, were self-governing *poleis*, and so were, probably, Orobiai (no. 374) on the west coast of Euboia and Poseidion (no. 376) on the east coast (*infra* 660). In the Hellenistic period all four are attested as demes of Oreos: Athenai Diades (*IG* XII.9 1186.2), Dion (*IG* XII.9 1187.3), Orobiai (*IG* XII.9 1186.3) and Poseidion (*IG* XII.9 1189.20, 28, 39). Some thirty demes are recorded in Hellenistic inscriptions (*IG* XII.9 1186–89; Jones, *POAG* 77–78). We hear about Histiaian demes already in C5s (*IG* I³ 41.100), and in C4m the citizens of Histiaia/Oreos were organised into tribes and demes (*IG* XII.5 594.10 = *Staatsverträge* 287). The board of six *archontes* (*infra*) indicates that there were six *phylai* as in Eretria (no. 370) (Knoepfler by letter). Oreos (Theopomp. fr. 387) and Dion (*IG* I³ 41.101) are the only named Hellenistic demes which can be traced back to the Classical period (*supra*). In 480, however, the core territory of Histiaia/Oreos comprised a number of *komai* along the coast (Hdt. 8.23.2), of which two may have been Khironisi and Oreos (Sackett *et al.* (1966) 111; for Khironisi/Dion, see also Reber (2001) 456–60).

After the battle of Artemision in 480 Histiaia/Oreos was conquered by the Persians, and its territory was ravaged (Hdt. 8.23.2). Histiaia/Oreos was a member of the Delian League, and may have been among the original members (*ATL* iii. 198–99). It is recorded in the tribute lists in 450/49 (*IG* I³ 263.IV.34), 448/7 (*IG* I³ 264.III.6) and 447/6 (*IG* I³ 265.II.36), paying a *phoros* of 1,000 dr. (*IG* I³ 265.II.36).

In 446 Hestiaia joined the other Euboian *poleis* and defected from Athens; but the revolt was soon quenched by an Athenian army under Perikles; the Histiaians were expelled from their city and sent to Makedonia, while Histiaia/Oreos was settled with Athenians (Thuc. 1.114.1–3, 7.57.2, 8.95.7; Theopomp. fr. 387; Philoch. fr. 118; Diod. 12.7.1, 22.2; Plut. *Per.* 23.4). The Athenians are described as colonists (*apoikoi*, Thuc. 7.57.2; Figueira (1991) 223) and numbered 2,000 (Theopomp. fr. 387) rather than the 1,000 reported at Diod. 12.22.2, where, probably, *κατεκληρούχησαν* is used in a non-technical sense (cf. Ael. *VH* 6.1 with Figueira (1991) 258–60). The Athenian regulations for the new colony include references to a Histiaian *boule*, a *dikasterion* and an *archon* (*IG* I³ 41; cf. Koch (1991)

181–82, 192–93). They also show that a part of the original population remained in the territory (ibid. 182–83). In 415 a contingent of the Athenian colonists joined the expedition to Sicily (Thuc. 7.57.2), and in 411 Histiaia/Oreos remained loyal and did not join the other Euboian cities in defecting from Athens (Thuc. 8.95.7; Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 33.1). At the end of the Peloponnesian War, the Athenian colonists in Histiaia/Oreos were undoubtedly among those sent back to Athens (Plut. *Lys.* 13.3), and Histiaia/Oreos was probably given back to the citizens expelled in 446.

In the Corinthian War, the Oreitans must have been among the Euboians who fought against Sparta (no. 345) in the battle of the Nemea in 394 (Xen. *Hell.* 4.2.17). In *c.*380 Iason of Pherai had a certain Neogenes set up as tyrant of Histiaia/Oreos. Two years later he was deposed by a Lakedaimonian force (Diod. 15.30.3–4). A Lakedaimonian garrison was placed on the acropolis (Xen. *Hell.* 5.4.56; Plut. *Mor.* 773F). In 377 the Athenians ravaged the territory of Histiaia/Oreos (Diod. 15.30.2, 5) and later in the same year the Lakedaimonians were expelled from Oreos (Xen. *Hell.* 5.4.57). Histiaia/Oreos joined the Second Athenian Naval League in 375 or shortly after (*IG* II² 43.B.18). It left the League after the battle of Leuktra (Xen. *Hell.* 6.5.23), but joined once again in 357 (*IG* II² 124.16). The Oreitans provided *synedroi* for the *synedrion* and contributed a *syntaxis* of 5 tal. (Aeschin. 3.94, 100). In 340 some kind of short-lived league with a common council was established under the leadership of Kallias of Chalkis (Aeschin. 3.89, 94; *Staatsverträge* 342); it included Histiaia/Oreos, Chalkis (no. 365) and Eretria (no. 370). Because of the contemporary issue of a common Euboian coinage (*supra* 643) the union has sometimes been interpreted as a federation (*Staatsverträge* 342; Picard (1979)), but see Beck (1997) 28.

After the Persian War Histiaia/Oreos was an oligarchy. At one point a dispute between two brothers belonging to the *gnorimoi* resulted in a *stasis* in which one brother rallied the wealthy (*euporoi*), the other the commoners (*demotikoi*) (Arist. *Pol.* 1303^{b}31–37; cf. Gehrke, *Stasis* 73). The Athenian colony of 446 or the 420s (Mattingly (1996) 246–48) was organised as a democracy (*IG* I³ 41). After the Peloponnesian War the constitution was an oligarchy, which, in *c.*395, without any *stasis* or revolution, was changed into a constitution described by Aristotle as a *politeia* or a *demokratia* (*Pol.* 1303^{a}16–20). Apart from a short period of tyranny in 380–378 under Neogenes (Diod. 15.30.3), the constitution was democratic (Aeschin. 3.103). In 357 Histiaia/Oreos, like the other the Euboian *poleis*, was torn by *stasis* between a pro-Theban and a pro-Athenian faction (Diod. 16.7.2), and in the 340s Histiaia/Oreos was split between a pro-Makedonian faction, headed by Philistides and an anti-Makedonian faction, headed by Euphraios, a pupil of Plato (Trampedach (1994) 96–97). The majority of the Oreitan *demos* supported the pro-Makedonian faction, and Euphraios was imprisoned (Dem. 9.59–62; cf. Ath. 506E, 508D). In 342 Philip of Makedon succeeded in making Philistides tyrant of Histiaia/Oreos (Dem. 9.33, 18.71; Theopomp. fr. 387). But a year later, on the motion of Demosthenes, the Athenians sent a force against Histiaia/Oreos; the city was conquered, Philistides killed, and democracy restored (Dem. 18.73; Charax (*FGrHist* 103) fr. 19; schol. Aeschin. 3.85). Strabo reports that Philistides during his short reign had the population of Ellopia transferred to Oreos (10.1.3; cf. Moggi, *Sin.* 351–54).

The only known public enactment of the Classical period is a decree of the people (*psephisma tou demou*) whereby the Oreitans pledged the public revenue of Histiaia/Oreos as security for 1 tal., which the *polis* owed to Demosthenes (Aeschin. 2.104 and 105, where the *psephisma* (now lost) was read out to the jurors; Migeotte (1984) 244–45). The eponymous officials were a board of six *archontes* (*SEG* 29 817.8–12 (*c.*300); *IG* XII.9 1187.1–5 (C3m)). A Histiaian citizen is recorded as lending money at interest to the city of Karystos (no. 373) (*IG* XII.9 7.5–11). An *isopoliteia* treaty was concluded between Histiaia/Oreos and Keos *c.*364 (*IG* XII.5 594 = *Staatsverträge* 287). Athenian envoys were sent to Histiaia/Oreos in 357/6 (*IG* II² 124.16) and in 341/40 (Aeschin. 3.100). Histiaia/Oreos granted *proxenia* to Aeschines of Athens (no. 361) (Dem. 18.82) and to Kallikles of Larisa (no. 401) (*SEG* 29 817 (*c.*300)), and Oreitan citizens received *proxenia* from Athens (no. 361) (*IG* II² 149.10 (*c.*375); Knoepfler (1995) 324ff).

Histiaia/Oreos possesssed an extra-urban sanctuary of Artemis Proseoea at Artemision (Hdt. 7.176.1; Plut. *Them.* 8.4; Lolling Symposium 1994, forthcoming); the cult included Pyrrhic games (*SEG* 33 716, C5f; *IG* XII.9 1190; Ceccarelli (1998) 94–95); a cult of the nymph Histiaia can be inferred from the C4 coins (*infra*).

The exact location of the urban centre of Histiaia is unknown, but it was probably in the neighbourhood of modern Histiaia (Xerochori). After 446 the urban centre was moved to Oreos at modern Kastro, and the inhabitants of the two settlements were merged by an *synoikismos* (Strabo 10.1.4; Moggi, *Sin.* 114–20). So far, only scanty remains have been found (*ArchDelt* 29 (1973–74) 487–90). We know from literary sources that the town had an acropolis (Xen. *Hell.* 5.4.56) and a harbour (Ps.-Skylax 58). In the

earthquake of 426, 700 houses and part of the walls were destroyed (Demetrios of Kallatis (*FGrHist* 85) fr. 6), but the town was fortified again in C4m (Dem. 9.61). The stronghold called Metropolis which was fortified by Chabrias in 377/6 (Diod. 15.30.2, 5) may have been the original urban centre of Histiaia/Oreos, deserted after the *metoikesis* in C5m; see *supra* 657. The prison of Oreos is mentioned at Dem. 9.60.

In C4m Histiaia/Oreos struck coins of silver and bronze on the Euboian standard. Types: *obv.* head of nymph Histiaia wearing vine wreath; *rev.* heifer and vine. Legend: *ΙΣΤΙ* or, once, *ΙΣΤΙΕ*. An issue of silver coins on the Attic standard has *rev.* Histiaia seated on the stern of a ship and holding a naval standard inscribed *ΑΘΑΝΑ*. Legend: *ΙΣΤΙΑΙΕΩΝ* (Head, *HN*² 364; Robert (1951) 179ff; Kraay (1976) 93–94; Picard (1979) 176–78; *SNG Cop. Aetolia-Euboea* 510–16).

373. Karystos (Karystios) Map 58. Lat. 38.00, long. 24.25. Size of territory: 4. Type: A. The toponym is *Κάρυστος*, *ἡ* (Hom. *Il.* 2.539; Hdt. 4.33.2; Archestratos fr. 51.2; Eust. *Il.* 1.432.7; *IG* XII.9 207.14 (C3e)). Quoting the C3 poet Theodoridas (fr. 746, *Suppl. Hell.*), Steph. Byz. lists *Χειρωνία* as an alternative toponym (362.14); yet another alternative toponym is *Αἰγαία* (Steph. Byz. 363.1; schol. Ap. Rhod. 1.1165). The city-ethnic is *Καρύστιος* (Hdt. 4.33.2; Thuc. 1.98.3; Ar. *Lys.* 1059; *IG* XII.9 7.20 (C4f)). Karystos is called a *polis* both in the urban sense (Ps.-Skylax 58: *τετράπολις*, where the political sense may be a connotation) and in the political sense (*IG* XII.9 12.1 = *ArchDelt* 26 (1971) *Chron.* 262 no. 13 (C5–C4); *IG* II² 12.11–12; Hdt. 4.33.2, where the urban sense may be a connotation). The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally in inscriptions (*IG* XII.9 7.20 (C4f)) and in abbreviated form on C6–C4 coins (*infra*), and externally in inscriptions (*I.Délos* 98B.10 (377–373)) as well as in literary sources (Hdt. 6.99.2; Thuc. 4.42.1). The individual and external use is attested in inscriptions (*CID* II 4.III.9 (C4f)) as well as in literary sources (Hdt. 7.214.1; Dem. 35.8–10). *Patris* is restored in *IG* II² 467.21 (306/5).

The territory is called *ἡ Καρυστίη χώρη* (Hdt. 9.105) or *ἡ Καρυστία* (Theophr. *Hist. pl.* 8.4.4). In C4 it bordered on that of Styra (no. 377), then an Eretrian deme (*infra* 660), and comprised the southern part of Euboia, altogether some 450 km². The principal site in the territory of Karystos is the harbour of Geraistos with a sanctuary of Poseidon (Ps.-Skylax 58; Arr. *Anab.* 2.1.2; Schumacher (1993) 77–80). The only other known Archaic and Classical settlements are Kyrnos (Hdt. 9.105) and Marmarion (Strabo 10.1.6), which may have existed in C4 (Knoepfler by letter), and the archaeological sites at Arkhampolis (*Barr.* 55, C, *supra* 646) and Philagra (*Barr.* 55, C, *supra* 646–47).

Coins of C6m (*infra*) and a Panhellenic victor of C6s (*infra*) are the only evidence we have for Karystos before the Persian War. In 490 the Persian forces laid siege to Karystos, ravaged its territory and forced the Karystians to surrender (Hdt. 6.99.2). In 480 the Karystians joined the Persian army (Hdt. 8.66.2), and after Salamis they were forced by Themistokles to pay an indemnity (Hdt. 8.112.2) and had their territory ravaged by the Greek army (Hdt. 8.121.1). Nevertheless, the Karystians dedicated a bronze bull in Delphi from spoils taken in the Persian War (Paus.10.16.6). In a war between Athens and Karystos *c.*476–469 (Thuc. 1.98.3; Brock (1996) 359), the Karystians were defeated in a battle at Kyrnos (Hdt. 9.105) and forced to join the Delian League. Karystos belonged to the Island district (*IG* I³ 270.V.21) and is recorded in the tribute lists from 454/3 (*IG* I³ 259.II.16) to 416/15 (*IG* I³ 289.I.22), a total of eleven times, once completely restored, paying a *phoros* of 12 tal. in 454/3, reduced to 7½ tal. in 451/50 (*IG* I³ 262.I.23), and further reduced to 5 tal. in 450/49 (*IG* I³ 263.IV.26). It was assessed for tribute in 425/4 (*IG* I³ 71.I.70: 5 tal.) and in 410/9 (*IG* I³ 100.I.4). In spite of Thuc. 1.114.2, the silence of our sources indicates that Karystos did not join the other Euboian *poleis* in defecting from the Delian League in 446. But, in addition to the reduction in *phoros*, there is some archaeological evidence to support the view that one of the C5m Athenian klerouchies on Euboia (Diod. 11.88.5; Paus. 1.27.3; schol. Ar. *Nu.* 213) was placed in Karystos (Figueira (1991) 225, y; Brock (1996) 365–66; Salomon (1997) 209). In 413 Karystos was still listed among the paying members (Thuc. 7.57.4). The constitution of Karystos seems to have been changed into an oligarchy in consequence of the revolution in Athens in 411 (Thuc. 8.64.1, 65.1, 69.3; cf. Gehrke, *Stasis* 76).

Karystos was among the original members of the Second Athenian Naval League (*IG* II² 43.84), but probably left the League together with Thebes (no. 221) in 371 or shortly afterwards (Xen. *Hell.* 6.5.23; Dreher (1995) 173). In 357 Karystos, like the other Euboian *poleis*, was torn by *stasis* between a pro-Theban and a pro-Athenian faction (Diod. 16.7.2), and when the Thebans had been expelled from Euboia by the Athenians, a new treaty was concluded between Athens (no. 361) and Karystos (*IG* II² 124; cf. *SEG* 45 54). It is not known whether Karystos in the 340s was a member of the ephemeral Euboian league or federation. In 323/2 Karystos was the only Euboian *polis* to support Athens in the Lamian War

(Diod. 18.11.2; Paus. 1.25.4).

In C4 Karystos had close relations with Histiaia/Oreos (no. 372) and Thebes (no. 221), and had taken up some loans from citizens of these two *poleis*. Payments on these loans are attested in an inscription of *c.*370 (*IG* XII.9 7 = Migeotte (1984) no. 73) which shows that the eponymous official in Karystos was an *archon* and that there was a board of *tamiai*. An undated (C4–C3?) public enactment mentions a board of *strategoi* and, probably, a popular assembly (*IG* XII.9 1). A citizen of Karystos was granted *proxenia* by Eretria (no. 370) in C4l (*IG* XII.9 211; cf. Knoepfler (2001) 212). During the grain crisis of 330–326 Karystos obtained 15,000 *medimnoi* from Kyrene (no. 1028) (*SEG* IX 2 = Tod 196.21; cf. *SEG* 38 1880). Karystos was a member of the Delian amphiktyony (Hdt. 4.33.2; *I.Délos* 98.120 (377–373)) and had a treasury on Delos (*IG* XI.2 144.A.88).

In the Archaic period the urban centre was situated on the Plakari hill (Keller (1985) 200–1), and it may have remained there during C5. In C4, if not before, it was moved to Palaiochori. From the siege of Karystos in 490 it can be inferred that the city was fortified (Hdt. 6.99.2). There are few remains. There was a fortified acropolis (Livy 32.17) on the Montofoli hill (Keller (1985) 218), and a large cemetery to the south. A temple of Dionysos is attested (Keller (1985) 217).

Karystos had one citizen who distinguished himself in all the four major Panhellenic games: *viz.* Glaukos the pugilist (Simon. fr. 4, *PMG*; Dem. 18.319) who in 520 won one victory in the Olympic Games (*Olympionikai* 134), and then two in the Pythian, eight in the Nemean, and eight in the Isthmian Games (Paus. 6.10.1–3).

Karystos struck coins of silver *c.*550–445 and of silver and bronze *c.*411–336 (the chronology is based on the traditional date of the Athenian Coinage Decree and on the belief that Greek *poleis* stopped minting coins during the Makedonian supremacy). (1) Silver: denominations: tetradrachm, didrachm, drachm, hemidrachm and fractions down to tritemorion. Types: *obv.* ox scratching itself with its horns or cow suckling calf or forepart of bull or bull's head; or head of Herakles; *rev.* incuse square or cock in incuse square or bull or palm tree(s). Legend: $KAPY\Sigma$ or shorter forms down to K. The *obv.* of one Archaic tetradrachm has $KAPY\Sigma TIO[N]$. (2) Bronze in C4: *obv.* head of Herakles or head of Athena; *rev.* bull's head or palm. Legend: KA (Head, *HN*² 356–57; Wallace (1968); *SNG. Cop. Aetolia-Euboea* 414–18).

374. Orobiai (Orobieus) Map 55. Lat. 38.50, long. 23.15. Size of territory: 1? Type: A. The toponym is *'Ορόβιαι, αἱ* (Thuc. 3.89.2; *IG* I³ 418a.6). The city-ethnic is *'Οροβιεύς* (*IG* XII.9 923.2–3). In the notes to the Budé edn. of Diod. 15, Vial suggests that *'Ωρωπίων* (30.3) and *'Ωρωπίοις* (30.4) may be corruptions of *'Οροβίων* and *'Οροβίοις*. It seems better to obelise the MSS readings and to leave the mystery unsolved. Orobiai is called a *polis* in the urban sense at Thuc. 3.89.2.

Orobiai was situated at modern Rovies and was famous for its oracle of Apollo Selinuntios (Strabo 10.1.3; Steph. Byz. 376.3–4). At Thuc 3.89.2 Orobiai is described as a *polis* which was partly engulfed by the great seismic sea wave of 426. We know from other sources that a large part of Histiaia/Oreos (no. 372) was destroyed by the same disaster (Demetrias of Kallatis (*FGrHist* 85) fr. 6; Fossey (1990) 183–84).

An Attic inscription of *c.*430–410 shows that Orobiai was situated in the territory of Histiaia/Oreos (no. 372) (*IG* I³ 418a.6). The individual use of the ethnic *'Οροβιεύς* is attested twice in a C5 inscription (*IG* XII.9 923.2–3; *AE* (1963) 5). Histiaia/Oreos was organised into tribes and demes (*supra* 656); but the stone inscribed with *IG* XII.9 923 was found in Chalkis (no. 365), not in the Histiaia/Oreos area, which points to the ethnic being a city-ethnic rather than a demotic. Knoepfler (by letter) suggests that it may be a *pierre errante*, inscribed by the Athenians settled in Histiaia/Oreos. In Hellenistic inscriptions from the Histiaia/Oreos area, however, *'Οροβιεύς* is attested again, and now indisputably as a demotic (*IG* XII.9 1186.3, 1189.27, 37). Like Athenai Diades (no. 364), Dion (no. 368), Poseidon (no. 376), and perhaps some others as well, Orobiai may in C5 have been a dependent *polis* lying inside the territory of Histiaia/Oreos but transformed into a Histiaian deme in the course of C4 or C3 (Hansen (1997) 31, (2000) 209–10).

Some ancient remains have been found in the neighbourhood of Palaiochori, Ag. Iannako, but there are a few traces only of the ancient town. It was probably situated at Ag. Ilias north of Rovies where some sherds of C4 have been found (Sackett *et al.* (1966) 46–47, fig. 5).

375. *Peraia (Peraeus) Map 55. Unlocated. Type: C. The toponym **Περαία* is not attested in any source but reconstructed from the demotic *Περαεῖς* (*IG* XII.9 249B.138 (C3)) and the adverbial form *Περαόθεν* (*IG* XII.9 249B.445). Peraia was a deme of Eretria (no. 370) and is not called a *polis* in any source, but an analogy with Grynchai (no. 371) and Styra (no. 377) indicates that it was a *polis* down to *c.*400.

The Eretrian C3e lists of citizens show that the members of three of the demes, *viz.* Grynchai, Peraia and Styra, did not belong to one *phyle* but were distributed among all the six *phylai* (Knoepfler (1997) 396–403). The evidence for Peraia is *IG* XII.9 245A.11 (*phyle* 1), 246A.6 (*phyle* 2), 247.2

(*phyle* 3), 249B.138–49 (*phyle* 4). In the case of Styra and Grynchai the most likely explanation of this anomaly is that both settlements had been *poleis* which were amalgamated with Eretria in C5l–C4e and integrated into the pre-existing organisation of Eretrian citizens into six tribes. By analogy, it seems reasonable to infer that Peraia too was once a *polis* which had been absorbed by Eretria *c.*400. By contrast with Grynchai and Styra, however, Peraia is not recorded in the Athenian tribute lists as a member of the Delian League. By letter, Knoepfler suggests as a possibility that Peraia be identical with the *Διάκριοι ἐν Εὐβοίαι* (no. 367), attested as members of the Delian League.

376. Posideion (Posideites) Map 55. Lat. 39.00, long. 23.20, but Knoepfler (1999) 230 n. 3 now suggests locating Posideion further north at modern Helleniko. Size of territory: unknown but presumably 1 or 2. Type: C. The toponym is *Ποσίδειον, τό* (*IG* I³ 71.I.91–92). The city-ethnic is *Ποσειδίτης* (*IG* XII.9 1189.20, 28, 39 (C2)). Posideion is not called a *polis* in any source, but the attestation of the community in the C5 Athenian assessment decrees is an indication of *polis* status. Posideion, further described as *Ποσίδειον ἐν 'Ευβοίαι*, was assessed for *phoros* in 425/4 (*IG* I³ 71.I.91–92: 100 dr.). The only other reference to the community is in a C2 catalogue of citizens of Histiaia/Oreos (no. 372), in which *Ποσειδίτης* appears as a demotic (*IG* XII.9 1189.20, 28, 39 (C2)). The change from *polis* to deme of Histiaia/Oreos may have taken place in C4f (Moggi, *Sin.* 236–37; see *supra* 656). The precise location is unknown. Philippson (1951) 577 n. 1 and Sackett *et al.* (1966) 42, followed by *Barr.*, suggest Vasilika, Palaiokastro.

377. Styra (Styreus) Map 58. Lat. 38.10, long. 24.15. Size of territory: unknown but presumably 1 or 2. Type: [A]. The toponym is *Στύρα, τά* (Hom. *Il.* 2.539; Dem. 21.167; Strabo 10.1.6). The city-ethnic is *Στυρεύς* (ML 27.9, 479; Hdt. 8.46.4; Thuc. 7.57.4). Steph. Byz. 588.14 is the only source in which Styra is explicitly called a *polis*; but at Hdt. 8.46.4 it is subsumed under the heading *polis*, where *polis* occurs in the political sense (Hdt. 8.42.1, 49.1). Furthermore, the attestation of the community in the Athenian tribute lists is an indication of *polis* status, as is the peculiar incorporation of the Styreans into all six *phylai* of Eretria (no. 370) (*infra*). The collective and external use of the city-ethnic is attested on the Serpent Column (ML 27.9), in the Athenian tribute lists (*infra*) and in literature (Hdt. 8.46.4; Thuc. 7.57.4). The individual and external use is attested only as a demotic (*infra*).

The exact location of Styra is not known, but it must have been situated near modern Nea Styra (Knoepfler (1997) 365; Reber (2002) 43–45). The size of the territory is unknown. The northern frontier towards Zarex and Dystos (no. 369) cannot be determined. The southern frontier, on the other hand, is attested by a boundary stone inscribed on a rock south-east of modern Styra (*ΟΡΟΣ ΔΗ*[*μου*]: Moutsopoulos (1982) 340, where the *Δ* is misread as a *Λ*; cf. Reber (2002) 45). Styra controlled a small island called Aiglea (Hdt. 6.107.2). At Mt. Ag. Nikolas/Kliosi, east of Styra, are the remains of an ancient fortification wall and a gate, probably a fortress for the defence of the southern frontier of Styra and perhaps of the territory of Eretria (Reber (2002)). Cults of Zeus Hypsistos (*IG* XII.9 59) and Zeus Soter (*IG* XII.9 58) are attested, as well as a cult of Asklepios (*IG* XII.9 57 (C4)) and of the Kytherian goddess, i.e. Aphrodite (Knoepfler (2001) 244–45 with n. 337 (C4?)).

In 480 the Styreans provided two triremes at Artemision (Hdt. 8.1.2) and at Salamis (Hdt. 8.46.4). Together with Eretria (no. 371) they provided 600 hoplites at Plataiai (Hdt.9.28.5) and are duly recorded on the Serpent Column (ML 27.9).

Styra was a member of the Delian League, and may have been among the original members (*ATL* iii. 198–99). It belonged to the Island district (*IG* I³ 269.V.29) and is recorded in the tribute lists from 450/49 (*IG* I³ 263.IV.28) to 429/8 (*IG* I³ 282.III.21), a total of eleven times, three times completely restored, paying a *phoros* of 1 tal. (*IG* I³ 263.IV.28). It was assessed for tribute in 425/4 (*IG* I³ 71.I.74: 2 tal.), and in 413 Styra was still listed among the paying members (Thuc. 7.57.4).

Some 500 lead tablets were found in 1860 in the territory of Styra (*IG* XII.9 56 with add. p. 176; cf. *SEG* 42 794). They were inscribed in C5f with names, mostly in the nominative. Sometimes another name is added (a patronymic in the nominative?) and/or an abbreviation which presumably indicates a kind of civic subdivision (e.g. *ΜΑ* or *ΜΑΡ*, nos. 167, 210, 395, 405, 433). There are signs of reuse. The tablets are probably identification cards of Styrean citizens, to be used for sortition and similar purposes (Masson (1992) 61–72; Murray (1997) 499).

In the Hellenistic period Styra is attested as a deme of Eretria, belonging to the second district (Knoepfler (1997) 383, 402). The Styreans were divided among all six Eretrian *phylai* (*IG* XII.9 245A.36, 246A.36, 247.I.17 (C3e); cf. Knoepfler (1997) 393–400). In the Athenian decree of 378/7 (*IG* II² 43) the Styreans are not listed as members of the Second Athenian Naval League, and the presumption is that the change of status from *polis* to deme took place in C5l or C4e (Knoepfler (1971) 242–44; Moggi, *Sin.* 227–33). During the Lamian War (323/2) Styra was conquered and destroyed by the Athenians (Strabo 10.1.6; cf. Knoepfler (1971)).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Apostolidis, S. P., and Apostolidis, E. P. 1990–91. "Ἕνας ὅρος ἀπὸ τὸ Δύστο Εὐβοίας", *Horos* 8–9: 131–33.

Auberson, P. 1968. *Temple d'Apollon Daphnéphoros: Architecture*, in *Eretria: Fouilles et recherches* I (Bern).

—— 1976. "Le temple de Dionysos", in *Eretria: Fouilles et recherches* V (Bern) 59–67.

Bakhuizen, S. C. 1972. "The Two Citadels of Chalkis on Euboea: Topographical Commentary on the Hills of Chalkis", *AAA* 5: 134–46.

—— 1985. *Studies in the Topography of Chalcis on Euboea*, Chalkidian Studies i (Leiden).

Balcer, J. M. 1978. *The Athenian Regulations for Chalkis: Studies in Athenian Imperial Law*, *Historia* Einzelschriften 33 (Wiesbaden).

Beck, H. 1997. *Polis und Koinon: Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Struktur der griechischen Bundesstaaten im 4. Jahrhundert v. Chr.*, *Historia* Einzelschriften 114 (Stuttgart).

Bérard, C. 1970. *L'Herôon à la porte de l'ouest* in *Eretria: Fouilles et recherches* III (Bern).

—— 1985. "Argoura fut-elle la 'capitale' des futurs Erétriens?", *MusHelv* 42: 268–75.

Berve, H. 1967. *Die Tyrannis bei den Griechen* (Darmstadt).

Brock, R. 1996. "The Tribute of Karystos", *EchCl* 15: 357–70.

Brunner, M. 1998. "Die Münzen", in Reber (1998) 248–64.

Brunt, P. A. 1969. "Euboia in the Time of Philip II", *CQ* 19: 245–65.

Cargill, J. 1981. *The Second Athenian League* (Berkeley and Los Angeles).

Cawkwell, G. L. 1978. "Euboea in the Late 340s", *Phoenix* 32: 42–67.

Cecarelli, P. 1998. *La pirrica nell' antichità Greco Romana* (Pisa and Rome).

Coulton, J. J. 1996. "Euboean Phylla and Greek Barracks", in D. Evely, I. S. Lemos, and S. Sherratt (eds.), *Minotaur and Centaur: Studies in the Archaeology of Crete and Euboea Presented to Mervyn Popham*, BAR 638 (1996) 161–65.

Dreher, M. 1995. *Hegemon und Symmachoi: Untersuchungen zum zweiten athenischen Seebund* (Berlin and New York).

Ducrey, P., Metzger, I. R., and Reber, K. 1993. *Le Quartier de la Maison aus mosaïques*, in *Eretria: Fouilles et recherches* VIII (Lausanne).

Figueira, T. J. 1991. *Athens and Aigina in the Age of Imperial Colonization* (London).

Flensted-Jensen, P. 1998. "The *Poleis* of the Chalkidic Peninsula until the Macedonian Conquest" (diss. University of Copenhagen).

—— 2000. "The Chalkidic Peninsula and its Regions", *CPCPapers* 6: 121–31.

—— Hansen, M. H., and Nielsen, T. H. 2000. "The Use of the Word *Polis* in Inscriptions", *CPCPapers* 5: 161–72.

Fossey, J. M. 1990. *The Ancient Topography of Opountian Lokris* (Amsterdam).

Gehrke, H.-J. 1976. *Phokion: Studien zur Erfassung seiner historischen Gestalt*, *Zetemata* 64 (Munich).

—— 1988. "Eretria und sein Territorium", *Boreas* 11: 15–42.

—— 1994. "Mutmassungen über die Grenzen vom Chalkis", in E. Olshausen and H. Sonnabend (eds.), *Grenze und Grenzland*, Stuttgarter Kolloquium zur Historischen Geographie 4, 1990 (Amsterdam) 335–45.

Geyer, F. 1903. "Topographie und Geschichte der Insel Euboia", in E. Sieglin, (ed.), *Quellen und Forschungen zur alten Geschichte und Geographie*, vi (Berlin).

—— 1924. "Diakrier auf Euboia", *RE* suppl. iv. 224–25.

Gregory, T. E. 1979. "Roman Inscriptions from Aedipsos", *GRBS* 20: 255–77.

Hansen, M. H. 1985. *Demography and Democracy: The Number of Athenian Citizens in the Fourth Century B.C.* (Herning).

—— 1997. "A Typology of Dependent *Poleis*", *CPCPapers* 4: 29–37.

—— 1998. *Polis and City-State: An Ancient Concept and its Modern Equivalent*, *CPCActs* 5.

—— 2000. "A Survey of the Use of the Word *Polis* in Archaic and Classical Sources", *CPCPapers* 5: 173–215.

—— and Nielsen, T. H. 2000. "The Use of the Word *Polis* in the Fragments of Some Historians", *CPCPapers* 5: 141–50.

Hatzopoulos, M., and Psoma, S. 1998–99. "Cités de Grèce septentrionale portant le nom de Dion", *Tekmeria* 4: 1–12.

Hoepfner, W. 1999. "Dystos: eine Kleinstadt auf Euböa", in W. Hoepfner (ed.), *Geschichte des Wohnens* i (Stuttgart) 352–67.

Huber, S. 2003. *L'Aire sacrificielle au nord du Sanctuaire d'Apollon Daphnéphoros: un rituel des époques géométrique et archaique*, in *Eretria Fouilles et recherches* XIV 1–2 (Gollion).

Keller, D. R. 1985. *Archaeological Survey in Southern Euboea, Greece: A Reconstruction of Human Activity from Neolithic Times through the Byzantine Period* (Ann Arbor).

Knoepfler, D. 1971. "La date de l'annexion de Styra par Erétrie", *BCH* 95: 223–44.

—— 1981. "Argoura: un toponyme Eubéen dans la Midienne de Démosthène", *BCH* 105: 289–329.

—— 1985. "Les cinq-cents à Érétrie", *REG* 98: 243–59.

—— 1988. "Sur les traces de l'Artémision d'Amarynthos près d'Erétrie", in *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres: Comptes Rendus* (Paris) 382–421.

—— 1995. "Une paix de cent ans et un conflit en permanence: étude sur les relations diplomatiques d'Athènes avec Érétrie et les autres cités de l'Eubée au IVe siècle av. J.-C.", in E. Frézouls and A. Jacquemin (eds.), *Les Relations internationales*, Travaux du centre de recherche sur le Proche-Orient et la Grèce antiques 13 (Paris) 309–64.

—— 1996. "Sur une interprétation historique de Pausanias dans sa description du 'Demosion sema' athénenien", in O. Reverdin (ed.), *Pausanias historien* (Geneva) 277–319.

Knoepfler, D. 1997. "Le territoire d'Erétrie et l'organisation politique de la cité (demoi, choroi, phylai)", *CPCActs* 4: 352–449.

—— 2000. "Poséidon à Mende: un culte érétrien", in *ΜΥΡΤΟΣ. ΜΝΗΜΗ ΙΟΥΛΙΑΣ ΒΟΚΟΤΟΠΟΥΛΟΥ* (Thessalonica) 335–49.

—— 2001. *Décrets érétriens de proxénie et de citoyenneté*, in *Eretria: Fouilles et recherces* XI (Lausanne).

Koch, C. 1991. *Volksbeschlüsse in Seebundsangelegenheiten: das Verfahrensrecht Athens im ersten attischen Seebund* (Frankfurt am Main, Bern, New York and Paris).

Koder, J. 1973. *Negroponte: Untersuchungen zur Topographie und Siedlungsgeschichte der Insel Euboia während der Zeit der Venezianerherrschaft* (Vienna).

Kraay, C. M. 1976. *Archaic and Classical Greek Coins* (London).

Krause, C. 1972. *Das Westtor: Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen 1964–68*, in *Eretria: Ausgrabungen und Forschungen* IV (Bern).

Larsen, J. A. O. 1968. *Greek Federal States: Their Institutions and History* (Oxford).

Lauffer, S., and Kirsten, E. 1953. "Porthmos", *RE* xxii.1. 340–44.

Lefèvre, F. 1998. *L'Amphictionie pyléo-delphique: histoire et institutions* (Paris).

Masson, O. 1992. "Les lamelles de plomb de Styra, *IG* XII.9 56: essai de bilan", *BCH* 116: 61–72.

Mattingly, H. B. 1961. "Athens and Euboea", *JHS* 81: 124–32.

—— 1996. *The Athenian Empire Restored*, Epigraphical and Historical Studies (Ann Arbor).

Metzger, I. R. 1985. *Das Thesmophorion von Eretria, Eretria: Ausgrabungen und Forschungen* VII (Bern).

Migeotte, L. 1984. *L'Emprunt public dans les cités grecques: Recueil des documents et analyse critique* (Québec-Paris).

Morris, I. 2000. *Archaeology as Cultural History* (Malden, Mass., and Oxford).

Moutsopoulos, N. K. 1982. "*Τα δρακόσπιτα της ΝΔ Εύβοιας. Συμβολή στην αρχιτεκτονική, την τυπολογία και τη μορφολογία τους*", *Επιστημονική Επετηρίδα της Πολυτεχνικής Σχολής. Τμήμα Αρχιτεκτόνων. Αριστοτέλειο Πανεπιστήμιο Θεσσαλονίκης* 7 (1978–80): 263–479.

Müller, D. 1987. *Topographischer Bildkommentar zu den Historien Herodots: Griechenland* (Tübingen).

Muller, A. 1996. *Les Terres cuites votives du Thesmophorion: de l'atelier au sanctuaire, Études Thasiennes* XVII (Paris).

Murray, P. 1997. "Rationality and the Greek City: The Evidence from Kamarina", *CPCActs* 4: 493–502.

Novaro, D. 1996. "Eretria: l'universo cultuale di una 'polis' alle sue origine", *Quaderni di Storia* 43: 73–107.

Osborne, M. 1983. *Naturalization in Athens* iii–iv (Brussels).

Panagopoulou, M. 1995. *ΑΡΧΑΜΠΟΛΗ. Αρχαιολογική έρευνα* (Athens).

Papavasiliou, G. A. 1907. "*ΒΑΛΑΝΕΙΟΝ ΡΩΜΑΙΚΩΝ ΧΡΟΝΩΝ ΕΝ ΑΙΔΗΨΩΙ*", *AE* 1–18.

Parker, V. 1997. *Untersuchungen zum Lelantischen Krieg und verwandten Problemen der frühgriechischen Geschichte* (Stuttgart).

Pernier, L. 1921. "Ricognizioni archeologiche nell'Eubea settentrionale", *ASAtene* 3: 273–76.

Philippson, A. 1952. *Die griechischen Landschaften, i.2: Das östliche Mittelgriechenland und die Insel Euboia* (Frankfurt am Main).

Picard, O. 1979. *Chalkis et la confédération Eubéenne: étude de numismatique et d'histoire (IVe–Ier siècle)* (Paris).

Popham, M. R., Sackett, L. H., and Themelis, P. G. 1980. *Lefkandi*, i: *The Iron Age* (London and Athens).

—— Calligas, P. G., and Sackett, L. H. 1990–93. *Lefkandi*, ii: *The Protogeometric Building at Toumba*, 1: *The Pottery*, 2: *The Excavation, Architecture and Finds* (London and Athens).

—— and Lemos, I. S. 1996. *Lefkandi*, iii: *The Toumba Cemetery* (Athens).

Reber, K. (ed.) 1998. *Die klassische und hellenistischen Wohnhäuser im Westquartier*, in *Eretria: Ausgrabungen und Forschungen* X (Lausanne).

—— 2001. "Unbekanntes Euböa: auf Griechenlands zweitgrösster Insel warten archäologischen Stätten auf ihre Erforschung", *AW* 32: 449–60.

—— 2002. "Die Südgrenze des Territoriums von Eretria", *AntK* 45: 40–54.

Ridgway, D. 1992. *The First Western Greeks* (Cambridge).

Robert, L. 1951. "La circulation des monnaies d'Histiée", in *Études de Numismatique Grecque* (Paris) 179–216.

Sackett, L. H. *et al.* 1966. "Prehistoric Euboea: Contributions toward a Survey", *BSA* 61: 33–112.

Salomon, N. 1997. *Le Cleruchie di Atene* (Pisa).

Sampson, A. 1975. "*Ἀνασκαφὴ εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν τῆς ἀρχαίας Κηρίνθου*", *AAA* 8: 32–37.

—— 1981. *Ἐυβοική Κύμη* (Chalkis).

Sapouna-Sakellaraki, E. 1992. "Un dépôt de temple et le sanctuaire d'Artémis Amarysia en Eubée", *Kernos* 5: 235–63.

—— 1994–95. "*Ανασκαφὴ στο Καστρι Λιχάδας Ἐυβοίας 1994*", *AEM* 31: 101–42.

—— 1998. "Geometric Kyme: The Excavation at Viglatouri, Kyme, on Euboea", in M. Bats and B. d'Agostino (eds.), *Euboica, l'Eubea e la presenza euboica in Calcidica e in Occidente* (Naples) 59–104.

Schachter, A. 1992. "Policy, Cult and the Placing of Greek Sanctuaries", in A. Schachter (ed.), *Le Sanctuaire grec* (Geneva) 1–64.

Schumacher, R. W. M. 1993. "Three Related Sanctuaries of Poseidon: Geraistos, Kalaureia and Tainaron", in N. Marinatos and R. Hägg (eds.), *Greek Sanctuaries: New Approaches* (London) 62–87.

Sherk, R. 1990. "The Eponymous Officials of Greek Cities: Mainland Greece and the Adjacent Islands", *ZPE* 84: 231–95.

Themelis, P. G. 1969. "*Είδησεις ἐξ Εύβοιας*", *AAA* 2: 163–65.

——1982. "*Ανασκαφή στήν Ερέτρια*", *Prakt* 163–80.
Trampedach, K. 1994. *Platon, die Akademie und die Zeitgenössische Politik*, *Hermes* Einzelschriften 66 (Stuttgart).
Tritle, A. L. 1992. "Eretria, Argoura, and the Road to Tamynai: The Athenians in Euboia, 348 B.C.", *Klio* 74: 131–65.
Ulrichs, H. N. 1863. "Beiträge zur Topographie von Euboea", in A. Passow (ed.), *Reisen und Forschungen in Griechenland*, ii (Berlin) 215–59.
Vischer, W. 1857. *Erinnerungen und Eindrücke aus Griechenland* (Basel).
——1877. *Kleine Schriften*, i (Leipzig).
Wallace, W. P 1947. "The Demes of Eretria", *Hesperia* 16: 115–46.
——1956. *The Euboian League and its Coinage*, *NNM* 134 (New York).
——1968. "A Tyrant of Karystos", in C. M. Kraay and G. K. Jenkins (eds.), *Essays in Greek Coinage Presented to S. Robinson* (Oxford) 201–9.
Willers, D. 1991. "Zwei Thesmophorien in Eretria?", *MusHelv* 48: 176–87.

EAST LOKRIS

THOMAS HEINE NIELSEN

I. The Region

The name of the region is *Λοκρίς*, *ἡ* (without attribute), mostly used in such a way that it is clear from the context that the reference is not to West Lokris (Thuc. 2.32.1; Ar. *Av.* 152; Xen. *Hell.* 3.5.3). The ethnic is *Λοκρός*. Collectively and unqualified it is used in Hom. *Il.* 2.527, Hdt. 7.132.1 (on which see Macan *ad* loc.), Thuc. 2.9.2 (on which see *HCT*) and Xen. *Hell.* 3.5.4, again mostly in such a way that confusion with the West Lokrians is avoided. However, the collective ethnic is often qualified: *Λοϙροὶ οἱ* Ηυποκναμίδιοι is found internally (and presumably in opposition to *Λοϙροὶ οἱ Ϝεσπάριοι*) in ML 20 (500–450) and on C4l coins (*BMC* Locris nos. 38–40; Babelon, *Traité* ii.3 no. 438); less well attested is *Λοκροὶ οἱ Ἐπικναμίδιοι*, which may, however, have been used by Hellan. fr. 12 (= Steph. Byz. 78.16–17), and is found in Diod. 16.38.3 (r352) and on C4l coins (*BMC* Locris nos. 71–76; Babelon, *Traité* ii.3 no. 456; *SNG Cop. Aetolia-Euboea* nos. 74–76); finally, *Λοκροὶ οἱ Ὀπούντιοι* is found in the historians (Hdt. 7.203.1, 8.1.2; Thuc. 1.108.3, 2.32.1, 3.89.3; Xen. *Hell.* 3.5.3, 4.2.17; Ephor. fr. 138a (*apud* Strabo 6.1.7), fr. 138b (= Ps.-Skymnos 312); Diod. 11.83.2 (r456)). The latter designation is used by outsiders, certainly in recognition of the predominance of Opous (no. 386) within the region; of the two former designations, *Ἐπικναμίδιος* may have been used both broadly to refer to all East Lokrians and more narrowly to refer to those living in that part of the region that lay north-west of Opous (for details, see Nielsen (2000) 103–7), whereas *Ὑποκναμίδιος* may have been used narrowly about the region around Opous (cf. *Etym. Magn.* 360.32); in any case, it cannot be shown that the Epiknemidians and the Hypoknemidians formed two separate political groups within the region in the Archaic and Classical periods (Nielsen (2000) 108–18).

I would like to thank Dr. B. Forsén and Dr. M. H. Hansen for commenting on a draft of this inventory; Prof. T. V. Buttrey for help with the coins noted under Larymna, and mag. art. R. Frederiksen for discussing the walls of Halai with me. I dedicate this contribution to my teachers Gorm Tortzen and Mogens Herman Hansen, the best there are.

In order for us to be able to distinguish an individual described as a *Λοκρός* as an East Lokrian in contradistinction to a West Lokrian, *Λοκρός* must be qualified by, e.g., the city-ethnic of an East Lokrian city; such qualifications of the ethnic are fairly frequent: *CID* II 43.22: *Λοκρῶν· Σμή[νου] Ὀπουντίου* (340/39); *CID* II 97. 24–25: *Ἀγησίλαι Αἰνησία [Λο]κρῶι Ὀπουντί[ω]ι, Ἀγίαι Ἀριστάρχου Λοκρῶι Θρονιεῖ* (327/6); see also *CID* II 74.1.37, 51, II.28 (337/6); *CID* II 76.II.30 (335); *CID* II 82.24 (333/2).

Χώρα is used about the territory at Ps.-Skylax 60 and Diod. 12.65.5 (r424), and *γῆ* at Diod. 16.25.2 (r353); apart from Ps.-Skylax 60, no Archaic or Classical source applies the term *ἔθνος* explicitly to the East Lokrians, but they were probably considered an *ethnos* like the West Lokrians (*Hell. Oxy.* 21.3, Chambers) and must be included among the Lokrians mentioned at Aeschin. 2.116 as an *ethnos* which was a member of the Delphic Amphiktyony; the Lokrians sent two *hieromnemones* to the Amphiktyonic Council (e.g. *CID* II 36.I.30–1 (343–340)); of these two, one came from West Lokris, and one from East Lokris (e.g. *CID* II 43.22–23 (340/39); *CID* II 74.I.37–38, II.28–29 (337/6); *CID* II 76.I.22–23 (335)), and in C4 he came invariably from Opous (no. 386), the chief city of the region (see further Nielsen (2000)).

According to Hdt. 7.216, Alponos (no. 379) was the first of the *Lokrides poleis* as one approached from Malis, which means that the border must have run between Anthele (no. 427) and Alponos. There is no explicit evidence for the border with Boiotia, but it must have run north of Boiotian Hyettos (no. 207) and Kopai (no. 209) (cf. 431); Kyrtones, which is treated as Boiotian in the present work (see *supra* 435; for the proposed sites, see Fossey (1990) 52–57, and Katsonopoulou (1990) 71–86), is indeed described as Boiotian by late sources (Paus. 9.24.4; Steph. Byz. 398.9); but since regional affiliations are known to have been subject to changes in southern East Lokris (Lokrian sites becoming Boiotian: Goldman and Walker (1915) 420–22), Kyrtones may perhaps have been East Lokrian in the Classical period, but certainty is impossible. The same is

true of Korseia, which is counted as East Lokrian here (cf., however, Étienne and Knoepfler (1976) 37–38, 39). In the south-west, Ps.-Skylax 60 lists Larymna (no. 383) as the first East Lokrian *polis* μετὰ . . . Βοιωτούς; however, Anchoe further south must have belonged to East Lokris as well (Fossey (1990) 27–32). The border with Phokis was Mt. Knemis. On the southern ridge of Mt. Knemis were the sanctuaries of Athena Kranaia and of Artemis Elaphebolia; the former belonged to Phokian Elateia (no. 180) (Philippson (1951) 351), the latter to Phokian Hyampolis (no. 182) (*SEG* 37 422–23). According to Strabo (9.3.1, 3.17), Daphnous, a coastal site in East Lokris, once belonged to Phokis. Unfortunately, the Phokian seizure of Daphnous cannot be dated (cf. *RE* suppl. iii, *s.v.* Daphnus col. 326). It should, however, be noted that Ps.-Skylax 61 gives the following list of Phokian (*sic*) *poleis*: Θρόνιον, Κνῆμις, Ἐλάτεια, Πανοπεύς. Since Thronion (no. 388) is commonly regarded as East Lokrian (Thuc. 2.26.2), but is here treated as Phokian, it is possible that Phokis at the time of composition controlled Thronion, and thus presumably Daphnous, etc., at the same time and then in C4. Another possibility is that the transmitted text of Ps.-Skylax is not sound, and that Θρόνιον is a corruption of Τιθρώνιον (cf. Nielsen (2000) 108); if that is accepted, we will have a list of exclusively Phokian localities, opening with a *polis* (Teithronion (no. 194)), going on to a mountain (Knemis), and ending with two *poleis* (Elateia (no. 180) and Panopeus (no. 190)), a list which then resembles, e.g., the one found in Ps.-Skylax 62: *Thermopylai* (a pass), *Trachis* (a *polis* (no. 432)), *Oite* (a mountain), *Herakleia* (a *polis* (no. 430)), *Spercheios* (a river); see further Flensted-Jensen and Hansen (1996) 141. This emendation will remove the only scrap of (indirect) evidence for the date of the Phokian seizure of Daphnous.

Our written sources provide us with information about eighteen[1] East Lokrian settlements of the Archaic and Classical periods.[2] Of these, seventeen have been identified, with very varying degrees of certainty (Buckler (1989) 93; Fossey (1990) 94–95; Pritchett (1982) 123–75, (1985) 166–89, (1992) 145–55; Dakoronia (1993); Coleman (1998)), the topography of the area being far from completely clear. One ancient toponym is still unlocated,[3] whereas we have remains of a Classical settlement[4] that cannot be convincingly matched with any ancient toponym.[5] Thus we know of nineteen Archaic and Classical settlements altogether.[6] Eleven are described in the Inventory below, which comprises every East Lokrian settlement that was certainly (type A), probably (type B), or possibly (type C) a *polis*. The other eight settlements are as follows.

1. *Pre-Hellenistic Settlements not Attested as* Poleis

Anastasis (AC toponym unknown, late toponym perhaps Ἀνάστασις) Hierokles *Synekdesmos* (πόλις); Fossey (1990) 62–65, but see also Coleman (1998); cf. also Blegen (1926) and Dakoronia (1993) 117. *Barr.* AC.

Anchoe (Ἀγχόη) Strabo 9.2.18 (τόπος); Fossey (1990) 27–32. C.

***Boumelitaia** (ancient toponym not transmitted; *F.Delphes* III.1 362 + III.4 354 (C2) has τῆ]ι πόλει Βου[μελιταιέ]ων) *F.Delphes* III.1 362 + III.4 354 (πόλις (C2)); *RE* suppl. iii. 219–20; Étienne and Knoepfler (1976) 41–44; Fossey (1990) 44–50; Katsonopoulou (1990) 100–12. *Barr.* AC.

[1] Pritchett (1985) 171 suggests "that Homeric Tarphe and Classical Naryka are the same, and that Pharygai did not exist as a Lokrian city". But see Buckler (1989) 95–96, who also denies Pharygai to East Lokris, and doubts the existence of Tarphe in historical times. The number eighteen for known settlements includes Mendenitsa, tentatively identified as Argolas, following Buckler (1989) 41–42. *I.Delphes* III.1 102 is a Delphic proxeny decree of *c.*315–280 for a man described as Λοκρὸς ἐγ Βουμάτου; it is uncertain whether Boumatos was West or East Lokrian; cf. Lerat (1952) i.72. In *Certamen Homeri et Hesiodi* 226–32 an Οἰνόη is ascribed to East Lokris, certainly by mistake; cf. Lerat (1952) i.45.

[2] Two sites mentioned in the Homeric Catalogue of Ships are not mentioned by other Archaic or Classical sources and have not been located: (1) Augeiai (Αὐγειαί); it is believed that this site may be referred to in C4 in *BCH* 19 (1895) p. 402 l. 16, but the toponym is heavily restored; (2) Bessa (Βῆσσα) (Hom. *Il.* 2.532); for a possible candidate with C remains, see Dakoronia (1993) 126. In addition, Lycoph. *Alex.* at 1147 mentions Φαλωρίας (= Steph. Byz. 657.3: Φαλωριάς, πόλις Λοκρίδος) and at 1149 Πυρωναῖα (= Steph. Byz. 541.13: Πυρωναία, πόλις Λοκρίδος, and 541.7: Πυρηναία, πόλις Λοκρίδος , "an obvious doublet" (Fossey (1990) 172)). Since neither of these can be matched with a known site (Fossey (1990) 168), it is impossible to know whether they existed in our period, or whether they are legendary.

[3] This is Skarpheia, probably in the plain of Molos; *Barr.* 54 has tentatively placed Skarpheia at modern Molos, a site with *AC* remains. See, however, Buckler (1989) 94–95; cf. Pritchett (1992) 145–48.

[4] At Roustiana, see Dakoronia (1993) 126, who thinks it may be Homeric Bessa. This may be Fossey's Golemi (Fossey (1990) 180–82).

[5] Fossey (1990) discusses several sites which have not made it on to *Barr.* map 55. Some of these are probably left out because their toponym is unknown or because they formed part of a larger settlement; see e.g. the discussion of the site at Martinon (Fossey (1990) 33–35), believed to be a part of Larymna; such sites I have not counted here, though they are mentioned in the Inventory if appropriate. See further Fossey (1990) 49 (Tragana), 50 (Mitro peninsula: C), 51 (Anderas), 76–78 (Megaloplatanos), 79–80 (Skanderaga: AC), 85–86 (Villovo: AC), 87 (Palaiokastro Livanaton), 88–90 (Arkitsa).

[6] In addition to settlements, we have some information on military installations, e.g. *Oion* (Οἷον): Strabo 1.3.20 (φρούριον (r426); C (Fossey (1990) 66–67); *Prophitis Elias at Megaloplatanos* (ancient toponym unknown): C (Fossey (1990) 78); Fossey (ibid.) calls the site an "obviously temporary and essentially military" one. On military installations etc. in the southern part of the region, see Fossey (1990) 138–50.

Daphnous (*Δαφνοῦς*) Strabo 9.3.1 (*πόλισμα*), 9.3.17 (*πόλις*); Steph. Byz. 222.14 (*πόλις*). *Barr.* AC.

Kalliaros (*Καλλίαρος*) Hom. *Il.* 2.532; Hellan. fr. 13 (= Steph. Byz. 349.8: *πόλις Λοκρῶν κτλ*). Fossey (1990) 75; cf., however, Dakoronia (1993) 120–24. *Barr.* CH.

Korseia (*Κόρσεια*) Taken to be East Lokrian by Oldfather in *RE* xi. 1438; see also Coleman (1998); cf., however, Étienne and Knoepfler (1976) 37–38, 39; Paus. 9.24.5 calls it a *πόλισμα*, but presumably takes it to be Boiotian; see the remarks about Kyrtones above. For Dem. 19.141, see Hansen (1996) 83. Fossey (1990) 58–61; Katsonopoulou (1990) 86–99. *Barr.* C.

2. *Unidentified Settlements*

Mendenitsa (possibly the ancient toponym was *Ἀργόλας* (Diod. 16.30.4 with Buckler (1989) 41–42)) Diod. 16.31.1 (for which see Buckler (1989) 41–42). Pritchett (1982) 167–68, Buckler (1989) 41–42. *Barr.* C.

Roustiana Dakoronia (1993) 126. Not in *Barr.*; C.

It is difficult to say whether any of these sites were *poleis*; the site identified as Anastasis is perhaps a candidate, since it was clearly a substantial town (Dakoronia (1993) 117), but it must be emphasised that it is extremely difficult to deduce *polis* status from archaeological evidence. On the other hand, some of the communities described as *poleis* in the Inventory below might perhaps be omitted: *viz.* Knemides (no. 381) and Nikaia (no. 385). But even allowing for some uncertainty, the Inventory points to the conclusion that more than two-thirds of all known East Lokrian settlements were organised as *poleis* either throughout the Classical period or at least for some time within that period.

The plurality of *poleis* in East Lokris is acknowledged by several sources (ML 20 with Larsen (1968) 51–52; Hdt. 7.216; Ps.-Skylax 60; Diod. 16.38.3 (r352); see also Ap. Rhod. 4.1780: *Ὀπούντιά τε ἄστεα Λοκρῶν*). It is commonly assumed that these *poleis* were united in a confederacy (on which see Larsen (1968) 48–58) that probably comprised the whole region (Nielsen (2000) 117, although pointing out that the nature of the organisation attested in ML 20 is not clear (115)). ML 20 shows that this "confederacy" was in existence by 500–450, and Fossey (1990) 161 thinks that this unit possibly existed by the later Archaic period, which is clearly the implication of *SEG* 41 506 (C6–C5) if the Lokrians who concluded that treaty with the Boiotians were the East Lokrians. The leading *polis* of the region and of the "confederacy" was without doubt Opous (no. 386), and this city may have turned (some of) the other *poleis* into its dependencies (Nielsen (2000) 111–14; *infra* s.v. Alponos (no. 379)).

During the Persian Wars the attitude of the East Lokrians was ambiguous: according to Hdt. 7.132 the East Lokrians gave earth and water to Xerxes, but they nevertheless fought *παν στρατιῇ* at Thermopylai (Hdt. 7.203.1) and supplied seven *pentekonteroi* for the Artemision campaign (Hdt. 8.1.2); after Thermopylai they joined the Persians (Hdt. 8.66.2). During the Peloponnesian War the East Lokrians were allied to Sparta (no. 345) (Thuc. 2.9.2–3, on which see *HCT*), but they joined the anti-Spartan side in the Corinthian War (Xen. *Hell.* 4.2.17, 3.15). In the Third Sacred War the East Lokrians opposed the Phokians, and their territory saw much hard fighting (Diod. 16.29.1; Buckler (1989), e.g. at 93–97).

On the status of those settlements which were not *poleis* we can only hypothesise. A fair hypothesis would be that they were *komai*: *kome* is actually applied to Alponos (no. 379) by Herodotos (7.176.5), and though Alponos *was* probably a *polis* (see Inventory), other settlements may well have been *komai*, although no individual settlement is so described; however, Lerat (1952) II.44 and Tuplin (1993) 69 n. 13 take the general reference to Lokrian *komai* at Xen. *Hell.* 4.3.22 to refer to East Lokris.

II. The *Poleis*

378. Alope (Alopaios) Map 55. Lat. 38.45, long. 22.55 (Fossey (1990) 91–92). Size of territory: probably 1, perhaps 2. Type: [A]. The toponym is *Ἀλόπη, ἡ* (Thuc. 2.26.2). The city-ethnic is *Ἀλοπαῖος* (*IG* IX.1 222 (C3–C2); cf. Lerat (1952) i.15 n. 1).

At Ps.-Skylax 60, where *polis* is used in the urban sense, Alope is the last of four toponyms listed between the heading *πόλεις αἵδε* and the addendum *εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλαι πολλαὶ Λοκροῖς*. For a retrospective attestation of *polis* in the urban sense, see Diod. 12.44.1 (r430). The only occurrence of the ethnic is external and individual (*IG* IX.1 222 (C3–C2)), a grant of proxeny to an *Alopaios* by Teithronion (no. 194).

Thuc. 2.26.2 suggests that the toponym (*Ἀλόπη*) may have designated the territory as well; a battle (*μάχη*) was fought there in 431 (ibid.), but apart from that we have no evidence about the territory and only a little about the city. According to Demetrios of Kallatis (*FGrHist* 85) fr. 6 = Strabo 1.3.20, Alope suffered seriously from the earthquake of 426 (Fossey (1990) 183–84). The city was centred on

a flat-topped, fortified hill; the polygonal circuit wall has not been dated, but may belong to C6 (ibid. 140–41); it enclosed an area measuring *c.*165 × 70 m, within which building remains and Archaic and Classical sherds as well as tiles attest to activity (Pritchett (1982) 148–49; Fossey (1990) 91–92). The lower city lay at the northern foot of the hill and shows extensive Archaic and Classical structures (Haas (1998) 110–12).

379. Alponos (Alponios) Map 55. Lat. 38.50, long. 22.35. Size of territory: 1 or 2. Type: A. Herodotos gives the toponym as Ἀλπηνοί, οἱ at 7.176.2, but as Ἀλπηνός, ἡ at 7.216; Ἀλπωνός is found in Aeschin. 2.132, 138, and was possibly used by Hellan. fr. 12 (= Steph. Byz. 78.15–16) and Demetrios of Kallatis (*FGrHist* 85) fr. 6 = Strabo 1.3.20. An ethnic derived from the latter toponym, Ἀλπώνιος, is found in *CID* II 126.1 (C3) and *Syll.*³ 419 (C3f), both external and individual uses.

Alponos is described as a *polis* at Hdt. 7.216.2, but as a *kome* at Hdt. 7.176.5, an inconsistency which is difficult to explain. Another site in the same general area, Anthele (no. 427), is similarly described both as a *polis* (Hdt. 7.176.2) and a *kome* (Hdt. 7.200.2). So, if there is an explanation, it may be one that is peculiar to this general area, such as the modest size of the settlements. In the case of Alponos, it is also possible that its classification as a *kome* is a reflection of dependent status (cf. Hansen (1995*a*) 73–75), and it may be suggested that the city was dependent on Opous (no. 386), the leading city of the East Lokrian "confederacy" (see *infra*). Strangely, though, Steph. Byz. 78.12–13 reports (without source reference) that Alponos was μητρόπολις Λοκρῶν. The city served as a base for the Greeks during the Thermopylai campaign (Hdt. 7.176.5, 229.1).

Alponos is poorly attested: there is no evidence about its territory, and only a little about the city. According to Demetrios of Kallatis (*FGrHist* 85) fr. 6, as reported by Strabo 1.3.20, Alponos suffered seriously from the earthquake of 426 (Fossey (1990) 183–84). The fragment, moreover, refers to a *pyrgos*, which was one of several such constructions at the harbour of Alponos (πύργον τῶν ἐλλιμενίων). The reference may indicate that the city was walled (Pritchett (1982) 160). In C5 Alponos was probably centred on a walled acropolis to the east of Thermopylai (for which see Pritchett (1982) 160–61 and (1992) 148–50), but the city was possibly relocated uphill to a new site after the earthquake of 426 (Pritchett (1982) 164; but see Buckler (1989) 93–94); Pritchett (1982) 164–66 describes the probable new site as a walled city.

The celebration of *Thesmophoria* is attested in Demetrios of Kallatis (*FGrHist* 85) fr. 6 = Strabo 1.3.20 (r426).

380. Halai (Haleeus) Map 55. Lat. 35.40, long. 23.10. Size of territory: probably 2. Type: B. The toponym is not found in Archaic or Classical sources, but Strabo 9.2.13 and 4.2 (MS ἄλλαι) has been emended to read Ἅλαί, αἱ (cf. Plut. *Sull.* 26.3–4; Paus. 9.24.5; Steph. Byz. 68.5). The ethnic is Ἁλεεύς (*AJA* 19 (1915) 442–44 no. 2 (C5f)).

The earliest sources to classify Halai as a *polis* are two Hellenistic inscriptions: *AJA* 19 (1915) no. 3.2 (206/5) and no. 4.2 (208/7, restored), where the term is used in the political sense; however, the city deserves inclusion in this Inventory as a type B since (i) *AJA* 19 (1915) 442–44 no. 2 (C5f) testifies to the existence of a board of three eponymous *archontes* (cf. Sherk (1990) 244); (ii) the internal collective use of the ethnic is attested in the same inscription and sub-ethnics are unknown in East Lokris; (iii) the city had a cult of Athena Poliouchos in C6s (*AJA* 19 (1915) 439–42 no. 1); though the *polis* element of this (and similar) epithet(s) may originally have meant *akropolis* (Cole (1995) 301–5), the absence of a proper acropolis at Halai (see *infra*) indicates that *Poliouchos* should here be taken as the "Possessor of the *polis*", not of the *akropolis* (Hansen (1995*b*) 32–33).

Halai must originally have formed part of East Lokris,[7] but in C3 the city was part of Boiotia (cf. *AJA* 19 (1915) no. 3); exactly when the regional affiliation changed is unknown, but it may have been as early as C4m (so Goldman and Walker (1915) 420–21; cf. Argoud (1997) 254). The evidence on Halai relates mostly to the city, not the territory. The "acropolis" of Halai "hardly deserves the name of acropolis, for at no point does it rise more than four metres above the level of the bay" (Goldman (1940) 382; cf. Argoud (1997) 255–56). This "acropolis" was fortified, and the preserved remains belong to two main periods of construction. The earlier fortification was built *c.*600 or slightly earlier (Goldman (1940) 430; cf. Fossey (1990) 40) at the "foundation" of the site. Constructed in large rough polygonal blocks of limestone, the wall had an average width of 3.10 m and had at least three circular towers. It enclosed *c.*0.7 ha (calculated on the basis of fig. 6 in Fossey (1990)). This initial fortification was repaired in C5 (McFadden (2001) 62), and the second main period of construction, dating to *c.*350–330 (Goldman (1940) 396; McFadden (2001) 68) or

[7] This is generally (and rightly) assumed, though no Archaic or Classical source states so explicitly; it can, however, be deduced from Ps.-Skylax 60, which enumerates the cities of the (East) Lokrians from south to north, beginning with Larymna and ending with Alope; if Larymna was Lokrian, so must Halai, situated between Larymna and Alope, have been.

C4l (Fossey (1990) 41; McFadden (2001) 62, 68) enlarged the enclosed area to *c.*0.85 ha (Goldman (1940) 388), the new sections being constructed in isodomic ashlar in *emplektron*. The acropolis was bisected by a street running from north-west to south-east in the Archaic period. Buildings aligned with both the main street and the Archaic fortification wall have been found, suggesting the existence of a substantial Archaic community within the acropolis circuit (Coleman (1992) 274–75; cf., however, *AR* (1992–93) 49–50). No Classical remains have yet been found on the acropolis (Coleman (1992) 275). The surface survey carried out by the Cornell Halai East Lokris Project team revealed traces of a C4 or Hellenistic circuit wall surrounding a lower town and enclosing an area of *c.*12–13 ha (Coleman (1992) 268 with fig. 2). The cemetery was situated to the north and east of the acropolis, probably along the main route to the site; here more than 280 graves have been found, with the earliest dating to C6m and several to C5 (Goldman and Walker (1915) 424, 429; cf. also *ArchDelt* (1987) B.1 *Chron.* 228–31).

The epithet [*Πο*λ]*ιο*̂*χ*[*ος*] is found in a C6s inscription (Goldman (1940) 401 = *AJA* 19 (1915) 439–42 no. 1), from a C6e precinct of Athena on the acropolis that included a small C6e temple. This sanctuary was completely reconstructed in C6l–C5e, and a new splendidly decorated temple was erected on a bastion engaging the western part of the circuit (Goldman (1940) 452–54; cf. Wren (1996) 17–59, arguing that the temple was destroyed *c.*480, possibly by the Persians); the dedication of the temple is commemorated by *AJA* 19 (1915) 442–44 no. 2: *Ηαλεε*̂*ς ἀνέθεαν τ' Ἀθάναι* (C5f). For the possibility of a hero cult of the city-founder on the acropolis, see Wren (1996) 60–84.

381. Knemi(de)s Map 55. Lat. 38.45, long. 22.50. Size of territory: probably 1. Type: [A] (?). Knemis was the mountain range dividing Phokis from East Lokris (Oldfather (1922*b*) 909), but also the name of a promontory (Serv. *Aen.* III 399). According to Strabo 9.4.4, there was on the coast of East Lokris a *χωρίον ὀχυρόν* by the name of *Κνημῖδες*; in Ps.-Skylax 61 we find the following list of Phokian (*sic*) *poleis*: *Θρόνιον*, *Κνῆμις*, *Ἐλάτεια*, *Πανοπεύς*. Unless we accept the emendation proposed above (665), then, since Thronion (no. 388) was in East Lokris (Thuc. 2.26.2), the Knemis listed here may be Strabo's Knemides, and unless Ps.-Skylax has here included a promontory in a list of *poleis*, which is not at all impossible (cf. Flensted-Jensen and Hansen (1996) 140–42), it may be presumed that he has confused the name of the promontory with the name of a settlement (so Oldfather (1922*a*) 908). If so, he classifies Knemides as a *polis*. There is, however, no evidence to support this classification. For the probable site, see Pritchett (1985) 187–89 with fig. 9.

382. Kynos (Kynios) Map 55. Lat. 38.45, long. 23.05. Size of territory: 1 or 2. Type: A. Location: see *infra*. The toponym is *Κῦνος*, *ἡ* (Hom. *Il.* 2.531). According to Steph. Byz. 393.22–23, the city-ethnic was *Κύνιος* or *Κυναῖος*; attested only in a Roman-date epitaph from Attika commemorating *Ἁρμοδία Κυνία* (*IG* II² 9118).

Kynos is called a *polis* in the urban sense by Hecat. fr. 131 (for which see Hansen (1997) 17, 23–24) and by Ps.-Skylax 60, where, reading *Κῦνος*, *Ὀποῦς* for MS *Κυνοσοῦρος*, Kynos then appears as the second of four toponyms listed between the heading *πόλεις αἵδε* and the addendum *εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλαι πολλαὶ Λοκροῖς*.

Kynos is poorly documented, and its location is debated. According to Fossey (1990) 81, the focus of ancient Kynos was the Pyrgos hill 2 km north of modern Livanates (and the city may have included the sites at Arkitsa and Villovo; cf. Fossey (1990) 85–90). The Pyrgos hill-top measures 200 × 70 m and is crowned by a Hellenistic fortification wall; a harbour lies just north of Pyrgos and may have included a temple (Fossey (1990) 81–83). Hope Simpson and Lazenby (1970) 47 reported Archaic and Classical sherds from the Pyrgos area. However, Dakoronia (1993) 125–26 suggests that Pyrgos was simply the harbour site of Kynos, while the city proper was at Palaiokastro, 2.5 km south-east of Pyrgos: here are "many rich graves of the Classical period" and an extensive and fortified acropolis which was the centre "of a large and important town". According to Demetrios of Kallatis (*FGrHist* 85) fr. 6 *apud* Strabo 1.3.20, Kynos suffered seriously from the earthquake of 426 (Fossey (1990) 183–84).

Late sources such as Strabo 9.4.2 and Paus. 10.1.2 describe Kynos as merely the harbour of Opous (no. 386), but Oldfather (1925) 32 believes that Kynos was originally more than that. According to a tradition preserved in Strabo 13.1.68, Kanai on Lesbos was a *πολίχνιον Λοκρῶν τῶν ἐκ Κύνου*.

383. Larymna (Larymnaios) Map 55. Lat. 38.35, long. 23.15. Size of territory: 1 or 2. Type: [A]. The toponym is *Λάρυμνα*, *ἡ* (Ps.-Skylax 60; *SGDI* 2593 (273)). The city-ethnic is *Λαρυμναῖος* in *CIG* II 1936 (Hell.) and *Λαρυμνεύς* in *IG* IX.1 235.4 (C2–C1).

In Ps.-Skylax 60, where *polis* is used in the urban sense, Larymna is the first of four toponyms listed between the heading *πόλεις αἵδε* and the addendum *εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλαι πολλαὶ Λοκροῖς*. *IG* IX.1 235.6 (Hell.) uses *polis* in the

personal sense; ἀστός is used about the citizens in *IG* IX.1 235.3 (Hell.), and πατρίς is applied to the city in *BCH* 26 (1902) 330 no. 35c.16 (Hell.). The internal collective use of the city-ethnic is found abbreviated as ΛΑ on a C4 coin (*infra*).

The name and size of the territory are unknown, but it must have included the plain at the bay of Larmes (Fossey (1990) 22). Fossey (1990) 35 argues that the Classical sites at *Bazaráki*, probably ancient Ἀγχόη (for which see Fossey (1990) 27–32) and *Palaiokhóri* (for which see ibid. 33–35) situated 2.5 km south and 6 km west of Larymna respectively, were "satellites" of Larymna; in that case, Larymna had a territory measuring at least 20 km², although it was probably larger. A Hellenistic metric epitaph includes the expression [ἐ]γ χθονὶ . . . / Λαρύμνας (*BCH* 26 (1902) 330 no. 35c.1–2).

Larymna was originally a part of East Lokris (Ps.-Skylax 60; *SGDI* 2593 (273)), but later it ranked as Boiotian (Paus. 9.23.7); exactly when the regional affiliation changed is unknown, but Goldman and Walker (1915) 420–21 assume it occurred in C4m; however, *SGDI* 2593 is a Delphic grant of proxeny from 273 to Εὔβιος Ἀλύπου Λοκρὸς ἐγ Λαρύμνας.

The pantheon of Larymna is unknown, but Fossey (1990) 154 suggests that Dionysos was an important divinity here.

Larymna is situated in the bay of Larmes and is centred on a small peninsula with a harbour on its south-east (cf. Schäfer (1967) 540; Lawrence (1979) 472; Haas (1998) 101–2). An elevation of a few metres height on the peninsula served as "acropolis" (Schäfer (1967) 530). Fortifications and ancient remains indicate the existence of the ancient settlement on the peninsula and on the mainland, but modern constructions impede observation of the degree of urbanisation; there are both Archaic and Classical sherds at the site (Fossey (1990) 22–24; see fig. 4 for a plan of the site), enough to indicate "significant Classical period habitation" (Haas (1998) 106). Schäfer (1967) 533 suggests that originally the town occupied only the peninsula (i.e. slightly more than 1 ha). This peninsula was fortified, and the remains of fortification date to two different periods. The oldest remains, in "Cyclopean" and polygonal styles, are possibly late Archaic (ibid. 542). The second phase was in isodomic style and probably dates to C4 (ibid.). It seems that the enclosed area was now enlarged to cover land outside the peninsula (see the probable line of the circuit in Schäfer (1967) Abb. 1 at 528, indicating that the enclosed area grew to *c.*6.5 ha). The fortifications at Larymna were all constructed in local breccia stone (Schäfer (1967) 530–31).

The J. Hirsch auction catalogue of 15 May 1905 mentions that the collector attributed two silver coins (nos. 1628–29) to Larymna; no. 1628 is a hemiobol: *obv.* bearded male; *rev.* grapes; legend: ΚΡ, which rather suggests [ΛΟ]ΚΡ(ῶν); but no. 1629, likewise a hemiobol: *obv.* beardless youth; *rev.* grapes, has the *rev.* legend ΛΑ, which may possibly abbreviate the ethnic of Larymna; Oldfather (1908) 470 accepts the attribution without discussion and assigns no. 1628 to C4, and no. 1629 should be contemporary with it.

384. Naryka (Narykaios) Map 55. Lat. 38.45, long. 22.45. Size of territory: 1 or 2. Type: B. The toponym is Ναρύκα, ἡ in *IG* IX.1² 3 706A (C3f); Steph. Byz. 470.4–5 gives Νᾶρυξ, Ναρύκη and Ναρύκιον, but without source reference (see further Oldfather (1935) 1773); Pritchett (1985) 169–71 suggests that Naryka is the descendant of Homeric Tarphe (Hom. *Il.* 2.533). The ethnic is Ναρυκαῖος (*IG* IX.1² 3 706A.1 (C3f); Diod. 16.38.5 (r352)).

Naryka is called a *polis* in the political sense in *IG* IX.1² 3 706A.1 (C3f), and in the urban sense at Diod. 16.38.5 (r352); Lycoph. *Alex.* 1148 refers to Ναρύκειον ἄστυ. The internal collective use of the ethnic is found in *IG* IX.1² 3 706A.1 (C3f), the external use at Diod. 16.38.5 (r352).

The name of the territory is unknown, but Diod. 14.82.8 (καταστρατοπεδεύσαντος . . . εἰς Νάρυκα (r395)) may suggest that the toponym could designate the territory. According to Pritchett (1985) 168–69, Naryka was an extensive and thriving city in C4; he notes that the acropolis "is covered with blocks and sherds", and furthermore mentions a possible theatre. In 352 the city was besieged (Diod. 16.38.5) and must thus have been walled; a fortification on the acropolis is briefly mentioned in Pritchett (1985) 168–69. In 352 the city was destroyed by the Phokian Phayllos (Diod. 16.38.5: τὴν δὲ πόλιν ἑλὼν κατὰ κράτος διήρπασε καὶ κατέσκαψεν); however, the city emerges again in C3f in *IG* IX.1² 3 706A. This document is the earliest surviving public enactment of the city: it is a law of Naryka and the *Aianteioi* laying down regulations concerning the Lokrian Maiden Tribute which went to Ilion to atone for Lokrian Aias' outrage of Kassandra (see e.g. Hughes (1991) 166–84); Naryka was presumably involved because this city was considered the hometown of Lokrian Aias (Diod. 14.82.8; Strabo 9.4.4; cf., however, Eur. *IA* 263–64, suggesting Thronion (no. 388) as the home of Aias).

A Λοκρὶς Αἰαντίς, attested in *IG* IX.1² 3 706A (C3f), is possibly Athena in epichoric dress (Oldfather (1935) 1775; but see Lerat (1952) ii.157).

385. Nikaia (Nikaeus) Map 55. Lat. 38.50, long. 22.35. Size of territory: 1 or 2. Type: C. The toponym is Νίκαια (or possibly Νείκαια, cf. Oldfather (1937) 222), ἡ (Aeschin. 2.132; Dem. 11.4; Diod. 16.59.2). The ethnic is given as Νικαεύς by Memnon (*FGrHist* 434) fr. 28.10 (rC4l).

Nikaia is called a *polis* in the urban sense by the C3 writer Timosthenes, *Peri limenon*, quoted verbatim in Didymos *In Dem. Comm.*, Pearson and Stephens, col. 11.33; πατρίς is used twice in Memnon (*FGrHist* 434) fr. 28.10 (rC4l); the same fragment uses the ethnic about survivors of the destruction of the city (see *infra*).

Oldfather (1937) 225–26 argues that Nikaia was founded only after 426 and probably in C4 by Thebes (no. 221) under Epameinondas; schol. Dem. 11.12 calls the city an ἄποικος of the Thebans. From Didymos *In Dem. Comm.*, Pearson and Stephens, col. 11 26–51, it appears that in C4 the city was held by Philip II and the Thebans at different points, and Phokian occupation is attested by Diod. 16.59.2 (cf. Pritchett (1982) 162). The site is briefly described in Pritchett (1982) 162–66 and Buckler (1989) 93–94.

The city was destroyed by the Phokians (Memnon (*FGrHist* 434) fr. 28.10: the terms used are καταστροφή and ἀφανισμός), probably in 353 (Oldfather (1937) 224), but it is referred to again in 339 as held by Thebes (Philoch. fr. 56b) and is mentioned by Timosthenes as well (see *supra*); survivors of the destruction seem to have served with Alexander the Great in Asia (Memnon (*FGrHist* 434) fr. 28.9), where they reportedly founded Nikaia in Bithynia (ibid.).

386. Opous (Opountios) Map 55. Lat. 38.40, long. 23.00. Size of territory: 2 or 3. Type: A. Located at modern Atalandi (Fossey (1990) 71–74); but see Dakoronia (1993) 117–20. The toponym is Ὀπόεις, ἡ (Hom. *Il.* 2.531; Pind. *Ol.* 9.14; ML 20 l. 33 (500–450)) or Ὀποῦς (Thuc. 2.32.1; Arist. *Hist. an.* 576^{b}25). The city-ethnic is Ὀπόντιος (ML 20 l. 14 (500–450; *SEG* 23 415 (450–425)) or Ὀποέντιος (*SEG* 23 420 (C4)) or Ὀπούντιος (*CID* II 97.25 (327/6)).

Opous is called a *polis* in the political sense by Pind. *Ol.* 9.21 and in the urban sense by Ps.-Skylax 60, where, reading Κῦνος, Ὀποῦς for MS Κυνοσοῦρος, Opous then appears as the third of four toponyms listed between the heading πόλεις αἵδε and the addendum εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλαι πολλαὶ Λοκροῖς. πολῖται is found in Arist. fr. 561, Rose, which Rose believes is a Plutarchean paraphrase of a passage in Aristotle's Ὀπουντίων πολιτεία (Rose frr. 560–64); μητρόπολις is applied to Opous in a C5 inscription quoted by Strabo 9.4.2; *Klio* 15 (1918) 66 no. 94 (cf. *AM* 67 (1942) 269 (345–310)), and *CEG* II 651 (C4?) use πατρίς and ἀκρόπολις is found in the latter as well. ἄστυ is found Pind. *Ol.* 9.42 (cf. Gerber (2002) *ad loc.*).

The internal collective use of the city-ethnic is found on C4 coins (Head, *HN*^{2} 336), whereas the use of Ὀπόντιος in ML 20 (500–450) is ambiguous: it may be used to refer to the East Lokrians in general (Larsen (1968) 51), or it may be the city-ethnic of Opous (Nielsen (2000) 111ff). The external collective use is found in Ar. *Av.* 152; Tod 196.25–26 (330–326); and *IG* II^{2} 572.6 (C4l). The external individual use is found in *SEG* 27 18.5 (352/1), *SEG* 27 18–19 (C4m) and *SEG* 23 420 (C4).

Opous was without doubt the leading city of East Lokris and the centre or "capital" of the East Lokrian "confederacy", as is clearly borne out by ML 20 (500–450) (Gschnitzer (1958) 56–59; Larsen (1968) 51–54; Nielsen (2000) 109–14, all commenting on the inscription); Opous may even have turned the other East Lokrian *poleis* into dependencies (Nielsen (2000) 111ff, and *supra* under Alponos (no. 379)). Evidence confirming this Opountian predominance is found in an inscription from Thermopylai quoted by Strabo 9.4.2 in which Opous is called μητρόπολις Λοκρῶν; the epigram commemorates warriors who died ὑπὲρ Ἑλλάδος ἀντία Μήδων, and so probably dates to C5 (see further Lorenz (1976) no. 9 and Molyneux (1992) 182–83); Pindar, too, in *Ol.* 9.20 calls Opous Λοκρῶν … ματήρ, and the fragments of the Aristotelian Ὀπουντίων πολιτεία likewise point to Opountian predominance within Lokris; thus, frr. 561–62, Rose, relate myths about how West Lokrian cities were founded from Opous. Furthermore, *CIG* II 789 (312–280) closely associates Opous and the Lokrians as if there was no difference between these two entities, and finally, as pointed out *supra*, all C4 *hieromnemones* from East Lokris came from Opous. See also *infra* on coins. It was certainly this predominance that gave rise to the literary expression *Lokroi hoi Opountioi* (Nielsen (2000) 102).

At *Ol.* 9.15 Pindar describes Opous as the possession of Θέμις θυγάτηρ τέ οἱ σώτειρα … μεγαλόδοξος Εὐνομία (Gerber (2002) 28), thus pointing to an oligarchic or aristocratic constitution in Opous; it is also possible that Aristotle at *Pol.* 1287^{a}5–8 refers to Opous as an example of *aristokratia*; Aristotle here points out that πολλοὶ ποιοῦσιν ἕνα κύριον τῆς διοικήσεως, and gives Opous as an example of this; he adds, however, that at Opous this was κατά τι μέρος ἔλαττον "to a certain smaller extent" (Newman *ad loc.*). Another official is mentioned by Plutarch: *Quaest. Graecae* 293b11 mentions a κριθόλογος among the Opountians; there is no indication of the date, but the passage may rely on Aristotle's Ὀπουντίων πολιτεία or Philippos of Opous' (C4) Περὶ Λοκρῶν τῶν Ὀπουντίων (*RE* xix. 2354–55; Giesen (1901) 465–66 and Lasserre (1987) 600.)

Envoys of the city are mentioned in *IG* II^{2} 572.9 (C4l) (an honorary decree for [πρέσ]βεις). *SEG* 23 415 (450–425) is a

grant of proxeny by Thessalian Pherai (no. 414) to a citizen of Opous; *SEG* 23 420 is one of C4. The earliest surviving enactment of the city itself (i.e. apart from ML 20) is *IG* IX.1 268 (Hell.), a grant of proxeny that refers to an eponymous *archon* and possibly to the assembly and council.

CEG II 651 (C4?) refers to the *ἀκρόπολις*; for the poor remains of what is probably the acropolis, see Fossey (1990) 68–70. According to Diod. 19.78.5, Opous was subjected to a *poliorkia* in 313. The existence of an extensive C4l–C3 fortification wall is now securely established (Dakoronia (1993) 120 with fig. 4 at 122). There are Archaic and Classical sherds at Opous (Fossey (1990) 70). Inside the wall, remains of Classical buildings have been found, enough to establish that the site was "a great city" (Dakoronia (1993) 120). For two kilns that seem to have been producing in C4l, see Lambropoulou (1983). According to Demetrios of Kallatis (*FGrHist* 85) fr. 6 *apud* Strabo 1.3.20, Opous suffered seriously from the earthquake of 426 (Fossey (1990) 183–84). The city received grain from Kyrene in 330–326 (Tod 196.26).

On a C4 (*IG* IX.1 280) statue base, Dionysos and Apollo are mentioned, and presumably they were honoured by the dedication. Opous seems to have celebrated *Aianteia*; cf. Pind. *Ol.* 9 with scholia.

Promanteia is granted to a man of Opous by *F.Delphes* III.1 92 (318–306). An Opountian won the Olympic *pankration* contest in 536 (Moretti no. 119); *Νικέας Λοκρὸς ἐξ Ὀποῦντος* won the *stadion* race in 500 (Dion. Hal. *AR* 5.50.1); and Pind. *Ol.* 9 was composed for Epharmostos of Opous, who won the Olympic wrestling contest in 468 (*FGrHist* 415 fr. 1.38) and in addition achieved victories in the three other Panhellenic games (Pythian: *Ol.* 9.12, 17; Isthmian: *Ol.* 9.84–86; Nemean: *Ol.* 9.87; with Gerber (2002) *ad locc. citt.*) as well as in numerous other games (Pind. *Ol.* 9.88ff lists victories at Argos, Athens, Mt. Lykaion and Pellene). Also in 468, Menalkes of Opous was victorious at Olympia in boxing (*FGrHist* 415 fr. 1.39). According to the schol. 123c Pind. *Ol.* 9., the Isthmionikian (Pind. *Ol.* 9.84) athlete Lampromachos was also *proxenos* of Thebes (no. 221) at Opous in C5f (Gerber (2002) 57–58 with refs.). Plut. *De Pyth. or.* 401f5ff mentions a C4 dedication at Delphi by the Opountians.

Opous struck coins from C5 onwards. From C5 come silver trihemiobols and obols on the Aiginetan standard: *obv.* amphora; *rev.* *O* in incuse square (Babelon, *Traité* ii.3 nos. 423–44). C4 silver coins (*obv.* amphora with grapes, *ΟΠΟΝ*; *rev.* star; Babelon, *Traité* ii.3 nos. 436, 436 *bis*) are similar and confirm that the C5 coins belong to Opous. It is interesting that coins of the same appearance are struck, in the name not of the Opountians, but of the Lokrians; thus a coin of, probably, C5 has the amphora on the *obv.*, and *Λ(οκρῶν)* in a border of dots on the *rev.* (Babelon, *Traité* ii.3 no. 425). The legend confirms the impression that there was no real difference between the two entities of "Opous" and "the Lokrians". Similarly, the C4 coins inscribed *ΟΠΟΝ* (*supra*) have close parallels in later coins inscribed *ΛΟ* or *ΛΟΚΡ* (Babelon, *Traité* ii.3 nos. 442–43). One coin even has the legend *ΟΠΟΝ* on the *obv.* and *ΛΟ(κρῶν)* on the *rev.* (Babelon, *Traité* ii.3 no. 435). In C4 Opous struck a well-known series of silver coins: *obv.* head of Demeter r. or l.; *rev.* Lokrian Aias in fighting attitude; legend: *ΟΠΟΝΤΙΩΝ* (Head, *HN*² 336 fig. 190). These coins, again, are paralleled later in C4 by coins inscribed *ΛΟΚΡΩΝ* (Babelon, *Traité* ii.3 no. 451), or *ΛΟΚΡΩΝ ΥΠΟ(κνημιδίων)* (Babelon, *Traité* ii.3 nos. 438, 439–41), again suggesting that "Opous", "the Lokrians" and "the Hypoknemidian Lokrians" were more or less the same thing. A C4s issue of bronze coins have *obv.* Athena; *rev.* grapes; legend: *ΟΠΟΝΤΙΩΝ* or *ΛΟΚΡΩΝ* (Head, *HN*² 336–37; Babelon, *Traité* ii.3 nos. 362–78; *SNG Cop. Aetolia-Euboea* 42–58).

The foundation myth of Opous is reinterpreted by Pindar in *Ol.* 9 (for which see the Introduction in the translation by Nisetich (1980) 122–23).

387. Skarpheia (Skarpheus) Unlocated, but presumably in the plain of Molos (Pritchett (1982) 166–67, (1992) 145–48; Buckler (1989) 94–95). Type: B. The toponym is *Σκάρφη, ἡ* in Hom. *Il.* 2.532; *Σκάρφεια, ἡ* is found in Lycoph. *Alex.* 1147, Strabo 1.3.20 and *BCH* 45 (1921) col. III.139 (230–210); see further Oldfather (1929) 460–61. *Σκαρφεύς* is the ordinary form of the city-ethnic and is found in *CID* II 43.65 (340/39) and *Syll.*³ 270 (335/4), and C4 coins carry the legend *ΣΚΑΡΦΕΩΝ* (Head, *HN*² 337). On the basis of Steph. Byz. 574.3, *[Σκ]αρφ[αῖ]ος* has been tentatively restored in *IG* II² 3045 (C4m); *Σκαρφαιεύς* is found in *Anth. Pal.* 7.639.4.

The earliest source to describe Skarpheia as a *polis* is *IG* IX.1² 3 750.5 of C2f, but the external individual use of the ethnic is found in *CID* II 43.65 (340/39) and *Syll.*³ 270 (335/4), a Delphic grant of proxeny, etc., to citizens of Skarpheia, while the internal collective use is attested on C4 coins, and the external use in C3m (*CID* II 130.2).

If Demetrios of Kallatis (*FGrHist* 85) fr. 6 is correctly reported at Strabo 1.3.20, then 1,700 persons (*σώματα χιλίων καὶ ἑπτακοσίων οὐκ ἐλάττω*) living in Skarpheia were drowned during the great earthquake of 426 (Fossey (1990) 183–84). It is impossible to know how precise this figure is, and if precise, how many of the victims were of citizen status.

The earliest reference to a public enactment by the city is *I. Magnesia* 31.3.9 (C3l).

Skarpheia struck bronze coins in C4: *obv.* Lokrian Aias, legend: ΣΚΑΡΦΕΩΝ; *rev.* female head (Head, *HN*² 337; *SNG Cop. Aetolia-Euboea* 81). Hsch. *E*7145.1 mentions Demeter Euryodeia, but that completes the information on the pantheon of Skarpheia.

388. Thronion (Thronieus) Map 55. Lat. 38.45, long. 22.45. Size of territory: 1 or 2. Type: A. The toponym is Θρόνιον, τό (Hom. *Il.* 2.533; Thuc. 2.26.2). The city-ethnic is Θρονιεύς (*CID* II 31.79 (C4l)), abbreviated to ΘPONI on C5 coins (Head, *HN*² 337). Steph. Byz. 318.12 furthermore gives Θρόνιος, which is possibly used in *SEG* 30 42.2 ([Θρ]ονίοισι (*c.*450)).

Thronion is called a *polis* in the urban sense by Eur. *IA* 264 (Θρονιὰς πόλις) and by Ps.-Skylax 61, where Thronion is the first of four toponyms listed between the heading πόλεις αἵδε and the addendum εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλαι πόλεις αὐτοῖς ἐν μεσογείᾳ, but see the remarks *supra* 665); cf. also Diod. 12.44.1 (r431); the earliest use of *polis* in the political sense is in a C3l inscription from Tenos, but this is wholly restored (*IG* XII.5 812.9).

The internal collective use of the city-ethnic is found in abbreviated form on C5 coins (Head, *HN*² 337); the external collective use is possibly attested in *SEG* 30 42.2 ([Θρ]ονίοισι, *c.*450). The external individual use is found *CID* II 31.79, 32.37, 97.25 (C4).

The name of the territory is unknown; it is termed ἡ τῶν Θρονιέων χώρα at Polyb. 9.41.11, and a strip of coast belonging to it is referred to at 18.9.3; according to Strabo 9.4.4, there was a *limen* here. According to Hom. *Il.* 2.533 and Theopomp. fr. 298 (*apud* Harp. *s.v.* Θρόνιον) and (implicitly) Thuc. 2.26, Thronion was a Lokrian city, but Ps.-Skylax lists it in his Phokian chapter (61), presumably a reflection of the Phokian annihilation of the town in 353 (Diod. 16.33.3); however, see *supra* 665 for another explanation of this passage.

In 1840 the ruins of Thronion supplied stone material for the building of a factory (Pritchett (1982) 152–53). According to Pritchett (1982) 154, the site is large and has many sherds. The literary sources (Diod. 12.44.1 (r431) and 16.33.3 (r353)) indicate that the city was walled: Oldfather (1936) 613 states that by 1928 the course of the wall could no longer be traced in its entirety; he also mentions foundations of buildings and a temple in the city (*ibid.*). According to Strabo's account of Demetrios of Kallatis' description of an earthquake (*FGrHist* 85 fr. 6), probably that of 426 (Fossey (1990) 183–84), *c.*850 people were engulfed (καταδῦναι) at Thronion. It is impossible to know how precise this figure is, and if precise, how many of the victims were of citizen status.

In 431 the city was captured by Athens (no. 361) and had to provide hostages (ὁμήρους . . . ἔλαβεν αὐτῶν (*sc.* the people of Thronion)). According to Diod. 12.44.1, the city fell after a siege (ἐξεπολιόρκησε). In 353 Thronion was subjected to *exandrapodismos* by the Phokian general Onomarchos (Θρόνιον μὲν ἐκπολιορκήσας ἐξηνδραποδίσατο, Diod. 16.33.3), but the city was in existence once again in C4l (*CID* II 31.79, 32.37).

The earliest preserved public enactments are two Hellenistic decrees (*IG* IX.1 308–9); the earliest recorded communal *action* is the giving of hostages to the Athenians in 431 (Thuc. 2.26.2).

The pantheon of Thronion is virtually unknown (Oldfather (1936) 612 sets out the meagre evidence). For speculations that the city was active as coloniser, see Oldfather (1936) 610; see also *SEG* 15 251 with Paus. 5.22.3.

In C5f Thronion struck silver obols on the Aiginetan standard: *obv.* bearded male head; *rev.* greave; legend: ΘPONI (*knemis*) in incuse square, presumably a reference to Mt. Knemis in Lokris (Rauch (1846) no. 12; *BMC* Thronium no. 1; Head, *HN*² 337; Babelon, *Traité* ii.3 no. 460). The full form of the city-ethnic is attested on C3–C2 bronze coins (*SNG Cop. Aetolia-Euboea* 82).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Argoud, G. 1997. "À propos d'Halai", in J. Bintliff (ed.), *Recent Developments in the History and Archaeology of Central Greece*, Proceedings of the 6th International Boeotian Conference, BAR International Series 666 (Oxford) 253–63.

Blegen, C. W. 1926. "The Site of Opous", *AJA* 30: 401–4.

Buckler, J. 1989. *Philip II and the Sacred War*, *Mnemosyne* Suppl. (Leiden).

Cole, S. G. 1995. "Civic Cult and Civic Identity", *CPCActs* 2: 292–325.

Coleman, J. E. 1992. "Excavations at Halai, 1990–1991", *Hesperia* 61: 265–89.

—— 1998. "Halai and its Neighbors in East Lokris and Boeotia", in J. M. Fossey and B. Cosmopoulos (eds.), *Boiotoia Antiqua VII–VIII: Studies in Boiotian Archaeology, History, and Institutions (including Papers Presented at the IX International Conference on Boiotian Antiquities, Winnipeg, 29–31 October 1998* (Chicago).

Dakoronia, F. 1993. "Homeric Towns in East Lokris: Problems of Identification", *Hesperia* 62: 115–27.

Étienne, R., and Knoepfler, D. 1976. *Hyettos de Béotie et la chronologie des archontes fédéraux entre 250 et 171 avant J.C.*, *BCH* Suppl. 3 (Paris).

Flensted-Jensen, P., and Hansen, M. H. 1996. "Pseudo-Skylax' Use of the Term *Polis*", *CPCPapers* 3: 137–67.

Fossey, J. M. 1990. *The Ancient Topography of Opountian Lokris* (Amsterdam).

Gerber, D. E. 2002. *A Commentary on Pindar Olympian Nine*, *Hermes* Einzelschriften 87 (Stuttgart).

Giesen, K. 1901. "Plutarchs Quaestiones graecae und Aristoteles' Politien", *Philologus* 60: 446–71.

Goldman. H. 1940. "The Acropolis of Halae", *Hesperia* 9: 381–514.

—— and Walker, A. L. 1915. "Report on the Excavations at Halae of Locris", *AJA* 19: 418–37.

Gschnitzer, F. 1958. *Abhängige Orte im griechischen Altertum*, Zetemata 17 (Munich).

Haas, J. C. 1998. "Hellenistic Halai: An Analysis of the Historical Sources, Stratigraphy, and Ceramics" (MA thesis, Cornell University). Published at hhtp://halai.fac.cornell.edu/chelp/reports/online.htm.

Hansen, M. H. 1995*a*. "*Kome*: A Study in how the Greeks Designated and Classified Settlements which were not *Poleis*", *CPCPapers* 2: 45–81.

—— 1995*b*. "Boiotian *Poleis*—A Test Case", *CPCActs* 2: 13–63.

—— 1996. "An Inventory of Boiotian Poleis in the Archaic and Classical Periods", *CPCActs* 3: 73–116.

—— 1997. "Hekataios' Use of the Word *Polis* in his *Periegesis*", *CPCPapers* 4: 17–27.

Hope Simpson, R., and Lazenby, J. F. 1970. *The Catalogue of Ships in Homer's* Iliad (Oxford).

Hughes, D. D. 1991. *Human Sacrifice in Ancient Greece* (London and New York).

Katsonopoulou, D. 1990. "Studies of the Eastern Cities of Opuntian Lokris: Halai, Kyrtones, Korseia, Bumelitaia" (diss., Cornell University).

Lambropoulou, L. 1983. "*Δύο κεραμικοί κλίβανοι στην Αταλάντη*", *AAA* 16: 74–79.

Larsen, J. A. O. 1968. *Greek Federal States: Their Institutions and History* (Oxford).

Lasserre, F. 1987. *De Léodamas de Thasos à Philippe d'Oponte: Témoignages et fragments* (Naples).

Lawrence, A. W. 1979. *Greek Aims in Fortification* (Oxford).

Lerat, L. 1952. *Les Locriens de l'Ouest*, i–ii (Paris).

Lorenz, B. 1976. *Thessalische Grabgedichte vom 6. bis zum 4. Jahrhundert v. Chr.*, Commentationes Aenipontanae 22 (Innsbruck).

McFadden, D. 2001. "The Fortifications of Halai: Description, Classification, and Dating" (diss., Cornell University).

Molyneux, J. H. 1992. *Simonides: A Historical Study* (Wauconda, Ill.).

Nielsen, T. H. 2000. "Epiknemidian, Hypoknemidian and Opountian Lokrians: A Note on the Political Organisation of East Lokris in the Classical Period", *CPCPapers* 5: 91–120.

Nisetich, F. J. 1980. *Pindar's Victory Songs* (Baltimore and London).

Oldfather, W. A. 1908. "Lokrika", *Philologus* 67: 411–72.

—— 1922*a*. "Knemides", *RE* xi. 908.

—— 1922*b*. "Knemis", *RE* xi. 909–10.

—— 1925. "Kynos", *RE* xii. 30–32.

—— 1929. "Skarpheia", *RE* iiiA. 460–65.

—— 1935. "Naryka", *RE* xvi. 1172–75.

—— 1936. "Thronion", *RE* viA.1. 609–13.

—— 1937. "Nikaia (5)", *RE* xvii. 222–26.

Philippson, A. 1951. *Die griechischen Landschaften: Eine Landeskunde*, i: *Der nordosten der griechischen Halbinsel* (Frankfurt am Main).

Pritchett, W. K. 1982. *Studies in Ancient Greek Topography, Part IV: Passes* (Berkeley).

—— 1985. *Studies in Ancient Greek Topography, Part V* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London).

—— 1992. *Studies in Ancient Greek Topography, Part VIII* (Amsterdam).

Rauch, A.von 1846. "Unedierte griechische Münzen", in *Mittheilungen der numismatischen Gesellschaft in Berlin* i. 15–28.

Schäfer, J. 1967. "Beobachtungen zu den seeseitigen Mauern von Larymna in der Lokris", *AA* 4: 527–45.

Sherk, R. 1990. "The Eponymous Officials of Greek Cities II: Mainland Greece and the Adjacent Islands", *ZPE* 84: 231–95.

Tuplin, C. 1993. *The Failings of Empire: A Reading of Xenophon* Hellenica *2.3.11–7.5.27*, *Historia* Einzelschriften 76 (Stuttgart).

Wren, P. S. 1996. "Archaic Halai" (MA thesis, Cornell University). Published at hhtp://halai.fac.cornell.edu/chelp/reports/online.htm.

DORIS

DENIS ROUSSET

I. The Region

The name of the region is *Δωρίς* (Hdt. 8.31.1), and it is described as a *χώρα* (Hdt. 8.31.1, 43.1; Diod. 11.14.2 (r480); 16.33.4 (r353)). Due to the common belief that the region accommodated the Dorians during their migration to the Peloponnese, it is often called the Metropolis of the Dorians (Andron (*FGrHist* 10) fr. 16a) or the Metropolis of the Lakedaimonians (Thuc. 1.107.2, 3.92.3).

The ethnic is *Δωριεύς* (Hdt.8.66.1; Thuc. 1.107.2; Aeschin. 2.116). The external and individual use is attested in the lists of *hieromnemones* of the Delphic Amphiktyony: *Δωριεὺς ἐγ Ματροπόλιος* (*CID* II 36.1.25 (343)) or *Ματροπολίτας* (*CID* II 74.1.33 (337)). For the external and collective use, see *CID* II 7.B.4 (*c.*357). The internal and collective use is found in a letter of 206/5 (*SEG* 38 1476.88).

Doris lay west of Phokis in the valley of Kephisos (Hdt. 8.31–2). There is no agreement in the sources about the other neighbouring communities and their frontiers with Doris: Malians (Hdt. 8.31.1), Aitolians, East Lokrians, West Lokrians and Oitaians (Strabo 9.3.1, 4.10; cf. Rousset (1989) 203, 235–6). The frontier between Oitaia and Doris must have changed over time, since the city of Akyphas/Pindos seems to have belonged now with the Oitaians, now with the Dorians (*infra*). The alternating regional affiliation of Akyphas/Pindos explains the two opposed traditions of describing Doris as being either *tripolis* (Andron (*FGrHist* 10) fr. 16a; cf. Thuc. 1.107.2) or *tetrapolis* (unnamed historians quoted by Strabo at 9.3.1, 4.10, 10.4.6; see Rousset (1989) 235).

The Dorian *poleis* are hardly ever mentioned in the Archaic and Classical sources and have left very few physical traces of their existence. Only Kytinion has been securely identified thanks to the discovery of some Hellenistic decrees (*SEG* 40 440–2). The locations of the other *poleis* have to be deduced from the not very precise indications found in the literary sources. Remains of city walls are too scanty to be dated or to provide us with an idea of the extent of the urban centres in the Archaic and Classical periods. Chlomo is the only site which has substantial remains of fortifications. The masonry is Lesbian with curved joints and may date from the Archaic period. Nevertheless, it has been impossible to identify the site with any of the settlements mentioned in the sources (Rousset (1989) 210–11 and 229). The Dorians of the Metropolis supplied one of the *hieromnemones* (*CID* II 36.1.25 (343) and Aeschin. 2.116), but, apparently, the *poleis* were not amalgamated to form a federation until after the Aitolian domination of the region had come to an end *c.*165 (*Syll.*³ 653; cf. Rousset (1989) 239 n. 168; cf. *F.Delphes* III.1 490 and Rousset (1994) 370 n. 39).

The estimated sizes of the *polis* territories indicated *infra* are based on the assumptions that the whole region covered *c.*100 km² and that we know all *poleis* within the region.

II. The *Poleis*

389. Akyphas/Pindos Map 55. Lat. 38.40, long. 22.20. Size of territory 1. Type: B. Of the two toponyms, *Πίνδος, ἡ* is the more common (Hdt. 8.43.1; Plin. *HN* 4.28: Pindus; Strabo 9.4.10 adds *τινὲς δ' Ἀκύφαντα λέγουσι τὴν Πίνδον*). The toponym *Ἀκύφας* is attested in Theopompos (*FGrHist* 115) fr. 364. There is no city-ethnic matching the toponym Pindos, but the city-ethnic *Ἀκυφάνιος* is attested in Hellenistic inscriptions (*SEG* 27 123.12 (191/0), restored in *IG* IX 1 227 (C2f); Rousset (1989) 223).

Pindos is implicitly classified as a *polis* by the term *τετράπολις* used by the unnamed historians quoted by Strabo at 10.4.6. Ps.-Skymnos 594 counts Pindos as the fourth Dorian *polis*; and Strabo 9.4.10 lists four *poleis*: Erineos, Boion, Pindos and Kytinion.

Quoting Theopompos ((*FGrHist* 115) fr. 364) Steph. Byz. 66.3–4 classifies Akyphas as a Dorian *polis*; we cannot be sure, however, that the site-classification *polis* is part of the quote. At Strabo 9.5.10 Akyphas is placed in Oitaia. The individual and external use of the city-ethnic *Ἀκυφάνιος* is attested in a Delphic inscription (Rousset (2002) 252.12 (191/0)). It is also

restored in two C2f inscriptions, one from Phokis mentioning some Oitaian magistrates (*IG* IX 1 227; cf. *BCH* 113 (1989) 223), the other from Pharsalos (*Inscriptions de Thessalie*, i: *Vallée de l'Énipeus* (1995) no. 101).

It seems that the city called sometimes Pindos, sometimes Akyphas, changed its regional affiliation a couple of times. It was probably not part of Doris in C5s, when the region had only three cities (Thuc. 1.107.2; Diod. 11.79.4). It became part of Doris in C4 (Theopomp. and Ps.-Skymnos). By C2s it belonged to Oitaia (*IG* IX 1 227), but may have become Dorian once again at the end of the Hellenistic period (Strabo 9.4.10); see Rousset (1989) 231–3, (1994) 367. The only remains of the urban centre are a section of an undated defence circuit (Rousset (1989) 217).

390. Boion (Boiaios) Map 55. Lat. 38.40, long. 22.25. Size of territory 1. Type: A. The toponym is *Βοιόν, τό* (Thuc. 1.107.2; Steph. Byz. 172.18), and some later authors also use the form *Βοῖον* (Strabo 9.4.10) or *Βοιαί* (Steph. Byz. 172.19). In inscriptions the toponym, not attested before C1, is *Βοαί* (*CID* V 826). The individual and external form of the city-ethnic *Βοαῖος* is found from C2e onwards (*CID* V 6). *Βοιαῖος* is attested in Ephoros ((*FGrHist* 70) fr. 231).

Boion is classified as a *polisma* at Thuc. 1.107.2, but a few lines further on *polis* is used synonymously with *polisma*. Andron (*FGrHist* 10) counts Erineos among the three *poleis* of the Dorians (fr. 16a: *τρίπολις*); cf. also Diod. 11.79.4–6 (r457). The only remains of the urban centre are a section of an undated defence circuit with a tower (Rousset (1989) 213).

391. Erineos (Erinaios) Map 55. Lat. 38.40, long. 22.25. Size of territory 1. Type: A. The toponym is *Ἐρινεός* (Hdt.8.43; Thuc. 1.107.2), *ὁ* (Tyrt. fr. 2.13, West) or *ἡ* (Andron (*FGrHist* 10) fr. 16a). The oldest epigraphical attestation of the toponym is in *CID* V 322 (C2f). The city-ethnic *Ἐριναῖος* is attested in the external and individual sense at *CID* II 43.19 (341) and 74.1.45 (337).

Erineos is classified as a *polisma* at Thuc. 1.107.2, but a few lines further on *polis* is used synonymously with *polisma*. Andron (*FGrHist* 10) counts Erineos among the three *poleis* of the Dorians (fr. 16a: *τρίπολις*); cf. also Diod. 11.79.4–6 (r457). Tyrtaios calls it an *asty* (fr. 2.13). The only remains of the urban centre are a section of an undated defence circuit with a tower (Rousset (1989) 214).

392. Kytinion (Kytinieus) Map 55. Lat. 38.45, long. 22.30. Size of territory 1. Type: A. The toponym is *Κυτίνιον, τό* (Thuc. 1.107.2, 3.95.1, 102.1; Aeschin. 2.116) or, in inscriptions, *Κυτένιον, τό* (*IG* VII 3055.12 (C4m)). The city-ethnic is *Κυτινιεύς* (*CID* II 102.1.47 (324)) or *Κυτενιεύς* (*CID* II 123.10 (C3f)).

Kytinion is classified as a *polisma* at Thuc. 1.107.2, but a few lines further on *polis* is used synonymously with *polisma*. Andron (*FGrHist* 10) counts Kytinion among the three *poleis* of the Dorians (fr. 16a: *τρίπολις*); cf. Diod. 11.79.4–6 (r457). The earliest mention of a *πόλις τῶν Κυτενιέων* in epigraphical sources is in *IG* IX^2.1 68 (C3). The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally in some C2m proxeny decrees (*SEG* 40 440–2) and externally on a statue base from Thermos (*IG* IX^2.1 68 (C3)). The city-ethnic is attested in the individual and external sense at *CID* II 102.I.7 (324)).

Being mentioned more frequently in the sources than the neighbouring Dorian *poleis*, Kytinion was probably the most important of the *poleis*. The only remains of the urban centre are a section of an undated defence circuit with a tower (Rousset (1989) 208). On remains of the urban centre, see Rousset (1999) 73.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Rousset, D. 1989. "Les Doriens de la Métropole: étude de topographie et de géographie historique", *BCH* 113: 199–239.

——1994. "Les Doriens de la Métropole: nouveaux documents", *BCH* 118: 361–74.

——1999. "Centre urbain, frontière et espace rural dans les cités de Grèce Centrale", in M. Brunet (ed.), *Territoires des cités grecques*, BCH suppl. 34: 35–77.

——2002. *Le territoire de Delphes et la terre d'Apollon*, BEFAR 310 (Paris).

THESSALIA AND ADJACENT REGIONS

JEAN-CLAUDE DECOURT, THOMAS HEINE NIELSEN, BRUNO HELLY

(with the assistance of Richard Bouchon, Laurence Darmezin, Gérard Lucas, Isabelle Pernin)

I. The Regions

As a geographical term, *Thessalia* was used with a wide variety of meanings in Antiquity.[1] In the narrow sense it designated simply the four *tetrades* of the Thessalian Confederacy (Pelasgiotis, Hestiaiotis, Thessaliotis and Phthiotis (Arist. fr. 497, Rose; Andron (*FGrHist* 10) fr. 16a)); whereas in a broader sense it came to include areas such as Ainis, which supplied the Thessalian Confederacy of the Roman era with at least one *strategos* (cf. *IG* IX.2 p. XXV; see also *infra* on Strabo's conception of the region). It has become common modern practice to use the term in this broader sense; thus Kip's book of 1910, *Thessalische Studien*, offers basic discussions of the areas of Ainis, Oitaia, Malis, Achaia, Magnesia, Perrhaibia and Dolopia; Stählin's book of 1924, *Das hellenische Thessalien*, includes chapters on Perrhaibia, Magnesia, Dolopia, Achaia, etc.; and the published proceedings of the 1990 conference *Θεσσαλία* (= *Dekapente Chronia*) include contributions on Proerna and Thebai in Achaia, on Magnesia as such and on Demetrias and Meliboia in particular, on Ainis as such and on Sosthenis in particular, as well as on Oloosson in Perrhaibia. The present chapter, again, is devoted to Thessalia in the broader sense. However, both introduction and inventory are subdivided into sections dealing with (1) Thessalia proper and (2) Adjacent regions: (2.1) Dolopia, (2.2) Ainis, (2.3) Oita, (2.4) Malis, (2.5) Achaia, (2.6) Magnesia, (2.7) Perrhaibia and (2.8) Athamania.

This subdivision of the exposition reflects the fact that each adjacent area was in fact considered to be an individual entity and not part of Thessalia in the Classical period, as is readily apparent from Classical authors. *Re* (2.1): the toponym *Dolopia* is found in Thuc. 2.102.3, and the corresponding ethnic *Dolops* is found in its external collective application in Herodotos' list of medisers at 7.132.1, where the Dolopians are explicitly distinguished from the *Thessaloi*, who are also listed. *Re* (2.2): again, the Ainianes are found in Herodotos' list of medisers and are there distinguished from the Thessalians (7.132.1; cf. Ps.-Skylax 62); no Classical source preserves the toponym *Ainis* (*IG* IX.2 5b.10 (150–125)), but Theopomp. fr. 80 may have used the expression *Αἰνιάνων χώρα*. *Re* (2.3): the toponym *Oitaia* is not securely attested in a Classical source, but it may have to be restored as *Οἰταίη* at Hdt. 7.185 (cf. Legrand (1951) 184 app. crit. and 185 n. 3); the collective ethnic occurs at Hdt. 7.217 and Thuc. 3.92.3 and 8.3.1, where it seems to be implicitly distinguished from that of the *Thessaloi*. *Re* (2.4): the toponym *Malis* is found in Hdt. 7.198.1, where it is explicitly distinguished from the toponym *Thessalie*, and the collective ethnic occurs in Herodotos' list of medisers at 7.132.1, where it is explictly distinguished from the ethnic *Thessaloi*; Ps.-Skylax devotes a separate chapter to the Malians (62) as well as one to Thessalia proper (64). *Re* (2.5): the toponym *Achaie* is found explicitly distinguished from *Thessalie* in Hdt. 7.173.1 and 7.198.1; the collective ethnic *Achaioi* is found explicitly distinguished from the ethnic *Thessaloi* in Herodotos' list of medisers at 7.132.1; Ps.-Skylax devotes a separate chapter to the Achaians (63) as well as one to Thessalia proper (64). *Re* (2.6): the toponym *Magnesia* is

[1] Daux (1936) 673: "Aucun terme géographique n'est, je crois, susceptible d'acceptions aussi diverses que celui-ci. Au sens étroit la Thessalie ne désigne que les 'tétrades' (Pelasgiotide, Hestiaeotide, Thessaliotide, et Phthiotide); au sens large elle englobe ou peut englober les Perrhèbes, les Magnètes, les Dolopes et l'Achaïe Phthiotide, et même la vallée du Sperchios avec les Énianes, l'Oitaia et la Malide." Helly (2001*b*) discusses the "ambiguïté de l'appellation 'Thessalie, thessalien' " and proposes to use (a) the term "Thessalia" (*Thessalie*) in an exclusively geographical sense, to refer to the extent given to it by ancient sources; (b) the phrase "Thessalian state" (*État thessalien*) to denote "l'espace organisé à l'époque historique sur la base des quatre tétrades"; (c) *Thessaloi* to designate "le groupe envahisseur de l'époque submycénienne"; (d) and, finally, "Thessalians" (*Thessaliens*) to denote the totality of the "habitants de la Thessalie, quelle que soit leur origine ou l'époque considérée" with specifications such as Achaian, Perrhaibian, etc., if necessary.

found explicitly distinguished from *Thettalia* in Aeschin. 3.83; and the collective ethnic *Magnetes* is explicitly distinguished from the ethnic *Thessaloi* in Herodotos' list of medisers at 7.132.1; Ps.-Skylax devotes a separate chapter to the Magnesians (65) as well as one to Thessalia proper (64). *Re* (2.7): the toponym *Perrhaibia* is found implicitly distinguished from that of Thessalia in Thuc. 4.78.6, a passage which explicitly distinguishes the *Perrhaiboi* from the *Thessaloi*. *Re* (2.8): the toponym *Athamania* is not attested prior to C3 (Antig. Car. *Mirabilia* 148.1; *BCH* 45 (1921) III.34 (230–220)), but the collective ethnic *Athamanes* is found in Heracl. Lemb. 53, and the existence of an Aristotelian *Ἀθαμάνων πολιτεία* (Gigon no. 4) is extremely significant when contrasted with the *Κοινὴ Θετταλῶν πολιτεία* (Gigon no. 60). So, for seven of the eight adjacent areas treated in this chapter a toponym is attested by Classical sources, and for all eight an ethnic is attested. It may also be noted that in C4 the Dolopians, the Ainians, the Malians, the Achaians, the Magnesians and the Perrhaibians were all separate members of the Amphiktyonic League (cf. Lefèvre (1998)). Accordingly, there cannot be any doubt that the adjacent areas were conceived of as individual regions and were distinct from Thessalia in the Classical period.

1. Thessalia

The name of the region is *Θεσσαλία, ἡ* (Anac. fr. 107, Diehl;[2] Pind. *Pyth.* 10.2; Thuc. 1.111.1; *CEG* II 637.2 (C5m); *F.Delphes* III.4 460.5.2 (337–333)); *Θετταλία* in Attic (*IG* II² 116.19 (361/60); Xen. *Hell.* 2.3.4) and *Θεσσαλίη* in Ionic (Hdt. 3.96.1).[3] The corresponding ethnic is *Θεσ(σ)αλός* (Alkman fr. 16.1.3; Simon. fr. 6.1b, Page; Pind. *Pyth.* 10.70; Aesch. *Pers.* 489; *SEG* 26 475 (C5f); *IG* I³ 1375 (C5l)), in Attic *Θετ(τ)αλός* (*IG* I³ 92.1 (416/15); *IG* II² 109a.16 (363/2); *IG* II² 8850.1 (C4m)). The epichoric form of the ethnic is *Πετθαλός* (*AM* 59: 57, 15.2 (C4 proxeny decree); C4 bronze coins (Rogers (1932) 16)), which is found abbreviated as *ΦΕΘΑ*, *ΦΕΤΑ* and *ΠΕΘΑ* on silver coins on the Aiginetan standard dating to 470–450. The ktetic adjective is *Θεσσαλικός* (Hdt. 7.128.1: *ὄρεα τὰ Θεσσαλικά*; *IG* II² 1641.C.47 (C4m)), in Attic *Θετταλικός* (*IG* II² 1421.IV.104 (374/3); Xen. *Hell.* 6.1.3).

[2] For which see Helly (1995) 43–44.

[3] The toponym is unknown to Homer; it may just possibly have been used by Hes. fr. 6, MW, though certainty is impossible; no fragment of Hekataios employs the toponym in a way which proves that he used it (cf. Hecat. frr. 2–3, 14, 119, 133–66, 168, 224, 372). The earliest epigraphical evidence for the existence of the toponym is a C6l/C5e epitaph from Perrhaibian Oloosson for a girl named "Thesalia" (Lorenz (1976) no. 10); the employment of the term as a personal name presumably presupposes its use for the name of the region.

Thessalia is called *polis* at [Lys.] 6.6 (on which see Hansen (1998) 126, 131) and in Arist. fr. 498, Rose (on which see Larsen (1968) 17 and Hansen (1998) 129, 132; Helly (1995) 153–54 argues that the text refers to the city of Larisa, not to Thessalia). The region is called *ἡ Θεσσαλῶν γῆ* at Thuc. 4.78.4 and is termed *χώρα* by Isoc. 8.117 and Simon. *De re equestri* 1; the people are called an *ἔθνος* at Thuc. 5.51.2 and in Aeschin. 2.116; as an *ethnos*, the Thessalians were among the members of the Amphiktyonic League (Aeschin. 2.116), and provided two *hieromnemones* who in C4 were sent by Pelinna, Pharsalos and Pherai (Lefèvre (1998) 24). The internal collective use of the ethnic is found (abbreviated as *ΦΕ*, *ΦΕΘΑ*, *ΦΕΤΑ*, *ΠΕΘΑ*) on C5 silver coins on the Aiginetan standard (Franke (1970)), on C4 bronze coins (Rogers (1932) 16), and in *AM* 59: 57, 15,2 (C4). The external collective use is found in *SEG* 26 475 (C5f); *IG* II² 116 *passim* (361/0); and Hdt. 5.94.1; Thuc. 1.102.4; Xen. *Hell.* 2.3.4. The external individual use of the ethnic is found in *IG* II² 1388B.59 (398/7); *IG* IV².1 121.48 (C4s); Xen. *An.* 1.1.10. In its external uses the ethnic is very often accompanied by a specification referring to a local community, both in the collective use: *Ματροπολῖται Θεσσαλοί* (*CID* II 5.II.33 (358)); and in the individual use: *Θεσσαλὸς ἐξ Ἄτραγος* (*Philologus* (1921) 195, 2 (*c.*345)); *Θεσσαλὸς ἐκ Γόμφων* (*I.Iasos* 57 (C4l–C3e)); *Θετταλὸς Γυρτώνιος* (*IG* I³ 92.6 (416/15)); *Θεσσαλὸς ἐγ Λαρίσας* (*F.Delphes* III.1 401.3 (333/2), III.4 378.4 (342/1); *CID* II 25.I.2 (C4m); *IG* IX.2 60 (C4)); *Θεσσαλὸς ἐξ Ὄρθου* (*CID* II 12.I.67 (341/40)); *Θετταλὸς Σκοτοσσαῖος* (*IG* II² 8843 (C4f)); *Θεσσαλὸς ἐξ Σκοτούσσης* (*F.Delphes* III.5 p. 321 nn. 1–2 (C4l)); *Θεσσαλὸς ἐκ Φαρσάλου* (*IG* XII.3 251.5 (C4m)); *Θεσσαλὸς ἐκ Φερῶν* (*IG* V.1 948.2 (C4); *F.Delphes* III.4 385.1 (338–320)).

Kritias wrote a work entitled *Πολιτεία Θετταλῶν* (fr. 31, DK); Hellanikos a *Θετταλικά* (*FGrHist* 4 fr. 52); and there was a *Κοινὴ Θετταλῶν πολιτεία* among the constitutions described by Aristotle (frr. 495–500, Rose). Thessalia is absent from Homer. The poet does, however, mention nine kingdoms occupying the later Thessalia as well as some perioikic territory; twenty-nine cities are mentioned, of which some are the direct ancestors of *poleis* (e.g. Trikka: *Il.* 2.729); others may have changed their name (e.g. Asterion: *Il.* 2.735). Some of these Homeric sites have been located with certainty (e.g. Pherai: *Il.* 2.711), whereas others remain unlocated (e.g. Oichalie: *Il.* 2.730). In addition, Homer refers to four of the later perioikic peoples: the Ainians, the Perrhaibians, the Magnesians (*Il.* 2.749, 756) and the Dolopians (*Il.* 9.484). Finally, he mentions *Φθίη* and *Ἑλλάς*; it is debatable

whether these toponyms should be understood as designating towns or regions (Stählin (1924*a*) index s.vv.; Decourt (1990) 212–14). The earliest geographical sketch of Thessalia is chapter 64 of Ps.-Skylax; Thessalia is there described as consisting of the inland plains above Ainis, Dolopia, Malis, Achaia and Magnesia, and as extending as far as Tempe. The only stretch of coastline is at the Pagasitic Gulf, where the cities of Amphanaion and Pagasai were situated. Ps.-Skymnos 614–19 describes Thessalia as bordered by Athamania, Dolopia, Perrhaibia, Ainis and Makedonia. The most complete ancient description of the region is provided by Strabo; he begins (9.5.1) by placing the borders as they were in his day: to the north, Makedonia; to the east, from Thermopylai to the Peneios delta, the sea; to the south, the mountainous massifs of Oita and Aitolia; to the west, the countries of the Aitolians, the Akarnanians and the Amphilochians, as well as of a number of Epeirote tribes which he groups under the heading *οἱ περὶ Πίνδον*.

Ps.-Skylax names eight *poleis* in the *mesogeia* but adds *εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλαι πόλεις Θετταλῶν ἐν μεσογείᾳ*. Other sources describing Thessalia as a region settled in *poleis* are, e.g., Pind. *Pyth.* 10.72; Aesch. *Pers.* 489; Thuc. 2.22.3; Xen. *Hell.* 6.1.14, 19. The Inventory below describes twenty-five *poleis* of Thessalia in the proper sense. These *poleis* have been identified with remains on the ground with very varying degrees of certainty: only one city is known from full excavations: Larisa. Moreover, inscriptions with city-ethnics are not very numerous. Under these circumstances, locations often rely on analysis of literary testimonies, in particular descriptions of military campaigns (Helly (1991) 30–31; Decourt (1990)), or on numismatic material (e.g. Orthos: Helly (1992) 78), on epigraphy (e.g. Matropolis: *IG* IX.2 284, found on site), or on employment of models borrowed from human geography (Decourt (1992)).

In addition to the twenty-five *poleis*, there were in Archaic and Classical Thessalia the following settlements which cannot be shown to have been *poleis*.[4]

[4] A number of toponyms are left out of consideration here, since they cannot be shown to denote historical settlements in existence in the Archaic and/or Classical periods or because they are incorrectly ascribed to Thessalia *vel sim.* They include Aiginion: *IG* IX.2 329 (*πόλις Αἰγινέων* (C3l)); Strabo 7.7.9; Steph. Byz. 43.11; *Barr.* H. Alea: Harp. s.v. *Ἀλέας*; Steph. Byz. 69.20: confusion with Halos in Achaia. Aloion: known exclusively from Steph. Byz. 79.20. Antheia: Hes. *Scut.* 381, 475 (*πόλις*); unlocated; cf. Stählin (1924*a*) 227 no. 3. Aperantheia: Steph. Byz. 104.11; fabrication on the basis of or misunderstanding of the regional name *Aperantia*; cf. Polyb. 21.25.3; Livy 36.33.7; Plut. *Flam.* 15.6. Argos Pelasgikon: Hom. *Il.* 2.680, on which see *RE* ii. 789: not certainly a settlement, not certainly historical. Deipnias: Callim. fr. 87, Pfeiffer; Steph. Byz. 223.12: *κώμη Θεσσαλίας περὶ Λάρισσαν*; not certainly Classical; Helly (1987) 140–41 for location. Dodone: Steph. Byz. 246.9–10; non-existent, cf. Helly (1973) 58. Dotion: Steph. Byz. 256.14; not a historical city but a fabrication on the basis of the *Dotion pedion*; cf. Helly (1987). Elateia: *BCH* 45 (1921) 111.36 and 133 (230–220): *ἐν Ἐλετίαις*; Ptol. *Geog.* 3.12.39; unlocated; Stählin (1924*a*) 88–89. Erineos: Strabo 9.5.10; Steph. Byz. 277.7; unlocated; cf. Stählin (1924*a*) 167 n. 2, 185 n. 4. Eurymenae: known only from Livy 39.25.3; unlocated, and the very existence of a Thessalian (in contradistinction to a Magnesian) Eurymenai is not beyond doubt, since the MSS of Livy present various corruptions. Helike: Hes. *Scut.* 381, 475; Strabo 8.7.2; Steph. Byz. 267.4; unlocated; cf. Stählin (1924*a*) 227 no. 5. Hellas: Hom. *Il.* 2.683, 9.395, etc.; *Od.* 11.496; not certainly a city, not certainly historical; Hope Simpson and Lazenby (1970) 128–30; *Neue Pauly* v. 297–98. Ichnai: Strabo 9.5.14; Steph. Byz. 152.16 (*πόλις*); unlocated. Ilion: Steph. Byz. 330.18, 20–21: *Ἴλιον . . . τετάρτη Θεσσαλίας*; cf. Stählin (1924*a*) 227 no. 10; unlocated. Iope: Steph. Byz. 333.13, 18: *Ἰόπη . . . ἔστι καὶ Θεσσαλίας ἄλλη*; cf. Stählin (1924*a*) 227 no. 11; unlocated. Kyphos: Steph. Byz. 399.18. Kytina: Steph. Byz. 399.7: *Κύτινα, πόλις Θεσσαλίας, ὡς Θέων ἐν ὑπομνήματι Λυκόφρονος*; cf. Stählin (1924*a*) 227 no. 15: "*Κύτινα*, Steph. s.v. nach Theon zu Lykophr. 1389. Dort ist *Κυτιναῖοι* des Metrums halber für das unbequeme *Κυτινιώτης*, das gebräuchliche Ethnikon des dorischen Kytinion, genommen. Theon aber schloß daraus irrtümlich auf eine thessalische Stadt Kytina, vgl. Holzinger zu Lyk. 1389". Lapithe: known exclusively from the note at Steph. Byz. 412.9: *Λαπίθη, πόλις Θεσσαλίας, ὡς Ἐπαφρόδιτος ἐν τοῖς Ὁμηρικοῖς*. Makkarai: Theopomp. fr. 55 *apud* Steph. Byz. 428.16–17: *Μακκάραι, χώρα ὑπὲρ Φάρσαλον*; this place may, as suggested by Heuzey and Daumet (1876) 425–28, be identical with the Makouniai: mentioned in *I. Thessalie* 1 50.3 (C3l), though this remains conjecture (Decourt (1990) 183); on Pharsalian territory but not precisely located; treated as a fort/tower by *Barr.* Megara: Steph. Byz. 438.13, 439.8–9: *Μέγαρα . . . ἔστι καὶ Μέγαρα ἐν Θετταλίᾳ*; cf. Stählin (1924*a*) 227 no. 17 and *RE* xv. 205; unlocated. Meliboea: unlocated community known exclusively from Livy 36.13. Minye: Steph. Byz. 454.1–4; *IG* IX.2 521.10 (C3); unlocated; cf. Stählin (1924*a*) 93. Oichalie: mentioned in Hom. *Il.* 2.730, but not traceable in the historical period, *Neue Pauly* viii. 1127(2). Omarion: at Theopomp. fr. 137: *Ὁμάριον, πόλις Θετταλίας· Θεόπομπος Φιλιππικῶν κβ'*, *apud* Steph. Byz. 491.22; *Θετταλίας* should probably be emended to *Ἰταλίας* (Meineke, app. crit.), which will eliminate all evidence for a Thessalian Omarion. Pele: two sites known exclusively from Steph. Byz. 514.18: *Πέλη, πόλις Θεσσαλικὴ διττή*; cf. Stählin (1924*a*) 228 no. 20. Pelion: Steph. Byz. 521.4: *Πήλιον, πόλις Θεσσαλίας*; unlocated; cf. Stählin (1924*a*) 43 with n. 6. Pella: Clem. Al. *Protr.* 3.42.4: *Πέλλη ἡ Θετταλίας*; Steph. Byz. 515.6: *Πέλλα, πόλις . . . Θεσσαλίας*; unlocated; cf. Stählin (1924*a*) 228 no. 21. Pelousion: known only from Steph. Byz. 521.17: *ἔστι καὶ Πηλούσιον λιμὴν Θεσσαλίας*; unlocated; cf. Stählin (1924*a*) 228 no. 22. Perrhaibos: Steph. Byz. 518.5: unattested elsewhere and probably a simple error. Phaeca: known only from Livy 32.14.1; not precisely located though *Barr.* locates it at the HR site of Pheke (formerly Varybopi). Phthia: Hom. *Il.* 1.155, 2.683, etc.; *Od.* 11.496; not certainly a city, not certainly historical; Hope Simpson and Lazenby (1970) 128–30; *Neue Pauly* IX. 975. Pialeia: *pace Barr.*, which locates Pialeia at Skoumbos, the precise location of this town remains unresolved, thus, all evidence pertaining to it is late: *Anth. Pal.* 9.264 (*Πιαλεύς*) and Steph. Byz. 522.2: *πόλις Θεσσαλική*. Proana: Steph. Byz. 537.11: *Πρώανα, πόλις Θεσσαλική*; otherwise unknown and possibly a ghost toponym arisen from a misreading of a source referring to Proerna in Achaia. Silana: known only from Livy 36.13.6; unlocated but in Hestiaiotis. Tenos: known only from [Arist.] *Mir. ausc.* 151. Thegonion: known only from Hellan. fr. 8 *apud* Steph. Byz. 313.7: *Θηγώνιον, πόλις Θεσσαλίας. Ἑλλάνικος πρώτῃ Δευκαλιωνείας*, where it is in all probability a corruption of *Θητώνιον*; cf. the entry for Thetonion. Thespeia: Steph. Byz. 310.17: *Θέσπεια . . . δευτέρα Θεσσαλίας*; Pherecydes (*FGrHist* 3) fr. 107: *Θέσπεια δὲ καὶ πόλις Θεσσαλίας. Φερεκύδης δὲ Ποτνιέα ἱστορεῖ τὸν Τίφυν*; obviously, Pherecydes is not cited for a reference to a Thessalian Thespeia, but for a detail on Tiphys; unlocated; cf. Stählin (1924*a*) 227 no. 9. Thetideion: a sanctuary in Pharsalian territory; cf. *CPCPapers* 5 (2000) 148–49. Titaron: Steph. Byz. 627.3; Lycoph. *Alex.* 905 (implicitly); unlocated; cf. Lucas (1997) 30–31.

1. *Pre-Hellenistic Settlements not Attested as* Poleis

Armenion (*Ἀρμένιον* or *Ὀρμένιον*) Strabo 11.4.8 (*πόλις*), 11.14.12 (*πόλις*). Cf. Perlman (2000) E.1 l. 44 (post-316): an Epidaurian *theorodokos* at Orminion, where

the reference could possibly be to the present settlement; but see Magnesian Orminion *infra* 689. *Barr.* AC.

Asbotos (*Ἄσβωτος*) Steph. Byz. 130.8 (*πόλις*); *ἐξ Ἀσ[βώτου]* is possibly to be restored in *IG* IV 617.14 (cf. *AJA* 98 (1986) 211), a list of payments made by Thessalian polities to Argive *theoroi* and dating to 316–293 (Perlman (2000) 74–75); Plassart reads *ἐν [Ἀ]σβωτ[ε]ίαι* in *BCH* 45 (1921) col. vD(b).6 = p. 30 l. 6 (230–220); Euphorion fr. 25.1 (v. Groningen)/31.1, de Cuenca). Unlocated, but in Thessalia (Steph. Byz. *s.v.*); cf. Stählin (1924*a*) 227 no. 4. *Barr.* dates it L, but it probably existed H and perhaps even C (*supra*); if its name is correctly restored in *IG* IV 617, then it may even have been a *polis* in C4l/C3e, and so possibly even in C4 prior to 323.

Boibe (*Βοίβη*) Hom. *Il.* 2.712; Strabo 9.5.15, 5.18: *πολίχνη*; Steph. Byz. 172.9: *πόλις Θεσσαλίας*. *RE* iii. 628. *Barr.* A, but the fact that it existed in 293 (Strabo 9.5.15) indicates C as well.

Callithera (*Callithera*) Mentioned only by Livy 32.13.11, but possibly to be identified with the C site at Paliouri: Helly (1992) 85–88, followed by *Barr.*

Chalkai (*Χαλκαί*) Theopomp. fr. 34 (on which see Martin (1982)). D. Kontogiannis (1992); Helly (1995) 293. *Barr.* C.

Eretria (*Ἐρέτρια*) Polyb. 18.20.5; Ptol. *Geog.* 3.13.43; *IG* IX.2 176 (C3). Steph. Byz. 276.6 (*πόλις*); Strabo 9.5.10 (*κατοικία*). Kip (1910) 28; Blum (1992). *Barr.* AC.

Euhydrium (*Euhydrium*) The toponym was presumably **Εὐύδριον*: it is not attested in Greek sources but may be reconstructed from its Latin form *Euhydrium* (Livy 32.13.9). *I.Thessalie* 35 (*κατὰ τὸ τῆς πόλεως ψήφισμα* (Hell.)). Béquignon (1932) 125–29, 140–43, 194; Decourt (1990) 196–98, 214–15. *Barr.* C.

Ithome, Thamiai (*Ἰθώμη/Θαμίαι*) Hom. *Il.* 2.729; *SEG* 37 494 (230–200), 43 290; Strabo 9.5.17 (*πολίχνιον*); Steph. Byz. 306.9 (*πόλις*), 329.1 (*πόλις*). On onomastics, see Helly (1971). *Barr.* AC.

Kelaitha (*Κελαίθα*) *BCH* 45 (1921) III.28 (230–220); *IG* IV 617.9 (316–293): [*ἐκ Κε*]*λαίθας* (Cabanes (1976) 124). In *SEG* 15 384 (370–368), a man described as *Εὔστρατος Κελαίθων* ("Eustratos of the Kelaithoi") is listed as *damiorgos* of the Molossian Federation (though it is commonly accepted that the community was situated in or near western Thessalia (Cabanes (1976) 124)). The toponym *Κελαίθα* is probably to be connected with the ethnic *Κέλαιθος* found here (ibid.); but whereas the Kelaithans presumably constituted a *polis* in the Hellenistic period (donating money to the Argives (*IG* IV 617) and having a Delphic *theorodokos* (*BCH* 45 (1921)), it is not certain that they formed a *polis* already by *c.*370: Rhianos (*FGrHist* 265) fr. 18 *apud* Steph. Byz. 372.6 describes them as an *ἔθνος* (Cabanes (1976) 123–24), and this classification is accepted by Hammond (1967) 526. Helly (1992) 85–88. *Barr.* H, but see *supra.*

Lakereia (*Λακέρεια*) Pherecydes (*FGrHist* 3) fr. 3a; Pind. *Pyth.* 3.34; Hellan. fr. 10 *apud* Steph. Byz. 408.8–9 (*πόλις*). *RE* xii. 523–24; Helly (1987). *Barr.* A.

Limnaeum (*Limnaeum*) Toponym known only from Livy 36.13.9, 14.1–2. Probably to be identified with the city site at Strongylovouni/Keusseukli-Dag, Vlochos (Decourt (1990) 120–21, 159–63). The preserved urban remains are mostly Hellenistic and later, but certain remains are C4 or even C5, and the site has yielded Archaic and Classical inscriptions (*I.Thessalie* 1–3, 6–7). *Barr.* AC.

Misgomenai (*Μισγομεναί*) Hellan. fr. 9 *apud* Steph. Byz. 454.12: *Μισγομεναί, πόλις Θετταλίας. Ἑλλάνικος πρώτῳ Δευκαλιωνείας*. Unlocated (cf. Stählin (1924*a*) 227 no. 18). No date in *Barr.* but the occurrence of the toponym in Hellan. fr. 9 suggests C.

Onthyrion (*Ὀνθύριον*) Strabo 9.5.17 (*πολίχνιον, πόλις*); Rhianos (*FGrHist* 265) fr. 24 *apud* Steph. Byz. 493.12: *Ὀνθύριον, πόλις Θεσσαλικὴ περὶ τὴν Ἄρνην. τὸ ἐθνικὸν Ὀνθυριεύς. Ῥιανὸς ὀγδόῳ*. Unlocated by *Barr.* (but possibly at Kallithiro (formerly Seklitsa); cf. Indzesiloglou (1997) 58. According to Strabo 9.5.15, Onthyrion was one of three insignificant settlements (*πολίχνια ἄσημα*) merged by synoecism to produce Metropolis (of which it was a *phyle* in Hellenistic times (Habicht (1978–79)). The *terminus ante quem* for this synoecism is 358 (see entry *infra*), and if Strabo's report is historical, Onthyrion must have existed prior to the Hellenistic period, but nothing is known about its political status. *Barr.* AC.

Palaipharsalos (*Παλαιφάρσαλος*) Strabo 9.5.6, 17.1.11; Livy 32.13.9 (*oppidum*). On the site, see Decourt (1990) 184–223. *Barr.* AC.

Phayttos (*Φάυττος, Φαιστός*) *IG* IX.2 489 (Hell.): *πόλις*; Ptol. *Geog.* 3.12.41. *Barr.* AC.

Photinaion (*Φωτίναιον*) Hecat. fr. 134 *apud* Steph. Byz. 676.7–8: *Φωτίναιον . . . πόλις Θεσσαλίας, ὡς Ἑκαταῖος περιηγήσει Εὐρώπης*. Not in *Barr.*; Hecat. fr. 134 proves A.

Phyllos (*Φύλλος*) Rhianos (*FGrHist* 265) fr. 25; Strabo 9.5.14; Steph. Byz. 674.14 (*πόλις*). Decourt (1990) 148–52, 174–80. *Barr.* AC.

Sykyrion (*Συκύριον*) Polyb. 27.8.15. An acropolis with C5 fortification, but no circuit around the lower city (autopsy by B. Helly). *Barr.* AC.

Symaitha (*Σύμαιθα*) Unlocated, but in Thessalia, according to Steph. Byz. 591.13–14: *Σύμαιθα, πόλις Θετταλίας. ὁ πολίτης Συμαιθέυς, ὡς Θεόπομπος Φιλιππικῶν εἰκοστῷ δευτέρῳ*; for Stephanos' use of *polites*, see Whitehead (1994) 124. *Barr.* dates it only H, but Theopomp. fr. 138 proves C.

Tripolis Larisaia (*Tripolis*) Livy 42.55.6, on which see Helly (1995) 161 n. 85. *Barr.* AC.

On the status of these communities nothing is known; some may have been *poleis* (cf. the comments on Asbotos), others civic subdivisions (cf. the comments on Onthyrion).

A common political organisation comprising the communities of Thessalia becomes visible in the later sixth century. Common political and military action is attested for this period by e.g. Hdt. 5.63.3, where it is stated that the *Θεσσαλοί* sent military support to the Peisistratidai in accordance with a treaty of *συμμαχίη* and after having voted to send the reinforcement: *ἀπέπεμψαν κοινῇ γνώμῃ χρεώμενοι χιλίην … ἵππον*. A war waged by the *Θεσσαλοί* and their *σύμμαχοι* against Phokis is briefly mentioned at Hdt. 8.27 and dated "not many years before" Xerxes' invasion of Greece. During the Persian Wars, the Thessalians at first collaborated with the Hellenic League (Hdt. 7.172–74); later, however, when the large Greek army sent to Thessalia had left, possibly due to medism on the part of the Aleuadai, the Thessalians as such medised (Hdt. 7.174, 9.31.5; see further Robertson (1976)). A *symmachia* with Athens in 461 is attested at Thuc. 1.102.4. External collective dedications by the Thessalians are attested in *BCH* (1958) 329, 1 (458/7), and *BCH* (1963) 206–7, no. 6 (*c.*369). In C5f, the Thessalians were party to a dispute adjudged by Elis (no. 251) and involving also Athens (no. 361), Thespiai (no. 222) and the Boiotians (*SEG* 26 475, 31 358).

In form, this political organisation was presumably a federal state (Larsen (1968) 12–26, 281–94; Beck (1997) 119–34). Federal citizenship, in addition to *polis* citizenship, is not explicitly attested, but may be assumed if there was a regional primary assembly, as argued by Larsen (1968) 19 with n. 4, and Beck (1997) 126, both referring to Hdt. 5.63.3 (quoted *supra*) and Thuc. 4.78.3: *τὸ πάντων κοινόν* with *HCT ad loc.* (cf. also *IG* II² 116.18 (361/60) attesting election of the chief magistrate, presumably by an assembly, and *AM* 59: 57, 15.2, a C4 grant of proxeny by the *Petthaloi* which mentions *prostatai*; cf. also the use of *συμπολιτεύεσθαι* in Isoc. 5.20). For the purpose of federal administration, the region was divided into four units, *tetrades*: Thessaliotis, Phthiotis, Pelasgiotis and Hestiaiotis (Hellan. fr. 52; on these units, see further *infra*). The *tetrades* were created by Aleuas the Red (Arist. fr. 497, Rose; cf. Helly (1995) 150–67); the *terminus ante quem* for their creation would be *c.*500 if the word *Πελασγιώτιδος* in Hecat. fr. 133 *apud* Steph. Byz. 381.21 is derived from Hekataios—which is, however, far from certain; a date in C6 is, on the other hand, commonly assumed (cf. Helly (1995) 170–75). The chief function of the tetradic system seems to have been as units of military conscription (Gschnitzer (1954); Beck (1997) 125). Other attested federal institutions include coinage (Martin (1985) 37–40); a board of *polemarchoi* (*SEG* 17 243 (*c.*458/7); *IG* II² 116.23 (361/60); *IG* II² 175.6 (C4m)) selected on a tetradic basis (*IG* II² 175.5–8), a board of *hipparchoi* (*IG* II² 116.24), a board of *hippeis* (*IG* II² 116.24), a board of *pezarchoi* (*IG* II² 175.8), a board of *hieromnemones* (*IG* II² 116.24), *presbeia* (*IG* II² 116.8–9) and *proxenia* (*AM* 59: 57, 15.2 (C4)). The chief magistrate of the federation is called *ταγός* in Xen. *Hell.* 6.1.18, but this title is not attested prior to the era of Jason (Helly (1995) 67). The usual title of the highest magistrate was presumably *ἀρχός* (Anac. fr. 107, Diehl; cf. Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 5.74.3), *ἄρχων* (*IG* II² 116.18 (361/60)), or *τέτραρχος* (*CEG* II 795i (rC5)); on these titles, see Helly (1995) 39–68. The *tetrarchoi* are sometimes conceived of as heads of the *tetrades* (Beck (1997) 125), but see the discussion by Helly (*loc. cit.*); according to Theopomp. fr. 208, Philip II of Makedon installed an archon at the head of each *tetras* (Helly (1995) 56–57). The office of *archos*, i.e. the chief office of the federation, was elective in 361/60 (*IG* II² 116.18) and presumably long before that date (Larsen (1968) 14–15); the office was held for life (Larsen (1968) 13; cf. *CEG* II 795.16 (330s) for a reign of 27 years).

Despite the existence of a federal structure, Thessalia was not always *de facto* firmly united; cf. e.g. Xen. *Hell.* 2.3.4 for a battle fought between Lykophron I of Pherai and forces from (among others) Larisa, a battle fought over the hegemony of Thessalia (*ἄρξαι ὅλης τῆς Θετταλίας*). However, when the region *was* firmly united, it was capable of controlling the minor adjacent regions; cf. Xen. *Hell.* 6.1.9–12 where Xenophon has Jason say that when Thessalia is governed by a *tagos*, all the surrounding peoples (*πάντα τὰ κύκλῳ ἔθνη*)—commonly referred to as *perioikoi* in

modern literature (Martin (1985) 69–73; Helly (1995) 181ff)—are its subjects (ὑπήκοα; cf. 6.1.19 for the expression οἱ περίοικοι to refer to these peoples). Not much is known about the position of these dependent peoples (*perioikoi*) *vis-à-vis* the Thessalians, but the following seems reasonably clear.

(1) The subjection of the adjacent regions was completed before the end of C6; this appears from (a) the fact that the Thessalians in 510 offered Iolkos on the coast of the Pagasitic Gulf to Hippias of Athens (Hdt. 5.94.1) and thus must have controlled this region (Kip (1910) 11; Gschnitzer (1958) 2 n. 3; Martin (1985) 70); and (b) the probability that the subjection had taken place before the prolonged conflicts between Thessalia and Phokis (Kip (1910) 10; Lehmann (1983); McInerney (1999) 145–46, 174–78) and Boiotia (Buck (1979) 107–20), which antedate the Persian Wars (Gschnitzer (1958) 2 n. 3). That the subjection was effected by force of arms is a reasonable inference from Aristotle's reference to ancient warfare between the Thessalians and the Achaians, Perrhaibians and Magnesians (*Pol.* 1267^{b}5–7).

(2) Among the subjected peoples were (a) *the Achaians*: at 8.3.1, Thucydides refers to the Achaians as among the *hypekooi* of the Thessalians (cf. Arist. *Pol.* 1267^{b}5–7 for ancient warfare between the Achaians and the Thessalians); (b) *the Magnesians*: at 5.94.1, Herodotos relates that the Athenian tyrant Hippias, upon his expulsion from Athens, was offered Iolkos on the coast of the Pagasitic Gulf by the Thessalians, and this suggests that the area around Iolkos was subjected to the Thessalians by C6s (cf. Martin (1985) 70); at 2.101.2, Thucydides refers to *hypekooi* of the Thessalians and names the Magnesians as among them (cf. Arist. *Pol.* 1269^{b}5–7 for ancient warfare between the Magnesians and the Thessalians); (c) *the Perrhaibians*: at 4.78.6, Thucydides describes the Perrhaibians as *hypekooi* of the Thessalians (cf. Arist. *Pol.* 1269^{b}5–7 for ancient warfare between the Perrhaibians and the Thessalians). These are the only specifically named dependants, but there may well have been others: (i) at 3.93.2, Thucydides describes the Thessalians as in control of the areas in which Herakleia Trachinia was founded in 426 (i.e. presumably areas such as Ainis, Malis and Trachis); (ii) Xen. *Hell.* 6.1.9 has Jason say that *all* (πάντα) neighbouring *ethne* were subjects of the Thessalians, and this may include, e.g., the Athamanians and the Dolopians; (iii) Thucydides twice (2.101.1, 8.3.1) uses οἱ ἄλλοι to refer to unspecified subjects.

(3) The dependent peoples (i) paid *phoros* to the Thessalian Confederacy (Kip (1910) 12): (a) Jason fixed the tribute to be paid (Xen. *Hell.* 6.1.19) by putting it at the level it had been (b) in the time of Skopas; the date and identity of this Skopas is unknown, but he is often placed in C6 (Larsen (1968) 18; cf. Helly (1995) 171–72, 183–86); (ii) were obliged to render military service, as is clear from Xen. *Hell.* 6.1.9 (cf. Kip (1910) 12).

(4) The dependent peoples continued to constitute political communities of their own and were not absorbed by the Thessalians; this is clear (a) from Herodotos' list of those who gave earth and water to the Great King (7.132.1), which in addition to the Thessalians includes (i) the Perrhaibians, (ii) the Magnesians, (iii) the Achaians, as well as (iv) the Dolopians, Ainians and Malians, who may also have been subjects of the Thessalians; (b) from the fact that (i) the Perrhaibians (Aeschin. 2.116; Theopomp. fr. 63; *CID* II 43.45, 44.8), (ii) the Magnesians (Aeschin. 2.116; Theopomp. fr. 63; *CID* II 43.24, 49), (iii) the Achaians (Aeschin. 2.116; Theopomp. fr. 63; *CID* II 36.1.31, 43.24), as well as (iv) the Dolopians (Aeschin. <2.116>; Theopomp. fr. 63; *CID* II 43.46), Ainians (Theopomp. fr. 63; *CID* II 43.25) and Malians (Aeschin. 2.116; Theopomp. fr. 63; *CID* II 71.46) were members in their own right of the Amphiktyonic League; (c) from the fact that, despite Thessalian protests, the Achaians (and other subjects) entered into bilateral relations with Sparta in 413/12 (Thuc. 8.3.1); (d) from the fact that four of these peoples struck their own coins: the Achaians (*BMC* 1963: 48 (C4l/C3e); cf. *infra*), the Ainians (Head, *HN*^{2} 291; cf. *infra*), the Oitaians (Head, *HN*^{2} 302; cf. *infra*) and the Perrhaibians (Head, *HN*^{2} 304; cf. *infra*); and finally (e) from the fact that the Oitaians, the Malians, the Ainians, the Dolopians and the Perrhaibians joined the Corinthian League of 338/7 (*IG* II^{2} 236b (338/7)). Moreover, *poleis* are found in all of these regions (see sections 2.1–8 *infra*).

Exactly what the formal status of the subjects was is unknown. The story of the offer of Iolkos to Hippias (Hdt. 5.94.1) suggests that the Thessalians could on occasion consider perioikic land as Thessalian possession (cf. Soph. fr. 915 with Helly (1995) 137–40), but this reveals little about formalities. One possibility is that the *perioikoi* were in fact *symmachoi*: (1) at 8.27.2, Herodotos states that at a point "not many years before" the Persian War the Θεσσαλοὶ καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι made an attack on Phokis; these *symmachoi* may possibly have been the subjects discussed here, and the formula "the Thessalians and the allies" is reminiscent of such formulas as "the Lakedaimonians and the allies" and may suggest that the Thessalians were leaders of a hegemonic alliance (cf. Nielsen (1997) 139–41); (2) a similar suggestion may be made on the basis of *IG* II^{2} 116.13–14: this is a treaty of *symmachia* between Athens and the Thessalian

Confederacy, and it stipulates that all allies of the Thessalians are to be allies of Athens; this suggests that the Thessalians had dependent allies in 361/0, the date of the treaty (though, as pointed out by Kahrstedt (1925) 150, the Magnesians and the Achaians were probably not among them at this date).

As already mentioned, Thessalia proper was subdivided into four *tetrades*: Thessaliotis, Phthiotis, Pelasgiotis and Hestiaiotis (on which see in general Gschnitzer (1954) and Helly (1995)).

Thessaliotis The toponym is *Θετταλιῶτις*, *ἡ* (Hellan. fr. 52 *apud* Harp.; Strabo 9.5.17), called *ἡ γῆ ἡ νῦν Θεσσαλιῶτις καλεομένη* at Hdt. 1.57.1. The corresponding "ethnic" is *Θετταλιώτης* (*IG* II² 175.7 (*Θετ[ταλιωτῶν]* (C4m)) or *Θεσσαλιώτης* (*SEG* 34 558.34 (C2s)). This "ethnic" is attested by only one Classical source, which clearly shows that it is not an ethnic proper but a term used to refer to an administrative/geographical unit of the Thessalian state (*supra*): [*οἵδε*] *ὤμοσαν Θετταλῶν* [---]/ [*π*]*ολέμαρχοι· Πελασγιωτ*[*ῶν* ---]/ *Φθιωτῶν· Μεγάλος. Θετ*[*ταλιωτῶν* ---]/ [*Ἐ*]*στ*[*ι*]*ωτ*[*ῶ*]*ν· Εὔρων* (*IG* II² 175.5–8 (C4m)). For the origin of the term, see Gschnitzer (1954) and Helly (1995) 159–60.

The *tetras* of Thessaliotis and its "ethnic" is not as frequently attested as the other *tetrades*, and the reason is presumably the similarity between the names *Θεσσαλία* and *Θεσσαλιῶτις* and the confusion to which this similarity could potentially give rise: Ptol. *Geog.* 3.12, e.g., knows the correct names of the other *tetrades*, but for Thessaliotis gives simply *Θεσσαλῶν* (followed by an absurd list of cities); and Steph. Byz. 310.23–24 treats *Θεσσαλιώτης*/*Θετταλιώτης* as a variant form of *Θεσσαλός*.

Thessaliotis occupies the southern part of the western plain of Thessalia. For a suggestion of which four communities constituted the administrative unit created by Aleuas the Red in C6, see Helly (1995) 177: Methylion, Limnaion, Kieron and Thetonion. The Inventory below describes the following six *poleis* situated in Thessaliotis: Kierion, Methylion, Orthos, Peirasia, Phakion and Thetonion.

Phthiotis The toponym is *Φθιῶτις*, *ἡ* (Hellan. fr. 52), to which the corresponding "ethnic" is *Φθιώτης* (*IG* II² 175.7 (C4m); *SEG* 34 558.34 (C2s)). Like *Thettaliotes*, *Phthiotes* is attested only once in Classical inscriptions (*IG* II² 175, cited *supra*); the inscription demonstrates that it is not an ethnic proper but a term used to refer to an administrative/geographical unit of the Thessalian state (*supra*). For the origin of the term, see Gschnitzer (1954) and Helly (1995) 159–60.

Most instances of the terms *Φθιῶτις* and *Φθιώτης* do not refer to the *tetras* of the Thessalian state, but to the Phthiotic Achaians (Thuc. 8.3.1: *Ἀχαιοὶ οἱ Φθιῶται*; *IG* II² 1132.56: *Ἀχαιοὶ Φθιῶται* (278/7); cf. *infra* 2.5) or to mythological matters (Hdt. 1.56.3: *Φθιῶτις*; Thuc. 1.3.2–3: *Φθιῶτις*; Eur. *Andr.* 664: *Φθιῶτις*; *Tro.* 187: *Φθιῶται*).

Phthiotis was the smallest of the four *tetrades*, occupying the lower and middle valley of the river Enipeus (Decourt (1990)). For a suggestion as to which four communities constituted the administrative unit created by Aleuas the Red in C6, see Helly (1995) 177: Peirasia, Pharsalos, Phyllos and Euhydrion; possibly, Eretria too was considered part of Phthiotis. The Inventory below describes one *polis* situated in Phthiotis: Pharsalos.

Pelasgiotis The toponym is *Πελασγιῶτις*, *ἡ* (Hellan. fr. 52; Hecat. fr. 133); Dicaearchus fr. 61, Wehrli, *apud* Steph. Byz. 251.9–10 has *ἡ Πελασγιῶτις χώρα* (but not obviously in reference to the area of the Thessalian *tetras*); Diod. 4.37.4 has *ἡ Πελασγιῶτις γῆ*. The corresponding "ethnic" is *Πελασγιώτης* (*IG* II² 175.6 (C4m); cf. Simon. fr. 632, Page, where it is used in a, presumably, mythological context); like *Thettaliotes* and *Phthiotes*, *Pelasgiotes* is attested only once in Classical inscriptions (*IG* II² 175, cited *supra*); the inscription demonstrates that it is not an ethnic proper but a term used to refer to an administrative/geographical unit of the Thessalian state (*supra*). For the origin of the term, see Gschnitzer (1954) and Helly (1995) 159–60.

Pelasgiotis bordered on all three other *tetrades* as well as on three perioikic areas: Perrhaibia, Magnesia and Achaia. By and large, it consisted of the plain of Larisa with its extension towards Pherai and the Pagasitic Gulf. For a suggestion as to which four communities constituted the administrative unit created by Aleuas the Red in C6, see Helly (1995) 177: Larisa, Pherai, Krannon and Skotoussa. The Inventory below describes the following eleven *poleis* situated in Pelasgiotis: Amphanai, Argoussa, Atrax, Gyrton, Kondaia, Krannon, Larisa, Mopsion, Pagasai, Pherai and Skotoussa.

Hestiaiotis The toponym is *Ἑστιαιῶτις*, *ἡ* (Hellan. fr. 52; Andron (*FGrHist* 10) fr. 16a); Steph. Byz. 254.10 (citing Andron) gives *Ἱστιαιῶτις*, and Hdt. 1.56.3 has *Ἱστιαιῶτις* (but not in reference to the area of the historical *tetras*; Helly (2001*a*)). The corresponding "ethnic" is restored as *Ἑστιώτης* in *IG* II² 175.8 (C4m); the inscription demonstrates that it is not an ethnic proper but a term used to refer to an administrative/geographical unit of the Thessalian state (*supra*). For the origin of the term, see Gschnitzer (1954) and Helly (1995) 159–60.

Hestiaiotis was the north-western *tetras*; for a suggestion as to which four communities constituted the administrative unit created by Aleuas the Red in C6, see Helly (1995) 177: Trikka, Pharkadon, Gomphoi and Pelinna. The Inventory below describes the following six *poleis* situated in Hestiaiotis: Gomphoi, Metropolis, Pelinna, Phaloria, Pharkadon and Trikka.[5]

2. Adjacent Regions

2.1 Dolopia

The toponym is *Δολοπία*, *ἡ* (Thuc. 2.202.2; Teles, *De exilio* 22.10, Hense). The corresponding ethnic is *Δόλοψ* (Hdt. 7.132.1), of which the external individual use has been restored in *IG* II² 546 (C4l) (cf. *JHS* 104 (1984) 153 n. 16); in Amphiktyonic documents, individuals are listed under the heading *Δολόπων*, mostly without a city-ethnic (e.g. *CID* II 43.46 (340/39), 96.7 (327/6)), but sometimes with one (*CID* II 74.I.48–49: *Κτιμεναῖος* (337/6)). The external collective use of the ethnic is found in Hdt. 7.185.2; Thuc. 5.51.1; Xen. *Hell.* 6.1.7; Ps.-Skylax 64 and *IG* II² 236b.10 (338/7). The Dolopians are classified as an *ethnos* by Hdt. 7.185.2 and Thuc. 5.51.2. As an *ethnos*, the Dolopians were a member of the Amphiktyonic League (Theopomp. fr. 63; *CID* II 43.46 (340/39)); they provided a single *hieromnemon* who in C4 was sent by Ktimene (*CID* II 32.45, 102.II.fr.A.9; Lefèvre (1998) 84–85).

The only explicit evidence that the Dolopians were subjected to the Thessalians is at Xen. *Hell.* 6.1.9, where Jason of Pherai is made to claim that the Dolopians were his *hypekooi*; it may, however, be assumed that the Dolopians were among the peoples commonly subjected to the Thessalians when these were effectively united (ibid.). Even so, the Dolopians seem to have constituted an individual political entity; thus, they gave earth and water to the Great King and sided with the Persians in 480 (Hdt. 7.132, 185; cf. Diod. 11.3.2); in 420/19 they waged war on Herakleia Trachinia with the Ainians and some Thessalians (Thuc. 5.51.1; Diod. 12.77.4, who substitutes Malians for Thucydides' *Θεσσαλῶν τινάς*; cf. Diod. 16.29.1 (the Sacred War) and 18.11.1 (the Lamian War)); and in C4 they joined the Corinthian League of Philip II (*IG* II² 236b.10 (338/7)).

[5] A few polities cannot be assigned to any specific *tetras*: Asbotos (Thessalian, according to Steph. Byz. 130.8); Oxynion, which may have been in Hestiaiotis, or in Perrhaibia (Strabo 7.7.9). In the Inventories below they are both described s.v. Thessalia.

Dolopia is not well explored, and its borders are imprecisely known. In the historical period, they occupied a large part of southern Mt. Pindos (Flacelière (1937) 23), south of Thessalia proper, bordering on the east on Achaia (Helly (1992) 81), to the south on Ainis, and to the north-west on Athamania. Only two Dolopian communities, Angeia and Ktimene, are known in the Archaic and Classical periods (Helly (1992)); they are both described in the Inventory below.

2.2 Ainis

The toponym is *Αἰνίς*, *ἡ* (Plut. *Quaest. Graec.* 26; *IG* IX.2 5b.10 (150–125)); it does not occur prior to the Roman period; in the Archaic and Classical periods, only the ethnic is found: it is *Αἰνιάν* in Thuc. 5.51.1; Xen. *Hell.* 4.13.15; Ps.-Skylax 35; and *Ἐνιήν* (v.l. *Αἰνιήν*; cf. *Hym. Hom. Ap.* 217) in Hdt. 7.132, 198.

Theopomp. fr. 80 may possibly have used *Αἰνιάνων χώρα* about the territory which is called *Αἰνιακὴ χώρα* in Arist. *Mir. ausc.* 843ᵇ17. The Ainians are classified as an *ethnos* by Hdt. 7.185 and Thuc. 5.51.2, and as an *ethnos*, they were a member of the Amphiktyonic League (Theopomp. fr. 63; *CID* II 36.I.8 (343–340), etc.); they provided two *hieromnemones* who in C4 came, at least sometimes, from Korophe and Phyrrax (Lefèvre (1998) 21–23).

The internal collective use of the ethnic is found on C4 coins (Head, *HN*² 291; Babelon, *Traité* ii.4 nos. 451–53) and in *IG* IX.2 3b (shortly after 323), a grant of proxeny to a man of Athens by [*τὸ κοινὸν*] *τῶν Αἰνιάνων*. The external individual use of the ethnic is found in Diod. 18.7.2 (r323); *CID* II 43.58 (340/39); and *SEG* 8 513 (C4). The external collective use is found in Thuc. 5.51.1; Xen. *Hell.* 3.5.6; Ps.-Skylax 62; and Philoch. fr. 56. In its external uses, the regional ethnic may be specified by a city-ethnic *vel sim.*: *Αἰνιάνων . . . Καφελεύς* (*CID* II 74.I.55–56 (337/6)); *Αἰνιάνων . . . Κοροφαῖος* (*CID* II 97.64 (327/6)); *ἐκ Ταλάνας . . . Αἰνιάν* (*CID* II 1.1.45 (362/1)); [*Α*]*ἰ*[*νιᾶνες Ὑ*]*πα*[*ταῖοι*] (*CID* II 3.7 (362–357)); *Αἰνιὰν Φυρράγιος* (*CID* II 1.1.40 (362/1)).

There is no direct evidence that the Ainians were subjected to the Thessalians, but two passages in Thucydides indicate that they were within the Thessalian sphere of interest and power: (i) at 3.93.3 he describes the Thessalians as in control (*ἐν δυνάμει ὄντες*) of the areas in which Herakleia Trachinia was situated, and (ii) at 5.51 he describes the Ainians as an *ethnos* bordering on Herakleia and thus as within the areas of Thessalian control and interest.

A C4 *koinon* of the Ainians is suggested by silver coins struck in the name of the *ethnos* (triobols and obols on the

Aiginetan standard). Types: *obv.* head of Zeus; *rev.* warrior hurling javelin, or sword in sheath and javelin. Legend: *AINIAN*, *AINIANΩN* (Head, *HN*² 291; Babelon, *Traité* ii.4 nos. 451–53). It is also suggested by *IG* ix.2 3b, a grant of proxeny passed by the Ainians shortly after 323.

During Xerxes' invasion, the Ainians medised (Hdt. 7.132, 185; Diod. 11.3.2); in 420/416, the Ainians, with the Dolopians and some Thessalians, waged war on Herakleia Trachinia (Thuc. 5.51; Diod. 12.77.4, who substitutes Malians for Thucydides' *Θεσσαλῶν τινάς*). A treaty with the Lakedaimonians is attested by Xen. *Hell.* 3.5.6 and Diod. 14.82.7 (r395); the Ainians joined the anti-Spartan alliance in the Corinthian War (Xen. *Hell.* 4.3.15) and were allied to Boiotia at the battle of Mantinea in 362 (Diod. 15.85.2 (r363/2)); *IG* ii² 236b.10 (338/7) has been restored [*Αἰνιάνων*], thus indicating membership of the Corinthian League of Philip II; in the Lamian War, the Ainians joined the Greek alliance (Diod. 18.11.1 (r323)).

Ainis was constituted by the basins of the middle and upper Spercheios valley (cf. Hdt. 7.198) and its principal tributary, Inachos. To the east, Ainis bordered on Malis and Oita, to the south on Aitolia, and to the north on Dolopia and Achaia. The Inventory below describes five *poleis* situated in Ainis (Hypata, Kapheleis, Korophaioi, Phyrrhagioi and Talana); in addition there were in the area in the pre-Hellenistic period the following settlements.[6]

1. *Pre-Hellenistic Settlements not Attested as* Poleis

***Erythrai** (*Ἐρυθραῖος*) A toponym is not explicitly attested, but the city-ethnic *Ἐρυθραῖος* suggests *Ἐρύθραι*. *F.Delphes* iii.1 514 (*c.*278): *ἡ πόλις Ἐρυθ[ραίων]*; *IG* ix.2 7a (C2m): *ἡ πόλις Ἐρυθρηίων*; *I.Erythrai* i 36 (C3m); *Syll.*³ 492 (C3s). Stählin (1924*a*) 222; Helly (1978). *Barr.* C.

Macra Come (*Macra Come*) Mentioned only by Livy 32.13.10 and probably to be identified with the site at Varybopi. Béquignon (1937*b*) 316–22; Roux (1954); classified as a fort/tower by *Barr. Barr.* C?.

Side (*Side*) *CIL* 586.8. Kip (1910) 47; *RE*² ii 2208; classified as a fort/tower by *Barr. Barr.* C.

Sosthenis (*Σωσθενίς*) *BCH* 45 (1921) iii.128 (230–220); *IG* ix.1² 34 (C2f); Ptol. *Geog.* 3.12.42. Kontogiannis (1994). *Barr.* C.

Spercheiai (*Σπερχείαι*) *BCH* 45 (1921) iii.20 (230–220); Ptol. *Geog.* 3.12.14. Béquignon (1937*b*) 313–15; classified as a fort/tower by *Barr. Barr.* C.

2. *Unidentified Settlements*

Ano Phteri Béquignon (1937*b*) 305–6; Philippson (1950) 244. *Barr.* C?.

Vounous Kase (1991) 47. *Barr.* C.

On the status of these communities in the Archaic and Classical periods, nothing is known. Some of them may possibly have been *poleis*, as Erythrai certainly was in C3m (*supra*).

2.3 Oita

In Strabo 9.5.10, the toponym is *Οἰταία, ἡ*; this toponym may have to be restored (as *Οἰταίης*) at Hdt. 7.185 (cf. Legrand (1951) 184 app. crit. and 185 n. 3), and *Οἰταία χθών* is found in Soph. *Phil.* 479; *IG* ix.1 227.1 (C2f) has *Οἴτα, ἡ*. The ethnic is *Οἰτᾶος* on C4f coins (Babelon, *Traité* ii.4 nos. 438, 442); *Οἰταῖος* is found in Aeschin. 2.116; *IG* ii² 236b.9 (338/7); and Babelon, *Traité* ii.4 no. 439 (C4f), etc.

The internal collective use of the ethnic is found on C4 coins (Head, *HN*² 302; Babelon, *Traité* ii.4 nos. 227–30). The external collective use of the ethnic is found in Hdt. 7.217; Thuc. 3.92.2; Aeschin. 2.116, 142; [Dem.] 59.101; *IG* ii² 236b.9 (338/7). The external individual use is found in Xen. *An.* 4.6.20 and *Tit. Cal.* 3.5 (C4).

In Aeschin. 2.116, the Oitaians are described as an *ethnos* and are listed as a member of the Amphiktyonic League; they are, however, absent from the list of Amphiktyonic members found in Theopomp. fr. 63, and they do not appear in C4 Amphiktyonic documents (Lefèvre (1998) 92; cf. Kip (1910) 19–20).

Oitaian subjection to the Thessalians is not explicitly attested, but may perhaps be inferred from Thuc. 3.93.2, where the Thessalians are described as in control of (*ἐν δυνάμει ὄντες*) the areas in which Herakleia Trachinia was founded.

The Oitaians as such presumably formed a political unit, as is suggested by the following evidence. (1) In C4f, they struck silver and bronze coins: silver (triobols and obols on the Aiginetan standard): *obv.* head of lion, spear in mouth,

[6] A number of toponyms are left out of consideration here since they cannot be shown to denote historical settlements in existence in the Archaic and/or Classical periods or because they are incorrectly ascribed to Ainis *vel sim.* They include *Apeitheion*: *BCH* 45 (1921) iii.126 (230–220) and *IG* ix.2 6a.7 (C2m) with A. Kontogiannis (1990) 87; unlocated; no date in *Barr.*; Latyia: a *polis* known exclusively from a post-Classical inscription (*IG* ix.2 59).

or laureate head of Apollo; *rev.* naked Herakles with club, or lion's head, or spear and knife, or bow and quiver; legend: *OIT*, *OITA*, *OITAΩN*, *OITAIΩN*. Bronze: *obv.* lion's head, spear in mouth, or head of Apollo, or head of young Herakles crowned with vine wreath; *rev.* spear and knife, or spearhead and jawbone of boar and bunch of grapes; legend: *OIT*, *OITAΩN*, *OITAIΩN* (Head, *HN*² 302; Babelon, *Traité* ii.4 nos. 227–30; Rogers (1932) nos. 414–20). (2) Warfare by the *Oitaioi* is attested at Thuc. 3.92.3 (a war with the Malians) and Xen. *Hell.* 1.2.18 (a war against Herakleia Trachinia and the Achaians). (3) In 370, Jason of Pherai handed over to the Oitaians and the Malians the city of Herakleia Trachinia (Xen. *Hell.* 6.4.27; Diod. 15.57.2). (4) *Πραξιτέλης Ἰσχομ[ά]χου Οἰταῖος* was granted proxeny by Kalymna in C4 (*Tit. Cal.* 3) and Phylarchos (*FGrHist* 81) fr. 70 (r350s) *apud* Part. *Amat. narr.* 25 describes a man as *Οἰταίων προστάτης*. (5) Treaties/alliances are attested as follows: (a) a treaty with the Lakedaimonians is implied by Xen. *Hell.* 3.5.6; (b) membership of the Corinthian League of Philip II is attested by *IG* II² 236b.9 (338/7); and (c) except for Herakleia Trachinia, the Oitaians joined the Greek alliance set up for the Lamian War (Diod. 18.11.1 (r323)).

The Oitaians seem to have been a group composed ethnically of Dryopes, Malians and Ainians (Béquignon (1937*b*) 168–69; Baladié (1996) 277); they originally occupied the upper valley of the river Asopos (Flacelière (1937) 16), and later controlled the eastern part of Mt. Oita as far as the southern bank of the river Spercheios. Their only well-known *polis* is Herakleia Trachinia, which was founded in order to protect the Malians against the Oitaians (Thuc. 3.92) but was handed over to the Oitaians *and* the Malians by Jason of Pherai in 370 (Xen. *Hell.* 6.4.27; Diod. 15.57.2) and is described as Oitaian in reference to 323 by Diod. 18.11.1 (but is Malian in C4 Amphiktyonic documents, e.g. *CID* II 43.27 (340); see, however, Kip (1910) 19, 39–41, and Lefèvre (1998) 92, suggesting that this may be mere Amphiktyonic chancellery style, obscuring the fact that the Oitaians were represented by Herakleia). In addition to Herakleia, the Inventory below describes two other Oitaian *poleis* (Chen and Parasopioi). Finally, the area comprised the following pre-Hellenistic settlement, which cannot be shown to have been a *polis*, although it is unknown what status it did have.[7]

1. *Pre-Hellenistic Settlement not Attested as a* Polis

Homilai (*Ὅμιλαι*) *SGDI* 2527.7 (C3l); *IG* IX.1 227, 229, 230 (C2m); Ptol. *Geog.* 3.12.15. Stählin (1924*a*) 210–11; Béquignon (1937*b*) 260–63; Kase (1991) 49–50. *Barr.* AC.

2.4 Malis

The toponym is *Μηλίς*, *ἡ* (Hdt. 7.198.1, 201, 8.31). The corresponding ethnic is *Μηλιεύς* (Hdt. 7.132.1; Thuc. 3.93.1) or *Μαλιεύς* (Aeschin. 2.116; Ps.-Skylax 62; *CID* II 43.26 (340)).

The territory is called *ἡ Μηλίς γῆ* in Hdt. 7.198.1 and *ἡ Μαλιέων χώρα* in Ps.-Skylax 62. The internal collective use of the ethnic is found on C4 coins (Head, *HN*² 296; Babelon, *Traité* ii.4 nos. 458, 462). The external individual use of the ethnic is found in Hdt. 7.213.1, and C4 Amphiktyonic documents list individuals under the heading *Μαλιέων*, sometimes without a city-ethnic (e.g. *CID* II 69.25), sometimes with the addition of *Λαμιεύς* or *Ἡρακλειώτας* (e.g. *CID* II 32.49 (358/7)). The external collective use of the ethnic is found in Hdt. 7.132.1, 9.31.5; Thuc. 3.93.1, 5.51.1; Xen. *Hell.* 3.5.6, 4.2.17; and *IG* II² 236b.9 (338/7).

Thuc. 5.51.2 describes the Malians as an *ethnos*, and as an *ethnos* they were a member of the Amphiktyonic League (Aeschin. 2.116; Theopomp. fr. 63; *CID* II 43.26 (340)). According to Thuc. 3.93.2, the Malians were subdivided into three parts (*τρία μέρη*): the *Παράλιοι*, the *Ἰριῆς* (on which form see *HCT ad loc.*) and the *Τραχίνιοι*; the latter were the neighbours of the Oitaians (Thuc. 3.92.2), but apart from that these groups cannot be located.

A plurality of *poleis* in Malis is securely attested, e.g. (1) by Hdt. 7.198–99, who mentions first Antikyre and then Trachis as *poleis*; at 7.176.2, he furthermore calls Anthela *polis* (a city which, by implication, he considers Malian; cf. 7.216 describing Alpenos as the first East Lokrian *polis* after Malis; it is called *kome* at 7.200.2); and (2) by Ps.-Skylax 62, who names Lamia and Echinos and adds *εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλαι πόλεις Μαλιεῦσι*. Thus, Malis was a region subdivided into *poleis*. But the region as such may also have constituted a

[7] A number of toponyms are left out of consideration here, since they cannot be shown to denote historical settlements in existence in the Archaic and/or Classical periods or because they are incorrectly ascribed to Oita *vel sim.* They include *Kottai: a community attested by its ethnic (*Κοτταεύς*) in some C3 inscriptions and possibly to be located in Oita (Lefèvre (1998) 92 n. 448); Oite: a city called *Οἴτη* is sometimes (cf. refs. in Kip (1910) 38 n. 6) assumed on the basis, e.g., of Ps.-Skylax 62: *ἐνταῦθα Θερμοπύλαι, Τραχίς, Οἴτη, Ἡράκλεια, Στερχειός ποταμός*; however, *Οἴτη* here is probably the mountain, just as Mt. Knemis is listed in the preceding chapter: *καὶ πόλεις αὐτοῖς εἰσὶν αἵδε· Θρόνιον, Κνῆμις, Ἐλάτεια, Πανοπεύς* (cf. Nielsen (2000) 108). Cf. Müller's remark: "Inepte Œta mons inter Trachinis et Heracleæ mentionem intruditur" and Kip (1910) 38–39. Accordingly, the present text takes no account of a city of Oita; Olea: *IG* IX.1 227 (C2m) lists as an Oitaian official a man named *Μενεκράτης Ὀλεαῖος*; *Olea is unlocated and otherwise unknown. Kip (1910) 26; Phaleron: Steph. Byz. 656 s.v. *Φάληρον*: *ἔστι καὶ Θεσσαλίας ἄλλη πρὸς τῇ Οἴτῃ Ῥιανὸς . . .* (= Rhianos (*FGrHist* 265) fr. 36); probably confused with Phalara in Malis (see entry for Lamia).

political unit, as is indicated by the following: (1) the fact that the Malians as such are described as medisers by Hdt. 7.132.1; (2) in 420/19, the Malians as such, according to Thuc. 5.51.1, were involved in a war against Herakleia Trachinia; (3) a treaty with the Lakedaimonians is implied by Xen. *Hell.* 3.5.6, one with the anti-Spartan alliance during the Corinthian War is implied by *Hell.* 4.2.17, and one with the Boiotians by *Hell.* 6.5.23. Membership of the Corinthian League of Philip II is attested by *IG* II² 236b.9 (338/7), and the Malians excluding the Lamians joined the Greek alliance during the Lamian War (Diod. 18.11.1); (4) the Malians' *politeia* was described in an Aristotelian treatise (Arist. frr. 553–54, Rose). Furthermore, a detail is given at Arist. *Pol.* 1297ᵇ14–16, where it is stated that at an unspecified point in the past the *politeia* (citizenry or constitution) of the Malians had consisted of both active and superannuated hoplites, whereas the magistracies had been open only to those actually serving in the ranks; (5) in C4, the Malians struck both silver and bronze coins. Silver (triobols on the Aiginetan standard). Types: *obv.* head of young Dionysos; *rev.* amphora; legend: *ΜΑΛΙΕΩΝ*. Bronze: *obv.* head of Athena; *rev.* Philoktetes with bow; legend: *ΜΑΛΙΕΩΝ* (Head, *HN*² 296; Babelon, *Traité* ii.4 no. 462; Rogers (1932) no. 384).

Thucydides' account of the antecedents of the founding of Herakleia Trachinia, however, suggests that Malian unity was not always equally strong: the Trachinians, a *meros* (= *polis*; cf. Trachis (no. 432)) of the Malians, were hard pressed by the Oitaians and thus, apparently on their own, first contemplated an alliance with Athens, but then elected an ambassador and sent him to Sparta in the company of, not other Malians, but metropolitic Dorians (3.93.1–3).

According to Hdt. 8.31, to the south-west Malis bordered on Doris; according to Thuc. 3.92.2, the Malian Trachinians bordered on the Oitaians to the west, and according to Hdt. 7.126, East Lokris was also a southern neighbour, the last Malian community in this direction being Anthela; the neighbours *ἄνωθεν ἀπὸ μεσογείας* were the Ainians (Ps.-Skylax 63), and the northern neighbours were the Achaians (Ps.-Skylax 63 continues with Achaia). The area of Malis was modest, and its extent was limited further by the Spartan foundation of Herakleia on Malian territory in 426. None the less, it was an area subdivided into *poleis* (*supra*), and the Inventory below describes six Malian *poleis* (Anthele, Antikyre, Echinos, Herakleia (on which see *supra* s.v. Oita), Lamia and Trachis). Finally, the area comprised the following pre-Hellenistic settlements which cannot be shown to have been *poleis*, though it is not known what status they did have.[8]

1. *Pre-Hellenistic Settlements not Attested as* Poleis

Aia (*Αἶα, Αἰαία*) Soph. fr. 915, Pearson, *apud* Steph. Byz. 37.2; Callim. *Hymn.* 4.287 (cf. White (1984*b*)); inscribed C5 hydria (Helly (1995) 137); unlocated, but presumably a harbour settlement (Helly (1995) 137–40); no date in *Barr.*, but the written evidence attests to C.

Aigoneia (*Αἰγώνεια, Αἰγώνη*) Hecat. fr. 132 *apud* Steph. Byz. 45.8–10: *Αἰγώνεια, πόλις Μηλιέων. Λυκόφρων "ὧν οἱ μὲν Αἰγώνειαν ἄθλιοι πάτραν". καὶ 'Εκαταῖος. RE* i. 977. Not in *Barr.*, but Hecat. fr. 132 indicates A.

Kolakeia (*Κολακεία*) Theopomp. fr. 170 *apud* Ath. 6.254F: *τὴν καλουμένην πόλιν Κολακείαν ἣν Μηλιεῖς ἐνέμοντο*; *IG* IX.1 230.2 (C2m). Described as *ἐν Οἴτᾳ* in *IG* IX.1 230. Béquignon (1937*b*) 305, 361. Not in *Barr.* but Theopomp. fr. 170 indicates C.

Phalara (*Φάλαρα*) Polyb. 20.10.16; Steph. Byz. 656.3. Probably the harbour settlement of Lamia. Not precisely located (cf. entry for Lamia). *Barr.* C.

2.5 Achaia

The simple toponym is *Ἀχαΐα, ἡ* (Thuc. 4.78.1; cf. Kip (1910) 54–55), in Ionic *Ἀχαιίη* (Hdt. 7.198.2); toponyms denoting cities often make clear that the reference is not to the Peloponnesian Achaia (*τῆς Ἀχαιίης Ἄλος* (Hdt. 7.173.1, 197.1); *Μελίτεια τῆς Ἀχαΐας* (Thuc. 4.78.1)), but the toponym itself is sometimes qualified by *Φθιῶτις* (Diod. 5.50.5: *ἡ Φθιῶτις Ἀχαΐα*; *IG* VII 288.5 (240): *[Ἀχαΐ]ας τῆς Φθιώτιδος*). The corresponding ethnic is *Ἀχαιός* (Hdt. 7.185.2; *CID* II 31.1.31 (343/2)), which is used either on its own (Hdt. 7.197.2; Xen. *Hell.* 1.2.18; Arist. *Pol.* 1269ᵇ6; *CID* II 43.2 (340/39)) or qualified by *Φθιώτης* (Hdt. 7.132.1; Thuc. 8.3.1; Ps.-Skylax 63; Theopomp. fr. 63; *IG* II² 1132.56). Aeschin. 2.116 uses simply *Φθιῶται*.

The internal collective use of the ethnic is found on C4l/C3e coins (*BMC* 1963: 48). The external collective use is

[8] Paralos in Steph. Byz. 503.1 (*ἐν Θετταλίᾳ πόλις τῶν Μηλιέων*) must be a fabrication on the basis of the name of the *Παράλιοι* (on whom *supra*); likewise, Iros (Lycoph. *Alex.* 905; Steph. Byz. 337.8)/Ira (Steph. Byz. 337.2) is probably a fabrication based on the name of the *Ἰριεῖς* (on whom see *supra*).

found in Hdt. 7.185.2; Thuc. 8.3.1; Xen. *Hell.* 1.2.18; Theopomp. fr. 63 and Ps.-Skylax 63. The external individual use is found in *CID* II 118.5–6 (365–360), and Amphiktyonic documents list individuals under the heading *Ἀχαιῶν* either without (*CID* II 36.1.6 (341/0), 43.2 (340/39), 72.8 (327)) or with a city-ethnic (*Λαρισαῖος*: *CID* II 32.47 (340/39), 76.1.23 (335), 84.A.2–3 (332/1); or *Μελιταιεύς*: *CID* II 32.47 (340/39), 74.1.39 (337/6), 76.1.24 (335)).

The territory is termed *χώρη* at Hdt. 7.197.3, and the people are called an *ἔθνος* at Hdt. 7.185.2; Theopomp. fr. 63; and Aeschin. 2.166, and as an *ethnos* the Achaians were a member of the Amphiktyonic League (Theopomp. fr. 63; Aeschin. 2.116; *CID* II 36.1.6, 43.2, 72.8). They provided the Amphiktyonic League with two *hieromnemones* who in C4 were sent by Larisa and Melitaia (Lefèvre (1998) 87).

At *Pol.* 1267^{b}5–7, Aristotle refers to ancient warfare between the Achaians and the Thessalians, and it is very probable that this warfare led to Achaian subjection to Thessalia: at 8.3.1, Thucydides mentions the Achaians as among the *hypekooi* of the Thessalians. However, it seems that Achaia was not absorbed by Thessalia, but continued to constitute an individual political unit; thus, they are listed individually in Herodotos' list of medisers (7.132); in 413/12, the Achaians, despite Thessalian protests, entered into bilateral relations with Sparta; an alliance with Herakleia Trachinia seems implied for 409/8 by Xen. *Hell.* 1.2.18; and in C4l/C3e, the Achaians struck coins inscribed *AXAIΩN* (*BMC* 1963: 48). Furthermore, a number of *poleis* existed in Achaia: the Inventory below describes twelve Achaian *poleis* (Antron, Ekkarra, Halos, Kypaira, Larisa, Melitaia, Peuma, Phylake, Proerna, Pyrasos, Thaumakoi and Thebai).

In essence, Achaia was constituted by the Othrys massif and its northerly extensions. It stretched from the Pagasitic Gulf in the east to the territory of Pharsalos and the *tetras* of Thessaliotis in the west; to the north-west, it bordered on the *tetras* of Pelasgiotis with the territory of Pherai; to the south, the neighbours were Malis, Ainis and Dolopia. As stated above, there were several *poleis* in this area; in addition, the area comprised the following pre-Hellenistic settlements which cannot be shown to have been *poleis*.[9]

[9] The toponym Karandai (*IG* IX.2 205.13 (C3s); treated as a fortress by *Barr.* which dates it H) is left out of consideration here, since it cannot be shown to denote a historical settlement in existence in the Archaic and/or Classical periods. Phorbas is likewise left out; it is known exclusively from Steph. Byz. 670.5: *πόλις τῶν ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ Ἀχαιῶν.*

1. *Pre-Hellenistic Settlements not Attested as* Poleis

Alope (*Ἀλόπη*) Hom. *Il.* 2.682; Strabo 9.4.9; Pherecydes (*FGrHist* 3) fr. 147 *apud* Steph. Byz. 77.8–9 (*πόλις*). *RE* i. 1595. *Barr.* AC.

***Chalai(on)** (*Χαλαῖος*) A toponym is not attested and must be reconstructed from the ethnic *Χαλαῖος* (*F.Delphes* III.4 351 (C3f); Ager (1989) 109, (1996) 99–101). Stählin (1924*a*) 169–70 and Cantarelli (1995) locate Chalai(on) at Tsournati Vrysi (AC), whereas *Barr.* (following Kirsten, *RE* suppl. vii. 885–92) locates it at the AC site near Petroto (formerly Tsatma); cf. Helly (2001*b*) 241–49.

Dion (*Δίον*, *Δῖα*, **Δία*) Diod. 20.110.3 (r302) (*πόλις*); Steph. Byz. 229.1 (*πόλις*). According to Diod. 20.110.3, in 302 Cassander planned to metoecise (the population of) Dion to Phthiotic Thebes (a metoecism prevented by Demetrios); though the city is unlocated, it may be assumed that if it was a candidate for metoecism in 302, it existed in the Classical period. The same would follow if C4 coins inscribed *ΔIAΩN* (Demetriadi (1998)) belong to this Dion (Hatzopoulos and Psoma (1998–99)). Unlocated in *Barr.* but see A. Batziou-Eustathiou, *Deltio Othryos* (1997) B.1: 69–85; *ArchDelt* 49 (1994) *Chron.* 325–26 for a possible location.

Koroneia (*Κορώνεια*) *Syll.*^{3} 240.O.10 (308): [*Κο*]*ρωνειεῖς*; Ptol. *Geog.* 3.12.43; Strabo 9.5.10; Steph. Byz. 377.16–17. Unlocated. Stählin (1924*a*) 167 n. 2 and 185; *RE* xi. 1431; White (1984*a*). *Barr.* dates it AC, but it is in fact not attested till *c.*308 (*Syll.*^{3} 240.O.10); however, if it really donated money towards the rebuilding of the temple at Delphi in C4l, it may be assumed to have existed prior to that date and thus at least in the Classical period.

Narthakion (*Ναρθάκιον*) Xen. *Hell.* 4.3.9; *BCH* 45 (1921) IV.28; *IG* IX.2 89.31 (*c.*140). Béquignon (1937*b*) 286–92. *Barr.* C. There may just possibly be some evidence that Narthakion was constituted as a *polis* in C4: an inscription of *c.*140 (Ager (1996) no. 156) records a verdict by the Senate in a territorial conflict between Narthakion and Melitaia, which was a *polis* in C4 (see entry *infra*); the evidence presented by the Melitaians before the Senate refers retrospectively to what may possibly be a C4 verdict in a similar conflict (Ager (1989) 108). If Narthakion really had a territorial conflict with Melitaia settled by international arbitration in C4, then it must have been a *polis*.

Orchomenos (*Ὀρχομενός*) Diod. 20.110.3 (r302) (*πόλις*). According to Diod. 20.110.3, in 302 Cassander planned to metoecise (the population of) Orchomenos to Phthiotic Thebes (a metoecism prevented by Demetrios); though the city is unlocated and unattested prior to this date, it may be assumed that if it was a candidate for metoecism in 302, it existed in the Classical period. Not in *Barr.*

Pereia (*Πήρεια*) *IG* IX.2 205.19 (C3l): *πόλις*; *F.Delphes* III.4 351 (C3f) (collective city-ethnic). Located at the AC site near Petroto (formerly Tsatma) by Stählin (1924*a*) 167; *Barr.* follows Kirsten, *RE* suppl. vii. (1940) 885–92 and Philippson (1950) 200, 272, in preferring the AC site at Tsournati Vrysi, where Cantarelli (1995) and Helly (2001*b*) 241–49 place Chalai(on).

Phyliadon (*Φυλιαδών*) *F.Delphes* III.4 351.18–19 (C3f): *Φυλλαδόνιοι*; *IG* IX.2 205.13 (C3l). Stählin (1924*a*) 168; Lauffer (1989) 549; Cantarelli (1995) 320–21. *Barr.* treats Phyliadon as a fortress, but in C3f it had a territorial conflict with Peuma settled by international arbitration (Ager (1996) no. 31), and the record of the verdict describes Phyliadon by the collective city-ethnic. These two facts suggest that Phyliadon was, in C3f, not a fortress but a community of citizens. *Barr.* C?

Pras (*Πρᾶς*) Xen. *Hell.* 4.3.9; Steph. Byz. 534.12 (*πόλις*). Presumably to be identified with the fortified Classical site (fortress?) at Divri, for which see Stählin (1924*a*) 39 n. 3, 187, 228; Béquignon (1937*b*) 287ff; *RE* suppl. x. 651–52. Unlocated in *Barr.*

Pteleon (*Πτελεόν*) Hom. *Il.* 2.697; Diod. 20.110.3 (r302); Strabo 9.5.8; Steph. Byz. 537.20 (*πόλις*); Eust. *Il.* 1.505.28 (*πόλις*); *IG* IX.2 520 (C2f): *ἡ πόλις τῶν [Πτε]λεειῶν*. Stählin (1924*a*) 181; *Prakt* (1951) 129–54, (1952) 164–85, (1953) 120–32. *RE* xxiii.2. 1481–82. *Barr.* AC.

Xyniai (*Ξυνίαι*) *IG* IX.1² 177 (214/13) = Ager (1996) no. 55; Polyb. 9.45.3 = Steph. Byz. 481.19 (*πόλις*). *Barr.* AC.

2. Unidentified Settlements

Ano Ktimeni Helly (1992) 49–58. *Barr.* C.

Karatsadagli Philippson (1950) 180; Helly (2001*b*) 241–49. *Barr.* C.

It is unknown what status these communities had. Some of them, such as Dion and Narthakion, may have been *poleis*, as, e.g., Pteleon was in the Hellenistic period (*supra*).

2.6 Magnesia

The toponym is *Μαγνησία*, *ἡ* (Aeschin. 3.83; Dem. 1.13; *IG* IX.2 1101.4 (C2)); the Ionic form is *Μαγνησίη* (Hdt. 7.176.1). The corresponding ethnic is *Μάγνης* (Hdt. 7.132; Thuc. 2.101.2; Xen. *An.* 6.1.7; *CID* II 12.1.68 (341)).

The external collective use of the ethnic is found in Hdt. 7.132, 185; Thuc. 2.101.2; Isoc. 5.21; and Arist. *Pol.* 1269^{b}7. In addition, *Μάγνητες* is used in conjunction with collective city-ethnics: *Μάγνητες Κροκαῖοι* (*CID* II 5.II.36 (358)); *Μάγνητες Μεθωναῖοι* (*CID* II 5.II.39); *Μάγνητες Ὀξωνιαῖοι* (*CID* II 5.II.42). The external individual use of the ethnic is found in *CID* II 12.1.68–72 (341), which list three individuals; furthermore, Amphiktyonic documents list individuals under the heading *Μαγνήτων*, either without (*CID* II 36.I.7, 33, II.21 (341/0), 43.2 (341/0), 102.II.A.32 (324/3)) or with a city-ethnic (*Κ(ο)ροκαῖος*: *CID* II 32.48 (C4l); *Μεθωναῖος*: *CID* II 74.I.55 (337/6); *Ὀλιζώνιος*: *CID* II 84.A.4 (332/1); *Ὁμολιεύς*: *CID* II 74.I.39 (337/6)).

The territory is called *ἡ Μαγνησίη χώρη* at Hdt. 7.183.3, 188.1, and *Μαγνητικὴ γαῖα* at Aesch. *Pers.* 492. The people are called an *ethnos* in Hdt. 7.132, and as an *ethnos* the Magnesians were a member of the Amphiktyonic League (Aeschin. 2.116; Theopomp. fr. 63; *CID* II 36.I.33 (341/40)); they provided the Amphiktyonic League with two *hieromnemones* who in C4 were sent by Homolion and either Methone, Korakai or Olizon (Lefèvre (1998) 89).

The Magnesians are described as among the *hypekooi* of the Thessalians by Thuc. 2.101.2; it would appear from Arist. *Pol.* 1267^{b}5–7, mentioning ancient warfare between the Magnesians and the Thessalians, that the subjection of the Magnesians was effected by force of arms, and from Hdt. 5.94.1 (on which see Kip (1910) 11; Gschnitzer (1958) 2 n. 3 and Martin (1985) 70), mentioning a Thessalian offer of the Pagasitic city of Iolkos to Hippias after his expulsion from Athens, that it had been carried out before 510. However, the Magnesians were not absorbed by the Thessalians, as is indicated by the fact that they are listed individually in Herodotos' list of medisers at 7.132 and the fact that they formed a member of the Amphiktyonic League (Aeschin. 2.116; Theopomp. fr. 63; *CID* II 36.I.33 (341/40)). In addition, there were several *poleis* in Magnesia; the Inventory below describes fourteen Magnesian *poleis* (Amyros, Eureaioi, Eurymenai, Homolion, Iolkos, Kasthanaie, Kikynethos, Korakai, Meliboia, Methone, Olizon, Oxoniaioi, Rhizous and Spalauthra).

In the Archaic and Classical periods, the area of Magnesia corresponded to the peninsula traditionally called Magnesia,

except for the western coast of the Pagasitic Gulf with the Thessalian cities of Amphanai (no. 393) and Pagasai (no. 407), and Pyrasos (no. 442) in Achaia. In this area there were, in addition to the *poleis* listed above, the following settlements which cannot be shown to have been *poleis* and about whose status nothing is known.[10]

1. *Pre-Hellenistic Settlements not Attested as* Poleis

Aphetai (*Ἀφέται*) Hdt. 7.193, etc.; Hellan. fr. 130 *apud* Steph. Byz. 149.6: *πόλις Μαγνησίας. Ἑλλάνικος*. Müller (1987) 305–8. *Barr.* AC.

Glaphyrai (*Γλάφυραι*) Hom. *Il.* 2.712; *BCH* 95 (1971) 555 l. 9 (C2s); Steph. Byz. 209.2 (*πόλις*). Wace (1906); Stählin (1924*a*) 61; di Salvatore (1994) 106–7; *PECS* 357. *Barr.* AC.

Isai Limen (*Ἴσαι λιμήν*) Ps.-Skylax 65. Unlocated; cf. Stählin (1924*a*) 56. Not in *Barr.* but Ps.-Skylax 65 attests to C.

Kerkinion (*Κερκινέον*) Livy 31.41; Procop. *Aed.* 4.4.163; *EAM* no. 47 (C2–C1). *RE* xi. 1279; *ArchEph* (1931) 175. *Barr.* AC.

Korope (*Κορόπη*) Steph. Byz. 375.8 (*πόλις*). Settlement with major sanctuary of Apollo. Stählin (1924*a*) 53–54; Papachatzis (1960); *PECS* 463–64; Lauffer (1989) 346. *Barr.* AC.

Neleia (*Νήλεια*) Strabo 9.5.15 (r293) (*πολίχνη*). According to Strabo (*loc. cit.*), Neleia was in 293 synoecised into Demetrias and became a *kome* of the new *polis*. Prior to that, it was probably the port of Iolkos (Baladié (1996) on Strabo 9.5.15 in *Lexique des noms de lieux* 275). *Barr.* treats it as unlocated, but it may have been situated on the hill of Pevkakia (formerly Tarsanas); cf. Baladié (*loc. cit.*). However, excavations here have unearthed only prehistoric material (cf. *Die deutschen Ausgrabungen auf der Pevkakia-Magula in Thessalien* i–iii.2 (1989–92)). However, since it existed in 293 when it was merged into Demetrias, the presumption is that it existed in C4 as well. Cf. however Bakhuizen (1996), seriously questioning the existence of Neleia by suggesting that it is a metonymic appellation for Iolkos ("city of Neleus"), and thus providing an excellent reason for the unresolved location. *Barr.* HR, but see *supra.*

Orminion (*Ὁρμίνιον*, *Ὀρμίνιον*, *Ὀρμένιον*) Perlman (2000) E.1 l. 44 (post-316): an Epidaurian *theorodokos* at Orminion (though the reference could well be to Armenion/Ormenion (*supra* 678)); Strabo 9.5.15 (r293): Orminion, a *polichne* synoecised into Demetrias; Strabo 9.5.18. Unattested in the Classical period, but the fact that it existed in C4l/C3e (*supra*) suggests that it existed prior to the death of Alexander. Unlocated (cf. Indzesiloglou (1994)). Undated by *Barr.*

Sepias (*Σηπιάς*) Strabo 9.5.15 (r293): *πολίχνη*; McDevitt (1970) no. 683 (second century AD). Stählin (1924*a*) 52; Wisse (1994) 3–4; treated as a fort/tower by *Barr. Barr.* AC.

Thaumakie (*Θαυμακίη*) Hom. *Il.* 2.716. *RE* v.A. 1331. *Barr.* AC.

2. *Unidentified Settlements*

Dimini Identified with Aison by *Barr.*, but see Bakhuizen (1996). Possibly the site of Iolkos (Adrimi-Sismani (1994)). *Barr.* C.

Goritsa Bakhuizen (1986), (1992). A major urban site of *c.*325–300, whose fortification wall encloses an area of 33 ha, its ancient name is unknown, but it may possibly have been the site of Methone (no. 454) (Helly (2001*b*)). *Barr.* C?

It is unknown what status these communities had. Some of them may possibly have been *poleis*; e.g. Orminion seems to have been a *polis* in C4l when it had an Epidaurian *theorodokos* (*supra*).

2.7 Perrhaibia

The toponym is *Περραιβία, ἡ* (Thuc. 4.78.6; Theophr. *De lapidibus* fr. 2, Wimmer; Diod. 15.57.2 (r370/69)); the

[10] A number of toponyms are left out of consideration here, since they cannot be shown to denote historical settlements in existence in the Archaic and/or Classical periods or because they are incorrectly ascribed to Magnesia *vel sim.* They include Aison(ia): Pherecydes (*FGrHist* 3) 103b; Steph. Byz. 54.16 (*πόλις*); but see Bakhuizen (1996) 92–93; Aixoneia: Steph. Byz. 52.12: *Αἰξώνεια, πόλις Μαγνησίας*; unlocated; cf. Stählin (1924*a*) 78 n. 2 no. 2; and Kip (1910) 84–85; Amolbos: Balagros (*FGrHist* 773) fr. 1 *apud* Steph. Byz. 86.7: *Ἄμολβος, πόλις Μαγνήτων, ὡς Βάλαγρος Μακεδονικῶν β΄*; unlocated; cf. Stählin (1924*a*) 78 n. 2 no. 3; Boudeion: Hom. *Il.* 16.572; Steph. Byz. 180.3: *Βούδεια, πόλις ἐν Μαγνησιᾳ…Ὅμηρος Βούδειον ἔφη*; unlocated; cf. Stählin (1924*a*) 78 n. 2 no. 4; Corynthya: Stählin (1924*a*) 78 n. 2 no. 5 refers to Pomponius Mela 3.35 for a Magnesian toponym *Corudra* or *Corynthya*; however, standard editions of Pomponius vary here: (a) Silberman prints: *a Peneo ad Sepiada Eurymenae, Meliboea, Castanea* . . . with the following variant in the app. crit.: *Erymne, Ciacconius, Corynthya*; (b) Ranstrand prints: *a Peneo ad Sepiada Corynthya, Meliboea Castanaea.* So, Corynthya is nothing but an uncertain reading; Euryampos: Steph. Byz. 286.19: *Εὐρύαμπος, πόλις Μαγνησίας*. Lycoph. *Alex.* 900: *Ἀμφρυσίων σκηπτοῦχον Εὐρυαμπίων*; unlocated; cf. Stählin (1924*a*) 78 n. 2 no. 6; Magnesia: *pace* Papachatzis (1959) and others, this is a ghost city; cf. Stählin (1924*a*) 69–70; Peiresiai (*Πειρεσίαι*): *Hymn. Hom. Ap.* 32; Ap. Rhod. 1.584; Steph. Byz. 514.8; unlocated; not in *Barr.*

corresponding ethnic is *Περ(ρ)αιβός* (*Hym. Hom. Ap.* 218; Hecat. fr. 137); an undated inscription from Koroneia has *Περρηβός* (*IG* VII 2858). The internal collective use of the ethnic is found abbreviated as *Π*, *ΠΕ*, *ΠΕΡ*, *ΠΕΡΑ* on silver coins dating to 480–400 (drachms, triobols, trihemiobols, obols, hemiobols on the Aiginetan standard) with types: *obv.* man restraining bull, or forepart of bull, or horseman, or head of Athena; *rev.* galloping horse, or forepart of horse, or Athena seated or running with spear, or horse's head, or nymph (Head, *HN*² 304; Babelon, *Traité* ii.4 nos. 571–80; Liampi (1996) 109–10; *SNG Cop. Thessaly* 193–95). The ethnic is given in full as *ΠΕΡΡΑΙΒΩΝ* on C4f bronze coins: *obv.* laureate head of Apollo, or veiled head of Hera, or head of Zeus; *rev.* head of nymph, or naked hero, or Hera seated (Babelon, *Traité* ii.4 nos. 581–82; Rogers (1932) nos. 437–39; *SNG Cop. Thessaly* 196). The external collective use is found in Thuc. 4.78.6; Isoc. 5.21; Ps.-Skylax 65; *IG* II² 236b.11 (338/7) and in *CID* II 9.4 (C4m), where it is coupled with a city-ethnic (*Παρραιβοὶ Ἐρικινεῖς*); and the external individual use is found in *CID* II 12.1.59, 66 (341/40), 31.78 (345/4), etc. In Amphiktyonic lists, individuals are listed under the heading *Περραιβῶν* (e.g. *CID* II 43.45 and 44.8 (339/8)), sometimes with the addition of the city-ethnic of Phalanna (*CID* II 96.6–7 (327/6) and 97.60 (327/6)).

The Perrhaibians are described as an *ethnos* at Hdt. 7.185.2, and as an *ethnos* they were a member of the Amphiktyonic League (Aeschin. 2.116; Theopomp. fr. 63; *CID* II 43.45 and 44.8); they provided the Amphiktyonic League with a single *hieromnemon* who in C4 was sent by Phalanna (Lefèvre (1998) 85). Thuc. 4.78.6 describes the Perrhaibians as *hypekooi* of the Thessalians, and Arist. *Pol.* 1267^{b}5–7, mentioning ancient warfare between the Perrhaibians and the Thessalians, suggests that the subjection was initially effected by force of arms. However, the Perrhaibians were not absorbed by the Thessalians, as is apparent not only from their membership of the Amphiktyonic League, but also by the facts (1) that Herodotos records the Perrhaibians individually in his list of medisers at 7.132.1; (2) that the Perrhaibians struck coins in C5 and C4 (*supra*); (3) that in 375–350 the Perrhaibian *poleis* (*infra*) made a joint dedication to Apollo Pythios at Oloosson (*SEG* 29 546, on which see Helly (1979*b*)); (4) that they joined the Corinthian League of Philip II as a separate entity (*IG* II² 236b.11 (338/7)); (5) and that a plurality of *poleis* is attested by Diod. 15.57.2 for 370/69, by which time Jason of Pherai had subjected them by a combination of force and negotiation. The Inventory below describes eleven Perrhaibian *poleis* (Azoros, Chyretiai, Doliche, Ereikinion, Gonnos, Malloia, Mondaia, Mylai, Oloosson, Phalanna and Pythoion). Nos. 1–4 also suggest that the Perrhaibians as such constituted a political unit (cf. Helly (1979*b*) 184–88 on no. 4).

Perrhaibia is bounded on the north by Makedonia and to the south-east and south-west by the *tetrades* of Hestiaiotis and Pelasgiotis. In Perrhaibia there were, in addition to the *poleis* listed above, the following pre-Hellenistic settlements which cannot be shown to have been *poleis*:[11]

1. *Pre-Hellenistic Settlements not Attested as* Poleis

***Askyris** (no toponym attested; the ethnic is *Ἀσκυριεύς*: *IG* IX.2 521 (C3e)) Lucas (1991). *Barr.* C?.

Condylus (*Condylus*) Livy 44.6.10. Helly (1973) 44–46. *Barr.* C.

Leimone (*Λειμώνη*) The earlier name was *Ἠλώνη* (cf. Hom. *Il.* 2.739), according to Strabo 9.5.19; Steph. Byz. 301.11 (*πόλις Περραιβική*). *Barr.* AC.

Olympias, **Gonnocondylos** Livy 39.25.16. Helly (1973) 39–44. *Barr.* C.

It is unknown what status these settlements had. Gonnocondylus and Condylus were presumably second-order settlements of Gonnoi (Helly (1973) 46: "Gonnocondylus et Condylus . . . ne sont pas des cités, *πόλεις*, mais des villages. Les ruines qu'on y trouve, comme les inscriptions, montrent qu'ils étaient des *κῶμαι*, dispersées sur le territoire de Gonnoi."). About the remaining two nothing is known.

2.8 Athamania

The toponym is *Ἀθαμανία*, *ἡ* (Antig. Car. *Mirabilia* 148.1; *BCH* 45 (1921) III.34 (230–220)); the corresponding ethnic is *Ἀθαμάν* (Heracl. Lemb. 53; *IG* II² 1956.III.156 (*c.*300); *SEG* 8

[11] Oxynion (Strabo 7.7.9) may have belonged to Perrhaibia or to Hestiaiotis. Bodone: Steph. Byz. 190.20; Cineas (*FGrHist* 603) fr. 2; as it is unknown in what context Cineas (*c.*355/277? according to Jacoby) discussed Bodone, and since this city has left no other literary, epigraphical or archaeological trace, it is better considered unhistorical, possibly a confusion with Homeric Dodone (*infra*); Helly (1973) 58; Dodone: Hom. *Il.* 2.749; Steph. Byz. 246.9; has no historical existence; cf. Helly (1973) 58; Gonoussa (Steph. Byz. 211.4; schol. in Lycoph. *Alex.* 870, 906) is merely a corruption of *Gonnoi* (Helly (1973) 63). Kyphos: Hom. *Il.* 2.748; Lycoph. *Alex.* 897; Strabo 9.5.20; Steph. Byz. 399.15; has no historical existence (Helly (1973) 51–71).

518 (C3–C2)). The territory is called *χώρα* in Heracl. Lemb. 53, and the people are called an *ethnos* at Diod. 16.29.1 (r354/3) and Strabo 7.7.1 (cf. *gens* at Nep. *Timoth.* 2.1). The external collective use of the ethnic is found in Heracl. Lemb. 53 and Diod. 14.82.7 (r395), 16.29.1 (r354/3); in *IG* II² 1956, an Athenian catalogue of mercenaries of *c.*300, a man is listed under the heading *Ἀθαμᾶνες* (III.156).

An Athamanian *koinon* is attested by Hellenistic inscriptions (*Syll.*³ 657A.7; *IG* IX.2 613) and coins (Head, *HN*² 320). Presumably, the Athamanes as such also constituted a political unit in C4, as is indicated by (1) the report of Diod. 14.87.2 that in 395 they left their alliance with Sparta and joined the anti-Spartan league of the Corinthian War, a report which implies the existence of at least two treaties of alliance; (2) the report of Nep. *Timoth.* 2.1 that in 375 they allied themselves with Athens; (3) the fact that they joined the anti-Phokian faction in the Third Sacred War as an individual unit (Diod. 16.29.1); (4) the fact that they joined the anti-Makedonian alliance during the Lamian War as an individual unit (Diod. 18.11.1); and (5) the fact that their *politeia* was described in an Aristotelian treatise (Heracl. Lemb. 53).

According to Ps.-Skymnos 614, Athamania bordered on Thessalia (*τῇ Θετταλίᾳ δ' ἔσθ' ὅμορος Ἀθαμανία*); Steph. Byz. 33.10 describes it as part of Illyria, but notes that others treated it as part of Thessalia (*Ἀθαμανία, χώρα Ἰλλυρίας, οἱ δὲ Θεσσαλίας*); Strabo 7.7.1 lists the Athamanes under the heading *Ἠπειρωτικὰ ἔθνη*. In Strabo's day, the Athamanes no longer existed as an individual people (9.4.17) but had been absorbed by the Thessalians (9.5.11). Athamania was constituted by the mountainous (cf. Strabo 7.7.8) upper valley of the river Acheloos. To the north it was bordered by Aithikia, to the east by the Thessalian *tetrades* of Hestiaiotis and Thessaliotis, to the south by Amphilochia, and to the west by Epeiros (Maps 54 and 55). The Inventory below describes one Athamanian *polis*, Argethia; only one other settlement is attested by Classical sources: *viz.* the unlocated Krannon (not in *Barr.*) which, according to Steph. Byz., was mentioned by Theopompos: *Κραννών . . . πόλις Ἀθαμανίας, ἀπὸ Κράννωνος τοῦ Πελασγοῦ. ἐν ταύτῃ δύο κόρακας εἶναί φασι μόνους, ὡς Καλλίμαχος ἐν τοῖς Θαυμασίοις καὶ Θεόπομπος* (Theopomp. fr. 267b *apud* Steph. Byz. 382.1–4).[12] On its status nothing can be said.

[12] The following sites in the border area between Athamania and Gomphoi are known only from Livy 32.14.3: Athenaeum, Argenta, Lampsus, Ligynae, Pherinium, Poetaneum, Strymo, Tetraphylia, Theudoria and Timarum.

II. The *Poleis*

1. Thessalia

393. Amphanai (Amphanaieus) Map 55. Lat. 39.20, long. 22.55. Size of territory: ? Type: [A]. The toponym is *Ἄμφαναί, αἱ* (Hecat. fr. 3) or *Ἀμφαναία, ἡ* (Theopomp. fr. 54) or *Ἀμφαναῖον, τό* (Ps.-Skylax 64). A city-ethnic is attested only in late sources: *IG* IX.1 227.5 (C2) has *[Ἀμ]φάνιος*; *Polemon* 1 (1929) 126–27 no. 423 (C2s) has *Ἀμφαναιεύς*; Steph. Byz. 89.5 adds *Ἀμφαναῖος* to the latter. In Ps.-Skylax 64, where *polis* is used in the urban sense, Amphanaion is the first of nine toponyms listed between the heading *πόλεις αἵδε* and the addendum *εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλαι πόλεις Θετταλῶν*.

The city remains unlocated, though the *palaiokastro* of Sesklou, proposed by di Salvatore (1994) 115–16, seems the best candidate (*infra*). Several locations have been proposed for Amphanai. (1) Soros, above Alykes Volou, proposed by e.g. Stählin (1924*a*) 68; Indzesiloglou (1994) 46; and Triantophyllopoulou (2000), followed by *Barr.* Soros has commonly been identified with Amphanai, but recent excavations (*AAA* 7 (1974) 60–75) have made it more likely that Soros is to be identified with Pagasai; cf. Marzolff (1994*b*) 274 n. 10. (2) Damari or Velanidia, proposed by Bakhuizen (1987) 323 n. 2. (3) Palio-Alikes, proposed by Marzolff (1994*a*) 70 n. 6. (4) The *palaiokastro* Sesklou, proposed by di Salvatore (1994) 115–16. It would be reasonable to begin by locating the harbour. The harbour must have been situated on the southern shore of the peninsula terminated by Cap Ankistri. The site most suitable for a harbour is found at the inlet of Chrysi Akti Panaghia (formerly Kandir Aga). The urban centre proper must be sought in the hinterland at a place which satisfies the socio-economic needs of the community; the site at Palio Alikes does not fulfil this requirement, and the *palaiokastro* Sesklou is a preferable site within reasonable distance of the proposed location of the harbour.

Hekataios may have described Amphanai as a Dorian city (*FGrHist* 1 fr. 3 = Steph. Byz. 89.4–5), but presumably in reference to the Heroic Age (cf. Jacoby, *comm. ad loc.*; cf. however Helly (2001*b*), dating it to the early first millennium). Ps.-Skylax 64 puts it in Thessalia (Pelasgiotis; cf. *infra* on Pagasai). Philip II of Makedon presumably handed over Amphanai (with Pagasai) to the Magnesians (see the entry for Pagasai).

394. Argoussa (Argoussios) Map 55. Lat. 39.40, long. 22.20. Size of territory: 2. Type: B. The toponym is *Ἄργισσα*,

ἡ (Hom. *Il.* 2.738), later Ἄργουσσα (Strabo 9.5.19: Ἄργισσα, ἡ νῦν Ἄργουσσα); Steph. Byz. 113.19 (followed by *Barr.*) mistakenly gives Ἄργουρα, presumably by confusion with the Euboian Argoura mentioned at 114.1 (Knoepfler (1981) 315–16). The city-ethnic is Ἀργούσσιος (*IG* IX² 1.1 31.A.103; cf. *SEG* 33 447 (C3)).

No Archaic or Classical source calls Argoussa a *polis*, but it deserves inclusion in this Inventory as a probable *polis* on account of the C5f inscription published in *ArchEph* (1934–35) 140–45 (cf. Helly (1979*a*)): it describes itself as a θεθμός of the *damos* (l. 1), refers to a local board of *tagoi* (ll. 7–8) and to Athena Polias (ll. 11–12). Cf. Helly (1995) 30–31. The internal collective use of the city-ethnic is found in the abbreviated legends (*ΑΡΓ*) of C3 coins (Franke (1955)). The external individual use is found in *IG* IX² 1.1 31.A.103 (cf. *SEG* 33 447), a C3l grant of *politeia* by the Aitolians to a citizen of Argoussa.

Argoussa was situated in the *tetras* of Pelasgiotis (Strabo 9.5.19). At the site are remains of a C5–C4 isodomic circuit wall with square towers; the agora has been located, and temples identified (*AA* (1955) 191–219, (1956) 166–79, (1957) 37–51, (1959) 74–76). The ceramic material covers C7 to the third century AD (Hanschmann (1981) 120). In addition to Athena Polias, Hellenistic dedications attest to cults of Apollo Pythios and Artemis (Helly (1979*a*) 250).

395. Atrax (Atragios, Atrakios) Map 55. Lat. 39.35; long. 22.10. Size of territory: 2. Type: A. The toponym is Ἄτραξ, -αγος (*SEG* 34 560.3 (*c.*450); *IG* IV 617.7 (316–293)) or -ακος (Strabo 9.5.20; Steph. Byz. 143.5–10); Steph. Byz. 143.5 also has Ἀτρακία. The Epidaurian catalogue of *theorodokoi*, *IG* IV².1 94.b.3 (360/59), has the unique nominative form Ἄδρακος (cf. Perlman (2000) 178, E.1 b.3). The city-ethnic is Ἀτράγιος (C4f coins (*infra*); *CID* II 100.II.5 (325); Tod 196.24 (330–326)); Ἀτράκιος (cf. *Suda* s.v. Κιλίκιος) and Ἄτραξ are given as variant forms by Steph. Byz. 143.7.

Atrax is called a *polis* in the political sense in a funerary epigram of *c.*450 (*SEG* 34 560). The internal collective use of the city-ethnic is found on C4f coins (*infra*), the external collective use in Tod 196.24 (330–326), and the external individual use in *CID* II 100.II.5 (325).

Atrax was a Thessalian community (Marcadé, *Signatures* I no. 35 (C4m)), situated in the *tetras* of Pelasgiotis (Steph. Byz. 143.5). Prior to the expansion of the Thessalians, the area was Perrhaibian (Strabo 9.5.19–20). To the north its territory was bounded by that of Phalanna, and to the north-east by that of Argoussa; and to the south-east by Krannon.

A board of *tagoi* is attested by *SEG* 45 553 (C6–C5) (Helly (1995) 31–32, 148). *SEG* 27 184 (C4e) lists ἄρχοντες (cf. *SEG* 35 494). During the crisis of 330–326 Atrax received 10,000 *medimnoi* of grain from Kyrene (Tod 196.24).

A survey by the Institut Courby and the ephorate of Larisa in 1977 produced evidence of public architecture, all presumably of C4 and Hellenistic times, including remains of sanctuaries of unidentified divinities (cf. *infra* on cults) as well as remains of a theatre. In C5e the acropolis and the slope of the hill were enclosed by a polygonal circuit, which was rearranged in C4m in connection with new construction work. C4 saw reconstruction on the summit of the acropolis: a quadrangular main tower and strengthening by a new wall with five towers, one of them including a fortified gate. The eastern part of the wall on the slope was reinforced by serration dated to C4m on account of its similarity with constructions at Halos (Reinders (1988) 54). The lower city proper was enclosed by a C4 isodomic wall with quadrangular towers. The wall ran for 3 km and enclosed an area of *c.*64 ha. The main gate was to the north-west above the level of the plain, and access was provided by a long ramp supported by a polygonal retaining wall.

Attested cults include those of Apollo Hebdomaios (*SEG* 33 454 (C4–C3)), Athena Agoraia (*SEG* 27 184 (C5)), Themis Agoraia (*SEG* 27 183 (C5)), Zeus Kataibates (*ArchDelt* 48 (1993) *Chron.* 255 no. 27 (C4); *SEG* 47 674), Zeus Thaulios (*SEG* 32 569 (450–425)), Zeus Homoloios (*SEG* 35 493 (C5)) and Zeus Tritodios (*SEG* 34 494 (*c.*300)).

IG IV².1 94b.3 (360/59) lists a man of Atrax as *theorodokos* of Epidauros (Perlman (2000) 178). *IG* IV 617.7 (316–293) records a monetary donation by Atrax "to the θεωροί sent out from Argos to announce the celebration of the Nemean Games and the Heraia" (Perlman (2000) 74, 127–29). Cf. *CID* II 100.II.5ff (325), presumably a collective donation towards the rebuilding of the temple at Delphi.

Atrax struck coins in both silver and bronze from C4f. (1) Silver (triobols and obols on the Aiginetan standard). Types: *obv.* head of nymph r.; *rev.* galloping horse; legend: *ΑΤΡΑΓΙΟΝ*; or *obv.* prancing horse; *rev.* monogram in wreath of laurels. (2) Bronze: *obv.* bearded head (of Atrax?), or laureate Apollo, or prancing horseman, or head of nymph; *rev.* drinking cup, or butting bull, or free horse standing or feeding, or horseman in *chlamys*; legends: *ΑΤΡΑ*, *ΑΤΡΑΓΙΟΝ*, *ΑΤΡΑΓΙΩΝ* (Head, *HN*² 292; Babelon, *Traité* ii.4 nos. 736–40; Rogers (1932) nos. 159–68; *SNG Cop. Thessaly* 27–31).

396. Gomphoi (Gompheus) Map 55. Lat. 39.25, long. 21.40. Size of territory: 2. Type: B (classified as a fort/tower

by *Barr.*, but see *infra*). The toponym is *Γόνφοι, οἱ* (*IG* IV 617.10 (316–293)) and *Γόμφοι* (*BCH* 45 (1921) III.32 (230–220); App. *B Civ.* 2.10.64); the city-ethnic is *Γομφεύς* (C4m coins, *infra*) or *Γομφίτης* (C4l coins, *infra*). According to Steph. Byz. 666.7, the name was changed to *Φίλιπποι*, and this is borne out by C4m coins inscribed *ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ* (*infra*); Livy 39.25 has *Philippopolis*, presumably a reference to Gomphoi.

No Archaic or Classical source calls Gomphoi a *polis*, but it may be included here on account of its C4 coins and its monetary donation "to the *θεωροί* sent out from Argos to announce the celebration of the Nemean Games and the Heraia" (*IG* IV 617.10 (C4l); cf. Perlman (2000) 74, 127–29); in addition, the use of *-πολίτας* for the city-ethnic of the renamed community may be significant. Later sources variously describe it as a *polis* (*IG* IX.2 287 (C1); Plut. *Caes.* 41.7; App. *B Civ.* 2.10.64), as a *polichne* (Cass. Dio 41.51.4) and as a *phrourion* (Strabo 9.5.17). The only attested Classical usage of the city-ethnic is the internal collective use found on C4 coins (*infra*).

Gomphoi was situated in Thessalia (Plut. *Caes.* 41.7), more specifically in Hestiaiotis (Strabo 9.5.17). It is located at Episkopi (Turkish Rapsista), about 5 km north-east of Mouzaki and 10 km south-west of Trikala, on the eastern side of Mt. Kerketion, close to the border with Epeiros (Caes. *B Civ.* 3.80), i.e. via Athamania. The remains at the site, which include foundations of public buildings, fortifications and habitation, are essentially of Roman date.

Gomphoi struck coins of silver and bronze from C4m onwards. (1) Silver, C4m. Denominations: didrachm and drachm on the Aiginetan standard. Types: *obv.* head of Hera facing; *rev.* Zeus Akraios; legend: *ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ*. (2) Bronze, C4s–C3e: *obv.* head of Hera, or head of Apollo; *rev.* Zeus seated; legend: *ΓΟΜΦ* or *ΓΟΜΦΕΩΝ* or *ΓΟΜΦΙΤΟΥΝ* (Head, *HN*² 295; Babelon, *Traité* ii.4 nos. 531–37; Rogers (1932) no. 214; Martin (1985) 39, 56; *SNG Cop. Thessaly* 50).

397. Gyrton, Gyrtone (Gyrtonios) Map 55. Lat. 39.50, long. 22.35. Size of territory: 2. Type: [A]. The toponym is *Γυρτώνη* in Hom. *Il.* 2.738 (cf. Steph. Byz. 215.20) but otherwise *Γυρτών, ἡ* (*IG* IV².1 94b.4 (360/59); Ephor. fr. 93; Strabo 9.5.19). The city-ethnic is *Γυρτώνιος* (Thuc. 2.22.3; *IG* I³ 92.6 (*c.*416); *CID* II 31.72 (345/4)), or *Κυρτώνιος* (*CID* II 102.II.B.20 (324/3), 119 (C4l)).

Gyrton is listed as a *polis* in the political sense at Thuc. 2.22.3; it is called *ἄστυ* in a mythological context in *Orphica Argonautika* 145. The internal collective use of the city-ethnic is found on C4 coins (*infra*); the external collective use is found in Thuc. 2.22.3; the external individual use is found in e.g. *IG* I³ 92 (*c.*416) and *CID* II 31.72 (345/4), 85 (344/3).

The mythological people *Phlegyai* were associated with Gyrton (Pherecydes (*FGrHist* 3) fr. 41e), and Strabo describes it as both Perrhaibian and Magnesian (7a.1.14, 9.5.19; cf. Steph. Byz. 215.20); however, by the Classical period Gyrton was definitely a Thessalian community (Thuc. 2.22.2–3; *IG* I³ 92 (*c.*416)) in the *tetras* of Pelasgiotis.

A citizen of Gyrton was awarded hereditary *proxenia* by Athens in *c.*416 (*IG* I³ 92). In 360/59, a citizen of Gyrton served as Epidaurian *theorodokos* (*IG* IV².1 94b.4). For citizens of Gyrton serving the Amphiktyonic League as *naopoioi*, see *CID* II 31.72 (345/4), 85 (344/3), 74.I.67 (337/6), 75.II.41 (336), 76.II.16 (335), 79A.I.10 (334/3), 102.II.B.20 (324/3). A Gyrtonian cavalry contingent and its commanders (*ἄρχοντες*) are mentioned at Thuc. 2.22.2–3.

Both the acropolis and the lower city were fortified, possibly already in the Archaic period, and both fortifications were built of slate (Stählin (1924*a*) 88–89 (the site is not identified as Gyrton here)). A cult of Zeus may be inferred from C4s coin types (*infra*).

Gyrton struck coins of silver and bronze in C4. (1) Silver (Aiginetan standard): Head, *HN*² 295 and Babelon, *Traité* ii.4 no. 741 describe a C4f triobol: *obv.* head of nymph facing; *rev.* horse feeding; legend: *ΓΥΡΤΩΝΙΩΝ*. (2) Bronze, C4s: *obv.* youthful Gyrton beside horse's head, or Apollo, or Zeus laureate; *rev.* nymph Gyrtona, or bridled horse; legends: *ΓΥΡΤΟΝΙΟΝ*, *ΓΥΡΤΩΝΙΟΝ* or *ΓΥΡΤΩΝΙΩΝ* (Head, *HN*² 295; Babelon, *Traité* ii.4 nos. 741–44; Rogers (1932) nos. 227–37; Moustaka (1983) 101, 112, 119 and 125; *SNG Cop. Thessaly* 55–61).

398. Kierion (Kierieus) Map 52. Lat. 39.20, long. 22.05. Size of territory: 2. Type: [A]. The toponym is *Κιέριον, τό* (*IG* IV 617.8 (316–293)); at Ps.-Skylax 64, Müller (*GGM* I) prints *Κίερον* (an emendation from *ἱερόν*); Strabo 9.5.14 has *Κίερος*; *I.Thessalie* 15.2 (C2e) has *Κιάριον*. Tradition claims that before the arrival of the Thessalians the city was called *Ἄρνη* (Steph. Byz. 123.22). The city-ethnic is *Κιεριεύς* (Head, *HN*² 292–93 (*c.*400–344)), or *Κιάριος* (*I.Thessalie* 14 (C3–C2)).

In Ps.-Skylax 64, where *polis* is used in the urban sense, Kierion is one of nine toponyms listed between the heading *πόλεις αἵδε* and the addendum *εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλαι πόλεις Θετταλῶν*; it is also called a *polis* in, e.g., *I.Thessalie* 15.13 (C2e). [*Δα*]*μόσιον* is found in *IG* IX.2 269 (C4?). The internal and collective use of the city-ethnic is found on coins

(Head, *HN*² 292–93 (C4)). In C3s a citizen of Kierion served as Delphic *theorodokos* (*BCH* 45 (1921) III.26 (230–220)).

According to Ps.-Skylax 64, Kierion was situated in Thessalia, and according to Strabo 9.5.14, it belonged to the *tetras* of Thessaliotis (Helly (1995) 165). Because the city lay in very flat and open land, its boundaries are not clearly defined.

At Kierion are remains of a circuit wall, the earliest phases of which go back to the Classical or perhaps the Archaic period. On the acropolis a Hellenistic *kastro* is visible, but earlier activity there cannot be excluded. Otherwise, practically nothing is known about the lower town, which was probably situated on the eastern side of the hill (Stählin (1924*a*) 130–32; autopsy by J.-C. Decourt).

Kierion struck silver coins on the Aiginetan standard from *c.*400. Denominations: didrachms, triobols, trihemiobols, obols and hemiobols. Types: *obv.* head of Zeus, or Arne, or Poseidon, or Apollo, or horse feeding or galloping; *rev.* youthful male god (Asklepios?) seated on a throne or rock, or nymph Arne kneeling, or head of Arne, or naked hero warrior fighting; legend: *KI*, *KIE*, *KIEPIE*, *KIEPIAION*, *KIEPIEIΩN*. Bronze coinage likewise begins *c.*400. *Obv.* head of Poseidon, or head of Zeus laureate, or head of Apollo; *rev.* Arne kneeling, or bridled horse prancing, or naked Zeus standing holding eagle; legends: *KIE*, *KIEP*, *KIEPI*, *KIEPIEΩN*, *KIEPIEIΩN*, *KIEPIΩN*. Head, *HN*² 292–93; Babelon, *Traité* ii.4 nos. 507–18; *SNG Cop. Thessaly* 32–37; Rogers (1932) nos. 173–78. In addition to these divinities there is evidence of cults of Artemis (*IG* IX.2 271 (C5)), Herakles (*I.Thessalie* 15 (C2e)), and Poseidon Kouerios (*I.Thessalie* 20 (C3–C2)).

399. *Kondaia (Kondaieus) Map 55. Lat. 39.50, long. 22.25, but see *infra*. Size of territory: 2. Type: C (classified as a fort/tower by *Barr.*, but see *infra*). A toponym is not attested, but **Κονδαία* may be assumed (cf. *infra* Mondaia); it has been proposed to emend MS *Κονιαῖος* at Hdt. 5.63.3 to *Κονδαῖος* (cf. Helly (1995) 103), but the city-ethnic found in Hellenistic sources is *Κονδαιεύς* (*Gonnoi* II no. 3.3 (C3f)).

The location is uncertain, but the community should probably be located at the ancient site at Orthe Magoula, near the modern village of Phalanni Larisis (Helly (1999)); *Barr.* locates it at Bakrina. Both locations put it in the *tetras* of Pelasgiotis.

At 5.63.3 Herodotos states that the *Θεσσαλοὶ . . . ἀπέπεμψαν κοινῇ γνώμῃ χρεώμενοι χιλίην τε ἵππον καὶ τὸν βασιλέα σφέτερον Κινέην ἄνδρα Κονιαῖον* to support the Peisistratidai of Athens. *Κονιαῖος* is most probably a corruption of a Thessalian city-ethnic, and it has been proposed to restore *Κονδαῖος*, to be interpreted as the city-ethnic of Kondaia (Helly (1995) 103). Since there is no other evidence for the political status of Kondaia in the Archaic (or Classical) period, the inclusion of Kondaia in this Inventory depends upon acceptance of this emendation, which would provide an attestation of the external individual use of the city-ethnic; such a usage is often indicative that the site to whose toponym the ethnic is related was a *polis* (Hansen (1996) 182–87). In C3 Kondaia was undoubtedly a *polis*: *Gonnoi* II no. 3 is a C3f grant of proxeny by Gonnoi to *Χέναρχος Ἰπ[πάρχου] Κονδαιεύς*.

At the site identified with Kondaia (*supra*) ancient architectural elements have been found, as well as a temple foundation (Helly (1977)).

400. Krannon (Krannonios) Map 55. Lat. 39.30, long. 22.20. Size of territory: 3. Type: [A]. The toponym is *Κράννων -ωνος, ἡ* ([Arist.] *Mir. ausc.* 842ᵇ10; Theopomp. fr. 267a), *Κραννών* (Hecat. fr. 133), *Κράννουν* (Hdn. III.1 261.17) or *Κράννους* (Kineas (*FGrHist* 603) fr. 1). The city-ethnic is *Κραν(ν)ούνιος* (Head, *HN*² 293–94 (C5–C4); *SEG* 23 421 (C4)), *Κραννώνιος* (Hdt. 6.127; Head, *HN*² 293–94), or *Κρανώνιος* (Diog. Laert. 2.25). Tradition claims that before the arrival of the Thessalians the city was called *Ἐφύρη* or *Ἐφύρα* (Kineas (*FGrHist* 603) fr. 1) or *Ἔφυροι* (Apollodoros (*FGrHist* 224) fr. 179).

Krannon is listed as a *polis* in the political sense at Thuc. 2.22.3; in Ps.-Skylax 64, where *polis* is used in the urban sense, Krannon is one of nine toponyms listed between the heading *πόλεις αἵδε* and the addendum *εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλαι πόλεις Θετταλῶν*. Cf. also [Arist.] *Mir. ausc.* 842ᵇ10 and Diod. 15.61.5 (r369); *πολῖται* is found in Polyaen. 2.34 (possibly rC4) (cf. *RE* xi. 1583); and at Hdt. 6.126, 127, *πάτρη* is used about Krannon. The earliest epigraphical reference to a *πόλις Κραννουνίουν* is in a C3s honorific decree (*IG* IX.2 458). The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally on coins (Head, *HN*² 293–94 (C5–C4)) and in the decree *IG* IX.2 458 (C3s); externally it is attested in Thuc. 2.22.3; Xen. *Hell.* 4.3.3; and *CID* II 7B.2 (*c.*357). The external and individual use is found, e.g., at Hdt. 6.127.4, in *SEG* 23 421 (C4) and in *CID* II 24.1.14 (*c.*336–323). Krannon is implicitly described as *patre* (= *patris*) in Hdt. 6.127.1–4.

Krannon was situated in Thessalia (Hdt. 6.127.4; Thuc. 2.22.3), and more precisely in the *tetras* of Pelasgiotis (Simon. 127, Page; Hecat. fr. 133; cf. Helly (1995) 166). The territory is called *πεδίον Κραννώνιον* in Callim. *Hymn* 4.138. To the north, it was bounded by the territory of Larisa, to the west by that of Atrax, to the east by that of Skotoussa, while to the south the crest line of the Revenia hills separated it

from the Enipeus valley (Decourt (1990) fig. 27).

In C6 the most prominent family in the political life of the city was the Skopadai (*RE* iiiA. 567–69; Helly (1995) 107–12). Cavalry and an anonymous cavalry commander are attested in Thuc. 2.22.3, when Krannon was allied with Athens alongside other Thessalian cities. Xen. *Hell.* 4.3.3 mentions Krannon among the allies of the Boiotians, again alongside other Thessalian cities. If the story about Deinias in Polyaen. 2.34 refers to C4 (cf. *RE* xi. 1583; Berve (1967) 294–95), the city experienced a tyranny in this period. (The same source refers to Krannonian farming out of *ἡ φυλακὴ τῆς πόλεως* and *ἡ τοῦ σίτου δεκάτη*.) In 369, Krannon joined Alexander II of Makedon, who had been called in by the Aleuadai of Larisa in their struggle against Alexander of Pherai, and the city was presumably garrisoned by the Makedonian king (Diod. 15.61.5); the garrison was probably removed, as was a similar one at Larisa, when Pelopidas arrived at the head of a Boiotian army later in the year (Diod. 15.67.4).

SEG 23 421 is probably a C4 grant of *proxenia* by Pherai to two citizens of Krannon. Krauxidas of Krannon was victorious in the horse-race at Olympia in 648 (Paus. 5.8.8; *Olympionikai* 53).

At an unknown date Krannon became a walled and fortified city, but almost nothing is known about the acropolis and the urban centre, except for a possible temple of Athena Polias on the acropolis (Arvanitopoulos (1922–24)).

The main cults of the Krannonians seem to be those of Athena (*IG* ix.2 460 (C2); cf. Arvanitopoulos (1922–24) 37), Asklepios (*ArchDelt* 43B: 280 (C3); *IG* ix.2 461 (C2)) and Apollo (Prournios: Habicht (1981) (*c.*200); Tempeitas: *Prakt* (1915) 17 (C3?)). Other cults: Ennodia (*LIMC* ii 882 (C4s)), Poseidon (Head, *HN*² 293–94 (C4)) and Zeus (Megas: *ArchDelt* 43B: 280 (C3?); Notios: *ArchDelt* 16B: 182 (C4)).

Krannon struck silver coins in C5 and bronze coins in C4. (1) Silver, 480–400. Denominations: drachms, tetrobols, triobols, obols and hemiobols on the Aiginetan standard. Types: *obv.* naked man subduing a bull, or bull's head, or bull's hoof; *rev.* forepart of galloping horse and trident in incuse square, or horse's head; legend: *KPA* or *KPAN* or *KPANO*. For similarities between these coins and contemporary coins of Larisa, the Perrhaibians, Pharkadon, Trikka, Pherai and Skotoussa, see Kraay (1976) 114–16 and Martin (1985) 36–37. (2) Bronze, *c.*400–344, or later. *Obv.* Poseidon laureate, or Thessalian horseman; *rev.* Thessalian horseman, or rushing bull, or hydria on wheel; legend: *KP*, *KPA*, *KPAN*, *KPANNO*, *KPANΩNIΩN*, *KPANNOYNIOYN* (Head, *HN*² 293–94; Babelon, *Traité* ii.1 nos. 1425–26, ii.4 nos. 634–40; Rogers (1932) 179–204; Liampi (1996) 106, 111–12; *SNG Cop. Thessaly* 38–44).

401. Larisa (Larisaios) Map 55. Lat. 39.40, long. 22.25. Size of territory: 3. Type: A. The toponym is *Λάρισ(σ)α, ἡ* (Bacchyl. 16.8, Maehler; Thuc. 4.78.2; Xen. *Hell.* 6.4.31; Ps.-Skylax 64; *IG* iv².1 94b.5 (360/59); *SEG* 31 585 (C4)). The city-ethnic is *Λαρισ(σ)αῖος* (Thuc. 2.22.3; Xen. *Hell.* 2.3.4; Tod 196.8 (330–324); *IG* ix.2 518.2 (undated); Diod. 14.19.8). Some early coins are inscribed *ΛΑΡΙΣΑΕΟΝ* as if from *Λαρισαεύς* (Head, *HN*² 298; Babelon, *Traité* ii.1 no. 1412). The Ionic form is *Λῃρισαῖος* (Hdt. 9.1).

Larisa is implicitly called a *polis* in the political sense in Thuc. 2.22.3; in Pl. *Meno* 70B, *polis* is used in the urban sense, and in Ps.-Skylax 64, where *polis* is again used in the urban sense, *Λάρισσα* is the second toponym listed between the heading *πόλεις αἵδε* and the addendum *εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλαι πόλεις Θετταλῶν*. *Polites* is found in Pl. *Meno* 70B; *akropolis* is found in Antiochos (*FGrHist* 29) fr. 2; *asty* is found in Theophr. *Caus. pl.* 5.14.3; and *Γαστικά* appears as *epiklesis* of the goddess Enodia in *IG* ix.2 574 of 450–425; *patris* is found in *SEG* 31 585 (C4) (cf. *CEG* ii 639).

The internal collective use of the city-ethnic is found on C5f coins (*infra*); the external collective use is found in Thuc. 2.22.3; Xen. *Hell.* 4.3.3; *CID* ii 68.II.14 (338–330); Tod 196.8 (330–324); and the external individual use in Hdt. 9.1, 9.58.1; *CID* ii 4.1.44 (360); *SEG* 26 327 (*c.*350); *IG* vii 414.14 (C4m–s); *IG* ii² 353.11 (329/8).

Larisa was a Thessalian community (*F.Delphes* iii.4 378 (342/1)) and belonged to the *tetras* of Pelasgiotis (schol. Ap. Rhod. 1.40). The name of the territory was *ἡ Λαρισσαία* (Theopomp. fr. 34; on this fragment, see Martin (1982)); it is termed *χώρα* in Theophr. *Caus. pl.* 5.14.2. Theopomp. fr. 34 mentions a site called *Χαλκαί* in the territory; it is probably to be located at Nikaia Larisis, a site with Classical material (D. Kontogiannis (1992) 386). Apollo Leschaios was worshipped in the territory (*IG* ix.2 1027 (C5l)). On the territory, see further Helly (1984).

The resemblance of the C5 coinage of the Perrhaibians (see entry for Oloosson) to that of Larisa (see *infra*) has been taken to indicate that Larisa may have brought the Perrhaibians into dependence upon itself (Martin (1985) 72–73).

Early in the Peloponnesian War, Larisaian cavalry assisted the Athenians (Thuc. 2.22.3) alongside other Thessalian *poleis* which were allied to Athens. In the 390s, Larisa, alongside other Thessalian *poleis*, was allied to Boiotia (Xen. *Hell.*

4.3.3). In 404, forces from Larisa and other unspecified Thessalian polities were defeated by Lykophron I of Pherai, who struggled for pan-Thessalian hegemony (Xen. *Hell.* 2.3.4). The conflict continued into the 390s, when, during the Corinthian War, Medeios of Larisa was supported by the anti-Spartan alliance (Diod. 14.82.5 (r395)) and captured Pharsalos. In 369, the Aleuadai of Larisa called in the Makedonian king Alexander II to support them in their struggle with Alexander of Pherai; the king, however, took the city by force and placed a garrison on the acropolis (Diod. 15.61.3–5), a garrison which was withdrawn at the arrival of Theban troops under Pelopidas (Diod. 15.67.4 (r369/8)). In 357/6, the Aleuadai again called upon the king of Makedon, Philip II, who responded favourably and thus started his interference in Greek politics (Diod. 16.14.2).

During the crisis of 330–324, Larisa received 50,000 *medimnoi* of grain from Kyrene (Tod 196.8). A man from Larisa is listed in an Athenian catalogue of mercenaries (*IG* II² 1156.1.61–63 (*c.*300)).

A refugee is attested in 399 by Arist. *Pol.* 1311ᵇ17; as *tagos* of Thessalia, Polyphron II of Pherai (370/69) had many citizens of Larisa sent into exile (Xen. *Hell.* 6.4.34). Reception of envoys, sent by Agesilaos of Sparta during his march home from Asia Minor in 394, is recorded in Plut. *Ages.* 16; the Larisaians, allied to Sparta's enemies, arrested these envoys, who were released only after a truce had been negotiated. Citizens of Larisa were appointed *proxenoi* by Delphi in 342/1 (*F.Delphes* III.4 378) and 333/2 (*F.Delphes* III.1 401), by Lamia in C4l (*IG* IX.2 60), and by Gonnoi in C4l/C3e (*Gonnoi* II 1); but note that Aristonous of Larisa (for whom see Thuc. 2.22.3) was, presumably, appointed *proxenos* by Athens *c.*430 (*IG* I³ 55 with Walbank (1978) 158–66) and that *IG* II² 39.13 (379/8) has been restored [*Λαρ*]*ισαί*[*οις*], which, if accepted, is an Athenian grant of proxeny to four citizens of Larisa.

A mass grant of citizenship by Larisa seems to be implied by Arist. *Pol.* 1275ᵇ29ff (Helly (1984) 229). Residence of free non-citizens is implied by Pl. *Meno* 70B. Grants of citizenship to citizens of Larisa are attested by *F.Delphes* III.4 378 (342/1); *IG* II² 558 (*c.*303/2), and *IG* IX.2 60 (C4l) (Lamia). *IG* IV².1 94b.5 (360–359) lists a citizen of Larisa as *theorodokos* of Epidauros. A monetary donation by Larisa to "*theoroi* sent out from Argos to announce the celebration of the Nemean Games and the Heraia" is recorded by *IG* IV 617.6 (316–293); Perlman (2000) 74–75, 127–29.

According to Arist. *Pol.* 1305ᵇ22–30 and 1306ᵃ20–30, Larisa was an oligarchy; the most powerful family was that of the Aleuadai (*RE* i.2. 1372–74; Helly (1995) 112–24), who dominated Larisaian, and Thessalian, politics for long periods. A board of *demiourgoi* is implied by Arist. *Pol.* 1275ᵇ29; *politophylakes* are mentioned at *Pol.* 1305ᵇ29: they were elected by the assembly (ibid.). An *ἄρχων μεσίδιος* in, possibly, C4m (cf. Dem. 18.48; but see Martin (1985) 255–60) is mentioned at *Pol.* 1306ᵃ28–30. A *stasis* is attested for C5l (Xen. *An.* 1.1.10; *RE* xii. 850); one faction in this *stasis* may have sought the support of Archelaos of Makedon: Thrasymachos fr. 2, DK, obviously suggests Makedonian interference at Larisa (Westlake (1935) 51ff; Hammond and Griffith (1979) 140–41; Martin (1985) 89). Further outbreaks of *stasis* are attested in 370/69 (Xen. *Hell.* 6.4.34) and *c.*344/3 (Arist. *Pol.* 1306ᵃ26–30; Callim. fr. 588, Pfeiffer; cf. Gehrke, *Stasis* 189–97).

At *Pol.* 1331ᵃ30ff, Aristotle describes as Thessalian the institution of the *eleuthera agora*: that is, an agora from which artisans and traders were banned and to which they could have access only if invited by the magistrates. An *eleuthera agora* may have been identified at Larisa, south of the acropolis (Tziaphalias (1994*b*) 158–59, 169–70, 173–74, cf. plan 155). A "commercial agora" was probably located to the west on the bank of the river Peneios (Tziaphalias (1994*b*) 159, plan 155). A C4 amphora stamp (*ΘΑΣΙΩΝ*) indicates trade (*SEG* 35 635).

A temple of Athena on the acropolis is mentioned by Antiochos (*FGrHist* 29) fr. 2; in it was the grave of the mythical founder of the city, Akrisios (cf. schol. Ap. Rhod. 1.40; Paus. 2.16.2); on the acropolis are traces of a Classical road and remains of buildings constructed in mudbrick (Tziaphalias (1994*b*) 157–58); there are no remains of a separate fortification of the acropolis, but at 15.61.4 (r369/8) Diodorus mentions a siege of the acropolis which suggests that it was fortified.

The *teichos* is mentioned by Diod. 15.61.4 (r369). The undated circuit wall runs for some 4,000 m, but is not known for its entire course, and accordingly the area enclosed by it cannot be estimated. The wall is constructed in mudbrick on a stone socle (Tziaphalias (1994*b*) 177–78, plan 155). Since the ancient city is overlaid by the modern, not many remains are visible, and it cannot be ascertained whether it was built on a grid plan (ibid. 158). In the city are remains of what was probably a C4 Doric temple of Apollo Kerdoios; here public documents were displayed (ibid. 169–70). The cemeteries span the period from C5 onwards (ibid. 177–78).

Attested cults include those of Athena Polias (*IG* IX.2 592 (C3), but cf. Antiochos (*FGrHist* 29) fr. 2), Apollo Leschaios (*supra*), Dionysos Karpios (*SEG* 35 590 (450–425)), Enodia Wastika (*IG* IX.2 575 (450–425)), Gaia (*SEG* 29 533 (C4)),

Herakles (*IG* IX.2 580 (C4)), Poseidon Patroios (*SEG* 35 647, 650 (both *c.*300)), and Zeus Thaulios (*SEG* 35 613 (*c.*300)).

Three citizens of Larisa achieved Olympic victories: Echekratidas in 464 (*Olympionikai* 258), Lykos in 452 (*Olympionikai* 281) and Krokinas in 404 and 396 (*Olympionikai* 351, 367a). In 366–338, Epikrates of Larisa won the pentathlon for *ageneioi* at the Amphiaraia at Oropos (*IG* VII 414.14); Lykormas was victorious at the Pythian Games in 310 (Paus. 10.7.8).

Several citizens of Larisa served the Amphiktyonic League as *naopoioi* (*CID* II 10A.I.7 (357/6); 31.73, 96 (345/4); 32.3 (341/40), etc.). After the Third Sacred War, the Larisaians rented one of the houses confiscated from exiled pro-Phokian Delphians (*CID* II 68.I.13 and II.14 (338–330)).

Larisa was the first Thessalian polity to strike coins. The earliest silver issues of drachms, triobols, trihemiobols and obols antedate the Persian War and are on the Persian standard (Lavva (2001) 42). Types: *obv.* horse biting its foreleg, or head of Jason, or head of nymph, or bull's head, or horseman with two spears; *rev.* sandal of Jason (sometimes with double axe above) in incuse square, or horse's head in incuse square, or bearded male figure seated in incuse square; legends: ΛΑ, ΛΑΡΙ, ΛΑΡΙΣΑ, ΛΑΡΙΣΑΙΟΝ, ΛΑΡΙΣΑΕΟΝ (Head, *HN*² 298; Babelon, *Traité* ii.1 nos. 1410–16; Kraay (1976) 115; *SNG Cop. Thessaly* 89–92; Martin (1985) 34–35).

Immediately after the Persian War the city switched to the Aiginetan standard and initially used the same types and even the same dies (cf. *SNG Cop. Thessaly* on no. 89). From this point onwards until its issues ceased *c.*320 (Martin (1985) 52, 163), Larisa was the most important mint of Thessalia and struck didrachms, drachms, triobols, diobols, trihemiobols, obols and hemiobols. *Obv.* types depict youth restraining bull, horseman, horse (C5); head of nymph Larisa, or running bull (C4), etc.; *rev.* types depict free horse, seated nymph Larisa, or Asklepios (C5, in incuse square); and galloping horse or galloping horseman, etc.; legends: ΛΑ, ΛΑΡΙ, ΛΑΡΙΣΑ, ΛΑΡΙΣΑΙ, ΛΑΡΙΣΑΙΑ, ΛΑΡΙΣΑΙΟΝ, ΛΑΡΙΣΑΙΩΝ. Some coins of *c.*370–360 carry on the *rev.* the inscription ΣΙΜΟΣ in tiny script, but the significance of the inscription is unclear (Martin (1985) 103; cf. Martin (1983) 13–16); another C4 issue has *obv.* male head + ΑΛΕΥΑ (i.e. presumably a depiction of Aleuas the Red); *rev.* eagle on fulmen + ΕΛΛΑ and ΛΑΡΙΣΑΙΑ; the message intended is disputed, see Helly (1995) 119–20 (Head, *HN*² 298–99; *SNG Cop. Thessaly* 93–135; Hermann (1924–25); Martin (1983)). For similarities between the C5 coins with *obv.* youth restraining bull; *rev.* horse, and contemporary coins of Krannon, the Perrhaibians, Pharkadon, Trikka, Pherai and Skotoussa, see Kraay (1976) 115–16 and Martin (1985) 36–37.

The bronze issues of Larisa began *c.*400: *obv.* head of fountain nymph Larisa; *rev.* horse trotting or feeding, or horseman with *petasos* and lance, or head of Asklepios, bearded and laureate; various letters, symbols and monograms; legends: ΛΑΡΙΣΑ, ΛΑΡΙΣΑΙ ΛΑΡΙΣΑΙΩΝ (Head, *HN*² 297–99; Babelon, *Traité* ii.1 nos. 1009–18, ii.4 nos. 367–410; *SNG Cop. Thessaly* 136–46, *Suppl.* 245–47; Rogers (1932) 93–100; Liampi (1996) 101–5, 110–11).

402. Methylion (Methylieus) Map 55. Unlocated, but see *infra*. Type: B. The toponym is Μεθύλιον, τό (*BCH* 45 (1921) III.29 (230–220)). The city-ethnic is Μεθυλιεύς (C5–C4 coins (*infra*)).

No Archaic or Classical source calls Methylion a *polis*, but it merits inclusion in this Inventory because (1) it minted coins in C5–C4 (*infra*); (2) a man of Methylion served as Delphic *theorodokos* in 230–220 (*BCH* 45 (1921) III.29); (3) some C3 tiles are stamped with the collective city-ethnic (*infra*); cf. also Biesantz (1965) 140 n. 235 for an—undated—inscription: Μεθυλιέων δημόσιον (C5?). The only Classical source attesting to the existence and status of Methylion is its C5–C4m coinage.

Methylion was situated in Thessalia (Steph. Byz. 440.16 s.v. Μεθυδρίον, where the passage καὶ ἑτέρα πόλις Θεσσαλίας, ὡς Φίλων possibly refers to Methylion), more precisely in Thessaliotis (Heyman (1970); Helly (1995) 165, 229–30). It is probably to be located at the village of Myrina near Prodomos Karditsis, whence come C3 tiles stamped Μεθυλιέων (information kindly provided by C. Indzesiloglou). A cult of Athena is presumably indicated by the coin types depicting this goddess (Heyman (1970) nos. 6–7).

Methylion struck coins in silver and bronze in C4; a drachm on the Aiginetan standard is presumably C5. It shows *obv.* forepart of horse; *rev.* grain (ΜΕΘΥ); for similarities between this coin and coins of Skotoussa and coins struck in the name of "the Thessalians" (possibly by Pherai), see Kraay (1976) 116 and Martin (1985) 37–38. C4 obols: *obv.* male head, or Nike; *rev.* female head, or a warrior, or Athena; legend: ΜΕΘΥ, ΜΕΘΥΛΙΕΩΝ. Bronzes: *obv.* young male head, or head of nymph; *rev.* Nike, or horseman with spear; legend: ΜΕΘΥΛΙΕΩΝ (Head, *HN*² 301–2; Babelon, *Traité* ii.4 nos. 505–7; Heyman (1970)).

403. Metropolis (Matropolitas) Map 55. Lat. 39.20, long. 21.50. Size of territory: 2. Type: [A]. The toponym is

Ματρόπολις, ἡ (*BCH* 45 (1921) III.30 (230–220)); the city-ethnic is *Ματροπολίτας* (*CID* II 5.II.32 (358)) or *Μητροπολίτης* (C4f coins, *infra*).

Metropolis is listed as a *polis* in the political sense under the heading *ταίδε τᾶμ πολίων ἤνικαν* in *CID* II 5.II.25–26, 32–33 (358). The internal collective use of the city-ethnic is found on C4f coins (*infra*) and the external collective use in *CID* II 5.II.32–33 (358).

According to Strabo 9.5.17, Metropolis was founded by a synoecism (*συνῴκιστο*) of *τριῶν . . . πολιχνίων ἀσήμων*. The *terminus ante quem* for this synoecism is 358, the year in which the city is mentioned in the naopic accounts in Delphi (*CID* II 5.II.32–33; Diod. 15.30.5 (r377) does not refer to Thessalian Metropolis; cf. Stylianou (1998) 280). The circular fortifications, running for 5 km, are located in the plain and encompass an isolated hill; the masonry style of the circuit (isodomic with moat) points to a date in C4f for its construction (C. Indzesiloglou, pers. comm.). The earliest coins of the city are likewise dated to C4f (*infra*). Among the communities originally participating in the synoecism were Onthyrion (Strabo 9.5.17) and probably Polichnai (cf. Helly in *BCH* 94 (1970) 187), but the city expanded after the foundation (Strabo 9.5.17: *ὕστερον δὲ καὶ πλείους προσελήφθησαν*). Remains are reported in *ArchDelt* 35 ([1980] 1988) *Chron.* 268–69 and 36 (1981) *Chron.* 254; *BCH* 113 (1989) *Chron.* 637 and fig. 116.

Metropolis was a Thessalian community (*CID* II 5.II.32–33) situated in Hestiaiotis (Strabo 9.5.17). To the north the neighbours were Ithome, which was eventually absorbed by Metropolis (Strabo 9.5.17), Gomphoi and Pelinna; to the east were Methylion and Kieron; to the south was Onthyrion, which was also absorbed by Metropolis (*supra*); to the west was the Pindos range.

The entry *Ματροπολῖται Θεσσαλοί* in *CID* II 5.II.32–33 (358) presumably indicates membership of the Thessalian Confederacy. A grant of C3l proxeny, etc. to a citizen of Krannon is published by Habicht in *Klio* 52 (1970) 143; the inscription also testifies to a system of *phylai* and boards of magistrates. A cult of Aphrodite, the patron divinity, is attested by coins (no. (1) *infra*) and Strabo 9.5.17 (citing Callim. fr. 200a, Pfeiffer); public documents were displayed at the temple of Aphrodite (cf. *PECS* 576); Apollo is likewise attested by coins, and a C6s suburban temple dedicated to Apollo Hekatombios has been excavated by C. Indzesiloglou.

A collective donation of 120 dr. towards the rebuilding of the temple at Delphi is recorded in *CID* II 5.II.32–33 (358); *IG* IV 617.9 (316–293) has been restored *Μα[τροπολῖται]* (Foucard, accepted by Perlman (2000) 75); the inscription records monetary donations by Thessalian cities "to the *θεωροί* sent out from Argos to announce the celebration of the Nemean Games and the Heraia" (*IG* IV 617.10 (C4l); cf. Perlman (2000) 74, 127–29). Cf. *CID* II 100.II.5ff (325), presumably another collective donation towards the rebuilding of the temple at Delphi.

Metropolis struck silver coins on the Aiginetan standard *c.*400–*c.*344. (1) Diobol: *obv.* head of Aphrodite facing, bird to the right, Nike crowning her; *rev.* standing Dionysos; legend: *ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟ[ΛΙΤΩΝ]*. (2) Trihemiobol: *obv.* as (1), *rev.* Apollo Kitharoidos; legend: *ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ*. (3) Obol: *obv.* bearded head facing; *rev.* figure (Aphrodite?) holding thyrsos and seated on rock under tree; legend: *ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛ* (Head, *HN*² 302; Babelon, *Traité* ii.4 520–22; Martin (1985) 39).

404. Mopsion (Mopseus) Map 55. Lat. 39.50, long. 22.25. Size of territory: 2. Type: B. The toponym, *Μόψιον, τό* is attested only in post-Classical sources (Strabo 9.5.22; Steph. Byz. 480.11). The city-ethnic is *Μοψεύς* (C4f coins, *infra*; *Horos* 10–12 (1992–98) 356 l. 2 (C3m)) or *Μοψε(ι)άτας* (C4f coins, *infra*; *Horos* 10–12 (1992–98) 356 l. 14).

No Archaic or Classical source calls Mopsion a *polis*; it is included as a probable *polis* here on account of its C4f coinage (*infra*). The community refers to itself as a *polis* in the political sense in *Horos* 10–12 (1992–98) 356 l. 2, a C3m grant of *politeia* and other privileges to three men of Atrax (cf. *IG* IX.2 1056 (C3)). The internal collective use of the city-ethnic is found on C4f bronze coins (*infra*); the external individual use of the city-ethnic is found in *IG* IX.2 521.21 (C2m).

Mopsion was a Thessalian community in the *tetras* of Pelasgiotis (Steph. Byz. 480.11), situated 0.5 km inside the pass of Rhodia (Helly (1999) 102–3). Archaeological investigations of the site remain unpublished.

Mopsion struck bronze coins in C4f. Types: *obv.* head of Zeus facing with fulmen to the right; *rev.* Lapith fighting centaur; legend: *ΜΟΨΕΙΩΝ* or *ΜΟΨΕΑΤΩΝ*; or *obv.* draped female bust r.; *rev.* standing Aphrodite with dove in hand; legend: *ΜΟΨΕΙΩΝ* (Head, *HN*² 302; Babelon, *Traité* ii.4 no. 744a; Rogers (1932) nos. 412–13). The coin types point to cults of Zeus and Aphrodite.

405. Orthos (Orthieus) Map 55. Lat. 39.15, long. 22.00. Size of territory: ? Type: B. The toponym is *Ὄρθος* or *Ὄρθοι* or *Ὄρθα*; the genitive *Ὄρθου* is found in *CID* II 12.1.68 (C4m); and the forms *ἐν Ὄρθαι* and *ἐν Ὄρθοις* are both found in the Delphic catalogue of *theorodokoi* of *c.*230–220

(*BCH* 45 (1921) III.27, IV.25). The city-ethnic is *Ὀρθιεύς* (coins, *infra*).

No Archaic or Classical source calls Orthos a *polis*, but it deserves inclusion in this Inventory as a probable *polis* on account of its late Classical bronze coinage (*infra*). In addition, *CID* II 12.I.68 records a contribution by a man described as *Θεσσαλὸς ἐξ Ὄρθου* (C4m).

The site of Orthos—not to be confused with the Homeric Orthe, the probable ancestor of Phalanna—lay north-east of the village of Kedros (Helly (1992) 78) and so in the *tetras* of Thessaliotis. However, there is no published material on this site. A cult of Athena may be assumed on the basis of the coin types (see *infra*), and outside the walls is a sanctuary of Demeter (C. Indzesiloglou, pers. comm.).

Orthos struck bronze coins *c.*350/340–200. *Obv.* Athena; *rev.* springing horse in wreath of olive, or trident in wreath of olive; legend: *ΟΡΘΙ* or *ΟΡΘΙΕΩΝ*, *ΟΡΘΙΕΙΩΝ* (Head, *HN*² 303; Babelon, *Traité* ii.4 nos. 595–96; Rogers (1932) nos. 421–25; *SNG Cop. Thessaly* 183–84).

406. Oxynion Map 55. Unlocated. Type: C. The toponym is *Ὀξύνιο*[*ν*] (*IG* IV².1 94.b.1 (359)) or *Ὀξύνεια, ἡ* (Strabo 7.7.9). A city-ethnic is not attested.

No Archaic or Classical source calls Oxynion a *polis*, though Strabo 7.7.9 does. The reason for including it in this Inventory is the attestation in 359 of an Epidaurian *theorodokos* (*IG* IV² 1.94.b.1); note, however, that Perlman (2000) E.1 fr.b.1 prints *Πέλιν*[*να*], not *Ὀξύνιον* as *IG*. Nothing further is known about the city.

Oxynion has traditionally been located at Meritsa (modern Oxyneia) north-west of Kalambaka, but this location does not fit the indications provided by Strabo 7.7.9 that it was 120 stades from Azoros. The same applies to the site at Nea-Smolia (Darmezin (1992)). A site near Dasochori may fit: a hill on the left bank of the river Paliomandano at Paliogourtsia, with some architectural remains on the surface and ceramics covering C4 to Roman times; however, epigraphical confirmation is lacking (Darmezin (1994)).

407. Pagasai (Pagasitas) Map 55. Lat. 39.20, long. 22.55. Size of territory: 2. Type: [A]. The toponym is *Παγασαί, αἱ* (Hdt. 7.193.2; Dem. 1.9; Xen. *Hell.* 5.4.56). The city-ethnic is *Παγασίτας* (*CID* II 100.II.8 (325)) or *Παγασαῖος* (*IG* IV 617.4 (316–293)).

In Ps.-Skylax 64, where *polis* is used in the urban sense, Pagasai is one of nine toponyms listed between the heading *πόλεις αἵδε* and the addendum *εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλαι πόλεις Θετταλῶν*. Theopomp. fr. 53 described it as the *epineion* of Pherai (cf. Plut. *Them.* 20.1). The external collective use of the city-ethnic is found in *IG* IV 617.4 (316–293), and the external individual use in *CID* II 100.II.8 (325).

Theopompos' description of Pagasai as the *epineion* of Pherai (*FGrHist* 115 fr. 53) does not mean that it cannot have been a *polis* (Hansen (1997) 36–37); the exact relationship between the two cities is unknown, but Pagasai may possibly have been a dependent *polis* of Pherai serving as its harbour (cf. ibid. for parallels); or Theopompos' statement may simply mean that the city was within the general sphere of Pheraian influence (a brother of Jason resided there: Polyaen. 6.1.6).

Ps.-Skylax 64 describes Pagasai as Thessalian (cf. *CID* II 100.I.20, II.8), and Theopompos' description of it as *ἐπίνειον Φεραίων* puts it in Pelasgiotis (*FGrHist* 115 fr. 53). Dem. 1.12, 22, 2.11 (cf. Ath. 43A; Polyaen. 6.2.1) distinguishes between Pagasai and Magnesia, so Pagasai was accordingly *not* Magnesian; but in 353 the city was taken by Philip II (presumably after a siege: Dem. 1.9) and forced into submission (*ἠνάγκασεν ὑποταγῆναι*, Diod. 16.31.6; cf. Dem. 1.22, 2.11). Presumably from then on it was regarded as Magnesian and may have been handed over to the Magnesians by Philip (*RE* xviii. 2308), though according to schol. Dem. 1.22 the incomes from the harbours and the agora were given to Philip himself; Philip probably installed a garrison at Pagasai (Martin (1985) 97).

Hes. *Scut.* 70 mentions a *bomos* of Apollo Pagasaios, and a C5–C4 temple of Apollo and a stoa have been found outside the circuit on the saddle south of the acropolis (Milojcic (1974)). The rocky summit of the hill of Soros, the acropolis of Pagasai, was crowned by a presumably C6l–C5e circular wall, and the lower city was surrounded by a contemporary triple wall (*Prakt* (1909) 165–70) which enclosed an area of *c.*6–7 ha. For a plan, see Marzolff (1994*b*) 256 fig. 1. The earliest indications of occupation are late Archaic, and there are no Hellenistic sherds either in the city proper or in the extramural sanctuary, or in the graves (Triantaphyllopoulou (2000) 60), a fact which fits the report of its relocation to Demetrias in 293 (Strabo 9.5.15).

The central social and economic feature of Pagasai was, it seems, its harbour. In 477/6 a Delian League fleet wintered at the harbour (Plut. *Them.* 20.1), and Pagasai was a trading port exporting grain (Xen. *Hell.* 5.4.56), meat (Plut. *Mor.* 193DE) and slaves (Ar. *Plut.* 521; Hermippos fr. 63.19 (*PCG*)).

The cult of Apollo Pagasaios is frequently mentioned (*RE* xviii.2. 2303). A cult of Poseidon is attested by a C5f dedication (*ArchEph* (1932) 27 no. 12), and a cult of Artemis may be inferred from *IG* IX.2 1123 (C3e); a cult of Dionysos Pelagios is attested in Theopomp. fr. 352, and Alexander of Pherai

may possibly have been worshipped as a hero at Pagasai (*RE* xviii. 2307).

IG IV 617.4 (316–293) records a monetary donation by the Pagasaians "to the *θεωροί* sent out from Argos to announce the celebration of the Nemean Games and the Heraia" (Perlman (2000) 74, 127–29); cf. *CID* II 100.II.5ff (325), presumably a collective donation towards the rebuilding of the temple at Delphi.

408. Peirasia (Peirasieus) Map 55. Lat. 39.30, long. 22.15. Size of territory: 1. Type: [A]. The toponym is *Πειρεσία* in Ap. Rhod. 1.37, the earliest attestation, but the city-ethnic regularly uses a stem in *-ρα* for *-ρε*: *Πειράσιος* (Thuc. 2.22.2), or *Πειρασιεύς* (C4 coins, *infra*).

Peirasia is listed as a *polis* in the political sense at Thuc. 2.22.2. Similarly, in the Delphic *naopoioi*'s accounts the Peirasians are recorded in a fragmentary list (*CID* II 8.II.6), the heading of which undoubtedly included the formula: *ταίδε τᾶμ πολίων ἤνικαν* (*CID* II 5.II.25–26) *vel sim.* The internal collective use of the city-ethnic is attested on C4 coins (*infra*), and the external collective use in Thuc. 2.22.2 and *CID* II 8.II.6 (*c.*360/59).

Peirasia was Thessalian (Steph. Byz. 138.17; Livy 32.13.9) and most probably belonged to the *tetras* of Thessaliotis. Cavalry and an unnamed cavalry commander are attested in Thuc. 2.22.3. A contribution of more than 200 dr. to the naopic board at Delphi is recorded in *CID* II 8.II.6 (*c.*360/59).

The fortification of the acropolis and lower town is very badly preserved, difficult to describe and impossible to date (Decourt (1990) 157); the habitation area seems to have been situated to the south-west of the lower city, close to the valley of the Enipeus (autopsy by J.-C. Decourt).

Peirasia struck silver trihemiobols on the Aiginetan standard *c.*400–344. Types: *obv.* head of Athena; *rev.* horseman; legend: *ΠΕΙΡΑΣΙΕΩΝ* (Head, *HN*² 303; Babelon, *Traité* ii.4 no. 519).

409. Pelinna(ion) (Pelinna(i)eus) Map 55. Lat. 39.35, long. 22.00. Size of territory: 2. Type: [A]. The toponym is *Πελιννᾶον, τό* (Pind. *Pyth.* 10.4; Ps.-Skylax 64); *Πέλιννα, ἡ* is found in Arr. *Anab.* 1.7.5; Steph. Byz. 515.4. *IG* IV 617.11 (316–293) has been restored [*ἐ*]*κκ Πελ*[*ί*]*νν*[*αs*], while Perlman (2000) E.1 fr. b1 prints *Πέλιν*[*να*] (note, however, that *IG* IV².1 94/95.1b.1 prints this entry as *'Οξύνιον*). The city-ethnic is variously *Πελινναιεύς* (*CID* II 31.73 (345/4)), *Πελινναεύς* (coins *c.*300, *infra*), and *Πελινναῖος* (coins *c.*300, *infra*; Diod. 18.11.1 (r323); Polyaen. 4.2.19 (r356)).

In Ps.-Skylax 64, where *polis* is used in the urban sense, Pelinna(ion) is the seventh of nine toponyms listed between the heading *πόλεις αἵδε* and the addendum *εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλαι πόλεις Θετταλῶν*, and Diod. 18.11.1 (r323) by implication describes Pelinna(ion) as a *polis* in the political sense. Strabo 9.5.17 calls it a *phrourion* in an achronic reference. The internal collective use of the (abbreviated) city-ethnic is found on C4 coins (*infra*); the external collective use of the city-ethnic is found in Polyaen. 4.2.19 (r356) and Diod. 18.11.1 (r323). The external individual use is found repeatedly in *CID* II, e.g. 24.I.13 (336/5), 31.73 (345/4), 32.10 (340/39).

Pelinna(ion) was a Thessalian city (Ps.-Skylax 64); Steph. Byz. 515.3 locates it in Phthiotis, but Strabo 9.5.17 in Hestiaiotis, which is more likely to be correct. It was situated at Palaiogardiki on the left bank of the Peneios, 3 km north-east of Petroporo and 14 km east of Trikala (see, however, *infra* Pharkadon). The acropolis was separately walled: the wall is a C5 polygonal structure running for 1,630 m and has square towers (Stählin (1938); Tziaphalias (1992) 124–31). The lower city was enclosed by a C4 wall descending from the northernmost point of the acropolis wall; it runs for 2,600 m and encloses an area of 59 ha south of the acropolis (Stählin (1938) 335); it has numerous towers and three gates (Stählin (1938); Tziaphalias (1992) 124–31). In the lower city are undated remains of such public constructions as stoas (Stählin (1938)), temples (ibid.; Tziaphalias (1992) 125–27), cisterns (Tziaphalias (1992) 125), and possibly a theatre (Stählin (1938) 335). Traces of a C4 Hippodamian grid plan are found as well (Tziaphalias (1992) 126–27).

The history of the city is almost unknown, but Polyaen. 4.2.19 (r356) mentions a war between Pelinna(ion) and Pharsalos (in which both seem to have had allies and in which Philip II of Makedon played a part (Hammond (1994) 48)), and according to Diod. 18.11.1, Pelinna(ion) was the only Thessalian city that did not join the Hellenic alliance in the Lamian War; so it seems to have favoured Makedonia. *IG* IV 617.11 (316–293) records a monetary donation by Pelinna "to the *θεωροί* sent out from Argos to announce the celebration of the Nemean Games and the Heraia" (Perlman (2000) 74, 127–29). A citizen of Pelinna possibly served as *theorodokos* for Epidauros in 360/59 (Perlman (2000) E.1 fr. b1, printed as *Πέλιν*[*να*]; note, however, that *IG* IV².1 94/95.1b.1 prints this entry as *'Οξύνιον*).

Citizens of Pelinna(ion) served the Amphiktyonic League in various capacities: *ἀργυρολογέων* (*CID* II 24.I.13 (336/5)); *naopoios* (ibid. 31.73 (345/4), 32.10 (340/39); *hieromnemon* (*ibid.* 96.3, 97.57 (both 327/6), 32.42 (C4l)). In 498, Hippokleas of Pelinna(ion) was victorious in the Pythian double stadium race (Pind. *Pyth.* 10); in C6l his father

Phrikias was a double *Olympionikes* (*Olympionikai* 150, 156), and Hippokleas himself later likewise became a double *Olympionikes* (*Olympionikai* 175, 184).

Coin types indicate a cult of the sibyl Manetho, and ivy-shaped gold leaves one of Dionysos (Tziaphalias (1992) 136–37).

Pelinna struck silver coins on the Aiginetan standard in C5f. Obols: *obv.* youth restraining bull, or forepart of bull; *rev.* horse's head; legend: ΠΕΛ, [ΠΕ]ΛΙΝ. Hemiobols: *obv.* bull's hoof; *rev.* horse's head; legend: ΠΕΛΙ. In C4, the city struck in both silver and bronze. (1) Silver (drachm, triobol, trihemiobols). *Obv.* horseman galloping or spearing prostrate foe; *rev.* armed warrior; legends: ΠΕΛΙΝ, ΠΕΛΛΙΝΑ, ΠΕΛΙΝΝΑΙ or ΠΕΛΙΝΝΑΙΚΟΝ. (2) Bronze, C4. Same types and legends but sometimes [ΠΕΛΙΝ]ΝΕΑΩΝ. (3) Bronze, C3: *obv.* horseman; *rev.* sibyl Manetho in different poses or head alone; legend: ΠΕΛΙΝΝΑ or ΠΕΛΙΝΝΑΙ or ΠΕΛΙΝΝΑΙΕ or ΠΕΛΙΝΝΑΙΩΝ (Head, *HN*² 303; Babelon, *Traité* ii.4 nos. 523–30; Rogers (1932) 140–42 nos. 426–35; Liampi (1996) 109, 112; *SNG Cop. Thessaly* 185–87).

410. Phakion (Phakiastas) Map 55. Unlocated (cf. Decourt (1990) 155–58) but presumably in Thessaliotis (Helly (1995) 165). Size of territory: ? Type: [A]. The toponym is Φάκιον, τό (Thuc. 4.78.5); cf. *Phacium* at Livy 32.13.9. The city-ethnic is Φακιαστάς (C3 coins, *infra*). No Archaic or Classical source calls Phakion a *polis*, but Phakion seems to be indirectly attested as a *polis* in the political sense in the Delphic accounts of 337/6 (*CID* ii 74): if the restoration Φ[ακ]ι[ασ]τάς is accepted in I.43 (cf. 77.I.4 and the index p. 305) it follows that a *tamias* of Phakion is recorded after the heading τὸν ταμίαν ἀποπέμπειν τὰς πόλεις in I.4. A citizen of Phakion served as Delphic *theorodokos* in 230–220 (*BCH* 45 (1921) III.25), and Phakion struck bronze coins in C3. Types: *obv.* head of crowned nymph; *rev.* horseman; legend: ΦΑΚΙΑΣΤΩΝ (Head, *HN*² 304; Rogers (1932) 146 nos. 444–45).

411. Phaloria (Phaloriastes) Map 55. Lat. 39.50, long. 21.30, but see *infra*. Size of territory: ? Type: C. Steph. Byz. 657.1 gives the toponym as Φαλώρη, but cites Rhianos (*FGrHist* 265) fr. 37 for the form Φαλωρία; the 230–220 Delphic list of *theorodokoi* (*BCH* 45 (1921)) has Φαλορία or Φαλορέα (Oulhen) at III.35, but Φαλευρία at V.C.7 (*BCH*; Oulhen reads Φαλε[..]ίαι). The city-ethnic is Φαλωριαστάς, attested in inscriptions (*IG* IX.1² 13.31 (271/70)) and on coins (*infra*). Steph. Byz. suggests Φαλωρεύς and Φαλωρείτης, but neither form is attested in any other source.

The exact location of Phaloria is unknown, but it must have been situated in Hestiaiotis. Some travellers (e.g. Bursian (1862) 49; Heuzey and Daumet (1876) 413) located it at the site of Skoumbos near Megarchi, south of Kalambaka. At the site are important architectural remains (of walls, a tower, a lower city) and a cemetery; these remains attest to the existence of a city, occupied at least during the Classical period. However, most travellers (e.g. Stählin (1924*a*) 124; Philippson (1950) 275; Meyer, *RE* suppl. x s.v.) have identified this site with Pialeia (cf. n. 4). Following Philippson (1950) 305 (who himself followed Stählin (1924*a*) 114), who seems not to have examined the site), *Barr.* prefers a location at Meritsa (now Oxynia) where, however, (unpublished) surveys conducted in 1991–92 by Darmezin, Decourt *et al.* failed to locate ancient remains. Another possible location is at Nea Koutsouphliani near Malakasi (cf. Hammond (1967) 260 and 681), where quarrying has unfortunately destroyed the ancient site (unpublished survey by Darmezin, Decourt *et al.*).

No Archaic or Classical source calls Phaloria a *polis*, and the reason for its inclusion in this Inventory is the existence of bronze coins dated to 302–286 by both Head, *HN*² 305 and Rogers (1932) 149–50; if these coins are correctly dated to C4l, the presumption is that Phaloria possibly existed as a *polis* prior to their minting, i.e. in C4s. In 271–270 a *Thessalos Phaloriastas* was awarded proxeny by the Aitolian *koinon* (*IG* IX.1² 13.31), and in 230–220 a Delphic *theorodokos* resided in the city.

The internal collective use of the city-ethnic is attested on the rare bronze coins dated to 302–286. (1) *Obv.* head of Athena; *rev.* wolf running; legend: ΦΑΛΩΡ. (2) *Obv.* head of Apollo; *rev.* Apollo seated on a rock holding an arrow; legend: ΦΑΛΩΡΙΑΣΤΩΝ (Head, *HN*² 305; Rogers (1932) nos. 459–61). The types suggest cults of Athena and Apollo.

412. Pharkadon (Pharkadonios) Map 55. Lat. 39.35, long. 22.05, but see *infra*. Size of territory: 2(?). Type: B. The toponym is Φαρκαδών (*IG* IV².1 94.B.I.2 (359); Theopomp. fr. 82) or Φαρκηδών (Polyaen. 4.2.18 (r356)). The city-ethnic is Φαρκαδόνιος (C5 coins, *infra*) or Φαρκαδώνιος (Diod. 18.56.5 (r319)) or Φαρκηδόνιος (Polyaen. 4.2.18 (r356)). No Archaic or Classical source calls Pharkadon a *polis*, but it deserves inclusion here as a probable *polis* on account of its C5–C4 coinage and the fact that in 360/59 an Epidaurian *theorodokos* resided at Pharkadon (*IG* IV².1 94.B.I.2). The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally on C5 coins (*infra*) and externally in Polyaen. 4.2.18 (r356) and Diod. 18.56.5 (r319).

Pharkadon was a Thessalian city (Polyaen. 4.2.18 (r356)) situated in the *tetras* of Hestiaiotis (Strabo 9.5.17). It has traditionally been located on a double-peaked hill, Sykia, above the modern village of Klotoko, about 20 km east of Trikkala (*PECS* followed by *Barr.*). However, the find of an inscription referring to *τὸ κοινὸν Φαρκαδονίων* at Palaiogardiki (Tziaphalias (1992) 116–20), a site normally identified as Pelinna, may cast some doubt on the identification of Pharkadon with Sykia and serve as a reminder that the ancient topography of this part of Hestiaiotis is still not completely understood. For the site at Palaiogardiki, see *supra* s.v. Pelinna.

At the site of Sykia are remains of Classical and later fortifications enclosing both peaks and a lower city (Kirsten (1938) with a plan at 1836). Polyaen. 4.2.18 (r356) mentions a *poliorkia* of Pharkadon by Philip II of Makedon and uses such terms as *teichos* and *pyrgos* to describe the fortifications. The account refers to *stegai* as well, and thus implies the existence of buildings inside the wall; there are, however, no remains of such buildings. In 319, Pharkadonian exiles were explicitly excluded from the general amnesty decreed by Polyperchon (Diod. 18.56.5; cf. Martin (1985) 104). Nothing further is known about these exiles, but their very existence indicates a defined body of citizens. A C3l inscription refers to *τὸ κοινὸν Φαρκαδονίων* and a system of *phylai* (Tziaphalias (1992) 116–20). Philip's siege and the fact that exiles from Pharkadon were explicitly excluded from Polyperchon's general amnesty of 319 (Diod. 18.56.5) suggest that the city had followed an anti-Makedonian line of policy (Martin (1985) 194; Hammond (1994) 48). The silver coin depicting Athena (*infra*) suggests a cult of Athena.

Pharkadon struck silver coins on the Aiginetan standard *c.*480–400, and bronze coins in C4f. (1) Silver. Denominations: triobols, obols and hemiobols. Triobols: *obv.* youth restraining forepart of bull; *rev.* forepart of horse in incuse square; legends: *ΦΑΡΚ*, *ΦΑΡΚΑΔΟ*, *ΦΑΡΚΑΔΟΝΙ* (for similarities between coins with these types and contemporary coins of Krannon, Larisa, the Perrhaibians, Trikka, Pherai and Skotoussa, see Kraay (1976) 115–16 and Martin (1985) 36–37). Obols: *obv.* free horse walking; *rev.* Athena standing; legends: *ΦΑΡΚΑ*, *ΦΑΡΚΑΔ*, *ΦΑΡΚΑΔΟ*, *ΦΑΡΚΑΔΟΝΙΟΝ*; or *obv.* bull's head; *rev.* horse's head; legend: *ΦΑΡ*; or *obv.* bull's head; *rev.* horse's head and trident, or ram; legend: *ΦΑ*, *ΦΑΡ*, *ΦΑΡΚ*. Hemiobols: *obv.* bull's head; *rev.* ram; legends: *ΦΑ*, *ΦΑΡΚ*. (2) Bronze: *obv.* head of nymph; *rev.* horseman; legend: *ΦΑΡΚΑ*, *ΦΑΡΚΑΔ* (*retrogr.*); or *obv.* horse feeding; *rev.* star beneath inverted crescent; legend: *ΦΑΡΚΑΔΟΝΙΩΝ*; or *obv.* feeding horse; *rev.* thyrsos below inverted crescent; legend: *ΦΑΡΚΑΔΟΝΙΟΝ* (*retrogr.*) (Head, *HN*² 305; Babelon, *Traité* ii.4 nos. 560–71; Rogers (1932) nos. 462–63; Liampi (1996) 108–9; *SNG Cop. Thessaly* 209–16).

413. Pharsalos (Pharsalios) Map 55. Lat. 39.15, long. 22.20. Size of territory: 3. Type: A. The toponym is *Φάρσαλος, ἡ* (Pherecydes (*FGrHist* 3) fr. 1; Thuc. 1.111.1; Xen. *Hell.* 6.1.8). The regular city-ethnic is *Φαρσάλιος* (Xen. *Hell.* 4.3.3; *I.Thessalie* 56 (C4); and on coins, *infra*), though Hippoc. *Epid.* 6.8.18 has *Φάρσαλος*; *Φαρράλιος* is found in Hdn. III.1 123.8.

Pharsalos is called a *polis* in the urban sense by Thuc. 1.111.1, and in Ps.-Skylax 64 Pharsalos is the fifth of nine toponyms listed between the heading *πόλεις αἵδε* and the addendum *εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλαι πόλεις Θετταλῶν*; *asty* is found in Anac. fr. 107, Diehl (see Helly (1995) 43–44). *Polis* in the political sense is found in Xen. *Hell.* 6.1.5 and implicitly at Thuc. 2.22.3. In the C4 dedication *I.Thessalie* 56 *polis* is restored: [*Ὀ*]*μηρον Φαρσαλίων ἡ* [*πόλις*]; the earliest certain epigraphical reference to a *πόλις Φαρσαλίουν* is in a C3 decree (*I.Thessalie* 50). Arist. *Pol.* 1306ª11 has the phrase *ἡ ἐν Φαρσάλῳ πολιτεία*; *πολῖται* is found at Xen. *Hell.* 6.4.34, and *πατρίς* in *I.Thessalie* 57.4 (330s); *CEG* II 795 (330s); Xen. *Hell.* 6.1.13.

The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally on C5–C4 coins (Head, *HN*² 306) and in *I.Thessalie* 56 (C4), and externally in the Delphic *naopoioi*'s accounts of 357/6 (*CID* II 8.1.8), in a dedication at Delphi (*SEG* 1 210 (C4m)), and in Thuc. 2.22.3. The external and individual use is found in Thuc. 8.92.8; *IG* II² 26 (394–387); and *CID* II.4.1.31 (*c.*360).

Pharsalos was situated in Thessalia (Thuc. 1.111.1), more precisely in Phthiotis (Strabo 9.5.3, 10; Kip (1910) 68). The territory is referred to as *γῆ* at Thuc. 1.111.1; it was bounded to the north-east by the territory of Skotoussa and Eretria Phthiotis (Strabo 10.1.10 says explicitly that Eretria was near Pharsalos, and Polyb. 5.9.3 that it was near Thebai Phthiotis), to the south by the territories of Peuma and Proerna; and to the west by that of Euhydrion. In the territory were the rivers of Apidanos (Thuc. 4.78.5), Enipeus (Strabo 9.5.6) and Louerchos (*I.Thessalie* 50). The Thetideion was situated near the eastern border of the *Pharsalion pedion* (Eur. *Andr.* 16 with Decourt (1990) 205–8), and it was most probably the same (on the other bank of the Enipeus) for the place called *Palaipharsalos* by Strabo 9.5.6, 17.1.11 (Decourt (1990) 200–23). Two other toponyms are known, but not precisely located: Makouniai

(*I.Thessalie* 50 (C3l)), possibly near modern Rizi; and Makkarai (Theopomp. fr. 55); they may refer to the same place. The ruins called Hellas by Strabo 9.5.6 were, in his day, 60 stades from Pharsalos, with the two springs of Messeïs and Hypereia close to them. When Philip II of Makedon had destroyed Halos, it was handed over to Pharsalos (Dem. 11.1 with schol.).

The political system of Pharsalos was clearly a narrow oligarchy: δυναστεία μᾶλλον ἢ ἰσονομία (Thuc. 4.78.3), ὁμονοοῦσα ὀλιγαρχία (Arist. *Pol.* 1305^{b}; cf. 1306^{a}11–12); and some families, especially the Daochids and the Menonids (on whom see Larsen (1968) 22), are well known from the literary and epigraphical record (on Daochids see, e.g., Béquignon (1970) 1053–56; Helly (1995) 51–52, 63–67; on Menonids: Helly (1995) 233–35, 263–64, 303–6). A *stasis* is mentioned by Xen. *Hell.* 6.1.2, and this conflict seems to have been solved by granting exceptional powers to a single individual, Polydamas (Gehrke, *Stasis* 126), who was subjected to an annual rendering of accounts (*Hell.* 6.1.2: ἀπελογίζετο κατ' ἐνιαυτόν). A set of laws (νόμοι) that specified (*inter alia*?) public incomes is referred to at Xen. *Hell.* 6.1.2.

The Thessalian cavalry took part in the Lelantine War under the Pharsalian Kleomachos (Arist. fr. 98, Rose). The city was attacked by Athenians with allies in 457/6, but these forces did not manage to capture the city (Thuc. 1.111.1). Cavalry and an anonymous cavalry commander from Pharsalos are attested in Thuc. 2.22.3, when the city was allied with Athens (alongside other Thessalian cities); a *hipparchos* is also mentioned at Xen. *Hell.* 4.3.8 and *polemarchoi* in *SEG* 1 210 (C4m). With Larisa, Krannon and Skotoussa, Pharsalos is mentioned as being allied with the Boiotians in 395/4 (Xen. *Hell.* 4.3.3). In 374, Polydamas failed to gain help from Sparta and accordingly had to ally Pharsalos with Jason of Pherai (Xen. *Hell.* 6.1.19); as *tagos*, Polyphron II of Pherai had nine citizens of Pharsalos, including Polydamas, executed (Xen. *Hell.* 6.4.34). A war against Pelinna(ion) in the time of Philip II is mentioned in Polyaen. 4.2.19; Pharsalos was allied with Philip II of Makedon against the Achaian city of Halos (Dem. 11.1; Strabo 9.5.8), and Kottyphos of Pharsalos was the *strategos* of the Amphiktyonic League against Amphissa (Aeschin. 3.128). Pharsalian cavalry fought with Alexander the Great in Asia (Arr. *Anab.* 3.10.11).

According to Diod. 14.82.6, Pharsalos, though garrisoned by Lakedaimonians, was captured by Medios of Larisa in 395, and the inhabitants (τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ κατοικοῦντας) were sold off as booty (λαφυροπωλεῖν). Medios may have placed a mercenary garrison in Pharsalos after his capture of the city: Arist. *Hist. an.* 618^{b}13–14 refers to "the time when Meidios' mercenaries were killed at Pharsalos".

In 374 Pharsalos may have ruled over an unknown number of unidentifiable but presumably minor *poleis*: at *Hell.* 6.1.8 Xenophon has Jason of Pherai state that if he is joined by Pharsalos and αἱ ἐξ ὑμῶν (sc. τῶν Φαρσαλίων) ἠρτημέναι πόλεις he will easily become *tagos* of Thessalia. Thessalian allies of Pharsalos are implied by Polyaen. 4.2.19 (r time of Philip II).

Thoukydides of Pharsalos was *proxenos* of Athens (Thuc. 8.92.8), and Polydamas was hereditary *proxenos* of Sparta (Xen. *Hell.* 6.1.4); in C4 Daochos was *proxenos* of Anaphe (*IG* XII.3 251 (*c.*345–330)), and Iphitos was honoured by Athens (*IG* II^{2} 26). Reception of an Athenian embassy seems implied by Ar. *Vesp.* 1271.

The patron divinity of Pharsalos was probably Zeus: Olympios (*I.Thessalie* 58 (C4e)); Soter (ibid. 1 59 (C3l) and 60 (C3s)) or Thaulios (ibid. 1 62–63 (C4)). The Pharsalians also had cults of Aphrodite Peitho (ibid. 1 67 (450–430)), Apollo (ibid. 1 65 (C4s)), Artemis (ibid. 1 66 (C3)), Athena (coins, *infra*; cf. Lavva (2001) 31–32, stressing the importance of this goddess), Demeter (Daffa-Nikonanou (1973) 27–28), Hestia and Symmachos (*I.Thessalie* 68 (C4f)), Hermes (ibid. 1 69 (C5m)), Pan and the Nymphs (ibid. 1 72 (C5f), 73 (C4)). The locations of the cult sites are uncertain, except that of Pan and the Nymphs in the so-called Alogopati grotto (ibid. 1 72–73) and perhaps that of Demeter at Ambelia Pharsalou (*ArchDelt* 43B1: 273 (C6l–C5m)), and, of course, the Thetideion (*supra*); the Thetideion is actually called a *polis* by Pherecydes (*FGrHist* 3) fr. 1a, but in a purely mythological context and without implications for its status in the Classical period (cf. Hansen and Nielsen (2000) 148–49).

Several Pharsalians are known as victors in the Panhellenic games: in the Olympic Games victories were won by Phaidros (*Olympionikai* 107, in 556) and Agias (*Olympionikai* 192, in 484); Pythian victories were won by Agias (*I.Thessalie* 57, in *c.*490–480) and Telemachos (*Olympionikai* 190 (C5)); and Agias and Telemachos were both *periodonikai* (Knab (1934) nos. 11–12). In 366–338, Melanippos of Pharsalos was victorious in the hoplite race at the Amphiaraia at Oropos (*IG* VII 414.27–28).

I.Thessalie 56 (C4) is an internal communal dedication, while *SEG* 1 210 (C4m) is a dedication to Pythian Apollo. Donations of money to Delphi and Argos are attested in *CID* II 8.1.8 (C4m) and *IG* IV 617 (316–293). Citizens of Pharsalos served the Amphiktyonic League in various capacities: as *argyrologos* (*CID* II 11A.5, B.6); *hieromnemon*

(*CID* II 32.42, 89.6, 94.2); *naopoios* (*CID* II 31.72, 32.30, 33.8, 74.I.66–67, 79A.I.9, 95.6) and *tamias* (*CID* II 74.I.42, 77.I.4).

The acropolis of Pharsalos is mentioned by Xen. *Hell.* 6.1.2, 18; it was located on the Profitis Ilias hill, and was *c.*500 m long (east–west) and 50 m wide; the preserved walls are all Byzantine. The upper (*c.*750 × 400 m) and the lower (*c.*1,500 × 1,200 m) town were situated on the northern slope of the hill and in the plain near the Apidanos spring. The walls (polygonal and trapezoidal or rectangular isodomic), not well preserved except near the acropolis itself, are between 2.70 m and 4.0 m wide. There are remains of four gates and a postern, as well as at least twenty-four towers. Part of the city wall was constructed in C5e (cf. Diod. 11.83.3–4 for a *poliorkia* in 457/6), but most of it dates to C4s (Stählin (1924*a*) 139–41; Katakouta and Toufexis (1994)). A C6l tholos tomb was found outside the circuit wall (*Prakt* (1951) 155–63, (1952) 185–202, (1953) 127–32), but almost nothing is known about the degree of urbanisation during the Archaic and Classical periods: some houses have been excavated, but they all date to the Hellenistic or Roman periods (see further Lavva (2001) 4–10). An extensive Archaic-Classical cemetery is located west of the city (ibid. 9).

Pharsalos struck coins in silver on the Aiginetan standard and bronze between *c.*480 and *c.*320. Denominations: drachms, triobols, trihemiobols, obols, hemiobols and fractions in bronze (from C5l). The most common types are: *obv.* head of Athena, in C4 facing; *rev.* forepart of horse, or horse's head, or horseman (cf. Lavva (2001) 19ff); legends: *ΦΑΡ* or *ΦΑΡΣ* or *ΦΑΡΣΑ* or *ΦΑΡΣΑΛΙΩΝ* (Head, *HN*² 306; for the end of minting, see Martin (1985) 161; Babelon, *Traité* ii.1 nos. 1422–23, ii.4 nos. 476–504; Rogers (1932) 151–61; Lavva (2001); *SNG Cop. Thessaly* 217–33).

414. Pherai (Pheraios) Map 55. Lat. 39.25, long. 22.45. Size of territory: 2. Type: A. The toponym is *Φεραί, αἱ* (Dem. 1.13; *IG* v.1 948.2 (C4); Diod. 15.61.5). The city-ethnic is *Φεραῖος* (Xen. *Hell.* 2.3.4; *SEG* 23 416 (450–425); *IG* IV 617.4 (316–293)).

Pherai is called a *polis* in the political sense in *SEG* 23 433.5 (C4) and is listed as a *polis* in this sense at Thuc. 2.22.3; *polis* in the urban sense is found in Dem. 7.32; at Ps.-Skylax 64, Pherai is the first toponym listed between the heading *πόλεις αἵδε* and the addendum *εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλαι πόλεις Θετταλῶν*; *akropolis* is found in Dem. 7.32.

The internal collective use of the city-ethnic is found in *SEG* 23 416.1 (450–425) and 417.3 (C5l); the external collective use is found in Thuc. 2.22.3; Xen. *Hell.* 6.4.31; *CID* II 1.I.47 (362/1); *IG* IV 617.4 (316–293); and the external individual use in Xen. *Hell.* 2.3.4; *CID* II 31.73 (345); *IG* IV².1 122.26 (C4).

Pherai was a Thessalian community (*IG* v.1 948.2 (C4)), belonging to the *tetras* of Pelasgiotis (Strabo 9.5.10). Archaeological material demonstrates the existence of several military installations and second-order settlements (often fortified) in the territory in the Archaic and Classical periods; for details, see Di Salvatore (1994). Pagasai is described as the *epineion* of Pherai by Theopomp. fr. 53 (see further the entry for Pagasai, *supra*). A C4 decree (*SEG* 23 418), by extending privileges granted to *ὅσσ[ας γᾶς] Φεραῖοι ἄρχοντι*, suggests that the city controlled territory other than the civic territory proper.

Early in the Peloponnesian War, Pheraian cavalry assisted the Athenians (Thuc. 2.22.3) alongside other Thessalian *poleis* which were allied to Athens. The C5l–C4 history of Pherai, as it appears from our sources, was dominated by a series of powerful individuals who struggled for pan-Thessalian hegemony, made extensive use of mercenary forces (Parke (1933) 100ff), and were referred to as *tyrannoi* (e.g. Ephor. fr. 95; Berve (1967) 283–95). The first of these was Lykophron I, who in 404 defeated the Larisaians and other Thessalians in battle *βουλόμενος ἄρξαι ὅλης τῆς Θετταλίας* (Xen. *Hell.* 2.3.4; Westlake (1935) 54–55); conflict between Lykophron and Larisa continued into the 390s (Diod. 14.81.5 (r395)), and Lykophron seems to have had Spartan support (Xen. *Hell.* 6.4.24; Cartledge (1987) 354; *Neue Pauly* vii. 568). Nothing is known about the end of Lykophron's rule; he may have been succeeded by a certain Polyalkes, who may have been a relative of his (Westlake (1935) 68; Berve (1967) 285), but his true successor was his son (Westlake (1935) 68), the famous Jason of Pherai (on whom see Mandel (1980) and Sprawski (1999)). He appears for the first time *c.*382–379, when he assisted Neogenes of Histiaia in establishing a tyranny (Diod. 15.30.3; Stylianou (1998) *ad loc.*). By the middle of the 370s, he possessed a mercenary army of 6,000 foot and had by force of arms subdued not only Alketas of Epeiros (Xen. *Hell.* 6.1.7; cf. Hammond (1967) 524 and Mitchel (1984) 57–58) but also most of the *poleis* of Thessalia and made them *symmachoi* (Xen. *Hell.* 6.1.5). During the fighting, he was regularly opposed by Pharsalos (ibid.), but Pharsalos itself (presumably with its dependent *poleis*) was made a *symmachos* not by force of arms but by negotiation (Xen. *Hell.* 6.1.2–18), after a Pharsalian plea for Spartan assistance had been rejected (ibid.). After this, presumably in 375/4, Jason was elected *tagos* of Thessalia and went on to organise the military and economic affairs of the Thessalians (Xen. *Hell.* 6.1.18; Helly (1995) 345–53); his command of a fleet of triremes is attested by Xen. *Hell.* 6.4.21, but it is unclear whether the reference is

to a Pheraian, a Thessalian, or even a personal navy. His extra-Thessalian policy seems to have been to oppose Sparta (Xen. *Hell.* 6.1.10; Mandel (1980) 54), and he became an ally of Athens ([Dem.] 49.10) and possibly a member of the Second Athenian Naval League (*IG* II² 43.B.15; Jehne (1991); Dreher (1995) 173–74; see, however, Mitchel (1984), who restores *IG* II² 43B.1–2 as [*Φε*]*ραίων* [*ὁ δ*]*ήμος* and argues that the Pheraians as such, and not Jason, were enrolled as a member of the League); Jason also concluded a treaty of *symmachia* with King Amyntas of Makedon (Diod. 15.60.2; Stylianou (1998) *ad loc.*). As an ally of Thebes, Jason negotiated *spondai* between the Boiotians and the Lakedaimonians after the battle of Leuktra (Xen. *Hell.* 6.4.19–25); on his foreign policy, see in general Westlake (1935) 84–102. Jason was assassinated in 370/69 (Xen. *Hell.* 6.4.31). On his successors, see Westlake (1935) 126–95 and Berve (1967) 289–95. In 353/2 the tyrants Lykophron II and Peitholaos handed over Pherai to Philip II of Makedon and left the city (Diod. 16.37.3, 38.1; on chronology, see Martin (1981)). Peitholaos may have returned only to be driven out by Philip, according to Diod. 16.52.9, 349/8 (Westlake (1935) 183; Berve (1967) 294; Buckler (1989) 106–7). In 344, Philip defeated a rebellious Pherai and installed a permanent garrison on its acropolis (Dem. [7.32], 8.59, 9.12; Westlake (1935) 192).

Pherai made grants of proxeny to citizens of Opous (*SEG* 23 415 (450–425); *SEG* 420 (C4)), Proerna (*SEG* 23 416 (450–425)), Thebes (*SEG* 23 417 (C5l–C4); *SEG* 422 (C4)), Skotoussa (*SEG* 23 419 (C4)) and Krannon (*SEG* 23 421 (C4)). *F.Delphes* III.4 385 (338–320) is possibly a grant of proxeny by Delphi to a citizen of Pherai.

Pheraian cavalry are attested at Thuc. 2.22.3 and Xen. *Hell.* 6.4.31 (*τὸ Φεραίων ἱππικόν*).

The earliest preserved public enactments are two grants of proxeny dating to 450–425 (*SEG* 23 415–16); the term *ψε*[*φίσματα*] is found in *SEG* 23 424.6 (C4). A board of *tagoi* is attested by *SEG* 23 425.6 (C4). *SEG* 23 420 (C4) contains a grant of *προδικία* to a man of East Lokrian Opous. The raising of taxes is implied by several grants of *ἀτέλεια* (cf. *SEG* 23 418, 419, 420, 422, 425 (all C4)). *SEG* 23 418 (C4) extends privileges granted to *ὅσσ*[*ας γᾶς*] *Φεραῖοι ἄρχοντι*. Grants of *epinomia* are found in *SEG* 23 422 and 424 (both C4).

There are few remains of the ancient city of Pherai (*RE* suppl. vii. 993–94; *PECS* 702), the most important being the remains of a suburban temple of En(n)odia (or En(n)odia and Zeus Thaulios; it was erected in the Doric style in C6e (Béquignon (1937*a*) 44–47), and rebuilt in C4l with a peristyle of 6 × 12 columns (Østby (1992), (1994)). A Dioskoureion in the city is mentioned at Dem. 19.158 (cf. Chrysostomou (1983)). A C5e marble statue of Athena was found on the acropolis, which may indicate a sanctuary of the goddess there (*PECS* 702).

Dem. 8.59 and 10.61 refer to the *τείχη* of Pherai; the city wall was constructed in C4f (Camp (2000) 43); it is 3–5 m thick, built of rough-faced rectangular and trapezoidal blocks laid in fairly regular courses (*PECS* 702) and runs for *c.*5 km; at the Athanassios hill, a gate and six towers have been identified (Kakavoyiannis (1977)); the area enclosed measures at least 82 ha (= the upper city) but perhaps as much as *c.*120 (including the lower city; M. Di Salvatore, pers. comm.); to the south-west, there may have been a second wall; to the south it was an *emplektron* wall (*ArchDelt* 50 (1995) B.1: 363).

The patron divinity was En(n)odia, who is depicted on Classical coins (*infra*; Chrysostomou (1998); *LIMC* III.1 744). Other cults include those of Artemis (*IG* IX.2 417.2 (C4)), the Dioskouroi (Dem. 19.158), Poseidon (Chrysostomou (1998) 249), Zeus Thaulios (Béquignon (1937*a*) 92, 66.2 (Archaic)), as well as those of Aphrodite, Athena, Demeter, Hestia and Themis (Chrysostomou (1998) 48–49).

Citizens of Pherai served the Amphiktyonic League in the capacities of *naopoios* (*CID* II 31.73, 85 (345), 74.1.69 (337/6), 75.II.40 (336/5), etc.) and *hieromnemon* (*CID* II 102.II.A.25 (324/3); cf. 118.1). A monetary donation by Pherai towards the rebuilding of the temple at Delphi is recorded in *CID* II 1.1.47 (362/1) and one to "*theoroi* sent out from Argos to announce the celebration of the Nemean Games and the Heraia" is recorded by *IG* IV 617.4 (316–293; Perlman (2000) 74–75, 127–29).

Pherai began minting silver coins in C5f, striking drachms, triobols, obols and hemiobols on the Aiginetan standard. Types: *obv.* Thessalian subduing bull, or head and neck of bull clasped by bull-fighter, or bull's hoof; *rev.* horse with loose rein and lion's head fountain in incuse square, or horse springing from rock in incuse square, or naked rider in incuse square, or horse's head in incuse square; legends: *ΦΕ*, *ΦΕΡ*, *ΦΕΡΑ*, *ΦΕΡΑΙ*, *ΦΕΡΑΙΟΝ*. For similarities between these coins and contemporary coins of Krannon, Larisa, the Perrhaibians, Pharkadon, Trikka and Skotoussa, see Kraay (1976) 115–16 and Martin (1985) 36–37. Pherai may, in addition, have been the city that struck coins in the name of the Thessalians *c.*470–450; see Kraay (1976) 116 and Martin (1985) 37–38. For similarities between these putative coins of Pherai and contemporary coins of Skotoussa and

Methylion, see ibid.; see, however, Helly (1995) 229–30 and Liampi (1996) 124–25.

In C4, drachms and triobols were minted: *obv.* head of nymph Hypereia, or head of Ennodia, or lion's head; *rev.* Ennodia with two torches riding on a galloping horse, or standing nymph Hyperia with her hand on lion's head fountain, or lion's head fountain; legends: *ΦΕΡΑΙΟΝ*, *ΦΕΡΑΙΟΥΝ*. Bronze coins appear *c.*400: *obv.* head of Ennodia, or lion's head; *rev.* lion's head fountain, or Ennodia with torches riding on a horse (two denominations); legend: *ΦΕΡΑΙΟΝ*. Two of Jason's successors struck coins in their own name. Alexander (369–357) struck both silver and bronze coins. Silver (didrachms, drachms, triobols, and obols): *obv.* head of Ennodia (sometimes with *ΕΝΝΟΔΙΑΣ* added), or young male head in *petasos*, or wheel; *rev.* armed horseman prancing, or lion's head, or leg and foot of horse, or double axe; legends: *ΑΛΕ*, *ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΙΑ*, *ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΙΟΝ*, *ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΙΟΣ*, *ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ* (of which the adjectival forms denote denominations). Bronze: *obv.* young male head in *petasos*, or forepart of rushing bull; *rev.* leg and foot of horse, or forepart of horse; legend: *ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ* . Teisiphonos struck bronze coins (two denominations): *obv.* forepart of rushing bull; *rev.* forepart of horse; legend: *ΤΕΙΣΙΦΟΝΟΥ* (Head, *HN*² 306–9; Babelon, *Traité* ii.1. 1023–30, ii.4. 339–58; Rogers (1932) 162–68; Liampi (1996) 107–8, 112; *SNG Cop. Thessaly* 234–47).

415. Skotoussa (Skotoussaios) Map 54. Lat. 39.25, long. 22.35. Size of territory: 2. Type: [A]. The toponym is *Σκοτοῦσσα*, *ἡ* (Simon. fr. 127, Page), *Σκοτοῦσα* (Ps.-Skylax 64), *Σκοτοῦσαι* (Arist. *Mir. ausc.* 841ᵇ9) or *Σκοτόεσσα* (Paus. 7.27.6). The city-ethnic is *Σκοτοσσαῖος* (*IG* II² 8843 (C4f); *SEG* 23 419 (C4)), *Σκοτουσσαῖος* (Xen. *Hell.* 4.3.3; *SEG* 34 452 (C4)), *Σκοτοεσσαῖος* (*SEG* 43 310 (C3)); Steph. Byz. 578.2 gives *Σκοτουσαῖος*.

In Ps.-Skylax 64, where *polis* is used in the urban sense, Skotoussa is one of nine toponyms listed between the heading *πόλεις αἵδε* and the addendum *εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλαι πόλεις Θετταλῶν*. The political sense is found at Diod. 15.75.1 (r367). The earliest epigraphical reference to a *πόλις Σκοτοεσσαίουν* is in a citizenship decree of C4l–C3e (*SEG* 43 310). The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally on coins of C5–C4 (*infra*) and in the decree *SEG* 43 310; externally it is found at Xen. *Hell.* 4.3.3. The external individual use is found in *SEG* 34 452 (C4) and *CID* II 10.A.1.8 (357/6).

Skotoussa was situated in Thessalia (*IG* II² 8843 (C4f); Xen. *Hell.* 4.3.3), more precisely in Pelasgiotis (Simon. fr. 127, Page; Kineas (*FGrHist* 603) fr. 3). Its territory included the river Onchestos (Polyb. 17.20.5), Kynos Kephalai (hills and/or *kome*: Polyb. 18.22.9; Strabo 9.5.20), Melambion (another *kome*?: Polyb. 18.20.6) and a hill, Phagoeis (schol. Hom. *Il.* 16.233*a*); none of these toponyms can be equated with sites on the ground. Skotoussa was bounded to the north by the crest line of the Revenia hills, to the east by the territory of Pherai, and to the south by the territories of Eretria Phthiotis and, in particular, Pharsalos (Decourt (1990) fig. 27).

Alongside Larisa, Krannon and Pharsalos, Skotoussa is mentioned by Xen. *Hell.* 4.3.3 as being allied to the Boiotians in 395/4. Later in C4 Skotoussa was conquered by Alexander of Pherai, who in 367/6 summoned a meeting of the *ekklesia* (Diod. 15.75.1) to be held in the theatre (Paus. 6.5.2; cf. Stählin (1924*a*) 109, and Dilke (1948) 138–39), whereupon he had his mercenaries kill all the participants.

A citizen of Skotoussa was appointed as *proxenos* by Pherai in C4 (*SEG* 23 419), and one by Delphi *c.*320 (*SEG* 18 179).

Skotoussa was a walled and fortified city in 367 (Diod. 15.75.1), but there are no visible remains of the Classical wall, the preserved remains being Hellenistic (Missailidou-Despotidou (1993)). Remains of a wall enclosing the acropolis in the south-western corner of the city could still be seen by Leake in 1809, but were already badly preserved (Leake (1835) iv. 454ff).

Skotoussa had cults of Apollo Kerdoios (Missailidou-Despotidou (1993) A71), Asklepios (ibid. A1), Demeter (Moustaka (1983) 94 (C5s)), Dionysos (ibid. 106 (C4m)), Herakles (ibid. 162, 163, 199 (C5l, C4m, C3)); Peek (1974) 26 (C5); Missailidou-Despotidou (1993) B4–5 (C2)), Pan and the Nymphs (Volos Museum *Λ* 764 (C4)), Poseidon (*ArchDelt* 48B: 257 (C3?)), and Zeus (schol. Hom. *Il.* 16.233*a*).

Poulydamas of Skotoussa achieved an Olympic victory in the *pankration* in 408 (*Olympionikai* 348).

Skotoussa struck silver coins on the Aiginetan standard *c.*480–400 and coins of silver and bronze from *c.*400 to, probably, 367. (1) Silver, C5 (drachm, triobol, obol): (i) *obv.* man wrestling bull; *rev.* forepart of horse; or *obv.* bull's head; *rev.* horse's head; legend: *ΣΚΟ* (on similarities between these coins and contemporary coins of Krannon, Larisa, the Perrhaibians, Pharkadon, Pherai and Trikka, see Kraay (1976) 115–16 and Martin (1985) 36–37); (ii) *obv.* forepart of horse; *rev.* corn-grain in deep incuse square; legend: *ΣΚΟ*; on similarities between these coins and contemporary coins of Methylion and coins struck in the name of "the

Thessalians" (possibly by Pherai, *supra*), see Kraay (1976) 116 and Martin (1985) 37–38. (2) Silver, 400–367 (triobol, trihemiobol): *obv.* head of bearded Herakles; *rev.* forepart of horse; legend: *ΣΚΟ*; or *obv.* head of young Herakles; *rev.* Demeter(?); legend: *ΣΚΟΤΟΥΣΣΑΙΩΝ*. (3) Bronze, *c.*400–367: *obv.* head of young Herakles, or female head facing; *rev.* forepart of horse, or vine-branch with grapes; legend: *ΣΚΟ* or *ΣΚΟΤΟΥΣΣΑΙΩΝ*. Babelon, *Traité* ii.1. 1030–31, ii.4 nos. 626–33; Head, *HN*² 309; Rogers (1932) nos. 539–545; Liampi (1996) 107; *SNG Cop. Thessaly* 250–52.

416. Thetonion (Thetonios) Map 55. Lat. 39.20, long. 22.10. For the location, see Helly (1992) 84. Size of territory: 2. Type: B. The toponym is presumably *Θητώνιον, τό* (cf. Hellan. fr. 8 and Keil (1899) 192). The city-ethnic is *Θετόνιος* in *IG* IX.2 257.2 (C5m).

No Archaic or Classical source calls Thetonion a *polis*, but it deserves inclusion in this Inventory because of an honorific decree passed by the Thetonians in C5m (*IG* IX.2 257) which (1) attests an eponymous official, a *hyloros* (cf., however, Sherk (1990) 259); (2) has the internal collective use of the city-ethnic; (3) grants a foreigner *ἀσυλία* and *ἀτέλεια*; (4) bestows the title of *εὐϝεργέτας* upon him; and (5) records the magistracy of *τάγος* in the community itself (see Helly (1995) 29–35). The expression *Θετόνιοι ἔδοκαν* points to a session of an assembly. Finally, the inscription attests to a cult of Apollo Delphinios (ll. 10–11). Thetonion probably belonged to the *tetras* of Thessaliotis (Helly (1995) 165).

417. Trikka (Trikkaios) Map 55. Lat. 39.35, long. 21.45. Size of territory: 2 or 3. Type: [A]. The toponym is *Τρίκ(κ)η, ἡ* (Hom. *Il.* 2.729, 4.202; Strabo 9.5.17) or *Τρίκκα* (*IG* IX.2 301.2 (C2); Ptol. *Geog.* 3.12.41). The city-ethnic is *Τρικκαῖος* (*CID* II 1.1.16; Diod. 18.56.5 (r319)).

In the Delphic *naopoioi*'s accounts of 362/1 (*CID* II 1) the Trikkaians are recorded (1.16) under the heading *ταίδε τᾶν πολίων ἤνικαν* (1.11); Strabo 9.5.17 calls it a *phrourion*.

The collective use of the city-ethnic is found internally on C5 coins (*infra*) and externally in *CID* II 1.1.16 (362/1) and Diod. 18.56.5 (r319); the external individual use is found in *CID* II 48.1.46 (338/7), 79.A.1.46 (334/3).

Trikka was situated in Thessalia (*IG* IV².1 128.29 (*c.*280); *IG* XI.4 606 fr. b.8 (C3f)), more specifically in Hestiaotis (Strabo 9.5.17). It is located in north-western Thessalia at modern Trikala. The site was inhabited in the Archaic and Classical periods, but the preserved building remains are all from a later date (Tziaphalias (1988) 186–92).

Diod. 18.56.5 reports that Trikkaian exiles were explicitly excluded from the general amnesty decreed by Polyperchon in 319, and this suggests that the city had followed a policy opposed to Philip II of Makedon (Martin (1985) 104; Hammond (1994) 48). Nothing further is known about these exiles, but their very existence indicates a defined body of citizens.

The patron divinity was Asklepios, who, according to Strabo, was born at Trikka (14.1.39) and there had his oldest and most famous sanctuary (9.5.17); the Asklepieion has not yet been identified (Tziaphalias (1988) 188–92). Coin types (*infra*) suggest cults of Athena and the eponymous nymph.

Trikka struck coins in both silver and bronze; the silver issues are dated to 480–400, the bronze issues to 400–344. (1) Silver (Aiginetan standard). Triobols: *obv.* Thessalian subduing bull or forepart of bull; *rev.* forepart of horse in incuse square; legend: *TPIK*, *TPIKKA*, *TPIKKAI*, *TPIKKAIO*, *TPIKKAION* or *TPIKKAIΩN*; on similarities between these coins and contemporary coins of Krannon, Larisa, the Perrhaibians, Pharkadon, Pherai and Skotoussa, see Kraay (1976) 115–16 and Martin (1985) 36–37. Trihemiobols: *obv.* horseman; *rev.* nymph Trikka seated with phiale and mirror; legend: *TPIKKAIO*. Obols: *obv.* horse; *rev.* nymph engaged in various activities, or Athena running; legend: *TPIKK*, *TPIKA*, *TPIKKA*, *TPIKKAION*. Hemiobols: *obv.* bull's hoof; *rev.* forepart of horse; legend: *TPIKKAION*. (2) Bronze: *obv.* head of nymph Trikka; *rev.* armed warrior advancing, or Asklepios seated with serpent and serpent erect below chair or serpent erect before chair being fed a bird by the god; legend: *TPIKKA*, *TPIKKAION*, *TPIKKAIΩN* (Head, *HN*² 310–11; Babelon, *Traité* ii.1 no. 1443, ii.4 nos. 538–59; Rogers (1932) 176–78; Liampi (1996) 112; *SNG Cop. Thessaly* 262–67).

2. Adjacent Regions

2.1 Dolopia

418. Angeia (Angeieus) Map 55. Lat. 39.05, long. 22.40. Size of territory: 2? Type: [A] (classified as a fort/tower by *Barr.*, but see *infra*). The toponym has been restored as *Ἀγγεία, ἡ* (*ἐν Ἀγ[γείαι]*) in a C3s catalogue of *theorodokoi* from Delphi (*CID* II p. 26). The city-ethnic is *Ἀνγειεύς* (*CID* II 8.II.16 (C4f)) or *Ἀγγειάτης* (*F.Delphes* III.2 68.10 (C2f)).

No Archaic or Classical source calls Angeia a *polis*; but in the Delphic *naopoioi*'s accounts the *Ἀνγειεῖς* are recorded in a fragmentary list (*CID* II 8.II.16), the heading of which undoubtedly included the formula *ταίδε τᾶμ πολίων ἤνικαν* (cf. *CID* II 5.II.25–26) *vel sim.* Ager (1996) no. 65 is a

C3l/C2e arbitration between Ktimene and Angeia, which refers to both these communities as *poleis* (ll. 21, 25). Since the external collective use of the city-ethnic occurs in *CID* II 8.16 (C4f) to record a collective donation by the Angeians of 100 dr. towards the rebuilding of the temple at Delphi, it was possibly a *polis* in C4. Angeia was a Dolopian community (*IG* II² 1132.59 (C2)), but it apparently did not provide the Amphiktyonic League with Dolopian *hieromnemones* in C4 when these were provided by Ktimene (Lefèvre (1998) 85). At the site (for which see Helly (1992)) are remains of a polygonous circuit with *diateichisma*, gate and towers (Stählin (1924*a*) 149).

419. Ktimene (Ktimenaios) Map 55. Lat. 39.05, long. 22.00. Size of territory: 2. Type: [A]. The toponym is Κτιμένη, ἡ (Ap. Rhod. 1.68; Steph. Byz. 388.17); in *REG* 62 (1949) 28 l. 16 (C2) Daux restored the plural form ἐν Κτιμέ[ναις]. The city-ethnic is Κτιμεναῖος (*CID* II 74.I.49 (337/6)).

Ktimene is not explicitly called a *polis* in any Archaic or Classical source, but the political sense is indirectly attested in the Delphic accounts of 337/6 (*CID* II 74), where a *tamias* of Ktimene is recorded (I.49) after the heading τὸν ταμίαν ἀποπέμπειν τὰς πόλεις (I.4). For an explicit attestation, see Ager (1996) no. 65, a C3l/C2e arbitration between Ktimene and Angeia which refers to both these communities as *poleis* (ll. 21, 25). The external and individual use of the city-ethnic in C4s (*CID* II 32.45, 74.I.49, 77.I.10, 100.I.10, 102.I.A.11) is further proof of *polis* status in this period.

Ktimene was a Dolopian community (*CID* II 74.I.49; Ap. Rhod. 1.68) and as such sometimes provided the Amphiktyonic League with the Dolopian *hieromnemon* (*CID* II 32.45 (C4l)).

At Ktimene, a C3 wall crowns the acropolis (Stählin (1924*a*) 148), and a second fortified place was found "½ Stunde südöstlich" from Rentina (ibid.).

2.2 Ainis

420. Hypata (Hypataios) Map 55. Lat. 38.50, long. 22.15. Size of territory: ? Type: [A]. The toponym is Ὑπάτα, ἡ (*BCH* 45 (1921) III.127 (230–220); *ArchEph* (1914) 88, 2.9 (C3)) or Ὑπάτη (Arist. *Mir. ausc.* 843ᵇ16). The city-ethnic is Ὑπαταῖος (*CID* II 3.8 (362–357); C4f coins (*infra*); *IG* IX.2 3a.1 (C4)), and Ὑπαταιεύς (*IG* IV 617.2 (316–293)).

If [τ]α[ίδε τᾶν πολίων] and [Ὑ]πα[ταῖοι] are correctly restored in *CID* II 3.1 and 8, then Hypata is there listed as a *polis* in the political sense; later sources frequently apply *polis* in the political sense to the city (e.g. *IG* IX.2 7a, *passim*). The internal collective use of the city-ethnic is found in *IG* IX.2 3a.1 (C4) and on C4f coins (*infra*). The external collective use is found in *CID* II 3.8 (362–357, heavily restored) and *IG* IV 617.2 (316–293); see further Perlman (2000) 74, 127–29. The individual use of the city-ethnic is attested only in Hellenistic sources, e.g. *F.Delphes* III.4 363.2 (225–210).

Hypata was an Ainian city (Arist. *Mir. ausc.* 843ᵇ16). At the site are remains of an acropolis wall (Béquignon (1937*b*) with fig. 13) and a circuit wall, certain parts of which date to C4–C3 (Stählin (1924*a*) 211; Béquignon (1937*b*) 310–11). Inside the walls are undated remains of walls (Béquignon (1937*b*) 310).

A C4 grant of proxeny (along with *epinomia* and *enktesis*) by Hypata is recorded in *IG* IX.2 3a, which also attests to the existence of a board of ἄρχοντες (3a.4).

Coin types suggest cults of Zeus and Athena; Hermes is attested by *IG* IX.2 31 (Hell.?). Apollo Hypataios is attested outside the city itself in Epidauros (*IG* IV².1 451 (C3)), and Asklepios Hypataios on Paros (*IG* XII.5 156 ("late") and Thera (*IG* XII.3 suppl. 1330 (C2)). Relations to Panhellenic sanctuaries are attested by a collective donation of money by the city towards the rebuilding of the temple at Delphi (*CID* II 3.8 (362–357), heavily restored). *IG* IV 617.2 (316–293) records a monetary donation by the Hypataians "to the θεωροί sent out from Argos to announce the celebration of the Nemean Games and the Heraia" (Perlman (2000) 74, 127–29).

Hypata struck bronze coins in C4f. Types: *obv.* laureate head of Zeus and thunderbolt within border of dots; *rev.* Athena Nikephoros with spear and shield; legend: ΥΠΑΤΑΙΩΝ (Head, *HN*² 296; Babelon, *Traité* ii.4 no. 454; Rogers (1932) nos. 267–68; *SNG Cop. Thessaly* 74).

421. (Kapheleis) Unlocated. Not in *Barr.* Type: [A]. A toponym is not attested. The city-ethnic Καφελεύς is attested only once in a Classical source: *viz.* in the Delphic accounts of 337/6 (*CID* II 74), where a Kaphelian *tamias* is recorded (I.56) after the heading τὸν ταμίαν ἀποπέμπειν τὰς πόλεις (I.4). The same source assigns the community to Ainis.

422. (Korophaioi) Map 55. Unlocated. Not in *Barr.* Type: C. A toponym is not attested. The city-ethnic is Κοροφαῖος (*CID* II 97.64 (327/6)). The community is mentioned in a single type of source: the Delphic naopic accounts, which four times mention Κέλων Κοροφαῖος as Ainian *hieromnemon* (*CID* II 92.5 (328), 94.8 (328/7), 96.10 (327/6), 97.64 (327/6)).

423. (Phyrrhagioi) Map 55. Unlocated. Not in *Barr.* Type: [A]. A toponym is not attested. The city-ethnic is *Φυρράγιος* (*CID* II 1.1.40 (362/1)). *Polis* in the political sense is indirectly attested in the Delphic accounts of 337/6 (*CID* II 74), where a *tamias* of the *Phyrrhagioi* is recorded (1.57) after the heading *τὸν ταμίαν ἀποπέμπειν τὰς πόλεις* (1.4). Cf. also *CID* II 1 (362/1), a list of contributions towards the rebuilding of the temple at Delphi headed by the phrase *ταίδε τᾶν πολίων ἤνικαν* (1.28): one donation is described as handed in by an *Αἰνιὰν Φυρράγιος Στράτων* (1.40), which shows that the *Phyrrhagioi* were conceived of as a *polis*. Other *Phyrrhagioi* were mentioned in the Delphic naopic accounts as Ainian *hieromnemones*: Agion Phyrrhagios in 331/30 (*CID* II 86.18) and Nikanor Phyrrhagios in 328 (92.5), 327 (94.8) and 327/6 (96.11, 97.64). Nothing else is known about the community.

424. Talana Unlocated, not in *Barr.* Type: [A]. The toponym is *Ταλάνα, ἡ* (*CID* II 1.1.44 (362/1)). No city-ethnic is attested, unless *Ταλάωνος* in *IG* XI² 31.126 (C3l) is to be associated with Ainian Talana.

In the Delphic *naopoioi*'s accounts of 362/1 (*CID* II 1) Talana is recorded (1.44) under the heading *ταίδε τᾶν πολίων ἤνικαν* (1.11), and its gift of 67 dr. is handed in by *Ἀθανάδας Αἰνιάν*. Nothing else is known about this Ainian community, unless in *IG* XI² 31.126, a C3l grant of privileges by the Aitolian Confederacy to *Dokimos Antiochou Talaonos*, *Ταλάωνος* refers to Ainian Talana.

2.3 Oita

425. Chen (Cheneus) Map 55. Unlocated. Type: C. The toponym is *Χήν* (Diog. Laert. 1.106) or *Χῆναι, αἱ* (Paus. 10.24.1; cf. Diod. 9.6). The city-ethnic is *Χηνεύς* (Pl. *Prt.* 343A; Paus. 10.24.1; Diog. Laert. 1.106) or *Χηναῖος* (Musonius Rufus 11.39; Stob. *Flor.* 4.15a.18.46).

Chen is always mentioned in connection with Myson, one of the Seven Sages of the Archaic period (Pl. *Prt.* 343A). According to Diog. Laert. 1.107–8, the location of Chen was subject to dispute already in Antiquity, but there is a reasonably consistent tradition associating it with the area of Oita and Malis (Diod. 9.6; Paus. 10.24.1; Diog. Laert. 1.106). Its only claim to inclusion in this Inventory is the existence of an ethnic closely related to the toponym and used as a part of Myson's name as early as Plato (*Prt.* 343A); such a usage is often indicative that the site to whose toponym the ethnic is related was a *polis* (Hansen (1996) 182–87), especially in external contexts. If *Χηνεύς/Χηναῖος* is *not* a sub-ethnic (ibid. 171–73, 182), then Chen was possibly a *polis*. However, *Χηνεύς/Χηναῖος* may very well *be* a sub-ethnic: our sources consistently describe Chen as a *kome* (Diod. 9.6; Paus. 10.24.1; Diog. Laert. 1.106), and Aristoxenos is cited by Diogenes as saying that Myson the Sage did not live in a *polis* but a *kome* (Aristox. fr. 130, Wehrli = Diog. Laert. 1.107); if it was a *kome*, it is not known to which *polis* it belonged.

426. Parasopioi (Parasopieus) Map 55. Unlocated (described by Strabo 9.2.23 as *ἐν Ἡρακλείᾳ τῇ Τραχινίᾳ*). Type: B. The toponym is *Παρασώπιοι* (*F.Delphes* III.2 183.3 (*c.*300); Strabo 8.6.24, 9.2.23) or *Παρασωπιάς* (Strabo 9.5.10). The city-ethnic is *Παρασωπιεύς* (*F.Delphes* III.1 118.3 (324/3)).

No Archaic or Classical source calls Parasopioi a *polis* (Strabo 8.6.24, 9.2.23 calls it a *kome* in reference to his own day); but it may be included as a probable *polis* here on account of two Delphic grants of proxeny to men from the community: *F.Delphes* III.1 118 is a grant of 324/3 to a man described as *Παρασωπιεύς*, and *F.Delphes* III.2 183 one of *c.*300 to an *[Οἰ]ταῖος ἐκ Παρασωπίων*. It was thus an Oitaian community.

2.4 Malis

427. Anthele Map 55. Lat. 38.45, long. 22.30. Size of territory: 1 or 2. Type: A. The toponym is *Ἀνθήλη, ἡ* in Hdt. 7.176.2, 200.2. No city-ethnic is attested. At 7.176.2, Herodotos describes Anthele as a *polis* in the urban sense; at 7.200.2, however, he describes it as a *kome* associated with the sanctuary of Demeter Amphiktyonis. There is no obvious explanation for these two different classifications (Hansen (2000) 197), and there is no evidence either to support or to reject Herodotos' *polis* classification. Hdt. 7.216 implicitly places Anthele in Malis. For the site, see Béquignon (1937*b*) 181–91; Thalmann (1980).

428. Antikyre (Antikyritas) Map 55. Lat. 38.50, long. 22.25. Size of territory: 2. Type: A. The toponym is *Ἀντικύρη, ἡ* (Hdt. 7.198.2). The city-ethnic is *Ἀντικυρεύς* in Hdt. 7.214.1, 8.21.1, or *Ἀντικυρίτας* (*IG* IX.1 227 (C2m)). The only Classical source to mention Antikyre is Herodotos, who at 7.198.2 calls it a *polis* in the urban sense, and at 7.214.1 and 8.21.1 applies the city-ethnic to two individuals of the city.

Antikyre has not yet been securely located, but it was in Malis (Hdt. 7.198.1–2) and most probably lay on the southern bank of the river Spercheios, between Komma and Phrantzi, upstream from the confluence with the

Gorgopotamos, possibly at Kostalexi (Béquignon (1937*b*) 305–6; Kase (1991) 78, followed by *Barr.*).

429. Echinos (Echinaios) Map 55. Lat. 38.55, long. 22.45. Size of territory: ? Type: A. The toponym is *Ἐχινοῦς, ὁ* (Ar. *Lys.* 1169) or *Ἐχῖνος* (Dem. 9.34; *IG* IV 617.2 (316–293)) or *Ἐχινέος* (*BCH* 45 (1921) III.131 (230–220)). The city-ethnic is *Ἐχιναῖος* (*CID* II 67.27 (C4s)).

Echinos is called a *polis* in the urban sense by Ps.-Skylax 62 (cf. Flensted-Jensen and Hansen (1996) 145, 154), but apart from that the earliest references to a *πόλις Ἐχιναίων* are *SEG* 25 642 (C2f) and Polyb. 9.42.1 (r210). The C3 poet Rhianos (*FGrHist* 265) fr. 34 uses *ἄστυ* about Echinos. The external and collective use of the city-ethnic is found in *CID* II 67.27, 71.28 (C4s). The external and individual use of the city-ethnic is attested in *F.Delphes* III.4 377 (346). *IG* IV 617.2 (316–293) records a monetary donation by Echinos "to the *θεωροί* sent out from Argos to announce the celebration of the Nemean Games and the Heraia" (Perlman (2000) 74, 127–29).

Not much is known about the history of Echinos: *F.Delphes* III.4 377 = *Syll.*³ 222 (346) is a grant of proxeny by Delphi to an Echinian, and Dem. 9.34 implies Theban control of, or influence at, Echinos in the time of Philip II, brought to an end by Philip.

Echinos was situated in Malis according to Ps.-Skylax 62; the territory is described as *γῆ πάμφορος* by Polyb. 9.41.11. The urban history of Archaic/Classical Echinos is unknown, most remains being Hellenistic; but a piece of isodomic circuit wall undoubtedly dates from C4 (*ArchDelt* 43 ([1988] 1992) B.1: 211–16). According to Demetrios of Kallatis (*FGrHist* 85) fr. 6 (*apud* Strabo 1.3.20), Echinos suffered terribly from an earthquake, presumably the one in 426 (Fossey (1990) 183–84).

430. Herakleia (Herakle(i)otes) Map 55. Lat. 38.50, long. 22.25. Size of territory: 2. Type: A. The toponym is *Ἡράκλεια* (Thuc. 3.92.6; Xen. *Hell.* 6.4.27; Diod. 12.59.3 (r426)), distinguished from homonyms by the addition of *ἡ Τραχινία* (*IG* XII.5 542.33 (C4m); Xen. *Hell.* 1.2.18; Theophr. *Hist. pl.* 4.15.2), *ἡ ἐν Τραχινίᾳ* (Thuc. 3.92.1; Diod. 15.57.2 (r370)), *ἡ ἐν Τραχῖνι* (Thuc. 4.78.1), or *ἡ περὶ Τραχῖνα* (Diod. 14.38.4 (r399)) *vel sim.* The city-ethnic is *Ἡρακλεώτης* (Thuc. 5.51.2; Xen. *Hell.* 6.5.23; *CID* II 32.49 (C4l)), or *Ἡρακλειώτας* (*CID* II 36.1.9 (340s)), distinguished from that of homonyms by the addition of *ὁ ἐν Τραχῖνι* (Thuc. 5.51.1).

Herakleia is called a *polis* in the urban sense at Thuc. 3.92.6, 93.1 and Hermippos fr. 4.21, West; it is called *κτίσμα* at Strabo 9.4.13; *polis* in the political sense is found at Thuc. 3.92.4, 5.51.1–2; it is called *ἀποικία* at Thuc. 3.92.1.

The C4e coin legend *HPAK* (*infra*) is presumably an abbreviation of the internal collective city-ethnic; the external collective use of the city-ethnic is found at Thuc. 5.51.1–2; Xen. *Hell.* 3.5.6, 6.5.23; and *IG* IV 617.1 (316–293). The external individual use is found at, e.g., *CID* II 36.1.9, 35 (340s).

Herakleia was founded in 426 by the Lakedaimonians (Thuc. 3.92.1), who provided the three oecists Leon, Alkidas and Damagon (Thuc. 3.92.5). Pressed in war by the Oitaians (*πολέμῳ ἐφθαρμένοι*: Thuc. 3.92.2; *τοὺς πλείους τῶν πολιτῶν ἀπέβαλον . . . ἐρήμου οὔσης τῆς πόλεως*: Diod. 12.59.4), the Trachinians (one of the three *mere* of the Malians; cf. the entry on Trachis *infra*) and the Dorians of central Greece had sent an embassy to Lakedaimon (Thuc. 3.92.2–3). Neither Thucydides nor Diodorus states exactly what was asked of the Lakedaimonians (cf. Malkin (1994) 221), but they decided to grant help in the form of a colony (Thuc. 3.92.4) and proceeded to consult the Delphic oracle, which recommended the foundation (Thuc. 3.92.5). The settlers were drawn from the Spartans themselves, from the *perioikoi* and from other Hellenes to the exclusion of certain *ethne* such as the Achaians and the Ionians (Thuc. 3.92.5); Diod. 12.59.4 says that the settlers were drawn from Lakedaimonians, Peloponnesians and other Hellenes.

Thuc. 3.92.6 presumably means that Herakleia was a new foundation (cf. *HCT ad loc.*; Malkin (1994) 221), and Strabo's statement that Herakleia was 6 stades from the site of Trachis (9.4.13) confirms this if the reference is to the original site; however, Diod. 12.59.3 says that Trachis was renamed Herakleia (cf. Strabo 9.4.13) whereby he possibly means to locate the city at the site of Trachis. If Strabo's statement about the location of Herakleia is accepted as referring to the original site, then Diodorus must be wrong, or his statement about the renaming must be taken to refer to the *community*, not the *site*, of old Trachis. That would indicate that the Trachinians themselves were enrolled as citizens of Herakleia (cf. Diod. 14.82.6; Polyaen. 2.21), as would the fact that a new distribution of land followed the foundation (Diod. 12.59.5). Cf. also Paus. 10.22.1 (r280), who distinguishes the ruins of old Trachis from the city of Herakleia; and Stählin (1924*a*) 208 with fig. 27 at 206, who locates old Trachis in the lower city of Herakleia. See also Béquignon (1937*b*) 244, who locates old Trachis on the later acropolis of Herakleia; both locations imply that Trachis was merged with Herakleia at the latter's foundation. (Ps.-Skylax 62 lists *Τραχίς* alongside *Ἡράκλεια*. However, this is presumably irrelevant for the discussion above, since it is

likely that the compiler has merged sources of different dates.)

From the outset the ethnic identity of the city was mixed (see *supra*). In the context of the Amphiktyonic League, Herakleia counted as Malian, at least in C4s when its citizens are seen serving the Amphiktyony as Malian *hieromnemones*, of which Herakleia regularly provided one (*CID* II 36.I.9, 35, II.23 (340s), 43.27 (340), 76.I.27 (335), 77.I.2 (334/3), 97.65 (327/6), 102.I.17 (324/3), 102.II.A33 (324/3), 32.49 (C4l); cf. 74.I.58 (337/6) for one serving as *tamias*), the other being provided by Lamia. However, Diod. 18.11.1 (r323) describes it as Oitaian (cf. Diod. 15.57.2), and so does Strabo (9.5.10).

According to Thuc. 3.93.2, the city was originally populous (*πάνυ πολλούς*); Diod. 12.59.5 (cf. Ps.-Skymnos 597) gives the number of settlers as 10,000 (4,000 Lakedaimonians and other Peloponnesians, and 6,000 from the rest of the Hellenes; but see Schaefer (1961)). However, the city was soon depopulated due to Spartan maladministration (Thuc. 3.93.2, 5.52.1): the Spartans sent out *ἄρχοντες* to govern Herakleia, which was clearly treated as a Spartan dependency (Thuc. 3.93.2; cf. Xen. *Hell.* 1.2.18, where such a Spartan officer is termed *ἁρμοστής*; cf. the sketch of the political history *infra*). Ten thousand settlers (Diod.; Ps.-Skymnos) is probably not a historical figure, but an ideological number (Schaefer (1961); for another view, see Helly (1995) 280–87, a discussion of Thessalian military figures). For information on the level of population there are only hoplite numbers *vel sim.*: in 426, 500 hoplites served with Sparta (Thuc. 3.100.2), and in 409/8, 700 hoplites fell in battle against the Oitaians (Xen. *Hell.* 1.2.18); in 399, 500 citizens were executed during a *stasis* (Diod. 14.38.4). But the composition of the population underwent several modifications as the city was drawn into the power struggles of the larger *poleis*.

In 422/1 a Spartan army on the march for Thrace interfered in the political life of the city (Thuc. 5.12). In 420/19, the Herakleots were defeated in battle by the Ainians, Dolopians, Malians and some Thessalians (Thuc. 5.51.2; Diod. 12.77.4 reporting heavy losses); these people had been hostile towards the foundation from the beginning (Thuc. 5.51.2). In 419/18 the Boiotians (possibly sent for by Herakleia itself, cf. Diod. 12.77.4) took over the city and expelled the Spartan archon Agesippidas (Thuc. 5.52.1); however, by 395 it was apparently once again a Spartan ally (Xen. *Hell.* 3.5.6). In 409/8, the Herakleots again fought the Oitaians, losing 700 men due to betrayal by their Achaian allies (Xen. *Hell.* 1.2.18). A *stasis* is attested for 399 (Diod. 14.38.4 and *infra*); citizens exiled by the Lakedaimonians are reported for 395 (Diod. 14.82.6), and they may have been exiled on this occasion. In 399, the Spartan officer Herippidas successfully fought off the Oitaian threat (Diod. 14.38.5). In 395 the city was captured (with inside help) by the Boiotians and Argives, who killed captured Lakedaimonians, sent off other Peloponnesians, and restored citizens previously exiled by the Lakedaimonians (Diod. 14.82.6–7). In 371/70, Jason of Pherai took the city by treachery, razed the walls (Xen. *Hell.* 6.4.27), made it *anastatos*, and handed over the territory to the Oitaians and the Malians (Diod. 15.57.2). The community must, however, have been reconstituted, since it appears in C4s: cf. the Delphic inscriptions cited *supra* and Diod. 18.11.1, 56.5.

The city was initially an ally of Sparta (Thuc. 3.100.2), and again on later occasions such as the battle of Leuktra (Xen. *Hell.* 6.4.9); an alliance with the Phthiotic Achaians is implied by Xen. *Hell.* 1.2.18. An alliance with Boiotia is attested by Xen. *Hell.* 6.5.23.

A *stasis* occurred in 399 (Diod. 14.38.4): the Lakedaimonians sent out Herippidas to settle the problems; he called a meeting of the *ekklesia* and proceeded to execute 500 citizens (Diod. 14.38.4); Polyaen. 2.21 describes the citizens here executed as *Trachinioi*; the exiles restored by the Boiotians and Argives in 395 are likewise described as *Trachinioi* (Diod. 14.82.7), and this suggests that the city experienced severe difficulties in integrating the Trachinians and the new settlers (Gehrke, *Stasis* 73; Malkin (1994) 221–27). Exiles are attested in 395 (Diod. 14.82.6) and again in 319, when they were explicitly excluded from the general amnesty issued by Philip Arrhidaios (Diod. 18.56.5).

A citizen of Herakleia is listed as *proxenos* of Karthaia on Keos in *IG* XII.5 542.33 (C4m).

Herakleia was situated at a distance of 20 stades from the sea, 40 stades from Thermopylai (Thuc. 3.92.6), and 6 stades from the site of Trachis (Strabo 9.4.13). To the west the neighbours were Ainis and Oitaia, to the north Malis and Lamia, and to the south was Doris, and to the south-east Thermopylai. In Strabo's day Parasopias was a *kome* in the territory (8.6.24, 9.2.23); in the Classical period it was possibly a *polis* (see the entry for Parasopioi).

Herakleia was fortified at its foundation (Thuc. 3.92.6; cf. Xen. *Hell.* 6.4.27); traces of fortifications (acropolis wall and city wall) are briefly mentioned by Stählin (1924*a*) 207. Docks (*νεώρια*) were constructed at the foundation as well (Thuc. 3.92.6). The agora is mentioned in *IG* IX.2 103.9 (C2m). Demetrios of Kallatis (*FGrHist* 85) fr. 6 (*apud* Strabo 1.3.20) reports that the city was badly damaged by an earthquake, presumably the one in 426 (Fossey (1990) 183) and thus at or shortly after the foundation.

The chief cult was presumably that of Herakles (Diod. 12.59.4); other attested deities are Artemis (Livy 36.22) and Asklepios (A. Kontogiannis (1997) 176). A festival called *Herakleia* is attested by *IG* IX.1 229.10 (C2).

IG IV 617.1 (316–293) records a monetary donation by the Herakleots "to the *θεωροί* sent out from Argos to announce the celebration of the Nemean Games and the Heraia" (Perlman (2000) 74, 127–29). Donations, presumably by individual Herakleots, towards the rebuilding of the temple at Delphi are recorded by *CID* II 12.I.54, 56 (341/40).

Herakleia struck coins in silver and bronze from C4e. (1) Silver: denominations: obol, hemiobol, tetartemorion on the Aiginetan standard; types: *obv.* lion's head; *rev.* club with different symbols, or bow and quiver; legend: *HPA*, *HPAK*. (2) Bronze: *obv.* lion's head, or head of nymph; *rev.* club with different symbols, or lion's head; legend: *HPA* (Head, *HN*² 296; Babelon, *Traité* ii.4 nos. 444–50; Rogers (1932) nos. 247–53; *SNG Cop. Thessaly* 66–69).

431. Lamia (Lamieus) Map 55. Lat. 38.50, long. 22.25. Size of territory: 2. Type: A. The toponym is *Λαμία, ἡ* (Ps.-Skylax 62; Hyp. 6.18; *CID* II 118.3 (*c.*365–360); *BCH* 45 (1921) III.135 (230–220)); the city-ethnic is *Λαμιεύς* (*CID* II 8.II.13 (before 356), 32.49 (325)).

Lamia is called a *polis* in the urban sense at Ps.-Skylax 62 (*ἔστι δὲ Μαλιεῦσιν ἡ πρώτη πόλις Λαμία*) and Diod. 18.12.4 (r323); in the political sense, *polis* is indirectly attested in the Delphic accounts of 337/6 (*CID* II 74), where a *tamias* of Lamia is recorded (I.57) after the heading *τὸν ταμίαν ἀποπέμπειν τὰς πόλεις* (I.4). The internal collective use of the city-ethnic is found on C4f coins (*infra*) and in *IG* IX.2 60 (C4l); the external collective use is found in *CID* II 8.II.13 (before 356), Demetrios of Kallatis (*FGrHist* 85) fr. 5 (r426) (cf. Fossey (1990) 183–84) *apud* Strabo 1.3.20, and Diod. 18.11.1 (r323/2); and the external individual use is found in *CID* II 36.I.10 (343–340), 43.5 (340).

Lamia was a Malian community (Ps.-Skylax 62; Diod. 18.11.1 (r323); cf. *infra* on coins) and regularly provided the Amphiktyonic League with one of the Malian *hieromnemones* (*CID* II 32.49 (325), 36.I.10 (343–340), 36.I.36 (343–340), etc.), the other being provided by Herakleia (Stählin (1924*b*) 554). (For the possibility that Lamia belonged to Achaia prior to 413, see Kip (1910) 42–43 and Stählin (1924*b*) 553). A citizen of Lamia served the Amphiktyonic League as *tamias* (*CID* II 74.I.57 (337/6)), and another fulfilled an unidentifiable function (*CID* II 118.2–3 (*c.*365–360) with comm.). A collective donation by Lamia of 600 dr. towards the rebuilding of the temple at Delphi is recorded in *CID* II 8.II.13 (before 356).

In contradistinction to the other Malians, the Lamians did not join the Greek alliance during the Lamian War (Diod. 18.11.1) but served Antipatros as a refuge (Diod. 18.13).

A grant of *politeia* and *proxenia* to two men of Larisa is attested by *IG* IX.2 60 (C4l). The same decree attests to the existence of a board of archons, a *strategos*, a *hipparchos* and a *grammateus* (13–18); cf. *SEG* 16 373 (C3f) attesting to the same magistracies. A grant of *ἔνκτησ[ι]ς γᾶς καὶ οἰκίας* is included in *IG* IX.2 60.7–8 (C4l) as well.

According to Demetrios of Kallatis (*FGrHist* 85) fr. 6, as transmitted by Strabo 1.3.20, the city of Lamia suffered considerably from the earthquake of 426 (cf. Fossey (1990) 183–84), but no details are given. The earliest urban remains at the site are on the acropolis, which rises to 173 m; there are remains of a C6 polygonal fortification wall and of a second phase dating to C5–C4 (Stählin (1924*b*) 548; Scranton (1941) 91–92; Lauffer (1989) 365–66). During the Lamian War, Antipatros was besieged by Leosthenes in Lamia (Hyp. 6.12), but its city walls, whose fine construction Diodorus emphasises (*τείχους πολυτελοῦς κατεσκευασμένου*), were able to withstand the assaults (Diod. 18.13.1–3). The course of these walls can be traced or reasonably hypothesised for its entirety. The Classical fortification (*c.*400) consisted of an inner and an outer wall, the inner running for *c.*3 km and the outer for *c.*4 km (see the plan in Stählin (1924*b*) 549–50), and enclosed an area of 80 ha (ibid. 552). Polyaen. 4.4.2 refers to houses (*oikiai*) in Lamia during the Lamian War.

Phalara (*τὰ Φάλαρα*: Polyb. 20.10.16) was, according to Steph. Byz. 656.3, a place *πλησίον Λαμίας*; it is described by Livy 27.30.3 as having a "good harbour" (*egregius portus*) and so was probably the harbour of Lamia; its precise location is disputed (cf. Stählin (1924*a*) 217; Béquignon (1937*b*) 295–97; *PECS* 697; Lauffer (1989) 533); it is mentioned as existing in 426 by Strabo 1.3.20.

The principal divinity was presumably Dionysos, who is depicted on coins (*infra*) and whose sanctuary seems to have been used for publishing official documents (*IG* II² 861.28 (C3l)).

Babelon, *Traité* ii.4 no. 464 is a silver diobol: *obv.* naked and bearded Herakles seated on rock holding kantharos in extended right hand and club in left; legend: *ΛΑ*(*ΜΙΕΩΝ*?); *rev.* hydria in incuse square; legend: *ΤΡ*(*ΑΧΙΝΙΩΝ*?). If the legends are correctly understood as abbreviations of the city-ethnics of Lamia and Trachis, then this coin may represent a joint issue of these two Malian cities (in which case the coin should predate 426,

which fits Babelon's date of C5m; cf. Babelon, *Traité* ii.4 nos. 465–66 for two other coins possibly to be ascribed to Lamia). However that may be, Lamia is known to have struck in both silver and bronze from *c.*400. Silver (triobols and obols on the Aiginetan standard): *obv.* head of young ivy-crowned Dionysos; *rev.* amphora; legend: ΛΑΜΙΕΩΝ. The legend is sometimes ΜΑΛΙΕΩΝ, presumably indicating a leading role for Lamia in the Malian *ethnos*. Also *obv.* head of nymph (Lamia?); *rev.* Philoktetes wearing pilos seated on rock, or Philoktetes kneeling and shooting with bow; legends: ΛΑΜΙ, ΛΑΜΙΕΩΝ. Bronze: *obv.* head of nymph (Lamia?); *rev.* Philoktetes on one knee or kneeling on rock shooting with bow; legend: ΛΑΜΙΕΩΝ; or *obv.* head of nymph (Lamia?); *rev.* naked Philoktetes seated on rock, bow in front, or sitting on island with dolphin swimming in sea; legend: ΛΑΜΙ; or *obv.* head of nymph (Lamia?); *rev.* Philoktetes kneeling, sometimes on rock, and shooting with bow; legends: ΛΑΜ, ΛΑΜΙΕΩΝ; or *obv.* head of nymph; *rev.* amphora with ivy leaf above; legend: ΛΑΜ; or, finally, *obv.* head of Athena; *rev.* standing Philoktetes shooting with bow; legend: ΜΑΛΙΕΩΝ (cf. *supra*). Head, *HN*² 296; Babelon, *Traité* ii.4 nos. 455–62; Rogers (1932) nos. 385–88; *SNG Cop. Thessaly* 75–81.

432. Trachis (Trachinios) Map 55, location as Herakleia (q.v.). Size of territory: 1 or 2. Type: A. The toponym is Τρηχίς in Hdt. 7.199, and Τραχίς in Ps.-Skylax 62 and Strabo 9.5.8. The city-ethnic is Τραχίνιος (Thuc. 3.92.2) or Τρηχίνιος (Hdt. 7.175.2). Trachis is called a *polis* in the urban sense in Hdt. 7.199, a passage which also uses the verb πεπόλισται about the city. At Thuc. 3.92.2 the Τραχίνιοι are described not as a *polis*, but as one of three μέρη into which the Malians were subdivided; however, the use of *meros* need not mean that Trachis was not a *polis*, as is clear from Hdt. 1.145, where *merea* is used to describe twelve communities in Peloponnesian Achaia which were all *poleis* in the Classical period. Moreover, Diod. 12.59.3 (r426) describes the *Trachinioi* as the *politai* of Trachis, and Diod. 14.82.7 and Polyaen. 2.21 use *Trachinios* in a manner which indicates that it was in fact the city-ethnic of Trachis. On the assumption that *Trachinios* is a city-ethnic, the following should be noted: the internal collective use is possibly found abbreviated as ΤΡ on C5m coins which may be a joint issue of Trachis and Lamia (*infra*). The external collective use of the city-ethnic is found in Hdt. 7.175.2, 217.1; Thuc. 3.92.2; and Ctesias (*FGrHist* 688) fr. 13.128 (which also implies some social stratification: Τραχινίων οἱ δυνατοί, Καλλιάδης καὶ Τιμαφέρνης). The external individual use is found at Hdt. 7.213.3, 214.2. Thuc. 3.92.2 attests to a war fought by the Trachinians (πολέμῳ ἐφθαρμένοι), which implies the existence of armed forces, as may—for what it is worth—Ctesias (*FGrHist* 688) fr. 13.128 (Θώραξ δὲ ὁ Θεσσαλὸς καὶ Τραχινίων οἱ δυνατοί, Καλλιάδης καὶ Τιμαφέρνης, παρῆσαν στρατιὰν ἔχοντες). The sending of an embassy to Lakedaimon is attested by Thuc. 3.92.2. The territory is referred to as ἡ γῆ ἡ Τραχινίη at Hdt. 7.199 and as τῆς Μηλίδος ἡ Τραχινίη at 7.201.

In 426, the city was either renamed Herakleia or absorbed by a new Sparta-sponsored foundation of that name (see further the entry for Herakleia). Babelon, *Traité* ii.4 no. 464 is a C5m silver diobol on the Aiginetan standard: *obv.* naked and bearded Herakles seated on rock holding kantharos in extended right hand and club in left; legend: ΛΑ(ΜΙΕΩΝ?); *rev.* Hydria in incuse square; legend: ΤΡ(ΑΧΙΝΙΩΝ?). If the legends are correctly understood as abbreviations of the city-ethnics of Lamia and Trachis, then this coin may represent a joint issue of these two Malian cities.

2.5 Achaia

433. Antron Map 55. Lat. 38.55, long. 22.55. Size of territory ? Type: [A]. The toponym is Ἀντρών (Hom. *Il.* 2.697), either ὁ (Strabo 9.5.8) or ἡ (Eust. *Il.* 2.697), or Ἀντρῶνες ([Dem.] 10.9; Ps.-Skylax 63; Strabo 9.5.7). A city-ethnic is not attested except in late sources, such as the entry in Steph. Byz. 101.16.

In Ps.-Skylax 63, where *polis* is used in the urban sense, Antron is the first of five toponyms listed between the heading Ἀχαιῶν πόλεις αἵδε and the addendum εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλαι πόλεις Ἀχαιοῖς; *polis* in the political sense is not attested, but is possibly implied by Diod. 20.110.3 (r302). A citizen of Antron served as Delphic *theorodokos* in 230–220 (*BCH* 45: v.C(b).3).

The history of Antron is almost completely unknown; [Dem.] 10.9 states that Philip II "bought" (ἐπρίατο) the city, and Diod. 20.110.3 (r302) that it joined Demetrios after his capture of Larisa Kremaste.

Antron was situated in Achaia (Ps.-Skylax 63; Strabo 9.5.8). At the site of the city are traces of both an extremely badly preserved acropolis wall (Stählin (1924*a*) 182) and a polygonal circuit wall (ibid.). At modern Phano a cemetery of Classical and later times has been identified (*ArchDelt* 41 ([1986] 1990) *Chron.* 74; 42 ([1988] 1993) B.1: 223 and later issues).

434. *Ekkarra (Ekkarreus) Map 55. Lat. 39.05, long. 22.10. Size of territory: 2? Type: B. The toponym is Ἄκαρρα in Steph. Byz. 58.9, who ἐκ τῆς τέχνης suggests the city-ethnics Ἀκαρραῖος and Ἀκαρράτης; C4s coins, however, have Ἐκκαρρεύς.

No Archaic or Classical source calls Ekkarra a *polis*, but *polis* status is suggested by the bronze coinage of C4s (*infra*). *IG* IX.2 223 is a C3l(?) proxeny decree by Ekkarra which uses *polis* and attests to the existence of archons.

Ekkarra was situated in Achaia (Steph. Byz. 58.9; Livy 32.13.13), and has been located at Kaitsa (Helly (1992) 85–89, *pace* Stählin (1924*a*) 154). The site at modern Ano Ktimeni (formerly Ano Dranista) was probably a second-order settlement in its territory. At the site of Ekkarra itself is a C4 circuit wall running for 775 m and with quadrangular towers; the acropolis was separately walled (Stählin (1924a) 159; Béquignon (1928) 463–65).

Ekkarra struck bronze coins in C4s: *obv.* head of Zeus, or Apollo; *rev.* Artemis standing; legend: ΕΚΚΑΡΡΕΩΝ (Head, *HN*² 294; Babelon, *Traité* ii.4 no. 475; Rogers (1932) nos. 207–9; *SNG Cop. Thessaly* 47–48, *Suppl.* 244).

435. Halos (Haleus) Map 55. Lat. 39.10, long. 22.50, but see *infra*. Size of territory: 2. Type: A. The toponym is Ἅλος (Hom. *Il.* 2.682; Hdt. 7.173.1), Ἅλος, ὁ (Dem. 19.163); cf. Strabo 9.5.8: ὁ Ἅλος ἢ ἡ Ἅλος, λέγεται γὰρ ἀμφοτέρως. The city-ethnic is Ἁλεύς (Dem. 19.36, 39; coins, *infra*); Steph. Byz. 78.6 cites Sophokles (fr. 998, Pearson) for the form Ἁλούσιος and *glossographoi* for Ἅλιος.

Halos is called *polis* in the urban sense at Dem. 19.39, and the political sense is presumably implied at Dem. 19.36. The internal collective use of the city-ethnic is found on C4–C3 coins (*infra*), and the external collective use is found in Dem. 19.36, 39.

Halos was situated in Achaia (Hdt. 7.173, 197; cf. C3 bronze coins with ΑΧ in monogram: Head, *HN*² 295). Its location, certainly close to the sea (Hdt. 7.173.1; Dem. 19.163), remains unknown; Reinders (1988) 159–63 proposes to locate it at Magoula Plataniotiki. In its territory were some minor settlements, presumably villages (Stählin (1924*a*) 176–77; Reinders (1988) 155–57, 161, 172), and a temple with Geometric pottery (Stählin (1924*a*) 177). Several military installations are attested as well (Stählin (1924*a*) 177, 185; Reinders (1988) 171; Haagsma *et al.* (1993); *ArchDelt* 49 (1994) *Chron.* 325–26; Malakassioti *et al.* (1994)), some of them with C4 phases.

The urban centre itself, then, remains unlocated (*Barr.* follows e.g. *PECS* in putting it at modern Halmyros, which is unlikely). At 7.197.2, Herodotos mentions a *prytaneion* (called λήιτον in the local dialect), but it is unclear whether it is thought of as belonging to the local community of Halos (so Miller (1978) no. 324 and Hansen and Fischer-Hansen (1994) 32) or to the Achaians as such. From the mention of a siege by Parmenion at Dem. 19.163 (Ἅλου πολιορκουμένου) it may be inferred that Halos was fortified by C4m; upon its capture, it became depopulated (ἀνάστατος . . . γέγονεν, Dem. 19.39) and the territory was handed over to the Pharsalians (Dem. 11.1) with whom Halos had had a conflict prior to its capture (Dem. 19.36). It was refounded in the early Hellenistic period (*c.*302) on the initiative of Demetrios Poliorketes. See Reinders (1988).

A sanctuary of Zeus Laphystios is mentioned by Hdt. 7.197.1, where a legend associated with it is recounted. The patron divinity was presumably Artemis Panachaia (*IG* IX.2 *add.* 205.1.A.22, B.49 (Hell.)).

Halos minted in bronze in C4–C3. Types: *obv.* Zeus Laphystios; *rev.* Phrixos or Helle with ram; legend: ΑΛΕΩΝ (Head, *HN*² 296; Babelon, *Traité* ii.4 nos. 467–69; Rogers (1932) nos. 238–40; Reinders (1988) 236–51; *SNG Cop. Thessaly* 62–65).

436. Kypaira (Kypharreus) Map 55. Lat. 39.00, long. 22.05. Size of territory: 2. Type: [A]. The toponym is Κύφαιρα, ἡ (*BCH* 45 (1921) III.138 (230–220)), or Κύπαιρα (Ptol. *Geog.* 3.12.42). The city-ethnic is Κυφαρρεύς (*CID* II 2.1.21 (C4m)).

Kypaira was situated at Kydonia according to Helly (1992) 79–80 (followed by *Barr.*), who rejects Kaitsa (championed by Stählin (1924*a*) 159–60 and Béquignon (1937*b*) 336). At Kydonia are undated remains of an upper circuit measuring 120 × 40 m with a width of 2–2.5 m, constructed in rectangular blocks in regular courses; three towers are preserved; to the south is a poorly preserved lower circuit (Béquignon (1937*b*) 326–29, fig. 17). According to Ptol. *Geog.* 3.12.42, Kypaira was situated in Thessaliotis, but its geographical position puts it in Achaia (cf. Kip (1910) 73). Kypaira is listed as a *polis* in the political sense in *CID* II 4.3–4, 12 (C4m); cf. 1.1.11, 21 (C4m). These same sources attest to the external collective use of the city-ethnic. Apart from these inscriptions, the information on Kypaira postdates our period, but worth noting is *BCH* 45 (1921) III.138 (230–220) listing ἁ πόλις as *theorodokos* of Delphi.

437. Larisa (Larisaios) Map 55. Lat. 38.55, long. 22.50. Size of territory: ? Type: [A]. The toponym is Λάρισσα (Ps.-Skylax 63), specified as Λάρισσα ἡ Κρεμαστή by Heracl. Cret. 3.2 (*GGM* I 109) and Polyb. 18.38.3; Strabo 9.5.13 men-

tions another epithet: *Πελασγία* (cf. Steph. Byz. 412.19). The city-ethnic is *Λαρισαῖος* (*CID* II 78.I.54 (337/6)), specified as [*Λα*]*ρισαῖος ἐκ Φθι*[*ώτιδος*] in *IG* XII.5 542.32 (C4).

In Ps.-Skylax 63, where *polis* is used in the urban sense, Larisa is the second of five toponyms listed between the heading *Ἀχαιῶν πόλεις αἵδε* and the addendum *εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλαι πόλεις Ἀχαιοῖς*; the urban sense of *polis* is found in Diod. 20.110.2 (r302) as well. The political sense is indirectly attested in the Delphic accounts of 337/6 (*CID* II 74), where a *tamias* of Larisa is recorded (I.54) after the heading *τὸν ταμίαν ἀποπέμπειν τὰς πόλεις* (I.4). For an explicit attestation, see an undated inscription from the city itself (*IG* IX.2 94.5). The internal collective use of the city-ethnic is found on C4l/C3e coins (Rogers (1932) no. 312), the external use in Demetrios of Kallatis (*FGrHist* 85) fr. 6 *apud* Strabo 1.3.20 (r426) (cf. Fossey (1990) 183–84) and Diod. 20.110.2 (r302). The external individual use is found in, e.g., *CID* II 118.6–7 (365–360), 78.I.38 (337/6); *IG* XII.5 542.32 (C4). A citizen of Larisa is listed in a C4 catalogue of *proxenoi* from Karthaia on Keos (*IG* XII.5 542.32).

Larisa was situated in Achaia (Heracl. Cret. 3.2; *IG* XII.5 542.32 (C4); *Syll.*³ 492.36 (232)) and was thus an Achaian community (*CID* II 78.I.38 (337/6)); the city regularly provided the Amphiktyonic League with one of the Achaian *hieromnemones* (*CID* II 32.47, 74.I.38, 76.I.23, 86.16, 118.6), the other being provided by Melitaia.

According to Strabo 9.5.13, Larisa was situated 20 stades from the coast; Diod. 20.110.2 (r302) mentions a harbour (*limen*) at Larisa. The Archaic/Classical urban history of Larisa is almost unknown, all remains being Hellenistic (Stählin (1924*a*) 182–84), but a city was presumably in existence in C5l since, according to Demetrios of Kallatis (*FGrHist* 85) fr. 6 (*apud* Strabo 1.3.20), Larisa suffered seriously from an earthquake, certainly the one in 426 (Fossey (1990) 183–84).

Larisa struck bronze coins in C4l/C3e; types vary, the most interesting being *obv.* head of, presumably, Achilles; *rev.* Thetis riding on a sea-horse and carrying the shield of Achilles; legend: *ΛΑΡΙ*, *ΛΑΡΙΣΑΙΩΝ* and *ΑΧΑΙΩΝ* in monogram (Rogers (1932) no. 312; *SNG Cop. Thessaly* 151–52). For a possible C4 bronze state seal of the city depicting *obv.* riding Thetis bringing shield + *ΛΑ*; *rev.* Skylla, see Robinson (1934).

438. Melitaia (Melitaieus) Map 55. Lat. 39.00, long. 22.25. Size of territory: 2. Type: [A]. The toponym is *Μελιταία, ἡ* (Ps.-Skylax 63), *Μελίτεια* (Thuc. 4.78.1; Theopomp. fr. 373), or *Μελιτέα* (*CID* II 118.6 (C4m)). The city-ethnic is *Μελιταιεύς* (Ephor. fr. 95.4; *CID* II 74.I.38; C4 coins, *infra*).

In Ps.-Skylax 63, where *polis* is used in the urban sense, Melitaia is the third of five toponyms listed between the heading *Ἀχαιῶν πόλεις αἵδε* and the addendum *εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλαι πόλεις Ἀχαιοῖς*. The political sense is indirectly attested in the Delphic accounts of 337/6 (*CID* II 74), where a *tamias* of Melitaia is recorded (I.53) after the heading *τὸν ταμίαν ἀποπέμπειν τὰς πόλεις* (I.4). An explicit attestation of the political sense is found in *IG* IX.2 208.3 (C3e). The internal and collective use of the city-ethnic is found on C4m coins (Head, *HN*² 301). The external and individual use is found in *CID* II 32.47 (C4l), 74.I.38 (337/6). The external and collective use is found in Ephor. fr. 95.4.

According to Ephor. fr. 95, the Melitaians had at one point entertained friendly relations with the tyrants of Pherai, but apart from that the political history of the city is unknown; a citizen of Melitaia was granted proxeny by Delphi in 271 (*F.Delphes* III.2 187). An inscription of *c.*140 (Ager (1996) no. 156) refers retrospectively to a possibly C4 arbitration between Melitaia and Narthakion (Ager (1989) 108).

Melitaia was situated in Achaia (Thuc. 4.78.1; Ps.-Skylax 63; *CID* II 118.5–6 (C4m)). The city regularly provided the Amphiktyonic League with one of the Achaian *hieromnemones* (e.g. *CID* II 32.47 (C4l), 79A.II.14 (334/3)), the other being provided by Larisa. The territory is referred to as *ἡ τῶν Μελιταιῶν χώρα* at Polyb. 18.6.4; *c.*270–260 its borders were regulated by international arbitration (Ager (1996) no. 30). At the site of the city, traces of a circuit wall, running for *c.*4 km, are visible, constructed in irregular rectangular blocks (Stählin (1924*a*) 162). At modern Haloni a C4 sanctuary of Asklepios has been found (*BCH* 96 (1972) 711).

In C4m Melitaia struck coins in both silver and bronze. (1) Silver. Denominations: drachm, diobol, obol on the Aiginetan standard. *Obv.* head of Zeus, or of young Dionysos; *rev.* bull, or lion's head, or bee (alluding to the name of the city); legends: *ΜΕ*, *ΜΕΛ*, *ΜΕΛΙ* and *ΜΕΛΙΤΑΙΩΝ*. (2) Bronze. *Obv.* head of Zeus; *rev.* bee; legend: *ΜΕΛΙ*, *ΜΕΛΙΤΑΙΕΩΝ* (Head, *HN*² 301; Babelon, *Traité* ii.4 nos. 470–74; Rogers (1932) nos. 394–401; *SNG Cop. Thessaly* 172–73).

439. Peuma (Peumatios) Map 55. Lat. 39.10, long. 22.30. Size of territory: 1. Type: C. The toponym is *Πεῦμα, τό* (*BCH* 45 (1921) IV.39 (230–220)). The city-ethnic is *Πευμάτιος* (C3e coins, *infra*; Arvanitopoulos (1909) 451 (*c.*300); *I.Thessalie* 131 (C2e)).

Peuma is called a *polis* in the political sense in a C2e honorific decree (*I.Thessalie* 131) and implicitly in *F.Delphes* III.4 351 (C3m). In *I.Thessalie* 131 πολῖται is found as well as the internal collective use of the city-ethnic. The external collective use is found in *F.Delphes* III.4 351, and the external and individual use is attested in, e.g., Arvanitopoulos (1909) 451 (Demetrias, *c.*300). On a retrospective interpretation of these sources it can be presumed that Peuma was a *polis* in C4s.

Peuma was situated in Achaia. *F.Delphes* III.4 351 (C3m) records a boundary and territorial conflict between Peuma and at least two of its neighbours, Meliteia and Chalai, a conflict which the city lost by arbitration (cf. Cantarelli (1995)). In 230–220, two Delphic *therorodokoi* resided in Peuma (*BCH* 45 (1921) IV.39, V.25).

The well-preserved remains of Peuma at Kallithea/Kislar date to the very end of C4 or, better, to the beginning of C3. The fortification comprises a circuit wall *c.*2,400 m long, with many towers and several gates, a *diateichisma* and a small acropolis with towers, perhaps of an earlier date. Remains of civic buildings (agora and cisterns) and houses as well as streets are still visible on the top of the flat hill.

Peuma struck bronze coins *c.*302–286. Types: *obv.* head of nymph; *rev.* helmet and Achaean monogram; legend: ΠΕΥΜΑΤΙΩΝ (Head, *HN*² 304; Rogers (1932) nos. 442–43; *SNG Cop. Thessaly* 198).

440. Phylake Possibly a *polis* (type B) more or less at the site of the later Thebai (no. 444), with which it was merged by synoecism in C4s; see further the entry for Thebai.

441. Proerna (Proernios) Map 55. Lat. 39.15, long. 22.15. Size of territory: 2. Type: [A]. The toponym is Προέρνα, ἡ (Daffa-Nikonanou (1973) 34–35 (C2); Strabo 9.5.10). The city-ethnic is Προέρνιος (*CID* II 8.I.12 (338/7)) or Πρωέρνιος (coins (*c.*300–200), *infra*); in *SEG* 23 416.7 (450–425), Προέλνιος is presumably a variant form of the city-ethnic.

No Archaic or Classical source explicitly calls Proerna a *polis*, but it merits inclusion here on account of (1) *SEG* 23 416 (450–425), a grant of proxeny by Pherai to men described as Προέλνιοι (= external individual use of the city-ethnic), and thus presumably citizens of Proerna (*supra*); (2) in the Delphic *naopoioi*'s accounts the Proernians are presumably recorded in a fragmentary list (*CID* II 8.I.12: [Προέρ]νιοι (= external collective use of the city-ethnic)), the heading of which undoubtedly included the formula: ταίδε τᾶμ πολίων ἤνικαν (*CID* II 5.II.25–26) *vel sim.*; (3) furthermore, coins dated *c.*306–283 (Rogers (1932) no. 534) indicate the prior existence of the community in C4s; (4) the fact that a man of Proerna served as Delphic *theorodokos* in C3 may also be of some significance (see the note on Proerna in *CID* II p. 26).

Proerna probably belonged to Achaia (Strabo 9.5.10; Kip (1910) 70–71). At the site are remains of a trapezoidal circuit wall in grey limestone with an average width of *c.*2.5 m and at least three gates or posterns; it may go back to C4 but has seen many repairs. The acropolis itself was walled as well (Daux and La Coste Messelière (1924) 356–59; Stählin (1924*a*) 157–58). Some remains of the lower city have been excavated to the south of the Tapsi hill (Papakonstantinou (1994) 236–38). Outside the city-wall too is a C5–C4 sanctuary of Demeter, where numerous votives, etc., have been found (Daffa-Nikonanou (1973)).

Proerna struck bronze coins *c.*306–283. Types: *obv.* head of nymph facing; *rev.* Demeter with torch and corn-ears; legend: ΠΡΩΕΡΝΙΩΝ (Head, *HN*² 309; Rogers (1932) no. 534; *SNG Cop. Thessaly* 248).

442. Pyrasos (Pyrasios) Map 55. Lat. 39.15, long. 22.50. Size of territory: 2. Type: [A]. The toponym is Πύρασος, ἡ (Hom. *Il.* 2.695; Strabo 9.5.14); the city-ethnic is Πυράσιος (Thuc. 2.22.3 with Helly (1995) 233 n. 88). Strabo 9.5.14 gives Δημήτριον as the contemporary name of Pyrasos and a Δημήτριον is listed by Ps.-Skylax 63 among the cities of Achaia.

Pyrasos is listed by Thuc. 2.22.3 (for which see Helly (1995) 233 n. 88) as a *polis* in the political sense. In Ps.-Skylax 63, Demetrion is the fourth of five toponyms listed after the heading Ἀχαιῶν πόλεις αἵδε and followed by εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλαι πόλεις Ἀχαιοῖς, but here the reference may be to the community as absorbed by the synoecism of Thebai Phthiotides (Stählin (1924*a*) 174; *RE* xxiv. 12). The external collective use of the city-ethnic is found in Thuc. 2.22.3.

Given its geographical location in Achaia, compared with Thucydides' description of it as Thessalian (2.22.3), a good parallel to the status of Pyrasos (i.e. a *polis* of Thessalian Pelasgiotis geographically situated in Achaia) would be Pagasai (cf. Helly (1995) 233 n. 88 with refs.). Ps.-Skylax describes it as belonging to the Achaians (cf. Steph. Byz. 541.2), and it seems that the city was synoecised into Thebai Phthiotides (no. 444) some time in C4 (Stählin (1924*a*) 174; *RE* xxiv. 12). See further the entry for Thebai Phthiotides. According to Strabo 9.5.14, Pyrasos had been (ἦν) a *polis* with a good harbour and a sanctuary of Demeter.

443. Thaumakoi (Thaumakos) Map 55. Lat. 39.10, long. 22.20. Size of territory: 2 or 3. Type: B(?). The toponym is

Θαυμακοί (Strabo 9.5.10), or, by confusion with the Homeric Θαυμακίη in Magnesia (Hom. *Il.* 2.716), Θαυμακία (*AG*7 544.2; Steph. Byz. 307.5). The city-ethnic is Θαυμακός (*IG* IX.2 216.1 (C3e)). Possibly the external individual use is attested already in *ArchDelt* 26 (1971) B.1 237.4: ΘΑΥΜΑΚΩ vac. (C4).

The earliest attestation of a πόλις Θαυμακῶν is in *IG* IX.2 216.1, 12 (C3e), an inscription that records two grants of proxeny and other privileges, and refers to a board of archons. However, an inscription of C4 (*ArchDelt* 26: B.1 237) is possibly a grant of proxeny, etc. to a citizen of Thaumakoi; so Thaumakos may be included in this Inventory as a possible *polis*. An unattributed epigram of the *Anthologia Graeca* (7 544.2) refers to Thaumakoi as a πόλις ἀρχαία.

Thaumakoi was situated on the main road between the Spercheios valley to the south and the Koile to the north, in Achaia (Strabo 8.8.5; *AG* 7 544; Steph. Byz. 307.5; Eust. *Il.* 513.). According to Strabo 8.8.5 (quoting Artemidoros), Thaumakoi was 500 stades from Kirrha via Herakleia, and 340 from Larisa.

The acropolis is situated under the mediaeval *kastro* (rising to 639 m), immediately west of the road (Daux and de La Coste Messelière (1924) 354; *RE*² v.2. 1332); it has a rough rectangular shape measuring *c.*100 × 70 m. The upper town was enclosed by a circuit running for *c.*800–900 m; it is constructed in polygonal or rectangular isodomic masonry, but is not very well preserved; there is evidence for two semicircular towers; short stretches of the circuit wall date to C4, but the remains are mainly later (*PECS* 324; Papakonstantinou (1994) 235). A lower city probably existed, but nothing is known about it.

444. Thebai (Thebaios) Map 55. Lat. 39.15, long. 22.45. Size of territory: 4 (*RE*² v.2. 1584). Type: [A]. The toponym is Θῆβαι, αἱ (Ps.-Skylax 63; Diod. 20.110.3 (r302)), distinguished from that of homonyms by the addition of αἱ Ἀχαίδες (Heracl. Cret. 3.2 (*GGM* 1)), or (αἱ) Φθιώτιδες (Diod. 26.9; Strabo 9.5.6) or Φθιώτιδος (Ptol. *Geog.* 3.12.14); according to Steph. Byz. 666.6, it was also called Φίλιπποι (ἐκλήθησαν Φίλιπποι καὶ αἱ Θῆβαι Θεσσαλίας). The city-ethnic is Θηβαῖος (Diod. 18.11.1 (r323)); in *SEG* 12 375.5 (242) it was specified in some way now lost; in *IG* VII 288 (C3m) it is distinguished from that of homonyms by the addition of ἐξ Ἀχαΐας τῆς Φθιώτιδος.

In Ps.-Skylax 63, Thebai is the last of five toponyms listed between the heading Ἀχαιῶν πόλεις αἵδε and the addendum εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλαι πόλεις Ἀχαιοῖς. Thebai refers to itself as a *polis* in the political sense in *SEG* 12 372 (242). The collective use of the city-ethnic is found internally on coins of C4l (*infra*) and externally in Diod. 18.11.1 (r323). The external individual use is found in *IG* VII 288 (C3m).

Thebai belonged to Achaia (Ps.-Skylax 63; Diod. 18.11.1 (r323)). To the north the neighbour was Pherai, to the north-east it was Amphanai, to the east (until C4s) Pyrasos, to the south Halos, to the south-west Peuma, and to the west Eretria and Pharsalos. On the territory, see di Salvatore ((1994): minor settlements and fortresses). On the frontier with Halos was a sanctuary of Athena shared by the two adjoining cities (*BCH* 59 (1935) 208–9).

In contradistinction to the rest of the Achaians, the Thebans did not join the Greek alliance opposing Makedonia in the Lamian War (Diod. 18.11.1). A board of ἀρχέσκοποι is attested by a C4l dedication (*IG* IX.2 1322; cf. *Prakt* (1907) 165).

Recent rescue excavations have revealed a city with cemetery, antedating C4f and situated on the western slope of the hill on which Thebai itself lay (*ArchDelt* 47 (1992) 222–29); Heracl. Cret. 3.2 (*GGM* 1) claims that Φυλάκη was an earlier name of Thebai, and the present site may possibly be that of Phylake; a synoecism of Phylake and Pyrasos is commonly assumed to have occurred in C4s (*RE*² v.2. 1587–88) and is presumably to be regarded as the founding of Thebai (in which case the pre-C4s evidence from the site, notably that belonging to the cult of Athena Polias, strictly speaking belongs to Phylake, which must then be regarded as a *polis* (type B) in its own right prior to the synoecism); a Demetrion is listed as a *polis* in the urban sense under the heading πόλεις αἵδε by Ps.-Skylax 64, and the reference may be to Pyrasos (renamed as Demetrion at one point; cf. Strabo 9.5.14) as absorbed by the synoecism of Thebai (Stählin (1924*a*) 174; *RE* xxiv. 12) and functioning as the harbour of Thebai (cf. Hansen (1997) 36–37). Cf. Diod. 20.110.3 for a planned C4l expansion of the synoecism attempted by Kassandros but prevented by Dionysios Poliorketes.

A cult of Athena Polias is attested by a C4l dedication (*IG* IX.2 1322; cf. *Prakt* (1907) 165); by C6 she had a temple on the acropolis (*Prakt* (1907) 161, (1908) 163), which was rebuilt in C5 and again in C4 (*ArchDelt* 49 (1994) 324). The acropolis itself measures 1.9 ha (*RE*² v.2. 1584) and shows remains of a "sehr altertümlichen kyklopischen Mauer" (*RE*² v.2. 1584). On the north and west sides an isodomic wall was added in the early Hellenistic period (*RE*² v.2. 1584–85).

The C4l/C3e (*RE*² v.2. 1589) circuit wall runs for 2,400 m and encloses an area of 40 ha (*RE*² v.2. 1585). It consisted of

an isodomic stone socle supporting a mudbrick wall; some forty towers are discernible. For a recent plan, see *ArchDelt* 47 (1992) *Chron.* 224. Outside the circuit are cemeteries (Adrimi-Sismani (2000)). A C4–C3 stoa with wooden columns is reported in *Prakt* (1907) 162. In C4m a theatre was constructed (*ArchDelt* 47 (1992) *Chron.* 222–25).

In addition to Athena Polias, cults included those of Athena Illais (*Prakt* (1908) 171–72, 175 (C4)), Demeter Panachaia (*SEG* 25 643 (Hell.); coins, *infra*), Protesilaos (Pind. *Isthm.* 1.58; coins, *infra*), Nika (*Prakt* (1907) 171–72, 175 (C4)) and Leukothea (ibid. (C4–C3)).

Thebai struck triobols of silver (Aiginetan standard) and small fractions of bronze *c.*302–286. Types: *obv.* Demeter veiled; *rev.* Protesilaos; legend: ΘΗΒΑΙΩΝ (Head, *HN*² 310; Rogers (1932) 174–75 nos. 550–52; *SNG Cop. Thessaly* 259–60).

2.6 Magnesia

445. Amyros (Amyreus) Map 55. Lat. 39.40, long. 22.40. Size of territory: ? Type: [A]. For the location, see Helly (1987) 152–53 and Tziaphalias (1994*a*). The toponym is Ἄμυρος, ἡ (Hes. fr. 59.3; Steph. Byz. 88.11); according to Steph. Byz. 89.2–3, the C4–C3 writer Suidas used the toponym Ἀμυρική (= *FGrHist* 602, fr. 4). In Ps.-Skylax 65, Μύραι is presumably a corruption of Ἄμυρος. The city-ethnic is Ἀμυρεύς (*IG* II² 5227 (C4l/C3e?)); according to Steph. Byz. 88.15, Eupolis (= fr. 423 (*PCG*)) used the city-ethnic Ἄμυρος (= Ἀμύριος?; cf. 708.12); Steph. Byz. 88.16 suggests Ἀμυραῖος as an alternative.

No Archaic or Classical source calls Amyros a *polis*, but as paraphrased by Steph. Byz. (89.2), Suidas (*FGrHist* 602) fr. 4 may have classified Amyrike as a *polis* (καὶ τὴν πόλιν Ἀμυρικὴν καλεῖ), and if the restoration of Ἄμυρος in Ps.-Skylax 65 is accepted, Amyros is there one of the cities mentioned under the heading πόλεις αἵδε. That Amyros was a *polis* is also indicated by the occurrence of the external collective city-ethnic (Eupolis fr. 423 (*PCG*)) and *IG* II² 5227 (C4–C3e(?)), a sepulchral inscription set up by the city of Kasthanaie to commemorate Μαγνήτων Ἀμυρεῖς, who had fallen in battle; the external collective use of the city-ethnic and the existence of Amyrian troops both indicate that it may have been a *polis* in C4l/C3e, and since the city certainly existed prior to C4l, it may possibly have been a *polis*. However, the site identified as Amyros was abandoned *c.*400, and no new site of the Amyreis has been identified; the community may possibly have been installed somewhere else, perhaps at Kasthanaie. It was a Magnesian community (*IG* II² 5227 (C4–C3e) and Ps.-Skylax 65 if the restoration Ἄμυρος for Μύραι is accepted).

446. (Eureaioi) Map 55. Unlocated, not in *Barr.* A possible location is at Kato Polydendri-Skiatha (Helly (forthcoming (*a*))). Type: C. The Εὐρεαῖοι are known solely from very rare C4m bronze coins: *obv.* head of maenad in border of dots; *rev.* vine branch with grapes and letter Λ above or below; legend: ΕΥΡΕΑΙΩΝ (Head, *HN*² 294; Babelon, *Traité* ii.4 no. 745; Rogers (1932) 74–75 nos. 210–11; *SNG Cop. Thessaly* 49). On the basis of the types (which recall those of Larisa, as Stählin (1924*a*) 227 noted) the Eureaioi may possibly be assigned to Pelasgiotis; but, also on the basis of the types, Moustaka (1983) 45 assigned them to Magnesia (cf. Westlake (1935) 4 with n. 2). The Dionysiac iconography and the style of the coins along with the letter Λ do in fact associate these coins with those of Eurymenai, and it is not impossible that they indeed belong to this city. However, if they belong to an otherwise unattested community, this community may be classed as a possible *polis* in C4m.

447. Eurymenai (Eurymenios) Map 55. Unlocated, but see *infra.* Type: [A]. The toponym is Εὐρυμεναί, αἱ (Hecat. fr. 136 = Steph. Byz. 287.1; Ps.-Skylax 65). The city-ethnic is Εὐρυμεναῖος (C4f coins, *infra*).

No Archaic or Classical source calls Eurymenai a *polis*, but in Ps.-Skylax 65 Eurymenai is one of the toponyms listed after the heading πόλεις αἵδε, where *polis* is used in the urban sense. That it was a *polis* in the political sense too is indicated by its C4f bronze coinage (*infra*).

Eurymenai was a Magnesian city (Ps.-Skylax 65). For the location, Ap. Rhod. 1.594–95 is decisive, and Eurymenai should be located at the entrance to the Tempe valley at the site traditionally identified with Homolion (*Barr.* lat. 39.50, long. 22.50). The acropolis was enclosed by a wall constructed in irregular slabs of slate; on it has been found the remains of a temple with which were associated C5–C4 black-glazed sherds and a foot of a colossal statue (Stählin (1924*a*) 47). The lower city was fortified as well (ibid.).

Eurymenai struck bronze coins in C4f. Types: *obv.* head of Dionysos; *rev.* grapes, sometimes with letter Λ; legend: ΕΥΡΥΜΕΝΑΙΩΝ. Babelon, *Traité* ii.4 no. 428; Rogers (1932) 75–76 nos. 212–13. Cf. also the entry on Eureaioi.

448. Homolion (Homolieus) Map 55. Lat. 39.55, long. 22.40, but see *infra.* Size of territory: 2. Type: A. The toponym is Ὁμόλιον, τό (Ps.-Skylax 33; *IG* IV².1 94.I.b.6 (C4m–s)). The city-ethnic is Ὁμολιεύς (*CID* II 1.I.18 (362/1)).

Homolion is called a *polis* in the urban sense at Ps.-Skylax 33. The political sense is indirectly attested in the Delphic accounts of 362/1 (*CID* II 1), where the city is listed (I.18) under the heading [τᾶμ πολίων ἤνικ]αν (I.11), and those of 337/6 (*CID* II 74), where a *tamias* of Homolion is recorded (I.55) after the heading τὸν ταμίαν ἀποπέμπειν τὰς πόλεις (I.4). The internal collective use of the city-ethnic is found on C4 coins (*infra*); the external collective use is found in *CID* II 1.1.18 (362/1). The external individual use is found in *CID* II 32.48 (C4l) and 74.1.55 (337/6).

Homolion was a Magnesian city (Ps.-Skylax 33; *CID* II 74.1.55 (337/6)); for the location, Ap. Rhod. 1.594–95 is clear, and *pace* Stählin (1924*a*) 46–47 and Giesinger (1956), it should be located at Palaiokastro Karitsas, though the only evidence there is a Byzantine wall (Helly (forthcoming (*b*))), and not in the immediate vicinity of Tempe at modern Homolio, formerly Laspochori (*PECS*, etc., followed by *Barr.*). Homolion regularly provided the Amphiktyonic League with one of the Magnesian *hieromnemones* (e.g. *CID* II 32.48 (C4l), 74.40 (337/6); see Lefèvre (1998) 89), the other being provided by Korakai, Methone or Olizon; an Amphiktyonic *tamias* provided by Homolion is listed in *CID* II 74.55 (337/6). A donation of 300 dr. toward the rebuilding of the temple at Delphi is attested by *CID* II 1.1.18 (362/1), and *IG* IV 617.13 (316–293) records a monetary donation by Homoloion "to the θεωροί sent out from Argos to announce the celebration of the Nemean Games and the Heraia" (Perlman (2000) 74, 127–29). In 360/59, a citizen of Homolion served as Epidaurian *theorodokos* (*IG* IV².1 94 I.b.6).

In C4, Homolion struck bronze coins. Types: *obv.* head of Philoktetes; *rev.* snake; legend: ΟΜΟΛΙΕΩΝ or ΟΜΟΛΙΚΟΝ (Head, *HN*² 296; Babelon, *Traité* ii.4 nos. 754–56; Rogers (1932) nos. 257–66; *SNG Cop. Thessaly* 70–73).

449. Iolkos (Iolkeus) Map 55. Lat. 39.20, long. 22.55. Size of territory: 1 or 2. Type: [A]. The toponym is Ἰαολκός (Pind. *Pyth.* 4.77), Ἰαωλκός (*Hymn. Hom. Ap.* 218), or Ἰωλκός (Hdt. 5.94.1; Ps.-Skylax 65), ἡ (Pind. *Pyth.* 4.77) and ὁ (schol. Pind. *Nem.* 3.57). The city-ethnic is Ἰωλκεύς on C4f coins (*infra*) and Ἰώλκιος in a decree of 276–236 (Meyer (1936)).

Iolkos is primarily connected with Thessalian mythology (Bakhuizen (1996) 89–90), and evidence for the historical community is exiguous (ibid. 103). By C6l at the latest, it must have been a dependency of the Thessalians: it is reported by Hdt. 5.94.1 that the Thessalians offered Iolkos to the Athenian tyrant Hippias upon his expulsion from Athens in 511/10. The evidence for its *polis* status is C4s: in Ps.-Skylax 65 Iolkos is the first toponym listed after the heading πόλεις αἵδε, where *polis* is used in the urban sense, and the city struck coins inscribed ΙΩΛΚΕΩΝ (A. Furtwängler and K. Liampi, pers. comm.; no further details).

In C4s, Iolkos was a Magnesian city (Ps.-Skylax 65), and it is commonly located at Kastro Volou (so *Barr.*; cf. Indzesiloglou (1994)). Here is a settlement with which are associated *inter al.* C6 and C5 graves (Lauffer (1989) 709) and remains of a temple (*RE* ix. 1853). The principal divinity was Artemis (Meyer (1936) 371).

450. Kasthanaie (Kassanaeus) Map 55. Lat. 39.35, long. 22.55. Size of territory: 2. Type: A. The only Classical source for the toponym is Herodotos, who gives Κασθαναίη, ἡ (7.183.3, 188.1, 3); later sources have Κασθαναία (Strabo 9.5.22), Κασθανέα (Hsch. *K* 967) and Κασταναία (Lycoph. *Alex.* 907; Steph. Byz. 366.11). The city-ethnic is Κασσαναεύς (*IG* II² 5227.1 (C4l/C3e)); Steph. Byz. 366.13 has Καστανᾶιος.

Kasthanaie is called a *polis* in the urban sense by Herodotos (7.183.3, 188.1). The (external?) collective use of the city-ethnic is found in *IG* II² 5227.1 (C4l/C3e), a sepulchral inscription set up by the city of Kasthanaie to commemorate Μαγνήτων Ἀμυρεῖς, who had fallen in battle.

Kasthanaie was a Magnesian city (Hdt. 7.183.3), situated right on the coast. At the site are remains of C5 isodomic fortifications of both the acropolis and the lower city (Stählin (1924*a*) 51–52; Pritchett (1963) 3; Müller (1987) 332–34 with Abb. 1–3).

451. Kikynethos Map 55. Lat. 39.10, long. 23.05. Size of territory: 1 (= size of island: 4.25 km² (*RE* xi. 382)). Type: A. The toponym is Κικύνηθος (Ps.-Skylax 64; Strabo 9.5.15). No city-ethnic is attested. Unlocated, but on homonymous island (Ps.-Skylax 64; Strabo 9.5.15). This *polis* is known exclusively from Ps.-Skylax 64 (ἐν δὲ τῷ Παγασητικῷ κόλπῳ ἐστὶ νῆσος Κικύνηθος καὶ πόλις) and Strabo 9.5.15, citing Artemidoros (ἐν δὲ τῷ κόλπῳ φησὶν εἶναι τὴν Κικύνηθον νῆσον καὶ πολίχνην ὁμώνυμον).

452. Korakai (Korokaios) Map 55. Unlocated, but see *infra.* Type: [A]. In Ps.-Skylax 65 is a reference to a Magnesian settlement by the name of Κορακαί, listed between Methone and Spalauthra. Delphic inscriptions mention a Magnesian ethnic as Κροκαῖος (*CID* II 5.III.36 (362–360)) or Κοροκαῖος (*CID* II 32.48 (C4l)), and it seems reasonable to regard the *K(o)rokaioi* as the inhabitants of *Korakai* (cf. Stählin (1921) 1371). Korakai is listed as a *polis* in

the urban sense in Ps.-Skylax 65 under the heading *πόλεις αἵδε*; in *CID* II 5.II.25, 36 (362–360) the community is listed as a *polis* in the political sense under the heading *ταίδε τᾶμ πολίων ἤνικαν*. The external collective use of the city-ethnic is found in *CID* II 5.II.36 (362–360), and the external individual use in *CID* II 74.II.30 (337/6).

Korakai is possibly to be located at Nevestiki near Lechonia, a hill with a pre-C4 fortification and black-glazed pottery (Wace (1906) 153–54); this site was presumably Thessalian until C4m; a parallel is provided by Iolkos and Pyrasos and by Pagasai and its sanctuary of Apollo Aktios (or Pagasites), situated on the southern shore of the bay of Volos opposite Korope. Pagasai is described as Thessalian by Ps.-Skylax 64 (see further the entry for Pagasai). This part of the Gulf of Pagasai, then, was Thessalian in the Classical period until the arrival of the Magnesians in this part of Thessaly, when it was detached from the Thessalians by Philip II (cf. Pagasai (no. 407)). The identification is, however, uncertain, and the site has also been identified as that of Magnesian Methone (Masson (1968) 97 n. 5; *Barr.*).

Korakai was a Magnesian community (Ps.-Skylax 65), and it sometimes provided the Amphiktyony with one of the Magnesian *hieromnemones* (*CID* II 32.48 (C4l), 74.I.39, II.30 (337/6), 76.I.25 (324/4), 100.I.16 (325/4), 102.I.15 (324/3)), the other being provided by Homolion (and by Methone or Olizon when Korakai did not provide one). An Archaic inscription (*SEG* 17 287 (*c.*550)) from the possible site of Korakai (see *supra*) records building activity, presumably connected with a public construction, and describes a man as *δικαστορεύϝων* (see further Masson (1968) and *idem* in *RPhil* 54 (1980) 226–27).

453. Meliboia (Meliboieus) Map 55. Unlocated, but see *infra*. Size of territory: 2. Type: A. The toponym is *Μελίβοια, ἡ* (Hom. *Il.* 2.717; Hdt. 7.188.3; Ps.-Skylax 65; *I.Iasos* 54.7 (C4l)). The city-ethnic is *Μελιβοιεύς* (*IG* II² 9331 (C4m); *I.Iasos* 54.5 (C4l) and on C4f coins (*infra*)) or *Μελιβοεύς* (Theopomp. fr. 372; Tod 196.13, 37 (330–326) and on C4f coins, *infra*).

Meliboia is called a *polis* in the territorial sense by Hdt. 7.188.3, and in Ps.-Skylax 65 it is one of the toponyms listed after the heading *πόλεις αἵδε*, where *polis* is used in the urban sense. It is called a *polis* in the political sense at Plut. *Pel.* 29.4 (r367–366). The internal collective use of the city-ethnic is attested by C4f coins and on undated tiles stamped *Δημ[οσ]ία Μελιβοιέων* (Stählin (1924*a*) 50); the external individual use is attested by *IG* II² 9331 (C4m); *I.Iasos* 54.5 (C4l), and the external collective use by Tod 196.13 (330–326). During the crisis of 330–326 Meliboia received 28,500 *medimnoi* of grain from Kyrene (Tod 196.13, 37). Meliboia was a *polis enspondos* of Alexander of Pherai, who nevertheless massacred those attending an *ekklesia* in 367–366 (Plut. *Pel.* 29.4). A citizen of Meliboia was granted proxeny by Iasos in C4l (*I.Iasos* 54).

Meliboia was a Magnesian city (Ps.-Skylax 65) and was probably situated at Kastro Velika near Velika, north of the Agiokambos plain (Tziaphalias (1994*a*)), a site which remains to be archaeologically investigated. C5 cults are attested for Apollo, Poseidon and Athena (*ArchEph* (1930) 19 nos. 2–4).

In C4f, Meliboia minted in both silver and bronze. (1) Silver (obols on the Aiginetan standard): *obv.* head of nymph facing crowned with grapes; *rev.* grapes; legend: *ΜΕΛΙΒΟΕ*. (2) Bronze: *obv.* head of Dionysos, or of nymph; *rev.* grapes; legends: *ΜΕΛ*, *ΜΕΛΙ*, *ΜΕΛΙΒΟΕ*, *ΜΕΛΙΒΟΙΕΩΝ* (Head, *HN*² 301; Babelon, *Traité* ii.4 nos. 749–51; Martin (1985) 39; *SNG Cop. Thessaly* 170–71).

454. Methone (Methonaios) Map 55. Lat. 39.20, long. 23.05. Size of territory: 1 or 2. Type: [A]. The toponym is given as *Μοθώνη* by the MS of Ps.-Skylax 65, usually emended to *Μεθώνη, ἡ*, the form suggested by the city-ethnic (which is *Μεθωναῖος* (*CID* II 5.II.39)) and transmitted in Strabo 9.5.16; Hom. *Il.* 2.716 has *Μηθώνη*, and Strabo 9.5.16 obviously took this passage to refer to Magnesian Methone.

In Ps.-Skylax 65, Methone is the second toponym listed after the heading *πόλεις αἵδε*, where *polis* is used in the urban sense; in the political sense *polis* is attested in *CID* II 5.II.25–26, 39 (358), where *Μάγνητες Μεθωναῖοι* (39) are listed under the heading *ταίδε τᾶμ πολίων ἤνικαν* (25–26) (cf. *CID* II 74.I.4, 55), and in *CID* II 74, where a *tamias* of Methone is recorded (I.55) after the heading *τὸν ταμίαν ἀποπέμπειν τὰς πόλεις* (I.4). The external collective use of the city-ethnic is found in *CID* II 5.II.39 (358), and the external individual use is found in *CID* II 74.I.55 (337/6) and 97.63 (327/6), etc.

Methone was a Magnesian city (Ps.-Skylax 65; *CID* II 5.II.39 (358)), and it often provided the Amphiktyonic League with one of the Magnesian *hieromnemones* (*CID* II 79A.II.15 (334/3), 86.18 (331), 89.14 (329/8), 92.4 (329/8), 94.7 (328/7), 96.10 (327/6), 97.63 (327/6)), the other being provided by Homolion (and by Korakai or Olizon when Methone did not provide one). A citizen of Methone served the Amphiktyony as *tamias* (*CID* II 74.I.55 (337/6)). A collective donation by Methone of 306 dr. towards the rebuilding of the temple at Delphi is recorded in *CID* II 5.II.39 (358).

The location of Methone on the Pagasitic Gulf is not beyond dispute, but it is most often located at Nevestiki near Lechonia (Stählin (1924*a*) 53; *Barr.*); on the hill of Nevestiki are remains of a pre-C4 fortification wall and black-glazed pottery (Wace (1906) 153–54); if not Methone, this site may possibly be that of Korakai (see entry *supra*). Helly (2001*b*) suggests that it could be located at Goritsa. An Archaic inscription (*SEG* 17 287 (*c.*550)) from the site of Nevestiki, a possible location for Methone (*supra*), records building activity, presumably connected with a public construction, and describes a man as δικαστορεύϝων (see further Masson (1968) and *idem* in *RPhil* 54 (1980) 226–27).

455. Olizon (Olizonios) Map 55. Lat. 39.10, long. 23.15. Size of territory: 2. Type: [A]. The toponym is Ὀλιζών, ἡ (Hom. *Il.* 2.717; Hecat. fr. 135 = Steph. Byz. 489.14; Ps.-Skylax 65). The city-ethnic is Ὀλιζώνιος (*CID* II 84.A.4 (332)).

In Ps.-Skylax 65 Olizon is the fifth toponym listed after the heading πόλεις αἵδε, where *polis* is used in the urban sense. It is called a *polichne* by Strabo 9.5.15 in reference to C3e. The external individual use of the city-ethnic is found in *CID* II 84.A.4 (332).

Olizon was a Magnesian city (Ps.-Skylax 65; *CID* II 84.A.4) and as such sometimes provided the Amphiktyonic League with a *hieromnemon* (*CID* II 84.A.4 (332)), the other being provided by Homolion (and by Methone or Korakai when Olizon did not provide one). At the site are remains of "a wall built of big blocks in irregular courses . . . the wall went all around the hill" (Wace (1906) 148) and possibly of a small prostyle marble temple (ibid. 149).

456. (Oxoniaioi) Map 55. Unlocated, but a Magnesian community (*CID* II 5.II.42 (358)). Size of territory: ? Type: [A]. No toponym is attested (but cf. Kip (1910) 84–85). The city-ethnic is Ὀξωνιαῖος (*CID* II 5.II.42 (358)). The *Oxoniaioi* are known from a single source: *CID* II 5.II of 358, where the Μάγνητες Ὀξωνιαῖοι (42) are listed under the heading ταίδε ταμ πολίων ἤνικαν. The Oxoniaian donation amounted to 19 dr. and 3 obols.

457. Rhizous (Rhizousios) Map 55. Lat. 39.50, long. 22.50. Size of territory: 2. Type: [A]. The toponym is Ῥιζοῦς, -οῦντος, ὁ (Ps.-Skylax 65; Strabo 9.5.22). The city-ethnic is Ῥιζούσιος (C4m coins, *infra*); Steph. Byz. 545.4 gives Ῥιζούντιος.

No Archaic or Classical source calls Rhizous a *polis*; but in Ps.-Skylax 65 it is one of the toponyms listed after the heading πόλεις αἵδε, where *polis* is used in the urban sense. It is called *polichne* by Strabo 9.5.15 in reference to C3e. That it was a *polis* in the political sense too is indicated by its C4f bronze coinage (*infra*).

Rhizous was a Magnesian community (Ps.-Skylax 65). It struck bronze coins in C4m. Types: *obv.* head of Zeus, or of Artemis; *rev.* star, or vine branches; legend: ΡΙΖΟΥΣ or ΡΙΖΟΥΣΙΩΝ (Head, *HN*² 309; Babelon, *Traité* ii.4 nos. 746–48a; Rogers (1932) nos. 535–38; *SNG Cop. Thessaly* 249).

458. Spalauthra (Spalauthreus) Map 55. Lat. 39.10, long. 23.15. Size of territory: 2. Type: [A]. The toponym is Σπάλαυθρα, τά (Ps.-Skylax 65; *IG* IX.2 1111.35 (*c.*130)); Steph. Byz. 583.13 has Σπαλέθρη but cites Hellan. fr. 201 for a form which Jacoby prints as Σπαλάθραν and Meineke (*loc. cit.*) as Σπάλαθρον (cf. Meineke's app. crit. *ad loc.*). The city-ethnic is Σπαλαυθρεύς (*IG* IX.2 1111.1 (*c.*130)).

Spalauthra is listed as a *polis* in the urban sense in Ps.-Skylax 65 under the heading πόλεις αἵδε. The city-ethnic is attested only at a time when the city was a constituency of Demetrias (*IG* IX.2 1111 (*c.*130)).

Spalauthra was a Magnesian city (Ps.-Skylax 65). To the south the neighbour was Olizon, to the north-west Korope and Korakai. Although it does not appear in Strabo's account of the synoecism of Demetrias (9.5.15 (r293)), it appears as a constituent community of Demetrias in Hellenistic and later inscriptions (*IG* IX.2 1111 (*c.*130); *SEG* 23 405 (first to second centuries AD)) and so was included in the synoecism at some point. On top of the hill of Chortokastro the church of Ag. Nikolaos presumably stands on the site of an ancient temple (Koder and Hild (1976) 140); if so, this hill was probably the acropolis of Spalauthra.

2.7 Perrhaibia

459. Azoros (Azoriastas) Map 55. Lat. 40.00, long. 22.05. Size of territory: 2. Type: C (classified as a fort/tower by *Barr.*, but see *infra*). The toponym is Ἄζωρος (*Gonnoi* 93.B.28 (C3l)) or Ἀζώριον, τό (Polyb. 28.13.1; *IG* XII.8 178.a.2 (C2)); Rhianos *apud* Steph. Byz. 32.19 uses Ἀζώρεια; Steph. Byz. 32.18 states that a plural form was also found (ἐν Ἀζώροις). The city-ethnic is Ἀζωριαστάς (*IG* IX.1 689.17 (C2e)).

No Archaic or Classical source calls Azoros a *polis*, but it may possibly have been one: according to Livy 42.53.5, it was one of the three *oppida* making up the Perrhaibian *Tripolis* (*<Perseus> descendit ad Azorum, Pythoum, Dolichen: tripolim vocant incolentes haec tria oppida*), an association for which C4f bronze coins are attested (*infra*). If the name *Tripolis* means that the constituent communities were

poleis, then Azoros was a *polis*. (See also the entries for Doliche and Pythoion.) Furthermore, the name of the city has been restored at Diod. 19.52.6, and this passage uses *polis* in the urban sense retrospectively in reference to 316; Strabo 7.7.9 uses *polis* about it retrospectively too, but with no precise indication of date. It is also called *polis* in a C3l inscription (*Gonnoi* 93.B.28). The city-ethnic is attested only in the Hellenistic period: the external collective use is found in *IG* IX.1 689.17 (C2e), and the external individual use in *ArchEph* (1923) 144, 379.C.16 (first century AD).

The territory of Azoros to the north bordered on that of Doliche (a fellow member of the *Tripolis*), to the east on the territories of Askyris and Oloosson, to the south on that of Malloia, and to the west on that of Mondaia. See the map in Lucas (1995) 130. On the territory, see further Lucas (1997) 149–51.

Azoros was situated in Perrhaibia (Diod. 19.52.6; Polyb. 28.13.1; *IG* IX.1 689.5 (C2)) or Pelagonia (Strabo 7.7.9); Ptol. *Geog.* 3.12.39 places it in Pelasgiotis. With Pythoion and Doliche, Azoros formed the Perrhaibian *Tripolis* (Livy 42.53.5, quoted *supra*; *IG* XII.8 178.a.2 (C2); Strabo 7.7.9; Steph. Byz. 32.16, 637, s.v. *Τρίπολις*: *καὶ ἄλλη Περραιβίας*). Like Doliche and Pythoion—fellow members of the *Tripolis*—Azoros is absent from the list of Perrhaibian polities in *SEG* 29 546 (375–350); this fact (and the fact that the dispute between Doliche and Eleimiotis was settled by the Makedonian king, Amyntas, see s.v. Doliche) suggests that in C4e the *Tripolis* was under Makedonian rule (Lucas (1997) 80–81, 211–16).

The acropolis was separately walled (Lucas (1997) 162–65). The preserved remains of the circuit wall are of the later Hellenistic period (ibid.), but Diod. 19.52.6 (r316) mentions a siege of Azoros and thus implies the existence of fortifications. There are numerous traces of buildings at Azoros, but in the absence of excavation they cannot be identified (Lucas (1997) 166–68).

A few divinities are known from dedications: Apollo Lykeios (C4–C3, unpublished), Apollo Doreios (C3–C2, unpublished), Apollo Pythios (Peek (1974) 7 (C3–C2)), and Asklepios (C3f, unpublished), but the patron divinity has not been identified.

The Tripolis of Azoros, Pythoion and Doliche struck bronze coins in C4f. Types: *obv.* Apollo; legend: *ΤΡΙΠΟΛΙΤΑΝ*; *rev.* tripod (Liampi (1990)).

460. Chyretiai (Chyretiaios) Map 55. Lat. 39.50, long. 22.10. Size of territory: 2. Type: C. The toponym is *Χυρετίαι, αἱ* (Ptol. *Geog.* 3.12; *ArchEph* (1917) 1, 301.3 (C2e)). The city-ethnic is *Χυρετιαῖος* (*SEG* 29 546.10–11 (375–350)) or *Χυρετιεύς* (*EAM* 40.8 = *GVI* 40.8 (C3l/C2e)).

No Archaic or Classical source calls Chyretiai a *polis*, but two men from the city are listed under the heading *Χυρετιαίων* in an inscription of 375–350 which has been interpreted as a catalogue of Perrhaibian polities making a joint dedication to Apollo Pythios at Oloosson and which includes such Perrhaibian communities as Phalanna and Gonnoi (*SEG* 29 546 (375–350)). It is called *polis* in the political sense in Hellenistic documents, e.g. *ArchEph* (1917) 1, 301.8 (*ἔδοξε τῇ Χυρετιέων πόλει* (191)). The external individual use of the city-ethnic is found on a C3 tombstone (*EAM* 40.8 = *GVI* 40.8 (C3l/C2e)).

Chyretiai was situated in Perrhaibia (*SEG* 29 546, by implication; see the map in Lucas (1995) 130), though Ptol. *Geog.* 3.12 places it in Pelasgiotis. (For C5 coins of the Perrhaibians, see the entry for Oloosson.) Stählin (1924*a*) 25 briefly mentions an acropolis wall and traces of an isodomic city wall.

461. Doliche (Dolichaios) Map 50. Lat. 40.05, long. 22.10. Size of territory: 2. Type: C. The toponym is *Δολίχη, ἡ* (Polyb. 28.13.1; *IG* IX.2 1296 (C1)); the city-ethnic is *Δολιχαῖος* (*EAM* 6.2 (C1)). No Archaic or Classical source calls Doliche a *polis*, but it may possibly have been one: according to Livy 42.53.5, it was one of the three *oppida* making up the Perrhaibian *Tripolis* (*<Perseus> descendit ad Azorum, Pythoum, Dolichen: tripolim vocant incolentes haec tria oppida*), an association for which C4f bronze coins are attested (*infra*). If the name *Tripolis* means that the constituent communities were *poleis*, then Doliche was a *polis*. (See also the entries for Azoros and Pythoion). Furthermore, C4f possession of a territory by Doliche is attested by a document dating to the reign of Trajan: the document concerns a territorial conflict between Doliche and the Elimiotes and refers to a similar conflict between the same communities during the reign of Amyntas III (390–371), the father of Philip II (Wace and Thompson (1910–11) 195, ll. 16–18, 198; Lucas (1992) 132–34, (1997) 148–49). The external individual use of the city-ethnic is found in C1 (*EAM* 6.2). The external collective use of the ethnic may have been used on the stele of Amyntas' arbitration which was set up in the *forum* at Doliche (l. 13) and was pronounced *inter Dolichanos et Eleimiotes* (ll. 18–19; Wace and Thompson (1910–11)).

Doliche was situated in Perrhaibia (Polyb. 28.13.1; cf. Ptol. *Geog.* 3.12.39, who places it in Pelasgiotis). Like Azoros and Pythoion (with whom Doliche formed the Perrhaibian

Tripolis), it is absent from the list of Perrhaibian polities in *SEG* 29 546 (375–350); this fact (and the fact that the dispute between Doliche and Eleimiotis was settled by the Makedonian king, see *supra*) suggests that in C4e the *Tripolis* was under Makedonian rule (Lucas (1997) 80–81, 211–16). To the south its territory bordered on that of Azoros (a fellow member of the *Tripolis*), to the west on that of the Elimiotes, and to the east on that of Pythion (a fellow member of the *Tripolis*). See the map in Lucas (1995) 130. In C4f Doliche had a territorial conflict with the Elimiotes (Wace and Thompson (1910–11); Lucas (1992) 132–34, (1997) 148–49).

The acropolis was separately walled, but the wall, built of quadrangular blocks, has been destroyed by modern constructions (Lucas (1997) 175–77). Since the publication of Lucas (1997) new archaeological investigation has (1) demonstrated the existence of a C4–C3 city wall, and (2) unearthed several remains of buildings (possibly the agora); *ArchDelt* 51 (1996) 363–64.

The Tripolis of Azoros, Pythoion and Doliche struck bronze coins in C4f. Types: *obv.* Apollo; legend: *ΤΡΙΠΟΛΙΤΑΝ*; *rev.* tripod (Liampi (1990)).

462. *Ereikinion (Ereikineus) Map 55. Lat. 39.45, long. 22.00. Size of territory: 2. Type: [A]. The toponym is probably **Ερεικίνιον* reconstructed from Latin *Ericinium* (Livy 36.13.6) and the city-ethnic *'Ερεικινεύς* (*SEG* 29 546; cf. 33 457 (375–350)) or *'Ερικινεύς* (*CID* II 9.4 (C4m)).

No Archaic or Classical source calls *Ereikinion a *polis*, but in the Delphic *naopoioi*'s accounts the *'Ερικινεῖς* are recorded in a fragmentary list (*CID* II 9.4), the heading of which undoubtedly included the formula *ταίδε ταμ πολίων ἤνικαν* (*CID* II 5.II.25–26) *vel sim.* Furthermore, two men from the city are listed under the heading *'Ερεικινείων* in an inscription of 375–350 which has been interpreted as a catalogue of Perrhaibian polities making a dedication to Apollo Pythios at Oloosson and includes such Perrhaibian communities as Phalanna and Gonnoi (*SEG* 29 546). Furthermore, *CID* II 9.4 (C4m) records a donation by the *'Ερεικινεῖς*. A C2 inscription attests the external individual use of the city-ethnic (*Gonnoi* 42).

*Ereikinion was situated near the village of Mega-Eleftherochori (formerly Kebir); cf. Lucas (1995). It was a Perrhaibian city (*CID* II 9.4 (C4m); see the map in Lucas (1995) 130) and is listed in *SEG* 29 546 (375–350). (For C5 coins of the Perrhaibians, see the entry for Oloosson.)

463. Gonnos (Gonneus) Map 55. Lat. 39.50, long. 22.30. Size of territory: 3. Type: A. The toponym is *Γόννος, ἡ* (Hdt. 7.128.1; Eust. *Il.* 2.739) or *Γόννοι* (*BCH* 45 (1921) III.39 (230–220)). The city-ethnic is *Γοννεύς* (C4 coins, *infra*; *SEG* 29 546.16 (375–350); cf. 33 457); Steph. Byz. 211.3 gives *Γονατάς* and *Γόννιος*, both unattested.

Gonnos is called *polis* in the urban sense at Hdt. 7.128.1, 173.4; *polis* in the political sense occurs in *SEG* 35 566 (*c.*300) and frequently in Hellenistic decrees of the city, e.g. *Gonnoi* 2.8 (C3e), which also has *[politai]* (l. 9). *Patris* is found in *Gonnoi* 211 (C3). The internal collective use of the city-ethnic is found on C4 coins (*infra*) and in, e.g., *Gonnoi* 1.3 (C4l/C3e). The external collective use is attested in *SEG* 29 546.16 (375–350) and *IG* IV 617.13 ([*Γον*]*νεῖς* (C4l)). At Hdt. 5.63.3, the transmitted *Κονιαῖος* is sometimes emended to *Γονναῖος* (e.g. How and Wells (1928) *ad loc.*), but see Helly (1995) 103. The external individual use is found in *IG* II² 1132.66 (*c.*278).

Gonnos was situated in Perrhaibia (Hdt. 7.128.1, 173.4; *IG* II² 1132.66 (130/29)), and is recorded in *SEG* 29 546 (375–350), a list of Perrhaibian polities making a joint dedication to Apollo Pythios at Oloosson. (For C5 coins of the Perrhaibians, see the entry for Oloosson.)

On military matters, all evidence is Hellenistic (see Helly (1973) 145–46); evidence on the political organisation is likewise Hellenistic (Helly (1973) 138–45). *Gonnoi* 1 (C4l/C3e) is a grant of proxeny to a man from Larisa. *Gonnoi* 5 (C3) combines proxeny with *enktesis*, *epinomia*, etc. *IG* IV 617.13 (316–293) records a monetary donation by Gonnos "to the *θεωροί* sent out from Argos to announce the celebration of the Nemean Games and the Heraia" (Perlman (2000) 74, 127–29).

Situated on the end of a ridge on the lower slopes of Mt. Olympos, the city of Gonnos was centred on three hills, the northernmost of which formed the acropolis with a temple of Athena Polias constructed 650–600 (Helly (1973) 72 with map i); in this sanctuary public documents were published; it was restored in C4l (ibid. 95). The acropolis was separately walled, possibly from the Archaic period (*PECS* 359). In the Hellenistic period (*PECS* 360) the city was protected by a fortification wall (for which see Helly (1973) 23–28 with map i) which incorporated all three hills in the fortified area. The area enclosed measured *c.*6 ha. For two Classical second-order sites in the territory, see Helly (1973) 39–47.

Gonnoi 147 (C3?) attests to a cult of Athena Polias and *SEG* 35 567 (*c.*300) to one of Athena Patroia; *Gonnoi* 158 (C4f) is a dedication to Apollo Pythios, and *Gonnoi* 162 (C4l/C3e) is one to Artemis. Asklepios is attested by *SEG* 35 565 (C4) and *Gonnoi* 199 (C3), Ennodia by *Gonnoi* 201 (C3) and Herakles by 202 (C3).

Gonnos struck bronze coins in C4. Types: *Obv.* female head (nymph?) in border of dots; *rev.* lion standing; legend: ΓΟΝΝΕ, ΓΟΝΝΕΩΝ (Rogers (1932) 79–80 nos. 223–26; Helly (1973) 155; *SNG Cop. Thessaly* 53–54).

464. *Malloia (Malloiatas) Map 55. Lat. 39.55, long. 22.05. Size of territory: 2. Type: C (classified as a fort/tower by *Barr.*, but see *infra*). The toponym is not recorded in Greek sources, but is given as *Malloea* by Livy 31.41, 36.10, etc., which with the city-ethnic (*infra*) suggests Μαλλοία, ἡ. The city-ethnic is Μαλλοιάτας (*SEG* 29 546.13 (375–350)).

No Archaic or Classical source calls Malloia a *polis*, but two men from the city are listed under the heading Μαλλοιατᾶν in an inscription of 375–350 which has been interpreted as a catalogue of Perrhaibian polities making a dedication to Apollo and which includes such Perrhaibian communities as Phalanna and Gonnoi (*SEG* 29 546); note also *SEG* 35 636 (C5s), an epitaph that uses ἄρχων about the deceased, which presumably indicates that he died while in office and suggests the existence of magistracies at Malloia.

Malloia was a Perrhaibian city (Livy 31.41, 36.10, etc.) situated at the site of Margara north-west of the village of Palaiokastro (Lucas (1995) 124 and map at 130). It is recorded in *SEG* 29 546 (375–350), a list of Perrhaibian polities making a joint dedication to Apollo Pythios at Oloosson. A circuit wall is visible at the site, but the city remains to be investigated archaeologically. (For C5 coins of the Perrhaibians, see the entry for Oloosson.)

465. Mondaia (Mondaieus) Map 55. Lat. 40.00, long. 21.55. Size of territory: 2. Type: B. The toponym is Μονδαία (*BCH* 45 (1921) v.C(b).6 (230–220); cf. *infra*). The city-ethnic Μονδαιάτας was originally restored in *SEG* 29 546.14 (Μονδα[ιατᾶ]ν), and this form is found also in *Syll.*² 793 (presumably C3e); however, Knoepfler has suggested restoring Μονδαιεύς (Μονδα[ιείω]ν; cf. *SEG* 33 457), a form also found in C4s (*BE* (1994) 111); apart from *Syll.*² 793 (presumably C3e), later sources invariably have Μονδαιεύς (*IG* IX.1 689.9; *Gonnoi* 69.6 (both C2e)).

No Archaic or Classical source calls Mondaia a *polis*, but two men from the city are listed under the heading Μονδα[ιατᾶ]ν *vel* Μονδα[ιειῶ]ν in an inscription of 375–350 which has been interpreted as a catalogue of Perrhaibian polities making a joint dedication to Apollo Pythios at Oloosson and which includes such Perrhaibian communities as Phalanna and Gonnoi (*SEG* 29 546). Mondaia is called a *polis* in the political sense in *Gonnoi* 69.7 (178) while *Syll.*² 793 (presumably C3e) terms the community Μον[δ]αιατᾶν τὸ κοινόν. The external collective use of the city-ethnic occurs on C4s stamped tiles found in Pella (*BE* (1994) 111), as well as in *SEG* 29 546 (375–350). In 230–220 a citizen of Mondaia may have served as Delphic *theorodokos* (*BCH* 45 (1921) v.C(b).6), but certainty is impossible, since the first letter is illegible, which means that *[K]ondaia*, a city of the Larisaian plain, is also a possible reading (Lucas (1997) 87).

Mondaia was a Perrhaibian city and is recorded in *SEG* 29 546 (375–350), a list of Perrhaibian polities making a joint dedication to Apollo Pythios. It was situated at the site of Kastri, east of the village of Loutro Elassonas (Lucas (1997) 155, 199–201 with map at 130). At the site, remains of walls are visible on the acropolis and in the lower city; on the acropolis are remains of fine buildings as well (autopsy by G. Lucas).

The patron divinity was presumably Themis, in whose sanctuary documents were published (*Gonnoi* 69; cf. *Syll.*² 793). *Syll.*² 793 (presumably C3e) records a consultation by Mondaia of the oracle at Dodona. (For C5 coins of the Perrhaibians, see the entry for Oloosson.)

466. Mylai (Mylaios) Map 55. Lat. 39.45, long. 22.05. Size of territory: 2. Type: C (classified as a fort/tower by *Barr.*, but see *infra*). The toponym is Μυλαί, αἱ (*BCH* 45 (1921) III.134 (230–220); Steph. Byz. 461.9). The city-ethnic is Μυλαῖος (*SEG* 29 546.9 (375–350)).

No Archaic or Classical source calls Mylai a *polis*, but three men from the city are listed under the heading Μυλαίων in an inscription of 375–350 which has been interpreted as a catalogue of Perrhaibian polities making a joint dedication to Apollo Pythios at Oloosson and which includes such Perrhaibian communities as Phalanna and Gonnoi (*SEG* 29 546). In 230–220, a citizen of Mylai served as Delphic *theorodokos* (*BCH* 45 (1921) III.134).

Mylai was a Perrhaibian city, and it is recorded in *SEG* 29 546 (375–350), a list of Perrhaibian polities making a joint dedication to Apollo Pythios. (For C5 coins of the Perrhaibians, see the entry for Oloosson). Mylai was situated at Kastri, north of the village of Vlachogianni (Lucas (1995) 122). To the north its territory bordered on that of Malloia, to the north-west on that of Chyretiai, to the south-east on that of Phalanna, to the south on that of Erikinion, and to the west on the territories of Phakion and Oxyneia. See the map at Lucas (1995) 130. The acropolis of Mylai was enclosed by a wall; it runs for *c.*400 m and is constructed in large irregular blocks which do not join; there may have been an entrance in the south-east, and gates or sally-ports were possibly located to the south and north-west; and a

ruined square tower (possibly Hellenistic) was found on the highest point of the wall (autopsy by G. Lucas). To the north a wall is seen descending towards the city wall, though no trace of the latter has been found (autopsy by G. Lucas). In the centre of the acropolis are the foundations of a rectangular building; and there are numerous traces of habitation to the west, north-west and south-west (autopsy by G. Lucas).

467. Oloosson (Oloossonios) Map 55. Lat. 39.55, long. 22.20. Size of territory: 2. Type: B. The toponym is *'Ολοοσσών, ἡ* (Hom. *Il.* 2.739; Eust. *Il.* 520.25), *'Ολόσσων* (*Gonnoi* 93.B.23 (C3l); Strabo 9.5.19). The city-ethnic is *'Ολοσσόνιος* (*Gonnoi* 11.3 (C3f), and presumably C4 coins (*infra*)).

No Archaic or Classical source calls Oloosson a *polis*, but it is included as a probable *polis* here because (1) it struck coins in C4, and (2) it is highly likely that [*'Ολοσσονίον* (gen. pl.)] should be restored in *SEG* 29 546.4, an inscription of 375–350 found at Oloosson which has been interpreted as a catalogue of Perrhaibian polities making a dedication to Apollo Pythios and which includes such Perrhaibian communities as Phalanna and Gonnoi. Oloosoon is called a *polis* in the political sense in *Gonnoi* 18.14 (C3l). The internal collective city-ethnic is abbreviated on C4 coins (*infra*) and has been restored at *SEG* 29 546.4 (375–350). The external individual use is found in *Gonnoi* 11.3 and *SEG* 23 455 (both C3f). In C3s Gonnoi conferred *proxenia* and other privileges upon two citizens of Oloosson (*Gonnoi* 11, 18).

Oloosson was Perrhaibian (Strabo 9.5.19; though Steph. Byz. 490.11 places it in Magnesia, presumably confusing it with Magnesian Olizon, which at 489.14 he places in Thessalia). It was situated at modern Elasson, and in 375–350 it was probably listed in *SEG* 29 546 (cf. app. crit.), a list found at Oloosson itself and cataloguing Perrhaibian polities making a joint dedication to Apollo Pythios at Oloosson. Oloosson was presumably a leading city of the Perrhaibian *ethnos* if the hypothesis that the C5 silver coinage of the Perrhaibians (*infra*) was struck by Oloosson is accepted (Babelon, *Traité* ii.4 327–28; Liampi (1996) 119); for the similarities between these coins and contemporary coins of Krannon, Larisa, Pharkadon, Trikka, Pherai and Skotoussa, see Kraay (1976) 115–16 and Martin (1985) 36–37.

An unpublished inscription (C3s) mentions a sanctuary of Asklepios, and on the basis of coin types a cult of Zeus may be assumed as well. *SEG* 29 546, a joint dedication to Apollo Pythios by the Perrhaibian polities, was found in Oloosson. On the northern slope of the acropolis traces of an isodomic wall are visible (Stählin (1924*a*) 24).

The C5 silver and C4 bronze coinage of the Perrhaibians was probably struck by Oloosson (Babelon, *Traité* ii.4 327–28): (1) Silver, denominations: drachm, triobol, trihemiobol, obol and hemiobol on the Aiginetan standard; types: *obv.* young man restraining a bull, or forepart of bull, or horseman, or galloping horse, or head of Athena; *rev.* galloping horse, or forepart of horse, or Athena running, or horse's head; legend: *ΠΕ* or *ΠΕΡΑ*. (2) Bronze: *obv.* veiled Hera facing; *rev.* Zeus; legend: *(Π)ΕΡΡΑΙΒΩΝ* (Head, *HN*² 304; Rogers (1932) nos. 437–39; Gardner (1963) 39; Liampi (1996) 109–10; *SNG Cop. Thessaly* 193–97). In C4 Oloosson struck its own bronze coins: *obv.* horseman; *rev.* Zeus brandishing thunderbolt; legend: *ΟΛΟΣΣΟΝ(ΙΩΝ)* (Lavva (1994)).

468. Phalanna (Phalannaios) Map 55. Lat. 39.45, long. 22.10. Size of territory: 2. Type: [A]. The toponym is *Φαλάννα, ἡ* in *SEG* 38 649 (C4) (cf. Voutiras (1991)); *BCH* 45 (1921) v.43 (230–220); and Strabo 9.5.19. According to Steph. Byz. 655.20, Ephoros (= *FGrHist* 70) fr. 62 used the toponym *Φάλλανος* (cf. Eust. *Il.* 520.18: *ἡ Φάλλανος*). Hecat. fr. 5 is quoted by Steph. Byz. 655.19 for the variant name *'Ιππία*, which is taken by Jacoby (*ad loc.*) to be a variant name not of the city, but of the eponymous heroine Phalanna. According to Strabo 9.5.15, "some" (*τινές*) used the toponym *Ὄρθη* (cf. Hom. *Il.* 2.739) about the acropolis of Phalanna, whereas Ael. Herod. *De pros. cath.* 3.1, 321.5 takes *Ὄρθη* to be a *πόλις Περραιβίας ἢ Θετταλίας, καλουμένη, φασί, καὶ Κορσέα*. However, according to Eust. *Il.* 1.520.28, Korsea was another name for the acropolis. The city-ethnic was *Φαλανναῖος* (C4 coins, *infra*; *SEG* 29 546.6 (375–350); *CID* II 32.45 (C4l)); an inscription from Argos uses *Φαλαννεύς* (*IG* IV 617.12 (316–293)).

No Archaic or Classical source explicitly describes Phallana as a *polis*; but the political sense is indirectly attested in the Delphic accounts of 337/6 (*CID* II 74), where a *tamias* of Phalanna is recorded (1.48) after the heading *τὸν ταμίαν ἀποπέμπειν τὰς πόλεις* (1.4). For an explicit attestation, see *ArchEph* (1916) 18, 272, 1 (C3e); *IG* IX.2 1228.a13, b17 (C3) has *πολιτεία* in ll. 17–18. The term *ἀστός* (= *Fασστός*) in the sense of "citizen" is found in a C5 law (*IG* IX.2 1226.a3) which describes itself as a *νόμος* (a1) and refers to *κοινὰ χ[ρ]έματα* (a6–7). Phalanna is described as *πατρίς* in *SEG* 38 649 (C4); cf. Voutiras (1991).

The internal collective use of the city-ethnic is found on C4 coins (*infra*) and in *ArchEph* (1916) 18, 272, 1 (C3e). The

external collective use is found in *SEG* 29 546.6 (375–350) and *IG* IV 617.12 (316–293), an inscription recording a collective donation of money by the Phalannians (see further Perlman (2000) 74, 127–29). The external individual use is found in *CID* II 32.45 (C4l), 74.I.48 (337/6), 77.I.9 (334/3), 96.7 (327/6), 100.I.9 (325/4), 102.I.10 (324/3).

Phalanna was a Perrhaibian city (*CID* II 77.I.9, 96.7), and it is listed in *SEG* 29 546 (375–350), a list of Perrhaibian polities making a joint dedication to Apollo Pythios at Oloosson. (For C5 coins of the Perrhaibians, see the entry for Oloosson.) It was probably situated at Damasi (Lucas (1995) 122 with map at 130).

Citizens of Phalanna served the Amphiktyonic League on behalf of the Perrhaibians as *hieromnemones* (*CID* II 32.45 (C4l), 96.7 (327/6), 100.I.9 (325/4), 102.I.10 (324/3)) and as *tamiai* (*CID* II 74.I.9 (337/6), 77.9 (334/3)). With the other Perrhaibian communities, Phalanna in 375–350 made a dedication to Apollo Pythios at Oloosson (*SEG* 29 546). *IG* IV 617.4 (316–293) records a monetary donation by Phalanna "to the *θεωροί* sent out from Argos to announce the celebration of the Nemean Games and the Heraia" (Perlman (2000) 74, 127–29). In 230–220 a citizen of Phalanna served as Delphic *theorodokos* (*BCH* 45 (1921) V.43).

The earliest public enactment is a C5 law (*νόμος*) concerning public finances (*IG* IX.2 1226). Hellenistic inscriptions refer to several officials (*ArchEph* (1916) 18, 272, 1 (C3e); *IG* IX.2 1233 (C3)).

A theatre is mentioned in a C2 inscription (*IG* IX.2 1230), and recent explorations have revealed traces of a polygonal wall on the acropolis (autopsy by G. Lucas), but apart from that there is no evidence for the urban centre.

Phalanna minted in both silver and bronze in C4. (1) Silver, denominations: drachms, triobols, trihemiobols, obols on the Aiginetan standard; types: *obv.* young man with short hair (Ares?), or Hekate holding two torches seated on lion (beneath *ΠΟ*); *rev.* bridled horse, or hunter with dog; legend: *ΦΑΛΑΝΝΑΙΩΝ*. (2) Bronze: *obv.* head of young man (Ares?), or Zeus, or nymph; *rev.* head of nymph, or horseman, or the eponymous heroine Phalanna seated, her left hand stretched toward a stork; legend: *ΦΑΛΑ* or *ΦΑΛ-ΩΝ* or *ΦΑΛΑΝΝΑ* or *ΦΑΛΑΝΝΑΙΩΝ* (Head, *HN*² 305; Babelon, *Traité* ii.4 nos. 583–94; Rogers (1932) 147–49 nos. 446–58; Gardner (1963) 41; *SNG Cop. Thessaly* 199–208).

469. Pythoion (Pythoiastas) Map 50. Lat. 40.05, long. 22.15. Size of territory: 2. Type: C. The toponym is *Πύθοιον*, *τό* (*IG* IV².1 94.b.II.39 (post-316)) or *Πύθειον* (*F.Delphes* III.4 417.III.5 (*c.*257/3)); *Πύθιον* is found in late literary sources (Plut. *Aem.* 15.2; Ptol. *Geog.* 3.12.39). The city-ethnic is *Πυθοιάστας*, but attested only in the Hellenistic period (*SEG* 36 554.4 (C2f)).

No Archaic or Classical source calls Pythoion a *polis*, but it may possibly have been one: according to Livy 42.53.5, it was one of the three *oppida* making up the Perrhaibian *Tripolis* (*<Perseus> descendit ad Azorum, Pythoum, Dolichen: tripolim vocant incolentes haec tria oppida*), an association for which C4f bronze coins are attested (*infra*). If the name *Tripolis* means that the constituent communities were *poleis*, then Pythoion was a *polis*. Furthermore, in C4l a citizen of Pythoion served as Epidaurian *theorodokos* (*IG* IV².1 94 I.b.39). Pythoion calls itself *ἡ πόλις ἡ Πυθοιαστῶν* in a C2f proxeny decree (*SEG* 36 552.4). A coin inscribed *ΠΥΘΙΑΤΩΝ* is a forgery (Lucas (1997) 77).

Pythoion was situated on the hill of Ag. Apostoli south of the present village of Pythion, formerly Selos (Lucas (1997) 182–85). Though geographically located in Perrhaibia (Plut. Aem. 15.2), Pythoion (like Azoros and Doliche, with which it formed the Perrhaibian *Tripolis*) is absent from the list of Perrhaibian polities in *SEG* 29 546 (375–350; cf. Lucas (1997) 80–81); this fact (and the fact that the dispute between Doliche and Eleimiotis was settled by the Makedonian king, s.v. Doliche) suggests that in C4e the *Tripolis* was under Makedonian rule (Lucas (1997) 80–81, 211–16). In addition, the Epidaurian list of *theorodokoi* (*IG* IV².1 94 I.b.39 (post-316)) seems to record Pythoion in the Makedonian section (Lucas (1997) 81–82), and *F.Delphes* III.4 417.III.5 (*c.*257–253) is a grant of proxeny to a man described as *Μακεδὼν Ἐ*[*λ*]*ειμιώτ*[*ης*] *ἐκ Πυθείου*; Steph. Byz. 538.21 also locates it in Makedonia; another passage of Steph. Byz. (157.12–13) possibly attests to the settlement of Makedonians in Pythoion in C4–C3: *Θεαγένης ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ* "*Βαλλαίους μεταγαγὼν εἰς τὸν νῦν λεγόμενον Πύθιον τόπον*" (see Lucas (1997) 76, 216).

A temple of Apollo Pythios, the patron divinity, is mentioned in a C2m inscription (*SEG* 36 552; cf. Plut. *Aem.* 15.10), and recent excavations have unearthed two temples of Roman date (*ArchDelt* 51 ([1996] 2001) 364).

The acropolis was surrounded by a wall constructed in small flat stones (Lucas (1997) 183–84). A wall surrounding the lower city, probably isodomic to judge from the visible remains, has recently been located, but is as yet unpublished and undated. To the south and south-west are numerous traces of occupation (ibid. 184).

The Tripolis of Azoros, Pythoion and Doliche struck bronze coins in C4f. Types: *obv.* Apollo; legend: *ΤΡΙΠΟΛΙΤΑΝ*; *rev.* tripod (Liampi (1990)).

2.8 Athamania

470. Argethia (Argethieus) Map 55. Lat. 39.20, long. 21.30. Size of territory: ? Type: B. The toponym is *Ἀργεθία, ἡ* (*BCH* 45 (1921) III.132 (230–220)). The city-ethnic is *Ἀργεθιεύς* (*SGDI* 1341 (C4s)).

No Archaic or Classical source calls Argethia a *polis*, but it is included as a possible *polis* here on account of *SGDI* 1341, a C4s grant of proxeny by the Molossoi to a man of Argethia (*[Θε]όδωρον Στομίου Ἀρ[γε]θιῆ Μολοσσοὶ πρόξε[νον] ἐποίησαν*). In *c.*230–220, a citizen of Argethia served as Delphic *theorodokos* (*BCH* 45 (1921) III.132).

The city was situated on the east side of Mt. Pindos, in Athamania (or Thessalia, the exact border between the two regions being unclear); the site is at Hellinika, *c.*2 km west of modern Argithea (formerly Knisovo, in the *nomos* of Karditsa). There are traces of a Hellenistic circuit wall (Indzesiloglou (1987) 345) and a Classical–Hellenistic cemetery (*ArchDelt* 43 ([1988]) 252).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Adrimi-Sismani, V. 1994. "*Η μυκηναική πόλη στο Διμήνι. Νεότερα δεδομένα για Αρχαία Ιωλκό*", in *Νεότερα δεδομένα των ερευνών για Αρχαία Ιωλκό* (Volos) 17–43.

——2000. "*Ταφικά σύνολα ἀπό το Δυτικό νεκροταφείο των Φθιωτίδω Θηβών*", in *Ελληνιστική κεραμίκη από τη Θεσσαλία* (Volos) 133–46.

Ager, S. L. 1989. "Judicial Imperialism", *The Ancient History Bulletin* 3.5: 107–14.

—— 1996. *Interstate Arbitrations in the Greek World 337–90 BC* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London).

Arvanitopoulos, A. S. 1909. *Θεσσαλικὰ Μνημεῖα* (Volos).

——1922–24. "*Περὶ τῶν ἐν Κραννῶνι Θεσσαλίας δοκιμαστικῶν ἀνασκαφῶν*", *Prakt* 35–38.

Bakhuizen, S. C. 1986. "La grande batterie de Gorítsa et l'artillerie défensive", in P. Leriche and H. Tréziny (eds.), *La Fortification dans l'histoire du monde grec* (Paris) 315–21.

——1987. "Magnesia unter makedonischer Suzeränität", in S. C. Bakhuizen *et al.* (eds.), *Demetrias*, v, Beiträge zur ur- und frühgeschichten Archaeologie des Mittelmeer-Kulturraumes 27: die deutschen archäologischen Forschungen in Thessalien (Bonn) 319–38.

—— (ed.) 1992. *A Greek City of the Fourth Century* (Rome).

——1996. "Neleia: A Contribution to a Debate", *Orbis Terrarum* 2: 85–120.

Baladié, R. 1996. *Strabon: Géographie*, vi: *Livre IX* (Paris).

Beck, H. 1997. *Polis und Koinon: Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Struktur der griechischen Bundesstaaten im 4. Jahrhundert v. Chr.*, *Historia* Einzelschriften 114 (Stuttgart).

Béquignon, Y. 1928. "Études thessaliennes I–II", *BCH* 52: 9–44, 444–65.

——1932. "Êtudes thessaliennes 4: Ktouri", *BCH* 56: 122–91.

——1937*a*. *Recherches archéologiques à Phères de Thessalie* (Paris).

——1937*b*. *La Vallée du Sperchéios* (Paris).

——1970. "Pharsalos", *RE* suppl. xii. 1038–84.

Berve, H. 1967. *Die Tyrannis bei den Griechen* (Darmstadt).

Biesantz, H. 1965. *Die thessalischen Grabreliefs* (Mainz am Rhein).

Blum, I. 1992. "Die Stadt Eretria in Thessalien", in Blum *et al.* (1992) 157–229.

—— *et al.* 1992. *Topographie antique et géographie historique en pays grec*, Monographie du C.R.A. n° 7, Editions du CNRS (Paris).

Buck, R. J. 1979. *A History of Boiotia* (Edmonton).

Buckler, J. 1989. *Philip II and the Sacred War* (Leiden, New York, Copenhagen and Cologne).

Bursian, C. 1862. *Geographie von Griechenland* (Leipzig).

Cabanes, P. 1976. *L'Épire de la mort de Pyrrhos à la conquête romaine* (Paris).

Camp, J. 2000. "Walls and the *Polis*", *Polis and Politics*: 41–57.

Cantarelli, F. 1995. "Thessaglia meridionale: ricerche storico-topografiche", *BollArch* 16–18: 303–28.

Cartledge, P. 1987. *Agesilaos and the Crisis of Sparta* (London).

Chrysostomou, P. 1983. "*Το πανδοχείο και το Διοσκουρείο των Φερών*", *AAA* 16: 95–105.

——1998. *Η Θεσσαλική Θέα ΕΝ(Ν)ΟΔΙΑ, η Φεραία θέα* (Athens).

Daffa-Nikonanou, A. 1973. *Θεσσαλικὰ ἱερὰ Δήμητρος καὶ κοροπλαστικὰ ἀναθήματα* (Volos).

Darmezin, L. 1992. "Sites archéologiques et territoires du massif des Chassia", in Blum *et al.* (1992) 139–55.

——1994. "Chassia et Antichassia", in *Dekapente Chronia* 211–16.

Daux, G. 1936. *Delphes au IIe et au Ier siècle depuis l'abaissement de l'Étolie jusqu'à la paix romaine 191–31 av. J.-C.* (Paris).

——and de La Coste Messelière, P. 1924. "De Malide en Thessalie", *BCH* 48: 343–76.

Decourt, J.-C. 1990. *La Vallée de l'Énipeus en Thessalie*, *BCH* suppl. 21 (Paris).

——1992. "La Béotie: étude d'archéologie spatiale", in Blum *et al.* (1992) 14–47.

Dekapente Chronia = *Θεσσαλία. Δεκαπέντε χρόνια αρχαιολογικής έρευνας, 1975–1990: Αποτελέσματα και προοπτικές. Πρακτικά διεθνούς συνεδρίου Λυων*, 17–22 *απριλίου* 1990. *Τόμος Β* (*Αθήνα* 1994) = *La Thessalie: quinze années de recherches archéologiques, 1975–1990. Bilans et perspectives.* Actes du college international Lyon, 17–22 avril 1990. Volume B (Athens, 1994).

Demetriadi, V. 1998. "Dion in Macedonia: A Bronze Coinage of the Classical Period", in R. Ashton and S. Hurter (eds.), *Essays in Greek Numismatics in Memory of M. J. Price* (London) 115–17.

Dilke, O. A. W. 1948. "The Greek Theatre Cavea", *BSA* 43: 125–92.

Di Salvatore, M. 1994. "Ricerche sul territorio di Pherai: insediamenti, difese, vie e confini", in *Dekapente Chronia*: 93–124.

Dreher, M. 1995. "Poleis und Nicht-Poleis im Zweiten Athenischen Seebund", *CPCActs* 2: 171–200.

Flacelière, R. 1937. *Les Étoliens à Delphes* (Paris).

Flensted-Jensen, P., and Hansen, M. H. 1996. "Pseudo-Skylax' Use of the Term *Polis*", *CPCPapers* 3: 137–69.

Fossey, J. M. 1990. *The Ancient Topography of Opountian Lokris* (Amsterdam).

Franke, P. R. 1955. "Eine bisher unbekannte Münze aus dem thessalischen Argura", *AA* 231–36.

——1970. "*ΦΕΘΑΛΟΙ—ΦΕΤΑΛΟΙ—ΠΕΤΘΑΛΟΙ—ΘΕΣΣΑΛΟΙ*: zur Geschichte Thessaliens im 5. Jahrhundert v. Chr.", *AA* 85: 85–93.

Gardner, P. 1963. *A Catalogue of Greek Coins in the British Museum: Thessalia to Aetolia* (Bologna).

Giesinger, F. 1956. " *'Ομόλη*", *RE* viii. 186–88.

Gschnitzer, F. 1954. "Namen und Wesen der thessalischen Tetraden", *Hermes* 82: 451–64.

——1958. *Abhängige Orte im griechischen Altertum*, Zetemata 17 (Munich).

Haagsma, M., *et al.* 1993. "Between Karatsadagli and Baklali", *Pharos* 1: 150–52.

Habicht, C. 1978–79. "Ein Bürgerrechtverleihung aus Krannon", in *ΣΤΗΛΗ. Τόμος εἰς μνήμην Νικολάου Κοντολέοντος* (Athens) 44–47.

——1981. "Eine neue Urkunde zur Geschichte Thessaliens unter der makedonischen Herrschafft", in H. J. Dell (ed.), *Ancient Macedonian Studies in Honor of Charles F. Edson* (Thessalonica) 193–98.

Hammond, N. G. L. 1967. *Epirus: The Geography, the Ancient Remains, the History and the Topography of Epirus and Adjacent Areas* (Oxford).

——1994. *Philip of Macedon* (London).

——and Griffith, G. T. 1979. *A History of Macedonia*, ii: *550–336 B.C* (Oxford).

Hanschmann, E. 1981. *Die mittlere Bronzezeit: die deutschen Ausgrabungen auf der Argissa-Magula in Thessalien*, iv (Bonn).

Hansen, M. H. 1996. "City-Ethnics as Evidence for *Polis* Identity", *CPCPapers* 3: 169–96.

——1997. "A Typology of Dependent *Poleis*", *CPCPapers* 4: 29–37.

——1998. *Polis and City-State: An Ancient Concept and its Modern Equivalent*, *CPCActs* 5.

——2000. "A Survey of the Use of the Word *Polis* in Archaic and Classical Sources", *CPCPapers* 5: 173–215.

——and Fischer-Hansen, T. 1994. "Monumental Political Architecture in Archaic and Classical Greek *Poleis*: Evidence and Historical Significance", *CPCPapers* 1: 23–90.

——and Nielsen, T. H. 2000. "The Use of the Word *Polis* in the Fragments of Some Historians", *CPCPapers* 5: 141–50.

Hatzopoulos, M., and Psoma, S. 1998–99. "Cités de Grèce septentrionale portant le nom de Dion", *Tekmeria* 4: 1–12.

Helly, B. 1971. "Thamiai et les grammairiens", *ZPE* 8: 129–32.

——1973. *Gonnoi*, i: *La Cité et son histoire* (Amsterdam).

——1977. "Poliarques, politarques, et politophylaques", in *Actes du 2e congrès sur Ancient Macedonia* (Thessalonica) 531–44.

——1978. "Erythrées d'Ionie ou Erythrées des Thermopyles?", *ZPE* 29: 149–56.

——1979*a*. "Argoura, Atrax et Crannon: réattribution de quelques documents épigraphiques", *ZPE* 35: 241–54.

——1979*b*. "Une liste des cités de Perrhébie dans la première moitié du IVe siècle avant J.-C.", in B. Helly (ed.), *La Thessalie*, Actes de la Table-Ronde, 21–24 July 1975, Lyon (Lyon and Paris) 165–92.

——1984. "Le territoire de Larisa: ses limites, son extension, son organisation", *Ktema* 9: 213–34.

——1987. "Le Dotion Pédion, Lakéreia et les origines de Larisa", *JSav* 127–58.

——1991. "Les cités antiques de la Thessalie", *Les Dossiers de l'archéologie* 159: 30–43.

——1992. "Incursions chez les Dolopes", in Blum *et al.* (1992) 48–91.

——1995. *L'État thessalien, Aleuas le Roux, les tétrades et les* tagoi (Lyon).

——1999. "Modèles: de l'archéologie des cités à l'archéologie du paysage", in *Territoires des cités grecques*, Actes de la Table ronde internationale organisée par l'École française d'Athènes, 31 October–3 November 1991, *BCH* suppl. 34 (Athens) 99–124.

——2001*a*. "Un décret fédéral des Thessaliens méconnu dans une cité d'Achaïe Phthiotide", *BCH* 125: 239–87.

——2001*b*. "Le dialecte thessalien: un autre modèle de développement", in *Actes du Colloque de dialectologie grecque, Berlin, septembre 2001* (forthcoming).

——forthcoming *a*. "Sur quelques monnaies des cités magnètes: Euréai, Euryménai, Rhizous", in *Actes du colloque La monnaie dans l'espace thessalien*, Volos, May 2001.

——forthcoming *b*. "De Pagasai en Chalcidique avec les Argonautes (Strabon, *Géographie*, IX, 5, 22—Apollonios de Rhodes, *Argonautiques*, I, v. 559–600)", in *Séminaire sur les Voies maritimes en mer Égée*, Milan, March 2001.

Herrmann, F. 1922. "Die thessalische Münzunion im 5. Jahrhundert", *ZfN* 33: 33–43.

——1924–25. "Die Silbermünzen von Larissa in Thessalien", *ZfN* 35: 1–69.

Heuzey, L., and Daumet, H. 1876. *Mission de Macédoine* (Paris).

Heyman, C. 1970. "Les types de monnaies de Méthylion en Thessalie", *Ancient Society* 1: 115–28.

Hope Simpson, R., and Lazenby, J. F. 1970. *The Catalogue of the Ships in Homer's* Iliad (Oxford).

How, W. W., and Wells, J. 1928. *A Commentary on Herodotus*, i–ii, corrected reprint (Oxford).

Indzesiloglou, C. 1987. "*Κλεογενάδης Ξενοκλέους καὶ Εὐτυχίδης Ἀθηνοδώρου, δύο ἄγνωστοι Θεσσαλοί γλύπες*", in *Ἄμητος. Τιμητικός τόμος γιά τόν καθηγητή Μ. Ανδρονίκο*, i (Thessalonica) 345–57.

——1994. "*Ισορικη τοπογραφια του κολπου Βολου*", in *Dekapente Chronia* 31–56.

——1997. *Καλλιθήρα, αρχαιολογικός και ἱστορικός οδηγός μιας αρχαίας πόλης στο Καλλίθηρο (Σέκλιτζα) Καρδίτσας* (Kallithiro).

Jehne, M. 1991. "Iasons Symmache mit Athen und das Mitgliederverzeichnis des 2. athenischen Seebunds", *ZPE* 89: 121–31.

Kahrstedt, U. 1925. "Grundherrschaft, Freistadt und Staat in Thessalien", *GöttNachr 1924*: 128–55.

Kakavogiannis, E. 1977. "*Ανασκαφικές έρευνες στις Φέρες της Θεσσαλίας το 1977*", *AAA* 10: 174–87.

Kase, E. W. (ed.). 1991. *The Great Isthmus Corridor Route: Explorations of the Phokis-Doris Expedition*, i (Dubuque, Ia.).

Katakouta, S., and Toufexis, G. 1994. "*Τα τειχή της Φαρσάλου*", in *Dekapente Chronia* 189–200.

Keil, B. 1899. "Zur thessalischen Sotairosinschrift", *Hermes* 34: 183–202.

Kip, G. 1910. *Thessalische Studien: Beiträge zur politischen Geographie, Geschichte und Verfassung der thessalischen Landschaften* (Halle am Saale).

Kirsten, E. 1938. "Pharkadon", *RE* xix. 1835–38.

Knab, R. 1934. *Die Periodoniken: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der gymnischen Agone an den 4 griechischen Hauptfesten* (Wiesbaden).

Knoepfler, D. 1981. "Argoura: un toponyme eubéen dans la *Midienne* de Demosthène", *BCH* 105: 289–329.

Koder, J., and Hild, F. 1976. *Tabula Imperii Byzantini*, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-historische Klasse, Denkschriften 125 (Vienna).

Kontogiannis, A. 1990. "*Σύμβολες στη Θεσσαλίκη επιγραφίκη*" (diss. Thessaloniki).

——1994. "*Σωσθενίς*", in *Dekapente Chronia* 239–44.

——1997. "*Επιγραφικος και αρχειακος χρονος (Επιλεγόμενα στὴν επιγραφή SGDI* 1895)", *Tekmeria* 3: 170–80.

Kontogiannis, D. 1992. "*Ἴμψιος, Ποσειδὼν ὁ ζύγιος*", in *Praktika tou diethnes synedrio gia tin archaia Thessalia stin mnimi tou Dimitri R. Theochari* (Athens) 381–91.

Kraay, C. M. 1976. *Archaic and Classical Greek Coins* (London).

Larsen, J. A. O. 1968. *Greek Federal States: Their Institutions and History* (Oxford).

Lauffer, S. (ed.) 1989. *Griechenland: Lexikon der historischen Stätten: von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart* (Munich).

Lavva, S. 1994. "Zur Münzprägung von Olosson", in *Dekapente Chronia* 315–26.

——2001. *Die Münzprägung von Pharsalos*, Saarbrücker Studien zur Archäologie und Alten Geschichte 14 (Saarbrücken).

Leake, W. M. 1835. *Travels in Northern Greece*, 4 vols. (London).

Lefèvre, F. 1998. *L'Amphictionie pyléo-delphique: histoire et institutions* (Paris).

Legrand, P.-E. 1951. *Hérodote, Histoires, Livre VII: Polymnie*, Les Belles Lettres (Paris).

Lehmann, G. A. 1983. "Thessaliens Hegemonie über Mittelgriechenland im 6. Jh. v. Chr.", *Boreas* 6: 35–43.

Liampi, K. 1990. "Ein numismatisches Zeugnis für der Bund der perraibischen Tripolis im zweiten Viertel des 4. Jh. V. Chr.", *JNG* 40: 11–22.

——1996. "Das Corpus der Obolen und Hemiobolen des Thessalischen Bundes und die Politische Geschichte Thessaliens im 2. Viertel des 5. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.", in W. Leschhorn (ed.), *Hellas und der griechische Osten: Studien zur Geschichte und Numismatik der griechischen Welt: Festschrift für Peter Robert Franke zum 70. Geburtstag* (Saarbrücken) 99–126.

Lorenz, B. 1976. *Thessalische Grabgedichte vom 6. bis zum 4. Jahrhundert v. Chr.* (Innsbruck).

Lucas, G. 1991. "Askyris, une nouvelle cité dans le Bas-Olympe", *ZPE* 89: 135–44.

——1992. "La Tripolis de Perrhébie et ses confins: organisation territoriale et corpus épigraphique", in Blum *et al.* (1992) 93–137.

——1995. "A propos d'Erikinion, cité perrhèbe", *ZPE* 105: 105–30.

——1997. *Les Cités antiques de la haute vallée du Titarèse* (Lyon).

Malakassioti, Z., *et al.* 1994. "Groniger Bijdrage Aagrickse Monumen Tenzord", *Paleoactuel* 6: 73–74.

Malkin, I. 1994. *Myth and Territory in the Spartan Mediterranean* (Cambridge).

Mandel, J. 1980. "Jason: The Tyrant of Pherae, Tagus of Thessaly, as Reflected in Ancient Sources and Modern Literature—The Image of the 'New' Tyrant", *RivStorAnt* 10: 47–77.

Martin, T. R. 1981. "Diodorus on Philip II and Thessaly in the 350s", *CP* 76: 188–201.

Martin, T. R. 1982. "A Phantom Fragment of Theopompus and Philip's First Campaign in Thessaly", *HSCP* 86: 55–78.

——1983. "The Chronology of the Fourth-Century B.C. Facing-Head Silver Coinage of Larissa", *ANSMN* 28: 1–34.

——1985. *Sovereignty and Coinage in Classical Greece* (Princeton).

Marzolff, P. 1994*a*. "Developpement urbanistique de Démétrias", in *Dekapente Chronia* 57–70.

——1994*b*. "Antike Städtebau und Arkitektur in Thessalien", in *Dekapente Chronia* 255–76.

Masson, O. 1968. "Une inscription thessalienne archaïque relative à la construction d'un édifice", *BCH* 92: 97–102.

McDevitt, A. S. 1970. *Inscriptions from Thessaly: An Analytical Handlist and Bibliography* (Hildesheim and New York).

McInerney, J. 1999. *The Folds of Parnassos: Land and Ethnicity in Ancient Phokis* (Austin, Tex).

Meyer, E. 1936. "Eine Inschrift aus Iolkos", *RhM* 85: 367–76.

Miller, S. G. 1978. *The* Prytaneion*: Its Function and Architectural Form* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London).

Milojcic, V. 1974. "Bericht über de deutschen archäologischen Ausgrabungen in Thessalien", *AAA* 7: 43–75.

Missailidou-Despotidou, V. 1993. "A Hellenistic Inscription from Skotoussa (Thessaly) and the Fortification of the City", *BSA* 88: 187–217.

Mitchel, F. W. 1984. "The Rasura of *IG* II² 43: Jason, the Pheraian Demos and the Athenian League", *AncW* 9: 39–58.

Moustaka, A. 1983. *Kulte und Mythen auf thessalischen Münzen* (Würzburg).

Müller, D. 1987. *Topographischer Bildkommentar zu den Historien Herodots* (Tübingen).

Nielsen, T. H. 1997. "*Triphylia*: An Experiment in Ethnic Construction and Political Organisation", *CPCPapers* 4: 129–62.

—— 2000. "Epiknemidian, Hypoknemidian, and Opountian Lokrians: Reflections on the Political Organisation of East Lokris in the Classical Period", *CPCPapers* 5: 91–120.

Østby, E. 1992. "Der dorische Tempel von Pherai", *OpAth* 19.8: 85–113.

——1994. "A Reconsideration of the Classical Temple at Pherai", in *Dekapente Chronia* 139–42.

Papachatzis, N. 1959. "*Magnesia polis* 'at the Foot of the Mount Pelium' ", *Thessalika* 2: 22–28.

——1960. "*Η Κορόπη καὶ τὸ ἱερὸ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνα*", *Thessalika* 3: 3–24.

Papakonstantinou, M. F. 1994. "*Το νότιο και το δυτικό τμήμα της Αχαίας Φθιώτιδας απο τους κλασσικούς μέχρι τους ρωμαικούς χρόνους*", in *Dekapente Chronia* 229–38.

Parke, H. W. 1933. *Greek Mercenary Soldiers from the Earliest Times to the Battle of Ipsus* (Oxford).

Peek, W. 1974. *Griechische Vers-Inschriften aus Thessalien*, Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Klasse, 1974.3 Abhandl. (Heidelberg).

Perlman, P. 2000. *City and Sanctuary in Ancient Greece: The* Theorodokia *in the Peloponnese*, Hypomnemata 121 (Göttingen).

Philippson, A. 1950. *Die griechischen Landschaften: eine Landeskunde: der Nordosten der griechischen Halbinsel, Teil* i: *Thessalien und die Spercheios-Senke, nebst einem Anhang: Beiträge zur historischen Landeskunde Thessaliens von Ernst Meyer* (Frankfurt am Main).

Pritchett, W. K. 1963. "Xerxes' Fleet at the 'Ovens' ", *AJA* 67: 1–6.

Reinders, R. 1988. *New Halos: A Hellenistic Town in Thessalia, Greece* (Utrecht).

Robertson, N. 1976. "The Thessalian Expedition of 480 B.C.", *JHS* 96: 100–120.

Robinson, D. M. 1934. "The Bronze State Seal of Larissa Kremaste", *AJA* 38: 219–22.

Rogers, E. 1932. *The Copper Coinage of Thessaly* (London).

Roux, G. 1954. "Notes sur les antiquités de Macra Come", *BCH* 78: 89–94.

Schaefer, H. 1961. "*Μυρίανδρος πόλις*", *Historia* 10: 292–317.

Scranton, R. L. 1941. *Greek Walls* (Cambridge, Mass.).

Sherk, R. 1990. "The Eponymous Officials of Greek Cities", *ZPE* 84: 231–95.

Sprawski, S. 1999. *Jason of Pherai: A Study of the History of Thessaly in the Years 431–370 BC* (Krakow).

Stählin, F. 1921. "*Κορακαί*", *RE* xi. 1370–71.

——1924*a*. *Das hellenische Thessalien* (Stuttgart).

——1924*b*. "Lamia", *RE* xii. 547–60.

——1938. "Pelinna", *RE* xix. 327–38.

Stylianou, P. J. 1998. *A Historical Commentary on Diodorus Siculus Book 15* (Oxford).

Thalmann, J.-P. 1980. "Recherches aux Thermopyles", *BCH* 104: 757–60.

Triantaphyllopoulou, P. 2000. "*Νεκροταφείο των Αμφανών. Οι πρώιμοι ελληνιστικοί τάφοι*", in *Ελληνιστική κεραμίκη από τη Θεσσαλία* (Volos) 60–69.

Tziaphalias, A. 1988. "*Ασκληπιείο Τρίκκης. Μύθος ή πραγματικότητα*", in *Πρακτικά 10ου Συμποσίου Τρικαλινών Σπουδών 6–8 November 1987, Τρικαλινά 8* (Trikkala) 171–218.

——1992. "*Αρχαία Πέλινα· Απότειρα αρχαιολογικής γνωριμίας*", *Τρικαλινά* 12: 87–138.

——1994*a*. "*Αναζητοντας την αρχαια Μελιβοία*", in *Dekapente Chronia* 143–52.

——1994*b*. "*Δεκαπέντε χρονιά ανασκαφών στην αρχαία Λάρισα*", in *Dekapente Chronia* 153–78.

Voutiras, E. 1991. " *'Επὶ ἑξαμέτρῳ δίμετρον*: ein Grabgedicht aus Pella", *ZPE* 88: 106–8.

Wace, A. J. B. 1906. "The Topography of Pelion and Magnesia", *JHS* 26: 143–68.

—— and Thompson, M. S. 1910–11. "A Latin Inscription from Perrhebia", *BSA* 17: 193–204.

Walbank, M. B. 1978. *Athenian Proxenies of the Fifth Century B.C.* (Toronto and Sarasota, Fla.).

Westlake, H. D. 1935. *Thessaly in the Fourth Century* (London).

White, H. 1984*a*. "A Town Called Coroneia in Callimachus' Hymn V", *Museum Philologicum Londinense* 6: 97–103.

—— 1984*b*. "The Town of Aea in Callimachus' Hymn to Delos", *Museum Philologicum Londinense* 6: 93–95.

Whitehead, D. 1994. "Site-Classification and Reliability in Stephanus of Byzantium", *CPCPapers* 1: 99–124.

Wisse, T. 1994. "Early State Formation in Ancient Greece: The *Ethnos* of the Magnetes in the Fifth and Fourth Centuries B.C.", *Newsletter of the Netherlands Institute at Athens* 3: 1–17.

THE AEGEAN

GARY REGER

I. The Region

The islands of the Aegean, which number in the thousands, no more formed a logical unit in the Archaic and Classical periods than they do today. The two main groupings are the Kyklades (*Κυκλάδες*) and the Sporades (*Σποράδες*). The designation "Kyklades" is attested in Classical sources (Eur. *Ion* 1583; Hdt. 5.31.2; Thuc. 1.4; Isoc. 4.136; Ephor. fr. 63; Ps.-Skylax 48, 58). "Sporades" is apparently a Hellenistic invention (Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 4.1711; Strabo 2.5.21, 10.4.1; Arist. [*Mund.*] 393^{a}14). Both names were geographical terms only, embracing different islands at different times and according to different authors. These groupings posed difficult problems for ancient geographers, especially when they tried to insert discussions of the islands into larger geographic texts; this explains why treatment of islands that are neighbours may occur far apart in a text (e.g., Ps.-Skylax treats Amorgos at chapter 58 but Astypalaia at 48; see generally now Counillon (2001)). It is rare, however, that geographical groups corresponded to political associations. For example, while both Melos and Thera counted among the Kyklades for Thucydides (1.4, 2.9.4), both avoided Athenian domination until almost the 420s or later; in both cases, this resistance was probably connected with the islands' foundations as Doric colonies, in contrast to the Ionic Kyklades, many of which recognised Athens as metropolis. Of the neighbouring northern Sporades, Skyros and Ikos, the one was subjected to direct Athenian control, probably from 476/5, while the other remained an independent *polis* (or two). These examples could be multiplied.

Perhaps no man is an island, but every island is potentially a *polis*, or more than one (Reger (1997)). The Inventory that follows includes fifty-seven certain or likely *poleis* distributed among forty-two islands. None of them is unlocated (except, in a few cases, where a secondary *polis* attested on an island like Ikos has yet to be associated with a site). However, these represent only a very small number of potentially inhabitable islands in the Aegean Sea. If we can be confident, even without direct evidence, that a mass of rocks like the Melanteioi Skopeloi east of Mykonos was always uninhabited, the same is not true for many other islands. Some islands may have been used only as pasturage, such as perhaps the three small islands disputed between Kimolos and Melos in C4l (*IG* XII.3 1259 = Ager (1996) no. 3= Magnetto (1997) no. 1). Cycles of population growth and depopulation are characteristic of the Aegean Islands over the *longue durée*, although recent work has suggested that the Archaic and especially the Classical period constituted a high point in island populousness and prosperity (see especially Brun (1993), (1996)). For example, Donoussa supported a habitation site in the Geometric period, but whether the island continued to be occupied into historical times is not known (Ph. Zapheiropoulou (1973)).

Even when islands were inhabited, it is not always clear whether they were *poleis*. Here are two examples. The Korsiai are a cluster of islands between Samos (no. 864) and Ikaros (Map 61; lat. 37.35, long. 26.30; 45 km² total area of group; main island, 30 km²). The toponym, which has a number of variants, is attested as *Κορσεαί* as early as Hecat. fr. 143 (for the variants, see *infra*). The ethnic is attested as *Κορσήτης* or *Κορσητικός* in an undated rock-cut inscription of C5l or C4 found on the island on the hill of Ag. Giorgios (*IG* XII.6 1213.XI); the version in Steph. Byz. 376.12 differs. This evidence suffices to show that the islands, or at least the chief one, were inhabited. The fact that marble seems to have been quarried here for use on Samos in C6 implies occupation at

I would like to thank Paula Perlman for suggesting my participation in the work of the Polis Centre many years ago. In the course of writing my contribution, I have incurred many debts. The staff of the Interlibrary Loan office at the Trinity College Library have been indispensable in tracking down and securing many obscure publications. Patrice Brun readily agreed to read a penultimate draft of this chapter. His deep knowledge of the Aegean Islands saved me from many errors and omissions; he also generously shared with me his own private research files. Thomas Heine Nielsen has provided much editorial help. My greatest debt, however, I owe to Mogens Herman Hansen. In 1997 he stepped in for me to proofread my paper on multipolate islands (Reger (1997) 450–92) when a sudden medical problem prevented me from doing so, and he has read and improved every line of my contribution here. I thank him for accepting me in the Polis Centre, for his hospitality in Copenhagen, but most of all for the intellectual guidance he has provided over the years. I would like to dedicate my contribution to my wife Edith Folta and our daughters Alison and Caroline.

least that early (Shipley (1987) 21 n. 82). But were they a *polis*? The rock cut inscriptions show that these islands were controlled by Samos (no. 864) during the Classical period, and that at some point there was a Samian garrison on the acropolis (Rehm (1929) 20; Dunst (1974) 137, and see the tantalising inscription at 118–21 no. 2; Ehrhardt (1983) 17 with 200 n. 63). On mistaken grounds, Haussoulier suggested ((1902) 142; cf. Dunst (1974) 137) that perhaps earlier they were under Milesian control. Rehm (1929) 19–20 argued that as long as the Milesians controlled Leros and Patmos, they could assure passage to the Aegean via the strait between those islands, which was more important for them than the strait between Patmos and Korsiai. As the evidence stands, it is impossible to decide whether the Korsiai were a dependent *polis* under Samian control or just a Samian possession.

The other example is Gyaros (*Γύαρος*), an island of 17 km². In 31 Strabo visited it and found "a village inhabited by fishermen" (*κώμιον ὑπὸ ἁλιέων συνοικούμενον*) who were sending an ambassador (*πρεσβευτής*) to Octavian to ask for a reduction of a payment of tribute of 150 dr. they could not afford (10.5.3). The ethnic, attested in Steph. Byz. 214.2 as *Γυαρεύς*, has now been found on rock-cut inscriptions of early Byzantine date (C5–C7) on Syros as *Γυαρίτης* (Kiourtzian (2000) 153 no. 80, 181 no. 117, 184 no. 121 (much improved versions respectively of *IG* XII.5 712 84B" and 86B"; for the date, p. 142). The inscriptions originated with sailors who anchored in the bay beside which they were carved (ibid. 135–38). Thus it is clear that, at least in the late Hellenistic and Roman periods, Gyaros was inhabited; perhaps the same can be inferred for an earlier period from Strabo's citing Aratos as calling Gyaros "worthless". Moreover, Strabo's story shows that in his day the island was not subject to another authority. There is a C2? proxeny decree passed by the Gyarioi (*IG* XII.6 470), and there are bronze coins of C1 (Head, *HN*² 486). Thus, there can be little doubt that Gyaros was a *polis* in the later Hellenistic period (though Strabo's use of *komion* remains striking). But there is no warrant for retrojecting this status into the Archaic and Classical periods.

Of the many islands mentioned one way or another in our sources, here are some of the more important which were probably inhabited. In no case is there evidence to show, or even suggest, that these islands were *poleis*, but it is possible that some of them were.[1]

Araiai or **Arai** (*Ἀραιαί*) Map 61. Lat. 37.05, long. 27.10. Dieuchidas (*FGrHist* 485) fr. 7.

[1] Islands mentioned in the main text as dependencies or part of the territory of other *poleis* are not included here.

Askania (*Ἀσκανία*) Map 61. Lat. 36.15, long. 25.05. Hom. *Il.* 2.862–63, 13.793.

Gyaros (*Γύαρος*) Map 57. Lat 37.35, long. 24.45. Plut. *Mor.* 602C; *IG* XII.5 651 (undated); *IG* XII suppl. p. 117 = *IG* XII.6 470 (C2?); Strabo 10.5.3; Steph. Byz. 213.18; Kiourtzian (2000) 153 no. 80, 181 no. 117, 184 no. 121.

Halonnesos (*Ἁλόννησος*) Map 57. Lat. 39.30, long. 25.00. Dem. 7.2, 12.12, 18.69; Aeschin. 3.83; Plut. *Dem.* 9.5; Dion. Hal. *Dem.* 9, 13; Ath. 6 223D–224B; Strabo 9.5.16; Pompon. 2.106; Harp. *Α*80.

Istros (*Ἴστρος*) Map 61. Lat. 27.10, long. 27.40. Steph. Byz. 341.7.

Kinaros (*Κίναρος*) Map 61. Lat. 37.00, long. 26.15. Plut. *Mor.* 602C; Semos of Delos (*FGrHist* 396) fr. 17; Pompon. 2.111; *Stadiasmus* 282; *IG* XII.7 510 (C4).

Korseai (*Κορσεαί*, but with many variants) Map 61. Lat. 37.35, long. 26.30. Hecat. fr. 143 = Steph. Byz. 376.10; Strabo 10.5.13 (*Κορασσίαι*); *Stadiasmus* 283–84 (*Κορσίαι*); Steph. Byz. s.v.; Plin. *HN* 5.135; Dunst (1974) 116–18 no. 1 ([*ἐν Κορ*]*σίαι*[*ς*], Hellenistic of perhaps C4). The ethnic *Κορσηίτης* is attested in an inscription of C5l or C4 which shows that a garrison of Samian and foreign mercenaries held the acropolis (*IG* XII.6 1213.XI, cf. VI and X). See Ehrhardt (1983) 17 with 200 n. 63. Given the attestation of an ethnic, it is possible that a dependent *polis* was located here. *Barr.* C(?).

Lebinthos (*Λέβινθος*) Map 61. Lat. 37.00, long. 26.25. Strabo 10.5.12; Pompon. 2.7; Steph. Byz. 238.16; Hsch. *Λ*486; *Stadiasmus* 281; Plin. *HN* 4.70.

***Lepsia** (*Lepsia*) Map 61. Lat. 37.20, long. 26.45. Lycoph. *Alex.* 1207 (*Λέψιος*), 1454 (*Λεψιεύς*); Plin. *NH* 5.133 (*Lepsia*); Manganaro (1963–64) 317–29; Ehrhardt (1983) 16–17. *Barr.* AC.

Patmos (*Πάτμος*) Map 61. Lat. 37.20, long. 26.35. Thuc. 3.33.3; Strabo 10.5.13; *Stadiasmus* 280, 283; Plin. *HN* 4.69; Manganaro (1963–64) 329–46; *Syll.*³ 1068, 1152; Saffrey (1975); Ehrhardt (1983) 17, 149–51. *Barr.* AC.

Pharmakoussa (*Φαρμακοῦσσα*) Map 61. Lat. 37.15, long. 27.05. Plut. *Caes.* 1.4; Suet. *Caes.* 4; Steph. Byz. 659.1–2.

Tragia (*Τραγία*) Map 61. Lat. 37.30, long. 27.00. Thuc. 1.116.1; Plut. *Per.* 25; Steph. Byz. 630.6–7; possibly Eupolis fr. 487 (*PCG*) (*Τραγέαι*); Rehm (1929) 22 finds it hard to believe that the island was inhabited.

II. The *Poleis*

Amorgos (Amorgios) Map 61. Lat. 36.50, long. 25.55. Size of island: 124 km². The toponym is *Ἀμοργός, ἡ* (Thuc. 8.28.5; *IG* XII.7 69.23 (C4l–C3e)). The ethnic is *Ἀμόργιος* (*IG* II² 43.B28; Ath. 480D: *Σιμωνίδης ὁ Ἀμόργιος*). The alternative forms *Ἀμοργῖνος* and *Ἀμοργίτης* are attested only in late sources (*Suda* Σ446; Steph. Byz. 86.12–13). Stephanos 86.9 makes the island one of the Kyklades. Amorgos was divided among three *poleis* (Ps.-Skylax 58: *τρίπολις*; *IG* XII.7 68.1–2 = Migeotte (1984) 189–92 no. 54 (C4l/C3e): *ἡ πόλις [ἡ Ἀρκεσι]νέων καὶ ἡ πόλις ἡ Αἰγιαλέων καὶ [ἡ πό]λις ἡ Μινοητῶν*). They were allegedly founded by the poet Semonides as a Samian colony more than 400 years after the Trojan War ((*FGrHist* 534) T 1a–b). The view that the three Amorgian *poleis* were Samian colonies may derive some support from the names of the months (Loukopoulou (1989) 116–17 n. 2). They paid tribute to the Athenians in C5 as a *synteleia* (*IG* I³ 278.VI.10, 279.II.80, 280.II.73, 281.III.58, 282.II.41) and were united once again in joining the Second Athenian Naval League (*IG* II² 43.B28). An Aristotelian *Constitution of the Amorgians* is attested (Heracl. Lemb. 47). The collective use of the ethnic is attested internally on coins: *AMO* (Head, *HN*² 481 (C4)) and externally in the Athenian tribute lists and on the *stele* listing the members of the Second Athenian Naval League (*supra*). The individual ethnic is used externally on Delos in 364/3 (*Ἀμοργίη*, *I.Délos* 104.72) and in Eretria *c.*300 (*Ἀμόργιος*, *IG* XII.9 799). Thus, persons from the island were often regarded as simply Amorgioi, regardless of their *polis* of origin or the precise political situation of the island. Loukopoulou (1989) 116–19 argues that the three *poleis* used the same calendar, but the evidence for several months is Hellenistic (Trümpy, *Monat.* 73–78). It is clear that the *poleis* of Amorgos combined for various purposes in C5 and C4, especially when dealing with outside powers. But there is ample evidence that on land the *poleis* retained their individual identities. For the political institutions of the *poleis*, with reservations, see Ruppel (1927) 313–19.

Amorgos struck bronze coins in C4s. Types: *obv.* star and crescent, or head of Asklepios, or cupping vessel; *rev.* two thyrsoi crossed, or bee; legend: *AMO* (Head, *HN*² 481).

471. Aigiale (Aigialeus) Map 61. Lat. 36.55, long. 26.00. Size of territory: 2. Type: A. The toponym is *Αἰγιάλη, ἡ* (*IG* XII.7 515.56 (C2)), but *Αἰγιαλός/-όν, ὁ/τό* is also reported (*IG* XII.7 388.35 = Migeotte (1984) 196–98 no. 56 (C2)). According to Steph. Byz. 121.2, an alternative toponym was *Μελανία*. The city-ethnic is *Αἰγιαλεύς* (*IG* XII.7 68.1 (C4/C3)). Aigiale is referred to as a *polis* in the urban sense by the term *τρίπολις* at Ps.-Skylax 58, and is called *polis* in the political sense in *IG* XII.7 68.1 (C4/C3), where the internal and collective sense of the city-ethnic is used. The external use seems to be unattested until C2l, when the collective use is found in an inscription of Magnesia (*Syll.*³ 562.83). Aigiale was situated at the eastern end of Amorgos; there are walls of Archaic or Classical date, and sherds testify to occupation until C4l (Leekley and Noyes (1975) 40). The territory of Aigiale bordered on that of Minoa (no. 573). In light of the limited archaeological work in the Amorgian countryside, nothing can be said with confidence about the extent of the territory, but it seems to have been larger than 25 km². The protective divinity of Aigiale was Athena Polias, who had a sanctuary where *stelai* were sometimes erected (*IG* XII.7 386.42 = *Syll.*³ 521 (C3)); she is once attested as sharing a sanctuary with Zeus Polieus (*IG* XII.7 387.23 (C3)).

472. Arkesine (Arkesineus) Map 61. Lat 36.50, long. 25.50. Size of territory: 2. Type: A. The toponym is *Ἀρκεσίνη, ἡ* (*IG* XII.7 53.38 (C1)) or *Ἀρκεσίνα* (*IG* XII.7 50.2 (C2)). Steph. Byz. 121.2–3 quotes Polybios as regarding it as masculine (fr. 20). The city-ethnic is *Ἀρκεσινεύς* (*IG* XII.7 5.2, 22.10 (C4m)). Arkesine is referred to as a *polis* in the urban sense by the term *τρίπολις* at Ps.-Skylax 58 (cf. *IG* XII suppl. 330 (C2)) and is called *polis* in the political sense in *IG* XII.7 5.4, 6, 7–8, 10, 12, 22. The collective use of the city-ethnic appears internally in C4 decrees (*IG* XII.7 5.2). Arkesine was situated toward the western end of Amorgos, and its territory bordered on that of Minoa (no. 473). The size of the territory was between 25 and 100 km².

The eponymous official was an archon serving as chief of a board of archons (*IG* XII suppl. 331 (C4); *IG* XII.7 55 = *Syll.*³ 1200 (C4/C3); Sherk (1990) 262). Of other officials the most important is a *strategos* (*IG* XII.7 69.47 (C4l/C3e)). Laws and decrees (*IG* XII.7 69.47 (C4l/C3e)) were proposed in accordance with a probouleumatic procedure (*IG* XII.7 46 + add (C4)) and passed by a *boule* and a *demos* (*IG* XII.7 1.1 (C5), 2.1 (C4)) presided over by a board of *prytaneis* (*IG* XII.7 3.37, 4.6 (C4)). A number of honorific decrees of C4 or C4l–C3e grant *proxenia* to citizens of Athens (no. 361), Thera (no. 527), Rhithymnos (no. 987) and Rhodos (no. 1000) (*IG* XII.7 5–11). Public enactments were stored in an archive (*δημόσιον*) and in the sanctuary of Hera (*IG* XII.7 67.83

(C4l/C3e)). Trials were brought before an official called ἐσαγωγεύς (*IG* XII.7 3.39, 42 (C4f)) and heard by a *dikasterion* situated in the urban centre (τὸ ἀστικὸν δικαστήριον) (*IG* XII.7 3.32, 49–50). The protective deity is not known. The cults of Athena Itonia were very important in the Hellenistic period (*IG* XII.7 22–23, 33–35), but in the Classical period the cult may have been that of Hera (*IG* XII.7 1, 2), in whose sanctuary public enactments were kept (*IG* XII.7 30.5–8 (C3l/C2e), 67.83 (C4l/C3e), 69.52 (C4l/C3e)); a public law forbidding access to foreigners is preserved (*IG* XII.7 2 (C4); cf. Butz (1996) 86–88). The acropolis of Arkesine was called Aspis (*IG* XII.7 57.5 (C3)). Four months of the calendar, in order, are known from C4: Eiraphion, Anthesterion, Taureion and Thargelion (*IG* XII.7 62.28, 9, 10, 4, 49; Trümpy, *Monat.* 73–77). The fortification walls are probably Hellenistic (Rougemont *et al.* (1993) 104–12) but may go back to C4s (Brun (1996) 151).

473. Minoa (Minoetes) Map 61. Lat 36.50, long. 25.55. Size of territory: 2. Type: A. The toponym is Μινῴα, ἡ (*IG* XII.7 228.10 (C2)). The city-ethnic is Μινοήτης (*IG* XII.7 68.2 = Migeotte (1984) 189–92 no. 54 (C4/C3)) or Μινωήτης (*IG* XII.7 223.6 (C2)) or Μινωίτης (Androtion (*FGrHist* 324) fr. 22). Minoa is referred to as a *polis* in the urban sense by the term τρίπολις at Ps.-Skylax 58 and is called *polis* in the political sense in *IG* XII.7 68.2 (C4/C3), where the collective and internal use of the city-ethnic is attested. The external use is attested collectively in Androtion (*FGrHist* 324 fr. 22) and individually in a C3 proxeny decree from Tenos (*IG* XII.5 821.3). A board of *prytaneis* is attested in a citizenship decree of C5–C4 (*IG* XII.7 219). A cult of Apollo Pythios (or possibly Delios), who may have been the protective deity, is known from a sacred *nomos* of C5–C4 (*IG* XII.7 220). The urban centre was walled starting in the Geometric period (Marangou (1990)). The walls enclosed an area of *c.*20 ha. A separately walled acropolis inside the *polis* covered an area of *c.*4.5 ha. (*AR* 47 (2000–2001) 122). There are remains of a C4 gymnasium (Marangou (1987) 255).

474. Anaphe (Anaphaios) Map 61. Lat. 36.20, long. 25.45. Size of territory: 2 (40 km²). Type: B. The toponym is Ἀνάφη, ἡ (Ap. Rhod. 4.1717; Ath. 400*E* = Hegesandros (*FHG* IV 421) (C3)). The city-ethnic is Ἀναφαῖος (*IG* I³ 71.1.85; *IG* XII.3 251) or Ἀναφαιεύς (*IG* I³ 283.II.31). The earliest explicit attestation of Anaphe as a *polis* is in a decree of C2 (*IG* XII.3 248), but the island's status as a *polis* is strongly indicated by membership of the Delian League combined with the C4 network of *proxenoi* in other *poleis* (*infra*). The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally in C4 lists of *proxenoi* (*IG* XII.3 250.15, 251 *passim*) and externally in the Athenian tribute lists (*supra*). The individual and external use is attested in a C3m citizenship decree from Kalymna (*Tit. Cal.* 41.2).

Strabo classes Anaphe among the islands in the Cretan Sea (10.5.1), but Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 4.1711 and 1717 and Steph. Byz. 93.10 among the Sporades. The territory of Anaphe was coterminous with the island. Anaphe was a member of the Delian League. It belonged to the Island district (*IG* I³ 287.I.9) and is recorded three times in the tribute lists, in 428/7 (*IG* I³ 283.II.31), in 418/17 (*IG* I³ 287.I.9) and in 416/15 (*IG* I³ 289.I.9), paying a *phoros* of 1,000 dr. (*IG* I³ 283.II.31). It was assessed for tribute in 425/4 (*IG* I³ 71.I.85) (1,000 dr.). It has been suggested that the island was brought into the League only in 428/7 by Lysikles (Thuc. 3.19.2; Mattingly (1996) 77 with n. 27), and also to restore Anaphe as a member of the Second Athenian Naval League (Accame (1941) 79 and 82 at *IG* II² 43.86, but see Cargill (1981) 35).

Three fragmentary inscriptions contain lists of *proxenoi* of Anaphe. The two first are of C4 and record *proxenoi* in Olynthos (no. 588), Thessalian Pharsalos (no. 413), Mykonos (no. 506), Knidos (no. 903), Paros (no. 509), Chios (no. 840) and Telemessos (no. 936) (*IG* XII.3 250–51).

The protective deity was Apollo Asgelatas—by lapsus Agelatos on the map—(*IG* XII.3 248.8 (C2)), or Aigletes (Callim. fr. 7.19, etc.), whose sanctuary was located a few kilometres east of the *polis* centre and was connected to the *polis* centre by a sacred way (Hiller von Gaertringen (1899–1909) i. 352–53). The sanctuary and the cult are attested in dedications of the Classical period (*IG* XII.3 256 (C4 or C3), 257 (C4), 258 (C4/C3). The *polis* centre had temples of Apollo Pythios and Artemis Soteira (*IG* XII.3.268–71 (Hell.)); there was also a sanctuary for Asklepios (*IG* XII.3 248.29). Remains of fortification walls and harbour are probably Hellenistic (Hiller von Gaertringen (1899–1909) i. 351–58). For an updated description of the archaeological remains and especially the fortification walls, see Matthaiou and Pikoulas (1990–91).

Some anepigraphic coins on the Milesian–Phoenician standard have been dated to C5e and assigned to Anaphe. Denominations: half-stater and quarter-stater. Types: *obv.* amphora; *rev.* four-part incuse square. The attribution to Anaphe is not secure (Erxleben (1970) 69–70; Figueira (1998) 577).

475. Andros (Andrios) Map 60 (inset). Lat. 37.20, long. 24.50. Size of territory: 4 (380 km²). Type: A. The toponym is Ἄνδρος, ἡ (Hdt. 5.31.2; *IG* II² 123.20 = Tod 156.20 (356)), denoting both the island (Hdt. 5.31.2) and the town (Hdt. 4.33.2). The city-ethnic is Ἄνδριος (Pl. *Ion* 541D; *IG* II² 123.9). Hdt. 5.31.2 classes Andros among the Kyklades; cf. Strabo 10.5.3. Andros is called a *polis* both in the urban sense (Xen. *Hell.* 1.4.22; Ps.-Skylax 58) and in the political sense (Hdt. 4.33.2; Arist. *Pol.* 1270ᵇ12–13; *SEG* 12 390.6, 31, 44 (*c.*320); for the date see *SEG* 30 1070). The territory, which was coterminous with the island itself, is called ἡ Ἀνδρία χώρα by Xenophon (*Hell.* 1.4.22). The collective use of the city-ethnic appears externally in the Athenian tribute lists (*infra*) and on Delos in 377/6 (*I.Délos* 98.B.9–10). Internally its first appearance is in a decree of C4f (*IG* XII suppl. 245.3). The individual and external use is attested in Athens in C5s (*IG* I³ 1342–43; Pl. *Ion* 541D), in Epidauros (*IG* IV².1 323) and in Delphi in C5 (*CID* I 7 Aa6) and in C4 (*CID* II 22–23).

Andros was said to be under Naxian control in 494 (Hdt. 5.31.2). Herodotos reports Andrians participating in Xerxes' invasion of Greece (Hdt. 8.66.2; Aesch. *Pers.* 887). The island was besieged by Themistokles after an unsuccessful attempt at extortion (Hdt. 8.111–12). Andros was a member of the Delian League, and may have been among the original members (*ATL* iii. 198–99). It belonged to the Island district (*IG* I³ 270.v.20) and is recorded in the tribute lists from 451/0 (*IG* I³ 262.I.19) to 416/15 (*IG* I³ 289.I.21), a total of fourteen times, twice completely restored, paying a *phoros* of first 12 tal. (*IG* I³ 262.I.19), reduced to 6 tal. in 450/49 (*IG* I³ 263.IV.22), but raised to 7 tal. in 416/15 (*IG* I³ 289.I.21). It was assessed for tribute in 425/4 (*IG* I³ 71.I.64) (15 tal.). Plutarch (*Per.* 11.5) mentions the dispatch of 250 Athenian *klerouchoi*, plausibly dated to *c.*453–448 (Figueira (1991) 220 with note W). Naval forces, probably with marines, participated in actions during the Peloponnesian War (Thuc. 4.42.1, 7.57.4, 8.69.3). In the last phase of the war they fought on the Spartan side (Diod. 13.69.4–5; Xen. *Hell.* 2.1.31). In C4 Andros joined the Second Athenian Naval League (*IG* II² 43.B.16). In 356 the Athenians had a garrison and a general on Andros whose position was called an *arche* (Aeschin. 1.107; *IG* II² 123 = Tod 156); see Reger (1994*a*) 314–15). In the 370s and later the Andrians participated closely enough with the Athenians in the administration of the amphiktyony on Delos to be punished by the Delians in 314 (Tréheux (1987) 386).

In 411 a contingent of Andrian soldiers supported the Four Hundred in Athens (Thuc. 8.69.3), and from this Gehrke, *Stasis* 22 infers that Andros must have been one of the *poleis* in which the constitution was changed from a democracy to an oligarchy after the oligarchic revolution in Athens (cf. Thuc. 8.64.1). The Athenian decree on Andros of 357/6 (*IG* II² 123.9) indicates that the constitution had changed back to a democracy, probably in C4e. The only known public enactments of the Classical period are a treaty with Delphi (no. 177) about *theoroi* (*CID* I 7 (C5s)) and a citizenship decree of C4 (*IG* XII suppl. 245). We hear about a *boule* with a *grammateus* and a board of *tamiai* attached (*CID* I 7; *IG* XII suppl. 245). The eponymous official was an archon, indisputably attested from C3 onwards (*IG* XII.5 715), but probably referred to already in the Classical period (*CID* I 7A.9, cf. p. 22; Sherk (1990) 263). The Andrians dedicated at Delphi a statue of their oecist Andreus (Paus. 10.13.4; for the date, 412/11 or 308, see Jacquemin (1999) 313 no. 63). Andros bestowed *proxenia* on a citizen from an unknown *polis* (*IG* XII suppl. 245 (C4)), and a citizen of Andros was appointed *proxenos* by Karthaia (no. 492) (*IG* XII.5 542.b.3–7 (C4m)). *C.*330 a *theorodokos* was appointed to host *theoroi* from Argos (no. 347) (*SEG* 23 189.II.13).

The protective deity was probably Apollo Pythios (*IG* XII suppl. 245.14), though explicit testimony from the Archaic and Classical periods is absent. A *stele* recording a C4 proxeny decree was erected in his sanctuary (*IG* XII suppl. 245.14). An inscription of perhaps C4 mentions a cult of Zeus Meilichios (*IG* XII.5 727). The Andrians dedicated an οἶκος on Delos (*I.Délos* 104–24.36; cf. Tréheux (1987) 381–83). Two Andrians are attested as victors in the Olympic Games (*Olympionikai* 339, 588; Hdt. 9.33.2; Paus. 3.11.6, 6.14.13). An Andrian boy is attested as victor at Oropos in, probably, 329/8 (Petrakos (1997) 409–15 no. 520.19 = *IG* VII 414; Knoepfler (1993) for the date).

The *polis* centre was located on the south-western coast of the island at the unoccupied site called Palaiopolis. It still has magnificent walls, which undoubtedly belong to C4 (so Sauciuc (1914) 10–16) rather than to the Hellenistic period (so Tzedakis (1975) 323). The walls are implied in connection with the siege in 480 (Hdt. 8.112) and Alkibiades' attack in 408 (Diod. 13.69.4). Remains of the western wall stretch from the coast to the acropolis, *c.*1600 m from the coast. Nothing is left of the other walls but, to judge from burials, the circuit must have enclosed an area of over 100 ha (Sauciac (1914) 10–16). For the urban centre, see Palaiokrassa-Kopitsa (1996). The Pythion, attested in C4 (*IG* XII suppl. 245), is probably the same as the sanctuary of Apollo (τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος) mentioned repeatedly in Hellenistic inscriptions (e.g. *IG* XII.5 715 8 (C3)). A stoa of Classical date has been reported (*ArchEph* (1964) 2–4). A rock-cut inscription of perhaps C4e bearing the words μὴ

χέζειν γυναῖκα (Palaiokrassa (1993) 125–26) may indicate a sanctuary dedicated to a female deity (Sève, *BE* (1995) 451). At least two important settlements are known outside the *polis* centre at Andros, one to the east at Zagora (Cambitoglou *et al.* (1971), (1988)), the other west at Hypsele (Televantou (1996), (1999)), both of which began in the Geometric period but continued to be occupied later. Hypsele had a temple (cf. Reger (1997) 469). A *phrourion* at Gaurion on the north-east coast was fortified by Alkibiades in 408 (Diod. 13.69.4).

In the Archaic period Andros struck silver coins on the Aiginetan standard. Denominations: stater (didrachm), drachm and fractions. Types: *obv.* amphora; *rev.* incuse square (Paschalis (1898)). The coinage stopped *c.*478 (Figueira (1998) 577). Later coins have been attributed to C4f (Paschalis (1898) 348; Sauciuc (1914) 77; Erxleben (1970) 70), but are perhaps better seen as Hellenistic (Head, *HN*² 482).

The Andrians founded colonies at Argilos (no. 554), Stagiros (no. 613), Akanthos (no. 559) and Sane (no. 600) (Thuc. 4.84.1, 88.2, 103.3, 109.3, 5.6.1). A disagreement with Chalkis (no. 365) over the distribution of territory in the colony at Sane led to arbitration by Erythraians (no. 845), Samians (no. 864) and Parians (no. 509) (Plut. *Mor.* 298A–B; Piccirilli (1973) 7–11 no. 2).

476. Astypalaia (Astypaleieus) Map 61. Lat. 36.35, long. 26.20. Size of territory: 2 (97 km²). Type: B. The toponym is Ἀστυπάλαια, ἡ (Ps.-Skylax 48; Arist. fr. 366, Rose; *IG* XII.3 172.3 (C3); cf. *SEG* 27 503). The city-ethnic is Ἀστυπαλαιεύς (*IG* I² 1046 with I³ p. 973 (C4); *Ant. Pal. App.* 6.44 (r492)). The earliest reference to Astypalaia as a *polis* (in the political sense) is in *I.Priene* 8.48–49, traditionally dated to the 320s, but now downdated to the 280s; see *SEG* 46 1479. *Polis* status in the Classical period is indicated by Astypalaia's membership of the Delian League (*infra*), and by the C4 grant of *ateleia* obtained from Epidauros (*infra*). The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally on Hellenistic coins (Head, *HN*² 630) and in inscriptions (*IG* XII.3 215 (C3); Peek (1969) 38–40 no. 87.11–12), and externally in the Athenian tribute lists (*infra*). The individual and external use is attested in an Epidaurian proxeny decree (*IG* IV².1 48 (*c.*300)), in a private dedication from Delphi (Pomtow (1918) 64 no. 90 (C4m)), in a grant of citizenship (*IG* IV².1 615 (C4)), both for citizens of Astypalaia and for a group of individuals at Arkesine on Amorgos (*IG* XII.7 67.A.3–4 = Migeotte (1984) 183–87 no. 51 (C4l/C3e)). Alexander the Great's steersman Onesikritos was from Astypalaia (*FGrHist* 134 T 1 (some say he was from Aigina), T 4; cf. Giannantoni (1990) ii.511–12). *Patris* is found in *IG* XII.3 211 = *CEG* II 866 (C4l/C3e).

According to Ps.-Skymnos 551, Astypalaia was a colony of Megara (no. 225), but a C4 inscription claims Epidauros (no. 348) as the *metropolis* (*IG* IV².1 47). Astypalaia was a member of the Delian League. It belonged to the Karian district (*IG* I³ 269.IV.17) and is recorded in the tribute lists from 454/3 (*IG* I³ 259.III.14) to 428/7 (*IG* I³ 283.II.29), a total of thirteen times, three times completely restored, paying a *phoros* of 2 tal. (*IG* I³ 259.III.14), reduced to 1½ tal. in 443/2 (*IG* I³ 269.IV.17) but raised to 2 tal. again in 433/2 (*IG* I³ 279.I.18). It was assessed for tribute in 425/4 (*IG* I³ 71.I.143). In C4s the Astypalaians obtained a grant of *ateleia* from Epidauros (*IG* IV²1.47). Astypalaia received grain from Kyrene (no. 1028) *c.*330–326 (Tod 196.47 = *SEG* 9.2.47). Citizens from Astypalaia were appointed *proxenoi* by Epidauros (*IG* IV².1 48 (*c.*300)) and by Chios (no. 840) (*PEP Chios* 50 (C4)).

Aristotle wrote of ἡ Ἀστυπαλαιέων γῆ (*De anim.* fr. 4 (C4m)). The earliest attestation of the eponymous official, a *demiourgos*, dates to C4l or C3e (*IG* XII.7 67.A.8 = Migeotte (1984) 183–87 no. 51; Sherk (1990) 263). A sacred law of C4 is preserved in an inscription (*IG* XII.3 183, which gives a date of *c.*300; Le Guen-Pollet (1991) 80–81 no. 24). A single month of the calendar, Artamitios, is known (*IG* XII.7 67.A.7 = Migeotte (1984) 183–87 no. 51; cf. Trümpy, *Monat.* 197–98).

Pausanias reports a sanctuary of Athena in the story he tells of the Olympic victor Kleomedes of Astypalaia, who in 492 killed his opponent wrestling and went mad; he pulled down the roof of a school so that it fell upon sixty children, but he was later made a hero on the basis of advice from the oracle at Delphi (Paus. 6.9.6–8; *Anth. Pal. App.* 6.44; *Olympionikai* 397). For a cult of Athena in C4, see *IG* XII.3 184. Apollo had a sanctuary with at least one *oikos* and a cult statue (Peek (1969) 43 no. 89 (*c.*400); cf. *IG* XII.3 185). A sanctuary of Artemis Lochia is reported in C4 (Peek (1969) 44 no. 92), and a cult of Hera in C4 (or C3) is also attested (*IG* XII.3 196).

The ancient urban centre was located at modern Chora; a small site dated to the Classical period has been reported at Armenochori (perhaps a farm?: Hope Simpson and Lazenby (1973) 159–62).

To Astypalaia have been assigned some silver coins dated C5e to *c.*460. Denominations: stater, obol and fractions. Types: *obv.* amphora (stater), or vessel with handle (obol), or rose (tetartemorion); *rev.* oinochoe with lyre; legend: *AΣTY* in incuse square (stater); *obv.* oinochoe with *A* (obol); *rev.* incuse square with *A* (tetartemorion). A different, anepigraphic series of staters on the Aiginetan standard

has recently been assigned to the island. Types: *obv.* two dolphins; *rev.* two incuse squares in four compartments (Boutin (1986) 6–10; as belonging only to an island in the Dodecanese, Hackens (1973) 210; see also Sheedy (1998*a*) 321). Another series of anepigraphic hemidrachms has been assigned to C4. Types: *obv.* head of Helios; *rev.* Bow (E. S. G. Robinson (1949) 330; see Erxleben (1970) 83; Figueira (1998) 580).

477. Chalke (Chalkeates) Map 60 (inset). Lat. 36.15, long. 27.35. Size of territory: 2 (28 km²). Type: B. The toponym is *Χάλκη, ἡ* (Thuc. 8.55.1, 60.3; Steph. Byz. 682.1) or *Χαλκία* (Theophr. *Hist. pl.* 8.2.9; Strabo 10.5.14–15) or *Χάλκεια* (Ps.-Skylax 99), denoting both the island and the town (Strabo 10.5.15). The city-ethnic is *Χαλκεάτας* (*I.Knidos* 605 (C4m); *IG* I³ 280.I.54) or *Χαλκειάτης* (*IG* I³ 270.IV.7); *Χαλκήτας* is attested in C3 and later (Susini (1963–64) 259 nos. 1–2; *Tit. Cam.* 3 D c 54, 4.b.8 and 11, 109.4–5; *IG* XII.1 844.33–34 (C1)). Chalke is not called a *polis* in any source, but its membership of the Delian League (*infra*) and a C4m treaty concluded with Knidos (*infra*) strongly suggest that Chalke was a *polis* in C5–C4. The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested externally in the Athenian tribute lists (*IG* I³ 280.I.54) and in the inscription from Knidos (*I.Knidos* 605). The individual use is attested internally (*IG* XII.1 216 (Hell.)) and externally at Kameiros (*Tit. Cam.* 3 *Δ* c 54 (C1l)).

Chalke was a member of the Delian League. It belonged to the Karian district (*IG* I³ 269.IV.6) and is recorded in the tribute lists from 450/49 (*IG* I³ 263.I.10) to 427/6 or 426/5 (*IG* I³ 284.19), a total of seventeen times, three times completely restored, paying a *phoros* of first 3,000 dr. (*IG* I³ 263.I.10), reduced to 2,000 dr. (*IG* I³ 267.III.22) in 445/4 or possibly already in 446/5 (*IG* I³ 266.III.27, completely restored). It was assessed for tribute in 425/4 (*IG* I³ 71.II.104, 2,000+ dr.).

In C4m the Chalkeatai concluded what is presumably an *isopoliteia* treaty with Knidos (no. 903) (*I.Knidos* 605; cf. Gawantka (1975) 209 no. 11 and 38 n. 79). The Knidians granted the Chalkeatai the right to purchase landed property and to participate in Knidian citizenship (*politeia*). The last preserved line of the inscription records the beginning of the decree of the Chalkeatai which presumably granted the Knidians the same privileges.

By C4l, however, Chalke had become part of the Rhodian state, for Theophrastos calls it *Χαλκίαν τὴν νῆσον τὴν Ῥοδίων* (*Hist. pl.* 8.2.9). More specifically, it was turned into a deme of Kameiros (no. 996) (*Tit. Cam.* 109 (C4l); in C3 lists of *damiourgoi*: *Tit. Cam.* 3 *Δ* c 54 (C1l), 4.b.8, 11 (first century AD)), although perhaps the process of incorporating its inhabitants into the political structure of Kameiros had not yet been completed by about 325, since the Chalkeatai are treated as exceptions in a law of approximately that date (*Tit. Cam.* 109.4–5).

According to Strabo (10.5.15), the island had a harbour (*limen*); its location has been a matter of dispute (see Susini (1963–64) 249). Strabo also mentions a sanctuary of Apollo, who may have been the protective deity. A dedication to Asklepios is known from C4 or perhaps C3 (*IG* XII.1 956); mention of Zeus and Hekate is likely to have been late (*IG* XII.1 958). The *polis* centre lay to the north and east of the modern settlement, which occupies the acropolis with its castle of the Knights of St John (Hope Simpson and Lazenby (1973) 156; Susini (1963–64) 247). The preserved wall includes sections that have been dated to C6, but much of it is undoubtedly Hellenistic (Susini (1963–64) 248). No coinage is known.

Some C4 coins inscribed *XA* may belong to the present community or to Karian Chalketor (no. 881); *obv.* female head, *rev.* spearhead (*BMC* 18 (Caria and Islands)).

478. Delos (Delios) Map 61. Lat. 37.25, long. 25.15. Size of territory: 1 (3 km²). Type: A. The toponym is *Δῆλος, ἡ* (Hom. *Od.* 6.162; *Hymn. Hom. Ap.* 27; Hdt. 1.64.2; *IG* I³ 402.15, 1460.9, 1461.6), in Doric *Δᾶλος* (Pind. *Ol.* 6.59), denoting both the island (Thuc. 3.104.1) and the town (Ps.-Skylax 58). The city-ethnic is *Δήλιος* (*I.Délos* 98A.16 (377/6)). Delos is called a *polis* in the political sense throughout C4 (*I.Délos* 36.2 = *CEG* II 836; *I.Délos* 74.15–16: *τῆς πόλεως τῆς Δηλίων*). In Ps.-Skylax 58 *Δῆλος* is one of the toponyms listed after the heading *πόλεις αἵδε ἐν ταῖς νήσοις*. The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally in inscriptions (*IG* I³ 1460.14 (410/9); *I.Délos* 71.2 (C5/C4), 74.7 (C4s)) and on coins (*infra*) and externally in inscriptions (*IG* I³ 130.19 (*c.*432)) and in literary sources (Hdt. 6.97.1; Thuc. 5.1; Hyp. fr. 74, Sauppe). The individual use is attested both internally (*I.Délos* 98A.16 (377/6)) and externally at Athens and Karthaia on Keos (*IG* I³ 1349 (*c.*530); *IG* XII.5 542.49 (C4)).

Strabo (10.5.1) carefully excludes Delos from the Kyklades, which are, rather, the islands around it. The territory of Delos was of course fundamentally the island itself, but ever since Polykrates of Samos attached Rheneia (no. 514) to Delos by a chain (Thuc. 3.104.2, cf. 1.13.6; Shipley (1987) 94–97), the Delians controlled the southern half of Rheneia below the isthmus which divides the island into two unequal halves, as well as the eastern part of the half above the isthmus (see the sketch map in Kent (1948) 248 fig. 3).

This land supported several sanctuaries (see *infra*) and the necessary Delian cemeteries, given the prohibition against burial on the sacred island (see Couilloud (1974)). By C4 the rest of Delian territory on Rheneia was divided into eleven sacred estates (*temene*), which were rented out on contract; these no doubt were established soon after the Rheneian territory came into Delian possession (*I.Délos* 89, 104–11A; Kent (1948) 245–52; Charre and Couilloud-Le Dinahet (1999)). The Delians also owned property on Syros (*I.Délos* 104–11A21) and Tenos (*I.Délos* 104–8B46 (C4s); cf. *I.Délos* 104–32.4, apparently under an entry referring to houses rented out: *ἐν Τήνωι ἐν ἄσ[τει* ---), perhaps having come into Delian possession as a result of foreclosure for unpaid loans (Étienne (1990) 183; *contra* Reger (1994*b*) 227–28, and *infra*).

In the Archaic period Delos was under the sway of the Naxians (no. 507) (generally, see Gallet de Santerre (1958)), though there is no reason to believe that the Delians thereby ceased to enjoy the status of a *polis*. Under Peisistratos the Athenians claimed Delos and carried out a purification (cf. Lanzillotta (1996) 275–79). When Datis passed by Delos in 490, the islanders fled to Tenos, but he respected the sanctity of the island and called them back (Hdt. 6.97.1). After the end of the Persian War the Athenians chose Delos as headquarters of the Delian League; meetings were held in the sanctuary (Thuc. 1.96.2). The sanctuary was controlled by an amphiktyony under the Athenians (478?–404). In 426/5 the Athenians carried out renewed purifications (Thuc. 1.8.1, 3.104), and in 422 they expelled the Delians, who were permitted by the Persians to live at Adramyttion (no. 800) (Thuc. 5.1, 8.108.4: calling the action a *metoikismos*; Paus. 4.27.9); but at least some of them were brought back to Delos in 421 (Thuc. 5.32.1). After the end of the Peloponnesian War the Delians enjoyed political autonomy from 404 to 394, though subject to a subordinate treaty with the Spartans (no. 345) (*I.Délos* 87 = *Choix* no. 8 (402–399); see Prost (2001)). In 394 the Athenians again secured control over the sanctuary (though not the Delian *polis*), which they held and administered through another amphiktyony until 314, sometimes with the co-operation of the Andrians (no. 475) (see e.g. *I.Délos* 97.5; 97*bis* 1–2; 98.A63, 64, 96; 100.7, 10, Andrian *amphiktyoneis*).

Aristotle wrote a *Constitution of the Delians* (no. 38 and frr. 495–97, Gigon). Several Delian laws have been preserved epigraphically, including an exclusion of *xenoi* from a sanctuary, perhaps the *temenos* of the Archegetes (*I.Délos* 68 (C4), with Butz (1996) 78–82; Le Guen-Pollet (1991) 77–79 no. 22, and Vallois (1929) 209 n. 2), and a regulation to keep a spring clean (*I.Délos* 69 (C4f); Le Guen-Pollet (1991) 61–62 no. 14 (C5)). A grant of *ateleia* is known (*I.Délos* 71 = *Choix* no. 6 (C4?)). In 376/5 a fine and permanent exile was imposed on Delians who had seized *amphiktyoneis* in the sanctuary of Apollo, dragged them out, and beaten them (*I.Délos* 98B24–52). A *stasis* between a pro-Athenian and an anti-Athenian faction in the 330s can be inferred from an Athenian citizenship decree to an exiled citizen of Delos and his family (*IG* II² 222; cf. Gehrke, *Stasis* 49). A fragment of Hyperides' Delian Speech (fr. 74) recounts a lawsuit between the Delians and the Rheneians over responsibility for the deaths of Aiolian visitors on Rheneia.

The Delians bestowed *proxenia* on citizens of Athens (no. 361) (*I.Délos* 74 (C4l)), Ios (no. 484) (*I.Délos* 76), and Kition (*IG* XI.4 512 (C4l)), and *proxenia* combined with citizenship on a citizen of Byzantion (no. 674) (*IG* XI.4 510 (C4l)). Delian citizens were appointed *proxenoi* by Athens (*I.Délos* 88 (368)), Karthaia (*IG* XII.5 542.49 (C4m)); see Marek (1984) 71–73, 247–80.

The eponymous official of Delos was an archon (*IG* I³ 1460.9–10 (410/9); *I.Délos* 87 (*c.*403); Sherk (1990) 269–70). We hear of *prytaneis* (*I.Délos* 88 = *Choix* 10 (369/8)), a *boule* (*I.Délos* 71 (C5/C4), 72) and an assembly (*I.Délos* 88 (369/8)). Decrees were passed typically by the *boule* and the *demos* (*I.Délos* 71–73 (C5/C4–390s)), the latter sometimes simply as *Δήλιοι* (*I.Délos* 71); occasionally a named person moved the decree (*I.Délos* 73 (390s), 74 (C4e)). Other known officials include an *arxas stephanephoros* (*I.Délos* 37 (C4)), *hieropoioi* (*I.Délos* 73 (390s)), *grammateus* of the *boule* (*I.Délos* 88), an *epistates* (*I.Délos* 88), and *strategoi* (*I.Délos* 88). *Neokoroi* appear as helpers of the *amphiktyoneis* until 409 or 408; thereafter they are called *episkopoi* or *epitropoi* (*I.Délos* 93.10–15 and 94.4). The civic subdivisions (clearly modelled on Athens) (Jones, *POAG* 211–12) comprised four *phylai* (only *Ἀργαδεῖς* is known by name: *IG* XI.4 1155.3 (C3f)), several *trittyes* (e.g. *ἡ τριττὺς ἡ Μαψιχιδῶν* (*IG* XI.2 199A.12 (275); cf. Bruneau and Ducat (1983) 123). The protective deity was of course Apollo Delios (Ananios 1.1, West²; *Hymn. Hom. Ap. passim*; Pind. *Pae.* 5, Race; on Pindar's conections with Delos, see Simon (1997); on the tradition of Apollo's birth, see Le Roy (1973)). The cult statue of Apollo made by Tektaios and Angelion (Paus. 2.32.5, 9.35.3) replaced a *xoanon* taken to Epidelion (Paus. 3.23.3). There was also a *xoanon* of Aphrodite (Paus. 9.40.3–4). The dedication to Athena Polias (*I.Délos* 15 = *LSAG* 306 no. 42 (C6l)), which is carved on a column of the *bouleuterion*, should probably be attributed to the Athenians.

Apollo's sanctuary, which can be traced back to Bronze Age roots, was the chief ἱερόν of Delos (Courby (1931) 1–106; Bruneau and Ducat (1983) 130–33), but of course the tiny island was saturated with sanctuaries. These include an Artemision on Delos which dates in its original form to C7 (*I.Délos* 73 (390s); Bruneau and Ducat (1983) 154–59) and an Ἄρτεμίσιον ἐν νήσῳ recently shown to have been located on Rheneia (Tréheux (1995)); a Heraion dating from C7 (Plassart (1928); Bruneau and Ducat (1983) 230–31); a Letoon built *c.*540 (Gallet de Santerre (1959) 37–72; Bruneau and Ducat (1983) 168–71); a Dodekatheon to the Twelve Gods, but which had only altars in C5–C4 (Will (1955); Bruneau and Ducat (1983) 165–66); an Archegesion for Anios, the founder of Delos, of C6e (F. Robert (1953); Bruneau and Ducat (1983) 200–1; Bruneau (1970) 413–30 on the cult); an Aphrodision which was consecrated C4l (Roussel (1987) 240–42; Bruneau (1970) 331–44; Bruneau and Ducat (1983) 213–14). Delos is also rich in public buildings: the *ekklesiasterion* dates from C5e (Hansen and Fischer-Hansen (1994) 61–62; Vallois (1929) 278–302; Bruneau and Ducat (1983) 159); the *bouleuterion* from C6f (Gneisz (1990) 45–46, 315 no. 17; cf. *I.Délos* 84 (*c.*300)); the *prytaneion* was begun before C4m (Étienne (1997); Bruneau and Ducat (1983) 135–37; S. G. Miller (1978) 67–78, as C5; cf. also *IG* XI 2.144.A.98, 101); the *hieropoion* is C4l (Tréheux (1987)). The impressive theatre (*TGR* ii. 192–94) goes back to C4 but was not finished till C3m (*IG* XI.2 287.A 92–93, work still going on in 250; Vallois (1944) 220–38).

As a sacred site Delos was always unwalled (see Rigsby (1996) 51–53); for Datis, see *supra*; on the "battle of Delos" inferred from Hippoc. *Epid.* 5.61 and 7.33, see F. Robert (1973)). The city seems originally to have occupied land north of the sanctuary; the habitation quarter known as the Quartier du Théâtre was a C3 development (Chamonard (1922)), and of course the great period of expansion on Delos fell in the decades after the Romans gave Delos back to the Athenians in 167 (Roussel (1987) *passim*; Habicht (1997) 246–63). On the harbour facilities of Delos, see Duchêne and Fraisse (2001).

Delos struck silver coins on the Euboic standard from C6l to C5e, stopping after 478. The Archaic and Classical coinage of Delos still lacks a thorough scholarly study (Hackens (1973); Bruneau and Ducat (1983) 107–11; V. Chankowski is planning such a study). Types: *obv.* lyre, sometimes with legend Δ; *rev.* incuse square in eight or four compartments; or spokes of wheel with retrograde legend ΔΗΛΙ (Head, *HN*² 485; Erxleben (1970) 70; Kraay (1976) 45–46).

479. Helene Map 59 (by a lapsus there as Helena). Lat. 37.40, long. 24.05. Size of territory: 1 (18 km²). Type: [A]. The toponym is Ἑλένη, ἡ (Strabo 10.5.3), denoting both the island and the town (Ps.-Skylax 58), or Μάκρις (Steph. Byz. 265.5). Steph. Byz. 265.6–7 conjectures two different forms of the city-ethnic. Artemidoros (*apud* Strabo) starts the Kyklades with Helene; Strabo excludes it. In Ps.-Skylax 58 Ἑλένη is one of the toponyms listed after πόλεις αἵδε ἐν ταῖς νήσοις.

Ikaros (Ikarios) Map 61. Lat. 37.35, long. 26.10. Size of territory: 4 (256 km²). The toponym is Ἴκαρος, ἡ (*IG* I³ 261.v.6; *F.Delphes* III.1 497.12 (C4l/C3e); Hdt. 6.95.2; Thuc. 3.29.1), in late sources sometimes Ἰκαρία, ἡ (Strabo 14.1.19; Papalas (1992) 183 no. 5, 185 no. 11). The ethnic is Ἰκάριος (*IG* II² 8935 (C4s)), in late sources sometimes Ἰκαριεύς (*IG* XII.5 723.18 (C2)). According to Ps.-Skylax 58, Ikaros was δίπολις, and indeed two *poleis*, Oinoe and Thermai, are known. Unlike other islands with multiple *poleis*, the inhabitants do not always appear simply as Ikarians. Both *poleis* were members of the Delian League but always paid separately; in the tribute lists they are recorded as Οἰναῖοι ἐν Ἰκάροι (*IG* I³ 263.II.2–3) or ἐχς Ἰκάρο (*IG* I³ 262.II.9–10) and as Θερμαῖοι ἐν Ἰκάροι (*IG* I³ 261.vV.6–7) or ἐχς Ἰκάρο (*IG* I³ 262.II.2–3). Both *poleis* are attested fifteen times in the tribute lists (*infra*), but only twice are they recorded next to each other (264.I.27–8, 265.I.29–30). According to Anaximenes of Lampsakos, Ikaros was "settled" by Milesians (no. 854) (*FGrHist* 72) fr. 26); the date must be C4 or earlier, perhaps in the Archaic period (Manganaro (1963–64) 297); if Archaic, perhaps starting with the Milesian expedition against Naxos, the island had expelled the Milesians by *c.*478 (see Ehrhardt (1983) 18–19). There are no known coins struck as island issues (see L. Robert (1969–90) i. 333–34 n. 2, 554–55 n. 4).

480. Oine (Oin(o)aios) Map. 61. Lat. 37.40, long. 26.10. Size of territory: 3 (*c.*125 km²). Type: A. The toponym is Οἴνη, ἡ (*IG* XI.4 539.7 (C4l/C3e); but note that this is an honorific decree for an individual described as Ἰκάριον ἐξ Οἴνης; cf. also L. Robert (1938) 113 n. 1 and *SEG* 42 779) or sometimes in later sources Οἰνόη, ἡ (Strabo 14.1.19; Ath. 30D). The city-ethnic is Οἰναῖος (*IG* I³ 262.II.9; *I.Délos* 98.A.13; coins, see *infra*), in late sources sometimes Οἰνόαιος (Ath. 30D, perhaps quoting Eparchides (*FGrHist* 437) fr. 1). In the Athenian tribute lists the community is referred to as Οἰναῖοι ἐχς Ἰκάρο (*IG* I³ 262.II.9, 262.II.9–10, 263.II.2–3) or ἐν Ἰκάροι (*IG* I³ 263.II.2). Oine is referred to as a *polis* in the urban sense by the term δίπολις at Ps.-Skylax

58. It is called a *polis* in the political sense in a C4 proxeny decree (*IG* XII.6 1224.5; see also *I.Délos* 98.A.13 and B.5 (377–373), where the *Οἰναῖοι ἐξ Ἰκάρο* are listed under the heading: *αἵδε τῶν πόλεων* (A.11, B.1). The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally on coins: *OINAIΩN* (Head, *HN*² 602, from *c.*300) and externally in the Athenian tribute lists (*IG* I³ 262.II.9). The earliest attestation of the individual use of the city-ethnic is from C2e (*IG* XI.4 811.3–4).

Oine was a member of the Delian League. It belonged to the Ionian district (*IG* I³ 269.I.9) and is recorded in the tribute lists from 454/3 (*IG* I³ 259.IV.7) to 429/8 (*IG* I³ 282.IV.57) a total of fifteen times, once completely restored, paying a *phoros* of first 1 tal., 2,000 dr. (*IG* I³ 259.IV.7–8), reduced to 1 tal. in 447/6 (*IG* I³ 265.I.30) and further reduced to 4,000 dr. in the following year (*IG* I³ 266.I.9), but raised again to 1 tal. in 433/2 (*IG* I³ 279.I.52–53). It was assessed for tribute in 425/4 (*IG* I³ 71.I.175–76). Apart from membership of the Delian League and contributions to the Delian Amphiktyony, the only two pieces of information we have about Oine as a political community are the Oinaians' grant of *proxenia* to a citizen of Byzantion (no. 674) (*IG* XII.6 1224 (C4)) and a grant of *proxenia* by the Delians (no. 478) to a citizen of Oine (*IG* XI.4 539 (C4l/C3e)).

The ancient settlement was once thought to occupy a hill (an acropolis) near modern Kambos, but in 1939 Politis showed that there was no ancient settlement on the hill; he favoured a location by the sea on the left bank of the river that flows by Kambos into the sea (Politis (1939–40) 139–43). The *polis* centre is located on the north coast. It seems likely that Oine's territory included the western part of the island, and thus the temple of Artemis Tauropolos. Graves and villages of Classical date have been reported (N. Zapheiropoulos (1963*a*), (1963*b*)).

The Tauropolion, the sanctuary of Artemis (Strabo 14.1.19), was located on the north coast, *c.*9 km west of Oine, in whose territory it surely was (though it seems to have operated in some sense as an island-wide sanctuary, perhaps rather like Klopedi on Lesbos). Ceramics start in C7, and building by C6, and continuously thereafter (Papalas (1983); Politis (1939–40); Ph. Zapheiropoulou (1989)). Recent finds of rock-cut inscriptions mention the *Theoi Samothrakoi* (Hatzianastasiou (1981) 378).

481. *Therma (Thermaios) Map. 61. Lat. 37.40, long. 26.10. Size of territory: 3 (125 km²). Type: A. The toponym is unattested. In the Hellenistic period the urban centre was called *Δράκανον* (Strabo 14.1.19) after the nearby promontory. The city-ethnic is *Θερμαῖος* (*IG* I³ 259.III.9–10, 261.V.6–7). In the Athenian tribute lists the community is referred to as *Θερμαῖοι ἐχς Ἰκάρο* (262.II.2–3) or *ἐν Ἰκάροι* (*IG* I³ 263.II.36–37). The Thermaioi are referred to as having a *polis* in the urban sense by the term *δίπολις* at Ps.-Skylax 58. For *polis* in the political sense, see *I.Délos* 98.A.14 and B.4–5 (377–373), where the *Θερμαῖοι ἐξ Ἰκάρο* are listed under the heading *αἵδε τῶν πόλεων* (A.11, B.1). The collective use of the ethnic is attested externally in the Athenian tribute lists (*IG* I³ 259.III.9–10). The earliest attestation of the individual use of the city-ethnic is from C2e (*IG* XI.4 811.3–4). Asklepios has been suggested as the chief deity on the basis of the Hellenistic renaming of the city as Asklepieis (L. Robert (1969–90) i.549–68).

Therma was a member of the Delian League. It belonged to the Ionian district (*IG* I³ 269.I.4) and is recorded in the tribute lists from 454/3 (*IG* I³ 259.III.9–10) to 429/8 (*IG* I³ 282.IV.35), a total of fifteen times, once completely restored, paying a *phoros* of 3,000 dr. in all years (*IG* I³ 259.III.9–10).

The urban centre was located on the south-east coast of the island. A nearby cemetery shows use from the Archaic period (Leekley and Noyes (1975) 20). Ancient remains are few (a bath complex has been reported (Lauffer (1989) 278; Pleket (1960)) because most of the site slid into the sea, perhaps as a result of an earthquake in 198 (Papalas (1992) 122).

482. Ikos (Ikios) Map 55. Lat. 39.10, long. 23.55. Size of territory: 2 (65 km²). Type: A. The toponym is *Ἶκος, ἡ* (Ps.-Skymnos 582) or *Ἰκός* (Strabo 9.5.16), denoting both the island and the town (Ps.-Skylax 58). The city-ethnic is *Ἴκιος* (*IG* I³ 262.IV.2). The island is sometimes regarded as one of the Kyklades (Steph. Byz. 330.8), but Strabo groups it with the islands that lie off Magnesia (Strabo 9.5.16). Ps.-Skylax 58 calls the island *δίπολις*, principally in the urban sense, but no trace of two *poleis* recurs in the sources (which are meagre) or the archaeology (likewise). The political sense is attested in *IG* II² 43.78 and 84, where the *Ikioi* under the heading *πόλεις* are listed as members of the Second Athenian Naval League. The collective use of the city-ethnic appears internally on amphora stamps (*infra*) and externally in the Athenian tribute lists (*IG* I³ 262.IV.2). The individual and external use is attested in an Attic sepulchral inscription (*IG* II² 8936 (C4f)). The amphora stamps inscribed *IKIΩN* (*IG* XII.8 665) or *IKION* (nominative neuter singular) are from C3 or earlier (Doulgeri-Intzessiloglou and Garlan (1990) 388 with n. 78, 373 fig. 7; cf. Garlan (1999) 19).

Ikos was a member of the Delian League. It belonged to the Thracian district (*IG* I³ 271.II.51) and is recorded in the

tribute lists from 451/0 (*IG* I³ 262.IV.2) to 429/8 (*IG* I³ 282.II.18), a total of seventeen times, twice completely restored, paying a *phoros* of 1,500 dr. in all years (*IG* I³ 262.IV.2). Ikos also joined the Second Athenian Confederacy in the 370s (*IG* II² 43.84). Remains of the ancient urban centre on the south-eastern coast of the island include fortification walls of C4 (Philippson (1959) 48). An atelier for the production of amphoras has been found at Tsoukalia, dating from the Classical period and later; finds include stamps marked *IKION* or *IKIΩN* (*supra*). Farmsteads of C4 have also been located (*BCH* 124 (2000) 960–61).

483. Imbros (Imbrios) Map 51. Lat. 40.10, long. 25.45. Size of territory: 4 (275 km²). Type: A. The toponym is Ἴμβρος, ἡ (Hom. *Il.* 13.33; *Hymn. Hom. Ap.* 36; Thuc. 8.102.2; *F.Delphes* III.1 497.14 (C4l/C3e)), denoting both the island and the town (Ps.-Skylax 67). The city-ethnic is Ἴμβριος (Archil. 114.3, West; *IG* I³ 265.II.112). Imbros is called a *polis* in the urban sense by Ps.-Skylax 67 and in the political sense in the King's Peace (Xen. *Hell.* 5.1.31). In the Athenian tribute lists the Imbrians are twice recorded under the heading *haíδε πόλεις* (*IG* I³ 282.BI.15–16, 19, 285.I.107–8, 110). The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally on coins (*infra*) and externally in the Athenian tribute lists (*infra*). For the external and individual use, see Archil. 114.3. A C5s Athenian sepulchral inscription has, instead, *ἐξ Ἴμβρου* (*IG* I³ 1350).

Like Lemnos, Imbros was seized by the Athenians *c.*500 (Hdt. 6.41.2–4, 104.1; see Salomon (1997) 45) and resettled with expatriate Athenians. The Imbrians were members of the Delian League. Imbros belonged to the Island district (*IG* I³ 269.V.34), which indicates that, like the Lemnians, the Imbrians were allies (Thuc. 3.5.1, 7.57.2, 8.102–3) and not Athenian klerouchs like the Skyrians (Graham (1983) 175–84; Salomon (1997) 31–66; cf. Cargill (1995) 5–6). Imbros is recorded in the tribute lists from 447/6 (*IG* I³ 265.II.112) to 421/20 (*IG* I³ 285.I.110) a total of twelve times, five times completely restored, paying a *phoros* of 3,300 dr. in 447/6 (*IG* I³ 265.II.112), raised to 1 tal. in, perhaps, 442/1 (*IG* I³ 270.V.36). In 429/8 Imbros is listed among *poleis* which *καταδελοῦσι τὸμ φόρον* (present a voucher for tribute), presumably contributing to the maintenance of the *Hellespontophylakes* and serving as bases for the fleet patrolling the Hellespontine waters (*IG* I³ 282.BI.15–16, 19; cf. *IG* I³ 285.I.107–8, 10; Thuc. 2.24.1). Imbros was assessed for tribute in 425/4 (*IG* I³ 71.I.98) (1 tal., but both ethnic and amount restored). In the Peace of 404 Athens had to surrender Imbros (Andoc. 3.12; Aeschin. 2.76–77), but by 392, after a short period of independence (Andoc. 3.12, 14) the Athenians had regained control of the island (Xen. *Hell.* 4.8.15), and Athenian possession was confirmed by the King's Peace of 386 (Xen. *Hell.* 5.1.31). Like Lemnos (*Agora* XIX L3.13, 20, 22, 33, 42, 47), Imbros was now inhabited by Athenian klerouchs. For the view that only some of the inhabitants were klerouchs, whereas the rest were naturalised Imbrians, see Salomon (1997) 75–76. Imbros was still Athenian in the 320s (Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 62.2; *IG* II² 3206; cf. *SEG* 39 211), and remained Athenian by the Peace of 322 (Diod. 18.18.4; see Cargill (1995) 42–58). In C4 the Imbrians were in full possession of Athenian citizenship (Dem. 4.34, 7.4; Aeschin. 2.72).

As an Athenian dependency the Imbrian state is called *Ἀθηναίων ὁ δῆμος ὁ ἐν Ἴμβρῳ* (*IG* XII.8 46; *IG* II² 3206, cf. *SEG* 39.211 (*c.*325)) or *ὁ δῆμος ὁ ἐν Ἴμβρῳ* (*IG* II² 3203 (C4m)), but in the Athenian tribute lists it is given as Ἴμβριοι (*IG* I³ 265.II.112, etc.). All attestations of civic subdivisions copy Athens: citizens were organised into the Kleisthenic *phylai* and *demoi* (*IG* XII.8 63 (352/1)), and retained this system even after Imbros had broken away from Athens (*IG* XII.8 47 (*c.*318–307)); see Jones, *POAG* 187–88. Both when the Imbrians were part of the Athenian state (*IG* XII.8 46 (*c.*350–325)) and when they were independent (*IG* XII.8 47–48 (*c.*318–307)), decrees were proposed in accordance with a probouleumatic procedure (46.4–7) and passed by the *boule* and the *demos* (46.1, 47.13, 48.6–7) in an *ἐκκλησία* (47.3, 48.4) presided over by an *epistates* and two *symproedroi* (47.3–4, 48.4–5). The eponymous official was the Athenian archon when Imbros was part of the Athenian state (*IG* XII.8 63.1) and the island's own archon when Imbros was independent (*IG* XII.8 47.9), but see Cargill (1995) 146; Sherk (1990) 270–72. An Athenian law of 374/3 regulates the 8⅓ per cent tax on grain imports from Imbros (Stroud (1998) 4–5; cf. *IG* II² 1672.297). One month-name is known: Hekatombaion, an Athenian reflection (*IG* XII.8 47; see Trümpy, *Monat.* 117).

The patron deity was Athena Polias (*IG* XII.8 58.10). There was a cult of the Twelve Gods (*IG* XII.8 63 (352/1)), and the famous Kabeirion for the *Θεοὶ Μεγάλοι* attested in inscriptions (*IG* XII.8 51, 71–74 (all Hell.); cf. Fredrich (1908) 97–99) and by Strabo (10.3.21) (see Hemberg (1950) 37–43). Steph. Byz. 331.14–15 reports a sanctuary of Hermes, whose worship is attested in C4 (*IG* XII.8 68–69; Fredrich (1908) 100). The chief Imbrian river was called the Ilisus (Plin. *HN* 4.72), no doubt an echo of Attika to be attributed to the klerouchs (see Fredrich (1908) 82). The urban centre has remains, including a city wall, that have been dated to C4 (Fredrich (1908) 85–88). The island is still little explored archaeologically.

The Imbrians struck bronze coins in C4s. Types: (1) *obv.* female head; *rev.* naked ithyphallic figure of Hermes Imbramos; legend: *IMBPOY*. (2) *Obv.* head of Athena; *rev.* owl; legend: *IMBPOY*. (3) *Obv.* head of Athena; *rev.* caps of the Dioskouroi; legend: *INBPI* (Head, *HN*² 261; *SNG Cop. Thrace* 952–61).

484. Ios (Ietes) Map 61. Lat. 36.45, long. 25.15. Size of territory: 3 (109 km²). Type: A. The toponym is Ἴος, ἡ (*IG* XII.5 1004.4 (C4/C3); *F.Delphes* III.1 497.13 (C4l/C3e); Strabo 10.5.1), denoting both the island (*Ath. Pal.* 7.1) and the town (Ps.-Skylax 67). The city-ethnic is Ἰήτης (*IG* XII.5 1002.3 (C4); *I.Délos* 98A.13 (377/6)). Ios is called a *polis* both in the urban sense (Ps.-Skylax 58) and in the political sense (*IG* XII.5 1002.3 (C4)). The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally on coins (*infra*) and in inscriptions (*IG* XII.5 1002–4 (C4l); *IG* XII suppl. 168 (C4 in *LGPN*, but for the Antigonos as Gonatas, not Monophthalmos, see Habicht (1996)) and externally in the Athenian tribute lists (*infra*) and on Delos (*I.Délos* 98A.13 (377/6)). The individual and external use appears also on inscriptions of Delos (*I.Délos* 76.3 (C4s); *I.Délos* 104–26.C.2 = *Choix* no. 12 (C4), 104–26B (C4m), which record the acquittal of an Ietan tried in Athens; cf. Stumpf (1987) 211–13). *Patris* is found in Arist. fr. 76, Rose.

Ios was a member of the Delian League. It belonged to the Island district (*IG* I³ 269.v.27) and is recorded in the tribute lists from 450/49 (*IG* I³ 259.vi.14) to 416/15 (*IG* I³ 289.i.20), a total of sixteen times, twice completely restored, paying a *phoros* of 1 tal. in 454/3 (*IG* I³ 259.vi.14) to 452/1 (261.i.13), lowered to 840 dr. in 450/49 (*IG* I³ 263.iv.23), but raised to 3,000 dr. in 433/2 (*IG* I³ 279.i.87) or some years before. Ios was assessed for tribute in 425/4 (*IG* I³ 71.i.77) (1 tal., but amount restored). In C4 Ios was a member of the Delian Amphiktyony (*I.Délos* 98.A.13, 104–28aA.14, bA 20).

Decrees (*psephismata*) moved by named individuals (*IG* XII.5 1001–4 (C4–C3e)) were put to the vote by *prytaneis* (*IG* XII suppl. 168) or four *proedroi* (*IG* XII.5 1002, 1004) and passed by the *boule* and *demos* (*IG* XII.5 2, 1002, 1004) or sometimes just the *demos* (*IG* XII.5 1001, suppl. 168) presided over by an *epistates* (*IG* XII.5 2, 1001). Attested officials are a board of *strategoi* and some trierarchs (*IG* XII.5 1004), a board of *praktores* (*IG* XII.5 1001), a board of *eklogeis* (*IG* XII.5 1001–2, 1004) and a board of *hieropoioi* (*IG* XII.5 2 = *LSCG* 199–200 no. 105). A decree of C4l (308–306) speaks of the restoration of the ancestral laws (τοὺς νόμους τοὺς πατρίους) (*IG* XII suppl. 168.3)). From C5l and C4 are preserved two laws about grazing sheep (*IG* XII.5 1, 2A = *LSCG* nos. 104–5). There is no real evidence for civic subdivisions (Jones, *POAG* 214).

Ios bestowed *proxenia* on citizens of Karystos (no. 373) (*IG* XII.5 2A (C4)), Athens (no. 361) (*IG* XII.5 1000 (C4)) and Astypalaia (no. 476) (*IG* XII.5 1003 (*c.*300)). Citizens of Ios were appointed *proxenoi* by Delos (no. 478) (*I.Délos* 76 (C4s)) and Pholegandros (no. 513) (*IG* XII.5 9 (C4)).

The protective deities were Athena Polias and Zeus Polieus (*IG* XII.5 8 (C3s)). The Ietan calendar included a month named after Homer, though from when is not clear (Masouris (1992)); the poet's mother is said to have been from Ios ([Plut.] *Vit. Hom.* 4). An extra-mural sanctuary of Poseidon Phytalmios(?) has been reported (Graindor (1904) 310). There was a sanctuary of Apollo Pythios, where public enactments were published (*IG* XII.5 3 (C5), 1000.16–17 (C4)), and a communal cult of Homer, which probably had a sanctuary or heroon of some sort (Paus. 10.24.2; Strabo 10.5.1; *IG* XII.5 *1¹–*1⁶).

The urban centre lies under modern Chora, but remains of the temple of Apollo Pythios have been identified (*IG* XII.5 100 with Graindor (1904) 308–9, 311–12). An inscription mentions a place called Philotos (*IG* XII.5 1005.4), but it has not been further identified. Remains of an undated defence circuit are still visible; it enclosed an area of less than 10 ha, perhaps, 5–9 ha (Brun (1996) 149–50 and personal information).

Ios struck coins of silver and bronze from C4l on. Types: *obv.* head of Homer; legend: *OMHPOY*; *rev.* laurel wreath, or Athena hurling spear, or palm-tree; legend: *IHTΩN* (Head, *HN*² 486; *SNG Cop. Argolis-Aegaean Islands* 673–77).

485. Kalymna (Kalymnios) Map 61. Lat. 37.00, long. 27.00. Size of territory: 2 (93 km²). Type: A. The toponym is originally Κάλυδνα, ἡ (Hom. *Il* 2.677; Diod. 5.54.1; Steph. Byz. 350.6; cf. Segre in *Tit. Cal.* p. 2), from C4 Κάλυμνα, ἡ (Ps.-Skylax 99; *Tit. Cal.* X.1 (C4–C3); 1B.16 (C4); Strabo 10.5.19; Steph. Byz. 350.12). In Homer (*Il.* 2.677: νήσους τε Καλύδνας), and in a number of late interpretations of this line (Strabo 10.5.14, 19; Eust. *Il.* 1.495.4ff, 49612ff; Hsch. *K*527) the toponym occurs in the plural, and it seems reasonable to suppose that the islands in the vicinity of Kalymna were subsumed under the plural toponym Kalydnai, even if we cannot say for sure which islands were included. The contrast *ATL* finds in a Kalymnian inscription between the Kalydnian islands and the *demos* of the Kalymnians (*Tit. Cal.* 64 (C3l) = *Syll.*3 567; *ATL* cites *SGDI* III 3586) rests on a false restoration; lines 9–10 are better restored as ἐπὶ τὰν πόλιν καὶ τὰν χώραν καὶ τὰς νάσος

τὰς Κα[λυμνίων] as proposed by Herzog (1902) 319, who saw in the islands Pserimos, Telendos and other small islands near Kalymna.

The city-ethnic was originally Καλύδνιος (*IG* I³ 261.I.10; Hdt. 7.99.2; Androtion (*FGrHist* 324) fr. 27), from C4 Καλύμνιος (*Tit. Cal.* 1 (C4); Men. fr. 348). Kalymna is called a *polis* both in the urban sense (*Tit. Cal.* 11.9 (C4–C3)) and in the political sense (*Tit. Cal.* 7.15–16 (C4l/C3e); *I.Knidos* 221A.6–7, 15, 35–36, B36 (*c.*300)). The collective use of the city-ethnic appears internally in Kalymnian decrees of C4 (*Tit. Cal.* 1A–C) and externally in the Knidian arbitration between Kos (no. 497) and Kalymna (*I.Knidos* 221A.15 (*c.*300)) and in literary sources (Hdt. 7.99.2). The external and individual use of the ethnic is attested in the arbitration decree (*I.Knidos* 221B.36–37) and in a fragment of Menander (fr. 348). It is called *patris* in *Tit. Cal.* 235 (C5) and *Tit. Cal* no. x = *CEG* II 716 (C4l/C3e).

According to Hdt. 7.99.2–3, Kalymna was colonised by Epidauros (no. 348). Diodorus' version (5.54.3), which replaces Epidauros with Kos (no. 497), should almost certainly be seen as an invention related to the absorption of Kalymna by Kos in C3l (*Tit. Cal.* XII). Diodorus gives Thettalos, son of Herakles, as the oecist (5.54.1).

Herodotos noted one or two warships of the Kalydnians under the command of Artemisia at Salamis (7.99.2). The Kalydnians were members of the Delian League. They belonged to the Karian district (*IG* I³ 269.v.7) and are recorded in the tribute lists from 452/1 (*IG* I³ 261.I.10) to 415/14 (*IG* I³ 290.I.19) a total of fourteen times, twice completely restored, paying a *phoros* of 1 tal. 3,000 dr. down to 433/2 (*IG* I³ 279.I.55) and thereafter an unknown amount (*IG* I³ 280.I.50). The Kalydnians were assessed for tribute in 425/4 (*IG* I³ 71.I.148). It seems clear that here we have some kind of grouping around Kalymna to pay tribute, since there seems to be no evidence that the Kalydnai islands were a *polis*.

On the other hand, some scholars have proposed that Kalymna hosted three *poleis*, none of which was called Kalymna. Bean and Cook ((1957) 131–33), following and systematising earlier suggestions, argue that Kalymna had three *poleis*, called Pothaia, located by modern Damos and encompassing the whole valley there, Orkatos, which would have occupied the region of modern Rina (Vathy) and its valley (cf. Newton (1865) i. 319–20), and Panormos, located on the nearby island of Telendos, or possibly at Sykia. Our evidence for the organisation of these entities is Hellenistic, but it seems clear that by some point in C4 there was a Kalymnian *polis*, well attested epigraphically (see *infra*; but see also Bean and Cook (1957) 131–33, who argue that there never was a single state called Kalymna on Kalymna). If there were in fact three *poleis* on Kalymna before *c.*C4m, which had formed some kind of *synteleia* with several of the smaller nearby islands to pay Athenian tribute in C5, perhaps they, like Kos, may have undergone a synoecism at roughly the same time.

In C4 the Kalymnians had a council (*boule*) (*Tit. Cal.* 3.1, 8.1) and an assembly, called *ekklesia* (*Tit. Cal.* 1A–B, 2.1–2, 3.2) or *damos* (*Tit. Cal.* 7.3, 8.1). Decrees (*psephismata*) were passed by the *ekklesia* (*Tit. Cal.* 1A–B, 2.1–2) or by the *boule* and the *damos* (*Tit. Cal.* 8.1, 9.1) or by the *damos* alone (*Tit. Cal.* 7.19); sometimes proposals were put forward by a board of *prostatai* (*Tit. Cal.* 7.1, 8.2), and sometimes they were brought forward on the motion of an individual (*Tit. Cal.* 2.3–4, 3.3). Kalymna bestowed *proxenia* on citizens of Delphi (no. 177) (*Tit. Cal.* 1B), Sikyon (no. 228) (*Tit. Cal.* 1C), Athens (no. 361) and (the region of) Oita (*Tit. Cal.* 3), and citizenship on citizens of Thera (no. 527) (*Tit. Cal.* 8) and Miletos (no. 854) (*Tit. Cal.* 7.23).

The citizens were organised into tribes (φυλαί) and demes (δᾶμοι). In the Hellenistic period there were a minimum of five *phylai* and seven *damoi* (Jones, *POAG* 231–36). The three ancient Doric *phylai* are attested in C2 (*Tit. Cal.* 88), probably as a survival of a much earlier period. A citizenship decree of C4l/C3e stipulates that the new citizen be inscribed in the *phyle* called Περφίδαι and in the *damos* called Ποθαίων (*Tit. Cal.* 8.20–23; cf. 9.7). The names of two months are attested in C4 inscriptions (*Tit. Cal.* 1A–B); they show that the Kalymnian calendar was identical with that of Kos already in the Classical period (Trümpy, *Monat.* 179–81). A late inscription attests directly to Apollo Delios as the chief deity (*Iscr. Cos* EV 232 (first/second century AD), but there is no doubt that he had served in this role earlier as well (see *infra*).

The site of the *polis* centre of Kalymna has not been identified with certainty, though it may well have occupied the site of the modern town of Embolos, which has produced remains of Classical and Hellenistic date as well as Roman period sigillata (Bean and Cook (1957) 128–29). Others have suggested a site at Sykia (Maiuri (1925–26*b*) 323 n. 1, "Periboli"). The main Kalymnian sanctuary was dedicated to Apollo (*Tit. Cal.* 8.25–26) and lay outside the putative *polis* centre. It was in use throughout the Archaic and Classical periods (Newton (1865) i. 304–12). Near it was a theatre possibly antedating C3 (*TGR* ii. 144).

The territory of Kalymna included not only the island of the same name, but several neighbouring islands. Of

these perhaps only Telendos, Kalinos and Pserimos were large enough to have been occupied permanently. On Telendos have been reported ruins of a theatre and other evidence of habitation (Segre (1944–45) 219); Pserimos has yielded an inscription of (probably) third century AD, which confirms the island's toponym as Ψήριμος (*Tit. Cal.* 250.1).

The C6 coins long attributed to Kalymna (Head, *HN*² 631; Segre (1944–45) 5) have now been dissociated from the island (Wartenberg (1998), unknown to Figueira (1998) 578), which leaves Kalymna to the best of my knowledge without coinage before the Hellenistic period.

Karpathos (Karpathios) Map 60 (inset). Lat. 35.25–55, long. 27.5–15. Size of territory: 4 (301 km², or, if Saros is included, 324 km²). The toponym is Κάρπαθος, ἡ (Hdt. 3.45.1; Diod. 20.93.2); the form Κράπαθος occurs in the Homeric Catalogue of Ships (*Il.* 2.676). The toponym denotes both the island (*Hymn. Hom. Ap.* 43; Diod. 5.54.4; Strabo 10.5.17; Steph. Byz. 361.8) and one of the towns on the island (*IG* I³ 1454.35–37 (C5s), see *infra*). The regional ethnic is Καρπάθιος (Archil. fr. 248; Arist. *Rhet.* 1413ª19; *IG* I³ 271.I.66); for Καρπάθιος as a city-ethnic, see *infra*. Ps.-Skylax 99 calls Karpathos *tripolis*, and the names of three *poleis* are attested independently, *viz.* Arkes(s)ia, Brykous and Karpathos (*infra*); but in C5 the island was also home to the semi-independent *koinon* of the Eteokarpathians (*infra*). Strabo (10.5.17), however, calls the island *tetrapolis*. This must reflect Strabo's confusion (Reger (1997) 453) and not the absorption of Saros as suggested by Susini (1963–64) 245 (see under Saros for further discussion).

Hsch. Κ3967 speaks of Karpathos as *νῆσον Ῥόδου*. The island was indeed incorporated by the Rhodians (no. 1000), but the date is not certain (Papachristodoulou (1989) 45–46); some scholars see the incorporation as a process that occurred across C4 (Susini (1963–64) 231). Karpathos had a sanctuary of Poseidon Porthmios, who was perhaps the guardian deity. Epigraphic evidence in the form of decrees published at the sanctuary belongs in the Hellenistic period (*IG* XII.1 1031–37), but the archaeological record reaches back into the Archaic period (Hope Simpson and Lazenby (1962) 167), when the sanctuary must have been in the territory of Brykous.

On Karpathos have been found remains of three settlements of the Archaic and Classical periods, one at modern Ag. Ioannis, identified with ancient Brykous, one at modern Arkassa, identified with ancient Arkessia, and one at modern Pegadi, identified with ancient Potidaion (Hope Simpson and Lazenby (1962) 158).

The Athenian tribute lists record four communities on Karpathos as members of the Delian League: Arkesia, the Brykontioi, the Karpathioi and the Eteokarpathioi. A combination of the tribute lists with the other sources and the archaeological evidence results in the following reconstruction.

486. Arke(s)seia (Arkesieus) Map 60 (inset). Lat. 35.30, long. 27.05. Size of territory: presumably 1 or 2. Type: A. The toponym is Ἀρκέσεια, ἡ (*IG* I³ 271.I.66–67) or Ἀρκέσσεια (*IG* I³ 272.I.77). The city-ethnic is Ἀρκασ(ε)ιεύς, attested in late sources only (*IG* XII.1 218 (Hell.), 990 (Roman)). Arkeseia is convincingly identified with modern Arkassa, where an abundance of sherds from the Geometric through the Hellenistic periods were found in and around an acropolis with walls of the late Classical or Hellenistic period enclosing an area of *c.*1.5 ha (Della Seta (1924–25) 91–92; Hope Simpson and Lazenby (1962) 162–63). It follows that Arkeseia is one of the three *poleis* referred to by *tripolis* at Ps.-Skylax 99 and thus attested as a *polis* in the urban sense of the term.

Arkeseia was a member of the Delian League. It belonged to the Karian district (*IG* I³ 269.IV.22) and is recorded in the tribute lists from 450/49 (*IG* I³ 263.II.26–27) to 428/7 (*IG* I³ 283.III.3) a total of nine times, twice completely restored, paying a *phoros* of 1,000 dr. (*IG* I³ 263.II.26–27). It is listed by toponym (*IG* I³ 265.II.49: Ἀρ[κέσσεια]), usually specified as Καρπάθο Ἀρκέσσεια, that is, "Arkes(s)eia of Karpathos" (*IG* I³ 272.I.77), or as Καρπαθίο[ν] Ἀρκέσεια, "Arkeseia of the Karpathians" (*IG* I³ 271.I.66–67). Since there seems to be no pattern to the use, no change in status should be inferred.

487. Brykous (Brykountios) Map 60 (inset). Lat. 35.50, long. 27.10. Size of territory: presumably 1 or 2. Type: A. The toponym is Βρυκοῦς, -ντος (*IG* XII.1 995 (first century AD); *IG* I³ 282.IV.9–10, completely restored). The city-ethnic is Βρυκόντιος (*IG* I³ 71.II.139) or Βρυκούντιος (*IG* XII.1 220.3 (Hell.); *IG* I³ 100.II.4, restored). Inscriptions (*IG* XII.1 994–1009 (C2 and later)) secure identification with modern Ag. Ioannis, with remains from the Archaic through the late Roman period, including a city wall of the late Classical or Hellenistic period (Hope Simpson and Lazenby (1962) 161–62), but Susini (1963–64) 233 gives no date for the fortifications. It follows that Brykous is one of the three *poleis* referred to by *tripolis* at Ps.-Skylax 99 and thus attested as a *polis* in the urban sense of the term. The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally in late

inscriptions (*IG* XII.1 994–95 (first century AD)) and externally in the Athenian tribute lists (*IG* I³ 71.II.139). The individual use is attested both internally (*IG* XII.1 1000–9) and externally (*IG* XII.1 220 (Hell.)).

Brykous was a member of the Delian League and is recorded in the tribute lists mostly by city-ethnic but once probably by toponym (*IG* I³ 282.IV.9–10) from 448/7 (*IG* I³ 264.III.17) to 429/8 (*IG* I³ 282.IV.9–10) a total of three times, once completely restored, paying a *phoros* of 500 dr. (*IG* I³ 264.III.17). Brykous is absent from the full panel of 441/0 (*IG* I³ 271.I–II.64–86), and in 429/8 it paid the *phoros* of that year and the preceding year (*IG* I³ 282.IV.9–10). It was assessed for tribute in 425/4 (*IG* I³ 71.II.139) (500 dr.) and perhaps also in 410/9 (*IG* I³ 100.II.4). The sanctuary of Poseidon Porthmios was presumably in the territory of Brykous; perhaps Poseidon was the chief deity. Inscriptions starting in the Hellenistic period attest to a temple of Athena Lindia on the acropolis: that is, in the period when Karpathos was controlled by the Rhodians and formed part of the Rhodian state (*IG* XII.1 997–98). On the unlikely possibility that the island of Saros was part of the territory of Brykous, see under Saros, *infra*.

488. Eteokarpathioi Map 60 (inset). Lat. 35.35, long. 27.10. Type: [A]. Since the Eteokarpathians were organised as a *koinon* (*IG* I³ 1454.7, 12, restored), there is no toponym. The ethnic, attested only in the plural, is *Ἐτεοκαρπάθιοι* (*IG* I³ 1454.6, 11, 21, 28 (445–430)). In the Athenian tribute lists the Eteokarpathians are listed under the heading *πόλεις αὐταὶ φόρον ταχσάμεναι* (*IG* I³ 279.II.76–77, 81–82). *C.*445–430 the Athenians declared a Karpathian, his children and *τὸ Ἐτεοκαρπαθίων κοινόν* as *euergetai* of the Athenians, and the *koinon* was declared autonomous (*IG* I³ 1454.12: [*α*]*ὐτονόμος*). This inscription is said to have been found at Pini (see *IG* I³ p. 899), which is located in the south-central part of the island. If the inscription was found *in situ*, or at least near its original position, this site should then be that of the sanctuary of Apollo where the cypress was cut for Athena in Athens (for a copy of the inscription was to be erected *ἐν Καρ*[*πάθωι ἐν τῶι*] *ἱερῶι τ�ô Ἀπόλλ*[*ωνος ὅθεν*] *ἐτμήθη ἡ κυπάρι*[*ττος*] (*IG* I³ 1454 35–37) (for the view that the tree was used on Karpathos, not in Athens, see Alfieri Tonini (1999)). No material earlier than the Hellenistic period seems, however, to have been reported (Leekley and Noyes (1975) 27). Sites in the general region with Archaic and/or Classical period remains have been suggested as villages of the Eteokarpathians (Hope Simpson and Lazenby (1962) 163–65). After the Eteokarpathians had been declared autonomous, they appear in the Athenian tribute lists among the *poleis* that voluntarily paid *phoros* (*πόλεις αὐταὶ φόρον ταχσάμεναι*), *viz.* in the years 434/3 (*IG* I³ 278.VI.14), 433/2 (*IG* I³ 279.II.81–82) and 432/1 (*IG* I³ 280.II.75, restored). Thereafter they appear twice as regular members of the League, in 428/7 (*IG* I³ 283.III.1) and in 415/14 (*IG* I³ 290.I.23). The Eteokarpathians seem to have had no separate city, but a separate organisation (*ATL* i. 497), probably set up by the Athenians as a short-lived splinter community of Karpathos. There is no trace of their existence after C5. Thus, they are not likely to have been one of the three *poleis* on Karpathos recorded by Ps.-Skylax in C4s.

489. Karpathos (Karpathios) Map 60 (inset). Unlocated, not in *Barr.* Type: A. The toponym is *Κάρπαθος* (*IG* I³ 1454.35–37: *ἐγ Καρ*[*πάθωι ἐν τῶι*] *ἱερῶι τ�ô Ἀπόλλ*[*ωνος*], probably referring to a site on Karpathos and not to the island as a whole, *c.*445–430, see now Alfieri Tonini (1999). The city-ethnic is *Καρπάθιος* (*IG* I³ 1454.5), recorded in, e.g., the Athenian tribute list of 428/7 (*IG* I³ 283.III.5) alongside the Eteokarpathians (III.1) and Arkeseia on Karpathos (III.2–3), which "implies a geographical unit less than the entire island for *Καρπάθιοι* alone" (*ATL* i. 497). It follows that Karpathos is one of the three *poleis* referred to by *tripolis* at Ps.-Skylax 99 and thus attested as a *polis* in the urban sense of the term. The external use of the city-ethnic is attested collectively in the Athenian tribute lists (*IG* I³ 269.IV.19) and individually in an Athenian honorific decree (*IG* I³ 1454.5). Karpathos was a member of the Delian League. It belonged to the Karian district (*IG* I³ 269.IV.19) and is recorded in the tribute lists from 445/4 (*IG* I³ 267.III.23) to 415/14 (*IG* I³ 290.I.5) a total of nine times, twice completely restored, paying a *phoros* of 1,000 dr. (*IG* I³ 267.III.23), raised to 1,500 dr. in or before 415/14 (*IG* I³ 290.I.5). The urban centre of the Karpathioi remains unidentified (Hope Simpson and Lazenby (1962) 164–65 suggests a site near modern Aperi, but see Susini (1963–64) 232–33). A stater attributed to Karpathos was found in a hoard dated to *c.*375 (*IGCH* 1790).

In, probably, the territory of Karpathos, at modern Pegadi, are the remains of "a sizeable classical town . . . convincingly identified with Potidaion" (Hope Simpson and Lazenby (1962) 159). The toponym is *Ποτίδαιον, τό* (*I.Lindos* p. 1009, l. 25 (Maier (1959–61) i. 188–91 no. 50) (C2m); *Ποσείδιον πόλις* in Ptol. *Geog.* 5.2.33). The ethnic is *Ποτιδαιεύς* (*I. Lindos* p. 1009, ll. 31–32 (Maier (1959–61) i. 188–91 no. 50), C2m). Our written sources for this place are all post-Classical and refer to the *κτοίνα* of the Potidaieis

when it was part of the Rhodian state. Because Potidaion does not appear in the Athenian tribute lists, it has been taken to be the *polis* centre of the Eteokarpathioi (Head, *HN*² 631; but see *infra*). Others have seen it as the port (*epineion*) of the Karpathioi (so Hiller von Gaertringen in *IG* XII.1 p. 158, followed by Hope Simpson and Lazenby (1962) 159). But given the lateness of our sources, it is difficult to be confident that this entity existed before the Hellenistic period, and in any case it is not needed to make up the number of *poleis* attested by Ps.-Skylax. Perhaps the best solution is to connect it, as Hiller von Gaertringen does, with the Karpathioi, who otherwise have no obvious civic centre, and who—if they reappear as the Rhodian deme of the *Καρπαθιοπολῖται* in the Hellenistic period, as seems very likely—are closely associated in our epigraphical evidence with the *ktoina* of the Potidaieis (see, e.g., *I. Lindos* p. 1009; Susini (1963–64) 231). The acropolis of Potidaion has walls that have been attributed to C4, and it has yielded pottery of Classical date (Melas (1991) M–25).

The coins long attributed to this city (silver staters with *obv.* three dolphins; *rev.* incuse square) in fact belong elsewhere (Cahn (1957), and already Hiller von Gaertringen in *IG* XII.1 p. 158). The Elmali hoard, which was buried in C5m, is said to contain a Karpathian coin (Figueira (1998) 578).

490. Kasos (Kasios) Map 60 (inset). Lat. 35.25, long. 27.00. Size of territory: 2 (69 km²). Type: [A]. The toponym is *Κάσος*, *ἡ* (Hom. *Il.* 2.676; Ps.-Skylax 99 emended by Voss, MSS *Κράσος*; Steph. Byz. 364.3; Hsch. *K*977), denoting both the island and the town (Strabo 10.5.18). The city–ethnic is *Κάσιος* (*IG* I³ 279.II.83; *IG* XI.2 199.B.14). In the Athenian tribute lists of 434/3 (*IG* I³ 278.VI.5–6, 11) and 433/2 (*IG* I³ 279.II.76–77, 83) the Kasioi are recorded under the heading *πόλες αὐταὶ φόρον ταχσάμεναι*. The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested externally in the Athenian tribute lists (*supra*).

Steph. Byz. 364.3 catalogues the island among the Kyklades. The islands around Kasos, the *Κασίων νῆσοι* (Strabo 10.5.18), were part of its territory. Kasos was a member of the Delian League. It belonged to the Ionian–Karian district (*IG* I³ 283.III.4) and is recorded in the tribute lists from 434/3 (*IG* I³ 278.CI.11) to 415/14 (*IG* I³ 290.I.6) a total of six times, once completely restored, paying a *phoros* of 1,000 dr. (*IG* I³ 279.II.83). The presence of Kasian *theoroi* on Delos in 274 provides a *terminus post quem* for the absorption of Kasos by the Rhodians (*IG* XI.2 199.B.14 with Fraser and Bean (1954) 152; Papachristodoulou (1989) 48). The urban centre and its harbour were connected by an ancient road (Susini (1963–64) 206). A sanctuary of Apollo Temenitas is attested from the Hellenistic period (*I.Cret.* I xxii 4.C.XII. I.66–69; cf. Susini (1963–64) 211). Otherwise, physical remains are sparse; see Hope Simpson and Lazenby (1962) 168.

Keos (Keios) Map 61. Lat. 37.35, long. 24.20. Size of territory: 3 (159 km²). The toponym is *Κέος* (Bacchyl. *Epin.* 6.5; Hdt. 8.76.1) or *Κέως*, *ἡ* (Ps.-Skylax 58; *IG* II² 404.6–7 (C4s)). The ethnic is *Κεῖος* (*IG* XII.5 594.7) or *Κήιος* (*CID* II 6.B.10–26). Strabo, quoting Artemidoros, places Keos among the Kyklades (Strabo 10.5.3). Keos had four *poleis* (Ps.-Skylax 58: *τετράπολις*). Harpokration s.v. *Κεῖοι* quotes Lysias (fr. 96, Sauppe) for referring to Keos as being one *polis*: "*οἱ Κεῖοι μὲν πόλις τοσαύτη*". Harpokration notes the anomaly and takes *polis* to be used synonymously with *nesos*: *τὴν νῆσον δὲ πόλιν ὠνόμασεν ὁ ῥήτωρ*. But Lysias' use of the ethnic instead of the toponym indicates that the reference is to Keos as a kind of political community (*CPCActs* 5: 126–27). The individual use of the ethnic is attested internally in C4 decrees (*SEG* 14 531.7) and externally in the Athenian tribute lists (*infra*) and in the C4 lists of the Delian Amphiktyony (*I.Délos* 98.A.12 = *IG* II² 1635.113 (377/6)). The individual and external use is attested in an Athenian list of crews of ships of 405 (*IG* I³ 1032.VI.72–82) and in Delphic inscriptions (*CID* II 4.III.40 and 6.B.10–26). In the accounts of the Delphian *naopoioi* we find *Κεῖος ἐξ Ἰουλίδος* (*CID* II 12.I.33) and *Κεῖος ἐξ Καρθαίας* (*CID* II 12.I.1) alongside the simple *Κεῖος* (*CID* II 17), also attested in a Delphic proxeny decree of C4l (*SEG* 31 536). This probably reflects the federation (cf. Reger and Risser (1991) 316–17).

It is not always easy to distinguish between the use of the island ethnic *Κεῖος* (*IG* XII.5 594.7 = *SEG* 14 531) or *Κήιος* (*CID* II 6.10–26) to designate merely "a person from Keos" (without reference to his or her *polis* of origin) and its use to denote "a citizen of (one of) the Keian federation(s)" of three of the four *poleis* in C5 and C4 (cf. Reger (1997) 474 and *infra*). "Keios" probably means "from the island of Keos", in Bacchylides (*Epigr.* 1.4: *Κήϊος*; 17.130: *Κήϊοι*), in the expression *Κηία φλυαρία* in Timokreon (10.1–2 West (C5f)), and in the Parian Chronicle mentioning Simonides as a Keian (*IG* XII.5 444.70 (*FGrHist* 239)). Cf. also the Keians in Plato: Simonides, Prodikos and Pythokleides (Pl. *Hipparch.* 228C; *Ap.* 19E; *Prt.* 314C (all rC5)), as again in the Athenian list of crews (*IG* I³ 1032.VI.72–82) or in the victor lists for the Olympic, Nemean and Isthmian Games (*Olympionikai* 116 (540), 203 (480), 288 (452)). But when Herodotos speaks of

the Hestiatorion of the Keians on Delos (4.35.4) (the building has not been identified: see Bruneau and Ducat (1983) 160), a building publicly dedicated to Apollo, it is far more likely that he wants his reader to understand that a political body, "the Keians", dedicated it. Moreover, Herodotos has the Keians supply two ships at Artemision (Hdt. 8.1.2) and seven at Salamis (Hdt. 8.46.2). The Keians are recorded on the Serpent Column commemorating the victory at Plataiai (ML 27.7), and at Olympia after the Persian War (Paus. 5.23.2).

The Keians were members of the Delian League, and may have been among the original members (*ATL* iii. 198–99). They belonged to the Island district (*IG* I³ 270.v.23) and are recorded in the tribute lists from 451/50 (*IG* I³ 262.v.22) to 416/15 (*IG* I³ 289.I.13) a total of thirteen times, twice completely restored, paying a *phoros* of at first more than 1 tal. (*IG* I³ 262.v.22), raised to 4 tal. in 450/49 (*IG* I³ 263.IV.21), reduced to 3 tal. in 433/2 (*IG* I³ 279.I.74), but raised again to 6 tal. in 417/16 (*IG* I³ 288.I.10). They were assessed for tribute in 425/4 (*IG* I³ 71.I.69) (10 tal.) and in 410/9 (*IG* I³ 100.II.3). They are recorded among the paying members in 413 (Thuc. 7.57.4). Although the most recent study of Keian coinage assigns no coins with the legend *KEI*(*ΩN*) to before the end of C4 (Papageorgiadou-Banis (1997) 43; but cf. Sheedy (1998*b*)), this need mean only that a C5 federation did not issue coins. Archaic coins minted by Ioulis, Karthaia and Koresia have a dolphin alongside the individual type of each *polis* (*infra* 749, 750 and 751). On balance the evidence strongly suggests, as already argued by Brun (1989), that the Keian *poleis* created in C5 a federal state of some kind with ties between the participant *poleis* that reached beyond merely joint payment of a *phoros* to Athens.

In C4 under the heading *Κείων*, the Ioulitai, Karthaieis and Koresioi are listed individually as members of the Second Athenian Naval League (*IG* II² 43B.23–26); the Poiessians are recorded separately (l. 82). Two *isopoliteiai* agreements between the Keians and the Euboian cities of Histiaia (no. 372) (*SEG* 14.531 = improved text of *IG* XII.5 594 = Tod 141) and Eretria (no. 370) (*SEG* 14 530), both of perhaps *c.*364 (cf. Brun (1989) 124), show that at least the three usual Keian *poleis* formed a federation again at this time: there was a common citizenship for all Keians, and the citizens were subdivided into *phylai*, *trittyes* and *choroi* (*χῶροι*) (Jones, *POAG* 203–4). A common *boule* and boards of *thesmophylakes*, *probouloi* and *astynomoi* are also attested. According to Heracl. Lemb. 28, quoting Aristotle, the Keians passed a law (*nomos*) forbidding girls and boys from drinking wine (cf. Villard (1997)); but he also says (26) that Keos was settled by one Keos from Naupaktos (no. 165), a story which may owe its origins to Keian relations with that town in C3 (see *IG* XII.5 527); otherwise the best ancient testimony agrees that the Keians were Ionians from Athens (Hdt. 8.46; Thuc. 7.57.4; schol. Dionys. Perig. 525, giving Thersidamas as the leader). Ioulis seems to have been the capital of the federation. The Keians appear as debtors on Delos in 377/6 (*I.Délos* 98.A.12). An Aristotelian *Constitution of the Keians* is attested (Heracl. Lemb. 26–29). Lys. fr. 96 indicates that the federation was formed before *c.*380, and it may go back to 411 (D. M. Lewis (1962) 3–4). The Keians defected from the Athenian League in 364 but were subdued by a squadron under Chabrias and forced to dissolve the federation (*IG* II² 111 = Tod 142). The injunction to remain as separate *poleis* is repeated in a decree of 354–338 (*IG* II² 404.13–14 with Dreher (1985) 268; for the date, see Hansen (1984) 125 n. 6). Again, in the list of recipients of grain from Kyrene *c.*330 (*SEG* 9 2), Ioulis, Koresia and Karthaia are listed individually alongside an amount to the Keians as such (45, 51–55); Ruschenbusch (1982) 183 argues that the Poiessians are inadvertently omitted after the Keians; *contra* Brun (1989) 137. It has been suggested that *IG* XII.5 609 was a list of citizens of a C4l *sympoliteia* between Ioulis and Koresia (Ruschenbusch (1982); see still D. M. Lewis (1962)). Poiessa seems never to have participated in any of these federal states (Phylarchos, *FHG* 1.346; Brun (1989) 131–32). Trümpy, *Monat.* 55–60 argues that the calendars of all four Keian *poleis* must have been identical, but the evidence to support this is slim.

491. Ioulis (Ioulietes) Map 57. Lat. 37.40, long. 24.20. Size of territory: 2 (*c.*47 km²). Type: A. The toponym is *Ἰουλίς, ἡ* (*CID* II 12.II.30). The city-ethnic is *Ἰουλιήτης* (*IG* II² 43B24; as *Ἰολιήτης* in *IG* II² 1128.25 = Ro 40) or (once) *Οὐλιάτης* (*SEG* 9 2.45, but the ethnics in this inscription are generally odd). Ioulis is referred to as a *polis* in the urban sense by the term *τετράπολις* at Ps.-Skylax 58. It is called *polis* in the political sense in *IG* II² 111.6 = Tod 142, and in the territorial sense (city plus hinterland) in *SEG* 14.532.3 = Migeotte (1992) no. 56 (C4l/C3e). The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested both externally (*IG* II² 43.B24; *SEG* 9 2.45) and internally (*IG* II² 1128.25). The individual use of the city-ethnic is probably attested in a Delian inscription of 301 (*IG* XI.2 146.45). For a later unquestionable attestation, see *I.Délos* 2634.17 (C2), with *SEG* 45 1049 for the date.

A fragmentary C4m list of citizens (or rather citizens fit for military service) must originally have recorded about 480 names, corresponding to a citizenry of about 700 adult males and a population of roughly 3,500 persons (*IG* XII.5

609; see Ruschenbusch (1982); Cherry, Davis and Mantzourani (1991) 236–37; Hansen (1997) 28–29 with n. 147; Brun (1989) 126–27 for the date). The citizens were organised into seven *phylai*, of which the names of four are preserved: Leodai, Hylichidai, Thyssidai and Koresioi. The presence of the Koresioi shows that in this period Koresia had already been turned into a subdivision of Ioulis (but this absorption did not last, since Koresia appears once again in the Hellenistic period as an independent *polis* before Ioulis finally absorbs it; see Reger (1998)). The number of adult male citizens of Ioulis before the incorporation of Koresia comes to *c.*550 and the population to *c.*2,500 persons. Ὑλιχίδης is attested as a sub-ethnic in an undated sepulchral inscription: *IG* XII.5 637 (Jones, *POAG* 204–6). In C4l/C3e the citizens were further subdivided in units called κοινεῖα (*SEG* 14 532.16–17).

Ioulis occupied the north-eastern quadrant of the island and bordered on the territories of Koresia and Karthaia (*infra*). Its harbour (*limen*) (*IG* II² 1128.38) lay at Otzias, where recent work has revealed the traces of docks and other facilities (Spondyles (1998)). The river Elixos (Strabo 10.5.6) rose near Ioulis and flowed down into the sea by Koresia. The approximate boundaries of Ioulis can be worked out on the basis of topography and some of the sites that recent intensive fieldwork by several teams have discovered (see generally Reger (1998) and the map at Cherry, Davis and Mantzourani (1991) 6).

The eponymous official was an archon, known first from Hellenistic texts (*IG* XII.5 610.1 (C3l), 597 with Mendoni (1989) 292–95 no. II (C3), 595 (C3–C2)). As early as C5s, however, we hear of a *boule* and a *demos* meeting in an *ekklesia* (*IG* XII.5 593.B.1–3, C.1). Other C4 officials include a board of, probably, five *strategoi* (*IG* II² 111.15–17), a board of judicial officials called *prostatai* (*IG* II² 1128.36) and a *grammateus* (*SEG* 14 532.18). The references to *Thesmophylakes* and a *grammateus* may be C4 or C3e (*IG* XII.5 595B; *SEG* 14 532). Laws (*nomoi*) and decrees were passed by the *boule* and the *ekklesia* (*IG* XII.5 593 (C5); *IG* II² 1128 (C4m)). Of public enactments preserved in inscriptions the most notable is the C5s law on burial rites and customs (*IG* XII.5.593; cf. *SEG* 45 2263). In connection with the abortive revolt against Athens in the 360s, the death penalty and confiscation of property were imposed on pro-Athenian citizens, and the Ioulitai murdered the citizen who served as Athenian *proxenos* (*IG* II² 111). The protective deity was certainly Apollo Pythios (cf. *IG* II² 111.22). Other communal cults include Athena (*IG* XII.5 611 (C6–C5)). The month of Hermaion is attested (*IG* II² 1128; Trümpy, *Monat.* 55).

The urban centre lay inland at modern Chora, about 3 km from the coast. Part of the C5 acropolis fortification wall still exists (Welter (1954) 71–74). The walls were repaired in C4l/C3e (*SEG* 14 532 = Migeotte (1992) no. 56). In C4 inscriptions are mentioned a *prytaneion* (*IG* II² 1128.34–35), a sanctuary of Apollo Pythios where many public documents were inscribed (*IG* II² 111.22; *IG* XII.5 1102 = Migeotte (1984) no. 63 (C4–C3); cf. Welter (1954) 74–78), and a Lykeion (*SEG* 14 532.19). A theatre is attested for C3 (*IG* XII.5 597.8). A sanctuary of Zeus Ikmaios may have stood on the border between Ioulis and Karthaia (*IG* XII.5 543; K. Manthos (1991) 62–63 with 135 n. 328; Bürchner (1921) 186; for sacrifices by Aristaios to Zeus on Keos, see Theophr. *De vent.* 14). Within the territory of Ioulis K. Manthos believed he had identified a sanctuary of Aphrodite, but this has been doubted (Manthos (1991) 46 with Mendoni's comments at 119 n. 179); two other sanctuaries have been identified archaeologically but not assigned to deities (Georgiou and Faraklas (1985) nos. 18.08, 13.06). *Miltos*, which figured so importantly in relations with Athens in C4 (and undoubtedly earlier as well), was mined at two or more sites in the territory of Ioulis (Georgiou and Faraklas (1985) no. 17.04; Mendoni (1985–86) 181–82), and the Ioulietan decree on the export of *miltos* refers to the harbour (*limen*) of the city (*IG* II² 1128.38).

Ioulis struck coins of silver and bronze from C6m onward. The most recent study of Keian coins assigns four series of silver coins to Ioulis in C6–C4. (1) Silver on the Aiginetan standard. Types: *obv.* bunch of grapes; *rev.* incuse square. (2)–(3) Silver, *c.*520–480 and after 480. Types: *obv.* grapes, or dolphin; *rev.* incuse square. (4) Silver, C4. Types: *obv.* Zeus Aristaieus; *rev.* bee, or head of Sirius. Ioulis may also have struck a bronze coinage in C4. Types: *obv.* Zeus Aristaieus; *rev.* bee; legend: ΙΟΥ or ΙΟΥΛΙΕ (Head, *HN*² 484; Papageorgiadou-Banis (1997) 25–27; *SNG Cop. Argolis-Aegean Islands* 646–49).

492. Karthaia (Karthaieus) Map 57. Lat. 37.35, long. 24.20. Size of territory: 2 (*c.*67 km²). Type: A. The toponym is Κάρθαια, ἡ (Pind. *Pae.* 4.13–14; *CID* II 12.II.66 (C4s)). The city-ethnic is Καρθαιεύς (*IG* II² 43.B.25); the dative plural Καρθαέσσι is attested at *SEG* 9 2.51. Karthaia is referred to as a *polis* in the urban sense by the term τετράπολις at Ps.-Skylax 58 (for MS Αἶραι, read Καρθαία). It is called *polis* in the political sense in several C4s decrees (*IG* XII.5 528.2–3, 5; 537.6–7; 538.6, dates: Brun (1989) 126–28). The collective use of the city-ethnic can be found internally on Karthaian coins (*infra*) and decrees (*IG* XII.5 528.4) and externally in C4 Athenian decrees (*IG* II² 43.B.25, 111.54). The individual

and external use is first attested in a C3f proxeny decree from Delos (*IG* XI.4 592.3–4, 12). In C3, and presumably in C4 as well, the citizens were organised into *phylai* and *oikoi* (*IG* XII.5 540.15; see Jones, *POAG* 206).

The eponymous official was the archon (*IG* XII.5 544.A1.8, 12 (C4–C3); cf. also 552). Other officials attested in Classical sources are a board of, probably three, *strategoi* (*IG* XII.5 544.A1.15–19, A2.11–15, 19–23) and envoys (*presbeis*) sent to Karystos (*IG* XII.5 537.2). Decrees were passed by the *boule* and the *demos* on the motion of an individual (*IG* XII.5 537.1, 528, 538 with add. (C4/C3)). Public enactments preserved on inscriptions include an undated and rather obscure sacred law (*IG* XII.5 530) and a regulation about a spring in the sanctuary of Demeter of C4l (*IG* XII.5 569). Public enactments were set up in the sanctuary of Apollo (*IG* XII.5 528.16, 538.12). Particularly important is a fragmentary C4m list of Karthaian *proxenoi* comprising a total of 110+ *proxenoi* in, probably, 50+ different *poleis* (*IG* XII.5 542).

The protective deity was probably Apollo (*IG* XII.5 544, found *inter rudera templi Apollinis*), whose temple as Pythios dates from about C6l (Mendoni (1985–86) 163–65). Public cults of him (*IG* XII.5 545 (C4)) and Hestia, or possibly private, (*IG* XII.5 554 (C5)) are known before Alexander. An official has left a dedication to Aphrodite, which probably dates from C4 (*IG* XII.5 552 with Mitsos (1957) 164 no. 1 and *BE* (1962) 264) and an *hieron* of Hermes is mentioned in an inscription (*IG* XII.5 553). The temple of Athena, which was rebuilt in C4 (Mendoni (1990)), dates originally from C6l (Mendoni (1985–86) 161); see also the construction history of both temples in Papanikolaou (1998). We hear also of a sanctuary of Demeter (*IG* XII.5 569 (C4l), with Graindor (1905) 333–37); that to Hermes is mentioned in an undated inscription (*IG* XII.5 553).

The site of the town has long been known, on the east coast at one of the island's best anchorages, with a productive plain that stretches out at the mouth of the river that flows down off the Keian plateau. The town walls were probably demolished by Chabrias in 364, but with the Athenians' permission the Karthaians were thereafter allowed to restore a rather slim defence circuit, probably as protection against pirates (*IG* II² 404 (C4s), with Maier (1959–61) no. 37; cf. also Maier (1958)). A *prytaneion* was present by C5 (*IG* XII.5 1060.2). For the temple of Apollo, which sits on a little acropolis jutting out from the surrounding rock, see *supra*.

Karthaia struck coins of silver and bronze from C6s onwards. Four series of coins seem to belong to the Archaic and Classical periods. (1)–(2) The first series seems to start *c.*510 (or 530 at the earliest), the second by *c.*500, though there are problems with both the attributions of the coins and the dates. Types: *obv.* amphora, or amphora and dolphin; *rev.* incuse square. (3) Silver, C4. Types: *obv.* Zeus Aristaieus; *rev.* Sirius; legend: ΚΑΡΘΑΙ. (4) Bronze, C4. Types: *obv.* amphora; *rev.* grapes; legend: ΚΑΡ (Head, *HN*² 483; Papageorgiadou-Banis (1997) 34–39; *SNG Cop. Argolis-Aegean Islands* 628).

493. Koresia (Koresios) Map 57. Lat. 37.40, long. 24.20. Size of territory: 1 (*c.*15 km²; cf. Cherry, Davis and Mantzourani (1991) 235). Type: A. The toponym appears variously as Κορησία, ἡ (*IG* XII.5 647.11 (C3e)) and Κορησσία (Ps.-Skylax 58; Strabo 10.5.6). The only attestation of Κορησσός referring to the *polis* on Keos is in a spurious letter (Aeschin. *Ep.* 1.1). For the distinction between Κορησ(σ)ία on Keos and Κορησσός in Asia Minor, see L. Robert (1960*a*) 144–45. The city-ethnic is Κορήσιος (*SEG* 9 2.55 (*c.*330)). Koresia is referred to as a *polis* in the urban sense by the term τετράπολις at Ps.-Skylax 58. It is called *polis* in the political sense in an inscription recording a series of loans extended to the *polis* by "the god", probably Apollo: ἐδάνεισεν ὁ θεὸς τε[ῖ πό]λει (*IG* XII suppl. 236; cf. *SEG* 39 873 (C4); but Migeotte (1984) 156 n. 32 assigns this inscription possibly to Karthaia). The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally on coins in abbreviated form (*infra*) and in inscriptions (*IG* II² 1128.12), and externally in inscriptions (*IG* II² 43.B.26; *SEG* 9 2.55). The earliest individual and external use of the city-ethnic is in a C3 decree of Karthaia (*IG* XII.5 531).

An Archaic inscription in the Eretrian alphabet has sometimes been cited as evidence of Eretrian domination (*IG* XII.5 649; see *LSAG* 297–98 with 648 by lapsus). Koresia was a member of the Delian League. In their first appearance in the Athenian tribute lists (*IG* I³ 262.I.21), the Koresians are recorded separately from the Keians (*IG* I³ 262.V.22); later they are subsumed under a *synteleia* (*supra* 748). In the list of members of the Second Athenian League they appear as Keians along with the Ioulietai and the Karthaians (*IG* II² 43.B.23–26). Koresia was undoubtedly a member of the Keian Federation, dissolved by the Athenians in 362 (*IG* II² 1128 and 404; see *supra*). Koresia was incorporated into Ioulis for a while in C4s (*IG* XII.5 609.175), but was again a separate *polis* in C3 until finally completely absorbed by Ioulis (Strabo 10.5.6; Reger (1998)). In C4s Koresia may have been both a dependent *polis* and a *phyle* of Ioulis. For the double status as dependent *polis* and civic subdivision of a major *polis*, see Hansen (1997) 37. But its status as an independent *polis* in C3–C2 follows not only from the evidence of its inscriptions—which could be compatible with a status

of dependent *polis* (*IG* XII.5 647.9; *SEG* 14 541; *PEP Chios* 51)—but also from its status as the chief station of the Ptolemaic fleet in C3, when it was renamed Arsinoe and is attested operating as an independent *polis* as late as *c.*207 (Davis and Cherry (1991); L. Robert (1960*a*); *I.Magnesia* 50).

Decrees were passed by the *boule* and the *demos* (*IG* II² 1128.9, where the restoration of *τῶι δήμωι* in l. 9 is virtually certain). Public enactments were set up in the sanctuary of Apollo (ibid. ll. 15–16), which is probably the sanctuary of Apollo Smintheus attested by Strabo 10.5.6. A board of *astynomoi* (l. 17) and a *dikasterion* (l. 18) are known from the same inscription and likewise a *prytaneion* (l. 24).

In C4l Koresia seems to have had some 154 citizens fit for military service, corresponding to *c.*230 adult male citizens and a total population of *c.*1,200 persons (*IG* XII.5 609.175ff) (see Ruschenbusch (1982); Cherry, Davis and Mantzourani (1991) 236–37; Hansen (1997) 28–29 with n. 147).

The urban centre, located on the hill above the present harbour town, has been thoroughly studied (Cherry, Davis and Mantzourani (1991) 265–81). Koresia was permitted to restore its walls after the revolt of the 360s and 350s (*IG* II² 404.16 = Maier (1959–61) no. 37 and Maier (1958)). The northern part is preserved, and the circuit may have enclosed an area of *c.*18 ha (Cherry, Davis and Mantzourani (1991) 236). The countryside was full of structures during the Archaic and Classical periods, but most of the population lived in the urban centre (Cherry, Davis and Mantzourani (1991) 327–47, esp. 337).

Koresia struck silver coins from C6e to *c.*480. Three series of coins have been assigned to Koresia. Types: *obv.* cuttlefish, or dolphin and cuttlefish, or dolphin; legend: Ϙ or Ϙ*o*; *rev.* incuse square; legend: *K* (third series only). The identification and dating remain somewhat problematic. No C4 issues are assigned till the end of the century (Head, *HN*² 483–84; Papageorgiadou-Banis (1997) 19–21; *SNG Cop. Argolis-Aegean Islands* 637–41).

494. Poiessa (Poiessios) Map 57. Lat. 37.35, long. 24.25. Size of territory: 2 (*c.*30 km²). Type: A. The toponym is variously reported as *Ποιῆσσα, ἡ* (*IG* XII.5 1076.53 (C4–C3)) or *Ποιήεσσα* (Strabo 10.5.6) or *Ποιᾶσσα* (*IG* XII.5 568.10 (C5)). The city-ethnic is *Ποιήσσιος* (*IG* II² 43.82) or *Ποιάσσιος* (*IG* XII.5 568.1 (C5)). That Poiessa is a *polis* in the urban sense is implied by the term *τετράπολις* at Ps.-Skylax 58. It is called *polis* in the political sense in a decree of C4l–C3e (*IG* XII.5 570.A7); for the date see Brun (1996) 114. The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally in inscriptions of C5l/C4e (*IG* XII.5 568.1, 1100.1) and externally in Athenian inscriptions (*IG* II² 43.82). The individual use of the city-ethnic is unattested.

A text inscribed in *stoichedon* strongly suggests that the chief official was the *prytanis* (Mendoni (1989) 295–96 no. III). In C4l/C3e decrees were passed by the *boule* and the *demos*; a board of *praktores* is also mentioned (*IG* XII.5 570.A1, B2). By C5l there was a sanctuary of Apollo Pythios, a Pythion (*IG* XII.5 1100, see also 571 1); he may well have been the protective deity. Public enactments were set up in the sanctuary (*IG* XII.5 1100.7–9 (C5)). A dedication of C5 is made to Apollo without epithet (Dunant and Thomopoulos (1954) 346–48 no. 17 = *SEG* 14.547). But there is also evidence of a temple dedicated to Apollo Smintheus within the territory of Poiessa (*IG* XII.5 1101 with Graindor (1903) 290; Galani *et al.* (1982–84) 242). An individual who served in a public office (*arxas*) made a dedication (C5? C4?) to Hermes Prytaneios (Mendoni (1989) 295–96 no. III). Strabo mentions a sanctuary of Athena Nedousia (10.5.6). Communal cults of Apollo Melanthios (*IG* XII.5 1101 (undated)) and an Apollo without epithet (and so perhaps Pythios?, *SEG* 14.547 (C5)) are attested. Poiessa was probably among the Keian cities permitted to restore their fortification walls in the period 354–338 (*IG* II² 404 with Maier (1959–61) no. 37 and Maier (1958)). Remains of city walls have been dated as starting in C6l (Galani *et al.* (1982–84) 239). If correctly restored by Müller, Ps.-Skylax 58 refers to Poiessa's harbour. The approximate boundaries of its territory have been worked out (see Papageorgiadou-Banis (1999) 161 fig. 1). The territory is referred to as *Ποιασσίων ἡ γῆ* (*IG* XII.5 568.1, 1100.1). For the boundary, see Galani *et al.* (1982–84) 238). No coins are known (see Papageorgiadou-Banis (1997) 51–52 *re* a false attribution).

495. Keria (Keraitas) Map 61. Lat. 36.55, long. 25.40. Size of territory: 1 (15 km²). Type: C. *Κερία, ἡ* (*IG* I³ 71.1.86). In *Stadiasmus* 282 *Κέρεια* is an emendation of MSS *ΚΟΡΣΙΑ*. The city-ethnic is *Κεραΐτας* (*I.Cret.* IV 206K (C3–C2)). The Kerians were assessed for tribute by the Athenians in 425/4 (*supra*), apparently 13 dr., but the entry is exceptional in being the only one in which the sum is recorded to the right of the toponym/ethnic. In the Hellenistic period a Kerian citizen received *proxenia* from Gortyns (no. 960) on Crete (*supra*). Despite the lack of explicit attestation, it seems reasonable to infer that Keria was possibly a *polis* in the Classical period.

496. Kimolos (Kimolios) Map 58. Lat. 36.45, long. 24.30. Size of territory: 2 (36 km²). Type: B. The toponym is *Κίμωλος, ἡ* (Strabo 10.5.1; *IG* I³ 71.1.89; *F.Delphes* III.1 497.12

(C4l/C3e)). The city-ethnic is *Κιμώλιος* (*IG* I³ 289.I.18; perhaps also at 1032.87, where Osborne and Byrne (1996) 123 suggest reading *Κιμώ<λι>(ος)* instead of *Κίμων*). There is no explicit Classical attestation of Kimolos as a *polis*, but in C5s the Kimolians were members of the Delian League (*infra*); in a C4s arbitration they were on equal terms with the *polis* of Melos (*infra*), and a C3s text from Karystos does explicitly refer to *τᾶς πόλεως τᾶς Κιμωλίων* (*SEG* 44 710.28). The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally on coins of C3 (Head, *HN*² 484) and externally in inscriptions (*IG* I² 289.I.18; *IG* XII.3 1259.7 (C4s) = Tod 179; Ager (1996) no. 3; Magnetto (1997) no. 1). The individual and external use is attested in the Athenian naval catalogue of C5l (*IG* I³ 1032.87).

Kimolos was a member of the Delian League. It belonged to the Island district, but is absent from the full panel of 441/0 (*IG* I³ 271.I–II.88–101). It was assessed for tribute in 425/4 (*IG* I³ 71.I.89) (1,000 dr.), but is recorded only once in the tribute lists, *viz.* in 416/15 (*IG* I³ 289.I.18), paying an unknown amount.

Soon after 338 the Kimolians were involved in a dispute with the Melians (no. 505) over the possession of the three small islands of Polyaiga (which, later at least, had no permanent population but was used as pasturage (L. Robert (1949) 167)), Etereia and Libeia. In accordance with a decision of the *synedrion* of the League of Corinth, the dispute was submitted to arbitration by Argos (no. 347), and the Argives decided in favour of Kimolos (*IG* XII.3 1259 = Tod 179; Ager (1996) no. 3; Magnetto (1997) 1–8 no. 1). A certain amount of the ancient *polis* centre (which, unlike most Aegean Islands, does not lie under modern Chora) has been lost due to sea level changes (Mustakas (1954–55) 153–54). Lauffer (1989) 329 has references to walls, sanctuaries and other remains.

497. Kos (Koos) Map 61. Lat. 36.50, long. 27.15. Size of territory: 4 (290 km²). Type: A (from 366/5, *infra*). The toponym is *Κῶς, ἡ* (Hom. *Il.* 2.677; Hdt. 9.76.2; Thuc. 8.41.3; Herzog (1928) 14–16 no. 5.B.8 (C4m); Head, *HN*² 632 (C5)) or *Κόως* (*Hymn. Hom. Ap.* 42; Hes. fr. 43a.57). The toponym denotes sometimes the island (Thuc. 8.41.3), sometimes, probably, the city *Κῶς ἡ Μεροπίς* (Hdt. 1.144.3; Thuc. 8.41.2), and sometimes the C4 synoecised *polis* (Dem. 15.27). The ethnic is *Κῷος* (*IG* I³ 262.IV.15; Hdt. 7.99.2). It sometimes denotes the inhabitants of the island (Hdt. 9.76.2–3; Pl. *Prt.* 311B), and sometimes the citizens of the *polis* (*IG* I³ 1454.A.29; *Iscr. Cos* ED 34.5 (C4)). Kos is called a *polis* both in the urban sense (Ps.-Skylax 99; Dem. 35.35, see Hansen (2000) 154; *LSCG* 151.55 (C4m); perhaps Paton and Hicks (1891) no. 5.7–8) and in the political sense (Dem. 15.27 and inscriptions of after 366/5: *Iscr. Cos* ED 19.4–5 (C4–C3), 20.1, 3, 11 (all C4l), 54.8–9 (C4), 55.A11, 17, B10, 13 (C4), 241.26 (C4)). The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally in inscriptions (*Iscr. Cos* ED 19.5, 54.4, 55.B.3) and externally in literary sources (Hdt. 1.144.3, 7.99.2) and in inscriptions (*IG* I³ 262.IV.15; *CID* I 12.2 (C4f); *F.Delphes* III.1 497.11 (C4l/C3e); *SEG* 9 2.28, Kyrene (*c.*330–326)). The external and individual use of the ethnic is attested in literary sources (Hdt. 7.163.2, 9.76.2; Pl. *Prt.* 311B) and in inscriptions (*IG* I³ 1454.29 (C5s); *IG* II² 9143 (C4f); Peek (1969) 25 no. 53 (C5)).

The Koans belonged to the Dorian *pentapolis* (Hdt. 1.144.3 with Sherwin-White (1978) 47) and to the Delian League, paying tribute (*infra*). Within this framework fit at least two *poleis* up until 366/5, and it is not always easy to distinguish before this date the use of the ethnic as a city-ethnic from its use as a regional ethnic denoting an inhabitant of the island of Kos.

In Homer Kos and the Kalydnian islands (no. 485) are explicitly decribed as "the *poleis* of Eurypylos" (Hom. *Il.* 2.677, see also 14.255, 15.28). *Hymn. Hom. Ap* 42 describes Kos as *πόλις Μερόπων ἀνθρώπων*. According to Herodotos (7.99.3), Kos was settled by the Epidaurians (no. 348).

After the collapse of Kroisos' Lydian kingdom and the imposition of Achaemenid suzerainty in western Asia Minor in 546, Kos was controlled by the tyrant Skythes. *C.*490 his son Kadmos voluntarily abdicated the tyranny (Hdt. 7.164.1), and control of Kos passed to the Karian dynasty under Artemisia, whose command at Salamis included Koan sailors (Hdt. 6.22–24, 7.99.2, 163–64,). Kos may have controlled the island of Nisyros (no. 508) *c.*500 (Hdt. 7.99 with Hicks in Paton and Hicks (1891) p. xii).

Kos was a member of the Delian League. It belonged to the Karian district (*IG* I³ 269.IV.15) and is recorded in the tribute lists from 451/0 (*IG* I³ 262.IV.15) to 427/6 or 426/5 (*IG* I³ 284.18) a total of eleven times, once completely restored, paying a *phoros* of 5 tal. (*IG* I³ 271.II.67); but in some years (450/49, 447/6) the *phoros* is split up into smaller amounts (*IG* I³ 263.I.7 and V.40). The explanation may be that in these years two *poleis* on Kos paid separately, whereas in other years they paid together in a *synteleia*. Kos was assessed for tribute in 425/4 (*IG* I³ 71.I.132).

Some time in the same period a *temenos* of Athena Medeousa, an indication of Athenian authority, was installed; but from this a *klerouchia* should not necessarily be inferred (*Iscr. Cos* EV 361, see also EV 333; Mattingly (1996) 65). A copy of the famous Athenian Coinage Decree

was posted on Kos (*Iscr. Cos* ED 1 = ML 45). Kos remained under the Athenians until 411 (Thuc. 8.108.2); over the next five years its position shifted, till apparently coming under Spartan sway for good in 407 (Diod. 13.69.5; Xen. *Hell.* 1.5.1; cf. Hicks in Paton and Hicks (1891) pp. xxv–xxvi). The Koans fell away from the Spartans in 394 following the battle of Knidos (Diod. 14.84.3), but their name does not appear on the stele of Aristoteles among the members of the Second Athenian Naval League (for membership: Cargill (1981) 37–38; *contra* Hornblower (1982) 133; *non liquet* Dreher (1995) 123). But in 357, when Chios (no. 840), Rhodos (no. 1000) and Byzantion (no. 674) seceded from the Naval League, Kos joined the alliance concluded with Mausolos and took part in the Social War against Athens (Dem. 15.3, 27; Diod. 16.7.3; cf. *Staatsverträge* 305).

In C4m Kos was controlled by the Hekatomnids (*Suda* Δ238 with Hornblower (1982) 132–33). In 333 the island was conquered by Alexander (Arr. *Anab.* 2.5.7), won back by the Persians, but conquered definitively in 332 (Arr. *Anab.* 3.2.6). During the crisis of *c.*330–326, Kos received 10,000 *medimnoi* of grain from Kyrene (no. 1028) (*SEG* 9 2.28).

A unified Koan state was created in 366/5 by the *metoikismos* of at least two pre-existing *poleis*, Astypalaia and Kos Meropis (see *infra*). This action is attested by Diodorus (15.76.2) and Strabo (14.2.19). The event has been treated often: e.g. Hicks in Paton and Hicks (1891) p. xxvii; Moggi, *Sin.* 333–41 no. 47; Sherwin-White (1978) 63–67; Hornblower (1982) 83–84, 103–4 n. 197; Demand (1990) 127–32; Reger (2001) 171–74. Strabo attributes the decision to *stasis*. The incident referred to by Arist. *Pol.* 1304^{b}25 is surely later (Sherwin-White (1978) 65–66, *contra* Gehrke, *Stasis* 98). It has been denied that a political unification of separate *poleis* in fact occurred, as has been virtually the universal scholarly opinion until recently (Stylianou (1998) 484–85), but the details of the organisation of the two *poleis* leave little doubt that the standard view is right (see now Reger (2001) 171–74 and *infra*), except in so far as the Koans, like other islanders and certain other small states, paid their tribute to Athens as a group and were identified as a group of islands.

The eponymous magistrate of the unified Koan *polis* was the *monarchos* (Herzog (1928) 20–25 no. 8.A1 (C3f); cf. Gehrke, *Stasis* 97 n.1; Sherk (1990) 265–66). Decrees were passed by the *boule* and the *ekklesia* (*Iscr. Cos* ED 54.1 (C4)) or by the *ekklesia* (*Iscr. Cos* ED 34.1 (C4)) on the motion of a board of *prostatai* as moved by the head of the board (*Iscr. Cos* ED 40.1–4; Paton and Hicks (1891) no. 2.9–10) or by an individual (*Iscr. Cos* ED 34.2, 54.1–2). An *epistates* is also attested (*Iscr. Cos* ED 106.2–3 (C4)); cf. Rhodes, *DGS* 237. Koan officials included a board of *poletai* (*Iscr. Cos* ED 20.16 (C4l), 54.13–14 (C4)). One text mentions ἔκκλητοι δικαστ[αί (*Iscr. Cos* ED 26c5 (C4l?)), and a *dikasterion* is mentioned in *Iscr. Cos* ED 90.4, 9 (C4e).

Aristotle says that the Koan constitition was a democracy subverted by demagogues and then replaced by an oligarchy (Arist. *Pol.* 1304^{b}25–27). Kos became a democracy once again in, probably, 332 (Gehrke, *Stasis* 99 n. 18).

A fragmentary early sacred law mentions τὸ ἱερόν (*Iscr. Cos* ED 53 (C4; C5–C4 according to Herzog (1899) 128–30 no. 194)); a later law of C4 protects the trees of the *temenos* of Apollo Kyparissios and Asklepios from being cut down for any reason, and forbade even the introduction of a motion to that effect (Herzog (1928) 32 no. 12 + *Iscr. Cos* ED 181). A series of sacred laws of C4m seems to regulate religious observances of the newly constructed Koan state (Herzog (1928) 5–10 no. 1, 12–14 no. 4 = *LSCG* 151, 19–25 nos. 6–8, 32–33 no. 12 = *LSCG* 150 + *Iscr. Cos* ED 55, 140, 181, 241; perhaps also ED 53 of C4). The many public cults known from Kos thanks in large part to the rich harvest of sacred laws include those of (1) Apollo Kyparissios (cf. *Hymn. Hom. Ap.* 42) and (2) Asklepios (Herzog (1928) 32–33 no. 12 + *Iscr. Cos* ED 181); (3) Hera (Makareus, *FGH* 4.442 (Ath. 262C)); (4) Rhea, Hera Argeia Eleia Basileia, Zeus Machanes, the Twelve Gods, Zeus Polieus, Athena Machanis (*Iscr. Cos* ED 241); (5) Homonoia, Hekate, Histia Tamia, Aphrodite Pandemos (Pugliese Carratelli (1963–64) 158 no. I; Paton and Hicks (1891) 401; *LSCG* 295–98 no. 169 (C3)) with the important discussion of the circumstances of the origin of the cult of Homonoia in Thériault (1996) 134–36); (6) Zeus Basileus (*Iscr. Cos* EV 27 (C4)); (7) Kore (*Iscr. Cos* EV 235 (C4l)); (8) Demeter (*Iscr. Cos* EV 270 (C4)); (9) the Nymphs (*LSCG* 152–53); and (10) Herakles (*Iscr. Cos* ED 140.8–9; cf. also ED 149), whose worship should no doubt be associated with his adventure on Kos in which he was wounded (see Koenen and Merkelbach (1976)).

In C4 the Koans awarded *proxenia* to citizens of Tyros (*Iscr. Cos* ED 54), Knidos (no. 903) (*Iscr. Cos* ED 34), Byzantion (no. 674) (*Iscr. Cos* ED 40), Mytilene (no. 798) (*Iscr. Cos* ED 106) and Sinope (no. 729) (*Iscr. Cos* ED 20). Koan citizens were awarded *proxenia* by Epidauros (no. 348) (*IAEpid.* 42.58 (C4l/C3e)) and the Plataseis (*Labraunda* 48 = Mausolos M8).

The Koan state was organised into the three traditional Dorian tribes of Pamphyloi, Hylleis and Dymanes, further subdivided into three *chiliastyes* each, also called *enatai* (*LSCG* 151A.5, 16 (C4m); Herzog (1928) 6 no. 1.7, 11, 12, 15; cf. Jones, *POAG* 236–38). Each tribe had its own special location

for sacrifice (*Iscr. Cos* ED 140.2–5 (C4)). In addition there were an unknown number of *triakades* (*Iscr. Cos* ED 55.A2 (C4m)) and *pentekostyes* (*Iscr. Cos* ED 91.3 (C4)) whose relationship to the tribes and their subdivisions remains uncertain (Jones, *POAG* 238–39). Cutting across this system of personal groupings there was a subdivision into at least ten demes (cf. the list in Jones, *POAG* 239). One of these, Isthmos (demotic: ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἰσθμιατῶν, *IG* XI.2 287.B.45 (C3m)), was located at the site of Astypalaia (see *infra*). Another deme—which one is not known, unfortunately—also had at least one tribal subdivision (*Iscr. Cos* ED 138.1–2 (*c.*206/5); see Habicht (2000) 309–10, 327 (date)).

Parts of Kos town have been the object of intensive excavation, particularly after a severe earthquake of the 1930s opened up opportunities for the Italian archaeologists working there; no final excavation reports have ever been published, but there is a good summary of the state of work as of the 1940s (Morricone (1950)). Long runs of the fortification walls have been uncovered (des Courtils *et al.* (1982) 414; *BCH* 118 (1994) 798), perhaps the walls of 366/5 (Diod. 15.76.2). Sanctuaries include the great Asklepieion, begun in C4 but a site of worship originally of Apollo in C5 (Schatzmann (1932) "Zeittafel"; for an altar of C4 bearing the names of some of Asklepios' children, see p. 26); a sanctuary for Artemis, Zeus Hikesios and the Theoi Patrioi (*SEG* 14 529 (C2)); temples for Demeter and Dionysos in the town centre (*Iscr. Cos* ED 140.5 (C4); *BCH* 118 (1994) 795). Remains of the theatre (*TGR* ii. 147) are Hellenistic (Sherwin-White (1978) 25); but references to the theatre in Eudoxos (fr. 363, Lasserre) testify to a C4 antecedent. A sanctuary of the Twelve Gods is attested in a C4 inscription (*Iscr. Cos* ED 54.15; see also their worship at the Charmyleion: Paton and Hicks (1891) no. 349 with Kader (1995) 201–2). A sanctuary of Demeter, a Δαμάτριον, is attested (*Iscr. Cos* ED 140.5). A sanctuary starting in C4m to the Eleusinian gods has been located at Kyparisi (Laurenzi (1931) 623–25). A stoa by the harbour may date from C4 (Coulton (1976) 248).

Next to nothing is known about Hippokrates of Kos (Pl. *Phdr.* 270C; *Prt.* 311B) and his medical school of Asklepiadai (*CID* I 12 (C4f)). The various pseudepigraphica about Hippokrates and Kos are late innovations and cannot be used for reliable information about the institutions and history of the Koan *polis* in C6l–C5s (Jouanna (1999) 12–16, 21–24; for the writings, see now Smith (1990)).

Kos struck coins of electrum and silver on the Aeginetan standard in C6, coins of silver on the Persic standard in C5f, and coins of silver and bronze after 366/5. (1) Silver and electrum, C6. Types: *obv.* crab; *rev.* incuse square. (2) Silver, C5f. Types: *obv.* naked diskobolos with tripod behind; legend: *ΚΟΣ* or *ΚΩΣ* or *ΚΩΙΟΝ*; *rev.* crab in incuse square. (3) Silver from 395: *obv.* head of bearded or beardless Herakles often with lion's scalp, facing l. or r.; *rev.* crab and club in dotted incuse square, or draped female head facing l. (Demeter?); legend: *ΚΩΙ* or *ΚΩΙΟΝ* and magistrate's name. (4) Bronze from *c.*330: *obv.* head of beardless Herakles with lion's scalp; *rev.* crab; legend: *ΚΩΙ* and magistrate's name (Head, *HN*² 632–34; Paton and Hicks (1891) pp. 305–6; Barron (1968); Erxleben (1970) 87–88; Kraay (1976) 245–46; Ingvaldsen (2002); *SNG Cop. Caria* 615–26). There has been some discussion about whether the legend *ΚΩΙΟΝ* on some coins should be taken as a Doric genitive plural (hence the ethnic) or as a ktetikon (so Sherwin-White (1978) 45); in light of the widespread variability in practice with respect to amphora stamps, even in *poleis* that used the Ionic alphabet (see Garlan (1999) 19–20), final judgement must be suspended. (Koray Konuk (pers. comm.) reports that he has reinvestigated Koan coins and come up with important new results, but these have not been published.)

The Koans are said to have participated in the colonisation of Elpia in Apulia (Strabo 14.2.10). In an inscription of C3m the Koans are called *synoikistai* of Kamarina (no. 28) (*SEG* 12 379 = Rigsby (1996) no. 48 (C3m); Plut. *Tim.* 35.1–2 (emended); see Talbert (1974) 204).

There are two *poleis* well attested for Kos before the *metoikismos* of 366/5: Astypalaia and Kos Meropis.

498. Astypalaia Map 61. Lat. 36.45, long. 27.00. Size of territory: 3 (*c.*145 km² or less). Type: C. The toponym is Ἀστυπάλαια, ἡ (Strabo 14.2.19; Steph. Byz. 140.8). There is no explicit attestation of the city-ethnic (*infra*). The name of this town is known certainly only from the description by Strabo (14.2.19) of the *metoikismos* of Kos in 366/5 (*supra*). For the possibility that the city was mentioned in Galen, see Walzer (1935) 336 app. with further references. Astypalaia became the deme of Isthmos in the unified Koan state (Sherwin-White (1978) 59 and especially Pugliese Carratelli (1963–64)). The toponym is Ἰσθμός (*LSCG* 154A.18 (C3f)). The demotic is Ἰσθμιώτας (*Iscr. Cos* ED 55B.9 (C4)). Isthmos displayed its own internal organisation: in the Hellenistic period the deme was itself divided into three tribes, the Theadai, Kyniadai and Melainadai (Pugliese Carratelli (1963–64) 161–63 no. VI.a4–5 and a25 with a8; 165–81 nos. IX–XVIII with Jones, *POAG* 239–41). Although there is no explicit evidence, the peculiarity of this deme in having its own tribal organisation would seem to find its best explanation in Isthmos' earlier status, like that of

Astypalaia, as a self-governing *polis* before the *metoikismos*, or in the possibility that it persisted to function as a *polis*, albeit a dependent *polis*, after the synoecism. Another possible piece of evidence is the fact that Isthmos dispatched a *theoria* on its own account to Delos in 250 (*IG* XI.2 287.B.45). A *monarchos* attested at Astypalaia should be taken as the eponymous magistrate (Reger (2001) 173–74 with refs.; *contra* Pugliese Carratelli (1957)). A sanctuary of C5 sits on the acropolis at Kephalos, the urban site of Astypalaia (MacKenzie (1897–98); Herzog (1901) 138, (1903) 2–4; Sherwin-White (1978) 27 n. 84 for more refs.). The cult of Asklepios was a local cult here before the *metoikismos*, which introduced it to the island as a whole.

499. Kos Meropis Map 61. Lat. 36.50, long. 27.15. Size of territory: 3 (*c.*145 km² or less). Type: A. The toponym is *Κῶς ἡ Μεροπίς* (Thuc. 8.41.2; Paus. 6.14.12) or just *Κῶς* (Thuc. 8.108.2). The city-ethnic is *Κῷος* (Ebert (1972) 154–57 no. 49 with Reger (2001) and *supra*). Kos Meropis is called a *polis* in the urban sense by Thucydides at 8.41.2. The eponymous office may have been a board of *prostatai* (*Iscr. Cos* ED 272 with Pugliese Carratelli (1957) 335 n. 3, a decree of C4f dated *ἐπὶ προστ[ατᾶν]*) who continued to play an important role in the Koan polity after 366 (see *Iscr. Cos* ED 57.2–3: *ἐπὶ προστατᾶν τῶν σὺν---καὶ Μονάρχο ἐγ Κῶι . . .*, but which may be a decree of a deme (Herzog (1928) 20–25 8.A.1–3)). Two citizens of Kos Meropis were Olympic victors (*Olympionikai* 340 (420) and 363 (400)).

The urban centre seems to have been located at modern Chora. The later site of the Asklepieion was occupied in C5 by a sanctuary of Apollo Kyparissios overseen by a board of *ἐπιμεληταὶ τοῦ τεμένεος* (Herzog (1928) 32–33 no. 11.8–9). A sacred law forbade the cutting down of cypress trees in the *temenos* except for public need (Herzog (1928) 32 no. 11); this law was strengthened after the *metoikismos* and the establishment of Asklepios in the sanctuary (see *supra*). The site had a temple of Demeter and a sacred spring (dating not clear). Kos Meropis was unfortified in 412 (Thuc. 8.41.2) but was fortified by Alkibiades in the following year (Thuc. 8.108.2). Remains of a fortification wall have been identified with that mentioned by Thucydides (Kantzia (1988) 182; Bean and Cook (1957) 121, followed by Pugliese Carratelli (1963–64) 148).

It has been suggested from time to time that Kos may have hosted other *poleis* as well (Sherwin-White (1978) 63), and certainly every deme attested from after the *metoikismos* is a potential candidate for being seen as such a *polis*. The mention in Ps.-Hippoc. *Ep.* 27 of *τεσσάρων . . . τειχέων ἐν τῇ νήσῳ* has been cited as evidence of additional towns (Hicks in Paton and Hicks (1891) p. xix; cf. generally Sherwin-White (1978) 58–63 but also Reger (1997) 454–55, 483–84 n. 32). Of the possibilities, only Halasarna is noted here.

500. Halasarna (Halasarnitas) Map 61. Lat. 36.45, long. 27.10. Size of territory: 1? Type: B. The toponym is *Ἁλασάρνα* (Paton and Hicks (1891) no. 7.3; -*η* Hsch. *A*2772) or *Ἁλισάρνα* (Strabo 14.2.19). The ethnic is *Ἁλασαρνίτας* (Paton and Hicks (1891) 372–74 (all late)). Halasarna is called a *polisma* in an inscription of C4l (Paton and Hicks (1891) no. 7.3; for the date, see Herzog (1942) 13–18 6B.6)), and a *chorion* in Strabo 14.2.19 (657). There was a temple of C6–C4 apparently dedicated to Apollo Pythaios (Kantzia (1988) 176); Aleura *et al.* (1990), more evidence now in the form of sherds inscribed *ΑΠΟΛ* (*λωνι*), but some doubts about the identification are expressed by Kokkorou-Aleuras *et al.* (1995–96) 318). The urban centre was occupied from C6 (Hope Simpson and Lazenby (1962) 171–72; see also Kokkorou-Aleuras *et al.* (1995–96) 324 for pottery dating *c.*575–550). Cults attested at the site include those of Apollo, Herakles, Leto, Artemis, Hekate Stratia, Aphrodite, Zeus Polieus, Athena Polias and the Dioskouroi (Kokkorou-Aleuras *et al.* (1995–96) 313–15, with refs.).

501. Kythnos (Kythnios) Map 58. Lat. 37.55, long. 24.25. Size of territory: 2 (100 km²). Type: A. The toponym is *Κύθνος, ἡ* (Hdt. 7.90, 8.67.1; Strabo 10.5.3), denoting both the island and the town (Ps.-Skylax 58). The city-ethnic is *Κύθνιος* (Hdt. 8.46.4; Dem. 13.34; *Agora* XVII 526 (C4)) or, once, *Κίθνιος* (*SEG* 9.2.25). Artemidoros and Strabo agree in placing Kythnos among the Kyklades (Strabo 10.5.3). Kythnos is called a *polis* in the urban sense (Ps.-Skylax 58), and in Hdt. 8.46.1 it is subsumed under the heading *polis* where *polis* occurs in the political sense (Hdt. 8.42.1, 49.1). The external use of the city-ethnic is attested collectively in inscriptions (*IG* I³ 264.IV.37; *SEG* 25 357, Nemea (C4l)) and in literary sources (Hdt. 8.46; Dem. 13.34), and individually in Athenian sepulchral inscriptions (*IG* II² 9115; *Agora* XVII 526 (both C4)) and in a C5l list of sailors (*IG* I³ 1032.VI.88–89).

The Kythnians contributed two ships to the Greek fleet at Salamis (Hdt. 8.46.4) and participated in the communal dedications at Delphi and Olympia after Plataia (ML 27.10; Paus. 5.23.2). Kythnos was a member of the Delian League, and may have been among the original members (*ATL* iii. 198–99). It belonged to the Island district (*IG* I³ 271.I.91) and is recorded in the tribute lists from 450/49 (*IG* I³ 263.IV.27) to 416/15 (*IG* I³ 289.I.19) a total of eleven times, three times

completely restored, paying a *phoros* of first 3 tal. (*IG* I³ 263.IV.27), raised to 6 tal. in, probably, 425/4 (*IG* I³ 288.I.5). It was assessed for tribute in 425/4 (*IG* I³ 71.I.72) (6 tal.) and in 410/9 (*IG* I³ 100.I.2). Hypereides wrote a *Κυθνιακὸς λόγος* (fr. 138, Sauppe) and Aristotle a *Κυθνίων πολιτεία* (Harp. *K*90). In C4s the Kythnians had a board of five *strategoi*, of whom three were elected from among those who had served as *strategoi* before (Vat. Gr. 2306.B.I.134–40). During the crisis of 330–326 Kythnos received 10,000 *medimnoi* of grain from Kyrene (no. 1028) (*SEG* 9.2.25).

The urban centre was situated in the north-western part of the island and was walled, probably by C4s (Mazarakis Ainian (1993), (1996) 251, 256–70, (1998) 368–70; Gounaris (1998)). A temple on the acropolis, which has produced material of the Archaic through the Hellenistic periods, has been attributed to Demeter, or, less probably, Artemis or Hera (Mazarakis Ainian (1998) 370–71); for a *temenos* on Kythnos controlled by the Athenian sanctuary of Demeter at Eleusis, see *IG* I³ 386.III.147. Other temples of uncertain identity have been discovered; one of these may be a sanctuary of Aphrodite, whose cult, long known from the Hellenistic period (*IG* V 123.100–20 with Themelis (1998)), can now be attested from a C4 dedication (*SEG* 47 1300; Mazarakis Ainian (1998) 372–73). A C4 sanctuary to the Samothrakian gods is attested epigraphically (*IG* XII.5 1057 (C4l/C3e); see Hemberg (1950) 220; Mazarakis Ainian (1998) 372) and archaeologically (Mazarakis Ainian (1996) 252). The doubts of Cole (1984) 68 can now be dismissed. There is now evidence for a settlement starting in the Geometric period at the island of Vryokastraki (Mazarakis Ainian (1998) 374).

The island is said to have taken its name from one Kythnos (Steph. Byz. 392.2); later it was settled by Athenians under Kestor and Kephalenos (Dio Chrys. 80.26.9)

The Kythnians now seem to have coined in silver in C6l or C5e. Denominations: one-third stater down to hemiobol. Types: *obv.* head of a wild boar, or Gorgoneion, or lily, or seated dog; *rev.* incuse square or plain flat surfaces (Kyrou and Artemis (1998)).

Lemnos (Lemnios) Map 56. Lat. 39.55, long. 29.15. Size of territory: 4 (478 km²). The toponym is *Λῆμνος, ἡ* (Hom. *Od.* 8.283; Hdt. 6.139.4; *IG* I³ 1466). The ethnic is *Λήμνιος* (Thuc. 3.5.1; *IG* I³ 261.I.3). Lemnos is called a *polis* in the political sense in the King's Peace (Xen. *Hell.* 5.1.31). Lemnos is described as *δίπολις* in *Eth. Magn.* 279.6; cf. schol. Ap. Rhod. 1.601. The collective use of the ethnic is attested internally on coins: *ΛHMNI* (Head, *HN*² 262 (C4m)) and externally in a list of mercenaries (*IG* II² 1956.91 (*c.*300)). For the individual and external use of the ethnic, see *Ἀντίδωρος Λήμνιος* (Hdt. 8.11.3); Antilochos, the philosopher opponent of Sokrates (Diog. Laert. 2.46); Apollodoros, a writer on farming (Arist. *Pol.* 1259ᵃ1); and *Λημνίαν* (Isae. 6.13) and Theoris (Dem. 25.79–80 (C4); see Collins (2001)).

Ancient sources mention many non-Greek peoples as inhabiting Lemnos before the arrival of the Greeks (see *IG* XII.8, pp. 2–3). *C.*511 the Persians conquered Lemnos, exposed the island to an *andrapodismos*, and appointed a *hyparchos* (Hdt. 5.27.1–2). The Lemnians are said to have had military forces and penteconters (Hdt. 6.138.1). In 499 Lemnos was seized by the Athenians (Hdt. 6.137–40; *IG* I³ 552 *bis* and 1466 with Rausch (1999); the restoration of *IG* I³ 518 is uncertain; see also Salomon (1997) 31–37), and thereafter the Lemnians were organised into the Kleisthenic tribes and demes (*IG* I³ 522 *bis*, 1164–65 (C5s); *IG* XII suppl. 337 (C5e); cf. Jones, *POAG* 187–88). Colonists, however, though losing citizen rights in their metropolis, often copied its civic subdivision, and it seems likely that in C5 the Lemnians, though organised like the Athenians, were not Athenian citizens (Salomon (1997) 31–66), but in C5m they were probably supplemented with klerouchs (Graham (1983) 175–84, (2001) 325–26). For a brief period between 404 and 394/3, Lemnos was free of Athenian control; see Aeschin. 2.76; Andoc. 3.12. In C4, on the other hand, the Lemnians were indisputably Athenian klerouchs (*Agora* XIX L3 *passim*; Cargill (1995) 59–60) and Athenian citizens (Dem. 4.34). It is a moot point whether it is possible to distinguish between Athenian klerouchs and Athenians permanently settled on the island, as argued by Salomon (1997) 91–155.

In 480 a Lemnian ship defected from the Persian fleet (Hdt. 8.11.3). The Lemnians are recorded once in the *ATL* (*IG* I³ 261.I.3 (452/1)). Thereafter all payments of *phoros* were made by the Hephaistieis and the Myrinaioi separately (*infra*). By the Peace of 404 Athens had to surrender Lemnos (Andoc. 3.12; Aeschin. 2.76–77), but by 392, after a short period of independence (Andoc. 3.12, 14, which Salomon (1997) 63–66 sees, however, as in reality a Spartan hegemony, rejecting the standard interpretation of *IG* XII.8 2 of Myrina), the Athenians had regained control of the island (Xen. *Hell.* 4.8.15), and Athenian possession was confirmed by the King's Peace of 386 (Xen. *Hell.* 5.1.31). The grain law of 374/3 shows that Lemnos was an Athenian possession (*Hesperia* suppl. 29 5.6–8), in spite of the decision of 378/7 to renounce the klerouchies (Diod. 15.29.8). Lemnos was still Athenian in the 320s (Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 62.2; *IG* II² 3207.28; cf. Cargill (1995) 63–64) and remained Athenian by the Peace of 322 (Diod.

18.18.4; see Cargill (1995) 42–58). In C4 the Athenians seem to have had an archon on Lemnos (*Agora* XIX L3.5 (387/6)), and from the 350s onwards they appointed a salaried *hipparchos eis Lemnon* (Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 61.6, 62.2; Dem. 4.26; Bugh (1988) 209–18).

In C4m the Lemnians struck bronze coins. Types: *obv.* bearded head of Zeus(?); *rev.* ram walking in incuse square; legend: *ΛΗΜΝΙ* (Head, *HN*² 262; Steinhardt (2000)).

502. Myrina (Myrinaios) Map 56. Lat. 39.50, long. 25.05. Size of territory: probably 3. Type: A. The toponym is *Μύρινα, ἡ* (Hecat. fr. 138c; Hyp. 2.18; *IG* II² 550.16; *SEG* 19 59 (307/6); *IG* XII.8 4.7, 12 (C4m)). The city-ethnic is *Μυρινᾶιος* (*IG* XII.8 2.8). Myrina is called a *polis* in the political sense by Hypereides at 2.18, and in the urban and political senses combined by Dionysios of Chalkis (*FGH* IV 393 fr. 2 (C4?)). The collective use of the ethnic is attested internally in a proxeny decree of *c.*400 (*IG* XII.8 2) and externally in the *ATL* (*IG* I³ 267.IV.30). The only attestation of the individual use is in a sepulchral inscription of C2: *Μυρινᾶία* (*IG* II² 9975).

As an Athenian dependency Myrina is called *ὁ δῆ[μος ὁ] Ἀθ[ηνα]ίων ὁ ἐ[ν Μυρ]ίνει οἰκῶν* (*IG* XII.8 4.1–2 (C4m); cf. Cargill (1995) 13). In *IG* XII.8 2 *ὁ δῆμος ὁ Μυρινᾶίων* (ll. 2–3, usually dated 404–394/3; see also *IG* XII.8 7.19 (C4l)) granting a citizen of Akrothooi (no. 560) *proxenia* with *ateleia*; the standard view, that this represents a briefly independent Myrina, has been rejected by Salomon (1997) 63–66. In the Athenian tribute lists Myrina is listed as *Μυρινᾶιοι* (*IG* I³ 267.IV.30, etc.). All attestations of civic subdivisions copy Athens: citizens were organised into the Kleisthenic *phylai* and *demoi* (*IG* XII.8 5 (C4m); *IG* I³ 1164 (C5m)). Both when the Myrinaians were part of the Athenian state (*IG* XII.8 3–5 (C4m)) and when they were independent (*IG* XII.8 2 (*c.*400) and 7 (*c.*318–307)), decrees were proposed and carried by the *boule* and the *demos* presided over by an *epistates* (*IG* XII.8 5.5).

The Athenian siege of Myrina *c.*500 implies city walls (Hdt. 6.140.2). We hear of walls again in 307/6 (*IG* II² 550; cf. Maier (1959–61) no. 54). The urban centre which covered an area of *c.*25 ha lay on a peninsula outside modern Kastro. There are remains of an older acropolis wall in polygonal masonry; and the settlement was cut off from the island by a younger wall across the neck of the peninsula (Fredrich (1906*a*) 243–47; Sealey (1918–19) 159–60; cf. Lang (1996) 249). There were two sanctuaries of Artemis: one on the acropolis attested by remains (Fredrich (1906*a*) 246; see also Sealy (1918–19) 160–61) and boundary *horoi* (Segre (1932–33) 297–98 no. 5). An extra-mural sanctuary to Athena, probably as Selene, is attested by archaeological evidence from the Archaic period (Fredrich (1906*a*) 244, 246, identifying the archaeological remains as a temple associated with the Great Goddess; Archontidou-Arghyri (1994) 53; *BCH* 122 (1998) 912–13) and by *horoi* (Segre (1932–33) 294–97 no. 4 with Jeffery (1990) 299; *SEG* 45 1192, 40 745); archaeological evidence places its start in the Archaic period (Archontidou-Arghyri (1994); *BCH* 122 (1998) 912–13). Many decrees have been discovered at this sanctuary, which may well have been the Myrinaians' state archive and the goddess the protective deity (so Parker (1993); on Athena Lemnia, see further Steinhart (2000)). Generally, see Archontidou-Arghyri (1994). A community of Chalkideans living in Myrina passed a decree honouring the Athenian *epimeletes* (*IG* XII.8 4 (after 348: see *SEG* 45 1182)).

Myrina struck bronze coins from C4f onwards. Types: *obv.* head of Athena; *rev.* owl; legend: *MYPI* (Head, *HN*² 263; for the date, see Kroll and Walker (1993) 179).

503. Hephaistia (Hephaistieus) Map 56. Lat. 39.55, long. 25.20. Size of territory: probably 3. Type: A. The toponym is *Ἡφαιστία, ἡ* (Hyp. 2.18; fr. 7, Sauppe; *IG* II² 1672.277 (329/8; *IG* XII.8 5.5)). The city-ethnic is *Ἡφαιστιεύς* (Hdt. 6.140.2) or (late) *Ἡφαιστιαῖος* (*IG* XII.8 28.13–14 (third century AD)). Hephaistia is called a *polis* in the political sense by Hypereides at 2.18, and in the urban and political senses combined by Dionysios of Chalkis (*FGH* IV 393 fr. 2 (C4?)). The collective use of the ethnic is attested internally on coins (*infra*) and externally in the *ATL* (*IG* I³ 267.IV.31). Individuals are described as *ἐξ Ἡφαιστίας* (*IG* II² 8826 (C4f)).

As an Athenian dependency Hephaistia is called *τὸν [δῆμον τῶν Ἀθηναίων τῶν ἐν Ἡφαιστίαι]* (*IG* XII.8 15.3–4 (C4s); cf. 26b), or just *ὁ δῆμος ὁ ἐν Ἡφαιστίᾳ* (Hyp. 2.18). In the *ATL* Hephaistia is listed as *Ἐφαιστιε͂ς* (*IG* I³ 267.IV.31, etc.). All attestations of civic subdivisions copy Athens: citizens were organised into the Kleisthenic *phylai* and *demoi* (*IG* I³ 1477 (C5e); *SEG* 45 1181 (C4l/C3e); *SEG* 45 1189 (C4)). A number of decrees concerning the Kabeireion were passed by the *demos* of the initiated (*ὁ δῆμος τῶν τετελεσμένων*). The organisation of the *ekklesia* is an exact copy of the Athenian *ekklesia* (*SEG* 45 1181, 1187, 1189; cf. Cargill (1995) 181–82). The eponymous official was an archon (*SEG* 45 1181 (*c.*300)).

The name of the *polis* derives from Hephaistos, who is said to have landed on Lemnos after Zeus threw him out of Olympos (Hom. *Il.* 1.593); in a late inscription Hephaistia is

called "the *polis* of Hephaistos" (*IG* XII.8 27.1–2). The Kabeireion, the sanctuary of the Dioskouroi, started in C8 and was in continuous use thereafter (Akousilaos (*FGrHist* 2) fr. 20; Pherekydes (*FGrHist* 3) fr. 48, etc.; see Accame (1941–43) for the inscriptions; Hemberg (1950) 160–70; Beschi (1994), *non vidi*; cf. *SEG* 45 1194). Temples of Herakles and of course of Hephaistos are known (Fredrich (1906*a*) 251, 255; Sealey (1918–19) 168–69); the theatre is early Hellenistic (*TGR* ii. 244). A possible fort or settlement within the territory of the *polis* has been reported at Kaminia (Fredrich (1906*a*) 252–53). The famous Lemnian earth was mined here, though our earliest sources are late (Hasluck (1909–10)). In the territory of Hephaistia a number of *horos* inscriptions have been found, all modelled on the Athenian *horoi* (Finley (1985) nos. 103–10; *SEG* 45 1185–91). Recent Italian excavations have revealed town walls probably of C4 or later (see E. Carando, *ASAtene* forthcoming; *AR* (2000–2001) 111; A. Di Vita, *ASAtene* (1998/2000) 386, for the opinion that the walls are Archaic, perhaps as old as C7). They enclosed an area of 31.6 ha (Lang (1996) 56).

Hephaistia struck bronze coins from C4f onwards. Types: *obv.* head of Athena in Corinthian helmet; *rev.* owl facing; legend: *ΗΦΑΙΣΤΙ* (Head, *HN*² 262; for the date, see Kroll and Walker (1993) 179).

504. Leros (Lerios) Map 61. Lat. 37.05, long. 26.50. Size of territory: 2 (53 km²). Type: C. The toponym is *Λέρος*, *ἡ* (Thuc. 8.26.1; Hdt. 5.125). The city-ethnic is *Λέριος* (Demodokos fr. 2.1–2, West; in Strabo 10.5.12 erroneously ascribed to Phokylides). The fragment runs: *καὶ τόδε Δημοδόκου. Λέριοι κακοί. οὐχ ὃ μέν, ὃς δ' οὐ. / Πάντες, πλὴν Προκλέους—καὶ Προκλέης Λέριος* (*Anth. Pal.* 11.235). If Prokles was the tyrant of Leros, as suggested by Manganaro (1963–64) 297, Leros was probably a tyrannically governed *polis* in C6, and *Λέριος* is a city-ethnic attested externally both collectively and individually. But, even so, it is far from clear whether Prokles was a creature of the Milesians (no. 854) or was overthrown by them, as has been suggested on the basis of Demodokos' verses (see Manganaro (1963–64) 297). A Milesian settlement on Leros, mentioned by Anaximenes in a list of Milesian colonies, cannot be closely dated and need not mean, as some have suggested, a Milesian *klerouchia* on Leros (*FGrHist* 72 fr. 26, from Strabo 14.1.6; Manganaro (1963–64) 297; N. Ehrhardt (1983) 16). Hekataios urged Aristagoras during the Ionian Revolt to fortify Leros as a refuge, lest he be expelled from Miletos (Hdt. 5.125); Leros may therefore have been a Milesian possession by *c.*495, or the circumstances of the Revolt may have impelled the Milesians to take full control of the island. In any case the island was clearly Milesian by 454/3, when the Athenian tribute lists record payment by *Μιλέσιοι [ἐ]χς Λέρο* (*IG* I³ 259.VI.19–20; see *infra* 1085), who are probably to be regarded as citizens who stayed loyal to Athens after the Milesians revolted (Meiggs (1972) 112). The main settlement shows occupation from C6. There is, however, some dispute about its location (Bean and Cook (1957) 135; Benson (1963) 2–12, (1976) 501; Bürchner (1925) 2095–96). At the north end of the island stood an extramural sanctuary dedicated to Parthenos and attested by C4l (Klytos of Miletos (*FGrHist* 490) fr. 1; Manganaro (1963–64) 306–8 no. 3.22–23: *[ἐν τῶι ἱερ]ῶι τῆς Παρθένου ἐν [Λέρωι]* (C3–C2); see 308–9 no. 4.9, where the expression appears in full; Benson (1963) 16–19); she was probably the protective deity. She is also mentioned as *Παρθένος Λερία* in a dedication found on Thera (*IG* XII.3 440). She has been identified as a type of Artemis (Manganaro (1963–64) 301; cf. Nikandros in *Anth. lib.* 2, *non vidi*), but others see her as an indigenous goddess (Laumonier (1958) 550; see also N. Ehrhardt (1983) 149). Benson (1963) 12–13 believed he had identified remains of an Asklepieion. The fort or fortified settlement at Xerokambos starts only in C4 (Hope Simpson and Lazenby (1970) 54). See Gorman (2001) 49–51 for an overview. For the other so-called Milesian islands, see the Introduction.

505. Melos (Melios) Map 58. Lat. 36.45, long. 24.25. Size of territory: 3 (151 km²). Type: A. The toponym is *Μᾶλος* (*SEG* 20 716.29 (*c.*330); *I.Cret.* II xxiii 2.4 (C3)) or *Μῆλος*, *ἡ* (Thuc. 3.91.1; Isoc. 19.21; *IG* I³ 370.72, restored) denoting both the island and the town (Steph. Byz. 450.9–10). An alternative toponym is *Ζεφυρία* (Steph. Byz. 450.11; Plin. *HN* 4.70 = Arist. fr. 564). The city-ethnic is *Μάλιος* (*IvO* 272 = *CEG* I 419 (C6l); *IG* XII.3 1259.6 Tod 179; Ager (1996) no. 3; Magnetto (1997) no. 1 (C4s)) or *Μήλιος* (Thuc. 3.91.2; *IG* I³ 71.I.65; *I.Délos* 104.73 (364/3)) or *Μηλιάς* (*IG* II² 9356 (C4m)). Melos is called a *polis* both in the urban sense (Andoc. 4.23) and in the political sense (Thuc. 5.87, 91.2, 112.2). Isokrates describes Melos as a *polichnion* (12.98), perhaps as part of his effort to minimise the atrocities committed in C5 by the Athenians. The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally on some coins of C5 (*infra*) and on an inscription of C2 (*IG* XII.3 1097) and externally in inscriptions (ML 27.7 (479); *IG* XII.3 1259 (C4s) = Tod 179.6; Ager (1996) no. 3; Magnetto (1997) 1–8 no. 1) and in literary sources (Thuc. 5.84.3; Dem. 58.56). For the individual and external use, see *IvO* 272 (C6l); *IG* II² 9356 (C4m); *IG* XII.5

801 (C3f)). The most famous Melians were the poet Melanippides, victorious in Athens in 494/3 (*IG* XII.5 444.61–62 = *FGrHist* 239 fr. 47), and Diagoras the Melian, condemned in Athens as *atheos* in 416/15; a price of 1 tal. was offered for his death (Ar. *Av.* 1073–74; Lys. 6.17; Diod. 13.6.7; see Woodbury (1965) and Janko (2001), (2002)). *Patris* is found in Thuc. 5.111.5.

Strabo, quoting Artemidoros, places Melos among the Kyklades (10.5.3). The Melians were allegedly colonists from Lakedaimon (no. 345) (Hdt. 8.48; Thuc. 5.84.2; Xen. *Hell.* 2.2.3; Diod. 12.65.2; cf. Malkin (1994) 74–76; Cartledge (2002) 93–94), and the Melians believed themselves that this colonisation took place 700 years before the Athenian attack in 416/15 (Thuc. 5.112.2; see Malkin (1994) 74–77). A C1 historian reports that the Milesians (no. 854) attacked Melos, perhaps in C8e or C7 (Konon (*FGrHist* 26) fr. 1.44); perhaps this event, if historical, should be associated with the Parian and Milesian struggles in the Archaic period (see 765 and 1084 *infra*). The Melians refused Persian demands to submit in 490, and supplied troops and two pentekonters to the war effort in 480 (Hdt. 8.46.4, 48); they are recorded on the Serpent Column in Delphi (ML 27.7) and also appear in the dedication at Olympia (Paus. 5.23.2; cf. Hdt. 9.81.1). The Melians, however, did not join the Delian League (Thuc. 2.9.4). They are recorded as having contributed to the Spartan war fund (*ML* 67.1–7, 13–17, with Loomis (1992), perhaps in the earlier phases of the Peloponnesian War, perhaps around 410–405 (so Piérart (1995)). At about the same time the Athenians ravaged the island (Thuc. 3.91.1–3 (426/5)) and soon thereafter added the Melians to the assessment for 425/4 (*IG* I³ 71.1.65) (15 tal.). Thucydides' description of the famous Athenian siege of 416/15 shows Melian troops active, often quite successfully, on the island in opposition to the Athenian invaders (5.84, 114.1–2, 115.4, 116.2–4), but the town was betrayed, and at defeat the Athenians killed the adult male citizens and subjected the rest of the population to *andropodismos* (Thuc. 5.116.4; cf. also Isoc. 12.63; Andoc. 4.22). Five hundred Athenian colonists were installed in 415 (Thuc. 5.116.4; see Figueira (1991) 220). A tombstone of C5l probably commemorates one of the Melian traitors who was afterwards rewarded with Athenian citizenship (*IG* XII.3 1187). It is to this period that most of our evidence about civic organisation dates (see Jones, *POAG* 214–15). The Spartans took Melos in 405 from the Athenians and allowed the population to return (Xen. *Hell.* 2.2.9; Plut. *Lys.* 14.4). In C4m Melos was a pirates' nest, and Athens had the Melians fined 10 tal. for harbouring the pirates (Dem. 58.56). Soon after 338 the Melians were involved in a dispute with the Kimolians (no. 496) over the possession of the three small islands of Polyaiga, Eteireia and Libeia. In accordance with a decision of the *synedrion* of the League of Corinth, the dispute was submitted to arbitration by Argos (no. 347), and the Argives decided in favour of Kimolos (*IG* XII.3 1259 = Tod 179; Ager (1996) no. 3; Magnetto (1997) 1–8 no. 1). *C.*330, in consequence of an offence committed by, among others, a Melian Olympic victor, the Melians, alongside a number of Peloponnesian *poleis*, paid damages to envoys sent from Kyrene (no. 1028) (*SEG* 20 716; for the context, see *SEG* 39 1717; for the date, see *SEG* 46 2198 p. 636).

The Aristotelian collection of *politeiai* seems to have included a Constitution of the Melians (fr. 564); but we know next to nothing about the Melian political institutions. In 416/15 Thucydides (5.84.4–86) notes the absence of a decision-making popular assembly (τὸ πλῆθος), combined with the presence of Melian magistrates (ἀρχαί) and a council (σύνεδροι) described as "the few" (οἱ ὀλίγοι). The presumption is that Melos was oligarchically governed; but we cannot tell whether that was the normal situation or the result of the Athenian attack. The betrayal of Melos to the Athenians in 416 testifies to a *stasis* between a pro-Athenian and an anti-Athenian faction (Thuc. 5.116.3). A Melian *proxenos* has been restored in a C4m inscription from Karthaia (*IG* XII.5 542.30, but dubiously).

The urban centre of Melos must have been fortified in 424, when the Athenians under Nikias attacked the island (Thuc. 3.91.1–3, 94.1; Diod. 12.65.3), but the walls mentioned in Thucydides' account were built by the Athenians as part of their operations; the isodomic sections may represent repair and enhancement of a pre-existing (C6l–C5e?) wall in Lesbian/polygonal masonry (Thuc. 5.114.1, 115.4, 116.2; Cherry and Sparkes (1982), with further refs.; Wagstaff and Cherry (1982*b*) 261). The agora mentioned by Thucydides in the same context (5.115.4) may actually refer not to the Melians', but to a military agora serving the Athenian besiegers. However, Melos did have an agora in the Classical period, which has been identified archaeologically (Kenzler (1999) 112–13, with further refs.). A C6 inscription may attest to a cult of Athena (*IG* XII.3 1075 with Pontani (1937); Jeffery (1990) 320). A cult of Asklepios has been inferred for C4 (Semeria (1986) 954).

The Melian countryside appears to have supported a considerable number of settlements, some of which may have been large enough to be regarded as villages (Cherry (1982) 18 fig. 2.1, 22 fig. 2.6; Wagstaff and Cherry (1982*a*) 142–45). Growth of the urban centre to a maximum size of about 19 ha during the Classical period has been interpreted as

nucleation, perhaps in response to the Athenian conquest of 416/15 (so Snodgrass (1987–89) 60).

In C6l (*c.*515: Boutin (1986) 3) the Melians began to produce silver coins on the Milesian–Phoenician standard, although a stater on the Aiginetan standard has been attributed to the island (see Erxleben (1970) 72). (1) Silver, C6. Denomination: stater. Types: *obv.* ewer; legend: *ΜΑΛΙ*; *rev.* incuse square with diagonal bands. (2) Silver, C5. Denominations: stater, hemiobol. Types: *obv.* pomegranate with leaves; legend: *ΜΑΛΙ* (sometimes retrograde); *rev.* incuse square with diagonal bands; legend: *ΜΑ*. Some staters have *rev.* triskeles or crescent; legend: *ΜΑΛΙΟΝ*. (3) Silver on the Rhodian standard, C4. Denominations: didrachm, drachm. Types: *obv.* pomegranate (both denominations); *rev.* on didrachms: trident, or kantharos, or ram's head; legend: *ΜΑ*. On drachms: spearhead, or eagle on rock with crescent; legend: *ΜΑ*, or naked archer shooting (Head, *HN*² 486–87; Kraay (1976) 45–49; *SNG Cop. Aegean Islands* 679–89). A hoard of about 100 staters found on Melos in 1907 (*IGCH* 27) has been argued to reflect anxieties about possible Athenian attacks *c.*420 (Kraay (1964)).

The Melians colonised Kryassos in Karia, an event that cannot be closely dated (Plut. *Mor.* 246D–E; Polyaen. 8.64; cf. Nigdelis (1990) 199; Malkin (1994) 76).

506. Mykonos (Mykonios) Map 61. Lat. 37.25; long. 25.20. Size of territory: 2 (86 km²). Type: A. The toponym is *Μύκονος*, *ἡ* (Aesch. *Pers.* 885; Hdt. 6.118.1; Eph. fr. 63; *I.Délos* 104.26 (364/3)). The city-ethnic is *Μυκόνιος* (Archil. fr. 124a; *IG* XII.3 251.9). Mykonos is attested as a *polis* in the urban sense in an inscription of C4–C3 (*Syll.*³ 1215.19) and appears under the heading *polis* used in the political sense in the so-called Charter of the Second Athenian Naval League (*IG* II² 43.32, 70, 78, B19) and in the accounts of the Delian *amphiktyones* (*I.Délos* 98.A11, B3 = *IG* II² 1635 (377–373)). Ps.-Skylax (58) calls Mykonos *dipolis*. We do not know anything more about these two *poleis* except that they merged completely in C3s; it is likely that they were always involved in a federation or that one was dependent on the other (*Syll.*³ 1024.3 (*c.*200): *ὅτε συνοικίσθησαν αἱ πόλεις*; cf. Reger (2001)). The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally in abbreviated form on coins of C4 (*infra*) and externally in the Athenian tribute lists (*IG* I³ 264.IV.8) and in Archilochos fr. 124a. For the individual and external use, see the C4 dedication by a Mykonian woman at Delos (*I.Délos* 52).

Strabo, citing Artemidoros, classes Mykonos with the Kyklades (10.5.3). There seem to be the remains of a sanctuary at Leno, located south-east of the modern town. The locations of the two *polis* centres remain uncertain, although one is likely to have been at Palaiokastro and the other at the site of the modern town (see Reger (2001) 163–67).

Mykonos was subdued by Persia during the reign of Dareios (Aesch. *Pers.* 885; Hdt. 6.118.1). After Xerxes' invasion of Greece, Mykonos became a member of the Delian League. It belonged to the Island district and is recorded in the tribute lists from 452/1 (*IG* I³ 261.II.7) to 416/15 (*IG* I³ 289.I.28) a total of thirteen times, three times completely restored, paying a *phoros* of 1½ tal. in 452/1, reduced to 1 tal. (*IG* I³ 271.I.90) in 443/2 (*IG* I³ 269.V.23). It was assessed for tribute in 425/4 (*IG* I³ 71.I.75) (2 tal., restored). Mykonos also belonged in the 370s to the Second Athenian Naval League (*IG* II² 43.B.19). In C4 a citizen of Mykonos received *proxenia* from Anaphe (no. 474) (*IG* XII.3 251.8–11).

Bronze coins with the legend *MY* or *MYKO* and obverses often bearing the head of Dionysos are dated starting C4 by Head, *HN*² 487; see also Svoronos (1893)), but this may be too early (Reger (2001) 178–79).

507. Naxos (Naxios) Map 61. Lat. 37.05, long. 25.25. Size of territory: 4 (430 km²). Type: A. The toponym is *Νάξος*, *ἡ* (Aesch. *Pers.* 885; Hdt. 5.28; Ant. 1.16; *SEG* 19 204.A3 (*c.*375)), denoting both the island (Hdt. 5.31.2) and the town (Thuc. 1.137.2). The city-ethnic is *Νάξιος* (*I.Délos* 1.3 (*c.*600); *IG* VII 3225.1 (*c.*500); *IG* I³ 1357.3 = *CEG* 1.58 (510–500); Hdt. 8.46.3). Naxos is called a *polis* both in the urban sense (Hdt. 6.96; Arist. fr. 566, Gigon (rC6)) and in the political sense (Hdt. 5.30.1; Thuc. 1.98.4; *SEG* 12.390.6–7, 32, 44 (*c.*320); cf. *SEG* 30 1070). The territorial sense is attested at Hdt. 5.30.3–4. In the Delphic *naopoioi* accounts the Naxians appear as contributors in a list headed by the formula: *τάδε πόλεις καὶ ἰδιῶται ἐπάρξαντο* (*CID* II 4.I.14–16). The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally on coins of C4 (*infra*) and externally in inscriptions (ML 27.8 (479); *I.Délos* 98B.9 (377/6); *CID* II 4.I.16, 20, 21 (C4f)) and in literary sources (Archil. fr. 89.6, West; Hdt. 8.4.3; Thuc. 1.98.4; Arist. *Pol.* 1305^{b}1). The individual use is attested internally on a tombstone of C4–C3 (*IG* XII.5 67, but perhaps a *pierre errante*) and externally in inscriptions from Delos of C7 (*I.Délos* 2), Athens of C6l (*IG* I³ 1357 = *CEG* 1.58), Delphi of C4f (*CID* II 4.I.20, 21, 24, 26), and Olympia of C4s (*IvO* 651) and in literary sources (Hdt. 1.61.4; Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 15.2; *Oec.* 1346^{b}7: *Λύγδαμις Νάξιος*). *Patris* is found in Arist. fr. 558, Rose.

Naxos is the largest Kykladic island (Strabo 10.5.3). In the Archaic period some of the wealthy Naxians lived in the *asty*

and some in *komai*, of which one was called *Λησταίδαι* (Arist. fr. 566). Steph. Byz. claims that on Naxos there was a *polis* named *Νύσα* (479.9) and another named *Τραγία* (630.8), where a certain Tragios Apollo was worshipped; he cites Eupolis for the plural form *Τραγέαι* (*PCG* fr. 487), but it is not wholly clear whether the plural form denotes the *polis* on Naxos (in which case we have testimony for it from C5s) or the homonymous island (less likely). Herbst (1935) 2083 associates this sanctuary with a *horos* inscribed *ὅρος χωρίου ἱεροῦ Ἀπόλλωνος* (*IG* XII.5 43 (C4–C3?)); cf. also the remarks of F. Hiller von Gaertringen *apud IG* XII.5 50). An inscription of C4 gives the toponyms *ἐν Ἐλαιοῦντι* and *ἐμ Μέλανι*, persuasively identified with modern Melanes, so rich in sanctuaries (*IG* XII suppl. 194.16 with Hiller von Gaertringen's comm. there, 14–15). *Πολίχνη* was a district on the east coast (*IG* XII.5 test. 1415). The famous Naxian marble quarries had been opened by C7 and continued to operate throughout the Archaic and Classical periods (Kokkorou-Aleura (1992); Brun (1997) 407–8).

Naxos was said to have been occupied first by Thracians and then by Karians from Mt. Latmos under the leadership of Naxos, son of Polemon (Diod. 5.50.2–7, 51.1–2 and 3–4; schol. Dionys. Per. 525, *GGM* II 451; Steph. Byz. 468.7–8). Later, Ionians from Athens colonised the island (Hdt. 8.46.3; Ael. *VH* 8.5; Paus. 7.3.3; Costa (1997) 51).

The Naxians played a predominant role in the central Aegean during the Archaic period; their activities left remains both in the decoration of Delos and in a continuing hostility to Paros (no. 509). The Naxians and the Parians fought on and off in C7f (cf. Kontoleon (1952) E2 col. I ll. 4–32 (*SEG* 15 517); Lanzillotta (1987) 71–88; Berranger (1992) 205–7; Costa (1997) 115–28); at least once, the Parians imposed a severe defeat on the Naxians (*IG* XII.5 445.54: the Parians). In C6s an oligarchy was followed by the tyranny of Lygdamis (Arist. *Pol.* 1305^{a}39–^{b}1) after a major *stasis* (Arist. fr. 566). Helped by "the Naxian man Lygdamis" (Hdt. 1.61.4), Peisistratos in turn installed Lygdamis as tyrant on Naxos (540–524) (Hdt. 1.61.3–4, 64.1–2; Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 15.2–3; Arist. *Oec.* 1346^{b}6–12; see also Ath. 348A–C; Costa (1996), (1997) 147–68). Lygdamis' tyranny was replaced by an oligarchy of *οἱ παχεῖς* (Hdt. 5.30.1)—established perhaps with assistance of the Spartans who overthrew him (Plut. *Mor.* 859D)—until in turn it was overthrown *c.*500 by the *demos* (E. W. Robinson (1997) 117–18) after a new *stasis* (Gehrke, *Stasis* 123–24); the oligarchs fled to Miletos (no. 854) and contributed to the outbreak of the Ionian Revolt against the Persians in 494 (Hdt. 5.30). The so-called list of thalassocracies in Eusebios (*Chronikon*, p. 226, Schoene; M. Miller (1971) 5–6, 40–41) credits the Naxians with one in 515–505. Naxos was subdued by Persia during the reign of Dareios (Aesch. *Pers.* 885). In 499 the Naxians are said to have controlled Paros (no. 509), Andros (no. 475) and the other Kyklades around it (Hdt. 5.31.2; Paros doubted by Lanzillotta (1987) 105–6). Led by Aristagoras and Megabates, the Persians attacked Naxos, but the Naxians learned about their plans beforehand and prepared for a siege by completing their walls and storing food and water, and the operation failed (Hdt. 5.34). Nine years later in 490 another Persian force successfully took the island when the Naxians abandoned their city and fled into the mountains; the Persians burned the city and temples and exposed the inhabitants they captured to an *andrapodismos* (Hdt. 6.96; see Costa (1997) 171–80). The Naxian ships (four, five or six) under Persian authority at Salamis defected to the Greek side (Hdt. 8.46.3; cf. Aesch. *Pers.* 879–887; for the numbers, Hdt. 8.46.3, four; Hellanikos (*FGrHist* III B 323a) fr. 28, six; Ephor. fr. 187, five, both cited at Plut. *Mor.* 869A).

The Naxians joined the Delian League in the summer of 477 as a *πόλις συμμαχίς*, contributing ships (Thuc. 1.98.4, 99). Naxos belonged to the Island district and is recorded in the tribute lists from 450/49 (*IG* I^{3} 263.IV.35, restored) to 416/15 (*IG* I^{3} 289.I.27) a total of eleven times, three times completely restored, paying a *phoros* of 6 tal., 4,000 dr. (*IG* I^{3} 264.III.25), raised to 9 tal. in or before 417/16 (*IG* I^{3} 288.I.4). It was assessed for tribute in 425/4 (*IG* I^{3} 71.I.63) (15 tal.). *C.*475–470 (Rhodes (1985) 12–13) Naxos defected from the League but was reduced after a siege (Thuc. 1.98.4, 137.2; Polyaen. *Strat.* 1.30.8). In 453–448, 500 Athenian klerouchs were settled on Naxos (Plut. *Per.* 11.5–6; Diod. 11.88.3; Paus. 1.27.5; Pl. *Euthphr.* 4C; Aeschin. 2.175; cf. Figueira (1991) 220). In C4e Naxos was allied with Sparta (no. 345), and in 376 an Athenian squadron under Chabrias laid siege to the city and defeated the Lakedaimonian auxiliary squadron in a major sea battle fought between Naxos and Paros (Diod. 15.34.3–5; *SEG* 19 204). Thereafter the Naxians may have joined the Second Athenian Naval League in the 370s (*I.Délos* 98.B9 = *IG* II^{2} 1635.119; cf. Dreher (1995) 219 with 137–38), but they are not recorded among the members listed in *IG* II^{2} 43. They struck a treaty with Athens some time before 353/2 (*IG* II^{2} 179 with Gauthier (1972) 168, 331). In 345/4 the Naxians awarded the Athenian *demos* a crown (*IG* II^{2} 1443.114).

Naxian military prowess is relatively well attested. The war with the Milesians (C6?), recorded in two different traditions, by Plutarch (*Mor.* 254B–F, probably based on the Aristotelian Constitution of Naxos (fr. 567.1)) and Parthenios, probably following Andriskos (*FGrHist* 500 fr.

1.9), involved a siege in which the Naxians were locked up within the city walls and an expedition against the besiegers by Naxian forces. Polykrates the Samian tyrant borrowed troops from Lygdamis to secure his tyranny (Polyaen. *Strat.* 1.23.2). The Constitution of Naxos mentioned a *strategia* of Lygdamis (fr. 566), and the Naxians are said to have been able to muster 8,000 hoplites and "many big ships" in 499 (Hdt. 5.30.4); a few years later they manned several triremes for the invasion of Greece (Hdt. 8.46.3; on the number, cf. *supra*).

The Aristotelian collection of constitutions included a *Ναξίων πολιτεία* (fr. 566). In C4l decrees were passed by the *boule* and/or the *demos* (*SEG* 33 676.5–6, 10 (*c.*300)). They were published by the *grammateus* of the *boule*, and set up in the sanctuary of Apollo at the expense of a board of *tamiai* (Matthaiou (1990–91) 114). In C2 the eponymous official was the priest of Dionysos (*IG* XII.5 128.23 in add. p. 308), but an inscription from Arkesine on Amorgos of 325–275 is dated by a board of *aisymnontes* (*IG* XII.7 67B.36 = Migeotte (1984) 168–77 no. 49)). A court in Naxos ([*δικασ*]*τήριον*) is mentioned in the C4f treaty between Athens (no. 361) and Naxos (*IG* II² 179.9). Naxos granted *proxenia* to a citizen of Megaran (no. 225) (*SEG* 33 676 (*c.*300)), and five Naxians received *proxenia* and citizenship from Chios (no. 840) (*SEG* 12 390.2, 27, 49–54 (*c.*320); cf. *SEG* 30 1070).

The protective deity was Dionysos (so the coins, see *infra*; Diod. 3.66.1, 4.61.5, 5.52; Plut. *Thes.* 20.1; Plut. *Mor.* 741A), who appears both without an epithet (*IG* XII.5 45 (C5–C4)) and as Dionysos Meilichios and Dionysos Bakcheus (Ath. 78C, quoting the local historians Aglaosthenes (*FGrHist* 499) fr 4. and Andriskos (*FGrHist* 500) fr. 3 (both C4s–C3f)). Ananios, however, speaks of Apollo who "has" (*ἔχεις*) Naxos (Ananios fr. 1.2, West; cf. *Hymn. Hom. Ap.* 44; *IG* XII.5 42 (C6–C5), 43 (C4–C3); and see the Delion of C6, *supra*). We hear in C4 also of Athena Poliouchos (*IG* XII.5 41), Athena without an epithet (*IG* XII.5 40 (C6–C5)) and a sanctuary of the Kabeiroi (*SEG* 25 939). Other communal cults include Zeus Melosios (*IG* XII.5 48 (C4); cf. Herbst (1935) 2082–83), Zeus Euboulos (*IG* XII suppl. 196 (C4), with Matthaiou (1992–98*a*), Zeus Olympios (*IG* XII.5 49 (date not clear)), and Zeus Stratios (*IG* XII.5 50 (date not clear)); Demeter and Kore (*IG* XII suppl. 196 (C4), with Matthaiou (1992–98*a*); Demeter Hadreus (Lambrinoudakis (1979) 252–54); Poseidon Helikonios (*SEG* 36 761 (C5–C4); cf. *SEG* 45 1138); the Nymphai Mychieis (*IG* XII.5 53 (C4)); and Hestia (Plut. *Mor.* 254B (C6)). Only three Naxian months are attested: Ekatombaion, Kronion and Artemision (*IG* XII.7 67B.36 = Migeotte (1984) no. 49 (325–275); *IG* XII.5 45 (C4?); *IG* XII.5 38.2 (C1); see Trümpy, *Monat.* 72–73 and Loukopoulou (1989) 119).

The town of Naxos was walled by C6 (Andriskos (*FGrHist* 500) fr. 1.1; Hdt. 5.34), in the 470s (Thuc. 1.98.4, 137.2; Ar. *Vesp.* 355) and in 376 (Diod. 15.34.4). (At Aen. Tact. 22.20 *ἐν Νάξῳ* is an unconvincing conjecture.) Remains of an undated city wall were seen by Dugit (1867) 35–37, but are no longer visible. To judge from preserved tombs and other remains, the walled town seems to have covered an area of 20+ ha. Traces of occupation from the Geometric period have been discovered toward the northern end of the present town (*ArchDelt* 39 *Chron.* 292–95 and 29 *Chron.* 867–70). There was a Delion just outside the city walls in C6 (Andriskos (*FGrHist* 500) fr. 1.1); for confirmation of the date, see *BCH* 96 (1972) 772, *re* Geometric sherds from the site), which was probably at the site of the temple of Apollo Delios begun by Lygdamis *c.*530 that still dominates the harbour (Welter (1924); Gruben and Koenigs (1968), (1970); briefly Gruben (1986) 344–47; Koenigs (1972)). A *prytaneion* and a theatre (restored) are attested in C3 (*IG* XII.5 35 with S. G. Miller (1978) 200–1 nos. 368–69), but a seat from the *koilon* of, probably, the theatre has been recovered, and Gruben (1982*a*) 165–66 reports the discovery under the heading "Archaische Bauten". Pindar mentions a public cult of Hieros and Ephialtas (Pyth. 4.88; cf. *IG* XII.5 56); a *horos* of Zeus Melosios of C4 (*IG* XII.5 48) and two of Apollo from C6e–C5s (Psarras (1999)) and C4–C3 (*IG* XII.5 42) indicate the existence of sanctuaries. Excavation has recovered a sanctuary dating from *c.*570 at Yria (Lambrinoudakis and Gruben (1987–88); Lambrinoudakis (1992); Gruben (1993) 99–105); this has recently been assigned to Dionysos and identified as the chief sanctuary of the island (Gruben (1997) 300); the unfinished statue at Apollona, now seen as Dionysos, may have been intended to stand by this temple like the colossus of Apollo on Delos dedicated by the Naxians (ibid. 293–300). There is an Archaic sanctuary for Demeter at Sangri (Kontoleon (1954); Lambrinoudakis *et al.* (1977) 382–86; Gruben (1993) 106–9), and another nearby at Gyroulos (*Ergon* (1977) 156–61, (1979) 24–25; *Prakt* (1977) 382–86), which may be dedicated to Apollo (*SEG* 31 744). A sanctuary of Athena was located in the vicinity of modern Sangri (*IG* XII.5 40 (C6–C5) with test. 1421); Athena Poliouchos' sanctuary was situated north-east of the town at Engares (*IG* XII.5 41 with test. 1421). The sanctuary of Zeus Melosios was on the east side of Mt. Drios (the modern Ozia) (cf. Diod. 5.51.4), near Philoti (*IG* XII.5 48 with the map at *IG* XII.5 fasc. 2 p. xxiii). The grotto of the Nymphai Mychieis lay north-east of the town (*IG* XII.5 53).

Finally, the sanctuary of Otos and Ephialtas was at Melanes (*IG* XII.5 56).

Many communal dedications of the Naxians are attested from several sanctuaries. The Naxian Leonidas, honoured in Olympia by the Arkadian *polis* of Psophis (no. 294) (Paus. 6.16.5; *IvO* 294), dedicated out of his own funds a Leonideion in 330–320 (Paus. 5.15.2; *IvO* 651; Mallwitz (1972) 246–54). On Delos, the Naxians dedicated a palm (Ath. 502B with Bruneau (1990) 568–71) and the famous colossus of Apollo dating to 590–580 (*I.Délos* 4 and 49; Bruneau and Ducat (1983) 125–28; Bruneau (1988) 577–82; Gruben (1997) 267–87). Excavation and identification of the *oikos* of the Naxians known from C4 texts (*I.Délos* 104–25.5, etc.) have shown that the building began in C7s (Courbin (1980); Bruneau and Ducat (1983) 119–23; Gruben (1997) 301–50). The Propylaia I and II of C5 have recently been claimed as Naxian work (Gruben (1997) 350–72). The Naxians dedicated a stoa in C6l (Hellmann and Fraisse (1979) 85–124; Bruneau and Ducat (1983) 146–47). The famous lions, one of the original sixteen now gracing St. Mark's Square in Venice, were given in C7l (Gallet de Santerre (1959) 21–36; Bruneau and Ducat (1983) 171–74). A less spectacular dedication is the gold *φιάλη καρυωτή*, attested by an inscription of 365/3 and, as has recently been shown, by Athenaios (*I.Délos* 104.34–35 with Bruneau (1990) 568–71; for the gold, see *IG* XI.2 161.B.31). At Delphi, the Naxians dedicated the famous Sphinx, for which they had received *promanteia* (*Syll.*³ 292 with 17a (from 332); Amandry (1953); a base reinscribed in C4 suggests another dedication, but may be related to the Sphinx; see Jacquemin (1999) 69, and contributed funds to rebuilding the sanctuary after the earthquake of 373 (*CID* II 4.1.16–17 for the *polis* as a whole, 20–27 for individual Naxians). The Naxians also participated in the communal dedications at Delphi and Olympia after Plataia (ML 27.8; Paus. 5.23.2; cf. Hdt. 9.81).

The Naxians may well have controlled some of the smaller islands to the south-east, although there is no direct evidence. These would include the archipelago of the Phakous(s)ai (Steph. Byz. 655.3–4; late inscriptions: *IG* XII.7 507–8), Herakleia (*IG* XII.7 509 with L. Robert (1949)) and Nikasia (*Suda* N 377; Plin. *HN* 4.68).

The Naxians minted coins from *c.*600, first silver staters and trihemiobols on the Aiginetan standard. Types: *obv.* kantharos with or without a crown; *rev.* incuse square. The coins with kantharos and crown were apparently replaced *c.*500 by coins with the plain kantharos, which had begun production a few years earlier. The Naxians continued to strike these types until their defection from the Delian League in *c.*475–470 (Nicolet-Pierre (1997)). In C4 they struck silver drachms and obols on the Rhodian standard as well as bronze coins. Types: *obv.* Dionysos; *rev.* kantharos; legend: *ΝΑΞΙΩΝ* or *ΝΑ* (Head, *HN*² 488; *SNG Cop. Aegean Islands* 702–9). A Naxian tetradrachm appears in the Delian accounts starting in 364/3 (*I.Délos* 104.66–67). For possible attribution of some half-staters on the Milesian/Phoenician standard to Naxos instead of Anaphe (no. 474), see Erxleben (1970) 69–70, 73.

Naxian participation in the colonisation of Naxos (no. 41) on Sicily is suggested by Hellan. fr. 82; it has sometimes been doubted, but now seems confirmed by an inscription (Guarducci (1985); for a good summary, see Costa (1997) 87–102). Naxian claims of colonisation on Amorgos (Steph. Byz. 86.14; schol. Dionys. Per. 525) may be Hellenistic inventions designed to justify the occupation of Aigiale (no. 471) and Minoa (no. 473) (Nigdelis (1990) 23).

508. Nisyros (Nisyrios) Map 61. Lat. 36.35, long. 27.10. Size of territory: 2 (37 km², 49 km² including the islets, see *infra*). Type: A. The toponym is *Νίσυρος, ἡ* (Hom. *Il.* 2.676; Theophr. *De lap.* 21; Diod. 5.54.3), denoting both the island (Ps.-Skylax 99) and the town (Strabo 10.5.17). The city-ethnic is *Νισύριος* (Hdt. 7.99.2; *IG* I³ 270.1.9) or *Νισούριος* (*CID* II 4.III.61 (360/59), 5.I.51–60 (359/8)). Nisyros is attested as a *polis* in the political sense at Hdt. 7.99.2–3. The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally on C4 coins (*infra*) and in C3 inscriptions (*IG* XII.3 88.6), and externally in inscriptions and literary sources (Hdt. 7.99.2). The individual and external use is attested in the accounts of the Delphic *Naopoioi* (*CID* II 4.III.61 (360/59), 5.I.51–60 (359/8)).

Ps.-Skylax 99 places Nisyros in Karia, but Steph. Byz. 477.7 among the Kyklades. The small islands off Nisyros (Strabo 10.5.16) were part of its territory. The island was supposed to have been created when Poseidon ripped off part of Kos and threw it into the sea (Paus. 1.2.4; Strabo 10.5.16; Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.6.2.4), a foundation myth reflected in the trident on the C4 coins (*infra*). Nisyros is said to have been colonised by Epidauros (no. 348) (Hdt. 7.99.2–3). Kos (no. 497) may have controlled the island of Nisyros *c.*500 (Hdt. 7.99 with Hicks in Paton and Hicks (1891) p. xii); but if so, Nisyros was independent by *c.*478 (see *infra*). Two ships from Nisyros fought under Artemisia's command at Salamis (Hdt. 7.99.2).

Nisyros was a member of the Delian League. It belonged to the Ionian district (*IG* I³ 269.I.8), but in 429/8 to the Island district (*IG* I³ 282.III.20) and is recorded in the tribute lists from 452/1 (*IG* I³ 261.IV.4) to 428/7 (*IG* I³ 283.II.30) a total of

nine times, twice completely restored, paying a *phoros* of 1 tal. 3,000 dr. (*IG* I³ 261.IV.4), reduced to 1 tal. in or before 442/1 (*IG* I³ 270.I.9). After the end of the Peloponnesian War Nisyros fell under Spartan authority, for in 394 Diodorus mentions the island among the states brought by Pharnabazos and Konon to revolt (14.83.3). Throughout C4 Nisyros was independent (see Papachristodoulou (1989) 47).

The protective deity, appropriately for a volcanic island (see Buchholz and Althaus (1982) 17–18, 21–22), was probably Poseidon (see the coins; Ashton (1999*a*) 23 with (1999*b*) for the Knidian *comparanda*); in a Hellenistic inscription he bears the epithet Argeios (*IG* XII.3 103.13 = *Syll.*³ 673). Strabo mentions a sanctuary of Poseidon (Strabo 10.5.16).

A remarkable law of C4s, inscribed on the outside of the city wall, declares that land lying 5 feet from the wall is public land (*δαμόσιον χωρίον*) (*IG* XII.3 86 = *Syll.*³ 936 = Maier (1959–61) no. 47)). The remains of the wall date at the earliest from after the earthquake of 413 (Buchholtz and Althaus (1982) 15–16; see Bean and Cook (1957) 118–19); it has been suggested to have been put up as part of Mausolos' strategy of fortifying sites under his control (Bean and Cook (1957) 142; Hornblower (1982) 331–32; Sherwin-White (1978) 70 n. 212 is sceptical). The wall enclosed an area of 10 ha (Hoepfner (1999) 134–35). A harbour is attested at Ps.-Skylax 99.

In C4 Nisyros struck coins in silver and bronze. (1) Silver drachms (only one genuine example known), which should probably be dated to C4m/e (Ashton (1999*a*) 23; (1999*c*)). Types: *obv.* head of Aphrodite; *rev.* Poseidon seated with trident; legend: *ΝΙΣΥΡΙΟΝ*. (2) Bronze. Types: *obv.* head of Helios, or Aphrodite, or unidentified female head; *rev.* Aphrodite with rose, or dolphin, or grapes, or eagle, or cow or bull, or dolphin and trident; legend: *ΝΙ* or *ΝΙΣΥ* (Head, *HN*² 635; *SNG Cop. Caria* 706–8, but 709 is not of Nisyros: see Ashton (1999*a*) 15–16).

509. Paros (Parios) Map 61. Lat. 37.05, long. 25.10. Size of territory: 3 (196 km²). Type: A. The toponym is *Πάρος, ἡ* (Archil. fr. 89.22; *Hymn. Hom. Ap.* 44; Aesch. *Pers.* 884), denoting both the island (Hdt. 5.31.2) and the town (Ps.-Skylax 58). The city-ethnic is *Πάριος* (*IG* XII.5 216 (C6l); Thuc. 4.104.4; Pl. *Ap.* 20A–B). Paros is called a *polis* both in the urban sense (Hdt. 6.134.2; Isoc. 19.19; Ephor. fr. 63; Matthaiou and Kouragios (1992–98) 438–40 (C4s)) and in the political sense (*IG* XII.5 110.6, 111.6 (both C4e); Matthaiou (1992–98*b*) 430–31 no.3 (both C4m); Archil. fr. 13.2). The territorial sense is possibly attested in Archil. fr. 204. The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally in inscriptions (*IG* XII.5 110.6, 111.6 (both C4e)) and in abbreviated form on coins (*infra*), and externally in inscriptions (*SEG* 27 249 (C6l/C5e); *IG* I³ 263.IV.24; *I.Délos* 98B.5 (377/6)) and in literary sources (Hdt. 6.133.1–2; Pl. *Menex.* 245B). For the individual and external use, see Hdt. 1.12.2: *Ἀρχίλοχος ὁ Πάριος*; Lazzarini (1976) no. 304 (C6m); *Syll.*³ 16; Arist. *Pol.* 1258ᵇ40. *Patris* is found in Hdt. 6.135.2.

Strabo, citing Artemidoros, places Paros among the Kyklades (Strabo 10.5.3). Apart from the urban centre, Paros had many habitation sites in the Geometric and Archaic periods, and it remains unclear what relation they had to the main town centre of Archaic and later periods and to the formation of Paros as a unified polity. These settlements include (1) a fortified habitation site at Naoussa in the north-east quadrant of the island (Rubensohn (1901) 163–70, (1949) 1791; cf. also *BCH* 114 (1990) 818, not in *Barr.*); (2) an Archaic fortified site with a building identified by the excavator as a "temple" at Oikonomos (Schilardi (1973), (1975*b*) 93); (3) the Archaic "acropolis" at Koukounaries (Berranger (1992) 121; Reger (1997) 460), which has recently been claimed as a full-blown *polis* with Athena as its tutelary deity (Schilardi (1996)); (4) *Ὑρίη* (perhaps to be located at Marmara: Berranger (1992) 126; Rubensohn (1949) 1791, misprinted as Hydria in *Barr.*; (5) Myrsineai (*IG* XII.5 244) was perhaps a civic subdivision of the Archaic period (*infra*) and seems well fixed by modern Piskopiana (Rubensohn (1901) 175–76; Berranger (1992) 132); (6) at Dryos, recorded in *Barr.* conventionally as a settlement, perhaps of the Classical period, have been reported a tower and harbour fittings (Rubensohn (1901) 173–74, (1949) 1791). (7)–(8) We have from later periods names for a number of settlements on Paros; most of these are located only with some uncertainty, and none seems associated clearly with any of the settlements known archaeologically. They include *Μάρπησσα* (Steph. Byz. 434.6; Rubensohn (1901) 158), and *Τεμένιον* (*IG* XII.5 116 (C4)), both unlocated.

Paros was said to have been colonised by Arkadia, with Paros as the oecist (Heracl. Lemb. fr. 25, from the Aristotelian *Constitution of the Parians*). The Athenians call the Parians their *apoikoi* in 373/2 (*SEG* 31 67.6).

From a study of the fragments of the poetry of Archilochos, Lanzillotta has concluded that Paros was ruled by an aristocracy controlled by a few families in the Archaic period (Lanzillotta (1987) 58–61; see also Berranger (1992) 328–31). It may be doubted that Paros was actually under the control of Naxos (no. 507) in 499 (as at Hdt. 5.31.2; cf. Lanzillotta (1987) 105–6). During the Archaic period the

Parians and the Naxians fought a series of wars which imply naval and land forces (cf. Berranger (1992) 205–7). It is in this context that a Milesian ambassador is said to have been rescued from a shipwreck by a dolphin (*IG* XII.5 445.10–19). *C.*655–650 the Parians participated in arbitrating a dispute between Chalkis (no. 365) and Andros (no. 475) over Akanthos (no. 559) (Plut. *Mor.* 298A–B; Piccirilli (1973) 7–11 no. 2). *C.*525 the Milesians (no. 854) requested Parian "state-reformers" (καταρτιστῆρες) to settle an internal dispute (Hdt. 5.28–29). Paros was subdued by Persia during the reign of Dareios (Aesch. *Pers.* 882). The Parians sent a trireme to Marathon with the Persian expedition in 490 (Hdt. 6.133.1). In 489 Miltiades launched an expedition against the Parians, which failed (Hdt. 6.132–36; for a different tradition, see Ephor. fr. 63). The Parians remained loyal to the Persians for the next decade (cf. Hdt. 8.67.1 with Lanzillotta (1987) 113 and Berranger-Auserve (2000) 88). After the battle of Salamis, Themistokles led another Athenian expedition against the Parians, who deterred him with a bribe (Hdt. 8.112). Soon thereafter they joined the Delian League (*ATL* iii. 190, 198). Paros belonged to the Island district and is recorded in the tribute lists from 450/49 (*IG* I³ 263.IV.24) to 416/15 (*IG* I³ 289.I.24) a total of eleven times, four times completely restored, paying a *phoros* of 16 tal., 1,200 dr. in 450/49 (*IG* I³ 263.IV.24), raised to 18 tal. in 446/5 (*IG* I³ 266.IV.25). It was assessed for tribute in 425/4 (*IG* I³ 71.I.62) (30 tal.). The nature of the regime for most of C5 is unknown (Berranger-Auserve (2000) 93), though there was an oligarchy in the *polis* in 410/9 abolished by Theramenes when, supporting the *demos*, he restored democracy and imposed heavy fines on the oligarchs (Diod. 13.47.8). Probably soon after 407 the Parians helped effect a reconciliation between the Thasians (no. 526) and the Neapolitans (no. 634) (*IG* XII.5 109 with Pouilloux (1954) 178–92; Piccirilli (1973) 144–49 no. 33; Berranger-Auserve (2000) 94–95); a bas-relief found at Delphi depicts the reconciliation (Moretti (1953)). In C4e Paros came under the control of one Pasinos (Isoc. 19.18), and for a few years Paros was probably a tyranny or a narrow oligarchy (Gehrke, *Stasis* 125); but democracy was soon reintroduced: Plato (*Menex.* 245B) speaks of the Athenians fighting "on behalf of the Parians" after the reconstruction of the long walls, probably *c.*393; and shortly afterwards the Parians borrowed money from Apollo of Delos under the amphiktyony created by the Athenians (e.g. *I.Délos* 97.13 = *IG* II² 1634 (391/0)). That the Parians thereafter had a democratic government along Athenian lines is suggested most recently by the discovery of part of a *kleroterion* of Athenian style on the island, though the machine cannot be dated more closely than C4–C2 (Müller (1998)). The Parians joined the Second Athenian Naval League in 377/6 (*IG* II² 43.A.89). An important inscription of 373/2, a rare example of a decision of the *synedrion* of the League, has recently been interpreted as an effort by the League, through the appointment of *diallagai*, to resolve bitter internal political factionalism among the Parians (*SEG* 31 67 with now Dreher (1995) 109–54; cf. also Matthaiou (1992–98*b*) 435 n. 24). A Parian-Thasian *sympoliteia* should not be inferred, as some have, from the singular of *demos* in the phrase [πϵρ]ὶ τὸν δ̂ημο[ν] τὸ[μ] Π[α]ρίων καὶ Θασίων in an inscription of roughly 350–330 (*IG* XII.5 114.10–12 with p. 308 and *IG* XII suppl. p. 105; L. Robert (1935) 313, (1960*b*) 525 n. 3; *contra* Berranger (1992) 311–12; on *IG* XII suppl. 412 = *CEG* I 416 (C6), see now Pouilloux (1989) and N. Ehrhardt (1987), *non vidi*; the objections of Juri Vinogradov, *BE* (1990) 499, have much less force after the work of the Polis Centre). The Parians awarded the Athenian *boule* a crown in 348/7 (*IG* II² 1441.5–7). The Parians received 10,000 *medimnoi* of grain from Kyrene (no. 1028) *c.*330 (*SEG* 9 2.29 = Tod 196; cf. Marasco (1992)).

The Aristotelian collection of *politeiai* included a Constitution of the Parians (Heracl. Lemb. 25). In C4 decrees were passed by the *boule* and the *demos*. They were published by the *prytaneis* (*IG* XII.5 110.10) or the *grammateus* (*IG* XII.5 118.5) at the expense of a *tamias* (Matthaiou (1992–98*b*) 430–31 no. 3.10, 24). The eponymous official was the archon (*IG* XII.5 112.6–7 = Migeotte (1984) 213–15 no. 61 (C4)) from no later than the lifetime of Archilochos (*IG* XII.5 445.8–9). Other attested officials are *theoroi* and a *neokoros* (*IG* XII.5 108 = *LSCG* 205–6 no. 111 (C5)), *theopropoi* (Hdt. 6.135.2) and a *hypostrategos* (*IG* XII.5 1019A (C4–C3?)), although we must wait till C3 to hear of the *strategoi* themselves, here of course a political, not military, office (*IG* XII.5 220). Archilochos does mention, however, a military *strategos* in C7 (Archil. fr. 114.1; cf. 95.1). Parian envoys to Athens (no. 361) are mentioned in the Naval Synedrion's decree of 372 (*SEG* 31 67.13–14). Paros granted *proxenia* to citizens of Chios (no. 840) (*IG* XII.5 110–11 (C4e)) and Athens (*IG* XII.5 114 + p. 308; *SEG* 48 1135 (all C4m)), and Parians received *proxenia* from Anaphe (no. 474) (*IG* XII.3 251.15–17 (C4?)).

Several Parian public enactments are preserved on inscriptions. They include a law of 475–450 forbidding throwing rubbish in a public road (*IG* XII.5 107 = *LSCG* 202–3 no. 108; Koerner (1993) 215–17 no. 57 and *SEG* 45 1142 for the date), a law of C5 forbidding cutting something, perhaps sacred trees (*IG* XII.5 108 = *LSCG* 205–6 no. 111;

Koerner (1993) 217–19 no. 58), a C5 *horos* of (Zeus?) Hypatos forbidding access(?) to the uninitiated and to women (*IG* XII.5 183 = *LSCG* 203 no. 109 (C5), with, however, the reservations of Berranger (1992) 327), and what may be a law of *c.*450 forbidding foreigners from participating in a cult (*IG* XII.5 225 = *LSCG* 204–5 no. 110, with the differing interpretations of Berranger (1992) 93–95 and Butz (1996) 82–86). The Parian state owned public land (*IG* XII.5 115 (C5)).

The civic organisation of Paros into demes has been inferred from the appearance of Ἀρχίλοχος Μυρινα῀ος on a vase in the Bosco Reale treasure (Rubensohn (1949) 1807). In an inscription of the Roman period Μυρσίνεαι is attested as the name of a village on Paros (*IG* XII.5 244; cf. *SEG* 28 709), and combining the two sources, it has been inferred that Myrrhineai must be the name of a Parian civic subdivision, possibly a deme (Berranger (1989–90)). Patrai are attested in a C4 dedication by the Dordopes to their Archegetes (*SEG* 33 687; *pace* Lanzillotta (1987) 191–94). Only one month of the Parian calendar, Anthesterion, is attested before 300 (*IG* XII.5 112.7 = Migeotte (1984) no. 61 (C4)); for the four months attested later and a possible reconstruction, see Trümpy, *Monat.* 65–72.

The protective deity was Athena Poliouchos (*IG* XII.5 134.17 (C4–C3); the restoration of her epithet at 1029.5 is very likely because of the *stoichedon* arrangement, but cf. Berranger (1992) 72–73, 187), who helped the Parians in C7 in battle (Archil. fr. 94). Temple A (*c.*530–520) on the Parian acropolis, where cult is attested from C7, may be hers (Gruben (1982*b*) 221, 229 with Rubensohn (1949) 1842; reservations: Berranger (1992) 71–73). Athena is also Kynthie (*IG* XII.5 210; cf. Berranger (1992) 266–67 no. 4, with a date of 525–500) and Pontie (*SEG* 28 707 (C4)). Demeter was worshipped from C7 on Paros (*Hymn. Hom. Dem.* 491; see also Archil. frr. 169 and 322) and her Thesmophorion, still unlocated (Berranger (1992) 85–90), played an important role in a story in Herodotos (6.134.2); her priests seem to have been called Κάβαρνοι (Hsch. *K*8, but see Hemberg (1950) 171–72). Zeus is attested under multiple epithets: Aigiochos (*IG* XII.5 215.6 (C5e); Berranger (1992) 267–69 no. 6), Elasteros (*IG* XII.5 1027 (*c.*500), as restored by Berranger (1992) 278–80 no. 13; *IG* XII suppl. 208; *BE* (1963) 199; Matthaiou (1992–98*b*) 424–26 no. 1 (an altar with inscription dated to C6l) and 426–30 nos. 2–3 (which may be *horoi* of his sanctuary, see also Matthaiou (1999)), Eleutherios (*SEG* 26 978 (C5)), once probably also as Patroios (*IG* XII suppl. 208 (C4), following Berranger (1992) 186). There is also a *horos* of Hypatos of C5 which may be an epithet of Zeus (*IG* XII.5 183 = *LSCG* 203 no. 109, with Berranger (1992) 185). This inscription comes from Mt. Kounados, where Zeus had a sanctuary that may be quite ancient. Apollo's cult was widespread with multiple epithets: Hekebolos (*IG* XII.5 148 (C5?); the deity is restored on the basis of the epithet); Delios (*Hymn. Hom. Ap.* 44; *IG* XII.5 214 (C4), a *horos*; five further examples in *BE* (1964) 341), and with Artemis and Leto as the Delian triad in C5l (Matthaiou and Kouragios (1992–98) 438 no. 2), Pythios (*IG* XII.5 134.8 + add. p. 309), whose Pythion was the archive for public documents (*IG* XII.5 110.9–11 (C4)); it is uncertain whether the Pythion is to be identified with the temple, surely Apollo's, located outside the city walls on a terrace above the Asklepieion and in use from C7 but reconstructed in C4f (Schuller (1982*b*) 245–46, 262–64; Berranger (1992) 97–103 for the doubts). Artemis appears without epithet and as Delios (*IG* XII.5 216 (C5), 211 (C4)), and there is evidence for the cult of Hermes (Ἀμαξείτης, *Ergon* (1960) 184). Aphrodite (Matthaiou and Kouragios (1992–98) 437–38 no. 1 (C4f)), and Ge, although her cult may have been private rather than official (Despinis (1979) 228–29) (C4m)). Worship of the Charites, attested in C2 (*IG* XII suppl. 206), would seem to go back much earlier (Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.15.7.7). Herakles, who had important mythological connections with Paros (Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.5.9.3–6), is mentioned as Kallinikos by Archilochos (fr. 324.1). Dionysos appears in a catalogue (*IG* XII.5 134.9). Asklepios (*IG* XII.5 119 (C4), name not wholly clear) had a sanctuary outside the city, probably begun around C4s (Berranger (1992) 104–5; Semeria (1986) 953). Hestia's cult, attested by an inscription of *c.*525–500 (*IG* XII.5 238 with Gruben (1982*a*) 673), was practised in a building that has been identified as a *prytaneion* (Gruben (1982*a*) 673).

The Parians consulted oracles as a community with some frequency throughout their history; instances relating to Apollo at Delphi before 323 are recounted in a Hellenistic account of the founding of Thasos (*SEG* 15 517.II.43–47, 50–52 with *Anth. Pal.* 14.113 and Berranger (1992) 178–80), in Herodotos (6.135.2–3) and in Diodorus (15.13.4, before founding the colony at Pharos, after 385; cf. Fontenrose (1978) 248–49 H14).

The *polis* centre was walled from perhaps as early as C7, but certainly in C6; the wall encompassed the hill that served as the Parian acropolis, and much of its course has now been traced. It enclosed an area of *c.*50 ha (Berranger (1992) 62–65; Schilardi (1975*a*) 197–203 with 198 fig. 1). More sections continue to be discovered (see Zapheiropoulou (1987) 490–91, (1990) 403, (1992) 541). Some additional archaeological finds in the *polis* centre are discussed in Kouragios

(1996). The wall is mentioned in literary sources (Hdt. 6.133.2 (rC6l); Ephor. fr. 63 (r489)). A C4s *horos* inscribed ὅρος πόλεως was presumably set up to mark the line between the town (*polis*) and its hinterland (Hansen (1996) 37 with nn. 148 and 149) and/or between the town and its harbour (Gauthier in *BE* (1999) 420); for a different interpretation, see Matthaiou (1992–98*b*) 441–47). Paros had two harbours, one of which is described as closed (κλειστός, Ps.-Skylax 58). For remains of the harbour, see Berranger (1992) 57–58.

A *prytaneion*, mentioned in 207/6 (*I.Magnesia* 50.67–68), may have existed as early as C5 and was rebuilt in C4s (Gruben (1982*a*) 676–83; see *IG* XII.5.281.3 (undated)). Probable remains of a *bouleuterion* of C4 have been identified (Berranger-Auserve (2000) 101). Sanctuaries and cult sites include perhaps one of Poseidon up by Kargadousa (Rubensohn (1949) 1854; Schilardi (1975*b*) 95 (C5 or C4); Berranger (1992) 123), sites of Eileithyaia, Zeus Hypatos, and perhaps Aphrodite (C6–C4) (Berranger (1992) 82–85), which may be identical with the sanctuary reported on Kounados hill (Rubensohn (1901) 181, 215) of C6m or earlier date (Ohnesorg (1994); Hübner (1994)); Kore had a sanctuary in C5 (*IG* XII.5 225 = *LSCG* 205 no. 110, with Berranger (1992) 93–95), but whether this should be identified with Temple B on the Parian acropolis (as Gruben (1982*a*) 174–79) is uncertain (Berranger (1992) 241); Apollo Delios was worshipped at the famous Delion a few kilometres north of town on a hill called Kynthos (Rubensohn (1962); cf. Schuller (1982*a*); Berranger (1992) 81–82; for a *horos*, see *IG* XII.5 214 (C4)), which included a temple of Artemis (Schuller (1991)); a sanctuary of Apollo (possibly the Pythion, but see Berranger (1992) 97–103) and an Asklepieion were located on a hill east of town that may also house the Thesmophorion (Berranger (1992) 90–105), which was in any case outside the city walls (Hdt. 6.134.2), and another sanctuary for Demeter Karpophoros based on a dedication (Schilardi (1977) 376–77). Finally, there was the famous sanctuary of Archilochos, the Archilocheion, built about 350, where his poetry and a biography were inscribed and whose location is still a matter for uncertainty (though it is probably at Elitas, as often suggested: Ohnesorg (1982); cf. Berranger (1992) 108–12). Further from the central *polis*, a temple of Athena has been discovered at Koukounaries dating from *c.*700 into C4 (Schilardi (1996) 42–53). Evidence of several temples of Archaic or Classical date has come to light near the bay of Marmara; that at least one sanctuary existed there is proved by an inscription of Classical date (*IG* XII.5 256; cf. Schnieringer (1982) and Berranger (1992) 125–29).

Paros struck silver coins on the Aiginetan standard from *c.*525. The earliest are staters. Types: *obv.* kneeling goat facing left accompanied by a fish/dolphin, or goat looking right, or goat within circle of pearls, or goat turning left, or leaping goat; *rev.* incuse square sometimes with star. These continued into C5e, with the addition of two goats butting heads to the reverse types. *c.*510–480, drachms were struck. Types: *obv.* goat looking right, with or without a circlet of pearls; legend on some: *ΠΑ* or *ΠΑΡΙ*; *rev.* incuse square, or goat looking back (Berranger (1992) 283–89). An epigram of Simonides (C6s–C5f) refers to a statue of Artemis costing 200 Parian dr. (Simon. fr. 114, Diehl, from Diog. Laert. 4.45). Coinage was resumed in 357 on the Rhodian standard (after 338 according to Berranger-Auserve (2000) 109–10). Denominations: tetradrachms, didrachms, drachms. Silver types: *obv.* goat; legend on some: *ΠΑΡ*; *rev.* ear of grain, or wreaths of grain: legend: *ΠΑ* or *ΠΑΡΙ* or *ΠΑΡΙΩΝ*. Bronze types: *obv.* goat facing right or left, or female head (possibly Demeter); *rev.* ear of grain, or goat (Head, *HN*² 489; *SNG Cop. Aegean Islands* 715–20; Berranger (1992) 283–89; Sheedy (1996)).

The Parians colonised Parion (no. 756) in Asia Minor *c.*708 with the Milesians (no. 854) and the Erythrians (no. 845) (Strabo 13.1.14; Euseb. *Chron.* 2, 18th Olymp. 1; Berranger (1992) 168–69), and Thasos (no. 526) *c.*710–680 under the oecist Telesikles, the poet Archilochos' father (Thuc. 4.104.4; Strabo 10.5.7 (487); Steph. Byz. 306.20–307.2; Berranger (1992) 170–84, esp. 176–78 on the date of 680 inferred from *IG* XII.5 444.48–49 (*FGrHist* 239); for Herakles' mythological role, see Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.5.9.13). One thousand men are said to have been dispatched (*IG* XII.5 445.IV.22, quoting Archil. fr. 97). Continued close political relations between Paros and its colony Thasos are attested in an epigram of C6l in which a certain Akeratos boasts that he (alone) had held high office in both *poleis* (*IG* XII suppl. 412; *CEG* I 416; see Graham (1983) 74–76). It is possible that the Parians were involved in C6e or C5s in Eion (no. 630) (Lazaridis (1976); Berranger (1992) 169–70). At some time, but possibly later (the date remains very uncertain), Paros may have tried to found a colony at Anchiale in the Adriatic (Steph. Byz. 24.13; Berranger (1992) 162–64). Pharos (no. 84), originally called Paros (so Strabo 7.5.5), followed in 385/4 (Steph. Byz. 659.7, from Ephor. fr. 89; Diod. 15.4; Parke and Wormell (1956) 2.76 no. 177, 164, no. 429; L. Robert (1935); see also (1960*b*)).

Oliaros (Ὠλίαρος: Ps.-Skylax 48; Strabo 10.5.3) and Prepesinthos (Πρεπέσινθος: Strabo 10.5.3), the two small islands west of Paros (Map 60, inset), have been suggested,

reasonably, as dependencies of Paros (Lanzillotta (1987) 190; Sherk (1990) 278). Steph. Byz. 708.9–12 reports that Oliaros was a colony (*apoikia*) of the Sidonians. *IG* XII.5 471 is from Siphnos, not Oliaros (cf. *IG* XII suppl. p. 111; *SEG* 33 680).

Peparethos (Peparethios) Map 55. Lat. 39.05, long. 23.45. Size of territory: 2 (97 km²). The toponym is *Πεπάρηθος*, *ἡ* (*Hymn. Hom. Ap.* 32; Dem. 18.70), denoting both the island (Soph. *Phil.* 548–49) and one of the towns (Dem. 35.35; Steph. Byz. 516.23–24). The city-ethnic is *Πεπαρήθιος* (*IG* I³ 270.III.10; Anaximenes (*FGrHist* 72) fr. 41 = Dem. 12.12). In the so-called Charter of the Second Athenian Naval League, Peparethos is listed under the heading *polis* (*IG* II² 43.A.78 and 85). Peparethos is called a *polis* in the urban sense by Dem. 35.35 and in Ps.-Skylax 58, where the island is described as *τρίπολις καὶ λιμήν* (cf. Flensted-Jensen and Hansen (1996) 156). The principal *polis* was Peparethos; the names of the other two *poleis* were Panormos (Diod. 15.95.2; Polyaen. *Strat.* 6.2) and Seleinous (*IG* XII.8 661.3). The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally in abbreviated form on coins (*infra*) and externally in inscriptions (*CEG* I 325.2 = *F. Delphes* III.4 179 (480/79)) and in literary sources (Pl. *Alc.* 116D). For the individual and external use, see the Athenian naval list of C5l (*IG* I³ 1033.85–86).

Peparethos is listed among the Kyklades by Ps.-Skylax (58) and Diodorus (15.30.5, 95.1), whereas the island is described by Strabo at 9.5.16 as one of the islands off Magnesia, and at 2.5.21 it is classed with the islands lying off Greece as far as Makedonia and Thrace. According to Ps.-Skymnos 580 and 586, Peparethos was colonised by the Chalkidians from Euboia.

Fighting on the Greek side in the Persian War, the Peparethians captured two Karian ships at Salamis and dedicated one tenth of the booty to Apollo at Delphi (*CEG* I 325 = *F.Delphes* III.4 179). The Peparethians were members of the Delian League. They belonged to the Thracian district (*IG* I³ 269.III.10) and are recorded in the tribute lists from 454/3 (*IG* I³ 259.II.18) to 415/14 (*IG* I³ 290.III.7) a total of seventeen times, once completely restored, paying a *phoros* of 3 tal. (*IG* I³ 261.III.5). They were assessed for tribute in 425/4 (*IG* I³ 71.III.169). Under Spartan hegemony from the end of the Peloponnesian War until Chabrias' expedition in the Aegean in 377/6 (Diod. 15.30.5), the Peparethians joined the Second Athenian Naval League in the 370s (*IG* II² 43.A.85). In 362/1 (Hansen (1975) 95) the island was attacked by forces of Alexander of Pherai, which beseiged Peparethos town. The Athenians dispatched assistance, trapped Alexander's forces in Panormos and laid siege to the town; he extracted them after a successful sea battle in which one Peparethian and five Athenian triremes were captured (Diod. 15.95.1–2; Polyaen. *Strat.* 6.2.1; Dreher (1995) 29–30). *C.*342 the Peparethians conquered Halonnesos, which by then was garrisoned by the Makedonians, but Philip of Makedon deprived them soon after of the possession of this island, and in 340 he attacked and ravaged Peparethos (Dem. 12.12–15, 18.70 with schol. no. 128, Dilts). In, probably, 338 Peparethos was made subject to Makedonia (Strabo 9.5.16).

The only piece of evidence we have about the political institutions is a casual remark in Plato that one may advise the Peparethians, probably in their assembly (*Alc.* 116D).

We hear of two communal dedications at Delphi: one of booty from Salamis in 480 (*supra* = Jacquemin (1999) 346 no. 387), the other a gold crown of laurels recorded probably by Theopomp. fr. 248 and so C4 or earlier.

Hagnon Peparethios was Olympic victor in 568 (*Olympionikai* 97).

The Peparethians struck mostly anepigraphic silver coins on the Euboic standard *c.*520–480. Denominations: tetradrachms, didrachms, tetrobols. Types: *obv.* single and triple grape clusters, or grape cluster with four dolphins; *rev.* incuse square with a winged running figure ("Agon" or "Boreas", Balcer (1967) 29), or head of Herakles, or crested Corinthian helmet, or rosette, or dolphin rider in incuse square, or Dionysos or Staphylos. The last bears on the obv. the legend *ΠΕ*. A new series, all bronze, starts after *c.*350. Types: *obv.* Dionysos, or Athena; *rev.* kantharos, or thyrsos, or grapes; legend: *ΠΕ* or *ΠΕΠΑ* (Head, *HN*² 312–13; Balcer (1967), (1975); Kraay (1976) 119–20; Wartenberg (1998) 368–69; *SNG Cop. Thessaly* 359–60).

510. Panormos Map 55. Lat. 39.05, long. 23.40. Size of territory: 1. Type: A. The toponym is *Πανορμός*, *ὁ* (Diod. 15.95.2). Panormos is implicitly referred to as a *polis* in the urban sense by the term *τρίπολις* at Ps.-Skylax 58. It is the second *polis* of the island, known best from Diodorus' narrative of a siege by Alexander of Pherai in 361/0 (Diod. 15.95.1–2; Polyaen. 6.2.1). The site was fortified in C4m (see Diod. 15.95.2; Fredrich (1906*b*) 117–21, but see Scranton (1941) 170). Panormos is best regarded as a dependent *polis* of Peparethos.

511. Peparethos Map 55. Lat. 39.05, long. 23.45. Size of territory: 2. Type: A. The toponym is *Πεπάρηθος*, *ἡ* (Dem. 18.70); The city-ethnic is *Πεπαρήθιος* (*IG* I³ 270.III.10). The urban centre of Peparethos was walled by 426 and had a *prytaneion* (Thuc. 3.89.4; S. G. Miller (1978) nos. 384–86). A sanctuary of C4l/C3e dedicated to Asklepios lay about 1 km east of the modern town (Liagkouras (1962)). Six other

possible sanctuary sites have been identified, including two—above the main town and at Panaghia Polemistria (Fredrich (1906*b*) 115–16, 117)—that may have belonged to Athena Polias, who served as the protective deity (Herbst (1937) 556). Another of these sites, which includes a terrace with polygonal blocks, may date to C5 (Fredrich (1906*b*) 127).

512. Seleinous Map 55. Lat. 39.10, long 23.40. Size of territory: 1. Type: A. No toponym is attested. The city-ethnic is *Σελεινούσιος* (*IG* XII.8 661 (Roman Imperial)). Seleinous is implicitly referred to as a *polis* in the urban sense by the term *τρίπολις* at Ps.-Skylax 58. The only explicit testimony for Seleinous as a *polis* is an inscription of Roman imperial date, at which time the island was under Athenian control (*IG* XII.8 661.3). It has been identified as a *polis* from C4 mainly because Ps.-Skylax says that Peparethos was tripolate, and it is the only other known candidate. But city walls are preserved at Seleinous that have been dated to C4, and a temple has been reported (Fredrich (1906*b*) 122–23; but see Scranton (1941) 168 on the walls). Seleinous is best regarded as a dependent *polis* of Peparethos.

513. Pholegandros (Pholegandrios) Map 60 (inset). Lat. 36.40, long. 24.55. Size of territory: 2 (32 km²). Type: B. The toponym is *Φολέγανδρος*, *ἡ* (*IG* I³ 71.I.87; Strabo 10.5.1) or *Φελέγανδρος* (*F.Delphes* III.1 497.15 (C4l/C3e)). The city-ethnic is *Φολεγάνδριος* (*IG* XII.5 9 (C4)); Solon fr. 2.1; Hsch. F 761). Pholegandros is not called a *polis* in any source, but deserves inclusion as being probably a *polis* because (1) Solon (fr. 2) mentions the possibility that, changing his *patris*, he might become a Pholegandrios or a Sikinites instead of an Athenaios; (2) because the island was a paying member of the Delian League (*infra*); and (3) because we possess a C4 proxeny decree passed by the Pholegandrians; for the date, see Brun (1996) 299. The collective form of the city-ethnic appears internally in the proxeny decree (*IG* XII.5 9.15) and externally in the Solonian poem (fr. 2).

Steph. Byz. 669.17 assigns the island to the Sporades. Pholegandros was a member of the Delian League. It belonged to the Island district, but is absent from the full panel of 441/0 (*IG* I³ 271.I–II.88–101). It was assessed for tribute in 425/4 (*IG* I³ 71.I.87) for 2,000 dr. and is recorded in the tribute lists in 417/16 (*IG* I³ 288.I.7) and 416/15 (*IG* I³ 289.I.25) paying a *phoros* of 1,000 dr. In the assessment decree it is recorded by toponym. In the tribute lists the city-ethnic is restored by the editors, but the toponym is an equally possible restoration.

What we know about the political institutions comes from a C4 proxeny decree for a citizen of Ios (no. 484), to be set up in the sanctuary of Apollo Pythios on Ios where the stone was found. The decree was passed by the *boule* and the *demos* of the Pholegandrians (*IG* XII.5 9).

514. Rheneia (Rhenaieus, Rheneus) Map 61. Lat. 37.25, long. 25.15. Size of territory: 1 (14 km²). Type: A. *Ῥήνεια*, *ἡ* (Thuc. 3.104.2; Hyp. fr. 74, Sauppe; *IG* I³ 402.11, 1460.20) or *Ῥήναια*, *ἡ* (*Hymn. Hom. Ap.* 44; Hdt. 6.97.1; Strabo 10.5.5) or *Ῥήνη*, *ἡ* (Ps.-Skylax 58; Steph. Byz. 544.17). The toponym denotes both the island (Thuc. 3.194.2) and the city (Hyp. fr. 74). The city-ethnic is *Ῥηναιεύς* (*IG* I³ 1636.A.4 (C4m)) or *Ῥηνεύς* (Hyp. fr. 74). In Hypereides' Delian speech Rheneia is called a *polis* both in the urban and in the political sense (Hyp. fr. 74). The collective form of the city-ethnic is attested externally in the Athenian tribute lists (*IG* I³ 262.I.22) and in Hypereides' Delian speech (fr. 74). The individual and external form is attested in inscriptions (*I.Délos* 104–3A.4 (C4f); *IG* I³ 1636A.4 (C4m)).

Rheneia is listed among the Kyklades in Ps.-Skylax 58, but Strabo does not mention it in his list (10.5.3). In C6s Rheneia was conquered by Polykrates of Samos, who dedicated the island to Apollo (Thuc. 1.13.6, 3.104.2). Rheneia was a member of the Delian League. It belonged to the Island district and is recorded in the tribute lists from 451/0 (*IG* I³ 262.I.22) to 416/15 (*IG* I³ 289.I.14) a total of eleven times, three times completely restored, paying a *phoros* of 1,000 dr. in 451/0, reduced to 300 dr. in 450/49 (*IG* I³ 263.IV.29), but raised to 500 dr. in or before 416/15 (*IG* I³ 289.I.14). It was assessed for tribute in 425/4 (*IG* I³ 71.I.82) for 1,000 dr.

The preserved fragments of Hypereides' speech entitled *Deliakos logos* (fr. xii, Sauppe) testify to a lawsuit *c.*344/3 (Dem. 18.134) between the Rheneians and the Delians (no. 478) over responsibility for the death of Aiolian visitors to Delos whose bodies were found on Rheneia. It appears from the fragments that Rheneia did not even possess a harbour (*limen*) and that the distance from the landing-place facing Delos to the urban centre was 30 stadia (fr. 74). Much of the southern half of the island was under Delian control, whether as cemeteries for Delos or as estates belonging to Apollo (see *supra* 740). When Delos was purified in 426/5, all remains from the tombs were removed, presumably to Rheneia (Thuc. 3.104.2). Excavations at the urban centre of Rheneia, located on the west coast of the northern half of the island, revealed the remains of an undated temple of Herakles (Charre and Couilloud-Le Dinahet (1999) 135 n. 3).

515. Samothrake (Samothrax) Map 57. Lat. 40.30, long. 25.35. Size of territory: 3 (178 km²). Type: A. The toponym is *Σαμοθράκη*, *ἡ* (Ar. *Pax* 277; Xen. *Hell.* 5.1.7), in the Ionian

dialect *Σαμοθρῆκη* (Hdt. 2.51.3), denoting both the island (Hdt. 2.51.3) and the town (Ps.-Skylax 67, Klausen). An alternative, allegedly earlier toponym is *Λευκανία, ἡ* (Arist. frr. 596–97). The city-ethnic is *Σαμοθρᾴξ* (*IG* I³ 259.III.13; Herzog (1899) 17–21 no. 6.1 (C3); *I.Lindos* II 93b.5 (C3s)). Samothrake is called a *polis* in the political sense in an inscription of C4m or 350–325 (Fraser (1960) 21 no. 1.3–4), and is implicitly called a *polis* in the urban sense by Ps.-Skylax 67. The MS has *Σαμοθρᾴκη καταt καὶ λιμήν*. Klausen restores *Σαμοθρᾴκη κατὰ ταύτας καὶ λιμήν*, which seems to be a much more convincing restoration than *κατὰ ταῦτα Σαμοθρᾴκη νῆσος καὶ λιμήν* preferred in *GGM* by Müller following Voss (for *καὶ λιμήν*, see Flensted-Jensen and Hansen (1996) 142). The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally in the C4 proxeny decree (Fraser (1960) 21 no. 1.3–4, convincingly restored) and on coins of C5f (*infra*), and externally in the Athenian tribute lists (*IG* I³ 263.III.25) and in literature (Hdt. 2.51.2–3; *PCG*, *Adespota* fr. 1063.15). For the individual and external use, see the Athenian naval list of C5l (*IG* I³ 1032.VI.84, as restored in *IG* II² 1951).

Ps.-Skylax 67 places Samothrake in Thrace, and Strabo classes Samothrake with the islands lying off Greece as far as Makedonia and Thrace (2.5.21). Accounts of the colonisation of the island found in Classical sources derive from a combination of the toponyms Samos and Thrake, whether because Samothrake was settled by exiles from Samos (no. 864) and was near Thrace (Ant. fr. 1.1, Gernet; Paus. 7.4.3; Strabo 10.2.17 commenting on Hom. *Il.* 13.13) or because the island was settled first by Thracians and then by Samians (Heracl. Lemb. 49; schol. Hom. *Il.* 24.78, both derived from Aristotle; Diod. 5.48.1); these Samians are said to have been expelled by a tyrant (Heracl. Lemb. 49, derived from Aristotle; *Suda* Σ79 citing Antiphon); for a collection of all sources, see Graham (2002) 232–39. Herodotos reports that the Pelasgians who fled Athens settled there (2.51). A recent review of all the evidence places the arrival of Greeks from Samos in C6f (Graham (2002); for a date of 700 from the archaeological record, see Lazarides (1971) 18).

The Samothrakians came under Persian domination in C5e, and at least one Samothrakian ship participated in the battle of Salamis on the Persian side (Hdt. 8.90.2). Samothrake was a member of the Delian League. It belonged to the Thracian district (*IG* I³ 272.II.63) and is recorded in the tribute lists from 454/3 (*IG* I³ 259.III.13) to 429/8 (*IG* I³ 282.II.31) a total of twenty-one times, three times completely restored, paying a *phoros* of 6 tal. (*IG* I³ 259.III.13), reduced to 2 tal. in 430/29 (*IG* I³ 281.II.16). It was presumably assessed for tribute in 425/4 (*IG* I³ 71.III.158 (15 tal.), completely restored). Antiphon delivered a speech *On the Tribute of the Samothrakians* (fr. 1, Gernet), which should be associated either with the reduction in tribute in 430/29 (see Lazaridis (1971) 20) or with the new assessment of 425/4 (Gernet's preface 161). In 404/3 the island fell under the control of the Spartans (anecdote in Plut. *Mor.* 229D), but in 389/8 the Athenians recovered the island (Xen. *Hell.* 5.1.7), and in the 370s the Samothrakians joined the Second Athenian Naval League (*IG* II² 43.B.8). By C5e at the latest, Samothrake controlled a *peraia* on the Thracian mainland opposite (Hdt. 7.59.2, 108.2) comprising the *poleis* of Drys (no. 644) (Ps.-Skylax 67), Masambrie (no. 647) (Hdt. 7.108.2), Sale (no. 649) (Hdt. 7.59.2) and Zone (no. 651) (Hdt. 7.59.2; Ps.-Skylax 67) and a fortification called Charakoma (Strabo 7 fr. 47, *infra* 871). They lost their *peraia* by 422/1; it was recovered after the end of the Peloponnesian War, then lost again in C4m (Gschnitzer (1958) 32–34; *IG* XII.8 p. 40).

The Aristotelian collection of *politeiai* included a Constitution of the Samothrakians (frr. 596–97; Heracl. Lemb. 49). But almost all the information we have about political institutions is Hellenistic or later. The only preserved public enactment of the Classical period is a grant of *proxenia* to a citizen of an unknown *polis* (Fraser (1960) 21 no. 1.6 (*c.*350–325)), and in 345/4 the Samothrakians offered a series of crowns to Athens (no. 361) (*IG* II² 1443.II.108–14). Diod. 5.48.1 reports a system of five *phylai*; the reference is to primordial times, but the myth may be aetiological (Jones, *POAG* 186).

The protective deity appears to have been Athena (see Lehmann-Hartleben (1939) 144), whose sanctuary served as the civic archive, at least in the Hellenistic period (*IG* XII.8 153.10–11 (C3)). But Samothrake was most famous for its great sanctuary of the Kabeiroi; earliest cult activity at the site has been dated to C7 or earlier, and building began in C6, with considerable elaboration in C4 (Hdt. 2.51.2–3; cf. Strabo 10.3.19–21; Hemberg (1950) 49–131; Lehmann (1969) 2.51–70; Lehmann and Spittle (1982) 269; Cole (1984) 10–20; for a collection of literary sources, see N. Lewis (1958) 63–112; for a synoptic overview of what we know of the cult, which included mysteries, see Burkert (1993)). The round building on Samothrake in the sanctuary, dated to 289–281 and sometimes regarded as a *bouleuterion*, is actually a cult structure (Gneisz (1990) 350–51 no. 58). Aphrodite and Pothos were worshipped within the sanctuary of the Great Gods (Lehmann and Spittle (1982) i.277–89). A sanctuary to Artemis is reported to have been founded before the arrival of the Greek colonists (*BCH* 118 (1994) 779).

The urban centre was walled from C7–C6 (Scranton (1941) 31–33, 154; Lazaridis (1971) 19). The preserved walls of, probably, C6, with later repairs, enclose an area of *c.*20 ha (H. Ehrhardt (1985) 25–30). Otherwise very little seems to have been published about the urban centre, as archaeological work has concentrated on the sanctuary. A harbour is recorded at Ps.-Skylax 67.

The Samothrakians struck largely anepigraphic silver coins *c.*500–465 in two series. Denominations: staters, triobols and smaller fractions. Types: *obv.* Sphinx, or Athena; *rev.* incuse square, sometimes with lion's head, sometimes with bearded head with Corinthian helmet. A few examples bear legends: ΣΑΜΟ or ΣΑ (Schwabacher (1938), (1952); *IGCH* no. 696; Erxleben (1970) 117; Schönert Geiss (1996) 271–72; *SNG Cop. Thrace* 991). No coins are known after *c.*465; the next series begins about 280 (Head, *HN*² 263).

516. *Saros (Sarios) Map 60 (inset). Lat. 35.55, long. 27.15. Size of territory: 1 (23 km²). Type: B. No toponym is attested (Susini (1963–64) 245) but one is inferred from the ethnic Σάριος (*IG* I³ 283.III.21, 290.I.4). The Sarioi were members of the Delian League and are recorded twice in the tribute lists, in 428/7 paying a *phoros* of 300 dr. (*IG* I³ 283.III.21) and in 415/14 paying a *phoros* of 200 dr. (*IG* I³ 290.I.4). The Sarioi are absent from the full panel of 441/0 (*IG* I³ 271.I–II.64–86). Mattingly ((1996) 77 n. 27) has suggested that Saros may have been brought under Athenian control by Lysikles in 426.

A private dedication "to all gods", is known from C4e (*IG* XII.1 1040; Susini (1963–64) 246 for date). It has been suggested that a village on Saros called τὸ Ἄργος must have had a Classical origin (Susini (1963–64) 244; cf. Hiller von Gaertringen (1892) 309; *I.Lindos* p. 1013), but no ancient remains have been found there (Hope Simpson and Lazenby (1962) 168).

It has sometimes been argued that Saros was one of the entities included under Karpathos (Papachristodoulou (1989) 45), but this seems unlikely. Karpathos had three *poleis* according to Ps.-Skylax, and all are accounted for by written and archaeological evidence placing them on the island. Strabo alone (10.5.17) attributes four *poleis* to the island of Karpathos, but to accept his view as attesting to Saros as a fourth *polis* requires identifying his Nisyros as Saros (so Dawkins (1902–3) 204, followed by Bürchner (1919) 2003), or supposing that Saros had two *poleis* (as pointed out by Susini (1963–64) 245; see also Fraser and Bean (1954) 141–42). This is convoluted, and it is easier and better simply to see Strabo's four as an error (Reger (1997) 453 and *supra* 745). It is just possible that Saros could have been part of Brykous (no. 487), for the two are never listed together in *ATL*. If so, they will have been separated later, when Karpathos and Saros were incorporated into the Rhodian state, for both Σάριος and Βρυκούντιος appear as demotics (*IG* XII.1 1010–1011, 220–23, etc.). However, the evidence of the tribute lists is fragmentary and inconclusive. While certainty in this matter is perhaps impossible, it seems simplest to suppose that Saros was in fact a separate entity in C5 and C4.

517. Seriphos (Seriphios) Map 60 (inset). Lat. 37.10, long. 24.30. Size of territory: 2 (75 km²). Type: A. The toponym is Σέριφος, ἡ (Cratinus, *PCG* fr. 225; Isoc. 19.9; *SEG* 36 331.A.11 (323/2)), denoting both the island (Pind. *Pyth.* 12.12) and the town (Ps.-Skylax 58). The city-ethnic is Σερίφιος (*IG* I³ 262.I.20; Pl. *Resp.* 329E–330A). Seriphos is called a *polis* both in the urban sense (Ps.-Skylax 58) and in the political sense (Isoc. 19.9), and in the accounts of the Delian *amphiktyones* the Seriphians are recorded under the heading αἵδε τῶν πόλεων (*I.Délos* 98A.12 = *IG* II² 1635 (377/6–375/4)). The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally in abbreviated form on C3 coins (Head, *HN*² 490) and externally in the Athenian tribute lists (*IG* I³ 262.I.20) and as the title of a comedy by Kratinos (Cratinus, *PCG* frr. 218–32). For the individual and external use, see the Karthaian C4m list of *proxenoi*, of whom at least one is a citizen of Seriphos (*IG* XII.5 542.48), and Plato's report of the exchange of words between Themistokles and an unnamed Seriphian (Pl. *Resp.* 329E; Plut. *Them.* 18.3).

Stephanos assigns the island to the Sporades, whereas Strabo 10.5.3, quoting Artemidoros, assigns it to the Kyklades. Seriphos was considered a small *polis*, and its almost proverbial insignificance is reflected in several sources (Pl. *Resp.* 329E–330A; Isoc. 19.9; Stob. *Flor.* 3.39.29); for the ancient (and modern) insignificance of Seriphos, see Brun (1993*a*).

Seriphos was allegedly colonised by Ionians from Athens (Hdt. 8.48). In 490 the Seriphians refused the Persian demand to surrender, and Seriphos fought on the Greek side in the Persian War, contributing one ship (Hdt. 8.46.4, 48). Seriphos was a member of the Delian League and probably among the original members (*ATL* iii. 198). It belonged to the Island district and is recorded in the tribute lists from 451/0 (*IG* I³ 262.I.20) to 416/15 (*IG* I³ 289.I.11) a total of fourteen times, twice completely restored, paying a *phoros* of 2 tal. in 451/0 (*IG* I³ 262.I.20) but 1 tal. in all subsequent years (*IG* I³ 264.IV.2). It was assessed for tribute in 425/4 (*IG* I³ 71.I.76) for 2 tal. Seriphos may have been a member of the

Second Athenian Naval League (*I.Délos* 98A.12; Cargill (1981) 37; but see Dreher (1995) 24.1, 245–47). In C4s Seriphos had a *theorodokos* to host *theoroi* from Nemea (*SEG* 36 331.A.11–13 (331/0–313)).

There are virtually no remains of the ancient town of Seriphos, which lay beneath modern Seriphos (cf. *BCH* 119 (1995) 998). The *temenos* of Perseus and altars of Diktys and Klymene which Pausanias says were erected by the Athenians (2.18.1) perhaps belong to C5.

Seriphos apparently minted staters in C6 on the Aiginetan standard with a frog on the obverse; see *IGCH* no. 4 and Erxleben (1970) 73.

518. Sikinos (Sikinetes) Map 60 (inset). Lat. 36.40, long. 25.05. Size of territory: 2 (43 km²). Type: A. The toponym is Σίκινος, ἡ (*IG* XII suppl. 177.6 (C4l); Strabo 10.5.1; Steph. Byz. 568.17), denoting both the island and the town (Ap. Rhod. 1.624) and the town (Ps.-Skylax 48). The city-ethnic is Σικινήτης (Solon fr. 2.1; *IG* I³ 71.I.90). Sikinos is called a *polis* both in the urban sense (Ps.-Skylax 48) and in the political sense (*IG* XII.5 24.5; for the date, see Rhodes, *DGS* 289). Solon refers to it by implication as a *patris* (fr. 2.2). The collective use of the city-ethnic appears internally on C3 coins (Head, *HN*² 491) and in a proxeny decree of C4l (*IG* XII suppl. 177.2, 5) and externally in inscriptions (*IG* I³ 287.I.16; *IG* II² 43.B.31) and in literature (Solon fr. 2.1).

Sikinos is usually placed among the Kyklades (Lauffer (1989) 614), but Steph. Byz. 568.17, citing Strabo (10.5.1), calls it "an island by Krete". Apart from the urban centre at modern Ag. Marina, no other settlements are known.

Sikinos was a member of the Delian League. It belonged to the Island district and is recorded in the tribute lists in 418/17 (*IG* I³ 287.I.16), 417/16 (*IG* I³ 288.I.6) and 416/15 (*IG* I³ 289.I.17) paying a *phoros* of 500 dr. It is absent from the full panel of 441/0 (*IG* I³ 271.I–II.89–101). It was assessed for tribute in 425/4 (*IG* I³ 71.I.90) for 1,000 dr. Sikinos joined the Second Athenian Naval League in the 370s (*IG* II² 43.B.31).

Sikinos awarded *proxenia* and other benefits to a citizen of Athens (no. 361) (*IG* XII suppl. 177 (C4l)) and to one of Paros (no. 509) (*IG* XII.5 24 (C4l/C3e)). Our only source for the political institutions is the proxeny decree for the Parian (*IG* XII.5 24). Decrees were passed by the *boule* and the *demos* (ll. 2–3; cf. ll. 12–13); they were published by a board of *archontes* (ll. 19–20) and set up in the sanctuary of Apollo Pythios (l. 18) at the expense of a board of *praktores* (l. 21).

For the urban centre, walls and an agora are mentioned (Lauffer (1989) 614–15), but the remains have not been studied carefully.

519. Siphnos (Siphnios) Map 60 (inset). Lat. 37.00, long. 24.45. Size of territory: 2 (74 km²). Type: A. The toponym is Σίφνος, ἡ (Hdt. 3.58.1; Isoc. 19.7), denoting both the island (Theophr. *Lap.* 42) and the town (Hdt. 3.57.4; Ps.-Skylax 58). The city-ethnic is Σίφνιος (Hdt. 3.57.2; *IG* IV 839.6 (C4)). Siphnos is called a *polis* both in the urban sense (Hdt. 3.58.1; Isoc. 19.19, 38–39) and in the political sense (Isoc. 19.10; *IG* IV 839.5–6 (C4)). The Siphnians are listed as one of the *poleis* providing ships for the Greek fleet at Salamis (Hdt. 8.42.1, 46.4, 48, 49.1). The territorial sense may be a connotation at Isoc. 19.20. In Siphnos was found a copy of the Athenian Coinage Decree (*IG* XII.5 480 = *IG* I³ 1453E), to be set up in the agora of all the *poleis* of the Delian League (ll. 4–5). Siphnos is called an *asty* at Hdt. 3.58.4. The collective use of the city-ethnic appears internally in abbreviated form on coins (*infra*) and externally in inscriptions (*IG* I³ 263.IV.20; *I.Délos* 98A.12 (377/6); *Agora* XVI 50.10 (365–355)) and in literary sources (Hdt. 3.57.2, 8.46; Dem. 13.34). For the individual and external use, see *IG* XII.5 611.2 = *CEG* I 410 (C6l); *IG* I³ 1032.163 (405). *Patris* is found in Isoc. 19.7 and 23.

Strabo, quoting Artemidoros, lists Siphnos among the Kyklades (10.5.3; cf. Steph. Byz. 454.6). The Siphnian countryside is littered with towers (N. G. Ashton (1991)); the famous mines, which began to be exploited in C6, have been well studied (Wagner and Weisgerber (1985)). The Siphnians distributed the income from these mines each year among themselves (Hdt. 3.57.2). Late sources report settlements called Ἀπολλωνία (Steph. Byz. 106.11) and Μινῴα (Steph. Byz. 454.6), both undated and unlocated. We do not know the name of the large settlement at Ag. Andreas occupied from the Geometric through the Hellenistic period; it is possible that this settlement rivalled the main one at modern Kastro for a while before Siphnos was consolidated as a single *polis* (Philippaki (1973); cf. Reger (1997) 459–60).

Siphnos was allegedly colonised by Ionians from Athens (Hdt. 8.48). Herodotos extols Siphnian wealth in C6l, famous enough to tempt Samians who needed money in their fight against Polykrates; after destroying the Siphnians' countryside, defeating them in battle, and besieging the *asty*, the Samians exacted 100 tal. (Hdt. 3.57–58). In 490 the Siphnians refused the Persian demand to surrender (Hdt. 8.46.4). Siphnos fought on the Greek side in the Persian War, contributing one ship (Hdt. 8.46.4, 48) and is recorded on the Serpent Column in Delphi (ML 27.10).

Siphnos was a member of the Delian League and probably among the original members (*ATL* iii. 198). It belonged to the Island district and is recorded in the tribute lists from 450/49 (*IG* I³ 263.IV.20) to 416/15 (*IG* I³ 289.I.26) a total of

eleven times, four times completely restored, paying a *phoros* of 3 tal. in all years (*IG* I³ 263.IV.20). It was assessed for tribute in 425/4 (*IG* I³ 71.I.66) for 9 tal. Siphnos joined the Second Athenian Naval League in the 370s (*IG* II² 43.B.30), and in 370/69 the Siphnians dedicated a crown to Athena in Athens (*IG* II² 1425.125). A treaty between the Siphnians and the Athenians (no. 361) regulated capital crimes, among other matters (*Agora* XVI 50 (*c.*360–350)). To the same period belongs a treaty between Siphnos and Kalaureia (no. 360) (*IG* IV 839). During the initial phases of Alexander's war against the Persian Empire, Datames held the island, which was used as a forward naval base (Arr. *Anab.* 2.2.4, 13.4).

In C5 the Siphnian constitution was democratic; but in, probably, 405/4 an oligarchic (Isoc. 19.13, 38) government was set up supported by a Lakedaimonian(?) garrison. The oligarchs were in turn expelled by the democratic exiles, probably in 394/3 (Isoc. 19.19–20). Supported by some mercenaries, the oligarchic exiles ventured an attack on the island, but they were defeated in a battle fought outside the town (Isoc. 19.38–39), and the constitution was still democratic in C4m (*Agora* XVI 50.9–10 = *SEG* 17 19 (365–355)). For the reconstruction of this *stasis*, see Blass (1892) ii 235–36; Gehrke, *Stasis* 151).

Our only source for Siphnian political institutions in the Classical period is Isokrates' Aiginetan speech in which we hear of Siphnian *nomoi* on adoption and inheritance (13, 15), a system of liturgies incumbent on the wealthy (36), and the office of *basileus* (36). An embassy to Siphnos, sent by Samian exiles in the 520s, is mentioned at Hdt. 3.58.1. The existence of a *prytaneion* (*infra*) implies *prytaneis*.

Communal cults include one for the Nymphs (*IG* XII.5 483), who had a cult site. The Siphnians consulted the oracle at Delphi *c.*520 (Hdt. 3.57.3–58.1; Paus. 10.11.2; *Suda* Σ511; Fontenrose (1978) 307 Q 115) and built the famous Siphnian Treasury with a tenth of the income from their mines (Hdt. 3.57.2; Daux and Hansen (1987); Jacquemin (1999) 352 no. 441; Neer (2001).

The *polis* site was on the east coast of the island and was presumably walled by *c.*500 (Brock and Macworth Young (1949) 2). By *c.*525 the Siphnians had a *prytaneion* built of Parian marble (Hdt. 3.57.4) and an agora (Hdt. 3.57.4) where probably the Athenian Coinage Decree was set up (*supra*).

The Siphnians struck silver coins on the Aiginetan standard starting in C6. (1) Staters and hemidrachms, C6. Types: *obv.* eagle flying; *rev.* incuse square. (2) Silver staters and fractions on the Aiginetan standard, some drachms on the Attic standard, C5. Types: *obv.* head of Apollo; *rev.* eagle flying in incuse square accompanied by barley; legend: ΣΙΦ reversed and with three-bar *sigma*. (3) In C4 the Siphnians coined in both silver and bronze. Types: *obv.* Apollo (silver); Artemis (bronze); *rev.* eagle flying with serpent in beak; legend: ΣΙΦ (Head, *HN*² 491; Erxleben (1970) 73–74; *SNG Cop. Aegean Islands* 744–50).

520. Skiathos (Skiathios) Map 55. Lat. 39.10, long. 23.27. Size of territory: 2 (50 km²). Type: A. The toponym is Σκίαθος, ἡ (Simonides fr. 1; Hdt. 7.179; *IG* II² 1623Aa35 (333/2)). The city-ethnic is Σκιάθιος (*IG* I³ 266.II:5; *CID* I 13.1 (C4f); Theopomp. fr. 375). In the so-called Charter of the Second Athenian Naval League, Skiathos is listed under the heading *polis* (*IG* II² 43.A.78, 86). For *polis* used in the urban sense, see Ps.-Skylax 58, where Skiathos is described as δίπολις καὶ λιμήν (cf. Flensted-Jensen and Hansen (1996) 156–57). One of these towns was the Palaiskiathos whose citizen Οἰνιάδης ὁ Παλαισκιάθιος was honoured by the Athenians in 408/7 (*IG* I³ 109). That the territory of this town and the island were coterminous may be inferred from the language of the Athenian decree, which praises him for treating well Athenians who arrived "into Skiathos" (*IG* I³ 110.7–8, 10–12). But there was clearly confusion in Athens between Skiathians and Palaiskiathians, because the decree includes an amendment to the effect that Oiniades be named Παλαισκιάθιος instead of Σκιάθιος (*IG* I³ 110 26–31). The collective use of the ethnic is attested internally on coins of C4s (*infra*) and externally in the Athenian tribute lists (*IG* I³ 266.II 5). For the individual and external use, see the Athenian C5l proxeny decree (*IG* I³ 110.29).

Skiathos is listed among the Kyklades by Ps.-Skylax 58 and Diod. 15.30.5, whereas the island is described in Strabo 9.5.16 as one of the islands off Magnesia. According to Ps.-Skymnos 580 and 586, Skiathos was colonised by the Chalkidians from Euboia.

In 480 the Greeks stationed three ships by Skiathos to watch over the Persian fleet; signal fires lit on the island communicated information back to the Greeks at Artemision (Hdt. 7.179–83). The Skiathians were members of the Delian League. They belonged to the Thracian district (*IG* I³ 269.II.30) and are recorded in the tribute lists from 450/49 (*IG* I³ 263.III.40) to 415/14 (*IG* I³ 290.III.14) a total of fourteen times, once completely restored, paying a *phoros* of 1,000 dr. (*IG* I³ 266.II.5). By 408/7 there was an Athenian archon on Skiathos charged in the Athenian decree mentioned above with seeing to it that the Palaiskiathians not be mistreated (*IG* I² 110.19–20). Under Spartan hegemony from the end of the Peloponnesian War until Chabrias'

expedition in the Aegean in 377/6 (Diod. 15.30.5), the Skiathians joined the Second Athenian Naval League in the 370s (*IG* II² 43.A.86). In 351 Demosthenes praised Skiathos and other nearby islands for the logistical support they offered the Athenian fleet (4.32); in 345/4 an Athenian garrison stationed on Skiathos offered the Athenian *demos* a crown (*IG* II² 1443.II.106–8; Dreher (1995) 291 n. 55), and ships were sent to Skiathos commanded by a *strategos* (*IG* II² 1623.35–49). Inscriptions from Delphi include a treaty between the Delphians (no. 177) and Skiathians about consultation of the oracle (*CID* I 13 = *Staatsverträge* 295). The treaty opens with a reference to the Skiathian *demos* and colonists (*apoikoi*).

The town of Skiathos was probably located at modern Skiathos town (cf. Fredrich (1906*b*) 103; see also Reger (1997) 483 n. 25). There are no remains of any other settlement on the island. A Samian funerary inscription of C5 has been found on Skiathos (Johnston (1998)).

The Skiathians seem to have begun to strike bronze coins in C4m. Types: *obv.* head of Apollo or Hermes, or Gorgon head facing; *rev.* caduceus; legend: *ΣΚΙΑΘΙ* or *ΣΚ* (Head, *HN*² 313; *SNG Cop. Thessaly* 366–67).

521. Skyros (Skyrios) Map 55. Lat. 38.55, long. 24.35. Size of territory 4 (223 km²). Type: A. The toponym is *Σκῦρος, ἡ* (Soph. *Phil.* 240; *IG* XII.8 668.5 (C4)), denoting both the island and the town (Ps.-Skylax 58). The city-ethnic is *Σκύριος* (Hdt. 7.183.3; Stephanis (1988) no. 1797 (C4)). Skyros is called a *polis* both in the urban sense (Ps.-Skylax 58) and in the political sense (Xen. *Hell.* 5.1.31). Two lost tragedies both entitled *Σκύριοι* testify to the collective and external use of the city-ethnic (Soph. frr. 507–10 and Eur. frr. 683–86, Nauck), which is also known from inscriptions (*IG* I³ 285.IV.107–10). The individual and external use of the city-ethnic is attested in Hdt. 7.183.3; the internal in an undated sepulchral inscription (*IG* XII.8 676).

Skyros was originally inhabited by Pelasgians (*IG* XII.8 p. 175). The island was seized by the Athenians under Kimon (Diod. 11.60.2; Ephor. fr. 191; Plut. *Cim.* 8.3–7) in, probably, 476/5 (Plut. *Thes.* 36.1). The inhabitants were subjected to *andrapodismos*, and Skyros was resettled with Athenians (Thuc. 1.98.2), apparently described as klerouchs by Ephor. fr. 191 = Diod. 11.60.2: *κατεκληρούχησε*, see also Graham (1983) 184–85; Cargill (1995) 6). By contrast with the Lemnians and Imbrians, the Skyrians are never mentioned as members of the Delian League, and so, probably, remained Athenian citizens. For the view that Skyros may have been a colony, see Figueira (1991) 217, 221; Salomon (1997) 68 takes no position on Skyros.

Athens had to surrender Skyros in the Peace of 404 (Andoc. 3.12; Aeschin. 2.76–77), but by 392, after a short period of independence (Andoc. 3.12, 14), the Athenians had regained control of the island (Xen. *Hell.* 4.8.15), and Athenian possession was confirmed by the King's Peace of 386 (Xen. *Hell.* 5.1.31). The grain law of 374/3 shows that Skyros was still an Athenian possession (*Hesperia* suppl. 29 5.6–8), in spite of the decision of 378/7 to renounce the klerouchies (Diod. 15.29.8). Philip II must have recognised Skyros as an Athenian possession in 338 (Paus. 1.25.3), for Skyros was still Athenian in the 320s (Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 62.2), and remained Athenian by the Peace of 322 (Diod. 18.18.4; see Cargill (1995) 42–58).

The only preserved C4 decree passed by the Skyrian klerouchs (*IG* XII.8 668) indicates that the C4 population of Skyros was divided into Athenians and inhabitants (ll. 4–5: *τὸν δῆ[μον τὸν Ἀθηναίων] καὶ τοὺς κατοικοῦντας ἐν Σκύρωι* with *καὶ* to be restored in l. 2), who seem to have had the same status as Athenian metics (Dem. 52.3, 9). Such civic subdivisions as are attested belong to the Athenians (*IG* XII.8 669; Cargill (1995) 389 no. 1124; Jones, *POAG* 188). The only important river was called the Kephissos, an obvious echo of Attika (Strabo 9.3.16). Considerable remains of the main city fortification walls are preserved; they have been dated, exclusively on style, to C4s; the walls enclosed an area of 4.5 ha, including a separately fortified acropolis of 0.5 ha (Fredrich (1906*c*) 262–71). The reference at Diod. 11.60.2 to a siege of Skyros indicates that the city was fortified in C5e. Remains of a small temple have been reported (Fredrich (1906*c*) 275–76). A C4 *horos* inscription has been found (Finley (1985) no. 111: *πρᾶσις ἐπὶ λύσει*). Plutarch notes a settlement named *Κρήσιον* (*Cim.* 8.3), which has been identified with extensive ruins on the south-west coast (Fredrich (1906*c*) 274). A scholiast to Diodorus repeats this name and adds another: Smyros: *ἔχουσα Ἀχίλλειον καὶ Κρήσιον* (schol. Diod. T326). Achilleion has been taken as the name of the main anchorage on the north-east side of the island, south of the main settlement, and not as a settlement, because of the absence of ancient remains there (Fredrich (1906*c*) 273–74). No coins appear to be known (Erxleben (1970) 120).

522. Syme (Symaios) Map 61. Lat. 36.35, long. 27.50. Size of territory: 2 (58 km²). Type: [A]. The toponym is *Σύμη, ἡ* (Hom. *Il.* 2.671; Hdt. 1.174.3; Thuc. 8.41.4; *IG* I³ 278.VI.28), in the Doric dialect *Σύμα* (*IG* XII.3 suppl. 1269.7 (C2)), denoting both the island and the town (Steph. Byz. 591.17–18). The

city-ethnic is Συμαῖος (*IG* I³ 282.II.45). In the Athenian tribute lists Syme is recorded under the heading πόλες hὰς hοι ἰδιῶται ἐνέγραφσαν φόρον φέρεν (*IG* I³ 278.VI.18–21, 28). The collective use of the city-ethnic is found in the tribute lists (*IG* I³ 282.II.45).

According to Diodorus (5.53.1–4), Syme was settled by Lakedaimonians and Argives, later joined by Knidians and Rhodians. Syme was a member of the Delian League. It belonged to the Karian district (*IG* I³ 71.II.148) and is recorded in the tribute lists either by toponym (*IG* I³ 278.VI.28) or by city-ethnic (*IG* I³ 282.II.45) from 434/3 (*IG* I³ 278.VI.28) to 429/8 (*IG* I³ 282.II.45) a total of five times, three times completely restored, paying a *phoros* of 1,800 dr. (*IG* I³ 278.VI.28). The first four payments are recorded among those by *poleis* that private persons had inscribed (*IG* I³ 278.VI.18–21); the fifth payment is assessed by the *boule* and the *dikasterion* (*IG* I³ 282.II.43–44). Syme was assessed for tribute in 425/4 (*IG* I³ 71.II.148) for 3,000 dr. Two fragments of the Athenian Coinage Decree were found on Syme (*IG* I³ 1453A, D). In 412/11 the Peloponnesians defeated the Athenians in a naval battle fought off Syme (Thuc. 8.41–43).

The town in the north-eastern part of the island had a walled acropolis with a sanctuary of Athena. There are traces of two circuits in polygonal masonry with interval towers, probably of the Hellenistic period (Zschietzschmann (1931) 1098; Hope Simpson and Lazenby (1962) 168–69, (1970) 63–64). The lower wall enclosed an area of *c.*0.3 ha. The only inscription antedating the Hellenistic period seems to be a C4 tombstone set over a soldier killed in battle (*IG* XII.3 9 = *CEG* II 694).

Coins sometimes assigned to Syme (see Erxleben (1970) 93) can now be assigned rather to Syangela (no. 931) in Karia on the basis of new finds (Yarkin (1975), (1977)).

523. Syros (Syrios) Map 60 (inset). Lat. 37.26, long. 24.56. Size of territory: 3 (85 km²). Type: A. The toponym is Σῦρος, ἡ (*SEG* 19 204A.3 (*c.*375); *I. Délos* 104–11A2.1= *IG* II² 1638.A.21 (359/8); Theopomp. fr. 111; Strabo 10.5.3, 8; Steph. Byz. 230.1), denoting both the island (Strabo 10.5.3) and the town (Ps.-Skylax 58). The city-ethnic is Σύριος (*IG* I³ 261.IV.31; Arist. *Hist. an.* 557ᵃ3). In Ps.-Skylax 58, where *polis* is used in the urban sense, Syros is one of the toponyms listed after the heading πόλεις αἵδε; Syros is called a *polis* in the political sense at Theopomp. fr. 111 (rC4f according to Jacoby's commentary), and in the accounts of the Delian *amphiktyones*, where *polis* is used in the political sense, the Syrians are recorded under the heading αἵδε τῶν πόλεων (*I.Délos* 97.13 (C4f)). The collective use of the city-ethnic appears internally on its Hellenistic coins (Head, *HN*² 492) and externally in the Athenian tribute lists (*IG* I³ 261.IV.31) and in the accounts of the Delian *amphiktyones* (*IG* II² 1635.1–2 (377–373)). The individual and external use of the ethnic appears in Aristotle (*Hist. an.* 557ᵃ3), referring to the C6 poet Pherekydes of Syros, and in Theopomp. fr. 111.

Strabo, citing Artemidoros, lists Syros among the Kyklades (10.5.3). Homeric Syrie (Συρίη in *Od.* 15.403) is erroneously identified with Syros by both Zschietzschmann (1932*b*) 1790 and Meyer (1975).

Syros was a member of the Delian League. It belonged to the Island district and is recorded in the tribute lists from 452/1 (*IG* I³ 261.IV.31) to 416/15 (*IG* I³ 289.I.30) a total of twelve times, four times completely restored, paying a *phoros* of 1,500 dr. in 452/1, reduced to 1,000 dr. (*IG* I³ 270.V.33) in or before 448/7 (*IG* I³ 264.II.17), but raised again to 1,500 dr. in or before 433/2 (*IG* I³ 279.I.80). It was assessed for tribute in 425/4 (*IG* I³ 71.I.80) (1 tal.). Syros may have joined the Second Athenian Naval League in the 370s (*I.Délos* 98A.11–12, B3=*IG* II² 1635A.11–12, 113 (377–375); *SEG* 19 204 (375); cf. Dreher (1995) 201 n. 22), but is not recorded among the members listed in *IG* II² 43. In the thirteenth book of his *Philippika* Theopompos reports that a Syrian citizen, Kallikon, betrayed Syros to the Samians (fr. 111). Jacoby *ad loc.* dates the incident to C4f. The C4m list of *proxenoi* of Karthaia (no. 492) included at least two from Syros (*IG* XII.5 542.46).

The principal civic divisions were three tribes (*IG* XII.5 654 (undated), with Jones, *POAG* 211), the names of two of which are known: the Naxiatai (*IG* XII.5 652 (C2), with Gauthier (1996) 35–43) and the Galessioi (*I.Délos* 98B.18 (C4)). Galessa, which must have been the centre of the tribe of the same name, was located on the western side of the island; this suggests that the Syrian tribes were territorially based. Delian Apollo owned some property on the island (*I.Délos* 104–11A21).

The chief gods were very likely the Kabeiroi, although the inscription that supposedly attests to a sanctuary remains enigmatic (*IG* XII.5 673 with commentary there by Hiller von Gaertringen (undated); see also Nicolet-Pierre and Amandry (1992) 305–6 n. 32, for a late coin referring to this cult; Head, *HN*² 492; Hemberg (1950) 182–84). Archaeological material from the Geometric to Roman periods that might be associated with such a sanctuary has been reported (Manthos (1979)). The ancient *polis* lies beneath the modern city of Ermoupolis and is therefore unexplored (Leekley and Noyes (1975) 51).

Syrian drachmas (Σύριαι δραχμαί) are recorded in Delian accounts of C4m (*I.Délos* 104.105 (364/3)); in consequence,

Head's date of *c.*300 for the start of Syrian coinage is too late by at least 65 years (Head, *HN*² 492). But the known coins attributed to the pre-Hellenistic period have now been shown to be modern forgeries (Nicolet-Pierre and Amandry (1992)).

525. Telos (Telios) Map 61. Lat. 36.30, long. 27.20. Size of territory: 2 (63 km²). Type: B. The toponym is *Τήλος, ἡ* (Hdt. 7.153.1; Ps.-Skylax 99; *IG* I³ 71.II.145). An alternative toponym is *Ἀγαθοῦσσα* (Hsch. *A*280; Steph. Byz. 621.1; cf. Callim. fr. 581). The city-ethnic is *Τήλιος* (*IG* I³ 284.12; *RivFil* 70 15.1 (*c.*300)). Telos is not explicitly called a *polis* until C3f (*IG* XII.3 29.6), but an unpublished arbitration of *c.*300 strongly suggests *polis* status in C4s (*infra*), and membership of the Delian League indicates *polis* status in C5s. The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally in the arbitration of *c.*300 (*supra*) and externally in the Athenian tribute lists (*supra*). The external and individual use is attested in an epitaph from Mesambria Pontica (*SEG* 47 1075 (C5–C4)).

Ps.-Skylax 99 lists Telos in his chapter on Karia among the inhabited islands near Rhodos. According to Strabo, it belonged to the Sporades (10.5.14), whereas Steph. Byz. assigns it to the Kyklades (620.22).

Telos was a member of the Delian League. It belonged to the Ionian district (*IG* I³ 71.II.145) and is recorded in the tribute lists by city-ethnic (*IG* I³ 284.12), but in the assessment decree of 425/4 by toponym (*IG* I³ 71.II.145). It is recorded twice, in 427/6 or 426/5 (*IG* I³ 284.12) and in 415/14 (*IG* I³ 290.I.27) paying an unknown amount. Telos was assessed for tribute in 425/4 (*IG* I³ 71.II.145) (2 tal.) and in 410/9 (*IG* I³ 100.II.5 (1 tal.), but city-ethnic almost completely restored). Telos was under Spartan control from 404 until liberated in 394 by Pharnabazes and Konon; it remained independent of Rhodos (no. 1000) throughout C4 (Diod. 14.84.3 with L. Robert (1969–90) i.569–74; for absorption by Rhodos in C3, see Papachristodoulou (1989) 46–47).

An unpublished Koan arbitration for Telos of *c.*300 includes a civic oath in which the citizens swear to stand by the existing political organisation (*politeuma*), to preserve the *damokratia*, and not to oppose the *damos* (*RivFil* 70 no. 15; cf. Rhodes, *DGS* 290).

The cult of Athena Polias and Zeus Polieus is epigraphically attested in C3e (*IG* XII.3 40.9; cf. *SEG* 3 715.8 (second century AD)) and probably to be connected with the obverse types of the C4 coins (*infra*; Fiehn (1934) 430). A C4 dedication inscribed *Ποτειδ[ᾶ]νος* testifies to a cult of Poseidon (*IG* XII.3 37).

The town was situated in the northern part of the island and was apparently the only settlement. So far no traces have been found of villages, hamlets or even isolated farmsteads (Hoepfner (1999) 170). Remains of the city walls are still extant (Dawkins (1905–6) 1–3); they have been dated to the Hellenistic period (Hope Simpson and Lazenby (1970) 63–66) or in C4 (Scranton (1941) 172; Hoepfner (1999) 174) and seen as part of Mausolos' building programme (Bean and Cook (1957) 142; Hornblower (1982) 331–32; sceptical: Sherwin-White (1978) 70 n. 212). On the acropolis are remains of a tower and the sanctuary of Athena Polias (Fiehn (1934) 427; Lauffer (1989) 653). The walls enclosed an area of just over 10 ha, but the town lay on a steep slope and most of the houses had to be built on terraces. There cannot have been more than *c.*150 houses in the town (Hoepfner (1999) 185).

Telos struck bronze coins in C4s. Types: *obv.* head of Zeus, or of Athena (on some, head of Athena with aegis outspread behind); legend: *ΔAMOKPATIAΣ*; *rev.* crab; legend: *THΛI* and sometimes magistrate's name (Head, *HN*² 642).

Telos joined Lindos in colonising Gela (Hdt. 7.153.1; see *supra* 192).

525. Tenos (Tenios) Map 60 (inset). Lat. 37.30; long. 25.10. Size of territory: 3 (195 km²). Type: A. The toponym is *Τῆνος, ἡ* (Hdt. 4.33.2), denoting the island (Aesch. *Pers.* 885), the town (Ps.-Skylax 58) and the political community (Eupolis fr. 245, *PCG*). According to Arist. fr. 612, alternative toponyms were *Ὑδρόεσσα* and *Ὀφιοῦσσα*. The city-ethnic is *Τήνιος* (*IG*² II 1635A.20 (377/6–374/3); Thuc. 8.69.3). Steph. Byz. 622.4–6 records *Τηνεύς* as a variant form, perhaps attested in a C4s inscription from Kyrene (*SEG* 9.2.15: *Τ[ηνέσ]σι* = Tod 196; cf. *SEG* 42 1663 and *infra*). Tenos is implicitly called a *polis* in the urban sense by Ps.-Skylax 58 (Flensted-Jensen and Hansen (1996) 142), and the Tenians appear under the heading *polis* used in the political sense in the so-called Charter of the Second Athenian Naval League (*IG* II² 43.32, 70, 78, B17) and in the accounts of the Delian *amphiktyones* (*I.Délos* 98Aa12, Ba4 = *IG* II² 1635 (377/6–374/3)); cf. also Hdt. 4.33.2. After C4m the prepositional group *ἐκ Πόλεως* denotes one of the *phylai* (Étienne (1990) 22), but the noun *πόλις* is still being used in its usual sense, denoting the political community (*IG* XII.5 798.6 (C3)). The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally in abbreviated form on coins of C4l (*infra*) and externally on the Serpent Column at Delphi (ML 27.7), in the Athenian tribute lists (*IG* I² 263.IV.19), on Delos (*I.Délos* 98A12 (377/6)) and in Thucydides (7.57.4). Several inscriptions of C4 give the external individual ethnic (*IG* II² 10446; *IG* XII.5 542.45; *I.Délos* 98A20). *Patris* is found in *IG* II² 466b.38 (307/6).

Strabo, citing Artemidoros, places Tenos among the Kyklades (Strabo 10.5.3). Tenos was settled by Ionians *c.*1000 (Lauffer (1989) 655). The island seems to have fallen under the control of Eretria (no. 370) in C8; this control would have ended by *c.*650 (Strabo 10.1.10). The Persians captured the island in 490 (as implied by Hdt. 6.96–97; cf. Aesch. *Pers.* 885). Tenians served in Xerxes' fleet at Salamis (Hdt. 8.66.2), but desertion to the Greek side by one commander earned the Tenians a place on the Serpent Column at Delphi (Hdt. 8.82.1; ML 27.7); they appear also in the dedication at Olympia (Paus.5.23.2).

Tenos was a member of the Delian League, and may have been among the original members (*ATL* iii. 198–99). It belonged to the Island district and is recorded in the tribute lists from 450/49 (*IG* I³ 263.IV.19) to 416/15 (*IG* I³ 289.I.29) a total of twelve times, twice completely restored, paying a *phoros* of first 3 tal. (*IG* I³ 263.IV.19), reduced to 2 tal. (*IG* I³ 271.I.89) in or before 443/2 (*IG* I³ 269.V.15). It was assessed for tribute in 425/4 (*IG* I³ 71.I.73) of 10 tal. They were still paying members in 413, and naval forces, probably with marines, participated in the Sicilian expedition (Thuc. 7.57.4). In 411 a contingent of soldiers from Tenos supported the Four Hundred in Athens (Thuc. 8.69.3), and from this Gehrke, *Stasis* 159 infers that Tenos must have been one of the *poleis* in which the constitution was changed from a democracy to an oligarchy after the oligarchic revolution in Athens (cf. Thuc. 8.64.1).

The Tenians joined the Second Athenian Naval League in the 370s (*IG* II² 43B.17); one, Bion, served as Tenian envoy to Athens (no. 361) in connection with League business *c.*370–340 (*IG* II² 279 with D. M. Lewis (1954) 50). Other Tenian envoys to Athens are mentioned in a later inscription in which Tenians residing in Attika were awarded *isoteleia* in C4s (*IG* II² 660 with Pečirka (1966) 93–95). Tenos was subjected in 362 to *andrapodismos* by Alexander of Pherai (Dem. 50.4). The relocation of the town in C4m (*infra*) and the reorganisation of the civic subdivisions were probably caused by the *andrapodismos* and carried out in connection with a repopulation of the island (Étienne (1984) 211). If *Τ*[. . .]*σι* at *SEG* 9 2.15 refers to Tenos, the Tenians received 20,000 *medimnoi* of grain from Kyrene (no. 1028) during the grain crisis of 330–326 (see *SEG* 92 1663; Gasperini (1996) 103 improperly corrects the text to read *Τ*[*ηνίοις*]; Brun (1993*b*) 187–88 rejects both restorations and prefers to leave the text unemended; but, given the multiple odd ethnics in this inscription, it would not be surprising if the Kyrenaians simply got it wrong).

Pace Hiller von Gaertringen (*IG* XII.5 xxiii, 1516) and Gigon (no. 138), there is no evidence to support the view that the Aristotelian collection of *politeiai* included a constitution of the Tenians. The eponymous official was the archon (*IG* XII.5 872.1); the theory that the office lasted only six months rather than a year is to be rejected (Gauthier (1992) against Étienne (1990) 42–45). *Prytaneis* are restored in an Athenian decree of C4m (*IG* II² 279.2–3; cf. D. M. Lewis (1954) 50; Pečirka (1966) 53–54). *Astynomoi* appear in the register of sales of land of C4e (*IG* XII.5 872.1). Citizens from Tenos were appointed *proxenoi* by Karthaia (no. 492) (*IG* XII.5 542.45 (C4m)) and by Chios (no. 840) (*PEP Chios* 50 (C4)).

The Tenian citizens were subdivided into, presumably, ten territorial *phylai*. These tribes may have been created or reorganised as part of a large-scale civic reform of C4m in which the moving of the urban centre was an important element (Étienne (1990) 45–47). The names of Tenian tribes are attested epigraphically, typically in the form of phyletics added to name and patronymic; all are known from the large register of sales of land of C4l (*IG* XII.5 872); after each one listed below, only additional references to earlier attestations are noted: *Γυρα(ιεύς)* (873.9, 12 (C4s), 875.17 (C4s)); *Δονα(κεύς)* (873.9 (C4s)); *Ἐλειθυ(αιεύς)* (875.31 (C4s)); *Ἐσχα(τιώτης)* (873.3 (C4s), 875.15 (C4s)); *Ἡρακλείδης* (876.4 (C4l?)); *Θεστιεύς* (875.9, 16 (C4s)); *Θρυήσιος* (876.1 (C4l?)); *Ἰακινθεύς* (875.30 (C4s)); *Κλυμενεύς* (872.109 (C4l)); *ἐκΠολεως* (872, 875.8 (C4s)). The name of an "eleventh" tribe, *Σησταῖς*, seems to be a false reading (Étienne (1990) 46). The tribe called *ἐκΠολεως* refers to Tenians registered in the former *polis* site at Xombourgo (see *supra*) and probably embraced the majority of the inhabitants of the new *asty* on the seashore (so Étienne (1990) 22).

Inhabitants were registered in one of at least eleven *tonoi*, neighbourhoods, of the *asty* (*IG* XII.5 872.6, 21, 25, 36, 44, 72, 123 with Étienne (1990) 22–23). As many as twenty-three toponyms are attested, mostly in the large register of sales of land (*IG* XII.5 872); their locations throughout the island have been debated (Étienne (1990) 24–30; Psarras (1994)). The Thryesioi were probably located in the central part of the island at modern Komi, persuasively identified with the *Κώμη* recorded in *IG* XII.5 872.19 (Étienne (1990) 29). From the toponym it can be inferred that ancient Kome was a village. There is no evidence of any other nucleated settlement on Tenos.

A different gentilician civic subdivision was into *πάτραι*. By contrast with the *phylai*, the *patrai* may be seen as an aristocratic holdover: the law of introduction, *νόμος εἰσαγωγῆς*, which very likely regulates induction into the

patrai, insists on legitimacy through the male line and sets an age restriction of at least 50 years (*IG* XII suppl. 303 with Étienne (1990) 40–42 no. 2). A decree of the *patra* of the Androkleidai survives (Étienne (1990) 37–39 no. 1 (C4e–C3s)).

The huge register of sales of land (*IG* XII.5 872) and a few small related inscriptions (873–79) provide us with valuable information about ownership of landed property, inheritance and size of families (often more than two adult children in a family); see the analysis in Étienne (1990) 51–84.

The protective deities were Poseidon and Amphytrite, whose sanctuary lay on the sea 2.5 km west of the post-C4m urban centre (see *infra*). There was probably a cult and a sanctuary of Demeter Thesmophoros from *c.*700 (see *infra*). An inscription of C4m attests to a cult of Ge, possibly private only (Despinis (1979) 228–29).

The Tenian calendar is known most completely through *IG* XII.5 872. The names of nine months are given. Some are identical with the Athenian months, but apart from Tenos, Ἀπελλειών (872.15) is attested only in Dorian and northwestern *poleis* (Étienne (1990) 47–50; Trümpy, *Monat.* 60–63).

The urban centre of Tenos in the Archaic and most of the Classical periods was located at Xombourgo above the modern town (not in *Barr.*). This site was walled by C7 or later, and had a sanctuary in use from C8e which has been plausibly assigned to Demeter Thesmophoros (see Themelis (1976) 4–23 for good overall plans and a summary of the excavations, which were never published as an ensemble; his interpretations, however, are to be rejected (Boardman (1978))). Some time around or after C4m, this centre was abandoned, and the urban centre of the *polis* was transferred to its present site by the sea. In Tenian sources, this new urban centre is usually referred to as the *asty* (*IG* XII.5 872.21 *et passim*; *I.Délos* 104–32.4 (320s?); cf. Étienne (1984), (1990) 15–24). The new *asty* was equipped with massive fortification walls dated to C4s (see the detailed description of Graindor (1910) 236–42, with corrections and commentary by Étienne (1990) 15–18); the walls are mentioned in an inscription of C1 (*IG* XII suppl. 315 with Étienne (1990) 139) and enclosed an area of *c.*10 ha (Étienne (1990) 17 with plate II). The main sanctuary of the chief deities Poseidon and Amphytrite was located 2.5 km west of the new urban centre on the sea; started in C4m or after, the sanctuary and the *asty* form part of a coherent plan to reconfigure Tenian urban and sacred space (Étienne and Braun (1986)). Philoch. fr. 175 claims that Poseidon was honoured there as a doctor.

The Tenians began striking anepigraphic silver coins on the Aiginetan standard from *c.*600 to *c.*500. Denominations: staters (rare), hemidrachms and triobols. Types: *obv.* bunch of grapes; *rev.* incuse square (Head, *HN*² 492–93; Artemis-Gyselen (1977)). Minting was resumed in C4l, and the oldest series of tetradrachms on the Attic standard is now dated to the period *c.*315–308. Types: *Obv.* head of Herakles in lion's skin; *rev.* Zeus enthroned, holding eagle and sceptre; legend: *TH* (Head, *HN*² 493; Étienne (1990) 225–52; *SNG Cop. Aegean Islands* 766–68).

526. Thasos (Thasios) Map 51. Lat. 40.45; long. 24.45. Size of territory: 4 (380 km²). Type: A. The toponym is Θάσος, ἡ (*IG* I³ 1144.43, 130 (465/4); *SEG* 38 851.B.22 (407); Archil. fr. 228.1; Thuc. 8.64.2), denoting both the island (Arist. *Hist. an.* 549ᵇ16) and the town (Archestratos fr. 5.9, Olson and Sens). The city-ethnic is Θάσιος (*IG* XII.8 264.11 = Koerner (1993) no. 71 (C4e); Thuc. 1.100.2). Thasos is called a *polis* both in the urban sense (Archil. fr. 49.7; Thuc. 8.64.3, 4, first occurrence; Dem. 35.35; Ps.-Skylax 67; Duchêne (1992) 125 no. 24.1, 15 (C5m)) and in the political sense (*IG* XII.8 356.2 = *CEG* I 415 (C6l); *IG* XII suppl. 412.2 = *CEG* I 416 (C6l); *SEG* 42 785 *passim* (C5f); ML 83 *passim* (C5l); *SEG* 26 1029.5 (C4s); Hdt. 6.44.1; Thuc. 8.64.4, second occurrence); the first occurrence at Thuc. 8.64.4 has the territorial sense as a connotation. The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally on coins (*infra*) and amphora stamps (Garlan (1999) 17–20) and in inscriptions (*IG* XII suppl. 412.1 = *CEG* 416 (C6l); ML 83.II.7, before 407 (Graham and Smith (1989)); *IG* XII.8 264.11 (C4e)) and externally in both literary texts (Archil. fr. 20; Thuc. 1.100.2; Dem. 20.59) and inscriptions (*IG* I³ 101.31 (410/9); *IG* XII.4 109 (C5); Moretti (1953); *SEG* 43 486.33 (C4m)). The individual and external use is attested in inscriptions (*IG* I³ 1373–74 (*c.*407); *IG* IV².1 122.7 (C4m/C4s)) and in literary sources (Lys. 13.54; Dem. 20.61; Arist. *Poet.* 1448ᵃ12). *Patris* is found in Dem. 20.59.

Ps.-Skylax 67 places Thasos in Thrace, and Strabo classes Thasos among the islands lying off Greece as far as Makedonia and Thrace (2.5.21). Though Herodotos mentions a Phoenician colony on Thasos (2.44.4; cf. also Paus. 5.25.12), the island was more famously colonised by the Parians (no. 509) under Telesikles in 710–680 (Thuc. 4.104.4; Strabo 10.5.7; Steph. Byz. 306.14); for a foundation date of C7m, see Graham (2001) 228–29, 365–402. Archilochos has a good deal to say about the circumstances of the early colony (frr. 92–112). An inscription of C5 mentions as *archegetes* one Sotion (Pouilloux (1954) 335 no. 127; cf. Leschhorn (1984) 56–60 and the useful summary in Pouilloux (1982)); Hippoc. *Epid.* 1 case 5 mentions the *archegetes*.

In C6l Thasos was controlled by the tyrant Symmachos, expelled by the Spartans (Plut. *Mor.* 859D; Salviat (1979) 123–25; Bowen (1992) 119). The Thasians were probably under an oligarchy in the earlier part of C5 (Pouilloux (1954) 43). They had an income from their mines on the island and the *peraia* ranging between 200 and 300 tal./year *c.*500 (Hdt. 6.46.3). Histiaios attacked the island in 494, but was repelled by the arrival of a Phoenician fleet (Hdt. 6.28). In 492 the Thasians surrendered to Mardonios and remained under Persian control until 479 (Hdt. 6.44.1). They joined the Delian League as contributors of ships, but revolted in 466/5; the Athenians besieged the island for three years before finally defeating the rebels. The Thasians were forced to pull down their walls, to surrender their fleet, to pay an indemnity, to pay *phoros* in the future and to cede their possessions on the mainland (Thuc. 1.100–1; Plut. *Kim.* 14.1–2 Polyaen. 2.33, 8.67; *IG* I³ 1144B.III.43, 130; cf. Pébarthe (1999)). Thasians appear thereafter serving in the Athenian fleet (*IG* I³ 1032.431), and Athenians owned property on Thasos (*IG* I³ 426.45, 144). The Thasians became paying members of the Delian League. They belonged to the Thracian district (*IG* I³ 272.II.56) and are recorded in the tribute lists from 454/3 (*IG* I³ 259.V.14) to 429/8 (*IG* I³ 282.II.17) a total of fourteen times, once completely restored, paying a *phoros* of 3 tal. (*IG* I³ 259.V.14), raised to 30 tal. in 446/5 (*IG* I³ 266.III.8) or the year before when the Thasians are recorded three times (*IG* I³ 265.I.94, 107, II.66, restored). The Thasians were assessed for tribute in 425/4 (*IG* I³ 71.III.155) of 60 tal.

In 411, in the wake of the revolution of the Four Hundred, the Athenian *strategos* Dieitrephes abolished the democracy in Thasos (Thuc. 8.64.2) and established an oligarchy, called ἀριστοκρατία and εὐνομία by the Athenians in 411 (64.3, 5) but ὀλιγαρχία by Thucydides (64.5) and by the Athenians in 407 in a contemporary inscription (*SEG* 38 851.A.4, 19, B.2–3, 20). But soon afterwards the anti-Athenian faction got the upper hand, and the Thasians defected from Athens with the help of a squadron commanded by Timolaos of Corinth (*Hell. Oxy.* 10.4–5; *IG* XII.8 402). The *polis* brought back its old institutions, restored its fortification walls and fleet (Thuc. 8.64.3–5), and accepted a Lakedaimonian harmost (Xen. *Hell.* 1.1.32). They punished Athenian supporters (*IG* XII.8 263; ML 83; cf. Pouilloux (1954) 139–42 no. 18; on the date of this inscription as C5l but not autumn 411 or spring 410, see Graham and Smith (1989)). In the following year a *stasis* among the Thasians resulted in a short-lived expulsion of the pro-Lakedaimonian faction (Xen. *Hell.* 1.1.32; Gehrke, *Stasis* 161). Thasos must have defected once again, for in 410/9 the Thasian colony Neapolis (no. 634) was besieged by Thasians and Peloponnesians, but resisted with Athenian support (*IG* I³ 101 = ML 89; see Pouilloux (1954) 155–60), and in the spring of 407 the Athenians under Thrasyboulos recovered the island after a siege and restored the democracy (Xen. *Hell.* 1.4.9; Diod. 13.72.1), called explicitly δημοκρατία in a contemporary inscription (*SEG* 38 851.A.7 = Grandjean and Salviat (1988)). The Parians facilitated a reconciliation between the Thasians and the Neapolitans probably soon after 407 (*IG* XII.5 109 as reinterpreted by Pouilloux (1954) 178–92; Piccirilli (1973) 144–49 no. 33; see also the bas-relief from Delphi: Moretti (1953)). Thasos' mainland possessions were apparently recovered only gradually, in 410–407 and the 390s (Brunet (1997)).

With Spartan victory at the end of the war, a squadron under Eteonikos captured Thasos (Xen. *Hell.* 2.2.5). In Polyaenus the conquest is ascribed to Lysandros, and we are told that, after a battle, he tricked Athenian sympathisers who had taken refuge in the temple of Herakles to surrender, whereupon they were executed (Polyaen. *Strat.* 1.45.4; the story is questioned by Gehrke, *Stasis* 162–63). Thasians who supported the democracy (*IG* II² 6) and had been exiled from Thasos for supporting Athens (*IG* II² 33.6–7 with Pouilloux (1954) 203, and Polyaen. *Strat.* 1.45.4) were honoured by the Athenians in C5l and C4e (*IG* II² 6, 17, 24, 25, 33; cf. *SEG* 15 83–87, with Pouilloux (1954) 203; Salviat (1979) 120–25 and Karamoutzou-Teza (1987)).

The Spartans controlled Thasos from 404, but, with the help of a pro-Athenian faction, the Athenians recovered the island for themselves in 389/8 (Dem. 20.59; *IG* II² 17). A few years later the pro-Athenians were expelled and found refuge in Athens (*IG* II² 24, 33; Dem. 20.61; cf. Osborne (1981–83) ii.48–57). But in *c.*375 the Thasians joined the Second Athenian Naval League (*IG* II² 43.B.4: [Θάσι]οι). Philip II gained control of Thasos in (probably) 340/39 with the help of Thasian supporters (Dem. 18.197). The Thasians belonged to the League of Corinth in 338 (*IG* II² 236.b.5 = *Staatsverträge* 403).

Thasian *presbeis* in Athens (no. 361) are attested in C4e (*IG* II² 24.b.16), and in the same period Thasians are honoured with Athenian citizenship (*IG* II² 17). The Thasians granted *proxenia* to a citizen from an unknown *polis* (*IG* XII suppl. 352 (C4l)) and to a citizen from Olynthos (no. 588) (*Ét. Thas.* 5 p. 223 no. 376 (C4l/C3e)), and Thasians were granted *proxenia* by Athens (*IG* II² 6 (C5l/C4e), with Walbank (1978) 324–28 no. 61 (doubts about the identity of the family as Thasian) and Grandjean and Salviat (1988)). Thasian *theorodokoi* are recorded as hosts of *theoroi* from

Epidauros (no. 348) in 359 (*IG* IV².1 94.31) and as hosts of *theoroi* from Argos (no. 347) in *c.*330 (*SEG* 23 189.II.20). The Thasians gave the Athenians a gold crown in 354/3 (*IG* II² 1437.10–11, 1438.15–16).

Many public enactments are known from Thasos. There are several wine laws. The earliest dates from *c.*460 (*SEG* 36 790 = Koerner (1993) no. 66); later parts belong to C5l and C4e (*IG* XII suppl. 347.I–II = Koerner (1993) nos. 68–69; cf. *SEG* 36 791 and Salviat (1986)). A law regulating the cleanliness of the streets was passed in the 480–460s (*SEG* 42 785 = Duchêne (1992); cf. Graham (1998) with Gauthier in *BE* (1999) 428). A law on commerce of 425–415 regulated exports and imposed fines (*SEG* 36 792 = Koerner (1993) no. 67). The revolutionary government of 411–408 established rewards for informers in the last years of the Peloponnesian War (ML 83 = Koerner (1993) no. 70). A decree of C5l/C4e set up funerary honours for those who died for the fatherland (Pouilloux (1954) 371–80 no. 141). A law set out conditions for accepting foreigners into the civic body of Thasos soon after the end of the Peloponnesian War (*IG* XII.8 264 = Koerner (1993) no. 71, *pace* Pouilloux (1954) 204–13). A sacred law of C5m regulated a cult of Herakles (*IG* XII suppl. 414 = Duchêne (1992) 124–25 no. 23); another, dated (perhaps over-precisely?) to 430–420, deals with a cult instituted by an individual (*SEG* 38 853). A law from C4l seems to give a complete list of the city's festivals (*SEG* 17 415; Salviat (1958*b*)).

At least from C5l on, public enactments were passed by the *boule* and/or the *demos*. The only preserved attestation is a law about naturalisation passed in C5l by the *boule*, with a major amendment passed by the *demos* (*IG* XII.8 264 = Koerner (1993) no. 71). For a C4l example of a decision presumably made by (*boule* and) *demos*, see *IG* XII suppl. 352.5.

Lists of *theoroi* beginning about C6m (*IG* XII.8 273–330, 283, 285) refer to the government of the Three Hundred and Sixty (*IG* XII.8 276.5–7 (rC6l)); this may be a *boule*, with a member for every day of the year (Salviat (1979)). The wine law of C5f (*SEG* 36 790.8), the denunciation law of C5l (ML 83.3) and a C5l decision about confiscation of property (*IG* XII.8 263.7) all mention a board of "Three Hundred", presumably a lawcourt (ML p. 264; Koerner (1993) 246, 264).

The usual Thasian eponymous official was the archon, who served with two colleagues (ML 83.1.6; *SEG* 38 851.B.22–23 (both C5l)); many fragments of archon lists survive, starting in C6 (but inscribed in C4): Pouilloux (1954) 259–75 nos. 28–34 and Dunant and Pouilloux (1957) nos. 199–220 with p. 104; Sherk (1990) 292–94). But during the period of Athenian domination from 463, only a single archon served (Salviat (1984) 243–46). In 397 the Spartan Lichas occupied the office (Salviat (1983)). The *theoroi* appear also occasionally as eponymous officials (*IG* XII.8 263.a.1 (412/11)). The archons forming a board of unknown number attested by *c.*480–460 are not to be confused with the eponymous officials (*SEG* 42 785.27; Duchêne (1992) 64–68). Inscriptions provide evidence of a raft of public officials, including *polemarchoi* (Pouilloux (1954) 371–80 no. 141 (*c.*400)), *theoroi* (*IG* XII.8 263 (C5l)), *prostatai* (*IG* XII.8 264.13 = Koerner (1993) no. 71, with Pouilloux (1954) 204–13), a *grammateus*, once called "of the *boule*" (*IG* XII.8 264.13 = Koerner (1993) no. 71 with Pouilloux (1954) 204–13, 371–80 no. 141 (*c.*400)), *agoranomoi* and *gynaikonomoi* (Pouilloux (1954) 371–80 no. 141 (*c.*400); Salviat (1958*a*) 319–23 no. 1 (C4)), and *epistatai* (*SEG* 42 785.29–30; Duchêne (1992) 68–71). *Apologoi* are known from dedications (Bernard and Salviat (1962) no. 10=Duchêne (1992) 124 no. 23; Salviat (1957)). *Karpologoi* appear in the famous law on commerce (*SEG* 36 792.2, 9 with Pouilloux (1954) 121–34, date: 425–415).

Inscriptions of C5l–C4e attest to groups designated by plural patronymic names: e.g. *Φαστάδαι* (Rolley (1965) 441–42 no. 1). They are usually identified with the *πάτραι* known from C3 grants of citizenship (*IG* XII suppl. 355.4) and are interpreted by Jones, *POAG* 184–86 as civic subdivisions of an "essentially private nature". He argues too that one of the groups, the *Γελέοντες* (Rolley (1965) 449 no. 8), was in fact not a *patra* but a larger subdivision, possibly a *phyle*, *contra* Grandjean and Salviat (2000) 221.

Many communal cults and sanctuaries are attested for Thasos (brief surveys in Schachter (1992) 22–25; Cole (1995) 309–12). From the earliest written records we can see that Thasos was not identified with a single primary divinity, but with a constellation of divinities who catered to the needs of the community. Four of these divinities—Artemis (Hekate), Herakles, Apollo (Pythios) and Athena (Poliouchos)—seem to have been more prominent than others. Thasos therefore had not one major sanctuary, but four. Apollo Pythios and Athena Poliochos were located on the double summit, and Artemis and Herakles in the lower area (Cole (1995) 310). (1) Artemis, whose Artemision (Hippoc. *Epid.* 3.17*a*) was begun in C6s (Grandjean and Salviat (2000) 89–91), was sometimes known by various epithets, including Hekate (*SEG* 42 785.49 (C5f)). (2) Herakles sometimes bore the epithet Thasios (*IG* XII suppl. 414); he is attested in C6l as one of the protective divinities of Thasos (*IG* XII.8 264.16, 351.3); his cult was supposed to have been founded by the Phoenicians, and his temple existed by 480–460 (Hdt. 2.44.4; Hippoc. *Epid.* 3.17*γ*; Polyaen. *Strat.*

1.45.4; Paus. 5.25.12–13; *SEG* 42 785.2, 23–24 (C5f); *IG* XII suppl. 412 = *CEG* I 416 (C6); *IG* XII suppl. 350 (C5); cf. Grandjean and Salviat (2000) 142–45; Launey (1944)). (3) Apollo Pythios (*SEG* 36 790.6 (C5f) (restored); *SEG* 42 785.9) was worshipped in the Pythion, which is attested epigraphically in C4 (*IG* XII suppl. 350 (C4)) and has produced sherds of 525–500 (Grandjean and Salviat (1995); cf. also *SEG* 45 1205; Grandjean and Salviat (2000) 111–12). (4) Athena is attested as Poliochos from C5f (*SEG* 36 790.6); her sanctuary dominated the acropolis (Grandjean and Salviat (2000) 114–16). Finally, Dionysos is attested alongside Herakles as a protective divinity of Thasos (*IG* XII.8 356 (C6l), 262.16; *IG* XII suppl. 398 (C4)); the earliest archaeological remains of his sanctuary are C4 (Grandjean and Salviat (2000) 92–94), but it is attested by Hippokrates by C5s (Hippoc. *Epid.* 1.21) public enactments were sometimes inscribed there (IG XII.8 262.16–17), and dramatic festivals connected with Dionysos are attested in inscriptions (*SEG* 38 851.A.17 (C5l); *IG* XII suppl. 354.a.21–22 (*c.*300)).

Other gods worshipped by the Thasians included Hera, who had a sanctuary by C5e, though it has not yet been located (Hippoc. *Epid.* 1.14). Zeus is attested with various epithets, as Zeus Katharsios (Pouilloux (1954) no. 101 with *LSCG* suppl. p. 124 (C4)) and Zeus Agoraios, who had a sanctuary dating from C4e (*BCH* 74 (1950) 333–41; Pouilloux (1954) 230–31 with *IG* XII.8 361; Grandjean and Salviat (2000) 76). Zeus also served, under three different epithets, as patron deity of three of the Thasian *patrai*: Zeus Alastos, Zeus Ktesios and Zeus Patroios, along with Athena Mykesis and Athena Patroia (*IG* XII suppl. 407 (*c.*400); Rolley (1965); Grandjean and Salviat (2000) 102–5). Poseidon had a sanctuary dating from C5e/C4s (*IG* XII suppl. 432 (C4); Bon and Seyrig (1929); Grandjean and Salviat (2000) 97–98). Demeter Thesmophoros had her sanctuary the Thesmophorion (Paus. 10.28.3 (rC7); Rolley (1965); Müller (1996); Grandjean and Salviat (2000) 102–5). Pan had a sanctuary (*IG* XII suppl. 429; Grandjean and Salviat (2000) 117–19). The Charites' sanctuary was in place by 480–460 (*SEG* 42 785.41; Duchêne (1992) 75–77, 93–94; Berranger (1992) 184–203). An Asklepieion is also attested (Salviat (1958*c*)). Hippokrates mentions a temple of Ge (*Epid.* 3.1a).

Among the cults of heroes may be mentioned the Mnema of Glaukos, which was located in the corner of the agora; the inscription which identifies it dates to *c.*600 (Pouilloux (1955); Grandjean and Salviat (2000) 69–70; cf. also Jeffery (1990) 300–1). Infamously, the Thasians wanted to establish a cult for Agesilaos in 394, though he refused (Plut. *Mor.* 210C–D).

The Thasians are known as a community to have consulted Apollo at Delphi twice in C5 (Paus. 6.11.7–9). They made a communal dedication of a statue of Herakles at Olympia after their liberation from the Persians in 479/8 (Paus. 5.25.12–13). Thanks to Pausanias (6.11.2–9), we know a good deal about the athlete-hero Theogenes, whose cult had begun by the start of C4. His victories included two in the Olympic Games (in 480 and 476: *Olympionikai* 201 and 215), ten in the Isthmian, nine in the Nemean, and three in the Pythian (Pouilloux (1994) with the other sources; on the date of *SEG* 18 359 as 346, see Holzman (1994) 152; Grandjean and Salviat (2000) 73–76); statues of him were erected at Delphi (*Syll.*³ 36A; Jacquemin (1999) 354 no. 459) and Olympia (*Syll.*³ 36B).

The Thasian calendar was of the Ionian type and was virtually identical with that of Paros (Salviat (1992) 263; Trümpy, *Monat.* 65–72).

The city itself, at the north-east corner of the island, was oriented towards the sea and exploited the natural landscape, rising gradually on a series of terraces to a striking and steep acropolis. There were two major centres. The lower city developed around the agora and harbour. To the south, the upper city was organised around the acropolis. The major sanctuaries determined the pattern of settlement and the orientation of major streets. There were two primary areas of habitation: one near the Artemision, the other near the Herakleion (Grandjean (1988) i.312–23, 336–46).

In C6l the city was surrounded by a defence circuit (Grandjean and Salviat (2000) 94–139) with gates named after specific divinities (*IG* XII.8 356; Picard (1962)). The walls enclosed an area of almost 70 ha. Following the attack of Histiaios in 494, the Thasians used their great wealth to strengthen their existing fortification walls (Hdt. 6.46.2). In 491 Dareios ordered these walls to be torn down and the Thasian fleet conveyed to Abdera (Hdt. 6.46.1). These walls must have been rebuilt (or perhaps the order was never fully carried out), for the Thasian urban centre was fortified in 463, when the Athenians ordered the walls to be torn down again after the Thasian Revolt (Thuc. 1.101.3). In 411 the Thasians rebuilt their walls (Thuc. 8.64.3). These walls are mentioned in an inscription of C4l–C3e (*Ét. Thas.* 5 223 no. 376 = Maier (1959–61) no. 55), and ruins of them, with gates and towers, are still to be seen in the city (Grandjean and Salviat (1999), (1995), (1990), (1993)).

Thasian public architecture included a *prytaneion*, attested as early as C5f (*SEG* 42 785.43–44) and frequently thereafter (*IG* XII.8 262.1 (C5l); restored, see *SEG* 38 851); Theophr. *De Odoribus* 51; cf. S. G. Miller (1978) no. 439; Duchêne

(1992) 98–99). The theatre claimed by Grandjean and Salviat (2000) 105 after Hippoc. *Epid.* 1.20 seems to be a misreading; Arist. *Poet.* 1448ª12 attests to a Thasian actor, but this does not prove that a pre-Hellenistic theatre existed on Thasos; the earliest evidence seems to be *I.Lampsakos* 1.21 (*c.*300), *IG* XII suppl. 354.a.21–2 (*c.*300) and the Hellenistic archaeological remains (*TGR* ii. 303–4). By C5f Thasos had an agora (Grandjean (1988) 480–85; Duchêne (1992) 101–4; Grandjean and Salviat (2000) 62–64; for an "agora of liars", see Hippoc. *Epid.* 3 cases 8 and 12). From C4m the agora was flanked with stoas, and in the north-eastern corner was a building of C4l with offices for magistrates (Grandjean and Salviat (2000) 62–71). Most extraordinary is the epigraphic attestation of a building called the *ἀργυραμοιβήϊον* in *c.*480–460, where Thasian civic officials oversaw the exchange and circulation of money (Duchêne (1992) 19–20 ll. 41–42, 79–85). Next to it stood a *συμπόσιον* (Duchêne (1992) 19–20 ll. 41–42, pp. 79–85). Thasos had two harbours, one of which is described as *κλειστός* (Ps.-Skylax 67). The Thasians had military facilities for their ships by *c.*500 (Grandjean and Salviat (2000) 52–57).

We know a fair amount about settlement patterns in the Thasian countryside, thanks in part to a remarkable inscription found at Aliki (see *infra*) which gives directions and distances around the island (Salviat and Servais (1964)). The inscription mentions two places. The first from the city (*polis*), *Αἴνυρα*, was known already from Herodotos in connection with the Thasian mines (6.47.2) and must be a region rather than a village (Salviat and Servais (1964) 282 with n. 1; which is not to say that there might not also have been a settlement with the same name). The other is called *τὸ Διάσιον τὸ ἐν Δημητρίῳ*, which was a sanctuary of Zeus located at a place, probably a settlement, called Demetrion (ibid. 285); if this place has been rightly located, the village's god will have been Apollo Komaios (ibid. 287). Koinyra (Hdt. 6.47.2) was a village with mines nearby (*Barr.* C). The modern village of Aliki lies at the site of an ancient settlement with a sanctuary that began in C7m, soon after the Parian colonisation of the island; Grandjean and Salviat (2000) 161–68), and of important marble mines that began to be exploited in C6 (*Barr.* AC). Remains of a Classical settlement have been found at modern Koukos, near the southern tip of the island (*Barr.* C). The name *Ἀἰγγροκλῆς* may derive from the Thasian river Angros (Hdt. 4.49.2 with L. Robert (1938) 201–2). The mines and quarries found in many places on the island were exploited from at least C6 (Muller (1979); des Courtils *et al.* (1982); Weisgerber and Wagner (1988*a*), (1988*b*); Sodini *et al.* (1980)). The remains of many towers no doubt represent farmsteads (Bon (1930); Osborne (1986)), but there is also a lighthouse (*pharos*) constructed in C6e in memory of Akeratos (*IG* XII.8 683 with Koželj and Wurch-Koželj (1989)). Ateliers of amphoras continue to be found throughout the Thasian countryside (Garlan (1999) 2–4).

The Thasians struck silver coins on the so-called Thrako–Makedonian standard from C6l (perhaps first in 520–510) up until C5l. It is hard to find much sign of the defeat of the Thasians by the Athenians on Thasian coinage (Duchêne (1992) 87). The coins have been sorted into three general groups on the basis of variations in details of the types, especially in the appearance of the maenad; the date of the groups is imprecise, but they fall roughly in order from C6l/C5e through C5 to perhaps 412–404 for the third group. Types: *obv.* satyr/Silenos with a maenad (stater, trite), or satyr alone (hemihekte), or head of satyr (hekte), or two dolphins (quarter hekte), or dolphin (eighth hekte); *rev.* incuse square (all denominations). Anepigraphic till C5e, when legends appear: *ΘΑΣΙ* (hekte), *ΘΑΣΙΩΝ* (hemihekte), *ΘΑ* (quarter and eighth hekte). After an apparent pause in minting (404–391), a new coinage on a new system (but the same standard) starts (probably) in 390, with the return of democracy to Thasos, and runs to *c.*335; some modifications were introduced *c.*360. The new coinage includes issues in gold and bronze along with silver. Denominations now include tetradrachms and drachms (replacing the old trite of the stater) in gold and silver; dichalkons, triobols, hemiobols and chalkous in bronze. Types: *obv.* Dionysos, bearded or juvenile (gold, silver), or head of Herakles (bronze); *rev.* Herakles as archer; legend: *ΘΑΣΙΟΝ* (gold, silver), or Silenos with kantharos or amphora (gold), or Herakles' symbols (bow, club, star); legend: *ΘΑΣΙΟΝ* (bronze; Pouilloux (1954) 216–17; Picard (1982), (1987); Duchêne (1992) 85–87; Grandjean and Salviat (2000) 303–9; *SNG Cop. Thrace* 1007–35).

The Thasians are said to have colonised the Hedonian city of Myrkinos (no. 633), Galepsos (no. 631) and Oisyme (no. 635); cf. Thuc. 4.107.3 and 5.61.1. An inscription attests to their colonisation of Neapolis (no. 634) (*IG* I³ 101.7 = ML 89.7: *ἄποικοι ὄντες Θασίων* (110/9)) (*infra* 863). For the Thasian *peraia*, see Hdt. 6.46.2–3, 7.109.2; Dem. 50.47; Diod. 11.68.4, 16.3.7. Thasian magistrates in the *peraia* are attested *c.*400 (*IG* XII suppl. 347II = Salviat (1986) 147–48; cf. Loukopoulou (1989) 62, 185).

527. Thera (Theraios) Map 61. Lat. 36.20; long. 25.30. Size of territory: 2 (83 km²). Type: A. The toponym is *Θήρα*, *ἡ*

(Pind. *Pyth.* 4.20; Arist. *Pol.* 1290^{b}11; *IG* XII.7 6.6; *F.Delphes* III.1 497.12 (C4l/C3e)), in the Ionic dialect *Θήρη* (Hdt. 4.147.4); the toponym denotes both the island and the town (Strabo 8.3.19). The city-ethnic is *Θηραῖος* (ML 5.6 (C4f); Pind. *Pyth.* 4.10). Thera is called a *polis* in the political sense (ML 5.37 (C7); Arist. *Pol.* 1290^{b}11–12); the territorial sense seems to be a connotation at Hdt. 4.150.2. At Pind. *Pyth.* 4.20 Thera is called a *matropolis*. The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally in a C4f version of what claims to be a Theraian decree of C7s (ML 5.25) and in abbreviated form on bronze coins of C4 (*infra*); it is attested externally in inscriptions (*IG* I^{3} 71.I.68 (425/4); ML 5.2 (C4)) and in literary sources (Hdt. 4.150.1). The individual and external use is found in Athenian C5 inscriptions (*IG* I^{3} 30.5 (C5m), *IG* I^{3} 977–80 (C5s)) and in literary sources (Hdt. 4.154.3).

Thera was regarded as one of the Kyklades (Thuc. 2.9.4); for Strabo it is one of the islands near Crete (10.5.1). The names of a number of smaller settlements around Thera are known, and some of them have been located and explored archaeologically. Oia (*IG* XII.3 suppl. 1291.10) shows traces of settlement from the Archaic period to the end of Antiquity (see especially *IG* XII.3 526), and Eleusis has produced evidence of settlement from the Classical period (Hiller von Gaertringen (1899–1909) i.299–308). There may have been a settlement of Archaic and Classical date at modern Perissa (Sperling (1973) 30–31).

Thera was generally recognised to be a colony of Sparta (no. 345) under the oecist Theras (Hdt. 4.147–49; Pind. *Pyth.* 4.251–59 and 5.72–76; Paus. 3.1.7–8, cf. *IG* XII.3 382 (C4); Malkin (1994) 89–111); in C4f Akesandros claimed that the oecist was called Samos and that a descendant called Aristoteles led the colony to Kyrene (no. 1028) ((*FGrHist* 469) fr. 5a). The early and better version attributes the foundation of Kyrene, around 631, to Battos (Hdt. 4.150–58; Pind. *Pyth.* 4.4–8, 5.85–95; ML 5; see Malkin (1987) 60–69; on the oath in ML 5, see now Dobias-Lalou (1994), who argues that the text was Theraian). In Herodotos' version, it was a severe and prolonged drought that drove the Therans to consult Apollo at Delphi and dispatch colonists. Menekles of Barka (C2) claims rather that *stasis* on Thera drove one of the factions off the island, but this may be a reflection of Hellenistic history making or of C4e problems on the island ((*FGrHist* 270) fr. 6; cf. Ager (2001) 107). The Therans at Kyrene maintained their identity separately from settlers from the Peloponnesos and Crete until C6 (Hdt. 4.161.3).

Hostile to Athens in 431 (Thuc. 2.9.4), the Theraians are recorded as paying members of the Delian League from 430/29 (*IG* I^{3} 281.II.54, completely restored) or 429/8 (*IG* I^{3} 282.III.23, partially restored) to at least 418/17 (*IG* I^{3} 287.I.10) and possibly 416/15 (*IG* I^{3} 289.I.10, completely restored). Mattingly (1996) 77 argues that *IG* I^{3} 282 should be dated rather to 427/6 and that Thera was added to the Athenian sphere of authority at that date. Thera belonged to the Island district and was assessed for tribute in 425/4 (*IG* I^{3} 71.I.68) (5 tal.); cf. the decree of 426/5 (*IG* I^{3} 68) in which Thera, paired with Samos, was denied the privilege of electing *eklogeis* to collect the tribute, perhaps as a punishment (*IV* I^{3} 68 21–24).

Thera fell under Spartan hegemony after the Peloponnesian War and may have continued to be under that authority until Chabrias' expedition in the Aegean in 377/6 (Diod. 15.30.5). Part of the Theraian state, [*Θη*]*ραίων* [*ὁ δ*]*ῆμος* (*IG* II^{2} 43.B.1–2), may have joined the Second Athenian Naval League in the early 370s (Coleman and Bradeen (1967); but cf. Cargill (1981) 45–47: [- *c.*2 -]*ραίων* [*ὁ δ*]*ῆμος*), which is restored in *IG* II^{2} as [*Κερκυ*] *ραίων*; the expression here has recently been interpreted to reflect *stasis* on the island between oligarchic and democratic factions (Ager (2001); see *infra*). The Kyrenaians (no. 1028) renewed in C4f the *isopoliteia* the Theraians had long enjoyed at Kyrene (ML 5.12–13 (C4f)). The Theraians received grain from Kyrene during the crisis of *c.*330–326 (*SEG* 9 2.17; cf. Marasco (1992) and Gasperini (1996) 106 n. 18).

As befits a colony of Sparta (see *supra*), the eponymous official on Thera was a board of three *ephoroi* (*IG* XII.3 336 (C3 but presumably to be interpreted retrospectively)). In the Archaic period Thera had a king (Hdt. 4.150.2). From Arist. *Pol.* 1290^{b}11–14 it can be inferred that, in an earlier period, Thera had been an oligarchy in which citizen rights were restricted to the descendants of the original colonists. The presumption is that Thera in C4s had become a democracy. It cannot be established when the constitution was changed from monarchy to oligarchy and from oligarchy to democracy.

Recently *stasis* between oligarchic and democratic factions has been suggested for the 370s; evidence includes the restoration of [*Θη*]*ραίων* [*ὁ δ*]*ῆμος* at *IG* II^{2} 43B.1–2 (see *supra*), the appearance of an *ekklesia* in an inscription of C4 (*IG* XII.3 suppl. 1289, *infra*), and the unlikely assumption that, in the famous inscription from Kyrene (ML 5), the *polis* referred to in line 3 is Thera and not Kyrene itself; see on all this Ager (2001) 101–13, with other arguments; but it is better to be cautious here (Dreher (1995) 13–14 n. 14).

There is no basis for Gigon's view that the Aristotelian collection of *politeiai* included a Constitution of the Theraians (no. 62). *Damiorgoi* are known from inscriptions of *c.*500(?) and C4 (*IG* XII.3 450.2–3, 16–17; Jeffery (1990) 323 for the date; *IG* XII.3 suppl. 1289 (C4)); the later inscription may also attest

to an assembly (ἐκκλησια) functioning as a court in criminal actions (*IG* XII.3 suppl. 1289). Public enactments include a sacrificial regulation *c.*500(?) apparently regulating sacrifice to Athena (*IG* XII.3 450 with Jeffery (1990) 323), another of C4e (*IG* XII.3 452; *LSCG* no. 133; Gialelis (1997) 50–51 (but cf. *SEG* 45 1104)), and a law regulating sacrifice to the Mother of the Gods (*IG* XII.3 436 (C4)). The Theraians may have had an agreement or treaty with the Athenians (no. 361) in C4f (*IG* II² 179c with Ager (2001) 101, 109–10). A Theraian citizen received *proxenia* from Arkesine (no. 472) (*IG* XII.7 6 (C4)).

Theraian citizens were organised into *phylai* (Hdt. 4.148.1), obviously the three Dorian *phylai* all attested on the island: Hylleis (*IG* XII.3 378 (C4)), Dymanes (*IG* XII.3 377 (C4), restored) and Pamphyloi (*IG* XII.3 626 (Roman), abbreviated). The seven *choroi* noted by Herodotos (4.153) should perhaps be associated with the toponyms of Eleusis, Melainai and Oia (so Jones, *POAG* 215–16).

The patron deities were Zens Polias and Athena Polias (*IG* XII.3 suppl. 1362 (C5?; for the date, see at *IG* XII.3 427 with *IG* XII.3 495 (first century AD) *IG* XII.3 427 may also refer to Zeus Polias). Other communal cults included those of Artemis(?) Soteira (*IG* XII.3 155a (no date)) and Zeus Damatrios (?) (*IG* XII.3 418 with Kose (1997); *SEG* 45 1105). A wide variety of deities is mentioned in rock-cut inscriptions of Archaic and Classical date (*IG* XII.3 350–83, 399–406, suppl. 1312–13, 1316–18). The Theraians consulted Apollo at Delphi in connection with the founding of a colony at Kyrene (Hdt. 4.155.3; ML 5.10–11, 24–25; cf. Fontenrose (1978) 283–85 Q45–9, Q51). As for the calendar, two months are attested in C4, Artamitios and Hyakinthios (*IG* XII.3 452 = *LSCG* no. 133; *IG* XII.3 436); the first is known in Kyrene too, the second shows Thera's connection with Lakedaimon (Trümpy, *Monat.* 186).

We have no information on whether Thera was walled before the Hellenistic period (W. Dörpfeld argued in favour of an early fortification wall in Hiller von Gaertringen (1899–1909) i.190–96, but withdrew his interpretation of the evidence in iii.160–61; cf. Sperling (1973) 90); the ruins seen today date mostly from the massive Hellenistic rebuilding of the city in connection with its use as a major Ptolemaic base (Bagnall (1976) 123–34). A *basilike stoa* (*IG* XII.3 326.18–20 (second century AD)) has been thought "conceivably . . . archaic" (Hansen and Fischer-Hansen (1994) 80), but was rebuilt in any case and dedicated in 161/60 by P. Mummius Sisenna Rutilianus (see now Dietz (1993)); it is possible that the original structure was erected by or in honour of the island's Ptolemaic hegemons. A temple of Apollo Karneios, which may have been the chief archive of the city, is known from *c.*600 (Hiller von Gaertringen (1899–1909) i.275–83, iii.63–70; Sperling (1973) 82–84) and one of Apollo Pythios from C6 (*IG* XII.3 322.20 (C2)). Thera had an agora of Archaic and Classical date (Witschel (1997) 24–25). A sanctuary of Athena existed from at least C5s at modern Skaros (*IG* XII.3 411; Sperling (1973) 35–36). Property belonging to the Mother of the Gods is attested by an inscription of C4 (*IG* XII.3 436; Sperling (1973) 33–34).

The island of Therasia lies opposite Thera, across the flooded caldera of the volcano that exploded in about 1648 to create the topography of this little archipelago. (The smaller islands in the caldera were created by post-Classical eruptions; see Forsyth (1992).) Although there is some evidence to suggest that Therasia had an independent political existence for a time in C3 (an ethnic in *IG* XI.2 120.48 (236) with L. Robert (1946) 93), there is no evidence for the Archaic or Classical periods to suggest that it was anything more than a dependency of Thera at best, or simply a part of the territory of Thera at the least. For the toponym Therasia (Θηρασία), see Strabo 1.3.16, 10.5.1; Plut. *Mor.* 399C; Steph. Byz. 313.18–20; Ptol. *Geog.* 3.15.28. Ruins reported on the north-west part of the island have been associated with the *polis* of Ptolemy (3.15.28; cf. Sperling (1973) 40–41).

Anepigraphic silver staters of C7 on the Aiginetan standard have sometimes been assigned to Thera. Types: *obv.* two dolphins swimming right and left; *rev.* incuse square (Head *HN*² 480; Boutin (1986) 1–6 reasserts the attribution; accepted by Sheedy (1998*a*) 321). Otherwise Thera seems to have coined only in bronze starting in C4. Types: *obv.* head of Apollo, facing or in profile, or head of Zeus, or head of Hermes, or female head; *rev.* rushing bull sometimes with dolphins, or three dolphins, or lyre, or fulmen, or caduceus; legend: ΘΗ or ΘΗΡ (Head, *HN*² 493; *SNG Cop. Aegean Islands* 789–91).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Accame, S. 1941. *La lega atenese del sec. IV a.C.* (Rome).

——1941–43. "Iscrizioni del Cabirio di Lemno", *ASAtene* 3–5: 75–105.

Ager, S. L. 1996. *Interstate Arbitrations in the Greek World, 337–90 B.C.* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London).

——2001. "4th Century Thera and the Second Athenian Sea League", *The Ancient World* 32: 99–119.

Aleura, G., Kalopisi, S., Laimou, A., and Panagiotidi, M. 1990. "*Ανασκαφή στην Καρδάμαινα (αρχαία Αλασάρνα) της Κω κατά τα ετη* 1988–1990", *Prakt* 342–67.

Alfieri Tonini, T. 1999. "Il decreto ateniese per Carpato (*IG* I³ 1454A): una proposta di interpretazione", in *XI Congresso internazionale di epigrafia greca e latina, Roma, 18–24 settembre 1997, Atti* i (Rome) 157–65.

Amandry, P. 1953. *La Colonne des Naxiens et la portique des Athéniens*, Fouilles de Delphes, ii (Paris).

Archontidou-Arghyri, A. 1994. "*Η Μύρινα υπό το φως των ανασκαφών*", *Archaiologia* 50: 50–55.

Artemis-Gyselen, L. 1977. "Les monnaies archaïques de Ténos", *RBN* 123: 5–15.

Ashton, N. G. 1991. *Siphnos: Ancient Towers B.C.* (Athens).

Ashton, R. H. J. 1999*a*. "The Coinage of Nisyros", in M. Amandry and S. Hurter (eds.), *Travaux de numismatique grecque offerts à Georges Le Rider* (London) 15–24.

——1999*b*. "The Late Classical–Early Hellenistic Drachms of Knidos", *RN* 154: 63–94.

——1999*c*. "Some Early Rhodian Forgeries", *NC* 159: 293–94.

Ashton, R., and Hurter, S. (eds.) 1998. *Studies in Greek Numismatics in Memory of Martin Jessop Price* (London).

Bagnall, R. 1976. *The Administration of the Ptolemaic Possessions outside Egypt* (Leiden).

Balcer, J. M. 1967. "Peparethos: The Early Coinage Reconsidered", *SNR* 46: 25–32.

——1975. "Peparethos: Further Notes", *SNR* 54: 33–36.

Barron, J. P. 1968. "The Fifth-Century Diskoboloi of Kos", in C. M. Kraay and G. K. Jenkins (eds.), *Essays in Greek Coinage Presented to Stanley Robinson* (Oxford) 75–89.

Bean, G. E., and Cook, J. M. 1957. "The Carian Coast III", *BSA* 52: 58–146.

Benson, J. L. 1963. *Ancient Leros* (Durham. NC).

——1976. "Leros", *PECS* 501.

Bernard, P., and Salviat, F. 1962. "Inscriptions de Thasos", *BCH* 86: 578–611.

Berranger, D. 1989–90. "Archiloche de Myriné", *Onomata* 13: 64–65.

——1992. *Recherches sur l'histoire et la prosopographie de Paros à l'époque archaïque* (Clermont-Ferrand).

Berranger-Auserve, D. 2000. *Paros, ii: Prosopographie générale et étude historique du début de la période classique jusqu'à la fin de l'époque romaine* (Clermont-Ferrand).

Beschi, L. 1994. "*Η ιστορική σημασία του ιερού των Καβείρων στη Λημνω*", in *Λῆμνος φιλτάτη, Πρακτικά του 1ου Συνεδρίου Δημάρχων του Αιγαίου, Μύρινα Λημνου, Αυγούστου 1992* (Athens) 65–77.

Blass, F. 1892. *Die attische Beredsamkeit*³ 3 vols. (Leipzig).

Boardman, J. 1978. "Review of Themelis (1976)", *CR* 92: 186.

Bon, A. 1930. "Les ruines antiques dans l'île de Thasos et en particulier les tours helléniques", *BCH* 54: 147–94.

—— and Seyrig, H. 1929. "Le sanctuaire de Poséidon à Thasos", *BCH* 53: 317–50.

Boutin, S. 1986. "Essai de classement de monnaies archaïques de la mer Égée au type des deux dauphins", in R. Margolis and H. Voegtli (eds.), *Numismatics—Witness to History/La numismatique—témoin de l'histoire* (Wetteren) 1–10.

Bowen, A. 1992. *Plutarch: The Malice of Herodotus (de Malignitate Herodoti)* (Warminster).

Brock, J., and Macworth Young, G. 1949. "Excavations at Siphnos", *BSA* 44: 1–92.

Brun, P. 1989. "L'île de Kéos et ses cités au IVe s. av. J.-C", *ZPE* 76: 121–38.

——1993*a*. "La faiblesse insulaire: histoire d'un topos", *ZPE* 99: 165–96.

——1993*b*. "La stèle des céréales de Cyrène et la commerce du grain en Égée au IVo s. av. J.C." ZPE 99: 185–96.

——1996. *Les Archipels égéens dans l'antiquité grecque (Ve–IIe siècles av. notre ère)* (Paris).

——1997. "Du fromage de Kythnos au marbre de Paros: la question des appellations controllées (?) dans l'antiquité grecque", *RÉA* 99: 401–9.

Bruneau, P. 1970. *Recherches sur les cultes de Délos à l'époque hellénistique et à l'époque romaine* (Paris).

——1988. "Deliaca (VII)", *BCH* 112: 577–82.

——1990. "Deliaca (VIII)", *BCH* 114: 553–91.

—— and Ducat, J. 1983. *Guide de Délos*³ (Paris).

Brunet, M. 1997. "Thasos et son empire à la fin du Ve et au début du IVe s. a.C.", in *Esclavage, guerre, économie en Grèce ancienne. Hommages à Yvon* Garlan, eds. P. Brulé and J. Oulhen (Rennes) 229–42.

—— (ed.) 1999. *Territoires des cités grecques.: actes de la table ronde internationale organisée par l'École française d'Athènes, 31 octobre–3 novembre 1991*, *BCH* suppl. 34 (Paris).

Buchholz, H. G., and Althaus, E. 1982. *Nisyros, Giali, Kos: ein Vorbericht über archäologisch-mineralogische Forschungen auf griechischen Inseln* (Mainz am Rhein).

Bugh, G. 1988. *The Horsemen of Athens* (Princeton).

Bürchner, L. 1919. "Karpathos", *RE* x. 2000–4.

——1921. "Keos", *RE* xi. 182–89.

——1925. "Leros", *RE* xii. 2094–98.

Burkert, W. 1993. "Concordia Discors: The Literary and the Archaeological Evidence on the Sanctuary of Samothrace", in N. Marinatos and R. Hägg (eds.), *Greek Sanctuaries: New Approaches* (London and New York) 178–91.

Butz, P. 1996. "Prohibitionary Inscriptions, *Χένοι*, and the Influence of the Early Greek Polis", in R. Hägg (ed.), *The Role of Religion in the Early Greek Polis* (Stockholm) 75–95.

Cahn, H. A. 1957. "Poseidon on Karpathos?", *NC*, 6th ser. 17: 11–12.

Cambitoglou, A., Coulton, J., Birmingham, J., and Green, J. 1971. *Zagora*, i (Sydney).

Cambitoglou, A., Birchall, A, Coulton, J., and Green, J. 1988. *Zagora*, ii (Athens).

Cargill, J. 1981. *The Second Athenian League: Empire of Free Alliance?* (Berkeley).

——1995. *The Athenian Settlements of the Fourth Century B.C.*, *Mnemosyne* suppl. 145 (Leiden, New York and Cologne).

——1996. "The Decree of Aristoteles", *AncW* 27: 39–51.

Cartledge, P. 2002. *Sparta and Lakonia: A Regional History 1300–362 BC*² (London and New York).

Chamonard, J. 1922. *Le Quartier du Théâtre: étude sur l'habitation délienne à l'époque hellénistique*, Exploration archéologique de Délos, viii, 2 vols. (Paris).

Chankowski, V., and Domaradzka, L. 1999. "Réédition de l'inscription de Pistiros et problèmes d'interprétation" *BCH* 123: 247–58.

Charre, R., and Couilloud-Le Dinahet, M.-T. 1999. "Sites de fermes à Rhénée", in Brunet (1999) 135–57.

Cherry, J. F. 1982. "A Preliminary Definition of Site Distribution on Melos", in Renfrew and Wagstaff (1982) 10–23.

—— and Sparkes, B. A. 1982. "A Note on the Topography of the Ancient Settlement of Melos", in Renfrew and Wagstaff (1982) 53–57.

——Davis, J. L., and Mantzourani, E. (eds.) 1991. *Landscape Archaeology as Long-term History: Northern Keos in the Cycladic Islands from Earliest Settlement until Modern Times* (Los Angeles).

Choix = F. Durrbach, *Choix des inscriptions de Délos*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1921–22).

Cole, S. G. 1984. *Theoi Megaloi: The Cult of the Great Gods at Samothrace* (Leiden).

——1995. "Civic Cult and Civic Identity", *CPCActs* 2: 292–325.

Coleman, J. E., and Bradeen, D. W. 1967. "Thera on I.G., II², 43", *Hesperia* 36: 102–4.

Collins, D. 2001. "Theoris of Lemnos and the Criminalization of Magic in Fourth-Century Athens", *CQ* 51: 477–93.

Costa, V. 1996. "Ligdami, Pisistrato, e la fondazione della tirannide nassia", in Lanzillotta and Schilardi (eds.), (1996) 155–70.

——1997. *Nasso dalle origini al V sec. a.C.* (Rome).

Couilloud, M. T. 1974. *Les Monuments funéraires de Rhénée*, Exploration archéologique de Délos, xxx (Paris).

Coulton, J. J. 1976. *The Architectural Development of the Greek Stoa* (Oxford).

Counillon, P. 2001. "Les Cyclades chez les géographes grecs", *RÉA* 103: 11–23.

Courbin, P. 1980. *L'Oikos des Naxiens*, Exploration archéologique de Délos, xxxiii (Paris).

Courby, F. 1931. *Les Temples d'Apollon*, Exploration archéologique de Délos 12 (Paris).

Daux, G., and Hansen, E. 1987. *Le Trésor de Siphnos*, Fouilles de Delphes, ii, 2 vols. (Paris).

Davis, J. L., and Cherry, J. 1991. "The Ptolemaic Base at Koressos on Keos", *BSA* 86: 9–28.

Dawkins, R. M. 1902–3. "Notes from Karpathos", *BSA* 9: 176–210.

—— and Wace, A. J. B. "Notes from the Sporades, Astypalaea, Telos, Nisyros, Leros", *BSA* 12: 151–74.

Della Seta, A. 1924–25. "Cronaca delle Belle Arti: R. Scuola archeologica italiana di Atene", *BdA* 18/n.s. 4: 77–93.

Demand, N. 1990. *Urban Relocation in Archaic and Classical Greece: Flight and Consolidation* (Norman, Okla.).

des Courtils, J., Koželj, T., and Muller, A. 1982. "Des mines d'or à Thasos", *BCH* 106: 409–17.

Despinis, G. 1979. "Ἀνασκαφὴ Τήνου", *Prakt* 228–35.

Dietz, K. 1993. "Die beiden P. Mummii Sisennae und der Wiederaufbau der Basilike Stoa von Thera", *Chiron* 23: 295–311.

Di Vita, A. 1998–2000. "Atti della Scuola, 1988–2000", *ASAtene* 60–62: 375–466.

Dobias-Lalou, C. 1994. "Langue et politique: à quoi sert la dialecte dans la Cyrénaïque romaine?", *LibSt* 25: 245–50.

Doulgéri-Intzessiloglou, A., and Garlan, Y. 1990. "Vin et amphores de Péparéthos et d'Ikos", *BCH* 114: 361–89.

Dreher, M. 1985. "Zu den IG II(2) 404, dem athenischen Volksbeschluß über die Eigenstaatlichkeit der keischen Poleis", in G. Thür (ed.), *Symposium 1985: Vorträge zur griechischen und hellenistischen Rechtsgeschichte (Ringberg, 24.–26. Juli 1985)* (Cologne and Vienna) 263–81.

——1995. *Hegemon und Symmachoi: Untersuchungen zum Zweiten Athenischen Seebund*. Untersuchungen zur antiken Literatur und Geschichte 46 (Berlin and New York).

Duchêne, H. 1992. *La Stèle du port: Fouilles du port*, i, Études Thasiennes 14 (Paris).

——and Fraisse, Ph. 2001. *Le Paysage portuaire de la Délos antique: recherches sur les installations maritimes, commerciales et urbaines du littoral délien*, Exploration archéologique de Délos xxxix, (Paris and Athens).

Dugit, E. 1867. *De Insula Naxo* (Paris).

Dunant, C., and Pouilloux, J. 1957. *Recherches sur l'histoire et les cultes de Thasos*, ii: *De 196 avant J.-C. jusqu'à la fin de antiquité*, Études Thasiennes 5, (Paris).

—— and Thomopoulos, J. 1954. "Inscriptions de Céos", *BCH* 78: 316–48.

Dunst, G. 1974. "Die Inschriften von Korsiai", in *Mélanges helléniques offerts à Georges Daux* (Paris) 115–37.

Ebert, J. 1972. *Griechische Epigramme auf Sieger an gymnasischen und hippischen Agonen* (Berlin).

Ehrhardt, H. 1985. *Samothrake: Heiligtümer in ihrer Landschaft und Geschichte als Zeugen antiken Geisteslebens* (Stuttgart).

Ehrhardt, N. 1983. *Milet und seine Kolonien* (Frankfurt am Main).

——1987. "Die politischen Beziehungen zwischen den griechischen Schwarzmeergründungen und ihren Mutterstädten", in A. Fol (ed.), *Acta Centri Historiae: Terra antiqua Balcanica*, ii (Sophia) 78–117.

Erxleben, E. 1970. "Das Münzgesetz des delisch-attischen Seebundes, ii: Die Münzen", *ArchPF* 20: 66–132.

Étienne, R. 1984. "*Astu* et *polis* à Ténos (Cyclades)", *Ktema* 9: 205–11.

——1990. *Ténos II: Ténos et les Cyclades du milieu du IVe siècle av. J.-C. au milieu du IIIe siècle ap. J.C.* (Paris).

——1997. "Le Prytanée de Délos", *RÉA* 99: 305–24.

—— and Braun, J.-P. 1986. *Ténos*, i: *Le sanctuaire de Poséidon et d'Amphitrite* (Paris and Athens).

Fiehn, K. 1934. "Telos", *RE* 2.v.1 427–31.

Figueira, T. J. 1991. *Athens and Aigina in the Age of Imperial Colonization* (Baltimore).

——1998. *The Power of Money: Coinage and Politics in the Athenian Empire* (Philadelphia).

Finley, M. I. 1985. *Studies in Land and Credit in Ancient Athens 500–200 B.C.: The* Horos *Inscriptions*[2] (New Brunswick, NJ, and Oxford).

Flensted-Jensen, P., and Hansen, M. H. 1996. "Pseudo-Skylax' Use of the Term *Polis*", *CPCPapers* 3: 137–67.

Fontenrose, J. 1978. *The Delphic Oracle: Its Responses and Operations with a Catalogue of Responses* (Berkeley).

Forsyth, P. Y. 1992. "After the Big Bang: Eruptive Activity in the Caldera of Greco-Roman Thera", *GRBS* 33: 191–204.

Fraser, P. M. 1960. *Samothrace*, ii.1: *The Inscriptions on Stone* (New York).

—— and Bean, G. E. 1954. *The Rhodian Peraea and Islands* (Oxford).

Fredrich, C. 1906*a*. "Lemnos", *AM* 31: 60–86, 241–56.

——1906*b*. "Skiathos und Peparethos", *AM* 31: 99–128.

——1906*c*. "Skyros", *AM* 31: 257–78.

——1908. "Imbros", *AM* 33: 81–112.

Galani, G., Mendoni, L., and Papageorgiadou, Ch. 1982–84. "Επιφανειακὴ ἔρευνα στὴν Κέα", *Archaiognosia* 3: 237–43.

Gallet de Santerre, H. 1958. *Délos primitive et archaïque* (Paris).

——1959. *La terrasse des lions, le Létôon et le monument de granit à Délos*, Exploration archéologique de Délos xxiv (Paris).

Garlan, Y. 1999. *Les Timbres amphoriques de Thasos*, i: *Timbres protothasiens and thasiens anciens*, Études Thasiennes 18 (Athens and Paris).

Gasperini, L. 1996. "Le Cicladi nelle fonti epigrafiche cirenaiche", in Lanzillotta and Schilardi (1996) 101–11.

Gauthier, P. 1972. *Symbola: Les étrangers et la justice dans les cités grecques.* (Nancy).

——1992. "L'archonte éponyme à Ténos", *REG* 105: 111–20.

——1996. "Epigraphica III", *RPhil* 70: 31–48.

Gawantka, W. 1975. *Isopolitie: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der zwischenstaatlichen Beziehungen in der griechischen Antike* (Munich).

Georgiou, H., and Faraklas, N. 1985. "Ancient Habitation Patterns of Keos: Locations and Nature of Sites on the Northwest Part of the Island", *Ariadne* 3: 207–66.

Giallelis, N. 1997. "Die Kultstätte im Bezirk Christos", in Hoepfner (1997).

Giannantoni, G. 1990. *Socratis et socraticorum reliquiae*[2], 4 vols. (Bibliopolis).

Gneisz, D. 1990. Das antike Rathaus: das griechische Bouleuterion und frührömische Curia. Dissertationen der Universität Wien 205 (Vienna).

Gorman, V. 2001. *Miletos, the Ornament of Ionia: A History of the City to 400 B.C.E.* (Ann Arbor).

Gounaris, A. P. 1998. "Poleodomia kai teichi tis archaias poleos Kythnou", in Mendoni and Mazarakis 381–435.

Graham A. J. 1983. *Colony and Mother City in Ancient Greece*[2] (Chicago).

——1998. "The Woman at the Window: Observations on the 'Stele from the Harbour' of Thasos", *JHS* 118: 22–40.

——2001. "The Foundation of Thasos", in *Collected Papers on Greek Colonization* (Leiden) 165–229.

——2002. "The Colonization of Samothrace", *Hesperia* 71: 231–60.

—— and Smith, R. A. 1989. "An Ellipse in the Thasian Decree about Delation (ML 83)?" *AJP* 110: 405–12.

Graindor, P. 1903. "Inscriptions de Céos", *MusB* 7: 290–95, 471–73.

——1904. "Fouilles de Ios", *BCH* 28: 308–33.

——1905. "Fouilles de Karthaia (Ile de Kéos)", *BCH* 29: 329–61.

——1910. "Fouilles et recherches à Tenos (1909)", *MusB* 14: 233–51.

Grandjean, Y. 1988. *Recherches sur l'habitat thasien à l'époque grecque*, Études Thasiennes 12. 2 vols. (Athens and Paris).

—— and Salviat, F. 1988. "Décret d'Athènes, restaurant la démocratie à Thasos en 407 av. J.-C.: *IG* XII 8, 262 complété", *BCH* 112: 249–78.

—— —— 1990. "Thasos. 2.—Le rempart", *BCH* 114: 887–92.

—— —— 1993. "Thasos. 2.—Le rempart", *BCH* 117: 652–58.

—— —— 1995. "Thasos. 1.—Le rempart", *BCH* 119: 661–67.

—— —— 1999. "Thasos. 1. La porte de Zeus et le rempart", *BCH* 123: 482–87.

—— —— 2000. *Guide de Thasos*[2] (Paris and Athens).

Gruben, G. 1982*a*. "Naxos und Paros: Vierter vorläufiger Bericht über die Forschungskampagnen 1972–1980. I. Archaische Bauten; II. Klassische und hellenistiche Bauten auf Paros", *AA* 1982: 159–95, 621–89.

——1982*b*. "Der Burgtempel A von Paros: Naxos-Paros, vierter vorläufiger Bericht", *AA* 1982: 197–229.

——1986. *Die Tempel der Griechen*[4] (Munich).

——1993. "Die inselionische Ordnung", in *Les Grands Ateliers d'architecture dans le monde Égéen du VIe siècle av. J.C.* (Paris) 97–109.

——1997. "Naxos und Delos: Studien zur archaischen Architektur der Kykladen", *JdI* 112: 261–416.

—— and Koenigs, W. 1968. "Der 'Hekatompedos' von Naxos: vorläufiger Bericht über die 1968 begonnene architektonische Untersuchung", *AA* 693–717.

Gruben, G. and Koenig, W. 1970. "Der 'Hekatompedos' von Naxos und der Burgtempel von Paros: Zweiter vorläufiger Bericht. Naxos", *AA* 135–53.

Gschnitzer, F. 1958. *Abhängige Orte im griechischen Altertum*, Zetemata 14 (Munich).

Guarducci, M. 1985. "Una nuova dea a Naxos in Sicilia e gli antichi legami fra la Naxos siceliota e l'omonima isola delle Cicladi", *MEFRA* 97: 7–34.

Habicht, C. 1996. "Divine Honours for King Antigonus Gonatas in Athens", *SCI* 15: 131–34.

——1997. *Athens from Alexander to Antony* (Cambridge, Mass.)

——2000. "Zur Chronologie der hellenistischen Eponyme von Kos", *Chiron* 30: 303–32.

Hackens, T. 1973. "Le monnayage de l'atelier de Délos à l'époque archaïque", in *Études déliennes publiées à l'occasion du centième anniversaire du début des fouilles de l'École française d'Athènes à Délos. BCH* suppl. 1 (Paris) 209–26.

Hansen, M. H. 1975. *Eisangelia: The Sovereignty of the People's Court in Athens in the Fourth Century B.C. and Impeachment of Generals and Politicians* (Odense).

——1984. "The Number of *Rhetores* in the Athenian *Ecclesia*, 355–322 B.C.", *GRBS* 25: 123–55.

——1997. "The Polis as an Urban Centre: The Literary and Epigraphical Evidence", *CPCActs* 4: 9–86.

——2000. "The Use of the Word *Polis* in the Attic Orators", *CPCPapers* 5: 151–60.

——and Fischer-Hansen, T. 1994. "Monumental Political Architecture in Archaic and Classical Greek Poleis. Evidence and Historical Significance", *CPC Papers* 1: 23–90.

Hasluck, F. W. 1909–10. "Terra Lemnia", *BSA* 16: 220–31.

Hatzianastasiou, O. 1981. "*Νάξος—Ικαρία—Πάρος—Τήνος—Μύκονος*", *ArchDelt* 36: *Chron.* 377–80.

Haussoullier, B. 1902. "Les îles milésiennes: Léros—Lepsia—Patmos—Les Korsiae", *RPhil* 26: 125–43.

Hellmann, M.-C., and Fraisse, P. 1979. *Le Monument aux hexagones et le portique des Naxiens*, Exploration archéologique de Délos xxxiii (Paris).

Hemberg, B. 1950. *Die Kabiren* (Uppsala).

Herbst, R. 1935. "Naxos", *RE* xvi.2. 2064–95.

——1937. "Peparethos", *RE* xix.1. 551–59.

Herzog, R. 1899. *Koische Forschungen und Funde* (Leipzig).

——1901. "Bericht über eine epigraphisch-archäologische Expedition auf der Insel Kos im Sommer 1900", *AA* 131–40.

——1902. "*Κρητικὸς πόλεμος*", *Klio* 2: 316–33.

——1903. "Vorläufiger Bericht über die archäologische Expedition auf der Insel Kos im Jahre 1902", *AA* 1–13.

——1928. *Heilige Gesetzte von Kos: Abhandlungen der preussischen Akadamie der Wissenschaften, philosoph.-hist. Klasse* 6 (Berlin).

——1942. "Symbolae Calymniae et Coae", *RivFil* 70: 1–20.

Hiller von Gaertringen, F. 1892. "Moderne und antike Ortsnamen auf Rhodos", *AM* 17: 307–18.

——1899–1909. *Thera: Untersuchungen, Vermessungen und Ausgrabungen in den Jahren 1895–1902*, i–iv (Berlin).

Hoepfner, W. (ed.) 1997. *Das dorische Thera*, v: *Stadtgeschichte und Kultstätten am nördlichen Stadtrand* (Berlin).

——(ed.) 1999. *Geschichte des Wohnens 5000 v. Chr—500 n. Chr.* (Ludwigsburg).

Holzman, B. 1994. *La Sculpture de Thasos: Corpus des reliefs*, i: *Reliefs à thème divin*, Études Thasiennes 15 (Paris).

Hope Simpson, R., and Lazenby, J. F. 1962. "Notes from the Dodecanese", *BSA* 57: 154–75.

————1970. "Notes from the Dodecanese II", *BSA* 65: 47–77.

————1973. "Notes from the Dodecanese III", *BSA* 68: 127–79.

Hornblower, S. 1982. *Mausolus* (Oxford).

Hübner, G. 1994. "Ein Heiligtum auf dem Kounadosberg von Paros: ein archaisches Relief aus Paros", *AA* 335–48.

Ingvaldsen, H. 2002. *Cos—Coinage and Society: The Chronology and Function of a City-State Coinage in the Classical and Hellenistic periods c. 390–c. 170 BC* (Oslo).

Jacquemin, A. 1999. *Offrandes monumentales à Delphes* (Athens).

Janko, R. 2001. "The Derveni Papyrus (Diagoras of Melos, *Apopyrgizontes logoi?*): A New Translation", *CP* 96: 1–32.

——2002. "The Derveni Papyrus: an Interim Text", *ZPE* 141: 1–62.

Jeffery, L. H. 1990. *The Local Scripts of Archaic Greece: A Study of the Origin of the Greek Alphabet and its Development from the Eighth to the Fifth Centuries B.C.*, rev. edn. with suppl. by A. W. Johnston (Oxford).

Johnston, A. 1998. "An Early Inscription from Skiathos", *BSA* 93: 389–92.

Jouanna, J. 1999. *Hippocrates*, trans. M. B. Debevoise (Baltimore).

Kader, I. 1995. "Heroa und Memorialbauten", in M. Wörrle and P. Zanker (eds.), *Stadtbild und Bürgerbild im Hellenismus*, Vestigia 47 (Munich) 199–229.

Kantzia, C. 1988. "Recent Archaeological Finds from Kos: New Indications for the Site of Kos-Meropis", in S. Dietz and I. Papachristodoulou (eds.), *Archaeology in the Dodecanese* (Copenhagen) 174–83.

Karamoutzou-Teza, S. 1987. "*Μιχρά θασιακά μελετήματα*, I–IV", *Dodoni* 16: 445–62.

Kent, J. H. 1948. "The Temple Estates of Delos, Rheneia, and Mykonos", *Hesperia* 17: 243–338.

Kenzler, U. 1999. *Studien zur Entwicklung und Struktur der griechischen Agora in archaischer und klassischer Zeit* (Frankfurt am Main).

Kiourtzian, G. 2000. *Recueil des inscriptions grecques chrétiennes des Cyclades de la fin du IIIe au VIIe siècle après J.C.* (Paris).

Knoepfler, D. 1993. "Adolf Wilhelm et la *pentétèris* des Amphiaraia d'Oropos: ré-examen de *A.P.* LIV 7 à la lumière du catalogue *IG* VII 414 et SEG 1, 126", in M. Pièrart (ed.), *Aristote et Athènes* (Paris) 279–302.

Koenen, L., and Merkelbach, R. 1976. "Apollodoros (*Περὶ θεῶν*), Epicharm und die Meropis", in A. E. Hanson (ed.), *Collectanea papyrologica. Texts Published in Honor of H. C. Youtie* (Bonn) i. 3–26.

Koenigs, W. 1972. "Beobachtungen zur Steintechnik am Apollon-Tempel von Naxos", *AA* 380–85.

Koerner, R. 1993. *Inschriftliche Gesetzestexte der frühen Griechischen Polis*, ed. Klaus Hallof (Cologne and Vienna).

Kokkorou-Aleura, G. 1992. "*Τὰ ἀρχαῖα λατομεῖα μαρμάρου τῆς Νάξου*", *ArchEph* 101–27.

—— Kalopissi-Verti, S., and Panayotidi, M. 1995–96. "Excavations at Kardamaina (Ancient Halasarna) in Kos", *Archaiognosia* 9: 313–33.

Kontoleon, N. M. 1952. "*Νέαι ἐπιγραφαὶ περὶ τοῦ Ἀρχιλόχου ἐκ Πάρου*", *ArchEph* 32–95.

—— 1954. "*Ἀνασκαφὴ ἐν Νάξῳ*", *Prakt* 330–38.

Kose, A. 1997. "Die Höhle Pilarou beim Felsheiligtum Christos", in Hoepfner (1997) 74–149.

Kouragios, Y. 1996. "Nuove indagini e scoperte nell'antica capitale di Paros", in Lanzillotta and Schilardi (1996) 211–27.

Koželj, T. and Wurch-Koželj, M. 1989. "Phares de Thasos", *BCH* 113: 161–81.

Kraay, C. M. 1964. "The Melos Hoard of 1907 Re-examined", *NC*, 7th ser. 4: 1–20.

—— 1976. *Archaic and Classical Greek Coins* (London).

Kroll, J. H., and Walker, A. S. 1993. *The Greek Coins*, *The Athenian Agora* 26 (Princeton).

Kyrou, A., and Artemis, D. N. 1998. "The Silver Coinage of Kythnos in the Early Fifth Century BC", in Ashton and Hurter (1998) 233–36.

Lambrinoudakis, V. K. 1979. "*Ἀνασκαφή Νάξου*", *Prakt* 249–58.

—— 1992. "*Ἐξι χρονία αρχαιολογικής έρευνας στα Ὑρια της Νάξου*", *ArchEph* 131: 201–16.

—— and Gruben, G. 1987–88. "*Ἀνασκαφή ἀρχαίου ἱεροῦ Ὑρια τῆς Νάξου. Ἡ ἔρευνα κατά τά ἔτη* 1982, 1986 *καί* 1987", *Archaiognosia* 5: 133–91.

—— and Wörrle, M. 1983. "Ein hellenistisches Reformgesetz über das öffentliche Urkundenwesen von Paros", *Chiron* 13: 283–368.

——Gruben, G., and Korre, M. 1977. "*Ανασχαφή Ναξίου*", *Prakt* 378–86.

Lang, F. 1996. *Archaische Siedlungen in Griechenland: Struktur und Entwicklung* (Berlin).

Lanzillotta, E. 1987. *Paro dall'età archaia all'età ellenistica* (Rome).

—— 1996. "Note di storiografia delia", in Lanzillotta and Schilardi (1996) 275–84.

—— and Schilardi, D. (eds.) 1996. *Le Cicladi ed il mondo egeo* (Rome).

Lauffer, S. (ed.) 1989. *Griechenland: Lexikon der historischen Stätten: von Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart* (Munich).

Laumonier, A. 1958. *Les Cultes indigènes en Carie* (Paris).

Launey, M. 1944. *Le sanctuaire et le culte d'Hérakles à Thasos*, Études thasiennes 1 (Paris).

Laurenzi, L. 1931. "Nuovi contributi alla topografia storico-archeologica di Coo", *Historia* 5: 603–26.

Lazaridis, D. 1971. *Σαμοθράκη καί ἡ Περαία της*, Ancient Greek Cities 7 (Athens).

—— 1976. "*Ἐπίγραμμα Παρίων ἀπὸ τήν Ἀμφίπολιν*", *ArchEph* 164–81.

Leekley, D., and Noyes, R. 1975. *Archaeological Excavations in the Greek Islands* (Park Ridge, NJ).

Le Guen-Pollet, B. 1991. *La Vie religieuse dans le monde grec du Ve au IIIe siècle avant notre ère: choix de documents épigraphiques traduits et commentés* (Toulouse).

Lehmann, P. W. 1969. *Samothrace 3: The Hieron*, 3 vols. (Princeton).

—— and Spittle, D. 1982. *Samothrace 5: The Temenos*, 2 vols. (Princeton).

Lehmann-Hartleben, K. 1939. "Excavations in Samothace", *AJA* 43: 133–45.

Le Roy, C. 1973. "La naissance d'Apollon et les palmiers déliens", in *Études déliennes publiées à l'occasion du centième anniversaire du début des fouilles de l'École française d'Athènes à Délos*, *BCH* suppl. 1 (Paris) 263–86.

Leschhorn, W. 1984. *"Gründer der Stadt": Studien zu einem politisch-religiösen Phänomen der griechischen Geschichte*, *Palingenesia* 20 (Stuttgart).

Lewis, D. M. 1954. "Notes on Attic Inscriptions", *BSA* 49: 17–50.

—— 1962. "The Federal Constitution of Keos", *BSA* 57: 1–4.

Lewis, N. 1958. *Samothrace* 1: *The Ancient Literary Sources* (New York).

Liagkouras, A. 1962. "*Ἀρχαῖον παράκτιον ἱερὸν εἰς τὴν Σκόπελον*", *Thessalika* 4: 51–62.

Loomis, W. 1992. *The Spartan War Fund. IG V 1, 1 and a New Fragment*, *Historia* Einzelschriften 74 (Wiesbaden).

Loukopoulou, D. L. 1989. *Contribution à l'histoire de la Thrace propontique durant la période archaïque* (Athens).

MacKenzie, D. 1897–98. "Kos Astypalaia", *BSA* 4: 95–100.

Magnetto, A. 1997. *Gli arbitrati interstatali greci: introduzione, testo critico, traduzione, commento e indici*, ii: *Dal 337 al 196 a.C.* (Pisa).

Maier, F. G. 1958. "Stadtmauern auf Keos", *AM* 73: 6–16.

—— 1959–61. *Griechische Mauerbauinschriften*, *Vestigia* i–ii (Heidelberg).

Maiuri, A. 1925–26*a*. "Nuovi supplementi al 'corpus' delle iscrizioni di Rodi", *ASAtene* 8–9: 313–22.

—— 1925–26*b*. "Iscrizione di Calimno: Catalogo dei cittadini di Panormos", *ASAtene* 8–9: 323–29.

Malkin, I. 1987. *Religion and Colonization in Ancient Greece*, Studies in Greek and Roman Religion 3 (Leiden).

—— 1994. *Myth and Territory in the Spartan Mediterranean* (Cambridge).

Mallwitz, A. 1972. *Olympia und seine Bauten* (Munich).

Manganaro, G. 1963–64. "Le iscrizioni delle isole milesie", *ASAtene* 25–26: 293–349.

Manthos, A. D. 1979. "*Εὑρήματα ἐπιφάνειας ἀπὸ τὸν Γαλησσᾶ τῆς Σύρου*", *AAA* 12: 39–46.

Manthos, K. 1991. *Ἀρχαιολογία καὶ ἱστορία Κέας*, ed. Lina G. Mendoni (Bourkariani).

Marangou, L. 1987. "*Ἀνασκαφὴ Μινωᾶς Ἀμόργου*", *Prakt* 255–66.

——1990. "*Ἀνασκαφὴ Μινωᾶς Ἀμόργου*", *Prakt* 236–70.

Marasco, G. 1992. *Economia e storia* (Viterbo).

Marek, C. 1984. *Die Proxenie* (Frankfurt am Main).

Masouris, D. S. 1992. "*Περὶ τον μηνὰ Ομηρεῶνα*", *Platon* 44: 103–9.

Matthaiou, A. P. 1990–91. "*Ψήφισμα Ναξίων*", *Horos* 8–9: 113–17.

——1992–98*a*. "*Εἰς* IG XII Suppl., *σ*. 104, *ἀρ*. 196", *Horos* 10–12: 419–22.

——1992–98*b*. "*Τρεῖς ἐπιγραφὲς Πάρου*", *Horos* 10–12: 423–36.

——1999. "*Ἐλάστερος—Ἀλάστορος*", *Horos* 13: 241–42.

——and Kouragios, G. 1992–98. "*Ἐπιγραφὲς Πάρου* II", *Horos* 10–12: 437–40.

——and Pikoulas, G. A. 1990–91. "*Ἀρχαιολογικὲς σημειώσεις ἀπὸ τὴν Ἀνάφη*", *Horos* 8–9: 119–30.

Mattingly, H. B. 1996. *The Athenian Empire Restored: Epigraphical and Historical Studies* (Ann Arbor).

Mazarakis Ainian, A. 1993. "*Επιφανειακὲς ἔρευνες στὴ νῆσο Κύθνο: Τὸ τεῖχος τῆς ἀρχαίας Κύθνου*", *ArchEph* 132: 217–53.

——1996. "Ricognizioni archeologiche nell'isola di Kithnos", in Lanzillotta and Schilardi (1996) 245–73.

——1998. "The Kythnos Survey Project: A Preliminary Report", in Mendoni and Mazarakis Ainian (1998) 363–78.

Meiggs, R. 1972. *The Athenian Empire* (Oxford).

Melas, M. 1991. *Ποτίδαιον Καρπάθου από την προιστορική εποχή ως την ύστερη αρχαιότα* (New York).

Mendoni, L. G. 1985–86. "*Αρχαιολογικές έρευνες στην Κέα. Αρχαία Καρθαία*", *Archaiognosia* 4: 149–84.

——1989. "More Inscriptions of Keos", *BSA* 84: 289–96.

——1990. "Addenda et corrigenda ad inscriptiones Ceae", in *Ποικίλα* (Athens) 287–307.

——and Mazarakis Ainian, A. (eds.) 1998. *Kea—Kythnos: History and Archaeology, Proceedings of an International Symposium, Kea-Kythnos, 22–25 June 1994*, *Meletemata* 27 (Athens).

Meyer, E. 1975. "Syros", *Kl. Pauly* v. 474.

Migeotte, L. 1984. *Les emprunt public dans les cités grecques: recueil des documents et analyse critique* (Quebec and Paris).

——1992. *Les Souscriptions publiques dans les cités grecques* (Geneva and Quebec).

Miller, M. 1971. *The Thalassocracies* (Albany, NY).

Miller, S. G. 1978. *The Prytanaion, its Function and Architectural Form* (London).

Mitsos, M. T. 1957. "*Ἐκ τοῦ Ἐπιγραφικοῦ Μουσείου*", *ArchEph* 164–67.

Moretti, L. 1953. *Iscrizioni agoniste greche, StIstItalStorAnt* 12 (Rome).

Morricone, L. 1950. "Scavi e ricerche a Coo (1935–1943): Relazione preliminare", *BdA* 35: 54–75, 219–46, 316–31.

Muller, A. 1979. "La mine de l'acropole de Thasos", in *Thasiaca*, *BCH* suppl. 5 (Paris) 315–44.

Müller, K. 1998. "Zwei Kleroterion-Fragmente auf Paros", *AA* 167–72.

Mustakas, C. 1954–55. "Kimolos", *AM* 69–70: 153–58.

Neer, R. T. 2001. "Framing the Gift: The Politics of the Siphnian Treasury at Delphi", *ClAnt* 20: 273–336.

Newton, C. 1865. *Travels and Discoveries in the Levant*, 2 vols. (London).

Nicolet-Pierre, H. 1997. "Naxos (Cyclades) archaïque: monnaie et histoire: la frappe des 'canthares', de la fin du VIe siècle", *NumAntCl* 26: 63–121.

——and Amandry, M. 1992. "Les monnaies d'argent de Syros", in *Florilegium numismaticum: Studia in honorem U. Westermark edita* (Stockholm) 295–306.

Nigdelis, P. M. 1990. *Πολίτευμα και κοινωνία των πόλεων των Κυκλάδων κατά την ελληνιστική και αυτοκρατορική επόχη* (Thessalonica).

Ohnesorg, A. 1982. "Der dorische Prostylos des Archilocheion auf Paros: Naxos-Paros, vierter vorläufiger Bericht", *AA* 271–90.

——1994. "Ein Heiligtum auf dem Kounadosberg von Paros: der Befund", *AA* 327–34.

Osborne, M. J. 1981–83. *Naturalization in Athens*, 4 vols. (Brussels).

——and Byrne, S. G. 1996. *The Foreign Residents of Athens: An Annex to the* Lexicon of Greek Personal Names: Attica, *Studia Hellenistica* 33 (Louvain).

Osborne, R. 1986. "Island Towers: The Case of Thasos", *BSA* 81: 167–78.

Palaiokrassa, L. 1993. "*Προανασκαφικὴ ἐρεύνα στὴν ἀρχαῖα Ἄνδρο*", *Andrika Chronika* 21: 117–27.

Palaiokrassa-Kopitsa, L. 1996. *Παλαιόπολις Ἄνδρου*, i: *Τα οικοδομικά από προανασκαφική ἐρευνα* (Athens).

Papachristodoulou, I. C. 1989. *Οἱ ἀρχαῖοι ῥοδιακοὶ δῆμοι. Ἱστορικὴ ἐπισκόπηση—Ἡ Ἰαλυσία* (Athens).

Papageorgiadou-Banis, C. 1997. *The Coinage of Kea*, *Μελετήματα* 24 (Athens).

——1999. "L'organisation de l'espace rural à Kéos pendant la période hellénistique d'après le modèle de Poiessa", in Brunet (1999) 159–66.

Papalas, A. J. 1983. "The Temple of Artemis Tauropolos on Icaria", *ArchNews* 12: 8–13.

——1992. *Ancient Icaria* (Wauconda, Ill.).

Papanikolaou, A. 1998. "*Η οικοδομική δραστηριότητα στην Ν. κλιτύ της ακροπόλεως της Καρθαίας κατά τον* 60 *και* 50 *αι π.Χ.*", in Mendoni and Mazarakis Ainian (1998) 555–82.

Parke, H. W., and Wormell, D. E. W. 1956. *The Delphic Oracle*, i: *The History*; ii: *The Oracular Responses* (Oxford).

Parker, R. 1993. "Artemis Lemnia", *ZPE* 99: 122.

Paschalis, D. P. 1898. "*Νομισματικὴ τῆς ἀρχαίας Ἄνδρου*", *JIAN* 1: 299–366.

Paton, W. R., and Hicks, E. L. 1891. *The Inscriptions of Cos* (Oxford).

Pébarthe, C. 1999. "Thasos, l'empire d'Athènes et les *emporia* de Thrace", *ZPE* 126: 131–54.

Pečirka, J. 1966. *The Formula for the Grant of Enktesis in Attic Inscriptions* (Prague).

Peek, W. 1969. *Inschriften von den dorischen Inseln*, *AbhLeip* 62.1 (Berlin).

Petrakos, B. C. 1997. *Οἱ επιγραφὲς τοῦ Ὠρώπου*, *Βιβλιοθήκη τῆς ἐν Ἀθήναις ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας* 170 (Athens).

Philippaki, B. 1973. "*Ἡ ἀκρόπολις τοῦ Ἁγίου Ἀνδρέου Σίφνου*", *AAA* 6: 93–103.

Philippson, A. 1959. *Die griechischen Landschaften*, iv (Frankfurt am Main).

Picard, C. 1962. *Les Murailles*, i: *Les portes sculptées à images divines*, Études Thasiennes 8 (Paris).

Picard, O. 1982. "Monnayage thasien du Ve siècle avant Jésus-Christ", *CRAI* 412–24.

——1987. "L'administration de l'atelier monétaire à Thasos au IVe siècle", *RN* 29: 7–14.

Piccirilli, L. 1973. *Gli arbitrate interstatali greci: introduzione, edizione critica, traduzione, commento e indici, i. Dalle origini al 338 a.C.* (Pisa).

Piérart, M. 1995. "Chios entre Athènes et Sparte: la contribution des exilés de Chios à l'effort de guerre lacédémonien pendant la guerre de Péloponnèse *IG* v1, 1 + ('*SEG* XXXIX 370*')", *BCH* 119: 253–82.

Plassart, A. 1928. *Les Sanctuaires et les cultes du Mont Cynthe*, Exploration archéologique de Délos 11 (Paris).

Pleket, H. W. 1960. "The Hot Springs at Icaria", *Mnemosyne* 13: 240–41.

Politis, L. N. 1939–40. "*Ἀνασκαφαι ἐν Ἰκαρίᾳ*", *Prakt* 124–55.

Pomtow, H. 1918. "Delphische Neufunde, II: Neue delphische Inschriften", *Klio* 15: 1–77.

Pontani, F. M. 1937. "L'inscrizione della colonna naniana", *RivFil* 15: 50–53.

Pouilloux, J. 1954. *Recherches sur l'histoire et les cultes de Thasos*, i: *De la foundation de la cité à 196 avant J.-C.*, Études Thasiennes 3 (Paris).

——1955. "Glaucos, fils de Leptine, Parien", *BCH* 79: 75–86.

——1982. "La fondation de Thasos: archéologie, littérature et critique historique", in *Rayonnement grec. Hommages à Charles Delvoye* (Brussels) 91–101.

——1989. "Akératos de Thasos: poésie et histoire", in *Architecture et poésie dans le monde grec. Hommage à Georges Roux* (Lyon) 193–204.

——1994. "Théogénès de Thasos . . . quarante ans après", *BCH* 118: 199–206.

Prost, F. 2001. "Sparte et les Cyclades au Ve siècle: à propos d'*ID* 87", *RÉA* 103: 241–60.

Psarras, S. E. 1994. "*Ἀρχαίες ελληνικές επιγραφές και τοπωνυμία η περιπτώση της Τήνου*", *Onomata* 14: 29–42.

——1999. "*Ἕνας όρος από τη Νάξο*", in N. C. Stampolides (ed.), *Φως κυκλαδικόν: Τιμητικός τόμος στη μνήμη του Νίκου Ζαφειρόπουλου* (Athens) 262–65.

Pugliese Carratelli, G. 1957. "Gli Asclepiadi e il sinecismo di Cos", *PP* 12: 333–42.

——1963–64. "Il damos coo di Isthmos", *ASAtene* 25–26: 147–202.

Rausch, M. 1999. "Miltiades, Athen und die 'Rhamnusier auf Lemnos' (IGI^3 522bis)", *Klio* 81: 7–17.

Reger, G. 1994*a*. *Regionalism and Change in the Economy of Delos, 314–167 B.C.* (Berkeley).

——1997. "Islands with one Polis versus Islands with Several Poleis", *CPCActs* 4: 450–92.

——1998. "The Historical and Archaeological Background to the Disappearance of Koresia and Poiessa on Keos", in Mendoni and Mazarakis Ainian (1998) 633–41.

——2001. "The Mykonian Synoikismos", *RÉA* 103: 157–81.

——and Risser, M. 1991. "Coinage and Federation in Hellenistic Keos", in Cherry *et al.* (1991) 305–17.

Rehm, A. 1929. "Die milesischen Inseln", in *Das milesische Landschaft*, *Milet* 2.2 (Berlin) 19–26.

Renfrew, C., and Wagstaff, M. (eds.) 1982. *An Island Polity: the Archaeology of Exploitation in Melos* (Cambridge).

Rhodes, P. 1985. *The Athenian Empire*, *GaR*, Survey no. 17 (Oxford).

Rigsby, K. 1996. *Asylia: Territorial Inviolability in the Hellenistic World* (Berkeley).

Robert, F. 1953. "Le sanctuaire de l'archégète Anios à Délos", *RA* 8–40.

——1973. "La bataille de Délos (Hippocrate, *Épidémies*, V,61 and VII,33)", in *Études déliennes publiées à l'occasion du centième anniversaire du début des fouilles de l'École française d'Athènes à Délos*, *BCH* suppl. 1: 427–33.

Robert, L. 1938. *Études épigraphiques et philologiques* (Paris).

——1946. "Sur quelques ethniques", *Hellenica: recueil d'épigraphie, de numismatique et d'antiquités grecques* 2: 65–93.

——1949. "Les chèvres d'Héracleia", *Hellenica: recueil d'épigraphie, de numismatique et d'antiquités grecques* 7: 161–70.

——1960*a*. "Arsinoe de Kéos", *Hellenica: recueil d'épigraphie, de numismatique et d'antiquités grecques* 11–12: 132–56.

——1960*b*. "Sur un décret des Korésiens au Musée de Smyrne", *Hellenica: recueil d'épigraphie, de numismatique et d'antiquités grecques* 11–12: 505–41.

Robert, L. 1969. *Opera Minora Selecta*, 1 (Amsterdam).
Robinson, E. S. G. 1949. "The Athenian Currency Decree and the Coinages of the Allies", in *Commemorative Studies in Honor of T. Leslie Shear*, *Hesperia* suppl. 8 (Princeton) 324–40.
Robinson, E. W. 1997. *The First Democracies: Early Popular Government Outside Athens*, *Historia* Einzelschriften 107 (Stuttgart).
Rolley, C. 1965. "Le sanctuaire des dieux Patrôoi et le Thesmophorion de Thasos", *BCH* 89: 441–83.
Rougemont, G., *et al.* 1993. "Recherches à Amorgos: le site et le rempart d'Arkésinè", in R. Dalongeville and G. Rougemont (eds.), *Recherches dans les Cyclades* (Lyon) 97–122.
Roussel, P. 1987. *Délos, colonie athénienne*² (Paris).
Rubensohn, O. 1901. "Paros II: Topographie", *AM* 26: 157–222.
——1949. "Paros", *RE* xviii.2. 1781–1872.
——1962. *Das Delion von Paros* (Wiesbaden).
Ruppel, W. 1927. "Zur Verfassung und Verwaltung der amorginischen Städte", *Klio* 21: 313–39.
Ruschenbusch, E. 1982. "IG xii 5 609: eine Bürgerliste von Iulis und Koresia auf Keos", *ZPE* 48: 175–88.
Saffrey, H. D. 1975. "Relire l'apocalypse à Patmos", *RBibl* 82: 385–417.
Salomon, N. 1997. *Le Cleruchie di Atene: caratteri e funzione* (Pisa).
Salviat, F. 1958*a*. "Dédicaces de magistrats à Thasos", *BCH* 82: 319–28.
——1958*b*. "Une nouvelle loi thasienne: institutions judiciaires et fêtes religieuses à la fin du IVe siècle av. J.-C.", *BCH* 82: 193–267.
——1958*c*. "Le problème topographique de l'Asclépiéion thasien", *BCH* 82: 353–57.
——1979. "Les colonnes initiales du catalogue des théores et les institutions thasiennes archaïques", in *Thasiaca*, *BCH* Suppl. 5 (Paris) 107–27.
——1983. "Lichas, Lacédémonien, archonte à Thasos, et le livre VIII de Thucydide", *CRAI* 376–403.
——1984. "Les archontes de Thasos", in *Πρακτικὰ τοῦ Η' διεθνους συνεδρίου ἑλληνικῆς καὶ λατινικῆς ἐπιγραφικῆς* (Athens) 233–58.
——1986. "Le vin de Thasos", in *Recherches sur les amphores grecques*, *BCH* Suppl. 13 (Paris) 145–96.
——1992. "Calendrier de Paros et calendrier de Thasos: *Boédromia*, *Badromia* et la solidarité des armes", in M.-M. Mactoux and E. Geny, *Mélanges Pierre Leveque*, vi: *Religion* (Paris) 261–67.
—— and Servais, J. 1964. "Stèle indicatrice thasienne trouvée au sanctuaire d'Aliki", *BCH* 88: 267–87.
Sauciuc, T. 1914. *Andros: Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Topographie der Insel*, Sonderschriften der österreichischen archäologischen Institutes in Wien, 8 (Vienna).
Schachter, A. 1992. "Policy, Cult and the Placing of Greek Sanctuaries", in *Le Sanctuaire grec: Entretiens sur l'antiquité classique* 37, *Vandoeuvres, 20–25 août 1990* (Geneva) 1–57.
Schazmann, P. 1932. *Kos: Ergebnisse der deutschen Ausgrabungen und Forschungen*, i: *Asklepieion: Baubeschreibung und Baugeschichte, mit einer Einleitung von Rudolf Herzog* (Berlin).
Schilardi, D. 1973. "A Fortified Acropolis on the Oikonomos Island of Paros", *AAA* 6: 260–65.
——1975*a*. "*Αρχαιολογικαὶ ἔρευναι ἐν Πάρῳ*", *Prakt* 197–211.
——1975*b*. "Paros, Report II: The 1973 Campaign", *JFA* 2: 83–96.
——1977. "*Ἀνασκαφὲς στὴ Πάρο*", *Prakt* 363–77.
——1996. "Il culto di Atena a Koukounaries e considerazioni sulla topografia di Paros nel VII sec. A.C.", in Lanzillotta and Schilardi (1996) 33–64.
Schnieringer, K. 1982. "Der dorische Tempel bei Marmara auf Paros: Naxos-Paros, vierter vorläufiger Bericht", *AA* 265–70.
Schönert Geiss, E. 1996. "Zur Münzprägung von Samothrake", in *ΧΑΡΑΚΤΗΡ. Αφιέρωμα στη Μάντω Οικονομίδου* (Athens) 271–76.
Schuller, M. 1982*a*. "Der Artemistempel im Delion auf Paros. Naxos-Paros, vierter vorläufiger Bericht", *AA* 231–44.
——1982*b*. "Das dorische Tempel des Apollon Pythios auf Paros: Naxos-Paros, vierter vorläufiger Bericht", *AA* 245–64.
——1991. *Der Artemistempel im Delion auf Paros*, *Denkmäler antiker Architektur* 18.1, *Architektur auf Naxos und Paros* 1 (Berlin).
Schwabacher, W. 1938. "Ein Fund archaischer Münzen von Samothrake", in *Transactions of the International Numismatic Congress, London, June 30–July 3, 1936* (London) 109–20.
——1952. "Cabiri on Archaic Coins of Samothrace", *ANSMN* 5: 49–51.
Scranton, R. L. 1941. *Greek Walls* (Cambridge, Mass.).
Sealy, F. L. W. 1918–19. "Lemnos", *BSA* 23: 148–74.
Segre, M. 1932–33. "Iscrizioni greche di Lemno", *ASAtene* 15–16: 289–314.
——1944–45. "Tituli Calymnii", *ASAtene* 22–23 (n.s. 6–7), whole volume.
Semeria, A. 1986. "Per un censimento degli *Asklepieia* della Grecia continentale e delle isole", *AnnPisa* 16: 931–58.
Sheedy, K. A. 1996. "Changes in Personnel at the Archaic Mint of Paros", in *ΧΑΡΑΚΤΗΡ. Αφιέρωμα στη Μάντω Οικονομίδου* (Athens) 277–82.
——1998*a*. "The Dolphins, the Crab, the Sphinx and 'Aprodite' ", in Ashton and Hurter (1998) 321–25.
——1998*b*. "Keian Federations and Keian Coinage", *NC* 158: 249–57.
Sherk, R. K. 1990. "The Eponymous Officials of Greek Cities: Mainland Greece and the Adjacent Islands", *ZPE* 84: 231–95.
Sherwin-White, S. 1978. *Ancient Cos* (Göttingen).
Shipley, G. 1987. *A History of Samos 800–188 B.C.* (Oxford).
Simon, E. 1997. "Pindar und Delos", *JdI* 112: 247–59.
Smith, W. D. 1990. *Hippocrates: Pseudepigraphic Writings* (Leiden).

Snodgrass, A. M. 1987–89. "The Rural Landscape and its Political Significance", *Opus* 6–8: 53–70.

Sodini, J.-P., Lambraki, A., and Koželj, T. 1980. "Les Carrières de marbre à l'époque paléochrétienne", in *Aliki*, i, Études Thasiennes 9 (Athens and Paris) 79–137.

Sperling, J. W. 1973. *Thera and Therasia* (Athens).

Spondyles, E. 1998. "Ένα βυθισμένο λιμενικό έργο στον Οτζια Κέας", in Mendoni and Mazarakis Ainian (1998) 699–712.

Steinhart, M. 2000. "Athena Lemnia, Athen und Lemnos", *AA* 377–85.

Stephanis, I. E. 1988. Διουσιακοὶ τεχνῖται Σύμβολες στὴν προσωπογραφία του θεάτρου καὶ τῆς μουσικῆς τῶν ἀρχαίων Ἑλλήνων (Herakleion).

Stroud, R. 1998. *The Athenian Grain-Tax Law of 374/3 B.C.*, *Hesperia* suppl. 29 (Princeton).

Stumpf, G. 1987. "Zwei Gerichtsurteile aus Athen, *IG* II², 1641 B und 1646 a", *Tyche* 2: 211–15.

Stylianou, P. J. 1998. *A Historical Commentary on Diodorus Siculus, Book 15* (Oxford).

Susini, G. 1963–64. "Supplemento epigrafico di Caso, Scarpanto, Saro, Calchi, Alinnia e Tilo", *ASAtene* 41–42: 203–92.

Svoronos, J. N. 1893. "Νομισματικὴ καὶ ἱστορία τῆς ἀρχαίας Μυκόνου", *BCH* 17: 455–501.

Talbert, R. J. A. 1974. *Timoleon and the Revival of Greek Sicily 344–317 B.C.* (Cambridge).

Televantou, C. A. 1996. "Andros: l'antico insediamento di Ipsili", in Lanzillotta and Schilardi (1996) 79–100.

——1999. "Άνδρος: Το ιερό της Υψηλής", in Φως κυκλαδικόν: Τιμητικός τόμος στη μνήμη του Νίκου Ζαφειόπουλου (Athens) 132–39.

Themelis, P. G. 1976. *Frühgriechische Grabbauten* (Mainz am Rhein).

——1998. "Ο Δαμοφών στην Κύθνο", in Mendoni and Mazarakis Ainian (1998) 437–48.

Thériault, G. 1996. "L'apparition du culte d'*Homonoia*", *ÉtCl* 64: 127–50.

Tréheux, J. 1987. "L'*Hiéropoion* et les *oikoi* du sanctuaire de Délos", in J. Servais, T. Hackens and B. Servais-Soyez (eds.), *Stemmata: Mélanges de philologie, d'histoire et d'archéologie grecques offerts à Jules Labarbe* (Liège and Louvain-la-Neuve) 377–90.

——1995. "Archéologie délienne: L'Artémision ἐν Νήσωι. Localisation et histoire", *JSav* 2: 187–207.

Tzedakis, G. 1975. "Αρχαιοτητες και μνημεια Κυκλαδων", *ArchDelt* 30, *Chron.* 323–25.

Vallois, R. 1929. "Topographie délienne, II", *BCH* 53: 185–315.

——1944. *L'Architecture hellénique et hellénistique à Délos jusqu'à l'éviction des Déliens (166 av. J.-C.), Première partie: Les monuments* (Paris).

Villard, L. 1997. "Le vin et les femmes: un texte méconnu de la *Collection hippocratique*", *RÉG* 110: 362–80.

Wagner, G. A., and Weisgerber, G. 1985. *Silber, Blei und Gold auf Siphnos: prähistorische und antike Metallproduktion* (Bochum).

Wagstaff, M., and Cherry, J. F. 1982*a*. "Settlement and Population Change", in Renfrew and Wagstaff (1982) 136–55.

——1982*b*. "Settlement and Resources", in Renfrew and Wagstaff (1982) 246–63.

Walbank, M. B. 1978. *Athenian Proxenies of the Fifth Century B.C.* (Toronto and Sarasota, Fla.).

Walzer, R. 1935. "Galens Schrift 'Über die Siebenmonatskinder' ", *RSO* 16: 323–57.

Wartenberg, U. 1998. "Calymna Calumniated—A Nineteenth Century Misattribution?", in Ashton and Hurter (1998) 363–71.

Weisgerber, G., and Wagner, G. A. 1988*a*. "Die antike und mittelalterliche Goldgewinnung von Paläochori bei Kinyra", in G. A. Wagner and G. Weisgerber (eds.), *Antike Edel- und Buntmetallgewinnung auf Thasos* (Bochum) 131–53.

——1988*b*. "Gialoglou Georgios: Der antike Goldbergbau auf dem Gipfel des Klisidi bei Kinyra", in G. A. Wagner and G. Weisgerber (eds.), *Antike Edel- und Buntmetallgewinnung auf Thasos* (Bochum) 154–72.

Welter, G. 1924. "Altionische Tempel: 1: Der Hekatompedos von Naxos; 2: Der alt ionische Tempel in Paros", *AM* 49: 17–25.

——1954. "Von griechischen Inseln: Keos I", *AA* 48–93.

Will, E. 1955. *Le Dôdékathéon, Exploration archéologique de Délos* 22 (Paris).

Witschel, C. 1997. "Beobachtungen zur Stadtentwicklung von Thera in hellenistischer und römischer Zeit", in Hoepfner (ed.) (1997) 17–46.

Woodbury, L. 1965. "The Date and Atheism of Diagoras of Melos", *Phoenix* 19: 178–211.

Yarkin, U. 1975. "The Coinage of Syangela in Caria", *NC*, 7th ser. 15: 12–18.

——1977. "More Coins of Syangela from Theangela", *NC*, 7th ser. 17: 152–53.

Zapheiropoulos, N. 1963*a*. "Ικαρία–Πάρος", *ArchDelt* 18, *Chron.* 273–74.

——1963*b*. "Ikaria", *ArchDelt* 18: 400–12.

Zapheiropoulou, Ph. 1973. "Άπὸ τὸν γεωμετρικὸν συνοικισμὸν τῆς Δονούσες", *AAA* 6: 256–59.

——1987. "Πάρος", *ArchDelt* 42, *Chron.* 490–94.

——1989. "Το ιερο της Ταυροπολου Αρτεμιδος στον ΝΑ Ικαριας", *Prakt* 287–91.

——1990. "Πάρος", *ArchDelt* 45, *Chron.* 402–4.

——1992. "Πάρος–Δήλος," *ArchDelt* 47, *Chron.* 541–46.

Zschietzschmann, W. 1931*a*. "Syme", *RE* 2.iv.1. 1097–98.

——1931*b*. "Syros", *RE* 2.iv.2. 1790–94.

MAKEDONIA

M. B. HATZOPOULOS

(with the collaboration of Paschalis Paschidis)

I. The Region

The name of the region is *Μακεδονία*, *-η* (Hdt. 5.17.1; Thuc. 1.58.1; Hatzopoulos (1996*b*) ii. no. 1.B9). It is derived from the ethnic *Μακεδών* (Hdt. 5.18.2; Thuc. 1.57.2; *IG* I³ 89.26), in the Thessalian dialect *Μακετούν* (*SEG* 27 202.10); the feminine form is normally *Μακέτα* (*IG* II² 9258 (C3)). As Makedonia is simply the land of the *Makedones*, its extent followed Makedonian expansion. By the time of Alexander's accession, it ranged from the foothills of the Pierian mountains to the whole region between Mt. Pindos and the Strymon valley, and between the Peneios and roughly the present Greek frontier. To the south Makedonia bordered on Thessaly. Its southernmost cities were, from east to west, Herakleion and Balla in Pieria, Aiane in Elemia, Aiginion in Tymphaia. To the west it bordered on Epeiros, and its westernmost city was Argos Orestikon in Orestis. To the north-west it bordered on Illyria, and its north-westernmost city was Herakleia in Lynkos. To the north of Makedonia lay Paionia (including Pelagonia). The northernmost Makedonian cities, from west to east, were Styberra in Derriopos, Idomene in Parorbelia, and Herakleia in Sintike. To the east Makedonia bordered on Thrace and, until the annexation of the plain of Philippoi in late Hellenistic times, its easternmost cities, from north to south, were Serrhai in Odomantike, the Bisaltic Pentapolis, and Amphipolis in Edonis. In Roman times, Makedonia reached the Nestos valley in the east and encompassed Pelagonia and Paionia as far north as Mt. Golesniča.

The Makedonian expansion was a gradual process, but the strongest impetus both to conquest and to colonisation was given by Philip II (360–336), who also systematically divided Makedonia into self-governing cities, each with its civic territory, and into administrative districts (see Hatzopoulos (1996*b*) i. 167–260). For practical reasons, the "greater Makedonia" of the reign of Philip II and his Temenid and Antigonid successors has been subdivided into (a) a western part comprising the Old Kingdom, cradle of the Makedonian power, and Upper Makedonia—that is to say all Makedonian territories west of the Axios—and (b) an eastern part consisting of the new territories between the Axios and the plain of Philippoi, which were incorporated into Makedonia proper by Philip II and his successors. The former areas had been almost entirely settled by Makedonians (who had subjected and mostly driven out or exterminated the indigenous populations), at least since the end of the Archaic period, whereas the latter were colonised in later times, and their former inhabitants had in most cases been permitted to remain in their old homes. Both of these parts, however, were integrated into a unified state, the citizens of which shared the same *politeia* and formed *τὴν . . . χώραν τὴν Μακεδόνων* (*SEG* 12 374.6), Makedonia proper, as opposed to the external possessions of the Makedonian kings south of the Peneios, Mt. Olympos and the Kambounian mountains, west of Mt. Pindos and Lake Lychnitis, north of the present Greek frontier and east of the Strymon valley. The "greater Makedonia" created by Philip II was subdivided into four administrative districts called *ethne* in our sources: from west to east, Upper Makedonia (between Mt. Pindos and Mt. Bermion), Bottia (between Mt. Bermion and the Axios), Amphaxitis (between the Axios and modern Mt. Bertiskos) and Paroreia and Parastrymonia, also known as the First Meris (between Mt. Bertiskos and the plain of Philippoi). Within these large administrative districts subsisted older regional names, often derived from the *ethnika* of their actual or former inhabitants: Elemia, Orestis, Tymphaia-Parauaia, Lynkos, Derriopos in Upper Makedonia; Pieria, Bottia (or Emathia), Almopia in the administrative district of Bottia; Mygdonia, Krestonia, Parorbelia, Bottike, Chalkidike, Anthemous, Krousis in Amphaxitis; Sintike, Odomantike, Bisaltia, Edonis, Pieris in the First Meris. Eordaia, although geographically part of Upper Makedonia, was considered from the political point of view as being part of Bottia since it had always belonged to the Temenid kingdom.

The collective use of the ethnic is attested externally for the first time in the C5l treaty between Perdikkas II and Athens (*IG* I³ 89.26) and internally in the C4l list of priests of Asklepios from Kalindoia (Hatzopoulos (1996*b*) ii. no. 62.6) and in the dedication of Kassandros from Dion, also C4l (ibid. no. 23). For the oldest individual and external use, see, perhaps, *IG* I³ 422.1.79–80 (414/13) (a slave) and *SEG* 34 355.4–6 (365). As expected, we find no individual and internal use, since for a Makedonian within Makedonia the ethnic *Μακεδών* would normally be superfluous.

The region Makedonia is described by the term *χώρα* -*η* (Hatzopoulos (1996*b*) ii. no. 1.A6 (C4e, restored) and 58.6 (243). If not from C5l (Thuc. 2.99.6, implicitly), from C4f onwards the term *ἔθνος* is used for the people (Ps.-Skylax 66).

Makedonia attracted the interest of city-state writers and developed an indigenous literary tradition only from the reign of Philip II onwards, when it became the dominant power in Greek politics. For this reason, evidence about Makedonian cities is relatively late, although by then urban settlements already had a long history in the area. Thus, many cities attested for the first time in the Hellenistic period most probably existed in the previous period too. Since the rules set down for the present project stipulate that only cities attested as such in the Archaic and Classical periods should be included in the Inventory, cities first appearing in Hellenistic times have been separated from the rest and are listed below along with other doubtful cases. On the other hand, toponyms which have been erroneously regarded as denoting cities by ancient authors or modern scholars have been entirely omitted; the same applies to settlements (mostly villages) first attested in Roman times, or which are mere lexicographical entries without indication of their—even approximate—location and/or date, although many of them, as their dialectal forms show, surely existed in earlier periods.

A special problem arises from urban settlements in Upper Makedonia, particularly Aiane in Elemia, Bokeria in Eordaia, and Herakleia in Lynkos, which are sometimes actually described, *expressis verbis*, as *poleis*. From the administrative point of view, however, the equivalent of the Lower Makedonian *poleis* was not the urban settlement but each of the Upper Makedonian *ethne* such as the Orestai or the Elemiotai, comprising both cities and villages. After some hesitation, I have decided to include Aiane, for which there is enough evidence to allow it to qualify as a *polis* type C, but to exclude Bokeria and Herakleia from the Inventory itself and instead to list them with the other non-*polis* settlements.

Finally, I have decided not to consider unidentified ancient settlements. Makedonia is a vast country which has not been surveyed methodically. We know of many *trapezai*, which are a certain sign of a settlement in historical times. However, the absence of systematic investigation does not allow us to date these settlements precisely, even less to determine their status. A random inclusion of such cases would only contribute to creating an inexact image of the settlement pattern without enhancing our understanding of the *polis* phenomenon in Makedonia.

In Makedonia west of the Axios I have counted forty-two settlements attested either in Archaic and Classical or in Hellenistic times but which can most probably be dated to earlier periods: Agassai, *Aiane*, *Aigeai*, Aiginion in Pieria, Aiginion in Tymphaia, *Alebaia*, Alkomena, *Allante*, *Aloros*, Argos Orestikon, Arnisa, Balla, *Beroia*, Bokeria, Bryanion, *Dion*, *Edessa*, Euia, *Europos*, Gaimeion, Galadrai, Genderrhos, Gortynia, Greia, Herakleia Lynkou, *Herakleion*, *Ichnai*, Keletron, *Kyrrhos*, *Leibethra*, Marinia, *Methone*, *Mieza*, Nea[---], *Pella*, Petra, Phylakai, Pimpleia, *Pydna*, Skydra, Styberra and Tyrissa. Of these, five almost certainly (Gaimeion, Genderrhos, Greia, Nea[---] and Pimpleia) and one most probably (Arnisa) did not enjoy *polis* status. Of the remaining thirty-six, only seventeen (those in italics) can be positively dated to the pre-Hellenistic period and qualify certainly (type A), probably (type B), or possibly (type C) as *poleis* and are described in the Inventory below. Two (Bokeria and Herakleia) were, probably, the principal town in a whole region. The remaining seventeen settlements, which are first attested in the Hellenistic period, along with the six villages mentioned above, are listed here in alphabetical order. The principal towns in Eordaia (Bokeria) and Lynkos (Herakleia) have been given a somewhat fuller treatment than the others.

1. *Pre-Hellenistic Settlements not Attested as* Poleis

***Agassai** (*Agassae*, *Ἀκεσαί*?) Livy 44.7.5, 45.27.1 (*urbs*); Steph. Byz. 59.3 (*πόλις*); *ethnikon*: *Ἀκεσαῖος* or *Ἀκεσίτης*? (Steph. Byz. 59.3); unlocated settlement, somewhere in Pieria (Papazoglou (1988) 118–19; Hammond (1972) 139 n. 1; Hatzopoulos (1996*b*) 109–10 n. 8). *Barr.* 50, H.

***Aiginion** (*Aeginium*) Livy 44.46.3 (*oppidum*) and 45.27.1–3 (*urbs*); Plin. *HN* 4.33; unidentified location, somewhere in Pieria (Papazoglou (1988) 119–20). *Barr.* 50, R.

Aiginion (*Αἰγίνιον*) Livy 32.15.4, 36.13.6; Strabo 7.7.9; *Gonnoi* no. 35B.6 (*δῆμος* (C2m)); cf. *IG* IX.2 324 (*πόλις*), 329 (*πόλις* (*c.*AD 200, when it was no longer part of Makedonia, but belonged to Thessaly)). Capital of Tymphaia-Parauaia. *Gonnoi* pp. 35–36. *Barr.* 54, H.

Alkomena (*Ἀλκομενά*) Strabo 7.7.9 (*πόλις*); Steph. Byz. 75.15 (*πόλις*); *IG* X.2.2 348 (*κώμη* (AD 192/3)); *ethnikon*: *Ἀλκομενεύς* (Arr. *Ind.* 18.6); *Ἀλκομεναῖος* (*IG* X.2.2 348). At Bučin near Bela Cerkva in Derriopos. Papazoglou (1988) 302–3; Hatzopoulos (1996*b*) i. 85–87, 411–16). Alkomena was apparently one of the urban centres of Derriopos, which as a whole constituted a political entity (cf. *SEG* 46 807: *ἐν Δερριόπῳ . . . βουλευτήριον*). *Barr.* 49, HR.

Argos Orestikon (*Ἄργος Ὀρεστικόν*) Strabo 7.7.8 (*πόλις*); App. *Syr.* 63; Steph. Byz. 113.1 (*πόλις*); *ethnikon*: *Ἀργεσταῖος* (Livy 27.33.1 (*Argestaeum campum*)). Most probably at modern Argos Orestikon (Papazoglou (1988) 236–38). *Barr.* 49, RL.

Arnisa (*Ἄρνισα*) Thuc. 4.128.3. At Vegora or, less probably, at Petrai/Gradista, in Eordaia (Papazoglou (1988) 161–64; Hatzopoulos (1996*b*) i. 94, n. 4). *Barr.* 49, C.

Balla (*Βάλλα*) Theagenes (*FGrHist* 774) fr. 3; Ptol. *Geog.* 3.12.37 (cf. 17: *πόλις*); Steph. Byz. 157.11 (*πόλις*); *ethnikon*: *Βαλλαῖος* (Theagenes); *Vallaeus* (Plin. *HN* 4.34). Possibly at Palaiogratsianon in Pieria (Papazoglou (1988) 120–22; Hatzopoulos (1996*b*) i. 109–10 and (2003)). Undated and unlocated in *Barr.* 50.

Bokeria (*Βοκερία*) *EAM* 109 (C4/C3, stadium stone); *ethnikon*: *Βοκέρριος* (*AG* 9.149; Papazoglou (1988) 164–66 and J. and L. Robert, *BE* (1971) no. 392 mistakenly write *Βοκκέριος*) or *Βοκερραῖος* (*Bocerraeus*, in an unpublished boundary stone of the Roman period; cf. *BE* (1997) 364). At Pharangi in Eordaia (cf. Petsas (1966–67) 351, no. 245; Mackay (1976)); probable remnants of a circuit wall (Hammond and Hatzopoulos (1982) 143). Bokeria was the principal urban centre of the *ethnos* of the Eordaioi, who as a whole constituted a political unit equivalent to the *poleis* of coastal Makedonia (cf. the *βουλὴ Ἐορ*[*δαίων*] of the Roman period in *SEG* 48 800). *Barr.* 50, HR.

Bryanion (*Βρυάνιον*) Livy 31.39.5; Strabo 7.7.9 (*πόλις*). Unidentified location in Derriopos (Papazoglou (1988) 303). *Barr.* 49 (Graište?), CHR.

Euia, Euboia (*Εὔια*, *Εὔβοια*) Diod. 19.11.2; Strabo 10.1.15 (*πόλις*); Steph. Byz. 284.2 (*πόλις*); *ethnikon*: *Εὐιέστης* (*EAM* 87 (181–180); Livy 42.51.4); cf. the *Εὐιαστικὴ πύλη* in Beroia (*I.Beroia* 41). At Polymylos in Elemia or Eordaia (*I.Beroia* 41 with comm.; Karamitrou-Mentesidi and Vatali (1997)). *Barr.* 50 (Euboia at Sevastiana?), L.

Gaimeion (*Γαίμειον*) *SEG* 24 524.B21, 35 (C3). Unidentified location, probably in Bottia (Papazoglou (1988) 150). Not in *Barr.*

Galadrai (*Γαλάδρα*, *Γαλάδραι*) Lycoph. *Alex.* 1444; Polyb. book 13, *apud* Steph. Byz. 196.5 (*πόλις*); *ethnikon*: *Γαλαδραῖος* (Lycoph. *Alex.* 1342). Unidentified location in Pieria (Papazoglou (1988) 120). Undated in *Barr.* 50.

Genderrhos (*Γένδερρος*) Vavritsas (1977) 10 (*κώμη*) (C3); *ethnikon*: *Γενδερραῖος* (ibid.), *Γενδέρριος* (*SEG* 27 258, *app. crit.*). Unidentified location near Kyrrhos in Bottia, possibly at Mandalon (Hatzopoulos (1996*b*) i. 112). *Barr.* 50 tentatively puts it at Mylotopos (following Papazoglou (1988) 154) but indicates no date.

Gortynia (*Γορτυνία*) Thuc. 2.100.3; Ptol. *Geog.* 3.12.36 (*πόλις*); Plin. *HN* 4.34; Strabo 7 fr. 4 (*πόλις*); Steph. Byz. 212.1. Perhaps located at Vardarski Rid, near Gevgelija, where recent excavations have revealed several building phases of a walled settlement; most important are the C6–C5e and the C5m–C4 phases, the latter with remains of a monumental public building (Mitrevski (1996)). Papazoglou (1988) 181–82. *Barr.* 50, CHRL.

Greia (*Γρήια*) *EAM* 87 (181–180). *Kome* of Eordaia or Elemia (Hatzopoulos (1996*b*) i. 96–102). Undated in *Barr.* 50.

Herakleia (*Ἡράκλεια*) Polyb. 34.12.7 (*διὰ Ἡρακλείας καὶ Λυγκηστῶν*); *IGBulg* I 13.35 (*ἐπὶ τοῦ Λύκου*); *SEG* 15 380 (*πρὸς Λύγγον*); perhaps one of the *poleis* mentioned by Demosthenes at 4.48; *IG* X.2.2 53 (*polis* (second century AD)); *IG* X.2.2 73 (*polis* (second century AD)); *ethnikon*: *Ἡρακλεώτης* (*SEG* 15 380; *IG* X.2.2 74). Near Bitola in Lynkestis. Not Herakleia alone, but the *ethnos* of the *Lynkestai* as a whole constituted a political unit equivalent to the *poleis* of Lower Makedonia. For the evidence from the Roman period, see Papazoglou (1988) 259–68, Mikulčič (1974) 199–202, Gounaropoulou and Hatzopoulos (1985) 14–22 and *IG* X.2.2 pp. 29–74. *Barr.* 49, CHRL.

***Keletron** (*Celetrum*) Livy 31.40.1 (r199) (*oppidum*). At Kastoria in Orestis (Papazoglou (1988) 238). *Barr.* 49, HRL.

***Marinia** (*Μαρινιαῖος*) *SEG* 24 524 (C3). At Marina in Bottia (Petsas (1961) 49–55). Not in *Barr.*

Nea[---] (*Νεα*[---]) *SEG* 24 524 (C3). Unknown location in Bottia, probably a *kome* of Mieza. Not in *Barr.*

***Petra** (*Petra*) Livy 39.26.1, 44.32.9, 45.41.4. At modern Petra in Pieria. (Papazoglou (1988) 116–17). *Barr.* 50, HRL.

Phylakai (*Φυλακαί*) Ptol. *Geog.* 3.12.37 (cf. 17: *πόλις*); *ethnikon*: *Φυλακαῖος* (*I.Beroia* 140 (C3/C2)), *Phylacaeus* (Plin. *HN* 4.34). Possibly at Moschopotamos, in Pieria (Papazoglou (1988) 120; Hatzopoulos (1996*b*) i. 109–10). Undated and unlocated in *Barr.* 50.

Pimpleia (*Πίμπλεια*) Callim. *Hymn* 4.7; Posidippus 118; Strabo 7 frf. 17 and 18 (*κώμη* of Dion). Possibly at Ag. Paraskevi near Litochoron, in Pieria (Schmidt (1950); Papazoglou (1988) 112). *Barr.* 50, HR.

Skydra (*Σκύδρα*) Theagenes (*FGrHist* 774) fr. 13 *apud* Steph. Byz. 578.8 (*πόλις*); Plin. *HN* 4.34 (*civitas*); Ptol. *Geog.* 3.12.36 (cf. 17: *πόλις*); *SEG* 24 530 (third century AD); *ethnikon*: *Σκυδραῖος* (*SEG* 24 524 (C3)). At Arseni in Bottia (Petsas (1961) 44–48). *Barr.* 50 (Loutrokhoroi?), HR.

Styberra (*Στύβερρα*) Polyb. 28.8.8; Strabo 7.7.9 (*πόλις*); Livy 31.39.4; *IG* X.2.2 323–28, 330 (*πόλις*) (all from the Imperial period); *ethnikon*: *Στυβερραῖος* (*IGBulg* V 5003 (C2/C1)). At Čepigovo in Derriopos (Papazoglou (1988) 298–302). *Barr.* 49, HRL.

Tyrissa (*Τύρισσα*) Plin. *HN* 4.34 (*Tyrissaei*); Ptol. *Geog.* 3.12.36 (cf. 17: *πόλις*). Most probably at Pentaplanos in Pieria. If the five *tagoi* recorded in a C2e deed of sale found at Asvestario, 6 km to the north of Pentaplanos (*SEG* 47 999) are the supreme magistrates of Tyrissa and not of Pella, Tyrissa was a *polis* in the Hellenistic period (Papazoglou (1988) 158–59; P. Chrysostomou (1997); *BE* (1999) 349). Not in *Barr.*

Of the twenty-five settlements listed above, three (Alebaia, Genderrhos, Pimpleia) are described *expressis verbis* in our sources as *komai.* In any case, all settlements in Upper Makedonia (including Eordaia), even when these are called *poleis,* did not enjoy the full prerogatives of the cities of Lower Makedonia, for these were reserved for the territorial units called *ethne* in our sources, which included both cities and villages, called *politeiai* in our sources of the Roman period. Examples of other such Upper Makedonian settlements are Aiginion in Tymphaia, Alkomena, Bryanion and Styberra in Derriopos, Argos Orestikon and Keletron in Orestis, Euia and Greia in Elemia or Eordaia. Of the remaining nine, Agassai and Aiginion are called *urbes* in Hellenistic times, and Tyrissa seems to have had its own magistrates in the same period. They most probably had inherited this status from the previous period. The same is true of Balla, mentioned by the C3 writer Theagenes referring to an event that probably took place in the reign of Philip II. Galadrai is mentioned by Lykophron in the early Hellenistic period. Its presence in the work of Polybios guarantees that it was not a mythological invention. Its existence in Classical times is possible and even probable. We should have even fewer doubts concerning Marinia and Skydra, the *ethnika* of which figure in a C3 register of sales. Phylakai, too, the *ethnikon* of which appears in an Early Hellenistic agonistic catalogue, was most probably a city in the previous period. Such favourable indications are lacking in the case of Gaimeion and Nea[---], probably a small place, and also of Petra, the site of which can hardly "contain more than thirty little houses" (Heuzey (1860) 147). To conclude, at least eight more *poleis* (Agassai, Aiginion, Balla, Galadrai, Marinia, Skydra, Phylakai and Tyrissa) should probably be added to the seventeen listed in the following Inventory.

II. The *Poleis*

528. Aiane (Aianaios?) Maps 49–50. Lat. 40.10, long. 21.50. Size of territory: ? Type: C. The toponym is *Αἰανή, ἡ* (*EAM* 47; Steph. Byz. 37.7; later spelt *Ἔανή* (*EAM* 15)); possibly *Aeane* in Livy 43.21.5 (Megas (1976)). The city-ethnic *Αἰαναῖος* is given by Steph. Byz. 37.9.

Aiane is called a *polis* in the political sense in *EAM* 15, which dates from the second century AD. The ethnic is attested only by Steph. Byz., but there is no reason to doubt its authenticity.

Although Aiane, as the recent excavations at Megale Rachi have shown, was the capital of the kings of Elemia from Archaic times, it is not mentioned in the surviving historical works with the possible exception of Livy 43.21.5 in connection with the first military operations of the Third Makedonian War (Megas (1976)).

The three monumental buildings discovered on the top and on the slopes of the acropolis, one of which is certainly a portico belonging to an agora complex, as well as the urban planning of the residential area, show that Aiane had the external aspect of a *polis* from C6l, to which the oldest of these buildings belong (Karamitrou-Mentesidi (1993), (1994), (1996*a*) 16–32, (1996*b*) 25–29). The power of the Elemiote kings, which in the C4e equalled that of the Temenids of Lower Makedonia, goes a long way to explain the early promotion of their residence to a full-blown city comparable to Aigeai. After the annexation of Upper

Makedonia to the Temenid kingdom and its reorganisation by Philip II, Aiane remained the capital of Elemia, although from the administrative point of view not Aiane alone but the whole of Elemia with its other towns and villages constituted a political unit equal to the *poleis* of Lower Makedonia (Hatzopoulos (1996*b*) ii. 89–91).

At Aiane probably were struck the bronze coins of King Derdas in the C4e. Types: *obv.* galloping horseman, or youthful Apollo, or youthful Herakles; *rev.* club and spearhead, or galloping horseman; legend: *ΔEPΔA*, *ΔEPΔAION* (Liampi (1998)).

529. Aigeai (Aigaios) Map 50. Lat. 40.30, long. 22.15. Size of territory: 2. Type: A. The toponym is *Αἰγεαί*, *αἱ* (*IG* IV 617.15) or *Αἰγέαι* (Diod. 16.92.1) or *Αἰγαῖαι* (Diyllos (*FGrHist* 73) fr. 1) or *Αἰγαιαί* (Diod. 19.52.5; *I.Leukopetra* 103) or *Αἰγαί* (Diod. 16.3.5) or *Αἰγειαί* (Theophr. fr. 5.27; *Syll.*³ 269L) or *Αἰγαία* (Ptol. *Geog.* 3.12.36). The city-ethnic is *Αἰγαῖος* (Plut. *Pyrrh.* 26.11; *IG* XII.8 206.12 (C1l)), later spelled *Ἐγέος* (*I.Leukopetra* 73 (AD 229)). Aigeai is called a *polis* in the urban sense by Euphorion fr. 33, van Groningen (rC7) and Plut. *Pyrrh.* 26.11 (r274). A combined description of the urban and political aspects of the community is found in the phrase *ἄστυ κτίζε πόλης* (where *asty* is Aigeai and the *polis* is the Makedonian state), referring to the foundation of Aigeai in C7 and attested in a Delphic oracle of *c.*500 (Diod. 7.16; for the date see Hatzopoulos (1996*b*) 464–65). The epithet *μηλοβότειρα* shows that the toponym was used for the territory as well as for the urban centre (Steph. Byz. 39.1; cf. Just. 7.1.10). The political sense is implicit in the designation of Makedonians as belonging to the citizen body of Aigeai (cf. *Syll.*³ 269L and *I.Magnesia* 10.11–12: *Αἰσχρίων Ἀμ[ύ]ντα Μακε[δὼν ἐξ] Αἰγεῶν* (C3); for the date, see Gauthier, *Prakt* (1984) 98). The earliest attestation of the individual use of the city-ethnic occurs in *IG* XII.8 206.12 (C1l), but in Plut. *Alex.* 41.9 a C4 Makedonian citizen is called *Εὐρύλοχος Αἰγαῖος*.

The territory of Aigeai bordered on that of Beroia to the west and Aloros to the east. The marshes of the mouth of the Haliakmon formed its northern limit, and the heights of the Pierians its southern one. Thus it extended over *c.*12.5 km from the gorges of the Haliakmon to the river-bed of the Krasopoulis, and over *c.*5 km of arable territory between the mountain and the marshes (62.5 km²). The territory of Aigeai comprised several minor settlements, of which only one has been identified: Blaganoi (Hatzopoulos (1987a), (1990) 59–60). Although situated on the right bank of the Haliakmon, Aigeai did not belong to Pieria, but, just like Aloros, to Bottia (Diod. 7.16) or Emathia (Ptol. *Geog.* 3.12.36), as this region was called in later times (Hatzopoulos (1996*b*) i. 239–47, (1996*a*)).

According to its foundation legend, Aigeai was originally a Phrygian (Brygian) city called Edessa, and the name Aigeai was first given to it by its Greek Makedonian conquerors (Euphorion fr. 33, van Groningen; Just. 7.1.10 (rC7)). From then on it was the Temenid capital, and it remained a part-time royal residence even after the transfer of the usual residence to Pella under King Amyntas III (Hatzopoulos (1987b)); in particular, it retained its character of royal cemetery at least until the end of the Temenid dynasty.

Citizens of Aigeai are known to have been *proxenoi* of several cities: Delphi (no. 177) (*Syll.*³ 269L (*c.*300 or 272)), Histiaia (no. 372) (*IG* XII.9 1187.30 (*c.*266)) and Magnesia on the Maiandros (no. 852), where the recipient also received citizenship (*I.Magnesia* 10 (C3)).

Aigeai does not appear in the list of the *theorodokoi* of Nemea (in 323), but its name can be safely restored on the Argive list of contributors (*IG* IV 617.15 (*c.*300)), which could be a reference to *theoroi* (cf. Perlman (2000) 74). Its main deities were Zeus (Arr. *Anab.* 1.11.1) and Herakles Patroos (Hatzopoulos (1996*b*) ii. no. 30). Eukleia (Saatsoglou-Paliadeli (1987), (1992)) and the Mother of the Gods (Drougou (1996)) were also popular.

Excavations at Vergina-Palatitsia, begun by L. Heuzey in the middle of the nineteenth century and continued since by C. Romaios, and by M. Andronicos and his students, have unearthed, besides the extensive cemetery (Kottaridi (2002)), two palaces, a theatre, an agora, several sanctuaries and other facilities. The great palace (104.5 × 88.5 m), built around a peristyle court, with porticoes on the north and east sides, an extended balcony beyond the north portico and a monumental gate on the east side, belongs to the C4s, but the smaller one, to the west, seems to be earlier and may be the very structure decorated by Zeuxis in C5l (Andronicos (1984) 38–46; Ginouvès (1993) 84–88; Saatsoglou-Paliadeli (2001)). The C4s theatre (*TGR* ii. 317) lay immediately to the north of the palace. Stone benches rose only to the second row (Drougou (1997)). The theatre is mentioned by Diodorus in his account of the murder of Philip in 336 (Diod. 16.92.5ff). The agora of the city lay to the north of the theatre; it comprised the C4m temple dedicated to Eukleia (Saatsoglou-Paliadeli (1996)). To the northeast of the palace a sanctuary of the Mother of the Gods was discovered, the earliest building phase of which belongs to C4l (Drougou (1996)).

On the acropolis, south of the palace, which dominated the city, no major public buildings have been found (Phaklaris (1996) 70–74).

The C4l circuit wall roughly forms a triangle, with its apex to the south on the acropolis and its base on a line joining the two streams on either side of the acropolis hill probably to the south of the Rhomaios tomb. It is a pseudo-isodomic structure of local stone with towers at irregular intervals. Monumental gates opened from the acropolis to the south, towards Pieria, to the north towards the city, and west of the theatre towards Upper Makedonia (Andronicos *et al.* (1983) 42–45, (1987) 146–48; Phaklaris (1996) 69–70).

According to legend, Aigeai was founded by the Temenid Perdikkas or Karanos or Archelaos, alone or with an army of Argive colonists in the C7m or C8e (Hammond and Griffith (1979) 3–14).

530. Alebaia Map 50. Unlocated (but see Hatzopoulos (2003) for a possible identification with Bravas). Type: A (rC7). The toponym is *Λεβαίη, ἡ* (Hdt. 8.137.1) *Ἀλ(α)ιβαῖοι* (*sc. τόποι*) (*I.Leukopetra* 12.4 (AD 171/2)), *Ἀλεβία* (*κώμη*: *I.Leukopetra* 106.14 (AD 253/4)). The city-ethnic is unattested but was presumably *Ἀλεβαῖος* (*I.Leukopetra* 12.4). Alebaia is called a *polis*, in the urban sense, exclusively in Hdt. 8.137.1, in the mythical context of the foundation of the Makedonian state by the Temenids. It is not clear whether Herodotos is considering (A)lebaia to be a *polis* in his own time or only in the C7, when the legend he narrates is dated. It is clear, however, that by the Roman period (A)lebaia was not an independent *polis* but a *kome* of Elemia, and it is probable that even earlier not (A)lebaia alone but the whole *ethnos* of the Elemiotai constituted a political unit equivalent to the *poleis* of Lower Makedonia.

531. Allante (Allantaios) Map 50. Lat. 40.45, long. 22.35. (Allante was most probably situated at Nea Chalkedon (Gounaropoulou and Hatzopoulos (1985) 56–61). Military action during the First World War and the construction of a modern settlement after 1922 have destroyed practically all ancient remains.) Size of territory: ? Type: B. The toponym is *Ἀταλάντη, ἡ* (Thuc. 2.100.3) or *Ἀλλάντειον, τό* (Theopomp. fr. 33; *BCH* 45 (1921) 17 III.64 (230–220)) or *Ἀλάντη* (*SEG* 36 331B.21) or *Ἀλλάντη* (Steph. Byz. 76.1). The city-ethnic is [*Ἀταλα*]- *vel* [*Ἀλλα*]-*νταῖος* (*IG* IV 617.17 (C4l); *Ἀλλανταῖος SEG* 35 753.12 (*c.*AD 198)); Steph. Byz. 76.3 suggests *Ἀλλάντιος*; Pliny's *Allantenses* (*HN* 4.35) is not helpful. The only classification in literary sources of Allante as a *polis* is in Steph. Byz. 76.1. The only epigraphic attestation of a *πόλις Ἀλλανταίων* is on a *c.*AD 198 milestone from Allante (*SEG* 35 753.12), where the term *polis* is used in the political sense. Allante is called a *chorion* in Thuc. 2.100.3. The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested both internally (*SEG* 35 753.12) and externally (*IG* IV 617.17).

The territory of Allante bordered on that of Pella to the north-west, Ichnai to the north and Herakleia to the east, across the Axios; to the south it reached the ancient shoreline. Allante was probably a C5e Makedonian foundation designed to cut off the then Paionian city of Ichnai from the sea (Hatzopoulos (1996*b*) i. 111).

Allantaian *theorodokoi* were appointed to host *theoroi* from Nemea (*SEG* 36 331.B.21 (331/30–313)). If the ethnic is correctly restored in *IG* IV 617.17, Allante is recorded on the Argive list of contributors of C4l, which may be connected with the dispatching of *theoroi* (cf. Perlman (2000) 74).

532. Aloros (Alorites) Maps 49–50. Lat. 40.35, long. 22.30. Size of territory: ? Type: A. The toponym is *Ἄλωρος, ἡ* (Ps.-Skylax 66; Strabo 7 fr. 20), and the city-ethnic *Ἀλωρίτης* (Diod. 15.71.1). Aloros is called a *polis* in the urban sense by Ps.-Skylax 66 (C4m). The individual use of the ethnic is attested externally in Diod. 15.71.1 (r368) and Arr. *Ind.* 18.6 (r320s).

The territory of Aloros bordered on that of Aigeai to the west and Methone to the south, while to the north it must have been delimited by the marshes of Lake Loudiake.

Traces of a circuit wall of poros blocks *c.*1 km long have been spotted (Hatzopoulos (1987*b*) 38). Excavations begun in 1988 (Apostolou (1998)) have revealed a C4 two-room building, probably a temple, with an adjoining Archaic structure, probably an altar (Apostolou (1991)).

533. Beroia (Beroiaios) Maps 49–50. Lat. 40.30; long. 22.10. Size of territory: 4. Type: A. The toponym is *Βέροια, ἡ* (Thuc. 1.61.4), later spelled *Βέρροια* (App. *Syr.* 57 and late Roman sources). The city-ethnic is *Βεροιαῖος* (unpublished C4s inscription from the Perrhaibian *tripolis*; Polyb. 28.8.2); *Βεροιῆος* in *I.Leukopetra* 31.5; *Βαιροιαῖος* in *I.Leukopetra* 84.4–5 or *Βεροιεύς* (Polyb. 27.8.6); *Βερωαῖος* (*IG* IV².1 96.22) is probably a mistake. Beroia is first attested as a *polis* in the political sense in a C4l dedication (*I.Beroia* 29 = Hatzopoulos (1996*b*) no. 73) and is called a *polis* in the urban sense in Ps.-Skymnos 626 (C2). The term *chorion* is used by Thuc. 1.61.4, and the term *polisma* by App. *Syr.* 57. The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally in an honorific inscription (*I.Beroia* 59 (C1)). The individual use of the city-ethnic is attested internally in a consecration from the sanctuary of Leukopetra (*I.Leukopetra* 31.5 (AD 192/3)) and externally in an unpublished dedication from

the Perrhaibian Tripolis (cf. Hatzopoulos (1996*b*) i. 156, n. 15 (C4s)) and in a C3f Epidaurian list of *theorodokoi* (*IG* IV².1 96.22).

The territory of Beroia bordered on that of Mieza to the north, Pella to the north-east, Aigeai to the south-east and on the regions of Eordaia to the north-west and Elemia to the south-west. Among the secondary settlements of the original territory of Beroia, we know the names of Kyneoi, Auranton, Kannonea and Droga (Hatzopoulos (1990)).

The constitution of Beroia, like the constitution of all the cities of Makedonia, had a pronounced aristocratic character. Not only slaves, but also freedmen, their sons, male prostitutes and craftsmen were excluded from civic life (Gauthier and Hatzopoulos (1993) 78–87), and full enfranchisement probably was subject to a minimum census in landed property (Hatzopoulos (1996*b*) i. 209 n. 1). The chief executive official was the *epistates* (Hatzopoulos (1996*b*) ii. no. 73), who—at least later—was assisted by a board of magistrates who may have been called *tagoi* (Hatzopoulos (1996*b*) i. 156).

The patron deity of Beroia was Herakles Kynagidas, who was revered as the ancestor of the royal family—not only of the Temenids, but also later of the Antigonids (Edson (1934) 226–32; Allamani-Souri (1993*b*); Hatzopoulos (1994*a*) 102–11). The cult of Asklepios was also important (Voutiras (1993) 257), and his priest was eponymous, as in all Makedonian cities (Hatzopoulos (1996*b*) i. 152–54). His cult was, at least later, associated with those of Apollo and Hygieia (*I.Beroia* 16 (C3s)). The cult of Dionysos was an ancient one (cf. the epistylion of the theatre bearing a dedication to the god, *I.Beroia* 21 (C4l)); with the epithets Agrios, Erikryptos, Pseudanor it is attested only in Imperial times, but, given its archaic character, it certainly had much earlier origins (Hatzopoulos (1994*a*) 65–85). From the Hellenistic period are attested cults of Athena (*I.Beroia* 17), Ennodia (*I.Beroia* 23), Hermes (*I.Beroia* 24), Pan (*I.Beroia* 37) and Atargatis (*I.Beroia* 19). Beroia is recorded on the Argive list of contributors (*IG* IV 617.17 (C4l)), which may be connected with the dispatching of *theoroi* (cf. Perlman (2000) 74).

The failure of the Athenians to capture Beroia in 432 (Thuc. 1.61.4) probably implies that at least part of the city, such as the acropolis situated in the western extremity, was already fortified. Traces of a C4l circuit wall made of local poros have been discovered in different parts of the modern town (Petkos (1997) 272). There were at least three gates, one of which bore the name *Εὐιαστική* (*I.Beroia* 41; cf. Brocas-Deflassieux (1999) 37–41). The continuous habitation of the site from the Iron Age to the present (cf. Allamani-Souri (1993*a*); Allamani-Souri and Apostolou (1992) 97) have left very few traces of the ancient town plan. It is presumed that the ancient agora and main road axes correspond to the modern civic centre and road system (Brocas-Deflassieux (1999) 99–101). The *stadion* has been located in the eastern outskirts of the city. Epigraphic finds have permitted the location of the *gymnasion*—first attested in the Hellenistic period—in the same area south of the *stadion* (Brocas-Deflassieux (1999) 87–90). A late Classical or early Hellenistic epistylion with a dedication to Dionysos (*I.Beroia* 21) provides evidence for the functioning of the theatre in that period.

534. Dion (Diestes) Maps 49–50. Lat. 40.10, long. 22.30. Size of territory: 4. Type: [A]. The toponym is *Δῖον, τό* (Thuc. 4.78.6; *Staatsverträge* 308.9), *Δεῖον* (*SEG* 31 630). The city-ethnic is *Διέστης* (*SEG* 48 785; Steph. Byz. 522.3) or *Διάστης* (Paus. 9.30.8) or *Δεῖος* (Oikonomos (1915) no. 4) or *Διεύς* (Steph. Byz. 232.5). The form *Διαῖος* attested on coins (Hatzopoulos and Psoma (1999) 10–12) has nothing to do with Makedonian Dion.

In Ps.-Skylax, the chapter about Makedonia (66) opens with *πρώτη πόλις Μακεδονίας Ἡράκλειον, Δῖον* . . . Thus, Dion is implicitly classified as a *polis* in the urban sense in C4f, and explicit references are found in later sources, both literary (Paus. 10.13.5 (rC6l/C5e); cf. *CID* I 1) and epigraphical (Oikonomos (1915) no. 4 (early second century AD)). Thuc. 4.78.6 calls Dion a *polisma*. The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally in a C2e letter of Philip V to the city (*SEG* 48 785). In the same letter *polites* occurs (cf. the *χῆραι πολίτιδες* in a Hellenistic catalogue of names: Pandermalis (2002) 381–82).

The territory of Classical Dion bordered on that of Leibethra to the south, Pydna to the north-east and possibly Phylakai to the north-west. We know the name of only one of its secondary settlements: Pimpleia, called *kome* by Strabo at 7 fr. 17, which was famous because of its connection with the legend of Orpheus and the cult of the Muses (Schmidt (1950)).

Dion was the religious centre of Makedonia at least from C5 and probably much earlier (cf. Diod. 17.16.3). The patron deity of Dion was Olympian Zeus, to whom the city owed its name (Just. 24.2.8) and who was venerated along with the Muses (Diod. 7.16.3). Other communal cults were those of Demeter, Dionysos, the Mother of the Gods, Aphrodite, Baubo, Orpheus, Athena, Eileithyia, Asklepios and Hermes. Sarapis and Isis are also attested from early Hellenistic times onwards (Pandermalis (1977), (1993); Hatzopoulos (1994*b*)

106). The most important religious but also political event at Dion, and in Makedonia as a whole, was the *panegyris* of Olympia held in the month of Dios and lasting nine days (Diod. 17.16.4). Among other contests it included the *pentathlon*, the *dolichos* and the *taurotheria* (Hatzopoulos (1996*b*) i. 129 n. 2; cf. *BE* (1978) no. 232). Dion maintained close relations with Delphi from the Archaic period (*CID* I 1 (C6/C5e); cf. Paus. 10.13.5 and Mari (2002) 29–31).

From a C4m fiscal law (Hatzopoulos (1996*b*) ii. no. 56) and a C4l decree (ibid. no. 57), both unpublished, we are informed that Dion had fewer than ten *archontes* and at least two *tamiai.*

The site of Dion comprises the sanctuaries area in the open plain and the walled city to its north. The latter occupies an area of *c.*43 ha, which justifies the descriptions of Thuc. 4.78.6 (*πόλισμα*) and Livy 44.7.3 (*urbem non magnam*). The rectangular grid-line of the street planning, leaving an open space for the agora, is contemporary with the erection of the walls (Stephanidou-Tiveriou (1998) 216–23). These, 2.60–3.30 m wide, date from C4l and were probably built by Kassandros (after 305?). In their pre-Roman phase they had a regular rectangular perimeter of *c.*2,625 m and about sixty towers. Of a probable total of at least six or seven gates, four have been identified so far. One of the northern ones, leading to two consecutive courtyards, was probably the main entry to the city. The walls were built from local conglomerate stone. Above the stone substructure rose a brick superstructure of indeterminate height (Stephanidou-Tiveriou (1988)).

In the open plain several sanctuaries have been located: two *megaron*-shaped temples of Demeter adjacent to each other (in which the Mother of the Gods, Baubo and Hypolympidia Aphrodite were probably worshipped as well) date from C6l (Pingiatoglou (1996); Pandermalis (1999) 60–73); near the theatre lay the small C5 temple of Asklepios (Pandermalis (1999) 84–87); finally, the famous temple and temenos of Olympian Zeus has now been located in the south-eastern part of the sanctuaries area (Pandermalis (1999) 44–59, (2000) 291–92). Other important public buildings in the open plain are the C4e theatre, which was rebuilt in Hellenistic times (Karadedos (1986) 337–40) and the C6l *stadion* (Leake (1835) 409 and now Pandermalis (1999) 76, 80–81).

535. Edessa (Edessaios) Maps 49–50. Lat. 40.45, long. 22.05. Size of territory: ? Type: C. The toponym is *Ἔδεσσα, ἡ* (*IG* IV 617.16 (C4l); Strabo 7.7.4). The city-ethnic is *Ἐδεσσαῖος* (*F. Delphes* III.3 207.2 (C3m)), also spelt *Ἐδεσσηνός* (Tataki (1994) no. 56). Edessa is called a *polis* in Diod. 31.8.8 (r167), probably in the political, urban and territorial senses combined. For late attestations of the urban sense, see Ptol. *Geog.* 3.12.39 (cf. 17), and for the political sense, see Demitsas no. 3 (second or third century AD). The term *polisma* is attested in App. *Syr.* 57, and the term *polites* in Antoninus (1879) 227, no. 26. The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally in *SEG* 36 615.4 (*c.*AD 200). The individual use of the city-ethnic is attested internally in Cormack (1973) no. 4 (second century AD) and externally in *F.Delphes* III.3 207.2 (C3m).

The territory of Edessa bordered on the region of Almopia to the north, on the territories of Kyrrhos to the east, on those of Marinia and Skydra to the south, and on the region of Eordaia to the west (Hatzopoulos (1996*b*) i. 112).

The constitution of Edessa is known to us only from inscriptions of the Roman period (e.g. *SEG* 24 531.6 (AD 180/1)), which is also the earliest attested public enactment; Antoninus (1879) 227, no. 26). Edessaians were granted *proxenia* by Delphi (*F.Delphes* III.3 207.2 (C3m)) and Haliartos (*IG* VII 2848.4 (C3?)), and received citizenship from Larisa (*SEG* 27 202 (220–210)). Edessa is recorded on the Argive list of contributors of C4l, which may be connected with the dispatching of *theoroi* (*IG* IV 617.16; cf. Perlman (2000) 74).

The cult of Herakles is mentioned by Hesychius, s.v. *Ἐδεσσαῖος*, and is attested epigraphically (Struck (1902) 310 no. 15 and, with the epithet Kynagidas, in two unpublished C2s and C1m inscriptions). From the same period date inscriptions referring to the cults of Zeus Hypsistos (P. Chrysostomou (1989–91) 30–34) and Parthenos (Hatzopoulos (1995)). Evidence for other cults is of later date.

A probably C4l (A. Chrysostomou (1988) 60, (1996) 174) wall enclosed both the acropolis (triangular perimeter, one tower on the north-west apex of the triangle and one on each of the west and north sides) and the lower city (polygonal perimeter, 2.4–3 m wide) covering an area of 3.5 and 23 ha respectively (A. Chrysostomou (1987), (1996)). The walls are mentioned by Polyaen. 2.29.2 (r274). The only public monuments known are the temple of Ma and its stoas, which are epigraphically attested (Hatzopoulos (1995) 126). The site has been occupied continuously since the Bronze Age, which accounts for the lack of Archaic and Classical remains (A. Chrysostomou (1996) 180–82); however, Livy 45.30.5 refers to Edessa as among the *urbes nobiles* of central Makedonia in 167, and it was presumably already so in the Classical period.

536. Europos (Europaios) Map 50. Lat. 40.55, long. 22.35. Size of territory: ? Type: B. The toponym is *Εὐρωπός, ἡ* (Thuc. 2.100.3; Strabo 7.7.9; cf. Kotzias, *AA* 54 (1939) 257 (inscribed tiles)), *Ὥρωπός* (App. *Syr.* 57; *BCH* 45 (1921) 17, III.62). The city-ethnic is *Εὐρωπαῖος* (*F.Delphes* III.4 405.3 (C3e)) or *Εὐρώπιος* (*I. Oropos* 98 (C3l)). Europos is called a *polis* in the urban sense in Ptol. *Geog.* 3.12.36 (cf. 17) and in the political sense in two honorific decrees for Roman generals (*SEG* 41 570 (*c.*110), 42 575 (*c.*39–38)). Thuc. 2.100.3 calls Europos a *chorion*. The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally in *SEG* 41 570 (*c.*110) and externally in the C4l contribution list from Argos (*IG* IV 617.17). For the earliest individual use of the city-ethnic, see the *proxenia* decree from Delphi (*F.Delphes* III.4 405.3 (C4l)).

The territory of Europos bordered on those of Pella to the south-west, Ichnai to the south-east and Gortynia to the north.

Citizens of Europos received the *proxenia* at Delphi (*F.Delphes* III.4 405.3 (C4l)). A cult of Artemis Elaphebolos is attested in a C3 inscription (*SEG* 43 399). The Europaians are recorded in the Argive list of contributors of C4l, which may be connected with the dispatching of *theoroi* (*IG* IV 617.17; cf. Perlman (2000) 74).

Europos was most probably a walled city in 429, since Sitalkes besieged it but was unable to capture it (Thuc. 2.100.3). Of its public buildings we know only of an aqueduct mentioned in an inscription of Imperial times (*SEG* 38 608). Ongoing excavations aim to delimit the settlement; sporadic finds, such as an unpublished late Archaic *kouros* (Savvopoulou (1988) 137), testify to Europos' importance as a trading centre of the Axios valley.

537. Herakleion (Herakleiotes) Map 50. Lat. 40.00, long. 22.40. Size of territory: 3. Type: A. The toponym is *Ἡράκλειον, τό* (Damastes (*FGrHist* 5) fr. 4.3; Ps.-Skylax 66; *IG* I³ 77.V.21 (*Ἑράκλειον*)), *Ἡράκλεια, ἡ* (Steph. Byz. 304.3). The city-ethnic is *Ἡρακλειώτης* (*Gonnoi* 93). Herakleion is called a *polis* in the urban sense in Ps.-Skylax 66. The collective use of the ethnic is attested externally in *Gonnoi* 93B.24 (C3l)).

The territory of Herakleion bordered on that of Gonnoi to the south-west (see the dossier in *Gonnoi* 93–107), Leibethra on the north and possibly Homolion, beyond the Peneios, before the foundation of Phila on the mouth of that river in Hellenistic times.

Herakleion became a member of the Delian League some time between 430/29 and 425/4 or, at least, the Athenians claimed its membership and had it assessed for a tribute of 1,000 drachmas (*IG* I³ 71.IV.108, completely restored; 77.V.21).

Herakleion appears as a walled city in 169 (Polyb. 28.11.1; Livy 44.9.1–9), but its fortifications most probably date from C5, since the city could successfully challenge the authority of Perdikkas II and remain a member of the Delian League for years. Presumably, the walls covered the entire hill, since Heuzey (1860) 92–93 saw remains of them at the bottom of the hill, near the river bank.

538. Ichnai (Ichnaios) Map 50. Lat. 40.45, long. 22.35. (On the location of Ichnai on the right bank of the Axios, see Hatzopoulos (2001) 159–60.) Size of territory: ? Type: A. The toponym is *Ἴχναι, αἱ* (Hdt. 7.123.3; *BCH* 45 (1921) 17.III.63), *Ἄχναι* (Eratosthenes according to Steph. Byz. 342.17, but probably referring to the Thessalian Ichnai; cf. Steph. Byz. 152.16). The city-ethnic is *Ἰχναῖος* (*IG* II² 8944 (undated)). Ichnai is called a *polis* in the urban sense in Hdt. 7.123.3 and in the political sense in a treaty(?) between that city and Dikaia(?) (Struck (1902) 310 no. 15.2 (undated)). The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally on coins of C5e (*infra*) and in inscriptions (Struck (1902) 309 no. 14.6 and 310 no. 15.2). The individual use of the city-ethnic is attested in a Delphic C3m proxeny decree (*F.Delphes* III.3 207.3 (C3m)) and in an undated Attic sepulchral inscription (*IG* II² 8944).

The name of the territory of Ichnai might be *Ἰχναίων χώρα* (Hsch. s.v. *Ἰχναίαν*, unless the reference is to the homonymous Thessalian city). It bordered on the territories of Pella to the south-west, Allante to the south, Tyrissa to the north-west, and probably Herakleia in Mygdonia to the east, across the Axios. The probable site of the urban centre has been totally destroyed by intense agricultural activity (*ArchDelt* 49 (1994) *Chron.* 455).

Two fragments of an inscription of unknown date might belong to a treaty between Ichnai and Dikaia (Papazoglou (1988) 155–56). A citizen of Ichnai was awarded *proxenia* by Delphi (*F.Delphes* III.3 207.3 (C3m)); another Ichnaian was appointed *theorodokos* for *theoroi* arriving from the same city (*BCH* 45 (1921) 17 III.63 (*c.*220)).

Judging by the onomastic evidence, Ichnai must have been originally a Paionian settlement which already in Archaic times received an influx of Southern Greek colonists. After the Makedonian conquest, settlers from the Old Kingdom were added to its population (cf. Hatzopoulos (1996*b*) i. 107 n. 1). It seems that citizens of Ichnai, in their turn, participated in the Makedonian colonisation of Amphipolis (Hatzopoulos (1991) 86).

Before the Makedonian conquest, Ichnai struck silver staters and octadrachms (*c.*490–480). Types: *obv.* male figure, usually between two bulls, or beside a horse; *rev.* wheel, or cross in an incuse square; legend: [*IX*]*NAI*[*ON*], *IXNAI*, *IXNAON*, *IXNAION* (Gaebler (1935) 63–65; Price and Waggoner (1975) 29–30, 117; Papazoglou (1988) 155; *SNG Cop. Macedonia* 183–84).

539. Kyrrhos (Kyrrhestes) Map 50. Lat. 40.50, long. 22.15. Size of territory: 4? Type: B. The toponym is *Κύρρος, ἡ* (Thuc. 2.100.4; Steph. Byz. 430.17; Vavritsas (1977) 8), *Κύρνος* (Diod. 18.4.5, MSS, apparently a mistake), *Κύριος* (in the MS of Ptol. *Geog.* 3.12.36; cf. the form *Scurio* (*It. Burd.* 606.3). The city-ethnic is *Κυρρέστης* (*SEG* 40 520; Plin. *HN* 4.34: *Cyrrestae*; cf. *SEG* 27 258 (Roman)) or *Κυρραῖος* (*SEG* 43 435.3 (early third century AD)). The only attestations of Kyrrhos as a *polis* (in the urban sense) are Plin. *HN* 4.34 and Ptol. *Geog.* 3.12.36 (cf. 17), but its mention alongside Dion and Amphipolis in Alexander's *Ὑπομνήματα* (*infra*) leaves no doubt that Kyrrhos too was a *polis* already in C4. The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally on a second century AD boundary stone (*SEG* 40 520). For the individual and external use of the city-ethnic, see *SEG* 43 435 (early third century AD).

The territory of Kyrrhos bordered on the territories of Edessa to the west, Skydra to the south-west, Pella to the south-east, Tyrissa to the east, and Europos to the north-east. An unpublished C3 decree (cf. Vavritsas (1977)) reveals that Genderrhos was a *kome* of Kyrrhos. The name of another *meros* (*kome*?) of the city, Mandarai, is preserved in Steph. Byz. 430.17.

The earliest public enactment of Kyrrhos is an unpublished C3 decree concerning public works in the vicinity and in the agora of the city (Vavritsas (1977)).

Kyrrhos was renowned for its sanctuary of Athena Kyrrhestis, which was located on the hill of Palaiokastron (Vavritsas (1977)). It would be tempting to interpret the mass of semi-worked limestone blocks in a nearby C4s quarry (Bakalakis (1970)) as preliminary work for the *ναὸς πολυτελής* of Athena which Alexander was planning to built in Kyrrhos (Diod. 18.4.5); two C4l/C3e poros capitals—probably of a temple—may attest a later attempt to implement Alexander's plan (Haddad (1993); Adam-Veleni (1998) 6). The sanctuary of Artemis Agrotera is known from dedications of the Roman period (Panayotou and Chrysostomou (1993) 379–80). The agora of the city is mentioned several times in the C3 unpublished decree (Vavritsas (1977) 8; Hatzopoulos (1996*b*) i. 438–39).

The patron deity of Kyrrhos was Athena, for whom Alexander was planning to build a magnificent temple at the time of his death (Diod. 18.4.5). The cult of Athena Kyrrhestis, which is also attested epigraphically (*SEG* 27 258 (Roman)), was transferred to the homonymous city in Syria. Other communal cults were those of Artemis Agrotera (attested by Roman evidence: *SEG* 30 553–54, 35 750, 43 404–5) and of Zeus Hypsistos (P. Chrysostomou (1989–91) 40–41).

540. Leibethra (Leibethrios) Map 50. Lat. 40.50, long. 22.30. Size of territory: 3. Type: C. The toponym is *Λείβηθρα, τά* (Aesch. fr. 83a.9; *BCH* 45 (1921) 17 III.53) or *Λείβηθρον* (Strabo 10.3.17) or *Λίβηθρα* (Paus. 9.30.9). The city-ethnic is *Λειβήθριος* (Arist. fr. 552; *Gonnoi* 2.6) or *Λιβήθριος* (Paus. 9.30.11).

Leibethra is called a *polis* in the urban sense in Paus. 9.30.9, referring to the mythical period. The term *patris* is used in *Orph. Argonaut.* 1374. Alternative site-classifications are *ethnos* (Arist. fr. 552), *chorion* or *oros* (Strabo 10.3.17), *topos* (Hsch., s.v. *λείβηθρον*) and *σκοπιή* (Lyc. *Alex.* 275). The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally on an inscribed weight of one mina (*SEG* 27 283 (undated)) and externally in Arist. fr. 563 and in a C3e decree from Gonnoi (*Gonnoi* 2.6).

Originally populated by Thracian Pieres, Leibethra and this part of Pieria were conquered by the Makedonians *c.*C7 (Strabo 10.3.17; cf. Hammond (1972) 417).

According to the legend mentioned by Pausanias (9.30.11), the city was destroyed by the river Sys. The topography of the site and the remains of the walls make such a "destruction" by the four torrents in the area quite possible (Kotzias (1948–49) 33–34), although the continued existence of the city is secured by Classical (Pritchett (1991) 127) and Hellenistic (Kotzias (1948–49) 34) remains, by the mention of the city in the C3 inscription from Gonnoi (*Gonnoi* 2.6) and by the C3l Delphic list of *theorodokoi* (*BCH* 45 (1921) 17 III.53).

The territory of Leibethra probably extended from the mountainous area of Lower Olympos to the valley of Sys (Helly (1973) 35–36; *Gonnoi* 5). The city bordered on Gonnoi to the south-west, presumably on Herakleion to the south, and Dion to the north.

The cults of Orpheus, the Nymphs, the Muses and Dionysos are attested in literary sources (Kotzias (1948–49) 26–28). The cult of the latter deity has now found a possible archaeological confirmation (*SEG* 27 283).

The legend of the city's destruction mentions the existence of walls (Paus. 9.30.11). Kotzias ((1948–49) 33–34), who

excavated the site, discovered part of a circuit of 1.5 m-wide walls. According to Pritchett ((1991) 127), the circuit was no more than 500 m long. Recent work has confirmed that the acropolis (1.5 ha) was walled and that the site was not abandoned until C1 (*ArchDelt* 50 (1995) *Chron.* 497–98).

541. Methone (Methonaios) Maps 49–50. Lat. 40.30, long. 22.35. Size of territory: 3? Type: A. The toponym is *Μεθώνη, ἡ* (Thuc. 6.7.3; *IG* II² 130), *Μεθώνα* (*IG* IV².1 94.Ib.8). The city-ethnic is *Μεθωναῖος* (*IG* I³ 61; Thuc. 4.129.4; Arist. frr. 551–52). Methone is called a *polis* both in the urban sense (Dem. 9.26; Ps.-Skylax 66) and in the political sense (*IG* I³ 61.44–45; Plut. *Mor.* 293B, probably derived from Aristotle's treatise). In Din. 1.14 *polis* is used in both senses simultaneously. The *politai* of Methone are mentioned in Diod. 16.34.5 (r354), and there was an Aristotelian *Methonaion politeia* (frr. 551–52). The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally in abbreviated form on coins (*infra*) and externally in *IG* I³ 61.1. For the individual and external use of the city-ethnic, see e.g. *IG* II² 9330 (C5l).

According to Thuc. 6.7.3, Methone bordered on Makedonia (*τὴν ὅμορον Μακεδονίᾳ*), and its territory (*τῆς χόρας τῆς Μεθ[ο]ναίον*) is mentioned in *IG* I³ 61.22. The territory of Classical Methone bordered on that of Pydna to the south and Aloros to the north-west. The size of the territory must have been close to 100 km², perhaps a little more. After 354 it must have been added to that of Pydna (Hatzopoulos (1996*b*) i. 181).

Methone was originally a Thracian settlement. It was colonised by Eretrians *c.*730 (Hammond (1972) 425–26) and joined the Delian League after 431 (for the date and the erroneous restoration of the ethnic in *IG* I³ 280.II.67, see Piérart (1988)). It belonged to the Thracian district and is registered in the tribute lists from 430/29 (*IG* I³ 281.II.33, restored) to 415/14 (*IG* I³ 290.III.8) a total of three times, paying a *phoros* of 3 tal. (*IG* I³ 282.II.53). It was assessed for tribute in 425/4 (*IG* I³ 71.III.157 (5 tal.), ethnic completely restored).

In 364 or 363 it was captured by the Athenian Timotheos (Din. 1.14 = 3.17) and became an ally of Athens but probably without becoming a member of the Second Athenian Naval League (Dreher (1995) 26). Methone was conquered and destroyed by Philip II in 354 (Dem. 4.4; Diod. 16.31.6 and 34.4–5). The inhabitants were allowed to leave the city with one garment each; the city itself was razed to the ground, and its territory distributed to Makedonian settlers. A few decades later, old Methone was succeeded by a new settlement 1 km to the north-west of the former city, which, however, did not enjoy the status of *polis* but was probably a *kome* of Pydna (Hatzopoulos *et al.* (1990); for the origin of the new settlers, see Hatzopoulos (1996*b*) i. 180–81).

Our only information about the constitutional arrangements of Methone concerns its magistrates, the *archontes* and the *polemarchos* mentioned in Arist. fr. 551. A Methonaian *theorodokos* hosted the *theoroi* from Epidauros (no. 348) (*IG* IV².1 94.b.8) *c.*360. Another Methonaian is known to have been granted citizenship in Ephesos (*I.Ephesos* 48 (C4l)).

Methone was a walled city in 354 (Dem. 1.9; Theopomp. fr. 52; Polyaen. 4.2.15; Just. *Epit.* 7.6.14). No remains of the walls are visible today.

Methone struck only one type of bronze coinage in C4f. Types: *obv.* female head to the r.; *rev.* lion breaking spear; legend: *ΜΕΘΩ* (Gaebler (1935) 78–79; Psoma (2001) 115).

542. Mieza (Miezaios/Miezeus) Map 50. Lat. 40.40, long. 22.05. Size of territory: ? Type: B. The toponym is *Μίεζα, ἡ* (Plut. *Alex.* 7.4), *Μέζα* (*BCH* 45 (1921) 17, III.59), *Μύεζα* (in the MS of Ptol. *Geog.* 3.12.36); the alternative name *Στρυμόνιον* given by Steph. Byz. 452.1 (perhaps quoting Theagenes (*FGrHist* 774) fr. 7) is probably an epithet. The city-ethnic is *Μιεζαῖος* (Theagenes (*FGrHist* 774) fr. 7), later spelt *Μιεζῆος* (*I.Leukopetra* 71.8–9), or *Μιεζεύς* (Arr. *Ind.* 18.6 (r325)).

Mieza is called a *polis* in the urban sense by Steph. Byz. 452.1, possibly quoting Theagenes (*FGrHist* 774) fr.7 (C3); cf. Ptol. *Geog.* 3.12.36 (cf. 17). For the individual use of the city-ethnic, see Arr. *Ind.* 18.6.

The territory of Mieza is called *Μιεζῆοι τόποι* in *I.Leukopetra* 71.8–9; we know the names of two settlements that were probably its *komai*, Gaimeion and Nea [---] (*SEG* 24 524 (C3)). It bordered on the territory of Beroia to the south, Marinia to the north-west, and Skydra to the north-east.

Among the magistrates, the eponymous priest of Asklepios, the *epistates*, *tagoi* and *dikastai* are attested in the Hellenistic period (*SEG* 24 524 (C2f)), and at least the priest of Asklepios and the *epistates* are likely to have existed since C4 (Hatzopoulos (1996*b*) i. 156). The cults of Asklepios (*SEG* 24 524 (C2f)), the Nymphs (Plut. *Alex.* 7.4), Artemis (*SEG* 24 525–26), Herakles Kallinikos (Demitsas (1896) no. 18) and the river god Olganos (Kallipolitis (1952)) are attested in Mieza.

Although the archaeological complex of Leukadia–Kopanos–Naoussa was well known from the nineteenth century, only most recently have excavations started at the very site of the ancient city (Rhomiopoulou (1997)). A large

(over 106 m long) C4 stoa, which might form part of a Asklepieion complex, has come to light (Allamani-Souri and Misaelidou (1992) 203–12; Allamani-Souri et al. (2002)). Moreover, the school that Aristotle founded in Mieza (Plut. *Alex.* 7.4) is almost certainly to be identified with the building complex at Isvoria, to the south-west of the civic centre, where three caves are joined by elaborate *peripatoi*, niches, stoas and staircases (Siganidou and Trochides (1990), with earlier refs.).

543. Pella (Pellaios) Maps 49–50. Lat. 40.45, long. 22.30. Size of territory: 4 (P. Chrysostomou (1990) 223). Type: A. The toponym is *Πέλλα, ἡ* (Hdt. 7.123.3; Thuc. 2.99.4; *Syll.*³ 267A.4), earlier (or as an epithet?) *Βούνομος* or *Βουνόμεια* (Steph. Byz. 515.7–8). The city-ethnic is *Πελλαῖος* (Arvanitopoulos (1909) no. 16; Arr. *Anab.* 3.5.3). The alternative forms *Πελληναῖος* of Plut. *Mor.* 339B and *Πελληνός* of Steph. Byz. 515.9–10 are otherwise unknown. Pella is called a *polis* in the urban sense in Hdt. 7.123.3 and Ps.-Skylax 66. At Xen. *Hell.* 5.2.13, *μεγίστη τῶν ἐν Μακεδονίας πόλεων* is used about Pella both in the personal-political and in the urban sense. The earliest attestation of *polis* in a purely political sense is in the *asylia* decree for Kos (*SEG* 12 374.9 (243)). In a verse dedication of Queen Eurydika, wife of Amyntas II, *πολῖτις* is used about the female citizens, presumably of Pella (Plut. *Mor.* 14B with *BE* (1984) 249). Pella is called a *polisma* in App. *Syr.* 57 and a *metropolis* in Strabo 16.2.10. Ps.-Skylax 66 writes: *πόλις καὶ βασίλειον ἐν αὐτῇ* (C4m). *πατρίς* is used about Pella in a C4s epigram from Delphi (*SEG* 18 222a), in *AG* 7.139 (C1) and in Strabo 16.2.10. Demosthenes' description of Pella as a *χωρίῳ ἀδόξῳ . . . καὶ μικρῷ* (18.68 (rC4e)) is clearly a rhetorical distortion (cf. Xen. *Hell.* 5.2.13). The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally in the C2f coinage of the city (Gaebler (1935) 93–97) and externally in the *asylia* decree for Kos (*SEG* 12 374 (243)). For the individual use of the city-ethnic, see Arr. *Ind.* 18.3 (r325), and Arvanitopoulos (1909) no. 16 (C3e).

Pella's extensive territory, *Πελλαία* (Strabo 7 fr. 20), bordered on the territories of Allante to the south-east, Ichnai to the east, Tyrissa to the north, and Kyrrhos to the north-west and to the west. We know the sites of five secondary settlements, at Archontikon, Damianon B, Agrosykia, Leptokarya B and Ag. Nikolaos (Krya Vrysi), and two suburbs, one to the north-west and one to the west of the city (P. Chrysostomou (1990); Hatzopoulos (1996*b*) i. 111–12).

Pella, originally a Paionian settlement, received an important Ionian influx from early Archaic times. It became a member of the Chalkidian Federation for a brief period in the 380s (Xen. *Hell.* 5.2.13). The transfer of the royal residence to the city in the reign of Amyntas III was accompanied by a significant Makedonian migration which transformed the character of the city, as the onomastics and the archaeological remains show (Hammond and Griffith (1979) 56; Hatzopoulos (1996*b*) i. 171–73).

There is no evidence for the Classical constitution of Pella; in C3 there is evidence of an *archon*, an *epistates* (*SEG* 48 818), a *boule* and a *demos* (*SEG* 48 817) as well as *tamiai* (*SEG* 12 374). In C4s (*Syll.*³ 267; *SEG* 18 222a) and in C3m (*F.Delphes* III.3 207.2) several citizens of Pella received the *proxenia* of Delphi.

The patron divinity of Pella was Athena Alkidemos (Livy 42.51.2; cf. Gaebler (1935) 93–97). Among other cults, those of Apollo, Artemis, Asklepios, Dionysos, Zeus Meilichios, Herakles Kynagidas, Herakles Phylakos, the Muses and Pan are attested from epigraphic, literary and archaeological sources (*SEG* 24 540; Papakonstantinou-Diamantourou (1971) 38–51; P. Chrysostomou (1989) 105–6). Moreover, the C4l sanctuaries of the Mother of the Gods, of Demeter and of Darron have been uncovered in or near the city (Lilimpaki-Akamati (1987), (1990), (1991), (1996), (2000), (2002)). For none of the cults do we have evidence from the Classical period. A Pellaian *theorodokos* was appointed to host *theoroi* from Nemea (*SEG* 36 331.B.23–24 (323–317); for the identification of the *theorodokos*, see Knoepfler (2001) 187–90). A citizen of Pella was victorious in the Isthmian and Pythian Games (*SEG* 18 222a (C4s)).

Pella was the largest city of Makedonia; for a general description, see Lilimpaki-Akamati (2002). The rectangular C4s wall is of mudbrick upon a stone foundation and predates the C4l grid plan of the town (Siganidou (1987*a*)). The city had two citadels. The acropolis, situated on the northern hill and covering an area of 6 ha, is entirely occupied by the palatial complex. At the southern end of the city the islet Phakos in Lake Loudiake, which was connected with the mainland via a drawbridge, qualified as an *ἄκρα* and housed the central Makedonian treasury (Strabo 7 fr. 20). The city was built on a regular Hippodamian grid line with two main north–south roads and one west–east road crossing them in the agora area (Siganidou (1990)). The 200 × 182 m-wide agora is surrounded by stoas: the north one probably housed the seat of the politarchs, while on the north-west side of the agora probably lay the city archive; along with the building complex around it, the agora covers an area of ten blocks in the centre of the city (Akamatis (1999)). The palace of the Makedonian kings (central complex C4f) covers the entire acropolis area (6 ha) north of the agora. It consists of

three building complexes, along an east–west axis. Each building complex is composed of two buildings, one to the south, towards the city, and one to the north. All three southern buildings have a large peristyle court. The northern buildings of the west and central complex have bathing facilities. A long *stoa* of more than 153 m with a 15 m-wide propylon forms the southern façade of the central and east complex facing the city (Siganidou (1987*b*), (1996); Ginouvès (1994) 88–91; P. Chrysostomou (1996)). Other public buildings uncovered are a large C4l tholos, probably a *heroon* of Herakles and used as *bouleuterion* by the Makedonian Council (Hadzisteliou-Price (1973)) and the sanctuaries of the Mother of the Gods and Aphrodite in the agora area, of Demeter in the south-east quarter of the city, and of Darron in the south-west quarter (Lilimbaki-Akamati (1987), (1990), (1991), (1996), (2000)). A theatre is mentioned by Plutarch in a C4s context (*Mor.* 1096B).

544. Pydna (Pydnaios) Maps 49–50. Lat. 40.25, long. 22.35. Size of territory: 3 or 4. Type: A. The toponym is *Πύδνα*, *ἡ* (Thuc. 1.61.2; *Gonnoi* 98.7), *Πύτνα* (*IG* II² 329.13 = *Staatsverträge* 403), *Κύδνα*, which is considered to be the authentic form of the name (Theagenes (*FGrHist* 774) fr. 5 = Steph. Byz. 390.8–10). The city-ethnic is *Πυδναῖος* (Dem. 1.5; Hatzopoulos (1996*b*) ii. no. 55), *Πυνδναῖος*, *Πυδδναῖος* (only on coins: Tselekas (1996) 14); *Πυτναῖος* (*IG* II² 339.b.3). Pydna is called a *polis* in the urban sense at Ps.-Skylax 66) and is listed as a *polis* in the urban and political senses simultaneously at Din. 1.14 = 3.17. The term *asty* is attested in Polyaen. 4.11.3 (r317), and the term *polichnion* in a *scholion* on Arist. *Rh.* 1411ª9. The earliest epigraphical attestation of the *πόλις Πυδναίων* is in an honorific decree of *c.*169 (Hatzopoulos (1996*b*) ii. no. 55). The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally on coins (*infra*) and externally perhaps on a fragmentary *asylia* decree (*SEG* 12 374.16 (243)). The individual use of the city-ethnic is attested internally in an honorific decree (Hatzopoulos (1996*b*) ii. no. 55.2 (*c.*169)) and externally in a C4s Athenian proxeny decree (*IG* II² 339.b.3 (333)).

The territory of Classical Pydna bordered on that of Methone to the north and of Dion to the south, and may have covered over 200 km².

As the recent excavations have shown, Pydna was not a colonial foundation but a Makedonian settlement (Bessios and Pappa (1996) 5). Already in the reign of Alexander I it belonged to the Makedonian kingdom (Thuc. 1.137.1). In 432 it was unsuccessfully besieged by the Athenians (Thuc. 1.61). In 410 it rebelled against King Archelaos and seceded from the kingdom, but it was besieged again, and captured after a long siege. Its inhabitants were transferred some 4 km inland, perhaps to modern Kitros (Diod. 13.49.2). Apparently the old site was reoccupied already in C4e (Bessios (1990) 241), and in the reign of Amyntas III Pydna seems for a time to have again successfully seceded from the kingdom, since it struck its own coins; but in the reign of Alexander II, at the latest, it seems to have returned to the fold of the kingdom (Hatzopoulos (1985) 253 n. 66; for a different interpretation of the numismatic evidence, see Tselekas (1996) 19–24). In 364 or 363 it was captured by Timotheos (Din. 1.14 = 3.17; for the date see Diod. 15.81.6) and became an ally of Athens, but probably without becoming a member of the Second Athenian Naval League (Dreher (1995) 26). In 357 it was besieged and captured by Philip II (Dem. 1.9; Diod. 16.8.3), presumably by being betrayed to the Makedonians (Dem. 20.63, see Hammond and Griffith (1979) 242–44); it thereafter remained an integral part of the Makedonian kingdom.

Only two temples are attested in the Classical period: that of Athena (*IG* II² 329.13 = *Staatsverträge* 403 (336)) and that posthumously erected in honour of Amyntas III (Habicht (1970) 11–12). Pydnaian *theorodokoi* received *theoroi* from Epidauros *c.*360 (*IG* IV² 94 I.b.7).

Pydna was a walled city at least from 432 (Thuc. 1.61.3, implicitly; cf. Diod. 19.49.1 (r317)), but probably already in C5e (Bessios and Pappa (1996) 5–6). Traces of the walls were seen by Hammond ((1984) 377). The area enclosed by the walls was *c.*25 ha, making Pydna one of the largest Makedonian cities in C5e, undoubtedly because of the importance of its harbour (Bessios and Pappa (1996) 6).

Pydna struck bronze coins in C4f. (1) During the reign of Amyntas III, types: *obv.* head of young Herakles wearing lion skin to the r.; *rev.* eagle with closed wings to the r. devouring serpent which it holds with its talons; legend: *ΠΥΔΝΑΙΩΝ* or *ΠΥΝΔΝΑΙΩΝ* and once *ΠΥΔΔΝΑΙΩΝ*. (2) *C.*364–357: *obv.* female head facing l. or r., wearing ear-ring and necklace, her hair in a sphendone; *rev.* owl to the r., standing on olive branch; legend: *ΠΥΔΝΑΙΩΝ* (Gaebler (1935) 105–6; Tselekas (1996) 14, 26–30; *SNG Cop. Macedonia* 317).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Adam-Veleni, P. 1998. "Ἀρχαιολογικὰ Ἀραβησσοῦ—Mutatio Scurrio", in M. Lilimpaki-Akamati *et al.* (eds.), *Μνείας Χάριν. Τόμος στὴ μνήμη Μαίρης Σιγανίδου* (Thessalonica) 1–11.

Akamatis, I. M. 1999. "Ἀγορὰ Πέλλας: 15 χρόνια ἀρχαιολογικῆς ἔρευνας", in *Ancient Macedonia*, vi (Thessalonica) 23–43.

Allamani-Souri, V. 1993*a*. "Beroia", in *Greek Civilisation: Macedonia, Kingdom of Alexander the Great* (Athens) 48–49.

——1993*b*. "'Ηρακλῆς Κυναγίδας καὶ κυνηγοί. Νέα ἐπιγραφικὰ στοιχεῖα ἀπὸ τὴ Βέροια", in *Ancient Macedonia*, v (Thessalonica) 77–107.

—— and Apostolou, M. 1992. "Σωστικὲς ἀνασκαφὲς στὴν πόλη τῆς Βέροιας", *AEMΘ* 6: 93–110.

—— and Misaelidou, V. 1992. "Ἀνασκαφικὲς ἔρευνες στὴν ἀρχαία 'Μίεζα' ", *AEMΘ* 6: 203–15.

—— *et al.* 2002. "Το κτηριακὸ συγκρότημα τῆς Μίεζας: ἑρμηνευτικὲς προσεγγίσεις καὶ προοπτικὲς τῆς ἔρευνας", *AEMΘ* 16: 571–83.

Andronicos, M. 1984. *Vergina* (Athens).

—— *et al.* 1983. "Ἀνασκαφὴ Βεργίνας", *Prakt* 42–54.

——1987. "Ἀνασκαφὴ Βεργίνας", *Prakt* 126–48.

Antoninus (Archimandrite) 1879. *Poiesdka v Rymeliiu* (St Petersburg).

Apostolou, M. 1991. "Ἀνασκαφὴ στὴν Κυψέλη 'Ημαθίας", *AEMΘ* 2: 307–15.

——1998. "'Η ἀρχαία πόλη στὴν Κυψέλη 'Ημαθίας. Ἀνασκαφὴ 1992–1997", in M. Lilimpaki-Akamati *et al.* (eds.), *Μνείας Χάριν. Τόμος στὴ μνήμη Μαίρης Σιγανίδου* (Thessalonica) 33–37.

Arvanitopoulos, A. S. 1909. *Θεσσαλικὰ μνημεῖα* (Athens).

Bakalakis, G. 1970. "Τὸ λατομεῖο τῆς ἀρχαίας Κύρρου (;)", in *Ancient Macedonia*, i (Thessalonica) 172–83.

Bessios, M. 1990. "Ἀνασκαφὲς στὸ βόρειο νεκροταφεῖο τῆς Πύδνας (1990)", *AEMΘ* 4: 241–46.

—— and Pappa, M. 1996. *Pydna* (Athens).

Brocas-Deflassieux, L. 1999. *Béroia, cité de Macédoine: étude de topographie antique* (Beroia).

Chrysostomou, A. 1987. "Τὸ τεῖχος τῆς Ἔδεσσας", *AEMΘ* 1: 161–72.

——1988. "Νεότερες ἔρευνες τοῦ τείχους τῆς Ἔδεσσας", *AEMΘ* 2: 55–67.

——1996. "'Η Ἔδεσσα στὰ προχριστιανικὰ χρόνια", *AEMΘ* 10: 173–87.

Chrysostomou, P. 1990. "'Η τοπογραφία τῆς βόρειας Βοττιαίας", in *Πόλις καὶ χώρα στὴν Ἀρχαία Μακεδονία καὶ Θράκη. Μνήμη Δ. Λαζαρίδη, 'Ελληνικογαλλικὲς Ἔρευνες* (Thessalonica) 205–38.

——1989. "'Η λατρεία τῆς Συρίας Θεᾶς (Ἀταργάτιδος) στὴ Δυτικὴ Μακεδονία", *AEMΘ* 3: 103–17.

——1991. "Δυτικομακεδονικὰ εὐχαριστήρια στὸ Δία Ὕψιστο", *AEMΘ* 5: 97–110.

——1989–91. "'Η λατρεία τοῦ Δία ὡς καιρικοῦ θεοῦ στὴ Θεσσαλία καὶ οτὴ Μακεδονία", *ArchDelt* 44–46: 21–72.

——1996. "Τὸ ἀνάκτορο τῆς Πέλλας", *AEMΘ* 10: 107–42.

——1997. "Βασιλικοὶ δικαστὰι καὶ ταγοὶ σὲ μιὰ νέα ἐπιγραφὴ μὲ ὠνὲς ἀπὸ τὴν κεντριμὴ Μαμεδονία", *Tekmeria* 3: 23–45.

Cormack, J. M. R. 1973. "Inscriptions from Pella, Edessa and Beroea", *ArchPF* 22: 203–16.

Demitsas, M. G. 1896. 'Η Μακεδονία ἐν λίθοις φθεγγομένοις καὶ μνημείοις σωζομένοις (Athens).

Dreher, M. 1995. *Hegemon und Symmachoi: Untersuchungen zum zweiten attischen Seebund* (Berlin).

Drougou, S. 1996. "Βεργίνα 1990–1997: Τὸ ἱερὸ τῆς Μητέρας τῶν Θεῶν", *AEMΘ* 10: 41–54.

——1997. "Das antike Theater von Vergina: Bemerkungen zu Gestalt und Funktion des Theaters in der antiken Hauptstadt Makedoniens", *AM* 112: 281–305.

Edson, C. 1934. "The Antigonids, Heracles, and Beroea", *HSCP* 45: 213–46.

Gaebler, H. 1935. *Die antiken Münzen von Makedonia und Paionia*, ii (Berlin).

Gauthier, P., and Hatzopoulos, M. B. 1993. *La Loi gymnasiarchique de Béroia*, *Meletemata* 16 (Athens).

Ginouvès, R. 1994. "The Palaces", in R. Ginouvès (ed.), *Macedonia from Philip II to the Roman Conquest* (Princeton and Athens) 84–91.

Gounaropoulou, L., and Hatzopoulos, M. B. 1985. *Les Milliaires de la Voie Egnatienne entre Heraclée des Lyncestes et Thessalonique*, *Meletemata* 1 (Athens).

Habicht, C. 1970. *Gottmenschentum und griechische Städte* 2, *Zetemata* 14 (Munich).

Haddad, N. 1993. "Δωρικὰ κιονόκαρανα ἀπὸ τὴν Ἀραβησσό", in *Ancient Macedonia*, v (Thessalonica) 539–57.

Hadzisteliou-Price, T. 1973. "An Enigma in Pella: the Tholos and Herakles Phylakos", *AJA* 77: 66–71.

Hammond, N. G. L. 1972. *A History of Macedonia*, i (Oxford).

——1984. "The Battle of Pydna", *JHS* 104: 31–47 (= *Collected Studies*, iii (Amsterdam 1994) 377–93).

—— and Griffith, G. T. 1979. *A History of Macedonia*, ii (Oxford).

—— and Hatzopoulos, M. B. 1982. "The Via Egnatia in Western Macedonia I", *AJAH* 7: 128–49.

Hatzopoulos, M. B. 1985. "La Béotie et la Macédoine à l'époque de l'hégémonie thébaine: le point de vue macédonien", in G. Argoud and P. Roesch (eds.), *La Béotie antique*, Lyon–Saint-Étienne 16–20 May 1983 (Paris) 247–57.

——1987*a*. "Artémis Digaia Blaganitis en Macédoine", *BCH* 111: 397–412.

Hatzopoulos, M. B. 1987b. "Strepsa. A Reconsideration or New Evidence on the Road System of Lower Macedonia", in Hatzopoulos, M. B. and Loukopoulou, L. *Two Studies in Ancient Macedonian Topography*. Meletemata 3: 21–60.

——1990. "*Χώρα καὶ κῶμες τῆς Βεροίας*", in *Πόλις καὶ χώρα στὴν Ἀρχαία Μακεδονία καὶ Θράκη. Μνήμη Δ. Λαζαρίδη, Ἑλληνικογαλλικὲς Ἔρευνες* (Thessalonica) 57–68.

——1991. *Actes de vente d'Amphipolis, Meletemata* 14 (Athens).

——1994a. *Cultes et rites de passage en Macédoine, Meletemata* 19 (Athens).

——1994*b*. "The Sanctuaries", in *Macedonia from Philip II to the Roman Conquest* (Princeton and Athens) 106–09.

——1995. "*Ἡ λατρεία τῆς θεᾶς Μâς στὴν Ἔδεσσα*", in *Ἡ Ἔδεσσα καὶ ἡ περιοχή της. Ἱστορία καὶ πολιτισμός, Πρακτικὰ Α΄ πανελληνίου ἐπιστημονικοῦ συμποσίου, Ἔδεσσα 4, 5 καὶ 6 Δεκεμβρίου* 1992 (Edessa) 125–33.

——1996*a*. "Aigéai: la localisation de la première capitale macédonienne", *REG* 109: 264–69.

——1996*b*. *Macedonian Institutions under the Kings: a Historical and Epigraphic Study*, i–ii, *Meletemata* 22 (Athens).

——2001. "*Ἡ ἔκδοση τῶν ἐπιγραφῶν τῆς τρίτης μακεδονικῆς μερίδος: παρελθὸν καὶ μέλλον*", in *Α΄ Πανελλήνιο Συνέδριο Ἐπιγραφικῆς, Θεσσαλονίκη 22–23 Ὀκτωβρίου 1999* (Thessalonica) 157–70.

——(2003). "Herodotos (VIII.137–138), the Manumissions from Leukopetra and the Topography of the Middle Haliakmon Valley", in R. Parker (ed.), *Herodotus and his World* (Oxford) 203–18.

—— and Psoma, S. 1999. "Cités de Grèce septentrionale portant le nom Dion", *Tekmeria* 4: 1–12.

—— Knoepfler, D., and Marigo-Papadopoulou, V. 1990. "Deux sites pour Méthone en Macédoine", *BCH* 114: 639–68.

Helly, B. (1973). *Gonnoi*, i: *La Cité et son histoire* (Amsterdam).

Heuzey, L. 1860. *Le Mont Olympe et l'Acarnanie* (Paris).

Kallipolitis, B. 1952. "Buste d'Olganos, héros éponyme d'un fleuve macédonien", *MonPiot* 46: 86–91.

Karadedos, G. 1986. "*Τὸ ἑλληνιστικὸ θέατρο τοῦ Δίου*", in *Ancient Macedonia*, iv (Thessalonica) 325–40.

Karamitrou-Mentesidi, G. 1993. "Aiane", in R. Ginouvès (ed.), *Macedonia from Philip II to the Roman Conquest* (Princeton and Athens) 29–32.

——1994. "Aiane, city of Macedonia", in *Greek Civilisation: Macedonia, Kingdom of Alexander the Great* (Athens) 32–35.

——1996*a*. *Αἰανή* (Athens).

——1996*b*. "*Αἰανή* 1983–1997", *AEMΘ* 10 (1996) 23–40.

—— and Vatali, M. 1997. "*Πολύμυλος Κοζάνης*", *AEMΘ* 11: 81–92.

Knoepfler, D. 2001. *Eretria*, xi: *Décrets érétriens de proxénie et de citoyenneté* (Lausanne).

Kottaridi, A. 2002. "Discovering Aegae, the Old Macedonian Capital", in M. Stamatopoulou and M. Yeroulanou (eds.), *Excavating Classical Culture: Recent Archaeological Discoveries* (Oxford) 83–90.

Kotzias, N. 1948–49. "*Λείβηθρα, Πίμπλεια, Πιερίς, ἡ πατρὶς τοῦ Ὀρφέως*", *ArchEph Chron.* 25–40 (for which see *BE* (1953) 105).

Leake, W. M. 1835. *Travels in Northern Greece*, iii (London).

Liampi, K. 1998. "The Coinage of King Derdas and the History of the Elimiote Dynasty", in A. Burnett (ed.), *Coins of Macedonia and Rome: 22 Essays in Honour of Charles Hersh* (London) 5–11.

Lilimpaki-Akamati, M. 1987. "*Ἀνασκαφικὴ ἔρευνα στὴν περιοχὴ καναλιοῦ Πέλλας*", *AEMΘ* 1: 137–45.

——1990. "*Ἱερὰ τῆς Πέλλας*", in *Πόλις καὶ χώρα στὴν Ἀρχαία Μακεδονία καὶ Θράκη. Μνήμη Δ. Λαζαρίδη, Ἑλληνικογαλλικὲς Ἔρευνες* (Thessalonica) 195–203.

——1991. "*Ἀνασκαφικὴ ἔρευνα στὴν περιοχὴ τοῦ Καναλιοῦ τῆς Πέλλας κατὰ τὴν περίοδο* 1988–1991", *AEMΘ* 5: 83–95.

——1996. *Τὸ Θεσμοφόριο τῆς Πέλλας* (Athens).

——2000. *Τὸ ἱερὸ τῆς Μητέρας τῶν Θεῶν καὶ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης στὴν Πέλλα* (Thessalonica).

——2002. "Recent Discoveries in Pella", in M. Stamatopoulou and M. Yeroulanou (eds.), *Excavating Classical Culture: Recent Archaeological Discoveries* (Oxford) 83–90.

Mackay, P. 1976. "Farangi", *PECS* 326.

Mari, M. 2002. *Al di là Olimpo: Macedoni e grandi santuari della Grecia dall'età arcaica al primo ellenismo* (Athens).

Megas, A. 1976. "*Ἐλίμεια-Αἰανὴ στὸν Λίβιο*", in *Α΄ Συμπόσιο Ἱστορίας-Λαογραφίας-Γλωσσολογίας Δυτικομακεδονικοῦ χώρου* (Thessalonica) 13–18.

Mikulčič, I. 1974. "Über die Große der Spätantiken Städte in Makedonien", *ZivaAnt* 24: 191–212.

Mitrevski, D. 1996. "Vardarski Rid", in *Arheološka Karta na Republika Makedonija*, ii (Skopje) 96–97.

Oikonomos, G. P. 1915. *Ἐπιγραφαὶ τῆς Μακεδονίας* (Athens).

Panayotou, A., and Chrysostomou, P. 1993. "Inscriptions de la Bottiée et de l'Almopie en Macédoine", *BCH* 117: 359–400.

Pandermalis, D. 1977. "*Λατρεῖες καὶ ἱερὰ τοῦ Δίου Πιερίας*", in *Ancient Macedonia*, ii (Thessalonica) 331–42.

——1993. "Dion", in R. Ginouvès (ed.), *Macedonia from Philip II to the Roman Conquest* (Princeton and Athens) 96–101.

——1999. *Δῖον: Ἡ ἀνακάλυψη* (Athens).

——2000. "*Δῖον* 1998: *Ἑκατόμβες καὶ Σωτήρια*", *AEMΘ* 12: 291–98.

——2002. "*Δῖον* 2000", *AEMΘ* 14: 377–84.

Papakonstantinou-Diamantourou, D. 1971. *Πέλλα*, i: *Ἱστορικὴ ἐπισκόπησις καὶ μαρτυρίαι* (Athens).

Papazoglou, F. 1988. *Les Villes de Macédoine à l'époque romaine*, *BCH* suppl. 16 (Athens).

Perlman, P. 2000. *City and Sanctuary in Ancient Greece: The* Theorodokia *in the Peloponnese*, *Hypomnemata* 121 (Göttingen).

Petkos, A. 1997. "*Τὰ τείχη τῆς Βεροίας*", in *Μνήμη Μανόλη Ἀνδρόνικου* (Thessalonica) 263–76.

Petsas, P. M. 1961. "'*Ωναὶ ἐκ τῆς Ἡμαθίας*", ArchEph 1–57.

—— 1966–67. "*Χρονικὰ Ἀρχαιολογικά*", Makedonika 7: 277–368.

Phaklaris, P. 1996. "*Βεργίνα: Ὁ ὀχυρωματικὸς περίβολος καὶ ἡ ἀκρόπολη*", *AEMΘ* 10: 69–78.

Piérart, M. 1988. "IG I³ 281–282 et le phoros de Thrace", in D. Knoepfler (ed.), *Comptes et inventaires dans la cité grecque*, Actes du colloque de Neuchâtel en l'honneur de Jacques Tréheux (Geneva) 309–21.

Pingiatoglou, S. 1996. "*Τὸ ἱερὸ τῆς Δήμητρας στὸ Δῖον*", *AEMΘ* 10: 225–32.

Price, M., and Waggoner, N. 1975. *Archaic Greek Coinage: The Asyut Hoard* (London).

Pritchett, W. K. 1991. *Studies in Ancient Greek Topography*, vii (Amsterdam).

Psoma, S. 2001. *Olynthe et les Chalcidiens de Thrace* (Stuttgart).

Rhomiopoulou, K. 1997. *Λευκάδια· ἀρχαία Μίεζα* (Athens).

Saatsoglou-Paliadeli, C. 1987. "*Εὐρυδίκα Σίρρα Εὐκλείαι*", in *Ἀμητός: Τιμητικὸς τόμος γιὰ τὸν καθηγητὴ Μανόλη Ἀνδρόνικο*, organised by M. Tiberios, S. Drogou and C. Saatsoglou-Paliadeli (Thessalonica) 733–45.

—— 1996. "*Τὸ ἱερὸ τῆς Εὔκλειας στὴ Βεργίνα*", *AEMΘ* 10: 55–68.

—— 2001. "The Palace of Vergina-Aegae and its Surroundings", in I. Nielsen (ed.), *The Royal Palace Institution in the First Millenium BC: Regional Development and Cultural Interchange between East and West* (Athens) 201–13.

Savvopoulou, T. 1988. *Εὐρωπός* (Europos).

—— 1989. "*Δοκιμαστικὲς ἔρευνες στὴν Εὐρωπὸ Κιλκίς*", *AEMΘ* 3: 189–99.

Schmidt, J. 1950. "Pimpleia", *RE* xx. 1387–89.

Siganidou, M. 1987*a*. "*Τὰ τείχη τῆς Πέλλας*", in *Ἀμητός: Τιμητικὸς τόμος γιὰ τὸν καθηγητὴ Μανόλη Ἀνδρόνικος* (Thessalonica) 765–86.

—— 1987*b*. "*Τὸ ἀνακτορικὸ συγκρότημα τῆς Πέλλας*", *AEMΘ* 1: 119–24.

—— 1990. "*Πολεοδομικὰ προβλήματα Πέλλας*", in *Πόλις καὶ χώρα στὴν Ἀρχαία Μακεδονία καὶ Θράκη: Μνήμη Δ. Λαζαρίδη*, *Ἑλληνογαλλικὲς Ἔρευνες* (Thessalonica) 167–74.

—— 1996. "Die Basileia von Pella", in W. Hoepfner and G. Brands (eds.), *Basileia: die Paläste der hellenistischen Könige* (Mainz am Rhein) 144–47.

—— and Trochides, K. 1990. "*Ἡ σχολὴ τοῦ Ἀριστοτέλους στὴ Μίεζα*", *AEMΘ* 4: 121–25.

Stephanidou-Tiberiou, T. 1988. "'*Περίβολος ἐν τετραγώνῳ σχήματι*': *Προβλήματα τῆς ἑλληνιστικῆς ὀχύρωσης τοῦ Δίου*", *AEMΘ* 2: 153–60.

—— 1998. *Ἀνασκαφὴ Δίου*, i: *Ἡ ὀχύρωση* (Thessalonica).

Struck, A. 1902. "Inschriften aus Makedonien", *AM* 27: 305–20.

Tataki, A. 1994. *Macedonian Edessa: Prosopography and Onomasticon*, *Meletemata* 18 (Athens).

Tselekas, P. 1996. "The Coinage of Pydna", *NC* 156: 11–32.

Vavritsas, A. K. 1977. "*Ἐπιγραφὴ ἐξ Ἀραβησσοῦ Πέλλης*", in *Ancient Macedonia*, ii (Thessalonica) 7–11.

Voutiras, E. 1993. "*Ἡ λατρεία τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ στὴν ἀρχαία Μακεδονία*", in *Ancient Macedonia*, v (Thessalonica) 251–65.

THRACE FROM AXIOS TO STRYMON

PERNILLE FLENSTED-JENSEN

I. The Region

The region "from the Axios river to the Strymon river" is wholly artificial and consisted, in Antiquity, of a number of smaller regions of various ethnic affiliations. These regions were situated in two broader regions: Makedonia (*Μακεδονίη*, Hdt. 5.17; *Μακεδονία*, Thuc. 6.7.3) and Thrace (*Θρηίκη*, Hdt. 8.185.1; *Θρᾴκη*, Thuc. 1.100.2). About these two regions, see the introductions by M. B. Hatzopoulos (794–95) and L. D. Loukopoulou (854–56). Until C6 the border between Makedonia and Thrace was roughly the river Axios, but after that the border seems to have fluctuated. Thucydides, for instance, evidently locates Pydna (no. 544) and Therme (no. 552) in Makedonia (1.61.2), but in the Athenian tribute lists the *poleis* of the Chalkidic peninsula and even Methone (no. 541), north of Pydna, are included in the *Θράικιος φόρος* (probably for practical purposes). By the time of Philip II the river Strymon constituted the border between Makedonia and Thrace (Flensted-Jensen (2000) 121–25). Within these two larger regions there were a number of smaller regions.

1. Mygdonia

Mygdonia (*Μυγδονίη*, Hdt. 7.123.3; *Μυγδονία*, Thuc. 2.100.4) was the district north and south of Lake Bolbe (Thuc. 1.58.2), from the Thermaic Gulf to the eastern end of Lake Bolbe. In C5 it was annexed by the Makedonians, but it was probably not incorporated into Makedonia until the time of Philip II (Hatzopoulos (1996*a*) 171–74). The Inventory describes eight *poleis* situated in Mygdonia (nos. 545–52).

Cities founded after the Makedonian expansion are not considered in the present chapter. Accordingly, the following cities do not appear in the discussion: Antigoneia, Stratonike, Kassandreia, Ouranopolis and Thessalonike.

2. Bisaltia

Bisaltia (*Βισαλτίη*, Hdt. 7.115.1; *Βισαλτία*, Thuc. 2.99.6) was the district west of the lower Strymon, up to Herakleia Sintika (no. 549). According to Hdt. 7.115.1, Bisaltia was the coast west of the Strymon and the land above the coast. The river Strymon constituted the border between Bisaltia and Edonia (Papazoglou (1988) 351). In C5e the Bisaltians were ruled by a Thracian king (Hdt. 8.116.1). It seems that the Bisaltians were not driven out of their district when the Temenids took over large parts of what became Makedonia (Thuc. 2.99, esp. 2.99.4). The Bisaltians struck coins on the Phoenician standard in the Archaic period. Denominations: octadrachms, tetradrachms, drachms, octobols and tetrobols. Types: *obv.* naked warrior with two spears and horse; legend: *ΒΙΣΑΛΤΙΚΟΝ*; *rev.* quadripartite incuse square (Gaebler (1935) 48–50; *SNG Cop. Macedonia* 135). The coins without legend are indistinguishable from those of Alexander I (Head, *HN*² 200). There were three *poleis* in Bisaltia (nos. 553–55), of which one, Argilos (no. 554), was considered a colony of Andros (no. 475) (Thuc. 4.103.3). Thuc. 4.109.4 mentions that there were Bisaltians in Athos in his day.

3. The Chalkidic Peninsula

There was no name in antiquity for the Chalkidic peninsula as a whole. It is possible that Hekataios called it *ἡ ἐν Θράκῃ χερρόνησος* (see Zahrnt (1971) 4ff; cf. Flensted-Jensen (2000) 122 n. 3) and Thucydides refers to it as *τὰ ἐπὶ Θρᾴκης* (e.g. at 1.59.1; cf. Xen. *Hell.* 5.2.24). Traditionally, the Chalkidic peninsula was colonised during C8 and C7, by the Corinthians (no. 227), the Andrians (no. 475) and the Eretrians (no. 370), but it was clearly inhabited by Greeks prior to that period (cf. Mende (no. 584) and Torone (no. 620)).

Until C4m the northern parts of the Chalkidic peninsula, i.e. Anthemous (no. 562) and Mygdonia, belonged to Makedonia, whereas the rest was considered part of Thrace.

In 356 Philip took Poteidaia (no. 598), and in 348 Olynthos (no. 588) was taken and destroyed, a fate it probably shared with Stagiros (no. 613). Dem. 9.26 asserts that Philip destroyed thirty-two cities, which is probably an exaggeration (see useful discussion in Hammond and Griffith (1979) 365–79). The whole region, up to the river Strymon, was incorporated into Makedonia. Some inscriptions are evidence that the territories of (former?) *poleis* were given to Makedonians (*Syll.*³ 332 (306–297); *SEG* 38 619 (*c.*285)), but some scholars argue that the region was left more or less intact (Borza (1990) 219). Thus, in the Archaic and Classical periods the region as a whole was inhabited by Greeks, Makedonians and probably also various Thracian peoples (Thuc. 4.109; Hatzopoulos (1989)). The Chalkidic peninsula had only a few large and well-known *poleis*—Akanthos (no. 559), Olynthos (no. 588), Mende (no. 584), Skione (no. 609), Torone (no. 620) and Poteidaia (no. 598)—and a large number of smaller *poleis* which in many cases must have been situated within a few kilometres of each other.

3.1 Krousis

The western coast of the Chalkidic peninsula was called *χώρη Κροσσαίη* (Hdt. 7.123.2) or *Κρουσίς γῆ* (Thuc. 2.79.4; cf. Strabo 7 fr. 21: *Κροῦσις*). According to Hdt. 7.123.2, there were seven *poleis* in Krousis. Only one, Aineia (no. 557), is relatively well known. Dionysios of Halikarnassos mentions *οἱ Κρουσαῖοι* and calls them an *ἔθνος Θρᾴκιον* (*Ant. Rom.* 1.47, 49). According to Dionysios (*Ant. Rom.* 1.48), they inhabited Pallene at the time of Aineias, and he may have this information from Hellanikos (cf. *FGrHist* 4 fr. 31). The Krousaians may have been the original inhabitants of Krousis. If so, they were Hellenised relatively early. The Inventory describes seven *poleis* situated in Krousis (nos. 557, 572–73, 577, 581–82, 611).

3.2 Bottike

The name of the region was *Βοττική* (Thuc. 1.65.2), which was derived from the ethnic *Βοττιαῖος* (Hdt. 8.127). Bottike was the region inhabited by the Bottiaians, who, according to Hdt. 8.127 and Thuc. 2.99.3, were expelled from the Makedonian district Bottiaia in C7 or C6. In C5 their chief *polis* was Spartolos (no. 612) (Thuc. 2.79). To the west Bottike bordered on Krousis, to the north on Makedonia, to the east on Chalkidike, and to the south on the territory of Poteidaia.

In C5 the Bottiaians were members of the Delian League—normally they are represented by Spartolos in the Athenian tribute lists (e.g. *IG* I³ 277.v.15), but in 446/5 the entry in the Athenian tribute lists is *Βοττια[ῖοι καὶ σ(υντελεῖς)]* (*IG* I³ 266.II.19). In 432 the Bottiaians revolted from Athens (Thuc. 1.58), but *c.*422 they entered into an alliance with the Athenians (*IG* I³ 76). It seems from the inscription that they had probably formed a confederacy (Flensted-Jensen (1995) 126–28). The Bottiaians struck silver coins on the Phoenician standard, and also bronze coins, *c.*430–*c.*348. Denominations: tetradrachms, tetrobols and hemiobols. Types: *obv.* head of Apollo, or Demeter; *rev.* lyre; legend: *BOTTIAΩIN* or *BOTTIAIEΩN* (Psoma (1996); *SNG Cop. Macedonia* 140–45). There were between six and twelve Bottiaian *poleis* (see Flensted-Jensen (1995); cf. nos. 558, 575–76, 579, 595, 599, 606, 612, 619, 621). In addition, it may be noted that according to Hdt. 8.127, Olynthos (no. 588) was originally a Bottiaian community: after their defeat, the Persians (whose dependency Olynthos was) feared that the city would revolt, and consequently it was conquered by Artabazos, subjected to an *andrapodismos* and handed over to Kritoboulos of Torone and the Chalkidians (Flensted-Jensen (1995) 122).

3.3 Chalkidike

The name of the region was *Χαλκιδική* (Thuc. 1.65.2). Hdt. 7.185 calls the inhabitants *τὸ Χαλκιδικὸν γένος*, but other authors call them *οἱ (ἐπὶ Θρᾴκης) Χαλκιδεῖς* (Thuc. 2.79.1; Diod. 12.50.3).

Chalkidike was the area inhabited by the Chalkidians. By excluding all the areas which were demonstrably not Chalkidian, Harrison (1912) 96 concluded that Chalkidike covered the area north of Sithonia in C5. The exact borders of Chalkidike are not known, nor which towns were Chalkidian. However, the Chalkidians themselves are mentioned twice by Herodotos: at 7.185 he lists them among many tribes that supplied Xerxes with auxiliaries in 480. He uses the curious phrase *τὸ Χαλκιδικὸν γένος* about them. At 8.127 Herodotos tells us that Artabazos suspected that the inhabitants of Olynthos (no. 588), then belonging to the Bottiaians, would revolt and therefore he killed the population of Olynthos and gave the town to the Chalkidians and Kritoboulos from Torone. Thus, from 479 Olynthos was a Chalkidian town.

In 432 the Chalkidians, the Bottiaians and Poteidaia (no. 598) made an agreement with Perdikkas (Thuc. 1.58, 62–63) and revolted from Athens. Furthermore, at the instigation of Perdikkas, the Chalkidians left their *poleis* along the coast *(τὰς ἐπὶ θαλάσσης πόλεις)* in order to create one strong

city at Olynthos. It is evident from Thucydides' description that the Chalkidians possessed several *poleis* and that at least some of them were situated on the littoral. Scholars do not agree as to the political significance of the synoecism; some hold that it was a purely military measure, whereas others think that the move brought a political change (Demand (1990) 77–83 with refs.).

In the following years the political life of the Chalkidians was rather tumultuous: in 431 Perdikkas became reconciled with the Athenians (Phormion) and made an expedition against the Chalkidians (Thuc. 2.29), and in the following year Hagnon campaigned against the Chalkidians (2.58). Despite new campaigns, led by Xenophon in 429, the Athenians were not able to subjugate the Chalkidians. In 425 they were still unvanquished (Thuc. 4.7). In 424/3 Brasidas campaigned in the Chalkidic peninsula and won over many more *poleis*. Perdikkas and the Chalkidians were again on good terms (Thuc. 4.78–79). Some of the *poleis* which were probably or possibly Chalkidian are treated in separate sections in the Peace of Nikias of 421: Stolos (no. 614) and Olynthos (no. 588) are mentioned at Thuc. 5.18.5, Mekyberna (no. 583), Sane (no. 600) and Singos (no. 605) at Thuc. 5.18.6, and Sermylia (no. 604) along with Skione (no. 609) and Torone (no. 620) at Thuc. 5.18.8. But the recalcitrant Chalkidians refused to accept the peace terms, and they were still enemies of the Athenians in 416 (Thuc. 4.83.4). However, in 415 the Spartans urged the Chalkidians to assist Perdikkas, but they refused, because they had a ten-day truce with the Athenians (Thuc. 6.7.4).

Next followed 20 years in which virtually nothing is known about the Chalkidians. When they re-entered the arena, in 395, they concluded a treaty with the Boiotians, the Athenians, the Corinthians and the Argives, to fight on their side in the Corinthian War (Isae. 5.46; Diod. 14.82.3). A few years later, probably in 393 (Zahrnt (1971) 81 n. 4), they were allied with Amyntas III (Tod 111 = *Staatsverträge* 231).[1] The famous alliance will not be discussed in detail here, but it will be noted that from a political point of view it is of interest that the Chalkidians were evidently no longer on good terms with the Bottiaians, since it was clearly stipulated that neither the Chalkidians nor Perdikkas were to enter into alliance with them (except by common action). Other communities mentioned in that section are Mende (no. 584), Amphipolis (no. 553) and Akanthos (no. 559).

[1] Zahrnt (1971) 122–24 argues that the inscription is in fact two treaties, to be dated *c.*393 and 382 respectively.

In 393/2, and probably again in 383/2, Amyntas III gave some land to the Chalkidians (Diod. 14.92.3, 15.19.3; Ellis (1969)). At this time, i.e. in 383, it seems that the Chalkidians were a prominent power, because in that year Akanthos (no. 559) and Apollonia (no. 545) sent envoys to Sparta to ask for help against the expanding federation (Xen. *Hell.* 5.2.11). At the time the federation evidently covered the western part of the Chalkidic peninsula all the way to Pella (no. 543). This resulted in the so-called Olynthian War, after which the federation was suppressed or dissolved (Xen. 5.3.26; Diod. 15.23.3; siege mentioned by Isoc. 4.126). However, the federation was formed again shortly after: the Chalkidians are listed in the Charter of the Second Athenian Naval League (restored: [*Χαλκι*]*δῆς ἀπὸ* [*Θράικης*]), which they left again at some point before 365 (*IG* II² 43.5–6; cf. Cargill (1981) 42; Dreher (1995) 186–87). A few years later the Chalkidians entered into an alliance with the Athenians, as is attested by the very fragmentary treaty *Staatsverträge* 250, probably dating to the middle of the 370s (Zahrnt (1971) 127). However, the alliance did not last long, as we find the Athenians allied with Amyntas some time between 375 and 373 (*IG* II² 102). Aristotle, in two somewhat obscure passages, states that some Chalkidian settlers (*ἔποικοι*), led by a certain Kleotimos, expelled the majority of the Amphipolitans (*Pol.* 1303^{b}3, 1306^{a}2). This may be seen in connection with the fact that the Chalkidians held Amphipolis (no. 553) *c.*363 (Dem. 23.149; Zahrnt (1971) 101). In 357/6 the Chalkidians entered into an alliance with Grabos, king of the Illyrians (*SEG* 37 567 with refs.), but shortly afterwards they entered into a new alliance, this time with Philip II (Robinson (1934) = Tod 158; cf. Hammond and Griffith (1979) 243–46). Philip ejected the Athenians from Poteidaia (no. 598) and handed it over to the Chalkidians (Dem. 2.7, 2.14, 6.20). The Chalkidians' alliance with Philip did not last long, because in 352 they concluded a treaty with the Athenians (*Staatsverträge* 317), and a few years later they entered into an alliance according to which the Athenians were to aid the Chalkidians against Philip (*Staatsverträge* 323). However, in 348 Olynthos (no. 588) was betrayed to Philip, who destroyed the city completely (Hyp. fr. 19; Dem. 9.26, 19.266; cf. App. *B Civ.* 4.102). According to Dem. 9.26, Philip destroyed thirty-two towns in Thrace, apart from Olynthos, Methone (no. 541) and Apollonia (no. 545), while Hyp. fr. 76 says that the Chalkidians had forty *poleis*—both numbers probably exaggerated. *IG* XII.8 4 is an inscription from Myrina (no. 502), showing that (some of) the Chalkidians sought refuge there after the destruction of Olynthos (*Χαλκιδέες οἱ ἐν Μυρίνει*). The Chalkidians

may also have been listed in the peace treaty of 338/7 between Philip and the Greeks (Tod 177). Line 31 reads: ---ἀ]πὸ Θράικης καὶ [---·] Φωκέων.

When did the Chalkidians form a state? A body known as οἱ Χαλκιδεῖς is mentioned by Herodotos and Thucydides. Furthermore, these Chalkidians were settled in *poleis*. Was there a change in the political structure after 432? The vocabulary of Thucydides does not change; he still calls them οἱ Χαλκιδεῖς after 432, and his description of the synoecism does not indicate that there was a political change. However, in 424 we hear of a Στρόφακος πρόξενος ὢν Χαλκιδέων (Thuc. 4.78.1; see Gerolymatos (1986) 30), and about οἱ Χαλκιδέων πρέσβεις (Thuc. 4.83.3). Furthermore, in 422 the Chalkidians entered into an alliance with Argos (no. 347): οἱ ἐπὶ Θράκης Χαλκιδῆς Ἀργείων ξύμμαχοι (Thuc. 5.31.6). All this shows that the Chalkidians had some kind of common political organisation. The C5l coins inscribed Χαλκιδέων are sometimes taken as an indication of the formation of the federation (*SNG Cop. Macedonia* 233–49). Coins inscribed with a (tribal) ethnic are not in themselves proof that the tribe had formed a federal state, but in this case they may be. Shortly before the synoecism Olynthos struck coins inscribed with ΟΛΥΝ, but these were struck for a short period only and were replaced by coins inscribed with Χαλκιδέων (for the dates of the coins, see Robinson and Clement (1938) 112ff; Westermark (1988); see also *s.v.* Olynthos (no. 588)). Thus, there cannot be much doubt that the Chalkidians constituted a state, which was formed in 432 or during the subsequent years.

But what kind of state was formed? Some scholars believe that it was a federal state (West (1918) 31, 140; Larsen (1968) 59 with n. 1), whereas others argue that it was a unitary state that developed into a federal state in C4—Hampl suggests that the unitary state existed even before 432 (Hampl (1935) 182; Zahrnt (1971) 65–66). Is anything known about the status of the participating *poleis* after 432? At 1.65.2 Thucydides explains that many Sermyliaians were killed near their *polis* (no. 604) in 432, but after the revolt. However, it appears from the passage that the Sermyliaians (or at least some of them) were enemies of the Chalkidians at the time, so they may not have taken part in the formation of the state (yet). In the Peace of Nikias, Stolos (no. 614), Mekyberna (no. 583), Sane (no. 600), Singos (no. 605) and Sermylia are mentioned (Thuc. 5.18.5, 6, 8), and there is no doubt that they are all called *polis*. Mekyberna, Sane and Singos may have been depopulated, but there is no doubt about the remaining two towns. The character of the Olynthian constitution is unknown: some scholars think that Olynthos (no. 588) was an oligarchy (Zahrnt (1971) 94; Larsen (1968) 58ff, esp. 76), while others argue that it was a democracy (Gehrke, *Stasis* 124).

In C4 there is more information available about the organisation of the Chalkidian Federation. From Xen. *Hell.* 5.2.12 it is known that in *c.*383 there were common laws and *sympoliteia*, common citizenship (*Hell.* 5.2.18), *epigamia* and *enktesis* (*Hell.* 5.2.19). Furthermore, the Chalkidians possessed a federal army (Xen. *Hell.* 5.2.14). Xenophon does not specify which cities in the Chalkidic peninsula had become members of the Federation, except Poteidaia (no. 598) (Xen. *Hell.* 5.2.15), but it is evident that it included several cities, some of them large (Xen. *Hell.* 5.2.12). They had also captured several cities in Makedonia, among them Pella (no. 543) (Xen. *Hell.* 5.2.13). Finally, Xen. *Hell.* 5.2.16 mentions that the Federation had revenues from many harbours and *emporia*, and that it was a populous state. Furthermore, the existence of eponymous federal priests is attested (Hatzopoulos (1996*a*) 196, 388–89). Last but not least, Aristotle may have written a *politeia* of the Chalkidians (Arist. fr. 44). In this connection it is of interest that several possible members struck (bronze) coins in C4, probably in C4f. They are Sermylia (no. 604), the Skapsaians (no. 608), Torone (no. 620) and possibly Gale(psos) (no. 571). This could indicate that civic mints existed alongside the federal mint.

In C4 the Federation was called οἱ Χαλκιδεῖς in official documents, such as the alliance of Amyntas and the Chalkidians, the Charter of the Second Athenian Naval League, etc., but it was often called οἱ Ὀλύνθιοι in literary sources (e.g. Xen. *Hell.* 5.2.13; Dem. 1.5; see, however, Arist. *Pol.* 1274^{b}23). Diodorus and Isaios, referring to the same events, call them οἱ Χαλκιδεῖς οἱ πρὸς τῇ Θράκῃ and οἱ Ὀλύνθιοι respectively (Diod. 14.82.3; Isae. 5.46).

3.4 Pallene, Sithonia and Athos

The three peninsulae of (a) *Pallene*, (b) *Sithonia*, and (c) *Athos* are natural geographical subdivisions. (a) There were eight *poleis* in Pallene (Hdt. 7.123.1; nos. 556, 563, 584, 586, 598, 601, 609, 616), which, according to Herodotos, was formerly called Phlegra. One *polis*, Poteidaia (no. 598), was a colony of Corinth (no. 227) (Thuc. 1.56.2); Mende (no. 584) was probably a colony of Eretria (no. 370) (Thuc. 4.123.1); Neapolis (no. 586) was probably a colony of Mende (*IG* I^{3} 263.III.26–27); and the inhabitants of Skione (no. 609) claimed that they were colonists from Achaia (Thuc. 4.120.1).

(b) Athos had six *poleis* (Hdt. 7.22.3; nos. 560, 569, 580, 587, 600, 618) including Sane (no. 600) on the isthmus. Sane may have been a colony of Andros (no. 475) (Thuc. 4.109.3), whereas the other five *poleis* had a mixed, bilingual population in C5 (Thuc. 4.109.3; see Papadopoulos (1996) 170).

(c) Sithonia is more difficult to define. Herodotos, who is our only source to name the area Sithonia—apart from Steph. Byz., who simply paraphrases Herodotos—includes Torone (no. 620), Gale(psos) (no. 571), Sermylia (no. 604), Mekyberna (no. 583) and Olynthos (no. 588) in the area of Sithonia (7.122), which means that "Sithonia" was the western part of the peninsula and the area north of it. The *poleis* on the eastern side of the peninsula (Singos (no. 605) and Sarte (no. 602)) were located, according to Hdt. 7.122, "in the bay [of Singos]".

3.5 The Edonians

It is highly probable that the Edonians, a Thracian tribe ruled by a king, inhabited at least part of the Chalkidic peninsula. Thuc. 4.109.4 mentions that there were Edonians in Athos. The Edonian king Getas struck silver octadrachms around 500. Some of the coins bear the legend *ΓΕΤΑΣ ΗΔΟΝΕΟΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ* (Gaebler (1935) 144).

4. Unlocated

Four *poleis*—Aison (no. 623), Brea (no. 624), Kossaia (no. 625) and Okolon (no. 626)—have been included in the present chapter. They are all unlocated, but in all four cases it is known that they were situated somewhere in Thrace.

1. *Pre-Hellenistic Settlements not Attested as* Poleis

Aigialos (*Αἰγιαλός*) Hecat. fr. 155; Kleidemos (*FGrHist* 323) fr. 3. According to Steph. Byz. 40.18–19, perhaps following Hekataios fr. 155, located in Thrace near the river Strymon. Not in *Barr.* Hecat. fr. 155 indicates A.

Ampelos (*Ἄμπελος*) The cape of Sithonia was called Ampelos (Hdt. 7.122). Ampelos is called *oppidum* and *polis* by Pliny and Hesychios respectively (Plin. *HN* 4.37; Hsch. *A*3778). Hdt. 7.122 calls it simply *ἡ Τορωναίη ἄκρη*, and for that reason Zahrnt (1971) 152 is right in thinking that there never existed a *polis* Ampelos. Unlocated. *Barr.* 51, C.

***Apollonia** (*Apollonia*) Unlocated. In *Barr.* 51 dated C, but the only evidence is Plin. *HN* 4.37.

Arnai (*Ἀρναί*) Thuc. 4.103.3. South of Bormiskos (no. 547). Zahrnt (1971) 161–62. *Barr.* 51, C.

Chalkis (*Χαλκίς*) The only source for this Chalkis is Steph. Byz. 685.2–5, who locates it on Athos and quotes Eudoxos (fr. 309, Lasserre), according to whom it was the name of a gulf, not a settlement. Unlocated. *Barr.* 51, C.

(Kallipolitai) (*Καλλιπολῖται*) The Kallipolitai are mentioned in the so-called Holomondas inscription (*SEG* 40 542.32), which probably originates from the north-western part of the Chalkidic peninsula and dates to C4m (Hatzopoulos and Loukopoulou (1992) 123–45, *pace* Vokotopoulou (1996)). The inscription deals with boundaries between various communities. A number of ethnics occur: *Παραιπ[ίος]* (2–3), *Ραμίοις* (14), *Κισσείτα[ις]* (14), *Ὀσβαίοις* (26, 30 (restored), 32), *[Πρα]σσιλίους* (28) and *Καλλιπολίτας* (32). The Kallipolitai are said by Hatzopoulos and Loukopoulou (1992) 130–31 to be known from the Athenian tribute lists, and it is true that some Kallipolitai are recorded under the headings *αὐταί* and *τάκται* from 434/3 onwards (see e.g. *IG* I³ 279.II.87). Hatzopoulos and Loukopoulou suggest that *Kallipolis belongs in the Thracian panel (like some other communities in the rubrics), and tentatively suggest that *Kallipolis and Kalindoia (no. 575) are identical. But the Kallipolis recorded in the tribute lists belong in the Hellespontine *phoros* (see no. 744). Furthermore, it is unlikely that *Kallipolis and Kalindoia are identical unless that city actually had two names, of which only one (Kalindoia) is attested as a toponym. Therefore, Vokotopoulou (1996) 215 suggests that *Kallipolis may be identified with a mound near Ormylia (not far from ancient Sermylia), because that mound "preserves the name of Kallipolis . . . the place-name could well have survived since the ancient period, as have many other place-names in Chalcidice". It is not impossible that the name has been preserved since Antiquity, although perhaps unlikely. *Barr.* 50, C.

Kerdylion (*Κερδυλίον*) In the territory of Argilos (no. 554) (Thuc. 5.6.3). A site in the vicinity of Nea Kerdyllia has been identified with the Kerdylion of Thucydides. Here a part of a Classical circuit wall has been found along with a gate (*ArchDelt* 41 (1986) *Chron.* 177–78). *Barr.* 51, C.

Kophos (*Κωφός*) Called a *limen* in the territory of Torone (no. 620) at Thuc. 5.2.2–3. Meritt (1923) 453–54; Hornblower (1996) 425–26. *Barr.* 51, C.

Panormos (*Πανορμός*) In *Barr.* 51 dated C, but the only evidence is Ptol. *Geog.* 3.12.9.

(Paraipioi) (*Παραίπιοι*) See Kallipolitai (*supra*). Unlocated. *Barr.* 50, C.

Parthenopolis At Parthenonas, about 5 km inland from the presumed site of Gale(psos) (no. 571), and thus possibly in its territory, a worship area (4 × 8 m, oriented north–south) has been excavated. The area was in use from C7 to C3, and inscribed sherds attest to the nature of the area: for instance, a sherd from a C5e Attic vessel with the inscription [*ἀν*]*έθεκεν*. The site was perhaps consecrated to Zeus Koryphaios; a sherd from a C5 Attic kylix bears the inscription *ΔΙΟΣ*. The excavators claim that the area belonged to a certain Parthenopolis mentioned in ancient sources (Vokotopoulou *et al.* (1990)). However, the only source to mention a Parthenopolis is Stephanos of Byzantion, who calls it a *πόλις Μακεδονίας* and then continues: *ἀπὸ τῶν θυγατέρων Γραστοῦ τοῦ Μύγδονος παιδός, ὡς Θεαγένης ἐν Μακεδονικοῖς* "*ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν θυγατέρων διὰ τὸ ἄγροικον αὐτῶν τῆς διαίτης καὶ τὸ ἄμικτον ἔκτισε πόλιν κτλ*" (504.8ff). Although the mention of Grastos and Mygdon indicates that Parthenopolis had some connection with Krestonia and Mygdonia, this piece of evidence is not sufficient to identify the worship area with the Parthenopolis mentioned by Stephanos. *Barr.* 51, C.

Physka (*Φύσκα*) Thuc. 2.99.5; Theagenes (*FGrHist* 774) fr. 15; Steph. Byz. 675.12 (*πόλις*). In Ptol. *Geog.* 3.12.33 listed under Mygdonia. *Barr.* 51, undated, but C is attested by Thuc. 2.99.5.

Physkelle, Myskella (*Miscella*) In *Barr.* 50 dated C, but there is no other evidence than Plin. *HN* 4.37 and Pomponius Mela 2.34.

Rhaikelos (*Ῥαίκηλος*) Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 15.2 (*χωρίον*); Lycoph. *Alex.* 1236; Steph. Byz. 543.2 (*πόλις*). Fortified village or strong point near the Thermaic Gulf (Edson (1947) 89–91). *Barr.* AC.

(Rhamioi) (*Ῥαμίοι*) See Kallipolitai (*supra*). Unlocated. *Barr.* 50, C.

Trapezous (*Τραπεζοῦς*) *Syll.*³ 332.5–6 (306–297); *SEG* 38 619.12 (285–284), area or territory near Olynthos. *Barr.* 50, C.

2. *Unidentified Settlements*

Ag. Ioannis, near *Nikiti* Traces of an early settlement no later than C7; fifty-seven graves from the Archaic and Classical periods (*ArchDelt* 32 (1977) *Chron.* 204). Remains of a Classical house, pieces of tile roof. Also forty-five graves from the Iron Age (900–750) (*ArchDelt* 43 (1988) *Chron.* 361–62; cf. *ArchDelt* 39 (1984) *Chron.* 224). Of the forty-five graves, forty were inhumations in *pithoi*, and five were cremations. Some of the inhumations were placed *inside* perimeter walls. The cemetery was used in the Iron Age and the Archaic period (Trakosopoulou-Salakidou (1988)). Not in *Barr.*

Anchialos Excavations at Anchialos (north-west of Thessaloniki) have been conducted. Layers from the late Mycenaean period and Iron Age were reached, while a big pit contained sherds from the Classical period. The pottery was partly imported, partly local ware. The excavators argue that Anchialos can be identified with Sindos (no. 551), and Chalastre (no. 548) with the site at Ag. Athanasios (Tiverios (1992), *pace* Hatzopoulos (1996*a*) 107 nn. 2 and 3; idem (1996*b*) 602 no. 262). A single inscription has been found at Anchialos. A C5m Attic black-figured sherd is incised with the name *Ἀργανθόνιος* in Ionic lettering (Panayotou (1996) 150 n. 39). Not in *Barr.*

Epanomi Four late Archaic and Classical graves were excavated in 1989 (Tsibidou-Auloniti (1989)). Not in *Barr.*

Koukos About 4 km from Torone (no. 620), at modern Koukos, a hill-top site has been investigated. There are remains of a fortification wall, a settlement and a cemetery. The original height of the wall, which is preserved to a height of 60–80 cm, was probably more than 2 m, and the average width is 1.25 m. The extensive settlement was probably crowded, and apparently there was no urban planning. The area tested covers 274 m². The settlement, which was used in the early Iron Age, and probably later, was built in six phases. Remains of walls of ten or eleven buildings have been found, all oriented in different directions. They probably all date to the early Iron Age. The most substantial building consists of a porch and one long chamber, 5 × 14+ m. In the cemetery ninety-eight graves have been found, apparently with cremation as the only rite. There are three types of grave: (1) cist graves (forty-nine), (2) pit graves (fifteen), and (3) *pithoi* (thirty-four). There are two types of pottery: (1) handmade northern types, of which some are Chalkidian, and some are like the early Iron Age types found at e.g. Vergina; part of a bowl, of the "pre-Persian" type known from Olynthos (no. 588), was found; (2) wheel-made types, related to late Protogeometric and sub-Protogeometric styles at Euboia and the surrounding areas. Other finds

include fibulae, beads, bracelets, knives and stone tools. A mould and other finds show that metal working took place at Koukos. The site was probably abandoned about 700. (Carington-Smith and Vokotopoulou (1988), (1989), (1990), (1992), (1992–93); *ArchDelt* 42 (1987) 370–71; Snodgrass (1994)). Not in *Barr.*

Krini An unknown number of graves from the Classical and following periods (*ArchDelt* 39 (1984) *Chron.* 224). Not in *Barr.*

Nea Triglia Traces of an ancient settlement and a cemetery, C5–C4 potsherds (*ArchDelt* 32 (1977) *Chron.* 202). Not in *Barr.*

Ossa An urban settlement (in ancient Bisaltia) with a fortification wall and a citadel, which was founded in C4 (Adam-Veleni (1988)). Not in *Barr.*

Sourota C4 graves (*ArchDelt* 29 (1977–74) *Chron.* 697). Not in *Barr.*

Thermi At modern Thermi (the so-called table of Sedhes, a few km south of Thessaloniki) a cemetery has been excavated. The 303 graves date from C8e to C4. The oldest pottery dates to C8–C7, and similar pottery has been found at Vergina, Dion, Kozani and other places. There is also C6 Corinthian pottery, pottery of Ionian type, C6m–C5e Chalkidian ware, along with Attic black-figure pottery and pottery dating to C5–C4. The male graves contained weapons, and the female jewellery (*ArchDelt* 45 (1990) *Chron.* 308–9). Moschonisioti (1988) has examined ninety-nine graves dating from C6e to C5e. The male graves faced west, the female east. 70 per cent of the men were buried with weapons, while the women were buried with jewellery. Among the finds was a C5e coin from Dikaia (no. 568). Not in *Barr.*

II. The *Poleis*

1. Mygdonia

545. Apollonia (Apolloniates) Map 50. Lat. 40.40, long. 23.30. Size of territory: ? Type: A:*α*. The toponym is *Ἀπολλωνία, ἡ* (Xen. *Hell.* 5.2.11; Dem. 9.26; *IG* IV².1 94.1.b.5 (359)). The city-ethnic is *Ἀπολλωνιάτης* (Xen. *Hell.* 5.2.13). Apollonia is called a *polis* in the political and urban senses combined by Xen. *Hell.* 5.2.11 (Hansen (2000*a*) 210), and in the urban sense by Ps.-Skylax 66 (Flensted-Jensen and Hansen (1996) 142) and Dem. 9.26. The collective use of the city-ethnic (abbreviated as *ΑΠΟΛΛΩ*) is attested internally on coins (*infra*) and externally at Xen. *Hell.* 5.2.13. It appears from Xen. *Hell.* 5.3.11 that the toponym *Ἀπολλωνία* could denote the territory as well as the town.

There has been some discussion as to how many Apollonias there were in the Chalkidic peninsula and where exactly they were located. Hatzopoulos (1994) has come to the conclusion that there was only one Apollonia, and that it was located near the southern shores of Lake Bolbe, i.e. in ancient Mygdonia; see also Flensted-Jensen (1997) 117–21.

Xen. *Hell.* 5.2.11 calls Apollonia and Akanthos (no. 559) the two largest *poleis* around Olynthos (no. 588), and relates how in 382 they sent envoys to Sparta (no. 345) to ask for help against the expanding Chalkidian Federation. Apollonia is recorded in the Epidaurian list of *theorodokoi* of 359 (*IG* IV².1 94.1.b.15).

Remains of an undated city wall are reported by Hatzopoulos (1994) 178. Xen. *Hell.* 5.3.6 mentions Apollonia's *proasteion* and its gates. According to Dem. 9.26, Apollonia was destroyed by Philip II, though when is unknown.

Apollonia struck coins in C4, and after 187 (Gaebler (1926), (1935) 46–47). *Obv.* head of Apollo; *rev.* aquatic bird, or fish; legend: *ΑΠΟΛΛΩ*.

Since Apollonia is called *ἡ Χαλκιδική* by Hegesandros (*FHG* p. 420 fr. 40), it is generally assumed that Apollonia could have been founded by the Chalkidians (West (1923) 49 n. 2; Hatzopoulos (1994) 165), when they were given a piece of land near Lake Bolbe in 432 (Thuc. 1.58.2).

546. Arethousa (Arethousios) Map 51. Lat. 40.40, long. 23.40. Size of territory: probably 2 or 3. Type: A:*α*. The toponym is *Ἀρέθουσα, ἡ* (Ps.-Skylax 66; Plut. *Lyc.* 31.5; *IG* IV².1 94.1.b.16 (359)). The city-ethnic is recorded as *Ἀρεθούσιος ἀπὸ Θράκης* (*Syll.*³ 268G (C4m) = *F.Delphes* III.1 396), and after the Makedonian expansion as *Ἐρεθούσιος* (probably a misspelling) *Μακεδών* (*Syll.*³ 269 (*c.*300) = *F.Delphes* III.1 186 (188?)).

Arethousa is called a *polis* in the urban sense by Ps.-Skylax 66 (Flensted-Jensen and Hansen (1996) 142). The political sense is attested in *IG* II² 43.78 and 83, where Arethousa under the heading *πόλεις αἵδε* is listed as one of the members of the Second Athenian Naval League. The collective city-ethnic is attested externally in a C4m inventory of crowns donated to Athena in Athens (*IG* II² 1437.1.18; cf. *SEG* 28 112). The individual city-ethnic is attested externally in a Delphic proxeny decree of C4m (*Syll.*³ 268G).

Arethousa was located in Mygdonia, on the eastern shore of Lake Bolbe (Strabo 7 fr. 36; cf. Ps.-Skylax 66), which was part of Makedonia in 432 (Thuc. 1.58.2). Arethousa may well have existed in C5 (although no sources confirm that), and if it did, it must have gained independence from Makedonia at some time in the beginning of C4, for a brief period.

Arethousa was a member of the Second Athenian Naval League (*IG* II² 43.82). It seems certain that this was Arethousa in Chalkidike, not the one in Euboia (Dreher (1995) n. 103). Arethousa is recorded in the Epidaurian list of *theorodokoi* of 360/59 (*IG* IV².1 94.I.b.16).

In the cemetery (see *infra*) a judicial lead tablet has been found (Moschonisioti *et al.* (1997)). The tablet dates from *c.*300. There is no doubt that the rather mutilated text concerns judicial matters: the verb *καταγράφω* ("register, enrol") occurs several times, in *B*4 *δικαστὰς ὅσα ἔγ<ρ>αφο[ν]* can be read, and in *Δ*2 *τῶ]ν συνδ[ικων* (195–96).

The recently excavated remains of an ancient town near modern Rentina have been identified with Arethousa by the excavator (Moschonisioti (1992)). One hundred and twenty-nine graves have been excavated, yielding pottery, jewellery, etc. The graves date from C4m to C2m. Part of a circuit wall was excavated, along with the foundation of a C4l circular tower. There are reports of "Archaic and Classical finds" from a neighbouring hill, which has been identified with Bormiskos (no. 547). However, as the excavator points out (Moschonisioti (1992) 410), it is remarkable to find two towns located within such a short distance (and on the same side of the river), and since there are no Archaic or Classical finds from the hill that has been identified with Arethousa, we may simply suggest (as already in *RE* s.v.) that Bormiskos and Arethousa are connected; that for some reason the inhabitants of Bormiskos left the settlement and moved to the neighbouring hill.

547. Bormiskos Map 51. Lat. 40.40, long. 23.40. Size of territory: 2. Type: C? Bormiskos was located near the Gulf of Strymon, where Lake Bolbe runs into the sea (Thuc. 4.103.1), which (at least in 432) was a part of Makedonia (Thuc. 1.58.2). The toponym is *Βρομίσκος* (Thuc. 4.103.1) or *Βορμίσκος* (*IG* I³ 77.V.26). Apart from Steph. Byz. 176.4–5, there is no attestation of the city-ethnic.

Thuc. 4.103.1 mentions that Brasidas stopped at Bormiskos, but he does not give it any site-classification (and Stephanos calls it a *chorion* at 176.1). However, Bormiskos was assessed at 1,000 dr. in 422/1 (*IG* I³ 77.V.26). Furthermore, it may have been recorded in the assessment decree of 425/4 (the toponym is restored in *IG* I³ 71.IV.113). Consequently, Bormiskos was probably a member of the Delian League, and thus a political community.

548. Chalestre Map 50. Lat. 40.40, long. 22.45. Size of territory: ? Type: A:*γ*. The toponym is *Χαλάστρη* (Hecat. fr. 146) or *Χαλέστρη* (Hdt. 7.123.3). Apart from Steph. Byz. 679.8, the city-ethnic is attested only in a very late source: *IG* X.2.1 815, a second to third century AD gravestone which in the first line has *ὁ Χαλεστρέ[ος]* (with dots under all the letters except -*εσ*-). Hecat. fr. 146 calls Chalestre a *polis* in the urban sense (cf. Hansen (1997*b*) 19). Hdt. 7.123.3 locates Chalestre in Mygdonia, in the Thermaic Gulf.

Modern Sindos is probably identical with ancient Chalestre (Hatzopoulos (1996*a*) 197). At the site a rich cemetery, containing 121 graves, has been excavated. Although half of the graves had been robbed in Antiquity, the finds were still remarkable. Most of the graves were rectangular pits, but there were also some cists and sarcophagi. In the graves were found weapons and other military equipment, and a large amount of Makedonian jewellery of exceptional quality. Most of the vessels, however, were imported ware from southern Greece. The finds date the cemetery to the period C6m to C5e (*Macedonians* 162 with tables 153–76). At the settlement have been found a floor with C8 pottery, mudbrick walls destroyed in C7, successive building strata dating from C7 to *c.*570 (Tiverios (1990)). A gold ring, dating to C5m, is inscribed with the word *δῶρον* in Ionic script (Panayotou (1996) 150 n. 39).

Chalestre is called a *polis* in the urban sense by Hekataios (fr. 146) and Herodotos (7.123.3). Hekataios calls it a *πόλις Θρηίκων* and juxtaposes the town with Therme, which is called a *πόλις Ἑλλήνων Θρηίκων*. The evidence suggests that it was a Thracian *polis* in close contact with the Greek world, in which case it should be deleted from this Inventory as a non-Greek *polis*. Hatzopoulos, however, thinks that Chalestre was probably a mixed settlement ((1996*a*) 107).

549. Herakleia (Herakleotes) Not in *Barr.* Lat. 40.45, long. 22.40 (cf. Gounaropoulou and Hatzopoulos (1985) 62–71). Size of territory: ? Type: C:*α*? The toponym *Ἡράκλεια* is known only from late sources (*Demitsas* 160.10 (Hell. or Roman)). The city-ethnic is *Ἡρακλεώτης* (*SEG* 27 299 (C4e)), attested at Pella. All sources concerning Herakleia are late (e.g. a second century AD milestone mentioning *ἡ πόλις Ἡρακλεωτῶν* (*SEG* 35 754.A12–13)), but the existence of a C4f city-ethnic indicates that the town existed in the Classical period (see Hatzopoulos (1996*a*) 176), and Steph. Byz. mentions a *Ἡράκλεια Μακεδονίας*,

Ἀμύντου τοῦ Φιλίππου κτίσμα (304.3). Herakleia may have been situated on the eastern bank of the river Axios (Hatzopoulos (1996*a*) 176).

A burial mound near modern Ag. Athanasios (northwest of Thessaloniki) turned out to be an extended Archaic and Hellenistic cemetery. It is probably the cemetery of Herakleia (if the site near the river Axios is Herakleia). In the excavated area ten graves were found; eight of them dated to C6, one to C4s, and one to C3e. The Archaic graves are similar to those found at Sindos and Ag. Paraskevi. Most of the pottery was Corinthian, but an intact Chian chalice was also found (Tsibidou-Auloniti (1992)).

550. Lete (Letaios) Map 50. Lat. 40.45; long. 23.00. Size of territory: ? Type: B:*β*. The toponym is *Λήτη* (*SEG* 36 331.19 (323/2); Steph. Byz. 413.19, possibly quoting Theagenes (C3?)) or *Λητή* (Harp. *Λ*19, quoting Hyp. fr. 87, Sauppe). The city-ethnic is *Λητα*ῖ*ος* (*SEG* 24 544 (C4–C3)). Lete is called a *polis* in late sources only (*Syll.*³ 700 (second century AD); Harp. *Λ*19), but *polis* status in the Archaic and Classical periods is indicated by the C6–C5 mint and the Nemean *theorodokos* (*infra*). The collective city-ethnic is used internally on Archaic coins (*infra*). The individual city-ethnic is used externally on a gravestone from Pella (*SEG* 24 544 (C4–C3)).

In the C4s list of Nemean *theorodokoi* Lete is placed after the heading *Makedonia* (*SEG* 36 331.19), but it cannot have become a part of Makedonia proper until after *c.*480, since no city of Makedonia proper minted its own coins until C2 (Hatzopoulos (1996*a*) 172). Lete is recorded in the Nemean list of *theorodokoi* of 323/2 (*SEG* 36 331.19).

Lete struck silver coins on the so-called Babylonian standard *c.*530–480. Denominations: stater, ⅛ stater, and 1½ obols. Types: *obv.* Silen and nymph; *rev.* incuse square; legend: sometimes *ΛΕΤΑΙΟΝ* (Head, *HN*² 197–98; Gaebler (1935) 67–72; *SNG Cop. Macedonia* 191–94). However, Kraay ((1976) 148–49) does not believe that all the coins attributed to Lete were actually issued by Lete: "Another important coinage of this area . . . has long passed under the name of 'Lete', on the strength of a tentative reading of an obscure coin-legend. Lete . . . certainly minted a few coins clearly inscribed with its ethnic, but it is unlikely to have been responsible for the considerable coinage under discussion." See also Smith (2000).

At the site of ancient Lete two cemeteries have been found, one consisting of four C4l graves and one of twenty C4m–C3e graves (Tsakalou-Tzanavari (1989)).

Judging from the onomastic material, Lete probably had a mixed Greco–barbarian population until its conquest by the Makedonians; the considerable influx of Makedonians that followed did not lead to the extinction of the native element (Hatzopoulos (1996*a*) 211–13).

551. Sindos (Sindonaios?) Map 50. Lat. 40.40, long. 22.45. Size of territory: ? Type: A:*β*. The toponym is *Σίνδος* (Hdt. 7.123.3) or *Σίνδοι* (schol. Ap. Rhod. 4.4.322; Steph. Byz. 569.27). The corresponding city-ethnic may be *Σινδοναῖος* (Steph. Byz. 570.3: *Σινδοναῖοι, Θρᾴκιον ἔθνος, ὡς Ἑκαταῖος ἐν Εὐρώπῃ* = Hecat. fr. 147). Sindos is called a *polis* in the urban sense by Hdt. 7.123.3.

Hdt. 7.123.3 locates Sindos in Mygdonia, in the Thermaic Gulf. Hatzopoulos thinks that Sindos was situated at modern Thessaloniki ((1996*a*) 107 n. 3). Papazoglou (1988) 201 suggests that Sindos was one of the settlements that contributed to the foundation of Thessalonike in 316/15.

At modern Thessaloniki—at the so-called Toumba—have been found remains of buildings, built in several phases dating from C10 to C4 (Souereph (1990), (1992)). The excavations clearly show that there was an important settlement at the site before the foundation of Thessalonike in 316/15.

Sindos was probably a mixed settlement (Hatzopoulos (1996*a*) 107).

552. Therme Map 50. Lat. 40.35, long. 22.55. Size of territory: ? Type: A:*β*. The toponym is *Θέρμη, ἡ* (Hdt. 7.124). Apart from Steph. Byz. 310.1, there is no attestation of the city-ethnic. Therme is called a *polis* in the urban sense by Hecat. fr. 146 (cf. Hansen (1997*b*) 19); Hdt. 7.124; and Ps.-Skylax 66 (cf. Flensted-Jensen and Hansen (1996) 151). There is no evidence that it was a *polis* in the political sense as well. Theopomp. fr. 140 seems to have called it a Thracian *polisma* (cf. Hansen (2000*b*) 144–45).

Hdt. 7.123.3 locates Therme in Mygdonia, on the Thermaic Gulf. The exact location of Therme is unknown, although many scholars hold that it was the predecessor of Thessalonike (Vickers (1981) with refs.), and others that it was situated to the south of it, at Mikro Karabournaki (Borza (1990) 105 n. 21; Hatzopoulos (1996*a*) 107 n. 4).

According to Hdt. 7.124, Therme was a base for the Persian fleet in 480. In 432 Therme was captured by the Athenians (Thuc. 1.61.2), but it was given back to Perdikkas shortly after (Thuc. 2.29.6). Furthermore, Therme was one of the three places occupied by the pretender to the throne, Pausanias, in 368 (Aeschin. 2.27). Some Archaic coins attributed by Head, *HN*² 203 to Therme (cf. Zahrnt (1971) 188 n. 196) have recently been reattributed to Argilos (Liampi (1994)).

Therme is believed by archaeologists to have been located near modern Karabournaki; Rhomaios examined the site in the 1920s and found C5 sherds of Rhodian, Corinthian and Attic pottery, as well as seventeen graves of unknown date (they had been robbed several times) and traces of habitation, also undated, along with prehistoric Makedonian pottery. Rhomaios assumed that the site was inhabited from C8l to C5s (*BCH* 54 (1930) 497–98). More recent investigations have confirmed Rhomaios' findings: remains of a settlement have been found during excavations, and the latest phase seems datable to *c.*500. The pottery, both imported and local, dates from C8 to C5. Remains of C6l brick and stone walls of houses have been found (Tiverios *et al.* (1994)). In 1998 the remains of a semi-subterranean dwelling were found; similar buildings have been found in other areas on the fringes of the Greek world, e.g. the Euxine (Tiverios *et al.* (1998) 225). For the sherds of the Mycenaean period and later, see Tiverios (1987). About 150 m to the east of the settlement a cemetery has been located, and so far twenty-eight graves dating to C6–C5 have been excavated (Pandermali and Trakosopoulou (1994)).

Therme was called a *πόλις Ἑλλήνων Θρηίκων* by Hecat. fr. 146 = Steph. Byz. 679.5–6 (cf. Theopomp. fr. 140: *Θράκιον . . . πόλισμα* (*apud* Harp.)), even though it seems to have belonged to Makedonia all the time, except in 432/1. Perhaps it was originally a mixed settlement that was taken over by the Makedonians at an early period (see Hatzopoulos (1996*a*) 107). Therme is also mentioned by Ps.-Skylax 66, who specifically calls it a *polis* (on the distinction between *polis* and *polis Hellenis* in Ps.-Skylax, see Flensted-Jensen and Hansen (1996) 151; for a different interpretation, see Hatzopoulos (1996*a*) 473).

2. Bisaltia

553. Amphipolis (Amphipolites) Map 51. Lat. 40.50, long. 23.50. Size of territory: ? Type: A:*α*. The toponym is *Ἀμφίπολις, ἡ* (Thuc. 1.106.4; Tod 150.5 (357)). The city-ethnic is *Ἀμφιπολίτης* (Thuc. 4.104.1; Tod 111.20 (380s)). Amphipolis is called a *polis* both in the urban sense (Thuc. 4.102.4; Isoc. 5.2; Dem. 12.22; Aeschin. 2.27–28) and in the political sense (Thuc. 4.106.3; Dem. 1.5, 8). The urban centre is called *polisma* at Thuc. 4.103.5. The territory of Amphipolis (called *chora*) is mentioned at Aeschin. 2.27 and Tod 150.4 (called *ge*). The collective city-ethnic is used internally on C5l coins (*infra*), and in a decree of 357 (Tod 150.4–5), and externally in a treaty between the Chalkidians and Amyntas (Tod 111.20). For the individual and external use, see *Ἐπισθένης Ἀμφιπολίτης*, the commander of the peltasts of the Ten Thousand (Xen. *An.* 1.10.7) and the Athenian C4 honorific decree for an Amphipolitan (*IG* II² 421.5).

The site of Amphipolis was originally an Edonian settlement called *Ἐννέα Ὁδοί*. In 497 Aristagoras of Miletos tried in vain to settle the place (Thuc. 4.102.2; Diod. 12.68.3), and in 465 the Athenians made another abortive attempt to settle it with 10,000 colonists (Thuc. 1.100.3, 4.102.2; Diod. 12.68.2; schol. Aeschin. 2.34). They did not succeed until 437/6, when they founded a colony just south of Ennea Hodoi and called it Amphipolis (Thuc. 4.102.3; Diod. 12.68.2; schol. Aeschin. 2.34). Hagnon was the oecist. Later Brasidas was celebrated as the oecist of Amphipolis (Thuc. 5.11.1, alluded to at Dem. 12.21; see Malkin (1987) 228–32, (1994) 136–37).

The population of Amphipolis consisted of Greeks from different areas of Greece (Thuc. 4.106.1), among them a group of Argilians (Thuc. 4.103.3) and one of Athenians (Diod. 12.32.2). Apparently some additional Chalkidian settlers (*ἔποικοι*), led by a certain Kleotimos, caused a *stasis* and had the majority of the population expelled (Arist. *Pol.* 1303^{b}2–3, 1306^{a}2). This may be connected with the fact that the Chalkidians held Amphipolis *c.*363 (Dem. 23.149; see Zahrnt (1971) 101). Expulsion of Athenians is also mentioned at Dem. 12.21.

In 424 Brasidas marched against Amphipolis (Thuc. 4.103; Diod. 12.68.3); his arrival triggered a *stasis* between a ruling pro-Athenian faction and an anti-Athenian faction of "traitors"; Brasidas won the town over by an agreement whereby the pro-Athenian faction was allowed to leave (Thuc. 4.103.5–106.3). For the history of Amphipolis in the 420s, see Hornblower (1996) 319–42, 435–57. Amphipolis was evidently an enemy of Makedonia and the Chalkidians *c.*393 (Tod 111.19). In 370/69 the Spartans and other Greeks, along with Amyntas, voted that Amphipolis should be given back to the Athenians (Aeschin. 2.32), who accordingly sent Iphikrates to Amphipolis in the following year in order to take the city (Aeschin. 2.27), but he did not succeed. In the following years the Athenians made several attempts to take Amphipolis (see Papastavru (1936) 24–31 with refs.). In 360 Philip withdrew the Makedonian garrison placed in Amphipolis by Perdikkas III and left the city *autonomos* (Diod. 16.3.3). He abandoned his claim to Amphipolis (Diod. 16.4.1), a measure which the Athenians later took to be a promise to restore Amphipolis to them (Dem. 2.6, 23.116). However, in 357 he laid siege to Amphipolis (Dem. 23.116) and captured the city (Dem. 12.21; Diod. 16.8.2).

Philon and Stratokles were exiled from Amphipolis in 357/6 (Tod 150 = *Syll.*³ 194). Stratokles is probably the envoy who, along with Hierax (see Theopomp. fr. 42), was sent to Athens in 357 to request them to take over Amphipolis (Dem. 1.8). For the history of Amphipolis 395–357, see Hammond and Griffith (1979) 230–42.

Being originally an Athenian foundation, Amphipolis probably had a democratic constitution. Thuc. 4.104.4 mentions a *strategos* named Eukles who functioned as *phylax tou choriou*. There is no evidence that the constitution changed after Brasidas' conquest in 424, although he appointed Klearidas as governor (*archon*) of the city (Thuc. 4.132.3). However, when Kleotimos brought in the Chalkidian settlers, Amphipolis seems to have been ruled by the wealthy (*euporoi*), and in order to obtain tyrannic powers, he attempted a *coup d'état* (Arist. *Pol.* 1305ᵇ40–1306ᵃ4). Whether or not he succeeded is unknown, but a decree (*psephisma*) of 357 was passed by the *demos* (ἔδοξεν τῶι δήμωι), which points to a democratic constitution (Tod 150 = *Syll.*³ 194). C4 deeds of sale show that an *epistates* served as eponymous official (*SEG* 41 562.8), and Tod 150.17 (357) refers to a board of *prostatai*. For constitution and officials, see also Papastavru (1936) 47–50. A priest of Asklepios is mentioned in several C4m deeds of sale (Hatzopoulos (1991) = *SEG* 41 555–66). A man from Amphipolis was granted *proxenia* at Kos in C4l (*Iscr. Cos* ED 190). Amphipolis is recorded in the Epidaurian catalogue of *theorodokoi* of 360/59 (*IG* IV².1 94.I.b.18) as well as in the Nemean of 323/2 (*SEG* 36 331B.17).

The urban centre of Amphipolis has been excavated, but, apart from the fortifications, most of the remains are Hellenistic or later (D. Lazaridis (1993)).

Thucydides mentions the agora (5.11.1) and the city wall of Amphipolis (4.102.4, 104.1), along with the gates (4.104.4). There were houses in the *proasteion* (Thuc. 4.103.5; Diod. 12.68.1). The city walls have been excavated. They are built in isodomic or pseudo-isodomic masonry and stand to a height of 7.25 m in some places (*AAA* 8.1 (1975) 56–76). The circumference of the city wall is 7,450 m, and that of the acropolis 2,220 m (Lorber (1990) 9; cf. D. Lazaridis (1993) 24–52). The city wall encloses an area of 250 ha, the acropolis wall an area of 37 ha. The *gymnasion* of Amphipolis goes back to C4 (K. Lazaridis (1988), (1989)). There was a monument to Rhesos and a temple for his mother Kleio at Amphipolis (Marsyas, *FGH* 135 fr. 7; see Malkin (1987) 81–84). A temple of Athena is mentioned by Thuc. 5.10.2. A temple of Apollo and Strymon is recorded in *Syll.*³ 194.15. Lorber surveys the archaeological remains ((1990) 7–11) and the cults of Amphipolis (ibid. 11–14).

Amphipolis struck silver coins on the Phoenician standard (and rare gold coins on the Attic, *c.*400) from *c.*413 to *c.*357 (Gaebler (1935) 30ff; Head, *HN*² 214ff; *SNG Cop. Macedonia* 37–41) or from 370 to 354 (Lorber (1990) 107). Denominations: tetradrachms, drachms, hemidrachms, tetrobols, triobols and obols. Types: *obv.* head of Apollo; *rev.* race-torch in a raised frame; legend: *ΑΜΦΙΠΟΛΙΤΕΩΝ* or *ΑΜΦΙΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ* (rare). Amphipolis struck bronze coins as well (*SNG Cop. Macedonia* 42–49).

554. Argilos (Argilios) Map 51. Lat. 40.45, long. 23.50. Size of territory: 2. Type: A:α. The toponym is Ἄργιλος (Hdt. 7.115.1) or Ἄρκιλος (*IG* IV².1 94.I.b.17 (359)). The city-ethnic is Ἀργίλιος (*IG* I³ 270.III.21) or Ἀρκί(λιος) (C5e–C4 coins, *infra*). Argilos is called a *polis* both in the urban sense (Hdt. 7.115.1; Thuc. 4.103.4) and in the political sense (Thuc. 4.103.4, 5.18.5: Peace of Nikias). The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally in abbreviated form on C5e–C4 coins (*infra*) and externally in the Athenian tribute lists (*IG* I³ 271.II.56). For the individual and external use, see Thuc. 1.132.5 (r467).

In C5 Argilos was considered a colony of Andros (Thuc. 4.103.3). The existence of Argilos is not attested in written sources prior to 480, but if it was an Andrian colony, it may have been founded in C7, since it is generally assumed that Andros established its colonies *c.*655 (Lauffer (1989) 114, probably on the basis of Eusebius, who gives 655 as the foundation year of Akanthos and Stagiros, *Chron.* 95b).

According to Hdt. 7.115.1, Argilos was located in Bisaltia. In the territory of Argilos, across the river from Amphipolis, was a place called Kerdylion (Thuc. 5.6.3). A site in the vicinity of Nea Kerdyllia has been identified with this Kerdylion. Here a section of a Classical circuit wall has been found along with a gate (*ArchDelt* 41 (1986) *Chron.* 177–78). At Vrasna, also in the territory of Argilos, a five-sided *phrourion* with towers has been excavated. The *phrourion* dates to C4 (one coin of Philip II was found inside it), and its perimeter was *c.*70 m (Adam-Veleni (1992)).

Argilos was a member of the Delian League. It belonged to the Thracian district and is recorded from 454/3 (*IG* I³ 259.IV.22) to 429/8 (*IG* I³ 282.II.9) a total of twelve times. In 454/3 it paid the enormous sum of 10½ tal. (*IG* I³ 259.IV.22). Some scholars find it unbelievable that Argilos could have paid that much and want to correct the amount to 1½ tal. (Lewis in *IG* I³), while others think that the amount can be explained (Isaac (1986) 53–54). From 446/5 (*IG* I³ 266.II.30) to 438/7 (*IG* I³ 274.VI.15) Argilos paid 1 tal., and after that

1,000 dr. (*IG* I³ 279.II.54). Argilos is absent from the full panel of 432/1 (*IG* I³ 280.II.37–67), which may mean that it took part in the revolt of 432, but it is listed in 430/29 (*IG* I³ 281.II.24) and 429/8 (*IG* I³ 282.II.9). It was probably assessed in 425/4 (*IG* I³ 71.III.177: [Ἀρ]γί[λιοι]).

Argilos followed Brasidas (Thuc. 4.103.4), along with the two other Andrian colonies in the area (*sc.* Akanthos (no. 559) and Stagiros (no. 613); Sane (no. 600), the fourth Andrian colony, remained a loyal member of the Delian League). In the Peace of Nikias it is stipulated that Argilos be *autonomos* and liable to the tribute assessed by Aristeides (Thuc. 5.18.5).

Argilos is recorded in the Epidaurian list of *theorodokoi* of *c.*359 (*IG* IV².1 94.I.b.17).

There was an Aristotelian *politeia* of the Argilians (no. 23 = Heracl. Lemb. 75). A C4 deed of sale shows that an *epistates* served as eponymous official (Hatzopoulos (1991) 14–19 = *SEG* 24 583.1–2, supposedly from Argilos: Hatzopoulos (1996*a*) 192).

Apparently a group of Argilians resided in Amphipolis and acquired citizenship there (Thuc. 4.103.4). Thucydides uses the verb ἐμπολιτεύω about them, but it is uncertain whether this means that they had retained their civil rights in Argilos or whether they had lost their citizenship in Argilos when they settled in Amphipolis (Hornblower (1996) 329).

Argilos was situated on a hill about 4 km west of the Strymon estuary. On the southern side of the hill there were houses, of which the earliest date from C6m, and on the eastern side a cemetery. Parts of the city wall have been found near the coast. The earliest finds are sherds dated to C7m. According to the excavators, the city flourished in C6–C5, but it lost some of its territory to Amphipolis when that city was founded in 437, and Argilos had ceased to exist by C3. They also claim that Argilos was destroyed by Philip and that only the acropolis was inhabited after that. A large square building of the Hellenistic period may be the seat of some member of the royal Makedonian retinue (Bonias and Perrault (1996)). East of the settlement three graves have been found, dating from C4l/C3e.

Some late Archaic coins, formerly attributed to Therme (Head, *HN*² 203), have recently been attributed to Argilos (Liampi (1994)). Argilos struck silver coins in C5e and bronze coins in C4. (1) Silver: denominations: tetrobols, obols and hemiobols; *obv.* forepart of Pegasos; *rev.* incuse square; legend: *APKI* (*SNG Cop. Macedonia* 343–45). (2) Bronze: *obv.* head of Apollo; *rev.* *APKI* between bow and arrow (Liampi (1994) 29–31).

555. Traïlos (Traïlios) Map 51. Lat. 40.50, long. 23.45. Size of territory: ? Type: B:*β*. The toponym is Τράϊλος (*IG* I³ 77.V.25) or Τράγιλα (*IG* IV².1 94.I.b.20 (359)) or, later, Τράγιλος (Steph. Byz. 630.11); see Masson (1995). The city-ethnic is Τραγίλιος (*Syll.*³ 239B.35 (364/3)) or, on C5 coins, Τραίλιος (*infra*). The only source in which Traïlos is called a *polis* is Steph. Byz. 630.11, but *polis* status in the Archaic and Classical periods is indicated by membership of the Delian League, the C5–C4 mint, and the appointment of a *theorodokos* in C4m (*infra*). The collective city-ethnic is used internally on coins (*infra*). The external individual use of the city-ethnic is found in *CID* II 4.I.35 (360). Traïlos was the home town of the C4 mythographer Asklepiades ((*FGrHist* 12) T1 = Steph. Byz. 630.12–13).

Traïlos has been identified with the site at modern Aidonichori, *c.*12 km north-west of Amphipolis. A C6l–C4m cemetery has been found, along with a large C4s–C3e building (Nikolaïdou-Patera (1989), (1990)). See also Isaac ((1986) 5–6), who summarises the result of the excavations carried out in 1971, and Koukouli-Chrysanthaki (1983).

Traïlos may have been a member of the Delian League. It was assessed at 1 tal. in 422/1 (*IG* I³ 77.V.25), but it may also have been assessed in 425/4 (*IG* I³ 71.IV.112—the toponym is restored, but the amount (1 tal.) is legible).

Traïlos is recorded in the Epidaurian list of *theorodokoi* of 360/59 (*IG* IV².1 94.I.b.20).

Traïlos struck silver coins on the Phoenician standard in C5 and bronze coins in C4f. Denomination: hemiobol. Types: *obv.* corn-ear, or bunch of grapes, or head of Hermes; *rev.* incuse square with *TPAI*, or *TPAIΛION* around a rose (Head, *HN*² 217; Gaebler (1935) 131–32; Robinson and Clement (1938); *SNG Cop. Macedonia* 445–53).

The onomastic material from Traïlos does not support the view that it was originally a barbarian town (Hatzopoulos (1996*a*) 214, *pace*, e.g., Hammond and Griffith (1979) 121 n. 5).

3. The Chalkidic Peninsula

556. Aige (Aigantios) Map 51. Lat. 40.00, long. 23.40. Size of territory: 2. Type: A:*α*. The toponym is Αἰγή (Hdt. 7.123.1). The city-ethnic is Αἰγάντιος (*IG* I³ 269.III.5). The only source in which Aige is explicitly called a *polis* is Steph. Byz. 38.9–39.1; but at 7.123.1 Herodotos uses the pronoun αὗται about Aige and seven other *poleis* on Pallene, and it is an almost certain inference that the noun to be supplied is πόλεις. The collective city-ethnic is attested externally in the Athenian tribute lists (*IG* I³ 269.III.5).

Hdt. 7.123.1 locates Aige on Pallene, between Neapolis and Therambos. According to Hdt. 7.123.1, Xerxes received ships and troops from Aige in 480, which indicates that it may have been a *polis* at that time. Aige was probably one of Poteidaia's allies when that city fought against the Persians in 479 (Hdt. 8.128). Aige was a member of the Delian League. It belonged to the Thracian district and is recorded in the tribute lists from 454/3 (*IG* I³ 259.III.17) to 415/14 (*IG* I³ 290.III.9) a total of eighteen times, paying either 2,000 dr. (*IG* I³ 259.III.17) or 3,000 dr. (*IG* I³ 262.I.6). After C5 Aige is not heard of. It is possible that it was absorbed by one of its larger neighbours.

557. Aineia (Aineiates) Map 50. Lat. 40.30, long. 22.50. Size of territory: 1 or 2. Type: A:α. The toponym is *Αἴνεια* (Hdt. 7.123.2) or *Αἴνεα* (Perlman (2000) 177–78, E.1b.10 (360/59)). The city-ethnic is *Αἰνιάτης* (*IG* I³ 262.IV.12) or *Αἰνεάτης* (*IG* I³ 278.V.18), or *Αἰνειάτης* (*IG* I³ 281.II.20), all attested in the Athenian tribute lists. On C5l/C4f coins the variants *AINEIATΩN*, *AINEHTΩN* and *AINEHTΩN* are found (Gaebler (1935) 22).

Aineia is called a <*polis*> *Hellenis* in the urban sense by Ps.-Skylax 66 (cf. Flensted-Jensen and Hansen (1996) 142). Hdt. 7.123.2–3 calls it a *polis* mainly in the urban, but probably also in the political sense (cf. Hansen (2000*a*) 175–76). The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally on coins of C4 (Gaebler (1935) 22), and externally on the Athenian tribute lists (e.g. *IG* I³ 278.V.18).

According to Hdt. 7.123.2, Aineia was a *polis* in Krousis which in 480 provided Xerxes with troops. Aineia was a member of the Delian League. It belonged to the Thracian district and is registered in the tribute lists from 451/50 (*IG* I³ 262.IV.12) to 429/8 (*IG* I³ 282.II.24) a total of sixteen times, once completely restored, paying 3 tal. (*IG* I³ 266.II.34) until 430/29, when the tribute was lowered to 1,000 dr. (*IG* I³ 281.II.20). Aineia is recorded in the Epidaurian list of *theorodokoi* of 360/59 (Perlman (2000) 177–78, E.1b.10). Aineia existed down to the time of Kassandros, when it was destroyed together with twenty-five other settlements, all synoecised into Thessalonike (Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.49.4; Strabo 7 frr. 21, 24). Livy, however, mentions Aineia three times in a C2 context (40.4.9; 45.27.4, 30.4), and it is recorded in the list of Delphic *theorodokoi* of 230–220 (*BCH* 45 (1921) 18, III.75).

The urban centre of Aineia must have been at modern Nea Michaniona, where there are abundant sherds and other remains of C5–C4 (Zahrnt (1971) 143). A rescue excavation has revealed twenty graves, all except one dating to C4l, the exception being a C5 burial; between 1979 and 1982 three burial mounds were excavated; they belong to a well-known cemetery of the Archaic and Classical periods (Tsigarida (1994)).

Aineia struck silver coins on the Euboic standard from C6l to *c.*424, and on the Phoenician standard from *c.*424 to *c.*350. Denominations: tetradrachms, tetrobols and diobols. Types: *obv.* Aineias, Anchises, Kreusa and Askanios; legend: *AINEAΣ*; *rev.* incuse square. Later coins have *obv.* head of Athena, or head of Aineias; *rev.* bull; legend: *AINEAΣ* or *AINE*(*I*)*ATΩN*, or *AINEHTΩN*. In C4f Aineia struck bronze coins with the same types and legends (Head, *HN*² 214; Gaebler (1935) 20–22; *SNG Cop. Macedonia* 33–35).

Aineia was said to have been founded by Aineias. C6l coins depict Aineias carrying Anchises on his shoulders, behind Kreusa, who carries a small girl on her shoulders (Gaebler (1935) 20; cf. Kraay (1976) 134 with no. 469). The legend on the coin is, remarkably, *AINEAΣ*, interpreted as the name of the city Aineia in the genitive (Gaebler (1935) 21), although it could also be the name Aineias in the nominative. Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.47.6, 48.1, 49.4 also credits Aineias with the foundation of Aineia, and he evidently has this piece of information from Hellanikos (*FGrHist* 4) fr. 31.

558. Aioleion (Aiolites) Map 50. Lat. 40.20, long. 23.10: Aioleion was situated in Bottike (*infra*), but the precise location of the town is unknown; *Barr.*'s recording of Aioleion south of Spartolos (no. 612) and north of Pleume (no. 595) is just a guess; see Zahrnt (1971) 145. Size of territory: ? Type: A:α? The toponym is hαιόλειον (*IG* I³ 76.53 (*c.*422) = Tod 68; restored: hαιό[λειον]—though hαιο[λῖται] is equally possible) or *Αἰόλειον* (Theopomp. fr. 144, *apud* Steph. Byz. 53.2). The city-ethnic is *Αἰολίτης* (*IG* I³ 278.VI.7). Aioleion is listed after the heading αἵδε πόλες in a treaty of *c.*422 (*IG* I³ 76.44, 53), and in the Athenian tribute lists the city-ethnic occurs twice after the heading πόλεις αὐταὶ φόρον ταξάμεναι (*IG* I³ 278.VI.5–7, 279.II.76–77 and 84) and once after the heading ταῖσδε (*sc.* πόλεσιν) ἔταξαν οἱ τάκται (*IG* I³ 282.II.34–36, 42); in all four cases *polis* is used in the political sense. At Theopomp. fr. 144 Aioleion is attested as a *polis* in the political and urban senses simultaneously. The collective city-ethnic is used externally in the Athenian tribute lists (*IG* I³ 278.VI.7).

Aioleion was a Bottiaian *polis* (Flensted-Jensen (1995) 117–18), but its exact location is unknown. *C.*422 the Bottiaians entered into an alliance with the Athenians (Tod 68 = *IG* I³ 76). The same inscription seems to show that the Bottiaians had formed a confederacy at that time (Flensted-

Jensen (1995) 126–28). If they did, Aioleion must have been one of the members (cf. *IG* I³ 76.53).

Aioleion was a member of the Delian League, and it is recorded in the tribute lists three times, in 434/3 (*IG* I³ 278.VI.7), 433/2 (*IG* I³ 279.II.84) and 429/8 (*IG* I³ 282.II.42), paying 500 dr. in all three years. It is absent from the full panel of 432/1 (*IG* I³ 280.II.37–67) but was assessed for tribute in 422/1 (*IG* I³ 77.V.17) (500 dr.). In C4 Aioleion may have been a member of the Chalkidian Federation (Flensted-Jensen (1995) 117).

559. Akanthos (Akanthios) Map 51. Lat. 40.25, long. 23.50. Size of territory: 3. Type: A:*α*. The toponym is *Ἄκανθος, ἡ* (Thuc. 4.114.3; *IG* IV².1 94.I.b.22 (360/59)). The city-ethnic is *Ἀκάνθιος* (Xen. *Hell.* 5.2.11; *IG* I³ 266.II.29). Akanthos is called a *polis* both in the urban sense (Ps.-Skylax 66; cf. Flensted-Jensen and Hansen (1996) 142) and in the political sense (Thuc. 4.85.6, 5.18.5: Peace of Nikias). At Thuc. 5.18.6: Peace of Nikias, the territorial sense is a connotation, and at Xen. *Hell.* 5.2.11 *polis* is used in the urban and political senses combined (Hansen (2000*a*) 210). The collective city-ethnic is used internally on C5 coins (*infra*) and externally in the Athenian tribute lists (*IG* I³ 266.II.29). The individual city-ethnic is used externally by Xen. *Hell.* 5.2.12. *Patris* is found in Amphis fr. 36, KA.

Munro (1896) 313 describes a fragment of an undated inscription which is probably a boundary stone; only *ΟΡ ΔΗ ΑΚ* is left; it could be restored *ὅρος δήμου Ἀκάνθιων*, *pace CIG* add. 2007k, where it is interpreted *ὅρος Δήμητρος Ἀκανθίας*.

Akanthos may have been a colony of Andros (Thuc. 4.84.1; Strabo 7 fr. 31; Ps.-Skymnos 647), probably founded in C7e (Panayotou (1991) 127). Although one C5e graffito found at Akanthos was inscribed in the Andrian alphabet (*SEG* 36 580), a preliminary examination of the grave material from Akanthos does not in itself indicate that Akanthos was an Andrian colony (H. Trakosopoulou *per litt.*). The first time Akanthos is mentioned in a literary source is in connection with Xerxes' march in 480; from Hdt. 7.116 it appears that Akanthos entertained Xerxes and his army in 480. Herodotos does not call Akanthos a *polis*, but Xerxes declared that there existed *xenia* between Akanthos and himself, which indicates status as a political unit.

Akanthos was a member of the Delian League. It belonged to the Thracian district and is recorded from 450/49 (*IG* I³ 263.III.34) to 429/8 (*IG* I³ 282.II.13) a total of eleven times, paying 5 tal. in 450/49 (*IG* I³ 263.III.34) (amount not implausibly restored) and thereafter 3 tal. (*IG* I³ 266.II.29). In 424 Brasidas made an expedition against Akanthos (Thuc. 4.84). His arrival triggered a *stasis* between two opposing factions: Chalkidian supporters of Brasidas and the *demos* (Thuc. 4.84.2). The Akanthians voted to revolt against the Athenians and make a treaty with Brasidas (Thuc. 4.88.1; cf. *Syll.*³ 79). According to Diod. 12.67.2, Akanthos was the first town that Brasidas persuaded to break away from Athens. In 423 Akanthos sent troops into Lynkestis with Brasidas (Thuc. 4.123.1). In the Peace of Nikias it is stipulated that Akanthos be *autonomos* and pay the tribute as fixed by Aristeides (Thuc. 5.18.5). The Akanthians were enemies of the Chalkidians in the 380s, according to the second of the treaties between Amyntas III and the Chalkidians (*Syll.*³ 135; Zahrnt (1971) 122ff). That Akanthos was not a member of the Chalkidian Federation is also clear from Xenophon's description at *Hell.* 5.2.11 of how in 382 Akanthos sent envoys to Sparta to obtain aid from Sparta in order to avoid being incorporated into the expanding Chalkidian Federation. It is highly probable that Ass(er)a (no. 564), Akanthos' nearest neighbour to the west, was now a member of the Chalkidian Federation (see *infra*). Apparently, Akanthos was a not unimportant town in 382: Xenophon calls Akanthos and Apollonia "the largest of the *poleis* around Olynthos", and emphasises that the Akanthians still had their *patrioi nomoi* and called themselves *autopolitai* (*Hell.* 5.2.14).

About 349 Akanthos sent envoys to Athens to ask for help against Philip (*IG* II² 210 + 259; Schweigert (1937) 329–32). Akanthos was not one of the *poleis* in the Chalkidic peninsula destroyed by Philip. Not only does it appear on the C3l Delphic list of *theorodokoi* (*BCH* 45 (1921) III.86), but it is also mentioned by Livy (31.45.16 (r200)), and the cemetery at Akanthos was in use continuously from the Archaic through to the Roman period.

Since the treaty with Brasidas in 424 was decided by a secret vote (Thuc. 4.88.1) taken among the *plethos* (Thuc. 4.84.2), Akanthos probably had a democratic constitution, at least at the time of the Peloponnesian War (Grayson (1972) 64). Akanthos is recorded in the Epidaurian list of *theorodokoi* in 360/59 (*IG* IV².1 94.I.b.22). The Akanthians had a treasury in Delphi erected in C6 and rebuilt in 423 (*Syll.*³ 79; Plut. *Lys.* 1.1; Bommelaer (1991) no. 303).

The acropolis of Akanthos was situated on a hill overlooking the sea and the cemetery, which was situated near the coast. The site is partly covered by modern Ierissos. On the acropolis not much has been found: there are remains of walls believed to be the walls surrounding the acropolis. They were built in two phases; the oldest part is on the east

side of the hill. A stretch of *c.*30 m, *c.*8 m in height, has been found. The next phase is either late Classical or early Hellenistic. On the south part of the hill there are remains of a square tower or possibly a gate (Trakosopoulou-Salakidou (1996) 299–300). On top of the hill are the remains of a temple, which is contemporary with the oldest part of the wall, i.e. probably early Classical (ibid. 301–2). Remains of one other, early Hellenistic, building have been found: the quality and decoration of the building suggest that it may have been a *prytaneion* (*ArchDelt* 39 (1984) *Chron.* 223). The cemetery has hitherto yielded more than 9,000 graves, covering the period C7l to the third century AD. The majority of the graves are from the Classical period (Trakosopoulou-Salakidou (1996) 297ff). In 1998 some 400 graves which had been uncovered in 1979 were published (Kaltsas (1998)). The area covered by the cemetery is estimated to be at least 60 km². The earliest pottery is C7l Ionian pottery along with pottery from Aiolis and the islands along the coast of Asia Minor. From C6m Attic pottery is the most common type, Corinthian the second most common. Of interest are three sherds from Panathenaic amphoras, showing that Akanthians had participated in and been victorious in the Panathenaic Games. Furthermore, a C5 bronze strigil inscribed with *ΔΕΜΟΣΙΗ* has been found. It has been suggested that the strigil "belonged to the city of Akanthos, and had probably been registered in the gymnasium under the number five" (*Macedonians* (1994) 76 pl. 9).

Akanthos struck silver coins on the Euboic standard from *c.*500 (or perhaps already from *c.*530; see Desneux (1949)) to *c.*424 and on the Phoenician standard from *c.*424 to *c.*350. Denominations: tetradrachms, tetrobols, triobols, diobols and obols. (1) Silver coins: *obv.* lion and bull, or bull, or lion, or head of Athena; legend: sometimes magistrate's name; *rev.* quadripartite incuse square; legend: *AKANΘION*. (2) Silver coins *c.*392 to *c.*379: *obv.* head of Apollo; *rev.* quadripartite incuse square; legend: *AKANΘION*. (3) Bronze coins, all after *c.*400: *obv.* head of Athena; *rev.* quadripartite square; legend: *AKAN* (Head, *HN*² 204–5; Gaebler (1935) 23–29; Lorber (1990) 72–73; *SNG Cop. Macedonia* 1–24).

560. Akrothooi (Akrothoios) Map 51. Lat. 40.10, long. 24.20 (but see Zahrnt (1971) 150–51). Size of territory: 2. Type: A:*β*. The toponym is Ἄκρόθῳον (Hdt. 7.22.3) or Ἄκρόθῳοι (Thuc. 4.109.3). Strabo 7 fr. 35 and Steph. Byz. 63.13 have Ἄκρόθωοι. The city-ethnic is Ἀκρόθωιος (*IG* I³ 77.v.33–34) or Ἀκροθώτης (Ps.-Skylax 66). Hdt. 7.22.3 and Ps.-Skylax 66 (cf. Flensted-Jensen and Hansen (1996) 142) call Akrothooi a *polis* in the urban sense, whereas Thuc. 4.109.3–5 probably uses *polis* in the political sense, using *polisma* about the settlement. The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally in a C2 proxeny decree passed by the Akrothonians' *boule* and *demos* (*SEG* 46 710) and externally in the Athenian assessment decree of 422 (*infra*).

Akrothooi was located on Athos (Hdt. 7.22.3; Thuc. 4.109.3). It was probably a member of the Delian League, because it revolted from Athens and joined Brasidas in 423 (Thuc. 4.109.4), but it never occurs in the tribute lists, only in the assessment decree of 422/1 (*IG* I³ 77.v.33–34).

Strabo (7 frr. 33, 35) says that the five *poleis* on Athos were settled by Pelasgians from Lemnos. According to Thuc. 4.109.3–4, Akrothooi had a mixed (i.e. barbarian–Hellenic) bilingual population, but about a century later it is called a <*polis*> *Hellenis* by Ps.-Skylax 66 (Flensted-Jensen and Hansen (1996) 151).

561. Alapta (Alaptes) Unlocated. Type: A:*α*. The toponym is Ἄλαπτα (Ps.-Skylax 66). The city-ethnic is Ἀλάπτης (Galen. *Ling. Hipp.* 19.74). Alapta is mentioned by Ps.-Skylax 66 (Flensted-Jensen and Hansen (1996) 142), who calls it a <*polis*> *Hellenis*. The only other source to mention Alapta is Galenos, who uses the ethnic, but calls Alapta a *chorion* in Thrace.

562. Anthemous (Anthemountios) Map 50. Lat. 40.25, long. 23.45. Size of territory: ? Type: C:*α*? The toponym is Ἀνθεμοῦς (Aeschin. 2.27), ὁ (Thuc. 2.99.6) or ἡ (Dem. 6.20). The city-ethnic is Ἀνθεμούντιος (Harp. *A*143) or Ἀνθεμούσιος (Steph. Byz. 96.8; cf. Arr. *Anab.* 2.9.3). Anthemous is classified as a *polis* in late lexicographers only: *viz.* Harp. *A*143; Steph. Byz. 96.7; *Suda A*2491; and Hsch. *A*5118. But in Aeschin. 2.27 Anthemous is juxtaposed with Therme and Strepsa, both of which were *poleis*: εἰληφότος δὲ Ἀνθεμοῦντα καὶ Θέρμαν καὶ Στρέψαν καὶ ἄλλ' ἄττα χωρία (*sc.* Παυσανίου). For *chorion* used about a *polis*, see Hansen (1995) 44 n. 167. Thus, on analogy with Therme and Strepsa, Anthemous may have been a Classical *polis*.

Hatzopoulos and Loukopoulou (1987) 59 n. 155 locate Anthemous near the church of Ag. Paraskevi 3.5 km to the south of modern Galatista (cf. Wace (1913–14); Edson (1955) 171–72). At the site near Galatista a number of late inscriptions (the earliest being from *c.*180) have been found, among them two decrees and an ephebic list (Hatzopoulos and Loukopoulou (1987) 34–67).

Hdt. 5.94.1 and Thuc. 2.99.6, 100.4 both know Anthemous, but clearly as a district of Makedonia. From Aeschin. 2.27 (χωρίον) it appears that Anthemous was an urban centre (or perhaps a fortress). In C4 Anthemous was

fought over by the Makedonians and the Chalkidians, and belonged to the Chalkidians at least once (Dem. 6.20; Diod. 14.92.3 (r393), 15.19.2 (r383)). Anthemous provided Alexander with an *ile* (Arr. *Anab.* 2.9.3). The sources seem to indicate that Anthemous was originally a district which belonged to the Makedonian king, and that the town Anthemous emerged during C4.

563. Aphytis (Aphytaios) Map 50. Lat. 40.05, long. 23.30. Size of territory: 2. Type: A:*a*. The toponym is Ἄφυτις, ἡ (*IG* IV².1 94.I.b.24 (360/59); Xen. *Hell.* 5.3.19; Paus. 3.18.3), gen. -ιος (Thuc. 1.64.2), -εως (Theopomp. fr. 141). Steph. Byz. (151.1) gives Ἀφύτη ἢ Ἄφυτις ἢ Ἄφυτος. The city-ethnic is Ἀφυταῖος (*IG* I³ 281.II.10).

In Ps.-Skylax 66 Aphytis is one of the toponyms listed after the heading πόλεις αἵδε ἐν τῇ Παλλήνῃ Ἑλληνίδες, where *polis* is used in the urban sense. At 7.123.1 Herodotos uses the pronoun αὗται about Aphytis and seven other *poleis* on Pallene, and it is an almost certain inference that the noun to be supplied is πόλεις. For *polis* in the political sense, see Arist. *Pol.* 1319ª10 and 14, where Aphytis is listed as one of two examples after the heading ἐν πολλαῖς πόλεσι νενομοθετημένον. The collective city-ethnic is used externally in the Athenian tribute lists (*IG* I³ 281.II.10), and internally on coins (*infra*). For the individual and external use of the city-ethnic, see *IG* I³ 1032.VI.83, 99.

According to Hdt. 7.123, Aphytis was located on Pallene between Poteidaia and Neapolis (cf. Thuc. 1.64.2; Strabo 7 fr. 27), i.e. at modern Athytos. Arist. *Pol.* 1319ª15–16 states that the Aphytaians had a small territory even though the population was large.

Aphytis supplied Xerxes with troops and ships in 480, which indicates that at that time it was a *polis* in the political sense (Hdt. 7.123.1). Aphytis was a member of the Delian League and seems to have been a loyal member for the whole period: it belonged to the Thracian district and is recorded from 452/1 (*IG* I³ 261.I.2); it is present in the full panel of 430/29 (*IG* I³ 281.II.10) and also appears on the last list of 415/14 (*IG* I³ 290.III.5). It appears a total of sixteen times, once completely restored, paying 3 tal. from 452/1 (*IG* I³ 261.I.2) to 447/6 (*IG* I³ 265.I.24), 1 tal. from 446/5 (*IG* I³ 266.II.22) to 440/39 (*IG* I³ 272.I.47), and 3 tal. again from 435/4 (*IG* I³ 277.V.14) to 429/8 (*IG* I³ 282.II.11). It was assessed in 425/4 (*IG* I³ 71.III.168). In an area of general rebellion, Aphytis remained a loyal Athenian ally: it served as an Athenian base in 432 (Thuc. 1.64.2), and it was also rewarded for its loyalty: an Athenian decree (*IG* I³ 62 (*c.*428/7)) granted Aphytis the privilege of importing a certain amount of grain. It appears from the inscription that there were (Athenian?) *archontes* in Aphytis (Meritt (1944) 211–29), and that envoys were sent from Aphytis to Athens *c.*428 (*IG* I³ 63.8). Aphytis was besieged, but not conquered, by Lysander in 405/4 (Paus. 3.18.3). The continued importance of Aphytis is apparent from the fact that it is recorded in the Epidaurian list of *theorodokoi* (*IG* IV².1 94.I.b.24 (360/59)). Aphytis was probably synoecised into Kassandreia (Hatzopoulos (1996*a*) 121, 199–200, 255).

There was an Aristotelian *politeia* of the Aphytaians (no. 29 = Heracl. Lemb. 72). There was a census requirement for citizenship in C4s, but it was so low that it was passed even by the poor (Arist. *Pol.* 1319ª14–19).

There was a temple of Dionysos at Aphytis (Xen. *Hell.* 5.3.19), and according to Paus. 3.18.3 the Aphytaians worshipped Ammon, whose head adorns their coins (*infra*). Excavations have revealed the ruins of a C4s temple, presumably of Zeus Ammon (*AAA* 4 (1971) 356–67; *BCH* 96 (1972) 730, 736). Furthermore, south of the temple was found a sanctuary of Dionysos (an inscribed C5 sherd reads Δι]ονυσο (*SEG* 30 586)) and the Nymphs, inside which were sherds from C8s onwards.

For the archaeological remains at modern Athytos, dating from C8s to the Classical period, see *ArchDelt* 32 (1977) *Chron.* 202; *ArchDelt* 34 (1979) *Chron.* 279. Parts of a defence wall from the Classical period have been found (*ArchDelt* 32 (1977) *Chron.* 202 with photo). Inside the sanctuary of Dionysos were found C8s pottery, which indicates that Aphytis was founded in C8s (*AAA* 4 (1971) 356–77). At Nea Kallithea, 3 km south of Athytos, have been found sherds etc., probably from the Classical period (*ArchDelt* 24 (1969) *Chron.* 312). Twenty-one graves dating from C6m–C5l have been found at Aphytis (Misaïlidou-Despotidou (2001)).

Aphytis struck coins on the Phoenician standard from C5m (Gaebler (1935) 44–46; Robinson and Clement (1938) 273), or from *c.*424 (*ArchDelt* 41 (1986) *Chron.* 148) to C4m. Head, however, does not believe that Aphytis struck coins while a member of the Delian League, and dates all coins of Aphytis to the period before 358 (*HN*² 209–10). (1) Silver, C5: denomination: tetrobols. Types: *obv.* head of Zeus Ammon, or Ares helmeted; *rev.* kantharos, or eagle(s), or linear square with vine; legend: ΑΦΥ or ΑΦΥΤΑΙΟΝ. (2) Bronze, C4f. Types: *obv.* Zeus Ammon, or Apollo Karneios; *rev.* kantharos, or eagle(s); legend: ΑΦΥ or ΑΦΥΤΑΙΩΝ (Head, *HN*² 209–10; Gaebler (1935) 44–46; *SNG Cop. Macedonia* 123–28).

According to Theopomp. fr. 141 (*apud* Steph. Byz. 698.15), Aphytis founded a place called Chytropolis. Stephanos calls it

a *chorion*. Its location is unknown, but Zahrnt (1971) 254 suggests that it may have been located in the territory of Aphytis.

564. Ass(er)a (Asserites) Map 51. Lat. 40.20, long. 23.50. Size of territory: 2. Type: A:*α*. The toponym is *Ἄσσα* (Hdt. 7.122), or *Ἄσσηρα, τά* (Theopomp. fr. 147 *apud* Steph. Byz. 136.1). Stephanos Byzantios has two entries: *Ἄσσα, πόλις πρὸς τῷ Ἄθῳ. Ἡρόδοτος ἑβδόμῃ* (135.18) and *Ἄσσηρα, οὐδετέρως, πόλις Χαλκιδπεων, Θεόπομπος εἰκοστῇ τετάρτῃ* (136.1). Either Assa and Assera are two different places, or Stephanos did not know that Herodotos and Theopompos referred to the same place. The city-ethnic is either h*ασσερίτης* or *Ἀσσερίτης*, both recorded in the Athenian tribute lists (*IG* I³ 266.II.26 and *IG* I³ 270.III.16).

At Hdt. 7.122 Ass(er)a is twice called a *polis*, first in the urban sense, but the information that Ass(er)a was one of the *poleis* which supplied Xerxes with troops in 480 indicates that *polis* is used in the political sense as well. Furthermore, he locates Ass(er)a in the bay of Singos; cf. Steph. Byz. 135.18: *πόλις πρὸς τῷ Ἄθῳ*. The territory of Ass(er)a, *Ἀσσηρῖτις* (some MSS have *Ἀσσυρῖτις*) is mentioned by Arist. *Hist. an.* 519ª15. He says that a river named *Ψυχρός* ran through the territory, and that the territory was situated *ἐν τῇ Χαλκιδικῇ*; cf. Steph. Byz. 136.1, who calls Ass(er)a a *πόλις Χαλκιδέων*, perhaps quoting Theopompos fr. 147. The collective city-ethnic is used externally in the Athenian tribute lists (*IG* I³ 266.II.26).

Scholars seem to agree that the inhabitants of Ass(er)a were the Asseritans known from the Athenian tribute lists (e.g. Zahrnt (1971) 163). The Asseritans were members of the Delian League: they belonged to the Thracian district and are recorded in the tribute lists from 454/3 (*IG* I³ 259.V.7–8) to 433/2 (*IG* I³ 279.II.72) a total of fourteen times. In the first year they paid together with the Olynthians (no. 588) and the Skablaians (no. 607). Thereafter they paid separately. They paid 2,400 dr. (*IG* I³ 262.III.22) until 438/7, when they paid 3,000 dr. (*IG* I³ 274.VI.14). Since the Asseritans are not recorded in the tribute lists after 432/1, it may be inferred that they participated in the Revolt of 432, along with several other towns in the area (Thuc. 1.58).

It is not known whether Ass(er)a was also a member of the Chalkidian Federation, but its location, and the fact that Aristotle says that its territory lay *ἐν τῇ Χαλκιδικῇ* (*supra*), and that Theopompos probably called it *πόλις Χαλκιδέων* (*supra*), suggest membership of the Chalkidian Federation.

565. Charadrous Map 51. Unlocated. Type: A:*β*? The toponym is *Χαραδροῦς* (Ps.-Skylax 66). Charadrous is called a *polis* in the urban sense by Ps.-Skylax 66 (Flensted-Jensen and Hansen (1996) 142), who lists Charadrous between Akrothooi (no. 560) and Olophyxos (no. 587) on Akte. Charadrous is not mentioned in any other source.

566. (Chedrolioi) Map 50. Unlocated. Type: [A]:*α*? The toponym is not attested, unless the restoration suggested by Hatzopoulos and Loukopoulou (1992) 126–27 is correct (*SEG* 40 542, comm. to ll. 9–10), *pace* Vokotopoulou (1996) 215). They suggest that *Γ*[*έδ*]*ρωλον* is a "forme macédonienne de *Χέδρωλον*" (cf. Hatzopoulos (1987) on the development of *χ* = *γ* in Makedonia). The city-ethnic is h*εδρόλιος* (*IG* I³ 264.III.3) or *Χεδρόλιος* (*IG* I³ 277.VI.25). In 434/3 (*IG* I³ 278.VI.5–6, 16, completely restored) and 433/2 (*IG* I³ 279.II.76–77, 88) the Chedrolians are recorded under the heading *πόλες αὐταὶ ταχσάμεναι*.

The Chedrolians were members of the Delian League. They belonged to the Thracian district and are recorded in the tribute lists for the first time in 448/7 (*IG* I³ 264.III.3), then in 447/6 (*IG* I³ 265.II.33), 435/4 (*IG* I³ 277.VI.25, as *ἄτακτοι* 434/3 (*IG* I³ 278.VI.16), and the last time in 433/2 (*IG* I³ 279.II.88), paying first 500 and later 1,000 dr. Since the Chedrolians are absent from the full panel of 432/1, it may be inferred that they revolted in 432, along with Poteidaia (no. 598), the Chalkidians and the Bottiaians (Thuc. 1.58.2), and thus, that they lived somewhere in the Chalkidic peninsula.

567. Chytropolis (Chytropolites) Map 51. Unlocated. Type: C:*α*. The toponym is *Χυρόπολις* (Theopomp. fr. 141 *apud* Steph. Byz. 698.16–18); the city-ethnic is *Χυτροπολίτης* (ibid.). According to Stephanos, Chytropolis was called a *chorion* by Theopompos, but Theopompos also mentioned that it was settled (*ἀπῳκισμένον*) by Aphytis. Furthermore, he called the inhabitants *Chytropolitai*. It is difficult to determine whether Chytropolis was a *polis*, and if so, where it was located. Zahrnt ((1971) 254) suggests that it was situated within the territory of Aphytis.

568. Dikaia (Dikaiopolites) Map 50. Lat. 40.30, long. 22.55. Size of territory: ? Type: [A]:*α*. The toponym is *Δίκαια* (*IG* I³ 266.II.27; Kraay (1976) no. 392). The city-ethnic is *Δικαιοπολίτης* (*IG* I³ 279.II.55–56). The Dikaiopolitai are listed once under the heading *Ηαίδε τôν πόλεον* in the Athenian tribute lists (*IG* I³ 282.II.51, 55–56, restored in *IG* I³ 281.II.31ff) and again under the heading *πόλεις αἵδε* as members of the Second Athenian Naval League (*IG* II² 43.B.9); in both contexts *polis* is used in the political sense. The collective city-ethnic is attested internally on coins (*infra*) and externally in the Athenian tribute lists (*IG* I³ 279.II.55–56).

In the Epidaurian list of *theorodokoi*, Dikaia is listed between Aineia and Poteidaia (*IG* II².1 94.I.b.11 (360/59)), and Pliny mentions it after Therme (*HN* 4.36). It is not, however, mentioned by Herodotos or Ps.-Skylax in their descriptions of the coast of the Chalkidic peninsula, so it may be inferred that Dikaia was situated inland, somewhere in the north-western part of the Chalkidic peninsula; see also Viviers (1987) 194–95.

Dikaia was colonised from Eretria (*IG* I³ 282.II.55–56) and the earliest coins of Dikaia bear Eretrian types (bull/octopus; see Allan (1940) 34). Dikaia was a member of the Delian League. It belonged to the Thracian district and is recorded in the tribute lists from 454/3 (*IG* I³ 259.IV.19–20) to 429/8 (*IG* I³ 282.II.55–56) a total of sixteen times, once completely restored. It is absent from the full panel of 432/1 (*IG* I³ 280.II.37–67), which may indicate that it participated in the Revolt of 432 (Thuc. 1.58); but it is recorded in the lists of 430/29 and 429/8 after the heading *αἵδε τῶν πόλεων αὐτὴν τὴν ἀπαρχὴν ἀπήγαγον* (*IG* I³ 281.II.35, 282.II.55–56), paying 4 tal. in 454/3 (*IG* I³ 259.IV.19–20) and 5 tal. in 453/2 (*IG* I³ 260.IX.8, ethnic partly restored). In 435/4 it paid 1 tal. (*IG* I³ 277.VI.15–16). In 430/29 and in 429/8, however, it paid the quota only, i.e. 100 dr. In all other years the amount is restored by the editors. Dikaia became a member of the Second Athenian Naval League (*IG* II² 43.B.9; Kahrstedt (1936) 440) and is also recorded in the Epidaurian list of *theorodokoi* of 360/59 (*IG* IV².1 94.I.b.11).

Dikaia struck silver coins on the Euboic standard from *c.*500 to *c.*350. Denominations: tetradrachms, tetrobols, diobols and obols. (1) 500–450. Types: *obv.* cow, or cock: legend: occasionally *ΔΙ*, *ΔΙΚΑ* or *ΔΙΚΑΙ*; *rev.* octopus in incuse square. Some coins have the city's name in full: *ΔΙΚΑΙΑ*. There are several other types. (2) C4f. Types: *obv.* head of Athena, or female head; *rev.* bull; legend: *ΔΙΚΑΙΟΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ* (Head, *HN*² 213–14; Gaebler (1935) 59; *SNG Cop. Macedonia* 156).

569. Dion (Dieus) Map 51. Lat. 40.20, long. 24.10. Size of territory: 1 or 2. Type: A:*β*. The toponym is *Δῖον*, *τὸ* (Hdt. 7.22.3; Thuc. 4.109.3). The city-ethnic is *Διεύς* (*IG* I³ 269.II.35; Thuc. 5.35.1).

Dion is called a *polis* in the urban sense by Hdt. 7.22.3 and Ps.-Skylax 66 (Flensted-Jensen and Hansen (1996) 142), whereas Thuc. 4.109.3–5 probably uses *polis* in the political sense, using *polisma* about the settlement. The collective and external use of the city-ethnic is attested in the Athenian tribute lists (e.g. *IG* I³ 269.II.35). Dion was situated on Athos (*IG* I³ 272.II.59; Hdt. 7.22.3; Thuc. 4.109.3).

Dion was a member of the Delian League. It belonged to the Thracian district and is recorded from 454/3 (*IG* I³ 259.II.26, restored) to 429/8 (*IG* I³ 282.II.22) a total of seventeen times, three times completely restored, paying 1 tal. throughout the period (*IG* I³ 269.II.35). In 454/3 it formed a syntelic group with Sane and Olophyxos. During the Peloponnesian War Dion withstood an attack from Brasidas in 423, and consequently its territory was ravaged (Thuc. 4.109.5). The incident indicates that Dion was fortified. In 421 Dion took Thyssos, which was situated about 10 km from Dion on the opposite coast of the peninsula (Thuc. 5.35.1). Thyssos was an Athenian ally at that time, and Dion may have been so too, since it is known that it did not revolt against Athens and join the Chalkidians until 417 (Thuc. 5.82.1). Dion was also a member of the Second Athenian Naval League (*IG* II² 43.B.32–33). *C.*349 Dion may have sent envoys to Athens (the text is restored *Δι[ῆς]*, l.4) to ask for help against Philip (*IG* II² 210 + 259; Schweigert (1937) 329–32).

A C4 coin found in 1928 may be attributed to Dion: *obv.* Athena; *rev.* tripod; legend: *ΔΙΕΩΝ*. It is uncertain whether the coin was issued in Dion in Pieria or Dion on Akte, but Robinson and Clement prefer Dion on Akte ((1938) 282; cf. Hatzopoulos (1996*a*) 172).

According to Strabo (7 frr. 33, 35), Dion and the four other *poleis* of Athos were founded by Pelasgians from Lemnos. Thuc. 4.109.3 informs us that in his day Dion had a mixed (i.e. barbarian–Hellenic) bilingual population, but a century later Dion is called a *<polis> Hellenis* by Ps.-Skylax 66 (Flensted-Jensen and Hansen (1998) 151).

570. Eion Not in *Barr.* Maps 50–51. Unlocated. Size of territory: ? Type: C:*α*. Only the toponym *Ἠιών* is known (Thuc. 4.7). Virtually nothing is known of Eion, which Thuc. 4.7 calls a *Μενδαίων ἀποικία*, perhaps indicating that it was a *polis*. It is not the same as its better-known namesake on the Thracian coast: Steph. Byz. distinguishes between the two and calls this one *πόλις ἐν χερρονήσῳ, ὡς Θουκυδίδης* and then adds: *ἔστι καὶ ἄλλη πρὸς τῇ Πιερίᾳ* (cf. Eust. *Il.* 2.92). It is clear from Thuc. 4.7 that Eion was an enemy of the Athenians in 425, but whether that means that it was once a member of the Delian League and had revolted in 432, or that it had never been a member, is unknown. It never occurs in the Athenian tribute lists. In 425 the Athenians took Eion by treachery, which indicates that it was fortified (Thuc. 4.7).

571. Gale(psos) (Galaios) Map 51. Lat. 40.10, long. 23.40. Size of territory: 2 or 3. Type: A: *α*. The toponym is

Γαληψός (Hdt. 7.122; cf. Kinch (1894) 149). The city-ethnic is Γαλαῖος (*IG* I³ 278.VI.8), which may be a derivative of a toponym *Γάλη; if the coins discussed below belong to the present community, they attest the city-ethnic Γαλήψιος. It is possible that Herodotos confounded the name of *Gale with that of Galepsos (no. 631) in the Thasian *peraia* (Thuc. 4.107.4), so that the toponym is in fact *Gale and not Galepsos (Kinch (1894) 149, followed by Zahrnt (1971) 178, *pace* Lepper (1962) 35); there may, however, be numismatic evidence in support of Herodotos' form if the coins inscribed ΓΑΛΗΨΙΩΝ (*infra*) were struck by the present community. Hdt. 7.122 calls Gale(psos) a *polis* principally in the urban, but probably also in the political sense. The political sense is attested in *IG* I³ 278.VI.5, 8 and 279.II.76, 78, where the Galaians are listed under the heading πόλεις αἵδε. The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested externally in the Athenian tribute lists (*IG* I³ 278.VI.8). The undated Athenian grave inscription with the ethnikon *Galepsios* (*SEG* 32 297) probably belongs to Galepsos (no. 631) in the Thasian *peraia*.

According to Hdt. 7.122, Gale(psos) was situated on Sithonia between Torone and Sermylia. Zahrnt (1971) 178 locates Gal(epsos) south of Neos Marmaras, where a *pithos* grave containing Archaic Attic and Corinthian pottery has been found (*ArchDelt* 42 (1987) *Chron.* 371). For a sanctuary presumably in its territory, see *supra* 815 on Parthenopolis.

Gale(psos) supplied Xerxes with troops and ships in 480 (Hdt. 7.122). It was a member of the Delian League. The Galaians belonged to the Thracian district and are recorded for the first time in 436/5 (*IG* I³ 276.V.26) and in the subsequent three years. In 435/4 the Galaians are recorded as ἄτακτοι (*IG* I³ 277.V.31). In 434/3 (*IG* I³ 278.VI.8) and in 433/2 (*IG* I³ 279.II.78) they are listed after the heading πόλεις αὐταὶ φόρον ταξάμεναι, paying 500 dr. in 436/5 and 435/4, and 3,000 dr. in 434/3 and 433/2. Since Gale(psos) is not recorded in the lists after 432/1, it may have participated in the Revolt of 432 (Thuc. 1.58.2) and was presumably one of the *poleis* that took part in the synoecism of Olynthos (no. 588) in 432 (Thuc. 1.58.2; Zahrnt (1971) 54). The wording of Thuc. 1.58.2 (πόλεις . . . καταβαλόντας and καθαιροῦντες τὰς πόλεις) suggests that the city was destroyed in connection with the synoecism. It was assessed at 10 dr. in 422/1 (*IG* I³ 77.V.24).

In the early 1970s a bronze coin (a) was found at the presumed site of Gale(psos) (Demetriadi (1974)). Type: *obv.* young male head; *rev.* forepart of goat looking back; legend: ΓΑΛΗΨΙΩΝ. One other specimen (b), bought from a coin dealer, is known. The coins have been dated tentatively to C4f. The provenance of the coin found on Sithonia is the reason why these two coins have been attributed to the Gale(psos) under discussion and not to its namesake in the Thasian *peraia* (no. 631). Demetriadi (1974) claims that no coins from the Thracian Gale(psos) are known. However, in 1936 Bon published a coin (c) found during the excavations of Thasos and now (at least in 1936) in the Numismatic Museum in Athens, which she claims was struck at Galepsos (no. 631) in the Thasian *peraia*. There is absolutely no doubt that Bon and Demetriadi describe the same coin type. The diameters of (a) and (b) are 14 and 15 mm respectively, and the diameter of (c) is 13 mm. All three have on the *obv.* an identical head of a young man (Dionysos?) wearing an ivy wreath. On the *rev.*, coins (b) and (c) have the forepart of a goat (again the types are identical) facing l., and on (a) the goat faces r. All three have the legend ΓΑΛΗΨΙΩΝ. Hatzopoulos attributes the coins to Galepsos in the Thasian *peraia* (in conversation).

572. Gigonos Map 50. Lat. 40.20, long. 23.00. Size of territory: 1 or 2. Type: A:α? The toponym is Γίγωνος (Hdt. 7.123.1; *IG* I³ 278.VI.32). Apparently the C2 author Artemidoros called it Γιγωνίς, ἡ (Steph. Byz. 208.2). Apart from Steph. Byz. 208.1 there is no attestation of the city-ethnic. Hdt. 7.123.2–3 calls Gigonos a *polis* in the urban and political senses combined (cf. Hansen (2000*a*) 175–76), and the political sense is attested in *IG* I³ 278.VI.19, 32, where Gigonos is listed under the heading πόλες. According to Hdt. 7.123.1, Gigonos was located in Krousis.

Gigonos was a member of the Delian League, but is recorded only once in the tribute lists, in 434/3 (*IG* I³ 278.VI.32), paying along with the Tindaians (no. 619), Kithas (no. 579), Smila (no. 611) and Haisa (no. 573), under the heading πόλεις ἃς οἱ ἰδιῶται ἐνέγραψαν φόρον φέρειν. It was perhaps assessed in 425/4 (*IG* I³ 71.IV.84, completely restored).

573. Haisa Map 50. Lat. 40.20, long. 23.05. Size of territory: 1? Type: A:α. The toponym is hαῖσα (*IG* I³ 278.VI.33). Apart from Steph. Byz. 54.11, there is no attestation of the city-ethnic.

Hdt. 7.123.2 mentions a *polis* Λίσαι in Krousis. Lisai is not known from any other source, and it is commonly assumed that Δίσαι is a scribal error for Αἶσα (Zahrnt (1971) 145). If so, Hdt. 7.123.2–3 calls Haisa a *polis* mainly in the urban, but probably also in the political sense (cf. Hansen (2000*a*) 175–76). In the Athenian tribute lists Haisa is recorded under the heading πόλεις ἃς οἱ ἰδιῶται ἐνέγραψαν φόρον φέρειν (*IG* I³ 278.VI.18–21, 33), where *polis* is used in the political sense.

Haisa was a member of the Delian League. However, it occurs only once in the tribute lists: *viz.* in 434/3 (*IG* I³ 278.VI.33), where it pays along with the Tindaians (no. 619), Kithas (no. 579), Smila (no. 611) and Gigonos (no. 572). They pay 3,000 dr. altogether. The toponym is completely restored in the assessment decree of 425/4 (*IG* I³ 71.IV.85), but the amount (3,000 dr.) is legible. Haisa may have been listed in the assessment decree of 422/1 (the heading in *IG* I³ 77.V.41–42 is restored [*πόλε*]*ς* [*Κροσσί*]*δος*).

Excavations at Nea Kallikrateia have revealed potsherds from the early Iron Age and the Geometric period (*ArchDelt* 31 (1976) *Chron.* 247), and remains of a C5 settlement (*ArchDelt* 29 (1973–74) *Chron.* 697, 677–78). According to the excavators, the site is a colony of at least C8l. It was occupied until the beginning of Christian times. The site has not yet been positively identified with Haisa (*ArchDelt* 32 (1977) *Chron.* 202). Additional finds (C5 graves) are mentioned in *ArchDelt* 33 (1978) *Chron.* 236, 34 (1979) *Chron.* 279.

574. Istasos Map 51. Unlocated. Type: C:? The toponym is *Ἴστασος* (*IG* I³ 77.V.16). Istasos may have been a member of the Delian League. In 422/1 it was assessed at 500 dr. (*IG* I³ 77.V.16), but is unattested in the tribute lists. The editors of the Athenian tribute lists (*ATL* i. 538) identify Istasos with Pistasos (s.v.).

575. Kalindoia Map 50. Lat. 40.35, long. 23.20. Size of territory: ? Type: [A]:*α*. The toponym is *Καλίνδοια* (*IG* I³ 76.45 = Tod 68 (422); *IG* IV².1 94.I.b.13 (360/59)); Steph. Byz. 75.7 gives *Ἀλίνδοια*. Apart from Steph. Byz. 75.8, there is no attestation of the city-ethnic. Kalindoia is listed under the heading *αἵδε πόλεις* in a treaty of *c.*422 (*IG* I³ 76.44, 45), where *polis* is used in the political sense.

Kalindoia was situated in northern Bottike, perhaps on the border with Mygdonia, but it was clearly a Bottiaian *polis* (Flensted-Jensen (1995) 112–15). *C.*422 the Bottiaians entered into an alliance with the Athenians (Tod 68 = *IG* I³ 76). The same inscription seems to show that the Bottiaians had formed a confederacy at that time (Flensted-Jensen (1995) 126–28). If they had, Kalindoia must have been one of the members (cf. Tod 68.46).

Kalindoia is recorded in the Epidaurian list of *theorodokoi* of 360/59 (*IG* IV².1 94 I.b.13). The name of the *theorodokos* was *Παυσανίας*, who was probably the pretender to the Makedonian throne in 368/7 (Aeschin. 2.27) and in 360/59 (Diod. 16.2.6). He may also be the Pausanias who issued his own coins (M. C. J. Miller (1986)). In 323 Kalindoia and three neighbouring territories were given to the Makedonians by Alexander (*SEG* 36 626.4–8).

At modern Kalamoto (possibly the site of Kalindoia) pottery from the Classical through the Roman periods has been found, along with seven pits containing Archaic sherds (Sismanides and Keramaris (1992)).

576. Kamakai Map 50. Unlocated. Type: A:? The toponym is *Καμακαί* (*IG* I³ 285.III.11 (C5)) or [*Κ*]*εμακαί* (*IG* I³ 76.47 = Tod 68.48 (422)). The city-ethnic is not recorded in any source. Kamakai is listed under the heading *αἵδε πόλεις* in a treaty of *c.*422 (*IG* I³ 76.44, 47), where *polis* is used in the political sense.

Kamakai was a Bottiaian *polis* situated in the vicinity of Kalindoia, i.e. probably in northern Bottike (Flensted-Jensen (1995) 116–17). The name of its territory was *Καμακαία* (*SEG* 36 626.9). *C.*422 the Bottiaians entered into an alliance with the Athenians (Tod 68 = *IG* I³ 76). The same inscription seems to show that the Bottiaians had formed a confederacy at that time (Flensted-Jensen (1995) 126–28). If so, Kamakai must have been one of the members (cf. Tod 68.48). Its territory was given to the Makedonians in 323/2 by Alexander (*SEG* 36 626.4–8).

Kamakai was a member of the Delian League; it belonged to the Thracian district, but it is recorded only once in the tribute lists, namely in 421/20 (*IG* I³ 285.III.11), paying only 600 dr. About the same time the Bottiaians had probably formed a confederacy of which Kamakai was a member (*IG* I³ 76).

577. Kampsa Map 50. Unlocated. Type: A:*α*? The toponym is *Κάμψα* (Hdt. 7.123.2) or *Κάψα* (Steph. Byz. 370.18). *KA* is the legend on coins of C5e (Head, *HN*² 212) and may represent the city-ethnic **Καμψαῖος* or **Καψαῖος*, the latter being the city-ethnic suggested by Steph. Byz. 370.19. Hdt. 7.123.2–3 calls Kampsa a *polis* mainly in the urban sense, but probably in the political sense too (cf. Hansen (2000*a*) 175–76).

Kampsa was located in Krousis (Hdt. 7.123.2). Some scholars have argued that the Skapsaians recorded in the Athenian tribute lists are the inhabitants of Kampsa (Zahrnt (1971) 232, followed by *Barr.*).

Kampsa may have struck silver coins before 480 (on the attribution to Kampsa, see Flensted-Jensen (1997) 122–25). Denomination: tetrobols. Types: *obv.* ithyphallic ass and kylix; *rev.* mill-sail pattern and *KA* in two of four triangles (Head, *HN*² 212; Gaebler (1935) 66–67; *SNG Cop. Macedonia* 146). For the type, see Wroth (1900) 275–76). The reverse punch is the same as that used for some of the coins of Mende (Gaebler (1935) 66–67). Likewise, an ithyphallic ass is also depicted on the earliest coins of Mende, though it is not the same die.

578. Kissos (Kisseites) Unlocated. Type: C:α? The toponym is *Κισσός* (Strabo 7 frr. 21, 24). The city-ethnic is *Κισσείτης* (*SEG* 40 542.14 (C4)). The only literary source to mention Kissos is Strabo, who says (frr. 21, 24) that Kassandros founded Thessalonike by synoecising Kissos and other *polismata* and *polichnia* respectively. However, the city-ethnic is known from an inscription (*SEG* 40 542) which can be dated either to *c.*350 and assigned to north-western Chalkidike (Hatzopoulou and Loukopoulou (1992) 123–45), or to 294/3 and assigned to south-eastern Chalkidike (Vokotopoulou (1996)). The inscription concerns the boundaries of various communities.

An ancient settlement at the top of Mt. Chortiatis in north-western Chalkidike has been investigated by Bakalakis (1956). It consists of a circuit wall (250 × 40 m) with remains of houses. The pottery found at the settlement dates it to C4. Hammond thinks that this must be ancient Kissos (Hammond (1972) 187; cf. Edson (1947) 89).

579. Kithas Map 50. Lat. 40.25, long. 23.05. Size of territory: ? Type: A:? Only the toponym *Κίθας* is known, from an Athenian tribute list in which Kithas is recorded under the heading *πόλεις ἃς οἱ ἰδιῶται ἐνέγραψαν φόρον φέρειν* (*IG* I³ 278.VI.18–21, 30), where *polis* is used in the political sense. Kithas may have been a Bottiaian *polis* (Flensted-Jensen (1995) 123–24).

Kithas was a member of the Delian League. However, it is recorded only once in the tribute lists, in 434/3 (*IG* I³ 278.VI.30), paying 3,000 dr. along with the Tindaians (no. 619), Smila (no. 611), Gigonos (no. 572) and Haisa (no. 573). The toponym is completely restored (but the amount is legible) in the assessment decree of 425/4 (*IG* I³ 71.IV.83).

580. Kleonai Map 51. Lat. 40.10, long. 24.15. Size of territory: 1 or 2. Type: A:β. The toponym is *Κλεωναί, αἱ* (Hdt. 7.22.3; *IG* I³ 278.VI.23 (C5)). Hdt. 7.22.3 and Ps.-Skylax 66 (cf. Flensted-Jensen and Hansen (1996) 142) call Kleonai a *polis* in the urban sense, whereas Thuc. 4.109.3–5 probably uses *polis* in the political sense, using *polisma* about the settlement. In the Athenian tribute lists Kleonai is twice recorded under the heading *πόλεις* (*IG* I³ 278.VI.18–21, 23 and 279.II.89–92, 93). Hdt. 7.22.3 locates it on Athos.

Kleonai was a member of the Delian League. It is recorded four times, in 434/3 (*IG* I³ 278.VI.23), 433/2 (279.II.93), 430/29 (281.III.62, completely restored) and 429/8 (282.II.49), always with its toponym. In 434/3 and 433/2 it is listed under the heading *πόλεις ἃς οἱ ἰδιῶται ἐνέγραψαν φόρον φέρειν* (*IG* I³ 278.VI.23, 279.II.93), in 430/29 (*IG* I³ 281.III.62) under the heading *ταῖσδε ἡ βουλὴ καὶ οἱ πεντακόσιοι καὶ χίλιοι ἔταξαν* (but here the name is completely, and the amount partly, restored), and in 429/8 under the heading *ταῖσδε βουλὴ σὺν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ ἔταξαν* (*IG* I³ 282.II.49; the amount is completely, and the name partly, restored; it seems plausible, however, that *Κ*[..]*ον*[..] should be restored *Κ*[*λε*]*ον*[*αί*]). Kleonai paid 500 dr. in all four years. The editors of the Athenian tribute lists have suggested that the *poleis* listed after the headings *αὐταί* and *ἰδιῶται* were either cases of *apotaxis* or they were isolated or peripheral towns that had not been members of the Delian League (*ATL* i. 455). If Kleonai was a case of *apotaxis*, we must assume that it had previously paid along with one of the *poleis* in its immediate vicinity—for instance Thyssos (no. 618), Dion (no. 569) or Olophyxos (no. 587)—and we could reasonably (albeit not necessarily) have expected the payments by these towns to be lower in 434. But there are no such changes in the payments of Thyssos, Dion or Olophyxos, so it is equally likely that Kleonai belongs to the group of *poleis* which were isolated and peripheral. The year 434/3 was probably the first year of a new assessment period, but Kleonai was not assessed by the normal procedure: it was added to the list of those already assessed. The same thing happened in the following year (433/2), but in 430/29 it was assessed by the *boule* and a court of 1,500. The editors of the tribute lists interpret this as a sanctioning of Kleonai's assessment (*ATL* i. 457). In 424/3 it joined Brasidas (Thuc. 4.109.4), but in 422/1 it was assessed at 100 dr. (*IG* I³ 77.V.14).

According to Aristotle (Heracl. Lemb. 62), Kleonai was colonised by Chalkidians from Elymnios (in Euboia = no. 365; see Bakhuizen (1976) 15), whereas Strabo (7 fr. 35) says that Pelasgians from Lemnos settled the five *poleis* on Athos. Thuc. 4.109.3 says that Kleonai had a mixed bilingual (i.e. Hellenic–barbarian) population, but about a century later Ps.-Skylax 66 calls it a *polis Hellenis* (Flensted-Jensen and Hansen (1996) 151).

581. Kombreia Map 50. Unlocated. Type: A:? The toponym is *Κώμβρεια* (Hdt. 7.123.2). Kinch (1894) 152 has suggested that the ending *-βρεια* is the Thracian word *βρια* (meaning "town") found in, e.g., Selymbria (see Detschew (1957) s.v. -bria), and some MSS do in fact have *Κωμβρία*. The city-ethnic is *Κομβρεάτης* (*SEG* 38 681.14, an ephebic inscription of the first century AD; see Papazoglou (1988) 419). It is significant that the city-ethnic occurs several centuries later than the latest reference to the town. This may mean that the town existed from *c.*500 until the first century AD, but it may also mean that the (former) city-ethnic was

used as a name, just as the city-ethnic *Ὀλύνθιος* is attested long after the city Olynthos was destroyed (s.v. Olynthos).

Hdt. 7.123.2–3 calls Kombreia a *polis* mainly in the urban sense, but probably in the political sense too (cf. Hansen (2000*a*) 175–76). Kombreia was situated in Krousis and provided Xerxes with troops in 480 (Hdt. 7.123.2).

582. Lipaxos Map 50. Unlocated. Type: A:? The toponym is *Λίπαξος* (Hdt. 7.123.2). Apart from Steph. Byz. 418.7, the city-ethnic is not attested. Hecat. fr. 149 (*apud* Steph. Byz. 418.7) mentioned Lipaxos, but it is not clear whether he also called it a *polis* (cf. Hansen (1997*b*)). Hdt. 7.123.2–3 calls Lipaxos a *polis* mainly in the urban sense, but probably in the political sense too (cf. Hansen (2000*a*) 175–76). Hdt. 7.123.2 locates Lipaxos in Krousis and says that it supplied Xerxes with troops in 480.

583. Mekyberna (Mekybernaios) Map 50. Lat. 40.15, long. 23.25. Size of territory: 1 or 2. Type: A:*α*. The toponym is *Μηκύβερνα, ἡ* (Hdt. 7.122; Harp. *M*31) or *Μηκύπερνα* (Strabo 7 fr. 29). The city-ethnic is *Μηκυβερναῖος* (Thuc. 5.18.6) or *Μεκυπερναῖος* (*IG* I³ 263.III.15; cf. Strabo 7 fr. 29, who gives the corresponding toponym).

Mekyberna is called a *polis* in the urban sense by Ps.-Skylax 66 (Flensted-Jensen and Hansen (1996) 142) and in the urban and political senses combined by Hdt. 7.122. At Thuc. 5.18.6 (Peace of Nikias) the territorial sense is a connotation. The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested externally in the Athenian tribute lists (e.g. *IG* I³ 263.III.15).

Hdt. 7.122 locates Mekyberna between Sermylia (no. 604) and Olynthos (no. 588) on Sithonia. According to Harp. *M*31, it was located 20 stades (3.6 km) from Olynthos, and excavations confirm this (Mylonas (1943) 78).

It is not known who founded Mekyberna or when it was founded. The earliest attestation of Mekyberna is in Hecat. fr. 150; but the settlement identified with Mekyberna goes back to the early Archaic period (*infra*). Mekyberna supplied troops and ships to Xerxes in 480 (Hdt. 7.122).

Mekyberna was a member of the Delian League. It belonged to the Thracian district and is recorded in the tribute lists from 454/3 (*IG* I³ 259.V.10), in which year it formed a syntelic group along with Stolos (no. 614) and the Polichnitans (no. 596). It is recorded for the last time in the list of 433/2 (*IG* I³ 279.II.46), which probably means that it took part in the Revolt of 432 (Thuc. 1.58). It was assessed for tribute in 422/1 (*IG* I³ 77.V.23, 10 dr.). Mekyberna is recorded in the tribute lists sixteen times, twice completely restored, paying 1 tal. in 450/49 (*IG* I³ 263.III.15) and in 447/6 (*IG* I³ 265.I.12), 4,000 dr. from 446/5 (*IG* I³ 266.II.23) to 440/39 (*IG* I³ 272.II.45), and 1 tal. again from 436/5 (*IG* I³ 277.V.19) to 433/2 (*IG* I³ 279.II.46).

According to the Peace of Nikias (Thuc. 5.18.6), the Mekybernaians, the Sanians (no. 600) and the Singaians (no. 605) were to live in their own *poleis* (*οἰκεῖν τὰς πόλεις τὰς ἑαυτῶν*)—many take this to mean that Mekyberna had taken part in the synoecism of Olynthos in 432 (in which connection it was probably razed; cf. the wording of Thuc. 1.58.2: *πόλεις . . . καταβαλόντας* and *καθαιροῦντες τὰς πόλεις*) and was now to be re-established as a *polis* (Demand (1990) 76–77). Mekyberna was garrisoned by the Athenians, but in 420 it was captured by the Olynthians (Thuc. 5.39.1; cf. Diod. 12.77.5). In 349, before attacking Olynthos, Philip captured Mekyberna by treachery (Diod. 16.53.2). Robinson (Robinson and Clement (1938) 373–74; cf. Robinson (1952) 403) thinks that the city was not destroyed by Philip, and that it was still inhabited in Alexander's time (down to Kassandros). Ps.-Skymnos 641 refers to it as no longer in existence.

Strabo (7 fr. 29) calls Mekyberna *epineion Olynthou*, which may be insignificant, but an underwater survey has shown that it is very likely that Mekyberna was actually the harbour town of Olynthos (*AAA* 21 (1988) 102–1; see also Mylonas (1943) 78). The ancient site near the harbour dates to the period 432–316.

During the excavations of Olynthos, Robinson (1935) 229–31 found "the Hippodamian plan of the town [Mekyberna]", along with shops and houses. Seven streets have been found, unpaved and *c.*2.5 m wide (Mylonas (1943) 82). The houses differ very much in size, layout, etc. from those excavated at Olynthos (ibid. 84). Contrary to what has been found at Olynthos, there were no drainage alleys at Mekyberna (ibid.). The settlement goes back to the early Archaic period (ibid. 86).

584. Mende (Mendaios) Map 51. Lat. 40.00, long. 23.25. Size of territory: 2. Type: A:*α*. The toponym is *Μένδη, ἡ* (Hdt. 7.123.1; Thuc. 4.121.2) or *Μένδα* (*IG* IV².1 94.I.b.26 (360/59)). The city-ethnic is *Μενδαῖος* (*SEG* 13 313 (C4)). On Archaic coins it is sometimes *MINΔAON* or *MINΔAION* (Gaebler (1935) 73–74). Mende is attested as a *polis* both in the urban sense (Thuc. 4.129.3) and in the political sense (Thuc. 4.121.2; Arist. *Oec.* 1350ᵃ8, 14); in Ps.-Skylax 66 Mende is the second of the toponyms listed after the heading *πόλεις αἵδε ἐν τῇ Παλλήνῃ Ἑλληνίδες*, where *polis* is used in the urban sense. The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally on coins of C5f (*infra*) and externally in the Athenian tribute lists (e.g. *IG* I³ 270.III.20) and in

literary sources (Thuc. 4.123.2; Arist. *Oec.* 1350ª6). The individual use of the city-ethnic is attested externally on a C4m Megarian gravestone (*SEG* 13 313) and in Plato's reference to Ἀντίμοιρος ὁ Μενδαῖος (*Prt.* 315E).

The territory, called γῆ, is mentioned by Thuc. 4.130.2, who says that it bordered on that of Skione (no. 609) and was ravaged by Nikias. Hdt. 7.123.1 locates Mende on Pallene between Skione and Sane (no. 601) (cf. Ps.-Skylax 66). About 4 km from Mende, on a promontory, a sanctuary of Poseidon was found in 1989, with building remains of C6l–C5 and pottery of C6e (Vokotopoulou (1989), (1990*a*), (1991)). It is probably identical with the Ποσειδώνιον situated in the territory of Mende (Thuc. 4.129.3).

No literary source gives the date of the colonisation of Mende, but according to the sources the site was a colony from Eretria (Thuc. 4.123.1; cf. Harp. s.v. Μένδη). This is supported by the archaeological remains: the late Mycenaean and early Geometric pottery found at the site of ancient Mende is similar to that found at Lefkandi (*ArchDelt* 42 (1987) *Chron.* 368–69, *pace* Papadopoulos (1996)). Furthermore, peculiar stone-paved circles (diameter 1.80 m), similar to those found at Lefkandi, have been found inside house *H*, which dates to C8, along with pendant semicircle skyphoi (*ArchDelt* 45 (1990) *Chron.* 315 and fig. 141a; Vokotopoulou (1990*a*)). Most scholars think that Mende was founded in C8 (Boardman (1980) 229). However, it seems that the site of Mende was occupied long before the colonisation took place, and that it had links with Euboia from a very early period. For interpretations of the finds, see Snodgrass (1994) and Papadopoulos (1996) 163–65.

According to Hdt. 7.123.1, Mende supplied troops and ships to Xerxes in 480. Mende was a member of the Delian League. It belonged to the Thracian district and is recorded in the tribute lists from 454/3 (*IG* I³ 259.III.15) to 415/14 (*IG* I³ 290.III.10) a total of nineteen times, paying between 5 tal. (*IG* I³ 268.III.5) and 15 tal. (*IG* I³ 259.III.15), but mostly 8 tal. (*IG* I³ 262.I.7). In 423 Mende joined Brasidas, even though Athens and Sparta had already concluded an armistice (Thuc. 4.123; cf. Diod. 12.72.7). The uprising was instigated by an oligarchic faction which seems to have forced the majority to accept the defection (Thuc. 4.123.2, cf. 4.121.2); an oligarchic constitution was adopted (4.130.7); a Peloponnesian garrison was placed in the city; and Brasidas had the women and children sent to Olynthos (no. 588) (Thuc. 4.123.4). The Athenians sent a force of 50 triremes, 1,000 hoplites and a higher number of light-armed soldiers against Mende (4.129.2). They took the *proasteion*, ravaged the territory, and eventually captured the city, when the Mendaian *demos* took up arms against the oligarchs and the Peloponnesian garrison and opened the gates (Thuc. 4.129–30). Having arranged a siege of the oligarchs and the Peloponnesians (4.131.3), who made a last stand on the acropolis, the Athenians left a garrison in Mende, ordering that the Mendaians restore their (democratic) constitution and prosecute the leaders of the Revolt (Thuc. 4.130.7; Gehrke, *Stasis* 111–12).

From the treaty of the 380s between Amyntas III and the Chalkidians, it appears that the Mendaians were enemies of the Chalkidians (*Syll.*³ 135.19 = Tod 111), and Mende is known to have been at war with Olynthos at some point in C4 (Arist. *Oec.* 1350ª11–14). Mende was probably not destroyed by Philip, but it may have lost its *polis* status. It is called a *vicus maritimus* of Kassandreia *c.*200 (Livy 31.45.14).

In C4e Theotimides, a citizen of Mende was granted *proxenia* by Elis (no. 251) (*SEG* 15 241). About the same time, perhaps a little earlier, some Mendaians were granted *proxenia* in Delphi (no. 177) (*SEG* 31 557; *BCH* 105 (1981) 433–40). Mende is recorded in the Epidaurian list of *theorodokoi* of 360/59 (*IG* IV².1 94.I.b.26).

Thuc. 4.130.6–7 and 131.3 mentions that Mende had a fortified acropolis. A Geometric wall surrounding the presumed acropolis of Mende has been found (*AR* (1992–93) 54). Thucydides also mentions the walls (4.130.3) and gates (4.130.2, 5) of Mende, along with the *proasteion* (4.130.1). The harbours of Mende are mentioned at Arist. *Oec.* 1350ª6. Excavations at Mende have revealed various remains: a destruction layer from C4m can perhaps be connected with the Makedonian invasion in 356 or 348 (*ArchDelt* 41 (1986) *Chron.* 148). Pits (probably used for storage) filled with debris from the Mycenaean to the Geometric periods show that the site of Mende was inhabited from an early period (*ArchDelt* 41 (1986) *Chron.* 149). Two houses have been excavated in the *proasteion*, which seems to have been occupied continuously from C8 to C4 (*ArchDelt* 41 (1986) *Chron.* 147, 42 (1987) *Chron.* 369). Underneath house *Θ* (C8m) were found six more habitation layers, the earliest of C9m (Vokotopoulou (1990*a*)). A cemetery has been found near the coast. It was in use from C8l to C7l/C6e. By 1990, 214 graves had been found.

Mende struck silver coins on the Euboic standard *c.*500–*c.*424 and on the Phoenician standard *c.*424–*c.*358. Denominations: tetradrachms, tetrobols, obols, hemiobols, tritemorias and tetartemoria. (1) Silver, 500–450: types: *obv.* ithyphallic ass with crow on back; legend: *MEN*, *MIN*, *MINΔAON* or *MINΔAION* (sometimes no legend); *rev.* various forms of incuse square. (2) Silver, 450–424: types:

obv. Silenos and an ass; *rev.* vine with clusters of grapes; legend: *ΜΕΝΔΑΙΟΝ*. (3) Silver, 424–358: types: *obv.* Silenos, or head of Dionysos; *rev.* various types; legend: *ΜΕΝΔΑΙΟΝ*, *ΜΕΝΔΑΙΗ* or *ΜΕΝΔΑ*. (4) Bronze, C4: *obv.* Dionysos wearing ivy wreath; *rev.* amphora sometimes with ivy; legend: *ΜΕ*, *ΜΕΝ* or *ΜΕΝΔΑΙΩΝ*. (Head, *HN*² 210: minting period *c.*500–358; Gaebler (1935) 72–78: minting period C6l–C4m; *SNG Cop. Macedonia* 198–221. See also Regling (1923) and Noe (1926). For an interpretation of the types, see Knoblauch (1998)).

Mende colonised Neapolis (no. 586) (*IG* I³ 263.III.26–27), which was situated *c.*12 km from Mende on the opposite coast of Pallene, and Eion (no. 570) (Thuc. 4.7), the location of which is unknown.

585. Milkoros (Milkorios) Map 51. Unlocated. Type: [A]:? The toponym *Μίλκωρος* is known only from Steph. Byz. 453.11 quoting Theopomp. fr. 152, presumably referring to the year 347 (Shrimpton (1991) 240). The city-ethnic is *Μιλτόριος* (*IG* I³ 277.VI.31) or *Μιλκόριος* (*IG* I³ 279.II.85). In the Athenian tribute lists of 434/3 (*IG* I³ 278.VI.5–6, 9) and 433/2 (*IG* I³ 279.II.76–77, 85) the Milkorians are recorded after the heading *πόλεις αὐταὶ φόρον ταξάμεναι*. Steph. Byz. 453.11 describes Milkoros as a *Χαλκιδικὴ πόλις ἐν Θράκῃ*. He may have used Theopompos (cf. fr. 152) as a source for this information, which is ambiguous, since "Chalkidian" can refer to either (a) the geographical position of the Milkorians, (b) membership of the Chalkidian Federation, or (c) ethnic affiliation. The editors of the Athenian tribute lists state that Milkoros must be a member of the Chalkidic state but that its precise location is not known (*ATL* i. 520).

Milkoros was a member of the Delian League. It belonged to the Thracian district and is recorded three times in the tribute lists, in 435/4 (*IG* I³ 277.VI.31, *ἄτακτοι*), in 434/3 (*IG* I³ 278.VI.9) and in 433/2 (*IG* I³ 279.II.85). Some scholars believe that it took part in the Revolt of 432 (e.g. Zahrnt (1971) 205). It paid 1,000 dr. in 435/4, and 500 dr. in the following two years.

586. Neapolis (Neopolites) Map 50. Lat. 40.00, long. 23.30. Size of territory: 2. Type: A:*α*. The toponym is *Νέη Πόλις* (Hdt. 7.123.1), or *Νεάπολις* (*IG* I³ 267.II.29). The city-ethnic is *Νεοπολίτης* (*IG* I³ 259.III.28). The citizens are sometimes called *Νεοπολῖται ἐκ Παλλένες* (*IG* I³ 262.I.9–10) in order to distinguish them from the other Neopolitans in the Thasian *peraia* (see *infra* no. 634), and sometimes they are identified politically as the *Νεοπολῖται Μενδαίον ἄποικοι* (*IG* I³ 263.III.26–27) or simply the *Νεοπολῖται Μενδαίον* (*IG* I³ 281.II.13). The classification of Neapolis as a *polis* seems to follow from the toponym, but at Hdt. 7.123.1 *polis* is used explicitly about the community, in the urban and political senses simultaneously (cf. Hansen (2000*a*) 175–76). The collective city-ethnic is used externally in the Athenian tribute lists (*IG* I³ 263.III.26–27).

Neapolis was probably a colony from Mende (no. 584) (*IG* I³ 263.III.26–27). Hdt. 7.123.1 locates the city between Aphytis (no. 563) and Aige (no. 556) on Pallene and says that Neapolis supplied troops and ships to Xerxes in 480. Neapolis was a member of the Delian League. It belonged to the Thracian district and is recorded in the tribute lists from 454/3 (*IG* I³ 259.III.28) to, perhaps, 415/14 (*IG* I³ 290.III.6: in this case it is not certain whether the Neapolis listed is the Thasian Neapolis (no. 634) or Neapolis on Pallene) a total of twenty (or perhaps twenty-one) times, paying 3,000 dr. in all years (*IG* I³ 259.III.28).

A settlement of C6–C5, at modern Polychronon, has been excavated since 1987, and it has been suggested that Polychronon is ancient Neapolis (*AR* (1988–89) 73, (1989–90) 52), although it may also be Aige (Vokotopoulou (1993) 95). The following have been found at Polychronon: sherds from the Archaic and Classical periods, a C5 kiln, remains of C6 buildings, two cemeteries dating to C6l–C4m (*ArchDelt* 42 (1987) *Chron.* 369–70; Vokotopoulou (1990*b*)). The place was probably abandoned in C4s (*ArchDelt* 43 (1988) *Chron.* 364). An inscribed sherd, *c.*500, bears the word *δεμοσίε* (*SEG* 39 614; photo in Vokotopoulou *et al.* (1988) fig. 16). The ancient settlement was located on the slopes of a hill, and the houses were placed on terraces. The walls were either parallel to the terraces or vertical retaining walls (Vokotopoulou *et al.* (1989)).

587. Olophyxos (Olophyxios) Map 51. Lat. 40.20, long. 24.10. Size of territory: 1 or 2. Type: A:*β*. The toponym is *Ὀλόφυξος*, *ἡ* (Hdt. 7.22.3; schol. Ar. *Av.* 1042) or, once, *Ὀλόφυξις* (Strabo 7 fr. 33) or *Ὀλύφυξις* (Ps.-Skylax 66, emended to *Ὀλόφυξος*). The city-ethnic is *Ὀλοφύχσιος* (*IG* I³ 268.II.23; Ar. *Av.* 1041) or sometimes *Ὀλοφύχσιος ἐχς Ἄθο* (*IG* I³ 281.II.22). Hdt. 7.22.3 and Ps.-Skylax 66 (cf. Flensted-Jensen and Hansen (1996) 142) call Olophyxos a *polis* in the urban sense, whereas Thuc. 4.109.3–5 probably uses *polis* in the political sense, using *polisma* about the settlement. The collective city-ethnic is used internally on coins (*infra*) and externally in the Athenian tribute lists (*IG* I³ 268.II.23).

Olophyxos was located on Athos (Hdt. 7.22.3; Thuc. 4.109.3; *IG* I³ 281.II.22). Zahrnt (1971) 184, 208 suggests that it was situated at modern Vatopediou or Iviron (on the northern side of the peninsula).

Olophyxos was a member of the Delian League. It belonged to the Thracian district and is recorded from 454/3, paying together with Sane (no. 600) and Dion (no. 569) (*IG* I³ 259.II.25–26) and then, paying separately, until 429/8 (*IG* I³ 282.II.26) a total of sixteen times, three times completely restored, paying 2,000 dr. (*IG* I³ 262.I.26) except in 448/7, when it paid 1,500 dr. (*IG* I³ 264.II.25). In 424/3 Olophyxos revolted from Athens at the instigation of Brasidas (Thuc. 4.109.4).

Strabo says that Olophyxos and the other four *poleis* on Athos (nos. 560, 569, 580, 618) were settled by Pelasgians from Lemnos (7 fr. 35). According to Thuc. 4.109.3–4, Olophyxos had a mixed (i.e. barbarian–Hellenic) bilingual population, but about a century later it is called a <*polis*> *Hellenis* by Ps.-Skylax 66 (Flensted-Jensen and Hansen (1996) 151).

Olophyxos struck bronze coins, *c.*350. Types: *obv.* female head; *rev.* eagle; legend: ΟΛΟΦΥΞΙΩΝ (Gaebler (1935) 83–84; Head, *HN*² 206).

588. Olynthos (Olynthios) Map 50. Lat. 40.15, long. 23.25. Size of territory: 5, after 432 *c.*630 km², in C4 larger. Type: A:α. The toponym is Ὄλυνθος, ἡ (Thuc. 1.63.1; Dem. 9.56). The city-ethnic is Ὀλύνθιος (Dem. 1.7; *SEG* 21 982 (C4)). Olynthos is called a *polis* both in the urban sense (Hdt. 8.127; Thuc. 1.58.2; Dem. 9.11; Xen. *Hell.* 5.3.3; Ps.-Skylax 66; cf. Flensted-Jensen and Hansen (1996) 142), and in the political sense (Thuc. 5.18.5: Peace of Nikias; Dem. 3.7). At Thuc. 5.18.6 the territorial sense is a connotation. The collective city-ethnic is used externally in the Athenian tribute lists (*IG* I³ 271.II.50), and internally on coins (Gaebler (1935) 84 (*c.*432–420)) and sling-bullets (Robinson (1941) no. 2220) with the legend ΟΛΥΝ. The individual city-ethnic is used externally in funerary inscriptions from Attika (*SEG* 21 982 (C4l)) and Thasos (no. 526) (*IG* XII.8 434 (*c.*400)). The use of the city-ethnic is attested long after Olynthos was destroyed (*SEG* 19 595, from Thasos (C4–C3); *IG* XII.3 42, from Telos (C2); *Syll.*³ 751, from Mytilene (C1); see Gude (1933) 39–50 (a complete *Prosopographia Olynthia*) and Papazoglou (1988) 426–27). Demosthenes (1.5, 9.56) and Hypereides (Hyp. fr. 80, Sauppe) use *patris* about Olynthos, and Dem. 9.56 refers to the *politai* of Olynthos (9.56).

The name of Olynthos' territory was Ὀλυνθία (Xen. *Hell.* 5.3.18; *SEG* 38 619.11 (*c.*285); Theophr. *Caus. Pl.* 1.20.4). After the synoecism in 432 (Thuc. 1.58.2) the size of the territory was perhaps 630 km², but in the 380s it was much larger (Hoepfner and Schwandner (1994) 71).

According to Dem. 19.263, the military strength of Olynthos before the synoecism was 400 cavalry and in all some 5,000 men in service, corresponding to some 7,000 adult male citizens; see Hansen (1985) 9–13, 18–20. (Xenophon's figures for 382 (*Hell.* 5.2.14) are corrupt. Demosthenes' 1,000 horse and 10,000 foot in 348 (19.266) are the army of the Chalkidic Confederacy, not that of Olynthos.) Given the growth of Olynthos in the following period, a total of 7,000 citizens before the synoecism matches Diodorus' information that, in 357, Olynthos had a large population (16.8.4) and that, in 348, it was a *myriandros polis*: i.e. a *polis* with 10,000 citizens (32.4.2). In the period 432–380 the population living in the urban centre of Olynthos (see *infra*) was probably less than 5,000, and in 370–348 less than 10,000 (Hansen (1997*a*) 30; cf. Hoepfner and Schwandner (1994) 72).

Olynthos supplied Xerxes with troops and ships in 480 (Hdt. 7.122). Hdt. 8.127 says that Olynthos belonged to the Bottiaians before 479, and that it was handed over to the Chalkidians in 479. This is confirmed by the pottery found during the excavations of Olynthos. Above the destruction layer of 479 the sherds were Attic red-figure, but underneath the destruction layer was found pottery "that bears no resemblance to the ware produced at the same time in Attica" (Robinson (1933*b*) 15–16). In 424 Olynthos is called "Chalkidian" by Thuc. 4.123.4 (see Hornblower (1997)).

Olynthos was a member of the Delian League. It belonged to the Thracian district and is recorded from 454/3 (*IG* I³ 259.V.6, forming a syntelic group with Ass(er)a (no. 564) and the Skablaians (no. 607)) to 433/2 (*IG* I³ 279.II.45) a total of eleven times, paying 2 tal. (*IG* I³ 263.III.30). In 432 the Chalkidians (represented by Olynthos in the tribute lists) revolted from Athens, along with Poteidaia (no. 598) and the Bottiaians, at the instigation of Perdikkas, who also suggested that the Chalkidians abandon their *poleis* on the coast and create a larger and stronger city at Olynthos (Thuc. 1.57.5, 58.2; cf. Diod. 12.34.2). In the Peace of Nikias Olynthos is declared *autonomos* and liable to the tribute assessed by Aristeides (Thuc. 5.18.5).

Olynthos was the leading member of the Chalkidian Federation, which was formed some time after 432 (West (1918) 31 and Larsen (1968) 62 suggest 432; Gude (1933) 23 and Zahrnt (1971) 80ff after 400; cf. Demand (1990) 196 n. 28). It is uncertain whether the federation was formed simultaneously with the synoecism of Olynthos, or later. In official documents the name of the federation is οἱ Χαλκιδεῖς (*Syll.*³ 135.3), but in literature it is often οἱ Ὀλύνθιοι (Xen. *Hell.* 5.2.13). In the Corinthian War the Chalkidians seem to have fought on Athens' side (Isae. 5.46; Diod. 14.82.3). In the 380s the Federation evidently covered

the western part of the Chalkidic peninsula all the way to Pella (no. 543). Apollonia (no. 545) and Akanthos (no. 559) saw the Federation encroaching on their lands and sent envoys to Sparta to ask for help against it (Xen. *Hell.* 5.2.11ff). This resulted in the so-called Olynthian War, after which the Chalkidians had to surrender to the Spartans (Xen. 5.3.1–10, 18–19, 26; Diod. 15.19.3, 21.1–23.3; siege mentioned by Isoc. 4.126; Diod. 15.23.3 with Stylianou (1998) 209–26). The Federation was suppressed or dissolved, but formed again shortly after: the Chalkidians are listed as members of the Second Athenian Naval League (*IG* II² 43.B.5–6; cf. Dreher (1995) 186–87). The original members of the Chalkidian Federation are not known, but possible candidates are Ass(er)a (no. 564), Gale(psos) (no. 571), Mekyberna (no. 583), Milkoros (no. 585), Piloros (no. 593), Singos (no. 605), Skablaioi (no. 607) and Stolos (no. 614). In 356 Philip II concluded an alliance with the Chalkidic Federation (Tod 158) whereby Poteidaia (no. 598), when conquered, and Anthemous (no. 562) were ceded to Olynthos (Dem. 2.7, 20; 6.20, 23.107; Diod. 16.8.3–5). But in 349 the Olynthians concluded an alliance with Athens (Dem. 1 and 2; Philoch. fr. 49). Philip attacked Olynthos, won two battles and laid siege to the city. The Athenians sent three auxiliary forces; but in August 348, Olynthos was betrayed to Philip by the leaders of its cavalry (Dem. 9.11, 19.263–67; Diod. 16.53.2; Philoch. frr. 49–51; *Suda* *K*356; see Hammond and Griffith (1979) 324 n.1).

Olynthos experienced *andrapodismos* twice, in 479 and in 348: when in 479 the Olynthians were suspected of revolting against the Persians, the inhabitants were killed and the city given to the Chalkidians (Hdt. 8.127). The town was probably burnt (Robinson (1933*b*) 15). The city was synoecised in 432, when the coastal *poleis* in the neighbourhood of Olynthos were abandoned and the inhabitants moved to Olynthos (Thuc. 1.58; Moggi, *Sin.* 173–88), thus causing the formerly small town to be enlarged (Hoepfner and Schwandner (1994) 74–76 fig. 55). In the years after 379 the urban centre of Olynthos was considerably enlarged (ibid. 92), presumably the result of a new *synoikismos* by which more Chalkidians were moved to Olynthos (Dem. 19.263). Xenophon calls Olynthos "the largest *polis* of Thrace" (*Hell.* 5.2.12). In 348 the city was completely destroyed by Philip (Dem. 9.26, 9.56; Hyp. fr. 80, Sauppe), and the inhabitants suffered *andrapodismos* once more (Diod. 16.53.3), although some of them evidently managed to flee, e.g. to Lemnian Myrina (no. 502) (*IG* XII.8 4). Diod. 19.52.2 (r316) mentions surviving Olynthians too. According to Theophrastos (*apud* Harp. 162.10–11), the Olynthians living in Athens after the destruction of Olynthos were *isoteleis*. Even though it seems clear that Olynthos was razed to the ground in 348, it must have been refounded, though not necessarily as a *polis*: a couple are recorded as living ἐν Ὀλύνθῳ in the imperial period (*SEG* 38 625), and Hatzopoulos (1988*b*) 64–65 argues that Olynthos was a *kome* of Kassandreia at that time.

The character of the Olynthian constitution is unknown: some scholars think that Olynthos was an oligarchy (Zahrnt (1971) 94; Larsen (1968) 58ff, esp. 76), whereas others argue that it was a democracy (Gehrke, *Stasis* 124). Theopomp. fr. 143 mentions the *boule*, and Xen. *Hell.* 5.2.17 a popular assembly (*demos*) whose decisions are described as *psephismata* (5.2.15). Dem. 9.56 reports how the assembly (ὁ δῆμος ὁ τῶν Ὀλυνθίων) imposed a sentence of exile. Not much is known about Olynthian officials; but *hipparchoi* are known to have been elected by show of hands (Dem. 9.66). Olynthos is recorded in the Epidaurian list of *theorodokoi* of 360/59 (*IG* IV².1 94.I.b.14). Olynthos is sometimes thought to represent the Chalkidian Federation in the list (e.g. Zahrnt (1971) 103). Hegias of Olynthos was granted citizenship by Ephesos (no. 844) in C4l/C3e (*SEG* 39 1156).

Olynthos was excavated in the 1930s. The town was situated on a table-shaped hill, about 3.5 km from the coast. Down to *c.*432 Olynthos was a relatively small town (it probably covered *c.*6 ha: Hoepfner and Schwandner (1994) 74), occupying the southern part of the elevation on which the city was built. In 432 the city was greatly enlarged (to cover *c.*27 ha) and during the first 20 years of C4 it was enlarged once more: this time houses were built outside the city walls (ibid. 76–91 figs. 55 and 56). The old part of the city did not have a grid plan, but the new town was laid out in rectangular fashion in blocks of up to ten houses of the so-called *pastas* type (ibid. 34–38 and figs. 23 and 24; Wycherley (1976) 187–92). The elevation on which Olynthos was situated is about 600 m long, and runs almost exactly north–south. Nearly the whole north hill is divided into sections by streets (Robinson and Graham (1938) 18ff). On the urban organisation of Olynthos, see also Cahill (2002).

Not many public buildings have been identified, exceptions being the agora (Hoepfner and Schwandner (1994) 78), along with a C5l *bouleuterion* (Gneisz (1990) 341, no. 48 (C5l)) and a public building that has been variously identified as a *prytaneion* (ibid. 342, no. 49 (C5e)) or a *bouleuterion* (S. G. Miller (1978) 131–32). The south room accommodated *c.*250 persons (McDonald (1943) 236), which indicates that it may have been a *dikasterion*.

The city walls of Olynthos are mentioned by Thuc. 1.63.2 and Xen. *Hell.* 5.3.5, who also mentions towers. However,

hardly anything is left. The city walls were built of mudbrick, mostly on a rubble foundation. No sherds or any other evidence useful for dating the wall have been found (Robinson and Graham (1938) 39–44).

There are a few remains of a free-standing fountain house with an underground aqueduct made of terracotta pipes. It is one of the best-preserved Greek aqueducts. Robinson argues that it was completed before 400, or perhaps even before 420, and that the source of the aqueduct was at modern Polygyros, about 15 km to the north-east of Olynthos (Robinson (1946) 95–114; on the water management, see Crouch (1993) 171–76).

Remains of what may have been an Archaic temple (destroyed in 479) have been found (Robinson (1930) 16–17). The excavations at Olynthos brought to light not only vases, mosaics, etc., but also more curious things, such as ear-picks, tweezers and fish-hooks (Robinson (1941) 354–55, 355–56, 365–74). At least eight Panathenaic vases have been identified, indicating that Olynthians must have participated and been victorious in the Panathenaic Games (Robinson (1933*b*) 87–90 nos. 97–100, (1950) 9, 59–66 nos. 11–14).

Around the city were three cemeteries (Robinson (1942)). The largest is the so-called Riverside cemetery, containing 528 graves, the cemeteries to the east and north being much smaller. There were altogether 598 graves. The Riverside cemetery is the earliest of the three, although no grave can be dated earlier than C6l. Graves in the eastern cemetery date to C5l, and those in the northern one to C4f (ibid. 137).

Six month names are known, principally from C4m deeds of sale (Hatzopoulos (1988*a*) 65–66, 80), attesting to a clear affinity between the Olynthian calendar and that of the Euboian cities (Trümpy, *Monat.* 42–43).

Olynthos started striking silver coins on the Phoenician standard *c.*433. Denominations: tetradrachms, octobols, tetrobols and diobols. Types: *obv.* horse; *rev.* eagle holding snake; legend: *ΟΛ* or *ΟΛΥΝ*. From 432, or perhaps later, down to 348, the coins have *obv.* head of Apollo; *rev.* a kithara; legend: *ΧΑΛΚΙΔΕΩΝ*. Some have magistrates' names on *rev.* The Chalkidians also struck gold and bronze coins in C4 (Head, *HN*² 207; Gaebler (1935) 84–89; Robinson and Clement (1938) 1–210; Westermark (1988); *SNG Cop. Macedonia* 233–49). Some C5f coins inscribed *ΧΑΛΚ* must be attributed to Chalkis (*LSAG* 82–83, 364), rather than to Olynthos (no. 365) (Head, *HN*² 207).

589. (Osbaioi) Map 50. Unlocated. Type: C:? Only the city-ethnic is known: *Ὀσβαῖος* (*SEG* 40 534 (*c.*400)). The individual city-ethnic is used externally on a gravestone from Beroia (*SEG* 40 534), and the collective city-ethnic is used externally(?) in an inscription concerning borders (*SEG* 40 542.26, 32). There is some dispute as to the provenance and date of this inscription. Vokotopoulou (1996) assigns it to south-eastern Chalkidike and dates it to 294/3, whereas Hatzopoulos and Loukopoulou (1992) 123–45 assign it to north-western Chalkidike and date it to *c.*350. Since the ethnic is known exclusively from these two inscriptions, there is no way of telling whether *Osbaios* is a sub-ethnic, a city-ethnic or a regional ethnic (for these distinctions, see Hansen (1996) esp. 182–90), although Hatzopoulos (1996*a*) 202 seems certain that it is a city-ethnic.

590. Othoros (Othorios) Map 51. Unlocated. Type: [A]:? The toponym is *Ὄθορος* (*IG* I³ 278.VI.35). The city-ethnic is *Ὀθόριος* (*IG* I³ 269.III.27). In the Athenian tribute list of 434/3 Othoros is recorded after the heading *πόλεις ἃς οἱ ἰδιῶται ἐνέγραψαν φόρον φέρειν* (*IG* I³ 278.VI.18–21, 35). The location of Othoros is not known. It disappears from the tribute lists in 434/3, which indicates that Othoros took part in the Revolt of 432 (Thuc. 1.58) and was, therefore, situated somewhere on the Chalkidic peninsula (see Edson (1947) 99). However, the editors of the Athenian tribute lists think it may have been situated near Methone (*ATL* i. 489).

Othoros was a member of the Delian League. It belonged to the Thracian district and is recorded in the tribute lists from 448/7 (*IG* I³ 264.II.18) to 434/3 (*IG* I³ 278.VI.35) a total of nine times, three times completely restored. It is recorded once by toponym (*IG* I³ 278.VI.35), and otherwise by city-ethnic, paying between 500 (*IG* I³ 278.VI.35) and 700 dr. (*IG* I³ 269.III.27). In 435/4 the Othorians are recorded as *ataktoi* (*IG* I³ 277.VI.24). In 422/1 Othoros was assessed for tribute of 1,000 dr. (*IG* I³ 77.V.15). Othoros is not known from any other source.

591. Pharbelos (Pharbelios) Map 51. Unlocated. Type: [A]:? The toponym is *Φάρβηλος* (*IG* I³ 268.II.24; Steph. Byz. 658.15). The city-ethnic is *Φαρβέλιος* (*IG* I³ 268.II.24). In the Athenian tribute lists of 434/3 (*IG* I³ 278.VI.5–6, 15) and 433/2 (*IG* I³ 279.II.76–77, 86) the Pharbelians are recorded after the heading *πόλες αὐταὶ ταχσάμεναι*.

The Pharbelians were members of the Delian League. They belonged to the Thracian district and are recorded from 454/3 (*IG* I³ 259.I.15) to 433/2 (*IG* I³ 279.II.86) a total of fourteen times, once completely restored, paying 1,000 dr. from 454/3 to 435/4, but only 500 dr. in the two following years (*IG* I³ 278.VI.15, 279.II.86). They were assessed for

tribute in 422/1 (*IG* I³ 77.v.19), 500 dr. The fact that the Pharbelians did not pay tribute after 432 may indicate that they took part in the Revolt of 432 (Thuc. 1.58.2), and also that they lived in the Chalkidic peninsula (*ATL* i. 560).

Steph. Byz. 658.15 calls Pharbelos a *polis Eretrieon*. Zahrnt (1971) 251 thinks that the Pharbelos mentioned by Stephanos must be a locality in Euboia and different from Pharbelos in the Chalkidic peninsula. However, Knoepfler (1997) 358 argues that Pharbelos was a colony in Chalkidike funded by Eretrians.

592. (Phegontioi) Map 50. Unlocated. Type: B:? Only the city-ethnic is known: *Φεγέτιος* (*IG* I³ 263.III.18), *Φεγέντιος* (*IG* I³ 268.III.9) or *Φεγόντιος* (*IG* I³ 267.II.27), all three variants known from the Athenian tribute lists. The singular of the city-ethnic (*Φε*[*γόντιον*]) was restored in *SEG* 10 53 (*c.*430) but not adopted in *IG* I³ 159. Since the Phegetians disappear from the tribute lists after 432, it is possible that they revolted along with Poteidaia (no. 598), the Bottiaians and the Chalkidians in that year (Thuc. 1.58), and therefore, that they lived somewhere on the Chalkidic peninsula, but it cannot be determined with any certainty.

The Phegetians were members of the Delian League. They belonged to the Thracian district and are recorded from 451/0 (*IG* I³ 262.III.29) to 433/2 (*IG* I³ 279.II.63) a total of thirteen times, paying 1,600 dr. from 451/0 (*IG* I³ 262.III.29) to 447/6 (*IG* I³ 265.I.47) and thereafter 1,000 dr. (*IG* I³ 266.II.33). The fact that the Phegontians did not pay tribute after 432 may indicate that they took part in the Revolt of 432 (Thuc. 1.58.2).

593. Piloros Map 51. Lat. 40.20, long. 23.45. Size of territory: 1 or 2. Type: A: *α*? The toponym is *Πίλωρος* (Hdt. 7.122; *IG* I³ 278.VI.22). Apart from Steph. Byz. 523.12, there is no attestation of a city-ethnic. At Hdt. 7.122 Piloros is twice called a *polis*, first in the urban and then in the political sense.

It was a member of the Delian League, but it is listed only once, in 434/3 (*IG* I³ 278.VI.22), under the heading *πόλεις ἃς οἱ ἰδιῶται ἐνέγραψαν φόρον φέρειν* (18–21, where *polis* is used in the political sense), paying 600 dr. Herodotos locates it in the bay of Singos along with Ass(er)a (no. 564), Singos (no. 605) and Sarte (no. 602). Piloros supplied Xerxes with troops in 480 (Hdt. 7.122.1).

594. Pistasos Map 51. Unlocated. Type: [A]:? The toponym is *Πίστασος* (*IG* I³ 278.VI.27). Pistasos was a member of the Delian League, but it is recorded only once: *viz.* in 434/3 under the heading *πόλεις ἃς οἱ ἰδιῶται ἐνέγραψαν φόρον φέρειν* (*IG* I³ 278.VI.19–21, 27, where *polis* is used in the political sense), paying 500 dr. In *ATL* i. 538 Pistasos is identified with Istasos, listed in the Thracian district in the assessment decree of 422/1 (*IG* I³ 77.v.16) and assessed at 50 dr. For a critical view, see Zahrnt (1971) 213.

595. Pleume (Pleumeus) Map 50. Lat. 40.20, long. 23.10. Size of territory: 1. Type: [A]:? The toponym is *Πλεύμε* (*IG* I³ 77.v.35). The city-ethnic is *Πλευμεύς* (*IG* I³ 278.VI.17). In the Athenian tribute lists Pleume is recorded in 434/3 under the heading *πόλεις αὐταὶ φόρον ταξάμεναι* (*IG* I³ 278.VI.5–6, 17, where *polis* is used in the political sense), and in 429/8 under the heading *ταῖσδε ἔταξαν οἱ τάκται* (*IG* I³ 282.II.34–36, 40). Pleume may have been a Bottiaian *polis* (Flensted-Jensen (1995) 124–25). It is known exclusively from the Athenian tribute lists, where it is recorded twice (*supra*), paying 1,000 dr. Pleume is also recorded in the assessment decree of 422/1 (*IG* I³ 77.v.35).

596. (Polichnitai) Unlocated, not in *Barr.* 51. Type: C:*α*. No toponym is attested. The city-ethnic is *Πολιχνῖται* (*IG* I³ 260.VIII.17).

The Polichnitans were members of the Delian League. They are recorded in the first two years of the tribute lists, 454/3 and 453/2 (*IG* I³ 259.v.11–12, 260.VIII.17). In the first year the Polichnitans were in a syntely with Stolos (no. 614) and Mekyberna (no. 583), paying 2 tal. and 1,880 dr. They are also recorded (as *Πολιχνῖται παρὰ Στῶλον*) in the assessment decree of 425/4 (*IG* I³ 77.III.173–74).

The site of the Polichnitans has been identified tentatively with modern Smixi (Hatzopoulos (1988*a*) 70–72), where a number of deeds of sale have been found (*SEG* 37 575–76 (C4m)). The name of the month *Demetrion* is attested in one of them (*SEG* 37 576.5). Moreover, an eponymous priest is mentioned in 575.2–3 (and possibly in 576.3–4; the name, as restored, is Euphrantides son of Aristotimos, who is mentioned in a deed of sale from Torone, *SEG* 24 574.2, and who was perhaps a priest of the Chalkidian Federation).

597. Posideion Map 51. Unlocated, not in *Barr.* Type: C:? A Posideion is known from the tribute assessment list of 422/1 (*IG* I³ 77.v.32). It was assessed at 1,000 dr. and located in the Thracian *phoros*; otherwise its location is unknown. There were two places in the Chalkidic peninsula called Pos(e)ideion. One is a promontory (modern *Ποσείδι*) about 4 km from Mende (and in its territory); a sanctuary of Poseidon has been found there (*supra* 832). The other is *Ποσιδήιον* mentioned by Hdt. 7.115.2 between Argilos (no. 554) and Akanthos (no. 559), probably the promontory *c.*20

km north of Akanthos (not in *Barr.*). However, Zahrnt ((1971) 214) does not believe that this area could have supported a *polis* that (possibly) paid 1,000 dr. to the Delian League.

598. Poteidaia (Poteidaiates) Map 50. Lat. 40.10, long. 23.20. Size of territory: 2. Type: A:α. The toponym is Ποτείδαια, ἡ (Hdt. 8.126.3; Thuc. 1.61.3; *IG* I³ 268.III.14) and later Ποτίδαια (Isoc. 15.108; Ps.-Skylax 66; Diod. 12.46.2). The city-ethnic is Ποτειδαιήτης (Hdt. 8.129.2), Ποτειδεάτης (Thuc. 1.56.2; *IG* I³ 272.II.50), Ποτειδαιάτης (ML 27.9 (the Serpent Column); Diod. 12.46.6) or Ποτειδαεύς (*IG* II² 10109 (C4m)). Poteidaia is called a *polis* both in the urban sense (Thuc. 1.62.1; Aen. Tact. 31.25; Ps.-Skylax 66) and in the political sense (Thuc. 1.66; Isoc. 15.108; *SEG* 38 662.4 (C4f)). The collective city-ethnic is used internally (in abbreviated form) on C5–C4 coins (*infra*), and externally in the Athenian tribute lists (*IG* I³ 272.II.50). The individual and external use of the city-ethnic is attested in a C4m sepulchral inscription from Attika (*IG* II² 10109).

At Xen. *Hell.* 5.2.39 the toponym ἡ Ποτείδαια denotes the territory of Poteidaia. Thuc. 1.64.2 mentions that the territory (*ge*) of Poteidaia was ravaged by Phormion. Although Poteidaia was one of the most important *poleis* on the Chalkidic peninsula, its territory cannot have been larger than *c.*65 km², since Olynthos (no. 588) was situated *c.*11 km to the north, and Aphytis (no. 563) and Sane (no. 600) *c.*14 and 15 km respectively to the south of it. Furthermore, the isthmus of Pallene is 900 m wide (Strabo 7 fr. 25) at its narrowest. Hdt. 7.123.1 locates Poteidaia on Pallene next to Aphytis. Thuc. 1.56.2 and Xen. *Hell.* 5.2.15 place it on the isthmus of Pallene.

Poteidaia was colonised from Corinth (no. 227) (Thuc. 1.56.2, 66.1), and according to Nikolaos of Damaskos (*FGrHist* 90) fr. 59, the oecist was Euagoras, son of Periandros. Thus, it was probably founded *c.*600. Annual magistrates called ἐπιδημιουργοί were still sent from Corinth to Poteidaia in C5s (Thuc. 1.56.2), but there is no evidence that Poteidaia was ruled from Corinth (Graham (1964) 135–37). Poteidaia sent donations to Delphi in C6l (*Syll.*³ 15; Alexander (1963) 29–30), where it also had a treasury (Paus. 10.11.5; Alexander (1963) 25–29; Bommelaer (1991) 140–41).

Poteidaia supplied troops and ships to Xerxes in 480 (Hdt. 7.123.1). Furthermore, it had 300 hoplites at Plataiai (Hdt. 9.28.3; ML 27.9 (the Serpent Column); see Alexander (1963) 34–35; Paus. 5.23.2 Arist. *Rh.* 1396ª20). Apparently Poteidaia entered into an alliance with the other towns of Pallene against the Persians in 479 (Hdt. 8.128.2).

Poteidaia was a member of the Delian League (Thuc. 1.56.2, 1.66). It was probably a member from the very beginning (it is recorded on the Serpent Column; see e.g. Sealey (1966) 243), but it does not appear in the tribute lists until 446/5 (*IG* I³ 266.III.7). Alexander (1963) 41–42 suggests that Poteidaia supplied a quota of ships and only later a quota of tribute. After 446/5 Poteidaia occurs regularly in the lists until 433/2 (*IG* I³ 279.II.70) a total of eleven times, twice completely restored. Poteidaia belonged to the Thracian district and is recorded sometimes by toponym (*IG* I³ 268.III.14), sometimes by city-ethnic (*IG* I³ 272.II.50), paying a *phoros* of 6 tal. down to 440/39 (*IG* I³ 272.II.50), but 15 tal. in 433/2 (*IG* I³ 279.II.70). It revolted in 432 along with the Chalkidians and the Bottiaians (Thuc. 1.58.2), and consequently it is not recorded in the complete panels of 432/1 and 430/29. However, it appears from Thuc. 4.120.3 that it belonged to the Athenians in 423.

In 432, the Athenians requested that Poteidaia demolish part of its city wall, give hostages and refuse to accept the *epidemiourgoi* from Corinth (*supra*). Poteidaia sent envoys to Athens and Sparta simultaneously, and then countered the Athenian request by entering into an alliance with the Bottiaians and the Chalkidians and revolting against the Athenians (Thuc. 1.56–58). Poteidaia was besieged by the Athenians from 432 until 430 (Thuc. 1.59–67, 2.58; Pl. *Chrm.* 153A–B), when it capitulated (Thuc. 2.70.1–3). The inhabitants left Poteidaia and went to Chalkidike and other places (Thuc. 2.70.4; cf. Diod. 12.46.6). The Athenians settled Poteidaia with 1,000 klerouchs (ML 66: ἐποίκον ἐς Ποτείδαιαν; Thuc. 2.70.4; Diod. 12.46.7), who in *IG* I³ 62.8, 20 are referred to as οἱ ἔποικοι οἱ Ἀθηναίων οἱ Ποτείδαιαν ἔχοντες. In 423 there is evidence of *stasis* in Poteidaia (Thuc. 4.121.2), but Brasidas' attempt to conquer the city failed (Thuc. 4.135.1). According to Xen. *Hell.* 5.2.15, 24, Poteidaia was a member of the Chalkidian Federation in the 380s. In 364/3 Timotheos captured Poteidaia (and Torone (no. 620)) from the Chalkidian Federation (Isoc. 15.108, 113; Din. 1.14, 3.17; Diod. 15.81.6). Some pro-Athenian Poteidaians sent envoys to Athens to ask for additional settlers, and in 362/1 Poteidaia became once again a klerouchy (*IG* II² 114 = Tod 146) settled with a contingent called Ἀθηναῖοι οἱ ἐν Ποτειδαίᾳ κατοικοῦντες (Dem. 7.10). In 356 Philip forced Poteidaia to surrender to the Olynthians (no. 588) (Dem. 6.20, 7.10, 23.107–8; cf. Diod. 16.8.3–5). Philip let the Athenians leave Poteidaia, but exposed the Poteidaians to an *andrapodismos*: they were sold off as slaves, and the town and territory given to the Olynthians (Diod. 16.8.5). However, the city was not destroyed by Philip

(Alexander (1963) 91, *pace* West (1918) 133 n. 137). It appears from Dem. 20.61 that Poteidaia was still in existence in 355 and was now a Makedonian dependency. The presumption is that the town was given to a new stock of settlers, probably Olynthians (Hammond and Griffith (1979) 361). Paus. 5.23.2 says that the Poteidaians were forced to leave their town twice, first under the Athenians, then under Philip. Kassandros brought them back to Poteidaia *c.*316, but changed the name of the town to Kassandreia (Diod. 19.52.2). We have no information about the status of Poteidaia in the years 356–316.

Poteidaia may have had an oligarchic constitution, at least until 433 (Rhodes (1981) 299).

There is no evidence of civic subdivisions in Poteidaia, apart from Athenian tribes and demes from the time of the first klerouchy (*AAA* 7 (1974) 190–98; Jones, *POAG* 266–67). Being an Athenian klerouchy once again from 361 to 356, Poteidaia is recorded in the Epidaurian list of *theorodokoi* of, probably, 360/59 (*IG* IV².1 94.I.b.12) and functioned as a (dependent) *polis* as is attested in a proxeny decree dated to the years 359–357 (Hatzopoulos (1988*b*) 55–61 = *SEG* 38 662). The inscription was found in Ag. Mamas (between Olynthos and Poteidaia) and Hatzopoulos believes that it comes from Poteidaia rather than Olynthos. If that is so, there is evidence of a *boule* (l. 7), an *ekklesia* (l. 8, heavily restored) and a *tamias* (l. 16), and the community is twice referred to as a *polis* in the political sense (ll. 4, 13).

Thuc. 1.56.2 mentions the city walls of Poteidaia. Alexander (1963) 3 writes that "traces of ancient wall construction, apparently classical, were reported to have been found", and during recent excavations parts of the C5 walls have been found along with C6 sherds (*ArchDelt* 40 (1985) *Chron.* 237–38; 41 (1986) *Chron.* 147; Sismanides and Karaïskou (1992) 485, 489; Koussoulakou (1997) 457–58). Poteidaia must have been strongly fortified: in 479 it was able to withstand a siege for three months (Hdt. 8.126–28; cf. Aen. Tact. 31.25–27 and Polyaen. 7.33.1), and from 432 it was besieged by the Athenians for 2½ years (Thuc. 2.70).

Not much of ancient Poteidaia is left; much material has been employed in later constructions (Alexander (1963) 1–7; cf. Gomme (1945) 199). Two passages in Thucydides suggest that Poteidaia had two harbours, one to the east and one to the west (Thuc. 1.63, 4.129; cf. Alexander (1963) 19). At some point in Antiquity there may have been a canal through the isthmus on which Poteidaia was situated. Strabo says that the isthmus of Pallene is διορωρυγμένος (7 fr. 25). Hdt. 7.22 mentions the canal on Athos, but he does not mention any canal on Pallene, so it may have been dug later. There was a temple of Poseidon in the *proasteion* of Poteidaia in 479 (Hdt. 8.129.3; Thuc. 4.129.3). *IG* IV 673 is a C4 honorific inscription for a Nauplian victor in athletic contests. The name of Poteidaia is restored in line 6, and if the restoration is correct, this is the only known example of games held in Poteidaia.

Poteidaia struck silver coins on the Euboic standard from *c.*550 (Alexander (1953), (1963) 50), C6l (Gaebler (1935) 103–5; Robinson and Clement (1938) 307; *SNG Cop. Macedonia* 312–316), or *c.*500 (Head, *HN*² 212) until *c.*356. Denominations: tetradrachms, tetrobols, diobols and tritemoria. (1) *c.*500–429: types: *obv.* Poseidon on horseback; legend: *ΠΟ* or *ΠΟ*; *rev.* incuse sqare. (2) 400–358: types: *obv.* head of Athena; *rev.* Pegasos, or trident; legend: *ΠΟ* or *ΠΟΤΕΙ*. Others have female head on the *obv.*, a sitting bull and legend on the *rev.* Poteidaia struck bronze coins in C4 as well.

599. Prassilos (Prassilios) Unlocated. Type: B:? The toponym is Πράσσιλος (*IG* I³ 285.III.10). Steph. Byz. 534.11 has Πράξιλος (and the city-ethnic Πραξίλιος). The city-ethnic is restored [Πρα]σσίλιος in a C4m inscription (*SEG* 40 542.28). Prassilos may have been located in Bottike (Flensted-Jensen (1995) 124).

Prassilos was a member of the Delian League, but it is listed only once, in 421/0 (*IG* I³ 285.III.10), paying 900 dr.

600. Sane (Sanaios) Map 51. Lat. 40.20, long. 23.55. Size of territory: 2 or 3. Type: A:*a*. The toponym is Σάνη, ἡ (Hdt. 7.22). The city-ethnic is Σαναῖος (*IG* I³ 260.VIII.19). Hdt. 7.22.3 calls Sane a Hellenic *polis* (πόλις Ἑλλάς), using *polis* in the urban sense, whereas Thuc. 4.109.3–5 probably uses *polis* in the political sense, using *polisma* about the settlement. The collective city-ethnic is used externally in the Athenian tribute lists (*IG* I³ 260.VIII.19).

In C5 Sane was considered a colony from Andros (no. 475) (Thuc. 4.109.3). Plutarch (*Mor.* 298A), however, says that Sane was settled jointly by the Chalkidians (no. 365) and the Andrians.

Sane was a member of the Delian League. It belonged to the Thracian district and is recorded from 454/3 (*IG* I³ 259.II.25, completely restored) to 415/14 (*IG* I³ 290.III.12) a total of nineteen times, four times completely restored, paying a *phoros* of 4,000 dr. from 447/6 (*IG* I³ 265.II.100) to 442/1 (*IG* I³ 270.III.6). From 435/4 (*IG* I³ 277.VI.27) to 433/2 (*IG* I³ 279.II.74) it paid 1 tal., and in 430/29 (*IG* I³ 281.II.27) just 1,000 dr. It is universally accepted that the Sane recorded in the tribute lists is Sane on Athos. But an inspection of its position in the tribute lists shows that it may equally well be Sane (no. 601) on Pallene, thus Hansen (2004).

Sane withstood an attack from Brasidas in 424, but its territory was ravaged (Thuc. 4.109.5). The incident indicates that Sane was fortified. Sane is mentioned in the Peace of Nikias (Thuc. 5.18.6). The passage runs as follows: *Μηκυβερναίους δὲ καὶ Σαναίους καὶ Σιγγαίους οἰκεῖν τὰς πόλεις τὰς ἑαυτῶν, καθάπερ Ὀλύνθιοι καὶ Ἀκάνθιοι.* This may be interpreted to mean that the Mekybernaians (no. 583), the Sanaians and the Singaians (no. 605) are to live in their own *poleis*, the Mekybernaians and the Singaians independently of Olynthos (no. 588), and the Sanaians independently of Akanthos (no. 559) (Gomme (1956) 672; cf. Hornblower (1996) 478–79). Others want to emend the passage and write *Γαλαίους* instead of *Σαναίους* (West (1937*b*) 166–73, accepted by e.g. Zahrnt (1971) 220).

Sane may have been incorporated into Ouranopolis, which was founded by Alexarchos *c.*315 (Zahrnt (1971) 209–10), or perhaps into Akanthos, since it is not mentioned by later sources.

South-west of modern Nea Rhoda (in the territory of Sane?) an Archaic sanctuary has been found. The sanctuary was in use from the Archaic period to C3 (Vokotopoulou and Tsigarida (1992), (1993); Tsigarida (1996)).

601. Sane Map 50. Lat. 40.05, long. 23.20. Size of territory: 2. Type: A:*α*. The toponym is *Σάνη, ἡ* (Hdt. 7.123.1). The city-ethnic is not attested.

At 7.123.1 Herodotos uses the pronoun *αὗται* about eight *poleis* on Pallene, and it is an almost certain inference that the noun to be supplied is *πόλεις*. He mentions Sane after Mende (no. 584) and locates it on Pallene. Furthermore, he says that it supplied ships and troops to Xerxes in 480.

West (1918) 73 argues that Sane at Hdt. 7.123.1 must be an error and that Sane on Pallene would have been distinguished from Sane (no. 600) on Akte, in, e.g., the Peace of Nikias (see also Gomme (1956) 588). This argument carries no weight; see *supra* 839. Furthermore, according to Strabo (7 fr. 27) Sane was one of four *poleis* on Pallene. Pomponius Mela (2.3.35) mentions Sane too. Finally, Geometric and Archaic remains of a considerable settlement have been found on some hills near modern Sani, *c.*15 km south of Poteidaia (no. 598) (*ArchDelt* 41 (1986) *Chron.* 147, 42 (1987) *Chron.* 367–68; Vokotopoulou (1987) 279). The fact that some Archaic sherds are inscribed in the Corinthian alphabet (*SEG* 38 667) may indicate Corinthian influence, possibly via nearby Poteidaia, at Sane; these sherds seem to originate from the site of a nocturnal cult of a female chthonic deity (ibid.). It cannot be precluded that the Sane recorded in the Athenian tribute lists is Sane on Pallene, not Sane (no. 600) on Athos.

602. Sarte (Sartaios) Map 51. Lat. 40.05, long. 24.00. Size of territory: ? Type: A:*α*. The toponym is *Σάρτη* (Hdt. 7.122). The city-ethnic is *Σαρταῖος* (*IG* I³ 281.III.57). At Hdt. 7.122 Sarte is twice called a *polis*, first in the urban sense; but the information that Sarte was one of the *poleis* that supplied Xerxes with troops in 480 indicates that *polis* is used in the political sense as well. In the Athenian tribute lists Sarte is recorded three times under the heading *πόλεις* (*infra*), where *polis* is used in the political sense. The collective city-ethnic is used externally in the tribute lists (e.g. *IG* I³ 281.III.57).

Hdt. 7.122 locates Sarte on the bay of Singos and says that it supplied troops to Xerxes in 480. Sarte was a member of the Delian League. It belonged to the Thracian district and is recorded in 434/3 (*IG* I³ 278.VI.13), 433/2 (*IG* I³ 279.II.79) and in 432/1 (*IG* I³ 280.II.71) under the heading *πόλεις αὗται φόρον ταξάμεναι*, in 430/29 (*IG* I³ 281.III.57) and in 429/8 (*IG* I³ 282.II.38) under the heading *ταῖσδε ἔταξαν οἱ τάκται ἐπὶ Κρ[. . .]ου γραμματεύοντος*. It is also on the lists of 421/0 (*IG* I³ 285.III.12) and 415/14 (*IG* I³ 290. III.11), paying 1,500 dr. from 434/3 to 429/8, but only 100 dr. in 421/0.

603. Serme (Sermaios) Not in *Barr* 50. Unlocated. Type: C:? The toponym is *Σέρμε* (*IG* I³ 77.V.20). The city-ethnic is *Σερμεύς* (*IG* I³ 264.III.34) or *Σερμαῖος* (*IG* I³ 272.II.48). It is restored as *Σερμαιεύς* in the tribute lists of 443/2 (*IG* I³ 269.III.33) and 442/1 (*IG* I³ 270.III.32). The collective city-ethnic is used externally in the Athenian tribute lists (*IG* I³ 264.III.34).

The editors of the Athenian tribute lists suggest that the Sermaians were the inhabitants of Therme (Hdt. 7.124), but most scholars disagree (*ATL* i. 546, *contra* e.g. Zahrnt (1971) 223–25).

The Sermaians were members of the Delian League. They belonged to the Thracian district and are recorded in the tribute lists from 450/49 (*IG* I³ 263.IV.14) to 432/1 (*IG* I³ 280.II.57) a total of fourteen times, twice completely restored, paying 500 dr. They were assessed for tribute in 422/1 (*IG* I³ 77.V.20) 500 dr.

604. Sermylia (Sermylieus) Map 51. Lat. 40.15, long. 23.30. Size of territory: 1 or 2. Type: A:*α*. The toponym is *Σερμύλη* (Hdt. 7.122) or *Σερμυλία* (*IG* I³ 1184.I.50; Ps.-Skylax 66). The city-ethnic is *Σερμυλιεύς* (*IG* I³ 277.VI.26), *Σερβυλιεύς* (*IG* I³ 264.IV.34) and *ΣΕΡΜΥΛΙΑΙΟΝ* on Archaic coins (Gaebler (1935) 106–7). Sermylia is called a *polis* both in the urban sense (Thuc. 1.65.2; Ps.-Skylax 66 (cf. Flensted-Jensen and Hansen (1996) 142)) and in the political

sense (Thuc. 5.18.8: Peace of Nikias). At Hdt. 7.122 *polis* is used in both senses simultaneously (Hansen (2000*a*) 175–76). Hecat. fr. 151 (*apud* Steph. Byz. 561.14) mentioned Sermylia, although it is not certain whether he called it a *polis* (cf. Hansen (1997*b*)). The collective city-ethnic is used internally on coins of *c.*500 (Gaebler (1935) 106–7) and externally in the Athenian tribute lists (*IG* I³ 270.III.27).

Hdt. 7.122 lists Sermylia between Gale(psos) (no. 571) and Mekyberna (no. 583); Zahrnt (1971) 225 mentions an ancient settlement *c.*3 km south of modern Ormylia. The name of Sermylia's territory was *Σερμυλιαία* (*SEG* 38 619.6 (*c.*285)).

Sermylia supplied Xerxes with troops and ships in 480 (Hdt. 7.122).

Sermylia was a member of the Delian League. It belonged to the Thracian district and is recorded from 454/3 (*IG* I³ 259.v.9) to 434/3 (*IG* I³ 278.v.9) a total of thirteen times, once completely restored. In 445/4 it is recorded as *Σερμυλιῆς καὶ συν* (*IG* I³ 267.II.25; see West (1918) 12 n. 20). In the first years it paid odd sums such as 4,622 dr. in 454/3 (*IG* I³ 259.v.9), 3,550 dr. in 451/0 (*IG* I³ 262.II.28). In 448/7 and 447/6 it paid 3 tal. (*IG* I³ 264.IV.34, 265.II.29). From 445/4 it paid 5 tal. (*IG* I³ 267.II.25), and from 435/4 4½ tal. (*IG* I³ 277.VI.26). It was assessed for tribute in 425/4 (*IG* I³ 71.III.165, completely restored).

In 432 the Peloponnesians under Aristeus killed many Sermyliaians near their *polis*, and, since he helped the Chalkidians, they must have been enemies of the Chalkidians (Thuc. 1.65.2). Nevertheless, the Chalkidians must have secured control of Sermylia shortly after, since they do not appear in the complete panels of the tribute lists of 432/1 and 430/29. However, it appears from the Peace of Nikias (Thuc. 5.18.8) that Sermylia was once again in the hands of the Athenians.

It seems reasonable to infer that Sermylia was a member of the Chalkidian Federation in C4 (Zahrnt (1971) map 4), and that it was one of the *poleis* annihilated by Philip II, since there is no mention of Sermylia after 348. Hatzopoulos (1996*a*) 121 suggests that it became a *kome* of Kassandreia. Around 285 some land in the territory of (the former *polis*?) Sermylia was given to Limnaios by Lysimachos (Hatzopoulos (1988*b*) 37; cf. *SEG* 38 619).

Sermylia struck silver tetradrachms on the Euboic standard *c.*500 (Head, *HN*² 207; cf. Gaebler (1935) 106–7) or perhaps as early as the third quarter of C6 (Robinson and Clement (1938) 313). Types: *obv.* naked horseman and dog; legend: *ΣΕΡΜΥΛΙΚΟΝ* or *ΣΕΡΜΥΛΙΑΙΟΝ*; *rev.* quadripartite incuse square. A few C4 bronze coins have been found (ibid. 313).

605. Singos (Singaios) Map 51. Lat. 40.15, long. 23.45. Size of territory: ? Type: A:*α*. The toponym is *Σίγγος* (Hdt. 7.122). The city-ethnic is *Σίγγιος* (*IG* I³ 260.VIII.18) or *Σιγγαῖος* (Thuc. 5.18.6). Singos is called a *polis* at Hdt. 7.122 in the urban and political senses simultaneously (Hansen (2000*a*) 175–76) and in the political sense at Thuc. 5.18.8 (Peace of Nikias). The collective city-ethnic is used externally in the Athenian tribute lists (*IG* I³ 260.VIII.18).

Singos supplied Xerxes with troops in 480 (Hdt. 7.122). It was a member of the Delian League. It belonged to the Thracian district and is recorded in the tribute lists from 454/3 (*IG* I³ 259.v.13) to 433/2 (*IG* I³ 279.II.75) a total of sixteen times, once completely restored, paying a *phoros* of between 1 tal. (*IG* I³ 279.II.75) and 4 tal. (*IG* I³ 263.IV.11). Singos was assessed for tribute of 10 dr. in 421 (*IG* I³ 77.v.22), and possibly in 425/4 too (*IG* I³ 71.IV.109, completely restored).

In the Peace of Nikias it is stipulated that the inhabitants of Singos live in their own *polis* (Thuc. 5.18.6), which probably means that Singos was one of the *poleis* that took part in the synoecism of Olynthos (no. 588) in 432 (Thuc. 1.58.2; see West (1918) 74 and Hornblower (1996) 478–79); the wording of Thuc. 1.58.2 (*πόλεις . . . καταβαλόντας* and *καθαιροῦντες τὰς πόλεις*) suggests that the city was destroyed in connection with the synoecism. Perhaps Singos was one of the towns destroyed by Philip II, since Strabo calls it a *πόλις ἀρχαία κατεσκαμμένη* (7 fr. 31). Remains of the urban centre and its harbour have been found near modern Ag. Nikolaos; the urban centre was protected by a wall of the Classical or Hellenistic period (Zahrnt (1971) 227–28).

606. Sinos Map 50. Lat. 40.15, long. 23.45. Size of territory: ? Type: [A]:? Only the toponym *Σίνος* (*IG* I³ 278.VI.24) is attested. In the Athenian tribute lists Sinos is twice recorded under the heading *πόλεις ἃς οἱ ἰδιῶται ἐνέγραψαν φόρον φέρειν*, in 434/3 (*IG* I³ 278.VI.18–21, 24) and in 433/2 (*IG* I³ 279.II.89–92, 98, restored), where *polis* is used in the political sense. The name of the territory, *Σιναία*, is mentioned in *Syll.*³ 332 (306–297), according to which a field in the Sinaia was given by Kassandros to Perdikkas. Sinos may have been situated in Bottike (Flensted-Jensen (1995) 125).

Sinos was a member of the Delian League. It belonged to the Thracian district and is recorded in the tribute lists for the years 434/3 (*IG* I³ 278.VI.24), 433/2 (*IG* I³ 279.II.98) and 421/0 (*IG* I³ 285.III.9), paying 1,500 dr. in 434/3 and 433/2 and 800 dr. in 421/0. Furthermore, it was assessed in 422/1 (*IG* I³ 77.v.38).

607. Skabala (Skablaios) Map 51. 40.20, long. 23.35. Size of territory: ? Type: B:α. The toponym is presumably Σκάβαλα (Theopomp. fr. 151; cf. Knoepfler (1997) 358 with n. 49). The city-ethnic is Σκαβλαῖος (*IG* I³ 263.III.16). The collective city-ethnic is attested externally in the Athenian tribute lists (*IG* I³ 259.V.6–7).

Theopomp. fr. 151 describes Skabala as a χωρίον Ἐρετριέων, which indicates that he took it to be a colony of Eretria (Knoepfler (1997) 358 with n. 49).

The Skablaians were members of the Delian League. They are recorded from 454/3 (*IG* I³ 259.V.6–7) to 433/2 (*IG* I³ 279.II.71) a total of fourteen times, once completely restored. In the first year (*IG* I³ 259.V.6–7 (454/3)) they appear in a syntelic group along with Olynthos (no. 588) and Ass(er)a (no. 564), paying 2 tal., 4,000 dr. altogether. When the Skablaians are listed alone, they pay either 3,000 dr. (*IG* I³ 263.III.16) or 2,000 dr. (*IG* I³ 266.II.25) or, once, 1,500 dr. (*IG* I³ 279.II.71). Since they are absent from the full panel of 430/29 (*IG* I³ 281.II.5–27), many scholars believe that the Skablaians revolted in 432 (Zahrnt (1971) 231). This, and the fact that they paid along with Olynthos and Ass(er)a, led the editors of the Athenian tribute lists to believe that the Skablaians lived north of Sithonia (*ATL* i. 549).

608. (Skapsaioi) Unlocated. Type: B:α? The city-ethnic is Σκαφσαῖος (*IG* I³ 279.II.49). The abbreviated collective city-ethnic is used internally on C4f coins (*infra*) and externally in the Athenian tribute lists (*IG* I³ 290.III.13).

The Skapsaians were members of the Delian League. They belonged to the Thracian district and are recorded in the tribute lists from 452/1 (*IG* I³ 261.II.6, heavily restored) to 415/14 (*IG* I³ 290.III.13) a total of fourteen times, once completely restored. However, they are not listed in the complete panel of 430/29 (*IG* I³ 281.II.5–27), which may indicate that they took part in the Revolt of 432 (Thuc. 1.58.2). If so, they must have joined the Athenians again at some point before 415. The Skapsaians paid a *phoros* of 1,000 dr.

During the excavations at Olynthos a Skapsaian bronze coin was found. It dates from C4f. Type: *obv.* head of Apollo; *rev.* lion (or panther); legend: ΣΚΑΨΑΙ (Robinson (1952) 407–8, 419; Flensted-Jensen (1997) 122–25).

609. Skione (Skionaios) Map 51. Lat. 39.55, long. 23.35. Size of territory: 2. Type: A:α. The toponym is Σκιώνη, ἡ (Thuc. 4.120.2) or Σκιώνα (*IG* IV².1 1.b.94.25 (359)). The city-ethnic is Σκιωναῖος (Thuc. 4.120.1; *IG* I³ 266.II.31). Skione is called a *polis* both in the urban sense (Thuc. 4.131.1; Ps.-Skylax 66, where it is listed under the heading πόλεις αἵδε) and in the political sense (Hdt. 8.128.3; Thuc. 4.122.4, 5.18.8: Peace of Nikias). Thuc. 5.2.1 once describes Skione as a *chorion* in Thrace. The collective city-ethnic is used internally on C5f coins (Head, *HN*² 210), and externally in the Athenian tribute lists (*IG* I³ 266.II.31). The individual and external use is attested in Attic sepulchral inscriptions (*IG* II² 10365–66 (C4)) and in literary sources (Hdt. 8.8.1).

Hdt. 7.123, locates Skione between Therambos (no. 616) and Mende (no. 584) on Pallene (cf. Thuc. 4.120.1).

Skione supplied troops and ships to Xerxes in 480 (Hdt. 7.123). Hdt. 8.128.1–3 mentions a *strategos* from Skione in reference to 479. Skione was a member of the Delian League. It belonged to the Thracian district and is recorded in the Athenian tribute lists from 454/3 (*IG* I³ 259.II.9) to 429/8 (*IG* I³ 282.II.12) a total of fourteen times. In the years 454/3–451/0 Skione and Therambos (no. 616) paid jointly 6 tal. (*IG* I³ 262.I.3); in the following period Skione paid 6 tal. (*IG* I³ 266.II.31) until 432/1, when the tribute was lowered to 4 tal. (*IG* I³ 280.II.52), but in 430/29 (*IG* I³ 281.II.14) and in 429/8 (*IG* I³ 282.II.12) it paid 9 tal.

Skione joined Brasidas in 423 (Thuc. 4.120–21; cf. Diod. 12.72.1), just after Athens and Sparta had concluded an armistice for a year (Thuc. 4.117–19). Therefore, on the motion of Kleon, the Athenians decreed that Skione be destroyed and the inhabitants killed (Thuc. 4.122.6). Having captured Mende, the Athenians laid siege to Skione and built a wall round the city (Thuc. 4.130.7–132.1, 133.4, 5.2.2; Ar. *Vesp.* 210). In the Peace of Nikias Skione is ceded to Athens (Thuc. 5.18.7–8). Shortly after, the Athenians captured Skione and exposed the city to *andrapodismos*: the adult males were killed, the women and the children enslaved, and the land given to the Plataians (Thuc. 5.32.1; Isoc. 4.109)—in later sources described as a harsh treatment (Xen. *Hell.* 2.2.3; Isoc. 4.100). In 405/4 Lysander gave Skione back to its former inhabitants (Plut. *Lys.* 14.3; cf. Xen. *Hell.* 2.2.3, 9). Skione is recorded in the Epidaurian list of *theorodokoi* of 360/59 (*IG* IV².1 94.I.b.25).

Meritt (1923) 450–51 offers a description of the site of Skione. He located the acropolis of Skione on a fortified hill (p. 447) from which C4 remains of a building have been reported (*ArchDelt* 41 (1986) *Chron.* 149), and later excavations have revealed remains of, *inter alia*, a large C5 building, built in isodomic masonry (Sismanides (1991)).

The Skionaians believed that, originally, they came from Pellene in the Peloponnese. The first settlers were driven by a storm on their way back from Troy (Thuc. 4.120.1; cf. Polyaen. 7.47). Borza (1990) 75 suggests that Achaians settled at Skione. This tradition is undoubtedly an attempt to connect Peloponnesian Pellene with Thracian Pallene, on which

Skione was located. An Archaic coin testifies to a different tradition: on the obverse Protesilaos is celebrated as the oecist of Skione (Kraay (1976) 134 with no. 470). The two traditions are not mutually exclusive: "Protesilaos the 'Achaian' (in the broad Homeric sense) is easily reconcilable with the story of a foundation from Achaia (in the narrow geographical sense of Achaia, i.e. northern Peloponnese)" (Hornblower (1996) 377–78). Skione was considered an Achaian colony by later writers: Pomponius Mela 2.33 and Polyaen. 7.47 both say that Skione was founded by Achaians escaping from Troy, whereas Konon (13 = Phot. 133a) attributes the foundation of Skione to Protesilaos. However, it was well known that Protesilaos was killed as soon as he arrived at Troy (Hom. *Il.* 2.698–702). Various solutions to this problem have been suggested: Protesilaos participated in the first expedition against Troy (with Herakles) and founded Skione after that expedition (Hornblower (1996) 377 with refs.); or there may have been an alternative tradition according to which Protesilaos did not die when he arrived at Troy, and thus was able to found Skione (Boedeker (1988) 36 n. 22).

Skione struck silver coins on the Euboic standard from C6l to *c.*450, and on the Phoenician standard before *c.*424. (1) Tetradrachm (*supra*): *obv.* head of Protesilaos with the name written out along the crest-holder of the helmet; *rev.* *ΣKIO* in corners of incuse square containing stern of galley. (2) Other coins: denominations: tetradrachms, tetrobols, triobols and hemiobols. Moreover, it struck bronze coins in C4f. Types: *obv.* heroic head, or female head; *rev.* Corinthian helmet; legend: *ΣKIO*, *ΣKIΩNAIΩN* or *ΣKIΩ*. (Head, *HN*² 210; Gaebler (1935) 108–9; *SNG Cop. Macedonia* 318–24, *pace* Robinson and Clement (1938) 311–12).

610. Skithai (Skithaios) Not in *Barr.* Unlocated. Type: B:*α*. The toponym is *Σκίθαι* (Steph. Byz. 574.17). The city-ethnic is *Σκιθαῖος* (Theopomp. fr. 375), *ΣKIΘ(AIO)N* found on coins (*SNG Cop. Macedonia* 325). Steph. Byz. 574.17 describes Skithai as a *polis* in Thrace, in the vicinity of Poteidaia (*πλησίον Ποτιδαίας*). Since he calls Skithai a *polis* in Thrace, not in Makedonia, he probably used a pre-350 source. Skithai is sometimes identified with Kithas (s.v.; Gaebler (1929) 256; but see Flensted-Jensen (1997) 125–27). Skithai minted silver coins *c.*500. Denominations: tetrobols and hemiobols. Types: *obv.* lion; legend: *ΣKIΘ* or *ΣKIΘ(AIO)N*; *rev.* Quadripartite incuse square (Gaebler (1929), (1935) 110; *SNG Cop. Macedonia* 325–26).

611. Smila Map 50. Unlocated. Type: A:? The toponym is *Σμίλα* (Hecat. fr. 148; Hdt. 7.123.2) or *Σμίλλα* (*IG* I³ 278.VI.31). Apart from Steph. Byz. 580.10, there is no attestation of a city-ethnic. Smila is called a *polis* in the urban sense by Hecat. fr. 148 (Hansen (1997*b*) 25), and in the urban and political sense combined (Hansen (2000*a*) 175–76) by Hdt. 7.123.2–3. In an Athenian tribute list Smila is recorded under the heading *πόλεις ἃς οἱ ἰδιῶται ἐνέγραψαν φόρον φέρειν* (*IG* I³ 278.VI.18–21, 31), where *polis* is used in the political sense. Hdt. 7.123.2–3 locates Smila in Krousis.

Smila supplied Xerxes with troops in 480 (Hdt. 7.123.2). It was a member of the Delian League, but is listed only once, in 434/3 (*IG* I³ 278.II.31), paying 3,000 dr. along with the Tindaians (no. 619), Kithas (no. 579), Gigonos (no. 572) and Haisa (no. 573). [*Σμίλλα*] is restored in *IG* I³ 71.IV.84 (425/4).

612. Spartolos (Spartolios) Map 50. Lat. 40.20; long. 23.10. Size of territory: ? Type: A:*α*. The toponym is *Σπάρτωλος*, *ἡ* (Thuc. 2.79.2). The city-ethnic is *Σπαρτόλιος* (*IG* I³ 259.III.24). Spartolos is called a *polis* both in the urban sense (Thuc. 2.79.2) and in the political sense (Thuc. 2.79.2, 5.18.5: Peace of Nikias). The collective city-ethnic is used externally in the Athenian tribute lists (*IG* I³ 259.III.24).

Spartolos was a *polis* in Bottike (Thuc. 2.79.2; Harp. *Σ*34). The name of its territory was probably also *Σπάρτωλος* (*Syll.*³ 332.15–16 (306–297); cf. Flensted-Jensen (1995) 125).

Spartolos was a member of the Delian League until the beginning of the Peloponnesian War. It belonged to the Thracian district and is recorded in the tribute lists from 454/3 (*IG* I³ 259.III.24) to 434/3 (*IG* I³ 278.V.5) a total of sixteen times, once completely restored, paying 2 tal. each year, except in 434/3 (*IG* I³ 278.V.5) and 433/2 (*IG* I³ 279.II.73), when it paid 3 tal. 500 dr. In 432 the Bottiaians revolted against the Athenians (Thuc. 1.57.5), and in 429 they fought and won a battle against the Athenians outside Spartolos (Thuc. 2.79.2–7; Isae. 5.42; Flensted-Jensen (1995) 121–22). Spartolos may have been listed in the assessment decree of 425/4 (*IG* I³ 71.III.167: *Σπ[αρτόλιοι]*). According to the Peace of Nikias, Spartolos was to be *autonomos* and pay the tribute as fixed by Aristeides (Thuc. 5.18.5).

A C4m deed of sale has been found at the presumed site of Spartolos (Papangelos (1996)). The inscription indicates that Spartolos was a member of the Chalkidian Federation at that time, since Aristoboulos, son of Kallikrates (ll. 1–2), was a priest of the Chalkidian Federation, perhaps in 353/2 (Hatzopoulos (1988*a*) 59, 67, 73–75).

It appears from Thuc. 2.79 that Spartolos was walled. At the presumed site of Spartolos there are remains of a

cemetery containing graves from the Archaic and Classical periods and of a settlement. Furthermore, excavations at Nea Syllata, *c.*3 km from ancient Spartolos, show continuous habitation from the Bronze Age, through the Classical, Roman and Byzantine periods (*ArchDelt* 31 (1976) *Chron.* 247); also a cemetery has been found at Nea Syllata (*AAA* 14 (1982) 246–50).

613. Stagiros (Stagirites) Map 51. Lat.40.35, long. 23.45. Size of territory: ? Type: A:*a*. The older toponym is *Στάγιρος* (Hdt. 7.115.2; Thuc. 4.88.2) or *Στάγιρα* (*IG* IV².1 94.I.b.21 (360/59)), and the later one is *Στάγειρα, τά* (Dion. Hal. *Ad Amm.* 1.5) or *Στάγειρος* (Strabo 7 fr. 33 (but note *Στάγειρα*, fr. 35)). The city-ethnic is *Σταγιρίτης* (*IG* I³ 271.II.53), and later *Σταγειρίτης* (Diod. 18.8.3; Dio Chrys. 47.9). Herodotos calls Stagiros a *polis* in the urban sense (*πόλις Ἑλλάς*: 7.115.2), and Thucydides in the political sense (5.18.5: Peace of Nikias). The collective city-ethnic is found internally in abbreviated form on C6l coins (*infra*), and externally in the Athenian tribute lists (*IG* I³ 281.II.18). The individual city-ethnic is used externally on a gravestone from Athens (*IG* I³ 1370 (C5s)) and in *Syll.*³ 275 (334–332).

According to early tradition, Stagiros was a colony from Andros (Thuc. 4.88.2, 5.6.1), but Dion. Hal. *Ad Amm.* 1.5 seems to believe that it was founded from Chalkis (no. 365). Hdt. 7.115.2 mentions Stagiros in connection with Xerxes' march in 480. Stagiros was a member of the Delian League. It belonged to the Thracian district and is recorded from 454/3 (*IG* I³ 259.I.14) to 429/8 (*IG* I³ 282.II.10) a total of fifteen times, once completely restored, paying 1,000 dr. in all years (*IG* I³ 263.IV.15). In 424 Stagiros revolted and joined Brasidas (Thuc. 4.88.2), and in 422 Kleon made an unsuccessful attack on the city (Thuc. 5.6.1). In the Peace of Nikias Stagiros is declared *autonomos* and liable to the tribute assessed by Aristeides (Thuc. 5.18.5). It was assessed for tribute in 410/9 (Krateros fr. 25 (Krech 1888) = *IG* I³ 100). If we can trust some late sources (Tzetzes, *Chil.* 7.441, 11.849; Dio Chrys. 47.9), Stagiros had been a *polis* (or *kome*) in Olynthian territory, i.e. a member of the Chalkidic Federation (Zahrnt (1971) 242–43). According to an emended passage in Diod. 16.52.9 and two passages from *Vit. Arist.* (fr. 655, Rose), Stagiros was destroyed by Philip in 348 (see Hammond and Griffith (1979) 376 and Hatzopoulos (1996*a*) 191). It is not clear from Plut. *Alex.* 7.2 and Dio Chrys. 47.9 whether the town was in fact destroyed; what is clear is that the population was expelled and later allowed to move back. Excavations show that the site of Stagiros was fortified in the Hellenistic period (see *infra*).

Stagiros is recorded in the Epidaurian list of *theorodokoi* of 360/59 (*IG* IV².1 94.I.b.21). The most famous citizen of Stagiros, Aristotle, was praised by the Delphic Amphiktyony in 334/3 (*Syll.*³ 275).

Excavations were begun in 1990. The city was situated on a promontory consisting of two hills. The earliest settlement was located on the northern hill. When the town expanded in the Classical period, building was begun on the southern hill as well, and both hills were surrounded by a wall, which is very well preserved, especially on the southern side. The wall is built in various types of masonry (Lesbian and polygonal) and has an estimated length of 1.5–2 km, with both square and circular towers. It is about 2 m in width. The building of the wall was begun *c.*500 (Sismanides (1997) 5; cf. Sismanides (1991); *BCH* 118 (1994) 762; Sismanides (1996) 279–80; Camp (2000) 44).

On the north-east part of the northern hill there is a 150 m zigzag stretch of a wall built in the late Classical period, presumably after Philip II destroyed the town (Sismanides (1996) 280).

On the northern hill there are remains of a complex from the Byzantine period. Remains of the Archaic wall was found in this complex, along with a C6 lintel with a C6 inscription, which seems to be some kind of tax regulation, imposing a tax of 5 dr. (autopsy).

On the northern hill, where the oldest settlement was located, three Archaic sanctuaries have been found. One, which is situated close to the sea, may have been for Demeter. In connection with this sanctuary, many fragments of female clay protomes have been found; the other sanctuary is a circular structure, 11 m in diameter, which is probably a Thesmophorion (Sismanides (1997) 19). The third one is situated closer to the top of the hill. The divinity worshipped in this temple has not been identified. Theophr. *Hist. Pl.* 4.16.3 refers to a Mouseion in Stagiros, but it may have been located on the southern hill.

Between the two hills is a depression, where the agora was situated. On the agora a C4 stoa, 6 × 26 m, has been found. It is built in pseudo-isodomic masonry. Only the marble bases of the columns survive. Near the agora is a paved road, 3 m wide. A stretch of 30 m has been located so far. Furthermore, there are remains of commercial buildings, such as shops, store-rooms and a wine vat (Sismanides (1996) 286–87, (1997) 12, 14).

On top of the southern hill are the remains of the triangular acropolis. One of the sides is formed by the Classical wall, and on this side there is also a small gate. Opposite the gate is a cistern. The walls surrounding the acropolis are

preserved, in some places very well, with flights of internal steps, etc. On the north-west corner there is also a watch-tower. Remains of water pipes are preserved *in situ*, and about forty have been found so far (Sismanides (1996) 284).

On both hills remains of dwellings have been found, dating to the Archaic, Classical and Hellenistic periods (Sismanides (1996) 285–86).

Stagiros struck silver staters on the Euboic standard from C6l. Types: *obv.* lion and boar; *rev.* incuse square, or *obv.* wild sow; *rev.* incuse square; legend: ΣΤΑΓΙ. (Gaebler (1930) 302, (1935) 110–11; *SNG Cop. Macedonia* 327; Cahn (1973)).

614. Stolos (Stolios) Map 51. Lat. 40.20, long. 23.40. Size of territory: ? Type: A:α. The toponym is Στώλος (*IG* IV².1 94.I.b.23 (360/59); Steph. Byz. 588.18) or Σκώλος, ἡ (Thuc. 5.18.5; Strabo 9.2.23; Eust. *Il.* 2.497). The city-ethnic is Στόλιος (e.g. *IG* I³ 259.V.11).

Stolos is referred to as a *polis* in the urban sense in three C4 deeds of sale (*SEG* 38 670.4, 671.7, 672.4; cf. *infra*). It is called *polis* in the political sense at Thuc. 5.18.5 (Peace of Nikias). The city-ethnic is used externally in the Athenian tribute lists (*IG* I³ 259.V.11).

West (1937*a*) 166 thinks Stolos must be located in the interior of the Chalkidic peninsula, west of Akanthos (no. 559). Hatzopoulos (1988*a*) 70–72 tentatively identifies Stolos with modern Kellion, where a number of deeds of sale have been found (*SEG* 38 670–73 (C4m)). According to Sismanides, however, there was "an unknown, but important ancient town" at Kellion; building debris has been found there (*ArchDelt* 41 (1986) *Chron.* 150).

Stolos was a member of the Delian League. It belonged to the Thracian district and is recorded from 454/3 (*IG* I³ 259.V.11) to 434/3 (*IG* I³ 278.VI.3) a total of fourteen times. In the first year Stolos paid in a syntely with the Polichnitans (no. 596) and Mekyberna (no. 583). After that, it paid 4,000 dr. in 450/49 (*IG* I³ 263.IV.17), 5,000 dr. in 448/7 (*IG* I³ 264.III.2) and 447/6 (*IG* I³ 265.II.32), and again 4,000 dr. from 445/4 (*IG* I³ 267.II.26). In 438/7 and 434/3 Stolos paid 1 tal. (*IG* I³ 274.VI.12, 278.VI.3). According to the Peace of Nikias, Stolos was to be *autonomos* and pay the tribute as fixed by Aristeides (Thuc. 5.18.5).

Stolos may have been a member of the Chalkidian Federation, at least in C4. Hatzopoulos (1996*a*) 388–89 argues that Stolos must have been a member of the Chalkidian Federation, since it is evident from a number of C4m deeds of sale that Stolos used the calendar also in use at Olynthos (no. 588). Four month names are known from C4m deeds of sale (Hatzopoulos (1988*a*) 65–66, 80; Trümpy, *Monat.* 42–43).

Steph. Byz. 588.18–20, without quoting any source, reports that Stolos originally was an Edonian town, which was later taken over by the Chalkidians.

615. Strepsa (Strepsaios) Map 50. Lat. 40.30, long. 23.10. Size of territory: ? Type: B:α. The toponym is Στρέψα, ἡ (Aeschin. 2.27). The city-ethnic is Στρεψαῖος (*IG* I³ 259.IV.14; Ar. fr. 126, *PCG*). Harp. Σ44, quoting Hellan. fr. 61, classifies Strepsa as a *polis* in Thrace (πόλις ἐστὶ τῆς Θρᾴκης). Hellanikos was obviously Harpokration's source for the location, but not necessarily for the site-classification. Strepsa's status as a *polis* is indicated by its membership of the Delian League combined with the evidence that Strepsa was a nucleated settlement. The collective city-ethnic is attested externally in the Athenian tribute lists (*IG* I³ 259.IV.14).

The location of Strepsa has been the subject of considerable scholarly discussion (Hatzopoulos and Loukopoulou (1987) 59; cf. Gomme (1956) 215–18; Edson (1955); Borza (1990) 294–95). Hatzopoulos and Loukopoulou suggest that Strepsa be identified with modern Vasilika (cf. *AR* (1986–87) 34; Papazoglou (1988) 202–3; cf. Hammond (1972) 190–91). Not far from that, at modern Ag. Paraskevi, a large C6 cemetery containing *c.*500 graves has been excavated in the period 1981–88. All the female burials faced east, and the male west (as in nearby Thermi). Men were buried with weapons, and women with jewellery. A large amount of vessels have been recovered, both imported and local ware, and virtually all types are represented (Sismanides (1987); *Macedonians* (1994) 170 with photos 177–93). The degree of organisation seems to show that the cemetery was part of an organised community, not just the result of private enterprise. The cemetery was remarkably rich, and it is noteworthy that weapons were found in a period when they were no longer used as grave-offerings in Attika (Kurtz and Boardman (1971) 75). Traces of the settlement to which the cemetery belonged were found nearby (*ArchDelt* 41 (1986) *Chron.* 139). At Souroti in the vicinity two C4 graves have been found (*ArchDelt* 29 (1973–74) *Chron.* 697), and a further eight C6l–C4l graves were excavated in 1999 (Souereph and Havela (2001)).

The name of Strepsa's territory was Στρεψαία (*SEG* 38 619.17 (C3e)). In 285 King Lysimachos gave to Limnaios τὸν [ἀγρὸν] ἐν τῆι Στρεψαίαι (ibid.). It appears from the inscription that Limnaios was also given land in Sermyliaia and in Olynthia. Those two districts were indisputably quite

close to each other, and Strepsaia seems to have been situated in the same area (Hatzopoulos (1988*b*)). A fragmentary C4 deed of sale is from Vasilika, supposedly ancient Strepsa (*SEG* 37 583).

It is mentioned again in connection with Kallias' march from Pydna (no. 544) to Poteidaia (no. 598) in 432 (Thuc. 1.61.4, if indeed Pluygers' emendation of *ἐπιστρέψαντες* is correct), and once more in 368 when the pretender Pausanias seized Strepsa along with Anthemous (no. 562) and Therme (no. 552) (Aeschin. 2.27).

Strepsa was a member of the Delian League. It belonged to the Thracian district and is recorded from 454/3 (*IG* I³ 259.IV.14) to 433/2 (*IG* I³ 279.II.68) a total of sixteen times, paying 1 tal. (*IG* I³ 277.VI.9). It is absent from the full panel of 430/29 (*IG* I³ 281.II.5–27), which indicates that it may have participated in the Revolt of 432.

616. Therambos (Thrambaios) Map 51. Lat. 39.55, long. 23.40. Size of territory: 2. Type: A:*α*. The toponym is *Θερά́μβως* (Hdt. 7.123.1) or *Θεραμβηίς* (Ps.-Skylax 66). The city-ethnic is *Θραμβαῖος* (*IG* I³ 62.6) and perhaps *Στραμβαῖος* (Krateros fr. 25 (Krech 1888)). Therambos is probably the *Στράμβαι* of Steph. Byz. 586.11. Furthermore, he mentions a *Θράμβος, ἀκρωτήριον Μακεδονίας* (317.5). Ps.-Skylax 66 lists Therambos as the fourth toponym after the heading *πόλεις αἵδε*, where *polis* is used in the urban sense. At 7.123.1 Herodotos uses the pronoun *αὗται* about Therambos and seven other *poleis* on Pallene, and it is an almost certain inference that the noun to be supplied is *πόλεις*. That Therambos was a *polis* in the political sense too is indicated by its membership of the Delian League and, if correctly restored, by *IG* I³ 62.6: *Θραμβαῖοι . . . καὶ α[ἱ ἄλλαι πόλ]εις*, where the city-ethnic is attested in its collective and external sense. Hdt. 7.123.1 locates Therambos on Pallene between Aige (no. 556) and Skione (no. 609).

Therambos supplied Xerxes with troops and ships in 480 (Hdt. 7.123.1). Therambos was a member of the Delian League. It belonged to the Thracian district and is recorded in the tribute lists from 454/3 (*IG* I³ 259.II.10) to 429/8 (*IG* I³ 282.II.8) a total of sixteen times, once completely restored. In the first years Therambos paid jointly with Skione; from 446/5 it paid alone a *phoros* of 1,000 dr. (*IG* I³ 266.II.32). It was also assessed (*IG* I³ 100; Krateros fr. 25 (Krech 1888)). Apparently Therambos supported the (Athenian?) *archontes* present at Aphytis (no. 563) *c.*428 (*IG* I³ 62.6, cf. Meritt (1944) 217).

617. Thestoros Not in *Barr.* Unlocated. Type: C:? The toponym is *Θέστωρος* (*IG* I³ 77.V.36; Theopomp. fr. 142). Apart from Steph. Byz. 312.14, there is no attestation of a city-ethnic. Steph. Byz. classifies Thestoros as a *πόλις Θρᾴκης . . . Θεόπομπος κβ΄*. We cannot know, however, whether the site-classification stems from Theopompos (Hansen (2000*b*) 141–42). The editors of the Athenian tribute lists assume that Thestoros may have been located "in the Olynthian territory", since the fragment of Theopompos' *Philippika* in which Thestoros is mentioned deals with the C4m war between Philip and Olynthos (no. 588 (*ATL* i. 490; cf. Shrimpton (1991) 61). Thestoros is recorded in the Athenian assessment decree of 422/1 (*IG* I³ 77.V.36), but not in any of the tribute lists. It was presumably a member of the Delian League, or at least the Athenians claimed that it was.

618. Thyssos (Thyssios) Map 51. Lat. 40.15, long. 24.10. Size of territory: ? Type: A:*β*. The toponym is *Θύσσος* (Hdt. 7.22.3; Strabo 7 fr. 35) or *Θυσσός, ἡ* (Thuc. 5.35.1). The city-ethnic is *Θύσσιος* (*IG* I³ 261.IV.7 (422/1)).

Hdt. 7.22.3 and Ps.-Skylax 66 (Flensted-Jensen and Hansen (1996) 142) call Thyssos a *polis* in the urban sense, whereas Thuc. 4.109.3–5 probably uses the word in the political sense, using *polisma* about the settlement. The collective city-ethnic is attested externally in the Athenian tribute lists (*IG* I³ 261.IV.7). Thyssos was located on Athos (Hdt. 7.22; Thuc. 4.109).

Thyssos was a member of the Delian League (cf. Thuc. 5.35.1). It belonged to the Thracian district and is recorded from 454/3 (*IG* I³ 259.II.14) to 429/8 (*IG* I³ 282.II.25) a total of seventeen times, twice completely restored, paying 4,000 dr. from 454/3 (*IG* I³ 259.II.14, restored) to 451/0 (*IG* I³ 262.II.29), 1½ tal. from 450/49 (*IG* I³ 263.III.23) and 1 tal. from 446/5 (*IG* I³ 266.II.11) to 429/8. Thyssos was assessed for tribute in 425/4 (*IG* I³ 71.III.175). In 424/3 Thyssos joined Brasidas (Thuc. 4.109.5), but it must have become a member of the League again shortly after, because it was allied with Athens in 421 when it was captured by Dion (Thuc. 5.35.1).

Thuc. 4.109.4 says that Thyssos had a mixed (i.e. barbarian–Hellenic) bilingual population, but about a century later Ps.-Skylax 66 calls it a <*polis*> *Hellenis* (Flensted-Jensen and Hansen (1996) 151).

619. Tinde (Tindaios) Map 50. Lat. 40.25, long. 23.00. Size of territory: ? Type: A:? The toponym is *Τίνδη*, known only from Steph. Byz. 624.18. The city-ethnic is *Τινδαῖος* (*IG* I³ 278.VI.29). In an Athenian tribute list, the Tindaioi are recorded under the heading *πόλεις ἃς οἱ ἰδιῶται ἐνέγραψαν φόρον φέρειν* (*IG* I³ 278.VI.18–21, 29, where *polis* is used in the political sense), attesting to the collective and external use of the city-ethnic. Tinde may have been a Bottiaian *polis* (Flensted-Jensen (1995) 123).

Tinde was a member of the Delian League, but it is recorded in the tribute lists only once: *viz.* in 434/3 (*IG* I³ 278.VI.29), paying 3,000 dr. together with Kithas (no. 579), Gigonos (no. 572) and Haisa (no. 573). Perhaps Tinde was also listed in the assessment decree of 425/4 (*IG* I³ 71.IV.83, completely restored).

620. Torone (Toronaios) Map 51. Lat. 40.00, long. 23.55. Size of territory: 3. Type: A:*a*. The toponym is *Τορώνη, ἡ* (Hdt. 7.122; Thuc. 4.129.1). The adjective *Τορωναίην* occurs in Archil. fr. 89.20, West, which implies that the toponym antedates C7m. The city-ethnic is *Τορωναῖος* (*IG* I³ 266.II.28; *IG* II² 10454) or *TEPΩNAON* on C5 coinage (Head, *HN*² 207).

Torone is called a *polis* in the urban sense (Hdt. 7.122; Thuc. 4.110–14; Ps.-Skylax 66), in the territorial sense (Thuc. 4.110.2) and in the political sense (Thuc. 4.110.1, 5.18.8 (Peace of Nikias); Isoc. 15.107–8; Xen. *Hell.* 5.3.18); cf. *politeuein* used of the Toronaians in Thuc. 4.114.1. The poet Archestratos (C4m) described Torone as an *asty* (fr. 24.1–2, Olson and Sens). The collective city-ethnic is used internally on coins (*infra*) and externally in the Athenian tribute lists (*IG* I³ 266.II.28). The individual city-ethnic is attested externally in a citizenship decree from Samos (*SEG* 38 845 (C4l)) on a gravestone from Attika (*IG* II² 10454 (C4)) and in Hdt. 8.127.

Hdt. 7.122 locates Torone before Gale(psos) (no. 571) on Sithonia. Perhaps the southernmost part of the peninsula was Toronaian territory; Steph. Byz. s.v. *Ἄμπελος* calls Ampelos *akra Toronaion*. Thuc. 4.113.2 mentions a *phrourion Lekythos* on a promontory close to the city itself. About 3 km south of Torone was the *Kophos limen*, which belonged to Torone (Meritt (1923) 453–54).

The *communis opinio* is that Torone was a C8 colony from Chalkis (no. 365) (e.g. Boardman (1980) 229, *pace* Harrison (1912)). Nevertheless, the only ancient source to call Torone a colony from Chalkis is Diod. 12.68.6, who evidently interpreted Thucydides' *Τορώνη ἡ Χαλκιδική* (4.110.1) as meaning "Torone, a colony from Chalkis". But the phrase does not necessarily mean that Torone was a colony from Chalkis. Thucydides may refer to Torone's membership of the Chalkidian Federation, although it is unclear whether the meaning of "Chalkidian" is (a) geographical/territorial (= "situated in Chalkidike"), (b) ethnic (= "of the Chalkidian tribe"), or (c) specifically of Chalkis (cf. Hammond (1995) 315 n. 37; Hornblower (1997)). In any case, Torone cannot have been a Euboian colony founded *ab novo* in C8, since excavations have shown that the site of Torone was inhabited several centuries prior to C8. Furthermore, the excavations do not support the assumption that Torone was a colony from Chalkis (see also Papadopoulos (1996)).

According to Hdt. 7.122, Torone supplied troops and ships to Xerxes in 480. It was a member of the Delian League. It belonged to the Thracian district and is recorded in the tribute lists from 454/3 (*IG* I³ 259.II.15) to 429/8 (*IG* I³ 282.II.29) a total of fourteen times, paying in most years 6 tal. (*IG* I³ 266.II.28), in some years 12 tal. (*IG* I³ 259.II.15, 260.VIII.10, 281.II.17) and in 447/6 possibly two payments adding up to 16 tal. (*IG* I³ 265.II.71, 101). In 423 an oligarchic faction (Thuc. 4.110.1–2) invited Brasidas to attack Torone, which was held by the Athenians, and he managed to seize it with the help of traitors inside the town (Thuc. 4.110–13; Gehrke, *Stasis* 197–98). The majority of the Athenians who were in Torone and those of the Toronaians who had not joined Brasidas fled to Lekythos, a fortification on a promontory a short distance from the city itself. The Athenians defended themselves, but were eventually forced to leave (Thuc. 4.114–16). In 422 Kleon recaptured Torone (Thuc. 5.3.4), whereupon he exposed it to an *andrapodismos* by enslaving the women and the children; the men were taken captive and sent to Athens, but later ransomed by Olynthos (no. 588) (Thuc. 5.3.4; cf. Xen. *Hell.* 2.2.3 and Isoc. 12.63).

Torone was a member of the Chalkidian Federation at least until 380 (Xen. *Hell.* 5.3.18). During the Olynthian War (i.e. in 380) Torone, then a member of the Chalkidian Federation, was attacked and taken by the Spartans (Xen. *Hell.* 5.3.18). In 364 Torone was taken again, this time by Timotheos (Diod. 15.81.5; Isoc. 15.108; Polyaen. 3.10.15). And finally, in 349, before attacking Olynthos, Philip captured Torone by treachery (Diod. 15.81.5), but did not destroy the city. In C4l Gyges of Torone was granted citizenship in Samos (*IG* XII.6 46; see Hatzopoulos (1988*b*) 47 n. 8).

Thuc. 4.113.2 mentions the agora of Torone. It appears from Thuc. 4.110.1 that there was a *Dioskoreion c.*3 stades (540 m) from the city. Thuc. 4.116.2 mentions a temple of Athena in Lekythos (near the city). Fragments of a Doric temple have been interpreted as the remains of this temple (Cambitoglou and Papadopoulos (1988) 205; Cambitoglou (1990) 191–92; Cambitoglou and Papadopoulos (1991) 159).

Thucydides has several references to the walls of Torone (e.g. 4.110–11). Part of the extant wall dates from the Classical period, and part of it from the Hellenistic period (*Ergon* (1978) 27 fig. 29). The remains of the early Hellenistic fortifications are extensive (Cambitoglou and Papadopoulos (1988) 183).

Excavations have shown that the site of Torone was inhabited continuously from the late Neolithic period to the

post-Byzantine period (Papadopoulos (1996) 160). Torone probably had two harbours, one by the city itself, and one *c.*3 km to the south, the *Kophos limen* (Thuc. 5.2.2–3; Hornblower (1996) 425–26). Thuc. 5.2.4 mentions the *proasteion* of Torone, and it is clear from Thuc. 4.114.2 that there were houses close to Lekythos. Beneath the Classical city an early Iron Age cemetery has been found. By 1984, 134 graves had been excavated, yielding more than 500 vessels. The finds dated from *c.*1125 to *c.*850 (Cambitoglou and Papadopoulos (1988) 187). A house excavated in 1976 and 1978 seemed not to be of the pastas type known from Olynthos, but resembled "the lay-out of the so-called *Herdraumhäuser* prevalent in north-west Greece" (Cambitoglou and Papadopoulos (1988) 186). Excavations on the promontory of Lekythos show that Torone was a relatively important settlement in the early Iron Age (Cambitoglou (1990) 188). Henry (1993) combines Thucydides' description with the archaeological evidence.

Only one month name is known from Torone: *viz.* Artemision, found in a deed of sale (Karamanoli-Siganidou (1966); cf. *SEG* 24 574.2 (C4)).

Torone struck silver coins on the Euboic standard from C6l to *c.*480 and on the Phoenician standard from *c.*480 to *c.*420. Denominations: tetradrachms, tetrobols, obols and hemiobols. (1) C6l–480: types: *obv.* amphora, or oinochoe; legend: *TE* or *HE*; *rev.* incuse square. (2) 480–424: types: *obv.* amphora, or oinochoe; *rev.* forepart of a goat. (3) 424–420: types: *obv.*satyr and oinochoe; *rev.* *TE* and a goat in an incuse square, or *TEPΩNAON* and a square (Head, *HN*² 206–7; Gaebler (1935) 114–15; *SNG Cop. Macedonia* 336–38). Bronze coins were struck in C4 (Hardwick (1998)).

621. Tripoiai Unlocated. Type: [A]:? The toponym is *Τριποιαί* (*IG* I³ 76 l.46 = Tod 68 (*c.*422)) or *Τριποαί* (*IG* I³ 285.III.8). Tripoiai is listed under the heading *αἵδε πόλες* in a treaty of *c.*422 (*IG* I³ 76.44, 46).

Tripoiai was a Bottiaian *polis* which was located in the vicinity of Kalindoia, i.e. probably in the northern part of Bottike (Flensted-Jensen (1995) 116–17). The name of the territory was *Τριποᾶτις* and it was given to the Makedonians by Alexander (*SEG* 36 626.6–7 (323)).

Tripoiai was a member of the Delian League, but it is recorded only once in the tribute lists in the Thracian district: *viz.* in 421/0 (*IG* I³ 285.III.8), paying 800 dr. About the same time the Bottiaians had probably formed a confederacy (Flensted-Jensen (1995) 126–28), of which Tripoiai was a member (*IG* I³ 76.47).

622. Zereia (Zeranios) Map 51. Unlocated. Size of territory: ? Type: C:? The toponym is *Ζερεία* (*IG* I³ 77.V.18). It has been suggested (Zahrnt (1971) 186 with refs.) that the inhabitants of Zereia were the *Ζηράνιοι* mentioned by Theopomp. fr. 214. Their territory is called *Ζηρανία* by Ephor. fr. 88. Zereia may have been a member of the Delian League: it was assessed for tribute in 422/1 (*IG* I³ 77.V.18) 500 dr., but is unattested in the tribute lists.

4. Unlocated *Poleis*

623. Aison (Aisonios) Unlocated. Not in *Barr.* Type [A]:? The toponym is *Αἴσων* (*A*[*ἴσ*]*ον*, *IG* I³ 262.IV.27) or *Αἴσων* (h*αίσον*, *IG* I³ 271.II.48). The city-ethnic is *Αἰσονεύς* (*Αἰσονε*ῖ*ς*, *IG* I³ 268.III.16) or *Αἰσωνεύς* (h*αισονε*ῖ[*ς*], *IG* I³ 279.II.66) or *Αἰσώνιος* (h*αισόνιοι*, *IG* I³ 277.V.28).

Aison was a member of the Delian League. It belonged to the Thracian district (*IG* I³ 271.II.48) and is recorded from 454/3 (*IG* I³ 259.II.19) to 429/8 (*IG* I³ 282.II.54) a total of seventeen times, twice completely restored, paying a *phoros* of 1,500 dr. (*IG* I³ 268.III.16), reduced to 1,000 dr. in 432/1 (*IG* I³ 280.II.62) or perhaps in 433/2 (*IG* I³ 279.II.66, amount completely restored). It is recorded twice by toponym, and otherwise by ethnic (*supra*). In the tribute list for the year 429/8 the Aisonioi are recorded under the heading h*αίδε τὸν πόλεον αὐτὴν τὴν ἀπαρχὲν ἀπέγαγον* (*IG* I³ 282.II.51–52, 54) where *polis* is used in the political sense.

As the Athenian tribute lists are the only sources we have for Aison, all we know about its location is that it was located somewhere in the Thracian district. A river by the name of *Αἴσων* situated in southern Makedonia is mentioned by Plutarch at *Aem.* 16.9. Referring to this source, *RE* i–ii suppl. 40 and *ATL* i. 467 followed by Zahrnt (1971) 146 suggest a location near the modern river Pelikas (= ancient Aison). However, Edson (1947) 88 argues that, apart from Methone (no. 541), it is highly unlikely that any other Makedonian city was a member of the Delian League. He prefers to identify Aison with Haisa (no. 573), a suggestion rejected by Zahrnt (1971). As the evidence stands, Aison's precise location within the Thracian district remains unknown.

624. Brea (Breaios) Map 50. Lat. 40.15, long. 23.10, but see *infra.* Size of territory: ? Type: B:*α*. The toponym is *Βρέα*, *ἡ* (ML 49.33), the city-ethnic *Βρεαῖος* (Theopomp. fr. 145 *apud* Steph. Byz. 185.8–9).

An Athenian decree of *c.*445 (ML 49), 439/8 (Woodhead (1952) 61), or perhaps 426/5 (Mattingly (1966) 185) lays down the rules for the founding of a new colony (*apoikia*), Brea, in

Thrace. The name of the oecist was Demokleides. The attestation of the city-ethnic in a fragment of Theopompos (fr. 145) is the only evidence that the decree was carried into effect (Hansen (2001) 320–21).

Some scholars believe that Brea was situated in the Chalkidic peninsula (Woodhead (1952) 62; Asheri (1969)), others that it was in Bisaltia (Meritt (1967) 48; Gomme (1945) 373). Following Pazaras and Tsanana (1990), *Barr.* identifies Brea or Beroia with modern Veria, which has, however, only random C4 finds.

625. Kossaia (Kossaios) Map 51. Unlocated. Type: C:? The toponym is *Κοσσαία, ἡ* (Steph. Byz. 378.11–12). The ethnic is *Κοσσαῖος* (*IG* I³ 71.III.172: *Κοσσ*[*αῖοι*]; but, given the large number of toponyms in *IG* I³ 71, an equally possible restoration would be *Κοσσαία*).

The link between our two sources was suggested by *ATL* i. 506. In Steph. Byz. Kossaia is listed as a *Θρᾴκης πολίχνιον*. In the assessment decree of 425/4 Kossaia—or the Kossaians—is placed in the Thracian district. There is no other source. So all we know is that Kossaia was a settlement somewhere in Thrace which in 425/4 was assessed for tribute by the Athenians. The suggestion to locate Kossaia in Chalkidike (Bradeen (1952) 374–75) was rightly rejected by Zahrnt (1971) 195.

626. Okolon Unlocated, not in *Barr.* Type: C:? The toponym is *Ὄκωλον* (Steph. Byz. 488.11–12 = Theopomp. fr. 150: *Ὄκωλον· χωρίον Ἐρετριέων· Θεόπομπος Φιλιππικῶν εἰκοστῷ τετάρτῳ. τὸ ἐθνικὸν Ὀκώλιος*). There is no other source, but, on the analogy of Skabala (no. 607), Okolon is usually taken to be an Eretrian colony situated in Thrace (*RE* xii.2. 2385–86; cf. Knoepfler (1997) 358 with n. 49).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Adam-Veleni, P. 1988. "*Ανασκαφή Όσσας* 1988", *ΑΕΜΘ* 2: 231–42.

——1992. "*Αρχαίο φρούριο στα Βράσνα*", *ΑΕΜΘ* 6: 415–24.

Alexander, J. A. 1953. "The Coinage of Potidaea", in G. Mylonas (ed.), *Studies Presented to David Moore Robinson*, ii (St Louis) 201–17.

——1963. *Potidaea, its History and Remains* (Atlanta).

Allan, J. 1940. "Greek Coins", *BMQ* 14: 33–34.

Asheri, D. 1969. "Note on the Site of Brea: Theopompus, F 145", *AJP* 90.3: 337–40.

Bakalakis, G. 1956. "*Κισσός*", in *Makedonika*, iii (Thessalonica) 353–62.

Bakhuizen, S. C. 1976. *Chalcis-in-Euboea, Iron and Chalcidians Abroad*, Chalcidian Studies 3 (Leiden).

Boardman, J. 1980. *The Greeks Overseas* (London).

Boedeker, D. 1988. "Protesilaos and the End of Herodotus' *Histories*", *CA* 7: 30–48.

Bommelaer, J.-F. 1991. *Guide de Delphes* (Paris).

Bon, A.-M. 1936. "Monnaie inédite de Galepsos", *BCH* 60: 172–74.

Bonias, Z., and Perrault, J. 1996. "*Αργιλος, πέντε χρόνια ανασκαφικής*", *ΑΕΜΘ* 10B: 663–80.

Borza, E. N. 1990. *In the Shadow of Olympus* (Princeton and Oxford).

Bradeen, D. W. 1952. "The Chalkidians in Thrace", *AJP* 73: 356–80.

Cahill, N. 2002. *Household and City Organization at Olynthus* (New Haven).

Cahn, H. A. 1973. "Skione—Stagira—Akanthos", *Antike Kunst* suppl. 9: 7–13.

Cambitoglou, A. 1990. "*Ἀνασκαφὴ Τορώνης*", *Prakt* 185–97.

—— and Papadopoulos, J. K. 1988. "Excavations at Torone, 1986: A Preliminary Report", *MeditArch* 1: 180–217.

———— 1990. "Excavations at Torone, 1988", *MeditArch* 3: 93–142.

———— 1991. "Excavations at Torone, 1989", *MeditArch* 4: 147–71.

Camp, J. 2000. "Walls and the *Polis*", *Polis and Politics* 41–57.

Cargill, J. 1981. *The Second Athenian League: Empire or Free Alliance?* (Los Angeles).

Carington-Smith, J., and Vokotopoulou, J. 1988. "*Ανασκαφή στον Κούκο Χαλκιδικής*", *ΑΕΜΘ* 2: 357–70.

———— 1989. "*Ανασκαφή στον Κούκο Συκίας*", *ΑΕΜΘ* 3: 425–38.

———— 1990. "*Η ανασκαφή στον Κούκο Συκίας*, 1990", *ΑΕΜΘ* 4: 439–54.

———— 1992. "Excavation at Koukos, Sykia", *ΑΕΜΘ* 6: 495–502.

———— 1992–93. "Koukos, Sykia", *MeditArch* 5/6: 184–85.

Crouch, D. P. 1993. *Water Management in Ancient Greek Cities* (Oxford).

Demand, N. 1990. *Urban Relocation in Archaic and Classical Greecce: Flight and Consolidation* (Norman, Okla.).

Demetriadi, V. 1974. "Galepsus in Chalcidice: A Newly Discovered Mint", *NomChron* 3: 32–33.

Desneux, J. 1949. "Les tétradrachmes d'Akanthos", *RBN* 95: 5–120.

Detschew, D. 1957. *Die Thrakischen Sprachreste*, Österreichisches Akademie der Wissenschaften, Schriften der Balkankommission (Vienna).

Dreher, M. 1995. "Poleis und Nicht-Poleis im Zweiten Athenischen Seebund", *CPCActs* 2: 171–200.

Edson, C. 1947. "Notes on the Thracian *Phoros*", *CP* 42: 88–105.

——1955. "Strepsa (Thucydides 1. 61. 4)", *CP* 50: 169–90.

Ellis, J. R. 1969. "Amyntas III, Illyria, and Olynthos, 393/2—380/79", *Makedonika* 9: 1–8.

Flensted-Jensen, P. 1995. "The Bottiaians and their *Poleis*", *CPCPapers* 2: 103–32.

——1997. "Some Problems in *Polis* Identification in the Chalkidic Peninsula", *CPCPapers* 4: 117–28.

——2000. "The Chalkidic Peninsula and its Regions", *CPCPapers* 5: 121–31.

—— and Hansen, M. H. 1996. "Pseudo-Skylax' Use of the Term *Polis*", *CPCPapers* 3: 137–67.

Gaebler, H. 1926. "Zur Münzkunde Makedoniens VIII: das Mygdonische Apollonia", *ZfN* 36: 192–98.

——1929. "Zur Münzkunde Makedoniens X: Skithai auf der Chalkidike", *ZfN* 39: 255–60.

——1930. "Die Münzen von Stagira", *SBPreuss* 293–304.

——1935. *Die antiken Münzen Nordgriechenlands*. iii (Berlin).

Gerolymatos, A. 1986. *Espionage and Treason* (Amsterdam).

Gneisz, D. 1990. *Das antike Rathaus*, Dissertationen der Universität Wien 205 (Vienna).

Gomme, A. W. 1945. *A Historical Commentary on Thucydides*, i: *Book I* (Oxford).

——1956. *A Historical Commentary on Thucydides*, iii: *Books IV–V.24* (Oxford).

Gounaropoulou, L., and Hatzopoulos, M. B. 1985. *Les milliaires de la Voie Egnatienne entre Heraclée des Lyncestes et Thessalonique* (Athens).

Graham, A. J. 1964. *Colony and Mother City in Ancient Greece* (Manchester).

Grayson, C. H. 1972. "Two Passages in Thucydides", *CQ* 22: 62–77.

Gude, M. 1933. *A History of Olynthus* (Baltimore).

Hammond, N. G. L. 1972. *A History of Macedonia*, i (Oxford).

——1995. "The Chalcidians and 'Apollonia of the Thraceward Ionians' ", *BSA* 90: 308–15.

—— and Griffith, G. T. 1979. *A History of Macedonia*, ii (Oxford).

Hampl, F. 1935. "Olynth und der Chalkidische Staat", *Hermes* 70: 177–96.

Hansen, M. H. 1985. *Demography and Democracy: The Number of Athenian Citizens in the Fourth Century B.C.* (Herning).

—— "Boiotian *Poleis*—Test Case", *CPCActs* 2: 13–63.

——1996. "City-Ethnics as Evidence for *Polis* Identity", *CPCPapers* 3: 169–96.

——1997*a*. "The *Polis* as an Urban Centre", *CPCActs* 4: 9–85.

——1997*b*. "Hekataios' Use of the Word *Polis* in his *Periegesis*", *CPCPapers* 4: 17–27.

——2000*a*. "A Survey of the Use of the Word *Polis* in Archaic and Classical Sources", *CPCPapers* 5: 173–215.

——2000*b*. "The Use of the Word *Polis* in the Fragments of Some Historians", *CPCPapers* 5: 141–50.

——2001. "What is a Document? An Ill-Defined Type of Source", *ClMed* 52: 317–43.

——2004. "Sane on Pallene", *CPCPapers* 7: 111–16.

Hardwick, N. 1998. "The Coinage of Terone from the Fifth to the Fourth Century", in R. Ashton and S. Hurter (eds.), *Studies in Greek Numismatics in Memory of Martin Jessop Price* (London) 119–34.

Harrison, E. 1912. "Chalkidike", *CQ* 6. 2: 93–103, 6.3: 165–78.

Hatzopoulos, M. B. 1987. "Artémis Digaia Blaganitis en Macédoine", *BCH* 111: 408.

——1988*a*. *Actes de ventes de la Chalcidique centrale*, *Meletemata* 6 (Athens).

——1988*b*. *Une donation du roi Lysimaque*, *Meletemata* 5 (Athens).

——1989. "Grecs et barbares dans les cités de l'arrière-pays de la Chalcidique", *Klio* 71: 60–65.

——1991. *Actes de vente d'Amphipolis*, *Meletemata* 14 (Athens).

——1994. "Apollonia Hellenis", in I. Worthington (ed.), *Ventures into Greek History* (Oxford) 159–88.

——1996*a*. *Macedonian Institutions under the Kings*, i, *Meletemata* 22 (Athens).

——1996*b*. *Macedonian Institutions under the Kings*, ii (Epigraphic Appendix), *Meletemata* 22 (Athens).

—— and Loukopoulou, L. 1987. *Two Studies in Ancient Macedonian Topography*, *Meletemata* 3 (Athens).

———— 1992. *Recherches sur les marches orientales des Temenides*, *Meletemata* 11 (Athens).

Henry, A. 1993. "Thucydides and the Topography of Torone", *AE* 132: 107–20.

Hoepfner, W., and Schwandner, E.-L. 1994. *Haus und Stadt im klassischen Griechenland*² (Munich).

Hornblower, S. 1996. *A Commentary on Thucydides*, ii: *Books IV–V.24* (Oxford).

——1997. "Thucydides and 'Chalkidic' Torone (IV.110.1)", *OJA* 16.2: 177–86.

Isaac, B. 1986. *The Greek Settlements in Thrace until the Macedonian Conquest* (Leiden).

Kahrstedt, U. 1936. "Chalkidic Studies", *AJP* 57: 416–44.

Kaltsas, N. E. 1998. *Ακανθος*, i: *Η ανασκαφή στο νεκροταφείο κατά το 1979* (Athens).

Karamanoli-Siganidou, M. 1966. "*Ωνη εκ Τορώνης*", *ArchDelt* 21 *Mel.* 151–57.

Kinch, K. F. 1894. "De hellenske Kolonier paa den makedoniske Halvø", in *Festskrift til Vilhelm Thomsen* (Copenhagen) 146–58.

Knoblauch, A.-M. 1998. "Myth and Message in Northern Greece: Interpreting the Classical Coins of Mende", in K. J. Hartswick and M. C. Sturgeon (eds.), *ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΣ: Studies in Honor of Brunhilde Sismondo Ridgway* (The University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Philadelphia) 155–62.

Knoepfler, D. 1997. "Le territoire d'Erétrie et l'organisation politique de la cité (*dêmoi, chôroi, phylai)*", *CPCPapers* 4: 352–449.

Koukouli-Chrysanthaki, Ch. 1983. "Ἀνασκαφικὲς ἔρευνες στὴν ἀρχαία Τράγιλο", *Αρχαία Μακεδονία* 3 (Thessalonica) 123–46.

Koussoulakou, T. 1997. "*Ανασκαφή Ποτίδαιας* 1993", *ΑΕΜΘ* 7: 455–63.

Kraay, C. 1976. *Archaic and Classical Greek Coins* (London).

Krech, P. 1888. *De Crateri Ψηφισμάτων συναγωγή* (Greifswald).

Kurtz, D. C., and Boardman, J. 1971. *Greek Burial Customs* (London).

Larsen, J. A. O. 1968. *Greek Federal States: Their Institutions and History* (Oxford).

Lauffer, S. (ed.) 1989. *Griechenland: Lexicon der historischen Stätten* (Munich).

Lazaridis, D. 1993. *Αμφίπολις* (Athens).

Lazaridis, K. 1988. "*Το γυμνάσιο της αρχαιας Αμφίπολης*", *ΑΕΜΘ* 2: 385–86.

——1989. "*Το γυμνάσιο της αρχαιας Αμφίπολης*", *ΑΕΜΘ* 3: 547–52.

Lepper, F. A. 1962. "Some Rubrics in the Athenian Quota-Lists", *JHS* 83: 25–55.

Liampi, K. 1994. "*Αργιλος: Ιστορία και Νόμισμα*/Argilos—History and Coinage", *NomChron* 13: 7–36.

Lorber, C. A. 1990. *Amphipolis: The Civic Coinage in Silver and Gold* (Los Angeles).

Macedonians 1994. *Macedonians: The Northern Greeks and the Era of Alexander the Great.* Exhibition Catalogue, National Museum in Copenhagen, 15 Sept. 1994–8 Jan. 1995 (Athens).

Malkin, I. 1987. *Religion and Colonization in Ancient Greece* (Leiden).

——1994. *Myth and Territory in the Spartan Mediterranean* (Cambridge).

Masson, O. 1995. "Le nom de la ville de Traïlos, plus ancien que Tragilos", *SNR* 74: 9–11.

Mattingly, H. B. 1966. "Athenian Imperialism and the Foundation of Brea", *CQ* NS 16: 172–92.

McDonald, W. A. 1943. *The Political Meeting Places of the Greeks* (Baltimore).

Meritt, B. D. 1923. "Scione, Mende, and Torone", *AJA* 27: 447–60.

——1944. "Greek Inscriptions", *Hesperia* 13: 211–66.

——1967. "The Choregic Dedication of Leagros", *GRBS* 8: 45–52.

Miller, M. C. J. 1986. "The Macedonian Pretender Pausanias and his Coinage", *AncW* 13: 23–27.

Miller, S. G. 1978. *The* Prytaneion: *Its Function and Architectural Form* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London).

Misaïlidou-Despotidou, V. 2001. "*Ανασκαφική έρευνα στην αρχαία Άφυτη*", *ΑΕΜΘ* 13: 305–16.

Moschonisioti, S. 1988. "*Θερμη—Σινδος: Ανασκαφικες παρατηρησεις στα δυο νεκροταφεια της περιοχης Θεσσαλονικης*", *ΑΕΜΘ* 2: 283–95.

——1992. "*Ανασκαφική έρευνα στην αρχαία Αρέθουσα*", *ΑΕΜΘ* 6: 405–14.

—— *et al.* 1997. "*Κατάδεσμος από την Αρέθουσα*", in A.-Ph. Chrisstidis and D. R. Jordan (eds.), *Γλώσσα και Μαγεία: Κείμενα από την αρχαιότητα* (Athens) 192–200.

Munro, J. A. R. 1896. "Epigraphical Notes from Eastern Macedonia and Thrace", *JHS* 16: 313–22.

Mylonas, G. 1943. "Excavations at Mekyberna", *AJA* 47: 78–87.

Nikolaïdou-Patera, M. 1989. "*Ανασκαφικες ερευνες πόλεις Τράγιλο και Φάγρητα*", *ΑΕΜΘ* 3: 481–98.

——1990. "*Ανασκαφικα δεδομενα απο τις αρχαιες πόλεις Τράγιλο και Φάγρητα*", *ΑΕΜΘ* 4: 513–29.

Noe, S. P. 1926. *The Mende (Kaliandra) Hoard*, NNM 27 (New York).

Panayotou, A. 1991. "Textes d'Acanthos d'époques archaïque et classique", *Hellènika Symmikta*, Études d'archéologie classique 7 (Nancy): 127–32.

——1996. "Dialectal Inscriptions from Chalcidice, Macedonia, and Amphipolis", in *Inscriptions of Macedonia*, Third International Symposium on Macedonia, Thessaloniki, 8–12 December 1993 (Thessalonica) 124–63.

Pandermali, E., and Trakosopoulou, E. 1994. "*Καραμπουρνάκι 1994: Η ανασκαφή της ΙΣΤ' ΕΠΚΑ*", *ΑΕΜΘ* 8: 203–15.

Papadopoulos, J. 1996. "Euboians in Macedonia? A Closer Look", *OJA* 15.2: 151–81.

Papangelos, I. 1996. "A Purchase Agreement from Bottice", in *Inscriptions of Macedonia*, Third International Symposium on Macedonia, Thessaloniki, 8–12 December 1993 (Thessalonica) 164–72.

Papastavru, J. 1936. *Amphipolis*, *Klio* Beiheft 24 (Leipzig).

Papazoglou, F. 1988. *Les Villes de Macédoine a l'époque romaine*, *BCH* suppl. 16 (Athens).

Pazaras, Th., and Tsanana, A. 1990. "*Ανασκαφικες ἐρευνες στη Βεριά Ν. Συλλάτων* 1990", *ΑΕΜΘ* 4: 353–70.

Perlman, P. 2000. *City and Sanctuary in Ancient Greece: The* Theorodokia *in the Peloponnese*, *Hypomnemata* 121 (Göttingen).

Psoma, S. 1996. "La première série du monnayage bottiéen", *BullSocFrNum* 51.2: 17–20.

Regling, K. 1923. "Mende", *ZfN* 34: 7–35.

Rhodes, P. J. 1981. *A Commentary on the Aristotelian* Athenaion Politeia (Oxford).

Robinson, D. M. 1930. *Excavations at Olynthus*, ii: *Architecture and Sculpture: Houses and Other Buildings* (Baltimore).

——1933. *Excavations at Olynthus*, v: *Mosaics, Vases and Lamps of Olynthus found in 1928 and 1931* (Baltimore).

——1934. "Inscriptions from Olynthos, 1934", *TAPA* 65: 103–37.

——1935. "The Third Campaign at Olynthos", *AJA* 39.2: 210–47.

——1941. *Excavations at Olynthus*, x: *Metal and Minor Miscellaneous Finds* (Baltimore).

——1942. *Excavations at Olynthus*, xi: *Necrolynthia, A Study in Greek Burial Customs and Anthropology* (Baltimore).

Robinson, D. M. 1946. *Excavations at Olynthus*, xii: *Domestic and Public Architecture* (Baltimore).
——1950. *Excavations at Olynthus*, xiii: *Vases Found in 1934 and 1938* (Baltimore).
——1952. *Excavations at Olynthus*, xiv: *Terracottas, Lamps, and Coins Found in 1934 and 1938* (Baltimore).
—— and Clement, P. A. 1938. *Excavations at Olynthus*, ix: *The Chalcidic Mint and the Excavation Coins Found in 1928–1934* (Baltimore).
—— and Graham, J. W. 1938. *Excavations at Olynthus*, viii: *The Hellenic House* (Baltimore).
Schweigert, E. 1937. "Inscriptions in the Epigraphical Museum", *Hesperia* 6.2: 317–32.
Sealey, R. (ed.) 1966. *The Origin of the Delian League, Ancient Society and Institutions: Studies Presented to Victor Ehrenberg* (Oxford).
Shrimpton, G. S. 1991. *Theopompus the Historian* (Montreal).
Sismanides, K. 1987. "*Το νεκροταφείο της Αγίας Παρασκευής Θεσσαλονίκης*", in *ΑΜΗΤΟΣ: Τιμητικός τόμος για τον καθηγητή Μανόλη Ανδρόνικο* (Thessalonica) 787–803.
——1991. "*Ανασκαφὲς στην αρχαία Σκιώνη και στα αρχαία Στάγειρα κατά το* 1991", *ΑΕΜΘ* 5: 319–33.
——1996. "*Αρχαία Στάγειρα* 1990–1996", *ΑΕΜΘ* 10A: 279–95.
——1997. *Αρχαία Στάγειρα, η γενέτειρα του Αριστοτέλη* (Olympiada).
—— and Karaïskou, G. 1992. "*Σωστική ανασκαφή στην Ποτίδαια Χαλκιδικής*", *ΑΕΜΘ* 6: 485–93.
—— and Keramaris, A. 1992. "*Ανασκαφή στο Καλαμωτό Θεσσαλονίκης*", *ΑΕΜΘ* 6: 395–404.
Smith, M. 2000. "The Archaic Coinage of Lete", in B. Kluge and B. Weisser (eds.), *XII. Internationaler Numismatischer Kongress Berlin 1997* (Berlin) 217–21.
Snodgrass, A. M. 1994. "The Euboeans in Macedonia: A New Precedent for Westward Expansion", *AION* 1: 87–93.
Soueréph, K. 1990. "*Τούμπα Θεσσαλονίκης, Ανασκαφης στην οδο Καλαβρυτων*", *ΑΕΜΘ* 4: 300–13.
——1992. "*Τούμπα Θεσσαλονίκης* 1992: *Το ανασκαφικό έργο στην τράπεζα*", *ΑΕΜΘ* 6: 273–93.
—— and Havela, K. 2001. "*Σουροτή στον Ανθεμούντα* 1999: *Νεκραταφείο*", *ΑΕΜΘ* 13: 123–30.
Stylianou, P.J. 1998. *A Historical Commentary on Diodorus Siculus Book 15* (Oxford).
Tiverios, M. 1987. "*'Οστρακα απὸ το Καραμπουρνάκι*", *ΑΕΜΘ* 1: 247–60.
Tiverios, M. 1990. "*'Ερευνες στη διπλή τράπεζα της Αγχιάλου (Σίνδος) κατά το* 1990", *ΑΕΜΘ* 4: 315–32.
——1992. "*Οι ανασκαφικές έρευνες στη διπλή τράπεζα της Αγχιάλου κατά το* 1992", *ΑΕΜΘ* 6: 357–67.
—— Manakidou, E., and Tsiaphaki, D. 1994. "*Ανασκαφικές έρευνες στο Καραμπουρνάκι κατά το* 1994: *ο αρχαίος οικισμός*", *ΑΕΜΘ* 8: 197–202.
————1998. "*Ανασκαφικές έρευνες στο Καραμπουρνάκι κατά το* 1998: *Ο αρχαίος οικισμός*", *ΑΕΜΘ* 12: 221–30.
Trakosopoulou-Salakidou, E. 1988. "*Ανασκαφή Αη-Γιάννη Νικήτης*", *ΑΕΜΘ* 2: 347–55.
——1996. "*Αρχαία Ακανθος* 1986–96", *ΑΕΜΘ* 10A: 297–312.
Tsakalou-Tzanavari, K. 1989. "*Ανασκαφική ερευνα στο νεκροταφείο της αρχαίας Λητης*", *ΑΕΜΘ* 3: 307–17.
Tsibidou-Auloniti, M. 1989. "*Τάφοι κλασικών χρόνων στην Επανωμή*", *ΑΕΜΘ* 3: 319–29.
——1992. "*Ταφικός τύμβος στον Αγ. Αθανάσιο Θεσσαλονίκης· Νέα ανασκαφικά στοιχεία*", *ΑΕΜΘ* 6: 369–82.
Tsigarida, E.-B. 1994: "*Ανασκαφική έρευνα στην αρχαία Αίνεια*", *ΑΕΜΘ* 8: 217–22.
——1996. "*Ανασκαφική έρευνα στην περιόχη της αρχαίας Σάνης-Ουρανόπολης* 1990–1996", *ΑΕΜΘ* 10A: 333–46.
Vickers, M. 1981. "Therme and Thessaloniki", in H. J. Dell (ed.), *Ancient Macedonian Studies in Honor of Charles F. Edson* (Thessalonica) 327–33.
Viviers, D. 1987. "Pisistratus on the Thermaic Gulf", *JHS* 107: 193–95.
Vokotopoulou, J. 1987. "*Ανασκαφικές έρευνες στη Χαλκιδική*", *ΑΕΜΘ* 1: 279–93.
——1989. "*Ανασκαφή Μένδης* 1989", *ΑΕΜΘ* 3: 409–23.
——1990*a*. "*Μένδη-Ποσείδι* 1990", *ΑΕΜΘ* 4: 399–410.
——1990*b*. "Polychrono: A New Archaeological Site in Chalkidike", in J.-P. Descœudres (ed.), *Ceramic and Iconographic Studies in Honour of Alexander Cambitoglou*, *MeditArch.* suppl. 1 (Sydney) 79–86.
——1991. "*Ποσείδι* 1991", *ΑΕΜΘ* 5: 303–18.
——1993. "Nouvelles données sur l'architecture archaïque en Macedoine centrale et en Chalcidique", in J. des Courtils and J.-Ch. Moretti (eds.), *Grand Ateliers d'architecture dans le monde égéen du VIe siècle*, *Varia Anatolica* 3 (Paris) 89–95.
—— 1996. "The Holomondas Inscription", in *Επιγραφές της Μακεδονίας/Inscriptions of Macedonia*, Third International Symposium on Macedonia, 8–12 December 1993 (Thessalonica) 208–23.
—— and Tsigarida, E. B. 1992. "*Ανασκαφική έρευνα στα Νέα Ρόδα Χαλκιδικής*", *ΑΕΜΘ* 6: 467–74.
————1993. "*Ανασκαφική έρευνα στα Νέα Ρόδα Χαλκιδικής*, 1993", *ΑΕΜΘ* 7: 445–54.
—— Besios, M., and Trakosopoulou, E. 1990. "*Παρθενώνας Χαλκιδικής: Ιερό σε κορυφή Ιταμου*", *ΑΕΜΘ* 4: 425–38.
—— Pappa, M., and Tsiganida, E. B. 1988. "*Πολύχρονο Χαλκιδικής* 1988", *ΑΕΜΘ* 2: 317–29.
————1989. "*Πολύχρονο Χαλκιδικής* 1989", *ΑΕΜΘ* 3: 391–408.

Wace, A. B. J. 1913–14. "The Mounds of Macedonia", *BSA* 20: 131–32.

West, A. B. 1918. *The History of the Chalcidic League*, Bulletin of the University of Wisconsin, no. 969, History Series vol. 4, no. 2 (Madison).

——1923. "Notes on the Multiplication of Cities in Ancient Geography", *CP* 18: 48–67.

——1937*a*. "Thucydides, V, 18, 5: Where was Skolos (Stolos)?", *AJPh* 58.1: 157–66.

——1937*b*. "II. Thucydides, V, 18, 6. Sane or Gale", *AJPh* 58.1: 166–73.

Westermark, U. 1988. "The Coinage of the Chalcidian League Reconsidered", in A. Damsgaard-Madsen *et al.* (eds.), *Studies in Ancient History and Numismatics Presented to Rudi Thomsen* (Århus) 91–103.

Woodhead, A. G. 1952. "The Site of Brea: Thucydides 1. 61. 4", *CQ* NS 2.1 and 2: 57–62.

Wroth, W. 1900. "Greek Coins Acquired by the British Museum in 1900", *NC* 20: 273–96.

Wycherley, R. E. 1976. *How the Greeks Built Cities* (New York and London).

Zahrnt, M. 1971. *Olynth und die Chalkidier*, *Vestigia* 14 (Munich).

THRACE FROM STRYMON TO NESTOS

LOUISA LOUKOPOULOU

I. The Region

The region bounded by the lower courses of the rivers Strymon and Nestos consists of two extensively marshy plains, well watered by the river Strymon and by its tributary, the Angites, dominated by imposing richly wooded mountains—Mt. Pangaion to the south-west, Mt. Lekane to the east, Mt. Kerkine and the Rhodope range to the north. A third plain, rich in agricultural lands, extends between Mt. Pangaion and Mt. Symbolon to the south-east. The latter mountain range and Mt. Lekane further north-east together define a narrow coastal strip, whose easternmost part was considerably extended through the centuries by the massive alluvial deposits of the river Nestos.

Various tribes are known to have occupied this part of Thrace: Bisaltians (lower Strymon valley), Odomantes (the plain to the north of the Strymon), Sintoi (middle Strymon valley, to the north of the Bisaltians and the Odomantes), Pieres (the area south of Mt. Pangaion), Edonians (the left bank of the lower Strymon, south of the Angites, and the plain of Philippoi), Satrai (the Pangaion range), Dersaioi (further north), Sapaians (lower Nestos course) (Papazoglou (1988) 351–413).

It was most probably the rich mineral resources of the area, the famed gold and silver of Mt. Pangaion, said to have been discovered first by the Phoenicians (Isaac (1986) 4), then systematically mined and exploited by Pierians, Odomantes and Satrai (Hdt. 7.112), which attracted early Greek ventures and settlements in the area.[1] Thus, soon after the foundation of a Parian colony on Thasos in early C7, the fertile coastal zone[2] across this island from the mouth of the Strymon to that of the Nestos—and beyond, *infra* 859–60, Stryme—appears to have been studded with various Thasian *emporia*, settled and supported by means of ferocious fighting against the local inhabitants.[3] Early on in C6, these invaluable resources, not least the area's abundant supplies of timber for shipbuilding and oar making,[4] must have become widely renowned: following a brief but very profitable venture of the Athenian Peisistratos (Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 15.2; cf. Isaac (1986) 14), the importance of these resources became known to the Athenians; soon thereafter (*c.*509: Hammond and Griffith (1979) 68 n. 4), it attracted Histiaios, tyrant of Miletos, who briefly settled Myrkinos of the Edonians, only to be recalled when the Persian king realised the importance of the area (Hdt. 5.11, 23–24); in 497 Histiaios' venture was repeated by his nephew and successor Aristagoras (Hdt. 7.124, 125; cf. Thuc. 4.102; Diod. 12.68). Milesian efforts were thwarted, however, both by an intense Thracian counter-offensive and by the extension of Persian occupation over the Thracian coast following the campaigns of Megabazos (513) and Mardonios (492) and the establishment of an important supply base at Eion.[5] Interestingly, Thasos under Persian rule seems to have retained control of her *peraia* and of vested interests in regional mineral resources. The annual income of Thasos from mining ventures is said to have amounted to no less than 200 (in better years 300) talents *c.*493, derived for the greatest part from gold and silver mines on the mainland; those at Skapte Hyle alone, presumably located opposite Thasos, on the southern slopes of Mt. Lekane east of Neapolis (Koukouli-Chryssanthaki (1990)), are known to

[1] Both literary sources (discussed by Isaac (1986) 31–34) and archaeological research (cf. most recently Koukouli-Chryssanthaki (1990)) attest to the existence of various productive mining areas in the region.

[2] According to Armenidas (*apud* Athen. 1.31a), the coastal zone between Antisara and Oisyme was named Biblia (Bibline in Steph. Byz. 168. 10; cf. the *Βίβλια ὄρη* of Epicharmos in Athen. 1.31a), well known for its wine (cf. Steph. Byz. 168.10: *Βιβλία ἄμπελος* and *Βίβλινος οἶνος*).

[3] For literary testimonies and archaeological evidence on the establishment of the Thasian *peraia,* see Isaac (1986) with refs. A C6l epigram engraved on the base of a funerary monument discovered in Amphipolis (Lazaridis (1976)) testifies to the unrelenting war between Thasian/Parian colonists and local Thracian tribes.

[4] Thuc. 4.108.1, on Athenian revenues from Amphipolis.

[5] For the extent and nature of Persian occupation in Thrace, see Isaac (1986) 17–18, with references and bibliography.

have yielded a higher income than the famous gold mines on Thasos itself (Hdt. 6.46; cf. Isaac (1986) 21–22).

Following Xerxes' defeat, Kimon's Thracian expedition and the capture of Eion in 476 provided the Athenians with a long-sought-after opportunity to gain a foothold in the lower Strymon valley: they settled at Eion, probably also at Ennea Hodoi, challenging Thasian interests in the area. Thasos, deprived of her fleet and with her fortifications dismantled on Persian orders, had no choice but to join the Delian League (Isaac (1986) 19–21). After 442, the area was included in the Thraceward district, which contributed by far the largest tribute (see tables in Meiggs (1972) 529–30) to the Athenian League. Inevitably, conflicting interests over the *emporia* and mining resources on the *peraia* caused Thasos to revolt as soon as her defensive power and her fleet were restored (Thuc. 1.100–1; Diod. 11.70.1; Polyaen. 2.35, 8.67; Plut. *Cim.* 14.2). Capturing the city after a two-year siege (465–463), Kimon acquired for the Athenians the Thasian settlements (including probably Berga, which appears in the tribute lists at least from 451) and gold mines on the mainland (probably Skapte Hyle). Concurrently, 10,000 Athenian and allied settlers launched an ambitious project to penetrate the Thracian hinterland and gain control over the mines (probably on Mt. Pangaion and in the lower Strymon valley) worked and controlled by the local Thracian tribes. Having occupied Ennea Hodoi, the newcomers under the Athenian generals Sophanes and Leagros were ambushed and annihilated by the Thracians at Drabeskos near Daton.[6] However, Athens' aspirations to extend and expand her control over south-western Thrace were not abandoned. Epigraphic evidence (*IG* I³ 1, 46) attests in detail the otherwise undocumented foundation *c.*445 of a colony at Brea in Bisaltia (location unidentified); the venture, which has been plausibly related (ML 132–33; Meiggs (1972) 159; disputed by Isaac (1986) 36) to the dispatch of 1,000 Athenian settlers by Perikles to Bisaltia (Plut. *Per.* 11.5), was presumably short-lived.[7] Athenian colonising efforts in the north Aegean were finally crowned by success in 437/6, with the foundation of Amphipolis. Inevitably, the importance of the interests at stake kindled anti-Athenian sentiments among both Greek settlers of various origins and Greek and native neighbours, such as the Edonians of Myrkinos. Thus, a Lakedaimonian expedition under Brasidas in 424 met with unprecedented support; the Athenians were expelled from Amphipolis (Thuc. 4.102–8; cf. Isaac (1986) 40–43). Two years later (422) an expedition under Kleon succeeded in regaining control only of Galepsos, but failed to recapture Amphipolis (Thuc. 5.2–3, 6–11), which remained loyal to the Spartan League, despite repeated Athenian campaigns, till it eventually fell under Makedonian rule under Philip II. Athens, however, is believed to have maintained control over the Thasian *peraia* to the end of the Peloponnesian War, even through the troubled years of the second secession of Thasos (411–407) (see Isaac (1986) 67–68).

The collapse of the Athenian Empire provided Thasos with the opportunity to reclaim possession of mainland territories: since Amphipolis—now an established and flourishing independent city—controlled the lower Strymon basin, the Thasians targeted the eastern entrance to the Angites plain and the Pangaion mines: *c.*360 they founded Krenides (no. 632) and Datos (no. 629), the latter with the guidance and support of Kallistratos, the exiled Athenian orator. The new settlements marked the resurrection of the Thasian *peraia* and immediately provoked the hostility of the Thracians;[8] most importantly, they provided Philip II with a legitimate justification for penetrating the area and for the founding in 356 of Philippoi, a Makedonian colony in the Angites plain (Collart (1937)).

Written sources provide information about a total of twenty-five named settlements of the Archaic and Classical periods, thirteen of them attested to have had *polis* status, in the area between the lower and middle courses of the rivers Strymon and Nestos.[9] Despite rather extensive archaeological research, particularly in recent decades,[10] only ten have been securely identified (Antisara, Berga, Gasoros, Galepsos, Neapolis, Neine, Oisyme, Phagres, Philippoi and Sirra); the location of the remaining fourteen (Acontisma,

[6] For a detailed discussion of sources and bibliography, see Isaac (1986) 24–30.

[7] The controversy concerning the location of Brea is succinctly summarized by Isaac (1986) 52 (with refs.). Recent finds have now affirmed beyond doubt that Bisaltia, usually located according to Hdt. 7.115 west of the Strymon, extended over this river's eastern bank as well, as suggested by Strabo 7.36 (cf. Koukouli-Chryssanthaki (2000)). It becomes clear that all Athenian colonising ventures targeted the lower Strymon and the rich hinterland to which it provided access.

[8] On the identity of the Thracians who threatened Krenides, see Isaac (1986) 50 (with ref.), who plausibly suggests the possibility that local tribes—indeed, the ever independent Thracians of Mt. Pangaion whose interests were threatened—should be counted among the most probable candidates.

[9] We have omitted the following toponyms of probable pre-Roman date, which do not belong to urban settlements and remain unidentified (cf. Samsaris (1976) 196–97): Asyla (App. *B Civ.* 4.106), Biblia, or Bibline chora (Armenidas *apud* Athen. 131a); Daineros (letter of Alexander to Philippoi, see Philippoi); Himeraion (Thuc. 7.9 (r414)); Nereidon Choroi (Ps.-Skymnos 649–51); Thasion Kephalai (Strabo 7 fr. 44).

[10] More or less regularly presented in *ArchDelt*, *Prakt* and, more recently, *ΑΕΜΘ*; results summarised by Isaac (1986) 1–71 and Papazoglou (1988) 345–413.

Apollonia, Daton, Drabeskos, Eion, Ennea Hodoi, Krenides, Myrkinos, Paroikopolis, (Herodotean) Pistyros, Sapai, Skapte Hyle, Skotoussa and Tristolos) remains, in our opinion, inconclusive, while that of Brea is unknown and strongly disputed. The following Inventory comprises thirteen settlements considered to have been *poleis* in the Archaic and/or Classical periods; in addition to the *poleis*, ten second-order settlements are known, to which can be added the remains of fourteen unidentified settlements.[11]

1. *Pre-Hellenistic Settlements not Attested as* Poleis

***Akontisma** (*Acontisma*) Mentioned only in Roman literary and epigraphical sources as a station on the *via Egnatia*, situated in a narrow defile between Mt. Lekane and the sea, 9 miles east of Neapolis (*It. Ant.* 321.2, 331.3: *Acontisma*; *It. Burd.* 603.8: *mansio Hercontroma*; Amm. Marc. 26.7.12, 27.4.8, 36.7; cf. Collart (1935) 403 no. 1 for a milestone dated to the reign of Trajan), it is probably identified with a fortress built on a stronghold east of Nea Karvali (Koukouli-Chryssanthaki (1972*b*)). Traces of C6l masonry in the Roman walls and C4 surface pottery were interpreted as indicating a strategically located *emporion* of Thasos, possibly with the name *Akontisma, controlling the passage to the lower Nestos valley (Koukouli-Chryssanthaki (1980*b*) 320–22; cf. Isaac (1986) 12, 69). Not in *Barr.*

Antisara (*Ἀντισάρα*) Steph. Byz. 100.17, quoting Herodian; Ath. 31A, quoting Armenidas (C4l); cf. *Νεάπολις παρὰ Ἀντισάραν* (*IG* I³ 263.III.13). Citing some unnamed authors, Steph. Byz. 100.17 offers *Τισάρη* as an alternative toponym. Antisara was an urban centre (a *polis* according to Herodian (Steph. Byz. 100.17)) located, together with Oisyme, on the coast of the wine-producing *Βιβλία χώρα* (Armenidas *apud* Athen. 1.31a), which served Datos as a port (Steph. Byz. 100.17: *ἐπίνειον Δατηνῶν*). It is probably to be identified with a fortified C6l settlement on the promontory of Kalamitsa, west of Kavala, with remains of a C6–C4 sanctuary, dedicated to Asklepios since C4e (Koukouli-Chryssanthaki (1980*b*) 314–16; (1990) 500; plan in Lazaridis (1971) fig. 68; cf. Isaac (1986) 10, 65); presumably an *emporion* of the Thasians, serving as a maritime outlet for Datos. *Barr.* AC.

Drabeskos (*Δραβησκός*) Thuc. 1.100.3, 4.102.2, some MSS; cf. Herod. *De prosodia cath.* 3.1.153; also *Δραβῆσκος* (Thuc. 1.100.3, 4.102.2, some MSS; Strabo 7 fr. 33; Steph. Byz. 238.1) and *Δράβησκος* (Diod. 12.68.2); a Thracian settlement attributed to the Edonians and situated in the Thracian hinterland (Thuc. 1.100.3; cf. Steph. Byz. 238.1), called a *polis* only by Strabo (7 fr. 33). Together with Argilos and Daton it was situated not far from the Strymonic Gulf, and was said to have occupied, together with Myrkinos, the western end of the plain of Philippoi, near the river Strymon (App. *B Civ.* 4.13.105). In 465 it was the site of the catastrophic ambush by the Edonians of 10,000 Athenians and allies under Leagros and Sophanes attempting to establish a colony in Ennea Hodoi (Thuc. 1.100.3, 4.102.3; Diod. 12.68; Paus. 1.29.4; however, according to Hdt. 9.75 and Isoc. 8.86, the massacre happened *ἐν Δάτῳ*). Drabeskos was identified with the village of Zdravik (present-day Draviskos), 12 km north of Amphipolis, which presumably preserved the altered form of the ancient toponym (Papazoglou (1988) 391–92, *contra* Samsaris (1976) 141 and 145; cf. *BE* (1988) no. 854). Remains of a settlement from the Hellenistic period to late Antiquity at Frangala, 1–2 km to the west of Zdravik/Draviskos, were first recorded by Perdrizet ((1910) 14ff; cf. Kaphtantzis (1967) nos. 568–74). In *Barr.* only HR, but C also attested.

Ennea Hodoi (*Ἐννέα Ὁδοί*) Thuc. 1.100.3 (*χωρίον*); Hdt. 7.114 (*χῶρος*); Harp. *E*58 (*τόπος*); cf., however, Strabo 7 fr. 35 (*Ἀθηναίων κτίσμα ἐν τῷ τόπῳ τούτῳ*). However, if the plausible combination of Thuc. 4.102.2 and Diod. 12.68.1–2 is correct (Collart (1937) 60), Ennea Hodoi is the *polis* of the Edonians not named in Hdt. 5.126 (r497). Presumably identified with Hill 133, *c.*3 km north of Amphipolis (Lazaridis (1964), (1965*a*), (1965*b*); Pritchett (1965) 46, 48; cf. the grave mound at nearby Kastas: Lazaridis (1973); Isaac (1986) 4–5, 24, 28, 37; Koukouli-Chryssanthaki (1993) 682–84). *Barr.* AC.

Gasoros (*Γάσωρος*) Hatzopoulos (1996) ii. no. 39.20 (AD

[11] It is noteworthy that inscriptions of the Roman period have preserved exceptionally full information on many unidentified rural settlements of Philippoi, most of them bearing indigenous names and populated by pre-Roman inhabitants (Papazoglou (1988) 411–12, with complete list of the 15 known *komai*). Their names are either ethnics or derivatives of local epithets of gods, mostly of non-Greek (and non-Latin) origin (e.g. Satriceni, Kalpapouritai, Tasibasteni). They may well have been pre-Greek settlements of unknown political status before the foundation of the Roman colony. Indeed, some of the unidentified rural sites attested by archaeological remains are dated to the Hellenistic period and earlier: fortress of Palaiokastro, 1 km east of Angista, with a Makedonian tomb and finds dating from C5 to the Roman period (*ArchDelt* (1968) *Chron.* 359–60; *ArchDelt* (1973) *Chron.* 455–59); rich tumulus at Nikisiani with six tombs dating to Philip II and Alexander (*ArchDelt* (1963) *Chron.* 257; *ArchDelt* (1964) *Chron.* 374); inscriptions from a settlement at Kalambaki (Koukouli-Chryssanthaki (1968)), one mentioning *ὁ δῆμος*. In view of the modest size of C4s Philippoi, it is very doubtful whether these settlements were part of its territory in pre-Roman times.

158); *Γάζωρος* in literary sources. A *polis* according to Steph. Byz. 195.7, listed among the cities of Odomantike and Edonis in Ptol. *Geog.* 3.12.8. The ethnic *Γαζώριος*, known from Steph. Byz., is epigraphically attested both individually (Roger (1945) 46, from Toumba (AD 144/5) and collectively (Hatzopoulos (1996) ii. no. 39.15–16 (*c.*215); cf. Roger (1938) (early third century AD)). Gasoros has been securely located on the hill of Ag. Athanasios, between the villages of Ag. Christophoros and modern Gazoros (Papazoglou (1988) 382–84 with refs.; for the identification of a C5–C4 cemetery west of the hill of Ag. Athanasios, cf. Samartzidou (1982); Tasia (1985)). Gasoros may have acquired *polis* status either under Philip II (Hatzopoulos (1996) i. 51–75) or at least under the Antigonids (Papazoglou (1988) 383), but all the evidence we have is Hellenistic and too late for inclusion in this Inventory. In *Barr.* only HR, but C also attested in the cemetery.

Paroikopolis (*Παροικόπολις*) A *polis* of the Sintike according to Ptol. 3.12.27 (cf. Hierocl. 639.8, but most importantly Phlegon of Tralleis (*FGrH* 257) fr. 37, nos. 47–53 (first century AD)), it was presumably a Makedonian foundation, reinforced by large numbers of *paroikoi*, incorporated in the community as citizens with full civic rights (Papazoglou (1988) 372). It is probably to be identified with the remains of a large unnamed urban centre inhabited from C5, which was excavated at Sandanski. On the evidence of finds dating to the Hellenistic period, it was presumably organised as a *polis* at the time of the Roman conquest at the latest (ibid. 373–75). In *Barr.* only HR, but C also attested.

Pergamos (*Πέργαμος*) One of two fortresses (*teichea*) of the Pieres in the plain crossed by the army of Xerxes south of Mt. Pangaion (Hdt. 7.112). It has been suggested that Pergamos was a member of the Delian League; but this is based on unconvincing restorations of the toponym ([*Πί*]*ερες* {*σ*} *π*[*αρα Πέρ*]*γαμο*[*ν*] (*IG* I³ 71.IV.61–62) and of the ethnic ([*Περγ*]*αμ*[*οτειχῖται*] (*IG* I³ 71.IV.64)). Pergamos, formerly sought at Eleutheroupolis (Pravi; cf. Samsaris (1976) 161) has tentatively been identified with a fortified settlement (surface finds of Classical and Hellenistic pottery) located on the hill of Koules or Alonaki, near Moustheni (Pikoulas (2001) 64–65 and 176–79). Unlocated in *Barr.* and without periodisation.

Skapte Hyle (*Σκαπτὴ Ὕλη*) Hdt. 6.46.9; Plut. *Cim.* 4.3 (*τῆς Θρᾴκης χωρίον*); Steph. Byz. 573.20 (*Σκαπτησύλη πόλις Θρᾴκης μικρὰ ἀντικρὺ Θάσου*); cf. *IG* I³ 376B.118–19 (*φθοῖδες χρυσίο Σκαπτεσυλικο̂*). The restoration of the name of *Skaptesyle* after Maroneia and before Lysimacheia in the C3l *theorodokoi* list from Delphi (*BCH* 45 (1921) III.94) seems unwarranted. A most important gold-mining area in the mainland *peraia* of Thasos, with a yearly yield of 80 talents (Hdt. 6.46); invariably sought on the slopes of Mt. Pangaion (*TIR* 54), it was more recently located east of Kavala, immediately below Mt. Lekani (Koukouli-Chryssanthaki (1990) 493–96). Unlocated in *Barr.*, dated C.

Skotoussa (*Σκοτοῦσσα*) Strabo 7 fr. 36; cf. Plin. *NH* 4.42 and 35; a *polis* in the Odomantike according to Ptol. 3.12.28. Located by Strabo (7 fr. 36) on the river Strymon, it is listed among the inland cities east of the Strymon by Pliny 4.42—indeed, between Herakleia of Sintike and Sirrai according to the *Tabula Peutingeriana.* It has been tentatively located north of Lake Tachinos, between Vamvakofyton and Palaiokastro and, more recently, at Sidirokastron (Papazoglou (1988) 381–82, with refs.). *Barr.* C.

Tristolos (*Τρίστωλος*) A city of the Sintike attested in Ptol. 3.12.27 but otherwise unknown. It has been tentatively identified with the remains of an urban centre strategically located at Hijadnica, between the villages of Ilindenci and Gorna Gradesnica *c.*15 km north of Sandanski (Papazoglou (1988) 375–76, with bibliography). Unlocated in *Barr.* and without periodisation.

2. *Unidentified Settlements*

The archaeological atlas of the area is further supplemented by frequent discoveries of numerous unidentified sites, mostly of Roman date. However, substantial archaeological remains of pre-Hellenistic date, including inscriptions, have been reported in the following locations.

Alistrati (Panokklissi) Tombs dating from C4 to the Hellenistic and Roman periods indicate the presence of some still unidentified settlement—a *kome*? (Koukouli-Chryssanthaki (1981) 346). Not in *Barr.*

Amygdaleonas (Vassilaki) Fortified citadel (irregular masonry), with pottery finds dating up to C4 (Koukouli-Chryssanthaki (1986)). Probably identified with the Roman station *Fons co* on the *via Egnatia* (Koukouli-Chryssanthaki (1983) 322; Samartzidou (1990)). Not in *Barr.*

Dialekton-Paradeisos (location Pigadi north-east of Dialekton) Surface pottery of Archaic–Classical date, some Iron Age, some Roman. Roman pottery at Dyo Gefyres (Poulios (1987); Koukouli-Chryssanthaki (1990) 503, n. 69; cf. (1967)). Not in *Barr.*

Kali Vrysi (dept. of Drama) Remains of a C4l or C3e large unidentified building with regular masonry (Peristeri (1991) with plan). Not in *Barr.*

Karyani (on the coast) An ancient settlement was identified on Pithari hill, located 1 km to the east of Gaïdourokastro (= Galepsos (no. 631)). Not in *Barr.*

Mesia (Kavala, north-west slopes of Mt. Symbolon). C6l–C5e cemetery (Koukouli-Chryssanthaki (1988)). Not in *Barr.*

Mesokomi Tombs of late Classical (C4s) and Hellenistic date (Poulios (1987)). Not in *Barr.*

Nea Karvali (south-west) Unidentified trapezoidal C6 to Roman period fortress located on a hill (Koukouli-Chryssanthaki (1990) 502 n. 68: possibly an island in Antiquity) west of Nea Karvali (plan in Lazaridis (1971) fig. 70), formerly identified with Acontisma (Koukouli-Chryssanthaki (1967); Lazaridis (1971)). The fortress, which controls a natural port, was occupied according to surface pottery from C6l, being some unknown Thasian *emporion* (Koukouli-Chryssanthaki (1972*b*), (1990) 503 n. 69, (1980*b*) 320–22). Not in *Barr.*

Nea Zichni *C.*1 km south of the village a cemetery dated from C6 to C3 was excavated, presumably belonging to a settlement located on a neighbouring hill (Samartzidou (1982); cf. Koukouli-Chryssanthaki (1983) 323). Not in *Barr.*

Nikesiane A rich tumulus with six tombs dated to the reigns of Philip II and Alexander III (*ArchDelt* (1963) *Chron.* 257, (1964) *Chron.* 374). This evidence is perhaps not quite enough to justify *Barr.*'s classification of the site as a settlement. *Barr.* C.

Palaiokomi (Provista) Probably identified with Myrkinos (no. 633) (cf. Papazoglou (1988) 390–91). *Barr.* Myrkinos, AC.

Paliampela (by Eleutheroupolis) Ancient citadel located on the Paliampela hill near Eleutheroupolis, with remains dating from the late Bronze Age to the early Iron Age and in historic times down to the Hellenistic period, probably the site of some tribal settlement (*ArchDelt* 34 (1979) *Chron.* 332; Koukouli-Chryssanthaki (1982) 325; cf. Koukouli-Chryssanthaki (1984) 272; cf. most recently, Koukouli-Chryssanthaki (1998–9) and Pikoulas (2001) 179–80). The cemetery of the settlement was identified on the north slopes of the hill. The proposed identification with Phagres is invalidated by the discovery (Poulios (1981)) of a C4 epitaph of a *Phagresios* (*BE* (1990) no. 491). Not in *Barr.*

Podochori North of the deserted village, on the flank of Mt. Pangaion, a cult cave (Arkoudotrypa) with rich ceramic finds dating from the early Bronze Age and from C6 to the Roman period (Koukouli-Chryssanthaki (1982) 327). In *Barr.* only RL, but AC also attested.

Stathmos Angistas (Angista station) Remains of an extensive cemetery, with phases from prehistoric to historic (C4s pottery) periods (Koukouli-Chryssanthaki (1989)) including a Makedonian tomb (Koukouli-Chryssanthaki (1973) 455, (1973–74) 786–87) were discovered on the hills to the west of the important but unknown urban centre identified at Palaiokastro west of the village of Angista Station. Not in *Barr.*

II. The *Poleis*

627. Apollonia Map 51. Lat. 40.45, long. 24.10. Size of territory: ? Type: A:α. The toponym is Ἀπολλωνία, ἡ (Dem. 9.26; Strabo 7 fr. 35 (rC4f)). Apollonia is implicitly called a *polis* in the urban sense at Dem. 9.26, where Olynthos, Methone and Apollonia are juxtaposed with thirty-two unnamed Thracian *poleis*, all destroyed by Philip; cf. also Strabo 7 fr. 33 and Pompon. 2.30: *urbs.*

Apollonia was located on the Pierian coast between Galepsos and Oisyme, on the cape enclosing the Strymonic Gulf from the east, opposite Mt. Athos (Strabo 7 fr. 33; Plin. *HN* 4.42). It was allegedly an Ionian colony (Steph. Byz. 106.13, probably referring to Dem. 9.26). Together with Galepsos, it was conquered and destroyed by Philip II (Strabo 7 fr. 35E; Dem. 9.26), presumably following the capture of Krenides in 356 (Hammond and Griffith (1979) 363). This Apollonia has often been confused with Apollonia in Mygdonia (Hirschfeld (1895); cf. Papazoglou (1988) 399–400, see *supra* no. 545).

Apollonia is tentatively identified with the sparse remains on the rocky promontory called Pyrgos Apollonias (ruins of a Byzantine fortress), *c.*6 km to the east of Loutra Eleftheron (Papazoglou (1988) 400, following Collart (1937) 88ff).

628. Berga (Bergaios) Map 51. Lat. 40.55, long. 23.30, but see *infra* for a recently established different location. Size of territory: probably 3. Type: B:β. The toponym is Βέργα, ἡ (*IG* IV².1 94.19 (360/59); Ps.-Skymnos 653–54; cf. also Ptol. 3.12.28) or Βέργη (Strabo 7 fr. 36; Steph. Byz. 163.13 and Hierocl. *Synekd.* 640.6; cf. Koukouli-Chryssanthaki (2000) 351, n. 9 for an unpublished C4 inscription from Dion, where the toponym (dat. Βέργηι) is mentioned twice) or Βέργιον

(Steph. Byz. 163.18). The city-ethnic is *Βεργαῖος* (*IG* I³ 261.IV.29; Bonias (2000) 231; cf. Alexis fr. 90.1, *PCG*). Berga is called a *polis* only in late sources (Ptol. 3.12.28; Steph. Byz. 163.13). In Strabo 7 fr. 36 it is called a *kome* in Bisaltia. The site-classification as a *polis* in the Classical period is corroborated (a) by the appearance of Berga in the tribute lists as a paying member of the Delian League (*infra*); (b) by the C5 coins; and (c) by the listing of Antiphanes Bergaios (probably the famous C4 author of *Apista*) among the *theorodokoi* to host *theoroi* from Epidauros (*IG* IV².1 94.19). The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally on coins (*infra*) and in an inscription of C5f (Bonias (2000) 231) and externally in the Athenian tribute lists (*infra*). For the individual and external use, see Polyb. 34.6.15.

Recorded between Amphipolis and Tragilos in the Epidaurian *theorodokoi* list, Berga is located by Strabo (7 fr. 36) in the territory of the Bisaltai, *c.*200 stadia (some 36 km) upstream from Amphipolis in the Strymon valley. Berga was usually sought in different locations on the west bank of the river Strymon, which was considered to be the easternmost frontier of Bisaltia (for a review of the various identifications, see Koukouli-Chryssanthaki (2000) 353–58). It is now identified beyond reasonable doubt with the remains of an important urban centre by Neos Skopos, close to the eastern bank of the now drained Lake Achinos (ancient Kerkinitis) in the lower Strymon basin (Bonias (2000) 236 n. 28; Koukouli-Chryssanthaki (2000) 359–61, recording imported Ionic and Attic pottery of C6 and C5 date, C5 and C4 Attic sculpture, and various finds indicative of strong Thasian and Attic influence). On the remnants of the defence circuit—now destroyed—see Samsaris (1976) 133. The use of the Parian–Thasian alphabet in the new C5f inscription from Neos Skopos (Bonias (2000)) strongly supports the view that Berga was established as a dependent colony and, probably, *emporion* of Thasos providing access to commercial routes and Thracian resources through the Strymon and the Angites valleys. In 463, following the suppression of its secession from the Delian League, Thasos must have lost control of Berga along with the rest of its mainland possessions.

Consequently, the Bergaians became members of the Delian League. Berga belonged to the Thracian district and is recorded in the tribute lists from 451 (*IG* I³ 261.IV.29) to 429/8 (*IG* I³ 282.II.32) a total of seven times. There is a gap of twelve years between 447/6 and 435/4, and Berga is absent from the full panel of 443/2 (*IG* I³ 269.II.27–III.33). The gap may be connected with the Athenian venture to settle 1,000 colonists in Bisaltia (Plut. *Per.* 11.5; cf. Hammond and Griffith (1979) 117). Berga paid 2,880 dr. in 452/1 (*IG* I³ 261.IV.29), 3,240 dr. in 447/6 (*IG* I³ 265.I.93) and 3,120 dr. from 435/4 on (*IG* I³ 277.VI.30).

In the new inscription, the obscure term *βολη* is unconvincingly interpreted as a reference to a council (Bonias (2000) 231 line 3). Berga is recorded in the Epidaurian list of *theorodokoi* of 359 (*IG* IV².1 94.I.b.19). The name of the *theorodokos* was Antiphanes, who may be identical with the author whose *patris* was Berge according to Ps.-Skymnos (653–54) (Isaac (1986) 59).

Berga struck silver coins in, probably, C5s. Types: *obv.* kneeling Silenos carrying a nymph; *rev.* incuse square; legend: some have *ΒΕΡΓ* or *ΒΕΡΓΑΙ* on *obv.*, others have *ΒΕΡΓΑΙΟΥ* on *rev.* (Svoronos (1918–19) 99–100; cf. Edson (1947) 96; Hammond and Griffith (1979) 117, 121, with an interpretation of the gen. as *Βεργαίου συνοικισμοῦ*, implying the mixed settlement of Athenians and Bisaltians; cf. however, Peter (1997) 104–6: early C4. For a review of possible interpretations of the legends, see Koukouli-Chryssanthaki (2000) 352).

629. Datos (Datenos) Map 51. Lat. 40.55, long. 24.20, in *Barr.* recorded as *Fons Co(. . .)*. Size of territory: probably 3. Type: A:*β*. The toponym is *Δάτος* (*IG* IV².1 94.32), *ἡ* (Ephor. fr. 37), or once *ὁ* (Theopomp. fr. 43), also *Δάτον*, *τό* (Ps.-Skylax 67; Steph. Byz. 221.3). The city-ethnic is exclusively attested in late literary sources in the collective and external form (Harp. *Δ*7; Strabo 7 fr. 36). Datos is called a *polis Hellenis* by Ps.-Skylax 67 and in Harp. *Δ*7 quoting Ephoros, where we cannot be sure that the term *polis* stems from Ephoros (cf. fr. 37).

Δάτος/*Δάτον* appears to have been the name both of the settlement itself and of the surrounding region (Ephor. fr. 37; *Suda Δ*92). Datos was proverbially rich in fertile lands, timber and gold mines (Harp *Δ*7; *Suda Δ*92). It was inhabited by Edonians (Hdt. 9.75), and situated near the Strymonian Gulf (Strabo 7 fr. 33; cf. fr. 36). The region has been identified with a more or less vast area including the left (east) bank of the lower Strymon below Mt. Pangaion, bordering on ancient Lake Prasias and extending across the Strymon–Angites confluence further eastward into the territory of the Edonians, probably into the marshlands of the plain of Philippoi (Collart (1937) 133–37; cf. Hammond and Griffith (1979) 72, 188; Vatin (1984) 265–68; Borza (1989) 63–65). Antisara, situated on the Gulf of Kavala, west of Neapolis, served as its outlet to the sea (Steph. Byz. 100.17: *ἐπίνειον Δατηνῶν*). Herodotos (9.75) locates in the region of Datos the massacre by the Edonians of the Athenian settlers under Leagros and Sophanes in 465.

Part of the Datos region probably became the territory of the homonymous urban centre, an *apoikia* founded *c.*360 by the Thasians (Diod. 16.3.7 (r360/59); cf. Eust. *ad Dion. Perieg.* 517 = *GGM* II 315.40–44) under the exiled Athenian Kallistratos (Ps.-Skylax 67; Isoc. 8.24; Zenobios 4.34, where *τὴν ἀντίπεραν γῆν οἰκῆσαι* shows that *Θασίους* is an obvious emendation of MS *Ἀθηναίους*). In 360/59 Datos appointed a *theorodokos* to host the *theoroi* of Epidauros (*IG* IV².1 94.32).

By founding the colony at Datos, Kallistratos and the Thasians created a bridgehead aimed at controlling the whole of the Datos region, which is identified with the "Thasian continent" of the coinage minted in 360. Recently it was tentatively proposed to identify Datos with the fortified settlement on top of Vassilaki hill, near the village of Amygdaleonas, at the entrance of the pass leading from the plain of Philippoi over Mt. Symbolon to Neapolis (Samartzidou (1990)).

Shortly afterwards Datos was conquered by Philip of Makedon and renamed Philippoi (Harp *Δ*7, quoting Ephor. fr. 37; Philoch. fr. 37). Epigraphic evidence indicates that Datos and its territory (or at least part of it) were absorbed into the territory of Philippoi: *Δάτου χώρα* is mentioned in Alexander's settlement concerning the territory of Philippoi (*SEG* 34 664.15; Hatzopoulos (1996) ii. no. 6), and the hypothesis is further corroborated by the plausible identification of Timandros, the Epidaurian *theorodokos* in Datos (*IG* IV².1 94.32) with Timandros the father of five citizens of Philippoi honoured with *proxenia* in a Delphic decree of C4s (*Syll.*³ 267A.3; cf. Collart (1937) 177–78). Thus, Datos was incorporated into Philippoi, and it is this reform that lies behind the information in several sources that Datos was renamed Philippoi. A complete equation of Datos with Krenides-Philippoi, as indicated at App. *B Civ.* 4.13.105 (rC4) and accepted by Avramea in *TIR* 23–24, is plausibly refuted by Hammond (Hammond and Griffith (1979) 187–88, cf. 235). According to Vatin ((1984) 267–68), Krenides was the name of a locality populated by Thracians on the border of the region called Datos.

630. Eion Map 51. Lat. 40.45, long. 23.50. Size of territory: probably 3. Type: A: α? The toponym is *:Ἠιών, ἡ* (Hdt. 7.25.2; Thuc. 4.102.3; *SEG* 27 249 (C5e); *IG* I³ 265.1.105). The only attestation of a city-ethnic is at Steph. Byz. 298.22. Eion is called a *polis* in the urban sense by Herodotos (7.113.1), who also mentions the *asty* and its defence circuit (*teichos*, 7.107.2), whereas Thucydides calls it a maritime *emporion* of the Athenians (4.102.3). On the combined evidence of literary and numismatic sources, Hansen argues that Eion was not simply a fortified *emporion* (Isaac (1986) 60–63; cf. Papazoglou (1988) 388) but indeed a (dependent) *polis* in the political sense (Hansen (2000) 197–98), at least until the foundation of Amphipolis.

Eion is said to be the maritime outlet (*limen*) of Amphipolis (schol. Thuc. 1.98.1). Literary sources identify Eion as *ἡ ἐπὶ Στρυμόνι* (Hdt. 7.25.2; Thuc. 1.98.1) and *ἡ πρὸς Ἀμφιπόλει* (Dem. 23.199), as opposed to *Ἠιὼν ἐπὶ Θρᾴκης*, the homonymous colony of Mende in the Chalkidike (Thuc. 4.7; see no. 570). Colonising ventures in the area of Eion by the Parians (no doubt involving the Parian colonists of Thasos) are inferred from a C6l epigram from Amphipolis (Lazaridis (1976); cf. *BE* (1978) no. 297; *SEG* 27 249 (525–490)) combined with extensive C7–C6 archaeological remains in the area. Eion is recorded as a strongly fortified supply base of the Persian army in C5e (Hdt. 7.25.2), heroically defended by its governor Boges against the Athenians in 476/5 (Hdt. 7.107). After a protracted siege by the Athenians under Kimon, Eion was conquered and exposed to *andrapodismos* (Thuc. 1.98.1). Its capture raised unprecedented enthusiasm in Athens (Plut. *Cim.* 7–8; cf. Perdrizet (1910) 9–11), which reveals the strategic importance attached to the conquest. Eion became an *emporion* of the Athenians and was used as a base for their penetration and colonising efforts in the Strymon valley (Drabeskos: Thuc. 4.105; cf. schol. Aeschin. 2.31), which culminated in the foundation of Amphipolis in 437/6 (Thuc. 4.102). It became a strongly fortified naval base (Thuc. 4.107.2), and in 447/6 Abdera is recorded in the Athenian tribute lists paying 1 talent to Eion (*IG* I³ 265.1.105). In the Peloponnesian War it controlled the entrance of the river, especially during the siege of Amphipolis in 424 and 422 (Thuc. 4.106–8, 5.6). It was probably incorporated into the territory of Amphipolis (cf. Theopomp. fr. 51). After the fall of Amphipolis in 424, Brasidas' attack on Eion failed (Thuc. 4.107.1–2), and Eion served as a base for Kleon's campaign in 422 (Thuc. 5.6). The Athenians in Eion were, however, forced into exile after Aigos potamoi (schol. in Aeschin. 2.31). At an unspecified date, Eion was razed to the ground by the Athenians, and its Amphipolitan inhabitants were expelled (Theopomp. fr. 51; cf. Jacoby *ad loc.* 364, where the event is connected with the operations of Chares against Philip II in 357), following which Eion does not appear in any source, either historical or geographical.

According to Thuc. 4.102.3, Eion was situated on the estuary of the river Strymon, 25 *s*tadia (*c.*30 stadia according to Diod. 12.73.3) downstream from Amphipolis. It was usually

sought at the mouth (most probably on the left bank) of the Strymon (Collart (1937) 73ff). The acropolis of Eion was recently identified on the Prophitis Elias hill, with surface finds dating from C7 to C5f (Koukouli-Chryssanthaki (1980*a*) 423) and C6 cemetery strata (Koukouli-Chryssanthaki and Samartzidou (1984) 276; cf. Pritchett (1965) 40 and Papazoglou (1988) 389. For remains of the pre-colonial period, see Koukouli-Chryssanthaki (1993) 684–85). A fragmentary boundary stone of "Classical date" from the ruins of the Byzantine castle of Marmarion is tentatively restored as indicating the presence of a sanctuary of Artemis in the area (Papangélos (1990); cf. *BE* (1991) no. 414).

A number of C5f silver and electrum coins discovered in the area have been attributed to Eion. (1) Electrum: denominations: hekte and fractions. Type: *obv.* goose with or without lizard; *rev.* incuse square. (2) Silver: denominations: drachm and fractions down to hemiobol. Type: *obv.* one or two geese usually with lizard, often letters in field; *rev.* incuse square (Head, *HN*² 197; *SNG Cop. Macedonia* 173–81).

631. Galepsos (Galepsios) Map 51. Lat. 40.45, long. 24.00 (to be distinguished from Galepsos in Sithonia (no. 571); size of territory: probably 3. Type: [A]:*α*. The toponym is *Γαλῆψός, ἡ* (Thuc. 4.107.3; schol. Thuc. 5.6.1; Ps.-Skylax 67), said to derive from Galepsos, son of Thasos and Telephe (Marsyas the Younger (*FGrH* 136) fr. 5). The city-ethnic is *Γαλήψιος* (*IG* I³ 259.IV.15). In Ps.-Skylax 67 Galepsos is the third of four toponyms listed after the heading *πόλεις Ἑλληνίδες αἵδε*, where *polis* is used in the urban sense. For *polis* used in the political sense, see Diod. 12.68.4 (rC5s). The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally on coins (*infra*) and externally in the Athenian tribute lists (*infra*). For the individual and external use, see an undated Athenian funerary inscription (*SEG* 32 297; cf. no. 571).

Galepsos was a colony (*apoikia*) of Thasos (Thuc. 4.107.3, 5.6.1; Heraclid. Pont. fr. 125, Wehrli; Diod. 12.68.4). Qualified as a *πόλις Ἑλληνὶς* and one of the *emporia* of the Thasians by Ps.-Skylax 67, it is generally considered as one of the mainland *emporia* of Thasos (Avram (1995) 193: "Ursprünglich bloss einem *Emporion* der Thasier") or rather a dependent *polis* and an *emporion* in the mainland *peraia* of Thasos (Hansen (1997) 88, (2000) 199).

Galepsos was a member of the Delian League. It belonged to the Thracian district and is recorded in the tribute lists from 454/3 (*IG* I³ 259.IV.15) to 415/14 (*IG* I³ 290.III.21, heavily restored) a total of fourteen times, paying first *c.*1½ tal. (*IG* I³ 259.IV.15) reduced to 3,000 dr. in 443/2 (*IG* I³ 269.III.3) and further reduced to 1,000 dr. in 433/2 (*IG* I³ 279.II.35). After the fall of Amphipolis in 424, Galepsos was won over by Brasidas with the assistance of the Makedonian king Perdikkas (Thuc. 4.107.3), but was recaptured by Kleon two years later (Thuc. 5.6.1). It was conquered and destroyed by Philip II (Strabo 7 fr. 35), presumably soon before or after his capture of Krenides in 356 (Hammond and Griffith (1979) 363); however, it was probably refounded by the Makedonians, as inferred by the mention of Galepsos in Livy (44.45.14–15 (rC2f)), drawing on Polybios.

Galepsos is generally identified with the ruins at Gaïdourokastro, a C5e fortified citadel, strategically located south of the village of Karyani (7–8 km south-west of Orfano), which dominates both the Strymonic Gulf and the Pierian coast (Collart (1937) 78–80, following Perdrizet (1894) 440; detailed description of the site in Bakalakis and Mylonas (1938); plan of the citadel in Lazaridis (1971) fig. 64). The earliest finds are dated to C7l and C6e (Romiopoulou (1960)), indicating its foundation as a Thasian colony as early as C7l, possibly on the site of a pre-existing Thracian settlement. A C6–C4 cemetery, including both inhumation and cremation burials, was excavated on a low hill, south-west of the citadel, some 200 m from the coast (Koukouli-Chryssanthaki (1972*c*) 526–27). The existence of a sanctuary of Zeus, worshipped with the epithets *herkeios, patroios and ktesios*, is assumed from the discovery of two C5l–C4e boundary stones with characteristic Parian/Thasian lettering (Collart (1937) 79, n. 4, with refs.). Moreover, the urban centre at Gaïdourokastron may be related to the neighbouring coastal settlement identified 1 km to the east, on the Pithari hill, which is probably linked to the C6 tombs excavated in the vicinity, and with an unlocated sanctuary of Demeter with a *hekatompedos* temple, mentioned on four inscribed boundary stones found at the foot of the hill (unpublished; cf. Koukouli-Chryssanthaki (1982) 325–26; *BE* (1994) no. 433).

Galepsos struck bronze coins, probably in C4e, but so far only three pieces are known (Bon and Bon (1936); *BCH* (1930); cf. Robert (1940) 90, n. 1). *Obv.* head of Dionysos; *rev.* protome of ram; legend: *ΓΑΛΗΨΙΩΝ* (Bon (1936) 172–74; Robert (1940) 90 n. 1; Liampi (1991) 30 with n. 63). These coins are sometimes erroneously attributed to Galepsos on Sithonia (Blanchet, *RN* (1937) 325; Demetriadi (1974).

632. Krenides (Krenites) Map 51. Lat. 41.00, long. 24.15. Size of territory: ? Type: B:*α*. The toponym is *Κρηνίδες, αἱ* (*IG* I² 127.45; Tod 157, 356; Diod. 16.3.7). The city-ethnic is

Κρηνίτης (Artem. fr. 15, *GGM* I 476). Krenides is called a *polis* in late sources only (Diod. 16.8.6 (r361)), but *polis* status in C4 is strongly indicated by its mint (*infra*). The legend on the coins shows that the *polis* was a Thasian dependency (*infra*). In C1 it had dwindled to a *κατοικία μικρά* (Strabo 7 fr. 41).

Krenides is said to have drawn its name from springs rising near the foot of its acropolis (App. *B Civ.* 4.105; Strabo 7 fr. 34; cf. Collart (1937) 39ff). It was colonised by the Thasians *c.*360/59 (Diod. 16.3.7). That the exiled Athenian Kallistratos was involved in the colonisation is argued by some historians (Hammond and Griffith (1979) 187–88, 235; Vatin (1984) 267–68), but has no foundation in the sources (see *supra*). Krenides was located near Mt. Pangaion, possessing numerous gold mines, where the city of Philippoi was eventually established (Strab. 7 fr. 34; Artem. fr. 15; Diod. 16.3.7). Threatened by Thracian attacks, it requested aid from Philip II, who occupied and fortified it (356), introducing new Makedonian settlers and renaming it Philippoi (Artem. fr. 15; Diod. 16.3.7, 8.6; Steph. Byz. 383.9–10; App. *B Civ.* 4.105); see *infra* 865.

Krenides struck coins of gold and bronze *c.*360–356. Type: *obv.* head of Herakles; *rev.* tripod (gold), or club and bow (bronze); legend: *ΘΑΣΙΟΝ ΗΠΕΙΡΟ*. The types are identical with those of Philippoi, which shows that they were struck by the precursor of Philippoi, i.e. Krenides (Head, *HN*² 217; Le Rider (1956) 16–19; Kraay (1976) no. 509; *SNG Cop. Macedonia* 219).

633. Myrkinos (Myrkinios) Map 51. Lat. 40.55, long. 23.50, according to *Barr.*, but precise location unknown (*infra*). Size of territory: probably 3. Type: A:*β*. The toponym is *Μύρκινος, ἡ* (Hdt. 5.11.2; Thuc. 4.107.3), but *Μυρκιννία* according to Parthenios fr. 659.1, *apud* Steph. Byz. 463.15. The city-ethnic is *Μυρκίνιος*, attested at Thuc. 5.10.9 in the collective and external sense. Myrkinos is called a *polis* both in the urban sense (Hdt. 5.11.2) and in the political sense (Thuc. 4.107.3), but only a *polichnion* by Diodoros (12.68.4 (r424)). The toponym designates both the settlement and its hinterland (Hdt. 5.23.1; Steph. Byz. 463.14).

Myrkinos was an Edonian community (Thuc. 4.107.3; Hdt. 5.126.2), with a mixed population of Greeks and barbarians (Hdt. 5.23.2). It was colonised and fortified (Hdt. 5.23.1, 124.2) *c.*509 (Hammond and Griffith (1979) 68 n. 4) by Histiaios, the tyrant of Miletos, who received it as a gift from Dareios (Hdt. 5.11, 124.2). In 497 the city received a new contingent of Greek colonists when Aristagoras fled Miletos with a group of Milesians and settled in Myrkinos (Hdt. 5.124.2, 126). Shortly afterwards he and his army were massacred by the Edonians (Hdt. 5.126). In C5s Myrkinos was ruled by the king of the Edonians, Pittakos; after he was murdered, Myrkinos fell to the sons of Goaxis and his wife Brauro, and following the fall of Amphipolis in 424, the Myrkinians joined Brasidas and provided a sizeable contingent of cavalry and peltasts (1,000 together with the Chalkidians) and cavalry for his campaign against Kleon, who was actually killed by a Myrkinian peltast (Thuc. 5.6.4 and 5.10.9).

Myrkinos was situated in an area rich in gold, silver and timber (Hdt. 5.23) at the western end of the plain of Philippoi, near Drabeskos and the river Strymon (App. *B Civ.* 4.105; Strabo 7 fr. 33); but the precise location remains unidentified (Samsaris (1976) 141: = modern Myrkinos (formerly Doxambos); more probably = ancient site near Palaiokomi (formerly Provista), to the north-west of Mt. Pangaion (Papazoglou (1988) 390–91; cf. Hammond and Griffith (1979) 68; *TIR* 42–43 s.v.).

634. Neapolis (Neopolites) Map 51. Lat. 40.55, long. 24.25. Size of territory: probably 2. Type: A:*α*. The toponym is *Νεάπολις* (*IG* I³ 263.III.13–14; Ps.-Skylax 67; *IG* IV².1 94.27 (360/59)) or *Νέα Πόλις* (*IG* I³ 101.44; Ps.-Skymnos 659), often accompanied by geographical specifications: *ἐν Θράκῃ* (*IG* I³ 259.VI.9–10) or *παρὰ Ἀντισάραν* (*IG* I³ 263.III.13) to distinguish it from homonymous cities. The city-ethnic is *Νεοπολίτης* (*IG* I³ 101.2) or *Νεαπολίτης* (*F.Delphes* III.4 414.13 (C3f)) and is often geographically specified: *Νεοπολῖται παρ' Ἀντισάραν* (*IG* I³ 278.V.14–15) or *Νεοπολῖται οἱ ἀπὸ Θράκης* (*IG* I³ 101.32 and 48). The second part of the compound toponym testifies to the *polis* status of Neapolis. In Ps.-Skylax 67 Neapolis is one of the toponyms listed after the heading *πόλεις Ἑλληνίδες αἵδε*, where *polis* is used in the urban sense; and in the so-called Charter of the Second Athenian Naval League Neapolis appears under the heading *πόλεις αἵδε σύμμαχοι* (*IG* II² 43.78 and B.34). The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally on coins (*infra*) and externally in the Athenian decrees and tribute lists (*supra*). The individual and external use is attested in a Thasian inscription of C5l (*IG* XII.8 263.12–13).

Neapolis was situated at the northernmost limit of the Strymonic Gulf, near the coast of the Datenoi (Strabo 7 frr. 32 and 36) not far from Daton itself (Ps.-Skylax 67). It is the last city attested by Ps.-Skylax 67 west of the river Nestos; in the list of the Epidaurian *theorodokoi* it is recorded before Abdera and after Mende (*IG* IV².1 94.27), in the Delphic list

of *theorodokoi* after Philippoi and Oisyme but before [Σ]άπαι (*BCH* 45 (1921) III.82). According to Cassius Dio (47.35.3) it was located on the coast opposite Thasos, separated from the plain of Philippoi by Mt. Symbolon. The port of Neapolis is mentioned in an Athenian decree of 409 (*IG* I³ 101.28; Lazaridis (1969) 20 and 23). The proposed identification with Kavala (Heuzey and Daumet (1876) 18–20; cf. Collart (1937) 105–6) was archaeologically confirmed by the discovery of segments of polygonal fortification walls of a Classical citadel on the Pharos peninsula (plan in Lazaridis (1971) fig. 69).

The disputed origin of Neapolis from either Thasos or Athens or Eretria (Collart (1937) 112–24) was settled by Pouilloux ((1954) 158ff), who emphasised the decisive argument provided by the archaeological material: Thasian–Parian lettering in C6 graffiti and standard Thasian types of early Neapolis coinage (Kraay (1976) 150–51). It is notable that in 411–409, at the request of the Neopolitans, Athens erased the express reference to Neapolis being a colony of Thasos from the first of two honorific decrees (*IG* I³ 101.7, 8 (*rasurae*), cf. 68–69).

Neapolis was a member of the Delian League. It belonged to the Thracian district and was entered on the Athenian tribute lists first by toponym (*IG* I³ 259.VI.9–10) but from 443/2 by city-ethnic (*IG* I³ 269.II.28). It is recorded in the tribute lists from 454/3 (*IG* I³ 259.VI.9–10) to 429/8 (*IG* I³ 282.II.19–20) a total of fourteen times, once completely restored, and paid in all years 1,000 dr. (*IG* I³ 265.I.20).

A further proof of its continued independence of Thasian control is inferred from the fact that it had control over customs dues collected in its own harbour (*IG* I³ 101.27–30; Isaac (1986) 67). Thus the fact that some Neopolitans possessed property in Thasos, which was confiscated by the oligarchic government of that island in 411 (*IG* XII.8 263.5–7, 12–13), reflects most probably the survival of a situation dating from before 463, when Neapolis, with the rest of the Thasian *peraia*, was detached from the territory of Thasos.

Following the defection of Thasos from the Athenian League in 411, Neapolis remained loyal to Athens, causing Neopolitan oligarchs to take refuge in Thasos, while the property of Neopolitan democrats in Thasos was confiscated (*IG* XII.8 263; cf. the admission into the citizen body of Thasos of presumed Neopolitan refugees born of Thasian mothers (*IG* XII.8 264 (*c.*408–404); cf. Wilhelm (1911–32) ii (1914) no. 14; Collart (1937) 129–30). Unsuccessfully besieged by the Thasians, the Neopolitans were praised by the Athenians for their loyalty and for participating in the siege of Thasos by Thrasyboulos (*IG* I³ 101 (410/9)).

A problematic inscription from Paros (*IG* XII.5 109 (C5l–C4e)), usually considered as a treaty between Thasian oligarchs and Paros with the participation of Neopolitan refugees (οἱ Νεοπολῖται οἱ ἐν Θάσῳ), has been interpreted as a peace treaty between Thasians and Neopolitans organised by Paros (Pouilloux (1954) 178–92; cf. *IG* XII.8 264, from Thasos and the fragmentary treaty of reconciliation between Thasos and Neapolis in 390 recently discovered in Delphi: Moretti (1987) with refs.).

Having preserved its independence from Thasos in the aftermath of the Peloponnesian War, Neapolis became a member of the Second Athenian Naval League in 375/4 (*IG* II² 43B.34). This independent status seems to have been preserved even after the expansion of the *peraia* of Thasos in the plain of Daton in 360/59, obliging Thasos to seek an alternative outlet to the sea for the produce of her new possessions: it may account for the record of Antisara as a port of the Datenoi in Steph. Byz. (100.17). In the spring of 355 Neapolis sent ambassadors to Athens to negotiate the conclusion of an alliance with Athens, presumably against Philip II of Makedon (*IG* II² 128). The termination of the Neopolitan coinage around the same period indicates the final annexation of Neapolis to the Makedonian kingdom. C3 epigraphic testimony from Delphi (*F.Delphes* III.4 414.13) and the fact that Neapolis hosted *theoroi* of Delphi in C3l (*BCH* 45 (1921) III.82) indicate that its civic status remained unchanged after the foundation of Philippoi; cf. Papazoglou (1988) 403.

The poliad deity of Neapolis was Athena Parthenos, as confirmed by epigraphic and figurative testimonies (Bakalakis (1936*a*) 33 nos. 1 and 2). The relief crowning a C4m Athenian decree in favour of the Neopolitans represents Athena and a *polos*-wearing goddess, identified by the legend ΠΑΡΘΕΝΟΣ (*IG* II² 128; Lawton (1995) no. 28), and Parthenos is presumed to be represented in the relief crowning the C5l decree as well (*IG* I³ 101; Lawton (1995) no. 7). Her sanctuary, attested in *IG* I³ 101.45, 57 and 63 (cf. Tod 84), was identified on decisive epigraphic evidence with the archaeological remains of a monumental C6 temple (Ionic capitals and fragments of entablature) discovered inside the citadel, on the Pharos peninsula in Kavala, presumed to have replaced an earlier wooden construction. The earliest pottery finds in the sanctuary were dated to *c.*650–625 (Lazaridis (1961–62) 235–6), while a rich Archaic deposit yielded Thasian, Corinthian and East Greek ware (625–600) and C6m Attic black-figure (Lazaridis (1961–62); for probable pre-colonial pottery, cf. Koukouli-Chryssanthaki (1993) 686–87). Moreover, a cult of Artemis with the epithet *Opitais* is epigraphically attested (Lazaridis (1941–42)). Some

further information concerning religious institutions in Neapolis is preserved in a C4(?) inscription mentioning a *neokoros* of the Parthenos and the existence of a *kreophylakion* (= archives; Collart (1937) 108–9).

Neapolis struck silver coins from *c.*530 to the Makedonian conquest in C4m, and bronze in C4s. (1) Silver on the Babylonian standard, *c.*530–C5l: denominations: stater, third, ninth. Type: *obv.* Gorgoneion; *rev.* incuse square. (2) Silver on the Phoenician standard, C5l–C4m: denominations: drachm, triobol, diobol. Type: *obv.* Gorgoneion; *rev.* head of Parthenos; legend: *ΝΕΟΠ* or *ΝΕΟΠΟΛΙΤΕΩΝ*. (3) Bronze, C4e onwards: *obv.* Gorgoneion; *rev.* head of Parthenos, or Parthenos standing; legend: *ΝΕΑΠΟΛ* or *ΝΕΑΠΟΛΙΤΩΗ* (Head, *HN*² 196–97; Gaebler (1906–35) 79–83; Bakalakis (1936*b*) 36, 43; Lazaridis (1969) 21; Oikonomidou (1990); Picard (1990) 541–47; *SNG Cop. Macedonia* 222–32).

635. Oisyme (Oisymaios) Map 51. Lat. 40.50, long. 24.20. Size of territory: probably 3. Type. A: α. The toponym is *Οἰσύμη, ἡ* (Thuc. 4.107.3; Ant. fr. 25, Sauppe), *Οἰσύμα* in the Delphic list of *theorodokoi* (*BCH* 45 (1921) III.81), identified in Steph. Byz. 487.8 with Homeric *Αἰσύμη* (Hom. *Il.* 8.304). Oisyme is said to have been renamed *Ἡμαθία* after Makedonian Emathia (Ps.-Skymnos 456–58; Steph. Byz. 487.8), presumably following its occupation by Philip II. The city-ethnic is *Οἰσυμαῖος* (C4 stamped amphora handles (Bakalakis (1938) 101–2; cf. Koukouli-Chryssanthaki (1969)). Both the toponym and the ethnic are epigraphically attested in C3 (*SGDI* 2600; *BCH* 45 (1921) III.81; cf. Robert (1940) 89 n. 4). Oisyme is called a *polis* by Harpokration (*O*12), quoting Ephoros (fr. 36): *πόλις ἐστὶ τῆς Θρᾴκης, καθά φασιν ἄλλοι τε καὶ Ἔφορος ἐν δ'*. Here Ephoros is probably quoted for the site-classification, since Harp. quotes Antiphon for the toponym. *Polis* is probably used in the urban sense (see Ant. fr. 23, Sauppe). In Ps.-Skylax 67, Oisyme is the last of four toponyms listed after the heading *πόλεις Ἑλληνίδες αἵδε*, where *polis* is used in the urban sense; cf. Ps.-Skymnos 656–57. For *polis* used in the political sense, see Diod. 12.68.4 (rC5s). The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally on stamped handles (*supra*) and on coins (*infra*). The individual and external use is attested in a C3m Delphic proxeny decree (*SGDI* II 2600).

Oisyme was a colony (*apoikia*) of Thasos (Thuc. 4.107.3; Diod. 12.68.4 (r424)). Qualified as a *πόλις Ἑλληνίς* and one of the *emporia* of the Thasians by Ps.-Skylax 67, it is classified as both a dependent *polis* and an *emporion* in the mainland *peraia* of Thasos (Hansen (1997) 88, (2000) 199).

Situated in Thrace (Ephor. fr. 36), Oisyme is indeed the only city of the Thasian *peraia* mentioned in Homer (*Il.* 8.304). Listed in the C3l Delphic list of *theorodokoi* between Philippoi and Neapolis (*BCH* 45 (1921) III 81), it is located by Armenidas (*apud* Athen. 1.31a), together with Antisara, in the *βιβλία χώρα* renowned for the excellent quality of its wine, and by Ptolemy on the coast of Edonis (Ptol. 3.12.7).

Oisyme joined Brasidas after his capture of Amphipolis in 424, following the example of Myrkinos and Galepsos (Thuc. 4.107.3). Thereafter and during C4 her fortune seems to have followed that of the neighbouring communities: Phagres, Galepsos and Apollonia.

Oisyme was securely—yet without definitive proof—identified by Bakalakis ((1938) 97–102, following Heuzey and Daumet (1876) and Collart (1937) 81–87) with the fortified citadel on Cape Vrasidas, south of the village of Nea Peramos, in the southern part of the bay of Eleutherai (Leftero Limani). Excavations undertaken in 1938 and again in 1964, 1968 and 1987–90 are summarised in Giouri and Koukouli (1987); cf. Koukouli-Chryssanthaki (1980*b*) 317–18; Koukouli-Chryssanthaki and Papanikolaou (1990).

The acropolis wall was built over a pre-colonial stratum on the hill-top (plans in Lazaridis (1971) figs. 66–67; Giouri and Koukouli (1987) 366) and shows two distinct phases (irregular polygonal and rectangular ashlar local granite masonry, respectively); in C5f, a second wall extended the walled area to the north. The settled area spread to the south-east flank of the hill, towards the natural harbour. The cemetery of Oisyme, excavated in the sea-coast sand-dunes south of the citadel, testifies to the existence of the settlement from 650 to 625 and indicates close cultural relations with Thasos and its mainland colonies (Giouri and Koukouli (1987) 365, with refs.). Remains of a monumental rectangular C5e temple excavated at the top of the acropolis hill (plans in Giouri and Koukouli (1987) plans 2–3; Koukouli-Chryssanthaki and Papanikolaou (1990) 488) were found to succeed an older temple which was destroyed in C5e. A pre-colonial stratum was identified under the Archaic temple (Koukouli-Chryssanthaki (1987), (1988)). Finds in the destruction layer and in a nearby deposit include roof tiles, decorated terracotta antefixes, C7s–C5e pottery, various types of terracotta female figurines, and fragments of large-size C6l clay kore-type statues, mostly relating to materials from Thasos. Imported ware include C7 and C6 Corinthian, Attic, Cycladic and East Greek productions. The excavators attributed the sanctuary—mainly on the basis of the figurine types and of bronze shield dedications—to Athena Polias, referring to the sanctuary of the

same goddess on the acropolis of Thasos, which also suffered destruction in C5e and was similarly reconstructed on a larger scale. The construction of the C5 temple in Oisyme is considered to be contemporary with the restoration and extension of the defence walls, as in the case of Thasos. Its destruction layer abounds in C2 pottery (C4–C2 are represented only sparsely in surface finds).

Rare C4 bronze coins of Oisyme have been related to a short period of civic autonomy (Picard (1993); cf. (1994) 467). Type: *obv.* head of helmeted Athena; *rev.* kneeling archer Herakles; legend: *ΟΙΣΥΜΑΙΩΝ* (Head, *HN*² 892).

636. Phagres (Phagresios) Map 51. Lat. 40.45, long. 23.55. Size of territory: probably 3. Type: [A]:*α*. The toponym is *Φάγρης, -ητος* (Hecat. fr. 156; Hdt. 7.112.2; Ps.-Skylax 67). The city-ethnic is *Φαγρήσιος* (*SEG* 38 656 (C4)). In Ps.-Skylax 67, Phagres is the second of four toponyms listed after the heading *πόλεις Ἑλληνίδες αἵδε*, where *polis* is used in the urban sense. In Hdt. 7.112.2 it is described, together with Pergamon, as a *teichos* of the Pieres (Hdt. 7.112), whereas Thuc. 2.99.3 calls Phagres a *chorion*. That Phagres was a *polis* in the political sense is indicated by its mint (*infra*) and by the recording of its city-ethnic in a Delphic catalogue of communities which seem to have been either *poleis* or islands with more than one *polis* (*F.Delphes* III.1 497.4 (C4l–C3e)). The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally in abbreviated form on coins (*infra*) and externally in the Delphic catalogue (*supra*). The individual and external use is attested on a C4 funerary *stele* from Eleutheropolis (*SEG* 38 656).

Phagres was one of the *πόλεις Ἑλληνίδες* in Thrace, listed between Amphipolis and Galepsos by Ps.-Skylax 67 and further described as a Thasian *emporion*. From the time of Philip II and Alexander III it was part of Makedonia (Strabo 7 fr. 33). Phagres is said to have been settled by Pieres expelled from the Makedonian Pieria under Perdikkas I east of the mouth of the river Strymon, at the westernmost end of the Pierian coast (Thuc. 2.99.3). It must have been strongly fortified, as indicated by its classification as a *teichos* in Hdt. 7.112.2. At an unknown date in C6(?), Phagres was presumably colonised by the Thasians and incorporated in their mainland *peraia*. Together with Galepsos and Apollonia, Phagres may have been one of the *poleis* occupied and destroyed by Philip II after his capture of Amphipolis (Strabo 7 fr. 35; cf. Dem. 9.26).

The urban centre was tentatively located on a hill (Kanoni) rich in ancient remains east of the village of Orphanion, *c.*8 km to the east of the mouth of the Strymon (Leake (1835) iii. 176ff), followed by Perdrizet (1894) 440 and Collart (1937) 76ff; cf. *BE* (1990) no. 491). Recent excavations on the site revealed abundant C6s–C5e good-quality Attic and Thasian pottery, which was collected from a group of circular pits and was interpreted as remains from a destruction suffered by the city in C5f (Nikolaidou-Patera (1989) 490). Archaeological remains, including a Hellenistic building and a cemetery of Hellenistic date (C3l–C2e) located to the north-west of the hill, indicate the survival of the settlement probably down to the Roman period (Nikolaidou-Patera (1987), (1989) 489–91, (1990) 517–21, (1996)). The site identification was confirmed by the discovery of one bronze coin of C4f. Type: *obv.* laureate head of Apollo; *rev.* lion protome; legend: *ΦΑΓΡ* (Liampi (1991)).

637. Philippoi (Philippeus) Map 51. Lat. 41.00, long. 24.15. Size of territory: probably 2 or 3. Type: B:*α*. The toponym is *Φίλιπποι, οἱ* (Arist. *Mir. ausc.* 833ª28; Artem. fr. 15, *GGM* I 576.7 (rC4m); *BCH* 45 (1921) III.80 (C3l)). The city-ethnic is *Φιλιππεύς* (*IG* IV 617.21 (C4l)) or (once in Polybios) *Φιλιππηνός* (fr. 85), or (internally and in plural) *Φίλιπποι* (coins, *infra*; Hatzopoulos (1996) ii. no. 36.13, Kos: *τὴμ πόλιν τὴν Φιλίππων*, 243; cf. Hatzopoulos (1993) 322 with n. 22). Philippoi is not called a *polis* in any Classical source, but its status as a *polis* is strongly indicated by its C4m coinage combined with numerous attestations of *polis* status in the Hellenistic period (Rigsby (1996) no. 27.7, 9, 13, 15 (243/2); Hatzopoulos (1996) ii. no. 37.2 (C2); Artem. fr. 15, *GGM* I 576.7; cf. Hammond and Griffith (1979) 358–61). The collective form of the city-ethnic is attested internally on coins (*infra*) and in inscriptions (*IG* IV 617.21 (C4l); *IG* II² 1956.149 (C4l)). For the individual and external form, see *IG* VII 2433, Thebes (C3–C2).

Founded and fortified by Philip II (Artem. fr. 15), who intervened to protect Krenides in 356 when it was threatened by the Thracians of Kersebleptes in 356, Philippoi is recorded as having replaced Krenides (Strabo 7 frr. 41 and 43; Diod. 16.3.7, 8.6; Artem. fr. 15 (all rC4f)) or Daton (Ephor. fr. 37; Philoch. fr. 44; cf. App. *B Civ.* 4.13.105: Krenides = Daton = Philippoi). The identification of Timandros (the *theorodokos* of the Epidaurian *theoroi* at Daton in 360/59 (*IG* IV².1 94.32)) with the father of five *Philippeis* appointed *proxenoi* of Delphi in a C4l decree (*Syll.*³ 267A; cf. Collart (1937) 177–78) confirms the permanence of the pre-Makedonian population (of Thasian origin) in Philip's new foundation.

Philippoi is listed between Amphipolis and Oisyme in the catalogue of Delphic *theorodokoi* (*BCH* 21 (1945) III.80). It is located near Mt. Pangaion, rich in gold and silver mines, on

the site of Krenides (Strabo 7 fr. 34; cf. fr. 41); it is also said to lie near Mt. Symbolon, which extends between Neapolis and Philippoi, i.e. in the plain between the mountains (Dio Cass. 47.35.4). According to App. *B Civ.* 4.105, the city of Philippoi covered—at least in Roman times—the entire width of a steep hill. The original boundaries of Philippoi remain unknown.

A boundary settlement concerning Philippoi dictated by Alexander III (recently, Hatzopoulos (1996) ii. no. 6 = Ager (1996) no. 5) and dated to 335 or 330 attests not only to ambassadors of Philippoi submitting requests to the Makedonian king (ii.11, as restored in Ager), but also to the king's intervention in matters of boundary disputes: *viz.* exploitation and allocation of uncultivated lands and dues thereon (I.4–6); delimitation and re-establishment of the integrity of the territory (I.8) initially donated to the city by its founder Philip II (I.8–13), which had apparently been trespassed upon (8 and 12), presumably by the Thracians; a special provision (exclusion ?) concerning part (more than 2,000 *plethra*) of the territory of Daton (I.13–15); the measurement and addition of new territory (II.1–2); the confirmation of territorial rights of Philippoi as opposed to those of the Thracians (II.2–5), followed by a summary topographic delimitation, presumably of the new borders of the territory of Philippoi mentioning hills (II.7), attributing to Philippoi the land around the territory of Sirra (II.8) and including *Daineros*, as established by Philip II (II.8–10), allocating the marshes to Philippoi as far as "the bridge" (II.12–13), and provisionally forbidding sales of forest land on Mt. Dysoron (II.10). The document indicates that the boundaries of Philippoi following Alexander's arbitration (and confirming Philip's initial settlement—as indeed in the Roman period (Papazoglou (1982) 99–102)—included only part of the territory to the west and north-west (possibly east of Mt. Menoikion), allowing the Thracians of the Strymon valley to remain in possession of at least part of their lands.

Attested sales transactions from Philippoi include the sale of sacred lands in C4s (*temene*), and a unique testimony regarding civic taxation is inferred from the mention of a *c.*2 per cent *ἐπώνιον* imposed on land transactions. The documents also record several deities worshipped in C4s Philippoi, one each for Ares, Poseidon and the Heroes, two for Philip—presumably Philip II, being the object of heroic cult as the *ktistes* of the city (Hatzopoulos (1996) ii. no. 83; cf. Ducrey (1988), (1990)).

The constitution of pre-Roman Philippoi presents all the characteristics of a Hellenistic *polis*. It is inferred from, especially, the decree of *asylia* for Kos (Hatzopoulos (1996) ii. no. 36, Kos (243) = Rigsby (1996) no. 27), that the original constitution remained unchanged during C4 and most of C3. The documents confirm the particular political status of Philippoi, formally founded as a—theoretically—independent *polis*, an ally of the Makedonians, yet institutionally organised on the Platonic model current at that time (Hatzopoulos (1996) i. 158–60, 186–88). Furthermore, evidence from unpublished *hierokerykeia* sales deeds supports the view that the calendar used in pre-Roman Philippoi was not the Makedonian, but "an original calendar with names of months formed on the names of the Twelve Gods, just as in Cassadreia", another Makedonian foundation with closely related institutions of Platonic inspiration according to Hatzopoulos (Hatzopoulos (1993) 322–23; cf. (1996) i. 158–60). Philippoi, as the oldest Makedonian foundation, must have served as a model for subsequent foundations. The political status and institutions of the pre-Roman city were recently reconstructed from Hellenistic epigraphic material (Hatzopoulos (1993); cf. Hatzopoulos (1996) i. *passim*).

Philippoi struck coins of gold, silver and bronze *c.*356–330. Denominations: gold stater; silver tetradrachm, drachm, hemidrachm; and fractions in bronze. Types: *obv.* head of Herakles in lion's skin; *rev.* tripod and various symbols; legend: *ΦΙΛΙΠΠΩΝ* (Collart (1937) 162 pl. 23; Le Rider (1977) 438–39; Hammond and Griffith (1979) 358–61; *SNG Cop. Macedonia* 291–303).

638. Pistyros Map 51. Lat. 41.00, long. 24.35 in *Barr.* but see *infra* for an alternative location. Size of territory: probably 3. Type: A:*α*. The toponym is *Πίστυρος* (Hdt. 7.109.2). Pistyros is not mentioned in any other source, unless it is identified with *Βίστιρος, πόλις Θρᾴκης ὡς Πίστιρος τὸ ἐμπόριον* (Steph. Byz. 171.6). Thus, the *polis* Bistiros is explicitly distinguished from the *emporion* Pistiros, mentioned again at Steph. Byz. 524.11: *Πίστιρος, ἐμπόριον Θρᾴκης*, undoubtedly to be identified with the toponym *Πίστιρος* and the collective ethnic *Πιστιρηνοί* epigraphically attested in a recently published C4 inscription from Vetren in Bulgaria (*SEG* 43 486 = *BCH* 123 (1999) 246–56).

At Hdt. 7.109.2 Pistyros is called a *polis* twice, first in the territorial sense, denoting the town with its hinterland, next in (probably) the urban sense, perhaps with the territorial sense as a connotation. It is described as one of the coastal *ἠπειρώτιδες πόλεις* of Thasos, qualified as *Ἑλληνίς* and *παραθαλασσία*, situated near a salt lake west of the Nestos estuary, on the route traversed by Xerxes' army through southern Thrace in 480 (Hdt. 7.109–10).

Pistyros has tentatively been identified with the remains of a C6l fortified settlement east of Pontolivado, located near the Vassova salt lake. Archaeological reports (Koukouli-Chryssanthaki (1972*a*) 529, (1973) 451; (1980*b*) 322–25; cf. Koukouli-Chryssanthaki (1990)) record fortification walls with regular masonry of the "Thasian" type, Thasian stamped amphoras and roof tiles stamped *ΘΑΣΙΩΝ*, indications of active metal working (silver), traces of buildings dating to C2 and an important coin hoard, containing coins of Neapolis and Thasos dated *c.*520–510 (Oikonomidou (1990)). It is possible that the homonymous C5–C4 *emporion* excavated in the upper Hebros valley, near Vetren in Bulgaria (Velkov and Domaradzka (1994) = *SEG* 43 486) duplicated—or replaced—the coastal settlement, following the successful penetration of the Thasians deep into the Thracian hinterland (Loukopoulou (1999) 368).

639. Sirra (Sirraios) Map 51: Lat. 41.05; long. 23.35. Size of territory: probably 3. Type: C:*β*. The toponym is *Σίρρα*, *ἡ* (Theopomp. fr. 125) or *Σέρραι* (Hierocl. *Synekd.* 639.10) or *Sirai* (Livy 45.4.2). The city-ethnic is *Σειραῖος* (Papakonstantinou-Diamantourou (1971) 140 no. 223 (C3); *IG* XII.8 206.8 (first century AD)) or *Σιρραῖος* (*CIG* 2007 (first century AD)). The only source in which Sirra is called a *polis* is Steph. Byz. 572.16: *Σίρρα, πόλις Θρᾴκης*, quoting Book 20 of Theopompos' *Philippika* (fr. 125); but it is unknown whether Steph. Byz. found the site-classification in Theopompos' work or just the toponym.

First mentioned in Theopompos, Sirra is located in the territory of the Odomantes according to Livy 45.4.2. Its *polis* status and civic institutions are epigraphically attested only for the Roman period (Papazoglou (1988) 379–81). According to Hatzopoulos, it was one of several native communities expanded with immigrants under Philip II and extended to comprise a vast territory with its *komai* (Hatzopoulos (1996) i. 70). For the participation of Sirra in the local Pentapolis—probably also in the earlier local *sympoliteia*—see *supra* 857/859, Gasoros, and Berga (no. 628).

The territory of Sirra (*Σειραϊκὴ γῆ*) is mentioned in the settlement of Alexander III concerning Philippoi (Hatzopoulos (1996) ii. no. 6, l.8 (330)). It was, together with the otherwise unknown Daineros, the northern limit of the territory granted to the city of Philippoi by Philip II.

Sirra survives with its name virtually unchanged from Antiquity through the Middle Ages to the present day (Serres). On the precise location of ancient Sirra on the Koulas hill dominating the modern city from the north, and the sparse ancient remains, see Bakalakis (1957) and Samsaris (1976) 128, with references. Some commentators (How and Wells (1928) ii. 274) have improbably identified *Σίρρα* with *Σίρις τῆς Παιονίας* in Hdt. 8.115.3; cf. Steph. Byz. 572.9.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Ager, Sheila L. 1996. *Interstate Arbitrations in the Greek World 337–90 BC* (Berkeley and Los Angeles)

Avram, A. 1995. "*Poleis* und Nicht-*Poleis* im ersten und zweiten attischen Seebund", *CPCPapers* 2: 191–200.

Bakalakis, G. 1936*a*. "*Ἀνασκαφὴ ἐν Καλαμίτσᾳ τῆς Καβάλας*", *Prakt* [1937] 74–81.

——1936*b*. "*Νεάπολις-Χριστούπολις-Καβάλα*", *ArchEph* 1–48.

——1938. "*Ἀνασκαφὴ ἐν Καβάλᾳ καὶ τοῖς πέριξ*", *Prakt* [1939] 75–102.

——1957. "*Ἀπὸ τὰ ἀλλεπάλληλα στρώματα τῶν ἐρειπίων τῶν Σερρῶν*", in *Makedonikon Imerologion* 257–59.

—— and Mylonas, G. 1938. "*Γαληψός-Θασίων ἐμπόριον*", *ArchEph* 53–59.

Bon, A., and Bon, M. 1936. "Monnaie inédite de Galepsos", *BCH* 60: 172–74.

Bonias, Z. 2000. "Une inscription de l'ancienne Bergè", *BCH* 124: 227–46.

Borza, E. N. 1989. "Some Toponym Problems in Eastern Macedonia", *AHB* 3: 360–67.

Collart, P. 1935. "Une réfection de la 'via Egnatia' sous Trajan", *BCH* 59: 395–415.

——1937. *Philippes, ville de Macédoine, depuis ses origines jusqu'à la fin de l'époque romaine* (Paris).

Demetriadi, B. 1974. "*Γαληψὸς Χαλκιδικῆς· ἓν νέον νομισματοκοπεῖον*", *NomChron* 32–33.

Ducrey, P. 1988. "Des dieux et des sanctuaires à Philippes de Macédoine", in *"Comptes et inventaires dans la cité grecque", Actes du colloque de Neuchâtel, Recueils de travaux publiés par la Fac. des Lettres, fasc. 40* (Neuchâtel and Geneva) 207–13.

Ducrey, P. 1990. "*Θεοὶ καὶ ἱερὰ στοὺς Φιλίππους τῆς Μακεδονίας*", in *Polis and Chora; Studies in Memory of D. Lazaridis*, Acts of a Symposium held in Kavala, 9–11 May 1986 = "Recherches Franco-helléniques", i (Thessalonica) 551–55.

Edson, C. 1947. "Notes on the Thracian Phoros", *CP* 42: 88–105.
Gaebler, H. 1906–35. *Die antiken Münzen Nordgriechenlands*, iii. 2 (Berlin).
Giouri, E and Koukouli, C. 1987. "Ἀνασκαφὴ στὴν ἀρχαία Οἰσύμη", *AEMΘ* 1: 363–88.
Hammond, N. G. L., and Griffith, G. T. 1979. *A History of Macedonia*, ii (Oxford).
Hansen, M. H. 1997. "Emporion: A Study of the Use and Meaning of the Term in the Archaic and Classical Periods", *CPCPapers* 4: 83–105.
—— 2000. "A Survey of the Use of the Word *Polis* in Archaic and Classical Sources", *CPCPapers* 5: 173–215.
Hatzopoulos, M. B. 1993. "Décret pour un bienfaiteur de la cité de Philippes", *BCH* 117: 315–26.
—— 1996. *Macedonian Institutions Under the Kings*, i–ii, *Meletemata* 22 (Athens).
Heuzey, L., and Daumet, H. 1876. *Mission archéologique en Macédoine* (Paris).
Hirschfeld, G. 1895. "Apollonia 3", *RE* ii.1. 114.
How, W. W., and Wells, J. 1928. *A Commentary on Herodotus: With Introduction and Appendices*, 2 vols. (Oxford).
Isaac, B. 1986. *The Greek Settlements in Thrace until the Macedonian Conquest* (Leiden).
Kaphtantzis, G. 1967. *Ἡ ἱστορία τῆς πόλεως Σερρῶν καὶ τῆς περιφερείας ἧς* (Athens).
Koukouli-Chryssanthaki, Ch. 1967. *ArchDelt* 22 [1969] *Chron.* 420–22.
—— 1968. *ArchDelt* 23 [1969] *Chron.* 356.
—— 1969. *ArchDelt* 24 [1970] *Chron.* 349.
—— 1972*a*. *ArchDelt* 27 [1977] *Chron.* 525–29.
—— 1972*b*. "Via Egnatia-Ἀκόντισμα", *AAA* 5: 477–80.
—— 1972*c*. *ArchDelt* 27: 525–27.
—— 1973. *ArchDelt* 28 [1977] *Chron.* 450–55.
—— 1973–74. *ArchDelt* 29 [1980] *Chron.* 785–87.
—— 1980*a*. *ArchDelt* 35 [1988] *Chron.* 415–26.
—— 1980*b*. "Οἱ ἀποικίες τῆς Θάσου στὸ Β. Αἰγαῖο. Νεώτερα εὑρήματα", in "'Kavala and its region', First Local Symposium", 18–20 April 1977 (Thessalonica) 309–85.
—— 1981. *ArchDelt* 36 [1989] *Chron.* 343–44, 346.
—— 1982. *ArchDelt* 37 [1989] *Chron.* 325–27.
—— 1983. *ArchDelt* 38 [1989] *Chron.* 322–23.
—— 1984. "Ελευθερούπολη", *ArchDelt* 40 [1985] *Chron.* 271–72.
—— 1986. *ArchDelt* 41 [1990] *Chron.* 179.
—— 1987. *ArchDelt* 42 [1992] *Chron.* 444.
—— 1988. *ArchDelt* 43 [1993] *Chron.* 429–30.
—— 1989. *ArchDelt* 44 [1995] *Chron.* 379.
—— 1990. "Τὰ 'μέταλλα' τῆς Θασιακῆς Περαίας", in *Polis and Chora: Studies in Memory of D. Lazaridis*, Acts of a Symposium held in Kavala, 9–11 May 1986 = "Recherches Franco-helléniques" I (Thessalonica) 493–532.
—— 1993. "'Ἡ πρώιμη ἐποχὴ τοῦ σιδήρου στὴν Ἀνατολικὴ Μακεδονία", *Ancient Macedonia* 5: 679–735.
—— 1998–99. "Ἕνα ἀρχαῖο πόλισμα στὴν 'Ελευθερούπολη Νομοῦ Καβάλας", *TEKMHPIA* 4: 31–59.
—— 2000. "Ἀρχαία Βέργη", in *Myrtos: Studies in Honour of Julia Vokotopoulou* (Thessalonike) 351–76.
—— and Papanikolaou, A. 1990. "Ἀνασκαφὴ στὴν ἀρχαία Οἰσύμη, 1988–1990", *AEMΘ* 4: 487–502.
—— and Samartzidou, St. 1984. *ArchDelt* 39 [1989] *Chron.* 272, 276.
Kraay, C. M. 1976. *Archaic and Classical Greek Coins* (London).
Lawton, C. L. 1995. *Attic Document Reliefs* (Oxford).
Lazaridis, D. 1941–42. "Ἄρτεμις 'Οπιταΐς ἐξ ἐπιγραφῆς τῆς Νεαπόλεως", in *Makedonika* 2 (Naples) 263–65.
—— 1961–62. *ArchDelt* 17 [1963] *Chron.* 235–38.
—— 1964. *Prakt* [1966] 35–40.
—— 1965*a*. *Prakt* [1967] 50–52.
—— 1965*b*. *ArchDelt* 20 [1968] *Chron.* 443–46.
—— 1969. *Νεάπολις, Χριστούπολις, Καβάλα* (Kavala).
—— 1971. *Thasos and its Peraia*, Ancient Greek Cities 5 (Athens).
—— 1973. "Ἀνασκαφαὶ καὶ ἔρευναι Ἀμφιπόλεως", *Prakt* [1975] 43–54.
—— 1976. "'Επίγραμμα Παρίων ἀπὸ τήν Ἀμφίπολιν", *ArchEph* 164–81.
Leake, W. M. 1835. *Travels in Northern Greece*, 4 vols. (London).
Le Rider, G. 1956. "Trésor de monnaies trouvé à Thasos", *BCH* 80: 1–19.
—— 1977. *Le Monnayage d'argent et d'or de Philippe II frappé en Macédoine de 359 à 294* (Paris).
Liampi, K. 1991. "The Mint of Phagres", *NomChron* 10: 25–35.
Loukopoulou, L. 1999. "Sur le statut et l'importance de l'*emporion* de Pistiros", *BCH* 123: 359–71.
Meiggs, R. 1972. *The Athenian Empire* (Oxford).
Moretti, J.-C. 1987. "Une vignette de traité à Delphes", *BCH* 111: 157–66.
Nikolaïdou-Patera, M. 1987. "Πρῶτα μηνύματα ἀπὸ μιὰ πόλη τῆς Πιερίδας κοιλάδας", *AEMΘ* 1: 343–52.
—— 1989. "Ἀνασκαφικὲς ἔρευνες στὶς ἀρχαῖες πόλεις Τράγιλο καὶ Φάγρητα", *AEMΘ* 3: 483–98.
—— 1990. "Ἀνασκαφικὰ δεδομένα ἀπὸ τὶς ἀρχαῖες πόλεις Τράγιλο καί Φάγρητα", *AEMΘ* 4: 513–29.
—— 1996. "Φάγρης. η αρχαία πόλη και το νεκροταφείο", *AEMΘ* 10: 835–46.
Oikonomidou, M. 1990. "Ἀρχαϊκὸς θησαυρὸς ἀργυρῶν νομισμάτων ἀπὸ τὸ Ποντολίβαδο (1971)", in *Polis and Chora: Studies in Memory of D. Lazaridis*, Acts of a Symposium held in Kavala, 9–11 May 1986 = "Recherches Franco-helléniques", i (Thessalonica) 533–40.
Papakonstantinou-Diamantourou, D. 1971. *Πέλλα* (Athens).
Papangélos, I. A. 1990. "Le passage (πόρος) de Marmarion", in *Polis and Chora: Studies in Memory of D. Lazaridis*, Acts of a Symposium held in Kavala, 9–11 May 1986 = "Recherches Franco-helléniques", i (Thessalonica) 335–56.

Papazoglou, F. 1982. "Le territoire de la colonie de Philippes", *BCH* 106: 89–106.

——1988. *Les villes de Macédoine à l'époque romaine*, *BCH* suppl. 16 (Athens and Paris).

Perdrizet, P. 1894. "Voyage dans la Macédoine première, i. Inscriptions de la région strymonique, ii. Bisaltie, iii. Odomantique, iv. Piérie du Pangée", *BCH* 18: 416–45.

——1910. "Skaptésylé", *Klio* 10: 1–27.

Peristeri, K. 1991. *ArchDelt* [1996] *Chron.* 320–24.

Peter, U. 1997. *Die Münzen der thrakischen Dynasten (5.–3. Jht v. Chr.)*; *Hintergründe ihrer Prägung* (Berlin).

Picard, O. 1990. "Thasos et Néapolis", in *Polis and Chora: Studies in Memory of D. Lazaridis*, Acts of a Symposium held in Kavala, 9–11 May 1986 = "Recherches Franco-helléniques", i (Thessalonica) 541–48.

——1993. "Le monnayage de bronze d'Oisymé", *NomChron* 12: 13–19.

——1994. "Les Thasiens du continent et la fondation de Philippes", in *Tranquillitas: Mélanges en l'honneur de Tran tam Tinh* (Paris) 459–73.

Pikoulas, G. A. 2001. *'Η χώρα τῶν Πιέρων. Συμβολή στήν τοπογραφία της* (Athens).

Pouilloux, J. 1954. *Recherches sur l'histoire et les cultes de Thasos*, i, Études Thasiennes 3 (Paris).

Poulios, V. 1981. *ArchDelt* 36 [1988] *Chron.* 343–44.

——1987. *ArchDelt* 42 [1995] *Chron.* 449.

Pritchett, W. K. 1965. *Studies in Ancient Greek Topography*, i (Berkeley and Los Angeles).

Rigsby, Kent J. 1996. *Asylia: Territorial Inviolability in the Hellenistic World* (Berkeley and Los Angeles).

Robert, L. 1940. "Une ville de Thrace dans une inscription de Delphes", in *Hellenica*, i (Paris) 81–94.

Roger, J. 1938. "L'enceinte basse de Philippes: dédicace impériale", *BCH* 62: 37–41.

——1945. "Inscription de la région du Strymon", *RA* 24: 37–55.

Romiopoulou, A. 1960. *ArchDelt* 16 [1968] *Chron.* 218.

Samartzidou, S. 1982. "Stavroula", *ArchDelt* 37 [1989] *Chron.* 328–29.

——1990. "*'Εγνατία ὁδὸς ἀπὸ τοὺς Φιλίππους στὴ Νεάπολη*", in *Polis and Chora: Studies in Memory of D. Lazaridis*, Acts of a Symposium held in Kavala, 9–11 May 1986 = "Recherches Franco-helléniques", i (Thessalonica) 575–78.

Samsaris, D. 1976. *'Ιστορικὴ γεωγραφία τῆς ἀνατολικῆς Μακεδονίας* (Thessalonica).

Svoronos, J. N. 1918–19. "L'hellénisme primitif de la Macédoine: prouvé par la numismatique et l'or du Pangée", *Journal International d'Archéologie Numismatique* 19 (repr. Chicago 1979).

Tasia, A. 1985. *ArchDelt* 40 *Chron.* 272.

TIR = Tabula Imperii Romani. K 35, I: Philippi, compiled by Anna Avraméa (Athens, 1993).

Vatin, Cl. 1984. "Lettre adressée à la cité de Philippes par les ambassadeurs auprès d'Alexandre", in *Acts of 8th International Congress of Greek and Latin Epigraphy*, Athens, 1982 (Athens) i. 259–70.

Velkov, V., and Domaradzka, Lydia. 1994. "Kotys I (383/2–359) et l'emporion de Pistiroen Thrace", *BCH* 118: 1–15.

Wilhelm, A. 1911–1932. *Neue Beiträge zur griechischen Inschriftenkunde*, 6 vols. (Vienna).

THRACE FROM NESTOS TO HEBROS

LOUISA LOUKOPOULOU

I. The Region

East of the lower Nestos and its delta, along the Aegean coast, extend vast alluvial expanses. They are barred to the north by the formidable heights of the Rhodope Mts. and bordered to the east by Mts. Ismaros and Zonaia. This fertile plain is richly watered and often flooded by the Nestos (Strabo 7 fr. 44; cf. Theophr. *Hist. pl.* 1.3.5) and by numerous lesser rivers. They drain the overlying southern flanks of the Rhodopes, and are—from west to east—(a) Koudetos (Ps.-Skylax 67), (b) Trauos, (c) Kompsatos/Kompsantos (Hdt. 7.109; cf. also Ael. *NA* 15.25), (d) Kossinites, which flows into Lake Bistonis, and (e) Lissos (Hdt. 7.108, 109). Now, as in the past, vast tracts, particularly near the coast, are covered by extensive marshes, some of them forming lakes. The most important are, to the west, Lake Bistonis, by Dikaia (Hdt. 7.109; Strabo 7 fr. 47) and to the east, Lake Ismaris, between Stryme and Maroneia (Hdt. 7.109; Strabo 7 fr. 44). Thus, most of the otherwise fertile and arable expanses were plagued by a notoriously noxious climate, as is evidenced by records in the works of Hippocrates (see *infra*, s.v. Abdera). A second coastal plain stretches east of the Rhodopes and the Zonaia Mts. It receives the abundant waters of the Hebros river and its tributaries and forms the maritime exit of this river's valley. The Hebros river provides easy access to the uppermost reaches of the Thracian plain and hinterland, and is indeed the unique waterway leading north from the Aegean coast through the outstretched beachy plain named Doriskos.

By contrast with the lands west of the Nestos, there are no precious mineral resources in the area between the Nestos and the Hebros. Moreover, the narrow gorges of the Nestos and the few passages afforded through the Rhodopes made regular communications with the Thracian hinterland virtually impossible.[1] Furthermore, the warlike Thracian tribes created an impenetrable barrier along the northern limit of the coastal plain and endangered east–west land communications across narrow passes crossing the Nestos river and overriding the Zonaia Mts.[2] The tribes were—from west to east—the Sapaioi/Saioi/Sinties (Strabo 12.3.19), the Bistones, the Kikones, the Korpiloi and the Apsinthians, Paitoi (Hdt. 7.110). Yet, the area attracted early on the interest of Greek colonists, both from the adjacent northern Aegean islands, Thasos and Samothrake and from East Greek cities. A detailed, yet partially confusing description of the geography and settlement pattern of the area in early C5 is provided by Herodotos in connection with Xerxes' campaign through southern Thrace in 480 (Hdt. 7. 58–59, 108–9).

By C6s, despite long and ferocious Thracian reaction, the coastal plain west of Mts. Ismaros and Zonaia had been divided between three Greek colonies: Abdera, Dikaia and Maroneia, and at least one *emporion* of the Thasians: Stryme; while Samothrake claimed a series of mainland beachheads on the opposing coastline, east of Cape Serreion and the Zonaia Mts: *viz.* Zone, Mesambria, Drys and Sale. Moreover, Aiolians from Alopekonnesos, reinforced by colonists from Mytilene and Kyme, founded Ainos at the Hebros estuary, with a territory extending east of the river along the gulf of Melas and protected by a number of unnamed forts (Ps.-Skylax 67).

As with the most of Thrace, this part of the Aegean coast was occupied by Megabazos in the aftermath of Dareios' Skythian expedition (Hdt. 4.143–44, 5.1–26; cf. Balcer (1972); Castritius (1972); Hammond (1980)). He established a fortified supply base at Doriskos (Hdt. 7. 25, 59), securing control of both the east–west and north–south throughfares as well as of the crossing of the Hebros. Following the departure of Persian forces, the area was drawn into the Athenian sphere of interest, and the cities became members of the Delian

[1] For a succint presentation of geomorphology, mountain passes and natural resources of the area, see Casson (1926) 9–12, 21–24, 24–25, 30–31, 32, 52–79, 90–91, who overestimates, in our opinion, the importance of land routes (correctly assessed by Isaac (1986) 73–74, 140–46).

[2] The famous passes of the Sapaioi and the Korpiloi mentioned in literary sources are of Roman date. Cf. Collart (1929) and, more recently, Loukopoulou (1987) and (1997), with refs.

League, as evidenced by the contributions recorded in the Athenian tribute lists.

In the course of C5s the cities of the area developed close relationships with the Odrysian kingdom, furthering both their own and the Athenian financial and political interests, a role renewed in C4 in connection with the Second Athenian League,[3] until Macedonian rule extended over the entire Thrace under Philip II.

The impressive wealth of the major *poleis* in the area—Abdera, Dikaia, Maroneia and Ainos—should probably be attributed more to their key position in politics and finance rather than to the agricultural value of their territory, although they did have a rich production, and export, of grain and fish and of the famous wine from the vineyards of Mt. Ismaros (Casson (1926) 90–92). Their early success is attested in literary sources as well as in the quality, early date and wide distribution of their coins, in particular those of Abdera, Dikaia and Ainos. They must have had direct or indirect access to the valuable mineral resources of the region, which enabled them to develop a delicate network of advantageous political and commercial relationships, and to exploit their intermediary position between the Greek world of the Aegean and the Thracian hinterland (Loukopoulou (2002)).

Written sources pertaining to the region between the rivers Nestos and Hebros provide us with information about a total of nineteen named settlements of the Archaic and Classical periods, of which twelve are attested as *poleis*,[4] whereas seven are non-*polis* settlements or *poleis* about which we do not have sufficient evidence to establish their status. In addition to the nineteen settlements attested in the written sources are remains of eight unidentified settlements. Despite rather extensive archaeological research, especially in recent decades,[5] only five of the *poleis* have been securely identified: *viz.* Abdera, Ainos, Kypsela, Maroneia and Zone. In our opinion, the location of the other seven remains inconclusive. The inventory below comprises twelve settlements considered to have been *poleis* of type A, B or C in Classical Antiquity. The remaining fifteen settlements are as follows in the next two sections

1. *Pre-Hellenistic Settlements not Attested as* Poleis

Charakoma (*Χαράκωμα*) Unidentified settlement (probably *teichos* or *emporion*?) in the *peraia* of Samothrake (Strabo 7 fr. 47 (48): *Σαμοθρᾴκων πολίχνιον*); in C3l it hosted *theoroi* of the Delphic Apollo C3l (Plassart (1921) 18, III 72; cf. Isaac (1986) 133, with refs. and bibliography; *TIR* 22). *Barr.* H, but, although the earliest explicit attestation is of C3, the settlement seems to have existed already in C4.

Doriskos (*Δορίσκος*) Hdt. 7.59.1, 108.1, 121.2 (*τεῖχος βασιλήιον*); Ps.-Skylax 67 (*τεῖχος*); Aeschin. 3.82 (*τεῖχος*); cf. Dem. 18.70, 19.156; Harp. *Δ75* (*χωρίον τῆς Θρᾴκης*). Fortified stronghold located in the homonymous vast plain (and beach) extending west of the Hebros delta and east of the *peraia* of Samothrake actually located on the river bank and probably controlling an important crossing point (Isaac (1986) 137–40). The only source to call it a *polis* is Steph. Byz. 236.5. A C3/C2 proxeny decree discovered on the hill Saraya, usually identified with Doriskos, has been attributed, without conclusive evidence, to this city (Bakalakis (1961) 18–19). *Barr.* AC.

Ismaros (*Ἴσμαρος*) Hom. *Od.* 9.197. According to lexicographic sources (Harp. *M7*; Hsch. *I44*), Ismaros was the older name of Maroneia. In the *Odyssey* (9.40–41) it is called a *polis*. According to Strabo 7 fr. 43 it was—with Xantheia and Maroneia—one of three *poleis* of the Kikones, situated near Maroneia and the sea-ward outlet of Lake Ismaris (for the lake, located between Maroneia and Stryme, cf. Hdt. 7.109). Ismaros was tentatively identified (Bakalakis (1958) 97) with the prehistoric acropolis of Ergani (Turkish Asar Tepe) or, more probably, though with no decisive evidence, with the fortified acropolis of Ag. Georgios, east of Maroneia, with finds dating to the prehistoric and early Iron Age (Isaac (1986) 112; Bakirtzis and Triantaphyllos (1988) 56). Unlocated and without periodisation in *Barr.*

Mende (*Μένδη*) Paus. 5.27.12; cf. 5.10.8. Pausanias quotes an elegiac couplet, perhaps of the Archaic or Classical period, commemorating the Mendaians' conquest of Sipte.

[3] The precise nature of Odrysian relationships with Greek cities in the northern Aegean during C5s and C4f is a matter of continuing controversy, recently reviewed by Veligianni (1995*a*) and Archibald (1998) 145–48; cf. also Loukopoulou (1999) and two forthcoming publications by the same author based on her interpretation of the Pistiros inscription.

[4] We have omitted the following toponyms of probable pre-Roman date, which do not belong to urban settlements: *Maronos Heroon* (Strabo 7 frr. 43, 44a); *Parthenion locus* (Plin. *HN* 4.42); *Polydori tumulus* (Plin. *HN* 4.42); *Thasion Kephalai* (Strabo 7 fr. 43); *Zerynthion antron* (Apollod. Rhod. *Argon.* 128, with schol.; Nic. *Ther.* 458–64). Also omitted are settlements which are exclusively attested in literary sources of Roman date: *viz. Cosinto* (*It. Ant.* 321.4; cf. *TIR* 23); *Kartera kome* (Strabo 7 fr. 43; cf. Ael. *NA* 15.25); *Phalesina* (Plin. *HN* 4.42); *Rumbodona* (*It. Burd.* 603; cf. *TIR* 51); *Stabulum/turris Diomedis* (*It. Ant.* 331.5; *It. Burd.* 603.3; Pompon. 2.2); *Tempyra* (Strabo 7 fr. 47: cf. Livy 38.41 (1188); *Tirida, Diomedis equorum stabulis dirum* (Plin. *HN* 4.42; Mart. Cap. 6.657; Pompon. 2.2; *It. Burd.* 603.3); *Tirida/Tyrida* (Plin. *HN* 4.42).

[5] More or less regularly presented in *Deltion, Praktika, Ergon* and, more recently, in *AEMΘ*.

Mende is described as a Greek settlement of Ionian colonists near Ainos, at some distance inland from the sea. On its disputed location and its presumable status—one of the forts (*teiche*) of the Ainians?—see Isaac (1986) 158. The couplet's reference to an ethnic—*Μενδαῖοι*—may indicate that Mende was a *polis*, but the evidence is too slim to allow inclusion in the Inventory. *Barr.* AC.

Sipte (*Σίπτη*) Paus. 5.27.12 (*τεῖχος καὶ πόλις*). A Thracian fortified settlement, presumably in the hinterland of Ainos. Pausanias quotes an elegiac couplet of, perhaps, the Archaic or Classical period, commemorating a victory over Sipte by the Mendaians (*supra*). Sipte may have been a *polis*, but the evidence is too slim to allow inclusion in the Inventory. Not in *Barr.*

Xantheia (*Ξάνθεια*) Strabo 7 fr. 43 (*πόλις*). In *Barr.* recorded as a Classical settlement near Lake Vistonis. However, the reference given does not support the suggested location.

Zeirenia (*Ζειρηνία*) Steph. Byz. 295.1 (*πόλις*, quoting Theopomp. fr. 44 but only for the toponym, not necessarily for the site-classification). Undated (though Theopomp. fr. 44 indicates C4) and unlocated in *Barr.* cf. *Itin. Ant.* 332.6: *Zervae; Tab. Peut.* 592).

2. *Unidentified Settlements*

Indications and remains of unidentified pre-Roman rural settlements have come to light at various points of the Thracian plain south of the Rhodopes; they have been conveniently presented and documented by Pantos ((1983), (1975–76)) and, more recently, by Skarlatidou ((1990), for sites located west of Lake Bistonis in particular, plausibly attributed to the territory of Abdera). Substantial archaeological remains of pre-Hellenistic date—including inscriptions—have been reported only at the following locations.

Ag. Athanassios/Prophitis Ilias Remains of C4 settlement (Skarlatidou (1990) 613, with refs.). Not in *Barr.*

Chryssa Late Classical to Byzantine settlement (Skarlatidou (1990) 616, with refs.). Not in *Barr.*

Diomedeia C5 to Roman date rural settlement (Skarlatidou (1990) 616, with refs.). Not in *Barr.*

Kalyva C4s fort (Triantaphyllos (1988)). In *Barr.* only HR, but the castle at Kalyva is believed to have been built *c.*340 by Philip II.

Komnina Remains of Classical (?) settlement or sanctuary (*TIR* 32 with refs.). Not in *Barr.*

Koutson Settlement of Hellenistic–Roman date, tentatively identified (cf. *supra*) with Bergepolis (Skarlatidou (1990) 616, followed by *Barr*). *Barr.* C.

Makri Relatively important urban settlement, with remains dating from the late Neolithic to the Classical–Hellenistic and Roman periods. Tentatively identified on no conclusive evidence with some of the unlocated urban centres of the area (Serrion, Zone, Mesambria or Orthagoria), it is described as a small, possibly fortified trading port (Kallintzi (1992), (1993)). In *Barr.* identified with Zone (no. 651).

Toxotes (Mausolleion hill) Pre-colonial settlement (Skarlatidou (1990) 617, with refs.). Not in *Barr.*

II. The *Poleis*

640. Abdera (Abderites) Map 51. Lat. 40.55, long. 25.00. Size of territory: 5. Type: A:*α*. The toponym is *Ἄβδηρα, τά* (Anakreon fr. 505, Page; Hdt. 8.120; Thuc. 2.97.1; *IG* IV² 1 94.1b.28) or, once, *Ἄβδηρος* (Ephor. fr. 154) or, once, *Ἄβδηρα, ἡ* (Diod. 31.8.8). The city-ethnic is *Ἀβδηρίτης* (Hecat. fr. 158; Hdt. 7.120; *F.Delphes* III 1 497.2 (C4l–C3e)) or *Ἀβδηρίτης* (*IG* I³ 263.III.21). Abdera is called a *polis* both in the political sense (Anacr. fr. 100 = *AG* 7.226; Aen. Tact. 15.10) and in the urban sense (Hdt. 7.109.1; Thuc. 2.97.1; Aen. Tact. 15.9; Ps.-Skylax 67). At Thuc. 2.97.1 the territorial sense is a connotation. The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally on coins (*infra*) and externally in the Athenian tribute lists (*IG* I³ 263.III.21) and in literary sources (Hdt. 7.120). The individual and external sense is used in reference to *Δημόκριτος ὁ Ἀβδερίτης* (Arist. *Cael.* 303ª4) or *Πρωταγόρας ὁ Ἀβδηρίτης* (Pl. *Resp.* 600C) and a C5 Attic sepulchral monument (*IG* I³ 1018).

Abdera was a coastal city situated on the left (eastern) bank of the Nestos estuary (Hdt. 7.126), across the strait from Thasos, in a heavily marshy area often flooded by the river (Strabo 7 fr. 44; Casson (1926) 9–10; Lazaridis (1971*b*) 2ff). Originally, the area belonged to the neighbouring Thracian tribe of the Sintoi, known also as Saïoi or Sapaioi (Strabo 12.3.20). Despite the moorlands and the noxious climate (Mart. 10.25; cf. Cic. *Att.* 7.7.4; Lucian, *Hist. conscr.* 2; and numerous passages in the Hippocratic literature),

Abdera came to own fertile agricultural land (Pind. fr. 52b.25) and fishing banks rich in cuttle fish and mullets (Archestratos frr. 43, 56, Olson and Sens) The city occupied one of the very few natural harbours east of the Nestos and had access to an important though probably rarely practicable land route linking the Aegean coast to the Thracian hinterland and to the Istros, probably through the modern Nymphaia pass (Thuc. 2.97.1–3; cf. Samsaris (1980) 58, 79).

The territory of Abdera was called ἡ Ἀβδηρῖτις (Theophr. *Hist. pl.* 3.1.5) or ἡ Ἀβδηριτῶν χώρα (Aen. Tact. 15.8). During the Classical period it presumably extended from Lake Bistonis to the Nestos and from the Aegean coast to the northern end of the plain and the southern foot of Mt. Rhodope, roughly along the modern Xanthe–Toxotes motorway (Lazaridis (1971*b*) 2 nos. 5–9; Samsaris (1980) 62–63; Skarlatidou (1984*a*) 150; Isaac (1986) 73); it was crossed by the course of the river *Kossinites,* which flowed into Lake Bistonis (Ael. *NA* 15. 25; identified with the river of Xanthi; Pantos (1975–76), (1983)). The territory of Abdera appears to have included at least one second named but unlocated urban centre, *Bergepolis* (Pantos (1975–76) 3, 10, (1983) 166, no. 8; see *infra* s.v.).

The population of Abdera, the largest city in the northern Aegean coast, has been variously calculated as from 15,000–20,000 to 40,000–100,000 (Lazaridis (1971*b*) 33–34. 167–70; Samsaris (1980) 167; Skarlatidou (1984*a*) 154–55); on epigraphic evidence from Teos (Herrmann (1981)), supported by the size of tribute paid by Teos and Abdera respectively, the latter's population was presumably 2.5 larger than that of her metropolis (Graham (1991), (1992) 59).

Strabo's testimony at 3.4.3 concerning a homonymous Phoenician foundation in southern Spain led modern historians to suggest a Phoenician origin both for the toponym and for the initial foundation of Abdera (Isaac (1986) 76–77). However, literary tradition records a first unsuccessful colonizing venture by Klazomenians under the leadership of Timesios (Hdt. 1.168; Plut. *Mor.* 812A; Ael. *VH* 12.9) *c.*650 (Solin. *Coll.* 10.10; Euseb. Chron. 95b, Helm). That another early, yet equally unsuccessful, attempt was undertaken by the Thasians has been argued by Isaac (1986) 79–80 on the basis of Archilochos' accounts of ferocious fights against Thracian Saioi (= Sinties = Sapaiaoi). For a critical view, see Graham (1992) 48.

Abdera was eventually refounded in 544 by Teians fleeing from Persian rule (Hdt. 1.168–69; Strabo 14.1.30; Ps.-Skymnos 670–71; cf. Isaac (1986) 81–85, with an interesting analysis of the poems of Anakreon, who participated in the foundation of the colony). Pindar's second *Paian* (Radt (1958); cf. Isaac (1986) 85–86) records the colonists' successful struggles to establish and extend their territory until C6s, probably even C5m (Graham (1992) 62–64); according to Strabo, some of the Teian refugees were eventually repatriated (Strabo 14.1.30; cf. Veligianni-Terzi (1997) 692–93).

The history of Abdera in the late Archaic and Classical periods has been largely reconstructed on the basis of the numerous and plentiful series of its important coinage by May (1966). However, recent numismatic research by Katerina Chryssanthaki (diss. Paris IV, 2000; forthcoming) has brought forth evidence which leads to a drastic revision of May's dates, and consequently of his historical reconstruction. In anticipation of Chryssanthaki's substantial revision of May's seriation and dating, the following account is based mainly on the testimony of literary, epigraphic and material sources other than the important numismatic evidence.

Abdera rapidly grew into a major financial power. Its silver coinage, presumably initiated as early as *c.*540–35 (May (1966) 49–58; Kraay (1976) 35; cf. however Chryssanthaki, forthcoming) and widely exported and distributed in the East, indicates direct access to rich silver-bearing Thracian regions (Mt. Symbolon, west of the Nestos or the Thracian hinterland?). Her growing rivalry with Thasos became manifest during the period of Persian occupation. Following Dareios' Skythian expedition, the Thasians were denounced by their neighbours for planning rebellion, and were ordered by Dareios to demolish their fortifications and bring their ships to Abdera (Hdt. 6.46.1), while the latter city was rewarded with the Persian king's trust and friendship (Hdt. 8.120).

Under unknown circumstances and at an unspecified date Abdera joined the Delian League. Numismatic evidence during the period following the evacuation of the Persians appears to indicate a further increase of the city's opulence, especially following the sedition and fall of Thasos in 463/2. Abdera belonged to the Thracian district and is recorded in the tribute lists from 454/3 (*IG* I³ 259.v.5) to 429/8 (*IG* I³ 282.II.30) a total of thirteen times, once completely restored, paying an exceptionally high *phoros* of mostly 15 tal. (*IG* I³ 261.v.17) reduced to 10 tal. from 432/1 on (*IG* I³ 280.II.46). In 425/4 and 422/1 it was presumably assessed for tribute together with Dikaia (*IG* I³ 71.III.153–4 and *IG* I³ 77.IV.29–30, city-ethnics completely restored), see *infra.*

Abdera's opportunistic policies revived after the rise of the Odrysian power: with the Abderitan Nymphodoros as intermediary, she was the first to establish relations with the

Odrysian royalty (Hdt. 7.137.3; Thuc. 2.29.1, 5). The purpose was evidently to secure and develop her exploitation of Thracian resources, even under burdensome financial obligations. On the justifiably disputed tribute imposed on Abdera and other Greek cities of the northern Aegean by the Odrysians, see Veligianni (1995*a*) and Loukopoulou (2002). The same Nymphodoros extended his services by negotiating in 431 in favour of the Athenians the valuable alliance of the Odrysian king Sitalkes, not least the ephemeral *rapprochement* of Perdikkas, king of Macedonia (*Staatsverträge* 165). The reduction of Abdera's tribute to the League by some 33 per cent in 432/1 may have been a reward in recognition of Nymphodoros' mediation (Isaac (1986) 102; for a different interpretation, see *ATL* iii. 310–11). There is no satisfactory explanation of the marked reversal of this situation in 425, when Abdera (with Dikaia) was assessed for the enormous sum of 75 tal. (*IG* I³ 71.III.153–54). Dissatisfaction and unrest among Athen's allies in the northern Aegean resulted in Abdera's defection from the League, probably following the second secession of Thasos in 411 (Isaac (1986) 105). Abdera was brought back into the League by Thrasyboulos in 407 (Diod. 13.72.2; Xen. *Hell.* 1.4.9; cf. May (1966) 181–83).

In 376/5 Abdera fell victim to a massive invasion of Triballians, allegedly assisted—if not invited—by Maronitans; despite untrustworthy support by neighbouring Thracians, the city suffered enormous losses and was saved from complete devastation only thanks to the intervention of an Athenian squadron under Chabrias (Aen. Tact. 15.8–10; Diod. 15.36.1–4). An Athenian garrison was established, and Abdera became a member of the Second Athenian Naval League (*IG* II² 43.B.3 = Tod 123; Diod. 15.36.3–4; cf. schol. Ael. Arist. 172.7, 173.17). Still suffering from the disastrous effects of her crushing defeat, the city was occupied by Philip II (Polyaen. *Strat.* 4.2.22; for diverging opinions on the date, see Isaac (1986) 106). In 346/5 Athens granted asylum to pro-Athenian refugees from Abdera (*IG* II² 218).

Abdera seems to have persistently maintained close relations of affiliation with its metropolis, Teos, down to the Roman period. Characteristically, colony and mother city shared the same religious festivals (Herrmann (1981); Graham (1991)); Abderitan coins (and amphora stamps; cf. Lazaridis (1954) 169) show that a griffin was the city emblem of both *poleis*, while occasional decrees promulgated in Teos are expressly proclaimed valid also for Abdera (Herrmann (1981) from Teos (C5f)); one contains public imprecations and seems to be a kind of citizen oath applying equally to Teians and Abderitans (*SEG* 31 985). Also two decrees of Abdera were found in Teos (Herrmann (1971), (1981)).

In C5 the constitution was presumably democratic, as is indicated by the provision that confiscation of property, imprisonment and capital punishment could only be imposed by a court manned with a minimum of 500 citizens (*SEG* 31 985.A.13–22; Lewis (1982)). Predictably, some at least of the institutions of Abdera reproduced those of its metropolis: most importantly, as in Teos, the board of executive magistrates in Abdera were the *timouchoi* (Bousquet (1940–41) 100–107; C3m, from Delphoi). As in Teos, the citizen body of Abdera appears to have been subdivided in smaller entities; the only one attested in Abdera may be a subdivision of a *phyle*, perhaps a *genos*; see *Ἑρμῶναξ Διονυσᾶδος Εὐρυσθενίδης* in a C4l dedication (Kallintzi and Veligianni (1996); *SEG* 46 841). The eponymous official was presumably the priest of Apollo, at least after C4m (Lazaridis (1971*b*) 27, 140; *Thrace* (1994) 61). The names engraved on Abderitan coins (*ἐπὶ τοῦ δεῖνος*) are usually interpreted as those of annual(?) mint officials. One C5s moneyer, *Δημόκριτος*, is often identified with the pre-Socratic philosopher of Abdera (Isaac (1986) 103). Other institutions, including the *boule* and *demos* of Abdera (Herrmann (1981)) and magistracies, are only expressly attested in epigraphic sources of Hellenistic and Roman date.

An Abderitan ambassador is said to have been sent to the king of Sparta, Agis, son of Archidamos, in the latter part of C4 (Plut. *Mor.* 215 E). Abderitans are awarded *proxenia* by Athens (*IG* II² 77 (378/7); *SEG* 35 71 (332/1)) and Kolophon (*AJP* 56 (1935) 363 l. 142 (C4l)). In 370/69, a golden crown is recorded as offered by the Abderitans to the godess of Athens (*IG* II² 1425.119 (370/69)). In 359 the city had a *theorodokos* to host *theoroi* from Epidauros (*IG* IV²1. 94.1b.28). Our knowledge of Abderitan legislation is limited to a C5 Abderitan law forbidding the burial of persons who had dispersed the family fortune, recorded in connection with Demokritos (Ath. 4.168b), and a C4 regulation concerning the marketing of cattle (Feyel (1942–43) 180, no. 2).

Pindar's second *Paian* evokes the organisation of the army (with emphasis on cavalry units) in the first days of the establishment of the colony (Pind. fr. 52b.104; cf. Isaac (1986) 85–86). Some indications of the importance of its size can be obtained in relation to the battles fought in 376 against the invading Triballians (Lazaridis (1971*b*) 33–34 nos. 168–70).

The poliad deity of Abdera was probably Dionysos, frequently mentioned by Anakreon (Isaac (1986) 82–85). Also important was the cult of Apollo, evoked with the eponym

Derainos or *Derenos* in Pindar's second *Paian* (Pind. fr. 52b.5) and regularly portrayed on C4 coinage (Isaac (1986) 84 n. 65, 106–7). Also attested in epigraphic and literary sources is the celebration of Thesmophoria, Anthesteria, Herakleia and the festival of Zeus (Herrmann (1981)), the cult of Athena Epipyrgitis, probably imported from the metropolis Teos (Lazaridis (1971*b*) 27 no. 138; Skarlatidou (1984*a*) 158), that of Aphrodite and Hekate (Pind. fr. 52b.5; 78; cf. Isaac (1986) 107–8), and a grove dedicated to the Nymphs near the city wall (Lazaridis (1971*b*) 41 no. 206); for the discovery of a C4l–C3e sanctuary presumably of Demeter or Kore, see Koukouli-Chryssanthaki (1982) 3, (1983) 7; Skarlatidou (1984*a*) 159; Koukouli-Chryssanthaki (1987*b*) 180–82, (1988) 143–45, (1989) 222–23, (1992) 165–66). Further attested are the heroic cult of Abderos, celebrated with athletic contests, excluding horse and chariot events (Philostr. 2.25; presumably to be identified with the hero Mesopolites *Epenor* (Kallintzi and Veligianni (1996) 62), and that of Timesios the Klazomenian *ktistes* of the first colony at Abdera (Hdt. 1.168); in C4s, Parmenion is said to have built a temple for Jason (Strabo 11.14.12),

Abdera has been identified beyond any doubt with the archaeological site near Cape Bouloustra (with visible remains of the modest Byzantine town Polystylon on its south-west end), some 7 km south-west of the homonymous (formerly Bouloustra) modern village (Reinach (1881); Regel (1887); Kazarow (1918)). Despite dramatic geomorphological mutations of the lowlands from the alluvial activity and the westward movement of the Nestos estuary (cf. Strabo 7 fr. 43), recent excavations have uncovered parts of the Archaic and Classical *polis*, located further north of Cape Bouloustra, presumably on a promontory linked to the mainland by a narrow strip with natural bays to the east and west: identified are parts of two early phases (C7s–C5: Kokouli-Chryssanthaki (1987b) 177–83) of fortification walls protecting the city's portuary installations (a *neosoikos*?), remains of an important public building (Koukouli-Chryssanthaki (1991) 200–1), traces of C6–C4 houses and the C7s–C6f (Klazomenian) cemetery (Koukouli-Chryssanthaki (1997)). A vast Late Classical–Classical tumuli necropolis extended to the north and north-west (Romiopoulou (1964) 377; Lazaridis (1965) 460–61; Triantaphyllos (1973–74) 809–10; Koukouli-Chryssanthaki (1982) 9–16; Triantaphyllos (1975) 297–98). Two gates are known from literary tradition: the Thracian (Hippocr. 3.3.17) and the Prourides (Callimach. 4.90). Due undoubtedly to the changing geomorphology, the site was abandoned in C4m (Koukouli-Chryssanthaki (1987*a*) 412), and the city was relocated further south, where systematic excavations since the early 1950s have revealed segments of the C4 fortifications with a gate, and several insulae of Hellenistic and Roman dwellings. The walls enclosed an area of 112 ha, and the city was apparantly grid-planned from its foundation (Hoepfner and Schwandner (1994) 180–87). Only undated traces of the theatre (*TGR* ii. 115) were identified (Lazaridis (1971*b*) 38 no. 193; Lazaridis (1966) 359–61; Triantaphyllos (1984) 32–33), but it is attested in a C2 inscription (Avezou and Picard (1913) 122–24, 128–29; *BCH* 37 (1913) 122–37 (C2)) and mentioned by Lucian in a C4l–C3e context (*Hist. conscr.* 1). The *palaistra* (Hippocr. 6.8.30: *palaistrophylax*) remains unidentified.

Abdera struck high-quality coins from C6s and throughout the entire Classical period. Its mint was one of the most important and enjoyed a wide circulation. Seriation and dating of this coinage, established by May's exhaustive study (1966), has now been drastically revised following important evidence mainly from coin hoards discovered in various parts of the East (Price and Waggoner (1975); Mattingly (1977)). Since the results of recent research are still unpublished (cf. *supra* 873), it is preferable to refrain from reproducing May's conclusions and limit the presentation to a summary description of the coin types. Abdera struck silver coins on variable weight standards, of mostly large denominations: octadrachm, tetradrachm, didrachm, drachm and subdivisions. Type: *obv.* griffin to left (Abdera's city emblem, as opposed to that of Teos: griffin facing right), often accompanied by various symbols (May (1966) 86); *rev.* incuse square and later various representations (portraits or full-length representations of deities—in particular Dionysos—and symbols thereof, animals or birds, objects, fruits). Legend: full or abreviated name of annual magistrate in the nominative or in the genitive case after *ΕΠΙ*; also, at times, the city-ethnic *ΑΒΔΗ* or *ΑΒΔΗΡΙΤΕΩΝ*. In addition to the silver coins there were limited bronze emissions from C5l, presumably for local use, and in C4m a limited emission of gold coins (*SNG Cop. Thrace* 308–73).

641. Ainos (Ainios) Map 51. Lat. 40.45, long. 26.05. Size of territory: probably 4 or 5. Type A:*α*. The toponym is *Αἶνος*, *ἡ* (Hom. Il. 4.520: *Αἰνόθεν*; Hdt. 4.90.2; Ant. 5.20; Thuc. 4.28.4; Ps.-Skylax; *IG* IV²1 94.1b.30 (359)). The city-ethnic is *Αἴνιος* (*IG* I³ 260.VI.15; *F.Delphes* III. 1 497.6 (C4l–C3e); Thuc. 7.57.5) or *Αἰνειεύς* (Hipponax fr. 72.7, West). Ainos is called a *polis* both in the urban sense (Hdt. 4.90.2, 7.58.3; Ephor. fr. 39; Ps.-Skylax 67) and in the political sense (Ant. 5.78). The town is called *polisma* at Ephor. fr. 39. The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally on coins

(*infra*) and externally in inscriptions (*IG* II² 43.B.7 = Tod 123) and literary sources (Thuc. 7.57.5; Dem. 23.119). For the individual and external form, see *IG* II² 152 (C4f); *SEG* 38 217, Athens (C4); *IG* IV² 1 58.7, Epidauros (C4l–C3e); Arist. *Pol.* 1311ᵇ21.

Ainos was situated in the Melas Gulf, at the mouth of the Hebros delta (Strabo 7 fr. 52), commanding the exit of the vast Hebros plain and lowlands famous for their fertility (Plin. *HN* 18.7.70). It was apparently situated in close proximity to the Lake Stentoris (Hdt. 7.58.3), on what was probably a peninsula and is known to have possessed a well-protected harbour (Ps.-Skylax 67), probably a river harbour on Lake Stentoris = Gala Gölu (Plin. *HN* 4.43: *portus Stentoris*). For sketch plans of the Hebros delta, cf. May (1950) figs. 1–3). The harbour served communications both with the Aegean and with the Thracian hinterland, as the river must have been easily navigable (May (1950) 1–7; Isaac (1986) 140–46). The area was also renowned for its fishing banks rich in large mussels, anchovy and pig-fish (Archestratos frr. 7, 23, Olson and Sens; cf. May (1950) 6).

The extent of the territory of Ainos is unknown; attested however is the existence of dependent forts (*teiche*) on the Thracian littoral south of Ainos and north of the mouth of the river Melas (Ps.-Skylax 67).

Ainos is already known in the Iliad (4.519–20); and according to Hipponax (fr. 741, Diehl (*c.*540–537)) the legendary king Rhesos was king of the Ainians. Ainos was an Aiolian colony (Hdt. 7.58.3), first established, presumably in C7s or C6f (Isaac (1986) 147–48) by Alopekonnesians, subsequently reinforced by Mytilenaians and Kymaians (Ephor. fr. 39; Ps.-Skymnos 697; Strabo 7 fr. 51) on land (Apsinthis) owned by the Thracian Apsinthioi, later known as Korpiloi (Strabo 7 fr. 57; cf. fr. 51a).

Undoubtedly occupied by the Persians in C6l, it recovered its independence under unknown circumstances after 480 and joined the Delian League as a tribute-paying member (Thuc. 5.57.5; cf. May (1950) 14). It belonged to the Thracian district and is recorded in the tribute lists from 454/3 (*IG* I³ 259.I.23) to 436/5 (*IG* I³ 276.VI.29) a total of fourteen times, twice completely restored, paying a *phoros* of 12 tal. (*IG* I³ 260.VI.15) reduced to 10 tal. after 445 (*IG* I³ 267.III.2) and finally 4 tal. in 435 (*IG* I³ 276.VI.29). In 425 Ainos was presumably assessed at 20 tal. (*IG* I³ 71.III.159, ethnic completely restored). The reasons for the tribute fluctuations as well as for the absence of Ainos from the full panels of 435/4 (*IG* I³ 277), 432/1 (*IG* I³ 280) and 429 (*IG* I³ 282) remain obscure (Meiggs (1972) 249; Isaac (1986) 151–52). The army of Ainos included peltasts before the end of C5 (cf. Thuc. 4.28.4 (r425)), and Ainian forces are recorded as having participated in the expedition of Sicily (Thuc. 7.57.5).

In 375, with Athens once more the undisputed mistress of the Aegean, Ainos became a member of the Second Athenian Naval League (*IG* II² 43.B.7; cf. May (1950) 187). Yet, numismatic evidence has been interpreted as indicating a decline of prosperity since early C4, undoubtedly aggravated since 365 under the pressure of Odrysian expansionism over south-eastern Thrace and the Thracian Chersonesos (May (1950) 174–94). The adverse situation was temporarily averted when Kotys I (383/2–359) was murdered by two Ainian citizens, Python and Herakleides, who were handsomely rewarded by the Athenians (Dem. 23.119; Arist. *Pol.* 1311ᵇ22). However, the improved relations between Athens and the successors of Kotys could not forestall Philip II's successful advance in Thrace. Renewed aggression by the Odrysians and burdensome contributions imposed by the Athenians could be exploited by a pro-Makedonian faction, active in Ainos at least since 344/3. As a result, Ainos went over to the Makedonian king *c.*342 or shortly thereafter and accepted a Makedonian garrison (Dem. 58.37–38; cf. May (1950) 195–203; Gehrke, *Stasis* 16; Isaac (1986) 154–55).

In 359 Ainos had a *theorodokos* to host *theoroi* from Epidauros (*IG* IV²1 94.Ib.30). The two Ainians who killed the Odrysian king Kotys in 359 were awarded Athenian citizenship and proxeny (Dem. 23.119; Arist. *Pol.* 1311ᵇ); Timaphenides of Ainos was granted *proxenia* in Athens before 353/2 (*IG* II² 152). In 303/2 another Ainian, Alkaios, son of Heraios, was granted Athenian citizenship, *proxenia* and a golden crown in Athens (*IG* II² 495); furthermore, he was honoured with the *proxenia, ateleia* and *asylia* in Epidauros (*IG* IV² 158).

The poliad deity of Ainos was most probably Hermes Perpheraios, whose wooden statue, a work of Epeios, was washed up at the neighbouring coast, where a sanctuary was presumably built in his honour (Callim. *Ia.* 7 fr. 197, Pfeiffer; cf. May (1950) 272–73 for C5 coin representations). Pan and the Nymphs depicted on a C4 relief were presumably worshipped in a cave at the foot of the acropolis (Casson (1926) 257–58). Also presumed from epigraphic, numismatic and literary evidence are the cults of Dionysos, the legendary king Rhesos and Asklepios (Isaac (1986) with refs.).

The town of Ainos is securely identified with Byzantine and modern Ainos (Turkish Enez) on the left bank of the Hebros river; it is now, following extensive geomorphological changes and the formation of a sand-bar blocking the river's mouth, situated 2.5 km upstream from the modern coastline, surrounded by marshes and lagoons (Hasluck

(1908–9) 249–51; Casson (1926) 256–57; May (1950) 1–2). The ancient site is hidden under the modern town, and archaeological remains are sporadic.

The coinage of Ainos, of great artistic excellence, was initiated shortly after the departure of the Persians. Ainos struck coins in gold, silver and bronze. (1) Silver, *c.*478–341: denominations: tetradrachm, drachm, tetrobol, diobol; type: *obv.* head of Hermes, in C4 often facing; *rev.* goat with various symbols. Legend: *AI* or *AINI* or *AINION*. Sometimes name of magistrate. (2) Bronze, C5s: type: *obv.* head of Hermes; *rev.* caduceus. Legend: *AINI* or *AINION*. (3) Gold, C4f: type: *obv.* head of Hermes; *rev.* Hermes on throne (May (1950); Mattingly (1977) 99–101; *SNG Cop. Thrace* 389–421).

642. Bergepolis (Bergepolites) Map 51. Lat. 41.05, long. 25.00. Size of territory: ? Type: C:? Both the toponym, *Βεργέπολις*, *ἡ*, and the city-ethnic *Βεργεπολίτης* are exclusively attested at Steph. Byz. 163.13: *Βεργέπολις Ἀβδηριτῶν, τὸ ἐθνικὸν Βεργεπολίτης*. If this entry can be trusted, Bergepolis was an urban centre dependent on Abdera. The second part of the composite toponym suggests that it was a *polis*: *viz.*, a dependent *polis* lying in the territory of Abdera.

Otherwise unknown, Bergepolis has been tentatively located—on no conclusive evidence—at the ancient site identified between Koutson and Vafeïka (*TIR* 21 with refs.; Triantaphyllos (1973–74) 810–13, and, more recently, Skarlatidou (1990) 616). The excavation report mentions sparse ceramic finds from the Archaic to the Roman period, as well as coins of Abdera of the Classical period. If one accepts the identification of Bergepolis with this site, the presumption is that Bergepolis' status as a *polis* goes back at least to the Classical period.

643. Dikaia Map 51. Lat. 41.00, long. 25.10. Size of territory: 2 or 3. Type: A:*α*. The toponym is *Δίκαια*, *ἡ* (Hdt. 7.109.1; Ps.-Skylax 67; *IG* I³ 263.III.19: *Δίκαια παρὰ Ἄβδερα*) or *Δικαιόπολις*, *ἡ* (Harp. *Δ*64, quoting Lysias fr. 115, Sauppe; cf. *Suda Δ*1967). Apart from Steph. Byz. 230.15 there is no attestation of a city-ethnic. Dikaia is listed as a *polis* in the urban sense alongside Abdera and Maroneia at Hdt. 7.109.1 and Ps-Skylax 67. *Polis* status in the political sense is confirmed by her coinage (*infra*) and membership of the Delian League (*infra*).

According to Herodotos (7.109.1) Dikaia was situated on the Thracian coast between Abdera and Maroneia, near Lake Bistonis and west of the river Koudetos (Ps.-Skylax 67, to be identified with Herodotos' river Kompsatos, according to *ATL* i. 517). According to Strabo 7 frr. 43 and 46, it lay in a bay near the sea-ward side of the lake, which served her as a port. It was situated in the vicinity of the legendary palace of Diomedes, king of the Bistones, and off the sea-ward canal of Lake Bistonis allegedly cut by Herakles.

Usually sought south or south-east of Porto Lagos (*ATL* i. 517; cf. Bakalakis (1958) 89–90), Dikaia has been located—yet without any conclusive archaeological or epigraphic evidence (Isaac (1986) 109)—on a low hill named Katsamakia, a few kilometers north of Cape Phanari (Bakalakis (1958) 89; Lazaridis (1971*b*) 45 no. 223). At this site were found traces of part of a C4 fortification wall and sparse remains of Hellenistic houses (Bakalakis (1958) 68; Triantaphyllos (1972) 535). Some C6l–C5 sepulchral tumuli found west of Katsamakia have been attributed to the city's cemetery (Triantaphyllos (1972) 535, (1973); for a tentative demarcation of the territory of Dikaia, see Lazaridis (1971*b*) 46 no. 225).

On the uncertain evidence of sparse archaeological remains and the modest amount of tribute, the population of Dikaia was estimated as a maximum of 1,000 inhabitants (Samsaris (1980) 168; cf. Lazaridis (1971*b*) 51 no. 243).

Dikaia was probably founded in C6, but, in the absence of literary testimonia, the origin and foundattion date remain obscure (Isaac (1986) 109–10). The bull's head on Dikaia's coins in 492 has been taken to indicate a Samian origin or, more probably, financial relations with Samos (May (1965)). Dikaia was a member of the Delian League. It belonged to the Thracian district and is recorded in the tribute lists from 454/3 (*IG* I³ 259.IV.28) to 432/1 (*IG* I³ 280.II.60) a total of thirteen times, once completely restored, paying a *phoros* of 3,000 dr. from 454/3 to 447/6 (*IG* I³ 265.II.44), reduced to 2,000 dr. in 446/5 (*IG* I³ 266.II.8) but raised again to 3,000 dr. (*IG* I³ 280.II.60) perhaps in 435/4 (*IG* I³ 277.VI.19, amount restored). In 425/4 and 422/1 it was presumably assessed for tribute together with Abdera (*IG* I³ 71.III.153–4 and *IG* I³ 77.IV.29–30). In 425/4 the two members were assessed at the enormous sum of 75 tal.

From C6s to the end of Persian occupation in the area, *c.*476, Dikaia minted two series of silver coins of excellent workmanship. (1) Series I was struck C6l–480 on the Thrako-Makedonian standard of Thasos. Denominations: tetradrachm, stater and subdivisions. Type: *obv.* head of Herakles; *rev.* incuse square. (2) Series II was struck 480–476 on the Thrako-Makedonian standard of Maroneia, probably in accordance with the city's changing political and financial dependencies (May (1965)). Denominations: didrachm, drachm and subdivisions. Type: *obv.* head of

Herakles; *rev.* cock or bull's head. Legend: *Δ* or *ΔIK* or *ΔIKAI*. (3) A series of drachms was struck in C5m. Type: *obv.* female head, hair rolled; *rev.* bull's head. Legend: *Δ*, *ΔIK*, *ΔIKAIA* (Head, *HN*² 252; May (1965); Price and Waggoner (1975) 38; Isaac (1986) 110, underlining the necessity for a revision of May's dates; *SNG Cop. Thrace* 551–5, suppl. 98). (For a tetradrachm with *obv.* ox, *rev.* octopus, legend *ΔIKAIA*, see Skarlatidou (1984*b*) 54 figs. 10–11).

644. Drys (Dryites) Map 51. Lat. 40.05, long. 25.40. Size of territory: probably 2 or 3. Category: B:? The toponym is *Δρῦς*, *ἡ* (Hecat. fr. 160; Ps.-Skylax 67; Dem. 23.132; *IG* I³ 77.V.29–30: *Δρῦς παρὰ Σέρρειον*). The city-ethnic is *Δρυίτης* (*F.Delphes* III. 1 497.5 (C4l–C3e)). According to Ps.-Skylax 67, Drys and Zone were *emporia* lying on the coast opposite Samothrake. Drys is classified as a *polis* only in late sources (Polyaen. *Strat.* 2.22.3 (r375); Harp. *Δ*82; *Suda Δ*1551; Steph. Byz. 240.3). Harpokration is quoting Theopompos (fr. 161) and Stephanos Hekataios (fr. 160), but in neither case is it possible to ascertain that the site-classification as a *polis* stems from the author quoted. In the Athenian assessment decree of 422/1 Drys is listed as a member of the Delian League and assessed at 1 tal. (*IG* I³ 77.5.29–30). In a Delphic inscription of C4l or C3e, the ethnic *Δρυῖται* is listed alongside other ethnics which are indisputably city-ethnics (*F. Delphes* III.1 479.5). The presumption is that Dryites is a city-ethnic too. Thus, Drys appears to have been a *polis* from C5s to, perhaps, C3e (Robert (1940) 81–87).

Apart from its membership of the Delian League, the only information we have about the history of Drys is that it was a fortified town which in 375 was besieged by the Athenians under Chabrias (Polyaen. *Strat.* 2.22.3), and that in *c.*360 it was the home of the Athenian *strategos* Iphikrates (Dem. 23.132). Drys is believed to have been absorbed by Traianoupolis under the empire (Isaac (1986) 129).

Drys is tentatively but unconvincingly identified by some scholars with Mesambria (Perdrizet (1909) 35) or with Orthagoria (*ATL* i. 519) and in turn located south-west of Dikella (Kazarow (1918) 52–55; *ATL* i. 518–19; Bakalakis (1961) 15–16 *et al.*), at Shabla Dere = *infra* Zone (Meyer (1976); cf. however Robert (1940) 86–87 and, more recently, Isaac (1986) 129–30 and Mottas (1989) 89, 103).

645. Kypsela Map 51. Lat. 40.55, long. 26.25. Size of territory: ? Type: B:*β*. The toponym is *Κύψελα*, *τά* (Damoxenos fr. 1.5, *PCG*; Steph. Byz. 400.7); Apart from Steph. Byz. 400.8–9 there is no attestation of a city-ethnic. Kypsela is classified as a *polis* only in late sources (Polyaen. *Strat.* 4.16: *Κύψελα Θράτταν πόλιν*; Strabo 7 fr. 10; Steph. Byz. 400.7; Ptol. 3.11.7). The *polis* status of Kypsela in C4l–C3e is known exclusively from its short-lived bronze coinage. Type: *obv.* head of Hermes; *rev.* beehive-type vase. Legend: *ΚΥΨΕ*. Stylistic and iconographic parallels and chronology (*c.*415–387) seem to suggest a former dependency on Ainos and a short period of self-government followed by Odrysian rule at least since *c.*390–380 (Schönert-Geiss (1993); *SNG Cop. Thrace* 532).

Kypsela was located near the (left) bank of the Hebros, some 120 stades upstream from the river's mouth (Strabo 7 fr. 47), 25 miles east of Traianoupolis on the *Via Egnatia* (*It. Burd.* 602.5; 29 miles according to the *It. Ant.* 332.2); it is identified with modern Ipsala (Turkey).

646. Maroneia (Maronites) Map 51. Lat. 40.50, long. 25.30. Size of territory: probably 5. Type: A:*α*. The toponym is *Μαρώνεια*, *ἡ* (Hdt. 7.109.1; Archestratos fr. 56, Olson and Sens; *IG* IV²1 94.Ib.29, Epidauros (359); *SEG* 43 486.21, Bulgaria (C4m)). The toponym evidently recalls Maron, son of Euanthes, Apollo's priest at Homeric Ismaros (Hom. *Od.* 9.197; C5f coins (*infra*)); the probable linguistic connection between Maroneia and Ismaros is underlined by Isaac (1986) 113 n. 224. The city-ethnic is *Μαρωνίτης* (*IG* I³ 260.VI.19; Xen. *An.* 7.3.16; *SEG* 43 486.27–8, Bulgaria) or *Μαρωνεύς* (*IG* I³ 263.III.22) or *Μαρωνειεύς* (*IG* I³ 269.III.6). Maroneia is called a *polis* in the urban sense by Hekataios (fr. 159), Herodotos (7.109.1) and Ps.-Skylax (67). The political sense is attested in *IG* II² 43.78 and 87 where Maroneia, under the heading *πόλεις*, is listed as one of the members of the Second Athenian Naval League. The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally on coins (*infra*) and externally in the Athenian tribute lists (*IG* I³ 260.VI.19) and in literary sources (Dem. 50.20–23). For the individual and external use, see the funerary inscriptions *IG* II² 9286–93 from Athens and Xen. *An.* 7.3.16.

The city's territory extended according to Lazaridis ((1972) 4 and plan 21) from the slopes of Mt. Ismaros in the east to the course of the river Philiouri (probably identified with the ancient Lissos) and the banks of Lake Ismaris in the west and to the river Kourou and the northern slopes of Mt. Ismaros to the north, but Pantos claims that it must at times have been far more extended, including Stryme to the west (Pantos (1983) 168 para. 14). The C5s population of Maroneia, a vast and prosperous city, is estimated at *c.*12,000 (Lazaridis (1972) 14.44–45, with refs.), or at 15,000–20,000 (Samsaris (1980) 167–68).

Maroneia was situated on a coastal plateau east of Stryme and Lake Ismaris = lake of Mitrikon (Hdt. 7.109.1; Strabo 7

fr. 44) and west of Orthagoria (Strabo 7 fr. 48; Plin. *HN* 4.42: between Dikaia and Cape Serreion), on the fertile vine-growing slopes of Mt. Ismaros (*Suda* *I*645, *M*222; Eust. *Od.* 1.133.9; cf. Hom. *Od.* 9.196–211; Archiloch. fr. 2; Plin. *HN* 14.53–54).

The exclusive testimony of Ps.-Skymnos (675–78) referring to Maroneia as a colony of Chios is usually accepted (Isaac (1986) 114). Its foundation is dated before C7m, when Maronitans clashed with Thasians over the possession of Stryme (Archiloch. fr. 2, quoted by Philoch. fr. 43). The city fell undoubtedly under Persian rule following the occupation of Thrace by Megabazos. With the Persian rule terminated under unspecified circumstances (Isaac (1986) 115–16 with bibliography) Maroneia predictably entered the Delian League. It belonged to the Thracian district and is recorded in the tribute lists from 454/3 (*IG* I³ 259.IV.5) to 415/14 (*IG* I³ 290.III.19) a total of twenty times. It paid a *phoros* of 1 tal. 3,000 dr. down to 443/2 (*IG* I³ 269.III.6) or perhaps 441/0 (*IG* I³ 271.II.44). From 436/5 it paid 10 tal. (*IG* I³ 276.V.29), reduced to 3,000 dr. in 430/29 (*IG* I³ 281.II.8). In 425/4 it was presumably assessed at the enormous sum of 21 tal. (*IG* I³ 71.III.156, city-ethnic restored). Moreover, numismatic evidence suggests close financial and political relations with the Odrysian kingdom. On the justifiably disputed tribute imposed on Abdera and other Greek cities of the northern Aegean by the Odrysians, see Veligianni (1995*a*) with refs. and Loukopoulou (2003).

In C4, Maroneia became a member of the Second Athenian Naval League (*IG* II² 43.87). Moreover, its relations with the Odrysians were further strengthened in C4f, as was the antagonism with other powerful Greek cities of the north Aegean who had financial interests in the Thracian hinterland. *C.*400 a Maronitan served as a councillor at the court of Seuthes II (Xen. *An.* 7.3.16). In 376/5 Maroneia is believed to have supported, if not invited, the Triballian invasion which resulted in the catastrophic defeat of Abdera (Diod. 15.36.3–4; cf. schol. Ael. Arist. 172.7, 173.17). She had apparently also succeeded in driving Thasos away from Stryme, and the dispute was solved only with Athenian intervention (Dem. 12.17, 17.23, 50.20–23, 51.17). A recently published inscription from Vetren in Bulgaria discloses the privileged position of Maroneia in the Thracian commerce under Kotys I and his successors (*SEG* 43 486; Velkov and Domaradzka (1994); cf. Loukopoulou (1999), (2002), 2003)); it was brought to an end by Philip II's conquest of southern Thrace and the dissolution once and for all of the Odrysian power (Dem. 23.183; Polyaen. *Strat.* 4. 2. 22). Maroneia's triremes and army, which included mercenaries and "neighbouring barbarians" are mentioned in relation to her dispute with Thasos over Stryme in 361 (Dem. 50.14–15, 20–23).

We have no information about the constitution of Maroneia. Maronitan ambassadors are recorded in 361/0 (Dem. 50.20–23). In 359 Maroneia had a *theorodokos* to host *theoroi* from Epidauros (*IG* IV²1 94.1b. 29). In C4 Karthaia bestowed *proxenia* on a citizen of Maroneia (*IG* XII 5 242.b.2). *I.Priene* 10 (C4) is a decree by Priene (no. 861) bestowing various judicial privileges on citizens of Maroneia. A citizen of Maroneia was Olympic victor in 476 (*Olympionikai* 213).

The poliad deity of Maroneia was most probably Dionysos, whose portrait appears on coins; his sanctuary (Dionysion) was the place of publication of official documents (*SEG* 35 823.43–4 (C2)). With Dionysos' cult was apparently associated that of the city's eponymous hero Maron (cf. the legend *MAPΩNOΣ* on C5f coins (*infra*)), as indicated by their joint cult, along with that of Zeus and Rome, in the Roman period (Triantaphyllos (1983) 425). The cult of Apollo is presumed on legendary evidence (Hom. *Od.* 9.187–215).

The town of Maroneia is securely located in the well-protected bay of Ag. Charalambos, which also served as the city harbour. A vast 10.5 km-long fortification wall protected the entire area from the port, west of the bay (reinforced to the east by an artificial mole; cf. Sarla-Pentazou and Pentazos (1984) 47 figs. 2–3, 5–6), to the acropolis, identified on the hill of Ag. Athanasios (height 678m). Archaeological research has not yet identified traces of the Archaic–Classical city. The isodomic city wall was reinforced with numerous semicircular and rectangular towers. Also identified are a C4 sanctuary, presumably of Dionysos, and the sanctuary of the Egyptian deities (Tsimbidis-Pentazos (1971) 104, (1973) 84–86 fig. 1; Pentazos (1982) 29–30; Sarla-Pentazou and Pentazos (1984) 48 fig. 10; Lazaridis (1972) 40.140; Pentazos (1986); *Ergon* (1973) 59–61, (1986–87) 44–45, (1987) 20–22; Triantaphyllos (1983) 431–32).

In C6l Maroneia struck a limited series of silver coins on the Thrako-Makedonian standard. Denominations: stater, tetrobol, diobol and obol. Type: *obv.* horse protome; *rev.* incuse square. In the Classical period silver coins were struck first on the Phoenician standard, later on the Persian standard, sometimes on the Attic standard. Denominations from C5e on: didrachm, drachm, triobol, diobol, trihemiobol. Types: *obv.* forepart of horse, or prancing horse, or head of Dionysos; *rev.* first, incuse square; later, vine or grapes in square. Legend: *c.*500 on *obv.* *MA* or *MAPΩ* or

ΜΑΡΩΝΟΣ, later on *rev.* *ΜΑ* or *ΜΑΡΩ* but mostly *ΜΑΡΩΝΙΤΕΩΝ* or later *ΜΑΡΩΝΙΤΩΝ* and often a magistrate's name. The same types appear on bronze coins and on two series of gold coins struck in C4f (Head, *HN*² 248–50; Schönert-Geiss (1987) 46–47; *SNG Cop. Thrace* 592–633). The dating, seriation and distribution of the important coinage of Maroneia, as well as the systematic study of its impact on political and financial developments in Thrace and on the Odrysian coinage, have been based on the mints of Abdera and Ainos (May (1965); West (1929) 55–147; Schönert-Geiss (1979), (1985), (1987); Peter (1997) *passim*). As a consequence of the revision of Abdera's monetary history (no. 640), historical conclusions are now open to reconsideration.

647. Mesambrie Map 51. Lat. 40.50, long. 25.40, but see *infra*. Size of territory: probably 2. Type: A:? The toponym, *Μεσαμβρίη, ἡ*, is attested exclusively by Herodotos (7.108.2, quoted at Steph. Byz. 446.19–21: *Μεσημβρία*). Herodotos describes Mesambrie as the westernmost *teichos* of the *peraia* of Samothrake and, at the same time, as a *polis* both in the urban sense and in the territorial sense, *viz.* as bordering on the *polis* of Stryme and the river Lissos. It was situated in the Briantike, formerly called Gallaïke, a part of the region formerly owned by the Kikones. Herodotos' description indicates that Mesambria was a dependent *polis* belonging to Samothrake.

Mesambrie was tentatively but unconvincingly identified by some scholars with Drys (Perdrizet (1909) 35; cf. Seure (1900) 152 n. 1), by others with Orthagoria (Meyer (1976) 3, (1978) 97–98) or with Zone (*Thrace* (1994) 80). For an early discussion of proposed unjustified identifications, simplifying the admittedly confused settlement pattern transmitted by literary sources for this area, see Robert (1940) and, more recently, Isaac (1986) 128–33. Mesambrie has persistently been identified with the site systematically excavated near the stream Shabla Dere (Kazarow (1918) 33; Amandry (1940–41); Walter (1942) 189–90); Bakalakis (1961) 15; Lazaridis (1971*c*) 39; supported by the excavator of the site, A. Vavritsas, and followed by *Barr.*). But this identification has now been abandoned in favour of Zone (Tsatsopoulou (1995) 671–73; cf. *TIR* 37; Isaac (1986) 131; disputed by Soustal (1991) 354–55; see *infra* 881). Mesambrie should be sought 3 km further west, at the mouth of the stream Yali Dere (Meyer (1976) 3; (1978) 97–98; Mottas (1989) 89).

648. Orthagoria (Orthagoreus) Map 51. Unlocated. Type: B:*α*? The toponym is *Ὀρθαγορία, ἡ* (Strabo 7 fr. 47), according to Pliny (*HN* 4.42) the former name of Maroneia. The city-ethnic *Ὀρθαγορεύς* is attested on C4m coins (*infra*), indicating that it was a self-governing *polis* at the time.

Orthagoria has been unconvincingly identified with various locations on the Aegean coast, usually east of Maroneia (Robert (1940) 87–90; Lazaridis (1972) 40.158, 46.164; Pantos (1983) 171.27 and, more recently, Isaac (1986) 123, with refs.).

Orthagoria minted silver and bronze coins in C4m or later. Denominations: stater, triobol and fractions in bronze. Type: *obv.* head of Artemis or Apollo; *rev.* Makedonian helmet surmounted by star. Legend: *ΟΡΘΑΓΟΡΕΩΝ* (Gaebler (1935) 92–93; cf. Head, *HN*² 203; *SNG Cop. Thrace* 689–91).

649. Sale Map 51. Lat. 40.50, long. 25.55. Size of territory: probably 3. Category: A:? The toponym is *Σάλη, ἡ* (Hdt. 7.59.2; *IG* I³ 77.5.31 (422/1)). The city-ethnic remains unattested. According to Herodotos, Sale and Zone were Samothrakean *poleis* (in the urban sense), situated on the coast of the Doriskos plain, in the region formerly owned by the Kikones. Like other cities of the *peraia* of Samothrake it appears in 422/1 as a member of the Delian League, assessed at 3,000 dr. (*IG* I³ 77.5.31).

Sale was situated 15 miles west of Traianoupolis on the *Via Egnatia* (*It. Burd.* 602.9: *mutatio Salei*) and is tentatively, but not beyond reasonable doubt, located at or near modern Alexandroupolis (Isaac (1986) 131) or further west, at Makri (Mottas (1989) 88, 95).

650. Stryme Map 51. Lat. 40.55, long. 25.20. Size of territory: probably 3. Type: A:*α*. The toponym is *Στρύμη, ἡ* (Hdt. 7.108–9; Dem. 50.32; *SEG* 39 666.27, AD 202). Apart from Steph. Byz. 587.17 there is no attestation of a city-ethnic. At Hdt. 7.108.2 Stryme is called a Thasian *polis* bordering on Mesambria: . . . *Μεσαμβρία. ἔχεται δὲ ταύτης Θασίων πόλις Στρύμη* . . . Thus, *polis* is used in the territorial and political senses combined. For its urban centre, see *infra*. Some lexicographers seem to agree in calling Stryme an *emporion* (Harp. *Σ*49, perhaps derived from Philoch. fr. 43 or from Dem. 50.20; cf. Suda *Σ*1231).

Stryme was situated in the Briantike, a region formerly called Gallaïke and belonging to the Thracian Kikones (Hdt. 7.108–9). Stryme was an island off the Thracian coast colonised by Thasos (Harp. *Σ*49, quoting Heraclid. Pont. fr. 125, Wehrli) and the C3 historian Philostephanos of Kyrene (*FHG* III 28–34, omitting this fragment)). Demosthenes stresses its lack of a safe harbour at least for naval units (Dem. 50.22: *ἀλίμενον χωρίον*). Describing the march of Xerxes' army through the Aegean Thrace, Herodotos

(7.108–9) presents a confusing account of Stryme's location: west of Mesambrie, the westernmost settlement in the *peraia* of Samothrake, and separated from it by the river Lissos, but also east of Lake Ismaris, which lay between Maroneia and Stryme. These incoherent pieces of information do not allow any secure identification. It is usually assumed that Stryme was a Thasian coastal outpost bordering on the territory of Maroneia (Lazaridis 1971*a*), and therefore, ever since its foundation in, probably, C7, a constant bone of contention between these two cities. Vaguely attested is a first contention in C7s (Philoch. fr. 43, citing Archilochos, fr. 291, West); a direct conflict in 361/60 was solved by Athenian intervention in support of the Thasians (Dem. 12.17, 50.20–22) recording the Athenian arbitration (cf. Isaac (1986) 70–71). Stryme was presumably destroyed *c.*350 by the Maronitans, possibly supported by Philip II (Bakalakis (1967) 145).

Stryme is inconclusively identified with the ancient fortified settlement excavated on a peninsula north-east of Cape Molyvoti (plan in Lazaridis (1972) fig. 71) with remains dating from C6l to C4f (Bakalakis (1967); disputed by Isaac (1986) 12, 71–72). The present configuration of the peninsula allows the hypothesis that, as recorded by Philostephanos (*supra*), it was indeed an island during at least part of Antiquity (Kranioti (1990) 629; for a tentative demarcation of the extent of Stryme's territory, see Lazaridis (1972*b*) 4.19). Archaeological remains include parts of C5–C4m fortification walls and cross-walls built in irregular masonry with brick superstructure, subterranean tunnels, cisterns and wells in the southern edge of Cape Molyvoti, which were interpreted as having constituted a major aqueduct, on the analogy of the Eupalinean aqueduct in Samos but on a much smaller scale. Furthermore, there are traces of a small port located south of the city, and a group of five grave monuments with three inhumations and two cremations dated to 450–425 bordering a roughly paved road, to the north-east of the cross-wall. Imported pottery in the entire excavated area consists exclusively of Attic C5–C4 ware. The urban centre extended south and east of the citadel, while the cemetery spread over the west flank of the cape, outside the wall. On the evidence of a few excavated C5l–C4m private houses, it is believed to have conformed to the Hippodameian urban system (Bakalakis (1967)); Kranioti (1984)). A cemetery with tumuli containing C5 cist graves and sarcophagi was excavated 4 km north of the walled settlement (Bakalakis (1967) 3–18; on the recent discovery *c.*4 km north to north-east of Molyvoti of four C5s sepulchral tumuli, see Triantaphyllos (1992) 655–59).

651. Zone (Zonaios) Map 51. Lat. 40.50, long. 25.45. Size of territory: probably 2. Type: A:*α*. The toponym is *Ζώνη, ἡ* (Hecat. fr. 161; Hdt. 7.59.2; Ps.-Skylax 67; *IG* I³ 77.5.27–28: *Ζόνε παρὰ Σέρρειον*). The city-ethnic is *Ζωναῖος* (*F.Delphes* III.1 497.5; cf. Robert (1940) 81–90). Zone is called a *polis* in the urban sense at Hdt. 7.59.2, whereas Ps.-Skylax 68 lists Drys and Zone as two coastal *emporia* situated opposite Samothrake. The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally on coins (*infra*) and externally in a Delphic list of C4l–C3e. The individual and external use is attested in a C3 honorific decree from Samothrake.

Zone is listed among members of the Delian League in the assessment decree of 422/1, and was assessed at 2 tal. (*IG* I³ 77.5.27–28), an indication that it was the richest if not the largest of the cities of the *peraia* of Samothrake.

Zone was situated on the beach front, between Sale and Serreion (Hdt. 7.59.2), in the vicinity of Drys (Ps.-Skylax 67), also located near Serreion. It has been sought at Cape Makri (identified with Serreion), right below the Zonaia Mts. (presumably Choban Dag), and was tentatively identified with a site near the modern village of Makri (*ATL* i. 518; Bakalakis (1961) 15; Lazaridis (1971*c*) 39; for an early discussion of proposed unjustified identifications simplifying the admittedly confused settlement pattern transmitted by literary sources for this area, see Robert (1940) and, more recently, Isaac (1986) 128–33). However, numerous, otherwise rare coins of Zone have turned up during the systematic excavation of the urban centre near the mouth of the stream Shabla Dere, formerly identified with Mesambria. These finds strongly support the now prevailing view that the site is ancient Zone (*BE* (1976) 464, (1978) 312, (1979) 282, (1980) 319, (1981) 326; *TIR* 61; *Thrace* (1994) 80; J. Tsatsopoulou (1995) 671–73; Galani-Krikou (1996), *contra* Soustal (1991) 354–55; according to Triantaphyllos (*Thrace* (1994) 80) Mesambria may have been some older name of Zone). This identification was reinforced by the discovery of an Archaic sanctuary of Apollo (see *infra*), the poliad deity of Zone, as evidenced by this city's C4 coinage.

The excavated urban centre near Shabla Dere, dating from C6 to the Hellenistic period, is organised in accordance with the Hippodamic system, with cross-intersecting paved roads, various types of house and an elaborate sewage system. It is protected by two contiguous fortification walls (ashlar and pseudo-isodomic poros masonry, the western wall in Lesbian masonry) measuring 1370 and 960 m respectively and enclosing an area of 50 ha), reinforced with rectangular towers extending from the seaboard to the top of a 108.5 m-high acropolis; the southern sea-wall is

presumed to have disappeared in the sea (J. Tsatsopoulou (1987) 472), as did the presumed port installations (Vavritsas (1988) 80). The south-west part of the enclosed area, measuring 50.50 × 46.50 m, was densely built and additionally fortified with an internal wall. Ceramic pipes probably belonging to the city aqueduct were discovered near a mountain spring *c.*1,500 m to the north-west (Vavritsas (1973) 122). Extensive C5–C3 cemeteries were identified west of the urban centre (P. Tsatsopoulou (1997)). A decree discovered in the excavations remains unpublished (*BE* (1976) 464).

The evidence of the coins indicates that the poliad deity of Zone was Apollo (Galani-Krikou (1996), (1997)). His sanctuary, with a C6 temple, probably in antis or prostyle, has been identified on the hill-top near the eastern fortification wall. Inside the *temenos* were found parts of the cult statue of *c.*600, as well as rich votive offerings, including numerous sherds with graffitti (J. Tsatsopoulou (1988) 491–92; (1989); *Thrace* (1994) 83). Epigraphically attested is the cult of Demeter in a small C4 sanctuary by the south-eastern end of the western fortification wall, with numerous offerings of silver and gilded votive plaques representing Demeter, Kore and Cybele (Vavritsas (1973) 77–81, (1984) 27–29). Moreover, the rich oak forest covering the Zonaia Mts. in the vicinity of Cape Serreion and lying in the territory of Zone, has been associated with the activity of Orpheus (Apoll. Rhod. *Argon.* 23–31; Nic. *Ther.* 458–464; cf. Pompon. Mela 2.28; cf. Robert (1940) 82–90).

Zone struck bronze coins in C4–C3. Type: *obv.* head of Apollo; *rev.* lyre or laurel wreath, more rarely running deer. Legend: *ΖΩΝΑΙΩΝ* or *ΖΩΝΑΙ* or *ΖΩΝ* or *ΖΩ* (Galani-Krikou (1996)).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Amandry, P. 1940–41. "Chronique des Fouilles et découvertes Archéologiques en Grèce en 1940 et 1941", *BCH* 64–65: 250–51.

Archibald, Z. H. 1998. *The Odrysian Kingdom of Thrace: Orpheus Unmasked* (Oxford).

Avezou, C., and Picard, C. 1913. "Inscriptions de Macédoine et de Thrace", *BCH* 37: 84–154.

Bakalakis, G. 1958. *Προανασκαφικές ἔρευνες στή Θράκη* (Thessalonica).

——1961. *Ἀρχαιολογικές ἔρευνες στή Θράκη, 1959–60* (Thessalonica).

——1967. *Ἀνασκαφὴ Στρύμης*, *Epistimoniki Epeteris Philosophikes Scholes*, suppl. 13 (Thessalonica).

Bakirtzis, C., and Triantaphyllos, D. 1988. *Θράκη* (Athens).

Balcer, J. M. 1972. "The Persian Occupation of Thrace 519–491 B.C.", in *Actes du IIe Congrès International des études sud-est européennes* (Sofia) ii. 241–58.

Bousquet, J. 1940–41. "Inscriptions de Delphes, II", *BCH* 64–65: 76–120.

Casson, S. 1926. *Macedonia, Thrace and Illyria: Their Relations to Greece from the Earliest Times down to the Time of Philip Son of Amyntas* (Oxford).

Castritius, H. 1972. "Die Okkupation Thrakiens durch die Perser und der sturz des athenischen Tyrannen Hippias", *Chiron* 2: 1–16.

Collart, P. 1929. "Note sur les mouvements de troupes qui ont précédé la bataille de Philippes", *BCH* 53: 351–64.

Feyel, M. 1942–43. "Nouvelles Inscriptions d'Abdère et de Maronée", *BCH* 66–67: 176–99.

Gaebler, H. 1935. *Die antiken Münzen Nordgriechenlands*, iii 2 (Berlin) 79–83.

Galani-Krikou, M. 1997. "*Ανασκαφή στη Μεσημβρία-Ζώνη. Ζώνη: τρίτος νομισματικός τύπος*", in *Ancient Thrace. Acts of the 2nd International Symposium of Thracian Studies* 2 (Komotini, 1992) 631–41.

—— M. 1996. "*Προσέγγιση στη Νομισματοκοπία της Ζώνης. Η μαρτυρία της ανασκαφής στην Αιγαιακή Μεσημβρία-Ζώνη*", in *Character: Studies in Honour of Manto Oikonomidou* (Athens) 63–80.

Graham, A. J. 1991. "'Adopted Teians': A Passage in the New Inscription of Public Imprecations from Teos", *JHS* 111: 176–78.

——1992. "Abdera and Teos" *JHS* 112: 44–73.

Hammond, N. G. L. 1980. "The Extent of Persian Occupation in Thrace", *Chiron* 10: 53–61.

Hasluck, F. W. 1908–9. "Monuments of the Gattelusi", *BSA* 15: 248–57.

Herrmann, P. 1971. "Zum Beschluss von Abdera aus Teos Syll. 656", *ZPE* 7: 72–77.

——1981. "Teos und Abdera im 5. Jahrhundert v. Chr.: ein neues Fragment der Teiorum dirae", *Chiron* 11: 1–30.

Hoepfner, W., and Schwandner, E. L. 1994. *Haus und Stadt im klassischen Griechenland*[2] (Munich).

Isaac, B. 1986. *The Greek Settlements in Thrace until the Macedonian Conquest* (Leiden).

Kallintzi, D. 1992. "*Ἀνασκαφὲς στὴ Μάκρη Ἔβρου κατὰ τὸ 1990*", *AEMΘ* 3: 587–93.

——1993. "*Ἀνασκαφικὴ ἔρευνα στὴ Μάκρη Ἔβρου κατὰ τὸ 1990*", *AEMΘ* 4: 613–25.

——and Veligianni, C. 1996. "Eine neue Weihinschrift aus Abdera", *AHB* 10: 51–65.

Kazarow, G. 1918. "Zur Archäologie Thrakiens", *AA* 33: 3–63.

Koukouli-Chryssanthaki, Ch. 1982. "*Ἀνασκαφικὲς ἔρευνες στὰ ἀρχαῖα Ἄβδηρα*", *Prakt* [1984] 1–17.

——1983. "*Ἀνασκαφικὲς ἔρευνες στὰ ἀρχαῖα Ἄβδηρα*", *Prakt* [1986] 1–12.

——1987*a*. "*Ἀνασκαφὲς στὰ ἀρχαῖα Ἄβδηρα*", *AEMΘ* 1 [1988] 407–20.

——1987*b*. "*Ἀνασκαφὴ στὰ ἀρχαῖα Ἄβδηρα*", *Prakt* [1991] 177–85.

——1988. "*Ἀνασκαφὴ ἀρχαίων Ἀβδήρων*", *Prakt* [1991] 143–52.

——1989. "*Ἀνασκαφὴ ἀρχαίων Ἀβδήρων*", *Prakt* [1992] 222–32.

——1991. "*Ἀνασκαφὴ ἀρχαίων Ἀβδήρων*", *Prakt* [1994] 193–211.

——1992. "*Ἀνασκαφὴ ἀρχαίων Ἀβδήρων*", *Prakt* [1995] 160–66.

——1997. "*Ἡ ἀρχαϊκὴ πόλη τῶν Ἀβδήρων Β· Ἀρχαιολογικὲς ἔρευνες*", in *Ancient Thrace: Acts of the 2nd International Symposium of Thracian Studies* (Komotini, 1992) 715–34.

Kraay, C. M. 1976. *Archaic and Classical Greek Coins* (London).

Kranioti, L. 1984. "*Στρύμη μία Θασίτικη ἀποικία*", *Archaiologia* 13: 65–70.

——1990. "*Ἀρχαῖα ἐπιγραφὴ ἀπὸ τὴν Στρύμη*", in *Polis and Chora: Studies in Memory of D. Lazaridis*, Acts of a Symposium held in Kavala, 9–11 May 1986 = "Recherches Franco-helléniques", i (Thessalonica) 629–36.

Lazaridis, D. 1954. "*Ἀνασκαφαὶ καὶ ἔρευναι ἐν Ἀβδήροις*", *Prakt* [1957] 160–72.

——1965. *ArchDelt* 20 [1968] *Chron.* 453–61.

——1966. "*Ἀρχαιότητες καὶ μνημεῖα Ἀνατολικῆς Μακεδονίας*", *ArchDelt* 21 [1968] *Chron.* 359–65.

——1971*a*. *Thasos and its Peraia*, Ancient Greek Cities 5 (Athens).

——1971*b*. *Ἄβδηρα καὶ Δίκαια*, Ancient Greek Cities 6 (Athens).

——1971*c*. *Σαμοθράκη καὶ ἡ Περαία της*, Ancient Greek Cities 7 (Athens).

——1972. *Μαρώνεια καὶ Ὀρθαγορία*, Ancient Greek Cities 16 (Athens).

Lewis, D. M. 1982. "On the New Text of Teos", *ZPE* 47: 71–72.

Loukopoulou, L. D. 1987. "*Provinciae Macedoniae finis orientalis*: The Establishment of the Eastern Frontier" in M. B. Hatzopoulos and L. D. Loukopoulou, *Two Studies in Ancient Macedonian Topography*, *Meletemata* 3 (Athens) 61–110.

——1997. "Philip V and the Deviation of the Royal Road through Thrace", in *Studies in Honour of N. G. L. Hammond* (Thessalonica) 295–303.

——1999. "Sur le statut et l'importance de l'*emporion* de Pistiros", *BCH* 123: 359–71.

——2002. "The Prosodos of the Odrysian Kings", in *Acts of the 8th International Congress of Thracology*, Sofia, September 2000 (Sofia) 345–53.

——2003. "*Ἡ Μαρώνεια καὶ τὸ κράτος τῶν Ὀδρυσῶν· ἡ μαρτυρία τοῦ* Vetren", in *Studies in Memory of Ev. Pentazos* (Athens).

Mattingly, H. B. 1977. "The Second Athenian Coinage Decree", *Klio* 59: 83–100.

May, J. M. F. 1950. *Ainos, its History and Coinage 474–341 B.C.* (Oxford).

——1965. "The Coinage of Maroneia *c.*520–449/8 B.C.", *NC* 5: 27–56.

——1966. *The Coinage of Abdera, 540–354 B.C.*, ed. C. M. Kraay and G. F. Jenkins (London).

Meiggs, R. 1972. *The Athenian Empire* (Oxford).

Meyer, E. 1976. "Zur Topographie der Samothrakischen Peraia", *RhM* 119: 1–3.

——1978. "Drys", *RE Suppl.* xv. 94–98.

Mottas, Fr. 1989. "Les voies de communication antiques de la Thrace égéenne", in *Labor omnibus unus. Gerold Walser zum 70. Geburtstag dargebracht von Freunden, Kollegen und Schülern* (Stuttgart) 82–104.

Pantos, P. A. 1975–76. "*Ἱστορικὴ γεωγραφία τοῦ νομοῦ Ξάνθης* Ι", *Thrakika Chronika* 32: 3–26.

——1983. "The Present Situation of the Studies in Archaeological Topography of Western Thrace", *Pulpudeva: Semaines Philippopolitaines de l'histoire et de la culture Thrace* 4: 164–78.

Pentazos, Ev. 1982. "*Ἀνασκαφὴ Μαρωνείας*", *Prakt* [1984] *Chron.* 27–30

——1986. "*Ἀνασκαφὴ Μαρωνείας*", *Prakt* [1990] *Chron.* 146–48

Perdrizet, P. 1909. "Le *Σαμοθραικικός* d'Antiphon et la Pérée Samothracienne", *REG* 22: 33–41.

Peter, U. 1997. *Die Münzen der thrakischen Dynasten (5.–3. Jh. v. Chr.): Hintergründe ihrer Prägung* (Berlin).

Plassart, A. 1921. "Inscriptions de Delphes: la liste des théorodoques", *BCH* 45: 1–45.

Price, M., and Waggoner, N. 1975. *Archaic Greek Silver Coinage: The "Asyut" Hoard* (London).

Radt, S. L. 1958. *Pindars zweiter und sechster Paian* (Amsterdam).

Regel, W. 1887. "Abdera", *AM* 12: 161–67.

Reinach, S. 1881. "Antiquités de Maronée et d'Abdère", *BCH* 5: 87–95.

Robert, L. 1940. "Une ville de Thrace dans une inscription de Delphes", in *Hellenica*, i (Paris) 81–94.

Romiopoulou, A. 1964. "*Ἀρχαιότητες καὶ μνημεῖα Ἀνατολικῆς Μακεδονίας-Θράκης*", *ArchDelt* 19 [1967] *Chron.* 376–79

Samsaris, D. K. 1980. *Ὁ ἐξελληνισμὸς τῆς Θράκης κατὰ τὴν ἑλληνικὴ καὶ ρωμαϊκὴ ἀρχαιότητα* (Thessalonica).

Sarla-Pentazou, M., and Pentazos, V. 1984. "*Μαρώνεια*", *Archaiologia* 13: 44–49.

Schönert-Geiss, E. 1979. "Zur Geschichte Maroneias von den Anfängen bis zum 4. Jh. v. u. Z.", *Klio* 61: 437–51.

——1985. "Maroneia und die Thraker-Wechselbeziehungen zwischen Polis und Hinterland", *Eirene* 22: 39–53.

Schönert-Geiss, E. 1987. *Griechisches Münzwerk: die Münzprägung von Maroneia, Schriften zur Geschichte und Kultur der Antike* 26 (Berlin).

——E. 1993. "Die Münzstätte Kypsela in Thrakien im 4. Jh. v.u.Z.", in *Actes du XIe Congrès Intern. de Numismatique, Bruxelles 1991* (Louvain-la-Neuve) i. 165–68.

Seure, G. 1900. "Inscriptions de Thrace, i: Le territoire continental des Dieux de Samothrace", *BCH* 24: 147–159, 574.

Skarlatidou, E. 1984*a*. "*Ἐπισκόπηση τῆς ἱστορίας τῶν Ἀβδήρων μὲ βαση τὶς φιλολογικὲς πηγὲς καὶ τὰ ἀρχαιολογικὰ δεδομένα*", *Thrakike Epeterida* 5: 147–61.

——1984*b*. "*Ὁ ἑλληνικὸς ἀποικισμὸς στὴν Αἰγαιακὴ Θράκη*", *Archaiologia* 13: 50–58.

——1990. "*Οἰκισμοὶ καὶ ἐγκαταστάσεις ἱστορικῶν χρόνων μέσα στὰ ὅρια τῆς 'χώρας' τῶν Ἀβδήρων*", in *Polis and Chora; Studies in Memory of D. Lazaridis", Acts of a Symposium* held in Kavala, 9–11 May 1986 = "Recherches Franco-helléniques", i (Thessalonica) 611–28.

Soustal, P. 1991. *Thrakien (Thrake, Rodope und Haimimontos), Tabula Imperii Byzantini* 6 (Vienna).

TIR = Tabula Imperii Romani. K 35, I: Philippi, compiled by Anna Avraméa (Athens, 1993).

Thrace, 1994. Ed. by the General Secretariat of Eastern Macedonia–Thrace.

Triantaphyllos, D. 1972. "*Ἀρχαιότητες καὶ μνημεῖα Θράκης*", *ArchDelt* 27 [1977] *Chron.* 535–47.

——1973. "*Ἀρχαιότητες καὶ μνημεῖα Θράκης*", *ArchDelt* 28 [1977] *Chron.* 462–76.

——1973–74. "*Ἀρχιότητες καὶ μνημεῖα Θράκης*. 1973", *ArchDelt* 29 [1980] *Chron.* 791–823.

——1975. "*Ἀρχαιότητες καὶ μνημεῖα Θράκης*", *ArchDelt* 30 [1983] *Chron.* 294–303.

——1983. "*Συμμαχία Ρωμαίων καὶ Μαρωνιτῶν*", *Thrakike Epeterida* 4: 419–46.

——1984. "*Ἄβδηρα. 'Ιστορικὰ στοιχεῖα*", *Archaiologia* 13: 27–34.

——1988. "*Ἀνασκαφές στὸ φρούριο τῆς Καλύβας*", *AEMΘ* 2: 443–58.

——1992. "*Ἀνασκαφὴ τύμβων στὰ νεκροταφεῖα τῆς ἀρχαίας Στρύμης*", *AEMΘ* 6: 655–67.

Tsatsopoulou, J. 1987. "*Αἰγαιακὴ Μεσημβρία. 'Η ἀνασκαφικὴ ἔρευνα στὸ χῶρο τῆς ἀρχαίας πόλης κατὰ τὸ* 1987", *AEMΘ* 1: 469–78.

——1988. "*'Η ἀνασκαφικὴ ἔρευνα στὴν ἀρχαία Μεσημβρία κατὰ τὸ ἔτος* 1988", *AEMΘ* 2: 489–98.

——1989. "*'Η ἀνασκαφικὴ ἔρευνα στὴν ἀρχαία Μεσημβρία κατὰ τὸ ἔτος* 1989", *AEMΘ* 3: 577–85.

——1995. "*Μεσημβρία-Ζώνη. Ἀνασκαφὴ* 1992", *AEMΘ* 6: 669–75.

Tsatsopoulou, P. 1997. "*'Η ἀνασκαφικὴ ἔρευνα στὴ Μεσημβρία τοῦ Αἰγαίου*", in *Ancient Thrace: Acts of the 2nd International Symposium of Thracian Studies* (Komotini, 1992) 615–30.

——1971. "*Ἀρχαιολογικαὶ ἔρευναι ἐν Θράκῃ*", *Prakt* [1973] 6–118.

——1973. "*Ἀνασκαφὴ Μαρωνείας*", *Prakt* [1975] 83–86.

Vavritsas, A. K. 1973. "*Ἀνασκαφὴ Μεσημβρίας Θράκης*", *Prakt* [1975] 70–82, 122.

——1984. "*Ἀνασκαφὴ Μεσημβρίας*", *Prakt* [1988] 18–30.

——1988. "*'Η ἀρχαία Μεσημβρία τοῦ Αἰγαίου*", in *Historical, Archaeological Research for Thrace*: Acts of a Symposium held in Xanthi-Komotini-Alexandroupolis, Dec. 1985 (Thessalonica) 75–107.

Veligianni, C. 1995*a*. "Abdera, Maroneia, Ainos und der Odrysenstaat", *TEKMHPIA* 1: 136–70.

——1995*b*. "Gazoros und sein Umland: Polis und Komai", *Klio* 77: 139–48.

Veligianni-Terzi, C. 1997. "*Τέως καὶ Ἄβδηρα*", in *Ancient Thrace:. Acts of the 2nd International Symposium of Thracian Studies* (Komotini, 1992) 691–705.

Velkov, V., and Domaradzka, L. 1994. "Kotys I (383/2–359) et l'emporion de Pistiros en Thrace", *BCH* 118: 1–15.

Walter, O. 1942. "Archäologische Funde in Griechenland von Frühjahr 1940 bis Herbst 1941", *AA* 57: 99–200.

West, A. B. 1929. *Fifth and Fourth Century Gold Coins from the Thracian Coast*, *NNM* 40 (New York).

INLAND THRACE

ZOFIA HALINA ARCHIBALD

I. The Region

The reaction of most students of Classical Antiquity to the subject of this chapter might well be: were there any *poleis* in inland Thrace? Most of the sites marked on *Barr.* Maps 22, 51 and 52 are coastal,[1] and most of the inland ones seem to be of Roman date. There are some strange exceptions in the central (Thracian) plain of modern Bulgaria, but these are cemetery sites, not the locations of known settlements, however designated. We may assume that the cemeteries were connected with communities nearby, but there is no hint on the maps of what these agglomerations may have been.[2] The foundations of Philip II of Makedonia, at Philippopolis and Kabyle in particular, usually get a mention in political histories of Greece, and Diodorus speaks of some of these as having acted as ἀξιόλογοι πόλεις (16.71.2), implying that they were garrison towns rather than civilian centres. Demosthenes' derogatory remarks about hell-holes like Drongylion and Masteira (Dem. 8.44, 10.15), and the nasty things Theopompos allegedly had to say about Philippopolis and Kabyle (one or other was dubbed "Poneropolis" or "slave city") hardly inspire confidence. It would be easy to dismiss the whole region on the basis of such reports as a mess of mud huts, a wasteland peopled by boorish rascals, whether native or incomers.

Demosthenes' and Theopompos' derogatory remarks and the terms they use show us what they thought of the places they were writing about. But Demosthenes' business was belittling Philip II, and one of the ways to achieve this effect was to belittle his achievements, by denigrating his conquests.[3] If there was something worth capturing in inland Thrace, we can be confident that Demosthenes refrained from mentioning it. The feeble scraps of citations that constitute, for our benefit, Theopompos' *Philippikai Historiai*, wherein a series of Thracian sites was sketched, are sufficient for little more than highly speculative judgements about what the historian actually said, and why.[4] Both Demosthenes and Theopompos were widely cited in the late lexicographical works, but fossils with such a dubious pedigree do not make a good starting point for our enquiry. It would be better to leave them aside until other approaches have been explored.

Herodotos and Thucydides provide valuable references to communities in inland Thrace, but their accounts do not address our topic directly, not least because subjects that are named explicitly refer to the highest order of political groupings responsible for decision making with respect to outside powers, be they Persian kings or representatives of Greek states. The Odrysians, a "tribal" dynasty that came to dominate the east Balkan region from the Haemus range to the Aegean and Black Seas, are the most prominent agents in Thucydides' narrative, while Herodotos' text reflects the manifest change that came about in the post-Persian War period. During Dareios' and Xerxes' invasions, various "tribal" groupings either succumbed to, or opposed, the Persian armies. But in the post-war years, Odrysian leadership is taken for granted (Hdt. 7.137; cf. Thuc. 2.67).[5] But neither historian was especially concerned with institutional development or state formation in the region. At the very least, there are a number of Thracian communities listed by Hekataios in the European section of his *Periodos Ges*, but not mentioned by Herodotos or Thucydides.[6]

[1] See L. Loukopoulou, in this volume 854–84, 900–23.

[2] Reviewing *Barr.*, Alcock *et al.* (2001) 460 with n. 17 have drawn attention to the fact that archaeological evidence has often been included only in areas outside the principal zone of Greek and Roman settlement.

[3] Cf. the comments of Bošnakov (1999) 326–29.

[4] Jacoby, *FGrHist* no. 115; Pédech (1989) 63–100; Meister (1990) 90ff; Shrimpton (1991); Flower (1994) 164 and *passim*.

[5] Archibald (1998) 79–90, 93–125.

[6] Steph. Byz. s.v. Darsioi = Hecat. fr. 175 (apparently not the same as Derraioi, called Dersaioi by Hdt.), Datyleptoi (Hecat. fr. 177), Desiloi (fr. 176), Disorai (fr. 178), Entribai (fr. 179), Xanthioi (fr. 180, ethnic only); Lipaxos (fr. 149), and Kabassos (fr. 169, *poleis*). This list includes sites in Thrace only, and excludes such entities as can be confidently located in the Chalkidic peninsula or along the Aegean coastline. Other references collected by lexicographers and grammarians are dealt with below.

1. *Epigraphic Documents*

One of the most important new sources of information about inland communities is epigraphy. There are a small but growing number of inscriptions from Thrace that are connected with hitherto unknown historical entities. All, or at least some, of these may be classifiable as *poleis*, and perhaps even as Greek *poleis*. Three documents are particularly important in this context.

(1) The first is a decree of C4s–C3e tabled by the *politai* of an unknown community found at the sanctuary near Batkun, in the foothills of the Rhodope mountains, south-west of Pazardjik: *IGBulg.* III.1 1114.[7] Dumont and Kazarow thought that the *polis* issuing the decree must have been somewhere near Pazardjik, the main market town at the western end of the Thracian plain, speculating that it could have been among Philip II's foundations. Mihailov (1986) preferred Philippopolis as the location of the *polis*, arguing that the sons of Seuthes III were honoured around this time in (other) major administrative centres.[8] But this is an inference based on evidence from the Valley of the Roses, the epicentre of Seuthes' power at this time.

The recipients of the monument or statue(s) voted by our unknown *polis* were an unnamed man and his brothers. It is quite possible that the sons of Seuthes III were the intended recipients.[9] But so far there are no public inscriptions from Philippopolis dating from C4s.

(2) The Seuthopolis inscription records an oath sworn by Berenike and her four sons by the Odrysian prince Seuthes (III): Hebryzelmis, Teres, Satokos and Sadalas. The inscription is dated to C3e by V. Velkov, D. Draganov and K.-L. Elvers.[10] It is stated in the document that it was to be set up in the Phosphorion at Kabyle, and in the agora at the same site, by the altar of Apollo; as well as in two places at Seuthopolis—in the sanctuary of the Great Gods and on the agora, in the sanctuary of Dionysos, by the altar (29–34). The Batkun inscription was to be erected by the altar in the sanctuary of Apollo (ll. 15–17). This resembles the phrasing in the Seuthopolis inscription with reference to the sanctuary of Apollo at Kabyle. But there is nothing to connect the subjects of the latter with those of the former text. If the Batkun inscription really did belong to Alexander III's reign (unfortunately, this can no longer be verified), then what we may be seeing in this rather isolated stone is confirmation of Odrysian élite patronage in the western part of the Thracian plain *before* the military conflict between Lysimachos and Seuthes, a protracted confrontation that created a different kind of *status quo* between native and Makedonian power-holders, and restricted Odrysian control in the south and west.[11] The excavations at Vetren, north-west of Pazardjik, have demonstrated strong Odrysian princely connections, both in the range of native regal coins, and in the prosopography revealed by inscriptions and graffiti, during C5l and throughout C4.[12] The most powerful Odrysian princes in this period—Amadokos I, Kotys I and Amadokos II—appear to have been connected with this site, no matter how the Pistiros inscription is to be interpreted.[13] The radical changes that took place there after *c.*300 presuppose a marked change of political status at Vetren, which coincides, directly or indirectly, with the consolidation of Lysimachos' power.[14] Lysimachos reasserted Makedonian control along the Aegean coast and some way into the interior during a series of campaigns after 323, when he nominally acquired the title of governor of Thrace with the approval of his fellow generals,[15] though it is still hard to define how Lysimachos and Seuthes eventually compromised in territorial terms. Coin hoards suggest that Seuthes maintained his power north of the river Hebros (Maritsa). There is no doubt that this power base included the Valley of the Roses, but the dense distribution of hoards containing coins of Seuthes III extends south of the Sredna Gora range into the area around Stara Zagora (the city of Augusta Traiana in Imperial times), and as far west as the river Stryama, which bisects the Thracian plain due north of Plovdiv.[16] Kabyle, which was garrisoned by Philip II, can have been in Makedonian hands for only a few decades at most. The absence of any clear evidence of a Makedonian political

[7] Archibald (1999) 437–38 with n. 26; Domaradzka (1993) 55 no. 1. Georgi Mihailov provides a detailed history of the stone, which is now lost. Albert Dumont, one of the great early collectors of inscriptions in the Balkan region, dated this text no later than the reign of Alexander the Great. This was accepted by G. Kazarow, the doyen of Bulgarian archaeology in the first part of the twentieth century, while Mihailov (1986) himself adopted a slightly more cautious approach, suggesting a date of C4l/C3e.

[8] G. Mihailov, *IGBulg.* III.1 (1961) 117, referring the reader to ibid. III.2, pp. 146–49, nos. 1731–32 (= Seuthopolis inscription and the "Epimenes" inscription from the same site).

[9] There are other potential candidates: a Rheboulas, son of Seuthes (II?) and brother of Kotys, was granted honours by the Athenians in June 330 (*IG* II² 349 = Tod 193; Schwenk (1985) 223 no. 45). Note also the Argive *proxenos*, L----, son of Seuthes, the Thracian, who was also *theorodokos* at the sanctuary of Zeus at Nemea and of Hera at Argos: *SEG* 30 124, no. 357 (*c.*300).

[10] *SEG* 42 661 (*editio princeps*) with further bibliography.

[11] Archibald (1998) 307–13.

[12] Yourukova and Domaradzki (1990); Domaradzka and Domaradzki (1999); Domaradzka (2002), (2002*c*).

[13] See the arguments below (no. 656).

[14] Domaradzki (1996) 22.

[15] Lund (1992); 22; Zambon (2000).

[16] See the distribution maps in Domaradzki (1987) map 2 at p. 7, (1998*a*) 30, and an important discussion of the evidence for the earlier site at Seuthopolis, prior to the construction of the planned city, pp. 29, 39–43, 57–60.

presence, and the presence of many indicators of native rule and administration (including locally struck coin issues, as well as the contents of the Seuthopolis inscription), point to a speedy erosion of Makedonian power in the whole region that later emerged as the kingdom of Seuthes III.

The two epigraphic texts already referred to (from Batkun and Seuthopolis) demonstrate a style of decision making that owes much to contemporary civic practice in Greek *poleis*. Although the preamble of the Batkun inscription is missing, there must have been an opening formula that would have qualified the laconic reference to the decision of the *politai* in lines 11–12. Honorific decrees are among the commonest stone inscriptions in almost all Greek communities (e.g. Odessos: *IGBulg.* I 35–43).[17] The presence of this stone in a shrine that always remained a native sacred space, notwithstanding the later associations with Asklepios (*IGBulg.* III.1 1114–1296), is a strong indication that the political networks honoured there were local ones, unconnected with the Makedonian power.

(3) The third document that deserves consideration here is the Pistiros inscription. This princely decree, evidently issued by order of an unknown Odrysian monarch, perhaps Amadokos II, is undoubtedly the most important single text from the pre-Hellenistic period to have been discovered in the east Balkan peninsula. The letter-forms, the comparatively undeveloped style of expression, and internal evidence (which includes what appears to be a citation of Kotys I (383–359)), all point to a date prior to the capture of Odrysian Thrace by Philip II of Makedonia between 340 and 339.[18] The granite block, reused at the Roman *mansio* of Lissae/Bona Mansio, on the principal road between Constantinople and Serdica, also known as the *via diagonalis*, is 1.64 m high, 0.27–0.21 m deep, and required six men's strength to lift. It is unlikely that the stone has moved far from its original location. No substantive evidence of pre-Roman activity has been identified at the *mansio*, and the likeliest candidate is the river port at Adjiyska Vodenitsa near Vetren, approximately 2 km south-west of the *mansio*, which became a regularly planned settlement during C5 and was abandoned some time in C2, and where excavations were begun in 1988.

The text is crucial to our understanding of relationships between rulers and local communities, whether indigenous, immigrant or mixed. The original editors of the text, Velizar Velkov and Lydia Domaradzka, took into account the range of epigraphic material from Bulgaria, including Georgi Mihailov's magisterial survey, *Inscriptiones Graecae in Bulgaria repertae* (1958–70), as well as information made available by Mieczysław Domaradzki. The text of the decree consists of guarantees bestowed upon the *emporitai* of one or more settlements (ll. 8–10, 12–13). The property(?) of the *Pistirenoi* is then referred to (ll. 16–17, certainly ll. 18–20), and tolls are waived between Pistiros and Maroneia, as well as, it appears, to or from other *emporia* (ll. 21–25). Much of the second half of the text cites what seems to be an earlier ruling by Kotys I, which also guaranteed the rights of habeas corpus and of property to people of Maroneia. These were (or are) equally applicable to citizens of Apollonia and Thasos resident at Pistiros (ll. 27–38). The text refers to different communities in the following way: *Πιστιρηνοί* (l. 16), *Μαρωνῖται* (ll. 28–29), *Ἀπολληνιῆται* (l. 32), *Θάσιοι* (l. 33) *Θρᾳκες* (ll. 8–9). In addition, *emporitai* are referred to six times (ll. 5, 8, 11, 13, 18, 25); *emporia* twice (ll. 23–24, 25), and there is a further reference to *τὰ ἐμπόρια Βελανα Πρασε..ν* (ll. 24–25), a phrase that suggests that at least two named *emporia* were being indicated.[19]

An identification of the site near Vetren, north-west of Pazardjik, with Pistiros is still a persuasive one.[20] But it is not without difficulties, as the excavator himself was not slow to acknowledge. The excavated site shows many of the characteristics that might be expected of a port facility (a fortified nucleus, paved roads, well-built masonry structures suitable for storage, extensive evidence of commercial items, including weights and measures, and large numbers of coins); but it is rather low-lying, situated on a shallow terrace above the flood plain of the largest river in the east Balkan land mass.

Whether or not the Pistiros of the inscription has been identified on the ground, the community referred to must belong to the Thracian interior. The decree was issued on behalf of a local ruler whose influence might impinge on those of coastal *poleis*, but whose authority can never have included juridical powers of the kind enunciated here if Pistiros were either an autonomous *polis* or a dependent

[17] Nawotka (1999) 173–76; appendix 1, 179–91.

[18] Velkov and Domaradzka (1994), (1996); *SEG* 43 486; Chankowski and Domaradzka (1999); the other contributors to the *Dossier: nouvelles perspectives pour l'étude de l'inscription de Pistiros* in *BCH* 123 (1999) 259–371 all accepted a date prior to *c.*340: Salviat (1999) 259 (summer 359); Bravo and Chankowski (1999) 308–9 (soon after 359); Bošnakov (1999) 319 (contents composed in reigns of Kotys I (384/3–360/59), and Amadokos II (359–351)); Picard (1999) 340 ("vers le milieu du IVe siècle"); Loukopoulou (1999) 365 (360–359, issued by one of the successors of Kotys I). Cf. Archibald (2001). The main proponents of a Hellenistic date for the inscription have been Tacheva (2002) and Tsetskhladze (2000). Tacheva's arguments are based on evidence unconnected with the stone itself. Tsetskhladze is not committed to any date, but was drawing on discussions of the text with A. Avram and Y. Vinogradov.

[19] Bravo and Chankowski (1999) 251, 287; Hansen (2004).

[20] I have discussed these terms briefly in Archibald (2001). See also my further remarks in Archibald *et al.* (2002).

community of Thasos, as was Herodotos' Pistyros (7.109.2). In institutional terms, the arrangements are in many respects comparable to those at Naukratis (a parallel that seems all the more compelling with the discovery of a second stele, at Thonis, near the mouth of the Canopic branch of the Nile, identical to that from Naukratis, and issued on behalf of Nectanebo in 380).[21] The Pistiros text refers to three coastal *poleis*: Thasos and Maroneia on the Aegean, and Apollonia (whether Pontika or the Chalkidian city of that name).[22] All other communities referred to in the inscription either belong to *emporia*, or to unnamed Thracian entities (8–9; 38: οἰκήτορες), which may or may not include the shadowy ἐπαυλισταί (12).[23] The plural form of *emporia* is hardly accidental. The existence of other *emporia*, coastal or inland, is documented in contemporary literary sources (Dem. 23.110: revenues collected by Kersebleptes from the Chersonese amounted to 30 talents in peacetime, while those collected annually from *emporia* were as much as 200 talents; cf. Arr. *Anab.* 1.1.6: merchants confronting Alexander III),[24] and can be inferred from the circulation of coined money within the east Balkan land mass.[25] Margarita Tacheva has argued that trade between Aegean *poleis* and the continental interior of Thrace was very limited prior to Makedonian expansion into the region. But the volume of exchanges was far greater, in the pre-Makedonian period, than her analysis suggests, and some categories of data diminished rather than increased after 340.[26]

There are three principal reasons in favour of Adjiyska Vodenitsa, near Vetren, as the original location of the stone. First, it is the largest archaeological site within a radius of 10–20 km from the findspot whose dating coincides with the period of the inscription, and whose physical remains and portable finds identify it clearly as a centre of exchange. Second, five other Greek inscriptions have been found at the site, three of them *in situ*, while two were reported by nineteenth-century antiquarians.[27] Third, the pattern of coin hoard distributions in the Thracian plain points to the area of Vetren as one of the most significant concentrations of C5 and C4 coins in the region as a whole.[28] This was one of the reasons why the site was investigated in the first place. Other sites with similar concentrations of coin hoards may indicate further *emporia*. Domaradzki has suggested two further sites of putative *emporia*, on the basis of commercial-type finds: at Arzos, near Kalugerovo, on the right bank of the river Sazliyka near its junction with the river Hebros, where lead seals of the pre-Roman period have been found; and Kocherinovo, in the upper Strymon valley.[29] His interpretation of pre-Makedonian finds at Nebet tepe, in Plovdiv, and on the acropolis of Zaiči vruh, Kabyle, is of temporary markets at native sanctuary sites.

A comparison of the three inscriptions leads to a number of observations. The Seuthopolis and Pistiros decrees are royal edicts. The one was intended to bring order to some irregularities in the relations between Seuthes III's relatives and a powerful local leader, Spartokos (referring *pari passu* to a range of civic institutions and amenities). The other regulates inter- and intra-community relations at Pistiros, as well as dictating the scope of commercial privileges. In both cases, the decisions have ramifications that go well beyond the remit of any one individual community. The special conditions to which both decrees apply required special authority (even if we are unable to infer all the relevant implications). So neither text is directly comparable to the day-to-day decision making of a *polis*. The particular importance of the circumstances in either case may explain why they were committed to stone. Yet they were intended to be civic documents, as the instructions at Seuthopolis make clear. The oath of Berenike was to be made available to the people of Seuthopolis and Kabyle. The Pistiros decree affected a large number of communities, including, but by no means confined to, Maronitans, Thasians and Apollonians living in Pistiros.

Seuthopolis was consciously and deliberately intended by its presumed founder, Seuthes III, to be seen alongside the new cities of Philip II, Alexander III and their successors. It was meant to be a *polis*, but there is no reason to think that this was anything other than a native settlement, even if there were some Greeks living there.[30] It was created by and for natives, using the most up-to-date designs in town planning (albeit adapted to a modest scale) and innovative local techniques, such as baked brick,[31] as well as better-known construction materials. Local, east Balkan features—notably low decorated hearth altars—were incorporated

[21] Loukopoulou (1999) 366–68; Hansen (2004); Yoyotte (2002).

[22] Hatzopoulos (1994); Flensted-Jensen (1997).

[23] See the further discussion of this term by Domaradzka (2002*a*).

[24] Velkov and Domaradzka (1994) 12; Loukopoulou (1999) 368–71.

[25] Archibald (1998) 126–34, 311–13; Picard (1999).

[26] Tacheva (2002); for the volume of trade, see previous note. For the correct statistics regarding regal coins, and coins in general, from Pistiros, see Domaradzka (2002*c*) 294.

[27] Domaradzka (1999).

[28] Domaradzki (1987) 5 and map 3.

[29] Domaradzki (2000*a*) 37–38 and map, fig. 4 at p. 36.

[30] See the comparative figures for graffiti between Pistiros and Seuthopolis in Domaradzka (1999) 356; (2002*c*) 302.

[31] Domaradzki (2000*b*).

into domestic units that might otherwise look familiar in coastal *poleis*.

The Batkun inscription, on the other hand, has closer similarities with the kind of text that we might expect to find emanating from a Greek *polis*. Nevertheless, the location and style of the monument suggest the adoption of contemporary forms by a native community, rather than the presence of immigrant Greeks. The sanctuary is too far from Philippopolis to have been the natural choice for an honorific monument dedicated by its citizens.[32] Moreover, if the stone is to be dated to the final third of C4, perhaps even very early in this period, it suggests some very rapid developments in the citizen body there. Even if the originators of the decree were Philippopolitans, it makes little political sense to have a body of new citizens honouring native leaders, in a native sanctuary (and, by implication, unconnected with the new regime?), at a time when Philip's city was, first and foremost, a garrison town, and the fledgling civic body still very much under a military eye. The curious style of the motion formula: δεδόχθαι [το]ῖς πολίταις, without reference immediately thereafter to the identity of the community, is unusual.[33] This is not a style that we find in the institutional repertoire of Attic and Ionian communities. Civic decrees from Makedonia do sometimes adopt δεδόχθαι or ἔδοξε τῆι πόλει, but in the singular, not the plural form. So the formula at Batkun has no clear antecedent.

In the case of the Pistiros and Seuthopolis decrees, we have examples of royal decisions couched in the style of a *polis*.[34] We can envisage how the chancery styles of royal dynasties, which were closely involved in Aegean affairs from the time of the Persian Wars onwards, acquired some of the formal characteristics of documents produced by the more officious Aegean *poleis*. But at Batkun we may have evidence of a non-Greek community operating with a considerable degree of autonomy and adopting the bureaucratic procedures of a Greek *polis*.

Pistiros is clearly an exceptional case, but its status could have some bearing on how we view the Batkun decree. The original editors of the inscription were content to characterise Pistiros as an *emporion*.[35] Thereafter opinion divided sharply. Hansen, in his study of Archaic and Classical *emporia*, concluded that Pistiros appeared to be the only example of an *emporion* that was definitely not a *polis*.[36] He has since changed his mind, and in the revised version of the 1997*a* article he argues that Pistiros was both a *polis* and an *emporion*, that the citizens of Pistiros are the Pistirenoi (l. 16), whereas the Greek *emporitai* include citizens of Maroneia, Apollonia and Thasos living or staying in Pistiros as foreigners (Hansen (2004).

Most commentators have accepted that the site at Adjiyska Vodenitsa corresponds, wholly or partly, with Pistiros. The question of status has been explored most explicitly by Bravo.[37] In his view, the Pistiros of the inscription is not an *emporion* but a *polis*, in the juridico-political sense of the term, while the *emporitai* referred to are subject to an Odrysian ruler. Pistiros cannot, on this reckoning, be connected with the site at Adjiyska Vodenitsa, nor, indeed, with any site so deep into the heart of the continent.[38] Pistiros must therefore refer to the coastal community referred to by Hdt. 7.109.2. The two references in Stephanos to a *polis* and an *emporion* of this name are therefore seen to apply to the latter. The site near Vetren would then be one of the *emporia* to which the text refers. A. S. Chankowski, co-author of the same article, adopts similar conclusions. The principal objection to their thesis is the fact that the inscription shows an Odrysian ruler manifestly dictating terms to the people of Pistiros. No contemporary source attributes to an Odrysian ruler such decisive power over coastal (Greek) communities. Nor does any contemporary source locate a major *emporion* on the Aegean coast, in the vicinity of Thasos. Neither of these two authors addresses the issue of whether the evidence of a coastal Pistiros squares with the evidence of complex traffic across Rhodope, with which the stipulations of the decree are specifically concerned. If Pistiros were on the Aegean coast, it is hard to see why an

[32] Bravo and Chankowski (1999) 296–99 argue that the Batkun stele cannot have originated in the sanctuary, because it refers to Apollo, whose cult is not attested there. They believe that either the stele was displayed at Vetren, an Odrysian dynastic seat, then reused at Batkun, or the Batkun stone was copied from a text displayed elsewhere. The latter argument explains nothing; the former presupposes that a civic community somewhere else honoured the ruler in his own seat. These are, of course, possibilities, but no evidence has been furnished in support of either. The authors do not discuss the curious motion formula of the decree. It should be noted that the evidence so far produced by investigations at the sanctuary does not extend back into the period in question (cf. Tsontchev (1941)).

[33] Nawotka (1999) 37–68, for the formulas of Miletos (no. 854) and Milesian Pontic colonies, which are comparatively standardised, and thus very different indeed; there are some parallels with the smaller civic centres of east Makedonia, but these do normally give the name of the issuing city in the formula: Hatzopoulos (1996) no. 41.10 (Amphipolis), 53.12 (Moryllos), 55.17 (Pydna), 58.9 (Pella), 60.16 (Beroia).

[34] Rhodes, *DGS* 18–29, 550–57.

[35] Velkov and Domaradzka (1994) 14–15.

[36] Hansen (1997*a*) 99, 103.

[37] Bravo and Chankowski (1999).

[38] "La ville de Vetren était-elle une *polis* au sens politique du mot? La question semblera sans doute absurde. Aux yeux de tous ceux qui se sont intéréssés à cet établissement, il va de soi qu'il n' était une *polis*." (Bravo and Chankowski (1999) 281).

Odrysian ruler would place most emphasis on the routes between Pistiros and Maroneia, and less on those between Pistiros and the "other *emporia*" (ll. 22–25), if the latter involved the most difficult overland routes. Indeed, the very vague way in which the "other *emporia*" are referred to in the inscription leaves no clear motive for the presence of the stone (originally) at Vetren. The relationship between the data on the stele and its siting would be opaque. Locating the epigraphic Pistiros on the Aegean coast does not fit the ancient literary evidence either, whether in near contemporary *periploi* or in the historical fragments reported in later transmissions, such as those of Stephanos of Byzantion. In order to interpret documents such as these inscriptions, we need to construct a clearer view of the evolution of *poleis*, or cognate forms, in inland Thrace.

2. *Lexicographic Sources—Stephanos of Byzantion*

The most informative source of information about communities of the Thracian interior is the treatise *Ethnika* by Stephanos of Byzantion. (Stephanos' focus of interest lies in the names of various settlements, although he reproduces a limited amount of information concerning the status of his named locations, as well as references to communities not connected with specified centres.) "Thrace" is nowhere explained, of course, because Stephanos did not see it as his remit to analyse the contents of his list. Thrace thus extends from the Haimos mountains to the Chalkidic peninsula and the coastal regions of the Aegean as far as Therme, a geographical definition that corresponds neither to the politico-administrative divisions of his own day, nor to those of the Classical or Hellenistic periods, but one that we do find used in the principal narrative sources that supplied substantial parts of his data (as well as in C5 and C4 inscriptions).[39] Because of the linguistic focus of his work, Stephanos' treatise does not distinguish between "Greek" and "non-Greek" *poleis*, but categorises sites simply as *poleis*, *polichnia*, *choria*, *akrai* and the like. Comparison with various *periploi* shows how Stephanos' information might be illuminated further.[40] But there are two aspects of his work that render his data especially frustrating. One is that Stephanos' text depends heavily on a limited number of illustrious pioneers, whose geographical knowledge was evidently ransacked for information by later writers, like himself, without any more contemporary verification of whether the places or communities mentioned by earlier writers still existed, or how regions might have changed since then. The existence of a site or polity in Hekataios' or Herodotos' day is no guarantee that the same entity continued in succeeding centuries. On the contrary, it is more than likely that centres of population, and the status of communities, changed considerably over the huge time period that his treatise covers. Political considerations could influence the currency of a name, whether or not an autonomous community had existed previously in the locality.

The range of names represented in Stephanos' treatise is a separate problem. In simple numerical terms, the largest number come from locations on or near the coast of the northern Aegean, with the Chalkidic peninsula and the coastlines west and east of it being particularly well represented, with far fewer names that can be associated with the Euxine coast. Even fewer can be identified as "continental". It is difficult to judge whether the imbalance between the coast and the continental interior reflects a genuine phenomenon—that is, a general preponderance of maritime *poleis* over inland ones[41]—or whether a self-selecting principle is at work: *viz.* an over-reliance on *periploi* and similar treatises whose focus was inevitably coastal. Maps in Antiquity, with a few notable exceptions, were mainly coastal itineraries. Whereas knowledge of coastal geography played a vital role in maritime activity, and the need to map coastlines provided an important impetus to the creation of detailed descriptions for the benefit of sea captains, there was no analogous incentive to map inland areas, except for internal fiscal or administrative purposes. Access to ports and docking facilities, for non-local people, was far more straightforward than access to inland areas. Strabo's *Geography* is just as prone to this imbalance between coastal and inland areas, as were earlier historians and geographers. Pliny's knowledge of inland Thrace betrays a similar weakness. The majority of Stephanos' Thracian *poleis* are not attributed to any writer. Of those that are attributed, Hekataios, Herodotos, Thucydides and Theopompos are most frequently cited, with Strabo, Polybios and Lykophron mentioned occasionally. Hekataios' *Periegesis*, which became a model for later writers, shows a preponderance of coastal names. Some of these are rather obscure or other-

[39] See most recently Flensted-Jensen (2000).

[40] Flensted-Jensen and Hansen (1996).

[41] Collis (2000), a study of Celtic *oppida* in Gaul, has speculated on the preponderance of nucleated sites of *polis* type on the Mediterranean coast of southern Gaul, in contrast to the more diffuse character of settlements in northern Gaul. The relationship between "tribal" formations and nucleated sites is a matter that has not yet been satisfactorily resolved by archaeologists and historians of the region.

wise unattested. These more obscure place-names may have been ephemeral. But most of the sites Hekataios referred to became more, not less, important as population centres.[42] Leaving aside sites along the Aegean seaboard, which have been studied elsewhere, we are left with a small core of native-sounding names, notably Boryza (*FGrHist* 1 fr. 166), Lipaxos (fr. 149), Kreston (fr. 153), Iton (fr. 168) and Kabassos (fr. 169). (Note that the only one which is explicitly called a *polis* by Hekataios is Boryza (fr. 166), and here we learn that it is a *polis* inhabited by Persians, i.e. not by Greeks or Thracians. In the other four cases the site-classification of *polis* has no authority other than Stephanos and cannot with any certainty be traced back to Hekataios (Hansen (1997*b*) 17–18).) Stephanos quotes Hekataios about Boryza, to indicate that this was a *polis* of Persian origin before Cape Thynias. More surprisingly perhaps, Kabassos was a *polis* beyond the Haimos mountains, connected, in Hekataios' narrative, with the prodigal attitude of Thracians in those parts towards marriage. As Hansen has pointed out, Hekataios applied the term *polis* to a significant number of non-Hellenic communities.[43] Since he used the term *polis* in the political and geographical senses with respect to Hellenic *poleis*, it is interesting to speculate what he may have understood as the institutional framework of the non-Hellenic settlements at a time when commercial relations between the Aegean and other parts of the Mediterranean (or, indeed, beyond) were still comparatively rudimentary, and contacts of any kind irregular. Hekataios' fragments of the *Periegesis ges* give an impression of spectacular insights that have been blurred by the peculiar way in which his words have been transmitted. (The range of place-names is so erratic that we can see only small glimpses of what must, to him, have been a landscape full of *poleis*, from Eliburge (fr. 38), a *polis* of Tartessos, or Nurax in Keltike (fr. 56), to Chorasmie of the Parthians (fr. 293) and Kaspapyros, a *polis* of Gandara (fr. 295).) What is striking about this vision of Hekataios is that he used the same terms for communities that were culturally dissimilar. He perceived a complementarity in the sites of different regions, a complementarity that we find hard to understand, not least because most of our written evidence postdates the Persian War and the consequent tendency of Greek authors to distinguish Hellas from its neighbours.

Alongside Hekataios' sites in Thrace, we have a longer list of names from Stephanos, derived from a variety of sources, referring to non-coastal *poleis* about which very little is known. We could even include here the putative native foundations of Byzantion, Mesembria Pontika, Poltymbria and Selymbria. Although the source is late (Nicolaus of Damascus), etymology presupposes some native connection that goes back to the founding days of these *poleis*.[44] Some of these are sites known in Hellenistic or Roman times as urban centres, but we lack sufficient data at present to be able to specify which communities had an earlier history as *poleis*. But these were not among the nuclei that became significant civic centres in Imperial times. Some names look like *polis* names derived from community or geographical ones.

Possible inland *poleis* referred to by Stephanos

Agessos (*Ἀγησσός*); Alybas (*Ἀλύβας*); Apsynthos (*Ἄψυνθος*); Arne (*Ἄρνη τῆς Ἐρασινίων*); Benna (*Βέννα*); Beres (*Βέρης*); Bibastos (*Βίβαστος*); Bizye (*Βιζύη*; cf. *RE* iii.1. 552; *SEG* 40 565); Boiotia (*Βοιωτία*); Daphnousion (*Δαφνούσιον*; cf. Daphnousios: *SEG* 43 880–83?, 884); Daunion Teichos (*Δαύνιον τεῖχος*); Doriskos (*Δορίσκος*); Epimaston (not a proper name?);[45] Gigonos (*Γίγωνος*); Goeis (*Γοεῖς*); Karos Kepoi (*Καρὸς κῆποι*); Kattouza (*Κάττουζα*); Kobrys (*Κῶβρυς*; cf. Ps.-Skylax 67: *emporion*); Kossaia (*Κοσσαία*); Lykone (*Λυκώνη*); Lykozeia (*Λυκόζεια*); Milkoros (*Μίλκωρος*); Naissos (*Ναΐσσος*); Nastos (*Νάστος*); Nestos (*Νέστος*); Nikaia (*Νίκαια*); Nipsa (*Νίψα*; cf. *Νιψαρων*; *SEG* 44 1302?); Nysa (*Νῦσα*); Passa (*Πάσσα*); Perne (*Πέρνη*); Phlegra (*Φλέγρα*); Phorunna (*Φόρθννα*); Pisye/Pitye (*Πισύη*, *Πιτύη*); Sirra (*Σίρρα*; cf. *SEG* 45 791: *Σιρραιος*?); Spartakos (*Σπάρτακος*); Strambai (*Στράμβαι*); Therne (*Θέρνη*); Thestoros (*Θέστωρος*); Tomeus (*Τομεύς*); Tylis (*Τύλις*).

Although Stephanos rarely gives much additional information about his sources, occasionally we are rewarded. His references to Kabyle and Pistiros draw on the work of Anaximenes of Lampsakos, probably his *Philippic Histories* (Jacoby, *FGrHist* 72). Harpokration's reference to Masteira contains a telling comment: *viz.* that he could not identify any trace of a Drongylion or a Masteira (the places Demosthenes bandied about) in Anaximenes' *Philippika*, whereas there was mention of a Basteira, or Pisteira, or Epimaston (*FGrHist* 72 fr. 10). Could these belong to a digression on the names of Pistiros?[46] There is no evidence

[42] Hansen (1997*b*).
[43] Ibid. 18–20, 26–27.
[44] Nawotka (1994); Porozhanov (2002).
[45] Bošnakov (1999) 328.
[46] Bošnakov (1999).

that a Beroe/Beroia was another of Philip's foundations, on the site of Augusta Traiana (Stara Zagora),[47] and traditions about Binai are deeply confused.[48]

3. *Defining Thracian* Poleis

The appearance of the term *polis* in a frankly non-Greek environment can be interpreted in at least three different ways. Either the communities so designated were constituted from without (as a result of colonisation, conquest or some other form of territorial acquisition by a Greek authority); or the term applies to native institutions, interpreted or equated with the Greek word *polis*. Third, it is at least theoretically possible that *poleis* appeared in non-Greek areas in emulation of Greek institutions. Each of these interpretations is closely associated with a particular vision of community development in and around the Aegean, or, more broadly, the Mediterranean, in the first millennium BC. Despite the paucity of written data for inland Thrace, there is evidence of *poleis*, however interpreted, from at least 500 onwards, though we know little of how they were organised internally. In a seminal paper Georgi Mihailov (1986) explored the evolution of towns in the Balkan region in Antiquity. Inevitably, much of his discussion ranged over material from the Imperial period. But he began his essay, consciously and deliberately, in the period prior to the Makedonian expansion into Thrace, exploring some of the principal ideas about internal socio-political development that had characterised Bulgarian scholarship in the 1960s and 1970s. It was clear from the ancient literature that cities did exist, but it was hard to find appropriate evidence. As an epigraphist, Mihailov was more conscious of the need to investigate institutions as well as typologies of place. In the 1980s, the subject of urbanisation began to attract more attention (Balabanov (1986)).

The study of political institutions in neighbouring Makedonia was beginning to produce interesting results that also had implications for their cognates in Thrace (Hatzopoulos (1984)). Much of this research was concerned with political institutions in the post-Makedonian and Roman Imperial eras. But, in tracing these back to their beginnings, Miltiades Hatzopoulos discovered how much had escaped the gaze of historians, who were still inclined to think mainly in terms of rulers and conquered, rather than of communities and their institutions. His *Macedonian Institutions under the Kings* (1996) was a substantial monograph which attempted to sketch the relationships between individual communities and their representatives, on the one hand, and the machinery of government, on the other (Hatzopoulos (1997)). Far from being late attempts by rulers to impose order on their subjects, Makedonian civic institutions are emerging as a series of interconnected levels of government, beginning with the village and its connections with the nearest town. No such study is as yet possible for Thrace, but I believe that the organisation of cities and territories in this region would benefit from a similar approach (Archibald (2000)).

[47] *RE* iii.1. 306, s.v. Beroia (3).

[48] Theophr. *De lapidibus* 2.15; *Etym. Magn.* 197.44–46; Zambon (2000) 72 n. 4 with discussion.

II. The *Poleis*

652. Alexandropolis Unlocated. Not in *Barr.* Type: B:*β*. The topopym is Ἀλεξανδρόπολις (Plut. *Alex.* 9.1); for Ἀλεξανδρεία at Steph. Byz., see *infra*. The *polis* status can be inferred from the toponym, but see *infra*.

The principal, perhaps, only source for this *polis* is Plut. *Alex.* 9.1: Alexander, left in charge of affairs and of minting in Makedonia during Philip's absence on campaign against Byzantion (no. 674) in 341, suppressed an uprising of the Maidoi, captured their *polis*, ejected its inhabitants, and settled a mixed community in their place, calling this new foundation Alexandropolis. The incident is usually connected with the same campaign that led to a confrontation between Antipater and Parmenio on the Makedonian side, with the "Tetrachoritai" on the other (*P.Ryl.* 1.19 = Theopomp. fr. 217; cf. Archibald (1998)).

The other possible source is Steph. Byz. 70.8: Ἀλεξάνδρειαι πόλεις ὀκτωκαίδεκα with 71.8–9: τρίτη Θρᾴκης πρὸς τῇ Μακεδονίᾳ, "the one he founded before the big Alexandreia, being seventeen years of age".

Since Stephanos lists all eighteen cities founded by Alexander under the heading Ἀλεξάνδρειαι, the presumption is that the third one, that in Thrace, is identical with Plutarch's Alexandropolis and that its name was in fact Alexandropolis, as reported by Plutarch. However, the story that Alexander founded a *polis* at the age of 16 or 17 may be just another anecdote about Alexander, of which there are so many in late sources (cf. Fraser (1996) 26 and 29–30).

653. Apros Map 52. Lat. 41.00, long. 27.05. Size of territory: ? Type: C: *γ*? The toponym is Ἄπρος, ἡ (*SEG* 37 618; (C4f); Steph. Byz. 107.5); the later Roman colony was called Ἄπροι in the plural (Ptol. 3.11.7; Plin. *HN* 4.47). Steph. Byz.

107.7 is our only source for the city-ethnic Ἀπραῖος or Ἄπριος.

Apros is one of the names that appears on a silver bowl from Rogozen (*SEG* 37 618; cf. Archibald (1998) 121, 225, 234). In Steph. Byz. Apros is classified as a πόλις Θράκης (107.5). Stephanos quotes Theopompos: τοῦ δ' Ἀντιπάτρου διατρίβοντος περὶ τὴν Ἄπρον. It is clear from the quote that the classification of Apros as a *polis* does not stem from Theopompos. Thus the only thing we know about C4 Apros is that Antipatros was operating from Apros, probably against some native Thracians.

654. Kabyle (Kabylenos) Map 22. Lat. 42.30, long. 26.30. Size of territory: ? Type: C:γ. The toponym is Καβύλη, ἡ (Dem. 8.44, 10.15; Harp. K1; Steph. Byz. 346.1, quoting Polyb. 13.10.10). Variant forms are attested in late sources: Καλύβη (Plin. *HN* 4.41; Steph. Byz. 350.4; Ptol. 2.11.7) and, perhaps, Βαβύλη (Steph. Byz. 154.8). The city-ethnic is Καβυλησνός (C2 coins: Head, *HN*² 278). Kabyle is called a *polis* in late sources only (Strabo 7.6.2; Steph. Byz. 350.4) and is described as a *chorion* by Harpokration, quoting Theopompos (fr. 220) and Anaximenes (*FGrHist* 72 fr. 12). At *Suda* (K9) it is referred to as a χώρα τῆς Θρᾴκης. Kabyle was apparently a military colony founded or perhaps refounded by Philip II (Dem. 8.44; Strabo 7.6.2; Steph. Byz. 350.4) *c.*340 (Theopomp. fr. 220).

Ancient Kabyle was situated on a plateau overlooking a bend in the river Tonzos (modern Tundja), 7 km north of the modern city of Yambol (Velkov (1982*a*)). Excavated inscriptions have confirmed its location (Velkov (1991*a*)). In Antiquity, the river-bed of the Tonzos (modern Tundja, now occupied by a tributary of the Tonzos, the Azmak), lay some 3 or 4 km nearer Kabyle, and thus washed around its south-eastern periphery. The excavators assume that docking facilities would have existed close by. The nucleus of the ancient settlement was the acropolis of Zaiči vruh, where an Iron Age cult centre was located, associated in Hellenistic times with Artemis Phosphoros and Herakles (Velkov (1983) 237–38). Traces of occupation in the early Iron Age have been discovered on the lower hill to the south-east, called Hisarlik (Archibald (1998) 45 with further refs.).

Excavations along the lower slopes of Zaiči vruh, where the C4 western gateway and contemporary parts of the adjacent circuit wall were discovered (Domaradzki (1991)), have shown that the earliest occupation layer in this area dates from the same period, on the basis of imported amphora stamps of C4s (Domaradzki (1991) 59; Getov (1995) 99–101). Deep trenches in the Roman city have revealed evidence of earlier deposits. None of this material has yet been published, although brief reports have appeared in the annual bulletin of excavations of the Institute of Archaeology, Sofia (*Archeologicheski Otkritya i Razkopki* = *AOR*). Between 1986 and 1990, Getov excavated the road leading into the city from the western gate. Domaradzki revealed a road surface paved with river stones and fired clay sherds at the level of the early Makedonian gateway, and a similar road surface made of pebbles close to tower no. 2. Stone foundations belonging to various structures of the late Iron Age (second half of the first millennium BC) were discovered near the same tower and below the floor of the Roman *horreum*. The foundations of an oval(?) hut were found near the western gate, together with stone footings and clay floors belonging to residential units whose design cannot as yet be determined.

The most important evidence dating to the first 100 years after Philip II's foundation comes from burials in tumuli outside the city (Getov (1991)). These suggest that local élite families continued to dominate civic affairs; the names of moneyers and such information as can be gleaned from epigraphic and written sources tend to confirm this impression (Draganov (1993); cf. Dimitrov in Dimitrov and Penchev (1984) concerning Seuthopolis; Archibald (1998) 311, 315–16). On the basis of numismatic, archaeological and epigraphic data, scholars have postulated a formative phase of the city while a Makedonian garrison was resident, *c.*340–280, followed by a period dominated by one or more local rulers, from *c.*280, with a marked diminution of activity from C2 onwards, precipitated perhaps by the aggressive campaigns of Philip V.

The spatial characteristics of the city in pre-Imperial times are uncertain. The agora and sanctuary (Phosphorion) of Artemis, mentioned in the Seuthopolis inscription, have not yet been located. The acropolis shrine was put out of use by a tower, associated by Velkov with the introduction of the Makedonian garrison, but activities at the shrine resumed, perhaps later in C3. Unpublished evidence from Hisarlik of extensive trading contacts in C5–C4 suggests that there may have been a permanent settlement there before the advent of Philip II; but how this changed in response to the Makedonian garrison, and the creation of a fortified enclosure, is still unknown.

Kabyle minted coins on behalf of two local leaders, Spartokos and Skostokos, and later for the Celtic chieftain Cavarus. An autonomous bronze coinage began some time in the second quarter of C3, showing the city's patron goddess, Artemis Phosphoros, and the legend *KAB* (Draganov

(1993), (1998)). In C3 coins of Kabyle circulated in an area extending westwards along the upper Tundja valley north of Nova Zagora, and southwards some 40 km downstream (Draganov (1998) map 1). The issues of Spartokos and Skostokos suggest that whatever power they had was of limited scope and duration, and that they acted as lieutenants, or officials, rather than rulers (Draganov (1984), (1985); Archibald (1998) 311–12).

655. Philippopolis (Philippopolites) Map 22. Lat. 42.10, long. 24.45. Size of territory: ? Type: B:*γ*. The toponym is *Φιλιππόπολις, ἡ* (Steph. Byz. 666.9; Plin. *HN* 4.41; Dexippus ((*FGrHist* 100) fr. 27.1). The city-ethnic is *Φιλιπποπολίτης* (Steph. Byz. 666.10, perhaps just a conjecture). Philippopolis is called a *polis* in late sources only (Steph. Byz.; Dexippus) but probably by Theopompos too, since the late tradition about the nickname *Πονηρόπολις* seems to be a direct quotation of his work (Plut. *Mor.* 520B; Plin. *HN* 4.41; *Suda Δ*1423 = Theopomp. fr. 110, see *infra*).

Philippopolis (Plovdiv) is usually considered to have been one of the cities founded by Philip II when he was consolidating his power in Thrace after the defeat of Kersebleptes, the last independent ruler of the region (Diod. 16.71.2). Diodorus does not name any of the cities, but Pliny says "oppidum sub Rhodope Poneropolis antea, mox a conditore Philippopolis, nunc a situ Trimontium dicta" (*HN* 4.11.41), without specifying which king was being referred to. But Dexippus specifies that Philip is the son of Amyntas, which rules out Philip V (whom Domaradzki (1993) 36 preferred, judging by the absence of any clear military architecture before the late Hellenistic period). The epithet "Poneropolis" derives from Theopompos (fr. 110, see *supra*), and is consistent with the sort of moralistic, disparaging phrases the historian used liberally of Philip II (e.g. fr. 162; cf. Flower (1994) 119–30). Pliny takes the disparaging name too literally, assuming it to have been an earlier epithet of Philippopolis.

The historical origins of Philippopolis lie in the sanctuary that occupied part or all of the summit of Nebet tepe, which, together with Djambaz tepe and Taksim tepe, constituted "Trimontium" under the Roman Empire. The earliest traces of cult activity date to the early Bronze Age (Tsonchev (1938); Peykov (1990), (1994), (1995)). Some controversy has attached to the Iron Age remains that succeeded these (see Domaradzki (1998) 22–29; Popov (2000) 125–26). But recent excavations have shown that the cult centre here was far larger and more ambitious in C4l and C3e than had previously been thought (Koleva (1997); Koleva *et al.* (2000) 103–8). These discoveries have dispelled any doubts that may have existed about the religious nature of activities on the summit. Six locations have been investigated in detail on the summit of Nebet tepe, and one below it, on the eastern side of the ancient city. A concentric circular stone foundation (St. Matanov trench) marks a substantial structure belonging to the late Bronze or beginning of the Iron Age (i.e. in absolute dates, end of second and early first millennium). Cult deposits in the area of the temple continued until C6 or C5.

Approximately 300 m away, on the same terrace, three strata were identified belonging to the period between C5 and C3. In the latest stratum was the foundation of a rectangular structure, oriented north–south, whose hard-beaten floor contained a decorated hearth altar and a trapezoidal platform, the former resembling well-known types from Seuthopolis, Vetren and elsewhere in Thrace (Koleva *et al.* (2000) 104 fig. 1 for plan; fig. 3, hearth altar). Elsewhere rock carvings bring this sanctuary into line with upland cult sites in the Sakar and Strandja mountains and at Kabyle (Zaiči vruh). Twenty-six pits associated with cult activity and three hearth altars were discovered on Kamchya Street, at the north-eastern foot of Nebet tepe. This area seems to be linked with activities on the summit not just in terms of chronology (C6 onwards) and function, but also in the design of specific structures. Some of the pits were superseded by a roofed construction, resembling the form of a building that succeeded the circular "temple" on the summit.

There is now growing agreement among scholars that D. Tsonchev was right to postulate a fortified enclosure on the summit of Nebet tepe before the Makedonian conquest (Tsonchev (1938); Botusharova (1963); Domaradzki (1998) 28; Koleva *et al.* (2000) 110–11; Popov (2000) 129). Traces of a wall made of river stones have been dated before C6 (Domaradzki (1998) 28, with discussion). The earliest section of masonry in the city's fortifications has been dated to between C3 and C2, and may be connected with the campaigns of Philip V rather than Philip II (Botusharova (1963)).

The nucleus of Iron Age activity at Plovdiv expanded from the summit of Nebet tepe to its surrounding plain. This expansion was already in progress in C6–C5. A little further from Nebet tepe, to the south-east, a cultural deposit of C4–C3 (4 m below the modern street) has revealed domestic structures and abundant movable finds (ceramics, including imported fine wares, numerous loom weights and coins of Maroneia, Philip II and Alexander III). In the vicinity are burial mounds and flat cremation burials dating

from C3 to C2 (Bospachieva (1995), (1997), (2000); cf. tumulus with built tomb near Filipovo (Botusharova and Kolarova (1961); Archibald (1998) 283, 296–98, 338)).

656. Pistiros (Pistirenos) Not in *Barr.*, cf. *infra*. Size of territory: ? Type: C:*β*. The toponym is *Πίστιρος* (*BCH* 123 (1999) 248–49, hereafter *BCH*, see *infra*; Steph. Byz. 171.6, 524.11; *Etym. Magn.* 488.10 = Hdn. III.2 449.2). The city-ethnic is *Πιστιρηνός* (*BCH* 16), Steph. Byz. 524.11 erroneously conjectures *Πιστιρίτης*. Pistiros is classified as a *polis* by *Etym. Magn.* 488.10, as an *emporion* by Steph. Byz. 524.11: *ἐμπόριον Θρᾴκης*). The collective and external use of the city-ethnic is attested at *BCH* 16.

Notwithstanding the alternative proposals put forward by Salviat (1999) and Bravo and Chankowski (1999) in favour of Herodotos' Pistyros on the Aegean coast (7.109.2) as the location of the epigraphically attested Pistiros, most scholars have accepted the arguments put forward by the editors, Velkov and Domaradzka, reinforced by the archaeological evidence adduced by M. Domaradzki, that the site of Adjiyska Vodenitsa corresponds wholly or partly to the place and community referred to in the decree (Velkov and Domaradzka (1994), (1995), (1996); Domaradzka (1996), (2002*a*); Domaradzki (1993), (1995), (1996), (1998), (2000*a*), (2000*c*), (2002); Lazova (1996); Bošnakov (1999); Hansen (1997*a*) 88, 90–91; Loukopoulou (1999); Archibald (1998) 224, 226–28, (2002*a* and *b*)).

The main source for Pistiros is the recently found C4 inscription (*BCH*, discussed *supra* 887–90). It is a renewal of the privileges bestowed by the late Kotys on a community of Greeks in Pistiros. As a group the Greeks are called *ἐμπορῖται*, a rare word presumably used synonymously with *ἔμποροι*, but not quite: *ἔμποροι* are traders who travel from place to place. The *ἐμπορῖται* seem to be the inhabitants of the *emporion*, only some of whom were *emporoi* (ll. 10–11). Pistiros is not explicitly called an *ἐμπόριον*, but from the term *emporitai* and the reference to other *emporia* in the neighbourhood (ll. 22–24) it seems safe to infer that the place *was* an *emporion*, an inference supported by Stephanos' note: *Πίστιρος, ἐμπόριον Θρᾴκης* (524.11).

In constitutional terms, Pistiros appears to be a *polis*, not just an urban centre, but it also enjoyed some degree of autonomy, which was asserted, as well as constrained, by the unnamed ruler in relation to other named and unnamed groups. It is worth noting that the terminology of the decree might be distinguishing between *oi Pistirenoi* (l. 16) and "Apollonians and Thasians who are in Pistiros" (ll. 32–33; Maronitans, l. 28, also understood?). But the reference to Pistirenians comes from the main body of the decree, while the latter distinction is contained in the citation attributed to Kotys (I).

To understand the status of Pistiros, one must start with the toponym *Πίστιρος* (ll. 12, 22–24, 33) and the ethnic *Πιστιρηνῶμ* (l. 16). Pistiros is a rare name, and it seems reasonable to assume that there must have been some connection between the *polis* Pistiros on the coast and the homonymous inland *emporion*, and that the Pistirenians living in the *emporion* were citizens of the *polis*, just as others among the inhabitants were citizens of Apollonia, Maroneia and Thasos (Hansen (2004); Velkov and Domaradzka (1994) 7; Loukopoulou (1999) 368 assumes a transfer of the settlement, i.e. a *metoikesis*). It is nowhere stated that the citizens of Apollonia, Maroneia and Thasos were among the *emporitai* = the Pistirinians. The Maronitai, Apolloniatai and Thasioi may well have been *emporoi*, i.e. travelling merchants or merchants living for a shorter or longer period in Pistiros without becoming citizens of the community.

One possible scenario is as follows (Hansen (2004)). The *emporion* of Pistiros was an inland trading station, originally founded by merchants coming from the *polis* of Pistiros, a dependency of Thasos situated on the Thracian coast (Hdt. 7.109.2). The core of the settlers (*τῶν οἰκητόρων* in l. 38) were from the outset citizens of the *polis* Pistiros (cf. *Πιστιρηνῶμ* at l. 16), but some of the other inhabitants were citizens of Maroneia, Apollonia and Thasos (ll. 27–33), and in C4 they may have formed the most important element of the population. It is apparent from the inscription that it was only one out of a number of *emporia* in inland Thrace involved principally in trade with Maroneia (ll. 21–24). The *emporion* was surrounded by native Thracians (*τοῖς Θραιξίν* in ll. 8–9). The mixture of four different ethnics suggests that Pistiros was not an ordinary *polis* in its own right. But we cannot exclude the possibility that Pistiros was a kind of dependent *polis* whose citizens are described as *Πιστιρηνοί*, and that the *Μαρωνῖται*, the *Θάσιοι* and the *Ἀπολλωνιῆται* lived in Pistiros as metics.

At present the origins of the *emporion* are uncertain. The site at Adjiyska Vodenitsa was occupied some time in C5 (Bouzek (2002*a*) discusses the evidence prior to C5s). Excavations have yet to reveal the character of the earliest settlement. During C5s, the area was (re)organised in a formal manner, based on a street system integrated with the fortification walls and the eastern gateway, through which

the main east–west road runs (Domaradzki (1993), (1995), (1996), (2002)). This east–west road has at least three major surfaces, which mirror the key events that affected life on the site in its three phases. The initial plan consisted of an ambitious double-faced masonry wall enclosing a grid plan of streets, paved with ashlar slabs, similar to the wall itself and the main drain. Some time in C4f, perhaps in the 370s, the eastern gateway was modified substantially, with the reconstruction of the exterior tower. This reconstruction heralds a phase of spectacular internal development, both architectural and commercial. Multi-roomed structures, on stone footings, roofed with imported and locally made tiles, can certainly be traced back to this period. The largest number of bulk imports, including storage amphoras from Chios, Thasos and elsewhere in the Aegean, together with Attic figured and black-glazed pottery, belong to this period. *C.*300, the eastern gateway perished in a fierce blaze and was never rebuilt in the same form. The successor gateway was far more modest and lacked many of the specific defensive features of its predecessor. The road was relaid with cobbles made of river stones, not dressed slabs (Domaradzki (1993), (1995), (1996), (2002)). There followed a lengthy period of redevelopment, involving the reuse of older materials. Some areas seem to have changed their function (Domaradzki (1999); Archibald *et al.* (2002)). The interpretation of this phase is still in progress.

One of the most remarkable aspects of the finds at Vetren is the large number of coins discovered during the excavations. The total number currently stands at *c.*1,800 items. A pot hoard of 552 Makedonian coins, datable to the 280s, was found by the Czech team in a building adjacent to the east–west road. The coins range from rare regal issues of Amadokos I, Kotys I, Amadokos II and other Thracian rulers, to imitation Thasian denominations, silver from Parion, the Chersonese, Mesembria and Apollonia on the Black Sea, as well as other Aegean civic coins. Other items of commercial significance include weights and measures, and graffiti. Domestic items include loom weights, spindle whorls, gaming tokens, metallic pins, needles, ornaments and other equipment, together with tools for domestic and industrial (metallurgical) use.

657. Seuthopolis Map 22. Lat. 42.40, long. 25.20. Size of territory: ? Type: B:γ. The toponym is $\Sigma\epsilon\upsilon\theta\acute{o}\pi o\lambda\iota\varsigma$ (*SEG* 42 661.31 (C3e)). The *polis* status of Seuthopolis can be deduced from its toponym.

The name of the city indicates that it was either founded or refounded in C4l by Seuthes III, a Thracian prince who in the years *c.*325–315 asserted his independence of Makedonia (Bengtson (1962) 19–20). Seuthopolis is usually taken to be the residence of Seuthes III (Archibald (1998) 313). The city of Seuthes III was unknown until its chance discovery and excavation in advance of the construction of the Georgi Dimitrov Dam in the upper course of the river Tundja. The only known reference to Seuthopolis in written sources is in the inscription found in a room of the "palace" during its excavation. The publication formula (ll. 27–34) prescribes that one copy of the text be deposited in Seuthopolis (l. 31) in the sanctuary of the Great Gods, and a second copy in the *hieron* of Dionysos, in the agora (*IGBulg.* III.2 (1964) 146–49 no. 1731; Velkov (1991*a*) 7–11; *SEG* 42 661 (*ed. pr.*), 46 877*, 48 995).

The plan of the excavated city (8 km west of modern Kazanluk) covered a mere 5 ha and was situated on a ridge above the river Chiflikchiyska, a tributary of the Tonzos (Tundja), which protected the city on its eastern flank. From the other three sides it was enclosed by a circuit wall of brick on a foundation of two stone courses, the lowest of which forms a slight bench extending away from the outer face. Squarish towers protected the corners of a pentangular area, divided into insulae by a cruciform pattern of streets, north–south and east–west, with narrower cross-streets. The insulae were divided into residential property units, comprising house designs of *pastas* and *prostas* types. One room usually contained a decorated hearth altar. The north-western corner of the city plan was separated from the city by an additional fortification wall, also with towers at each corner, and entered through a gateway without special elaboration. The inscription refers to the agora, a sanctuary of Dionysos and a shrine of the Samothrakian gods. The latter shrine was identified with the complex of rooms in the "acropolis" area. The agora was situated north of the east–west road, but remains in the area were not sufficiently well preserved to allow any clear identification of the sanctuary of Dionysos.

The circulation of Seuthes III's coins in a relatively homogeneous area suggests the possible scope of his political power. This area included the Valley of the Roses, the Thracian plain between the valley of the river Tundja on the east, including Kabyle, and the river Sazliyka in the west, east of Plovdiv, extending down the Hebros valley towards Haskovo and Svilengrad (Domaradzki (1987) 7 and map 2 = Archibald (1998) 312 fig. 13.1).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Alcock, S. E., Day, H. W., and Parker, G. 2001. "Sitting Down with the *Barrington Atlas*", *JRA* 14: 454–61.

Archibald, Z. H. 1998. *The Odrysian Kingdom of Thrace: Orpheus Unmasked*, Oxford Monographs in Classical Archaeology (Oxford).

—— 1999. "Thracian Cult—From Practice to Belief", in G. R. Tsetskhladze (ed.), *Ancient Greeks West and East* (Leiden) 427–68.

—— 2000. "Space, Hierarchy and Community in Archaic and Classical Macedonia, Thessaly, and Thrace", in R. Brock and S. Hodkinson (eds.), *Alternatives to Athens: Varieties of Political Organization and Community in Ancient Greece* (Oxford) 212–33.

—— 2001. "The Odrysian River Port near Vetren, Bulgaria, and the Pistiros Inscription", *Talanta* 32/33: 253–75.

—— 2002*a*. "Attic Figured Pottery from Adjiyska Vodenitsa, Vetren 1989–95", in Bouzek *et al.* (2002*a*) 60–71.

—— 2002*b*. "Underground Deposits: Pit no. 9 and the 'Field' of Pits", in Bouzek *et al.* (2002*a*) 46–58.

—— Adams, M., Ovenden, S., and Stallibrass, S. 2002. "A River Port and Emporion in Central Bulgaria: An Interim Report on the British Project at Vetren", *BSA* 97: 309–51.

Balabanov, P. 1986. "Gradovete v drevna Trakya predi pochodite na Filip II", in *Second Symposium on Settlement Life in Thrace* (Yambol) 41–59 (in Bulgarian).

Bengtson, H. 1962. "Neues zur Geschichte des Hellenismus in Thrakien und in der Dobrudscha", *Historia* 11: 18–28.

Bošnakov, K. 1999. "Identification archéologique et historique de l'*emporion* de Pistiros en Thrace", *BCH* 123: 319–29.

Bospachieva, M. 1995. "Mogilno pogrebenye ot elinisticheskya nekropol na Filipopol", *IMYB* 21: 43–61.

—— 1997. "Elinisticheskya nekropol na Filipopol", *GNAMP* 8: 19–31.

—— 2000. "Des données nouvelles sur l'histoire de Plovdiv", in Domaradzki (2000*c*) 113–21.

Botusharova, L. 1963. "Stratigrafski prouchvaniya na Nebet tepe", *GNMP* 5: 61–76.

—— and Kolarova, V. 1961. "Kupolna grobnitsa pri Plovdiv", in *Izsledvanya v chest na Karel Shkorpil* (Sofia) 285–98.

Bouzek, J. 2002*a*. "Addenda to Pistiros I", in Bouzek *et al.* (2002*a*) 343–48.

—— 2002*b*. "The North Greek Wheel-Made Glazed Pottery in Pistiros", in Bouzek *et al.* (2002*a*) 149–82.

—— Domaradzka, L., and Archibald, Z. H. (eds.) 2002*a*. *Pistiros*, ii: *Excavations and Studies*, Charles University (Prague).

—— Domaradzki, M., and Archibald, Z. H. (eds.) 1996. *Pistiros*, i: *Excavations and Studies*, Charles University (Prague).

—— Musil, J., and Titz, P. 2002*b*. "Adjiyska Vodenitsa II, 1994–1998: Excavation Report by the Czech Mission", in Bouzek *et al.* (2002*a*) 37–109.

Bravo, B., and Chankowski, A. S. 1999. "Cités et *emporia* dans le commerce avec les barbares à la lumière du document dit à tort 'inscription de Pistiros' ", *BCH* 123: 275–317.

Chankowski, V., and Domaradzka, L. 1999. "Réédition de l'inscription de Pistiros et problèmes d'interprétation", *BCH* 123: 247–58.

Collis, J. 2000. "'Celtic' Oppida", *Thirty City-State Cultures* 229–39.

Dimitrov, K., and Penchev, V. 1984. *Sevtopolis*, ii: *Antichni i Srednovekovni Moneti* (Sofia) (in Bulgarian with English summaries).

Domaradzka, L. 1993. "Inscriptions découvertes dans le haut de Maritza (ancien Hebros)", *Archeologia* 44: 55–57.

—— 1996. "Graffiti from Pistiros", in Bouzek *et al.* (1996) 89–94.

—— 1999. "Monuments épigraphiques de Pistiros", *BCH* 123: 347–58.

—— 2002*a*. "Addendum ad Pistiros vol. I: Pistiros—Vetren inscription", in Bouzek *et al.* (2002*a*) 339–42.

—— 2002*b*. "Catalogue of Graffiti Discovered during the Excavations at Pistiros-Vetren 1988–1998. Part One: Graffiti on Fine Imported Pottery", in Bouzek *et al.* (2002*a*) 209–28.

—— 2002*c*. "Pistiros and its Contribution to Classical Greek Epigraphy", in R. Gicheva and K. Rabadjiev (eds.), *πιτύη: Studia in honorem Prof. Ivani Marazov* (Sofia) 294–306.

—— and Domaradzki, M. 1999. "Population Structure of Pistiros", in *Ancient Macedonia: Sixth International Symposium*, Institute for Balkan Studies 200 (Thessalonica) i. 383–92.

Domaradzki, M. 1987. "Les données numismatiques et les études de la culture thrace du second Age du Fer", *Numizmatika* (Sofia) 21.4: 4–18 (in Bulgarian, with French summary).

—— 1991. "Le mur ouest fortifié de Cabyle", in Velkov (1991*b*) 54–81.

—— 1993. "Pistiros—centre commercial et politique dans la vallée de Maritza (Thrace)", *Archeologia* 44: 35–57.

—— 1995. *Emporion Pistiros: Thraco-Greek Commercial Relations* (Pazardjik) (in Bulgarian).

—— 1996. "Interim Report on Archaeological Investigations at Vetren-Pistiros, 1988–94", in Bouzek *et al.* (1996) 13–34.

—— 1998. *Emporion Pistiros*, ii: *Trakiyskata kultura v prechoda kum elinisticheskata epocha* (*Emporion Pistiros*, ii: *Thracian Culture in the Transition to the Hellenistic Age*) (Pazardjik and Septemvri) (in Bulgarian).

—— 1999. "La production de fibules à Pistiros", in Koukouli-Chrysanthaki *et al.* (1999) 179–84.

—— 2000*a*. "Problèmes des emporia en Thrace", in Domaradzki (2000*a*) 29–38.

—— 2000*b*. "The Use of Brick in Pre-Roman Thrace", *Izvestiya na Natsionalnya Istoricheski Muzei* 11: 87–90 (in Bulgarian).

Domaradzki, M. (ed.) 2000*c*. *Pistiros et Thasos: Structures économiques dans la péninsule balkanique aux viie–iie siècles avant J.-C.* (Opole).

—— 2002. "Interim Report on Fieldwork at Vetren-Pistiros, 1995–98", in Bouzek *et al.* (2002*a*) 11–36.

Draganov, D. 1984. "Kabyle i monetosechenye na Skostok", *IMYIB* 7: 39–52.

—— 1985. "Chronologya na monetosechenyeto na Spartok", *Numizmatika* (Sofia) 2: 4–10.

—— 1993. *The Coinage of Cabyle* (Sofia).

—— 1998. "The *Chora* of Cabyle during the Third Century BC according to Numismatic Data", *Bulletin des Musées de la Bulgarie de sud-est* 19: 61–66.

Flensted-Jensen, P. 1997. "Some Problems in *Polis* Identification in the Chalkidic Peninsula", *CPCPapers* 4: 117–21.

—— 2000. "The Chalkidic Peninsula and its Regions", *CPCPapers* 5: 121–31.

—— and Hansen, M. H. 1996. "Pseudo-Skylax" Use of the Term *Polis*", *CPCPapers* 3: 137–67.

Flower, M. A. 1994. *Theopompus of Chios: History and Rhetoric in the Fourth Century BC* (Oxford).

Fraser, P. M. 1996. *Cities of Alexander the Great* (Oxford).

Getov, L. 1991. "Nécropole de tumulus de l'époque hellénistique à Cabyle", in Velkov (1991*b*) 168–97.

—— 1995. *Amfori, i amforni pechati ot Kabyle, 4–2 v. pr n.e.* (Sofia).

GNMP = Godishnik na Narodnya archeologicheski Muzei Plovdiv.

Hansen, M. H. 1997*a*. "*Emporion*: A Study of the Use and Meaning of the Term in the Archaic and Classical Periods", *CPCPapers* 4: 83–105.

—— 1997*b*. "Hekataios' Use of the Word *Polis* in his *Periegesis*", *CPCPapers* 4: 17–27.

—— 2004. "*Emporion*: A Study of the Use and Meaning of the Term in the Archaic and Classical Periods", in G. Tsetskhladze (ed.), *Greek Colonisation: An Account of Greek Colonies and Other Settlements Overseas*, i–ii (Leiden) i. forthcoming.

Hatzopoulos, M. 1984. "Les politarques de Philippopolis: un élément méconnu pour la datation d'une magistrature macédoine", in *Dritter Internationaler Thrakologischer Kongress*, ii (Sofia) 137–49.

—— 1994. "Apollonia Hellenis", in I. Worthington (ed.), *Ventures into Greek History* (Oxford) 159–88.

—— 1996. *Macedonian Institutions under the Kings*, ii: *Epigraphic Appendix* (Athens).

—— 1997. "L'état macédonien antique: un nouveau visage", *CRAI* 7–25.

Koleva, B. 1997. "A Newly Discovered Thracian Altar from the City of Plovdiv", *Annuaire du musée archéologique—Plodiv* 8: 7–17 (in Bulgarian with French summary).

—— Martinova, M., and Bospachieva, M. 2000. "Des données nouvelles sur l'histoire de Plovdiv", in Domaradzki (2000*c*) 103–12.

Koukouli-Chryssanthaki, Ch., Müller, A., and Papadopoulos, S. (eds.) 1999. *Thasos, Protes yles kai technologia apo tous proistorikous Chronous os semera: Thasos, Matières premières et technologie de la préhistoire à nos jours*, Proceedings of the International Colloquium, Limenaria, Thasos, 26–29 September 1995, École française d'Athènes—18th Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities (Athens).

Lazova, T. 1996. "Pistiros in the Ancient Lexicography", in Bouzek *et al.* (1996) 217–19.

Loukopoulou, L. 1999. "Sur le statut et l'importance de l'*emporion* de Pistiros", *BCH* 123: 359–71.

Lund, H. 1992. *Lysimachus: A Study in Early Hellenistic Kingship* (London).

Meister, K. 1990. *Die historische Geschichtsschreibung* (Stuttgart).

Mihailov, G. 1986. "Le processus d'urbanisation dans l'espace balkanique jusqu'à la fin de l'Antiquité", *Pulpudeva* 5: 5–30.

Nawotka, K. 1994. "Melsas as Founder of Mesembria?", *Hermes* 122: 320–26.

—— 1999. *Boule and Demos in Miletus and its Pontic Colonies from Classical Age until Third Century AD* (Ossolineum, Wrocław).

Pédech, P. 1989. *Trois historiens méconnus: Théopompe, Duris, Phylarche*, Collection des études anciennes 119 (Paris).

Peykov, A. 1990. "The Fort of the Old Thracian City of Eumolpia", *Terra Antiqua Balcanica* 5: 23–33.

—— 1994. "Osnovnite architekturni suorazheniya na drevnotrakiyskiya grad Evmolpia", *IMYB* 20: 55–71.

—— 1995. "Stratigrafiya v krepostta na drevnotrakiyskiya grad Evmolpia", *IMYB* 21: 23–43.

Picard, O. 1999. "Le commerce de l'argent dans la charte de Pistiros", *BCH* 123: 331–46.

Popov, C. 2000. "Philippopolis—Archäologie und Geschichte", in Domaradzki (2000*c*) 123–32.

Porozhanov, K. 2002. "Trakiyski Tsare-bogove kato heroi-osnovateli na elinskite apoikii v Mramorno I Chernomore", in R. Gicheva and K. Rabadiiev (eds.), *πιτύη: Studia in honorem Prof. Ivani Marazov* (Sofia) 219–24.

Salviat, F. 1999. "Le roi Kersobleptès, Maronée, Apollonia, Thasos, Pistiros et l'histoire d'Hérodote", *BCH* 123: 259–73.

Schwenk, C. J. 1985. *Athens in the Age of Alexander: The Dated Laws and Decrees of the "Lycurgan Era", 338–322 B.C.* (Chicago).

Shrimpton, G. S. 1991. *Theopompus the Historian* (Montreal).

Tacheva, M. 2002. "Za trakiyskata tsarskata ikonomika prez V–IV v. pr. Chr. spored t.nar. nadpis ot Pistiros", in R. Gicheva and K. Rabadjiev (eds.), *πιτύη: Studia in honorem Prof. Ivani Marazov* (Sofia) 264–72.

Tsetskhladze, G. R. 2000. "Pistiros in the System of Greek *Emporia* (Greek Trading and Craft Settlements in the Hinterland of the Northern and Eastern Black Sea and Elsewhere)", in Domaradzki (2000*c*), 233–46.

Tsontchev, D. 1938. *Prinosi kum starata istoriya na Plovdiv*, Materiali za istoriyata na Plovdiv 1 (Plovdiv).

——1941. *Le sanctuaire thrace près de Batkoun* (Sofia) (in Bulgarian).

Velkov, V. 1982*a*. "Kabyle: Mestopolozhenye, prouchvaniya, izvori", in Velkov (1982*b*) 7–16.

——(ed.) 1982*b*. *Kabyle*, i (Sofia) (in Bulgarian, with Russian and French summaries).

——1983. "The Thracian City of Cabyle", in A. Poulter (ed.), *Ancient Bulgaria: Papers presented to the International Symposium on the Ancient History and Archaeology of Bulgaria, University of Nottingham, 1981* (Nottingham) 233–38.

——1991*a*. "Inscriptions de Cabyle", in Velkov (1991*b*) 7–52.

——(ed.) 1991*b*. *Kabyle*, ii (Sofia) (in Bulgarian with Russian and French summaries).

——and Domaradzka, L. 1994. "Cotys I (383/2–359 av. J.C.) et l'*emporion* Pistiros de Thrace", *BCH* 118: 1–15.

————1995. "Kotys I (383/2–359) and the *Emporion* of Pistiros in Thrace", annexe to M. Domaradzki, *Emporion Pistiros: Thraco-Greek Commercial Relations* (Pazardjik) 73–85 (in Bulgarian).

————1996. "Kotys I (383/2–359 BC) and *Emporion* Pistiros in Thrace", in Bouzek *et al.* (1996) 205–16.

Yourukova, Y,. and Domaradzki, M. 1990. "Nouvel centre de la culture thrace: Vetren, la région de Pazardgik (Notes préliminaires)", *Numizmatika* (Sofia) 24.3: 1–24 (in Bulgarian).

Yoyotte, J. 2002. "Guardian of the Nile: Thonis Rediscovered", *Minerva* 13.3 (May/June): 32–34.

Zambon, E. 2000. "Filippo II, Alessandro il Grande e la Tracia: note sulla conquista e l'istituzione della strategia di Tracia", *Anemos* 1: 69–95.

THRACIAN CHERSONESOS

LOUISA LOUKOPOULOU

I. The Region

North of the Hellespont—the only waterway linking the Aegean Sea to the Propontis and thence to the Black Sea—lay the relatively low peninsula (maximum altitude 300 m) called the Thracian or Hellespontine Chersonesos, or simply Chersonesos: ἡ Θρᾳκία Χερρόνησος (Ps.-Skylax 67; cf. Ps.-Skymnos 698; Strabo 7 fr. 52); Χερσόνησος ἡ ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ (Hdt. 7.33); Ἑλλησποντία Χερρόνησος (Steph. Byz. 80.13); Χερρόνησος (Hdt. 6.36.2; Xen. *Hell.* 1.5.17).[1] The corresponding ethnic is Χερσονησίτης (Hdt. 4.137.1), or Χερρονησίτης (Dem. 5.25). The region is only indirectly known in the *Iliad* (2.836), where Sestos (no. 672) is mentioned together with Abydos (no. 765), its counterpart on the Asiatic shore of the Straits. It covers *c.*900 km² of mostly fertile agricultural land (Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.10), but above all, it was of major strategic importance. The Hellespont narrows to a width of 1.2 km just west of Sestos (between Dardanos and Kynos Sema), and provides a good crossing point and even the possibility of bridging from coast to coast. The peninsula is linked to the Thracian mainland by a narrow isthmus (minimum width 3 km). It was exposed to continuous marauding from neighbouring inland tribes, but could relatively easily be fortified and defended. The isthmus and the Long Wall—constructed from sea to sea as early as C6s (Hdt. 6.36.2; cf. Plin. *HN* 4.43, cf. 48) and repeatedly restored thereafter—constituted the inland border of the Chersonesos, at least in the Archaic and Classical periods (Ps.-Skylax 67; Ps.-Skymnos 698–712). However, Hegesippos (Dem. 7.39–41) claims that the frontier of the Chersonesos lay far beyond Agora—thus well beyond the isthmus wall on which Kardia (no. 665), Agora (no. 661) and Paktye (no. 671) were situated—and that its border was marked by the altar of Zeus Horios, between Pteleon and Leuke Akte, where Philip II planned to dig a canal.

[1] For a discussion of the dual use of the name Chersonesos (geographical as well as political) and the city-ethnic derived from the toponym, see Hansen (1997*a*) 21–22 and *infra* s.v. Chersonesos/Agora (no. 661).

According to the literary tradition (Ps.-Skymnos 698–710; cf. Strabo 7 fr. 50), the Chersonesos was first colonised by Aiolians, who came mainly from Lesbos. They founded Sestos (no. 672) and Madytos (no. 669) on the Hellespontine coast, and Alopekonnesos (no. 659) at the southernmost end of the Gulf of Melas. The first colonists were followed by Milesians (no. 854), who founded Limnai (no. 668) (cf. Strabo 14.1.6), in collaboration with Klazomenians (no. 847), who founded Kardia (no. 665) (Strabo 7 fr. 50). At the southernmost end of the peninsula, opposite Sigeion (no. 791), on the site of Elaious (no. 663), archaeological remains of the same period (C7) testify to a presumably Aiolian or Athenian settlement (Loukopoulou (1989) 35 n. 2 and 68 n. 6; cf. Isaac (1986) 192–93).

Before the end of C7, the strategic and financial importance of the Straits attracted the Athenians, who secured control over Sigeion, a Mytilenian colony on the Asiatic coast of the south entrance of the Hellespont. Athenian interests in the area were further pursued around the middle of C6 under Peisistratos. They were presumably triggered by a call of the native Chersonesitan Dolonkoi, who were threatened by the neighbouring Apsinthians (Hdt. 6.34ff.; cf. Hecat. fr. 163). Under the leadership of Miltiades the Elder, several Athenian colonies were founded or refounded: *viz.* Krithote (no. 667), Paktye (no. 671), Elaious (no. 663) (Ps.-Skymnos 709ff; Ephor. fr. 40), Agora (no. 661) (Hdt. 7.58; cf. the *polis* Cherronesos in Hecat. fr. 163) and Kardia (no. 665) (according to Ps.-Skymnos 699–702). Next, Miltiades constructed the 36 stadia-long fortification wall across the isthmus of the peninsula (Hdt. 6.36.2). It was repeatedly rebuilt, first in C5 (Plut. *Per.* 19.1), then in C4e (Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.9–10), and again in later centuries (Procop. *Aed.* 4.12f). On the presumed location and traces of the wall, see Kahrstedt (1954) 11–14. Miltiades also sought to strengthen the defences of the Chersonesos against incursions by the Apsinthians by securing fortified outposts (see *infra* 903 (*Teichos Aratou*)). Miltiades became *tyrannos* of the Dolonkoi; he appears to have ruled the entire peninsula and was posthumously honoured as the *oikistes* of the Chersonesitan state (Hdt. 6.38.1,

103.4; cf. Paus. 6.19.6 for a dedication set up in Olympia in the name of the Chersonesitans).[2]

The political situation remained unchanged under his successors: Stesagoras, who inherited the oecist's powers (*ἀρχή*, Hdt. 6.38.1), and Miltiades the Younger (*στρατηγοῦντος καὶ τυραννεύοντος τῶν Χερσονησιτέων*, Hdt. 4.137.1). It is usually believed, however, that the old political entities, the *πόλεις συχναί* (Hdt. 6.33.1), represented by *δυναστεύοντες* (Hdt. 6.39.2; cf. Kahrstedt (1954) 8) survived alongside a central administrative centre with a *prytaneion* (Hdt. 6.38.2) presumably established in Agora (no. 661). The political identity of the Chersonesitan state is supported by the identification of a series of silver coins struck on the Euboic standard and dated *c.*515–493: *obv.* lion; *rev.* incuse square containing head of Athena, some with the legend *XEP* (Head, *HN*² 257; Seltman (1924) 141–42).

In the aftermath of the suppression of the Ionian Revolt, following the flight of Miltiades, the Chersonesos—except for Kardia (no. 665)—was occupied by the Phoenician fleet in 493 (Hdt. 6.33.1). The region joined the Delian League after its final liberation by Kimon, probably *c.*466 (Plut. *Cim.* 9.3–6, 14.1; Polyaen. 1.34.2; on the date, see Isaac (1986) 176–77). Athenian presence and control were further strengthened by Perikles, who restored the defence works on the isthmus and brought in 1,000 Athenian *epoikoi*, probably in 447 (Plut. *Per.* 19.11; on the date, see ML 48 and Isaac (1986) 177–80).

The survival or breakdown of the political entity established on the Chersonesos in C6 remains a matter of major controversy. In the Athenian tribute lists the enormous sum of 18 tal. was paid in the first period by the Cherronesitai (*IG* I³ 259.II.28, 260.X.6, etc.), whereas the Alopekonnesians were independently assessed (*IG* I³ 263.V.14). But the sum was drastically reduced after 447/6 to a total of less than 3 tal., divided among a number of independently contributing Chersonesitan cities: Limnaioi (no. 668), Madytioi (no. 669), Elaiousioi (no. 663), Sestioi (no. 672), Alopekonnesioi (no. 659) and Cherronesitai (no. 661) or *Χερρονεσῖται ἀπ' Ἀγορᾶς*, listed from 443/2 in the Hellespontine district (*IG* I³ 269.II.14–21). The evidence has been variously interpreted as indicating either (a) the temporary survival of the Chersonesitan state or religious entity, or (b) an initial *synteleia* of otherwise independent city members, or (c) a switch from contributing ships to paying tribute by the group of individual Chersonesitan cities that are first listed in the second period, or (d) as a consequence of the settlement of Athenian colonists.[3] As for the few cities that are never recorded in the tribute lists (Krithote (no. 667), Paktye (no. 671), Kardia (no. 665)), it is inferred that they held on to the old Chersonesitan state, that they received the largest numbers of Athenian colonists and are presumably included in the *Cherronesitai/Cherronesitai ap' Agoras* of the tribute lists (Kahrstedt (1954) 18).

During the last decades of C5, the Pontic grain trade became of vital importance to the Athenian economy (Xen. *Hell.* 1.1.35–36; Isaac (1986) 180–81; Garnsey (1988) 132–33) and, consequently, the Hellespont became one of the centres of the final phase of the Ionian War (Thuc. 8.62.3, 99.2–107.1; Xen. *Hell.* 1.3.8–10, 1.5.17, 2.1.17–32). For the Chersonesos, a troubled period followed, marked by the ever growing pressure of the Odrysians, who now either directly or through vassal Thracian dynasts occupied vast tracts of the bordering inland region. Presumably they also controlled parts of the adjacent Propontic coast (see Bisanthe (no. 673)). Tensions were increased by the presence of famous exiled adventurers, such as the Athenian Alkibiades and the Spartan Klearchos. They held some forts and strongholds at the north-eastern border of the Chersonesos and on the adjacent Propontic coast, and they established themselves as mercenary leaders, providing protection against the Thracians (cf. Kahrstedt (1954) 22–24 and Isaac (1986) 180–85, with refs.). In 398 Chersonesitan envoys requested Sparta's help against Thracian incursions, and Derkylidas undertook to restore the isthmus wall, now said to protect eleven or twelve *poleis* on the Chersonesos (Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.8–10; Diod. 14.38.6).

Entering the Peloponnesian League after the defeat of Athens, the Chersonesos appears to have hosted harmosts and persons who had received land from the Lakedaimonians (Xen. *Hell.* 4.8.5; cf. *An.* 7.2.15). In 378/7, a new political situation can be inferred from the list of members of the Second Athenian Naval League, where Elaious (no. 663) is the only city of the Chersonesos to be recorded (*IG* II² 43B.27); the rest of the Chersonesos was presumably occupied by the Persians and subject to the satrap Ariobarzanes. Athenian interests in the region were, however, reconfirmed in 365, when Ariobarzanes ceded Sestos (no. 672) and Krithote (no. 667) to Timotheos (Isoc. 15.108, 112); they must have entered the Athenian alliance in order to ward off continuous Thracian pressure (Xen. *Ages.* 26:

[2] On the political form and the extent of Miltiades' Chersonesitan "state", see the discussion in Kahrstedt (1954) 7–9; Loukopoulou (1989) 69–78, and, more recently, Hansen (1997*a*) 21.

[3] For detailed bibliography and arguments, based mainly on relevant epigraphic and numismatic evidence, cf. Kahrstedt (1954) 14–18 and Isaac (1986) 178–80.

siege of Sestos by Kotys; Kardia (no. 665) controlled by Charidemos in 364/3). Despite the Athenian counter-offensive (Dem. 50), Sestos was in 361 conquered by Kotys with help from Abydos (no. 765), and soon afterwards the last Athenian strongholds, Elaious and Krithote, were besieged by Charidemos (Dem. 23.158, *hypoth.* 2.2; cf. Foucart (1909) 93, 113). Thracian control was extended over the entire Chersonesos with the fall of Alopekonnesos, which had become a nest of pirates (Dem. 23.166–67).

Under the successors of Kotys, the Athenians had an opportunity to regain control over the Chersonesos. A treaty favouring Athenian interests was eventually reached in 357, on terms that are hotly debated even today (Dem. 23.173; *IG* II² 126). The Hellenic *poleis* in Chersonesos became allies of both the Thracian princes and Athens, without becoming members of the second Athenian Naval League (Dreher (1995) 26). They were considered "free and autonomous" (ἐλευθέρας καὶ αὐτονόμους), but they were obliged to pay a tribute (*phoros*) and not allowed to leave the alliance; see most recently Veligianni (1995) 161–68). The ensuing crisis of the Thracian state encouraged the Athenians under Chares to seize Sestos (no. 672) in 353 and settle it with new colonists (Diod. 16.34.3–4; cf. the ships of Athenian colonists (*oikistai*) in Chersonesos in *IG* II² 1613.297–98 (353/2)), forcing Kersebleptes, already pressured by Philip II, to cede the entire Chersonesos except Kardia (no. 665). Dealing thereafter with Philip, who eventually crushed the Thracian power in 340, Athens secured her claims over the Chersonesos (except Kardia, now an ally of the Makedonian king) in the Peace of 346 (Dem. 19.78), and proceeded (343/2) to send fresh klerouchs under Diopeithes to the cities of the Chersonesos (Dem. 8 *hypoth.* 1). Direct Makedonian control is, however, attested for the area immediately "beyond Agora" (ἔξω Ἀγορᾶς) in the form of royal land granted by Philip II to Apollonides, a citizen of Kardia, thereby ignoring Athenian claims that it was "inside" the border of the Chersonesos (Dem. 7.39–41).

Despite the cruel massacre of the Sestians by Chares in 353 (Diod. 16.34.3–4), Athenian colonists appear to have been welcomed in the Chersonesos, and close relations are inferred from (a) the award to the Athenians in 346/5 of golden crowns (*IG* II² 1443) by the Elaiousian *demos* (l. 94), the *demos* in Chersonesos,[4] the Alopekonnesians, the Madytians and some other unidentified cities (ll. 95–98) and, probably, the *demos* of the Chersonitans from Agora (117–18); and (b) an Athenian decree of 341/0 (*IG* II² 228), which extended the privileges of the "Chersonesitans" to the Elaiousians, while instructing the *strategos* Chares to guarantee equal property rights to the Elaiousians and to the Athenian klerouchs settled in the Chersonesos. Athenian control of the Chersonesos came to a definitive end with the Peace of 337, when the *poleis* of the Chersonesos presumably joined Philip's Panhellenic League (*IG* II² 236; for various restorations of the Chersonesitai in b7, see *Staatsverträge* no. 403). The latter evidence was interpreted (Kahrstedt (1954) 37–40) as revealing the formation of a new (federal?) political entity, which presumably included all Chersonesitan cities except Kardia (no. 665) and was responsible for issuing a series of bronze coins with the inscription *XEP* or *XEPPO*: *obv.* lion's head, or female head, or head of Athena; *rev.* corn-grain (Head, *HN*² 258; *SNG. Cop. Thrace* 844–49; for an alternative interpretation of this coinage, see *infra* 905).

Written sources provide us with information about a total of twenty-four named settlements on the Chersonesos of the Archaic and Classical periods.[5] Owing to the lack of systematic archaeological research (with the exception of excavations at Elaious (no. 663)), only three of these settlements have been identified beyond reasonable doubt (Alopekonnesos (no. 659), Elaious (no. 663) and Madytos (no. 669)); the location of three others (Chersonesos/Agora (no. 661), Kardia (no. 665), Sestos (no. 672)) has been established with some degree of probability, while eighteen remain unlocated.[6] The following Inventory comprises fifteen settlements considered to have been *poleis* of type A or B or C in the Archaic and Classical periods;[7] the remaining nine are listed below in alphabetical order:

[4] Usually interpreted as the political community of Athenian colonists; cf. a decree of "the Athenians in Chersonesos" (*IG* II² 275 (336/5)).

[5] The list of settlements excludes sanctuaries, altars, *heroa* and other minor localities recorded in Classical or in late sources, such as Argos (App. *Syr.* 63); tomb/monument of Hekuba (Strabo 13.1.28: Ἑκάβης τάφος; Diod. 13.40.6: Ἑκάβης μνημεῖον, alternatively named Κυνὸς σῆμα (Thuc. 8.104.5; Strabo 13.1.28; Plin. *HN* 4.49)); Ἕλλης τάφος (Hdt. 7.58.2); Λευκὴ ἀκτή (Hdt. 7.25.2); Πρωτεσιλάειον (Strabo 7 fr. 52, 13.1.31; cf. Hdt. 7.33; Thuc. 8.102.3; Arr. *An.* 1.11.5; Plin. *HN* 4.49). On a city named Αἰόλειον attributed to the Thracian Chersonesos by Steph. Byz. 53.1, see Flensted-Jensen (1995) 117; according to Plin. *HN* 4.49, *Aiolion* was the name of the extreme tip of the Chersonesos peninsula (*extrema Cherronesi frons*).

[6] Later sources provide the names of 7 additional settlements unattested in Classical sources: Aphrodisias (Ptol.) = Aphroditis polis (Steph. Byz.), Hexamilion (Ptol.), Theskos (Agathias), Kallipolis (Livy 31.16.5 (r209)); Kiberis (Procop.), Cissa (Plin. *HN* 4.48), Koila (= *Caela, Cuela*; Plin. *HN* 4.47).

[7] This number is higher than the 11 or 12 suggested by Xenophon at *Hell.* 3.2.8–10 and the 12 listed in Ps.-Skylax, i.e. 11 toponyms after the heading πόλεις . . . αἵδε plus Agora called *polis* individually. Note, however, that Aigos potamoi was not a *polis* in the period described by Xenophon and that Deris is outside the Thracian Chersonese proper.

1. *Pre-Hellenistic Settlements not Attested as* Poleis

Arrhianoi (*Ἀρριανοί* or *Ἀρριανά*) Locality on the Hellespontine coast of the Chersonesos (Thuc. 8.104.2: *ἀπὸ Ἰδάκου μέχρι Ἀρριανῶν*), otherwise unattested. Not in *Barr.*

Drabos (*Δράβος*) Strabo 7 fr. 51 (52). Locality on the north coast of the Chersonesos west of Kardia (no. 665), sometimes identified with Araplos (no. 660) (Kahrstedt (1954) 20 n. 47). *Barr.* C.

Idakos (*Ἴδακος*) Locality on the Hellespontine coast of the Chersonesos (Thuc. 8.104.2), otherwise unattested. Not in *Barr.*

Kobrys (*Κῶβρυς*) Listed as a *πόλις Θρᾴκης* by Steph. Byz. 400.10, quoting Theopomp. fr. 84, but in such a way that we cannot be sure whether Theopompos is his authority for the toponym only or for the site-classification as well (Hansen and Nielsen (2000) 141). According to Ps.-Skylax 67, it was one of two *emporia* (with Kypasis, *infra*), both dependencies of Kardia (no. 665), located on the Gulf of Melas, south of the estuary of the river Melas (Hansen (1997*b*) 88–89). Kobrys has tentatively but unconvincingly been identified with Krobyle by *ATL* i. 480 followed by Kahrstedt (1954) 20 n. 47. *Barr.* C.

Koila (*Κοῖλα*) According to Ptol. *Geog.* 3.12.4, a settlement on the Hellespontine coast of the Chersonesos, between Elaious (no. 663) and Sestos (no. 672). According to Plin. *HN*, a harbour on the Gulf of Melas (4.49) not far from Alopekonnesos (no. 659) (4.74). In *Barr.* identified with a site between Madytos (no. 669) and Sestos with remains of the Classical period. *Barr.* C.

Kypasis (*Κύπασις*) Listed as a *πόλις περὶ Ἑλλήσποντον* by Steph. Byz. 395.12, quoting Hecat. fr. 162, but in such a way that we cannot be sure whether Hekataios is his authority for the toponym only or for the site-classification as well (Hansen (1997*a*) 18). According to Ps.-Skylax 67, it was one of two *emporia* (with Kobrys, *supra*), both dependencies of Kardia (no. 665), located on the Gulf of Melas, south of the estuary of the river Melas (Oberhummer (1925); Kahrstedt (1954) 20 n. 47; Isaac (1986) 187; Hansen (1997*b*) 88–89). In *Barr.* Kypasis is located north of the river Melas. *Barr.* C.

Pteleon (*Πτελεόν*) Locality in the vicinity of Leuke Akte and the altar of Zeus Horios (Dem. 7.39–40); presumably situated near Baklar Burnu (*ATL* i. 564 n. 5; Kirsten (1959) 1484, 2465; Isaac (1986) 197) and tentatively equated with Kypasis (Kahrstedt (1954) nn. 46–47; see *supra*, Kypasis). Not in *Barr.*

Teichos Aratou (*τεῖχος Ἀράτου*) A fort (presumably Thracian), in the vicinity of the isthmus of the Chersonesos, occupied by the Athenians under Miltiades (Paus. 6.19.6 (rC6); cf. Berve (1937) 39; Kahrstedt (1954) 10; Loukopoulou (1989) 74, 186). Not in *Barr.*

"Tower of Hero" (*Ἡροῦς πύργος*) A coastal locality, presumably west of Sestos (no. 672) (Strabo 13.1.22). Not in *Barr.*

II. The *Poleis*

658. Aigos potamoi (Aigos po(-)) Map. 51. Lat. 27.20, long. 26.35. Size of territory: 1 or 2. Type: C:α. The toponym is *Αἰγὸς ποταμοί, οἱ* (Xen. *Hell.* 2.1.24; *Marm. Par.* A57 (r468/7)), named after the nearby river: *Αἰγὸς ποταμός* (Ps.-Skylax 67; *IG* v.1 239.5 (C4e)). The collective and internal use of the city-ethnic is attested in abbreviated form on some C4s coins: *ΑΙΓΟΣ ΠΟ* (*infra*).

Aigos potamoi was situated on the Hellespontine coast of the Chersonesos, not far from Sestos (no. 672), and presumably near the river Aigos potamos (Xen. *Hell.* 2.1.20–29; cf. schol. Ael. Arist. 164.17). Hauvette-Besnault (1880) 517–18 found no remains along the river. The actual distance between Sestos and the river Aigos potamos is *c.*105 stadia; but the distance between Sestos and Aigos potamoi was 15 stadia according to Xen. *Hell.* 2.1.25 and 280 according to Strabo 7 fr. 55. Both must be wrong, but Xenophon's account of the situation leading up to the battle in 405 shows beyond doubt that Sestos must have been within walking distance of Aigos potamoi; see also *πλησίον Σηστοῦ* at schol. Ael. Arist. 1.167. It seems, *pace Barr.*, that Aigos potamoi must be located somewhere south of the river.

It is apparent from Xen. *Hell.* 2.1.25 and 28 that Aigos potamoi was not a *polis* in 405, but the silver coins of, probably, C5, and the bronze coins issued in C4s (*infra*) indicate that Aigos potamoi probably had had *polis* status at some point in C5, and probably acquired *polis* status again some time *c.*350: it is not among the *poleis* on the Chersonesos listed at Ps.-Skylax 67, a chapter that includes Datos (no. 629) and thus must be dated to C4m or a little later. Aigos potamoi is called a deserted *polichne* by Strabo (7 fr. 55) and a *polis* by Steph. Byz.

Aigos potamoi struck coins in C5–C4. (1) "Small silver coins with *obv.* head of a goat; *rev.* incuse reverse of the Chersonesian pattern" (Head, *HN*² 258, referring to BM). According to Head, these coins are certainly earlier than 405. (2) Bronze: *obv.* Demeter; *rev.* goat; legend: *ΑΙΓΟΣ ΠΟ*. Date: *c.*300 (Head, *HN*² 258; Kahrstedt (1954) 35, 38; Isaac (1986) 196; *SNG Cop. Thrace* 850–54); before Alexander: *BMC*; C4: Grose/McClean; MacDonald/Hunterian).

659. Alopekonnesos (Alopekonnesios) Map 51. Lat. 40.20, long. 26.15. Size of territory: 2 or 3. Type: [A]:*α*. The toponym is *Ἀλωπεκόννησος*, *ἡ* (Dem. 23.166; Ps.-Skylax 67). The city-ethnic is *Ἀλωπεκοννήσιος* (*IG* II² 1443.97 (344/3)) or, once, *Ἀλωποκοννήσιος* (*IG* I³ 282.I.21). Alopekonnesos is not explicitly called a *polis* in any Archaic or Classical source, but in Ps.-Skylax 67, where *polis* is used in the urban sense, *Ἀλωπεκόννησος* is the fourth of eleven toponyms listed after the heading *πόλεις . . . αἵδε*. The political sense is attested in *IG* I³ 282.I.15 and 21, where the Alepokonnesians are listed under the heading *αἵδε πόλεις*. The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally in abbreviated form on C4 coins (*infra*) and externally in literature (Ephor. fr. 39) and in inscriptions (*IG* I³ 277.V.8). The individual use is attested both externally (*IG* XII.8 95 (C2), Imbros; *IG* XII.8 190.10–11 (C1), Samothrake; cf. Robert (1948) 37 (C1)) and internally in funerary inscriptions of Roman date, discovered at neighbouring sites in the Chersonesos, also with variant forms such as *Ἀλαποκονήσιος* (cf. Robert (1948) 37–39).

Alopekonnesos was situated between Limnai (no. 668) and Elaious (no. 663) (Ps.-Skymnos 705–7), at the southern end of the Gulf of Melas, directly north of Cape Mazousia and Elaious (Strabo 7 fr. 51). In Ps.-Skylax 67 it is listed between the unlocated settlements of Paion (no. 670) and Araplos (no. 660). It lay on a headland running out towards Imbros, a place swarming with robbers and pirates in C4m (Dem. 23.166–68). The presumed location of Alopekonnesos on the promontory of Küçuk Kemikli, at the north end of Suvla Bay, following Strabo's description, is archaeologically and epigraphically confirmed (Hauvette-Besnault (1880) 518–20; Picard and Reinach (1912) 277; Hutton (1914–16); cf. Robert (1948) 37–39; Isaac (1986) 189–91).

Alopekonnesos was founded by Aiolians, and the Alopekonnesians were the first to colonise Ainos (no. 641) (Ephor. fr. 39; cf. Strabo 7 fr. 52). The foundation of Alopekonnesos is presumed to antedate the C6 Athenian colonisation of the Chersonesos. It was probably integrated into the Chersonesitan state set up by Miltiades, but after the flight of Miltiades and the Persian occupation, it regained its independence and became a member of the Athenian League. Thus, it is the first city of the Chersonesos to appear independently as a member of the Delian League. It belonged to the Hellespontine district and is recorded in the tribute lists from 452/1 (*IG* I³ 261.III.29, mostly restored) to 429/8 (*IG* I³ 282.I.21 and III.55, almost entirely restored) a total of fifteen times, three times completely restored, paying 3,240 dr. in 450/49 (*IG* I³ 263.V.14), 1,000 dr. from 442/1 onwards (*IG* I³ 270.II.14, a reduction usually attributed to the establishment of Athenian klerouchs; cf. Kahrstedt (1954) 16; Isaac (1986) 179–80, 190), and later, from 435/4, 2,000 dr. (*IG* I³ 277.V.8). In 429/28 Alopekonnesos is listed (with Sestos (no. 672)) among *poleis* of the Hellespontine district that *καταδηλῶσι τὸν φόρον* (present a voucher for tribute) (*IG* I³ 282.I.15–16 and 21), presumably contributing to the maintenance of the *hellespontophylakes* and serving as bases for the fleet patrolling the Hellespontine waters (*ATL* i. 449–50; cf. Thuc. 2.24.1). During the lengthy conflict between Athens and the Odrysians for control of the Chersonesos in the second-quarter of C4, Alopekonnesos, which had become a pirates' nest, was besieged by the Athenians in 360/59 (Dem. 23.166–68), and seems to have become part of the Atheno-Thracian condominium, ratified by the short-lived treaty of 357 (*IG* II² 126; cf. Kahrstedt (1954) 27; contested by Veligianni (1995) 161–68). Ten years later Alopekonnesos joined the *demos* of Chersonesos (no. 661) and of Madytos (no. 669) in awarding Athens a golden crown (*IG* II² 1443.95–97 (347/6)).

Alopekonnesos struck bronze coins from *c.*400 to *c.*200: *obv.* usually Dionysos, or head of maenad, rarely Apollo or Athena; *rev.* fox, or kantharos, or bunch of grapes; on later coins, ear of wheat. Legend: *ΑΛΩ* or *ΑΛΩΠΕΚΟΝ* (Head, *HN*² 258; *SNG.Cop. Thrace* 856–61; Yarkin (1978)).

660. Araplos Map 51. Unlocated. Type: [A]:*α*? The only reference to the site is in Ps.-Skylax 67, where *Ἄραπλος* is one of eleven toponyms listed after the heading *πόλεις . . . αἵδε* and located between Alopekonnesos (no. 659) and Elaious (no. 663) on the north coast of the Chersonesos. Tentatively identified with Drabos (Kahrstedt (1954) 31 and n. 47). But Drabos (Strabo 7 fr. 51) is east of Alopekonnesos, while Ps.-Skylax locates Araplos south-west of that town (Isaac (1986) 188). Thus, the two sites should be distinguished as they are in *Barr.*

661. Chersonesos/Agora (Chersonesites ap' Agoras) Map 51. Lat. 40.30, long. 26.45. Size of territory: 3. Type: A:*α*.

The toponym is either *Χερρόνησος* (Hecat. fr. 163) or, usually, *Ἀγορά* (Hdt. 7.58.2; Ps.-Skylax 67; Dem. 7.39 with schol. (no. 43, Dilts); Steph. Byz. 20.9). The city-ethnic is *Χερρονήσιοι* (Hecat. fr. 163) or *Χερρονεσῖται* (*IG* I³ 259.II.28, 268.II.7). In literary sources, it is in most cases impossible to distinguish whether *Χερσονησίτης* is a city-ethnic designating the *polis* of Agora (no unquestionable example) or a regional ethnic designating all the inhabitants of the peninsula (cf. e.g. Hdt. 6.39: *οἱ Χερσονησῖται . . . ἀπὸ πασέων τῶν πολίων*). Agora is called a *polis* in the urban sense by Ps.-Skylax 67 and in the territorial sense by Hdt. 7.58.2 (see Hansen (1996) 37). The political sense is implicitly attested in the Athenian tribute lists, where the Chersonesitai ap' Agoras are once recorded under the heading *πόλες* h*αίδε* (*IG* I³ 282.BI.11–14). That it was a *polis* in the political sense as well is indicated by its membership of the Delian League (*infra*). The collective and external use of the city-ethnic is attested in the Athenian tribute lists (*supra*). The individual and external use of the city-ethnic *Χερσονησίτης* is attested in Attic funerary inscriptions (*IG* I³ 1301 (C5m); *IG* II² 10505 (C4m)), but in both cases it is impossible to decide whether the reference is to the Taurian or the Thracian Chersonesos.

Chersonesos/Agora was situated between Paktye (no. 671) and Kardia (no. 665) (Ps.-Skylax 67) in the middle of the isthmus of the Chersonesos peninsula, presumably on the line of the fortification wall constructed for defensive reasons by Miltiades (Hdt. 6.36.2). It is usually identified with Hellenistic Lysimacheia (Strabo 7 frr. 51 and 53), and is tentatively located at Bulair (*ATL* i. 564–65).

Chersonesos/Agora was presumably settled with Athenian colonists by Miltiades the Elder, honoured by law (*ὡς νόμος*) as *oikistes* with sacrifices and athletic games (Hdt. 6.38.1; see Isaac (1986) 166–67). It is believed to have been his capital (*ATL* i. 563), with the appellation *Agora* reflecting the function of the settlement as a market-place—indeed, the major trading centre with the Thracian tribes of the adjacent hinterland—situated on the *limes* of the Chersonesitan state, i.e. along the Long Wall constructed across the neck of the peninsula of the Chersonesos (Kahrstedt (1954) 7; in n. 10 he interprets *Ἀγοραῖον τεῖχος* in Steph. Byz. 20.10 as signifying "Agora by the Wall of Miltiades"). Undoubtedly Chersonesos/Agora received fresh colonists both in C5m, under Perikles, and in C4f, under Derkylidas (Xen. *Hell.* 4.8.5 (398)), Chares (Diod. 16.34.3–4 (353/2)) and Diopeithes (Dem. 8 *hypoth.* (343/2)). In 347/6 a golden crown was awarded to Athens by the *demos* in Chersonesos (*IG* II² 1493.97, partly restored).

If Chersonesos/Agora was indeed the centre of Miltiades' Chersonesitan state, we should assume that it housed the *prytaneion* mentioned by Hdt. 6.38.2. It is generally believed that the entry *Χερρονεσῖται* in the Athenian tribute lists refers to the *polis* Chersonesos/Agora, presumably representing the remains of the old Chersonesitan state. The Chersonesitai belonged to the Hellespontine district and are recorded in the tribute lists from 454/3 (*IG* I³ 259.II.28) to 418/17 (*IG* I³ 287.II.27) a total of seventeen times, twice completely restored. They are first recorded as *Χερσονεσῖται* (*IG* I³ 268.II.7) but from, probably, 441/0 (*IG* I³ 271.I.34–35) mostly as *Χερρονεσῖται ἀπ' Ἀγορᾶς* (*IG* I³ 277.V.9–10). Chersonesos was regularly assessed at 18 tal. from 454/3 to 452/1 (*IG* I³ 261.II.31), but 13 tal, 4,840 dr. in 450/49 (*IG* I³ 263.V.12). Their contribution appears drastically reduced to 1 tal. (*IG* I³ 270.II.13), perhaps after 447/6 (*IG* I³ 265.I.91, amount not preserved) following the establishment of 1,000 Athenian colonists under Perikles (*ATL* i. 563–64; Kahrstedt (1954) 15). Chersonesos was assessed for tribute in 425/4 (*IG* I³ 71.III.73–74).

Apart from the coins struck in C6–C5 when Chersonesos/Agora was the capital of Miltiades' state (*supra* 901), the Chersonesitai struck coins (silver and bronze) from *c.*350 onwards (Kraay (1976) 158; *SNG Cop. Suppl.* 99). (1) Half-sigloi in silver: *obv.* bounding lion with head reverted; *rev.* a variety of types in quadripartite incuse square (olive leaf, dolphin, lizard, etc.). (2) Small denominations in bronze: *obv.* lion's head, or head of Athena; *rev.* barley-corn; legend: *XEP* or *XEPPO* (Head, *HN*² 257; *SNG. Cop. Thrace* 824–49, *Suppl.* 99). These coins are often taken to be federal (Head, *HN*² 258; Kahrstedt (1954) 40; see *supra* 902), but they are apparently contemporary with the silver half-sigloi and with the C4s coins of Elaious (no. 663), Krithote (no. 667) and Madytos (no. 669), and are better interpreted as a *polis* coinage struck by Agora/Chersonesos (M. H. Hansen *per litteras*).

662. Deris (Deraios?) Map 51. Lat. 40.40, long. 26.50. Size of territory ? Type: B:α? The only reference to the site is in Ps.-Skylax 67, where *Δερίς* is listed as an *emporion* situated between the river Melas and Kobrys; cf. *ATL* i. 480, where a location between Ainos (no. 641) and the river Melas is proposed; see also Kahrstedt (1954) 20–21 with nn. 47–48; Isaac (1986) 187. *Δερίς* is tentatively equated with *Δειρή*, ethnic: *Δειραῖος*, recorded in Steph. Byz. 224.1–2 as a *polis* and a member of the Delian League (*πόλις Ἀθηναίων συμμαχική*). Following Meineke and Krech, the editors of *IG* I³ believe that Stephanos' source is Krateros' *συναγωγὴ*

ψηφισμάτων, and at *IG* I³ 100 fr. 26 they print the reconstructed city-ethnic Δεραῖοι. For settlements which were both a *polis* and an *emporion*, see Hansen (1997*b*).

663. Elaious (Elaiousios) Map 51. Lat. 40.05, long. 26.15. Size of territory: 2 or 3. Type: [A]:α. The toponym is Ἐλαιοῦς, ὁ (Hdt. 7.22; Thuc. 8.102.2) or, later, Ἐλεοῦς (Diod. 13.49.5; Strabo 7 fr. 51; Paus. 1.34.2). The city-ethnic is Ἐλαιούσιος (*IG* II² 228.9 (341/0)). Elaious is not explicitly called a *polis* in any Archaic or Classical source, but in Ps.-Skylax 67, where *polis* is used in the urban sense, Ἐλαιοῦς is the sixth of eleven toponyms listed after the heading πόλεις . . . αἵδε. The political sense is attested in *IG* II² 43.78 and B27, where the Elaiousians under the heading πόλεις are listed as members of the Second Athenian Naval League. The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally on C4s coins (*infra*) and externally in both literary sources (Hdt. 9.120.4; Thuc. 8.107.2) and inscriptions (*IG* I³ 285.II.81–82 (421/20); *IG* II² 228 = Tod 174 (340)). The individual and external form is found in a C4 honorary decree passed by the klerouchs in Samos (no. 865) (*SEG* 1 349 (C4), Samos; *IG* XII.6 253.12 (*c.*350)).

A city of the Thracian Chersonesos, Elaious is listed between Araplos (no. 660) and Madytos (no. 669) by Ps.-Skylax 67, between Alopekonnesos (no. 659) and Sestos (no. 672) by Ps.-Skymnos 707–8. According to Strabo (7 frr. 51 and 55), its precise location was on a bay directly east of Cape Mazousia at the southernmost tip of the Chersonesos, at a distance of 40 stadia from the city of Sigeion (no. 791). Strabo gives the distance from Kardia (no. 665) as just over 400 stadia, and from Sestos as 170 stadia. Thanks to archaeological and epigraphic finds, Elaious has been securely identified with the modern village of Eski Hissarlik at the eastern end of Morto Bay.

The archaeological evidence points to the presence of Greek colonists in C7l (Isaac (1986) 193). In C6m Elaious was colonised by Athenians under Φορβοων (Ps.-Skymnos 707–8), in *ATL* i. 289 n. 75 emended to Φρύνων (Loukopoulou (1989) 68). According to Bengtson (1939) 19–20, it is a legend fabricated to serve Athenian propaganda, but Elaious was undoubtedly in Athenian hands in C5e (Hdt. 6.140.1). Elaious was a member of the Delian League. It belonged to the Hellespontine district and is recorded in the tribute lists from 447/6 (*IG* I³ 265.I.100) to 421/0 (*IG* I³ 285.II.81–82) a total of fourteen times, four times completely restored, paying a *phoros* of 3,000 dr. in all years (*IG* I³ 265.I.100). In 430/29 and 429/8 the Elaiousians are listed among cities of the Hellespontine district who paid part of their tribute in the form of *misthos* (*IG* I³ 281.III.47, 282B.I.9), presumably contributing to the maintenance of the *hellespontophylakes* (*ATL* i. 449–50; cf. Thuc. 2.24.1). Elaious was assessed for tribute in 425/4 (*IG* I³ 71.III.78–79). It is the only city of the Chersonesos to have joined the Second Athenian Naval League (*IG* II² 43.B27). It remained loyal to Athens even under pressure from Kotys and despite the siege by Charidemos in 360 (Dem. 23.158); cf. the golden crown awarded in 347/6 to the Athenians by the Elaiousian *demos* (*IG* II² 1443.93–95); its loyalty was recognised and recompensed by the Athenians: in 341 the privileges of the "Chersonesitans" were extended to the Elaiousians, who obtained equal property rights with the Athenian klerouchs settled in the Chersonesos, probably in 353 under Chares and in 343 under Diopeithes. On this occasion, the ambassadors of Elaious are presumed to have been awarded Athenian citizenship, since they were invited to dine (ἐπὶ δεῖπνον not ξένια) in the *prytaneion* (*IG* II² 228 = Osborne (1981) D15). In C4 a citizen of Elaious was granted *proxenia* by Chios (*PEP Chios* 50.10).

Elaious is known to have possessed a safe harbour at the southern entrance of the Hellespont (Hdt. 6.140.1; Thuc. 8.101) and at the eastern end of Morto Bay (Picard and Reinach (1912) 314–15; cf. Isaac (1986) 192–93). The sieges of Elaious in 411 (Thuc. 8.103.1) and in 360 (Dem. 23.158) indicate that the town was fortified in the Classical period. The tomb and sanctuary of Protesilaos were situated in the immediate vicinity of the city (Hdt.7.33, 9.116; Thuc. 8.102; Arr. *An.* 1.11.5; Plin. *HN* 4.11.49; cf. Strabo 7 fr. 51 (52): Πρωτεσιλάειον). The *Protesilaeion* was tentatively identified with a prehistoric mound on the western shore of the bay (Casson (1926) 217–18). Excavations of the cemetery of Elaious have confirmed both the first foundation of the city in C7l as an Athenian (or Aiolian) colony and the unambiguous Athenian predominance after 550 (Pottier (1915); *CRAI* (1915) 268ff, (1916) 40ff, (1921) 130ff; cf. *BCH* 44 (1920) 411; Waiblinger (1978)).

Elaious struck bronze coins from *c.*350 to 281: *obv.* prow, head of Athena, or of Artemis; *rev.* wreath, or owl, or bee; legend: ΕΛΑΙ, ΕΛΑΙΟΥΣΙΩΝ (Head, *HN*² 259–60; *SNG Cop. Thrace* 889–98).

664. Ide Map 51. Unlocated. Type: [A]:α? The only reference to the site is in Ps.-Skylax 67, where Ἴδη is the second of eleven toponyms listed after the heading πόλεις . . . αἵδε and, alongside Paion (no. 670), located between Kardia (no. 665) and Alopekonnesos (no. 659) on the north coast of the Chersonesos (Kahrstedt (1954) 20 n. 47; Isaac (1986) 188).

665. Kardia (Kardianos) Map 51. Lat. 40.35, long. 26.45. Size of territory: 2 or 3. Type: A:α. The toponym is Καρδία, ἡ (Hdt. 6.36.2; Charon of Lampsakos (*FGrHist* 262) fr.1:–η; *IG* I³ 1144.35 (464)). The city-ethnic is Καρδιανός (*IG* XII.6 20.4, Samos (314–306)). Kardia is called a *polis* in both the political and the urban senses at Dem. 8.64 and 9.35. For the political sense, see also Dem. 23.181–82. For the urban sense, see also Hdt. 6.33.3, 36.2, 41.1, 7.58.2, 9.115.1. In Ps.-Skylax 67, where *polis* is used in the urban sense, Καρδία is the first of eleven toponyms listed after the heading πόλεις . . . αἵδε. The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally on C4s coins (*infra*) and externally in Hegesippos' speech about the Chersonesos (Dem. 7.41–44). The individual and external use is found in an Epidaurian proxeny decree (*IG* IV² 49.4 (C4l)) and in an Attic funerary inscription (*IG* II² 8961 (C4)).

Kardia was situated at the southern end of the Gulf of Melas (Ps.-Skylax 67; Strabo 7 fr. 51; cf. Plin. *HN* 4.48), on the western coast of the isthmus of the Chersonesos, at the western end of the Long Wall, at a distance of 40 stadia from Paktye (no. 671) at the other end (Strabo 7 fr. 53). Kardia is considered to be the first *polis* of the Thracian Chersonesos (Ps.-Skymnos 698–99; Strabo 7 fr. 51; cf. Dem. 5.25) at a distance of 420 stadia from the southernmost tip at Elaious (no. 663) (Hdt. 6.36.2) or 400 stadia according to Ps.-Skylax 67. It is tentatively located at Cape Bakla Burnu, west of Baklar Liman (cf. Kahrstedt (1954) 13–14; Isaac (1986) 188 with n. 162).

Kardia was founded by Milesians (no. 854) and Klazomenians (no. 847), and refounded in C6m by Athenians under Miltiades the Elder (Ps.-Skymnos 700–3; cf. Strabo 7 fr. 51). The name of its *ktistes* was either Hermochares (Steph. Byz. 358.3–4) or Hermokrates of Miletos (schol. Dem. 5.25 no. 38, Dilts). An anecdote told by Charon of Lampsakos (*FGrHist* 262) fr. 1 indicates that the Kardians were defeated by the Bisaltians in a battle fought in, probably, C6. Kobrys and probably also Kypasis, *emporia* on the adjacent coast south of the estuary of the river Melas, are said to have belonged to the Kardianoi (Ps.-Skylax 67). Holding a key location for the Chersonesos (Dem. 23.182), Kardia was used by Miltiades II as a port of his capital in Chersonesos/Agora (Hdt. 6.41.1), and is said to have escaped occupation by the Phoenician fleet in the Ionian Revolt (Hdt. 6.33.1). Kardia's absence from the Athenian tribute lists is usually explained by assuming that, together with other unnamed neighbouring cities, it is included among the Χερσονησῖται, later the Χερσονησῖται ἀπ' ἀγορᾶς (Kahrstedt (1954) 18; Isaac (1986) 188). In the troubled period following the defeat of Athens, Kardia fell under Thracian rule and became an operational base (ὁρμητήριον) for Charidemos under Kotys and his successors. Charidemos and the Kardians murdered the pretender Miltokythes, who was allied with Athens (Dem. 23.169, 175), and the city was explicitly excluded from all treaties between the Athenians and the Thracian kings (Dem. 23.181–82; cf. Diod. 16.34.4 for the treaty of 353/2).

After the eclipse of the Thracian kingdom, Kardia refused to admit Athenian klerouchs (Dem. 8 *hypoth.* 2; Diod. 16.34.4) and became allied with Philip II (Dem. 12.11), probably as early as 352 (Hammond and Griffith (1979) 380–81). He protected the city against attacks from the Athenian klerouchs and offered, in vain, the Athenians to settle the dispute by arbitration (Dem. 7.41–44). The Athenians refused, whereupon Philip sent a force to Kardia (Dem. 8.58, 64, *hypoth.* 2, 12.11). The Kardianoi are believed to have participated in 338/7 in the League of Corinth (city-ethnic tentatively restored in *IG* II² 236b7 by Kahrstedt (1954) 37–38). During the reign of Alexander, Kardia was ruled by a tyrant, Hekataios (Plut. *Eum.* 3.6), and in C4l Ἡγησίστρατος Ἑκαταίου Καρδιανός, presumably the son of the tyrant, was proclaimed *proxenos* and *theorodokos* of Asklepios and was granted *ateleia* and *asylia* in Epidauros (*IG* IV².1 49).

Kardia is said to have a *gymnasion* in C4 (Plut. *Eum.* 1).

Kardia struck bronze coins, probably from 350 to 309, when the city seems to have been incorporated into Lysimacheia: *obv.* head of Demeter wearing corn wreath, or lion, or lion's head; *rev.* lion, or corn-grain in linear square. Legend: ΚΑΡΔΙΑ or ΚΑΡΔΙΑΝΟΣ or ΚΑΡΔΙΑΝΩΝ (Head, *HN*² 259; *SNG. Cop. Thrace* 862–71; cf. Kahrstedt (1954) 38–40).

666. Kressa Map 51. Lat. 40.20, long. 26.35. Size of territory: ? Type: [A]:α? The only unquestionable reference to the site is in Ps.-Skylax 67, where Κρῆσσα is the ninth of eleven toponyms listed after the heading πόλεις . . . αἵδε and is located between the river Aigos potamos and Krithote (no. 667) on the south coast of the Chersonesos. Presumably to be identified with Cissa listed in Plin. *HN* 3.48: *Cherronesos a Propontide habuit Tiristasin, Crithoten, Cissam flumini Aegos adpositam.* The position near the river Aigos potamos has led to the further identification of Κρῆσσα/Cissa with the settlement of Αἰγὸς ποταμοί (no. 658) (Müller in *GGM* I 56; Kahrstedt (1954) 20 n. 47), which, however, must have been situated south of the river and close to Sestos (*supra* 903).

667. Krithote (Krithousios) Map 51. Lat. 40.25, long. 26.40. Size of territory: 2 or 3. Type: A:α. The toponym is

Κριθώτη (Hellan. fr. 27; Isoc. 15.112) or *Κριθωτή* (Ps.-Skylax 67; Strabo 7 fr. 55). The city-ethnic is *Κριθούσιος* on C4s coins (*infra*). Isoc. 15.107–8 calls Krithote a *polis* in both the political and the urban senses. In Ps.-Skylax 67, where *polis* is used in the urban sense, *Κριθώτη* is the tenth of eleven toponyms listed after the heading *πόλεις . . . αἵδε*. The internal collective use of the city-ethnic is attested on C4s coins (*infra*).

Krithote is listed among the cities of the Hellespontine coast south of Paktye (no. 671) and north of Kressa (no. 666) (Ps.-Skylax 67) or north of Madytos (Ps.-Skymnos 711) or north of Kallipolis (Strabo 7 fr. 55) or between Tiristasis and Cissa (Plin. *HN* 4.48). According to Steph. Byz. 384.18–19, it was situated at a distance of 80 stadia from Kardia (no. 665). Krithote must be located somewhere near modern Gelibolu (Isaac (1986) 191), and probably to the north (Kahrstedt (1954) 10–11) rather than to the south (*Barr.*).

Krithote was founded by the Athenians under Miltiades (Ephor. fr. 40; Ps.-Skymnos 712; see Obst (1932)). Never listed independently as a member of the Delian League, Krithote was presumably included among the *Chersonesitae* in the tribute lists. Occupied by Ariobarzanes in C4e, it was recovered by the Athenians under Timotheos (Isoc. 15.108, 112). Later besieged by the Thracians under Charidemos (Dem. 23.158), it remained, with Elaious (no. 663), an Athenian possession. The mention of a siege shows that Krithote was fortified.

Krithote struck bronze coins from *c.*350 to 281. *Obv.* head of Demeter, or of Athena; *rev.* corn-grain; legend: *KPI* or *KPIΘO* or *KPIΘOYΣIΩN* (Head, *HN*² 259; *SNG Cop. Thrace* 886–88; cf. Kahrstedt (1954) 39–40).

668. Limnai (Limnaios) Map 51. Lat. 40.15, long. 26.15. Size of territory: probably 2. Type: [A]:*α*. The toponym is *Λίμναι, αἱ* (Hecat. fr. 164; Anaximenes (*FGrHist* 72) fr. 26; Ps.-Skymnos 705). The city-ethnic is *Λιμναῖος* (*IG* I³ 71.III.107). In the Athenian tribute list of 429/8 the Limnaioi are recorded under the heading *πόλες αἵδε* (*IG* I³ 282B.I.11–13). Limnai is listed as a *πόλις ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ περὶ Σηστόν* by Steph. Byz. 417.11, quoting Hecat. fr. 164, but in such a way that we cannot be sure whether Hekataios is his authority for the toponym only or for the site-classification as well (Hansen (1997*a*) 18). However, its status as a *polis* is confirmed both by its membership of the Delian League (*infra*) and by its status as a colony of Miletos (no. 854). The city-ethnic is unattested in literary sources, but the collective and external use is recorded in the Athenian tribute lists (*infra*).

In Ps.-Skymnos 705, Limnai is located west of Lysimacheia and east of Alopekonnesos (no. 659). In Strabo 7 fr. 51, it is located west of Kardia (no. 665) and Drabos and east of Alopekonnesos. Isaac (1986) 189 states: "in the tribute lists it appears between Elaious and Alopekonnesos". But the only attestation of this sequence is in *IG* I³ 272.II.30–34, where all ethnics are completely restored. Nevertheless, following Isaac, *Barr.* locates Limnai south of Alopekonnesos.

Limnai was colonised by Milesians (Anaximenes (*FGrHist*72) fr. 26; Ps.-Skymnos 705). It was a member of the Delian League. It belonged to the Hellespontine district and is recorded in the tribute lists from 447/6 (*IG* I³ 265.I.97) to (*IG* I³ 282.I.13) a total of thirteen times, five times completely restored, paying a *phoros* of 2,000 dr. in 447/6 (*IG* I³ 265.I.97), reduced to 500 dr. in or before 442/1 (*IG* I³ 270.II.11) and raised to 1,000 dr. in the years 433/2–429/8 (*IG* I³ 279.II.25). In 430/29 (*IG* I³ 281.III.67, restored) and 429/8 (*IG* I³ 282B.I.13) the Limnaioi are recorded (together with the *Χερρονεσῖται ἀπ' Ἀγορᾶς*) as having paid their tribute to the *archontes*; presumably they had to contribute to the maintenance of magistrates established in these two cities, following the special measures instituted by the Athenians in the Hellespontine district; cf. Thuc. 2.24.1. Limnai, not mentioned by Ps.-Skylax, is believed to have vanished by C4.

669. Madytos (Madytios) Map 51. Lat. 40.10, long. 26.20. Size of territory: 3. Type: A:*α*. The toponym is *Μάδυτος, ἡ* (Hecat. fr. 165; Hdt. 9.120.4; Ps.-Skymnos 709). The city-ethnic is *Μαδύτιος* (*IG* I³ 1144.II.34 (464)). It is called a *polis* in the urban sense by Hdt. 9.120.4. In Ps.-Skylax 67, *Μάδυτος* is the seventh of eleven toponyms listed after the heading *πόλεις . . . αἵδε*, where *polis* is used in the urban sense. The political sense is attested in the Athenian tribute lists, where Madytos appears under the heading h*αίδε* (*πόλεις*) (*IG* I³ 281.III.51). The C4s mint is further evidence for *polis* status in the political sense (*infra*). The collective form of the city-ethnic is attested internally on coins (*infra*) and externally in the Athenian tribute lists (*IG* I³ 271.II.34). The individual and external use is attested only in one late inscription (*IGRR* I 822).

Madytos is listed between Elaious (no. 663) and Sestos (no. 672) (Ps.-Skylax 67; cf. Ps.-Skymnos 709–10), to the east of Cape Kynos Sema and the site of Hekuba's tomb, and west of Cape Sestias (Strabo 7 fr. 55); together with Sestos it lay at the narrowest part of the Hellespont (Ps.-Skymnos 709–10). The *Kynos Sema* or tomb of Hekuba (Strabo 7 fr. 55) presumably belonged to its territory, as indicated by the representation of a seated dog on the reverse of Madytos' coins

(*infra*). The toponym survived through the centuries in the modern village of Maïto (now Eceabat), where several antiquities—including inscriptions—were discovered, confirming the identification (Hauvette-Besnault (1880) 506–10; Picard and Reinach (1912) 306–12; *IGRR* I 822; cf. Robert (1948) 38–39; *BE* (1972) 279; Isaac (1986) 194).

Madytos was colonised by Lesbians (Ps.-Skymnos 709–10), presumably in C7 (Isaac (1986) 161), and in any case before the arrival of the Athenian colonists under Miltiades the Elder (*supra* 900). Some Madytians are listed in the Athenian casualty list of *c.*465 (*IG* I³ 1144.34–38), indicating that the city was a member of the Delian League. Madytos belonged to the Hellespontine district and is recorded in the tribute lists from 445/4 (*IG* I³ 267.V.3, completely restored) to 421/0 (*IG* I³ 285.II.79) a total of twelve times, six times completely restored, paying 500 dr. (*IG* I³ 270.II.12), attested until 440/39 (*IG* I³ 272.II.32), later raised to 2,000 dr., attested from 435/4 (*IG* I³ 277.V.5). In 430/29 Madytos is listed among those cities in the Hellespontine district whose tribute (*phoros*) of 1,920 dr. took the form of pay (*misthos*), presumably a contribution to the maintenance of the *hellespontophylakes* (*IG* I³ 281.III.42–43 and 51; cf. Thuc. 2.24.1). Xen. *Hell.* 1.1.3 indicates that it possessed a good harbour, which served as a base for the Athenian fleet in 411 (cf. Casson (1926) 212ff). In 346/5 Madytos joined other cities of the Chersonesos in awarding Athens a golden crown (*IG* II² 1443.98).

Madytos struck bronze coins in C4s. Types: *obv.* rushing bull and fish, or female head; *rev.* dog seated, or lyre; legend: ΜΑΔΥ (Head, *HN*² 260: from 350; *BMC*: before Alexander; *SNG Cop. Thrace* 923–26: 350 and later).

670. Paion Map 51. Unlocated. Type: [A]:? The only reference to the site is in Ps.-Skylax 67, where Παιών is the third of eleven toponyms listed after the heading πόλεις . . . αἵδε and, alongside Ide (no. 664), is located between Kardia (no. 665) and Alopekonnesos (no. 659) on the north coast of the Chersonesos (Kahrstedt (1954) 20 n. 47; Isaac (1986) 188).

671. Paktye Map 51. Lat. 40.30, long. 26.45. Size of territory: 1 or 2. Type: [A]:*α*. The toponym is Πακτύη (Hellan. fr. 127; Hdt. 6.36.2). The city-ethnic remains unattested. The only source in which Paktye is described as a *polis* is the late Hellenistic Ps.-Skymnos 711, but in Ps.-Skylax 67 Πακτύη is the last of eleven toponyms listed after the heading πόλεις . . . αἵδε, where *polis* is used in the urban sense. According to Ps.-Skymnos 711–12, Paktye was founded by the Athenians under Miltiades, i.e. in C6. Kahrstedt (1954) 20 n. 47 and Isaac (1986) 196–97 suggest that Paktye in C5–C4 was a second-order settlement and a dependency of the *polis* of Chersonesos/Agora (no. 661), a view which seems to be contradicted by the only source we have (Ps.-Skylax). It should be noted, however, that Paktye is never included in the Athenian tribute lists and is not known to have minted coins.

Paktye was situated on the Propontic coast of the isthmus of the Chersonesos (Strabo 7 frr. 52 and 54), near the site of Helle's tomb (Hellan. fr. 127), at the eastern end of the fortification wall constructed by Miltiades across the isthmus (Hdt. 6.36.8; Strabo 7 fr. 54; Plin. *HN* 4.48). It lay east of Krithote (no. 667) and west of Leuke Akte and the Hieron Oros (Ps.-Skylax 67; Ps.-Skymnos 711–12; Strabo 7 fr. 56), at a distance of 40 stadia from Kardia (no. 665), which occupied the western end of the isthmus (Ps.-Skylax 67). Alkibiades is said to have sought refuge in Paktye in 408 (Diod. 13.74.2; Nep. *Alc.* 7.4). Its exact location remains uncertain (cf. Kahrstedt (1954) 13–14; Isaac (1986) 197).

672. Sestos (Sestios) Map 51. Lat. 40.15, long. 26.25. Size of territory: 3 or 4. Type: A:*α*. The toponym is Σηστός, ἡ (Hdt. 7.78; Thuc. 1.89.2; *IG* II² 274.3 (C4m)) or ὁ (Xen. *Hell.* 4.8.5; Ephor. fr. 155); cf. Hom. *Il.* 2.836. The city-ethnic is Σήστιος (*MDAI* (1957) 165–69 2 = *IG* XII.6 43.3 (C4s)). Sestos is called a *polis* both in the urban sense (Hdt. 7.33; Thuc. 8.62.3; Isoc. 15.107–8) and in the political sense (Isoc. 15.107–8). Furthermore, after the heading αἵδε πόλεις, the Sestians are recorded in the Athenian tribute lists as members of the Delian League (*IG* I³ 282B.I.20), and Sestos is recorded in Ps.-Skylax's list of cities on the Chersonesos (67). The collective form of the city-ethnic is attested internally on Hellenistic coins (ΣΕΣΤΙ, *SNG Cop. Thrace* 943), and externally in literary (Dem. 23.160) and epigraphical sources (*IG* I³ 267.IV.33). For the individual and external use, see *MDAI* (1957) 165–69 2 = *IG* XII.6 43.3, Samos (C4s); *IG* II² 10262–64, Athens (C4).

Sestos lay at the narrowest part of the Hellespont, opposite Abydos (no. 765), east of Cape Sestias where the bridge constructed by Xerxes touched the coast of Europe (Hdt. 7.33–34; Thuc. 8.62.3; Xen. *Hell.* 4.8.5; Ps.-Skylax 67; Polyb. 16.29.3–14; Strabo 2.5.22, 7 frr. 51, 55, 13.1.22; Ps.-Skymnos 709–10). It is probably to be located near Yalova, in the little bay of Ak-Bachi, on the dominating hill of the Teke of Ak-Bachi (Isaac (1986) 195, mentioning only a mediaeval castle and monastery).

Sestos was colonised by Lesbians (Ps.-Skymnos 709–10; Eustath. in Dionys. Per. 513 = *GGM* II.314.43, quoting the lost part of Strabo 7), presumably in C7 (Isaac (1986) 161),

and in any case before the arrival of Athenian colonists in C6 (*supra* 900). Sestos was conquered by the Persians alongside all the other cities that were part of Miltiades' Chersonesitan state (Hdt. 6.33, 39), and governed by Artayktes (Hdt. 7.33, 78, 9.116–22). The city was besieged and captured by the Athenians in 479/8 (Hdt. 9.114–19; Thuc. 1.89.2; Diod. 11.37.4–5). Sestos was a member of the Delian League. It belonged to the Hellespontine district and is recorded in the tribute lists from 446/5 (*IG* I³ 266.V.24) to 421/0 (*IG* I³ 285.II.74) a total of thirteen times, five times completely restored, paying a *phoros* of 500 dr. (*IG* I³ 270.II.10) until 435/4, when it was raised to 1,000 dr. (*IG* I³ 277.V.7). In 429/8 Sestos is listed (with Alopekonnesos (no. 659)) among *poleis* which *καταδελῶσι τὸμ φόρον* (present a voucher for tribute), presumably contributing to the maintenance of the *hellespontophylakes* and serving as bases for the fleet patrolling the Hellespontine waters (*IG* I³ 282B.I.20; cf. Thuc. 2.24.1; Bradeen and McGregor (1973) 3–23). Thanks to its strategic location for seafaring and the excellence of its harbour, Sestos served as a main base and strong point (*phrourion*) for the Athenian fleet in 411 (Thuc. 8.62.2, *φρούριον*; cf. 102.1, 104.1, 107.1; Xen. *Hell.* 2.1.25, 4.8.5; Pol. 16.29; Strabo 13.1.22; Procop. *Aed.* 4.10, 5.1.8). After the battle at Aigos potamoi in 405, it was occupied by Lysandros (Diod. 13.106.8), who expelled the Sestians and gave the city and its territory to his officers; the Lakedaimonians, however, soon decreed that the Sestians should be restored to their country (Plut. *Lys.* 14.3). Liberated from the Lakedaimonians by Konon in 393 (Xen. *Hell.* 4.8.3, 5, 6), the city fell under the rule of Ariobarzanes who, assisted by Agesilaos and Timotheos, averted its occupation by Kotys in 365 (Xen. *Ages.* 2.26; Isoc. 15.108, 112) and presumably gave it to Timotheos together with Krithote (no. 667) (Nep. *Tim.* 11.3). Sestos was eventually occupied by Kotys with support from Abydos (360). In 353 the city was seized and exposed to *andrapodismos* by the Athenian general Chares: the adult population was killed, the rest enslaved (Diod. 16.34.3), and new colonists (klerouchs) were settled by Chares in 353/2 (Diod. 16.34.4; *IG* II² 1613.297). An Athenian(?) *archon* in Sestos is mentioned in an Athenian decree of the same period (*IG* II² 274; cf. the *archontes* in Chersonesos in *IG* II² 275 (before 336/5)). In 355/4, the year before the *andrapodismos*, a citizen of Sestos was granted *proxenia* by Athens (*IG* II² 133).

Information about political institutions and public architecture is amply attested in inscriptions of Hellenistic and Roman date, especially in the famous honorary decree for the *gymnasiarchos* Menas (*I.Sestos* 1 (C2)).

Hdt. 9.115 describes Sestos as the strongest fortress (*teichos*) of the region, and according to Theopomp. fr. 390 it was small but strongly fortified and was connected with its harbour by long walls, 2 *plethra* (61 m) apart (cf. Xen. *Hell.* 4,8.5; *Ages.* 2.26). The C4m Athenian rhetor Peitholaos called Sestos "the Baker's board of the Peiraeus" (Arist. *Rh.* 1411ᵃ14–15), undoubtedly referring to its importance for the Athenian import of grain from the Pontic region.

Sestos did not begin to strike coins until *c.*300 (Head, *HN*² 260–61; cf. Kahrstedt (1954) 39).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bengtson, H. 1939. *Einzelpersönlichkeit und athenischer Staat zur Zeit des Peisistratos und des Miltiades*, i (Munich).

Berve, H. 1937. *Miltiades: Studien zur Geschichte des Mannes und seiner Zeit*, *Hermes* Einzelschriften 2 (Berlin).

Bradeen, D. W., and McGregor, M. F. 1973. *Studies in Fifth-Century Attic Epigraphy* (Norman, Okla.).

Casson, S. 1926. *Macedonia, Thrace and Illyria: Their Relations to Greece from the Earliest Times down to the Time of Philip Son of Amyntas* (Oxford).

Dreher, M. 1995. *Hegemon und Symmachoi: Untersuchungen zum zweiten athenischen Seebund* (Berlin).

Flensted-Jensen, P. 1995. "The Bottiaians and their Poleis", *CPCPapers* 2: 117–18.

Foucart, P. 1909. *Les Athéniens dans la Chersonèse thrace au 4e siècle*, Mémoires de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles lettres 38.2 (Paris).

Garnsey, P. 1988. *Famine and Food-Supply in the Graeco-Roman World* (Cambridge).

Hammond, N. G. L., and Griffith, G. T. 1979. *A History of Macedonia*, ii (Oxford).

Hansen, M. H. 1996. "*ΠΟΛΛΑΧΩΣ ΠΟΛΙΣ ΛΕΓΕΤΑΙ* (Arist. *Pol.* 1276ᵃ23): The Copenhagen Inventory of Poleis and the *Lex Hafniensis de Civitate*", *CPCActs* 3: 7–72.

——1997*a*. "Hekataios' Use of the Word *Polis* in his *Periegesis*", *CPCPapers* 4: 17–27.

——1997*b*. "Emporion: A Study of the Use and Meaning of the Term in the Archaic and Classical Periods", *CPCPapers* 4: 83–105.

—— and Nielsen, T. H. 2000. "A Survey of the Use of the Word *Polis* in the Fragments of Some Historians", *CPCPapers* 5: 141–50.

Hauvette-Besnault, A. M. 1880. "Sur quelques villes anciennes de la Chersonèse de Thrace", *BCH* 4: 505–20.

Hutton, C. A. 1914–16. "Two Sepulchral Inscriptions from Suvla Bay", *BSA* 21: 166–68.

Isaac, B. 1986. *The Greek Settlements in Thrace until the Macedonian Conquest* (Leiden).

Kahrstedt, U. 1954. *Beiträge zur Geschichte der thrakischen Chersones*, Deutsche Beiträge zur Altertumswillenschaft 6 (Baden-Baden).

Kirsten, E. 1959. "Pteleon", *RE* xxiii.2. 1480–84 and 2465.

Kraay, C. M. 1976. *Archaic and Classical Greek Coins* (London).

Loukopoulou, L. D. 1989. *Contribution à l'étude de la Thrace Propontique*, Meletemata 9 (Athens).

Oberhummer, E. 1924. "Kypasis", *RE* xii. 51–52

Obst, E. 1932. "Miltiades (1)", *RE* xv.2. 1680.

Osborne, M. 1981. *Naturalization in Athens* (Brussels).

Picard, C., and Reinach, A. J. 1912. "Voyage dans la Chersonèse et aux îles de la mer de Thrace", *BCH* 36: 275–352.

Pottier, E. 1915. "Fouilles archéologiques sur l'emplacement de la nécropole d'Éléonte de Thrace", *BCH* 39: 135–240.

Robert, L. 1948. "IV. Villes de la Chersonèse et de la Thrace", in *Hellenica*, v (Paris) 35–58.

Seltman, C. T. 1924, *Athens: Its History and Coinage before the Persian Invasion* (Cambridge; repr. 1974.).

Veligianni, C. 1995. "Abdera, Maroneia, Ainos und der Odrysenstaat", *TEKMHPIA* 1: 136–70.

Waiblinger, A. 1978. "La ville grecque d'Éleonte en Chersonèse de Thrace et sa nécropole", *CRAI* 843–57.

Yarkin, U. 1978. "The Coinage of Alopeconnesos in Thracian Chersonesos", *NC* 18: 1–6.

PROPONTIC THRACE

LOUISA LOUKOPOULOU, ADAM ŁAITAR

I. The Region

The European coast of the Propontis was settled by Megarians (no. 225) and Samians (no. 864). By 480 four colonies are recorded: *viz.* from east to west, Megarian Byzantion (no. 674) and Selymbria (no. 679), and Samian Perinthos (no. 678) and Bisanthe (no. 673), along with two probably smaller and presumably dependent settlements, Tyrodiza (no. 681) and Heraion [Teichos] (no. 676) (Loukopoulou (1989) 51–57).

The settlement pattern appears enriched after the middle of C5. In the Athenian tribute lists are recorded not only the Greek colonies of this area, with the addition of Tyrodiza, but also new independent members: *viz.* Neapolis "from Athens" or "by Chersonesos" (no. 677) (evidently an Athenian colony), Daminon Teichos (no. 675) and Serrion Teichos (no. 680). The absence of Bisanthe and Heraion Teichos from the tribute lists is usually believed to indicate a probable extension in C5m of Thracian rule over the north-western part of the coastal zone (Hdt. 7.137; Thuc. 2.67). In fact, Bisanthe first appears in the assessment decrees of 425/4 (restored) and 422/1, and then again in 410/9 (restored). With the rest of the western Propontis it probably came under Athenian control after the victory at Kyzikos. Other sites—*viz.* Ornoi, Ganos and Neon Teichos, probably situated in the westernmost part of the Propontic zone—are first attested in connection with Alkibiades' activity in the area soon after 410.

In the following century, Ps.-Skylax 67 lists a total of six "Thracian *teiche*" between the Chersonesos and Perinthos. From west to east they are Leuke Akte, Teiristasis (usually identified with Herodotos' Tyrodiza), Herakleia, Ganos, Ganiai and Neon Teichos. A seventh—Daminon Teichos—is recorded between Perinthos and Selymbria.

Furthermore, a number of settlements—some of them of unspecified origin and status—are attested as places conquered by Philip II. They are Apros, Ergiske, Ganos, Ganias, Hieron Oros, Myrtenon/Myrgiske and Serrion Teichos (Theopomp. fr. 160; Dem. 18.27; Aeschin. 2.90, 3.82). Two of them, Apros and Ergiske, together with Beos and Sauthaba, are now epigraphically attested on silver vessels from the treasure discovered in Rogozen in north-west Bulgaria (*SEG* 37 618 (C4f)). All of these should be more or less safely located in the hinterland of the Thracian Chersonesos and the Propontic coast. Indeed, the vast area extending east of Ainos (no. 641) to the Gulf of Bisanthe, occupied in C6–C5 by the Apsinthians (Hdt. 6.39ff, 9.119.1) and dominated by the imposing heights of the Hieron Oros (= modern Tekir Dag), seems regularly to have shunned permanent Greek control before the Makedonian conquest, despite its importance for land communications between the Propontic coast and the Gulf of Melas. As in other parts of Thrace, the territories of the Greek colonies did not extend far inland; no Greek foundations are recorded in the hinterland of south-east Thrace, despite the explicit mention of a land route linking the western Pontic coast with the Propontis (Hdt. 4.90.2). According to literary and epigraphic sources of Roman date, the rich plain of the river Ergines, dominated by Mt. Strandza and as far as Cape Thynias—thus in the immediate hinterland of Perinthos and Byzantion—was the land of the Thracian *ethnos* of the Astai (Strabo 7.6.1–2; Steph. Byz. 137.12, quoting Artemidoros; Livy 38.40.7; Ps.-Skymnos 729; cf. Sayar (1998) 412, no. 294). In the latter part of C5 and until the conquest of Thrace by Philip II, the same area appears to have been under Odrysian rule, either directly or indirectly through suzerainty over local dynasts or chieftains; at times this rule extended as far south as the north-western part of the Propontic seaboard (Xen. *An.* 7.5.8).

Particularly notable in this area is the exceptionally frequent use of the technical term *teichos* as a standard component of toponyms and often also of the ethnics derived from the toponyms. Such names denote fortified places and indicate the imperative need for protection of the agricultural *chora* of the colonies from incursions by native or

Byzantion is by Dr. Adam Łaitar, the rest of the chapter by Prof. Louisa Loukopoulou.

neighbouring (sometimes even remote) barbarian tribes (Loukopoulou (1989) 185–90). Indeed, the rise of the Odrysian power in the latter part of C5 intensified the precarious situation of the Greek settlements and the need for external support from the leading Greek powers with vested interests in the area, in particular the desire to control the only maritime access to the Black Sea through the Hellespont and the Bosporos.

The historical and political map of the area is doomed to obscurity owing to the scarcity of literary sources, the lack of systematic archaeological investigation in the Propontic region and, in recent years, the dramatic development and uncontrolled urbanisation of the coastal zone. In all, a total of twenty-two ancient toponyms are known to denote settlements of the Propontic coast and the adjacent Thracian hinterland, not including the altar of Zeus Horios, the "advanced" boundary (*horos*) of the Thracian Chersonesos, between Pteleon and Leuke Akte (Dem. 7.39–41). Of these, only four (Byzantion (no. 674), Heraion (no. 676), Perinthos (no. 678) and Selymbria (no. 679)) are explicitly described as *poleis* in literary sources of Classical date. Mainly on epigraphic and numismatic evidence, five others are more or less securely believed to have been *poleis* at least during part of the same period, *viz.* Bisanthe (no. 673), Daminon Teichos (no. 675), Neapolis "from Athens" (no. 677), Serrion Teichos (no. 680) and Tyrodiza (no. 681). Yet only two of these (Bisanthe and Tyrodiza) can be identified with some degree of certainty. For the remaining thirteen, listed below in alphabetical order, the existing evidence is inconclusive.

1. *Pre-Hellenistic Settlements not Attested as* Poleis

Apros (*Ἄπρος*) According to Steph. Byz. 107.5, a *polis* in Thrace, conquered by the Makedonian army in C4m (Theopomp. fr. 160). The toponym is epigraphically attested on C4f silver vessels in the treasure of Rogozen, north-west Bulgaria (*SEG* 37 618). Situated at a distance of 22–26 miles west of Rhaidestos on the eastern extension of the *Via Egnatia* (Plin. *HN* 4.11.48; *It. Ant.* 175, 332, 333, 334; *It. Burd.* 601: *civitas Apris* 24 [miles]), it is tentatively identified with a site of Roman date located near the village of Germeyan (Polychronidou-Loukopoulou (1990)). *Barr.* RL, but C also attested (*supra*).

Beos or **Beon** (*Βέος* or *Βέον*) Epigraphically attested on C4f silver vessels in the treasure of Rogozen, Bulgaria (*SEG* 37 618: *ἐγ Βέο*), it was tentatively identified with the Roman *mutatio* Bedizo, halfway between Rhaidestos and Apros (*It. Burd.* 601; Polychronidou-Loukopoulou (1990)); cf., however, the *mutatio* Beodizum situated according to the same source halfway between Tzurullon (= modern Corlu) and Perinthos (no. 678) (*It. Burd.* 570.2), tentatively located in the area of the village of Türkmenli, near the remains of an ancient bridge (Sayar (1998) 67). *Barr.* (s.v. "Beodizo") L, but C also attested.

Ergiske (*Ἐργίσκη*) Called *chorion* at Dem. 7.37, 18.27; Aeschin. 3.82; and Harp. *s.v.* Epigraphically attested on C4f silver vessels in the treasure of Rogozen, Bulgaria (*SEG* 37 618). Not in *Barr.*

Ganiai (*Γανίαι*) In Ps.-Skylax 67, Ganos and Ganiai are listed as the fourth and fifth of six Thracian *teiche.* MS *Γανίαι* is sometimes interpreted as a corruption of *Πάνιον* (see *infra*); but this emendation is unlikely when Ps.-Skylax's text is compared with Aeschin. 3.82, where a list of *choria* in Thracian Propontis ends with *Γάνος καὶ Γανιάδα.* Some commentators have rejected the toponym *Γανιάδα* as a sarcastic duplication of Ganos (Richardson (1889) 102), but its existence is ensured by a number of lexicographers, principally Harp. *Γ*3, quoting the C2 geographer Artemidoros; see also Phot. *Γ*30 and *Suda Γ*59. Either *Γανίαι* and *Γανιάς* are variant toponyms or *Γανίαι* in Ps.-Skylax should be emended to *Γανιάς.* Not in *Barr.*

Ganos (*Γάνος*) According to Aeschin. 3.82 a *chorion*; in Xen. *An.* 7.5.8 listed as a *teichos* and together with Bisanthe (no. 673) and Neon Teichos; in Ps.-Skylax 67 listed under the heading *τείχη τάδε.* In *Barr.* identified with Serrion Teichos (no. 680) and dated C.

Herakleia (*Ἡράκλεια*) In Ps.-Skylax 67 listed as the third toponym after the heading *τείχη τάδε* (after Teiristasis/Tyrodiza and before Ganos), and usually identified with Heraklitza/Erikli (Isaac (1986) 202). In *Barr.* identified with Neapolis (no. 677) and dated C.

Krobyle (*Κρωβύλη*) An unlocated settlement, together with Tiristasis (*infra* 914) exposed to *andrapodismos* by the Athenian general Diopeithes in 341 (Dem. 12.3; cf. Dem. 8 *hypoth.* 2–3); tentatively but unconvincingly identified with Kobrys by *ATL* i. 480 followed by Kahrstedt (1954) 20 n. 47. For Kobrys, one of the *emporia* of Kardia (no. 665) in the Gulf of Melas, see *supra* 903. For an equally unlikely equation with *Neapolis ap' Athenon* (no. 677), see *ATL* i. 525. Not in *Barr.*

Myrtenon (*Μυρτηνόν*) Together with Serrion Teichos (no. 680) and Ergiske, one of the *ἐπίκαιρα χωρία* held by

the Thracians in C4m (Dem. 18.27). A *phrourion* according to Harp. *M*44, quoting Marsyas (*FGrHist* 135) fr. 1 and Anaximenes of Lampsakos (*FGrHist* 72) fr. 14. Conquered in 346 by Philip II (Lib. *Decl.* 23.1.41). Ironically referred to in the diminutive form *Myrtiske* (Μυρτίσκη), it appears in Aeschin. 3.82 alongside Serrion Teichos (no. 680), Doriskos, Ergiske, Ganos and Ganias. Not in *Barr.*

Myrtiske See Myrtenon (*supra*).

Neon Teichos (Νέον τεῖχος) A fortified town (Xen. *An.* 7.5.8: *teichos*; Nep. *Alc.* 7.4: *castellum*), one of the strongholds of Alkibiades, listed with Bisanthe (no. 673) and Ganos as offered by Seuthes to Xenophon; situated on the Propontic coast between Ganos and Perinthos (no. 678) (Ps.-Skylax 67 lists it under the heading τείχη τάδε); identified with *Didymon Teichos in *ATL* i. 481–82, but cf. Robert (1948) 56 n. 1; Kahrstedt (1954) 21–24; Isaac (1986) 212). *Barr.* C.

Ornoi (Ὄρνοι) One of the forts in Alkibiades' possession (Lys. 14.26; Nep. *Alc.* 7.4: *castellum*; also attested in Hierocl. *Synekd.* 632.6 together with Panion and Ganos; cf. *ATL* i. 475; Isaac (1986) 212). On the possibly related cult of Zeus Orneos, cf. Robert (1974*b*); *BE* (1976) 467. *Barr.* C?

Panion, Paniai Proposed emended form of *Ganiai* (Γανίαι) in Ps.-Skylax 67, allegedly the "Greek name of Bisanthe" (no. 673), equated with Byzantine Panion/modern Panados/Baniado; now Barbaros (*ATL* i. 475; cf. Isaac (1986) 213 and Sayar (1992) 188–89 with bibliography and references; cf. more recently Sayar (1998) 62). *Barr.* C.

Sauthaba (Σαύθαβα) Epigraphically attested on C4f silver vessels in the treasure of Rogozen, Bulgaria (*SEG* 37 618); possibly identical with *Sauada* (Σαύαδα) listed in Hierocl. *Synekd.* 47.4b. Not in *Barr.*

T(e)iristasis (Τειρίστασις) One of the Thracian *teiche* on the coast of the Propontis, between Leuke Akte and Herakleia (Ps.-Skylax 67). Together with Krobyle exposed to *andrapodismos* by the Athenian general Diopeithes in 341 (Dem. 12.3; cf. Dem. 8 *hypoth.* 2–3). Identified with mediaeval *Peristasis* = modern Peristeri = present-day Sharkeui (schol. Dem. 12.3; cf. *ATL* i. 558 with references; Isaac (1986) 203–4). Tentatively identified with Tyrodiza (no. 681) in *Barr.*, see 922. *Barr.* C.

2. *Unidentified Settlements*

Archaeological remains of Roman date, including inscriptions, have been found in several, mostly unidentified locations along the northern Propontic coast and in the adjacent hinterland, mainly along the line of well-known Roman roads. Substantial archaeological remains of Classical to Hellenistic date have been found only in the following two unidentified sites in the area of Perinthos (no. 678).

Aytepe-Altintarla Coastal settlement of Classical–Hellenistic date, 14 km west-north-west of Perinthos (no. 678), tentatively identified with Heraion Teichos (no. 676); cf. Sayar (1998) 64 with n. 64; cf. no. 288: C5 epitaph. Not in *Barr.*

Değirmenaltı Sayar (1992) 188. *Barr.* A.

II. The *Poleis*

673. Bisanthe (Bisanthenos) Map 52. Lat. 41.00, long. 27.30. Size of territory: 2. Type: B:α. The toponym is Βισάνθη, ἡ (Hdt. 7.137.3; Xen. *An.* 7.2.38; *IG* I³ 77.IV.10). The city-ethnic is Βισανθηνός (C3f coins: Head, *HN*² 266; Schönert-Geiss (1975) 1–11). The only explicit reference to Bisanthe as a *polis* is in Steph. Byz. 171.3; cf. *oppidum* in Plin. *HN* 4.11.43. But *polis* status in the Classical period can be inferred from the attestation of Bisanthe in the Athenian assessment decree of 422/1 (*infra*), combined with the Hellenistic evidence (C3f coins, attestation in the C3l Delphic *theorodokoi* list (*BCH* 45 (1921) III.96); cf. Robert (1948) 54–55). The internal and collective form of the city-ethnic appears on Hellenistic coins (*supra*). The external and individual use is attested in Hellenistic inscriptions (*IG* XII.9 1126 (C?), from Chalkis; *F.Delphes* III.4 133 I.18, II.27–28 (208)).

Bisanthe was situated on the Thracian coast of the Propontis and, on the evidence of Ptol. *Geog.* 3.11.4, it is usually identified with mediaeval Rhaidestos = modern Tekirdag. However, Sayar (1992) 187–89 and (1998) 62–63 has recently defended the alternative equation of Bisanthe with Paniai in Ps.-Skylax 67, a conjecture of MS Γανίαι = Byzantine *Panion* and modern Panados/Baniado/Barbaros (*ATL* i. 475–76; cf. Isaac (1986) 213). The identification with Tekirdag seems preferable.

Bisanthe was a colony founded by the Samians (no. 864) (Steph. Byz. 171.3: ἄποικος Σαμίων; Pompon. 2.24: *Bisanthe Samiorum*). It may initially have belonged to the extended territory of Perinthos (no. 678) as a dependent *polis*, like Tyrodiza (no. 681), whose fate it must have shared during C6l and C5e. However, it is usually believed to have fallen under Odrysian rule in 430, when a Peloponnesian

embassy on its way to meet the Persian king was treacherously arrested by Sitalkes and Nymphodoros in Bisanthe and extradited to the Athenians (Hdt. 7.137.2–3; cf. Thuc. 2.67).

Bisanthe is indisputably listed as a member of the Delian League in the assessment decree of 422/1 (*IG* I³ 77.IV.10) and as belonging to the Hellespontine district, and the toponym is restored in the assessment decrees of 425/4 (*IG* I³ 71.III.20) and 410/9 (*IG* I³ 100.III.9). It is recorded alongside Paktye, Ornoi and Neon Teichos as one of the strongholds (*teiche*) held soon after 410 by Alkibiades, who appears to have closely collaborated with the Thracian kings Medokos and Seuthes (Plut. *Alc.* 30.10 (r408), 36.3–5; Lys. 10.4; Diod. 13.105.3–4; Nep. *Alc.* 7.4; cf. Lys. 14.26). A few years later (400–399), Bisanthe—the fairest of Seuthes' possessions on the coast—was repeatedly offered to Xenophon by the Thracian dynast Seuthes II (Xen. *An.* 7.2.38; cf. 5.8).

For the sparse remains—including C6l Archaic sculpture, a C5e inscription, an undated weight bearing the inscription *Βισαν[θηνῶν] μνᾶ* seen in the archaeological collection of Rhaidestos—brought to light in neighbouring locations, cf. *ATL* i. 475; Kahrstedt (1954) 21ff; Loukopoulou (1989) 150, 161–63; more recently, Sayar (1992) 187–89, with bibliography.

674. Byzantion (Byzantios) Map 52. Lat. 41.00, long. 28.55. Size of territory: 5. Type: A:*α*. The toponym is *Βυζάντιον, τό* (Thuc. 8.80.3; Xen. *Hell.* 1.1.3.14; Xen. *An.* 7.1.7; *IG* I³ 1162.49 (C5m)). The city-ethnic is *Βυζάντιος* (*SEG* 32 412.7–8 (C5e); *IG* VII 2418.9 (C4m); Xen. *Hell.* 1.3.19; Dem. 15.3). Byzantion is called a *polis* both in the urban sense (Hdt. 4.87.2; Xen. *Hell.* 1.3.17–19; *An.* 7.1.17–19; Dem. 18.87; Archestratos fr. 39.8, Olson and Sens) and in the political sense (Hdt. 5.103.2; Xen. *An.* 7.1.27; Dem. 8.15; *IByz.* 4.3 (C4l) = *IvO* 45 and 9.3 (C4)). *Polites* and *astos* are used synonymously at Arist. *Oec.* 1346ª27–29. The collective use of the city-ethnic (abbreviated as BY) is found internally on C5l–C4 coins (*infra*) and externally in inscriptions (*IG* I³ 1144.118 (C5f); *IG* II² 43.83 (378/7)) and in literature (Xen. *Hell.* 1.3.16; Isoc. 14.28; Dem. 15.3; Arist. *Pol.* 1303ª33). The individual and external use of the ethnic is attested in inscriptions (*SEG* 32.412, Olympia (C5f); *SEG* 18.180, Delphi (C4s); *IG* II² 8434–35, Athens (C4)) and in literature (Hdt. 4.138.1; Dem. 20.61).

The city of Byzantion occupied the head of the promontory between the Golden Horn, the Bosporos and the Propontis. Its favourable geographical position from both a military and an economic point of view is frequently noted in our sources and contrasted with the less favourable position of Kalchedon (no. 743) (Hdt. 4.144.2; Polyb. 4.38.1; Strabo 7.6.2; Dio Cass. 75.10.1). Except from the west, the city was protected by the sea and, to the south-east, by a precipitous shoreline. A particular conjunction of currents and winds forced all ships coming from the Black Sea to sail close to the fortifications of Byzantion, which meant that the city could control all navigation from the north through the Bosporos (Polyb. 4.44.3–11). For the same reason, large shoals of spawning mackerel and tuna migrated from the Black Sea to the Mediterranean Sea near the west shore of the Bosporos and provided the Byzantians with great quantities of easily obtainable food (Archestratos fr. 38; Arist. *Pol.* 1291ᵇ23).

The territory of Byzantion comprised the eastern part of the Thracian peninsula between the Black Sea to the north, the Bosporos to the east and the Propontis to the south. It covered an area of some 1,500 km². The western frontier stretched overland from a point west of the Derkos (Delkos) Sea in the north to the river Athyras (Kara Su), and then along it to the Athyras (Büyükcekmeçe) Sea in the south (Strabo 7 fr. 56; Plin. *HN* 4.46; Pompon. 2.24). It encompassed to the north a locality called Phileas or Philia situated on a promontory of the same name stretching into the Black Sea (Ps.-Skymnos 722–23). To the north, Byzantion bordered on the domain of Thracian dynasts (Polyb. 4.45.1). To the south Byzantion bordered on Selymbria (no. 679) (Dem. 15.26). On the other hand, the possession of the sanctuary of Zeus Ourios on the east side of the Bosporos opposite the entrance to the Black Sea was a bone of contention between Byzantion and Kalchedon (Diod. 20.111.3 (r302); Polyb. 4.50.3).

According to some sources, Byzantion was a colony of Megara (no. 225) (Ps.-Skymnos 717; Philostr. *VS* 24). Vell. Pat. 2.7.7, however, lists Byzantion along with Kyzikos (no. 747) as foundations of Miletos (no. 854). Late authors of local history as a rule point to Megara as the founder of Byzantion, but they also mention Sparta (no. 345), Argos (no. 347), Corinth (no. 227), Mykenai (no. 353), Karystos (no. 373), Boiotia and Athens (no. 361) (Dion. Byzant. *Anapl. Bosp.*, *passim*; Lydus, *Mag.* 3.70; Hsch. *Patria* 3–5; Const. Porphyr. *De them.* II p. 46, Bonn). Probably, the majority of colonists came from Megara, while some contingents were supplied by their immediate neighbours, especially Argos, Corinth and Boiotia. Such a scenario is confirmed by Aristotle's report of a *stasis* between the original colonists and a later contingent of different stock, resulting in the expulsion of the newcomers (*Pol.* 1303ª25, 32–33). The

incident is probably to be dated to the Archaic period (Gehrke, *Stasis* 34). The Megarian majority came to dominate Byzantion, as attested by its Doric dialect, its cults, its onomastics and its institutions (division of the civic body into *hekatostyes* and a *hieromnamon* as the eponymous official).

According to a well-known anecdote (Hdt. 4.144.2), Byzantion was founded seventeen years after Kalchedon. As the foundation year Euseb. *Chron.* versus Arm. records Olymp. 30.1 = 660/59 (Schoene II 86), and the Hieronymus adaptation Olymp. 30.2 = 659/8 (94b, Helm) or, in another manuscript, Olymp. 30.3 = 658/7 (Schoene II 87). The year of the foundation of Kalchedon as indicated by the Hieronymus adaptation is Olymp. 23.4 = 685/4 (93b, Helm). The difference between the sources amounts to only nine years, and we may assume that the foundation of Byzantion took place around 660. From the foundation onwards the Byzantians were involved in constant warfare with neighbouring Thracian tribes (Polyb. 4.45.1; Diod. 14.12.2 (r403)).

Byzantion joined the Ionian Revolt in 499–494 and, after its suppression by Persia, the Byzantians and the Kalchedonians fled to the Pontic region and settled down in Mesambria (no. 687) (Hdt. 6.33.2), reinforcing the original contingent of colonists from Megara and Kalchedon (*infra* 935).

Byzantion was a member of the Delian League, and was probably among the original members (*ATL* iii. 206). In the early years of the Delian League Byzantion supplied ships rather than paying tribute. Thus, an Athenian casualty list of *c.*465 records names of Byzantians killed in a naval battle near Sigeion (*IG* I³ 1144.118–28). Byzantion belonged to the Hellespontine district (*IG* I³ 269.II.26) and is registered in the tribute lists from 454/3 (*IG* I³ 259.III.7) to 428/7 (*IG* I³ 283.39, completely but plausibly restored) a total of fourteen times, three times completely restored, paying a *phoros* of 15 tal. in 450/49 (*IG* I³ 263.V.16), surpassed only by the 30 tal. paid by Aigina (no. 358). The tribute was raised to 15 tal., 4,300 dr. in 443/2 (*IG* I³ 269.II.26) and to 18 tal. 1,800 dr. in 433/2 (*IG* I³ 279.II.32). In 430/29 Byzantion paid a *phoros* of 21 tal. and 3,420 dr. (*IG* I³ 281.III.18) in addition to 855 dr. for special measures taken by Athens in the Hellespontine and Bosporos regions (*IG* I³ 281.III.49). Byzantion was possibly assessed for tribute in 425/4 (*IG* I³ 71.II.175, completely restored). Byzantion revolted in 441/0, supporting Samos (no. 864) in her conflict with Athens (Thuc. 1.115.5), but was recovered in spring or early summer 439 after the subjugation of Samos (Thuc. 1.117.3). Byzantion defected from the League once again in 411 after the Sicilian disaster (Thuc. 8.80.3; cf. Diod. 13.34.2). A Spartan garrison under a harmost was placed in the city (Xen. *Hell.* 1.3.15), but it was expelled in 408 when the city was betrayed to the Athenians under Alkibiades (Xen. *Hell.* 1.3.20–22; cf. Losada (1972) 22). Thereafter Byzantion remained loyal to Athens until after the battle of Aigos potamoi (Xen. *Hell.* 2.2.1).

In C4e Byzantion formed an alliance together with Kyzikos (no. 747), Ephesos (no. 844), Samos (no. 864), Iasos (no. 891), Knidos (no. 903), Rhodos (no. 1000) and possibly Lampsakos (no. 748), Thebes (no. 221), Kroton (no. 56) and Zakynthos (no. 141). This alliance is known only through a series of silver coins weighing *c.*11 g (tridrachm of Rhodian standard or didrachm of Aiginetan standard), and all with the same *obv.* type: infant Herakles strangling snakes and the legend ΣΥΝ(μαχια); on the *rev.* each of the allied cities placed its emblem, i.e. in the case of Byzantion a bull above a dolphin. The purpose of the alliance was to oppose Sparta (no. 345), and it was formed either in 394 after the battle of Knidos or in 387/6 after the King's Peace (Karwiese (1980); Schönert-Geiss (1970) 31–35).

Alongside Chios (no. 840), Rhodos (no. 1000) and Mytilene (no. 798), Byzantion was a founding member of the Second Athenian Naval League. A separate treaty between Athens and Byzantion was concluded in the autumn of 378 (*IG* II² 41 = *Staatsverträge* 256), and Byzantion is listed among the allies in the so-called Charter of the League (*IG* II² 43.83 = *Staatsverträge* 257). At the instigation of Epameinondas, Byzantion may briefly have left the League in 364 (Diod. 15.79.1; Isoc. 5.53; but see Buckler (1980) 170–72; Hornblower (1982) 200). If so, it rejoined the League (*Staatsverträge* 305) until—in collusion with Mausolos (Dem. 15.3; Hornblower (1982) 209)—Byzantion, Chios, Rhodos and Kos (no. 497) revolted against Athens in 357 and started the so-called Social War (Dem. 15.3; Diod. 16.7.3–4). When peace was concluded in 355, Athens had to accept Byzantion's secession from the League (Isoc. 8.16, 15.63–64; Diod. 16.22.2; *Staatsverträge* 313).

In 352/1 or later, a treaty was concluded between Byzantion and Philip of Makedon (Dem. 9.34, 11.3, 18.87 and 93; *Staatsverträge* 318), but when in 340 Philip attacked and besieged Byzantion a new treaty with Athens was concluded (Dem. 18.87–89).

Byzantine envoys are attested in 378/7 in connection with the treaty with Athens (*IG* II² 41) and in 355 in connection with Byzantion's financial contribution to Thebes (no. 221) during the Third Sacred War (*IG* VII 2418.12). Demosthenes served as envoy to Byzantion in 341 (Dem. 18.244; Aeschin. 3.256). From the Classical period, only one grant of proxeny

is attested: *viz.* to the Spartan harmost Klearchos in 409/8 (Xen. *Hell.* 1.1.35). Citizens of Byzantion received proxeny from Athens (Dem. 20.60–63 (after 389); *IG* II² 76 (before 378/7); *IG* II² 235 (340/39)), from Thebes (*IG* VII 2408 (364/3)); from Kos (no. 497) (*ICos* ED 40.5 (C4)) and from Olbia (no. 690) (*IGDOP* 18 (340–330)).

The original constitution of Byzantion is unknown. In the time of Dareios' campaign to Skythia the city was ruled by a tyrant (Hdt. 4.138.1). It is often assumed that Byzantion became a democracy when it joined the Delian League (Gehrke, *Stasis* 35) but we have no information. In the period 411–408 Sparta had a harmost and a garrison in the city (Xen. *Hell.* 1.3.15, 20–22). In 408 an Athenian garrison took over but left the city after the defeat at Aigos potamoi in 405 (Xen. *Hell.* 2.2.1). After their victory, the Spartans introduced an oligarchic constitution supervised by a Spartan harmost (Xen. *An.* 6.2.13, 7.2.5–12) perhaps heading a dekarchy (Gehrke, *Stasis* 36). *Stasis* between factions of citizens is attested for the following period (Xen. *An.* 7.1.39; Diod. 14.12.2–3). In 390/89, with the help of the leaders of the democratic faction (Dem. 20.60), the Athenians under Thrasyboulos were admitted to the city and had the constitution replaced by a democracy (Xen. *Hell.* 4.8.270), which seems to have remained in force for the rest of the Classical period (Theopomp. fr. 62; Arist. *Pol.* 1291^{b}23); in 354/3 or slightly later, Byzantion intervened in Kalchedon (no. 743) and introduced a democratic constitution there (Dem. 15.26).

Under the democracy, citizenship was confined to those whose parents were both citizens. During a financial crisis, however, it was decreed that citizenship could be bought for 30 minas (Arist. *Oec.* 1346^{b}26–29). The civic body was organised into *hekatostyes*. The oldest attestation is in an honorary decree for Eudamos of Seleukeia of *c.*175–170 (*IByz.* 1.60–61). But the presence of *hekatostyes* in other Megarian colonies in the Black Sea area (Kalchedon (no. 743), Herakleia (no. 715) and Chersonesos (no. 695)) and in the mother city itself indicates that the institution goes back to the foundation of Byzantion (Jones, *POAG* 284–85). The number of *hekatostyes* is unknown. At Arist. *Oec.* 1346^{b}15 there is a stray reference to other civic subdivisions, *viz. thiasoi* and *patrai*, which, however, may have been private associations. Free non-citizens living in Byzantion are called *metoikoi* and were barred from owning landed property (Arist. *Oec.* 1347^{a}1–3). In 390/89 there were a large number of Athenians living in the city (Xen. *Hell.* 4.8.27).

The eponymous official of Byzantion, as of its mother city Megara before the Hellenistic period, was the *hieromnamon* (epichoric form always with the long Doric α) (*IByz.* 2.1 (C2m); cf. Polyb. 4.52.4). The legends ΕΠΙ ΚΛΕΩ and ΕΠΙ ΝΕ on coins of C4m probably refer to *hieromnamones* (Schönert-Geiss (1970) 131–32 nos. 954–78). The only known public enactment of the Classical period is an honorary decree (*psephisma*) for the Athenians passed by the Byzantians in 341/0 and read out to the Athenian Assembly (Dem. 18.89). The document inserted in Demosthenes' text 90–91, however, is a spurious composition of, probably, C2 (Wankel (1976) 497–98).

The patron deity of Byzantion may have been Apollo, as in the mother city Megara and in other Megarian colonies (Hanell (1934) 164–70). In Hellenistic and later inscriptions, public enactments were set up in his sanctuary (*IByz.* 1.48–49, 63–64), and Apollo's head occurs on coins of C4 (Schönert-Geiss (1970) nos. 951–953). Games may be deduced from an Archaic inscription mentioning a *stadion*-runner (*IByz.* 42.3). In later times there was a festival called Bosporia devoted to Artemis Phosphoros—identified with the Thracian Bendis—during which a torch-race was held (*IByz.* p. 40).

Very little is known from contemporary sources about the cult places of Byzantion in the Archaic and Classical periods. Hdt. 4.87.2 mentions an altar of Artemis Orthosia (a typically Megarian epithet), a temple of Dionysos and a *hieron* at the entrance to the Black Sea (apparently not to be identified with the well-known *hieron* of Zeus Ourios on the east side of Bosporos but rather with its counterpart on the west side, called Sarapieion by Polyb. 4.39.6). Two cult places are mentioned in a Classical context by Dion. Byzant. *Anapl. Bosp.* 6.6–10, Güngerich: the temple of Hera which is said to have been destroyed by the Persians and the temple of Plouton demolished by Philip of Makedon. Furthermore, the temple of Poseidon on the promontory is described as being old (5.1–2). For a list of cult places, some of which may have originated in the Classical period, see Miller (1899) 1146–47.

Byzantion possessed a treasury in Olympia (Paus. 6.19.9; Ath. 480A), and a C5e dedication of Pythion of Byzantion at Olympia may commemorate a victory in the Olympic Games (*SEG* 32 412).

Names of the months are attested in late sources only (*IByz.* 2, 30, 31, 33), but they resemble those of the other Megarian colonies: Kalchedon (no. 743), Herakleia Pontike (no. 715), Kallatis (no. 686) and Chersonesos (no. 695), and a Megarian origin for the calendar can be presumed (Hanell (1934) 190–204; Trümpy, *Monat.* 147–55).

The citadel of Byzantion is called *akra* at Xen. *An.* 7.1.19 and *akropolis* at 7.1.20. It was situated on the north-eastern

tip of the promontory between the Golden Horn and the Propontis. It is completely covered by the Topkapi Saray of the Turkish sultans, and there are no physical remains.

Byzantion had a defence circuit which, according to later local tradition, had been erected in connection with the foundation of the colony (Hsch. *Patria* 12). The walls were renowned for their strength (Paus. 4.31.5), and the description at Dio Cass. 75.10.3–6, 14.5–6 is at least to some extent valid for the Classical period. The walls with numerous interval towers and gates (Xen. *An.* 7.1.12, 15–17, 36; *Hell.* 1.3.20) were particularly strong on the landward side to the west; the sections towards the sea were considerably lower and protected against breakers by a mole (Xen. *An.* 7.1.17). During the siege in 340 part of the fortifications were strengthened with tombstones and was thereafter called *τυμβασύνη* (Hsch. *Patria* 27). The original fortifications of Byzantion were destroyed by Septimius Severus (Dio Cass. 75.14.4–5); no traces of them have been found. Byzantion was besieged in 478/7 by the Greeks (Thuc. 1.94.2), in 409/8 by the Athenians (Xen. *Hell.* 1.3.14–20), in 357/6 by the Athenians (Diod. 16.21.3) and in 340 by Philip of Makedon (Dem. 8.14, 18.71, 93; Diod. 16.76.4, 77.2–3; Plut. *Phoc.* 14.4–7). The city also possessed within its walls a vast uninhabited area called Thrakion (Xen. *Hell.* 1.3.20; *An.* 7.1.24), most likely intended as a place where the rural population could have been accommodated during a war.

There are no remains of public architecture of the Archaic and Classical periods, and the written sources are silent apart from a reference to a *gymnasion* at Arist. *Oec.* 1346^{b}19. The context indicates that it was situated within the city walls. The existence of the *stadium* may be deduced from an Archaic inscription mentioning a *stadion*-runner (*IByz.* 42).

Byzantion's important commercial activities were centred on an agora, a *limen* and an *emporion* (Theopomp. fr. 62; Arist. *Oec.* 1346^{b}18–19; Xen. *An.* 7.1.19). Byzantion controlled all navigation through the Bosporos (*supra*); it sometimes seized ships belonging to other *poleis* (Arist. *Oec.* 1346^{b}30–31; Dem. 50.6), and during the Peloponnesian War the Athenians (or the Delian League) exacted dues from grain ships passing through the Bosporos (*IG* I^{3} 61.34–40 (426/5); cf. Rubel (2001)).

That the Byzantians struck coins of iron in C5s is suggested in old Attic comedies (Ar. *Nub.* 248 with schol.; Plato Com. fr. 103, *PCG*; Poll. 9.78; Hsch. s.v. *σιδάρεος*; cf. *LSAG* p. 366). Not a single specimen has survived. The minting of silver coins started *c.*411. From 411 until *c.*387/6, drachms and hemidrachms were struck on the Persian standard, and from *c.*387/86 until *c.*340/39 tetradrachms, drachms and hemidrachms were struck on the Rhodian standard. The *obv.* type is invariably a bull above a dolphin, legend: BY in Archaic script with a Corinthian B; *rev.* types: incuse square punch, or trident (on drachms of Rhodian standard). In the same period Byzantion also struck some small denominations in silver with the same types—probably trihemiobols and hemiobols on the Persian standard—and six series of bronze coins with various types. Some have *obv.* head of Athena, or Demeter, or Apollo. One issue has the *rev.* legend *ΕΠΙ ΚΛΕΩ* or *ΕΠΙ ΝΕ*, presumably denoting the eponymous magistrate (*supra*). The animal of the *bovidae* family frequently occurring on the coins of Byzantion and designated here as a bull is sometimes identified as a cow and connected with the myth of Io (Schönert (1966)). For the alliance coinage, inscribed *ΣΥΝ*, see *supra* (Schönert-Geiss (1970); *SNG Cop. Thrace* 475–85).

675. Daminon Teichos (Daminoteichites) Map 52. Lat. 41.05, long. 28.05. Size of territory: 1. Type: B:α? The toponym is *Δαμινὸν τεῖχος* (Ps.-Skylax 67) or *Δαύνιον τεῖχος* (Steph. Byz. 222.2) or **Δάμνιον τεῖχος* (reconstructed from the city-ethnic). The city-ethnic is *Δαυνι[οτε]ιχίτης* (*IG* I^{3} 271.1.27) or *Δαμνιοτειχίτης* (*IG* I^{3} 272.I.38). The only explicit reference to Daminon Teichos as a *polis* is in Steph. Byz. 222.2. It is here considered a *polis*—undoubtedly a fortified *teichos*—on the evidence of its being a member of the Athenian League (Hellespontine district).

In Ps.-Skylax 67, Daminon Teichos is listed between Perinthos (no. 678) and Selymbria (no. 679). It has been tentatively identified with *Baunnae*, a *mutatio* situated 12 miles east of Perinthos-Herakleia (*It. Burd.* 572), and hypothetically located at Eski Ereğli = modern Gümüsyaka (*ATL* i. 480; cf. Isaac (1986) 208 n. 294; Sayar (1998) 64).

Daminon Teichos was a member of the Delian League. It belonged to the Hellespontine district and is recorded in the tribute lists from 454/3 (*IG* I^{3} 259.III.11–12) to 418/17 (*IG* I^{3} 287.II.20) a total of seventeen times, once completely restored, paying a *phoros* of 1,000 dr. down to 433/2 (*IG* I^{3} 279.I.104), raised to 2 tal., 4,000 dr. in 430/29 (*IG* I^{3} 281.III.21), and still 2 tal. in 421/0 (*IG* I^{3} 285.II.84).

676. Heraion, Heraion Teichos (Heraites) Map 52. Lat. 41.00, long. 27.40 (in *Barr.* 27.45). Size of territory: 1 or 2. Type: A:α. The toponym *Ἥραιον, τό* (Hdt. 4.90.2; Steph. Byz. 303.13) is plausibly identified with *Ἡραῖον τεῖχος* (Dem. 3.4; *F.Delphes* III.3 207.3 (C3m)). The city-ethnic is *Ἡραιίτης* (*IGBulg.* I^{2} 43.4, Odessos (C1)) or *Ἡραΐτης* (ibid. 26) or *Ἡραείτης* (Sayar (1992) 190 (C2l–C1e)). Heraion is called a *polis* in the urban sense by Hdt. 4.90.2 and in the confused

entry of Steph. Byz. 303.13–15, who seems to record a *polis and* a *teichos* bearing the same name. The collective and internal use of the city-ethnic is attested in a C2l–C1e dedication to Hermes Agoraios from the area of Rhaidestos/Tekir Dag (Sayar (1992) 190–95). The individual and external use is found in a C3m decree from Delphi (no. 177) awarding *proxenia* to two of its citizens (*F.Delphes* III.3 207.3) and in a C1 honorary decree from Odessos (no. 689) (*IGBulg.* I² 43).

It seems quite arbitrary with *ATL* i. 482 to identify Heraion Teichos with Neon Teichos (no. 824) and Didymon Teichos (no. 741); see also Isaac (1986) 203 and Sayar (1992) 191–92. Heraion was situated on the northern coast of the Propontis, near Perinthos (no. 678), at one end of the road to the sources of the river Tearos and thence to Apollonia Pontike (no. 682)—a total of four days' march (Hdt. 4.90.2). It is probably to be identified with the Roman *mutatio Aerea* (*It. Burd.* 601.6) located at a distance of 16 miles from Herakleia (Perinthos) and 12 miles from Registo (= Rhaidestos); cf. Hiereo in the *Tab. Peut.*; Anon. Rav. 4.6: Ereon. The data recorded in the Roman *Itineraria* fit an ancient settlement with remains of Classical, Hellenistic and Roman date—including a C4 inscription—situated east of the mouth of the stream Chitemblik, in the bay of Karaevlialti, *c.*24 km west of Perinthos (Loukopoulou (1989) 100–2; Sayar (1992) 192 and (1998) 62). In *Barr.* Heraion Teichos is identified with the prehistoric/Classical settlement near the tumulus of Aytepe, *c.*12 km north-west of Perinthos.

According to Harp. *H*15 and *Etym. Magn.* 436.39–40, Heraion Teichos was a colony of Samos (no. 864). Alternatively, it has been suggested (Loukopoulou (1989) 56, 100–2) that Heraion was a secondary colony, i.e. a sanctuary of the Samian Hera founded by the Samian colonists of Perinthos (no. 678) in the *chora* of the latter city; but, for fear of barbarian incursions, it later developed into a self-governing and strongly fortified settlement. Heraion Teichos is not attested in the Athenian tribute lists, but in C4m it is mentioned as an important stronghold under Kersebleptes' rule, successfully besieged by Philip II in 352 (Dem. 3.4).

677. Neapolis (Neopolites) Map 52. Lat. 40.40, long. 27.10. Size of territory: 1. Type: B:*α*. The toponym is *Νεάπολις* (*IG* I³ 270.II.25), specifically qualified as *ἀπ' Ἀθηνῶν* (*IG* I³ 272.I.29), presumably also as *παρὰ Χερρόνε[σον]* (*IG* I³ 71.III.105–6). The city-ethnic is *Νεοπολῖται* (*IG* I³ 71.III.105–6).

Neapolis was a member of the Delian League, and the tribute lists and assessment decree (Hellespontine district) constitute the only sources for this community. It belonged to the Hellespontine district and is recorded in the tribute lists from 442/1 (*IG* I³ 270.II.25) to 430/29 (*IG* I³ 281.III.36) a total of six times, three times completely but at least once plausibly restored, paying 300 dr. in all years (*IG* I³ 272.I.29). A location in the vicinity of the Thracian Chersonesos has been inferred from the qualifying epithet *παρὰ Χερρόνε[σον]*, and the epithet *ἀπ' Ἀθηνῶν* indicates that it was an Athenian foundation. For its possible connection with the Athenian klerouchy settled *c.*450 in Tyrodiza (no. 681), see Kahrstedt (1954) 22 and Isaac (1986) 204. Neapolis was further equated, without positive evidence, with Herakleia, one of the Thracian *teiche* listed by Ps.-Skylax (67; cf. Ptol. *Geog.* 3.11.7) on the Propontic shore, between Paktye and Perinthos (no. 678) and located at modern Heraklitsa (Erikli; cf. *ATL* i. 475 and 525).

678. Perinthos (Perinthios) Map 52. Lat. 41.00, long. 28.00. Size of territory 5. Type: A:*α*. The toponym is *Πέρινθος, ἡ* (Hdt. 5.2.2; Arist. *Gen. an.* 773ª27), after Perinthos of Epidauros, the associate of Orestes (Steph. Byz. 517.18) or one of Herakles' lovers (schol. Ap. Rhod. 1.1207b, Wendel). In the third or fourth century AD, Perinthos' name was changed to Herakleia, after Herakles, its mythical *ktistes* (Amm. Marc. 22.8.6; see Sayar (1998) 171, EZ1; Leschhorn (1984) 370). The city-ethnic is *Περίνθιος* (Xen. *Hell.* 1.1.21; *SEG* 12 391, Samos (C6f)). Perinthos is called a *polis* in the urban sense by Ps.-Skylax 67; see also Hdt. 6.33.1: *αἵδε* (*sc. πόλεις*) and Diod. 16.74–76 (r340). The political sense is attested in *IG* II² 43.78 and 84, where Perinthos under the heading *πόλεις* is listed as one of the members of the Second Athenian Naval League. Perinthos is called *asty* at Xen. *Hell.* 1.1.21. The term *politai* for Perinthians is used in Arist. *Oec.* 1351ª (rC4f). The collective use of the city-ethnic in its full form is attested internally on C4m bronze coins (*infra*) and externally in the *ATL* and on the *stele* listing the members of the Second Naval League (*infra*). The individual ethnic is used externally in a C4–C3 comedy by Lynceus (fr. 1.2, *PCG*) and in a Delphic inscription (*F.Delphes* III.3 207.3 (252/1)).

The name of Herakleia survives in modern Marmara Ereglisi, the town now occupying the site of ancient Perinthos-Herakleia (Sayar (1998) 59–62). Situated at a distance of 630 stadia west of Byzantion according to Artemidoros (600 according to Demetrios of Skepsis in Strabo 7 fr. 56), it was situated west of Selymbria (no. 679) (Ps.-Skymnos 714–15) between Neon Teichos and Daminon Teichos (no. 675) (Ps.-Skylax 67). For the identification of Perinthos with Marmara Ereglisi, see Robert (1974*a*) and, more recently, Sayar (1998).

The territory of Perinthos was rigidly demarcated to the east by the rival presence of the Megarian colonies of Selymbria (no. 679) and Byzantion (no. 674) (Loukopoulou (1989) 53–61); a plausible natural frontier line has been sought in the region of Kinaliköprü (Sayar (1998) 64). From C5m, an independent settlement—Daminon Teichos (no. 675)—is recorded between Perinthos and Selymbria. Moreover, at least during the period of Persian occupation in C5e, but probably also from the start, the territory of Perinthos was significantly extended westwards, since it appears to have included not only Tyrodiza (no. 681) (Hdt. 7.25 (r480)) but presumably also Heraion [Teichos] (no. 676) and Bisanthe (no. 673); see Hdt. 6.33.1 where Perinthos, Selymbria and Byzantion are the only *poleis* listed along the northern Propontic shore, and Perinthos is associated with *τὰ τείχεα τὰ ἐπὶ Θρηίκης* (Kahrstedt (1954) 9–10). Subsequently, however, when Perinthos was a member of the Delian League, its territory must have been restricted to the immediate hinterland and have bordered on that of Heraion Teichos (Kahrstedt (1954) 21; Sayar (1998) 62–64). To the north, the springs of the river Degirmen are believed to have constituted a plausible border (Sayar (1998) 63).

Perinthos was a colony of Samos (no. 864) (Ps.-Skymnos 714–15; Strabo 7 fr. 56; Plut. *Mor.* 303E) and was founded in 602 (Hieron. *Chron.* 98b, Helm) on the northern—Thracian—coast of the Propontis (Hdt. 5.1.1–2, 6.33.1; Ps.-Skylax 67). The names of three of the old Ionic *phylai* are attested in an undated list of names, probably of ephebes (*SGDI* 5723; cf. Jones, *POAG* 286). During its early years (*c.*570–560), Samian Perinthos faced deadly attacks both from invading Paionian hordes (Hdt. 5.1; Strabo 7 fr. 41) and from its rival Megarian neighbours, who attempted to monopolise the Propontic coast but were repulsed with the assistance of forces from the mother city (Plut. *Mor.* 303E–304A; cf. Loukopoulou (1989) 54–56). Following Dareios' Skythian expedition, Perinthos was subdued by the Persians under Megabazos (Hdt. 5.1–2); after the Ionian Revolt, it fell under Persian rule (Hdt. 6.33.1). Following the expulsion of the Persians from Thrace, Perinthos became a member of the Delian League. It belonged to the Hellespontine district and is recorded in the tribute lists from 452/1 (*IG* I³ 261.v.3) to 418/17 (*IG* I³ 287.II.22) a total of twelve times, twice completely restored, paying a *phoros* of 10 tal. (*IG* I³ 269.II.25), perhaps less in 418/17. In 411 it probably joined the revolt of Byzantion (no. 674), only to be forced back into the League by Alkibiades in 410 (Xen. *Hell.* 1.1.21). Perinthian cavalry forces seem to be indicated by Xen. *An.* 7.2.8. Perinthos joined the Second Athenian Naval League in 377 (*IG* II² 43.84); it fell temporarily under the rule of Ariobarzanes, and suffered variously under the pressure of the expansionist ambitions of Kotys, the Odrysian king (Dem. 23.142; cf. Arist. *Oec.* 1351ᵃ; cf. Isaac (1986) 207). The inability of Athens to provide effective protection against the renewed Thracian oppression under Kotys' successor Kersebleptes and the general Charidemos (Dem. 23.165, 168), in 352/1 drove Perinthos, together with Byzantion and Amadokos, to conclude an alliance with Philip II (*Staatsverträge* 318; schol. Aeschin. 2.81; cf. Sayar (1998) 72 with nn. 145–46). After the defeat of Kersebleptes, Perinthos and Byzantion are believed to have established a *sympoliteia* (Polyb. 18.2.3–5; cf. Loukopoulou (1989) 147–48; Sayar (1998) 72 with n. 147). A few years later (340), when the two cities refused to support the Makedonian king's anti-Athenian operations in the Chersonesos area, first Perinthos and subsequently Selymbria and Byzantion were unsuccessfully besieged by the Makedonian army (Theopomp. frr. 217, 292; Philoch. fr. 162 (cf. fr. 54); Ephor. T 10; Diod. 16.74–76; for a complete list of testimonia, cf. Sayar (1998) 51–79). Perinthos joined Byzantion in voting unprecedented honours for Athens in gratitude for her decisive support on this occasion (Dem. 18.89–91). The alliance with Philip was eventually renewed after the defeat of Athens at Chaironeia, and in 337 Perinthos joined the Makedonian king's Hellenic League together with the rest of the Greek cities in Thrace (Sayar (1998) 73).

The probable predominance of the cult of Hera (Polias?) is attested by epigraphical evidence of the persistent devotion of the early colonists to the Hera of Samos (*SEG* 12 391; cf. Loukopoulou (1989) 97–100), by the existence of a Heraion (= Heraion Teichos) in the neighbourhood of Perinthos—initially probably on Perinthian territory itself—(cf. Loukopoulou (1989) 100–2), and by Perinthian coin types of Roman date (Schönert (1965) 134 nos. 255–58; cf. Loukopoulou (1989) 102–3 and the recent publication of a C1–C2 inscribed votive *stele*: Sayar (1998) no. 289). The cults of other Greek divinities, such as Zeus, Athena, Apollo, Artemis, Dionysos, Demeter, Isis/Sarapis and Kybele, are presumed from archaeological evidence and numismatic iconography (Schönert (1965) 55–57; cf. Robert (1967) 106ff; Loukopoulou (1989) 103; Sayar (1998) 65). The calendar of Perinthos, preserved through lexicographic tradition, indicates a close connection with the calendar of metropolitan Samos, at least in its presumed Archaic form, supporting the hypothesis of a direct implantation in the colony of the religious life of Samos as well (Samuel (1972) 88–89; Trümpy, *Monat.* 81ff); cf. Loukopoulou (1989) 96–103).

Perinthos occupied a headland 1,200 m long and 50 m high, linked to the Thracian mainland by an isthmus *c.*200 m = 1 stadion wide (Diod. 16.76; cf. Plin. *HN* 4.47) and projecting eastwards to form a well-protected harbour (cf. *πόλις καὶ λιμήν* in Ps.-Skylax 67). Its naturally fortified position was enhanced by strong defensive walls with towers (Diod. 16.74) capable of withstanding a prolonged siege (Xen. *An.* 7.2.10; Diod. 16.74ff, following Ephor. (r340/39). The area enclosed by the walls measured *c.*75 ha. According to Hdt. 5.1.2, there was a *προάστειον*, a term that probably signifies the area immediately outside the city wall, east of the neck of the peninsula. The urban centre (called an *asty* in Xen. *Hell.* 1.1.21), with closely packed, exceptionally tall houses, overtopping one another along the hill slope and separated by narrow alley-ways, had the appearance of a theatre (Diod. 16.76.2). Moreover, the privileged location of Perinthos at the intersection of important land and sea routes accounts for its importance as a market (Xen. *An.* 7.4.2, 6.24).

Archaeological investigation in Marmara Ereglisi has identified the location of two ancient harbours, to the north-east and west of the isthmus of the peninsula, with traces of ancient breakwaters; the western harbour is now completely silted up by alluvial deposits from the Baglar stream (Oberhummer (1938) 803–4; Sayar (1998) 59). Visible remains of the fortification system, dated as early as C5, have also been identified, protecting the acropolis (located on the higher, western part of the peninsula), as well as the lower city, mainly from the north and west (Sayar (1998) 60, with refs.). The *cavea* of the theatre (diameter 140 m) can be seen on the southern slope of the acropolis, and there are traces of the *stadion* (240 m long, undated) on the west slope of the acropolis (ibid. with refs.). The cemetery extended over 3–5 km to the north and west of the city walls (Sayar (1998) 60–61, with refs.).

In C4m, Perinthos struck coins of silver and bronze on the Persian standard. Silver issues included didrachms, hemidrachms and obols. Types: *obv.* head of Zeus, or Demeter; *rev.* foreparts of two horses joined back to back; legend: *ΠΕΡΙΝ* or *ΠΕ*, sometimes also the first letters of, probably, a mint magistrate's name, e.g. *ΚΙΣ*. The bronze coins have the legend *ΠΕΡΙΝΘΙΩΝ* (Head, *HN*² 270; Schönert-Geiss (1965), (1973); *SNG Cop. Thrace* 721–22).

679. Selymbria (Selymbrianos) Map 52. Lat. 41.05, long. 28.15. Size of territory: 4. Type: A:*α*. The toponym is *Σηλυμβρία, ἡ* (Xen. *An.* 7.5.15; cf. Hdt. 6.33.1) or *Σηλυβρία* (Polyb. 18.49.2) or *Σαλυβρία* (*IG* I³ 1154B.5 (460–450)). The toponym is allegedly derived from *Σήλυς* and *βρία*, the Thracian word for *polis* (Strabo 7.6.1). The city-ethnic is *Σηλυμβριανός* (Pl. *Prt.* 316D) or *Σελυνβριανός* (*IG* I³ 118.13 (408)) or *Σηλυβριανός* (Arist. *Oec.* 1348ᵇ33) or *Σαλυπριανός* (*IG* II² 10261a (C4m)). Selymbria is called a *polis* in the urban sense by Ps.-Skylax 67; see also Hdt. 6.33.1: *αἵδε* (*sc. πόλεις*). The political sense is attested in Dem. 15.26; Arist. *Oec.* 1348ᵇ35 and *IG* II² 43.78 and B29, where Selymbria under the heading *πόλεις* is listed as one of the members of the Second Athenian Naval League. The *politeia* of the Selymbrians is mentioned in the treaty with the Athenians of 408 (*IG* I³ 118.10–11). Epigraphic evidence indicates that Selymbria had become a *kome* of Byzantion or of Perinthos in the Roman period (Robert (1946)); its absence from the list of Delphic *theorodokoi* in C3l being a probable *terminus ante quem*, Selymbria may have lost its autonomy at the time of the formation of the *sympoliteia* between Byzantion (no. 674) and Perinthos (no. 678), tentatively dated to the period of Philip II's unsuccessful efforts in 340 to bring the area under Makedonian control. The collective use of the city-ethnic (abbreviated as *ΣΑΛΥ*) is attested internally on C5 coins (*infra*) and externally in the treaty with Athens (*IG* I³ 118.30) and in Pl. *Prt.* 316D. The individual ethnic is used externally in the C5l settlement with Athens (*IG* I³ 118.42) and in a C5m epigram commemorating Pythagoras, son of Dionysios, a Selymbrian *proxenos* of Athens (*IG* I³ 1154). *Patris* is found in *IG* I³ 1154B (C5m).

Selymbria is mentioned at Hdt. 6.33.1 as a *polis* east of Perinthos and the Thracian *teiche*, and west of Byzantion, and in Ps.-Skylax 67 it is recorded as a *polis* and a *limen* situated 500 stadia from the mouth of the Black Sea. Selymbria is identified with modern Silivri, which preserves a variant form of the ancient name. For sparse antiquities collected locally mostly during the nineteenth century, see Seure (1912) and Loukopoulou (1989) 27–38 with refs. Literary sources attest the existence of fortifications from C5l (Diod. 13.66.4, 14.12.7; Plut. *Alc.* 30.2) to C4m (Dem. 18.77, for which see *infra*).

According to Ps.-Skymnos 715–16, Selymbria was founded by Megara (no. 225) "before Byzantion", some time in the second quarter of C7 (Isaac (1986) 210; Loukopoulou (1989) 51–53). The exact limits of its territory remain unidentified; it bordered the territory of Daminon Teichos (no. 675) to the west, that of Byzantion (no. 674) to the east—with two rivers, Athyras and Bathynias, mentioned in the border area (Strabo 7 fr. 56; cf. Plin. *HN* 4.47). Selymbria was conquered by the Persians after the Ionian Revolt (Hdt. 6.33.1). Following the expulsion of the Persians from Thrace,

Selymbria became a member of the Delian League. It belonged to the Hellespontine district and is recorded in the tribute lists from 454/3 (*IG* I³ 259.III.16) to 418/17 (*IG* I³ 287.II.17) a total of sixteen times, twice completely but convincingly restored, paying a *phoros* of 9 tal. in 454/3 (*IG* I³ 259.II.16), 6 tal. from 450/49 (*IG* I³ 263.IV.8) to 447/6 (*IG* I³ 265.I.57), 5 tal. from 443/2 (*IG* I³ 269.II.9) to 439/8 (*IG* I³ 273.II.23), 900 dr. from 435/4 (*IG* I³ 277.V.12) to 432/1 (*IG* I³ 280.II.33) and 9 tal. again in 430/29 (*IG* I³ 281.III.19). The reduction to 900 drachmas was presumably connected with the growing pressure of the Odrysians (*ATL* iii. 310–12). Selymbria joined the revolt of Perinthos (no. 678) by 410, and members of the pro-Athenian faction were exiled (*Staatsverträge* 207.12 = *IG* I³ 118; cf. Gehrke, *Stasis* 145–46); the city refused to admit Alkibiades, but paid him money (Xen. *Hell.* 1.1.21). Selymbria was recaptured by Alkibiades in 408; the city was torn by *stasis*, and its fortifications betrayed to Alkibiades by the pro-Athenian faction; it was forced to pay indemnity, to accept an Athenian garrison (Plut. *Alc.* 30.2–5; Xen. *Hell.* 1.3.10; Diod. 13.66.4; Gehrke, *Stasis* 145–46), and probably also to give hostages. The ensuing settlement in 408 (*IG* I³ 118; ML 87) mentions guarantees (ll. 1–31) of Selymbrian autonomy, restoration of hostages and political refugees (*Staatsverträge* 207.12), cancellation of Athenian and allied claims to property lost in Selymbria except for real property (presumably indicating the existence of Athenian and allied landownership in Selymbria). The settlement was ratified in 407 by the Athenian *ekklesia* on the motion of Alkibiades (ll. 31–47). A member of the Second Athenian Naval League since 377 (*IG* II² 43B.29), Selymbria joined the revolt of Byzantion in 357 (Dem. 15.26). According to the decree quoted at Dem. 18.77, Selymbria was besieged by Philip in 340. The decree is spurious, but the information it contains may be correct, and, like Perinthos and Byzantion, Selymbria must have been besieged by Philip II in 340.

The civic institutions of Selymbria are unattested, except for the probable mention of *aisimnatai* in a C4 inscription (*SGDI* 3068: [αἰ]σιμνῶν[τες]; cf. Hanell (1934) 149) but are believed to have reproduced the pattern better known for other colonies of Megarian origin (Hanell (1934) 132ff; cf. Loukopoulou (1989) 142–47). Arist. *Oec.* 1348ᵇ mentions a law forbidding the export of corn in times of shortage.

Apollo (Pythios), probably to be restored in line 28 of the agreement between Athens and Selymbria of 407, seems to have been the protective deity of Selymbria, with public documents being published in his sanctuary (*IG* I³ 118.26–28; cf. Hanell (1934) 166; Loukopoulou (1989) 104–5 with reference to *BCH* 36 (1912) 558, *pace* ML 87).

Selymbria issued two series of silver coins: (a) from 492/0 to 473/0 and (b) from 425/0 to 411/10, presumably on the Thrako-Makedonian standard and apparently for local use. Denominations: octobols down to hemiobols: *obv.* cock; *rev.* incuse square (a) or ear of corn (b). Legend: ΣΑ or ΣΑΛΥ (Head, *HN*² 271; Schönert-Geiss (1975) 35–49; *SNG Cop. Thrace* 789–90).

680. Ser(re)ion Teichos (Ser(re)ioteichites) Map 52. Lat. 40.45, long. 27.00. Size of territory: 1. Type: C:α? The toponym is Σέρριον (Steph. Byz. 642.18) or Σέρριον τεῖχος (Aeschin. 3.82; Dem. 7.37) or Σέρρειον τεῖχος (Dem. 9.15; Harp. Σ4). The city-ethnic is Σεριοτειχίτης (*IG* I³ 283.II.19). Serrion Teichos is not called a *polis* in any source, but *polis* status is indicated by its membership of the Delian League. The collective and external use of the city-ethnic is attested in the tribute lists (*infra*) and is restored in the assessment decree of 425/4 (*IG* I³ 71.III.104).

The identification of Serrion Teichos with Ganos (*ATL* i. 545; Kahrstedt (1954) 21 followed by *Barr.*) is unconvincing (Isaac (1986) 211) and contradicted by the explicit distinction between the two sites in Aeschin. 3.82 followed by Harp. Γ3 and Σ4; see Ganos, *supra* 913. Propontic Serrion Teichos is clearly to be distinguished from Serrion on the Aegean coast of Thrace (*supra* 872).

Serrion Teichos was a member of the Delian League. It belonged to the Hellespontine district and is recorded in the tribute lists of 428/7 (*IG* I³ 283.II.19), 421/0 (*IG* I³ 285.II.87) and 418/17 (*IG* I³ 287.II.18), contributing unknown sums. It was one of the fortresses conquered by Philip II in 346 (Aeschin. 3.82; Dem. 7.37, 9.15).

681. Tyrodiza (Tyrodizenos) Map 52. Lat. 40.35, long. 27.05. Size of territory: 5. Type: B:?. The toponym is Τυρόδιζα, ἡ (Hdt. 7.25.2; *IG* I³ 71.III.108) or, once, Τυρόδιζαι (*IG* I³ 261.4.30) or, once, Τυρόριζα (Hellan. fr. 62). The city-ethnic is Τυροδιζηνός (Krateros (*FGrHist* 342) fr. 3 = *IG* I³ 100). The only source to call Tyrodiza a *polis* is Steph. Byz. 642.18. According to Herodotos, it belonged to the Perinthians (no. 678) (Hdt. 7.25: εἰς Τυρόδιζαν τὴν Περινθίων), implying that it was a possession of Perinthos (*ATL* i. 558); It could, however, mean "a colony or foundation of the Perinthians" (see e.g. Thuc. 2.30.1, 4.49.1). It is here considered to be a *polis*, at least in C5s, on the evidence of the Athenian tribute lists, where it is recorded among paying members of the League. Only the collective and external use of the city-ethnic is attested (*supra*).

Tyrodiza is usually identified with Teiristasis, one of the Thracian *teiche* recorded by Ps.-Skylax 67 on the north-west

shore of the Propontis, between the isthmus of the Chersonesos and Perinthos (cf. Dem. 12.3; schol. Dem. 12.1.1), which is plausibly identified with mediaeval Peristasis = modern Peristeri = present-day Sharkeui (*ATL* i. 558; but see Isaac (1986) 203–4). According to Steph. Byz. 642.18, Tyrodiza was situated "after" (i.e. east of) Serrion.

Tyrodiza is recorded as one of the supply bases of Xerxes' army in 480 (Hdt 7.25). Tyrodiza was a member of the Delian League. It belonged to the Hellespontine district and is recorded by toponym in the tribute lists of 452/1 (*IG* I³ 261.IV.30), 446/5 (*IG* I³ 266.I.22) and 445/4 (*IG* I³ 267.I.30), paying 1,000 dr. the first year, a sum reduced to 500 dr. in 446/5 and 445/4 (*IG* I³ 266.I.22; 267.I.30), presumably following the establishment of Athenian klerouchs shortly before 450 (cf. *IG* I³ 417.9: *ἐν Τυροδίζ[αι]* (448/7)). For a possible relation with the Athenian klerouchy settled *c.*450 in Neapolis (no. 677), see *ATL* iii. 205; Kahrstedt (1954) 22 and Isaac (1986) 204. Tyrodiza appears again in the assessment decree of 425/4 (*IG* I³ 71.III.108; cf. Krateros fr. 3 (*IG* I³ 100)). If the identification with Teiristasis is correct, Tyrodiza and its neighbour Krobyle were exposed to *andrapodismos* by the Athenian general Diopeithes in 341 (Dem. 12.3; cf. Dem. 8 *hypoth.* 2–3), see *supra* 913.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Buckler, J. 1980. *The Theban Hegemony 371–362 BC* (Cambridge, Mass.).

Hanell, K. 1934. *Megarische Studien* (Lund).

Hornblower, S. 1982. *Mausolus* (Oxford).

Isaac, B. 1986. *The Greek Settlements in Thrace until the Macedonian Conquest* (Leiden).

Kahrstedt, U. 1954. *Beiträge zur Geschichte der thrakischen Chersones*, Deutsche Beiträge zur Altertumswissenschaft 6 (Baden-Baden).

Karweise, S. 1980. "Lysander als Herakliskos Drakonopnigon", *NC* 20: 1–27.

Lajtar, A. 2000. *Die Inschriften von Byzantion*, i (= Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien 58) (Bonn).

Leschhorn, W. 1984. *Gründer der Stadt: Studien zu einem politisch-religiösen Phänomen der griechischen Geschichte* (Stuttgart).

Losada, L. A. 1972. *The Fifth Column in the Peloponnesian War* (Leiden).

Loukopoulou, L. 1989. *Contribution à l'histoire de la Thrace propontique durant la période archaïque* (Athens and Paris).

Miller, J. 1899. "Byzantion", *RE* iii.1.1116–59.

Oberhummer, E. 1937. "*Oisyme*", *RE* xvii.2.2288–89.

——1938. "*Perinthos*", *RE* xix.7.802–13.

Polychronidou-Loukopoulou, L. D. 1990. "Colonia Claudia Aprensis: *μία ρωμαϊκὴ ἀποικία στὴν νοτιοανατολικὴ Θράκη*", in *Polis and Chora: Studies in Memory of D. Lazaridis*, Acts of Symposium held in Kavala 9–11 May 1986 = Recherches Franco-helléniques, i (Thessalonica) 701–15.

Richardson, R. B. 1889. *Aeschines against Ctesiphon (On The Crown)* (Boston and London).

Robert, L. 1946. "VI. Divinités éponymes. 3. Inscription de Salymbria", in *Hellenica*, ii (Paris) 61–64.

——1948. "IV. Villes de la Chersonèse et de la Thrace", in *Hellenica*, v (Paris) 35–58.

——1967. *Monnaies grecques* (Paris).

——1974*a*. "Des Carpathes à la Propontide, VII: De Périnthe à Apamée, Cyzique et Claros", *StCl* 16: 61–80 (= *OMS* 6.275–302).

——1974*b*. "Des Carpathes à la Propontide, VIII: Une dédicace de marins", *StCl* 16: 80–85 (= *OMS* 6.302–10).

Rubel, A. 2001. "*Hellespontophylakes*—Zöllner am Bosporos?: Überlegungen zur Fiskalpolitik des attischen Seebundes (*IG* I³ 61)", *Klio* 83: 39–51.

Samuel, A. E. 1972. *Greek and Roman Chronology* (Munich).

Sayar, M. 1992. "Der thrakische König Mostis", *Tyche* 7: 187–95.

——1998. *Perinthos-Herakleia (Marmara Ereglisi) und Umgebung* (Vienna).

Schönert, E. 1965. *Die Münzprägung von Perinthos*, Griechisches Münzwerk: Schriften zur Geschichte und Kultur der Antike (Berlin).

——1966. "Der Io-Mythos auf den Silbermünzen von Byzanz", *Helikon* 6: 174–82.

Schönert-Geiss, E. 1970. *Die Münzprägung von Byzantion*, i (Berlin and Amsterdam).

——1973. "Supplementum Perinthicum", *Klio* 55: 151–57.

——1975. *Die Münzprägung von Bisanthe, Dikaia, Selymbria*, Griechisches Münzwerk: Schriften zur Geschichte und Kultur der Antike 13 (Berlin).

Seure, G. 1912. "Antiquités thraces de la Propontide", *BCH* 36: 534–641.

Wankel, H. 1976. *Demosthenes Rede für Ktesiphon über den Kranz*, i–ii (Heidelberg).

THE BLACK SEA AREA

ALEXANDRU AVRAM, JOHN HIND, GOCHA TSETSKHLADZE

I. The Region

The ancient name for the Black Sea, *Πόντος Εὔξεινος* (Hdt. 1.72.3), often transliterated as "Euxine Pontos", has all the hallmarks of a hybrid name, part Greek, part Iranian. The Greeks themselves took it to be Hellenic in both parts, "the hospitable (*εὔξεινος*) sea (*πόντος*)" (Hdt.4.95.1), but they also recognised an earlier form, which they took to mean its opposite, "inhospitable" (*ἄξεινος*, Eur. *IT* 253; Ps.-Skymnos 735–37, Diller; Strabo 7.3.6). In the twentieth century, since the studies of Vasmer (1923) and Boisacq (1924), it has become generally accepted that *axenos* was itself a borrowing into Greek from an Iranian root *aχšaēna* meaning "dark". This gives a consistent naming principle for the Black Sea in a number of different languages, including Russian *Chernoe Mor'e* and Turkish *Kara Deniz* (see further discussion by Moorhouse, Allen, Yelnitskij and Georgiev, summarised in Danoff (1962) 950–54).

The region was regarded as a unitary one by many Greeks of the homeland and Aegean area, who referred to it by such expressions as *Ἑλλήνων οἱ Πόντον οἰκέοντες* (Hdt. 4.8.1), *οἱ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον καὶ Πόντον οἰκέοντες Ἕλληνες* (cf. the rubric [*πόλες*] *ἐκ τῶ Εὐ*[*χσείνο*] in *IG* I³ 71.IV.126). However, within the Euxine certain cities were especially close geographically and by reason of a common barbarian hinterland, while others were linked by regular sea routes along coastlines, or across from shore to shore (Arnaud (1992)). Strabo 2.5.22 divided the sea into "left-hand" and "right-hand" regions, i.e. those of Thrace to the left, and those of Bithynia, Paphlagonia and Kappadokia to the right, on entering from the Bosporos. We may divide the whole of its circuit into four sub-regions, already treated separately by Strabo: (1) the coasts of Thrace and Getike (Strabo 7.6.1); (2) of Skythia, Taurike and Sindike (Strabo 7.3.14–4.8, 11.2.1–11); (3) of the Caucasus and Kolchian lowlands (Strabo 11.2.12–19); and (4) of the Mariandynoi, Paphlagones and Kappadokes (Strabo 12.3.2–17). The Inventory of *poleis* is presented in these four regions, while the introduction treats the Black Sea area as a whole.

So much for the regions and shores of the Euxine; it should be noted that the Pontos could also be regarded as virtually two seas (*διθάλαττος πόντος*, Strabo 2.5.22), with a narrow waist between the central part of the Turkish coast and the southern tip of the Crimean Peninsula, creating the conditions for a convenient and much-used cross-sea route (Maximova (1956) 145–68; Gajdukevič (1969)).

The planting of Greek *poleis* around the shores of the Black Sea is largely a tale of two mother cities, Miletos (no. 854) and Megara (no. 225). A very few other (east Greek) states took subsidiary roles, and an occasional party of settlers (e.g. Boiotians) from elsewhere joined the founding, main group of colonists. These minor participants tended to be forgotten after a short time except in local tradition; even Megara's colonising activity, well attested as it was in Classical and Hellenistic times, could be obscured as time went on by Miletos' greater fame as a coloniser and by her higher profile as a city in Roman times (Robert (1937) 247–48). There was the expectation that a Greek colony in the Propontis and Pontos areas *would* be Milesian (Strabo 14.1.6). There were also, by the first century AD, much-inflated estimates of Milesian colony numbers, seventy-five according to Seneca (*Helv.* 7.2), or the ninety reported by Plin. *HN* 5.112. Lists have not been preserved for us, but they would have included sub-colonies of Sinope (no. 729) and many places labelled *poleis* by the geographers in a region generally thought of as a "Milesian lake". This increasing tendency to assume that a colony here was Milesian is probably also responsible for some of the more glaring individual errors (see Strabo 12.3.4 on Herakleia (no. 715); Pompon. 2.22 on Kallatis (no. 686)).

Another feature of the historiographical tradition is the tendency to move away from giving foundation dates of colonies in the form of chronology relative to another Greek or Near Eastern event, or a king (Hdt. 4.144 on Kalchedon (no. 743)/Byzantion (no. 674); Ps.-Skymnos 730ff, on a string of Pontic colonies), and towards the practice of using Olympiads and their four-yearly cycle. Eventually, in the Christian writers of the later Roman Empire, the era of

Abraham was added as well. The dates in Eusebius and Jerome have an aura of exactness about them that is misleading (*Chron.* 95b), being based on a chain of previous pagan traditions that was very late in finding its final tabular form. For colonies within the Pontos three dates have gained common acceptance: Istros in 657, Olbia in 647, Sinope in 631. But these should be regarded as dates arrived at by being put belatedly into tabular form, and not as a canon, sanctified by the Christian Fathers (Hind (1999*a*)). A fourth date, found in the Armenian version of Eusebios, relating to Trapezous (757, *ann. Abr.* 1260) is to be discounted as a mistake, referring to the city of Kyzikos (no. 747) in the Propontis (Hind (1988) 213–14; Huxley (1990) 199; Ivantchik (1998) 314–18). Setting aside the exaggerated numbers of Milesian colonies and the (misleading) seeming exactitude of the few colonial dates provided by the chronographers, we may now turn to the distribution, character and development of the *poleis* in the Pontic region.

The Pontos amazed the Greeks by its vast emptiness; according to Hdt. 4.85, it impressed even the Persian Great King Dareios. It was particularly marked by a lack of islands, except for very small offshore islets. Huge stretches of varied coastline surrounded it. Hills and harbourless coast at first in Salmydessian Thrace; bays and headlands beyond; then marshy delta, treeless steppe, the high mountains of Taurike, the Caucasus and Eastern Anatolia, the Kolchian lowlands and marshy Phasian shoreline. Pouring into the Pontos are the great rivers then called Istros, Tyras, Hypanis, Borysthenes, Tanais and the Kimmerian Bosporos, the outflow from Lake Maiotis. They formed main arteries by which the products of the steppe peoples might be traded in the Greek *emporia*—hides, furs, slaves. The rivers spawned huge stocks of fish at their mouths or deltas, and saltings were conveniently present (Baladié (1994)). Sturgeon abounded in the river estuaries (Hdt. 4.53; Strabo 7.3.18, 11.2.4), herring in the east Crimean shallows, and tunny at various points along the east Pontic shore from the Kimmerian to the Thracian Bosporos (Strabo 7.6.2, 12.3.11, 19). These were probably the first resources to be exploited by Greeks in the Euxine, and the eventual size of the industry was considerable (Strabo 7.4.6; Danoff (1962) 955–85). The grain trade seems to have developed more slowly and, exploiting their territories, Olbia (no. 690) and later (and on a larger scale) the Bosporan Kingdom helped to feed the more populous cities of the Aegean area in C5l and C4 (Shcheglov (1990)). The metal resources of the region were, perhaps, a secondary attraction, though there was abundant copper in the Strandzha Mountains of Thrace and silver in the coastal Pontic Mountains. Copper in the west and north-west Pontic region and some gold in the streams of Kolchis show up in the archaeological record (but only from C5) and in the Argonaut myth (Tsetskhladze (1995)). Since many native peoples were treated as commodities, it was probably the slave trade (Paphlagonians, Thracians, Getai, Kolchoi and Skythians) that was most consistently lucrative—organised at cities like Sinope (no. 729), Apollonia (no. 682), Istros (no. 685) and Olbia (no. 690).

The variety of the peoples around the Pontos arose from that of the lands—Mariandynoi, Kappadokians, Tauroi, Caucasian tribes with languages more numerous even than Milesian colonies (seventy according to Strabo 11.2.16, or, as he disbelieves, 300). These included the many small peoples listed by Ps.-Skylax (82–89) on the coast east of Sinope (no. 729) and Amisos (no. 712). These, and Herakleia (no. 715), were under the direct, or indirect, control of the great Asian power, Persia, after *c.*545 through its satraps at Daskyleion and in Kappadokia, and through the kings of Paphlagonia. The southern Thracians formed a sort of satrapy in Europe (*Skudra*) from *c.*512 to 478, while the Kolchoi were tribute-payers on Persia's northern fringe. Most curious in their way of life seemed to be these Phasian-Kolchoi, delta-dwellers with timber towns, and the nomad, wagon-dwelling Skythians (Hippoc. *Aer.*), who knew how to frustrate the greatest invasions with their strategy of retreat into the steppe. If Greeks wished for an ally against the Persian colossus, they thought of their own cultural antithesis—nomads with only royal burials to defend and the mobility to invade both Asia and Europe south of the Danube (Hdt. 4.46, 122–27, 6.84).

There were in Archaic and Classical times some thirty *poleis* with full credentials around the shores of the Euxine Pontos, and a further twenty or so which were dependent communities or doubtfully Greek, some being mentioned in dubious contexts or in plain error (Hind (1994) 481–86; Tsetskhladze (1994*a*), (1998*b*); see also the relevant entries in the Inventory below). Three primary colonies were planted along the southern shore: Sinope (I *c.*700–690; II *c.*630–600) by Milesians, Amisos by Phokaians and/or Milesians (*c.*560–550), and Herakleia by Megarians and Boiotians (*c.*550). (Herakleia was, according to Xen. *An.* 6.4.2, the first Greek *polis* one met having passed the Bosporos and turned east.) The Greek cities here were well spaced out, and there is little or no friction recorded between them. To the east of Sinope were three of her own daughter colonies, dependent and tribute-paying by C5l: Kotyora (no. 722), Kerasous (no. 719) and Trapezous (no. 734). Between Herakleia and Sinope

were four small settlements, described as *poleis* or *katoikiai*—Tieion (no. 733), Kromna (no. 723), Sesamos (no. 728) and Kytoros (no. 724)—which achieved some strength in union (*koinonia*) under the name Amastris on the site of Sesamos only *c.*300–290.

On the western shore, south of the Danube, the Milesians founded three early *apoikiai*: Istros (no. 685), *c.*650–625; Apollonia (no. 682) by *c.*600 or earlier, with some Rhodians? or Phokaians; and Odessos (no. 689) *c.*590–575. Megarians founded two, but, as these were sub-colonies of Byzantion (no. 674) and Herakleia (no. 715), they came much later—Mesambria (no. 687) *c.*513/12–494 and Kallatis (no. 686) in C6l at the earliest: its date is set by some in C6l, but, perhaps more likely is *c.*400–375 (Hind (1998); Saprykin (1998); Ivantchik (1998) 321–22).

Further north, on the fringes of Skythian lands, the Milesians had a near monopoly in colonial activity, apart from Herakleia's late colony at Chersonesos (no. 695), *c.*425–375. Olbia (no. 690) was in place on the Berezan peninsula by *c.*625–600, and transferred to the mainland site at Parutino some 40 km further inside the estuary within a generation or so, where it became a substantial *polis* and *emporion*. Karkinitis (no. 698) in west Crimea was settled by C6l, to be taken over by Chersonesos (no. 695) *c.*350. The Tyritai at Ophioussa and Nikonion also existed by C6l; they were combined in C4 at Tyras (no. 694, at the site of Akkerman/Belgorod).

The *poleis* east of the Tauric part of the Chersonesos were also mainly Milesian: Theodosia (no. 707) and Pantikapaion (no. 705) on the Kerch Peninsula (the western side of the Bosporos), both left undated by literary sources but placed by archaeological finds *c.*600–575 (Tsetskhladze (1997*b*) 39–69). The eastern side of the Bosporos, the Sindian islands and delta of the river Kuban seem to have attracted some of the earliest *poleis*, not merely Milesian Kepoi (no. 699), *c.*580–560, but Hermonassa (no. 697), probably an *apoikia* from Aiolian Mytilene (no. 798), also *c.*580–560. Phanagoria (no. 706) came later, founded by men from Ionian Teos (no. 868)—these last in flight from the Persians (*c.*545–540). The western side of the Kimmerian Bosporos may have been subject to threatening Skythian movements, including raids and tribute exaction. In time, however, Pantikapaion (no. 705) became the chief market for the Skythians and eventually the capital of an expanding Bosporan state under Archaianaktid dynasts (480–437) and "archons" of mixed Thracian and Greek origin, the Spartokidai (437–109) (Hind (1994) 486–501). Of the small towns here, Nymphaion (no. 704) and, more doubtfully, Myrmekeion (no. 703) qualified as *poleis*, while numerous other lesser *polichnia*, *komai* and *phrouria*, developed in the two geographical halves, European and Asiatic (Tsetskhladze (1997*b*) 70–81). Under Satyros I (433/2–389/8) and Leukon I (389/8–349/8), the Spartokidai expanded to include not just these cities, but some settled Skythians in the eastern part of the Kerch Peninsula and also the Sindoi and numerous Maiotian tribes who inhabited the river system of the river Antikeites (Kuban) and the east side of Lake Maiotis.

In the furthest reaches east of the Euxine were some small towns on the North Caucasus coast, Bata/Patous and Torikos. These can be seen to have been relatively late and mixed in character, and are attested as *poleis* only by Ps.-Skylax (*infra*). In the Kolchian lowlands (Tsetskhladze (1998*a*)) the Phasianoi seem to have developed towns of their own, partly through contact with Media and Persia, and partly under the stimulus of trade with Milesians, perhaps mostly Sinopean merchants. These were Phasis (no. 711), Dioskouris (no. 709), Gyenos (no. 710) on the coast, and Aia and Sourion up the river Phasis; however, the sites of the first two towns, barbarian or Hellenic, have yet to be found. Whether any of these was a Greek *polis* proper in the Classical period is a much debated question, but not one of them is ever attested in the literary record as a community doing anything diplomatic or political; nor has a citizen of any of them ever turned up in an inscription as a visitor or resident of any city of the Black Sea or elsewhere (see Phasis (no. 711) and Dioskouris (no. 709)). These, perhaps small, and certainly elusive, settlements were possibly *katoikiai* of miscellaneous Greeks, and one an *emporion* of the Phasianoi, servicing merchants. We may well think of them as dependent on Sinope (no. 729) for access by sea from the west and on the Phasian Kolkhoi for the trade with the hinterland. A string of such sites lay between Sinope and Phasis, at Batumi, Tsikhizdziri and Pichvnari, where a considerable Greek presence has been revealed in a C5–C4 cemetery (Tsetskhladze (1999) 43–50, 74–81).

The Pontos offered great resources, but was fraught with what seemed initially an inhospitable climate—stormy seas and biting winters. There were tough opponents in the small local Thracian tribes, and stronger and stranger ones still in the steppeland Skythians and Sarmatians. It was dire necessity at home that drove Greeks out to found these *apoikiai* beyond the Hellespont and Bosporos. There was loss of land at home to near neighbours, to Lydians inland from Miletos (no. 854), to Corinthians and Athenians around Megara (no. 225). But there were also plague, famine, *stasis* and the exile

of losers in it. Raids by the Kimmerians into western Asia Minor had some temporary effect, but they probably also brought in their wake new information about the far north-east. It was probably also the policy of the Milesian tyrants Thrasyboulos (*c.*600) and Thoas and Damasenor (*c.*580–560) to promote the sending out of *apoikiai*, just as Gyges, king of Lydia, seems to have done from his position of attempted overlordship (see on Abydos, Strabo 13.1.22). Gradually the Black Sea came to seem more inviting—with colonies settled in the softer target areas: Sinope (no. 729), Herakleia (no. 715), Olbia (no. 690) and Kepoi (no. 699) among the Sindoi. Its coasts were now known and negotiable, its currents familiar and followed, its smaller, poorly organised and ill-equipped peoples able to be defeated by immigrant hoplites. Every city founded—Apollonia (no. 682), Istros (no. 685), Pantikapaion (no. 705), Kallatis (no. 686), Chersonesos (no. 695)—made the Pontos more sailor- and settler-friendly.

Initially, and for generations, the *poleis* were in the ascendant; some, like Herakleia (no. 715), subdued their neighbours (Mariandynoi); perhaps Chersonesos (no. 695) repeated this pattern later among the Tauroi. The Milesians drove out from Sinope the weakened Leukosyroi, after a period of occupation by the Kimmerians. Sinope (no. 729) conquered land from the natives to the east for her colonists. Milesians were believed to have expelled some Skythians in founding Pantikapaion (no. 705). But this dominance did not stay unchallenged beyond C5e. Major powers evolved in Thrace (the Odrysai) and in Skythia (Royal Skythians ranging from the Danube to the Don), and they held the individual Greek *poleis* (Istros (no. 685), Olbia (no. 690)) as valued channels of trade within their sphere of control. Even the Paphlagonian and Kappadokian vassals of Persia occasionally pressed on their coastal *poleis*, Sinope and Amisos (no. 712). On the Kimmerian Bosporos, the Spartokid state was able to withstand the Skythians and Sarmatians throughout C5 and C4 by creating a "proto-Hellenistic" state out of several cities, and incorporating the extensive lands of the Sindoi and Maiotai. In the second half of C5, perhaps *c.*439/6–411/405, Athens extended her thalassocracy into the Euxine Sea, using as her chief footholds the cities of Sinope (no. 729) and, less certainly, Nymphaion (no. 704), while drawing Apollonia (no. 682) and Herakleia (no. 715) into her *arche*.

In constitutional and religious matters the colonists predictably seem to have held to practices prevalent in their mother cities: Milesian and Megarian magistracies, councils, assemblies, calendars and cults, the latter sometimes taking on a native element from a deity deemed to be the equivalent of the Greek (Bilabel (1920); Hanell (1934); Ehrhardt (1988); Saprykin (1997)). Internal troubles followed, with some delay, the pattern of those noticed in Megara (no. 225) or Ionia: increased inequalities of wealth, formation of new aristocracies out of the first colonial families, relative overpopulation, *tyrannis*, and *stasis* between the *aristoi* and the *demos*. The major *poleis* of the Pontic region in the Classical period were relatively few: Sinope (no. 729), Herakleia (no. 715), Apollonia (no. 682), Mesambria (no. 687), Istros (no. 685), Olbia (no. 690), Chersonesos (no. 695), Pantikapaion (no. 705) and Phanagoria (no. 706). They all struck coinage by the late fifth century (in the case of Chersonesos by the early fourth). Another city, Hermonassa (no. 697), had some early importance, but declined, or was incorporated in Bosporos, too early to issue coinage. Most had cross-Pontic economic links, now traced by proxeny decrees and burial *stelai* of foreigners in the cities' cemeteries. Several had a considerable export trade in wine, olive oil, salted fish and their pottery containers, the bulk-carrying amphoras. Warfare broke out between some—Sinope (no. 729) with Sestos (no. 672), and Herakleia (no. 715) with Bosporos (no. 705) in the early fourth century. Nearly all had agoras, temples and *temene* and a variety of public buildings. These have been found especially in the cities on the territories of present-day Bulgaria, Romania, Ukraine and Russia, where excavation, in some areas going back a century, has provided fullest evidence. Nearly all of them had territories, inland and around them, and lesser communities within them—dependent *poleis*, *polichnia*, *katoikiai*, *choria*, *phrouria*. A few had an *emporion* quarter, or had so developed as ports of trade that they could loosely be termed *emporia* in recognition of their general character.

Three ancient sources for the period and region may be looked at in some detail, for all purport to provide toponyms, or parts of names, for the Pontic *poleis*. Of these the first is Hekataios of Miletos (*c.*500), who has left some 175 references to *poleis*, mainly through the medium of the *Ethnika* of Stephanos of Byzantion (Hansen (1997*a*) 17). Among these are twelve located in the Euxine Pontos. They include three certain Greek *poleis*—Hermonassa (no. 697) (fr. 208), Karkinitis (no. 698) (fr. 184) and Phanagoria (no. 706) (fr. 212)—but also one temple (*hieron*): Apatouron (fr. 211), near Phanagoria (no. 706) (see also Kepoi (no. 699)). His remaining *poleis* are said to be barbarian, or are left unspecified: Patrasys (fr. 214: *πόλις Ποντική* (= Patraieus)); Krossa (fr. 213: *πόλις πρὸς τῷ Πόντῳ*

(= Kromna?)); Boryza (fr. 166: *πόλις Πέρσεων*); Kardessos (fr. 188: *πόλις Σκυθίας*); Orgame (no. 692; fr. 172: *πόλις ἐπὶ τῷ Ἴστρῳ*); Stamene (fr. 202: *πόλις Χαλύβων*); Stephanis (fr. 198: *πόλις Μαριανδυνῶν*); Teiria (fr. 201: *πόλις Λευκοσύρων* (= Pteria, s.v. Sinope)); Chadisia (fr. 200: *πόλις Λευκοσύρων*); Choirades (fr. 204: *πόλις Μοσσυνοίκων*). Clearly about half of these *poleis* were centres of the native peoples, rather akin to the nameless *polis* and *metropolis* mentioned by Xenophon as being met with on his troops' line of march (Xen. *An.* 4.7.19: *Skythinoi*; 5.4.15: *Mossynoikoi*).

The second source is the section of the Athenian tribute assessment decree of the year 425/24 headed [*πόλες*] *ἐκ τοῦ Εὐ*[*χσείνο* (*ATL* i. A9.IV.126ff = *IG* I³ 71.IV.126ff). This portion of the inscription is said to have space for up to forty *poleis*, although the boldest restorations have sought to provide about fifteen (*ATL* i. pp. 527–39; Meiggs (1972) 328–29). Most acceptable are Herakleia (no. 715) and Apollonia (no. 682) in the nearest south-western corner of the Pontos; then in declining order of conviction, *Κερασῶς* (IV.169); *Νικ*[*ονία*] (iv.167); *Τύ*[*ρας*] (IV.163); *Κά*[*λλατις*] or *Κα*[*ρκινῖτις*] (IV.165); *Τα*[*μυράκε*] (IV.164); *Ὀ*[*λβία*] or *Ὀ*[*ργάμε*] (IV.162); *Κιμ*[*μερικόν*] (IV.166); *Πατ*[*ραιεύς*] or *Πάτ*[*ρασυς*] (IV.168); *Νί*[*φσα*?] (IV.143); *Δα*[*νδάκε*] (IV.170); [*Κάρο*]*σα* (IV.129); *Τ*[?] (IV.160); *Μ*[?] (IV.161). No widespread Pontic thalassocracy of Athens should be deduced from individual initials, though Sinope (no. 729) was drawn well into Athens' net (on Plutarch's authority: *Per.* 20), and the intervention at Herakleia (no. 715) is accepted (on the authority of Thuc. 4.75.2). A fragment of a casualty list is now once more interpreted to read "at Sinope", reinforcing the account of Plutarch (*IG* I³ 1180; Clairmont (1979) 123–26); the longer reach of Athens is illustrated by the case of Gylon, the ancestor of Demosthenes, said to have held Nymphaion (no. 704) on the Bosporos in Athens' interest (Aeschin. 3.171). The story is reinforced by Krateros Harpokration (*FGrHist* 342) fr. 8, who says that "Nymphaion paid one talent" (Meiggs (1972) 329 n. 5).

The third and last apparent provider of Pontic *poleis* is Ps.-Skylax; dating to *c.*340–330 this text produces a prolific list of *poleis*, many of them said to be *Hellenides*, presumably in the topographic, urban, sense (Flensted-Jensen and Hansen (1996)). Of the forty or so places around the Black Sea, described as Greek *poleis*, nineteen are cities well known from other sources relating to the Archaic and Classical periods. But there are many omissions and misdescriptions as well. The omissions are concentrated particularly in the west and north-west. Istros (no. 685) and Olbia (no. 690) do not appear, nor do Tomis (no. 693) or Dionysopolis (no. 684). Kromna (no. 723) and Kotyora (no. 722) on the southern shore are missing, as is Hermonassa (no. 697) on the Kimmerian Bosporos. Chersonesos (no. 695) figures as *emporion* (68), not *polis*. Sometimes *poleis* are left without the adjective *Hellenis* (Dioskouris (81), Limne (83)); one toponym, Aia (81), is described as "a great barbarian city 180 stades up the river Phasis" (possibly Kutaisi). But another twenty or so *poleis Hellenides* listed by Ps.-Skylax are completely unattested in other sources. These appear mainly on the eastern (72–74, 81–83) and southern shores (86, 89–90) of the Euxine, where not only small settlements are elevated, but even rivers and promontories are transmuted, into cities (e.g. the river Lykastos (89: *πόλις Ἑλληνίς*), Cape Karambis (90: *πόλις Ἑλληνίς*), Cape Jasonia (88: *ἀκρόπολις Ἑλληνίς*)). Sometimes a town, said by Hekataios to be native (e.g. Choirades (fr. 204)), is made into a *polis Hellenis* by Ps.-Skylax (86). As later geographers have no such burgeoning of *poleis* on these shores, it is clear that these idiosyncratic entries should not be trusted. But it is possible that the numbers implied in this text contributed to the notion, mentioned above, that Miletos (no. 854) founded seventy-five or ninety colonies in the region.

Apart from the doubtful cases of *poleis* mentioned above, a number of other settlements are mentioned by name by Classical authors or, with retrospective reference, by Hellenistic or Roman writers as e.g. *polichnia*, *emporia*, *katoikiai*, *teiche*, *phrouria*, *hiera* or *komai*.

1. *Pre-Hellenistic Settlements not Attested as* Poleis

Akonai (*Ἀκόναι*) A *kome* of the Mariandynoi (Theophr. *Hist. pl.* 9.16.4), or a *polichnion*, according to Steph. Byz. 61.4; its location is unknown, and while Plin. *HN* 6.4 describes it as a port east of Herakleia (no. 715), Steph. Byz. simply says *πλησίον Ἡρακλείας* (61.4). *Barr.* 86, unlocated and dated HR, but Theophr. *Hist. pl.* 9.16.4 suggests C.

Alopekia (*νῆσος Ἀλωπεκία*) Perhaps Elizavetovskoye in the Don delta. According to Strabo 11.2.3, it was a "*katoikia* of mixed people". Shelov (1970) 69–75 argued in some detail that Elizavetovskoye, a large fortified site occupied in C5–C3, was Strabo's Alopekia, on an island in front of the Tanais (Don). *Barr.* 84 dates it C but treats it as unlocated (Elizavetovskoye?).

Anchiale (*Ἀγχιάλη*) Paleokastro/Pomorye, south of the Gulf of Burgas, Bulgaria. A *πολίχνιον Ἀπολλωνιατῶν*

(Strabo 7.6.1). The salt production at Anchiale has been studied (by Khrischer *et al.* (1982)). This resource is likely to have been used from an early date. *Barr.* 22, C.

Antheia (*Ἄνθεια*) Probably the peninsula of Atiya on the Bay of Burgas west of Apollonia (no. 682). According to Plin. *HN* 4.45, Antheia was a former name of Apollonia in the territory of the Astai. Steph. Byz. 96.3 makes it a separate colony of Milesians and Phokaians. Archaic sculpture and numerous pieces of bronze arrow money have been found there (Isaac (1986) 240–46). Not in *Barr.*

Anthemousis limne (*Ἀνθεμουσὶς λίμνη*) Steph. Byz. 96.9 mentions an *Ἀνθεμουσὶς λίμνη Μαριανδυνῶν*, presumably somewhere in the territory of Herakleia (no. 715). *Barr.* 86: coast near Heraclea, H.

Apatouron (*Ἀπάτουρον*) A temple on the Taman Peninsula, on the east side of Kimmerian Bosporos. A sanctuary of Aphrodite Apatouria, outside Phanagoria (no. 706), near Kepoi (no. 699) or Hermonassa (no. 697) (Strabo 11.2.10). An inscription from a rural sanctuary east of Kepoi mentions an Aphrodite Ourania and dates it to C4 (Tokhtasyev (1983) 111–17, (1986) 140; Tsetskhladze and Kuznetsov (2000)). *Barr.* 87, unlocated (Taman?), HR.

Arkiroessa (*Ἀρκιρόεσσα*) Steph. Byz. 121.9 has *Ἀρκιρόεσσα, πόλις ἐν Πόντῳ, Ἡρακλείας ὑποτελής* = Domitios Kallistratos (*FGrHist* 433) fr. 6. *Barr.* 86, unlocated, H.

Aulaiouteichos, Agathopolis (*Αὐλαίου τεῖχος, Ἀγαθόπολις*) Akhtopol, on the Bulgarian coast south of the Bay of Burgas. *Aulaiouteichos* appears in Roman sources (Arr. *Peripl. M. Eux.* 36). *Agathopolis* has been supposed to be a late Roman/Byzantine renaming. Recently, however, two inscriptions and bronze coins of C4–C3e have been used to argue for the existence of Agathopolis much earlier (Velkov (1994); Jurukova (1994); Stancomb (1998)); but it is now argued (Avram (2002)) that these two inscriptions are actually of Apollonia (no. 682), moved to Akhtopol only in post-Classical times. *Barr.* 22, RL.

Harmene (*Ἁρμήνη*) Akliman, to the west of Sinope (no. 729). A harbour in the territory of Sinope (Xen. *An.* 6.1.15, 17). According to Ps.-Skylax 89, it was a *polis Hellenis* (actually a harbour of Sinope with accompanying buildings?); see Flensted-Jensen and Hansen (1996) 149. By Strabo's time it was a *kome* with walls, about which he quotes local opinion that they were "the work of people who had nothing better to do" (12.3.10). *Barr.* 86, C.

***Hermesion** (*Hermisium*) On the European side of the Kimmerian Bosporos, unlocated; Pompon. 2.3; Plin. *HN* 4.87. A place lost or re-named by C1 to first century AD. *Barr.* 87 inset: unlocated, R.

Hieron Achilleos (*Ἱερὸν Ἀχιλλέως*) Leuke Island, Phidonisi, Zmejnij Island, lying to the north-east of the Danube delta. The centre of a cult of Achilles Pontarches with a temple. It seems to have been known already by Alkaios (fr. 354, LP), Pind. *Nem.* 4.48–50 and Ps.-Skylax 68, and by many Hellenistic and Roman writers. Archaeological finds from C6 onwards are discussed by Okhotnikov and Ostroverkhov (1996) and in their monograph on Leuke (1993). *Barr.* 23, AC.

Hieron Demetros (*Ἱερὸν Δήμητρος*) Cape Stanislav, between the rivers Hypanis and Borysthenes (Bug and Dnieper). A shrine of Demeter on a cape called Hippoleos, lying across the estuary of the Bug from Olbia (no. 690) (Hdt. 4.53.6). Site not located. *Barr.* 23, C (Stanislavskoye).

Hieron Dios Ouriou (*Ἱερὸν Διὸς Οὐρίου*) Anadolu Kavağı on the north coast of Turkey near the entrance to the Black Sea. The temple of Zeus Ourios ("Zeus favourable to sailing") at the entrance to the Euxine Pontos (Polyb. 4.39.6). Hdt. 4.85, 87 mentions it as a good place from which to admire the sea, as did Dareios in 513/12. It was a collecting point for ships in large-scale convoys and merchant fleets (Didymos 10.54–11.7). The C4 Olbian decree about the exchange rate of their coinage was found there (*IOSPE* I² 24 = Dubois (1996) 14). *Barr.* 53, HRL.

Kieros (*Κίερος*) A settlement of unknown status (called *πόλις Ἡρακλεωτῶν* in Memnon (*FGrHist* 434) fr. 27 (rHell.)), probably Mariandynian in origin. By C4l it was incorporated in the territory of Herakleia (no. 715) (Memnon (*FGrHist* 434) frr. 16, 27); by early Hellenistic times it was renamed Prusias-ad-Hypium (Memnon (*FGrHist* 434) fr. 27). It has been suggested that it had some earlier independent existence as a *polis*, which might be the case if a brief coin issue of C4e can be attributed to Kieros (E. S. G. Robinson (1921) 3–7; Burstein (1976) 108 n. 52). *Barr.* 86, R.

Korokondame (*Κοροκονδάμη*) Settlement on a lake in the Taman Peninsula, on the Asiatic side of the Kimmerian Bosporos. By Strabo's time it was a *kome* (11.2.8 and 14). The Tuzlinskij cemetery (Sorokina (1957)) may have belonged to this settlement, in which case it was of considerable

importance in C6. *Barr.* 87 inset, C, but A would be attested if the cemetery (*supra*) belongs to Korokondame.

Kremnoi (*Κρημνοί*) *Emporion* of the Royal Skythians on the north-western side of the Sea of Azov, or at Pantikapaion (no. 705) (Hdt. 4.20, 110). For the latter location, see Hind (1997) 111–15. *Barr.* 87 inset, unlocated, AC.

Naulochos (*Ναύλοχος*) Obzor, north of the Bay of Burgas, Bulgaria. A minor town (*polichnion*) belonging to the Mesambrians (no. 687) (Strabo 7.6.1). It is not known how early it became such. *Barr.* 22, HR.

Ordessos (*Ὀρδησσός*) A *polis*, probably of mixed population, if this is the same as *Καρδησσός* (*καὶ Ὀρδησσός*?), a *polis* of Skythia, according to Hecat. fr. 188; perhaps Kosharskoye on the right bank of Tiligul. Kosharskoye has produced a considerable amount of Greek imported pottery of C5–C4 (M. J. Treister and Vinogradov (1993) 533). *Barr.* 23, unlocated, HR, but Hecat. fr. 188 may indicate A.

Panelos (*Πάνελος*) According to Steph. Byz. 500.5–7, a *πόλις περὶ τὸν Πόντον*, named after a Herakleiot originating from Boiotia, and so presumably an early venture, but nothing is known of the place (Burstein (1976) 25).

Porthmion (*Πορθμίον*) Situated in the European part of the Kimmerian Bosporos. The toponym is *Πορθμίον* (Steph. Byz. 533.4; Anon. *Peripl. M. Eux.* 50) or *Παρθένιον* (Strabo 7.4.5, 11.2.6; Hdn. III.1 360.17). The site lies at a strategic point on the north-west coast of the Kerch Strait, not far from Pantikapaion (no. 705), and the town controlled the crossing of the strait (Strabo 7.4.5). No source classifies Porthmion as a *polis*, and the site-classification found in the late sources quoted above is *kome*. The only source for a city-ethnic is Stephanos. Thus, it may have been a mere *teichos* (cf. *IOSPE* I² 401 = *Syll.*³ 360; Tsetskhladze (1997*b*) 68–69). Porthmion was founded most probably by Pantikapaion in C6, and thus it was dependent on Pantikapaion from the beginning (ibid. 62, 68, 79). The first walls of Porthmion were erected in C6l/C5e (Vakhtina (1995)). The west wall, a tower and new gates were built in C3e (Y. A. Vinogradov (1995*a*) 157 n. 35; Tolstikov (1997) 209, 223–26). Stone and mudbrick buildings date from C6l. The town was regularly planned as twelve blocks, separated by streets, following the major points of the compass. The blocks were 42 m long by 11 m wide, except for the two central blocks of the eastern half, which were 63.5 m long (Koshelenko *et al.* (1984) 69–70; Hind (1983–84) 87). *Barr.* 87 inset, C.

Priola (*Πρίολα*) A *πόλις πλησίον Ἡρακλείας*, otherwise unknown (Steph. Byz. 535.9). *Barr.* 86, unlocated, H.

***Stratokleia** (*Stratoclia*) An unlocated town on the Asiatic side of the Kimmerian Bosporos. Mentioned by Plin. *HN* 6.18, it may have been a renamed earlier settlement of C5–C4. *Barr.* 87 inset, unlocated, C?H?R?

Tamyrake (*Ταμυράκη*) Named as a gulf and cape (Strabo 7.3.19). Some rare silver and bronze coins with the legend *TAM* are of a *polis* of Tamyrake C5–C4 according to Kutajsov (1996) 299–301. But no such city has yet been found, nor is one mentioned by the ancient sources. *Barr.* 23.

Tirizis (*Τίριζις*) Cape Kali Akra, coast of Bulgaria. A promontory used as a stronghold/treasury by Lysimachos, but probably existing earlier (Strabo 7.6.1). *Barr.* 22, HRL.

Torikos (*Τορικός*) On Gelendzhik Bay, perhaps Tonky Mys, North Caucasus. Torikos has been identified with remains, including a large stone building of *c.*500, found at Tonky Mys (Onajko (1980)). In literary sources Torikos is mentioned by Ps.-Skylax 74, but his many *poleis* in this region are of doubtful status (see *supra*). *Barr.* 84, AC.

These *poleis* and lesser settlements, after a tentative false start at Sinope probably in C8l, really got under way in C7s and continued to be founded, especially at times of stress in the homeland, at various times in C6. Sub-colonies of C5 and C4e filled up the gaps in exploitation of land or trade. The shores of the Euxine Pontos were thus linked together for the first time, and were tied into an Aegean and East Mediterranean network of communications. In the Hellenistic and Roman period more and more "towns" in the urban sense claimed the title *polis* if they were possessed of local autonomy within a king's or the Empire's rule. In an earlier age many of these might have been *komai* or *katoikiai* of "Mixed Folk", like Herodotos' Kallippidai near Olbia (4.17: *ἔοντες Ἕλληνες Σκύθαι*), or of those settlers at Alopekia in the Don delta. An interesting case of "*polis* inflation" in these later times is Abonouteichos (Inebolu on the western half of the north coast of Turkey). From being the "Fort of Abonos" in the time of Mithridates VI (Head, *HN*² 505), it progressed to claiming the name "Ionopolis" (now Inebolu) under M. Aurelius, thus hinting at an origin in the days of Milesian colonisation—perhaps wishing to be on a par with those four cities that had made up the *koinonia* of

Amastris. As we have already seen, at some disputed date between the fourth and and fifth centuries AD the town of Aulaiouteichos on the Bulgarian coast effected its name change to Agathopolis.

II. The *Poleis*

1. *The Coasts of Thrace, Getike and Western Skythia*

682. Apollonia (Apolloniates) Map 22. Lat. 42.25, long. 27.40. Size of territory: 5. Type: A:α. The toponym is invariably Ἀπολλωνία, -ίη, ἡ (Hdt. 4.90.2, 93.1; Arist. *Pol.* 1306ª9); *ATL* i. A9 = *IG* I³ 71.IV.128 has been restored [Ἀπολ]λονίαι. For supplementary precision ancient writers usually add ἡ ἐν τῷ (Εὐξείνῳ) Πόντῳ (e.g. Hdt. 4.90.2; Arist. *Pol.* 1306ª9). The city-ethnic is Ἀπολλωνιάτης (Arist. *Pol.* 1303ª36–37 and Aen. Tact. 20.4, both adding ἐν τῷ [Εὐξείνῳ] Πόντῳ).

Apollonia is called a *polis* in the urban sense by Aen. Tact. 20.4, and in Ps.-Skylax 67 it is the first toponym listed after the heading πόλεις Ἑλληνίδες αἵδε. For the political sense, see Arist. *Pol.* 1303ª26 and 36–37, where Apollonia is one of eight examples subsumed under the heading *polis*. Strabo 7.6.1 retrospectively describes it as ἄποικος and κτίσμα.

The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally in abbreviated form on C5s coins (*infra*) and externally at Aen. Tact. 20.4 and Arist. *Pol.* 1303ª36–37 (cf. the inscription from Pistiros (Vetren) *SEG* 43 486.32 (C4s)). The external and individual use is found in an inscription from Vetren (*IGBulg.* III.1 1068 (C4–C3)) and in later documents.

Apollonia is located at modern Sozopol (Bulgaria), partially on a peninsula (cf. Hind (1983–84) fig. 3). The earliest archaeological finds are of C7l (ibid. 72; Panayotova (1998) 97; for the earliest finds in the cemetery, see T. Ivanov in I. Venedikov *et al.* (1963) nos. 780–81; cf. for new material (Wild Goat style and related East Greek pottery) Reho (1986)). The earliest stone inscription is C6: *IGBulg.* I² 404. For some rural settlements, see Hind (1992–93) 85.

Apollonia was colonised by Miletos (no. 854) 50 years before the reign of Kyros (i.e. *c.*610): Ps.-Skymnos 730–33; cf. Anon. *Peripl. M. Eux.* 85–86, Diller. The possibility that Rhodians joined the Milesians in founding Apollonia (Steph. Byz. 160.2) is to be rejected. According to Ael. *VH* 3.17, the founder was Anaximander the philosopher, but Anaximander was 64 years old in Ol. 58.2 (i.e. 547; cf. Diog. Laert. 2.2), so he was born *c.*611 and he can hardly have been the *oikistes* of Apollonia if we accept the traditional dating (strongly supported by the archaeological evidence). Steph. Byz. 96.2–4 also mentions Ἄνθεια καὶ τοῦ Πόντου πόλις πρὸς τῇ Θράκῃ, Μιλησίων καὶ Φωκαέων ἄποικος, ἧς μέμνηνται πολλοὶ καὶ Φιλέας (cf. Plin. *HN* 4.11.45: *Astice regio habuit oppidum Anthium; nunc est Apollonia*). It might have been a minor Milesian foundation identified with a settlement on the Atiya peninsula (Antheia > Atiya) which produced early Greek material (Hind (1983–84) 73). See also the *astakos* (crayfish) symbol on C5m–C4 coins of Apollonia, which may be a pun on the region, Astike (Hind (1985*a*)).

Apollonia was a member of the Delian League; at least, it was assessed for tribute in 425/4 (*IG* I³ 71.IV.128). Athenian influence is attested in the calendar, which includes the specifically Athenian month Mounychion (*IGBulg.* I² 469 *bis*), dated C3–C2 but perhaps introduced in C5 (Trümpy, *Monat.* 91). In 341 Apollonia had a treaty with Philip II of Makedon (Just. *Epit.* 9.2.1), perhaps in a subordinate position, and in 313 it probably joined the alliance with Kallatis (no. 686), Istros (no. 685) and other west Pontic cities against Lysimachos (Diod. 19.73).

Apollonia originally (C6) had an oligarchic constitution; cf. Arist. *Pol.* 1305ᵇ39–1306ª6–9, where a *stasis* is mentioned in a discussion of how oligarchies change. At *Pol.* 1303ª36–38 Aristotle mentions that "the people of Apollonia on the Euxine Sea after bringing in additional settlers (ἐποίκους) fell into faction (ἐστασίασαν)". These references probably refer to two different moments: the affair of the *epoikoi* suggests an Archaic context, close to the foundation, while the change in oligarchy seems to indicate rather elaborate institutions (Danov (1976) 210; Gehrke, *Stasis* 24, 255).

An extra-urban sanctuary of Apollo Ietros on St Cyriacus (Svet Kirik) island (known from Hellenistic inscriptions) is indirectly attested for C5, in so far as the statue of Apollo captured in 72 by the Romans (Plin. *HN* 4.13, 34.7; App. *Ill.* 30) was a work of Kalamis (Strabo 7.6.1), whose activity falls *c.*475–450. The sanctuary is surely as old as the city itself. In C5–C4 a *megaron* of Ge *Chthonia* is also mentioned (*IGBulg.* I² 398). Other attested cults are those of Artemis Pytheia of Milesian origin (graffito in *SEG* 3 557 (C6)) and Aphrodite (Archaic terracottas; cf. Hoddinott (1975) 38).

Aen. Tact. 20.4 refers to *pylai* at Apollonia in C4m and thus to the existence of fortification walls. The two harbours are attested only in the Hellenistic period.

Apollonia struck silver coins on the Attic standard from C5m onwards. Denominations: tetradrachm, drachm, diobol and fractions of obol. (1) C5s: type: *obv.* anchor (and crayfish l. or r.); legend: *A* or *ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝ*; *rev.* swastika in incuse or Gorgoneion in concave field. (2) C4: *obv.* head of Apollo laur.; *rev.* anchor (and crayfish l. or r.); legend: *A* and magistrate's name (Head, *HN*² 277–78; Price (1993) pl. VI nos. 148–63; Zaginajlo (1974) 49–50 for the weight standards). Before the coinage of silver drachms Apollonia seems to have struck bronze arrowhead money (Balabanov (1986); Preda (1991)).

683. Bizone (Bizonites) Map 22. Lat. 43.25, long. 28.20. Size of territory: 2. Type: C:α. The toponym is *Βιζώνη, ἡ* (*I.Histriae* 15.26 (C3l); Ps.-Skymnos fr. 3, Marcotte). In its only occurrence the city-ethnic is *Βιζωνίτης* (*I.Iasos* 408 (post 167)); the forms recorded by Steph. Byz. 169.15–16 (*Βιζωναῖος* or *Βιζώνιος*) are not attested elsewhere. A possible further mention rC4 depends on acceptance of the conjecture suggested by Iliescu (1969), (1971) *apud* Clem. Al. *Strom.* 5.5 p. 240: *Βιζωνιτῶν δήμῳ* instead of *Βυζαντίων δήμῳ* (*contra* Pippidi (1984) 153 n. 12).

Bizone is called a *polichnion* by Anon. *Peripl. M. Eux.* 75 = Ps.-Skymnos fr. 3. However, it was a C6 colony (*infra*) and presumably founded as a *polis*. The territory of Bizone is called *chora* in an external inscription (Istros: *I.Histriae* 15.26 (C3l)). In the neighbouring area *μιγάδες Ἕλληνες* are attested (Ps.-Skymnos fr. 2b, Marcotte), i.e. Greeks, (Thracian) Krobyzians and Skythians. The city was destroyed by an earthquake (Strabo 1.3.10, 7.6.1; Pompon. 2.2.22; Plin. *HN* 4.11.44) in C1s and then refounded in the Imperial period.

Bizone is located at modern Kavarna (Bulgaria), Chirakman promontory. A few archaeological remains date to the beginning of C6 (East Greek banded ware: Salkin (1986)), but the bulk of the pottery is of late C5 to C3 (Hind (1992–93) 87). Hence, Bizone was colonised possibly in C6. Although Ps.-Skymnos fr. 3 knew a tradition that it was founded by a barbarian people, whereas according to another it was a colony of Mesambria (no. 687), both traditions are suspect: the Greek character of the city is beyond doubt, but the few later inscriptions do not confirm that the city was Dorian. Rather, Bizone was founded by Miletos (no. 854) or by one of the west Pontic Milesian colonies.

684. Dionysopolis (Dionysopolites) Map 22. Lat. 43.25, long. 28.10. Size of territory: 4. Type: B:α. The toponym is *Διονυσόπολις, ἡ* (Ps.-Skymnos fr. 2, Marcotte), *Διονύσου πόλις* (Steph. Byz. 233.1). According to the ancient tradition, the original name was *Κρουνοί*, which was changed to Dionysopolis after the discovery of a statue of Dionysos in the sea (Ps.-Skymnos fr. 2b, Marcotte; Steph. Byz. 233.3–5). Strabo 7.6.1 still uses Krounoi, and not Dionysopolis. The city-ethnic is *Διονυσοπολίτης* (*I.Kallatis* 14 (C3) and Hellenistic coins (Head, *HN*² 274: *ΔΙΟΝΥΣΟΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ*)).

Dionysopolis is implicitly called a *polis* in all the sources, in so far as *polis* is part of the composite toponym, but none is pre-Hellenistic; Hellenistic inscriptions give some *polis* cognates: *politai* (*IGBulg.* I² 13 *ter* (C3)) and *politeia* in proxeny decrees (*infra*, C3). The earliest attestations of the city-ethnic are Hellenistic (*IGBulg.* I² 13 *bis* (C3 if not C4l); *I.Kallatis* 14 (C3)).

Dionysopolis is located at modern Balchik; no archaeological remains are pre-Roman (Hind (1983–84) 74), but the earliest inscriptions are C4 (*IGBulg.* I² 19 *bis*, 25–27).

Dionysopolis was possibly colonised by Miletos (no. 854), perhaps not directly, but the *metropolis* is never mentioned (cf. Ehrhardt (1988) 65–66; Avram (1996) 294, 298–99). The probable existence of the Ionian *phylai* points to a C6l–C5 date for the foundation; there is no proper foundation myth, but the tradition about the statue of Dionysos may suggest a refoundation in C4l.

Grants of proxeny are attested only in C3 (*IGBulg.* I² 13 *bis*, for a citizen of Odessos (no. 689), and 13 *ter*, for a citizen of Kallatis (no. 686)). A citizen of Dionysopolis received proxeny from Kallatis: *I.Kallatis* 14 (C3).

The seven *phylai* mentioned in *IGBulg.* I² 15 *ter* = 30 (Roman period) "are probably identical with the seven *phylai* of Odessos, *viz.* the traditional sixfold Ionian division plus the later addition, the 'Romans' " (Jones, *POAG* 276). The oldest attested public enactments are the two proxeny decrees of C3 (*IGBulg.* I² 13 *bis*, which also mentions *ἐγγείων ἔγκτησις*, and 13 *ter*). The eponymous magistrate was in the Hellenistic period the priest of Dionysos (*IGBulg.* I² 22 (C2)), but there is no evidence for the Classical period. The earliest mentions of the *boule* and of the assembly (*demos*) are from C3 (*IGBulg.* I² 13 *ter*) and C1m (*IGBulg.* I² 13).

685. Istros (Istrianos) Map 22. Lat. 44.35, long. 28.45. Size of territory: 5. Type: A:α. The toponym is *Ἴστρίη* (Hdt. 2.33.4) or *Ἴστρος* (Dubois (1996) 58.3 (C5f); Arist. *Pol.* 1305^{b}5). The city-ethnic is *Ἰστριηνός* (Hdt. 4.78.1) or *Ἰστριανός* (*I.Olbia* 7 = Dubois (1996) 19; Athens: *SEG* 24 258; *IG* II² 8940 (all C4)).

It is called a *polis* in the urban sense by Ps.-Skymnos (fr. 6, Marcotte, referring to the time of foundation) and in the political sense by Arist. *Pol.* 1305^{b}5–6 and, retrospectively, Diod. 19.73.2 (r313). The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally in abbreviated form on coins (*infra*) and externally in Diod. 19.73.2 (r313). The individual and external use is found in *IG* II^{2} 8940; *SEG* 24 258 (Athens); and *I.Olbia* 7 (all C4). Istros is called *patra* (= *patris*) in *I.Histriae* 171 (C4) (cf. *CEG* II 882).

Istros was founded by Miletos (no. 854) (Hdt. 2.33; Ps.-Skymnos fr. 6, Marcotte) in 657 (Euseb. *Chron.* 95b) or some time later (Ps.-Skymnos fr. 6); archaeological evidence favours the earlier dating (Alexandrescu (1978*a*) 19–21, (1990) 50–51). Istros itself founded *Ἰστριανῶν λιμήν* north of the Dniester (Arr. *Peripl. M. Eux.* 20; Anon. *Peripl. M. Eux.* 61, Diller) and perhaps Nikonion (no. 688), in the same region. Orgame (no. 692) was probably also an Istrian foundation.

Istros was perhaps a member of the Delian League, though there is no positive evidence. In 313 it was allied with Kallatis (no. 686) against Lysimachos (Diod. 19.73.2–4). At the end of C4 an *isopoliteia* with Miletos (no. 854) is attested (*I.Histriae* 62). The earliest proxeny decree is from C5l/C4e (Avram (1999*a*)); a grant of proxeny to a citizen of Istros is found at Olbia (no. 690) in C4f (*I.Olbia* 7 = Dubois (1996) 19).

The evidence for civic subdivisions from the Late Hellenistic and Imperial period (four attested Milesian *phylai*) undoubtedly indicates an earlier existence: Aigikoreis (*I.Histriae* 333 (third century AD)); Argadeis (*I.Histriae* 334 (third century AD)); Boreis (*I.Histriae* 97 (C1), ?191 (early first century AD)); Geleontes (*SEG* 30 849 (Roman)). The original oligarchic constitution was replaced through a *stasis* by a democratic regime (Arist. *Pol.* 1305^{b}1–12), possibly as a consequence of Perikles' expedition in the Black Sea and the progress of Athenian influence (Plut. *Per.* 20; cf. Alexandrescu (1990) 70–74).

Several officials are attested in the Hellenistic period, but their Milesian origin indicates an earlier existence. The eponymous official was the priest of Apollo Ietros (implicitly *I.Histriae* 169 (C4e), 144 (C4)), attested explicitly only from C1s (*I.Histriae* 54) onwards.

Istros is located near the village of Istria, Romania. The acropolis (with the *temenos*), an Archaic city wall (C6s, destroyed at the end of C6) and a Classical city wall (C5–C4, possibly destroyed by Lysimachos in 313; cf. Diod. 19.73.4) have been identified through excavations. The early city walls enclosed an area of 60 ha distributed between the *temenos* on the acropolis and the civil settlement on the west side of the city (Alexandrescu (1978*b*), (1990) 51–52; Dupont *et al.* (1999)).

Local inscriptions mention the agora (from C3f onwards: *I.Histriae* 1, 3, 8, etc.). The sanctuary of Apollo Ietros is attested only from C3f onwards (*I.Histriae* 6, 65, etc.), but it may originate in C6. For the temple of Zeus Polieus with altar (*I.Histriae* 8 (C3)) and the temple of Aphrodite there is archaeological evidence from C6m (Pippidi (1962); Zimmermann (1981); Alexandrescu (1990) 56–57). A theatre is mentioned in C3f (*I.Histriae* 65).

The main attested cults are those of Zeus Polieus (*I.Histriae* 8 (C3), etc.), Apollo Ietros (*I.Histriae* 169 (C4e), 314A (C4), 104, 144 (C4–C3), etc.; cf. Apollo *Φωλευτήριος* *I.Histriae* 105 (C3)); Leto (*I.Histriae* 170 (C4)); Aphrodite (*I.Histriae* 101 (C6m), 108 (C4), 113 (C3), etc.). The festivals of Thargelia (*I.Histriae* 65 (C3f)) and Taurea (*I.Histriae* 60 (C2); cf. 61 (C2)) are also attested in the Hellenistic period but they might be very old. The early Milesian calendar is suggested by the mention of the months Taureon (*I.Histriae* 26; cf. the festival of Taurea), Thargelion (cf. the festival of Thargelia), Anthesterion (*I.Histriae* 58 (C2)) and Artemeision (*I.Histriae* 54 (C1)) (Trümpy, *Monat.* 89).

Istros struck coins from *c.*480 onwards. Its earliest coins are silver drachms; later denominations are trihemiobols and obols. Types: *obv.* two young heads tête-bêche, C5 issues with incuse square, C4 issues without; *rev.* sea-eagle on dolphin l.; legend: *ΙΣΤΡΙΗ*. C4 cast bronze coins have *obv.* wheel with four spokes; *rev.* *ΙΣΤ* (Head, *HN* 2 274–75; Preda (1973) 19–37, (1975); Price (1993) pl. IX nos. 220–58; *SNG Cop. Thrace* 191–201). For different interpretations concerning the two opposite heads of the obverse of silver coins, see Hommel (1969) 261–62; Hind (1970); Alekseev (1982); Karyshkovskij (1982); Hind (1992–93) 90 and (1999*b*). About the weight standards of silver coins: Zaginajlo (1974) 51–54. Before the silver and bronze coinage Istros seems to have cast bronze arrowhead money (Preda (1991) 20–27). That *ΙΣΤΡΙΗ* is an abbreviated form of the city-ethnic is indicated by the full form, *ΙΣΤΡΙΗΝΩΝ*, on late coins (*SNG Cop. Thrace* 202–4, *Suppl.* 88).

686. Kallatis (Kallatianos) Map 22. Lat. 43.50, long. 28.35. Size of territory: 5. Type: [A]:α. The usual toponym is *Κάλλατις, -ιν, -ιδος, ἡ* (Ps.-Skylax 67; Strabo 12.3.6; *IOSPE* I^{2} 27.6 (C3)), *Κάλατις* (Anon. *Peripl. M. Eux.* 73, Diller); *Καλλατία* also occurs (Diod. 20.112.2 (r302/1)). Pliny's isolated report (*HN* 4.11.44) that *Callatis antea uocabatur Cerbatis* (MSS differ in this respect: *Ceruatis, Aceruatis*)

found a spectacular confirmation through the inscription *IGBulg.* v 5011 (Dionysopolis (early first century AD)); however, Καρβατις seems to be a river rather than a toponym (cf. Avram (1991) 106). The city-ethnic is Καλλατιανός (C4 coins, *infra*; Arr. *Anab.* 6.23.5 (r325/4)) or Καλλαντιανός (Diod. 19.73.1, 4–6, 20.25.1, in all passages in the plural).

In Ps.-Skylax 67 Kallatis is the fourth toponym listed after the heading πόλεις Ἑλληνίδες αἵδε (cf. Diod. 19.73.5 (r313)); *politai* and *politeia* occur in proxeny decrees *passim* from C4l onwards. It is called ἀποικία by Ps.-Skymnos fr. 4, Marcotte, and described as ἄποικος by Strabo 7.6.1.

The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally in abbreviated form on coins (*infra*) and in C3 inscriptions (*SGDI* 3089 = *I.Kallatis* 7, etc.) and externally in Diod. 19.73.4–6 (r313). The individual and external use is found in Arr. *Anab.* 6.23.5 (r325/4); *I.Sinope* 3 (Sinope (C4)); and *CIG* 3317 = *I.Smyrna* 147 (C4–C3). It is called *patra* (= *patris*) in *CEG* II 731 = *I.Kallatis* 130 (C4).

Kallatis was colonised by Herakleia (no. 715): Ps.-Skymnos fr. 4, Marcotte; cf. Strabo 7.6.1; Memnon (*FGrHist* 434) fr. 13 (21), etc. Pompon. 2.2.22 (*Milesiis deducta Callatis*) must be a mistake. The dating depends on the identification of Amyntas (I or III), to whom the source of Ps.-Skymnos (Demetrios of Kallatis) refers. It is possible that Demetrios of Kallatis had Amyntas I (*c.*540–498) in mind, so that Kallatis may have been founded at the end of C6. But for this early dating there is no archaeological evidence (Hind (1992–93) 89).

Kallatis was probably a member of the Delian League, although in the assessment decree of 425/4 the attractive restoration Κά[λλατις] is not certain (Pippidi (1971) 63–64 = *SEG* 22 9 versus Κα[ρκινῖτις] in *IG* I³ 71.IV.165). Around 313 Kallatis led a *symmachia* with Istros (no. 685) and other west Pontic cities against Lysimachos (Diod. 19.73.2–4). After the conquest of Kallatis by Lysimachos, refugees from Kallatis were settled by the Bosporan king Eumelos in Ψόα: Diod. 20.25.1.

The first attested grant of proxeny is from *c.*311/10 (*I.Kallatis* 2), while the first known received proxeny is presumably by Sinope (no. 729) in C4 (*I.Sinope* 3, which is probably a grant of proxeny and other privileges, though the fragmentary text preserves only a grant of citizenship). The oldest attested public enactment is the proxeny decree from *c.*311/10, and the same inscription also records the *boula*. The eponymous official was, as in Megara (no. 225), the *basileus*, attested from C3 onwards: *I.Kallatis* 3; *SGDI* 3089 = *I.Kallatis* 7, etc. The same inscriptions as well as *I.Kallatis* 4 mention *probouloi* for each month. The president of the assembly was the *proaisymnon (pr(o)aisimnon)*: Avram (1994) 170–75 (from C3 onwards). More officials are mentioned in Hellenistic inscriptions.

Kallatis is located at modern Mangalia (Romania). The earliest ceramic finds are C4e. Some public buildings attested through Hellenistic inscriptions could be older: a *bouleuterion* (*I.Kallatis* 49 (C2)), a *prytaneion* (*I.Kallatis* 3; *SGDI* 3089 = *I.Kallatis* 7 (C3)), a *theatre* (*I.Kallatis* 3 (C3)). The earliest city wall was erected in C4f (Preda (1968) 22 and recent unpublished excavations); its existence is also suggested by Diod. 19.73 and 20.25.1 (r313/12 and 309–307?), the two sieges under Lysimachos.

The evidence for cults is mostly Hellenistic, but in some cases one may suspect an early Megarian origin. Attested patron deities are Zeus Polieus (*I.Kallatis* 22), Zeus Soter (*I.Kallatis* 254 (C4e)) and Athena Polias (*I.Kallatis* 76 (C4)). A typical communal cult of Megarian origin is that of Dionysos Patroos and Dasyllios, attested through a list of deities from C4 (*I.Kallatis* 48A). The same list also mentions Aphrodite Pandamos, Peitho, Kronos and (Damater) Chthonia. Among the attested festivals, the Dionysia τὰ ξενικά (*I.Kallatis* 3 (C3)) may be of earlier origin. Eight attested months from the local calendar indicate a Megarian origin (Avram (1999*b*), complete restoration of the calendar). Evidence for oracle consultation is first given by Ps.-Skymnos fr. 4, referring to the foundation of Kallatis κατὰ χρησμόν (the oracle of Delphi), and by a series of oracular inscriptions from C4–C2 (*I.Kallatis* 48–50).

Kallatis struck silver coins from C4s onwards; the earliest coins are drachms and hemidrachms. *Obv.* head of young Herakles r. in lion skin; *rev.* corn-ear, club and bow-case; legend: ΚΑΛΛΑΤΙ or ΚΑΛΛΑ. Possibly also some types of bronze coinage (Pick (1898) nos. 196–204; Head, *HN*² 273–74; Price (1993) pl. VII nos. 203–4). That ΚΑΛΛΑΤΙ is an abbreviated form of the city-ethnic is indicated by the form, ΚΑΛΛΑΤΙΑ(ΝΩΝ) on C3 coins (*SNG Cop. Thrace* 176).

687. Mesambria (Mesambrianos) Map 22. Lat. 42.40, long. 27.45. Size of territory: 5. Type: A:α. The toponym is Dorian Μεσ(σ)αμβρία or Μεταμβρία (derived from coin legend), Ionian Μεσαμβρίη (Hdt. 4.93, 6.33.2), *koiné* Μεσημβρία (e.g. Ps.-Skylax 67); Μεσεμβρία occurs only once (*IGBulg.* I² 345, a *carmen epigraphicum*); cf. Velkov (1969) 27–28, with an exhaustive list of the attested forms. Of the corresponding city-ethnics, Μεσσαμβριανός is found in *IGBulg.* I² 307.17 (C3f); ΜΕΤΑ on C5 coins is probably an abbreviation of Μεταμβριανῶν, found unabridged on later

coins; and *Μεσημβριανός* is found in *IOSPE* I² 20.5 = *Syll.*³ 219 = Dubois (1996) 15 (C4f).

Mesambria is called a *polis* in the urban sense at Hdt. 4.93.1, and in Ps.-Skylax 67 Mesambria is the second toponym listed under the heading *πόλεις Ἑλληνίδες αἵδε*. *Polis* in the political sense is attested at Hdt. 6.33.2, as well as in local inscriptions of C3f (e.g. *IGBulg.* I² 307). The cognates *politai* and *politeia* occur in the local proxeny decrees (*infra*). The city is also poetically called *patris* (*IGBulg.* I² 345). It is described as *ἄποικος* by Strabo 7.6.1 and as *κτίσμα* by Eust. 803 (*GGM* II 356–57).

The collective use of the city-ethnic is found internally in abbreviated form on C5 coins (*supra*) and in inscriptions of C3 (*IGBulg.* I² 307, 309, 317) and externally in Polyb. 25.2.14 and *IGBulg.* I² 388 *bis* (C2). The external individual use is found in *IG* II² 9338 (C4m) and *Syll.*³ 219 = *IOSPE* I² 20 (Olbia, C4f).

Mesambria is located at modern Nesebăr ("a classical peninsula site": Hind (1983–84) 73). "For the classical period, an estimate of the population of Mesambria has been made at 3,000–4,000 inhabitants (of whom about 700–800 might be hoplites), disposing of a city area of about 300 ha, and with a capability of launching up to 50 ships" (ibid. 74); but cf. Hind (1992–93) 86: "revised estimates of the size of the ancient city suggest that to the present peninsula should be added areas to the north and the south now under water, giving an area of some 40 hectares".

Mesambria was colonised by Kalchedon (no. 743) and Megara (no. 225) at the time of Dareios' campaign against the Skythians (*c.*513/12: Ps.-Skymnos 739–42, Diller; cf. Anon. *Peripl. M. Eux.* 83–84, Diller) or by refugees from Kalchedon (no. 743) and Byzantion (no. 674): Hdt. 4.93 (Mesambria mentioned as toponym while relating the campaign of Dareios) and 6.33 (about its "foundation", which would fall in 493); cf. Eust. 803 (*GGM* II 356–57). The first dating (C6l) is more likely to be correct (Ehrhardt (1987) 92; Avram (1996) 290–92). Mena as *κτίστης* is recorded by the source of Strabo 7.6.1 in an attempt to explain the etymology of the name (cf. Plin. *HN* 4.11.45). See also the epigram *IGBulg.* I² 345.4: *Μεσεμβρία* (*sic*) *δέ μυ* (*sic*) *πατρὶς ἀπὸ* [*M*]*έλσα καὶ βρία*, *bria* being the Thracian word for *polis* (Steph. Byz. 446.15–16, citing Nic. Dam.; Strabo 7.6.1; *IGBulg.* I² 345 comm.).

Mesambria founded Naulochos (modern Obzor, north of Nesebăr) at an unknown date: Strabo 7.6.1: *Μεσημβριανῶν πολίχνιον* (cf. 9.5.19; Plin. *HN* 4.11.45). Ps.-Skymnos (fr. 3, Marcotte) reports a tradition that Mesambria founded Bizone (no. 683), but since Bizone does not appear to be Dorian, the tradition is questionable.

Mesambria probably joined the Delian League—at least, it was probably assessed for tribute in 425/4 (*IG* I³ 71.IV.161, where *M*[——] may refer to Mesambria). In C4 it had, perhaps as subordinate, treaties with some Thracian kings: *IGBulg.* I² 307 = V 5086 (rC3f). In 313 it was probably allied with Kallatis (no. 686), Istros (no. 685) and other west Pontic cities against Lysimachos (cf. Diod. 19.73).

Citizens of Mesambria received proxenies from Olbia (no. 690) (*Syll.*³ 219 = *IOSPE* I² 20 = Dubois (1996) 15 (*c.*375–350)) and Oropos (no. 214) (*IG* VII 281 = *I.Oropos* 50 (C3s)). The proxeny decree and the treaty concluded with the Thracian king Sadalas (*IGBulg.* I² 307 (C3f)) are the earliest attested public enactments. The eponymous official was, as in Megara (no. 225), the *basileus* (*IGBulg.* I² 322 *bis* (C3)).

Evidence for public architecture is also Hellenistic, but the theatre (*IGBulg.* I² 307, 308 *bis*, 308 *ter* (C3)) and the sanctuaries of Apollo (*IGBulg.* I² 307, 307 *bis*, 308 *bis* (C3), etc.) and Dionysos (*IGBulg.* I² 308 *ter* (C3)) may be earlier than their first attestation.

For the city walls (C5 or C4e) (pseudo-isodomic and isodomic work) there is only scanty archaeological evidence, since they were destroyed by the construction of the late Roman and Byzantine citadel (Velkov (1969) 31–37).

Some of the cults attested in Mesambria in the Hellenistic period are certainly or possibly of Megarian origin and so ought to be early: Zeus Hyperdexios (*IGBulg.* I² 322 *bis* (C3)) and Athena Soteira (*IGBulg.* I² 326 (C1)) as patron deities, Apollo (*supra*, about his sanctuary), Dionysos (sanctuary: *IGBulg.* I² 308 *ter* (C3); Eleuthereus: *IGBulg.* I² 324 (C1); festival of the Dionysia: *IGBulg.* I² 307, 308 *bis*, 308 *ter* (C3)), (Damater) Malophoros (*IGBulg.* I² 370 *bis* (Imperial period)), the Dioskouroi (festival of the Dioskouria: *IGBulg.* I² 308 *septies* (C3)), etc.

Mesambria struck coins from C5m onwards. The earliest coins are silver drachms. Types: *obv.* crested Corinthian helmet facing or head of Athena; *rev.* incuse square; legend: *META* in a spoked wheel (Head, *HN*² 278–79; Price (1993) pl. X nos. 265–71; Zaginajlo (1974) 50–51 for the weight standards; Karayotov (1994) 18–19).

688. Nikonion Map 23. Lat. 26.10, long. 30.25. Size of territory: 3. Type: A:*α*. The toponym is *Νικώνιον, τό* (Ps.-Skylax 68) or *Νικωνία, ἡ* (Strabo 7.3.16) or *Νικόνιον* (Anon. *Peripl. M. Eux.* 61, Diller) or *Νικώνεον* (Y. G. Vinogradov (1999) (C3f)). Apart from Steph. Byz. 476.2 there is no attestation of a city-ethnic.

Nikonion is called a *polis* in the urban sense by Ps.-Skylax 68. That it was a *polis* in the political sense too is indicated by its registration in the Athenian assessment decree of 425/4 as a member of the Delian League (*IG* I³ 71.IV. 167).

Nikonion was colonised in C6l directly by Miletos (no. 854) or, more probably, by Istros (no. 685); cf. the numismatic evidence and the role of Istros in refounding Nikonion (Y. G. Vinogradov (1999)). Nikonion was under the protectorate of the Skythian king Skyles (C5m, *infra*) and then joined the Delian League; at least, it was assessed for tribute in 425/4 (*IG* I³ 71.IV.167: *Νικ*[*ονία*] or rather *Νικ*[*όνεον*]; cf. Avram (1995) 197). *C.*331 it was destroyed by Zopyrion (Y. G. Vinogradov (1997) 323) and then refounded (C3f) by Tyras (no. 694) with the support of Istros (Y. G. Vinogradov (1999)).

Nikonion is located at modern Roksolanskoye *gorodishche* (Ukraine), on the left bank of the estuary of the Dniester. The site had a defensive wall, uncovered in the north-western part of the upper terrace (*c.*475–450). No inscriptions on stone have been found, while ceramic material (including graffiti) suggests the *floruit* of the site in C6l–C5 (Sekerskaya (1989); Zaginajlo and Sekerskaya (1997)). Some of the minor settlements identified in the lower Dniester River region (Okhotnikov (1990)) may belong to the territory of Nikonion.

In C5f–m Nikonion cast bronze coins imitating the Olbian and Istrian coins. *Obv.* owl; legend: *ΣΚ*, *ΣΚΥ* or *ΣΚΥΛ*; *rev.* wheel with four spokes. These coins were formerly attributed to Olbia (no. 690), but their concentration in the area at Roksolanskoye *gorodishche* suggests that they were issues of Nikonion (Zaginajlo and Karyshkovskij (1990); Y. G. Vinogradov (1997) 35, 209). On the other hand, their legend indicates that the Skythian king Skyles exercised a protectorate over Nikonion. In addition to its own issues, Nikonion regularly used Istrian silver and bronze coins (Karyshkovskij (1966); Preda (1973) 33).

689. Odessos (Odess(e)ites) Map 22. Lat. 43.15, long. 27.55. Size of territory: 5. Type: [A]:*α*. The toponym is *Ὀδησ(σ)ός, ἡ* (Hippoc. *Prorrheticon* 1.72.3; Ps.-Skymnos fr. 1, Marcotte; Diod. 19.73.3, 20.112.2; *IGBulg.* I² 222.7), the Doric being *Ὀδασός* (*IG* XII.1 147 = *GVI* 1257 (*c.*200)); or *Ὀδησσόπολις* (e.g. Ps.-Skylax 67). The city-ethnic is *Ὀδησ(σε)ίτης* (cf. *IGBulg.* I² pp. 79–80; *SEG* 38 114.V.128 (C2s)) or *Ὠδασσίτα*[*ς*] (*I.Rhod.Per.* 267 (C4)).

In Ps.-Skylax 67, Odessos (*Ὀδησσόπολις*) is the third toponym listed after the heading *πόλεις Ἑλληνίδες αἵδε*, where *polis* is used in the urban sense; in the political sense, *polis* is used retrospectively by Diod. 19.73.3 (r313). Strabo 7.6.1 describes it as *ἄποικος*.

The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally on Hellenistic coins (Head, *HN*² 276) and in C3 inscriptions, the earliest possible instance being *IGBulg.* I² 37, restored (C3). The external individual use is attested by *I.Rhod.Per.* 267 (*Ὠδασσίτα*[*ς*] (*sic*) (C4)); *IOSPE* II 295 = *CIRB* 237 (Pantikapaion, C4l/C3e); *IGBulg.* I² 13 *bis* (Dionysopolis, C3).

Odessos was colonised by Miletos (no. 854) at the time of Astyages' reign in Media (Ps.-Skymnos fr. 1, Marcotte; *c.*593/587 as the beginning of his reign); cf. Strabo 7.6.1 (Plin. *HN* 4.11.45). Scholars assume a date of *c.*585–570 (Hoddinott (1975) 49) or *c.*560 (Danov (1976) 209). The earliest archaeological finds are from the second quarter of C6: Toncheva (1967) 157–60; cf. Hind (1983–84) 74.

Despite the lack of positive evidence, Odessos is considered to have joined the Delian League (G. Mihailov, *IGBulg.* I² p. 80). About C4m it was subjected to the Getai; it was liberated in 341 by Philip II of Makedon and concluded a subordinate treaty with him (Jord. *Get.* 10.65; cf. Theopomp. fr. 217). In 313 it was allied with Kallatis (no. 686), Istros (no. 685) "and the other neighbouring cities" against Lysimachos (Diod. 19.73.2–3).

The seven *phylai* mentioned explicitly in *IGBulg.* I² 47 *bis* (Roman period) have names which "except for the later addition, *Romaioi*, presumably descended from the foundation in the sixth century" (Jones, *POAG* 275).

The Milesian cult of Apollo is attested in C5 through a dedication (Hind (1983–84) 74), and a marble head of the god (Hoddinott (1975) 51 and pl. 22 (C5f?)). Three attested months (*IGBulg.* I² 39: Artemision; 47: Boedromion; 50: Apatoureon) indicate the use of the Milesian calendar.

Odessos is located at modern Varna (Bulgaria). There is no archaeological evidence for early city walls (but cf. Jord. *Get.* 10.65 for gates in the time of Philip II, and Diod. 19.73.3 for a *poliorkia* in 313) or urbanisation of Odessos. The city struck coins from C3l onwards; its earliest coins are gold staters and tetradrachms of Alexandrine or Lysimachian types (cf. Head, *HN*² 276–77).

690. Olbia (Olbiopolites)/**Borysthenes** (Borysthenites) Map 23. Lat. 46.50, long. 32.00. Size of territory: 5. Type: A:*α*. There are two toponyms: (a) *Βορυσθένης* and (b) *Ὀλβία, ἡ* (with variants); and two corresponding city-ethnics: (c) *Βορυσθεν(ε)ίτης* and (d) *Ὀλβιοπολίτης*. Their use depends on the date, the topographical meaning, internal versus external use, and on other criteria.

(a) *Borysthenes* is found in *SEG* 36 693 = Dubois (1996) 90 (*c.*550–525); *SEG* 48 1024.1 (*c.*530–510); and *Syll.*³ 218.1 (C4f): [*εἰς Βο*]*ρυσσθένη ἐισπλεῖν* At 4.24.1 Herodotos refers to *Βορυσθένης ἐμπόριον* (cf. *Βορυσθενειτέων ἐμπόριον* at 4.17.1); at 4.78.5 he has *ἐν Βορυσθένει*, and the context suggests that the reference is to the city in the urban sense (cf. *Βορυσθενειτέων ἄστυ* at 4.78.3, and *οἱ ἐν Βορυσθενειτέων τῇ πόλι* at 4.79.2).

(b) *Olbia*. *ΟΛΒΙΗ* is found on C4e coins (*infra*), in *IOSPE* I² 164 (C5f: *Ὀλ*[*βίης*], restored Y. G. Vinogradov (1989) 111 n. 124) and seems to be an abbreviation of the full form *Ὀλβίη πόλις* attested in inscriptions from the city itself (Rusyaeva (1986) 26 = Dubois (1996) 93 (C6s); *DGE* 735.2, 24 (*c.*330)); *Ὀλβία* is found in *DGE* 735.15; *Ὀλβιόπολις* is found in *IOSPE* I² 325 (*c.*330–320, restored Y. G. Vinogradov (1989) 165).

(c) *Borysthen(e)ites* is found in Hdt. (e.g.) 4.17.1, 4.54, 4.78.3, 4.79.2, 4, and *CEG* II 723 = *SEG* 39 568 (C4) (Amphipolis, individual use).

(d) *Olbiopolites* is found in Hdt. 4.18.1; *IOSPE* I² 20.2 (C5l/C4e), 21.2 (C4); and *ΟΛΒΙΟ*(-) occurs on coins from C4f onwards.

It is generally assumed that the first Greek (surely Milesian) settlement (C7m) was on the island of Berezan (*infra*), that the beginning of the site on the mainland dates to *c.*600 or some time later, and that the latter included Berezan in the community later known basically as Olbia. Some scholars assume that the *emporion* and the *polis* (*asty*), originally called *Βορυσθένης*, were identical, while some others distinguish between the *asty* and the *emporion*. The latter differ in more points. Some of them distinguish between *Βορυσθενειτέων ἐμπόριον* and *Βορυσθένης ἐμπόριον*, at Hdt. 4.17.1 (*emporion* belonging to the community of the citizens called *Borysthenitai*) versus Hdt. 4.21.1 (*emporion* as a city with flourishing trade activities) (Y. G. Vinogradov (1997) 133–45), while others assume that both records indicate a section of the city (e.g. Hind (1985*b*) 105–9, (1995–96) 116, (1997) 107–11). On the other hand, even if one accepts that the *emporion* was (at least in Herodotos' time) only a part of the city (for this particular meaning of *emporion*, see Hansen (1997*c*) 86–87, 100–1), views differ on the question of its location: the earliest settlement at Berezan (Y. G. Vinogradov (1997) 133–45) or the harbour of the "lower town" (Hind (1997) 111; Hansen (1997*c*) 102). The toponym *Βορυσθένης* occurs on a bone chip with a graffito (Dubois (1996) 90 (C6m)) found at Berezan which may support the equation Berezan = *Borysthenes*.

None the less, the fine distinction between *Borysthenes* and *Olbia* remains subject to dispute. Quasi equivalence is suggested by the local coin law from C4f: *Syll.*³ 218.1 = Dubois (1996) 14 line 1: [*Βο*]*ρυσσθένης* and 15–16: *τὸ ἀργύριο*[*ν τὸ*] *Ὀλβιοπολιτικόν*. Further testimony is given (retrospectively) by Strabo 7.3.17; cf. Steph. Byz. 176.14–16. Ps.-Skymnos fr. 10, Marcotte, seems to have contaminated more sources, and is rather puzzling; cf. Dubois (1996) p. 3.

It has also been assumed that after the mainland community absorbed Berezan, the inhabitants called themselves *Olbiopolitai* and their city *Olbia*, while *Borysthenes* and *Borysthenitai* were used by non-native Greeks (Y. G. Vinogradov (1997) 143). This might have been true in C5 (no external inscriptions), but at least from C4 onwards it is not only *Βορυσθενίτης* (e.g. *CEG* II 723; cf. Y. G. Vinogradov (1997) 31, Amphipolis; *IG* II² 8423, Athens; *F.Delphes* III.3 207.4 (C3f); Maiuri, *Nuova silloge* 95, Rhodos (Hell.)) which occurs, but also [*Ὀλ*]*βιοπολίτας* (*IOSPE* I² 345, Chersonesos (C4l); cf. Y. G. Vinogradov (1997) 491), *Ὀλβιοπολῖται* (*SovArch* (1960) 4, 173–79, Tyras (C3f)), *Ὀλ*[*β*]*ιοπολίτης* (*I.Kallatis* 166 (C2)), *Ὀλβία* (*I.Tomis* 5 (C2l)), etc., and not only in inscriptions from Pontic cities, whose vicinity could suggest the influence of the internal use, but also in Asia Minor (Klaros: *Ὀλβιοπολειτῶν τῶν καὶ Βωροσθενειτῶν* (*sic*); Robert (1980) 85). The restored [*Ὀλβιανὸς τῶν πρὸς*] *Ὕπανιν* (*I.Kalchedon* 4.13) is in many respects suspect; *Ὀλβιοπολίτης* should be expected (Ehrhardt (1988) 355 n. 591).

Olbia is called a *polis* both in the urban sense (Dubois (1996) 23.12 (C6s); Hdt. 4.79.2; *SEG* 42 711 (C4s)) and in the political sense (Dubois (1996) 14.15 (C4f) = *Syll.*³ 218; *SEG* 32 794.3 (C4s)). A C6l graffito: *πόλεως*, may be an example of the political use as well (*SEG* 42 719). The territorial sense is presumably a connotation in a C5f funerary epigram (*IOSPE* I² 270 = Dubois (1996) 44.1 = *CEG* I 173). *Politeia* occurs in proxeny decrees (*infra*); *polietai* is found in *SEG* 31 701 (C5m). The *ἄστυ* and the *προάστειον* ("Vorstadt") are mentioned at Hdt. 4.78.3. Strabo 7.3.17 describes the former as a *κτίσμα* (for the problem of the *ἐμπόριον*, *supra*). [*πάτρ*]*α* has been restored in *SEG* 39 568 (C4), and *patris* is found in *SEG* 46 949 (cf. *SEG* 31 702; *CEG* II 884; see Lebedev (1996) and Raaflaub (2000) 261–65). Olbia (Borysthenes) is called an *asty* by Hdt. 4.78.3.

The internal collective use of the city-ethnic is attested in *SEG* 31 701 (C5m) and in several decrees of C4 (e.g. *IOSPE* I² 20; *I.Olbia* 3, 4, 9) and is abbreviated *ΟΛΒΙΟ*(-) on C5l coins (*infra*); it is also found in an *isopoliteia* between the

city and Miletos (no. 854) (*Staatsverträge* 408). The internal individual use is found in Dubois (1996) nos. 58.4 (C5f) and 49.2 (C4f). (For the external individual and collective use of the city-ethnic, see the discussion of *Olbiopolitai/Borysthenitai* above.)

Olbia is located at modern Parutino, in the confluence area of the rivers Bug (Hypanis) and Dnieper (Borysthenes). Some 38 km south-west from Parutino and 2 km from the mainland is situated the island of Berezan, a former peninsula jutting south at Viktorovka (near Ochakov). It is assumed that it became an island after the first Greek settlement (Solovyov (1999) 1–113).

The earliest among the more than 100 rural settlements around Olbia that have been surveyed produced archaeological materials from C6f. A large *chora* bordering basically on the right bank of the river Bug is attested in C6 (Kryzhitskij *et al.* (1989)). It was laid waste by the Skythians in C5e and then repopulated from C4e to C3m (Ruban (1985) 30–36).

Olbia was founded by Miletos (no. 854) (Hdt. 4.78.3; Ps.-Skymnos 813–14, Diller; Steph. Byz. 176.15). The foundation year (647/6) given by Euseb. *Chron.* 95b surely refers to Berezan, where the earliest archaeological materials are from C7s (a few sherds are from the second quarter of C7: Kopejkina (1973)). The earliest finds in Olbia are from C6e (Y. G. Vinogradov (1997) 377–84), with the exception of two sherds of C7s (Kopejkina (1976) 138–39; Rusyaeva (1986) 42 and n. 85). This would correspond to the synchronism suggested by Ps.-Skymnos with the "power of the Medians", so Olbia may have been founded *c.*600 (Kopejkina (1976) 139; Y. G. Vinogradov (1997) 383) or some time later (Kryzhitskij (1985) 57). *Epoikoi* from the *metropolis* and inhabitants from Berezan installed the new centre on the mainland (Y. G. Vinogradov (1989) 33–39; Y. G. Vinogradov *et al.* (1990); cf. Ehrhardt (1988) 74–78).

It is assumed that Olbia joined the Delian League after 437 (Karyshkovskij (1959); Y. G. Vinogradov (1989) 126–34; *contra* Brashinskij (1963) 70–85). It had *c.*389–380 a *homologia* with the Bosporan king Leukon I (389/8–349/8) (Y. G. Vinogradov (1997) 515–25). An *isopoliteia* with the *metropolis* Miletos is attested through *Syll.*³ 286 = *Staatsverträge* 408 (*c.*329).

In C4 proxenies were granted by Olbia to citizens from Tauric Chersonesos (no. 695) (*I.Olbia* 3 = Dubois (1996) 15 (C4e)), Arkadian Orchomenos (no. 286) (*I.Olbia* 4 = Dubois (1996) 17 (C4e)), Mesambria (no. 687) (*Syll.*³ 219 = *IOSPE* I² 20 = Dubois (1996) 15 (*c.*375–350)), Istros (no. 685) (*I.Olbia* 7 = Dubois (1996) 19 (C4f)), Herakleia (no. 715) (*I.Olbia* 6 = Dubois (1996) 20 (*c.*340–330)), Byzantion (no. 674) (*I.Olbia* 9 = Dubois (1996) 18 (*c.*340–330)), Athens (no. 361) (*I.Olbia* 5 = Dubois (1996) 21 (*c.*340–330); cf. Y. G. Vinogradov (1997) 484–92), ?The[bes] or ?The[ssaly] (*I.Olbia* 14; cf. Y. G. Vinogradov (1997) 31 (C4)). Received proxenies occur only from C4l onwards: *IOSPE* I² 345 (Chersonesos) (cf. Y. G. Vinogradov (1997) 491 n. 38). A grant of citizenship is attested early through a *[dogm]a* for the previous tyrant of Sinope (no. 729) and his brother who fled to Olbia in 437 (Y. G. Vinogradov (1997) 165–94 = *SEG* 31 701 = Dubois (1996) 5), later through a public decision for Satyros I (433/2–389/8), archon of Bosporos (Y. G. Vinogradov (1997) 515–25 (*c.*392–389)). In 331, when the city was besieged by Zopyrion, citizenship was granted to foreign residents (Macrob. *Sat.* 1.11.33: *dataque ciuitate peregrinis*; cf. Y. G. Vinogradov (1997) 276–322 = Y. G. Vinogradov (1989) 153–63; *SEG* 32 794).

It is assumed that the original aristocratic constitution (Y. G. Vinogradov (1989) 69–80) was replaced *c.*480 by a tyranny (ibid. 109–26); cf. the name of a certain Paus(anias) on coins and the *aisymnetes* of the *Molpoi*. Hdt. 4.78–80 and the numismatic evidence suggest that in C5m a kind of protectorate over Olbia was exercised by the Skythian king Skyles (Y. G. Vinogradov (1989) 90–109), as in Nikonion (no. 688) or Karkinitis (no. 698) (*SEG* 40 625; cf. *BE* (1989) 478, (1990) 566). In C4e the tyranny and the Skythian protectorate had been abolished (Y. G. Vinogradov (1989) 135–50, (1997) 229). Some numismatic evidence and the emergence of a new formula in the local decrees indicate the rise of a moderate democratic constitution (Y. G. Vinogradov (1989) 146–50); more democratic reforms (naturalisation of foreign residents, abolition of debts, etc.) were accomplished in 331 (Macrob. *Sat.* 1.11.33; *SEG* 32 794; *supra*).

The earliest public enactments are revealed by some graffiti with *ΠΟ*, *ΠΟΛΕ*, *ΠΟΛΕΩΣ* (Y. G. Vinogradov (1989) 62–63 and fig. 4 (C6l/C5e); cf. *SEG* 42 719). The earliest decree is a grant of *ateleia* to a Sinopean (*I.Olbia* 1 = Dubois (1996) 1 (C5f)), followed by the grant of citizenship, *ateleia* and *enktesis ges kai oikies* to the previous tyrant of Sinope and his brother (*supra*), and by the grant of citizenship and *ateleia* to Satyros I (433/2–389/8), archon of Bosporos (Y. G. Vinogradov (1997) 515–25 (*c.*392–389)). A possible grant of *ateleia* seems to be attested through *I.Olbia* 2A (cf. Y. G. Vinogradov (1997) 188 n. 86 (C5s)). Through the *isopoliteia* from *c.*329 (*Syll.*³ 286 = *Staatsverträge* 408), *ateleia* was also granted to Milesians.

The original eponymous magistrate was the *aisymnetes* of the *Molpoi* (*I.Olbia* 58 restored by Graf (1974) 210) and, from

C4 onwards, the priest of Apollo Delphinios (Karyshkovskij (1978)). The council (*boule*) and the assembly (*demos*) are attested from C4f onwards (Dubois (1996) 14.2–3; *IOSPE* I² 26; *IOSPE* I² 325; *SEG* 32 794). Other officials are the *agoranomoi* (Y. G. Vinogradov and Kryzhitskij (1995) 92, from C5 onwards) and the commission of five τειχοποῖαι (*SEG* 32 795 = Dubois (1996) 13 (C4m)).

There is a rich epigraphical and archaeological documentation for Olbian patron deities, especially for Apollo. Apollo Delphinios (first dedications from C5m onwards: *I.Olbia* 55–59), whose sanctuary was the central *temenos*, became the main deity from C6l onwards. His cult was observed by the *Molpoi* (whose *aisymnetes* was the eponymous official: *SEG* 28 647; see also *I.Olbia* 55, 56, 167) and the *Numeniastai* (Dubois (1996) 96). Apollo Ietros (Y. G. Vinogradov (1997) 80; Ehrhardt (1988) 145–46; but cf. Ehrhardt (1989)), whose sanctuary was the western *temenos* (see especially the *kalypter* with the graffito *IHTPOON*: Rusyaeva (1986) 45 fig. 4.7, 3.6 = Dubois (1996) 59 (C6s)), is attested through graffiti from C6f onwards (*LSAG*² 416 pl. 72 no. 61; Graf (1974); Rusyaeva (1986)). The earliest dedications are from C5f (*IOSPE* I² 164 (cf. *SEG* 28 657); Rusyaeva (1992) 35 fig. 9; *I.Olbia* 167, restored). A graffito on a skyphos (Y. G. Vinogradov and Rusyaeva (1980) 25 = Dubois (1996) 99 (C5m)) mentions Apollo Delphinios, Ietros, Thargelios and Lykeios. Artemis is attested as Delphinia (Y. G. Vinogradov and Rusyaeva (1980) 29), Pythia (Y. G. Vinogradov (1997) 78) and Ephesia (*SEG* 32 741). Zeus and Athena are *entemenioi theoi* in the central *temenos* (Levi (1964) 141; see also the dedications to Athena and Zeus (*I.Olbia* 64 (C6l/C5e), and 106 (C5s), restored by Y. G. Vinogradov (1997) 374). Zeus, attested through graffiti from C6l onwards (Levi (1964) 151, etc.), is later known as Eleutherios after the abolition of the tyranny (C4e) (cf. Y. G. Vinogradov (1997) 212–15) and as Soter (Dubois (1996) 11 (C4l)), while Athena is represented on the earliest Olbian *aes* (*infra*). Notable among other communal cults is that of Dionysos Bakcheios, Bakchos and Iakchos (from C6l onwards: Rusyaeva (1979) 83, (1992) 96–100; Yajlenko (1982) 290 no. 104, etc.). Mysteries are recorded at Hdt. 4.78–80, while some bone chips (C5) attest the existence of Orphics (Rusyaeva (1978) = Dubois (1996) 94; cf. M. L. West (1982); Ehrhardt (1987) 116–17; Zhmud (1992); Y. G. Vinogradov (1997) 242–49). Aphrodite Apatoura, Patroia, Syria is attested through graffiti (Yajlenko (1982) 288–89 nos. 91, 92, 94; cf. Rusyaeva (1992) 100–6) from C6l onwards. Graffiti from C5f and C4f mention ἄβατα (pl.!) of Aphrodite in the western *temenos* (*SEG* 30 975; Dubois (1996) 71a–b). Aphrodite and Hermes (attested through graffiti from C6 onwards (Tolstoj (1953) 24, 44; *SEG* 30 878, 909; cf. Hermes Patroios: Yajlenko (1982) 291 no. 110; priest of Hermes: *SEG* 34 770 (C5e); oracle: *SEG* 34 771 (C5), etc.) were lords of the western *temenos* (Y. G. Vinogradov and Rusyaeva (1980) = *SEG* 30 972–74). Other attested cults are those of Demeter and Kore-Persephone, Kybele, the Kabiroi, the Dioskouroi, Hekate, Themis (Y. G. Vinogradov and Kryzhitskij (1995) 114–16) and Achilles (from C6 onwards: Rusyaeva (1992) 70–83; Hommel (1980); Ehrhardt (1988) 179–80; Hedreen (1991)), whose sanctuary was on the island of Leuke, protected by Olbia (cf. *IOSPE* I² 325).

All twelve months of the Milesian calendar used in Olbia are named by a graffito on a skyphos (Y. G. Vinogradov and Rusyaeva (1980) 25 = Dubois (1996) 99 (C5m)).

Early ties (C6s) with the oracle from Didyma are attested by a graffito from Berezan (Rusyaeva (1986) 26 = Dubois (1996) 93; Burkert (1990)). The only attested communal dedication is to Zeus Soter (Dubois (1996) 11 (C4l)).

Olbia is topographically distributed between two terraces: the upper town (acropolis) with the agora and the two *temene* divided by a street running north–south, including an area of *c.*16.5 ha (Y. G. Vinogradov and Kryzhitskij (1995) 28); and the lower town (urbanised from C5f onwards) with a harbour (whose early existence is suggested by the privilege of εἴσπλους καὶ ἔκπλους conceded by proxeny decrees from C5f onwards) which seems to be now under water. The early walls, towers and gates (cf. Hdt. 4.78–79) have not been discovered; they were repaired through the five *teichopoiai* (Dubois (1996) 13 (C4m)). The first archaeologically attested walls ("Lehmziegelmauern") are those identified in the area of the Hellenistic West Gate, restored in C4l/C3e (Kryzhitskij (1985) 88–93). In C5f the two parts of the city included an area of *c.*44–47 ha (Y. G. Vinogradov and Kryzhitskij (1995) 33). Early traces of urbanisation (C6s) are also attested on the island of Berezan.

Public buildings are attested by both inscriptions and archaeological finds (cf. Y. G. Vinogradov and Kryzhitskij (1995) 27–41): an *ekklesiasterion* (Dubois (1996) 14.9–10 (C4m)), a *dikasterion* (rebuilt in C4l/C3e), a *gymnasion* (located south-west of the agora, *c.*475, then rebuilt in C4l/C3e), a theatre (*SEG* 32 794; cf. Y. G. Vinogradov (1997) 390 n. 44 (C4); cf. *TGR* iii. 538), possibly also a *hestiatorion* (C6l, located on the place of the later *gymnasion*; cf. Y. G. Vinogradov (1989) 62). The earliest archaeological evidence for the agora is of C6. A 30–35 m deep fountain has been excavated south of the *gymnasion* (Karasyov (1972)

40–44), and several drains have been identified. Olbia had two *temene*: the central (or the eastern) *temenos* (from *c.*530 onwards; cults of Apollo Delphinios, Athena and Zeus) containing the main altar and the temple *in antis* of Apollo Delphinios (Karasyov (1964) 49–97; Pichikyan (1984) 178–84 (C5e)), a treasure house (Kryzhitskij (1985) 64–65) and some minor buildings; and the western *temenos* (from C6m onwards; cults of Apollo Ietros, later also Hermes, Aphrodite and Kybele; cf. Rusyaeva (1986), (1994)) containing the temple of Apollo Ietros dating from C6l/C5e (Kryzhitskij (1997)), more altars, possibly also a second temple. In the western *temenos* a stoa has been identified (Kryzhitskij (1985) 74–75).

The earliest Olbian coinage is represented by C6f bronze arrowhead money (Ruban (1982)), C6s bronze dolphins (Zograph (1977) pl. XXX 1–2, 7–11; Ruban (1982)); add some bronze weights with signs of arrows and dolphins (Grakov (1971)). In C5 the local mints produced not only bronze dolphins (Price (1993) pl. XIII nos. 359–68), sometimes with legends: *APIXO* (Price (1993) pl. XIV nos. 374–76) and *ΘΥ* (Price (1993) pl. XIII nos. 368–73) but also cast *aes* of different standards: (1) *obv.* head of Athena in Attic helmet r., to l. dolphin; *rev.* wheel, in which, later, *ΠΑΥΣ* (the earliest ones: Price (1993) pl. XIV nos. 377–78); (2) *obv.* Gorgoneion; *rev.* sea eagle flying r. on dolphin; legend: *APIX* (Zograph (1977) pl. XXXI 1; Price (1993) pls. XIV–XVI nos. 379–84); *obv.* Gorgoneion; *rev.* wheel; legend: *APIX* (Zograph (1977) pl. XXXI 2–3; Price (1993) pl. XVI nos. 385–89); the small *aes* (C5l): *obv.* Gorgoneion; *rev.* sea eagle r. on dolphin; legend: *OΛBIH* (Price (1993) pl. XVIII nos. 394–99). For a short time (C5l) Olbia also issued silver staters: *obv.* Herakles stringing bow r.; legend: *EMINAKO*; *rev.* studded wheel; around, four dolphins (Anokhin (1989) 15, 104 no. 11; Price (1993) pl. XIII no. 358). In C4f Olbia cast the heavy *aes* with *obv.* Demeter facing; *rev.* sea eagle l. or r. on dolphin; legend: *OΛBIH* (Price (1993) pls. XVII–XVIII nos. 390–93) and also struck the first copper coins, later also silver and gold coins: *obv.* Demeter l.; *rev.* sea eagle flying l. on dolphin; legend: *OΛBIO* (Zograph (1977) pl. XXXII 2–3). Foreign currency is also documented: by the coinage decree of Kanobos (*Syll.*³ 218 = Dubois (1996) 14 (C4m)) staters from Kyzikos (no. 747) must be exchanged for Olbian copper and silver coins (Y. G. Vinogradov and Karyshkovskij (1976) = Y. G. Vinogradov (1997) 250–75). *SNG Cop. Thrace* 66–74.

691. Ophiousa Map 23. Unlocated. In *Barr.* identified with Tyras (no. 694). Type: A:*α*. Called πόλις (Ἑλληνίς, by implication) in Ps.-Skylax 68. Possibly absorbed by Tyras at an unknown date.

692. Orgame (= Lat. **Argamum* (*Argamenos*)) Map 22. Lat. 44.55, long. 28.50. Size of territory: 1. Type: C:*α*. The only attestation of the Greek toponym is Ὀργάμη (Hecat. fr. 172 = fr. 83, G. Nenci (Steph. Byz. 494.16)). **Argamum* has been derived from *Argamenses* in *I.Histriae* 67–68 (Istros) and *Argamo* (Procop. *Aed.* 4.11.20).

No Archaic or Classical source calls Orgame a *polis* (πόλις in Steph. Byz. 494.16, quoting Hecat. fr. 172, need not have been in Hekataios' original; cf. Hansen (1997*a*) 17–18), and the only reason to include it as a type C here is the possibility that it may have been assessed for tribute in 425/4 as a member of the Delian League (*IG* I³ 71.IV.162, where Ὀ[——] has been restored Ὀ[ργάμε]; cf. Avram (1995) 197). It is, however, also possible that Orgame was merely a dependent community in the territory of Istros (no. 685).

Orgame is located at Cap Dolojman, near the village of Jurilovca (Romania). Archaeological excavations (Coja (1972); Mănucu Adameşteanu (1985), (1992), (2000)) brought to light a fortification on an acropolis and a part of the city wall (perhaps of C4). The urban remains of C6–C4 are poor, because the early levels were destroyed by the Late Roman citadel, but the tumular cemetery produced archaeological remains from C7m to C4 (Lungu (2000)). Orgame was founded directly by Miletos (no. 854) or rather by Istros (no. 685) in C7m, according to the archaeological evidence (Middle Wild Goat style ware, etc.).

693. Tomis (Tomites) Map 22. Lat. 44.10, long. 28.40. Size of territory: 4. Type: C:*α*. The toponym is Τομέοι (Ps.-Skymnos fr. 5, Marcotte) or Τόμοι (Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.9.24) or Τόμις (Memnon (*FGrHist* 434) fr. 13 (21); Strabo 7.6.1) or Τομεύς (Arr. *Peripl. M. Eux.* 24.2; Anon. *Peripl. M. Eux.* 71, Diller; *I.Histriae* 4 (C3m)). The city-ethnic is Τομ(ε)ίτης but it is not attested until C2 (e.g. *I.Histriae* 38, 48); the plural city-ethnic Τομέοι is attested at Anon. *Peripl. M. Eux.* 72, Diller.

Tomis is called a *polis* in late sources only (Anon. *Peripl. M. Eux.* 71; Steph. Byz. 628.6). Strabo 7.6.1 describes it as a *polichnion*, and it is called *patris* in the local inscription (*I.Tomis* 2 (C2l)). Memnon (*FGrHist* 434) fr. 13 (21) calls it an *emporion* (rC3m), and the same historian mentions (implicitly) the territory of Tomis as bordering on that of Kallatis (no. 686); however, the best evidence that it was a *polis* in the Classical period would be membership of the Delian League, but it is uncertain whether T[——] in *IG* I³ 71.IV.160 should be restored T[όμοι].

Tomis is located at modern Constanţa (Romania), on a peninsula. It was colonised by Miletos (no. 854) (Ps.-Skymnos 764, Diller), possibly through Istros (no. 685)(Avram (1996) 297–98); archaeological evidence points to a foundation in C6.

All the original Milesian *phylai* are mentioned, but, except for Argadeis (*I.Tomis* 35 (C1e)), only in inscriptions from the Imperial period: Ai(gi)koreis (*I.Tomis* 164, 251–53); Argadeis (*I.Tomis* 52, 179); Boreis (*I.Tomis* 122); Geleontes (*I.Tomis* 300, 301); Oinopeis (*I.Tomis* 255, 375); Hopletes (*I.Tomis* 123, 254); cf. Doruţiu Boilă (1970); Jones, *POAG* 276–78. The earliest attested public enactments (C2l) are a sacred regulation (*I.Tomis* 1 = *LSCG* 87) and a decree concerning the city defences (*I.Tomis* 2 = *Syll.*³ 731).

Several officials are mentioned in the late Hellenistic period. The eponymous official was the priest of Apollo, first attested *c.*100 (*I.Tomis* 2 and 5) but surely of Milesian origin.

All the evidence for deities is late, but Milesian origin is not in doubt for the cult of Apollo (*I.Tomis* 2 and 5 (*c.*100)). The calendar is surely Milesian, although only one month is attested: [*Ἀπατου*]*ρεϵῶνος* or [*Ταυ*]*ρεϵῶνος* (*I.Tomis* 1b (C2l)).

694. Tyras (Tyranos) Map 23. Lat. 46.10, long. 30.20. Size of territory: 5. Type: B:*α*. The toponym is *Τύρας, ὁ* (Ps.-Skymnos fr. 9, Marcotte; Steph. Byz. 642.4–5). The city-ethnic is *Τυρανός* (*I.Kallatis* 10 (C3s); Alex. Polyh. (*FGrHist* 273) fr. 138), attested on C4 coins (*infra*). *Τυρῖται* at Hdt. 4.51 could simply mean "men of the river Tyras" and not "citizens of the city of Tyras".

Tyras is called a *polis* only in late sources (Ps.-Skymnos fr. 9; Steph. Byz. 642.4; Ptol. 3.10.8), but its status as a *polis* in the Classical period is indicated by its presumed membership of the Delian League (*infra*) and by its C4m coinage (*infra*). The internal collective use of the city-ethnic is found on C4m coins (*infra*). The external and individual use is found in *SEG* 30 923 (C3) and *I.Kallatis* 10 (C3s), and later.

Tyras was colonised by Miletos (no. 854) (Ps.-Skymnos 799–800, Diller; cf. Anon. *Peripl. M. Eux.* 62, Diller). The foundation year is not known, but some archaeological finds (East Greek ware) suggest a date in C6. Connected with the foundation is the problem of Ophiousa, a site first mentioned by Ps.-Skylax (68: *Ὀφιοῦσα πόλις*, listed under the heading *πόλϵις . . . Ἑλληνίδϵς αἵδϵ*), then by Strabo 7.3.16 (as a *polis*), by Plin. *HN* 4.12(26).82 (*Tyra . . . ubi antea Ophiousa dicebatur*), by Ptol. *Geog.* 3.10.8 (toponym), and by Steph. Byz. 642.7–8 (*Τύρας . . . ἐκαλεῖτο δ' Ὀφιοῦσσα*). The name *Ophious(s)a* suggests that the settlement was of Milesian origin (cf. *Teichiousa* in Miletos' territory), but its location remains unknown. It has been tentatively located on an island at the mouth of the Dniester; if correct, it is possible that, as at Berezan/Olbia (cf. no. 690), the mainland community (Tyras) absorbed Ophiousa (Ehrhardt (1988) 73), a suggestion which would explain the tradition that the name was at one point in use for Tyras itself (Steph. Byz.). The *terminus ante quem* of this synoecism depends on the date of the source of the C4 text of Ps.-Skylax. *Ἑρμώνακτος κώμη* was probably a rural settlement in the *χώρα* (Strabo 7.3.16; Ptol. *Geog.* 3.10.7).

Tyras joined the Delian League; at least, it was assessed for tribute in 425/4 (*IG* I³ 71.IV.163: *Τύ*[*ρας*] or, alternatively: *Τυ*[*ρανοί*]). The earliest public enactments are the honorific decrees *Dacia* 3–4 (1927–32) 566–69 no. 2 (C4l–C3); *SovArch* (1960) 4, 173–79 (C3f) (cf. Y. G. Vinogradov (1997) 220 n. 251); and Y. G. Vinogradov (1999) (C3f). The same inscriptions attest for the first time the *boule* and the assembly called *demos*.

Among the deities mentioned in Hellenistic inscriptions, only Apollo Iatros (*Dacia* 3–4 (1927–32) 564–66 (C3)) can be confidently assumed to be early (the patron deity). The three attested months (Kalamaion: Y. G. Vinogradov (1999) (C3f); Artemeision: *IOSPE* I² 2 (AD 181); Leneon: *IOSPE* I² 4 (AD 201)) suggest the original use of the Milesian calendar.

Tyras is located at modern Belgorod Dnestrovskij (Turkish Akkerman, Romanian Cetatea Albă), Ukraine, *c.*19 km up the estuary of the river Dniester (*Τύρας*; *Τύρις* (Ps.-Skylax 68) was perhaps the original form). The Archaic and Classical site was destroyed by the mediaeval citadel. There is very little evidence for the urbanisation of Tyras in C6–C4: excavations (Karyshkovskij and Klejman (1985); Samojlova (1988)) have brought to light some remains of a defensive wall (C4), which was replaced in the Hellenistic period by a more extensive one.

Tyras struck silver drachms from C4m onwards. Types: *obv.* head of Demeter facing, veiled and wearing wreath of corn-ears; *rev.* bull butting l.; legend: *TYPAN* and *TYPANΩN*; also *TYPA* on struck bronze (Zograph (1977) 172–73; Price (1993) pl. XII nos. 334–36; cf. Zaginajlo (1974) 54–55 for the weight standards).

2. *The Coasts of Skythia, Taurike and Sindike*

695. Chersonesos (Chersonesites) Map 23. Lat. 44.35, long. 33.30. Size of territory: 5 by C4l. Type: A:*α*. The local,

Doric form of the toponym was *Χερσόνασος, ἡ* (*IOSPE* I² 401.6 = *Syll.*³ 360, in *DGE* 173 dated C4l/C3e). For the Ionic form *Χερρόνησος*, see Ps.-Skylax 68. The city-ethnic is found in a restored C4 proxeny decree of Olbia, *[Χερσο]νησίτης* (*I.Olbia* 3 = Dubois (1996) 16). The city was defined in various ways geographically: "Chersonesos by Taurika" (*Χερσόνασος ἡ ποτὶ τᾷ Ταυρικᾷ*, *IOSPE* IV 71, 72); "Chersonasitai from the Pontos" (*Χερσονασῖται οἱ ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου*, *Syll.*³ 585, 604); "Chersonasitai in Skythia" (*τοὺς ἐν Σκυθίᾳ Χερσονασίτας*, Memnon (*FGrHist* 434) fr. 34.3).

The earliest literary reference calls it *emporion*, not *polis* (Ps.-Skylax 68), leading to a suggestion that it was a trading settlement dependent on Herakleia (no. 715) during the first two generations of its existence (Kats (1990)); but the site-classifications of Ps.-Skylax in this part of his work are not to be trusted (see introduction). Moreover, the classification of Chersonesos as an *emporion* is fully compatible with its being a *polis* as well (Hansen (1997*c*) 87–91). In the famous citizen's oath of C4l/C3e (*IOSPE* I² 401 = *Syll.*³ 360) Chersonesos is called a *polis* both in the urban sense (l. 3) and in the political sense (l. 6). The collective and internal use of the city-ethnic is attested in the citizen's oath (ll. 4–5) and (abbreviated as *XEP*) on coins (*infra*). For the external use, see *CID* II 5.1.9–10 (358). The individual use is attested externally in C4 sepulchral inscriptions from Pantikapaion (*IOSPE* II 302–3 = *CIRB* 194–95).

By C4m Chersonesos commanded a "near territory" of 120 km² on the "Herakleian Peninsula" (the supposed isthmus being a line from Inkerman to Balaklava). The native Tauroi had been evicted from their settlements and incorporated in the city or on farms, or had been pushed out to a series of villages at its eastern edge along the Sapun Gora ridge (Savelya (1979); Shcheglov (1981)). Some "Kizyl-Koba" type pottery (Senatorov (1987)) and crouched burials from the north-east part of the city and the north cemetery may represent this native element (Belov (1950); Saprykin (1998) 232), though some scholars argue that the latter were Greek (Kadeyev (1973)). The lack of pre-colony (C5l) imported objects in Taurian settlements (Savelya (1979) 170–71) suggested to those who studied them that no significant or long-lived trading settlement preceded the Herakleiot colony. By *c.*350 approximately 11,000 ha of this home territory were parcelled out into 400 main lots, each having six subdivisions, producing 2,400 small allotments, mainly put to viticulture, fruit trees, etc. (Strzheletskij (1961) 14–116; Y. G. Vinogradov and Shcheglov (1990) 312–14; Saprykin (1997) 11–105; Zherebtsov (1994)). Some Chersonasitai seem to have settled and carried out burials in the Upper Quarantine Valley before this full exploitation of the Herakleian Peninsula (Strzheletskij (1948*a*)). A recent suggestion is that the 4,000 ha along its northern coast were among the earliest allotments laid out (Nikolaenko (2001)). By C4m–l Chersonesos also had a mini-empire in north-western Crimea, including Karkinitis (no. 698), Kalos Limen and a series of forts (*τὰ τείχη*) which may well have been detached from earlier Olbian influence (Y. G. Vinogradov and Shcheglov (1990) 311–14).

The sole specific account of the first foundation of Chersonesos is to be found in Ps.-Skymnos (822–30, Diller): Chersonesos was founded by Herakleia (no. 715) within the Euxine Sea along with Delians (no. 478) in accordance with an oracle, reasonably assumed to be that of Delphi. Some scholars have emended Delioi, repeated twice, to Delphians (no. 177) or Teians (no. 868), as the co-colonisers. A majority view emerged after the Second World War to accept the view of Schneiderwirth and Tyumenev that the Herakleiots and Delians may have collaborated in a colony, if only temporarily, in 424–422 (Tyumenev (1938); Saprykin (1998)). Most recently this consensus can be seen to be crumbling. Y. G. Vinogradov and Zolotaryov (1999) 118–19, 124 suggest a foundation by Herakleiots and Delians in 528, the last year of Peisistratos' rule at Athens. By contrast, C5l or C4e is adhered to in another suggestion in which Delieis from Delion, the area of Boiotia from which some Herakleiots came (i.e. Tanagra (no. 220)—coastal Boiotia) are proposed as the originals of the co-colonists, only later misunderstood by Ps.-Skymnos or his source (Hind (1998) 141–48) for the better-known Delioi.

In the citizen's oath Chersonesos is described as a democracy (*IOSPE* I² 401.14 = *Syll.*³ 360), and some forty-five inscribed *ostraka* from C5 may attest to the institution of ostracism and a vigorous democracy throughout C5 (*BE* (2000) no. 487). Magistrates attested are *basileus* (*IOSPE* I² 186–87); *aisymnatai* (Belov (1948) 69); *damiorgoi* (*IOSPE* I² 402, 424, 429); *nomophylakes* (*IOSPE* I² 351, 359); *astynomoi* (Kats (1994) *passim* (C3e)); *agoranomoi* (ibid. 88 no. 16 (C3e); Monakhov (1999) 28–29). The council had twenty-four members, and the citizen body was organised in *hekatostyes*. On the council were the magistrates, five *archontes*, a *prodikos*, a *grammateus*, a *hiereus*, three *nomophylakes* (Solomonik (1976); Saprykin (1991), (1994) 139–42). The calendar was Megarian, similar to those at Byzantion (no. 674), Kalchedon (no. 743) and Kallatis (no. 686): Kadeyev (1996) 141–48; Trümpy, *Monat.* 149; Avram (1999*b*).

Proxeny decrees of C4 are rare, and they are from neighbour states to the west and the east of Chersonesos (*I.Olbia* I.3 = Dubois (1996) 16 (Olbia); *IOSPE* II 302–3 = *CIRB* 173, 195 (Bosporos)). From Chersonesos itself comes a copy of a C4 Olbian decree for a Chersonesite (*IOSPE* I² 21).

The city's main deities—Zeus, Gê, Helios, Parthenos and the other Olympians—are mentioned in the preamble to the citizen's oath (*IOSPE* I² 401). Dionysos and Herakles protected the end bastions of the isthmus wall of the "old [Strabo's] Chersonesos" (*infra*).

The city stood for over 1,700 years down to the fourteenth century AD on a blunt headland, jutting north-eastward into Quarantine Bay, some 3 km west of Sebastopol. The earliest structural remains are of C5l/C4e, found in the north-east part of the later city over an area of some 12 ha, around which several cemetery areas were grouped to the south-west, the south and the south-east (Belov (1948) 155ff, (1950) 272ff, (1977); Zedgenidze and Savelya (1980)). A stretch of the southern city wall has been found (Grinevich (1927), (1959) 115–17). Red-figure pottery occurs from C4e, increasing in amount in C4m–l (Grinevich (1959); Zedgenidze (1978)). Of C4 is the small Doric temple and possible altar (restored from fragments) once in the public square, with a statue base dedicated to Athena (*IOSPE* I² 406; Zolotaryov and Bujskikh (1994)). The mass of Classical material from Chersonesos (pottery, sculptural elements, building remains, burials and coins) has been determined as being of C4m–l, with a small amount of pottery being of C5s (Zedgenidze (1979), restated with further detail (1993)). The significance of the relatively small amounts of C5 material (red-figure vases, striped Ionic ware, Chiot and Samian trade amphoras, and black-glazed and other sherds, some forty-five with graffiti *ostraka*) has still to be assessed as to amount, provenance and dating by pot form and lettering. It is not yet clear whether it represents a *polis*, or some lesser settlement in touch with the Tauroi before the Herakleiot colony. Zedgenidze (1993) has refuted in detail the view that the pottery and other evidence is sufficient for a *polis* of C5 on the Quarantine site (sectors VI and VII). Her view has not yet been acknowledged, still less answered by the supporters of a C6l/C5e Chersonesos (Y. G. Vinogradov and Zolotaryov (1990), (1999)).

A separate *polis* is mentioned by Strabo, "the Old Chersonesos in Ruins" (ἡ παλαιὰ Χερρόνησος κατεσκαμμένη, 7.4.2). It lay 100 stades from the (Quarantine Bay) city, and nearby was Cape Parthenion with a temple of Parthenos, and an early statue (*xoanon*) of the goddess. The temple has disappeared, some placing it on Cape Fiolent to the west, others on the tip of Cape Chersonesos near the lighthouse. Excavations and surveys (in 1899, 1903, 1986) have proved the existence of a "town" on the isthmus, defended by two parallel walls across it, some 900 m long and enclosing an area of 18 ha. The walls had interval towers, and towers at the ends, one dedicated to Herakles and the other having a small shrine to Dionysos. The peninsula itself leads off northwards to Mayachny (Lighthouse, also Fanari) Point, and comprises some 380 ha. These were divided into twenty-five major allotments, each subdivided into four, resulting in 100 plots on a different alignment, which is usually assumed to be earlier, from those on the larger "peninsula". All the small allotments were about 4–4.5 ha in area. Nestling behind the double walls on the isthmus, they were protected on the landward side by fortification of some of the highest ground overlooking that peninsula to the east. This "Old Chersonesos", or "Strabo's Chersonesos", is 10 km west of the long-lived city on Quarantine Bay. It occupied some 18 ha on the isthmus of the only true Chersonesos (peninsula) in south-western Crimea; it was protected by the two parallel walls: in turn it guarded the 100 earliest allotments, and held the oldest cult statue of the *polis*. It is tempting to suggest that the isthmus site and land behind it (Mayachny Peninsula) was the earliest area of the Herakleiot colony (Hind (1998) 146–52; Saprykin (1998) 242–44; Y. G. Vinogradov and Zolotaryov (1999) 117), though other suggestions have been made that it was an early fort, subsidiary to the main city (Chtcheglov (1992) 228), or a protection for the ancient lighthouse (Nikolaenko (2001)). A small amount of pottery (red-figured) of C5l/C4e and a relief sculpture depicting Herakles and the horses of Diomedes, from an altar of C4, tend to confirm the early, if not primary, position of this isthmus settlement in the overall sequence of settlements (Blavatskij (1953) 26–27, 40–44; Zedgenidze (1996); Strzheletskij (1948*b*)). After a decade or two, when the Quarantine Bay *polis* was already established, it perhaps became a *chorion* or *phrourion* in the near territory of the city, perhaps that obscurely referred to as the *saster* in the citizen's oath (ll. 24–25) as one of the places or institutions they vowed to protect (Hind (1996*a*)).

Chersonesos struck coins of silver and bronze from C4e, the silver on the Rhodian standard. (1) Silver: denominations: tetradrachm, drachm, triobol, diobol and obol. Types: *obv.* head of Parthenos l.; *rev.* fish and club; legend: XEP below, representing the abbreviated city-ethnic. (2) Bronze: similar and with other types. Legend: XEP. (3) Silver: didrachm: *obv.* Parthenos head l.; *rev.* bull butting l., club

below; legend: *XEP*. (4) Bronze: *obv*. Parthenos riding a four-horse chariot and holding a torch r.; *rev*. warrior armed with spear and oval shield, crouching l.; legend: *XEP* below. This last issue is thought to celebrate a victory, leading to expansion in the north-western Crimea (Anokhin (1980) pl. 1ff; Grandmezon (1982) 34–36, (1990); Price (1993) pls. XXVIII–IX).

696. Gorgipp(e)ia (Gorgippeus) Map 84. Lat. 44.55, long. 37.20. Size of territory: 1. Type: B:*β*. Gorgippia was situated in the Asiatic part of the Kimmerian Bosporos (Strabo 11.2.10). The toponym is *Γοργίππεια* (Steph. Byz. 211.7), *Γοργιππία* (Strabo 11.2.10) or, earlier?, *Σινδικὸς λιμήν* (Ps.-Skylax 72; Ps.-Skymnos 888; Strabo 11.2.14), *Σινδική* (Arr. *Peripl. M. Eux.* 18.4–19.1). The city-ethnic is *Γοργιππεύς* (C2–C1 coins, *infra*).

At Ps.-Skylax 72 *Σινδικὸς λιμήν* is one of the toponyms listed after the heading *πόλεις δὲ Ἑλληνίδες αἵδε*, where the term *polis* is used in the urban sense (cf. Strabo 11.2.14). The earliest explicit reference to a *πόλις Γοργιππέων* is in a letter of AD 16 (*SovArch* (1965) 197A). The internal and collective sense of the city-ethnic (*ΓΟΡΓΙΠΠΕΩΝ*) is found on C2–C1 coins (Price (1993) 986) and in an inscription of the first century AD (*CIRB* 1118; Boltunova (1986) 46–48).

The location of Gorgippia and Sindike/Sindikos harbour is a matter of scholarly debate (latest discussion in Alekseeva (1991) 3–7). They were situated in the territory inhabited by the indigenous population, the Sindoi (for the people, *Σίνδοι*, see *CIRB* 8; Hdt. 4.28.1; Ps.-Skylax 72; for the territory, *ἡ Σινδική*, see *SEG* 34 774, restored; Hdt. 4.86.2; Strabo 11.2.12). Strabo's passage (11.2.10) about the location of Gorgippia provides grounds for different interpretations. Some scholars interpret Strabo's information to mean that Gorgippia was the capital of the Sindoi. The most widespread opinion is that Sindike/Sindikos harbour/Gorgippia were the same place, but with different names in use at different times. Sindike/Sindikos harbour was renamed Gorgippia some time in C4f, when the territory of the Sindoi was incorporated into the Bosporan Kingdom by Leukon I (389/8–349/8) (latest discussion in Alekseeva (1997) 37–82). The city was named after a member of the Spartokid dynasty, Gorgippos (ruling together with his brother Leukon I (389/8–349/8)), who was probably installed as a local governor of the city. This interpretation is supported by the "royal" tiles of C4, which carry the stamp: *ΓΟΡ|ΓΙΠ|ΠΟΥ* (Alekseeva (1997) 39).

Sindike/Sindikos harbour was established by Greeks in C6 as a trading centre in the territory of the indigenous population, the Sindoi (Alekseeva (1991) 7–27, (1997) 11–36). From C4e the city was part of the Bosporan Kingdom and dependent on Pantikapaion (no. 705) (*CIRB* 6, 6a, 8, etc.; Hind (1994) 484–86; Tsetskhladze (1997*b*) 66, 68–80). According to Ps.-Skymnos 887–89, Diller, it was settled by Greeks from the neighbouring places.

A study of the rural settlements in the territory of Gorgippia is at an early stage. About fifteen settlements have been surveyed or partly excavated, mainly those of C4. Very few date to the late Archaic period (Alekseeva (1991) 28–50).

Sindike and its successor Gorgippia are located beneath modern-day Anapa. The location of Gorgippia is firmly documented thanks to coins and inscriptions found in Anapa. It is possible that a settlement here had appeared even earlier (C7l). A fragment of a Rhodo-Ionian cup with bird decoration has been found at the Alekseevskoe settlement not far from Anapa (Kharaldina and Novichikhin (1996) 349–50 fig. 2). Much firmer evidence is needed than one single fragment of pottery in order to postulate the existence of a C7l settlement (Tsetskhladze (1997*b*) 42 n. 4). The first settlers lived in semi-dug-outs (Alekseeva (1991) 7–27, (1997) 11–36). One funerary inscription of C5e shows the presence of a Peloponnesian from Helike (Boltunova (1986) 60–61), thus suggesting the presence of free non-citizens. Archaeological investigation has yielded the remains of stone buildings, fortification walls and towers, streets, etc. dating from C4, the period when the town was renamed Gorgippia (Koshelenko *et al.* (1984) 82–83; Alekseeva (1997) 83–148). Aphrodite, Herakles and Demeter were the main civic cults (Alekseeva (1997) 213–50). Fragments of monumental buildings may be remains of temples dedicated to these and other divinities (ibid. 100–48).

There are fairly numerous silver coins with the inscription *ΣΙΝΔΩΝ* dating from *c.*440–400 (Stolba (1998) 603–4). These coins may have been minted in Sindikos Limen (before it was renamed Gorgippia) on behalf of the local Sindoi (Shelov (1981); Price (1993) 1008–9; cf. Strabo 11.2.10). Alternatively, they were minted by the Sindoi, proving the existence of a Sindic kingdom (Krushkol (1971) 80–90). Recently, a third interpretation has been advanced: that the coins were an "alliance" issue of the Greek cities situated on the Taman Peninsula (since this area was known as Sindike, after the local population—the Sindoi) who had united against the aggression of the Spartokids (Zavojkin and Boldyrev (1994); Tokhtasyev (2001) 68–79). The city-ethnic *Γοργιππέων* is found only on Gorgippian coins of C2l–C1 (Price (1993) 986).

697. Hermonassa (Hermonaseites) Map 87. Lat. 45.15, long. 36.45. Size of territory: 1. Type: A:α. Hermonassa was situated on a small island (Ps.-Skymnos 886–91; Steph. Byz. 278.10) in the Asiatic part of the Kimmerian Bosporos (Strabo 11.2.10). The toponym is *Ἑρμώνασσα* (Hecat. fr. 208; Ps.-Skymnos 886). The city-ethnic is *Ἑρμωνασείτης* (*IOSPE* IV 334 = *CIRB* 495 (first century AD)).

Hecat. fr. 208 and Theopomp. fr. 370 call it a *polis*, Hekataios probably in the urban sense (cf. Steph. Byz. 278.10–15 with Hansen (1997*a*) 23). The external and individual use of the city-ethnic is attested in a sepulchral inscription of the first century AD, found at Kerch (Pantikapaion; *IOSPE* IV 334 = *CIRB* 495).

The foundation of Hermonassa is dated archaeologically to about 580–570 (Kuznetsov (1991*b*) 34). In the written sources the origin of the colonists is confused. Arrian (*Bith.* fr. 55, Roos = *FGrHist* 156, fr. 71) links the foundation to Hermonassa, the wife of a certain Semandros from Aiolian Mytilene (no. 798). Citing Dionysios and Ps.-Skymnos, Stephanos of Byzantion calls it an Ionian colony (278.11–12). Eustathios (*GGM* II 324) informs us that the *oikistes* of Hermonassa was a certain Hermon and that Hermonassa had been colonised by Ionians. Some scholars have attempted to resolve the contradiction found in the written sources as follows: Arrian's mention of Aiolians should be explained by the fact that certain Aiolians, in particular inhabitants of Mytilene, had also been involved in the founding of Hermonassa side by side with the Ionians. One name in an Archaic graffito (Y. G. Vinogradov (1983) 369 n. 20) is of Aiolian origin (or influence), but in C4, according to an inscription (*CIRB* 1056), the population of the city was mainly Ionian. From C5e the city was part of the Bosporan Kingdom and dependent on Pantikapaion (no. 705) (Hind (1994) 484; Tsetskhladze (1997*b*) 55–57, 68–80).

The *chora* of Hermonassa was not seriously studied until 1996. Excavations by the State Hermitage Museum yielded a rural settlement established in the late Archaic period (Solovyov and Butyagin (1998*a*)).

The Archaic and Classical levels of the town have not been studied extensively because those levels of the city lie at a depth of 12 m and the Greek and Roman levels at 6 to 7 m. The rest are Byzantine-mediaeval. Some Archaic pits have been discovered, and the remains of Classical stone and mudbrick buildings (Koshelenko *et al.* (1984) 81–82; Korovina (1992)). Although architectural remains of the Archaic period are scanty, other categories of archaeological material provide evidence of intense economic and cultural activity at Hermonassa in C6l/C5e (Zeest (1961), (1968), (1974)). The most interesting material includes dedicatory inscriptions of C5–C4, to Apollo Ietros (Pichikyan (1984) 152), the Ephesian Artemis (a temple probably existed here; cf. M. J. Treister and Vinogradov (1993) 559 fig. 26), Apollo Prostates (*CIRB* 1034, 1044) and Apollo Delphinios (*CIRB* 1038). Probably this temple and the walls existed in the Classical period.

Important finds are two measures bearing the name of an *agoranomos* by the name of Apollodoros (Hind (1983–84) 90). One graffito of the third quarter of C6 from the site indicates the presence of a craftsman from Eleutherna in Crete (M. J. Treister and Shelov-Kovedyaev (1989)).

698. Karkinitis (Kerkinites) Map 23. Lat. 45.10, long. 33.10. Size of territory: 2. Type: A:α. The toponym is *Καρκινῖτις*, *-ιδος* (Hecat. fr. 153; Hdt. 4.55, 99.2), from *c.*300 *Κερκινῖτις* (*IOSPE* I² 401, 453; Arr. *Peripl. M. Eux.* 30). The city-ethnic is *Κερκινίτης* (*IG* II² 1008.IV.114 (C2l)).

Karkinitis was listed in Hekataios' *Periodos* and may in this work have been classified as a *πόλις Σκυθική* ((*FGrHist* 1) fr. 184 = Steph. Byz. 360.1), which ought to mean geographically within Skythia. Karkinitis is called a *polis* (*sc.* "Greek") in the urban sense by Hdt. 4.55, 99.2. The internal collective use of the city-ethnic is presumably attested in abbreviated form on C5–C4 coins (*infra*).

Hdt. 4.99.2 locates Karkinitis in *ἀρχαίη Σκυθίη*, toward mountainous Taurica, east of *Ὑλαίη* ("Woodland") and near the joint mouths of two of his Scythian rivers, Hypakiris and Gerrhos, where Skythian Nomades ranged the interior. Strabo (7.3.18, 4.2) mentions two "gulfs", one Tamyrake, near the isthmus of the Crimea (Perekop), and a second, Karkinitis, which "comes next and is very large", though he also gives both names to one gulf. Arrian's *Periplous* (30) gives the important information that Karkinitis was 600 stades from Chersonesos, which directs us to Eupatoria. These sources have prompted some scholars to posit a Karkinitis/Carcine and a quite separate Karkinitis (Minns (1913) 490; Rybakov (1979) 50; *Barr.* Map 22). But the Greek settlement found on the Quarantine headland, just west of Eupatoria, dating from C6l and fortified from C5m, seems to fit the description in our earlier and better-informed sources (Nalivkina (1963); Kutajsov (1990) 15–18, 48–55).

Pottery of C6l–C5 has been found (1950s, 1980s), as well as early pit shelters and a C5 defensive wall (Kutajsov (1990) 35–39, 40–55). The original area is said to have been some 3.5 ha, but was by C4 over 5 ha. Some 270–90 households are estimated to have dwelt within, and an external *chora* to the

west of about 1,400 ha was divided on the Chersonesite model into allotments of 4.5 ha (ibid. 150). Dating to C4 is a letter written on an amphora sherd from one Apatourios to a Neomenios, concerning tribute owed to the Skythians (Solomonik (1987); Y. G. Vinogradov (1997) 21).

The sole inscription on stone is a stele for Ἀμβατίας τᾶς Ἡροδότο *IOSPE* I² 339, of C4 and in Doric dialect. The suggestion that Karkinitis was a member of the Delian League rests on a massive restoration of the name from the first two letters Κα[ρκινῖτις] (*IG* I³ 71.IV.165). An alternative conjecture is Kallatis (no. 686) (Pippidi (1971) 63–64 = *SEG* 22 9 and *supra*). It has been suggested that north-western Crimea was, in C5 and until C4m, under the political influence of Olbia (no. 690), but was then appropriated by Chersonesos (no. 695) in unknown circumstances (Rusyaeva (1986) 57; Zolotaryov (1986) 92). But it is preferable to see Karkinitis as an independent *polis*, though one in a general cultural relationship with its more flourishing fellow Ionian city (Kutajsov (1990) 153–57). By C4m it was a part of the Chersonesite *polis*, and included in the citizen's oath of C4l/C3e (*IOSPE* I² 401.8, 20 = *Syll.*³ 360). The attestation of the city-ethnic in an Athenian list of *epheboi* (*IG* II² 1008.IV.114) of C2l indicates that it had become a dependent *polis* rather than just a civic subdivision of Chersonesos.

The earliest struck coins of Karkinitis are of bronze and date to *c.*350 (according to Stolba (1996) 236–37 they were issued for only a few years, *c.*345–340). Types: (1) *obv.* Nike walking; legend: ΚΑΡΚ; *rev.* lion attacking bull. (2) *Obv.* head of goddess in turreted crown l.; *rev.* rider to r. with raised r. hand; legend: ΚΑΡΚ. (3) *Obv.* head of Herakles in lion skin r.; *rev.* eagle on thunderbolt l.; legend: ΚΑΡΚΙΝΙ. Types and style betray a close relationship with the mint of Chersonesos (no. 695) (Medvedeva (1984); Price (1993) nos. 693–95). Cast bronze arrowheads and fish money, on the pattern of those current at Olbia (no. 690), but of local types, and some round cast bronze coins with the legend ΚΑ or Κ, circulated at Karkinitis earlier in C5–C4 (Kutajsov (1995)).

699. Kepoi (Kepites) Map 87. Lat. 45.20, long. 37.00. Size of territory: 1 (*infra*). Type: [A]:*α*. Kepoi was situated on what was once an island in the Asiatic part of the Kimmerian Bosporos (Ps.-Skylax 72; Strabo 11.2.10). The toponym is Κῆποι (Aeschin. 1.171; Ps.-Skylax 72). The city-ethnic is Κηπίτης (*CIRB* 188 (C4m)).

At Ps.-Skylax 72 Kepoi is one of the toponyms listed after the heading πόλεις δὲ Ἑλληνίδες αἵδε, where the term *polis* is used in the urban sense. See also Harp. s.v. Κῆπος. The external and individual use of the city-ethnic is found in a burial inscription of C4m from Pantikapaion (*CIRB* 188).

According to Plin. *HN* 6.18 and Ps.-Skymnos 899, Diller, Kepoi was founded by Miletos (no. 854). Several dozen fragments of East Greek pottery date the foundation to about 580–570 (Kuznetsov (1991*a*), (1991*b*) 34). From C5e the city was part of the Bosporan Kingdom and dependent on Pantikapaion (no. 705) (Aeschin. 3.171; Hind (1994) 484; Tsetskhladze (1997*b*) 57, 68–80).

It is believed that Kepoi was situated some 3 km east of Phanagoria (no. 706), and that its area was 20 ha. The site is so damaged by quarry workings that it is very difficult to be certain that the site really is Kepoi. So far, no inscriptions have been found on the site to confirm its location. The Archaic and Classical levels were destroyed in Antiquity, first of all in C6l by a levelling of the area after a fire. Furthermore, in the Hellenistic period the whole area was terraced. Excavation reveals scant remains of stone and mudbrick dwellings of C6l/C5e. Several Archaic pits contained large amounts of pottery. Fragments of a *kouros* and of marble sculptures of Aphrodite were also found (Sokolskij (1963); Koshelenko *et al.* (1984) 84–86; Kuznetsov (1991*a*), (1992)). Most probably two temples of Aphrodite existed in Kepoi, one situated on the north-west edge of the city and the other on the south-east edge (Tsetskhladze and Kuznetsov (2000)). The cult of Aphrodite is attested by dedicatory inscriptions of the Classical period (ibid. (2000) 353 with refs.; cf. *SEG* 45 990). Strabo 11.2.10 mentions a "sanctuary of Aphrodite, called Apatouron" in the Taman Peninsula (the Asiatic part of the Bosporan Kingdom). Some scholars think that Apatouron was situated in Kepoi (Tsetskhladze and Kuznetsov (2000) 353 with refs.). No fortification walls or local coinage are known so far. The view of Tokhtasyev (1986) that Apatouron was a separate site in Taman is preferable.

700. Kimmerikon Map 87. Lat. 45.00, long. 36.10. Size of territory: 1. Type: C:*α*. Kimmerikon was situated in the European part of Bosporos (Strabo 11.2.5, but at 11.2.4 he mentions Kimmerikon as a *kome* in the Taman Peninsula (Asiatic Bosporos) as well). The location is a matter of scholarly dispute (cf. Ps.-Skymnos 896–99; Usacheva and Koshelenko (1994); Zavojkin (1997), (1999*a*), (1999*b*)). The toponym is Κιμμερικόν (Strabo 11.2.5; Anon. *Peripl. M. Eux.* 76). Strabo classifies the place as a *polichnion* (7.4.5) but says that it had once been a *polis* (11.2.5).

As pottery finds suggest (Gorlov and Lopanov (1997) 141), Kimmerikon had some east Greek settlers by C6m. It has

been suggested that the place was a member of the Delian League, but this is based on an uncertain restoration of the name *Κιμ*[*μερικόν*] (*IG* I³ 71.IV.166 has *Κιμ*[---]) (cf. Avram (1995) 195; Tsetskhladze (1997*a*) 462–65). From C5e the city was part of the Bosporan Kingdom and dependent on Pantikapaion (no. 705) (Tsetskhladze (1997*b*) 64, 68–71).

The site has not been well studied. The first walls with towers were erected in C5l/C4e (Gorlov and Lopanov (1995), (1997) 141). The walls enclose an area of 2 km². The city was situated on terraces. Early Greek pottery dates from C6m. All architectural remains date from the Hellenistic and Roman periods (Koshelenko *et al.* (1984) 71–72; Gorlov and Lopanov (1997)). According to Ps.-Skymnos 895–7, Diller, Kimmeris (*sic*) was a foundation of the Bosporan rulers.

701. Kytaia Map 87. Lat. 45.05, long. 36.25. Size of territory: 1. Type: [A]:*α*. Kytaia was situated in the European part of Bosporos (Ps.-Skylax 68; Plin. *HN* 4. 86; Anon. *Peripl. M. Eux.* 50; Ptol. *Geog.* 3.6.5). The toponym is *Κύταια* (Ps.-Skylax 68; Lycoph. *Alex.* 1312). At Ps.-Skylax 68 Kytaia is one of the toponyms listed after the heading *πόλεις δὲ Ἑλληνίδες αἵδε*, where the term *polis* is used in the urban sense.

Kytaia was already occupied by east Greeks by C5e (Molev (1985) 59). From C5e the city was part of the Bosporan Kingdom and dependent on Pantikapaion (no. 705) (Tsetskhladze (1997*b*) 64, 68–80).

A defensive wall was erected in C4e. Its destruction dates from C3–C2, after which the wall was strengthened from a width of about 3 m to nearly 3.5 m (Molev (1985); Koshelenko *et al.* (1984) 71). The city had stone buildings from C5, but their state of preservation and the small scale of excavations do not allow us to establish the character of these buildings and the plan of the city (Molev (1985)). The excavator proposed a location of the agora in excavation trench no. V (Molev (1985) 59). Excavation of the site produced a shrine/cultic ash mound (*eskhara*) (Moleva (1997)). Aphrodite, Apollo, Herakles, Demeter, Zeus, Artemis were objects of communal cults (Moleva (1997); Semicheva (1997)).

702. *Labrys or, rather, **Labryta** Map 84. Lat. 45.10, long. 37.35. Size of territory: ? Type: A:*γ*. The only source for this *polis* is a C4e versified dedication to Apollo-in-Labry[——] set up by Leukon, the *archon* of Bosporos and Theodosia, in celebration of his victory over Oktamasades, the king of the Sindoi (*SEG* 48 1027, an improved republication of *SEG* 43 515). The inscription was found in Semibratnee, *c.*35 km north of Gorgippia. The name of the *polis* is attested in lines 2–3: *Ἀπόλλωνι . . . τῶι ἐν Λ*[*αβρυ-*?] *τῆσδε πόλεως μεδέοντι Λαβρυτων*. The toponym *Labrys is derived from what is commonly believed to be the city-ethnic: the gen. plur. *Λαβρυτῶν*, in nom. sing. *Λαβρύτης*. The problem is that names in the genitive governed by *μεδέων* are always toponyms and never ethnics; cf. e.g. *IOSPE* II 23 and *IG* XII.5 893.1. It follows that *Λαβρύτων* is probably the genitive of the toponym *Λάβρυτα, τά* (cf. *Βούχετα, τά*, Dem. 7.32) whereas the city-ethnic is unattested. Labryta is called a *polis* both in the political sense (l. 3) and in the urban sense (l. 7). It appears from the dedication that Apollo was the patron divinity of the city. There is no other evidence of Hellenisation, and Labryta was presumably a predominantly barbarian site.

703. Myrmekeion Map 87. Lat. 45.20, long. 36.30. Size of territory: 1. Type: [A]:*α*. Myrmekeion was situated in the European part of the Kimmerian Bosporos (Ps.-Skylax 68; Strabo 7.4.5, 11.2.6). The toponym is *Μυρμήκειον* (Ps.-Skylax 68); later authors have *Μυρμήκιον* (Strabo 7.4.5; Steph. Byz. 464.1).

At Ps.-Skylax 68 Myrmekeion is one of the toponyms listed after the heading *πόλεις δὲ Ἑλληνίδες αἵδε*, where the term *polis* is used in the urban sense; there is no evidence that Myrmekeion was ever an independent *polis* (Y. A. Vinogradov (1993), (1995*a*) 159–60, (2000)).

Pottery finds indicate Ionian settlers from *c.*580–560 (Kuznetsov (1991*b*) 33). The city's armed forces are possibly mentioned in one very fragmented inscription of C4 (*CIRB* 869). From C5e the city was part of the Bosporan Kingdom (Y. A. Vinogradov (1993); Tsetskhladze (1997*b*) 61–62, 68–71).

Myrmekeion had an acropolis protected by a wall of C6l/C5e (Y. A. Vinogradov and Tokhtasyev (1994); Y. A. Vinogradov (1995*b*)). The city covered an area of 6 ha (Tsetskhladze (1997*b*) 62) and had a defence circuit erected in C4e (Koshelenko *et al.* (1984) 66); the north fortification wall with tower was built in C4e. The first inhabitants lived in dug-outs. Stone architecture dates from C6l/C5e after the city was attacked by Skythians. From C5 the city had a rectangular plan and temples (Gajdukevič (1987) 5–36; Y. A. Vinogradov (1991), (1993); Y. A. Vinogradov and Tokhtasyev (1994); Tsetskhladze (1997*b*) 61–62).

The patron deity was Apollo Ietros (Y. A. Vinogradov and Tokhtasyev (1998) 25–29). Other communal cults include those of Herakles, Aphrodite, Zeus and the Nymphs (*SEG* 27

437; graffiti of C6e–C5e; *BE* (1990) 587, all C5m–C5l; Denisova (1981) 116; Y. A. Vinogradov and Tokhtasyev (1998)). Remains of a shrine of Aphrodite and an ash mound (*eskhara*) of C5f–C4e have been found on the acropolis (Gajdukevič (1971) 182, (1987) 66–70; Y. A. Vinogradov and Tokhtasyev (1994) 57).

Previously it was thought that silver coins with the obverse type of an ant were minted by Myrmekeion, but their minting is now connected with Pantikapaion (no. 705) (Shelov (1956) 28–30; Frolova (1992) 205–7).

704. Nymphaion (Nymphatos/Nymphaites) Map 87. Lat. 45.15, long. 36.25. Size of territory: 1. Type: [A]:*β*. Nymphaion was situated in the European part of the Kimmerian Bosporos (Ps.-Skylax 68; Strabo 7.4.4). The toponym is *Νύμφαιον* (Aeschin. 3.171); Ps.-Skylax 68 has *Νυμφαία*. The city-ethnic is *Νύμφατος* (*IOSPE* II.201 (C4?) now lost) or *Νυμφαΐτης* (*Syll.*³ 1126 (C2l)).

At Ps.-Skylax 68 Nymphaia is one of the toponyms listed after the heading *πόλεις δὲ Ἑλληνίδες αἵδε*, where the term *polis* is used in the urban sense. The external and individual use of the city-ethnic is found in two inscriptions: a tombstone from Pantikapaion (*IOSPE* II 201) and a dedication from Delos (*Syll.*³ 1126). The internal and collective sense is probably attested on coins (*infra*).

Nymphaion, it has recently been suggested, may have been established by Milesians in the 560s (Kuznetsov (1991*b*) 33), but this is unproven. Until 1983, when inscriptions with the names of the months of an east Greek calendar were discovered (Y. A. Vinogradov and Tokhtasyev (1994)), pottery finds had led some scholars to assume that the *metropolis* of Nymphaion must have been Samos (no. 864) (Gajdukevič (1949) 175). None of the written sources mentions the name of the *metropolis*.

Nymphaion was a member of the Delian League and was assessed to pay a tribute of 1 tal. (Krateros (*FGrHist* 242) fr. 8 = *IG* I³ 100; Tsetskhladze (1997*a*)). But *Νύ*[*μφαιον*] at *IG* I² 63.190 has been changed into [*Ἀρ*]*γί*[*λιοι*] at *IG* I³ 71.III.176. Nymphaion was lost *c.*410–405 (Aeschin. 3.171; *ATL* i. 527–28) and incorporated into the Bosporan Kingdom by Satyros I (433/2–389/8) (Shelov-Kovedyaev (1985) 90–91; Zavojkin (1995) 92). Hereafter Nymphaion was a dependency of Pantikapaion (no. 705) (*SEG* 45 996 (389–349); Hind (1994) 498; Tsetskhladze (1997*b*) 78–80).

C3 inscriptions on a wall record, *inter al.*, the months of the year Thargelion, Taureon, Kalamaion, indicating the use of the Milesian calendar in Nymphaion (Y. A. Vinogradov and Tokhtasyev (1994); Trümpy, *Monat.* 93).

In the Archaic period the *chora* of Nymphaion was small, and only a few rural settlements are known; the Classical and Hellenistic settlements number a few hundred. In 1993–97 a joint Russian–Ukrainian–Polish team surveyed the *chora* of Nymphaion (Scholl and Zinko (1999)). Before this joint project, which included excavation of a limited number of rural settlements and burial sites, as well as a survey (Wasowicz (1994); Solovyov and Zinko (1994); Zinko (1996), (1998); Vlasova and Solovyov (1998)), the question of the overall area of the *chora* and the ethnic composition of its population were far from clear and subject to heated debate.

The city walls of Nymphaion were probably erected in C5e (Tolstikov (1997) 209) and the acropolis was fortified in C5l/C4e (Chistov (1998*a*)). The first colonists lived in dug-outs (Butyagin (1997); cf. Solovyov and Butyagin (1998*b*)). After C6m stone and mudbrick buildings appear and a shrine dedicated to Demeter was constructed (cf. Tsetskhladze (1997*b*) 50 n. 29) in a *temenos* which in C5 had a walled area of 60 m². The shrine was destroyed by fire in C6l. In C5–C4, monumental buildings (some in the Ionic style) began to be constructed in the city: an acropolis, streets and a new temple to Demeter and Aphrodite. In C4e the city was destroyed, but was soon rebuilt with a new fortification system and monumental, richly decorated buildings. The discovery of a pottery kiln and wine-making complexes shows the city to have been a craft and agricultural centre in C6–C4 (Koshelenko *et al.* (1984) 63–64; Grach (1989); Sokolova (1997); Chistov (1998*b*); Boriskovskaya (1999)). Strabo 7.4.4 stresses the city's good harbour, the location of which is problematic (Belenkij (1998)).

As studies of the Nymphaion cemetery (Grach (1999); Vlasova and Solovyov (1998)) demonstrate, the population of the city had close connections with the Skythians (cf. Grach (1981); Butyagin (1998)). Finds of hand-made pottery, jewellery and rich tombs with Skythian burial customs (Vickers (1979); Grach (1999)) show that the Skythian nobility probably participated in the life of the city.

In C5l Nymphaion struck coins of silver (very rare drachms, diobols and hemiobols). *Obv.* head of nymph l. with hair bound up; *rev.* bunch of grapes; legend: *NYN* or *NY* in C5l (Anokhin (1986) 15, 29, 138). The mysterious mint issuing coins briefly (*obv.* head of nymph r.; *rev.* head of lion r. in incuse; legend: *ΣAMMA*) has recently been suggested to be Nymphaion (Stolba (1998)); Sammas is supposed to have been a refugee and tyrant at Nymphaion *c.*439–436.

705. Pantikapaion (Pantikapaites)/**Bosporos** (Bosporites) Map 87. Lat. 45.20, long. 36.30. Size of territory: 3/4. Type: [A]:*β*. Pantikapaion was situated in the European part of the Kimmerian Bosporos (Strabo 11.2.10). The toponym is *Παντικάπαιον, τό* (Dem. 35.31–34; Ps.-Skylax 68) or, alternatively, *Βόσπορος, ὁ* (*CIRB* 6; Dem. 34.36). In the opinion of some scholars the early name for the city was Kremnoi, mentioned by Hdt. 4.20.1 as an *emporion* (Hind (1997) 111–15). The city-ethnic is *Παντικαπαΐτης* (*CIRB* 37 (*c.*370)) or, later, *Παντικαπαιεύς* (*Syll.*³ 585 (197–75)) or *Παντικαπαείτης* (*RPh* 63 (1937) 325–33 (C4)) or *Βοσπορίτης* (*IG* II² 8429 (C4s)).

At Ps.-Skylax 68 Pantikapaion is one of the toponyms listed after the heading *πόλεις δὲ Ἑλληνίδες αἵδε*, where the term *polis* is used in the urban sense; cf. also Anon. *Peripl. M. Eux.* 50. At Dem. 20.33 and 34.34 Bosporos (= Pantikapaion) is described as an *emporion.*

The external and individual use of the city-ethnic (*Παντικαπαΐτης*) is found in a fragmentary decree of *c.*370 found at Pantikapaion, a copy of an honorific decree for Leukon I (389/8–349/8) passed by the Arkadian Federation (*CIRB* 37). The internal collective use is found in abbreviated form on coins (Price (1993) 918–58; Frolova (1996) 152–53). For proxeny decrees issued by the Bosporan kings, see *CIRB* 1–5; twelve such decrees are now known (M. J. Treister and Vinogradov (1993) 545). A citizen of Pantikapaion was awarded *proxenia* by Chios (no. 840) in C4 (*PEP Chios* 50.20 = *RPh* 63 (1937) 325–33).

Pantikapaion was founded *c.*575. Written sources attest that it was Milesian (Strabo 7.4.4; Plin. *HN* 4.86; Amm. Marc. 22.8.36), and archaeological evidence agrees (Kuznetsov (1991*b*) 33).

*C.*480 (Diod. 12.31.1) Pantikapaion became the capital of the Bosporan Kingdom (Ephor. fr. 158), created primarily by the need to withstand Skythian pressure on the Greek cities situated on the Kerch and Taman peninsulas, i.e. the Kimmerian Bosporos (Gajdukevič (1971); Y. G. Vinogradov (1997) 100–32; Hind (1994); *contra*, for a later date of creation of the Bosporan Kingdom, Vasilyev (1992); Zavojkin (1994)). Thus, the Greek *poleis* of the Kimmerian Bosporos (except Theodosia (no. 707), Nymphaion (no. 704) and possibly Phanagoria (no. 706)) were united under the auspices of Pantikapaion (Blavatskij (1964) 24–93).

The Bosporan Kingdom was first ruled over by the Archaianaktidai (probably of Milesian origin), a clan of *tyrannoi* whose power lasted for 42 years (Diod. 12.31.1). All cities were self-governing *poleis*, but all were dependent on Pantikapaion. None of the other cities possessed a separate coinage until 450–425; and C4 rulers spent much time keeping the cities within their kingdom. At the same time the Pantikapaion tyrants started to establish new towns (Tsetskhladze (1997*b*) 79 with refs.). A new dynasty, the Spartokids (of Thracian origin) came to power in 438/7, and the creation of the Bosporan state was nearly complete (Y. G. Vinogradov (1997) 115–16, 129–30). This dynasty ruled for more than 300 years (until 109). Its rulers called themselves "*Archon* of Bosporos and Theodosia and King of the Sindoi, Toretai, Dandarioi and Psessoi" or of "the Sindoi and Maiotai" (*CIRB* 6, 8–11, 37, 113, 972, 1013–15, 1037–40, 1111; Hind (1994) 495–502). From the outset the main aim of the new dynasty was to incorporate Theodosia (no. 707), Nymphaion (no. 704) and possibly Phanagoria (no. 706) into the Bosporan Kingdom by force, these three independent *poleis* being opposed to the rulers of Pantikapaion. Several dynasts were preoccupied with this: Satyros I (433/2–389/8), Leukon I (389/8–349/8), Spartokos II (349/8–344/3) and Pairisades I (344/3–311/10) (Hind (1994)). From C5m it was the policy first of the Archaianaktidai and then of the Spartokidai to incorporate the local population of the Taman Peninsula (Asiatic Bosporos) into the kingdom through the establishment of Bosporan *emporia* in their settlements (Tsetskhladze (1997*b*) 60–71). This task was virtually completed by Leukon I (389/8–349/8), and the Sindoi and others were incorporated peacefully. In the time of Pairisades I (344/43–311/10) Bosporan territory reached its maximum extent, stretching from the Tauroi to the Caucasus. For a C4e treaty of *symmachia* between Leukon I (389/8–349/8) and Olbia (no. 690), see *SEG* 45 1000.

In the Archaic period the territory of Pantikapaion was small. In C6 the towns of Myrmekeion (no. 703), Tyritake (no. 708) and Porthmion were established by Pantikapaion, probably as dependent *poleis* (the first two) and a *teichos* (the last) to protect its territory from the local population (mainly Skythians) (Tsetskhladze (1997*b*) 68–69, 72). For C6 six rural settlements are recorded; for C5 about twenty; and more than 200 from C4 (Tsetskhladze (1997*b*) 72). To establish the exact extent of the territory of Pantikapaion is very difficult, because, after the creation of the Bosporan Kingdom, three types of land ownership were established: civic community land, royal land (Isoc. 17.3; Dem. 20.31) and temple land (Maslennikov (1998*a*) 26–36; Tsetskhladze (1998*b*) 39). Excavations during the last decade have yielded several dozen very rich farmhouses in the eastern Crimea (Maslennikov (1998*a*), (1998*b*); Vinokurov (1998)). They probably belonged to the royal family and to rich citizens of Pantikapaion.

The town of Pantikapaion can be traced back to *c.*575 (pottery finds: Kuznetsov (1991*b*) 33) and was built on the site of an earlier local settlement, *Pantikapa* (Strabo 7.4.4; Plin. *HN* 4. 26; Blavatskij (1964) 9–23). The city walls were erected in C5e (Tolstikov (1997) 214–26). The fortification walls of the acropolis date from C5l/C4f (Tolstikov (1984*b*)). The city occupied the summit and slopes of Mt. Mithridates and a lower seaside terrace in modern-day Kerch. For a description of the city, see Strabo 7.4.4. In C4 the city covered *c.*10 ha (Koshelenko *et al.* (1984) 125). Archaeological excavation has demonstrated that the first Greeks lived in dug-outs (Tolstikov (1992), (1996)). The beginning of stone architecture dates from the third quarter of C6, and the appearance of streets, monumental buildings and town planning to the last quarter of C6. To this latter period is dated the building of a *tholos*. All of this indicates the transformation of Pantikapaion into a typical Greek *polis* (Tolstikov (1996)). It is thought that in C6s there was a sanctuary for Apollo on the upper plateau of Mt. Mithridates (Tolstikov (1992) 62–66). In C6l/C5e dug-out constructions again appear, a phenomenon that some scholars connect with the difficult political situation (Skythian pressure) on the Kimmerian Bosporos. In C5m comes a period in which monumental stone architecture is a characteristic type of construction. In C5m a huge temple to Apollo was erected in the *temenos*/acropolis of the city (Pichikyan (1984) 156–65). C4 was a period of prosperity that saw many grand public buildings (some with mosaic floors: so-called "*andron* with pebble mosaic of C5l–C4e") and temples constructed, and the acropolis (the western part of whose fortification system was built in C4e: Tolstikov and Zhuravlyov (1998) 25) enlarged. By C4l/C3e the royal palace was built there. Finds of architectural details, sculptures, etc. show that the buildings were richly decorated (Koshelenko *et al.* (1984) 59–63; Tolstikov (1987), (1992) 78–94; M. J. Treister and Vinogradov (1993) 544–46). Epigraphic evidence and dedicatory inscriptions indicate that from about 540 there was a temple on the upper plateau of Mt. Mithridates dedicated to Ephesian Artemis (M. Y. Treister (1990)). From at least C4e there were temples, altars and shrines on the acropolis dedicated to Apollo Prostates (*CIRB* 6, 10, 25; Tolstikov (1992) 95 n. 9), Artemis (*CIRB* 64), Zeus (Tolstikov (1992) 95 n. 11), Aphrodite (Tolstikov (1992) 95 n. 12) and Demeter (*CIRB* 8). From C6, Pantikapaion became a centre for crafts and trade. Workshops for metal working were found on the northern slope of Mt. Mithridates, and on the western plateau, where the earliest dug-outs of the first settlers were discovered (M. Y. Treister (1987), (1992), (1998)). From C6l the city produced also painted pottery, clay weights, terracotta figurines, etc. (Koshelenko *et al.* (1984) 59–63).

Pantikapaion struck coins of silver from C5e onwards and of gold in C4. (1) Silver and bronze C5e onwards: denominations: drachm, hemidrachm, diobol. Types: *obv.* lion's scalp facing; *rev.* incuse square with symbol; legend: ΠΑΝ or ΠΑΝΤ or ΠΑΝΤΙ, on some ΑΠ or ΑΠΟΛ. (2) Silver and bronze C4: *obv.* head of Pan or satyr; *rev.* head of bull, or griffin, or lion, or lion with spear in mouth; legend: ΠΑΝ or ΠΑΝΤ or ΠΑΝΤΙ. (3) Gold in C4: denominations: stater, hemistater. Types: *obv.* bearded head of Pan or satyr; *rev.* griffin with spear in mouth standing on ear of corn; legend: ΠΑΝ (Frolova (1992); Price (1993) 836–917; *SNG Cop. Thrace* 17–24). The full form of the city-ethnic, ΠΑΝΤΙΚΑΠΑΙΤΩΝ, appears on coins of C3 and later (*SNG Cop. Thrace* 27). Coins of *c.*460–440 with the inscription ΑΠΟΛ (as well as ΠΑ/ΑΠ) cause problems. The prevailing view is that these coins were struck at the mint of the temple of Apollo in Pantikapaion (built in the second quarter of C5) as an "alliance" issue of the cities of the Kimmerian Bosporos. These coins were not minted for long—until the last quarter of C5, when the need for the confederation of Bosporan cities had passed (Y. G. Vinogradov (1997) 22–23; Tolstikov (1984*a*) 47–48 n. 47; Frolova (1995)).

706. Phanagoria (Phanagorites) Map 87. Lat. 45.15, long. 37.00. Size of territory: 4. Type: A:*a*. The city was situated in the Asiatic part of the Kimmerian Bosporos (Strabo 11.2.10). The toponyms are *Φαναγόρια*, *Φαναγόρεια*, *Φαναγόρειον* (Ps.-Skymnos 886–89; Strabo 11.2.10). The city-ethnic is *Φαναγορίτης* (*SEG* 41 625 (C1)).

Phanagoria is called a *polis Hellenis* by Ps.-Skylax 72, using *polis* in the urban sense; quoting Hecat. fr. 212, Steph. Byz. (657.8) lists Phanagoria as a *polis*, but it is uncertain whether the site-classification stems from Hekataios (Hansen (1997*a*) 17–18). *Polis* status, however, is strongly indicated by a fragmentary C4 proxeny decree from the site mentioning the rights of *enktesis* and *politeia* (Hind (1983–84) 90).

ΦΑ, attested on measuring vessels of C3, and ΦΑΝΑ or ΦΑ, attested on coins of C5l/C4f, are probably abbreviated forms of the city-ethnic used in the internal and collective sense. The full form, ΦΑΝΑΓΟΡΙΤΩΝ, is found only on C2l–C1 coins (Price (1993) 995–1007) whereas the external and individual use appears in App. *Mith.* 108.

Phanagoria was founded by Teians (no. 868) (Ps.-Skymnos 886) and, according to Arrian, the *oikistes* was Phanagoras of Teos, who had sought refuge from Persian

influence ((*FGrHist* 156) fr. 71). Thus, Phanagoria must have been founded *c.*545–540, a date confirmed by excavation in the upper city of Ionian pottery, some belonging to the late stage of the late Wild Goat style and of contemporary Attic pottery (Kuznetsov (1998) 9; Arafat and Morgan (2000)). Most probably Phanagoria was forced to join the Bosporan Kingdom either by Leukon I (389/8–349/8) contemporaneously with Theodosia (no. 707), or by Spartokos II (349/8–344/3) and was thereafter a *polis* depending on Pantikapaion (no. 705) (*Syll.*³ 214–16; *SEG* 45 1016, all found in Phanagoria; Gorlov (1986); Hind (1994) 498).

The *chora* of Phanagoria is completely unknown, as are those of the other Greek colonies in the Taman Peninsula. A survey of the whole Taman Peninsula established that there are about 237 rural settlements of the Graeco-Roman and mediaeval periods, more than 500 barrows, and 150 km of ancient roads (Paromov (1990), (1992), (1997), (1998)). At the present level of knowledge it is impossible to identify which rural settlements belonged to which *poleis* (Tsetskhladze (1997*b*) 72–73 and (1998*b*) 38–39, both with refs.). Two very rich farms near Phanagoria may have been situated in its *chora* (Savostina (1987), (1998)).

The first defensive walls of Phanagoria were erected in C5l (Gorlov (1986) 136). The city was situated on two plateaux on the coast of the Gulf of Taman in the Taman Peninsula. The city covered *c.*75 ha, but *c.*25 ha of the site is now under water. The city is surrounded by hills on which three large cemeteries are situated (Tsetskhladze (1997*b*) 51–55 with refs.). In C6 Phanagoria was situated on the upper plateau and had a rectangular plan of approximately 440–450 × 500 m (20–22.5 ha). Remains of C6 include dwelling houses built of mudbrick without any stone foundation and streets. Twelve houses built of either wattle or mudbrick were found, dating from 630–620 to 500–480. In C5e the city was extended towards the south. In the cultural level of C5m to C4 were remains of workshops. In C6l houses on the upper plateau were destroyed, and the destruction level bears traces of fire. In C5e a large amount of construction work was undertaken. In the south-west part of the city the remains of the city gates were found. The houses were built from mudbrick, sometimes on stone foundations. During C5 the city spread on to a number of terraces and filled up the area between the upper and lower plateaux. Finds of, e.g., Ionic and Doric capitals point to monumental architecture. In C4 the city grew towards the east. The old fortification walls were destroyed in C4e as a result of a siege; afterwards large (re)construction works began, and the houses were built of limestone and other stones rather than mudbrick. The city had several shrines and temples, including "a notable temple of Aphrodite Apatouros" (Strabo 11.2.10). In C6l there was a wooden shrine which was destroyed by fire in C5e. Terracotta figurines of Demeter, Artemis and Aphrodite have been found in a shrine not far from the city. Inscriptions were found in or near the agora or nearby; there was a temple of Aphrodite Ourania (Apatouron; *CIRB* 971–72), located on a hill not far from the city (*CIRB* 1111 = Tod 115C). According to Tokhtasyev (1986), the Apatouron was a separate shrine on the Taman Peninsula.

From the outset, Phanagoria was a very important city with its own diversified economy and craft production. Local painted pottery dates from C6l–C5; pottery kilns date from C4. There were workshops for the production of architectural terracottas, bronze and iron objects, and life-size bronze statues. Study of fragments of stone sculptures and gravestones confirms the existence of local sculptors. Finds of imported tableware, amphoras and foreign coins show that Phanagoria was a trading centre (Smirnov (1956); Kobylina (1983), (1989); Koshelenko *et al.* (1984) 77–81; Dolgorukov (1990); Dolgorukov and Kolesnikov (1993); Paromov (1993); Kuznetsov (1998), (1999) 555–58).

The city struck silver coins in C5l/C4e. Diobol: *obv.* beardless or more rarely a bearded head of a Kabyros (?) l. wearing high-crowned *pilos*, sometimes with laurel wreath; *rev.* bull, or forepart of bull l.; to r. an ear of corn; legend: ΦΑ. Trihemiobol: *obv.* same, but with more conical *pilos*; *rev.* forepart of bull l., ear of corn to r.; legend: ΦΑΝΑ. Tetartemorion?: *obv.* beardless head left; *rev.* grain of corn; legend: ΦΑ (Shelov (1956) 49–51; Price (1993) 987–94; Zavojkin (1995)). Phanagoria resumed its minting in C3l.

707. Theodosia (Theudosieus) Map 87. Lat. 45.00, long. 35.25. Size of territory: 1. Type: [A]:β. Theodosia lay to the W. of the European part of the Kimmerian Bosporos (Ps.-Skylax 68; Strabo 7.4.4; Arr. *Peripl. M. Eux.* 19.3). The toponym is Θευδοσία (Ps.-Skylax 68; Dem. 20.33). The city-ethnic is Θευδοσιεύς (*CIRB* 231 (C4f)); C5s–C4e coins (*infra*) are inscribed ΘΕΟΔΕΟ or ΘΕΟΔΕΩ, which presumably abbreviates an unknown form of the city-ethnic.

At Ps.-Skylax 68 Theodosia is the first toponym listed after the heading πόλεις δὲ Ἑλληνίδες αἵδε, where the term *polis* is used in the urban sense. At Dem. 20.33 Theodosia is called an *emporion*. The internal collective use of the city-ethnic is attested on coins (*infra*). The external and individual use is attested on a grave stele from Pantikapaion (*CIRB* 231 (C4f)).

Theodosia was founded by Miletos (no. 854) (Arr. *Peripl. M. Eux.* 19.3; Anon. *Peripl. M. Eux.* 51) *c.*570 (pottery find: Kuznetsov (1991*b*) 33). From the beginning the city was hostile to Pantikapaion (no. 705), opposing its tyrants during C5 and not joining the Bosporan Kingdom (Petrova (1991)). It was aided by Chersonesos (no. 695) and Herakleia (no. 715) against the encroaching *archontes* of the Bosporan Kingdom (Saprykin (1997) 91–98). *C.*370 Leukon I (389/8–349/8) conquered Theodosia and made it part of the Bosporan Kingdom, and thus it became dependent on Pantikapaion (no. 705) (Strabo 7.4.6 (rC4f)). In contemporary inscriptions C4 kings are described as "*archon* of Bosporos and Theodosia" (*CIRB* 6, 6a, 8, 1014, 1037, 1111 (*Syll.*³ 214); cf. Burstein (1974); Petrova (1991); Hind (1994) 498; Saprykin (1997) 91–98; Hansen (1997*c*) 90). Anon. *Peripl. M. Eux.* 77 mentions some refugees from "Bosporos" in Theodosia. It is believed that this information goes back to C5, and that the refugees were from Pantikapaion, people who did not support the new dynasty, the Spartokids, who came to power in 438/7 (Gajdukevič (1971); Petrova (1991) 98–99).

Dem. 20.33 and Strabo 7.4.4 underline the city's fine harbour and fertile land, and the export of its grain to Athens. Archaeologically the city is not well known. During small-scale excavations a stone and mudbrick building dating from C5 overlaid by one of C4–C3 was uncovered (Peters and Golentsov (1981); Koshelenko *et al.* (1984) 63; Hind (1983–84) 85, (1992–93) 100). The *chora* is not well known. Minor settlements and a fortified farm of C4 have been excavated to the south and the west of Theodosia; the *chora* was populated both by Greeks and local people (Petrova (1996) 146–50; Beysens *et al.* (1997)).

Theodosia struck coins of silver, probably in the 430s, and bronze C4e. *Obv.* helmeted head of Athena; *rev.* bull's head facing; legend: ΘΕΟΔΕΟ, ΘΕΟΔΕΩ. Minting stopped most probably *c.*370 when the city was conquered by the Bosporan king Leukon I (389/8–349/8) and resumed in C4 (Anokhin (1989) 15–16, 29–30, 57–58, 138–39, 141; Stolba (1996) 235; Hansen (1997*c*) 90).

708. Tyritake Map 87. Lat. 45.15, long. 36.25. Size of territory: ? Type: C:*α*. Tyritake was situated in the European part of the Kimmerian Bosporos (Ptol. *Geog.* 3. 6. 3; Anon. *Peripl. M. Eux.* 50). The toponym is Τυριτάκη (Steph. Byz. 642.12; variant spellings at Ptol. *Geog.* and Anon. *Peripl. M. Eux.*). The only sources to list Tyritake as a *polis* are Steph. Byz. and Anon. *Peripl. M. Eux.*

Tyritake was established in 580–560 by Ionians (? from Miletos (no. 854)) as is documented by pottery finds (Kuznetsov (1991*b*) 33). The settlement was probably a secondary one from the start, dependent on Pantikapaion (no. 705) (Tsetskhladze (1997*b*) 62, 68–80).

City walls were erected in C5e (Tolstikov (1997) 209). The Archaic and Classical city is not well studied. Stone houses appear in C6s (remains of only two buildings have been excavated; cf. Koshelenko *et al.* (1984) 67–68). Aphrodite and Demeter were amongst communal cults (Denisova (1981) 83–88). The Tyritake rampart—a boundary line for strategic defence—stretches for a distance of over 25 km and was built to protect the *chora* of the European Bosporos in C5 from the local population (Tolstikov (1997) 209).

3. *The Coasts of the Caucasus and Kolchian Lowlands*

709. Dioskouris Map 87. Lat. 43.00, long. 41.00. Size of territory: 4. Type: A:*α*. Dioskouris was situated in Kolchis, Eastern Black Sea (Ps.-Skylax 81; Strabo 11.2.16; Arr. *Peripl. M. Eux.* 10.4). The toponym is Διοσκουρίς in Ps.-Skylax 81, but Διοσκουριάς in later sources (Strabo 1.3.2; Steph. Byz. 233.15). The city is called *polis* by Ps.-Skylax 81 using *polis* in the urban sense, and repeatedly in a fragmentary bronze inscription of C4l/C3e found in Eshera, not far from Dioskouris. Here *polis* is presumably used both in the political and in the urban sense (Y. G. Vinogradov (1997) 596–601; Tsetskhladze (1998*a*) 23–24).

Amphora handles of C3 produced by Dioskouris are stamped with ΔΙΟΣΚΟΥ, an abbreviation of either the toponym or, more likely, the city-ethnic used in the internal and collective sense (Tsetskhladze (1991) 362–63, 377). The bronze inscription from Eshera mentions events possibly linked with some military operations (Y. G. Vinogradov (1997) 596–601).

According to Arr. *Peripl. M. Eux.* 10.4, Dioskouris was founded by Miletos (no. 854) (Tsetskhladze (1998*b*) 16–19), and modern writers suppose it to date to C6m. Other writers relate foundation myths set in the epic period and which are poetic in nature (App. *Mithr.* 101; Luc. 3.3.269; Paus. 3.19.7, 24.7; cf. Braund (1994) 31–33).

The *chora* of the city spread up to a 10 km radius around the city. Eshera, the largest settlement in the area, was probably part of the *chora.* Finds of helmets may mark the edge of the *chora* of Dioskouris: the local population of north-eastern Kolchis was engaged in piracy and used to attack the coastal cities including Dioskouris (Diod. 20.25; Strabo 11.2.12, 16, 19, 11.3.6; Plin. *HN* 6.15–16; cf. Shamba (1980); Voronov (1991); Tsetskhladze (1998*a*) 15–25).

There has been no large-scale archaeological investigation of the city (modern-day Sukhumi in Abkhazia, north-western Georgia). Part of the city site is under water, and the remainder is covered by the modern city. Rescue excavations demonstrate that the city had monumental stone buildings from at least C4. Material shedding light on the early history of the city has not been found apart from a few fragments of C6l–C5 pottery and a Greek marble burial stele dated to 430–420 (Lordkipanidze (1968); Voronov (1980); Nikonov (1996); Tsetskhladze (1998*a*) 15–25). The patron deities seem to have been the Dioskouroi (inference from the toponym). Another communal cult was that of Demeter (Tsetskhladze (1998*a*) 16–17).

710. Gyenos Map 87. Lat. 42.45, long. 41.25. Size of territory: 1 (Shamba (1988) 7). Type: A:β. The toponym is *Γυηνός* (Ps.-Skylax 81); possibly *Cycnus* in Pompon. 1.110 (Inadze (1968) 124; Lordkipanidze (1979) 130–31; Shamba (1988) 6; Braund (1994) 103; Tsetskhladze (1998*a*) 12–13). It was situated in Kolchis, eastern Black Sea (Ps.-Skylax 81). Gyenos is called a *polis Hellenis* by Ps.-Skylax 81, using *polis* in the urban sense.

Gyenos was settled by some east Greeks including merchants in C6m (Tsetskhladze (1998*a*) 12–15). Pompon. 1.110 relates the city's foundation myth (Braund (1994) 103). Gyenos was probably a mixed Hellenic–barbarian *polis*: material culture shows both Greek and local Kolchian features (Shamba (1988); Tsetskhladze (1998*a*) 12–15).

Ancient Gyenos has been located in an area near the modern city of Ochamchire (Abkhazia, north-western Georgia). According to the survey carried out on the site of the supposed ancient city, its area measured 65 ha (Shamba (1988) 7). It is difficult to accept this because of doubts as to the actual location and the very poor preservation of the site itself. The settlement ranged across three artificial hills and the surrounding plain on the left bank of the river Dzhikimur where it joins the sea. Only the edge of one hill (C) has been partly excavated; the other two hills have been completely destroyed by modern construction work. Two Archaic wooden dwellings have been well preserved. They had straw roofs. In the Archaic level East Greek pottery accounts for 28.5 per cent of the total pottery finds. By C4e habitation on hill C came to an end and was replaced with burials of horses' heads, equipped in Skythian fashion (Shamba (1988)).

711. Phasis (Phasianos) Map 87. Lat. 42.05, long. 41.45. Size of territory ? Type: A:β. The city was situated in Kolchis, eastern Black Sea (Ps.-Skylax 81; Strabo 11.2.17, 12.3.17). The toponym is *Φᾶσις* (Hdt. 4.86.2; *SEG* 44 1298 (C5l)). The city-ethnic is *Φασιανός* (Heracl. Lemb. 46).

Phasis is called a *polis Hellenis* by Ps.-Skylax 81, using *polis* in the urban sense; Hippoc. *Aer.* 15 calls Phasis an *emporion*. It had its own constitution, included in the Aristotelian corpus of 158 *politeiai* (Heracl. Lemb. 46; Arist. no. 141, Gigon). The external and collective use of the city-ethnic *Φασιανοί* is attested at Xen. *An.* 5.6.36–37; Heracl. Lemb. 46; cf. Hind (1996*b*) 209–11; Braund (1994) 96.

Phasis is said to have been founded by Milesians (Heracl. Lemb. 46; Pompon. 1.108; Steph. Byz. 661.1), and some date the foundation to C6m, others to a much later date (Lordkipanidze (1985) 22–34; Tsetskhladze (1998*a*) 7–12). The *oikistes*' name is given as Themistagoras of Miletos (Pompon. 1.108; cf. Steph. Byz. 661.1: *ἐκτίσθη δὲ ὑπὸ Μιλησίων*), a name found both at Miletos (no. 854) and Sinope (no. 729). Phasis was probably a mixed Hellenic–barbarian *polis* (Tsetskhladze (1994*b*) 211–12), and the *emporion* served merchants visiting there at least from C5l/C4e (Hippoc. *Aer.* 15; Hind (1996*b*) 209–11). Lordkipanidze (2000) has restated the case for the existence of a Greek *apoikia*/*polis* at Phasis in the Archaic and Classical periods; however, his treatment of the literary evidence is uneven, and that of Herodotos incorrect. The discussion of the Kolchian/Phasian coin types is also selective and unconvincing; see further Hind (2002).

Phasis has not been located. According to Arrian, the old fortifications of Phasis consisted of an earth rampart with wooden towers, in the Roman period replaced with walls of burnt brick (Arr. *Peripl. M. Eux.* 9). The patron deity seems to have been Apollo Hegemon (*SEG* 44 1298 (C5l); Tsetskhladze (1994*b*)). Late writers mention the goddess of Phasis (Rhea or Artemis?) (Arr. *Peripl. M. Eux.* 9; Zos. *Historia Nova* 1.28). Literary and epigraphic evidence suggest that temples to these deities existed in the city (Zubov inscription on phiale (C5l); Tsetskhladze (1994*b*); Arr. *Peripl. M. Eux.* 9; Zos. *Historia Nova* 1.28).

It has been suggested that silver coins "Kolkhidki" (Dundua (1987) 9–32) were minted by Phasis or the Phasians between C5e and C3. Tetradrachms have on *obv.* lion's head which may derive from the lion of Miletos (no. 854). A small percentage of type B hemidrachms are inscribed with Greek letters (initials for the names of magistrates?; cf. Dundua (1987) 9–32; Tsetskhladze (1993) 236–40; Hind (1996*b*) 204–9). Hind studied the exceptional variety of C5m–l coin types, and suggested that Milesian die-makers may have been working for the Phasian *skeptouchoi* in Kolchis (Hind (1996*b*) 204–9).

4. *The Coasts of the* Mariandynoi, Paphlagones *and* Kappadokes

712. Amisos (Amisenos)**/Peiraieus** (Peiraieus) Map 87. Lat. 41.20, long. 36.20. Size of territory: ? Type: B:α. The toponym is Ἀμισός ὁ/ἡ (Hecat. fr. 199 *apud* Strabo 12.3.25; Ephor. fr. 162.12; Arist. *Hist. an.* 554^{b}15), to which corresponds the city-ethnic Ἀμισηνός (*SEG* 28 725 (*c.*300)); the city was renamed Πειραιεύς in C5s (Strabo 12.3.14; cf. *infra*); the corresponding city-ethnic Πειραεύς or Πειραιεύς is found in a C4 inscription from Pantikapaion (*CIRB* 1 = *Syll.*^{3} 217; note, however, that *LGPN* II Διονύσιος no. 622 treats this man as an Athenian from the deme of Peiraieus) and on coins (Head, *HN*^{2} 496; Malloy (1970)); it reverted to its former name by C3e. The territory was size 5 by Hellenistic times; earlier probably much smaller.

According to Ps.-Skymnos 957, Diller, Amisos was an *apoikia* of the Phokaians (no. 859), hence probably a *polis* in the political sense (date retrospectively given as *c.*560); Theopomp. fr. 389 *apud* Strabo 12.3.14 considered it a Milesian foundation originally. Probably *c.*436, in connection with the Pontic expedition of Perikles (Plut. *Per.* 20), it received a contingent of Athenian settlers led by Athenokles, and its name was changed to Peiraieus (Theopomp. fr. 389: ὑπ' Ἀθηνοκλέους καὶ Ἀθηναίων ἐποικισθεῖσαν Πειραιᾶ μετονομασθῆναι; cf. *infra* and Sinope (no. 729)).

The internal collective use of the city-ethnic *Peira(i)eus* is found on C4 coins (*infra*). The external individual use of the city-ethnic *Amisenos* is found in *CIRB* 249–50 (C4l/C3e); *SEG* 28 725 (*c.*300); and *IG* II^{2} 8062, 8072 (C3); this use of *Peiraeus* is found in *CIRB* 1 = *Syll.*^{3} 217, a C4m record of a *proxenos* of Pantikapaion (no. 705). The external collective use of the city-ethnic is not attested until the Hellenistic period (e.g. Strabo 12.3.13).

The *chora* of Amisos included Saramene, and reached the river Halys to the west, and Themiskyra and Sidene to the east. The native peoples were variously known as Syroi (Hdt. 2.104), Assyrioi (Ps.-Skylax 89), Leukosyroi (Ps.-Skymnos 956, Diller; Strabo 12.3.12, 25) or Kappadokes (Strabo 12.3.9).

Amisos (present-day Samsun) lies 165 km east of Sinope (no. 729), on the flat top and eastern slopes of a plateau headland (Kara, Eski Samsun) to the west of the town of Samsun (Maximova (1956) 52–54; Atasoy (1997) 25ff). It possessed no fine natural harbour; nor was it near the mouth of any major river (Wilson (1976*a*)). Its main assets were the "Amisene" iron, probably traded from the Chalybes (Arist. *Mir. ausc.* 833^{b}33), its lands productive of olives (Strabo 2.1.15, 12.3.30), some local silver from the Pontic Mountains, and the overland route across the so-called isthmus of Asia which led to Tarsos via Amaseia, Zela and Kaisareia (Hdt. 1.72, 2.33; Ps.-Skymnos 961–62, Diller; Strabo 12.1.3). The sea routes along the coast and across the Euxine to the mouth of the Danube, southern Crimea and the Kimmerian Bosporos were largely in the sphere of Sinope. It has been supposed that Amisos was in competition with Sinope (Magie (1950) 184), though it was probably not powerful enough to be so down to the end of the Classical period. Maximova (1956) 82–83 sees it as having, rather, a junior collaborative role. Two points tend to uphold this view. First, the colonisation by Athenokles and the party of Athenians at Amisos (Theopomp. fr. 389 *apud* Strabo 12.3.14) may well have taken place at about the same time and in the same sort of circumstances as Perikles' reported intervention at Sinope and dispatch of 600 colonists there (Plut. *Per.* 20). Secondly, the silver coinage of both cities displays somewhat similar reverse types (birds of prey with outstretched wings). The smaller denominations of Sinope in particular have their eagle *en face* with outstretched wings, as though to acknowledge the facing owl of Amisos.

From the time of the Athenian settlement, democracy lasted for a while until the Persians gained Amisos (App. *Mith.* 83; Polyaen. 7.21.1). The satrap Datames had designs on it, wishing to use it as a mint (Polyaen. 7.21.1), *c.*370. From C3m it lost its autonomy and became part of the Pontic kingdom under Mithridates II or Ariobarzanes.

There have been no planned excavations at Kara Samsun (Atasoy (1997) 109), the plateau being occupied by an American radar station. In the nineteenth and early part of the twentieth century, activity in the cemetery brought to light much jewellery, some of C5–C4 (Marshall (1911) pl. 31 nos. 1706, 1808, 1816), a grave *stele* of C4 (Mendel (1912) no. 7), a bronze decoration from below the handle of a C4 *hydria* (Wiegand (1923); Züchner (1942) 175). There is also a small amount of imported pottery of C6–C4 (Atasoy (1997) 39). Contacts with Greek cities in the form of Amisenes abroad in the Classical and Hellenistic periods spread fairly widely (Maximova (1956) 89; Debord (1990); Atasoy (1997) 86).

About 18 km south-west of Samsun is Ak Alan, a fortified hill-top settlement, probably the centre of a Kappadokian chieftain. Here were found, in addition to native pottery, some terracotta architectural ornaments (*simae*, friezes) in a north Ionic or Aiolic Greek style, and pottery fragments from one or more Wild Goat style *oinochoai* of *c.*625–600 (Macridy (1907); Cummer (1976)).

These early contacts of Greeks with the Kappadokians and knowledge of the route to Tarsos were, perhaps, initiated by

Milesians from Sinope even before the foundation of Amisos. Hdt. 1.76–78 mentions Pteria, the strongest place, east of the river Halys, where the major battle between Kroisos and Kyros took place. This site is said to have been inland, on a line with Sinope on the Black Sea. Some have sought to identify Pteria with Ak Alan, but Pteria is now persuasively argued to have been at the huge IA fortification at Kerkenes Dağ (Mitchell (1999) 187–88).

Some Greeks (Hecat. fr. 199; Zenodotos *apud* Strabo 12.3.25) took Amisos to be the Enete of Hom. *Il.* 2.352, and there is also the connection of Themiskyra and the Thermodon area with "Amazons" (tale of the origin of the Sarmatians, Hdt. 4.110). These "barbarians" of legend may reflect a historical situation, which kept out Greek colonists until a relatively late date. The foundation story, as given by Ps.-Skymnos (956–57, Diller) makes Amisos a Phokaian *ἀποικία . . . Ἰωνικὴ κτίσις*, which was founded 4 years before Herakleia (no. 715). In the defective line (957), there may be room for "Milesians and" as well as "Phokaians"; Theopompos (*apud* Strabo 12.3.4) mentions "Milesians", then occurs a break in the text, leading to "Kappadokians", and "Athenokles and the Athenians" (Lasserre (1978); Descat (1990) 540). However these variants in the two texts and the vicissitudes in the events of the *ktisissage* are to be explained, Amisos was clearly a *polis* in the political sense from *c.*564, though perhaps a *polis* dependent on Sinope, and briefly, from *c.*436, on Athens. No colonies of Amisos are known. Sinope seems to have monopolised that practice in the region.

Amisos struck silver coins on the Persian standard from C5l to *c.*330. Types: *obv.* head of nymph, or Hera in *stephane* or turreted crown; *rev.* owl facing with wings outstretched, standing on shield; legend: *ΠΕΙΡΑ* or *ΠΕΙΡΑΙ* or *ΠΕΙΡΑΕ* or *ΠΕΙΡΑΙΩΝ*. The trading activity of Peiraieus can be traced through finds of these coins singly and in hoards (*IGCH* 395) in Asia (Newell (1931)) and on the Black Sea shores (Maximova (1956) 89; Malloy (1970); Atasoy (1997) 86; Head, *HN*² 496; Price (1993) pls. XL, XLI; *SNG Cop. Pontus* 120–28).

713. Becheirias Map 87. Not in *Barr.* Type: A:*α*. The toponym is *Βεχειριάς* (Ps.-Skylax 84). It was a *polis Hellenis* according to Ps.-Skylax 84. It had a harbour and lay east of Trapezous (no. 734) in the territory of the Becheirioi (a native town?).

714. Choirades Map 87. Unlocated. Size of territory: ? Type: A:*α*. The toponym is *Χοιράδες* (Hecat. fr. 204). It is called a *polis* among the Mossynoikoi by Hecat. fr. 204 and a *polis Hellenis* by Ps.-Skylax 86 (cf. Hansen (1997*a*) 22). Perhaps this was the site later refounded as Pharnakia (see Kerasous (no. 719)) by Pharnakes I of Pontos.

715. Herakleia (Herakle(i)otes) Map 86. Lat. 41.15; long. 31.25. Size of territory: 5. Type: A:*α*. The toponym is *Ἡράκλεια, ἡ* (*I.Sinope* 1.3 (353/2–346/5); Xen. *An.* 5.6.10; Arist. *Pol.* 1306ᵃ37), to which is often added *ἡ ἐν τῷ Πόντῳ* (e.g. Arist. *Mete.* 367ᵃ); *Ποντιὰς Ἡράκλεια* is found in the epigram in *IG* VII 2531 (C4). The full name appears on the reverses of the earliest coins of C5l/C4e (Price (1993) pl. LVII). The city-ethnic is *Ἡρακλε(ι)ώτης* (Xen. *An.* 6.4.23; C4l coins; *CID* II 4.III.17, etc.).

Herakleia is called *polis* in the urban sense at Xen. *An.* 6.2.1, 18 and Ps.-Skylax 91, and in the political sense at Xen. *An.* 5.6.21; Aen. Tact. 12.5; and Arist. *Pol.* 1327ᵇ14. *Polites* occurs at Isoc. *Ep.* 7.2, and *patris* is found in *IG* VII 2531 (C4). The collective use of the city-ethnic is found internally on C4l coins (*infra*), and externally in Xen. *An.* 5.6.19; Aen. Tact. 12.5; and *IG* I³ 71.IV.127 (425/4). The individual and external use is found in *IG* I³ 74 (424/3) and *IG* II² 408 (*c.*330), Dem. 52.6 and *I.Olbia* 6 = Dubois (1996) 20 (C4s).

The *chora* (mentioned in *I.Sinope* 1.4 (353/2–346/5)) *Ἡρακλεῶτις* (Thuc. 4.75.2; Xen. *An.* 6.2.19)—described as situated *ἐν τῇ Μαριανδυνῶν χώρᾳ*, Xen. *An.* 6.2.1—in C5 stretched to the Kales and to the river Kallichoros to the west, and to the south-east to the area between the rivers Lykos and Billaios. Eventually, Herakleia's coastal influence reached out westwards beyond the river Hypios to the major river Sangarios, via an *emporion* at Elaious, and beyond it to Thynias Island (Dörner and Hoepfner (1962) 583–93; Hoepfner (1966) 19; Burstein (1976)). The city was strategically situated one long day's sail (210 km) from the entrance to the Pontos (Xen. *An.* 6.4.2), with no city in that direction, only an uninhabited peninsula, Kalpe, which Xenophon fleetingly hoped to colonise, at the halfway stage (Xen. *An.* 6.3.1, 4.1.6). To the east was Sinope (no. 729), almost twice the distance (two days' sail and 350 km; Xen. *An.* 6.2.1), but Cape Karambis, and the shortest crossing of the Pontos, lay between. Nearer to Herakleia lay four minor Milesian *poleis* or *katoikiai*, in one case an *emporion* of Sinope (see Tieion (no. 733), Kromna (no. 723), Sesamos (no. 728) and Kytoros (no. 724)). None of these could be much of a threat to Herakleia until they were synoecised under the name Amastris *c.*300–290 (see Sesamos (no. 728)). Herakleia, however, was well placed to let or hinder shipping from outside the Black Sea, going west or east along its southern shore, and across it to, or from, the Crimea and South Russia.

The isolated statement of Strabo 12.3.4 that Herakleia was a Milesian colony is an error (*contra* Asheri (1972) 14), compounded by attributing the first subjection of the Mariandynoi to them and ignoring Megarians totally. All other sources attribute the settlement of Herakleia to Megara (no. 225) (Xen. *An.* 6.2.11) or to Megarians with Boiotian participation (Ps.-Skymnos 1016–17, Diller; Ephor. fr. 44b). According to Ap. Rhod. 2.846, Nisaioi (i.e. from east coast Megara) were the colonists along with Boiotians. Paus. 5.26.7 says the Boiotians were from Tanagra (no. 220), an important coastal state in C6 (Buck (1979) 99). *Suda s.v.* *Ἡρακλείδης Εὔφρονος*, makes them Thebans (no. 221). The *oikistes* was Gnesiochos, a Megarian (Euphorion fr. 90, Scheidewin; Ephor. fr. 44b; *Collectanea Alexandrina* (Oxford, 1925) fr. 177). It has also been suggested that Thessalians took part (Asheri (1972) 14). The Boiotians' plight, leading to their sending out colonists after two oracles from Delphi, was due to plague and to Phokian raids (Just. *Epit.* 16.3.8). The foundation date is given by correlation with Persian/Median history, "the Boiotians and Megarians founded it (*κτίζουσι*) within the Kyaneai Rocks about the time when Kyros captured Media" (Ps.-Skymnos 1017–19, Diller). This ought to mean *c.*550, at any rate before the collapse of Lydia in 547; Megara's reason was pressure from Athens (Hind (1998) 134).

Local historians of Herakleia were concerned to give their city a "pre-history"—a connection with Herakles, or with the Argonaut Idmon, or with a Mariandynian hero, Agamestor (Herodoros (*FGrHist* 31) fr. 51; Nymphis (*FGrHist* 432) fr. 3; Promathidas (*FGrHist* 430) fr. 3). Agamestor (or Idmon) was *poliouchos*, with an old olive tree in his honour on show in the agora (Ap. Rhod. 2.841–50). At least in Roman times Herakles was claimed as *ktistes* on coins (Head, *HN*² 516). The celebration of *Dionysia* is attested in Diod. 16.36.3 (r353).

Herakleia founded colonies across the Pontos at Kallatis (no. 686) and Chersonesos (no. 695) perhaps during the troubles of C5l/C4e, though some date them to C6l or C5e (Hind (1998) 139–52; Saprykin (1998) 236; Ivantchik (1998) 322 n. 77). Her wars with Bosporos ensued *c.*390–370 (Burstein (1974); Hind (1994) 498). A small settlement of Herakleiots also existed on Thynias Island (*νῆσος Θυνιὰς (οἰκοῦσι δὲ αὐτὴν Ἡρακλεῶται)*, Ps.-Skylax 92; *Ἡρακλεωτῶν ἄποικος*, Ps.-Skymnos 1026, Diller) towards the entrance to the Black Sea. This island is called Apollonia and Daphnousia by writers of Roman date, and the Herakleiot settlement is named Thunias (Plin. *HN* 6.32; Ptol. *Geog.* 5.1.3; Anon. *Peripl. M. Eux.* 18).

A number of early wars with the local population are referred to at Just. *Epit.* 16.3.7–8; the citizen levy is referred to at Polyaen. 2.30.3. According to Arist. *Pol.* 1327ᵇ14–15, the Herakleiots entertained a large navy (*πολλὰς ἐκπληροῦσι τριήρεις*; cf. Polyaen. 6.9.4), and Arist. *Oec.* 1347ᵇ3 refers to a navy of forty ships (rC4f); Aen. Tact. 12.5 attests to the hiring of a substantial mercenary army by the city. *Strategoi* are referred to at Arist. *Oec.* 1347ᵇ13 (rC4f).

In C5m Athens sought to make Herakleia a tribute-paying city, and the city's name appears more reliably than most in the tribute assessment decree of 425/4: [hε*ρ*]*ακλειῶτα*[*ι*] (*IG* I³ 71.IV.127). Athens' general, Lamachos, seems to have been attempting to assert her control over the near region when he lost his contingent of ships in a flash-flood in the river Kales (Thuc. 4.75.2). At this time, in general, some leaders at Herakleia seem to have favoured dependence on Persia and declined to pay a monetary contribution to Athens (Just. *Epit.* 16.2.8). Others were prepared to help the stranded Athenians out of trouble on this or a later occasion (e.g. Sotimos, A. B. West (1935) 74–75; cf. *IG* I³ 74 (424/3)). After the passing of Athens' brief hegemony in (at least parts of) the Pontos, Herakleia continued to be in a position to interfere with shipping going between Bosporos and the Aegean (e.g. in 360 and 330; cf. *IG* II² 117.20–23, 360.35–40). On the other hand, Herakleiot merchants were honoured at Athens for services rendered (*IG* II² 408).

Politically Herakleia is said to have been a "democracy" (Arist. *Pol.* 1304ᵇ31–34; Aen. Tact. 11.10; cf. E. W. Robinson (1997) 111–13)—perhaps rather a settlement of relatively poor allotment-holders led by an *oikistes* together with a group of refugees from Boiotia (Just. *Epit.* 16.3). Passage of time, growth, prosperity, war with, and subjection of, the local people, Mariandynoi, brought inequalities, and these led to *stasis* (Burstein (1976); Saprykin (1981); Gehrke, *Stasis* 70–72). There were perhaps two leaders described as "tyrants" (Eurytion, Arist. *Pol.* 1306ᵃ39–40; Euopios, *Suda* s.v. *Κλεάρχος*). The nobles were driven out by "demagogues", but returned to overthrow the "many" (Arist. *Pol.* 1304ᵇ31–33). The oligarchic restriction of citizenship to heads of families was apparently dropped, and the number of those having full privileges under the oligarchy was raised to 600 in C5l (Arist. *Pol.* 1305ᵇ2–13). These troubles probably occupied the late C5 and early decades of C4 (civic unrest are also referred to by Aen. Tact. 11.10, 12.5). In 364 Klearchos founded a "tyrant" dynasty that lasted more than 70 years: Klearchos (364–*c.*353/2); Satyros (*c.*353/2–345); Timotheos (*c.*345–337); Dionysios (345–305); Amastris, wife of Dionysios, later of Lysimachos (305–290) (Apel (1910);

Burstein (1972), (1976); Frolov (1974); Saprykin (1997)). *I.Sinope* 1 (353/2–346/5) is a treaty of *symmachia* between, on the one hand, Sinope (no. 729) and, on the other, "Satyros and the sons of Klearchos". It is a mutual defensive pact by which both contracting parties undertake to support the other in case of attack on the territory or on the city, excepting aggression by the Great King or aggression by a third party sanctioned by the Great King: such aggression is to be negotiated by envoys sent to the king by the parties involved; if the aggressor is unwilling to conduct such negotiations, then he may be attacked by the two contracting parties who thus explicitly recognise the suzerainty of the Great King. The *poleis* of Kromna (no. 723) and Sesamos (no. 728) may, if they wish, be included in the alliance. In addition to such alliance arrangements, the treaty includes stipulations to the effect that (a) Sinopean and Herakleian exiles may remain ἐν ταῖς πόλεσ[ι]; it is, however, not clear exactly what is meant here: it may mean that Herakleian exiles are allowed to remain at Sinope, and vice versa; or it may mean that exiles are allowed to remain in any *polis* to which they had fled (as suggested by the editor); this would imply that Herakleia and Sinope could conclude a treaty whose stipulations were valid for other (dependent) *poleis*, and in fact Sinope is known to have ruled its colonies as dependent *poleis* (Gschnitzer (1958) 18–19; Nielsen (2000) 135; cf. Kerasous (no. 719), Kotyora (no. 722), and Trapezous (no. 734)); (b) that full support is to be given in the case of attempts to overthrow the existing constitutions of Sinope and Herakleia.

Pace Jacoby (*FGrHist* III 435 p. 368) and Gigon, fr. 501.56, there is no direct evidence that the *politeia* of Herakleia was described by Aristotle. Magistrates: *basileus* and *aisymnatai* are assumed for Herakleia, as derivative offices are known at her colonies, Kallatis (no. 686) and Chersonesos (no. 695) (Hanell (1934) 12ff, 135ff). The council was of 300 members (Polyaen. 2.302). The calendar was Megarian, like those of Byzantion (no. 674), Kallatis (no. 686) and Chersonesos (no. 695) (Avram (1999*b*); Trümpy, *Monat.* 150). *Nomophylakes* and *prodikoi*, from their presence at Chersonesos (*IOSPE* I² 342, 343, 359), are assumed to have existed also at Herakleia. *Agoranomoi* are taken to be represented on amphora stamps (*infra*). *Dikasteria* are attested during the democracy of C5l (Arist. *Pol.* 1305^{b}34).

Relations with other *poleis* are attested in *IG* I³ 74 (424/3), a grant of proxeny by Athens (no. 361) to Sotimos of Herakleia; a C4 *proxenos* at Athens is attested by Dem. 52.5 and *IG* II² 408 (*c.*330) is an honorific decree for two Herakleiots. A *proxenos* at Argos (no. 347) is attested by Dem. 52.10. *IG* II² 117.19–22 and 360.35ff record Athenian decisions to send envoys to Herakleia. Herakleia entered into negotiations with Xenophon's army (*An.* 5.6.21, 6.2.7) and was of logistic assistance in various ways (*An.* 5.6.35, 6.2.3) though relations were uneasy (*An.* 6.2.8).

The citizens were divided into the three Doric tribes, and each tribe seems to have been subdivided into four *hekatostyes* (making a total of twelve) until a politically motivated increase to sixty *hekatostyes* gave the democratic faction greater political participation (Aen. Tact. 11.10). For alternative interpretations of the two-tier system, see Jones, *POAG* 281–83. At this stage the adult male citizen population can be accepted at some 6,000 (Beloch *apud* Burstein (1976) 115 n. 61).

The native Mariandynoi are said to have ceded some of the territory to the colonists in return for support against the neighbouring Kaukones, and then to have lost more in warfare against their protectors. In 480 they were still an independent tribe, sending troops to Xerxes as their overlord (Hdt. 3.90, 7.72). Later they were in group subjection to the Herakleiots, tied to the land and bound to row in the fleet, but safe from sale overseas (Strabo 12.3.4). Different terms are used, and two groups of dependants may be intended, *perioikoi* and *georgountes* (Arist. *Pol.* 1327^{b}11–12), and a third, *dorophoroi*, indicating tributary status (Poll. 3.83). The class was a famous case of Dorian subjection of men within their state (Arist. *Pol.* 1327^{b}11–15; Paus. 5.26.7; Ath. 6.263C–D). It brought prosperity, but also political strains and excesses (Just. *Epit.* 16.3.8; Frolov (1981); Saprykin (1981); Avram (1984)).

Products of the area were tunny fish, walnuts and timber, but especially wine and the associated pottery products (trade amphoras). The trade amphoras of Herakleia are found widely in the Black Sea area, characterised by so-called englyphic stamps. They are numerous on sites of *c.*400 through C4 and beyond (Grakov (1926); Balabanov (1982); Brashinskij (1984)). The cross-Pontic interests of Herakleia show up in the C4 proxeny decrees at Olbia (no. 690) (*I.Olbia* 2 and 6 = Dubois (1996) 20) and grave *stelai* at Nymphaion on the Bosporos (*CIRB* 923, 925). Influence of Herakleia has been detected on the coin types of Theodosia (no. 707), Phanagoria (no. 706) and the Sindoi (*Sindikos Limen*), and also on those of her own colonies, Chersonesos (no. 695) and Kallatis (no. 686), these types being a butting bull and the head or the club of Herakles.

By C5s Herakleia was a fortified city (Xen. *An.* 6.2.8); at Themistius 20.239c, Dindorff, is a reference to a *proasteion* where the C4 Athenian politician Anytos was buried;

Theopomp. fr. 181 refers to private houses. Diog. Laert. 5.91 has a reference to a theatre in a C4 context, and Polyaen. 2.30.2 has one to a *bouleuterion* during Klearchos' rule (364–352) (cf. Hansen and Fischer-Hansen (1994) 39). The town was grid-planned, perhaps already in the Classical period (Hoepfner and Schwandner (1986) 3–4), but there are few archaeological traces of the Classical period at Herakleia: a late Archaic head in east Greek style (Akurgal (1986)), and coins of the tyrant dynasty (Franke (1966)). But Herakleiots commissioned several works in Greek sanctuaries, a statue group of Herakles' deeds, to commemorate the repulse of the native Mariandynoi, at Olympia (Paus. 5.26.7), and a statue of Apollo at Delphi (Paus. 10.51.1).

Herakleia possessed no natural harbour or major river estuary, but a bay with a projecting headland (Baba burun) to the north-east. Ancient moles, perhaps Hellenistic and Roman, improved protection for shipping (Lehmann-Hartleben (1923) 13; Wilson (1976*b*)). The headland was Acherousias, where the small river Acheron (Soonautes) flowed and was said to descend deep into Hades (Xen. *An.* 6.2.2). Beyond the bay to the south-west, some 5 km distant, was the river Lykos, and further again at 15 km the small river Kales, scene of the Athenian naval losses and an *emporion* of the Herakleiotai (Dörner and Hoepfner (1962) 579).

Herakleiot silver coinage (on a standard similar to the Aiginetan used at Sinope (no. 729)) began in C5l. Denominations: tetradrachm, drachm, hemidrachm, tetrobol, diobol, obol. Types: (1) *obv.* Herakles wrestling with lion; *rev.* quartered square; legend: *HPAK* or *HPAKΛEIA*; (2) *Obv.* head of Herakles; *rev.* bull butting; legend: *HPAK* or *HPAKΛEIA*; (3) *Obv.* same; *rev.* club; legend: *HPAK* or *HPAKΛEIA*. (4) *Obv.* same; *rev.* head of Hera wearing *stephane*; legend: *HPAK* or *HPAKΛEIA*. A change of type occurs with Timotheos and Dionysios (*c.*345). *Obv.* head of Dionysos with thyrsos; *rev.* Herakles holding a lion skin and erecting a trophy; legend: *TIMOΘEOY ΔIONYΣIOY*. The full city-ethnic *HPAKΛEΩTAN* appears on coins from C4l onwards (Price (1993) pls. LVII–LVIII; *SNG Cop. Bithynia* 405–23).

716. Iasonia Map 87. Lat. 41.10, long. 37.40 (promontory). Size of territory: ? Type: A:α. The toponym is *Ἰασονία* in Ps.-Skylax 88, where it is described as an *akropolis Hellenis* in the territory of the Chalybes. Xen. *An.* 6.2.1 calls it *akte*, whereas other writers make it a promontory, *akra*/*akron* (e.g. Strabo 12.3.17). Perhaps Ps.-Skylax has here combined *Iasonia akra* with a *polis Side*/Polemonium (cf. Müller *GGM* 1 65 note ad § 88).

717. Karambis Map 86. Lat. 42.00, long. 33.20 (promontory). Size of territory: ? Type: A:α. The toponym is *Κάραμβις* in Ps.-Skylax 90, where it is called a *polis Hellenis*. In all other sources (e.g. Ps.-Skymnos 998, Diller; Strabo 12.3.10), except Plin. *HN* 6.2.6 (*oppidum*), Karambis is a cape or promontory.

718. Karoussa Map 87. Lat. 41.50, long. 35.10. Size of territory: ? Type: A:α. The toponym is *Κάρουσσα* in Ps.-Skylax 89, where it is called *polis Hellenis*. It lay close to, and was probably a *limen* and *emporion* of, Sinope (no. 729) (Anon. *Peripl. M. Eux.* 24). It has been suggested that the place was a member of the Delian League, but this is based on an unconvincing restoration of the name [*Κάρο*]*σα* (*IG* I³ 71.IV.166).

719. Kerasous (Kerasountios) Map 87. Lat. 40.55, long. 38.20. Size of territory: ? Type: A:α. The toponym is *Κερασοῦς* (Xen. *An.* 5.3.2; Ps.-Skylax 89). The city-ethnic is *Κερασούντιος* (Xen. *An.* 5.7.17).

Kerasous is called *polis* in the urban sense at Xen. *An.* 5.3.2 and Ps.-Skylax 89 (cf. Diod. 14.30.5); it was certainly also a *polis* in the political sense: the collective use of the city-ethnic is found several times in Xen. *An.* (5.5.10, 7.13, 20, 22, 24, 31); like Trapezous (no. 734) (Xen. *An.* 4.8.22) and Kotyora (no. 722) (Xen. *An.* 5.5.3), it is described as a colony of Sinope (no. 729), and since both Trapezous (Xen. *An.* 5.5.15) and Kotyora (Xen. *An.* 5.5.7) were *poleis* in the political sense, so should Kerasous be. Finally, both Trapezous and Kotyora paid tribute to Sinope, and so did Kerasous (Xen. *An.* 5.5.10); the inference is that Kerasous was a *polis* in the political sense, though, like Trapezous and Kotyora, it must have been a dependent *polis*, i.e. a colony dependent on its *metropolis* (Hansen (1997*b*) 33; Nielsen (2000) 135).

Kerasous was situated among the Kolchoi, some 3 days' march west of Trapezous (Xen. *An.* 5.3.2, 7.13–30). The army of Xenophon's men in retreat from Kounaxa (400) was counted there, 8,600 remaining. They stayed at the city and used an external market for 10 days, but then caused disturbance and offence when leaving. The city was a colony and dependency of Sinope (*supra*), which had driven the natives out and protected the citizens, who in turn paid a tax (δασμός, Xen. *An.* 5.3.2, 10). During Athens' brief exercise of sea power in the Black Sea, Kerasous was probably, along with Apollonia (no. 682) and Herakleia (no. 715), a tribute-paying member of the Euxine section of the Delian League (*Κερ*[*ασός*] in *IG* I³ 71.IV.169, one of the more plausible restorations in the assessment list of 425/4).

The Classical site was probably at Fol Bazar (Giresun Dere Su). Pharnakes I of Pontos moved the population to a new

site at Pharnakia, which was perhaps previously called Choirades, near the Isle of Ares (Kerasun Ada). Ps.-Skylax 86 calls this Choirades a *polis Hellenis*. A Kerasous is placed by Ps.-Skylax 89 west of Sinope, but this appears to be a misplaced reference to the Kerasous *east* of Sinope, i.e. the present one, perhaps to be located at Fol Bazar.

720. Kinolis Map 86. Lat. 42.00, long. 34.10. Size of territory: ? Type: A:α. The toponym is *Κίνωλις* in Ps.-Skylax 90, where it is called a *polis Hellenis*, on the coast of Paphlagonia.

721. Koloussa Map 86. Lat. 41.55, long. 34.15. Size of territory: ? Type: A:α. The toponym is *Κόλουσσα* in Ps.-Skylax 90, where it is called a *polis Hellenis*, on the coast of Paphlagonia.

722. Kotyora (Kotyorites) Map 87. Lat. 41.00, long. 37.50. Size of territory: ? Type: A:α. The toponym is *Κοτύωρα* (Xen. *An.* 5.5.3), spelled *Κύτωρος* by Strabo 12.3.17, probably in confusion with *Κύτωρον* west of Sinope. The city-ethnic is *Κοτυωρίτης* (Xen. *An.* 5.5.10).

Kotyora is called a *polis* in the urban sense at Xen. *An.* 5.5.3, 11, and in the political sense at Xen. *An.* 5.5.7. The city-ethnic *Κοτυωρίτης* is repeatedly given in the plural by Xenophon (Xen. *An.* 5.5.10ff). By C5l Kotyora had walls and could provide a market; private houses are mentioned at Xen. *An.* 5.5.11. Kotyora excluded the troops of Xenophon's army because of their riotous behaviour on leaving the sister town Kerasous (no. 719) (Xen. *An.* 5.7.18–30). The troops spent 45 days outside Kotyora, waiting for the merchants of Sinope and Herakleia to gather transport ships to take the army westward (Xen. *An.* 5.5.3).

The territory of Kotyora is termed *χώρα* at Xen. *An.* 5.5.7; it was in the territory of the Tibarenoi (Xen. *An.* 5.5.3). The *chora* was apparently won for it by the Sinopeans, for which it paid a tax (*δασμός*) to them, and was administered by a governor (*ἁρμοστής*) appointed by them (Xen. *An.* 5.5.10, 20). It was a colony of Sinope (no. 729), and a dependency at least in C5l/C4e (Xen. *An.* 5.5.3).

Kotyora (modern Ordu) lay 300 km east of Sinope. It was at least partially depopulated by Pharnakes I of Pontos to make up his new *polis* of Pharnakia in C2e. By the time of Strabo (12.3.17) it was a *πολίχνη*.

723. Kromna (Kromnites) Map 86. Lat. 41.50, long. 32.40. Size of territory: ? Type: B:α. The toponym is *Κρῶμνα*, *ἡ* (Hom. *Il.* 2.855, cf. Strabo 12.3.5); the legend *ΚΡΩΜΝΑ* is found on C4 coins. The city-ethnic is *Κρωμνίτης* (*CIRB* 199 (C4f); *I.Sinope* 1.24 (353/2–346/5)).

According to Strabo 12.3.10, Kromna was one of four *katoikiai* which were drawn into a now unified *polis*, Amastris, *c.*300–290. The synoecised communities are called *poleis* and attributed to Miletos (no. 854) by Ps.-Skymnos 1005, Diller, probably referring to the time of foundation, which is, however, unknown. The external collective use of the city-ethnic is found in *I.Sinope* 1.24 (353/2–346/5), and the external individual use in *CIRB* 199 (C4f), *IG* II² 9094 (365–340) and *SEG* 22 219, though the latter two could conceivably refer to Lakedaimonian Kromnos (no. 334).

Kromna lay at modern Korse-Silé between Sesamos and Tieion, and was the second most westerly of the four towns. See further the entries for Kytoros (no. 724), Sesamos (no. 728) and Tieion (no. 733).

The treaty of *symmachia* between Sinope (no. 729) and "Satyros and the sons of Klearchos" of Herakleia (no. 715) (*I.Sinope* 1.23–24 (353/2–346/5), on which see 957, 961) stipulates that the Kromnitans may, if they wish, be included in the alliance.

Kromna struck coins of silver and bronze in C4. (1) Silver: drachms on the Rhodian standard. Types: *obv.* head of Zeus; *rev.* head of Hera; legend: *ΚΡΩΜΝΑ*. (2) Bronze. *obv.* Hera wearing turreted stephanos; *rev.* amphora; legend: *ΚΡΩΜ* (Price (1993) pl. XLIX; *SNG Cop. Paphlagonia* 261–67).

724. Kytoros Map 86. Lat. 41.55, long. 32.55. Size of territory: ? Type: A:α. The toponym is *Κύτωρος* (Hom. *Il.* 2.853), *ἡ* (*Etym. Magn.* 541.35) or *ὁ* (Ap. Rhod. 2.942) or *Κύτωρις* (Ps.-Skylax 90; *Suda* K2792) or *Κύτωρα, τά* (Theophr. *Hist. pl.* 3.15.5) or *Κύτωρον, τό* (Strabo 12.3.10 = Ephor. fr. 185). The city-ethnic is not attested in Greek, but appears in Latin as *Cytorius* (Catull. 4.11).

Ps.-Skylax 90 calls Kytoros a *polis Hellenis*, but he is very lavish with this term (*supra* 928). Strabo 12.3.10 describes it as one of four *katoikiai*, synoecised into one city at Amastris; this ought to have taken place *c.*300–290. The synoecised communities are called *poleis* and attributed to Miletos (no. 854) by Ps.-Skymnos 1005, Diller, probably referring to the time of foundation. According to Strabo 12.3.10, Kytoros was once an *emporion* of Sinope (no. 729). Perhaps Kytoros was a *polis* in the urban sense depending on Sinope (Hansen (2000) 193 with n. 41).

A major resource of the area was boxwood, perhaps also slaves, as it was an *emporion*. The town lay at modern Kidros, some 20 km west of Cape Karambis (the southern end of the shortest crossing of the Black Sea). It clearly lay athwart the coastal route to Sinope, but also that to the Crimea. See further the entries for Kromna (no. 723), Sesamos (no. 728) and Tieion (no. 733).

725. Limne Map 87. Not in *Barr.* Size of territory: ? Type: A:γ. The toponym is *Λίμνη, ἡ*, a *polis*, not specified as *Hellenis*, located east of Trapezous (no. 734) in the territory of the Ekecheireis (Ps.-Skylax 83).

726. Lykastos Map 87. Lat. 41.05–20, long. 36.00–20 (river). Size of territory: ? Type: A:α. The toponym is *Λύκαστος, ἡ* (Ps.-Skylax 89; Eust. *Il.* 2.647, quoting Steph. Byz.). According to Ps.-Skylax, Lykastos is the name of both a river and a *polis Hellenis*. Same information in Plin. *HN* 6.9. Steph. Byz. classifies Lykastos as a settlement, probably a *polis*. According to Pompon. 1.105, *Lycastos* was an *urbs*. Anon. *Peripl. M. Eux.* records only the river Lykastos.

727. Odeinios Map 87. Lat. 41.00, long. 40.45 (river). Size of territory: ? Type: A:α. The toponym is *Ὠδείνιος* in Ps.-Skylax 83, where it is called *polis Hellenis*, in the territory of the Ekecheireis. This is almost certainly the river *Adienos* of Arr. *Peripl. M. Eux.* 8 and Anon. *Peripl. M. Eux.* 39. A native *polis* then?

728. Sesamos (Sesamenos)**/Amastris** (Amastrianos) Map 86. Lat. 41.45, long. 32.25. Size of territory: unknown in C6–C4. Type: A:α. The toponym is *Σήσαμος, ἡ* (Hom. *Il.* 2.853, discussed by Strabo 12.3.10; Ps.-Skylax 90). The city-ethnic is *Σησαμηνός* (*I.Sinope* 1.24 (353/2–346/5)).

At Ps.-Skylax 90, Sesamos is one of the many places labelled *πόλις Ἑλληνίς* (cf. 928). *C.*300–290 Sesamos became the centre of the newly synoecised city Amastris, which was formed by Queen Amastris, formerly wife of Dionysios of Herakleia and latterly wife of Lysimachos, out of four pre-existing *katoikiai* (Strabo 12.3.10). The synoecised communities are called *poleis* and attributed to Miletos (no. 854) by Ps.-Skymnos 1005, Diller, probably referring to the time of foundation which is, however, unknown. The internal collective use of the city-ethnic is found abbreviated on C4s coins (*infra*); the external collective use is found in *I.Sinope* 1.24 (353/2–346/5).

The treaty of *symmachia* between Sinope (no. 729) and "Satyros and the sons of Klearchos" of Herakleia (no. 715) (*I.Sinope* 1.23–34 (353/2–346/5), on which see 957) stipulates that the Sesamenes may, if they wish, be included in the alliance. Enmity between Sesamos and the Persian satrap Datames is alluded to at Polyaen. 7.21.2. In Hellenistic and Roman times it became a large and beautiful city on a peninsula and with two harbours (Lehmann-Hartleben (1923) 13–22; Wilson (1976*a*)). The *koinonia* of C4l/C3e propelled the city into new prominence. It was near, but not on, the large river Parthenios, at the modern Turkish town of Amasra. See further Kromna (no. 723), Kytoros (no. 724) and Tieion (no. 733).

Sesamos struck coins of silver and bronze in C4s. (1) Silver on the Rhodian standard: denominations: tetrobol, diobol. Types: *obv.* head of Zeus; *rev.* head of Demeter r. with corn-ear in hair; legend: *ΣΗΣΑΜ* or *ΣΗΣΑΜΗ*. (2) Bronze: *obv.* head of Zeus, or Apollo; *rev.* head of Demeter(?), or Kantharos; legend: *ΣΗΣΑ* (Head, *HN*² 507; Price (1993) pl. IV). Later silver of Amastris was struck on a local Herakleiot standard and has legends *ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΗΣ ΑΜΑΣΤΡΙΟΣ* or *ΑΜΑΣΤΡΙΗΝΩΝ* (Price (1993) pl. XLVIII).

729. Sinope (Sinopeus) Map 87. Lat. 42.00, long. 35.10. Size of territory: 5. Type: A:α. The toponym is *Σινώπη, ἡ* (*I.Sinope* 1.10 (353/2–346/5); Hdt. 1.76.1; Xen. *An.* 5.5.7), *Σινώπα* in Doric (*I.Cos* 20.21 (C4l)). The city-ethnic is *Σινωπεύς* (*I.Olbia* 1 = Dubois (1996) 1 (C5f); *I.Sinope* 1.2; Xen. *An.* 5.5.8; Aen. Tact. 40.4).

Sinope is called a *polis* both in the urban sense (Hdt. 4.12.2; Xen. *An.* 5.5.23; Ps.-Skylax 89) and in the political sense (*I.Sinope* 5.5 (C4); Xen. *An.* 5.5.8). A C4l decree from Kos refers to the *δᾶμος ὁ Σινωπέων* (*I.Cos* 20); cf. *I.Sinope* 3 = *SEG* 35 1356 (C4) which also grants *politeia. Patris* is found in *AG* Appendix Epigr. Sepulchr. 254.3 and *patra* in 709.5. Sinope's *politeia* was among those described by Aristotle (Arist. fr. 599).

The collective use of the city-ethnic is found internally in *I.Sinope* 1.2 (353/2–346/5) and 5.4–5 (C4) and may also be attested in abbreviated form on coins (*infra*); externally it is found at Xen. *An.* 5.5.8, 13; Aen. Tact. 40.4; and *I.Cos* 20 (C4l). The external individual use of the city-ethnic is found in *I.Olbia* 1 (C5f); *IG* II² 10327 (C4f), 10334/5 (C4m), 10343 (C4f), 10345 (C4f), etc.; *I.Oropos* 520.25 (329–325); *RPh* 63 (1937) 325–32 A.14 (C4, Chios); *CIRB* 208 (C4, Pantikapaion), and *SEG* 28 725 (*c.*300, Eretria).

All are agreed that Sinope was a colony of Miletos (no. 854), but the complex foundation story is found in only one source (Ps.-Skymnos 981–97, Diller). This comes in four parts. First, an Amazon Sinope was its eponym (in some perhaps earlier versions Sinope was a nymph, daughter of Asopos). At this stage the Leukosyroi lived there, but they were driven out by the Thessalian heroes Autolykos, Phlogios and Deileon, who had been followers of either Herakles against the Amazons (Plut. *Luc.* 23) or Jason (Strabo 12.3.11). Then Habron (Habrondas) came, a Milesian by birth, but seemingly he was killed by the Kimmerians. Then after the Kimmerians came Koos and Kretines, who were exiled from Miletos; these men jointly refounded it when the host of the

Kimmerians overran Asia. The first stage is aetiological, attempting to explain a difficult name, which was perhaps Kappadokian, but ancients sought to link it with a Thracian origin in the meaning "drunken". The conversion of Sinope from nymph (Eumelos (*FGrHist* 451) fr. 5) to Amazon was probably brought about by the absence of a significant river at Sinope and by the proximity of "Amazon" country to the east. The episode of the Thessalian heroes was taken seriously at Sinope, where an oracle of Autolykos existed, and he was venerated as *oikistes* and a god (Strabo 12.3.11); but this was probably intended to lay down a claim for Sinope as a participant in Jason's voyage to Kolchis. A cult statue of Autolykos, the work of a C4 sculptor, Sthennis, was carried off by Lucullus after he took the city. According to Plut. *Luc.* 23, these heroes had taken the area from the Syroi. The two references to Milesian colonies (one brought to an end with the death of its oecist Habron/Habrondas, and the other a refoundation by Milesian exiles) have the look of genuine local tradition. The one may have taken place late in C8l or C7e, just before the Kimmerian irruption into Asia Minor, and the other in the last quarter of C7, when the Kimmerians were already a much weakened force (Hind (1988); Ivantchik (1998) 326–30). Ps.-Skymnos' account supplements in a very circumstantial way the brief comment in Hdt. 4.12 that the Kimmerians had settled where Sinope *polis* stood in his own day, and the summary of Strabo (12.1.11): "the Milesians, seeing the natural advantages of the place and the weakness of its inhabitants, took possession of it, sending out further colonists". The Eusebian date for Sinope (*Ol.* 37.4) is a tabular form, giving misleading precision, of the information given in the local tradition and transmitted in the Hellenistic sources in the style given by Ps.-Skymnos (synchronisation with Near Eastern dynasties and events). Sinope herself founded at least three colonies on the 500 km stretch of coast eastwards among the Tibarenoi (Kotyora (no. 722)), Chalybes (Kerasous (no. 719)) and Kolchoi (Trapezous (no. 734)), and had facilities for her traders still further east, probably at Pichvnari and Phasis (Tsetskhladze (1998*a*) 76ff). Kytoros (no. 724) west of Sinope had at one stage been an *emporion* of Sinope (Strabo 12.3.10). This activity clearly contributed to the idea that Milesians founded no fewer than seventy-five (Sen. *Helv.* 7.2) or ninety colonies (Plin. *HN* 122), and appropriated to themselves the Black Sea and its approaches (Ath. 12.523E). Daughter cities of Sinope clearly contributed considerably to these inflated lists.

When Xenophon's troops sailed past Sinope to nearby Harmene in 400, it was already a powerful city, could muster many ships (possession of a fleet is attested by Polyaen. 7.21.2 (rC4f)), and had three colonies on the coast eastward to Phasis (Xen. *An.* 4.8.22, 5.3.2, 5.4–8). Xenophon adds that the Sinopeans were themselves colonists of the Milesians (Xen. *An.* 6.1.15, followed by Diod. 14.31.2, and confirmed by Strabo 12.3.11). "Having built a naval port she ruled over the sea that side of the Kyaneoi Rocks and participated in many of the struggles of the Greeks even outside them" (i.e. outside the Euxine Sea), says Strabo 12.3.11. Little is known of Sinope after the colonisation until *c.*C5m, when it was under a tyrant, Timesileos, who was driven out *c.*436 by Athenian intervention under Perikles (Plut. *Per.* 20). A contingent of 600 men was sent there to consolidate Athenian influence and democracy, but it is likely to have departed from there by 405 if not by 411/10, as the *arche* of Athens progressively crumbled (Tsetskhladze (1997*a*)). One view is that Timesileos fled to Olbia (no. 690) and became *tyrannos* there for a time, but this rests on a very bold restoration of an inscription from Olbia (Y. G. Vinogradov (1989) 109ff, (1997) 165–94 = Dubois (1996) 5; *contra* Graham (1983); Yajlenko (1996)). Sinope entered into negotiations with the army of Xenophon (Xen. *An.* 5.5.7) to protect its colony Kotyora (no. 722).

Even in the period of her autonomy Sinope had occasionally to bow to the demands of the great power Persia; she probably was among those providing the thirty pentekonters for the satrap Ariaramnes to take across the Black Sea (before the expedition of Dareios into Skythia? Ktesias (*FGrHist* 688) fr. 13.(20)). Similarly some of the eighty ships from the Hellespont and Pontos will have been provided for Xerxes' fleet by Sinope (Diod. 11.3.8). *I.Sinope* 1 (353/2–346/5) is a treaty of *symmachia* between, on the one hand, Sinope and, on the other, "Satyros and the sons of Klearchos", for which see further *supra* 957, 959.

By the 370s her maritime interests brought Sinope into conflict with Sestos (no. 672), which was perhaps interfering with her shipping on its way to the Aegean (Polyaen. 7.21.2), and towards the end of the century (309–304) Eumelos of Bosporos was said to have greatly aided Sinope and Byzantion (no. 674) in their wider Black Sea interests (Diod. 20.25). Sinope increasingly came under threat from the peoples and rulers inland: Korylas (Xen. *An.* 5.6.8), Otis of the Paphlagonians (*Hell.* 4.1.1; *Ages.* 3.4), and the Persian satrap Datames (384–*c.*362), who besieged the city (Polyaen. 7.21.2, 5; cf. Aen. Tact. 40.4). The latter (with legends in Greek) and the satrap Ariobarzanes (in Aramaic lettering) issued silver coins of Sinopean type, showing by imitation her commercial success (Price (1993) pl. LIII; *SNG Cop. Paphlagonia* 290).

The constitution was described in the lost Aristotelian *Politeia* (Arist. fr. 599). In C4, it was a democracy: *I.Sinope* 1.27–28 (353/2–346/5) describes the constitution as *demos* = democracy, and *I.Sinope* 3.1 (C4) uses the enactment formula ἔδοξε τῷ δήμῳ.

At least from the period of Athenian influence it had a *boule* and an *ekklesia* (D. Robinson (1905) no. 40); a bronze heliast's ticket has been found there, inscribed Δ ΣΤΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΑΜΕΟΣ (Robert (1937) 296ff no. 13). Magistrates were *prytaneis* and *agoranomoi* (Ehrhardt (1988) 207); *strategoi* are mentioned as movers of a decree in *I.Sinope* 3 = *SEG* 35 1356 (C4). *I.Sinope* 7 (C4s) attests a *nomophylakos* and a *boules epistates* and *grammateus*. State cults typical of Miletos (no. 854) were Apollo Ietros, Delphinios (deduced from personal names (Ehrhardt (1988) 142, 144)) and Poseidon Helikonios (ibid. 171–72). Unique to Sinope was Zeus/Dis as a supposed prototype for Sarapis (Tac. *Hist.* 4.83), and the oracle cult of Autolykos, the legendary founder. He had a C4 statue in the city made by Sthennis (Strabo 12.3.11), which was carried off by Lucullus. *I.Sinope* 7 (C4s) is a dedication by a board of *prytaneis* to Hestia Prytaneia (which presumably means that there was a *prytaneion* at Sinope).

I.Sinope 5 (C4) is a grant of proxeny by Sinope to a citizen of Kos (no. 497); *I.Sinope* 3 is a fragmentary C4 grant of citizenship (and presumably other privileges) to a citizen of Kallatis (no. 686), and *I.Sinope* 6 (C4) likewise preserves a grant of citizenship; *I.Sinope* 4 (C4) is a fragmentary decree for an unknown man who in the preserved text is granted ἀτέλεια ἑκατὸν στατήρων χρυσοῦ ("exemption from all taxes up to 100 gold staters" (editor)) as well as the right to enter and leave the harbour ἀσυλΕ καὶ ἀσπονδΕ ("inviolably and without treaty" (editor)). A C5f proxeny decree for a Sinopean is known from Olbia (no. 690; *I.Olbia* 1 = Dubois (1996) 1), and a C4 grant is known from Chios (*RPh* 63 (1937) 325–33 A.14). Burial *stelai* of Sinopeans of the period are well represented at Athens (Osborne and Byrne (1996) 289–93), and one comes from Pantikapaion (*CIRB* 208). A citizen of Sinope achieved a victory in the *pankration* at the Amphiaraia at Oropos in C4s (*IG* VII 414.25 = *I.Oropos* 520 (329/8 or 325/4); *SEG* 30 1456 is a C5f bronze prize *hydria* from the Hekatombaian Games of Hera Argeia, found in a grave at Sinope, and suggests that a Sinopean was victorious in these games.

The nearer *chora* of Sinope lay on the peninsula, which the ancients likened to a steering oar (πηδάλιον, Plut. *Luc.* 23); some moderns have imagined that it resembles a boar's head (Maximova (1956) 32 n. 1, quoting D. Robinson with approval). It is termed χώρα in *I.Sinope* 1.6 (353/2–346/5) and at Xen. *An.* 5.6.11, and called Σινωπικὴ γῆ (Strabo 3.2.6), while at Xen. *An.* 6.1.5 the toponym Σινώπη presumably designates the territory. Above the town were many garden allotments and suburbs, and the fertile peninsula's shores were protected by cliffs and sharp rock formations at and below sea level (Strabo 12.3.11). Her coastal region stretched westward to Harmene (walled townlet), which served as a harbour, at which to keep Xenophon's army quarantined from the city (Xen. *An.* 6.1.15), and eastward via Karousa to the river Halys. On the landward side Sinope seems to have been confined to the coastal strip, partly by the natural lay of the mountains, and partly by the Paphlagonian or Kappadokian (Pontic) kings. The resources from the coastal strip were olives, maple and boxtree, shipbuilding and furniture timber, nuts and cherries (Strabo 12.3.12). Her colonies to the east—Kotyora (no. 722), Kerasous (no. 719) and Trapezous (no. 734)—were, by the time of Xenophon, dependent *poleis*, colonies of Sinope (Kotyora (no. 722) paid a *dasmos* to Sinope: Xen. *An.* 5.5.10). They gave her access to the silver, iron and slaves—resources of the coastal Kolchoi, Chalybes and Tibarenoi. As "Paphlago" was regarded as a typical slave-name in Classical Greece it is likely that Sinope traded profitably in Paphlagonians too. From inland came the Kappadokian ruddle called *Sinopis* (red earth for rendering ships watertight (Theophr. *De lapidibus* 52)) and there was the long-range overland journey across Asia, from Amisos (no. 712) to the eastern Mediterranean at Tarsos, in which Sinope seems to have had a strong interest. But above all, the *métier* of Sinope seems to have been the sea: her catch of tunny fish was famous (Strabo 12.3.11), and her site on the peninsula, opposite the southern tip of the Crimea (Strabo 12.3.10), not far from a recognised crossing to Sindike on the Asiatic side of the Kimmerian Bosporos opposite Bata (Strabo 11.2.13) on the Caucasus coast, made her the ideal harbour on which to converge from all shores of the Black Sea. The matchless virtues of its site on the long Turkish coast have already been remarked on. Clearly the sea was, in a real sense, her territory even more than the *Pedalion* (the peninsula), the narrow stretch of *Sinopitis*, and the vulnerable lands around her colonies.

Sinope receives two detailed descriptions in ancient literature (Polyb. 4.56; Strabo 12.3.11). It lay on an isthmus 400 m wide at its narrowest and on part of the peninsula (modern Ince Burun), pushing eastward from the mainland of Turkey. It was a little more than halfway (560 km) along the coast from the entrance to the Black Sea. It was three days'

sail on to the river Phasis and Kolchis, and a day-and-night's sail (from Cape Karambis) to the southern tip of the Crimea. Sinope possessed harbours to the north and south of the isthmus; that to the south is the finest natural harbour on the whole 900 km stretch of the modern Turkish Black Sea coast (Maximova (1956) 37, map of the eighteenth century; Akurgal (1976)). Local Pontic tradition speaks of three harbours, July, August and Sinop, ensuring safety for ships!

Archaeological material from Sinope consists of chance finds from the cemetery to the west of the town, made during the building of a match factory in the 1920s and sporadically from the 1930s to 1980s. There were excavations in 1951–53, during which a Hellenistic temple and altar (to Sarapis?) were brought to light and left conserved in the public park (Akurgal and Budde (1956) 27–41). The earliest pottery found dates from C7l and C6e (Boysal (1959) 8–9). Sculptured grave *stelai*, in what seems local work of C5s, were found in 1925 (Akurgal (1948) 581–88), and there are more standard types of *stelai* of C5l–C4. A number of simple column *stelai* of C4–C3 have been published recently, bearing such Milesian theophoric names as Delphinios and Molpagoras (Jones (1988); French (1990)). Two bronze *hydriai* from the cemetery give some idea of wealth in C4 (Akurgal and Budde (1956) 12–16; Uygur (1989) 209–11). Finds of deposits of Sinopean olive oil and wine trade amphoras (French (1985)), and most recently of kilns for their production (at Zeytinlik on Sinope's southern bay and at Demirai 15 km away) are recent indicators of Sinope's most prominent branch of production (Kassab-Tezgör (1996)). From *c.*360–350 Sinope produced bulk-carrying amphoras for her olive oil and perhaps some wine, which were exported all over the Black Sea region until *c.*200/183 (Grakov (1929); Tsekhmistrenko (1958) 56ff; Brashinskij (1962); Monakhov (1993); Conovici (1998) 21–51). It appears from Aen. Tact. 40.4 that Sinope was fortified by *c.*370 (cf. Whitehead (1990) *ad loc.*).

The earliest coinage of Sinope dates from before the Athenian colony, perhaps *c.*480–460 when silver coins were struck on the Aiginetan standard. Denomination: drachm. Types: *obv.* head of eagle, below a small dolphin, on many examples the head is very crude, on some very fine; *rev.* incuse, opposed lozenges with dots or finely stippled (Hind (1976); Kraay and Moorey (1981); Price (1993) pl. LI; *SNG Cop. Paphlagonia* 272–73). A change of type comes in C4, perhaps after the departure of the Athenian colonists: *obv.* head of nymph Sinope, sometimes in a ring of dots; *rev.* eagle flying, apparently clutching a small dolphin; legend: ΣΙΝΩ. Smaller denominations (hemi- or quarter-drachms and obols) have the eagle facing with wings outstretched, perhaps hinting at a connection with Amisos (no. 712) (Price (1993) pls. LI–LIV; *SNG Cop. Paphlagonia* 274–89). The theme of the eagle on dolphin, repeated with variants at Istros (no. 685) and Olbia (no. 690), suggests that this may be an "alliance type" such as noted in Ionia and Hellespont, and at Byzantion (no. 674)/Kalchedon (no. 743) at roughly the same time, taking the cult of Zeus Ourios as its patron (Hind (1999*b*)). An alternative view is that all three cities adopted symbols of Zeus (eagle) and Apollo (dolphin) to advertise their civic cults (Karyshkovskij (1982)). The legend on the reverses of the silver coins of *c.*410–300 is ΣΙΝΩ, which could be an abbreviated form of the toponym or the collective city-ethnic. That it is the city-ethnic is indicated by the Aramaic inscription on the C4s coins ("people of Sinope"). That it is the toponym is indicated by the later Hellenistic coins inscribed ΣΙΝΩΠΗΣ (*SNG Cop. Paphlagonia* 302–13).

730. Stameneia Map 87. Lat. 41.05, long. 37.45. Size of territory: ? Type: A:*α*. The toponym is Σταμένεια (Ps.-Skylax 88, conj. for MS Ἀμένεια). According to Ps.-Skylax, a *polis Hellenis* in the territory of the Chalybes, located east of Amisos (no. 712). *Stamene* (*sic*) is mentioned by Hecat. fr. 196 = Steph. Byz. 584.18: πόλις Χαλύβων. Therefore a barbarian *polis*?

731. Tetrakis Map 86. Unlocated. Size of territory: ? Type: A:*α*. The toponym is Τετράκις in Ps.-Skylax 89, where it is called a *polis Hellenis*. It is otherwise unknown, but placed by Ps.-Skylax west of Sinope (no. 729) and Harmene in the lands of the *Assyrioi* (= *Leukosyroi*).

732. Themiskyra Map 87. Lat. 41.15, long. 37.00. Size of territory: ? Type: A:*α*. The toponym is Θεμισκύρα, ἡ (Ps.-Skylax 89) or Θεμισκύρη, ἡ (Hdt. 4.86.3; Steph. Byz. 677.4). Ps.-Skylax calls it a *polis Hellenis*. According to most authors (e.g. Hdt. 4.86.3; Pompon. 1.105), it was a former city of the Amazons or of the Leukosyroi, situated by the river Thermodon. By Strabo's time it was a "plain and former abode of the Amazons" (12.3.14–15; cf. Steph. Byz. 677.4).

733. Tieion (Tianos) Map 86. Lat. 41.35, long. 32.00. Size of territory: ? Type: A:*α*. The toponym is Τίειον, τό (Ps.-Skylax 90; Strabo 12.3.10 (conj.), 4.7). Alternative forms are Τῖος, ἡ (Memnon (*FGrHist* 434) 15.19; Pompon. 1.104) or Τίον, τό (Ael. *NA* 15.5; Ptol. *Geog.* 5.1.3). The city-ethnic Τιανός is found on C4l/C3e coins (*infra*).

Tieion is called a *polis Hellenis* in the urban sense at Ps.-Skylax 90; it was one of four settlements (*katoikiai*) brought

together in the new foundation Amastris, by the former wife of Dionysios, tyrant of Herakleia and latterly wife of Lysimachos *c.*300–290 (Strabo 12.3.10). The synoecised communities are called *poleis* and attributed to Miletos (no. 854) by Ps.-Skymnos 1005, Diller, probably referring to the time of foundation, which is, however, unknown; Pompon. 1.104 also says that Tieion was Milesian. The collective city-ethnic is attested internally on coins (*infra*); the external individual use is found in three sepulchral inscriptions from Athens (*IG* II² 10488 (*Τιανή*, C4m), 10449 (C4m) and 10450 (C5l)).

Soon after the synoecism, Tieion became independent again from the *koinonia* (Strabo 12.3.10). Bronze coinage of C4l/C3e, inscribed *ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΙΑ*, reflects these events (*infra*).

Tieion (Hisarenu) lay at the mouth of the river Billaios (Filyos-Çayı) in the territory of the Kaukones (Strabo 12.3.5). To the west lay Bithynia and, to the east, Paphlagonia—with the river Parthenios some 20 km distant.

Nothing of Classical date is known from the site, except for its general layout (Bean (1976)). Foundation legends search for heroic connection; Dionysos is *κτίστης* on coins of Roman date (Head, *HN*² 518); Tios, a Milesian priest, was the founder, according to Philon *apud* Steph. Byz. 624.20–21; one Pataros took the land of Paphlagonia and named it Dia *ἐκ τοῦ τιμᾶν τὸν Δία* (Demosthenes' *Bithyniaka apud* Steph. Byz. 624.21–23). See also Kromna (no. 723), Kytoros (no. 724) and Sesamos (no. 728).

Tieion struck bronze coins in C4l/C3e. Types: *obv.* head of Zeus; *rev.* eagle; legend: *ΤΙΑΝΩΝ*, or: *obv.* female head in *stephane* and *sphendone*; legend: *ΤΙΑΝΟΣ*; *rev.* Eleutheria seated; legend: *ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΙΑ* (Head, *HN*² 518; Price (1993) pl. LIX).

734. Trapezous (Trapezountios) Map 87. Lat. 41.00, long. 39.45. Size of territory in C5–C4: ? Type: A:α. The toponym is *Τραπεζοῦς, -ντος, ἡ* (Xen. *An.* 4.8.22; Ael. *NA* 5.42; Ps.-Skylax 85). The city-ethnic is *Τραπεζούντιος* (Xen. *An.* 5.4.1).

Trapezous is called *polis* both in the urban sense (Xen. *An.* 4.8.22; Ps.-Skylax 85: *πόλις Ἑλληνίς*) and in the political sense (Xen. *An.* 5.5.15). The collective use of the city-ethnic may be attested internally in abbreviated form on C5l/C4e coins (*infra*) and is attested externally in several passages of the *Anabasis*, e.g. 4.8.23, 5.1.11. The external individual use is found at Xen. *An.* 5.4.2: *Τιμησίθεος ὁ Τραπεζούντιος* who was *proxenos* of the Mossynoikoi.

According to Xenophon, Trapezous was a colony (*apoikia*) of Sinope (no. 729) in the land of the Kolchoi, who lived in *komai* in its territory (Xen. *An.* 4.8.22; Hansen (1995) 79–80). The Armenian version of Eusebios provides a date for Trapezous that is precise but wrong (*ann. Abr.* 1260 = 757/6),[1] which is almost certainly a confusion with the entry for Kyzikos (no. 747) in the Latin of Jerome (Hind (1988) 213–14; Huxley (1990) 199; Ivantchik (1998) 314–18). This unreliable tabular date apart, there is no trace of a colonisation date for Trapezous.

The army of Xenophon borrowed from the Trapezountians two ships, one *pentekonter* and one *triakonter*, with which to commandeer transport ships (which were sailing past to Phasis and back) in order to convey the troops westward (Xen. *An.* 5.1.11, 3.11). Some Arkadians from Trapezous (no. 303) in Arkadia are said to have joined this colony after refusing to join the synoecism of Megalopolis (Paus. 8.27.6); if historical, the many Arkadians in the army of the Ten Thousand may have provided information to their fellows about the city with the same name in the Pontos that had been so welcoming to Greeks (Xen. *An.* 4.8.23, 5.1.14, 2.2). At the end of C5 Trapezous was a dependent *polis*, paying tribute (*dasmos*) to Sinope (no. 729) (Xen. *An.* 5.5.10).

Trapezous (modern Trabzon) lies 460 km east of Sinope. It profited from the coastal route east to Phasis, and from a route inland to the south. It had supplies of timber and silver in the hills. Its greatest period of glory was in Roman and Byzantine times, when it outlasted Byzantion itself by eight years, succumbing to the Ottomans in 1461.

Trapezous struck silver coins on the Persic standard in C5l–C4e. Denominations: drachm and quarter. Types: *obv.* head of young man with short, stubbly beard; *rev.* table with pile of coins; legend: *ΤΡΑ*. The reverse type, a money-changer's table = *τράπεζα*, seems to be a clear case of a punning type (Head, *HN*² 499; Price (1993) pl. XLVIII). That the legend is an abbreviated form of the city-ethnic is indicated by the attestation of the full form of the ethnic on coins of the Imperial period.

[1] Editions of the Armenian Eusebios: *Eusebii Chronicorum Libri Duo*, ed. A. Schoene (Berlin, 1866); *Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte*, vol. 20. *Eusebius' Werke* V. *Die Chronik*, ed. J. Karst (Leipzig, 1991); *Eusebii Pamphili Chronici Canones*, ed. J. Fotheringham (Oxford, 1923).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Akurgal, E. 1948. *Anadoluda geç arkaik Junan eşeriri*, *Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınlarından*, series 9.3 (Ankara).

——1976. "Sinope", *PECS* 842.

——1986. "Neue archaische Skulpturen aus Anatolien", in *Archaische und klassische griechische Plastik, Kolloquium in Athen*, i (Mainz) 9–14.

——and Budde, L. 1956. "Vorläufiger Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in Sinope", *Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınlarından*, series 5.14 (Ankara).

Alekseev, V. P. 1982. "Semantika aversnogo tipa serebryannikh istrijskikh monet V–IV do n.e.", in *Numizmatika antichnogo Prichernomor'ya* (Kiev) 106–14.

Alekseeva, E. M. 1991. *Grecheskaya kolonizatsiya Severo-Zapadnogo Kavkaza* (Moscow).

——1997. *Antichnyj gorod Gorgippiya* (Moscow).

Alexandrescu, P. 1978*a*. *Histria IV: La céramique d'époque archaïque et classique (VIIe–IVe s.)*, with S. Dimitriu and M. Coja (Bucharest and Paris).

——1978*b*. "Notes de topographie histrienne", *Dacia* NS 22: 331–42.

——1990. "Histria in archaischer Zeit", in P. Alexandrescu and W. Schuller (eds.), *Histria: Eine Griechenstadt an der rumänischen Schwarzmeerküste*, *Xenia* 25 (Konstanz) 47–90.

Anokhin, V. A. 1980. *The Coinage of Chersonesus IVth Century B.C.–XIVth Century A.D.*, *BAR* International Series 69 (Oxford).

——1986. *Monetnoe delo Bospora* (Kiev).

——1989. *Monety antichnykh gorodov Severo-Zapadnogo Prichernomor'ya* (Kiev).

Apel, H. 1910. *Die Tyrannis von Herakleia* (Halle).

Arafat, K., and Morgan, C. 2000. "Among the Earliest Attic Imports from Phanagoria", in G. R. Tsetskhladze, A. J. N. W. Prag and A. M. Snodgrass (eds.), *Periplous: Papers on Classical Art and Archaeology Presented to Sir John Boardman* (London) 17–23.

Arnaud, P. 1992. "Les relations maritimes dans le Pont-Euxin d'après les données numériques des géographes anciens", *REA* 94.1–2: 57–77.

Asheri, D. 1972. "Über die Frühgeschichte von Herakleia Pontike", in F. K. Dörner (ed.), *Herakleia Pontike: Forschungen zur Geschichte und Topographie*, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Denkschriften 106 (Vienna) 9–34.

Atasoy, S. 1997. *Amisos—Karadeniz Kıtısında Antik Bir Kent* (Samsun).

Avram, A. 1984. "Bemerkungen zu den Mariandynern von Herakleia am Pontos", *StClas* 22: 19–28.

——1991. "Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Territoriums von Kallatis in griechischer Zeit", *Dacia* NS 35: 103–37.

——1994. "Zur Verfassung von Kallatis in hellenistischer Zeit", *Il Mar Nero* 1: 167–77.

——1995. "*Poleis* und Nicht-*Poleis* im Ersten und Zweiten Attischen Seebund", *CPCPapers* 2: 191–200.

——1996. "Les cités grecques de la côte Ouest du Pont-Euxin", *CPCActs* 3: 288–316.

——1999*a*. "Cel mai vechi decret de proxenie de la Histria", *Studii şi cercetări de istorie veche şi arheologie* 50.1–2: 67–70.

——1999*b*. "Les calendriers de Mégare et de ses colonies pontiques", in O. Lordkipanidzé and P. Lévêque (eds.), *Religions du Pont-Euxin*, Actes du VIIIe Symposium de Vani (Colchide), 1996 (Besançon and Paris) 25–31.

——2002. "Zu zwei Inschriften aus Agathopolis", in K. Boshnakov and D. Boteva (eds.), *Jubilaeus*, v: *Sbornik v chest na prof. Margarita Tacheva* (Sofia) 17–22.

Balabanov, P. 1982. "Analysis and Chronology of the Amphora-Stamps of Herakleia Pontika", *Thracia Pontica* 2: 12–28 (in Russian).

——1986. "Novi izsledovanya vărkhu strelite-pari", *Numizmatika* 20: 2–14.

Baladié, R. 1994. "Le sel dans l'antiquité sur la côte Nord de la mer Noire, à propos d'un passage d'Hérodote et à la lumière des voyageurs de l'époque moderne", *Il Mar Nero* 1: 145–66.

Bean, G. E. 1976. "Tios", *PECS* 925.

Belenkij, D. B. 1998. "Prognoz lokalizatsii gavani Nimfeya na osnove paleogeomorfologicheskoj rekonstruktsii beregovoj linii", *Problemy istorii, filologii, kul'tury* 5: 27–37.

Belov, G. D. 1948. *Khersones Tavricheskij* (Leningrad).

——1950. "The Necropolis of Chersonesos in the Classical Period", *SovArch* 13: 272–82 (in Russian).

——1977. "Amphorae from the Necropolis of Chersonesos (5th–4th Centuries)", in *Istoriya i kul'tura antichnogo mira* (Moscow) 17–23 (in Russian).

Beysens, D., Zhioda, A., Morel, J.-P., Katyushin, E. A., and Evseev, A. A. 1997. "Raskopki na okrajne Feodosii", in V. A. Kutajsov (ed.), *Arkheologicheskie issledovaniya v Krymu 1994 god* (Simferopol) 54–56.

Bilabel, F. 1920. *Die ionische Kolonisation*, *Philologus* suppl. 14 (Leipzig).

Blavatskij, V. D. 1953. *Zemledel'e v antichnykh gosudarstvakh Severnogo Prichernomor'ya* (Moscow).

——1964. *Pantikapej: Ocherki istorii stolitsy Bospora* (Moscow).

Boisacq, E. 1924. "Le nom de la mer Noire en grec ancien", *RBPhil* 3: 317–19.

Boltunova, A. I. 1986. "Nadpisi Gorgippii (iz nakhodok 1971–1981 gg.)", *VDI* 1: 43–61.

Boriskovskaya, S. P. (ed.) 1999. *Drevnyj gorod Nimfej. Katalog vystavki* (St Petersburg).

Boysal, J. 1959. "Über die älteren Funde von Sinope und die Kolonisationsfrage", *AA* 8–20.

Brashinskij, I. B. 1962. "The Economic Links of Sinope in the IV–IInd Centuries B.C.", in A. I. Boltunova (ed.), *Antichnyj gorod* (Moscow and Leningrad) 132–45 (in Russian).

——1963. *Afiny i Severnoe Prichernomor'e v VI–II vv. do n.e.* (Moscow).

——1984. "Questions Concerning the Chronology of the Ceramic Stamps and the Typological Development of the Amphorae of Herakleia Pontika", *Numizmatika i epigrafika* 14: 3–22 (in Russian).

Braund, D. 1994. *Georgia in Antiquity* (Oxford).

Buck, R. J. 1979. *A History of Boeotia* (Alberta).

Burkert, W. 1990. "Apollon Didim i Ol'viya", *VDI* 2: 155–60.

Burstein, S. 1972. "A Political History of Heraclea to 281 B.C." (diss., University of California, Berkeley).

——1974. "The War between Heraclea Pontica and Leucon I of Bosporus", *Historia* 23: 401–11.

——1976. *Outpost of Hellenism—The Emergence of Heraclea on the Black Sea* (Berkeley).

Butyagin, A. M. 1997. "Archaic Dug-Outs at Nymphaion", *Archeologia* 48: 61–70.

——1998. "Varvary na poseleniyakh arkhaicheskogo Bospora: po materialam lepnoj keramiki iz rannikh kompleksov Nimfeya i Mirmekiya", in D. G. Savinov (ed.), *Poseleniya: sreda, kul'tura, sotsium* (St Petersburg) 141–44.

Chistov, D. E. 1998*a*. "Akropol' Nimfeya v pervoj polovine IV v. do n.e.", in D. G. Savinov (ed.), *Poseleniya: sreda, kul'tura, sotsium* (St Petersburg) 136–38.

——1998*b*. "Issledovaniya poslednykh let v yugo-zapadnoj chasti gorodishcha Nimfeya", in V. D. Khrshanovskij (ed.), *Bosporskoe tsarstvo kak istoriko-kul'turnyj fenomen* (St Petersburg) 33–38.

Chtcheglov, A. I. 1992. *Polis et chora* (Besançon and Paris).

Clairmont, C. 1979. "New Light on some Public Athenian Documents of the 5th and 4th Century", *ZPE* 36: 123–30.

Coja, M. 1972. "Cercetări noi în aşezarea de la Capul Dolojman-Argamum (?)", *Buletinul monumentelor istorice* 41.3: 33–42.

Conovici, N. 1998. *Histria: Les résultats des fouilles*, viii.1: *Les timbres amphoriques*, 2: *Sinope* (Bucharest and Paris).

Cummer, W. 1976. "Iron-Age Pottery from Ak Alan", *IstMitt* 26: 31–39.

Danoff, Chr. 1962. "Pontos Euxeinos", *RE* Suppl. ix. 866–1175.

——1976. *Altthrakien* (Berlin and New York).

Debord, P. 1990. "Sinopéens et Amiséniens en Grèce et en Égée à l'époque classique et hellénistique", in *Le Pont-Euxin Sud—Conférence 1–3 juin 1988, Tarih Boyunca Karadeniz Bildirileri. Congrès international sur la mer Noire* (Samsun) 516–25.

Denisova, V. I. 1981. *Koroplastika Bospora* (Leningrad).

Descat, R. 1990. "Remarques sur les rapports entre les Perses et la mer Noire à l'époque achéménide", in *Le Pont-Euxin Sud—Conférence 1–3 juin 1988, Tarih Boyunca Karadeniz Bildirileri. Congrès international sur la mer Noire* (Samsun) 535–48.

Dolgorukov, V. S. 1990. "Nekotorye voprosy istorii i topografii rannej Fanagorii", *Kratkie soobshcheniya Instituta Arkheologii AN SSSR* 197: 30–37.

—— and Kolesnikov, A. B. 1993. "Novyj tip strojtel'nogo kompleksa Fanagorii", *Rossijskaya Arkheologiya* 1: 113–31.

Dörner, F. K., and Hoepfner, W. 1962. "Vorläufiger Bericht über eine Reise in Bithynien 1961", *AA* 564–93.

Doruțiu Boilă, E. 1970. "Triburile la Tomis în epoca romană", *StClas* 12: 117–26.

Dubois, L. 1996. *Inscriptions grecques dialectales d'Olbia du Pont* (Geneva).

Dundua, G. 1987. *Numizmatika antichnoj Gruzii* (Tbilisi).

Dupont, P., *et al.* 1999. "Les enceintes grecques d'Histria: vers une nouvelle approche", in O. Lordkipanidzé and P. Lévêque (eds.), *Religions du Pont-Euxin*, Actes du VIIIe Symposium de Vani (Colchide), 1996 (Besançon and Paris) 37–52.

Ehrhardt, N. 1987. "Die politischen Beziehungen zwischen den griechischen Schwarzmeergründungen und ihren Mutterstädten: ein Beitrag zur Bedeutung von Kolonialverhältnissen in Griechenland", in *Acta Centri Historiae "Terra Antiqua Balcanica"*, ii (IXe Congrès international d'épigraphie grecque et latine) 78–117.

——1988. *Milet und seine Kolonien: Vergleichende Untersuchung der kultischen und politischen Einrichtungen*^{2} (Frankfurt am Main, Bern, New York and Paris).

——1989. "Apollon Ietros: ein verschollener Gott Ioniens?", *IstMitt* 39: 115–22.

Flensted-Jensen, P., and Hansen, M. H. 1996. "Pseudo-Skylax' Use of the Term *Polis*", *CPCPapers* 3: 137–67.

Franke, P. 1966. "Zur Tyrannis des Klearchos und Satyros in Herakleia am Pontos", *AA* 130–39.

French, D. 1985. "Sinope and the Thrakian Coast", *Thracia Pontica* 2: 85–88.

——1990. "Sinopian Notes I", *EpigAnat* 16: 45–63.

Frolov, E. 1974. "Tyrannis at Herakleia Pontika", *Antichnyj mir i arkheologiya* 2 : 117–39 (in Russian).

——1981. "The Herakleiot Mariandynoi—Towards the Problem of the Relations of the Greek Colonists and the Local Tribes in the Area of Dorian Colonisation", in *Demograficheskaya situatsiya v Prichernomor'e v period velikoj grecheskoj kolonizatsii* (Tbilisi) 22–33 (in Russian).

Frolova, N. A. 1992. "Monetnoe delo Bospora VI v. do n. e. – serediny IV v. n. e. v svete novykh issledovanij", in G. A. Koshelenko (ed.), *Ocherki arkheologii i istorii Bospora* (Moscow) 187–246.

——1995. "O probleme chekanki monet s nadpis'yu *ΑΠΟΛ*", *Bosporskij sbornik* 6: 205–12.

——1996. "Towards a History of Bosporan Coinage (1st Century BC)", *Ancient Civilizations from Scythia to Siberia* 3: 151–68.

Gajdukevič, V. F. 1949. *Bosporskoe Tsarstvo* (Moscow and Leningrad).

——(ed.) 1964. *Ol'viya: Temenos i agora* (Moscow and Leningrad).
——1969. "On the Routes Followed by Ancient Shipping in the Euxine Pontos", *Kratkie soobshcheniya Instituta Arkheologii AN SSSR* 116: 11–17 (in Russian).
—— 1971. *Das Bosporanische Reich* (Berlin and Amsterdam).
——1987. *Antichnye goroda Bospora: Mirmekij* (Leningrad).
Gorlov, Y. V. 1986. "K istorii Fanagorii IV v. do n. e.", in G. A. Koshelenko (ed.), *Problemy antichnoj kul'tury* (Moscow) 135–37.
——and Lopanov, Y. A. 1995. "Oboronitel'nye sooruzheniya Kimmerika", in V. M. Masson (ed.), *Fortifikatsiya v drevnosti i srednevekov'e* (St Petersburg) 36–38.
————1997. "Oboronitel'nye sooruzheniya Evropejskogo Kimmerika", in *Problemy istorii, filologii, kul'tury. Chast' 1. Istoriya* 4: 137–43.
Grach, N. L. 1981. "Characterising the Ethnic Composition of the Population of Nymphaion in the Sixth–Fifth Centuries B.C.", in *Demograficheskaya situatsiya v Prichernomor'e v period velikoj grecheskoj kolonizatsii* (Tbilisi) 260–67 (in Russian).
——1989. "Nimfejskaya arkheologicheskaya ekspeditsiya (osnovnye itogi issledovanij za 1973–1987 gg.)", in *Itogi arkheologicheskikh ekspeditsii* (Leningrad) 81–92.
——1999. *Nekropol' Nimfeya* (St Petersburg).
Graf, F. 1974. "Das Kollegium der *Μολποί* von Olbia", *MusHelv* 31: 209–15.
Graham, A. J. 1983. Review of J. Vinogradov, "Olbia", *Gnomon* 55: 461–62.
Grakov, B. N. 1926. "Englyphic Stamps on the Necks of Certain Hellenistic Amphorae", in *Trudy Gosudarstvennogo Istoricheskogo Muzeya*, i (Moscow) (in Russian), 165–206.
——1929. *Drevnegrecheskie klejma s imenami astynomov* (Moscow).
——1971. "Eshche raz o monetakh-strelkakh", *VDI* 3: 125–27.
Grandmezon, N. N. 1982. "Notes on the Coins of Chersonesos Taurica", in *Numizmatika antichnogo Prichernomor'ya* (Kiev) 34–42 (in Russian).
——1990. "The Earliest Coinage of Chersonesos", *Kratkie soobshcheniya Instituta Arkhelogii AN SSSR* 194: 57–58 (in Russian).
Grinevich, K. E. 1927. *Steny Khersonesa (Khersonesskij Sbornik)* (Sebastopol).
——1959. "The Walls of Chersonesos Taurica part III", *Khersonesskij Sbornik* 5 (Sebastopol) 115–19 (in Russian).
Gschnitzer, F. 1958. *Abhängige Orte im griechischen Altertum*, Zetemata 17 (Munich).
Hanell, K. 1934. *Megarische Studien* (Lund).
Hansen, M. H. 1995. "*Kome*: A Study in How the Greeks Designated and Classified Settlements which were not *Poleis*", *CPCPapers* 2: 45–81.
——1997*a*. "Hekataios' Use of the Word *Polis* in his *Periegesis*", *CPCPapers* 4: 17–27.
——1997*b*. "A Typology of Dependent *Poleis*", *CPCPapers* 4: 29–37.
——1997*c*. "*Emporion*: A Study of the Use and Meaning of the Term in the Archaic and Classical Periods", *CPCPapers* 4: 83–105.
——2000. "A Survey of the Use of the Term *Polis* in Archaic and Classical Sources", *CPCPapers* 5: 173–215.
——and Fischer-Hansen, T. 1994. "Monumental Political Architecture in Archaic and Classical Greek *Poleis*: Evidence and Historical Significance", *CPCPapers* 1: 23–98.
Hedreen, G. 1991. "The Cult of Achilles in the Euxine", *Hesperia* 60: 313–30.
Hind, J. G. F. 1970. "Istrian Faces and River Danube", *NC* 10: 7–17.
——1976. "The Eagle-Head Coins of Sinope", *NC* 16: 1–6.
——1983–84. "Greek and Barbarian Peoples on the Shores of the Black Sea", *AR* 71–97.
——1985*a*. "Anchors, Crayfish and Facing Heads: The Silver Coins of Apollonia on the Euxine Sea", *Thracia Pontica* 2: 89–104.
——1985*b*. "Olbiopolis and Kremnoi in Herodotus", *Thracia Pontica* 2: 105–118.
——1988. "The Colonisation of Sinope and the S.E. Black Sea Area", in *Mestnye etnopoliticheskie obedineniya Prichernomor'ya VII–IV vekakh do n.e., Materialy IV Vsesoyuznogo Sympozyuma po drevnej istorii* (Tbilisi) 207–23.
——1992–93. "Archaeology of the Greek and Barbarian Peoples around the Black Sea (1982–1992)", *AR* 82–112.
——1994. "The Bosporan Kingdom", *CAH*² vi. 476–511.
——1995–96. "Traders and Ports-of-Trade (*Emporoi* and *Emporia*) in the Black Sea in Antiquity", *Il Mar Nero* 2: 113–26.
——1996*a*. "*Saster* in the Citizen's Oath at Chersonesos", in *Mezhdunarodnye otnosheniya v bassejne Chernogo Mor'ya v drevnosti i srednie veka*, viii (Rostov-on-Don) 73–77.
——1996*b*. "The Types on the Earliest Silver Coins of the Phasians 'Kolkhidki' ", in Lordkipanidze and Lévêque (1996) 203–13.
——1997. "Colonies and Ports-of-Trade on the Northern Shores of the Black Sea: Borysthenes, Kremnoi and the 'Other Pontic *Emporia*' in Herodotos", *CPCPapers* 4: 107–16.
——1998. "Megarian Colonisation in the Western Half of the Black Sea", in Tsetskhladze (1998*c*) 121–52.
——1999*a*. "The Dates and Mothercities of the Black Sea Colonies (Ps.-Scymnos and the Pontic Contact Zone)", in O. Lordkipanidze and P. Lévêque (eds.), *La Mer Noire—zone de contacts*, Actes du VIIe Symposium de Vani (Colchide), 1994 (Besançon and Paris) 25–34.
——1999*b*. "Eagles and Dolphins—the Coins of Sinope, Istria and Olbia in the Fifth and Fourth Centuries B.C.", in *Trade in the Black Sea in the Archaic and Classical Periods*, Abstracts of Papers of the IXth Symposium at Vani, Dziebani Suppl. 1 (Tbilisi) 48–49.

Hind, J. G. F. 2002. Review of Lordkipanidze (2000), *Ancient West and East* 1.2: 491–96.

Hoddinott, R. F. 1975. *Bulgaria in Antiquity: An Archaeological Introduction* (London).

Hoepfner, W. 1966. *Herakleia Pontike—Ereğli*, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Denkschriften 89 (Vienna).

—— and Schwandner, E. L. 1986. *Haus und Stadt im klassischen Griechenland* (Munich).

Hommel, H. 1969. "Das Doppelgesicht auf den Münzen von Istros", in *Beiträge zur Alten Geschichte* (*Festschrift für Franz Altheim*), i (Berlin) 261–72.

—— 1980. *Der Gott Achilleus*, *SBHeid* Abh. 1 (Heidelberg).

Huxley, G. 1990. "Eusebius on the Foundation of Trapezus", in O. D. Lordkipanidze (ed.), *Prichernomor'e v VII–V vekakh do n.e.* (Tbilisi) 195–201.

Iliescu, V. 1969. "Byzance ou Bizone: contribution à l'histoire du Pont Gauche au IVe s. av. n. è.", *Revue des études sud-est-européennes* 7: 400–4.

—— 1971. "Le problème des rapports scytho-byzantins au IVe s. av. n. è. (Clem. Strom. V, 5, p. 240)", *Historia* 20: 172–85.

Inadze, M. P. 1968. *Prichernomorskie goroda drevnej Kolkhidy* (Tbilisi).

Isaac, B. 1986. *The Greek Settlements in Thrace until the Macedonian Conquest* (Leiden).

Ivantchik, A. I. 1998. "Die Gründung von Sinope und die Probleme der Anfangsphase der griechischen Kolonisation des Schwarzmeergebietes", in Tsetskhladze (1998*c*) 297–330.

Jones, C. P. 1988. "A Monument from Sinope", *JHS* 108: 193–94.

Jurukova, J. 1994. "Agathopolis d'après les données épigraphiques et numismatiques", in *Studies on Settlement Life in Ancient Thrace*, Proceedings of the 3rd International Symposium "Cabyle" (Iambol) 261–65.

Kadeyev, V. I. 1973. "On the Ethnic Origin of the Crouched Burials in the Chersonesos Necropolis", *VDI* 4: 108–16 (in Russian).

—— 1996. *Khersones Tavricheskij: Byt i kul'tura (I–II veka nashej ery)* (Kharkov).

Karasyov, A. N. 1964. "Monumentalnye pamyatniki ol'vijskogo temenosa", in Gajdukevič (1964) 27–130.

—— 1972. "Raskopki ol'vijskoj agory v 1967–1969 godakh", *Kratkie soobshcheniya Instituta Arkheologii AN SSSR* 130: 35–44.

Karayotov, I. 1994. *The Coinage of Mesambria*, i: *Silver and Gold Coins of Mesambria* (Sozopol).

Karyshkovskij, P. O. 1959. "Ol'viya i Afinskij soyuz", *Materialy po arkheologii Severnogo Prichernomor'ya* 3: 57–100.

—— 1966. "K voprosu o drevnem nazvanii Roksolanskogo gorodishcha", *Materialy po arkheologii Severnogo Prichernomor'ya* 5: 149–62.

—— 1978. "Ol'vijskie eponimy", *VDI* 2: 82–88.

—— 1982. "Concerning the Eagle-on-Dolphin Type on the Coins of Sinope, Istria and Olbia", in *Numizmatika antichnogo Prichernomor'ya* (Kiev) 80–98 (in Russian).

—— and Klejman, I. G. 1985. *Drevnyj gorod Tira* (Odessa).

Kassab-Tezgör, D. 1996. "Fouilles des ateliers d'amphores à Demirci près de Sinope en 1994 et 1995", *Anatolia Antiqua* 4: 335–54.

Kats, V. I. 1990. "Emporion Chersonesos", *Antichnyj mir i arkheologiya* 7: 97–111 (in Russian).

—— 1994. *Keramicheskie klejma Khersonesa Tavricheskogo* (Saratov).

Kharaldina, Z. Y., and Novichikhin, A. M. 1996. "Ancient Collections of the Anapa Museum", *Ancient Civilizations from Scythia to Siberia* 3: 347–65.

Khrischer, K., *et al.* 1982. "Salt Production in Ancient Anchialos—Geological Evidence", *Thracia Pontica* 1: 201–6.

Kobylina, M. M. 1983. "Stranitsy rannej istorii Fanagorii", *SovArch* 2: 51–61.

—— 1989. *Fanagoriya* (Moscow).

Kopejkina, L. V. 1973. "Samy rannyj obrazets raspisnoj drevnegrecheskoj keramiki iz raskopok na ostrove Berezan", *SovArch* 1: 240–44.

—— 1976. "Nekotorye itogi issledovaniya arkhaicheskoj Ol'vii", in *Khudozhestvennaya kul'tura i arkheologiya antichnogo mira* (Moscow) 131–42.

Korovina, A. K. 1992. "Istoriya issledovaniya Tamanskogo gorodishcha", *Soobshcheniya gosudarstvennogo muzeya izobrazitel'nykh iskusstv im. A. S. Pushkina* 10: 7–40.

Koshelenko, G. A., Kruglikova, I. T., and Dolgorukov, V. S. (eds.) 1984. *Antichnye gosudarstva Severnogo Prichernomor'ya* (Moscow).

Kraay, C. M., and Moorey, P. R. S. 1981. "A Black Sea Hoard of the Late Fifth Century", *NC* 4–6: 1–19.

Krushkol, Y. S. 1971. *Drevnaya Sindika* (Moscow).

Kryzhitskij, S. D. 1985. *Ol'viya: istoriograficheskoe issledovanie arkhitekturno-strojtelnikh kompleksov* (Kiev).

—— 1997. "The Temple of Apollo Ietros in the Western Temenos at Olbia (An Attempt at Reconstruction)", *Ancient Civilisations from Scythia to Siberia* 4.1: 15–34.

—— Bujskikh, S. B., Burakov, A. V., and Otreshko, V. M. 1989. *Sel'skaya okruga Ol'vii* (Kiev).

Kutajsov, V. A. 1990. *Antichnyj gorod Kerkinitida* (Kiev).

—— 1995. "Cast Money and Coins of Kerkinitis of the 5th cent. B.C." *Ancient Civilizations from Scythia to Siberia* 2.1: 39–61.

—— 1996. "Aspects de la colonisation de la Crimée occidentale", in Lordkipanidze and Lévêque (1996) 297–301.

Kuznetsov, V. D. 1991*a*. "Kepy: ionijskaya keramika", *SovArch* 4: 36–52.

—— 1991*b*. "Rannie apojkii Severnogo Prichernomor'ya", *Kratkie soobshcheniya Instituta Arkheologii AN SSSR* 204: 31–37.

—— 1992. "Raskopki v Kepakh 1984–1989 gg.", in G. A. Koshelenko (ed.), *Ocherki arkheologii i istorii Bospora* (Moscow) 28–45.

—— 1998. "Raskopki poslednykh let v Fanagorii", in S. L. Solovyov (ed.), *Tamanskaya starina* 1 (St Petersburg) 7–12.

——1999. "Early Types of Greek Dwelling Houses in the North Black Sea", in G. R. Tsetskhladze (ed.), *Ancient Greeks West and East* (Leiden) 531–64.

Lasserre, F. 1978. "Strabon 12.3.14; deux mots inédits sur l'histoire d'Amisos", *MusHelv* 35: 212–20.

Lebedev, A. 1996. "A New Epigram for Harmodios and Aristogeiton", *ZPE* 112: 263–68.

Lehmann-Hartleben, K. 1923. *Die antiken Hafenanlagen des Mittelmeeres*, *Klio* Suppl. 14 (Leipzig).

Levi, E. I. 1964. "Materialy Ol'vijskogo temenosa", in Gajdukevič (1964) 131–74.

Lordkipanidze, O. D. 1968. "Sukhumskaya stela", *SovArch* 1: 166–76.

——1979. *Drevnaya Kolkhida* (Tbilisi).

——1985. *Das alte Kolchis und seine Beziehungen zur griechischen Welt vom 6. zum 4. Jh. v. Chr.* (Konstanz).

——2000. *Phasis: The River and City in Colchis*, *Geographica Historica* 15 (Stuttgart).

—— and Lévêque, P. (eds.) 1990. *Le Pont-Euxin vu par les Grecs*, Actes du Ve symposium de Vani (Colchide), 1987 (Besançon and Paris).

—— —— (eds.) 1996. *Sur les traces des Argonautes*, Actes du VIe symposium de Vani (Colchide), 1990 (Besançon and Paris).

Lungu, V. 2000. "Une tombe d'un héros et l'organisation de la nécropole d'une cité milésienne du Pont-Euxin: le tumulus T_{A95} d'Orgame", in V. Lungu (ed.), *Actes du IIIe Colloque international d'archéologie funéraire, Tulcea, 1997* (Tulcea) 67–86.

Macridy, T. 1907. "Une citadelle archaïque du Pont", *MVAG* 12/4: 167–75.

Magie, D. 1950. *Roman Rule in Asia Minor* (Princeton).

Malloy, A. G. 1970. *The Coins of Amisos* (South Salem, NY).

Mănucu Adameşteanu, M. 1985. "Le rôle de la colonie grecque Orgame dans la diffusion des éléments de civilisation hellénique", in *Actes du XIIe Congrès international d'archéologie classique (Athènes 1983)*, i (Athens) 169–75.

——1992. "Orgame polis", *Pontica* 25: 55–67.

——2000. "Céramique archaïque d'Orgame", in A. Avram and M. Babeş (eds.), *Civilisation grecque et cultures antiques périphériques: hommage à Petre Alexandrescu à son 70e anniversaire* (Bucharest) 195–204.

Marshall, F. H. 1911. *Catalogue of the Jewellery, Greek, Etruscan, and Roman, in the Department of Antiquities, British Museum* (London).

Maslennikov, A. A. 1998*a*. *Ellinskaya khora na krayu Ojkumeny: Sel'skaya territoriya evropejskogo Bospora v antichnuyu epokhu* (Moscow).

——1998*b*. "Monetnye nakhodki i denezhnoe obrashchenie v Krymskom Priazov'e v antichnuyu epokhu", *Drevnosti Bospora* 1: 202–15.

Maximova, M. I. 1956. *Antichnye Goroda Yugo-Vostochnogo Prichernomor'ya* (Moscow and Leningrad).

Medvedeva, L. I. 1984. "Coins of Kerkinitis", *Numizmatika i epigrafika* 14: 40–49 (in Russian).

Meiggs, R. 1972. *The Athenian Empire* (Oxford).

Mendel, G. 1912. *Catalogue des sculptures grecques, romaines et byzantines des Musées Impériaux Ottomans* (Constantinople).

Minns, E. 1913. *Scythians and Greeks* (Cambridge).

Mitchell, S. 1999. "Archaeology in Asia Minor 1990–98", *AR* 1998–99: 125–91.

Molev, E. A. 1985. "Arkheologicheskie issledovaniya Kiteya v 1970–1983", in E. V. Dvoretskij (ed.), *Arkheologicheskie pamyatniki Yugo-Vostochnoj Evropy* (Kursk) 40–67.

Moleva, N. V. 1997. "O kul'te Afrodity v Kitejskom svyatilishche", in S. K. Sizov (ed.), *Bospor i antichnyj mir* (Nizhnij Novgorod) 93–106.

Monakhov, S. J. 1993. "Les amphores de Sinope", *Anatolia Antiqua* 2: 107–33.

——1999. *Grecheskie amphory v Prichernomor'e* (Saratov).

Nalivkina, M. A. 1963. "Kerkinitis i Kalos Limen", in *Antichnyj gorod* (Moscow and Leningrad) 55–60.

Newell, E. T. 1931. *The Küchük Köhne Hoard*, *NNM* 46 (New York).

Nielsen, T. H. 2000. "Xenophon's Use of the Word *Polis* in the *Anabasis*", *CPCPapers* 5: 133–39.

Nikolaenko, G. M. 2001. "The Adjacent *Chora* of Tauric Chersonesus in the 4th Century B.C.", in G. R. Tsetskhladze (ed.), *North Pontic Archaeology: Recent Discoveries and Studies* (Leiden) 177–204.

Nikonov, A. 1996. "The Disappearance of the Ancient Towns of Dioscuria and Sebastopolis in Colchis on the Black Sea: A Problem in Engineering Geology and Palaeoseismology", in S. Stiros and R. E. Jones (eds.), *Archaeoseismology* (Athens) 195–204.

Okhotnikov, S. B. 1990. *Nizhnee Podnyestrov'e v VI–IV vv. do n.e.* (Kiev).

—— and Ostroverkhov, A. S. 1993. *Svyatilishche Akhilla na ostrove Levke (Zmejnom)* (Kiev).

—— —— 1996. "Les sources historiques et archéologiques de l'île Leuke", in Lordkipanidze and Lévêque (1996) 271–75.

Onajko, N. A. 1980. *Arkhaicheskij Torik—Antichnyj gorod v Severo-Vostochnom Ponte* (Moscow).

Osborne, M. J., and Byrne, S. G. 1996. *The Foreign Residents of Athens: An Annex to the* Lexicon of Greek Personal Names, *Studia Hellenistica* 33 (Leuven).

Panayotova, K. 1998. "Apollonia Pontica: Recent Discoveries in the Necropolis", in Tsetskhladze (1998*c*) 97–113.

Paromov, I. M. 1990. "Intervention sur la péninsule de Taman", in Lordkipanidzé and Lévêque (1990) 161–64.

——1992. "Ocherki istorii arkheologo-topograficheskogo issledovaniya Tamanskogo poluostrova", *Bosporskij Sbornik* 1: 109–46.

——1993. "Arkheologo-topograficheskij plan Fanagorii", *Bosporskij Sbornik* 2: 111–48.

Paromov, I. M. 1997. "Materialy k vydelenyu kul'turno-istoricheskikh landschaftov Tamani", in Y. A. Vedlin (ed.), *Arkheologicheskij faktor v planirovochnoj organizatsii territorii* (Moscow) 189–213.

——1998. "Glavnye dorogi Tamanskogo poluostrova v antichnoe vremiya", in *Drevnosti Bospora*, i (Moscow) 216–27.

Peters, B. G., and Golentsov, A. S. 1981. "Arkheologicheskie raskopki Feodosii 1975–1977", *Kratkie soobshcheniya Instituta Arkheologii AN SSSR* 168: 68–72.

Petrova, E. B. 1991. "Feodosiya v sostave Bosporskogo Tsarstva (politicheskij aspekt)", *Materialy po arkheologii, istorii i etnografii Tavrii* 2: 97–105.

——1996. "Greki i 'varvary' antichnoj Feodosii i ee okrugi v VI–II vv. do n. e.", *Materialy po arkheologii, istorii i etnografii Tavrii* 5: 146–54.

Pichikyan, I. R. 1984. *Malaya Aziya—Severnoe Prichernomor'e: Antichnye traditsii i vliyaniya* (Moscow).

Pick, B. 1898. *Die antiken Münzen von Dacien und Moesien*, *Die antiken Münzen Nordgriechenlands* i.1 (Berlin).

Pippidi, D. M. 1962. "Gli scavi nella zona sacra di Histria: stadio attuale", *Dacia* NS 6: 139–56.

——1971. *I Greci nel Basso Danubio dall'età arcaica alla conquista romana* (Milan).

——1984. *Parerga: Écrits de philologie, d'épigraphie et d'histoire ancienne* (Bucharest and Paris).

Preda, C. 1968. *Callatis*² (Bucharest).

——1973. "Monedele greceşti şi macedonene: consideraţii numismatice şi istorice", in C. Preda and H. Nubar, *Histria*, iii: *Descoperirile monetare 1914–1970* (Bucharest) 15–53.

——1975. "Über die Silbermünzen der Stadt Istros", *Dacia* NS 19: 77–85.

——1991. "Prämonetäre Zahlungsmittel in Form von Pfeilspitzen an der West- und Nordküste des Schwarzen Meeres", *Klio* 73: 20–27.

Price, M. 1993. *SNG IX: The British Museum, Part 1: The Black Sea* (London).

Raaflaub, K. A. 2000. "Zeus Eleutherios, Dionysos the Liberator, and the Athenian Tyrannicides: Anachronistic Uses of Fifth-Century Political Concepts", *Polis and Politics* 249–75.

Reho, M. 1986. "Ceramica di tipo greco-orientale ad Apollonia", *Thracia Pontica* 3: 216–20.

Robert, L. 1937. *Études anatoliennes: recherches sur les inscriptions grecques de l'Asie Mineure* (Paris).

——1980. *À travers l'Asie Mineure* (Athens and Paris).

Robinson, D. 1905. "Inscriptions from Sinope", *AJA* 9: 294–333.

Robinson, E. S. G. 1921. "Greek Coins from the Dardanelles", *NC*, 5th ser., 7: 1–25.

Robinson, E. W. 1997. *The First Democracies: Early Popular Government Outside Athens*, *Historia* Einzelschriften 107 (Stuttgart).

Ruban, V. V. 1982. "O khronologicheskom sootnoshenii litikh strelo- i del'finovidnikh bronzovikh monet na teritorii Nizhnego Pobuzh'ya", in *Numizmatika antichnogo Prichernomor'ya* (Kiev) 15–20.

——1985. "Problemi istoricheskogo razvitiya ol'vijskoj khory v IV–III vv. do n.e.", *VDI* 1: 26–46.

Rusyaeva, A. S. 1978. "Orfizm i kul't Dionisa v Ol'vii", *VDI* 1: 87–104.

——1979. *Zemledelcheskie kul'ty v Ol'vii dogetskogo vremeni* (Kiev).

——1986. "Milet-Didimy-Borisfen-Ol'viya: problemy kolonizatsii Nizhnego Pobuzh'ya", *VDI* 2: 25–64.

——1992. *Religiya i kul'ty antichnoj Ol'vii* (Kiev).

——1994. "Investigations of the Western Temenos of Olbia", *Ancient Civilisations from Scythia to Siberia* 1.1: 80–102.

Rybakov, B. A. 1979. *Gerodotova Skifiya: istoriko-geograficheskij analiz* (Moscow).

Salkin, A. 1986. "Evidence for the Earlier Foundation of Bizone Colony", *Thracia Pontica* 3: 251–55.

Samojlova, T. L. 1988. *Tira v VI–I vekakh do n.e.* (Kiev).

Saprykin, S. Y. 1981. "The Poleis and the Local Population of the South Black Sea Area in the Archaic and Classical Periods: Herakleia and the Mariandynoi", in *Demograficheskaya situatsiya v Prichernomor'e v period velikoj grecheskoj kolonizatsii* (Tbilisi) 9–22 (in Russian).

——1991. "Heraclée du Pont et Chersonèse Taurique, institutions publiques et rapports fonciers", *Dialogues d'histoire ancienne* 17.1: 103–17.

——1994. "On the Internal Colonisation of Chersonesos Taurica", *VDI* 3: 130–42 (in Russian).

——1997. *Heracleia Pontica and Tauric Chersonesus before Roman Domination (VI–Ist Centuries B.C.)* (Amsterdam).

——1998. "The Foundation of Tauric Chersonesus", in Tsetskhladze (1998*c*) 227–48.

Savelya, O. Y. 1979. "On Greek–Barbarian Relations in the SW Crimea in the 6th–4th Centuries B.C.", in *Problemy grecheskoj kolonizatsii Severnogo i Vostochnogo Prichernomor'ya* (Tbilisi) 166–73 (in Russian).

Savostina, E. A. 1987. "Trouvaille de reliefs antiques dans un établissement agricole du Bosphore Cimmérien (Taman)", *RA* 1: 3–24.

——1998. "Issledovanie khory Asiatskogo Bospora: usadby "Yubilejnoe" na Tamani", in S. L. Solovyov (ed.), *Tamanskaya starina*, i (St Petersburg) 30–36.

Scholl, T., and Zinko, V. 1999. *Archaeological Map of Nymphaion (Crimea)* (Warsaw).

Sekerskaya, N. M. 1989. *Antichnyj Nikonij i ego okruga v VI–IV vv. do n.e.* (Kiev).

Semicheva, E. A. 1997. "Graffiti Kitejskogo svyatilishcha", in S. K. Sizov (ed.), *Bospor i antichnyj mir* (Nizhnij Novgorod) 136–42.

Senatorov, S. N. 1987. "On the Kizyl-Koba Pottery from Chersonesos", in *Istoriya i kul'tura Khersonesa i Zapadnogo*

Kryma v antichnuyu i srednevekovuyu epokhu (Sebastopol) 7–8 (in Russian).

Shamba, S. 1980. *Ėsherskoe gorodishche (Osnovnye resul'taty arkheologicheskikh raskopok 1968, 1970–1977 gg.* (Tbilisi).

——1988. *Gyenos*, i (Tbilisi).

Shcheglov, A. N. 1981. "The Tauroi and the Greek Colonies in Taurica", in *Demograficheskaya situatsiya v Prichernomor'e v period velikoj grecheskoj kolonizatsii* (Tbilisi) 204–18 (in Russian).

——1990. "Le commerce du blé dans le Pont septentrional (seconde moitié du VIIe–Ve siècles)", in Lordkipanidze and Lévêque (1990) 141–59.

Shelov, D. B. 1956. *Monetnoe delo Bospora VI–II vv. do n.e.* (Moscow).

——1970. *Tanais i Nizhnij Don v III–I vekakh do n.e.* (Moscow).

——1981. "The Sindoi and Sindika in the Period of Greek Colonisation", in *Demograficheskaya situatsiya v Prichernomor'e v period velikoj grecheskoj kolonizatsii* (Tbilisi) 232–47 (in Russian).

Shelov-Kovedyaev, F. V. 1985. "Istoriya Bospora v VI–IV vv. do n.e.", in *Drevnejshie gosudarstva na territorii SSSR* (Moscow) 5–187.

Smirnov, A. P. (ed.) 1956. *Fanagoriya* (Moscow).

Sokolova, O. Y. 1997. "Novye nakhodki iz Nimfeya", in S. K. Sizov (ed.), *Bospor i antichnyj mir* (Nizhnij Novgorod) 143–47.

Sokolskij, N. I. 1963. "Kepy", in A. I. Boltunova (ed.), *Antichnyj gorod* (Moscow) 97–114.

Solomonik, E. I. 1976. "Some Graffiti from Ancient Chersonesos", *VDI* 3: 121–24 (in Russian).

——1987. "Two Ancient Letters from the Crimea", *VDI* 3: 122–25 (in Russian).

Solovyov, S. L. 1999. *Ancient Berezan* (Leiden).

—— and Butyagin, A. M. 1998*a*. "Kompleksnaya nauchno-issledovatel'skaya programma 'Sindskij ostrov': kratkie itogi kampanii 1996–1997 gg.", in S. L. Solovyov (ed.), *Tamanskaya starina* (St Petersburg) 37–47.

—— ——1998*b*. "Zemlyanki na khore Nimfeya", *Rossijskaya Arkheologiya* 2: 138–48.

—— Zinko, V. N. 1994. "Research on the *Chora* of Nymphaion: Study Problems", *Archeologia* 45: 73–78.

Sorokina, N. P. 1957. *Tuzlinskij Nekropol'*, Trudy Gosudarstvennogo Istoricheskogo Muzeya 26 (Moscow).

Stancomb, W. M. 1998. "Agathopolis: A Mint on the Black Sea Coast", in R. Ashton and S. Hurter (eds.), *Studies in Greek Numismatics in Memory of Martin Jessop Price* (London) 335–38.

Stolba, W. F. 1996. "Ein Münzfund aus Eupatoria von 1917 und der Beginn der Prägung von Kerkinitis", in A. Miron and W. Leschhorn (eds.), *Studien zur Geschichte und Numismatik der griechischen Welt: Hellas und der griechische Osten*, Festschrift für P. Franke (Saarbrücken) 225–41.

——1998. "*ΣAMMAΣ*—Zur Prägung eines bosporanischen Tyrannen", in U. Peter (ed.), *Stephanos nomismatikos: Edith Schönert-Geiss zum 65. Geburtstag* (Berlin) 601–11.

Strzheletskij, S. F. 1948*a*. "Excavations by the Quarantine in 1938", in *Khersonesskij Sbornik* 4 (Simferopol) 51–63 (in Russian).

——1948*b*. "An Altar to Herakles from the So-Called Strabo's Chersonesos", in *Khersonesskij Sbornik* 4 (Simferopol) 97–106 (in Russian).

——1961. "The Land-Allotments of the Tauric Chersonesos", in *Khersonesskij Sbornik* 6 (Simferopol) 5–168 (in Russian).

Tokhtasyev, S. 1983. "The Bosporan Myth about Aphrodite Apatouros", *VDI* 2: 111–20 (in Russian).

——1986. "Apatouron—the History of the Bosporan Shrine of Aphrodite Urania", *VDI* 2: 138–45 (in Russian).

—— 2001. *Bosporskij fenomen*, i (St Petersburg).

Tolstikov, V. P. 1984*a*. "K probleme obrazovaniya Bosporskogo gosudarstva", *VDI* 3: 24–48.

——1984*b*. "O sisteme oborony akropol'ya Pantikapeya", *Soobshcheniya gosudarstvennogo muzeya izobrazitel'nykh iskusstv im. A. S. Pushkina* 7: 28–56.

——1987. "Svyatilishche na akropol'e Pantikapeya", *VDI* 1: 88–113.

——1992. "Pantikapej—stolitsa Bospora", in G. A. Koshelenko (ed.), *Ocherki arkheologii i istorii Bospora* (Moscow) 45–99.

——1996. "Panticapée archaïque à la lumière des dernières fouilles: à propos de l'origine de la ville", in Lordkipanidze and Lévêque (1996) 319–26.

——1997. "Descriptions of Fortifications of the Classical Cities in the Region to the North of the Black Sea", *Ancient Civilizations from Scythia to Siberia* 4: 187–231.

—— and Zhuravlyov, D. V. 1998. "Nekotorye itogi issledovaniya akropol'ya Pantikapeya", in V. A. Khrshanovskij (ed.), *Bosporskoe tsarstvo kak istoriko-kul'turnyj fenomen* (St Petersburg) 24–29.

Tolstoj, I. I. 1953. *Grecheskie graffiti drevnikh gorodov Severnogo Prichernomor'ya* (Moscow).

Toncheva, G. 1967. "Arkhaichni materiali ot Odesos", *BIABulg.* 30: 157–80.

Treister, M. Y. 1987. "Metalworking of Panticapaion, Kingdom of Bosporus Capital", *Bulletin of the Metals Museum* 12: 38–58.

——1990. "Drevnejshchij predmet etrusskogo proizvodstva v Severnom Prichernomor'e i nekotorye problemy rannej istorii Pantikapeya", *Kratkie soobshcheniya Instituta Arkheologii AN SSSR* 197: 37–43.

——1992. "Bronzolitejnoe masterstvo Bospora", *Soobshcheniya gosudarstvennogo muzeya izobrazitel'nykh iskusstv im. A. S. Pushkina* 10: 66–110.

——1998. "Ionia and the North Pontic Area: Archaic Metalworking: Tradition and Innovation", in Tsetskhladze (1998*c*) 179–200.

Treister, M. J., and Shelov-Kovedyaev, F. 1989. "An Inscribed Conical Clay Object from Hermonassa", *Hesperia* 58: 289–96.

—— and Vinogradov, Y. G. 1993. "Archaeology on the Northern Coast of the Black Sea", *AJA* 97: 521–63.

Tsekhmistrenko, V. I. 1958. "On the Question of the Chronology of Sinopian Amphora Stamps", *SovArch* 1: 56–70 (in Russian).

Tsetskhladze, G. R. 1991. "Die kolchischen Stempel", *Klio* 73.2: 361–81.

—— 1993. "On the Numismatics of Colchis: The Classical Archaeologist's Perspective", *Dialogues d'histoire ancienne* 19.1: 233–56.

—— 1994*a*. "Greek Penetration of the Black Sea", in G. R. Tsetskhladze and F. De Angelis (eds.), *The Archaeology of Greek Colonisation: Essays Dedicated to Sir John Boardman*, Oxford Committee for Archaeology Monograph 40 (Oxford) 111–35.

—— 1994*b*. "The Silver Phiale Mesomphalos from the Kuban (Northern Caucasus)", *OJA* 13: 199–216.

—— 1995. "Did the Greeks Go to Colchis for Metals?", *OJA* 14.2: 307–31.

—— 1997*a*. "Plutarch, Pericles and Pontus: Some Thoughts", in K. Schrader, V. Ramon and J. Vela (eds.), *Plutarco y la Historia, Monografia de Filologia Griega* 8 (Zaragoza) 461–67.

—— 1997*b*. "A Survey of the Major Urban Settlements in the Kimmerian Bosporos (with a Discussion of their Status as *Poleis*)", *CPCPapers* 4: 39–81.

—— 1998*a*. *Die Griechen in der Kolchis: historisch-archäologischer Abriß* (Amsterdam).

—— 1998*b*. "Greek Colonisation of the Black Sea Area: Stages, Models, and Native Population", in Tsetskhladze (1998*c*) 9–68.

—— (ed.) 1998*c*. *The Greek Colonisation of the Black Sea Area: Historical Interpretation of Archaeology, Historia* Einzelschriften 121 (Stuttgart).

—— 1999. *Pichvnari and its Environs 6th Century B.C.–4th Century AD* (Paris).

—— and Kuznetsov, V. D. 2000. "On the Cult of Aphrodite in Kepoi", in G. R. Tsetskhladze, A. J. N. Prag and A. M. Snodgrass (eds.), *Periplous: Papers on Classical Art and Archaeology Presented to Sir John Boardman* (London and New York) 353–60.

Tyumenev, A. P. 1938. "Chersonesean Studies", *VDI* 2: 245–52 (in Russian).

Usacheva, O. N., and Koshelenko, G. A. 1994. "Ob odnoj zagadke bosporskoj istoriografii", *Rossijskaya Arkheologiya* 3: 65–70.

Uygur, M. N. 1989. "Sinop hydria Sinin Konservasyonu", *Anadolu Mediniyetleri Müzesi* 209–15.

Vakhtina, M. Y. 1995. "O drevnejshikh oboronitel'nykh sooruzheniyakh antichnogo Porfmiya", in V. M. Masson (ed.), *Fortifikatsiya v drevnosti i srednevekov'e* (St Petersburg) 31–33.

Vasilyev, A. N. 1992. "K voprosu o vremeni obrazovaniya Bosporskogo gosudarstva", in A. K. Gavrilov (ed.), *Etyudy po antichnoj istorii i kul'ture Severnogo Prichernomor'ya* (St Petersburg) 111–28.

Vasmer, M. 1923. *Die Iranier in Südrußland* (Leipzig).

Velkov, V. (ed.) 1969. *Nessèbre* I (Sofia).

—— 1994. "Le port de la colonie grecque Agathopolis", *Thracia Pontica* 5: 105–12.

Venedikov, I., *et al.* 1963. *Apolonia: Razkopkite v nekropola na Apolonya prez 1947–1949 g.* (Sofia).

Vickers, M. 1979. *Scythian Treasures in Oxford* (Oxford).

Vinogradov, Y. A. 1991. "Rannie kompleksy Mirmekiya", in E. A. Molev (ed.), *Voprosy istorii i arkheologii Bospora* (Voronezh and Belgorod) 12–19.

—— 1993. "K probleme polisov v rajone Bospora Kimmerijskogo", *Antichnyj mir i arkheologiya* 9: 79–95.

—— 1995*a*. "Nekotorye diskussionnye problemy grecheskoj kolonizatsii Bospora Kimmerijskogo", *VDI* 3: 152–60.

—— 1995*b*. "Ukrepleniya akropol'ya Mirmekiya (predvaritel'nye itogi izucheniya)", in V. M. Masson (ed.), *Fortifikatsiya v drevnosti i srednevekov'e* (St Petersburg) 33–36.

—— 2000. "On the Formation of Ancient Greek Cities in the Area of Cimmerian Bosporos", in V. Ziev (ed.), *A Collection of Articles Dedicated to Y. V. Andreev* (St Petersburg) 227–32.

—— and Tokhtasyev, S. R. 1994. "Rannaya oboronitel'naya stena Mirmekiya", *VDI* 1: 54–63.

—— —— 1998. "Novye posvyatitel'nye graffiti iz Mirmekiya", *Hyperboreus* 4.1: 22–47.

Vinogradov, Y. G. 1983. "Polis v Severnom Prichernomor'e", in E. S. Golubtsova (ed.), *Antichnaya Gretsiya*, i (Moscow) 366–420.

—— 1989. *Politicheskaya istoriya ol'vijskogo polisa VII–I vv. do n.e.* (Moscow).

—— 1997. *Pontische Studien: Kleine Schriften zur Geschichte und Epigraphik des Schwarzmeerraumes* (Mainz).

—— 1999. "Istriya, Tira i Nikonij, pokinutyj i vozrozhdennyj", *Numizmatika i epigrafika* 16: 50–71.

—— and Karyshkovskij, P. O. 1976. "Ol'vijskij dekret Kanoba o den'gakh i stojmost' dragotsennykh metallov na Ponte v IV v. do n.e.", *VDI* 4: 20–42.

—— and Kryzhitskij, S. D. 1995. *Olbia: Eine altgriechische Stadt im nordwestlichen Schwarzmeerraum* (Leiden, New York and Cologne).

—— and Rusyaeva, A. S. 1980. "Kul't Apollona i kalendar' v Ol'vii", in *Issledovaniya po antichnoj arkheologii Severnogo Prichernomor'ya* (Kiev) 19–64.

—— and Shcheglov, A. N. 1990. "Obrazovanie territorial'nogo Khersonesskogo gosudarstva", in E.S. Golubtsova (ed.), *Ellenizm: Ekonomika, politika, kul'tura* (Moscow) 310–71.

—— and Zolotaryov, M. I. 1990. "La Chersonèse de la fin de l'archaïsme", in Lordkipanidze and Lévêque (1990) 85–118.

——— 1999. "The Earliest Chersonesos", in A. V. Podossinov (ed.), *Severnoe Prichernomor'e v antichnosti* (Moscow) 91–129.

——— Domanskij, Y., and Marchenko, K. 1990. "Sources écrites et archéologiques du Pont Nord–Ouest: analyse comparative", in Lordkipanidze and Lévêque (1990) 121–39.

Vinokurov, N. I. 1998. *Arkheologicheskie pamyatniki urochishcha Artezyan v Krymskom Priazov'e* (Moscow).

Vlasova, E. V., and Solovyov, S. L. 1998. "Novye issledovaniya khory i nekropol'ya Nimfeya: 1992–1995", *Arkheologicheskie Vesti* 5: 187–204.

Voronov, Y. N. 1980. *Dioskuriada–Sebastopolis–Tskhum* (Moscow).

——— 1991. "Novye materialy antichnoj epokhi iz okrestnostej Dioskuriady", *SovArch* 1: 223–31.

Wasowicz, A. 1994, "Nymphaion Project", *Archeologia* 45: 69–72.

West, A. B. 1935. "Prosopographical Notes on the Treaty between Athens and Haliai", *AJP* 56: 74–75.

West, M. L. 1982. "The Orphics of Olbia", *ZPE* 45: 17–29.

Whitehead, D. 1990. *Aineias the Tactician: How to Survive under Siege* (Oxford).

Wiegand, Th. 1923. "Eros and Psyche auf einem Bronzerelief aus Amisos", in *Anatolian Studies Presented to Sir William M. Ramsay* (Manchester) 405–13.

Wilson, D.R. 1976*a*. "Amisos", *PECS* 49.

——— 1976*b*. "Heraclea", *PECS* 383.

Yajlenko, V. P. 1982. *Grecheskaya kolonizatsiya VII–III vv. do n.e.* (Moscow).

——— 1996. "Pseudepigrafika antichnogo Severnogo Prichernomor'ya", in *Istoriya i kul'tura drevnego mira: Rossijsko-bolgarskij sbornik statej i uchebnykh materialov v chest T. V. Blavatskoj* (Moscow) 206–22.

Zaginajlo, A. G. 1974. "K voprosu o monetno-vesovykh sistemakh antichnykh gorodov Zapadnogo i Severo-Zapadnogo Prichernomor'ya v V–IV vv. do n.e.", *Numizmatika i epigrafika* 11: 48–60.

——— and Karyshkovskij, P. O. 1990. "Monety skifskogo tsar'ya Skila", *Numizmaticheskie issledovaniya po istorii Yugo-Vostochnoj Evropy* (Kishinev) 3–15.

——— and Sekerskaya, N. M. 1997. "Ancient Nikonion in the Light of 40 Years of Archaeological Excavations (1957–1997)", in *Nikonion. An Ancient City on the Lower Dniester: Commemorative Papers for the 40th Anniversary of the Archaeological Excavations at Nikonion* (Torun) 18–26.

Zavojkin, A. A. 1994. "'*Βόσπορος Κιμμέριος*'—'*Βόσπορος*'—Diod., XII. 31. I. (opyt istochnikovedcheskogo analiza)", *Problemy istorii, filologii, kul'tury* 1: 64–76.

——— 1995. "O vremeni avtonomoj chekanki Fanagorii", *Bosporskij Sbornik* 6: 89–94.

——— 1997. "Kimmerida—polis na Kimmerijskom Bospore", *Problemy istorii, filologii, kul'tury, Chast' 1. Istoriya* 4: 130–36.

——— 1999*a*. "Periodizatsiya istorii Kimmeridy", *Drevnosti Bospora* 2: 114–22.

——— 1999*b*. "Problema lokalizatsii Kimmeridy", in A. V. Podossinov (ed.), *Severnoe Prichernomor'e v antichnosti: voprosy istochnikovedeniya* (Moscow) 220–36.

——— and Boldyrev, S. I. 1994. "Tret'ya tochka zreniya na monety s legendoj '*ΣΙΝΔΩΝ*' ", *Bosporskij Sbornik* 4: 43–47.

Zedgenidze, A. A. 1978. "Attic Red-Figured Pottery from Chersonesos", *Kratkie soobshcheniya Instituta Arkheologii AN SSSR* 156: 69–78 (in Russian).

——— 1979. "On the Foundation-Date of Chersonesos Taurica", *Kratkie soobshcheniya Instituta Arkheologii AN SSSR* 159: 26–34 (in Russian).

——— 1993. "On the Question of the Earlier Dating of the Foundation of Chersonesos Taurica", *Rossijskaya Arkheologiya* 3: 50–56 (in Russian).

——— 1996. "Les derniers résultats des études sur Chersonesos de Strabon", in Lordkipanidze and Lévêque (1996) 303–9.

——— and Savelya, O. Y. 1980. "The Necropolis of Chersonesos in the 5th–4th centuries B.C.", *Kratkie soobshcheniya Instituta Arkheologii AN SSSR* 168: 3–8 (in Russian).

Zeest, I. B. 1961. "Arkhaicheskie sloi Germonassy", *Kratkie soobshcheniya Instituta Arkheologii AN SSSR* 83: 52–55.

——— 1968. "Ob odnoj osobennosti ekonomicheskogo razvitiya Germonassy", in V. F. Gajdukevich (ed.), *Antichnaya istoriya i kul'tura Sredizemnomor'ya i Prichernomor'ya* (Leningrad) 144–48.

——— 1974. "Vozniknovenie i pervyj rastsvet Germonassy", *SovArch* 4: 82–90.

Zherebtsov, E. N. 1994. "Rural Allotments of Khersonesos in the 4th–3rd Centuries B.C. on the Herakleian Peninsula", in S. J. Saprykin (ed.), *Ancient Farms and Land-Plots on the Khora of Khersonesos Taurike—Research in the Herakleian Peninsula 1974–1990* (Amsterdam) 121–47.

Zhmud, L. 1992. "Orphism and Graffiti from Olbia", *Hermes* 120: 159–68.

Zimmermann, K. 1981. "Ausgrabungen in der Tempelzone von Histria", *Ethnographisch-archäologische Zeitschrift* 22: 453–67.

Zinko, V. N. 1996. "Geroevka-2. A Rural Settlement in the Chora of Nymphaion", *Archeologia* 47: 85–94.

——— 1998. "Khora Nimfeya v VI–IV vv. do n.e.", *Drevnosti Bospora* 1: 86–104.

Zograph, A. N. 1977. *Ancient Coinage*, ii: *The Ancient Coins of the Northern Black Sea Littoral* (Oxford).

Zolotaryov, M. I. 1986. "New Material on the Relations between Olbia and the W. Crimea in the 6th–5th Centuries B.C.", *VDI* 2: 88–93 (in Russian).

——— and Bujskikh, A. V. 1994. "The Temenos of Ancient Chersonesos: An Attempt at an Architectural Reconstruction", *Ancient Civilizations from Scythia to Siberia* 1.2: 78–101.

Züchner, W. 1942. *Griechische Klappspiegel* (Berlin).

THE PROPONTIC COAST OF ASIA MINOR

ALEXANDRU AVRAM

I. The Region

It is difficult to define the frontiers of the regions of north-western Asia Minor between the entrance to the Black Sea (the *hieron* of Zeus Ourios) and the Hellespont. Different toponyms are used by different ancient writers: Bithynia, Mysia, Phrygia, Troas, Propontis, Hellespontos, and they denote different regions in different contexts. Modern scholars allow for a certain "mobility" of the frontiers; cf., e.g., the *Archaeological Reports*, where the evidence concerning the Asian coast of the Sea of Marmara is grouped under the headings "Mysia and the Propontis" (Mitchell (1985) 74), "Bithynia, Mysia and the Propontis" (Mitchell (1990) 89) and "Bithynia and the Propontis" (Mitchell (1999) 129).

It is generally assumed that the Propontis includes both the European and the Asian shores of the Sea of Marmara, whereas the geographical term *Hellespontos* (discussed by Leaf (1923) 50–52) is used for the region of the Dardanelles. However, there has never been agreement about where to draw the line between the Propontis and the Hellespont. This problem is explicitly summarised by Strabo 7 fr. 58: *καλοῦσιν Ἑλλήσποντον . . . οἱ μὲν τὸ ἀπὸ Σιγείου ἐπὶ Λάμψακον καὶ Κύζικον ἢ Πάριον ἢ Πρίαπον*. For Strabo himself, Parion (no. 756) is a city in the Propontis (10.5.7); for Herodotos (4.138.1) and Steph. Byz. 505.13 it is in the Hellespont, while Eustathios wavers between the Propontis (*Comm. Dionys. Per.* 517) and the Hellespont (*Od.* 5.125).

Again, confusion reigns about how to subdivide north-western Asia Minor. There are four main sources: (1) Herodotos describes the administrative organisation of the Persian Empire under Dareios I (3.90–97; cf. Debord (1999) 72–82); (2) from 443/2 the members of the Delian League were grouped into districts, one of which was called the Hellespontine; (3) Ps.-Skylax 92–94 describes the coastline of north-western Asia Minor; (4) Strabo repeatedly discusses conflicting opinions found in the sources he used.

In the view of Ps.-Skylax, Bithynia (92) begins with the *ἱερὸν ἐν τῷ στόματι τοῦ Πόντου* (the *hieron* of Zeus Ourios; see Kalchedon (no. 743)) and continues to the Gulf of İzmit, called *ὁ κόλπος ὁ Ὀλβιανός* (see Astakos (no. 737) and Olbia (no. 753)); Mysia (93), described as a peninsula (*ἀκτή*), continues from the left side of the same gulf as far as the Kian Gulf and includes Kios (no. 745), while Phrygia (94) includes the coastal cities of Priapos (no. 758), Parion (no. 756), Lampsakos (no. 748), Perkote (no. 788), Abydos (no. 765) and *τὸ στόμα κατὰ Σηστὸν τῆς Προποντίδος* as well as the islands of Bysbikos (Besbikos), Prokonnesos and Elaphonnesos. Now it is generally assumed that Mysia was bordered by Mt. Ida (north-west) and Mt. Olympos (north-east), and that the territory of Kios belonged to Mysia (Hdt. 5.122; Xen. *Hell.* 1.4.7; *Hell. Oxy.* 17.37), which invites us to follow Ps.-Skylax and allow Mysia to have a coastline (Debord (1999) 75, 92, 150).

No less fluctuating are the frontiers between Phrygia/Mysia and the Troad. The different views are summarised by Strabo 13.1.4: for Eudoxos of Kyzikos the Troad begins at Priapos (no. 758), for Damastes of Sigeion at Parion (no. 756), and for Charon of Lampsakos (*FGrHist* 262 fr. 13) at the river Praktios. Given the authority of Charon, who excludes his own polity from the Troad, we have preferred to extend Phrygia, if not as far as Abydos as recorded in Ps.-Skylax, then at least to include Lampsakos (no. 748). One has to impose conventional subdivisions, since it seems impossible to harmonise the contradictory pieces of information found in the sources. Ancient geographers seem sometimes to have combined different traditions, like Ptol. *Geog.* 5.2.2, for whom e.g. Parion and Lampsakos are *ἐν Προποντίδι Μυσίας Μικρᾶς τῆς ἐφ' Ἑλλησπόντῳ*.

By and large, this chapter follows Ps.-Skylax and assigns to Bithynia the *poleis* of Kalchedon (Kadıköy), Astakos and Olbia (in the area of the Gulf of İzmit), all situated on the coast. To Mysia belong, on the coast, Kios (Gemlik) and the unlocated city Kallipolis (no. 744) (between Astakos and

Kios) and, inland, Pythopolis (no. 760) (= Sölöz?, near Kios) and Zeleia (no. 764) (= Sari Köy). The enigmatic Mysia (not considered to be a *polis* here, cf. *infra*) remains unlocated, and *Helikore* too is excluded; cf. the list of non-*polis* settlements *infra*.

All the other *poleis* of the Inventory are to be assigned to Phrygia. Myrleia (no. 752) (= Mudanya), Tereia (no. 763) (παρὰ [Βρ]ύλλιον: *IG* I³ 71.III.111–12), Daskyleion (no. 740) (= Eskel Limanı), the unlocated Plakia (no. 757) (= Kurşunlu?) and Skylake (no. 761), then Artake (no. 736) (Erdek, near Kyzikos), Kyzikos (no. 747) (Balkız), Harpagion (no. 742) (near the mouth of the river Granikos), Priapos (Karabiga), Parion (Kemer), Paisos (no. 755) (= Fanous?), Lampsakos (no. 748) (= Lapseki) were (or must be looked for) on the coast. Further inland were situated, on the river Rhyndakos, Miletoupolis (no. 750) (Melde), Miletouteichos (no. 751), perhaps Artaiou Teichos (no. 735) and Didymon Teichos (no. 741), probably situated on the river Granikos. Finally, there are the *poleis* on the islands of Bysbikos (no. 738) (= İmralı Adası) and Prokonnesos (no. 759) (= Mermaradası) and there are the unlocated *poleis* of Kolonai (no. 746) (in the area of Lampsakos) and Metropolis (no. 749) (near Priapos).

Three *poleis* remain without any location: (1) Dar(i)eion (no. 739) described at *IG* I³ 71.III.109–10 as a community παρὰ τὲμ Μυσίαν and at Steph. Byz. 291.11 as a πόλις τῆς Φρυγίας; (2) the community called *Otlenoi* (no. 754) which is recorded among the Hellespontine *poleis* in the Athenian assessment decree of 422/1 (*IG* I³ 77.IV.6); and (3) Sombia (no. 762), whose location on the south coast of the Propontis, though very likely, is not certain.

Other settlements recorded by *Barr.* are excluded from this Inventory. For Hellenistic Prusa (Bursa), Koerte (1899) 412 n. 1 and, more recently, Corsten (1993) 22–25 suggested a foundation in C6, citing Strabo 12.4.3 followed by Steph. Byz. 537.5–10, who name as founder a certain Prusias who fought a war against Kroisos. However, taking into account that there is no evidence antedating Strabo and that the first local coinage is dated to C1, it is hard to believe in the historicity of this rather contaminated version of a foundation myth.

Apollonia on the Rhyndakos (Gölyazı) is also attested in Hellenistic sources only. The first testimony is an inscription found in the Delphinion at Miletos (*Milet.* I.3 155 (C2m)) concerning an embassy claiming a Milesian origin for Apollonia. This tradition was accepted by Bilabel (1920) 45–46, 143–44 and especially by L. Robert (1979) 292–93 (cf. L. Robert (1980) 89–98, (1983) 501 n. 18), while Seibert (1963) 197–200, Moretti (1979) and Ehrhardt (1988) 47 contested its historicity with various arguments. An attractive solution is the one suggested by Schwertheim (1983) 88–89 and Abmeier (1990) 9–11, who prudently take into account the possible identity between the later Apollonia and Miletouteichos (no. 751).

In the Athenian tribute list of 454/3 are recorded some Μυσοί paying a tribute of 2,000 dr. (*IG* I³ 259.V.15), and in the assessment decree of 425/4, among the Hellespontine members, we find a community called Μυσ[οὶ hοι] ἐ[ν τ]ῆι Χ[ερρονέσσοι] (*IG* I³ 71.III.69–70). Now, Μυσός is usually a regional ethnic denoting all inhabitants of the region of Mysia (Hdt. 1.171.6; Xen. *An.* 1.9.14). Thus, the Kians were Mysians (Ps.-Skylax 93), but in the tribute lists they are called by their city-ethnic. Also, the small amount paid shows that the Mysoi in question must have been the inhabitants of a fairly small community, probably situated somewhere in Mysia. Now, the peninsula north of Kios, the central part of Mysia, is called ἀκτή at Ps.-Skylax 93 and could be described as a Χερσόνησος as well (*ATL* I. 523–24). At the eastern end of the peninsula flows the river Kios and, according to schol. Ap. Rhod. 1.1177, it "encircles Mysia", τὴν Μυσίαν περιρρέων. Here Mysia possibly denotes a settlement rather than a region. Wendel suggested inserting πόλιν after Μυσίαν. His conjecture makes perfect sense, but is probably superfluous. If this interpretation is on the right lines, Mysia was a nucleated settlement inhabited by the Mysoi, i.e. Μυσός is in this context a city-ethnic and not a regional ethnic. It was situated in the Mysian peninsula and near the river Kios. As a parallel one can adduce Ἥλις, both a city and a region, and Ἠλεῖος, both a city-ethnic and a regional ethnic (see *supra* 495). Alternatively, Mysia may have been situated north of Mt. Olympos; cf. Strabo 12.4.10: οἱ περὶ τὸν Ὄλυμπον Μυσοί, οὓς Ὀλυμπηνοὺς καλοῦσί τινες, οἱ δ' Ἑλλησποντίους compared with Μυσὸς Ἑλλησπόντιος in some ephebic lists from Pergamon (L. Robert (1962) 81). Μυσῶν πόλις in Soph. fr. 377, Nauck, is probably a reference to the whole of Mysia, undoubtedly in a mythological context, rather than to a specific *polis* inhabited by Mysians (Hansen (1998) 129, 131). It cannot be excluded that the Mysoi of the tribute lists is a city-ethnic denoting a *polis*. However, as the evidence stands, it is preferable to mention the Mysoi in the introduction rather than include them in the Inventory.

"Northern Mysia is still a Cinderella area hardly touched by archaeologists" (Mitchell (1985) 74), and "there is still little archaeological activity in north-western Turkey outside the Troad" (Mitchell (1999) 129). This explains why more

settlements recorded by written sources remain unlocated and why it is so difficult to attain certainty about many of the cities discussed below. It also explains why so few non-*polis* settlements of the Archaic and Classical periods are known. Almost all attested second-order settlements are Hellenistic or Roman. In the eastern part of the region the only one that reaches back beyond the Hellenistic period is Helikore, a predecessor of Nikaia, the city founded by Lysimachos. A few more second-order settlements are found in the westernmost part of the region in the territories of Parion and Lampsakos. The evidence is as follows.

1. *Pre-Hellenistic Settlements not Attested as* Poleis

Abarnis (*Ἄβαρνίς* or *Ἄβαρνος*) Hecat. fr. 220 (*Λαμψάκου ἄκρη*); Xen. *Hell.* 2.1.29 (*Λαμψάκου ἄκρα*) Ephor. fr. 46 named after a *polis* in the territory of Phokaia (cf. Hsch. *A*80). Steph. Byz. 4.4 (*πόλις καὶ χώρα <καὶ> ἄκρα τῆς Παριανῆς*). Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 932 (*Ἄβαρνίδος ἠμαθόεσσαν ἠιόνα*). Tentatively located c.8 km. north of Lampsakos (no. 748), at Çardak Burnu (Leaf (1923) 93). *Barr.* C.

Adrasteia (*Ἀδράστεια*) The Homeric Adrasteia (*Il.* 2.828) is mentioned by Strabo 13.1.13 as a *polis* between Priapos and Parion (cf. Steph. Byz. 28.4; Eust. *Il.* 2 556.9ff, van der Valk). Plin. *HN* 5.141 notwithstanding, Adrasteia cannot be the former name of Parion (Olshausen (1970) 983). Leaf (1912) 184 suggested that Homer's Adrasteia was the plain on the lower Granikos and located the homonymous town at Örtülüçe, *c.*12 km south-east of Parion. *Barr.* C.

Helikore (*Ἑλικώρη* or *Ἀγκώρη*) Steph. Byz. 474.17–18 has *Νίκαια πόλις Βιθυνίας . . . ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ πρότερον Ἀγκώρη*. Probably following Arrian's *Bithyniaka*, the very late Byzantine *Notitia episcopatuum* has *Νίκαια . . . ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ πρότερον Ἑλικώρη*. Merkelbach (1985) suggested reading *Ἑλικώρη* for MSS *Ἀγκώρη* in Steph. Byz. However, even accepting this emendation, the evidence is insufficient to assume the early existence of a *polis* called Helikore prior to its (re)foundation as Nikaia under Lysimachos, but Helikore may have been a village transformed into the *polis* Nikaia. *Barr.* C.

Hermaion (*Ἑρμαῖον*) Mentioned as the frontier town between Parion and Lampsakos after the C5l–C4m integration of Paisos into Lampsakos (Polyaen. 6.24), it has been located at Otlukdere, *c.*10 km south of Parion, and identified with *Hermoton* (Arr. *Anab.* 1.12.6) by Leaf (1923) 100–1; *contra* Ruge (1942*b*) 2436; Frisch (1978) 105 n. 5, (1983) 49; Olshausen (1970) 983 rejects the historicity of this record. *Barr.* C.

Linon (*Λῖνον* or *-ος*) Strabo 13.1.15 records Linon (or Linos) as a *χωρίον ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ* between Parion and Priapos. *Barr.* H.

Pitya (*Πίτυα*) Strabo 13.1.15: *Πίτυα δ' ἐστὶν ἐν Πιτυοῦντι τῆς Παριανῆς*, i.e. lying between Parion and Priapos. Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 1.933. This Pitya may have been different from *Πιτύεια*, which, according to the Homeric tradition, would have been the earlier name of Lampsakos (Leaf (1912) 185–87, (1923) 87–88); R. Kiepert tentatively located it at Aksaz, in the middle of the gulf between Parion and Priapos (Philippson (1910) map 1; Frisch (1983) 51–52). Not in *Barr.*

II. The *Poleis*

735. Artaiou Teichos (Artaioteichites) Map 52. Lat. 40.20, long. 28.30. Size of territory: ? Type: C: *β*. The toponym is *Ἀρταίου τεῖχος, τό* (*IG* I³ 71.III.114, 77.IV.4–5). According to Steph. Byz. 127.12, quoting Krateros, the city-ethnic is *Ἀρταιοτειχίτης* (cf. *IG* I³ 100. fr. 7 = Krateros (*FGrHist* 342) fr. 6). In spite of the text printed in *IG* I³ we have no guarantee that the city-ethnic stems from Krateros, and thus from the tribute lists. [*Ἀρταιοτε*]*ιχῖ*(*ται*) at *IG* I³ 283 II.10 lends some support to the ethnic reported by Stephanos, but is heavily restored.

Stephanos' note at 127.10–12 suggests the ephemeral existence of a *polis* in the region of the river Rhyndakos: *ἐστι καὶ Ἀρταίου τεῖχος πολίχνιον ἐπὶ τῷ Ῥυνδάκῳ ποταμῷ, ὡς Κράτερος ἐνάτῳ περὶ ψηφισμάτων. τὸ ἐθνικὸν Ἀρταιοτειχίτης*. The name shows that Artaiou Teichos was a fortified settlement, and its attestation in an Athenian assessment decree and, possibly, tribute lists shows that it was a political community. Stephanos' classification of the community as a *polichnion* carries no weight; but Artaiou Teichos may have been a small *polis* as indicated by the assessment of 1,000 dr. in 422/1 (*IG* I³ 77.IV.4–5). The name is obviously of Persian origin, since the Persians called themselves *Ἀρταῖοι* (Hdt. 7.61.2; cf. 7.22.2 and 66.2). Hirschfeld (1895*a*) cautiously identified Artaiou Teichos with Ariace, inserted at Plin. *HN* 5.142 between Plakia (no. 757) and Skylake (no. 761), but Ariace is more likely to be identified with Artake (no. 736). A preferable location on the lower Rhyndakos is suggested by *ATL* i. 471.

736. Artake (Artakenos) Map 52. Lat. 40.25, long. 27.50. Size of territory: 1 or 2. Type: A. The toponym is *Ἀρτάκη, ἡ* (Hdt. 4.14.2, 6.33.2; Ps.-Skylax 94). The city-ethnic is *Ἀρτακηνός* (*IG* I³ 261.I.14) or *Ἀρτακεύς* (Soph. fr. 917, Radt; cf. Steph. Byz. 127.19). Artake is called a *polis* in the urban sense at Hdt. 4.14.2, and in Ps.-Skylax 94 Artake is one of the toponyms listed after the heading *πόλεις Ἑλληνίδες αἵδε*. For the collective and external use of the city-ethnic, see *IG* I³ 261.I.14.

Artake was located on the island of Kyzikos facing Priapos (no. 758) (Strabo 13.1.4), near Kyzikos (no. 747) (Hdt. 4.14.2) and the *isthmos* (Ps.-Skylax 94), and has been identified with modern (Turkish) Erdek *c.*7–8 km west of Kyzikos. The modern toponym derives from Greek *Artaki* (Hirschfeld (1895*b*) 1304). For descriptions of the site, see Texier (1862) 164–65; Philippson (1910) 52–53; and L. Robert (1955) 131–33, using Radet's survey from 1887. Of the few archaeological remains, the most important is an Archaic *kouros* (Laubscher (1963–64) 73ff).

Artake was colonised by Miletos (no. 854) (Anaximenes of Lampsakos (*FGrHist* 72) fr. 26; cf. Steph. Byz. 127.13; schol. Ap. Rhod. 1.955). Artake took part in the Ionian Revolt and was burnt by the Persians in 493 (Hdt. 6.33.2). Later it joined the Delian League. It belonged to the Hellespontine district and is recorded from 454/3 (*IG* I³ 259.VI.8) to 418/17 (*IG* I³ 287.II.11) a total of sixteen times, twice completely restored, paying a tribute of 2,000 dr. (*IG* I³ 261.I.14), raised to 4,000 dr. in 418/17 (*IG* I³ 287.II.11). It was assessed for tribute in 425/4 (*IG* I³ 71.III.82). Coinage is not attested, which may suggest a rather early incorporation of Artake into Kyzikos, perhaps simultaneously with Prokonnesos (no. 759), i.e. in C4 (Ehrhardt (1988) 38 with n. 244). Strabo 13.1.4 speaks only of a mountain, an island and, in another context, a *chorion*, while Plin. *HN* 5.141 mentions the harbour and writes that the city had disappeared: *Artace portus ubi oppidum fuit*; but cf. *HN* 5.151: *Artacaeon cum oppido*. The toponym does not occur in Pomponius Mela.

737. Astakos (Astakenos) Map 52. Lat. 40.45, long. 29.55. Size of territory: ? Type: B:*α*. The toponym is *Ἀστακός, ἡ* (Strabo 12.4.2) or, once, *Ὄστακος, ἡ* (Charon of Lampsakos (*FGrHist* 262) fr. 6). The city-ethnic is *Ἀστακηνός*, attested in the Athenian tribute lists in its collective and external use (*IG* I³ 259.III.27). Astakos is not attested as a *polis* in sources of the Archaic and Classical periods, but deserves inclusion as a *polis* type B since (1) it had a mint (*infra*); (2) it was a member of the Delian League (*infra*); and (3) it is retrospectively classified as a *polis* in later sources (Diod. 19.60.3 (r315); Polyaen. 2.30.3 (r363–352)).

The ancient site must have been somewhere on the south coast of the Gulf of İzmit called *κόλπος Ἀστακηνός* (Strabo 10.2.21, 12.4.2; Steph. Byz. 238.17) or *κόλπος Ὀλβιανός* (Ps.-Skylax 92; Pompon. 1.100). Astakos may have been situated near modern Yuvacık (Ruge (1896) 1774), but a location closer to the sea, at "Baş Iskele, dans la zone du port militaire de Gölcük", seems more likely, since this site produced some Archaic (?) and Classical pottery (*BE* (1974) 574 summarising Şahin (1974) 66–83). The territory of Astakos is described by Polyaen. 2.30.3 as a marshy *χώρα* inhabited by *Θρᾷκες* (perhaps Bithynian "helots": Burstein (1976) 130 n. 64). A *πολίχνιον Μεγαρικόν* (Arr. (*FGrHist* 156) fr. 18 = Plin. *HN* 5.148: *Megarice oppidum*) tentatively located by R. Kiepert at Cape Çatal Burun (Ruge (1931)) clearly indicates colonisation by Megara (no. 225).

According to Charon of Lampsakos (*FGrHist* 262 fr. 6), Astakos was founded by the Kalchedonians (no. 743). But other sources mention Megara (no. 225) as the *metropolis* (Strabo 12.4.2; Pompon. 1.100; Memnon (*FGrHist* 434) fr. 12 (20), whose source was Nymphis of Herakleia (C4–C3); cf. Toepffer (1896) 126). Both Memnon and Strabo mention the later Athenian colony (*infra*) and local Bithynian settlers as well. Combining the sources, we may infer that Astakos was founded by Kalchedonians (Merkelbach (1980) 91) but possibly reinforced by Megarians, since a *πολίχνιον Μεγαρικόν* is attested in the territory of Astakos (Hanell (1934) 120; Loukopoulou (1989) 51, 53). The foundation year of 712/11, given by Memnon ((*FGrHist* 434) fr. 12 (20)) and by Euseb. *Chron.* 91, Helm, is too early, since Kalchedon itself was founded about 685. Scholars generally assume a date in C7 (Hanell (1934) 120; Merkelbach (1980) 91). According to Memnon, the oecist was Astakos, a descendant of the Spartans from Thebes, while for Arrian (*FGrHist* 156 fr. 26) Astakos was son of Poseidon and the nymph Olbia (cf. Asheri (1978)).

Astakos was a member of the Delian League. It is recorded from 454/3 (*IG* I³ 259.III.27) to 444/3 (*IG* I³ 268.I.33, almost completely restored) a total of five times, paying a tribute of 3,000 dr. in 454/3–453/2 (*IG* I³ 259.III.27, 260.VIII.18), reduced to 1,000 dr. in 450/49 (*IG* I³ 263.IV.16). It is absent from the full panel of 442/1 (*IG* I³ 270.I.35–II.30). Accepting Niese's attractive emendation of Diod. 12.3.5 (*Ἀστακόν* for MSS *Λέτανον*), we can infer that the Athenians in 435/4 placed a colony at Astakos (Meiggs (1972) 198; Schuller (1974) 30–31, 155; cf. Strabo 12.4.2 and Memnon (*FGrHist* 434) fr. 12 (20)). Astakos was unsuccessfully besieged *c.*363–352 by Klearchos, the tyrant of Herakleia Pontike (no. 715) (Polyaen. 2.30.3; cf. Burstein (1976) 55–56), and in 315 by

Zipoites (Diod. 19.60.3). Both references to sieges show that the city was fortified. In 281, however, Astakos was destroyed and replaced by Nikomedia, settled *inter alios* with the inhabitants of Astakos (Strabo 12.4.2; Paus. 5.12.7).

Astakos struck silver coins in C5 on the Persian standard. Denominations: drachms and smaller fractions. Types: *obv.* lobster or crayfish, i.e. an ἀστακός, a pun on the toponym; *rev.* female head, first of Archaic style (*c.*500–435), later of Classical style (*c.*435–400), incuse square, swastika; legend: ΑΣ (Head, *HN*² 510).

Brylleion (Brylleanos) See no. **752**: **Myrleia** (Myrleanos).

738. Bysbikos (Bysbikenos) Map 52. Lat. 40.35, long. 28.30. Size of territory: 1 (10 km²). Type: [A]:? The toponym is Βύσβικος (*IG* I³ 278.VI.34) or Βέσβικος (Ps.-Skylax 94; Agathokles (*FGrHist* 472) fr. 2 (in both cases explicitly denoting the island)). The city-ethnic is Βυσβικενός (*IG* I³ 287.II.13: [Βυσβ]ικενοί).

Bysbikos was a member of the Delian League. It belonged to the Hellespontine district and is recorded from 434/3 (*IG* I³ 278.VI.34) to 418/17 (*IG* I³ 287.II.13) a total of four times, once completely restored. The tribute list for the year 434/3 records Bysbikos under the heading πόλες hὰς hοι ἰδιῶται ἐνέγραφσαν φόρον φέρειν (where *polis* is used in the political sense) with a tribute of 3,000 dr. (*IG* I³ 278.VI.34); thereafter the city is listed as having been assessed by the *boule* and a *dikasterion* in 430/29 (restored in *IG* I³ 281.III.65) and in 429/8 (*IG* I³ 282.II.48). It was assessed for tribute in 425/4 (*IG* I³ 71.III.80).

The Bysbikenians inhabited the island of Βέσβικος situated in the Sea of Marmara outside the mouth of the river Rhyndakos (Ps.-Skylax 94; Plin. *HN* 5.151: circumference 18 Roman miles) and probably to be identified with modern İmralı Adası (Hasluck (1910) 53–55), which, however, has a circumference of no more than 13 Roman miles. For a different identification, see the garbled passage at Strabo 12.8.11 and Amm. Marc. 22.8.6. If we can trust some of Strabo's garbled account, Besbikos was a dependency of Kyzikos (no. 747), a piece of information which may be linked to the tradition that Kore (whose worship is attested in Kyzikos by coins from C4 onwards) played an important role in the battle of the Giants (cf. L. Robert (1987) 166).

Quoting Agathokles of Kyzikos ((*FGrHist* 472) fr. 2 (C3)), Steph. Byz. 165.10–166.5 says that the island originally was a stone thrown by the Giant Besbikos and transformed into an island by his opponent, the goddess Kore. Agathokles also reports what must be a rival foundation myth according to which Besbikos was a Pelasgian (Tümpel (1897)).

So far no remains of an ancient town have been found on the island, but its classification by Agathokles as a κτίσμα indicates some kind of nucleated settlement.

739. Dar(i)eion Map 52. Unlocated, not in *Barr.* Type: B:? The toponym is Δαρεῖον (*IG* I³ 71.III.109) or Δαρίειον (Steph. Byz. 291.11). In the assessment decree of 425/4, among the Hellespontine members is recorded a Δαρεῖον παρὰ τὲμ Μυσίαν. The tribute is assessed at 400 dr. minimum. The only other source is Steph. Byz., who describes Darieion as a πόλις τῆς Φρυγίας without quoting any source (Bürchner (1901); *ATL* i. 479).

740. Daskyleion (Daskyleianos) Map 52. Lat. 40.25, long. 28.40. Size of territory: ? Type: B:α. The toponym is Δασκύλειον (*IG* I³ 278.IV.7–8). The city-ethnic is Δασκυλειανός (*IG* I³ 278.IV.9). The only author to call Daskyleion a *polis* is Strabo at 12.8.10, but the reference is to his own time.

Among the five homonymous sites recorded by Steph. Byz. s.v. Daskyleion (220.9–17), two have sometimes been confused by ancient sources (e.g. Strabo 12.8.10) and modern authors (e.g. Ruge (1901)): . . . τετάρτη [*sc.* πόλει] περὶ Βιθυνίαν [i.e. the *polis* Daskyleion]. πέμπτη τῆς Αἰολίδος καὶ Φρυγίας [i.e. the seat of the Persian satrapy]. Recent excavations (reported in Mitchell (1990) 89 and (1999) 130) have finally confirmed the identification of the satrap's residence with the mound called Hısartepe near Ergili, on the south-western shore of the Manyas Gölü, consequently to be identified with the Δασκυλῖτις λίμνη recorded by Strabo 12.8.10, 11 (Akurgal (1976*a*) 259 and map 5). Preserving its ancient name in Byzantine sources, ancient Greek Daskyleion was easily identified with modern (Turkish) Eskel Limanı, on a peninsula jutting into the Sea of Marmara. This was presumably the harbour, while the main site has been found in the area of the village Esence (former Eskel or Eskel köy) lying *c.*2 km inland (Corsten (1988) 54–57 with figs. 1–3). The site was not excavated, but the field surveys yielded ceramics of C4 as the earliest material (Bittel (1953) 6), and some late inscriptions have been found by chance (Corsten (1988) 72–77 nos. 1–6, (1990) 43–46 nos. 7–10).

In spite of the lack of positive evidence, one may suppose that Daskyleion was colonised by Miletos (no. 854). According to Nikolaos of Damaskos (*FGrHist* 90) fr. 63, a certain Miletos, probably a Milesian, was married into the Lydian royal family but went into exile and came first to Daskyleion, later to Prokonnesos. If we can trust these late sources, Daskyleion was a Milesian foundation (Ehrhardt (1988) 47; Corsten (1988) 63–64).

Daskyleion was a member of the Delian League. It belonged to the Hellespontine district and is recorded in the tribute lists from 454/3 (*IG* I³ 259.VI.16–17) to, possibly, 429/8 (*IG* I³ 282.III.37) a total of seven times, twice completely restored, paying in all years a *phoros* of 500 dr. (*IG* I³ 281.III.23). It is absent from the full panel of 442/1 (*IG* I³ 270.I.35–II.30) but was assessed for tribute in 425/4 (*IG* I³ 71.III.75).

741. *Didymon Teichos (Didymoteichites) Map 52. Lat. 40.15, long. 27.15. Size of territory: ? Type: B:? The toponym *Δίδυμον τεῖχος* is reconstructed from the ethnic *Διδυμοτειχῖται*, recorded in the Athenian tribute lists next to the *Δαυνοτειχῖται* in the years from 443/2 (*IG* I³ 269.II.3–4) to 418/17 (*IG* I³ 287.II.19–20). Taking the juxtaposition of the two *teiche* to indicate geographical proximity, *ATL* i. 481–82 located Didymon Teichos next to Daunoteichos on the northern coast of the Propontis. But following L. Robert (1937) 195, *Barr.* identifies *Δίδυμον τεῖχος* with the *Δίδυμα τείχη* mentioned at Polyb. 5.77.8 and located at Dimetoka on the river Granikos; see also Isaac (1986) 204 and Sayar (1998).

Didymon Teichos was a member of the Delian League. It belonged to the Hellespontine district and is recorded from 454/3 (*IG* I³ 259.IV.17–18) to 418/17 (*IG* I³ 287.II.19) a total of sixteen times; down to 430/29 it paid a *phoros* of 1,000 dr. (*IG* I³ 278.III.22), but in 420/19 a higher sum, probably 2 tal. (*IG* I³ 287.II.19). It was assessed for tribute in 425/4 (*IG* I³ 71.III.95).

742. Harpagion (Harpagianos) Map 52. Lat. 40.20, long. 27.25. Size of territory: ? Type: B:*α*? The toponym is *Ἁρπάγιον* (Thuc. 8.107.1). The city-ethnic is *Ἁρπάγιος* (*IG* I³ 267.I.23) or *Ἁρπαγιανός* (*IG* I³ 270.II.4).

According to Strabo 13.1.11, Harpagion (*τὰ Ἁρπάγια*) was situated between Kyzikos (no. 747) and Priapos (no. 758). It has not been convincingly located (Olshausen (1974) 483), but a position near the mouth of the river Granikos was suggested in *ATL* i. 470.

Harpagion was a member of the Delian League. It belonged to the Hellespontine district and is recorded in the tribute lists from 448/7 (*IG* I³ 264.III.37) to 429/8 (*IG* I³ 282.III.36) a total of fourteen times, twice completely restored, paying in all years a *phoros* of 300 dr. (*IG* I³ 264.III.37). It was perhaps assessed for tribute in 425/4 (*IG* I³ 71.III.68, completely restored). Harpagion is not mentioned in later historical sources, and one may assume that it was incorporated, possibly in C4l, into either Priapos (no. 758) or Kyzikos (no. 747). In C4, before the incorporation, Harpagion struck bronze coins. Types: *obv.* nymph, head turreted; *rev.* fish, below corn-ear; legend: *ΑΡΠΑΓΙ* (Fritze (1913) 14 no. 597).

743. Kalchedon (Kalchedonios) Map 52. Lat. 41.00, long. 29.00. Size of territory: 5. Type: A:*α*. The toponym is *Καλχηδών, ἡ* (Thuc. 4.75.2; Xen. *Hell.* 1.3.4; *I.Histriae* I 5 (C3)) or in Doric *Καλχαδών, ἡ* (*SEG* 28 1661 (C3); *I.Kalchedon* 33.9 (undated)) or *Χαλκηδών, ἡ* (Ps.-Skylax 92; Dem. 15.26; Diod. 13.66.1; *I.Kalchedon* 22.8 (fifth century AD)). The city-ethnic is *Καλχηδόνιος* (*IG* I³ 285.II.83; Hdt. 4.144.1) or in Doric *Καλχαδόνιος* (coins, *infra*; *IG* II² 8949 (C4s); *SEG* 31 1062 (undated)) or *Χαλκηδόνιος* (Aen. Tact. 12.3; Arist. *Pol.* 1266ª39) or *Χαλχηδόνιος* (*IG* I³ 263.V.17; *I.Kalchedon* 101.1 (Imperial)). Kalchedon is attested as a *polis* both in the urban sense (Xen. *Hell.* 1.3.5–6; Ps.-Skylax 92; Arist. *Oec.* 1347ᵇ20) and in the political sense (Xen. *Hell.* 4.8.31; Aen. Tact. 12.2, 4; Arist. *Oec.* 1347ᵇ20, 23, 29; *Orat.* Adespota fr. 8, Sauppe). The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally in abbreviated form on C4 coins (*infra*) and externally in e.g. *IG* I³ 263.V.17 and 285.II.83. The individual and external use is attested by Plato's mention of *Θρασύμαχος ὁ Καλχηδόνιος* (*Resp.* 328B) and Aristotle's of *Φαλέας ὁ Χαλκηδόνιος* (*Pol.* 1266ª39). The territory of Kalchedon (*χώρα*: Hdt. 6.33.2) is called *Καλχηδονία* (Hdt. 4.85.1; Xen. *Hell.* 1.1.22, *An.* 6.6.38). *Patris* is found in Thrasymachos T8, DK.

According to Euseb. *Chron.* 93b, Helm, Kalchedon was founded in 685. Hdt. 4.144.1 reports that the city was founded seventeen years before Byzantion (no. 674) and that the colonisers were said to have been "blind" because they had not realised the advantages of the European shore of the Bosporos (the later Byzantion); cf. *Caecorum oppidum* (Plin. *HN* 5.149). All sources agree that Megara (no. 225) was the *metropolis* (Thuc. 4.75.2). Pompon. 1.101 calls the oecist (*auctor*) Archias *Megarensium princeps*. The city's history is blank down to C6l. In 514/13 Dareios crossed the Bosporos at Kalchedon (Hdt. 4.85.1, 87.2), but when the king returned to Asia after the failed Scythian expedition, he destroyed the city because the Kalchedonians allegedly had intended to demolish the bridge (Ktesias (*FGrHist* 688) fr. 13.21; Polyaen. 7.11.5, see Merle (1916) 11; Merkelbach (1980) 92, 120; Loukopoulou (1989) 88–89). The main source for these events (Hdt. 4.143.1) indicates the Hellespont for Dareios' retreat, but Loukopoulou argues that Dareios first punished Kalchedon and then for security reasons chose the Hellespontine route. Some years later Kalchedon was taken by the satrap Otanes (Hdt. 5.26). The regime established by

the Persians may have induced the Kalchedonians to join the Ionian Revolt. This is only suggested by Hdt. 5.103.2 (*Βυζάντιόν τε καὶ τὰς ἄλλας πόλις πάσας τὰς ταύτῃ*), but Kalchedonian participation in the Revolt is securely established by the fact that in 493 some of the Kalchedonians fled to Mesambria on the Pontos Euxeinos when the city was attacked by a Persian–Phoenician fleet (see Mesambria (no. 687) and *infra*). Pausanias' conquest of Byzantion in 478 (Thuc. 1.94.2) probably marks the end of Persian supremacy over Kalchedon (Merkelbach (1980) 92).

At an unknown date Kalchedon joined the Delian League. It belonged to the Hellespontine district and is recorded from 453/2 (*IG* I³ 260.VII.12) to 418/17 (*IG* I³ 287.II.16) a total of nineteen times, once completely restored, paying a *phoros* of 7½ tal. (452/1), 3 tal. (450/49), 9 tal. (448–438) and 6 tal. (434–429). It was perhaps assessed for tribute in 425/4 (*IG* I³ 71.III.61, completely restored). Kalchedon fought with Athens in 424 (Thuc. 4.75.2), but in 412 or 411 it was occupied by a Spartan garrison under a *harmostes* (Plut. *Alc.* 29.6; Diod. 13.66.2). Except for a short break in 409 (Xen. *Hell.* 1.3.1–12) Kalchedon remained under Spartan occupation (Xen. *Hell.* 2.2.1 (r405)) until 389, when Thrasyboulos restored Athenian control (Xen. *Hell.* 4.8.27–28). In 387 it was conquered once again by Sparta (no. 345) (Xen. *Hell.* 5.1.25; Polyaen. 2.24). By the King's Peace of 387/6 Kalchedon fell to Persia, and in 357 it was conquered by Byzantion (Dem. 15.26; Theopomp. fr. 62). In 362 Kalchedon, Byzantion and Kyzikos (no. 747) had been allied with Thebes (no. 221) and captured Athenian merchantmen (Dem. 50.6, 17; cf. Arist. *Oec.* 1347ᵇ20–30). However, a crown dedicated to Athena in Athens by the Kalchedonian state indicates friendly relations with Athens in 354/3 (*IG* II² 1437.16). At an unknown date in C4f, perhaps the 360s, Kalchedon was besieged and assisted by a contingent of Kyzikene soldiers (Aen. Tact. 12.3; cf. *P Oxy.* 303) and so was probably allied to Kyzikos. In C4l Kalchedon joined the *κοινὸν τῶν Ἰλιέων* (L. Robert (1966) 31, 39).

The only thing we know about the type of constitution is that, as a result of the conquest of Kalchedon by Byzantion in 357, a moderate form of constitution was changed into a radical democracy (Theopomp. fr. 62). Civic subdivisions are attested in Hellenistic sources only (especially *I.Kalchedon* 6 and 7), but since they are of Megarian origin, they may go back to the foundation of Kalchedon in C7e. The citizen body was subdivided into, probably, hundreds (*ἑκατοστύες*; cf. Jones, *POAG* 283–84; Loukopoulou (1989) 141–42). The names of several of the hundreds are attested as sub-ethnics in Hellenistic dedications, e.g. *Βύριχος Αἰσχηΐδα Ἱππωνήας* (*I.Kalchedon* 7.11). The presence of metics is attested in Arist. *Oec.* 1347ᵇ20–30.

Some of the known officials are common for all (or some) Megarian foundations; consequently the Hellenistic sources can be interpreted retrospectively. This applies to the eponymous magistrate, called *basileus* (*I.Kalchedon* 7.1, 8.1). A *hieromnamon* (*I.Kalchedon* 4.5, 7, 42) is not attested at Megara (no. 225); at Byzantion he was the eponymous magistrate; while at Kalchedon he clearly accompanied the *basileus* (Hanell (1934) 151) and indicates a Kalchedonian origin for the Byzantine *hieromnamon* (Loukopoulou (1989) 145–46). Also of Megarian origin were the *aisymnatai.* Like the Athenian *prytaneis*, they were perhaps members of the Council (*I.Kalchedon* 10.10) selected by lot every month (*I.Kalchedon* 6.1–2). One of them seems to have been the *ἀγεμὼν βουλᾶς* (*I.Kalchedon* 7.8; see Hanell (1934) 150; Loukopoulou (1989) 145). The council itself (*βουλά*), as well as the assembly (*δᾶμος*), is attested in *I.Kalchedon* 1 (C2e) and 10 (C3–C2). A board of *strategoi* (*I.Kalchedon* 1.73–74) may also go back to the Archaic and Classical periods. Since Kalchedon was a Megarian colony, a number of attested civic subdivisions may be evidence of *hekatostyes* (*I.Kalchedon* 6 and 7; see *supra*). Citizens of Kalchedon were granted *proxenia* by Karthaia (no. 492) (*IG* XII.5 542.10 (C4m)) and Pantikapaion (no. 705) (*IOSPE* II 2 = *CIRB* 2 (C4s)).

Kalchedon is located on the promontory Kadıköy, on the Asiatic shore of modern Istanbul. The ancient topography is imperfectly known (see a plan at Merkelbach (1980) 143). However, mediaeval testimonies attest remains of a harbour between Kadıköy and Haidar Paşa (Ruge (1919*a*) 1558); a cemetery has been identified (Asgari and Firatlı (1978)); and some inscriptions and architectural or sculptural remains have been found by chance or through minor excavations (see also Müller-Wiener (1977)). City walls are explicitly mentioned by Polyaen. 7.11.5 (r513) and can be inferred from the numerous sieges of Kalchedon (Xen. *Hell.* 1.3.4 (409); Polyaen. 2.24 (r387); Aen. Tact. 12.3 (360s?); Diod. 19.60.3 (r315)). Evidence for public architecture is late, and the lack of excavations does not allow a closer examination of the literary and epigraphic testimonies. The town had two harbours, one on each side of the peninsula (Dionysios of Byzantion 111 p. 33, Güngerich), but the most important seems to have been the unlocated *Φρίξου λιμήν* (Diod. 18.72.4 (r318); Dionysios of Byzantion 99 p. 31, Güngerich; Steph. Byz. 672.15, quoting Nymphis of Herakleia (C4–C3)). Oberhummer (1897) 753 suggests that the Phrixos harbour was located at Kanliçe at the far end of the Bosporos.

The most important and best-attested settlement in the territory of Kalchedon is Chrysopolis, located at Üsküdar (former Skutari) (Xen. *Hell.* 1.1.22, 1.3.12, *An.* 6.6.38; Diod. 14.31.4 (r400); *P Oxy.* 303). In 410/9 it was fortified by Alkibiades (Xen. *Hell.* 1.1.22; cf. Diod. 13.64.2–3). Another settlement (ἐποικία) called Ἄμυκος is mentioned in schol. Ap. Rhod. 2.159b, quoting Androitas of Tenedos (C4–C3).

Of sanctuaries in Chalkedon's territory, the most famous was the *hieron* (Dem. 20.36, 35.10, 50.17 and 58; Ps.-Skylax 67 and 92) at the Euxine end of the Bosporos (located at Anadolu Kavaği-Yenimahalle). According to the tradition, Jason sacrificed here when he returned from Kolchis (Pind. *Pyth.* 4.203–7; Polyb. 4.39.6) and various testimonies record a sanctuary of Ζεὺς Οὔριος (Arr. *Peripl. M. Eux.* 12, 25) and the Twelve Gods (Polyb. 4.39.6, 50.2) with an altar *Syll.*³ 1010 = (*I.Kalchedon* 13 (C3)). Diod. 20.111.3 (r302) shows that the sanctuary belonged to Kalchedon, though it was repeatedly claimed (and sometimes also occupied) by Byzantion (no. 674) (Polyb. 4.50.2–3). An extra-urban sanctuary of Herakles remains unlocated (Xen. *Hell.* 1.3.7 (r409)). His priest is attested at *Syll.*³ 1011 = *I.Kalchedon* 10.4 and 11 (C3–C2). There is no early evidence for the sanctuary of Artemis (Ptol. *Geog.* 5.2) located more likely at Phrixos (Hanell (1934) 184; Avram (1998–2000)) than at Chrysopolis (Merkelbach (1980) 131).

As in the *metropolis* Megara (no. 225), the patron deity of Kalchedon was Apollo Pythios or Chresterios (*I.Kalchedon* 5.5), whose priest (προφήτας) is mentioned in inscriptions side by side with the highest city officials: the *basileus* and the *hieromnamon* (*I.Kalchedon* 7.3). His sanctuary was the oldest in the city (Luc. *Pseudomantis* 10; Dionysios of Byzantion 111 p. 35, Güngerich; see also *SEG* 4 720) and was declared ἄσυλος by Delphi (*Syll.*³ 550 (C2l)). An attempt to reconstruct the local calendar, based on comparison with the other Megarian colonies, is proposed by Avram (1999) 30.

The first silver coins of Kalchedon were minted *c.*387/6–340 on the Rhodian standard. Types: *obv.* bearded head l.; *rev.* wheel in which ΚΑΛΧ (drachms); *obv.* young head l.; *rev.* wheel in which ΚΑΛΧ (hemidrachms); *obv.* bull on corn-ear l., above ΚΑΛΧ; *rev.* quadripartite stippled incuse square (tetradrachms and drachms); *obv.* bull forepart on corn-ear l., above ΚΑ; *rev.* three corn-ears (hemidrachms) (Price (1993) pl. IV 84–111; *SNG Cop. Bosporus-Bithynia* 346–56). These issues are followed *c.*340–320 by the coinage on the Persian standard. Denominations: *sigloi*, fifths and tenths. Types: *obv.* bull l. on corn-ear, above ΚΑΛΧ, sometimes ΚΑ; *rev.* quadripartite mill-sail incuse square (Price (1993) pl. V 112–26). For the chronology, see Le Rider (1963) 44–50. The close relationship to Byzantion is illustrated by the fact that the types of these series are quite similar to Byzantine types; they "differ only in one respect, viz. that the bull on the money of Byzantium stands upon a dolphin, while at Calchedon he stands upon an ear of corn" (Head, *HN*² 512). The *sympoliteia* with Byzantion of 357 is attested in the C3–C2 bronze coins with the legend ΒΥΖΑΝ ΚΑΛΧΑΔΩ (Schönert-Geiss (1970) 78–80 nos. 1252–1301 pl. 59–62; Price (1993) pl. IV 80; *SNG Cop. Thrace* 531).

Kalchedon was involved in three colonial foundations, but only one of them can be considered a purely Kalchedonian colony, *viz.* (1) Astakos (no. 737), founded in C7 according to Charon of Lampsakos (*FGrHist* 262) fr. 6. (2) Kalchedonian participation in the foundation of Byzantion (no. 674) is indicated by Hesychios of Miletos ((*FGrHist* 390) frr. 20–23; cf. Hanell (1934) 123–28) and by the existence of the office of *hieromnamon* both at Kalchedon and Byzantion compared with its absence at Megara (no. 225) (Loukopoulou (1989) 146). Nevertheless, the idea of a direct foundation of Byzantion by Kalchedon (Loukopoulou (1989) 52, 146) remains a hypothesis. (3) Jointly with Megara (no. 225), Kalchedon founded Mesambria in C6l, at the time of Dareios' campaign against the Scythians (Ps.-Skymnos 739–42; cf. Anon. *Peripl. M. Eux.* 83–84, Diller), and in 493 the colonists were reinforced by refugees from Byzantion and Kalchedon (Hdt. 6.33); see Mesambria (no. 687) and Avram (1996) 290–92.

744. Kallipolis (Kallipolites) Map 52. Unlocated, not in *Barr.* Type: A:*a*. The toponym is Καλλίπολις (Ps.-Skylax 93). Kallipolis is classified as a *polis* in the urban sense at Ps.-Skylax 93: Καλλίπολις καὶ λιμήν, with πόλις understood before καί (Flensted-Jensen and Hansen (1996) 142) and listed under the heading πόλεις Ἑλληνίδες αἵδε. The political sense is attested in the Athenian tribute lists, where the Kallipolitai are recorded under the heading πόλες (*IG* I³ 278.VI.5–6, 12, though see *infra*). The settlement was presumably situated between Astakos (no. 737) and Kios (no. 745), but the exact location is not known (Ruge (1919*b*)). The scarce evidence suggests that at an early date it was integrated into one of the neighbouring cities. In Ps.-Skylax 93 this Kallipolis is situated in Mysia and is accordingly different from (a) the Kallipolis situated on the Chersonese north of Sestos (no. 672) (Ptol. *Geog.* 3.11.9) and opposite Lampsakos (no. 748) (Strabo 13.1.18); (b) the Kallipolis situated on the Thracian side of the Bosporos at the so-called Anaplous (Steph. Byz. 349.16). All three cities were located in the

Hellespontine district of the Delian League. In the assessment decree of 425/4 and in some of the tribute lists is recorded a community called *Καλλιπολῖται*. As the evidence stands, it is impossible to decide with which of the three cities the following information should be connected.

Kallipolitai are attested in the tribute lists from 434/3 (*IG* I³ 278.VI.12) to, possibly, 418/17 (*IG* I³ 287.II.29: *Κ*[*αλλιπολῖται*]) a total of six times, twice completely restored, paying in all years a *phoros* of 1,000 dr. (*IG* I³ 279.II.87). In the years from 434/3 to 431/30 Kallipolis is listed under the heading *πόλες αὗται φόρον ταχσάμεναι* (*IG* I³ 278.VI.5–6 and 12, 279.II.76–77, 87, 280.II.68–70, restored). In 430/29 and 429/8 it is recorded as having been assessed by the *taktai* (*IG* I³ 280.II.74, 281.III.54–55, 56, 282.II.34–36, 37). In the assessment decree of 425/4 (*IG* I³ 71.III.96) and possibly in the list of 418/17 (*IG* I³ 287.II.29) Kallipolis is listed among the Hellespontine members.

745. Kios (Kianos) Map 52. Lat. 40.25, long. 29.10. Size of territory: 4. Type: A:*α*. From the foundation of the city until its destruction in 202 the toponym is *Κίος*, *ἡ* (Hdt. 5.122.1; *Hell. Oxy.* 25.3; *SEG* 23 189 II.14 (C4s)). The city-ethnic is *Κιανός* (*I.Kios* 2.5 (C4m) = Tod 149). Kios is called a *polis* both in the political sense (*I.Kios* 1–2 (C4); tentatively restored in *SEG* 45 208.5 (C4l)) and in the urban sense (Ps.-Skylax 93, where *Κίος πόλις* is listed under the heading *πόλεις Ἑλληνίδες αἵδε*). The collective and internal use of the city-ethnic is attested in an honorific decree of C4m (*I.Kios* 2.5) and on C4 coins (*infra*). The external use is found in the Athenian tribute lists (*IG* I³ 259.VI.7). For the individual and external use, see the C4 Athenian tombstone set over two men and four women from Kios (*Agora* XVII 519).

Kios is located at modern (Turkish) Gemlik, where, in 1835, Texier could see remains of ancient walls and scattered architectural fragments (Texier (1862) 113). Its territory was presumably bordered towards the north by the mountains Karlı-Dağı, towards the east by the Askanian lake (İznik Gölü), towards the south-east by Mt. Kurban-Dağı, perhaps halfway between Kios and Prusa, in the area of the villages of Dürdane, Selçukgazi and Seçköy, and towards the south by the territory of Myrleia (no. 752) (= the later Apameia), in the region between the villages Kurşunlu (belonging to Apameia) and Tuzlaçiftligi (Corsten (1985) 9–10). Pythopolis (no. 760), in C4 a Kian *kome* near the Askanian lake 120 stades from Kios (Arist. *Mir. ausc.* 834^{b}34), has been identified with modern Sölöz, on the south shore of the İznik Gölü (Corsten (1987) 148–49) and thus indicates the limit of the Kian territory in this direction.

According to Euseb. *Chron.* 97b, Helm, Kios was founded in 626/5. A Milesian origin is invoked as a reason for the *isopoliteia* between Miletos (no. 854) and Kios *c.*228 (*Milet.* I.3 141.6–7; cf. Plin. *HN* 5.144), and foundation by Miletos is further indicated by a *phiale* which the Kians dedicated to Apollo of Didyma in 276/5 (*infra*). Also, the two attested months—*Ἀνθεστηριών* (*I.Kios* 1.1) and *Ληναιών* (*I.Kios* 27)—suggest a Milesian origin (Samuel (1972) 117). According to Aristotle (Arist. fr. 519.1–2), first a Mysian and then a Karian colony preceded the Milesian foundation of Kios. Aristotle mentions the hero Kios as the oecist of the Milesian foundation, and this tradition can be traced back to an Attic documentary relief (*IG* I³ 124; Lawton (1995) no. 9) dated 406/5 and representing a man called *ΚΙΟΣ* shaking hands with the helmeted Athena (Ehrhardt (1995) 31–33). According to a different tradition, Kios was founded by the Argonaut Polyphemos with Herakles' approval. This version of the foundation myth is known from Ap. Rhod. 1.1321ff, 1345–57 and 4.1467ff, but its earlier origin is attested by schol. Ap. Rhod. 4.1470, which quotes the C4 historian Nymphodoros of Syracuse ((*FGrHist* 572) frr. 16 *bis*, *ter*). Nothing is known about the city's early history. Kios was under Persian domination from 547/6 onwards. It took part in the Ionian Revolt and was conquered by Hymaies in 497 (Hdt. 5.122.1).

At an unknown date Kios joined the Delian League. It belonged to the Hellespontine district and is recorded from 454/3 (*IG* I³ 259.VI.7) to 418/17 (*IG* I³ 287.II.12) a total of twelve times, twice completely restored, paying a *phoros* of 1,000 dr. (*IG* I³ 265.II.48). It was assessed for tribute in 425/4 (*IG* I³ 71.III.89, heavily restored). Before 408 (Xen. *Hell.* 1.4.7) Kios came under Persian control. It may have joined the Delian League once again in 406/5 after the Athenian victory at Arginusai (Attic relief: *IG* I³ 124 = Meyer (1989) 272 A 22 = Lawton (1995) no. 9; Ehrhardt (1995) 31–33). But after 404 Kios was certainly under Persian domination (Corsten (1985) 25).

The Aristotelian collection of constitutions included a *Κιανῶν πολιτεία* (Arist. fr. 519). Two honorific decrees, both of C4m (*I.Kios* 1, 2), testify to democratic institutions: a popular assembly ([*κυρία*] *ἐκκλησία*) presided over by a *prytanis*, passing bills moved by boards of *archontes* and *strategoi*, and to be published in a sanctuary of Athena. The eponymous magistrate was a *φρουρός* (*I.Kios* 1.1, 2.1; cf. Corsten (1985) 50–51). A board of *hieropoioi* (*I.Kios* 1.15) and a board of, probably, *synedroi* (*I.Kios* 25.3 (C4m)) are also attested. The Kianoi granted *proxenia* to a citizen of Sigeion (no. 791) (*I.Kios* 1 (C4)), and some citizens of Kios were

awarded *proxenia* by Karthaia (no. 492) (*IG* XII.5 542.58 (C4m)). From 337 to 302 Kios was ruled by Mithridates II (Diod. 20.111.4; cf. Corsten (1985) 30; Debord (1999) 101–2). *C.*330 a *theorodokos* was appointed to host *theoroi* from Argos (no. 347) (*SEG* 23 189.II.14).

Given the Milesian origin of the city, Apollo was presumably the patron deity of Kios. The god is represented on coins (*infra*) and his cult is implicitly attested by the communal dedication of a *φιάλη παρὰ Κιανῶν* to Apollo from Didyma in 276/5 (*I.Didyma* no. 427.6–7).

Kios struck coins from C4m: (1) silver drachms on the Rhodian standard, followed by (2) gold staters on the Attic standard, and (3) silver drachms, hemidrachms and quarter-drachms on the Persian standard. Types: *obv.* head of Apollo, r.; *rev.* prow ornamented with star. Legend: (1) *ΚΙΑΝΩΝ*, (2) signature of official, e.g. *ΣΩΣΑΝΔΡΟΣ*, (3) *ΚΙΑ* and signature of official. References: (1) Reinach (1908) no. 27 with pl. XLIX; Babelon, *Traité* ii.2 no. 2957, dated to *c.*350–345 (Le Rider (1963) 31–32). (2) Head, *HN*² 513, dated to *c.*345/340–320/315 (Le Rider (1963) 32–39). (3) *SNG Cop. Bosporus-Bithynia* 369–79, dated to *c.*335–320/315 (Le Rider (1963) 37–39). The circulation of all the Kian coin series of C4s seems to have been rather limited (ibid. 60–61).

746. Kolonai (Koloneus?) Map 51. Lat. 40.20, long. 26.55, but not securely located, see *infra*. Type: B:? The toponym is *Κολωναί, αἱ* (Strabo 13.1.19; Arr. *Anab.* 1.12.6) and the city-ethnic [*Κολο*]*νῆς* was tentatively restored in the assessment decree of 425/4 (*IG* I³ 71.III.87). At Arr. *Anab.* 1.12.6 (r334) Kolonai is called a *polis* in the urban sense. Strabo locates Kolonai in the territory of Lampsakos (no. 748) and considers it to be a Milesian colony founded inland. The settlement has been hypothetically located at Çataltepe, *c.*18 km east-south-east of Lampsakos or, alternatively, at Arabakanağı, more towards the south-east (Bürchner (1921); Leaf (1923) 101–2; Frisch (1978) 106 n. 6) and is to be distinguished from Kolonai at Alexandria Troas, on the coast (Cook (1973) 216–21). Strabo is probably wrong about Miletos (no. 854) as the *metropolis* of Kolonai, and it seems preferable to assume foundation by Lampsakos (Ehrhardt (1988) 35–36) followed by a later reintegration into the *metropolis* (Jones (1971) 86). For a parallel, see Paisos (no. 755).

747. Kyzikos (Kyzikenos) Map 52. Lat. 40.25, long. 27.55. Size of territory: 5. Type: A:*α*. The toponym is *Κύζικος, ἡ* (Hdt. 4.14.1; Thuc. 8.107.1; Xen. *An.* 7.2.5; *Milet.* I.3 137 = *Staatsverträge* 409.16 = Gawantka (1975) no. 19 (shortly after 334)). The toponym is used about both the island and the city (Strabo 12.8.11). The city-ethnic is *Κυζικηνός* (*Milet.* I.3 137.4, 8–9, 14, 16). Kyzikos is called a *polis* in the urban sense at Eupolis, *Poleis* fr. 233 and Xen. *Hell.* 1.1.20; in Ps.-Skylax 94 Kyzikos is one of the toponyms listed after the heading *πόλεις Ἑλληνίδες αἵδε*. For *polis* in the political sense, see Hdt. 4.15.1; *Syll.*³ 4A.1, B.1 (C6l); and *SEG* 36 1116.A12, B8 (C4). The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally on coins (*infra*) and externally in the C4 *isopoliteia* treaty with Miletos (no. 854) (*Milet.* I.3 137.4) and in Aen. Tact. 12.3; Dem. 50.6. The individual and external use is found in a C4 dedication on Samos (*SGDI* 5526) and in Herodotos' mention at 4.138.1 of *Ἀρισταγόρης Κυζικηνός*, the tyrant of Kyzikos in *c.*513. *Patra* (= *patris*) is found in *CEG* II 850 (345–335).

The ancient city is located at Balkız (Turkish name), on the isthmus of the Kapu Dağı peninsula (ancient Arktonnesos) jutting out from the south-west coast of the Sea of Marmara. Ps.-Skylax 94 mentions that Kyzikos was lying *ἐν τῷ ἰσθμῷ ἐμφράττουσα τὸν ἰσθμόν*, while Anaximenes of Lampsakos ((*FGrHist* 72) fr. 26) writes about a *νῆσος* (cf. Strabo 2.5.23). The confusion persists in later writers: Diod. 18.51.2 (r319): *χερρόνησος* (cf. Steph. Byz. s.v. *Κύζικος*), Plin. *HN* 5.142 (relating that Alexander the Great *insulam continenti iunxit* in 334). The island of Arktonnesos became a peninsula through the construction of two parallel dykes and accumulations of sand. It is assumed that the isthmus had been connected with the mainland shortly before the first testimonies, but that the insular tradition was so strong that some writers continued to describe Kyzikos as an island (cf. Philippson (1910) 50; Ruge (1924) 228; Akurgal (1976*b*) 473).

The main contribution to the topography of Kyzikos has been produced by Hasluck (1902) and (1910); for supplements see especially L. Robert (1955) 124 n. 7; Schwertheim (1978) 227–28; Vian (1978), while some archaeological excavations (Akurgal (1956) 15–20) brought to light orientalising ceramics from C7l/C6e. Unfortunately, Kyzikos remains "the least studied of the great cities of Asia" (Mitchell (1999) 130) and "its history is only illuminated by stray finds" (Mitchell (1985) 74), as, for example Archaic sculptural and architectural marbles from C6s (Akurgal (1965); Koenigs (1981)). Moreover, there is no complete *corpus* of the huge number of inscriptions (list at Hasluck (1910) 263–95; funerary inscriptions at Schwertheim (1980); cf. *BE* (1980) 389–423), and only the Hellenistic and Roman funerary *stelae* have been brought together (Cremer (1991)).

Kyzikos controlled a large territory inhabited by the indigenous *Δολίονες* (Hecat. fr. 219; Strabo 14.5.29, quoting Alexandros of Aitolia (C4–C3); schol. Ap. Rhod. 1.943, 961,

1024, 1037). Originally, the territory did not comprise the whole island, since at least Artake (no. 736) was a *polis* with its own territory; but Kyzikos later absorbed many other settlements which are known to have been *poleis*: Prokonnesos (no. 759) (shortly after 362/1: Dem. 50.5; Paus. 8.46.4), Artake (no. 736) (perhaps about the same time), Plakia (no. 757) (towards the end of C4), Skylake (no. 761), Tereia (no. 763) and the island of Bysbikos (no. 738) (at latest in C4) and the satrap's residence of Daskyleion (at latest in the early Hellenistic period: Robert and Robert (1976) 231 with n. 321, 232–35). At an unknown date the western limit between the territories of Kyzikos and Priapos (no. 758) was at the unlocated *τὰ Ἁρπάγια τόπος* (Strabo 13.1.11; see Harpagion (no. 742)). More toponyms are recorded by Steph. Byz. s.v. *Μέλισσα* (442.16–17), *Ποιμανηνόν* (530.9–10), and *Σκύρμος* (579.14). Poimanenon is surely late (first mention *c.*80: Kaufmann and Stauber (1992) 45) and so may the other settlements be. For later extensions of the territory of Kyzikos, see Jones (1971) 86–88, 94.

Kyzikos was founded by Miletos (no. 854) (Anaximenes of Lampsakos (*FGrHist* 72) fr. 26). Two dates are given for the foundation year: 756 (Euseb. *Chron.* 88b, Helm) and 679 (ibid. 93b). Assuming a "double colonisation", some scholars have accepted the earlier date (Graham (1958) 32, (1971) 39–42, (1983) 107), but the archaeological record supports only the second (Akurgal (1956) 15, 19, (1976*b*) 474; Laubscher (1963–64) 74; Kiechle (1959–60) 96; Ehrhardt (1988) 42, 49–50; Cremer (1991) 9). Thus Kyzikos—together with Prokonnesos, the earliest colony in the Propontis—must have been founded *c.*680. Alföldi (1991) 137 suggests an overland expedition from Miletos to Kyzikos.

Kyzikos came under Persian domination after 547 and was included in the third satrapy ruled from Daskyleion. A failed attempt to establish a tyranny is recorded under Kyros (Ath. 1.30A), while about 514/13 Aristagoras of Kyzikos is mentioned among the Hellespontine tyrants (Hdt. 4.138.1). Kyzikos took part in the Ionian Revolt but was subjected by Oinobares, the satrap in Daskyleion (Hdt. 6.33.3). About 478 it joined the Delian League. It belonged to the Hellespontine district and is recorded from 452/1 (*IG* I³ 261.v.30) to 418/17 (*IG* I³ 287.II.10) a total of thirteen times, once completely restored, paying a *phoros* of 4,320 dr. in 447/6 (*IG* I³ 265.I.95), but 9 tal. from 443/2 on (*IG* I³ 269.II.23).

A change of the constitution towards democracy is to be assumed thanks to Athenian influence (see the *prytanies* of the *phylai*). The change may perhaps be connected with the story told at Arist. *Oec.* 1347^{b}30–34: after a *stasis* the democratic faction got the upper hand over the oligarchs; but instead of killing their opponents, they exacted a ransom and had them exiled. In 411 Kyzikos defected from Athens (Thuc. 8.107.1), but was soon reconquered (Xen. *Hell.* 1.11, 14, 16–18). After the Peloponnesian War Kyzikos was allied with or perhaps even controlled by Sparta (no. 345) (Xen. *Hell.* 3.4.10, *An.* 7.2.5) and took part in the *symmachia* with Rhodes (no. 1000), Knidos (no. 903), Iasos (no. 891), Ephesos (no. 844), Samos (no. 864), Byzantion (no. 674) and Lampsakos (no. 748) (Karwiese (1980), but cf. Debord (1999) 273–77 for a date post-394). In consequence of the King's Peace, Kyzikos may have been subject to Persia for a short time after 387/6. If we can trust schol. Dem. 21.173 (586, Dilts), Kyzikos seems to have joined the Second Athenian Naval League, and in 364 Timotheos assisted Kyzikos when besieged by, probably, a Persian satrap (Diod. 15.81.5; Nep. *Timoth.* 1.2). Shortly afterwards, in 362, Kyzikos, like Kalchedon (no. 743) and Byzantion (no. 674), captured Athenian merchantmen (Dem. 50.6). During the Social War (357–355) the Athenians captured Kyzikos' merchantmen (Dem. 21.173); Kyzikos then broke with Athens (schol. Dem. 21.173).

An alliance with Kalchedon at an unknown date in C4f, perhaps in the 360s, is attested by the fact that Kyzikene soldiers assisted the city of Kalchedon during a siege (Aen. Tact. 12.3; *P Oxy.* 303, perhaps also Arist. *Oec.* 1347^{b}20–30). At the beginning of Alexander's campaign Kyzikos was unsuccessfully besieged by the satrap Memnon (Diod. 17.7.3; Polyaen. 5.44.5).

An isopolity treaty with Miletos (no. 854) (*Milet.* I.3 137 = Gawantka (1975) no. 19) is attested shortly after 334 (Ehrhardt (1987) 114–16) but may go back to C5 or even earlier (Graham (1983) 117, cf. 107–8; Ehrhardt (1988) 235–38). Citizens of Kyzikos were awarded *proxenia* by Karthaia (no. 492) (*IG* XII.5 542.54–55 (C4m)) and Chios (no. 840) (*PEP Chios* 50.12 (C4)).

Local inscriptions (starting with Michel 533.1 (*c.*390)) produce evidence for all the six Milesian *phylai*: Geleontes, Aigikoreis, Argadeis, Hopletes, Boreis, Oinopes (Jones, *POAG* 287–90; Ehrhardt (1988) 384 n. 24) and for the six *φύλαρχοι* (Michel 596.3; Hasluck (1910) 250–51; Bilabel (1920) 120–21; Ehrhardt (1988) 107–9).

A popular assembly (*δῆμος*) and a council (*βουλή*) are attested in a probouleutic decree of C4 (*BCH* 13 (1889) 514–18). Assembly and council were presided over by monthly shifting *prytaneis* belonging to one of the six tribes, so that each tribe must have been in prytany twice during a year (Michel 533 (*c.*390); Hasluck (1910) 251–52 and 266 with

the list of inscriptions). There was a *prytanarch*. Meetings of the *demos* were chaired by a daily *epistates* assisted by a *grammateus* (Michel 533; cf. Ehrhardt (1988) 100; Rhodes, *DGS* 415–17). The original eponymous magistrate may have been a πρύτανις (unattested, but highly probable by reason of the Milesian model: Ehrhardt (1988) 194–95). In C4f the eponymous magistrate was an *archon* (*SGDI* 5523, perhaps attesting some passing Athenian influence; see Ehrhardt (1988) 195). From about C4m he was replaced by a ἱππάρχης (Michel 596), perhaps in connection with the conquest of neighbouring communities (Hasluck (1910) 254–55, cf. 304–5: list of the attested eponyms). Other officials are a board of *strategoi* (Michel 596.2 (C4f)) and *hieromnemones* (*SGDI* 5523.3 (C4m)).

Kyzikos had no walls in 410 when the city was attacked by Athens (Thuc. 8.107.1; Diod. 13.40), but the Athenians presumably fortified the city since it was taken by the Spartans and Persians in 410 "after a siege" (πολιορκεῖν, Diod. 13.49.4). Defensive walls are attested in a building inscription of C4f (Michel 596) and their existence can be inferred from the account of the siege of Kyzikos in 364 (Diod. 15.81.5; Nep. *Timoth.* 1.2).

The evidence of public architecture is remarkably rich. A *prytaneion* is mentioned in a dedication of C6l (*Syll.*³ 4.5–6). An honorific decree of C3e (Michel 534) refers to a theatre (12, 21; *TGR* iii. 390), an agora (14), and a Doric stoa (24: πρὸ τῆς στοᾶς τῆς Δωρικῆς), which indicates that these monuments existed at least in C4l if not earlier. A temple (νεώς) is attested by an inscription of C6 recording the building of its roof by means of the income produced by the sacred lands and the sale of the skin of sacrificed animals (Robert and Robert (1950) 78–80). At Kyzikos was located "the earliest sanctuary in Asia" for Athena (*Anth. Pal.* 6.342.5–6), which is perhaps to be identified with the ὅρος Ἀθηνᾶς (cf. Hasluck (1910) 236) and with the τέμενος τῆς Ἀ[θηνᾶς τῆς Πολιάδος] (*SEG* 28 953.79; for the restoration, see Sève (1979) 359 n. 189).

Strabo 12.8.11 records two harbours, one on either side of the two bridges that connected the island with the mainland (Lehmann-Hartleben (1923) 63–64, 262–63; L. Robert (1955) 122–25 with pls. XXI no. 2, XXII nos. 1–2). The channels between the bridges formed a kind of "third" harbour (Philippson (1910) 50), presumably identical with the λιμήν mentioned at schol. Ap. Rhod. 1.940 and the λιμήν recorded by *Syll.*³ 799.11.2 (Sève (1979) 349–51). For the topography, see Hasluck (1902) pl. XI: plan by R. de Rustafjaell; cf. L. Robert (1955) 122–25. The western harbour has been identified (Sève (1979) 351) with the Χυτὸς λιμήν recorded at schol. Ap. Rhod. 1.987a (quoting the local writer Deiochos). Minor harbours belonging to the Kyzikene territory were at Panormos (schol. Ap. Rhod. 1.954: Πάνορμος λιμὴν τῆς Κυζίκου), located at modern Bandırma (Lehmann-Hartleben (1923) 293 n. 4) and Bathys Limen, which could be sought at Artake (no. 736) or on the north coast of the island, in the area of the village of Kerek (Greek Vathy): cf. L. Robert (1955) 128–31; Sève (1979) 351 n. 132.

Kyzikos' patron deity was Apollo (Hecat. fr. 217; *SNG Cop. Mysia* 43, 57; cf. Hasluck (1910) 228–32; Ehrhardt (1988) 135). In addition to Athena Polias (*supra*), there is evidence for an Athena called ΣΩΤΕΙΡΑ on a coin (Imhoof-Blumer (1890) 614 no. 168), and her worship is also attested by Ap. Rhod. 1.955. A very popular civic cult, at least from C4 onwards, was that of Kore with the epithet *soteira* (App. *Mithr.* 75) attested on C4 coins (*SNG Cop. Mysia* 53–56, 58–62, *infra*). Other communal cults are attested by various sources: Γῆ Καρ[ποφόρος] (Delphic oracle for Kyzikos: *SGDI* 2970; Hasluck (1910) 221 and 301.4–5; perhaps also on coins from C5: *SNG Deutschland. Nachträge* II 7320); Poseidon (with various *epikleseis* in Hellenistic and later inscriptions summarised by Ehrhardt (1988) 475 n. 886; depicted on coins from *c.*450 to C4, e.g. *SNG Deutschland. Nachträge* II no. 7310); Kybele (Hdt. 4.76.2–3); Pan (Michel 533 = Hasluck (1910) 264 no. 4 (*c.*390); on coins from *c.*450 to C4 (*SNG Deutschland. Nachträge* II 7319)); the hero Herakles (Archaic relief: Akurgal (1961) 239). There is also evidence for some civic festivals: a festival for Kybele (Hdt. 4.76.3) and the *Anthesteria* for Dionysos (Michel 534 = Hasluck (1910) 264 no. 5.20, 27; *SEG* 28 953.52–53).

Through Ap. Rhod. 1.936ff a foundation myth can be traced back to the local writer Deiochos (C5l–C4f). He tells the story of Kyzikos, the young king of the Doliones who was killed by a terrible mistake by Jason. The hero Kyzikos can be recognised on electrum coins of C5f (*BMC Mysia* 21 no. 23). On the other hand, a Milesian origin of the city is also attested in the Classical period (Anaximenes of Lampsakos (*FGrHist* 72) fr. 26 and Kyzikos' isopolity treaty with Miletos).

The Kyzikene calendar was identical with the Milesian (Samuel (1972) 116; cf. Ehrhardt (1988) 116) apart from the month Boudion = Milesian Boedromion (Schwertheim (1986) 13–14 (C4); cf. Knoepfler (1997) 359, 412 n. 56). Outside Kyzikos Boudion is attested only at Apollonia on the Rhyndakos (Abmeier (1990) 5).

Kyzikos possessed a practical monopoly of coining the so-called Kyzikenes. From C6f to C4, they were the most

important currency in the area from Troy to Ionia, in the Propontis, in Bithynia and in the Black Sea regions (Alföldi (1991) 129–34). Kyzikos struck electrum staters weighing *c.*16 g from *c.*550 (Mildenberg (1993–94) 7) until after 322/1 (Touratsoglou (1999) 353, 356–57). Denominations: electrum staters, one-sixth staters and a few smaller fractions (Head, *HN*² 522). On the exchange rate of the Kyzikenes, see Bogaert (1977). Types: *obv.* *c.*240 different types (Jenkins and Castro Hipolitò (1989) 61), perhaps changing every year (Mildenberg (1993–94) 3, 7), but all with the tunny fish as the main type or later as an adjunct type (Head, *HN*² 523; Kiechle (1959–60) 97); *rev.* quadripartite incuse square (*SNG Cop. Mysia* 35–44). Kyzikos also struck silver coins from *c.*550–530 onwards (Mannsperger (1989) nos. 2206–8, pl. 80) and bronze coins from *c.*400 (Fritze (1917)). Denominations: obols and their divisions in C6–C5, tetradrachms on the Rhodian weight standard in C4, small fractions in bronze. C5 types: *obv.* forepart of boar, behind, tunny; *rev.* lion's head in incuse square; legend: on some *K* reversed. C4: *obv.* Kore Soteira; legend: *ΣΩΤΕΙΡΑ*; *rev.* various types all with a tunny; legend: *KYZI*.

Strabo 13.1.12 records a tradition that Kyzikos founded Priapos (no. 758). Taking a strange coincidence revealed by the calendars into consideration (*supra*), another Kyzikene foundation might have been Apollonia on the Rhyndakos (*supra* 975). In both cases primary Milesian foundation is the alternative (and perhaps more likely) explanation.

748. Lampsakos (Lampsakenos) Map 51. Lat. 40.10, long. 26.20. Size of territory: 4. Type: A:α. The toponym is *Λάμψακος*, *ἡ* (*LSAG* p. 367 no. 47; Hecat. fr. 220; Dem. 50.19). Before the colonisation of Lampsakos in C7m the toponym seems to have been *Πιτυόεσσα* (Charon of Lampsakos (*FGrHist* 262) fr. 7a) or *Πιτύεια* (Hom. *Il.* 2.829; schol. Ap. Rhod. 1.933; Steph. Byz. 410.18, quoting Deiochos of Kyzikos (C5–C4)). It is possible that the Homeric *Πιτύεια* existed before the proper foundation of Lampsakos (*infra*). The city-ethnic is *Λαμψακηνός* (*I.Lampsakos* 1.20 (*c.*300)). Lampsakos is called a *polis* both in the urban sense (Hdt. 5.117.1; Xen. *Hell.* 2.1.19; in Ps.-Skylax 94 Lampsakos is one of the toponyms listed after the heading *πόλεις Ἑλληνίδες αἵδε*) and in the political sense (*I.Lampsakos* 1.20 (*c.*300), 8.2–4 (C4?); Arist. *Oec.* 1347ᵇ1; Hdt. 4.137.2, 138.1, list of tyrants with the heading: *ἕκαστος αὐτῶν τυραννεύει πόλιος*). The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally in abbreviated form on coins (*infra*) and in inscriptions (*I.Lampsakos* 1.20) and externally at Hdt. 6.37–38; Thuc. 8.62.2; Xen. *An.* 7.8.1; *IG* I³ 269.II.10. For the individual and external use, see Hdt. 4.138.1; Thuc. 6.59.3; Aeschin. 2.83. The citizens are referred to as *politai* (Arist. *Oec.* 1351ᵇ4). *Patris* is found in Dem. 23.142.

Lampsakos is located at modern Lapseki (Turkish name), which has preserved the ancient toponym. Some testimonies of the eighteenth century attest walls and architectural remains (but Texier (1862) 174–76 reported that he found no ancient monument in 1835), while various objects continue to be found occasionally: Leaf (1923) 93–97; Bürchner (1924*b*) 591; MacKay (1976) 480 and map 7; Mitchell (1999) 142. The best evidence is produced by inscriptions (Frisch (1978)), but almost all are of the Hellenistic and Roman periods.

The territory of Lampsakos was originally called *Βεβρυκία* after the name of the native *Βέβρυκες* (Charon (*FGrHist* 262) fr. 8; cf. fr. 7a). The countryside was renowned for its vineyards (Thuc. 1.138.5; Diod. 11.57.7 (r464)). The territory (Bürchner (1924*a*); Frisch (1978) 105–7) was bordered to the west by Perkote (no. 788) (= modern Umurbey) situated *c.*12 km from Lampsakos, and to the north-east by Paisos, *c.*12 km from Lampsakos and incorporated after 425/4 (see Paisos (no. 755)). According to an anecdote told by Polyaen. 6.24 the frontier between Lampsakos and Parion (no. 756) was placed at Hermaion = modern Otlukdere, *c.*10 km south of Parion, according to Leaf (1923) 100–1 to be identified with *Hermoton* (Arr. *Anab.* 1.12.6); *contra* Ruge (1942*b*) 2436; Frisch (1978) 105 n. 5.

There is evidence of a number of settlements in the territory of Lampsakos. *Κολωναί* was probably a dependent *polis* (Arr. *Anab.* 1.12.6 (r334); Strabo 13.1.19) and perhaps a secondary colony founded by Lampsakos (see no. 746). *Μυρμισσός* (Steph. Byz. 164.8–9, quoting Polemon: *πόλις περὶ Λάμψακον*) and *Ἰωλκός* (schol. Eur. *Med.* 484) were perhaps situated close to Lampsakos. *Ἄβαρνος* or *Ἀβαρνίς* was a settlement near the homonymous promontory (Hecat. fr. 220; Xen. *Hell.* 2.1.29; Ephor. fr. 46), tentatively located *c.*8 km north of Lampsakos, at Çardak Burnu (Leaf (1923) 93); according to Steph. Byz. 4.4, it was a *polis*. Other settlements are attested only in late sources.

Lampsakos was founded in 654/3 (Euseb. *Chron.* 95d, Helm; Synkellos 213b, p. 402, Dindorf) by colonists from Phokaia (no. 859) (Charon of Lampsakos (*FGrHist* 262) fr. 7a and b; Polyaen. 8.37; Steph. Byz. 4.13–14, quoting Ephor. fr. 46). That Phokaia was the *metropolis* is confirmed by the tradition that the citizens of Lampsakos called themselves brothers of the *Massaliotai* (cf. Massalia (no. 3), so a Phokaian colony; *I.Lampsakos* 4.26), and by the name of the month Heraion, attested both in Lampsakos (*I.Lampsakos*

8.5) and Phokaia (Samuel (1972) 125, 131). Strabo 13.1.19 erroneously states that Lampsakos was colonised from Miletos (no. 854).

In C6m Lampsakos was a dependency of Lydia, and when the Lampsakenes had captured Miltiades, the Athenian tyrant of the Chersonese, they were forced by Kroisos to set him free (Hdt. 5.37–38). After the fall of Lydia in 547, Lampsakos came under Persia; in 499 the city joined the Ionian cities in their Revolt, and the winged horse on Lampsakos' coins was used by the Ionian *koinon* on some of their issues (Meiggs (1972) 27); but Lampsakos was conquered by Daurises in 498 or 497 (Hdt. 5.117). Lampsakos remained under Persian domination, and in 464 it was given by King Artaxerxes to the exiled Themistokles (Thuc. 1.138; Plut. *Them.* 27.1, 29.11). At an unknown date Lampsakos joined the Delian League. It belonged to the Hellespontine district and is recorded in the tribute lists from 453/2 (*IG* I³ 260.V.17: [*Λαμφσακ*]*ενοί*) to 428/7 (*IG* I³ 283 *pars aversa* 37) a total of thirteen times, three times completely restored, paying in most years a *phoros* of 15 tal. (*IG* I³ 262.IV.5), in 447/6 reduced to 3,600 dr. (*IG* I³ 265.II.59) and in 442/1 to 9 tal. (*IG* I³ 270.II.6). It was perhaps assessed for tribute in 425/4 (*IG* I³ 71.II.176, completely restored). The quota of 12 tal. would suggest that the income from the gold mines was taken into account (Ruschenbusch (1983) 143). After 430/29 the citizens of Paisos (no. 755) were moved to Lampsakos (Strabo 13.1.19: *οἱ δὲ Παισηνοὶ μετῴκησαν εἰς Λάμψακον*), and Kolonai (no. 746) may have suffered a similar fate.

Lampsakos supported Athens during the first stages of the Peloponnesian War, then went over to the Persians (who were allies of the Spartans); but in 411 the city was conquered by the Athenian *strategos* Strombichides (Thuc. 8.62) and continued to be allied with Athens (Xen. *Hell.* 2.1.18). It was conquered by Lysandros in 405 shortly before Aigos potamoi (no. 658) (Xen. *Hell.* 2.1.18–21, 30 and 2.2.1). The city remained under Spartan hegemony until the mid-390s (Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.2–5). Some Lampsakene gold staters (*obv.* Herakles strangling the serpents, *infra*) indicate that Lampsakos in 394 presumably joined the so-called Herakles Coinage Alliance between Rhodes (no. 1000), Knidos (no. 903), Iasos (no. 891), Ephesos (no. 844), Samos (no. 864), Byzantion (no. 674) and Kyzikos (no. 747) (Seltman (1933) pl. 32.12; Cawkwell (1956); Karwiese (1980), dating the alliance to the last years of the Peloponnesian War; Frisch (1978) 122; Debord (1999) 273–77).

Like all other cities of Asia Minor, Lampsakos fell to Persia by the King's Peace of 387/6. Together with other Hellespontine cities, it belonged to the satrapy ruled from Daskyleion, conceded by Ariobarzanes to the *hyparchos* Philiskos of Abydos, who was killed by two citizens of Lampsakos (Dem. 23.142). During the Social War (357–355) Lampsakos was conquered by the Athenian *strategos* Chares (Dem. 2.28; schol. Dem. *Olynth.* 3.31), and in the 340s it was ruled by Memnon of Rhodes (Arist. *Oec.* 2.1351^{b}1; cf. Frisch (1978) 127). From *c.*310 onwards Lampsakos was a member of the *κοινὸν τῶν Ἰλιέων* (L. Robert (1966) 18–46). Moreover, a kind of *sympoliteia* with Ilion (no. 779) is probably attested by a unique silver tridrachm: *obv.* head of Athena wearing Corinthian helmet, r.; *rev.* winged horse r. under the horse: *ΛΑΜ*(*ΨΑΚΗΝΩΝ*), above it: *ΙΛ*(*ΙΕΩΝ*) (Frisch (1975) XV, (1978) 129–30 (*c.*300)).

A tradition that Lampsakos was originally ruled by kings is reported by Charon of Lampsakos ((*FGrHist* 262) fr. 7ab). After the Persian conquest, *c.*513, Lampsakos was ruled by a tyrant, Hippoklos (Hdt. 4.138.1). His son Aiantides married Archedike, the daughter of Hippias, the tyrant of Athens (Thuc. 6.59.3), and the epigram on Archedike's gravestone (Thuc. 6.59.3 = *I.Lampsakos* 24a (C5e)) testifies to a third generation of tyrants (Frisch (1978) 113–14). We have no further information about the constitution of Lampsakos until C4f, when we hear about another tyrant, Astyanax, who was overturned and killed (Aen. Tact. 31.33, tentatively dated to *c.*355 by Berve (1967) 313). A few years later a pupil of Plato, Euaion, held the acropolis as security for a public debt. He attempted to set up a tyranny, but was eventually paid off and expelled (Ath. 508F; cf. Berve (1967) 312–13). Inscriptions attesting democratic institutions all belong in the Hellenistic period; see especially *I.Lampsakos* 4.34. Only *I.Lampsakos* 1 and 8 may perhaps be dated as early as C4 (for the date of 8, see Wilhelm (1974) 46–48). In these inscriptions we learn about a popular assembly called *demos*; cf. the statue of Anaximenes of Lampsakos set up in Olympia by *τῶν Λαμψακηνῶν τοῦ δήμου* (Paus. 6.18.2 (rC4s)). Furthermore, the inscriptions mention a council (*boule*), a *tamias*, a board called *οἱ ἐπὶ τῇ διοικήσει*, and an envoy elected by a show of hands (Rhodes, *DGS* 412–14). In 346 a citizen of Lampsakos was sent by the Odrysian dynast Kersobleptes to Athens (Aeschin. 2.83). Citizens of Lampsakos became *proxenoi* at Chios (no. 840) (Vanseveren (1937) 325 A.10–11 (C4m)), at Epidauros (no. 348) (*IG* IV².1 51 (C4)) and at Athens (no. 361) (*IG* II² 205 (351/50)). In C4s Lampsakos had a *theorodokos* to host *theoroi* from Nemea (*SEG* 36 331.B.26 (331/30–313)).

The acropolis of Lampsakos is mentioned at Ath. 508F (r350). The city was not yet fortified when it was conquered

by the Athenians in 411 (Thuc. 8.62.2), and the first defence circuit was erected by the Athenians under Thrasyllos and Alkibiades in 409 (Xen. *Hell.* 1.2.14; cf. Diod. 13.66). These walls are also mentioned by Plut. *Lys.* 9.5 in connection with the conquest of the city by the Spartan commander in 405. The city also had a harbour (Strabo 13.1.18).

The patron deity was Priapos (Paus. 9.31.2; cf. the testimonies collected by Frisch (1978) 150–52). A cult of Dionysos is attested through the mention of a sanctuary for Dionysos in *I.Lampsakos* 8.6–7; cf. 34.34–35. A local *agon* is known from a C5 bronze hydria inscribed *ἆθλον ἐγ Λαμψάκο* (*LSAG*² 367 no. 47).

The earliest coins of Lampsakos (Head, *HN*² 529–30) are electrum staters of *c.*525–500. Types: *obv.* forepart of winged horse (Pegasos), above, acanthus; *rev.* quadripartite incuse square. After an interruption, Lampsakos started again from *c.*450 to strike electrum staters of two main types (1) *obv.* forepart of winged horse, sometimes in vine wreath; *rev.* quadripartite incuse square; (2) *obv.* Janiform female head of Archaic style; *rev.* head of Athena in incuse square. Between the two series there was an issue of lighter standard, interpreted as a local coinage connected with the Ionian Revolt (Baldwin (1914); Gaebler (1922); for the coinage of the Ionian Revolt: Gardner (1911), (1918) 91–103; Meiggs (1972) 441–42; cf. *IGCH* no. 1167). The later series of electrum staters is also mentioned in the Athenian accounts of the Parthenon as *χρυσοῦ στατῆρες Λαμψακενοί* (*IG* I³ 436–49 (447/6–433/2)). The local gold mines mentioned in Polyaen. 2.1.26 (r396) must have provided the metal for the gold staters struck *c.*390–330 on the Persian standard. *Obv.* different types; one is the infant Herakles strangling the serpents (cf. *supra*); Baldwin (1920) and, for the chronology, Baldwin (1924); *rev.* forepart of a winged horse in incuse square (Head, *HN*² 529–30). The C4 gold staters, referred to as *χρυσίω Λαμψακανῶ στ[ατεῖραι]* (*IG* VII 2418.9 = *Syll.*³ 201) became almost an "international" currency (Baldwin (1924); Regling (1924) 590; *SNG Cop. Mysia* 187). Furthermore, from C6l to C4 (and later) Lampsakos struck silver staters and smaller fractions sometimes on the Persian, sometimes on the Attic standard (Gaebler (1923); cf. Le Rider (1963) 51, 55). Bronze coins were struck in C4. *Obv.* heads of different deities; *rev.* mostly forepart of winged horse; legend: *ΛΑΜ* or *ΛΑΜΨΑ* (*SNG Cop. Mysia* 180–86, 188–98).

749. Metropolis Map 52. Unlocated. Not in *Barr.* Type: B:α. The toponym is *Μητρόπολις* (*IG* I³ 77.IV.8–9). Our only source for this community is the Athenian assessment decree of 422/1 in which Metropolis is recorded among the Hellespontine members (*IG* I³ 77.IV.8–9: *Μετρόπολις παρὰ Πρίαπον*). Thus, the Athenians claimed that the community was a member of the Delian League and had it assessed for a tribute of 1 tal. The Greek name suggests that it was a colonial foundation and a *polis.* It was situated on the south coast of the Propontis near Priapos (no. 758).

750. Miletoupolis (Miletopolites) Map 52. Lat. 40.05, long. 28.20. Size of territory: ? Type: B:α. The toponym is *Μιλητούπολις, ἡ* (Strabo 12.8.10; *Suda M* 1061). The city-ethnic is *Μιλητοπολίτης* (*SNG Cop. Mysia* 249) or *Μιλητοπόλιος* (*I.Kyzikos* II 64 (second century AD)). The earliest attestation of Miletoupolis as a *polis* comes from a decree of the first century AD (*I.Kyzikos* II 25.2). But *polis* status in the Archaic and Classical periods is strongly indicated by (1) the toponym, (2) the C4 mint, and (3) the cult of Zeus Polieus. The collective and internal use of the city-ethnic is attested on C4 coins (*infra*). For the individual and external use, see an Athenian sepulchral inscription of C4f (*SEG* 18 120) and a C3 Milesian citizenship decree (*Milet.* I.3 67.7).

Combining Strabo 12.8.10 with the evidence of coin finds, it is now generally assumed that Miletoupolis was at modern Melde (Turkish name), *c.*5 km north-west of Mustafakemalpaşa (formerly Kirmasti) (Schwertheim (1983) 89–92). Some excavations took place in 1975, but only Roman monuments were found (ibid. 90, 127–28). The Turkish name Melde derives from Miletos, through Meletos (L. Robert (1962) 192).

The territory of the city was bordered to the north by the mountains Kara Dağları (including Lake Miletopolitis which belonged to the city (Strabo 12.8.10)), to the west by the hills situated east of Lake Daskylitis, to the south by the Rhyndakos valley, and to the east by Lake Apolloniatis, which belonged to the later Apollonia on the Rhyndakos (L. Robert (1980) 97–98; Schwertheim (1983) 100–1). At the western end of this lake lay Miletou Teichos (no. 751), a fortified settlement (*Hell. Oxy.* 25.3) and in C4 probably a dependency of Miletoupolis.

The foundation of Miletoupolis is not mentioned in any source. Some late coins inscribed *ΜΕΙΛΗΤΟΣ ΚΤΙΣΤΗΣ* indicate that the city was named after a hero founder called Miletos (Schwertheim (1983) 81 nos. 28–29). According to Nikolaos of Damaskos (*FGrHist* 90) fr. 63, this Miletos, probably a Milesian, married into the Lydian royal family but went into exile and came first to Daskyleion (no. 740), later to Prokonnesos (no. 759). If we can trust these late sources, Miletoupolis was a Milesian colony and probably

founded in C7l/C6e (Schwertheim (1983) 102–6). The types used for the coins, the calendar used by the Miletopolitai (*infra*), as well as a late sepulchral inscription referring to "Attic blood" (*I.Kyzikos* II 64 (second century AD)) testify to close ties with Athens.

A C4 festival calendar (*I.Kyzikos* II 1; cf. Schwertheim (1983) 107–12) mentions cults of Hermes, Aphrodite, Zeus Polieus, Olympios and Agoraios, Apollo Karneios, Herakles, (Herakles) Alexikakos, Eirene and Ilithyia (midwife goddess). However, the possibility remains that the stone is a *pierre errante* recording the calendar of an Attic deme (Habicht (1999) 26–29). The calendar records sacrifices in the month of Skirophorion, elsewhere attested only in Athens and Iasos (Trümpy, *Monat.* 294) and thus points to Athenian influence. The head of Athena on the earliest coins (*infra*) may indicate a cult of Athena.

Miletoupolis struck bronze coins from C4 onwards (Head, *HN*² 531; Schwertheim (1983) 78 nos. 1–6 and 8). Types: *obv.* head of Athena, or young male, r.; *rev.* bull, or owl; legend: ΜΙΛΗ, ΜΙΛΗΤΟ or ΜΙΛΗΤΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ (*BMC Mysia* 91 nos. 1–5; *SNG Cop. Mysia* 246–47).

751. Miletouteichos (Miletoteichites) Map 52. Lat. 40.15, long. 28.25. Size of territory: ? Type: B:α. The toponym is Μιλητουτεῖχος (*Hell. Oxy.* 25.3; *SEG* 23 189.II.16 (*c.*330)). The city-ethnic is, possibly, Μιλητοτειχίτης (*IG* I³ 100.III.5 (410/9)); see *infra*. There is no reference to Miletouteichos as a *polis* in any source, but *polis* status in the Classical period is indicated by membership of the Delian League and the attestation in C4s of a *theorodokos*.

Miletouteichos was completely unknown until the discovery first of the *Hell. Oxy.* and then of the C4s list of Argive *theorodokoi* (*SEG* 23 189). In *Hell. Oxy.* 25.3, Chambers, we learn that Agesilaos in 395 on his march from Kios (no. 745) to Phrygia attacked a place called Miletou Teichos, but failed to take it and then marched along the river Rhyndakos to Daskyleion (no. 740). In the Argive *theorodokoi* list of *c.*330 Miletouteichos is listed after Kios and Brylleion (= Myrleia) and before Iasos (*SEG* 23 189.II.16). These two sources are still the only ones we have, but a third can be added if, in the Athenian assessment decree of 410/9 (*IG* I³ 100.III.5), we accept the restoration Μιλητο[τειχῖται] instead of Μιλητο[πολῖται] in the *editio princeps*: *Hesperia* 5 (1936) 387 (see Schwertheim (1983) 107).

The relationship between the two toponyms Miletoupolis and Miletouteichos is a moot point. Some scholars have assumed identity between Miletouteichos and Miletoupolis (Charneux (1966) 217–18; Ehrhardt (1988) 43; Debord (1999) 250). That the two toponyms denote different sites has been argued forcefully by Schwertheim (1983) 95–99, followed by *Barr.*, Map 52. Miletouteichos should be placed north-west of Lake Apolloniatis, according to *Barr.* at modern Uluabat, a location which fits the description of Agesilaos' march route in *Hell. Oxy.* Schwertheim (1983) 98–99 prefers to identify Miletouteichos with the later Apollonia on the Rhyndakos = modern Gölyazı.

A possible reconstruction of our sources is that, after Alkibiades' naval victory at Kyzikos in 410, Miletouteichos was founded as an Athenian colony and incorporated into the Delian League (Meiggs (1972) 369, 438–39; Schwertheim (1983) 107; Ehrhardt (1988) 43). It was probably an Athenian settlement and, at first, independent of the neighbouring *poleis*. In C4, on the other hand, the fortified settlement may have become a dependency of neighbouring Miletoupolis (no. 750); and the Athenian influence on Miletoupolis' coinage and calender indicates a fusion of the population of the two settlements. Since the appointment of a *theorodokos* was an act of a *polis* rather than of a fortress (Perlman (2000) 45–60), the presence of a *theorodokos* in Miletouteichos *c.*330 indicates that Miletouteichos was a (dependent) *polis* and not just a fortress lying in the territory of Miletoupolis. For the *polis* status of a *teichos*, cf. e.g. Neon Teichos (no. 824), one of the eleven Aiolian *poleis* (Hdt. 1.149.1, 150.2).

752. Myrleia (Myrleanos) Map 52. Lat. 40.20, long. 28.55. Size of territory: ? Type: [A]:α. The toponym is either Βρύλλειον (*IG* I³ 71.III.112; *SEG* 23 189.II.15) or, later, Μύρλεια, ἡ (Ps.-Skylax 94; Strabo 12.3.22). The corresponding city-ethnics are Βρυλλεανός (*IG* I³ 280.II.18) and Μυρλεανός (on coins, *infra*). Both Brylleion (*SEG* 23 189.II.15) and Myrleia (Strabo 12.4.3) are attested as neighbours of Kios (no. 745). Stephanos (187.13–14) quotes Ephor. fr. 45 for the view that Brylleion is identical with Kios: Ἔφορος δὲ ἐν τῷ ϵ΄ Κίον αὐτήν φησιν ϵἶναι. The error disappears if one for Κίον reads Κίου: "Ephoros says that it (Brylleion) belongs to Kios"; that Brylleion/Myrleia in C4 was a dependency of Kios is stated at Diod. 20.111.4, if one accepts Post's conjecture Μυρλείας for Μαρίνης (see Corsten (1987) 8 with n. 4). The identification of Brylleion and Myrleia as successive names of the same settlement is based on two observations: (1) all references to Brylleion concern C5–C4, whereas attestations of Myrleia belong in C4s–C2; (2) both names are variants of the same (barbarian?) toponym: change of β into μ, and *metathesis* ρυ > υρ (Corsten (1987) 4–6). Since the first coins, of C4s, have the legend ΜΥΡΛ, Corsten assumes that Myrleia became the

official name shortly after *c.*330. In 202 Myrleia was destroyed by Philip V of Makedonia and refounded as Apameia (Strabo 12.4.3).

In Ps.-Skylax 94 Myrleia is the first toponym listed after the heading *πόλεις Ἑλληνίδες αἵδε* where *polis* is used in the urban sense. That Myrleia was a *polis* in the political sense too is strongly indicated by its coinage and its membership of the Delian League. The collective and internal use of the city-ethnic is attested on the coins (*infra*), the external use is attested in an Attic decree of 304/3 (*IG* II² 703.10). For the individual and external use, see the numerous references to *Ἀσκληπιάδης ὁ Μυρλεανός* (C3–C2) (Ath. 50D).

Myrleia is located at Mudanya (Turkish name), *c.*20 km west of Kios (for some earlier descriptions, see Texier (1862) 113–15; Perrot (1872) 12–14). According to Ps.-Skylax 94, Myrleia belonged to Phrygia; later it was part of Bithynia.

Myrleia was colonised by Kolophon (no. 848). The testimonies are late but leave no doubt: Pompon. 1.99; Plin. *HN* 5.143; Steph. Byz. 463.18. The foundation year is not attested.

Brylleion was a member of the Delian League. It belonged to the Hellespontine district and is recorded in the tribute lists from 433/2 (*IG* I³ 279.II.18) to 418/17 (*IG* I³ 287.II.23) a total of four times, paying a *phoros* of 3,000 dr. (*IG* I³ 279.II.18). It is absent from the full panel of 442/1 (*IG* I³ 270.I.35–II.30).

From 337 to 302 both Kios and Myrleia were ruled by Mithridates II (Diod. 20.111.4, as emended by Post). From C4l to C3 Myrleia (Bryllion) belonged for a short time to the *κοινόν* of the sanctuary of Athena Ilias (L. Robert (1966) 31–33, 39). *C.*330 a *theorodokos* was appointed to host *theoroi* from Argos (no. 347) (*SEG* 23 189.II.15).

The first coins were minted at a time when the official name of the city was Myrleia, i.e. C4–C3. Reinach (1908) 247–49 distinguished twenty-seven types: *obv.* heads of different gods, also wheel, humped bull, horseman, lyre, corn wreath, etc.; *rev.* legend: *MYPΛEA*, *MYPΛEANΩN* or *MYPΛ*, sometimes with monograms (names of magistrates?); cf. Head, *HN*² 510.

753. Olbia Map 52. Unlocated. Type: [A]:*α*. The toponym is *Ὀλβία* (Ps.-Skylax 93; cf. Ptol. *Geog.* 5.1.2 and Steph. Byz. 475.16, 489.5). Olbia is classified as a *polis* in the urban sense at Ps.-Skylax 93: *Ὀλβία καὶ λιμήν*, with *πόλις* understood before *καί* (Flensted-Jensen and Hansen (1996) 142) and listed under the heading *πόλεις Ἑλληνίδες αἵδε*. Ps.-Skylax includes Olbia among the *poleis* in Mysia, whereas Steph. Byz. 489.5 describes Olbia as a *πόλις Βιθυνίας*.

Some scholars argue that Olbia should be identified with Astakos (no. 737) and that the change of name from Astakos to Olbia took place in 435 in connection with an Athenian settlement (Ruge (1896) 1774; but cf. Ruge (1937); Jacoby, *FGrHist* II D pp. 565–66). Olbia is identified with Nikomedia by Steph. Byz. 475.15–16, followed by Tscherikower (1927) 46; Hanell (1934) 121; Marek (1993) 15. Both identifications, however, are contradicted by Ptol. *Geog.* 5.1.2, which lists Astakos, Olbia and Nikomedia side by side. The preferable view seems to be that Olbia was a settlement in the territory of first Astakos, later Nikomedia. Whatever the position of Olbia, the settlement had some importance, as the Gulf of Astakos was also called *Ὀλβιανός* (Ps.-Skylax 92; Pompon. 1.100).

Nothing is known about the history of the city. Olbia seems at an early date to have been incorporated into, probably, Astakos. In spite of the lack of evidence, Olbia might have been founded by Megara (no. 225), since the whole neighbouring region belonged to the area of Megarian colonisation.

754. (Otlenoi) Map 52. Unlocated, not in *Barr.* Type: C:? The city-ethnic is *Ὀτλενός*. The only explicit evidence concerns the ethnic and comes from the Athenian tribute lists. In the assessment decree of 422/1, among the Hellespontine members is recorded a community called *Otlenoi* paying a tribute of 2,000 dr. (*IG* I³ 77.IV.6). On the basis of this entry [*Ὀτλενοί*] has been restored in the assessment decree of 425/4 (*IG* I³ 71.III.116) and [*Ὀτλε*]*νο*[*ί*] in the tribute list of 415/14 (*IG* I³ 290.III.1). Nothing more is known about the community (Ruge (1942*a*); *ATL* i. 529).

755. Paisos (Paisenos) Map 51. Lat. 40.25, long. 26.50. Size of territory: presumably 1 or 2. Type: A:*α*. The toponym is *Παισός* (Hdt. 5.117), *ἡ* (Eust. *Il.* I 558.8–9). The city-ethnic is *Παισηνός* (*IG* I³ 272.I.32). Paisos is called a *polis* in the urban sense at Hdt. 5.117. The external and collective use of the city-ethnic is attested in the Athenian tribute lists.

Paisos has tentatively been located at Fanous (Turkish name Fanar on R. Kiepert's map), *c.*12 km east-north-east of Lampsakos (no. 748), at the extreme north point of the coast, *c.*30 km west of Parion (no. 756) (Leaf (1923) 99–100 and photo pl. V A; Ruge (1939) 559, (1942*b*) 2435; Frisch (1978) 105 n. 4). The river Paisos could be modern Bairam Çayı (Karanly Dere on Kiepert's map: Ruge (1939) 559). The relationship with Homer's *Παισός* (*Il.* 2.828, 5.612) remains obscure (Strabo 13.1.10, 19; Steph. Byz. 102.16; Eust. *Il.* I 558.8–9).

Paisos was colonised by Miletos (no. 854) (Anaximenes of Lampsakos (*FGrHist* 72) fr. 26), presumably in C7 like the other Milesian colonies in the Propontis. In 499 Paisos

joined the Ionian cities in their revolt against Persia and was subjected by Daurises in 498 or 497 (Hdt. 5.117). The city was a member of the Delian League. It belonged to the Hellespontine district and is recorded in the tribute lists from 453/2 (*IG* I³ 260.VIII.5) to 430/29 (*IG* I³ 281.III.28) a total of twelve times, once completely restored, paying in all years a *phoros* of 1,000 dr. (*IG* I³ 260.VIII.5). It was presumably assessed for tribute in 425/4 (*IG* I³ 71.III.90).

According to Strabo, Paisos was destroyed and the citizens moved to Lampsakos (Strabo 13.1.19: *κατέσπασται ἡ πόλις. οἱ δὲ Παισηνοὶ μετῴκησαν εἰς Λάμψακον*). The destruction of Paisos can be dated to the period *c.*425–350: in the tribute lists Paisos is not recorded later than 430/29 and is missing from the full (?) list of 429/8 (*IG* I³ 282). But so is Priapos (no. 758), and if the [*Παισε*]*νοί* are correctly restored in *IG* I³ 71.III.5, the *terminus post quem* must be 425/4. The fact that Paisos is not mentioned between Parion and Lampsakos in the list of Hellespontine *poleis* in Ps.-Skylax 94 indicates a *terminus ante quem* of C4m. Leaf (1923) 100 suggests that Paisos fell to Lampsakos after the competition between Parion and Lampsakos reported in Polyaen. 6.24 (rC4).

756. Parion (Parianos) Map 52. Lat. 40.25, long. 27.00. Size of territory: 5. Type: A:*a*. The toponym is *Πάριον, τό* (Archestratos fr. 7.2, Olson and Sens; *IG* I³ 71.III.98; Xen. *An.* 7.2.7). The city-ethnic is *Παριανός* (*CID* II 5.II.2 (358)). Parion is called a *polis* in the urban sense at Hdt. 5.117.1, and in Ps.-Skylax 94 Parion is one of the toponyms listed after the heading *πόλεις Ἑλληνίδες αἵδε*. For the political sense, see Hdt. 4.138.1: *Ἡρόφαντος Παριηνός* in a list of tyrants with the heading: *ἕκαστος αὐτῶν τυραννεύει πόλιος* (4.137.2). The earliest explicit attestation of Parion as a *polis* in the political sense is at Diod. 20.111.3 (r302). The collective and internal use of the city-ethnic is attested on coins (*infra*). The external use is attested in the Athenian tribute lists (*IG* I³ 260.X.4) and in Xen. *An.* 7.3.16. For the individual and external use, see the C5m Athenian proxeny decree for one or more citizens of Parion (*IG* I³ 18) and the C4m sepulchral monument (*IG* II² 10045 (C4m)).

Parion is located at modern Kemer (Turkish name), northeast of the mouth of the river Kemer Dere. Here some ancient remains were found in 1801 by P. Hunt and J. D. Carlyle (Walpole (1818) 87–88; Ewers (1822) 427–30), in 1835 by Texier ((1862) 174), and in 1978 marble blocks including uninscribed *stelae* were found on the acropolis (Frisch (1983) 54).

Since Asia Minor was never clearly subdivided into political and/or geographical regions, Parion is variously placed in Phrygia (Ps.-Skylax 94), in the Troas (Strabo 13.1.4, quoting Eudoxos of Kyzikos, Damastes of Sigeion and Charon of Lampsakos), in Mysia (Ptol. *Geog.* 5.2.2), in the Propontis (Strabo 10.5.7; Eust. *Comm. Dionys. Per.* 517), in the Hellespont (Hdt. 4.138.1; Steph. Byz. 505.13) and in the Hellespont or the Propontis (Strabo 7 fr. 58).

The territory of Parion was called *Παριανή* (Anaximenes (*FGrHist* 72) fr. 25). It was bordered to the west by Paisos (no. 755) but after the integration of this city into Lampsakos (no. 748) in C5l–C4m Parion and Lampsakos became neighbours, with the frontier between the two cities at *Ἑρμαῖον*, 70 stades from Parion and 200 stades from Lampsakos (Polyaen. 6.24; see *supra* 976). To the east Parion bordered on Priapos (no. 758).

According to Euseb. *Chron.* 91b, Helm, Parion was founded in 709; cf. Ath. 116A–D. The sources disagree about the *metropolis*: Erythrai (no. 845) and "Ionia" (Paus. 9.27.1); Thasos (no. 526) (Eust. *Comm. Dionys. Per.* 517); Paros (no. 509) (Strabo 10.5.7); Miletos (no. 854), Erythrai and Paros (Strabo 13.1.14). Since the toponym Parion is obviously derived from Paros, there can be no doubt that Paros was the main coloniser (Frisch (1983) 60), while the version concerning Thasos may be explained by the fact that Thasos was a foundation of Paros; but in that case the foundation year 709 must be lowered, because Thasos itself was founded *c.*710–680 (Pouilloux (1954) 24; Frisch (1983) 59). Erythraian participation is supported by the officials called *ἐξεταστάι* (*I.Parion* 1.22) attested also in Erythrai (*I.Erythrai* 201c.46), but not at Miletos and Paros (Bilabel (1920) 49; Frisch (1983) 59). Ehrhardt (1988) 36 also adduces the name Damalis as an onomastic link between the two cities. Strabo's error about the foundation of Lampsakos discredits his information about Parion. For an attempt to harmonise all these traditions, see Burn (1935) 132 with n. 7.

Parion must have come under Persian domination after 547, and in reference to *c.*514/13 Herophantos of Parion is mentioned among the Hellespontine tyrants by Hdt. 4.138.1. Parion took part in the Ionian Revolt (Hdt. 5.103), but by chance it escaped being conquered by Daurises in 497 (Hdt. 5.117.1). Parion joined the Delian League, perhaps in 478/7. It belonged to the Hellespontine district and is recorded in the tribute lists from 454/3 (*IG* I³ 259.VI.15) to 418/17 (*IG* I³ 287.II.15) a total of fourteen times, twice completely restored, paying a *phoros* of first 1 tal. (*IG* I³ 259.VI.15), reduced to 2,000 dr. in, probably, 443/2 (*IG* I³ 269.II.19), but raised again to 1 tal. in 435/4 (*IG* I³ 277.V.4). It was presumably assessed for tribute in 425/4 (*IG* I³ 71.III.71). During the Peloponnesian War Parion supported Athens (*ATL*; Xen.

Hell. 1.1.13). The Attic proxeny decree for Phanokritos of Parion, who revealed the plans of the Spartan fleet to the Athenians (387/6), suggests that Parion continued to be an ally of Athens during the Corinthian War (*IG* II² 3822 = *Syll.*³ 137). Parian envoys to the Odrysian king Medokos are mentioned by Xen. *An.* 7.3.16 (r400). By the King's Peace of 387/6 Parion fell to Persia, and *c.*360 it was besieged and conquered by Iphiades of Abydos (Aen. Tact. 28.6–7).

City walls (*τείχη*) and their gates (*πύλαι*) are attested by Aen. Tact. 28.6–7 in his account of the conquest of Parion by Iphiades of Abydos (*c.*360). In 1801 the walls of Parion still stood, and were built of large blocks of squared marble without mortar (Hunt and Carlyle quoted by Frisch (1983) 54). The existence of a harbour is implicitly suggested by Xen. *Hell.* 1.1.13 (r410) and explicitly mentioned by Strabo 13.1.14. There is no evidence about public architecture in Parion with the exception of an extra-urban oracular sanctuary (*μαντεῖον*) of Apollo Aktaios and Artemis at Adrasteia. Possibly in C4 it was demolished, and the marble was reused for the altar of Apollo Aktaios at Parion, a work of Hermokreon (Strabo 13.1.13; cf. 10.5.7 and bronze coins of *c.*350–300, *infra*); cf. Leaf (1923) 84–85; L. Robert (1966) 43–44.

The most important god of the city was Apollo Aktaios, whose position as the protective deity of Parion is later attested by a silver tetradrachm of *c.*150 bearing the legend *ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΟΣ ΑΚΤΑΙΟΥ ΠΑΡΙΑΝΩΝ*; cf. Seyrig (1958) 611–12; L. Robert (1966) 43; Price and Trell (1977) 121. Of other communal cults attested in later sources, there is evidence for pre-Hellenistic worship of Eros (Paus. 9.27.1), because his statue was made by Praxiteles (Plin. *HN* 36.22) before 354 (Wolters (1913); Mirone (1921); L. Robert (1966) 43–44; Bonacasa (1976)), and for Priapos, of Lampsakene origin and very popular in the whole region (Robert and Robert (1950) 80–93), who acquired a local *epiklesis* in Parion (Hsch. s.v. *Παριανός*. *ἐξ ἐπιθέτου Πρίαπος*).

Parion struck electrum coins of the Gorgoneion type from C5e (Head, *HN*² 531; Babelon (1950) 42, with a too early date). In C5e the city also started to strike silver coins. Types: *obv.* Gorgoneion; *rev.* incuse square containing a cruciform pattern: e.g. *BMC Mysia* pl. 21.6, dated to *c.*500–475 (Price and Waggoner (1975) 84; *SNG Cop. Mysia* 256). *C.*350–300 (Le Rider (1963) 53–55) Parion struck silver hemidrachms on the Persian standard. Types: *obv.* bull looking back, with various symbols; legend: *ΠΑ PI*; *rev.* Gorgoneion (*SNG Cop. Mysia* 257–67). A series of bronze coins may be dated to *c.*350–300 or later. Types: *obv.* bull; *rev.* the great altar of Parion built by Hermokreon (*supra*) (Head, *HN*² 531; *SNG Cop. Mysia* 270–71).

757. Plakia (Plakianos) Map 52. Lat. 40.25, long. 28.15. Size of territory: ? Type: A:*β*. The toponym is *Πλακία* (Ps.-Skylax 94). The city-ethnic is *Πλακια(νός)* (*SNG Cop. Mysia* 545), in Ionian *Πλακινός* (Hdt. 1.57.3). Plakia is called a *polis* in the urban sense by Ps.-Skylax 94. The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally in abbreviated form on C4 coins (*infra*) and externally by Hdt. 1.57.3.

Plakia is placed in Phrygia by Ps.-Skylax 94, in the Hellespontine region by Steph. Byz. 525.14. Describing the coast from west to east, Pompon. 1.98 and Plin. *HN* 5.142 mention Plakia as an *oppidum* after Kyzikos (no. 747) and before the river Rhyndakos, and they also write that the Mt. Olympos was behind it (*a tergo*). Consequently, Plakia has tentatively been located at Kurşunlu (Turkish name), halfway between the isthmus of Kyzikos and the mouth of the river Rhyndakos (Philippson (1913) map 3; Schmidt (1950)).

Plakia is described by Herodotos as a semi-barbarian community in which Pelasgians lived side by side with Athenians (1.57.2) (cf. Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.29). In Ps.-Skylax 94 Plakia is listed under the heading *πόλεις Ἑλληνίδες αἵδε*. Herodotos' account implies that Plakia, in so far as it was a Hellenic community, was an Athenian foundation. Plakia may have been incorporated into Kyzikos, the end of the local coinage being a *terminus post quem.*

Plakia introduced into the region the worship of Kybele under the name of *Μήτηρ Πλακιανή*. The head of the goddess, sometimes turreted, appears on the obverse of the small bronze coins dated to C4. The reverse has the legend *ΠΛΑΚΙΑ* or *ΠΛΑΚΙ* or *ΠΛΑ* and a lion to r., or a lion's head, or a walking bull (Imhoof-Blumer (1871) 375–76; Head, *HN*² 537; *SNG Cop. Mysia* 543–45).

758. Priapos (Priapenos) Map 52. Lat. 40.25, long. 27.20. Size of territory: probably 2 or 3. Type: A:*α*. The toponym is *Πρίαπος* (Thuc. 8.107.1; *IG* I³ 77.IV.9), *ὁ* (Strabo 13.1.4, 11) or *ἡ* (Strabo 13.1.14; Steph. Byz. 535.3). The city-ethnic is either *Πριαπηνός* (*SNG Cop. Mysia* 548 (C3); *IG* XII.8 184.5 (C1)) or *Πριαπεύς* (*IG* I³ 261.IV.11). Priapos is called a *polis* in the urban sense at Ps.-Skylax 94, where *πόλις ἐστὶ Πρίαπος* is listed under the heading *πόλεις Ἑλληνίδες αἵδε*. The only attestation of *polis* in the political sense is at Arr. *Anab.* 1.12.7 (r334). The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally on coins (*SNG Cop. Mysia* 548 (C3)) and externally in the Athenian tribute lists (*IG* I³ 261.IV.11). The only attestation of the individual and external use is in a C1 list of *mystai* from Samothrake (*IG* XII.8 184.5).

Ps.-Skylax 94 lists Priapos among the *poleis* in Phrygia, whereas Strabo 13.1.4, quoting Eudoxos, states that the region of Troas begins at Priapos. Priapos is located at modern Karabiga (Turkish name), north-west of the mouth of the river Granikos = modern Kocabaş Çayı. Lehmann-Haupt (1918) 429–31 and Leaf (1923) 73–75 reported some ancient remains, especially traces of a harbour at Kale Burun, to be identified with the harbour of Priapos mentioned at Strabo 13.1.12 and 14. Some late inscriptions have been found by chance: Le Bas and Waddington (1870) nos. 1750–51; Legrand (1893) 549–50 no. 45; Lehmann-Haupt (1918) 430; *BE* (1972) 362 (to add some of the monuments belonging to Priapos but included in the Kyzikene *corpus* by Schwertheim (1980): nos. 337, 426, 444, 458; cf. *BE* (1980) 395). The territory was originally contiguous with the territories of Parion (no. 756) and Lampsakos (no. 748) (Strabo 13.1.11) to the west, and to Kyzikos (no. 747) to the east (Strabo 12.4.6; cf. 13.1.11).

According to the traditions paraphrased by Strabo 13.1.12, Priapos was founded either by the Milesians (no. 854) contemporaneously with Abydos (no. 765) and Prokonnesos (no. 759), or by Kyzikos (no. 747). The synchronism with Abydos and Prokonnesos suggests a date of C7e.

Priapos joined the Delian League, presumably from the beginning. It belonged to the Hellespontine district and is recorded in the tribute lists from 454/3 (*IG* I³ 259.II.13) to 428/7 (*IG* I³ 283.II.17–18) a total of thirteen times, once completely restored, paying in all years a *phoros* of 500 dr. (*IG* I³ 266.I.18). It was presumably assessed for tribute in 425/4 (*IG* I³ 71.III.97). It is recorded sometimes by toponym (*IG* I³ 266.I.18) and sometimes by city-ethnic (*IG* I³ 261.IV.11). Priapos was involved in some war operations at sea in 411 (Thuc. 8.107.1). It fell to Persia by the King's Peace of 386/7, and in 334 it willingly opened its gates to Alexander the Great (Arr. *Anab.* 1.12.7).

The city is called after its patron divinity Priapos (Strabo 13.1.12), whose cult was originally limited to the Propontis (Herter (1954) 1914; L. Robert (1979) 263–64), and Priapos constitutes a rare case of the toponym being identical with, and not derived from, the name of the god (Herter (1954) 1915).

759. Prokonnesos (Prokonnesios) Map 52. Lat. 40.35–40, long. 27.30–45. Size of territory: 3 (110 km²). Type: A:α. The toponym is *Προκόννησος, ἡ* (Hdt. 4.14.2; Dem. 18.302; *IG* II² 10113 (C4)), the name of the city being identical with that of the island (Ps.-Skylax 94). The city-ethnic is *Προκοννήσιος* (*IG* I³ 1508.4 (C6m) from Sigeion; *I.Lampsakos* 26.2 (C4)). Prokonnesos is attested as a *polis* both in the political sense (Hdt. 4.15.1) and in the urban sense (Hdt. 4.14.2; Ps.-Skylax 94, where *πόλις Προκόννησος* is listed under the heading *πόλεις Ἑλληνίδες αἵδε*). For the political sense, see also Hdt. 4.138.1: *Μητρόδωρος Προκοννήσιος* in a list of tyrants with the heading *ἕκαστος αὐτῶν τυραννεύει πόλιος* (4.137.2). The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally on the coins (*infra*) and externally in a reference to the Prokonnesioi as Athenian allies (Dem. 50.6). For the individual and external use, see the Ionian–Attic monument from Sigeion (*IG* I³ 1508.4 (C6m)) and the Prokonnesian attested in the Karthaian list of *proxenoi* (*IG* XII.5 542.57 (C4m)).

The city is located on Marmara island (Mermeradası in Turkish), north-west of the Kyzikene peninsula. Strabo 13.1.16 makes a distinction between ancient Prokonnesos (which could be the island of Halone, in front of Kyzikos: Frisch (1983) 50) and contemporary Prokonnesos. The ancient urban centre (not recorded in *Barr.*) was in the south-west part of the island (Danoff (1974) 560).

The territory of Prokonnesos comprised the whole island (Gedeon (1895); Hasluck (1909) 9–13; Danoff (1974) 560; L. Robert (1978) 327–28) and was famous for its marble (Strabo 7 fr. 55, 13.1.16). The remains of the quarries—described by Texier (1862) 161–62, Hasluck (1909) 11–13 and Holbach (1909)—are now meticulously researched by N. Asgari (Mitchell (1990) 88–89, (1999) 129–30). In C4f Prokonnesos controlled a neighbouring island called Elaphonnesos (Ps.-Skylax 94). According to later authors, Elaphonnesos and Prokonnesos were the same island (Danoff (1974) 560).

Prokonnesos was founded by the Milesians (no. 854) contemporaneously with Priapos (no. 758) and Abydos (no. 765) (Strabo 13.1.12). For various etymologies of the toponym, see schol. Ap. Rhod. 2.279. Prokonnesos may indeed belong to the first stage of Milesian colonisation of the Propontis together with Abydos and Priapos, both founded *c.*670 (Loukopoulou (1989) 46, 48; Ehrhardt (1988) 38 suggests a date close to that of Kyzikos' foundation, C7e).

Under Persian control after 547, Prokonnesos was in *c.*513 ruled by Metrodoros, recorded among the Hellespontine tyrants at Hdt. 4.138.1. The city took part in the Ionian Revolt and was burnt by the Phoinikian fleet in 493 (Hdt. 6.33.2). At an unknown date it joined the Delian League. It belonged to the Hellespontine district and is recorded in the tribute lists from 452/1 (*IG* I³ 261.IV.17) to 418/17 (*IG* I³ 287.II.14) a total of fourteen times, paying in all years a *phoros* of 3 tal. (*IG* I³ 271.I.33). It was perhaps assessed for tribute in 425/4 (*IG* I³

71.III.103, completely restored). Prokonnesos remained loyal to Athens during the Peloponnesian War, and in 410 Alkibiades used its harbour as his base for the operations leading to the battle of Kyzikos (Xen. *Hell.* 1.1.13, 18–20). Persian domination after the King's Peace in 387/6 is to be assumed, but in 362 the Prokonnesians are once again attested as allied with Athens (Dem. 50.5). After a war with Kyzikos (no. 747) in 362/1, Prokonnesos was conquered, and some citizens were moved to Kyzikos (Dem. 50.5; Paus. 8.46.4; cf. Moggi, *Sin.* 341–44), but Prokonnesos was not destroyed (L. Robert (1967) 17–18), and in 340 it appears as an ally of Athens in the war against Philip of Makedonia (Dem. 18.302). Also *Προκοννήσιοι*, i.e. citizens of Prokonnesos, are attested in the Hellenistic period (*SEG* 30 551.3, 34 604 (C3); see L. Robert (1967) 19–21). Prokonnesos was probably allowed to persist as a dependency of Kyzikos, i.e. as a dependent *polis*. A citizen of Prokonnesos was appointed *proxenos* by Karthaia (no. 492) in C4m (*IG* XII.5 542.57).

Some names derived from Apollo may suggest that the patron deity was Apollo, as in other Milesian colonies (Ehrhardt (1988) 40). The cult of Kybele is attested by Paus. 8.46.4: having conquered Prokonnesos, the Kyzikenes moved the cult statue (*ἄγαλμα*) of Mother *Dindymene* (i.e. Kybele) from Prokonnesos to Kyzikos.

The coinage of Prokonnesos (Head, *HN*² 537–38) has been redated by Thompson (1965) and subdivided into four series. (1) *C.*450–425, denomination: silver hemiobols on the Persian standard. Types: *obv.* forepart of a horse; *rev.* oinochoe within an incuse square. (2) *C.*411–387/6, denomination: silver hemidrachms on the Persian standard. Types: *obv.* different types of female head to l., presumably Aphrodite; *rev.* oinochoe; legend: *ΠΡΟΚΟΝ*. (3)–(4) After *c.*387/6 on the Rhodian standard. (3) Denominations: tetradrachms, drachms and fractions; small fractions in bronze. Types: *obv.* female head, r.; *rev.* stag or stag's forepart (silver), or oinochoe, or dove; legend: *ΠΡΟΚΟΝ*, names of magistrates except on smaller bronze coins. (4) Denominations: hemidrachms, trihemiobols and small bronzes of the same basic types, but without names and subsidiary symbols. The date of the last coinage is given by the incorporation of Prokonnesos into Kyzikos (*SNG Cop. Mysia* 551–58).

760. Pythopolis (Pythopolites) Map 52. Lat. 40.25, long. 29.25. Size of territory: ? Type: B:? The toponym is *Πυθόπολις* (Arist. *Mir. ausc.* 834ᵇ34; Menekrates (*FGrHist* 701) fr. 1). The city-ethnic is *Πυθοπολίτης* (*IG* I³ 77.IV.7). The toponym as well as the membership of the Delian League suggest that Pythopolis was originally a *polis*, but at Arist. *Mir. ausc.* 834ᵇ34 it is classified as a *kome*. The presumption is that the *polis* Pythopolis was subdued by Kios (no. 745) and turned into a civic subdivison.

Ps.-Aristotle locates Pythopolis on the Askanian lake (= İznik Gölü), 120 stades from Kios, and considers it a "village", apparently a second-order settlement in the territory of Kios. According to Menekrates (*FGrHist* 701) fr. 1, it was close to the river Soloeis. A combination of these two sources suggests a location at the village of Sölöz, on the south shore of İznik Gölü (Corsten (1987) 148–49).

The Pythopolitai are recorded among the Hellespontine members in the Athenian assessment decree of 422/1 (*IG* I³ 77.IV.7), and the city-ethnic is restored in the assessment decree of 425/4 (*IG* I³ 71.III.117). Thus, the Athenians claimed that they were members of the Delian League.

According to Menekrates (*FGrHist* 701) fr. 1, Pythopolis had been founded by Theseus and named after the Pythian Apollo.

761. Skylake Map 52. Lat. 40.25, long. 28.25. Size of territory: ? Type: C:*β*. The toponym is *Σκυλάκη* (Hecat. fr. 218; Hdt. 1.57.2). The only attestation of a city-ethnic is at Steph. Byz. 579.4. Quoting Hekataios, Steph. Byz. 579.3–4 states that Skylake was a *polis* near Kyzikos: *Σκυλάκη. πόλις περὶ Κύζικον. Ἑκαταῖος Ἀσίᾳ*. There is no reason to doubt the location, but we have no guarantee that the site-classification stems from Hekataios (Hansen (1997) 17–18). Thus, the main reason for including Skylake in this Inventory of *poleis* is the analogy with Plakia (no. 757): like Plakia, Skylake is described by Hdt. 1.57.2 as a semi-barbarian community in which Pelasgians lived side by side with Athenians. Herodotos' account implies that Skylake, in so far as it was a Hellenic community, was an Athenian foundation.

From the information provided by Steph. Byz. 579.3–4, Pompon. 1.98, Plin. *HN* 5.142, and Valerius Flaccus, *Argonautica* 3.34–36, we must presume that Skylake was situated near Plakia at the mouth of the river Rhyndakos (Lolling (1882) 152 n. 2). Philippson (1913) map 2 located Skylake at Yeni Köy, on the coast, *c.*12 km west of the mouth of the Rhyndakos. The city seems to have disappeared very early (Bürchner (1927)), and was presumably integrated into Kyzikos (no. 747).

762. Sombia Map 52. Unlocated. Not in *Barr.* Type: B:? The toponym is *Σομβία, ἡ* (*IG* I³ 285.II.86).

Sombia was a member of the Delian League. It belonged to the Hellespontine district (*IG* I³ 287.II.21) and is recorded

in the tribute lists in 428/7 (*IG* I³ 283.II.23), in 421/0 (*IG* I³ 285.II.86) and in 418/17 (*IG* I³ 287.II.21), paying a *phoros* of 4,000 dr. (*IG* I³ 285.II.86, amount partly restored). It was assessed for tribute in 425/4 (*IG* I³ 71.III.113, partly restored) and in 422/1 (*IG* I³ 77.IV.3) for 4,000 dr.

The position of Sombia in the lists strongly suggests that, within the Hellespontine district, it was located somewhere in the Propontis, rather than in Troas or Chersonesos. Further specification is impossible. In the assessment decrees Sombia is listed together with communities lying on the south coast (Tereia (no. 763), Artaiou Teichos (no. 735), Otlenoi (no. 754)), but in the tribute lists it is placed among communities, some of which were on the north coast (Daunion Teichos, Serrion Teichos and Perinthos) and some on the south coast (Myrleia and, probably, Didymon Teichos). The evidence slightly favours a position on the south coast, but is—strictly speaking—inconclusive. So a location on the north coast is equally possible.

763. Tereia Map 52. *c.*Lat. 40.25, long. 28.45, unlocated in *Barr.* Size of territory: ? Type: C:? Τηρεία is recorded among the Hellespontine members in the Athenian assessment decree of 425/4 (*IG* I³ 71.III.111–12: [*T*]ερεία παρὰ [*Bρ*]ύλλιον), and the toponym is restored in the assessment decree of 422/1 (*IG* I³ 77.IV.1–2). Thus, the Athenians claimed that Tereia was a member of the Delian League. According to the evidence of the assessment decree, Tereia was situated east of Kyzikos near Myrleia and must accordingly be different from the Tereia mentioned by Strabo at 12.4.6 as lying west of Kyzikos (*ATL* i. 476; Charneux (1966) 211–12).

764. Zeleia (Zeleites) Map 52. Lat. 40.15, long. 27.35. Size of territory: ? Type: A:? The toponym is Ζέλεια (*Il.* 2.824; Dem. 9.43; *IG* I³ 271.II.38). The city-ethnic is Ζελείτης (*IG* II² 8526.1 (C4s)). Zeleia is called a *polis* in the urban sense in the local decree *SGDI* 5532 = *Syll.*³ 279.25, and in the political sense in the same inscription (15, 19, 39) and in *SGDI* 5533a–b, d–e (both from *c.*334). In both inscriptions are attested the cognate terms *politai* (*Syll.*³ 279.3, 7, 28) and *politeia* (*SGDI* 5533a–d). The collective and internal use of the city-ethnic is attested on coins (*infra*), the external sense in Arr. *Anab.* 1.17.2 (r334). For the individual and external use, see the references to Ἄρθμιος Πυθώνακτος Ζελείτης (Dem. 9.42–43; Aeschin. 3.258; Din. 2.24; cf. Meiggs (1972) 508–12).

Strabo locates Zeleia 190 stades from Kyzikos and 80 stades from the sea (13.1.10), at the foot of Mt. Ida (13.1.5, 33), which was for him rather a mountain range separating Troy from Mysia (Texier (1862) 41). The site has been identified with Sari Köy (Turkish name), on the Sari Çayı, a left-bank tributary of the river Aisepos (= Gönen Çayı): Philippson (1910) map 1; Hasluck (1910) 101–3; Leaf (1923) 66–67; *ATL* i. 488.

No reliable reconstruction of the extent of Zeleia's territory can be obtained from Strabo's contradictory accounts at 12.4.6, 13.1.10, 17, 45. For an attempt, see Haussoullier (1902) 107–8.

Nothing certain is known about the foundation of Zeleia. It was not a Milesian colony (Bilabel (1920) 47–49; Ehrhardt (1988) 38). Early Ionian Hellenisation of a pre-existing settlement is sometimes presumed (Bilabel (1920) 49; cf. L. Robert (1967) 122; Herrmann (1981) 17 n. 48). At an unknown date in C5 Zeleia began to collaborate with Athens, at least through one of its citizens (Meiggs (1972) 508–12), and in 441/40 the city occurs once in the tribute lists among the Hellespontine members ([Ζέ]λεια: *IG* I³ 271.II.38). The toponym is completely restored in the assessment decree of 425/4 (*IG* I³ 71.III.102). Under Persian domination from, at latest, the King's Peace of 387/6, Zeleia supported the Persians against Alexander the Great in 334 but obtained an amnesty from the conqueror (Arr. *Anab.* 1.17.2). Some decrees passed in the wake of the battle of Granikos testify to a democratic constitution (*infra*). Finally, like many other settlements in the region, Zeleia was eventually subdued by Kyzikos (no. 747) (Strabo 13.1.5; cf. 12.4.6, 13.1.10) and, probably, turned into a fort (φρούριον) in the Kyzikene territory (cf. Steph. Byz. 295.7).

Almost all information about institutions, officials, cults and calendar stems from two inscriptions (*SGDI* 5532 = *Syll.*³ 279 = Michel 530 and *SGDI* 5533 = Michel 531) connected with the establishment of a democratic regime after 334 (cf. Lolling (1881), (1884) 58–60). They attest a popular assembly called δῆμος (5532.1, 5533b–f), an ἐπιστάτης (5532.1, 5533b–e), the "officials" (ἄρχοντες: 5532.22, 33, 38), δικασταί and σ[υ]νήγοροι (5532.27, 30–32; see also ψήφισμα: 11, 26, 34; γνώμη: 13). *SGDI* 5532 and 5533f concern the regulation of the possession of public land (cf. δημόσια χωρία: 5532 *passim*). The reference to land belonging to exiles testifies to a *stasis* in connection with the change of constitution (τὰς γέας τῶμ φυγάδων: 5533f). The decrees *SGDI* 5533a–c grant *politeia*, *ateleia* and *proedria* to foreigners; 5533d grants *politeia*, land, *ateleia* and *proedria* to an inhabitant of Zeleia; while 5533e grants land (as above), *ateleia* and *proedria* to a Zeleian citizen. Of the foreigners honoured, one is a *proxenos* of Zeleia in Eresos (no. 796) (5533c) and one is from Thourioi (no. 74) (5533b).

SGDI 5532 mentions the acropolis of the city (6–7), the sanctuary of Apollo Pythios (36–37) as well as other public sanctuaries (38). Strabo 13.1.13 mentions that there had once been an oracle (*μαντεῖον*) in Zeleia, probably to be connected with the cult of Apollo Pythios. A public oath invoking Artemis (*SGDI* 5532.10, 32) as well as coin types (*infra*) testify to a cult of Artemis. From *SGDI* 5532.17, 23–24 are known the names of three months of the local calendar: *Ἡραῖος*, *Κεκυπώσ[ι]ος* and *Ἀκάταλλος* (Samuel (1972) 131). The two last are not known from other *poleis*.

Zeleia struck bronze coins in C4s. *Obv*. head of Artemis, wearing *stephanos*; *rev*. stag standing or symbol; legend: *ΖΕΛΕ* (Head, *HN*² 550; *SNG Cop. Troas* 501–4).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abmeier, A. 1990. "Zur Geschichte von Apollonia am Rhyndakos", in E. Schwertheim (ed.), *Mysische Studien*, Asia Minor Studien 1 (Bonn) 1–16.

Akurgal, E. 1956. "Recherches faites à Cyzique et à Ergili (au sujet de la date de l'expansion ionienne)", *Anatolia* 1: 15–24.

——1961. *Die Kunst Anatoliens von Homer bis Alexander* (Berlin).

——1965. "Neue archaische Bildwerke aus Kyzikos", *AntK* 8: 99–103.

——1976*a*. "Daskyleion", *PECS* 259.

——1976*b*. "Kyzikos", *PECS* 473–74.

Alföldi, M. R. 1991. "Zur Gründung von Kyzikos", in *Studien zum antiken Kleinasien, Friedrich Karl Dörner zum 80. Geburtstag gewidmet*, Asia Minor Studien 3 (Bonn) 129–38.

Asgari, N., and Firatlı, N. 1978. "Die Nekropole von Kalchedon", in *Studien zur Religion und Kultur Kleinasiens: Festschrift F. K. Dörner*, i (Leiden) 1–92.

Asheri, D. 1978. "On the 'Holy Family' of Astakos", in *Studien zur Religion und Kultur Kleinasiens: Festschrift F. K. Dörner*, i (Leiden) 93–98.

Avram, A. 1996. "Les cités grecques de la côte Ouest du Pont-Euxin", *CPCActs* 3: 288–316.

——1998–2000. "Sanctuarul Artemidei de la Calchedon", *StClas* 34–36: 147–50.

——1999. "Les calendriers de Mégare et de ses colonies pontiques", in P. Lévêque and O. Lordkipanidzé (eds.), *Religions du Pont-Euxin: Actes du VIIIe Symposium de Vani* (Besançon and Paris) 25–31.

Babelon, J. 1950. *Le Portrait dans l'Antiquité d'après les monnaies* (Paris).

Baldwin, A. 1914. *The Electrum Coinage of Lampsakos* (New York).

——1920. "An Unedited Gold Stater of Lampsakos", *ZfN* 32: 1–14.

——1924. "The Gold Staters of Lampsakos", *AJN* 53.3: 1–76.

Berve, H. 1967. *Die Tyrannis bei den Griechen*, i (Munich).

Bilabel, F. 1920. *Die ionische Kolonisation: Untersuchungen über die Gründungen der Ionier, deren staatliche und kultische Organisation und Beziehungen zu den Mutterstädten*, *Philologus* suppl. 14.1 (Leipzig).

Bittel, K. 1953. "Zur Lage von Daskyleion", *AA* 1–15.

BMC Mysia = W. Wroth, *A Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum: Mysia* (London, 1892).

Bogaert, R. 1977. "Le cours du statère de Cyzique à Athènes aux Ve et IVe siècles av. J.-C.: état de la question", *RBN* 123: 17–39.

Bonacasa, N. 1976. "Parion", *PECS* 676.

Bürchner, L. 1901. "Dareion", *RE* iv.2. 2184.

——1921. "Kolonai (3)", *RE* xi.1. 1110.

——1924*a*. "*Λαμψακηνή*", *RE* xii.1. 588–89.

——1924*b*. "Lampsakos", *RE* xii.1. 590–92.

——1927. "Skylake (1)", *RE* iii.A1. 618.

Burn, A. R. 1935. "Dates in Early Greek History", *JHS* 55: 130–46.

Burstein, S. M. 1976. *Outpost of Hellenism: The Emergence of Heraclea on the Black Sea* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London).

Cawkwell, G. L. 1956. "A Note on the Heracles Coinage Alliance of 394 B.C.", *NC* ser. 6, 16: 69–75.

Charneux, P. 1966. "Liste argienne de théarodoques", *BCH* 90: 156–239.

Cook, J. M. 1973. *The Troad: An Archaeological and Topographical Study* (Oxford).

Corsten, Th. 1985. *Die Inschriften von Kios*, *IGSK* 29 (Bonn) (= *I.Kios*).

——1987. *Die Inschriften von Apameia (Bithynien) und Pylai*, *IGSK* 32 (Bonn) (= *I.Apameia*).

——1988. "Daskyleion am Meer: ein Corpusculum der Inschriften und Nachrichten über die Stadt", *EpigAnat* 12: 53–77.

——1990. "Caesarea Germanice, mit einem Nachtrag zu 'Daskyleion am Meer' (Epigr. anat. 12, 1988, 53–77)", *EpigAnat* 15: 43–46.

——1993. *Die Inschriften von Prusa ad Olympum*, ii: *Die Geschichte der Stadt in der Antike. Inschriften unbekannter Herkunft im Archäologischen Museum Bursa*, *IGSK* 40 (Bonn) (= *I.Prusa*).

Cremer, M. 1991. *Hellenistisch-römische Grabstelen im nordwestlichen Kleinasien*, i: *Mysien*, Asia Minor Studien 4.1 (Bonn).

Danoff, C. M. 1974. "Prokonnesos", *RE* Suppl. xiv. 560–61.

Debord, P. 1999. *L'Asie Mineure au IVe siècle (412–323 a.C.): pouvoirs et jeux politiques* (Paris and Bordeaux).

Ehrhardt, N. 1987. "Die politischen Beziehungen zwischen den griechischen Schwarzmeergründungen und ihren Mutterstädten: ein Beitrag zur Bedeutung von Kolonialverhältnissen in Griechenland", in *Acta Centri Historiae "Terra Antiqua Balcanica"*, ii (IXe Congrès international d'épigraphie grecque et latine) 78–117.

——1988. *Milet und seine Kolonien: vergleichende Untersuchung der kultischen und politischen Einrichtungen*^{2} (Frankfurt am Main, Bern, New York and Paris).

——1995. "Ktistai in den Argonautika des Apollonios Rhodios: Beobachtungen zur Entwicklung von Gründungstraditionen in Kyzikos, Kios, Herakleia Pontike und Sinope", in *Studien zum antiken Kleinasien*, iii, Asia Minor Studien 16 (Bonn) 23–46.

Ewers, J. (ed.) 1822. *Otto Friedrichs von Richter Wallfahrten nach dem Morgenlande* (Berlin).

Flensted-Jensen, P., and Hansen, M. H. 1996. "Pseudo-Skylax' Use of the Term *Polis*", *CPCPapers* 3: 137–67.

Frisch, P. 1975. *Die Inschriften von Ilion*, *IGSK* 3 (Bonn) (= *I.Ilion*).

——1978. *Die Inschriften von Lampsakos*, *IGSK* 6 (Bonn) (= *I.Lampsakos*).

——1983. *Die Inschriften von Parion*, *IGSK* 25 (Bonn) (= *I.Parion*).

Fritze, H. von 1913. *Die antiken Münzen Mysiens*, i: *Adramytion–Kisthene* (Berlin).

——1917. "Die autonome Kupferprägung von Kyzikos", *Nomisma* 10: 1–30.

Gaebler, H. 1922. Review of Baldwin (1914), *NLB* 38: 1852–53.

——1923. "Die Silberprägung von Lampsakos", *Nomisma* 12: 1–46.

Gardner, P. 1911. "The Coinage of the Ionian Revolt", *JHS* 31: 151–60.

——1918. *A History of Ancient Coinage* (Oxford).

Gawantka, W. 1975. *Isopolitie: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der zwischenstaatlichen Beziehungen in der griechischen Antike*, *Vestigia* 22 (Munich).

Gedeon, M. I. 1895. *Προκόννησος ἐκκλησιαστικὴ παροικία, ναοὶ, καὶ μοναὶ, μητροπολῖται καὶ ἐπίσκοποι* (Constantinople and Pera).

Graham, A. J. 1958. "The Date of the Greek Penetration of the Black Sea", *BICS* 5: 25–42.

——1971. "Patterns in Early Greek Colonisation", *JHS* 91: 35–47.

——1983. *Colony and Mother City in Ancient Greece*^{2} (Chicago).

Habicht, Chr. 1999. "Zu griechischen Inschriften aus Kleinasien", *EpigAnat* 31: 19–29.

Hanell, K. 1934. *Megarische Studien* (Lund).

Hansen, M. H. 1997. "Hekataios' Use of the Term *Polis* in his *Periegesis*", *CPCPapers* 4: 17–27.

——1998. *Polis and City-State: An Ancient Concept and its Modern Equivalent*, *CPCActs* 5.

Hasluck, F. W. 1902. "An Inscribed Basis from Cyzicus", *JHS* 22: 126–34.

——1909. "The Marmara Islands", *JHS* 29: 6–18.

——1910. *Cyzicus: Being some Account of the History and Antiquities of that City, and of the Districts Adjacent to it, with the Towns of Apollonia ad Rhyndacum, Miletupolis, Hadrianutherae, Priapus, Zeleia, etc.* (Cambridge).

Haussoullier, B. 1902. *Études sur l'histoire de Milet et du Didymeion* (Paris).

Herrmann, P. 1981. "Teos und Abdera im 5. Jahrhundert v. Chr.: ein neues Fragment der Teiorum Dirae", *Chiron* 11: 1–30.

Herter, H. 1954. "Priapos (1)", *RE* xxii. 1914–42.

Hirschfeld, G. 1895*a*. "*Ἀρταίου τεῖχος*", *RE* ii.1: 1303.

——1895b. "Artake (1)", *RE* ii.1. 1303–4.

Holbach, F. von 1909. "Prokonnesos", *AM* 34: 399–402.

Imhoof-Blumer, F. 1871. "Zur Münzkunde und Palaeographie Boiotiens", *NZ* 321–87.

——1890. "Griechische Münzen", *AbhMünch* 18: 525–798.

Isaac, B. 1986. *The Greek Settlement in Thrace until the Macedonian Conquest* (Leiden).

Jenkins, G. K., and Castro Hipolitò, M. C. 1989. *A Catalogue of the Calouste Gulbenkian Collection of Greek Coins*, part 2 (Lisbon).

Jones, A. H. M. 1971. *The Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces*^{2} (Oxford).

Karwiese, S. 1980. "Lysander as Herakliskos Drakonopnigon", *NC* ser. 7, 20: 1–27.

Kaufmann, F.-M., and Stauber, J. 1992. "Poimanenon bei Eski Manyas? Zeugnisse und Lokalisierung einer kaum bekannten Stadt", in *Studien zum antiken Kleinasien*, ii, Asia Minor Studien 8 (Bonn) 43–85.

Kiechle, F. 1959–60. "Mysien–Troas–Aiolis–Lesbos: Literaturüberblicke der griechischen Numismatik", *JNG* 10: 91–164.

Knoepfler, D. 1997. "Le territoire d'Érétrie et l'organisation politique de la cité (*dêmoi*, *chôroi*, *phylai*)", *CPCActs* 4: 352–449.

Koenigs, W. 1981. "Archaische Bauglieder aus Kyzikos", *AnatSt* 31: 121–28.

Koerte, A. 1899. "Kleinasiatische Studien V: Inschriften aus Bithynien", *AM* 24: 398–450.

Laubscher, H. P. 1963–64. "Zwei neue Kouroi aus Kleinasien", *IstMitt* 13–14: 73–87.

Lawton, C. L. 1995. *Attic Document Reliefs* (Oxford).

Leaf, W. 1912. *Troy* (London).

——1923. *Strabo on the Troad: Book XIII, Cap. I* (Cambridge).

Le Bas, P., and Waddington, W.-H. 1870. *Inscriptions grecques et latines*, i–ii (Paris).

Legrand, P. E. 1893. "Inscriptions de Mysie", *BCH* 17: 520–56.

Lehmann-Hartleben, K. 1923. *Die antiken Hafenanlagen des Mittelmeeres* (Leipzig).

Lehmann-Haupt, C. F. 1918. "Priapos-Troja-Sigeion", *Klio* 15: 429–34.

Le Rider, G. 1963. *Deux trésors de monnaies grecques de la Propontide, IVe siècle avant J.-C.* (Paris).

Lolling, H. G. 1881. "Mitteilungen aus Kleinasien III: Inschrift aus Zeleia", *AM* 6: 229–32.

——1882. "Mittheilungen aus Kleinasien IV: Der Cult der Kybele aus Plakia", *AM* 7: 151–59.

——1884. "Inschriften aus den Küstenstädten des Hellespontos und der Propontis", *AM* 9: 58–77.

Loukopoulou, L. D. 1989. *Contribution à l'histoire de la Thrace propontique durant la période archaïque* (Athens).

MacKay, T. S. 1976. "Lampsakos", *PECS* 480.

Mannsperger, D. 1989. *SNG Deutschland: Münzsammlung der Universität Tübingen*, iv: *Mysien-Ionien. Nr. 2174–3306* (Munich).

Marek, C. 1993. *Stadt, Ära und Territorium in Pontus-Bithynia und Nord-Galatia* (Tübingen).

Meiggs, R. 1972. *The Athenian Empire* (Oxford).

Merkelbach, R. 1980. *Die Inschriften von Kalchedon*, edited with the assistance of K. F. Dörner and S. Şahin, *IGSK* 22 (Bonn) (= *I.Kalchedon*).

——1985. "Nikaia die Rankenreiche (*ΕΛΙΚΩΡΗ*): ein übersehenes Fragment aus Arrians Bithyniaka", *EpigAnat* 5: 1–3.

Merle, H. 1916. *Die Geschichte der Städte Byzantion und Kalchedon von ihrer Gründung bis zum Eingreifen der Römer in die Verhältnisse des Ostens* (Diss. Kiel).

Meyer, M. 1989. *Die griechischen Urkundenreliefs*, *AM* Beiheft 13 (Berlin).

Mildenberg, L. 1993–94. "The Cyzicenes: A Reappraisal", *AJN* ser. 2, 5–6: 1–12.

Mirone, S. 1921. "Les Éros de Praxitèle", *RN* 24: 23–37.

Mitchell, S. 1985. "Archaeology in Asia Minor 1979–1984", *AR* 31: 70–105.

——1990. "Archaeology in Asia Minor 1985–1989", *AR* 36: 83–131.

——1999. "Archaeology in Asia Minor 1990–1998", *AR* 45: 125–91.

Moretti, L. 1979. "A proposito di Apollonia al Meandro", *RivFil* 107: 295–300.

Müller-Wiener, W. 1977. *Bildlexikon zur Topographie Istanbuls* (Tübingen).

Oberhummer, E. 1897. "Bosporos (1)", *RE* iii.1. 741–57.

Olshausen, E. 1970. "Parion", *RE* Suppl. xii. 982–86.

——1974. "Priapos (3)", *RE* Suppl. xiv. 482–84.

Perlman, P. 2000. *City and Sanctuary in Ancient Greece: The* Theorodokia *in the Peloponnese* (Göttingen).

Perrot, G. 1872. *Exploration archéologique de la Galatie et de la Bithynie, d'une partie de la Mysie, de la Phrygie, de la Cappadoce et du Pont*, i (Paris).

Philippson, A. 1910. *Reisen und Forschungen im westlichen Kleinasien*, i: *Einleitung: Das westliche Mysien und die pergamenische Landschaft*, Ergänzungsheft 167 zu Petermanns Mitteilungen (Gotha).

——1913. *Reisen und Forschungen im westlichen Kleinasien*, iii: *Das östliche Mysien und die benachbarten Teile von Phrygien und Bithynien*, Ergänzungsheft 177 zu Petermanns Mitteilungen (Gotha).

Pouilloux, J. 1954. *Recherches sur l'histoire et les cultes de Thasos*, i: *De la fondation de la cité à 196 avant J.-C.*, Études thasiennes 3 (Paris).

Price, M. J. 1993. *SNG IX. The British Museum*, part 1: *The Black Sea* (London).

—— and Trell, B. 1977. *Coins and their Cities* (London).

—— and Waggoner, N. 1975. *Archaic Greek Coinage: The Asyut Hoard* (London).

Regling, K. 1924. "Lampsakener", *RE* xii.1. 589–90.

Reinach, Th. 1908. *Recueil général des monnaies grecques d'Asie Mineure commencé par W. H. Waddington, continué et complété par E. Babelon et Th. Reinach*, i.2: *Bithynie, jusqu'à Juliopolis* (Paris).

Robert, J., and Robert, L. 1950. "Inscriptions de l'Hellespont et de la Propontide" in *Hellenica*, ix (Paris) 78–97.

————1976. "Une inscription grecque de Téos en Ionie: l'union de Téos et de Kyrbissos", *JSav* 153–235.

Robert, L. 1937. *Études anatoliennes: recherches sur les inscriptions grecques de l'Asie Mineure* (Paris).

——1955. "Dédicaces et reliefs votifs" in *Hellenica*, x (Paris) 5–166.

——1962. *Villes d'Asie Mineure: Études de géographie ancienne*[2] (Paris).

——1966. *Monnaies antiques en Troade* (Geneva and Paris).

——1967. *Monnaies grecques: types, légendes, magistrats monétaires et géographie* (Geneva and Paris).

——1978. "Des Carpathes à la Propontide X: Proconnèse au Parthénon", *Dacia* 22: 325–29.

——1979. "Un voyage d'Antiphilos de Byzance: Anthologie Palatine, X, 17. Géographie antique et byzantine", *JSav* 257–94.

——1980. *À travers l'Asie Mineure. Poètes et prosateurs, monnaies grecques, voyageurs et géographie* (Athens and Paris).

——1983. "Documents d'Asie Mineure XXIV: la ville d'Apollonia et Mardonios", *BCH* 107: 498–505.

——1987. *Documents d'Asie Mineure* (Paris).

Ruge, W. 1896. "Astakos (2)", *RE* ii.2. 1774–75.

——1901. "Daskyleion (5)", *RE* iv.2. 2220.

——1919a. "Kalchedon (1)", *RE* x.2. 1555–59.

——1919b. "Kallipolis (7)", *RE* x.2. 1660.

——1924. "Kyzikos", *RE* xii.1. 228–33.

——1931. "Megarike", *RE* xv.1. 217.

——1937. "Olbia (3)", *RE* xvii.2. 2405.

——1939. "Troas (1)", *RE* vii.A1. 525–83.

——1942*a*. "Otlenoi", *RE* xviii.2. 1877.

——1942*b*. "Paisos", *RE* xviii.2. 2435–37.

Ruschenbusch, E. 1983. "Tribut und Bürgerzahl im ersten athenischen Seebund", *ZPE* 53: 125–43.

Şahin, S. 1974. *Neufunde von antiken Inschriften in Nikomedeia (Izmit) und in der Umgebung der Stadt* (Diss. Münster).

Samuel, A. 1972. *Greek and Roman Chronology* (Munich).

Sayar, M. H. 1998. *Perinthos–Herakleia (Marmara Ereğlisi) und Umgebung: Geschichte, Testimonien, griechische und lateinische Inschriften* (Vienna).

Schmidt, J. 1950. "Plakia (2)", *RE* xx.2. 2007.

Schönert-Geiss, E. 1970. *Die Münzprägung von Byzantion*, i: *Autonome Zeit* (Berlin and Amsterdam).

Schuller, W. 1974. *Die Herrschaft der Athener im Ersten Attischen Seebund* (Berlin and New York).

Schwertheim, E. 1978. "Ein postumer Ehrenbeschluß für Apollonis in Kyzikos", *ZPE* 29: 213–28.

——1980. *Die Inschriften von Kyzikos und Umgebung*, i: *Grabtexte*, *IGSK* 18 (Bonn) (= *I.Kyzikos* I).

——1983. *Die Inschriften von Kyzikos und Umgebung*, ii: *Miletupolis*, *IGSK* 26 (Bonn) (= *I.Kyzikos* II).

——1986. "Versteigerungslisten aus Kyzikos", *EpigAnat* 8: 9–14.

Seibert, J. 1963. *Metropolis und Apoikie. Historische Beiträge zur Geschichte ihrer gegenseitigen Beziehungen* (Diss. Würzburg).

Seltman, C. 1933. *Greek Coins* (London).

Sève, M. 1979. "Un décret de consolation à Cyzique", *BCH* 103: 327–59.

Seyrig, H. 1958. "Parion au IIIe siècle avant notre ère", in *Centennial Publication of the American Numismatic Society* (New York) 603–24.

SNG Deutschland. Nachträge II = H. von Aulock, *SNG Deutschland: Sammlung von Aulock*, xvi: *Nachträge* ii: *Mysien. Troas. Aeolis. Lesbos* (Berlin, 1967).

Texier, C. 1862. *Asie Mineure: description géographique, historique et archéologique des provinces et des vallées de la Chersonnèse d'Asie* (Paris).

Thompson, M. 1965. "The Coinage of Proconnesus", *RN* ser. 6, 7: 30–35.

Toepffer, J. 1896. "Astakos", *Hermes* 31: 124–36.

Touratsoglou, I. 1999. "Statères d'Alexandre et statères de Cyzique: le trésor du Pirée, 1882 (*IGCH* 47)", in M. Amandry, S. Hurter and D. Bérend (eds.), *Travaux de numismatique grecque offerts à Georges Le Rider* (London) 351–57.

Tscherikower, V. 1927. *Die hellenistischen Städtegründungen von Alexander dem Großen bis auf die Römerzeit*, *Philologus* Suppl. 19.1 (Leipzig).

Tümpel, K. 1897. "Besbikos (2)", *RE* iii.1. 326.

Vanseveren, J. 1937. "Inscriptions d'Amorgos et de Chios", *RPhil* 63: 313–47.

Vian, F. 1978. "L'isthme de Cyzique d'après Apollonios de Rhodes (I, 936–941)", *REG* 91: 96–106.

Walpole, R. 1818. *Memoirs Relating to European and Asiatic Turkey*^{2} (London).

Wilhelm, A. 1974. *Akademieschriften zur griechischen Inschriftenkunde*, i (Leipzig).

Wolters, P. 1913. "Der Eros des Praxiteles in Parion", *SBMünch* 4. Abh.: 21–40.

TROAS

STEPHEN MITCHELL

I. The Region

The *Troas* is the name given by modern scholars to the north-west region of Asia Minor. It is called ἡ Τρῳάς (Hdt. 5.26.1), but this name was also applied to the city of Alexandreia, which was founded at the end of C4 from a synoecism of the communities of Kolonai, Larisa, Chrysa, Hamaxitos, Neandreia, Kebren and Skepsis (*I.Alexandria Troas* 4–8). So Phaidimos, an Olympic victor of 200 from Alexandreia, was referred to as Αἰολεὺς ἐκ πόλεως Τρῳάδος (Paus. 5.8.11), a designation which combined a mention of his ethnic origin with that of his place of residence. The ethnic Τρῳαδεύς was applied in particular to inhabitants of this city (*I.Alexandria Troas* 3–4). In Antiquity the boundaries of the Troad were not firmly fixed, and the ancient authorities give varying information about its geographical extent. Strabo 13.1.4 summarises earlier opinions. According to Hom. *Il.* 2.825, the eastern boundary was the river Aisepos, while Eudoxos of Knidos (frr. 7–8, Gissinger) set this limit at Priapos (modern Karabiga) and Artake (modern Erdek). Damastes (*FGrHist* 5) fr. 9 reckoned that the territory extended from Parion to Cape Lekton, while Charon of Lampsakos ((*FGrHist* 262) fr. 13) placed the limits at the river Praktios and at Adramyttion. Skylax, cited by Strabo and followed by Ps.-Skylax 95, indicated that the Troad began at Abydos, but extended only as far as Hamaxitos, while the southern coastline as far as Antandros belonged to Aiolis (Ps.-Skylax 96). Xenophon in *An.* 5.6.23 also assigned the inland cities of Kebren, Skepsis and Neandreia to Aiolis, and in *Hell.* 3.1.15–18 deemed Gergis, Ilion and Kokylion to be Aiolic, but it is clear that this is partly for the reason that these places belonged to the Persian satrapy of Aiolis, controlled by Pharnabazos (*Hell.* 3.1.10; cf. Winter (1994) 4–6). Ephor. fr. 163 indeed reckoned the entire coastline from Abydos to Kyme to be part of Aiolis. Herodotos, on the other hand, described Antandros as being in the Troad (5.26.1). The term Aiolic may be applied to settlements in north-west Asia Minor not on narrowly geographical grounds, or with reference to the political conditions of the Persian Empire, but in recognition of the ethnic or tribal origins of the inhabitants (Ruge (1939) 526). Thus the label of Aiolic city was given even to Ilion, located at the actual site of ancient Troy (Xen. *Hell.* 3.1.16). Modern scholarship has tended to follow the definition set by Charon of Lampsakos, and assign to the Troad the coastal cities of the Hellespontos, of the Aegean coast from the Sigeion promontory to Cape Lekton, and along the north side of the Gulf of Adramyttion as far as Antandros and Astyra. The Troad also included the inland communities within this geographical definition, especially in the basin of the river Skamandros north of Mt. Ida.

The sources make clear that the Troad had an indigenous population, some of whose settlements were clearly identified as such by Greek writers. These include Antandros, which Hdt. 7.42.1 calls Pelasgian: Ἄνταν̓δρος ἡ Πελασγίς. Homer mentions the tribes of the Pelasgians that inhabited Trojan Larisa (*Il.* 2.841). Assos and Gargara were occupied by Lelegians. Gergis or Gergithe seems effectively to have been a barbarian *polis*, inhabited by what Hdt. 5.122.2 refers to as οἱ ὑπολειφθέντες τῶν ἀρχαίων Τευκρῶν, the descendants of the ancient people of Troy. A passage of Xenophon implies that the population of Skepsis also included an indigenous element, who were incorporated as free citizens within the *polis* (Xen. *Hell.* 3.1.21).

The Troad received Greek colonies. Several of its cities are said to have been colonised from the island of Lesbos: Tenedos was settled from Lesbos (Hdt. 1.151.1–2), Achilleion specifically from Mytilene (Strabo 13.1.39), and Assos probably from Methymna (Strabo 13.1.58). There is probably no truth in the supposition that Arisbe was connected with the homonymous settlement on the island of Lesbos, since it is more reliably identified as a Milesian foundation (Strabo 14.1.6). Assos in turn created a sub-colony at Gargara (Strabo 13.1.58). Ilion, Kolonai, Lamponeia, Neandreia and Antandros are simply said to be Aiolic cities, but Kebren was founded specifically by Kyme. Abydos (Thuc. 8.62.1) and Arisbe, which was incorporated into Abydan territory (Polyb. 5.111.5), were Milesian foundations, probably of C7.

Dardanos (settlers unknown) and Rhoiteion, founded by Dorians from Astypalaia (Strabo 13.1.42), were other new coastal settlements of C7–C6. Sigeion is reported to have been established by the Athenian Physkon at the end of C7 (Strabo 13.1.38). Athenian control was contested by the Mytilenians in early C6 but was consolidated under the Peisistratid tyrants.

There were twenty-nine attested *poleis* of the Archaic and Classical periods in the region of the Troad. The sites of only five of these—Abydos, Assos, Dardanos, Ilion and Sigeion—are guaranteed by the firmest criterion, the discovery of an inscription naming the city at the site itself. All the other cities listed in the Inventory below have been identified by other less certain arguments with appropriate archaeological sites, but the location of several, notably Gentinos and Berytis, should be reckoned as highly uncertain.

1. *Pre-Hellenistic Settlements not Attested as* Poleis

At least thirteen further named settlements existed in the Troad during this period, and in each case there are some grounds for believing that they may have been recognised as *poleis.* Of these only Achaiion and Palaiperkote have been identified with reasonable confidence, while the other locations are at best tentative. These other settlements are as follows.

Achaiion (*Ἀχαίιον*) Ps.-Skylax 95 identifies an *ἀκρωτήριον Ἀχαίιον*. This reading derives from an emendation by Leaf (1911–12) 299 of the MS *κρατῆρες Ἀχαίων*. Strabo 13.1.46 calls the place *τὸ Ἀχαίιον* and refers to it as a *πόλισμα* (13.1.47). The site, called Han Tepe (Cook (1973) 196), has been located at Kum Burnu ("sandy promontory") by Leaf (1923) 168. Achaiion was part of the Tenedian *peraia* (Strabo 13.1.44, 46, 47), adjoining Achilleion on the north and Larisa on the south. It was next to the city of Alexandreia. The ethnic *Ἀχαιτῶν* is attested on C2 bronze coins: *obv.* head of Zeus, or Artemis the huntress; legend: *Ἀχαιτῶν* or *Ἀχαιτ(ῶν)*; or *obv.* head of Apollo; *rev.* tripod; legend: *AXAI* arranged in a square. Imhoof-Blümer (1915) 103–4 attributed these coins to Achaiion and suggested that the C4 bronze coins with the monogram *AX*, normally attributed to Achilleion, might also have been issued by the city (cf. L. Robert (1951) 8–9 n. 2). *Barr.* AC.

Aianteion (*Αἰαντεῖον*) A harbour settlement called Aianteion is reported by Plin. *HN* 5.125 to have been founded by the Rhodians at the site where the hero Aias was buried. An Athenian inscription of *c.*375 mentions an Athenian expedition in the area commanded by Chabrias: *[οἱ στρατιῶται οἱ ἐν τ[ῶι Αἰ]αντε[ί]ωι τῶι [ἐν Ἑλλησπό]ντωι σ[υμμαχ]εσά[μενοι]* (Burnett and Edmonson (1961) 80). The harbour existed in the Roman Imperial period up to AD 324 (Philostr. *VA* 4.13; Zos. 2.23–24). The site has been located at Tek Top by Cook (1973) 86–87. *Barr.* 56, C.

Chrysa (*Χρύση*) Plin. *HN* 5.132 mentions Chrysa as a *civitas* which had once existed in the area where the Sminthion still stood. A C2(?) Hellenistic inscription set up in the Sminthion implies the presence of a garrison and mentions *[τοὺς] ἐν Χρύσηι πολείτας* (*I.Alexandria Troas* 4), but we should understand that these were citizens not of Chrysa as an independent *polis*, but of Alexandreia Troas. No pre-Hellenistic remains have been noted at the site, and it may have succeeded Hamaxitos, which was occupied until the end of C4 (Cook (1988) 15). *Barr.* AC.

Kremaste (*Κρεμαστή*) According to Xen. *Hell.* 4.8.37, this place lay beside a plain in the territory of Abydos and was associated with gold mines. Cook (1973) 290 argues that it was located at Gavur Hisar, in the valley of the river Rhodios. *Barr.* 51, C.

Marpessos (*Μάρπησσος*) Paus. 10.12.3 mentions the former *polis Μάρπησσος ἐν τῇ Ἴδῃ τῇ Τρῳικῇ*, which has tentatively been located at Damkale (Zerdalılık) by Cook (1973) 281–82. In Pausanias' time there were sixty inhabitants in its ruins. Lactantius (*Div. inst.* 1.6.12) says that it was a *vicus* of Gergis. It was the legendary home of the sibyl Herophile, whose cult was adopted by the city of Gergitha, to which Marpessos belonged (C. Robert (1887) 454ff). See Leaf (1923) 106; Cook (1973) 280–82. *Barr.* C.

Miletos Plin. *HN* 5.122 mentions Miletos as an extinct settlement in Mysia (see Ruge (1932)). It has been located in the neighbourhood of Adramyttion, possibly at the crossing of the river Euenos. It may therefore belong to Aiolis, not the Troad. *Barr.* 56, AC.

Palamedium, Polymedia (*Πολυμήδειον*) Plin. *HN* 5.132 names an *oppidum Palamedium* and a *civitas* called Polymedia as settlements in the Troad. They may be identical with one another, and Polymedia is certainly to be identified with Polymedeion, a *chorion* which Strabo situated between Lekton and Assos (13.1.51). On the basis of this information editors have restored the name *Π[αλαμέδειον]* in the

Athenian tribute assessment document of 424/3 (*IG* I³ 71.III.136). *Barr.* 56, AC.

Pedasos (*Πήδασος*) Strabo 13.1.59 refers to a *polis* called Pedasos, which had once been inhabited by the Leleges in the region of Assos and Gargara, but which was now abandoned. This may, however, be an alternative or previous name for the settlement of Assos itself. *Barr.* unlocated, only H.

Pityeia (*Πιτύεια*) One of the toponyms listed in Ps.-Skylax 97 after the heading *Αἰολίδες πόλεις . . . ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ*, with Kebren, Neandreia and Skepsis (MS *πετίεια*, conj. Voss). Strabo 13.1.44 refers to places called Zeleia and Pityeia, apparently in the mountain country north-east of Skepsis. The place is not to be identified with Pitya, which Strabo 13.1.15 says was in the territory of Parion, between Parion and Priapos (Ruge (1939) 560). Not in *Barr.*

Polion, Polisma (*Πόλιον*, *Πόλισμα*) People of Astypalaia, from their new settlement of Rhoiteion on the Hellespontos, founded a further colony called *Πόλιον*, which was renamed *Πόλισμα* in Strabo's day. This was destroyed soon after its foundation and the land assigned to Rhoiteion or Sigeion, but it was resettled in C6 under the Lydians and recovered its territory. It possessed a sanctuary, but Strabo denies that it was a city, although its population gradually increased thereafter (Strabo 13.1.42). Not in *Barr.*

Skamandra (*Σκάμανδρα*) Plin. *HN* 5.124 refers to a place called *Scamandria*, and an inscription from Ilion may refer to its inhabitants as *οἱ ἐν Σκαμάνδροις* (*I.Ilion* 63.3, 5, 25 (C2–C1)). Steph. Byz. 573.12 has *Σκάμανδρος*, *ποταμὸς Τροίας*, *ἀπὸ Σκαμάνδρου* and provides the ethnics *Σκαμάνδριος*, *Σκαμανδριανός*, *Σκαμανδριῆνος*. Since the phrase *ἀπὸ Σκαμάνδρου* should refer to the famous river, the previously mentioned *Σκάμανδρος* cannot itself be the river, and the word *ποταμός* in this entry is surely a mistake for *πόλις*. This inference is also implied by the assortment of ethnics. In the Hellenistic period it may have been a *polis*, since its inhabitants were parties to a treaty with Ilion. Coins of Skamandria were identified by Imhoof-Blümer (1901) 42–44; cf. Head, *HN*² 548. But it is uncertain whether these coins attributed to Skamandra in fact belong to Skepsis; see L. Robert (1966) 98–103. The bronze types which have been attributed to Skamandra are the following. (1) C4: *obv.* nymph, *ΙΔΗ*; *rev.* fir tree, pine cone; legend: *ΣΚΑ*. (2) C3: *obv.* head of Apollo; *rev.* naked Apollo with bow, boar's head, or fir tree; legend: *ΣΚΑ*. See further Cook (1973) 254–56. *Barr.* C.

Sminthion (*Σμίνθιον*) The sanctuary of Apollo Smintheus, which lay close to the site of Chrysa on the territory of Hamaxitos (Strabo 13.1.48). The cult of Apollo Smintheus is mentioned by Homer (*Il.* 1.37–39) and is widely attested on coins of cities in the Troad. The great temple of Apollo Smintheus, whose foundations have been excavated, dates to the middle Hellenistic period (Rumscheid (1995)), but it doubtless stood above an earlier structure. A terracotta antefix of C5 is reported from the site (Mitchell (1999) 139). *Barr.* 56.

Thymbra (*Θύμβρα*) Hom. *Il.* 10.430 refers to *Θύμβρη*; compare *Θύμβρα πόλις Τρῳάδος*, *Δαρδάνου κτίσμα* in Steph. Byz. 319.17; Strabo 13.1.35 mentions *τὸ πεδίον ἡ Θύμβρα* and the ethnics *Θυμβραῖος* (applied to the cult of Apollo Thymbraios, Strabo 13.1.35) and *Θύμβριος* (applied to the river). No city site has been certainly located, but Strabo's Thymbrian plain was south of Ilion, around the confluence of the Thymbrios and the Skamandros, which was the site of the sanctuary of Apollo Thymbraios. Cook (1973) 117–23 reports in detail on local finds around the now deserted village of Akça Köy. The presence of an important Archaic and Classical cemetery is consistent with the location of a *polis* here. Thymbra was supposedly assessed for tribute to the Delian League in 425/4 on the basis of a doubtful reading of the initial letter of the name (*IG* I³ 71.III.134). Head, *HN*² 550 attributed to Thymbra C4 bronze coins. Types: *obv.* head of Zeus Ammon, or Athena; *rev.* rays of star, or torch in olive wreath; legend: *ΘΥ*. Cook (1973) 117–23 suggested that these coins may have been issued by a community in southern Aiolis. *Barr.* AC.

All of these cities may have been *poleis* in the Archaic and Classical periods.

II. The *Poleis*

765. Abydos (Abydenos) Map 51. Lat. 40.10, long. 23.15. Size of territory: 4. Type: A:*α*. The toponym is *Ἄβυδος*, *ἡ* (Hdt. 9.114.2; Thuc. 8.62.3; *I.Knidos* 603.12 (C4f)); the city-ethnic is *Ἀβυδενός* (*IG* I³ 264.IV.10), or *Ἀβυδηνός* (Hdt. 7.44; *I.Knidos* 603.4; Head *HN*² 538–39).

Abydos was founded in C7*e* from Miletos (Thuc. 8.61.1). It is called a *polis* in the urban sense by Hdt. 5.117.1 and Xen. *Hell.* 4.8.5, and in the political sense by Xen. *Hell.* 4.8.36. In Ps.-Skylax 94 Abydos is one of the toponyms listed after the heading *πόλεις Ἑλληνίδες αἵδε*. By implication Abydos is

called a *polis* in the territorial sense at Hdt. 7.43.2, and is called an *asty* by Xenophon at *Hell.* 4.8.39.

The earliest collective external use of the city-ethnic is in the Athenian tribute lists between 454/3 and 429/8 (*infra*) and the earliest collective internal use is on C5f coins (*infra*). The external individual use is found in Hdt. 4.138.1; *IG* I³ 1340 (425–400); *IG* II² 49 (C4e).

The name of territory was ἡ τῶν Ἀβυδηνῶν χώρα (Xen. *Hell.* 4.8.6; cf. Hdt. 7.95.2) or ἡ Ἀβυδηνή (Xen. *Hell.* 4.8.35). It included gold mines mentioned by Kallisthenes ((*FGrHist* 124) fr. 54.12); Xen. *Hell.* 4.8.37 implies that these were in the plain near Kremaste. Xerxes mustered his troops along πάσας τὰς ἄκτας καὶ τὰ τῶν Ἀβυδηνῶν πεδία (Hdt. 7.45). The territory extended to Dardanos on the south-west (Hdt. 7.43.2) and as far as Astyra, which by Strabo's day was incorporated (Strabo 13.1.23). Abydos was a member of the Delian League. It belonged to the Hellespontine district and is registered from 454/3 (*IG* I³ 259.II.29, restored) to 418/17 (*IG* I³ 287.II.25) a total of eighteen times, twice completely restored, paying a *phoros* of sometimes 4 tal. (*IG* I³ 271.II.29), sometimes 6 tal. (*IG* I³ 279.II.17) and sometimes other amounts. It was assessed for tribute in 425/4 (*IG* I³ 71.III.62, restored). It defected from the Delian League in 411 (Thuc. 8.62.1), and Xenophon mentions the presence of a Spartan harmost at Abydos in *Hell.* 3.1.9, 4.8.3, 5 and 32. In *Hell.* 2.1.8 he refers to foot-soldiers of Abydos, and in 4.8.33 to 200 hoplites, 50 of whom were later killed (4.8.39).

Abydos was under the control of a pro-Persian tyrant, Daphnis, in the 520s (Hdt. 4.138.1), and it was one of the Hellespontine cities destroyed by fire by Dareios after his Skythian expedition (Strabo 13.1.22). Five men of Abydos are recorded as *proxenoi* of Athens in *IG* II² 49 (C4e); and Iphiades of Abydos was appointed *proxenos* by Knidos in C4f (*I.Knidos* 603).

Arist. *Pol.* 1305ᵇ33 classes the constitution of Abydos as an oligarchy, in which the magistrates were still chosen by the hoplites and the people. As such it was unstable and liable to upheaval: ἀλλ' αἱ μὲν ἀρχαὶ ἐκ τιμημάτων μεγάλων εἰσὶν ἢ ἑταιριῶν, αἱροῦνται δὲ οἱ ὁπλῖται καὶ ὁ δῆμος, ὅπερ ἐν Ἀβύδῳ συνέβαινεν . . . κινοῦνται δ' αἱ ὀλιγαρχίαι ἐξ αὐτῶν καὶ διὰ φιλονεικίαν δημαγωγούντων. This oligarchy may be dated to the period after Abydos' defection from Athens in 411. *C.*360, after a period of *stasis*, the oligarchy was replaced by a new tyranny under Iphiades (Arist. *Pol.* 1306ᵃ26–31; *I.Knidos* 603). The same *stasis*, or another period of *stasis*, is referred to at Arist. *Oec.* 1349ᵃ3–8: a *stasiasmos* led to the land being left uncultivated, and to resident foreigners (μέτοικοι) refusing to make loans until they had been paid for existing debts. A decree was passed (ἐψηφίσαντο) allowing anyone who wished to provide loans to the farmers, who were to repay their creditors from the first yield of their harvests.

There are few remains of the city. Arist. *Mir. ausc.* 832ᵇ17 mentions a theatre, and the accounts of sieges in C5l and C4 imply that it was fortified (Thuc. 8.62.3; Xen. *Hell.* 4.8.4, 5.1.7).

Abydos struck coins from C6l to C3e. (1) Electrum coinage doubtfully attributed to Abydos, *c.*500: *obv.* eagle (on hare), dolphin; *rev.* incuse square. (2) Silver, *c.*480–450, on the Persian standard: denominations: drachm, obol, tritemorion: *obv.* eagle; legend: *ABY* or *ABYΔHNON*; *rev.* Gorgoneion. (3) Gold and silver, 411–387 (under Spartan control): denominations: gold stater, silver tetradrachm, stater, drachm, trihemiobol: *obv.* Nike, or Artemis, or Apollo; *rev.* eagle; legend: *ABY* and magistrates' names. (4) Bronze, *c.*320–280: *obv.* Apollo, or Artemis; *rev.* eagle; legend: *ABY* (Head, *HN*² 538–39; Robert (1966) 23–25; *SNG Cop. Troas* 1–53).

An external communal dedication at Delphi is recorded in *F.Delphes* III.4 215 (C4l/C3e).

766. Achilleion Map 56. Lat. 39.55, long. 26.10. Size of territory: 1. Type: A: *α*. The toponym is Ἀχιλλήιον, τό (Hdt. 5.94.2) or Ἀχίλλειον (MS Αἰγιαλεῖον) (Ps.-Skylax 95). The city-ethnics Ἀχιλλειώτης and Ἀχιλλείτης are recorded by Steph. Byz. 152.14–15, in general of places called Ἀχίλλειον.

Achilleion is called a *polis* in the urban sense by Hdt. 5.94.2, when it was used as a base by Mytilenians involved in conflict with the Athenians based in its northern neighbour, Sigeion. In Ps.-Skylax 95 Achilleion is one of the toponyms listed after the heading πόλεις Ἑλληνίδες . . . αἵδε. The name has been restored in the assessment lists of the Delian League in 425/4 (*IG* I³ 71.III.137) and 421 (*IG* I³ 77.IV.23), where it is found in lists of *Aktaiai poleis* that use *polis* in the political sense.

The city walls were reputedly built by the Mytilenians with stones from the ruins of Ilion (Strabo 13.1.39). The site at Beşika Burnu was identified with Achilleion by Cook (1973) 186–88 (accepted by *Barr.*); at Beşika Burnu are remains of a fortification wall securely dated to C6f (Cook (1973) 186–88; Korfmann (1988) 394–95; Schulz (2000) 11–12).

Achilleion probably minted bronze coins *c.*350–300; for the attribution, see Imhoof-Blümer (1901) 33–34. However, L. Robert (1951) 8–9 n. 2 pointed out that these coins might also be attributed to Achaiion. *Obv.* helmet, or helmeted

head of Athena; *rev.* the same in wreath; legend: *AX*, monogram (Head, *HN*² 540; *SNG Cop. Troas* 64).

767. Antandros (Antandrios) Map 56. Lat. 39.35, long. 26.50. Size of territory: 4? Type: A:*β*. The toponym is Ἄνταν̓δρος, ἡ (Thuc. 4.52.3, 75.1; Xen. *Hell.* 1.1.25, *IG* I³ 77.IV.15), Ἄνταν̓δρος ἡ ἐν Τρῳάδι γῇ (Hdt. 5.26), Ἄνταν̓δρος ἡ Πελασγίς (Hdt. 7.42.1). The city-ethnic is Ἀντάν̓δριος (Thuc. 8.108.4; *SEG* 22 191 (C4s)).

Alkaios calls it a *polis* in the political sense (*PLF* Z13), and it is listed, also in the political sense, as one of the *Aktaiai poleis* in *IG* I³ 77.IV.15. At Thuc. 4.52.3 Antandros is called a *polis* twice, first in the urban, then in the political sense; and it is called a *polis* in the urban sense by Thuc. 8.108.4. Xen. *Hell.* 1.1.26 has *politeia*. It is called πατρίς by Diod. 13.42.4 (r411). The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested externally by Thuc. 8.108.4, Xen. Hell. 1.1.26 and an inscription of C2 (Michel 542), and internally by C5s coins (*infra*). The external individual use of the city-ethnic is found in *SEG* 22 191 (C4s).

Its territory was called ἡ Ἀντανδρία by Arist. *Hist. an.* 519ª16 and later sources. It included shipyards at Aspaneus and a sanctuary of Artemis at Astyra, which is called a *polis* in Ps.-Skylax 98, a *kome* in Strabo 13.1.51, and a *polichne* in Strabo 13.1.65. It belonged to the Troad (Hdt. 5.26), and its tribal affiliation was Aiolic.

Antandros was founded by Aiolians (Thuc. 8.108.4), although later sources alleged a link with Andros, on a spurious etymological basis (Pomponius Mela 1.18; Servius on Verg. *Aen.* 3.6). There are also references to the indigenous population. Hdt. 7.42.1 calls it Ἄνταν̓δρος ἡ Πελασγίς; Alkaios (D. L. Page, *Lyrica Graeca Selecta* fr. 156 *apud* Strabo 13.1.51) refers to a community of Leleges; and Demetrios of Skepsis *apud* Strabo 13.1.51 to a community of Kilikes. It is also said to have been previously occupied by Thrakian Edonoi and Kimmerioi (Arist. fr. 483.1).

The city was captured by Otanes, the Persian satrap of the Hellespontine area, *c.*512 (Hdt. 5.26). It became a member of the Delian League after the Mytilene Revolt from 427, but was betrayed to Mytilenian refugees, who occupied the city before it was recovered in summer 425 (Thuc. 4.52.3, 75.1–2). The toponym is recorded among the Aktaiai *poleis* in the tribute lists of 425/4 (*IG* I³ 71.III.125, restored) and 421 (*IG* I³ 77.IV.15), and Antandros was reckoned to be one of the Ἀκταῖαι πόλεις (Thuc. 4.52.3). In 411/10 it ejected a Persian garrison (Thuc. 8.108.4–5). There is evidence for *sympoliteia* with the Syracusans, who were given *politeia* by the Antandrians in thanks for benefits received in 409 (Xen. *Hell.* 1.1.26). It was on the route of the Delphic *theorodokoi* around 200 (Plassart (1921) 8; Cook (1988) 12). In C2 Antandros sent foreign judges to Peltai in Phrygia (Michel 668).

The acropolis is mentioned by Thuc. 8.108.5, and the walls were repaired with Syracusan help in 409 (Xen. *Hell.* 1.1.26). Cults of Antandros include Apollo, who appears as a contributor in a list of *stephanephoroi* of C1 (Michel 668), and Artemis Astyrene, who appears on the coinage.

Antandros struck coins of silver and bronze, *c.*440–400 and *c.*400–284. Denominations: triobol, trihemiobol, tritemorion. (1) Silver, 440–400: *obv.* Artemis Astyrene; *rev.* goat; legend: *ANTAN*. (2) Bronze, *c.*440–400: *obv.* Artemis Astyrene; *rev.* lion's head; legend: *ANTAN* or *ANT*. (3) Bronze, *c.*400–284: *obv.* Apollo; *rev.* lion's head; legend: *ANTAN* (Head, *HN*² 541–42; *SNG Cop. Troas* 213–19).

768. Arisbe (Arisbaios) Map 51. Lat. 40.10, long 26.30, but the exact site has not been localised. Type: B:*α*. The toponym is Ἀρίσβη, ἡ (Hom. *Il.* 2.836, 6.13, 21.43); Diod. 14.38.3 has Ἄρίσβα. The city-ethnic is Ἀρισβαῖος (*IG* I³ 271.I.23). Arisbe is called a *polis* in the urban sense by Diod. 14.38.3 (r399). Plin. *HN* 5.125 calls Arisbe an *oppidum*, which was still inhabited in his day. By 216 it was part of the territory of Abydos (Polyb. 5.111.5). The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested externally in the Athenian tribute lists (*IG* I³ 281.III.38).

The founder of Arisbe was Miletos (Strabo 14.1.6). Steph. Byz. 119.9 reports a foundation story from Ephor. fr. 164 that Arisbe was a Mytilenian foundation, but this seems to be a false inference from the existence of the homonymous Arisba on Lesbos (Strabo 13.1.21; Hdt. 1.151.2). It is not mentioned by Herodotos, Thucydides or Xenophon, although their narratives concern the cities of this region (see Tenger (1994) 147). Arisbe was a member of the Delian League. It belonged to the Hellespontine district and is registered from 453/2 (*IG* I³ 260.IV.16, restored) to 430/29 (*IG* I³ 281.III.38) a total of five times, paying a *phoros* of 2 tal. (*IG* I³ 271.I.23). It was assessed for tribute in 425/4 (*IG* I³ 71.III.63, restored).

769. Assos (Assios) Map 56. Lat. 39.30; long. 26.20. Size of territory: 4. Type: B:*α*. The toponym is Ἄσσός, ἡ (Xen. *Ages.* 2.26; Ephor. fr. 47). The following forms of the city-ethnic are attested: Ἄσσιος (C5 coins, *infra*; *OGIS* 221.2 (274)), Ἄσσοος (C5 coins), Ἀσσεύς (Steph. Byz. 137.2), Ἔσσιος (*IG* I³ 284.20), hέσσιος (*IG* I³ 283.III.16), Ἥσσιος (Krateros fr. 23, Krech).

Assos is not called a *polis* by Archaic or Classical sources, but Steph. Byz. 136.7 retrospectively (and erroneously) calls

it a πόλις Λυδίας. This passage, which does not identify his source, refers to Assos as a *polis* in an urban sense, and in a political sense as the second city of Aiolis. That Assos was a *polis* at least in the Classical period is indicated by its membership of the Delian League and its coinage (*infra*).

The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested externally by the tribute lists of the Delian League (*infra*) and internally by C5s coins (*infra*). Individually, the external city-ethnic is attested in *OGIS* 221 (274), and it is used for the Stoic Kleanthes (born 331) in, e.g., Plut. *De exil.* 599A and Diog. Laert. 7.168.

The territory of Assos may have included the *poleis* of Gargara and Lamponeion (Leaf (1923) 253–57), the former having been founded by Assians (Strabo 13.1.58).

According to Hellan. fr. 160, Assos was founded from Lesbos by Aiolians, and according to Myrsilos ((*FGrHist* 477) fr. 17) by Methymna (both *apud* Strabo 13.1.58); Alexander Polyhistor. fr. 137 (*FGrHist* 118, fr. 96), in a commentary on Alkman, referred to Assos as an ἄποικος Μιτυληναίων (Steph. Byz. 136.12). It retained the character of an Aiolic city, as is shown by the survival of the cult in imperial times of Zeus Homoloios, which is common in Boiotia (*IGR* IV 256; see *RE* viii. 2263–64 and xa. 244). A prior Lelegian population is referred to in Hom. *Il.* 10.429, noted by Strabo 13.1.58.

Assos was a member of the Delian League. It belonged to the Ionian district and is registered from 454/3 (*IG* I³ 259.IV.9) to 427/6 or 426/5 (*IG* I³ 284.20) a total of eight times, twice completely restored, paying a *phoros* of 1 tal. (*IG* I³ 259.IV.9). It was presumably assessed for tribute in 410/9 (Krateros fr. 23, Krech = *IG* I³ 100).

Assos was ruled by the tyrants Euboulos, *c.*360, and his eunuch/slave Hermias, who died in 344 and was based at Atarneus in Aiolis (Strabo 13.1.57; see Leaf (1923) 295–97). In C4m the tyrant Ἕρμιας with his associates was an equal partner in a treaty with Erythrai (*I.Erythrai* 9). Hermias was resident at Assos from 348 to 345 (see the sources in Leaf (1923) 299).

The Archaic city temple on the acropolis, rebuilt in C4, was probably dedicated to Athena Polias; see coin types and *I.Assos* 14.III: ἡ τῆς Πολιάδος Ἀθηνᾶς ἱέρεια (first century AD). It was Doric, with six by thirteen columns, pronaos in antis, and an enclosed cella. The architraves and metopes were decorated with scenes from the Herakles cycle (Westcoat (1987); Stüpperich (1996)).

Fortifications built from polygonal masonry of the Archaic(?) period were succeeded by well-preserved ashlar walls of C4(?); Lang (1996) 223; Schulz (2000) 16. These contained two main gateways with square towers, seven smaller gates, one round and numerous square towers, and enclosed an area of a little more than 55 ha (*PECS*). The acropolis was separately fortified. The city was besieged by the Persian satraps Autophradates and Maussolos in 365 (Xen. *Ages.* 2.26).

A cemetery with burials dating between C6 and C4 has been excavated on either side of a paved street outside the west gate (Stüpperich (1994)). Domestic housing of C6–C5 is also recorded. Other public buildings, including an agora with stoas, a *bouleuterion*, a theatre (destroyed in the nineteenth century), as well as fountain houses and drainage systems date mostly to the Hellenistic period (*PECS*).

Three periods can be distinguished when Assos minted coins. (1) Silver, *c.*479–450: *obv.* griffin; *rev.* lion's head. (2) Silver, *c.*450–400: *obv.* head of Athena, wearing helmet; *rev.* lion's head, or Archaic statue of Athena with spear and fillets; legend: ΑΣΣΙΟΝ or ΑΣΣΟΟΝ (*sic*) or ΑΣΣΙ. (3) Silver and bronze, *c.*400–241: *obv.* head of Athena; *rev.* various types; legend: ΑΣΣΙ or ΑΣΣΙΟΝ (Head, *HN*² 542; *SNG Cop. Troas* 226–44).

770. Astyra (Astyrenos) Map 56. Lat. 39.35, long. 26.55. Size of teritory: 1? Type: [A]:*a*. The toponym is Ἄστυρα Μύσια, τά (*IG* I³ 273.I.25–26; Ps.-Skylax 98). The city-ethnic is Ἀστυρηνοὶ Μύσοι (*IG* I³ 272.II.9). Ps.-Skylax assigns it to Lydia, while the tribute lists of the Delian League and Strabo make it part of Mysia (13.1.65). It was probably situated at Kilisetepe Kaplıcaları. In Ps.-Skylax 98 Astyra is the first toponym listed after the heading πόλεις Ἑλληνίδες . . . αἵδε. Strabo describes it as a κώμη (13.1.51; cf. Steph. Byz. 140.16) but formerly a πολίχνη dependent on Antandros (13.1.65). The "city-ethnic" is applied to Artemis by Xen. *Hell.* 4.1.41, and collectively and externally it is used in the Athenian tribute lists.

Astyra was a member of the Delian League, usually recorded by city/city-ethnic but once by toponym (*IG* I³ 273.I.25–26). It belonged to the Ionian district and is registered from 454/3 (*IG* I³ 259.III.6) to 438/7 (*IG* I³ 274.III.3) a total of eight times, twice completely restored, paying a *phoros* of 500 dr. (*IG* I³ 272.II.9).

The community housed the sanctuary of Artemis Astyrene (Xen. *Hell.* 4.1.41; Ps.-Skylax 98), which was also reckoned to belong to Antandros.

Astyra struck coins of silver and bronze in C5–C4. (A) Bronze, *c.*400–395: *obv.* bearded head of Tissaphernes; legend: ΤΙΣΣΑ; *rev.* facing cult image of Artemis Astyrene;

legend: ΑΣΤΥΡΗ. (B) Silver and bronze coins of C5–C4, previously ascribed to an Astyra in Karia (Steph. Byz. 140.17–18), are now believed to have been minted by Astyra in Mysia. (1) Silver, C5: *obv.* amphora, or oinochoe, or rose; *rev.* oinochoe, and/or square incuse; legend: Α or ΑΣΤΥ. (2) Silver, C5: *obv.* head of Artemis?; *rev.* rose; legend: ΑΣΤΥΡΑ. (3) Bronze, C4: *obv.* head of Helios; *rev.* amphora and various symbols, or bow; legend: ΑΣΤΥ or ΑΣΤΥΡΑ. (4) Bronze, C4: *obv.* head of Aphrodite; legend: ΑΣΤΥ (Stäuber (1996) II.252–60; *SNG Cop. Caria* 158; *Suppl.* 298).

771. Astyra Troika Map 51. Lat. 40.05, long. 26.40. Size of territory: ? Type: C:? The toponym is Ἄστυρα Τροϊκά, τά (*IG* I³ 71.III.86; Strabo 13.1.23). Strabo describes this Astyra as a πόλις κατεσκαμμένη, situated in Troas and now belonging to Abydos, but in earlier times independent and in possession of gold mines, now exhausted. The date of its destruction is unknown. It was claimed to be a member of the Delian League; attested by the name [Ἄστ]υρα Τρο[ϊ]κά in the assessment of 425/4 (*IG* I³ 71.III.86). See Leaf (1923) 133; *ATL* i. 472; Stäuber (1996).

772. Azeia (Azeieus) Unlocated. Not in *Barr.* Type: C:β? The toponym may have been Ἄζεια (suggested by Steph. Byz. 32.4). The ethnic is Ἀζειεύς (Ἀζειῆς, *IG* I³ 279.I.106) or Ἀζειός (Ἀζειοί, *IG* I³ 261.IV.28) or Ἀζειώτης (Hellan. fr. 58).

The Azeians were members of the Delian League. They belonged to the Hellespontine district (*IG* I³ 270.II.26) and are recorded from 452/1 (*IG* I³ 261.IV.28) to 415/14 (*IG* I³ 290.III.3, ethnic heavily restored) a total of seven times, once completely restored, paying a *phoros* of 400 dr. (*IG* I³ 261.IV.28). They were perhaps assessed for tribute in 425/4 (*IG* I³ 71.III.67: [Ἀζε]ι[ῆς]). Since the Azeians are recorded in the tribute lists by ethnic only and never by toponym, and since we have no other source, we do not know whether they were settled in a *polis* town or were a people living dispersed or settled in small villages. Being recorded in the tribute lists, the Azeians must have been a political community, and possibly a *polis*, but we have no proof.

In the Athenian tribute lists the Ἀζειεῖς belong to the Hellespontine district, whereas the Ἀζειῶται are classified by Steph. Byz—quoting Hellanikos—as an ἔθνος τῆς Τρωάδος. If the Azeians were the same as the Azeiotans, they must have lived in northern Asia Minor, and presumably in Troas. In *ATL* i. 463–64 the Azeians are connected with Azeus, grandfather of the Minyan leaders at Troy (Hom. *Il.* 2.513) and placed in the Troad.

773. Birytis (Berysios) Map 56. Lat. 39.55, long. 26.20, but this location, at Mersinoba (Cook (1973) 114, 357), is not beyond doubt. Type: B:? The toponym is Βέρυτις, Τρωικὴ πόλις (Steph. Byz. 165.8) or Βήριθος, πόλις Τρωική (Steph. Byz. 167.6). The city-ethnic Βερύ[σιοι] ὑπὸ τ̂ε[ι Ἴδ]ει is recorded in the Athenian tribute lists (*IG* I³ 261.III.2), but C4l coins (*infra*) have the form ΒΙΡΥ; Steph. Byz. 165.8 records the city-ethnic Βερυτίτης, but there is no other authority for this.

No Archaic or Classical source calls Berytis a *polis*, and the retrospective mentions in Steph. Byz. do not indicate a source. However, the community issued its own coinage in C4l (*infra*). The external collective city-ethnic is recorded in the Athenian tribute lists (*infra*), and the internal by coins of C4/C3 (*infra*).

Birytis was a member of the Delian League. It presumably belonged to the Hellespontine district (*IG* I³ 71.III.91, restored) and is recorded from 454/3 (*IG* I³ 259.VI.11–12) to 446/5 (*IG* I³ 266.I.25) a total of six times, once completely restored, paying a *phoros* of 1,000 dr. (*IG* I³ 259.VI.11). It was assessed for tribute in 425/4 (*IG* I³ 71.III.91, restored). However, it is not completely certain that the Berysioi are to be identified as the inhabitants of the *polis* mentioned by Steph. Byz. 165.8–9; see *ATL* i. 246–47, 475.

Birytis struck coins of silver and bronze in C4l/C3e. (1) Silver: *obv.* head of Herakles; *rev.* head of beardless Kabeiros wearing pilos between two stars. (2) Bronze: *obv.* head of beardless Kabeiros wearing pilos; *rev.* club, or triskeles; legend: ΒΙΡΥ (Head, *HN*² 542; see Fritze (1904); L. Robert (1951) 25–31, *SNG Cop. Troas* 247–53).

774. Dardanos (Dardaneus) Map 51. Lat. 40.05, long. 26.25. Size of territory: 2. Type: A:α. The toponym is Δάρδανος, ἡ (Hdt. 5.117.1; Thuc. 8.104.2). The city-ethnic is Δαρδανεύς (*IG* I³ 267.I.24; Xen. *Hell.* 3.1.10, *An.* 3.1.47); Δαρδανίς is found at Xen. *Hell.* 3.1.10; Steph. Byz. 219.3 has Δαρδανίδης. The ktetic form Δαρδανική is applied to the territory (Strabo 13.1.44).

Dardanos is called a *polis* in the urban sense by Herodotos 5.117.1 and 7.43.2, where the territorial sense is a connotation. In Ps.-Skylax 95 Dardanos is the first toponym listed after the heading πόλεις Ἑλληνίδες . . . αἵδε. It is called *polis* in the political sense by Xen. *An.* 5.6.21 and 23 and an early Hellenistic inscription (Taşlıklıoğlu (1971) 187 no. 2). Furthermore, *polis* is used retrospectively by Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.46.1, who draws his information from Hellan. fr. 31. The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested externally by *IG* I³ 267.I.24 and 268.II.31, and internally in the genitive

plural on coins of the Roman period (*SNG Cop. Troas* 307–11), in abbreviated forms on coins of the Classical period (*infra*). The external individual use of the city-ethnic is attested in Xen. *Hell.* 3.1.10 and *An.* 5.6.21. The city territory is referred to in Mnaseas ((*FHG* III) 154 fr. 28 = Steph. Byz. 219.1–2) as ἡ Δαρδανία, ἡ Τευκρὶς πρότερον ἐκαλεῖτο. For the few archaeological remains of the settlement (mostly sherds), see Cook (1973) 57–60.

Referring to an uncertain period between C4 and C1, Strabo described Dardanos as an ancient foundation, whose inhabitants were often transferred to Abydos by Hellenistic kings, but then returned to the ancient foundation, κτίσμα ἀρχαῖον, οὕτω δ' εὐκαταφρόνητος, ὥστε πολλάκις οἱ βασιλεῖς οἱ μὲν μετῴκιζον αὐτὴν εἰς Ἄβυδον, οἱ δὲ ἀνῴκιζον πάλιν εἰς τὸ ἀρχαῖον κτίσμα (Strabo 13.1.28). This passage may imply that it was an early, perhaps C7 Greek colonial settlement, but the colonists are unknown.

Dardanos was a member of the Delian League. It belonged to the Hellespontine district and is recorded from 451/50 (*IG* I³ 262.IV.10) to 429/8 (*IG* I³ 282B.I.3) a total of fifteen times, twice completely restored, paying mostly a *phoros* of 1 tal. (*IG* I³ 270.II.3). It was assessed for tribute in 425/4 (*IG* I³ 71.III.72, restored). It may have been controlled by the satrap of Aiolis, Ζῆνις Δαρδανεύς, in 399 (Xen. *Hell.* 3.1.10). An early Hellenistic city decree (*psephisma*) mentions a *boule* (Taşlıklıoğlu (1971) 187 no. 2). *IG* II² 78 (before 378) is possibly a honorary decree for citizens of Dardanos (l. 8: Δα[ρδανῆς]).

Dardanos struck coins of electrum, silver and bronze from C6/C5 to C4. Almost all the coin types show fighting cocks. (1) (?)Electrum stater, minted in Lydia, of C6/C5: *obv.* cock; *rev.* quadripartite incuse square. (2) Silver issues on the Persian standard, C5l: *obv.* horseman; *rev.* cock(s); legend: ΔΑΡ ΖΗ (a possible reference to Ζῆνις Δαρδανεύς, satrap of Aiolis in 399, Xen. *Hell.* 3.1.10). (3) Silver and bronze, C4: similar types. Legend: ΔΑΡ or ΔΑΡΔΑΝ (Head, *HN*² 544; *SNG Cop. Troas* 282–304).

775. Gargara (Gargareus) Map 56. Lat. 39.35, long. 26.30. Size of territory: 2. Type: A:β. The toponym is Γάργαρος, ἡ (Hom. *Il.* 8.48, 15.151; Alkman *apud* Steph. Byz. 198.22), or Γάργαρα, τά (Ephor. fr. 47; Strabo 13.1.5); according to Steph. Byz. 199, Hellan. fr. 158 used the form Γάργασος, but Stephanos states: οἴομαι δὲ σφάλμα εἶναι. The presumed forerunner of the coastal site is called Παλαιὰ Γάργαρος (*Etym. Magn.* 221.30), or Παλαιγάργαρος (Steph. Byz. 128.21). The city-ethnic is Γαργαρεύς (*IG* I³ 270.I.34; Michel 522.22).

Gargara is called a *polis* in the urban sense by Ephor. fr. 47 and is implied to be a *polis* in the political sense in the inscription for Malousios of Gargara of 306 (*I.Ilion* 1.4–5, 17, 22, etc.). The collective city-ethnic is attested internally on C5s coins (*infra*) and externally on C5 and C4 inscriptions (*IG* I³ 270.I.34; Michel 522.22). The external individual use of the city-ethnic is found in a Chian C4 list of *proxenoi* (*PEP Chios* 50.12) and in the inscription of Ilion for Malousios (Michel 522.3, etc.). The name became the butt of jokes in the later C5. Alkaios *comicus* fr. 19, Kock, refers to γάργαρ' ἀνθρώπων, and Ar. *Ach.* 3 to ψαμμακοσιογάργαρα (Leaf (1923) 263).

The city territory was known as ἡ Γαργαρίς (Strabo 13.1.58) and was proverbial for its fertility (Verg. *G.* 1.103; Sen. *Phoen.* 608; Macrob. *Sat.* v.20.15–16; cf. Tenger (1994) 150 n. 91).

Gargara was a πόλις Αἰολική (Strabo 13.1.5; cf. Steph. Byz. 128.22, who also cites Hecat. fr. 224), founded from Assos (Strabo 13.1.58), although the indigenous population was Lelegian (Strabo 13.1.58, interpreting Hom. *Il.* 10.428). Gargara was a member of the Delian League. It belonged to the Ionian district and is recorded from 452/1 (*IG* I³ 261.V.22) to 428/7 (*IG* I³ 283.III.22) a total of eight times, twice completely restored, paying a *phoros* of either 4,500 dr. (*IG* I³ 261.V.22) or 4,660 dr. (*IG* I³ 270.I.34). It was assessed for tribute in 410/9 (*IG* I³ 100.II.6). In C4l it was a member of the confederation of Athena Ilias (Michel 522). The site was relocated from Palaigargara on a mountain peak to a coastal site at an unspecified period, either before C5 (so *ATL* i. 477) or in the Hellenistic period later than the composition of the epigram of Aratos (*Anth. Pal.* 9.437; so Leaf (1923) 262). Demetrios of Skepsis *apud* Strabo 13.1.58 reports that colonists were brought from Miletoupolis by the kings, so that the population became semi-barbarous rather than Aiolic. This was presumably in the Hellenistic period.

The mountain-top site was defended by fortification walls of the Archaic period (Stüpperich (1995); cf. Schulz (2000) 28), and included a walled acropolis area with foundations of a temple. Hom. *Il.* 8.48 reports a cult of Zeus at the summit. Architectural remains include an Aiolic capital and a mid-C6 relief of an armed warrior, which may have served as a column (Stüpperich (1995), correcting and adding to Cook (1973) 255–61). It was on the route of the Delphic *theorodokoi* *c.*200 (Plassart (1921) 8; Cook (1988) 15). A citizen of Gargara is listed in a C4 list of *proxenoi* from Chios (*RPh* (1937) 325–32 no. 6A.12).

Gargara minted silver and bronze coins. (1) Silver, *c.*420–400: denominations: tetrobol, diobol, hemiobol,

tritartemorion: *obv.* male head (Apollo?); *rev.* bull grazing, or galloping horse, or ram's head, or spokes of wheel. (2) Silver and bronze, *c.*400–284: denominations: tetrobol and small fractions: *obv.* Apollo laureate; *rev.* same types as (1), no wheel. Legend: ΓΑΡΓ or ΓΑΡ expanded to ΓΑΡΓΑΡΕΩΝ on imperial coins (Head, *HN*² 545; *SNG Cop. Troas* 314–31).

776. Gentinos (Gentinios) Map 56. Lat. 39.55, long. 26.15. Size of territory: 1 or 2. Type: B? The toponym is Γεντῖνος (Steph. Byz. 203.3); the city-ethnic is Γεντίνιος (*IG* I³ 261.I.8; Steph. Byz. 203.4).

Gentinos is called a *polis* only by Steph. Byz. 203.3, who cites no earlier source. Steph. Byz. 203.3 also reports that it was founded by one of the sons of Aineias. However, the collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally by C4 coins (*infra*) and externally by the Athenian tribute lists (*infra*). The city presumably controlled a small territory in the Skamandros basin between Ilion and Skamandra.

Gentinos was a member of the Delian League. It is recorded from 452/1 (*IG* I³ 261.I.8) to 444/3 (*IG* I³ 268.I.31) a total of seven times, paying a *phoros* of 500 dr. (*IG* I³ 261.I.8). It was assessed for tribute in 425/4 (*IG* I³ 71.III.64, restored in the Hellespontine district; cf. Tenger (1994) 155–56).

The acropolis of the site on Ballı Dağ measures 190 × 100 m and has fortifications of rough masonry combined with more even work, including an arched entrance datable to C4 (Cook (1973) 134–40). An agora with stone seats and a small Archaic/Classical temple are reported, but occupation did not spread beyond the hill-top, and the site was small.

Gentinos minted bronze coins in C4: *obv.* female head (Artemis, nymph?); *rev.* bee; legend: ΓΕΝ or ΓΕΝΤΙ (Head, *HN*² 545; *SNG Cop. Troas* 335–36).

777. Gergis (Gergithios) Map 56. Lat. 39.55; long. 26.35. Size of territory: 4? Type: A:γ. The toponym is Γέργις, ἡ (Xen. *Hell.* 3.1.15; Steph. Byz. 203.21) or Γέργιθος, ἡ (Steph. Byz. 203.21–22) or Γεργιθία (Welles (1934) no. 10 (275)); Strabo 13.1.19 reports the toponym in the plural feminine form αἱ Γέργιθες. Various forms of the city-ethnic are recorded: ἡ τῶν Γεργιθίων πόλις (Xen. *Hell.* 3.1.22); Γέργιθες Τευκροί (Hdt. 5.122.2, 7.43.2); Γεργιθιεύς (*IG* IV.1² 13.27 (*c.*270)).

Xen. *Hell.* 3.1.15, 21 describes it as a *polis* in the urban sense; at 3.1.22 the political sense is probably a connotation. The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested externally by Xen. *Hell.* 3.1.22 and internally by C4 coins (*infra*). The individual use of the ethnic is recorded *c.*270 on an inscription of the Aitolians (*IG* IX.1² 13.27).

The name of the territory was τὸ Γεργίθιον, ἡ Γεργιθία (*sc.* χώρα; Welles (1934) no. 10 (275): ἀπὸ τῆς ὁμορούσης τῆι Γεργιθίαι ἢ τῆ Σκηψίαι). It was the inland region to the east of the route followed by Xerxes to Abydos in 481 (Hdt. 7.43.2), and included Marpessos, home of the sibyl Herophile, whose image is shown on coins of Gergis (Paus. 10.12.4; Head, *HN*² 543). The Gergithes, described by Hdt. 5.122.2 as οἱ ὑπολειφθέντες τῶν ἀρχαίων Τευκρῶν, were an indigenous non-Greek people occupying the interior of the Troad north of the river Skamandros; see Leaf (1923) 102–6. This passage and Hdt. 7.43.2 indicate that Gergis was effectively a barbarian *polis*, in contrast to its neighbours on the coast of the Troad. The *polis* was controlled by the pro-Persian "satrap" Zenis of Dardanos (or "the Dardanian") and then by his widow, Mania, in 399, and eventually by her son-in-law, Meidias of Skepsis (Xen. *Hell.* 3.1.15–22; see Winter (1994)).

Some of its inhabitants were transplanted by metoecism to a new settlement called Gergitha near the springs of the river Kaikos by Attalos I (Strabo 13.1.70). After 188 its territory was attached by synoecism to Ilion (Livy 38.39). One of its citizens, Νικόστρατος Ἀριστάρχου Γεργιθιεύς, was honoured in an Aitolian proxeny decree of *c.*270 (*IG* IX.1² 13.27).

Xen. *Hell.* 3.1.15–22 implies that it was a fortified site, and specifically mentions gates and towers at 3.1.22.

Gergis struck coins of silver and bronze *c.*400–350 and *c.*350–241: *obv.* head of sibyl Herophile; *rev.* seated sphinx; legend: ΓΕΡ. The coin type with sibyl and sphinx was mentioned by Phlegon of Tralles, cited in Steph. Byz. 204.1–2. (Head, *HN*² 545–46; *SNG Cop. Troas* 337–40; Sear (1979) no. 4097, silver hemiobol).

778. Hamaxitos (Hamaxiteus) Map 56. Lat. 39.05, long. 26.05. Size of territory: 1 or 2. Type: A:α. The toponym is h[αμαχ]σιτός (*IG* I³ 77.IV.18) or Ἁμαξιτός, ἡ (Thuc. 8.101.3; Xen. *Hell.* 3.1.13, 16; *BCH* 45 (1921) 8; Strabo 13.1.47). The city-ethnic is Ἁμαξιτεύς (*Iscr. Cos* 6e ED 71 3.8.6 (C4l); Strabo 13.1.51; Steph. Byz. 83.11, without citing an authority), or Ἁμαξιτηνός (Apollodoros, *FGrHist* 244, fr. 10 *apud* Steph. Byz.).

It is called a *polis* in the political and urban senses combined by Xen. *Hell.* 3.1.13, 16 (cf. Hansen (2000) 175). In Ps.-Skylax 95 Hamaxitos is one of the toponyms listed after the heading πόλεις Ἑλληνίδες . . . αἵδε. The political sense is attested in a restored inscription from Kos dating between 321 and 306 (*Iscr. Cos* 63 ED 71g.B.6), and its name has been restored ([Ἁμαχσ]ιτός) at *IG* I³ 77.IV.18 in a list of

Aktaiai poleis which uses *polis* in the political sense. The internal collective use of the city-ethnic is attested on C4 coins (*infra*); the external collective use in *Iscr. Cos* 63 ED 71g.B.6.

The name of the territory was ἡ Ἀμαξιτία (Strabo 10.3.21). It contained the temple of Apollo Smintheus at Gülpınar and two other places called Sminthia, also the salt pans at Tragasai (Strabo 13.1.48). However, the salt pans are said by Ath. 2.43A to be on the territory of Larisa.

Hamaxitos was one of the Ἀκταῖαι πόλεις in the Delian League and was assessed for tribute of 4 tal. in 425/4 (*IG* I³ 71.III.124, 129, toponym restored) and for an unknown amount in 422/1 (*IG* I³ 77.IV.14, 18). Schwertheim (1988) (*SEG* 38 1251) published an inscribed fragment purporting to be part of a treaty between Athens and Hamaxitos. Lewis (1993) (*SEG* 43 877) suggested that this was part of an Athenian imperial decree, and questioned the restoration which assigned the text to Hamaxitos. On Kos has been found a C4l decree of Hamaxitos, granting *proxenia* and *politeia* to a citizen of Kos (*Iscr. Cos* 63 ED 71g.B.6.; cf. *LGPN* I, Nikomedes no. 12). Kos was on the route of the Delphic *theorodokoi c.*200 (*BCH* 45 (1921) 8; Cook (1988) 15). Xen. *Hell.* 3.1.13 (Ἀμαξιτόν . . . τοῖς τείχεσιν) suggests that the city possessed a circuit wall in C4e.

Hamaxitos was absorbed into the newly founded city of Alexandreia in 310 (Strabo 13.1.47), and thereafter its territory was part of the *chora* of Alexandreia Troas (Strabo 10.3.21). It participated in the cult of Apollo Smintheus (Strabo 13.1.48).

Hamaxitos struck bronze coins *c.*400–310: *obv.* head of Apollo; *rev.* lyre, or Apollo Smintheus; legend: *AMAΞI* (Head, *HN*² 546; *SNG Cop. Troas* 341–45).

779. Ilion (Ilieus) Map 56. Lat. 39.55, long. 26.15. Size of territory: 3 or 4. Type: A:*α*. The toponym is Ἴλιον, τό (Xen. *Hell.* 1.1.5; Aen. Tact. 24.11). The city-ethnic is Ἰλιεύς (Xen. *Hell.* 3.1.16; Tod 148 (359) = Michel 523 = *I.Ilion* 23) or Ἰλιάς (Ἀθηναίῃ τῇ Ἰλιάδι, Hdt. 7.40). According to Hdt. 7.40, at Ilion Athena had the epiklesis Ἰλιάς, which same form is also used to denote Ilian territory at Hdt. 5.94.2 and 7.42.

Ilion is called a *polis* in the urban sense by Aen. Tact. 24.12, 14 (cf. Aen. Tact. 24.8 where it is called πόλισμα). In Ps.-Skylax 95 Ilion is the third toponym listed after the heading πόλεις Ἑλληνίδες . . . αἵδε. Ilion is called a *polis* in the urban and political senses combined by Xen. *Hell.* 3.1.16 and in an early Hellenistic inscription (*I.Ilion 25*; cf. also Hellan. fr. 25b). Its name has been restored (Ἴ[λιον]) at *IG* I³ 71.III.132 in a list of *Aktaiai poleis* which uses *polis* in the political sense. Strabo 13.1.27, referring to the period before 189, calls it a κωμόπολις. The collective use of the ethnic is attested internally by a decree of Ilion of 359 (Tod 148 = *I.Ilion* 23) and by C4l coins (Head, *HN*² 546), and externally by Xen. *Hell.* 3.1.16. The external individual use of the ethnic is found in *IG* II² 505.8 (302/1).

Strabo refers to a period when Ilion was a *kome*: τὴν δὲ τῶν Ἰλιέων πόλιν τῶν νῦν τέως μὲν κώμην εἶναί φασιν, τὸ ἱερὸν ἔχουσαν τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς μικρὸν καὶ εὐτελές (Strabo 13.1.16). The name of the territory was ἡ Ἰλιὰς γῆ (Hdt. 7.42), ἡ Ἰλιὰς χώρα (Hdt. 5.94.2), or simply ἡ Ἰλιάς (Hdt. 5.122.2).

Ilion was one of the Aiolic settlements of the Troas (Xen. *Hell.* 3.1.16). If the toponym is correctly restored in *IG* I³ 71 and 77, it was one of the Ἀκταῖαι πόλεις in the Delian League and was assessed for tribute in 425/4 (*IG* I³ 71.III.124, 132, Ἴ[λιον], 2 tal.) and in 422/1 (*IG* I³ 77.IV.14 21, amount not preserved, toponym completely restored). Ilion awarded *proxenia* to Menelaos, son of Arrhibaios of Athens, in C4 (Tod 148 = *I.Ilion* 23). A kind of *sympoliteia* with Lampsakos (no. 748) is probably attested by an unique silver *tridrachm*: *obv.* head of Athena with Corinthian helmet, r.; *rev.* winged horse, r., under the horse: *ΛAM*(*ΨAKHNΩN*), above it: *IΛ*(*IEΩN*) (Frisch (1975) XV, (1978) 129–30 (*c.*300)).

In the early Hellenistic period it was democratic, as is shown by a lengthy law which was devised against tyrants and oligarchies (Michel 524 = *I.Ilion* 25). This text also implies that the chief magistrate was a *strategos*, an office that could only be held once; there was also a *tamias*, and the magistracies were collectively known as *archai*. A citizenship decree of *c.*300 testifies to the organisation of the citizens into *phylai* (*I.Ilion* 24.13). The city buildings included a *prytaneion* (*I.Ilion* 24.20, 25.25) and a *dikasterion* (*I.Ilion* 25.78, perhaps a lawcourt rather than a court room).

Aen. Tact. 24.4–13 refers repeatedly to πύλαι, thus indicating that the city was fortified in C4f (cf. Xen. *Hell.* 3.1.16), but there are virtually no monumental traces of the pre-Hellenistic city, although the remains suggest that the settlement was more prosperous in C7–C6 than in C5–C4 (*PECS*). Recent excavations show almost continuous occupation of the site after the fall of Troy VII.2 in the late Bronze Age. Archaic finds include bronze fibulae of *c.*700 and an Aiolic capital (Mitchell (1999) 138). Recent excavations have revealed a sanctuary of C8–C6, but no further building in the Classical period (Rose (2000) 284). The city wall, attributed by Strabo 13.1.26 to Lysimachos, in fact appears to have been built *c.*275–250 (Rose (1997) 93–101). Ilion was refounded at the end of C4, probably by Lysimachos (Strabo 13.1.26,

the interpretation of this passage is very controversial; see Leaf (1923) 142–43, who attributes the embellishment to Alexandreia; but see L. Robert (1951) 7–8). A *prytaneion* is mentioned in the pro-democratic law against tyrants and oligarchies, probably of C3e (Michel 524A.25–26 = *I.Ilion* 25), and Michel 522.11 (*c.*306) refers to a theatre. The most important cult was that of Athena Ilias (Hdt. 7.43.1–2; Xen. *Hell.* 1.1.5). The most recent study of the sculpted reliefs from the temple argues that it was not early Hellenistic, but constructed in C2–C1 (Schmidt-Dounas (1991)).

Ilion issued a little silver and bronze coinage between C4l and *c.*240: *obv.* Athena; *rev.* sometimes vase, mostly Athena Ilias wearing kalathos and chiton with symbol (thunderbolt, owl); legend: ΙΛΙ (Head, *HN*² 546; *SNG Cop. Troas* 346–61). For an issue struck in collaboration with Lampsakos (no. 748) see *supra.*

780. Kebren (Kebrenios) Map 56. Lat. 39.45, long. 26.35. Size of territory; 5. Type: A:β. The toponym is Κεβρήν (Xen. *Hell.* 3.1.17; Dem. 23.154; *I.Assos* 4 (C2)) or Κεβρήνη (Strabo 13.1.47) or Κεβρηνία (Diod. 14.38.3 (r399)). The city-ethnic is Κεβρένιος (*IG* I³ 263.II.33), Κεβρήνιος (Xen. *Hell.* 3.1.18) or KEBPENE, probably for Κεβρενεύς (C6 coins, *infra*). The forms Κεβρήνιος, Κεβρηνός and Κεβρηνεύς are all found in Strabo (13.1.51, 33).

In Ps.-Skylax 96 Kebren is the first toponym listed after the heading Αἰολίδες δὲ πόλεις . . . αἵδε and it is called a *polis* in the urban sense by Xen. *Hell.* 3.1.17, but a *polisma* by Strabo 13.1.47, referring to the period after it was incorporated into Alexandreia. The collective use of the ethnic is attested internally on C6 coins (Head, *HN*² 543) and externally in the Athenian tribute lists (*infra*) and Xen. *Hell.* 3.1.18. The external individual use of the ethnic is attested on a C5 inscription from Gergis (Cook (1973) 401 no. 18).

The name of the territory was Κεβρηνία (Strabo 13.1.33). Strabo observes that Kebrenia was parallel to and south of ancient Dardania, and that it was divided from the territory of Skepsis by the river Skamandros. It was regarded by Ephor. fr. 22, as πρὸς τῇ Ἴδῃ. Steph. Byz. 371.3 calls Κεβρηνία a χώρα τῆς Τρῳάδος.

The city was founded from Kyme in Aiolis (Ephor. fr. 10; *Homeri vita Herodotea* c.20, Allen). Xen. *Hell.* 3.1.18 implies that the Ἕλληνες in the city were to be distinguished from a non-Greek element.

Kebren was a member of the Delian League. It belonged to the Hellespontine district and is recorded from 454/3 (*IG* I³ 259.IV.26) to 447/6 (*IG* I³ 265.II.9) a total of five times, twice restored, paying a *phoros* of 3 tal. in 454/3 (*IG* I³ 259.IV.26) and 8,700 dr. in 450/49 (*IG* I³ 263.II.33). It was assessed for tribute in 425/4 (*IG* I³ 71.III.99).

In 310 it was incorporated into the new city of Antigoneia, later Alexandreia. In late C3 a decree probably of the Kebrenians was set up in Assos in honour of a troop of soldiers and their commander for coming to their assistance (*I.Assos* 4; cf. L. Robert (1951) 33).

Kebren had imposing fortifications sited in μάλα ἰσχυρῷ χωρίῳ (Xen. *Hell.* 3.1.17), with walls (ibid. 18) and gates (ibid. 19). The existing walls are dated to C5l or earlier (Cook (1973) 330). They measure 5 km in circumference and enclose an area of *c.*90 ha; they were reported to survive over 10 feet high and are 8–10 feet thick (Leaf (1923) 171–73, citing Calvert; Judeich (1898*b*) 539; Cook (1973) 328–31). On the citadel are a few remains of a separate acropolis wall (Cook (1973) 334). Numerous ancient building remains have been noted on the site.

Kebren minted in the Archaic and Classical periods. (1) Silver, C6: *obv.* head of ram; *rev.* incuse square. (2) Silver, C5: denominations: diobol, trihemiobol, obol, tritartemorion, tetartemorion: *obv.* head of ram; legend: KEBPENE or KEBPE; *rev.* incuse square. (3) Silver, *c.*400–310: denomination: obol: *obv.* two rams' heads; legend: KEBPHNI; *rev.* incuse square. (4) bronze, *c.*400–310: *obv.* male head in Persian head-dress, or Apollo; *rev.* monogram, or ram's head, or ram's head and eagle; legend: K*E*, K (Head, *HN*² 542–43).

L. Robert (1951) 17–36 argued that Kebren was refounded under the name Antiocheia in the early Hellenistic period and underwent synoecism with Birytis between 280 and 270. This has been contested by Cook (1988) 17–19.

781. *Kokylion (Kokylites) Map 56. Lat. 39.40, long. 26.25. Size of territory: ? Type: A:α. The toponym is *Κοκύλιον; cf. Cocylium at Plin. *HN* 5 122.2. The city-ethnic Κοκυλίτης is attested at Xen. *Hell.* 3.1.16, where the city and its inhabitants are described as one of three Aiolian *poleis* which were persuaded to join Derkylidas in 399. In this passage, our only source, *polis* is used in the urban and political senses combined. Xen. *Hell.* 3.1.16 (εἰς τὰ τείχη δέχεσθαι . . . Κοκυλῖται ἐπείθοντο) suggests that the city may have been fortified in C4e.

782. Kolonai (Kolonaeus) Map 56. Lat. 39.40, long. 26.10. Size of territory: 2? Type: A:α. The toponym is Κολωναί, αἱ (Thuc. 1.131.2; Xen. *Hell.* 3.1.13, 16; *IG* I³ 71.III.135: Κ[ολονέ]) and the city-ethnic is Κολωναεύς (C4 coins, *infra*; Strabo 13.1.62).

Kolonai is called a *polis* in the political and urban senses combined by Xen. *Hell.* 3.1.13, 16 (cf. Hansen (2000) 175). In

Ps.-Skylax 95 Kolonai is one of the toponyms listed after the heading *πόλεις Ἑλληνίδες . . . αἵδε*. It is called a *polis* in the political sense by Xen. *Hell.* 3.1.13; its name has also been restored (*K*[*ολόνε*]) at *IG* I³ 71.III.135 in a list of *Aktaiai poleis* which uses *polis* in the political sense. It was one of the *πολίσματα* that were incorporated by synoecism into Alexandreia in 310 (Strabo 13.1.47). The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally by C4 coins (*infra*). The individual city-ethnic is used externally by Strabo 13.1.62 in reference to the local historian Daes, who should be dated not later than C4l (Schwartz, *RE* iv. 1982).

It belonged to the region of the Troad and was called *Κολωναὶ αἱ Τρῳάδαι* by Thuc. 1.131.1 (but this may be a reference to the homonymous place in the territory of Lampsakos). The territory was formerly part of the Tenedian Peraia (Strabo 13.1.47).

The settlement was founded by Aiolians (Strabo 13.1.62) and was reputed to be the home of the Thrakian king Kyknos, killed by Achilles, in a story told in post-Homeric epic (Leaf (1923) 219).

If the toponym is correctly restored in *IG* I³ 71, Kolonai was one of the *Ἀκταῖαι πόλεις* in the Delian League and was assessed for tribute in 425/4 (*IG* I³ 71.III.124 and 135 (*K*[*ολονε*], 1,000 dr.).

The Spartan regent Pausanias took refuge here and made contact with the Persian king after leaving Byzantion in 478 (Thuc. 1.131.1, unless this passage refers to the Kolonai in the interior of the territory of Lampsakos).

The city possessed a sanctuary of Apollo Killaios introduced by Aiolians (Strabo 13.1.62). The site extends "720 by 230 paces" on a hill-top, with a possible acropolis area at the south end about 200 paces across (Leaf (1923) 223–24). Xen. *Hell.* 3.1.13 (*Κολωνάς . . . τοῖς τείχεσιν*) suggests that the city possessed a circuit wall in C4e.

The city minted bronze coins between *c.*400 and 310: *obv.* head of Athena; *rev.* *ΚΟΛΩΝΑΩΝ* in rays of star (Head, *HN*² 543; *SNG Cop. Troas* 276–81).

783. Lamponeia (Lamponeus) Map 56. Lat. 39.32, long. 26.25. Size of territory: 2? Type: B:? The toponym is *Λαμπώνιον, τό* (Hdt. 5.26; Hellan. fr. 159) or *Λαμπώνεια* (Hecat. fr. 223; *IG* I³ 267.I.28 (445/4)) or *Λαμπωνία, ἡ* (Strabo 13.1.58). The city-ethnic is *Λαμπωνεύς* (Hecat. fr. 223; *IG* I³ 262.IV.23 (451/0)) or *Λαμπωνιεύς* (Hellan. fr. 159) or *Λαμπονειεύς* (*IG* I³ 270.I.38 (442/1)).

Lamponeia was an Aiolic settlement (Strabo 13.1.58). It is called a *polis* in the political sense (*πόλις Τρῳάδος*) in Steph. Byz. 410.11, derived from Hecat. fr. 223, but we cannot be certain that the site-classification stems from Hekataios (Hansen (1997) 17–18). The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally by C4 coins (*infra*), and externally by the Athenian tribute lists (*infra*).

Lamponeia was captured by Otanes, the Persian satrap of the Hellespontine area, *c.*512 (Hdt. 5.26). It is thought to have been an original member of the Delian League since 478/7 (*ATL* iii. 206). It belonged to the Hellespontine district and is recorded either by toponym (*IG* I³ 267.I.28) or by city-ethnic (*IG* I³ 270.I.38) from 454/3 (*IG* I³ 259.IV.11) to 430/29 (*IG* I³ 281.III.16) a total of fourteen times, twice completely restored, paying a *phoros* of 1,000 dr. (*IG* I³ 259.IV.11), but 1,400 dr. in 430/29 (*IG* I³ 281.III.16). It was assessed for tribute in 425/4 (*IG* I³ 71.III.85).

In the Archaic period (?) it received a fortification wall which enclosed an area of about 27 ha (Cook (1973) 262).

Lamponeia struck coins of silver and bronze from C5l to C4m. (1) Silver *c.*420–400: denominations: drachm, hemidrachm, obol: *obv.* head of Dionysos; *rev.* bull's head; legend: *ΛAM*. (2) Bronze, *c.*400–350: *obv.* Dionysos; *rev.* bull's head, above kantharos or grapes; legend: *ΛAM* (Head, *HN*² 547; *SNG Cop. Troas* 444–45).

784. Larisa (Larisaios) Map 56. Lat. 39.35, long. 26.10. Size of territory: 2? Type: A:*α*. The toponym is *Λάρισα, ἡ* (Xen. *Hell.* 3.1.13, 16), *Λάρισσα* (Ps.-Skylax 95), *Λ*[*άρισα*], [*Λάρι*]*σα* (*IG* I³ 71.III.130, 77.IV.19). Steph. Byz. 413.5–6, referring to all the Larisas, indicates that the city-ethnic for persons was *Λαρισαῖος*, and for divinities *Λαρισεύς*. It is *Λαρισαῖος* in Strabo 13.1.48.

Hom. *Il.* 2.840–41 says that Larisa was inhabited by *φῦλα Πελασγῶν*. Larisa is called a *polis* in the political and urban senses combined by Xen. *Hell.* 3.1.13, 16 (cf. Hansen (2000) 175). In Ps.-Skylax 95 Larisa is one of the toponyms listed after the heading *πόλεις Ἑλληνίδες . . . αἵδε*, and its name has been restored ([*Λάρι*]*σα*) at *IG* I³ 77.IV.19 in a list of *Aktaiai poleis* which uses *polis* in the political sense. It was one of the *πολίσματα* that were incorporated by synoecism into Alexandreia Troas in 310 (Strabo 13.1.47).

The name of the territory was *ἡ Λαρισαῖα* (Strabo 13.1.48). It included the hot salt springs of Tragasai (Ath. 2.43A). Hom. *Il.* 2.840–41 and 17.301 refers to the fertility of the land, *Λάρισαν ἐριβώλακα*.

If the toponym is correctly restored in *IG* I³ 71 and 77 (*supra*), it was one of the *Ἀκταῖαι πόλεις* in the Delian League and was assessed for tribute of 3 tal. in 425/4 (*IG* I³ 71.III.124, 130) and in 422/1 for an unknown amount (*IG* I³ 77.IV.14, 19).

It is located *ἐν τῇ Τρωικῇ* by Ath. 2.43A, and according to Strabo 13.1.47 was formerly a city of the Tenedian *peraia*. Larisa was one of the places visited by the Delphic *theorodokoi c.*200 (Plassart (1921) 8; Cook (1988) 12). It may have sent *theoroi* to Samothrake (Cook (1962) 100, (1973) 221).

The site on a low hill measuring "320 × 350 paces", extending north from the base of the hill to the harbour; with building foundations and BG pottery (Leaf (1923) 225); Archaic and Classical sherds are reported (Cook (1988) 14). See also Akalın (1991). Xen. *Hell.* 3.1.13 (*Λάρισαν . . . τοῖς τείχεσιν*) suggests that the city possessed a circuit wall in C4e.

785. Neandreia (Neandrieus) Map 56. Lat. 39.45, long. 26.15. Size of territory: 4. Type: A:*α*. The toponym is attested in the forms *Νεάνδρεια* (*IG* I³ 259.IV.10 (454/3)) or *Νεάνδρεα* (*IG* I³ 272.I.30 (440/39)) or *Νεάνδρειον, τό* (Theopomp. fr. 374 *apud* Steph. Byz. 471.5) or *Νεανδρία, ἡ* (Strabo 13.1.47). The city-ethnics are *Νεανδρειεύς* (*IG* I³ 280.II.12 (432/1)) or *Νεανδριεύς* (Xen. *Hell.* 3.1.18; Strabo 13.1.51; cf. Cook (1988) 14 n. 23).

Neandreia was one of the Aiolic cities of the Troas (Xen. *Hell.* 3.1.16). In Ps.-Skylax 96 Neandreia is the third toponym listed after the heading *Αἰολίδες δὲ πόλεις . . . αἵδε*. It is called a *polis* in the urban and political senses combined by Xen. *Hell.* 3.1.16. The collective city-ethnic is used internally on C5–C4 coins (*infra*) and externally on the Athenian tribute lists (*infra*). The name of the territory was *ἡ Νεανδρίς* (Strabo 10.3.20, following Demetrios of Skepsis). It included the Samonion plain, which was probably to the east of the city in the Skamandros valley (Cook (1973) 315). It overlooked and presumably adjoined Hamaxitos on the west (Strabo 13.1.51).

A foundation story is recorded in Dictys Cretensis, which may originate with C5 or C4 sources, before the foundation of Alexandreia Troas (Schwertheim (1994) 21–24). Neandreia was a member of the Delian League. It belonged to the Hellespontine district and is recorded first by toponym (*IG* I³ 263.II.34), later by city-ethnic (*IG* I³ 280.II.12), from 454/3 (*IG* I³ 259.IV.10) to 430/29 (*IG* I³ 281.III.37) a total of twelve times, twice completely restored, paying a *phoros* of 2,000 dr. (*IG* I³ 259.IV.10) in all years. It was assessed for tribute in 425/4 (*IG* I³ 71.III.81) and in 410/9 (*IG* I³ 100.III.4). It was one of the cities incorporated in Alexandreia Troas in 310.

The origin of the civic centre (temple, agora, stoa) dates to the Archaic period, including a C6 temple, perhaps dedicated to Apollo (Wiegartz (1994)), an agora and stoa, possible remains of a theatre (Trunk (1994)), extensive housing and a complex internal drainage system. The western section of the housing area was built on a rectangular organised grid dating to C4 (Maischatz (1994)). There was a fortified area at the west end of the site, arguably protected by the earliest fortifications of C6. These were built from 2–2.5 m-thick rough polygonal masonry, not laid in horizontal or even courses; they had five entrances. New walls were built in late C5 or early C4. They were 3.2 km long and 2.9 m thick, made from granite ashlar blocks. There were eight gates and eleven rectangular towers, two with interior courtyards (Schulz (1994), (2000)). These walls may be indirectly referred to at Xen. *Hell.* 3.1.16 (*εἰς τὰ τείχη δέχεσθαι . . . Νεανδρεῖς . . . ἐπείθοντο*).

The city minted silver and bronze issues from *c.*430–310: denominations: drachm, hemidrachm, obol, hemiobol: *obv.* head of Apollo, or helmet; *rev.* altar and laurel tree, or ram, or horse, or triskeles, or ear of corn; legend: *NEAN* or *NEA* (Head, *HN*² 547; cf. Pohl (1994) 157–61; *SNG Cop. Troas* 446–54).

786. Ophryneion (Ophryneus) Map 56. Lat. 40.00, long. 26.20. Size of territory: 1 or 2. Type: [A]:*α*. The toponym is *Ὀφρύνειον, τό* (Hdt. 7.43.2; Dem. 33.20; note *Ὀφρυνείοι* (dat.) in *IG* I³ 430.11 (414/13)); restored at *IG* I³ 71.III.131, 77.IV.20); *Ὀφρύνιον, τό* is recorded by Xen. *An.* 7.8.5. The city-ethnic is *Ὀφρυνεύς* (C4s coins, *infra*).

Ophryneion is called a *polis* in the urban sense at Hdt. 7.43.2, and in the political sense retrospectively by Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.47.2, who draws on Hellan. fr. 31. Its name has been restored ([*Ὀφρύν*]*ειον*) at *IG* I³ 77.IV.20 in a list of *Aktaiai poleis* which uses *polis* in the political sense. The collective internal use of the city-ethnic is attested by C4s coins (*infra*).

If the toponym is correctly restored in *IG* I³ 71 and 77, it was one of the *Ἀκταῖαι πόλεις* in the Delian League and was assessed for tribute of 5 tal. in 425/4 (*IG* I³ 71.III.124, 131: *Ὀ*[*φρύνειον*]) and for an unknown amount in 422/1 (*IG* I³ 77.IV.14, 20: [*Ὀφρύν*]*ειον*).

An Athenian inscription listing confiscated goods being offered for public sale (*IG* I³ 430.11 (414/13)) refers to *ἐπικαρπία τῆς γῆς τῆς ἐν Ὀφρυνείοι*. This implies landownership by Athenian citizens. Dem. 33.20 mentions that Parmenon lived here in exile from Byzantion, losing his wife and children when their house was destroyed by an earthquake.

Ophryneion was the reputed burial place of Hektor (schol. Hom. *Il.* 13.1). Strabo 13.1.30 reports that the grove of Hektor occupied a conspicuous site, and Hektor appears on the coins.

The site occupies a prominent hill some 100 m high, forming a conspicuous headland with a steep brow, giving the site its name. Walls (undated) enclosed the whole acropolis and are reported as 2 m thick without mortar; the upper part of the acropolis is separated by a deep trench and embankment (Leaf (1923) 153–54, citing Calvert's description). Many buildings are reported on the acropolis and the slopes to the west and north-west.

Ophryneion minted silver and bronze *c.*350–300: denominations: hemidrachm, trihemiobol: *obv.* head of Hektor, or Zeus; *rev.* mounted naked youth, or Dionysos, or Hektor; legend: ΟΦΡΥΝΕΩΝ or ΟΦΡΥ (Head, *HN*² 547; *SNG Cop. Troas* 455–60).

787. *Palaiperkote (Palaiperkosios) Map 51. Lat. 40.15, long. 26.40. Size of territory: ? Type C:? The toponym is *Παλαιπερκώτη, reconstructed from ἡ πάλαι Περκώτη (Strabo 13.1.20, *infra*) and the city-ethnic Παλαιπερκόσιος (*IG* I³ 272.I.28).

The Palaiperkosioi were members of the Delian League. They belonged to the Hellespontine district and are recorded from 451/50 (*IG* I³ 262.II.14) to 421/20 (*IG* I³ 285.II.80) a total of fourteen times, twice completely restored, paying a *phoros* of 500 dr. (*IG* I³ 265.II.39) in all years. They were linked with the *Perkosioi* in 433/2 (*IG* I³ 279.II.19–20, completely restored) and probably assessed in 425/4 (*IG* I³ 71.III.100, partly restored). In a passage that is certainly corrupt, Strabo (13.1.20) made some observation about a change of name (ἡ πάλαι Περκώτη μετωνομάσθη, ὁ τόπος). The change of name, however, seems to be that attested from Perkote to Perkope (see entry for Perkote), and it is not clear whether this passage refers to Palaiperkote at all. The site was probably located at Erdağ, where a large Archaic (?) fortification wall has been reported (Judeich (1898*b*) 546; cf. Schulz (2000) 23).

788. Perkote (Perkosios) Map 51. Lat. 40.15, long. 26.35. Size of territory: 1 or 2? Type: A:α. The toponym is Περκώτη, ἡ (Hom. *Il.* 2.835, 11.229, 15.548; Hdt. 5.117; Xen. *Hell.* 5.1.25; Arr. *Anab.* 1.12.6), rendered as Περκότε in the Athenian tribute lists (*ATL* i. 374). The form Περκώπη occurs in lesser MSS of these authors and was current after the Hellenistic period; see Eust. *Il.* 840.46 on *Il.* 11.229; Ath. 1.29F, discussion by Ruge (1938). The city-ethnic was Περκώσιος (Hom. *Il.* 6.30) or Περκόσιος (*IG* I³ 272.I.33).

Perkote is called a *polis* in the urban sense by Hdt. 5.117.1. In Ps.-Skylax 94 Perkote is one of the toponyms listed after the heading πόλεις Ἑλληνίδες αἵδε. The city-ethnic was used in its collective sense externally by the Athenian tribute lists (*infra*). Perkote was a member of the Delian League. It belonged to the Hellespontine district and is recorded either by toponym (*IG* I³ 266.I.21) or by city-ethnic (*IG* I³ 272.I.33) from 454/3 (*IG* I³ 259.II.17, partly restored) to 430/29 (*IG* I³ 281.III.26) a total of thirteen times, twice completely restored, paying a *phoros* of 1,000 dr. (*IG* I³ 266.I.21) in all years. It was assessed for tribute in 425/4 (*IG* I³ 71.III.88, partly restored). Perhaps the Perkosioi were jointly listed with Palaiperkosioi in 433/2 (*IG* I³ 279.II.19–20, both ethnics completely restored). In 387/6 Antalkidas brought his fleet to anchor at Perkote (Xen. *Hell.* 5.1.25). According to later sources, Perkote provided Themistokles with his bed linen (Plut. *Them.* 29; schol. Ar. *Eq.* 84; Ath. 1.54).

789. Polichna (Polichnaios) Map 56. Unlocated. Type: C:? The toponym is Πολίχνα, ἡ (Strabo 13.1.45). The city-ethnic is probably Πολιχνίτης (*IG* I³ 71.III.76) or Πολιχναῖος as reported by Steph. Byz. 532.4 and confirmed by the form *Polichnaei* (Plin. *HN* 5.30). Its location is uncertain (Leaf (1923) 210).

At 13.1.45 Strabo refers to a fortified settlement (τειχῆρες χωρίον) called Πολίχνα or Πολίχνη on the territory of Skepsis. The toponym is possibly to be connected with the (restored) ethnic [Πολι]χνῖται, a community in the Hellespontine district assessed for tribute in 425/4 (*IG* I³ 71.III.76), thus *ATL* i. 541. The common alternation Polichnaioi/Polichnitai is attested in the case of the Erythraian Polichnitai/aioi (no. 860). If the restoration and the identification are accepted, Polichna was presumably a *polis* and perhaps a dependency of Skepsis already in C5.

790. Rhoiteion (Rhoiteus) Map 56. Lat. 40.00, long. 26.20. Size of territory: 2. Type: A:α. The toponym is Ῥοίτειον, τό (Hdt. 7.43; Thuc. 4.52.2; Xen. *Hell.* 1.1.3; *IG* I³ 77.IV.16). The city-ethnic is Ῥοιτιεύς (Strabo 13.1.30; Steph. Byz. 557.8) or Ῥοιτεύς (*IG* XI.4 582; *IG* XI.2 163.B.*g*.18 (both C3f)).

Rhoiteion is called a *polis* in the urban sense by Hdt. 7.43.2, and in Ps.-Skylax 95 Rhoiteion is the second toponym listed after the heading πόλεις Ἑλληνίδες . . . αἵδε. It was one of the *Aktaiai poleis* mentioned by Thuc. 4.52.2 and *IG* I³ 77.IV.16, where *polis* is used in the political sense. The collective city-ethnic is attested internally by C4s coins (*infra*); the individual city-ethnic is attested externally by C3f inscriptions (*IG* XI.4 582; *IG* XI.2 163.B.*g*.18), but *SEG* 12 88 (332/1) has been interpreted as a grant of proxeny to a Rhoiteieus. The name of the territory was τὸ Ῥοίτειον (Leaf (1923) 157). It probably extended west and south to the river

Simoeis, and east to Ophryneion. It included the burial tumulus of Ajax (whose statue was returned to the Rhoiteians by Augustus (Strabo 13.1.30), and an unlocated colony called *Πόλιον*, which was renamed *Πόλισμα* in Strabo's day (Strabo 13.1.42).

Rhoiteion was founded by Dorians from Astypalaia, who also founded the undefended colony of Polion, in C7/C6, which was demolished soon afterwards (Strabo 13.1.42).

Rhoiteion was one of the *Ἀκταῖαι πόλεις* in the Delian League and was assessed for tribute of 8 tal. in 425/4 (*IG* I³ 71.III.124, 126, toponym restored) and for an unknown amount in 422/1 (*IG* I³ 77.IV.14 and 16). In 424 it was briefly seized by refugees from Mytilene and other refugees from Lesbos, but returned on payment of 2,000 Phokaian staters (Thuc. 4.52.2). *Μοιρίας Ἀντιφάνου Ῥοιτεύς* was honoured in a C3f proxeny decree of Delos (*IG* XI.4 582). It was absorbed by Ilion in a synoecism after 189 (Livy 38.37).

The acropolis is reported to be fortified on three sides with two towers (undated); the fourth side was precipitous. There were buildings within the acropolis, while the lower town extends to the south (Cook (1973) 77–90).

The city minted silver coins *c.*350–300: denomination: tetrobol: *obv.* head of Apollo; *rev.* triskeles; legend: *POITEI* (Head, *HN*² 548).

791. Sigeion (Sigeieus) Map 56. Lat. 40.00, long. 26.10. Size of territory: 2. Type A:*α*. The toponym is *Σίγειον, τό* (*IG* I³ 1144.A.II.a.32 (464); Hdt. 5.65.3; Thuc. 6.59.3; Arist. *Hist. an.* 547ᵃ5).; also *Σίγη, ἡ* (Hecat. fr. 221; Ps.-Skylax 95). For the identification of *Σίγη* with *Σίγειον*, see Bürchner (1923) 2276. The city-ethnic is *Συκεεύς* (*Syll.*³ 2.A = *LSAG*² pl. 71 43–44 (C6)) or *Σιγενεύς* (*Syll.*³ 2.B (C5)) or *Σιγειεύς* (*Syll.*³ 2.B (C5); *IG* I³ 272.I.35) or *Σιγεύς* (*I.Kios* 1.4 (C4)). Sigeion is described as a *polis* in the urban sense at Hdt. 5.94.2 and in Ps.-Skylax 95 Sige (Sigeion) is one of the toponyms listed after the heading *πόλεις Ἑλληνίδες . . . αἵδε*. Other references to Sigeion as a *polis* are late: Harp. *Σ*11 and Strabo 13.1.31 (*κατεσπασμένη πόλις*). The collective city-ethnic is attested internally in C6 by *Syll.*³ 1.2, and externally in C5 by the Athenian tribute lists (*infra*) and *IG* I³ 17 (C5m/s), which is a decree granting privileges to the city. Individually, the city-ethnic is applied externally in *I.Kios* 1 (C4) and by later sources to the C5 historian from the city, Damastes (= *FGrHist* 5; cf. Test. 1, 2, 4).

Its territory is termed *χώρη* by Hdt. 5.94.2. Sigeion and Rhoiteion included the former territory of Ilion, until that city was refounded (Strabo 13.1.42). In the early C6 control of Sigeion was contested between Athenians and Mytilenians; the latter's base was the neighbouring *polis* of Achilleion (Hdt. 5.94.2). The oecist may have been the Athenian, Physkon, in C7l, when virtually the entire rest of the Troad was controlled by Lesbos (Strabo 13.1.8).

Sigeion was a member of the Delian League. It belonged to the Hellespontine district and is recorded from 450/49 (*IG* I³ 263.IV.25) to 418/17 (*IG* I³ 287.II.9) a total of fifteen times, once completely restored, paying a *phoros* of 1,000 dr. (*IG* I³ 263.IV.25) down to 418/17, when it paid 1 tal. (*IG* I³ 287.II.9). It was assessed for tribute in 425/4 (*IG* I³ 71.III.93). In C4, Tenedos claimed control over Sigeion (Arist. *Rh.* 1375ᵇ31; *Anon. in Arist. Artem Rhet.* 81.12). Strabo 13.1.39 (cf. 13.1.31) says that the city was demolished (*κατέσκαπται*) by the people of Ilion on account of its disobedience. The date must fall between *c.*334 and Strabo's own time.

Sigeion was usually ruled by an autocrat or a tyrant: Physkon, Athenian Olympic victor, in late C7 (Strabo 13.1.38); Hegesistratos, son of Peisistratos, in 520s, and perhaps Hippias in 510 (Hdt. 5.94.1); Chares son of Theochares between *c.*355 and 334 (Theopomp. fr. 105 *apud* Ath. 12.532B; Arr. 1.12.1; schol. Dem. 3.21). A public decree of C2 has been recorded (Daux (1956); cf. *BE* (1958) 410).

A *prytaneion* is mentioned in C6 (*Syll.*³ 2A). The city walls were reputed to have been built with stones from Ilion by Archianax of Mytilene in C6 (Strabo 13.1.38). There was a C6 dedication of crater, base and stand by Phanodikos of Prokonnesos (*Syll.*³ 2). A C4 decree of Kios gave proxeny status and minor privileges to *Ἄδολος Ἀδόλου Σιγεύς* (*I.Kios* 1).

Silver and bronze coins were minted in C4, probably when Sigeion was controlled by Chares, *c.*355–334. Denomination: hemidrachm: *obv.* head of Athena, or head of Zeus; *rev.* owl, crescent behind; legend: *ΣΙΓΕ* (Head, *HN*² 549; Six (1894) 306–7).

792. Skepsis (Skapsios) Map 56. Lat. 39.50, long. 26.40. Size of territory: 5. Type: A:*α*. The toponym is *Σκῆψις, ἡ* (Xen. *Hell.* 3.1.15; *F.Delphes* III.1 288 (C2)); *Παλαισκῆψις* (Strabo 13.1.51). The city-ethnic is *Σκάψιος* (C5 coins, *infra*), *Σκάφσιος* (*IG* I³ 261.IV.27), *Σκή[ψιος]* (*IG* I³ 100.III.3; *IG* II² 10364 (C3); *F.Delphes* III.1 288 (C2)), *Σκήψιος* (coins, *infra*; Xen. *Hell.* 3.1.21), *Σκέμφσιος* (Krateros fr. 24, Krech (454/3)).

It is called a *polis* in the urban sense by Xen. *Hell.* 3.1.15. In Ps.-Skylax 96 Skepsis is the second toponym listed after the heading *Αἰολίδες δὲ πόλεις . . . αἵδε*. In the political sense *polis* is used by Xen. *Hell.* 3.1.21. Skepsis is repeatedly referred to as a *polis* in the political sense in a decree of 311 (*OGIS* 6.2,

4, 11, 15). The acropolis is mentioned by Xen. *Hell.* 3.1.21 (ἐν τῇ τῶν Σκηψίων ἀκροπόλει). Xen. *Hell.* 3.1.21 also refers to its inhabitants as citizens in emphatic terms: παραδοὺς δὲ τοῖς πολίταις τὴν πόλιν, καὶ παρακελευσάμενος ὥσπερ Ἕλληνας καὶ ἐλευθέρους χρῆ, οὕτω πολιτεύειν. This passage, however, also implies that the population was mixed. Xen. *Hell.* 3.1.28 also employs the term *patris* in relation to the city. The collective city-ethnic is used internally on coins (*infra*) and externally on the Athenian tribute lists (*infra*); the external individual use is attested in a C3 epitaph from Athens (*Agora* XVII 666).

The name of the territory was ἡ Σκηψία (Strabo 13.1.33), and the city lay ἐν δὲ τῇ μεσογαίᾳ τῆς Τρῳάδος (Strabo 14.1.6). Its extent must have been large, but the topography remains extremely obscure. According to Strabo 13.1.45, it included a walled settlement called Πολίχνα (possibly itself a small *polis*), and it was separated from the territory of Kebren by the river Skamandros (Strabo 13.1.33). The site of Palaiskepsis was said to be above Kebren in the highest parts of Mt. Ida near Polichna (*sic*) (Strabo 13.1.52). Strabo 13.1.51 describes the early but undated *metoikesis* from Palaiskepsis to Skepsis as follows: ὕστερον κατωτέρω σταδίοις ἑξήκοντα μετῳκισθῆναι ὑπὸ Σκαμάνδρου τοῦ Ἕκτορος καὶ Ἀσκανίου τοῦ Αἰνείου παιδός. The figure of 60 stades was emended to 260 by Leaf (1923) 270–71, who was guided by Strabo's indications that Skepsis lay in the river basin of the Skamandros, while Palaiskepsis was in that of the Aisepos. Following this, Strabo 13.1.52 refers to the arrival of Milesian settlers to be joined in a *sympoliteia* at Skepsis, perhaps after the sack of Miletos in 494, εἶτα Μιλήσιοι συνεπολιτεύθησαν αὐτοῖς. C5 coins have the city-ethnic ΣΚΗ(Α)ΨΙΟΝ ΝΕ(ΟΝ) which may refer to the refoundation of Skepsis at this time. After 310 Skepsis was synoecised with Alexandreia by Antigonos, but restored to independence by Lysimachos (Strabo 13.1.52).

Skepsis was originally an Aiolic city (implied by use of form ΣΚΑΨΙΟΝ on C5 coins, *infra*); but there was a secondary foundation by Milesians after 494 (Leaf (1923) 272–73). The original oecists, according to Strabo 13.1.52–53, following Demetrios of Skepsis, were Skamandrios and Askanios.

Skepsis was a member of the Delian League. It belonged to the Hellespontine district and is recorded in 453/2 (*IG* I³ 260.VIII.4, partly restored), in 452/1 (*IG* I³ 261.IV.27) and in 441/0 (*IG* I³ 271.II.31), paying a *phoros* of 1 tal. It was assessed for tribute possibly in 454/3 (Krateros fr. 24, Krech) and in 425/4 (*IG* I³ 71.III.65, completely restored), probably in 410/9 (*IG* I³ 100.III.4, partly restored).

Strabo 13.1.52 records a progression in its constitution from kingship (descendants of Skamandrios and Askanios), through oligarchy, to democracy (after the *sympoliteia* of Milesian settlers). Imhoof-Blümer (1901) 45 suggests that a coin with the legend ΑΝΤΗΝΟΡΟΣ is evidence for a dynast of that name in C2 or C1; but this may simply be an allusion to the legend of the Antenoridai, current at the city (Leaf (1923) 275–80). The magistrates included a βασιλεύς (Strabo 13.1.52). The city received a letter from Antigonos in 311 (*OGIS* 5), and the *demos* responded by passing a decree in the king's honour. The Skepsians resolved to set up a sanctuary and altar for Antigonos and to found an annual festival, which would feature a *thysia*, an *agon*, a *stephanephoria* and a *panegyris*. Among the city magistrates the text mentions a *tamias*, who was responsible for expenditure on the festival, and a *grammateus*, who was to supervise the erection of the stele inscribed with the decree in the sanctuary of Athena (*OGIS* 6). An early Hellenistic citizenship decree testifies to the organisation of the citizens into *phylai* (Judeich (1898*a*)). Xen. *Hell.* 3.1.15 implies that Skepsis was a fortified site.

Derkylidas conducted a sacrifice to Athena on the acropolis in 399 (Xen. *Hell.* 3.1.21; cf. *OGIS* 6.40–41), perhaps suggesting a cult of Athena Polias. There was also a communal cult of Dionysos (coins, inscription of C4/C3; *SEG* 26 1337 (regulations for priesthood of Dionysos Bambouleios, probably dating to C2)). The city used the Ionic calendar, and the month Lenaion is attested (*SEG* 26 1337).

Skepsis minted silver and bronze coinage in C5 and C4. (1) Silver, 460–400: denominations: drachm, triobol, trihemiobol, hemiobol: *obv.* horse (Pegasos); legend: ΣΚΑΨΙΟΝ or ΣΚΗΨΙΟΝ or ΣΚΗΨΙ; *rev.* fir-tree; legend: Ν or ΝΕ (presumably νεῶν). (2) Bronze, *c.*460–400: *obv.* fir-tree, or horse (Pegasos); *rev.* symbol, or fir-tree in incuse square. (3) Silver, 400–310: denominations: tetrobol, trihemiobol: *obv.* Pegasos, or Dionysos; *rev.* fir-tree; legend: ΣΚΗΨΙΩΝ or ΣΚΗ or ΣΚ. (4) Bronze, 400–310: *obv.* Pegasos; *rev.* fir-tree; legend: ΣΚΗΨΙΩΝ or ΣΚΗ (Head, *HN*² 548; *SNG Cop. Troas* 469–87).

793. Tenedos (Tenedios) Map 56. Lat. 39.50, long. 26.05. Size of territory: 2. Type: A:α. The toponym is Τένεδος, ἡ (*IG* I³ 265.II.109; Hdt. 1.151.2; Thuc. 3.35.1). The city-ethnic is Τενέδιος (Hdt. 1.151.3; *IG* I³ 261.I.6). Tenedos is called a *polis* in the urban sense by Hdt. 1.151.2 and implicitly in Ps.-Skylax 95 (Flensted-Jensen and Hansen (1996) 142). It is included among the *poleis* in the political sense mentioned at Hdt. 1.151.3 and is explicitly called *polis* in the political sense in *IG*

II² 232 (340/39). *IG* II² 233.6–7 (340/39) refers to the *demos* of the Tenedians. πατρίς is found in *SEG* 36 697 (C4/C3) and *CEG* II 717 (C4l/C3e), and πάτρα in Pind. *Nem.* 11.20. The collective city-ethnic is used internally on C5m–C4 coins (*infra*) and externally by Hdt. 1.151.3, Thuc. 3.2.3 and, e.g., *IG* I³ 261.I.6 (452/1). The individual city-ethnic is used externally on funerary inscriptions from Athens (*Agora* XVII 672–73 (C4)) and in *IG* VII 2418.14 (355–346).

Ps.-Skylax 95 mentions the island and its harbour, καὶ νῆσος κατὰ ταῦτα κεῖται Τένεδος καὶ λιμήν, while Strabo 13.1.46 mentions two harbours. There was a single *polis* on the island of Tenedos (Hdt. 1.151.2), which also had territory on the *peraia* (Strabo 13.1.32); Xen. *Hell.* 5.1.7 uses χώρα about the island. Strabo 13.1.44 shows that Tenedian territory included Achaiion, while 13.1.46 indicates that it began at Sigeion and Achilleion, and included Achaiion. Strabo 13.1.47, a corrupt passage, is usually restored to show that Larisa and Kolonai were previously parts of the Tenedian *peraia* (ἦν δὲ τῷ Ἀχαιίῳ συνεχὴς ἥ τε Λάρισα καὶ Κολωναί, τῆς <Τενεδίων περ>αίας οὖσαι πρότερον). However, Cook (1973) 197–98 proposes restoring ἦν δὲ τῷ Ἀχαιίῳ συνεχὴς ἥ τε Λάρισα καὶ Κολωναί, τῆς <Λεσβίων περ>αίας οὖσαι πρότερον at this point, and this also makes good sense. Arist. *Rh.* 1375ᵇ31 with *Anon. in Arist. Artem Rhet.* 81.12 indicates that Tenedos claimed control over Sigeion some time in C4.

Tenedos was an Aiolic settlement founded from Lesbos (Hdt. 1.151.1–2; Strabo 13.1.46). Tenedos was a member of the Delian League. It belonged to the Hellespontine district and is recorded from 452/1 (*IG* I³ 261.I.6) to 429/8 (*IG* I³ 282.III.30) a total of fifteen times, twice completely restored, usually paying a *phoros* of 2 tal., 5,280 dr. (*IG* I³ 269.II.8) but sometimes 4 tal., 3,000 dr. (*IG* I³ 267.I.29). It was assessed for tribute in 425/4 (*IG* I³ 71.II.180, partly restored). Contributions ἐσς Τένεδον are recorded in 447/6 (*IG* I³ 265.II.108–9). Thuc. 7.57.5 describes the Tenedians as ὑποτελεῖς. The Athenian general Paches placed a group of pro-Spartan Mytilenians in temporary custody on Tenedos in 427 (Thuc. 3.28.2; cf. 35.1); Tenedos had been at odds with Lesbos during the Revolt of 428/7 and had not joined them (Thuc. 3.2.3). Tenedos was also a member of the Second Athenian Naval League (*IG* II² 43.A.II.79). A Tenedian *proxenos* of the Boiotians is mentioned in *IG* VII 2418 (355–346).

There was an Aristotelian Constitution of the Tenedians (Arist. frr. 610–11); a fragment in Steph. Byz. 616.3ff refers to a law concerning adulterers established by a king who was obliged to punish his own son with death by beheading according to its harsh terms. In fact, this is an aetiological story to explain the coin types of Tenedos with the double axe motif and has little historical value. *C.*330 an Argive *theorodokos* resided at Tenedos (*SEG* 23 189.II.19).

The site includes evidence of grid planning of the ancient city, cemeteries dating from C8 to C4, and the remains of a theatre of uncertain date at Yeni Kale Tepe (Mitchell (1999) 142). A *prytaneion* is mentioned at Pind. *Nem.* 11.1–3. There was a public cult of Apollo Smintheus (Strabo 13.1.46, quoting Hom. *Il.* 1.38).

Tenedos minted silver coinage. (1) Silver, *c.*550–470: denominations: tetradrachm, didrachm, hemidrachm, obol: *obv.* Janus head (male and female); *rev.* incuse square, or double axe, or head of Athena; legend: TENE or TENEΔION or TENEΔEON. (2) Silver, *c.*450–387: denominations: tetradrachm, drachm, hemidrachm: *obv.* Janus head (male and female), or Artemis; *rev.* double axe, usually with bunch of grapes; legend: TE or TENE or TENEΔIΩN. (Head, *HN*² 550; *SNG Cop. Troas* 505–22).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Akalın, A. K. 1991. "Larisa und der Liman-Tepe in der Troas", in E. Schwertheim (ed.), *Studien zum antiken Kleinasien: Friedrich Karl Dörner zum 80. Geburtstag Gewidmet*, Asia Minor Studien 3 (Bonn) 63–68.

Bürchner, L. 1923. "Sigeion", *RE* iiA. 2275–77.

Burnett, A. P., and Edmonson, C. N. 1961. "The Chabrias Monument in the Athenian Agora", *Hesperia* 30: 74–91.

Cook, J. M. 1962. Review of *Samothrace* 2.i and ii, *CR* 12: 100–1.

——1973. *The Troad: An Archaeological and Topographical Study* (Oxford).

——1988. "Cities in and around the Troad", *BSA* 56: 7–19

Daux, G. 1956. "Décret de Sigée trouvé en Corse", *BCH* 80: 53–56.

Flensted-Jensen, P., and Hansen, M. H. 1996. "Pseudo-Skylax' Use of the Term *Polis*", *CPCPapers* 3: 137–67.

Frisch, P. 1975. *Die Inschriften aus Ilion*, *IGSK* 3 (Bonn).

——1978. *Die Inschriften von Lampsakos*, *IGSK* 6 (Bonn).

Fritze, H. von 1904. "Birytis und die Kabiren auf Münzen", *ZfN* 24: 105–28.

Hansen, M. H. 1997. "Hekataios' Use of the Word *Polis* in his *Periegesis*", *CPCPapers* 4: 17–27.

——2000. "A Survey of the Use of the Word *Polis* in Archaic and Classical Sources", *CPCPapers* 5: 173–215.

Imhoof-Blumer, F. 1901. *Kleinasiatische Münzen*, i (Vienna).
——1915. "Miszellen", *NZ* 99–107.
Judeich, W. 1898*a*. "Nordwestlichen Kleinasien", in *Beiträge zur alten Geschichte und Geographie, Festschrift für Heinrich Kiepert* (Berlin) 225–40.
——1898*b*. "Bericht ueber eine Reise im nordwestlichen Kleinasien", in *Sitzungsberichte der koeniglich preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin* (Berlin) 531–55.
Korfmann, M. 1988. "Beşik-Tepe: Vorbericht über die Ergebnisse der Grabung von 1985 und 1986. Grabung am Beşik-Yassıtepe und im Beşik-Gräberfeld", *AA* 391–404.
Lang, F. 1996. *Archaische Siedlungen in Griechenland: Struktur und Entwicklung* (Berlin).
Leaf, W. 1911–12. "The Topography of the Scamander Plain, II", *BSA* 18: 286–300.
——1923. *Strabo on the Troad: Book XIII Ch. 1*, edited with translation and commentary (Cambridge).
Lewis, D. M. 1993. Review of *SEG* 28 (1988), in *CR* 43: 208.
Maischatz, T. 1994. "Untersuchungen zu einer Stadterweiterungsphase im 4. Jh. v. Chr.", in Schwertheim (1994) 49–64.
Mitchell, S. 1999. "Archaeology in Asia Minor 1990–98", *AR* 45: 125–91.
Plassart, A. 1921. "Inscriptions de Delphes: la liste de théorodoques", *BCH* 45: 1–85.
Pohl, D. 1994. "Münzen und andere Metallfunde", in Schwertheim (1994) 157–61.
Robert, C. 1887. "Archäologische Nachlese II: die Sibylle von Marpessos", *Hermes* 22: 454–59.
Robert, L. 1951. *Études de numismatique grecque* (Paris).
——1966. *Monnaies antiques en Troade* (Geneva and Paris).
——1967. *Monnaies grecques: types, légendes, magistrats monétaires et géographie* (Geneva and Paris).
Rose, C. B. 1997. "The 1996 Post-Bronze Age Excavations at Troia", *Studia Troica* 7: 73–110.
——2000. "Post-Bronze Age Troy", in *XVII Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı* (Ankara) 283–92.
Ruge, W. 1932. "Miletos 3", *RE* xv.2. 1655.
——1938. "Perkote", *RE* X xix. 862–65
——1939. "Troas 1", *RE* viiA1. 525–83.
Rumscheid, F. 1995. "Die Ornamentik des Apollon-Smintheus-Tempels in der Troas", *IstMitt* 45: 25–55.
Schmidt-Dounas, B. 1991. "Zur Datierung der Metopen des Athena-Tempels von Ilion", *IstMitt* 41: 363–415.
Schulz, A. 1994. "Zur jüngeren Stadtmauer", in Schwertheim (1994) 65–89.
——2000. *Die Stadtmauern von Neandreia in der Troas*, Asia Minor Studien 38 (Bonn).
Schwertheim, E. 1988. "Ein Dekretfragment aus dem 5. Jh. v. Chr. aus Hamaxitus", in *VI Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı* (Ankara) 283–85.
—— (ed.) 1994. *Neue Forschungen zu Neandria und Alexandria Troas*, i, Asia Minor Studien 11 (Bonn).
—— (ed.) 1995. *Studien zum Antiken Kleinasien*, iii, Asia Minor Studien 26 (Bonn).
Sear, D. R. 1979. *Greek Coins and their Values*, ii: *Asia and Africa* (London).
Six, J. P. 1894. "Monnaies grecques, inédites et incertaines", *NC* 297–338.
Stäuber, J. 1996. *Die Bucht von Adramytteion*, *IGSK* 50 (Bonn).
Stüpperich, R. 1994. "Beobachtungen zu Gräbern und Grabsitten in der Nekropole von Assos", *Laverna* 5: 56–86.
——1995. "Ein archaisches Kriegerrelief aus Gargara", in Schwertheim (1995) 127–38.
——1996. "Neue Reliefs vom Athena-Tempel von Assos", in Ü. Serdaroğlu and R. Stüpperich (eds.), *Ausgrabungen in Assos 1992*, Asia Minor Studien 21 (Bonn) 33–42.
Taşlıklıoğlu, Z. 1971. *Trakya'da Epigrafya Arastırmaları* (Istanbul).
Tenger, B. 1994. "Phoroshöhe und Bevölkerungszahl: die Athener Tributlisten als Indikator für die Grösse der Einwohnerschaft einer Polis?", in Schwertheim (1995) 139–60.
Trunk, M. 1994. "Das Theater von Neandria? Vorbericht zu einer Stufenanlage im Stadtzentrum", in Schwertheim (1994) 91–100.
Welles, C. B. 1934. *Royal Correspondence in the Hellenistic Period* (New Haven).
Westcoat, B. D. 1987. "Designing the Temple of Athena at Assos: Some Evidence from the Capitals", *AJA* 91: 553–68.
Wiegartz, H. 1994. "Äolische Kapitelle: Neufunde und ihr Verhältnis zu den bekannten Stücken", in Schwertheim (1994) 117–32.
Winter, E. 1994. "Derkylidas in Kleinasien", in Schwertheim (1994) 1–20.

LESBOS

MOGENS HERMAN HANSEN, NIGEL SPENCER, HECTOR WILLIAMS

I. The Island

The name of the island is Λέσβος, ἡ (Hom. *Il.* 9.129; Anac. fr. 13.6, *PMC*; Thuc. 1.116.1; Arist. *Hist. an.* 621^{b}22; *IG* I^{3} 18.18 (C5m)); *F.Delphes* III.1 497.9 (C4l–C3e)). The ethnic is Λέσβιος (Archil. fr. 98.11; Alc. fr. 129.1, Lobel and Page; Hdt. 1.24.8; *IG* I^{3} 1352 *bis*; *SEG* 28 24.2 (428/7)). In Tod 196.16 Λεσ[βώιοι]ς is an unconvincing conjecture (Brun (1993) 188, followed by RO 96).

Lesbos covers 1,614 km² (Labarre (1996) 191). It was settled by the Aiolian Greeks, probably over an extended period from the later Bronze Age to the early Iron Age. However, the continuity of many traditions in the material culture across the Bronze Age/Iron Age divide, lasting in some cases until the Archaic period, makes it almost impossible to pin down precisely in the archaeological record when the "Aiolian" element in the population in Lesbos arrived (Spencer (1995*b*) 275–77, 293–303). The Aiolian dialect, related to Thessalian and Boiotian, is the principal clue to the question of the identity of the new population elements in Lesbos (Thumb and Scherer (1959) 84–85; Cook (1975) 776–79). The written sources are late and are infected with mythological speculations (Bérard (1959) 22–28).

According to Herodotos (1.151.2) there were in C5m five *poleis* on Lesbos, but there had once been six until the *polis* of Arisba was destroyed by an *andrapodismos*. A century later, Ps.-Skylax (97) reported that Lesbos had five *poleis*: Methymna, Antissa, Eresos, Pyrrha and Mytilene. This neat picture of the *poleis* of Lesbos is disturbed by Steph. Byz., who, in addition to the six *poleis* above, lists seven further *poleis* on Lesbos: Geren (205.3), Ira (337.2), Issa (339.14), Metaon (448.10), Nape (469.4), Xanthos (480.17) and Penthile (516.18). These seven toponyms, or some of them, may have been names of Archaic *poleis*. Furthermore, some rare billon coins of C5f have with good reason (confirmed by T. Buttrey) been assigned to Lesbos because of the metal as well as the *obv.* type: two boars' heads, face to face. The coins are inscribed *KIΘI* or, perhaps, *KIOI* (see *infra*). They may testify to the existence of an otherwise unknown *polis*. It is true that Herodotos' account at 1.151.2 conveys the impression that there had never been more than six Lesbian *poleis*. But in the same part of book 1 he reports that there were eleven Aiolian and twelve Ionian *poleis*, whereas we know from other sources that, in C5m, there were more than thirty *poleis* in Aiolis and some thirty in Ionia. On the other hand, Stephanos does not in any of the seven cases cite a source for his site-classification, and we know from other regions that some doubtful and spurious settlements are recorded as *poleis* in Stephanos' treatise. There are no other written sources or material remains to back up Stephanos' site-classifications, and not all of the locations can even be securely located topographically. Furthermore, the inscribed letters on the coins do not readily fit with any otherwise attested toponym or ethnic. Future discoveries may show that the community that struck these coins and some of the *poleis* listed in Steph. Byz. were in fact Archaic *poleis*, but, as the evidence stands, it seems preferable to place them all in the list of non-*polis* settlements.

In addition to the six *poleis*, *Barr.* records seventeen sites as settlements of the Archaic and/or Classical periods, and the list of unlocated toponyms includes four which have been recorded below. However, as the evidence stands, only two of the seventeen deserve to be classified as settlements, *viz.* Issa and Petra, and even they can be classified as settlements of the Archaic and Classical periods only with some hesitation. Lesbos was dotted with a large number of towers and forts, many of them in Lesbian masonry and dating from the Archaic period (Spencer (1994), (1995*a*) 53–64, (1995*c*); Schaus and Spencer (1994)). There has been significant extensive survey work carried out on the island, but the lack of any intensive survey in any region of the island means that currently there is very little evidence of proper non-*polis* settlements. In short, at the time of writing, it is difficult to answer questions about the settlement pattern,

The description of the remains of the six urban *polis* centres is by Hector Williams and Nigel Spencer. The remainder of the text is by Mogens Herman Hansen with the assistance of Nigel Spencer for the data relating to non-*polis* settlements.

and to decide whether Lesbians who were not settled in the urban centres of the *poleis* lived either dispersed in the countryside or in second-order towns or villages. This will become clear only when further fieldwork is carried out in the hinterland of the known urban centres.

What we know about the history of Lesbos in the early Archaic period concerns the colonisation of Chersonesos, Troas and Aiolis (Strabo 13.2.1; Mason (1993) 226–29). Specific information is known for a few *poleis* only: in C7 Lesbians colonised Madytos (no. 669) and Sestos (no. 672). Tenedos (no. 793) was colonised at an unknown date. For colonies founded by Methymna and Mytilene, see *infra*.

At some point in C6s Lesbos came under Persian rule. A Lesbian fleet was defeated by Polykrates, and Lesbian prisoners worked on the fortifications of Samos (Hdt. 3.39.4). Mytilenaian ships served in Kambyses' fleet when he invaded Egypt in 525 (Hdt. 3.13–14), and Lesbian ships in Otanes' fleet when he conquered Lemnos and Imbros *c.*512 (Hdt. 5.26). The Lesbians joined the Ionian Revolt, and seventy Lesbian ships fought at Lade in 494 (Hdt. 6.8.1–2, 14.3). After the defeat, the entire island of Lesbos was systematically ravaged by the Persians (Hdt. 6.31.1), and all five *poleis* seem to have been exposed to *andrapodismos*. Lesbos joined the Greeks in 479 (Hdt. 9.106.4).

All five Lesbian *poleis* were members of the Delian League, but none is recorded in the tribute lists, not even after the Revolt of 428/7. The Lesbians were among the original members of the League (Plut. *Arist.* 23.4; cf. Thuc. 3.10.2–4); they continued to provide ships and did not shift to paying *phoros* (Thuc. 1.19; Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 24.2). They provided ships for the suppression of the revolt of Samos in 440/39 (Thuc. 1.116.2, 117.2) and for the Athenian naval expedition round the Peloponnese in 430 (Thuc. 2.56.2). The Lesbian *poleis* remained *autonomoi* and *eleutheroi* (Thuc. 3.10.5), but were nevertheless under pressure from Athens (Arist. *Pol.* 1284^{a}38–40). In 428 the Lesbian *poleis* revolted, except Methymna (Thuc. 3.2.1; Quinn (1981) 33–38). After the Athenians had quenched the Revolt, these *poleis* were forced to accept Athenian klerouchs, but did not have to pay *phoros* (Thuc. 3.50.2). Methymna, however, remained an *autonomos* member of the League and provided ships presumably against Melos in 416 (Thuc. 5.84.1) and certainly for the Sicilian campaign in 415–413 (Thuc. 6.85.2, 7.57.5). Methymna, Mytilene and Pyrrha revolted once again in 412, but were soon recovered (Thuc. 8.22.2–23.6, 100.2–3). In 405, after the Spartan victory at Aigos potamoi, Lysander put an end to the Athenian domination of Lesbos (Xen. *Hell.* 2.2.5).

In 390/89 the Lesbian *poleis* were allied with Lakedaimon, except Mytilene, and there was a Spartan harmost on Lesbos (Xen. *Hell.* 4.8.28). All five Lesbian *poleis* were members of the Second Athenian Naval League, and this time they are recorded individually, Mytilene and Methymna among the founding members (*IG* II^{2} 43.80–81); Antissa and Eresos joined the League in, probably, 375 (B.20–21), Pyrrha is attested as a member in *IG* II^{2} 107.29 (368/7).

At Messon (*IG* XII suppl. 136.a.5 (C2f)) north of Pyrrha (Spencer (1995*a*) 103) was a shrine which in the Archaic period was shared by all Lesbians and consecrated to three divinities: Zeus, the Aiolian mother goddess (either Hera or Kybele) and Dionysos (Alc fr. 129; cf. Robert (1969) 816–31). In the Classical period the sanctuary was situated at the edge of the territory of Pyrrha (Labarre (1996) 197). For the C4–C3 pseudodipteral Ionic temple, see Pyrrha (no. 799) *infra*. From the temple at Messon Louis Robert inferred that there was a Lesbian federation from C7l onwards (Robert (1969) 818, 825). Further evidence of co-operation between the *poleis* is the "Lesbian" coinage (*infra*). But neither the coins nor the existence of a sanctuary shared by all *poleis* in a region or a multipolate island is enough to support the inference that there was a federal organisation with common political institutions for all the *poleis*. There can be no doubt, however, that Antissa, Eresos and Pyrrha were controlled by Mytilene in the years before the Revolt of 428. They were dependent *poleis* and what triggered the Revolt in 428 was presumably the Mytilenaians' attempt by a *synoikismos* to transform Lesbos into one single *polis* (Thuc. 3.2.1–3.1 with schol.; cf. Moggi, *Sin.* 189–97). Thucydides conveys the impression that the synoecism was planned to include Methymna as well as the other three *poleis*.

There was no common Lesbian calendar. The names of some months are known for Eresos, Methymna and Mytilene, and most names differ from *polis* to *polis* apart from the month Apollonios (shared by Eresos and Methymna) and Pantheios (shared by Methymna and Mytilene); see Trümpy, *Monat.* 246–48. The evidence is Hellenistic or later, but if there were different calendars in the later periods we can infer *a fortiori* that each *polis* must have had its own calendar in the Archaic and Classical periods.

Several series of coins struck in billon or electrum are classified as a "Lesbian" coinage. The common view is that these coins were struck for general use in Lesbos, some of them in Mytilene, some perhaps in Methymna. (1) Billon coins struck on the Phoenician or Persic standard from before C6m to after C5m: denominations: stater, *hekte* and fractions. Types: *obv.* a great variety of types, some connected with Mytilene (e.g. two calves' heads face to face), some

with Methymna (e.g. two boars' heads face to face); *rev.* incuse square; legend: *ΛΕΣ* or *M* (on a few); on one a monogram, interpreted as *AN*, standing for Antissa (Babelon, *Traité* ii.1. 349 no. 568). (2) Electrum coins struck on the Phokaic standard *c.*485–350: denominations: stater and *hekte*. Types: *obv.* a great variety of types (head of animal, e.g. lion or ram; later, head of a god, e.g. Apollo or Hermes); *rev.* a great variety of types (e.g. panther or serpent or silenos in incuse square); legend: *ΛΕ* or *M* (on a few), see 1029 *infra* (Head, *HN*[2] 557–59; Kraay (1976) 38–39, 266; *SNG Cop. Lesbos* 284–330).

1. *Pre-Hellenistic Settlements not Attested as* Poleis

Aigeiros (*Αἴγειρος*) Strabo 13.2.2 (*κώμη τῆς Μηθυμναίης*). In *Barr.* identified with Kabakli, but both Mason (1993) 240–43 and Spencer (1995*a*) no. 243 dispute the identification. In *Barr.* classified as a settlement; but even if the identification is accepted, there is no evidence that Aigeiros (or Kabakli) was a settlement in the Archaic and Classical periods (Spencer (1995*a*) no. 243). For the erroneous attribution of an Archaic coin to Aigeiros (Head, *HN*[2] 559), see Mason (1993) 243. *Barr.* AC.

Geren (*Γέρην*) Steph. Byz. 205.3 (*πόλις ἢ κώμη Λέσβου*). *Barr.* Unlocated, undated.

Hiera? (*Ἱρα*, *Hiera*) Alc. fr. 69.3–4, Lobel and Page: *ἴρ* [---] *ἐς πόλιν* is sometimes restored as *Ἴρ[ας] ἐς πόλιν*. If correct, the restoration testifies to the existence of a seventh *polis* on Lesbos in the Archaic period; but it seems preferable to restore *ἴρ[αν] ἐς πόλιν* or to leave the text unrestored. Steph. Byz. 337.2 (*Ἱρά . . . ἔστι καὶ πόλις Λέσβου*); Plin. *HN* 5.139 (Hiera). In *Barr.* Hiera is identified with a site near modern Perama (Spencer (1995*a*) no. 54), but remains in the area are all later than C1 (HW[1]; Spencer (1995*a*) no. 54) and the identification with the historically attested Hiera cannot be proved from current finds in the area. *Barr.* C.

Issa (*Ἴσσα*) Steph. Byz. 339.14 (*πόλις ἐν Λέσβῳ*). In *Barr.* identified with a fortified hill-top settlement near modern Parakoila (Spencer (1995*a*) no. 123), where finds of an apparently substantial enclosure wall and a building complex were noted initially in the nineteenth century by Koldewey (1890) and more recently by Axioitis (1992). Both felt unable to date the structure from the associated ceramic scatter, although Kontes suggested that "pre-Hellenistic" ceramics had been found here. Near this site (lying to the north-east) is the Lesbian masonry enclosure at Xerokastrine (Spencer (1995*a*) no. 122), probably to be classified as a fort rather than a settlement in Antiquity. *Barr.* AC.

Kith[---] (*Κιθ*[---]) Some rare billon coins of C5f have with good reason been assigned to Lesbos because of the *obv.* type: two boars' heads, face to face; legend: *ΚΙΘΙ* or, perhaps, *ΚΙΟΙ*; *rev.* incuse square and, on one, boar's head (Babelon, *Traité* ii.1. 347–49 nos. 559–61; *NC* (1905) 326 n.4; Head, *HN*[2] 560). Accepting the Lesbian origin of the coins, Bürchner (1924) 2127 included a *Κίθος*(?) among the towns on Lesbos. *Barr.* Unlocated, undated.

Maleia (*Μαλεία*) *IG* xii.2 74.b.16, a C3 register of landed property in the territory of Mytilene. According to Strabo 13.2.2, *Μαλία* was the southernmost promontory on Lesbos. In *Barr.* identified with Akhlia. There are a number of archaeological remains reported in the area south of Mytilene on this promontory (Spencer (1995*a*) nos. 38–43), the most substantial of which were structural and architectural finds dating back to C5 in a rescue excavation near the modern airport. Intriguingly, more finds of a more votive nature, including Archaic ceramics, were reported by Koldewey in the nineteenth century near the tip of the promontory (Spencer (1995*a*) nos. 38–43). *Barr.* C.

Metaon (*Μέταον*) Steph. Byz. 448.10 (*πόλις Λέσβου*), citing Hellan. fr. 92. If this toponym is correctly identified with the remains near the village of Plagia (Spencer (1995*a*) no. 62), there are no remains antedating the Hellenistic period. *Barr.* AC.

***Myrsinia** No ancient source mentions a **Μυρσινία* on Lesbos. *Barr.* marks Myrsinia near/at Spencer (1995*a*) no. 60 (NS), but no ancient remains are reported apart from an altar of the Hellenistic or Roman periods (which could well have been removed from its original location). *Barr.* C.

Nape (*Νάπη*) Strabo 9.4.5; Steph. Byz. 469.4 (*πόλις Λέσβου*); by Hellan. fr. 35b called *Λάπη*, erroneously according to Strabo 9.4.5. In *Barr.* identified with modern Klopedi, the location of the Aiolic-style temple (Spencer (1995*a*) no. 111); see *infra*. The remains do not warrant *Barr.*'s classification of the site as a settlement. *Barr.* AC.

Penthile (*Πενθίλη*) Steph. Byz. 516.18 (*πόλις Λέσβου*). The toponym is associated with the location 2 km south of Agiasos known as "Pitsilia", but no ancient remains have

[1] HW or NS indicates information obtained from Hector Williams or Nigel Spencer by e-mail.

ever been located at the spot (Spencer (1995*a*) no. 71). *Barr.* Unlocated, undated.

Petra The only *Πέτρ(α)* on Lesbos mentioned in the sources (*IG* XII.2 76.h.9) is a Roman village south of Methymna (Spencer (1995*a*) nos. 207–8), and there is still a modern-day village bearing this name on the coast in this area. No ancient source mentions a Petra near Prophitis Elias (Spencer (1995*a*) no. 121) on the west side of the Arisba plain, where "traces of a substantial enclosure wall of polygonal masonry are visible" and "a scatter of amphora, pithos and other sherds lie on the slopes below the summit outside the enclosure wall, and on the peak or the hill are traces of foundations and a dense scatter of ceramics". According to Kontes (1978) 291, a "fort", but could also be a settlement of the Archaic period (Spencer (1995*a*) fig. 8). *Barr.* AC.

Sigrion (*Σίγριον*) Steph. Byz. 565.1; cf. 101.1, 474.11 (*λιμήν*). Strabo 13.2.4. (Steph. Byz. 101.1). *Barr.* has Sigron, but all the sources have Sigrion. In *Barr.* classified as a settlement, but the extensive settlement remains reported appear to date only from the Roman period. In terms of ancient remains nearby, there are towers in isodomic masonry (Spencer (1995*a*) nos. 149, 151). According to Spencer (1995*a*) no. 148, Sigrion as a site is dated Roman and later. *Barr.* indicates that it is both A and C.

Therma? (*Θέρμα*) *IG* XII.2 14.4 (C3e) (*ἐχ Θέρμ[ας]*). In *Barr.* identified with modern Thermi (Kontes (1978) 234–35 = Spencer (1995*a*) no. 8). The most extensive ancient remains near the modern village are those of the long-lived cult of Artemis Thermia focused on the hot springs near the small harbour of Loutra Thermis. The cult dates from C5, but hardly warrant *Barr.*'s classification of the site as a settlement. *Barr.* C.

Xanthos (*Ξάνθος*) Steph. Byz. 480.17 (*πόλις ἐν Λέσβῳ*). *Barr.* Unlocated, C. This date is probably based on the erroneous assumption that *ὁ πολίτης Ξάνθιος ὡς Εὐριπίδης* (487.17–18 = Eur. fr. 1102, Nauck) belongs with Xanthos on Lesbos and not with Xanthos in Lykia.

2. *Unidentified Settlements*

Ag. Georgios According to Kontes (1978) 239 a "significant settlement", but so far there is no corroboration of the extent or precise nature of the remains here, including those reported nearby by Koldewey in the nineteenth century (Spencer (1995*a*) nos. 41–42). *Barr.* AC.

Ag. Nikolaos A cave with rich deposits of a votive nature (Spencer (1995*a*) no. 25) dating back to the Archaic period. However, the other remains hardly warrant *Barr.*'s classification of the site as a settlement, at least in Antiquity. *Barr.* C?

Damandri According to Spencer (1995*a*) no. 89, all remains are Hellenistic or later. *Barr.* C.

Garbias See Spencer (1995*a*) no. 80, but the precise material remains at the site still require corroboration and as yet are insufficient to warrant *Barr.*'s classification of the site as a settlement. *Barr.* C.

Larsos Kontes reported a site at the location, but this report remains to be corroborated. *Barr.* C.

Parakoila Classical–Hellenistic ceramics and some associated structural remains were located near the modern village of Parakoila by Axiotis (Spencer (1995*a*) nos. 124–26). However, there is no definite proof of settlement in the Archaic and Classical periods. *Barr.* AC?

Trianta The remains at the location of Classical date are only of tombs (Spencer (1995*a*) no. 120), and the classification of the site as a settlement appears unwarranted on current evidence. *Barr.* C.

II. The *Poleis*

794. Antissa (Antissaios) Map 56. Lat. 39.15, long. 26.00. Size of territory: 4. Type: A. The toponym is *Ἄντισσα, ἡ* (Thuc. 3.18.1–2; Dem. 23.132). The city-ethnic is *Ἀντισσαῖος* (Thuc. 3.18.2; *IG* II² 43B.20). Antissa is called a *polis* both in the urban sense (Ps.-Skylax 97; cf. Hdt. 1.151.2) and in the political sense (Arist. *Oec.* 1347ª25). At Thuc. 3.18.1 *polis* is found in both senses simultaneously. The collective and external use of the city-ethnic is attested in inscriptions (*IG* II² 107.29 (368/7)) and in literature (Arist. *Pol.* 1303ª34). For the individual and external use, see *Σωσίπολις Ἀντισσαῖος* at Arist. *Oec.* 1347ª25. Antissa is implicitly called *patris* in Xen. *Hell.* 4.8.28.

The territory of Antissa covered *c.*250 km². To the south its neighbouring *polis* was Eresos, and their frontier was probably in the high upland between the two *poleis*, with sites such as the polygonal masonry tower Kourouklos (Spencer (1995*a*) no. 178) representing the border area. To the northeast it bordered on Methymna, and the frontier was probably between the forts at Selles (ibid. no. 205) and Ametelle (ibid. no. 202), both belonging to Methymna, and the forts at

Koutlougouni (ibid. no. 190), Koja Dag (ibid. no. 193) and Skoteino (ibid. no. 201), all belonging to Antissa. According to Kontes (1978) 127–28, 312–13, Antissa possessed Issa and its territory reached the Gulf of Kalloni. However, the upland topography to the south and east of Antissa argues against the suggestion that their territory extended so far in this direction, and Kontes' views have also been criticised by Labarre (1996) 199–200. Issa could have belonged to Methymna.

The Antissaians were members of the Delian League. They are unattested in the Athenian tribute lists which show that, like the other Lesbian *poleis*, the Antissaians provided ships instead of paying *phoros* (Thuc. 1.116.2, 117.2). In 428 they joined the Mytilenaians in defecting from Athens (Thuc. 3.2.1). They were involved in the Mytilenaian attempt to synoecise Lesbos, and before the Athenian siege of Mytilene began, the Mytilenaians secured their position in Antissa, Pyrrha and Eresos and reinforced the fortifications of the three cities (3.18.1). A Methymnaian attack on Antissa was repelled (3.18.2). After Mytilene's surrender in 427, the Athenians sent a squadron against Antissa and conquered the city (3.28.3). The territory, or at least a part of it, was surrendered to Athenian klerouchs (3.50.2).

In 412 Antissa seems to have followed Chios and Mytilene and seceded from Athens once again (Thuc. 8.22.2). In any case, the juxtaposition at Thuc. 8.23.4 of Antissa and Methymna, which had revolted against Athens, indicates that Antissa had revolted too, and now sheltered some anti-Athenian exiles from Chios (Diod. 13 65.3; cf. Gehrke, *Stasis* 23, 45); but *stasis* between the two different ethnic groups led to civil war and the forceful expulsion of the exiles (Arist. *Pol.* 1303^{a}25–28, 34–35).

In C4e Antissa was allied with Lakedaimon, but in 390/89 Thrasyboulos imposed a settlement by which the city joined the Athenians (Diod. 14.94.4). The settlement undoubtedly included the repatriation of some exiles to Mytilene (Xen. *Hell.* 4.8.28). Antissa was a member of the Second Athenian Naval League, but, by contrast with Mytilene, it was not among the founding members. It joined the alliance in, probably, 375 (*IG* II^{2} 43B.20; Brun (1988) 377), and Antissaian representatives in the allied *synedrion* are attested for the year 368/7 (*IG* II^{2} 107.29).

Antissa joined the Corinthian League, probably in 337, and was then ruled by a tyrant (Dem. 17.7; Bosworth (1980) 179). In 333 the city was taken by the Persian admiral Memnon, alongside the other Lesbian *poleis* (Diod. 17.29.2; Arr. *Anab.* 2.1.1), but the Makedonians reconquered Antissa in the following year (Arr. *Anab.* 3.2.6; Curt. 4.5.22) and deposed the tyrant (Dem. 17.7).

At the coastal site of Antissa, on the promontory of Ovriokastro, are few visible remains earlier than mediaeval, but in the 1930s limited excavations revealed Geometric/Archaic structures and graves on the landward side. The earlier of two superimposed apsidal buildings appears to be of Geometric date, the later successor building dating to the early Archaic period (Lamb (1931–32)). The end of a late Classical stoa was also uncovered, and an Archaic street; references for all finds are collected in Spencer (1995*a*) no. 161, (1995*b*) 285–87. In one of the cemeteries there is evidence of a small *temenos* and tomb cult (Spencer 1995*d*; for the link of the cult to the region of Antissa, see Harisis *et al.* (2002*a*), (2002*b*). We know from Thuc. 3.18.1 that Antissa was walled in 428/7 and that the fortifications were reinforced in that year. There are stretches of a large-scale wall on the south side of the acropolis recorded by Lamb during fieldwork in the 1930s (Spencer (1995*a*) 62–63), but whether these were part of a circuit wall, and its precise dating, are still unclear. As reconstructed by Koldewey (1890) pl. 6, the walls enclosed an area of *c.*18 ha.

One of the so-called Lesbian coins (*supra*) has a monogram which has been interpreted as *AN*, standing for Antissa (Babelon, *Traité* ii.1. 349–50 no. 568).

795. Arisba Map 56. Lat. 39.15, long. 26.15. Size of territory: probably 1 or 2. Type: A. The toponym is Ἀρίσβα, ἡ (Hdt. 1.151.2) or, in the Attic-Ionic dialect, Ἀρίσβη (Steph. Byz. 3, 8–9). Arisba is described by Herodotos as the sixth *polis* on Lesbos, where *polis* is used in the urban and the political senses simultaneously. Before C5m and probably in C6, the city was conquered by Methymna; its population was exposed to *andrapodismos* (Hdt. 1.151.2); and the territory was incorporated into that of Methymna (Strabo 13.1.21).

The site of Arisba is probably to be identified with the ancient remains on the low acropolis of "Palaeokastro" near the modern village of that name near Kalloni, and has been known since the nineteenth century. There are extensive traces of a polygonal masonry fortification wall around the acropolis, and along the northern side of the plateau. As reconstructed by Koldewey (1890) pl. 13, the walls may have enclosed an area of *c.*8 ha. There are remains of megaron-like houses on the hill, but the precise dating of both walls and houses is unclear and could not be clarified even through excavation by the local archaeological ephoreia. (Koldewey (1890) pls. 13, 14; Kontes (1978) fig. 48; other references collected in Spencer (1995*a*) no. 116; see also Spencer (1995*b*) 287–88 and fig. 7).

796. Eresos (Eresios) Map 56. Lat. 39.10; long. 25.55. Size of territory: 4. Type: A. The toponym is *Ἔρεσος, ἡ* (Thuc. 8.100.3; Dem. 17.7; Archestratos fr. 5.5, Olson and Sens; Arcadius 75.20) or *Ἐρεσός* (Ps.-Skylax 97; *IG* XII.2 533.1–2 (C3/C2)) or *Ἐρεσσός* (Arist. fr. 655, Rose; Diod. 17.29.2). The city-ethnic is *Ἐρέσιος* (*IG* I³ 94.4 (C5l); *IG* XII.2 526.C.31 (C4l); Thuc. 8.23.4). Eresos is called a *polis* in the urban sense (*IG* XII.2 526.A8, 11, B2, 11 (C4l); Thuc. 3.35.1; Ps.-Skylax 97; cf. Hdt. 1.151.2), in the territorial sense (*IG* XII.2 526.D7, 28, 30, 37), and in the political sense (*IG* XII.2 526.A27, B30, C3, D21). The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally in abbreviated form on coins of C4/C3 (*infra*) and externally in inscriptions (*IG* II² 107.29; *IG* XI.2 137.11 (C4l)) and in literature (Thuc. 8.23.4). For the individual and external use, see *Θεόφραστος ὁ Ἐρέσιος* (Ath. 387B) and *Μῦς Πρωτέα Ἐρέσιος* in a C4l proxeny decree from Megara (*IG* VII 4.2). Eresos is implicitly called *patris* in Xen. *Hell.* 4.8.28.

The territory of Eresos probably covered *c.*225 km². Already in the Archaic period it was marked by a line of installations in Lesbian masonry (Schaus and Spencer (1994) 414–20), of which five have been identified: Spilios (Spencer (1995*a*) no. 141), Megalos Lakkos (ibid. no. 175), Bigla tou Aetou (*ibid.* no. 187, some 8 km west of the Gulf of Kalloni, but in *Barr.* placed near the coast), Apotheke (ibid. no. 130) and Makara (ibid. no. 131). To the north it may have included Sigrion (although there are no remains antedating the Roman period known at this site, *supra*). The frontier towards Antissa was probably the high upland area including Mount Ordymnos between the two *poleis* (see the description of the territory of Antissa, *supra*). Along the north coast of the Gulf of Kalloni the frontier lay north of Apotheke (*infra*) but presumably south of what appears to be a fort at Issa (*supra*): Labarre (1996) 199.

The Eresians were members of the Delian League. They are unattested in the Athenian tribute lists, which shows that, like the other Lesbian *poleis*, the Eresians provided ships instead of paying *phoros* (Thuc. 1.116.2, 117.2). In 428 they joined the Mytilenaians in defecting from Athens (Thuc. 3.2.1). They were involved in the Mytilenaian attempt to synoecise Lesbos, and before the Athenian siege of Mytilene began, the Mytilenaians secured their position in Antissa, Pyrrha and Eresos and reinforced the fortifications of the three cities (3.18.1). The Athenians gained possession of Pyrrha and Eresos only after Mytilene's surrender in 427 (3.35.1), and the territory, or at least a part of it, was surrendered to Athenian klerouchs (3.50.2). Eresos revolted against Athens once again in 412 (8.23.4), but was soon recaptured by the Athenians (8.23.5). In 411, however, exiled Methymnian oligarchs provoked a new defection (8.100.3), and this time Eresos withstood the Athenians' attempt to take the city by siege (8.100.4–5, 101.1, 103.2).

In C4e Eresos was allied with Lakedaimon, but in 390/89 Thrasyboulos imposed a settlement by which the city joined the Athenians (Diod. 14.94.4). The settlement undoubtedly included the repatriation of some exiles to Mytilene (Xen. *Hell.* 4.8.28). Eresos was a member of the Second Athenian Naval League, but, by contrast with Mytilene, it was not among the founding members. It joined the alliance in, probably, 375 (*IG* II² 43B.21; Brun (1988) 377), and Eresian representatives in the allied *synedrion* are attested for the year 368/7 (*IG* II² 107.29).

Eresos joined the Corinthian League, probably in 337, and was then a tyranny (Dem. 17.7; Bosworth (1980) 179) ruled by Hermon, Heraios and Apollodoros (*IG* XII.2 526D.18–21; Lott (1996)), but in 333 the city was taken by the Persian admiral Memnon (Diod. 17.29.2; Arr. *Anab.* 2.1.1), and other tyrants were installed; *viz.* Agonippos (*IG* XII.2 526A.1–32, D12) and Eurysilaos (*IG* XII.2 526B.1–33, D12). The Makedonians reconquered Lesbos in the following year (Arr. *Anab.* 3.2.6) and deposed the tyrants (Dem. 17.7). They were handed over to the Eresians, who had them sentenced to death and executed (*IG* XII.2 526, see *infra*).

Almost all we know about the political organisation of Eresos stems from a dossier of documents, all related to trials against (1) the tyrants Agonippos and Eurysilaos, and (2) the descendants of the former tyrants (*IG* XII.2 526 = *Rec. Inscr. Jur. Gr.* 27 = Tod 191 = Heisserer (1980) 27–78; cf. the analysis in Koch (2001)). One decree reports the trial and conviction of Agonippos (A.1–32), another the trial and conviction of Eurysilaos (B.1–34), a third one the trial of the descendants of the former tyrants (A.33–41, C.1–20), followed by letters from Philip Arrhidaios and Antigonos (C.21–D.3) and, finally, a C4l decree of the Eresian people confirming all former verdicts (D.4–39).

Eresos was probably a democracy when the trials of the tyrants were heard. A *prytanis* served as the eponymous official (*πρύτανις*, C.29; cf. the list of *πρυτάνεις Ἐρεσίων* drawn up by Phanias, the C4s pupil of Aristotle (frr. 17–19, Wehrli)). Decrees (*ψαφίσματα*, D.33–34) were passed in a general assembly (*ἐκκλησία*, A.26) by the people (*δᾶμος*, A.33, 41) or by the council (*βόλλα*, C.31, D.4) and the people in accordance with a probouleumatic procedure ([*πρ*]*οεβώλλε*[*υσε*], D.4). It was the people (*δᾶμος*) who in both cases decided to appoint a court (*δικαστήριον*, D.13–15, 24) to hear the trial of the tyrants, and speakers for the prose-

cution (*συνήγοροι*, C.28–34) were appointed by the *polis* (C.30). It is unknown whether the *dikasterion* was coextensive with the *ekklesia*. The trials were warranted by a law against tyrants and their descendants (A.24–26, D.16–17, 31–32). At the trial Agonippos was found guilty and sentenced to death by 876 votes to 7 (A.30–32); Eurysilaos was sentenced to death too (D.14–15), and at the trial of the descendants of the former tyrants the Eresians confirmed the earlier sentence of exile (C.22–28). The number of votes cast, altogether 883, points to a total of at least 1,000 adult male citizens and a population of at least 4,000 citizens plus foreigners and slaves.

Eresos sent envoys to Alexander the Great *c.*332 (*IG* XII.2 526A.33) and received envoys from Athens in 368/7 (*IG* II² 107.31–34).

Eresian citizens received *proxenia* from Delphi (*F.Delphes* III.4 395 (*c.*360–320)), Megara (*IG* VII 4 (C4l)) and Zeleia (Michel 531 (C4)).

Only limited excavations and surveys have taken place on the site of Lesbos' westernmost *polis*, and discoveries have been mainly Roman or early Christian in date (Koldewey (1890) pls. 8, 9; Kontes (1978) figs. 56, 57; Schaus and Spencer (1994); references to finds at the site are collected in Spencer (1995*a*) no. 135, (1995*b*) 288 and fig. 8). Some remains of a fortification wall in Lesbian-style masonry, probably Archaic, survive on the acropolis (Koldewey (1890) pl. 9). As reconstructed by Koldewey (1890) pl. 6, the walls enclosed an area of *c.*5 ha. An Archaic Aiolic capital (probably either from a votive column or temple) was dredged up out of the harbour and is now in the museum at Mytilene (Spencer (1995*a*) no. 135 and n. 61 (p. 30); Archontidhou (1999) 28). An Archaic relief of a seated Kybele in naiskos from the site suggests a sanctuary (Spencer (1995*a*) no. 138; Archontidhou (1999) 93). At the site of Apotheke near the entrance to the Gulf of Kalloni stands the best-preserved structure in Lesbian-style masonry on the island, a large Late Archaic temple platform (Koldewey (1890) pl. 15; Schaus and Spencer (1994) 416–17 and fig. 3; Spencer (1995*a*) no. 130, (2000) 72). We know from Thucydides that Eresos was walled in 428/7, that the fortifications were reinforced in that year (3.18.1), and that the city was besieged in 412 (8.100.4–5).

Eresos struck bronze coins in C4/C3. The most frequent types are: *obv.* head of Hermes wearing petasos; *rev.* corn-ear, or caduceus; legend: *ΕΡΕΣΙ* or *ΕΡΕ* (Head, *HN*² 560; *SNG Cop. Lesbos* 339–43; for the C4 date of the earliest coins, see *IGCH* no. 1227).

797. Methymna (Methymnaios) Map 56. Lat. 39.20; long. 26.10. Size of territory: probably 3, later 4. Type: A. The toponym is *Μήθυμνα, ἡ* (Thuc. 8.100.2; Xen. *Hell.* 1.6.38; Dem. 44.9). The epichoric form of the city-ethnic is *Μαθυμναῖος* (coins, *infra*), the Attic–Ionic form is *Μηθυμναῖος* (*IG* I³ 353.66 (420/19); Hdt. 1.23.1). Methymna is called a *polis* both in the urban sense (Xen. *Hell.* 1.6.13; Ps.-Skylax 97; cf. Hdt. 1.151.2) and in the political sense (*IG* II² 40.23 (378/7); Hdt. 1.151.2, 3; Xen. *Hell.* 4.8.28; Isoc. *Ep.* 7.9). The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally on coins (*infra*) and externally in inscriptions (*IG* I³ 353.66 (420/19)) and in literature (Hdt. 1.151.1; Thuc. 3.2.3). For the individual and external use, see *Ἀρίων ὁ Μηθυμναῖος* (Hdt. 1.23). Methymna is implicitly called *patris* in Xen. *Hell.* 4.8.28.

The territory was called *ἡ Μηθυμναία* (Ant. 5.21) and may originally have covered less than 200 km² (Mason (1993) 229), but after the conquest of Arisba probably measured more than 400 km². To the west it bordered on Antissa, and the frontier probably lay along the forts at Selles (Spencer (1995*a*) no. 205) and Ametelle (ibid. no. 202), both belonging to Methymna, and the forts at Koutlougouni (ibid. no. 190), Koja Dag (ibid. no. 193) and Skoteino (ibid. no. 201), all belonging to Antissa. On the east coast of Lesbos Methymna bordered on Mytilene, and its territory may have included Aigeiros (Labarre (1996) 194), although the location of the latter site is still unclear; see the list of non-*polis* sites *supra*. The frontier between Methymna and Mytilene may have been as far north as Cape Tsakmák (Mason (1993) 231–48), but this suggestion remains to be proved. Towards the Gulf of Kalloni, after the disappearance of Arisba, Methymna bordered on Pyrrha to the south-east, and the frontier was probably at Messon, the common shrine for all of Lesbos (Mason (1993) 231–32). Further to the west Methymna's territory at the Gulf of Kalloni may have extended to the site of Issa and bordered on Eresos somewhere north of Apotheke (see *supra*).

The only historical event antedating the Classical period is Herodotos' piece of information that Methymna conquered Arisba, the sixth *polis* on Lesbos, and exposed its population to *andrapodismos* (Hdt. 1.151.1, *supra*).

Methymna was a member of the Delian League. The Lesbians were among those who in 478 encouraged the Athenians to replace Sparta as the hegemon in the war against Persia (Plut. *Arist.* 23.4), and the Methymnians must have been among the original members of the League. In spite of Mytilenaian collaboration with an anti-Athenian faction in Methymna (Thuc. 3.18.1), the Methymnians remained loyal to Athens when the rest of Lesbos revolted in 428 (Thuc. 3.2.1, 5.1, 50.2), and they maintained their status

as *autonomoi* allies who, instead of paying *phoros*, took part in the campaigns with their armed forces (Thuc. 6.85.2, 7.57.5). Accordingly, they are not recorded in the Athenian tribute lists. In 412 Methymna was the first Lesbian *polis* that revolted from Athens (Thuc. 8.22.2, 23.4), but the city was soon recovered by the Athenians (8.23.6, 100.2). In 411 a group of oligarchic exiles made a vain attempt to win the city (Thuc. 8.100.3). Methymna remained in Athenian hands (Xen. *Hell.* 1.2.12) until 406, when the city was betrayed by a pro-Lakedaimonian faction to a Peloponnesian force under Kallikratides (Xen. *Hell.* 1.6.12–15, 38; Diod. 13.76.5). The Methymnaians were still allied with Sparta in 390/89 (Xen. *Hell.* 4.8.28) when, supported by pro-Athenian exiles settled in Mytilene, Thrasyboulos launched an attack on Methymna. He won a battle and ravaged the territory but could not conquer the city (Xen. *Hell.* 4.8.28–30; Diod. 14.94.4).

A decade later Methymna had changed sides. It was one of the founding members of the Second Athenian Naval League. A separate treaty between Athens and Methymna was concluded in the autumn of 378 (*IG* II² 42), and Mytilene is listed among the allies in the so-called Charter of the League (*IG* II² 43.81 = *Staatsverträge* 257), and their representatives in the allied *synedrion* are attested for the year 368/7 (*IG* II² 107.28). Methymna sent envoys to Athens in 378/7 (*IG* II² 40.24–25), and Athens sent envoys to Methymna (*IG* II² 107.31–34 (368/7)).

In 333 Methymna was taken by the Persian admiral Memnon alongside the other Lesbian *poleis* (Diod. 17.29.2; Arr. *Anab.* 2.1.1), but by a peaceful agreement the Makedonians regained the small cities on Lesbos in the following year (Arr. *Anab.* 3.2.6).

The group of oligarchic exiles attested in 411 (Thuc. 8.100.3) may indicate that, at that point, Methymna was a democracy; but otherwise next to nothing is known about the type of constitution until C4m, when it seems to have been an oligarchy (Theopomp. fr. 227; Gehrke, *Stasis* 113). From C4m Methymna was ruled by a series of tyrants (Berve (1967) 337; Bosworth (1980) 179–80). The first was Kleommis, who restored law and order to Methymna (Theopomp. fr. 227, where he is called Κλεομένης), recalled the exiles, and issued all citizens with hoplite weapons (Isoc. *Ep.* 7.8–9). He was loyal to Athens and was awarded *proxenia* by the Athenians (*IG* II² 284). He was succeeded by Aristonymos, a friend of Memnon (Polyaen. *Strat.* 5.44.3). The next tyrant, Aristonikos, was deposed in 332 and, on Alexander's orders, handed over to the Methymnians, who had him tortured and executed (Arr. *Anab.* 3.2.4–7; Curt. 4.5.19–21, 8.11).

Only surveys and salvage excavations have been carried out at Methymna, the second in size of the *poleis* of the island; but a comprehensive study including a presentation of the remains visible up to the 1970s has appeared (Buchholz (1975); cf. Koldewey (1890); Kontes (1978); Spencer (1995*a*) no. 217, (1995*b*) 283–85 and fig. 5).

The extent of the ancient city with its acropolis (occupied by a small Genoese castle) and harbour (undated ancient harbour works are visible beside and under modern constructions) is apparent, and scattered finds suggest stages of expansion from Archaic to Hellenistic. The earliest historical structural remains may be those south of the Kastro, where an Archaic street and housing complex is underlain by earlier structural remains of Geometric and possibly Protogeometric date (Spencer (1995*b*) 283 and n. 94. The no longer visible theatre (*TGR* ii. 253) under the village school may be C4 in date (Buchholz (1975)); a second theatral building nearby (*bouleuterion* or *odeion*?) is also said to have once been visible (Dr. Peter Green, pers. comm.). Graves of C6 and C5 have been uncovered to the west and north of the acropolis (Buchholz (1975) pl. 10d; Spencer (1995*b*); Archontidhou (1999)). The site of the largest Aiolic temple on the island (probably to Apollo) has been known near the village of Napi since the late nineteenth century, but no complete study has yet appeared; it probably dates to C6l (Evangelidis (1926), (1927); Koldewey (1890) pl. 16; Betancourt (1977); Spencer (1995*a*) no. 111, (1995*b*) 299–300). A smaller structure of similar date beside it has not been identified, but it is probably a second temple (the same refs. as above). Recent new excavations (1999) by the Archaeological Service may reveal more precise information once they have been published. There is also possible evidence for an Archaic silver mine in its south-eastern territory near the village of Argenna (Davies (1932) 985). At various places in the modern town are remains of a C6(?) polygonal city wall (Koldewey (1890) pl. 16, table 4ab; Lang (1996) 247). As reconstructed by Koldewey, the area enclosed by the walls measured *c.*30 ha. Furthermore, it appears from Thuc. 3.18.1 that Methymna was walled in 428/7 and that the fortifications were reinforced in that year; a siege of the city in 406 is reported at Diod. 13.76.5.

Methymna struck coins of electrum and silver from *c.*550 until *c.*375. (1) Electrum, *c.*550–375: *hektai* on the Phokaic standard. Types usually connected with Methymna are: *obv.* boar or, perhaps, Gorgoneion; *rev.* lion's head. (2) Silver, from before 500 to *c.*450: denominations: didrachm, tetrobol, diobol. Types: *obv.* mostly boar or Gorgoneion; *rev.* mostly head of Athena; legend: on some

ΜΑΘΥΜΝΑΙΟΣ. (3) Silver, *c.*420–*c.*375. Denominations: didrachm, drachm, triobol, obol. Types: *obv.* head of Athena; *rev.* lion's head, or lyre, or kantharos; legend: ΜΑΘΥΜΝΑΙΟΝ, often abbreviated ΜΑ or ΜΑΘ (Head, *HN*² 558, 560–61; Kraay (1976) 39; *SNG Cop. Lesbos* 345–51).

Methymna colonised Assos (no. 769) (Myrsilos (*FGrHist* 477) fr. 17 = Strabo 13.1.58).

798. Mytilene (Mytilenaios) Map 56. Lat. 39.05, long. 26.35. Size of territory: 4. Type: A. The epichoric form of the toponym is Μυτιλήνα, ἡ (*IG* XII.2 1.7 (C5s)). In the Attic–Ionic dialect it is Μυτιλήνη, ἡ (Hdt. 1.160.1; Ar. *Eq.* 834; Ant. 5.20), later Μιτυλήνη (*Syll.*³ 344.30 (C4l)). The toponym usually denotes the town (Ant. 5.23; Thuc. 3.18.4; Ps.-Skylax 97), but sometimes the town plus its hinterland (*SEG* 36 750.17 (C4s)) and sometimes the political community (Hdt. 5.11.2; Dem. 40.37). The city-ethnic is Μυτιληναῖος (coins and *IG* XII.2 1.18, 12.3) or Μυτιληναῖος (*IG* XII.2 3.2 (C4?); *IG* II² 40.19 (378/7)).

Mytilene is called a *polis* in the urban sense (*IG* XII.2 4.7, 17 + suppl. p. 2 (C4m); Thuc. 3.3.3; Xen. *Hell.* 1.6.19), in the political sense (Alc. fr. 348; *IG* XII.2 95.3 (C4) = *SEG* 28 690; Ant. 5.77; Thuc. 3.13.7; Dem. 40.37) and in the territorial sense (Ant. 5.76; *IG* XII.2 6 *passim*; *SEG* 36 750.2–3, 15, 19 (C4s)). The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally on coins (*infra*) and in inscriptions (*IG* XII.2 4.5 (C4m); *SEG* 36 750.9 (C4s)) and externally in inscriptions (*IG* II² 213.7 (347/6); *F.Delphes* III.4 400.3 (C4l/C3e)) and in literary sources (Ant. 5.76; Thuc. 3.2.3; Arist. *Pol.* 1285ª35). For the individual and external use, see Πιττακὸς ὁ Μυτιληναῖος at Pl. *Prt.* 343A and Ἡραιεὺς Μυτιληναῖος in a C4s healing inscription from Epidauros (*IG* IV².1 121.122). *Patris* is found in Antiph. 5.62 and 79.

The territory of Mytilene may have covered *c.*450–500 km² (Kontes (1978) figs. 19–22). To the north it bordered on Methymna, and the frontier may have been as far north as Cape Tsakmák (Mason (1993) 231–48). According to Labarre (1996) 194), it ran south of Aigeiros, but see *supra* regarding the problems in identification of this site. To the west Mytilene bordered on Pyrrha and was separated from this *polis* by the "pine-covered Pyrrhaian mountain" (Theophr. *Hist. pl.* 3.9.5) on the slopes of Mt. Olympos. There is no evidence of ancient settlements in this large area, and the forest may have been a no man's land separating Mytilene from Pyrrha (Spencer (1996)). The presumption is that the region east and south of the forest belonged to Mytilene.

By the Classical period, it appears that Mytilene's territory was not fertile enough to feed its population, and imports from Bosporos are attested in 428 (Thuc. 3.2.2). In C4m Leukon of Bosporos granted Mytilene a reduction in export duty. As restored, the inscription implies that the Mytilenaians' annual import exceeded 100,000 *medimnoi* (*IG* XII suppl. 3 = Tod 163 (C4m)), enough to feed a population of *c.*20,000 persons.

Mytilene was the greatest of the Aiolian *poleis*, and in the Archaic period had significant involvement in events outside the island. In this respect it appears largely set apart from the other Lesbian *poleis*, and Mytilene's focus beyond events in the island may well have exacerbated its infamous social *stasis* at this time (Spencer (2000) and *infra*). In the C7s Mytilene acquired a *peraia* in the Troas, with Sigeion and Achilleion as the two most prominent centres. *C.*620, however, Athenian settlers under Phrynon took Sigeion. In the following war between Mytilene and Athens, the Mytilenaians were defeated in a battle in which the poet Alkaios lost his shield, but they then regained Sigeion, allegedly after a duel that Pittakos won against Phrynon. The war ended with an arbitration by Periander, the tyrant of Corinth, whereby the Athenians were awarded Sigeion. They probably lost it again, since, in the end, it was Peisistratos who seized Sigeion from Mytilene (Strabo 13.2.38; Hdt. 5.94–95, where Hdt. has mixed up and misdated some of the events; cf. Schachermeyr (1950) 1867–68). In the same period the Mytilenaians, as the only Aiolians, were co-colonisers of Naukratis in the reign of Amasis (Hdt. 2.178.2; see Spencer (2000) 75–76).

At some point in C6s Mytilene came under Persian rule, and Mytilenaian ships served in Kambyses' fleet when he invaded Egypt in 525 (Hdt. 3.13–14). Mytilene took part in the Ionian Revolt in 499 (Hdt. 6.5.2) and must have provided the majority of the seventy Lesbian ships which fought at Lade in 494 (Hdt. 6.8.2). After the defeat, the entire island of Lesbos was systematically ravaged by the Persians (Hdt. 6.31.1). The Mytilenaians must have fought on the Persian side in 480/79 (Hdt. 8.85), but Lesbos joined the Greeks in 479 (Hdt. 9.106.4).

The Mytilenaians were members of the Delian League. The Lesbians were among those who in 478 encouraged the Athenians to replace Sparta as the hegemon in the war against Persia, and the Mytilenaians were among the original members of the League (Thuc. 3.10.2–4; Plut. *Arist.* 23.4). They remained *autonomoi* and *eleutheroi* until their revolt in 428, and instead of paying *phoros*, they took part in the campaigns with their armed forces (Thuc. 3.10.5, 11.1, 3, 39.2; Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 24.2). The Lesbians, including Mytilene, provided ships against Samos in 440/39 (Thuc. 1.116.2, 117.2; Diod. 12.27.4, 28.2) and against the Lakedaimonians and

their allies during the first years of the Peloponnesian War (Thuc. 2.9.5, 56.2, 3.3.4). Accordingly, they are not recorded in the Athenian tribute lists.

In 428 Mytilene and the other Lesbian *poleis* except Methymna defected from Athens (Thuc. 3.2–18, 25, 27–50; Diod. 12.55, derived from Thuc.). Behind the revolt, planned already before the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War (Thuc. 3.2.1–2), was the Mytilenaians' attempt to go through with a synoecism of Lesbos, their success in winning the control of Antissa, Eresos and Pyrrha, and the Athenians' opposition to the synoecism (Thuc. 2.3, 3.1, 5.1, 18.1; Moggi, *Sin.* 189–97). The Athenians sent a fleet to Mytilene (Thuc. 3.2), and after an abortive armistice (4.4) the harbours of Mytilene were blockaded by the Athenian squadron (6.1). At a meeting held in Olympia Mytilenaian envoys obtained an alliance with the Peloponnesian League (3.8–15). Reinforced by 1,000 hoplites, the Athenians built a blockading wall and besieged Mytilene (18.3–4). A Peloponnesian army invaded Attika in 427, but the relieving squadron under a Spartan nauarch never reached Mytilene (3.26.1, 29–33). The Mytilenaians were starved into unconditional surrender (3.28.1); and the members of the oligarchic faction were sent to Athens (3.35.1). The Athenians decided first to expose Mytilene to an *andrapodismos* (3.36.2), but went back on this decision the following day (3.49.1) and concluded peace on the following terms: the oligarchs sent to Athens, over 1,000 men, were held responsible for the revolt and executed; the other Mytilenaians were forced to pull down their walls, to surrender their fleet, to cede their possessions in the *peraia* to Athens, and to have their hinterland divided into 3,000 *kleroi*, of which 300 were made sacred property and 2,700 were given to Athenian klerouchs (3.50) (Figueira (1991) 8–10, 251–53). Mytilene became a dependent *polis* deprived of its hinterland, but not of its urban centre. Thus, there is no basis for Hampl's view ((1939) 1–2) that it became a *polis* without territory (Hansen (1998) 55). Shortly afterwards, however, perhaps already in 427/6, the Mytilenaians recovered their *autonomia* (*IG* I³ 66.12) and the possession of their hinterland (*IG* I³ 66.11–12, 18, 67.3–4; Mattingly (1996) 136–37); but see Hornblower (1991) 440–41). In 412 Mytilene followed Chios and revolted against Athens once again (Thuc. 8.22.2), but was almost immediately recovered by the Athenians (23.2, 100.3), and it remained loyal to Athens (Diod. 13.73.5; Xen. *Hell.* 1.6.35, 38) until it was taken by Lysander in 405 (Xen. *Hell.* 2.2.5).

In 394 the Mytilenaians joined the coalition organised by Konon (Diod. 14.84.3), and with his help they succeeded in 389 in expelling the Lakedaimonians from Eresos and Antissa (Diod. 14.94.3–4; Xen. *Hell.* 4.8.28–29). Alongside Chios, Rhodos and Byzantion, Mytilene was a founding member of the Second Athenian Naval League. A separate treaty between Athens and Mytilene was concluded in the autumn of 378 (*IG* II² 40), and Mytilene is listed among the allies in the so-called Charter of the League (*IG* II² 43.80 = *Staatsverträge* 257). The Mytilenaians fought beside the Athenians in the war against the Peloponnesian League (*IG* II² 107; Isoc. 14.28) and approved of an Athenian garrison placed in Mytilene in, probably, 375 (*SEG* 19 204; Dreher (1995) 28). When Kammys became tyrant of Mytilene in C4m, the city seceded from the League (Dem. 40.37), but it was readmitted through a new alliance concluded in 347/6 (*IG* II² 213; Cargill (1980) 95). Mytilene was allied with Alexander the Great (Arr. *Anab.* 2.1.4; Curt. 4.8.13), but was not necessarily a member of the Corinthian League (Bosworth (1980) 181). The city was besieged and conquered by the Persian fleet in 333 (Diod. 17.29.2; Arr. *Anab.* 2.1.2–4), but reconquered by the Makedonians in the following year (Arr. *Anab.* 3.2.6; Curt. 4.5.22).

The constitutional history of Mytilene bristles with revolutions caused by discord between factions (*stasis*) (Gehrke, *Stasis* 117–23; Spencer (2000)). In C7 the city was ruled by the house of the Penthelidai, described by Aristotle as a *βασιλικὴ δυναστεία* (*Pol.* 1311^{b}26), which may indicate that Mytilene originally was a hereditary kingdom (Carlier (1984) 451; Schütrumpf and Gehrke (1996) 561). Because of their tyrannical behaviour, they were overturned by a certain Megakles; but later in the century Mytilene was once again ruled by a member of the family, Penthilos, who was murdered by Smerdes (*Pol.* 1311^{b}27–30; Alc. fr. 75). His son-in-law was Pittakos (Diog. Laert 1.81; Alc. fr. 70), who at some point ruled Mytilene together with Myrsilos (Alc. fr. 70.7; Strabo 12.2.3). A faction led by Alkaios and his two brothers made an abortive attempt to overthrow Myrsilos, and Alkaios had to go into exile to Pyrrha (*P Berol.* 9569). Myrsilos died (Alc. fr. 332), and after a period of civil war (Alc. fr. 70.11) Pittakos was elected *aisymnetes* by the Mytilenaians; according to Alkaios (fr. 348), however, he was elected *tyrannos* (Arist. *Pol.* 1285^{a}35–b1). Pittakos was later remembered as having given the Mytilenaians new laws (*nomoi*), but not a new constitution (*politeia*) (Arist. *Pol.* 1274^{b}18–23). Under his rule the *basileis* are attested as a board of officials (Theophr. fr. 650). According to Apollodoros ((*FGrHist* 244) fr. 27), Pittakos was elected *c.*600 and held power for ten years and then resigned his post (Schachermeyr (1950) 1865–67 (*stasis*), 1868–70 (*aisymnetes*), 1870–72 (chronology)). Thereafter Mytilene was

probably an oligarchy, but in *c.*512 a new tyrant, Koes, was installed by Dareios as tyrant of Mytilene (Hdt. 5.11). At the beginning of the Ionian Revolt he was handed over to the Mytilenaian people and stoned to death (Hdt. 5.37–38).

In 428 Mytilene was an oligarchy (Thuc. 3.39.6), apparently with a ruling class of more than 1,000 citizens (Thuc. 3.50.1). One of the factors behind the defection from Athens seems to have been a dispute about succession to property among some of the *euporoi* (Arist. *Pol.* 1304^{a}4–10), and when the *dynatoi* issued the *demos* with hoplite equipment, the commoners opposed the government and forced the surrender (Thuc. 3.27.3; Gillis (1971)).

In the years after 405 Mytilene was probably ruled by a Spartan harmost and a Board of Ten (Xen. *Hell.* 2.2.5; Paus. 8.52.4), but in 390/89, when they and their Mytilenaian supporters were expelled (Xen. *Hell.* 4.8.28–29), Mytilene seems to have become a democracy (*IG* XII.2 4.3 (C4m), see *infra*; *IG* II^{2} 107; Gehrke, *Stasis* 121). By 353/2, however, the democracy had been abolished (Dem. 13.8) and replaced with an oligarchy (Dem. 15.19; Isoc. *Ep.* 8). Shortly afterwards Mytilene was ruled by a tyrant, Kammys (Dem. 40.37; Brun (1988) 381–82), but he was already deposed in 347/6 (*IG* II^{2} 213). When the Persians had conquered Mytilene in 333, one of the exiles, Diogenes, was set up as tyrant of Mytilene (Arr. *Anab.* 2.1.5), but in the following year democracy was restored and a group of exiles readmitted to Mytilene (*SEG* 36 750.3: δαμοκρατίαι; *SEG* 36 752 = *IG* XII.2 6; cf. Heisserer (1980) 118–41; *SEG* 40 673).

Under democracy decrees (ψαφίσματα) were passed by the council (βόλλα) and the people (δᾶμος) in accordance with a probouleumatic procedure (*IG* XII.2 5 + suppl.; *SEG* 36 750, 752; cf. Rhodes, *DGS* 256–58). The eponymous official was a *prytanis* (*SEG* 36 750.18; Theophr. fr. 650), and a *prytaneion* is mentioned in a paraphrase of Sappho's poems (Ath. 425A); cf. πρυτανεῖον at *P Oxy.* 3711. fr. 1. col. 1.4, a late commentary on Alkaios. Other magistrates were boards of kings (βασίληες), generals (στρόταγοι) and some called περίδρομοι and δικάσκοποι (*IG* XII.2 6.6–14). A treasurer (ταμίας) is also attested (*IG* XII.2 5.17), and we know from Ant. 5.77 that some of the public expenditure was defrayed through liturgies. The Mytilenaians sent envoys to Olympia (Thuc. 3.9–14) and to Athens (*IG* II^{2} 107.21–22) and received envoys from Athens (*IG* II^{2} 107.31–34). Mytilene granted *proxenia* to citizens of Magnesia on the Maeander (*SEG* 26 909 (C4l)) and to a citizen of an unknown *polis* (*IG* XII.2 5.5 + suppl. (C4s)). Mytilenaian citizens received *proxenia* from Athens (Dem. 40.36; Arist. *Pol.* 1304^{a}9–10) and Delphi (*F.Delphes* III.4 400 (C4l/C3e)).

Apart from one Olympic victor in 476 (*P Oxy.* 222.1.7; *Olympionikai* 209), the only known Mytilenaian victor in Panhellenic games was a *periodonike* who was active *c.*300 and, thus, is too late for our investigation (*IvO* 173; Paus. 6.15.1).

The city occupied an offshore island and the adjacent mainland from C10, probably focused around what later became known as the city's "North Harbour" at Epano Skala (Spencer (1995*a*) no. 27, (1995*b*) fig. 3a); settlement activity of the third millennium has been found on the Classical acropolis of Mytilene (Lambrianides and Spencer (1997) 86–87 and fig. 5), and another settlement of the same date has been found on the coast just south of the Classical city. Sporadic Mycenaean sherds have been reported in the area of the modern town, where there are also finds of the Protogeometric, Geometric and Archaic periods (Spencer (1995*b*) 279–81 and fig. 3, (2000) 74–75 fig. 4.5). However, most of the surviving ancient remains are Hellenistic and later. Unpublished excavations in the early 1980s have revealed at least one of the stone bridges over the intervening channel (silted up in mediaeval times) mentioned by Longus (*Daphnis and Chloe* 1); it is probably Roman in date. According to Vitruvius (1.6.1), the town was laid out on a grid plan, but poorly orientated to the prevailing winds; some evidence of the orthogonal plan survives in the alignment of various structures excavated throughout the city. Archaeological excavations began in a modest way in the late nineteenth century with the work of Robert Koldewey and his colleagues at Mytilene and elsewhere on the island (Koldewey (1890)), but apart from the theatre, whose date is uncertain, large-scale work did not begin until the 1960s, and even then involved mostly salvage excavations, rarely published in any detail and only occasionally touching on Archaic and Classical levels. Later Roman, mediaeval and Ottoman buildings destroyed or covered most earlier remains and only occasionally is a "window" possible back to the city's early history. Several Greek publications summarise much of what was known about Mytilene up to the early 1970s (Kontes (1973), (1978)); for a complete collection of all relevant references, see Spencer (1995*b*) no. 27), and recent excavations by the Canadian Archaeological Institute at Athens and K' Ephoreia of the Greek Archaeological Service have added substantially to our knowledge of certain areas (H. Williams (1984); Williams and Williams (1985), (1986), (1987), (1988), (1989), (1990), (1991); Archontidhou (1986–95)).

Possibly Archaic, certainly Classical and Late Classical sections of fortifications have been uncovered in different

areas of the city, especially on the north-western side where they are still well preserved and seem to be of late Lesbian-style masonry (Koldewey (1890) pls. 1, 2, 5, 6; Kontes (1978) figs. 35, 39; Mason (2001)). It is probable that the city expanded from its original focus around the north harbour further west on to the mainland in C5, perhaps just before the revolt of 428 (Diod. 13.79; Thuc. 3.2.1). A relatively well-preserved stretch some 50 m long was uncovered near the north harbour and seems to date from C4m; it probably defended the island portion of the city (Williams and Williams (1991) 180 fig. 2). Some 100 m to the north-west, excavations in 1999–2000 uncovered an apparently matching wall defending the mainland side of the city east of the modern IKA building. A 33 m stretch of probably C4 fortification wall was uncovered in 1973 near the public swimming pool at the edge of the modern south harbour (Khatzi (1973) 509–10). Smaller sections of city walls have been found, mostly on the north and south sides of town, in various salvage excavations, and seem to be late Classical in date. According to Koldewey (1890) pls. 11–12 the walls enclosed an area of 140 ha. In connection with the revolt in 428 Thucydides reports that walls were being constructed (3.2.2, 5). The city was besieged by the Athenians in 428 (3.18.4–5), and the walls were demolished after the conquest in 427 (3.50.1); however, walls are attested in 406 by Xen. *Hell.* 1.6.17 (τεῖχος) and in 333 by Diod. 17.29.2.

Mytilene had two harbours (Thuc. 3.6.1; Ps.-Skylax 97; Strabo 13.2.2). Strabo says that the south harbour of the city housed Mytilene's triremes, but the modern harbour works have obliterated any remains; the east and west moles of the commercial north harbour (*supra*), however, survive just below modern sea level. Probably Roman in their present form, they may well go back to at least the Classical period, and as noted above, this harbour appears to have been the focus of the earliest post-prehistoric settlement. Immediately adjacent to the south side of the north harbour are the remains of a long substantial stoa of C4 or C3, known since the 1920s but not completely excavated until 2000–1 (Coulton (1977)). A long stretch of a well-built C4 aqueduct has also been uncovered (Khatzi (1972), (1973)) on the south side of town. The theatre (*TGR* ii. 252) on the sloping hillsides to the west of the town has been excavated on several occasions, but only brief preliminary reports have appeared; it is probably late Classical or early Hellenistic in date (Evangelidis (1927); cf. Plut. *Pomp.* 42.9 (rC4m)).

Remains of at least three Archaic/Late Classical sanctuaries have been found in different areas of the city. A C7 sanctuary, possibly to Kybele (a crude small statue of the goddess appeared in the excavations along with much Archaic bucchero), with an apsidal building in Lesbian-style masonry appeared during building operations behind the former insane asylum near the north harbour; it has been published only in a brief preliminary form (Khatzi (1973) 515–17 fig. 10; Spencer (1995*b*) 296–99 fig. 11). A Late Classical/Hellenistic sanctuary to Demeter and Kore and Kybele has been excavated on the acropolis inside the mediaeval castle; it consisted of a series of at least five altars in a row north–south with a rectangular two-room building behind and two semicircular ashpits for burned remains of piglets (Williams and Williams (1991)). A sanctuary to Aphrodite was uncovered during building operations on the south slopes of the acropolis (Archontidhou (1986–95)) and there is some evidence for a sanctuary of Asklepios near the west side of the south harbour (Khatzio). The sanctuary of Apollo Maloies near the north harbour is still elusive (Thuc. 3.3.3). For a general account of local cults based mostly on literary and epigraphic evidence, see Shields (1917). A cult of Zeus Homonoios and Homonoia was invoked in connection with the restoration of the democracy in 332 (*SEG* 36 750.7–8; cf. Thériault (1996) 19–29). Cults of the Twelve Gods, of Zeus Basileus and Zeus Heraios were also invoked.

At least some C6 graves seem to have been found in what became the expanded C5 city (Kontes (1978) 216; Spencer (1995*b*) 295). Extensive late Classical/early Hellenistic cemeteries have been found north and south of the city, although there have only been short preliminary publications of them to date. Graves varied from simple interments cut in the bedrock to tile-covered, to stone-lined cists, to limestone sarcophagi, some in funerary precincts surrounded by a wall (Khatzi (1972), (1973); Spencer (1995*b*); autopsy on highway north of Mytilene in 2001).

Mytilene struck coins of electrum, silver, billon and bronze from C5f on. (1) Electrum, C5f/C4s: *hektai* on the Phokaic standard, with a great variety of types: *obv.* ram's head, or lion's head, or Apollo laureate, or young Dionysos, etc.; *rev.* panther, or sphinx, or Persephone, etc., all in incuse square; legend (on one coin only): *MYTI*. In C5s Phokaia and Mytilene concluded a treaty that the two *poleis* should take turns and strike identical electrum coins in alternating years (*IG* xii.2 1 = *SEG* 34 849). (2) Billon, *c.*480–450, on the Phoenician and Persic standard: denominations: fractions of stater down to a twenty-fourth, with a variety of types: *obv.* head of calf, or lion, or Negro, etc.; *rev.* incuse square, sometimes with eye, or amphora, etc.; legend: on a few *ΛΕΣ* or *M* or *MY*. (3) Silver, C5f/C4s: denominations: stater, drachm, hemidrachm, diobol, trihemiobol, obol; types: *obv.*

head of Apollo or of Nymph Mytilene; *rev.* various types: head of nymph Mytilene, or goat's head, or lyre, etc.; legend: *MYTI*, once *MYTIΛENAΩN*. (4) Bronze, C4: types: *obv.* Apollo laureate; *rev.* bull's head; legend: *MY* or *MYTI* (Head, *HN*² 558–59, 561–62; Bodenstedt (1973); *SNG Cop. Lesbos* 284–99 (billon), 300–30 (electrum), 364–69 (silver), 370–74 (bronze)).

Mytilene colonised Achilleion in Troas (no. 766) (Strabo 13.1.39), Sigeion in Troas (no. 791) (Hdt. 5.94.1), Ainos in Thrace (no. 641) (Ephor. fr. 39), and Hermonassa in the Pontic region (no. 697) (Arr. *Bith.* fr. 55 = (*FGrHist* 156) fr. 71).

In addition to its hinterland, Mytilene possessed a sizeable *peraia* in Troas and northern Aiolis (Strabo 13.1.38; Livy 37.21.4), although at what date all parts of this *peraia* were acquired, and whether all were simultaneously held, is not clear. The *terminus ante quem* for Mytilene's acquisition of at least part of its *peraia* is the dispute between Mytilene and Athens over Sigeion in C7l–C6e (Hdt. 5.95.2; Strabo 13.1.38; Diog. Laert. 1.74). The precise extent of the *peraia* is unknown, but it included the so-called Aktaiai *poleis* (Thuc. 4.52.2–3): i.e. Achilleion (no. 766), Antandros (no. 767), Hamaxitos (no. 778), Larisa (no. 784), Ophryneion (no. 786), Ilion (no. 779), Pordoselene (no. 831), Rhoiteion (no. 790), plus some others (*IG* I³ 71.III.122–40, 77.IV.14–27; see Hansen (1997) 32). Mytilene had to surrender its *peraia* to Athens in 427 (Thuc. 3.50.3). Some of the Aktaiai *poleis* were reconquered in 424 by exiled Mytilenaians (Thuc. 4.52.3), but at least Antandros was lost again soon after (Thuc. 4.75.1). By C4m Mytilene had recovered part of its *peraia* in the Gulf of Adramytteion (Ps.-Skylax 98), and had it extended by a gift from Alexander in 331 (Curt. 4.8.13). For the extent of the *peraia*, see Kontes (1978) figs. 18ff; Stauber (1996) 163–65).

799. Pyrrha (Pyrrhaios) Map 56. Lat. 39.10, long. 26.15. Size of territory: 3. Type: A. The toponym is *Πύρρα, ἡ* (Thuc. 3.35.1; Theophr. *Hist. pl.* 2.2.5). The city-ethnic is *Πυρραῖος* (*IG* II² 107.29 (368/7); Arist. *Hist. an.* 548ª10; Theophr. *Hist. pl.* 3.9.5). Pyrrha is called a *polis* in the urban sense at Ps.-Skylax 97 (cf. Hdt. 1.151.2), and at Thuc. 3.18.1 *polis* is used about Pyrrha in the urban and political senses simultaneously. The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally in abbreviated form on coins (*infra*) and externally in inscriptions (*IG* II² 107.29 (368/7)) and in literature (Arist. *Hist. an.* 548ª10). The individual and external use is attested in a Delphic proxeny decree for *Μενέδημος Εὐνίκου Πυρραῖος* (*BCH* (1940/1) 94.4 (330/29)). Pyrrha is implicitly called *patris* in Xen. *Hell.* 4.8.28.

The territory of Pyrrha seems to have comprised the south coast of the Gulf of Kalloni, in the sources called *ὁ Πυρραῖος εὔριπος* (Arist. *Part. an.* 680ª36–ᵇ1) as well as the region south of the Gulf. It may have covered *c.*250 km² (Kontes (1978) figs. 19–22). Pyrrha bordered on Methymna to the north, near Messon. To the east Pyrrha bordered on Mytilene and was separated from this *polis* by the "pine-covered Pyrrhaian mountain" (Theophr. *Hist. pl.* 3.9.5) on the slopes of Mt. Olympos (see no. 798 *supra*).

The only thing we learn about the history of Pyrrha in the Archaic period is that Alkaios found shelter in the city when he had been exiled from Mytilene (*P Berol.* 9569).

The Pyrrhaians were members of the Delian League. They are unattested in the Athenian tribute lists, which shows that, like the other Lesbian *poleis*, the Pyrrhaians provided ships instead of paying *phoros* (Thuc. 1.116.2, 117.2). In 428 they joined the Mytilenaians in defecting from Athens (Thuc. 3.2.1, 25.1). They were involved in the Mytilenaian attempt to synoecise Lesbos, and before the Athenian siege of Mytilene began, the Mytilenaians secured their position in Antissa, Pyrrha and Eresos and reinforced the fortifications of the three cities (3.18.1). The Athenians gained possession of Pyrrha and Eresos only after Mytilene's surrender in 427 (3.35.1), and the territory, or at least a part of it, was surrendered to Athenian klerouchs (3.50.2). In 412 Pyrrha followed Chios and Mytilene and seceded from Athens once again (Thuc. 8.23.2). It was recovered by Athens soon after (8.23.6), but Pyrrha was allied with Sparta once again in 406 (Diod. 13.100.5).

In C4e Pyrrha was allied with Lakedaimon, but in 390/89 Thrasyboulos seems to have forced the city to join the Athenians (Diod. 14.94.3–4; Lys. fr. 119, Sauppe). The settlement undoubtedly included the repatriation of some exiles to Mytilene (Xen. *Hell.* 4.8.28). Pyrrha was a member of the Second Athenian Naval League. In the list of members appended to the so-called Charter of the League, Pyrrha is restored either in line 90: *Π*[*υρραῖοι*] or in B1: [*Πυρ*]*ραίων* [*ὁ δ*]*ῆμος* (Dreher (1995) 198 n. 105; cf. *SEG* 38 55). In any case, Pyrrha joined the League after Mytilene and Methymna (80–81), but before Antissa and Eresos (B.20–21). Pyrrhaian representatives in the allied *synedrion* are attested for the year 368/7 (*IG* II² 107.29).

In C4f Menedemos of Pyrrha, a member of Plato's Academy (Philoch. fr. 224; Epikrates fr. 10, *PCG*), was sent back to his mother city to advise the Pyrrhaians about their constitution (Plut. *Mor.* 1126C). In 330/29 he became *proxenos* of Delphi (*BCH* (1940/1) 94.4).

In 333 Pyrrha was taken by the Persian admiral Memnon alongside the other Lesbian *poleis* (Diod. 17.29.2; Arr. *Anab.*

2.1.1), but by a peaceful agreement the Makedonians regained the small cities on Lesbos in the following year (Arr. *Anab.* 3.2.6).

The acropolis and possibly the lower town exhibit traces of settlement, fortification walls and tombs dating from the end of C10 (Koldewey (1890) pl. 11; Kontes (1978) fig. 60; Paraskevaidis (1963); Spencer (1995*a*) no. 99, (1995*b*) 281–83, fig. 4). As reconstructed by Koldewey (1890) 7–28 and pl. 11, the walls enclosed an area of 9.5 ha. Small-scale excavations nearly a hundred years ago carried out by Bohlau at Pyrrha uncovered a C8 apsidal building, probably a sanctuary (Schiering (1989)), and salvage excavations have opened numerous late Classical/Hellenistic graves (Kontes (1973); Archontidhou (1999) 74–75 for finds); rising sea levels have covered some buildings by the shore, including several identified as ship sheds of unknown date. The date of the large pseudodipteral Ionic temple at the Hellenistic pan-Lesbian site of Messon near the head of the Gulf of Kalloni in a marsh is debated, but is probably late Classical/early Hellenistic (Koldewey (1890) pls. 18–20; Petrakos (1967); Plommer (1981) suggests C5–C4; Pfrommer (1989) suggests first half of C3 on the basis of architectural decor). After Pyrrha's destruction, probably by the earthquake of 231, the site became part of Mytilene's territory. Recent work, including drilled cores by the Archaeological Service, is in the course of publication. A sanctuary at the south-west tip of Lesbos, Cape Phokas, perhaps of Archaic date, possibly to Dionysos or to Hera, etc. (Quinn (1961)) is known from limited excavations (Spencer (1995*a*) no. 74). We know from Thuc. 3.18.1 that Pyrrha was walled in 428/7, and that the fortifications were reinforced in that year. The harbour is mentioned by Ps.-Skylax 97.

Pyrrha struck bronze coins in C4, perhaps starting *c.*370. Types: *obv.* head of nymph Pyrrha wearing sphendone; *rev.* goat; legend: ΠΥΡ or ΠΥΡΡ, on some also ΑΘΕ (Head, *HN*² 563; Paraskevaidis (1963) 1412; *SNG Lesbos* 428).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Archontidhou, A. 1986–95. Annual reports in *ArchDelt* 1986–95.

——— 1999. *Archaeological Museum of Mytilene* (Mytilene).

Axiotis, M. 1992. *Perpatontas ti Lesvos* (Mytilene).

Bérard, J. 1959. "La migration éolienne", *RA* 1–28.

Berve, H. 1967. *Die Tyrannis bei den Griechen*, i–ii (Munich).

Betancourt, P. 1977. *The Aeolic Style in Architecture* (Princeton).

Bodenstedt, F. 1973. "Studien zur Elektronprägung von Phokaia und Mytilene", *SNR* 52: 17–51.

Bosworth, B. 1980. *A Historical Commentary on Arrian's History of Alexander*, i (Oxford).

Brun, P. 1988. "Mytilène et Athènes au IVe siècle av. J.C.", *REA* 90: 373–84.

——— 1993. "La stèle des céréales de Cyrène et le commerce du grain en Egée au IVe s. av. J.C.", *ZPE* 99: 185–96.

Buchholz, H.-G. 1975. *Methymna* (Mainz).

Bürchner, L. 1924. "Lesbos", *RE* xii. 2107–33.

Cargill, J. 1980. *The Second Athenian League* (Berkeley and Los Angeles).

Carlier, P. 1984. *La Royauté en Grèce avant Alexandre* (Strasbourg).

Cook, J. M. 1975. "Greek Settlement in the Eastern Aegean and Asia Minor", in *CAH*² ii.2. 773–804.

Coulton, J. J. 1977. *The Architectural Development of the Greek Stoa* (Oxford).

Davies, O. 1932. "Bronze Age Mining Round the Aegean", *Nature* 130: 985–87.

Dreher, M. 1995. *Hegemon und Symmachie: Untersuchungen zum zweiten athenischen Seebund* (Berlin).

Evangelidis, D. 1926. "Ἀνασκαφὲς ἐν Λέσβῳ", *Prakt* 57–59.

——— 1927. "Ἀνασκαφὲς Κλοπέδι", *Prakt* 126–37.

Figueira, T. 1991. *Athens and Aigina in the Age of Imperial Colonization* (Baltimore).

Gillis, D. 1971. "The Revolt at Mytilene", *AJP* 92: 38–47.

Hampl, F. 1939. "Poleis ohne Territorium", *Klio* 32: 1–60.

Hansen, M. H. 1997. "A Typology of Dependent *Poleis*", *CPCPapers* 4: 29–37.

——— 1998. Polis *and City-State: An Ancient Concept and its Modern Equivalent* (Copenhagen). *CPCActs* 5.

Harisis, C. B., Harisis, A. B., Harisis, V. A., and Durand, P. 2002*a*. "Το μαντειο του Ορφεα στη Λεσβο", *Aiolika Chronika* 4: 3–46.

——— ——— ——— 2002*b*. "'Σπιλιος' Αντισσας: το μαντειο του Ορφεα στη Λεσβο", *Archaiologia* 83: 68–73.

Heisserer, A. J. 1980. *Alexander the Great and the Greeks* (Norman, Okla.).

Hornblower, S. 1991. *A Commentary on Thucydides*, i (Oxford).

Khatzi, D. 1972. "Ἀρχαιότητες καὶ μνημεῖα νήσων Αἰγαίου", *ArchDelt* 27: 579–99.

——— 1973. "Ἀρχαιότητες καὶ μνημεῖα νήσων Αἰγαίου", *ArchDelt* 28: 507–20.

Koch, C. 2001. "Prozesse gegen die Tyrannis: die Vorgänge in Eresos in der 2. Hälfte des 4. Jh v. Chr.", *Dike* 4: 169–217.

Koldewey, R. 1890. *Die antiken Baureste der Insel Lesbos* (Berlin).

Kontes, I. D. 1973. Λεσβιακό Πολύπτυχο (Athens).

Kontes, I. D. 1978. *Λέσβος καὶ ἡ Μικρασιατική της Περιοχή* (Athens).

Kraay, C. M. 1976. *Archaic and Classical Greek Coins* (London).

Labarre, G. 1996. *Les Cités de Lesbos aux époques hellénistique et impériale* (Paris).

Lamb, W. 1931–32. "Antissa", *BSA* 32: 41–67.

Lambrianides, K., and Spencer, N. 1997. "Unpublished Material from the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut and the British School at Athens and its Contribution to a Better Understanding of the Early Bronze Age Settlement Pattern on Lesbos", *BSA* 92: 73–107.

Lang, F. 1996. *Archaische Siedlungen in Griechenland: Struktur und Entwicklung* (Berlin).

Lott, J. B. 1996. "Philip II, Alexander, and the Two Tyrannies at Eresos of *IG* XII.2 526", *Phoenix* 50: 26–40.

Mason, H. J. 1993. "Mytilene and Methymna: Quarrels, Borders and Topography", *EchCl* 37: 225–50.

—— 2001. "Lesbia Oikodomia: Aristotle, Masonry and the Cities of Lesbos", *Mouseion* 1: 31–53.

Mattingly, H. B. 1996. *The Athenian Empire Restored* (Ann Arbor).

Paraskevaidis, M. 1963. "Pyrrha", *RE* xxiv. 1403–20.

Petrakos, B. C. 1967. "Ἀνασκαφὴ τοῦ ναοῦ τῶν Μέσων Λέσβου", *Prakt* 96–102.

Pfrommer, M. 1989. "Bemerkungen zum Tempel von Messa auf Lesbos", *IstMitt* 36: 77–94.

Plommer, H. 1981. "The Temple at Messa", in L. Casson and M. Price (eds.), *Coins, Culture and History in the Ancient World: Numismatic and Other Studies in Honor of Bluma L. Trell* (Detroit) 177–86.

Quinn, T. J. 1961. "Cape Phokas, Lesbos—Site of an Archaic Sanctuary for Zeus, Hera and Dionysus?", *AJA* 65: 391–93.

—— 1981. *Athens and Samos, Lesbos and Chios 478–404 B.C.* (Manchester).

Robert, L. 1969. *Opera Minora Selecta*, ii (Amsterdam).

Schachermeyr, F. 1950. "Pittakos", *RE* xx.2. 1862–73.

Schaus, G. P., and Spencer, N. 1994. "Notes on the Topography of Eresos", *AJA* 98: 411–30.

Schiering, W. 1989. "Pyrrha auf Lesbos", *AA* 339–77.

Schütrumpf, E., and Gehrke, H.-J. 1996. *Aristoteles Politik IV–VI* (Berlin).

Shields, E. L. 1917. *The Cults of Lesbos* (Baltimore).

Spencer, N. 1994. "Towers and Enclosures of Lesbian Masonry in Lesbos: Rural Investment in the Chora of Archaic *Poleis*", in P. N. Doukellis and L. G. Mendoni (eds.), *Structures rurales et sociétés antiques: Actes du Colloque de Corfou (14–16 mai 1992)* (Paris) 207–13.

—— 1995*a*. *A Gazeteer of Ancient Sites in Lesbos* (Oxford).

—— 1995*b*. "Early Lesbos between East and West: A 'Grey Area' of Aegean Archaeology", *BSA* 90: 269–306.

—— 1995*c*. "Multi-dimensional Group Definition in the Landscape of Rural Greece", in N. Spencer (ed.), *Time, Tradition and Society in Greek Archaeology: Bridging the 'Great Divide'* (London) 28–42.

—— 1995*d*. "Respecting your Elders and Betters: Ancestor Cult at Antissa, Lesbos", *EchCl* 39: 45–60.

—— 1996. "Τὸ Πυρραίων ὄρος τὸ πιτυώδες: An Archaeological and Epigraphical Approach to a Topographical Problem", *ZPE* 112: 253–62.

—— 2000. "Exchange and Stasis in Archaic Mytilene", in R. Brock and S. Hodkinson (eds.), *Alternatives to Athens: Varieties of Political Organization in Ancient Greece* (Oxford) 68–81.

Stauber, J. 1996. *Die Bucht von Adramytteion*. i: *Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien 50* (Bonn).

Thériault, G. 1996. *Le Culte d'* homonoia *dans les cités grecques* (Lyon and Quebec).

Thumb, A., and Scherer, A. 1959. *Handbuch der griechischen Dialekte*, ii (Heidelberg).

Williams, C., and Williams, H. 1985. "Excavations on the Acropolis of Mytilene, 1984", *EchCl* 29: 225–33.

—— 1986. "Excavations on the Acropolis of Mytilene, 1985", *EchCl* 30: 141–54.

—— 1987. "Excavations at Mytilene (Lesbos), 1986", *EchCl* 31: 247–62.

—— 1988. "Excavations at Mytilene (Lesbos), 1987", *EchCl* 32: 135–49.

—— 1989. "Excavations at Mytilene, 1988", *EchCl* 33: 167–81.

—— 1990. "Excavations at Mytilene, 1989", *EchCl* 34: 181–93.

—— 1991. "Excavations at Mytilene, 1990", *EchCl* 35: 175–91.

Williams, H. 1984. "Investigations at Mytilene and Stymphalos, 1983", *EchCl* 28: 169–83.

AIOLIS AND SOUTH-WESTERN MYSIA

LENE RUBINSTEIN

I. The Region

The name of the region is *Αἰολίς, -ίδος, ἡ* (Hdt. 5.123). There is no ethnic specifically associated with the region, however, for the designation *Αἰολεύς* indicated a wider ethnic identity ("Aiolian") and was also applied to the inhabitants of Aiolian settlements in Troas and the Aegean Islands, most notably Lesbos (Hdt. 2.178.2, 6.8.1). In the Hellenistic period *Αἰολεύς* was used as a "regional ethnic" by the citizens of the Aiolian settlements in the Troad as well as by the inhabitants of the Aiolian *poleis* around the Elaitic Gulf.[1] The extent of Aiolis as a region was disputed already in Antiquity, and the area covered in this chapter does not correspond to any of the ancient definitions of Aiolis as a geographical entity. The area discussed here corresponds roughly to the area treated in the first half of Ps.-Skylax 98, stretching along the coast of Asia Minor from Adramyttion and the plain of Thebe in the north to the Gulf of Smyrna in the south, including some inland settlements, particularly in the plains of the rivers Kaikos, Titnaios and Hermos. Ps.-Skylax, who appears to follow the Persian administrative divisions, calls the entire area north of the river Maiandros "Lydia", but points out that the northern part from Antandros in the north to Teuthrania in the south-east was formerly Mysian.

The communities in this part of Asia Minor are relatively poorly documented in the extant Archaic and Classical authors and inscriptions, and archaeological evidence for the settlements in our period is sparse. Only a few sites have been excavated,[2] and most of the architectural remains observed by travellers and archaeologists in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries date from the Roman period. A large earthquake that hit part of the region in AD 17 led to extensive rebuilding, and this meant, for example, that the team who surveyed the urban centre of Aigai in 1886 recorded hardly any remains of the pre-Roman settlement.

The question of the extent to which each individual community was Hellenised in the Archaic and Classical period is extremely difficult to answer, particularly with regard to the inland settlements. Only three communities in the area covered in this chapter are designated as *poleis Hellenides* by Ps.-Skylax,[3] and other Classical authors are equally unhelpful. No doubt much interaction between Greek and non-Greek inhabitants took place along the rivers throughout the period with which we are concerned. It is further suggested by fourth-century inscriptions and coins that some of the coastal settlements that were originally non-Greek communities had undergone a process of considerable assimilation by the end of the Classical period.[4] The same appears to be true of some inland settlements such as Pergamon, Teuthrania, Halisarna and Gambrion, all of which were controlled by the descendants of the Medising Greeks Gongylos of Eretria and Demaratos of Sparta. But the numismatic evidence, which constitutes the most important pre-Hellenistic source for six of the small communities in the area,[5] yields only limited information about the degree of Hellenisation of the people who issued the coins. Likewise, while finds of Greek pottery and artefacts may be regarded as good evidence for a lively exchange between Greek and non-Greek communities, such finds do not actually permit a classification of a particular settlement as "Greek" or "Hellenised".

[1] The designation was used, e.g., by citizens of Alexandria Troas (*BCH* 59: 55, 2.13 (C2)) and Assos (*Syll.*³ 585.314 (197–175)) as well as by citizens of Kyme (*IG* VII 3196 (C1)), Myrina (*IG* VII 420.44) and Pitane (*F.Delphes* III.3 410.4 (319)).

[2] Excavations have taken place at Myrina, Larisa Phrikonis, Pergamon and Kyme.

[3] This is the case for Astyra and Adramyttion (subsumed under a general heading of *poleis Hellenides*), and Aigai. For Astyra, see the Inventory of *poleis* in the Troad, *supra.*

[4] See e.g. the entries Adramyttion, Atarneus and Leukai in the list of *poleis* below. In the case of Kyllene, however, the ethnic composition of the population is not known. Xenophon characterises the community as a *polis* still inhabited by the descendants of Egyptian mercenaries settled there by Kyros the Great.

[5] The communities for which coins constitute the primary pre-Hellenistic evidence are, in alphabetical order, Autokane, Boione, Chalkis, Iolla, Perperene, Thebe and Tisna.

When deciding which communities to include and which to exclude on ethnic criteria, I prefer to play safe by including some settlements that cannot be said with certainty to have been Greek or Hellenised. If a community has left inscriptions in Greek during the Classical period, it is treated as a whole as "Hellenised", although it may in reality have contained a considerable number of members who did not speak Greek or consider themselves as "Hellenes".[6] Also included are communities that are known to have struck coins on a Greek model, provided that the community in question identifies itself by means of a Greek-style collective city-ethnic (sometimes in an abbreviated form). More doubtful are those inland communities of which we know only that contemporary Greek observers (primarily Xenophon) chose to characterise them as *poleis*.[7] Here it has seemed safest to list such settlements in the Inventory, but to issue a general warning here that serious doubt must remain as to whether these *poleis* had undergone a process of Hellenisation at all by the end of the period with which we are concerned.

The earliest extant definition of the "region" called Aiolis is the one found in Herodotos' account of the Aiolian *dodekapolis* (Hdt. 1.149–51), later reduced to a group of eleven *poleis* after the conquest of Smyrna by Kolophonian exiles who forced out the original Aiolian inhabitants. Not all the *poleis* on Herodotos' list can be localised (Killa, Notion and Aigiroessa have not yet been securely connected with any known sites);[8] but the area concerned seems to have stretched from Smyrna in the south to Pitane on the northern shore of the Elaitic Gulf, the easternmost settlements being Temnos and Aigai.

Herodotos' story of Smyrna's change of population and of the shift of ethnic and regional affiliation (1.150.1–2) from Aiolis to Ionia shows that ethnicity was an important criterion for Herodotos' definition of the region. Yet, that Herodotos regarded Aiolis as a geographical entity, rather than just the totality of ethnically Aiolian settlements in Asia Minor, is indicated by 5.123, in which he relates the military expedition of Artaphrenes and Otanes against "Ionia and the neighbouring Aiolis". This indicates a perceived southern boundary of the region which was more than just a vague differentiation between communities that were ethnically (and dialectally) Aiolian and those that were regarded as Ionian. The northern boundary of Aiolis at Pitane, according to Herodotos' description, coincides with the southern boundary of the Chian *peraia* as indicated by Ps.-Skylax 98.[9] As for the Aiolian *poleis* in the north around Mt. Ida in the Troad, Herodotos appears to have regarded them as a separate group (1.151.1). His reason for excluding these northern mainland settlements from his list may be that he regards them as part of the Troad, in which he locates Antandros in 5.26; but it may also be due to the fact that the southern *poleis* were operating as a loose political entity in the Archaic and Classical periods (see *infra*), and not least that the two groups belonged to two different satrapies in Herodotos' day.[10]

The broadest definition of Aiolis as a region is that provided by Ephoros fr. 163b, who claimed that Aiolis stretched from Abydos in the north to Kyme in the south. For Ephoros and others, the existence of ethnically Aiolian *poleis* in the north was probably one important reason for extending the concept of Aiolis as far as this.[11] Although Strabo appears to be dismissive of Ephoros' claim, Ephoros was in fact not the only Classical author to have employed a wider geographical definition than that proposed by Herodotos. Aeneas Tacticus 24.3 refers to Ilion as part of Aiolis when describing how Charidemos of Oreos captured the city in 360. For Xenophon "Aiolis" meant first and foremost the ethnically Aiolian *poleis* controlled by Pharnabazos in the north, i.e. the settlements on the coast south of Ilion (3.1.16–18, 2.1). This is paralleled also in Isoc. 4.144, where Isokrates recounts Derkylidas' success in "Aiolis", which undoubtedly relates to Derkylidas' conquest of *poleis* in Pharnabazos' satrapy. However, in *Hell.* 3.1.10 the expression "This Aiolis

[6] An example is the community of the Melanpagitai, of which we know only that they marked their border with the neighbouring community of Herakleia with a Greek graffito (*ὅρια Μελανπαγιτῶν*, *Syll.*³ 934 (C5)).

[7] See e.g. the entries Palaigambrion and Parthenion.

[8] Killa is probably *not* identical with the Homeric Killa in the Troad (Stauber (1996*a*) i.31), and it is uncertain if Notion is to be identified with the harbour town of Kolophon in Ionia (the identification has become conventional, however, and *BAR* contains no separate entry for the Aiolian Notion).

[9] A border dispute between Mytilene and Pitane was subjected to arbitration in 138 (*IG* XII suppl. 142C). It has been suggested, most recently by Stauber (1996*a*) i.163–64, that the Chian *peraia* was added to the mainland territory of Mytilene as a result of a grant from Alexander the Great. It can in any case be inferred from this inscription that the boundary between Pitane as the northernmost *polis* of Aiolis and the territory occupied by the islands was quite stable over time.

[10] He ends his list by the statement *αὗται μέν νυν αἱ ἠπειρώτιδες Αἰολίδες πόλιες, ἔξω τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἴδῃ οἰκημένων. κεχωρίδαται γὰρ αὗται* (Hdt. 1.151.1). It is most likely that the *γάρ* clause serves to explain why the northern Aiolian *poleis* have been excluded from his account of the mainland communities, rather than to explain the separate listing of Aiolian settlements on the islands off the Asian coast.

[11] Already Herodotos recounts a dispute between the Athenians and the Mytilenaians over the area around Ilion to which the Mytilenaians laid claim (Hdt. 5.94.2). The Athenian response was that the Mytilenaians had no better claim to dominance than all the other Greeks who had participated in the expedition against Troy. There is little doubt that it was the Aiolian identity of the settlements in the Troad (which were claimed as Lesbian *apoikiai*), that formed the basis of Mytilene's claim.

was the possession of Pharnabazos . . .” (ἡ δὲ Αἰολὶς αὕτη ἦν μὲν Φαρναβάζου) implies that Xenophon operated with more than one geographical entity of that name, one of which overlapped with the Troad and probably also comprised the settlements around Mt. Ida. The other Aiolis may then have been identical with the southern Aiolis of Herodotos' account, although this region is never referred to explicitly as “Aiolis” by Xenophon.[12]

Thus Herodotos' and Xenophon's accounts both suggest that there were two separate regions on the mainland that could be referred to as “Aiolis”. As mentioned above, this may reflect the fact that the two main groups of Aiolian settlements in Asia Minor belonged to different administrative units within the Persian Empire, the southern area having been part of the kingdom of Lydia and later of the same satrapy as the Ionian *poleis*, with which the *poleis* of southern Aiolis had close political connections in the Classical period. The long history of joint Persian administration of the southern Aiolian and the Ionian *poleis* on the mainland may in turn have influenced the Athenian administration of the area for tribute purposes: the Aiolian cities on the coast from Pitane in the north to Kyme in the south are all listed as part of the Ionian district in the tribute lists,[13] and the Aiolian *poleis* also seem to have been regarded as part of Ionia for other purposes (the type of partial *atimia*, for example, that consisted in a ban on travelling to “Ionia” undoubtedly included the *poleis* of southern Aiolis as well).[14]

The Persian administrative divisions may also account for the very narrow definition of Aiolis offered by Ps.-Skylax (98), who describes “Aiolis” exclusively as the *poleis* around Mt. Ida before proceeding to list the Greek settlements in Lydia along the entire coastline from Antandros in the north to the river Maiandros in the south. The only regional distinction made in this text is between the area from Antandros to Teuthrania, which Ps.-Skylax designates as “formerly Mysia, but now Lydia” and Lydia proper; but within the latter region there is no attempt by Ps.-Skylax to distinguish the southern region, Aiolis, from that of Ionia.

There is some evidence from the Archaic and Classical periods that suggests that the *poleis* of southern Aiolis cooperated politically and militarily on a regular basis. The existence of particular common political institutions on an inter-*polis* level is not directly attested in our sources, but it is highly likely that there was some kind of Aiolian parallel to the joint political and religious institutions of the Ionian *dodekapolis* that were centred on the Panionion. Herodotos reports that after the capture of Smyrna by Kolophonian exiles, the other eleven Aiolian *poleis* jointly made terms with the Kolophonians, whereby the Smyrnaians were allowed to leave with their movable possessions. The Smyrnaians were subsequently distributed among the eleven *poleis* and given citizenship there (Hdt. 1.150.1–2). This account is very likely anachronistic, at least as far as the organised resettling of the original Smyrnaians is concerned.

More plausible is the claim in Hdt. 1.151.3 that the Aiolian *poleis* on the mainland “made a joint decision to follow the Ionians wherever they led” when confronted with the threat posed by Kyros in 546. Herodotos' wording strongly suggests a hegemonic, multilateral alliance between the eleven Aiolian *poleis* as a united group and the twelve Ionian ones, with the Ionians taking the lead. The creation of this alliance was allegedly followed by a joint Aiolian and Ionian embassy to Sparta (Hdt. 1.152.1–2). The Ionian–Aiolian joint venture may have been short-lived, however, for the Aiolian *poleis* on the mainland are not reported to have provided any military support for the Ionian Revolt in the 490s. On the other hand, a late C4 inscription, *I.Erythrai* 16, recording a joint decision made by the Ionians and Aiolians (l. 6), confirms not only that there was collaboration among the Aiolian *poleis* internally; it also indicates that the kind of

[12] This is further suggested by the previous paragraph (*Hell.* 3.1.10) in which Xenophon reports that Derkylidas “differed so much from Thibron in his leadership that he led the army through friendly territory to the Aiolis of Pharnabazos without harming the allies in any way” (ὥστε παρήγαγε τὸ στράτευμα διὰ τῆς φιλίας χώρας μέχρι τῆς Φαρναβάζου Αἰολίδος οὐδὲν βλάψας τοὺς συμμάχους). Note that in *An.* 5.6.24 Timasion reassures his troops that he is familiar with “Aiolis, Phrygia, Troas and the entire fiefdom of Pharnabazos”, thus implying a differentiation between Aiolis and the Troad; the context suggests, however, that Timasion is still referring to an Aiolis in the north rather than to the settlements around and south of the Elaitic Gulf.

[13] The only settlement on the coast north of Pitane that may have been included in the *Ionikos Phoros* is Karene (Krateros (*FGrHist* 342) fr. 2). The absence from the Athenian tribute lists of other settlements on the coast between Pitane and the Theban plain is perhaps due to the fact that these *poleis* belonged to the Chian and Lesbian *peraiai*. The Chians (and presumably their dependent *poleis*) never paid tribute at all. As for the *poleis* in the so-called Lesbian *peraia*, their absence from the tribute assessment lists after the fall of Mytilene may indicate that, in C5, the Lesbian *peraia* south of Adramyttion did not belong to Mytilene alone. Methymna, which did not join in the Lesbian Revolt, remained *autonomos*, and any possessions that the Methymnaians may have had were undoubtedly exempt from tribute as well. There is no firm evidence for the Lesbian *peraia* north of the Elaitic Gulf as a specifically *Mytilenaian* possession earlier than the reign of Alexander the Great. Theopompos' report ((*FGrHist* 115) fr. 291) that the Chians and the Mytilenaians had asked Hermias to be *prostates* of their territories on the mainland may refer to the Mytilenaian possessions in the north, the so-called *Aktaiai poleis*, which included Assos, Hermias' residence in the period 348–345. Assos is explicitly mentioned in the Theopompos passage.

[14] For the type of partial *atimia* that consisted in a ban on travelling to “Ionia”, see Andoc. 1.76.

Ionian–Aiolian alliance suggested by Herodotos may have been based on historical fact.

In the Classical period there was clearly a perception that most of the original Aiolian *poleis* had a common origin as cities founded from the Greek mainland; but there seems to have been more than one tradition. According to Pherekydes of Athens ((*FGrHist* 3) fr. 155), the Aiolian cities were founded by Androklos, the son of King Kodros, after he had initiated the settlement of Greeks in Ionia. Hellan. fr. 32 appears to have represented a rival Lesbian tradition, according to which the settlement of Aiolis was initiated by Orestes and Peisandros of Sparta. These two rival traditions may well reflect a contemporary C5 tension between Athens and Mytilene, both of which claimed the right of domination over the Aiolian *poleis* in the Troad as reported in Hdt. 5.94.

In addition to the thirty-six settlements that are listed in the Inventory of *poleis* there are sixteen locations attested in Archaic or Classical sources for which the evidence is not sufficient to warrant their inclusion in the Inventory. They are as follows.

1. *Pre-Hellenistic Settlements not Attested as* Poleis

Achaion Limen (*Ἀχαιῶν λιμήν*) Ps.-Skylax (98) is the only Classical author to mention this harbour. According to Strabo 13.3.5, it was located between Myrina and Gryneion on the shore of the Elaitic Gulf and contained an altar of the Twelve Gods. *Barr.* HR, but C also attested.

Apollonia (*Ἀπολλωνία*) This settlement is mentioned in Xen. *An.* 7.8.15. It was located in the vicinity of Pergamon, close to the base of the Persian nobleman Asidates. Asidates received military assistance from Itamenes, who had recruited some of his troops from Apollonia and Parthenion (see no. 827). Strabo 13.4.4 describes Apollonia as situated on an elevated site on the plain to the east of Pergamon. *Barr.* C.

Ardynion (*Ἀρδύνιον*) The toponym Ardynion is attested in Xanthos of Lydia (*FGrHist* 324) fr. 17 in the second book of his *Lydiaka* (C5). Steph. Byz. 116 classifies the settlement as "a *polis* in the Theban Plain". Nikolaos of Damascus ((*FGrHist* 90) fr. 47, 6 (C1)) also refers to Ardynion as a *polis* founded by the Mysian king Arnossos (. . . *ὅστις πόλιν Ἀρδύνιον ἔκτισεν ἐν Θήβῃ πεδίῳ*), whose daughter married the Lydian king Sadyattes (= Kandaules?, *RE* s.v. Sadyattes 1). It is possible, but far from certain, that Nikolaos based his account directly on Xanthos, in which case the site-classification must be regarded as a genuine Classical one. *Barr.* A, but C also attested.

Arginoussai (*Ἀργινοῦσαι*) The toponym is attested in Thuc. 8.101.2 (as *Ἀργινούσαις τῆς ἠπείρου*) and in Xen. *Hell.* 1.6.27. According to Strabo 13.2.2, these were three islands close to Mt. Kanai on the mainland, one of which was probably the Biga peninsula. as suggested by Stauber (1996*a*) i.285, while the other two may be identified with the islands Garip Adası and Kalemadası. Stauber and his team found no Classical remains during their exploration of the islands and the peninsula. However, Diod. 13.97.3 states that at the time of the famous sea battle in 406 the islands were inhabited and contained a small Aioloan *polismation*, claimed by schol. Ar. *Ran.* 33 to be a *πόλις τῆς Αἰολίδος*. *Barr.* C.

Blakeia (*Βλακεία*) This settlement is known only from references to Aristotle's *Kymaion Politeia* (fr. 90, 531, 1–2, Gigon). It was located in the territory of Kyme, and the stupidity of its inhabitants allegedly gave rise to the expressions *βλάξ* and *βλακικά* ("naive", "stupid", "useless"). Not in *Barr.*

Chryse (*Χρύση*) The settlement of Chryse close to Thebe mentioned by Strabo 13.1.63 is conventionally identified with the Homeric town of that name. Stauber (1996*a*) i.37–38 locates it tentatively at Magara Tepe, where some Aiolian grey ceramic has been found in the context of a prehistoric settlement (3–2 millennium BC). There is no literary or epigraphical evidence from the Archaic or Classical period pertaining to a contemporary Chryse in this location. *Barr.* AC (but location is queried).

Itone (*Ἰτώνη*) The toponym of this settlement in Lydia is known only from Steph. Byz. 342. It was tentatively located near Mt. Tmolos by Robert (1962) 314. There is no contemporary Archaic or Classical evidence for this community. *Barr.* C?

Kertonon (*Κερτωνόν*) The toponym *Κερτωνόν* is attested in Xen. *An.* 7.8.8 in the account of his route across Mt. Ida to Pergamon through the Theban plain and through the territories of Adramyttion and Kertonon. Stauber (1996*a*) i.330–32 refers to earlier suggestions of Assar Tepe at Çamavlu as a possible location, but he also points out that there are only a few ancient remains at that site. It has been suggested that Kertonon was in fact identical with the settlement Kytonion mentioned by Theopomp. fr. 17. *Barr.* C.

Kytonion (*Κυτώνιον*) The toponym is attested only in Theopomp. fr. 17, cited in Steph. Byz. 399. The site-

classification given here as *πόλις μεταξὺ Μυσίας καὶ Λυδίας* cannot be attributed to Theopompos with certainty. *Barr.* C (but regarded as identical with Kertonon).

Lyrnessos (*Λύρνησσος*) The most important attestations of the toponym *Λύρνησσος* are Hom. *Il.* 19.295 (the home of Briseis) and Strabo 13.1.61. The location of the Homeric Lyrnessos was disputed already in Antiquity (see Stauber (1996*a*) i.67–71); but schol. Eur. *Andr.* 1 reports that some authors located the settlement in the plain of Thebe. Stauber (1996*a*) argues for a location of Lyrnessos on the south-eastern edge of the plain of Thebe at Ala Dag. Here there are impressive remains of a prehistoric settlement, including large fortification walls dating from the third millennium, and there were also ceramic finds from the Classical, Hellenistic and Roman periods (Stauber (1996*a*) i.102–8). *Barr.* AC.

Malene (*Μαλήνη*) The toponym is attested in Hdt. 6.29 as a location in the territory of Atarneus, in which Histiaios was captured by Harpagos in 493. Dörpfeld (1928) 131–36 suggested that it was identical with the location *Μαλέα* attested in Thuc. 3.4.5 and 3.6.2, arguing that Thucydides' description points to a location on the mainland rather than on the island of Lesbos. See, however, Wilson (1981) 154–56 for a solution to the topographical problems posed by Thucydides in these passages in favour of the conventional location of Malea on Lesbos. Other scholars have suggested that *Μαλήνη* was identical with *Καρήνη*, but Stauber (1996*a*) i.242 rejects this on the grounds that Herodotos mentioned both of these locations, both in the same area. According to Stauber, this would hardly have escaped textual emendation already in Antiquity, unless Herodotos was in fact referring to two different settlements. Lambrianides (1996) 196 agrees with previous attempts to locate Malene near Makaronia, while this is disputed by Stauber (1996*a*) i.242 and 244, who prefers to locate the settlement of Attea here. He does not suggest any alternative location of Malene. *Barr.* C.

Passanda (Passandeus) (*Πάσσανδα*, *Πασσανδεύς*) The toponym is attested only in Steph. Byz. 509, who classifies it as a *chorion* close to the *poleis* of Adramyttion and Kisthene. The collective use of the ethnic *Πασσανδεύς* is attested in Ephor. fr. 235, a passage quoted directly by Stephanos. Nothing further is known about this community, and Stauber (1996*a*) i. 157 proposes no location for the site, except that it must have been situated somewhere on the coast between Ayvalık and Gömeç. *Barr.* C.

Pedaion (*Πήδαιον*) This is attested only as a Homeric community (*Il.* 13.172), governed by King Imbrios. Stauber (1996*a*) argues that it must be sought in the vicinity of Thebe, but does not attempt a more precise location. There is no evidence for a settlement by that name in Archaic or Classical times. *Barr.* A.

Pioniai (*Πιονίαι*) The earliest reference to the toponym is found in Paus. 9.18.4, who reports that it was located in Mysia beyond the Kaikos, and that, according to its inhabitants, it was founded by Pionis, a descendant of Herakles. Unless Pioniai was located at modern Gömeniç (as assumed in *Barr.*), where some pre-Hellenistic remains have been found (Stauber (1996*a*) i.95–96), there is no further evidence for a settlement of that name in the Archaic or Classical periods. The identification of Pioniai with the settlement on Gömeniç is rejected by Stauber (1996*a*) i.91–97. *Barr.* C.

Thyessos (*Θυεσσός*) The toponym has been suggested as an earlier name for the settlement Hermokapeleia on the basis of the account of Nikolaos of Damascus ((*FGrHist* 90) fr. 44, 9 (C1, rC6)). According to this account, it was a trading settlement founded by the merchant Thyessos, which was given freedom from taxation by the Lydian king Ardys. Steph. Byz. 319 classifies it as a *polis Lydias* and indicates the same origin of the settlement as Nikolaos. The identification made by Keil of Thyessos with the later Hermokapeleion has been accepted as plausible, but not certain, by Zgusta (1984) 187–88. *Barr.* C?

Thymbrara (*Θύμβραρα*, *Θύβαρνα*) The toponym is mentioned in Xen. *Cyr.* 6.2.11, as a place in which the Persian king held assemblies of his non-Greek troops from the southern satrapies even in Xenophon's own day (cf. *Cyr.* 7.1.45). The settlement is mentioned by Hanfmann and Waldbaum (1975). It has been suggested that it was identical with the location Thybarna mentioned by Diod. 14.80.2 quite close to Sardis, but see Zgusta (1984), s.v., who regards the identification as "possible but not necessary". There is no evidence that the settlement underwent a process of Hellenisation during the period with which we are concerned. *Barr.* C.

2. *Unidentified Settlements*

Belkahve See the site list in the introduction to the region of Ionia.

II. The *Poleis*

800. Adramyttion (Adramytenos) Map 56. Lat. 39.30, long. 26.55. Size of territory: ? Type A:*β*. The toponym is Ἀδραμύττ(ε)ιον, τό (Hdt. 7.42.1; Xen. *An.* 7.8.8; Kratinos fr. 508, *PCG*) or Ἀτραμύττιον, τό (Thuc. 5.1.1, 8.108.4). The city-ethnic is Ἀδραμυτηνός (*IG* II² 7941 (C3)) or, once, Ἀδραμου[ττανόν] (*IG* VII 2860 (C4l); cf. Fossey (1994) 37). Adramyttion is called a *polis* in the urban sense by Herodotos 7.42.1, and Ps.-Skylax 98 mentions Adramyttion under the heading πόλεις … Ἑλληνίδες αἵδε. That it was a *polis* in the political sense too is indicated by Aristotle's inclusion of Adramyttion in his collection of *politeiai* (Arist. fr. 473). The collective and internal use of the city-ethnic is attested on Hellenistic coins, in abbreviated forms on coins of the Classical period (*infra*). The external and individual use is attested in a federal *proxenia* decree of Boiotia, presumably passed in C4 (*IG* VII 2860).

Adramyttion probably was not a member of the Delian League: the restoration Ἀ[τραμυτ]ενοί in *IG* I² 192.III.13 has been rejected in *IG* I³ 260.IV.16, where the editor now reads Ἀ[ρισβαῖοι]. According to Thucydides 5.1.1 and 8.108.4, Persia retained firm control of Adramyttion in C5: Pharnakes, the satrap of Hellespontine Phrygia, allowed refugees from Delos, who had been driven out by the Athenians in 422, to settle at Adramyttion, where they seem to have remained until they were allowed to return home in 421/0 (Thuc. 5.32.1). Perhaps some of them stayed on: if the massacre of the Delians in Adramyttion by Arsakes (Thuc. 8.108.4) is to be placed in 411, as proposed e.g. by Stauber (1996*a*) i.133, this might suggest Delian settlement of a more permanent nature. On the problems related to Arsakes' murder of some of the Delians and Arsakes' connections with Tissaphernes and Pharnakes, see Gomme *et al.* (1981) 356–57, who follow the conventional view that the massacre took place *c.*421, and Hornblower (1996) 423–24. Presumably the *polis* remained under Persian control during most of C4 as well, although in Ps.-Skylax 98 it is described as a *polis Hellenis* and the region as being under Lesbos, perhaps in the period 404–386. It is conceivable that one of the Lesbian *poleis*, which had control of significant territory on the mainland, may also have controlled Adramyttion as a dependent *polis*.

The first epigraphical attestation of Adramyttion's relations with the rest of the Greek world is *IG* VII 2860 (C4), bestowing *proxenia* and other privileges on the Adramyttian honorand. However, a number of jugs "from Adramyttion" are recorded in a Delian inventory of 364/3 (*I.Delos* 104.12).

Silver and bronze coins were struck in Adramyttion by Orontas *c.*357–352 or perhaps in 362/1 in connection with the satrap's revolt (Troxell (1981); *contra* Moysey (1989)). For the "autonomous bronze coinage" struck in C4f with the legend of Adramyttion, see the catalogue in Stauber (1996*a*) ii.193–96 nos. 11–26. Types: *obv.* head of Zeus; *rev.* forepart of winged horse; legend: ΑΔΡΑ or ΑΔΡΑΜΥ. The full form of the ethnic (ΑΔΡΑΜΥΤΗΝΩΝ) is attested on coins of C2 and later: ibid. nos. 27ff.

As for the ethnic composition of the population of Adramyttion, the *polis* must have been sufficiently Hellenised in C4s to merit inclusion in Aristotle's collection of *politeiai*, but it may well have contained an ethnically mixed citizen body throughout the Classical period and even later. Later tradition largely agrees in regarding Adramyttion as a Lydian foundation. Aristotle (fr. 473, Gigon) claims that the *polis* was founded by Adramytos, the son of Alyattes and brother of Kroisos. Rival traditions are all later.

801. Aigai(ai) (Aigaieus) Map 56. Lat. 38.50, long. 27.10. Size of territory: ? Type A:*α*. The toponym is Αἰγαῖαι (Hdt. 1.149.1), Αἰγαί, αἱ (Ps.-Skylax 98; Strabo 13.3.5) or Αἰγαιεῖς (Xen. *Hell.* 4.8.5, probably corrupt). The city-ethnic is Αἰγαεύς (Michel 13.11 (C4l); Head, *HN*² 552 (C3)) or Αἰγαιεύς (Head, *HN*² 552 (C3); Polyb. 5.77.4). Suda Σ1898 notes the form Αἰγιεύς. As part of the original Aiolian *dodekapolis* Aigaiai is called a *polis* in the urban sense at Hdt. 1.149.1, with the territorial sense as a possible connotation, and in the political sense at Hdt. 1.150.2 and in a C4 inscription (Malay (1994) no. 515B l. 2). The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally in *Staatsverträge* 456.12 (C4l–C3). The earliest external attestations are Hellenistic (collective use: Polyb. 5.77.4; individual use: *SEG* 32 1322 (C3), Cyprus; *IG* XI.4 1042 (C3), Delos).

Little is known about the extent of Aigai's territory in the Archaic and Classical periods. However, a C4l treaty between Aigai and the community of the Olympenoi (*Staatsverträge* 456) was set up at a small ancient settlement near Yenice Köy, located *c.*5 km north-west of the urban centre of Aigai. Reinach (1891) 272 inferred from the inscription that the village was dependent on Aigai; but more evidence is needed to corroborate Reinach's interpretation.

Herodotos lists Aigai among the twelve original Aiolian *poleis* in 1.149.1, and Malay (1994) no. 515 is indeed written in the Aiolic dialect. The *polis* was not a member of the Delian League, and it may be assumed that the Persians maintained at least nominal control over the *polis* during C5 and C4. However, according to Xen. *Hell.* 4.8.5, in 394 Derkylidas claimed, presumably exaggerating, that even in Asia Minor itself there were *poleis* such as Temnos and Aigai where it would be possible to live without being subjected (*ὑπήκοοι*) to the Persian king.

Only one Aigaian treaty survives from the Classical period, *viz. Staatsverträge* 456, concluded between Aigai and the Olympenoi regulating the seasonal transhumance of flocks. Malay (1994) no. 515 is a public enactment (*ψάφιμμα*), which mentions officials (*ἀρχαί*, A.3) and a priest (*ἱερεύς*, A.5).

Bohn and Schuchhardt (1889) describe the visible remains of the urban centre of Aigai, which had been completely rebuilt after an earthquake in AD 17. Of older remains, only the inner city wall may be pre-Hellenistic (ibid. 10), and a second, larger, city wall may be dated with reasonable certainty to the reign of Eumenes II. The pre-Hellenistic wall is constructed in rough polygonal masonry and had a circumference of no more than 1 km, enclosing an area of triangular shape (ibid. 8–9), and this points to an urban centre of a modest size. Radt (1991) discusses remains of monumental architecture and argues in favour of connecting a C6 Aiolian capital with the site of Aigai.

The earliest coinage of Aigai dates from C3 (Head, *HN*[2] 552), although Head (1875) 293 tentatively assigned a number of electrum coins from 600–550 to Aigai.

802. Aigiroessa Unlocated. Type: A:*α*. The toponym is *Αἰγιρόεσσα* (Hdt. 1.149.1). The *polis* is attested only in Herodotos, who lists it as one of the twelve original Aiolian *poleis*. It is called a *polis* in the urban sense at 1.149.1, with the territorial sense as a possible connotation, and in the political sense at 1.150.2. It has been suggested by Stein (1883) 173 n. 3 that Aigiroessa is an earlier name of Elaia, which is not mentioned by Herodotos in his listing of Aiolian *poleis*. However, coins from Elaia with the legend *ΕΛΑΙ* are attested as far back as C5m (Head, *HN*[2] 554). Cook (1958–59) 4, 17 attempts to locate Aigiroessa at the site of Belkahve in Smyrnaian territory.

803. Atarneus (Artaneites) Map 56. Lat. 39.05, long. 26.55. Size of territory: ? Type: A:*β*. The toponym is *Ἀταρνεύς, ὁ* (Hdt. 6.28.2, 8.106.1; Arist. *Pol.* 1267[a]32; Isoc. 4.144; Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.11; Theopomp. fr. 291; Tod 165.32 = *I.Erythrai u. Klazomenai* 9 (C4m)). The city-ethnic is *Ἀταρν(ε)ίτης* (Hdt. 6.4.1; *IG* XII suppl. 142.117 (C2m); Callim. *Epigr.* 1.1; Strabo 13.1.60; Paus. 7.2.11). Atarneus is called *polis* in the urban sense in Ps.-Skylax 98. That it was a *polis* in the political sense too may, up to a point, be inferred from the treaty between Hermias of Atarneus and Erythrai of C4m (*infra*). The legend *ΑΤΑΡ* on C4 coins is presumably the collective and internal use of the city-ethnic (*infra*). The external use of the city-ethnic is attested collectively in *IG* XII suppl. 142.117 (C2m) and individually in Hdt. 6.4.1 and Callim. *Epigr.* 1.1. The territory is called *Ἀταρνείτις χώρη* (Hdt. 6.29.1) and comprised the location Malene (for the problems related to the identification of Malene, see Stauber (1996*a*) i.241–42).

According to Hdt. 1.160.4, the Chians gained possession of Atarneus in return for handing over Paktyes to Kyros in 547/6; see also Hdt. 8.106.1, who refers to Atarneus as in "Mysian territory" and occupied by Chians. However, Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.11 describes Atarneus as occupied by refugees from Chios, which may indicate that at that time it had turned into some kind of splinter community over which the Chians had lost control (compare, e.g., the relationship between Anaia and Samos during the Peloponnesian War). See also Diod. 13.65.4, mentioning how exiled Chian democrats used Atarneus as a base for their raids against the island in 409. Even during the tyranny of Hermias from *c.*355, it is clear that the Chians still maintained some interest in and had a claim to the site (Theopomp. fr. 291).

Tod 165 may be regarded as a treaty entered into by Atarneus with Erythrai in so far as the treaty concerned Atarneus as a community, if only indirectly, and was to be publicised in the sanctuary of Atarneus (Tod 165.32–33). On the other hand, the party to the treaty is Hermias rather than the *polis* as a whole, and it is significant that the delegates appointed to take the oath on behalf of Hermias and his associates are *not* referred to as representatives of the *polis* of Atarneus.

Atarneus is described as a city in Mysia (Hdt. 1.160.4; Isoc. 4.144). The site of Atarneus has been located on Kale Tepe, on which there are substantial remains of C4 buildings and a large preserved section of Atarneus' city wall dating from C5 or C4 (Stauber (1996*a*) i.269–72). The city wall is also attested in Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.11 and Arist. *Pol.* 1267[a]32, both of which relate to sieges of Atarneus, in 398/7 and *c.*350 respectively. The site in Kale Tepe has yielded a considerable amount of surface finds from C4, pottery as well as tiles (Stauber (1996*a*) i.271), which suggests occupation of a relatively high density. A sanctuary (*ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἀταρνέως*) is designated as a site in which the treaty between Hermias and Erythrai is to be displayed (Tod 165.32).

Atarneus struck coins in silver and bronze from *c.*400 onwards: *obv.* head of Apollo, or head of goddess; *rev.* coiled snake; legend: ΑΤΑ or ΑΤΑΡ (Stauber (1996*a*) ii.270–79, cat. nos. 1–33; *SNG Cop. Mysia* 21–27).

The ethnic composition of the population cannot be determined with certainty. When the Chians "bought" Atarneus from Kyros in return for handing over the refugee Paktyes (Hdt. 1.160.4), there may have been a non-Greek population already dwelling there, and we do not know if they were expelled by the Chian settlers. But Himerius (*Orat.* 40.6–7 = Arist. fr. 675, Rose) suggests, for what it is worth, that the process of Hellenisation may not have been complete even in Aristotle's day. Himerius, who calls Atarneus a πόλις Μυσῶν, does not indicate the origin of this anecdote.

804. Autokane (Autokanaios?) Unlocated, unless identical with Kane. Map 56. Lat. 39.00, long. 26.50. Size of territory: ? Type: B:? The toponym is Αὐτοκάνη (*Hymn. Hom. Ap.* 35). The legend Αὐτοκάνα on C4 coins (*infra*) may be the toponym, but is perhaps better interpreted as an abbreviated form of the city-ethnic Αὐτοκανα(ίων). In the Homeric Hymn the toponym designates a mountain, but on the coins it must designate a homonymous settlement. The city-ethnic is unattested, unless the legend on the C4 coins is an abbreviated form. Also, οἱ Καναῖοι mentioned in a Thessalian inscription of C2 (*IG* IX.2 1105a) may perhaps be the citizens of Aiolian (Auto)kane. The status of Autokane is uncertain. Apart from the numismatic evidence we have no information about this settlement; but we know that the mountain Autokane (referred to as Κάνη in Hdt. 7.42.1) was adjacent to the *polis* of Kane/Kanai, which had two harbours (Schuchhardt (1887) 1209 and Tomascheck (1891) 25). One of these may have been Autokane. Other scholars have suggested that Autokane and Kanai were identical (*Barr.*). This hypothesis may be supported by the fact that we have no numismatic evidence for Kanai, which is otherwise quite well attested: it is recorded, e.g., in a C2 Delphian list of *theorodokoi* (*BCH* 45 (1921) 1 ID(a) 10). For a summary of this discussion, see Stauber (1996*a*) ii.274–77. If Autokane is to be identified with Kane, it must have contained a sanctuary of Artemis Orthosia: *I.Adramytteion* 47 (C4 or C3e) found at Bademlı (Kane) is either a *horos* of her *temenos* or an inscribed altar.

Autokane struck bronze coins from C4m on: *obv.* laureate head of Zeus, or of Asklepios, or of Apollo; *rev.* head of Athena wearing Attic helmet, or head of Dionysos with wreath, or female head, or olive wreath; legend: ΑΥΤΟΚΑΝΑ or abbreviations down to ΑΥΤ (Stauber (1996*a*) ii.266–68, cat. nos. 1–18; *SNG Cop. Aeolis* 26–27).

805. *Boione Unlocated. Type: C:? The toponym is unattested, but may be reconstructed tentatively from the legend ΒΟΙΩΝΙΤΙΚΟΝ on late Classical/early Hellenistic coins. Most bronze coins have been found in the Hermos river valley (Imhoof-Blumer (1890) 631; Babelon, *Traité* ii.2. 1177–78), and the coin types and craftsmanship resemble the coins struck in Larisa Phrikonis. A different location in Lydia was suggested by Leake (1856) 145. Although most coins are conventionally dated to C3, bronze coinage dated to C4 is described by Wroth in *BMC Troas* 101. Types: *obv.* female head l., wearing ear-ring and necklace; *rev.* bull standing; legend: ΒΟΙΩΝΙΤΙΚΟΝ or ΒΟΙΩΝΙΤΙΚΟΣ (*SNG Cop. Aeolis* 28–29, giving 310 as the *terminus post quem*).

806. Chalkis (Chalkideus) Map 56. Lat. 39.15, long. 26.35 (but note that the identification of Chalkis with modern Çiplakada is not entirely certain). Size of territory: 1. Type: C:? The toponym Χαλκίς and the city-ethnic Χαλκιδεύς are known only from Steph. Byz. 685.1, who does not cite his source. The legend ΧΑ on C4 coins is presumably an abbreviated form of the city-ethnic (*infra*). If the identification of Chalkis with modern Çiplakada is correct, the territory of this community was *c.*2.5 km². Çiplakada belongs to a group of twenty-three islands known as *Hekatonnesoi*, first mentioned by Herodotos (1.151.2), who reports on one Aiolian *polis* there (no. 823). It is very unlikely that he has the settlement at Çiplakada in mind, however: the larger *polis* Pordoselene/Nasos is a far more plausible candidate. The island has yet to be excavated, but Stauber and his team have reported substantial surface finds that point to a sizeable Hellenistic–Roman settlement. They also observed a fortification wall, the lower courses of which appear to be quite old (Stauber (1996*a*) i.228), and find it highly plausible that the island contained a settlement in the Classical period (C5/C4). Stauber ((1996*a*) ii.280–82) ascribes C4 bronze coinage to this community, but with caution. Types: *obv.* female head r. (Artemis?); *rev.* spearhead; legend: ΧΑ. For a summary of the discussion, see Stauber (1996*a*) ii.282, who concurs with the majority of numismatists in regarding a Carian origin (Chalketor) for these coins as utterly implausible.

807. Elaia (Elaiites) Map 56. Lat. 38.55, long. 27.05. Size of territory: 2 or 3. Type: [A]:α. The toponym is Ἐλαία, ἡ (*IG* I³ 268.II.28; Ps.-Skylax 98; Polyb. 21.10.2) or Ἐλαιέα (*IG* I³ 266.I.17). The city-ethnic is Ἐλαΐτης (*I.Délos* 103.34 (C4f);

Paus. 5.24.6) or *Ἐλαιίτης* (*IG* I³ 261.III.4; *PEP Chios* 53.9 (no date)). According to Steph. Byz. 263.9–10, the community was also known by another toponym, *Κιδαινίς*. In Ps.-Skylax 98 Elaia is one of the toponyms listed after the heading *πόλεις … Ἑλληνίδες … αἵδε*. Elaia is called a *polis* in the political sense in Plut. *Phokion* 18.7 in a retrospective C4 context, referring to instructions given by Alexander the Great to Krateros to capture the city and hand over control to Phokion, a plan which did not succeed. The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally on Hellenistic coins (*SNG Cop. Aeolis* 177ff), in abbreviated forms on coins of the Classical period (*infra*), and externally in the Athenian tribute lists (*infra*); the individual use is attested externally in *IG* XII.6 23 (C4l).

Very little is known about the history of Elaia. Herodotos does not mention it in his list of original Aiolian foundations (1.149.1), and the hypothesis that Elaia was originally known as the otherwise unattested Aigiroessa in Herodotos' list is not supported by any available evidence. The alternative explanation offered by Bürchner (1905), that Elaia was founded as an Athenian colony and therefore was never counted as a member of the Aiolian *dodekapolis*, rests primarily on the tradition that names Menestheus with his Athenian troops as its founder (Strabo 13.3.5; but note that in 13.1.67 he refers to Elaia as a *polis Aiolike*).

Elaia was a member of the Delian League. It belonged to the Ionian district and is recorded in the tribute lists sometimes by toponym (*IG* I³ 266.I.17), while in other lists the entries are by the collective form of the city-ethnic (*IG* I³ 261.III.4). It is recorded from 454/3 (*IG* I³ 259.I.16, restored) to 421/20 (*IG* I³ 285.II.8–9) a total of fifteen times, once completely restored, paying in all years a *phoros* of 1,000 dr. (*IG* I³ 261.III.4).

In C4l, Horismos Damasistratou of Elaia received *proxenia* and citizenship from Samos after the restoration of the Samians to their island (*IG* XII.6 23). The Elaians made a communal dedication of a beardless image of Zeus at Olympia (Paus. 5.24.6, who does not give a date).

The site was described by Bürchner (1905). The oldest city wall (probably C3) enclosed an area of *c.*6 ha. An acropolis was located on the hill Maltepe (Bean (1966) 112–14).

Elaia struck silver coins *c.*460–400 and bronze coins after *c.*340. (1) Silver: types: *obv.* head of Athena, wearing close-fitting crested helmet; *rev.* olive wreath, the whole in incuse square; legend: *ΕΛΑΙ* (r. to l.). (2) Bronze.: types: *obv.* head of Athena l. wearing close-fitting or Corinthian crested helmet; *rev.* corn-grain between two olive branches or in olive wreath, or horseman in olive wreath; legend: *ΕΛ*, sometimes *ΕΛΑΙ* (Babelon, *Traité* II.2. 29; *BMC Troas* p. 125; *SNG Cop. Aeolis* 164–76).

808. Gambrion (Gambreiotes) Map 56. Lat. 39.05, long. 27.20. Size of territory: ? Type: A:? The toponym is *Γάμβριον, τό* (Xen. *Hell.* 3.1.6). The full form of the city-ethnic, *Γαμβρειώτης*, is not attested earlier than C3l (*Syll.*³ 1219.4 = Michel 520 = *LSAM* 16), but the legend *ΓΑΜ* on the C4 coins is presumably an abbreviated form. Gambrion is called a *polis* in Xen. *Hell.* 3.1.6, where *polis* is used in the urban and political senses combined. It was a town captured by Thibron, but it is also described as a personal fief which had been given by the Persian king to Gongylos of Eretria in C5, whose descendants were still in control in early C4. Thus, *polis* is used in the political sense too, denoting Gambrion as well as its surrounding territory from which troops could be recruited and taxes levied. For a discussion of such fiefdoms, see e.g. Briant (1985). The community must have been under Persian control throughout the Classical period, presumably as part of the satrapy of Lydia. An inscription of 326/5, found in Gambrion, records a gift of land, house and garden by Krateuas (presumably a Makedonian) to Aristomenes (*Syll.*³ 302 = Guarducci (1974) 310–11). In the preamble (4–5) it gives the name of Menander (*Μενάνδ[ρ]ου σατραπεύοντος*), who was given the Lydian satrapy by Alexander the Great. An eponymous official (*πρύτανις*) is mentioned; but it is suggestive that there is no mention of any Gambrian decision-making body. The inscription suggests that the Makedonians may have controlled land-ownership directly. The extent to which Gambrion had undergone a process of Hellenisation during the Classical period is unknown.

Gambrion struck coins of silver and bronze throughout C4. (1) Silver: types: *obv.* laureate head of Apollo; *rev.* forepart of butting bull; legend: *ΓΑΜ*. (2) Bronze: *obv.* head of Apollo; *rev.* forepart of bull, or star, or tripod; legend: *ΓΑΜ*. (*BMC Mysia* p. 62; *SNG von Aulock* 1085–89 and *SNG Cop. Mysia* 144–63. See also Babelon, *Traité* II.2. 18–19.)

809. Gryneion/Gryneia (Gryneieus) Map 56. Lat. 38.55, long. 27.05. Size of territory: 1 or 2. Type: A:α. The toponym is *Γρύνεια, ἡ* (Hecat. fr. 225; Hdt. 1.149.1) or *Γρύνειον, τό* (Ps.-Skylax 98; Xen. *Hell.* 3.1.6; Bean (1974–75) 85–87 no. 21 (C2)) or *Γρύνιον* (Diod. 17.7.9) or *Γρύνεια, τά* (Steph. Byz. 213.15). The city-ethnic is *Γρυνειεύς* (*IG* I³ 265.I.17) or *Γρυνεύς* (Krateros (*FGrHist* 342) fr. 2; cf. *IG* I³ 266.I.3, restored) or *Γυρνεύς* (*SNG Cop. Aeolis* 202–7 (C3)). As part of the original Aiolian *dodekapolis* Gryneion is called a *polis* in the urban sense at Hdt. 1.149.1, with the territorial sense as

a possible connotation, and in the political sense at Hdt. 1.150.2 and in a C4l inscription (*Iscr. Cos* ED 71 B.3). At Xen. *Hell.* 3.1.6 *polis* is used in the urban and political senses combined, denoting a dependent *polis* (*infra*). In Ps.-Skylax 98 Gryneion is one of the toponyms listed after the heading *πόλεις ... Ἑλληνίδες ... αἵδε*. In *Iscr. Cos* ED 71 B.5 *politeia* is used in the sense of citizenship. The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally in *Iscr. Cos* ED 71 B.4 and on C3 coins (*SNG Cop. Aiolis* 202–7) and externally in the Athenian tribute lists (*IG* I³ 265.I.17).

Xenophon refers to Gryneion as one of the personal fiefs which had been given to Gongylos by the Persian king in C5, and which were still controlled by his descendants in C4e (*Hell.* 3.1.6; see also Briant (1985)). Yet Gryneion was a member of the Delian League. It belonged to the Ionian district and is recorded from 453/2 (*IG* I³ 260.VII.16) to 428/7 (*IG* I³ 283.III.18) a total of thirteen times, three times completely restored, paying a *phoros* of first 1,000 dr. but from 433/2, 2,000 dr. (*IG* I³ 279.I.59). This suggests that the Persian king (and probably also Gongylos and his family) did not exercise control over Gryneion at least during C5s. In 335/4 Gryneion was captured by Parmenion, who subjected its population to *andrapodismos* (Diod. 17.7.9); but the attested C3 coinage (*SNG Cop. Aeolis* 202–7) along with Segre *Iscr. Cos* ED 71 B (C4l) shows that resettlement must have happened soon afterwards.

The earliest detailed information about the political institutions is found in *Iscr. Cos* ED 71 B (C4l). The decree, passed by *boule* (*βόλλα*) and assembly (*δᾶμος*), bestows citizenship, *proxenia*, *egktesis ges kai oikias*, and privileged access to the courts on the Koan honorand. The grant of citizenship, *egktesis*, and *dikai prodikoi* is to be ratified by vote in the assembly (ll. 4–7). Diplomatic relations through embassies are also attested in this decree.

Gryneion contained a sanctuary and oracle of Apollo Gryneieus (*I.Delos* 104 (8) B (C4m)), which was still operating as late as C1 (Bean (1974–75) 85–87 no. 21 and discussion of the oracle and sanctuary in Ragone (1990)). Recent excavations have uncovered a cemetery with graves of C7–C4 (Mitchell (1999) 143).

810. Halisarna Map 56. Lat. 39.05, long. 27.05. Size of territory: ? Type: A:? The toponym is *Ἁλίσαρνα, ἡ* (Xen. *Hell.* 3.1.6; *An.* 7.8.17). Halisarna is called a *polis* in Xen. *Hell.* 3.1.6, where *polis* is used in the urban and political senses combined. It is a town captured by Thibron, but it is also reported that Halisarna was ruled, presumably as a tyranny (*ἦρχον*), by Prokles and Eurysthenes, descendants of Demaratos of Lakedaimon (see also *An.* 7.8.17, indicating that Halisarna was ruled by Prokles). For Demaratos, who was given "land and cities" (*γῆν τε καὶ πόλιας*) by the Persian king in 486, see Hdt. 6.70. See also Briant (1985). In Xen. *Hell.* 3.1.6, Halisarna is mentioned together with the *poleis* Pergamon and Teuthrania, all of which were given to Demaratos: Xenophon's phrasing *αὕτη ἡ χώρα* suggests that the territories of the three cities were not far apart.

There is a possible solution to the conflict between Xenophon and Steph. Byz. 75.9–10, which places Halisarna in the Troad: the Stephanos entry has *τὸ ἐθνικὸν ὁ αὐτὸς Ἁλισαρναῖος*. This is a strong indication that the original entry may have referred to two or more sites of the same name, and that the epitomiser has left out references to the community mentioned by Xenophon. Nothing is known about the ethnic composition of Halisarna's citizen body.

811. Herakleia(?) (Herakleotas) Map 56. Lat. 38.45, long. 27.10. Size of territory: ? Type: B:? The toponym may be attested in Steph. Byz. 303.17 (*γ' Λυδίας*); see the discussion in Robert (1937) 115–16, who also dismisses the identification of this Herakleia with the *κ' πόλις πρὸς τῇ Κυμαίᾳ τῆς Αἰολίδος* in Steph. Byz. 304.1. The city-ethnic *Ἡρακλεώτης* is attested in *Syll.*³ 934 (C5), where the collective use of the city-ethnic is attested externally. This inscription is a boundary stone marking the frontier between the territory of the Herakleotai and that of the Melampagitai. The collective and internal use is presumably attested in abbreviated form on C4 coins (*infra*). Ramsay (1881) 297 argued in favour of locating Herakleia at a site near the station at Emir Aalem where he observed "a grass-grown tumulus, and a little beyond it is a hill, with remains of a small fortified town. The walls could be traced all round the hill, sometimes appearing above the ground, sometimes showing only a slight elevation in the grassy hill. The style of building was not apparent, but was certainly not the finer kind of Greek work." Keil (1913) 163–64 adopted a more cautious position, pointing out that there were remains of many ancient settlements in the area, none of which can be identified with Herakleia with any certainty.

Herakleia struck silver coins in C5: types: *obv.* head of eagle and traces of letters; *rev.* square incuse; legend: *HPAK*. The similarity between the Herakleian coins and the coins minted by C5 Kyme is noted by Mørkholm (1964) 77.

812. Iolla (Iolleus) Map 56. Unlocated, but probably near Adramyttion. Size of territory: ? Type: C:? The toponym is *IOΛΛA*, the city-ethnic is *IOΛΛEΩN* (of *Ἰολλεύς*), both attested only on coins (*infra*). The location of Iolla

remains conjectural: see most recently Stauber (1996*b*) 106, who suggests Fughla Tepe near Boirazlı/Kızıklı. Robert (1937) 167–68 suggested that the river Ollius mentioned by Pliny, *HN* 5.121–23 is a distortion of the name Iolla, and that the community may have adopted the name of the river.

Iolla struck bronze coins throughout C4. (1) *C.*400: *obv.* head of Hermes; *rev.* forepart of Pegasos; legend: *ΙΟΛΛΑ*. (2) *C.*350: *obv.* head of Zeus; *rev.* forepart of Pegasos; legend: *ΙΟΛΛΕΩΝ* or, sometimes, *ΙΟΛΛΑ* (Stauber (1996*a*) ii.248–49 nos. 1–8).

Nothing is known about the ethnic composition of Iolla's citizen body.

813. Karene (Karenaios) Map 56. Lat. 39.10, long. 26.50. Size of territory: ? Type: A:? The toponym is *Καρήνη, ἡ* (Hdt. 7.42). The city-ethnic is *Καρηναῖος* (Krateros (*FGrHist* 342) fr. 2). The site cannot be located with precision: see Stauber (1996*a*) i.241–46, who suggests the hill Ag. Ilias (Gökçeağıl) as a possibility. Karene is called a *polis* in Hdt. 7.42.1, principally in the territorial sense. That it was a *polis* in the political sense too is indicated by its membership of the Delian League (*infra*). The collective use of the city-ethnic is found externally in Krateros fr. 2, a direct quotation from his *On Psephismata* book 3: *Γρυνεῖς, Πιταναῖοι, Καρηναῖοι*. This quotation may suggest that Karene was recorded as a member of the Delian League in the assessment list of 454/3, although the city-ethnic is not found in any of the surviving Athenian tribute lists or tribute assessments, as argued by Meritt (*ATL* i. 495–96). Their proposition that Karene belonged to the Lesbian or Chian *peraiai* in the Classical period is plausible, but cannot be verified. According to Ephor. fr. 126, a contingent of citizens of Karene settled in Ephesos in connection with a *stasis* shortly after the foundation of Ephesos and gave their name to one of the five Ephesian *phylai*.

814. Killa Map 56. Unlocated. Type: A:*α*. The toponym is *Κίλλα, ἡ* (Hdt. 1.149.1; Strabo 13.1.62). The city-ethnic is not attested. As part of the original Aiolian *dodekapolis* Killa is called a *polis* in the urban sense at Hdt. 1.149.1, with the territorial sense as a possible connotation, and in the political sense at Hdt. 1.150.2. This Killa, situated somewhere near Antandros (Strabo. 13.1.62), is probably not identical with the "Homeric" Killa in the Troad (Hom. *Il* 1.38, 452; see Stauber (1996*a*) i.31–33).

815. Kisthene Map 56. Lat. 39.25, long. 26.50. Size of territory: ? Type: B:*γ*. The toponym is *Κισθήνη, ἡ* (Isoc. 4.153). The full form of the city-ethnic is not attested, but the legend *ΚΙΣΘΗ* on C4 coins is presumably an abbreviated form (*infra*). Kisthene has been located (with some caution) at Gömeç by Stauber (1996*a*) i.159–62. According to Isoc. 4.153, Kisthene was conquered by Agesilaos and his troops in 397, and the soldiers were rewarded with 100 tal. This piece of information must be taken with a grain of salt; but if this figure is anywhere near the truth, it is an important indication of the prosperity of Kisthene.

Kisthene struck coins in C4. (1) Silver and bronze issued by Orontas *c.*357–352 (or perhaps in 362/1: for this dispute, see Troxell (1981); *contra* Moysey (1989)). Types: *obv.* hoplite, or head of Orontas; legend: sometimes *K*; *rev.* forepart of winged boar, or horseman; legend: *OPONTA* or *ΚΙΣ* or *ΚΙΣΘΑ*. (2) Bronze coins, C4s: *obv.* head of Demeter; *rev.* horseman with bee or dolphin; legend: *ΚΙΣ* or *ΚΙΣΘΗ* (Stauber (1996*a*) ii.261–64, cat. nos. 1–5 (1), nos. 6–7 (2); *SNG Cop. Ionia* 26 (1)).

816. Kyllene Map 56. Lat. 38.45, long. 26.50. Size of territory: 1 or 2. Type: A:*γ*. The toponym is *Κυλλήνη, ἡ* (Xen. *Cyr.* 7.1.45). Kyllene is called a *polis* in Xen. *Cyr.* 7.1.45 in a retrospective C6 context, describing how Kyros gave Kyllene and Larisa to his Egyptian troops in 546. Presumably *polis* is used here in its territorial sense, denoting Kyllene's urban centre and its hinterland. But the reference to the Egyptians' unfailing loyalty indicates that the political sense is a connotation. Xenophon claims that in his day the *polis* is still inhabited by the descendants of the Egyptians. It is not known what proportion (if any) of its citizen body would be perceived as Greek.

817. Kyme (Kymaios) Map 56. Lat. 38.45, long. 26.55. Size of territory: 2 or 3. Type: A:*α*. The toponym is *Κύμη, ἡ* (Hes. *Op.* 636; Hdt. 1.149.1; Thuc. 3.31.1; Ps.-Skylax 98; *SEG* 23 189.II.18 (*c.*330)). The city-ethnic is *Κυμαῖος* (Hdt. 1.158, 4.138; *IG* I^3 71.I.124). According to Steph. Byz. 80.23–25, Hecat. fr. 226 provided an alternative toponym, *Ἀμαζόνιον*, and at 1.149.1 Herodotos has *Κύμη ἡ Φρικωνὶς καλεομένη* (according to Strabo 13.1.3, called Phrikonis after Mt. Phrikion in Lokris). As part of the original Aiolian *dodekapolis* Kyme is called a *polis* in the urban sense at Hdt. 1.149.1 and 5.123.1, in both cases with the territorial sense as a possible connotation, and in the political sense at Hdt. 1.150.2. The urban sense is also attested at Thuc. 3.31.1 and Ps.-Skylax 98, and the political sense at Hdt. 4.137.2, 138.2 and 5.37.2–38.1, where Kyme is listed under the heading *polis* among a number of tyrannically governed communities. Aristotle included Kyme among his *politeiai*: *Κυμαίων πολιτεία* = no. 90 frr. 530–31; Heracl. Lemb. 36–39. The

word *astos* is used about the citizens of Kyme in Hdt. 1.158.2. The collective and internal use of the city-ethnic is attested on Hellenistic coins (*SNG Cop. Aeolis* 103–15), in abbreviated forms on coins of the Classical period (*infra*); the external use is attested in literary sources (Hdt. 1.157.3) and in the Athenian tribute lists (*IG* I³ 261.v.2). The individual use is attested externally in Hdt. 4.138.2, 5.37.1 and *IG* II² 9116 (C4).

The territory was called Κυμαία, ἡ (Thuc. 8.101.2), and it comprised a settlement called Blakeia (Arist. fr. 531.1–2). Idil (1989) 529 reported on the existence of two harbours, both of which were probably used for military purposes in C5 and C4. Ps.-Skylax 98 mentions only one (see map in Bean (1966) 104 fig 15).

Kyme was a dependent *polis* in the Persian Empire: Hdt. 7.194.1 mentions a Sandokes son of Thamasios, ὁ ἀπὸ τῆς Κύμης τῆς Αἰολίδος ὕπαρχος, who served as general in Xerxes' fleet. We do not know if Kyme participated in the Ionian Revolt: the only Aiolians mentioned specifically by Herodotos are the Lesbians, and from his account it appears that there was no Kymaian naval contingent present at the battle of Lade. In C5 Kyme was a member of the Delian League. It belonged to the Ionian district and is recorded from 452/1 (*IG* I³ 261.v.2) to 421/20 (*IG* I³ 285.II.10) a total of thirteen times, twice completely restored. In the first years it paid 12 tal., from 448/7 reduced to 9 tal. (*IG* I³ 264.I.13). It was assessed for tribute in 425/4 (*IG* I³ 71.I.124). In 411 Kyme supplied a contingent of fifty hoplites to help the Spartans and Methymnaians against the Athenians and the Mytilenaians (Thuc. 8.100.3). In 408 the Kymaians sent an embassy to Athens to complain of Alkibiades' conduct (Diod. 13.73.6). Kymaians appointed *theorodokoi* to host *theoroi* from Argos (*SEG* 23 189.II.18 (330–324)), and to host *theoroi* from Nemea (*SEG* 36 331.II.34–35 (331/30–313)).

Little is known about the constitutional history of Kyme. Herakleides (*Polit.* 10.16) reports that Pheidon and later Prometheus legislated in order to enfranchise more citizens (perhaps after 700). According to Pheidon's law, the franchise was given to citizens who could breed at least one horse. Later Prometheus included another thousand citizens in the constitution. The constitution was replaced by a tyranny at the bidding of Kyros (Herakleides, *Polit.* 11.5: Κῦρος δὲ καταλύσας τὴν πολιτείαν μοναρχεῖσθαι αὐτοὺς ἐποίησεν). According to Arist. fr. 530, 1–2, the official title of the tyrant was αἰσυμνήτης. *C.*512 the tyrant of Kyme was Aristagoras, son of Herakleides (Hdt. 4.138.2), who was deposed in 500/499, but not killed by the Kymaians (Hdt. 5.37–38). Later (perhaps much later) the *polis* had a democratic constitution which, again, was replaced by an oligarchy on the instigation of a certain Thrasymachos, who is characterised as a "demagogos" (Arist. *Pol.* 1304^{b}41–5^{a}1, probably referring to Aiolic Kyme; cf. Aubonnet in the Budé edn. p. 171 n. 2). The *stasis* was triggered by the democrats using their power to soak the rich (^{b}20–24). One of Plutarch's *Quaestiones Graecae*—presumably derived from the Aristotelian collection of *politeiai*—concerns Kyme, probably Aiolian Kyme, and mentions a *boule*, a board of *basileis* and a magistrate in charge of the *desmoterion* (Plut. *Mor.* 291E–92A). So far, the only surviving public enactment antedating 306 is *I.Kyme* 1, a C4l honorary decree passed by the *demos*. Arist. *Pol.* 1268^{b}–1269^{a} refers to legislation (*nomos*) on homicide. Free non-citizens appear to have been resident in Kyme: a funerary inscription found at Kyme near the sanctuary of Isis and datable to C4 commemorates a citizen of Lampsakos (*BCH* 51 (1927) p. 386 no. 7). The inscription *SEG* 47 1663 (*c.*500) mentions two foreigners, one from Paros and one from Samos.

In 546 the Kymaians sent θεοπρόποι to the oracle in Branchidai (Hdt. 1.157–60). According to Diod. 15.18.2, Kyme and Klazomenai consulted the oracle in Delphi in 383, shortly after the death of Tachos, in connection with their dispute over Leukai, which contained an Apollo sanctuary (Fontenrose (1978) H15).

Until now few remains of Archaic and Classical public architecture have been excavated. An Isis temple, excavated by Salac in 1925, may have dated back to C4, perhaps originally dedicated to a different goddess (Kybele/Artemis, later also Aphrodite, as suggested by Idil (1989) 527). Akurgal (1956) 12 reported on a C4 capital. Schäfer and Schläger (1962) 52 describe a pier, in part from C6. Recent deep soundings have revealed a late Archaic building on one of Kyme's two acropolises (Gates (1997)). Kyme was probably fortified as early as C6 (Hdt. 1.160.1, who reports on the reluctance by the citizens of Kyme to incur the risk of a siege in 546). Recently, Archaic walls have been discovered beneath the Hellenistic fortifications (Gates (1994) 275). The city was besieged by Tissaphernes *c.*400 (Diod. 14.35.7).

Kyme struck coins of silver and bronze from C7l onwards. Denominations: stater, hemidrachm, hemiobol. (1) Silver, C7l: *obv.* forepart of horse, beneath, monogram (?); *rev.* incuse square containing ornamented star, beside it (as countermark) smaller incuse square containing a star of different design. (2) Silver, *c.*480–450: *obv.* eagle's head; legend: ΚΥ; *rev.* incuse square of mill-sail pattern. (3) Silver, *c.*350–320: *obv.* forepart of horse, or eagle standing; legend: ΚΥ; *rev.* forepart of horse, or rosette; legend: ΚΥ or magistrate's name. (4) Bronze, *c.*350–320: *obv.* eagle standing, or forepart

of horse; legend: magistrate's name and/or *KY*; *rev.* vase with one handle; legend: *KY*. (Babelon, *Traité* ii.2. 1169–72 nos. 2058–63, (1930) 28; *BMC Troas* 104–5; *SNG Cop. Aeolis* 30–86.)

According to Ephor. fr. 114, Kyme was founded by Amazons. Kyme reportedly colonised (or participated in the colonisations of) (1) Kebren in the Troad (Ephor. fr. 10); (2) Ainos in Thrace, which was first founded by Alopekonnesioi and later received *epoikoi* from Mytilene and Kyme (Ephor. fr. 39); and (3) Side in Pamphylia (Ps.-Skylax 101; Arr. *Anab.* 1.26; Strabo 14.4.2).

818. Larisa (Larisaios) Map 56. Lat. 38.40, long. 27.00. Size of territory: ? Type: A:*β*. The toponym is *Λήρισαι, αἱ* (Hdt. 1.149.1) or *Λάρισα, ἡ* (Xen. *Hell.* 3.1.7), sometimes distinguished from other towns called Larisa by the epithets *Φρικωνίς* (Strabo 13.3.4, explained at 13.1.3; cf. *supra* 1043) or *Αἰγυπτία* (Xen. *Hell.* 3.1.7). The city-ethnic is *Λαρισαῖος* (Xen. *Hell.* 3.1.7) or *Λῃρισαῖος* (*IG* I³ 71.1.152, but see *infra*). The legend *ΛΑΡΙΣΑΙ* on C4 coins is presumably an abbreviated form of the city-ethnic rather than the toponym (*infra*). As part of the original Aiolian *dodekapolis* Larisa is called a *polis* in the urban sense at Hdt. 1.149.1, with the territorial sense as a possible connotation, and in the political sense at Hdt. 1.150.2. Larisa is called a *polis* in Xen. *Cyr.* 7.1.45 in a retrospective C6 context, describing how Kyros gave Kyllene and Larisa to his Egyptian troops in 546. Presumably *polis* is used here in its topographical sense, denoting Larisa's urban centre and its hinterland. But the reference to the Egyptians' unfailing loyalty indicates that the political sense is a connotation. The collective use of the city-ethnic is presumably attested internally on coins (*infra*). It is attested externally at Xen. *Hell.* 3.1.7 and possibly in the Athenian assessment decree of 425/4 (*IG* I³ 71.1.152). The toponym is restored in the assessment decree of 422/1 (*IG* I³ 77.IV.19). Larisa was perhaps claimed by the Athenians as a member of the Delian League: the city-ethnic *Λεϱισαῖοι* in *IG* I³ 71.1.152 is listed in the Ionian district immediately after *Πυγελῆς*, which might indicate that the reference is to the other Larisa at Ephesos. However, it is impossible to draw any firm geographical conclusion on the basis of the sequence of *poleis* in the Athenian lists, and the city-ethnic of Ephesian Larisa attested in inscriptions of the Roman period (e.g. *I.Ephesos* 3272 and 3274) is *Λαρισηνός*, which indicates that the Larisa in the assessment decree is in fact the one in Aiolis.

There is no epigraphical attestation of Larisa's diplomatic relations with the outside world before the early Hellenistic period (Fraser, *Samothrace* II.1 no. 23 1–2 (C3l/C2e), which mentions *theoroi*).

Schefold (1933) 145–48 reports on stoas from the Archaic and Classical periods (C6f and C5). In his publication he also reported that on the acropolis, three-quarters of which had been excavated, he had found remains of a road, walls, towers, gates, an altar and temple, a palace and wells, all of which seemed to date from the Archaic period. The fortifications, however, have later been downdated to C5 (Lang (1996) 228–29). Lang's account ((1996) 224) mentions a pre-Greek cult site, on top of which a small C6 temple was built, followed by a much larger temple *c.*530. The palace, of the *bit-hilani* type, was constructed in three phases in C6, with later work of rebuilding *c.*400 (Boehlau and Schefold (1940) 27–30). For a very useful summary of the remains of Archaic Larisa, see Lang (1996) 224–31. Water was supplied to the fortified city by pipes (Xen. *Hell.* 3.1.7). Schefold (1933) 148 described two cisterns and a well of polygonal masonry next to a large building complex from C5. The building may have been used for public administration.

Larisa was walled in C4 (Xen. *Hell.* 3.1.7), and the remains of the C4 fortification of both the acropolis and the town are described in Boehlau and Schefold (1940) 52–56.

The coinage of Larisa Phrikonis has generated a good deal of controversy. The coins in question are C4 issues of silver and bronze. (1) Silver: *obv.* female head wearing sphendone; *rev.* amphora; legend: *ΛΑΡΙΣΑΙ*. (2) Bronze: *obv.* bearded head; *rev.* amphora between corn-gain, r. and *ΛΑΡΙΣΑΙ*, l. (3) Bronze: *obv.* female head l.; *rev.* amphora; above, bunch of grapes; on l., caduceus; on r., ear of corn; legend: *ΛΑΡΙ*. (4) Bronze: *obv.* horned river-god three-quarters facing to. r.; *rev.* Apollo laureate; legend: *ΛΑ*. (5) Bronze: *obv.* head of river-god; *rev.* head of bull; legend: *ΛΑ*. All five issues are ascribed to Larisa Phrikonis by Head, *HN*² 555. *SNG Cop. Aeolis* 208–12 ascribe (3) and (4) to Larisa Phrikonis. In *BMC Troas* p. 134 (3) and (4) are ascribed to Larisa in Troas. On the problem relating to the attribution of coins to each of the three Asian *poleis* called Larisa, see Imhoof-Blumer (1901–2) 1171–76 nos. 2064–70 and Robert (1951) 47–64, who wants the amphora types (1)–(4), with both male and female heads, to be ascribed to Larisa in the Troad, while the "bull-types" (5) should be assigned to Larisa Phrikonis on the grounds that a similar type was minted in Boione, which presumably was located nearby in the Hermos valley; cf. also Robert (1982).

In 546 Kyros gave Larisa to his Egyptian troops, whose descendants were still inhabiting the *polis* in Xenophon's day (Xen. *Cyr.* 7.1.45). The presence of a non-Greek element may explain the existence of a palace. However, the presence of an Archaic Aiolian population is confirmed by C7 and C6

graffiti at the temple of Athena (Boehlau and Schefold (1943) 123 and 183). It is conceivable that they made up a considerable proportion of the citizen body of Larisa in the Classical period, and that the *polis* was considered Greek.

819. Leukai (Leokates) Map 56. Lat. 38.35, long. 26.50. Size of territory: ? Type: A:*β*. The toponym is *Λεῦκαι, αἱ* (Ps.-Skylax 98; Strabo 14.1.38) or *Λεύκη, ἡ* (Diod. 15.18.1–2). The city-ethnic is *Λεοκάτης* (Babelon, *Traité* ii.2. 2046) or *Λευκαιεύς* (ibid. 2047, after Alexander the Great). Leukai is implicitly called a *polis* in the urban sense by Ps.-Skylax. 98 (cf. Flensted-Jensen and Hansen (1996) 142) and retrospectively by Diodorus at 15.92.1 (r362/1) (urban sense) and 15.18.1–2 (rC4) (political sense). The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally on coins (*infra*).

The name and extent of its territory are not attested for the Classical period; but according to Ps.-Skylax 98, it contained more than one harbour (*Λεῦκαι καὶ λιμένες*). Leukai was situated on the coast (Diod. 15.18.1) between Smyrna and Phokaia (Strabo 14.1.38). In *Barr.* it is represented as an island *c.*10 km south of the coast of Asia Minor. The only authority for this is Plin. *HN* 5.119: *oppidum Leucae in promonturio, quod insula fuit.* If this piece of information carries any weight, it must relate to the Archaic period or before. In the Classical, Hellenistic, Roman and Late Roman periods Leukai must have been a coastal city.

Leukai was founded by Tachos after the death of Glos *c.*383/2 (Diod. 15.18.1; see Stylianou (1997) 208). Later, both Kyme and Klazomenai wanted to gain control of Leukai and consulted the oracle in Delphi, who responded that the *polis* that first managed to make a sacrifice at Leukai at a specified date should be the winner of the dispute (Diod. 15.18.2; see Fontenrose (1978) H15). Since it was stipulated that representatives from the two *poleis* should depart at dawn on the day specified for the sacrifice, the Klazomenians founded a *polis* close to Leukai and thus won the contest. This event was commemorated by a festival called *Prophthaseia* (Diod. 15.18.3–4, but without any indication of whether the festival was held at Klazomenai or Leukai). *C.*362 Leukai served as a naval base for the Egyptian fleet commanded by Reomithres (Diod. 15.92.1). Leukai possessed a sanctuary of Apollo (Diod. 15.18.1).

Leukai struck coins in silver and bronze in C4s. Denominations: obol, hemiobol and small fractions in bronze. (1) Silver obol: types: *obv.* head of Aphrodite or Artemis, crescent; legend: *Λ*; *rev.* swan, crescent; legend: *Λ*. (2) Silver hemiobol: *obv.* head of Zeus; legend: *ΛΕΥ*; *rev.* forepart or head of boar; legend: *ΛΕΥ*. (3) Bronze: *obv.* head of Apollo; *rev.* swan; legend: *ΛΕΟΚΑΤΩΝ* or *ΛΕΟ*. (4) Bronze: *obv.* head of Athena; *rev.* lion standing; legend: *ΛΕΥ*. (5) Bronze: *obv.* head of Apollo; *rev.* swan or swan before tripod; legend: *ΛΕΥΚΑΙΕΩΝ* or *ΛΕΥ* and magistrate's name (Babelon, *Traité* ii.2. 1159–62 nos. 2041–48; Head, *HN*[2] 581; *SNG Cop. Ionia* 799–801). According to Babelon (*Traité* II.2 1159–60), the striking similarity between the coins of Klazomenai and those of Leuke suggests that Leuke was a *polis* dependent on Klazomenai.

The ethnic composition of the population of Leukai is not known; but it may have contained a non-Greek element, given the history of its foundation, even after it became a Klazomenian dependency.

820. Magnesia (Magnes) Map 56. Lat. 38.35, long. 27.25. Size of territory: ? Type: C:? The toponym is *Μαγνησίη, ἡ* (Hellan. fr. 191). The city-ethnic is *Μάγνης* (*infra*). The only pre-Hellenistic attestation of the city-ethnic is external, individual and admittedly uncertain: a C6 graffito from Abydos has been restored as *[Μάγν]ης ἦλθ' [ἐ]νθάδε Κάϊκος* (Ihnken (1978) 160 T13 = Jeffery (1990) 361 no. 2). Neither Ihnken nor Jeffery explains why this heavily restored ethnic is to be connected with Magnesia on Mt. Sipylos rather than with Magnesia on the Maiandros, or with Magnesia at all. Nothing further is known about Magnesia in the Archaic and Classical periods.

821. *Melanpagos? (Melanpagitas) Map 56. Lat. 38.35, long. 27.10. Size of terrritory: ? Type: B:? There is no attestation of the toponym. The city-ethnic is *Μελανπαγίτης* (*Syll.*[3] 934). The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested in an internal context in C5: a graffito *ὅρια Μελανπαγιτῶν 'Ηρακλεωτῶν* marked the common boundary between the territory of the Melampagitai and the neighbouring Herakleotai. The settlement was located near Gökkaya by Ramsay (1881) 296–97. Keil (1913) 166–68 reported on an intricate network of walls which can only be explained satisfactorily by a proper excavation. However, a wall of rough polygonal masonry on the eastern side of the hill-top was tentatively identified as a fortification wall enclosing the settlement. Keil also noted the similarity between the retaining walls of the settlement and those found at the acropolis of Neon Teichos.

822. Myrina (Myrinaios) Map 56. Lat. 38.50, long. 27.00. Size of territory: 1 or 2. Type: A:*α*. The toponym is *Μύρινα, ἡ* (Hdt. 1.149.1; Xen. *Hell.* 3.1.6). The city-ethnic is *Μυρινα῀ος* (*IG*I[3] 71.1.179–80). As part of the original Aiolian *dodekapolis* Myrina is called a *polis* in the urban sense at Hdt.

1.149.1, with the territorial sense as a possible connotation, and in the political sense at Hdt. 1.150.2. In C4 it is called *polis* in the urban sense in Ps.-Skylax 98. At Xen. *Hell.* 3.1.6 *polis* is used in the urban and political senses combined, denoting a dependent *polis* (*infra*). Xenophon mentions Myrina as one of the personal fiefs given by the Persian king to Gongylos, whose descendants were still in control in the early C4. The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally on Hellenistic coins (*SNG Cop. Aeolis* 221ff), in abbreviated forms on coins of the Classical period (*infra*), and externally in the Athenian tribute lists (*IG* I³ 265.I.11). The individual and external use is attested in Hellenistic inscriptions, e.g. *Δαμόθεος Μυρινα*ῖ*ος*, a metic living in Iasos (*I.Iasos* 192.7).

Myrina was allegedly founded by Amazons (Strabo 13.3.6), but a tradition recorded in Euseb. VII 1.69.12c and VII 2.183c claims that Myrina was founded in 1046 by Aiolians. Myrina was a member of the Delian League. It belonged to the Ionian district and is recorded in the Athenian tribute lists by toponym (*IG* I³ 266.I.14) or by city-ethnic (*IG* I³ 265.I.11). It is recorded from 453/2 (*IG* I³ 260.VIII.11) to 415/14 (*IG* I³ 290.I.18) a total of eighteen times, three times completely restored, and in one case Myrina on Lemnos is an alternative, paying a *phoros* of 1 tal. (*IG* I³ 266.I.14). It was assessed for tribute in 425/4 (*IG* I³ 71.I.179–80).

Pottier and Reinach, who excavated the cemetery of Myrina, noted a hill resembling an acropolis with remains of ancient fortifications, and a city wall of polygonal masonry of varying quality ((1882) 201; cf. Bean (1966) 106–10).

Myrina struck coins of silver in C4 and of bronze in C4–C3. (1) Silver hemidrachms: types: *obv.* head of Athena wearing Corinthian helmet; *rev.* bust of Artemis facing; legend: *MY*. (2) Bronze: *obv.* head of Athena wearing Attic helmet; *rev.* amphora; legend: *MY* or *MYPI* (Head, *HN*² 555 (C4); *SNG von Aulock* no. 1659 (C4–C3); *SNG Cop. Aeolis* 213–20).

823. Nasos (Nasiotas) Map 56. Lat. 39.20, long. 26.40. Size of territory: 1 (*c.*15 km²). Type: A:*α*. The toponym, *Νῆσος*, *ἡ* or Aiolic *Νᾶσος*, is attested only in the entry *Νῆσος Πορδοσελένε* in *IG* I³ 77.IV.17. The city-ethnic is *Νασιώτας* (*I.Adramytteion* 34A.40 (C4l)). The Aiolian *polis* (in the urban/topographical sense) in the Hekatonnesoi mentioned in Hdt. 1.151.1 probably refers to this community. Nasos is called *polis* in the personal/political sense in *I.Adramytteion* 34A.9, 14, 19, 24–25, 33 (319–317); and in the same inscription the word *polites* is used in the plural of its citizens (34A.22). Nesos Pordoselene is recorded in the assessment decree *IG* I³ 77.IV.17 under the heading *Aktaioi poleis*. The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally in abbreviated form on C4 coins (*infra*) and in a C4l inscription (*I.Adramytteion* 34A.40). Nasos was located on the island of Alibey Adası, and was probably identical with the community known as Pordoselene (see Stauber (1996*a*) i.198–209 and the entry *Pordoselene*).

The community was entered by toponym in the assessment decree *IG* I³ 77.IV.17 as one of the *Aktaioi poleis*, but we cannot be sure that it was ever a paying member of the Delian League. The toponym is completely restored in the assessment decree of 425/4 (*IG* I³ 71.III.127–28), and it does not appear in any of the surviving Athenian tribute lists. The fact that it was entered as one of the *Aktaioi poleis* may suggest that it was a *polis* dependent on Lesbos, presumably Mytilene (no. 798).

One *psephisma* passed by the assembly of the Nasiotai survives: *I.Adramytteion* 34 (319–317), which is referred to as a *ψάφισμα* on face A, lines 46 and 50. On face B.55–56 there is a reference to a *nomos* concerning the offence of overthrowing the democracy (*[π]ερὶ τῶν καλ[λυ]όντων τὸν δᾶ[μον]*, 55–58). Fines and *atimia* are imposed in the entrenchment clause to this decree (B.45–52). The *boule* (*βόλλα*) is mentioned (B.15–16), and other magistrates mentioned in this inscription are the *χοροστάτας* (A.36), *ταμίαι* (A.45), *ἐξεταστα*ί (B.2–3, 60–61), and an *ἐπιμήνιος* (B.38). The assembly is referred to in several places in this decree, and there is specific reference to a *κυρία ἐκκλησία* (B.22–23). A *prytaneion* is attested (A.32–33); but so far monumental architecture from the Classical period has not been recorded (Stauber (1996*a*) i.208–12). Taxes were levied on the community by Antipatros, presumably in the 320s (A.9–14). *I.Adramytteion* 36 (C4l) may also have been passed by Nasos/Pordoselene; but since it cannot be ascribed to this *polis* with certainty, it will not be used in the present context.

Nasos struck coins of silver (hemidrachm) and bronze in C4. Types: *obv.* head of Apollo; *rev.* panther with various symbols: head of ram or club, etc.; legend: *NAΣI* or *NAΣ* or *NA* (Stauber (1996*a*) ii.283–96; *SNG Cop. Aeolis* 429–31).

824. Neon Teichos Map 56. Lat. 38.40, long. 27.00. Size of territory: ? Type: A:*α*. The toponym is *Νέον Τεῖχος*, *τό* (Hdt. 1.149.1). As part of the original Aiolian *dodekapolis* Neon Teichos is called a *polis* in the urban sense at Hdt. 1.149.1, with the territorial sense as a possible connotation, and in the political sense at Hdt. 1.150.2. Xen. *An.* 7.5.8 simply designates it *τεῖχος*.

According to Ps. Her. *vit. Hom.* 9, Neon Teichos was a foundation from Kyme, founded 8 years after that city. If the

identification of the ruins at Yanîk Köy with ancient Neon Teichos is correct, then the settlement was walled (Ramsay (1881) 281); but the precise location of Neon Teichos is still controversial. According to a tradition recorded in Strabo 13.3.3, Neon Teichos was founded by Lokrians whose ultimate aim was to capture Larisa Phrikonis.

825. Notion Unlocated. Type A:*α*. The toponym is *Νότιον, τό* (Hdt. 1.149.1). As part of the original Aiolian *dodekapolis* Notion is called a *polis* in the urban sense at Hdt. 1.149.1, with the territorial sense as a possible connotation, and in the political sense at Hdt. 1.150.2. Unless this Notion is in fact identical with Notion near Kolophon (a conventional but unwarranted equation, for which see most recently Hoepfner *et al.* (1999) 280 n. 247), nothing further is known about this community.

826. Palaigambrion Unlocated, not in *Barr.* Type: A:? The toponym is *Παλαιγάμβριον, τό* (Xen. *Hell.* 3.1.6). Palaigambrion is called a *polis* in Xen. *Hell.* 3.1.6, where *polis* is used in the urban and political senses combined. It was a town captured by Thibron, but it is also described as a personal fief which had been given by the Persian king to Gongylos of Eretria in C5, whose descendants were still in control in C4e. Thus, *polis* is used in the political sense too, denoting Palaigambrion as well as its surrounding territory as a place from which troops could be recruited and taxes levied.

827. Parthenion. Map 56. Lat. 39.15, long. 27.20. Size of territory: ? Type: B:? The toponym is *Παρθένιον, τό* (Xen. *An.* 7.8.15, 23). There is no attestation of the city-ethnic. The settlement is referred to as a *polisma* in Xen. *An.* 7.8.21. In Xen. *An.* 7.8.15 we hear about an unsuccessful Greek raid on the property of the Persian Asidates, who was defended by Itamenes and his troops, some of whom were recruited from Parthenion. The ethnic composition of this community is not known.

828. Pergamon (Pergamenos) Map 56. Lat. 39.10, long. 27.10. Size of territory: ? Type: A:*β*. The toponym is *Πέργαμον, τό* (Xen. *Hell.* 3.1.6; *An.* 7.8.8, 23). The city-ethnic is *Περγαμηνός* (*Staatsverträge* 555 (C3e)). Pergamon is called a *polis* in Xen. *Hell.* 3.1.6, where *polis* is used in the urban and political senses combined. It was a town captured by Thibron, but it is also reported that Pergamon was ruled, presumably as a tyranny (*ἦρχον*), by Prokles and Eurysthenes, descendants of Demaratos of Lakedaimon (see also *An.* 7.8.17). For Demaratos, who was given "land and cities" (*γῆν τε καὶ πόλιας*) by the Persian king in 486, see Hdt. 6.70. See also Briant (1985). The collective use of the city-ethnic is presumably attested internally in abbreviated form on coins (*infra*). The individual and external use is found in an Epidaurian proxeny decree of C4l/C3e (*IAEpid* 42 xiii).

The constitutional history in the Archaic and Classical periods is unknown: in C4 it may still have been controlled by the descendants of Gongylos, who may have received the city as a fief from the Persian king.

For a full description of the Archaic and Classical city walls, see Radt (1992). He discusses two walls, one of which (Wall I) may date from C7 or even earlier, while the other (Wall II) probably dates from C5 and covers an area of 18 ha (Radt (1994) 64). The article also contains extensive discussion of pottery found in the context of the walls; cf. also Radt (1999).

Pergamon struck coins of silver and bronze from C5m to C4e. (1) Silver: types: *obv.* laureate head of Apollo; *rev.* bearded male head ("Satrapenkopf": *SNG von Aulock* no. 1347) in Persian head-dress, or head and neck of bull, all within incuse square; legend: *ΠΕΡΓ* or *ΠΕΡΓΑ*. (2) Bronze: *obv.* laureate head of Apollo; *rev.* two bulls' heads; legend: *ΠΕΡΓ* or *ΠΕΡΓΑ*; or *obv.* female head; *rev.* boar's head, or two boars' heads; legend: *ΠΕΡ* or *ΠΕΡΓ*. Date: C5m–C4e: *SNG Cop. Mysia* 313–16. *BMC Mysia* p. 110 includes silver coinage from 420–400; see also Babelon, *Traité* ii.2. 86–89 nos. 43–46. *SNG von Aulock* no. 1348 ascribes the bronze coins to C4f.

Despite Radt's discovery of significant amounts of Aiolian grey ware, the ethnic composition of Pergamon's population in the Archaic and Classical periods still remains uncertain. In Xen. *An.* 7.8.8 Xenophon is entertained by a woman called *Ἑλλάς*, wife of Gongylos of Eretria and mother of Gorgion and Gongylos. Ironically, her name may bear witness to her non-Greek origins or, at the very least, to the ethnically mixed nature of the community in which she lived. The name is rare, and the entries in *LPGN* suggest that, in the Greek world in the Classical period, it was borne predominantly by slaves. Her two sons controlled four cities in Mysia and Aiolis (Gambrion, Palaigambrion, Myrina and Gryneion) which the Persian king had given as fiefs to their ancestor in return for his loyalty as a mediser (Xen. *Hell.* 3.1.6).

829. Perperene (Perperenios) Map 56. Lat. 39.15, long. 27.00. Size of territory: ? Type: C:? The toponym is *Περπερήνα, ἡ* (Galen, *De Victu Attenuante* 102; *De Rebus Boni Malique Suci* 6) or *Παρπάρων* (Apollodoros (*FGrHist*

244) fr. 7 *apud* Steph. Byz. 508.11–13). The city-ethnic is recorded as *Παρπαρωνιώτης* (Androtion (*FGrHist* 324) fr. 15 *apud* Steph. Byz. 508.15–16), but the three attested epigraphical (albeit Hell./Rom.) sources for the city-ethnic suggest that the normal version was *Περπερήνιος* (*I.Smyrna* 447.4, 469.2–3, 689.II.23–24). This is confirmed by C4 coin legends *ΠΕΡΠΕ* (*infra*). Perperene is not called a *polis* by any extant Classical source; Galen, *De Victu Attenuante* 102 provides the earliest attestation. The collective use of the city-ethnic is presumably attested internally in abbreviated form on coins (*infra*) and is attested externally in Androtion (*FGrHist* 324) fr. 15.

Perperene was probably located 1 km north of the modern village of Aşağıbey, where substantial ruins may be identified as ancient Perperene, although according to Kaufmann and Stauber (1994) 41, there is no direct evidence to confirm this identification; see also Stauber (1996*a*) i.296. Although no Archaic or Classical remains have been found on this site, Stauber (1996*a*) i.303 points out that the visible buildings may have been erected on top of an older settlement. Only excavation may reveal the age of the original settlement.

Perperene struck bronze coins in C4. Types: *obv.* laureate head of Apollo; *rev.* bunch of grapes, branch and leaves in wreath; legend: *ΠΕ* or *ΠΕΡ* or *ΠΕΡΠ* or *ΠΕΡΠΕ* (Stauber (1996*a*) ii.309–25, cat. nos. 1–11).

830. Pitane (Pitanaios) Map 56. Lat. 38.55, long. 26.55. Size of territory: 1 or 2. Type: A:*α*. The toponym is *Πιτάνη, ἡ* (Hdt. 1.149.1). The city-ethnic is *Πιταναῖος* (*IG* I³ 262.III.24; Krateros (*FGrHist* 342) fr. 2 *apud* Steph. Byz. 358.15–16; *AJP* 56 (1935) 358–79 I.147 (C4)). As part of the original Aiolian *dodekapolis* Pitane is called a *polis* in the urban sense at Hdt. 1.149.1, with the territorial sense as a possible connotation, and in the political sense at Hdt. 1.150.2. In C4, however, Ps.-Skylax 98 refers to Pitane as a *limen* only. The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally on coins (*infra*) and externally in the Athenian tribute lists (*IG* I³ 262.III.24). In C4 the individual use of the city-ethnic is attested externally in *AJP* 56 (1935) 358–79 I.147 (C4l) and *F.Delphes* III.1 410 (319), adding *Aioleus* as an indication of regional affiliation: '*Ηρακλείτῳ Λυσιστράτου Αἰολεῖ ἐκ Πιτάνης*.

Nothing is known explicitly about the extent of Pitane's territory in the Archaic and Classical periods. But since it bordered on Mt. Kane to the west, Elea to the east, and Teuthrania to the north, it is unlikely to have exceeded 100 km². The information that may be gleaned from Hellenistic sources cannot be used retrospectively (on territorial changes and consolidations in this area in the Hellenistic period, see most recently Savalli-Lestrade (1992)).

In C5 Pitane was a member of the Delian League. It belonged to the Ionian district and is recorded from 453/2 (*IG* I³ 260.VII.17) to 433/2 (*IG* I³ 279.I.56–58, restored in 430/29 (*IG* I³ 281.I.41)) a total of fifteen times, but five times completely restored, and paid 1,000 dr. in all years. Pitane received *proxenia* from Delphi in 319 (*F.Delphes* III.1 410), and another grant of *proxenia* given to a citizen of Pitane is recorded in an undated (C3?) decree passed by an unknown *polis* located in Aiolis, most likely Kyme (*SEG* 47 1659).

Pitane had city walls in C4, and probably also earlier. In 335/4 it was besieged by Parmenion, who was forced to lift the siege by Memnon (Diod. 17.7.9). Remains of the ancient fortifications of the peninsula of Çandarlı were described by Schuchhardt in Conze *et al.* (1912–13) 99–100.

Pitane struck bronze coins in C4. Types: *obv.* head of Zeus Ammon; *rev.* pentagram; legend: *ΠΙΤΑ* or *ΠΙΤΑΝΑ* or *ΠΙΤΑΝΑΙΩΝ*; or *obv.* Silenus; *rev.* omphalos entwined by serpent; legend: *ΠΙΤΑΝΑΙΩΝ* (*Fitz. Mus. Cat.* III.72; *BMC Mysia* 171–72; *SNG Cop. Mysia* 530–35).

831. Pordoselene Map 56. Lat. 39.20, long. 26.40, but see *infra*. Size of territory: 1? Type: A:? The toponym is *Πορδοσελήνη* (Ps.-Skylax 97; Arist. *Hist. an.* 605ᵇ29–30). In C4 Pordoselene is called a *polis* in the urban sense by Ps.-Skylax 97. If Nasos and Pordoselene were identical (see *infra*) then this community was probably the one referred to as an Aiolian *polis* in the political sense by Hdt. 1.151.1. The full form of the city-ethnic is unattested, but the collective and internal use is presumably attested in abbreviated form on coins: *ΠΟΡΔΟΣΙΛ* (*infra*).

Pordoselene was entered by the toponym *Νῆσος Πορδοσελένε* on the tribute assessment list *IG* I³ 77.IV.17 (422/1), but it is not clear whether it was ever a paying member of the Delian League. It does not reappear in any surviving tribute list. The community is listed along with other *Aktaioi poleis*, suggesting that Nesos/Pordoselene was a Lesbian dependency in C5.

Pordoselene struck coins of silver and bronze from C5l to C4l. (1) Silver (drachms): types: *obv.* head of Apollo; *rev.* lyre, or panther, or crab or other symbol in incuse square; legend: *ΠΟΡ* or *ΠΟΡΔ* or *ΠΟΡΔΟΣΙΛ*. (2) Bronze: *obv.* head of silenus; *rev.* dolphin; legend: *ΠΟΡ* (Stauber (1996*a*) ii.297–307). On the unfounded *a priori* assumption that only independent communities struck coins, Stauber (1996*a*) i.199 assumes that the earliest coins minted by

Pordoselene are evidence that it gained independence from Mytilene in 427.

Problems arise in connection with any attempt to locate the site of Pordoselene, the most vexing of which is the question whether Pordoselene was identical with the *polis* of the Nasiotai, an identification that may be suggested by the joint entry *Nesos Pordoselene* in *IG* I³ 77.IV.17. It may also be significant that Hdt. 1.151.1 mentions only one *polis* on the islands known as Hekatonnesoi (however, the present Inventory does in itself indicate that Herodotos' enumerations of communities in various regions of the Greek world cannot be trusted to have been in any way comprehensive). The debate is summed up by Stauber (1996*a*) i.198–208: *communis opinio* has been that Nasos and Pordoselene were two different *poleis*; Nasos on the island now known as Alibey Adası and Pordoselene on the smaller island of Maden Adası. Stauber objects (ibid. 205–7) that Maden Adası, being an infertile island of tuff, could not have supported a community in Antiquity: indeed, when surveying the island he found no evidence at all for an ancient settlement. Stauber is inclined to conclude that there was indeed only one community, which was located on Alibey Adası, and that Nasos/Nasiotes temporarily replaced the toponym and city-ethnic of Pordoselene because the name containing the word "fart" was perceived as an embarrassment. If Stauber's view is correct, then the information set out s.v. *Nasos* in the present Inventory applies to Pordoselene as well.

832. Temnos (Temnites) Map 56. Lat. 38.40, long. 27.10. Size of territory: ? Type: A:*α*. The toponym is *Τῆμνος* (Hdt. 1.149.1), *ὁ* (*Suda* *Ε*3024, conjectured at Strabo 13.1.70) or *ἡ* (Strabo 13.3.5). The city-ethnic is *Τημνίτης* (Xen. *An.* 4.4.15). The Aiolic forms *Τᾶμνος*/*Ταμνίτας* are attested on C4 coins (*infra*) and in Hellenistic inscriptions (*I.Perg.* 5 = *Staatsverträge* 555 (C3e)). As part of the original Aiolian *dodekapolis* Temnos is called a *polis* in the urban sense at Hdt. 1.149.1, with the territorial sense as a possible connotation, and in the political sense at Hdt. 1.150.2. Xenophon refers to it as a *polis* in the urban sense, indicating that the community was small (*Hell.* 4.8.5: *οὐ μεγάλη πόλις*)). The collective and internal use of the city-ethnic is presumably attested in abbreviated form on C4 coins (*infra*), the external use is found in a C3e decree (*I.Perg.* 5.2). For the individual and external use, see Xen. *An.* 4.4.15: *Δημοκράτης Τημνίτης*.

Although Temnos is attested as a flourishing community in the Hellenistic period (e.g. Herrmann (1979)), next to nothing is known about the political and constitutional history of Temnos in the Archaic and Classical periods. The community may have been dependent on the Persian king (it was never a member of the Delian League, at any rate); in 394, however, according to Xen. *Hell.* 4.8.5, Derkylidas mentioned Temnos as a *polis* where it would be possible to live without being subjected (*ὑπήκοος*) to the Persian king. On this remark, which perhaps should not be taken too seriously, see the entry for Aigai *supra*.

Temnos struck bronze coins in C4. Types: *obv.* head of Dionysos, bearded, wreathed with ivy; *rev.* bunch of grapes with vine leaves and tendrils, the whole in slight circular incuse; legend: *ΤΑ* (*BMC Troas* 142; *SNG Cop. Mysia* 246–49).

833. Teuthrania Map 56. Lat. 39.00, long. 27.05. Size of territory: ? Type: A:? The toponym is *Τευθρανίη*, *ἡ* (Hdt. 2.10.1) or *Τευθρανία* (Ps.-Skylax 98; Xen. *Hell.* 3.1.6; *An.* 2.1.3, 7.8.17). The full form of the city-ethnic is unattested, but the collective and internal use is presumably attested in abbreviated form on coins: *ΤΕΥ* (*infra*). Teuthrania is called a *polis* in Xen. *Hell.* 3.1.6, where *polis* is used in the urban and political senses combined. It was a town captured by Thibron, but it is also reported that Teuthrania was ruled, presumably as a tyranny (*ἦρχον*), by Prokles and Eurysthenes, descendants of Demaratos of Lakedaimon. In *An.* 2.1.3 Prokles is referred to as *ὁ Τευθρανίας ἄρχων*. For Demaratos, who was given "land and cities" (*γῆν τε καὶ πόλιας*) by the Persian king in 486, see Hdt. 6.70. See also Briant (1985).

Teuthrania struck coins of silver and bronze *c.*400. Types: *obv.* head of Apollo, with long hair; *rev.* beardless head of young dynast Prokles wearing Persian tiara; legend: *ΤΕΥ* (Babelon, *Traité* ii.2 nos. 41–42; Head, *HN*² 538; *SNG Cop. Mysia* 549).

Nothing is known about the ethnic composition of Teuthrania's population.

834. Thebe Map 56. Lat. 39.35, long. 27.00, but location disputed; Stauber (1996*a*) i.45 and (1996*b*) suggests Küçük Çal-Tepe. Type: B:? The toponym is (*Ὑποπλάκιος*) *Θήβη* (Dikaiarchos fr. 53a, Wehrli), *Θήβη* (Hom. *Il.* 1.366), *Θῆβαι* (Hom. *Il.* 22.477) or *Θήβα Ὑπλακία* (Sappho, fr. 44 l. 6). The only Archaic/Classical attestations of Thebe as a *polis* are connected with the Homeric tradition (Hom. *Il.* 1.366, 6.414–15; Eur. *Andr.* 1). Curtius Rufus, however, refers to Thebe as an "urbs" in a retrospective C4 context (*Hist. Alex.* 3.4.10).

Thebe struck bronze coins in C4m. Types: *obv.* head of Demeter with wreath, hair in sakkos; *rev.* three crescents forming triskeles, or forepart of winged horse; legend: *ΘΗΒ* or *ΘΗΒΑ* (Stauber (1996*a*) ii.243 cat. nos. 1–3; *SNG. Cop. Mysia* 550).

835. *Tisna (Tisnaios) Map 56. Lat. 38.45, long. 27.05, but see *infra*. Type: C:? The toponym Tisna can be reconstructed from the city-ethnic attested by C4 coin legends (*infra*). Presumably the community took its name from the river Tisna, a personification of which was depicted on Tisna's coins.

Tisna struck bronze coins in C4. Types: *obv*. beardless male head l., horned (river-god Tisnaios); *rev*. one-handled vase, or spearhead, or sword in sheath; legend: *TIΣNAI* or *TIΣNAIO* or *TIΣNAIOΣ* or *TIΣNAION* (Imhoof-Blumer (1883) 275 nos. 241–42; Head, *HN*² 557; Robert (1937) 169; *BMC Troas* 149; *SNG Cop. Aeolis* 283).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Akurgal, E. 1956. "Les fouilles de Phocée et les sondages de Kymé", *Anatolia* 1: 3–14.

Babelon, E. 1930. *Catalogue de la Collection de Luynes*, iii: *Asie Mineure et Phénicie* (Paris).

Bean, G. E. 1966. *Aegean Turkey* (London).

—— 1974–75. "Notes and Inscriptions from Caunus", *JHS* 74–75: 85–110.

Boehlau, J., and Schefold, K. 1940. *Larisa am Hermos*, i (Berlin).

—— —— 1943. *Larisa am Hermos*, iii (Berlin).

Bohn, R., and Schuchhardt, C. 1889. *Altertümer von Aegae* (Berlin).

Briant, P. 1985. "Dons de terres et de villes: L'Asie Mineure dans le contexte achéménide", *REA* 87: 53–72.

Bürchner, L. 1905. "Elaia 1", *RE* v. 2222–23.

Conze, A. *et al.* (eds.) 1912–13. *Altertümer von Pergamon*, i (Berlin).

Cook, J. M. 1958–59. "Old Smyrna 1948–1951", *BSA* 53–54: 1–34.

Dörpfeld, W. 1928. "Strabon und die Küste von Pergamon", *AM* 53: 117–59.

Flensted-Jensen, P., and Hansen, M. H. 1996. "Pseudo-Skylax' Use of the Term *Polis*", *CPCPapers* 3: 137–67.

Fontenrose, J. 1978. *The Delphic Oracle* (Berkeley).

Fossey, J. M. 1994. "Boiotian Decrees of Proxenia", in *Boiotia Antiqua*, iv (Amsterdam) 35–59.

Gates, M.-H. 1994. "Archaeology in Turkey", *AJA* 98: 249–78.

—— 1997. "Archaeology in Turkey", *AJA* 101: 241–305.

Gomme, A. W., Andrewes, A., and Dover, K. 1981. *A Historical Commentary on Thucydides* (Oxford).

Guarducci, M. 1974. *Epigrafia Greca*, iii (Rome).

Hanfmann, G. M. A., and Waldbaum, J. C. 1975. *A Survey of Sardis and the Major Monuments Outside the City Walls* (Cambridge, Mass.).

Head, B. V. 1875. "Metrological Notes on Ancient Electrum Coins", *NC* NS 15: 245–97.

Herrmann, P. 1979. "Die Stadt Temnos und ihre auswärtigen Beziehungen in hellenistische Zeit", *IstMitt* 29: 239–71.

Hoepfner, W. *et al.* 1999. "Die Epoche der Griechen", in W. Hoepfner (ed.), *Geschichte des Wohnens: 5000 v. Chr.–500 n. Chr: Vorgeschichte—Frühgeschichte—Antike* (Stuttgart) 123–608.

Hornblower, S. 1996. *A Commentary on Thucydides*, ii: *Books IV–V.24* (Oxford).

Idil, V. 1989. "Neue Ausgrabungen im aeolischen Kyme", *Belleten* 53: 525–43.

Ihnken, T. 1978. *Die Inschriften von Magnesia am Sipylos mit einem Kommentar zum Sympolitievertrag mit Smyrna*, *IGSK* 8 (Bonn).

Imhoof-Blumer, F. 1883. *Monnaies grecques* (Paris).

—— 1890. *Griechische Münze* (Munich).

—— 1901–2. *Kleinasiatische Münzen* (Vienna).

Jeffery, L. H. 1990. *The Local Scripts of Archaic Greece* (Oxford).

Kaufmann, F.-M., and Stauber, J. 1994. "Perperene—Theodosiupolis", *EA* 23: 41–58.

Keil, J. 1913. "Melampagos im Sipylosgebirge", *ÖJhBeibl* 16: 163–68.

Lambrianidis, K. 1996. "The Madra Çay Delta Archaeological Project: First Preliminary Report", *AnatSt* 46: 167–200.

Lang, F. 1996. *Archaische Siedlungen in Griechenland: Struktur und Entwicklung* (Berlin).

Leake, W. M. 1856. *Numismatica Hellenica: A Catalogue of Greek Coins, collected by William Martin Leake* (London).

Malay, H. 1994. *Greek and Latin Inscriptions in the Manisa Museum* (Vienna).

Mitchell, S. 1999. "Archaeology in Asia Minor", *AR* 45: 125–91.

Mørkholm, O. 1964. "Zwei neue kleinasiatische Münzstätten", *JNG* 14: 77–78.

Moysey, R. A. 1989. "Observations on the Numismatic Evidence Relating to the Great Satrap Revolt of 362/1", *REA* 91: 123–25.

Pottier, E., and Reinach, S. 1882. "Fouilles dans la nécropole de Myrina", *BCH* 6: 197–209.

Radt, W. 1991. "Archaisches in Aigai bei Pergamon", *IstMitt* 41: 481–84.

—— 1992. "Die frühesten Wehrmauer von Pergamon und die zugehörigen Keramikfunde", *IstMitt* 42: 163–234.

—— 1994. "Die archaische Befestigungsmauer von Pergamon und zugehörige Aspekte", *REA* 96: 63–75.

—— 1999. *Pergamon: Geschichte und Bauten einer antikem Metropole*² (Darmstadt).

Ragone, G. 1990. "Il tempio di Apollo Gryneios in Eolide: testimonianze antiquarie, fonti antiche, elementi per la ricerca topografica", in Virgilio (1990) 9–112.

Ramsay, W. M. 1881. "Contributions to the History of Southern Aiolis II", *JHS* 2: 271–308.
Reinach, S. 1891. "Deux inscriptions de l'Asie-Mineure", *REG* 4: 268–86.
Robert, L. 1937. *Études Anatoliennes* (Paris).
—— 1951. *Études de numismatique grecque* (Paris).
—— 1962. *Villes d'Asie Mineure*² (Paris).
—— 1982. "Documents d'Asie Mineure XX: Ptolemais de Troade", *BCH* 106: 319–33.
Savalli-Lestrade, I. 1992. "Eumène (Ier) et l'expansion de Pergame: à propos de *IG* XII Suppl. no. 142", *REG* 105: 221–30.
Schäfer, J., and Schläger, H. 1962. "Zur Seeseite von Kyme in der Aiolis", *AA* 40–57.
Schefold, K. 1933. "Arbeiten in Larisa 1932 und Frühjahr 1933", *AA* 48: 141–58.
Schuchhardt, C. 1887. "Vorläufiger Bericht über eine Bereisung der pergamenischen Landschaft", *SBBerl*: 1207–14.
Stauber, J. 1996*a*. *Die Bucht von Adramytteion*, i–ii, *IGSK* 50–51 (Bonn).
—— 1996*b*. "Lokalisierung homerischer Ortsnamen in der Bucht von Edremit mit neuer Lokalisierung von Thebe und Lyrnessos", *Arastırma Sonuçları Toplantısı* 14.2: 95–109.
Stein, H. (ed.) 1883. *Herodotos*, i.1 (Berlin).
Stylianou, P. J. 1997. *A Historical Commentary on Diodorus Siculus Book 15* (Oxford).
Tomascheck, W. 1891. "Zur historischen Topographie von Kleinasien im Mittelalter", *SBWien* 124.8: 1–106.
Troxell, H. A. 1981. "Orontes Satrap of Mysia", *SNR* 60: 27–37.
Virgilio, B. (ed.) 1990. *Studi Ellenistiche*, iii (Pisa).
Wilson, J. 1981. "Strategy and Tactics in the Mytilene Campaign", *Historia* 30: 144–63.
Zgusta, L. 1984. *Kleinasiatische Ortsnamen* (Heidelberg).

IONIA

LENE RUBINSTEIN

(with the collaboration of Alan Greaves)

I. The Region

The name of the region is *Ἰωνίη, ἡ* (Hdt. 1.6.3) or *Ἰωνία, ἡ* (Thuc. 1.2.6). There is no ethnic specifically associated with the region, for the designation *Ἴωνες* (alternatively *Ἰάονες*) indicated a wider ethnic identity (*Hymn. Hom. Ap.* 147, 152; Hdt. 1.143.2–3). The broad definition of Ionian ethnicity on the basis of criteria relating to common cult practice and common ancestry is found in e.g. Hdt. 1.147.2, where Herodotos offers a definition of "Ionians" as all people who traced their origins to Athens and who celebrated the Apatouria (cf. Thuc. 2.15.4, who claims that the Ionians who have kinship ties with the Athenians celebrate the more ancient Dionysia in the month Anthesterion). In Classical sources generally the ethnic sometimes, but not always, implied kinship ties with the Athenians (Thuc. 1.6.3, 12.4, 95.1; Eur. *Ion* 69–75; Isocr. *Paneg.* 122), who could themselves be referred to as Ionians (Hdt. 1.56.2; Bacchyl. *Dithyramb* 3.3; cf. Hall (1997) 52–53). It has been argued by some modern scholars (see e.g. the references to the debate in Alty (1982) 2 n. 9) that the definition that stressed the Ionian connection with Athens was a direct result of successful Athenian attempts to promote the Delian League as an essentially Ionian alliance, with an emphasis on Athens' status as the mother city of the island *poleis* and of the Ionian *poleis* in Asia Minor. However, there is some evidence which suggests that some of the foundation myths of the Ionian *poleis* in Asia Minor incorporated an Athenian dimension quite early on, perhaps as early as C7 and certainly earlier than the foundation of the Delian League (e.g. Alty (1982) 13–14; Herda (1998)).

As has been pointed out e.g. by Alty (1982), the designation *Ἴωνες* or *Ἰάονες* could also be used more narrowly about the Greek population of Asia Minor (Aesch. *Pers.* 178; Hdt. 4.97; Thuc. 6.4.5, 77.1), and more specifically about the citizens of the Ionian *dodekapolis* as distinguished from the Asiatic Aioleans and Dorians (e.g. Hdt. 1.6.2, 26.3, 3.1.1, 4.89.1; Thuc. 3.104.3, referring to the Ionians who celebrated the Ephesia, a festival which, according to Hornblower (1991) 527–29, had temporarily replaced the Panionia). These two narrower applications of the ethnic are attested in literary and epigraphical sources from C5 onwards, but not at all in the extant sources from the Archaic period.

Unlike the ethnic of the neighbouring region Aiolis (*Αἰολεύς*), which was sometimes used to identify the regional affiliation of individuals, *Ἴωνες* is found only as a collective regional ethnic, never as an individual designation and never as a supplement to a city-ethnic proper. The closest parallel to a genuine regional ethnic is the prepositional phrase *ἀπ' Ἰωνίας*, which could be used after an individual's city-ethnic (e.g. *IG* II² 9973, a tombstone commemorating *Λεοφρονὶς Ἡροστράτου Μυησία ἀπ' Ἰωνίας* (*c.*300)). For the use of *ἀπ' Ἰωνίας* as a supplement to a collective city-ethnic, see *CID* II 6.2 (*[Ἀν]αῖται ἀπ' Ἰωνί[ας]* (359–357)). The examples of the regional designation are few, and most of them date from the Hellenistic period or later.

Herodotos is our earliest extant source for the regional toponym *Ἰωνίη*. In Solon fr. 4a.2, West, *Ἰαονίη* refers to the land inhabited by Ionians, of which Attika is the most ancient part. In the Classical period, however, Ionia was clearly regarded as a geographical entity in Asia Minor (e.g. Hdt. 1.142.2; Xen. *An.* 3.5.15; Andoc. 1.76; Aen. Tact. 18.13), although its extent and definition were disputed to some degree.[1]

Alan Greaves has assisted with literature in Turkish and is responsible for the treatment of the archaeology of Miletos and its territory. The remainder of the text is by Lene Rubinstein.

[1] Some of our Athenian sources include the Aiolean settlements on the coast in "Ionia" (Thuc. 2.9.4; Xen. *Hell.* 2.1.17), probably reflecting the Athenian tribute arrangements which amalgamated Ionia and Aiolis into a single district (cf. Hornblower (1991) 248).

The toponym was sometimes used to denote the sum of the twelve Ionian *poleis* in Asia Minor that made up the Ionian *dodekapolis*, and as such it could be used both in a topographical sense (Thuc. 3.33.2: *ἀτειχίστου γὰρ οὔσης τῆς Ἰωνίας*, which probably indicated that the urban centres in the region were unfortified) and in a political sense (Hdt. 5.65.5, 98.2: *νῦν γὰρ Ἰωνίη πᾶσα ἀπέστηκε ἀπὸ βασιλέος*). This use of the toponym (which may have a parallel in [Lys.] 6.6) indicates that Ionia could be regarded as a political entity as well as a geographical area. This undoubtedly reflects the existence of common Ionian political institutions at a regional level in the Archaic and Classical periods, which will be further discussed below.

Hdt. 5.123 reports that Artaphrenes and Otanes were ordered to attack "Ionia and neighbouring Aiolis", which presupposes a perceived northern boundary of the region. Indeed, it can be inferred from Hdt. 7.194 that *c.*480 Aiolis had its own governor (*ὁ ἀπὸ Κύμης τῆς Αἰολίδος ὕπαρχος*; cf. Debord (1999) 170). Even so, the boundary between Aiolis and Ionia was far from neatly defined: Phokaia (no. 859), the northernmost Ionian *polis* according to Herodotos' definition (1.142.3, 163.1), was in effect an Ionian enclave within Aiolis. Its nearest neighbour towards the south-east was the Aiolian *polis* of Neon Teichos (no. 824); to the north-east it may have shared a boundary with Kyllene (no. 816). Further south, Smyrna (no. 867) was originally an Aiolian settlement, which later became an Ionian *polis* when, according to Hdt. 1.149.1–50.2, its Aiolian inhabitants were driven out by a group of Kolophonian exiles and distributed among the remaining eleven Aiolian *poleis*. Herodotos also reports (1.143.3) that the citizens of Ionian Smyrna applied for permission to participate in the festival celebrated at the Panionion; but it is not entirely clear if their application was successful.[2] It is only in the Hellenistic period that we find firm evidence for Smyrnaian membership of the Ionian *koinon*.[3]

The definition of the southern boundary of Ionia also presents some problems. In 1.170.3 Herodotos relates Thales' proposal that the Ionians should establish a single common *bouleuterion* at Teos (no. 868), because Teos was located "in the middle of Ionia", a statement that presupposes boundaries of the region to the south as well as to the north. However, unlike Xenophon (*Hell.* 3.2.14; *Ages.* 1.15, 29) Herodotos does not operate with the river Maiandros as the southern boundary of the region; nor does he recognise the river as the conventional boundary between Karia and Lydia (contrast Ps.-Skylax 99). In 1.142.3–4 he lists ten Ionian *poleis* on the Asian coast, starting from Miletos (no. 854) in the south and ending with Phokaia (no. 859) in the north, to which he adds the islands of Samos (no. 864) and Chios (no. 840) to the west. In his list he distinguishes between *poleis* located in Karia (Miletos, Myous and Priene, of which the latter two were located north of the river Maiandros) and those in Lydia (Ephesos, Kolophon, Lebedos, Teos, Erythrai, Klazomenai and Phokaia). Herodotos is unique among Archaic and Classical authors in locating Myous and Priene in Karia, but his location of Miletos in Karia has parallels elsewhere (Hecat. fr. 240; Ps.-Skylax 99). In other passages, however, Herodotos refers to Miletos as situated in Ionia (5.28, 37.2; 6.7, 28.1), and this is paralleled in other literary sources (Pherekydes (*FGrHist* 3) fr. 155; Thuc. 8.26.3). The Athenian tribute quota lists (e.g. *IG* I³ 270.C.I.31, 272.D.II.11) likewise list Miletos in the Ionian panel while including its neighbour Latmos (no. 910), directly to the east, in the Karian panel (e.g. *IG* I³ 270.C.IV.27, 271.D.II.78, 272.D.II.86). The Athenian decision to register Latmos separately undoubtedly rested on criteria of ethnicity, and it is clear that, to some extent, the definition of the region as a geographical entity was informed by these criteria. That may be one of the most important reasons for the fuzzy boundaries of Ionia to the north and south.

Although Herodotos draws attention to dialectal differences between individual Ionian *poleis* (1.142.3–4)[4] and is aware of differences between the Ionian and Dorian dialects (1.139), the Ionian dialect plays only a marginal role in his definition both of regional ethnic identity and of the region itself. Herodotos' narrow definition of the Asiatic Ionians includes only the inhabitants of the Ionian *dodekapolis* (1.142.3–4, 145–46.1). Thus, he excludes not only the *poleis* of Magnesia on the Maiandros (no. 852) to the east, and Iasos (no. 891) and Halikarnassos (no. 886) to the south, all of which contained Ionian-speaking populations, but also

[2] There are only two indications that Smyrna obtained membership earlier than the Hellenistic period. One is schol. Pl. *Tht.* 153C, according to which the expression *κολοφών* about a decisive vote is due to the privilege of Kolophon (no. 848) as a member of the Ionian Koinon to cast an extra vote on behalf of Smyrna whenever the votes were tied. If this is true, the privilege may have been established after the destruction of Smyrna in 585. Paus. 5.8.7 reports that when Onomastos of Smyrna won the boxing contest at Olympia in 688, Smyrna was already contributing to the Ionian organisation (*συντελούσης ἤδη τηνικαῦτα ἐς Ἴωνας*).

[3] *I.Smyrna* 575.15–19 (C3m), 577 (292–288).

[4] In Herodotos' list of Ionian *poleis* Erythrai (no. 845) is separated from the *poleis* on the mainland and grouped with Samos (no. 864) and Chios (no. 840) on the grounds that the Erythraian dialect resembles that of the Chians. The dialect spoken in these two *poleis* in fact contains some Aiolic features, which distinguish it from the Ionian spoken in other Asian *poleis* (Buck (1955) 143).

thirteen communities on the coast, all of which are included in the present Inventory as Greek *poleis* that are attested as types A or B in the Classical period.[5] All of these were located within the geographical area that he identifies as *Ἰωνίη* elsewhere (e.g. 1.170.3).

There can be little doubt that Herodotos' exclusion of the inhabitants of Magnesia, Iasos and Halikarnassos rested on criteria of ethnicity, some of which may be reflected in the different foundation myths of the *poleis*. In Hdt. 3.90.1 the Magnesians in Asia (presumably the citizens of Magnesia on the Maiandros) are listed separately as an ethnic group, alongside the Aiolians and Ionians and others who belonged to the first Persian tax district. Halikarnassos had originally belonged to the Dorian *hexapolis* and claimed to have been founded from Troizen (no. 357) (Hdt. 7.99.1); while Iasos, which is not mentioned at all by Herodotos, claimed originally to have been an Argive foundation (Polyb. 16.12.2). As for the Greek *poleis* that were located within Ionia, but not mentioned by Herodotos in his definition of the region, their exclusion may be ascribed to either of two possible causes. One explanation may be that all of them were dependencies of the twelve *poleis* listed by Herodotos.[6] As such they may have been indirectly represented in the Ionian *koinon*, just as a number of *poleis* in Boiotia were only indirectly represented at the federal level (436–37). In that connection it is interesting to note that the Athenians in C5 appear in most cases to have preferred to deal directly with each of the dependencies in matters relating to tribute, rather than indirectly through negotiation with each of the local hegemonic powers.[7] Another explanation for Herodotos' exclusion of them from his list of Ionian *poleis* may be that his list was informed first and foremost by criteria related to a narrow definition of Ionian ethnicity which applied only to the Ionian *dodekapolis*, to the exclusion of other Greek communities in the area.

The case for regarding the *dodekapolis* as a narrowly defined ethnic group on the basis of the description offered by Herodotos is, in fact, a strong one. The definition of the group conforms to all of the six criteria of ethnicity applied to Arkadia by Nielsen (1999): *viz.* a collective name, a myth of common descent, a shared history, a distinctive shared culture, an association with a specific territory—that is, a "homeland"—and a sense of solidarity.

According to Herodotos, all of the twelve *poleis* claimed pure Ionian descent, a claim that is ridiculed at length in Hdt. 1.146.1–47.2. As for their collective name, Herodotos claims that the citizens of the *dodekapolis* were the only ones to acknowledge the designation "Ionians", which in itself distinguishes them from other groups (1.143.3). All of the twelve *poleis* traced their origins to a single homeland, *viz.* Achaia, the twelve *mere* of which constituted the origin of the twelve Ionian *poleis*, and Herodotos believes that this is the reason why the Ionians refused to admit more members into the Panionion (1.145). The Ionians were driven out of their homeland, having been defeated by the Achaians (Hdt. 1.145, 7.94). They subsequently founded their own exclusive sanctuary of Poseidon Helikonios on Mt. Mykale and established the Panionia festival (Hdt. 1.143.3, 148.1). A sense of solidarity became apparent in the face of an external threat, although Herodotos is quick to point out the failure of the Ionian *poleis* to present a consistently united front (1.141.1–4, 6.6–17). On the other hand, Herodotos also reports the proposal by Bias of Priene that the Ionians should vacate Asia and found a *polis* of "all the Ionians" in Sardinia (1.170.1–2), as well as Thales' suggestion that the Ionians should establish a common *bouleuterion* at Teos and reduce the political status of each of the *poleis* to that of a deme. Although neither proposal was carried, it is clear that Herodotos here concedes that there was a considerable cohesion of the region as a whole. To sum up, in spite of the fact that Herodotos pours scorn on the Ionian claim to exclusivity as an ethnic group, he has to accept the foundations on which that claim was made by the members of the *dodekapolis*.

That some of these features were indeed part of the self-definition of the *dodekapolis* is suggested e.g. by the account in Diod. 15.49.1–4, in which it is reported that in 373/2 representatives of the nine Ionian *poleis* that formed part of

[5] The thirteen communities that are not included in Herodotos' list are, type A: Achilleion (no. 836), Airai (no. 837), Leukophrys (no. 851), Pygela (no. 863) and Sidousa (no. 866); type B: Boutheia (no. 839), Dios Hieron (no. 842), Elaioussa (no. 843), Larisa (no. 818), Myonnesos (no. 855), Polichne (no. 860), Pteleon (no. 862) and Thebai (no. 869). Two further communities that are included as type B in the Inventory but not mentioned by Hdt. are Notion (no. 858) and Naulochos (no. 857), but in the period to which Herodotos refers, both were presumably just harbour towns belonging to Kolophon and Priene respectively. His omission of these two communities is therefore not surprising.

[6] The following communities are attested as dependent *poleis* in the Classical period: Boutheia (no. 839), Elaioussa (no. 843), Polichne (no. 860) and Pteleon (no. 862) = dependencies of Erythrai (no. 845), Dios Hieron (no. 842) = dependency of Kolophon (no. 848); Myonnesos (no. 855) = dependency of Teos (no. 868); and Thebai (869) = dependency of Miletos (no. 854). Most of the other *poleis* listed in n. 5 may have been dependencies as well, but the evidence does not allow us to conclude this with certainty for the Classical period. Some of them are clearly attested as dependencies in the Hellenistic period.

[7] Only one of the Ionian *poleis*, *viz.* Erythrai (no. 845), appears to have been organised with its dependencies in a syntely. Of the communities listed in n. 5, Airai, Pygela, Dios Hieron, Notion and possibly Larisa have their own entries in the Athenian lists, as do the type C communities Isinda (no. 846) and Marathesion (no. 853)—the latter probably an Ephesian dependency in C5—along with Leros (no. 504) and Teichioussa (the inhabitants of the latter two appear to have been fully integrated into the community of Miletos in C5).

the *koinon* in C4[8] petitioned the Achaians to allow them to copy their ancestral altars at the Poseidon sanctuary at Helike (no. 235) in Achaia in connection with a reorganisation of the Panionia. Furthermore, the role played by the Kodridai in the foundation of the Ionian *poleis* after the expulsion of the Ionians from Achaia is attested in a number of Classical sources, *viz.* Pherekydes ((*FGrHist* 3) fr. 155 (Ephesos)); Hdt. 9.97 (Miletos); Hellan. fr. 48 (Erythrai); and Ephor. fr. 25 (Klazomenai). Only for one member of the *dodekapolis*, Chios, do we know that its foundation myth in the Classical period definitely did not link it with the Kodridai: Ion of Chios (*FGrHist* 392) fr. 1 explains that Chios, a Euboian foundation, successfully applied for membership of the Panionion at the behest of the Chian *basileus* Hektor.

As far as the other *poleis* on the Ionian coast are concerned, we know that at least one of them, Pygela (no. 863), operated with a foundation myth that set it apart from the *dodekapolis* already in the Classical period. According to Theopomp. fr. 59, it claimed to have been founded by some of Agamemnon's troops who were prevented from travelling on because of disease. This myth is probably reflected in the name of one of its civic subdivisions, the *phyle* Agamemnonis (*I.Ephesos* 3111.8–9 (C4)). There is no evidence for Pygela's participation in its own right in the Panionia, not even in the period in C4 when the community was not a dependency of any member of the *dodekapolis*. It is thus a distinct possibility that the narrow definition of an Ionian ethnic identity applying only to the *dodekapolis*, as propagated by the Ionians themselves, was one of the reasons why other Greek *poleis* on the Ionian coast were not represented in the Panionion, just as it may account for the exclusion of the *poleis* Magnesia and Iasos from Herodotos' definition of the region.

The early history of the Panionion itself and of the political institutions that were connected with the association is obscure. The tradition that the twelve Ionian *poleis* united *c.*700 against a thirteenth *polis*, Melie, is not attested earlier than the Hellenistic period, and its historicity is dismissed, e.g. by Hommel in Kleiner *et al.* (1967) 91, who prefers instead to assume that the war was waged by a smaller coalition of Melie's neighbours. The first reliable attestation of the Panionion as a centre for political and military activity at a regional level is provided by Hdt. 1.76.3 and 1.141.1–4, which relate to Kyros' conquest of Lydia. According to Herodotos, envoys were sent from Kyros to the Ionians prior to his victory in order to persuade the Ionian *poleis* to back him against Kroisos. Later the Ionians and the Aiolians sent a joint delegation to Sardis in order to negotiate terms with the Persians after Kroisos' defeat. There can be little doubt that these negotiations were conducted through the political institutions connected with the Panionion. After Kyros had turned down their request, the Ionians (with the exception of Miletos) assembled at the Panionion and decided to send a joint embassy to Sparta (Hdt. 1.141.4), in which representatives of the Aiolian *poleis* also took part. It appears from Hdt. 1.151.3–152.1 that a hegemonic alliance had been established between the *poleis* in Ionia and Aiolis, with the Ionians as the leading partner. The alliance may have been relatively short-lived, for there is no information to suggest that the Aiolians offered military assistance to the Ionians in the latter's last stand against the Persians in 494. However, we know from *I.Erythrai* 16 (C4), a joint decision by the Aiolians and Ionians, that the collaboration reported by Herodotos between the two groups is entirely plausible.

The Panionion was also the centre of joint Ionian opposition to the Persians in connection with the Ionian Revolt. In 497 the Ionians had made a joint decision to send military aid to Onesilos of Cyprus (Hdt. 5.108.2–109.3); according to Herodotos, the decision was made by *τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἰώνων*. Finally, when faced by an attack by the Persians in 494, the Ionians sent delegates (*πρόβουλοι*) to the Panionion (Hdt. 6.7), who decided to counter the Persian threat by assembling a joint navy at Lade.

After the Ionian defeat at Lade, the Persians may have used the existing Ionian organisation as a means of controlling the region. They imposed obligations on the Ionians to resolve their internal disputes by legal means rather than by war (Hdt. 6.42.1), and the political institutions connected with the Panionion may well have provided the framework for these dispute resolutions (e.g. Debord (1999) 176–77).

In C5 our sources for the common Ionian political institutions dry up. It is assumed by some scholars (e.g. Hornblower (1982*a*) 58 with n. 48) that the *koinon* was not functioning under the Athenian Empire, except for its purely religious activities celebrated under the name of *τὰ Ἐφέσια*, presumably because the Athenians would have

[8] The reduction of the number to nine members in Diodorus' account may be due to the effects of the King's Peace, the terms of which may have separated the islands of Chios and Samos from the *poleis* on the mainland, and possibly also to the temporary disappearance of Priene. Tod 113 (391–388) mentions five *poleis* as participants in the arbitration between Myous and Miletos (Erythrai, Chios, Klazomenai, Lebedos and Ephesos), and Tod assumes that the inscription originally recorded delegates from the rest of the Ionian *poleis* (including Priene). Other scholars (e.g. Debord (1999) 254 n. 167) note that it seems impossible to fit all the remaining members into the lacuna in ll. 11–15.

regarded a continued Ionian alliance as a potential threat. However, as early as 391–388 the Persians seem again to have used some Panionian political structures for exercising control over the region and ensuring internal peace, as indicated by Tod 113. This inscription records an arbitration process between Miletos (no. 854) and Myous (no. 856), conducted by representatives of the Ionian *poleis* at the request of Strouses, who is designated in the inscription (l. 42) as satrap of Ionia.

The Panionia festival and with it presumably also the political institutions connected with the Panionion were moved from Ephesos back to Mykale during C4f (see most recently Debord (1999) 177). There is archaeological evidence for a *bouleuterion* on Mt. Mykale dating to C4m (Müller-Wiener in Kleiner *et al.* (1967) 35–37). *I.Priene* 139 (365–335) confirms the existence of an Ionian *boule*, while another inscription (*PEP Priene* 11 (350–323)) regulates sacrifices to Zeus Boulaios at the Panionion. The inscription mentions a *prytanis* (l. 21, presumably presiding over the Panionian *boule*, so Hommel in Kleiner *et al.* (1967) 61) as well as sceptre-carrying *basileis* (l. 17), who presumably acted as representatives of each of the *polis* members of the *koinon* (Hommel in Kleiner *et al.* (1967) 59–61). The *basileus* of Ephesos is singled out for special mention in l. 22, perhaps reflecting Ephesos' claim to the "kingship of the Ionians", as attested in Pherekydes (*FGrHist* 3) fr. 155, on the grounds that Androklos, a son of Kodros and the *ktistes* of Ephesos, was the leader of the colonisation of Ionia.

As will become clear from the individual *polis* entries in the Inventory, a considerable number of the communities in Ionia were dependent *poleis* under the control of their larger neighbours.[9] But even the latter *poleis* were themselves dependencies, for, as a region, Ionia experienced more than two centuries of almost uninterrupted dependency on external powers. At least as early as C6m, all the Greek *poleis* in Ionia were part of the kingdom of Lydia. When Kroisos came to the Lydian throne *c.*560, he completed the subjugation of the Greeks that had been started by Gyges (680–645) and carried on by his successors (Hdt. 1.26.1–28). According to Hdt. 1.6.1–3, Kroisos was the first to levy tribute on the Greeks, and he regards Kroisos' conquests as marking the end of Greek freedom. After the conquest of Lydia by Kyros the Great (546), the Ionian *poleis* were brought under the control of the Persians (Hdt. 1.169.1–2). Herodotos claims that no fixed tribute was imposed by either Kyros or Kambyses (3.89.1–3); when Dareios created his twenty *nomoi* ("tax districts"), the Ionians, together with the Magnesians, Aiolians, Karians, Lykians, Milyans and Pamphylians, but separately from the Mysians and Lydians, formed part of the first *nomos*. After the Ionian Revolt, the Persians reasserted their control over the *poleis*, and the tribute assessments carried out by Artaphernes, *hyparchos* of Sardis, in the aftermath of the Revolt were, according to Hdt. 6.42.1, still in force in Herodotos' own day. This passage may be taken to indicate, with Thuc. 8.5.5, that the Persians kept maintaining their claim to tribute from the region throughout C5, although the Athenians effectively prevented the satraps from collecting it.[10] From 479 to 412 the *poleis* were dependent on Athens, which is attested as interfering in a very heavy-handed way in the internal affairs of several of the *poleis* at least as early as C5m.[11]

After 412 many of the *poleis* in the region went over to Sparta, and from 412 to the King's Peace in 386, which reaffirmed the Persian king's claim to the *poleis* in the region, the Ionians could to some degree play off rival external powers (Sparta, various Persian potentates and, from 394, Athens) against each other, although for the most part the cities appear to have been little more than pawns in a much larger power struggle.[12] In this period, the status of the Ionian *poleis* as *autonomoi* communities appears to have been a bone of contention, which to some extent affected especially the relationship between the Spartans and the Persians in the first half of the 390s.[13]

The history of Ionia as a part of the Persian Empire is complex, and it is outside the scope of this chapter to engage with the question of the status of Ionia as an administrative area within the Empire. One of the most important modern controversies, which has still not been settled decisively, focuses on the question whether Ionia was a satrapy separate from Lydia in C5 and C4 (see Debord (1999) 116–30 for a

[9] Some of these are listed in n. 6, which includes only communities of type A and type B.

[10] e.g. Lewis (1977) 87; Gomme *et al.* (1981) 16–17; Debord (1999) 121–23.

[11] See e.g. Erythrai (no. 845), Miletos (no. 854) and Samos (no. 865).

[12] In 401 the Ionian *poleis* (with the exception of Miletos) decided to back Kyros against Tissaphernes (Xen. *Hell.* 3.1.3; *An.* 1.1.6–8); after Kyros' death the *poleis* seem to have had some influence on the direction of Spartan foreign policy in relation to the Persians (see e.g. Lewis (1977) 136–47). In the early 380s there is evidence of considerable Athenian involvement with Klazomenai (*I.Erythrai* 502) and Erythrai (*SEG* 26 1282), the latter having sided with Konon and Pharnabazos against the Spartans (Diod. 14.84.3) after the battle of Knidos in 394. Other Ionian *poleis* that had sided with Konon were, according to Diodoros, Teos, Ephesos and Chios. It is widely agreed that the Athenian decrees mark a return to some of the methods by which the Athenians had kept their allies under control in C5 (e.g. Debord (1999) 261–63 and Badian (1995) 85–86).

[13] Xen. *Hell.* 3.1.3, 2.20, 4.25–26.

discussion and references to the debate[14]). Perhaps the most important conclusion drawn by Debord (1999) 199–200 in this respect is that the internal organisation of the Persian Empire kept evolving throughout the Classical period, and that the satrapies should not be seen as static, rigidly defined administrative units. What should be noted here is that, whatever the status of the region within the Persian administrative system at any one time, the *poleis* on the mainland never seem to have been formally split up and distributed between several different districts, although we have attestations of gifts of the revenue from individual *poleis* to favoured subjects of the king, gifts that have parallels also in Aiolis and elsewhere.[15] It should also be noted that, from at least as early as the 350s, some of the Ionian *poleis* came under the influence of the Hekatomnids (see generally Hornblower (1982*a*) esp. 107–12), who extended their control as far north as the island of Chios and the *polis* of Erythrai.

The King's Peace in 386 had at least one important consequence for the region as a geographical entity: *viz.* the separation of Samos and Chios from the rest of the *dodekapolis*. It is uncertain to what extent the treaty meant the complete severance of ties between these islands and their *peraiai* (see Debord (1999) 264 for references to the modern controversy); but there can be little doubt that the King's Peace marks a change in the formal relations between the *poleis* on the mainland and the island communities of Samos and Chios, to which the Persian king did not lay claim. Chios entered into an alliance with Athens in 384/3 (Tod 118), and it was a member of the Second Athenian Naval League (Tod 123.24) until its defection in 357 (Dem. 15.3; Diod. 16.7.3). Samos, on the other hand, appears to have held aloof from the alliance, but when the Persians had introduced garrisons on the island, the Athenians responded in 365 by setting up a klerouchy that effectively eliminated the Samian *polis* for more than four decades (see no. 865).

The present Inventory comprises the *poleis* attested both in Ionia proper and in the south-western part of Lydia. Although the majority of the *poleis* in the Inventory are referred to as "Hellenic", it must be noted here, as a general caveat, that the population of each of them is likely to have contained a significant non-Greek element (see e.g. Priene (no. 861)), and that non-Greek cultural influences on the *poleis*, including those situated on the coast, were probably strong throughout our period.

In addition to the thirty-four settlements that are described in the Inventory of *poleis* below, there are fifty-eight locations attested in Archaic or Classical sources for which the evidence is not sufficient to warrant their inclusion in the Inventory or about which we know that they were second-order settlements; in addition, there are seventeen unidentified settlements.[16]

1. *Pre-Hellenistic Settlements not Attested as* Poleis

Akele (*Ἀκέλη*) Attested in Hellan. fr. 112 (*apud* Steph. Byz. 58.12–14), who referred to the city as a *polis* founded by Akelos, son of Malis and Herakles. There is no other Archaic or Classical evidence for this community, and it is not clear whether it was considered Greek. The location of it is uncertain: the designation of it as a *polis* in Lydia is due to an emendation of Steph. Byz. 58.12, where it is referred to as a *polis* in Lykia by the MSS. Not in *Barr.*

Assesos (*Ἀσσησός*) Hdt. 1.19.3 (*χώρης τῆς Μιλησίης ἐν Ἀσσησῷ*); Theopomp. fr. 123 (*apud* Steph. Byz. 136.4–5: *πόλις Μιλησίας γῆς*). It was a settlement with an Athena sanctuary in the territory of Miletos. Not in *Barr.*, but A is attested, see s.v. Miletos (no. 854).

Athymbra (*Ἄθυμβρα*) The earlier name of the Hellenistic *polis* Nysa according to Steph. Byz. 35.18–20 (without source

[14] Debord (1999) 118 argues that, between the death of Oroites, the satrap of Sardis, who controlled the provinces of Phrygia, Lydia and Ionia, and the Athenian victory at Salamis, Ionia was probably a distinct administrative unit within the Persian Empire, although it was sometimes under military control from Sardis. He further argues (ibid. 128) that the satrapy of Ionia was recreated as part of a major reorganisation of the Persian Empire in 392/1, but perhaps brought back under the control of Sardis under Tiribazos. The (probably short-lived) existence of an Ionian satrapy under Strouthas in C4 may be confirmed by Tod 113. Note, however, Lewis' suggestion ((1977) 118–19 n. 75) that Strouthas had more extensive powers, but that Ionia alone is mentioned in the inscription, because "only his position as satrap of Ionia is relevant to this arbitration".

[15] The most famous example of a Greek beneficiary is Themistokles, who received revenue from Magnesia and Myous, as well as from Lampsakos (Thuc. 1.138.5).

[16] The following settlements have not been included in the site list, because the evidence currently available is late and because there is currently no archaeological or epigraphical material suggesting Greek occupation of the sites earlier than the Hellenistic or Roman periods: Almoura (*SEG* 31.949) or Almyra (*SEG* 29 1151); Apateira (*SEG* 29.1115); Boukolion (*SEG* 29.1151); Chesion (Apollodoros, *Chron.* fr. 49); Erythras Limen (Strabo 14.1.32); Gallesion (Parthenios fr. 629); Ioniapolis (Peschlow-Bindokat (1977) 100, (1977–78)); Karnia (Nikolaos (*FGrHist* 90) fr. 27); the harbour Kasystes (Strabo 14.1.32); Kotheira (*SEG* 29.1115.8–9); Kyrbissos (Robert, *OMS* 5: 304–8); Metropolis and Panormos in Ephesian territory (Strabo 14.1.20); Pentakoma (*SEG* 29.1115); Pyrrha (Strabo 14.1.9–10); Sillyos (Steph. Byz. 569 and Radet (1893) 323; *Barr.* classifies it as a late settlement); Stena (*SEG* 39.1244.23 (after 120/19); Thyeira (Meriç *et al.* (1979)).

reference); however, according to Strabo 14.1.46, Nysa was created by a synoecism of Athymbra and two other settlements, seemingly accepted by *Barr. Barr.* 61, C.

Babrantion (*Βαβράντιον*) Polyb. 16.40.1 (*apud* Steph. Byz. 154.9–10), where apparently Babrantion was recorded as a *topos* in Chios (no. 840). It has been identified with the modern site of Daskalopetra and classified as a settlement in *Barr.* 56, A?C?.

Boliskos (*Βόλισκος*) Thuc. 8.24.3; Ephor. fr. 103; Androtion (*FGrHist* 324) fr. 64; Steph. Byz. 174.16–22 (*πόλις, πολισμάτιον*). Located on the island of Chios (cf. no. 840). *Barr.* 56, C.

Chalkideon limen (*ὁ Χαλκιδέων λιμήν*) The name of the harbour is attested in *I.Erythrai* 151.40 (*c.*340). It was located in the territory of Erythrai (no. 845). Not in *Barr.*

Charadrous (*Χαραδροῦς*) The only attestation of this site is Ps.-Skylax 98, who locates it near Mt. Mykale. Not in *Barr.*

Daphnous (*Δαφνοῦς*) Thuc. 8.23.6, 31.2; *I.Erythrai* 501.5 = *IG* I³ 119.5 (407). Located in the territory of Klazomenai (no. 847). Not in *Barr.*

Delion(?) (*Δήλιον* or *Δήλιος*) *PEP Chios* 76 (475–450). Located on the island of Chios (cf. no. 840). It is not certain if Delion was a settlement or simply a sanctuary. Not in *Barr.*

Delphinion (*Δελφίνιον*) Thuc. 8.38.2 (*χωρίον . . . λιμένας ἔχον* and in *PEP Chios* 75.a8 (C4m). It was located on the island of Chios (cf. no. 840) and was fortified by the Athenians in 412/11. Traces of the C5 fortification on the top of a small acropolis were reported by Boardman (1956) 41–49. *Barr.* 56, C.

Didyma (*Δίδυμα*) Hdt. 6.19.2–3; an alternative toponym *Βραγχίδαι*, presumably derived from the name of the priestly family who controlled the sanctuary, is attested in Hdt. 1.46.2. Didyma was an important sanctuary and settlement in the territory of Miletos (no. 854). It has been suggested by Tuchelt (1988) that it may have been politically independent of Miletos in the Archaic period; but see Ehrhardt (1998). *Barr.* 61, AC.

Drymoussa (*Δρυμοῦσσα*) Thuc. 8.31.3 (*νῆσος*). In C5 the island Drymoussa belonged to Klazomenai (no. 847), when, according to Thuc. 8.31.3, the Klazomenians deposited property there for safe keeping. *Barr.* 56, C.

Drys (*Δρῦς*) Arist. *Σαμίων πολιτεία* (= no. 129) (fr. 583.1); *I.Priene* 37+38.105–6 (C2). Drys was located in the territory of Priene (no. 861), close to the Samian *peraia.* It was the site of a famous battle between Priene and Miletos (no. 854) in the Archaic period. Kleiner *et al.* (1967) 82 n. 234 suggest that Drys may have been situated in the vicinity of the fortress Karion in territory that was repeatedly disputed by Priene and Samos (no. 864) in the Hellenistic and Roman periods. *Barr.* 61, C.

Embaton, Embata (*Ἔμβατον, Ἔμβατα*) Thuc. 3.29.2 (*Ἔμβατον τῆς Ἐρυθραίας*); Theopomp. fr. 14 *apud* Steph. Byz. 270.8–9 (*τόπος τῆς Ἐρυθραίας*); Polyaen. 3.9.29. It has not been located (*pace Barr.*) with certainty but was somewhere on the coast in the territory of Erythrai (no. 845). The name simply means "landing place", and we have no firm evidence for a settlement there. On the basis of a restoration of *I.Erythrai* 201c.61 (C3), it has been assumed that Embaton contained an Aphrodite sanctuary, but that restoration is now universally rejected. *Barr.* 56, C (Agrilya).

Glauke (*Γλαύκη*) Thuc. 8.79.2. Glauke was located on Mt. Mykale, and it appears to have contained a sizeable harbour: according to Thuc. 8.79.2, eighty-two Athenian ships were anchored there in 410. Glauke presumably belonged to the Samian *peraia* at that time. *Barr.* 61, C.

Helos (*Helos*) *Barr.* includes this as a possible Classical site in Erythraian territory; however, the only evidence for the toponym is found in Plin. *HN* 5.31.117, a passage mentioning three *oppida* (Pteleon, Helos and Dorion) and widely regarded as suspicious (e.g. Keil (1910) 22). *RE* s.v. Polichne (9) accepts the Pliny passage and regards the location of Denizgeren as probable simply on the grounds that the area used to contain a swamp. It is this location that has been accepted by *Barr.* It appears to have been a sizeable harbour in C5 (Keil (1910) 16). *Barr.* 56, C?

Hermonossa (*Ἑρμώνοσσα*) *PEP Chios* 76.c2–3 (475–450). Located on the island of Chios (no. 840). Not in *Barr.*

Kalamoi (*Κάλαμοι*) Hdt. 9.96.1. Located on the coast of Samos (no. 864), but it is not certain if Kalamoi contained an actual settlement. Shipley (1987) 280. *Barr.* 61, C.

Kardamyle (*Καρδαμύλη*) Thuc. 8.24.3. Located on the island of Chios (no. 840), directly on the sea, perhaps at modern Marmaron. *Barr.* 56, AC (Marmaron).

Karides (*Κάριδες*) Attested in Ephor. fr. 11, who designates Karides as a *polis* founded by the survivors of the flood in the time of Deukalion, and claimed that there was still a location of that name in his day on Chios (no. 840). *Barr.* 56, AC.

Karion (*Κάριον*) *I.Priene* 37+38a.I.9–10 (*φρούριον* (C2)). It was located on Mt. Mykale in territory disputed between Samos (no. 864) and Priene (no. 861) throughout the Hellenistic period. Kleiner *et al.* (1967) 94–95 and 126–27 argue that the fortress was built on top of the remains of Melie (*Barr.* equates it with Melie), the fortifications of which were strengthened and extended towards the end of C7. There is archaeological attestation of continuous activity on the mountain throughout the Archaic, Classical and Hellenistic periods, but according to Kleiner *et al.* (1967) 126–27 the site was occupied only intermittently for garrison use. *Barr.* 61, A for Melie and H for Karion, but see *supra* for C.

Karteriois, Limen en (*ὁ ἐν Καρτερίοις λιμήν*) Thuc. 8.101.2; the harbour belonged to Phokaia (no. 859); according to Plin. *HN* 5.138, Karteria was an island, but it cannot be located with certainty. Not in *Barr.*

Kaukasa (*Καύκασα*) Hdt. 5.33.1. Located on Chios (no. 840), perhaps at modern Volissos. *Barr.* 56, C.

Kenchreus (*Κέγχρευς*) *I.Erythrai* 151.7, 11 (*c.*340). Located in the territory of Erythrai (no. 845) and possibly a settlement. Not in *Barr.*

Klamadai (*Κλαμάδαι*) Attested in *IG* I³ 96.5 (412/11) as the site of the estate of Kleomedes. It is uncertain whether Klamadai was a settlement or a region on Samos (no. 864). Shipley (1987) 280. *Barr.* 61, C.

Kleai (*Κλέαι*) *I.Erythrai* 151.2 (*c.*340). Located in the territory of Erythrai (no. 845) and possibly a settlement. Not in *Barr.*

Kolonai (*Κολωναί*, *Κολώνη*) Anaximenes (*FGrHist* 72) fr. 25 *apud* Strabo 13.1.19; *I.Erythrai* 151.21 (*c.*340). Located in the territory of Erythrai (no. 845). *Barr.* 56, C.

Koloura (*Κόλουρα*) Attested in Hecat. fr. 234, who refers to it as a place *ἵνα Πρ<ι>ηνῆς ἔζοντο*. According to Steph. Byz. 37.18–19, it was located *περὶ Πριήνην*, but nothing further is known about it. Not in *Barr.*

Koressos (*Κορησ(σ)ός*) Hdt. 5.100 (*Κορησὸς τῆς Ἐφεσίης*); Xen. *Hell.* 1.2.7–10; *Hell. Oxy.* 1.1 (*λιμήν* (Chambers)). Located in the territory of Ephesos (no. 844). Not in *Barr.*

Kybeleia (*Κυβέλ(λ)εια*) Hecat. fr. 230 *apud* Steph. Byz. 389.9–12 (*πόλις Ἰωνίας*); *I.Erythrai* 151 + *EA* 9 (1987) 138 no. 4 II.1 (*c.*340), a list of public roads in the territory of Erythrai (no. 845). According to Strabo 14.1.33, Kybeleia was situated on Mt. Mimas, just south of the promontory called Melaina, and was in his day a *kome*. *Barr.* 56, AC.

Lade (*Λάδη*) Hdt. 6.7; Thuc. 8.17.3 (*νῆσος*). Lade was a small island off the coast close to the urban centre of Miletos (no. 854); it was the scene of a major naval battle in 496 during the Ionian Revolt (Hdt. 6.7ff); it provided an anchoring place for ninteteen Athenian ships in 412 (Thuc. 8.17.3) and for 160 ships under the command of Nikanor in 334 (Arr. *Anab.* 1.18.4–5). There are no archaeological remains on the island that might point to habitation in the Archaic or Classical periods (Greaves (2002) 3). *Barr.* 61, AC.

Lampsos (*Λάμψος*) Ephor. fr. 25 *apud* Steph. Byz. According to Steph. Byz. 410.25–411.1, paraphrasing Ephoros, Lampsos was a part of the territory of Klazomenai (*μοῖρα τῆς Κλαζομενίων χώρας*) and named after Lampsos, a descendant of Kodros. There is no firm evidence for an actual settlement there. Not in *Barr.*

Leros (*Λέρος*) This island belonged to Miletos (no. 854) throughout the Classical period and possibly also for most of the Archaic period. The main settlement on the island is most likely to have been located at Ag. Marina, where there is evidence for habitation from C7 to the Byzantine period (Bean and Cook (1957) 134–35). Cf. Leros (no. 504) and *infra* s.v. Miletos (no. 854). *Barr.* 61, AC.

Leukonia (*Λευκωνία*) Attested only in Plut. *Mor.* 244F–245A as a place settled by the Chians after the murder of their king, Hippoklos. The anecdote (repeated by Polyaen. 8.66) relates how the Erythraians later appropriated the settlement; this suggests that Leukonia was located on the Asiatic mainland, perhaps on the Mimas peninsula. *Barr.* 56, A ("mainland (not on Khios)").

Leukonion (*Λευκώνιον*) Thuc. 8.24.3 mentions Leukonion as a place where the Athenians fought and defeated the Chians in 412. Leukonion was presumably located on the east coast of Chios (no. 840), but the site has not been identified. *Barr.* 56, unlocated.

Maiandrioi (*Μαιάνδριοι*) No toponym is known for this community, which is known from the Athenian tribute quota lists (*IG* I³ 71.I.133, 259.III.29, 267.V.19). *Barr.* 61, C.

Malyeie (*Μαλυείη*) *I.Erythrai* 151.1 (*c.*340). Located in the territory of Erythrai (no. 845) and possibly a settlement. Not in *Barr.*

Marathon epi thalassan (*Μαράθων ἐπὶ θάλασ[σαν]*) *I.Erythrai* 151.26 (*c.*340). Located in the territory of Erythrai (no. 845) and possibly a settlement. Not in *Barr.*

Marathoussa (*Μαραθούσσα*) Thuc. 8.31.3 (*νῆσος*). In C5 the island of Marathoussa belonged to Klazomenai (no. 847), when, according to Thuc. 8.31.3, the Klazomenians deposited property there for safe keeping. *Barr.* 56, C.

Melie See **Karion** *supra.*

Myrsinoussa (*Μυρσ[ινοῦσσα]*) Attested in *I.Priene* 1.9 (*c.*334), from which it appears that it was a *kome* in the territory of Priene (no. 861). Not in *Barr.*

Nais (*Ναις*) *IGR* IV 713 (Imperial); an ethnic (*Ναεύς*) is attested in Içten and Engelmann (1995) 90 no. 3, a C4 communal dedication by the Naeis. It is uncertain if the Naeis were a Greek community or a barbarian one. It cannot be ruled out that Nais was in fact a Greek *polis.* Not in *Barr.*

Oie (*Οἴη*) *I.Erythrai* 151.27 (*c.*340). Located in the territory of Erythrai (no. 845) and possibly a settlement. Not in *Barr.*

Oion (*Οἷον* or *Οἷος*) The toponym is attested in *PEP Chios* 76.a11–12 (475–450). Located on Chios (no. 840) and possibly a settlement. Not in *Barr.*

Oroanna (*Ὀρόαννα*) Attested in a list of *theorodokoi* published by Robert, *BCH* 70 (1946) = *OMS* I.342–44 (C2); the ethnic is *Ὀροαννεύς* (*I.Smyrna* 128). The community is not attested in any Archaic or Classical sources, but ceramic finds on the modern site of Karatepe between Teos (no. 868) and Kolophon (no. 848), identified as Oroanna by R. Meriç, date from the period C5 to the first century AD (see Mitchell (1990) 98). It is highly doubtful if Oroanna had undergone Hellenisation earlier than the Hellenistic period. *Barr.* 56, H (N Colophon), but see *supra.*

Panormos (*Πάνορμος*) Attested in Hdt. 1.157.3, where the site is designated as a *λιμήν* in the territory of Miletos (no. 854), and in Thuc. 8.24.1. *Barr.* 61, C (Kovela Limani).

Pele (*Πήλη*) Thuc. 8.31.3 (*νῆσος*). In C5 the island of Pele belonged to Klazomenai (no. 847), when, according to Thuc. 8.31.3, the Klazomenians deposited property there for safe keeping. *Barr.* 56, C.

Phanai (*Φάναι*) Thuc. 8.24.3. Located on Chios (no. 840) at the modern site of Kato Phana. *Barr.* 56, AC.

Phoinikous (*Φοινικοῦς*) Thuc. 8.34 (*λιμήν*). Keil (1910) 20 tentatively accepts the identification made by H. and R. Kiepert of this harbour with the modern site Eğri Liman, while it is queried in *RE* s.v. Polichne 9. Here the Gulf of Çesme or the Gulf of Agrilia are suggested as potential alternative locations. *Barr.* 56, C (Eğri Liman).

Phokaia on Mt. Mykale (*Φώκαια*) Ps.-Skylax 98 provides the only Classical evidence for a Phokaia located on Mt. Mykale. His statement is supported by Steph. Byz. 675.23–24. Nothing further is known about this site. Not in *Barr.*

Polichna (*Πολίχνα*) Thuc. 8.14.3, 23.6. Polichna was controlled by Klazomenai (no. 847) and was fortified by it in 412 after its decision to revolt against Athens (Thuc. 8.14.3). The Klazomenian Polichna has not been located with certainty. *Barr.* suggests Balıklıova?, dated C.

Polichne (*Πολίχνη*) Hdt. 6.26.2 (*Πολίχνη ἡ Χίων*). Polichne belonged to Chios (no. 840) and was used as a base for military operations by Histiaios during his attack on the island in 494. Polichne has not been identified with any modern site; it is generally assumed that Polichne was located on the island of Chios itself, and that it was not identical with the Polichne on the mainland that contributed to the Erythraian syntely (no. 860) in C5. *Barr.* 56, unlocated ("on Khios"), A.

Prineus (*Πρινεύς*) *I.Erythrai* 151.20 (*c.*340). Located in the territory of Erythrai (no. 845) and possibly a settlement. Not in *Barr.*

Sidele (*Σιδήλη*) The toponym is attested in Hecat. fr. 236 *apud* Steph. Byz. 565.18–19 (*πόλις Ἰωνίας*). There are no other attestations of this site. Not in *Barr.*

Skolopoeis (*Σκολοπόεις*) Hdt. 9.97. The site was located on the coast south of Mt. Mykale and contained a Demeter sanctuary (Hdt. 9.97). A possible location was suggested by Wiegand and Schrader (1904) 17. *Barr.* 61, C.

Skyphia (*Σκυφία*) Attested in Ephor. fr. 26 *apud* Steph. Byz. 580.5–6 (*πολίχνιον*), and it is clear from the *verbatim* quotation of Ephoros in Steph. Byz. 580.6 ("*ἐν Σκυφίᾳ κατῴκει*") that Skyphia was a settlement. According to Steph. Byz., Skyphia belonged to Klazomenai (no. 847). Nothing further is known about this community. Not in *Barr.*

Skyppion (*Σκύππιον* or *Σκύππιος*) Attested in Paus. 7.3.8 (referring to the time of the Ionian immigration) as a place in the territory of Kolophon (no. 848), founded from Kolophon by a group of Ionian invaders who later went on to found Klazomenai. There is no other evidence for a community of that name. Not in *Barr.*

Smyrna in Ephesos (*Σμύρνα*) Hipponax fr. 50.1, West; it was probably a suburb of Ephesos (no. 844). Not in *Barr.*

Teichioussa (*Τειχιοῦσσα*) *I.Didyma* 6.1; Thuc. 8.26.3, 28.1. Located in the territory of Miletos (no. 854). *Barr.* 61, C.

2. *Unidentified Settlements*

Amades Identified as a possible Classical settlement on Chios (no. 840) by Yalouris (1986) 156 on the basis of house terraces, ceramic evidence and tiles. *Barr.* 56, C.

Armolia Identified as a possible Classical settlement on Chios (no. 840) by Yalouris (1986) 150 on the basis of architectural fragments and ceramic finds. Not in *Barr.*

Avgonema Identified as a Classical settlement on Chios (no. 840) by Yalouris (1986) 151 on the basis of foundations and ceramic evidence. *Barr.* 56, C.

Belkahve Settlement in the territory of Smyrna (no. 867) with an Archaic wall and ceramic evidence from C4 and later. Bean (1955). *Barr.* 56, AC.

Çatalkaya Fortified Archaic site in the territory of Smyrna (no. 867), with what appear to be housing terraces surrounded by a fortification wall. The ceramics found on the site are predominantly Archaic and Hellenistic. Tuna (1984) and Meriç and Nollé (1988) 225–26. Not in *Barr.*

Çobanpınarı Settlement in the territory of Smyrna (no. 867) which has yielded ceramic finds from the Classical period. Bean (1955). Not in *Barr.*

Elinta Identified as a Classical settlement on Chios (no. 840) by Yalouris (1986) 151 on the basis of ceramic evidence, tiles and building stones. *Barr.* 56, C.

Emporio Archaic settlement on Chios (no. 840) containing a walled acropolis dating from C7 (Boardman (1967) 4–5), a harbour, at least two sanctuaries, and a residential area on the hill of Prophitis Elias. *Barr.* 56, A.

Erina Early Bronze Age settlement on Chios (no. 840) which has also produced Archaic and Classical sherds in abundance (Yalouris (1986) 150). Not in *Barr.*

Kastri tou Psellou Identified by Yalouris (1986) 146 as a possible settlement on Chios (no. 840), with ceramic evidence from the Classical period as well as a possibly Classical defensive wall. Not in *Barr.*

Kontari Identified as a possible Archaic settlement on Chios (no. 840) by Yalouris (1986) 144, but there is no firm evidence for occupation prior to the Hellenistic and Roman periods. *Barr.* 56, HR.

Lithi Identified as a possible Archaic settlement on Chios (no. 840) by Yalouris (1986) 151 on the basis of alleged Archaic tombs on the site. *Barr.* 56, A?

Managros Identified as a possible Archaic and Classical settlement on Chios (no. 840) by Yalouris (1986) 146 on the basis of architectural and ceramic finds on the site. *Barr.* 56, A?

Methochi Identified as a possible Archaic and Classical settlement on Chios (no. 840) by Yalouris (1986) 146. *Barr.* 56, C.

Milingos Identified as a Classical settlement on Chios (no. 840) by Yalouris (1986) 157–58 on the basis of possible house and cultivation terraces, building stones, early walls, tiles and ceramic evidence. *Barr.* 56, C.

Neo Karlovasi Identified as a settlement on Samos (no. 864) by Shipley (1987) 255–56, who records a stretch of a late Classical wall, possibly a circuit wall. *Barr.* 61, C.

Neokhorion Identified as a small Archaic and Classical settlement on Samos (no. 864) by Shipley (1987) 259 on the basis of tiles and ceramic finds. *Barr.* 61, AC.

II. The *Poleis*

836. Achilleion Map 61. Not in *Barr.* Unlocated. Type: A. The toponym is *Ἀχιλλεῖον, τό* (Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.17, 4.8.17). In C4 Achilleion is called a *polis* in the urban sense by a single source: Xen. *Hell.* 4.8.17, where it is reported that Thibron used Achilleion as a base for his raids against the territory of the Persian king. Achilleion was situated in the Maiandros valley (Xen. *Hell.* 4.8.17), and thus it cannot be identical with the *phrourion* near Smyrna referred to in Steph. Byz. 158.12 (*pace* Hirschfeld (1894)). According to Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.17, in 398 Achilleion was in a position to supply contingents of armed forces. Nothing further is known about this community.

837. Airai (Airaios) Map 56. Lat. 38.10, long. 26.40. Size of territory: unknown but probably 1 or 2. Type: A. The toponym is *Αἰραί, αἱ* (Thuc. 8.20.2). Note that at Thuc. 8.19.4 *Αἰράς* in *OCT* is an emendation of MSS *Ἐράς* (without any indication of the MSS reading in the *app. crit.*). At Ps.-Skylax 98 *Αἰραί* is a possible conjecture of MSS *Ἄγρα*, but the text is too corrupt to allow firm conclusions. The city-ethnic is *Αἰραιεύς* (*PEP Teos* 235 = *BCH* 4 (1880) 175–76 no. 35 (undated); *IG* I³ 270.I.13 (442/1)) or h*αιραιεύς* (*IG* I³ 282.IV.44–45 (429/8)) or h*αιραῖος* (*IG* I³ 260.IX.2 (453/2)) or *Αἰραῖος* (*IG* I³ 259.III.25 (454/3); Imhoof-Blumer (1902) 512). Airai is called a *polis* both in the urban sense (Thuc. 8.20.2) and in the political sense (*PEP Teos* 268.7 = *BPW* (1892) 739 no. 11 (C4)). The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally in a Teian inscription (*PEP Teos* 235 = *BCH* 4 (1880) 175–76 no. 35 (undated)), and on C4 coins (*infra*) and externally in the Athenian tribute lists and assessment decrees (*infra*).

Airai was undoubtedly a community that was predominantly Greek. We possess no information relating to its foundation; but Wilamowitz-Möllendorff (1908) 617 inferred from the Greek name of the settlement (presumably from the weed *αἶρα, ζιζάνιον*) that Airai was a relatively recent foundation.

Airai was a member of the Delian League. It belonged to the Ionian district and is recorded from 454/3 (*IG* I³ 259.III.25) to 427/6 or 426/5 (*IG* I³ 284.5) a total of fifteen times, paying a *phoros* of 3 tal. down to 447/6 (*IG* I³ 265.II.52) and thereafter 1 tal. (*IG* I³ 266.I.12). It was assessed for tribute in 425/4 (*IG* I³ 71.I.136). It revolted in 411 (Thuc. 8.19.4), and an Athenian attempt to reconquer the city failed (Thuc. 8.20.2). Although Airai was a Teian dependency in Strabo's day (14.1.32), there is no information relating to its status in the Classical period.

Two surviving public enactments were passed by Airai: *PEP Teos* 28 = *ÖJhBeibl* 15 (1912) 75–76 no. 15 may be a fragment of a C5 honorific decree, while *PEP Teos* 268 is an honorific decree passed in C4 and our most important source for the political institutions of Airai in C4: the honorand is granted privileged access to the courts ([*δίκα*]*ς προδίκους*) and access (*ἔφοδον*) to the *ekklesia* (ll. 2–3), and he and his descendants are given dining rights in the *prytaneion* on public festival days (ll. 9–12). The inscription may also provide evidence that there were free non-citizens resident in Airai in C4 (ll. 4–5), and that ownership of real property was restricted to the citizens of Airai (7–9).

Meriç (1987) 303 with plan 2 on p. 306 reports on a survey at the site (Urla). The surface pottery is said to date from late Geometric to C4e, and there was a fortification wall around the peninsular site.

Airai struck bronze coins in C4. Types: *obv.* Apollo with wreath; *rev.* owl; legend: *AIPAIΩN* (Imhoof-Blumer (1902) 512).

838. Anaia (Anaites) Map 61. Lat. 37.50, long. 27.15. Size of territory: unknown but probably 1 or 2. Type: C. The toponym is *Ἄναια, τά* (Thuc. 4.75.1; Ps.-Skylax 98; *IG* XII.6 43.11 (C4l)), *Ἀναία, ἡ* (Paus. 7.4.3). The city-ethnic(?) is *Ἀναιΐτης* (Thuc. 3.19). For possible *polis* status, see *infra*. The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested externally in Thuc. 3.19.2 (428/7) and allegedly in *CID* II 6.2 ([*Ἀν*]*αιῖται ἀπ' Ἰωνί*[*ας*] (358); see *infra*).

According to Maiandros of Miletos (*FGrHist* 491) fr. 1, Samos (no. 864) received Anaia as a dependency from Kolophon (no. 848) in the wake of the Meliac War (*c.*700), and it remained a part of the Samian *peraia* in the Classical and Hellenistic periods (Ps.-Skylax 98). It is hard to decide if Anaia was a dependent *polis* whose citizens had a communal identity distinct from that of the Samians. At 3.19.2 Thucydides uses the collective city-ethnic in a reference to a military action by the Anaiitai (*ἐπιθεμένων τῶν Καρῶν καὶ Ἀναιιτῶν*). Conventionally the Anaiitai of Thuc. 3.19.2 are identified with the exiled Samian oligarchs who supported the Peloponnesians from their base at Anaia (e.g. Robert (1959) 21; Shipley (1987) 35; Hornblower (1991) 405). There can be little doubt that this splinter community would still perceive itself as Samian (Thuc. 3.32.2, 4.75.1). The same probably applies to Thucydides' mention of an Anaiitan warship in 8.61.2 (*μία Ἀναιΐτις*), which assisted Leon of Sparta at the battle of Chios in 411. The ship was presumably provided by the Samian exiles, and Thucydides may have used the adjective in order to avoid the possible misunderstanding that the ship was provided by the Samians on the island. Barron identifies two Samian silver coin types that were probably struck at Anaia during this period. One type carries the legend *A*, which, as Barron suggests (1966) 93, may be the initial of *A*(*ΝΑΙΙΤΩΝ*), while the other has the legend *ΕΠΙ ΒΑΤΙΟΣ*. According to Barron (1966) 92, Batis may have been either the leader of the oligarchic faction or an overseer appointed by Pissouthnes.

By the terms of the Peace of Antalkidas in 386, Samos was outside the sphere of influence of the Persian king, while her *peraia* was defined as part of Persian territory. The implications for the political relationship between Samos and the settlements on the mainland cannot be ascertained. If the

Persians insisted on control of the former *peraia* of Samos for taxation purposes only, this may not have prevented Samos from maintaining political ties with its former possessions. A continuation of Samian involvement on the mainland may explain how the Samians could settle at Anaia after their expulsion from their island by the Athenians in 365 (see most recently Hallof and Habicht (1995)).

It has been suggested by Fantasia (1986), primarily on the basis of *CID* II 6A.1: [Ἀν]αιῖται ἀπ' Ἰωνί[ας]), that the inhabitants of Anaia from 365 to 322/1 no longer regarded themselves as Samian citizens. However, an alternative reading of *CID* II 6 is [Ἐλ]αιῖται (i.e. the city-ethnic of Elaia (no. 807) in Aiolis), if ἀπ Ἰωνί[ας] was used in the general sense of "Asia Minor" rather than in the narrow sense of "Ionia". The fragile connection between Samos and its *peraia* seems to be a recurrent theme in the history of the island. See most recently Hallof and Mileta (1997) and Schuler (1998) 177–79 for the Hellenistic period.

839. Boutheia (Boutheieus) Map 56. Lat. 38.20, long. 26.20. Size of territory: ? Type: B. The toponym is Βούθεια, ἡ (*IG* I³ 270.I.27 (442/1)) or Βουθία (Steph. Byz. 180.17). The city-ethnic is Βουθειεύς (*IG* I³ 259.V.19 (454/3)). Boutheia is called a χωρίον by Theopomp. fr. 369, but this designation does not rule out that Boutheia was indeed a *polis*, as its membership of the Delian League suggests that it was. The collective and external use of the city-ethnic is attested in the Athenian tribute lists (*infra*).

Boutheia cannot be located with precision, and several sites in the Erythraia have been suggested as likely candidates. Now that the existence of an Archaic temple of Athena (part of which can be dated back to C8) has been confirmed at Ildir, the site of Classical Erythrai, the hypothesis that the site at Ilıca contained Archaic Erythrai must be abandoned (Mitchell (1985) 83). Ilıca, then, must be another potential location of Archaic and Classical Boutheia; but it may equally well have housed one of the four other sites known to have formed part of the Erythraian syntely (cf. Erythrai (no. 845)). Only numismatic and/or epigraphical evidence found *in situ* can provide a conclusive answer.

Boutheia was a member of the Delian League. It belonged to the Ionian district and is recorded from 454/3 (*IG* I³ 259.V.19) to 427/6 or 426/5 (*IG* I³ 284.1) a total of fourteen times, five times completely but plausibly restored. In 430/29 Boutheia is explicitly recorded as a dependency of Erythrai (*IG* I³ 281.I.20: [Βουθει]ῆς Ἐρυθραίον). In 453/2 the Boutheieis paid 3 tal. (*IG* I³ 260.X.5). In 450/49, 448/7 and 447/6 they paid alongside the other dependencies of Erythrai; they all formed a syntely, but the Boutheieis paid on their own behalf (*IG* I³ 259.V.19, 260.X.5, 263.II.17, 264.III.30, 265.I.62). In later years their payment is recorded separately from that of the other Erythraian dependencies, and they seem in all years to have paid 1,000 dr. (*IG* I³ 272.II.17, 283.III.29).

840. Chios (Chios) Map 56. Lat. 38.25, long. 26.10. Size of territory: 5 (the island itself is 826.5 km², to which the Chian *peraia* and the Oinoussai islands should be added). Type: A. The toponym is Χίος, ἡ (Hdt. 5.98.4; Aen. Tact. 11.3). The city-ethnic is Χῖος (Hdt. 1.18.3; *IG* II² 43A.24 (378/7)). Chios is called a *polis* in the urban sense (Hecat. fr. 141; Hdt. 6.27.2; Xen. *Hell.* 2.1.3; *PEP Chios* 76 = Koerner (1993) 62.B.10–12 (C5), as opposed to *chora*; Aen. Tact. 11.4) and in the political sense (Hdt. 6.27.1; Thuc. 8.6.4; Ar. *Pax* 171; Aeschin. 3.42; Aen. Tact. 11.4; *SEG* 35 923.a.2, b.16 (C5); *PEP Chios* 76 = Koerner (1993) 62.A.13, C.3 (C5); *PEP Chios* 78.11 (C5); Tod 118.36 (384/3), 192.11 (332/1)). *Polis* in the territorial sense is attested in Kritias fr. 2.7, DK, and Tod 192.16 (332/1). *Polites* is applied to the citizens in Isoc. 8.98. *Politeia* is used in the sense of citizenship in *PEP Chios* 12.27 (*c.*320), and in the sense of constitution in *Ath. Pol.* 24.2 (rC5). The word *politeuma* in the sense of constitution is used in Tod 192.3 (332/1), in which Alexander the Great prescribes that the Chian constitution is to be democratic. The *asty* of Chios is referred to in *I.Délos* 9.3 = *SEG* 19 510, 33.633 (C6) and *PEP Chios* 78.2 (C4); and in Hdt. 6.15.1 the citizens are called *astoi*. In *IG* II² 10510.7 (cf. *CEG* II 606 (C4)) Chios is the *patris* of Symmachos, son of Simon. The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally in *PEP Chios* 12.23 (*c.*320) and externally in literature (Thuc. 7.57.4; Arist. *Pol.* 1303a34) and in inscriptions (Tod 118.16–17 (384); *IG* II² 43A.24 (378/7)). The individual use is found externally in *IG* II³ 683 (C6); Hipponax fr. 30.2, West (C6–C5); Simon. fr. 19.1, West; *SEG* 36 50.2 (490–480); and *IG* IV².1 123.117 (C4). There is also one internal attestation of the individual use of the city-ethnic (*PEP Chios* 266.2 (C3l/C2e)).

The territory of Chios is referred to as ἡ Χίη χώρη in Hdt. 6.26.1. The names of several locations, some of which may have been second-order settlements in C5, are known from epigraphical and literary sources: Koila, which according to Hdt. 6.26.1 contained a Chian garrison in 494; Kardamyle (Thuc. 8.24.3); Boliskos (Thuc. 8.24.3; Ephor. fr. 103); Phanai (Thuc. 8.24.3); and Leukonion (Thuc. 8.24.3). Delphinion, a site with more than one harbour on the coast

just north of the urban centre of Chios, was fortified by the Athenians in 412/11 (Thuc. 8.38.2), and traces of the C5 fortification on the top of a small acropolis were reported by Boardman (1956) 41–49. The site is also mentioned in *PEP Chios* 75 = *BCH* 3 (1879) 242–55 a8 (C5–C4). *PEP Chios* 76 = *BCH* 3 (1879) 230–41 (475–450) mentions *Ἐρμώνοσσα* (c.2, 4), *Δήλιον*(?) (c.6), *Δοφῖτις* (c.9), [*E*]*ὐάδαῖ* (d.17–18), *Καμινήη* (*sic*!) (d.20), *Μελαῖνα Ἀκτή* (d.22–23) and *Οἶον* (a.11–12). Section c of the inscription is concerned with the definition and preservation of official boundaries of the area *Δοφῖτις*. It is clear from c.9–15 that the *polis* took an active interest in the preservation of these boundaries, but the nature of *Δοφῖτις* as a locality is not quite clear. *PEP Chios* 75 = *BCH* 3 (1879) 242–55 of C5–C4 provides some more names: *Ἀκταί* (a.22, 32, a sanctuary is located here), and *Πάρβας* (a.34, 36–37: an area that contained a swamp and a lake). For a more comprehensive overview of second-order settlements on the island, see further the gazetteer in Yalouris (1986) 143–59. The community at modern Emporio (which cannot be securely associated with any ancient toponym; see Boardman (1967) 254–56) was a sizeable one. The Archaic settlement contained a walled acropolis dating from C7 (ibid. 4–5), a harbour, at least two sanctuaries, and a residential area on the hill of Prophitis Elias of considerable density, estimated by Boardman to number more than fifty houses in an area of less than 0.04 km². The houses appear to have been abandoned in C7, but there is evidence of Classical and Hellenistic occupation on the hill to the west of the Archaic settlement (ibid. 35).

In addition to their territory on Chios itself, the Chians also controlled the islands of Oinoussai (Hecat. fr. 142; Hdt. 1.165.1; Thuc. 8.24.2). After Harpagos' attack on Phokaia (no. 859) *c.*546, the Phokaians approached the Chians with a view to purchasing and resettling in these islands; but according to Hdt. 1.165.1, the Chians refused to sell because they feared the establishment of a rival *emporion* that might cut off their own island from trade. In 412, the Athenians used the islands as a naval base for raids against Chios after the latter's secession from the Delian League. In Hdt. 6.26.2 a *πολίχνη Χίων* is mentioned, but it is not clear from the context if this site was located on Chios itself or if it was identical with Polichne on the Mimas peninsula, a settlement that had become an Erythraian dependency by C5m. In C6 Chios gained control of Atarneus (no. 803) in Aiolis in exchange for handing over the refugee Paktyes to the Persian king (Hdt. 1.160.3–5). Chios still possessed Atarneus as part of its *peraia* as late as 398/7 (Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.11); however, at that time the site was used as a base by Chian exiles. It is probable, though far from certain, that Chios lost its Asian *peraia* as a result of the King's Peace (Debord (1999) 264–72). Chios appears to have lost control completely by the 360s at the latest, when Atarneus had been taken over by Euboulos (Arist. *Pol.* 1267ª31–37), who was succeeded by Hermias as ruler of the place (note, however, Theopomp. fr. 291, which may indicate that Hermias was originally installed by the Chians and the Mytilenaians (no. 798) as *episkopos* of the Chian and Lesbian *peraiai*, probably including Atarneus and its surroundings).

All calculations of the size of the Chian citizen population are based on the size of the Chian fleet (*infra*) combined with very varying assumptions about the number of Chian citizens on board each ship (Roebuck (1986) 81; Walter (1993) 97 n. 37). See Thuc. 8.15.2 for evidence that the Chian slaves formed part of the crews in 412 (cf. Hunt (1998) 46, 86). Chios is referred to by Thuc. 8.15.1 as being the largest of all the *poleis* that remained in the Athenian alliance in 412, and in Thuc. 8.45.4 Alkibiades claims that the Chians were the wealthiest of all the Greeks.

Chios appears to have been a strong naval power from very early on. Its contribution of 100 ships to the combined Ionian fleet in 494 was larger than that of any other *polis* involved, and there were forty picked citizen troops on board each ship (Hdt. 6.15.1). In 440/39 Chios and Lesbos together provided twenty-five ships for the Athenian war against Samos (no. 864) (Thuc. 1.116.2), while in 430 there were fifty Chian and Lesbian ships involved in the raids on the Peloponnese (Thuc. 2.56.2). Chian ships participated in the Pylos campaign in 425 (Thuc. 4.13.2), in the attack on Melos (no. 505) in 416/15 (Thuc. 5.84.1), and in the Sicilian expedition in 415–413 (Thuc. 6.43, 7.20.2). It may be inferred, e.g. from Thuc. 8.15.2, that normally the Chians would themselves supply the crews for the ships participating in Athenian campaigns: after Chios' open revolt in 412, the seven ships previously provided to Athens as a token of good faith (Thuc. 8.9.2) were no longer held to be trustworthy, and the free men on board (presumably Chians) were imprisoned, while the slave members of the crews were set free. When the Chians made their approach to the Spartans in 412, they claimed to have at least sixty ships to contribute to their new alliance. The calculation of ship numbers in Gomme *et al.* (1981) 27–32 suggests that the Chians may not have exaggerated.

In C5l/C4e the organisation of the Chian armed forces comprised units called *dekades*: two inscriptions (*PEP Chios* 61 and 62) record slaves enrolled in these units, and, in *PEP*

Chios 62, slaves who had been granted their freedom by the *polis*. Three Chian military commanders who had assisted the Spartans at Aigos Potamoi were honoured with statues at Delphi (Paus. 10.9).

Chios was part of the Ionian *dodekapolis* (Hdt. 1.142.2), and Chian citizens participated in the Ionian arbitration between Myous (no. 856) and Miletos (no. 854) arranged by Strouses (Tod 113.17 (391–388)). In Thuc. 8.40.1 the Chians are made to characterise themselves as the "largest of the allied *poleis* in Ionia". Yet, perhaps because the Chians themselves regarded their city as a Euboian foundation quite separate from the other Ionian foundations on the Asiatic mainland, Chios' regional affiliation does not seem to have been self-explanatory in Antiquity. In his work *Χίου Κτίσις* Ion of Chios (*FGrHist* 392) fr. 1 relates how the Chian *basileus* Hektor, the great-grandson of Amphiklos of Histiaia, took the initiative to persuade the Chians to participate in the Panionia. Paus. 7.4.8, having cited the passage, adds that Ion failed to explain why Chios was counted among the Ionian *poleis* (cf. Thuc. 8.6.2: *ἐς τὴν Ἰωνίαν καὶ Χίον*).

Ion of Chios (*FGrHist* 392) fr. 1 is our earliest source for the Chian version of its foundation by Oinopion, Melas and others, with a second wave of settlers under the leadership of Amphiklos of Histiaia in Euboia. That the foundation myth had an early origin is indicated by the designation of Chios as *Μέλα[ν]ος Πατρώιον ἄστυ* in *I.Délos* 9.3 (550–500).

In the Archaic period, Chios and Miletos supported each other as allies in at least two wars: Miletos backed Chios in its war against Erythrai (no. 845) (*terminus ante quem*: *c.*600), while the Chians returned the favour by aiding the Milesians against Alyattes of Lydia (Hdt. 1.18.3 (*c.*600)). Chios appears to have escaped conquest by the Lydians and later the Persians right up until the aftermath of the Ionian Revolt in 493, when the Persians attacked the island. An *andrapodismos* may be indicated in the account of how the Chians were "netted" by the Persians (Hdt. 6.31.1–2). According to Herodotos, the Chians had previously established a treaty of *xenie* with Kroisos (Hdt. 1.27.5), perhaps implying that Chios was not a dependent *polis* as such, although it probably operated under considerable political constraint from Lydia. After the Persian conquest of Lydia, the islands off the Ionian coast "gave themselves up" to Kyros without a fight (Hdt. 1.169.2), and Chios probably continued as a dependent *polis* within the Persian Empire from this point. It is not known, however, if Chios was subject to the same Persian demands for tribute and troops as the Ionian *poleis* on the mainland (see e.g. Roebuck (1986) 86). From at least as early as 513 to 480/79, Chios was ruled by the pro-Persian tyrant Strattis (Hdt. 4.138.2, 8.132.2).

Chios was one of the first *poleis* to join the Delian League after the battle of Mykale (Hdt. 9.106.4). As a contributor of ships rather than money, Chios remained *autonomos* (Thuc. 3.10.5, 6.85.2, 7.57.4), *de jure* at any rate, although Arist. *Pol.* 1284^{a}39–41 suggests that the *de facto* relationship was heavily dominated by Athens, to the extent that the terms of their alliance were actually broken by the Athenians. A bilateral treaty concerning access to judicial procedures in Athens between Chios and Athens, presumably with Chios as a subordinate party, may have been in force in C5m (*IG* I^{2} 10.10–11, but the restoration is very uncertain). Chios went over to the Peloponnesian side in 412, and the Spartans established a military presence on the island as early as 412/11, led by the Spartan nauarch Pedaritos (Thuc. 8.17.1, 38.3–4). Thuc. 8.38.3–4, along with the very fragmentary *Hell. Oxy.* 5, Chambers, suggests that Pedaritos was heavy-handed in his interference in internal Chian affairs. That the Spartan involvement in Chios continued to compromise Chian autonomy is indicated by the report in Diod. 13.65.3–4 that the Spartan commander Kratesippidas restored Chian oligarchic exiles to the island and occupied the acropolis in 409/8. Sparta's direct involvement in Chios continued for nearly a decade after the end of the Peloponnesian War, until the Chians expelled the Spartan garrison after the Athenian victory in the battle of Knidos in 394 (Diod. 14.84.3).

Chios entered into alliance with Athens in 384/3 (Tod 118). The treaty appears to have been on equal terms, and Chian *eleutheria* and *autonomia* are guaranteed (ll. 19–24). Although Diod. 15.26.3 may suggest that the Spartans managed to re-establish temporary control over the island after that point, this cannot be substantiated by any other evidence. In any case, Chios was a founding member of the Second Athenian Naval League from 378/7 (*IG* II^{2} 43.24 and 79 = Tod 123). In 363 Epameinondas succeeded in winning over the Chians; but, according to Diod. 15.79.1, his death shortly afterwards prevented the Thebans (no. 221) from consolidating their influence. Chios seceded from Athens again in 357 (Dem. 15.3; Diod. 16.7.3), when it formed an anti-Athenian alliance with Kos (no. 497), Byzantion (no. 674) and Rhodos (no. 1000), with further backing from Maussolos. From at least as early as 346 Chios fell within the Hekatomnid sphere of power. It is likely that a permanent Karian garrison was established by Idrieus, if not even earlier by Maussolos (Dem. 5.25; for a recent discussion of the numismatic evidence, on the basis of which it has been argued that the Karian presence was established already in

the reign of Maussolos, see Debord (1999) 382–83). A Makedonian garrison, maintained from Chian funds, was imposed by Alexander the Great (*PEP Chios* 32 = *SEG* 35 925 (334–330)), along with a demand for twenty manned triremes paid for by the Chians.

As noted above, there were numerous second-order settlements on Chios, and some of them were of considerable size. It has been argued that the formation of a centralised Chian *polis* with Chios town as its urban centre happened relatively late. ML 8 = *PEP Chios* 23 (600–550) forms an important part of the argument. On the assumption that the text is indeed Chian, one interpretation of the *boule demosie* in ll. C.5–6, manned by fifty representatives from each *phyle* (the number of which is unknown), is that the council served the purpose of uniting the different local communities in a single administrative and political structure (see recently Walter (1993) 94 and *Nomima* I 264–66 with references to previous discussions). It cannot be ruled out that the peaceful abandonment of the settlement at Emporio *c.*600 (Boardman (1967) 37–38) was directly related to a process of centralisation, of which ML 8 may then represent a later stage. We may thus be dealing with an early form of synoecism. However, Yalouris' gazetteer (1986) contains at least eight second-order settlements with continued occupation during the Archaic and Classical periods (III.8–9, 20, IV.5–6, V.1, 4, VI.4), so it is likely that a considerable part of the Chian population continued to reside outside the urban centre. Continuous occupation of the Chian urban centre up to modern times has prevented systematic excavation, which means that the process and level of Archaic/Classical urbanisation cannot be assessed on the basis of archaeological evidence.

The modern reconstruction of early Chian political institutions is based on the inscription *PEP Chios* 23 = ML 8 (600–550); but doubts concerning the origins of the inscription have been raised, and it cannot be ruled out that the inscription pertains to Erythrai (no. 845) (for a parallel example, see *I.Erythrai* 15 = *PEP Chios* 25 (C4m)). The text itself points to a constitution in which the assembly had a function as a legislative body (A.1–2), and it may also have had some judicial capacity (A.7). The council (*boule demosie*, C.5–6) appears to have had a probouleutic function in addition to a judicial one (C.9–14). There were ways of calling senior officials (*demarchoi* and *basileis*) to account (A.3–6), although the procedural details are not clear.

The constitutional arrangements of Archaic Chios were probably disrupted by the ascent of the tyrant Strattis (before 513 to 480/79). In C5 until 412, Chios appears to have had a moderate constitution which is not easily labelled as either a democracy or an oligarchy (O'Neill (1978–79)). There is no direct evidence for a Chian assembly in C5, although Thuc. 8.9.3 may indicate that it did exist. *PEP Chios* 76 (475–450) attests a board of officials called "the Fifteen" who report to the *boule* (B.1–5). The Fifteen have the authority to impose fines on other officials (here the *horophylakes*, B.15–19). There is mention of a dicastic panel consisting of 300 unbribed men (B.21–25). The official designated *basileus* has as part of his task the pronouncing of public curses (D.7–9). It is not known if eligibility to serve as *bouleutes*, as an official, or as a judge was restricted by a property census or by other criteria in this period. Thucydides' account of the Chian revolt from Athens in 412 suggests that the *boule* had considerable scope for independent action: negotiations with the Peloponnesians had evidently been conducted without the consent of the broader population (8.9.3), and the citizens who were involved in planning the revolt were in a position to arrange that a meeting of the Chian *boule* would be in progress when the Spartans made their surprise arrival on the island (8.14.1–2).

The moderate Chian constitution was then replaced by a much narrower oligarchic one (Thuc. 8.38.4). Opposition to the new regime was crushed (Thuc. 8.24.6, 38.3), and this constitution probably continued until 394, except perhaps for a brief period between 410 and 409/8 (Piérart (1995) 268–69). *PEP Chios* 2 (C5l/C4e) is a public enactment with the heading *boules gnome* (l. 2), while *SEG* 35 923.B.13–26 (C5–C4) is a law passed by the *boule* presided over by the *basileis*. There is no mention of an assembly in either inscription.

There are no Chian public enactments that can be securely dated to the period between 394 and 355, and we know very little about its political institutions (Tod 118.33–34 (384) probably referred to Chios' *boule* in addition to unspecified *archai*). There is no decisive evidence to prove that the Chians reintroduced democracy in connection with their alliance with Athens (*pace* Gehrke, *Stasis* 46). By 355 the Chian constitution was definitely oligarchic (Dem. 15.19), but it is not clear whether this was the result of a recent *stasis*. The abolition of an extreme oligarchic government in Chios, mentioned in Arist. *Pol.* 1306^{b}3–5, may refer to the period around 394 or to constitutional upheavals in C4m, as argued by Gehrke, *Stasis* 46. However, constitutional continuity may be suggested by the fact that the eponymous official is the *prytanis* throughout the Classical period (*PEP Chios* 2.1 (C5–C4), 75.A.20 (C4m), 80.23–24 (C4s), 32.1 (334–330)); whereas the single *prytanis* had been replaced by

a board of *prytaneis* by *c.*320, perhaps on an Athenian model (*PEP Chios* 12.A.30). The restoration of the heading [πρυτάνεων γν]ώμη in *SEG* 35 923.A.1 (*c.*400) is disputed (Rhodes, *DGS* 230).

When Alexander the Great decreed in 334–330 that the Chian constitution was to be democratic, a fundamental revision of Chian legislation (*nomoi*, *PEP Chios* 32.5) was deemed necessary (*PEP Chios* 32.4–6). The institutions attested in *PEP Chios* 12 (*c.*320) were undoubtedly the result of these reforms. The *psephisma* (A.43) was passed by a popular assembly (A.1: ἔδοξε τῶι δήμωι), and the magistrates mentioned in the decree, with the exception of the *agonothetes* (A.29), were serving as members of boards (*prytaneis*, A.30; *tamiai*, A.33; *exetastai*, A.37).

The best evidence for the judicial system in C5 is provided by *PEP Chios* 76 (475–450). Impending court cases (perhaps concerning disputed property) were to be announced by *kerykes* in the countryside as well as the urban centre (B.5–20), and the penalties of fines and *atimia* are also attested here (C.14–15). The *polis* appears to have assumed responsibility for conducting cases on behalf of individuals who have been evicted from their property (D.1–5). *Dikai prodikoi* are granted to two teams of foreign judges in *PEP Chios* 12 A.16–17 (*c.*320).

Taxes payable to the *polis* and to a local settlement (Οἴη) are attested in *PEP Chios* 75 B.45–46 (C4m). Total *ateleia* is granted to a priestess in *PEP Chios* 6.11–12 (C4), while limited *ateleia* from import and export taxes is granted in *PEP Chios* 12 A.17–18 (*c.*320). Free foreigners are subject to special charges in connection with the sacrifices regulated in *PEP Chios* 78.12–13 (C4). For a list of free foreigners attested epigraphically, see Sarikakis (1986) 130–31.

Chian envoys were sent to Lakedaimon (no. 345) in 413/12 (Thuc. 8.4–6.1), to Astyochos in 412/11 (Thuc. 8.40.1) and to Athens (no. 361) in 384/3 (Tod 118.13). Chian citizens received *proxenia* from Athens (*IG* II² 23 (388/7)) and Anaphe (no. 474) (Michel 662.17–18 (C4)). Chios bestowed *proxenia* and citizenship on a group of foreign judges from Naxos (no. 507) and Andros (no. 475) (*PEP Chios* 12.17–19, 27). *PEP Chios* 50 is conventionally interpreted as a C4m list of Chios' *proxenoi* in different communities (at least fifteen); cf. *PEP Chios* 12 = *SEG* 12 390.31–32: τὴν στήλην τὴν προξενικήν. Chian *theorodokoi* hosted *theoroi* from Argos (no. 347) *c.*330–324 (*SEG* 23 189.II.4) and *theoroi* announcing the Nemean Games (*SEG* 36 331.II.46–49 (323/2)). The Chians were given *promanteia* in Delphi (*F.Delphes* III.3 213 (C4–C3)); and in C5e they sent a chorus of 100 young men (Hdt. 6.27.2). For the altar of Apollo dedicated by the Chians, see Hdt. 2.135.4 and *F.Delphes* III.3 212 (after 480). Xenopeithes of Chios was victorious at Olympia in 480 (Moretti (1970) 296).

The system of civic subdivisions underwent more than one radical reform during the Classical period. There was a *phyle* structure attested perhaps as early as C6f (assuming that *PEP Chios* 23.C.8–9 = ML 8 relates to Chios); but there is as yet no attestation of the traditional six Ionian *phylai* (Piérart (1985) 182). Jones, *POAG* 191–93 argues for a three-tier structure in C5–C4e, tentatively identifying the groups as *phylai*, phratries (*PEP Chios* 80.28 (C4m)) and *gene* (*PEP Chios* 7.2 (C4m)). It was assumed by Forrest (1960), followed by Jones, *POAG* 194 and Piérart (1985) 181–82, that the three-tier structure was replaced by a more complex system with four tiers in C4s. In this system the *phylai* consisted of numbered subdivisions (πρῶτοι, δεύτεροι, τρίτοι). These subdivisions were in turn further subdivided into units designated by numbers (*A*, *B*, *Γ*, etc.), each of which were subdivided into groups designated by a "patronymic". While the groups designated by numbers and "patronymic" are well attested in C4l (*PEP Chios* 71, 72, 73 (*c.*315)) and occupy an uncontroversial place in the hierarchy of subdivisions, it is more problematic to identify the named subdivisions in C5 and C4f as either *phylai*, phratries or *gene*. Some groups, such as the Kaukaseis (*PEP Chios* 8 (450–425)) and the Klytidai (*PEP Chios* 75 (C4m)), had complex administrative and political structures; but it is still uncertain if these groups belonged in the uppermost tier as *phylai* or at a lower level as phratries. The mention of Zeus Patroios in a decree passed by the Klytidai (*PEP Chios* 80.35 (C4s)) has led some to suggest that the group was indeed a phratry (for a summary of the debate, see Graf (1985) 36–37); but nothing can be concluded with certainty. It may be suggested on the basis of *PEP Chios* 75.11–12 and 29 that the Klytidai had originally been a territorially based unit, perhaps centred on a second-order settlement (45–46: Οἴη), not unlike the Kleisthenic demes. The same may be true of the Kaukaseis (Hdt. 5.33.1 mentions Καύκασα, a location on the coast). For this interpretation, see Graf (1985) 35 *pace* Forrest (1960) 188, who believed that the Kaukaseis derived their name from Kaukasos, the companion of Chios' mythical founder Oinopion. *PEP Chios* 9 (C4–C3) allows the interpretation that admission of the next generation of Chians to the citizen body was controlled locally in the civic subdivisions. The text is a list of members of the Totteidai (perhaps a phratry) who have been admitted to the *agogaia*.

Chios was exposed to numerous outbreaks of *stasis* and, consequently, exiles are frequently mentioned in the

sources. Arist. *Pol.* 1303ª34–35 refers to Chian exiles in Antissa (no. 794) in Lesbos, who were later expelled by the Antissaians because of the threat that they posed. Unfortunately the event cannot be dated. Hdt. 8.132.2 relates how six conspirators against the tyrant Strattis fled the island in 480/79 after their assassination plans had been revealed. The defection of Chios from Athens in 412 was the result of rivalry between *οἱ πολλοί* and *οἱ ὀλίγοι* (Thuc. 8.9.3, 14.2), and we hear of Chian exiles once again after the Chians had sided with the Peloponnesians. A party of pro-Spartan oligarchic exiles was restored to the island by the Spartan commander Kratesippidas in 409/8 (Diod. 13.65.3–4). If Piérart's (1995) interpretation and dating of *SEG* 39 370 are correct, the exiles mentioned in the inscription as "friends of Sparta" are identical with the exiles in Diod. 13.65.3–4. According to Piérart, the members of the extreme oligarchic regime set up by Pedaritos were expelled by the Chians, who were taking advantage of the reversal of Spartan fortunes after the Athenian victory at Kyzikos in 410. When Kratesippidas had succeeded in bringing the pro-Spartan exiles back to the island, they in turn exiled 600 of their opponents, and the latter set up base at Atarneus. According to Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.11, the second group of exiles still occupied the Chian *peraia* in 398. The letter of Alexander the Great to the Chians (*PEP Chios* 32 = *SEG* 35 925 (334–330)) stipulated that Chian exiles were to be allowed to return (l. 2): these exiles were undoubtedly of democratic or anti-Persian orientation (or both), and may have been forced out in the wake of constitutional upheavals in C4m (see Dem. 15.19). In the same letter Alexander instructed the Chians to impose exile on Medising citizens (ll. 11–12).

Although excavations of individual plots in Chios town have uncovered parts of the ancient agora, we depend almost exclusively on literary evidence for the identification of major civic structures in the urban centre. Ps.-Skylax 99 mentions the harbour. Aen. Tact. 11.3–5 provides evidence for dockyards, a stoa and a tower near the harbour, but the date of the event related in this passage is uncertain. A sanctuary of Athena Poliouchos is attested in Hdt. 1.160.3 (rC6). Aen. Tact. 17.5 refers to the Chian agora (C4). A festival of Dionysos is attested in Aen. Tact. 17.5 and *PEP Chios* 12 A22 (*c.*320), which involved a procession to his altar, perhaps located in the agora. For a comprehensive discussion of cults and cult sites on the island, see Graf (1985) 22–146.

The Chian calendar included some Attic months, e.g. Posideon (*PEP Chios* 80.23 (C4)), but also the month Leukatheon (*PEP Chios* 75 A25 (C5–C4)), which is peculiar to the Ionian cities in Asia Minor (Graf (1985) 18–21; Trümpy, *Monat.* 102–5).

In 425/4 the Athenians ordered the Chians to tear down their new wall in order to deter them from revolting (Thuc. 4.51); it is not clear whether this wall was just an addition to existing fortifications or whether Chios had been unfortified before this time. In 412/11 the Athenians besieged its urban centre in vain, and it is highly likely that it was protected by walls (Thuc. 8.38.3, 40.1, 56.1, 61.3). Aen. Tact. 11.6 provides further evidence for city walls, but the date cannot be ascertained.

Chios struck coins on the Chian standard (15.6 g) from *c.*550. The earliest attested issue is an electrum *hekte*. Types: *obv.* sphinx; *rev.* four-part incuse square (anepigraphic). There was simultaneous minting of silver and electrum staters 525–510. Hardwick (1993) 213 suggests that the silver staters were issued *c.*525–493, and that the series may have been discontinued after the Persian attack on the island in 493. A second series of silver staters was issued *c.*490–435: *obv.* sphinx and amphora; *rev.* four-part incuse square (anepigraphic). From 435–425: *obv.* sphinx, amphora and grapes; *rev.* four-part incuse square (anepigraphic). Hardwick (1993) 216 argues for a break in the minting of silver staters 425–412. A unique electrum stater is dated by Hardwick to the period immediately after the revolt of 412: *obv.* sphinx, amphora and wreath; *rev.* four-part incuse square (anepigraphic). There is a corresponding silver tetradrachm to which Hardwick assigns the same date. From the last decade of C5 to *c.*330 silver tetradrachms and fractions were issued continuously: *obv.* sphinx and amphora; *rev.* four-part incuse square; legend: sometimes magistrate's name or anepigraphic. Chios also struck bronze coins in C4: *obv.* sphinx and grapes; *rev.* amphora; legend: *ΧΙΟΣ* and magistrate's name (Hardwick (1993); *SNG Cop. Ionia* 1539–55).

The Chians are named as the founders of Maroneia (no. 646) in Thrace by Ps.-Skymnos 676. They also participated in the foundation of the Hellenion at Naukratis (no. 1023) (Hdt. 2.178.2).

841. Chyton Map 56. Lat. 38.20, long. 26.45. Unlocated. Size of territory: unknown but probably 1 or 2. Type: C. The toponym is *Χυτόν, τό* (*I.Erythrai* 502.9–10 = Tod 114 (387/6); Ephor. fr. 78). Chyton is probably identical with the Chytron mentioned by Arist. *Pol.* 1303ᵇ9, and *Χυτῷ* is an almost universally accepted conjecture for MSS *χύτρῳ*. The reason for recording Chyton in this Inventory is Aristotle's information that Chyton and Klazomenai (no. 847) tended

to break up into two political communities like Kolophon (no. 848) and Notion (no. 858), which in some periods were split up into two *poleis*.

According to Strabo 14.1.36, Chyton was located on the site of Old Klazomenai, which was later moved to an island connected with the mainland by a causeway. It is perfectly conceivable that habitation may have continued on the site of Klazomenai's former urban centre. Recent excavations conducted by G. Bakır and his team show that the C6 mainland site was indeed abandoned after 494, but that habitation resumed around 400 (Mellink (1984)). The results of later excavations placed the date of abandonment of the Archaic settlement further back, in the 550s and 540s (Mellink (1992) 142). Excavation of C4 houses on the mainland site revealed two phases: the first from *c.*400 to 380–370, when these houses were ruined; the second phase from *c.*370–330 (Mellink (1987) 23). The chronology of the mainland settlement corresponds quite well to the little that can be gleaned from literary and epigraphical sources for the history of Chyton in C4; and Strabo's identification of this settlement with Old Klazomenai thus seems to be confirmed.

Chyton presents problems akin to those relating to Anaia (no. 838). Although part of Klazomenian territory, it constituted a considerable "nuisance factor" like other *peraiai* (Hornblower (1991) 405) in that it provided a haven for citizens dissatisfied with the constitutional set-up of their city (Gehrke, *Stasis* 78–79). The decree *I.Erythrai* 502 = Tod 114, passed by Athens in 387, promised Athenian non-intervention in a conflict between the Klazomenians and *τοὺς ἐπὶ Χυτῷ* (l. 9). The Klazomenians were given full authority in matters regarding a peace settlement with the people at Chyton (ll. 8–9), some of whom were held as hostages by the Klazomenians (ll. 9–10). It is perhaps significant that no city-ethnic derived from the name of the locality Chyton is used in this document: the conflict is viewed as an internal conflict within the community of Klazomenai rather than a war between two *poleis*. We do not know how the people of Chyton would have preferred to represent themselves; but it should be noted that Arist. *Pol.* 1303^{b}9 uses the same expression as the decree (*οἱ ἐπὶ Χυτῷ*).

842. Dios Hieron (Diosirites) Map 61. Lat. 38.00, long. 27.05. Size of territory: probably 1 or 2. Type: B. The toponym is *Διὸς Ἱερόν, τό* (Thuc. 8.19.2; *IG* I^3 65.12 (427/6)). The city-ethnic is *Διοσιρίτης* (*IG* I^3 37.27 (C5)) or *Διοσερίτης* (*IG* I^3 289.I.42). Dios Hieron is not attested as a *polis* in any Archaic or Classical source, but the collective use of the city-ethnic is attested in an external context in *IG* I^3 37.27 (C5) and in the Athenian tribute lists (*infra*).

Dios Hieron was a member of the Delian League. It belonged to the Ionian district and is recorded from 454/3 (*IG* I^3 259.III.23) to 416/15 (*IG* I^3 289.I.42) a total of fourteen times, paying a *phoros* first of 1,000 dr. (*IG* I^3 259.III.23) from 442/1 of 500 dr. (*IG* I^3 270.I.4). It is often listed together with Kolophon (no. 848) (five times) and/or Notion (no. 858) (six times) (*IG* I^3 259.III.21–23, 289.I.40–42; Piérart (1984) 171 n. 49). An Athenian decree of 427/6 honouring a citizen of Kolophon indicates that at this point Dios Hieron (called a *chorion*) was dependent on Kolophon (*IG* I^3 65.11–14). However, as dated and restored, another decree of C5 mentions the citizens of Dios Hieron on a par with the citizens of Kolophon and Lebedos (no. 850), and all three cities are to cover the travelling costs and daily expenses of five elected *oikistai* to be sent out from Athens (*IG* I^3 37.27). So far, we have no evidence for Dios Hieron in C4; but its reappearance as a community in its own right in the Hellenistic period (*SEG* 39 1244.I.22; Head, *HN*^{2} 650) may serve as an indication in favour of its continued existence as a *polis* in C4.

843. (Elaiousioi) Map 56. Unlocated. Type: B. The toponym is not attested in the Classical period; but it was probably *Ἐλαιοῦσσα*, derived from the city-ethnic *Ἐλαιόσιοι*, attested in the Athenian tribute lists. Engelmann and Merkelbach (1972) 37, followed by *Barr.*, reject the identification with the island *Ἐλεοῦσσα* mentioned by Strabo 13.1.67 and note that many Greek communities derived their name from their olive trees.

The Elaiousioi were members of the Delian League. They belonged to the Ionian district and are recorded from 448/7 (*IG* I^3 264.III.30) to 427/6 or 426/5 (*IG* I^3 284.2–3) a total of eleven times, five times completely but plausibly restored. Elaious is explicitly recorded as a dependency of Erythrai (*Ἐλαιόσιοι Ἐρυθραίον*) in two lists (*IG* I^3 281.I.22, 284.2) and in the assessment of 425/4 (*IG* I^3 71.II.151–52). In 448/7 and 447/6 they paid alongside the other dependencies of Erythrai (no. 845); they all formed a syntely, but the Elaiousioi paid on their own behalf (*IG* I^3 264.III.30, 265.I.63). In later years their payment is recorded separately from that of the other Erythraian dependencies. They paid 100 dr. (*IG* I^3 268.I.28) and were assessed at a *phoros* of 100 dr. in 425/4 (*IG* I^3 71.II.151–52).

844. Ephesos (Ephesios) Map 61. Lat. 37.55, long. 27.15. Size of territory: 5. Type: A. The toponym is *Ἔφεσος, ἡ* (Hdt. 1.142.3; Thuc. 1.137.2; Xen. *Hell.* 3.4.16; Ps.-Skylax 98).

The city-ethnic is *Ἐφέσιος* (Hdt. 1.147.2; *I.Ephesos* 2.9 (C4)). In C6 Ephesos is called a *polis* as citadel (*akropolis*) in *I.Ephesos* 1A.1, and in the urban sense in C6–C5 (Hipponax fr. 50.1, West). In C5 it is called a *polis* in the urban sense (Hdt. 1.26.2 (rC6)) and in the political sense (Hdt. 1.141.4, 142.3–4, 143.3; Herakleitos fr. 121, DK). In C4 it is called *polis* in the urban sense (*Hell. Oxy.* 1.2, Chambers; Xen. *Hell.* 1.2.7–8) and in the territorial sense in *I.Ephesos* 1420.4 (C4), in which citizenship is granted on the condition that the honorands remain *ἐν τῇ πόλει*. For *polis* in the political sense, see *IG* II² 8523.4; *I.Ephesos* 2.4 (C4); *SEG* 39 1151.2. The urban centre is called *polisma* by Kreophylos of Ephesos (*FGrHist* 417) fr. 1 (*c.*400?). The *polis* cognate *polites* is applied to the citizens of Ephesos in *I.Ephesos* 1419.3 and 1420.4 (both C4). The word *politeia* is used in the sense of citizenship in Xen. *Hell.* 1.2.10; *I.Ephesos* 1421.3 (C4). Ephesos was the *patris* of Pythokles, who was brought up and lived in Athens, and who was commemorated by a funerary epigram (*IG* II² 8523.4 (C4e); cf. *CEG* II 485). The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested externally in Hdt. 1.147.2; *IG* II² 1.48 = Tod 97.8 (403/2); *IG* II² 1485.II.9 (C4l), and internally in *I.Ephesos* 2.9 and 1427.2 (both C4). The individual use of the city-ethnic is attested externally in Hdt. 9.84.2; ML 95e (405); *SEG* 17 111 (C4).

The name of the territory is *Ἐφεσίη* (Hdt. 5.100, 6.16.2; *I.Priene* 3.13 (probably C3)) or *Ἐφεσία* (Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.14). It included the location Koressos on the coast (Hdt. 5.100); cf. *infra*. There was a suburb called Smyrna "behind the *polis*" (*ὄπισθε τῆς πόλιος*), as mentioned by Hipponax fr. 50.1, West, cf. *infra*. Priene (no. 861) had a common border with Ephesos, presumably to the north-west (*I.Priene* 3.12–14). In Xen. *Hell.* 1.5.12, 15 there are references to an unspecified *λιμὴν τῶν Ἐφεσίων* (presumably the city harbour is meant). The location of the harbour Panormos mentioned in Strabo 14.1.20 cannot be determined with certainty (Meriç (1985)).

Ephesian Smyrna has been located beneath the agora of the Lysimachean city by Langmann (1993), whose identification has been accepted e.g. by Engelmann (1990) 281–82. The houses excavated on this site date from C8 and C7 (Karwiese *et al.* (1996) 12). Langmann (1993) suggests that the site was inhabited by Smyrnaian merchants.

Koressos is mentioned in Hdt. 5.100 and Xen. *Hell.* 1.2.7–10; and it is referred to as a *λιμήν* in *Hell. Oxy.* 1.1, Chambers. Xen. *Hell.* 1.2.7 reports that Thrasyllos landed his hoplite forces *πρὸς τὸν Κορησσόν* and that it was located on the opposite side of Ephesos' urban centre from the swamp. Robert (1960) 139–44 argued, partly *e silentio*, that Koressos was an integral part of Ephesos rather than a *polis* in its own right. He dismissed the identification of this Koressos with the community that passed the C3 honorific decree published in ibid. 132–34. For the problems related to the precise location of Koressos, see Knibbe (1998) 76.

According to Ephor. fr. 126, Ephesos was founded by Proklos. Shortly after its foundation it became involved in a war against Priene in which most of the Ephesian citizens were killed. In connection with a rebellion against the descendants of Androklos, the remaining Ephesians invited citizens from Karene (no. 813) and Teos (no. 868) to settle at Ephesos, and the newcomers gave their names to two of the Ephesian *phylai*. *C.*555–550 Ephesos entered into a treaty with Kroisos, presumably as a subordinate party (Polyaen. 6.50; Ael. *VH* 3.26; *Staatsverträge* 107). Ephesos belonged to the Ionian *dodekapolis* (Hdt. 1.142.3) and its citizens participated as judges in the arbitration between Miletos (no. 854) and Myous (no. 856) in 391–388 (Tod 113.29).

Ephesos was a member of the Delian League. It belonged to the Ionian district and is recorded from 454/3 (*IG* I³ 259.I.22, restored) to 415/14 (*IG* I³ 290.I.26) a total of sixteen times, paying a *phoros* of 7½ tal. (*IG* I³ 260.VI.13), from 445/4 reduced to 6 tal. (*IG* I³ 267.V.17), but in 433/2 raised to 7½ tal. once again (*IG* I³ 279.I.65). It was assessed for tribute in 425/4 (*IG* I³ 71.I.125). Ephesos revolted against the Athenians during the Ionian War or, at any rate, not earlier than 414 (Piérart (1995) 258), after which the Ephesians supported the Peloponnesian War effort (*SEG* 39 370.23). After the Peloponnesian War Samian exiles were given asylum at Ephesos (Tod 97.8 (403/2)). In 395 Agesilaos trained his army in the urban centre of Ephesos (Xen. *Hell.* 3.4.16); but it subsequently joined Konon after the battle of Knidos in 394 (Diod. 14.84.3). In 336 Ephesos sided with Parmenion and Attalos, but changed course again in 334 when citizens with oligarchic leanings joined forces with Memnon (Gehrke, *Stasis* 59–60).

For a survey of the history of the Ephesian constitution, see Gehrke, *Stasis* 57–60. The Aristotelian collection of constitutions included one of the Ephesians (Heracl. Lemb. 66; Arist. no. 49). *Suda* Α3894 relates how Aristarchos of Athens was called to Ephesos to serve as ruler, and Gehrke, *Stasis* 57 suggests tentatively that he may have introduced a constitution resembling that of Solon's constitution at Athens. After a succession of pro-Persian tyrants, a democratic constitution was introduced in 492 (Herakleitos fr. 121, DK), perhaps a radicalisation of a constitutional arrangement introduced by Mardonios in 494. Hermodoros, a friend of Herakleitos,

was exiled after the introduction of the constitutional change in 492 (Gehrke, *Stasis* 57–58). Gehrke notes (*Stasis* 58) that there is no evidence for any constitutional changes during the rest of C5 and most of C4: the Ephesian revolt against the Athenians in C5l (*SEG* 39 370.23) does not necessarily imply that the Ephesians had replaced their democracy with an oligarchic constitution (Piérart (1995) 258 thinks it unlikely that the Ephesians revolted any earlier than 414/13). Gehrke, *Stasis* 39 suggests that the regime following the King's Peace was of an oligarchic leaning, and that the Ephesian support of the Makedonians in 336 was driven primarily by democratic forces within the city. An oligarchic countermove occurred in 334, when Memnon managed to gain control of Ephesos, replacing the democratic constitution with an oligarchy that lasted only until Alexander's victory at Granikos later in the same year (Arr. *Anab.* 1.17.10). The reintroduction of democracy was accompanied by a massacre of the oligarchs (Arr. *Anab.* 1.17.11–12).

Public enactments passed by the *boule* and the assembly are, e.g., *SEG* 39 1151 (326/5–324/3); *I.Ephesos* 1419 and 1420 (both C4). A sacred law (*νόμος ὁ πάτριος*) is mentioned in *I.Ephesos* 2.5–6 (C4). In *I.Ephesos* 1420.1–3 there is reference to a *nomos* which appears to be the budget of the city, designating sums to be spent on public works. *I.Ephesos* 2 records death sentences passed on between forty-four and forty-six persons who had molested a board of Ephesian *theoroi* sent to the sanctuary of Artemis at Sardis. The case was conducted by *προήγοροι* on behalf of the goddess Artemis (2.1). It is not clear from the text who had actually judged the case, and it has even been suggested that it was heard at Sardis (e.g. Masson (1987) 228–29). The indictment which formed the basis of the trial is cited in the decree.

In C4 the eponymous official was the *πρύτανις* (*I.Ephesos* 1421.3–4, 1425.2, 1426.2 (all C4)). The *boule* is attested in a probouleutic capacity in the preambles to numerous C4 decrees (e.g. *I.Ephesos* 1419.2 (C4)), and was in charge of certain public works (*I.Ephesos* 1420.5 (C4)). The *πρόεδροι* (*I.Ephesos* 1438.3 (C4)) were responsible for assigning new citizens to *phyle* and *chiliastys* by lot. Other officials are the board of *ἐσσῆνες* (*I.Ephesos* 1443 (C4e)), the *ἀγωνοθέτης* (*I.Ephesos* 1440.11 (C4l)) and the board of *νεωποῖαι* (*I.Ephesos* 1440.7 (C4l)). For the *neokoros* of the Ephesian Artemis, see Xen. *An.* 5.3.6. The Ephesian assembly is attested in *I.Ephesos* 1389.1, 1419.2, 1420.3, etc. (all C4). For Ephesian commanders and troops (hoplites), see *Hell. Oxy.* 2.1, Chambers.

Ephesian citizenship grants are attested in Xen. *Hell.* 1.2.10 (a block grant of citizenship given to the Selinuntians (no. 44) after successful defence of Ephesos against an Athenian attack in 409); and for C4 in *I.Ephesos* 1389, 1408–45 (mostly C4, some C3), and *SEG* 39 1151.4 (326/5–324/3).

The civic subdivisions of Ephesos are known primarily from citizenship decrees, in which it is stipulated that the honorand be assigned to a *phyle* and a *chiliastys*: *I.Ephesos* 1421.6 (C4): *ἔλαχε φυλὴν Τήϊος, χιλιαστυν Ἐχεπτολέμειος*. According to Ephor. fr. 126, there were five *phylai* at Ephesos: Bennaioi, Teioi, Karenaioi, Euonymoi and Ephesioi. Bennaioi is undoubtedly a false rendering of Bembineis. The *phyle Εὐωνυμεῖς* is attested in *I.Ephesos* 1419.4, *Βεμβινεῖς* in *I.Ephesos* 1427.4, *Ἐφεσεῖς* in *I.Ephesos* 1420.5, *Τήϊοι* in *I.Ephesos* 1421.6, and *Καρηναῖοι* in *I.Ephesos* 1415.17 (all C4, 1415 as late as *c.*300 (Rhodes, *DGS* 358)). The epigraphical record provides the names and *phyle* affiliation of some fifty *chiliastyes*; see Jones, *POAG* 312.

Ephesian embassies are attested epigraphically in *I.Ephesos* 1436.1 (C4) and *I.Ephesos* 1437.2 (before 321). In C4 the city granted *proxenia* to a citizen of Kyrene (no. 1028) (*I.Ephesos* 1389 (C4)) and to a Makedonian (*I.Ephesos* 1433.2–3). Between 325 and 275, Monounios, son of Sophokles of Ephesos, was appointed *proxenos* by Delphi (no. 177). For a grant of *enktesis*, see *I.Ephesos* 1389 (C4l). Ephesian *theoroi* are attested in *I.Ephesos* 2.3–4, 10 = *SEG* 36 1011 (*c.*350–300); for *theorodokoi* to host *theoroi* from Argos (no. 347), see *SEG* 23 189.11.8 (330–324).

Although Hdt. 1.26.2 may suggest that the urban centre of Ephesos was moved at some point during C6 or C5, this is not at all certain (see Özyigit (1988) 94–96). Herodotos need not imply any more than that the urban centre had expanded considerably since C6 and that the Artemision thus was no longer situated 7 stades outside the city walls.

So far, very little of the monumental architecture of Archaic and Classical Ephesos has been excavated. In addition to a temple of *Meter Theon* and a structure which was probably an Apollo sanctuary, the Artemision, perhaps the most important monument in the whole of Ephesos, has been uncovered and described (Bammer and Muss (1996)). According to Hdt. 1.26.2 (rC6), the Artemis temple was situated 7 stades from the walls of the old urban centre. The foundation of the earliest temple has been dated to C8. On the fire of the Archaic Artemision in C4m, see Knibbe (1998) 89. He rejects the tradition of the mad pyromaniac Herostratos and offers a more plausible explanation: *viz.* that the foundations of the temple had been causing problems since the days of Kroisos and were slowly sinking. In addition the ground level was constantly rising because of alluvial deposits from the river Kaystros. The fire con-

veniently made it possible to construct the late Classical Artemision on higher ground than its predecessor. For an account of C7–C6 finds in the Artemision, see Wiplinger and Wlach (1995) 107–8. *τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος* is mentioned in *I.Ephesos* 1438.4 (C4), from which it appears that citizenship grants were displayed in the temple. Other temples or cult sites are attested epigraphically: *I.Ephesos* 101 (C5) mentions a *hieron* of Zeus Patroios and a *hieron* of Apollo Patroios, as does *I.Ephesos* 102 (*c.*300). The *hieron* of Zeus Patroios is also attested in *I.Ephesos* 104 (C5). *I.Ephesos* 107 is a C4 private dedication to *Μητὴρ Ὀρεία*.

The preserved theatre (*TGR* iii. 494–96) dates from the Hellenistic period, but an inscription of C4l (*I.Ephesos* 1440.10) stipulates that the honours bestowed on Sostratos are to be proclaimed in the theatre at the festival of Dionysos. According to Xen. *Hell.* 3.4.18 and *Ages.* 1.25, Ephesos had several *gymnasia* in C4. That Ephesos was fortified in C6f is apparent from Herodotos' account of a siege by Kroisos (1.26.2; cf. 1.141.4). So far, a C6f city wall has not been confirmed archaeologically, but a stretch of polygonal wall on the north slope of the Panayırdağ hill is dated by ceramic evidence to *c.*500 and is probably part of a city wall (Scherrer (2001) 60 figs. 3 no. 4 and 3 no. 9).

Of Ephesian festivals, the Thesmophoria are mentioned in Hdt. 6.16.2, and the Dionysia in *I.Ephesos* 1440.10 (C4l). For the Artemisia and the Ephesia and the question as to whether these two names refer to one festival or two, see Hornblower (1991) 527–29 with references to the general discussion. A communal dedication by the Ephesians to Athena is recorded in *IG* II² 1486.5–6 (C4l).

For the Ephesian calendar, see Trümpy, *Monat.* 96–99 §84. At least six months were identical with the Athenian months.

Ephesian citizens are attested as victors in the Olympic Games (*Olympionikai* 398 (380), 431 (356) and 438 (352)), in the Isthmian Games (*I.Ephesos* 1416.20 (C4l)) and in the Nemean Games (*I.Ephesos* 1415.6, 1416.20–21 (*c.*300)).

Ephesos struck coins from C7l. (I) Electrum C7l–C6: denominations: stater and fractions down to forty-eighth. (1) Types: *obv.* stag to r. with head lowered, legend: *ΦAENOΣ EMI ΣHMA*; *rev.* three incuse sinkings. (2) *Obv.* bee in linear square; *rev.* oblong incuse divided into two squares, or *obv.* forepart of stag, head turned back; *rev.* incuse square. (II) Silver: denominations: tetradrachm, didrachm, drachm, hemidrachm, diobol, trihemiobol, obol, hemiobol. (1) C5: *obv.* bee; *rev.* quadripartite incuse square; legend: *EΦ* or *EΦESION*. (2) C4: *obv.* bee; legend: *EΦ*; *rev.* forepart of kneeling stag, head turned back, palm tree and magistrate's name. (III) Bronze, C4: *obv.* bee, legend: *EΦ*; *rev.* forepart of kneeling stag, head turned back, astragalus and magistrate's name. Head, *HN*² 571–74; for C7l and C6 electrum coinage, see Jenkins (1990) 13 and Kraay (1976) 21–22. *SNG Cop. Ionia* 206–56.

845. Erythrai (Erythraios) Map 56. Lat. 38.25, long. 26.30. Size of territory: 5, including several dependent *poleis*, for which see *infra*. Type: A. The toponym is *Ἐρυθραί, αἱ* (Hdt. 1.142.4; *SEG* 23 189.II.3 (*c.*330)). The city-ethnic is *Ἐρυθραῖος* (Hdt. 1.142.4; *IG* I³ 14.4 (C5)). According to Steph. Byz. 280.8–9, an alternative toponym was *Κνωπούπολις*, for which his authority may have been Hecat. fr. 228. In C5 the urban centre of Erythrai is called a *polis* by Hdt. 1.142.4 and in C4 in *SEG* 26 1282.5–6. *Polis* in the political sense is used about Erythrai in Hdt. 1.141.4, 142.4, 143.3; *I.Erythrai* 8.4–6 = Tod 155 (*c.*357–355); *I.Erythrai* 9.23 = Tod 165 (C4s); *SEG* 31 969.8 (351–344). The *polis* cognate *polites* is used in *SEG* 31 969.15–16 (351–344) and *SEG* 36 1039.12 (*c.*400). *Politeia* is applied to the Constitution of Erythrai in Arist. *Pol.* 1305ᵇ20–22. The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally in *SEG* 36 1039.5 (*c.*400); *I.Erythrai* 6.3 (394); and externally in Hipponax fr. 12, West (C6–C5); Hdt. 1.18.3; Dem. 8.24; *IG* I³ 14.4, 8, 22; and *SEG* 26 1282.11 (*c.*387). For the individual and external use, see *PEP Phokaia* 20 (undated).

The name of the territory is *Ἐρυθραία, ἡ* (Thuc. 3.29.2, 8.24.2, 33.2). Its size is likely to have varied considerably over time. In the Athenian tribute lists five communities are entered as part of the Erythraian *synteleia*, some or all of which may have been fully integrated into the Erythraian *polis* in C4 when our sources for them dry up. But it is highly likely that they had been dependent *poleis* in their own right in the Archaic period and C5e; see *infra*. The settlement pattern on the Mimas peninsula is very complex, and the communities mentioned in the tribute quota lists have not even been securely located. In C5 Erythraia comprised *Κώρυκος*, probably a settlement as well as a mountain (Thuc. 8.33.2) and the harbour *Ἔμβατον* (Thuc. 3.29.2). The borders of Erythrai with the *poleis* on the isthmus and perhaps with Chios (no. 840)—whose *peraia* may have included territory on the Mimas peninsula—cannot be established for the Archaic and Classical periods. The most important evidence concerning the territory of Erythrai in C4 is *I.Erythrai* 151 (*c.*340), which contains a list of roads linking a number of locations in the territory of the city. The following toponyms—all unlocated—are listed in the text:

Μαλνείη (l. 1), *Κλέαι* (l. 2), *Κεγκρεύς* (ll. 7, 11), *Πρινεύς* (l. 20), *Κολώνη* (l. 21), *Εὐμαΐς* (l. 22), *Μαραθοὺς ἐπὶ θάλασ[σαν]* (l. 26), *Οἴη* (l. 27), *ὁ Χαλκιδέων Λιμήν* (l. 40). *SEG* 37 917 (C5l/C4e) concerns sale of land and mentions other locations, presumably within Erythraian territory. The locations mentioned are *ἐν Ἀργαδεῦσιν* (A7), *ἐν Αὐλικοῖς* (A9, 12), *ἐν Ἄγροις* (A 16).

According to Hellan. fr. 48, Erythrai was one of the *poleis* founded by Neleus, son of Kodros. Erythrai belonged to the Ionian *dodekapolis* (Hdt. 1.142.4) and contributed eight ships for the battle of Lade (Hdt. 6.8.2). In 391–388 Erythrai sent representatives who participated as judges in the arbitration between Miletos (no. 854) and Myous (no. 856) (Tod 113.15).

In C5 Erythrai was a member of the Delian League, from which it defected, perhaps in the 450s, but see Gehrke, *Stasis* 66 n. 4. Athens managed to win back Erythrai shortly afterwards (the conventional date is 452: the most important evidence for Athens' imposing her will is *IG* I³ 14 = ML 40 and *IG* I³ 15, both mentioning a garrison and Athenian *episkopoi*). Erythrai belonged to the Ionian district and is recorded as a paying member from 450/49 (*IG* I³ 263.II.13, V.13) to 415/14 (*IG* I³ 290.I.29) a total of sixteen times, paying a *phoros* of often 7 tal. (*IG* I³ 268.II.27) but sometimes higher amounts, e.g. 9 tal. (*IG* I³ 264.III.28) or 12 tal. (*IG* I³ 283.III.28). It was assessed for tribute in 425/4 (*IG* I³ 71.I.126). In 412 Erythrai joined forces with the Peloponnesians (Thuc. 8.14.2), and Erythraian infantry assisted the Lakedaimonians (Thuc. 8.16.1).

Five communities are recorded in the Athenian tribute lists together with Erythrai as Erythraian dependencies: *viz.* the *Βουθειεῖς*, the *Ἐλαιόσιοι*, the *Πολιχναῖοι* (*-ῖται*), the *Πτελεόσιοι* and the *Σιδόσιοι*. With one possible exception (*IG* I³ 274.III.11, completely restored), the Erythraioi are recorded as the first of the six communities, and the presumption is that the five others were dependencies dominated by Erythrai. In the years 450/49 to 447/6 the six communities formed a *synteleia* (*IG* I³ 263.II.13–18, 264.III.28–30, 265.I.58–64, 268.I.27–28, 268.II.27); from 443/2 to 438/7 they paid individually (269.I.20–25, 270.I.22–27, 271.I.18–20, 272.II.16–21, 273.I.32–II.6, 274.III.6–11). In 433/2 the tribute was paid by the *Ἐρυ[θραῖοι] καὶ Χ[συντελῆς]* (*IG* I³ 279.I.48–49); and in 430/29 the five small communities are recorded after Erythrai but as communities belonging to Erythrai: *Ἐρυθραῖοι*, *Βουθειῆς Ἐρυθραίον*, etc. (*IG* I³ 281A.19–24), but later in the same inscription (61–66) they are recorded with their own ethnic without any mention of their dependent status. In later tribute lists and in the assessment decree of 425/4 we meet the *Βουθειῆς* (*IG* I³ 282.IV.38, 283.III.29, 284.II.1), the *Ἐλαιόσιοι* (*IG* I³ 284.II.2–3, 71.II.151), the *Πολιχναῖοι* (*IG* I³ 283.III.30, 71.I.145) and the *Πτελεόσιοι* (*IG* I³ 71.II.93), sometimes recorded as belonging to Erythrai; yet—and no doubt accidentally—there is no further reference to the *Σιδόσιοι*. Syntelies were usually formed by grouping *poleis* together and not by severing civic subdivisions from a *polis* to which they formerly belonged (Schuller (1974) 58–60). Thus, the presumption is that the five small communities listed after the Erythraioi in the tribute lists were small *poleis* dependent on Erythrai (see the individual entries).

After the battle of Knidos in 394, Erythrai entered into an alliance with Athens (Diod. 14.83.3). Diplomatic relations, perhaps in the form of a treaty, are attested in *IG* II² 108 (366/5). *I.Erythrai* 9 = Tod 165 (after 350) concerns an alliance with promise of mutual military assistance between Erythrai and the tyrant Hermias at Atarneus (ll. 15–30).

The earliest attested constitution seems to have been a narrow oligarchy controlled by the Basilidai (Arist. *Pol.* 1305ᵇ18–22), followed by a moderate democracy or a moderate oligarchy in which eligibility for being a *dikastes* was restricted by a census of thirty staters. Cases are initiated by a volunteer prosecutor (*ho boulomenos*), introduced by the *prytaneis*, and heard by a *dikasterion* composed of nine men from each *phyle* (*I.Erythrai* 2A): i.e. twenty-seven *dikastai* altogether if there were three *phylai* (*infra*). No explicit qualifications are prescribed for active participation as a prosecutor in public actions. The decree may have permitted even those who were not full citizens but children of freedmen or foreigners to act as prosecutors (B.14–24 as interpreted by Engelmann and Merkelbach (1972) 28–29), and certain magistrates were presumably selected by lot (2B.25–32; Engelmann and Merkelbach (1972) 29). In, probably, 453/2 a democratic constitution was enforced by Athens by a decree (*IG* I³ 14) which stipulates that the 120 members of the *boule* are to be selected by lot (ll. 8–9).

Immediately before the Athenians passed their regulations for Erythrai, in response to the defection of that city from the Delian League, the city must have been ruled by a pro-Persian, oligarchic faction, perhaps for as limited a period as that which separates the two inscriptions *I.Erythrai* 2 and *IG* I³ 14. This may be inferred from the Athenian regulations for Erythrai (*IG* I³ 14), in which the previous regime in Erythrai is referred to as *tyrannoi* (l. 33). It is not known to what extent the regulations of *IG* I³ 14 were implemented. In the beginning of C4 there was a

democracy in place in Erythrai (Tod 106 = *I.Erythrai* 6); but an Athenian decree of *c.*387 testifies to a *stasis*, probably between oligarchs who control the city and democrats in control of the territory. The decree anticipates the democrats' conquest of the town (*SEG* 26 1282; see Gehrke, *Stasis* 68). An oligarchic constitution can be assumed for C4l: no assembly is attested in a C4m citizenship decree (*I.Erythrai* 8 = Tod 155), and a decree is passed by the *boule* on the proposal of *strategoi*, *prytaneis* and *epimenioi* (*SEG* 31 969 (351–344)). An undated decree (*I.Erythrai* 10) providing for amnesty between Erythraians in the city and exiles (presumably democrats) is normally placed in the context of the reintroduction of democracy by Alexander the Great (Gehrke, *Stasis* 69).

The eponymous official in C5 Erythrai was the ἱεροποιός (*I.Erythrai* 1.16–17; *IG* I³ 14.5; *SEG* 36 1039.29 (*c.*400)). The assembly is attested in *SEG* 36 1039.7 (*c.*400); *I.Erythrai* 6.2 = Tod 106 (394) and *I.Erythrai* 21.1 (334–332). *IG* I³ 14.13–14 suggests that the Erythraians already had a *boule* when the Athenian decree was passed; cf. *I.Erythrai* 2 A20. For the *boule* in C4, see *SEG* 36 1039.6 (*c.*400); *I.Erythrai* 6.1 (394); Tod 155 = *I.Erythrai* 8.1 (350s); *I.Erythrai* 21.1, 10 (334–332). Among other officials we find the γραμματεύς (*I.Erythrai* 1.2, 3–5, 9, 19 (C5–C4)); a board of ἐξέτασταί (*I.Erythrai* 1.14 (C5–C4); *I.Erythrai* 21.2–3 (334–332)); a ταμίας (*I.Erythrai* 1.7 (C5–C4)); πρυτάνεις (*I.Erythrai* 2.29 (C5)); ἐπιμήνιοι (*SEG* 31 969.3); στρατηγοί (*I.Erythrai* 9.19–21, 21.2 (334–332)); an ἀγωνοθέτης (*I.Erythrai* 21.16 (334–332)); and a ἱεροκῆρυξ (*SEG* 36 1039.9–10 (*c.*400)). The epigraphic evidence includes several C5–C4 lists recording sales of real estate (*I.Erythrai* 153–54; *SEG* 37 917–19). It is uncertain whether the decree on trade, *I.Erythrai* 15 (C4), was passed by Chios (no. 840) or by Erythrai.

Erythrai granted *proxenia* and citizenship to Konon of Athens and his descendants in 394 (*I.Erythrai* 6.10–13 = Tod 106) and to Maussolos of Mylasa (no. 913) and his descendants in the 350s (*I.Erythrai* 8.6). In C4 *proxenia* was received from Kolophon (no. 848) (*AJP* 56 (1935) 358–79 IV.6). Erythraian *theorodokoi* to host *theoroi* from Argos (no. 347) are attested in *SEG* 23 189.II.3 (330–324).

The civic subdivisions of Erythrai were *phylai* (*I.Erythrai* 2.14 (C5), 14.2 (C4)), *gene* (*SEG* 31 969.16) and presumably also *chiliastyes* (*I.Erythrai* 17 from C5 is interpreted as a decree concerning the local affairs of the *chiliastys* of the Pepronioi; the earliest designation of this local group as a *chiliastys* is *I.Erythrai* 81.14 (C1)). There may have been three *phylai* (Jones, *POAG* 304). For free non-citizens, see *I.Erythrai* 2B.23–24 (C5), with a distinction between emancipated slaves and "foreigners" and *SEG* 36 1039.12 (*c.*400).

Athena Polias is mentioned in *I.Erythrai* 208.8–9 (C4e) and 210.1 (C5–C4e). Other communal cults are those of Zeus Agoraios (*I.Erythrai* 2B.8–10), and Apollo and Asklepios) (*I.Erythrai* 205 (380–360)). In *I.Erythrai* 21.14 (334–332) the Dionysia are mentioned as an occasion where public honours are to be proclaimed. A festival for Apollo and Asklepios is mentioned in *I.Erythrai* 205.28 (380–360). *SEG* 36 1039.3–4 (*c.*400) contains evidence for *theopropoi*. *IG* I³ 14.3–5 suggests a significant Erythraian presence at the festival of the Panathenaia.

Some of Erythrai's public architecture is attested epigraphically: the *prytaneion* (*I.Erythrai* 21.17 (334–332)), the agora (*I.Erythrai* 8.12–13, 10.16 (C4), 151.2, 3, 6, 8, 14 (*c.*340)) and a stoa (*I.Erythrai* 10.12–13). The earliest phase of the monumental temple of Athena dates back to C8, with rebuilding work in C6 and destruction in *c.*545. The temple was rebuilt soon after, in the 530s (Mitchell (1985) 83). It is attested epigraphically (*I.Erythrai* 8.14 (350s), 21.20 (334–332)), as are the Herakleion (*I.Erythrai* 21.20–21) and a number of other cult sites mentioned in *I.Erythrai* 151 (*c.*340), including sanctuaries of Athena (12), Apollo (25), Artemis (34) and Achilles (36). *SEG* 36 1039 (*c.*400) concerns the construction of a new temple for Aphrodite Pandemos. A theatre is attested from C4l (*TGR* iii. 451), which was apparently still under construction in C3 (*I.Erythrai* 24.32 (277–275)). As for the involvement of the Erythraian government in matters relating to infrastructure, see *I.Erythrai* 151 (*c.*340): water reservoirs, [ὑ]δρο[δόχεια], may be referred to in l. 1, and an extensive network of public roads through Erythraian territory is attested in this inscription. There are two categories of road: ὁδὸς δημοσίη and ὁδὸς ἀνδροβασμός (Engelmann and Merkelbach (1972) 247). The acropolis is mentioned in *IG* I³ 15.44 (*c.*450); and *I.Erythrai* 21 (C4) mentions demolition of the acropolis, to which the honorand Phanes Mnesitheou has contributed. In 1966 there were excavations of Tempelschutt on the acropolis dating from *c.*670–545 (Mellink (1967) 169). The city walls of Erythrai enclose an area of 135 ha and are dated to C4l, and *I.Erythrai* 22 relates to their construction (Migeotte (1992) 211–13 no. 68; McNicoll (1986) 310 with fig. 156); cf. Diod. 19.60.4 for a siege of the city in 315.

Erythrai struck silver and bronze coins in C6–C4. (1) Silver on the Milesian standard, before 480: denominations: didrachm, trihemidrachm, tetrobol, diobol. Types:

obv. naked horseman; *rev.* incuse square containing rosette. (2) Silver, *c.*480–400: denominations: drachm, trihemiobol, obol, tetartemorion: *obv.* naked man holding horse, or Pegasos, or bull's head; *rev.* incuse square containing rosette; legend: *EPYΘ*. (3) Bronze, C5: *obv.* head of Herakles in lion's skin; *rev.* various types; legend: *EPY*. (4) Silver and bronze, C4: denominations: tetradrachm, drachm, fractions in bronze: *obv.* head of Herakles in lion's skin; *rev.* various types; legend: *EPY* and magistrate's name. (Babelon, *Traité* ii.1. 302–6, ii.2. 1135–42; *BMC Ionia* pp. 116–27; *SNG Cop. Ionia* 554–617). According to Babelon, Erythrai stopped minting coins, as did Chios (no. 840), in 356 and resumed only in the Hellenistic period.

846. Isinda (Isindios) Map 61. Unlocated. Not in *Barr.* Type: C. The toponym, known only from Steph. Byz. 338.14–16, is *Ἴσινδος* or *Ἴσινδα*. However, the name of the site *Ἴονδα* close to Ephesos captured by Thibron in 391/90 as reported by Diod. 14.99.1 may be due to corruption of the text and may in fact have read *Ἴσινδα* originally (*ATL* i. 493; cf. French (1994) 85–86). The city-ethnic is *Ἰσίνδιος*, the collective use of which is attested externally in the Athenian tribute quota lists (*IG* I³ 269.I.30). Isinda was a member of the Delian League. It belonged to the Ionian district and is recorded from 445/4 (*IG* I³ 267.V.16, almost completely restored) to 416/15 (*IG* I³ 289.I.44) a total of nine times, once completely restored, paying a *phoros* of 1,000 dr. (*IG* I³ 280.I.44).

847. Klazomenai (Klazomenios) Map 56. Lat. 38.20, long. 26.45. Size of territory: ? Type: A. The toponym is *Κλαζομεναί, αἱ* (Hdt. 1.142.3; *IG* XII.5 444 no. 27 (C3)). The city-ethnic is *Κλαζομένιος* (*SEG* 28 697.8 = Ager (1996) no. 15 (C4l); *IG* II² 9038 (C4)). In C5 Klazomenai is called a *polis* in the urban sense in Hdt. 1.142.3 and Thuc. 8.23.6, and in the political sense in Hdt. 1.141.4, 142.3, 143.3. In C4 it is called a *polis* in the urban sense in Aen. Tact. 28.5, and in the political sense in Tod 113.21 and 38 (391–388) and *SEG* 28 696.3 (C4l). The *polis* cognate *polites* is used in Aen. Tact. 28.5. The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally on C4 coins (*infra*) and externally in Hipponax fr. 1, West (C6–C5); Hdt. 1.51.2; *IG* I³ 261.I.11, 262.II.17, etc.; Thuc. 8.14.3; Tod 114 = *I.Erythrai* 502.4 (387). For the individual and external use, see Pl. *Ap.* 26D: *Ἀναξαγόρον τοῦ Κλαζομενίου*; Isoc. 4.235 (rC5); *I.Erythrai* 16.10 (C4l); *IG* II² 9038 (C4).

The name of the territory was *Κλαζομενία* in *SEG* 28 697.10 = Ager (1996) no. 15; this inscription is an arbitration concerning the territory of Klazomenai and its neighbour(s) carried out by judges from Kos (no. 497) towards the end of C4. It has been suggested by Ager (1991) that Teos (no. 868) is one of the cities which was involved in the dispute. She suggests that, in the inscription, the entire territories of Teos and Klazomenai are defined, starting from the border of Kolophonia (l. 11) in the east and moving westwards on to the isthmus of the Mimas peninsula.

It may be inferred from Ephor. fr. 25 that a location called *Λάμψος* was part of Klazomenian territory; and another settlement, *Σκυφία*, is mentioned in Ephor. fr. 26 = Steph. Byz. 580.5–6. Steph. Byz. calls Skyphia a *πολίχνιον Κλαζομενίων*, but it is uncertain whether this site-classification stems from Ephoros. In Thuc. 8.14.3 and 8.23.6 we are informed that the Klazomenians fortified *Πολίχνα* on the mainland. We do not know if this Polichna was identical with the Erythraian dependency known as Polichne (see *infra* and Gomme *et al.* (1981) 35). At 8.23.6 Thucydides reports that those Klazomenians who had been responsible for the rebellion against Athens retired to *Δαφνούς* after the Athenian conquest of Polichna (see also Thuc. 8.31.2; *IG* I³ 119.5 (407), and *infra*). From Thuc. 8.31.3–4 it appears that the Klazomenians also controlled three neighbouring islands: Drymoussa, Pele and Marathoussa. These islands were used for safe keeping of property.

According to Paus. 7.3.9, the Klazomenians moved their urban centre from the mainland to the adjacent island because of their vulnerability to attacks in the Archaic period (see also Strabo 14.1.36). This is now confirmed by the finds at the site of Chyton (no. 841), identified as the Archaic urban centre of Klazomenai, which show that the settlement was abandoned in C6m.

Klazomenai belonged to the Ionian *dodekapolis* (Hdt. 1.142.3), and Klazomenian representatives acted as judges in the arbitration between Myous (no. 856) and Miletos (no. 854) in 391–388 (Tod 113.21–25). Klazomenai was a member of the Delian League. It belonged to the Ionian district and is recorded from 454/3 (*IG* I³ 259.IV.21) to 416/15 (*IG* I³ 289.I.39) a total of eighteen times, once completely restored, paying a *phoros* of first 1½ tal. (*IG* I³ 261.I.11), raised to 5 tal., 2,000 dr. in 427/6 or 426/5 (*IG* I³ 284.6) and to 15 tal. in 416/15 (*IG* I³ 289.I.39). It was assessed for tribute in 425/4 (*IG* I³ 71.I.147) and possibly also in 410/9 (*IG* I³ 100.7: [*Κλαζομ*]*ένι*[*οι*]). Klazomenai defected from the League in 412 and moved the urban centre from the island to Polichna on the mainland (Thuc. 8.14.3); but it was won back by Athens later in the same year. The bulk of the population was moved back to the island, while the anti-Athenian faction fled to Daphnous (Thuc. 8.23.6). A Spartan attempt to

conquer the island failed (Thuc. 8.31.2–3), and the Klazomenians were still allied to Athens in 410 (Xen. *Hell.* 1.1.10–11). A protracted *stasis* between the pro-Spartan and probably oligarchic faction in Daphnous and the pro-Athenian and probably democratic faction in the urban centre on the island (Thuc. 8.31.2–3) was provisionally ended in 407 by a treaty between the Athenians and the faction in Daphnous (*IG* I³ 119.5 = *I.Erythrai* 501), but the *stasis* continued (Diod. 13.79.1); see Gehrke, *Stasis* 78.

In 387/6 there seems to have been a democratic government in place in Klazomenai, and a treaty with Athens was concluded in 387/6 (Tod 114 = *I.Erythrai* 502) with Klazomenai as a subordinate party. But it is also clear that a *stasis* of some kind had preceded this decree. *Stasis* appears to have been endemic at Klazomenai in C4 (Arist. *Pol.* 1303^{b}9 and, perhaps, Aen. Tact. 28.5–6). In the King's Peace of 386 Klazomenai is explicitly mentioned as an island belonging to Persia (Xen. *Hell.* 5.1.31), but, *pace* Gehrke, *Stasis* 79, there is no compelling evidence that a tyranny or a narrow oligarchy was set up by Python when he conquered Klazomenai in C4m (Aen. Tact. 28.5–6). The only unquestionably attested public enactment is a *psephisma* of C4l: *SEG* 28 696.6, moved by a board of *timouchoi* (l. 1) and implying that the Klazomenians levied taxes on imports and exports (l. 5).

Hierokleides of Klazomenai received *proxenia* from Athens (no. 361) in 424/3 (*IG* I³ 227). Klazomenian *theorodokoi* to host *theoroi* from Argos (no. 347) are attested in *SEG* 23 189.II.1 (330–324). A cult of Athena Polias may be attested for Klazomenai: Oikonomos (1921) 74 reported on an inscription which he found in a sanctuary on the island. He did not give a transcript of the text, but his description suggests that the goddess worshipped on the small acropolis on the island may have been Athena Polias.

There was a Klazomenian treasury in Delphi (Hdt. 1.51.2). According to Diod. 15.18.2, Kyme (no. 817) and Klazomenai consulted the oracle at Delphi in 383, shortly after the death of Tachos, in connection with their dispute over Leukai (no. 819), which contained an Apollo sanctuary. An Olympian victor, Herodotos of Klazomenai, is attested in Paus. 6.17.2 (C4 according to *RE* s.v. Herodotos 1, but not in *Olympionikai*). For a Klazomenian victor in the Pythia, see *SEG* 18 214 (C4–C3). *SEG* 18 214 is a communal dedication by the Klazomenians at Delphi (C4–C3).

Like other Ionian cities, Klazomenai may have been walled in the Archaic period (Hdt. 1.162.2). On the mainland site that housed the urban centre of Archaic Klazomenai there are C6 walls around the acropolis (Mellink (1983) 440). The island settlement was unfortified in 411 (Thuc. 8.31.3). Aen. Tact. 28.5–6 describes a stratagem by which Python of Klazomenai gained control over the city by making wagons stop in the gates, thereby allowing his forces to enter. The episode may belong in C4 after the King's Peace (Gehrke, *Stasis* 79; Whitehead (1990) 179). Cook (1953–54) 151 described the walls of the island settlement as of massive square masonry with backing containing plenty of black glazed pottery of the early and middle C4. Both the mainland site and the island settlement have been under excavation during the 1980s and 1990s, but so far most finds await publication.

Klazomenai minted coins of electrum, silver and bronze from C6 to C4. A silver drachm was found in the Asyut coin hoard, dating from 499–494 (Price and Waggoner (1975) 85). (1) Electrum and silver on the Phoenician standard, C6–C5: denominations: didrachm, drachm, diobol. Types: *obv.* forepart of winged boar; *rev.* quadripartite incuse square. (2) Silver on the Attic standard, C5: denominations: hemidrachm, diobol: *obv.* forepart of winged boar, or head of Athena; *rev.* incuse square with Gorgoneion, or ram's head; legend: ΚΛΑ. (3) Silver on the Attic standard, C4: denominations: drachm, hemidrachm: *obv.* head of Apollo slightly facing; *rev.* swan; legend: ΚΛΑ or ΚΛΑΖΟ and magistrate's name. (4) Bronze, C4: *obv.* head of Athena (or occasionally head of Apollo); *rev.* ram, or swan; legend: most have magistrate's name, some also ΚΛΑ, ΚΛΑΖΟ or ΚΛΑΖΟΜΕΝΙΩΝ. (5) The satrap Orontas, *c.*362: *obv.* bearded head in satrapal tiara; legend: Κ; *rev.* forepart of winged boar; legend: ΟΡΟΝΤΑ. (Head, *HN*² 567–68; *BMC Ionia* 17–26; *SNG Cop. Ionia* 1–91. For the controversy surrounding the coin hoard of electrum staters at Klazomenai in a sealed jar in a 580s context, see Le Rider (1994)).

The Klazomenians were the original colonisers of Abdera (no. 640), according to Hdt. 1.168; they were also co-colonisers of Naukratis (no. 1023) in the reign of Amasis (Hdt. 2.178).

848. Kolophon (Kolophonios) Map 61. Lat. 38.05, long. 27.10. Size of territory: unknown but, including Notion (no. 858), at least 4. Type: A. The toponym is Κολοφών (*IG* I³ 37.9 (*c.*425) (cf. *infra*); *PEP Kolophon* 5.35 (311–306)) either ἡ (Mimnermos fr. 9, West) or ὁ (Strabo 14.1.28). The city-ethnic is Κολοφώνιος (*IG* I³ 266.I.10; Xen. *Hell.* 1.2.3) or Κολοφωνίτης (*IG* I³ 261.V.10). The mercenary's signature from Abu Simbel has Ϙολοφόνιος (ML 7f (591)). In C5 Kolophon is called a *polis* in the urban sense in Thuc. 3.34.1,

2, and in the political sense in Hdt. 1.141.4, 142.3–4, 143.3. In C4 it is called a *polis* in the urban sense in *PEP Kolophon* 6.1.9, 19 (311–306)), and in the political sense in *PEP Kolophon* 4.29, 82, 86 (311–306). The *polis* cognate *polites* is used in *PEP Kolophon* 1.5, 6.28 (311–306). A *Κολοφωνίων πολιτεία* was included among the 158 Aristotelian constitutions (fr. 520.1–2). The verb *πολιτεύειν* is found in Thuc. 3.34.2. Hdt. 1.14.4 applies the word *asty* to the urban centre of Kolophon. The word *patris* is used of Kolophon in Hdt. 1.150.1 and *SEG* 35 1125.3 (*c.*300). The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally in *PEP Kolophon* 6.9 (311–306) and on C5 coins (*infra*) and externally in Hdt 1.147.2; Thuc. 3.34.1; Xen. *Hell.* 1.2.3; *PEP Kolophon* 16 (a C4 inscription found in Byzantion, perhaps commemorating a public slave of Kolophon). The individual and external use of the city-ethnic is attested in ML 7f (591); Pind. fr. 188, Bergk; *IG* I³ 65.9 (427/6) and 1347 (C5 tombstone set up at Athens).

The name of the territory is *Κολοφωνία* (*SEG* 28 697.10 = *Iscr.Cos* ED 174). This text may relate to an arbitration between Teos (no. 868) and Klazomenai (Ager (1991)); and if Ager's interpretation is accepted, this inscription shows that Kolophonian territory bordered on the territories of Teos and Klazomenai (no. 847) in the west (see also Ager (1996) 67–69 no. 15). The northern and eastern boundaries of Kolophonian territory in the Archaic and Classical periods are unknown. In *PEP Kolophon* 6 (C4) the territory (*chora*) and urban centre (*polis*) are mentioned. The territory of Kolophon contained Klaros with its Apollo sanctuary and the harbour town Notion (Thuc. 3.34.1: *Νότιον τὸ Κολοφωνίων*); see Notion (no. 858).

The history of Kolophon begins *c.*700 with a *stasis* between two factions. One of the factions emigrated to Smyrna, then an Aiolian city, but subsequently the Kolophonians expelled the Smyrnaians and had Smyrna turned into an Ionian city (Hdt. 1.16.2, 150.1–2; see Smyrna (no. 867)). *C.*660 Kolophon was conquered by Gyges of Lydia (Hdt. 1.14.4). According to Arist. fr. 601 and Timaios (*FGrHist* 556) fr. 56, Siris (no. 69) in southern Italy was founded by colonists from Kolophon, and a combination of the sources has led to the view that these colonists left Kolophon because of Gyges' conquest (Demand (1990) 31–33; *supra* 293). *Theognidea* 1103, West, suggests that Kolophon was destroyed in a way similar to Smyrna (no. 867) and Magnesia (no. 852). It is uncertain whether the destruction of Kolophon was connected with Gyges' conquest or should rather be connected, e.g., with the story that Alyattes of Lydia had all the Kolophonian knights killed (Polyaen. 7.2.2). Kolophon belonged to the Ionian *dodekapolis* (Hdt. 1.142.3) and must have been under Persian rule from the 540s.

In C5 Kolophon was a member of the Delian League. It belonged to the Ionian district and is recorded from 454/3 (*IG* I³ 259.III.21) to 416/15 (*IG* I³ 289.I.40) a total of sixteen times, four times completely restored, paying a *phoros* of first 3 tal. (*IG* I³ 259.III.21), reduced to 1½ tal. in 446/5 (*IG* I³ 266.I.10), raised to 3 tal. in 432/1 (*IG* I³ 280.I.38) and reduced to 500 dr. in 428/7 (*IG* I³ 283.III.24). It was assessed for tribute in 425/4 (*IG* I³ 71.I.135).

In 430 Kolophon was conquered by the Persians in consequence of a *stasis* between the citizens. The Kolophonians living in the city fled and settled in Notion (no. 858). The *stasis* flared up again, and the city of Notion was divided into two sections separated by a wall. One part, described as a *teichos*, was inhabited by Medising Kolophonians and Notieis who now united and formed a political community. The other part of the city was inhabited by the opposite faction of Kolophonian immigrants (and, undoubtedly, some Notieis). In 427 they invited an Athenian squadron under Paches. The Athenians conquered the *teichos*, expelled the Medising Kolophonians, gave Notion to the other Kolophonians, and later sent a contingent of Athenian colonists supplemented with Kolophonians from all *poleis* (Thuc. 3.34.1–4). This incident is reflected in the Athenian tribute lists, where the *phoros* paid by Kolophon is reduced from 3 tal. in 432/1 to 500 dr. paid in 428/7 and the following years down to 416/15 (*supra*). For corresponding variations in Notion's payments, see *infra* 1089. An undated C5 treaty between Athens and Kolophon with Kolophon as a subordinate party (*IG* I³ 37, cf. 42–43) must belong in this context too, since it regulates the relations between the Kolophonians and the Athenian colonists (ll. 20, 23, 42). In the following period Notion and Kolophon are both listed side by side as members of the Delian League, *viz.* in 428/7 (*IG* I³ 283.III.23–24), 421/0 (*IG* I³ 285.I.40–41) and 416/15 (*IG* I³ 289.I.40–41). Thus, both persisted as separate political communities, but inland Kolophon was still in Persian hands and was not reconquered by the Athenians until 409 (Xen. *Hell.* 1.2.4). It is unknown whether, from 427 to 409, the communities of the Kolophonians and Notieis were both centred on Notion, or whether a New Kolophon-at-Sea was founded, a community that remained distinct from the community of the Notieis who occupied the harbour of Notion; see Piérart (1984) 168–71, pointing out that the Kolophon mentioned in *IG* I³ 37.9 is probably the New Kolophon, inhabited by the Kolophonians and the Athenian colonists. Following Mattingly (1966) 210–12 = (1996)

174–78, 372–74, Piérart prefers a low dating of *IG* I³ 37, 42–43, *contra IG* I³ pp. 40–41 followed by Gehrke, *Stasis* 80.

According to Arist. *Pol.* 1290ᵇ14–17, Kolophon had been an oligarchy before their war against the Lydians; but the oligarchy was of a peculiar kind, in so far as those citizens who met the property qualifications outnumbered those who did not. It is normally assumed that Kolophon continued as an oligarchy well into C5m (Gehrke, *Stasis* 80). The "New Kolophon" founded by Athenian colonists and Kolophonians in the 420s was democratic (*IG* I³ 37.47–49; Thuc. 3.34.4). Very little is known about Kolophon's history in C4. Gehrke, *Stasis* 81–82 assumes that it had an oligarchic constitution, introduced after the King's Peace and replaced with a democracy by Alexander (*PEP Kolophon* 6 (311–306)).

Civic subdivisions of Kolophon in the Archaic and Classical periods are unattested apart from *gene*, for which see Robert (1936) 163–64, who discusses the use of *gene* designations in *PEP Kolophon* 6 (311–306).

A *νόμος Κολοφονίων* is referred to in the heavily restored inscription *IG* I³ 37.43 (447/6). In C4 the eponymous official of Kolophon was the *πρύτανις* (*PEP Kolophon* 6). Evidence of the assembly is found in *PEP Kolophon* 1 (a C4l probouleumatic decree) and 6, with mention of an *ἐκκλησία κυρία* (l. 32). The Kolophonian *boule* is attested in *PEP Kolophon* 1 and 6. Officials connected with council and assembly are the *ἐπιμήνιοι* (*PEP Kolophon* 4 (311–306)) and the *πρόεδροι* (*PEP Kolophon* 8 (C4–C3)); see Rhodes, *DGS* 357. Other officials attested epigraphically are the *καρπολόγος* (*PEP Kolophon* 6) and the board of *πωλῆται* (*PEP Kolophon* 4). For a Kolophonian embassy, see *IG* II² 456.22–28 (307/6). In C4l the Kolophonians bestowed *proxenia* and citizenship on two citizens of Erythrai (no. 845) (*AJP* 56 (1935) 358–79 IV.5–6 = *PEP Kolophon* 1). Kolophonian *theoroi* may be attested in *IG* I³ 43.14 and 22 (435–427).

Kolophon controlled ownership of land, as evidenced in the citizenship decree *PEP Kolophon* 5 (311–306), mentioning *γῆς ἔγκτησιν καὶ οἰκίας*. The same decree contains evidence for liturgies and *eisphora*, also levied on metics (ll. 12–15). The verb *μετοικεῖν* is used in ll. 10–11. Other evidence for free non-citizens resident in Kolophon is provided by *PEP Kolophon* 6 (311–306), in which responsibility is placed on ten commissioners for raising funds from foreigners, *χρήματα ξενικά*. The list of individual contributors to the wall-building programme testifies to a large number of free foreigners residing at Kolophon, some registered with their city-ethnic (*Abderites*, etc.) or other ethnic (*Makedon*, etc.) (see also Robert (1936) 162 n. 2), some just called *metoikoi* (372–73, etc.), perhaps manumitted slaves who were perceived differently from those immigrants who insisted on keeping their original civic identity.

The cult of Athena Polias is attested in *PEP Kolophon* 6. Public festivals are attested in *PEP Kolophon* 1 (C4l), in which the honorands receive the privilege of *προεδρίαν ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσιν*. For the Kolophonian calendar, see Trümpy, *Monat.* 99–100 §86.

Hermesianax of Kolophon was a victor in the Olympic Games in 320 (*SEG* 35 1125.3 with Paus. 6.17.4 = *Olympionikai* no. 475.). A Kolophonian victor in the Oropian Games is attested for C4 (probably between 366 and 338) in *IG* VII.414.16. *IG* II² 456 b.4–8 records a dedication of a wreath to Athena by the *demos* of Kolophon (307/6).

The remains of Kolophon excavated by Holland and published in 1944 are not easy to interpret; see Hoepfner and Osthues in Hoepfner *et al.* (1999) 280–91. *C.*311–306 the "old" Kolophon was merged with a new and larger urban centre (*PEP Kolophon* 6). It appears that, in connection with the joining together of the two urban centres, the buildings in the old centre were to be either privatised or demolished along with the old agora (l. 26). It may be inferred from the participle *καταβάντας* (l. 14) that the old city was located at a lower level than the C4 settlement; but its precise location cannot be determined. Holland found evidence for C7 structures close to a C4 stoa and another structure, also C4, which he interpreted as the Metroon. The Metroon is also attested epigraphically (*PEP Kolophon* 5). Miller (1978) 109–12, 127–28 classifies the building as a *prytaneion* annex. Hoepfner and Osthues (in Hoepfner *et al.* (1999)) conclude that the Archaic city must have been located on the slope of the acropolis, *pace* e.g. Migeotte (1992) 217, who follows Holland's (1944) suggestion that the old city was located in the plain to the north-east of the acropolis. In *PEP Kolophon* 6 temples in the old city are referred to generally, and in 16–18 there is specific reference to altars for Zeus Soter, Poseidon Asphaleios, Apollo Klarios, Meter Antaie, Athena Polias and "the other gods and heroes".

PEP Kolophon 6 concerns a great project of fortification which served in part to reunite the site of current habitation with the old (and apparently abandoned) urban centre of Kolophon (Migeotte (1992) 214–23 no. 69). Some fortificatory structures were clearly already in existence (22–23); but it is not clear if these fortifications enclosed the old or the new settlement; see de la Genière (1994). The circuit of "New" Kolophon encloses an area of 80+ ha (Hoepfner *et al.* (1999) 284).

Urbanisation may have taken place quite early at Kolophon: Hdt. 1.15.1 refers to Gyges' conquest of the *asty* of Kolophon in C7. Remains of an early Archaic settlement (C7) have been found on the slope of the acropolis (Holland (1944)).

Kolophon struck coins of silver and bronze from C6l throughout C5 and C4. The earliest silver types: (1) *c.*525–490 on the Persian standard: denominations: hemiobol, trihemitetartemorion, tetartemorion: *obv.* head of Apollo facing; *rev.* incuse square; legend: *HM*, *TPI*, *TE* indicating denomination. (2) C5 on the Persian standard: denominations: drachm, trihemiobol, quarterobol: *obv.* Artemis laureate, or Apollo laureate; legend: *KO* or *ΚΟΛΟΦΩΝΙΟΝ* or *ΚΟΛΟΦΩΝΙΩΝ*; *rev.* lyre within incuse square; legend sometimes on *rev.* Silver and bronze, *c.*389–330 on the Rhodian standard: denominations: tetradrachm, drachm, hemidrachm, diobol and fractions in bronze: *obv.* head of Apollo laureate; *rev.* lyre, or tripod; legend: *ΚΟΛΟ* or *ΚΟΛΟΦΩ* or *ΚΟΛΟΦΩΝΙΟΝ* and magistrate's name (Head, *HN*² 569–70; *BMC Ionia* 36–40; *SNG Cop. Ionia* 133–48).

For the Kolophonian foundation of Siris (no. 69) in southern Italy, see *supra* 1078.

849. Korykos (Korykaios) Map 56. Lat. 38.10, long. 26.35. Size of territory: unknown but probably 1 or 2. Type: C. The toponym *Κώρυκος*, *ὁ* (Thuc. 8.14.1, 33.2, 34) designates primarily the mountain in the southern part of the territory of Erythrai (no. 845) (Thuc. 8.33.2; Hecat. fr. 231) but also a homonymous community, described by Ephor. fr. 27 as a *polismation* (*Barr.* records the mountain but not the settlement). The city-ethnic is *Κωρυκαῖος* (Ephor. fr. 27; Strabo 14.1.32). Korykos was located in Erythraian territory (Thuc. 8.33.2), and it had another small community, Myonnesos (no. 855), as its neighbour (Ephor. fr. 27). On the coast along the foot of the mountain were a row of small harbours, which were all nests of pirates (Ephor. fr. 27; Strabo 14.1.32). Korykos seems to have been one of them. The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested in an external context in Ephor. fr. 27 and in a proverb quoted by Strabo 14.1.32. A controversy surrounds some Imperial coins which may or may not have been minted by this community (see Imhoof-Blumer (1902) 463 versus von Aulock (1968) versus Robert (1981) 352 n. 42).

850. Lebedos (Lebedios) Map 61. Lat. 38.05, long. 27.00. Size of territory: probably 2 or 3. Type: A. The toponym is *Λέβεδος*, *ἡ* (Thuc. 8.19.4; Strabo 14.1.29). The city-ethnic is *Λεβέδιος* (Michel 484.2–3 (C4l)). Lebedos is attested as a *polis* both in the urban sense (Hdt. 1.142.3) and in the political sense (Hdt. 1.141.4, 142.3, 143.3; Tod 113.26, 39 (391–388); *Syll.*³ 344.19 (*c.*303)). The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally on C2 coins (Head, *HN*² 580) and externally in *IG* I³ 71.I.138, 263.II.6, 266.I.13; Tod 113.26 (391–388); *Syll.*³ 344.6 (*c.*303). Lebedos belonged to the Ionian *dodekapolis* (Hdt. 1.142.3), and its representatives participated in the C4 arbitration between Miletos (no. 854) and Myous (no. 856) (Tod 113.26). It is also clear from Michel 484 that in C4l the Lebedians were part of the Ionian association, presumably with representatives in the common Ionian *boule*.

Lebedos was a member of the Delian League. It belonged to the Ionian district and is recorded from 451/50 (*IG* I³ 262.II.32) to 430/29 (*IG* I³ 281.I.42, mostly restored) a total of eleven times, four times completely restored, paying a *phoros* of 3 tal. down to, probably, 447/6 (*IG* I³ 265.I.33) and thereafter 1 tal. (*IG* I³ 266.I.13). It was assessed for tribute in 425/4 (*IG* I³ 71.I.138). It revolted in 411 (Thuc. 8.19.4).

The most important evidence for Lebedos is *Syll.*³ 344, which contains Antigonos I's instructions concerning the synoecism of Lebedos (*c.*303). The decree is difficult to use retrospectively, but it can be inferred from l. 21 that Lebedos had issued grants of *proxenia*. *Theorodokoi* of Lebedos to host *theoroi* from Argos (no. 347) are attested in *SEG* 23 189.II.6 (330–324).

Michel 484.1–9 refers to a lawsuit concerning the priesthood of Zeus Boulaios and Hera, in which the Lebedians were involved. It is possibly an inter-*polis* dispute over a common Ionian priesthood.

In Antigonos I's instructions on the proposed synoecism of Teos and Lebedos, *Syll.*³ 344.24–26 (*c.*303), it is assumed that *symbolaia* exist between the two cities, and that each of them has its own laws.

The eponymous office of *πρύτανις* mentioned in Michel 484.1 and 10 may have pertained to Lebedos, as argued by Magnetto (1997) 63, rather than to Priene (no. 861), as has normally been assumed.

The walls of Lebedos were described by G. Weber (1904) 229, who did not attempt to date the fortification. It is presumably Hellenistic.

851. Leukophrys Map 61. Lat. 37.50, long. 27.30, but see *infra*. Size of territory: ? Type: A. The toponym is *Λεύκοφρυς* (Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.19). This community, which, in Classical sources, is attested only in two passages in Xen. *Hell.*, is called a *polis* in the urban sense at 4.8.17. It was located in the Maiandros valley, and contained a

famous sanctuary of Artemis (3.2.19). It may have been situated at the site of the refounded Magnesia on the Maiandros (thus *Barr.*), but this cannot be determined with certainty.

852. Magnesia (Magnes) Map 61. Location before 399 unknown, after 399: lat. 37.50, long. 27.30. Size of territory: ? Type: A. The toponym is *Μαγνησίη, ἡ* (Hdt. 1.161, 3.122.1, 125.2) or *Μαγνησία ἡ Ἀσιανή* (Thuc. 1.138.5, 8.50.3). The city-ethnic is *Μάγνης* (*IG* XII.6 35.3 (C4l); cf. Shipley (1987) 163), to which Hdt. 3.90.1 adds *ὁ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ*. In C4 Magnesia is called a *polis* both in the urban sense (Ps.-Skylax 98: *πόλις Ἑλληνίς*; cf. also Diod. 14.36.3 (r400)) and in the political sense (*SEG* 14 459.7 (C4l/C3e)). The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested both externally (Archil. fr. 20, West; *Theognidea* 603, 1103, West) and internally on C4m coins (*infra*) and in inscriptions (*I.Magnesia* 2.13 (C4l)). The individual and external use of the city-ethnic is attested in *IG* XII.6 35.3 (C4l) and *CEG* II 855 (C4l/C3e), which also uses *patris* about the community.

In Hdt. 3.90.1, the Magnesians of Asia are mentioned alongside the Ionians and Aiolians, and they seem to have been regarded as a group apart. According to *SEG* 14 459.7–9 (= *CEG* II 855 (C4l/C3e)), Magnesia was founded from Thessaly. Presumably in C7, Magnesia waged war against Ephesos (no. 844) (Kallinos fr. 3, West). A physical destruction of Magnesia by the Kimmerians in C7 is related by Strabo 14.1.39–40, who cites Archilochos (fr. 20, West) as corroboration. He also claims that Miletos (no. 854) annexed the site, but it is not known for how long the Milesians were left in control. Hdt. 1.161 shows that the city had been rebuilt by 547/6, when it was plundered by Mazares and subjected to Persia.

The city remained under Persian control even after the establishment of the Delian League: the Persian king granted tax-levying rights at Magnesia to Themistokles during the latter's exile (Thuc. 1.138.5). When Astyochos approached Tissaphernes in connection with Alkibiades' intrigues in 411, Tissaphernes was apparently based in Magnesia (Thuc. 8.50.3). The city was under the control of Tissaphernes in 400 when it was captured by Thibron. When Thibron failed to take Tralleis, he returned to Magnesia, and because the city was unfortified, he decided to relocate it to a mountain nearby called Thorax (Diod. 14.36.2–4).

Very little is known about the constitution of Magnesia. The Aristotelian collection of constitutions included a *Magneton politeia* (Heracl. Lemb. 50; Arist. no. 106), and at *Pol.* 1289^{b}38–40 Aristotle mentions the importance of the cavalry of Archaic Magnesia as an illustration of his claim that communities dependent on such forces tended to have an oligarchic constitution. But Magnesia was evidently a democracy in late C4 (*I.Magnesia* 1 and 2).

I.Magnesia 1 (C4) and 2 (C4l) are both public enactments passed by the Magnesian assembly (2.8–9: *ἔδοξε τῆι βουλῆι καὶ τῶι δήμωι*). The eponymous official of Magnesia in C4l was the *πρύτανις* (2.2–3). The Magnesian *boule* is attested in *I.Magnesia* 2.8 (cited *supra*) in a probouleutic capacity. A *grammateus* (of the *boule*?) is attested in 2.7. A Magnesian *theorodokos* to host *theoroi* from Argos (no. 347) is attested in *SEG* 23 189.II.11 (330–324). The months *Ἀγνιών* (*I.Magnesia* 1.3) and *Παλλείων* (*I.Magnesia* 2.3) are attested for C4. Both are untypical of Ionian calendars (Trümpy, *Monat.* 110–11 §94). A Magnesian victor in the Olympic Games is attested in C5l (*Olympionikai* 329), another in 344 (*Olympionikai* 449), and one in the Pythian Games is attested in C4–C3 (*SEG* 14 459).

The citizen body of Magnesia was subdivided into *phylai* in C4 (*I.Magnesia* 2.4). The names of five *phylai* are attested in inscriptions of C3f (*I.Magnesia* 2, 5, 6, 9, 11), and all five are named after the Olympian gods (Ares, Aphrodite, Hermes, Hestia and Zeus). Thus, Magnesia may already in the Classical period have had all twelve *phylai* named after the twelve Olympian gods (Jones, *POAG* 315–17). *Proxenia* and probably also citizenship were given to the Makedonian Apollophanes (*I.Magnesia* 2 (C4l)). A grant of *enktesis* is given in *I.Magnesia* 2.15, and Magnesian tax-levying powers may be inferred from the grant of *ateleia* in *I.Magnesia* 2.15–16. Resident free non-citizens are attested in the C4 funerary monuments *I.Magnesia* 258 (*Ἀχαιός*) and 259 (*Σαμίη*).

The agora of C5 Magnesia is attested in Thuc. 1.138.5. The sanctuary of Artemis Leukophryene (Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.19) presumably lay within the urban centre of the relocated Magnesia (*supra*). Foundations dating back to C6e have been discovered beneath the Hellenistic Artemision.

The earliest attested coinage is a C5m silver didrachm on the Attic standard bearing the name Themistokles (*BMC Ionia* 158). Types: *obv.* Apollo standing, holding olive branch; legend: *ΘΕΜΙΣΤ[ΟΚ]ΛΕΟΣ*; *rev.* eagle with spread wings, border square of dots; legend: MA. From C4m Magnesia struck coins of silver and bronze. (1) Silver: denominations: tetradrachm, didrachm, drachm and fractions down to obol: *obv.* horseman holding spear; *rev.* humped bull; legend: magistrate's name and *ΜΑΓΝ* or,

sometimes, ΜΑΓΝΗΤΩΝ, all in maeander pattern. (2) Bronze: *obv.* Apollo laureate; *rev.* maeander pattern; legend: magistrate's name and ΜΑΓ. (Head, *HN*² 381–82; Babelon (1930) 45; *SNG Cop. Ionia* 802–43.)

853. Marathesion (Marathesios) Map 56. Lat. 37.50, long. 27.15. Size of territory: probably 1. Type: C. The toponym is Μαραθήσιον, τό (Ps.-Skylax 98). The city-ethnic is Μαραθήσιος (*IG* I³ 270.1.6 (442/1)). In the Archaic and Classical periods this community is attested only in the Athenian tribute lists and in Ps.-Skylax 98, who unfortunately offers no site-classification.

From *I.Priene* 37.57–58 (C2) it appears that Samos (no. 864) claimed to have received Marathesion from Miletos (no. 854) after the Meliac War (*c.*700), and according to Strabo 14.1.20 Ephesos (no. 844) later received Marathesion from the Samians in return for Anaia (no. 838). The date of this transfer cannot be determined. Thus, Marathesion seems to have been a dependent *polis* first under Miletos, then under Samos, and finally under Ephesos.

Marathesion was a member of the Delian League. It belonged to the Ionian district and is recorded from 443/2 (*IG* I³ 269.1.5, completely restored) to 415/14 (*IG* I³ 290.1.28) a total of seven times, twice completely restored, paying a *phoros* of first 3,000 dr. (*IG* I³ 270.1.6), but 2,000 dr. from 433/2 on (*IG* I³ 279.1.16).

854. Miletos (Milesios) Map 61. Lat. 37.35, long. 27.15. Size of territory: 5. Type: A. The toponym is Μίλητος, ἡ (Hecat. fr. 240; Thuc. 8.27.6; *Syll.*³ 273.8 (C4s)). The city-ethnic is Μιλήσιος (Hdt. 2.179.1; *Syll.*³ 273.5 (C4s)). The earliest reference to Miletos as a *polis* is in *Hymn. Hom. Ap.* 180 (Μίλητον ἔχεις ἔναλον πόλιν (C8–C6?)), where *polis* is used in the urban sense. In C5 Miletos is called a *polis* both in the urban sense (Hdt. 6.20; Thuc. 8.25.4) and in the political sense (Hdt. 5.29.2; *Milet.* VI.1 187.7 = ML 43). In C4 again, both the urban sense (*OGIS* 213.10 (*c.*300)) and the political sense (Xen. *An.* 1.1.6; *Syll.*³ 1002.5 = *LSAM* 44 (*c.*400)) are attested. *Polisma* is found at Hdt. 6.6; for the idiom used, see Hansen (1995) 61 n. 154. The *polis* cognate *politeia* (citizenship) is used in *SEG* 38 1193.8 (330–320), in which there may also be an attestation of the word *polites* (pl.) in l. 5. The Aristotelian collection of constitutions may have included a *Milesion politeia* (Arist. no. 116), but the evidence adduced by Gigon is rather slim. The word *asty* is used about the urban centre of Miletos in Hdt. 5.29.2 and 5.92.ζ.2; and Hdt. 5.99.2 uses *astos* about the citizens. The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally in *Milet.* I.3 135.5 = *Syll.*³ 273 (C4) and externally in Demodokos fr. 1.1, West (C6?); Hdt. 4.137.2; Xen. *An.* 1.1.11; *IG* I³ 21.67; and Tod 195.1 (*c.*330). The individual use of the city-ethnic is attested externally in Hdt. 4.137.1; Xen. *Hell.* 2.1.30; *IG* I³ 1356 (C5); and *SEG* 35 942 (Chios (C4)).

The name of the territory is ἡ Μιλησίη (-α) (Hdt. 1.17.2; Thuc. 8.26.3). It was large and diverse and may have been as much as 2,000 km² (Burford (1993) 19; Lohmann (1995), (1997), (1999); cf. Mitchell (1999) 154 for a summary). There were four distinct parts: Milesia itself (the limestone peninsula on which the city was situated on the northern side); Mt. Grion (the upland area to the east of Milesia); the lower Maiandros valley (then on the opposite shore of the Gulf of Latmos, controlled by Miletos perhaps as far as Magnesia); and the Milesian islands (Leros, Patmos, Lade, Pharmakoussa and probably also Lepsia). The physical distinction between different parts of Milesian territory may be reflected in Hdt. 6.20 (τῆς δὲ Μιλησίων χώρης ... τὰ περὶ τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὸ πεδίον, τὰ δὲ ὑπεράκρια). The territory comprised a number of named locations: Assesos (Hdt. 1.19.1), Didyma/Branchidai (Hdt. 1.46.2, 157.3) and the harbour Panormos (Hdt. 1.157.3). The city also controlled some areas in the Maiandros valley (Hdt. 1.18.1). As for Milesian state control of Didyma, see Hdt. 5.36.3: the scholar Hekataios reportedly suggested fund raising for the revolt against the Persian king by appropriating the temple treasures donated by Kroisos. Discussing the Archaic period, Tuchelt (1988) 433 n. 55 distinguishes—somewhat anachronistically—between zones of Milesian influence, directly controlled areas, and communities that belonged to a Milesian "federation" (*Staatsverband*).

Assesos (modern Mengerevtepe: Lohmann (1995) 311) is known from Herodotos' account of the destruction of the sanctuary of Athena Assessia by Alyattes (1.19–21). The location of the sanctuary is epigraphically attested by a C6 dedication (Herrmann (1995) 288–92; cf. Wachter (1998)). Lohmann (1995) 313–14 reports that sondages in the temple carried out by von Graeve in 1993 confirm the report of Hdt. 1.19.1 of the destruction of the temple in the twelfth year of Alyattes' reign (608 or 598 or 594), and a further sondage revealed layers pointing to a second destruction by the Persians in 494. The sanctuary seems to have lost its significance after the second destruction. Assesos was surrounded by a C5s wall (2 m wide) with three towers and a gate protecting not only the settlement itself, but also the coastal part of the Milesian *chora* as a whole (Lohmann (1995) 314–21).

Teichioussa: the toponym is Τειχιόσῃ (*I.Didyma* 6.1) or Τειχιοῦσσα (Thuc. 8.26.3, 28.1; *IG* I³ 71.1.122). The only pos-

itive indication pointing to Teichioussa as a proper (dependent?) *polis* is *I.Didyma* 6.1, in which a *Τειχιόσης ἀρχός* is attested. However, he may have been a Milesian official who was in charge of the settlement. The *polis* status of Teichioussa in the Archaic period cannot be ascertained (see Gehrke (1980) 30 n. 78, who leaves open the possibility that Teichioussa became fully integrated into Milesian territory only after the return of the democrats who had formed a splinter community there in C5). It is clear that if Teichioussa had ever been a *polis* in its own right in the Archaic period, it certainly was not a member of the Delian League in its own right: in 454/3 Teichioussa provided a temporary home to Milesian democrats loyal to Athens (*IG* I³ 259.VI.21–22: [*Μι*]*λέσιοι* [*ἐκ Τ*]*ειχιόσσε*[*ς*]). In later years Leros and Teichioussa are recorded by toponym after the Milesioi, and the payment recorded for all three amounts to 10 tal. (*IG* I³ 284.15–17 (427/6 or 426/5), 285.I.88–90 (421/0) and 489.I.36–38 (416/15)). In 411 Teichioussa was definitely part of Milesian territory (Thuc. 8.26.3: *Τειχιοῦσσαν τῆς Μιλησίας*). Voigtländer (1986) 627 describes remains of fortifications and housing complexes dating from between 750 and 550. He also reports on the remains of an Archaic city wall, and he concludes on the basis of finds of Attic ceramic that the site was inhabited in C5m (ibid. 629–30). In a C4 source Teichioussa is explicitly classified as a *kome* (Archestratos fr. 42).

Leros: the toponym is *Λέρος, ἡ* (Hdt. 5.125; Thuc. 8.26.1, 27.1; *IG* I³ 284.16). There is also an attestation of the collective and individual use of what may have been a city-ethnic, *Λέριος* (Demodokos frr. 1–2, West (C6?). In 454/3, like Teichioussa, Leros provided a temporary home to Milesian democrats loyal to Athens and paid a *phoros* of 3 tal. (*IG* I³ 259.VI.21–22: *Μιλέσιοι ἐχς Λέρο*). In later years Leros and Teichioussa are recorded by toponym after the Milesioi, and the *phoros* recorded for all three amounts to 10 tal. (*IG* I³ 284.15–17 (427/6 or 426/5), 285.I.88–90 (421/0) and 489.I.36–38 (416/15)). According to Hdt. 5.125, Hekataios reportedly advised the Milesian *epitropos* to construct a fortress (*teichos*) on the island, apparently under Milesian control, and wait there for an opportunity to return safely to Miletos. In a C4s honorific decree (Manganaro (1963–64) no. 1), the inhabitants of the island refer to themselves as *τοὺς ἐν τῆι νήσωι κατοικοῦντας τῶν πολιτῶν* (4, 9–10) or as *τῶν οἰκητόρων τῶν ἐλ Λέρωι* (6), and it is clear that by that time the inhabitants of the island represented themselves as Milesian citizens. Their assembly, *ἐκκλησία* (5), may have been roughly similar to the assembly of an Athenian deme. See further no. 504.

Ionia Polis (modern Mersinet Iskelesi). There is no evidence pertaining to the Archaic or Classical periods, and Peschlow-Bindokat's assumption that the place existed as a quarry and harbour already in the Archaic period rests entirely on evidence from the Apollo temple at Didyma ((1977) 100, (1977–78)).

Didyma, alternatively *Branchidai* (Hdt. 1.46.2, 92.2, 157.3, with Ehrhardt (1998)), was located in Milesian territory already in the Archaic period (Hdt. 1.46.2). However, its status in the Archaic and early Classical periods is problematic: Tuchelt (1988) 430–31 suggests that Didyma was in fact an independent unit rather than just an extra-urban Milesian sanctuary (see esp. 433), but Ehrhardt (1998) counters that all evidence, including the Sacred Way along with an Archaic sacred law, points to an early connection between the cult site and the *polis* of Miletos. In C4m the sanctuary minted its own bronze coins. Types: *obv.* head of Apollo Didymeus, laureate, facing three-quarters l.; *rev.* lion standing l., looking back at star; legend: *ΕΓ ΔΙΔΥΜΩΝ ΙΕΡΗ* (Head, *HN*² 585; *BMC Ionia* 189).

As far as the territory of Classical Miletos is concerned, Lohmann (1997) 310 concludes that the minimum size of Milesia proper must have been at least 400 km². He reckons that the mountain range south of the Gulf of Akbük provided a natural boundary to the south, but notes that there are still problems connected with fixing the eastern boundary of the territory (ibid. 290). Apart from the marble quarries on the eastern Gulf of Latmos, the region lacks any important mineral resources. Good soils exist only on the northern side of Milesia, on a plain between Miletos and Assesos, and around the coasts. The islands, Mt. Grion and most of Milesia are hilly and have poor soils, unsuitable for arable cultivation. However, the deep rich lacustrine soil of the Maiandros valley is extremely fertile and retains moisture well, making it ideal for cereal production (Braun (1995) 32–33), and it was replenished annually by the flooding of the river Maiandros. This, in addition to probably quite extensive wool production on the uplands, made the territory of Miletos agriculturally productive; and Milesian possessions in the Maiandros valley were the object of several disputes; cf. the C4e arbitration between Miletos and Myous (no. 856) concerning territory in the Maiandros valley (Tod 113).

The size of the Milesian population was undoubtedly considerable already in the Archaic period, although it cannot be calculated with precision. It has been estimated that the early Archaic town may have had about 4,000 houses (Gates (1995) 238), undoubtedly an exaggerated figure

(Hansen (2000) 179 n. 208). But the eighty Milesian ships at Lade in 494 (Hdt. 6.8.1) and the 2,000 hoplites in 424 (Thuc. 4.54.1) testify to a large population.

According to a tradition that may go back as early as C7, Miletos was founded by Neileus (Hdt. 9.97), whose heroon may have been located just outside the Holy Gate (Herda (1998)). Archaeological evidence points to the existence of a (probably) Ionian Greek settlement from *c.*1050, and there are architectural remains of the Archaic urban centre dating from *c.*700 (Greaves (2002) 75–79). Relatively little is known about the history of Miletos in the early Archaic period, and most of our literary and epigraphical sources are late and unreliable. It is widely assumed that Miletos was ruled by an oligarchy in the period prior to the ascent of the tyrant Thrasyboulos in the last quarter of C7 (e.g. Gorman (2001) 101–21), but the accounts of the rivalries between different aristocratic families during C8 and C7 all date from the late Hellenistic and Roman periods.

According to Hdt. 1.142.3, Miletos belonged to the Ionian *dodekapolis*. During the Archaic period Miletos' relationships with other Greek *poleis* in the region appear to have been determined to some extent by its enduring hostility towards Samos (no. 864), its most significant commercial rival. Hdt. 5.99.1 implies that Miletos offered military assistance to Eretria (no. 370) in Euboia in its war against Chalkis (no. 365), mainly on the grounds that Samos was aiding the latter in the so-called Lelantine War (on which see, e.g., Tausend (1992) 137–45). Miletos formed an alliance with Mytilene (no. 798) and perhaps other *poleis* on Lesbos (Hdt. 3.39.4), from which it received assistance against Samos during the reign of Polykrates, probably *c.*530 (see e.g. Tausend (1992) 86–87). There is also evidence of Milesian engagement in other regional conflicts. In its attempts to resist the invasions of Alyattes in C7, it was assisted by Chios (no. 840), allegedly in return for the help that Miletos had given to Chios in its war against its main rival Erythrai (no. 845) (Hdt. 1.18.3). Tausend (1992) 74–78, 83–85 discusses the evidence for two further Milesian alliances in the Archaic period: one with Erythrai against Naxos (no. 507), perhaps in the first half of C7, and the other with Samos against Priene (no. 861) in the first half of C6. During C7 Miletos suffered repeated attacks by the Lydians during the successive reigns of Gyges, Ardys, Sadyattes and Alyattes (Hdt. 1.14.4–22.4). According to Hdt. 1.18.1–22.4, the troops of Alyattes invaded Milesian territory for twelve consecutive years, until a treaty of *xenia* and *symmachia* was eventually concluded between Alyattes and the Milesian tyrant Thrasyboulos in the twelfth year of Alyattes' reign (608 or 598 or 594). Herodotos' account of the accidental destruction by fire of the temple of Athena in Assesos (modern Mengerevtepe), which ultimately led Alyattes to end the war on terms favourable to the Milesians, is confirmed by archaeological evidence from the temple site (Lohmann (1995) 313–14). The treaty may have been upheld by Alyattes' successor Kroisos, but this has been disputed (cf. e.g. Tausend (1992) 95–96; Gorman (2001) 123–24). After the Persian conquest of Lydia, Kyros is reported (Hdt. 1.141.4) to have granted the Milesians the same terms as they had previously had with the Lydians, and Herodotos seems to assume that the treaty originally contracted between Alyattes and Thrasyboulos had still been in force during Kroisos' reign. The granting of favourable terms to Miletos by the Lydians and subsequently by the Persians presumably served the purpose of driving a wedge between Miletos with its considerable military strength and the other Ionian *poleis*. If this was indeed the Lydian and, later, the Persian strategy, it seems to have worked (Hdt. 1.141.4): Miletos held aloof from the Ionian attempt to form a united front against the Persians after 546.

It is widely assumed that Thrasyboulos' reign was followed first by the rule of two further tyrants, Thoas and Damasenor (Plut. *Mor.* 298C–D), or by a narrow oligarchy and then by a period of *stasis* between two factions called "the Aeinautai" and "the Cheiromachai" respectively. The *stasis* referred to by Plutarch is normally identified with the *stasis* reported in Hdt. 5.28–29, which was ultimately resolved by an arbitration process conducted by a panel from Paros (no. 509). The Parians set up an oligarchy (Hdt. 5.28–29). According to Hdt. 5.28, the *stasis* lasted for two generations, but he gives no precise date for its resolution. It has been suggested that archaeological evidence indicating a decline in Milesian exports in the period 600–590 may have been directly linked to civil unrest (Greaves (2002) 96). It is normally held that the introduction of the new constitution after the arbitration coincided with the first recorded *aisymnetes* as a Milesian eponymous official (*Milet.* I.3 122; see Gorman (2001) 112–13 for a summary of the traditional scholarly position). However, Gorman (2001) 113–15 advocates *c.*540 rather than the traditional date of 525 as the starting point of the *aisymnetes* list. She rightly points out that there may well be a gap in the list, reflecting the 15 years separating the Persian sack of Miletos in 494 and the reconstruction of the *polis* in 479. However, her argument that the Parian arbitration must be separated from the creation of the office of *aisymnetes* and instead be

moved back to C7 or even C8 rests primarily on the assumptions (1) that the Persians would not have permitted the resolution of the *stasis* by the intervention of another Greek *polis*, and (2) that a period of a maximum of 25 years between the introduction of the new constitution and the ascent of the tyrant Histiaios before 513 would not have been sufficient to restore Milesian prosperity (ibid. 115–21). Her first premise, at least, must be regarded as debatable: (i) the Milesians may have had more room for regulating their own internal affairs than other Ionian *poleis* thanks to their favourable treaty with Kyros; (ii) the Persians are later known to have allowed internal conflicts in the Ionian region to be resolved by a process of arbitration conducted by other Greek states (Tod 113).

From Hdt. 4.137–39 it is clear that the Milesian oligarchy must have been replaced with the Persian-backed tyranny of Histiaios by 513, when Milesian troops under Histiaios' command assisted the Persians in their Skythian campaign. In return for his services during this campaign Histiaios was granted control of Myrkinos (no. 633) by Dareios (Hdt. 5.11.1–2), and it appears from Herodotos' account that he first settled there. Later he was called to Susa as adviser to the Great King (5.24.2–25.2), leaving his cousin and brother-in-law Aristagoras to rule Miletos in his absence (Hdt. 5.30.2). Aristagoras (in secret collaboration with Histiaios, who was detained at Susa) was an important instigator of the Ionian Revolt in 499, according to Herodotos because he had fallen foul of the Persians as a result of the failed expedition against Naxos (no. 507) in 500 and was fearing for his position within Miletos (5.35–36.1). He subsequently stepped down (at least nominally, *λόγῳ*) as ruler of Miletos and introduced *isonomie* (Hdt. 5.37.2). This may have amounted to some kind of democracy (but see Gorman (2001) 136). Shortly before the Ionian Revolt was quashed by the Persians in 494, Aristagoras went into exile, and Histiaios, who attempted to re-establish his position in Miletos, was refused access to the *polis* (Hdt. 6.5.1–2).

After the Ionian defeat at the battle of Lade, to which the Milesians had contributed eighty ships (Hdt. 6.8), the Persians subjected the *polis* to *andrapodismos* and physical destruction of its urban centre (Hdt. 6.18–20). According to Herodotos, most men were killed, and women and children enslaved. The people who were spared were resettled in Ampe on the Red Sea. The territory around the city and the plain were occupied by Persians, while the rest was settled by Karians. However, Herodotos' claim that Miletos "was emptied of Milesians" may either be exaggerated or may refer more narrowly to Miletos' urban centre (*contra* Gorman (2001) 145–47). In any case, Milesian troops were present among the Persian forces just before the battle of Mykale (Hdt. 9.99.3, 104). The physical destruction of Miletos city in 494, on the other hand, appears to have been almost total (but see Voigtländer (1984) 156–58). Archaeologically, continuity of occupation at the site in C5f cannot be proved or disproved.

After the defeat of the Persians at Mykale, Miletos became a member of the Delian League in 478. It is recorded in the list from 454/3 (*IG* I³ 259 III.19; Piérart (1974)), where Milesioi from Leros and from Teichioussa are also recorded as payers (*IG* I³ 259.VI.19–22). Then the Milesioi are recorded from 452/1 (*IG* I³ 261.II.28) to 430/29 (*IG* I³ 281.I.14) paying first 10 tal. (*IG* I³ 263.V.18) and from 443/2 5 tal. (*IG* I³ 269.I.33). From 427/6 (*IG* I³ 284.15–17) to 416/15 (*IG* I³ 289.I.36–38) the Milesians are recorded with Leros and Teichioussa paying 10 tal., and in 415/14 the Milesians are recorded alone paying 10 tal. (*IG* I³ 290.I.9). The Milesians were assessed for tribute in 425/4 alongside Leros and Teichioussa (*IG* I³ 71.I.125). As a member of the Delian League Miletos provided an army contingent for the Athenian expedition against Corinth (no. 227) in 425/4 (Thuc. 4.42), and the Athenians had at their disposal more than 2,000 Milesian hoplites in 424 (Thuc. 4.54.1). Milesian troops also participated in the Sicilian expedition (Thuc. 7.57.4).

There is no secure evidence for the constitution of Miletos in the period between 479 and *c.*450, but it is normally held that the form of constitution was an oligarchy (perhaps moderate, so Gehrke, *Stasis* 114). The Milesian banishment decree (*Milet.* I.6 187 = ML 43), traditionally dated 470–440, banishes a number of prominent Milesians and contains provisions for rewarding anyone who kills them. Although it cannot be ruled out completely that the decree was passed after a *stasis* that may have brought Milesian democrats to power, and that it was directed against leading oligarchic figures, the board of officials referred to as the *epimenioi* is normally taken to be a feature of Milesian oligarchy (e.g. ML 43; Koerner (1993) 311; Gorman (2001) 232–34). It is possible that the provisions of the decree were directed by an established oligarchy against Medising members of the Milesian élite.

It is clear, however, that Miletos experienced a period of civil unrest in the middle of C5, and that the Athenians intervened on at least one occasion. [Xen]. *Ath. Pol.* 3.11 refers to a situation in which the Athenians chose to back the Milesian oligarchy against the *demos*; the oligarchs subsequently revolted and massacred the *demos*. It is

impossible to date the incident from [Xen.]'s text alone, but it may be connected with the passing of *IG* I³ 21 (conventionally dated to 450/49), which contains Athenian regulations for Miletos. An Athenian garrison was imposed on Miletos, but it cannot be determined if democracy was also imposed (Gorman (2001) 227–30, *contra*, e.g., Hornblower (1991) 188–89). *IG* I³ 21 is normally interpreted as an Athenian attempt to prop up an existing oligarchy, which may later have revolted and instigated the massacre that led to further Athenian intervention and the imposition of democracy.

A *terminus ante quem* for the introduction of democracy at Miletos is provided by *Klio* 52 (1970) 165–73 (dated to the 430s), which contains regulations for the sanctuary of Poseidon Helikonios, and which carries a preamble indicating the existence of political institutions on an Athenian model (see e.g. Rhodes, *DGS* 379). Gorman (2001) 236 argues for the likelihood that a democracy was already in place when the Athenians chose to back Miletos in its conflict with Samos "over Priene" in 441/0 (Thuc. 1.115.2).

In 412 the Milesians revolted against Athens (Thuc. 8.17.1–4), but the democratic constitution remained in place until 405, when it was replaced by an oligarchy (Diod. 13.104.5; Plut. *Lys.* 8). In 411 the Milesians countered an Athenian attack on their city with a force consisting of 800 hoplites (Thuc. 8.25.2), and further assisted the Peloponnesians with ships (Thuc. 8.61.2) and infantry (Thuc. 8.79.4). In 405 the Spartans helped the Milesian oligarchs to overthrow the democracy, and more than 1,000 democrats fled from Miletos and were resettled in Blaundos in Lydia by the Persian satrap Pharnabazos (Diod. 13.104.6: *Βλαῦδα*). Xen. *An.* 1.1.7 reports that Tissaphernes attacked the pro-Spartan party in the city because he feared that they might support Kyros, killing and exiling most of them. From *LSAM* 45 (= *SGDI* 5496 (380/79)) it may be inferred that the rule of the pro-Spartan oligarchs was replaced by a democracy possibly as a result of Tissaphernes' interference. The preamble of the law shows that by 380/79 the Milesian political institutions were set up on an Athenian model (Rhodes, *DGS* 379).

In C4m Miletos was probably ruled by the Karian dynasts, as is indicated by Milesian coins with the legends *EKA* (Hekatomnos) and *MA* (Maussolos) (Gehrke, *Stasis* 116 n. 12), and by statues of the Hekatomnids Ada and Idrieus set up at Delphi by the Milesians (Tod 161B). Many of these changes of constitution took place as a consequence of *stasis* between opposing factions, thus in 452, 405 and 402 (Gehrke, *Stasis* 113–17).

Depending on the restorations proposed for the preambles of the decrees *Klio* 52 (1970) 165–73 (C5) and *LSAM* 45 = *SDGI* 5496 (380/79), the *boule* at Miletos seems to have resembled that of Athens in its designations of *phylai* presiding in each prytany. In *LSAM* 45, the *boule* seems to have a probouleumatic function. Hdt. 5.29 refers to a *ἁλίη* (C6), and a Milesian assembly was convened by the Spartan general Kallikratidas in 406 (Xen. *Hell.* 1.6.8). The assembly is also attested in a number of C5 and C4 enactments: *Klio* 52 (1970) 165–73 is a C5 decree (*psephisma*) passed by the city of Miletos concerning the cult of Poseidon Helikionios. *LSAM* 45 = *SDGI* 5496 (380/79), a *psephisma* containing regulations for the cult of Artemis, has in the preamble: *Κεκροπὶς ἐπρυτάνευεν, Φιλίννης ἐπεστάτει, ἔδοξεν τῆι βουλῆι καὶ τῶι δήμωι, Ἡράκλειτος εἶπεν* (1–5). Both decrees show very strong Athenian influence (Rhodes, *DGS* 379). There is evidence for homicide legislation in *Milet.* VI.1 187.2–3 = ML 43 (C5m).

Milet. I.3 122 lists officials under the heading *οἵδε μολπῶν ἠισύμνησαν*. These officials (*aisymnetai*, also called *stephanophoroi*) were clearly eponymous, and the list went back to 525 (Sherk (1992) 229–32; *supra*). Other officials are *στρατηγοί* (*Milet.* I.3 135.36–37 = *Syll.*³ 273 (C4); *τειχοποιοί* (*Milet.* I.3 135.30–31 (C4)); *ταμίαι* (*Milet.* I.3 135.31); *ἐπιμήνιοι* (*Milet.* VI.1 187.5 = ML 43 (C5m)); *πράκτορες* (*LSAM* 45.11 = *SDGI* 5496 (380/79)); and a *γραμματεύς*, perhaps of the *boule* (*Klio* 52 (1970) 165–73 (435/4)).

The Milesian citizen population was subdivided into two different sets of *phylai*. Of the six old Attic-Ionic *phylai*, four are attested in C5 sources: the Oinopes, the Hoplethes, the Boreis and the Argadeis (*Syll.*³ 57.1–3; *PEP Miletos* 419, 420), and the existence of the Geleontes and Aigikoreis can be presumed (Jones, *POAG* 321). A different system of at least nine and possibly twelve *phylai* is attested in sources, some of which date from C4 and one even from 437/6 (Herrmann (1970)). At least seven *phylai* duplicate the Kleisthenic ones: Aiantis, Akamantis, Erechtheis, Kekropis, Leontis, Oineis and Pandionis. The two other known *phylai* are Asopis and Theseis (Jones, *POAG* 322–23). Inscriptions of C3–C1 testify to at least five and perhaps seven demes, of which three are the Argaseis, the Lerioi and the Teichiesseis (*supra* 1083; Jones, *POAG* 323–25).

Milesian embassies are attested in Thuc. 1.115.2 (to Athens, 441/40) and Thuc. 8.85.4 (to Sparta, 411). *Proxenia* was received from Knidos (no. 903) (*I.Knidos* 1.1–3 (400–350)) and from Tanagra (no. 220) (*IG* VII 524 (C4l/C3e)). Citizenship was given to an individual from

Mylasa (no. 913) (*SEG* 38 1193 (330–320)), and in C4 Miletos also entered into mutual arrangements of *isopoliteia* with other states: Olbia (no. 690) (Gawantka (1975) no. 18 = Tod 195 (before 323)); Kyzikos (no. 747) (Gawantka (1975) no. 19 (before 323)) and Pygela (no. 863) (Gawantka (1975) no. 21). Milesian *theorodokoi* to host *theoroi* from Argos (no. 347) are attested in *SEG* 23 189.II.12 (330–324).

Since the Geometric period, Kalabaktepe, a 57 m-high hill to the south of Miletos, was defended and acted as an acropolis for the city (*Milet.* I.8; von Graeve (1986), (1987), (1990), (1991), (1992), (1995), (1997), (1999)). Kaletepe (the Theatre Hill) has also been suggested as a possible acropolis for the ancient city, but here the archaeological evidence has been obscured by a Byzantine castle. Following the destruction of the city in 494 there was significant rebuilding on Kalabaktepe, but it was later abandoned as the city never grew to regain its former size, and the focus of settlement shifted towards the harbours.

In connection with his report of Alyattes' attack on Miletos (C7), Hdt. 1.17 comments that, because of Miletos' control of the sea, a proper siege could not be undertaken by an army. The Persian siege of Miletos after the battle of Lade was from land *and* sea (Hdt. 6.18). The city walls are mentioned in Hdt. 6.7 and 6.18. Their extent in the Archaic period is much debated (*Milet.* I.8, II.3; and Cobet (1997)); but Kalabaktepe appears to have been encircled with walls, and on its summit a second, inner wall has recently been found (Senff *et al.* (1997)). Whether the Archaic walls extended on to the plain below Kalabaktepe to enclose the whole peninsula is not yet clear (Cobet (1997)). Excavation of the area between Kalabaktepe and the Sacred Gate area is hampered by the great depth of deposits that overlie the ancient remains. Some or all of the lower city may have been enclosed within the city walls to defend the harbour area and secure its sea power (Lang (1996) 199–201); the city was besieged and taken by Alexander the Great in 334 (Diod. 17.22.1–4).

In Hdt. 1.17 and 1.21 the *asty* is referred to explicitly. According to Hdt. 1.17.2, there was also significant settlement outside the Archaic urban centre. Archaic Miletos appears to have covered a very large area, perhaps as much as 110 ha (Müller-Wiener (1986) 98), but this area cannot have been covered by contiguous urban settlement. Trial trenching on the plains between Kalabaktepe and the temple of Athena found limited evidence for Archaic settlement here (*Milet.* I.8 39ff), and the archaeology in other parts of the city is obscured by later buildings. Thus, the estimate of about 4,000 houses in the early Archaic town (Gates (1995) 238) must be an exaggeration (Hansen (2000) 179 n. 208). The period 494 to 479 is virtually unattested in the archaeological record; but when the town was rebuilt, the walls were probably planned on the same scale and in the same location as the original Archaic city to enclose the city peninsula and Kalabaktepe. The new city was grid-planned and is presumed to have covered most of the area between Kalabaktepe and Humeitepe (Hoepfner and Schwandner (1994) 17–19).

A Milesian agora is attested in Hdt. 1.21 (rC7–C6) and Diod. 13.104.5 (r405). *Milet.* I.3 135.29–30 mentions a sanctuary of Apollo. In a decree passed by the city of Miletos concerning the cult of Poseidon Helikionios, there is mention of the *temenos* (*Klio* 52 (1970) 165–73, ll. 31–32). The Athena temple in the western part of the peninsula dates back to C7, with rebuilding work in C6, and there is evidence that Delphinion near the Lion Bay had been situated there since the Archaic period. A C4 Dionysos temple had a C6 predecessor. A summary of the finds relating to the public architecture of Archaic Miletos is provided by Lang (1996) 198–99.

There is no Archaic or Classical evidence for a cult of Athena Polias, but Herrmann (1971) 293–94 infers from an inscription of the second or third century AD mentioning Athena Polias that she was identical with the goddess worshipped in the Athena temple, attested without epithet already in the Archaic period. In a decree of C5 the assembly regulates the cult of Poseidon Helikionios (*Klio* 52 (1970) 165–73). An oracular response of *c.*500 very likely records a communal Milesian consultation at the oracle at Didyma (*Milet.* I.3 178; Somolinos (1991); Herrmann (1992) 116–17). The oracle of Apollo at Didyma was presumably involved in the Milesian foundation of Olbia (no. 690); cf. the bone tablet of *c.*525–500 found at Berezan (*SEG* 36 694), face B of which contains the inscription: Ἀπόλλωνι Διδυ(μαίῳ) Μιλησίῳ (Rusyayeva (1986)).

For the Milesian calendar, see Trümpy, *Monat.* 89–93. Five months are identical with the Athenian. Two of the Milesian months are attested in Classical sources: Taureon (*Klio* 52 (1970) 165–73, l. 31 (C5)) and Artemision (*LSAM* 45 = *SDGI* 5496 (380/79)).

Milesian victors in the Olympic Games are *Olympionikai* 79 (596), 225 (472) and 385: Antipater (388), according to Paus. 6.2.6, was the first of the Ionians to have dedicated a statue at Olympia.

Miletos struck coins in C6–C4 of electrum, silver and bronze. (1) Electrum, C6: types: *obv.* mostly (head of) lion; *rev.* incuse(s). (2) Silver, C6–C5: *obv.* forepart of lion; *rev.*

floral pattern within incuse square. (3) Silver, C5: *obv.* lion; *rev.* floral ornament. (4) Silver, C4: *obv.* Apollo laureate; *rev.* lion; legend: *MI* monogram and magistrate's name. (5) Bronze, C4: *obv.* lion walking, monogram; *rev.* star; legend: magistrate's name; or *obv.* Apollo laureate; *rev.* lion and star; legend: *MI* as monogram or *ΜΙΛΗΣΙΩΝ* and magistrate's name. Milesian silver obols dating from 510–494 were found in the Asyut hoard (Price and Waggoner (1975) 86; Jenkins (1990) 16). In *BMC Ionia* 183–91 and Babelon, *Traité* ii.2. 1047 it is assumed that there is a gap in the minting of silver and electrum coinage between 494 and 478, but this seems to rest entirely on the assumption that no coins were minted in the first decade and a half after the destruction of the city (Babelon, *Traité* ii.1. 11–54, 266–71, ii.2. 1047–55; Head, *HN*² 584–86; *SNG Cop. Ionia* 943–77).

Miletos was exceptionally active as a coloniser, and is reported or assumed to have been involved in the foundation or refoundation of the following colonies: Leros (no. 504) in C6?; Ikaros at an unknown date (see p. 740); Therma (no. 481) at an unknown date; Myrkinos (no. 633) in 497; Kardia (no. 665) in collaboration with Klazomenai (no. 847) at an unknown date; Limnai (no. 668) at an unknown date; Apollonia (no. 682) *c.*610; Bizone (no. 683) in C6; Dionysopolis (no. 684) in C6l–C5; Istros (no. 685) in 657; Odessos (no. 689) in 585–575; Olbia (no. 690) in 647/6; Tomoi (no. 693) in C6; Tyras (no. 694) in C6; Kepoi (no. 699) in 580–570; Nymphaion (no. 704) in 560s; Pantikapaion (no. 705) in 575; Theodosia (no. 707) *c.*570; Dioskourias (no. 709) in C6m; Phasis (no. 711) in C6–C5; Amisos (no. 712) *c.*560 (possibly with Phokaia (no. 859)); Kromna (no. 723) at an unknown date; Kytoros (no. 724) at an unknown date; Sesamos (no. 728) at an unknown date; Sinope (no. 729) in C7l; Tieion (no. 733) at an unknown date; Artake (no. 736) in C6?; Daskyleion (no. 740) at an unknown date; Kios (no. 736) in 626/5; Kyzikos (no. 747) in 679; Miletoupolis (no. 750) in C7l/C6e; Paisos (no. 755) in C7; Priapos (no. 758) in C7e; Prokonnesos (no. 759) in C7e; Abydos (no. 765) in C7e; Arisbe (no. 768) at an unknown date; Skepsis (no. 792) in C5e. See also Ehrhardt (1983) and Gorman (2001) 243–58. In C4 the citizens of Olbia were granted *ateleia* in Miletos by mutual arrangement (Tod 195.21–22; cf. Graham (1964) 99–103).

855. Myonnesos (Myon(n)esios) Map 56. Lat. 38.05, long. 26.50. Size of territory: 1. Type: A. The toponym is *Μυόννησος*, *ἡ* (Hecat. fr. 232; Thuc. 3.32.1) or *Μυόνησος* (Ephor. fr. 27). The city-ethnic is *Μυονήσιος* (Ephor. fr. 27; *IG* vii 556 (undated)). Myonnesos was probably recorded as a *polis* in the urban sense in Hekataios' work (fr. 232), quoted by Steph. Byz. 462.11–13: *πόλις μεταξὺ Τέω καὶ Λεβέδου. Ἑκαταῖος Ἀσίᾳ. Ἀρτεμίδωρος δὲ χωρίον αὐτήν φησι.* The quotation indicates that Hekataios did actually offer a site-classification that was later contradicted by Artemidoros. The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested in an external context in Ephor. fr. 27 (*verbatim* quotation).

Myonnesos was located between Teos (no. 868) and Lebedos (no. 850) (Strabo 14.1.29), and was, according to Thuc. 3.32.1, a Teian possession. The island is very small (*c.*1 km²), but Myonnesos may have controlled some of the *peraia.* The island—or peninsula—settlement of Myonnesos was too small to support a town (Bean (1966) 146–49). It must have been the equivalent of an acropolis, with the main settlement on the mainland. Like Korykos (no. 849), it was a nest of pirates (Ephor. fr. 27). The settlement on the small island that formed part of Myonnesos, and which was joined to the mainland by a causeway, contains remains of an early cyclopean wall.

856. Myous (Myes(s)ios) Map 61. Lat. 37.35, long. 27.25. Size of territory: unknown but probably 2 or 3. Type: A. The toponym is *Μύης* (Hecat. fr. 235) or *Μυοῦς*, *-ντος*, *ὁ* (Hdt. 1.142.3, 5.36.4; schol. Thuc. 1.138); the city-ethnic is *Μυήσιος* (Hdt. 6.8.1; Tod 113.33) or *Μυήσσιος* (*IG* i³ 71.1.153 (425/4)). At *IG* i³ 263.v.20, *Μυέβιοι* "is clearly a cutter's error" (*ATL* i. 522). On the (unhistorical) variant *Μυούσιος*, see Robert (1946) 71. Myous is called a *polis* both in the urban sense (Hdt. 1.142.3) and in the political sense (Hdt. 1.141.4, 142.3, 143.3; *SEG* 45 1619.4, 12–13 (C4l/C3e)), in which the use of the *polis* cognate *polites* is also found (12). The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally in abbreviated form on C4 coins (*infra*) and in *SEG* 45 1619.3 (C4l/C3e)), and externally in literary sources (Hdt. 6.8.1) and in inscriptions (*IG* i³ 71.1.153; Tod 113.33 (391–388)). The individual and external use is attested on a late Classical funerary monument set up at Athens (*IG* ii² 9973).

Not much is known about the extent of Myesian territory in the Classical period. The only piece of evidence is Tod 113 (391–388), recording an arbitration concerning land in the Maiandros valley to which Miletos (no. 854) and Myous had both laid claim. The Myesians lost the case by default.

In 494 Myous provided three ships for the battle of Lade (Hdt. 6.8.1), and it seems to have been under Persian control even after the establishment of the Delian League: the Persian king granted tax-levying rights at Myous to Themistokles during the latter's exile (Thuc. 1.138.5).

Myous was a member of the Delian League. It belonged to the Ionian district and is recorded from 452/1 (*IG* I³ 261.II.30) to 430/29 (*IG* I³ 281.I.15, mostly restored) a total of eleven times, twice completely restored, paying a *phoros* of 1 tal. (*IG* I³ 272.II.12, restored in all other lists) but 1½ tal. in 452/1 (*IG* I³ 261.II.30, conj.) and in 432/1 (*IG* I³ 280.I.62). It was assessed for tribute in 425/4 (*IG* I³ 71.I.138).

A C4l/C3e grant of *proxenia* and of citizenship is attested in *SEG* 45 1619, the sole surviving public enactment (*ψήφισμα*, ll. 16–17) passed by the *boule* and *demos* of Myous (ll. 10–11). This decree also contains a grant of *ateleia* (ll. 5–6).

Because of the absorption of Myous into Miletos (no. 854) in the Hellenistic period, very little remains on the site, the ruins of which may have been used as a quarry after the *polis* had ceased to exist (Bean (1966) 246). The site was surveyed by H. Weber in 1964 and 1966. Weber (1965) reports on two temples, an "upper" and a "lower", of which he assumed that the upper temple was the older one, dating from C6m. A sanctuary of Apollo is attested in *SEG* 45 1619.18.

Myous struck coins of silver and bronze in C4. (1) Silver hemiobol on the Attic standard: types: *obv.* head of Apollo laureate, facing r.; *rev.* lion with raised paw; legend: *MY*. (2) Bronze: *obv.* Poseidon laureate; *rev.* goose, or bow and arrow, or dolphin and trident; legend: *MY* or *MYH* (Babelon, *Traité* ii.2. 1057–60, no. 1773; Head, *HN*² 587; *SNG von Aulock* nos. 2114–15; *SNG Cop. Ionia* 1022).

857. Naulochon Map 61. Lat. 37.40, long. 27.15. Size of territory: unknown but probably 1 or 2. Type: probably A (*infra*). The toponym is *Ναύλοχον, τό* (*I.Priene* 1 = Tod 185.2 (334); *SEG* 23 189.II.10 (330–324)). A city-ethnic may be attested in abbreviated form on the C4 coins (*NAY*, *infra*). Naulochon is probably called a *polis* in the urban sense in *I.Priene* 1.6 (van Berchem (1970) 200–1; Hornblower (1982*a*) 327); but the interpretation of this inscription is open to debate (Heisserer (1980) 162). Likewise, the dedication to the hero Naulochos as "protector of the *polis*" (*πόλεως φύλακογ* in *CEG* II 854.5 = *I.Priene* 196 (C4m)) may be an attestation of Naulochon (and not Priene (no. 861)) as a *polis* in the political sense.

Naulochon was the port of Priene and seems to have existed as a separate community during part of C4. However, the edict of Alexander the Great seems to equate the Greek inhabitants of Naulochon with the *Πριηνεῖς*, suggesting that there was no separate Naulochean communal identity. Depending on how the text is restored, the decree may also be interpreted to the effect that some of the inhabitants were not Greek at all (Heisserer (1980) 156; Botermann (1994)). If it is accepted that Priene had ceased to exist at some point after 391/0, to be revived as a community only after the refoundation of the city, then Naulochon may have served as a temporary urban and political centre of the Prienians (van Berchem (1970) 200–1; Hornblower (1982*a*) 327). However, the numismatic evidence points to Prienian coins having been minted simultaneously with coins minted by Naulochon, a problem not solved satisfactorily by van Berchem's argument. *Theorodokoi* to host *theoroi* from Argos (no. 347) are attested for Naulochon in *SEG* 23 189.II.10 (330–324).

Naulochon struck bronze coins in C4m. Types: *obv.* head of Athena r.; *rev.* dolphin r., surrounded by maeander pattern; legend: *NAY* (Babelon, *Traité* ii.2. 1059–60 no. 1776; Head, *HN*² 587; for one contemporary silver coin with the same types but inscribed *ΠΡ*, see Regling (1927) 47).

858. Notion (Notieus) Map 56. Lat. 38.00, long. 27.10. Size of territory: 1 or 2. Type: A. The toponym is *Νότιον, τό* (Hecat. fr. 233; Thuc. 3.34.1; Xen. *Hell.* 1.5.12–14; *Hell. Oxy.* 8.4, Chambers; Ps.-Skylax 98). The city-ethnic is *Νοτιεύς* (*IG* I³ 261.V.11 (452/1)). Notion is called a *polis* in the urban sense, explicitly at *Hell. Oxy.* 8.4, unless the reference is to Kolophon (no. 848) (see Bruce (1967) 44), and implicitly at Ps.-Skylax 98: *Νότιον καὶ λιμήν* (see Flensted-Jensen and Hansen (1996) 142. At Arist. *Pol.* 1303ᵇ7–10 Notion is listed as an example of a community which was sometimes a separate *polis*. The collective and external use of the city-ethnic is attested in Attic inscriptions (the tribute lists and *IG* II² 1.48 = Tod 97 (403/2)).

Although it cannot be ruled out completely that Notion in Ionia was in fact identical with the Aiolic Notion ("Southern") mentioned in Hdt. 1.149.1, its history was inextricably bound up with that of Kolophon (no. 848), for which it served as a harbour town. Thus, the preferable view is that Aiolic and Ionian Notion were different communities.

Notion was a member of the Delian League. It belonged to the Ionian district and is recorded from 454/3 (*IG* I³ 259.III.22) to 416/15 (*IG* I³ 289.I.41) a total of eighteen times, four times completely restored, paying a *phoros* of 2,000 dr. in all years, except in 428/7 when it paid only 100 dr. (*IG* I³ 283.III.23). It was assessed for tribute in 425/4 (*IG* I³ 71.II.107, toponym mostly restored). It is recorded once by toponym (*IG* I³ 285.I.95), and otherwise by city-ethnic. In some years Notion and Kolophon are listed side by side (454/3–452/1 and 433/2–416/15), but in the period 451/0–440/39 the two

communities are separated by two entries (*IG* I³ 270.I.8 and 11) or four entries (*IG* I³ 262.IV.6 and 12) or five entries (*IG* I³ 266.I.4 and 10) or even more.

Thuc. 3.34.1 refers to Notion in unambiguous terms as a Kolophonian dependency in 428/7 (*εἰς Νότιον τὸ Κολοφωνίων*). But in the Athenian decree for the Samians of 403/2, the Notieis are honoured by Athens along with the people of Ephesos (no. 844) for having given asylum to Samian refugees (*IG* II² 1.48). This points to Notion as a state in its own right (in that case a dependent *polis*), at least at the turn of the century. Status as a separate community is also indicated by the much later attestation of *theorodokoi* in Notion, one to host *theoroi* announcing the festival for Argive Hera (*SEG* 23 189.II.7 (330–324)) and one to host *theoroi* announcing the Nemean Games (*SEG* 36 331.II.44–45 (323/2)). Finally, at *Pol.* 1303ᵇ7–10 Aristotle notes that problems with the nature of the territory resulted in *stasis* between the Kolophonians and the Notieis and made it difficult to keep the *polis* united. Aristotle's use of ethnics indicates that Kolophon and Notion were sometimes united, sometimes separate communities. For the problem relating to the Athenian foundation of a New Kolophon at Notion, see 1078 *supra*. Even if New Kolophon was founded on the actual site of Notion, the community of Notieis must have retained a communal identity distinct from that of the Kolophonian settlers, as pointed out by Piérart (1984) 168–71. During their excavation of Notion, Demangel and Laumonier (1923) recorded some C4 architectural fragments which may have belonged to the Athena sanctuary. A fortificatory wall (*diateichisma*) is mentioned in Thuc. 3.34.2; but this may have been only of a temporary nature. There is so far no evidence for Classical city walls. Recent Turkish excavations, reported by Mitchell (1999) 148, produced no further evidence for the pre-Hellenistic settlement.

859. Phokaia (Phokaieus) Map 56. Lat. 38.40, long. 26.45. Size of territory: probably 3. Type: A. The toponym is *Φώκαια, ἡ* (Hdt. 1.142.3, 2.178.2; Xen. *Hell.* 1.3.1) or *Φωκαίη* (Hdt. 1.80.1) or, in the Aiolic dialect, *Φώκα* (Tod 112.9–10 = *SEG* 34 849 (C5–C4)). The city-ethnic is *Φωκαιεύς* (Hdt. 4.138.2; Thuc. 1.13.6; *IG* I³ 261.V.4) or *Φωκαεύς* (C4 bronze coins, *infra*). Phokaia is called a *polis* both in the urban sense (Hdt. 1.162.2–163.1; Ps.-Skylax 98) and in the political sense (Hdt. 2.172.2; Tod 112.6, 17; Arist. *Oec.* 1348ᵇ4). A *Φωκαίων πολιτεία* was included among the 158 Aristotelian constitutions (fr. 616). The word *astos* is used about the citizens of Phokaia in Hdt. 1.165, and *patris* is used in Hdt. 1.169. The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally on C4 coins (*infra*) and externally in Hdt. 6.8.2; Thuc. 1.13.6; Isoc. 6.84; *IG* I³ 261.V.4. For the individual and external use, see Hdt. 6.11.1; *CID* II 4.III.13 (C4m) and *IG* II² 2421.2 (C4).

The name of the territory was *Φωκαΐς* (Thuc. 8.101.2). It included an island with a harbour called *ὁ ἐν Καρτερίοις λιμήν* (Thuc. 8.101.2) (a harbour is mentioned also at Ps.-Skylax 98). Karteria was most likely (a group of) island(s), and it is interesting to note that even islands could be described as part of Phokaïs. At Hdt. 1.165.3 the term *χώρη* is used about Phokaia's territory as a whole.

The colonisation of Massalia (no. 3) by Phokaians in *c.*600 is the first thing we know about Phokaia (*supra* 162, 165), and according to Thuc. 1.13.6, Phokaia then possessed a strong naval force. After the Persian conquest of the Lydian kingdom, the Phokaians decided to relocate their city and, according to Hdt. 1.164, the majority of the citizens left *c.*546. He also relates that many of them became homesick soon after and returned to Phokaia in spite of their solemn oath never to come back. The abandonment and destruction of Phokaia in 546 now seems to be confirmed archaeologically (Mitchell (1999) 143).

Phokaia belonged to the Ionian *dodekapolis* (Hdt. 1.142.3) and provided three ships for the battle of Lade (Hdt. 6.8.2) as well as the general of the whole fleet, Dionysios (Hdt. 6.11.1). *Andrapodismos* of Phokaia as a consequence of the defeat at Lade may be implied in Hdt. 6.17 in his account of the general Dionysios' decision not to return home.

Phokaia was a member of the Delian League. It belonged to the Ionian district and is recorded from 453/2 (*IG* I³ 260.VIII.7–8, 9) to 430/29 (*IG* I³ 281.I.49, mostly restored) a total of twelve times, twice completely restored, paying a *phoros* of 3 tal. down to, probably, 447/6 (*IG* I³ 265.II.38), then 1 tal., 5,250 dr. (*IG* I³ 266.I.11) and from, perhaps, 443/2 (*IG* I³ 269.I.14) 2 tal. (*IG* I³ 270.I.12). It was assessed for tribute in 425/4 (*IG* I³ 71.I.139). In 453/2 the tribute is split up into one payment of 3,000 dr. and one of 2 tal., 3,000 dr.

The only public enactment attested earlier than C3 is Tod 112 (C5l/C4e). Lines 6–18 of this decree also provide evidence for *dikasterion*, death penalty and fines. The eponymous official is recorded as *πρύτανις* (Tod 112.19–21), and other officials are referred to as *ἀρχαί* generally in ll. 9–10. A Phokaian grant of *ateleia* may be attested in *Iscr. Cos* ED 71B.15–17 (C4l). *Proxenia* was received from Chios (no. 840) (*RPhil* (1937) 325–32 no. 6A.2 = *PEP Chios* 50 (C4)). On the C5s coinage treaty (Tod 112) with Mytilene (no. 798), see *infra*.

Hdt. 1.162–64 (r546) recounts how the Phokaians fortified their settlement with financial assistance from Arganthonios, king of Tartessos, and describes the city wall as several stades long and constructed from large blocks of stone. In 1990, part of the city wall was found near the new city hall of Foça (Mellink (1993) 131). For the results of excavations of the Archaic city wall, see Özyigit (1994). They seem to have enclosed an area of *c.*50 ha. The archaeological evidence in general appears to confirm Herodotos' account, including a burnt city gate and C6 debris which suggest an attack *c.*540. In Xen. *Hell.* 1.5.11 the text suggests that the Athenians attempted to fortify Phokaia in 406, and the text need not be emended (Krentz (1989) 139).

Old Phokaia is currently under excavation, and remains of public architecture have been discovered. An Archaic temple of Athena is thought to have been located on a rock platform at the tip of the peninsula (Mellink (1955) 236, (1956) 382; E. Akurgal (1956) 6–8). It is assumed that this temple was destroyed by Harpagos and perhaps repaired shortly afterwards. The ceramic record runs from late Geometric throughout the Classical period. In Xen. *Hell.* 1.3.1 it is reported that the temple of Athena burned in 409/8. The temple appears to have been rebuilt in the Hellenistic period. Archaic walls of a Cybele sanctuary were discovered by Özyigit (Gates (1996) 325). A C4e–m theatre is currently under excavation (Mitchell (1999) 143).

Phokaia struck coins of electrum, silver and bronze. (1) Electrum, C6–C4: denominations: stater, hekte. Types: *obv.* a variety of types with seal above or below; *rev.* quadripartite incuse square. (2) Silver on the Phoenician standard, C6–C4: denominations: tetradrachm, didrachm, drachm and fractions down to hemiobol: *obv.* variety of types with seal above or below; *rev.* mostly quadripartite incuse square; legend: sometimes *ΦΩ*. (3) Bronze: *obv.* female head; *rev.* griffin; only a few C4 bronze coins carry the legend *ΦΩΚΑΕΩΝ*. In, probably, C5s, Phokaia and Mytilene (no. 798) concluded a treaty that the two *poleis* should take turns and strike identical electrum coins in alternating years (*IG* xii.2 1). In C4 the staters and hektai struck in consequence of this treaty became the principal local currency of the *poleis* of western Asia Minor (Tod 112 = *SEG* 34 849; Head, *HN*² 587–89; Jenkins (1990) 18–19; Bodenstedt (1977–78*a*), (1977–78*b*) with Kraay (1982); *BMC Ionia* 203–16; *SNG Cop. Ionia* 1023–33).

Phokaia was an active coloniser, founding Lampsakos (no. 748) in 654/3, Massalia (no. 3) in C6f, Alalie (no. 1) in C6m, and Hyele (no. 54) *c.*540 after the failure at Alalie. It may also have founded Emporion (no. 2) *c.*600, possibly in collaboration with Massalia, and Amisos (no. 712), possibly in collaboration with Miletos (no. 854).

860. (Polichnitai) Map 56. Lat. 38.25, long. 26.35, but cf. *infra.* Size of territory: ? Type: B. No toponym is recorded. The city-ethnic is either *Πολιχναῖος* (*IG* i³ 264.iii.29, 265.i.60) or *Πολιχνίτης* (*IG* i³ 283.iii.30), to be distinguished from the *Πολιχνῖται* of Chalkidike (no. 596) and the *Πολιχνῖται* (no. 789) in the Hellespontine district (i.e. Troas).

The location of *Polichne is uncertain, but the community was undoubtedly situated on the Mimas peninsula. Wilamowitz-Möllendorff's attempt (1908) 617 to identify this Polichne with that of Thuc. 8.14.3 was disputed by Kirsten (1952); Cook (1953–54) 157 with n. 3; and Gomme *et al.* (1981) 34–35.

The Polichnitai were members of the Delian League. They belonged to the Ionian district and are recorded from 450/49 (*IG* i³ 263.ii.14) to 428/7 (*IG* i³ 283.iii.30) a total of twelve times, once completely but plausibly restored. In 448/7 (*IG* i³ 264.iii.30), 444/3 (*IG* i³ 268.i.27), 430/29 (*IG* i³ 281.i.23) and 425/4 (*IG* i³ 71.i.144–45) the Polichnitai are explictly recorded as a dependency of Erythrai (no. 845). In 450/49 (*IG* i³ 263.ii.14) they paid alongside the other Erythraian dependencies; but in 448/7 (*IG* i³ 264.iii.30) and in 447/6 (*IG* i³ 265.i.60) the other dependencies paid on their behalf. In later years their payment is recorded separately from that of the other Erythraian dependencies, and the Polichnitai paid 4,000 dr. (*IG* i³ 271.i.18) but in 428/7 1 tal., 3,000 dr. (*IG* i³ 283.iii.30).

861. Priene (Prieneus) Map 61. From C4s, lat. 37.40, long. 27.20; if relocated (cf. *infra*), the precise location of the Archaic and Classical urban centre is unknown. Size of territory: unknown but probably 3 or 4. Type: A. The toponym is *Πριήνη, ἡ* (Thuc. 1.115.2; Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.17; *I.Priene* 5.8 (C4s)). The city-ethnic is *Πριηνεύς* (Hecat. fr. 233; *IG* i³ 269.i.28 (443/2); *I.Priene* 1.7 (334), 2.4 = Tod 186.4 (334)) or *Πριανεύς* (*IG* i³ 260.x.8 (453/2)). Priene is called a *polis* both in the urban sense (Xen. *Hell.* 4.8.17; Ps.-Skylax 98) and in the political sense (Hdt. 1.141.4, 142.3, 143.3; *I.Priene* 1.14–15 (334), 2.7 (334)). The *polis* cognate *polites* is attested in *I.Priene* 10.7 (C4), and *politeia* in *I.Priene* 2.8 (334) denoting Prienian citizenship. The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally in decrees (*I.Priene* 2.4, 7, 13–14) or in abbreviated form on C4m coins (*infra*), and externally in Hecat. fr. 234; Hdt. 1.15; *IG* i³ 260.x.8. For the individual and external use, see Hipponax fr. 123, West

(C6–C5); Hdt. 1.27.2; and Pl. *Prt.* 343A, all referring to Bias of Priene.

In C4 the territory of Priene had common borders with the territory of Ephesos (no. 844; *I.Priene* 3.13 (C4–C3e)) and with the territory of Thebes (no. 869) on Mt. Mykale (*I.Priene* 363.24–25 (C4m)). Ps.-Skylax 98 refers to Priene as a *polis* with two harbours, one of which was *kleistos*.

Priene was part of the Ionian *dodekapolis* (Hdt. 1.142.3) and was traditionally in charge of the Panionian festival located in its territory on Mt. Mykale (*I.Priene* 139.1 with Hiller von Gaertringen's comment and Strabo 14.1.20). The Panionia were moved from Mt. Mykale to the territory of Ephesos (no. 844), perhaps as a result of an early(?) war between Samos (no. 864) and Miletos (no. 854) over Prienian territory (Hornblower (1982*b*), (1991) 527–29), but were probably transferred back into Prienian control in C4 (*I.Priene* 139 (C4m) and *PEP Priene* 11 (C4m)). Stylianou (1983) 248 suggested that the move back to Mt. Mykale was initiated in 373. According to Aeschin. 2.116, Priene filled one of the two Ionian seats in the Amphiktyonic Council, alternating with Eretria (no. 370); but see Lefèvre (1998) 60.

Priene underwent *andrapodismos* in 546 (Hdt. 1.161), but had been re-established as a community by 495/4 at the latest, when it contributed twelve ships to the battle of Lade (Hdt. 6.8.1). Priene was a member of the Delian League. It belonged to the Ionian district and is recorded from 454/3 (*IG* I³ 259.II.11) to 442/1 (*IG* I³ 270.I.21, completely restored) a total of eight times, once completely restored, paying a *phoros* of 1 tal. (*IG* I³ 263.V.22). It is absent from the full panel of 440/39 (*IG* I³ 272.I–II.7–25). It was assessed for tribute in 425/4 (*IG* I³ 71.I.149). The *polis* may have been regarded as a potential dependency by both Miletos and Samos, whose fight for domination gave rise to a war and subsequent Athenian intervention on Samos in 440/39 (Thuc. 1.115.2). In 398/7 troops from Priene assisted Derkylidas in his campaign in the Maiandros plain (Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.17), and the latest secure reference to the urban centre of Priene is found in Xen. *Hell.* 4.8.17, referring to Thibron's movements in the Maiandros plain in 391/90.

It is normally assumed that after this point the Prienian citizens abandoned their original (and still unlocated) urban centre in favour of the harbour town of Naulochon until the refoundation of Hellenistic Priene (Hiller von Gaertringen (1906) XI). The question of refoundation and urban relocation, however, is subject to continuous debate. The dates suggested for the refoundation of Priene vary from C4m (implying Athenian or Hekatomnid involvement) to 334 (van Berchem (1970); Hornblower (1982*a*) 326–28; Schipporeit (1998)). On *a priori* topographical grounds it would be very surprising if Archaic and Classical Priene was not located on the same site as the Hellenistic city. If there was a separate site, one would have expected some trace of it to have been identified or noticed. Demand (1990) 140–46 presents important arguments against a relocation and maintains that there is evidence for continuous occupation throughout C4 on the site of Hellenistic Priene. Botermann (1994) 165 has refuted some of Demand's arguments, assuming a refoundation by Alexander the Great while still following Demand in suggesting that the urban centre was not necessarily relocated. Botermann's argument rests primarily on the lack of epigraphical material antedating 334; but this point could be made for most of the Aiolic and Ionian *poleis* of Asia Minor and thus is not conclusive. Schipporeit (1998) adduced further arguments in favour of Demand's position by drawing attention to remains of older constructions at the site of the Demeter sanctuary, the orientation of which does not agree with that of the late Classical temple ((1998) 195–96). Furthermore, as Schipporeit points out (ibid. 202–3), only about a third of Priene has been excavated so far, and this supports Demand's warning against arguments from silence regarding the existence of an earlier settlement on the site.

Naulochon (no. 857) rather than Priene figures in a list of *theorodokoi* to host *theoroi* from Argos (no. 347) (*SEG* 23 189.II.10 (330–324)); but the date of the inscription *after* Alexander's instructions regarding Naulochon (*I.Priene* 1) weakens the text as evidence against the existence of Priene in C4e–m. *I.Priene* 5.10–13 (before 326/5, and so roughly contemporary with the list of *theorodokoi*) prescribes that *theoroi* elected by the Prienian *demos* are to be dispatched to Athens in connection with the Panathenaia.

Nothing is known about the constitution of Priene before 334, and *I.Priene* 3, 4, 6, 7 and 8 are insecurely dated and may belong in C3e (Crowther (1996)). During the last three decades of C4 Priene appears to have been governed by some form of democracy. The decree *I.Priene* 2.3 (334) mentions an assembly meeting (κυρίου συλλόγου). *I.Priene* 9.4 (C4) mentions the *boule*, and its probouleumatic function is securely attested in *I.Priene* 4.52 (δεδόχθαι τῆι βουλῆ[ι] κ[α]ὶ [τῶ]ι δήμωι (332–324)), but the other attestations of this function in C4 inscriptions (*I.Priene* 2.1 and 5.1) are entirely due to Hiller von Gaertringen's not very reliable restorations. The eponymous official is designated *prytanis* in *I.Priene* 2.4 (334). For the title of *stephanephoros* in *I.Priene* 4 (332–324), see

Crowther (1996) 205–6. The following types of official are attested epigraphically: a *grammateus* elected by the assembly (*I.Priene* 4.6, commending the 20-year tenure of this position by Apellis and thus going back at least as far as the last two decades of C4) and a board of *timouchoi* (*I.Priene* 10.24). *I.Priene* 10 refers to the Prienian administration of justice, which provided for public actions brought by volunteer prosecutors (l. 33). A grant of *proxenia* bestowed on Antigonos of Makedonia, who is also given citizenship, is attested in *I.Priene* 2 (334). Shortly before 322 Priene renewed a block grant of citizenship bestowed on the Athenians (*I.Priene* 5.7–8; see also *IG* II² 566.7–8, presumably referring to the earlier grant).

A grant of *enktesis ges kai oikias* is bestowed on Antigonos of Makedonia in *I.Priene* 2.9. A distinction between real property owned by the citizens of Priene and property owned by resident non-Prienians in Prienian territory is made in *I.Priene* 1.8–13, with a view to taxation imposed by Alexander the Great. Import and export taxes are mentioned in *I.Priene* 2.9–11, as well as a general grant of *ateleia*, but excepting taxes on land, which will still have to be paid by the honorand. On personal taxation in Priene, see Gauthier (1991), who relies on Hiller von Gaertringen's early dates for *I.Priene* 4, and whose other Prienian evidence all belongs to C3 or later. Maronitai resident in Priene are mentioned in *I.Priene* 10.21, a C4 decree bestowing various judicial privileges on citizens of Maroneia (no. 646). Evidence for a group of land-owning, permanent non-Prienian residents designated *Pedieis* is found in *I.Priene* 1.7–13 and later in *I.Priene* 3 (C3e according to Crowther). There is a possibility that *Pedieis* refers to non-Greek residents in Prienian territory (Corsaro (1984)); but this proposition has been questioned by Schuler (1998) 205.

The urban centre of Priene was surrounded by walls which can be dated to C4, although their precise date is disputed (Wiegand and Schrader (1904) 35ff; Lawrence (1979) 119, 478); they enclosed an area of 37 ha, of which 15 ha was suitable for habitation (Hoepfner and Schwandner (1994) 193) and accommodated *c.*500 houses (ibid. (1994) 190). The agora of C4 Priene is currently under investigation (Gates (1994) 269). The main sanctuary was that of Athena Polias (*I.Priene* 156: *Βασιλεὺς Ἀλέξανδρος ἀνέθηκε τὸν ναὸν Ἀθηναίηι Πολιάδι* (*c.*334, but the date is disputed; see Carter (1988) 133 n. 59) and Botermann (1994) 162)). The C4 temple of Athena was probably not completed until C3 (Mellink (1993) 126–27); there can be no doubt, however, that the construction of the temple was begun in the 330s at the latest. The Demeter sanctuary, which may contain remains predating the refoundation of the city, is discussed by Schipporeit (1998). For the date of the theatre (*TGR* iii. 441–42), see Gogos (1998), who argues for a date not earlier than C3 for the entire structure. With Crowther's redating of *I.Priene* 4 to C3e, the only written evidence for a C4 theatre disappears (32). This is also true of the references to a *prytaneion* in *I.Priene* 3.16 and 4.35–36. A grid plan is attested from at least C4 (Hoepfner and Schwandner (1994) 188–222).

The Prienian calendar shows close affinities with that of Miletos (no. 854) and two of the Attic months are attested in C4 inscriptions: Metageitnion in *I.Priene* 2.2 and Boedromion in *I.Priene* 10.1–2 (Trümpy, *Monat.* 94–96 § 83).

Prienian bronze coinage is known from at least as early as C4m. (1) Types: *obv.* Athena wearing helmet; *rev.* maeander pattern; legend: *ΠΡΙΗ*. (2) *Obv.* head of Athena, l.; *rev.* dolphin in circle formed by maeander pattern; legend: *ΠΡ*. Head, *HN*² 590 drew attention to the similarity between (2) and the types minted by Naulochon (no. 857). Regling's (1927) reluctance to date any Prienian issues to the period before C4m has been questioned by Schipporeit (1998). *SNG von Aulock* 2151 and *SNG Cop. Ionia* 1076 (bronze) are dated to 340–334. Coins of C2 have the full form of the city-ethnic: *ΠΡΙΗΝΕΩΝ* (*SNG Cop. Ionia* 1100).

862. Pteleon (Pteleousios) Map 56. Lat. 38.30, long. 26.25. Size of territory: unknown but probably 1 or 2. Type: B. The toponym is *Πτελεόν, τό* (Thuc. 8.24.2, 31.2). The city-ethnic is *Πτελεούσιος* (*IG* I³ 264.III.30 (448/7); Eust. *Il.* 297.28). The settlement is designated as a *teichos* in Thuc. 8.24.2, but this designation does not rule out that Pteleon was a *polis*. The collective and external use of the city-ethnic is attested in the Athenian tribute lists.

Pteleon was a member of the Delian League. It belonged to the Ionian district and is recorded from 450/49 (*IG* I³ 263.II.16) to 430/29 (*IG* I³ 281.I.21) a total of ten times, three times completely but plausibly restored. In 430/29 Pteleon is explictly recorded as a dependency of Erythrai (*IG* I³ 281.I.20). In 450/49, 448/7 and 447/6 Pteleon paid alongside the other dependencies of Erythrai (no. 845); they all formed a syntely, but the Pteleousioi paid on their own behalf (*IG* I³ 263.II.16, 264.III.30, 265.I.64). In later years their payment is recorded separately from that of the other Erythraian dependencies, and they seem in all years to have paid 100 dr. (*IG* I³ 272.II.20). In 425/4 Pteleon was assessed for tribute separately from Erythrai and the other Erythraian dependencies (*IG* I³ 71.II.93).

The community was located in Erythraian territory and was undoubtedly an Erythraian dependency (Thuc. 8.24.2: *ἐν τῇ Ἐρυθραίᾳ*; *IG* I³ 281.I.21: [*Πτελεό*]*σιοι Ἐρυθραίον*), but the Athenians maintained control over the site during Erythrai's revolt in 412. The designation *τεῖχος* in Thuc. 8.24.2 indicates that Pteleon was walled; see also Thucydides' report at 8.31.2 of Astyochos' failure to capture the site.

863. Pygela (Pygeleus) Map 61. Lat. 37.50, long. 27.15. Size of territory: 1 or 2. Type: A. The toponym is *Πύγελα, τά* (Hipponax fr. 92.15, West; Xen. *Hell.* 1.2.2; *SEG* 23 189.II.9 (330–324)) or *Φύγελα* (*I.Ephesos* 3110.6 (C4l)). The city-ethnic is *Πυγελεύς* (Xen. *Hell.* 1.2.2) or *Πυγαλεύς* (*IG* I³ 266.I.7 (446/5)) or *Φυγελεύς* (*I.Ephesos* 3110.3 (C4l)). Pygela is attested as a *polis* in the political sense in *I.Ephesos* 3110 (C4), and retrospectively in the sense of town by Polyaen. 7.23.2 (rC4). The *polis* cognates *polites* and *politeia* in the sense of citizenship are attested in *I.Ephesos* 3110. The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally on C4 coins (*infra*) and externally in Xen. *Hell.* 1.2.2; *IG* I³ 269.I.29 (443/2); *I.Ephesos* 3110 (C4). For the individual and external use of the city-ethnic, see *IGBulg.* 416 (C5–C4) and Dion. Hal. *Thuc.* 5 (rC5) (referring to Thucydides' predecessor *Δημοκλῆς ὁ Φυγελεύς*).

The *χώρα* of Pygela is mentioned in Xen. *Hell.* 1.2.2 (r409). *I.Ephesos* 3111.11–13 (*c.*310) records that a grant of citizenship was passed with 350 votes (Gauthier (1990) 91–92).

Pygela was a member of the Delian League. It belonged to the Ionian district and is recorded from 446/5 (*IG* I³ 266.I.7) to 415/14 (*IG* I³ 290.I.24) a total of eleven times, twice completely restored, paying a *phoros* of 1 tal. in 440/39 (*IG* I³ 272.II.13) and 1 tal., 3,000 dr. in 432/1 (*IG* I³ 280.I.47). It was assessed for tribute in 425/4 (*IG* I³ 71.I.151).

In C4l Pygela entered into an *isopoliteia* agreement with Miletos (no. 854) (*I.Ephesos* 3110) in which Pygelean envoys to Miletos are honoured (2). Prior to the *isopoliteia* agreement Milesian citizens resident at Pygela appear to have enjoyed some form of limited citizenship, perhaps bestowed on them by a block grant. Likewise, Pygelean citizens resident at Miletos seem to have had some privileges. The treaty itself may have extended the civic rights of resident Pygeleans in Miletos: the end of the decree stipulates that the Pygeleans are to be assigned to *phylai* by lot by the *prytaneis* (ll. 17–18). *I.Ephesos* 3111 (C4l) shows that in C4 the Pygelean assembly controlled the admission of new citizens by decree (*psephisma*, l. 4).

The independence of Pygela seems to have been under constant threat from its more powerful neighbours, especially Samos (no. 864) and Ephesos (no. 844). The latter clearly had absorbed Pygela in the early Hellenistic period, when the inhabitants of Pygela were referred to as Ephesian citizens (*I.Ephesos* 1408.2, 4–5).

The civic subdivisions of Pygela were *phylai* and *gene*. The *phyle Ἀγαμεμνονίς* and the *genos Εὐρίδαι* are attested, and a board of *prytaneis* are given responsibility for assigning naturalised citizens to civic subdivisions by lot and, together with the *tamias*, for having the citizenship decree inscribed on stone (*I.Ephesos* 3111.7–9).

Pygela was fortified in 409 (Xen. *Hell.* 1.2.2). During excavations of the site between Ephesos and Kuşadası, Gürçay and Akurgal cleared 40 m of the city walls. Sherds dating from C4 were found during this operation (Mellink (1976) 280). A sanctuary of Artemis is attested epigraphically (*I.Ephesos* 3111.5–6). Pygelean *theorodokoi* to host *theoroi* from Argos (no. 347) are attested in *SEG* 23 189.II.9 (330–324).

Pygela struck coins of silver and bronze throughout C4. (1) Silver, C4m: denomination: tetradrachm. Types: *obv.* head of Artemis Munychia, facing; *rev.* butting bull; legend: *ΦΥΓΑΛΕΩΝ* and magistrate's name. (2) Bronze, C4: *obv.* head of Artemis Munychia wearing stephane, r. or facing; *rev.* butting bull; legend: *ΦΥΓ* (Babelon, *Traité* ii.2 nos. 1856–63; Head, *HN*² 590; Regling (1922); *BMC Ionia* p. 228; *SNG Cop. Ionia* 1072–75).

864. Samos (Samios) (to 365) Map 61. Lat. 37.40, long. 26.55. Size of territory: 4 (468.3 km²), but probably 5 including the Samian *peraia*. Type: A. The toponym is *Σάμος, ἡ* (Aesch. *Pers.* 882; Hdt. 3.48.2), denoting both the island (Hdt. 3.120.3) and the city (Hdt. 3.54.1). The city-ethnic is *Σάμιος* (*I.Ephesos* 115 (C6); *F.Delphes* III.4 455 (C5e); Hdt. 1.51.3). In C5 Samos is called a *polis* both in the urban sense (Hdt. 3.54.1; Thuc. 1.116.2) and in the political sense (Hdt. 3.139.1; Thuc. 8.21); the territorial sense is sometimes a connotation (Thuc. 4.75.1). In C4 again, both the urban sense (Ps.-Skylax 98; Isoc. 15.107.8) and the political sense (Xen. *Hell.* 2.3.7; Arist. *Pol.* 1287ᵃ37–38) are attested. Samos is called *asty* at Anac. frr. 353 and 448, Page. The designation *polites* is applied to citizens of Samos in Hdt. 3.45.4 (rC6) and Xen. *Hell.* 2.3.7, while the Samian *politeia* in the sense of constitution is mentioned in Thuc. 1.115.2; *IG* I³ 127.19–20 (405); and [Arist.] *Ath. Pol.* 24.2 (rC5). A *Σαμίων πολιτεία* was included among the 158 Aristotelian constitutions (fr. 591.1; cf. frr. 588–95). The verb *politeuein/poli-*

teuesthai is used in Thuc. 8.73.6 and *IG* I³ 127.13 = ML 94.13 (405). In Hdt. 3.44.2, 142.2 and 143.1 Samian citizens are referred to as *astoi*. For *patris* referring to Samos, see Hdt. 3.140.5 and *SEG* 22 483.1 (C4f). The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally in a C5e dedication quoted at Hdt. 4.88.2 and in abbreviated form on C5l–C4 coins (*infra*), and externally in *IG* I³ 1365A.1.1 (C6); Thuc. 7.57.4 (C5); and Arist. *Oec.* 1350ᵇ6. The individual and external use of the city-ethnic is attested in *I.Ephesos* 115 (C6) and *IG* I³ 1366 (C6–C5). In the collective grant of citizenship by Athens in 405, the honorands are classified as both Samians and Athenians (*IG* I³ 127.12). The collective form of the city-ethnic is used retrospectively in a number of Samian honorific decrees bestowed on the benefactors of the exiled Samian *demos* (*IG* XII.6 17.5–6, 24.6–7).

The Samian territory in its entirety is referred to as *χώρα* in Hdt. 6.22.1, and it is designated *Σαμίη* in Hdt. 9.96.1. A study of the settlement pattern of ancient Samos is given by Shipley (1987) 231–68. Apart from Samos itself, *Barr.* records only four settlements of the Archaic and Classical periods: Kazania (*Barr.*, AC), Manolates (*Barr.*, A), Neo Karlovasi (*Barr.*, C) and Neokhorion (*Barr.*, AC), plus one fort at Ag. Ioannis (*Barr.*, AC).

The size of the Samian citizen population cannot be ascertained. From the number of Samian ships at Lade in 494 and in the navy in action in 440, Shipley (1987) 12–15 suggests a population figure of 30,000–50,000, including women, resident aliens and slaves.

According to Hdt. 5.99.1, Samos supported the Chalkidian side in the so-called Lelantine War (C8l?), and Samian forces also assisted the Spartans in a war against the Messenians (Hdt. 3.47.1), presumably the Second Messenian War (C7). In C6 Samian troops distinguished themselves in the battle at Salamis in Cyprus against Persian and Phoinikian forces (Hdt. 5.112.1). Around 517 the conquest of Samos was allegedly completed successfully by Otanes; the entire population was allegedly killed and the Persians handed over "an empty island" to Syloson (Hdt. 3.147–49); but Otanes repopulated the island soon afterwards.

Samos belonged to the Ionian *dodekapolis* (Hdt. 1.142.4), and the Samians took part in the Ionian Revolt in 499 and provided sixty triremes at the battle of Lade in 494 (Hdt. 6.8.2). After the failure of the Ionian Revolt, which led to the reinstatement of Aiakes II as tyrant with Persian backing, many wealthy Samians went into exile and settled at Zankle (no. 51), driving out the Zanklaians (Hdt. 6.22–24; Arist. *Pol.* 1303ᵃ35–36). The Samians fought on the Persian side in 480/79 (Hdt. 8.85) but joined the Greeks before the battle of Mykale (Hdt. 9.90–92) and were accepted as members of the Hellenic League after the battle (Hdt. 9.106.4). Samos was among the earliest members of the Delian League (Hdt. 9.106.4) and, alongside Chios (no. 840) and Lesbos, the Samians maintained their status as an *autonomos* ally of Athens (Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 24.2, but see *Pol.* 1284ᵃ39–40). Yet, in 441/0 they revolted after Athenian interference in their war against Miletos (no. 854) and their installation of a democratic government on the island (Thuc. 1.115.2–3). After a protracted siege (Thuc. 1.115.4–117.2) the Samians were forced back into the alliance and had to pull down their walls, surrender their fleet, and pay a large war indemnity (Thuc. 1.117.3; *IG* I³ 48 = *Staatsverträge* 159). The oligarchs who had left Samos in 441/0 during the democratic regime but had returned and instigated the Revolt in 440 (Thuc. 1.115.4) went into exile once again, and many of them settled in Anaia (no. 838) (Thuc. 3.32.2, 4.75.1; see Gehrke, *Stasis* 143–44). Samos was now perceived as a tribute-paying member of the alliance (Thuc. 7.57.4), although it is never attested in the Athenian tribute lists. Samos remained a member for the duration of the Peloponnesian War, in spite of two attempted secessions in 412 and 411 staged by the Samian élite, both of which were prevented at the eleventh hour (Thuc. 8.21 and 8.63.3). In 412 Samos regained its status as an *autonomos* member of the League (Thuc. 8.21). After the Athenian defeat at Aigos potamoi, the Samians massacred their oligarchs (Xen. *Hell.* 2.2.6) and sent envoys to Athens (*IG* I³ 127.7–8). Athenian citizenship was conferred on all Samians, but their *autonomia* was guaranteed (*IG* I³ 127.11–18). After the end of the Peloponnesian War, a decarchy was imposed on Samos by Lysandros after the expulsion of Samian citizens and the return of oligarchic exiles (Xen. *Hell.* 2.3.6–7; Diod. 14.3.4–5; Shipley (1987) 131–33). Some of the exiled Samian democrats settled in Notion (no. 858) and Ephesos (no. 844) (*IG* II² 1.48–49 = Tod 97 (403/2)). The Samians displayed their loyalty by dedicating a statue of Lysandros at Olympia (Paus. 6.3.15). Samos presumably remained a Spartan ally until Konon's victory in the battle of Knidos in 394 (Paus. 6.3.16), but Samos was subsequently forced back into an alliance with Sparta in 391 (Diod. 14.97.3). In 366/5 Samos was conquered by Timotheos (Isoc. 15.111; Dem. 15.9) and turned into an Athenian klerouchy (no. 865).

Samos was renowned as a hegemonic sea power during the reign of Polykrates (Hdt. 3.39.3–4, 122.2; Thuc. 1.13.6), who allegedly had 100 *pentekonteres* and 1,000 archers at his disposal (Hdt. 3.39.3), and Samos deployed sixty triremes at the battle of Lade (Hdt. 6.8.2, 14.2). In 440–439 the Samians

had a considerable naval force engaged in their rebellion against the Athenians (Thuc. 1.116.1, 117.1–2). They were compelled to hand over their fleet after their defeat, but in 406 ten Samian ships under a Samian commander fought in the battle of Arginousai (Xen. *Hell.* 1.6.25, 29). A contingent of Samian troops participated in the Sicilian expedition (Thuc. 7.57.4), and Samian *strategoi* are honoured in *IG* I³ 127.8.

The constitutional history of Samos before Polykrates is obscure. A C6 *basileus*, Amphikrates (Hdt. 3.59.4), may have been an eponymous official rather than a king (Shipley (1987) 37). On the basis of Plutarch's rather late and anecdotal account at *Mor.* 303E–304C, it is normally assumed that Samos from C7 was ruled by an oligarchy of wealthy landowners (the *geomoroi*), that the rule of the *geomoroi* followed after the murder of the monarch Demoteles, and that the oligarchy remained in place until a successful Samian intervention in a war between the Megarians (no. 225) and Perinthians (no. 678), when the Samian *demos* staged a *coup* and "liberated" the *polis* (Shipley (1987) 39–41). Demoteles may have been a tyrant whose rule represented an interruption of the oligarchy of the *geomoroi* (ibid. 49). However, Thucydides at least confirms that the Samian aristocracy was still referred to as *geomoroi* as late as 412, when a ban on intermarriage between the *geomoroi* and the rest of the Samians was instituted (8.21).

The period of tyranny at Samos started in the 590s with the alleged *coup* of Syloson I, known only from Polyaen. 6.45. For a reconstruction of the succession of tyrants from Syloson I to Polykrates, see Shipley (1987) 70–72. Polykrates ruled as tyrant of Samos from, probably, the 540s (ibid. 74–80) until 522, when he was crucified by Oroites (Hdt. 3.125.2–3). He first ruled jointly with his two brothers, Syloson II and Pantagnotos, but soon killed Pantagnotos and exiled Syloson II (Hdt. 3.39.2). After Polykrates' death, Maiandrios offered the Samians *isonomie* (Hdt. 1.142.3; Raaflaub (1985) 130–31), but *stasis* soon broke out, and Syloson II was subsequently installed as tyrant with Persian backing. Aiakes II, the son of Syloson II, had succeeded his father as tyrant by 514 (Hdt. 4.138.2), but he was ousted from the tyranny in 499, allegedly at the instigation of Aristagoras of Miletos (Hdt. 6.13.2). It is not known what type of regime was set up after his fall, but he was reinstated as tyrant by the Persians again immediately after the Ionian defeat in 494 and presumably ruled until 492 when, allegedly, *demokratia* was imposed on the Ionian *poleis* by Mardonios (Hdt. 6.43.3). The last Samian tyrant was Theomestor, who had power handed to him by the Persians in return for his loyalty in the battle of Salamis (Hdt. 8.85.3). The constitution of Samos after the Persian defeat at Mykale was probably oligarchic and may have remained so until replaced by an Athenian-backed democracy in 441 (Thuc. 1.115.2–3; *Ath. Pol.* 24.2). The view that oligarchy was introduced only in 454/3 (Barron (1966) 89) is countered by Gehrke, *Stasis* 140 n. 3. Samos probably remained democratic until the end of the Peloponnesian War (Hornblower (1991) 192–93), in spite of the oligarchic threat in 412 and 411 (Thuc. 8.21, 73.2). Oligarchy was imposed on Samos by Lysandros after the Athenian defeat in 404 (Xen. *Hell.* 2.3.6–7), and it may have remained oligarchic even after the battle of Knidos in 394 (Gehrke, *Stasis* 144–45), and right down to 365, when the Athenians set up their klerouchy on the island.

The Samian political institutions are poorly known since, so far, not one single public enactment antedating 365 has been found. A Samian *boule* is attested in *IG* I³ 127.8 (405), while a Samian assembly (*ekklesie*) was allegedly convened by Maiandrios after Polykrates' death in 522 (Hdt. 3.142.2). An honorific decree passed by the *koinon* of the Samians and set up in the Samian agora after the battle of Lade is mentioned in Hdt. 6.14.3, and Samian *nomoi* are referred to in *IG* I³ 127.15. In *IG* XII.6 478 (C5) Telesandros and Demagores are attested as elected supervisors of a public construction of a bridge. A board of *gynaikonomoi* is attested in *IG* XII.6 461 (C4f).

The only thing known about civic subdivisions is that the citizens of Perinthos (no. 678), a Samian colony, were subdivided into the six Ionian *phylai*. It seems reasonable to presume that the system was taken over from the *metropolis* (Jones, *POAG* 195–97). The well-attested subdivision of the citizen body into *phylai*, *chiliastyes*, *hekatostyes* and *gene* (*IG* XII.6 18.21–23 (C4l)) was introduced after the expulsion of the Athenian klerouchs in 322/1 (Jones, *POAG* 195–97; Shipley (1987) 284–92 suggests an earlier date). In C4l the Samians granted *proxenia* to a citizen of Gela (no. 17) (*IG* XII.6 33), and a grant of *proxenia* was received from Athens (no. 361) by *Pronos Thyionos Samios* (*SEG* 37 70 = *IG* II² 64 + 425 + 293 (375–350)). A block grant of Athenian citizenship was received by the entire Samian population in 405 (*IG* I³ 127). The earliest recorded Samian grants of *proxenia* and/or citizenship date from the period after 322. The following funerary monuments commemorate non-citizens who were presumably buried in Samos in the period before the Athenian klerouchy: *PEP Samos* 521 (Miletos (C5)); *PEP Samos* 548 (Kolophon (C5)); and *PEP Samos* 571 (Kyzikos (C5)).

The Samian acropolis, which was apparently fortified in C6, is attested in Hdt. 3.143.1, 144 and 146.2. An Archaic city wall is attested in Herodotos' account of Polykrates (3.39.4) and the Spartan siege of Samos in 524 (3.54.1–2). The urban centre of Samos may well have remained fortified until the Athenians forced the Samians to demolish their walls in 439/8 (Thuc. 1.117.3). Samos was still *ateichistos* in 411 (Thuc. 8.51.2), when the Athenians had to fortify the city in a hurry in the face of an (allegedly) impending attack by Peloponnesian forces (Thuc. 8.51.2). Samos was also fortified in C4f (Arist. *Oec.* 1350^{b}; Diod. 16.21.2). Kienast (1978) 94–103 identifies three building phases for the walls: the first in polygonal masonry (the Archaic wall), the second in ashlar masonry (presumably C4e and at any rate earlier than 290), and the third in pseudo-polygonal masonry. The city wall encompassed an area of *c.*103 ha.

A Samian agora is mentioned in Hdt. 3.42.2 (rC6s) (probably anecdotal) and Hdt. 6.14.3. A *proasteion* is mentioned in Hdt. 3.54.1 and 142.2. The mole in the harbour of Samos, attributed to Polykrates by Hdt. 3.60.3, has been located through underwater surveys in 1988 (*BCH* 113 (1989) 673). Other large-scale public works assigned to Polykrates' reign are ship sheds (Hdt. 3.45.4) and the famous Eupalinos tunnel (Hdt. 3.60.1–2; Kienast (1995)). A *bouleuterion* is mentioned by Plut. *Mor.* 304B in connection with the Samian people's *coup* against the ruling oligarchs *c.*700. An Archaic fountain house was published in Tölle-Kastenbein (1975) 212 (see further Giannouli (1996)). A theatre is mentioned in a C4l honorific decree (*IG* XII.6 150.3).

Of sanctuaries the most famous was the Heraion, located outside the urban centre. The first Heraion can be dated as early as C8, and it was replaced by a C7 structure. The construction of the so-called Rhoikos temple began *c.*575 but was soon replaced by the monumental Heraion praised in Hdt. 3.6.4. Construction appears to have begun during the last three decades of C6, and it was apparently not finished earlier than the end of C6 (Kyrieleis (1981); Klose (1999) 361–63). An Artemis sanctuary is attested in Hdt. 3.48.3 (rC6) and on the C5–C4 *horos IG* XII.6 266. Hdt. 3.142.2 contains an account of the construction of an altar and *temenos* for Zeus Eleutherios by Maiandrios (rC6); but see Raaflaub (1985) 139–40, but see Thuc. 2.74.1). According to Paus. 2.31.6 and Diod. 1.98.5–6, Samos also contained a sanctuary of the Pythian Apollo. *IG* XII.6 238–44 are C5 *horoi* of the sanctuary of *Athena Athenon medeousa,* while *IG* XII.6 245–46 are C5 *horoi* of the sanctuary of *Ion Athenethen. IG* XII.6 527 and 528 are C5–C4 altars of Apollo Nymphegetes.

According to Hdt. 3.48.3, the Samians instituted a festival for Artemis after their successful attempt to rescue a number of children from Korkyra whom Kypselos was exporting to Sardis. Another important festival was the Heraia, temporarily renamed the Lysandreia after the end of the Peloponnesian War (Douris (*FGrHist* 76) frr. 26, 71). Three Olympian victors from Samos are known: *Olympionikai* 123 (532), 399 (380) and Skaios, son of Duris, who apparently participated during the Samians' period in exile from their island (Paus. 6.13.5). *SEG* 22 483 (C4f) may commemorate a Samian victor in the Pythian Games (but *ἐκ Σαμίης* is restored). The Samians set up a statue in honour of Lysandros in Olympia (Paus. 6.3.14–15 (rC5l)), while *F.Delphes* III.4 455 (C5e) is a communal dedication by the Samians to Apollo at Delphi. A C6 *kerykeion* was found in the Heraion (*AM* (1972) 138–39), and two others are listed in the inventory of the treasurers of the Heraion of 346/5 (*IG* XII.6 261.53).

Samos struck coins of electrum, silver and bronze, *c.*600–365. (1) Electrum coins on the Euboic standard, *c.*600–525: denominations: stater and fractions down to sixth. Types: *obv.* no recognisable type; *rev.* incuse square and on coins of higher denominations one or two parallel incuse rectangles (Barron (1966) 15–16). According to Hdt. 3.56.2, Polykrates bribed Spartan forces to lift their siege of the island in 525 or 524 with lead coins plated with gold. Some of these fake coins have survived (Barron (1966) 17–18; Kraay (1976) nos. 68–69). (2) Silver coins first on the Euboic and later on the Lydo-Milesian standard, *c.*530–439: denominations: drachm, triobol, diobol. *Obv.* forepart of winged boar; *rev.* lion's head or scalp. (3) Silver coins, *c.*479–439: denomination: tetradrachm. *Obv.* lion's scalp; *rev.* head and neck of bull; legend: *ΣA*. (3) Silver coins, *c.*439–408: denominations: tetradrachm, trihemiobol. *Obv.* lion's head or scalp; *rev.* forepart of bull and olive branch, or ram's head and olive branch. (4) Silver, 408–365: denominations: tetradrachm, drachm, hemidrachm, diobol, obol. *Obv.* lion's scalp; *rev.* forepart of bull and olive branch, or prow of Samian galley; legend: *ΣA* or *ΣAMI* and monogram or magistrate's name. (4) Bronze coins, 394–365: *obv.* Hera wearing stephane; *rev.* lion's scalp; legend: *ΣA* (Barron (1966); *SNG Cop. Ionia* 1673–96).

The Samians were active colonisers, founding Kelenderis (no. 1008) in C8l, Nagidos (no. 1010) at an unknown date, Perinthos (no. 678) in 602, and Bisanthe (no. 673) in C6(?). In the reign of Amasis Samians took part as co-colonisers of Naukratis (no. 1023), where they had their own sanctuary of Hera (Hdt. 2.178.3); another Samian settlement in Egypt was

Oasis (no. 1024), founded at an unknown date. Samian exiles, including Polykrates' brother Syloson, participated in a refoundation of Kydonia (no. 968) in Crete in C6l. Other foundations probably or possibly of Samian origin are Samothrake (no. 515), *c.*700; Dikaia (no. 643), C6; Nymphaion (no. 704), 560s; and the three *poleis* on Amorgos: Aigiale (no. 471), Arkesine (no. 472) and Minoa (no. 473), founded at an unknown date.

865. Samos (the klerouchy of 365–322) In 366/5 an Athenian squadron under Timotheos conquered Samos after a siege of eight months (Isoc. 15.11; Dem. 15.9). The Samians were expelled (Diod. 18.18.9; Heracl. Lemb. 35; Arist. no. 129; Habicht in Hallof and Habicht (1995); *IG* XII.6 42.10–30). Subsequently three contingents of Athenian klerouchs were sent to the island: in 366/5 (Diod. 18.18.9; Arist. fr. 143.1 no. 35), in 361/0 (Aeschin. 1.53 with schol.) and in 352/1 (Philoch. fr. 154). One of the three contingents alone numbered 2,000 klerouchs (Arist. fr. 143.1; Strabo 14.1.18; see Cargill (1995) 17–21; Habicht in Hallof and Habicht (1995) 286–88 (301–303)). The exiled Samians settled in different *poleis* all over the Aegean, and some undoubtedly set up home on the former Samian *peraia*, especially at Anaia (*IG* XII.6 42, 43). A series of honorific decrees passed by the Samian *demos* after their return to the island in 322 provide some information about communities that allowed the Samians to settle in their territory: Iasos (no. 891) (*IG* XII.6 17.18), Rhodos (no. 1000) (*IG* XII.6 149) and Ephesos (no. 844) (*IG* XII.6 39)). Some may even have settled as far away as Herakleia (no. 20) in Sicily (*IG* XII.6 38 (C4l) with Kebric (1975), (1977) and Shipley (1987) 164).

During the period of Athenian occupation the Athenian settlement on Samos shared many of the characteristics of a *polis*, although it is not referred to as *polis* in the personal/political sense in any contemporary source (Demades (fr. 4) purportedly characterised Samos as a fragment broken off from the Athenian *polis* (*ἀπόρρωγα τῆς πόλεως*)). The klerouchy is, on the other hand, described as *patris* in *IG* II² 11169.5 (C4m) (*δισσαὶ δ' αὖ πατρίδες σ' ἡ μὲν φύσει, ἡ δὲ νόμοισιν*); the Dionysios of this epigram is commonly identified with *Διονύσιος Ἀλφίνου Κολλυτέυς* (*LSAG* II no. 414), who is attested as klerouch on Samos in Michel 832.2. Accordingly, the two *patrides* mentioned in the text should be Athens (*patris* by *physis*) and the Athenian klerouchy on Samos (*patris* by *nomos*). The community of Athenians in Samos seems in many respects to have functioned independently of Athens and can in that respect be compared to a dependent *polis*; cf. *IG* II² 1443.II.89–91, which records a wreath bestowed in 346/5 on the Athenian *demos* by the *demos* in Samos (not the Samian *demos*). *IG* XII.6 253 (C4m) refers to the assembly (*demos*) of Athenians in Samos, and to their *boule* in a probouleutic capacity. *IG* XII.6 262 is a list of *bouleutai* and other officials in Samos (*c.*352–347). The *boule* numbered 250 *bouleutai*, and on that basis it has been suggested that the number of Athenian citizens was roughly half that of Athens itself in C4 (Habicht in Hallof and Habicht (1995)). The other officials mentioned in *IG* XII.6 262 are the nine *archontes* (XI.1–10), a *grammateus* (XI.11–12), five *strategoi* (XI.13–18), a *grammateus demou* (XI.19–20), a *grammateus boules* (XI.21–22), an official *epi tois nomois* (XI.23–24), a *keryx demou* (XI.25–26) and an *antigrapheus* (XI.27–28). *IG* XII.6 261 is an inventory of the treasurers of the Heraion of 346/5. The Athenians in Samos had their own eponymous archon (*IG* XII.6 261 (346/5)). *IG* XII.6 260 is part of a sacred law passed in C4m. A *bouleuterion* is attested in *IG* XII.6 257.3. *IG* XII.6 252 has been interpreted by Hallof (2003) as a citizenship decree passed in Samos, by which the honorand is made an Athenian citizen (17–19). It is not known if this would also give the honorand the right to enrol as a citizen in Athens proper, should he wish to settle there. That some kind of dual citizenship of the klerouchy and Athens proper was in operation is indicated by the status of the philosopher Epikouros: he was born in Samos, but was enrolled as an ephebe in Athens (Strabo 14.1.18; Diog. Laert. 10.1).

The civic subdivisions in the klerouchy were the same as the Athenian ones, and nine of the ten Kleisthenic *phylai* are attested in *IG* XII.6 262. *IG* XII.6 253.12 mentions envoys, which may indicate that the Athenians in Samos maintained their own diplomatic relations with the outside world; *IG* XII.6 263 and 264 are communal dedications set up by the Athenian *demos* in Samos to Apollo in Delphi in *c.*340 and 334/3 respectively, again an indication of the separate communal identity of the klerouchy.

In addition to local institutions manned by klerouchs, Athenian officials were sent from Athens to Samos (Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 62.2), in particular a *strategos* (*στρατηγὸς ἐς Σάμον*: *IG* II² 1628.17–18, 28; 109–10, 119; *I.Priene* 6.6; *IG* XII.6 42.4–5; cf. Kroll and Mitchel (1980) 91–92).

The Athenian klerouchs were expelled in 322/1, and the island given back to the Samians (Diod. 18.18.9; Diog. Laert. 10.1; *IG* XII.6 43.8–14 (C4l)).

866. Sidousa (Sidousios) Map 56. Lat. 38.40, long. 26.30, but see *infra*. Size of territory: ? Type: A. The toponym is *Σιδούσση, ἡ* (Thuc. 8.24.2) or *Σίδουσα* (Hecat. fr. 229). The

city-ethnic is Σιδούσιος (*IG* I³ 265.I.61 (447/6)). Sidousa is called a *polis* in the urban sense by Hecat. fr. 229 (Hansen (1997) 24–25). Thuc. 8.24.2 refers to the settlement as a *teichos* located in the territory of Erythrai (no. 845), perhaps on the Mimas peninsula; although Plin. *HN* 5.137 believed that Sidousa was an island. The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested externally in the Athenian tribute quota lists (*IG* I³ 265.I.61).

Sidousa was a member of the Delian League. It belonged to the Ionian district and is recorded from 450/49 (*IG* I³ 263.II.15) to 430/29 (*IG* I³ 281.I.24) a total of ten times, three times completely but plausibly restored. In 430/29 Sidousa is explictly registered as a dependency of Erythrai (*IG* I³ 281.I.24). In 450/49, 448/7 and 447/6 it paid alongside the other dependencies of Erythrai (no. 845); they all formed a syntely, but the Sidousioi paid on their own behalf (*IG* I³ 263.II.15, 264.III.30, 265.I.61). In later years their payment is recorded separately from that of the other Erythraian dependencies, and they seem in all years to have paid 500 dr. (*IG* I³ 271.I.19).

The community was located in Erythraian territory and was undoubtedly an Erythraian dependency (Thuc. 8.24.2: ἐν τῇ Ἐρυθραίᾳ; *IG* I³ 281.I.21: [Σιδόσιο]ι Ἐρυθραίον), but the Athenians maintained control over the site during Erythrai's revolt in 412. The designation τεῖχος in Thuc. 8.24.2 indicates that Sidousa was walled.

867. Smyrna (Smyrnaios) Map 56. Lat. 38.25, long. 27.10. Size of territory: ? Type: A. The toponym is Σμύρνη, ἡ (Mimnermos fr. 9.6, West; Hdt. 1.16.2) or Σμύρνα (Ps.-Skylax 98) or, later, Ζμύρνα (*F.Delphes* III.3 145.21 (C3l)). The city-ethnic is Σμυρναῖος (Pind. fr. 204, Maehler; Hdt. 1.143.3) or, later, Ζμυρναῖος (*F.Delphes* III.3 145.3 (C3l)). Smyrna is called a *polis* both in the urban sense (Hdt. 1.150.1) and in the political sense (Hdt. 1.149.1). A possible C4f attestation of Smyrna as a *polis* in the political or territorial sense may be found in *IG* II² 28.19 = Tod 114 (387), but only if the very doubtful restoration of [τῶμ πόλεω]ν in ll. 17–18 is accepted. The designation *asty* is applied to the urban centre of Smyrna in Pind. fr. 204, but the context may be historical. The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally on a C4f coin (*infra*) and externally in Kallinos fr. 2, West (C7); Pind. fr. 204, Maehler; Hdt. 1.143.4. For the individual and external use, see *IG* II² 10369, an Attic C4s sepulchral inscription, and Ephor. fr. 1, referring to a contemporary Smyrnaian teacher.

Smyrna was originally an Aiolic foundation from which the settlers were driven out by Ionian exiles from Kolophon (no. 848) (Mimnermos fr. 9, West; Hdt. 1.149.1–150.2). This probably happened prior to 688 (the date of the Smyrnaian Onomastos' victory in the Olympic Games), when Smyrna was considered Ionian (Paus. 5.1.7). Hdt. 1.16.2 refers to Smyrna as "founded from Kolophon", which probably relates to the Kolophonian take-over. The most likely interpretation of Hdt. 1.143.3 is that the Smyrnaians subsequently asked to participate in the Panionia, but were refused. There is no evidence for Smyrnaian participation in the Archaic or Classical periods, nor for Smyrna's interaction with other Greek states.

According to Strabo 14.1.37, Smyrna was inhabited *komedon* for about 400 years, dating from the Lydian conquest of the *polis* *c.*585 (Hdt. 1.16.2). The physical destruction of Smyrna's urban centre may also be alluded to in Theognis fr. 1104, West. However, archaeological evidence points to a later date for the destruction, *viz.* 545, connected with the Persian conquest of Ionia (Meriç and Nollé (1988) 230–32). Strabo's claim that the Smyrnaian *dioikismos* lasted until the refoundation of Smyrna by Alexander the Great or his successors may also have to be modified. E. Akurgal (1983) 56–58 discusses architectural remains from C4 on the site of Archaic Smyrna. See further Mellink (1985) 563 and Gates (1994) for results of later excavations of C5 and C4 structures. Bingöl (1976–77) dated a number of roof tiles found in the harbour area to C4, before the refoundation. On the other hand, numerous second-order settlements scattered all over Smyrnaian territory, some of them fortified, may be dated to the period after the *dioikismos*. Some of these are discussed by Bean (1955). The locations mentioned are Belkahve (6 m-thick Archaic wall, ceramics from C4 and later), Adatepe (presumed by Bean to be a Hellenistic installation), Akçakaya (described by Weber in *AM* 10 (1885)), also believed by Bean to be Hellenistic in origin, Akkaya (for which Bean ventures no date), Yamanlar road site (no date), Çobanpınarı (*terminus post quem* C5 on the basis of ceramic surface finds). Meriç and Nollé (1988) 225–26 discuss a fortified site on Çatalkaya in Smyrnaian territory. The ceramics found on the site are predominantly Archaic and Hellenistic.

According to Hdt. 1.150.2, the Aiolians who had been thrown out of Smyrna by the Kolophonians were received and given citizenship by the remaining eleven Aiolic *poleis*; but this may very well be anachronistic. The same may be true of his allegation (1.150.2) that a treaty was made between the Kolophonians and the combined forces of the Aiolian *poleis*, who had aided the original Smyrnaians, according to which the Smyrnaians were allowed to take their movable property with them into their exile.

As far as the public architecture of Smyrna is concerned, an open square with wells was identified and dated to C4 by E. Akurgal (1983) 56. For a comprehensive discussion of the Athena temple, see Cook and Nicholls (1998), who regard the structure Temple III A–B (C7) "as the local beginnings of wholly monumental temple architecture" ((1998) 198). A late C7 fountain house was identified and published by M. Akurgal (1996). According to him, the well seems to have been in continuous use down to the middle of C4. Another well, dating from 630–600, was excavated and described by Nicholls (1958–59) 58–64. E. Akurgal identified what he called the "high street" of Old Smyrna, the so-called "Athenastrasse", about 4 m wide. He connected this with the "Orientalizing settlement" (E. Akurgal (1983) 45). He also discussed a number of smaller streets dating to the same period (ibid. 46). For a summary of the discussion of the street plan of Old Smyrna, see Lang (1996) 241–43. E. Akurgal (1983) 14 estimated that there were *c.*500–600 houses in the urban centre of Old Smyrna in the period 630–545, and that the settlement housed *c.*3,000 inhabitants.

The only written attestation of the city wall of Smyrna is found in Hdt. 1.150.1 in his account of how the Kolophonians took advantage of a Smyrnaian Dionysos festival outside the walls, which the Smyrnaians were attending. The Kolophonians took possession of the urban centre and locked the gates. The archaeological evidence points to a date of the first city wall at least as early as 750 (Wall II); but the even earlier remains of Wall I were interpreted as remains of a city wall by Cook and Nicholls, who dated this to *c.*850. This date was later accepted by E. Akurgal (1983) 25–26, who argued that a fire in a building complex dated by him to 875–825 affected the neighbouring city wall. For the problems surrounding the interpretation of Wall I, see Lang (1996) 241, who prefers to interpret it as a terrace wall. Wall II appears to have been destroyed by an earthquake *c.*700 and was replaced by city wall III in C7l. Akurgal argued for considerable damage having been inflicted on city wall III under Alyattes, and for the city's being unfortified in C6 ((1983) 54).

The occupation of the urban centre of Smyrna goes back at least as far as 1050, according to E. Akurgal (1983) 15–59, who argues for an Aiolic phase running from 1050 to 1000 on the basis of ceramic finds (Aiolian grey ware), found together with Protogeometric and Geometric decorated sherds. In contexts of the late Geometric period, the amount of grey ware increases (ibid. 15). There are very few architectural remains dating from this phase, but Akurgal mentions a number of square buildings (ibid. 22). The next phase is the Protogeometric settlement, running from 1000 to 875. An "Ovalhaus" is dated to 925–900 on the basis of ceramic finds (ibid. 17–18). Early Protogeometric ceramic is interpreted as evidence for an Ionian take-over of Smyrna (ibid. 10–21). The third phase, the early and middle Geometric settlement, runs from 875 to 825 (ibid. 22–27). Akurgal interprets rich architectural remains from this period as part of a large housing complex (ibid. 24–25). Phase four, the late Geometric settlement, runs from 750 to 675/650. Architectural finds include a *tholos* (ibid. 28), a large building complex (ibid. 29) and a house with two rooms and an ante-room. Not much evidence, apart from ceramic finds, remains from what Akurgal designates the sub-Geometric settlement, 675–640 (ibid. 34), but finds increase in the next stratum, the Orientalising settlement (640–600), summarised ibid. 35–50. Architectural finds include a double *megaron* building, the oinochoe house, perhaps with towers. Another building complex included a bath dating from the last third of C7 (ibid. 39–40). The Archaic settlement (C6) follows (ibid. 50–56) with a number of architectural remains, along with attested repairs to older large buildings, such as the *megaron* house. For a summary and some critical remarks on Akurgal's reconstruction; see Lang (1996) 241–43. There can be little doubt, however, that the urbanisation of Smyrna was very early (C8 at the latest: Lang (1996) 242–43).

There was not much C5 material available in 1983 (E. Akurgal (1983) 53); but this may have been due to incomplete excavation, rather than to absence of habitation in this period. Akurgal notes plenty of ceramic finds. There are considerable architectural remains from C4 (ibid. 56–58). In the 1990s excavations uncovered a quite dense C4 settlement (see the reports in Gates (1994), (1996)). The city seems to have been abandoned at the end of C4 (E. Akurgal (1983) 58), but Cook and Nicholls (1998) 183 note that a small settlement west of the tell seems to have had continued occupation into the Hellenistic period.

Apart from the Dionysia mentioned by Hdt. 1.150.1, nothing is known of Smyrnaian festivals. In addition to Onomastos mentioned above, a further Smyrnaian victor at the Olympic Games, allegedly the first of the Ionians, is mentioned in Paus. 6.13.6 (*Olympionikai* 29).

Smyrna struck electrum coins in C6f. Denominations: stater, hekte and fractions down to one-forty-eighth. Types: *obv.* lion's head; *rev.* rough incuse square (Babelon, *Traité* ii.1 nos. 177–89; Head, *HN*² 591; *BMC Ionia* 236). A unique silver tetradrachm on the Rhodian standard has been dated to

C4f: *obv.* head of Apollo, laureate; *rev.* lyre in slightly concave field; legend: ΣΜΥΡΝΑΙΩΝ. Head, *HN*² 592 interpreted the coin as evidence for the existence of Smyrna prior to its late C4 refoundation and relocation, an assumption that now seems to be confirmed by the archaeological evidence for the C4 settlement.

868. Teos (Teios) Map 56. Lat. 38.05, long. 26.45. Size of territory: unknown but probably 3 or 4. Type: A. The toponym is Τέως, ἡ (Hdt. 1.142.3; Thuc. 8.16.1; Ps.-Skylax 98). An alternative toponym, Ἀθαμαντίς, is attested in Anac. fr. 142, Gentili. The city-ethnic is Τήιος (ML 7b (C6e); *PEP Teos* 39 = *SEG* 2 579.1 (C4l); Hdt. 1.168) or Τέιος (*IG* I³ 71.1.127 (425/4)). Teos is called a *polis* both in the urban sense (ML 30.B.12–13 (*c.*470); Thuc. 8.16.3; Aen. Tact. 18.15, 19; Ps.-Skylax 98) and in the political sense (*SEG* 31 985.18 (C5f) = *Nomima* I 105; Hdt. 2.178.2; Aen. Tact. 18.13). The designation *patris* is applied to Teos in Hdt. 1.169.1. The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally on C4 coins (*infra*) and in inscriptions (ML 30.2–3 (*c.*470); *SEG* 2 579.1 (C4l)) and externally in Hdt. 6.8.1; Thuc. 8.16.3; and *IG* I³ 71.1.127. For the individual and external use, see ML 7b (C6e); *IG* I³ 1372 (C5); Hdt. 3.121; Ar. *Thesm.* 161; *Carm. Anac.* 1.2, West.

The territory is referred to as γῆ ἡ Τηίη in ML 30.B9–10. If Ager's (1991) interpretation of *SEG* 28 697.10 (C4l) is followed (= Ager (1996) no. 15), this inscription defined the entire territories of Teos and Klazomenai (no. 847), starting from the border of Kolophonia in the east and moving westwards on to the isthmus of the Mimas peninsula to the territory of Erythrai (no. 845). For some objections, see Brixhe, *BE* (1992) 498–99. *PEP Teos* 135 (Classical) may be a *horos* demarcating Teian territory: οὔρος Τε[ἰων?] (cf. *SEG* 2 598).

In C4l there were 600 wealthy Teian citizens (*euporountes*) subject to *proeisphora* (*Syll.*³ 344.116), and Gauthier (1990) 86 infers that the total number of citizens must have come to at least 2,000–3,000.

According to Pherekydes (*FGrHist* 3) fr. 102, Teos was founded by Athamas. It was part of the Ionian *dodekapolis* (Hdt. 1.142.3) and was considered the central point of Ionia (Hdt. 1.170.3). When the city was conquered by the Persians *c.*544, all Teians left for Thrace and founded Abdera (no. 640) (Hdt. 1.168; Ps.-Skymnos 670–71; *SEG* 47 1646B.1–2 (C2); Strabo 14.1.30; see Demand (1990) 39), but some returned later (Strabo 14.1.30), and the public imprecation of 480–450 found in the territory of Teos (*SEG* 31 985) indicates that, to some extent, Teos and Abdera remained two parts of one *polis*.

Teos joined the Ionian Revolt in 499 and provided seventeen ships for the battle of Lade (Hdt. 6.8.1). Teos was a member of the Delian League. It belonged to the Ionian district and is recorded from 451/50 (*IG* I³ 262.II.12) to 430/29 (*IG* I³ 281.I.50, mostly restored) a total of thirteen times, twice completely restored, paying a *phoros* of 6 tal. It was assessed for tribute in 425/4 (*IG* I³ 71.I.127). In 412, she grudgingly let in the forces of Erythrai (no. 845) and Klazomenai (no. 847), at this point pro-Peloponnesian (Thuc. 8.16.3); but the Athenians seem to have regained control before 406, when Teos was sacked by Kallikratidas (Diod. 13.76.4; cf. Xen. *Hell.* 1.5.15, if the emendation of Ἰόνα to Τέων is accepted). After 406 Teos appears to have remained a Peloponnesian ally until induced to secede by Pharnabazos and Konon in 394 (Diod. 14.84.3, perhaps corrupt).

On the basis of *SEG* 31 985.16–17 = *Nomima* I 105 it was argued by Lewis (1982) that the constitution of C5 Teos must have been a democracy. The passage requires a quorum of, presumably, 200 for any decision on penalties involving confiscation of property, imprisonment or death made by a court or assembly, a figure that Lewis regarded as relatively high. See, however, Gauthier's note of caution (1990) 85–86. "The law of the *polis*" is referred to in *SEG* 31 985.A19. The instruction on synoecism with Lebedos (no. 850) of 303 mentions Teian laws in existence (*Syll.*³ 344.56–57). In C4l the eponymous official was the πρύτανις (*SEG* 2 579.21–22 = *PEP Teos* 39). In C5 the following officials are attested: *aisymnetes* (ML 30.B.3); a board of *timouchoi* (ML 30.B.29; *SEG* 31 985.D.11), *tamias* (*SEG* 31 985.D.11) and a *phoinikographeus* (*SEG* 31 985.D.19–20). Most interpretations regard the *aisymnetes* as an office which had been abolished on the grounds that previous office-holders had used their position to exercise tyrannical power (Koerner (1993) 298–99). A Teian *strategos* is attested in Aen. Tact. 18.16. The *phyle* of the Geleontes is known from two inscriptions (*PEP Teos* 121 and 132). Both are undated, but since the Geleontes was one of the old Ionian *phylai*, the presumption is that its existence in Teos goes back a long way.

SEG 2 579 = *PEP Teos* 39 contains detailed information on taxation levied internally in Teos. Not only did a number of liturgies fall on citizens (and presumably also resident aliens); but taxes were also levied on the rearing of sheep and pigs, and on a number of other commercial activities, including wood, medicine and sale of wool and clothes.

Teian grants of *proxenia* are attested in *Syll.*³ 344.23–24 (*c.*303), and *SEG* 2 579 = *PEP Teos* 39 (C4l) is conventionally

interpreted as a grant of *ateleia* for a period of ten years to recently naturalised citizens of Teos. A grant of citizenship by Ephesos (no. 844) to a Teian is found in *I.Ephesos* 1437 (322/1); Teian *theorodokoi* to host *theoroi* from Argos (no. 347) are attested in *SEG* 23 189.II.5 (330–324).

The following festivals are attested for C5: Anthesteria, Herakleia and a festival of Zeus (ML 30.B.31–35). As for the Teian calendar, only two months are attested for the Archaic and Classical periods: *Λευκαθεών* (*SEG* 2 579.21 (C4)) and *Ποσιδηίων* (Anac. fr. 362, *PMG* Page), both attested in other Ionian *poleis* (Trümpy, *Monat.* 105–6 §90).

The Teian acropolis was fortified, and remains of Archaic public architecture were described by Béquignon and Laumonier (1925) 284. Tuna's recent survey revealed the foundations of a long building of massive ashlar blocks, measuring 38.46 × 7.30 m. The city walls surrounding the urban centre of Teos in C6 are mentioned in Hdt. 1.168. This wall must have been pulled down, perhaps in 494, but was rebuilt by the Athenians (Thuc. 8.16.3), only to be demolished once again in 411 (Thuc. 8.16.3, 20.2). From the description in Aen. Tact. 18.13–19 of the stratagem used by Temenos of Rhodos, it can be inferred that the city had substantial fortifications again in C4, and Tuna's survey of Teos recorded remains of the Classical or early Hellenistic city wall which seems to have enclosed an area of *c.*80 ha (McNicholl (1997) 159–60; Mitchell (1999) 148). Ps.-Skylax 98 refers to the harbour of Teos.

Teos struck electrum coins in C6f and silver coins on the Aiginetan standard in C6s–C5 and on the Phoenician standard in C4. A few gold coins were struck in C4. (1) Electrum, C6f: denominations: stater, twenty-fourth. Types: *obv.* griffin's head; *rev.* square punch. (2) Silver, C6–C5: denominations: stater, drachm, hemidrachm, trihemiobol, obol, hemiobol. *Obv.* griffin seated, l. forepaw raised; legend: sometimes *TEION*; *rev.* quadripartite incuse square. (3) Gold, C4: *obv.* griffin seated; *rev.* circular incuse; legend: *THI* and magistrate's name. (4) Silver, C4: denomination: drachm. *Obv.* griffin seated, l. forepaw raised, or head of young Dionysos; *rev.* quadripartite incuse square, or kantharos; legend: *THI* or *THIΩN* and magistrate's name. A Teian silver drachm and a number of silver staters were found in the Asyut hoard, dating from 499–494 (Price and Waggoner (1975) 85). Babelon, *Traité* ii.2 nos. 1930–55, (1930) 53–54; Head, *HN*² 595; Balcer (1968); Sear (1979) 322; *BMC Ionia* 309–13; *SNG Cop. Ionia* 1433–43.

Teos participated in the colonisation of Naukratis (no. 1023) (Hdt. 2.178.2), and founded Phanagoria (no. 706) on the Black Sea in 544 and Abdera (no. 640) in *c.*540, a foundation with which Teos maintained very close ties in the Classical period (ML 30; *SEG* 31 985), to the extent that regulations passed at Teos were to be enforced also at Abdera.

869. Thebai (Thebaios) Map 61. Lat. 37.40, long. 27.10. Size of territory: 1 or 2. Type: B. The toponym is *Θήβαι, αἱ* (*I.Priene* 37.57; Theopomp. fr. 23). The city-ethnic is *Θηβαῖος* (*I.Priene* 361.4 (C4m) attesting to the collective and, probably, external use). Thebai was located on Mt. Mykale.

The strongest indications that Thebes was at some point a *polis* are the attestations of an altar of Zeus Polieus located in the sanctuary of Athena (*I.Priene* 364.12–14 (C3l?)) and of the collective, internal use of the city-ethnic (*I.Priene* 361.4 (C4m), 362.26 (C4m)), with the clear implication in *I.Priene* 362.26 that the Thebans retained a communal identity distinct from that of the citizens of Miletos (no. 854), and of a clearly demarcated Theban territory. The latter had common borders with the territory of Priene (no. 861) (*I.Priene* 363.24–25). By C3, however, the community had the status of a Milesian deme (*I.Priene* 364.8; for grants of *ateleia* at deme level, see Whitehead (1986) 82 on Eleusis). According to *I.Priene* 37.57–58, it was given to Samos (no. 864) by Miletos, who had received it after the Meliac War (cf. Theopomp. fr. 23). However, on Hiller von Gaertringen's interpretation (1906) 185, Miletos received Thebes from Samos in return for another site. In any case, *I.Priene* 363.22–23 shows that Thebai was no longer part of the Samian *peraia* in C4m; but that does not necessarily confirm von Gaertringen's interpretation, for it is highly doubtful whether the Athenian settlers in Samos from 365 to 322 exercised any control at all over its former *peraia*. The designation of the boundaries of Theban territory was carried out by an individual appointed to the task by election (*I.Priene* 361.1–2), but we do not know which community was responsible for the appointment. The *stephanephoros* in *I.Priene* 364.1 (C3l?) was very likely Milesian rather than Theban. *I.Priene* 365 (C4) was set up by the phrourarch Ameinias, son of Themistokles. Hiller von Gaertringen assumed that he was a Milesian official (for which the archon of Teichioussa may provide a parallel, *supra* 1083), and that Thebes itself was a Milesian *phrourion* in C4.

The city wall of Thebes was dated on stylistic grounds to the Archaic period by Wiegand and Schrader (1904) 474, whose excavations also uncovered two temples and a habitation area. The bronze coins found on the site were predominantly Milesian, dating from the early Hellenistic period.

Several cult sites are attested epigraphically. In addition to the Athena sanctuary, Theban territory contained cult sites of Hermes Ktenites (*I.Priene* 361.4 and 362.9), Mykale (*I.Priene* 362.7), Nymphs (*I.Priene* 362.7), Maiandros (*I.Priene* 362.11) and Hekate (*I.Priene* 363.20–21). *I.Priene* 362.8 mentions the festival Targelia (*sic*). The names of the months Kyanopsion (*I.Priene* 362.2) and Ta[u]reon (*I.Priene* 362.6) in the Theban calendar are attested both in Samos (Trümpy, *Monat.* 78), Miletos (Trümpy, *Monat.* 89–93) and Priene (Trümpy, *Monat.* 94–96), and Milesian control of Thebes did not necessarily imply that the latter's calendar was changed (Trümpy, *Monat.* 94).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Ager, S. L. 1991. "A Royal Arbitration between Klazomenai and Teos?", *ZPE* 85: 87–97.

—— 1996. *Interstate Arbitrations in the Greek World 337–90 BC* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London).

Akurgal, E. 1956. "Les fouilles de Phocée et les sondages de Kymé", *Anatolia* 3–14.

—— 1983. *Alt-Smyrna*, i (Ankara).

Akurgal, M. 1996. "Ein früharchaisches Brunnenhaus in Alt-Smyrna", *IstMitt* 46: 131–34.

Alty, J. 1982. "Dorians and Ionians", *JHS* 102: 1–14.

Aulock, H. von 1968. "Kleinasiatische Münzstätten", *JNG* 18: 43–48.

Babelon, E. 1930. *Catalogue de la Collection de Luynes*, iii: *Asie Mineure et Phénicie* (Paris).

Badian, E. 1995. "The Ghost of Empire: Reflections on Athenian Foreign Policy in the Fourth Century BC", in Eder (1995) 79–106.

Balcer, J. M. 1968. "The Early Silver Coinage of Teos", *SNR* 47: 5–50.

Bammer, A., and Muss, U. 1996. *Das Artemision von Ephesos: das Weltwunder Ioniens in archaischer und klassischer Zeit*, *AntW* Sonderheft 20 (Zürich).

Barron, J. P. 1966. *The Silver Coins of Samos* (London).

Bean, G. E. 1955. "The Defences of Hellenistic Smyrna", *Anadolu* 1: 43–53.

—— 1966. *Aegean Turkey* (London).

—— and Cook, J. M. 1957. "The Carian Coast III", *BSA* 52: 58–146.

Béquignon, Y., and Laumonier, A. 1925. "Fouilles de Téos", *BCH* 49: 281–321.

Bingöl, O. 1976–77. "Die Dachziegel von Bayraklı", *Anadolu* 20: 63–81.

Boardman, J. 1956. "Delphinion in Chios", *BSA* 51: 41–54.

—— 1967. *Excavations in Chios 1952–55: Greek Emporio*, *BSA* Suppl. 6 (Oxford).

—— and Vaphopoulou-Richardson, C. E. (eds.) 1986. *Chios: A Conference at the Homereion in Chios 1984* (Oxford).

Bodenstedt, F. 1977–78*a*. *Die Elektronmünzen von Phokaia und Mytilene* (Tübingen).

—— 1977–78*b*. "Meisterhände auf Münzen von Phokaia und Mytilene von 535 bis 326 v.Chr.", *IstMitt* 27–28: 147–68.

Botermann, H. 1994. "Wer baute das neue Priene?", *Hermes* 122: 162–87.

Braun, T. 1995. "Barley Cakes and Emmer Bread", in J. Wilkins, D. Harvey and M. Dobson (eds.), *Food in Antiquity* (Exeter) 2–37.

Brodersen, K. (ed.). 1999. *Antike Stätten am Mittelmeer* (Stuttgart).

Bruce, I. A. F. 1967. *An Historical Commentary on the* Hellenica Oxyrhynchia (Cambridge).

Buck, C. D. 1955. *The Greek Dialects* (Chicago and London).

Burford, A. 1993. *Land and Labour in the Greek World* (Baltimore).

Cargill, J. L. 1995. *Athenian Settlements of the Fourth Century* (Leiden).

Carter, J. C. 1988. "Pytheos", in *Akten des XIII. internationalen Kongresses für klassische Archäologie* (Berlin) 129–36.

Cobet, J. 1997. "Milet 1994–1995: Die Mauer sind die Stadt: zur Stadtbefestigung des Antiken Milet", *AA* 249–84.

Cook, J. M. 1953–54. "The Topography of Klazomenai", *ArchEph* 2: 149–57.

—— and Nicholls, R. V. 1998. *Old Smyrna Excavations: The Temples of Athena*, *BSA* Suppl. 30 (London).

Corsaro, M. 1984. "Un decreto di Zelea sul recupero dei terreni pubblici (*Syll.*³ 279)", *AnnPisa* 10: 441–93.

Crowther, C. V. 1996. "I. Priene 8 and the History of Priene in the Early Hellenistic Period", *Chiron* 26: 195–250.

Debord, P. 1999. *L'Asie Mineure au IVe siècle (412–323 a.C.): pouvoirs et jeux politiques* (Bordeaux).

Demand, N. H. 1990. *Urban Relocation in Archaic and Classical Greece: Flight and Consolidation* (Bristol).

Demangel, R., and Laumonier, A. 1923. "Fouilles de Notion (1921)", *BCH* 47: 367–69.

Eder, W. (ed.) 1995. *Die athenische Demokratie im 4. Jahrhundert v. Chr. Vollendung oder Verfall einer Verfassungsform?* (Stuttgart).

Ehrhardt, N. 1983. *Milet und seine Kolonien* (Frankfurt am Main).

—— 1998. "Didyma und Milet in archaischer Zeit", *Chiron* 28: 11–20.

Engelmann, H. 1990. "Beiträge zur ephesischen Topographie", *ZPE* 89: 275–95.

Engelmann, H. and Merkelbach, R. 1972. *Die Inschriften von Erythrai und Klazomenai*, i, *IGSK* 1 (Bonn).
Fantasia, U. 1986. "Samo e Anaia", *Serta historica antiqua* 15: 113–43.
Flensted-Jensen, P.. and Hansen, M. H. 1996. "Pseudo-Skylax' Use of the Word *Polis*", *CPCPapers* 3: 137–67.
Forrest, W. G. 1960. "The Tribal Organization of Chios", *BSA* 55: 172–89.
French, D. H. 1994. "Isinda and Lagbe", in D. H. French (ed.), *Studies in the History and Topography of Lycia and Pisidia*, British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara Monograph 19 (Oxford) 53–92.
Gates, M. H. 1994. "Archaeology in Turkey", *AJA* 98: 249–78.
—— 1995. "Archaeology in Turkey", *AJA* 99: 207–55.
—— 1996. "Archaeology in Turkey", *AJA* 100: 277–335.
Gauthier, P. 1990. "Quorum et participation civique dans les démocraties grecques", *Cahiers du Centre Gustave-Glotz* 1: 73–99.
—— 1991. "Ἀτέλεια τοῦ σώματος", *Chiron* 21: 49–68.
Gawantka, W. 1975. *Isopolitie: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der zwischenstaatlichen Beziehungen in der griechischen Antike*, *Vestigia* 22 (Munich).
Gehrke, H. J. 1980. "Zur Geschichte Milets in der Mitte des 5. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.", *Historia* 29: 17–31.
Genière, J. de la 1994. "Quelques réflexions à propos des murailles de Colophon", *REA* 96: 137–40.
Giannouli, V. 1996. "Neue Befunde zur Wasserversorgung der archaischen Stadt Samos", *AA* 247–57.
Gogos, S. 1998. "Bemerkungen zu den Theatern von Priene und Epidauros sowie zum Dionysostheater in Athen", *ÖJhBeibl* 67: 65–106.
Gomme, A. W., Andrewes, A., and Dover, K. J. 1981. *A Historical Commentary on Thucydides* (Oxford).
Gorman, V. B. 2001. *Miletos, the Ornament of Ionia: A History of the City to 400 B.C.E.* (Ann Arbor).
Graf, F. 1985. *Nordionische Kulte: religionsgeschichtliche und epigraphische Untersuchungen zu den Kulten von Chios, Erythrai, Klazomenai und Phokaia* (Rome).
Graham, A. J. 1964. *Colony and Mother City in Ancient Greece* (Manchester).
Greaves, A. M. 2002. *Miletos: A History* (London and New York).
Hall, J. M. 1997. *Ethnic Identity in Ancient Greece* (Cambridge).
Hallof, K. 2003. "Zur Gerichtsbarkeit in attischen Kleruchien des 4. Jh.", in G. Thür and F. Nieto (eds.), *Symposion* 1999 (Cologne, Weimar and Vienna) 229–34.
—— and Habicht, C. 1995. "Buleuten und Beamte der Athenischen Kleruchie in Samos", *AM* 110: 273–304.
—— and Mileta, C. 1997. "Samos und Ptolemaios III: ein neues Fragment zu dem samischen Volksbeschluß AM 72, 1957, 226 Nr. 59", *Chiron* 27: 255–85.
Hansen, M. H. 1995. "Boiotian *Poleis*: A Test Case", *CPCActs* 2: 13–63.
—— 1997. "Hekataios' Use of the Word *Polis* in his *Periegesis*", *CPCPapers* 4: 17–27.
—— 2000. "A Survey of the Use of the Word *Polis* in Archaic and Classical Sources", *CPCPapers* 5: 173–215.
Hardwick, N. 1993. "The Coinage of Chios from the VIth to the IVth Century BC", in T. Hackens and G. Moucharte (eds.), *Actes du XIe congrès international de numismatique, Bruxelles 1995* (Louvain) 211–22.
Heisserer, A. J. 1980. *Alexander the Great and the Greeks: The Epigraphic Evidence* (Norman, Okla.).
Herda, A. 1998. "Der Kult des Gründerheroen Neileos und die Artemis Kithone in Milet", *ÖJh* 67: 1–48.
Herrmann, P. 1970. "Zu den Beziehungen zwischen Athen und Milet in 5. Jahrhundert", *Klio* 52: 163–73.
—— 1971. "Athena Polias in Milet", *Chiron* 1: 291–98.
—— 1992. "Epigraphische Notizen (Lesefrüchte zu EA 11–17)", *EA* 19: 115–17.
—— 1995. "Inschriften", *AA* 282–92.
Hiller von Gaertringen, F. 1906. *Inschriften von Priene* (Berlin).
Hirschfeld, G. 1894. "Achilleion", *RE* i.1. 220.
Hoepfner, W. (ed.) 1999. *Geschichte des Wohnens. 5000 v. Chr.–500 n. Chr.: Vorgeschichte—Frühgeschichte—Antike* (Stuttgart).
—— and Schwandner, E.-L. 1994. *Haus und Stadt im klassischen Griechenland*² (Munich).
—— *et al.* 1999. "Die Epoche der Griechen", in Hoepfner (1999) 123–608.
Holland, L. B. 1944. "Colophon", *Hesperia* 13: 91–171.
Hornblower, S. 1982*a*. *Mausolus* (Oxford).
—— 1982*b*. "Thucydides, the Panionian Festival, and the Ephesia (III 104)", *Historia* 31: 241–45.
—— 1991. *A Commentary on Thucydides*, i: *Books I–III* (Oxford).
—— 1996. *A Commentary on Thucydides*, ii: *Books IV–V.24* (Oxford).
Humann, C. 1904. *Magnesia am Mäander* (Berlin).
Hunt, P. 1998. *Slaves, Warfare, and Ideology in the Greek Historians* (Cambridge).
Içten, Ç., and Engelmann, H. 1995. "Inschriften aus Ephesos und Metropolis", *ZPE* 108: 88–94.
Imhoof-Blumer, F. 1902. *Kleinasiatische Münzen*, ii (Vienna).
Jenkins, G. K. 1990. *Ancient Greek Coins*² (London).
Karwiese, S. *et al.* 1996. "Ephesos", *ÖJhBeibl* 65: 5–32.
Kebric, R. B. 1975. "Duris of Samos: Early Ties with Sicily", *AJA* 79: 89.
—— 1977. *In the Shadow of Macedon: Duris of Samos*, *Historia* Einzelschriften 29 (Wiesbaden).
Keil, J. 1910. "Forschungen in der Erythrai I", *ÖJhBeibl* 13: 5–74.
Kern, O. 1898. *Die Gründungsgeschichte von Magnesia am Maiander* (Munich).
Kienast, H. J. 1978. *Samos*, xv: *Die Stadtmauer von Samos* (Bonn).
—— 1995. *Samos*, xix: *Die Wasserleitung des Eupalinos auf Samos* (Bonn).

Kirsten, E. 1952, "Polichne", *RE* xxi.2. 1373–74.
Kleiner, G., Hommel, P., and Müller-Wiener, W. 1967. "Panionion und Melie", *JdI-EH* 23 (Berlin).
Klose, D. O. A. 1999. "Samos", in Brodersen (1999) 360–64.
Knibbe, D. 1998. *Ephesos: Geschichte einer bedeutenden antiken Stadt und Portrait einer modernen Grossgrabung* (Frankfurt am Main).
Koerner, R. 1993. *Inschriftliche Gesetzestexte der frühen griechischen Polis: Aus dem Nachlaß von Reinhard Koerner*, ed. K. Hallof (Cologne and Vienna).
Kraay, C. M. 1976. *Archaic and Classical Greek Coins* (London).
——1982. Review of Bodenstedt (1977–78*a*), *Gnomon* 54: 499–500.
Krentz, J. 1989. *Xenophon, Hellenika I–II.3, 10* (Warminster).
Kroll, J. H., and Mitchel, F. W. 1980. "Clay Tokens Stamped with the Names of Athenian Military Commanders", *Hesperia* 49: 86–96.
Kyrieleis, H. 1981. *Führer durch das Heraion von Samos* (Athens).
Lang, F. 1996. *Archaische Siedlungen in Griechenland: Struktur und Entwicklung* (Berlin).
Langmann, G. 1993. "Smyrna gefunden", in G. Dobesch and G. Rehrenbock (eds.), *Die epigraphische und altertumskündliche Erforschung Kleinasiens: Hundert Jahre Kleinasiatische Kommision der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Akten des Symposiums von 23. bis 25. Oktober 1990 (Vienna) 283–87.
Lawrence, A. W. 1979. *Greek Aims in Fortification* (Oxford).
Lefèvre, F. 1998. *L'Amphictionie pyléo-delphique: histoire et institutions* (Paris).
Leriche, P., and Tréziny, H. (eds.) 1986. *La Fortification dans l'histoire du monde grec*, Actes du Colloque International *La Fortification et sa place dans l'histoire politique, culturelle et sociale du monde grec*, Valbonne, décembre 1982 (Paris).
Le Rider, G. 1994. "Un curieux trésor de monnaies d'électrum trouvé à Clazomènes", *CRAI* 945–53.
Lewis, D. M. 1977. *Sparta and Persia* (Leiden).
——1982. "On the New Text of Teos", *ZPE* 47: 71–72.
Lohmann, H. 1995. "Survey in der Chora von Milet", *AA* 293–328.
——1997. "Survey in der Chora von Milet", *AA* 285–311.
——1999. "Survey in der Chora von Milet: Vorbericht über die Kampagnen der Jahre 1996 und 1997", *AA* 439–73.
Magnetto, A. 1997. *Gli Arbitrati interstatali greci*, ii (Pisa).
Manganaro, G. 1963–64. "Le inscrizioni delle isole Milesie", *ASAtene* NS 25–26: 293–349.
Masson, O. 1987. "L'inscription d'Éphèse relative aux condamnés à mort de Sardes (*I.Ephesos* 2)", *REG* 100: 225–39.
Mattingly, H. B. 1966. "Periclean Imperialism", in E. Badian (ed.), *Ancient Society and Institutions: Studies Presented to Victor Ehrenberg* (Oxford) 193–223.
——1996. *The Athenian Empire Restored: Epigraphic and Historical Studies* (Ann Arbor).
McNicoll, A. W. 1986. "Development in Techniques of Siegecraft and Fortification in the Greek World *c.*400–100 B.C.", in Leriche and Tréziny (1986) 305–13.
——1997. *Hellenistic Fortifications from the Aegean to the Euphrates* (Oxford).
Mellink, M. 1955. "Archaeology in Asia Minor", *AJA* 59: 231–40.
——1956. "Archaeology in Asia Minor", *AJA* 60: 367–84.
——1967. "Archaeology in Asia Minor" *AJA* 71: 155–74.
——1976. "Archaeology in Asia Minor", *AJA* 80: 261–89.
——1983. "Archaeology in Asia Minor", *AJA* 87: 427–42.
——1984. "Archaeology in Asia Minor", *AJA* 88: 455
——1985. "Archaeology in Anatolia", *AJA* 89: 545–67.
——1987. "Archaeology in Anatolia", *AJA* 91: 23–25.
——1992. "Archaeology in Anatolia", *AJA* 96: 119–50.
——1993. "Archaeology in Anatolia", *AJA* 97: 105–33.
Meriç, R. 1985. "Zur Lage des ephesischen Außenhafens Panormos", in Ploeckinger *et al.* (1985) 30–32.
Meriç, R. 1987. "1985 yılı Izmir ve Manisa illeri yüzey arastırması", *Aras* 4: 301–10.
——and Nollé, J. 1988. "Eine archaische Inschrift aus dem Gebiet von Smyrna", *Chiron* 18: 225–32.
—— *et al.* 1979. "Der antike name des heutigen Tire" *ZPE* 33: 191–92.
Migeotte, L. 1992. *Les Souscriptions publiques dans les cités grecques* (Geneva).
Miller, S. G. 1978. *The* Prytaneion*: Its Function and Architectural Form* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London).
Mitchell, S. 1985. "Archaeology in Asia Minor 1979–84", *AR* 31: 70–105.
——1990. "Archaeology in Asia Minor 1989–1990", *AR* 36: 83–131.
——1999. "Archaeology in Asia Minor 1990–98", *AR* 45: 125–91.
Moretti, L. 1970. "Supplemento al catalogo degli Olympionikai", *Klio* 52: 295–303.
Müller-Wiener, W. 1986. "Bemerkungen zur Topographie des archaischen Milet", in W. Müller-Wiener (ed.), *Milet 1899–1980*, *IstMitt-BH* 31: 95–104.
Nicholls, R. V. 1958–59. "Old Smyrna: The Iron Age Fortifications", *BSA* 53–54: 35–137.
Nielsen, T. H. 1999. "The Concept of Arkadia—the People, their Land, and their Organisation", *CPCActs* 6: 16–79.
O'Neill, J.L. 1978–79. "The Constitution of Chios in the Fifth Century B.C.", *Talanta* 10–11: 66–73.
Oikonomos, G. 1921. "Ἀνασκαφαί ἐν Κλαξομεναίς", *Prakt* 63–74.
Özyigit, Ö. 1988. "Spätarchaische Funde im Museum von Ephesos und die Lage von Alt-Ephesos", *IstMitt* 38: 83–96.
——1994. "The City Walls of Phokaia", *REA* 96: 77–109.
Peschlow-Bindokat, A. 1977. "Herakleia am Latmos: vorläufiger Bericht über die Arbeiten in den Jahren 1974 und 1975", *AA* 90–104.
——1977–78. "Ioniapolis.: zur Topographie einer milesischen Hafenstadt am latmischen Golf", *IstMitt* 27–28: 131–36.

Piérart, M. 1974. "Milet dans la première liste de tributs", *ZPE* 15: 163–67.
——1984. "Deux notes sur la politique d'Athènes en mer Égée (428–425)", *BCH* 108: 161–76.
——1985. "Modèles de répartition des citoyens dans les cités ioniennes", *REA* 87: 109–88.
——1995. "Chios entre Athènes et Sparte: la contribution des exilés de Chios à l'effort de guerre Lacédémonien pendant la guerre du Péloponnèse: *IG* V 1,2 + (*SEG* XXXIX 370*)", *BCH* 119: 253–82.
Ploeckinger, E. *et al.* (eds.) 1985. *Lebendige Altertumswissenschaft: Festgabe zur Vollendung des 70. Lebensjahres von Herman Vetters* (Vienna).
Price, M. J., and Waggoner, N. M. 1975. *Archaic Greek Silver Coinage: The Asyut Hoard* (London).
Raaflaub, K. 1985. *Die Entdeckung der Freiheit*, *Vestigia* 37 (Munich).
Radet, G. 1893. *La Lydie et le monde grec au temps des Mermnades* (Paris).
Regling, K. 1922. "Phygela, Klazomenai, Amphipolis", *ZfN* 33: 46–67.
——1927. *Die Münzen von Priene* (Berlin).
Robert, J. and L. 1976. "Une inscription grecque de Téos en Ionie: L'union de Téos et de Kyrbissos", *JSav*: 175–88.
Robert, L. 1936. "Études d'épigraphie grecque", *RPhil* 62: 113–70.
——1940. *Hellenica*, i: *Recueil d' épigraphie, de numismatique et d'antiquités grecques* (Paris).
——1946. *Hellenica*, ii: *Recueil d'épigraphie, de numismatique et d'antiquités grecques* (Paris).
——1959. "Philologie et géographie, II. Sur Pline l'Ancien livre II: 1, Le lac Sannaus; 2, Hybanda; 3, Le courrier Philonidès", *Anatolia* 4: 1–26.
——1960. *Hellenica*, xi–xii: *Recueil d'épigraphie, de numismatique et d'antiquités grecques* (Paris).
——1981. "Documents d'Asie Mineure", *BCH* 105: 331–60.
Roebuck, C. 1986. "Chios in the Sixth Century BC", in Boardman and Vaphopoulou-Richardson (1986) 81–88.
Rusyayeva, A. S. 1986. "Miletus—Didyma—Borystenes—Olbia: The Colonisation of the Lower Bug Region", *VDI* 2: 25–64.
Sarikakis, T. C. 1986. "Commercial Relations between Chios and Other Greek Cities in Antiquity", in Boardman and Vaphopoulou-Richardson (1986) 121–31.
Scherrer, P. 2001. "The Historical Topography of Ephesos", in D. Parrish (ed.), *Urbanism in Western Asia Minor: New Studies on Aphrodisias, Ephesos, Hierapolis, Pergamon, Perge and Xanthos*, *JRA* Suppl. 45 (Portsmouth) 57–93.
Schipporeit, S. T. 1998. "Das alte und das neue Priene: das Heiligtum der Demeter und die Gründung Prienes", *IstMitt* 48: 193–236.
Schuler, C. 1998. *Siedlungen und Gemeinden in Kleinasien* (Munich).
Schuller, W. 1974. *Die Herrschaft der Athener im Ersten Attischen Seebund* (Berlin and New York).
Sear, D. R. 1979. *Greek Coins and their Values*, i–ii (London).
Senff, R. *et al.* 1997. "Die Grabung auf den Gipfelplateau des Kalabaktepe 1995", in V. von Graeve, "Milet 1994–1995: Vorbericht über die Grabungsarbeiten und Geländeerkundungen, die Denkmälerrestaurierung und die naturwissenschaftlichen Begleitprogramme der Miletgrabung in den Jahren 1994 und 1995", *AA* 112: 109–88 at 122–24.
Sherk, R. 1992. "The Eponymous Officials of Greek Cities IV", *ZPE* 93: 223–72.
Shipley, G. 1987. *A History of Samos 800–188 B.C.* (Oxford).
Somolinos, J. R. 1991. "Le plus ancien oracle d'Apollon Didyméen", *EA* 17: 69–71.
Stylianou, P. J. 1983. "Thucydides, the Panionian Festival, and the Ephesia (III 104), Again", *Historia* 32: 245–49.
Tausend, K. 1992. *Amphiktyonie und Symmachie: Formen zwischenstaatlicher Beziehungen im archaischen Griechenland*, *Historia* Einzelschriften 73 (Stuttgart).
Tölle-Kastenbein, R. 1975. "Miszellen zur Topographie der Stadt Samos", *AM* 90: 189–214.
Tuchelt, K. 1988. "Die Perserzerstörung von Branchidai-Didyma und ihre Folgen—archäologisch betrachtet", *AA* 427–38.
Tuna, N. 1984. "Ionia ve Datça yarımadası arkeolojik yüzey arastırmaları 1984", 3. Arastırma Sonunçları Toplantası, 20–24 May 1983: 209–22.
van Berchem, D. 1970. "Alexandre et la restauration de Priene", *MusHelv* 27: 198–205.
Voigtländer, W. 1984. "Zur geometrischen und archaischen Epoche in Milet", *Aras* 2: 153–58.
——1986. "Umrisse eines vor- und frühgeschichtlichen Zentrums an der karisch-ionischen küste", *AA* 613–67.
von Graeve, V. 1986. "Grabung am Kalabaktepe 1985", *IstMitt* 36: 37–51.
——1987. "Grabung auf dem Kalabaktepe 1986", *IstMitt* 37: 6–33.
——1990. "Milet 1989: Vorbericht über die Arbeiten des Jahres 1989 und einer 1988 auf dem Kalabaktepe durchgefürthen Sondierung: mit Beiträgen zahlreicher Autoren", *IstMitt* 40: 37–78.
——1991. "Milet 1990: Vorbericht über die Arbeiten des Jahres 1990: mit Beiträgen zahlreicher Autoren", *IstMitt* 41: 125–86.
——1992. "Milet 1991: Vorbericht über die Arbeiten des Jahres 1991: mit Beiträgen zahlreicher Autoren", *IstMitt* 42: 97–134.
——1995. "Milet 1992–1993: Vorbericht über die Grabungsarbeiten und Geländeerkundungen, die Denkmälerrestaurierung und die naturwissenschaftlichen Begleitprogramme der Miletgrabung in den Jahren 1992 und 1993: mit Beiträgen zahlreicher Autoren", *AA* 195–333.

——1997. "Milet 1994–1995: Vorbericht über die Grabungsarbeiten und Geländeerkundungen, die Denkmälerrestaurierung und die Naturwissenschaftlichen Begleitprogramme der Miletgrabung in den Jahren 1994 und 1995: mit Beiträgen zahlreicher Autoren", *AA* 109–311.

——1999. "Milet 1996–1997: Vorbericht über die Grabungsarbeiten und Geländeerkundungen, die Denkmälerrestaurierung und die naturwissenschaftlichen Begleitprogramme der Miletgrabung in den Jahren 1996 und 1997: mit Beiträgen zahlreicher Autoren", *AA* 1–479.

Wachter, R. 1998. "Eine Weihung an Athena von Assesos", *EA* 30: 1–8.

Walter, U. 1993. *An der Polis teilhaben*, *Historia* Einzelschriften 82 (Stuttgart).

Weber, G. 1904. "Zur Topographie der ionischen Küste", *AM* 19: 232–36.

Weber, H. 1965. "Myus: Grabung 1964", *IstMitt* 15: 43–64.

Whitehead, D. 1986. *The Demes of Attica 508/7—c.250 B.C.* (Princeton).

——1990. *Aineias the Tactician: How to Survive under Siege* (Oxford).

Wiegand, T., and Schrader, H. 1904. *Priene: Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen und Untersuchungen in den Jahren 1895–1898* (Berlin).

Wilamowitz-Möllendorff, U. von 1908. "Thucydides VIII", *Hermes* 43: 578–618.

Wiplinger, G., and Wlach, G. 1995. *Ephesos: 100 Jahre österreichische Forschungen* (Vienna).

Yalouris, E. 1986. "Notes on the Topography of Chios", in Boardman and Vaphopoulou-Richardson (1986) 141–68.

KARIA

PERNILLE FLENSTED-JENSEN

I. The Region

The name of the region was *Καρία*, *ἡ* (Ar. *Eq.* 173) or, in Ionic, *Καρίη*, *ἡ* (Hdt. 1.142.3). The corresponding ethnic denoting the non-Greek population was *Κάρ* (Hom. *Il.* 10.428; Hdt. 1.171.2). The traditional border between Karia and Ionia was the Maiandros river (Strabo 12.8.15, 14.2.29), although Tralleis (no. 941) north of the border was also considered Karian (Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.19, *pace* Diod. 14.36.2). Miletos (no. 854), Myous (no. 856) and Priene (no. 861) did not belong to Karia despite Hdt. 1.142.3 (Blümel (1998*b*) 164). To the east the border between Karia and Phrygia was at Tabai (Strabo 12.7.2). To the south, the border between Karia and Lycia was at Telemessos (no. 936) (Ps.-Skylax 100). Ancient writers sometimes distinguish between *Καρία ἡ ἐπὶ θαλάσσῃ* (Thuc. 2.9.4) and *ἡ ἄνω Καρία* (Paus. 1.29.7). In ancient sources a distinction is often made between Karians and Lelegians, as the original population of Karia, as opposed to Greeks. Modern archaeologists have argued that some settlements and buildings can be classified as "Lelegian", but new studies have shown that the peculiarities of certain buildings are probably due to the quality of the building material (Carstens and Flensted-Jensen (2004)).

The communities of Karia constitute a mixture of Karian settlements (possibly city-states) in the hinterland and Greek settlements, which were mainly situated on the coast. The majority of the Karian sites were probably not Hellenised until C4, but they were clearly in contact with the Greek world from the Geometric period onwards, as evidenced by the presence of Greek pottery (see e.g. Keramos (no. 900) and Labraunda (no. 913)). Diod. 17.24.1 (r334) clearly distinguishes between Greek and Karian *poleis*. Few places are specified as Karian or mixed in the sources, but in addition to the fact that several toponyms—such as Karyanda and Koranza—are Karian, Karian names of individuals are attested at Alabanda, Armelitai, Halikarnassos, Kyblisseis, Hydaieis, Kasolabeis, Kaunos, Keramos, Killareis, Koliyergeis, Koranza, Ouranion, Pladasa and Syangela. Inscriptions in Karian have been found at Chalketor, Iasos (graffiti), Kaunos, Killareis and Kindye. Mylasa must have been a Karian city, too, but no systematic excavation has taken place there, which accounts for the lack of Karian inscriptions (Blümel (1998*b*) 170). On the other hand, in C5 a great number of settlements were members of the Delian League, and in C4 a number of Greek political institutions are attested.

The Karian settlements were ruled by dynasts. In C5 dynasts are attested at Alabanda (Hdt. 7.195), Killareis (*IG* I³ 71.II.96–97; cf. Bean and Cook (1957) 99–100), Kindye (*IG* I³ 71.I.155–56; an earlier one: Hdt. 5.118.2), Mylasa and Syangela (*IG* I³ 284.7–8). Hekatomnos of Mylasa and his family ruled Karia as Persian satraps from the 390s. The most famous member of the Hekatomnid dynasty was Mausolos, who was satrap 377–353. *C.*370 Mausolos moved the capital of the dynasty from Mylasa to Halikarnassos and enlarged the city by synoecising some smaller settlements into it (Moggi, *Sin.* 263–71; Hornblower (1982) 82; Demand (1990) 123). Strabo, on the authority of the C4 historian Kallisthenes of Olynthos, explains that Mausolos "united" (*συνήγαγεν*) six of the former "Lelegian" *poleis* into Halikarnassos. He does not supply the names of the settlements, but says that Myndos and Syangela did not participate (13.1.59). Pliny claims that the synoecism was initiated by Alexander and that the *oppida* in question were "Theangela, Side, Medmassa, Uranium, Pedasum, Telmisum". In his words, the *oppida* "contributed to" Halikarnassos (*HN* 5.107). Since Theangela/Syangela was one of the cities which, according to Strabo, did not participate, it is generally thought that "Termera" should be substituted for "Theangela" (Hornblower (1982) 82 n. 27). These are the only written sources referring to the synoecism. Little is known about the urban organisation of Halikarnassos, and although the extensive city walls there are generally believed to have been built by Mausolos, it is impossible to say what kind of

I should like to thank Prof. Wolfgang Blümel for valuable comments on this inventory.

synoecism took place, except of course that the six *poleis* did not form a new *polis*, but supplied an already existing one with new citizens.

Stephanos of Byzantion cites the *Periegesis* of Hekataios of Miletos for five Karian toponyms which are otherwise unknown. A typical citation runs: *Τνύσσος, πόλις Καρίας. Ἑκαταῖος Ἀσίᾳ* (= Hecat. fr. 254). In such cases the term *polis* cannot be securely attributed to Hekataios (Hansen (1997) 17–18), and it is, accordingly, uncertain whether these toponyms denote *poleis*, and indeed whether they denote settlements at all. The five toponyms are:

Hipponesos (*Ἱππόνησος*): Hecat. fr. 245.
Krade (*Κράδη*): fr. 249.
Laeia (*Λάεια*): fr. 251.
Tnyssos (*Τνύσσος*): fr. 254.
Xylos (*Ξύλος*): fr. 253.

In addition to these toponyms and the seventy-two *poleis* described in the Inventory below,[1] the following Archaic–Classical settlements (or communities) are known, but were in all probability not *poleis* or cannot be shown conclusively to have been so.

1. *Pre-Hellenistic Settlements not Attested as* Poleis

***Amnistos** (*Ἀμνίστιος*) *Tit. Cam.* 112a.c1 (C3m): *Ἀμνίστιος*; *Tit. Cam.* 159a.8 (C2): *Ἀμνιστ[ί]ων [κ]οιν[όν]* (Bean and Cook (1957) 75 no. 2 (Hell.: *Ἀμνίστιος*)). At modern Sögüt are remains of an imposing C5l–C4e fortification with some later restorations (Pimouguet (1994) 251–55). In the Hellenistic period Amnistos was a Rhodian deme (Bean and Cook (1957) 61). *Barr.* 61, H, but C also attested.

Chrysaoris (*Χρυσαορίς*) Steph. Byz. 696.9: *πόλις Καρίας ἡ ὕστερον Ἰδριὰς ὀνομασθεῖσα*; Paus. 5.21.10, referring to Stratonikeia: *τὰ δὲ παλαιότερα ἥ τε χώρα καὶ ἡ πόλις ἐκαλεῖτο Χρυσαορίς*. Perhaps to be identified with a classical site (Şahinler) north-east of Stratonikeia (Marchese (1986) 97). *Barr.* C.

[1] In the following cases the location is not beyond dispute: Amynanda, Hydai/Kydai, Karpasyanda, Karyanda, Lepsimandos, Madnasa/Medmasos, Naxia, Oula (Oulaieus), Parpariotai, Pedasa, Pyrnos, Taramptos, Tel(e)messos, Termera, Thasthareis (Blümel *per litt.*). Not included are (1) *[Κ]αρυ[εις]*, *[Κ]ροσει[ς]*, *Τυμν[εσσεις]*: unconvincingly restored in *ATL*; (2) *Ἴμβριοι*, *Κάσιοι*: treated by Reger no. 483, no. 490; (3) *Μνέσσιοι*: treated by Rubinstein no. 856.

Harpasa (*Ἅρπασα*) Steph. Byz. 125.1; Ptol. *Geog.* 5.2.19. The occupation of Harpasa goes back to C8 as evidenced by Archaic sherds, most importantly a Protogeometric sherd decorated with concentric circles (Varinlioğlu and Debord (1999) 135). Marchese describes Harpasa as a hill-top fortress of C6–C5: the walls are in ashlar masonry, headers and stretchers (Marchese (1989) 41). *Barr.* 61, RL, but AC also attested.

***Hiera kome** (**Ἱερὰ Κώμη*) In a C4m treaty between Mylasa (no. 913) and Kindye (no. 902) three *Hierokomitai*, one of them a *keryx*, are mentioned on a par with people who are certainly or probably representatives of *poleis* (*SEG* 40 992.8–9 (C4m); cf. *AE* 16 (1990) 36). *Barr.* 61, HR, but C also attested

Kallipolis (*Καλλίπολις*) Kallipolis was in all probability a *polis* in the Hellenistic period, and it has been argued that it was created as early as C4m as the result of a synoecism (Gabrielsen (2000) 140 n. 47). It is mentioned by Arrian, in reference to 334, on a par with Myndos (no. 914) and Kaunos (no. 898) (*Anab.* 2.5.7). The ethnic *Καλλιπολί[της]* is found in a C4l–C3e honorary decree (*I.Iasos* 59.9). At the possible site of Kallipolis is a fortification built in two phases, the first of which is probably C5, the second C4m. The exterior wall is built in polygonal masonry. Descat (1994*b*) 209 concludes that Kallipolis and Thera were fortresses commanding the inland route between Halikarnassos and Kaunos. *Barr.* 61, C.

***Kasara** (*Κασαρεύς*) The toponym is reconstructed from the ethnic *Κασαρεύς*, attested on tombstones found near modern Asardibi (*I.Rhod.Per.* 56 (C3–2), 58 (C3f) and on Rhodos (*IG* XII.1 273–82 (C3e to first century AD). In the Hellenistic period a deme of Rhodos in the Rhodian *peraia*. The physical remains of the settlement include Classical material. See *I.Rhod.Per.* pp. 21–27. *Barr.* C.

***Kastabos** (*Καστάβειος*) On the Karian Chersonese, about 10 km east of the isthmus that links the Knidian peninsula to the mainland, is the sanctuary of Hemithea, referred to by Diod. 5.62–63. The sanctuary probably dates to C4s (Cook and Plommer (1966) 168), although the cult goes further back (ibid. 167). The theatre belonging to the sanctuary probably dates to C4l (*TGR* iii. 489). Although there is no other indication that it was ever more than a sanctuary, an ethnic is attested in C2 (*I.Rhod.Per.* 401.7: *τοῖς Κα[σ]ταβείοις*). *Barr.* 61, HR, but C4 also attested.

Loryma (*Λώρυμα*) Loryma is mentioned in several literary sources (e.g. Hecat. fr. 247 = Steph. Byz. 424.1 (*πόλις*);

Thuc. 8.43.1). It is known from inscriptions of the Hellenistic period (*I.Lindos* 282.1.25; *IG* XII.1 928.III.2), and the finds show that the site was inhabited from C7 (*infra*); but it cannot be shown to have been a *polis* prior to the Hellenistic period. Thuc. 8.43.1 records that the Athenians attacked Loryma in 412/11 (*Λωρύμνοις τοῖς ἐν τῇ ἠπείρῳ τροσβαλόντες*); a Persian fleet of more than ninety triremes tarried at Loryma in 395 (Diod. 14.83.4–5: *διέτριβον δὲ περὶ Λώρυμα ... τριήρεις ἔχοντες πλείους τῶν ἐνενήκοντα*), and it thus seems reasonable to assume that there was a harbour there; in fact, Diod. 20.82.4 mentions a harbour there in reference to 305 (*τὸν ἐν Λωρύμοις λιμένα*). Surface finds show that the site of Loryma was inhabited from C7 to the Hellenistic period. The remains of the city wall clearly show that it was built in two phases. Very little is left of the older part, but it is in crude polygonal masonry and probably dates to C6. Much more is preserved of the later phase, and it is in much better condition; it dates to C5–C4. The masonry is trapezoidal to polygonal, tending to isodomic in some places. There are remains of towers and gates (Held (1999) 170–72). The acropolis wall is built in the same phases, but a tower belonging to a third phase must have been built around 300 (ibid. 173). Many of the houses inside the perimeter are probably from the late Hellenistic period, but some of them are very similar to those at Latmos (no. 910), and they may predate 300, at least in ground plan (ibid. 173–74). *Barr.* 61, C, but A also attested.

Phoinix (*Φοῖνιξ*) Strabo mentions a *phrourion* Phoinix on top of a mountain on the peninsula of Loryma (14.2.4). At the site of Phoinix there are remains of a fortress in different types of masonry, possibly going back to C5 (Pimouguet (1994) 247). The earliest known inscriptions from Phoinix are C3 and mention a *damos* (*I.Rhod.Per.* 101.1), a *naos* of Dionysos (ibid. 1), a *prytaneus* (*I.Rhod.Per.* 103.1), and priests of Athena and Zeus Polieus (ibid. 5–6). *Barr.* 61, HRL, but C also attested.

Physkos (*Φύσκος*) Steph. Byz. 675.8–9 (*πόλις Καρίας*); Strabo 14.2.4 (*πολίχνη*), 14.2.29, 5.22 (*τῆς Ῥοδίων περαίας*). A Rhodian possession and a deme of Lindos already in C4 (*I.Lindos* 51CII.17: *Φυσκίων* (*c.*325)). *Barr.* C.

Side (*Side*) Plin. *HN* 5.107 (*oppidum*), one of the towns which were synoecised into Halikarnassos by Mausolos *c.*370, cf. Hornblower (1982) 82; Demand (1990) 123. *Barr.* C.

Temoessos (*Τεμοεσσος*) In a C4m treaty between Mylasa (no. 913) and Kindye (no. 902) a district by name of Temoessos is mentioned: an envoy from Syangela is described as *ἐς* (= *ἐξ*) *Τεμοεσσου* (*SEG* 40 991.14), so presumably Temoessos was in the vicinity of Syangela, in the Halikarnassian peninsula. Not in *Barr.*, but C is attested.

Thera (*Θύρα*) Gabrielsen (2000) 134–35 argues that Thera was a *polis* in the Hellenistic period, but it cannot be shown to have been one in the Classical period. At the site of Thera (identified by inscriptions, Fraser and Bean (1954) 72) there are the remains of a C4s fortress built in trapezoidal masonry with several towers. There are no traces of habitation (Descat (1994*b*) 206). *Barr.* 61, C.

Triopion (*Τριόπιον*) A promontory (Hdt. 4.38.2; Thuc. 8.35.2) and an adjacent settlement as attested at Ar. *Anab.* 2.5.7, where Triopion is mentioned alongside towns (e.g. Myndos) and islands (e.g. Kos) as a place won over by the Persian commander Orontobates; cf. Steph. Byz. 636.10 (*πόλις Καρίας*); Diod. 5.61.2. *Barr.* C. See Knidos (no. 903) *infra.*

2. *Unidentified Settlements*

Kavakli In the 1890s Paton saw a tower, a hill fortress and some remains of monumental architecture, and he reports that the site was "thickly strewn with pottery" (Paton (1900) 60). *Barr.* C.

Kuyruklou Kale A C4 fortress in the territory of Mylasa and a settlement in the Hellenistic period (but not earlier), see Hornblower (1982) 99. Thus, a Classical site, but not a Classical settlement. *Barr.* C.

Sarnic A large fortified site (Fraser and Bean (1954) 75–78). *Barr.* C.

II. The *Poleis*

870. Alabanda (Alabandeus) Map 61. Lat. 37.35, long. 27.55. Size of territory: ? Type: C:*γ*. The toponym is *Ἀλάβανδα, τά* (Hdt. 7.195) or *Ἀλάβανδα, ἡ* (Strabo 14.2.22). The city-ethnic is *Ἀλαβανδεύς* (*SEG* 40 992.9 (C4m)) or *Ἀλαβαδεύς* (*I.Labraunda* 37.3 (*c.*200)). The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested externally in a treaty between Mylasa and Kindye of 354/3 (*SEG* 40 992.9).

A *keryx* from Alabanda is mentioned in the treaty between Mylasa (no. 913) and Kindye (no. 902) (*SEG* 40 992.9–10 (354/3)); the names listed in this inscription suggest that there was a strong Karian element in the population of this community (Blümel (1990) 38–42 (= *SEG* 40

991–92)), and it is a moot point to what extent the Alabandeis can be considered a Hellenic *polis* in the Archaic and Classical periods.

During the Persian War Alabanda was apparently ruled by a Karian dynast (*τύραννος*), Aridolis (Hdt. 7.195).

A late Classical building has been excavated 1 km south of Alabanda (*AR* 45 (1998–99) 156). The circuit wall of Alabanda encloses an area of 75 ha and is dated to C4 (Marchese (1989) 147; McNicoll (1997) 31–38).

871. Alinda (Alindeus). Map 61. Lat. 37.35, long. 27.50. Size of territory: ? Type: B:*γ*. The toponym is *Ἄλινδα, τά* (Arr. *Anab.* 1.23.8; Robert and Robert (1983) no. 15.11, 13 (201)). The city-ethnic is *Ἀλινδεύς* (*IG* I³ 262.v.21, restored: *Ἀλ[ινδε̂ς]*; C2 coins (*infra*)). The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally on C2 coins (*ΑΛΙΝΔΕΩΝ*, *SNG Cop. Caria* 17–18), and externally in the Athenian tribute lists (*IG* I³ 262.v.21). The earliest reference to Alinda as a *polis* is in Strabo (14.2.17 (r334)).

Alinda was possibly a member of the Delian League in C5m. It is registered perhaps twice in the tribute lists, in 453/2 (*IG* I³ 260.i.3, completely restored) and in 451/0 (*IG* I³ 262.v.21: *Ἀλ[ινδε̂ς]*), paying a *phoros* of 1 tal. and ? dr. It is absent from the full panel of 441/0 (*IG* I³ 271.i–ii.63–86).

Alinda is described as a strongly fortified place (*χωρίον*) at the time of Alexander (Arr. *Anab.* 1.23.8; cf. Strabo 14.2.17). Possessed by the Hekatomnid Queen Ada, sister and wife of Idrieus, from 340, Alinda was offered to Alexander by her in 334 (cf. Strabo 14.2.17); cf. Bean (1971) 190–98).

The city wall, in isodomic ashlar masonry, headers and stretchers, was perhaps built by Mausolos. The acropolis lay outside the city and was separately fortified. The acropolis wall encloses an area of 2 ha, that of the town an area of 20+ ha. There are remains of altogether nineteen rectangular towers (McNicoll (1997) 26–31; *PECS* s.v.; cf. Bean (1971) 192). The site of the town is described by Robert and Robert (1983) 5–17; see also Bean (1971) 192–98 with a town plan (fig. 29) and the two citadels (figs. 29, 30). Strabo 14.2.17 calls the town "double" (*διττή*). Most of the buildings are post-Classical. *C.*150 m from the site of the town is a hill-top enclosure which could be the ruins of Queen Ada's palace (Lawrence (1979) 138–40).

872. Amos (Amios) Map 61. Lat. 36.45, long. 28.15. Size of territory: ? Type: [A]:*β*? The toponym is *Ἄμος* (Steph. Byz. 87.1) or *Ἄμμος, ἡ* (Aeschin. *Ep.* 9.1). The city-ethnic is *Ἄμιος* (*IG* I³ 283.iii.33; *I.Rhod.Per.* 354A2 (C3–C2)). In the Athenian tribute lists the Amioi are once recorded under the heading *hαίδε τὸν πόλεον* (*IG* I³ 283.iii.31–33). The collective use of the city-ethnic is used externally in the Athenian tribute lists (*IG* I³ 283.iii.33). The individual city-ethnic is used externally in a C3–C2 grave inscription from Loryma (*I.Rhod.Per.* 42.2).

Amos was a member of the Delian League, but is registered in the tribute lists only once, in 428/7, paying a *phoros* of 2,250 dr. (*IG* I³ 283.iii.33).

A C6 grave inscription from Amos is inscribed in the Knidian alphabet (*I.Rhod.Per.* 351). All other inscriptions from Amos are post-Classical.

The C4l fortification wall on the acropolis is in polygonal masonry (*PECS* s.v.). The city wall is built in different types of masonry: pseudo-isodomic, regular polygonal and crude polygonal tending to ashlar. Pimouguet argues that it seems reasonable to conclude that the wall was built in the course of C4 and strengthened or repaired later (Pimouguet (1994) 249–51). The C4 date is supported by Saner (1994), who also mentions five towers in a 400 m stretch of the wall. Only the northern and western parts of the wall are preserved, but the enclosed area must have been over 10 ha.

873. (Amynandeis) Map 61. Lat. 37.00, long. 27.40. Size of territory: 1 or 2. Type: C:*β*. A toponym is not attested. The city-ethnic is *Ἀμυνανδεύς* (*IG* I³ 260.i.15). The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested externally in the Athenian tribute lists (*IG* I³ 260.i.15).

The Amynandeis were members of the Delian League. They are registered from 453/2 (*IG* I³ 260.i.15) to 444/3 (*IG* I³ 268.iv.26) a total of three times, paying a *phoros* of 3,000 dr. (*IG* I³ 260.i.15). In 446/5 they paid 4,500 dr. in syntely with Syangela (*IG* I³ 266.iii.21–22). Their payment was probably included in that of Syangela in the remaining years (*ATL* i.468); thus they are absent from the full panel of 440/39 (*IG* I³ 271.i–ii.63–86) but were assessed for tribute in 425/4 (*IG* I³ 71.i.112, almost completely restored).

Bean and Cook (1955) 165 assume that the Amynandeis may have lived on the coast, either at Kargıcık or Alâkilise. At Kargıcık there are some ancient remains of an oblong perimeter constructed of great blocks, apparently with three towers and a gate to the north (ibid. 134).

874. Amyzon (Amyzoneus) Map 61. Lat. 37.35, long. 27.40. Size of territory: ? Type: B:*β*. The toponym is *Ἀμύζονα, τά* (Robert and Robert (1983) no. 2.3) or *Μυδών* (*IG* I³ 267.iii.29, mostly restored), later *Ἀμυζών, ἡ* (*I.Priene* 51.3 (C2); cf. Strabo 14.2.22). The city-ethnic is *Μυδονεύς* (*IG* I³ 264.ii.4), later *Ἀμυζονεύς* (Robert and Robert (1983) no. 2.7–8 (321/0); *I.Priene* 51.1 (C2)). The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally in Robert and Robert (1983)

no. 2.8, and externally in the Athenian tribute lists (*IG* I³ 264.II.4).

In 321/0 the Iranian Bagadates and his son, Ariarames, were granted *politeia* by Amyzon, at the instigation of the satrap Asandros (Robert and Robert (1983) no. 2, inscription and comm. 97–118; cf. Hornblower (1982) 73). In l. 4 a *prostates* is mentioned, in ll. 4–5 three *archontes*, in l. 5 an *orophylakos*, in l. 6 a *tamieus*, in l. 7 a *synepimeletes* and in l. 8 *ekklesia kyria*.

Amyzon was a member of the Delian League. It belonged to the Karian district and is recorded (as *Μυδονῆς*; see Hornblower (1982) 278; cf. Robert and Robert (1983) 36) from 454/3 (*IG* I³ 259.VI.6) to 440/39 (*IG* I³ 272.I.84) a total of eleven times, five times completely restored, paying 1,500 dr. (*IG* I³ 261.I.5).

In a honorary decree of 321/0 the month name *Μαρσήλλιος* (a *hapax*) occurs (Robert and Robert (1983) no. 2.2), which indicates the existence of a local calendar which was later replaced by an Ionian calendar, although Macedonian month names are also attested (Trümpy, *Monat.* 277–78).

At the site of Amyzon there are remains of fortification walls in ashlar masonry, probably dating to C4 (Marchese (1986) 105). Moreover, on two large terraced areas, enclosed by walls, are preserved the remains of a Doric temple dedicated to Apollo and Artemis with C6 terracottas. A temple of Artemis is mentioned in an inscription of 321/0 (Robert and Robert (1983) no. 2). Most of the other buildings date to C4. One of the terraces was entered through a *propylon* dedicated by Idrieus in C4m (*OGIS* 235; Marchese (1986) 107 with fig. 41. See also Robert and Robert (1983); Hornblower (1982) 278, 292, 313.

875. Arlissos (Arlisseus) Unlocated, not in *Barr.* (cf. Blümel (1998*a*) 165). Type: B:*γ*. The toponym is *Ἀρλισσός* (*IG* I³ 267.III.31). The city-ethnic is *Ἀρλισσεύς* (*SEG* 40 992.3 (C4m); *I.Labraunda* 67.16). The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested externally in a C4m treaty between Mylasa (no. 913) and Kindye (no. 902) (*SEG* 40 992.3) and in a C4m name list from Labraunda (*I.Labraunda* 67.16). Crampa assumed that the Arlisseis were "in all probability a social group named after an individual *Αρλισσις*" (comm. to *I.Labraunda* 67.16), but Blümel argues that the fact that the Arlisseis are listed in the fragmentary treaty between Mylasa and Kindye on a par with, e.g., the Kaunioi (no. 898) and the Koranzeis (no. 906) shows that the Arlisseis must have been a *polis* as well (Blümel (1990) 35 (= *SEG* 40 992)). Moreover, a *keryx* of the Arlisseis is mentioned in l. 4. The names listed in this inscription (3–4) suggest that there was a strong Karian element in the population of this community (Blümel (1990) 38–42 (= *SEG* 40 992)), and it is a moot point to what extent Arlissos can be considered a Hellenic *polis* in the Archaic and Classical periods.

Arlissos was a member of the Delian League, but it is recorded only once, in 445/4 (*IG* I³ 267.III.31), paying a *phoros* of, perhaps, 600 dr.

876. (Armelitai) Unlocated, not in *Barr.*, but Blümel (1998*a*) 165 suggests that the Armelitai may have lived near Keramos (no. 900) and Ouranion (no. 920). Type: C:*γ*. A toponym is not attested. The ethnic is *Ἀρμελίτης* (*SEG* 40 992.14 (C4m)); the collective and external use is attested in a C4m treaty (*SEG* 40 992.14).

The Armelitai are known solely from a fragmentary C4m treaty between Mylasa (no. 913) and Kindye (no. 902) (*SEG* 40 992), but they are listed alongside well-known *poleis* such as Kaunos (no. 898), Koranza (no. 906) and Latmos (no. 910), which suggests that the Armelitai may have been a *polis* too. Moreover, a *keryx* from the Armelitai is mentioned in l. 16. On the other hand, the names listed in this inscription (ll. 14–15) suggest that there was a strong Karian element in the population of this community (Blümel (1990) 38–42 (= *SEG* 90 991–92)), and it is a moot point to what extent the Armelitai can be considered a Hellenic *polis* in the Archaic and Classical periods.

877. Aulai (Auliates) Map 61. Lat. 36.45, long. 28.10. Size of territory: ? Type C:? The earliest attestation of the toponym *Αὐλαί, αἱ* is in an honorary decree of C1 to the first century AD (*I.Rhod.Per.* 471.3). The city-ethnic is *Αὐλιάτης* (*IG* I³ 271.II.68), *Αὐλιήτης* (*IG* I³ 269.IV.2) or *Αὐλεάτης* (*IG* I³ 263.I.9) in the tribute lists, once misspelt *Οὐλιάτης* (*IG* I³ 264.II.7), although Blümel claims that the toponym Aulai does not necessarily correspond to the ethnic *Αὐλιάτης* in the tribute lists (*I.Rhod.Per.* 471.3 n.). The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested externally in the Athenian tribute lists (*IG* I³ 271.II.68).

Aulai was a member of the Delian League. It belonged to the Karian district and is registered in the tribute lists from 454/3 (*IG* I³ 259.VI.13) to 415/4 (*IG* I³ 290.I.3) a total of sixteen times, once completely restored, paying in all years a *phoros* of 500 dr.

878. Bargasa (Pargaseus) Map 61. Lat. 37.00, long. 27.45. Size of territory: ? Type: C:*γ*. The earliest attestation of the toponym *Βάργασα* is in Strabo 14.2.15. The city-ethnic is *Παργασεύς* (*IG* I³ 263.III.36) or, later, *Βαργασηνός*

(Apollonius Aphrodisiensis (*FGrHist* 740) fr. 2 (C3?); Head, *HN*² 612 (Imperial)). The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested externally in the Athenian tribute lists (*IG* I³ 263.III.36).

Bargasa was a member of the Delian League. It is registered in the tribute lists from 450/49 (*IG* I³ 263.III.36) to 444/3 (*IG* I³ 268.III.22) a total of four times, twice completely restored, paying a *phoros* of 1,000 dr. in 450/49 and 500 dr. in the remaining three years. It is absent from the full panel of 441/0 (*IG* I³ 271.I–II.63–86).

There are few remains at the presumed site of Bargasa, but a fragmentary C2 decree found there does indicate that there was a *polis* at the site (Bean and Cook (1955) 142, no. 67). There is a small citadel with remains of a ring wall in very crude masonry. A few Archaic and Hellenistic sherds date the settlement (ibid. 135, 165).

879. Bargylia (Bargylieus) Map 61. Lat. 37.10, long. 27.35. Size of territory: 1 or 2. Type: B:*β*. The toponym is *Βαργύλια, τά* (Polyb. 16.24.1; *BCH* 45 (1921) 1C.3 (C3l); *SEG* 39 1180.25 (C1)). The city-ethnic is *Βαργυλιεύς* (*IG* I³ 260.X.10) or *Βαργυλιήτης* (*IG* I³ 272.II.81). The form *Βαργυλιώτης* is also attested (*Iscr. Cos* ED231.B4 (C2)). The earliest attestation of *polis* used of Bargylia (here in the political sense) is found in an honorary decree of 270–261 (*I.Iasos* 608.5 *et passim*; cf. 610.4 (C3–C2)). The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested externally in the Athenian tribute lists (*IG* I³ 260.X.10). The individual and external use is attested in an Athenian citizenship decree of 303/2 (*IG* II² 496.23).

Bargylia was a member of the Delian League. It belonged to the Karian district and is registered in the tribute lists from 453/2 (*IG* I³ 260.X.10) to 440/39 (*IG* I³ 272.II.81) a total of ten times, once completely restored, paying a *phoros* of 1,000 dr. (*IG* I³ 260.X.10), but 4,000 dr. in 447/6 (*IG* I³ 265.II.41).

Apparently Bargylia had absorbed Kindye (no. 902) by the early Hellenistic period (Hornblower (1982) 100; cf. Bean and Cook (1957) 96). The majority of the archaeological remains dates to the post-Classical period, but an extant portion of the city wall seems to go back to C4 (Bean and Cook (1957) 96). The wall is built in a style which comes close to ashlar masonry (Hornblower (1982) 319). Small parts of the north-eastern and south-western walls are preserved, and the walls must have enclosed an area of 20+ ha (Bean (1971) 86). The occurrence of Bargylia in the Delphian list of *theorodokoi* shows that it was an urban centre in C3l (*BCH* 45 (1921) 1C.3).

880. Bolbai (Bolbaieis) Map 61, unlocated. Type: C:? The toponym is *Βόλβαι*, attested only in Steph. Byz. 174.8. The city-ethnic is *Βολβαιεύς* (*IG* I³ 260.I.12). The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested externally in the Athenian tribute lists (*IG* I³ 260.I.12).

Bolbai was a member of the Delian League. It is registered twice in the tribute lists, in 453/2 (*IG* I³ 260.I.12) and in 446/5 (*IG* I³ 266.V.13), paying a *phoros* of 1,000 dr. (*IG* I³ 260.I.12).

881. Chalketor (Chalketoreus) Map 61. Lat. 37.20; long. 27.40. Size of territory: 1 or 2. Type: A:*β*. The toponym is *Χαλκήτωρ, ὁ* (Strabo 14.2.22) or *Χαλκήτορες* (Strabo 14.1.8; see *I.Mylasa* II p. 107). The city-ethnic is *Χαλκητορεύς* (*IG* I³ 267.V.30; *I.Mylasa* 912.5 (C3)) or, in the plural, *Χαλκήτορες* (Krateros (*FGrHist* 342) fr. 20). Chalketor is called a *polis* in the political sense in a fragmentary C4 decree (*I.Mylasa* 911.8–9: *περὶ τὴμ πό[λιν τὴν Χαλκ]ητορείων*). The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally in the C4 decree (*supra*) and externally in the Athenian tribute lists (*IG* I³ 267.V.30). The individual and external use is attested in a C5 proxeny decree (*SEG* 36 982A.1).

In C5 [. . .]ssos, son of Artaos, from Chalketor was granted proxeny by Iasos (no. 891). Furthermore, he was granted *asylia*, *proedria*, *isotelia* and *eisagoge/exagoge* (*SEG* 36 982A). In C4 Chalketor passed a decree granting proxeny and citizenship to a man from Koranza (no. 906) (*I.Mylasa* 911). In l. 3 the word *ekklesia* occurs (restored: *[ἐκκ]λησίης [κυρ]ί[ης*). A C4l–C3e *lex sacra* (*I.Mylasa* 914) mentions *tamiai* (l. 1) and *demos* (l. 6).

Chalketor was a member of the Delian League. It belonged to the Karian district and is recorded from 451/0 (*IG* I³ 262.V.24) to 440/39 (*IG* I³ 272.II.75, completely restored) a total of ten times, four times completely restored, paying a *phoros* of at first 2,000 dr. (*IG* I³ 262.V.24), from 448/7 2,100 dr. (*IG* I³ 264.II.24). It was assessed for tribute in 425/4 (*IG* I³ 71.II.101) a minimum of 2 tal. In the assessment decree of 410/9 the ethnic is almost completely restored (*IG* I³ 100.II.8).

Some C4 coins inscribed with the legend *XA* could be attributed to Chalketor, although it is also possible that they were struck by the island of Chalke (no. 477). *Obv.* female head; *rev.* spearhead; legend: *XA* (*BMC* 18 [Caria and Islands] 79).

The wall around the acropolis is preserved. It is built of squared blocks in "Lelegian" masonry. In the territory of Chalketor were also two fortresses in dry rubble masonry (Bean (1971) 49).

A bilingual inscription (Karian and Greek), dating to C4l–C3e (Neumann (1969) 152; cf. L. Robert (1950); Deroy (1955)), indicates that Chalketor was not completely Hellenised by the early Hellenistic period. The Greek inscription (= *I.Mylasa* 914) is a *lex sacra.*

882. Chersonesos (Chersonesios) Unlocated, not in *Barr.* Type: B:*α*. The toponym is *Χερρόνησος*, *ἡ*, attested only in Steph. Byz. 691.7. The city-ethnic is *Χερρονήσιος* (*IG* I³ 265.I.18). The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested externally in the Athenian tribute lists (*IG* I³ 265.I.18), and the abbreviated form *XEP* is attested internally on coins of *c.*500 (Cahn (1970) 200–11).

The Chersonesioi were members of the Delian League. They belonged to the Karian district and are registered in the tribute lists from 452/1 (*IG* I³ 261.IV.9) to 429/8 (*IG* I³ 282.IV.52) a total of twelve times, twice completely restored, paying a *phoros* of 3 tal. down to 447/6 (*IG* I³ 265.I.18), then 2 tal., 4,200 dr. from 444/3 (*IG* I³ 268.IV.20) to 441/0 (*IG* I³ 271.I.79) and 3 tal. again from 433/2 (*IG* I³ 279.I.22). They were assessed for tribute in 425/4 (*IG* I³ 71.I.137).

The Chersonesioi struck coins around 500. The types on the coins are very similar to those on Knidian coins, and they are struck on the same standards as the Knidian coins: i.e. first the Milesian standard, then the Aiginetan. The earliest coins are Milesian tritetaremoria of *c.*530–520: *obv.* head of lion; *rev.* the front part of a bull in a square. After that the Chersonesioi struck coins on the Aiginetan standard until *c.*480: denominations: staters, drachms, obols, trihemiobols. *Obv.* front part of a lion (similar to Knidian type); *rev.* front part of a bull in a square along with the legend *XEP* in the Knidian alphabet (Cahn (1970) 200–11; *SNG Cop. Caria* 190).

883. Chios (Chios) Map 61, unlocated. Type: C:*β*. The toponym is *Χίος*, *ἡ* attested only in Steph. Byz. 693.11. The city-ethnic is *Χῖος* in the Athenian tribute lists, where the people once are qualified as being *Κᾶρες* (*IG* I³ 259.V.21). The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested externally in the Athenian tribute lists (*IG* I³ 265.I.23).

Chios was a member of the Delian League. It belonged to the Karian district and is registered three times in the tribute lists, in 454/3 (*IG* I³ 259.V.21), in 448/7 (*IG* I³ 264.I.21) and in 447/6 (*IG* I³ 265.I.23), paying a *phoros* of 2,000 dr. (*IG* I³ 264.I.21). It was assessed for tribute in 425/4 (*IG* I³ 71.II.105) a minimum of 2 tal.

The identity of the Chioi is unknown, but it may be worth quoting Steph. Byz., who says: *ἔστι καὶ ἑτέρα πόλις Καρίας Χίος . . . κατὰ τὸ Τριόπιον κειμένη ἐν τῇ χερρονήσῳ* (693.11–14), on the basis of which the editors of *ATL* suggest that "[t]he *Χῖοι* must form an enclave in the Knidian territory, probably at its western end" (*ATL* i.565). However, on the basis of an investigation of the communities listed together with Chios in the tribute lists, Bresson (1990) concludes that the *Chioi* lived in the vicinity of Idyma (no. 893), Kedreai (no. 899) and the Chersonesioi (no. 882).

884. (Erineis) Map 61, unlocated. Type: C:? A toponym is not attested. The city-ethnic is *Ἐρινεύς* (*IG* I³ 266.III.24). The collective city-ethnic is used externally in the Athenian tribute lists (*IG* I³ 266.III.24).

The Erineis were members of the Delian League. They belonged to the Karian district and are registered in the tribute lists from 453/2 (*IG* I³ 260.I.14) to 444/3 (*IG* I³ 268.IV.34) a total of four times, paying a *phoros* of first 4,130 dr., then 3,240 dr., and thereafter 1,000 dr. They were assessed for tribute in 425/4 (*IG* I³ 71.II.99) 1 tal.

885. Euromos (Euromeus) Map 61. Lat. 37.25, long. 27.40. Size of territory: 1 or 2. Type: B:*β*. The toponym is *Εὔρωμος* (Polyb. 18.44.4; Strabo 14.2.22); Steph. Byz. 287.14 has *Εὔρωπος*. The city-ethnic is *hυρομεύς* (*IG* I³ 265.II.106; *SEG* 36 982.B4 (C5f)) or *Κυρωμεύς* (*IG* I³ 71.II.143–44) or *Ἐυρωπεύς* (Hdt. 8.133; *I.Magnesia* 59.b27 (*c.*200); cf. *I.Labraunda* 84.9 (*c.*200)), later *Εὐρωμεύς* (*SEG* 43 703.7 (C3e), 704.4 (C3)). Euromos is called *polis* in the political sense in a proxeny decree of 298–288 (*SEG* 43 703.6, 12–13). The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally in abbreviated form on a coin (*infra*) and in a proxeny decree of 298–288 (*SEG* 43 703.7), externally in the Athenian tribute lists (*IG* I³ 265.II.106). The individual city-ethnic is attested externally in a C5f proxeny decree (*SEG* 36 982.B4).

Euromos was a member of the Delian League. It belonged to the Karian district and is registered in the tribute lists from 450/49 (*IG* I³ 263.V.30, completely restored) to 440/39 (*IG* I³ 272.II.71, completely restored) a total of seven times, four times completely restored, paying a *phoros* of 2,500 dr. It was assessed for tribute in 425/4, once in a syntelic group with the Edrieis (no. 892) and the Hymisseis (no. 890), the whole group assessed at 6 tal. (*IG* I³ 71.II.144), and once individually, assessed at 5 tal. (*IG* I³ 71.II.100).

In C5f Arlissis, son of Idyssolos, from Euromos was granted proxeny by Iasos (no. 891). He was also granted *enktesis ges kai oikion*, *asylia*, *proedria* and *dikai* (*SEG* 36 982.B4).

The town was situated on flat ground. The city wall is in ashlar masonry with towers, and dates to a period no later than 300 (Bean (1971) 47; *PECS* s.v.). The other remains at

Euromos (a theatre, a temple dedicated to Zeus, and two stoas) are all Hellenistic or later (Bean (1971) 46–48).

Euromos struck silver coins in C5l. Only a single specimen is known, presumably a tritartemorion. Type: *obv.* forepart of boar; *rev.* head of Zeus with laurels; legend: ΥΡΩ (*SNG von Aulock* no. 2521).

886. Halikarnassos (Halikarnasseus) Map 61. Lat. 37.05, long. 27.20. Size of territory: 2; with dependencies: 5. Type: A:β. The toponym is Ἁλικαρνασσός, ἡ (Thuc. 8.42.4; Arr. *Anab.* 1.21.3), Ἁλικαρνησσός (Hdt. 7.99.2). The city-ethnic is Ἁλικαρνασσεύς (*I.Milet.* VI.2 407 (C5); *IG* II² 142.9 (C4f)), Ἁλικαρνάσσιος (Androtion (*FGrHist* 324) fr. 12), Ἁλικαρνησσεύς (Hdt. 1.144.3), or the epichoric Ἁλικαρνα*Τ*ε[ύς] (*Syll.*³ 45.2 = ML 32). Halikarnassos is called a *polis* in the political sense by Hdt. 1.144.3 and in a C4l honorary decree (Michel 452.4), and in the urban sense in an inscription of *c.*400 (*SEG* 43 713.33, 37, 45). The individual ethnic is attested externally on a gravestone from Miletos (*I.Milet.* VI.2 407m (C5)). The collective city-ethnic is attested externally in the Athenian tribute lists (*IG* I³ 265.I.10), and internally on coins (*SNG Cop. Caria* 336–37).

Halikarnassos was a Dorian city, allegedly colonised by Troizen (no. 357) (Hdt. 7.99.3; cf. Paus. 2.30.9, 32.6; Strabo 14.2.16). On the connections between Halikarnassos and Troizen, see Jameson (2004). Halikarnassos was one of the Greek *poleis* to build the *Hellenion* in Naukratis (no. 1023) (Hdt. 2.178.2).

Halikarnassos was the capital of a dynasty which Hdt. 7.99.1 describes as a tyranny. The first tyrant was Lygdamis, succeeded by his daughter Artemisia (Hdt. 7.99.1–2; *Suda* *H*536). During Xerxes' invasion of Greece she was the commander of five ships from Halikarnassos, Kos (no. 499), Nisyros (no. 508) and Kalydna (no. 485) (Hdt. 7.99.2). Later in C5f Halikarnassos was ruled by another Lygdamis. In C5m a faction joined by Herodotos was exiled after an abortive attempt to overthrow Lygdamis (*Suda* *H*536).

Halikarnassos was a member of the Delian League. It belonged to the Karian district and is recorded in the tribute lists from 454/3 (*IG* I³ 259.IV.13) to 429/8 (*IG* I³ 282.IV.15) a total of sixteen times, twice completely restored, paying in most years a *phoros* of 1 tal., 4,000 dr. (*IG* I³ 259.IV.12–13), but in 447/6 a *phoros* of 2 tal. (*IG* I³ 265.I.10) and in 441/0 a *phoros* of 1 tal., 4,840 dr. (*IG* I³ 271.I.78). It was assesed for tribute in 425/4 (*IG* I³ 71.I.144).

*C.*370 Mausolos moved the capital of the dynasty from Mylasa (no. 913) to Halikarnassos and enlarged the city by synoecising some smaller settlements into it (Plin. *HN* 5.107; Hornblower (1982) 82; Demand (1990) 123; *supra* 1108). The city seems now to have been laid out on a Hippodamian grid plan (Hoepfner and Schwandner (1994) 227).

A law of C5f mentions a ἱερὴ ἀγορή as the venue of the *syllogos* of the Halikarnassians and the Salmakians (no. 929) (*Syll.*³ 45.3 = ML 32). The law (called both ἄδος (19), and νόμος (32)) was passed by the *syllogos* and the tyrant Lygdamis and concerns property disputes. A number of magistrates are mentioned: *prytanis* (5–6), *mnemones* (8) and *dikastai* (20). A *keryx* from Halikarnassos is mentioned in a C4 treaty between Mylasa (no. 913) and Kindye (no. 902) (*SEG* 40 991.16).

Some citizens of Halikarnassos were appointed *proxenoi* by the Chians (no. 840) (*PEP Chios* 50.4 (C4m)). In 410/9 a decree was passed by the Athenians in honour of the Halikarnassian *polis* (restored) as *euergetis* of Athens (*IG* I³ 103). In C4l Zenodotos, son of Baukis, had been honoured by Troizen (no. 357), and therefore more honours were bestowed upon him (Michel 452): he was invited to the *prytaneion* at Halikarnassos (l. 11; cf. Miller (1978) no. 323). This measure (*psephisma*, l. 13) is decided by the *demos* (l. 12), after having been deliberated by the *boule* (l. 15). In 392 Phormion of Halikarnassos won a victory at Olympia (*Olympionikai* 378).

Seven month names are attested. They constitute a mixture of Ionian and non-Ionian names; see Trümpy, *Monat.* 113–14.

The city wall is mentioned in a C5m inscription (*Syll.*³ 46.15 = ML 32). Under Mausolos, from 377/6 (Diod. 16.36.2), the city was enlarged by the inclusion of Salmakis (no. 929) and the land between the city proper and Salmakis. The city wall was replaced by a new 7 km wall which encircled the enlarged city, including the harbour; it enclosed an area of *c.*220 ha (Jeppesen (2000) 334). The wall is built in different types of masonry, which is probably due to the building materials, rather than different construction periods. It had two main gates, one towards Myndos, the other towards Mylasa (Arr. *Anab.* 1.20.4–5), of which only the Myndos gate has been located (Pedersen (1994)). Two smaller gates have been discovered, one on the southern side of the tower on the east, the other in connection with a gate complex on the north-eastern extension. This gate undoubtedly gave access to Pedasa to the north of Halikarnassos (Pedersen (2000) 288). There was a moat in front of the wall (Arr. *Anab.* 1.20.8; Diod. 17.24.4). Thirteen towers have been found, all in different types of masonry and material, but the drain system and the general coherence indicate that the wall and towers were planned and constructed at one time, with later repairs

(Pedersen (2000) 288–91). On the hill commanding the road to Mylasa is a free-standing tower built in large boulders in an almost "cyclopean" fashion. It is probably contemporary with the city wall (ibid. 291).

In the city of Halikarnassos a temple of Apollo is attested in a C5f inscription (*Syll.*³ 45.45 = ML 32). Fragments of early Classical Ionic columns found in the city may be associated with this temple. The few architectural remains show that the temple was influenced by the Polykrates temple in Samos (Jeppesen (2000) 333). Furthermore, the remains of a temple in Ionic style are generally interpreted as the temple of Ares mentioned by Vitruvius (2.8.11). Ares seems to have been the principal divinity worshipped by the Halikarnassians (Hornblower (1982) 302). The excavated but unpublished theatre is sometimes dated to C3e, but may go further back.

Diod. 15.90.3 (r362) says that Halikarnassos had a famous acropolis and was "the *basileia* of Karia". At the time of Alexander, he describes it as the largest *polis* in Karia, endowed with several citadels (17.23.4). Diod. 17.25.5 mentions the walls of the acropolis. Alexander took and razed the city in 334 (Diod. 17.27.6; Arr. *Anab.* 1.20.2–23.6).

In C4 Halikarnassos was endowed with one of the most famous monuments of Antiquity: the tomb of Mausolos, the Mausoleum, or, more correctly, the *Maussolleion*, of which very little is left. In Antiquity, it ranked among the Seven Wonders of the World, and it existed until the fifteenth century, when it was destroyed by the Knights of Rhodes. Work on it was begun in 367, and it was finished after the death of Mausolos' wife Artemisia in 351. The architect was Pythios of Priene in collaboration with another architect named Satyros. The famous sculptors Bryaxis, Leochares, Timotheos and Skopas were involved in the work. The monument consisted of three parts: thirty-six Ionic columns stood on a very tall rectangular base, 38.4 × 32 m. Upon the columns was a pyramidal structure with twenty-four steps, and the monument was crowned with a sculptured group imposed on a platform. The building was adorned with numerous sculptures and friezes (Lawrence (1996) 146–47; Jeppesen (1994) with refs.). So far no remains have been found of Mausolos' palace, built on the Zephyrion promontory east of the harbour and mentioned at Vitruvius 2.8.10; cf. Jeppesen (2000) 338.

According to Ps.-Skylax 99 Halikarnassos had an enclosed harbour and one "by the island". Diod. 15.90.3 (r363) calls Halikarnassos *ἑστία καὶ μητρόπολις*. In the C5m inscription which deals with purchase and sale of land and houses in Halikarnassos, a number of districts or areas are mentioned (*SEG* 43 713).

Halikarnassos struck coins before 480, silver coins on the Rhodian standard in 400–367 (and again in 188–166). Staters are mentioned in a C5f law (*Syll.*³ 45.40 = ML 32). There are various types, and the legend is *ΑΛΙΚΑΡΝΑΣΣΕΩΝ* or abbreviations thereof (Head, *HN*² 617–19; *SNG Cop. Caria* 336–37).

Halikarnassos was a *polis* with a mixed population. The names listed in the C5m inscription concerning confiscation and resale of property (*SEG* 43 713) constitute a mixture of Greek and Karian names. In some cases, a man has a Greek name, but his father a Karian (*Ζηνόδορος Ἀρυάσσιος*, l. 10, or *Διότιμος Σαρυσώλλο*, ll. 169–70), or even vice versa (*Πανύασσις Δημητρίο*, l. 50). Two of the Halikarnassians mentioned in the C4 treaty between Kindye and Mylasa have Karian names (*SEG* 40 991.15–16). There is no doubt that there was a strong Karian element in the population in the Classical period.

887. (Hybliseis) Map 61, unlocated, but Blümel (2000) 96 suggests a location south of Bargylia (no. 879); probably between Bargylia and Killareis. Type: [A]:γ. A toponym is not attested. The city-ethnic is *hυβλισεύς* (*IG* I³ 262.v.26), *Κυβλισσεύς* (*SEG* 40 991.8) or *Κυλβισσεύς* (*EA* 32 95.16 (C2e)). In a C4m treaty between Mylasa (no. 913) and Kindye (no. 902) the Kyblisseis are among the city-ethnics listed after the heading *παρῆσαν ἀπὸ πόλεων*, where *polis* is attested in the political sense (*SEG* 40 991.8). The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested externally in the Athenian tribute lists (*IG* I³ 262.v.26) and in the C4m treaty (*SEG* 40 991.8).

The Kyblisseis were members of the Delian League, but they are recorded in the tribute lists only once, in 451/0 (*IG* I³ 262.v.26), paying a *phoros* of 1,000 dr. In the list of 453/2 (*IG* I³ 260.I.7) the city-ethnic is completely restored. They are absent from the full panel of 441/0 (*IG* I³ 271.I–II.63–86), but were probably assessed for tribute in 425/4 (*IG* I³ 71.II.108: [*hυβλι*]*σσ*[*ῆς*]) a minimum of 2,000 dr.

A *keryx* from the Kyblisseis is mentioned in the C4m treaty between Mylasa and Kindye (*SEG* 40 991.9). The names listed in this inscription (8–9) suggest that there was a strong Karian element in the population of this community (Blümel (1990) 38–42 (= *SEG* 40 992)), and it is a moot point to what extent the Kyblisseis can be considered a Hellenic *polis* in the Archaic and Classical periods.

888. (Hydaieis) Map 61. Lat. 37.15; long. 27.40. Size of territory: 1 or 2. Type: B:γ. A toponym is not attested. The

city-ethnic is Ὑδαιεύς (*IG* I³ 71.II.150; *I.Mylasa* 901.9 (undated)); Ὑδαεύς (*SEG* 40 992.4 (C4m); *I.Mylasa* 903.5 (C2f)), and Κυδαιεύς (*IG* I³ 262.V.25, restored: [Κ]υδαιῆς with *IG* I³ 264.II.22, restored: Κυ[δαιῆς]). The Hydaieis are listed alongside well-known *poleis* such as Kaunos (no. 898) and Koranza (no. 906) in a C4m treaty (*SEG* 40 992.4), which suggests that they may have been a *polis* too. The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested externally in the Athenian tribute lists (*IG* I³ 262.V.25) and in a C4m treaty between Kindye (no. 902) and Mylasa (no. 913) (*SEG* 40 992.4).

The Hydaieis were members of the Delian League. They are registered in the tribute lists from 454/3 (*IG* I³ 259.II.150, heavily restored: Κ[υδαιῆς]) to 447/6 (*IG* I³ 265.II.12, completely restored) a total of six times, once completely restored. They were assessed for tribute in 425/4 (*IG* I³ 71.II.150), 2,000 dr.).

A *keryx* from the Hydaieis is mentioned in a treaty of C4m (*SEG* 40 992.5). The names listed in this inscription (ll. 4–5) suggest that there was a strong Karian element in the population of the community (Blümel (1990) 38–42 (= *SEG* 40 991–92)), and it is a moot point to what extent it can be considered a Hellenic *polis* in the Archaic and Classical periods.

The acropolis was surrounded by a wall, now decrepit (Bean (1971) 50).

889. Hydisos (Hydisseus) Map 61. Lat. 37.10, long. 27.50. Size of territory: ? Type: B:? The toponym is Ὑδισσός (Steph. Byz. 645.17). The earliest attestation of the toponym is in a C1 inscription (*I.Stratonikeia* 508.10 (*c.*81)): Ὑδισός, although it was mentioned by Apollonius Aphrodisiensis, whose Καρικά may be dated to C3 (*FGrHist* 740 fr. 4). The city-ethnic is Ὑδισσεύς (*IG* I³ 265.II.51; Apollonius Aphrodisiensis (*FGrHist* 740) fr. 4 (perhaps C3)) or Ὑδισεύς (*I.Mylasa* 401.8 (C2–C1)).

Hydisos was a member of the Delian League, but is registered only twice, in 448/7 (*IG* I³ 264.III.21, restored: Ὑ[δισσῆς]) and 447/6 (*IG* I³ 265.II.51, restored: Ὑδι[σσῆς]), paying a *phoros* of 1 tal.

At the site of Hydisos there are remains of city walls and towers, probably of early Hellenistic date (L. Robert (1935) 339–40).

890. (Hymisseis) Map 61, unlocated, but possibly situated between Amyzon (no. 874) and Mylasa (no. 913) (Pontani (1997) 7; cf. L. Robert (1955) 226). Type: C:β. A toponym is not attested. The city-ethnic is Ὑμισσεύς (*IG* I³ 262.IV.19; restored: [hυ]μισσῆς) or Ὑμεσσεύς (*IG* I³ 71.II.143; *IG* XII suppl. 127.58 (C3)). The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested externally in the tribute lists and in the assessment decree of 425/4 (*IG* I³ 71.II.143).

The Hymisseis were members of the Delian League. They are recorded three times in the lists from 451/0 (*IG* I³ 262.IV.19) to 447/6 (*IG* I³ 265.II.50), paying a *phoros* of 1,200 dr. In the assessment decree of 425/4 they form a syntely with the Edrieis (no. 892) and Kyromeis, and the three together are assessed at 6 tal. (*IG* I³ 71.II.143–44). A Hymesseus is recorded in a C3 list of *proxenoi* from Eresos (no. 796) (*IG* XII suppl. 127.58).

891. Iasos (Iaseus) Map 61. Lat. 37.15, long. 27.35. Size of territory: 2 or 3. Type: A:α. The toponym is Ἴασος, ἡ (Thuc. 8.28.2; Archestratos fr. 26.1, Olson and Sens) or Ἰασός (*I.Iasos* 2.23; Steph. Byz. 322.18–19). The city-ethnic is Ἰασεύς (*I.Iasos* 32.6 (C4l); *IG* II² 8931 (C4s)). Iasos is called a *polis* both in the urban sense (*I.Iasos* 2.20, 33.3; Archestratos fr. 26.1, Olson and Sens) and in the political sense (*I.Iasos* 1.3, 30.3 = Tod 190; Diod. 13.104.7 (r405)). The town is described as a *polisma* at Thuc. 8.28.4. *Politai* of Iasos are mentioned in a proxeny decree of 333–323 (*I.Iasos* 30.4). The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally in decrees (*I.Iasos* 32.6) and on coins (*infra*), and externally in the Athenian tribute lists (*IG* I³ 279.I.69). The individual use is attested internally in a C2 dedication (*I.Iasos* 227.2) and externally in a C4s Attic funerary inscription (*IG* II² 8931).

The names of two districts (?) in the territory of Iasos are known from *I.Iasos* 1 (Βριδας, ll. 37 and 51, and Τυεννεσσος, ll. 31 and 34).

On the basis of the 800 adult males mentioned by Diod. 13.104.7 in 405, Bean and Cook (1957) 101 calculate that the urban population of Iasos must have numbered *c.*3,000 at the time.

Iasos was a member of the Delian League. It belonged to the Karian district and is registered in the tribute lists from 450/49 (*IG* I³ 263.V.21) to 415/14 (*IG* I³ 290.I.12) a total of sixteen times, five times completely restored, paying a *phoros* of 1 tal. from 450/49 (*IG* I³ 263.V.21) to 432/1 (*IG* I³ 280.I.63), and 3 tal. from 421/0 (*IG* I³ 285.I.91). In 412 Iasos was taken by the Spartans at the instigation of Tissaphernes (Thuc. 8.28.3); having pillaged the town and apparently exposed its population to an *andrapodismos*, the Spartans handed it over to Tissaphernes (Thuc. 8.28.4), who then left Iasos with a garrison (Thuc. 8.29.1); but the city must have joined the Athenians again, because it is called an Athenian ally in 405 by Diod. 13.104.7. Iasos was a member of a *symmachia* attested *exclusively* by the so-called ΣΥΝ coinage (whose legend abbreviates *synmachon*, *synmachikon* or *synmachia vel sim.*)

dating to C5l–C4e; the other *poleis* striking *ΣΥΝ* coins were Byzantion (no. 674), Ephesos (no. 844), Knidos (no. 903), Kyzikos (no. 747), Lampsakos (no. 748), Rhodos (no. 1000) and Samos (no. 864) (Karwiese (1980); Debord (1999) 273–77).

Lysander took Iasos in 405, killed the male population of military age (800 men), sold women and children as slaves, and razed the city to the ground (Diod. 13.104.7; the MSS have *Θάσον Καρίας*, which Palmer has emended to *Ἴασον τῆς Καρίας*; but cf. Xen. *Hell.* 2.1.15 and *infra* no. 899). In C4m Iasos belonged to the Hekatomnid Empire (*I.Iasos* 1 (367–354)).

Iasos had a *boule* and a *demos* (*I.Iasos* 32.4), called *ekklesia* (*SEG* 40 959.15 (*c.*330–325?)) which met once every month (*I.Iasos* 32.2) and the first-coming cizitens were paid for attendance (*SEG* 40 959.4–6: *ekklesiastikon*). The meetings were presided over by an *epistates* (*I.Iasos* 32.2–3), and the proposals were moved mostly by a board of *prytaneis* (*I.Iasos* 52.3) in accordance with the probouleumatic procedure: *ἔδοξε τῆι βουλῆι καὶ τῶι δύμωι* (*I.Iasos* 32.4; Rhodes, *DGS* 338). The eponymous official was a *stephanophoros* (*I.Iasos* 32.1). Public enactments were published by the *neopoiai*, sometimes in the sanctuary of Apollo (*I.Iasos* 42.8), sometimes in an *archeion* (*I.Iasos* 30.12). The fact that decrees (*psephismata*, *I.Iasos* 42.8) were passed regularly by the *boule* and the *demos* and that citizens were paid for attendance indicates that Iasos had a democratic constitution (Hornblower (1982) 111; Rhodes, *DGS* 340). The Aristotelian collection of *politeiai* included one of Iasos (Heracl. Lemb. 73; cf. Gigon no. 66).

Copious information about officials is obtained from a decree of 367–354 which deals with plots against Mausolos and the *polis* of Iasos (*I.Iasos* 1). The property of the plotters is being sold, and it appears that the transactions were undertaken by four *archontes* (6–8), four *tamiai* (8–9), two *astynomoi* (10), four *synegoroi* (11–12), six *prytaneis* (12–14), eleven priests of Zeus Megistos (16–18) and, finally, a number of representatives of the *phylai*, i.e. citizens (18ff; Jones, *POAG* 333). Another decree, of *c.*330, mentions *prostatai* (*I.Iasos* 20.12). A *keryx* from Iasos is mentioned in the C4m treaty between Mylasa (no. 913) and Kindye (no. 902) (*SEG* 40 991.13).

The citizens were subdivided into *phylai* and *patriai* (*I.Iasos* 47.4 (C4l)). Each *phyle* seems to have been headed by an official called *neopoies* (*SEG* 40 959.14 and 17) and if the six names recorded in ll. 2–4 are those of the *neopoiai* (Gauthier (1990) 425–26), there must have been six *phylai* (Jones, *POAG* 333). Both grants of *proxenia* and citizenship are attested in the C4 decrees (*I.Iasos* 32, 42; *SEG* 36 983, reinscribed in C3–C2 = *SEG* 38 1059). The three men granted proxeny by Iasos—Myrmex, Manes and Targelios, sons of Peldemis—may be identical with the three unnamed sons of Peldemos (the variations in spelling may be due to problems in transcribing) who were punished for plotting against Mausolos (*SEG* 36 983; cf. Blümel ((1998*b*) 171). Iasos is registered in the Argive list of *theorodokoi* of *c.*330 (*SEG* 23 189.17)

A cult and priest of Zeus Megistos attested in a C4 *lex sacra* (*LSAM* 59 = *I.Iasos* 220), and investigations inside the temple of Zeus and Hera have revealed sherds which show that the temple was in use at least from C6 to the Hellenistic period (Berti (1987) 33–34). A cult of Artemis Astias is attested in a C4 dedication (*I.Iasos* 259.3–4; also mentioned by Polyb. 16.12.4). For a sanctuary of Apollo where public enactments were set up, see *I.Iasos* 42.8. A grave connected to the so-called *heroon* dates to C5 (Berti (1995)).

In Antiquity Iasos was situated on a small island, which is now joined to the mainland by an isthmus. Harbours are mentioned in a decree of *c.*300 (*I.Iasos* 3.6, 14, 25). The city on the island was surrounded by a wall in isodomic ashlar masonry (Hornblower (1982) 317). The wall is *c.*2.4 km long (thus longer than the 1.8 km stated by Polyb. 16.12.2); it encloses an area of *c.*26 ha and is built in various types of masonry; it is now dated to the period after Alexander's conquest of Asia Minor (McNicoll (1997) 109–11). Dry rubble masonry on the acropolis dates from the Protogeometric or Geometric period (ibid. 111). On the mainland there is a massive wall the purpose of which has puzzled scholars. The date of the wall is also uncertain, but a C4l date seems plausible (Hornblower (1982) 317 with n. 184, but McNicoll (1997) 117 suggests the time of Philip V). The extant wall has a length of *c.*3.5 km and is built with crudely trimmed rectangular blocks. The wall has many jogs and towers (Winter (1971) 241–43; Lawrence (1979) 184–87). The function of the wall seems to be purely military; thus, there is general agreement that there were no buildings on the mainland (Winter (1971) 242–43).

Iasos struck alliance coins (silver staters) *c.*394. Type: *obv.* head of Apollo; *rev.* infant Herakles strangling serpents; legend: *ΣΥΝ*, interpreted as *ΣΥΝΜΑΧΙΚΟΝ* or *ΣΥΝΜΑΧΩΝ* (*HN*² 621; Kraay (1976) 248); for the *ΣΥΝ* coins, see Karwiese (1980)). Other coins, struck for Iasos alone, have *obv.* Apollo; *rev.* incuse square with lyre; legend: *ΙΑΣΕ* (*SNG Cop. Caria* 408).

Two Karian graffiti incised on C5s sherds have been found at Iasos. The letters are similar to those in the Karian inscrip-

tions from Killareis and Chalketor (Berti and Innocente (1998)). The *c.*100 names recorded in *I.Iasos* 1 are mostly Greek, which suggests that in C4m Iasos was a Hellenic community (Blümel (1990) 38–42 (= *SEG* 40 991–92)).

892. Idrias (Edrieus) Map 61. Lat. 37.15, long. 28.10. Size of territory: ? Type: C:*β*. The toponym is *Ἰδριάς*, attested only in Steph. Byz. at 326.18. The city-ethnic is *Ἐδριεύς* (*IG* I³ 71.II.143). The collective city-ethnic is used externally in the tribute assessment list of 425/4 (*IG* I³ 71.II.143). The territory, *Ἰδριὰς χώρη*, is mentioned by Hdt. 5.118.1.

The Edrieis may have been members of the Delian League. They were assessed for tribute in 425/4, in a syntelic group with Euromos (no. 885) and the Hymisseis (no. 890), the whole group assessed at 6 tal. (*IG* I³ 71.II.143–44).

893. Idyma (Idymeus) Map 61. Lat. 37.05, long. 28.20. Size of territory: ? Type: B:*β*. The toponym is *Ἴδυμα, τά* (it is restored [*Ἴ*]*δυμ*[*α*] in the tribute assessment list of 425/4, *IG* I³ 71.II.95) or *Ἴδυμος* (*I.Rhod.Per.* 601.6 (Hell.)). The city-ethnic is *Ἰδυμεύς* (*IG* I³ 267.V.27; once spelled *Ἰδιμεύς*, *IG* I³ 265.I.27), *Ἰδύμιος* (*I.Rhod.Per.* 603.9 (late Hell.)) or *Ἐδύμιος* (on a C5 coin (*SNG Cop. Caria* 419)). The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested externally in the tribute lists (*IG* I³ 267.V.27), and internally on coins (Head, *HN*² 621, *IΔYMION*).

Idyma was a member of the Delian League. It belonged to the Karian district and is registered in the tribute lists from 453/2 (*IG* I³ 260.I.16) to 442/1 (*IG* I³ 270.V.13) a total of six times, once completely restored, paying a *phoros* of first 1 tal., 900 dr. (*IG* I³ 260.I.16), then 5,200 dr. (*IG* I³ 264.I.25), and thereafter 2,000 dr. (*IG* I³ 267.V.27). It is absent from the full panel of 441/0 (*IG* I³ 271.I–II.63–86) but is registered in the assessment decree of 425/4 (*IG* I³ 71.I.140). It is usually registered by its city-ethnic, but once by its ruler: *Πακτύες Ἰδυμ*[*εύς*] (*IG* I³ 260.I.16).

Idyma struck silver coins on the Phoenician standard in C5s and C4f. Denominations: drachms and smaller silver coins (Head, *HN*² 621). *Obv.* head of Pan, or female head; *rev.* fig leaf and the legend *IΔYMION*, all in incuse square. A few C4f bronze coins are also known (Head, *HN*² 621, *SNG Cop. Caria* 419–20).

Bean and Cook (1957) 144 say that there is a "large classical site" at Idyma; moreover that it was not a Greek, but a Karian site.

894. Kalynda (Kalyndeus) Map 65. Lat. 36.45, long. 28.50. Size of territory: ? Type: B:*β*. The toponym is *Κάλυνδα, τά* (Polyb. 31.5; *SEG* 37 1234.20 (second century AD)). The city-ethnic is *Κλαυνδεύς* (*IG* I³ 271.II.70) or *Καλυνδεύς* (Hdt. 8.87.2; *SEG* 12 473.24 (C2)). The earliest attestation of Kalynda as a *polis* is in Polyb. 31.5, who refers to events in 164/3. He calls Kalynda a *polis* in the political sense at 31.5.3 and in the urban sense at 31.5.4. The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested externally in the tribute lists (*IG* I³ 271.II.70); the individual city-ethnic is used externally in a C2 list of donations (*SEG* 12 473.24).

Hdt. 8.87.2–3 explains how Artemisia, perhaps accidentally, rammed a Kalyndian ship commanded by Damasithymos, king of the Kalyndeis, although they were her allies.

Kalynda was a member of the Delian League. It is recorded in the tribute lists from 444/3 (*IG* I³ 268.V.8) to 440/39 (*IG* I³ 272.II.90, completely restored) a total of five times, once completely restored, paying a *phoros* of 1 tal. (*IG* I³ 269.IV.8). It was assessed for tribute in 425/4 (*IG* I³ 71.I.131).

Kalynda was a neighbour of Kaunos (no. 898), and Hdt. 1.172.2 mentions the boundary between the two communities. It was probably situated *c.*10 km from the sea, where there are the remains of a ring wall in polygonal masonry. The wall is possibly early Hellenistic (Bean (1953) 26 n. 82).

895. *Karbasyanda (Karbasyandeus) Map 65. Lat. 36.50, long. 28.35. Size of territory: 1 or 2. Type: C:*γ*. The toponym is reconstructed from the city-ethnic *Καρβασυανδεύς* (*IG* I³ 259.IV.23) or *Καρπασυανδεύς* (*SEG* 44 890.27 (C2)). However, at that time it was no longer a city-ethnic, but a sub-ethnic, Karbasyanda having become a civic subdivision of Kaunos (no. 898).

Karbasyanda was a member of the Delian League. It belonged to the Karian district and is registered in the tribute lists from 454/3 (*IG* I³ 259.IV.23) to 421/0 (*IG* I³ 285.II.13–14) a total of nineteen times, once completely restored, paying a *phoros* of 1,000 dr. in all years (*IG* I³ 260.VI.18).

The Karbasyandeis were neighbours of Kaunos (*IG* I³ 271.I.68–69), and their city may have been located at a hill 1.6 km south-west of Kaunos. On the hill there are remains of a 65 × 20 m fort in isodomic ashlar masonry, and very scanty remains of a dry rubble wall apparently encirling the hill (Bean (1953) 15, 21, 24).

896. Karyanda (Karyandeus) Map 61. Lat. 37.10, long. 27.30. Size of territory: 1. Type: A:*β*. The toponym is *Καρύανδα, τά* (Hecat. fr. 242; Ps.-Skylax 99, emendation of MS *Κρυῆνδα*). The city-ethnic is *Καρυανδεύς* (*IG* I³ 261.I.31; Hdt. 4.44.1). Ps.-Skylax 99 describes Karyanda as *νῆσος καὶ πόλις καὶ λιμήν* (*οὗτοι Κᾶρες*), using *polis* in

the urban sense. The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally in abbreviated form (*KAPY*) on coins (*infra*) and externally in the Athenian tribute lists (*IG* I³ 272.I.76, 263.V.25). The individual city-ethnic is used externally on a C4m gravestone from Peiraieus (*IG* II² 8963) and in a list of dedicators from Egypt (*CIG* 4702 (C4m)).

Karyanda was a member of the Delian League. It belonged to the Karian district and is registered in the tribute lists from 452/1 (*IG* I³ 261.I.31) to 415/14 (*IG* I³ 290.I.7), a total of eleven times, paying a *phoros* of 1,000 dr. in the first year and 500 dr. in the following years (*IG* I³ 268.IV.27). It was assessed for tribute in 425/4 (*IG* I³ 71.II.138).

It is clear from Ps.-Skylax that in C4m Karyanda was an island with a *polis* and a harbour. Later, and probably in the early Hellenistic period, the population moved to the mainland and settled near a lake somewhere between Bargylia and Myndos (Strabo 14.2.20; see Bean and Cook (1955) 155–60). In the island, which has tentatively been identified as the early site of Karyanda, there are considerable remains of a settlement. There is a 160 m wall, built in dry rubble, and remains of houses etc., probably dating to C4 (*PECS* s.v. Salihadasi).

A few bronze coins from Karyanda are known. Head dates them to C3 "or earlier" (Head, *HN*² 612). *Obv.* female head; *rev.* forepart of a bull; legend: *KAPY*.

897. Kasolaba (Kasolabeus) Map 61, unlocated, but Descat (1994*a*) suggests a location north of Halikarnassos. Type: [A]:γ. The toponym is Κασωλάβα (Hsch. *K*1001 = Aesch. fr. 119, Mette). The city-ethnic is Κασωλαβεύς (*IG* I³ 263.II.32; *SEG* 40 991.7). In a C4m treaty between Mylasa (no. 913) and Kindye (no. 902) the Kasolabeis are among the city-ethnics listed after the heading παρῆσαν ἀπὸ πόλεων, where *polis* is attested in the political sense (*SEG* 40 991.7). The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested externally in the Athenian tribute lists (*IG* I³ 263.II.32) and in the C4m treaty (*SEG* 40 991.7).

The Kasolabeis were members of the Delian League. They are listed from 454/3 (*IG* I³ 259.IV.27) to 447/6 (*IG* I³ 265.I.44) a total of seven times, once completely restored, paying a *phoros* of 2,500 dr. They are absent from the full panel of 441/0 (*IG* I³ 271.I–II.63–86) but were possibly assessed for tribute in 425/4 (*IG* I³ 71.I.172: [Κασολα]βε[ις]).

A *keryx* from the Kasolabeis is mentioned in the C4m treaty between Mylasa (no. 913) and Kindye (no. 902) (*SEG* 40 991.7–8). The names listed in this inscription (7–9) suggest that there was a strong Karian element in the population of Kasolaba (Blümel (1990) 38–42 (= *SEG* 40 991–92)), and it is a moot point to what extent Kasolaba can be considered a Hellenic *polis* in the Archaic and Classical periods.

898. Kaunos (Kaunios) Map 65. Lat. 36.50, long. 28.35. Size of territory: ? Type: A:γ. The toponym is Καῦνος, ἡ (Hdt. 5.103.2; Ps.-Skylax 99; *IG* I³ 271.I.69). The city-ethnic is Καύνιος (*IG* I³ 260.VII.8). Kaunos is called a *polis* in the urban sense (*Hell. Oxy.* 23.3; Ps.-Skylax 99) and in a C4m treaty between Mylasa (no. 913) and Kindye (no. 902) the Kaunians are listed after the heading παρῆσαν ἀπὸ πόλεων, where *polis* is attested in the political sense (*SEG* 40 991.18 (354/3)). The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested externally in the Athenian tribute lists (*IG* I³ 279.I.9) and in a treaty of 354/3 (*SEG* 40 992.5 (C4m)), and internally in the abbreviated form *KA* on C4 coins (Konuk (1998) 219). The individual and external use is attested in a decree from Iasos (*I.Iasos* 45.5 (C4–C3)).

Kaunos was taken by Harpagos in C6 (Hdt. 1.176.3). Around 497 it participated in the Ionian Revolt (Hdt. 5.103.2).

Kaunos was a member of the Delian League. It belonged to the Karian district and is registered in the tribute lists from 453/2 (*IG* I³ 260.VII.8) to 421/0 (*IG* I³ 285.II.11) a total of fourteen times, three times completely restored, paying a *phoros* of 3,000 dr. in all years. It was assessed for tribute in 425/4 (*IG* I³ 71.II.98) of 10 tal. Kaunos revolted, either *c.*440, or in the early 420s (Ktesias (*FGrHist* 688) fr. 14.45; cf. Hornblower (1982) 28 n. 176). The tribute lists show that Kaunos was back in the League by 421/0, but it seceded from Athens once again in 412/11 (Thuc. 8.39.3–4, 41.1, 42.2, 57.1). In 397/6 Konon had his headquarters at Kaunos (*Hell. Oxy.* 23) and was besieged by a Spartan squadron under Pharax (Diod. 14.79.5). Kaunos was taken by the Macedonians in 333 (Arr. *Anab.* 2.5.7). In C4l–C3e a citizen of Kaunos was granted *proxenia* by Iasos (no. 891) (*I.Iasos* 45).

Kaunos had a harbour (Ps.-Skylax 99: λιμὴν κλειστός), and Diod. 20.27.2 refers to two citadels in 309, one with a Herakleion, the other with a Persikon. Diod. 14.79.4 mentions a *phrourion*, Sassanda, 150 stadia from Kaunos. The early city was located on a small acropolis overlooking the harbour (Gates (1994) 266). Investigations of the fortifications seem to show that a major expansion took place in the Hekatomnid period (ibid.). Remains of city walls in various styles of masonry date from the Hellenistic period, although some parts of the wall may be dated to C4. The walls enclose an area of *c.*190 ha (Bean (1953); Hornblower (1982) 315–16; McNicoll (1997) 192–99). Diod. 14.79.4 mentions that Kaunos was besieged by the Spartan *nauarchos* Pharax in

396, so the city must have been walled by then. The earliest finds at Kaunos go back to *c.*700 (Gates (1994) 266).

According to some numismatic publications, Kaunos struck silver coins on the Aiginetan standard in C6, and bronze coins from C4m (Head, *HN*² 612–13; *SNG Cop. Caria* 179–83); but recently a group of C5 silver coins have been attributed to Kaunos (Troxell (1979); Meier-Brügge (1998); Konuk (1998)). Some of the coins belonging to this group bear a legend in Karian script, and thanks to the decipherment of the recently found bilingual inscription from Kaunos (Frei and Marek (1997)), it is now evident that the legend is the name of Kaunos in Karian. Incidentally, the name of Kaunos in Karian is *χ*bid-, and the ethnic is *χ*bidêñni (ibid. 23). Thus the name "Kaunos" is not a transcription, but a Greek name. The types of the Archaic coins are *obv.* forepart of a lion; *rev.* incuse square divided into two oblong halves. The C5 coins have been found in the following denominations: staters, drachms, hemidrachms, tritartemoria, trihemitartemoria. *Obv.* winged Iris. *rev.* rectangular or triangular shape in an incuse square or griffin, sometimes a legend in Karian script (for the details of these coins, see Konuk (1998)). The types of the C4 coins are *obv.* forepart of a bull; *rev.* Sphinx along with the legend *ΚΑ*. These are the first Kaunian coins with Greek legends (see also Konuk (1998) 219).

According to Hdt. 1.172.1, the Kaunians were indigenous Karian-speaking people who, however, believed that they had come from Crete. In Ps.-Skylax 99 Kaunos is still classified as a Karian *polis*. Furthermore, *kerykes* from Kaunos are mentioned in the treaty between Mylasa (no. 913) and Kindye (no. 902) (*SEG* 40 991.18–19); the names listed in this inscription as well as the bilingual inscription (*supra*) suggest that there was still a strong Karian element in the population of this community (Blümel (1990) 38–42 (= *SEG* 40 991–92)). Only coins of C4 have legends in Greek, and it is a moot point to what extent Kaunos can be considered a Hellenic *polis* in the Archaic and Classical periods.

899. Kedreai (Kedreates) Map 61. Lat. 37.00, long. 28.10. Size of territory: ? Type: A:*β*. The toponym is *Κεδρεαί, αἱ* (Hecat. fr. 248; *I.Rhod.Per.* 553.9 (C2e)) or *Κεδρειαί* (Xen. *Hell.* 2.1.15). The city-ethnic is *Κεδριάτης* (*IG* I³ 271.II.76), *Κεδριήτης* (*IG* I³ 259.v.17), *Κεδρεάτας* (*I.Rhod.Per.* 561 (perhaps C4)), feminine *Κεδρεᾶτις* (*I.Rhod.Per.* 612 (C3–C2)). Kedreai is called a *polis* mainly in the urban, but probably also in the political sense by Xen. *Hell.* 2.1.15. The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested externally in the Athenian tribute lists (*IG* I³ 271.II.76). The individual city-ethnic is used internally in a grave inscription (*I.Rhod.Per.* 561 (perhaps C4)), and externally in a C3–C2 grave inscription from Idyma (*I.Rhod.Per.* 612, feminine).

Kedreai was a member of the Delian League. It belonged to the Karian district and is registered in the tribute lists from 454/3 (*IG* I³ 259.v.17) to 415/14 (*IG* I³ 290.I.20) a total of sixteen times, once completely restored, paying a *phoros* of 3,000 dr. (*IG* I³ 261.I.12) down to probably 440/39 (*IG* I³ 272.I.80, amount restored), but 2,000 dr. in 432/1 (*IG* I³ 280.I.69). It was still an Athenian ally in 405 (Xen. *Hell.* 2.1.15).

Kedreai suffered *andrapodismos* in 405 after an attack by Lysander in 405 (Xen. *Hell.* 2.1.15).

Remains of an early Hellenistic city wall at Kedreai have been found, generally in polygonal masonry (Bean (1971) 54–55; cf. Anabolu (1994)), although some parts are in rectangular isodomic masonry (Pimouguet (1994) 253–54). Furthermore, there are scanty remains of a temple, probably Archaic (Bean (1971) 55).

Xenophon states that Kedreai was a mixed settlement, *μιξοβάρβαροι*, in 405 (Xen. *Hell.* 2.1.15).

900. Keramos (Kerameus) Map 61. Lat. 37.00, long. 28.00. Size of territory: ? Type: B:*γ*. The toponym is *Κέραμος, ἡ* (Strabo 14.2.15). The city-ethnic is *Κεραμεύς* (*IG* I³ 265.I.8) or *Κεράμιος* (*IG* I³ 267.v.25; *SEG* 40 992.13 (C4m)). The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally in a proxeny decree of C4l (*I.Keramos* 3.5) and externally in a treaty of 354/3 (*SEG* 40 992.13).

Keramos was a member of the Delian League. It belonged to the Karian district and is registered in the tribute lists from 454/3 (*IG* I³ 259.v.18) to 415/14 (*IG* I³ 290.i.25) a total of twelve times, twice completely restored, paying a *phoros* of 1 tal., 3,000 dr. in all years (*IG* I³ 261.I.4).

A *keryx* from Keramos is mentioned in the treaty of 354/3 between Mylasa (no. 913) and Kindye (no. 902) (*SEG* 40 992.13).

In C4l Keramos granted *proxenia, politeia* and *enktesis ges kai oikias* to a certain [*c.*7]*ον Μάρωνος* (*I.Keramos* 3). Moreover, he was granted the right to participate in sacrifices (9–11). A *phyle*, *Τεβρεμουν*, is mentioned in ll. 11–12.

The remains at Keramos have been described by Spanu (1997). Most of the buildings are post-Classical, but the city wall may be as early as C4m (Lawrence (1979) 258). Spanu, and Bean and Cook suggest a C4l–C3e date for the wall (Spanu (1997) 82 n. 27; Bean and Cook (1957) 66), and McNicoll a C2 date between 168 and 133 (McNicoll (1997) 170). The acropolis walls are in Lesbian and polygonal

masonry (ibid. 161). The city walls are built in two different styles, undoubtedly contemporary: polygonal and pseudo-isodomic ashlar masonry (Spanu (1997) 61–91; Dornisch (1992) 145). Spanu reports that there are eight towers, seven gates and eight sally-ports (Spanu (1997) 61–91), whereas McNicoll states that although only thirteen towers—all rectangular—are visible today, the number of towers must have totalled at least eighteen. There were possibly three main gates and thirteen tower entrances and sally-ports (McNicoll (1997) 160–64); see also Dornisch (1992) 144–51). There were four grave areas around the city, and some of the graves date to C4s (Spanu (1997) 164–72).

Keramos is generally considered Karian in origin (*PECS* s.v.; Spanu (1997) 15). The name of the *phyle* *Τεβρεμουν* is clearly Karian (*I.Keramos* 3.12). An Archaic *kouros* has been found at Keramos (Richter (1960) 111 no. 130), as well as the torso of another (Gürmann (1977)), and while this shows both that Keramos existed as early as C6 and that there was some contact to the Greek world by C6, it does not of course show that Keramos was in any way Hellenised. The names of the Keramioi listed in the C4m treaty between Mylasa and Kindye (*SEG* 40 992) suggest that there was a strong Karian element in the Keramian population, and it is a moot point to what extent the community can be considered a Hellenic *polis* even in the Classical period.

Until recently it was believed that Keramos struck coins only from C2; but recently an isolated C4 issue of bronze coins has come to light. The coins bear the legend *KE*, and it has been suggested that they be attributed to Keramos, although nearby Kedreai (no. 899) is another possibility. *Obv.* bull standing to the right; *rev.* swimming dolphin and the legend *KE* (Ashton *et al.* (1998)).

901. (Killareis) Map 61. Lat. 37.10, long. 27.40. Size of territory: 1 or 2. Type: [A]:*γ*. A toponym is not attested. The city-ethnic is *Κιλλαρεύς* (*IG* I³ 262.v.28; *EA* 32 95.13 (C2e)) or *Κιλδαρεύς* (*SEG* 40 991.11 (C4m)). In a C4m treaty between Mylasa (no. 913) and Kindye (no. 902) the Killareis are among the city-ethnics listed after the heading *παρῆσαν ἀπὸ πόλεων*, where *polis* is used in the political sense (*SEG* 40 991.11). The collective use of the city-ethnic is used externally in the Athenian tribute lists (*IG* I³ 262.v.28) and in a C4m treaty between Mylasa and Kindye (*SEG* 40 991.11).

The Killareis were members of the Delian League, but they are recorded in the tribute lists only once, in 451/0 (*IG* I³ 262.v.28), paying a *phoros* of 1,000 dr. In the list of 453/2 (*IG* I³ 260.i.8) the city-ethnic is completely restored. Moreover, they may have been listed in the tribute assessment decree of 425/4 (*IG* I³ 71.ii.96–97), where we find [*Κι*]*λλ*[*αρεῖς* hô]*ν Σα*[--- *ἄρχει*], which indicates that the Killareis were ruled by a dynast (Bean and Cook (1957) 99–100). The Killareis were assessed at 2 tal.

Around C4m the Killareis passed a decree, granting honours to Hyssollos, son of Samoos (*I.Mylasa* 961 = L. Robert (1950) 14 no. 11). In l. 1 the word *ekklesia* occurs. A *keryx* from the Killareis is mentioned in the C4m treaty between Mylasa and Kindye (*SEG* 40 991.12).

The remains of the site of the Killareis consist of C4 fortifications. There is an outer circuit in squared masonry with towers, and a citadel linked to the outer circuit on the northern side. Inside the citadel there are underground galleries which have been interpreted as cisterns (Bean and Cook (1957) 99). A C3m inscription mentions a harbour (although the site of the Killareis was located *c.*10 km inland (Blümel (1992) 128 D4 and comm. *ad. loc.*; cf. *SEG* 42 994.D4).

The stone which carries the C4 decree of the Killareis (see *supra*) is inscribed in Karian as well (Deroy (1955) 314), which indicates that there was a Karian element in the area at the time. The Karian text contains the city-ethnic, but not the personal names of the Greek text, so the inscription is not a bilingual one (Blümel (1992) 128; Blümel and Adiego (1993)). Similarly, the names listed in the treaty between Mylasa and Kindye suggest that there was a strong Karian element in the Killarian population (*SEG* 40 991.11–12; see Blümel (1990) 38–42 (= *SEG* 40 991–92)), and it is a moot point to what extent the community can be considered a Hellenic *polis* in the Archaic and Classical periods.

902. Kindye (Kindyeus) Map 61. Lat. 37.10, long. 27.40. Size of territory: 1 or 2. Type: B:*β*. The toponym is *Κινδύη, ἡ* (Strabo 14.2.20) or *Κυνδύη* (*IG* I³ 263.v.23). The city-ethnic is *Κινδυεύς* (*IG* I³ 272.i.69; *SEG* 40 991.6 (C4m); Hdt. 5.118.2). The collective use of the city-ethnic may be attested internally in abbreviated form on a coin (*infra*) and is attested externally in the Athenian tribute lists (*IG* I³ 272.i.69) and in a C4m treaty (*SEG* 40 991.6). For the individual and external use, see Hdt. 5.118.2.

Kindye was a member of the Delian League. It belonged to the Karian district and is registered in the tribute lists from 453/2 (*IG* I³ 260.x.9) to 440/39 (*IG* I³ 272.i.69) a total of six times, once completely restored. It is recorded once by toponym (*IG* I³ 263.v.23), and otherwise by city-ethnic, paying a *phoros* of 1 tal. (*IG* I³ 272.i.69). It is absent from the full panel of 441/0 (*IG* I³ 271.i–ii.63–86) but is registered in the assessment decree of 425/4 (*IG* I³ 71.i.155–56). It is restored

Κιν[δυέ̂ς hô̂ν] ἄ̓ρ[χει-- which indicates that Kindye was ruled by a dynast at the time. Hdt. 5.118.2 mentions another dynast, a certain Pixodaros, son of Maussolos, probably an ancestor of the Hekatomnids (Hornblower (1982) 26).

A treaty of 354/3 between Mylasa (no. 913) and Kindye concerns the purchase of a land plot (*SEG* 40 991). Mylasa buys a piece of land from Kindye, and the borders are described. A *kome* is mentioned in l. 4.

At the site of Kindye there are remains of city walls (approximately 450 × 200 m) of the Classical period, with a citadel (*c.*120 m) built in dry rubble masonry, in places tending to polygonal. There are few remains of the temple of Artemis Kindyas, mentioned by Strabo at 14.2.20 and known from a *c.*200 *lex sacra* (*EA* 32 91) from Bargylia (no. 879) (cf. also Polyb. 16.12.3) (Bean and Cook (1957) 97–99). Apparently Bargylia (no. 879) had absorbed Kindye by the early Hellenistic period (Hornblower (1982) 100; cf. Bean and Cook (1957) 96).

Some coins mentioned by Bean and Cook (1957) 95 and thought to be coins of Pikres (of Syangela) have now been attributed to Kindye, because a later-published coin bears the legend *KI*. The coins are of the late Archaic period. Type: *Obv.* head of griffin; *rev.* diamond-shaped lattice frame encasing four-pointed star. One coin has the legend *KI* (Kagan and Kritt (1995)).

A fragmentary C4l (or possibly C3e) funerary distichon from Kindye carries some Karian letters as well, which suggests that there was still a Karian element at Kindye in the early Hellenistic period (L. Robert (1950) 10 no. 6 = Deroy (1955) no. 6; cf. Hornblower (1982) 342).

903. Knidos (Knidios) Map 61. Lat. 36.45, long. 27.40 until C4f; from C4m lat. 36.40, long. 27.20 (Berges (2000); see *infra*). Size of territory: 4 or 5. Type: A:*α*. The toponym is Κνίδος, ἡ (*Hymn. Hom. Ap.* 43; Hdt. 2.178.2; Thuc. 8.35.3; *I.Knidos* 5.6 (C4f)). The city-ethnic is Κνίδιος (*I.Knidos* 501.2 (C6l); *IG* I³ 261.IV.8). Knidos is called a *polis* both in the urban sense (Thuc. 8.35.3; Ps.-Skylax 99: *polis Hellenis*) and in the political sense (*I.Knidos* 5.4, 603.12; *SEG* 44 901 (C4f); Hdt. 1.144.3, 2.178.2). The word *politai* occurs in a C6l epigram (*I.Knidos* 501.1). Knidos is called *patris* on a C4 grave inscription (*I.Knidos* 625). The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally in C4 proxeny decrees (*I.Knidos* 1.7, 5.1, 603.6) and on coins (*infra*), and externally in the Athenian tribute lists (*IG* I³ 261.IV.8) and in literary sources (Thuc. 3.88.2). For the individual and external use, see C4–C3 gravestones from Attika (*IG* II² 9039–43) and the Eleusinian accounts of 329/8 (*IG* II² 1672.191).

The site of the city of Knidos has been a matter of great dispute. Bean and Cook have argued that the political centre of Knidos was at one point moved from a site on the south coast of the Knidian peninsula to the tip of the peninsula (1952). No ancient source mentions such a move, and the argument was based solely on the fact that no archaeological remains at Tekir seem to antedate C4. The suggestion was followed notably by Robert and Robert (*BE* (1954) 168) and Hornblower ((1982) 101), and recently by Bresson (1999) and Berges ((1994), (2000)). Since the publication of Bean and Cook's article, excavations at Tekir have revealed remains that do go further back than C4 and that, along with the fact that no ancient source mentions a relocation have led others to argue that Knidos was located at Tekir from the outset (Love (1972); Demand (1989); Blümel (1991) 131–32). The latest suggestion, that of Bresson, is that that while there can be no doubt that there were two urban centres on the peninsula, the political centre was at Burgaz until C4l, when it was moved to Tekir.

The name of the territory of Knidos was Κνιδίη (Hdt. 1.174.2; Thuc. 8.35.2). The find of a C6 inscription in the Knidian alphabet (= *I.Rhod.Per.* 351) on the Loryma peninsula, supports, according to Blümel, Cook's suggestion that the Loryma peninsula was part of Knidian territory at the time, or at least an "Einflussgebiet" (Cook (1961*a*) 60; Blümel (1991); *pace* Held (1996) 166–67, who argues that it was independent of Knidos and Rhodos (no. 1000) before C4). Ps.-Skylax 99 indicates that in C4s some of the hinterland of Knidos was dominated by Rhodos.

According to Hdt. 1.174.2, the Knidians were colonists from Lakedaimon (no. 345) (cf. Malkin (1994) 81; Cartledge (2002) 93–94), whereas Strabo 14.2.6 says that they came from Megara (no. 225). Knidos was one of the original members of the Dorian *hexapolis*, and the common Dorian sanctuary at Triopion was probably situated on Knidian territory (*infra*). In C6e Knidos was one of the Dorian *poleis* behind the *Hellenion* at Naukratis (no. 1023) (Hdt. 2.178.2).

Knidos was a member of the Delian League. It belonged to the Karian district and is recorded in the tribute lists from 452/1 (*IG* I³ 261.IV.8) to 427/6 or 426/5 (*IG* I³ 284.13) a total of thirteen times, four times completely restored, paying a *phoros* of 3 tal. in 452/1 (*IG* I³ 261.IV.8), 5 tal. from 450/49 *IG* I³ 263.I.4), again 3 tal. from 444/3 (*IG* I³ 268.IV.19), and 2 tal. from 428/7 (*IG* I³ 283.III.20). It was assessed for tribute in 425/4 (*IG* I³ 71.I.134). In 412 Knidos revolted against Athens at the instigation of Tissaphernes (Thuc. 8.35; cf. Debord (1999) 219 with n. 127), and at Delphi the statues of those who fought with Lysander at Aigos potamoi in 405 included

one of Theodamos of Knidos (Paus. 10.9.9). Knidos was a member of a *symmachia* attested *exclusively* by the so-called ΣΥΝ coinage (whose legend abbreviates *synmachon*, *synmachikon* or *synmachia vel sim.*) dating to C5l–C4e; the other *poleis* striking ΣΥΝ coins were Byzantion (no. 674), Ephesos (no. 844), Iasos (no. 891), Kyzikos (no. 747), Lampsakos (no. 748), Rhodos (no. 1000) and Samos (no. 864) (Karwiese (1980); Debord (1999) 273–77).

Aristotle twice refers to the Knidian constitution: at *Pol.* 1305^{b}12 he states that the oligarchy at Knidos was overthrown by the *demos*, because *hoi gnorimoi* were split into two factions; at *Pol.* 1306^{b}5 he refers once again to the citizens overthrowing a despotic oligarchy at Knidos. Some have taken these passages to refer to two different revolutions, the first Archaic, the second perhaps C4 (Hornblower (1982) 117). A preferable view seems to be that they both refer to the same revolution (Gehrke, *Stasis* 79; Robinson (1997) 101–3) which, however, cannot be dated.

Oligarchic Knidos was ruled by a council of sixty *amnemones* appointed for life from among the *aristoi* and acting as *probouloi* (Plut. *Mor.* 292A–B). The attestation of *probouloi* seems to match the observation by Rhodes, *DGS* 330: that any mention of a *boule* involved in the decision-making process is of the Roman period. The preserved C4 decrees are proposed by a board of *prostatai* and carried by "the Knidians": ἔδοξε Κνιδ[ίοι]ς γνώμα προ[στα]τᾶν (*I.Knidos* 603.1–3 (C4f)). Of two C4 Knidian dedications in Delphi, the older has Κνίδιοι (*Syll.*^{3} 140 (shortly after 386)), the other Κνιδίων ὁ δῆμος (*Syll.*^{3} 290 (*c.*332)). Hornblower (1982) 116 infers that an oligarchy of C4f was replaced by a democracy in the age of Alexander. From *c.*300 the coins of Knidos have on the obv. the head of Demokratia with the legend ΔΗΜΟΚΡΑΤΙΑ (Head, *HN*^{2} 616; *SNG Cop. Caria* 305).

A tradition going back to Hermippos (fr. 16, Wehrli) reports that Eudoxos of Knidos (*c.*408–355) legislated for his home town of Knidos (Diog. Laert. 8.88; Plut. *Mor.* 1126B). Combining these sources, Hornblower (1982) 117–18 suggests that the C4f oligarchy was introduced by Eudoxos in concert with Mausolos, but was replaced by a democracy in consequence of Alexander's conquest of Asia Minor.

Some *prostatai* of Knidos are mentioned in a C4s *lex sacra* (*I.Knidos* 160.2) and in a C4f proxeny decree (*I.Knidos* 603.2–3; cf. *I.Knidos* 604.1). A citizen of Knidos was awarded *proxenia* by the Karthaians (no. 492) (*IG* XII.5 542.26 (C4m)). Envoys from Knidos are mentioned by Diod. 20.95.4 (r304). In C4f the Knidioi granted Dionysios of Miletos (no. 854) proxeny (*I.Knidos* 1), about the same time proxeny was granted to Amphares of Athens (no. 361) (*I.Knidos* 5), and *c.*363 the Knidioi granted Epameinondas of Thebes (no. 221) proxeny (Blümel (1994) 157–58; on the significance of this decree, see Buckler (1998), (2000) 439).

A number of cults are attested at Knidos. According to Paus. 1.1.3 (r394 and earlier) the Knidioi worshipped Aphrodite, and they had three temples dedicated to her, one for Aphrodite Doritis (the oldest), one for Aphrodite Akraia, and one for the Aphrodite called Knidia by most Greeks, and Euploia by the Knidioi. There was a cult of Demeter and Kore at Knidos, as attested in a dedicatory epigram of C4l (*I.Knidos* 131; cf. *I.Knidos* 132), and cult of the Dioskouroi is attested in a C6f dedication (*I.Knidos* 601). Games in honour of Apollon Triopios were held there (Hdt. 1.144).

The Knidian peninsula was also the site of the sanctuary of the Dorian *hexapolis* at Triopion with a temple of Apollo (Thuc. 8.35.2; Diod. 5.61.2). The exact site of Triopion has also been the subject of debate: most scholars assume that it was located at Tekir, whereas Berges argues that the sanctuary of Triopion was situated at an extensive (*c.*100 × 80 m) terraced site *c.*15 km east of Burgaz. The site has not been thoroughly excavated (yet), but the remains of walls and (*inter alia*) a graffito with a *hieros gamos* scene clearly point to an Archaic (C7l–C6e) foundation date. There are remains of a small temple of the Hellenistic period, and some very large Doric drums which might be the remains of a temple of considerable dimensions (Berges (1995–96) esp. 114–19; cf. Berges and Tuna (1990)). While it seems certain that the place was a sanctuary, it is too early to tell whether it was the Triopion.

At modern Tekir there are remains of a stoa, built in two phases, of which the earliest is C4s in isodomic masonry (for this stoa, see Love (1972) 63–64). The Propylon which leads to the sanctuary of Apollo may date to *c.*300 (Bankel (1997) 68). A temple of Dionysos mentioned in a *lex sacra* of C4s (*I.Knidos* 160 = *LSAM* 55).

At modern Tekir there are remains of acropolis walls, the earliest parts of which date from C4m and are built in pseudo-isodomic and isodomic ashlar masonry (*AR* (1999)); they enclose an area of 20 ha (Bean (1971) 149). It is assumed that the habitation area was located on the small island which is now connected with the peninsula by a narrow isthmus, while the public buildings were located on the peninsula. No remains of the habitation area—assumed to have had a Hippodamian layout—have been found, whereas there are rich finds from the peninsula site. The majority of the remains, such as the theatre and the *bouleuterion*, are late.

According to Thuc. 8.35.3, Knidos did not have city walls in 412. At modern Burgaz there are remains of C5l fortification walls built in ashlar masonry (*AR* (1999); Gates (1995) 236, (1997) 282). Berges argues that these walls surrounded the acropolis (Berges (1995–96)).

At modern Burgaz there are traces of buildings and paved streets dating to the Archaic and Classical periods (*AR* (1999); Gates (1995) 236, (1997) 282). Sherds show that the site goes back to C8. The harbour has been located, and the moles date to C4. A C4 boundary stone (provenance: built into the mosque in Karaköy, not far from Burgaz) marked the harbour (*I.Knidos* 613; the inscription reads: *Ὅρος λιμένος*).

The Knidioi put up a treasury (Bommelaer (1991) pl. V no. 219) and several communal dedications at Delphi. The earliest dates to C6m (*I.Knidos* 211), and two more were put up in C4 (*I.Knidos* 212 (C4e), 213 (C4l); cf. Jacquemin (1999) nos. 113–18). Knidian C6m dedicatory graffiti are also found in the temple of Apollon Milasios at Naukratis (*I.Knidos* 214–15), and in the temple of Athena at Lindos (*I.Knidos* 217).

Knidos struck silver coins on, first, the Milesian and, then, the Aiginetan standard from the late Archaic period. Denominations: drachm, diobol, obol. Type: *obv.* forepart of lion; *rev.* incuse square with the head of Aphrodite; legend: sometimes *KNI* or *KNIΔION*, after 411 *KNIΔIΩN*. After 387 also didrachm and hemidrachm, and the *obv.* and *rev.* types are reversed, with a magistrate's name sometimes added on the *rev.* (*HN*² 614–16; Cahn (1970); *SNG Cop. Caria* 199–331). In addition, Knidos was among the *poleis* which in C5l–C4e struck the so-called *ΣYN* coins (for which see Karwiese (1980)).

The Knidioi founded a colony at Lipara (no. 34) (Thuc. 3.88.2; Paus. 10.11.3), along with the Rhodians (Diod. 5.9), *c.*580–576.

904. (Kodapeis) Map 61. Unlocated. Type: C:? The toponym is not attested; the city-ethnic is *Κοδαπεύς* (*IG* I³ 267.III.32). The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested externally in the Athenian tribute lists (*IG* I³ 267.III.32).

The Kodapeis were members of the Delian League. They are registered in the Athenian tribute lists from 453/2 (*IG* I³ 260.II.2) to 445/4 (*IG* I³ 267.III.32) a total of five times, once completely restored, paying a *phoros* of 1,000 dr. (*IG* I³ 262.I.29). They are absent from the full panel of 440/39 (*IG* I³ 271.I–II.63–86) but were assessed for tribute in 425/4 (*IG* I³ 71.II.103) a minimum of 2,000 dr.

905. (Koliyrgeis) Map 61. Lat. 37.20, long. 28.15. Type: C:*γ*. The toponym is *Κολιοργα* (*I.Stratonikeia* 289.6 (Roman)) or *Κολιεργα* (*I.Stratonikeia* 293.31 (Roman)). The ethnic is *Κολιυργεύς* (*SEG* 40 992.18 (C4m)); the collective and external use is attested in a C4m treaty (*SEG* 40 992.18).

The Koliyrgeis are mentioned in a fragmentary C4m treaty between Mylasa (no. 913) and Kindye (no. 902) (*SEG* 40 992), and they are listed alongside well-known *poleis* such as Kaunos (no. 898), Koranza (no. 906) and Latmos (no. 910), which suggests that the Koliyrgeis may have been a *polis* too. The names listed in this inscription (ll. 17–18) suggest that there was a strong Karian element in the population of this community (Blümel (1990) 38–42 (= *SEG* 40 991–92)), and it is a moot point to what extent the Koliyrgeis can be considered a Hellenic *polis* in the Archaic and Classical periods.

906. Koranza (Koarendeus) Map 61, unlocated. Type: A:*γ*. The toponym is *Κώρανζα, τά* (*I.Labraunda* III.2 42.2 (C3e)). The city-ethnic is *Κοαρενζεύς* (*SEG* 40 992.7 (C4m)), *Κοαρρενδεύς* (*I.Mylasa* 8.9 (C4)), *Κωρανζεύς* (*I.Stratonikeia* 502.2 (C4m)) or *Κοαρανζεύς* (*I.Stratonikeia* 503.9 (318)); cf. Blümel (1998*a*) 170. In later inscriptions (Hellenistic, Roman) only a form without *-ν-* (i.e. *-ραζ-*) is found; see Şahin (1973) 189 (cf. Blümel (1998*a*) 170), who presumes that the original name was *Κοάρρενδα* with the typically Karian ending *-νδα*. Koranza is called a *polis* in the political sense in an honorary decree from Lagina of 318 (*I.Stratonikeia* 503). The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested externally in a treaty of 354/53 (*SEG* 40 992.7), and internally in dedicatory inscription of *c.*350 (*I.Stratonikeia* 502). The individual city-ethnic is used externally in a proxeny decree from Chalketor (*I.Mylasa* 911 (C4)).

In a dedicatory inscription of *c.*350 (*I.Stratonikeia* 502.10–16) a number of persons entrusted with the publication of the decree (*δόγμα*) are listed as coming *ἐξ Υθυβιρων*, *ἐκ Παταρουσων*, *Ἀγγωρέας*, *Λαγινέας* and *Ωνδρέας* respectively. Şahin presumes that *Υθυβιρα* and *Παταρουσα* are villages or districts belonging to Koranza, whereas *Ἀγγωρεύς*, *Λαγινεύς* and *Ὠνδρεύς* are demotics (Şahin (1973) 191–92). In later times Koranza was itself a civic subdivision of Stratonikeia.

Envoys from Koranza are mentioned in a fragmentary C4 inscription from Mylasa (*I.Mylasa* 8.9), and a *keryx* is listed in a treaty between Mylasa (no. 913) and Kindye (no. 902) (*SEG* 40 992.8).

In 367/6 Mausolos and the Koarendeis granted *ateleia* to a certain [...]*ιδι Ὀσαρτηύμου Μ*[*ά*]*νηι*, and in 318 the *polis* of Koranza granted *politeia* and *enktesis* to Konon, son of

Poseidippos (*I.Stratonikeia* 503). Apparently the Koarendeis met in an *ekklesia kyria* with some sacred *kerykes* (*I.Stratonikeia* 503.5–6; see Hornblower (1982) 71–72).

In C4 Chalketor (no. 881) passed a decree granting proxeny and citizenship to a man from Koranza (*I.Mylasa* 911).

Around 350 a man named Skoaranos and his wife dedicated a plot of land to Apollo and Artemis (*I.Stratonikeia* 502). Moreover, the Koranzeis granted exemption from slave taxes and other taxes except for the royal one to anyone who looked after Skoaranos' tomb (ll. 20–22).

Two archons are mentioned in a decree of 318 (*I.Stratonikeia* 503.3).

A month name, *Δῖος*, from Koranza is known from a decree of 318 (*I.Stratonikeia* 503.2).

The names of the archons in the decree of 318 (*I.Stratonikeia* 503) and the envoys from Koranza listed in *I.Mylasa* 8 and in *SEG* 40 992.7–8 suggest that there was a strong Karian element in the Koranzan population, and it is a moot point to what extent the community can be considered a Hellenic *polis* in the Classical period.

907. Krya (Kryeus) Map 65. Lat. 36.40, long. 28.50. Size of territory: probably 1 or 2. Type: C:? The toponym is *Κρύα, τά* (Steph. Byz. 387.13; *Stadiasmus* 258–59). The city-ethnic is *Κρυεύς* (*IG* I³ 263.I.6). The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested externally in the Athenian tribute lists (*IG* I³ 270.IV.6).

Krya was a member of the Delian League. It belonged to the Karian district and is registered in the tribute lists from 453/2 (*IG* I³ 260.VII.10) to 428/7 (*IG* I³ 283.II.28, partially restored) a total of fifteen times, twice completely restored, paying a *phoros* of 2,000 dr. It was assessed for tribute in 425/4 (*IG* I³ 71.II.155).

908. Kyllandos (Kyllandios) Map 61. Lat. 37.05, long. 28.25 (for another location, see *I.Rhod.Per.* p. 160). Size of territory: ? Type: C:? The toponym is *Κύλλανδος*, attested only in Steph. Byz. 392.7, although it was clearly mentioned by Hekataios as well (fr. 250). The city-ethnic is *Κυλλάνδιος* (*IG* I³ 259.V.20) or *Κυλλάντιος* (*IG* I³ 262.I.32) or *Κυλλάντιος* (*IG* I³ 265.I.21). The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested externally in the Athenian tribute lists (*IG* I³ 259.V.20). The district *ἡ Κυλλανδία* is mentioned in the so-called Nikagoras dossier of *c.*197 (*IG* XII 1 1036.10; cf. Bean and Cook (1957) 84; Blümel (1998*a*) 171; Gabrielsen (2000) 140, 153 ff).

Kyllandos was a member of the Delian League. It belonged to the Karian district and is registered in the tribute lists from 454/3 (*IG* I³ 259.V.20) to 447/6 (*IG* I³ 265.I.21) a total of five times, paying a *phoros* of 2 tal. It was assessed for tribute in 425/4 (*IG* I³ 71.I.141–42). It is usually registered by city-ethnic, but in the assessment decree by its ruler: *Τυμν- -- Κυλλ[άνδιος]*.

909. Kyrbissos (Kyrbisseus) Map 61, unlocated. Type: C:? The toponym is *Κυρβισσός* (*IG* I³ 259.IV.16). The city-ethnic is *Κυρβισσεύς* (*IG* I³ 262.I.33).

Kyrbissos was a member of the Delian League. It belonged to the Karian district and is registered in the tribute lists from 454/3 (*IG* I³ 259.IV.16) to 445/4 (*IG* I³ 267.V.28) a total of eight times, paying a *phoros* of 2,000 dr. It was assessed for tribute in 425/4 (*IG* I³ 71.II.106), a minimum of 2,000 dr. It is registered sometimes by city-ethnic (*IG* I³ 262.I.33) and sometimes by toponym (*IG* I³ 259.IV.16).

910. Latmos (Latmios)**/Herakleia** (Herakleotes) Map 61. Lat. 37.30, long. 27.30. Size of territory: ? Type: A:*β*. The toponym is *Λάτμος, ἡ* (Hecat. fr. 239; *EA* 29 (1997) 137.7–8, 323–313), later *Ἡράκλεια, ἡ* (Ps.-Skylax 99; Strabo 14.1.8). According to Strabo 14.1.8, the town was originally called *Λάτμος*, and later the name was changed to *Ἡράκλεια* (*ἡ ὑπὸ Λάτμῳ*, to distinguish it from its homonyms). The latest attestation of the toponym *Λάτμος* is in the above-mentioned C4l inscription; the earliest attestation of *Ἡράκλεια* is that of Ps.-Skylax 99. The city-ethnic is *Λάτμιος* (*I.Didyma* 12 (C6s), restored: *[Λά]τμιοι*; *IG* I³ 260.X.3; *EA* 29 (1997) 137.14). The earliest possible attestation of the city-ethnic *Ἡρακλεώτης* is on a Panathenaic amphora of C4m (*infra*); the earliest unquestionable attestation is in *I.Priene* 51.1 (C2s). Latmos/Herakleia is called a *polis* both in the urban sense (*EA* 29 (1997) 137.27–28; Ps.-Skylax 99: *polis Hellenis*) and in the political sense (*EA* 29 (1997) 137.3, 16–17, 18). The collective use of the city-ethnic (*Λάτμιοι*) is attested internally in the treaty with Pidasa (*EA* 29 (1997) 137.14 (C4l)) and externally in the Athenian tribute lists (*IG* I³ 260.X.3) and in a C4m treaty between Mylasa (no. 913) and Kindye (no. 902) (*SEG* 40 992.11 (C4m)).

Three "Lelegian" ring walls have been located in the territory of Latmos, two on Mt. Latmos and one on the southern bank of the Bafa Lake. They are all built in dry rubble masonry, and since there are no remains of buildings inside the perimeter, it is assumed that they were *Fluchtburge* (Peschlow-Bindokat (1996) 22–23).

Latmos was a member of the Delian League. It belonged to the Karian district and is recorded in the tribute lists from 453/2 (*IG* I³ 260.X.3) to 432/1 (*IG* I³ 280.I.64) a total of fourteen times, twice completely restored, paying a *phoros* of 1 tal. (*IG* I³ 261.II.29).

The outstanding source for C4 Latmos is the treaty with Pidasa (*EA* 29 (1997) 137) about a physical and political amalgamation of the two *poleis*. The treaty was concluded in the period 323–313, but some of its information can be interpreted retrospectively to shed light on the social and political organisation of Latmos in the late Classical period: an agora (31–32) and a temple of Athena (35–36) are mentioned, and in the town of Latmos there is a publicly owned open space (*demosie*) where the Pidaseis can build their new houses (27–29). The oath is to be taken by 200 Latmioi (30), and the citizens were organised into an unknown number of *phylai* and *phratriai* (6–13; cf. Jones (1999)). A board of *timouchoi* are to make a sacrifice in order to ensure the *homonoia* of the *polis* (2–4).

Latmos was abandoned in C4 and refounded under the name Herakleia. The date of the move is uncertain: Ps-Skylax mentions Herakleia (99), but not Latmos, and since no chapter of the *Periplous* is likely to be dated later than *c.*330 (Flensted-Jensen and Hansen (1996) 137–38), it must be presumed that Herakleia existed already by then. Hornblower's suggestion ((1982) 320) that the move was initiated by Mausolos squares with Ps.-Skylax' account and with some fragments of a C4m Panathenaic amphora found at Labraunda and inscribed '*Ηρακλεώτης*. Hellström argues that the ethnic must be interpreted as referring to Herakleia under Latmos (Hellström (1965) 8). If so, it suggests that a citizen of Herakleia participated in the Panathenaic Games in C4m. However, both the toponym Latmos and the city-ethnic Latmios are attested in the treaty between Latmos and Pidasa concluded in the period 323–313 (*EA* 29 (1997), *supra*). The presumption is that, for a relatively short period of time, the two places existed simultaneously (already suggested by Hornblower) and that both city-ethnics could be used to designate a citizen of this community. The two sites are situated less than 1 km from each other (Peschlow-Bindokat (1996) 23, Abb. 23).

Latmos was unfortified until C4e, when the city wall was built and at the same time the city was enlarged. The city wall enclosed an area of *c.*90 ha; it had fourteen towers, and two gates can be seen today. The city wall and the buildings erected at the same time as the wall are built in the same building technique: isodomic ashlar, headers and stretchers (Peschlow (1994) 155). There is not much left of Latmos, since building material was to a large extent employed in the building of Herakleia. At Latmos remains of 100 houses have been revealed. They are of various sizes, 20–100 m², and almost invariably of quadrangular plan. In the centre of the city an agora has been identified (mentioned in *EA* 29 (1997) 31–32). Sherds found at Latmos date from C6–C5 (Peschlow-Bindokat (1996) 23–27).

The names of the Latmians listed in the treaty between Mylasa (no. 913) and Kindye (no. 902) (*SEG* 40 992.11) suggest that there was a strong Karian element in the population of Latmos (Blümel (1990) 38–42 (= *SEG* 40 991–92)).

911. Lepsimandos (Lepsimandeus) Map 61. Lat. 37.05, long. 27.05. Size of territory: 1. Type: C:? The toponym is *Λεψίμανδος* (Steph. Byz. 414.8). The city-ethnic is *Λεψιμάνδιος* (*IG* I³ 260.I.13) or *Λεψιμανδεύς* (*IG* I³ 267.III.28) or *Λεψυανδεύς* (*IG* I³ 269.V.2); cf. Blümel (1998*a*).

Lepsimandos was a member of the Delian League. It belonged to the Karian district and is registered in the tribute lists from 453/2 (*IG* I³ 260.I.13) to 440/39 (*IG* I³ 272.II.77) a total of twelve times, paying a *phoros* of 1,000 dr. in 453/2 (*IG* I³ 260.I.13), 1,500 dr. from 452/1 (*IG* I³ 261.IV.25) and 1,000 dr. (*IG* I³ 267.III.28) from perhaps 446/5 (*IG* I³ 266.III.17, amount restored). It was assessed for tribute in 425/4 (*IG* I³ 71.II.102), a minimum of 2,000 dr., and in 410/9 (Krateros fr. 7 = *IG* I³ 100).

912. Medmasos (Madnaseus) Map 61. Lat. 37.05, long. 27.20. Size of territory: 1 or 2. Type: B:*β*. The toponym is *Μέδμασος* (Hecat. fr. 244 = Steph. Byz. 440.3, where Meineke prefers the conjecture *Μέδμασα*). The city-ethnic is *Μαδνασεύς* (*IG* I³ 261.I.32). The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested externally in the Athenian tribute lists (*IG* I³ 261.I.32).

Medmasos was a member of the Delian League. It belonged to the Karian district and is recorded in the tribute lists from 454/3 (*IG* I³ 259.I.26) to 432/1 (*IG* I³ 280.I.13) a total of eleven times, twice completely restored, paying a *phoros* of 2 tal. in 454/3 (*IG* I³ 259.I.26) and 452/1 (*IG* I³ 261.I.32) and 1 tal. in the rest of the period (*IG* I³ 263.V.27).

Medmasos was one of the settlements which were synoecised into Halikarnassos (no. 886) by Mausolos *c.*370 (Plin. *HN* 5.107; Hornblower (1982) 82; Demand (1990) 123).

The site of Medmasos is *c.*300 m long and enclosed by a circuit wall built in dry rubble or polygonal masonry, with gates and towers. The walls have been dated to *c.*400 (Hornblower (1982) 96). There are house foundations and cisterns within the perimeter. Moreover, there is an inner perimeter with a tower built in ashlar masonry, enclosing a building complex. Sherds date the settlement to the Classical period (Bean and Cook (1955) 121–22, 155; cf. Hornblower (1982) 96).

913. Mylasa (Mylaseus) Map 61. Lat. 37.15, long. 27.50, later moved to lat. 37.20, long. 27.45 (Cook (1961) 98–101). Size of territory: ? Type: A:*β*. The toponym is *Μύλασα, τά* (Hdt. 1.171.6; Men. *Sicyonius* 6; *SEG* 33 872.3 (C4l)) or *Μύλασος* (Aesch. fr. 147, Mette). The city-ethnic is *Μυλασεύς* (*IG* I³ 267.v.31; *I.Mylasa* 1.3 (367/6); Hdt. 5.121). Mylasa is called a *polis* both in the urban sense (Arist. *Oec.* 1348ª12) and in the political sense in a decree of 361/0 (*I.Mylasa* 2.7–9). The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally in the decree of 367/6 (*I.Mylasa* 1.3) and externally in the Athenian tribute lists (*IG* I³ 267.v.31). The individual city-ethnic is attested externally in a C4m dedication from Labraunda (*I.Labraunda* 17) and in a C4 Attic sepulchral inscription (*Agora* XVII 519.7).

In the territory of Mylasa were several forts, one of which is described at length by Radt (1969–70). The fortification consists of a ring wall and, inside that, a fortified citadel. The whole complex is *c.*400 m long, and the oldest parts were built in the Archaio-Classical period with additions in the early Hellenistic period. In addition to the three fortifications already known, yet another one was discovered in 1995. The masonry is of the Classical period, and it overlooks the plain of Mylasa, but also Hydai to the west (Rumscheid (1996) 127).

The name of the district *Ἀρλαια* (or perhaps *Ἀρλαιθις*; see Blümel (1998*a*) 165 n. 9) in the territory of Mylasa is known from *I.Mylasa* 21.8 (*c.*317).

Mylasa was a member of the Delian League. It belonged to the Karian district and is recorded in the tribute lists from 450/49 (*IG* I³ 263.I.12) to 440/39 (*IG* I³272.II.76, completely restored) a total of eight times, twice completely restored. Mylasa paid 1 tal. down to 447/6 (*IG* I³ 265.II.105) and 5,200 dr. from 446/5 on (*IG* I³ 267.v.31).

Crampa argues that a very fragmentary C4l inscription concerns the democratic constitution of Mylasa (*I.Labraunda* 41; see other possible restorations and interpretations in Hornblower (1982) 70–71 with n. 128).

Nomoi patrioi are mentioned in *I.Mylasa* 1.11 (367/6).

A single Ionian month name is attested at Mylasa (*SEG* 40 991.2: *μηνὸς [Ἀρ]τεμισιῶνος* (C4m)).

Three *phylai* are attested at Mylasa. A decree of 367/6 mentions *αἱ τρεῖς φυλαί* (*I.Mylasa* 1.4; cf. *I.Mylasa* 2.4, 3.13). The name of the *phyle* *Ὁτωρκονδεῖς* is attested frequently from C2 (see e.g. *I.Mylasa* 106.2); *Ὑαρβεσῦται* is attested once, in C2 (*I.Mylasa* 301.3); and *Κονοδωρκονδεῖς* is attested once, in C2 (*I.Mylasa* 119.14).

In 357–355 Erythrai (no. 845) bestowed proxeny and other honours upon *Μαύσσωλλος Ἑκατόμνω Μυλασέυς* (Tod 155). In C4–C3 Delphi (no. 177) bestowed proxeny on *Μοσχίων Μυλασεύς* (*SEG* 23 307).

One inscription contains three decrees, dated to 367/6, 361/0 and 355/4 respectively, dealing with plots against Mausolos (Tod 138 = *I.Mylasa* 1–3). In the first case Arlissis, son of Thyssollos, had been sent as an envoy to the Persian king by the Karians and, while an envoy, had plotted against Mausolos and was subsequently executed on the king's orders. Moreover, the *polis* of Mylasa seized his property and handed it over to Mausolos. In the second case, the sons of Peldemos had damaged an image of Hekatomnos, father of Mausolos, thus wronging the sacred dedications, and the *polis* therefore confiscated their property and sold it. They may have sought refuge in Iasos (no. 891), because proxeny was granted in C4 to three men: Myrmex, Manes and Targelios, sons of Peldemis (*SEG* 36 983; cf. Blümel (1998*b*) 171). In the third case Manita, son of Paktyes, plotted against Mausolos during the annual offering and festival of Zeus Labrandeus. Manitas himself was killed immediately in hand-to-hand fighting, and the *polis* confiscated the property of Manitas and his accomplice Thyssos, son of Syskos, and sold their estates. In all three cases the decrees are passed by the assembly, with the ratification of the three *phylai*, and curses are invoked on anyone who puts a question to the vote or proposes something which would change these decisions.

Hdt. 1.171.6 mentions a sanctuary dedicated to Zeus Karios and calls it "ancient". Zeus Karios was also worshipped by the Mysians and the Lydians (Hdt. 1.171.6). Remains survive of the wall surrounding the *temenos* of the temple of Zeus Osogos; it probably dates to C5 (Bean (1971) 42). A *temenos* of Hermes and Herakles is attested *c.*317 (*I.Mylasa* 21.13).

The cult centre of Mylasa was the sanctuary of Zeus at Labraunda, situated *c.*15 km north of Mylasa and connected to it by a sacred way. Annual sacrifices and a *panegyris* are mentioned at *I.Mylasa* I 3.4–5. Strabo mentions the road and says that it measured 60 stades (10.8 km) (14.2.23). The road, of which parts have been preserved, was constructed in the Hekatomnid period (Westholm (1963) 9–10). The sanctuary consists of several buildings: the temple itself (for which see Hellström and Thieme (1982)), a peristyle, two *andrones*, two stoas and several other buildings (*PECS* s.v.). Although the majority of the remaining buildings at Labraunda were constructed in C4 as part of the Hekatomnid building project, there was activity at the site earlier, as evidenced by Archaic buildings on the temple terrace (Westholm (1963) 105) and by sherds dating to the Protogeometric period and

onwards (Jully (1981)). In the area surrounding the sanctuary there are several forts, which may have been part of a defence system and which probably date to Hekatomnid period (Westholm (1963) 13–15). The acropolis at Labraunda is also of Hekatomnid date (ibid. 15–19).

Strabo says that Mylasa used to be a *kome*, and on the basis of this, Radt assumes that Mylasa was not a conurbation in the Archaic and Classical periods but that it consisted of "einzelne Flecken und Gehöfte", comparing it with the settlement pattern of the Halikarnassian peninsula before the Mausolan synoecism (Radt (1969–70) 167). However, Rumscheid argues that Mylasa probably existed already by C7f ((1995) 77–78, (1999) 206). In Arist. *Oec.* 1348ª12–13 Mylasa is described as *ateichistos* in the 360s. Accepting the account as historical, Rumscheid argues that Mylasa did not have a city wall, but that it was protected by a number of fortifications in the territory (Rumscheid (1999) with fig. 3). A *palaistra* and a *gymnasion* are mentioned in an inscription of *c.*317 (*I.Mylasa* 21.9, 12).

It is generally stated that Mylasa did not strike coins until C3l (Akarca (1959) 11; Head, *HN*² 622), except for the bronze coins struck by the dynast Eupolemos in his own name at the time of Alexander or a little later. *Obv.* three Makedonian shields; *rev.* sword in sheath; legend: ΕΥΠΟΛΕΜΟΥ (*HN*² 622). However, Hurter describes two Mylasian tetradrachms in the so-called Pixodaros hoard, which was deposited *c.*330 (Hurter (1998) 147–50). These two coins have *obv.* Zeus Labraundios, *rev.* Zeus Osogos (a combination of Zeus and Poseidon) holding a trident and an eagle.

914. Myndos (Myndios) Map 61. Lat. 37.05, long. 27.15. Size of territory: 1 or 2. Type: A: α. The toponym is Μύνδος, ἡ (Hecat. fr. 243; Diod. 20.37.1; Strabo 13.1.59). The city-ethnic is Μύνδιος (*IG* I³ 71.II.141). Myndos is implicitly classified as a *polis Hellenis* in the urban sense by Ps.-Skylax 99; cf. Flensted-Jensen and Hansen (1996) 142, and it is retrospectively called a *polis* in the political sense by Arr. *Anab.* 1.20.6 (r334).

The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally on Hellenistic coins (*SNG Cop. Caria* 439–43: ΜΥΝΔΙΩΝ (C2–C1)) and externally in the Athenian tribute lists (*IG* I³ 271.II.86). For the individual and external use, see Hdt. 5.33.3; *I.Knidos* 23.9–10 (C2).

Hdt. 5.33.2 mentions a Myndian ship in the fleet of Aristagoras *c.*500. Myndos was a member of the Delian League. It belonged to the Karian district and is recorded in the tribute lists from 453/2 (*IG* I³ 260.VI.16) to 421/0 (*IG* I³ 285.I.92–93) a total of nineteen times, four times completely restored, paying a *phoros* of 500 dr., except in 421/0 when it paid 1,000 dr. It was assessed for tribute in 425/4 (*IG* I³ 71.II.141), 1,000 dr. Myndos must have defected from Athens during the Dekeleian War, since at Delphi the statues of those who fought with Lysander at Aigos potamoi in 405 included one of Theopompos of Myndos (Paus. 10.9.10). In 334 Alexander attacked Myndos, which, however, resisted his assault because of the failure of a secret agreement between Alexander and a faction behind the walls (Arr. *Anab.* 1.20.5–7).

Citing the C4 historian Kallisthenes of Olynthos, Strabo says that when Mausolos synoecised some *poleis* into Halikarnassos (no. 886), Myndos was left as it was (Strabo 13.1.59; Callisthenes (*FGrHist* 124) fr. 25). The coastal site on the tip of the Halikarnassos peninsula does not go further back than the Mausolan period, so "old Myndos" must be sought elsewhere (cf. the distinction between Myndos and Palaimyndos, Plin. *HN* 5.107; Steph. Byz. 462.4). Bean and Cook identify "Lelegian" Myndos with a site not far from "new Myndos". It is generally assumed that it was Mausolos who initiated the move (Hornblower (1982) 97). At the hilltop site of "old Myndos" very little remains. There are foundations of a tower in irregular masonry and a ring wall in loose polygonal or dry rubble masonry. Sherds seem to indicate that the site was abandoned in C4e (Bean and Cook (1955) 118). At the site of "new Myndos" there are remains of an outer circuit in ashlar masonry, which must have been *c.*3.5 km long and enclosed an area of *c.*45 ha. We know from Arr. *Anab.* 1.20.6 that Myndos was walled in 334. McNicoll suggests that the walls were erected after 367 and before 334 ((1997) 23). Furthermore, there is a so-called Lelegian wall, which is, however, too recent to be "Lelegian" and is of different masonry (Hornblower (1982) 305–6). McNicoll suggests that this wall was built after 334. It is in hammer-faced isodomic ashlar, whereas the tower to the north-east is in isodomic ashlar masonry with headers and stretchers (McNicoll (1997) 22–24). Nothing remains of the foundations of temples and the *stadion* seen by Newton ((1863) 575–77; cf. Bean and Cook (1955) 108–12, 118, 145). According to Ps.-Skylax 99, Myndos had a harbour (cf. Strabo 14.2.20).

915. (Narisbareis) Map 61. Unlocated. Type: C:? A toponym is not attested. The city-ethnic is Ναρισβαρεύς (*IG* I³ 271.I.71). The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested externally in the Athenian tribute lists (*IG* I³ 271.I.71).

The Narisbareis were members of the Delian League. They belonged to the Karian district and are recorded in the tribute lists from 454/3 (*IG* I³ 259.VI.5) to 440/39 (*IG* I³

272.I.81, restored: [*Ναρισβαρ*]*ῆς*), a total of nine times, once completely restored, paying a *phoros* of 1,000 dr. (*IG* I³ 260.VII.5).

916. Naryandos (Naryandeus) Map 61. Unlocated. Type: C:*γ*. Apart from Plin. *HN* 5.107 (*Nariandos*) the toponym is not attested. The city-ethnic is *Ναρυανδεύς* (*I.Mylasa* 8.8 (C4)). The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested externally in a C4 inscription from Mylasa (*I.Mylasa* 8.8). For the individual and external use, see *SEG* 44 890.55 (C2).

The Naryandeis are known from a fragmentary C4 list of *presbeis* in which the *Ναρυανδέων πρέσβεις* (*I.Mylasa* 8.8) are mentioned alongside *presbeis* from Koranza (no. 906) (l. 9), and thus presumably are the representatives of a *polis*.

A Demeter Naryandis is mentioned in an undated (probably Hellenistic) list of priests from Panamara (*I.Stratonikeia* 283.1–2).

917. Naxia (Naxiates) Map 61. Lat. 37.35, long. 27.40. Size of territory: presumably 1 or 2. Type: C:? The toponym is *Ναξία* (*IG* I³ 267.III.29). The city-ethnic is *Ναξιάτης* (*IG* I³ 261.V.8) or *Ναξιήτης* (*IG* I³ 269.IV.23). The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested externally in the Athenian tribute lists (*IG* I³ 261.V.8).

In *IG* I³ 267.III.29 Meritt's restoration: *Ναχσία παρὰ Μ*[*υδ*](*όνα*) is far from certain, but L. Robert's suggestion ((1978) 481 n. 32) that *Μ*[. . .] stands for Miletos or Myous is in conflict with the recording of Naxia in the Karian district (*IG* I³ 271.I.73).

Naxia was a member of the Delian League. It belonged to the Karian district and is registered in the Athenian tribute lists from 454/3 (*IG* I³ 259.I.25) to 432/1 (*IG* I³ 280.I.32) a total of thirteen times, twice completely restored. It is recorded once by toponym (*IG* I³ 267.III.29), and otherwise by city-ethnic, paying a *phoros* of, first, 1,000 dr. (*IG* I³ 259.I.25, partly restored), then 500 dr. from 448/7 on (*IG* I³ 264.II.2).

918. (Olaieis) Map 61. Lat. 37.05, long. 28.20. Size of territory: ? Type: C:? A toponym is not attested. The city-ethnic is *Ὀλαιεύς* (*IG* I³ 260.I.18). The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested externally in the Athenian tribute lists (*IG* I³ 260.I.18).

The Olaieis were members of the Delian League, but they are registered in the Athenian tribute lists only once, in 453/2, paying a *phoros* of 1,000 dr. (*IG* I³ 260.I.18).

919. Olymos (Hylimeus) Map 61. Lat. 37.25, long. 27.45. Size of territory: ? Type: C:*β*. The earliest attestations of the toponym *Ὄλυμος* or *Ὄλυμον* is from C2s (*I.Mylasa* 806.11). The city-ethnic is *ὑλιμεύς* (*IG* I³ 263.II.39), or, later, *Ὀλυμεύς* (*EA* 32 (2000) 99 no. 1.2 (= *I.Mylasa* 868.2 (C3)); no. 2.2 (C3)). On the equation of the Hylimeis as the inhabitants of Olymos, see L. Robert (1955) 226–27. The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested externally in the Athenian tribute lists (*IG* I³ 263.II.39).

Olymos was a member of the Delian League. It is recorded for the first time in 450/49 (*IG* I³ 263.II.39), and then possibly in 448/7 (*IG* I³ 264.IV.29: [*ὑλιμε*]*ῆς*) and 447/6 (*IG* I³ 265.I.86, completely restored). The amount paid by Olymos is unknown. It is absent from the full panel of 440/39 (*IG* I³ 271.I–II.63–86).

There are practically no archaeological remains left at the site of Olymos, but a large number of Hellenistic inscriptions bearing the toponym and the ethnic make the site identification certain (*I.Mylasa* II pp. 29ff; Bean (1971) 48).

920. Ouranion (Ouranietes) Map 61. Lat. 37.05, long. 27.15 (for a different location, see Varinlioğlu *et al.* (1992)). Size of territory: 1 or 2. Type: B:*γ*. The toponym is *Οὐράνιον, τό* (Diod. 5.53, referring to some period after the Trojan War). The city-ethnic is *Οὐρανιήτης* (*IG* I³ 260.I.17). The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested externally in the Athenian tribute lists (*IG* I³ 260.I.17) and in a C4m treaty (*SEG* 40 992.16).

Ouranion was a member of the Delian League, but it is recorded only twice in the tribute lists, in 453/2 (*IG* I³ 260.I.17), paying a *phoros* of 1,000 dr., and in 451/0 (*IG* I³ 262.V.27), paying 500 dr. It is absent from the full panel of 440/39 (*IG* I³ 271.I–II.63–86) but was assessed for tribute in 425/4 (*IG* I³ 71.I.117), paying in a syntelic group with some other Karian towns.

A *keryx* from Ouranion is mentioned in a C4m treaty (*SEG* 40 992.16).

Ouranion was one of the settlements which were synoecised into Halikarnassos (no. 886) by Mausolos *c.*370 (Plin. *HN* 5.107; Hornblower (1982) 82; Demand (1990) 123), but it seems likely that the place still functioned as a manned stronghold even after the civilian population had been moved (Hornblower (1982) 88).

At the site of Ouranion there are remains of a fortification which is *c.*50 m long and enclosed by a wall built in coursed masonry. The fortifications have vertical drafting at the edges, which points to a C4 date (Hornblower (1982) 95). There are remains of an outer perimeter in polygonal masonry. Sherds found at the site were of the Archaic and Classical periods (Bean and Cook (1955) 117–18).

According to Diod. 5.53, Ouranion was settled by Karians fleeing from the island of Syme because of drought, some-

time after the Trojan War. The names listed in in the C4m treaty mentioned above suggest that there was a strong Karian element in the population of Ouranion (Blümel (1990) 38–42 (= *SEG* 40 991–92)), and it is a moot point to what extent it can be considered a Hellenic *polis* in the Archaic and Classical periods.

921. (Parpariotai) Map 61. Lat. 37.35, long. 27.30 (although Marchese (1989) 39, 153 suggests a location in northern Karia). Size of territory: ? Type: C:? A toponym is not attested. The city-ethnic is *Παρπαριώτης* (*IG* I³ 263.II.8). The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested externally in the Athenian tribute lists (*IG* I³ 263.II.8).

The Parpariotai were members of the Delian League. They belonged to the Karian district and are recorded from 451/0 (*IG* I³ 262.II.8) to 440/39 (*IG* I³ 272.II.82) a total of eleven times, once completely restored, paying a *phoros* of 1,000 dr.

922. Passanda (Pasandeus) Map 65. Lat. 36.50, long. 28.35. Size of territory: ? Type: C:*γ*. The toponym is *Πάσσανδα* (Steph. Byz. 509.12) or *Πασάδα* (*Stadiasmus* 264–65). The city-ethnic is *Πασανδεύς* (*IG* I³ 279.I.11). The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested externally in the Athenian tribute lists (*IG* I³ 279.I.11). The individual city-ethnic is used externally in a list of contributors from Kaunos (*SEG* 12 473.13, before 190 or after 167; cf. *SEG* 44 890.90). However, at the time it was no longer a city-ethnic, but a sub-ethnic, Pasanda having become a civic subdivision of Kaunos (no. 898).

Passanda was a member of the Delian League. It belonged to the Karian district and is registered in the tribute lists from 451/0 (*IG* I³ 262.III.23) to 421/0 (*IG* I³ 285.II.12) a total of twelve times, thrice completely restored, paying a *phoros* 3,000 dr.

923. Pedasa (Pedaseus) Map 61. Lat. 37.05, long. 27.25. Size of territory: probably 1. Type: C:*β*. The toponym is *Πήδασα, τά* (Strabo 13.1.59). The city-ethnic is *Πηδασέυς* (*Syll.*³ 46.140 (C5); Hdt. 1.175). Pedasa is described as a *polis* in the urban sense at Hdt. 8.104, but the passage is a repeat of a story told at 1.175 and is probably a late addendum. The external use of the city-ethnic is attested collectively at Hdt. 1.175 and individually at *Syll.*³ 46.140.

A cult of Athena is attested at Hdt. 1.175 in connection with the story that the priestess of Athena grew a beard when an evil threatened the city.

Pedasa was one of the settlements which were synoecised into Halikarnassos (no. 886) by Mausolos *c.*370 (Strabo 13.1.59; Plin. *HN* 5.107; Hornblower (1982) 81 n. 24; Demand (1990) 123).

The archaeological remains consist of a fortification, *c.*170 m long, built in irregular masonry, with towers in squared masonry on the southern side. The walls enclose an area of 2.5 ha (Bean (1971) 121). There are traces of buildings inside the perimeter. To the east and south there is an outer perimeter in dry rubble masonry (Bean and Cook (1955) 123–25; cf. Hornblower (1982) 308).

924. (Peleiatai) Unlocated, not in *Barr.* Type: C:? A toponym is not attested. The city-ethnic is *Πελειάτης* (*IG* I³ 260.X.2). The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested externally in the Athenian tribute lists (*IG* I³ 280.I.68).

The Peleiatai were members of the Delian League. They belonged to the Karian district and are registered in the tribute lists from 453/2 (*IG* I³ 260.X.2) to 432/1 (*IG* I³ 280.I.68) a total of thirteen times, twice completely restored, paying a *phoros* of 4,000 dr. in 453/2, reduced to 3,000 dr. in 450/49 (*IG* I³ 263.V.28).

925. Pidasa (Pidaseus) Map 61. Lat. 37.25, long. 27.35. Size of territory: ? Type: A:? The toponym is *Πίδασα, τά* (Blümel (1997) 137 l. 8; *Milet.* I 3 149.15 (C2f)). The city-ethnic is *Πεδασεύς* (*IG* I³ 260.X.7) or *Πιδασεύς* (*EA* 29 (1997) 137.8). Pidasa is called a *polis* in the political sense in a C4l treaty with Latmos (no. 910) (*EA* 29 (1997) 137.16–18). The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested externally in the Athenian tribute lists (*IG* I³ 260.X.7). For the individual and external use, see *Milet.* I 3 41.III.4 (C2s).

The Pidaseis were members of the Delian League. They are recorded in the tribute lists from 453/2 (*IG* I³ 259.III.5) to 447/6 (*IG* I³ 265.I.14) a total of five times, once completely restored, paying a *phoros* of 2 tal. in 453/2 and 451/0 (*IG* I³ 260.X.7), but 1 tal. in 447/6 (*IG* I³ 265.I.14). They are absent from the full panel of 441/0 (*IG* I³ 271.I–II.63–86) but were assessed for tribute in 425/4 (*IG* I³ 71.II.149), 3 tal. The Pidaseis/Pedaseis of the tribute lists were not the Pedaseis in the Halikarnassian peninsula; see *ATL* i.535; cf. Blümel (1997) 139; *pace* Cook (1961*b*) 95).

A *psephisma* passed between 323 and 313 records a treaty between Pidasa and Latmos, called *politeuma* in the decree (41) (Blümel (1997); Habicht (1998); Jones (1999)). The treaty prescribes both a physical and a political amalgamation of the two *poleis*. Pidasa holds a subordinate position to that of Latmos and is in fact incorporated into Latmos: all Pidaseis, hitherto organised into their own *phylai* and *phratriai*, are to be inscribed either into a new *phyle* or into one of the Latmian *phylai* (4–10); a common financial administration

is set up (14–20), and some of the Pidaseis are supposed to move to Latmos (27–28). In the treaty with Latmos, 100 Pidasian citizens, selected by the Latmioi, are to swear to the treaty (29). It has been suggested that these 100 men constituted almost the whole number of citizens of Pidasa (Habicht (1998) 10), but the fact that the 100 citizens were *selected* by the Latmioi indicates that the total number of Pidasan citizens was considerably higher.

The site of Pidasa has been identified by Cook ((1961) 91–96; cf. L. Robert (1978)). The scanty remains consist of a fortification *c.*200 m long in coursed masonry. Tiles found inside the perimeter point to a C4–C3e date. At a distance of *c.*300 m is a watch-tower built with square blocks.

926. Pladasa (Pladasieus) Map 61. Lat. 37.05, long. 28.05. Size of territory: ? Type: A:*γ*. A toponym is not attested. The city-ethnic is *Πλαδασεύς* (*SEG* 40 996.7, 319/8 = *I.Rhod.Per.* 701) or *Πλατασεύς* (*I.Labraunda* III.2 42.5) or *Πλαδασιῆτης* (*SEG* 40 992.12 (C4m)).

Pladasa is called a *polis* in the political sense in a proxeny decree of 319/8 (Varinlioğlu *et al.* (1990) = *SEG* 40 996.6). The collective use of the city-ethnic is used internally in a proxeny decree of 319/18 (*SEG* 40 996.10) and externally in the Athenian tribute lists (*IG* I³ 264.I.11) and in a C4m treaty between Mylasa (no. 913) and Kindye (no. 902) (*SEG* 40 992.12). The individual city-ethnic is used externally on an undated grave inscription from Chalke (*IG* XII.1 962b).

Pladasa was a member of the Delian League. It belonged to the Karian district and is registered in the tribute lists from 448/7 (*IG* I³ 264.I.11) to 440/39 (*IG* I³ 272.I.89) a total of five times, once completely restored, paying a *phoros* of 2,000 dr. (*IG* I³ 265.I.13). It was assessed for tribute in 425/4 (*IG* I³ 71.I.150). It is absent from the full panel of 441/0 (*IG* I³ 271.I–II.63–86).

An envoy from Pladasa is listed in a treaty from Mylasa of *c.*354/3 (*SEG* 40 992.13). In 319/18 Pladasa granted *proxenia*, *politeia* and *enktesis* to Kratesippos, son of Polyon, from Plataiai (*SEG* 40 996.15–17).

One month name from Pladasa is attested in the proxeny decree of 319/18. The name of the month is *Κοροβαλλισσις*, a Karian name (*SEG* 40 996.4).

The names listed in the treaty between Mylasa and Kindye (*SEG* 40 992.12–13) suggest that there was a strong Karian element in the Pladasian population, and it is a moot point to what extent the community can be considered a Hellenic *polis* in the Classical period.

927. Pyrindos (Pyrindios) Unlocated, not in *Barr.* Type: C:*α*. The toponym is *Πύρινδος* (Steph. Byz. 541.8) and *I.Knidos* 255 (undated). The city-ethnic is *Πυρίνδιος* (*I.Knidos* 22.1).

Pyrindos is known from three sources only: *viz.* Steph. Byz. who calls it *πόλις Καρίας* (541.8), which has no value without a source reference; an undated fragment of an inscription in which only *Πυρίνδου* and *ΥΤΟ* can be read; and more interestingly, a C4s list of *Προστάται Πυρίνδιοι* (then follow nineteen names, all Greek: *I.Knidos* 22. The provenance of the inscription is unknown).

928. Pyrnos (Pyrnios) Map 61. Lat. 36.55, long. 28.25. Size of territory: ? Type: C:? The toponym is *Πύρνος* (Steph. Byz. 541.10; Plin. *HN* 5.104). The city-ethnic is *Πύρνιος* (*IG* I³ 261.IV.10). The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested externally in the Athenian tribute lists (*IG* I³ 262.I.17, 263.I.3).

Pyrnos was a member of the Delian League. It belonged to the Karian district and is registered in the tribute lists from 452/1 (*IG* I³ 261.IV.10) to 433/2 (*IG* I³ 279.I.23) a total of twelve times, three times completely restored, paying a *phoros* of 1,000 dr. (*IG* I³ 263.I.3).

929. Salmakis (Salmakites) Not in *Barr.*, but from C4 part of Halikarnassos (no. 886). Type: C:? The toponym is *Σαλμακίς* (*SEG* 43 713.11, 13 (*c.*400)). The ethnic is *Σαλμακίτης* (*Syll.*³ 45.2 = ML 32 (C5f)). The collective ethnic is used internally in *Syll.*³ 45.2.

Strabo 14.16.1 describes Salmakis as a fountain. From *SEG* 43 713.11 and 13 it appears that it was a district or area in Halikarnassos. The site has been identified via an inscription found in 1995 (Isager (1998)). However, in C5f the Salmakians were clearly some kind of political community, passing a law with the Halikarnassians and the tyrant Lygdamis. The Halikarnassians and the Salmakians formed the *syllogos* of Halikarnassos (*Syll.*³ 45.1–2 = ML 32), and they may constitute what is referred to as *Ἁλικαρνασσεῖς σύμπαντες* (41–42). Moreover, the Salmakians had their own magistrates (13–15: *Σαλμακιτέων μνημονευόντων Μεγαβατέω . . . καὶ Φορμίωνος*). It is a possibility that they had *polis* status at the time, but were incorporated into Halikarnassos (no. 886) not too long after. See also Isager (1998) 10, comm. to l. 16.

930. (Siloi) Map 61. Unlocated. Type: C:? The city-ethnic is *Σίλος* (*IG* I³ 262.V.30). The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested externally in the Athenian tribute lists (*IG* I³ 262.V.30). The Siloi were members of the Delian League, but they are recorded only once, in 451/0 (*IG* I³ 262.V.30), paying a *phoros* of 1,500 dr. They are listed together with

some Karian communities, wherefore it has been argued that they too belong in the Karian district (*ATL* i.549). In the list of 453/2 (*IG* I³ 260.I.10) the city-ethnic is completely restored.

931. Syangela (Syangeleus)**/Theangela** (Theangeleus) Map 61. Lat. 37.05, long. 27.35. Size of territory: 2 or 3. Type: A:γ. The toponym is Συάγγελα, τά (Kallisthenes (*FGrHist* 124) fr. 25, quoted by Strabo 13.1.59; Kramer's emendation of συναγέλα (MSS CDx) and σὺν ἀγέλᾳ (MSS hmowz), later Θεάγγελα, τά (*Staatsverträge* 429.25 (*c.*310); Steph. Byz. 308.6). The city-ethnic is Συαγγελεύς (*IG* I³ 284.7–8; *SEG* 40 991.13 (354/3); C4–C3 coins), later Θεαγγελεύς (*IG* II² 1956.II.98 (*c.*300); *I.Iasos* 50.4 (C4–C3)). In a treaty with Eupolemos of *c.*310 (*Staatsverträge* 429) Theangela is called a *polis* both in the urban sense (20) and in the political sense (24). In a C4m treaty between Mylasa (no. 913) and Kindye (no. 902) the Syangeleis are among the city-ethnics listed after the heading παρῆσαν ἀπὸ πόλεων, where *polis* is used in the political sense (*SEG* 40 991.13). The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally on coins (ΣΥ (C4–C3), *infra*) and in the treaty with Eupolemos (Θεαγγελεῖς, *Staatsverträge* 429.26) and externally in the Athenian tribute lists (*IG* I³ 284.7–8) and in the C4m treaty (*SEG* 40 991.13). The individual city-ethnic is used externally in the Athenian tribute lists (*IG* I³ 259.V.16) and in a C4–C3 proxeny decree (*I.Iasos* 50.4).

Syangela (at modern Kaplan (Radt (1970) 224 or Alâzeytin (Blümel (1990) 37) and Theangela (at modern Etrim) were both pre-Hellenistic settlements, situated a few kilometers apart. The original centre of the *polis* was at Syangela. In, perhaps, C6m the centre was moved to the other site, but the name was kept. It was probably Mausolos who had the *polis* renamed Theangela, but for half a century the old toponym and city-ethnic were used alongside the new ones (Radt (1970); Hornblower (1982) 97–99; Franke (1984); Blümel (1990) 37). At the site of Theangela there are remains of a perimeter *c.*3 km long, with a rectangular fort with four towers, in different types of masonry; the wall encloses an area of 25 ha (Bean and Cook (1955) 112–16, (1957) 89–96).

Syangela was a member of the Delian League. It belonged to the Karian district and is registered in the tribute lists from 454/3 (*IG* I³ 259.V.16) to 427/6 or 426/5 (*IG* I³ 284.7–8) a total of fifteen times, four times completely restored, paying a *phoros* of 1 tal. (*IG* I³ 263.I.14–15). In 454/3 the community is recorded by its ruler: Πίκρες Συαν[γελεύς] (*IG* I³ 259.V.16); in 451/0 the entry is Συ[αγγελῆς] h[ὁν Πίκρες ἄρχει] (*IG* I³ 263.I.14–15); the restoration is secured by the similar entry in 427/6 or 426/5: Συαγγελῆς ὃν ἄρχει Πίτρες (*IG* I³ 284.7–8), restored also in *IG* I³ 282.IV.48–49. In all other years the Syangeleis are recorded by city-ethnic alone. In 446/5 Syangela and Amynanda (no. 873) formed a syntely paying a *phoros* of 4,500 dr. (*IG* I³ 266.III.20–21), but in 444/3 the two communities paid 3,000 dr. each (*IG* I³ 268.IV.25–26). Syangela was possibly assessed for tribute in 425/4 (*IG* I³ 71.I.111, completely restored). In 454/3 Syangela is represented by Pikres Syangeleus, who appears again in 427/6 as Συαγγελῆς ὧν ἄρχει Πίτρες, and this shows that Syangela was ruled by a local dynast.

Like Myndos (no. 914), Syangela (renamed Theangela) was kept out of the synoecism of Halikarnassos by Mausolos *c.*370 (Kallisthenes (*FGrHist* 124) fr. 25, *pace* Plin. *HN* 5.107; Hornblower (1982) 82; Demand (1990) 123). In C4l or C3e Menyllos Nossou Theangeleus was granted proxeny by Iasos (no. 891) (*I.Iasos* 50.4). A *keryx* from Syangela is mentioned in the C4m treaty between Mylasa and Kindye (*SEG* 40 991.15). The names listed in the treaty between Mylasa and Kindye suggest that there was a strong Karian element in the population of Syangela (*SEG* 40 991.13–15; see Blümel (1990) 38–42 (= *SEG* 40 992)), and it is a moot point to what extent the community can be considered a Hellenic *polis* in the Archaic and Classical periods.

Some coins inscribed with ΣΥ and formerly attributed to Syros (no. 523) and Syme (no. 522) respectively were in all probability struck by Syangela. Of eight coins one can be dated *c.*390. *Obv.* head of Dionysos; *rev.* kantharos and vine branches in incuse square, along with the legend ΣΥ. The remaining seven coins are dated to 300–250 (Yarkin (1975); cf. Yarkin (1977); and Hornblower (1982) 98 n. 154, *pace* Franke (1984) 200, who opts for at date between and 350 and 320). Franke (1984) assigns two more coins, one of which is a trihemiobol, to Syangela. He dates these two coins to C5l and argues on historical grounds that the silver coinage of Syangela must be dated to the period 413–391.

932. (Talagreis) Unlocated, not in *Barr.* Type: C:? A toponym is not attested. The city-ethnic is Ταλαγρεύς (*I.Mylasa* 4.6 (C4e)). The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested externally in the decree from Mylasa. The Talagreis are attested in a fragmentary C4e decree from Mylasa. It seems that the Talagreis are mentioned on a par with Koranza (no. 906), which was a *polis* at the time, and therefore there is a possibility that the Talagreis could have been a *polis* too.

933. Taramptos Map 61. Lat. 37.10, long. 27.30. Size of territory: 1. Type: C:? The toponym is Ταράμπτος (*Syll.*³

1044.18 (*c.*300)). The ethnic is not attested. The evidence for Taramptos is very scarce: in the tribute assessment list of 425/4 [*T*]*άραμ*[*πτος*] is restored (*IG* I³ 71.I.115), and if the restoration is correct, it indicates that Taramptos was some sort of political community. The only other mention of Taramptos is in an inscription of *c.*300, mentioning rights of tillage *ἐν Ταράμπτωι* (*Syll.*³ 1044.18).

934. (Tarbaneis) Map 61. Unlocated. Type: C:? A toponym is not attested. The city-ethnic is *Ταρβανεύς* (*IG* I³ 71.II.140). The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested externally in the Athenian tribute lists (*IG* I³ 260.I.19).

The Tarbaneis were members of the Delian League. They belonged to the Karian district and are registered in 453/2 (*IG* I³ 260.I.19) and 441/0 (*IG* I³ 271.I.85, partly restored), paying a *phoros* of 1,000 dr. (*IG* I³ 260.I.19). The city-ethnic is completely restored in the lists of 442/1 (*IG* I³ 270.V.11) and 440/39 (*IG* I³ 272.II.87). They were assessed for tribute in 425/4 (*IG* I³ 71.II.140), 1,000 dr.

935. Telandros (Telandrios) Map 65. Lat. 36.40, long. 28.55. Size of territory: ? Type: C:? The toponym is *Τήλανδρον, τό* or *Τηλάνδρεια, ἡ* (Alex. Polyh. (*FGrHist* 273) fr. 54 = Steph. Byz. 620.10–12), whereas Steph. Byz. 620.10 lists *Τήλανδρος* as the name of a *polis* in Karia and *Τηλανδρία* as a promontory. Plin. *HN* 5.131 describes Telandria as an island with a deserted *oppidum*; but according to Quintus Smyrnaeus 4.7–11, the city of Telandros lay inland on the bank of the Glaukos river (Nif Çay). Following Philippson (1910–13) and followed by *Barr.*, *ATL* i.555 argues that the *polis* of Telandros was situated on the island of Telandria, to be identified with Tersane. *ATL* also attaches the reference in Steph. Byz. to this island (almost certainly incorrectly). Heberdey (Map of Lycia in *TAM* I) identifies the island of Telandria with Avthoki, where there is a ruined watch-tower (Bean (1978) 36 (date?), and the *polis* of Telandros with the inland site of Nif Köy (following Arkwright (1895) 94). This is treated with scepticism by e.g. Ruge (1934) and L. Robert ((1980) 377–80, accepting the *ATL* identification), but Arkwright may be correct.

No matter whether the classical *polis* was situated inland or on the island, there can be no doubt that the city-ethnic is *Τελάνδριος*, recorded in the Athenian tribute lists as a member of the Delian League. It belonged to the Karian district (*IG* I³ 269.IV.13), later incorporated into the Ionian district (*IG* I³ 279.I.10). It is registered in the tribute lists from 453/2 (*IG* I³ 260.I.11, completely restored) to 433/2 (*IG* I³ 279.I.10) a total of ten times, twice completely restored, paying a *phoros* of 1 tal. (*IG* I³ 262.V.31), reduced to 3,000 dr. in 448/7 (*IG* I³ 264.II.5). It was assessed for tribute in 425/4 (*IG* I³ 71.II.92).

936. Telemessos (Telemesseus) Map 61. Lat. 37.00, long. 27.20. Size of territory: 1 or 2. Type: B:*β*. The toponym is *Τελεμεσσός* (*Syll.*³ 1044.37 (*c.*300)) or *Τελμησσός* (Steph. Byz. 612.13, quoting Philon (*FGrHist* 790) fr. 48 and *Τελμησσός* (Strabo 14.3.4). The earliest attestation of the city-ethnic is *Τελεμεσσεύς* in *IG* XII.3 251.23–25 (C4) and *Τελμεσσεύς* in *Iscr. Cos* ED56.4 (C3), unless the *Τελμησέες* mentioned by Hdt. 1.78.2 and 1.84.3 are the inhabitants of Karian and not Lykian Telemessos. The earliest attestation of Telemessos as a *polis* in the political sense is in a C3 decree of Telemessos (*Iscr. Cos* ED56.4). The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested externally by Hdt. 1.78.2, 84.3, but see *supra*) and internally in a C3 decree (*Iscr. Cos* ED56.4).

An inscription of *c.*300 mentions a Telemessian Apollo giving an oracular response (*Syll.*³ 1044.8–9). A citizen of Telemessos was granted *proxenia* by Anaphe (no. 474) (*IG* XII.3 251.23–25 (C4)).

Telmissus was one of the towns which were synoecised into Halikarnassos (no. 886) by Mausolos *c.*370 (Plin. *HN* 5.107; Hornblower (1982) 82; Demand (1990) 123).

937. Termera (Termereus) Map 61. Lat. 37.00, long. 27.20. Size of territory: 1 or 2. Type: B:*β*. The toponym is *Τέρμερα, τά* (*IG* I³ 263.II.12; *SEG* 43 713.D35 (425–350); Strabo 14.2.18 has *Τέρμερον*). The city-ethnic is *Τερμερεύς* (*IG* I³ 271.II.77).

Termera was a member of the Delian League. It is recorded in the tribute lists from 454/3 (*IG* I³ 259.IV.25) to 415/14 (*IG* I³ 290.I.22, restored: [*Τερ*]*με*[*ρῆς*]) a total of twelve times, once completely restored, paying a *phoros* of 2 tal., 3,000 dr. from 454/3 to 447/6 (*IG* I³ 265.I.26, amount completely restored), and from 443/2 (*IG* I³ 269.V.8, amount completely restored) a *phoros* of 3,000 dr. (*IG* I³ 271.II.77); for a possible explanation of this reduction, see Bean and Cook (1955) 116–18). Termera was assessed for tribute in 425/4 (*IG* I³ 71.I.154).

Termera was one of the settlements which were synoecised into Halikarnassos (no. 886) by Mausolos *c.*370 (Plin. *HN* 5.107; Hornblower (1982) 82; Demand (1990) 123).

The archaeological remains at Termera consist of a citadel *c.*40 m long with remains of a wall in squared masonry. Inside the walls there are traces of buildings and a cistern, possibly of the Classical period. There seems to have been an outer circuit in polygonal masonry—in places the wall stands to a height of 5 m—probably dating from C5, and inside this circuit are traces of habitation, along with sherds of C5 and C4e (Bean and Cook (1955) 116–18).

Termera struck silver coins on the Persian standard in the late Archaic period. A unique drachm has *obv.* Herakles; legend: *TYMNO*; *rev.* lion's head in incuse square; legend: *TEPMEPIKON*. A tetrobol has *obv.* Herakles; *rev.* lion's head in incuse square (Head, *HN*² 627; Cahn (1970) 120–21; Bean and Cook (1955) 147–49).

938. (Terssogasseis) Unlocated, not in *Barr.* Type: C:γ. A toponym is not attested. The city-ethnic is Τερσσωγασσεύς (*I.Mylasa* 8.7 (C4); 866.2 (C3)).

In C3 citizenship and other honours were bestowed upon Polites Thyssou Terssogasseus by Olymos (*I.Mylasa* 866.2 (C3)), and in a C4 list of envoys it has been suggested that]ωγασσέων be restored Τερσσ]ωγασσέων (*I.Mylasa* 8.7, comm. *ad loc.*), in which case *presbeis* of the Terssogasseis would be attested and mentioned on a par with those of Koranza (no. 906).

939. (Thasthareis) Map 61. Lat. 37.35, long. 27.40. Size of territory: 1 or 2. Type: C:? A toponym is not attested, but the city-ethnic is Θασθαρεύς (*IG* I³ 264.II.3). The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested externally in the Athenian tribute lists (*IG* I³ 271.I.72).

The Thasthareis were members of the Delian League. They belonged to the Karian district and are registered from 451/0 (*IG* I³ 262.IV.29) to 440/39 (*IG* I³ 272.I.83, completely restored) a total of seven times; twice completely restored, paying a *phoros* of 500 dr.

Theangela (Theangeleus) See **Syangela** (Syangeleus) (no. 931).

940. Thydonos Unlocated, not in *Barr.*, but Pliny lists it with Euromos, Herakleia and Amyzon (*HN* 5.109), so it may have been in northern Karia. Type: C:? On the basis of Plin. *HN* 5.109 *Thydonos*, the toponym is restored Θύδ[ονος] (*IG* I³ 262.V.29; see Meritt (1939) 189–90), but it seems more likely to restore an ethnic, e.g. Θυδ[όνιοι].

Thydonos was a member of the Delian League, but is registered only once, in the tribute list of 451/0 (*IG* I³ 262.V.29), paying a *phoros* of 1,000 dr. In the list of 453/2 (*IG* I³ 260.I.9) the toponym (or city-ethnic) is completely restored.

941. Tralleis (Traldeus) Map 61. Lat. 37.50, long. 27.55. Size of territory: ? Type: B:β. The toponym is Τράλλεις (Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.19). The city-ethnic is Τραλδεύς (*I.Tralleis* 3.4–5), later Τραλλιανός (*I.Tralleis* 21.1 (C2m); Strabo 14.1.41). Tralleis is called a *polis* in the political sense at Arr. *Anab.* 1.18.1 and in the urban sense at Diod. 14.36.2 (r400). The collective city-ethnic is attested internally in a decree of C4m (*I.Tralleis* 3). The only known public anactment is the C4m decree (*supra*) which concerns a sanctuary of Dionysos. The principal divinity of Tralleis, however, was Zeus Larasios (bronze coins of C3e, Head, *HN*² 659; *I.Tralleis* 25.12 (C3)).

Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.19 says Tralleis is in Karia, whereas Diod. 14.36.2 calls it a *polis* in Ionia.

In 400 Tralleis was not walled, but occupied such a strong position that Thibron was unable to take it (Diod. 14.36.2; cf. Strabo 14.1.42). In 313, however, it was taken by Antigonos (Diod. 19.75.5).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Akarca, A. 1959. *Les monnaies grecques de Mylasa* (Paris).

Anabolu, M. U. 1994. "Les Remparts de Kedreai", *RÉA* 96: 237–42.

Arkwright, W. 1895. "The Frontier of Lycia and Caria", *JHS* 15: 93–99.

Ashton, R., and Hurter, S. (eds.) 1998. *Studies in Greek Numismatics in Memory of Martin Jessop Price* (London).

Ashton, R. *et al.* 1998. "Some Greek Coins in the British Museum", *NC* 158: 37–51.

Bankel, H. 1997. "Die hellenistische Rundtempel und sein Altar", *AA* 51–71.

Bean, G. E. 1953. "Notes and Inscriptions from Caunos", *JHS* 53: 10–35.

——1971. *Turkey beyond the Maeander* (London).

——1978. *Lycian Turkey: An Archaeological Guide* (London).

—— and Cook, J. M. 1955. "The Halicarnassus Peninsula", *BSA* 50: 85–171.

—— ——1957. "The Carian Coast III", *BSA* 52: 58–146.

Berges, D. 1994. "Alt-Knidos und Neu-Knidos", *IstMitt* 44: 5–16.

——1995–96. "Knidos und das Bundesheiligtum der dorischen Hexapolis", *Nürnberger Blätter zur Archäologie* 12: 103–20.

——2000. "Knidos", *Neue Pauly* xiv. 989–91.

—— and Tuna, N. 1990. "Ein Heiligtum bei alt-Knidos", *AA* 19–35.

Berti, F. 1987. "Les travaux à Iasos en 1986", *Kazı* 9.2: 27–36.

——1995. "Iasos en 1994", *Kazı* 17.2: 199–207.

—— and Innocente, L. 1998. "Due nuovi graffiti in alfabeto caria da Iasos", *Kadmos* 37: 137–42.

Blümel, W. 1990. "Zwei neue Inschriften aus Mylasa aus der Zeit des Maussollos", *EA* 16: 29–42.

Blümel, W. 1991. "Epigraphische in Knidos und in der rhodischen peraia", *Araş* 9: 131–36.
——1992. "Brief des Ptolemäischen Ministers Tlepolemos and die Stadt Kildara in Karien", *EA* 20: 127–33.
——1994. "Two New Inscriptions from the Cnidian Peninsula: Proxeny Decree for Epameinondas and a Funeral Epigram", *EA* 23: 157–59.
——1997. "Vertrag zwischen Latmos und Pidasa", *EA* 29: 135–42.
——1998*a*. "Einheimische Ortsnamen in Karien", *EA* 30: 161–84.
——1998*b*. "Karien, die Karer und ihre Nachbarn", *Kadmos* 37: 163–73.
——2000. "Rhodisches Dekret in Bargylia", *EA* 32: 95–96.
—— and Adiego, I.-J. 1993. "Die karische Inschrift von Kildara", *Kadmos* 32: 87–95.
Bommelaer, J-F. 1991. *Guide de Delphes: le site* (Paris).
Bresson, A. 1990. "Chios de Carie", *Dialogues d'histoire anciennes* 16.1: 97–113.
——1999. "Cnide à l'époque classique: la cité et ses villes", *RÉA* 101: 83–114.
Buckler, J. 1998. "Epameinondas and the New Inscription from Knidos", *Mnemosyne* 51.2: 192–205.
——2000. "The Phantom *Synedrion* of the Boiotian Confederacy 378–335 BC", *Polis and Politics* 431–46.
Cahn, H. A. 1970. *Knidos: die Münzen des sechsten und des fünften Jahrhundert v. Chr.* (Berlin).
Cartledge, P. 2002. *Sparta and Lakonia: A Regional History 1300 to 362 BC*[2] (London).
Carstens, A. M., and Flensted-Jensen, P. (2004). "Halikarnassos and the Lelegians", in S. Isager and P. Pedersen (eds.), *The Salmakis Inscription and Hellenistic Halikarnassos*, Halicarnassian Studies 4 (Odense) 109–24.
Cook, J. M. 1961*a*. "Cnidian Peraea and Spartan Coins", *JHS* 81: 56–72.
——1961*b*. "Some Sites of the Milesian Territory", *BSA* 56: 90–101.
—— and Plommer, W. H. 1966. *The Sanctuary of Hemithea at Kastabos* (Cambridge).
Debord, P. 1999. *L'Asie Mineure au IVe siècle (412–323 a.C.): pouvoirs et jeux politiques* (Bordeaux).
Demand, N. 1989. "Did Knidos Really Move? The Literary and Epigraphical Evidence", *ClAnt* 8: 224–37.
——1990. *Urban Relocation in Archaic and Classical Greece: Flight and Consolidation* (Bristol).
Deroy, L. 1955. "Les inscriptions cariennes de Carie", *AntCl* 24: 305–35.
Descat, R. 1994*a*. "La géographie dans les listes des tributs attiques: Lepsimandos et Kasôlaba en Carie", *ZPE* 104: 61–68.
——1994*b*. "Les fortresses de Théra et de Kallipolis de Carie", *RÉA* 96: 205–14.
Dornisch, K. 1992. *Die griechischen Bogentore: zur Entwicklung und Verbreitung des griechischen Keilsteingewölbes*, Europäische Hochschulschriften, Reihe XXVIII, vol. 83 (Frankfurt).
Flensted-Jensen, P., and Hansen, M. H. 1996. "Pseudo-Skylax' Use of the Term *Polis*", *CPCPapers* 3: 137–67.
Franke, P. 1984. "Syangela—Theangela", *Chiron* 14: 197–200.
Fraser, P. M., and Bean, G. E. 1954. *The Rhodian Peraea and Islands* (Oxford).
Frei, P., and Marek, C. 1997. "Die karisch-griechische Bilingue von Kaunos: eine zweisprachige Staatsurkunde des 4. Jh. v. Chr.", *Kadmos* 36: 1–43.
Gabrielsen, V. 2000. "The Rhodian Peraea in the Third and Second Centuries BC", *ClMed* 51: 129–83.
Gates, M.-H. 1994. "Archaeology in Turkey", *AJA* 98: 249–78.
——1995. "Archaeology in Turkey", *AJA* 99: 207–55.
——1997. "Archaeology in Turkey" *AJA* 101: 241–305.
Gauthier, P. 1990. "L'inscription d'Iasos relative à l'ekklesiastikon", *BCH* 114: 417–43.
Gürmann, O. 1977. "Keramos'tan Bodrum Müzesi'ne gelen 6533 emv. no. lu. torso", *TürkArkDerg* 24: 111–13.
Habicht, C. 1998. "Zum Vertag zwischen Latmos und Pidasa", *EA* 30: 9–10.
Hansen, M. H. 1997. "Hekataios' Use of the Word *Polis*", *CPCPapers* 4: 17–27.
Held, W. 1996. "Forschungen in Loryma 1995", *Araş* 14.1: 165–70.
——1999. "Lorymna 1995 und 1998", *IstMitt* 49: 159–96.
Hellström, P. 1965. *Labraunda: Swedish Excavations and Researches*, ii.1: *Pottery of Classical and Later Date, Terracotta Lamps and Glass* (Lund).
—— and Thieme, T. 1982. *Labraunda: Swedish Excavations and Researches*, i.3: *The Temple of Zeus* (Stockholm).
Hoepfner, W., and Schwandner, E.-L. 1994. *Haus und Stadt im klassischen Griechenland*[2] (Munich).
Hornblower, S. 1982. *Mausolos* (Oxford).
Hurter, S. 1998. "The 'Pixodaros Hoard': A Summary", in Ashton and Hurter (1998) 147–53.
Isager, S. 1998. "The Pride of Halikarnassos", *ZPE* 123: 1–23.
Jacquemin, A. 1999. *Offrandes monumentales à Delphes* (Paris).
Jameson, M. (2004). "Troizen and Halikarnassos in the Hellenistic Era", in S. Isager and P. Pedersen (eds.), *The Salmakis Inscription and Hellenistic Halikarnassos*. Halicarnassian Studies 4 (Odense) 93–107.
Jeppesen, K. 1994. "Founder Cult and Maussoleion", *Halikarnassian Studies* 1: 73–84.
——2000. "Halikarnass", *Neue Pauly* xiv. 333–49.
Jones, C. P. 1999. "The Union of Latmos and Pidasa", *EA* 31: 1–7.
Jully, J. J. 1981. *Labraunda: Swedish Excavations and Researches*, ii.3: *Archaic Pottery* (Stockholm).
Kagan, J. H., and Kritt, B. 1995. "The Coinage of Kindya", *NC* 155: 261–65.
Karwiese, S. 1980. "Lysander as Herakliskos Drakonopnigon ('Heracles the Snake-Strangler')", *NC* 140: 1–27.

Konuk, K. 1998. "The Early Coinage of Kaunos", in Ashton and Hurter (1998) 197–223.
Kraay, C. 1976. *Archaic and Classical Greek Coins* (London).
Lawrence, A. W. 1979. *Greek Aims in Fortification* (Oxford).
—— 1996. *Greek Architecture* (New Haven and London).
Love, I. C. 1972. "A Preliminary Report of the Excavations at Knidos, 1970", *AJA* 76: 61–76.
Malkin, I. 1994. *Myth and Reality in the Spartan Mediterranean* (Cambridge).
Marchese, R. T. 1986. *The Lower Maeander Flood Plain: A Regional Settlement Study*, *BAR-IS* 292 (Oxford).
—— 1989. *The Historical Archaeology of Northern Caria*, *BAR-IS* 536 (Oxford).
McNicoll, A. W. 1997. *Hellenistic Fortifications from the Aegean to the Euphrates* (Oxford).
Meier-Brügge, M. 1998. "Zu den Münzlegenden von Kaunos", *Kadmos* 37: 42–46.
Meritt, B. D. 1939. "Karic Towns in the Athenian Empire", in W. M. Calder and J. Keil (eds.), *Anatolian Studies Presented to William Hepburn Buckler* (Manchester) 187–89.
Miller, S. G. 1978. *The* Prytaneion. *Its Function and Architectural Form* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London).
Neumann, G. 1969. "Eine neue karische Inschrift aus Chalketor", *Kadmos* 8: 152–57.
Newton, C. T. 1863. *A History of Discoveries at Halicarnassus, Cnidus, and Branchidæ* (London).
Paton, W. R. 1900. "Sites in E. Karia and S. Lydia", *JHS* 20: 57–80.
Pedersen, P. 1994. "The Fortifications of Halikarnassos", *RÉA* 96: 215–35.
—— 2000. "Report of the Turkish-Danish Investigations at Ancient Halikarnassos (Bodrum) in 1999", *Kazı* 22.2: 287–98.
Peschlow, A. 1994. "Die Befestigungen von Latmos", *RÉA* 96: 155–72.
Peschlow-Bindokat, A. 1996. *Der Latmos: eine unbekannte Gebirgslandschaft an der türkischen Westküste* (Mainz).
Philippson, A. 1910–13. *Topographische Karte des westlichen Kleinasien, 1/300.000* (Gotha).
Pimouguet, I. 1994. "Les fortifications de la pérée rhodienne", *RÉA* 96: 243–71.
Pontani, F. 1997. "*I. Amyzon* 27 C–D: Teil eines milesischen Isopolitievertrags", *EA* 28: 5–8.
Radt, W. 1969–70. "Kuyruklu Kalesi", *IstMitt* 19–20: 165–76.
—— 1970. *Siedlungen und Bauten auf der Halbinsel von Halikarnassos*, *IstMitt-BH* (Tübingen).
Richter, G. 1960. *Kouroi: Archaic Greek Youths* (London).
Robert, J., and Robert, L. 1983. *Fouilles d'Amyzon en Carie*, i (Paris).
Robert, L. 1935. "Rapport sur un premier voyage en Carie", *AJA* 39: 331–40.
—— 1950. *Hellenica*, viii (Paris).
—— 1955. *Hellenica*, x (Paris).
—— 1978. "Documents d'Asie Mineure", *BCH* 102: 395–543.
—— 1980. *A travers de l'Asie Mineure* (Athens).
Robinson, E. W. 1997. *The First Democracies: Early Popular Government Outside Athens*, *Historia* Einzelschriften 107 (Stuttgart).
Ruge, W. 1934. "Telandros", *RE* v.A. 193.
Rumscheid, F. 1995. "Milas 1994", *Araş* 13.1: 77–83.
—— 1996. "Milas 1995", *Araş* 14.1: 123–28.
—— 1999. "Mylasas Verteidigung: Burgen statt Stadtmauer?", in E.-L. Schwandner and K. Rheidt (eds.), *Stadt und Umland* (Mainz) 206–22.
Şahin, M. Ç. 1973. "Two New Inscriptions from Lagina (Koranza)", *Anadolu* 17: 187–95.
Saner, T. 1994. "Observations on the Different Types of Masonry Used in the City Walls of Amos", *RÉA* 96: 273–84.
Spanu, M. 1997. *Keramos di Caria: storia e monumenti* (Rome).
Troxell, H. A. 1979. "Winged Carians", in O. Mørkholm and N. M. Waggoner (eds.), *Greek Numismatics and Archaeology: Essays in Honor of Margaret Thompson* (Wetteren) 257–68.
Varinlioğlu, E., and Debord, P. 1999. "Mission archéologique et épigraphique en Carie: campagne 1998", *Kazı* 21.2: 133–42.
—— *et al.* 1990. "Une inscription de Pladasa en Carie", *RÉA* 92: 59–78.
—— *et al.* 1992. "Ouranion en Carie", *RÉA* 94: 155–74.
Westholm, A. 1963. *Labraunda: Swedish Excavations and Researches*, i.2: *The Architecture of the Hieron* (Lund).
Winter, F. E. 1971. *Greek Fortifications* (Toronto).
Yarkin, U. 1975. "The Coinage of Syangela in Caria", *NC* 15: 12–18.
—— 1977. "More Coins of Syangela from Theangela", *NC* 17: 152–53.

LYKIA

ANTONY G. KEEN, MOGENS HERMAN HANSEN

I. The Region

The name of the region is ἡ Λυκία (Hom. *Il.* 2.877; Thuc. 2.69; Ps.-Skylax 100; *SEG* 27 942.1, 3 (337/6)). The regional ethnic is Λύκιος (Hdt. 1.173.1; *SEG* 42 1245.2, 6 (C4e)). The collective use of the ethnic is attested externally in Herodotos (1.28, 173.1) and internally in the epigram on the Inscribed Pillar (*SEG* 42 1245.2, 6). For the individual and external use, see Λύκιος Κύβερνις Κοσσίκα (Hdt. 7.98). Ps.-Skylax 100 calls the Lykian people an ἔθνος. For the foundation myth of Lykia, deriving its origins from Crete, see Hdt. 1.173.1–2, 7.92; Strabo 12.8.5, 14.1.6; Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.1.1; Paus. 7.3.7). Herodotos reports that some Ionian cities took kings allegedly descended from Glaukos, the commander of the Lykian force in the *Iliad* (1.147.1).

In the *Iliad* Lykia seems to be considered as the Xanthos valley alone (*Il.* 2.876–7; Bryce (1983) 32, (1986) 13, 100). In the Classical period, Lykia bordered on Karia in the west and Pamphylia in the east (Ps.-Skylax 99–101). The western border of Lykia was at Telemessos (Ps.-Skylax 100; cf. Arr. *Anab.* 1.24.4 (r334)). The eastern border was west of Phellos, according to Hekataios, who placed that location in Pamphylia ((*FGrHist* 1) fr. 258). Ps.-Skylax 100, however, placed the eastern border at Perge. By the time of Strabo (14.4.1), the eastern border was set near Phaselis, and had probably been around there for most of the Classical period. Ps.-Skylax's report may reflect a temporary extension of the command of the satrap of Lykia instituted by Alexander (see Keen (1997) 117 n. 50). The northern borders are never properly described in the Archaic and Classical periods, though it appears from Arrian (*Anab.* 3.6.6) that there was some area between the borders of Lykia and Mt. Tauros. Milyas was made part of Lykia by the Persians, having previously been part of Greater Phrygia (Arr. *Anab.* 1.24.5). Strabo (14.2.1, 3.9) implies that Lykia bordered on the Kibyratis and Pisidia (Keen (1998) 17–19).

This is how the Greeks defined Lykia. According to Herodotos (3.90.1), Lykia was part of the first Persian satrapy; but how the region was delimited under Persian rule is unknown until we reach the Hekatomnid period (*c.*360–334). The region does not seem to have constituted a separate administrative unit, but was always joined with at least one of the neighbouring regions. For Achaemenid influence in Lykia, see Zahle (1989, 1991). In 340–334 Pixodaros was satrap of Karia and Lykia (Neumann (1979) 320c, the Aramaic version of the trilingual inscription from Letoon close to Xanthos; cf. Hornblower (1982) 47); but in 333 Alexander made Nearchos satrap "of Lykia *and* of the adjacent region until Mount Tauros" (Arr. *Anab.* 3.6.6), i.e. of Lykia and western Pamphylia. In C5m there may have been a Lykian kingdom which was largely coterminous with the Lykian cultural area and a member of the Delian League in its own right (Keen (1998); cf. *infra*).

If we shift the focus from administration to civilisation, we get a different but very clear picture of the extent of the region. An investigation of the distribution of Lykian inscriptions and tombs and of the attested Lykian mints shows that the Lykian people inhabited the region from Telemessos in the west to Gagai in the east. West of Telemessos, a few Lykian monuments have been found in the Glaukos valley, which was presumably the hinterland of Telemessos. No traces of Lykian civilisation have been found east of Gagai. Towards the north, the Elmalı plateau was probably Lykian at least from C4 (Zahle (1980)).

It is clear from archaeological evidence that the Lykians had nucleated urban settlements quite early (Wurster (1978); Keen (1998) 28–29; Marksteiner (2002)). Some of the urban centres in Lykia can be traced back to the Archaic period, but the settlements were then much too small to be proper towns. A not insignificant urbanisation seems to have taken place in the course of the Classical period, starting in the first half of the fifth century. The main centres, principally known from excavations and surveys, are Xanthos, Limyra, Telemessos, Myra (?) and the site of Avşar Tepesi. All these settlements were fortified; their walls enclosed an area of between 10 and 25 ha. All seem to have been inhabited by some 1,000–1,500 persons, and in Xanthos perhaps as many as 2,500 (Marksteiner (1997),

(2002) 63–65). There may have been more urban settlements of the same type and size: e.g. Tlos, Pinara, Phellos and Apollonia, but the sites have not yet been surveyed or excavated (Wurster (1978); the ongoing Turkish excavations of Tlos and Patara have not yet been published). By far the best-known and best-excavated Lykian town is Avşar Tepesi, probably to be identified with Lykian Zagaba (Kolb and Tietz (2001)). So far, few public buildings have been found; but representations on Lykian reliefs may suggest that they were more common (Borchhardt (1993) 31–32). A number of sites (e.g. Arykanda, Kyaneai, Limyra and especially Avşar Tepesi) have produced evidence of domestic houses, but analysis of this evidence is still at a preliminary stage (Marksteiner (1997)). It has been widely observed since the nineteenth century, however, that the Lykian tombs preserve the aspect of wooden-framed Lykian houses, of types still found in the area (Mellink (1969); Kjeldsen and Zahle (1975); Zahle (1983)). Finally, it is worth observing that few Lykian cities are in locations that lend themselves to regular grid-pattern urban planning (Wurster (1978) 23).

In the course of the Hellenistic period Lykia became completely Hellenised, and eventualy formed a federation of twenty-three *poleis* (Strabo 14.3.3; Larsen (1968) 240–63; Behrwald (2000)). But Hellenisation began before Alexander's conquest of Asia. The Lykian alphabet was an adaptation of the Greek (Bryce (1986) 54–63). To strike coins was something the Lykians learned from the Greeks. The legends are in the Lykian alphabet (Mørkholm and Neumann (1978)), but the types betray a strong Greek influence (Mørkholm and Zahle (1972), (1976)). Already in the Archaic period Greek pottery was widely used in some Lykian cities, especially in Xanthos (Metzger *et al.* (1972) 192–95). Is there a case for arguing that some of the Lykian cities had become Hellenic communities already in the Classical period? Or that they were mixed settlements with a sizeable contingent of Greek-speaking inhabitants and political institutions which show that they were proper *poleis*? Neither the written evidence nor the archaeological record can substantiate such a view (Marksteiner (2002) 68–71; Domingo Gygax (2001) 83, 85, 87, 89, 91–92). There is no evidence that any of the towns was a citizen community or had magistrates or a council, as virtually any *polis* had. There is no trace of a *prytaneion* or a *bouleuterion*, or a theatre or a stoa, all characteristic of the Greek *polis*, whereas in Xanthos remains have been found of what was probably the residence of the local dynast; again by contrast with the *polis*, where no remains of a "palace" can be found before the Hellenistic period, not even in *poleis* governed by a tyrant (Hansen (2002) 10). In the major towns, moreover, are tombs that because of their size and sculptural decoration must be the tombs of dynasts (Zahle (1983)). Nor were there any monumental temples, another characteristic of a *polis*. The Lykian towns were self-governing dynastic centres; they were presumably city-states, and in the Dynastic period Lykia may have been an indigenous city-state culture (Marksteiner (2002); Hansen (2002) 8–10), but it was not a region settled with Hellenic *poleis* until the Hellenistic period.

To Herodotos and other Classical Greeks, the Lykians were *barbaroi* (Hdt. 1.173.1; Ephor. fr. 162; Men. *Aspis* 25). Admittedly, in C4 the Lykians themselves used the term *polis* in internal documents, first in the inscription honouring the dynast Arbinas (*SEG* 39 1414.24 (C4e)), then in an edict concerning exemption from commercial taxes (*SEG* 36 1216.4 (*c.*340–334)), and again in the trilingual inscription about the cult for Basileus Kaunios (Neumann (1979) N 320.b.12, 18 = *SEG* 27 942). All three documents come from the Letoon, close to Xanthos. Externally, *polis* is used by Ps.-Skylax 100 and, retrospectively, Diodoros 11.60.4. However, Menander (*Aspis* 30–32) talks of Lykia being settled in *κῶμαι*. Arrian (*Anab.* 1.24.4 (r334)) characterises most western Lykian settlements as *polismata*, and the settlements of the *Λύκιοι οἱ κάτω* as *poleis* (1.24.5–6). But a *polis* is not necessarily a Hellenic community. The term is often used, mostly in the urban sense about non-Greek cities. It is noticable too that Ps.-Skylax uses the heading *πόλεις ἐν αὐτῇ Ἑλληνίδες . . . αἵδε* in the chapters on Lydia (98) and Karia (99), whereas the chapters on Lykia (100), Pamphylia (101), Kilikia (102) and Cyprus (103) are introduced with the heading *πόλεις ἐν αὐτῇ αἵδε*, combined with the occasional occurrence of *πόλις Ἑλληνίς* to describe an individual town as a Hellenic *polis*. However, by contrast with the first section of his treatise (1–33), Ps.-Skylax no longer shows the same consistency in the way he classifies individual settlements as either *polis* or *polis Hellenis*. And one of the towns recorded in the chapter on Lykia, *viz.* Phaselis, is classified as *πόλις καὶ λιμήν* only, although it was undoubtedly a fully-fledged Hellenic *polis*.

Some of the Lykian cities were members of the Delian League. The Lykians as such appear in the tribute lists of 452/1 (*IG* I³ 261.I.30), 451/0 (*IG* I³ 262.V.33, restored) and 446/5 (*IG* I³ 266.III.34), see *infra* 1141. The Telemessioi were members in 446/5 (*IG* I³ 266.III.33), and the ethnic is restored twice in earlier lists (*IG* I³ 261.I.29, 262.V.32). Iera (*IG* I³ 71.II.153–54) and, probably, Tymnessos (*IG* I³ 71.I.141) were assessed for tribute in 425/4. But membership of the Delian League was not

restricted to Greek *poleis*. The Lykian entries indicate that Hiera, Telemessos and Tymnessos were political communities of some kind, not that they were Hellenic *poleis*.

Two Lykian cities were claimed to have been founded by the Rhodians: *viz.* Gagai (*Etym. Magn.* 219.6–16) and Korydalla (Steph. Byz. 376.15). But in both cases the tradition is late and probably reflects Hellenistic attempts to link the Lykian cities to Greek civilisation. More important is Ps.-Skylax's note that Megiste was a Rhodian island (100: *κατὰ ταῦτα νῆσός ἐστι Ῥοδίων Μεγίστη*). This is in fact our earliest evidence for a Rhodian *peraia*, but it does not in itself show that Megiste was a Hellenic *polis*. Some C4 coins with Rhodian types and the legend ME were previously attributed to Megiste (Head, *HN*² 635), but the legend is now interpreted as a magistrate's name (Ashton (1990)).

Xanthos is in fact the only Lykian city for which there is some evidence that it had become a mixed Graeco-Lykian settlement before the Hellenistic period (Hornblower (1982) 119–22). Thus, it is the only Lykian community which deserves inclusion in this Inventory of Greek *poleis* in the Archaic and Classical periods. In all other cases *polis* formation seems to have postdated Alexander's conquest, and if it happened earlier, there is not (yet) any evidence to show it.

To sum up, this part of the Inventory includes no site list and only two descriptions of *poleis*, *viz.* Phaselis, not a Lykian community but a Greek colony lying in the region of Lykia as defined by the Greeks, and Xanthos, the only Lykian community for which there is some substantial evidence of Hellenisation antedating Alexander's conquest.

II. The *Poleis*

942. Phaselis (Phaselites) Map 65. Lat. 36.30, long. 30.35. Size of territory: ? Type: A:*α*. The toponym is *Φάσηλις*, *-ιδος*, *ἡ* (Hdt. 2.178.2; Thuc. 2.69.1, 8.88; Lycurg. *Leoc.* 73 (emended); Strabo 14.3.9) or *Φασηλίς* (Ps.-Skylax 100; Pseudo-Aristotle 973ª8; Polyb. 30.9.4; Aristodemos (*FGrHist* 104) fr. 1.13.2 (rC5m)). The city-ethnic is *Φασηλίτης* (*IG* I³ 10.5, 8, 13, 17 (C5s); *TAM* II 1183.3, 4, 10 (C4m); Theodectas, *TrGF* 72 T 2 (epitaph of C4)). Phaselis is called a *polis* in the urban sense by Ps.-Skylax and in the political sense by Herodotos (2.178.2–3). The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally on coins of C5f and C4 (*infra*) and in a treaty with Mausolos of Karia (*TAM* II 1183.3, 4, 10), and externally in an Athenian decree regulating relations with Phaselis (*IG* I³ 10.5) and in literary sources (Dem. 35.1). The individual use is attested externally both in inscriptions (*IG* I³ 1360; *CID* II 4.1.72–73; *IG* XII 6 32.4 (306–301)) and in literary sources (Theodectas (*TrGF* 72 T 2); Dem. 35.10).

Ps.-Skylax and Strabo place Phaselis in Lykia; Aristodemos and *Suda* (*Φ*121) place it in Pamphylia; it is in Solyma according to the *Lindos Temple Chronicle* ((*FGrHist* 532) fr. c.24). That Phaselis possessed a territory is shown by the report of Kimon ravaging the *χώρα c.*469 (Plut. *Cim.* 12); it is also mentioned by Arrian (*Anab.* 1.24.6 (r334/3)). Lyrnateia probably bordered on Phaselis ((Arist.) 973ª8). In the Peace of Kallias in 449 Phaselis is the boundary west of which Persian fleets were not allowed to sail (Diod. 12.4.5).

Phaselis was supposedly colonized from Lindos on Rhodes in 691/0 (Euseb. 93b.2, Helm; Blumenthal (1963)), and at Plut. *Cim.* 12.3 the people of Phaselis are recorded as Hellenes. The *oikistes* was supposedly Lakios (Aristainetos (*FGrHist* 771) fr. 1; Ath. 7.297E–298A), a native of either Lindos or Argos (Philostephanos *FHG* III 29), but he is possibly mythical; for the earliest attested version of the foundation myth, from C5/4, see Herophytos fr. 1. Phaselis is listed as one of the four Dorian *poleis* involved in the foundation of Naukratis (Hdt. 2.178.2).

Phaselis was a member of the Delian League. It belonged to the Karian district (*IG* I³ 269.IV.9), later incorporated into the Ionian district (*IG* I³ 279.I.46). It was forced to join the League *c.*469 (Plut. *Cim.* 12.3–4) and is registered in the tribute lists from 454/3 (*IG* I³ 259.IV.24) to 415/14 (*IG* I³ 290.I.17) a total of fifteen times, three times completely restored, paying a *phoros* of 6 tal. (*IG* I³ 259.IV.24), reduced to 3 tal. in 450/49 (*IG* I³ 263.II.35), but changed again before 433/2 (*IG* I³ 272.I.90), either back to 6 tal. or further reduced to 2 tal. It was assessed for tribute in 425/4 (*IG* I³ 71.I.129). In 411 Phaselis had fallen into Persian hands and was occupied by a Spartan force (Thuc. 8.99). Phaselis also had a long-standing friendship with Chios (Plut. *Cim.* 12). Phaselis made a treaty with Mausolos in the 350s (*TAM* II 1183.3, 4, 10), apparently on equal terms. *Proxenia* and citizenship were received from Samos in 306–301 by Timophanes son of Archepolis (*IG* XII 6 32). Mutual legal arrangements (*ξυμβολαὶ αἱ δίκαι*) existed in C5 with Athens (*IG* I³ 10); disputes between Athenians and Phaseliots were to be tried at Athens. For the close commercial relations in C4 between Phaselis and Athens, see Dem. 35.1 *et passim.*

Phaselis had a cult of Athena Polias (*TAM* II 1184, not later than C5). There was also an annual sacrifice to Kylabras, dating to the colony's foundation (Ath. 7.297E–298A, citing Herophytos (*FGrHist* 448) fr. 1 and Philostephanos (*FHG* III 29)). Phaselis was one of the cities responsible for building

the Hellenion at Naukratis in C6 (Hdt. 2.178.2–3), and made dedications to Athena on Lindos (Burn (1960) 48 n. 19).

The city was fortified *c.*469 (Plut. *Cim.* 12.3–4) and a few remains of the C5 fortifications are still extant. As rebuilt *c.*300, they enclosed an area of *c.*20 ha (Schäfer (1981) 49–86; for the dates, see 54, 58, 84, 164–66). A fortified settlement on a hill north of the city dates to the Hellenistic period (Schläger and Schafer (1971); Schäfer (1981) 125–35). An agora is mentioned in the context of 334/3 by Plutarch (*Alex.* 18.4). Ps.-Skylax notes Phaselis' *limen* (*πόλις καὶ λιμήν*), which is archaeologically visible. The were in fact two harbours, one north and one south of the acropolis.

Phaselis struck silver coins on the Persian standard from before *c.*550. (1) Silver, *c.*550–C5e: denominations: stater and third. *Obv.* prow of galley, in shape of forepart of boar; *rev.* incuse of varying form. (2) Silver, C5e–C4l: denominations: stater, third, drachm, obol. *Obv.* prow of galley, in shape of forepart of boar; *rev.* stern of galley; legend: *Φ* or *ΦΑ* or *ΦΑΣ* or *ΦΑΣΗ* (sometimes on *obv.*) (Heipp-Tamer (1993); *SNG Cop. Lycia* 119–23).

943. Xanthos (Xanthios) Map 65. Lat. 36.20, long: 29.20. Size of territory: ? Type: A:*β*. The toponym is *Ξάνθος, ἡ* (Hdt. 1.176.3, denoting the city; Hecat. fr. 255, denoting the river). The city-ethnic is *Ξάνθιος* (Hdt. 1.176.2–3; *SEG* 36 1216.I.1, 8–9 (340–34)). Steph. Byz. 123.12–14 records an alternative toponym, *Ἄρνα*, derived from Lykian *Arñna* (Melchert (1993) 6).

Xanthos is called a *polis* in the urban sense on Erbbina's statue base (*SEG* 39 1414.24 (C4e)) and in a tax exemption decree from Xanthos issued by Pixodaros, *polis* in the urban sense refers to the inhabitants of Xanthos, as well as those of Tlos, Pinara and Kadyanda (*SEG* 36 1216.4 (340–334)). Finally Xanthos is called *polis* by Ps.-Skylax 100 (as restored by Müller). *Polis* in the political sense is attested on a trilingual cult inscription from the Letoön (Neumann (1979) N 320.b.18 = *SEG* 27 342 (337)), but the Greek text is a translation of the Lykian (Blomqvist (1982); Briant (1998) 307). The Lykian word rendered by *polis* is *teteri*, for which see Kolb and Tietz (2001) 395. Xanthos is called an *ἄστυ* by Herodotos (1.176.1) and on Erbbina's statue base (*SEG* 39 1414.5–6). The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally on the tax exemption edict of Pixodaros (*SEG* 36 1216.I.1–2, 8–9) and the trilingual cult inscription (*SEG* 27 942.5–6), and externally by Herodotos (1.176.2–3). The individual use of the city-ethnic is attested externally in a C3e bilingual epitaph from Kition (*SEG* 40 1355) and in literary sources (*Suda Π*2963 (rC4)).

Decrees of Xanthos set up at the Letoön (e.g. Neumann (1979) N 320) indicate that the sanctuary was part of the territory of Xanthos (Schweyer (1996) 28–29). Xanthos probably had upland estates, which is where those who escaped the destruction of the city in *c.*540 (Hdt. 1.176.3) were (Bean (1978) 50). Xanthos is placed in Lykia by Hekataios, Herodotos (1.176.3) and Ps.-Skylax (100).

The city was destroyed, and the mass of the population killed, in an act of mass suicide *c.*540 (Hdt. 1.176.1–2; App. *B Civ.* 4.10.80; Plut. *Brut.* 31.7) and subsequently resettled by *ἐπήλυδες* (Hdt. 1.176.3).

Xanthos may have been a member of the Delian League, if a reference to Xanthos is concealed in the entry *Λύκιοι* (*IG* I³ 261.I.30, 262.V.33) and *Λύκιοι καὶ συν[τελ]* (*IG* I³ 266.III.34; see Bean (1978) 25; Keen (1998) 40). In this case, it was included in the *Καρικὸς φόρος*, and the syntely paid 10 tal. of tribute in 446/5.

Menekrates of Xanthos ((*FGrHist* 769) fr. 1 = Steph. Byz. 129.3) mentions Xanthian *presbutai* in a mythological context; note also that Jacoby suggests a possible reading here of *πολίτας* instead of *πρεσβύτας*.

A joint decree of Xanthians and *perioikoi* stipulates the foundation of a cult for Basileus Kaunios (*SEG* 27 942.5–6: *ἔδοξε δὴ Ξανθίοις καὶ τοῖς περιοίκοις*, where *περίοικοι* is a translation of *epewētlmmēi* in the Lykian original). The opposition has been interpreted as a purely geographical (Keen (1998) 55–56) or an institutionalised (Wörrle (1978) 238) distinction between the Xanthians settled in the city and those in the hinterland. In the latter case the two strata of population were probably hierarchically organised rather than equal; analogy with other perioikic populations suggests that they were usually dependent communities (Domingo Gygax (2001) 19–40). It should be added, however, that joint decisions made by *polis* and *perioikoi* are known from Lykia only, and probably reflect Lykian rather than Greek institutions. The trilingual inscription attests an *epimeletes* (*SEG* 27 942.4–5), probably appointed by the local satrap (Bryce (1986) 133), and a *hiereus* of Basileus Kaunios and Arkesimas, appointed by the people of Xanthos (*SEG* 27 942.8). Lykian-language inscriptions (e.g. *TAM* I 36 (C5–C4)) mention officials called *miñti* (on which see Bryce (1986) 121–23).

SEG 42 1245.3 (*c.*400) identifies an agora, in which there was a *temenos* of the Lykian Twelve Gods (Tritsch (1942) 41–42; Picard (1951) 137–38; Martin (1951) 169–74). Menekrates fr. 2.3 records a *hieron* of Apollo. On the Lykian acropolis are a C6 sanctuary (Metzger *et al.* (1963) 29–36) and the foundations of a building with three cellas (12 × 10.3 m), a C5 sanctuary of a

divinity, perhaps Artemis (Metzger *et al.* (1963) 40–42; identified from a Hellenistic inscription). Appian (*B Civ.* 4.10.78–9) records a *Σαρπηδόνειον*, probably to be identified with a C5 building on the acropolis (Keen (1992) 55–56, (1996)). Three temples are known from the Letoön, dated to the Classical period by Metzger *et al.* (1992) but probably Hellenistic (Erik Hansen, pers. comm.). For cults of Basileus Kaunios and Arkesimas, see Metzger *et al.* (1979)).

There is a dynastic residence on the acropolis (Metzger *et al.* (1963) 16–23; Bean (1978) 55). The Classical acropolis, mentioned by Herodotos (1.176.1), was the lower of two hills on the site, on which a *c.*475–50 polygonal wall survives (Metzger *et al.* (1963) 16–23; Bean (1978) 54). Further walls encompass the so-called Hellenistic acropolis; Herodotos (1.176) implies that the city was walled and capable of withstanding siege. The city had walls in the Hellenistic period (Plut. *Brut.* 30.8, 31.2, 4), of which much of the circuit and the south gate survive (Metzger *et al.* (1963) 9–10 for the circuit). There is an "early" polygonal wall at the Letoön (Bean (1978) 63). (On walls, see also Ritter (1859) 1020–21; Benndorf and Niemann (1884) 127, 138; Robert and Robert (1983) 124ff n. 4.)

Xanthos minted silver coins on the light Lykian standard *c.*450–370. There is a variety of types including *obv.* head of Athena wearing crested helmet (the characteristic obv. motive from *c.*425 in common with west Lykian cities); *rev.* head of Athena, or head of Apollo or eagle. All carry Lykian legends until *c.*370/60 when the autonomous Lykian coinage ended (*Arñnaha/Arñnahe* or abbreviation); most also carry a dynast's name (Mørkholm and Neumann (1978) M 205a–b, 221–223c, 224a–b, 240a–d). In C5 Xanthian dynasts struck coins too on the heavy east Lykian standard and on the so-called middle standard (Mørkholm and Zahle (1972), (1976); Mørkholm and Neumann (1978); Vismara (1989–96); Kolb and Tietz (2001); *SNG Cop.* suppl. 445, 447–48, 455, 460, 496A).

It is a much debated problem to what extent Xanthos was a Hellenic community before the Hellenistic period. The barbarian ethnicity of Xanthos is suggested by Herodotos' considering it Lykian (1.176.3), since he considers the Lykians *barbaroi* (*supra*). All coins of the Classical period carry Lykian legends (*supra*). Also, most inscriptions of the Classical period are in Lykian (*TAM* I 36–51 (C5–C4)) rather than Greek (cf. Bryce (1986) 211). The habit of striking coins, as well as Greek pottery found in Xanthos (Metzger *et al.* (1972)) are evidence of Greek contacts and Greek influence, but not of Greek settlers (Keen (1998) 61–70). In C4, however, the picture changes. The earliest bilingual inscription is a Greek epigram on the "inscribed pillar" of C5l–C4e (*TAM* I 44C = *ML* 93; cf. *SEG* 45 1827). The C4e inscription from Xanthos honouring the Lycian dynast Arbinas is in Greek without a parallel text in Lykian (*SEG* 39 1414 = *CEG* 2 888). The Irano-centric interpretation of the text by Herrenschmidt (1985) has been countered by Levêque and Pleket (*SEG* 36 1215), emphasising Greek values. With the Hekatomnid domination of Lykia, Greek seems to have become an official language alongside Lykian (Le Roy (1987)), as is attested in Xanthos by Pixodaros' trilingual edict concerning exemption from taxes (*SEG* 36 1216). The Hekatomnid Hellenisation of Karia (Hornblower (1982) 332–51) was presumably transferred to Lykia too, especially by Pixodaros. He was satrap of Lykia (*SEG* 27 942.1–2) from 340 to 334 (Diod. 16.74.2). Artemelis, his *epimeletes* in Xanthos, was a Karian, but Hieron and Apollodotos, his two *archontes* of Lykia, may have been Greeks (*SEG* 27 942.3–5). Furthermore, a local Greek historian, Menekrates of Xanthos, is commonly dated to C4 (*FGrHist* 769); he wrote a work entitled *Lykiaka* in two books in which he reports, or perhaps invents, Homeric foundation myths for the Lykian cities and suggests that Xanthos colonized Pinara and two other unnamed cities. Thus, in C4s there were sufficient elements of Hellenisation in Xanthos to justify the inclusion of that city in the Inventory as an example of a mixed community (Keen (1998) 66–69).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Ashton, R. H. J. 1990. "The Solar Disk Drachms of Caria", *NC* 34–35.

Bean, G. E. 1978. *Lycian Turkey: An Archaeological Guide* (London).

Behrwald, R. 2000. *Der lykische Bund* (Bonn).

Benndorf, O., and Niemann, G.. 1884. *Reisen in südwestlichen Kleinasien*, i: *Reisen in Lykien und Karien* (Vienna).

Blomqvist, J. 1982. "Translation Greek in the Trilingual Inscription of Xanthus", *OpAth* 14: 11–20.

Blumenthal, E. 1963. "Die altgriechische Siedlungskolonisation im Mittelmeerraum", *Tübinger Geograph. Studien* 10: 129–32.

Borchhardt, J. 1993. *Die Steine von Zêmuri: archäologische Forschungen an den verborgenen Wassern von Limyra* (Vienna).

Briant, P. 1998. "Cités et satrapes dans l'empire achéménide: Xanthos et Pixôdaros", *CRAI* 305–40.

Bryce, T. R. 1983. "Political Unity in Lycia during the 'Dynastic' Period", *JNES* 42: 31–42.

——1986. *The Lycians: A Study of Lycian History and Civilisation to the Conquest of Alexander the Great*, i: *The Lycians in Literary and Epigraphic Sources* (Copenhagen).

Burn, A. R. 1960. *The Lyric Age of Greece* (London).

Domingo Gygax, M. 2001. *Untersuchungen zu den lykischen Gemeinwesen in klassischer und hellenistischer Zeit* (Bonn).

Hansen, M. H. 2002. "Introduction", in *Six City-State Cultures* 7–21.

Heipp-Tamer, C. 1993. *Die Münzprägung der lykischen Stadt Phaselis in griechischer Zeit* (Saarbrücken).

Herrenschmidt, C. 1985. "Une lecture iranisante du poème de Symmachos dédié à Arbinas, dynaste de Xanthos", *RÉA* 87: 125–35.

Hornblower, S. 1982. *Mausolus* (Oxford).

Keen, A. G. 1992. "The Dynastic Tombs of Xanthos—Who was Buried Where?", *AnatSt* 42: 53–63.

——1996. "The Identification of a Hero-Cult Centre in Lycia", in M. P. J. Dillon (ed.), *Religion in the Ancient World: New Themes and Approaches* (Amsterdam) 239–43.

——1997. "Alexander's Invasion of Lycia: Its Route and Purpose", *AHB* 11: 110–18.

——1998. *Dynastic Lycia: A Political History of the Lycians and their Relations with Foreign Powers, c. 545–362 B.C.* (Leiden).

Kjeldsen, K., and Zahle, J. 1975. "Lykische Gräber: ein vorläufiger Bericht", *AA* 312–50.

Kolb, F., and Tietz, W. 2001. "Zagaba: Münzprägung und politische Geographie in Zentrallykien", *Chiron* 31: 347–416.

Larsen, J. A. O. 1968. *Greek Federal States* (Oxford).

Le Roy, C. 1987. "La formation d'une société provinciale en Asie Mineure: l'example Lycien", in E. Frézouls (ed.), *Sociétés urbaines, sociétés rurale dans l'Asie Mineure et la Syrie hellénistiques et romaines* (Strasbourg) 41–47.

Marksteiner, T. 1997. *Die befestigte Siedlung von Limyra: Studien zur vorrömischen Wehrarchitektur und Siedlungsentwicklung in Lykien unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der klassiche Periode* (Vienna).

——2002. "Städtische Strukturen im vorhellenistischen Lykien", *Six City-State Cultures* 57–72.

Martin, R. 1951. *Recherches sur l'agora grecque* (Paris).

Melchert, H. C. 1993. *Lycian Lexicon*² (Chapel Hill, NC).

Mellink, M. J. 1969. "The Early Bronze-Age in Southwest Anatolia: A Start in Lycia", *Archaeology* 22: 290–99.

Metzger, H. *et al.* 1963. *Fouilles de Xanthos*, ii: *L'Acropole lycienne* (Paris).

——1972. *Fouilles de Xanthos*, iv: *Les Céramiques archaïques et classiques de l'acropole lycienne* (Paris).

——1979. *Fouilles de Xanthos*, vi: *La Stèle trilingue du Létôon* (Paris).

Mørkholm, O., and Neumann, G. 1978. *Die lykische Münzlegenden* (Göttingen).

—— and Zahle, J. 1972. "The Coinage of Kuprlli: A Numismatic and Archaeological Study", *ActaArch* 43: 57–113.

—— —— 1976. "The Coinages of the Lycian Dynasts Kheriga, Kherei and Erbbina: A Numismatic and Archaeological Study", *ActaArch* 47: 47–90.

Neumann, G. 1979. *Neufunde lykischer Inschriften seit 1901* (Vienna).

Picard, C. 1951. "Les 'Agoras de dieux' en Grèce", *BSA* 46: 132–42.

Ritter, C. 1859. *Die Erdkunde im Verhältnisz zur Natur und zur Geschichte des Menschen oder allgemeine vergleichende Geographie*, ix.2 (Berlin).

Robert, J., and Robert, L. 1983. *Fouilles d'Amyzon en Carie*, i (Paris).

Schäfer, J. (ed.) 1981. *Phaselis: Beiträge zur Topographie und Geschichte der Stadt und ihrer Häfen* (Tübingen).

Schläger, H., and Schafer, J. 1971. "Phaselis", *AA* 542–61.

Schweyer, A.-V. 1996. "Le pays lycien: une étude de géographie historique aux époques classique et hellénistique", *RA* 3–68.

Tritsch, F. J. 1942. "The Harpy Tomb at Xanthos", *JHS* 62: 39–50.

Vismara, N. 1989–96. *Monetazione arcaica della Lycia*, i–iii (Milan).

Wörrle, M. 1978. "Epigraphische Forschungen zur Geschichte Lykiens II", *Chiron* 8: 201–46.

Wurster, W. W. 1978. "Wohnbereiche antiker Siedlungen in Lykien", in *Bericht über die 29. Tagung für Ausgrabungswissenschaft und Bauforschung der Koldewey Gesellschaft* (Cologne) 21–24.

Zahle, J. 1980. "Lycian Tombs and Lycian Cities", in H. Metzger (ed.), *Actes du colloque sur la Lycie antique* (Paris) 37–49.

——1983. *Arkæologiske studier i lykiske klippegrave og deres relieffer* (Copenhagen).

——1989. "Politics and Economy in Lykia during the Persian Period", *RÉA* 91: 171–82.

——1991. "Achaemenid Influences in Lycia (Coinage, Sculpture, Architecture): Evidence for Political Changes during the 5th Century B.C.", *Achaemenid History* 6: 145–60.

CRETE

PAULA PERLMAN

I. The Island

The name of the island is *Κρήτα, ἡ* (Eur. *Bacch.* 121; *I.Cret.* III.vi.7 (C3e)) or *Κρήτη* (Hom. *Il.* 2.649; Hdt. 3.44); cf. the plural *Κρῆται, αἱ* (Hom. *Od.* 14.199). The ethnic is *Κρής* (Hom. *Il.* 2.645; *I.Cret.* IV 176 (C2e)) or *Κρηταιεύς* (*I.Cret.* II.xxiii.21 (C2)). The ethnic in *-ευς* was perhaps a creation of the Hellenistic Cretan *koinon* (Bile (1989–90)). The collective use of the ethnic *Κρής* is attested externally in a graffito from Abydos of a mercenary soldier in the army of Amyrtaios (*ἐπ' Ἀμυρταίο ἐπίκοροι Κρῆτες*, *Memnonion* 405 (*c.*400)) and internally in public documents of the Hellenistic period (e.g. *πρεσβευταὶ Κρῆτες*, *I.Cret.* III.iv.10 (C2l)). There are no examples of the individual use internally, but externally there are references to the *Gortynioi Βρόταρχος Γορτύνιος Κρής*, a merchant (Simon. *AP* 7.254 *bis* (C6s/C5e)), *Νικίας Γορτύνιος Κρής*, *proxenos* of Athens (Thuc. 2.85.5 (429)), and the grave *stele* of *[Τιμ]οῦχος Κρής* from Athens (*IG* II² 9090 (C4m)). The collective use of the ethnic *Κρηταιεύς* is attested externally in Polybius (e.g. Polyb. 4.53.4–5) and internally in public documents of the Hellenistic period, principally in two expressions: *τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Κρηταιέων* (e.g. *I.Cret.* II.iii.4C (*c.*159–138)) and *πάντες Κρηταιεῖς* (e.g. *I.Cret.* III.iv.9 (C2)). There are no examples of the use of *Κρηταιεύς* as part of the personal name, but the ethnic does appear in private contexts (e.g. *I.Cret.* II.xxiii.21 (C2), a grave epigram from Polyrhen).

The island of Crete is surrounded by many small islands.[1] There is little early evidence, written or material, for their settlement during the Archaic and Classical periods. The island of Dia, located 5 nautical miles north of Herakleion, is identified in the *Odyssey* as the place where Artemis killed Ariadne (*Od.* 11.325). Two settlements of the Classical period have been identified on the island of Ghavdos (ancient Kaudos), located in the Libyan sea 20 nautical miles south of Chora Sphakion, but nothing is known about their political status during the Classical period. Written sources of the Hellenistic and Roman periods indicate that Ghavdos and others of the small islands belonged in some fashion to one or another of the Cretan *poleis*. "Those who inhabited Kaudos" formed a dependent community, perhaps a dependent *polis*, of Gortyn (*I.Cret.* IV 184 (C3l–C2e); Chaniotis (1996) 160–68, 407–20), while Lipara (if indeed an island; cf. Guarducci (1939) 117) appears to have belonged to Kydonia (*I.Cret.* II.x.1 (C3)). Control of Leuke (modern Kouphonisi) was contested by a succession of east Cretan *poleis*, including Stalai, Praisos, Itanos and Hierapytna (Perlman (1999) 146–51). Several of the Hellenistic treaties and alliances between Cretan *poleis* guaranteed the security of islands (*νῆσοι*) belonging to them (*I.Cret.* III.vi.7 (C3e); *I.Cret.* I.xvi.17 (C2e), xvi.5 (C2l)). For the most part these islands were inhabited if at all only on a seasonal basis. We should imagine that the Cretan *poleis* laid claim to them when motivated to do so by economic and strategic concerns. The shores of Crete mark the geographical limits of this chapter.

Greek epic tradition identified Crete as a land of many cities, 100 in the *Iliad* (*Κρήτην ἑκατόμπολιν*, Hom. *Il.* 2.649) and ninety in the *Odyssey* (*ἐννήκοντα πόληες*, Hom. *Od.* 19.174). The persistence of the epic tradition into the Roman period is instanced by the use of the epithet *ἑκατονταπολῖται* in a funerary inscription of a Roman gladiator from Gortyn (*I.Cret.* IV 373). The survival of well over 100 toponyms of settlements of Graeco-Roman Crete is in part due to this tradition which encouraged the ancient geographers to compile lists of the fabled 100 *poleis* of Crete (Faure (1959), (1997)).

Written sources, including coin legends, provide us with the toponyms and city-ethnics of sixty-four Cretan

Many scholars have contributed to the compilation of the Inventory of the Archaic and Classical *poleis* of Crete, sharing with me their views on various problems in Cretan history, their unpublished manuscripts and their specialised knowledge of particular sites. I am indebted to all those who have been so generous with their time, and in particular to John Bennet, Nicola Cucuzza, Elpida Hadjidaki, Charilambos Kritzas, Stavroula Markoulaki, Vanna Niniou-Kindeli, Leftheri Platon, Joseph and Maria Shaw, Manolis Stefanakis, Iannis Tsifopoulos, Loeta Tyree, and Maria Vlasaki. My gratitude to them in no way suggests their responsibility for any shortcomings which remain.

[1] For a list of 34 Cretan islets and a brief discussion of their environment and ecology, see Rackham and Moody (1996) 202–8.

settlements of the Archaic and Classical periods.[2] Written sources from the Archaic and Classical periods survive for forty-five of these toponyms.[3] The written sources for sixteen of the remaining nineteen toponyms are late, and the Archaic and Classical phases of these settlements are attested by the material evidence which in most cases consists of surface remains only.[4] The locations of fifty-four of the sixty-four Cretan settlements of the Archaic and Classical periods have been identified beyond a reasonable doubt,[5] the locations of the remaining ten with a certain amount of probability only.[6] A further sixteen settlements with Archaic and Classical habitation phases have been identified with a certain amount of probability, with toponyms attested in late sources only.[7] Finally, the remains of twenty Archaic and Classical settlements cannot be convincingly matched with any of the toponyms found in the written sources.[8] Thus, the written and archaeological records do indeed provide evidence for 100 Archaic and Classical settlements altogether. Forty-nine of these are described in the Inventory, which on current evidence comprises every settlement on the island of Crete that was either certainly (type A) or probably (type B) or possibly (type C) an Archaic or Classical *polis*. The remaining fifty-one settlements are listed below.[9]

1. *Pre-Hellenistic Settlements not Attested as* Poleis

Acharna (*Ἀχάρνα*) The toponym Acharna, which appears in the C5m agreement of Argos, Knosos and Tylisos (ML 42B, ll. 35–36: *τὸν Ἀρχὸν τὸ τέμενος ἔχεν τὸν Ἀχάρναι*), was probably located in the vicinity of the modern village of Archarnes. The agreement includes the sanctuary of Archos at Acharna among the features marking the border of Knosos and Tylisos (ML 42B, l. 27). Although the largely chance finds from the vicinity of Archarnes indicate occupation during the Archaic and Classical periods, on current evidence it is not possible to make any further claims about the nature of that occupation (Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki (1997) 38–41; Chaniotis (1994)). *Barr.* C.

Amyklaion (*Ἀμύκλαιον*) *I.Cret.* IV 72.III.7–8 (C5m): *ἀπομόσαι τὰν Ἄρτεμιν παρ' Ἀμύκλαιον πὰρ τὰν Τοκσίαν*; *I.Cret.* IV 172 (C3l): *Ἀμυκλαῖοι*; Steph. Byz. 88.3: *πόλις*. Probably located in the western Mesara, perhaps at Kommos. Shaw (1978) 150–54; Cucuzza (1997) 66–72. *Barr.* H., but also C, see the C5m inscription *supra*.

[2] Toponyms preceded by the symbol (*) are not attested in the ancient sources and have been deduced from ethnics and other forms (e.g. adverbial) which are attested.

[3] The early written sources may preserve two additional Cretan ethnics: *Πρεπσιδάι* (*BCH* 70 (1946) 588–90 no. 1 (C6)) and *Μαρωνείτης* (Suda s.v. *Σωτάδης*), but the interpretation of the former as an ethnic (in *-ίδης*) is problematic, and the reading *Μαρφ[νειαι]* (where *φ* = *ω/υ*) in an Archaic Eteocretan text from Praisos (*I.Cret.* III.vi.3, l. 7 (C6); Faure (1988–89) 103–5) is highly speculative (Perlman (1996) 256, 276 n. 77). The 45 Cretan settlements attested in early written sources are Acharna, Allaria, Amyklaion, Aptara, Arkades, Aulon, Axos, Chersonasos, Datala, Dreros, Eleutherna, Eltynia, Elyros, Gortyn, Hierapytna, Hyrtakina, Itanos, Keraia, Knosos, Kydonia, Kytaion, Lappa, Latosion, Lebena, Lisos, Lykastos, Lyktos, Milatos, Olous, Osmida, *Pergamos, Phaistos, Phalasarna, Polichne (Trypitos), Polichne (Vryses), Polyrhenia, Praisos, Priansos, Rhaukos, Rhithymnos, *Rhitten, Rhytion, Sybrita, Tarrha, Tylisos.

[4] Anopolis, Apellonia, Biannos, Bionnos, Herakleion, Istron, Lassoia, Lato, Malla, Matala, Minoa, Oleros, Pantomatrion, *Petra, Phalannai, Poikilasion. The locations of *Detonnion (Kefala, Astritzi?), Dragmos (Kastri, Koutsoulopetris?) and Stalai (Dasonari?) are uncertain.

[5] With the following exceptions, locations follow those of Map 60 of the *Barrington Atlas of the Greek and Roman World* (*Barr.*), compiled by J. Bennet (ancient names are italicised). (1) Ampelos, Koxare = *Kourtolia? (*Barr.* does not include *Kourtolia in the catalogue and does not identify Ambelos, Koxare). (2) Kastellos, Varypetro = *Λαχανία* (*Barr.* does not identify Kastellos, Varypetro and does not include Lachania in the catalogue). (3) *Barr.* does not include Latosion in the catalogue. (4) Prophitis Elias, Kato Chorio = Larisa?, Kastellos Kalamafka is not identified (*Barr.* locates Larisa at Kastellos Kalamafka and does not identify Prophitis Elias). (5) Veni, Apostoloi = Ilattia? (*Barr.* does not identify Veni and does not locate Ilattia). (6) Four entries *Barr.* includes are excluded here: Ag. Triada; Ag. Georgios, Gialos; Karphi; Lera. Evidence for occupation during the Archaic and Classical periods at Ag. Triada (La Rosa (1988–89)) and at Ag. Georgios, Gialos (M. S. F. Hood (1967) 49–50) is exiguous at best. Evidence for the Archaic period at Karphi occurs only in the vicinity of an open cult place at the spring of Vitzilovrysis. Occupation of the site ceased at the end of Late Minoan IIIC (Nowicki (2000) 157–64 no. 67). A sanctuary of Pan and the Nymphs was established in Lera cave on Akrotiri peninsula during the Archaic period (Guest-Papamanoli and Lambraki (1976)). There was never a settlement there. (7) *Barr.* does not include the following unidentified Archaic and/or Classical settlements: Azoria, Kavousi; Charakas, Vainia; Ellinika, Zakros Gorge; Elliniko Kastello, Myrsini; Kastri, Tourloti Kastri; Kefala, Ligortynos; Papoura, Kera; Patsianos Kefala; Skalia, Stavrochori.

[6] The ten toponyms located with a certain amount of probability only are Amyklaion, Datala, Dragmos, Kytaion, Latosion, Osmida, *Pergamon, Polichne (Trypito), Stalai, *Rhitten.

[7] Ancient names are italicised. Arvi (= ancient *Aria?); Ampelos, Koxare (= ancient *Kourtolia?); Avgousti, Ag. Georgios (= ancient *Eronos/*Erannos?); Kastellos, Varypetro (= ancient Lachania?); Kasteriotis, Melidochori (= ancient *Hyrtaia?); Kastri, Farmakokefalo (= ancient Ampelos?); Kefala, Astritzi (= ancient *Detonnion?); Kontokynigi (= ancient Pelkis?); Phoinikias, Sellia (= ancient Phoinix?); Prophitis Elias, Kadros (= ancient Katre?); Prophitis Elias, Kato Chorio (= ancient Larisa?); Selli, Kissamos (= ancient Mykenai?); Troulli, Rokka (= ancient *Rokka?); Vathi (formerly Kouneni) (= ancient Ina?); Veni, Apostoloi (= ancient Ilattia?); Voulgari Armokastella, Melambes (= ancient Korion?).

[8] Ag. Ioannis, Ghavdos; Ag. Giorgios Papoura, Pinakiano; Amnatos; Anavlochos, Vrachasi; Azoria, Kavousi; Charakas, Vainia; Ellinika, Zakros Gorge; Elliniko Kastello, Myrsini; Kastellos, Kalamafka; Kastri, Apodholou; Kastri, Keratokambos; Kastri, Pantanassa; Kastri, Tourloti; Kefala, Ligortynos; Koupos, Kroussonas; Papoura, Kera; Patela, Prinias; Patsianos Kefala; Skalia, Stavrochori; Vigla, Vizari. Oxa, Elounda, is perhaps to be identified as the acropolis or upper city of Olous. If not, we should include it in the list of unidentified Archaic and Classical settlements.

[9] In the following lists, the final modern citation of each entry (in parentheses) provides a discussion of the material evidence.

Lassoia (*Λασσοία*) *Acta Apost.* 27.8: *πόλις*. Blackman and Branigan (1975) 28–32; Branigan (1979*b*). *Barr.* H and later, but C also attested.

Latosion (*Λατόσιον*) *I.Cret.* IV 58 and 78 (both C5). Settlement near Gortyn, perhaps in the vicinity of Mitropolis. Guarducci (1950) 79; van Effenterre and van Effenterre (1985) 187–88. Not in *Barr.*, but C attested.

Lykastos (*Λύκαστος*) *Il.* 2.647: *ἀργινόεις*; Polyb. 22.15: *τὸ Λυκάστιον* (*sc. χῶρον*); Strabo 10.4.14: *κατασκάψαντες* (*Knosioi*) *τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὴν χώραν ἐνείμαντο*; Steph. Byz. 421.1: *πόλις*; Mycenaean ru-ki-to? (McArthur (1993) 145–46). Sanders (1982) 154 (8/10); Nowicki (2000) 182–83 no. 82. *Barr.* H and later, but AC also attested.

Minoa (*Μινῴα*) Plin. *HN* 4.12.59: *oppidum insignis*; Ptol. *Geog.* 3.15.4. Blackman (1976*b*). *Barr.* H and later, but AC also attested.

Oleros (*Ὤλερος*) Xenion (*FGrHist* 460) fr. 14: *πόλις*. Hayden (1995). *Barr.* C and later, but A also attested.

Pantomatrion (*Παντομάτριον*) Steph. Byz. 502.4–6: *πόλις*; Ptol. *Geog.* 3.15.5; *Stadiasmus* 346: *ἀπὸ Ῥίθυμνας εἰς Παντομάτριον στάδιοι ρ' πόλις ἐστίν. ἔχει αἰγιαλόν* (Müller *GGM*). Bronze coins (C2) with types: *obv.* palm tree or female head; *rev.* palm; legend: *ΠΑ* (Faure (1993) 72; cf. Svoronos (1890) 251–52; Le Rider (1966) 248–50); Schiering (1982). *Barr.* C and later, but A also attested.

Phalannai (*Φάλανναι*) Steph. Byz. 655.20–22: *πόλις*. Platon (1954), (1956), (1955); Faure (1988) 86. *Barr.* AC.

Poikilasion (*Ποικιλάσιον*) *Stadiasmus* 330: *Ποικιλασσόν· πόλις ἐστὶ καὶ ὅρμον ἔχει καὶ ὕδωρ*. Nixon *et al.* (1989) 208. *Barr.* C.

Rhytion (*Ῥύτιον*) Hom. *Il.* 2.648: *Φαιστόν τε Ῥύτιόν τε πόλεις ἐὺ ναιετοώσας*; Strabo 10.4.14: *Γορτυνίων δ' ἐστὶ καὶ τὸ Ῥύτιον σὺν τῇ Φαιστῷ*; Steph. Byz. 548.6–7: *πόλις*; *I.Cret.* I.xxix.1 (first half of second century AD): *Ῥυτιασίων κώ*[*μης*]. Spratt (1865) i.333–36; Sanders (1982) 150 (7/21); Nowicki (2000) 190–91 no. 88). *Barr.* AC.

2. *Unidentified Settlements*

Ag. Eirini Possibly *Pergamos (Gondiccas (1988) 280–85), under which name it is listed in the *Barr.* directory. Ps.-Skylax 47: *τῆς χώρας Περγαμίας*; *I.Cret.* II.xv.3 (C3): *Σωσάρχου θυγάτηρ Πασιμνάστα Περγαμία τὸ γένος*; Plut. *Lyk.* 31: *τῆς Περγαμίας περὶ τὴν ξενικὴν ὁδόν*; Verg. *Aen.* 3.131–34; Plin. *HN* 4.12.59; Vell. Pat. 1.1. Gondiccas (1988) 278. *Barr.* AC.

Ag. Giorgios Papoura Possibly *Δατάλα* (Watrous (1982) 40; cf. *Datala, infra*). Watrous (1982) 39–40. *Barr.* AC.

Ag. Ioannis Probably the principal settlement of the island Kaudos (modern Gavdos) in Antiquity (it is listed under Kaudos in the *Barr.* directory). Levi (1927–29). *Barr.* C, but A also attested.

Amnatos Branigan (1979*a*). *Barr.* C.

Ampelos Possibly *Kourtolia? (Perlman (1996) 247–48). The toponym is deduced from the ethnic *Κουρτολιαῖος* (*OGIS* 171 (C3)). *Barr.* C. Hood and Warren (1966) 180 no. 19.

Anavlokhos P. Demargne (1931); Nowicki (2000) 171–73 no. 72. *Barr.* A.

Arvi Possibly *Aria (Kitchell (1983)) under which it is listed in the *Barr.* directory. The toponym is deduced from the ethnics *Ἀριαῖοι* and *Ἄρβιος* (ibid.). *Milet.* I.3 140 (*c.*259–250): the community of the *Ἀριαῖοι* identified as a *polis*). For the coins (C3s), see Le Rider (1966) 227–29. S. Hood *et al.* (1964) 89–92 (42.1). *Barr.* C.

Avgousti Possibly *Eronos/*Erannos? (Faure (1993) 69), under which it is listed in the *Barr.* directory. The toponyms are deduced from the ethnics *Ἐρώνιοι* (Michel 62; *I.Cret.* IV 179 (both C2f)) and *Ἐράννιοι* (Michel 62 (C2f)); in both texts the community of *Ἐρώνιοι*/*Ἐράννιοι* is identified as a *polis*. Watrous (1982) 55–56. *Barr.* AC.

Azoria Nowicki (2000) 99–100 no. 32. Not in *Barr.*, but A is attested.

Charakas Nowicki (2000) 86–89 no. 25. Not in *Barr.*, but AC is attested.

Ellinika Nowicki (2000) 54–55 no. 7. Not in *Barr.*, but A is attested.

Elliniko Kastello Nowicki (2000) 103–4 no. 35. Not in *Barr.*, but A is attested.

Kastellos (Cf. Faure (1963) 18 no. 48.) Faure, *loc. cit.*; Nowicki (2000) 127–28 no. 49. *Barr.* AC, s.v. Larisa? (cf. *infra*, Prophitis Elias, Kato Chorio).

Kastellos Possibly *Λαχανία* (Faure (1988) 90–91). *I.Cret.* II.x.1 (C3): *κώμη*. *ArchDelt* 25 (1970) *Chron.* 468; Sanders (1982) 168 (18/9); Erickson (2000) 260. *Barr.* C and later, but A also attested.

Kasteriotis Possibly *Hyrtaia (Faure (1960) 196–98, (1993) 70), under which it is listed in the *Barr.* directory. *Milet.* I.3 140 (*c.*259–250): πόλις. The toponym is deduced from the city-ethnic Ὑρταῖος. Spratt (1865) i.319–26; Sanders (1982) 150 (7/5). *Barr.* C.

Kastri (Apodholou) *Barr.* C. S. Hood *et al.* (1964) 78–79 (32.4).

Kastri (Farmakokefalo) Possibly Ampelos (Guarducci (1942) 1), under which it is listed in the *Barr.* directory. Plin. *HN* 4.12.59: *oppidum insignis*; Ptol. *Geog.* 3.15.3: Ἄμπελος ἄκρα. *ArchDelt* 39 (1984) *Chron.* 304–6, 40 (1985) *Chron.* 300–1, 41 (1986) *Chron.* 231–32 (with fig. 2, p. 233). *Barr.* H and later, but C also attested.

Kastri (Keratokampos) S. Hood *et al.* (1964) 82–83 (34). *Barr.* AC.

Kastri (Pantanassa) Hood and Warren (1966) 188–89 no. 36. *Barr.* C.

Kastri (Tourloti (?)) Nowicki (2000) 104 no. 36. Not in *Barr.*, but A is attested.

Kefala Possibly *Detonnion? (Guarducci (1935) 46). The toponym is deduced from the ethnic Δητόννιος (*SEG* 26 1679 (C3/C2)); cf. Διατόνιον (Polyb. 22.15). Mariani (1895) 235–37; Nowicki (2000) 179 no. 78. *Barr.* s.v. Diatonion dates it H, but AC is also attested.

Kefala (Ligortynos(?)) Nowicki (2000) 185–86 no. 84. Not in *Barr.*, but AC is attested.

Kefala (Patsianos(?)) Nixon *et al.* (1990) 217; Nowicki (2000) 213–14 no. 103. Not in *Barr.*, but AC is attested.

Kontokynigi Possibly Πελκίς (and listed s.v. in the *Barr.* directory), attested only in *BCH* 45 (1921) III.104 (*c.*230–210) (Guarducci (1939) 84; Gondiccas (1988) 57–61, 63–66. *Barr.* C.

Kroussonas Sanders (1982) 154–55 (9/13); *ArchDelt* 38 (1983) *Chron.* 355–56, 42 (1987) *Chron.* 530–31; Nowicki (2000) 181–82 no. 81. *Barr.* AC.

Monopari Possibly Ὀσμίδα: Ps.-Skylax 47. Spratt (1865) ii.114–16; Sanders (1982) 163 (14/3). *Barr.* H.

Oxa Possibly "Upper" Olous (no. 978). Nowicki (2000) 173–74 no. 74. Not in *Barr.*, but AC attested.

Papoura Nowicki (2000) 167–70 no. 70. Not in *Barr.*, but A attested.

Patela (Cf. Guarducci (1935) 294, *Rhitten; Faure (1963) 16–17: Ἀπολλωνία.) Rizza (1991), (1995), (2000). *Barr.* AC.

Phoinikias Possibly Φοῖνιξ (Guarducci (1935) 192). *Barr.* (s.v. Phoinix?). Cf. Hood and Warren (1966) 184 no. 26.

Prophitis Elias Possibly Κάτρη (Gondiccas (1988) 49–51), under which it is listed in the *Barr.* directory; Steph. Byz. 368.5: πόλις. *Barr.* C. Gondiccas (1988) 26–31.

Prophitis Elias (Episkopi) Possibly Λάρισα (Watrous and Blitzer (1995); cf. *supra*, Kastellos, Kalamafka). Strabo 9.5.19: καὶ ἐν Κρήτῃ πόλις ἡ νῦν εἰς Ἱεράπυτναν συνοικισθεῖσα, ἀφ' ἧς καὶ τὸ ὑποκείμενον πεδίον νῦν Λαρίσιον καλεῖται. Nowicki (2000) 89–90 no. 27. *Barr.* AC.

Selli Possibly Μυκῆναι (Gondiccas (1988) 156), under which it is listed in the *Barr.* directory. Gondiccas (1988) 152–55; Nowicki (2000) 222 no. 12. *Barr.* AC.

Skalia Nowicki (2000) 218–19 no. 3. Not in *Barr.*, but AC attested.

Troulli Possibly *Rokka (Gondiccas (1988) 265–69), under which it is listed in the *Barr.* directory. The toponym is deduced from the epithet of Ἄρτεμις Ῥοκκαῖα (Ael. *NA* 14.20). Gondiccas (1988) 272–74; Nowicki (2000) 216–17 no. 105. *Barr.* C and later, but A also attested.

Trypitos Possibly Πολίχνη (Faure (1993) 67–68); listed as Polichna in the *Barr.* directory. (Κρητικὴ Ἑστία 2 (1988) ἀρχ. εἰδ. 335–36, 3 (1989–90) ἀρχ. εἰδ. 291–92, 4 (1991–93) ἀρχ. εἰδ. 302–3). *Barr.* C.

Vathi (formerly *Kouneni*) Possibly Ἴνα (Gondiccas (1988) 77–78); listed as Ina Chorion in the *Barr.* directory. Ptol. *Geog.* 3.15.2: χωρίον. Gondiccas (1988) 74. *Barr.* C.

Veni Possibly Ἰλαττία (Faure (1988) 84–85). Steph. Byz. 330.14: πόλις; Polyb. 13.10.5. S. Hood *et al.* (1964) 70 no. 21; Nowicki (2000) 197–99 no. 93. *Barr.* C, but A also attested.

Vigla S. Hood *et al.* (1964) 77 no. 30. *Barr.* C.

Voulgari Armokastella Possibly Κόριον (Manganaro (1974) 43–50; Kirsten (1974) 86–88) under which it is listed in the *Barr.* directory. Hood and Warren (1966) 169–70 no. 2. *Barr.* C.

The ancient record suggests that nineteen of these fifty-one communities were *poleis* at some point during the Hellenistic period. Indeed, the evidence for the political status of three members of this group—Larisa (Prophitis

Elias, Kato Chorio), Poikilasion and Polichne (Trypitos)—suggests that they may have been *poleis* already during the Classical period. Larisa joined with Hierapytna in a synoecism (Strabo 9.5.19). The synoecism must have taken place by the beginning of C4, when the material record for the settlement on Prophitis Elias ceases (Watrous and Blitzer (1995); autopsy). Strabo indicates that Larisa possessed a hinterland, the *Λαρίσιον πεδίον* (Strabo 9.5.19). Both Strabo and Stephanos identify Larisa as a *polis* (Strabo 9.5.19; Steph. Byz. 413.3). If Larisa was a *polis*, as the evidence hints, it was one during the Classical period. Poikilasion is mentioned in an alliance between Magas of Cyrene and the federation of the *Oreioi*, whose member states swore by *τὸς ἐμ Ποικιλασίωι θεός* to uphold its terms (*I.Cret.* II.xvii.1 (C3f)). The league dates to the period C4l–C3. If Poikilasion was a member, the community was a *polis* and perhaps one already by the late Classical period. Polichne (Trypitos) is perhaps referred to by Herodotos in his account of the Cretan response to the messengers sent out to marshal the Greek resistance in advance of Xerxes' invasion (Hdt. 7.170). According to the story told by Herodotos, the *Praisioi* and the *Polichnites* did not accompany the other Cretans to Sicily to avenge the death of Minos (*πάντας πλὴν Πραισίων καὶ Πολιχνιτέων*). The context is mythical, but the story was current in C5 and probably refers to a historical community. If Polichne (Trypitos) is a community distinct from the Polichne near Vryses, Herodotos' narrative suggests that it was a *polis*. An additional ten of the nineteen communities were either certainly[10] or possibly[11] *poleis* during the Hellenistic period, and three others were perhaps dependent *poleis*.[12] The final four in this group of nineteen appointed *theorodokoi*, and so may have been *poleis* at some time, but were not necessarily still *poleis* at the time of the appointment of *theorodokoi* in C3s.[13]

Thus, of the seventy-nine toponyms of Archaic and Classical settlements on Crete, sixty-eight (86 per cent) were *poleis* at some point during the Archaic, Classical and Hellenistic periods, and forty-nine (62 per cent) were *poleis* already in the Archaic and Classical periods. Almost nothing may be said about the status of the remaining Archaic and Classical settlements. Only one settlement attested in an early source, Latosion, seems on current evidence not to have been a *polis*, but rather a neighbourhood or district within the territory of Gortyn.[14] Later sources provide a few terms which might reasonably be understood to refer to dependent communities of one sort or another (Perlman (1996) 239–44). Thus a Hellenistic inscription identifies Laxania as a *kome*, presumably of Kydonia (*I.Cret.* II.x.1 (C3)), and Ptolemy calls Ina a *chorion* (Ptol. *Geog.* 3.15.2). But in no case are there grounds to project such terms back into the Classical period or to suggest that the terms represent civic subdivisions of the *polis*. The only civic subdivisions attested for the Cretan *poleis* are the *phylai*, and these appear to have been personal. In so far as there is no evidence for the creation of new *phylai* following the end of the Classical period, *phylai* attested only in Hellenistic sources are most likely earlier, and so are included in the Inventory. In this case a retrospective interpretation of the sources seems justified. Thus, the only type of dependent community attested on Crete during the Archaic and Classical periods is the dependent *polis*, and the only *polis* known to have possessed such dependencies before the Hellenistic period is Gortyn: *viz.* *Rhitten and perhaps Aulos. Conversely, there is very little evidence for hyper-*polis* organisations such as federations or leagues on Crete prior to the Hellenistic period, with the exception of the *Oreioi*, a federation of small *poleis* (Elyros, Hyrtakina, Lisos, Tarrha and perhaps Poikilasion) in west Crete, which may date as early as the late Classical period.[15] Attempts to retroject the origins of the Hellenistic Cretan *koinon* back into the

[10] *Ἀριαῖοι* (*Milet.* I.3 140 (*c.*259–250)); *Ἐρώνιοι*/*Ἐράννιοι* (*I.Cret.* IV 179 (*c.*183); Michel 62); *Ὑρταῖοι* (*Milet.* I.3 140 (*c.*259–250)). In addition to these three Hellenistic *poleis* with evidence of earlier settlement phases, there is Araden, a Hellenistic *polis* (*I.Cret.* IV 179 (*c.*183)) for which there is no earlier material evidence.

[11] *Kourtolia (Perlman (1996) 247–48); *Ἀμύκλαιον* (ibid. 252, 258, 260–61); *Λύκαστος* (ibid. 249–50); *Παντομάτριον* (Faure (1993) 72; cf. Svoronos (1890) 251–52; Le Rider (1966) 248–50); *Ἴλαττία* (Polyb. 13.10.5); *Κόριον* (Perlman (1996) 243, 276 n. 79). Two communities may have minted coins for a brief time during the Hellenistic period: Tanos (Svoronos (1890) 319 no. 1; Seager (1924) pls. VI, VII) and the *Ainaeis* (Varoucha-Christodoulopoulou (1968)). Neither community has been located with certainty.

[12] Dependent *poleis* of Gortyn: the community of "those living on Kaudos" (Chaniotis (1996) 161–66); Rhytion (Perlman (1996) 268–69); of Knosos: *Detonnion (ibid. 247, 250–52).

[12] Dependent *poleis* of Gortyn: the community of "those living on Kaudos" (Chaniotis (1996) 161–66); Rhytion (Perlman (1996) 268–69); of Knosos: *Detonnion (ibid. 247, 250–52).

[13] The four are *Πελκίς* (*BCH* 45 (1921) III.104; Perlman (1995*b*) 139); *Λασσοία* (*BCH* 45 (1921) IV.9; Perlman (1995*b*) 136 (Lasaia)); *Ὥλερος* (*BCH* 45 (1921) IV.3; Perlman (1995*b*) 138–39); *Φάλανναι* (*BCH* 45 (1921) III.117; Perlman (1995*b*) 139). For the political significance of the appointment of a *theorodokos*, see Perlman (1995*b*). One additional community, *Ψύχειον*, appointed a *theorodokos* (*BCH* 45 (1921) IV.12; Perlman (1995*b*) 139), but the material evidence for the settlement is no earlier than the Hellenistic period.

[14] Perlman (1996) 254. Two other toponyms, *Πάλα* and *Κεσκόρα*, are attested in an early inscription from Gortyn, but it is impossible to determine whether these toponyms represent settlements (*I.Cret.* IV 43Ba (C5e); Perlman (1996) 242–43).

[15] Van Effenterre (1948*a*) 119–26.

Classical period have been largely unconvincing.[16]

Research into the Archaic and Classical history of Crete presents special problems, chief among which is the fact that in contrast to the rich material and epigraphic record for the early Archaic and Hellenistic periods, the evidence for life on Crete tails off during the late Archaic period and does not begin to revive until the late Classical period. The precise chronological limits of this period of decline appear to vary across the island, yet the pattern of decline and growth within the late Archaic and Classical periods is evident island-wide.[17] One of the symptoms of this pattern is the relatively minor, even incidental role which the *poleis* of Crete appear to have played in the life of the greater Greek world, as evidenced by the paucity of references to Crete and the Cretan *poleis* in the written sources of the Archaic and Classical periods. The archaeological investigation of post-Minoan Crete offers the greatest promise of illuminating this Cretan "Dark Age" as research, excavations and surveys currently in progress are continually adding to our understanding. Readers with a particular interest in the epigraphic and archaeological evidence for settlement on Crete during the Archaic and Classical periods are encouraged to consult the annual epigraphic and archaeological reviews for the most recent discoveries.[18]

The poverty of the record for late Archaic and Classical Crete has of course affected the compilation of the Inventory of the Archaic and Classical *poleis*. Four points deserve special comment.

(1) Coins dating to the period *c.*330–280/270 provide the earliest evidence for the *polis* status of thirteen communities.[19] These communities may well have commenced striking coins only after the death of Alexander. Yet, it seems unlikely that they did not exist as *poleis* in the political sense already in the late Classical period. The Inventory catalogues these communities as probable *poleis* (type B).

(2) Four Cretan communities which were certainly *poleis* in the Hellenistic period are excluded from this study. The location of three of them is not known.[20] The location of the fourth, Araden, is known, but Archaic and Classical material has not been identified there.[21] Future archaeological research may well identify pre-Hellenistic habitation phases for at least some of these settlements.

(3) Greater attention is paid to the written sources of the Hellenistic period than is perhaps to be expected in a study of the Archaic and Classical *polis*.[22] Such attention is perhaps justified by the observation that in general terms the organisation of settlement on Crete from the Geometric through the Hellenistic periods appears to favour consolidation rather than proliferation (van Effenterre (1991*a*)). Thus, one should not expect many new *poleis* to emerge during the Hellenistic period. Rather, first-time evidence for *polis* status in the Hellenistic period, particularly in the early part of the period, should be regarded in light of the general decline of evidence of all types during the Classical period.

(4) One Hellenistic document, *Milet.* I.3 140, which preserves the texts of the agreements of three Cretan *poleis* (Knosos, Gortyn and Phaistos) with Miletos, deserves special comment. Twenty-five Cretan communities are listed as subscribers to these agreements. The heading of the document identifies all of these communities as *poleis*. The agreements have been dated to either *c.*293/2 or *c.*259–250.[23] They provide the earliest evidence of *polis* status for seven of the communities.[24] The Inventory adopts the later date, but in view of the chronological uncertainty, this document is regarded as good evidence for the *polis* status of the subscribers during the late Classical period if there is evidence for Archaic or Classical habitation of the site.

II. The *Poleis*

944. Allaria (Allariotas) Map 60. Lat. 35.25, long. 24.35. Size of territory: 2. Type: B. The toponym is Ἀλλαρία, ἡ (*IG* XII.3 328 (C3f)). The city-ethnic is Ἀλλαριώτας (coins, C4s–C3f; *infra*); cf. Ἀλλαριώτης (*I.Cret.* II.i.1 (from Teos) (C3l)); Ἀλλαριάτης (Polyb. 13.10 f. 4).

The earliest attestation of Allaria as a *polis* occurs in a Hellenistic *asylia* decree (*I.Cret.* II.i.1 (C3l) = Rigsby (1996)

[16] Perlman (1992); cf. van Effenterre (1991*b*) 28–30.

[17] Only at Knosos, however, is there a complete gap in the archaeological record during the period *c.*600–525. See Coldstream and Huxley (1999); Erickson (2000) 44–115, 127–54.

[18] Two doctoral dissertations (Erickson (2000); Sjögren (2001)) are particularly helpful for the material record of C6 Crete.

[19] Allaria, Aptara, Arkades, Chersonasos, Hierapytna, Keraia, Kytaion, Lappa, Olous, Polyrhen, Priansos, Rhaukos, Rhithymnos. The Cretan *poleis* did not mint bronze coins before the Hellenistic period. Knosos was perhaps the first Cretan *polis* to do so, *c.*320–300 (Jackson (1971)). Elsewhere on Crete bronze coins began *c.*C3m (M. Stefanakis, pers. comm.).

[20] *Aria (Ἀριαῖοι), *Eronos/*Erannos (Ἐρώνιοι/Ἐράννιοι), *Hyrtaia (Ὑρταῖοι).

[21] Nixon *et al.* (1989) 207.

[22] For the sake of consistency I have followed the dates in Chaniotis (1996) for all Hellenistic Cretan inter-state agreements.

[23] For the earlier date, see Mikroyannakis (1968); for the later, see e.g. Chaniotis (1996) 34–35.

[24] Apellonia, *Aria (Ἀριαῖοι), *Hyrtaia (Ὑρταῖοι), Istron, Matala, Milatos, *Petra.

no. 151). Allaria is included in the Inventory as a probable *polis* (type B) on the strength of the coins, which may be as early as *c.*330 (*infra*). The collective use of the city-ethnic occurs internally on the coins (*infra*) and externally in the *asylia* decree (*I.Cret.* II.i.1 (C3l)). The individual use is attested in Polyb. 5.63.12, 65.7 (r220).

The location of Allaria is not certain, but is probably to be sought somewhere in west Crete near Eleutherna, perhaps at the eastern edge of the Rhethymno plain in the vicinity of the villages of Khamalevri and Stavromenos (Guarducci (1939) 1–3). Surface remains indicate that two ancient settlements, one just north of Khamalevri and the other on the coast at Palaiokastro, Stavromenos, were occupied during the Archaic and Classical periods (S. Hood *et al.* (1964) 62–66; Schiering (1982); *Barr.* only H and later). Excavations in the vicinity of Khamalevri, have revealed buildings of the late Classical–early Hellenistic periods (Gavrilaki and Tzifopoulos (1998) 343 n. 4). Allaria should perhaps be identified with the site at Khamalevri, and Pantomatrion with the one at Stavromenos (Faure (1988) 85–86, (1993) 72; cf. Andreadaki-Vlasaki (1995)).

Allaria struck coins (drachms) on the Aiginetan standard during the period *c.*330–280/270 (Le Rider (1966) 190, 198; but Manolis Stefanakis (pers. comm.) says C2e at the earliest). Types: *obv.* head of Athena; *rev.* Herakles standing; legend: *ΑΛΛΑΡΙΩΤΑ*(*Ν*), sometimes retrograde (Svoronos (1890) pl. I.1–2; *SNG Cop. Aeg.Isl.* 321).

945. Anopolis (Anopolites) Map 60. Lat. 35.15, long. 24.05. Size of territory: 2. Type: C. The toponym is *Ἀνώπολις* (*BCH* 45 (1921) III.109 (*c.*230–210); *SEG* 8 269 (C3)). The city-ethnic is *Ἀνωπολίτας* (unpublished proxeny decree of Lappa (C2)) or *Ἀνωπολίτης* (*I.Cret.* IV 179 (*c.*183)).

No ancient source calls Anopolis a *polis.* Stephanos identified Anopolis as another name for Araden: *Ἀραδήν· πόλις Κρήτης, ἣ καὶ Ἀνώπολις λέγεται διὰ τὸ ἄνω εἶναι* (Steph. Byz. 108.8–9). This may reflect either the assimilation of Anopolis by Araden, both of which are included in the list of *theorodokoi* from Delphi (*BCH* 45 (1921) 1–85, III.108–10 (*c.*230–210)), or some confusion due to the proximity of the two communities (Guarducci (1939) 6; cf. Perlman (1995*b*) 135–36). Anopolis surely was a *polis* during the period C3s–C2—as is attested by the Delphic *theorodokos* (*supra*), by the proxeny decree from Lappa (*supra*) and by its C3 bronze coins (*infra*)—and this fact together with the material remains from the Classical period suggests that Anopolis was possibly a *polis* (type C) in the Classical period as well.

The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested externally in a C2e alliance (*I.Cret.* IV 179). For the individual use there is an unpublished proxeny decree of C2 from Lappa for an *Ἀνωπολίτας* and the grave *stele* of *Νεοτιμάδας Εὐπάμου Κρὴς Ἀνωπολίτης* from Eretria (*IG* XII.9 819 (C1)).

The *polis* town of Anopolis was located on the summit and northern slopes of the coastal ridge north of Loutro (ancient Phoenix, the only winter harbour on Crete's south coast). The *polis* town was defended by a fortification wall with towers which may be no earlier than C3l (Nixon *et al.* (1989) 207). Parts of columns have been found on the ridge, but their date is uncertain (ibid. 208). Remains on the Anopolis plain to the north of the ridge represent isolated farms and small hamlets of several houses. Precise dates for these are not given, but in general the Classical and Hellenistic periods are better represented at Anopolis than is the Archaic period (ibid.). The western border of Anopolis (with Araden) probably followed the Araden gorge.

Anopolis struck bronze fractions after *c.*250 (Guarducci (1939) 7; Svoronos (1890) 5–6).

946. Apellonia (Apelloniatas) Map 60. Lat. 35.25, long. 25.00. Located at Ag. Pelagia on the north coast of Crete, *c.*20 km west of Herakleion (Alexiou (1984); cf. Faure (1963) 16–17, (1993) 70). Size of territory: 2. Type: C. The toponym is *Ἀπελλωνία, ἡ* (*I.Cret.* IV 182 (*c.*165)) or *Ἀπολλωνία, ἡ* (*I.Cret.* I.iii.1 (C3l)). The city-ethnic is *Ἀπελλωνιάτας* (*I.Cret.* IV 182 (*c.*165)) or *Ἀπολλωνιάτας* (*Milet.* I.3 140.37 (*c.*259–250)).

The earliest reference to Apellonia as a *polis* in the political sense occurs in a C3m agreement of Miletos *πρὸς τὰς πόλεις τὰς ἐγ Κρήτηι* (*Milet.* I.3 140.1, 37). Polybios provides the earliest reference to Apellonia as a *polis* in its urban sense (Polyb. 28.14 (r171/0)). Apellonia's unquestionable status as a *polis* during the Hellenistic period combined with the identification of a building at Ag. Pelagia (with phases in the Archaic period and in C4–C3) as a *prytaneion* (*infra*) recommend the inclusion of Apellonia in the Inventory as a possible *polis* (type C) of the Archaic and Classical periods.

The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested externally in the C3m agreement of Miletos *πρὸς τὰς πόλεις τὰς ἐγ Κρήτηι* (*Milet.* I.3 140.37). For the individual use of the city-ethnic there is *Θαρσυφᾶς Κρὴς Ἀπολλώνιος*, member of a *theoria* to Alexandria (*SEG* 24 1175 (233)).

The territory of Apellonia is called *ἡ Ἀπελλωνία* or *ἡ χώρα ἡ τῶν Ἀπελλωνιατᾶν* (*I.Cret.* IV 181 (*c.*168), 182 (*c.*165)).

A large public building (15 m × 6.30 m) of C4–C3, oriented east–west, with two internal hearths, one at the east end and the other at the west, has been identifed as a *prytaneion* (Alexiou (1975)). This building, which was destroyed in C2e, no doubt by the Kydonians (Polyb. 28.14 (r171/0)), overlies an Archaic (C6) structure with an *eschara*. The existence of a *prytaneion* at Apellonia in the Hellenistic period is indicated by the promise of state hospitality, presumably in the *prytaneion*, for visiting ambassadors, *ἐξενοτροφήθεν δὲ καὶ οἱ πρειγευταταὶ καθὼς καθέσταται* (*I.Cret.* I.iii.1 (C3l)). The protecting deity of Apellonia was Apollo (Dekataphoros?) in whose sanctuary the public enactments of the *polis* were displayed (*I.Cret.* I.iii.1 (C3l)). The discovery at Ag. Pelagia of two Archaic bronze *lebetes*, one inscribed with a dedication to Apollo (*SEG* 34 913 (*c.*500)), in a votive context may mark the location of this sanctuary (Karetsou (1978)).

947. Aptara (Aptaraios) Map 60. Lat. 35.25, long. 24.10. Size of territory: 3. Type: B. The toponym is *Ἄπταρα, ἡ* (*SEG* 41 731 (C3e)) or *Ἄπτερα, ἡ* (*BCH* 45 (1921) III.113 (*c.*230–220)). The-city ethnic is *Ἀπταραῖος* (*I.Cret.* I.xxii.4A.39 (C3f)) or *Ἀπτεραῖος* (*I.Cret.* II.iii.1 (C3l)). Both forms of the city-ethnic occur on the earliest coins (C4s/C3f; *infra*). The literary sources use only the forms in *-ε-* (Steph. Byz. 107.8, 15; Polyb. 4.55.4). Bile ((1988) 80) argues that the original forms were in *-ε-*, but forms with *-ε-* and with *-α-* appear in the earliest sources.

Pausanias refers indirectly to Aptara as a *polis*, presumably in the political sense, in his account of the Second Messenian War when the *Aptaraioi* sent archers to support the *Lakedaimonioi* (Paus. 4.19.4, with 4.20.8 (rC7l)). The first certain reference to Aptara as a *polis* in the political sense, however, occurs in the alliance of Aptara with Eleutherna (*SEG* 41 742 (C2e)). The earliest reference to Aptara as a *polis* in the topographical sense occurs in a C2f honorary decree (*I.Cret.* II.iii.4C). There is no proof that Aptara was a *polis* in the Classical period, but Pausanias' retrospective reference to the *Apteraioi*, the coins which may be as early as *c.*330 (*infra*) and the public buildings of C5 and C4 (*infra*) recommend the inclusion of Aptara in the Inventory as a probable *polis* (type B).

The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally on the coins of C4s–C3f (*infra*). For the collective use externally there is Pausanias' reference to *τοξόται Ἀπτεραίων* (Paus. 4.20.8 (rC7l)). For the individual use there is the *proxenos* of Olous, *Ἀντίοχος Φιλτίδα Ἀπταραῖος* (*I.Cret.* I.xxii.4A (C3f)).

The territory is called *ἡ Ἀπτεραία χώρα* (Ps.-Skylax 47). An honorary decree of C2m mentions harbours, *ἐν τοῖς λιμένοις* (*I.Cret.* II.iii.4C). One of these harbours was Kisamos (Strabo 10.4.13), perhaps to be identified with the ancient remains on the coast between Kalami, where an ancient mole has been identified, and Kalybes (Sanders (1982) 165 (17/1)).

Apart from the reference to *τοξόται Ἀπτεραίων* in Pausanias' account of the Second Messenian War (Paus. 4.20.8 (rC7l)), evidence for the history and political institutions of Aptara dates no earlier than the Hellenistic period.

The *polis* town of Aptara was located on a plateau (Palaiokastro, Megala Khoraphia, altitude 231 m) overlooking Suda Bay. Palaiokastro appears to have been continuously settled from C8 on (for a general description, see Blackman (1976*a*); for the settlement history, see *AR* 42 (1996) 47). Bronze Age a-pa-ta-wa (McArthur (1993) 127–28) was perhaps located *c.*6 km to the north at Stylos, where in addition to Bronze Age remains an important C7 building has been excavated (*KrEst* 7 (1999) 175–77). The Geometric, Classical and Hellenistic periods are represented in the cemetery, which was located outside the city wall in the saddle to the west, near the village of Megala Khoraphia (Drerup (1951*a*) 95; *CretChron* 12 (1958) 468–69; *KrEst* 5 (1997) 208). City walls (date?) *c.*4 km in length surround the entire plateau, enclosing an area of *c.*63 ha. The several masonry styles (west: iso- or pseudo-isodomic; east: polygonal) may suggest several phases of construction (Drerup (1951*a*) 90–92; Blackman (1976*a*); cf. Coutsinas (2001) 64–66). The plateau was certainly fortified at the time of the Lyktian War (Polyb. 4.55.4 (r221–219)). Possible traces of earlier walls have been noted at the eastern edge of the plateau (Blackman (1976*a*)). A section of paved road running north–south has been excavated towards the centre of the plateau (*KrEst* 5 (1997) 208–11). Several cult sites have been identified in this same area: (i) a small temple with a double *cella* of the Classical period (Drerup (1951*b*)); (ii) a Classical *periobolos* and small altar; (iii) a second Classical *peribolos* with a pyre and a large building (temple?) in an area which was in use from C8 (*KrEst* 5 (1997) 208–11). A Hellenistic inscription may refer to the *prytaneion* (*I.Cret.* II.iii.2 (C2f), inferred from the invitation *ἐπὶ ξένια . . . [ἐπὶ τ]ὰν κοινὰν ἑ[στίαν]*). If so, in so far as the *prytaneion* is attested elsewhere on Crete during the Classical period (see Lato, *infra*), it is possible that the one at Aptara was also pre-Hellenistic. The extent of the enclosed area indicates that not only the public buildings of the *polis* but also its residential districts

were intra-mural. The protecting deity of Aptara was Artemis Aptara, whose sanctuary is attested epigraphically (*I.Cret.* II.iii.2 (C2f)).

Aptara struck coins (staters, hemidrachms) on the Aiginetan standard during the period *c.*330–280/270 (Le Rider (1966) 190, 198). Types (stater): *obv.* head of a goddess (Guarducci (1939) 13, Artemis Aptara?; Delepierre (1972), Aphrodite?); legend: *ΑΠΤΑΡΑΙΩΝ* or *ΑΠΤΕΡΑΙΩΝ*; *rev.* warrior standing (Guarducci (1939) 13, the hero Apteros?; Delepierre (1972), Aeneas?); legend: *ΠΤΟΛΙΟΙΚΟΣ* (Svoronos (1890) pl. I.7, 9–10); cf. *ΠΤΟΛΙΟΙΤΟΣ* (ibid. pl. I.8). Types (hemidrachm): *obv.* head of a goddess as on staters; *rev.* bow; legend: *ΑΠΤ ΑΡΑ* (Svoronos (1890) pl. I.11–12; *SNG Cop. Aeg.Isl.* 322).

948. Arkades (Arkas) Map 60. Lat. 35.05, long. 25.20. Size of territory: 3. Type: B. The toponym is *Ἀρκάδες, οἱ* (*I.Cret.* IV 171 (C3m); *BCH* 45 (1921) IV.4 (*c.*230–210)); cf. *Ἀρκαδία* (Demetrios of Skepsis? *apud* Steph. Byz. 119.15–16; Theophr. *apud* Sen. *QNat.* 3.11.5). The city-ethnic is *Ἀρκάς* (coins, C4s–C3f, *infra*); *I.Cret.* IV 171 (C3m)).

Seneca reports that according to Theophrastos, "circa Arcadiam, quae urbs in Creta insula fuit, fontes et rivos substitisse" (Sen. *QNat.* 3.11.5). If Seneca's translation of Theophrastos is accurate, this is our earliest reference to Arkades as a *polis*. The use is either political or topographical *qua asty*. The earliest certain reference to Arkades as a *polis* occurs in the agreement of Miletos *πρὸς τὰς πόλεις τὰς ἐγ Κρήτηι* (*Milet.* I.3 140.1, 51 (*c.*259–250)), in which the Arkades are included as one of the *πόλεις αἱ ἐγ Κρήτηι*. The passage from Seneca and the coins of Arkades which may be as early as *c.*330 (*infra*) strongly indicate that Arkades was a *polis* in the political sense in C4. However, in so far as we cannot be certain whether Seneca was quoting rather than paraphrasing Theophrastos or whether the coins were struck in C4s, Arkades must remain a probable *polis* (type B).

The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally on the coins of C4s–C3f (*infra*) and externally in the C3m agreement of Miletos *πρὸς τὰς πόλεις τὰς ἐγ Κρήτηι* (*Milet.* I.3 140.51). For the individual use of the city-ethnic there are *Τυχαμένης Ἀκουσίλας Ἀρκάς* and *Σώσα[ρχο]ς Ἀρήγ[ο]νος Ἀρκάς*, immigrants from Arkades to Miletos (*Milet.* I.3 38x4, 38bb5 (C3s)).

Arkades was located to the south-west of Lasithi in the eparchy of Monofatsi, but the precise location of the *polis* town remains a subject of controversy. Levi suggested that the plural form of the name reflected the fact that the community was settled *κωμηδόν*, with its principal centre during the Geometric and Archaic periods at modern Aphrati (Levi (1927–29) 15–23), but this important early settlement is perhaps to be identified as the *polis* town of ancient Datala (Viviers (1994) 234–41). The two inscriptions from Monofatsi which refer to Arkades by name (*I.Cret.* I.v.19A, 20A (both C2)) were found in the vicinity of modern Ini, which is situated in the plain to the south-west of Aphrati. On current evidence Ini seems the most likely location for the *polis* town of Arkades, despite the fact that there is very little surface evidence of habitation before the Roman period (Sanders (1982) 151 (7/25); Viviers (1994) 233–34).

Theophrastos relates that Arkades had been destroyed and resettled, although the passage as quoted by Seneca provides no indication of the date of the destruction or resettlement apart from the *floruit* of Theophrastos himself (Theophr. *apud* Sen. *QNat.* 3.11.5). Otherwise, the evidence for the history and political institutions of Arkades dates to the Hellenistic period.

Theophrastos mentions Arkades on account of her springs (Theophr. *apud* Sen. *QNat.* 3.11.5). A sanctuary of Asklepios, probably to be associated with these springs, and a festival, the Asklapieia, are attested epigraphically at Arkades (sanctuary: *I.Cret.* I.v.52 (C3l); festival: *IC* III.iii.1B (C3l)).

Arkades struck coins (drachms) on the Aiginetan standard during the period *c.*330–270. Types: *obv.* head of Zeus Ammon; *rev.* Athena standing and armed; legend: *ΑΡΚΑΔΩΝ* (Svoronos (1890) pl. II.16–18, with Le Rider (1966) 28, 190, 198; *SNG Cop. Aeg.Isl.* 345).

949. Aulon Map 60. Lat. 35.05, long. 25.00. Size of territory: 1. Type: C. The toponym is *Ἀϝλόν* (*I.Cret.* IV 64 (C5e)), *Αὐλών* (Steph. Byz. 147.8). An ethnic is not attested. Stephanos is the only ancient source to call Aulon a *polis*, but he further identifies the toponym as a *τόπος* (ibid.).

Guarducci suggests that Aulon was a suburb of Gortyn, in part because one likely location for the community is Ag. Deka, just 2 km east of the heart of the Roman city (Guarducci (1950) 30–31). Others identify Aulon as a perioikic community of Gortyn (e.g. Larsen (1936) 16; Willetts (1955) 39; *Nomima* I 52). An early honorary decree (*I.Cret.* IV 64 (C5e)) suggests that Aulon was a dependent *polis* of Gortyn, and so recommends the inclusion of Aulon in the Inventory as a possible *polis* (type C).

The decree is enacted by *Γόρτυνς ἐπίπανσα* and *οἱ ἐν Ἀϝλῶνι ϝοικίοντες*, the latter phrase presumably indicat-

ing the political body, perhaps the assembly, empowered to make public decisions on behalf of the community. From the text we learn the following about the community at Aulon: (i) the community consisted of an "urban" centre, a hinterland with recognised boundaries, and perhaps smaller settlements in the hinterland (Manganaro (1974) 54–56); (ii) *οἱ ἐν Ἄϝλῶνι ϝοικίοντες* were responsible for the disposition of real property within their community; (iii) they enjoyed their own laws regarding its disposition; and (iv) they, like the citizens of the other *ὑπόβοικοι* (dependent *poleis*) of Gortyn, were subject to judicial procedures pertaining to foreigners (*κσενεία δίκα*) in Gortyn. On the other hand, Gortyn was able to dispose of property within the community and to grant its public benefactor the right to sue as a Gortynian citizen subject there to the procedures of *ϝαστίαι δίκαι*, suits pertaining to citizens (Perlman (1996) 266–68).

950. Axos (Axios) Map 60. Lat. 35.20; long. 24.50. Size of territory: 2. Type: A. Within Crete the toponym is either *ϝάξος* (*I.Cret.* II.v.20B (C3l)) or *Ἄξος* (*SEG* 23 563.14 (C3)). The city-ethnic is either *ϝάξιος* (coins, C4, *infra*; *I.Cret.* II.v.17 (C3l)) or *Ἄξιος* (coins, *c.*330–270, *infra*; *SEG* 23 563.3 (C3)). Outside Crete the initial *ϝ* is frequently represented with the *omikron*, e.g. *Ὄαξος, ἡ* (Hdt. 4.154.3; *BCH* 45 (1921) III.120 (*c.*230–210)) and *Ὀάξιος* (*IG* II² 9087 (C3)), but forms with initial *digamma* (*ϝάξιος*, *IG* IX².1 6.11 (C3f)) and *alpha* (*Ἄξιος*, *IG* VII 3197 (C1e)) are also attested.

Herodotos refers to Axos as a *polis* in the political sense in his narration of the foundation of Cyrene (Hdt. 4.154.1 (rC7l)). The earliest contemporary references to Axos as a *polis* occur in an early public enactment (*I.Cret.* II.v.1 (C6–C5)). The term appears twice in the text, once in its political sense (6–7) and once where its meaning is ambiguous (10–11) and may be either political ("deposit with the *polis*") or urban ("store in the *polis*"). For *polis* in the urban sense, see Ps.-Skylax 47, where Oaxos is listed under the heading *πόλεις πολλαὶ ἐν Κρήτῃ*.

The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally first on the coins of C4 (*infra*) and later in several C3 inscriptions (e.g. *SEG* 23 563 (C3s); *I.Cret.* II.v.20B (C3l)). The collective use is first attested externally in C3 as well (e.g. *I.Cret.* IV 170). For the individual use there is the C3 grave *stele* from Athens of *Θαρριάδης Φρονήμονος Κρὴς Ὀάξιος* (*IG* II² 9087).

Axos probably shared borders with Tylisos and Knosos to the east, with Gortyn to the south-east, and with Eleutherna to the west. One of the Archaic inscriptions from Axos has been identified as a treaty (*I.Cret.* II.v.6 (C6–C5)). If so, this is one of the few Archaic treaties from Crete. The borders of Axos (*τὸνς τῶν ϝαξίων ὥρονς*) are mentioned in a description of the borders of Gortyn and Knosos (*I.Cret.* IV 182 (C2f)).

According to Herodotos, Axos was ruled by a *βασιλεύς*, Etearchos (Hdt. 4.154–55). Etearchos was the maternal grandfather of Battos, the *oikistes* of Kyrene, and so his *regnum*—if historical—should be placed in C8s or C7f. This is the only attestation of a post-Minoan king on Crete. The inscriptions of Axos refer to the *βολά* (*I.Cret.* II.v.9 (C6–C5)) and *κόσμοι* (e.g. *I.Cret.* II.v.6 (C6s), 9 (C6s); Bile (1988) 36–37.27 (C6l); *SEG* 23 565 (C5–C4)). The board of *κόσμοι* appears to consist of three (or four?) members in a *lex sacra* of C4l (*SEG* 23 566.11–12, with van Effenterre (1989) 6). The term *ἀποκόσμος* ("*kosmos* elect" or "ex-*kosmos*") occurs in this same inscription (*SEG* 23 566.14; Bile (1988) 274). The term *δοκῆν* occurs in one of the Archaic inscriptions (*I.Cret.* II.v.1.2 (C6s)), and what is perhaps part of an enactment formula occurs in the *lex sacra* of C4l, *καὶ φυλαῖς ϝα/δόν* "and (the following) decree pleased the tribes" (*SEG* 23 566.12–13, with van Effenterre (1989) 6–7); but the earliest fully preserved enactment formula is Hellenistic: *ἔδοξεν ϝαξίων τοῖς κόσμοις καὶ τᾶι πόλι ψαφιξαμένοις κατὰ τὸν νόμον* (*I.Cret.* II.v.17 (C3l)). Here *πόλις* refers to the assembly. The term *ἐκκλησία* occurs in this same inscription (6). The Archaic laws demonstrate that the *polis* had the authority to fine its magistrates (*I.Cret.* II.v.9 (C6s)) and to grant individuals tax exemption and sustenance at public expense (*I.Cret.* II.v.1.2–3, 14–15 (C6s)).

Free non-citizens, in this case citizens of another *polis*, may be indicated by the phrase *χσένας ἢ ἀστάς* ("foreigners or citizens"), which occurs in an uncertain context in the *lex sacra* of C4l (*SEG* 23 566.7). This same text preserves the terms *φυλά* and *ἑταιρηία* (*SEG* 23 566.12, 17). A Hellenistic inscription preserves part of the name of one of the tribes, [---]*τιδᾶν* (*I.Cret.* II.v.28 (C3l/C2e)). The name is clearly a patronymic, and as such is unparalleled elsewhere on Crete (Jones, *POAG* 223). The name of a second tribe or perhaps of another civic subdivision, *Κυδαντεῖοι*, occurs in an Archaic *lex sacra* (*I.Cret.* II.v.9 (C6s); cf. Guarducci (1939) 57, *sive festum sunt sive gens*).

The *polis* town occupied the hill above the modern village of Axos and extended north-east toward Livadhia. A residential district (Hellenistic) and a cemetery (some Archaic graves, but principally Hellenistic and Roman) lay to the south of the acropolis (*KrEst* 4 (1991–93) 266–68). The undated acropolis fortifications appear not to have formed a complete circuit, but rather to have been built where the

natural defences of the acropolis were inadequate (Taramelli (1899) 312). The masonry is polygonal. Two Archaic temples, one on the acropolis (Temple I) and a second below it to the east (Temple II), were excavated in 1899 (Levi (1930–31) 44–57). Some of the Archaic laws of Axos were probably inscribed on their walls (Guarducci (1939) 48; Jeffery (1949–50) 34–36). The protecting deity of Axos was probably Apollo, perhaps surnamed Axios (Hsch. Θ614: *Θόαξος*), whose son the eponymous ancestor of the *polis*, Oaxos, was said to have been (Guarducci (1939) 42–44). Temple I may have belonged to him (Perlman (2000) 73). Temple II has been attributed to Aphrodite on the basis of the votive figurine types (Levi (1930–31) 50; Rizza (1967–68) 291–93). Other public buildings include a large cistern located on the acropolis to the north-west of Temple I (Levi (1930–31) 48) and an *andreion* which is attested epigraphically (*I.Cret.* II.v.1 (C6s), 25 (C4–C3)). Part of a residential district (Archaic?) was excavated south-west of Temple I (Levi (1930–31)).

Axos struck coins (staters, drachms, hemidrachms, obols), on the Aiginetan standard during the period *c.*380/370–280/270. Earlier coins (*c.*380/370–330) have *obv.* head of Apollo; *rev.* tripod; legend (on some coins only): monogram *A* or *FAKΣION* written retrograde in the epichoric alphabet (Svoronos (1890) pl. II.30–34, with Le Rider (1966) 197). Later coins (*c.*330–280/270) have *obv.* head of Apollo; *rev.* tripod; legend: *FAΞIΩN* or *AΞIΩN* (Svoronos (1890) pls. II.38, III.1–3, with Le Rider (1966) 197).

951. *Biannos (Biannios) Map 60. Lat. 35.05, long. 25.25. Size of territory: 2. Type: C. The city-ethnic is *Βιάννιος* (*I.Cret.* I.vi.1 (C3l), 2 (C2m); *I.Cret.* IV 179 (*c.*183)). The toponym must have been the unattested **Βίαννος*. Stephanos preserves the spelling *Βίεννος* (Steph. Byz. 168.16), perhaps in confusion with the Roman port of this name which was located on the south-west coast of Crete (*Stadiasmus* 320).

No Archaic or Classical source calls *Biannos a *polis*. The earliest sources to do so are Hellenistic (*I.Cret.* I.vi.1 (C3l), 2 (C2m)). The term is used in its political sense in both inscriptions. In so far as *Biannos evidently was not a Hellenistic foundation, the evidence for its political status, albeit late, suggests that Biannos was a *polis* during the Classical period as well (for the possibility that Lyktos had absorbed *Biannos as it extended its territory south to the coast, see Viviers (1994) 255–56, whose argument largely depends upon taking the statement of Ps.-Skylax 47, *ἐν μεσογείᾳ δὲ Λύκτος, καὶ διήκει αὖτη ἀμφοτέρωθεν*, to mean "reached to either coast (north and south)").

The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally in the *asylia* decree for Teos (*I.Cret.* I.vi.1 (C3l)) and in its renewal (*I.Cret.* I.vi.2 (C2m)), and externally in the alliance of *Biannos and the members of the Cretan *koinon* with Eumenes II (*I.Cret.* IV 179 (*c.*183)). The individual use of the city-ethnic is not attested.

The name of the territory is *ἀ βιαννία* (*I.Cret.* IV 174.32 (C3l/C2e)). *Biannos probably shared a border with Hierapytna to the east (*I.Cret.* IV 174 (C3l/C2e)). The *polis* town was located on a hill (Chorakia) immediately to the north-west of modern Vianno, where sherds of all periods from Orientalising through Roman have been reported (S. Hood *et al.* (1964) 83). A Hellenistic inscription refers to the *prytaneion* (*I.Cret.* I.vi.2 (C2m)). In so far as the *prytaneion* is attested elsewhere on Crete during the Classical period (see Lato, *infra*), it is possible that also at *Biannos the *prytaneion* was pre-Hellenistic. The *polis* town of *Biannos was the closest urban centre to the important sanctuary of Hermes and Aphrodite at Symi, and communications between the sanctuary and the town were relatively easy. These topographic considerations suggest that the sanctuary was located within the territory of *Biannos, but there is no explicit evidence for this, and the inscriptions, especially the dedications, from Symi suggest that the sanctuary was in some sense "pan-Cretan" (cf. Chaniotis (1988) 33–34). The protecting deity of the *polis* was probably Ares, to whom the *Biannioi* offered a sacrifice called the *ἑκατομφόνια* (Steph. Byz. 168.19–20) and in whose sanctuary the public enactments of the *polis* were displayed (*I.Cret.* I.vi.1 (C3l), 2 (C2m)).

Coins struck by *Biannos are all Hellenistic (Guarducci (1935) 29; Svoronos (1890) 43).

952. Bionnos Map. 60. Lat. 35.10, long. 24.30. Size of territory: 1. Type: C. The toponym is *Βίωννος* (*BCH* 45 (1921) IV.13 (*c.*230–210)). The city-ethnic is not attested.

Bionnos is listed between Psycheion and Matala in the catalogue of *theorodokoi* from Delphi (*BCH* 45 (1921) IV.13 (*c.*230–210)). The toponym is perhaps to be identified with the remains of a fairly substantial settlement on the high ground (Pyrgos) and slope to the east (Kionia) above the sea 2 km south of the modern village of Kerame in Ag. Vasilios eparchy (Guarducci (1939) 310; Hood and Warren (1966) 173–74 no. 8). The remains cover 1.5 ha and include a massive fortification wall with towers. Surface pottery is principally Classical and Hellenistic, with smaller amounts of Geometric and Archaic material (Hood and Warren (1966) 173–74; Coutsinas (2001) 62–63).

No ancient source refers to Bionnos as a *polis*. However, the discovery at Pyrgi of a fragment of a C4l/C3e treaty (*I.Cret.* II.xxx.1) suggests that Bionnos was perhaps a *polis* during the late Classical period. The appointment of a *theorodokos c.*230–210 to host the *theoroi* sent out from Delphi suggests the same for the Hellenistic period (*BCH* 45 (1921) IV.13; Perlman (1995*b*) 128–36). This evidence in combination with the observation that the settlement near Kerame was already established in the Classical period recommends the inclusion of Bionnos in the Inventory as a possible *polis* type C.

The C4l/C3e text from Pyrgi outlines judicial procedures (*I.Cret.* II.xxx.1). The δικαστήριον is mentioned, as are actions to collect debts (πράξιψ[ς]), but the text is too fragmentary to draw any conclusions about the precise nature of the procedures described.

953. *Chersonasos (Chersonasios) Map 60. Lat. 35.20, long. 25.25. Size of territory: 1. Type: B. The toponym Χερρόνησος is attested only in late literary sources (Xenion (*FGrHist* 460) fr. 14; Strabo 10.4.14; Paus. 6.16.5). The local spelling of the toponym was probably Χερσόνασος (Guarducci (1935) 33). The city-ethnic is Χερσονάσιος (coins, C4s–C3e, *infra*; *IvO* 276 (C4s); cf. Χερρονήσιος/Χερρονησῖται at Steph. Byz. 692.6–7).

The earliest reference to *Chersonasos as a *polis* occurs in the agreement of Miletos πρὸς τὰς πόλεις τὰς ἐγ Κρήτηι (*Milet.* I.3 140.1, 36 (*c.*259–250)). The term *polis* is used in its topographical sense *qua* totality of territory of *Chersonasos in a treaty (alliance?) between *Chersonasos and Rhodos (*SEG* 41 768 (C3l)). The mint of *Chersonasos, which may have begun production as early as *c.*330 (*infra*), and the individual use of the city-ethnic around the same time (*IvO* 276 (C4s)) strongly suggest that *Chersonasos was a *polis* in the political sense by the late Classical period (Perlman (1996) 246–52). Late authors refer to *Chersonasos as a πολισμάτιον (*Stadiasmus* 349; Steph. Byz. 692.2–3).

The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally on the coins of C4s–C3f (*infra*), and in Hellenistic treaties (e.g. *SEG* 41 768 (C3l)). The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested externally in the agreement of Miletos πρὸς τὰς πόλεις ἐγ Κρήτηι (*Milet.* I.3 140.36 (*c.*259–250)). For the individual use of the city-ethnic there is Φιλωνίδης Ζωΐτου Κρὴς Χερσονάσιος, *hemerodromos* and *bematistes* of Asia for Alexander (*IvO* 276 (C4s)).

The *polis* town of *Chersonasos was located to the south of a peninsula (Kastri) at the foot of what passes for an acropolis (Sanders (1982) 144–46 (6/7)). Remains there date no earlier than C4, but two fragments of a C6 grave *stele* were discovered 1 km south of the port near the village of Koutoulophari at a place called Hellenika (*LSAG* 316 no. 20). Little is known about the *polis* town of Chersonasos. A story preserved in Plutarch about the foundation of Lyktos suggests that the coastal region where the *polis* was located was called ἡ Χερρόνησος (Plut. *Mor.* 247D). Viviers argues that *Chersonasos was in some sense a dependency of Lyktos already in C6 (Viviers (1994) 252–54). If he is right, Lyktian control did not affect the political status of *Chersonasos, since it thereafter minted coins (*infra*) and joined in international agreements (e.g. *Milet.* I.3 140 (*c.*259–250)), and its citizens were appointed *proxenoi* by other Cretan *poleis* (*I.Cret.* IV 387 (C2); *I.Cret.* I.xix.3 (C2)). After its *sympoliteia* with Lyktos (*I.Cret.* I.xix.3A (*c.*183)), the two appear together (Lyktos and "Lyktos by the sea") as signatories in interstate agreements (*SEG* 41 770 (C2s); *I.Cret.* I.xviii.9A (111/10)). For Strabo, *Chersonasos was the harbour of Lyktos: Λύττου δὲ . . . ἐπίνειόν ἐστιν ἡ λεγομένη Χερρόνησος (Strabo 10.4.14).

Although attested in a Hellenistic alliance of Olous and Lyktos (*SEG* 41 770 (C2l)), the tribal name Δίφυλοι is likely to be early, and so is mentioned here. Strabo mentions a sanctuary of Britomartis at Cherronesos (Strabo 10.14), and this goddess (or Artemis-Britomartis), if not the protecting deity of the *polis*, surely enjoyed a state cult there (coin types).

*Chersonasos struck two series of staters on the Aiginetan standard during the period *c.*330–280/270 (Le Rider (1966) 197). Type 1: *obv.* head of a goddess (Svoronos (1890) 49, Artemis; Guarducci (1935) 34, Britomartis); *rev.* Apollo *kitharoidos* seated upon the *omphalos*, or Herakles striking with uplifed club; legend: ΧΕΡΣΟ written retrograde in the epichoric alphabet, or ΧΕΡΣΟΝΑΣΙΟΝ/ΧΕΡΣΟΝΑΣΙΩΝ (Svoronos (1890) pl. III.17–26; *SNG Cop. Aeg.Isl.* 360). Type 2: *obv.* head of Zeus; *rev.* Artemis standing drawing an arrow, or seated; legend: ΧΕΡ (Le Rider (1966) pl. XXXIV.13–15).

954. Datala (Datales) Map 60. Unlocated. Type: A. The toponym is not fully preserved in any ancient source. It has been restored Δατ[άλλα] (*I.Cret.* I.xvi.5, l. 64 (C2l)), but is written ΔΗΤΑΛΛΑ in a facsimile edition of a lost copy of this treaty which was reported to have come from Kydonia (Chaniotis (1996) 367 no. 61.142). This same spelling has been restored Δητ[άλ(λ)α] in an Archaic law from Lyktos (*SEG* 35 991B4 (C6)). The city-ethnic was written Δαταλές

(nom. sing.) (*Prakt* (1973) 191 (C6)), *Δαταλεῦσι* (dat. pl.) (*SEG* 27 631 (C6l)). These latter two inscriptions are likely to have been written in the dialect of Datala and so preserve the correct spelling without consonantal gemination.

Datala was located somewhere in north central Crete between Knosos and Lato, but the precise location remains unknown. Map 60 locates Datala in the Lasithi plain at Pinakiano (Ag. Giorgios Papoura). Viviers (1994) subsequently identified Datala with the remains of the substantial early settlement at Aphrati (Prophitis Elias). Viviers' case is a strong one, but on present evidence certainty is not possible.

The term *polis* occurs in the enactment formula of the Spensithios decree, *Θιοί· ἔϝαδε Δαταλεῦσι καὶ ἐσπένσαμες πόλις* (*SEG* 27 631 (C6l)). Scholarly opinion remains divided as to whether (i) the *Dataleis* and the *polis* should be identified; (ii) the *Dataleis* represent a sub-unit of the *polis*, in which case the name of the *polis* is not known; or (iii) the *Dataleis* represent an altogether distinct community from the unnamed *polis* (Viviers (1994)). The first alternative, *viz.* the *polis* is Datala, is adopted here. The term is used in its political sense both in the enactment formula quoted above and in the phrase *ποινικάζεν καὶ μναμονεῦϝεν πόλι*. Independent of the Spensithios decree, the identification of Datala as a *polis* in the political sense is supported by the individual use of the ethnic in the artist's signature *Δαμόθετος ἐποεσ' ὁ Δαταλές* (*Prakt* (1973) 191 (C6); Perlman (1996) 246–52). The collective use occurs in the Spensithios decree (*SEG* 27 631 (C6l)).

During the Archaic period Datala perhaps shared a border with Lyktos (*SEG* 35 991B4 (C6); van Effenterre and van Effenterre (1985) 182–83). The *polis* of Datala disappears from the record following C6. It seems likely that the community was absorbed by a more powerful neighbour (Viviers (1994)). In C2 the topoynm was apparently still in use to designate an area at the border of Lato and Lyktos, [*κὴς τ*]*ὰν Δατ*τ[*άλλαν*] (*I.Cret.* I.xvi.5, l. 64; van Effenterre (1973) 35–37). Perhaps *ἁ Δαττάλλα* was the name of the territory of the *polis* during the Archaic period.

The Spensithios decree (*SEG* 27 631 (C6l)) provides a good deal of information about the public institutions of Datala, but each detail has proved to be controversial (for a review of the scholarly interpretations of this text, see *Nomima* I 22). The enactment formula of the decree (*ἔϝαδε Δαταλεῦσι καὶ ἐσπένσαμες πόλις . . . ἀπὸ πυλᾶν πέντε ἀπ' ἐκάστας*) indicates that the assembly, identified by both the collective city-ethnic *Δαταλεῦσι* and the term *πόλις*, perhaps together with a council consisting of five individuals from each of the *phylai* (*ἀπὸ πυλᾶν πέντε ἀπ' ἐκάστας*), were responsible for ratifying the public enactments of the community. The *κόσμος* was apparently the chief official at Datala. He (or they, if the singular *κόσμος* is here used for a board) enjoyed unspecified procedural rights at law (*δίκα*), which henceforth the *ποινικαστάς* was to share. The *ποινικαστάς* served as "recorder" and "remembrancer" for the *polis*, *πόλι ποινικάζεν καὶ μναμονεῦϝην*, and was responsible for performing *δαμόσια θύματα* if there was no priest. The authority of the *polis* was clearly recognised in several areas. Affairs of state, *τὰ δαμόσια*, included both sacred and secular matters. The *polis* was authorised to award individuals *ἀτέλεια*, and so, presumably, could impose and collect taxes, and judicial immunity (*ἀπλοπία*), and was able to guarantee protection against bodily seizure (*μήδ' ἐπάγραν . . . μήδε 'ρύτιον*). Finally, the citizens (presumably) of Datala belonged to *ἀνδρηία*, to which they were required to contribute food.

If the identification of Datala with the settlement at Aphrati (Prophitis Ilias) is correct, more may be said about the organisation of the *polis*. At the summit of the acropolis, fortifications with towers enclosed a small area, roughly trapezoidal in shape, supplied with water from a cistern (Levi (1927–29) 32–37). Excavations conducted by the Greek Archaeological Service (A. Lebessi) in 1968 and 1969 uncovered on the south-eastern slope of the acropolis what was in C7 a large one-room building (12 m × 6.8 m) with benches along its interior walls. A scatter of C6 material attests the continued use of the area in the Archaic period. The building is probably to be identified as a temple (*ArchDelt* 24 (1969) *Chron.* 415–18; *ArchDelt* 25 (1970) *Chron.* 455–60; cf. Viviers (1994) 244–49: *andreion* or *bouleuterion*). Residential districts were situated on the protected eastern slopes of the acropolis (Levi (1927–29) 38–57), where Lebessi uncovered a building complex (domestic?) of C6–C5 with a closed deposit of *c.*425–400 (*ArchDelt* 25 (1970) *Chron.* 458–60). Geometric and Orientalising cemeteries were located on the upper western slopes of Prophitis Ilias (Levi (1927–29) 78–400; for a sarcophagus of C6 from "Orthi Petres", see *ArchDelt* 30 (1975) *Chron.* 341–42). The settlement may have been abandoned for much of C4 (Erickson (2000) 361–62). A magistral dedication from Aphrati indicates that the *κόσμοι* served as the eponymous officials for the community (*I.Cret.* I.v.4 (C5)). The dedication is to Athena, and the inference may be drawn that the goddess enjoyed a state cult there.

The alternative candidate for the site of Datala, Pinakiano (Ag. Giorgios Papoura), is located to the north of Lasithi on a ridge 70 m above the plain (Watrous (1982) 39–40).

Evidence for habitation dates from the Protogeometric through the Archaic period, when it was the largest settlement in this area. Remains of C5 and C4 (votive terracotta plaques and black glazed pottery) are concentrated on the south-east slope of the ridge and perhaps attest a shrine which survived the abandonment of the settlement.

955. Dragmos (Dragmios) Map 60. Lat. 35.10, long. 26.10. Size of territory: 1. Type: C. The toponym is *Δράγμος* (Xenion (*FGrHist* 460) fr. 4). The city-ethnic is *Δράγμιος* (*I.Cret.* III.iv.9, lines 58, 68 (rC3f); *I.Cret.* III.iv.10, l. 12 (C2l)).

The only source to identify Dragmos as a *polis* is Steph. Byz. 238.6 quoting Xenion for the toponym ((*FGrHist* 460) fr. 4). It is uncertain whether the site-classification *polis* stems from Xenion's work. Dragmos possessed a territory (*χώρα*) and shared a border with Itanos which was defined in a treaty between the two communities. The border with Itanos followed the course of the river Sedamnos (modern Kokhlakies?, which empties into Karumes Bay about 5 km south of Palaikastro) (*I.Cret.* III.iv.9, 59–61 (rC3f); Faure (1963) 18). In so far as there is very little evidence on Crete for the existence of territorial sub-units of the *polis* (*komai vel sim.*), the fact that Dragmos had both a territory and borders and that it entered into a treaty in C3f demonstrates that the community was a *polis* in the political sense in the early Hellenistic period. The location of the *polis* town of Dragmos is not known. Map 60 identifies the *polis* town of Dragmos with the remains of a fortified settlement on Koutsoulopetres (Kastri). Visible remains include sherds from the Geometric through Hellenistic periods, fortification walls with towers, house walls, cisterns and tombs (*BCH* 79 (1955) *Chron.* 307–9; Faure (1963) 18; cf. Chaniotis (1996) 184, who prefers Epano Zakro on the grounds that Koutsoulopetres is too far north). If this identification is correct, the record of the settlement during the earlier periods suggests that Dragmos may already have been a *polis* in the political sense by the late Classical period. On the strength of this evidence, Dragmos is included in the Inventory as a possible *polis* (type C).

The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested in the arbitration of Magnesia for Itanos and Hierapytna (*I.Cret.* III.iv.9, ll. 58, 68 (rC3f)); the use is probably external.

Praisos absorbed Dragmos (*I.Cret.* III.iv.9, ll. 61–65). The date of the absorption of Dragmos by Praisos has as its *terminus post quem* perhaps the period 270–260 (Perlman (1995*a*) 165).

956. Dreros (Drerios) Map 60. Lat. 35.15, long. 25.40. Size of territory: 2. Type: A. The toponym *Δρῆρος* appears only in the grammarian Hdn. III.1 190.19. The city-ethnic is *Δρήριος* (*BCH* 60 (1936) 280–85 (C4/C3)).

The earliest references to Dreros as a *polis* in the political sense occur in the enactment formulas of two Archaic laws (*ἐϝαδε πόλι*, *SEG* 27 620 = ML 2.1 (C7m), *Nomima* I 81 (C7m); *πόλι ἐϝαδε*, *BCH* 70 (1946) 590–97 no. 2 (C7l) = *Nomima* I 64). For a possible Archaic use there is the "public record of the ancient Drerian land" (*ὑπόμναμα τᾶς Δρηρίας χώρας τᾶς ἀρχαίας*), which refers to the enmity of the *Milatioi* towards *τᾶι πόλει τᾶι τῶν Δρηρίων* (*I.Cret.* I.ix.1, ll. 147–48; for the date of the *ὑπόμναμα*, see *Nomima* I 48 (C6l); cf. Chaniotis (1996) 200 (*c.*220)). The term is perhaps used in the sense of *polis* town in the phrase *κοὶ ἴκαδι οἰ τᾶς πόλιος*, "the 20 of the city" (*Nomima* I 81 (C7m)).

The collective use of the city-ethnic occurs internally in the *ὑπόμναμα* quoted above (*I.Cret.* I.ix.i, ll. 147–48 (C6l or *c.*220)), and externally in the agreement between Knosos and Miletos which Dreros co-signed (*Milet.* I.3 140.38 (*c.*259–250)). For the individual use of the city-ethnic there is the immigrant from Dreros to Miletos, *Εὔξιππο[ς M]άκ[ρ]ιδος Δρήριος* (*Milet.* I.3 38p4 (C3s)).

One of the *ὑπομνάματα* of Dreros refers to the territory, *χώρα*, contested by Dreros and Milatos, her neighbour to the west (*I.Cret.* I.ix.i, ll. 149–52).

The term *πυλά* occurs in the enactment formula of an Archaic law, *πόλι ἐϝαδε διαλήσασι πυλᾶσι* (*BCH* 70 (1946) 590–97 no. 2 (C7l) = *Nomima* I 64): "the *polis* decided after consultation with the *phylai*" or "the *polis* decided after dismissing the *phylai*" (for the derivation of the term *διαλήσασι* (pl. part.?) from **εἴλλω*/*ἴλλω*, see van Effenterre (1946) 592). The names of two *phylai* are preserved in the dating formulas of public enactments: *Δυμᾶνες* (*BCH* 60 (1936) 280–85 (C4/C3)); *Αἰθαλεῖς* (*BCH* 61 (1937) 29–32 (C4/C3); *I.Cret.* I.ix.1, ll. 3–9 (*c.*220)). The eponymous *κόσμοι* were organised by *phylai*. One of the *ὑπομνάματα* of Dreros mentions the citizen *ἀγέλαι* (*I.Cret.* I.ix.1, l. 154 (C6l or *c.*220)), while the Hellenistic civic oath mentions the *ἑταιρεῖαι* (*I.Cret.* I.ix.1, ll. 124, 135 (*c.*220)). Both may be attested as well in an Archaic law (*SEG* 23 530 (C7l); but cf. *Nomima* II 89). An adult male citizen population of *c.*7,000 for C3 Dreros has been suggested on the basis of the 180 *ἀγέλαοι πανάζωστοι* who swore the civic oath (*I.Cret.* I.ix.1, ll. 10–14 (C3l); Marinatos (1936); cf. Chaniotis (1996) 199: the 180 is a representative group only, and so is of little use in estimating the size of the population).

The public enactments of Dreros were ratified by the *πόλις* (*SEG* 27 620 (C7m); *BCH* 70 (1946) 590–97 no. 2 (C7l)). Whether *πόλις* in this context refers to the political

community or to the assembly cannot be determined. The term δᾶμος is used for the assembly in the enactment formula of a Hellenistic proxeny decree (*BCH* 60 (1936) 280–85 (C4/C3)). The κόσμοι appear to have been the chief officials of the Archaic *polis* and to have exercised both executive and judicial authority (*SEG* 27 620 (C7m)). The board of κόσμοι consisted of five members plus the γραμματεύς in a public enactment of *c.*220 (*I.Cret.* I.ix.1). Whatever the precise motive for the enactment of *SEG* 27 620 (fear of tyranny, demands on the part of the élite for equal representation, experience of judicial misconduct), the interest of the *polis* in controlling the authority of the κόσμοι is demonstrated by the harsh penalties, including *atimia* for life, which the *polis* imposed upon κόσμοι who disregarded the law. For other laws of C7, see *SEG* 23 530; *BCH* 70 (1946) 590–97 no. 2, 600–2 no. 4. During the Hellenistic period, and no doubt earlier as well, one member of the board of κόσμοι served as the eponymous magistrate for the *polis* (*BCH* 60 (1936) 280–85). In addition to the κόσμοι, the Archaic laws of Dreros preserve four terms which may denote public officials: (i) δάμιοι (*SEG* 27 620 (C7m)), comptrollers (Ehrenberg (1943) 14), or citizen landowners (van Effenterre (1985) 394–96); (ii) οἰ ἴκατι οἰ τᾶς πόλιος, the twenty of the city (*SEG* 27 620 (C7m)), a council perhaps of the men of the city who were eligible to serve as κόσμος (*Nomima* I 81: "dirigeants politiques de l'acropole"); (iii) τοῖς ἰθυντᾶ[σι], "les redresseurs" (*Nomima* I 27 (*c.*575); cf. Bile (1988) 359 n. 124: τοῖσι θυστᾶσι (priests)); and (iv) ὁ ἀγρέτας, assembler (*BCH* 70 (1946) 590–97 no. 2), either a political official who convened the assembly or a military officer who called out the troops (van Effenterre (1946) 590–97). The council (βουλά) is not attested before the Hellenistic period (*BCH* 60 (1936) 280–85 (C4/C3)).

The *polis* town of Dreros occupied a double acropolis and the connecting saddle. There were two circuit walls built in part of polygonal masonry; one protected the entire *polis* town (two peaks and the saddle), an area of *c.*28 ha, and a second the acropolis proper, *viz.* Ag. Antonios, the eastern summit (Marinatos (1936) 217–19; Demargne and van Effenterre (1937) 7). An altar and four cisterns were located on the summit of the Ag. Antonios (Marinatos (1936) 216; Demargne and van Effenterre (1937) 7). A large public building (24 m × 10 m), probably a temple, was excavated on the western summit (Xanthoudides (1918) 23–28; cf. Marinatos (1936) 254: the building is an *andreion*). Residential areas occupied the northern (and southern?) slopes of both acropolises (Xanthoudides (1918) 28–29; Marinatos (1936) 216–17). The public centre (agora with *plateia* and theatral steps, cistern, temple of Apollo Delphinios, and possibly *prytaneion*) was located in the saddle (for the temple, see Marinatos (1936) 219–83; cf. Mazarakis Ainian (1997) 217–18: the temple was not free-standing but part of a building complex; for the agora, see Demargne and van Effenterre (1937) 10–32). The Archaic laws of Dreros were probably inscribed on the east wall of the temple, and would have been visible from the *plateia* and theatral steps below and to the east of the temple terrace. It has been suggested that these steps were used for meetings of a political institution (Hansen and Fischer-Hansen (1994) 62). The terracing and construction of the theatral steps of the agora and the construction of the temple appear to be contemporary (C8f: Demargne and van Effenterre (1937); cf. van Effenterre (1992*a*): the *plataia* and theatral steps were laid out in C6). The cistern was built *c.*220 (Demargne and van Effenterre (1937) 27–32; Chaniotis (1996) 195–201) and the "*prytaneion*" during C4s/C3f (Demargne and van Effenterre (1937) 15–18). A sub-Mycenaean Geometric cemetery was located to the north-east of the acropolis (van Effenterre (1948*a*) esp. 15–22).

Apollo Delphinios was probably the protecting deity of the *polis*.

957. Eleutherna (Eleuthernaios) Map 60. Lat. 35.20, long. 24.40. Size of territory: 3. Type: A. The toponym is Ἐλευθέρνα, ἡ (*IG* IX².1 17, ll. 87–88 (C3f)); cf. Ἐλευθέννα (*SEG* 41 742 (C2f)); Ἐλουθέρνα (*I.Cret.* II.xii.22 (C3s)). Ps.-Skylax 47 gives the plural Ἐλευθέρναι, αἱ. Stephanos identifies several toponyms as early names of Eleutherna: Ἀπολλωνία (Steph. Byz. 106.13–14), Ἄωρος (154.3–5), Σάτρα (557.16), Σάωρος (265.11–12). There is no further evidence for Apollonia as an early name of Eleutherna. Ἄωρος, Σάτρα and Σάωρος may all derive ultimately from the toponym preserved in Apollo's cult title Σασθραῖος (*SEG* 41 743 (C3e); van Effenterre (1991*b*) 28). The city-ethnic is Ἐλευθερναῖος (coins, C4s–C3f, *infra*; *I.Cret.* II.xii.20 (C3s)); cf. Ἐλευθενναῖος (coins, C4s–C3f, *infra*; *SEG* 41 741 (C3m)), Ἐλουθερναῖος (*I.Cret.* II.xii.22 (C3l)). The earliest evidence for -ρν- is the legend ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡ on the C4m coins (*infra*). Later inscriptions and coins from Eleutherna suggest no pattern in the use of the assimilated versus unassimilated form of the group -ρν- (cf. Bile (1988) 121–22, which appeared before the publication of *SEG* 41 739–55).

The earliest attestations of the term πόλις in connection with Eleutherna occur in uncertain contexts in two Archaic laws (*I.Cret.* II.xii.14a, with κόσμος in the following line; *I.Cret.* II.xii.16Ab (both C6l)), but the earliest certain refer-

ence to Eleutherna as a *polis* in the political sense occurs in the agreement of Miletos *πρὸς τὰς πόλεις τὰς ἐγ Κρήτηι* (*Milet.* I.3 140.1, 38 (*c.*259–250)), in which the *Eleuthernaioi* are included as one of the *πόλεις αἱ ἐγ Κρήτηι*. The term *πόλις* is paired with *ἀπαμία* in *I.Cret.* II.xii.16Ab, *μὴ ἰν ἀπαμίαι μ[ή]δ' ἰν πόλι*, "neither in the *apamia* nor in the *polis*". The term *ἀπαμία* seems to refer to land in the *chora*, in which case *πόλις* here is used in the urban sense (*Nomima* I 26; cf. Chaniotis (1996) 19–20: private land cultivated by serfs). For *polis* in the urban sense, see also Ps.-Skylax 47, where Eleuthernai is listed under the heading *πόλεις ἐν Κρήτηι*.

The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally on the coins of C4m–C3f (*infra*), and externally in the agreement of Miletos *πρὸς τὰς πόλεις τὰς ἐγ Κρήτηι* (*Milet* I.3 140.1, 38 (*c.*259–250)). For the individual use of the city-ethnic, there is the proxeny decree of Gortyn for *Κύρτος Ἀνδροσκύλω Ἐλευθενναῖος* (*I.Cret.* IV 206F (C3/C2)).

An Archaic law regulating the consumption of wine mentions symposiastic consumption on *Δῖον ἄκρον* (*SEG* 41 739 (C6l)). The toponym refers to a cape on the north coast of Crete between Pantomatrion and Heraklion (Ptol. *Geog.* 3.15.5 (from west to east): Cape Lianos, Chondros, Korakias or Bali) which perhaps marked the eastern border of Eleutherna with Axos (van Effenterre (1991*c*) 18–20). Wherever its exact location, this inscription indicates that the territory of the Archaic *polis* extended to the north coast. The inland *asty* is likely to have been served by one or more harbours on the north coast. A coastal settlement (Archaic and later) has been identified at Stavromenos, 11 km east of Rhethymnon (S. Hood *et al.* (1964) 62–66; Schiering (1982) 17–47). Coins with the legend *ΠΑ* (*rev.*) found (in some quantity?) there suggest that this might be ancient *Παντομάτριον* (Faure (1993) 72). The relatively large number of coins of Eleutherna found there indicate that it was frequented by Eleuthernians, and that it perhaps served as a port for the *polis* (Le Rider (1966) 252–54). Whether the settlement at Stavromenos was part of the *polis* of Eleutherna during the Archaic period cannot be determined. The *πολιτήια* of the *Artemitai* (*I.Cret.* II.xii.22 (C3l)) may represent either a territorial civic subdivision of Eleutherna (Perlman (1996) 252–54) or a dependent community of Eleutherna (Chaniotis (1996) 402–6: non-citizens, possibly freedmen, settled near a sanctuary of Artemis).

The term *δρομεύς*, perhaps referring to citizens of the younger age-grades who enjoyed limited citizen rights, appears in the Archaic law concerning the consumption of wine (*SEG* 41 740; Tzifopoulos (1998) 150–69). The compound *ἀλλοπολιάτας*, partially restored in an Archaic law (*I.Cret.* II.xii.3 (C6l)), has been understood to refer to resident aliens (Guarducci (1939) 148) or to expatriates of Eleutherna (van Effenterre and van Effenterre (1985) 187–88; *Nomima* I 10). The partly preserved [---] *τὸ κσεν*[---] (*I.Cret.* II.xii.4) most likely refers to foreigners or to officials or laws pertaining to foreigners. This same text may preserve a reference to *δᾶμος* or *δαμόσιος* (*vel sim.*) in line 1 ([---] *μηδὲ δα*[*μ*]*ο*ῳ[---] or [---] *μηδὲ δᾶ*[*μ*]*ο*ῳ [---]). The term *ἀπαμία* (*I.Cret.* II.xii.16Ab, l. 2), a category of land holding, implies that the community of Eleutherna identified certain of its members as *ἀφαμιῶται*, a term attested in literary sources (largely lexicographical), where it is defined as a Cretan term for an individual of dependent status (Athenaeus VI 263f; Hsch. s.v.; Strabo 15.1.34).

The kosmate is attested in what is perhaps a reference to the eponymous *kosmoi* of the current or of a previous year (*I.Cret.* II.xii.9, l. 3): [--- *κ*]*αὶ Τίμαρκος ἐκόσμιον* "[in the year when *ὁ δεῖνος*] and Timarchos were *kosmoi*"). From this we may deduce that the kosmate was eponymous and was organised as a board (for the kosmate, see also *I.Cret.* II.xii.14 (C6l); *I.Cret.* II.xii.20–22 (C3)). The Archaic laws preserve the terms *μολῆν* "to bring an action" (*I.Cret.* II.xii.15a+b), *δικάζοντας* "adjudicate" (*I.Cret.* II.xii.11), and *ποινικά*[*ζοντας*] "record (in writing)" (ibid.). Two of the laws refer to witnesses or to the act of testifying: [--- *μ*]*αιτυρ*[---] (*I.Cret.* II.xii.8); [--- *μ*]*αιτυραμένο* or [--- *μ*]*αίτυρα μὲν ὁ* (*I.Cret.* II.xii.13). Others refer to oaths: the act of taking an oath (*κὄρκον τιθέμεν*, *I.Cret.* II.xii.3), denial by oath (*ἐκ*<*σ*>*ομνύηι*, *SEG* 23 571; *ἀπομ*[---]?, *I.Cret.* II.xii.17), and perhaps to the oath curse ([--- *τοῖ δὲ ὄρκ*]*οι τὰν ἀρὰν ἰνήμε*[*ν*], "the curse shall be included in the oath", *I.Cret.* II.xii.3). Two of the laws guarantee immunity from prosecution: *ἄπατον*/*ἀπάτος ἦμεν* (*I.Cret.* II.xii.3, 11).

The only early documentary evidence for the foreign relations of Eleutherna is the reference to a *θιαρός* in an Archaic law (*I.Cret.* II.xii.11 (C6l), with *Nomima* I 14). All other evidence for the foreign relations of Eleutherna dates to the Hellenistic period. The presence of pottery from Corinth (C7s–C6f), Lakonia and Argos (C6), Attika (from C6l), Gortyn (C7–C4), Knosos (C6–C5), and possibly Kydonia and Aphrati (C6) attests to Eleutherna's participation in intra-island and Mediterranean trading networks, but is not sufficient to demonstrate direct relations with any one of these places (Erickson (2000) 237–56).

Zeus Polioachos was worshipped by the *polis* (*SEG* 41 744 (C2s); coins, *infra*), but it is not clear that Zeus was the

protecting deity of Eleutherna (for the cults of Eleutherna, see Stavrianopoulou (1991), with Chaniotis (1996) 190–95).

The *polis* town of ancient Eleutherna was built on two neighbouring ridges: Pyrgi to the east (perhaps called Sasthra in Antiquity: van Effenterre (1991*b*) 28) and Nisi to the west (perhaps called Wilkon in Antiquity: ibid. 28–30). Pyrgi appears to have been the centre of the early settlement. Remains there include the Geometric–Classical cemetery at the western foot of Pyrgi and two (or perhaps three) sanctuaries. Another sanctuary was located on southern Nisi. During the Classical period a large *peribolos* (35 m × 50 m) with a Doric pentastyle propylon was built on Nisi in the location of the earlier sanctuary. Its function remains uncertain. Van Effenterre identifies the *peribolos* as the sanctuary of Apollo Wilkonios and the meeting place of the Cretan *koinon* (van Effenterre (1991*b*) 28–30). Fortifications of uncertain date are identified on Nisi to the north of the Classical *peribolos* and enclosing a Hellenistic residential district further to the north, and on the summit of Pyrgi to the south of Hellenistic buildings. A *terminus ante quem* for the fortifications of 221/0 is provided by Polyb. 4.55.4. For an overview of the settlement history of the *polis* town of Eleutherna, see Kalpaxis (1994) with plan 1; for the Geometric–Classical cemetery, see Stampolidis (1993); Erickson (2000) 156–228; for plans of the Classical *peribolos* on Nisi and the Hellenistic buildings on Pyrgi which show the provenance of *SEG* 41 739–55, see Kalpaxis (1991); for the Hellenistic residential district on northern Nisi, see Kalpaxis *et al.* (1994).

The term "stater" occurs in two inscriptions of C6l (*SEG* 2 12.13, 23 571). If the term refers to coinage rather than to a unit of weight, these inscriptions provide some of the earliest evidence for the use of coins on Crete. If so, the term most likely refers to Aiginetan staters. Eleutherna's proximity to Kydonia, whence Aiginetan coinage is likely to have been introduced into the island during the final quarter of C6 (Stefanakis (1999)), makes this an attractive possibility. Eleutherna began to strike her own coins (staters) on the Aiginetan standard *c.*350 (Le Rider (1966) 197). Types: *obv.* Apollo holding a stone and a bow, with a dog and flanked by two trees (Svoronos (1890) 130, styrax trees?); *rev.* Artemis the huntress; legend: ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡ written retrograde in the epichoric alphabet (Svoronos (1890) pl. XI.4). Later coins (staters, drachms, hemidrachms, *c.*330–280/270) have *obv.* head of Apollo or head of Zeus; *rev.* Apollo standing; legend: ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΝΑΙΟΝ or ΕΛΕΥΘΕΝΝΑΙΟΝ and abbreviations down to ΕΛΕΥ, some retrograde (Svoronos (1890) pls. XI.5–6, 9–11, 14–17, 22, 24, 27–39; XII.1–2, with Le Rider (1966) 197; *SNG Cop. Aeg.Isl.* 429). Obols of this period have *obv.* head of Apollo; *rev.* Apollo standing or E or E∧ in monogram (Svoronos (1890) pl. XI.12–13, 18–20, 25).

958. *Eltynia (Eltynieus) Map 60. Lat. 35.15, long. 25.10. Size of territory: 2. Type: A. The toponym is not attested, but must have been *Eltynia. The city-ethnic is *Ἐλτυνιεύς* (*I.Cret.* I.x.2 (C5e), *Ἐλτυνιοῦσι* (*I.Cret.* IV 206G (C3/C2); *Milet.* I.3 140.36 (*c.*259–250)). For the early use on Crete of -ου- for -ευ-, see Bile (1988) 111–12. Cf. also *Ἐλτυναιεῖς* (*I.Cret.* IV 179 (*c.*183)). In the Hellenistic period the form *Ἐλτύνιος* occurs in inscriptions from sites outside the island (*SB* 5273 (C3f); *I.Magnesia* 21 (C2e)).

The earliest reference to Eltynia as a *polis* in the political sense occurs in a law concerning damages for personal injury which requires that fines be paid *ἐς πόλιν* (*I.Cret.* I.x.2 (C5e)).

The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally in the law concerning personal injury (*I.Cret.* I.x.2 (C5e)), and externally in the agreement of Miletos *πρὸς τὰς πόλεις τὰς ἐγ Κρήτηι* (*Milet.* I.3 140.36 (*c.*259–250)). For the individual use of the city-ethnic, there is the proxeny decree of Gortyn for *Πόλλος Φαιστιόννα Ἐλτυνιεύς* (*I.Cret.* IV 206G (C3/C2)).

The chief public official of Eltynia appears to have been the *κόσμος* (or board of *κόσμοι*), who served both executive (*πραδὲν τὰν ἐς πόλιν τιμάν*, "exact the fine for the *polis*") and judicial (*γ[ι]γνόσκεν ὀμνύνταϛ*, "decide having sworn the oath") functions (*I.Cret.* I.x.2 (C5e)). The board perhaps consisted of just two members (*κόσμον . . . ὄτερον*, *I.Cret.* I.x.2, l. 3, with Bile (1997) 116). Line 2 of this same text probably preserves part of an enactment formula: *[θίοι· τάδ' ἔϝαδε] τοῖς Ἐλτυνιοῦσι*. If so, *τοῖς Ἐλτυνιοῦσι* in this context refers to the assembly. The terms *πηΐσκος* and *ἀγέλαος* occur in the law concerning bodily injury (*I.Cret.* II.x.2 (C5e)) and refer to age-grades ("child" and "youth" respectively) of the citizen class of the *polis*.

Almost nothing is known archaeologically about Eltynia apart from the chance discovery of the *membra disiecta* (capital and wall blocks including the one bearing *I.Cret.* I.x.2) of an Archaic? Doric temple (Xanthoudides (1920) 75–81). Four terms, probably referring to public areas in the *polis* town, occur in a provision of the law concerning personal injury, which details where the injury takes place (ibid. ll. 6–7 (C5e)): (i) *ἀνδρήιον*; (ii) *ἀγέλα*; (iii) *συνβολήτρα*, place where contracts are made (Bile (1988) 179) or "combat zone" or refectory (*Nomima* II 80); (iv) *κορός*, agora (Bile (1988) 344 n. 84) or dance floor (*Nomima* II 80). Certainly

the *ἀνδρήιον* was defined architecturally. Whether or not the others were cannot be determined.

959. Elyros (Elyrios) Map 60. Lat. 35.15, long. 23.50. Size of territory: 2. Type: A. The toponym is *Ἔλυρος* (Ps.-Skylax 47). The city-ethnic is *Ἐλύριος* (coins, C4s–C3f, see *infra*; *I.Cret.* IV 185 (C3l/C2e)). There is one example each of the toponym and the city-ethnic spelled with initial *iota* (see Bile (1988) 86 n. 45): *ἐν Ἰλύρωι* (*BCH* 45 (1921) III.106 (*c.*230–210)); *Ἰλυρίοις* (*SEG* 9 2.54; cf. *SEG* 42 1663 (C4s)).

The earliest reference to Elyros as a *polis* occurs in Ps.-Skylax 47, who uses the term in its urban sense. The term is used in its political sense in the enactment formulas of Hellenistic proxeny decrees (e.g. *I.Cret.* II.xiii.1 (C3/C2)). There is little doubt that Elyros was a *polis* in the political sense in the late Classical period. The evidence for this is: (i) inclusion among the *poleis* given grain by Cyrene in the 320s (*SEG* 9 2); (ii) participation in the C4l federation of the *Oreioi* (*infra*); and (iii) striking coins as early as *c.*330 (*infra*). Grave *stelai* of C5/C4 indicate that the *polis* town was already settled during the Classical period (*CretChron* 9 (1955) *Chron.* 569; *Ergon* 1964 (1965) *Chron.* 150–51). It would seem probable, then, that Elyros was already a *polis* in the political sense by the end of the Classical period.

The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally on the coins (*infra*) and externally in the list of recipients of grain from Kyrene during the grain crisis of the 320s (*SEG* 9 2). For the individual use of the city-ethnic there is *Σηρίων Δεξίω Ἐλύριος* (*SEG* 45 1315 (Hellenistic)) from Lisos.

The terrritory of Elyros is called *ἀ τῶν Ἐλυρίων χώρα* (*I.Cret.* IV 185 (*c.*200–189)). Stephanos identifies Souïa as the harbour (*ἐπίνειον*) of Elyros (Steph. Byz. 590.8). This may mean nothing more than that Souïa was the most convenient harbour for Elyros (Perlman (1995*b*) 132–34); but some level of co-operation between the two communities is suggested by the aqueduct (date?) which brought water from a source near the village of Livadha to Elyros (*c.*4.5 km to the south-east) and thence to Souïa (Savignoni and de Sanctis (1901) 424).

Elyros was a member of the C4l–C3 federation *οἱ Ὄρειοι* (van Effenterre (1948*a*) 119–27; Chaniotis (1996) 106–8, 421–22; cf. Sekunda (2000) 337–38: league founded C3f).

Elyros is little known archaeologically, although there is no question that it was settled already in C5 if not earlier (see e.g. Baldwin Bowsky (1997) for C5l atticising grave *stelai* from Elyros). Cf. *Barr.* HRL only. The hill on which the *polis* town was built was protected by a circuit wall approximately 3 km long. The summit of the hill was perhaps fortified with a second defence wall, and so may be regarded as the acropolis proper (Pashley (1837) ii.104–9). Early travellers report the remains of a theatre (Savignoni and de Sanctis (1901) 424) and a temple (Pashley (1837) ii.104–9) near the church of the Panaghia. There is no reason to identify this temple as that of Apollo (cf. Pashley (1837) ii.104–9), although Elyros did maintain particularly close ties with Delphi, appointing *theorodokoi* at home to entertain the *theoroi* sent out from Delphi (*BCH* 45 (1921) III.106 (*c.*230–210)) and a *theorodokos* at Delphi to entertain her own *theoria* to the festival there (*I.Cret.* II.xiii.1A (C3/C2)). Pausanias describes a bronze goat dedicated by the *Elyrioi* to Apollo at Delphi (Paus. 10.16.5). The story which Pausanias tells concerning this dedication suggests that the mythic founders of Elyros were the twin sons of Apollo and the nymph Akakallis, Philandros and Philakides (Frost (1996)).

Elyros struck coins during the period *c.*330–280/270. Types: *obv.* goat (head or full); legend: *ΕΛΥΡΙΟΝ*; *rev.* bee (Svoronos (1890) pl. XII.9–13, with Le Rider (1966) 197–98; *SNG Cop. Aeg.Isl.* 437).

960. Gorty(n)s (Gortynios) Map 60. Lat. 35.05, long. 24.55. Size of territory: 4. Type: A. The toponym is *Γόρτυ(ν)ς* (*Γόρτυνς*, *I.Cret.* IV 64 (C5e), coins, C5m, *infra*; *Γόρτυς*, *Il.* 2.646) or *Γόρτυνα* (Ps.-Skylax 47). Bile suggests that of the two inflections (theme in *-ν* and theme in *-α*), the theme in *-α* perhaps originated from the accusative of the theme in *-ν* (Bile (1988) 201–2). The city-ethnic is *Γορτύνιος* (*I.Cret.* IV 23 (C6s); coins, C5m, *infra*; Simon. *Anth. Pal.* 7.254 *bis* (C6/C5)).

Gortyn is called a *polis* in a fragment of an Archaic law, [---] | *πόλι πάνσαι πρά*[---] (*I.Cret.* IV 13e2 (C7l)), where the use is probably political (*Nomima* I 1). The earliest certain instances of the use of *πόλις* in the political sense occur in the enactment formula of an early decree: *ἔδοκαν ἀ πόλις* (*I.Cret.* IV 43Ba3 (C5e)) and in a provision of a law of the same period which requires that fines be paid "to the *polis*" (*I.Cret* IV 78 (C5e)). For similar clauses in slightly later laws, see e.g. *I.Cret.* IV 41.iii.16–17 (C5f), *I.Cret.* IV 79 (C5m). Cf. also the law concerning mortuary practices, *ἐν Ϝίδαι ἀ πόλις θύωνται* (*I.Cret.* IV 146 (C5s–C4e)). *Polis* in the urban sense occurs in two provisions in the Gortyn Law Code which distinguish houses located in the *polis* from those in the *chora* (*I.Cret.* IV 72.iv.31–33, viii.1–2 (C5m)). For *polis* in the urban sense, see also Ps.-Skylax 47, where Gortyn is listed under the heading *πόλεις πολλαὶ ἐν Κρήτῃ*. The broader topographical use of *polis* to mean the totality of territory occurs in two laws, the later perhaps a reformulation of the

earlier, which concern wages paid to non-citizens (metics and slaves) who live in the *polis*. In both examples, the relevant clauses are restored *τοῖς ἐμ πόλι Ϝοικίονσι τοῖς τ' ἐλευθέροις καὶ τοῖς δόλοις* (*I.Cret.* IV 79 (C5m), 144 (C5s/C4e)).

The collective use of the city-ethnic is first attested internally in an Archaic law (*I.Cret.* IV 23 (C6s)) and externally in a late Classical inscription (*SEG* 9 2.33 (C4s)) and in Ephor. fr. 149). For the individual use of the city-ethnic, there are the early epitaphs of the merchant *Βρόταρχος Γορτύνιος Κρής* (Simon. *Anth. Pal.* 7.254 *bis* (C6/C5)) and the copper smelter *Σωσῖνος Γορτύνιος* (*IG* I³ 1349 *bis* (C5s)), and the reference to the *proxenos* of Athens, *Νικίας Γορτύνιος Κρής* (Thuc. 2.85.5).

Little is known about the organisation of the *polis* town during the Archaic and Classical periods (for an overview, see Perlman (2000)). The inhabitants of three Geometric settlements, Ag. Ioannis, Prophitis Ilias and Charkià Pervoli, appear to have abandoned their hill-top villages around 700, most likely to resettle (*κατὰ κώμας* or in a single settlement?) at the foot of the ridge of hills which marks the northern edge of the Mesara (Allegro (1991); Di Vita (1991); La Torre (1988–89); Perlman (2000)). This resettlement probably marks an important step in the formation of the *polis* of Gortyn. Ag. Ioannis (275 m) probably served as the acropolis. In C7f (*c.*675–650) an open-air sanctuary on the acropolis was monumentalised by the construction of a temple, perhaps in part open-air (Scrinari (1968) 23–56). The form of the *cella* (tripartite?) has been understood to imply that the temple originally belonged to three deities, but votive figurine types indicate that by the Classical period the temple belonged to Athena (Rizza (1968) 191–93, 249–50), who is called Poliouchos in Hellenistic documents (*I.Cret.* IV 171 (C3), 183 (*c.*C3l/C2e)).

Archaeological exploration of Gortyn has to date yielded few other traces of the Archaic and Classical *polis* town. The most significant of these remains are the following. (i) The temple of Apollo Pythios (C7s) built on the plain 700 m south-east of the foot of the acropolis (Ricciardi (1986–87)), within which one or two generations after the construction of the Pythion (C7l–C6e), the Gortynians began to inscribe their laws upon its walls (*I.Cret.* IV 1–27, 29–38, 40; Perlman (2002)). (ii) The Gortyn Law Code (*I.Cret.* IV 72 (C5m)) was inscribed *boustrophedon* in columns on the inner face of the walls of a curved structure whose blocks were reused in the Roman Odeion located below Ag. Ioannis on the east bank of the river Metropolianos. (iii) A second group of similarly inscribed blocks (*I.Cret.* IV 41–49, 51 (C5f)) was reused in a rectangular structure of the Hellenistic period (Guarducci (1950) 87–90). This Hellenistic building, parts of which were incorporated into the Odeion, has been interpreted as a *bouleuterion* (Meinel (1980) 597). Halbherr identified some Geometric material beneath the Odeion and traces of Archaic walls, perhaps belonging to a stoa, to its south-west (Pernier (1925–26)). It is assumed that the buildings on which the Great and Second Codes were inscribed were located in the same vicinity; but to date no suitable foundations have been found (Halbherr (1887); cf. Di Vita in Blackman (1997) 104). (iv) A third group of blocks bearing inscriptions dating to C5f were reused in the walls of the early Byzantine church at Mavropapas, located 200 m south-west of the Pythion. These blocks probably belong to a late Archaic building located in the vicinity of, if not directly under, the church (Halbherr (1897) 170–219; Perlman (2000) 61–62: blocks came from a public building associated with the *ἐσπράτται* "collectors of fines"?). (v) A sanctuary (C6l) was established about 700 m north-east of the Pythion (Di Vita (1984) 71: a sanctuary of Demeter and Kore?). Several public buildings (or open-air meeting places) are attested in early inscriptions: (i) agora (*I.Cret.* IV 43Bb (C6e); *I.Cret.* IV 80 (C5e); *I.Cret.* IV 72.vii.11, x.35–36, xi.10–14 (C5m); *I.Cret.* IV 75A, 81 (C5m); for the location of the agora in the vicinity of the later Roman Odeion, see Perlman (2000) 72–73); (ii) *ἀγρῆιον* (*I.Cret.* IV 9a–b (C7l); Guarducci (1950) 32, 55: where the army assembled?; Koerner (1993) 367: where homicide trials took place?); (iii) *δικαστέριον* (*I.Cret.* IV 72.xi.15–16 (C5m); Guarducci (1950) 169: building used by the *δικασταί* in the agora? [or the institution?, ed.]). A stretch of wall contemporary with the early phases of the settlement on Ag. Ioannis (*c.*1190–970) has been identified as a defence wall (Hom. *Il.* 2.646: *Γόρτυς τειχιόεσσα*; Rizza and Scrinari (1968) 21–22; cf. Hayden (1988) 12–13), but Strabo's claim that the *polis* was unfortified until Ptolemy (IV) paid for the construction of a circuit wall is supported archaeologically (Strabo 10.4.11; Allegro and Ricciardi (1988)). Two toponyms, Aulon and Latosion, have been identified as suburbs of the *polis* town of Gortyn. For Aulon, see *supra* no. 949. Guarducci suggests that Latosion *supra* 1146 was located in the vicinity of the modern village of Mitropolis, 1 km west of Gortyn, and that it was a district of the *polis* town where metics and freedmen were allowed to reside (Guarducci (1950) 181; Chaniotis (1996) 162–63; cf. van Effenterre and van Effenterre (1985) 187–88).

The name of the territory was *ἡ Γορτυνία* (Strabo 10.4.7). There is no evidence for territorial subdivisions, but Gortyn may have controlled dependent *poleis* from as early

as C5e (*infra*), whose citizens were called ὑπόβοικοι (Perlman (1996) 239–42). For settlement patterns in the Mesara during the first millennium, see La Torre (1988–89); Sanders (1976); Simpson *et al.* (1995); Watrous *et al.* (1993).

Gortyn's neighbour to the west was Phaistos. The two *poleis* were joined together in a *sympoliteia* during the period C5m–C4m (coins, *infra*; Cucuzza (1997)) and again in the Hellenistic period (*I.Cret.* IV 165; *SEG* 23 563 (both C3s); Chaniotis (1996) 104–8, 422–28). Amykalion, a dependent community (*polis*?) of Gortyn (*I.Cret.* IV 172 (C3l); Chaniotis (1996) 399; cf. Perlman (1996) 260–61), was probably located in the vicinity of modern Kommos (Cucuzza (1997) 66–72). If so, it would appear that Gortyn had extended her influence, if not her control, to the western Mesara by C5m (*I.Cret.* IV 72.iii.5–9 (C5m)). Mt. Ida formed the border of Gortyn to the north-west. Gortyn may have controlled the cave sanctuary of Zeus on Mt. Ida in the Classical period (*I.Cret.* IV 80 (C5e), 146 (C4f)). Patela Prinias commanded the principal north–south route east of Mt. Ida. The Archaic community there appears to have been abandoned *c.*550 (Rizza (1991)), perhaps a victim of Gortynian expansion to the north. Henceforth, Patela Prinias occupied the frontier between Gortyn and her northern neighbour(s). One of these neighbours was Rhaukos (modern Ag. Myron?). Gortyn and Knosos destroyed Rhaukos (C2m) and divided her territory between themselves. Thereafter they shared a border which appears to have cut through what had been the *polis* town of Rhaukos (Polyb. 30.23.1; *I.Cret.* IV 182 (C2m)). Pyranthos and Rhytion were perhaps dependent *poleis* located within the territory of Gortyn at the eastern edge of the Mesara (for Pyranthos, see Perlman (1996) 241, 268–70; for Rhytion, see ibid. 241, 256–57, 268–70). Further east were the *poleis* Arkades and Priansos. A Hellenistic alliance of Gortyn and Hierapytna with Priansos describes the Hellenistic border of Priansos and Gortyn (*I.Cret.* IV 174 (C3l)). Several small communities were located at the southern edge of the Mesara. The evidence for two of these, Boibe and Pyloros, is not sufficient to draw any conclusions concerning their political status (for Boibe, see Perlman (1996) 261–62, 268–70; for Pyloros, see ibid. 262, 269). *Rhitten may have been located in the southern Mesara (no. 988). The largely uninhabited Asterousia mountains separated the Mesara from several small communities located on the south coast of Crete (Faure (1965) 37–40). They are (from east to west) Einatos, the harbour of Priansos (no. 985); Lebena (no. 972); Lassoia (see *supra*); and Matala (no. 976). The toponyms Keskora and Pala occur together in a Gortynian decree concerning the lease of public lands located ἐ[ν] *Κεσκόραι καὶ ἐμ Πάλαι* (*I.Cret.* IV 43Ba (C5e)). Keskora and Pala were probably located in the Mesara, but nothing further about them is known (Perlman (1996) 242–43).

The terms πολιάτας ("citizen") and πολιατεύειν ("to exercise the rights of a citizen") occur in the early laws of Gortyn (πολιάτας, *I.Cret.* IV 72.x.35–36, xi.14 (C5m); πολιατεύειν, *I.Cret.* IV 51 (C5f); *I.Cret.* IV 72.ix.31–33 (C5m); cf. Lévy (1997) 26: "s'il exerce effectivement ses droits de citoyen", that is, "s'il est présent dans le pays"). Three other terms are associated with the status of citizen: (i) ἐλεύθερος (e.g. *I.Cret.* IV 72.i.1–7 (C5m)) "citizen" (Lévy (1997) 26–30) or "potential citizen" (Bile (1988) 343); (ii) δρομεύς (e.g. *I.Cret.* IV 72.v.40–42), new citizen who enjoys limited citizen rights (Tzifopoulos (1998) 150–69); (iii) Ϝαστία (δίκα) (*I.Cret.* IV 64 (C5e)), legal procedures for citizens. Male citizens belonged to *hetaireiai* (*I.Cret.* IV 42B.11–14 (C5f), 72.x.37–39; cf. ἀπέταιρος, *infra*). The only civic subdivision attested is the *phyle* (πυλά) (*I.Cret.* IV 19, 104 (C7/C6); *I.Cret.* IV 72.vii.40–viii.36 (C5m)). The Gortynian *phylai* appear to have been personal rather than territorial organisations (Jones, *POAG* 224–25). The names of seven *phylai* are attested in the dating formulas of public texts (decrees, magistral dedications, manumissions): (i) Αἰθαλεῖς or Αἰθελεῖς (*I.Cret.* IV 72.v.5 (C5m); *I.Cret.* IV 142 (C5m/C4e)); (ii) Αἰνάωνες (*I.Cret.* IV 196 (C2f)); (iii) Ἀπ[. . .]υμα[---] (*I.Cret.* IV 236 (C4s/C3f)); (iv) Ἀχρήια (*I.Cret.* IV 186B + 187 (C3l/C2e)); (v) Αὐτολῆται (*I.Cret.* IV 261 (C2s/C1f)); (vi) Δεκ[---] (*I.Cret.* IV 171 (C3f)); (vii) Δυμᾶνες (*I.Cret.* IV 197 (C2f)). Marriage within the *phyle* was recommended when possible (*I.Cret.* IV 72.vii.40–viii.36 (C5m); cf. Morris (1990)). The σταρτός, attested in the Gortyn Law Code (*I.Cret.* IV 72.v.5 (C5m)) and in the treaty of Gortyn and *Rhitten (*I.Cret.* IV 80 (C5e)), may represent a sub-unit of the *phyle*, perhaps the γένος (Willetts (1955) 111–13; cf. Guarducci (1950) 159, 185; Jones, *POAG* 225–26; *Nomima* I 7). Terms for various categories of free non-citizens or that attest the presence of free non-citizens in the *polis* include (i) κσένιος/κσήνιος (κόσμος) (*I.Cret.* IV 14g–p.1–2 (C6), 30 (C6), 78 (C5e), 72.xi.16–17 (C5m)), official responsible for foreigners; κσενείαι δίκαι (*I.Cret.* IV 80 (C5e)), suits pertaining to foreigners; (iii) ὑπόβοικος (*I.Cret.* I.xvi.1 (C3l)), citizen of a dependent *polis* of Gortyn (Perlman (1996) 239–42); (iv) ἀπέταιρος (*I.Cret.* IV 72.ii.5 (C5m), 84 (C5)), a free man denied citizen status—bastard, disenfranchised citizen *vel sim.* (Willetts (1967) 103–9; Lévy (1997) 26–28); (v) ἀπελεύ[θερο---] (*I.Cret.* IV 78 (C5e)), manumitted slave (Guarducci (1950) 181; Chaniotis (1996) 162–63; cf. van

Effenterre and van Effenterre (1985) 187–88; *Nomima* I 16: *ἀπελευ[σαμένον ---] vel sim.* ("expatriate")). The terms δῶλος and *Ϝοικεύς/Ϝοικέα* (e.g. *I.Cret.* IV 72 *passim*) designate categories of the unfree (Lévy (1997) 30–40).

The public enactments of Gortyn use the collective city-ethnic *οἱ Γορτύνιοι* (e.g. *θιοί. τάδ΄ ἔϜαδε τοῖς Γορτυνίοις πσαπίδονσ[ι]*, *I.Cret.* IV 78 (C5e)) and the term *πόλις* (e.g. *[τάδ΄ ἔϜαδ]ε τâι πόλ[ι ψαφίδδονσι* or *ψαφίξανσι]*, *I.Cret.* IV 378C (C3)) to refer to the assembly. The legislative function of the assembly is attested first in C5e: *τάδ᾽ ἔϜαδε τοῖς Γορτυνίοις πσαπίδονσ[ι]* (*I.Cret.* IV 78). The term *πλεθύς* may refer to the assembly in an early law or decree (*I.Cret.* IV 87 (C5m); *Nomima* I 97). A quasi-judicial role as corporate witness is suggested by the requirement that both adoptions and the renunciation of adoptions be declared in the agora when the citizens are assembled, *καταϜελμένον τôμ πολιατâν* (*I.Cret.* IV 72.x.35, xi.14 (C5m)). The *boule* is not securely attested at Gortyn. *ΕΣΒΟΛΑΝ* occurs in an Archaic law and has been interpreted as either *ἐς βολάν* ("to the council) or *ἐκβολή* ("ejectment, divorce") (*I.Cret.* IV 23.4 (C6l); Bile (1988) 156 n. 356).

One member of the annual board of *κόσμοι* (also *Ϙόσμος/κόρμος*) was eponymous (e.g. *I.Cret.* IV 72.v.6 (C5m), 142 (C5m/C4e), 236 (C4s/C3f)). The size of the board of *κόσμοι* is not known (cf. *I.Cret.* IV 259 (C2f): ten *κόσμοι* plus a *ἰαροργός*). The kosmate was organised by tribe (*I.Cret.* IV 72.v.6 (C5m), 236 (C4s/C3f)). An Archaic law on iteration restricted service to once every three years (*I.Cret.* IV 14g–p (C6)). There is no reason to conclude that the *κσένιος κόσμος* ("*kosmos* for non-citizens") was a member of the board of *κόσμοι* (*I.Cret.* IV 14g–p (C6), 30 (C5e), 78 (C5e), 79 (C5m)). Iteration was restricted to once every five years (*I.Cret.* IV 14g–p2 (C6)), and a special "recorder", the *μνάμον ὀ τô κσενίο*, was attached to the office (*I.Cret.* IV 72.xi.6–23 (C5m)). Other public officials attested in the early inscriptions from Gortyn include (i) *τίτας* (*I.Cret.* IV 15a–b (C7l), 14g–p (C6), 78 (C5e), 79 (C5m)), "magistrate who fines" or "comptroller" (Bile (1988) 327). The term occurs in the plural in two inscriptions (*I.Cret.* IV 78 (C5e), 79 (C5m)). They were chiefly responsible for the collection of fines assessed by the *polis* against private individuals (*I.Cret.* IV 78 (C5e)) and officials (*I.Cret.* IV 79 (C5m)). (ii) *γνόμον*, "supervisor" *vel sim.* (*Nomima* I 82) or "councillor" (Bile (1988) 339). Iteration was restricted to once every ten years (*I.Cret.* IV 14g–p (C6)). (iii) *ἐσπράτται* (*I.Cret.* IV 75D (C5m), 87 (C5m), 91 (C5m)), "collectors of fines". The term is associated with the verb *πράζω*, "to pay" (Bile (1988) 327; *Nomima* I 97), and occurs only in the plural in conjunction with *δικασταί*. They seem to have been responsible primarily for the collection of fines assessed in judicial proceedings. A special *μνάμον τôν ἐσπραττâν* was attached to the office (*I.Cret.* IV 87 (C5m)). (iv) *ὀ ἐπόττας* (*I.Cret.* IV 84 (C5)), "overseer"?, "inspector"? (Guarducci (1950) 193). The function of this official is not known (Bile (1988) 331 n. 54: fiduciary official?). (v) *καρποδαῖσται* (*I.Cret.* IV 77 (C5e)) were probably responsible for the collection and redistribution of produce tithed for the *syssitia* (Guarducci (1950) 179; Willetts (1967); Bile (1988) 323; *Nomima* I 49). (vi) *πρείγιστος*. The term occurs in two agreements of Gortyn and dependent communities: (1) for the dependent *polis* of *Rhitten (*I.Cret.* IV 80 (C5e)) and (2) for "those living on Kaudos" (*I.Cret.* IV 184 + *SEG* 23 589 (C3l/C2e)); for the political status of this community, see Chaniotis (1996) 411–17). This suggests that the Gortynian *πρείγιστος* was an official involved in the administration of dependent communities (cf. Guarducci (1950) 186–87; Chaniotis (1996) 419–20). (vii) *σταρταγέτας* (*I.Cret.* IV 80 (C5e)), "leader of the *startos*" (*supra*) or military commander? (Guarducci (1950) 185). (viii) *δικαστάς*. The term does not occur in the earliest laws of Gortyn (see Perlman (2001) 197), but is common in the inscriptions of C5 (*I.Cret.* IV 41 (C5f), 42B (C5f), 45 (C5f), 72 *passim* (C5m), 76 (C5m), 106 (C5m)). An unknown number of *δικασταί*, at least some of whom enjoyed specialised duties, served the *polis* (e.g. the *δικαστάς* for the *hetaireiai* and for cases concerning security deposits (*I.Cret.* IV 42B (C5f)); the *ὀρπανοδικασταί* (*I.Cret.* IV 72.xii.6–19 (C5m)); cf. *μολêν ὀπê κ᾽ἐπιβάλλει, πὰρ τôι δικαστâι ἒ Ϝεκάστο ἔγρατται* (*I.Cret.* IV 72.vi.25–31, ix.18–24 (C5m)). The simple term always occurs in the singular (cf. the compound *ὀρπανοδικασταί*, *I.Cret.* IV 72.xii.6–19 (C5m)), and it seems likely that all cases were heard by a single *δικαστάς*. The *δικαστάς* either "applied the law", *δικάζειν* (e.g. *I.Cret.* IV 72.iii.5–9, v.28–39, ix.43–54 (C5m)), or "determined the facts under oath", *ὀμνύντα κρίνεν* (e.g. *I.Cret.* IV 42B (C5f), 72.ix.24–40, xi.46–55 (C5m)). Both procedures are described in a law from the Gortyn Law Code (*I.Cret.* IV 72.xi.26–31 (C5m)). A *μνάμον* sometimes assisted the *δικαστάς* when he "applied the law". Decisions of the *δικαστάς* could not be appealed. Nothing is known about the qualifications, appointment, tenure or pay of the *δικασταί*. Citizenship may not have been a requirement for the *μνάμον* (*I.Cret.* IV 72.ix.24–40 (C5m); cf. Lévy (1997) 26). For the *δικαστάς*, see in general Willetts (1967) 127–34; Bile (1988) 348–51.

The legendary founder of Gortyn was *Γόρτυς*, the son of either Tegeates according to the Tegeans or Rhadamanthys

according to the Cretans (Paus. 8.53.4–5). Conon preserved a tradition that in the third generation after the conquest of Amyklai by Sparta (C8e), the Spartans Pollis and Delphos led a group of Imbrian and Lemnian immigrants from Lakonian Amyklai to Gortyn, where they settled together with some Cretan *perioikoi* (Conon (*FGrHist* 26) fr. 1.xxxvi; Malkin (1994) 111–13). An early association with Sparta is suggested as well by the tradition concerning the Gortynian poet and lawgiver Thaletas, who taught Lykourgos and resided in Sparta for some time (Paus. 1.14.4; doubted by Arist. *Pol.* 2.9, 1274ª25–31). Plato's Cretan, Kleinias, however, identifed the Gortynians as Argive in origin (Pl. *Leg.* 4.708A; Bürchner (1912) 1667). For the ethnic composition of the early *polis*, see Perlman (2000).

The early inscriptions of Gortyn tell us very little about its foreign relations. According to Strabo, Gortyn and Lyktos temporarily superseded Knosos as the foremost cities of Crete (Strabo 10.4.7). If Strabo's account is historical, a likely time for the emergence of Gortyn as a leading power on the island is C6–C5 (Hood and Smyth (1981) 18–19). During the Archaic and Classical periods Gortyn may have formulated agreements with four *poleis* whose territories bordered the Mesara: (i) with Lebena (*I.Cret.* IV 63 (C6l/C5e)); (ii) with the dependent *polis* *Rhitten (*I.Cret.* IV 80 (C5e)); (iii) a *sympoliteia* or alliance with Phaistos (coins, *infra*); (iv) a *sympoliteia* or alliance with Sybrita? (coins, *infra*). For aspects of Gortyn's consolidation of the Mesara, see Perlman (1996) 258–70; Cucuzza (1997). The Cretan *polis* Polichne, located west of Kydonia (at Vryses?), may have been an ally of Gortyn. In 429 the Gortynian *Νικίας*, *proxenos* of Athens, contriving to support Polichne, arranged for an Athenian naval squadron to attack Kydonia (Thuc. 2.85; Figueira (1988) 538–42; cf. Sekunda (2000) 327–37: *Polichnitai* was the name of a federation of small non-Dorian communities in west Crete). During the grain crisis of the 320s, Gortyn received 10,000 *medimnoi* of grain from Kyrene (*SEG* 9 2).

Gortyn struck coins on the Aiginetan standard from *c.*470 (Price (1981)). Types on the earliest staters (C5f–C4m) attest a *sympoliteia* or alliance with Phaistos (Le Rider (1966) 161). Types: *obv.* Europa riding the bull, facing r.; *rev.* lion's scalp (Le Rider (1966) pl. XI.8–19). The beginning of local coinage at Gortyn (staters and drachms with same types as above) is indicated by the legend (*rev.*) *ΓΟΡΤΥΝΟΣΤΟΠΑΙΜΑ* (*Γόρτυνος τὸ παῖμα*) written retrograde in the epichoric alphabet (Svoronos (1890) pl. XII.21, 28) and somewhat later *ΓΟΡΤΥΝΙΟΝ* (Le Rider (1966) pl. XI.11–13). The earliest drachms, hemidrachms and obols have *obv.* recumbent bull; *rev.* lion's scalp; legend (drachm *obv.*): *ΓΟΡΤΥΝΣ* written retrograde in the epichoric alphabet (Svoronos (1890) pl. XII.27–33; *SNG Cop. Aeg.Isl.* 439). Staters of C4s (*c.*360/350–300) have *obv.* female figure (Le Rider (1966) 14 n. 1, Europa or Britomartis?) seated in a tree; *rev.* standing bull; legend: *ΓΟΡΤΥΝΙΟΝ*, sometimes retrograde in the epichoric alphabet (Le Rider (1966) pls. XI.20–XVIII.18). Drachms and obols of this period (C4s) have: *obv.* head of a bull; *rev.* head of Europa? (Le Rider (1966) pls. XIX.11–26, XX.13–14). Sybrita minted coins with the same types in C4s and may have been joined with Gortyn in a *sympoliteia* or alliance (Le Rider (1966) 160–62). *SNG Cop. Aeg.Isl.* 438–45.

961. Herakleion (Herakleiotas) Map 60. Lat. 35.20, long. 25.10. Size of territory: 3 (Hellenistic period). Type: C. The toponym is *Ἡράκλειον, τό* (Strabo 10.4.7). The city-ethnic is *Ἡρακλειώτας* (*Milet.* I.3 140.37 (*c.*259–250); *SB* 4272 (C3f)).

The earliest reference to Herakleion as a *polis* in the political sense occurs in a C3m agreement of Miletos *πρὸς τὰς πόλεις τὰς ἐν Κρήτηι* (*Milet.* I.3 140.1, 37). The *Stadiasmus* 348 refers to Herakleion as a *polis* in the urban sense, *Ἡράκλειον . . . πόλις ἐστίν. ἔχει λιμένα καὶ ὕδωρ.* The ancient city was located under the modern one; the combined evidence from chance finds and salvage excavations indicates the existence of a settlement there already in the Classical period, although continuous occupation since Antiquity has made it impossible to reconstruct its organisation (for remains from the Classical period, see e.g. Vallianou (1987); cf. *Barr.*, H only). The traces of Classical habitation and the fact that there is no doubt that Herakleion was a *polis* in the political sense during the Hellenistic period recommend its inclusion in the Inventory as a possible *polis* (type C).

For Strabo, Herakleion was the harbour of Knosos, *ἔχει δ' ἐπίνειον τὸ Ἡράκλειον ἡ Κνωσσός* (Strabo 10.4.7).

The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested externally in the C3m agreement between Knosos and Miletos (*Milet.* I.3 140.37). For the individual use of the city-ethnic there is the graffito of *Φιλῖνος Ἡρακλειώτας* (*SB* 4272 (C3f)) and the proxeny decree of Aptara for *[Δα]μάτριος καὶ Ὀρθόννας Εὔφρονος* [*καὶ*] *Νέαρχος Εὐνοΐδα καὶ Φίλων Παρμεν*[---*Ἡρακλ*]*ειῶται* (*I.Cret.* II.iii.11C (C2)).

962. Hierapytna (Hierapytnios) Map 60. Lat. 35.00, long. 25.45. Size of territory: 4. Type: B. The toponym is *Ἱεράπυντνα, ἡ* (*I.Cret.* III.iii.1B (C3l); *IG* XII.5 840 (C3m)). Stephanos records three earlier names: *ἡ πρότερον Κύρβα,*

εἶτα Πύτνα, εἶτα Κάμιρος (Steph. Byz. 328.4–5). For Κάμιρος, cf. the tribal name Καμιρίς *infra*. The city-ethnic is Ἱεραπύτνιος (*I.Cret.* III.iii.1A (C3s), iv.3 (C3e)).

Probably the earliest ancient sources to call Hierapytna a *polis* in the political sense are the decree of *isopoliteia* with Arkades (*I.Cret.* III.iii.1B 10 (C3l)) and the alliance between Hierapytna and Rhodos (*I.Cret.* III.iii.3A (C3l)). Hierapytna is included in the Inventory as a probable *polis* (type B) largely on the strength of its mint, which began to strike coins in C4f (*infra*).

The collective and internal use of the city-ethnic occurs in the alliance with Antigonos Doson (*I.Cret.* III.iii.1A (C3s)). For the individual use of the city-ethnic there is the decree of Lilaia in honour of Εὐρυκάρτης Ἀρισταγόρου Ἱεραπύτνιος (*FD* III.4 134 (C3l)).

The *polis*-town of Hierapytna was more than likely located in the vicinity of the modern city of Ierapetra. To date almost nothing from the Archaic and Classical periods has come to light (for a description of the Archaic and Classical material from these periods on display in the Archaeological Museum of Ierapetra, see Papadakis (1986) 77–80). On current evidence it would seem that Hierapytna was a foundation of C5f at the earliest. Several public buildings and open-air meeting places are attested epigraphically: *prytaneion* (*I.Cret.* III.iii.3C (C3l/C2e)); χορός (*I.Cret.* III.iv.1 (C3e)); τὸ ἀνδρήιον (*I.Cret.* III.iii.4 (C3l/C2e)). In so far as these buildings/open-air meeting places are attested at other Cretan *poleis* during the Archaic and Classical periods (*prytaneion*: see Lato (no. 971); *choros*: see *Eltynia (no. 958) *supra*; Lyktos (no. 974); *andreion*: see Axos (no. 950), Datala (no. 954) and *Eltynia, no. 958), it is possible that also at Hierapytna (no. 962) they were pre-Hellenistic.

The protecting deity of the *polis* was probably Athene Polias, in whose sanctuary public enactments were displayed (*I.Cret.* III.iii.3C, ll. 9–10 (C3l/C2e), 4 ll. 78–79 (C3l/C2e), 5 ll. 5–6 (C2)).

Strabo indicates that the *polis* of Larisa (see Introduction) joined with Hierapytna in a synoecism (Strabo 9.5.19). Larisa has been identified with the substantial LMIIIC-Classical settlement on Prophitis Elias (Watrous and Blitzer (1995)). Surface remains indicate that this settlement was abandoned by *c.*325. If the identification is correct, the settlement history of Larisa suggests that her synoecism with Hierapytna occurred late in the Classical period. The borders of Hierapytna are attested only in documents of the Hellenistic period (Hierapytna and Priansos: *I.Cret.* IV 174 ll. 30–32 (C3l/C2e); Hierapytna and Praisos: *I.Cret.* III.iv.9 ll. 65–67 (rC3l/C2f)). At some time before C2l Hierapytna may have made the Archaic and Classical settlement at Oleros (see Introduction) a dependent *polis* whose territory either lay within or shared a border with the territory of Hierapytna (Perlman (1995*b*) 131–35, 138–39).

The names of three tribes, attested in the dating formulas of C2 magistral dedications but likely to be early and so included here, have been identified as Hierapytnian: Δυμᾶνες (*I.Cret.* III.iii.9), Πάμφυλοι (*I.Cret.* III.v.1 with Guarducci (1942) 133, from Oleros) and Καμιρίς (*I.Cret.* III.ii.1 with Jones, *POAG* 231: an unusual feminine adjectival form in -ις perhaps comprising a stratum of the population claiming descent from Rhodian colonists; from the sanctuary of Zeus Diktaios at Palaikastro).

Hierapytna struck coins (staters) on the Aiginetan standard from C4f. Types: *obv.* ΙΡ ΑΠ Υ between the limbs of a *triskeles*; *rev.* boar protome (Svoronos (1890) pl. XVII.6, with Head, *HN*² 468). Later issues (*c.*330–280/270) have *obv.* head of Zeus; *rev.* palm tree and eagle; legend: ΙΕΡΑ (Svoronos (1890) pl. XVII.7, with Le Rider (1966) 190, 197–98).

963. Hyrtakina (Hyrtakinios) Map 60. Lat. 35.15, long. 23.45. Size of territory: 2. Type: [A]. The toponym is preserved in literary sources, where it is variously spelled Ὑρτακίνα (Ps.-Skylax 47), Ὑρτακός (Steph. Byz. 652.20) and Ὑρτακῖνος (Steph. Byz. 652.20). The city-ethnic is either Ὑρτακίνιος (*SEG* 9 2 (C4s); coins, C4s–C3f, *infra*; *I.Cret.* II.xv.2 (C2f)) or Ὑρτακῖνος (*Milet.* I.3 38.frg.ll,5–6 (C3s)).

In Ps.-Skylax 47, where *polis* is used in the urban sense, Hyrtakina is one of the toponyms listed under the heading πόλεις πολλαὶ ἐν Κρήτηι. The earliest explicit reference to Hyrtakina as a *polis*, and here in the political sense, occurs in the renewal of *asylia* for Teos (*I.Cret.* II.xv.2 (C2m)). There is little doubt that Hyrtakina was a *polis* in the political sense during the late Classical period. The evidence for this is: (i) striking coins as early as *c.*330 (*infra*); (ii) forming an alliance with Lisos in C4s/C3s (coins, see *infra*); (iii) inclusion among the communities given grain by Kyrene in the 320s (*SEG* 9 2.49); (iv) membership in the C4l–C3 federation of the *Oreioi* (van Effenterre (1948*a*) 119–27; Chaniotis (1996) 106–8, 421–22; cf. Sekunda (2000) 337–38: league founded C3f).

The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally on the coins (*infra*), and externally in the list of recipients of grain from Kyrene during the grain crisis of the 320s (*SEG* 9 2.49). For the individual use of the city-ethnic there is the grave *stele* of Διόδοτος Πάτρωνος Ὑρτακῖνος from Sidon (*Rev. Bib.* (1904) 552 (C2)).

The *polis* town of Hyrtakina occupied a fortified hill (Kastri), but archaeological investigation of the settlement has been minimal. On current evidence the principal phases of occupation date to the Classical and Hellenistic periods. Early explorers describe two sectors of the city in some detail: (i) along the southern sector of the fortification wall, where there is a gate with a road which can be traced from the south (perhaps from Lisos, Niniou-Kindeli (1990)) leading into the city; and (ii) inside the city to the west near the fortification wall, where there is a large building and a public? cistern (Savignoni and de Sanctis (1901) 408–24). An open-air sanctuary of Pan (C4–C3) was located at the eastern edge of the acropolis (Theophanides (1942–44*b*)). The late Classical or Hellenistic circuit wall is built of polygonal masonry (Savignoni and de Sanctis (1901) 408–24). Tombs (C5–C4) are numerous on the southern and northern slopes of the acropolis and on the hill Ag. Ioannis to the east. The existence of a *prytaneion* called the *Δελφίνιον* may be inferred from the offer of *ξενία ἐπὶ τὰν κοινὰν ἑστίαν ἐς τὸ Δελφίνιον* (*I.Cret.* II.xv.2 (C2m)). If so, in so far as the *prytaneion* is attested elsewhere on Crete during the Classical period (see Lato (no. 971)), it is possible that also at Hyrtakina it was pre-Hellenistic.

Hyrtakina struck coins (drachms) during the period *c.*330–280/270. Types: *obv.* Goat's head, legend: *ΥΡ*, *ΥΡΤΑ* or *ΥΡΤΑΚΙΝΙΩΝ*; *rev.* bee (Svoronos (1890) pl. XVIII.7–11, with Le Rider (1966) 197–98). In C4s–C3f (cf. Sekunda (2000) 337, *c.*C3m), Lisos and Hyrtakina produced an alliance coinage of small denominations in silver and gold. Types: *obv./rev.* dove (or eagle?), or dolphin, or star; legend (*obv./rev.*): *Λ-Υ*, *ΥΡ-ΛΙ* or *ΥΡ-ΛΙΣΙΩΝ* (Svoronos (1890) pl. XVIII.12–20; *SNG Cop. Aeg.Isl.* 469).

964. Istron (Istronios) Map 60. Lat. 35.10, long. 27.15. Size of territory: 2. Type: C. The toponym is *Ἴστρων* (*I.Cret.* I.xiv.1 (C3l)). The city-ethnic is *Ἰστρώνιος* (*Milet.* I.3 140.38 (*c.*259–250); *IG* XII.5 suppl. 304 (C3m)).

The earliest reference to Istron as a *polis* in the political sense occurs in an agreement of Miletos *πρὸς τὰς πόλεις τὰς ἐγ Κρήτηι* (*Milet.* I.3 140.1, 38 (*c.*259–250)). Istron was located in the vicinity of the modern village of Kalo Khorio on Mirabello Bay. The ancient settlement on the small promontory of Nisi Pandeleimon seems the most likely candidate for its urban centre. The surface remains are Archaic and later (Hayden *et al.* (1992) 298, 330–32, 343/NP1; cf. *Barr.* H and later). This and the fact that there is no doubt that Istron was a *polis* in the political sense during the Hellenistic period recommend its inclusion in the Inventory as a possible *polis* (type C).

The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested externally in the agreement between Knosos and Miletos (*Milet.* I.3 140.38 (*c.*259–250)) and in an *asylia* decree for Teos (*I.Cret.* I.xiv.1 (C3l)). For the individual use of the city-ethnic there is the proxeny? decree for *Ἀπολλώνιος Νίκωνος Ἰστρώνιος* (*IG* XII.5 suppl. 304 (C3m)).

The largest buildings on Nisi Pandeleimon are on the south-eastern knob of the promontory and on its southern slopes. A stretch of circuit wall (*c.*1.5 m thick) is preserved just above sea level on the north-western side of the promontory (Hayden *et al.* (1992) 330–32, 343/NP1). In treaties of C2l the eastern border of Lato seems to encompass the territory of ancient Istron, suggesting that by then the *polis* had been absorbed by Lato (Faure (1967) 111; van Effenterre and Bougrat (1969) 38; Hayden *et al.* (1992) 299 with fig. 3).

The protecting deity of Istron was Athene Polias, in whose sanctuary the public enactments of the *polis* were displayed (*I.Cret.* I.xiv.1 (C3l)).

965. Itanos (Itanios) Map 60. Lat. 35.15, long. 26.15. Size of territory: 3. Type: A. The toponym is *Ἴτανος, ὁ* (Hdt. 4.151.2). The city-ethnic is *Ἰτάνιος* (*I.Cret.* III.vii.3 (C6?); coins, C4s–C3f, *infra*).

The earliest reference to Itanos as a *polis* in the urban sense occurs in Herodotos' narrative of the foundation of Kyrene (Hdt. 4.151.2 (rC7)). Messengers from Thera arrived *ἐς Ἴτανον πόλιν*. The earliest uses of the term in its political sense occur in Hellenistic inscriptions (*I.Cret.* III.iv.2–3 (*c.*266/5–263/2), 8 (C3f)).

The city-ethnic *ITANION* is attested in an Archaic rupestral inscription written *boustrophedon* in the epichoric alphabet (*I.Cret.* III.vii.3 (C6?)). It is unclear whether the use is individual or collective. The first certain example of the collective use of the city-ethnic internally occurs on the coins (C4s–C3f, *infra*) and externally in an Archaic law of Lyktos (*SEG* 35 991A (C6l); cf. Faure (1993) 69–70). For the individual use of the city-ethnic there is the signature of the sculptor *Δαμοκράτης Ἀριστομήδεος Ἰτάνιος* (*I.Cret.* III.iii.31 (C3/C2)).

Apart from a possible reference to hostilities with Lyktos (*SEG* 35 991A (C6l); cf. Faure (1993) 69–70), all evidence for the foreign relations of Itanos is Hellenistic.

Apart from the story of the participation of the Itanian purple-fisher, Korobios, in Thera's colonisation of Kyrene (Hdt. 4.151–53 (rC7)) and the possible reference to hostilities

with Lyktos (*supra*), evidence for the foreign relations of Itanos is Hellenistic. The presence of pottery from Corinth (C7e–C6e), Attika (C6f–C4, but nothing from *c.*470–420), Ionia, Paros(?), Knosos (Orientalising and Hellenistic), Eleutherna (Orientalising and Hellenistic) and Aphrati attests Itanos' participation in intra-island and Mediterranean trading networks, but is not sufficient to demonstrate direct relations with any one of these places (Greco *et al.* (1999); Tsingarida (2001)).

The Itanians distinguished between their territory on Crete itself (*χώρα*) and several small islands which they claimed, the most important of which was *Λεύκη* (probably modern Kouphonisi) (*I.Cret.* III.iv.8 ll. 9–11 (C3f), 9 ll. 37–39 and *passim* (C2l)). The Magnesian arbitration of the dispute between Itanos and Hierapytna describes the southern border of Itanos (*I.Cret.* III.iv.9 ll. 59–67 (C2l)). The sanctuary of Zeus Diktaios at Palaikastro was located near this border (Chaniotis (1988); cf. Perlman (1995*a*)). For the extent of the territory of Itanos (from the sanctuary of Zeus Diktaios in the south to the sanctuary of Athena Samonia on Cape Sideros to the north), see Kalpaxis *et al.* (1995).

The *polis* town of Itanos was built on two small acropolises, the eastern acropolis (altitude 24.35 m) and the western acropolis (altitude 17.45 m). A large hill (altitude 61 m) delimits the plain of Itanos to the south. Public buildings are likely to have been located on the two small acropolises. The east acropolis may have been fortified. A monumental terrace on the west acropolis was probably built to accommodate a temple. A rectangular basin of roughly 80–90 m (east–west) by 50–60 m (north–south), possibly an ancient harbour, has been identified immediately to the south of the two acropolises. The agora may have been just to the north of the harbour more or less between the two acropolises. The southern hill was protected by a fortification wall with towers. The western line of this fortification may have extended north beyond the hill to defend the harbour and the two acropolises. The *polis* town is estimated to have covered roughly 40 ha. A large, roughly trapezoidal building with a central hearth in the main room, tentatively identified as an *andreion*, was built in the Archaic period (abandoned C5f) in the area of a Geometric cemetery on a low hill to the north of the acropolises (Viviers (2001)). During the late Classical period a cemetery was established on a terrace east of the Archaic building. Apart from the Archaic building, all other walls in the *polis* town (fortification, building and terrace) appear to be Hellenistic and later, but pottery from the Archaic and Classical periods is reported from the east acropolis, the Hellenistic and later residential quarter in the saddle between the two akropolises, and the rural sanctuary and temple (of Demeter?) at *Βάμιες*. See Gallett de Santerre (1951); Deschayes (1951); Kalpaxis *et al.* (1995); Greco *et al.* (1996), (1997), (1998*a*), (1998*b*), (1999).

Itanos began to strike coins on the Aiginetan standard *c.*380. Subsequent issues are sporadic (Le Rider (1966) 196; Kraay (1976) 53–54). The earliest coins (staters and obols, *c.*380–320) have *obv.* marine deity; *rev.* star (Svoronos (1890) pl. XVIII.21–36, with Le Rider (1966) 196; *SNG Cop. Aeg.Isl.* 470–71), later opposing sea monsters; legend: *ITA* (Svoronos (1890) pl. XVIII.37). Itanos continued to mint this latter type (*obv.* marine deity; *rev.* opposing sea monsters; legend: *ITANION* or *ITANIΩN*) during the period *c.*320–280/270 (Svoronos (1890) pl. XIX.1–9, with Le Rider (1966) 196) and introduced a new series with *obv.* head of Athena; *rev.* eagle or star; legend: *ITANION*/*ITANIΩN* (Svoronos (1890) pl. XIX.10–24, with Le Rider (1966) 196).

966. Keraia (Keraïtas) Map 60. Lat. 35.25, long. 24.00. Size of territory: 1. Type: C. The toponym is *Κεραία* (*BCH* 45 (1921) 111.111 (*c.*230–210)). The city-ethnic is *Κεραΐτας* (coins, *infra*); cf. *Κεραιίται* (*I.Magnesia* 21 (C2e)), *Κερέται* (Polyb. 4.53.6), *Κερεάτης* (Steph. Byz. 167.4–5).

No ancient source identifies Keraia as a *polis*. But there is no question that Keraia was a *polis* in the political sense during the Hellenistic period (Polyb. 4.55.2; *I.Magnesia* 21 (C2e); *I.Cret.* IV 179 (*c.*183)). Keraia is included in the Inventory as a probable *polis* (type B) on the strength of its mint, which may have begun production as early as *c.*330 (*infra*).

The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally on the coins (*infra*), and externally in the alliance of Keraia and the members of the Cretan *koinon* with Eumenes II (*I.Cret.* IV 179 (*c.*183)). For the individual use there is the proxeny decree of Gortyn for *Βωλαγόρας Νεοκούδιος Κεραΐτας* (*I.Cret.* IV 206K (C3/C2)).

The remains of the *polis* town at Meskla occupied at least two and possibly three hills: (i) *Τειχίδια* with stretches of fortification walls built of large blocks without mortar; (ii) *Πουλέ* with a C4 rampart and a bastion; and (iii) *Ζαγρέ* or *Ζαγροπαπούρα* with Roman villas. Surface remains date from the Archaic through the Byzantine period. The southern frontier of Keraia was defended by a guard-post at *Βουσσαλόπορος*. A second guard-post was located to the south of Meskla at *'Ελληνικό* (Faure (1962) 49–54).

Keraia struck coins (drachms) during the period *c.*330–280/270. Types: *obv.* head of Artemis wearing a crown of goat horns; *rev.* heads of a javeline and an arrow; legend:

KEPAITAN (Svoronos (1890) pl. IV.16–17, with Le Rider (1966) 197–98; *SNG Cop. Aeg.Isl.* 359).

967. Knosos (Knosios) Map 60. Lat. 35.20, long. 25.10. Size of territory: 4. Type: A. The toponym is *Κνωσός*, *ἡ* (Hom. *Il.* 2.646; Pl. *Leg.* 753A), in Linear B, ko-no-so (McArthur (1993) 21–23). According to Strabo, Knosos was formerly called *Καίρατος*, the ancient name (now revived) of the river and river valley wherein Knosos is located (Strabo 10.4.8). The city-ethnic is *Κνώσιος* (coins, C4f, see *infra*; *SEG* 9 2.31, 59 (C4s)). Literary sources use both these and geminated forms of the toponym (*Κνωσσός*, Diod. 16.62.3) and the city-ethnic (*Κνώσσιος*, Hdt. 3.122.2). Geminated forms do not appear in the inscriptions.

Knosos is called a *polis* in the political sense in the agreement of Knosos, Tylisos and Argos which provides for the division of booty *αἱ δὲ συμπλέονες πόλιες . . . ἔλοιεν* (ML 42B.31–32 (C5m) = *Nomima* 1 54.11). It is most likely that Knosos should be understood as one of the *poleis*. In literary sources Knosos is called a *polis* both in the political sense (Pl. *Leg.* 702C, 752E) and in the urban sense (*Hymn. Hom. Ap.* 477; Bacchyl. 1.123, in both cases in a mythological context). The phrase *Κνωσία πάτρα* occurs in Pind. *Ol.* 12.16.

The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally on the coins (*infra*) and externally in the agreement of Knosos, Tylisos and Argos (ML 42B.8 (C5m)), in the proxeny decree of Mausolos and Artemisia for the Knosioi (*I.Labraunda* 40 (C4m)), and in the list of recipients of grain from Kyrene during the grain crisis of the 320s (*SEG* 9 2.31, 59). For the individual use there is the sculptor *Ἀμφίων Ἀκέστορος Κνώσσιος* who made the statue of Battos and Libya riding in a chariot which Pausanias saw at Delphi (Paus. 10.15.7 (rC5)). The individual use is not attested epigraphically before C4 (*Γλυκέρα Ἀντιόχο Κνωσίο*, *IG* II² 9044 (C4f)).

Very little is known about the Archaic and Classical (pre-C4m) history of Knosos. According to Strabo, in the time of Homer and for a long while thereafter Knosos was the most illustrious *polis* on Crete. She later lost her leading position to Gortyn and Lyktos, but managed to recover her former status as the metropolis of Crete (Strabo 10.4.7). Pindar indicates that Knosos suffered a period of stasis in C5e, which resulted in the exile or immigration to Himera of the long-distance runner *Ἐργοτέλης Φιλάνορος*, twice victor at the Pythian Games and once at the Olympian (Pind. *Ol.* 12.16 (C5f)). Knosos is not known to have produced other Panhellenic victors, but Knosos and Tylisos agreed to dedicate jointly at Delphi a tithe of the booty they captured together (ML 42B.7–10 (C5m)). Knosos and Tylisos formed an alliance in C5m (ML 42). The assembly of Argos (*τὸ πλῆθος*) served as the mediator in the resolution of disputes between the two *poleis* concerning questions of war and peace (ML 42A.6–17; Merrill (1991); cf. ML: the text implies a federal structure with a federal assembly called *τὸ πλῆθος* which decided questions of war and peace; members included Knosos, Tylisos and Argos, and perhaps other states as well (*συμπλέονες πολίες*, ML 42B.31–32); cf. Gschnitzer (1958) 44–47: ML 42 is an alliance between Knosos and Argos; Tylisos is a dependency of Argos). The border between Knosos and Tylisos (*ὅροι τᾶς γᾶς*) is described in this alliance (26–29, *infra*), and regulations concerning property and trade are stipulated: (i) both *poleis* are prohibited from absorbing territory (*χόρα*) belonging to the other (25–26); (ii) *Knosioi* are prohibited from owning land in Tylisos (*μὲ 'νπιπασκέσθο*), although a *Tylisios* may own land in Knosos (23–25); (iii) export from Tylisos to Knosos and from Knosos to Tylisos is tax-free; (iv) *Tylisioi* pay the same taxes as citizens of Knosos for trans-shipment from Knosos (11–14). After a gap in the historical record of almost a century, evidence for the history of Knosos resumes in C4m, when Mausolos and Artemisia issue a proxeny decree for the *Knosioi* (*I.Labraunda* 40 (*c.*357)), and Knosos hires mercenaries of Phalaikos for a campaign against Lyktos (Diod. 16.62 (346)), and honours the Athenians with a gold crown (*IG* II² 1443.11.121–22 (345/4)).

The *κόσμοι* appear to have been the chief magistrates of the *polis* already in the Classical period. They were responsible for providing foreign envoys with *ξένια*. The *βολά* oversaw the *κόσμοι* (ML 42B.40–42 (C5m)). Although the *phylai* appear only in Hellenistic sources, they are likely to be early and so are mentioned here. Five tribal names are attested: (i) *Ἀρχήια* or *Ἀρχεία* (*I.Cret.* I.viii.10 (C2e); *SEG* 33 729 (C1); cf. the sanctuary of the hero *Ἀρχός* at Archanes, ML 42B.27, 35–36 (C5m)); (ii) *Πάμφυλοι* (*I.Cret.* IV 181 (C2f)); (iii) *E*[---*c.*8---] (*I.Cret.* IV 182 (C2f)); (iv) *Αἰθαλεῖς* (*I.Cret.* IV 197 (C2)); (v) *Ὑλλεῖς* (*SEG* 33 728 (C1)).

The territory of Knosos is called (in Argolic) *τὰ Κνοhία γά* (ML 42A.21–22 (C5m)). If the river mentioned in the C5m description of the border of Knosos and Tylisos is the Platyperama (ML 42B.28), the territory of Knosos reached the north coast between Herakleion and Apellonia. To the east her territory encompassed the sanctuary of Zeus Thenatas at Amnisos (Chaniotis (1992)), while to the south it extended towards modern Archanes (ML 42B.2–4; see Huxley (1994) 126–27 for a brief discussion of the territory; cf. also *I.Cret.* I.ix.1B.52 for a C3 reference to the borders

(*οὐρεία*) of Knosos, and *I.Cret.* IV 182 and Polyb. 22.15.1 for the C2f border of Knosos and Gortyn). Strabo identifies Herakleion and earlier (in the time of Minos) Amnisos as the harbours (*ἐπίνειον*) of Knosos (Strabo 10.4.7–8). The so-called cave of Eleithyia was located within the territory of Knosos (see e.g. Paus. 1.18.5; Strabo 10.4.8).

The *polis* town of Knosos seems to have enjoyed nearly continuous habitation from prehistoric times and always to have been settled as an urban centre with the important exception of the period *c.*630–525, when on current evidence the settlement appears to have been largely abandoned (Coldstream (1984); Coldstream and Huxley (1999)). Very little is known about the *polis* town of Archaic and Classical Knosos (for the Archaic and Classical remains within the urban centre of Knosos, see Hood and Smyth (1981); Coldstream and Macdonald (1997); Coldstream (1999), (2000)). According to Strabo, the circuit of the ancient city was 30 stadia (Strabo 10.4.7), but there is no archaeological evidence that a circuit wall protected the *polis* town. For a Classical fort (C4) on Kefala ridge north of the Minoan Palace, see Hood and Boardman (1957). The public centre of the *polis* town is suspected to have been in the region of the Roman Civil Basilica, *c.*0.5 km to the north-west of the Minoan palace, where architectural blocks bearing the text (painted) of a law were found (*I.Cret.* I.viii.5 (C3)). Three early sanctuaries have been excavated: (i) of Rhea? (C5 and earlier?) above the ruins of the South Propylaion of the Minoan palace (Evans (1928) 3–5; Coldstream (2000) 284–88); (ii) of Demeter (from C8 onwards) south of the Minoan palace on Lower Gipsades Hill (Coldstream (1973)); (iii) of Glaukos? (from *c.*500) west of the Minoan palace (Callaghan (1978)). Deposits of Archaic (with the C6 gap) and Classical material, but no architecture, have been found in the Stratigraphical Museum excavations (Warren (1984–85)), above the Unexplored Mansion (Sackett (1992) 6–8), to the south-west of the Minoan palace (Coldstream and Macdonald (1997)), and on both sides of the Royal Road (Coldstream (1973)). There is almost no burial evidence from Knosos later than *c.*630 (Coldstream and Huxley (1999) 294–96).

Knosos struck coins on the Aiginetan standard from *c.*C5m (Price (1981), *c.*450–425; Le Rider (1966) 175–80, 195, *c.*425). The earliest (*c.*C5m–C4m) coins (staters, drachms, hemidrachms) have *obv.* Minotaur; *rev.* labyrinth (cruciform), or rarely the head of a youth (Svoronos (1890) 66 no. 11: Theseus or Apollo?); obols have *obv.* Minotaur; *rev.* star; legend (on staters only): none at first, later *KNOΣ* written retrograde in the epichoric alphabet (Svoronos (1890) pl. IV.23–32, with Le Rider (1966) 175; *SNG Cop. Aeg.Isl.* 368). The next series of staters (*c.*340/330–320) has *obv.* female head (Le Rider (1966) 15 n. 5: Pasiphaï, Britomartis or Ariadne?); *rev.* seated male figure (Zeus or Minos), or a bull's head within the labyrinth; legend: *ΚΝΩΣΙΩΝ*, or in one case *ΜΙΝΩΣ* (Svoronos (1890) pls. IV.33–35, V.1, with Le Rider (1966) 175–76). Staters struck during the period *c.*320–280/270 have: *obv.* head of Hera; *rev.* labyrinth. Drachms of this period have (i) *obv.* head of Hera; *rev.* labyrinth; (ii) head of Apollo; *rev.* Zeus Nikephoros seated inside the labyrinth. Hemidrachms and obols have *obv.* head of Apollo; *rev.* labyrinth (Svoronos (1890) pls. V.2–22, VI.1–9, 15–16, with Le Rider (1966) 176–80; *SNG Cop. Aeg.Isl.* 369–70, 373).

968. Kydonia (Kydoniatas) Map 60. Lat. 35.30, long. 24.00. Size of territory: 4. Type: A. The toponym is *Κυδωνία*, *ἡ* (Thuc. 2.85.5; *IG* II² 399 (C4s)), in Linear B, ku-do-ni-ja (McArthur (1993) 21–23). The city-ethnic is *Κυδωνιάτας* (*IG* IV 683 (C5m); Thuc. 2.85.5). On the assertion of Stephanos that *Κυδωνία* was formerly called *Ἀπολλωνία* (Steph. Byz. 390.17), see Guarducci (1939) 105.

The term *πόλις* occurs in a dedication to Apollo, Artemis and Lato from Chania (*SEG* 33 735; cf. *SEG* 40 775 = *CEG* 846 (C4f)). The *polis* in question is probably Kydonia, and the use of the term is probably political. *Polis* in the urban sense is attested in Ephor. fr. 29, in Ps.-Skylax 47 (*πόλις* implied; see Flensted-Jensen and Hansen (1996) 142), and in Diod. 16.63.3 (r343).

The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally in abbreviated form on coins C4s–C3e (*infra*), and externally in Thucydides' account of the Athenian expedition to Crete in 429 (Thuc. 2.85.5) and in the list of recipients of grain from Kyrene during the grain crisis of the 320s (*SEG* 9 2.26). For the individual use of the city-ethnic there are the two signatures of sculptors, *Ἀριστοκλῆς Κυδωνιάτης* from Olympia (Paus. 5.25.11 (rC6, not properly retrospective if Pausanias here quotes the inscription)) and *Κρησίλας Κυδωνιάτας* from Hermione (*IG* IV 683 (C5m)) and the graffito of *Ὀνάσανδρος Κυδωνιάτας* from Abydos (*IGA* 3 405 (C4)).

According to legend, Kydonia was founded by Minos or Kydas (*IG* XII.5 104.21–22; Diod. 5.78.2; Paus. 8.53.4). In light of the continuous settlement of Chania from C8s (*infra*), the story told by Herodotos about the foundation of Kydonia by Samian exiles (*αὐτοὶ* [Samians] *δὲ Κυδωνίην τὴν ἐν Κρήτῃ ἔκτισεν*) probably refers to a refoundation or resettlement of the *polis* (Hdt. 3.44.1, 59.1–3 (r524); for the

meaning of *κτίζω* in Herodotos, see Casewitz (1985)). The Samians remained there for five years, but in the sixth year (519), Aiginetans and Cretans defeated them in a sea battle, and the Aiginetans resettled Kydonia as a colony (Strabo 8.6.16; for the possible economic motives behind Samian and Aiginetan interest in Kydonia, see Stefanakis (1999) 250–57; for the identification of the *Κυδῶνες* as the descendants of the pre-Greek inhabitants of west Crete and for their fate following Aigina's colonisation of Kydonia, see Sekunda (2000) 330–37). In 429 the Athenians responded to the request of Nikias, the Gortynian *proxenos* of Athens, and ravaged the territory of Kydonia (Thuc. 2.85.5–86.1). The attack may have been motivated in part by pro-Spartan sympathies if not outright support for Sparta on the part of the descendants of the Aiginetan settlers, together perhaps with more recent arrivals from Aigina following the Athenian expulsions in 457/6 and 431 (Figueira (1988) 538–42). Phalaikos was killed during his unsuccessful siege of Kydonia in 343 (Diod. 16.63; Paus. 10.2.7).

The list of leases of land and houses to seven *proxenoi* (*I.Cret.* II.x.1 (C3)) provides precious information about the organisation of the territory of Kydonia. Combined with the archaeological evidence, it can be used retrospectively for the Archaic and Classical periods. The leases refer to vineyards *ἐμ Μολοχᾶντι ἐν τῶι πεδίωι, ἐν τῶι πεδίωι κατὰ Βάθειαν, ἐν Μινώιαι ποὶ τῶι πόρωι ἐσχάτωι, ἐν τᾶι νάσωι* (Marangou-Lerat (1995) 11–13: Akrotiri peninsula), *ἐπὶ Λίπαραι*, and *ἐν Σχινούρι*; houses *ἐν τᾶι 'Ηραΐδι* and *ἐν τᾶι Λαχανίαι κ(ώ)μαι*; and fallow land *ποὶ τᾶι Κωμίκου*. The *κώμη* Laxania has been identified with the substantial fortified site (Archaic through Byzantine) on Kastellos Varypetro about 7 km south-west of Chania (Faure (1988) 90; Erickson (2000) 260). Minoa has been identified with the remains (Archaic through Roman) of a large coastal settlement at modern Marathi on Akrotiri peninsula (Blackman (1976*d*)). The settlement possessed an important cult (of Diktynna?) at Marathospelios (Faure (1964) 186–87) and territory extending north-west to the isthmus of the peninsula (Marangou-Lerat (1995) 10–13). Lipara has been identified with one of the small islands located in Souda Bay opposite Marathi (Guarducci (1939) 117). For a discussion of these toponyms, see Perlman (1996) 243–44, where I distinguish between two types of sub-unit of the *polis*: (i) villages like Laxania and Heraïs which were not political units, and (ii) a second category of community of which Minoa, Molokas, Vatheia, Lipara and Schinouris are examples. These latter consisted of a settlement and agricultural lands, including some state-owned parcels, and may have been political units dependent upon or part of Kydonia.

The continuous occupation of the city of Chania since C8, coupled with the building activity of the Venetians, who dismantled many of the earlier structures for building material to reuse in their own buildings, has made it difficult to reconstruct the organisation of the Greek *polis*. Rescue excavations have provided most of what is known archaeologically about the Archaic and Classical periods (see e.g. *KrEst* 7 (1999) 143–66, describing eighteen rescue excavations conducted in Chania during the period 1995–97). Late Geometric material from Kastelli Hill suggests that the Greek settlement was established there in C8 (Andreadaki-Vlasaki (1997) 239; for Archaic and Classical deposits on Kastelli, see Hallager *et al.* (1997) 202–4; Hahn (1997) 209; *ArchDelt* 45 (1990) *Chron.* 433–35). Kastelli perhaps served as the acropolis for the community. Literary testimonia indicate that the urban centre was fortified during the late Classical and Hellenistic periods (Diod. 16.63.3 (r343); Polyb. 4.55.4 (r220–219)). It is likely, though not certain, that these fortifications protected the acropolis. The extent of the Classical and Hellenistic urban centre is suggested by the location of graves dating to these periods within the limits of the modern city in the areas of Ag. Ioannis, the law courts, the public park and the stadium (Pologiorgi (1985)). No public buildings of the Greek *polis* have been discovered, although it seems likely that there was a temple near Plataia in 1866, where the fragment of an Archaic limestone frieze now on display in the Archaeological Museum of Chania (Inv. no. 92) was found (Theophanides (1956)). Herodotos records that the Samian exiles who refounded or resettled Kydonia built the temples which were still there in his day, as well as the temple of Diktynna on Rhodopou Peninsula (*τὰ ἱρὰ τὰ ἐν Κυδωνίῃ ἐόντα νῦν οὗτοι εἰσὶ οἱ ποιήσαντες καὶ τὸν τῆς Δικτύνης νηόν*, Hdt. 3.59.1–3 (r524)). Onorio Belli reported having seen a temple with a Doric portico, a theatre and an aqueduct, although both the locations and the dates of these structures are today unknown (Falkener (1854) 27–28). It seems likely that the ancient harbour was in the same place as the Venetian harbour to the north of Kastelli, and that the Venetian mole was built on an earlier mole. Skylax reports that the harbour of Kydonia could be closed (Ps.-Skylax 47).

Kydonia struck pseudo-Aiginetan hemidrachms and obols (*c.*475–280), distinguished from Aiginetan coins by fabric, style and the frequent representation of a crescent on either obverse or reverse. Types: *obv.* tortoise; *rev.* incuse square (Robinson (1928); Le Rider (1966) 173; *SNG Cop. Aeg.Isl.* 402–5). During the period *c.*320–280/270, Kydonia

struck coins (staters, drachms, obols), also on the Aiginetan standard but with different types (Le Rider (1966) 194). Staters have *obv.* head of a nymph or goddess (Frost (1996): Akakallis?); *rev.* youthful naked archer stringing his bow, or hound suckling an infant (Kydon). Drachms have (i) *obv.* head of a nymph or goddess; *rev.* naked hunter, or dog feeding Kydon; (ii) *obv.* head of Athene; *rev.* dog feeding Kydon. Obols have (i) *obv.* head of a youth with horns; *rev.* dog; (ii) *obv.* head of a nymph or goddess; *rev.* head of a bull, or *K*, or dot within three crescent moons, or dot within three dotted crescent moons; (iii) *obv.* head of nymph or goddess; *rev.* amphora. Legend (on some coins of all denominations): *KYΔΩN* or further abbreviations down to *K* (Svoronos (1890) pl. IX.1–9, 13–18, 22–30; *SNG Cop. Aeg.Isl.* 406–11).

969. Kytaion Map 60. Lat. 35.25, long. 24.55. Size of territory: 1. Type: B. The toponym is *Κύταιον, τό* (Ptol. *Geog.* 3.17.6; Steph. Byz. 399.3). The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally in abbreviated form on the coins of C4m (*infra*). Ancient Kytaion has not been securely located. The ancient geographers place Kytaion to the west of Apellonia (Plin. *HN* 4.59; Ptol. *Geog.* 3.17.6). Stefanakis suggests a location on the small bay just north of the modern village of Sisses at Almyrida, where remains dating to the Neolithic, Minoan, Hellenistic and Roman periods have been identified as well as traces of an ancient harbour (Stefanakis (1998)). Alexiou identifies the settlement at Almyrida as an otherwise unattested ancient toponym *Sisa on the basis of the discovery there of an altar which bears the inscription *Σισαίων* (*ArchDelt* 21 (1966) *Chron.* 407–8; cf. Stefanakis (1998) 99–100: a tribal name or a neighbouring minor settlement).

The only ancient source to identify Kytaion as a *polis* is Stephanos (Steph. Byz. 399.3). Nonnos *Dion.* 13.238 calls Kytaion a town, *ἄστεα καλὰ Κυταίου*. A small issue (only three known examples) of overstruck silver staters dating to the period *c.*350–325 has been attributed to Kytaion (Hill (1927) 46 pl. VI.4, with Stefanakis (1998)). Types: *obv.* wreathed male head facing r.; *rev.* tripod; legend: *KY* (Hill (1927) 46 pl. VI.4). The coins, which may begin as early as *c.*350, suggest that Kytaion was a *polis* in the late Classical period and so recommend her inclusion in the Inventory as a probable *polis* (type B). They share the obverse and reverse types of Axos. Stefanakis interprets this as evidence of an alliance between the two *poleis* (ibid.). Almyrida provides the most convenient coastal access for Axos. If Kytaion was indeed located at Almyrida, it seems likely that not long after the minting of these coins Axos absorbed this small *polis* (ibid.).

970. Lappa (Lappaios) Map 60. Lat. 35.15; long. 24.20. Size of territory: 3. Type: B. The toponym is *Λάππα, ἡ* (*BCH* 45 (1921) III.115 (*c.*230–210); *I.Cret.* IV 186B + 187 (C3l/C2e)). For the spelling *Λάμπη/Λάμπαι* in the geographers and lexicographers, see Guarducci (1939) 191. The city-ethnic is *Λαππαῖος* (coins, C4s–C3f, *infra*; *I.Cret.* II.xvi.2 (C3f)).

The earliest attestation of Lappa as a *polis* in the political sense occurs in an *asylia* decree of Lappa for Teos (*I.Cret.* II.xvi.3 (C3l)). For the earliest reference to Lappa as a *polis* in the topographical sense, see Polyb. 4.54.4–5 (r221–219). Lappa is included in the Inventory as a probable *polis* (type B) because (i) the earliest coins of Lappa may date to *c.*330 (*infra*), and (ii) there was a territory called *ἡ Λαππαία* already in C4 (Ps.-Skylax 47; Theophr. *Hist. pl.* 2.6.9).

The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally on the coins (*infra*), and externally in the *asylia* decree for Tenos (*I.Cret.* II.xvi.2 (C3f)). For the individual use, there is the decree of Tenos honouring *Ἀπελλῆς Ἀμφικλέους Λαππαῖος* and other Cretans (*IG* XII.5 suppl. 304 (C3m)).

A fragment of an Archaic inscription from Lappa may preserve the only documentary evidence from Crete for the *basileus*, *BAΣIΛI* [---] (*I.Cret.* II.xvi.1 (C5e)). Otherwise all evidence for the political institutions of Lappa is Hellenistic.

The territory of Lappa, the only *polis* situated at the narrow isthmus (18 km wide) of west Crete, may have extended from the north coast to the south coast, as suggested by Ps.-Skylax 47: *εἶτα ἡ Λαμπαία* (*sc. χώρα*) *καὶ διήκει αὕτη ἀμφοτέρωθεν*. Two settlements on the north coast probably lay within the territory of Lappa: (i) *Ὑδραμία*, probably located near the modern village of Dramia at the mouth of the river Mousella (Guarducci (1939) 183), and (ii) *Ἀμφίμαλα*, located in the vicinity of the modern village of Giorgioupoli at the mouth of the river Almyros (Guarducci (1939) 183). Stephanos (90.9–11), quoting Xenion ((*FGrHist* 460) fr. 12; cf. *Stadiasmus* 346) identified Amphimala as a *polis*, whereas Strabo called it a *κατοικία* (Strabo 10.4.3). According to Strabo, Phoinix was located within the territory of Lappa on the south coast of Crete (Strabo 10.4.3). Guarducci locates Phoinix a few kilometres to the west of modern Sellia (Guarducci (1939) 192). This Phoinix is not to be confused with the homonymous port at modern Loutro, some 26 km to the west. Finally, it is worth noting that the only freshwater lake on the island of Crete, Lake Kournas (the ancient *λίμνη Κορησία*), probably lay within the territory of Lappa (Steph. Byz. 374.12–15; Guarducci (1939) 192).

The archaeological remains of ancient Lappa extend chiefly over the hill that is bounded by the rivers Mousella and Petre, on the site of modern Argyropoli. The earliest

evidence of habitation dates to the early Geometric period. Apart from stretches of the pseudo-isodomic Hellenistic fortification walls, very little of the ancient settlement is visible today (Sanders (1982) 163 (14/1)). The *agora* may have been located at "Lephou", where three marble statues of the Roman period were found (*ArchDelt* 15 (1933–35) 66–70).

Lappa struck coins (staters, drachms, obols) on the Aiginetan standard during the period *c.*330–280/270. Types (stater): *obv.* head of a nymph or goddess (Guarducci (1939) 194, Artemis?); legend: *ΛΑΠΠΑΙΟΝ* written retrograde; *rev.* Apollo *kitharodos*, seated; legend: *ΑΠΟΛΛΟΝ* (Brett (1974) no. 1282, with Le Rider (1966) 190, 198). Types (drachm and obol): *obv.* same as stater, or frontal bull's head with one horn curving down; *rev.* frontal bull's head with one horn curving down, or *Λ* (Svoronos (1890) pl. XIX.28–30, 33; *SNG Cop. Aeg.Isl.* 479). Early travellers to Crete noted the existence of silver mines (and gold and lead?) in the vicinity of Lappa, from which probably derives the name of the modern village on the site of ancient Lappa, Argyropoli or "Silverado" (Le Rider (1966) 260; cf. Markoe (1998) 238).

971. Lato (Latios) Map 60. Lat. 35.10, long. 25.40. Size of territory: 2. Type: B. The toponym is *Λατώ* (*I.Cret.* I.xvi.1 (C3l)); *Λατῶς* on the coins is genitive (Svoronos (1890) 220.5, 7). The city-ethnic *Λάτιος* (*Milet.* I.3 140.38 (*c.*259–250)) suggests an alternative thematic stem for the toponym (Bile (1988) 202 n. 185). A second community of *Latioi*, called *Λάτιοι οἱ πρὸς/ἐπὶ Καμάραι*, was established on the coast in the vicinity of Ag. Nikolaos by C3l (*I.Cret.* I.xvi.15 (C3l), 19 (C2e)). The precise political nature of this community and its relationship to "upper" Lato, 5 km to the south-west, remain uncertain (Perlman (1995*b*) 133–35; Chaniotis (1996) 104–8, 428–29: *sympoliteia*). *I.Cret.* I.xvi.15 and I.xvi.2 seem to preserve identical *asylia* decrees for Teos save that the former has as its heading *Λατίων τῶν πρὸς Καμάραι* while the latter has *Λατίων*. *I.Cret.* I.xvi.19 is too fragmentary to draw any conclusions about its contents. All other inscriptions pertaining to Lato refer only to *οἱ Λάτιοι* without drawing any distinction between two different groups of *Latioi*. Stephanos provides an entry for *Καμάρα* but not for *Λατώ* (Steph. Byz. 351.1–2). Xenion, Stephanos' source, identifies *Καμάρα* as a Cretan *polis* which was also called Lato, *ἥτις Λατὼ ἐλεγέτω* (Xenion (*FGrHist* 460) fr. 7).

The earliest reference to Lato as a *polis* in the political sense occurs in the first line of the agreement of Miletos *πρὸς τὰς πόλεις τὰς ἐγ Κρήτηι* (*Milet.* I.3 140.1, 38 (259–250)). The *prytaneion* has been dated to C4s (*infra*), as have several other public buildings at Lato. This suggests that Lato should be numbered among the Classical, if not the Archaic, *poleis* (type B) of Crete despite the fact that the evidence for the political status of the community dates no earlier than C3.

The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally in the treaty between Lato and Hierapytna (*I.Cret.* I.xvi.16 (C3l)) and externally in *Milet.* I.3 140.38 (*c.*259–250). It is worth noting that the individual use of the city-ethnic is not attested for Lato, with the possible exception of an entry of Stephanos, who adduces *Νέαρχος Ληταῖος*, Alexander's commander, as an example of the ethnic of Makedonian *Λητή* (Steph. Byz. 413.21). Nearchos was a Cretan (Arr. *Ind.* 10, 18.4), perhaps from Lato if we may so interpret the passage from Stephanos.

Although the *phylai* appear only in Hellenistic sources, they are likely to be early and so are mentioned here. Four tribal names are attested (all in inscriptions of C2s): (i) *Αἰσχεῖς* (*BCH* 62 (1938) 405–8 no. 4; *I.Cret* I.xvi.29, 30); (ii) *Ἐχανορεῖς* (*I.Cret.* I.xvi.25, 31, 34); (iii) *Συνανεῖς* (*BCH* 62 (1938) 390 no. 1); (iv) *Ὑλλεῖς* (*I.Cret* I.xvi.26, 32; *SEG* 32 895).

Several treaties (all C2l) describe the Hellenistic borders (a circuit of *c.*66 km) of Lato and her neighbours (*I.Cret.* I.xvi.18; *REA* 44 (1942) 35–36C.49–56; *SEG* 26 1049.52–82; *I.Cret.* I.xvi.5.51–72; for discussion, see Faure (1972); van Effenterre and Bougrat (1969); for the context, see Chaniotis (1996) 318–32). The borders are twice described as "old" (*SEG* 26 1049.60–62: *[κα]θὼς καὶ π[ά]λαι ἐπιγέ[γραπται]*; *REA* 44 (1942) 35–36C.51–52: *ὅπως αὐτοῖς οἱ ὅροι ἔσονται οἱ ἀρχαῖοι*). One of the landmarks on the border between Lato and Olous was *τὸ ἀρχαῖον Ἀφροδίσιον* (*I.Cret.* I.xvi.18. 7–8; *SEG* 26 1049.63–64; *I.Cret.* I.xvi.5.70), identified with the early sanctuary (Protogeometric?, Geometric?) at Sta Lenika (Bousquet (1938); Mazarakis Ainian (1997) 215–16).

The *polis* town of Lato was built on a double acropolis (300–400 m). Residential areas were located on the terraced slopes of both hills. The public buildings were located in the saddle between the two. This area has come to be called the agora, although the term is not attested epigraphically at Lato. In the centre of the agora at the lowest point of the saddle there is a cistern and a small shrine. A Doric stoa delimits the agora to the west, and a rectangular exedra marks the boundary to the south. A broad flight of steps to the north leads up to the *prytaneion* complex (Ducrey and Picard (1972)). The steps accommodate *c.*180 standing or *c.*80

seated persons and may have been used as, e.g., a *dikasterion* (Hansen and Fischer-Hansen (1994) 63). To the south-east of the central area and at a higher elevation there is a theatre or theatral area (Ducrey and Picard (1971)) accommodating *c.*350 persons and sometimes interpreted as an *ekklesiasterion* (cf. Hansen and Fischer-Hansen (1994) 65). The main temple of the *polis* town is located on a terrace above the theatral area (Ducrey and Picard (1970)). The identity of the deity worshipped there is not known. The protecting deity of Lato seems to have been Eleuthyia, in whose sanctuary public documents were displayed (e.g. *I.Cret.* I.xvi.2, 15 (C3l)). The location of her sanctuary is not known. The *polis* town was defended by the terrain, by defence walls and by "fortress-houses" (J. Demargne (1901); Hadjimichali (1971); Ducrey and Picard (1996)). Water was supplied by public and private cisterns (Hadjimichali (1971)). The principal entrance to the *polis* town was from the south-west, where a road passes through the main gate and then branches to the west and to the east. The eastern branch leads to the agora and then continues along the edge of the saddle to the north-east (Tiré and van Effenterre (1978)). The buildings described above appear to date to C4s–C3e. Evidence for earlier occupation includes the east terrace of the agora (C7), Archaic figurines from beneath the shrine in the agora, and a potter's workshop (*c.*650–625) located beneath the terrace of the main temple (Ducrey and Picard (1969)). Also Archaic is the extra-urban sanctuary (C8m–C3) on Mt. Thilakas, located 1.5 km south-east of the *polis* town (Reinach (1913)). For general descriptions, see Tiré and van Effenterre (1978) 98–105; Ducrey and Picard (1976); Picard (1992); for a plan of the remains, see J. Demargne (1901) pl. XX. The settlement of *Λάτιοι πρὸς/ἐπὶ Καμάραι* at Ag. Nikolaos remains largely unknown archaeologically save for its cemeteries (Davaras (1978)).

Lato struck coins on the Attic standard in C3l (Picard (1990); Guarducci (1935) 108; *SNG Cop. Aeg.Isl.* 484–86).

972. Lebena (Lebenaios) Map 60. Lat. 34.55, long. 24.55. Size of territory: 2. Type: C. The toponym was probably originally **Λεβήν* (Bile (1988) 167–68), later *Λεβήνα* (*BCH* 45 (1921) IV.8 (*c.*230–210)). The city-ethnic is *Λεβεναῖος* (*I.Cret.* IV 63 (C6l/C5e)), later *Λεβηναῖος* (*I.Cret.* II.xvii.7 (C2)).

No ancient source identifies Lebena as a *polis*. According to Strabo 10.4.11, Lebena was the *emporion* of Gortyn, and we should perhaps understand Lebena as the *limen* held by the Gortynian *νεώτεροι* during the *stasis* which erupted in Gortyn at the time of the Lyktian War (Polyb. 4.55.6 (r221–219)). However, an Archaic inscription seems to preserve an agreement, perhaps a commercial agreement, between *οἱ Γορτύνιοι* and *οἱ Λεβεναῖοι* (*I.Cret.* IV 63 (C6l/C5e)). Not only is the collective use of the ethnic good evidence for *polis* status on Crete (Perlman (1996) 246–52), but there is no indication from what survives of the text that *ὁ Λεβεναῖος* was politically or legally inferior to *ὁ Γορτύνιος*. On the basis of this text, it seems possible that Lebena was a *polis* (type C) in the political sense in the late Archaic period.

The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally in a *lex sacra* (*I.Cret.* I.xvii.7 (C2)) and externally in the agreement between Gortyn and Lebena (*I.Cret.* IV 63 (C6l/C5e)). Lebena is the only Cretan community where the individual use of the city-ethnic occurs internally, in three cure inscriptions from the sanctuary of Asklepios (*I.Cret.* I.xvii.8, 9, 15 (C2–C1)). For the individual use of the city-ethnic externally, there is the Hellenistic graffito of the Cretan mercenary *Σωτάδας Λεβηναῖος*, who scratched his name on a noble's tomb in the Thebaid (*Syringes* 816 (= Baillet (1920–26))).

Lebena is best known for her Asklepieion, the excavated remains of which are principally late Hellenistic and Roman (Bultrighini (1993) 81–99; Kritzas (1992–93)).

Apart from the *theorodokos* appointed by Lebena *c.*230–210 to entertain the Delphic *theoroi* (*BCH* 45 (1921) IV.8; Rigsby (1986) 353 n. 13), there is no evidence that after *c.*C5m Lebena had her own officials or the authority to pass public enactments. When and under what circumstances this came about and the nature of her political status and relationship with Gortyn thereafter remain uncertain. The personal use of the city-ethnic is a good indication of *polis* status on Crete (Perlman (1996) 250–52), and Lebena should perhaps be regarded as one of the dependent *poleis* of Gortyn during the late Classical and Hellenistic periods (ibid. 269–70).

973. Lisos (Lisios) Map 60. Lat. 35.15, long. 23.50. Size of territory: 2. Type: A. The toponym is *Λισός* (*I.Cret.* II.xvii.1 (C3f); *BCH* 45 (1921) III.105 (*c.*230–210)). For *Λίσσα* (Ps.-Skylax 47), see Guarducci (1939) 210. The city-ethnic is *Λίσιος* (coins, *infra*; *SEG* 45 1314 (C3/C2)). A bronze fraction has the legend *ΛΙΣΣΙΤΑΝ* on the reverse (Svoronos (1890) pl. XX.34). Guarducci ((1939) 211) suggested *Λισσί(ων) ΤΑΝ*, with *ΤΑΝ* the first three letters of a magistrate's name. Neither the city-ethnic *Λισσίτης* nor geminated forms are otherwise attested epigraphically (for the use of such forms by the geographers, see Guarducci (1939)

210). For a connection with Homeric *λισσὴ πέτρη* see Guarducci (1939) 110; Bile (1988) 181.

Ps.-Skylax 47 provides the earliest reference to Lisos as a *polis*, in this case in the urban sense. The earliest secure references to Lisos as a *polis* in the political sense occur in enactment formulas of the Hellenistic period (*SEG* 45 1314).

The collective use of the city-ethnic occurs internally on the C4s–C3f coins (*infra*) and in the enactment formulas of Hellenistic inscriptions (*SEG* 45 1314). For a possible example of the collective use externally ([*Λισ(σ)?*]*ιοι*), see *I.Cret.* IV 179.8 (*c.*183). For a possible example of the individual use of the city-ethnic there is the *proxenos*? of Gortyn [*M*]*ενοίτιος Τυχαμένους Λ*[*ίσιος*?] (*I.Cret.* IV 387 (C2)).

Lisos formed an alliance with Hyrtakina (coins, *infra*) and was a member of the C4l–C3 federation *οἱ Ὄρειοι* (van Effenterre (1948*a*) 119–27; Chaniotis (1996) 106–8, 421–22; cf. Sekunda (2000) 337–38: league founded C3f). Lisos may have been at one time the federation's capital (Guarducci (1939) 211) or its religious centre (Bultrighini (1993) 107–13).

The remains of the *polis* town of Lisos occupy the floor and slopes of a small valley on Ag. Kyrkos Bay. The earliest remains appear to date to C5l or C4f. Rock cuttings on the slopes to the east of the valley floor indicate the presence there of a residential quarter (personal observation). Terraces on these same slopes may be ancient. The Roman cemetery with its barrel-vaulted tombs was located on the western slopes above the valley floor (Sanders (1982) 42). The location of the earlier cemetery is unknown. The valley floor was most likely the location of the harbour. Tectonic uplift, probably in AD 438 (Thommeret *et al.* (1981)), raised this part of the Cretan coast. A sea wall protected the shore from marine erosion (observation of E. Hadjidaki). The protecting deity of Lisos was probably Diktynna (coins, C4s–C3f, *infra*; *I.Cret.* II.xvii.1 (C3f)). Her sanctuary is attested epigraphically, but has not been located (*I.Cret.* II.xvii.1 (C3f)). A sanctuary in honour of Asklepios and Hygieia (*peribolos* wall, Doric limestone temple and auxiliary buildings) was located near a spring below the cliffs to the north of the valley floor. The sanctuary was excavated during the period 1957–60 and appears to date primarily to the Hellenistic and Roman periods. For a brief overview with references to the interim excavation reports, see Platon (1992); for the cult, see Bultrighini (1993) 102–13. A small theatre (internal diameter of the cavea approximately 15 m) was located in the valley to the south-west of the sanctuary of Asklepios and Hygieia (Sanders (1982) 171–72 (19/18)). The visible remains are Roman. Traces of an ancient road (communicating with Hyrtakina?) are visible on the western slopes above the valley floor (Niniou-Kindeli (1990)).

Lisos and Hyrtakina produced an alliance coinage of small denominations in silver and gold (C4s–C3f; cf. Sekunda (2000) 337: *c.*C3m). Types: *obv.*/*rev.* dove (or eagle?), or dolphin, or star. Legend (*obv.*, *rev.*): *Λ-Υ*, *ΥΡ-ΛΙ*, or *ΥΡ-ΛΙΣΙΩΝ* (Svoronos (1890) pl. XVIII.12–20; *SNG Cop. Aeg.Isl.* 469). Lisos struck her own coinage (bronze) in C3s (Svoronos (1890) pl. XVIII.12–20).

974. Lyktos (Lyktios) Map 60. Lat. 35.15, long. 25.20. Size of territory: 4. Type: [A]. The toponym is *Λύκτος* (Hom. *Il.* 2.647, 17.611; Hes. *Th.* 477). The city-ethnic is *Λύκτιος* (*I.Cret.* I.xviii.4 (C6); *SEG* 35 991 (C6l)). The earliest coins have *ΛΥΤΙΟΝ* (C5s, *infra*). Later issues have at first *ΛΥΚΤΙΟΝ* and later the assimilated form *ΛΥΤΤΙΟΝ* (*infra*). Assimilated forms of both the toponym *Λύττος* and the city-ethnic *Λύττιος* begin to appear in the inscriptions from Crete in C3m (e.g. *I.Cret.* III.vi.11–12; *I.Cret.* I.xviii.8) and outside Crete already in C5s (*I.Lindos* 13; cf. Bile (1988) 156 n. 345); but the unassimilated forms continue in use (e.g. Arist. *Pol.* 1271^{b}28).

Polybios claimed that Lyktos was the oldest of the Cretan *poleis* (Polyb. 4.54.6), but the earliest unquestionable attestations of Lyktos as a *polis* occur in the enactment formula of the alliance of Lyktos with Antiochos II (*I.Cret.* I.xviii.8.5 (C3m)) and in the agreement of Miletos *πρὸς τὰς πόλεις τὰς ἐγ Κρήτηι* including Lyktos (*Milet.* I.3 140.1 (*c.*259–250)). The use in both is political. For *polis* in the urban sense, see Ps.-Skylax 47, where Lyktos is listed under the heading *πόλεις πολλαὶ ἐν Κρήτῃ*. Diodoros calls Lyktos a *polis* in the urban sense in his account of the destruction of Lyktos in C4m (Diod. 16.62.3). There is no question that Lyktos was an Archaic and Classical *polis*, but without an early attestation of the term in reference to the community, Lyktos is included in the Inventory as a probable *polis* (type B).

The collective use of the city-ethnic occurs internally in three Archaic laws, once in an uncertain context in the singular (*I.Cret.* I.xviii.4.5–6 (C6l)) and twice in enactment formulas (*SEG* 35.991A.1 and B.1 (C6l/C5e)). It occurs externally in the treaty between Lyktos and Lindos (*I.Lindos* 13.1–2 (C5s)). For the individual use there are, e.g., the *proxenos* of Gortyn, *Δαμόχαρις Φαλακρία Λύττιος* (*I.Cret.* IV 206 (C3/C2)) and the mercenary *Ἀνδροκάδης Χαιρωνίδος Κρὴς Λύττιος* who died at Pagasai (*IG* IX^{2} 365 (C3)).

In Greek epic, Lyktos was the home of Koiranos, the charioteer of Meriones (Hom. *Il.* 17.611). Later tradition, first

attested in Ephorus and Aristotle, maintained that the Spartans had colonised Lyktos (Ephor. frr. 147–49; Arist. *Pol.* 1271^{b}28–30; Malkin (1994) 73–83). Plutarch preserved a story which synchronised the colonisation of Lyktos with that of Melos in C8, and identified the Spartan oecist of Lyktos as Pollis (Plut. *Mor.* 247E). Archers from Lyktos fought with the Spartans in the Second Messenian War (Paus. 4.19.4 (rC7)). According to Spartan tradition, Lykourgos modelled his reforms on the laws of Minos, which were still used by the descendants of the pre-Spartan inhabitants of the region (Arist. *Pol.* 1271^{b}28–30; cf. Ephor. frr. 147–49; Perlman (1992)). Several Archaic public inscriptions of Lyktos (all laws?) survive (*I.Cret.* I.xviii.1–6; *SEG* 35 991A, B (C6m–C5e)). According to Strabo, Lyktos and Gortyn for a time superseded Knosos as the foremost cities of Crete (Strabo 10.4.7). Both the late Archaic period (Viviers (1994) 252–59; Coldstream and Huxley (1999) 301–4) and C4e (Erickson (2000) 331–65) have been proposed as periods of Lyktian expansion. In C5 Lyktos and Lindos concluded a treaty, perhaps ending a period of hostilities (*I.Lindos* 13 (C5s)). Knosos twice conquered Lyktos: in C4m the Lyktians were expelled with the aid of the Phokian general Phalaikos (Diod. 16.62.3–4 (rC4m)); and the city was destroyed during the Lyktian War (Polyb. 4.53–54 (r221–219)). Lyktos was resettled both times, in the first instance with the help of King Archidamos of Sparta (Diod. 16.62.4).

Two of the Archaic laws of Lyktos preserve the enactment formula *Ἔϝαδε Λυκτίοισι* (*SEG* 35 991A.1 and B.1 (C6l/C5e)). *SEG* 35 991A concerns the exclusion of *ἀλοπολιάται*, non-citizens, foreigners, or expatriates (van Effenterre and van Effenterre (1985) 179–88), and assesses fines against those who harbour them. The same term may be restored in another of the Archaic laws ([*ἀλο*]*πολιαταν* in *I.Cret.* I.xviii.2 (C6l)); on the other hand, this text may preserve the term for citizen, *πολιάτας*. The only social status term that occurs in the early inscriptions from Lyktos is *Ϝοικεύς* (*I.Cret.* I.xviii.5 (C6l)). The occurrence of the terms *μαιτυρ*[---] ("witness") and [---*ὀ*]*μομοτας* ("co-swearer") in the lines immediately preceding *Ϝοικεύς* indicate that the context of the reference is a law concerning judicial procedure. The kosmate is referred to in two laws (*I.Cret.* I.xviii.2 (C6l); *SEG* 35 991A4–5 (C6l/C5e)); in neither case is the context certain. The term *ἀπόκοσμος* (for the meaning, "*kosmos* elect" or "ex-*kosmos*", see Bile (1988) 274) occurs together with *kosmos* in *SEG* 35 991A. Other public officials mentioned in the Archaic laws, again in uncertain contexts, are *dikastai* ([--- *δ*]*ικασταί*, *I.Cret.* I.xviii.3 (C6l)) and *οἱ ἐσζικαιωτῆρες* (*SEG* 35 991A.8 (C6l/C5e); van Effenterre and van Effenterre (1985) 176: "supervisors"; Chadwick (1987) 332–33: officials who collect fines). The collective use of the city-ethnic in the Archaic enactment formula *ἔϝαδε Λυκτίοισι* probably refers to the assembly (*SEG* 35 991A.1 and B.1 (C6l/C5e)), as does the term *πόλις* in a Hellenistic enactment formula, *δεδόχθαι Λυττίων τοῖς κόσμοις καὶ τῆι πόλει* (*I.Cret.* I.xviii.8 (C3m)). The council (*Ϝωλά*) may be referred to in the Archaic law concerning *ἀλοπολιάται* and may have enjoyed legislative powers, [*ὑπὲ*]*ρ Ϝωλᾶς Ϝαδᾶς* (*SEG* 35 991A.6 (C6l); Chadwick (1987) 331–32: "[on account of]? the decree of the Council"; cf. van Effenterre and van Effenterre (1985) 167–68, 175: *ἐ*]*ϙ Ϝωλᾶς Ϝαδᾶς*, "par l'application de la loi de *exoulé*").

Although the *phylai* appear only in Hellenistic and later sources, they are likely to be early and so are mentioned here. Four tribal names are attested: (i) *Ἀρχήια* (*I.Cret.* I.xviii.12 (Imperial)); (ii) *Δίφυλοι* (*IG* II^{2} 1135 (111/10)); (iii) *Δυμᾶνες* (*I.Cret.* I.xviii.8 (C3m)); (iv) *Λασύνθιοι* (*I.Cret.* I.xviii.13 (Imperial)). De Sanctis in Guarducci (1935) 192 restored ['*Υ*]*α*(*κ*)*ύνθιων*, but the tribal name *Λασύνθιοι* is attested in a C2l inscription from the sanctuary of Hermes and Aphrodite at Kato Syme Biannou (Kritzas (2000)).

An Archaic decree of Lyktos describes the border of public(?) grazing lands within the *polis* of Lyktos (*SEG* 35 991B.4–14 (C6l/C5e)). This text has been understood to indicate the existence of state-owned livestock (van Effenterre and van Effenterre (1985) 182–85; cf. Chaniotis (1995) 46–48). Late in the Archaic period Lyktos perhaps shared a border with Datala (no. 954). A Hellenistic treaty between Hierapytna and Lato mentions an earlier written description of the ancient border between Lyktos and Lato, *καθὼς καὶ πάλαι ἐπιγέγραπται* (*SEG* 26 1049.60–62 (C3/C2)). *Chersonasos and Lyktos are known to have joined in a *sympoliteia* some time after *c.*183 (Chaniotis (1996) 104–8, 430–32). Henceforth the official name of *Chersonasos was "Lyktos by the sea", to distinguish it from the upper (*ἄνω*) *polis* (e.g. *I.Cret.* I.xix.3A (*c.*183)). A reference to "those up above" (*ὅζοι ἄνοθεν*) in an Archaic law from Lyktos (*I.Cret.* I.xviii.1 (*c.*550–525)) has been understood to distinguish the upper city (Lyktos) from the coastal city (*Chersonasos) and so to indicate that the *sympoliteia* (or some other form of political arrangement) was much earlier (Viviers (1994) 252–54).

Lyktos is largely unknown archaeologically. The *polis* town occupied the summit of a ridge overlooking the upland plain of Pediadha (cf. van Effenterre and Gondiccas (1999): the Archaic and Classical *polis* did not have an urban centre but was settled *κωμηδόν*). The ridge has three peaks,

the tallest of which should perhaps be regarded as the acropolis. The earliest evidence for occupation seems to date to the late Geometric or early Archaic period. Buildings of the Archaic (C7l–C6e: *CretChron* 11 (1957) 336) and Classical (C5s: *CretChron* 23 (1971) 496–97) periods have been excavated, although later phases (Hellenistic and Roman) of Lyktos are better attested archaeologically. A substantial building, perhaps a temple, once occupied the summit of the acropolis. The protecting deity of Lyktos was probably Athene Polias (*I.Cret.* III.iii.3B (C3l/C2e); *SEG* 33 638 (C2l)). The earlier of these two texts was to be displayed in the sanctuary of Athena ἐμ πόλει, perhaps a reference to the temple on the acropolis. A *choros* ([---]οι | ϙοροι, dat. sing. or nom. pl.?) is attested epigraphically (*I.Cret.* I.xviii.4 (C6l); Bile (1988) 344 n. 84: agora; Kritzas (1992–93) 282–89: dance floor). The theatre (date?), which was described and drawn by Onorio Belli in 1586, was probably located at the foot of the acropolis (Falkener (1854) 17–19; Branigan (1979*c*)). An Archaic cemetery has been partly excavated at "these Alonas" near the village of Xida (*ArchDelt* 41 (1986) *Chron.* 407). The extent of the *polis* town is estimated to have been *c.*100 ha (Rhethemiotaki (1984)).

Lyktos struck coins (staters, drachms, hemidrachms) on the Aiginetan standard from C5f onwards (Price (1981): *c.*470–450; cf. Le Rider (1966) 174, 195–96: *c.*425). All denominations use the same types: *obv.* eagle, flying or standing; *rev.* boar's head within square frame; legend, in the epichoric alphabet until C4l: *ΛΥΤΙΟΝ*, *ΛΥΚΤΙΟΝ*, or *ΛΥΤΤΙΟΝ* (Svoronos (1890) pl. XXI.1–20; *SNG Cop. Aeg.Isl.* 489–97).

975. Malla (Mallaios) Map 60. Lat. 35.05, long. 25.35. Size of territory: 2. Type: C. The toponym is Μάλλα (*I.Cret.* I.xix.1 (C3m)). The city-ethnic is Μαλλαῖος (*I.Cret.* I.xix.1 (C3m); *IG* XII suppl. 304 (C3m)). It is worth noting that none of the ancient geographers or lexicographers mentions Malla.

The earliest attestation of Malla as a *polis* in the political sense occurs in the agreement between Malla and Lyktos, which provides that fines are to be paid τᾶι πόλι (*I.Cret.* I.xix.1 (C3m)). There is no doubt that Malla was a *polis* in the political sense during the Hellenistic period. Moreover, although the *polis* town of Malla has not been identified with certainty, it seems likely that it was located in the vicinity of modern Malles on the eastern slopes of Mt. Dikte, either "under the now deserted lower village . . . around the church of Ay. Georgios" (Sanders (1982) 138 (2/2)) or between the villages of Malles and Christos, close to the spring of Ag. Paraskevi, with its rocky acropolis "Skistra" (Nowicki (2000) 134–35 no. 55: surface remains include Archaic and Classical (and earlier) material). Malla was thus an inland and upland settlement, and such settlements were for the most part established well before the end of C5. For these reasons, Malla is included in the Inventory as a possible *polis* (type C).

The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally in the agreement between Malla and Lyktos (*I.Cret.* I.xix.1.6 (C3m)) and externally in the renewal of *asylia* for Teos (*I.Cret.* I.xix.2.1 (C2f)). For the individual use of the city-ethnic there is the honorand of Tenos, Πύθεος Ἀθήνικος Μαλλαῖος (*IG* XII suppl. 304 (C3m)).

Although the *phylai* are attested only in Hellenistic sources, they are likely to be early and so are mentioned here. The tribal name Αἰθαλεῖς is preserved in the dating formula of a public enactment (*I.Cret.* I.xix.3A (*c.*183)). Hellenistic inscriptions refer to the *prytaneion* (*I.Cret.* I.xix.3A38 (*c.*183)) and the agora (*I.Cret.* I.xix.3A 50–51 (*c.*183)). In so far as both are attested elsewhere on Crete during the Archaic and Classical periods (*prytaneion*: see Lato, *supra*; agora: see Gortyn, *supra*; Phaistos, *infra*), it is possible that also at Malla they are pre-Hellenistic.

The protecting deity of Malla was perhaps Zeus Monnitios (public enactments displayed in his sanctuary (*I.Cret.* I.xix.2 (C2m)); coin types, *infra*). The location of his temple (*I.Cret.* I.xix.1 (C3m)) is not known.

Malla struck a very limited bronze coinage during C3–C2. Types: *obv.* head of Zeus; *rev.* eagle or thunderbolt; legend: *ΜΑΛ* (Svoronos (1890) pl. XXII.18–19).

976. Matala (Matalios) Map. 60. Lat. 35.00; long. 24.45. Size of territory: 1. Type: C. The toponym was Μάταλα, τά (*BCH* 45 (1921) IV.14 (*c.*230–210); *Stadiasmus* 323). Cf. Μάταλον (Strabo 10.4.11). The city-ethnic was Ματάλιος (*Milet.* I.3 140.67 (259–250)).

The only reference to Matala as a *polis* in the political sense occurs in the agreement of Miletos πρὸς τὰς πόλεις τὰς ἐγ Κρήτηι (*Milet.* I.3 140.1, 67 (*c.*259–250)). Matala probably served as the harbour of Phaistos during the Hellenistic period (Polyb. 4.55.6 (r221–219); Cucuzza (1997) 85), although the political ramifications, if any, of this are unclear (Perlman (1995*b*) 132–35, 138).

Matala was clearly a *polis* in the political sense in the early Hellenistic period when it co-signed the treaty between Phaistos and Miletos (*Milet.* I.3 140 (*c.*259–250)) and appointed at least one *theorodokos* to host *theoroi* from Delphi (*BCH* 45 (1921) IV.14 (*c.*230–210)). The archaeological evidence

indicates that settlement on Kastri was established during the Classical period (*infra*). Although no public buildings of the Classical period have been identified, the combined evidence of her Classical foundation and early Hellenistic political status warrants her inclusion in the *Inventory* as a possible *polis* (type C).

The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested externally in *Milet.* I.3 140.67 (*c.*259–250). For the individual use there is the grave *stele* from Hadra, Egypt, of Ἄρι<σ>τις Ματάλιος (*SB* 5860 + *ZPE* 14 (1974) 182 (C3)).

The *polis* town of ancient Matala was located on a small bay of the Gulf of Matala where the modern village of Matala is situated. The earliest evidence for occupation in the vicinity of the *polis* town, as well as in its hinterland, is Classical, although it is not until C3 that the ceramic evidence is plentiful (Simpson *et al.* (1995) 397–99). No public buildings of the Classical (or even Hellenistic) period have yet been identified in the *polis* town, which is estimated to have covered an area of at least 1 ha. A high limestone promontory (Kastri) to the south of the modern village served as the acropolis. It was fortified during the early Byzantine period. Ashlar blocks visible beneath the rubble and concrete construction of the Byzantine wall may belong to an earlier phase (ibid. 329, 335). Rock-cut cisterns (at least thirteen) and traces of walls on the acropolis may attest the presence of houses (ibid. 335–37). The discovery of a kiln (possibly one of several) on the acropolis, which produced good-quality trade amphoras, indicates commercial activity there as well (ibid. 336). A ship shed (38 m × 5.85 m), fish tanks and houses were carved into the cliffs on the south side of Matala Bay (Blackman (1973)). Sea-level changes indicate a *terminus ante quem* of C1 for the ship shed (Gifford (1995) 75–79). A large structure (21.40 m × 13.80 m) located *c.*3 km south-east of Matala at Orthes Petres may be a heroon of C4–C2 (Simpson *et al.* (1995) 342–43).

977. Milatos (Milatios) Map 59. Lat. 35.20; long. 25.35. Size of territory: 2. Type: C. The toponym is not attested epigraphically and not at all in Doric. In literary sources it is Μίλητος (Hom. *Il.* 2.647; Ephor. fr. 127). The city-ethnic was Μιλάτιος (*BCH* 70 (1946) 588–90 no. 1 (C6e); *I.Cret.* I.ix.1.144–52 (C6l); cf. Chaniotis (1996) 200: *c.*220).

The earliest reference to Milatos as a *polis* in the political sense occurs in the first line of the agreement of Ionian Miletos πρὸς τὰς πόλεις τὰς ἐν Κρήτηι (*Milet.* I.3 140.1, 36 (*c.*259–250)). Strabo 10.4.14 described Milatos as a *polis* found in Homer (*Il.* 2.647) which no longer existed because Lyktos destroyed the *polis* (κατασκάψαντες τὴν πόλιν) and occupied its *chora* (τὴν χώραν ἐνείμαντο) (Strabo 10.4.14). Here the use is probably urban.

Milatos is included in the Inventory as a possible *polis* (type C) principally on the strength of a (possibly) Archaic text embedded in the Hellenistic Drerian "oath of the 180 *panazostoi agelaoi*" that describes οἱ Μιλάτιοι as having waged war against Dreros (*I.Cret.* I.ix.1.137–64 (C6l) = *Nomima* I 48; cf. Chaniotis (1996) 200). For an earlier attestation of the collective use of the city-ethnic, also external, see *BCH* 70 (1946) 588–90 no. 1 (C6e)). Both the context (border war) and the collective use of the city-ethnic suggest that Milatos was a *polis* (but cf. Perlman (1996) 252–58).

The *polis* town of Milatos was located on the peak and the steeply terraced west slopes of Kastellos, directly on the north coast 1.5 km north-east of the modern village of Milatos (Nowicki (2000) 170–71). According to a legend first attested in Ephor. fr. 127, colonists from Milatos founded Miletos in Asia Minor. During the Archaic period Milatos most likely shared a border with Dreros, with whom she perhaps contended for the possession of some territory (*I.Cret.* I.ix.1.137–64 = *Nomima* I 48 (C6l); cf. Chaniotis (1996) 200 (*c.*220)).

978. Olous (Olontios) Map 60. Lat. 35.15; long. 25.45. Size of territory: 3. Type: B. The toponym is Ὄλους (Ps.-Skylax 47; *I.Cret.* I.xvi.3.3 (C2)). The city-ethnic is Ὀλόντιος (coins, C4s–C3f, *infra*; *I.Cret.* I.xxii.4A.21–22 (C3m)). Forms with an initial *B*- (for *F*-) are common (e.g. *I.Cret.* I.xviii.9.6 (C2l)); for the retention of *F*- before a short *-o-* on Crete, see Bile (1988) 115–16).

Ps.-Skylax 47 identifies Olous as a λιμήν. Two inscriptions of C3m provide the earliest references to Olous as a *polis* in the political sense (*Milet.* I.3 140.1, 38 (*c.*259–250); *I.Cret.* I.xxii.4A ii, vii). The earliest attestation of the term in the urban sense occurs in *SEG* 23.547 (C3l/C2e). There is no doubt that Olous was a *polis* in the political sense by the early Hellenistic period. The archaeological evidence indicates that settlement on the isthmus of Poros was established perhaps as early as the Archaic period (*infra*). Although no public buildings of the Classical period have been identified, the combined evidence of her Archaic foundation, the possibility that her mint began to strike coins as early as *c.*330 and her status as a *polis* at the beginning of the Hellenistic period warrants her inclusion in the *Inventory* as a probable *polis* (type B) .

The collective use of the city-ethnic occurs internally on the coins (*infra*) and in proxeny decrees (e.g. *I.Cret.*

I.xxii.4A.21–22 (C3m)). The earliest attestation of the collective use of the city-ethnic externally occurs in *Milet.* I.3 140.38 (*c.*259–250). For the individual use of the city-ethnic there is the graffito of *Δεῖνις Τιμαγένους [Ὀ]λόντιος* from the Memnonion at Abydos (*Memnonion* 125, 298 (C3)).

The Hellenistic borders of Olous are described in several treaties (all C2l) between Olous and her neighbour Lato (*I.Cret.* I.xvi.18; *RÉA* 44 (1942) 35–36C.51–56; *SEG* 26 1049.62–66; *I.Cret.* I.xvi.5.69–72; for discussions of these descriptions, see Faure (1972); van Effenterre and Bougrat (1969); for the historical context, see Chaniotis (1996) 318–32). The border with Lato was described as "old" (*SEG* 26 1049.60–62: *[κα]θὼς καὶ π[ά]λαι ἐπιγέ[γραπται]*; *RÉA* 44 (1942) 35–36C.51–52: *ὅπως αὐτοῖς οἱ ὅροι ἔσονται οἱ ἀρχαῖοι*). One of the landmarks on the border between Lato and Olous was *τὸ ἀρχαῖον Ἀφροδίσιον* (*I.Cret.* I.xvi.18.7–8; *SEG* 26 1049.63–64; *I.Cret.* I.xvi.5.70), identified with the early sanctuary (Protogeometric?, Geometric?) at Sta Lenika (Bousquet (1938); Mazarakis Ainian (1997) 215–16). The size of the territory of Olous in the Hellenistic period is estimated to have been *c.*26 km² (van Effenterre (1992*b*)).

The *polis* town of Olous, which was located on the isthmus of Poros (van Effenterre (1992*b*); for a map of the region of Olous, see van Effenterre (1948*c*) pl. XXVIII), is today largely submerged. The earliest evidence for the settlement on the isthmus is Archaic (Favissa "votive pit" with Archaic and Classical terracotta figurines, van Effenterre (1992*b*)). A Submycenaean cemetery was excavated at stous Traphous to the south-west of Poros (van Effenterre (1948*c*)). A fort (*φρούριον*, *SEG* 23 548 (C2); van Effenterre (1948*b*)) and the sanctuary of Britomartis (van Effenterre (1992*b*)) were probably situated to the east of Poros on the Spinalonga peninsula.

The protecting deity of Olous seems to have been Zeus Tallaios (coins, *infra*; oath god, e.g. *SEG* 23 547 (C3l/C2e); public enactments displayed in his sanctuary, e.g. *I.Cret.* I.xxii.4C (C2)). The location of this sanctuary and of the *prytaneion* (*I.Cret.* I.xvi.5 (C2l)) are not known. In so far as a *prytaneion* is attested elsewhere on Crete during the Classical period (see Lato, *infra*), it is possible that also at Olous it was pre-Hellenistic. A single C6 *tholos* tomb was found to the north of Poros at Ammoudoplaka (*ArchDelt* 21 (1966) *Chron.* 407), and tombs and grave *stelai* of C4 and later have been found to the north-west of Poros in the vicinity of the village of Schisma (*ArchDelt* 33 (1978) *Chron.* 389–90; 43 (1988) *Chron.* 567–70) and at Chardaloupas (*ArchDelt* 38 (1978) *Chron.* 3376). Guard-posts (date?) protecting the urban centre of Olous from the west (direction of Dreros), the north (direction of Milatos) and south (direction of Lato) were located on the north slope and summit of Mt. Oxa and to the north at stis Pinès (van Effenterre (1948*b*)). Surface remains on the summit of Mt. Oxa (perhaps used as a place of refuge by the inhabitants of the *polis*?) indicate continuous human presence there from LMIIIC to the Byzantine period (Nowicki (2000) 173–74). A graffito at stis Pinès (date?) records that the spot is 28 stades from the *polis*, *στάδια ἐκ πόλιος ΔΔΠΙΙΙ*, the correct distance from the guard-post to the isthmus of Poros (van Effenterre (1948*b*); cf. *SEG* 45 1407 *bis*).

Although the *phylai* are attested only in Hellenistic sources, they are likely to be early and so are mentioned here. Two tribal names are preserved in the dating formulas of a public enactments: (i) *Πάμφυλοι Π[αμφύλων]* (*I.Cret.* I.xxii.8 (C2)); (ii) *Δυμᾶνες* (*SEG* 41 770 (C2l)).

Olous struck coins (staters, hemidrachms, obols) on the Aiginetan standard during the period *c.*330–280/270. Types: *obv.* (all denominations) head of Artemis; *rev.* (stater): Zeus *aetophoros*; (hemidrachm): *ΟΛ* inside a wreath; (obol): star or tripod. Legend (stater): *ΟΛΟΝΤΙΩΝ* (Svoronos (1890) pl. XXII.23–26, with Le Rider (1966) 179–80).

979. *Petra (Petraios) Map 60. Lat. 35.15; long. 26.00. Size of territory: 1. Type: C. The toponym is not attested. The city-ethnic is *Πετραῖος* (*Milet.* I.3 140.37 (*c.*259–250)).

The urban centre of the community of the *Petraioi* has been identified with the fortified acropolis site (Archaic–Classical) on the north coast of Crete west of Siteia at Liopetra (Faure (1963) 20–21; for description, see Nowicki (2000) 101–2).

The only ancient reference to the community of the *Petraioi* as a *polis* occurs in the agreement of Miletos *πρὸς τὰς πόλεις τὰς ἐγ Κρήτηι* (*Milet.* I.3 140.1, 37 (*c.*259–250)). The *Petraioi* are included in the Inventory as a possible *polis* (type C) on the strength of this reference—which assures that their community was a *polis* in the political sense in the early Hellenistic period—combined with the archaeological evidence for the Archaic–Classical settlement with its fortified acropolis.

The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested externally in *Milet.* I.3 140.37. It is worth noting the Gortynian, *Μοστυλίων Πετραίω*, who was made *proxenos* and *polites* of Olous (*I.Cret.* I.xxii.4A (C3f)). His patronym may attest some association between his family and Petra.

Bronze coins (date?) with trident and dolphin have been attributed to the *Petraioi* (Faure (1963) 20–21).

980. Phaistos (Phaistios) Map. 60. Lat. 35.05, long. 24.50. Size of territory: 2. Type: [A]. The toponym is *Φαιστός* (Hom. *Il.* 2.648; Ps.-Skylax 47; *Milet.* I.3 140 (*c.*259–250)), in Linear B, pa-i-to (McArthur (1993) 21–23). The city-ethnic is *Φαίστιος* (coins, from C5m, *infra*; the *ktetikon* *ΠΑΙΣΤΙΚΟΝ*, written retrograde in epichoric script, occurs on staters of C4s (Le Rider (1966) 195 pl. XXI.7–10).

For *polis* in the urban sense, see Ps.-Skylax 47, where Phaistos is listed under the heading *πόλεις πολλαὶ ἐν Κρήτῃ*. The earliest reference to Phaistos as a *polis* in the political sense occurs in the agreement of Miletos *πρὸς τὰς πόλεις ἐγ Κρήτηι* (*Milet.* I.3 140.1, 51 (*c.*259–250)). An Archaic law concerning the renunciation of an adoption (*SEG* 32 908 (C6)) and the mint, which commences C5f (*infra*), provide the best evidence that Phaistos was a *polis* in the political sense already in the Archaic and Classical periods.

The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally on the coins (*infra*) and externally in the agreement of Miletos *πρὸς τὰς πόλεις τὰς ἐγ Κρήτηι* (*Milet.* I.3 140.51 (*c.*259–250)). For the individual use there are the two benefactors of Kydonia, *Θαμυκλῆς Φαίστιος* and *Φαινοκλῆς Φαίστιος* (*I.Cret.* I.x.1 (C3)).

Phaistos shared a border with Gortyn to the east. The Asterousia mountains formed the frontier between Phaistos and the coastal community of Lassoia, probably a *polis* during the Hellenistic period (see Introduction), to the south. To the west, Kommos (perhaps ancient Amyklaion, see Introduction; s.v. Gortyn (no. 960)) may have served as a harbour for Phaistos, as did Matala (no. 976), at least during the Hellenistic period (Cucuzza (1997) 85). To the north lay Mt. Ida.

The earliest coinage of Phaistos and Gortyn indicates that the two *poleis* had arranged a *sympoliteia* by C5m (*infra*), as do Hellenistic references to Phaistos as the *κάτω πόλις* and Gortyn as the *ἄνω πόλις* (*I.Cret.* IV 165; *SEG* 23 563 (both C3s); Chaniotis (1996) 104–8, 422–28). *I.Cret.* IV 165, a law enacted by Phaistos and Gortyn (*τάδ ἔαδε ταῖς πόλιθι*), refers to Phaistos both by name and by the phrase *κάτω πόλις*. *SEG* 23 563, an alliance with Axos, refers to the two communities as *οἱ Γορτύνιοι ἁ ἄνω πόλι καὶ ἁ κάτω* (Phaistos is not referred to by name in what survives of the text). Gortyn destroyed Phaistos and incorporated her territory *c.*150 (Strabo 10.4.14; Cucuzza (1997) 87–90).

Apart from the Archaic law which requires that the renunciation of an adoption take place *ἐν ἀγορ*[*âι*---] (*SEG* 32 908 (C6l)), the remaining evidence for the political institutions of the *polis* is Hellenistic.

During C8–C7 a substantial settlement occupied the same ridge with its three low hills (from west to east: Christos Efendis, Middle Hill and Palace Hill) as the Minoan palace and town (Cucuzza (1998); La Rosa (1992); Levi (1964), (1967–68); Palermo (1992)). Remains of the Archaic and Classical periods are scanty (for the Archaic period, see La Rosa (1996)). It may be that early in C6 the settlement moved down from the hills on to the plain where no excavations have taken place. If so, Middle Hill, the highest of the three hills (altitude 110 m) and fortified during the Subminoan/Protogeometric–Geometric periods, probably served as the acropolis of the *polis* town. The only public building securely identified as Archaic is the C7l–C6 temple located near a Geometric residential district west of the Palace (La Rosa (1996) 68–82). The temple, traditionally assigned to Rhea or the "Magna Mater", may have belonged to Leto (Cucuzza (1993)). The identification of a second C7–C6 building, located at Phalandra, 300 m to the west of the Minoan palace, as a temple remains uncertain (Levi (1961–62) 462–67; cf. Mazarakis Ainian (1997) 229–30). The phrase *ἐν ἀγορ*[*âι*---] occurs in an Archaic law inscribed on a building block (*SEG* 32 908 (C6l)). If it refers to the meeting place, and not to the meeting, the location of its discovery in the plain 80 m west of Chalara may indicate where the public centre of the Archaic *polis* lay. For other Archaic remains from Phaistos (architectural fragments in poros, walls and deposits), see La Rosa (1996). A Hellenistic inscription mentions *τὸ δικαστήριον τὸ πολιτικόν* (the adjective suggesting more than one court at Phaistos?) and the *prytaneion* (*Milet.* I.3 140.61–62, 66 (*c.*259–250); for the *prytaneion*, see Viviers (1994) 244). In so far as both terms are attested elsewhere on Crete during the Archaic and Classical periods (*dikasterion*: see Bionnos? (no. 952) and Gortyn (no. 960), *supra*; *prytaneion*: see Lato, *supra*) it is possible that also at Phaistos they were pre-Hellenistic.

Phaistos struck coins on the Aiginetan standard from *c.*470 (Price (1981)). Types on the earliest staters (C5f–C4m) attest a *sympoliteia* or alliance with Gortyn (Le Rider (1966) 161). Types: *obv.* Europa riding a bull, facing l.; *rev.* lion's scalp (Le Rider (1966) pl. XX.19–24). The beginning of local coinage at Phaistos (stater with same types as above) is indicated by the legend (*rev.*) *ΠΑΙΣΤΙΟΝΤΟΠΑΙΜΑ* (*Φαιστίων τὸ παῖμα*) written retrograde in the epichoric alphabet (Svoronos (1890) pl. XXII.34; Wroth and Poole (1963) pl. XIV.14). A rarer early stater has *obv.* Europa riding a bull; *rev.* head of Hermes (Le Rider (1966) pl. XX.23). In the next phase (*c.*360–340/30) Phaistos adopts new types for its staters (no legend): (i) *obv.* seated Europa with bull; *rev.*

seated Hermes; (ii) *obv.* head of Europa; *rev.* bull protome (drachms also, Svoronos (1890) pl. XXIII.1); (iii) *obv.* winged Talos; *rev.* head of Europa; (iv) *obv.* winged Talos; *rev.* bull protome (Le Rider (1966) pls. XX.25–29, XXI.1–6). Staters of the following period (340/330–322) have *obv.* Herakles standing, holding his bow and club; *rev.* bull or a frontal bull's head; legend: ΠΑΙΣΤΙΚΟΝ written retrograde in the epichoric alphabet on some (Le Rider (1966) pls. XXI.7–25, XXII.1–19; *SNG Cop. Aeg.Isl.* 510–12). At the end of C4 (*c.*322–300) new types for the stater appear: (i) *obv.* Zeus Welchanos seated, with the legend ϜΕΛΧΑΝΟΣ, or Herakles (seated, or with a serpent, or attacking the hydra); *rev.* bull; legend (*obv.* or *rev.*): ΦΑΙΣ, ΦΑΙΣΤΙ or ΦΑΙΣΤΙΩΝ (Le Rider (1966) pls. XXII.20–31, XXIII.1–22; *SNG Cop. Aeg.Isl.* 515–18). Fractions (drachm, hemidrachm) of this period have *obv.* head of Herakles; *rev.* frontal bull's head (Le Rider (1966) pl. XXIV.5–23; *SNG Cop. Aeg.Isl.* 513–14, 519).

981. Phalasarna (Phalasarnios) Map 60. Lat. 35.30; long. 23.35. Size of territory: 3. Type: A. The toponym is Φαλάσαρνα, ἡ (Ps.-Skylax 47; *BCH* 45 (1921) III.102 (*c.*230–210)). The city-ethnic is Φαλασάρνιος (*I.Cret.* II.xi.1 (C3e)).

Ps.-Skylax 47 provides the earliest reference to Phalasarna as a *polis*, in this case in the urban sense. The earliest reference to Phalasarna as a *polis* in the political sense occurs in the agreement of Miletos πρὸς τὰς πόλεις τὰς ἐγ Κρήτηι (*Milet.* I.3 140.1, 39 (*c.*259–250)). The *Stadiasmus* describes Phalasarna as a πόλις παλαιά (336).

Phalasarna was clearly a *polis* in the early Hellenistic period. Ps.-Skylax's attestation of *polis* status in the urban sense is confirmed by the Archaic and Classical remains of the town (especially the temples and fortifications, *infra*), and that Phalarsarna was a *polis* in the political sense as well can be inferred from her mint, which may have commenced as early as *c.*330 (*infra*).

The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally in a dedication of ἡ πόλις Φαλασαρνίων (*I.Cret.* II.xix.2 (C3s)), and externally in an enactment formula of the alliance between Phalasarna and Polyrhen (*I.Cret.* II.xi.1 (C3e); Markoulaki (2000)). For the individual use of the city-ethnic there is the *proxenos* of Epidauros and *theorodokos* of Apollo and Asklepios Ἀνδροκλῆς Ἐπιγένους Φαλασάρνιος (*IG* IV².1 96.12–13 and *SB* 1368 (C3m)).

The territory of Phalasarna, ἁ γᾶ Φαλασαρνία (Markoulaki (2000) l. 21 (C3e)), included the Gramboussa peninsula and the coastal plain known today as Livadhia. The *polis* shared a border with Polyrhen, with whom she fought in C4l or C3e. Copies of the C3e treaty of peace and alliance that concluded these hostilities were found at the sanctuary of Diktynna on the Rhodopou peninsula (*I.Cret.* II.xi.1) and at a sanctuary at Τύλιφος near Kaliviani (Markoulaki (2000)); the latter was perhaps located on the frontier between Phalasarna and Polyrhen.

The *polis* town of Phalasarna was located on Cape Koutri (90 m) and in the plain to its east. The total area occupied by the *polis* town is estimated to have been *c.*60 ha (E. Hadjidaki (1992)). The east and north flanks of the acropolis were fortified, C5–C4 (Gondiccas (1988) 86–92; E. Hadjidaki (1992), (1996)). Public buildings, including at least two temples, were located on the summit of the acropolis (Gondiccas (1988) 86–92; E. Hadjidaki (1992), (1996)). One of the two temples probably belonged to the protecting deity of the *polis*, Artemis Diktynna (Dion. Calliphon., *GGM* I 119–22). Cisterns and house platforms cut into the rock on the slopes of the acropolis indicate the location of residential areas (Gondiccas (1988) 86–92; E. Hadjidaki (1992)). The fortifications of the closed harbour, a λιμὴν κλειστός (Ps.-Skylax 47; Dion. Calliphon., *GGM* I 118–21), located at the foot of the acropolis to the south-east, date to C4s (Frost and Hadjidaki (1990); E. Hadjidaki (1992), (1996)). An industrial area of the late Hellenistic period has been identified near the north-west corner of the harbour (E. Hadjidaki (1996)). The cemetery with pithos burials of C6e–C5m and Hellenistic cist graves has been partially excavated to the south-east of the harbour (Gondiccas (1988) 97–116). Quarries were located along the shore to the south of the cemetery (Gondiccas (1988) 95). Three rock-cut "thrones" (C5–C3e) located near the cemetery and the quarries may be Phoenician (or Punic); if so, they attest the participation of Phalasarna in the east–west trade of Phoenician mariners (Di Vita (1992–93)).

Phalasarna struck coins (staters) on the Aiginetan standard during the period *c.*330–280/270 (Le Rider (1966) 190, 198; *IGCH* no. 109). Types: *obv.* head of a female (Guarducci (1939) 220: Aphrodite or Phalasarne?); *rev.* trident-head; legend: ΦΑ (Svoronos (1890) pl. XXV.4–6; *SNG Cop. Aeg.Isl.* 522). Drachms and hemidrachms begin *c.*280 with the same types (Svoronos (1890) pl. XXV.7–9, 11, with Le Rider (1966) 188; *SNG Cop. Aeg.Isl.* 523–25).

982. Polichne (Polichnites) Map 60. Lat. 35.30, long. 23.55. Size of territory: 2. Type: C. Stephanos (532.4–5) lists a Cretan Πολίχνη, ἡ, but there may have been two Cretan communities with this name (Faure (1993) 67–68), and it cannot be

determined to which community the entry in Stephanos refers. The city-ethnic was *Πολιχνίτης* (Thuc. 2.85.5; cf. Sekunda (2000) 330–37: the term *Polichnitai* is not a city-ethnic but rather the name of a league of small communities of west Crete whose population consisted largely of the descendants of the pre-Greek *Κυδῶνες*). The identification of the toponym Polichne with the ancient remains near the modern village of Vryses, Kydonia (Faure (1988) 91; cf. Guarducci (1939) 233: Polichna was located at Meskla) is supported by (i) bronze coins with reverse types similar to those of Kydonia which bear the legend *ΠΟ* (*infra*), and (ii) the story related by Thucydides which suggests that Polichne and Kydonia were neighbours (Thuc. 2.85.5).

Polichne is included in the Inventory as a possible *polis* (type C) chiefly on the evidence of Thucydides (2.85.5–86.1). In 429 the Athenians responded to a request of Nikias, the Gortynian *proxenos* of Athens, and ravaged the territory of Kydonia. Nikias hoped in this way to win for Gortyn the gratitude of the *Polichnitai* (Figueira (1988) 538–42). The context and the collective use of the city-ethnic suggest that Polichne was a political community, rather than a sub-unit of another *polis* (cf. Perlman (1996) 252–58). The passage further suggests that the relations between Polichne and Kydonia were at times hostile and that other Cretan *poleis*, in this case Gortyn, took advantage of this. The reverse type (dog) on the bronze coins of Polichne which resembles the reverse type of a series of bronze fractions from Kydonia suggests that Kydonia and Polichne were allies at the time (Stefanakis (1996)).

The ancient settlement south of the modern village of Vryses, Kydonia, extends across the two peaks of Ag. Giorgios to the west and Kastellos to the east. Excavations on a modest scale and chance finds suggest that the area was continuously occupied since the Middle Minoan period. The ancient road up to the double acropolis followed a ravine from the north. A wall along the saddle between the two peaks protected the community from the south (Faure (1958) 499–501, (1963) 21–22, (1988) 91; Zoïs (1976); Nowicki (2000) 214–15). An Archaic–Classical sanctuary (of Demeter?, Diktynna?, a nymph?) was located on the southern slope of Kastellos (Mortzos (1985)).

Polichne produced a small issue of bronze fractions (Svoronos (1890) pl. II.7, with Stefanakis (1996) (C2e)). Types: *obv.* head of a woman (Diktynna?); *rev.* dog; legend: *ΠΟ*.

983. Polyrhen (Polyrhenios) Map 60. Lat. 35.30, long. 23.40. Size of territory: 3. Type: [A]. The toponym is either *Πολυρήν* or *Πολυρρήνια*. The athematic form (in *-ην*) is attested epigraphically (*BCH* 45 (1921) III.103 (*c.*230–210); *I.Cret.* II.xxiii.2 (C3); *IG* II² 844 (C3s)); the thematic form (in *-α*) occurs in the geographers (e.g. Ps.-Skylax 47). On the athematic toponyms in *-ην* and their recharacterisation as feminine nouns in *-α*, see Bile (1988) 167–68. The city-ethnic was *Πολυρήνιος* (coins, C4s–C3f, *infra*; *I.Cret.* II.xi.1 (C3e)) or *Πολυρρήνιος* (*SEG* 11 414.8 (C3s); *I.Cret.* II.xxiii.4 (C2)). As was recognised in Antiquity, the name means "rich in lambs" (Steph. Byz. 532.13–14).

The earliest reference to Polyrhen as a *polis* in the political sense occurs in the dedication of *ἁ πόλις ἁ Πολυρηνίων* to King Areus of Sparta (*I.Cret.* II.xxiii.12A (C3f)). Cf. the agreement of Miletos *πρὸς τὰς πόλεις τὰς ἐγ Κρήτηι* (*Milet.* I.3 140.1, 67 (*c.*259–250)). For *polis* in the urban sense, see Ps.-Skylax 47, where Polyrhen is listed under the heading *πόλεις πολλαὶ ἐν Κρήτῃ*. Polyrhen was certainly a *polis* in the political sense by the early Hellenistic period. That it was a *polis* in the late Classical period too is indicated by the mint, which may be as early as *c.*330 (*infra*).

The collective use of the city-ethnic occurs internally on the coins (*infra*) and in the dedication in honour of King Areus of Sparta (*I.Cret.* II.xxiii.12A (C3f)), and externally in the agreement with Miletos (*Milet.* I.3 140.67 (*c.*259–250)). For the individual use there is the *proxenos* of Oropos *Πασῖνος [Θ]αρ[σύ]νοντος Πολυρήνιος* (*IG* VII 307 (C3s)).

Little is known about the history of the *polis* prior to the Hellenistic period. According to Strabo 10.4.13, Polyrhen was originally settled in villages (*κωμηδὸν δ' ᾤκουν*); Achaians and Lakonians subsequently fortified the acropolis at Polyrhen and synoecised the villages (Gondiccas (1988) 222–24). Malkin, who does not dismiss *a priori* the tradition of Spartan involvement in the foundation of Polyrhen, argues for a period of Spartan colonisation in C8 (Malkin (1994) 73–83). Apart from traces of LH III pottery, the earliest material at Polyrhen appears to be C6l/C5e (Blackman (1976*c*); Gondiccas (1988) 208).

Ps.-Skylax recorded that the territory of Polyrhen extended from the north toward the south, *διήκει ἀπὸ βορέου πρὸς νότον* (Ps.-Skylax 47). Gondiccas defines the territory of Polyrhen, *ἁ γᾶ ἁ Πολυρηνία* (Markoulaki (2000) l. 20 (C3e)) as follows: west to the Mesogheia mountains, north to the coast and the port at Kissamos (itself a dependency of Polyrhen, Gondiccas (1988) 169–70), south to the mountains Kytroulès and Kolymbos (with the small communities beyond the Typhlos gorge—Kantanos, Katre, Pelkis—friendly, but politically insignificant and geographically

remote), and east to the Rhodopou peninsula including Pergamon (ibid. 277–85) and the sanctuary of Diktynna on Rhodopou peninsula (ibid. 224–31). Polyrhen shared borders with Kydonia to the east and Phalasarna to the west (Strabo 10.4.13) and fought with the latter in C4l or C3e. Copies of the treaty of peace and alliance that concluded these hostilities were found at the sanctuary of Diktynna (*I.Cret.* II.xi.1 (C3e)) and at a sanctuary at *Τύλιφος*, near Kaliviani (Markoulaki (2000)); the latter was perhaps located on the frontier between Polyrhen and Phalasarna.

The *polis* town of Polyrhen was built on the summit and slopes of a steep hill in the mountain range of Prophitis Elias, with the lower town to the south-west of the acropolis (418 m). The remains of the *polis* town cover an area of roughly 30 ha, including the cemetery (C4 and later) to the north-west (Niniou-Kindeli (1992)). Both the lower town and the acropolis were fortified. Ancient walls (C4l/C3e) are traceable on the north and north-west sides of the acropolis and on the north-west (with two towers) and south-east (with gate) sides of the lower town (Blackman (1976*c*); Gondiccas (1988) 175–77; Markoulaki (1988)). Two rock-cut aqueducts supplied water to the city (Blackman (1976*c*)). Cisterns on the acropolis and in the lower city may be no earlier than the second Byzantine period (ibid.). Apart from a small extra-mural temple (C3) located at sto Yero Kolymbo in the gorge to the east of the *polis* town (Gondiccas (1988) 183–85) and the cemetery, all remaining traces of the community are intramural (ibid. 173–83). Walls of the early Hellenistic period attributed to a monumental temple with an altar or stoa along its north side were excavated within the fortification walls in the centre of the lower town, just north of the Church of the Ninety-nine Fathers (Theophanides (1942–44*a*); Gondiccas (1988) 178–82). Traces of walls and rock cuttings on the south and south-east slopes of the hill and in the village indicate the location of residential areas (Gondiccas (1988) 182–83; Markoulaki (1996)).

Polyrhen minted coins (staters) on the Aiginetan standard during the period *c.*330–280/270. Types: *obv.* head of Zeus; *rev.* filleted frontal bull's head; legend: *ΠΟΛΥΡΗΝΙΟΝ* (Svoronos (1890) pl. XXV.21–25, 28–30, with Le Rider (1966) 190, 198; *IGCH* no. 109; *SNG Cop. Aeg.Isl.* 528). Smaller denominations in silver (drachm, hemidrachm, obol) began *c.*280 (Le Rider (1966) 188).

984. Praisos (Praisios) Map 60. Lat. 35.10, long. 26.05. Size of territory: 3. Type: [A]. The toponym is *Πραισός* (*I.Cret.* III.iv.1 (C3e)). The city-ethnic is *Πραίσιος* (coins, C4s–C3f, *infra*; *I.Cret.* III.iv.1 (C3e)). For *Πρᾶσος*/*Πράσιος*, see Guarducci (1942) 135.

In Ps.-Skylax 47, where *polis* is used in the urban sense, Praisos is one of the toponyms listed under the heading *πόλεις πολλαὶ ἐν Κρήτηι*. The earliest explicit uses of the term *πόλις* for Praisos occur in Hellenistic documents (*I.Cret.* III.iv.1 (C3e), vi.7 (C3f)). Although there is no explicit Archaic or Classical reference to Praisos as a *polis*, her mint, which perhaps began as early as *c.*350, strongly suggests her inclusion in the Inventory as a *polis*.

The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally on the coins (*infra*) and in a decree of Praisos for the *Stalitai* (*I.Cret.* III.vi.7 (C4s–C3f, C3f)). The collective use is attested externally in Herodotos' account of the expedition of Minos to Sicily (Hdt. 7.170.1).

The *Praisioi* maintained that they were descendants of the autochthonous Eteocretans (Hdt. 7.170–71; Staphylos (*FGrHist* 269) fr. 12; Whitley (1998)). The tradition is supported by the discovery at Praisos of five Eteocretan inscriptions, the earliest of which (*I.Cret.* III.vi.1; cf. 4) may date to C6 (Jeffery (1990) 316 nos. 19a and b (550–525?)). If so, it considerably antedates the earliest identifiably Greek inscription from Praisos (*I.Cret.* III.vi.7 (C3e); Guarducci (1942) 137; Duhoux (1982) 63–85). Apart from the role of the *Praisioi* in the Cretan refusal to join the Greek cause against Xerxes, which is suggested by the narrative of Herodotos (Hdt. 7.170–71), our evidence for the history of the *polis* is Hellenistic.

The phrase *ὅς κα ἢ ἔνφυλος* was used to denote a citizen (*I.Cret.* III.iv.1 (C3e)). The name of one *phyle*, *Φαρκαρίς*, preserved in the dating formula of an honorary decree (*I.Cret.* III.vi.8 (C3)), is a rare feminine adjectival form of unknown derivation (Jones, *POAG* 231).

The territory of Praisos was called *ἡ Πραισία* (*χώρα*) (Theophr. *Hist. pl.* 3.3.4; *I.Cret.* III.iv.1 (C3e)). The statement of Ps.-Skylax 47 that "Praisos reached in both directions" (*Πραισὸς διήκει ἀμφοτέρωθεν*) has been understood to mean to the north and the south coasts (e.g. Whitley (1998)). Such an interpretation is supported by the decree of Praisos for the *Stalitai* (and *Setaetai*) which suggests that these two coastal communities (the *Stalitai* on the south coast and *Setaetai* on the north coast) were dependencies of Praisos during the Hellenistic period (*I.Cret.* III.vi.7 (C3f); Chaniotis (1996) 385–94; Perlman (1996) 257–58).

The *polis* town of Praisos was built on three acropolises (First Acropolis, Second Acropolis and Third Acropolis or Altar Hill) and covered an area of roughly 24 ha. Settlement began there (on First and Second Acropolises) already in

LMIIIC and continued through C2s. The main period of occupation was C5l–C2m (Whitley *et al.* (1995) 428). An early shrine (Geometric–Hellenistic) was located on the summit of Third Acropolis, and a temple (Classical–Hellenistic) on the summit of First Acropolis. Staphylos records the existence of a temple of Zeus Diktaios at Praisos (Staphylos (*FGrHist* 269) fr. 12). The question remains open whether this temple should be identified with the one on First Acropolis or with the temple and sanctuary of Zeus Diktaios at Palaikastro on the east coast of Crete (Perlman (1995*a*)). Extra-urban spring sanctuaries were located to the south of the urban centre at Vavelli (Orientalising–Hellenistic) and Mesamvrysi (Geometric–Archaic and possibly later). A third extra-urban sanctuary (Orientalising–Hellenistic) with an associated C6s kiln has been identified on the summit of Prophitis Elias, 2.5 km south-east of the *polis* town (Whitley *et al.* (1999) 249–51; cf. Erickson (2000) 318–27). Residential areas are indicated by rock-cut features on the slopes of First and Second Acropolises. A multi-room structure of the Hellenistic period identified as a house or an *andreion* was located in the saddle between First and Second Acropolis. If this structure was an *andreion* (for the identification of the structure as a public building, see Bosanquet (1902) 259–70), the organisation of Praisos paralleled that of other Cretan *poleis* whose public buildings occupied the saddle connecting a double acropolis. The main cemetery (Late Geometric–Hellenistic) was located on the south-eastern slopes of Third Akropolis. For a description of the remains, see Whitley *et al.* (1995), (1999).

Praisos struck coins (staters, drachms, hemidrachms) on the Aiginetan standard from C4m (Le Rider (1966) 197 (*c.*350–325)). Staters have types: *obv.* Gorgoneion, or quadruped suckling a human infant, or Herakles kneeling; *rev.* (with Gorgoneion and quadruped): Herakles kneeling; *rev.* (with Herakles): eagle; legend: *ΠΡΑΙ*, *ΠΡΑΙΣ* or *ΠΡΑΙΣΙ*. Drachms have: *obv.* male figure; *rev.* Herakles kneeling. Hemidrachms have *obv.* Herakles kneeling; *rev.* eagle (Svoronos (1890) pl. XXVII.1–10; *SNG Cop. Aeg.Isl.* 539). Staters of C4l–C3e (Le Rider (1966) 197) have: (i) *obv.* head of a goddess (Guarducci (1942) 137: Demeter or Persephone?); *rev.* bull; (ii) *obv.* Zeus *aetophoros*; *rev.* Herakles standing, or goat protome; (iii) *obv.* head of Apollo; *rev.* goat protome (Svoronos (1890) pls. XXVII.11–28; XXVIII.1–19; *SNG Cop. Aeg.Isl.* 540). Drachms, hemidrachms and obols of C4l–C3e have (i) *obv.* head of a goddess; *rev.* bull's head (Svoronos (1890) pl. XXVII.13–20); or (ii) *obv.* head of Apollo; *rev.* Herakles standing, or a goat protome, or head of a goat, or a bee (Svoronos (1890) pl. XXVIII.2, 5–11); or (iii) *obv.* head of a goddess; *rev.* bull's head, or a bee; or (4) *obv.* Zeus *aetophoros*; *rev.* goat protome, or Herakles standing (Svoronos (1890) pls. XXVII.28, XXVIII.1; *SNG Cop. Aeg.Isl.* 541–43). Legend on some coins (all denominations) of C4l–C3e (usually on *rev.*): *ΠΡΑΙΣΙΟΝ*/*ΠΡΑΙΣΙΩΝ* or abbreviations down to *ΠΡΑΙ*.

985. Priansos (Priansieus) Map. 60. Lat. 35.05, long. 25.15. Size of territory: 3. Type: B. The toponym is *Πρίανσος, ὁ* (*I.Cret.* IV 174 (C3l/C2e)). The city-ethnic is either *Πριανσιεύς* (coins, C4s–C3f, *infra*; *I.Cret.* III.iii.4 (C3l/C2e)) or *Πριάνσιος* (*I.Cret.* III.iii.4 (C3l/C2e)). For the extra-Cretan form of the toponym *Πριαμψός* (Delphi, *BCH* 45 (1921) IV.6 (*c.*230–210)) and of the city-ethnic *Πριάσσιος* (Miletos, *Milet.* I.3 38 o, q (C3s)), see Bile (1988) 153 n. 328. Another extra-Cretan inscription preserves the city-ethnic *Πριάνσικος* (Pagasai, *Thess. Mnem.* no. 83 (C3l/C2f)).

The earliest reference to Priansos as a *polis* (in the political sense) occurs in the agreement of Miletos *πρὸς τὰς πόλεις τὰς ἐγ Κρήτηι* (*Milet.* I.3 140.1, 37 (*c.*259–250)). The observation that Priansos may have been minting coins as early as *c.*330 (*infra*) suggests that the community was a *polis* in the political sense already in the late Classical period.

The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally on the coins (*infra*) and externally in Hellenistic treaties (*I.Cret.* III.iii.4 (C3l/C2e); *I.Cret.* IV 174 (C3l/C2e)). For the individual use of the city-ethnic there are the immigrants from Priansos to Miletos, *Ὀρθοκλῆς Ἀρίστωνος Πριάσσιος, Αἴσιμος Αἰσίμου Πριάσσιος* and *Πυργίας Καλλιδόκου Πριάσσιος* (*Milet.* I.3 38 o, q (C3s)) and *Ἐρασιπτόλεμος* [*Πρ*]*επάνδρω Πριάνσιος proxenos* of Gortyn (no. 960) (*I.Cret.* IV 208 (C3/C2)) and *theorodokos* for Delphi (*BCH* 45 (1921) IV.6 (*c.*230–210)).

The territory is called *ἡ Πριανσία* (*I.Cret.* III.iii.4, ll. 18–21 (C3l/C2e)). The Hellenistic borders of Priansos are described in the alliance of Priansos with Hierapytna and Gortyn (*I.Cret.* IV 174, ll. 16–30 (C3l/C2e)). The description of the border with Gortyn begins at the south coast, so it seems likely that the Geometric–Roman cave sanctuary of *Εἰλείθυια Βινατία* at Tsoutsouros (ancient Einatos) was located within her territory (*I.Cret.* IV 174.60–61, 76; Faure (1996) 75–77). Einatos (in Linear B wi-na-to, McArthur (1993) 152) may have served as a port for Priansos. Coin types (*infra*) suggest that Priansos was oriented to the sea. The mouth of the river Mintris would seem the likely place to look for an ancient harbour, but no ancient harbour facil-

ities are visible today. This may be due to several geological factors, including coastal uplift and riverine silting (personal observation).

Nothing is known about the urban centre of Priansos, which was probably located in the vicinity of Kastelliana. A Hellenistic inscription refers to an *andreion* at Priansos (*I.Cret.* III.iii.4.38–40 (C3l/C2e)). In so far as *andreia* are attested elsewhere on Crete during the Archaic and Classical periods (see Axos, Datala and Eltynia, *supra*), it is possible that also at Priansos it was pre-Hellenistic. Athena Polias, in whose sanctuary public enactments were displayed, was probably the protecting deity of the *polis* (*I.Cret.* III.iii.4.79–80 (C3l/C2e)).

Priansos struck coins (staters, drachms, hemidrachms) on the Aiginetan standard during the period *c.*330–280/270 (Le Rider (1966) 190, 198; *IGCH* no. 109). Staters have *obv.* seated goddess with serpent (Svoronos (1890) 295: Hygieia?); *rev.* Poseidon standing holding his trident, or goat protome (Svoronos (1890) pl. XXVIII.21–23; *SNG Cop. Aeg.Isl.* 544–45). Drachms and hemidrachms have *obv.* head of a goddess (Guarducci (1935) 280: Artemis?); *rev.* trident (drachms only), or palm (Svoronos (1890) pl. XXVII.24–28; *SNG Cop. Aeg.Isl.* 546–47). Legend (all denominations): *ΠΡΙΑΝΣΙΕΩΝ* or abbreviations down to *ΠΡΙ*.

986. Rhaukos (Rhaukios) Map 60. Lat. 35.15, long. 25.00. Size of territory: 2. Type: [A]. The toponym is *Ῥαῦκος* (Ps.-Skylax 47; Polyb. 30.23.1). The city-ethnic is *Ῥαύκιος* (coins, C4s–C3f, *infra*; *Milet.* I.3 140.36 (*c.*259–250)). For *Ῥωκίονς* (acc. pl.), which occurs in the *asylia* decree of Rhaukos for Teos (*I.Cret.* I.xxvii.1 (C3l)), see Bile (1988) 111.

In Ps.-Skylax 47, where *polis* is used in the urban sense, Rhaukos is one of the toponyms listed under the heading *πόλεις πολλαὶ ἐν Κρήτῃ*. The earliest explicit reference to Rhaukos as a *polis*, and here in the political sense, occurs in the agreement of Miletos *πρὸς τὰς πόλεις τὰς ἐγ Κρήτηι* (*Milet.* I.3 140.1, 36 (*c.*259–250)). Rhaukos was certainly a *polis* in the political sense during the early Hellenistic period. The coins, which perhaps began as early as *c.*330 (*infra*), suggest that this was already the case in the late Classical period.

The collective use of the city-ethnic occurs internally on the C4s–C3f coins (*infra*), and externally in the agreement of Miletos *πρὸς τὰς πόλεις τὰς ἐγ Κρήτηι* (*Milet.* I.3 140.36 (*c.*259–250)). For the individual use of the city-ethnic, there are the *proxenoi* of Iasos, *Θεόδωρος Σωτάδα Κρὴς Ῥαύκιος* (*I.Iasos* 53 (C4l/C3e)), and of Gortyn, *Λύγδαμις Μιττυρίωνος Ῥαύκιος* (*I.Cret.* IV 206 (C3/C2)).

The *polis* town of Rhaukos (modern Ag. Myronas) is almost unknown archaeologically (Pendlebury *et al.* (1932–33) 91–92; Sanders (1982) 154 (9/12)), but a Hellenistic inscription recording the border of Gortyn and Knosos most likely refers to the agora of Rhaukos and to the *prytaneion* in the agora (*I.Cret.* IV 182.3–4 (*c.*167/6); Chaniotis (1996) 296–300). In so far as both terms are attested elsewhere on Crete during the Archaic and Classical periods (agora: see Gortyn (no. 960) and Phaistos (no. 980); *prytaneion*: see Lato (no. 971), it is possible that also at Rhaukos the agora and the *prytaneion* are pre-Hellenistic.

Rhaukos struck coins (staters, drachms, hemidrachms) on the Aiginetan standard during the period *c.*330–280/270 (Le Rider (1966) 197; *IGCH* no. 109). Staters have *obv.* Poseidon *hippios*; *rev.* trident-head, within an incuse square on the earliest issues (Svoronos (1890) pl. XXIX.6–7, 11–16, 23–24; *SNG Cop. Aeg.Isl.* 551). Drachms and hemidrachms have (i) *obv.* head of Poseidon?; *rev.* two dolphins (drachm); trident (hemidrachm) (Svoronos (1890) pl. XXIX.8–9; *SNG Cop. Aeg.Isl.* 552–53); (ii) *obv.* head of Poseidon; *rev.* trident (drachm), or two dolphins (hemidrachm) (Svoronos (1890) pl. XXIX.17, 25–26). Obols have *obv.* head of a goddess; *rev.* trident (Svoronos (1890) pl. XXIX.27). Legend (all denominations): *ΡΑΥΚΙΟΝ*.

987. Rhithymnos (Rhithymnios) Map 60. Lat. 35.20, long. 24.30. Size of territory: 3. Type: C. The toponym is not attested in the inscriptions from Crete. Inscriptions from elsewhere and literary sources spell the toponym *Ῥίθυμνος* (Arkesine, *IG* XII.7 7A.3 (C4l–C3e)), *Ῥίθυμνα* (Delphi, *BCH* 45 (1921) III.116 (*c.*230–210)), and *Ῥιθυμνία* (Steph. Byz. 545.7). Rhithymnos may have been renamed Arsinoë during the period C3l–C2e (Le Rider (1966) 242–45: reign of Ptolemy IV). The city-ethnic is *Ῥιθύμνιος* (*I.Cret.* I.xxii.4A (C3f)).

Steph. Byz. 545.7 is the only source to identify Rhithymnos as a *polis*. Aelian called Rhithymnos a *κώμη* (Ael. *NA* 14.20). That Rhithymnos was a *polis* in the political sense during the late Classical and early Hellenistic periods is suggested by her mint, which may have begun as early as *c.*330 (*infra*), by a proxeny decree of C4l–C3e in which a citizen of Rhithymnos is granted *proxenia* by Arkesine (*IG* XII.7 7A (C4l–C3e)), and by the personal use of the city-ethnic (Perlman (1996) 246–52; *infra*).

The collective use of the city-ethnic is not attested, but is undoubtedly to be recognised in the legend *PI* which appears on the reverse of the coins (*infra*). For the individual and external use there is the funerary columella of *Σώτειρα Δαμαρέτου Ῥιθυμνία* (*IG* II² 10135 (C4/C3)) and the

proxenoi of Olous, *Κλεωναῖος* [*Δα*]*μοκράτους* *Ῥιθύμνιος* (*I.Cret.* I.xxii.4A (C3f)), and of Gortyn, [---, son of ---]*οδόκω* *Ῥιθύμνιος* (*I.Cret.* IV 207 (C3)).

The evidence for the history and institutions of Rhithymnos dates to the Hellenistic period. The remains of ancient Rhithymnos lie concealed beneath those of the Venetian city. For a brief survey of ancient remains in the modern city, see Stratidakis (1995) 326–27. The acropolis was more than likely located on the high promontory where the Venetians later built their fort (Fortetsa). The town and harbour were probably to the east of the promontory; rock-cut slipways and a fish tank have been identified to the west of Fortetsa (Blackman (1976*d*)). Onorio Belli describes the remains of a square temple with a portico upon a hill in the vicinity of Rhithymnos, but the location of this building is unknown (Falkener (1854) 25).

Rhithymnos struck coins (staters, drachms, hemidrachms) on the Aiginetan standard during the period *c.*330–280/270 (Le Rider (1966) 190, 198). Her output was small. Staters have *obv.* head of Apollo; *rev.* Apollo *lithophoros* (Svoronos (1890) pl. XXX.1). Drachms and hemidrachms have *obv.* head of Athena; *rev.* trident-head and dolphins (Svoronos (1890) pls. XXXIX.33, XXX.3; *SNG Cop. Aeg.Isl.* 555). Legend (all denominations): *PI*.

988. *Rhitten (Rhittenios) Map 60. Lat. 35.00, long. 24.55. Size of territory: 1. Type: B. The adverbial *Ῥιττενάδε*, which occurs in the agreement between the *Rhittenioi* and Gortyn (*I.Cret.* IV 80 (C5e)), indicates that the toponym was either *Ῥιττέν* or *Ῥιζέν* (Bile (1988) 145, 168). The form *Ῥιζηνία* occurs in Stephanos (Steph. Byz. 544.20) and has been restored in two inscriptions: (i) a fragment of an Archaic epichoric inscription from Patela Prinias (*I.Cret.* I.xxviii.2 (C6)) and (ii) an agreement between Gortyn and Knosos (*I.Cret.* IV 182 (C2)). In both cases, the restorations of the toponym are problematic (Faure (1993) 70). The city-ethnic was *Ῥιττένιος* (*I.Cret.* IV 80 (C5e)).

Only Stephanos refers to *Rhitten (Rhizenia) as a *polis* (Steph. Byz. 544.21). The agreement of Gortyn for *Rhitten recognised that the *Rhittenioi* were *αὐτόνομοι* and *αὐτόδικοι* (*I.Cret.* IV 80 (C5e)). From this same text we learn further that the *Rhittenioi* enjoyed their own assembly (*τὸ κοινὸν οἱ Ῥιττένιοι*, *ἀγορὰ Ϝευμένα*), council (*πρείγιστοι*; for the meaning of the term, see Davaras (1980); Bile (1988) 341), and public officials (*κόσμοι*, *κᾶρυκς*). On the other hand, certain delicts fell under the joint jurisdiction of Gortyn and *Rhitten (4–12), and certain complaints against Gortyn and individual *Gortynioi* were heard in Gortyn (12–15). Furthermore, Gortyn owned at least some territory which was occupied by *Rhittenioi*, and it was within the jurisdiction of Gortyn to determine the rights of those occupants to its use (3–4). On balance the evidence suggests that *Rhitten was a *polis* with her own laws, courts, magistrates, council and assembly, but a dependent *polis* of Gortyn (which controlled land within the territory of *Rhitten and could under certain circumstances abrogate the judicial and executive authority of the state (Perlman (1996) 265–66)).

The collective use of the city-ethnic occurs externally in the agreement of Gortyn and *Rhitten (*I.Cret.* IV 80 (C5e)).

The location of ancient *Rhitten has been the subject of controversy. Guarducci identified ancient *Rhitten with the remains of the important settlement at Patela Prinias *c.*11 km north of Gortyn, and the majority of scholars have followed her lead (Guarducci (1935) 294; van Effenterre (1993); cf. *Nomima* I 7). Faure has long championed an alternative location for ancient *Rhitten south of the Mesara in the Asterousia mountains near Apesokari at the foot of a chain of hills called *ἡ Κάτω Ῥίζα* (Faure (1963) 22–24, (1993) 70). Faure's arguments against the *opinio communis* are convincing. His arguments in favour of *ἡ Κάτω Ῥίζα* are somewhat less compelling (Perlman (1996) 262–63). The ancient site near Apesokari has not been explored, and all that may be said about it is that the surface remains date to the Classical and Hellenistic periods (Faure (1963) 24). The settlement on Patela Prinias, a high triangular-shaped plateau, *c.*11.5 ha in area, located at the junction of two valleys which connect the northern and southern coasts, was established in C13 and continued until C6m. Defensive walls have been identified below Patela Prinias restricting access through the valleys and up to the plateau. Residential districts that attest a degree of town-planning have been excavated at the northern edge of the plateau and to the south-east in the vicinity of the two large buildings, Temple A (C7) and "Temple B" (Subminoan/Protogeometric–C7l). Mazarakis Ainian suggests that "Temple B" was not, in fact, a temple but a public building with some other function, perhaps e.g. a *prytaneion*, during its final (C7) phase (Mazarakis Ainian (1997) 224–26). The cemetery (also C13–C6m) was 500 m north-west of Patela at Siderospilia. A potters' quarter (C8l/C7e–C6m) was located near Mandra di Gipari on a hillock opposite the west side of the plateau. During the late Classical and Hellenistic periods Patela Prinias served as a fortified guard-post. For the remains of the settlement at Patela Prinias, see Rizza (1978), (1991), (1995), (2000); Rizza and Rizzo (1985); Rizza *et al.* (1994).

989. Stalai (Stalites) Map 60. Lat. 35.05, long. 26.00. Size of territory: 1. Type: C. The toponym is attested only in the late form *Στήλαι* (Steph. Byz. 585.12). The city-ethnic is *Σταλίτης* (*I.Cret.* III.vi.7 (C3f); cf. *Στηλίτης*, *I.Cret.* III.iv.9, l. 123 (C2l)).

Stalai is identified as a *polis* in two ancient sources: (i) the decree of Praisos concerning the *Stalitai*, which secures for the *Stalitai* the enjoyment of their *chora* and *polis* (*I.Cret.* III.vi.7 (C3f)); and (ii) Stephanos (Steph. Byz. 585.12). The meaning of the term in the decree of Praisos is urban. This decree indicates that the *Stalitai* possessed several of the defining characteristics of the *polis*, *viz.* an urban centre (*πόλις*), a hinterland (*χώρα*) with recognised borders, the authority to levy harbour taxes (*ἐλλιμένιος*) and perhaps to tax the purple-dye and fishing industries, and so, presumably, the public officials required to levy the taxes and spend or distribute the proceeds. We do not know whether or not in other respects the *Stalitai* were self-governing and self-regulating, *autonomoi* and *autodikai*. On present evidence, Stalai appears to have been a dependent community of Praisos, perhaps a dependent *polis*, at the time of the decree (Chaniotis (1996) 161–68, 383–93; Perlman (1996) 257–58; cf. Gschnitzer (1975)). The decree dates to C3f, and one of its provisions specifies that the *Stalitai* shall give to Praisos a share of the revenue from the fishing industry as they did in the past (*καθάπερ καὶ πρότερον*). If this revenue was indeed the product of taxation, we may infer that for some time the community exercised public authority in this area. It is not possible to fix precisely for how long this had been the case, but the surface remains of the ancient settlement on Dasonari, which is the most likely location of Stalai (Schachermeyer (1938) 479; Chaniotis (1996) 386), date to the Archaic and Classical periods (autopsy). The evidence suggests that Stalai may have been a *polis*, albeit perhaps a dependent *polis*, in the late Classical period, so it is included in the Inventory as a possible *polis* (type C).

The collective use of the city-ethnic occurs externally in the decree of Praisos for the *Stalitai* (*I.Cret.* III.vi.7 (C3f)) and in the arbitration of Magnesia for Itanos and Hierapytna (*I.Cret.* III.iv.9.123 (C2l)).

990. Sybrita (Sybritios) Map 60. Lat. 35.15, long. 24.40. Size of territory: 2. Type: [A]. The toponym is *Σύβριτα* (Ps.-Skylax 47) and is probably attested in Linear A and B as su-ki-ri-ta (Scafa (1994)). The toponym means "town of the wild boar" (ibid.). Non-Cretan and late sources transpose *υ*/*ι*, *Σίβρυτος* (*BCH* 45 (1921) III.118 (*c.*230–210); Guarducci (1939) 289). The city-ethnic is *Συβρίτιος* (coins, C4f, *infra*; *I.Cret.* IV 183 (C3l/C2e)).

In Ps.-Skylax 47, where *polis* is used in the urban sense, Sybrita is one of the toponyms listed under the heading *πόλεις πολλαὶ ἐν Κρήτηι*. The *asylia* decree of Sybrita for Teos provides the earliest reference to Sybrita as a *polis* in the political sense (*I.Cret.* II.xxvi.1 (C3l)).

The collective use of the city-ethnic occurs internally on the coins (C4s, *infra*) and externally in a treaty with Gortyn (*I.Cret.* IV 183 (C3l/C2e)) and in the *asylia* decree for Teos (*I.Cret.* II.xxvi.1 (C3l)). For the individual use there is [---]*ποιν Ἀριστοφόω Συβρίτιος*, *proxenos* of Aptara (*I.Cret.* II.iii.5B (C2f)).

Very little is known about the history of Sybrita. During the Hellenistic period Sybrita and Gortyn arranged an alliance (*I.Cret.* IV 183; Chaniotis (1996) 267–70 (C3l/C2e)). Shared coin types have been understood to indicate that these two *poleis* may have earlier (C4s) joined together in a *sympoliteia* (*infra*).

The acropolis of the *polis* town of Sybrita, Kephala (500–618 m), appears to have been continuously inhabited from LMIIIC (Prokopiou (1991); D'Agata (1999); Rocchetti and D'Agata (1999)). Its commanding position dominated the Amari valley, a principal line of communication between the Mesara and the north coast of the island. The construction in C9s of a monumental building (Edificio A1, *c.*7 m × 7 m) on the southern plateau of Kephala has been understood to reflect a new political organisation of the community, and perhaps the emergence of the *polis* (Rocchetti and D'Agata (1999); D'Agata (2000)). At its greatest extent (in the Hellenistic period) the *polis* town of Sybrita extended from the acropolis south-west to the villages of Yenna and Ag. Photini and north-east towards the village of Klisidhi. Stretches of defence walls of the Archaic, Hellenistic and later periods have been identified on the summit and slopes of the acropolis (Kirsten (1951); Belgiorno (1994)), with gates located on its north-eastern slope (Belgiorno (1994) 217.13) and on the south-western slope at Lagou Kharakou (ibid. 218.17). A temple (Hellenistic?), perhaps of Dionysos, may be located beneath the small chapel Ekklesia tou Christou on the south-western slope of the acropolis (ibid. 215.8). The principal residential districts appear to have been situated on the southern and south-western slopes of the acropolis. Three cemeteries have been located: two to the south-west of Kephala near Yenna and a third to the north of Kephala at ta Ellenika. A sanctuary of Hermes Kranaios (LMI–Roman, with gaps) located at Patsos *c.*5 km to the south-west of Kephala probably lay within the territory of Sybrita (Kourou and Karetsou (1994)). The Amari valley is very well watered, and there are

many springs, cisterns, fountains and artesian wells in the vicinity of ancient Sybrita (Belgiorno (1994) 224–25). For a survey of material remains in the vicinity of Sybrita, see Belgiorno (1994); for the Greek–Italian excavations at Thronos Kephala (1987–99), see Rocchetti (1994*a*); D'Agata (1999); Rocchetti and D'Agata (1999); D'Agata (forthcoming, *non vidi*).

Sybrita struck coins (all denominations) on the Aiginetan standard intermittently during the period *c.*380–280/270 (Le Rider (1966) 196; Kraay (1976) 53). The earliest coins (staters, *c.*380) have *obv.* Hermes seated; *rev.* hippocamp within an incuse square; legend: ΣΥΒΡΙΤΙΟΝ written retrograde in the epichoric alphabet (Le Rider (1966) pl. XXXIV.19 with p. 196). For a short time (*c.*360/350–340/330) Sybrita minted coins (staters, drachms, hemidrachms) with Gortynian types, perhaps reflecting a *sympoliteia* or alliance between the two *poleis* (Le Rider (1966) 160–62). Staters have: *obv.* Europa seated in a tree; legend: ΣΥΒΡΙΤΙ written retrograde in the epichoric alphabet on some; *rev.* bull; legend: ΣΥΒΡΙ written retrograde in the epichoric alphabet on some. Drachms and hemidrachms have *obv.* head of Europa; *rev.* head of bull; legend: ΣΥ (Le Rider (1966) pl. XXVII.7–19). Later issues of *c.*330–280/270 (staters, drachms, obols) have *obv.* Dionysus (full or head only); *rev.* Hermes (full or head only); legend (stater): ΣΥΒΡΙΤΙΟΝ or ΣΥΒΡΙΤΙΩΝ (Svoronos (1890) pl. XXX.12–18; *SNG Cop. Aeg.Isl.* 560). See *SNG Cop. Aeg.Isl.* 559 for an obol (date?) with *obv.* goat's head; *rev.* bunch of grapes; legend: ΣΥ.

991. Tarrha (Tarrhaios) Map 60. Lat. 35.15, long. 24.00. Size of territory: 2. Type: B. The toponym is Τάρρα (*BCH* 45 (1921) III.107 (*c.*230–210)). The city-ethnic is Ταρραῖος (*I.Cret.* IV 179 (*c.*183)).

Although Tarrha is called a *polis* in late sources only (Paus. 10.16.5; Steph. Byz. 604.6–8), it clearly was a *polis* in the political sense during the Hellenistic period, and there is little doubt that the same was true during the Classical period and perhaps even the Archaic. The evidence for this, which includes (i) participation in the C4l–C3 federation οἱ Ὄρειοι (van Effenterre (1948*a*) 119–27; Chaniotis (1996) 106–8, 421–22; cf. Sekunda (2000) 337–38: league founded C3f), (ii) striking coins as early as *c.*330 (*infra*), and (iii) the individual use of the city-ethnic (Perlman (1996) 246–52), recommends its inclusion in the Inventory as a probable *polis* (type B).

The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally in abbreviated form on coins (*infra*), and externally in the alliance of the members of the Cretan *koinon* with Eumenes II (*I.Cret.* IV 179.8 (*c.*183)). For the individual use there is the dedication of Παν[ί]δας Ταρραῖ[ος] from the sanctuary of Orthia in Sparta (*IG* V.1 252 (C6); but cf. *BSA* 12 (1906) 353.1). Tarrha was a member of the C4l–C3 federation οἱ Ὄρειοι (*supra*).

The hillside west of upper Ag. Roumeli at the mouth of the river Tarrhaios and the Samaria Gorge was the site of the main Classical–Hellenistic settlement of Tarrha (Nixon *et al.* (1990) 217). The location afforded Tarrha little arable land (Rackham (1990) 108–9), and it is likely that her inhabitants relied for their livelihood upon the mountains and the sea (for the economic exploitation of Crete's mountains, see Chaniotis (1999); for bee-keeping and shepherding at Tarrha, see the coin types, *infra*; for cedar forests in the mountains around Tarrha, see Theophr. *Hist. pl.* II.ii.2; for their exploitation, Perlman (1999) 146). The Church of the Panaghia west of the river is very likely the site of a temple, perhaps that of Apollo, who was probably the protecting deity of the *polis* (Guarducci (1939) 305–6; Weinberg (1960)). Archaic (and earlier?) and Classical burials have been found to the west of the river near the modern village (Tzedakis (1971)). On the coast to the east of the river are the remains of a cemetery (C5l and later) and of a Roman seawall (Nixon *et al.* (1990) 218).

Tarrha struck coins (drachms) during the period *c.*330–280/270. Types: *obv.* head of a goat; legend: ΤΑΡ; *rev.* bee (Svoronos (1890) pl. XXX.27, with Le Rider (1966) 197–98).

992. Tylisos (Tylisios) Map 60. Lat. 35.20, long. 25.00. Size of territory: 2. Type: A. The toponym is Τύλισος (ML 42 (C5m)), in Linear B tu-ri-so (McArthur (1993) 21–23). The city-ethnic is Τυλίσιος (ML 42 (C5m); coins, C4s–C3f, *infra*; *Milet.* I.3 140.36 (*c.*259–250)).

The agreement of Knosos, Tylisos and Argos provides for the division of booty αἱ δὲ συμπλέονες πόλιες . . . ἔλοιεν (ML 42B.31–32 (C5m) = *Nomima* I 54.II). It is likely that Tylisos should be understood as one of the *poleis*. The term is used in its political sense. The earliest certain reference to Tylisos as a *polis* occurs in the agreement of Miletos πρὸς τὰς πόλεις τὰς ἐγ Κρήτηι (*Milet.* I.3 140.1, 36 (*c.*259–250)).

The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally on the coins (C4s–C3f, *infra*), and externally in the agreement of Knosos, Tylisos and Argos (ML 42 (C5m); ML 42A (from Tylisos) and B (from Argos) are written in Argolic, and so are treated here as external). For the individual use of the city-ethnic there are Ὀρθότιμος Κελαίθου Τυλίσιος, *proxenos* of Phokis (Daulis?) and Atrax, Thessaly (*IG* IX.1,

33.3 (C3s); *SEG* 29 502 (C3s)), and Ἕρμων Τυλίσιος, *proxenos* of Kydonia (*I.Cret.* II.x.1 (C3)).

The neighbours of Tylisos were Knosos to the east and Axos to the west. During the Classical period Tylisos and Knosos formed an alliance (ML 42 (C5m)). The assembly of Argos (τὸ πλῆθος) served as the mediator in the resolution of disputes between the two *poleis* concerning questions of war and peace (ML 42A.6–17; Merrill (1991); cf. ML 42: the text implies a federal structure with a federal assembly called τὸ πλῆθος which decided questions of war and peace; members included Tylisos, Knosos and Argos and perhaps other states as well (συμπλέονες πολίες, ML 42B.31–32); cf. Gschnitzer (1958) 44–47: ML 42 is an alliance between Knosos and Argos; Tylisos is a dependency of Argos). The border between Knosos and Tylisos (ὅροι τᾶς γᾶς) is described in this alliance (B26–29), and regulations concerning property and trade are provided: (i) both *poleis* are prohibited from absorbing territory (χῶρα) belonging to the other (B25–26); (ii) *Knosioi* are prohibited from owning land in Tylisos (μὲ 'νπιπασκέσθο), although a *Tylisios* may own land in Knosos (B23–25); (iii) export from Tylisos to Knosos and from Knosos to Tylisos is tax-free; (iv) *Tylisioi* pay the same taxes as citizens of Knosos for trans-shipment from Knosos (B11–14). The κόσμοι appear as the chief magistrates of the *polis* and were responsible for providing foreign envoys with ξένια. The βολά oversaw the κόσμοι (ML 42B.40–42 (C5m)).

The *polis* town of Tylisos was presumably in the vicinity of the Minoan town, but all that remain of the later settlement are a monumental altar and *temenos* wall north-west of Building Γ (J. Hadjidaki (1934) 66–68).

Tylisos struck coins (staters) on the Aiginetan standard during the period *c.*330–280/270 (Le Rider (1966) 197; *IGCH* no. 109). *obv.* head of Hera; *rev.* Apollo standing, holding in one hand a goat's head or a phiale and in the other his bow; legend: ΤΥΛΙΣΙΟΝ/ΤΥΛΙΣΙΩΝ retrograde on some (Svoronos (1890) pls. XXX.29–32, XXXI.1–4, 6; *SNG Cop. Aeg.Isl.* 562).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Alexiou, S. 1975. *ArchDelt* 30: *Chron.* 337–40.

——1984. "Une nouvelle inscription de Panormos-Apollonia en Crète", in *Aux origines de l'hellénisme: La Crète et la Grèce: Hommage à Henri van Effenterre* (Paris) 323–27.

Allegro, N. 1991. "Gortina, l'abitato geometrico di Profitis Ilias", in Musti *et al.* (1991) 321–30.

—— and Ricciardi, M. 1988. "La fortificazione di Gortina in età ellenistica", *Cretan Studies* 1: 1–16.

Andreadaki-Vlasaki, M. 1995. "Το αρχαιολογικό ενδιαφέρον στην περιοχή Σταυρωμένου", *Κρητολογικά Γράμματα* 11: 367–79.

——1997. "The Geometric Period: The Pottery", in E. Hallager and B. P. Hallager (eds.), *The Greek–Swedish Excavations at the Agia Aikaterini Square Kastelli, Khania 1970–1987* (Stockholm) 229–40.

Baillet, J. 1920–26. *Inscriptions grecques et latines des Tombeaux des Rois ou Syringes*, i–iii (Cairo).

Baldwin Bowsky, M. W. 1997. "An Atticizing Stele from Western Crete", *ZPE* 118: 197–206.

Belgiorno, M. R. 1994. "Ricognizione nel territorio di Sybrita", in Rocchetti (ed.) (1994*b*) 201–27.

Bile, M. 1988. *Le Dialecte crétois ancien* (Paris).

——1989–90. "L'ethnique 'crétois' dans les inscriptions crétoises (VIII°–I° siècle avant J.-C.)", *Onomata* 13: 66–71.

——1997. "Une inscription d'Eltynia: *IC* I–X 2", in C. Brixhe (ed.), *Poikila Epigraphika*, Études d'Archeologie Classique 9 (Paris) 113–22.

Blackman, D. J. 1973. "The *Neosoikos* at Matala", in Πεπραγμένα του Γ' Διεθνοῦς Κρητολογικοῦ Συνεδρίου, Rethymnon 1971 (Athens) 14–21.

——1976*a*. "Aptera", *PECS* 73–74.

——1976*b*. "Marathi", *PECS* 550.

——1976*c*. "Polyrrhenia", *PECS* 722–23.

——1976*d*. "Rhithymna", *PECS* 754.

——1997. "Archaeology in Greece 1996–1997", *AR* 43: 1–125.

—— and Branigan, K. 1975. "An Archaeological Survey on the South Coast of Crete, between Ayiofarango and Chrysostomos", *BSA* 70: 17–36.

Bosanquet, R. C. 1902. "Excavations at Praesos, I", *BSA* 8: 231–70.

Bousquet, J. 1938. "Le temple d'Aphrodite et d'Arès à sta Lenika", *BCH* 62: 386–408.

Branigan, K. 1979*a*. "Amnatos", *PECS* 50.

——1979*b*. "Lasaia", *PECS* 486.

——1979*c*. "Lyktos", *PECS* 538.

Brett, A. B. 1974. *Museum of Fine Arts Boston, Catalogue of Greek Coins* (repr. New York).

Bultrighini, U. 1993. "Divinità della salute nella Creta ellenistica e romana: richerche preliminari", *Rivista di Cultura Classica e Medioevale* 35: 49–118.

Bürchner, E. 1912. "Gortyn", *RE*, vii. 1665–71.

Callaghan, P. J. 1978. "KRS 1976: Excavations at a Shrine of Glaukos, Knossos", *BSA* 73: 1–30.

Casewitz, M. 1985. *Le Vocabulaire de la colonisation en grec ancien: étude lexicologique: les familles de κτίζω et de οἰκέω-οἰκίζω* (Paris).

Cavanagh, W. G., and Curtis, M. (eds.) 1998. *Post-Minoan Crete: Proceedings of the First Colloquium held by the British School at Athens and the Institute of Archaeology, University College London, 10–11 November 1995*, *BSA* Studies 1–2 (London).

Chadwick, J. 1987. "Some Observations on Two New Inscriptions from Lyktos", in L. Kastrinaki, G. Orphanou and N. Giannadakis (eds.), *Ειλαπίνη: Τόμος τιμητικός γιά τόν Καθηγητή Νικόλαο Πλάτωνα*, i (Heraklion) 329–34.

Chaniotis, A. 1988. "Habgierige Götter, habgierige Städte: Heiligtumsbesitz und Gebietsanspruch in den kretischen Staatsverträgen", *Ktema* 13: 21–39.

——1992. "Die Geschichte von Amnisos von Homer bis zur Eroberung Kretas dürch die Türken", in J. Schäfer (ed.), *Amnisos nach den archäolischen, historischen und epigraphischen Zeugnissen des Altertums und der Neuzeit*, i (Berlin) 73–104.

——1994. "*Οἱ Ἀρχάνες στὰ ἱστορικὰ χρόνια* (1000 *π.Χ.*–100 *μ. Χ.*)", *Ἀρχαιλογία* 53: 68–74.

——1995. "Problems of 'Pastoralism' and 'Transhumance' in Classical and Hellenistic Crete", *Orbis Terrarum* 1: 1–50.

——1996. *Die Verträge zwischen kretischen Poleis in der hellenistischen Zeit*, *Heidelberger Althistorische Beiträge und Epigraphische Studien* 24 (Stuttgart).

——1999. "Milking the Mountains: Economic Activities on the Cretan Uplands in the Classical and Hellenistic Period", in A. Chaniotis (ed.), *From Minoan Farmers to Roman Traders: Sidelights on the Economy of Ancient Crete* (Stuttgart) 181–200.

Coldstream, J. N. 1973. *Knossos: The Sanctuary of Demeter*, *BSA* Suppl. 8 (London).

——1984. *The Formation of the Greek Polis: Aristotle and Archaeology*, Vorträge Rheinisch-Westfälische Akademie der Wissenschaften: Geisteswissenschaften (Opladen).

——1999. "Knossos 1951–1961: Classical and Hellenistic Pottery from the Town", *BSA* 94: 321–51.

——2000. "Evans's Greek Finds: The Early Greek Town of Knossos, and its Encroachment on the Borders of the Minoan Palace", *BSA* 95: 259–99.

—— and Huxley, G. L. 1999. "Knossos: The Archaic Gap", *BSA* 94: 289–307.

—— and Macdonald, C. F. 1997. "Knossos: Area of South-West Houses, Early Hellenic Occupation", *BSA* 92: 191–245.

Coutsinas, N. 2001. "Fortifications et défense du territoire en Crete (époques classique et héllenistique)" (unpubl. MA thesis, Paris I Pantheon-Sorbonne, U.F.R. d'Histoire de l'Art et d'Archéologie).

Cucuzza, N. 1993. "Leto e il cosidetto tempio di Rhea di Festòs", *Quaderni dell'Istituto di Archeologia della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia, Università di Messina* 8: 21–27.

——1997. "Considerazioni su alcuni culti nella Messarà di epoca storica e sui rapporti territoriali fra Festòs e Gortina", *RendLinc* ser. 9, vol. 8: 63–93.

——1998. "Geometric Phaistos: A Survey", in Cavanagh and Curtis (1998) ii.62–68.

D'Agata, A. L. 1999. "Defining a Pattern of Continuity During the Dark Age in Central-Western Crete", *SMEA* 41: 181–218.

——2000. "Private *versus* Domestic? A Geometric Monumental Building at Thronos/Kephala Amariou", in *Πεπραγμένα του Η' Διεθνοῦς Κρητολογικοῦ Συνεδρίου*, Herakleion 1996 (Herakleion) A1: 327–39.

——(ed.) (forthcoming). *Ricerche greco-italiane in Creta occidentale*, iii: *Thronos/Kephala (antica Sybrita): le fosse rituali in prossimità dell'insediamento sulla sommittà* (Rome).

Davaras, C. 1978. "*Νεκροταφεῖου Ποτάμου*", *ArchDelt* 33: 385–88.

——1980. "*Κρητικὲς ἐπιγραφές* III", *ArchEph* 1–42.

Delepierre, M. J. 1972. "Énée en Crète", *RN* 14: 7–20.

Demargne, J. 1901. "Les ruines de Goulas ou l'ancienne ville de Lato en Crète", *BCH* 25: 282–307.

Demargne, P. 1931. "Recherches sur le site de l'Anavlochos", *BCH* 55: 364–407.

—— and van Effenterre, H. 1937. "Recherches à Dreros", *BCH* 61: 5–32.

Deschayes, J. 1951. "Tessons géométriques et archaïques d'Itanos", *BCH* 75: 201–9.

Di Vita, A. 1984. "Gortina", in A. Di Vita and A. La Regina, *Creta Antica: Cento anni di archeologia italiana (1894–1984)* (Rome) 69–116.

——1991. "Gortina in età geometrica", in Musti *et al.* (eds.) 309–19.

——1992–93. "I Fenici a Creta: Kommos, i 'troni di Astarte' a Phalasarna e la rotta 'delle isole' ", *ASAtene* NS 44–45: 175–203.

Drerup, H. 1951*a*. "Paläokastro-Aptara", in F. Matz (ed.), *Forschungen auf Kreta 1942* (Berlin) 89–98.

——1951*b*. "Zweizelliges Heiligtum in Aptara", in F. Matz (ed.), *Forschungen auf Kreta 1942* (Berlin) 99–105.

Ducrey, P., and Picard, O. 1969. "Recherches à Latô", *BCH* 93: 792–822.

—— ——1970. "Recherches à Latô, II: le grand temple", *BCH* 94: 567–90.

—— ——1971. "Recherches à Latô, IV: le théâtre", *BCH* 95: 515–31.

—— ——1972. "Recherches à Latô, V: le prytanée", *BCH* 96: 567–92.

—— ——1976. "Lato", *PECS* 487.

—— ——1996. "Recherches à Latô, VII: la rue Ouest: Habitations et défense", *BCH* 120: 721–54.

Duhoux, Y. 1982. *L'Étéocrétois: les textes, la langue* (Amsterdam).

Ehrenberg, V. 1943. "An Early Source of Polis Constitution", *CQ* 37: 14–18.

Erickson, B. 2000. "Late Archaic and Classical Crete: Island Pottery Styles in an Age of Historical Transition, *c.*600–400 B.C." (unpubl. Ph.D. diss., University of Texas, Austin, Texas).

Evans, A. J. 1928. *The Palace of Minos*, ii (London).

Falkener, E. 1854. *A Description of Some Important Theatres and Other Remains in Crete from a MS: History of Candia by Onorio Belli in 1586* (London).

Faure, P. 1958. "Spéléologie et topographie crétoises", *BCH* 82: 495–515.

——1959. "La Crète aux cent villes", *CretChron* 13: 171–217.

——1960. "Nouvelles recherches de spéléologie et de topographie crétoises", *BCH* 84: 189–220.

——1962. "Cavernes et sites aux deux extrémités de la Crète", *BCH* 86: 36–56.

——1963. "Nouvelles localisations de villes crétoises", *CretChron* 17: 16–26.

——1964. *Fonctions des cavernes crétoises* (Paris).

——1965. "Recherches sur le peuplement des montagnes de Crète: sites, cavernes et cultes", *BCH* 89: 27–63.

——1967. "Aux frontières de l'état de Lato: 50 toponyms", in W. C. Brice (ed.), *Europa: Studien zur Geschichte und Epigraphik der frühen Aegaeis* (*Festschrift für Ernst Grumach*) (Berlin) 94–112.

——1972. "*Νέα ἀνάγνωσις τῆς ἐπιγραφῆς* 207 *τοῦ Μουσείου Ἁγ. Νικολάου*", *Amaltheia* 3: 227–40.

——1988. "Cités antiques de la Crète de l'ouest", *Cretan Studies* 1: 83–96.

——1988–89. "Les sept inscriptions dites 'Étéocrétoises' reconsidérées", *CretChron* 28–29: 94–109.

——1993. "Nouvelles identifications d'antiques localités crétoises", *Kadmos* 32: 67–74.

——1996. *Ιερά σπήλαια της Κρήτης* (Herakleion).

——1997. "*Κρήτη ἑκατόμπολις*; *Πόλεις, κῶμαι καί ἐπίνεια πού ὑπῆρχαν πρό τῆς ρωμαικῆς ἐποχῆς*", *Amaltheia* 28: 101–9.

Figueira, T. 1988. "Four Notes on the Aiginetans in Exile", *Athenaeum* 66: 523–51.

Flensted-Jensen, P., and Hansen, M. H. 1996. "Pseudo-Skylax' Use of the Term *Polis*", *CPC Papers* 3: 137–67.

Frost, F. J. 1996. "Akakallis, a Divinity from Western Crete", *AW* 27: 54–58.

——and Hadjidaki, E. 1990. "Excavations at the Harbor of Phalasarna in Crete: The 1988 Season", *Hesperia* 59: 513–27.

Gallett de Santerre, H. 1951. "Itanos et environs", *BCH* 75: *Chron.* 190–95.

Gavrilaki, I., and Tzifopoulos, Y. 1998. "An 'Orphic-Dionysiac' Gold Epistomion from Sfakaki near Rhethymno", *BCH* 122: 343–56.

Gifford, J. A. 1995. "The Physical Geography of the Western Mesara and Kommos", in J. W. and M. C. Shaw (eds.), *Kommos*, 1.1. *The Kommos Region, Ecology, and Minoan Industries* (Princeton) 30–90.

Gondiccas, D. 1988. *Recherches sur la Crète occidentale de l'époque géométrique à la conquête romaine: Inventaire des sources archéologique et textuelles, position du problème* (Amsterdam).

Greco, E., Kalpaxis, Th., Schnapp, A., and Viviers, D. 1996. "Itanos (Crète orientale)", *BCH* 120: Chron. 941–52.

——————1997. "Itanos (Crète orientale)", *BCH* 121: Chron. 809–24.

——————1998*a*. "Itanos (Crète orientale)", *BCH* 122: Chron. 515–30.

——————1998*b*. "Itanos (Crète orientale)", *BCH* 122: Chron. 585–602.

——————1999. "Itanos (Crète orientale)", *BCH* 123: 515–30.

Gschnitzer, F. 1958. *Abhängige Orte in griechishcen Altertum* (Munich).

——1975. "*Ἐπὶ τοῖσδε ἔδωκαν Πραίσιοι Σταλίταις τὰν χώραν* . . . Zu einem Geschäftstyp des griechischen Völkerrechts", *Symposion* 1971: 79–102.

Guarducci, M. 1935. *Inscriptiones Creticae: Opera et Consilio Friderici Halbherr Collectae*, i: *Tituli Cretae Mediae Praeter Gortynios* (Rome).

——1939. *Inscriptiones Creticae. Opera et Consilio Friderici Halbherr Collectae*, ii: *Tituli Cretae Occidentalis* (Rome).

——1942. *Inscriptiones Creticae. Opera et Consilio Friderici Halbherr Collectae*, iii: *Tituli Cretae Orientalis* (Rome).

——1950. *Inscriptiones Creticae. Opera et Consilio Friderici Halbherr Collectae*, iv: *Tituli Gortynii* (Rome).

Guest-Papamanoli, A., and Lambraki, A. 1976. "Les grottes de Léra et de l'Arkoudia en Crète occidentale aux époques préhistoriques et historiques", *ArchDelt* 31A: 178–293.

Hadjidaki, E. 1992. "Phalasarna", in Myers *et al.* (1992) 244–47.

——1996. "The Hellenistic Harbor Town of Phalasarna in Western Crete: A Comparison with the Hellenistic Inner Harbor of Straton's Tower", in A. Raban and K. G. Holum (eds.), *Caesarea Maritima: A Retrospective after Two Millennia* (Leiden, New York and Cologne) 53–64.

Hadjidaki, J. 1934. *Les Villes minoennes de Tylissos, ÉtCrét* III (Paris).

Hadjimichali, V. 1971. "Recherches à Latô III: maisons", *BCH* 95: 167–222.

Hahn, M. 1997. "Archaic to Byzantine Periods: The Pottery and Small Finds", in E. Hallager and B. P. Hallager (eds.), *The Greek–Swedish Excavations at the Agia Aikaterini Square Kastelli, Khania 1970–1987* (Stockholm) 209–12.

Halbherr, F. 1887. "Relazione sui nuovi scavi eseguiti a Gortyna presso il Letheo", *Museo italiano di antichità classica* 2: 561–92.

——1897. "Cretan Expedition III: Epigraphical Researches in Gortyna." *AJA* 1: 159–338.

Hallager, P., Hahn, M., *et al.* 1997. "Archaic to Byzantine Periods: Stratigraphy and Catalogues", in E. Hallager and B. P. Hallager (eds.), *The Greek–Swedish Excavations at the Agia Aikaterini Square Kastelli, Khania 1970–1987* (Stockholm) 202–8.

Hansen, M. H., and Fischer-Hansen, T. 1994. "Monumental Political Architecture in Archaic and Classical *Poleis*", *CPCPapers* 1: 23–90.

Hayden, B. J. 1988. "Fortifications of Postpalatial and Early Iron Age Crete", *AA* 1–21.

—— 1995. "Rural Settlement of the Orientalizing through Early Classical Period: The Meseleroi Valley, Eastern Crete", *Aegean Archaeology* 2: 93–144.

—— Moody, J. A., and Rackham, O. 1992. "The Vrokastro Survey Project, 1986–1989: Research Design and Preliminary Results", *Hesperia* 61: 292–353.

Hill, G. F. 1927. *L'Art dans les monnaies grecques: pièces choisies, reproduites en aggrandissement et décretes* (Paris).

Hood, M. S. F. 1967. "Some Ancient Sites in South-west Crete", *BSA* 62: 47–56.

—— and Boardman, J. 1957. "A Hellenic Fortification Tower on the Kefala Ridge at Knossos", *BSA* 52: 224–30.

Hood, S., and Smyth, D. 1981. *Archaeological Survey of the Knossos Area, BSA* Suppl. 14 (London).

—— and Warren, P. 1966. "Ancient Sites in the Province of Ayios Vasilios, Crete", *BSA* 61: 163–91.

—— —— and Cadogan, G. 1964. "Travels in Crete, 1962", *BSA* 59: 50–99.

Huxley, G. 1994. "On Knossos and her Neighbors (7th Century to Mid-4th Century B.C.)", in D. Evely, H. Hughes-Brock and N. Momigliano (eds.), *Knossos: A Labyrinth of History: Papers Presented in Honour of Sinclair Hood* (Athens and London) 123–33.

Jackson, A. E. 1971. "The Chronology of the Bronze Coins of Knossos", *BSA* 66: 285–95.

Jeffery, L. H. 1949–50. "Comments on Some Archaic Greek Inscriptions", *JHS* 69–70: 25–38.

—— 1990. *The Local Scripts of Archaic Greece*[2] (Oxford).

Kalpaxis, Th. 1991. "Ἀνασκαφικά δεδομένα", in *ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΝΑ*, ii.1 (Rhethymnon) 11–15.

—— 1994. "Ἡ πόλη τῆς ἀρχαίας Ἐλεύθερνας καί ἡ ἐγγύτερη οἰκιστική της περιοχή", in *ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΝΑ*, ii.2 (Rhethymnon) 17–21.

—— Furtwängler, A., and Schnapp, A. (eds.) 1994. *Ελευθερνα*, ii.2: *Ένα Ελληνιστικό σπίτι ("σπίτι Α") στή θέση Νησί* (Rhethymnon).

—— Schnapp, A., and Viviers, D. 1995. "Itanos (Crète orientale)", *BCH* 119: Chron. 713–36.

Karetsou, A. 1978. Report in *ArchDelt* 33: *Chron.* 355–57.

Kirsten, E. 1951. "Siedlungsgeschichtliche Forschungen in West-Kreta", in F. Matz (ed.), *Forschungen auf Kreta 1942* (Berlin) 118–52.

—— 1974. "Phaistos und Kydonia, Korion und Sybrita", in *Antichità Cretesi: Studi in Onore di Doro Levi*, ii (Catania) 81–88.

Kitchell, K. F. 1983. "New Evidence for the Ariaioi Coinage", *AJA* 87: 216–20.

Koerner, R. 1993. *Inschriftliche Gesetzestexte der frühen Griechischen Polis*, Akten der Gesellschaft für griechische und hellenistische Rechtgeschichte 9 (Cologne, Weimar and Vienna).

Kourou, N., and Karetsou, A. 1994. "*Το ιερό του Ερμού Κραναίου στην Πατσό Αμαριού*", in Rocchetti (1994*b*) 81–164.

Kraay, C. M. 1976. *Archaic and Classical Greek Coins* (Berkeley and Los Angeles).

Kritzas, Ch. 1992–93. "Nouvelle inscription provenant de l'Asclépiéion de Lebena (Crète)", *ASAtene* NS 44–45: 275–90.

—— 2000. "*Νέα επιγραφικά στοιχεία για την ετυμολογία του Λασυθίου*", 2000: *Πεπραγμένα τοῦ Η' Διεθνοῦς Κρητολογικοῦ Συνεδρίου*, Herakleion 1996 (Herakleion) A2: 81–97.

La Rosa, V. 1988–89. "Considerazioni sul sito di Hagia Triada in età ellenistico-romana", *ASAtene* NS 48–49: 259–75.

—— 1992. "Phaistos", in Myers *et al.* (1992) 232–43.

—— 1996. "Per la Festòs di età arcaica", in M. G. Picozzi and F. Carinci (eds.), *Studi Miscellanei: studi in memoria di Lucia Guerrini* (Rome) 30: 63–87.

Larsen, J. A. O. 1936. "Perioeci in Crete", *CP* 31: 11–22.

La Torre, G. F. 1988–89. "Contributo preliminare alla conoscenza del territorio di Gortina", *ASAtene* NS 48–49: 277–322.

Le Rider, G. 1966. *Monnaies crétoises du Ve au Ier siècle av. J.-C.* (Paris).

Levi, D. 1927–29. "Arkades: una città cretese all'alba della civiltà ellenica", *ASAtene* 10–12.

—— 1930–31. "I bronzi di Axos", *ASAtene* 13–14: 43–146.

—— 1961–62. "Gli scavi a Festòs negli anni 1958–1960", *ASAtene* NS 23–24: 377–504.

—— 1964. *Recent Excavations at Phaistos*, Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology 11 (Lund).

—— 1967–68. "L'abitato di Festos in località Chalara", *ASAtene* NS 29–30: 55–166.

Lévy, E. 1997. "Libres et non-libres dans le code de Gortyne", in P. Brulé and J. Oulhen (eds.), *Esclavage, guerre, économie en Grèce ancienne: hommages à Yvon Garlan* (Rennes) 25–41.

Malkin, I. 1994. *Myth and Territory in the Spartan Mediterranean* (Cambridge).

Manganaro, G. 1974. "Epigrafia e istituzioni di Creta", in *Antichità Cretesi: Studi in Onore di Doro Levi*, ii (Catania) 39–58.

Marangou-Lerat, A. 1995. *Le Vin et les amphores de Crète de l'époque classique à l'époque impériale*, *ÉtCrét* 30 (Paris).

Mariani, L. 1895. "Antichità Cretesi", *MonAnt* 6: 153–348.

Marinatos, S. 1936. "Le temple geométrique de Dréros", *BCH* 60: 214–85.

Markoe, G. 1998. "The Phoenicians on Crete: Transit Trade and the Search for Ores", in V. Karageorghis and N. Stampolidis (eds.), *Eastern Mediterannean: Cyprus-Dodecanese-Crete 16th–6th cent. B.C.* (Athens) 233–41.

Markoulaki, S. 1988. "*Πολυρρήνια*", *KrEst* 2 *Αρχ. Ειδ.* 285–87.

——1996. "*Πολυρρήνια*", *KrEst* 5 *Αρχ. Ειδ.* 216–17, 229–30.

——2000. "*Συνθήκη Τυλίφου*", in *Πεπραγμένα τοῦ Η' Διεθνοῦς Κρητολογικοῦ Συνεδρίου*, Herakleion 1996 (Herakleion) A2: 239–57.

Mazarakis Ainian, A. 1997. *From Rulers' Dwellings to Temples: Architecture, Religion and Society in Early Iron Age Greece (1100–700 B.C.)*, SIMA 121 (Jonsered).

McArthur, J. K. 1993. *Place-names in the Knossos Tablets: Identification and Location*, *Minos* Suppl. 9 (Salamanca).

Meinel, R. 1980. *Das Odeion: Untersuchungen an überdachten antiken Theatergebaüden* (Frankfurt).

Merrill, W. P. 1991. "*Τὸ πλέθος* in a Treaty Concerning Argos, Knossos and Tylissos", *CQ* 41: 16–25.

Mikroyannakis, E. 1968. "*Ἡ χρονολόγησις τῆς συνθήκης* Rehm, Delphinion 140", in *Πεπραγμένα του Β΄ Διεθνοῦς Κρητολογικοῦ Συνεδρίου*, Chania 1966 (Athens) B: 130–34.

Morris, I. 1990. "The Gortyn Code and Greek Kinship", *GRBS* 31: 233–54.

Mortzos, Ch. 1985. *Ἀνασκαφὴ Βρυσῶν Κυδωνίας. Τὸ ἑλληνικὸν ἱερὸ α στον Κάστελλο* (Athens).

Musti, D. *et al.* (eds.) 1991. *La transizione dal miceneo all'alto arcaismo: dal palazzo alla città: Atti del Convegno Internazionale, Roma, 14–19 marzo 1988* (Rome).

Myers, J. W., Myers, E. E., and Cadogan, G. (eds.) 1992. *The Aerial Atlas of Ancient Crete* (Berkeley and Los Angeles).

Niniou-Kindeli, V. 1990. "*Στοιχια για την οδικη συνδεση της Λισου με την Υρτακινα και την Ελυρο*", in *Πεπραγμένα του ΣΤ' Διεθνοῦς Κρητολογικοῦ Συνεδρίου*, Chania 1986 (Chania) A2: 49–55.

——1992. "Polyrrhenia", in Myers *et al.* (1992) 251–55.

Nixon, L., Moody, J., Niniou-Kindeli, V., Price, M., and Rackham, O. 1990. "Archaeological Survey in Sphakia, Crete", *EMC* NS 9: 213–20.

—— —— Price, M., and Rackham, O. 1989. "Archaeological Survey in Sphakia", *EMC* NS 8: 201–15.

Nowicki, K. 2000. *Defensible Sites in Crete c. 1200–800 B.C.* (*LM IIIB/IIIC through Early Geometric*), *Aegaeum* 21 (Liège and Austin, Tex.).

Palermo, D. 1992. "L'officina dei pithoi di Festòs: un contributo alla conoscenza della città in età arcaica", *CronCatania* 31: 35–53.

Papadakis, N. P. 1986. *Ierapetra: Bride of the Libyan Sea: A Historical, Archaeological and Cultural Guide* (Ierapetra).

Pashley, R. 1837. *Travels in Crete*, i–ii (London).

Pendlebury, J. D. S., Money-Coutts, M. B., and Eccles, E. 1932–33. "Journeys in Crete, 1934", *BSA* 33: 80–100.

Perdrizet, P., and Lefebvre, G. 1919. *Les Graffites grecs du Memnonion d'Abydos* (Nancy, Paris and Strassburg).

Perlman, P. 1992. "One-Hundred-Citied Crete and the Cretan *Politeia*", *CP* 87: 193–205.

——1995*a*. "*Invocatio* and *imprecatio*: The Hymn to the Greatest Kouros from Palaikastro and the Oath in Ancient Crete", *JHS* 115: 161–67.

——1995*b*. "*ΘΕΩΡΟΔΟΚΟΥΝΤΕΣ ΕΝ ΤΑΙΣ ΠΟΛΕΣΙΝ*: Panhellenic *Epangelia* and Political Status", *CPCActs* 2: 113–64.

——1996. "*Πόλις Ὑπήκοος*. The Dependent *Polis* and Crete", *CPCActs* 3: 233–87.

——1999. "*Krêtes aei Lêistai*? The Marginalization of Crete in Greek Thought and the Role of Piracy in the Outbreak of the First Cretan War", in V. Gabrielsen, P. Bilde, T. Engberg-Pedersen, L. Hannestad, L., and J. Zahle (eds.), *Hellenistic Rhodes: Politics, Culture, and Society*, Studies in Hellenistic Civilization 9 (Aarhus) 132–61.

——2000. "Gortyn: The First Seven Hundred Years (Part I)", *Polis and Politics* 59–89.

——2002. "Gortyn. The First Seven Hundred Years, Part II. The Laws from the Temple of Apollo Pythios", *CPCPapers* 6: 187–228.

Pernier, L. 1925–26 (1929). "L'odeion nell'agora di Gortina presso il Leteo", *ASAtene* 8–9: 1–69.

Picard, O. 1990. "Le monnayage de Latô", in *Πεπραγμένα του ΣΤ' Διεθνοῦς Κρητολογικοῦ Συνεδρίου* (Chania 1986) A2: 107–14.

——1992. "Lato", in Myers *et al.* (1992) 154–59.

Platon, N. 1954. "*Ἀνασκαφὴ Ὀνυθὲ Γουλεδιανῶν Ῥεθύμνης*", *Prakt* 377–82.

——1955. "*Ἀνασκαφὴ Ὀνυθὲ Γουλεδιανῶν Ῥεθύμνης*", *Prakt* 298–305.

——1956. "*Ἀνασκαφὴ εἰς Γουλεδιανὰ Ῥεθύμνης*", *Prakt* 226–28.

——1992. "Lissos", in Myers *et al.* (1992) 68–171.

Pologiorgi, M. 1985. "*Ἀπὸ το κλασικο καὶ ἑλληνιστικὸ νεκροταφείο της Κυδωνίας*", *ArchDelt* 40: 162–77.

Price, M. J. 1981. "The Beginnings of Coinage on Crete", in *Πεπραγμένα του Δ' Διεθνοῦς Κρητολογικοῦ Συνδρίου*, Herakleion 1976 (Athens) A1: 461–66.

Prokopiou, N. M. 1991. "Sybrita Amariou: First Indications for a New LM IIIC Site", in Musti *et al.* (1991) 373–401.

Rackham, O. 1990. "Ancient Landscapes", in O. Murray and S. Price (eds.), *The Greek City from Homer to Alexander* (Oxford) 85–111.

—— and Moody, J. 1996. *The Making of the Cretan Landscape* (Manchester and New York).

Reinach, A. 1913. "L'autel rustique du Mont Phylakas", *RA* 21: 278–300.

Rhethemiotaki, G. 1984. "*Ἀνασκαφικη Ἐρευνα στη Λύττο*", *Lyktos* 1: 49–65.

Ricciardi, M. 1986–87. "Il tempio di Apollo Pizio a Gortina", *ASAtene* NS 48–49: 7–131.

Rigsby, K. 1986. "Notes sur la Crète hellénistique", *REG* 99: 350–60.

——1996. *Asylia* (Berkeley and Los Angeles).

Rizza, G. 1967–68. "Le terrecotte di Axos", *ASAtene* NS 29–30: 211–302.

——1968. "La scultura in pietra, i bronzi figurati e la plastica fittile", in Rizza and Santa Maria Scrinari (1968) 155–273.

——1978. "Gli scavi di Priniàs e il problema delle origine dell'arte Greca", in *Un decennio di ricerche archeologiche, Quaderni di "La Ricerca Scientifica"* 100: 85–137.

——1991. "Priniàs: la città arcaica sulla Patela", in Musti *et al.* (1991) 331–47.

——1995. "Scavi e ricerche a Priniàs dal 1987 al 1991", in *Πεπραγμένα του Ζ΄ Διεθνοῦς Κρητολογικοῦ Συνεδρίου* (Rethymnon) A2: 797–810.

——2000. "Scavi e ricerche a Priniàs dal 1992 al 1996", in *Πεπραγμένα του Η΄ Διεθνοῦς Κρητολογικοῦ Συνεδρίου* (Heraklion) A3: 155–64.

——and Rizzo, M. A. 1985. "Prinias", in *Ancient Crete: A Hundred Years of Italian Archaeology (1884–1984)* (Rome) 143–67.

——and Santa Maria Scrinari, V. 1968. *Il santuario sull'acropoli di Gortina*, i, Monografia della Scuola archeologica di Atene e delle missione italiane in Oriente 2 (Rome).

——Palermo, D., and Tomasello, F. 1994. *Priniàs 2: Mandra di Gipari: Una officina di vasai nel territorio di Priniàs* (Catania).

Robinson, E. S. G. 1928. "Pseudaeginetica", *NC* 8 ser. 5: 172–98.

Rocchetti, L. 1994*a*. "Sybrita: lo scavo", in Rocchetti (1994*b*) 237–48.

——(ed.) 1994*b*. *Sybrita: la valle di Amari fra bronzo e ferro*, i, Ricerche Greco-Italiane in Creta Occidentale 2 (Rome).

——and D'Agata, A. L. 1999. "L'insediamento di Thronos/Kephala (antica Sybrita) e la Dark Age nella valle di Amari a Creta (XII–VII a. c.)", *PP* 306: 209–28.

Sackett, L. H. (ed.) 1992. *Knossos: From Greek City to Roman Colony: Excavations at the Unexplored Mansion*, ii, *BSA* Suppl. 21 (Oxford).

Sakellarakis, Y., and Sapouna-Sakellaraki, E. 1997. *Archanes: Minoan Crete in a New Light*, i (Athens).

Sanders, I. F. 1976. "Settlement in the Hellenistic and Roman Periods on the Plain of the Mesara, Crete", *BSA* 71: 1–17.

——1982. *Roman Crete: An Archaeological Survey and Gazetteer of Late Hellenistic, Roman and Early Byzantine Crete* (Warminster).

Savignoni, L., and de Sanctis, G. 1901. "Esplorazione archeologica delle provincie occidentali de Creta", *MonAnt* 11: 285–550.

Scafa, E. 1994. "SU-KI-RI-TA/*Σύβριτα*", in Rocchetti (1994*b*) 165–99.

Schachermeyer, F. 1938. "Vorbericht über eine Expedition nach Ostkreta", *AA* 466–80.

Schiering, W. 1982. "Landbegehungen in Rhethymnon und Umgebung", *AA* 15–54.

Scrinari, V. Santa Maria 1968. "Lo scavo del tempio sulla sommità del colle", in Rizza and Santa Maria Scrinari (1968) 3–96.

Seager, R. B. 1924. *A Cretan Coin Hoard*, *NNM* 23 (New York).

Sekunda, N. V. 2000. "Land-use, Ethnicity, and Federalism in West Crete", in R. Brock and S. Hodkinson (eds.), *Alternatives to Athens: Varieties of Political Organization and Community in Ancient Greece* (Oxford) 327–47.

Shaw, J. 1978. "Excavations at Kommos (Crete) during 1977", *Hesperia* 47: 111–54.

Simpson, R. H. *et al.* 1995. "The Archaeological Survey of the Kommos Area", in J. W. and M. C. Shaw (eds.), *Kommos.* i.1: *The Kommos Region, Ecology, and Minoan Industries* (Princeton) 325–402.

Sjögren, L. 2001. "Sites, Settlements and Early Poleis on Crete (800–500 BC)" (unpubl. Ph.D. diss., University of Stockholm).

Spratt, T. A. B. 1865. *Travels and Researches in Crete*, i–ii (London).

Stampolidis, N. C. 1993. *Ancient Eleutherna: The Geometric–Archaic Necropolis at Orthi Petra* (Rhethymnon).

Stavrianopoulou, E. 1991. "*'Ημερολόγιο θυσιῶν τῆς 'Ελεύθερνας*", in van Effenterre *et al.* (1991) 31–50.

Stefanakis, M. I. 1996. "Polichne", in *MNHMH Martin Jessup Price*, Bibliotheca of the Hellenic Numismatic Society 5 (Athens) 145–56.

——1998. "A Mid-Fourth Century BC Alliance Coinage on Crete? The Case of Kytaion Reassessed", in Cavanagh and Curtis (1998) ii. 96–104.

——1999. "The Introduction of Coinage in Crete and the Beginning of Local Minting", in A. Chaniotis (ed.), *From Minoan Farmers to Roman Traders: Sidelights on the Economy of Ancient Crete* (Stuttgart) 247–68.

Stratidakis, Ch. 1995. "*Αρχαιολογικές θέσεις στο νομό Ρεθύμνης από τα νεολιθικά ως και τα ρωμαικά*", *Κρητολογικά Γράμματα* 11: 305–32.

Svoronos, J.-N. 1890. *Numismatique de la Crète ancienne* (Paris).

Taramelli, A. 1899. "Ricerche archeologiche cretesi", *MonAnt* 9: 286–446 (308–17 for Axos).

Theophanides, V. D. 1942–44*a*. "*Ἀνασκαφικαὶ ἔρευναι καὶ τυχαῖα εὑρήματα ἀνὰ τήν Δυτικὴν Κρήτην*", *ArchEph Chron.* 17–31.

——1942–44*b*. "*Ἀνασκαφαὶ ἐπὶ τῆς ἀκροπόλεως τῆς 'Υρτακίνης*", *ArchEph Chron.* 35–38.

——1956. "*Ναὸς Ἥρας Σαμίας ἐν Κυδονίᾳ Κρήτης*", *ArchEph* 218–24.

Thommeret, Y., *et al.* 1981. "Late Holocene Shoreline Changes and Seismo-Tectonic Displacements in Western Crete (Greece)", in *Zeitschrift für Geomorphologie* Suppl. 40 (Berlin and Stuttgart) 127–49.

Tiré, C., and van Effenterre, H. 1978. *Guide des fouilles françaises en Crète* (Paris).

Tsingarida, A. 2001. "The Archaic and Classic Pottery for Itanos" in Abstracts of the 9th International Congress of Cretan Studies (Elounda 1–6 October 2001) 79.

Tzedakis, G. 1971. In C. Davaras, "*Δυτική Κρήτη*", *ArchDelt* 26: *Chron.* 511.

Tzifopoulos, Y. Z. 1998. "'Hemerodromoi' and Cretan 'Dromeis': Athletes or Military Personnel? The Case of the Cretan Philondas", *Nikephoros* 11: 137–70.

Vallianou, D. 1987. Report in *ArchDelt* 42: *Chron.* 521–28.

van Effenterre, H. 1946. "Inscriptions archaïques crétoises", *BCH* 70: 588–606.

——1948*a*. *La Créte et le monde grec de Platon à Polybe* (Paris).

——1948*b*. "Fortins crétois", in *Mélanges Charles Picard*, *RA* 31–32: 1033–46.

——1948*c*. *Nécropoles du Mirabello* (Paris).

——1973. "Le contract de travail du scribe Spensithios", *BCH* 97: 31–46.

——1985. "DAMOS, DAMIOI et DAMIORGOI", in *Πεπραγμένα του Ε' Διεθνοῦς Κρητολογικοῦ Συνεδρίου*, Hagios Nikolaos, 25 September–1 October 1981 (Herakleion) 385–96.

——1989. "Préliminaires épigraphiques aux études d'histoire du droit grec", in F. J. F. Nieto (ed.), *Symposion* 1982: *Vorträge zur griechischen und hellenistischen Rechtsgeschichte* (Cologne) 1–8.

——1991*a*. "Dévelopements territoriaux dans la Crète post minoenne", in Musti *et al.* (1991) 197–206.

——1991*b*. "E3–E4. Les deux inscriptions de Nési", in van Effenterre *et al.* (1991) 24–30.

——1991*c*. "Loi archaïque sur le excès de boisson", in van Effenterre *et al.* (1991) 18–21.

——1992*a*. "Dreros", in Myers *et al.* (1992) 86–90.

——1992*b*. "Olous", in Myers *et al.* (1992) 216–21.

——1993. "Le pacte Gortyne-Rhittèn", *Cahiers du Centre G. Glotz* 4: 13–21.

—— and Bougrat, M. 1969. "Les frontières de Lato", *CretChron* 21: 9–53.

—— and Gondiccas, D. 1999. "Lyttos, ville fantôme?", in M. Bellancourt-Valdher and J.-N. Corvisier (eds.), *La Démographie historique antique*, Cahiers Scientifiques de l'Université d'Artois 11 (Artois) 127–39.

—— and van Effenterre, M. 1985. "Nouvelles lois archaïques de Lyttos", *BCH* 109: 157–88.

—— Kalpaxis, Th., Petropoulou, A. B. and Stavrianopoulou, E. (eds.) 1991. *ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΝΑ*, ii.1: *ΕΠΙΓΡΑΦΕΣ ΑΠΟ ΤΟ ΠΥΡΓΙ ΚΑΙ ΤΟ ΝΗΣΙ* (Rhethymnon).

Varoucha-Christodoulopoulou, E. 1968. "*Νομισματικαὶ ἐνδείξεις δι' ἄγνωστον μέχρι τοῦδε πόλιν τῆς Κρήτης*", in *Πεπραγμένα τοῦ Β Διεθνοῦς Κρητολογικοῦ Συνεδρίου*, Chania 1966 (Athens) A1: 209–24.

Viviers, D. 1994. "La cité de Dattalla et l'expansion territoriale de Lyktos en Crète centrale", *BCH* 118: 229–59.

—— 2001. "Transformation de la structure urbaine d'une cité crétoise à l'époque archaïque: à propos du secteur de la Nécropole Nord d'Itanos", in Abstracts of the 9th International Congress of Cretan Studies (Elounda 1–6 October 2001) 83.

Warren, P. 1984–85. "Knossos: Stratigraphical Museum Excavation, 1978–1982, Part III", *AR* 31: 124–29.

Watrous, L. V. 1982. *Lasithi: A History of Settlement on a Highland Plain in Crete*, *Hesperia* Suppl. 18 (Princeton).

—— and Blitzer, H. 1995. "The Gournia Survey Project: A Preliminary Report on the 1992–1994 Field Seasons" (lecture, Atlanta, 1994), abstract in *AJA* 99: 313.

—— *et al.* 1993. "A Survey of the Western Mesara Plain in Crete: Preliminary Report of the 1984, 1986, and 1987 Field Seasons", *Hesperia* 62: 192–248.

Weinberg, G. D. 1960. "Excavations at Tarrha, 1959", *Hesperia* 29: 90–108.

Whitley, J. 1998. "From Minoans to Eteocretans: The Praisos Region 1200–500 BC", in Cavanagh and Curtis (1998) 27–39.

—— O'Conor, K., and Mason, H. 1995. "Praisos III: A Report on the Architectural Survey Undertaken in 1992", *BSA* 90: 405–28.

—— Prent, M., and Thorne, S. 1999. "Praisos IV: A Preliminary Report on the 1993 and 1994 Survey Seasons", *BSA* 94: 215–64.

Willetts, R. F. 1955. *Aristocratic Society in Ancient Crete* (London).

—— 1961. "*Καρποδαῖσται*", *Philologus* 105: 145–47.

—— 1967. *The Law Code of Gortyn*, *Kadmos* Suppl. 1 (Berlin).

Wroth, W., and Poole, R. S. (eds.) 1963. *A Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum: Crete and the Aegean Islands* (repr. Bologna).

Xanthoudides, S. 1918. "*Ἀρχαιολογικὴ περιφερεία Δρῆρος*", *ArchDelt* 4: *Chron.* 23–30.

——1920. "*Κρητικαὶ ἐπιγραφαί*", *ArchEph* 75–88.

Zoïs, A. (ed.) 1976. *Ἀνασκαφὴ Βρυσῶν Κυδωνίας* 1.1974 (Athens).

RHODOS

THOMAS HEINE NIELSEN, VINCENT GABRIELSEN

I. The Island

The name of the island was Ῥόδος, ἡ (Hom. *Il.* 2.655; Pind. *Ol.* 7.56; Hdt. 1.174.3; Thuc. 8.44.1; *SEG* 27 481 (450–400); *IG* I³ 281.1.11 (430/29)), and a rose appears as the *rev.* type of coins struck by the unified state of Rhodos (no. 1000) from C5l onwards, on C5f coins of Ialysos (no. 995) and as the *obv.* on some coins struck by Kamiros (no. 996). From the foundation of the city of Rhodos in 408/7 (Diod. 13.75.1), the toponym serves also to designate this city (Ps.-Skylax 99: Ῥόδος . . . νῆσος καὶ πόλις). The corresponding ethnic is Ῥόδιος (Hom. *Il.* 2.654; Simon. 37, Page; Thuc. 3.8.2; *IG* I³ 1454A.30 (445–430)). The internal collective use of the ethnic is found in *I.Lindos* 16 (traditionally dated *c.*411–408, though it could be slightly earlier or later: Gabrielsen (2000*b*) 179–80); the external collective use is found in *IG* I³ 1454A.30 (445–430) and Thuc. 8.44.2–3; the external individual use is found in Bernand, *Le Delta égyptien* 707, 659.1 (C6–C5); *IvO* 151–52 (C5); and Thuc. 3.8.1.

In the Homeric Catalogue of Ships (*Il.* 2.654–56), the Rhodians are described as inhabiting three cities: Lindos, Ialysos and Kamiros; Pind. *Ol.* 7.18 describes Rhodos as a *tripolis nasos*, thus confirming the existence of the three cities; and Ps.-Skylax 99 states that the *tripolis archaia* consisted of the *poleis* Ialysos (no. 995), Lindos (no. 997) and Kamiros (no. 996). These three cities are all described in the Inventory below. In addition, the Athenian tribute lists register four other Rhodian contributors of *phoros*: the Brikindarioi (Βρικινδάριοι), the Diakrioi on Rhodos (Διάκριοι ἐν Ῥόδωι), the Lindian Oiiatai (Λινδίων Οἰιᾶται) and the Pedieis in Lindos (Πεδιεῖς ἐν Λίνδωι); exactly what status these communities had is unknown, but brief descriptions of each are given below. In 408/7, according to Diod. 13.75.1, the three old major *poleis* created a new city, Rhodos, by metoecism of population, a process described as synoecism by Strabo 14.2.10; this, however, did not mean that the three old major *poleis* ceased to exist: they continued to function as *poleis* (Gabrielsen (2000*b*) 192–95), and it has been aptly pointed out that "the synoikism of Rhodes was unusual in the degree to which the synoikised cities had a continued physical and political existence" (Demand (1990) 93; cf. Papachristodoulou (1999*b*) 30). But Rhodos was itself a *polis* and is described in the Inventory below, which, accordingly, describes eight communities that were certainly or possibly *poleis* thoughout the Archaic and Classical periods or at least for some time within this period.[1]

In C4 and the Hellenistic period, Rhodos acted on the international scene as a single *polis* (e.g. *IG* II² 43.82; Gabrielsen (2000*b*) 190–91), and it is widely assumed that this unified state was created by the synoecism of 408/7 (Berthold (1980) 32; Demand (1990) 89–94; Papachristodoulou (1999*b*) 27, 29). However, as pointed out by Gabrielsen (2000*b*) 180–87, there are various indications of Rhodian unity prior to 408/7: (1) even prior to 408/7, references to Rhodos and Rhodians are more numerous than references to the three major *poleis*; (2) the three *poleis* were connected by a common myth of origin which traced their foundations back to eponymous heroes who were grandsons of Helios, thus indicating a pan-Rhodian importance for this divinity even prior to 408/7 (cf. *SEG* 27 481 (C5s)); (3) the sanctuary of Athena Lindia had an island-wide significance (cf. Momigliano (1936) 49–51); (4) at least one tradition made the foundation of Gela (no. 17) in C7e a pan-Rhodian collaboration with Cretans (cf. Momigliano (1936) 49–50, suggesting pan-Rhodian reinforcement of Kyrene (no. 1028) in C6f; on foundations claimed to be Rhodian, see further van Gelder (1900) 66–69); (5) the

The chapter is by Thomas Heine Nielsen with the assistance of Vincent Gabrielsen. The authors would like to thank Prof. T. Buttrey and Prof. M. Amandry for numismatic assistance, and the staff of the Archaeological Institute of the Dodecanese at Rhodos for their hospitality and archaeological assistance during a week of work in the splendid library there. Special thanks are due to Rune Frederiksen for discussions of fortifications.

[1] The present chapter does not consider the Rhodian *peraia*, though it was established before the end of the Classical period (cf. Ps.-Skylax 99 with Gabrielsen (2000*a*) 149); the communities situated in the *peraia* are treated in the chapters dealing with the regions of their geographical positions; the Rhodian islands are treated by Reger in 732–93.

obverses of some coins struck by the three major *poleis* after 479 share a type depicting the forepart of a horse (cf. entries); (6) Olympic victors from the island were invariably described by the ethnic *Rhodios* and not by their local city-ethnics; (7) Hdt. 2.178 lists Rhodos, not the individual cities, among the *poleis* which founded the Hellenion at Naukratis, and this suggests two things: that some kind of Rhodian unity may go back to C6f, and that at the time he was writing Herodotos found it appropriate to include Rhodos under the label of *poleis*; (8) an inscription of 445–430 refers to the *Rhodioi*, not, as the tribute lists do, to the individual cities, as allies of Athens (*IG* I³ 1454); the same document, moreover, describes an individual by the city-ethnic *Lindios*; (9) a decree (*I.Lindos* 16) appointing a man *proxenos* "of all Rhodians" (Ῥο[δ]ίων πάντων) may predate 411–408/7, in which case it is of the utmost importance that it attests to the existence of a pan-Rhodian council and magistrates.

This evidence clearly proves that throughout C6 and C5 there was a general development in the direction of pan-Rhodian (political) unity. The synoecism in 408/7 may reasonably be seen as a decisive step in this unifying development. Though there are problems of interpretation, nos. (7) and (8) above render it probable that a unified state existed prior to the foundation of the city of Rhodos. The *polis* of Rhodos (no. 1000) came to monopolise such important functions as, e.g., foreign policy, military organisation and minting. However, the three old major *poleis* continued to function as *poleis*, and although they primarily fulfilled internal and cultic functions (Papachristodoulou (1999*b*) 30) and constituted subsections of the *polis* of Rhodos, they must be regarded as *poleis*, i.e. as dependent *poleis* inside the *polis* of Rhodos. For example, in C5m, when Herodotos composed the first book of his *Histories*, the Dorian *pentapolis* consisted of Lindos (no. 997), Ialysos (no. 995), Kamiros (no. 996), Kos (no. 499) and Knidos (no. 903), and there is no mention in this connection of a Rhodian *polis* (Hdt. 1.144.1 and 3). It is, moreover, apparent from Thuc. 8.44.2 that in 411 the *poleis* of Kamiros, Lindos and Ialysos were still important political units of the island.

The Rhodians may possibly have been subjects of Persia prior to their entry into the Delian League: Aesch. *Pers.* 888 mentions Rhodos among the islands overpowered by Dareios, and Diod. 11.3.8 (r480) mentions Rhodian ships in Xerxes' navy (cf. van Gelder (1900) 71–72 and Berthold (1984) 19). However, the historicity of Rhodos' subjection is seriously questioned by the fact that Herodotos does not refer to Rhodian involvement in the invasion of Greece.

In addition to the *poleis* described in the Inventory below, there were on Archaic and Classical Rhodos the following settlements.

1. *Pre-Hellenistic Settlements not Attested as* Poleis

***Kattabia** (Καττάβιοι) In the territory of Lindos (no. 997). *RE* suppl. iv. 881; Sørensen (1992) 100. *Barr.* AC.

***Kymisala** (Κυμισαλεῖς) In the territory of Kamiros (no. 996). Maiuri (1916) 285–98; Hope Simpson and Lazenby (1973) 146–47; Sørensen (1992) 124–25. *Barr.* C.

Kyrbe (Κύρβη) Unlocated settlement mentioned by Diod. 5.57.8 in a mythological context and possibly not historical. *RE* xii. 134. *Barr.* A.

Netteia (Νεττεία) Settlement with a sanctuary of Zeus (*IG* XII.1 890.24 (C2)), in the territory of Lindos (no. 997). *RE* suppl. v. 746–47. *Barr.* C.

Phagai (Φαγαί) In the territory of Ialysos (no. 995) (*I.Lindos* 860.4 (*c.*200)). Papachristodoulou (1989) 142–44. *Barr.* C.

2. *Unidentified Settlements*

Ampelia Settlement in the territory of Lindos (no. 997). Hope Simpson and Lazenby (1973) 151. *Barr.* A.

Daphne Hill (near Ialysos) A Classical settlement is surmised on the basis of ceramic surface evidence (Inglieri (1936) *foglio nord* p. 27 no. 20; *ASAtene* 6–7 (1923–24) 326). The site may have formed a part of Ialysos (no. 995) proper. Not in *Barr.*

Gennadi Unidentified settlement, in the territory of Lindos (no. 997). Hope Simpson and Lazenby (1973) 149–50. *Barr.* C.

Kalogeros Settlement in the territory of Lindos (no. 997). Sørensen (1992) 114–18. *Barr.* AC.

Kassaros Settlement in the territory of Lindos (no. 997). Sørensen (1992) 121–23. *Barr.* AC.

Kiotari Archaic settlement in the territory of Lindos (no. 997). Konstantinopoulos (1972) 24–25. Not in *Barr.*

Makri Longoni (near Kamiros) A coastal settlement is inferred from 260 graves of C7 to C6; see Jacopi (1929–30) esp. 10 and fig. 3; Gates (1983) 21–22. This site may have formed a part of Kamiros (no. 996) proper. Not in *Barr.*

Mantra Voutouriou Settlement in the territory of Ialysos (no. 995). Papachristodoulou (1989) 130. *Barr.* C?

Mitropoliti Settlement in the territory of Ialysos (no. 995). Papachristodoulou (1989) 120. *Barr.* A, though the Dodecanesian ephorate has informed us that there are no certain Archaic or Classical remains.

Phanes In the territory of Kamiros (no. 996). Hope Simpson and Lazenby (1973) 141. *Barr.* C.

Steno Settlement in the territory of Lindos (no. 997). Sørensen (1992) 100–5. *Barr.* AC.

Syra Settlement in the territory of Ialysos (no. 995). Papachristodoulou (1989) 134. *Barr.* AC.

Vroulia Settlement in the territory of Lindos (no. 997), abandoned C6e (Kinch (1914); Drerup (1969) 51–52; Melander (1988); Morris (1992) 174–99; Sørensen (2002)). *Barr.* A.

Nothing at all is known about the status which such settlements enjoyed; if the deme structures of the three old major *poleis* existed prior to their first appearance *c.*325 (*IG* XII.1 671; *I.Lindos* 51), they may possibly have been demes, but this is conjectural.

II. The *Poleis*

993. Brikindera (Brikindarios) Map 60. Lat. 36.20, long. 28.10. Size of territory: ? Type: C. The toponym is *Βρικίνδηρα, τά* (Herod. 2.57); on the basis of Rhodian Hellenistic inscriptions such as e.g. *SEG* 39 808 (C2) giving the demotic *Βρυγινδάριος*, the toponym *Βρυγίνδαρα* may be assumed. The city-ethnic is *Βρικινδάριος* (*IG* I³ 290.I.15 (415/14)). Our only source for this community are the Athenian tribute lists in which the *Βρικινδάριοι* are recorded thrice: in 429/8 (*IG* I³ 282.IV.13), amount lost, in 421/20 (*IG* I³ 285.I.103–4), 1 tal., and in 415/14 (*IG* I³ 290.I.15), amount lost. The Brikindarioi must have been the inhabitants of *Βρυγίνδαρα*, a place in the territory of Ialysos (no. 995) (Papachristodoulou (1989) 124–31, (1999*b*) 37). The fact that it paid individually may suggest that it was a dependent *polis* inside the territory of Ialysos (cf. Hansen (1997) 31), or—considering the sporadic nature of its payments—may suggest civic disorder at Ialysos. Alternatively, the appearance of the Brikindarioi may indicate an arrangement imposed by the Athenians in order to weaken a powerful ally, as all three major *poleis* must have been. See also Diakrioi (no. 994), Oiai (no. 998) and Pedies (no. 999).

994. (Diakrioi) Map 60. Unlocated. Type: C. The Athenian tribute lists from 430/29 to 415/14 four times register a payment by a group called *Διάκριοι ἐρ Ῥό*[*δοι*] (*IG* I³ 281.I.11, 284.22–23, 285.I.101–2, 290.I.16); in the two cases where the amount paid is (partly) preserved, it is 2 tal. (*IG* I³ 285.I.101–2, 290.I.16, partly restored). The Diakrioi are known only from these lists, and it is not known to which part of the island they belonged (*RE* suppl. VII. 126–27). The fact that they paid individually may suggest that they formed a (dependent) *polis* (inside the territory of one of the major *poleis*; cf. Hansen (1997) 31), or—considering the sporadic nature of their payments—may suggest civic disorder in one of the major *poleis* (cf. Schuller (1995) 166–67). Alternatively, the appearance of the Diakrioi may indicate an arrangement imposed by the Athenians in order to weaken a powerful ally, as all three major *poleis* must have been. See also Brikindera (no. 993), Oiai (no. 998) and Pedies (no. 999).

995. Ialysos (Ialysios) Map 60. Lat. 36.25, long. 28.10. Size of territory: 4 (*c.*345 km²). Type: A. The Doric for the toponym is *Ἰάλυσος* or *Ἰαλυσός, ἡ* (Timocreon fr. 1.7; Ps.-Skylax 99; Ergias (*FGrHist* 513) fr. 1); Ionic has *Ἰήλυ*(*σ*)*σος* or *Ἰηλυσός* (Hdt. 1.144.3; Hom. *Il.* 2.656). The city-ethnic is *Ἰαλύσιος* (ML 7c and g (591); C5 coins (*infra*)) or *Ἰελύσιος* (*IG* I³ 71.I.128 (425/4)) or *Ἰηλύσιος* (Anakreon fr. 4.1, Page; *SEG* 28 48.6 (*c.*394)).

Ialysos is called a *polis* both in the urban sense (Thuc. 8.44.2; Ps.-Skylax 99; *IG* XII.1 677.15 (*c.*300)) and in the political sense (Hdt. 1.144.3).

At *IG* XII.1 677.18 and Ergias (*FGrHist* 513) fr. 1, *polis* refers to the acropolis. *Patris* is found in Timocreon fr. 1.7.

The collective use of the city-ethnic is found internally on C5 coins (*infra*), and externally in Anakreon fr. 4, Page, and *IG* I³ 71.I.128 (425/4); the individual and external use is found as early as 591 (ML 7 c and g).

Ialysos occupied the northernmost part of the island; its territory measured *c.*345 km². Several second-order settlements within the territory have been surmised on the basis of ceramic surface evidence (Papachristodoulou (1989) 83–146). Of these, the most significant is located at the foot of the Daphne Hill, a little to the north-west of the acropolis (Inglieri (1936) *foglio nord* p. 27 no. 20): here rich finds of Classical pottery have been made (*ASAtene* 6–7 (1923–24) 326); it is not impossible that this site was in fact part of Ialysos proper. Another settlement of moderate size seems to have been situated within that part of Ialysian territory on which later the city of Rhodos (no. 1000) was built (Dreliosi-

Herakleidou (1999)). At modern Theologos (Tholos) north of the city are remains of a temple dedicated to Apollo Erethimios: it was a Doric temple constructed *c.*400 and measuring 7.8 × 13.10 m; a well in the *temenos* contained C5 pottery (*ClRh* 2 (1932) 77–116). Near the temple are remains of a C4 theatre with a horseshoe-shaped *koilon* (ibid.; *TGR* ii. 281).

With Halikarnassos (no. 886), Kos (no. 499), Knidos (no. 903), Kamiros (no. 996) and Lindos (no. 997), Ialysos formed the so-called Dorian *hexapolis*, later *pentapolis*, a cultic association centred on the sanctuary of Apollo at Triopion near Knidos (Hdt. 1.144).

Anakreon fr. 4, Page, has been interpreted as indicating that Polykrates of Samos incorporated Ialysos in his "empire" (Weiss and Hurter (1998) 13). Ialysos was a member of the Delian League, and was probably among the original members (*ATL* iii. 213). Ialysos belonged to the Karian district (*IG* I³ 271.II.66), and is registered in the tribute lists from 452/1 (*IG* I³ 261.IV.13) to 415/14 (*IG* I³ 290.I.11) a total of sixteen times, four times completely restored. Ialysos initially paid a *phoros* of 10 tal. (*IG* I³ 263.I.11, 265.II.27; cf. 261.IV.13, 262.V.2, 264.II.37 where this amount is completely restored); in 443/2, the *phoros* had dropped to 6 tal. (*IG* I³ 269.IV.10, partly restored) and remained so until 432/1 (*IG* I³ 270.IV.11, 271.II.66, 272.II.89, 279.I.45, 280.I.49); in 428/7, 10 tal. was again paid (*IG* I³ 283.III.19; cf. 284.10), but in 421/20 only 5 tal. was paid (*IG* I³ 285.I.100). Ialysos was assessed for tribute in 424/3 (*IG* I³ 71.I.128). In addition, the tribute lists thrice register the Brikindarioi (no. 993), the inhabitants of Brikindera, a place in the territory of Ialysos (Papachristodoulou (1989) 124–31).

In 412/11 a Peloponnesian squadron arrived at Rhodos invited by some wealthy Rhodians (Thuc. 8.44.1); as a result, Ialysos (with Kamiros and Lindos) defected from the Athenians and joined the Peloponnesians in the war against Athens (Thuc. 8.44.2). Thuc. 8.44.4 records a payment by the Rhodians to the Peloponnesians of 32 tal., but the share contributed by Ialysos to this amount is unknown. An attempt to undo the new alliance with the Lakedaimonians shortly after was quelled by a squadron commanded by the Ialysian exile Dorieus (Diod. 13.38.5, 45.1; Gehrke, *Stasis* 133–34). The presumption is that in 411 a democratic constitution was replaced by an oligarchy and that the following *neoterismos* (Diod.) was an attempt to bring the democrats back into power.

According to Diod. 13.75.1, in 408 the inhabitants of Ialysos (and Kamiros and Lindos) *μετῳκίσθησαν εἰς μίαν πόλιν τήν νῦν καλουμένην Ῥόδον*, a process which Strabo 14.2.10 refers to by the verb *συνοικίζειν*. As in numerous other cases, only part of the population was transferred to the new urban centre, and it is clear that a wholesale relocation of the Ialysian population was not carried out (Gabrielsen (2000*b*) 188–89). Furthermore, there appears to be no good reason for the idea that the foundation of Rhodos town was accompanied by a fundamental restructuring of the political organisation of the island (ibid. 189–90): the move towards pan-Rhodian unity had begun long *before* 408 (ibid. 180–87), and the three old *poleis* continued to exist (Xen. *Hell.* 4.8.25; Ps.-Skylax 99) and function as *poleis after* 408 (Gabrielsen (2000*b*) 192–95): *c.*394, citizens of Ialysos were appointed *proxenoi* by Athens as their father had been (Walbank (1978) no. 72; *SEG* 28 48; cf. Gabrielsen (2000*b*) 192 with n. 91), and Hellenistic and later inscriptions describe Ialysos as a *polis* both in the urban (*IG* XII.1 677.16 (*c.*300)) and the political (*IG* XII.1 58.21 (Roman)) senses, and the former inscription attests to the existence of a council (*οἱ μαστροί*) and an assembly (*ἔδοξε . . . Ἰαλυσίοις*). However, Ialysos was now a subordinate *polis* inside the *polis* of Rhodos, and constituted a *phyle* (*Ἰαλυσία*; Maiuri, *Nuova silloge* 19.1.6 (*c.*200); cf. *BCH* 99 (1975) p. 97 col. B.26–27 (C3)) of the Rhodian *polis*; see Jones, *POAG* 243–44. In the Hellenistic period, a system of Ialysian demes is attested, as is the employment of demotics as the third part of personal names (*IG* XII.1 166). By analogy with Kamiros and Lindos, where such systems are known to have existed in C4l, it may be assumed that it existed in Ialysos by that time as well.

The existence of a Ialysian navy may be inferred from Diod. 13.70.2 (r408) (Gabrielsen (2000*b*) 182).

The acropolis, presumably located outside the city proper, was called *Achaïa polis* (*IG* XII.1 677.14 (*c.*300); Ergias (*FGrHist* 513) fr. 1; Diod. 5.57.6). It was situated on the summit of Mt. Phileremos. The main architectural structure was the temple of Athena Polias and Zeus Polieus (*Suppl. Epigr. Rh.* I no. 54 (no date)). In their present form the remains of the Doric temple are C4l, but a limited number of architectural members and roof-tiles attest to the existence of a C6 predecessor (Livadiotti and Rocco (1999)); a rich deposit to the south of the temple contained votive offerings dating from C9 to C5 (Maiuri (1928)).

The location of the urban centre of Ialysos can be inferred from *IG* XII.1 677.15 (*c.*300), from which it appears that it was situated near the acropolis (Gabrielsen (2000*b*) 204 n. 87). However, the archaeological evidence for the city is scarce, and the urban history of the *polis* thus poorly known.

In C5f the Diagorids of Ialysos (cf. Paus. 4.24.2) and Diagoras himself won several Olympic victories (e.g.

Olympionikai 252, 287, 299, 300); Diagoras himself was *periodonikes* (Knab (1934) no. 9); the victors are described, however, not as Ialysians but as Rhodians (*IvO* 151–52; Gabrielsen (2000*b*) 184); but some Diagorids participated as citizens of their new *polis*, Thourioi (*Olympionikai* 322, 356), where Dorieus settled after his exile (Xen. *Hell.* 1.5.19).

Attested cults include those of Athena Polias and Zeus Polieus (*Suppl. Epigr. Rh.* 54.5 I (undated)) and Alektrona (Michel 434 (C4–C3)).

Ialysos began issuing coins in C6s and struck in both electrum and silver. The earliest silver coins are possibly the so-called palmette staters (anepigraphic) on the "Ialysian standard" and their fractions (on the Aiginetan standard: Bresson (1981) 221), which have been attributed to Ialysos and dated *c.*540–530: *obv.* palmette; *rev.* two incuse rectangles separated by a broad band, a type used also at Kamiros (no. 996) and Lindos (no. 997) (Bresson (1981); Weiss and Hurter (1998) 13–14). The main issue is a series of electrum fractions and silver staters with thirds and minor fractions, beginning *c.*520 and continuing into C5, and apparently struck to the same individual, Ialysian, standard as the palmette coins: *obv.* forepart of winged boar sometimes with symbol beneath; *rev.* eagle's head in dotted and incuse square with floral ornament in corner; legend: *IEΛΥΣΙΟΝ* or *IΑΛΥΣΙΟΝ* (sometimes on both *obv.* and *rev.*; sometimes retrograde), sometimes no legend. Minor silver fractions struck after 479 depict (1) *obv.* forepart of winged boar to r.; *rev.* helmeted head of goddess (Athena?); anepigraphic but "Gef. in Rhodos" (*SNG von Aulock* 2777–78); weight 1.37 g, 1.40 g = diobol?; (2) *obv.* forepart of winged horse; *rev.* rose in dotted and incuse square; legend: *IA* (retrograde); a similar *obv.* occurs on contemporary coins of Kamiros and Lindos (Gabrielsen (2000*b*) 182). Head, *HN*² 636–37; Babelon, *Traité* ii.1. 467–74 and ii.2. 1007–10; *SNG Cop. Caria* 716–19; Weiss and Hurter (1998); Bresson (1981). (Babelon, *Traité* ii.1 no. 105 catalogues an Archaic electrum coin of Ialysos which he interprets as an obol on the Aiginetan standard; but this coin is now considered a forgery (information kindly provided by M. Amandry).)

Pind. *Ol.* 7.73ff relates the foundation myth of the three Rhodian *poleis* (they were founded by descendants of Helios) and names the eponymous hero of Ialysos.

996. Kamiros (Kamireus) Map 60. Lat. 36.20, long. 27.55. Size of territory: 4 (*c.*265 km²). Type: A. The local Doric form of the toponym is *Κάμιρος* (*Tit. Cam.* 109.16 (C4l); cf. *Tit. Cam.* 103.4 (C5)), *ὁ* (Hom. *Il.* 2.656) or *ἡ* (Diod. 5.59.3); *Κάμειρος* is found in Hom. *Il.* 2.656 and Thuc. 8.44.2; *Καμειρίς, ἡ* is found in Dieuchidas (*FGrHist* 485) fr. 7, possibly as the name of the territory. The city-ethnic is *Καμιρεύς* (C5 coins (*infra*); *IG* I³ 269.IV.11 (443/2)) or *Καμερεύς* (*IG* I³ 290.I.10 (415/14)); *Καμειρεύς* is found in Diod. 5.55.2.

Kamiros is called a *polis* both in the urban sense (Thuc. 8.44.2; Ps.-Skylax 99) and in the political sense (Hdt. 1.144.3). The collective use of the city-ethnic is found internally on C5 coins (*infra*) and in *Tit. Cam.* 105.7 (C4f), and externally in *IG* I³ 269.IV.11 (443/2). For the individual and external use, see Peisandros, an epic poet of C7–C6, mentioned by schol. Pind. *Ol.* 3.50b and Paus. 2.37.4.

The name of the territory was *Καμειρίς* (Dieuchidas (*FGrHist* 485) fr. 7); it measured *c.*265 km². Apart from the Classical settlement at Kymisala in the western extremity of the territory (Maiuri (1916); Hope Simpson and Lazenby (1973) 146), no second-order settlement has been located, but various cemeteries are dispersed in the vicinity of Kamiros town, and they suggest that such settlements may have existed. The most significant of these cemeteries is at the locality Makri Longoni by the sea; here 260 tombs dating from C7 to C6 have been excavated (Jacopi (1929–30) esp. 10 and fig. 3; Gates (1983) 21–22); this site may have formed a part of the city of Kamiros proper. Kamiran authority extended beyond the territory on the island itself: (1) in addition to the islets near the coast, Kamiros had by C4l incorporated the island of Chalke; in C4m, Chalke appears as a community, probably a *polis* (no. 477), concluding what was presumably a treaty of *isopoliteia* with Knidos (no. 903) (*I.Knidos* 605; cf. Gawantka (1975) 209 n. 11 and 38 n. 79), whereas in Theophr. *Hist. pl.* 8.2.9 it is called a *νῆσος Ῥοδίων* and had become a Kamiran deme, though apparently one with a certain degree of independence (*Tit. Cam.* 109 (C4l)); (2) Kamiran territory, subdivided into demes, existed by C4l in the *peraia* (*Tit. Cam.* 109.1–5).

With Halikarnassos (no. 886), Kos (no. 499), Knidos (no. 903), Ialysos (no. 995) and Lindos (no. 997), Kamiros formed the so-called Dorian *hexapolis*, later *pentapolis*, a cultic association centred on the sanctuary of Apollo at Triopion near Knidos (Hdt. 1.144).

Kamiros was a member of the Delian League, and was probably among the original members (*ATL* iii. 213). Kamiros belonged to the Karian district (*IG* I³ 271.II.69) and is registered in the tribute lists from 454/3 (*IG* I³ 259.III.8) to 415/14 (*IG* I³ 290.I.10) a total of sixteen times, twice completely restored. Kamiros initially paid a *phoros* of 9 tal. (*IG* I³ 259.III.8, 262.II.15, 263.I.13, 265.I.9); in 443/2 the *phoros* paid

was 6 tal. (*IG* I³ 269.IV.11), and so it remained (cf. *IG* I³ 271.II.69, 280.I.48) until 10 tal. was paid in 416/15 (*IG* I³ 289.I.34). Kamiros was assessed for tribute in 425/4 (*IG* I³ 71.I.123).

In 412/11 a Peloponnesian squadron arrived at Rhodos invited by some wealthy Rhodians (Thuc. 8.44.1); as a result, Kamiros (with Ialysos and Lindos) defected from the Athenians and joined the Peloponnesians in the war against Athens (Thuc. 8.44.2). Thuc. 8.44.4 records a payment by the Rhodians to the Peloponnesians of 32 tal., but the share contributed by Kamiros to this amount is not known. An attempt to undo the new alliance with the Lakedaimonians shortly after was quelled by a squadron commanded by the Ialysian exile Dorieus (Diod. 13.38.5, 45.1; Gehrke, *Stasis* 133–34). The presumption is that in 411 a democratic constitution was replaced by an oligarchy and that the following *neoterismos* (Diod.) was an attempt to bring the democrats back into power.

According to Diod. 13.75.1, in 408 the inhabitants of Kamiros (and Ialysos and Lindos) *μετῳκίσθησαν εἰς μίαν πόλιν τὴν τῦν καλουμένην Ῥόδον*, a process which Strabo 14.2.10 refers to by the verb *συνοικίζειν*. As in numerous other cases, only part of the population was transferred to the new urban centre, and it is clear that a wholesale relocation of the Kamiran population was not carried out (Gabrielsen (2000*b*) 188–89). Furthermore, there appears to be no good reason for the idea that the foundation of Rhodos town was accompanied by a fundamental restructuring of the political organisation of the island (ibid. 189–90): the move towards pan-Rhodian unity had begun long *before* 408 (ibid. 180–87), and the three old *poleis* continued to exist (Xen. *Hell.* 4.8.25; Ps.-Skylax 99) and function as *poleis after* 408: council, assembly and officials are attested in Kamiros in C4f (*Tit. Cam.* 106; cf. Gabrielsen (2000*b*) 192–95), and the civic mint may have continued to function somewhat beyond 408 (Babelon, *Traité* ii.2. 1008 *ad* no. 1681). However, Kamiros was now a subordinate *polis* inside the *polis* of Rhodos (no. 1000), and constituted a *phyle* (*Καμιρίς*; *Tit. Cam.* 21.6 (C2)) of the Rhodian *polis*; see Jones, *POAG* 243–44.

The existence of a Kamiran navy may be inferred from Diod. 13.70.2 (r408) (Gabrielsen (2000*b*) 182).

By C4l, Kamiros had a system of territorial demes subdivided into *ktoinai*, and demotics were used as the third part of a citizen's name (*Tit. Cam.* 110.1–2 (C2); see further Gabrielsen (1997) 29–31, 151–54); a system of *patrai* may also go back to C4 (ibid. 146–49). A number of local Kamiran *phylai* (of which the name of one (Althaimenis) is attested in C3e) in all likelihood also go back to the Classical period (*Tit. Cam.* 1b.10; Gabrielsen (1997) 146). However, nothing is known about the functions of these various divisions.

The eponymous official was a *damiourgos* (*Tit. Cam.* 105 (C4f); Sherk (1990) 280). The council, called *οἱ μαστροί*, is attested in *Tit. Cam.* 105.6 (C4f), restored. The office of *prytanis* is attested in a C5 inscription (*Tit. Cam.* 103); he seems *inter al.* to have been in charge of the construction of a public building (*ἐπεστέγασσε*). A board of *hiaropoioi* and a *tamias* are attested by *Tit. Cam.* 104 (C4); a board of *epistatai* is attested by *Tit. Cam.* 105.6 (C4f). The assembly, called *ἐκκλησία*, is attested in *Tit. Cam.* 105.26–27 (C4f). A C5 enactment records a grant of *ateleia* (*Tit. Cam.* 103.3). A public loan contracted by the *polis* possibly as early as C5m is attested by *Tit. Cam.* 105 (C4f).

According to Thuc. 8.44.2, Kamiros was unwalled (*ateichistos*) in 412/11, and it may have remained unfortified until the Hellenistic period (cf. *Tit. Cam.* 110.19ff (C2)). The town of Kamiros has been partially excavated. The areas known consist of three parts: a public area (agora), the residential area and the acropolis. In its present form, almost the entire public area dates to the Hellenistic period or later; however, the monumental fountain house in the midst of the agora may have a Classical predecessor; a sanctuary of Apollo Pythios has produced Archaic and Classical finds (Konstantinopoulos (1986) 173, 175–76). The few pre-Hellenistic remains of the residential area indicate a rather unplanned urban area (ibid. 172–73). Right above the residential area is the Kamiran acropolis, on which the temple of Athena Polias and Zeus Polieus was situated: in its present form the temple (a Doric tetrastyle with east–west orientation) is of Hellenistic date; however, the existence of a predecessor is indicated by various remains of the Archaic and Classical periods (Jacopi (1932–33) 223–29). A large rectangular cistern (17.40 × 10.20 × 3.2 m) from the Archaic period was positioned in an east–west orientation immediately to the south of the temple; its capacity was 600 m³ (ibid. 229). At a distance of *c.*300 m from the city is a small coastal settlement whose origin dates to the Archaic period and which is believed to have been the port of Kamiros; it is situated at the promontory Mylantia Akra in the area of modern Ag. Menas; about halfway between this site and the town are the remains of a possibly Archaic temple and other buildings (Konstantinopoulos (1971) 42).

Attested cults include those of Athena (*Tit. Cam.* 104.3, 109.10 (C4)), Athena Polias (*Tit. Cam.* 148 (C3)), Zeus Polieus (*Tit. Cam.* 15.8 (C3f)) and Apollo (*Suppl. Tit. Cam.* 115a (C6)).

Kamiros began striking anepigraphic electrum and silver coins on the Aiginetan standard in C6. Denominations: 1/24 stater (electrum); stater, drachm, hemidrachm, tritemorion, hemiobol (silver). Types: *obv.* fig leaf; *rev.* incuse square, on silver issues divided into two compartments (a type used also at Lindos (no. 997) and Ialysos (no. 995), if the attribution of the palmette coins to Ialysos is accepted, cf. *supra* 1200). In C5, silver and bronze coins were struck. Denominations: stater, trihemiobol, obol. Silver types: *obv.* fig leaf; *rev.* two oblong incuses, on staters separated by a broad band; legends: *KA*, *KAMIPEΩN* (stater, trihemiobol); or *obv.* rose; *rev.* griffin's hed in incuse square; legend: *KA* (obol). Bronze types: *obv.* fig leaf; *rev.* *KA* in two quarters of a wheel. Some minor silver fractions struck after 479 depict *obv.* forepart of horse; *rev.* fig leaf in incuse square; legends: *KA*, *KAMI*; a similar *obv.* occurs on contemporary coins of Ialysos and Lindos (Gabrielsen (2000*b*) 182). A tetartemorion (Babelon, *Traité* ii.2 no. 1681) shows *obv.* head of Helios, radiate; *rev.* head of griffin; legend: *KA*, and is on the Chian–Rhodian standard, which suggests that "l'atelier de Camiros ne fut pas fermé tout de suite après la fondation de Rhodes". Head, *HN*² 636; Babelon, *Traité* ii.1. 459–68, ii.2. 1005–8; *SNG Cop. Caria* 710–15; Fried (1987) 7–8.

Pind. *Ol.* 7.73ff relates the foundation myth of the three Rhodian *poleis* (they were founded by descendants of Helios) and names the eponymous hero of Kamiros.

997. Lindos (Lindios) Map 60. Lat. 36.05, long. 28.05. Size of territory: 5 (*c.*790 km²). Type: A. The toponym is *Λίνδος* (Hom. *Il.* 2.656; *IG* I³ 269.IV.18 (443/2); *I.Lindos* 13 (before 411 or later)), *ἡ* (Callim. *Aet.* fr. 7.20). The city-ethnic is *Λίνδιος* (C6–C5 coins (*infra*); *IG* I³ 71.I.120 (425/4); *I.Lindos* 13).

Lindos is called a *polis* both in the urban sense (Thuc. 8.44.2; Ps.-Skylax 99) and in the political sense (Hdt. 1.144.3); *akropolis* is found in *FGrHist* 532 D.1 (r490). *Damosios* is found in *I.Rhod.Per.* 251.6–7 (440–420). *Politai* is found in *FGrHist* 532 D.1 (r490).

The internal collective use of the city-ethnic is found on C6–C5 coins (*infra*) and in *I.Lindos* 13 and 15–16 *App.* (all before 411?). The external collective use of the ethnic is found in *IG* I³ 71.I.120 (425/4), 269.IV.12 (443/2) and Hdt. 7.153.1 (r689/8); the external individual use is found in Pl. *Prt.* 343A; *IG* I³ 1454A.38 (445–430); and possibly *I.Knidos* 623 (C4f).

The territory of Lindos on Rhodos itself measured *c.*790 km². In it were situated several second-order settlements, among which the following are worth noting. At Kattabia, in the south-western part of the territory, an inland settlement is indicated by an Archaic (and later) burial ground (Inglieri (1936) *foglio sud* p. 69 no. 87). On the coast south of Lindos, remains of two Archaic settlements have been located, one at Kiotari and another, at Plimmiti further south, at Germatas, where the settlement seems to have been fortified; neither of these sites has been excavated (Konstantinopoulos (1972) 24–25). Finally, and most conspicuously, there is Vroulia, at the southernmost tip of the island. The settlement there was founded *ab novo c.*700; parts of the settlement have fallen into the sea, but the preserved remains consist of a fortification wall separating the settlement from a cemetery to the north-east; inside the settlement are remains of two rows of houses and a small sanctuary with a *naiskos*; to the west is an unbuilt area. The settlement was abandoned in C6e. See further Kinch (1914); Drerup (1969); and Melander (1988). Furthermore, Lindian territory extended to parts of the *peraia* already in C4: this is shown by *I.Lindos* 51.CII.17 (*c.*325), a catalogue of donors arranged by demes and including the deme of the *Φύσκιοι* known to have been located at Physkos in the *peraia* (Fraser and Bean (1954) 57, 66–67).

With Halikarnassos (no. 886), Kos (no. 499), Knidos (no. 903), Ialysos (no. 995) and Kamiros (no. 996), Lindos formed the so-called Dorian *hexapolis*, later *pentapolis*, a cultic association centred on the sanctuary of Apollo at Triopion near Knidos (Hdt. 1.144).

According to the Lindian Temple Chronicle (*FGrHist* 532 D.1), Lindos was besieged in 490 by a Persian force under Datis; the siege was unsuccessful and ended in the conclusion of a treaty of *philia.* Lindos was a member of the Delian League, and was probably among the original members (*ATL* iii. 213). Lindos belonged to the Karian district (*IG* I³ 271.II.74), and is registered in the tribute lists from 454/3 (*IG* I³ 259.IV.6) to 415/14 (*IG* I³ 290.I.8) a total of fifteen times, once completely restored. Lindos initially paid a *phoros* of 8 tal., 2,700 dr. (*IG* I³ 259.IV.6; cf. 261.IV.14 where this amount is completely restored); in 448/7 it paid 10 tal. (*IG* I³ 264.II.11; cf. 265.I.53, where this amount is restored); in 445/4–440/39 it paid 6 tal. (*IG* I³ 267.III.21, 269.IV.12, 270.IV.25, 271.II.74, 272.II.68); in 433/2 and 432/1 it paid 10 tal. (*IG* I³ 279.I.19, 280.I.51), but in 421/0 and again in 415/14 15 tal. (*IG* I³ 285.I.97, 290.I.8). Lindos was assessed for tribute in 425/4 (*IG* I³ 71.I.120), and there was a speech by Antiphon *περὶ τοῦ Λινδίων φόρου* (frr. 25–33, Thalheim). In addition, the tribute lists registered two other groups connected with Lindos: (i) the *Λινδίων Οἰκᾶται* (no. 998) and (ii) the *Πεδιῆς* (no. 999).

In 412/11 a Peloponnesian squadron arrived at Rhodos invited by some wealthy Rhodians (Thuc. 8.44.1); as a result,

Lindos (with Ialysos (no. 995) and Kamiros (no. 996)) defected from the Athenians and joined the Peloponnesians in the war against Athens (Thuc. 8.44.2). Thuc. 8.44.4 records a payment by the Rhodians to the Peloponnesians of 32 tal., but the share contributed by Lindos to this amount is unknown. An attempt to undo the new alliance with the Lakedaimonians shortly after was quelled by a squadron commanded by the Ialysian exile Dorieus (Diod. 13.38.5, 45.1; Gehrke, *Stasis* 133–34). The presumption is that in 411 a democratic constitution was replaced by an oligarchy and that the following *neoterismos* (Diod.) was an attempt to bring the democrats back into power. *I.Lindos* 13 is a treaty of unknown nature between Lindos and Cretan Lyktos (no. 974), traditionally dated prior to 411, though it could well be later.

According to Diod. 13.75.1, in 408 the inhabitants of Lindos (and Ialysos and Kamiros) μετῳκίσθησαν εἰς μίαν πόλιν τὴν νῦν καλουμένην Ῥόδον, a process which Strabo 14.2.10 refers to by the verb συνοικίζειν. As in numerous other cases, only part of the population was transferred to the new urban centre, and it is clear that a wholesale relocation of the Lindian population was not carried out (Gabrielsen (2000*b*) 188–89). Furthermore, there appears to be no good reason for the idea that the foundation of Rhodos town was accompanied by a fundamental restructuring of the political organisation of the island (ibid. 189–90): the move towards pan-Rhodian unity had begun long *before* 408 (ibid. 180–87), and the three old *poleis* continued to exist (Xen. *Hell.* 4.8.25; Ps.-Skylax 99) and function as *poleis after* 408 (for Lindos, see Gabrielsen (2000*b*) 192 with n. 87), although Lindos was now a dependent *polis* inside the *polis* of Rhodos (no. 1000) and constituted a *phyle*, Λινδία (*BCH* 99 (1975) p. 97 col. A.8–9 (C3); *Suppl. Epigr. Rh.* 1 18.8 (C2f)) of the Rhodian *polis*; see Jones, *POAG* 243–44.

The existence of a Lindian navy may be inferred from Diod. 13.70.2 (r408) (Gabrielsen (2000*b*) 182). Hoplites are attested by *I.Rhod.Per.* 251.33 (440–420); they seem to have received *misthos* for service (ll. 4–9). *Stratagoi* are attested in *I.Rhod.Per.* 251.40 (440–420).

I.Lindos 15 (before 411) is a grant of proxeny (with *ateleia*, etc.) by Lindos to a man of unknown origin; *I.Lindos* 16 *App.* is a similar grant of similar date to a man described as "living in Aigyptos", presumably in Naukratis (no. 1023) (cf. ἐν τῶ[ι] Ἑλλανίωι, ll. 17–18).

A C6 tyranny by Kleoboulos is reported in later sources; he is known to have waged war in Lykia (*FGrHist* 532.23), but apart from that nothing substantial is known of his rule (Berve (1967) 119–20, 588–89). Democracy seems implied by C5s enactment formulas (*infra*).

The existence of a system of demes and the practice of using demotics as the third part of personal names is attested by two inscriptions dating from *c.*325 (*I.Lindos* 51; *IG* XII.1 761). The demes were territorial divisions and probably subdivided into *ktoinai* (Gabrielsen (1997) 29–31, 151–54). About the functions of these units nothing is known.

The eponymous official was the priest of Athena Lindia (Sherk (1990) 281–83). The assembly (*damos*) is attested by *I.Lindos* 16 *App.* 2 (before 411; cf. *I.Lindos* 23.3: ψαφ[ί]ζονται Λίνδιοι (*c.*400)). The council, βωλά, is securely attested by *I.Rhod. Per.* 251.16–17, 35 (440–420) and *I.Lindos* 16 *App.* 1 (before 411); it was probouleutic (ἔδοξε τᾶι βωλᾶι καὶ τῶι δάμωι: *I.Lindos* 16 *App.* 1–2; cf. *I.Rhod.Per.* 251 of 440–420, where the same enactment formula has been restored). *I.Rhod.Per.* 251.26–27 (440–420) attests to the existence of *prytaneis* holding office for a month, and so presumably a committee of the council. A *grammateus* (*I.Lindos* 16 *App.* 3, before 411) and a board of *epistatai* (*I.Rhod.Per.* 251.2 and 20 (440–420)), of the council or of the assembly, are also attested. The earliest surviving public enactment is *I.Rhod.Per.* 251 (440–420), an enactment by the council and assembly concerning the cult of Enyalios.

The city of Lindos was situated by the southern peninsula delineating the bay of Megalos Gialos on the western coast of the island. The ancient town lies beneath its modern successor and is thus virtually unknown, with the exception of a small rock-cut theatre, possibly of C4 date, which occupies part of the south-eastern slope of the acropolis and has an estimated capacity of *c.*1,800–2,000 (Dyggve (1960) 406–7; see also *TGR* ii. 279). On the plateau of the steep rock formation rising above the city was the Lindian acropolis (called ἀκρόπολις in (*FGrHist* 532) D.1 (r490)). It served as a place of refuge in 490 and was besieged by the Persians under Datis ((*FGrhist* 532) D.1: cf. Dyggve (1960) 51–52). The most important feature of the acropolis was the temple of Athena Lindia, whose cult is assumed to have been instituted by C8 (Konstantinopoulos (1972) 32). The earliest known temple is C6, but in its present form the structure is Hellenistic (Dyggve (1960)). The Archaic temple was a Doric amphiprostyle (or prostyle: Gruben (1986) 414) with four columns at each end and situated within a walled *temenos* approached by a long staircase (Dyggve (1960) 112–26, 365, 463 with fig. II.1 at 44; Konstantinopoulos (1986) 180 fig. 203). Having been destroyed by fire (cf. Blinkenberg, *I.Lindos* cols. 198–200), the temple was rebuilt in C4 on a similar plan but with the addition of monumental *propylaia*

entered by a 21 m-wide staircase (Dyggve (1960) 126–30; Konstantinopoulos (1986) fig. 205). North-east of the acropolis, on the rocky plateau of Vigli, clearly visible from the acropolis, was the *Boukopion*, an Archaic sanctuary consisting of a grotto on top of which was a small temple whose dedicatee divinity is unknown; the temple is Archaic, but its precise date is disputed (Dyggve (1960) 459–63); rock-cut inscriptions at the sanctuary date from C6 onwards (*I.Lindos* 580–612).

In the Hellenistic period, a group of citizens described as ματρόξενοι (or as being ματρὸς ξένας) is commonly encountered in inscriptions; *matroxenoi* were full citizens though their mothers were of foreign extraction (Morelli (1955); Hannick (1976); Gabrielsen (1992) 48 n. 7). An inscription of *c.*325 shows that the group of *matroxenoi* existed already in C4 (*I.Lindos* 51.c1.26–27: [Σ]ωσικ[λ]ῆς Κοσμοκλέος [ματρὸς δ]ὲ ξένας, in a list of donors arranged by demes); the implication is that a group of free foreign women married to Lindian citizens resided in the community.

I.Rhod.Per. 251.26 (440–420), refers to the month Artamitios, and, prior to the synoecism of Rhodos city, Lindos—as well as Ialysos and Kamiros—may have had its own individual calendar (Trümpy, *Monat.* 168).

An undated communal dedication by Lindos in Delphi is mentioned in Paus. 10.18.4 (Jacquemin (1999) no. 336).

The chief divinity of Lindos was Athena Lindia, in whose sanctuary state documents were published (*I.Lindos* 16 *App.* 9–10 (before 411)); the sanctuary was also of wider, pan-Rhodian importance: documents of Kamiros were deposited there (*Tit. Cam.* 105.16 (C4e)) and a copy—inscribed in golden letters—of Pind. *Ol.* 7, celebrating an Olympic victory by Diagoras of Ialysos, was deposited there as well (Gorgon of Rhodos (*FGrHist* 515) fr. 18; on Athena Lindia, see Morelli (1959) 80–86). Zeus Polieus is attested by *I.Lindos* 56.B (313–275); Apollo Pythios by *I.Lindos* 61a.3 (*c.*308); a cult of Enyalios is attested by *I.Rhod.Per.* 251 (440–420). Other attested cults include those of Athena Apotropaia (*Nuovo Supplemento Epigr. Rh.* 20 (C4)), Zeus (*I.Lindos* 26.2 (*c.*400)), Zeus Polieus (*I.Lindos* 56 (*c.*313)), Apollo (*I.Lindos* 57C (*c.*313)), Enyalios (*I.Rhod.Per.* 251 (440–420)), and Hermes (*I.Lindos* 20 (*c.*400)).

Lindos began issuing coins in C6 and continued minting down to at least 408; the earliest issues included small electrum coins (Head, *HN*² 637; cf. J. Hirsch Auct. xiii 4002–3) and silver already in C6. The types are *obv.* lion's head with open jaws and tuft of hair on forehead; *rev.* incuse square divided into two oblong halves by broad band (a type used also at Kamiros (no. 996) and Ialysos (no. 995); if the attribution of the palmette coins to Ialysos is accepted; cf. *supra* 1200); some coins are anepigraphic, but when present the legend is Λ, ΛΙΝΔΙ (sometimes retrograde: Babelon, *Traité* ii.1 no. 779; Fried (1987) no. 46) or ΛΙΝΔΙΟΝ (Babelon, *Traité* ii.1 no. 781; Cahn (1957) 22). The silver coins were struck, according to Babelon, first on the Milesian standard (*Traité* ii.1. 475–78: staters and diobols; cf. Cahn (1957) 25), later on the Aiginetan (*Traité* ii.2. 1011–12: diobols and hemiobols). After 479, Lindos struck minor silver fractions with types: *obv.* forepart of a horse; *rev.* lion's head within incuse square; legend: ΛΙΝΔΙ; similar obverse types were employed by Ialysos and Kamiros (Gabrielsen (2000*b*) 182). Head, *HN*²; Babelon, *Traité* ii.1. 473–78 and ii.2:. 1011–12; *SNG Cop. Caria* 720–22, *Suppl.* 356; Cahn (1957).

According to Hdt. 7.153.1, Lindos founded the colony Gela (no. 17) in Sicily (see also Thuc. 6.4.3, reporting that the original site of Gela town was called Λίνδιοι; cf. Fischer-Hansen (1996) 321–22); Thuc. 6.4.3 reports that Cretans also participated in the foundation of Gela in 689/8 (see further Gela (no. 17)). In addition, Lindos is claimed by later authors to have been the founder of Phaselis (no. 942) in Lykia in 691/0 (Philostephanos, *FHG* III 29; Aristainetos (*FGrHist* 771) fr. 1); but this tradition is not beyond suspicion. The oecist was supposedly Lakios (Aristainetos (*FGrHist* 771) fr. 1; Ath. 297E–298A), a native of either Lindos or Argos (Philostephanos, *FHG* III 29), but he is possibly mythical; Phaselis is described as Dorian by Hdt. 2.178.2, but is not called a πόλις Ἑλληνίς by Ps.-Skylax. According to Strabo 14.5.8, Lindians and Achaians founded Kilikian Soloi (no. 1021).

Pind. *Ol.* 7.73ff relates the foundation myth of the three Rhodian *poleis* (they were founded by descendants of Helios) and names the eponymous hero of Lindos (a votive to whom survives as *I.Lindos* 56Ab (*c.*313)).

998. Oiai (Oiiates) Map 60. Unlocated. Type: C. The toponym is Οἶαι, αἱ (Maiuri, *Nuova silloge* 18.22 (C1)). The city-ethnic is Οἰάτης (*IG* I³ 259.III.26). Our only source for this community are the Athenian tribute lists in which the Λινδίων Οἰᾶται are listed twice: in 454/3 (*IG* I³ 259.III.26), paying 3,300 dr., and in 452/1 (*IG* I³ 262.III.28), same amount restored. In the same two years Lindos (no. 997) itself paid 8 tal., 2,700 dr. The Λινδίων Οἰᾶται must have been the inhabitants of Οἶαι, a town in the territory of Lindos (*RE* xvii.2. 2085; suppl. v. 746–47). The fact that it paid individually may suggest that it was a dependent *polis* inside the territory of Lindos (cf. Hansen (1997) 31), or—considering the

sporadic nature of its payments—suggest civic disorder at Lindos (cf. Schuller (1995) 166–67). Alternatively, the appearance of the Oiiatai may indicate an arrangement serving primarily the interests of Athens by weakening a powerful ally. See further Brikindera (no. 993), Diakrioi (no. 994) and Pedies (no. 999).

999. (Pedieis) Map 60. Unlocated. Type: C. No toponym is attested. The ethnic is *Πεδιεύς* (*IG* I³ 269.IV.18). Our only source for this community are the Athenian tribute lists in which the *Πεδιῆς* are further qualified by the prepositional group *ἐλ Λίνδοι* (*IG* I³ 269.IV.18) or *ἐγ Λίνδο* (*IG* I³ 280.I.52–53), but twice appear simply as Pedies (*IG* I³ 264.II.12, 265.I.54, partly restored); this group is listed no fewer than thirteen times (twice completely restored) from 448/7 (*IG* I³ 264.II.12) to 415/14 (*IG* I³ 290.I.13), and was presumably assessed for tribute in 425/4 (*IG* I³ 71.II.91). In 448/7 and 447/6, the *phoros* of the Pedies was 2,000 dr.; in 445/4, a mere 100 dr. (*IG* I³ 267.III.20, partly restored; cf. 269.IV.18, 270.IV.18, 271.I.75–76, 272.I.87); in 433/2–432/1, 5,000 dr. was paid (*IG* I³ 279.I.20–21, 280.I.52–53), and in 421, 1 tal. (*IG* I³ 285.I.98–99). The fact that the Pedies paid individually may suggest that they constituted a dependent *polis* inside the territory of Lindos (no. 997) (cf. Hansen (1997) 31), or it may suggest civic disorder at Lindos (cf. Schuller (1995) 166–67). Alternatively, the appearance of the Pedies may indicate an arrangement serving primarily the interests of Athens by weakening a powerful ally. See further Brikindera (no. 993), Diakrioi (no. 994) and Oiai (no. 998).

1000. Rhodos (Rhodios) Map 60. Lat. 36.25, long. 28.15. Size of territory: 5 (= size of island: 1,400 km² + *peraia*(?)). Type: A. The toponym is the same as that of the island, *Ῥόδος, ἡ* (*Hell. Oxy.* 20.6; Aeschin. *Epist.* 5.1; Ps.-Skylax 99; Diod. 13.75.1). The city-ethnic is *Ῥόδιος* (C5l coins, *infra*; Dem. 15.3; Lycurg. 1.15; *IG* XII.6 149.4 (C4l)).

Rhodos is called a *polis* in the urban sense at Ps.-Skylax 99 (*νῆσος καὶ πόλις*); Lycurg. 1.14 (*τὴν ἀπαγγελίαν . . . πρὸς τὴν πόλιν τὴν τῶν Ῥοδίων καὶ τῶν ἐμπόρων τοῖς ἐπιδημοῦσιν ἐκεῖ*); Dem. 15.14 (*εἶχον τὴν πόλιν οἱ νῦν ὄντες ἐν αὐτῇ Ῥόδιοι*); and Kallisthenes (*FGrHist* 124) fr. 5.31; cf. Diod. 13.75.1 (r408/7) (*μετῳκίσθησαν εἰς μίαν πόλιν*) and 14.99.5 (r390); Maiuri restored *Nuova Silloge* 1.6 (C4l) to read *τῶγ κατ[οι/κ]ούντων ἐν Ῥόδωι πόλ[ει τὴ]ν ἐπιμέλεια[ν]*, but Hallof in *IG* XII.6 149 proposed: *τῶγ κατο[ι/κ]ούντων ἐν Ῥόδωι πο[λλ]ὴν ἐπιμέλειαν*, a restoration that eliminates the term *polis*. The political sense is found in Theopomp. fr. 121; Aeschin. 3.42; Lycurg. 1.143; and in *IG* II² 43.82 (378/7), where *Ῥόδιοι* are listed under the heading *Ἀθηναίων πόλεις αἵδε σύμμαχοι*. Dem. 15.13 and 27 seem to combine the urban and territorial senses with the political sense (13: *ἀντιποιήσεται τῆς πόλεως τῆς Ῥοδίων*; 27: *λαμβάνειν Κῶν καὶ Ῥόδον καὶ ἄλλας ἑτέρας πόλεις Ἑλληνίδας*). *Politai* is found in *Hell. Oxy.* 18.3; Dem. 15.14; and Theopomp. fr. 121; *πολιτεία* is found in *Hell. Oxy.* 18.3. *Patris* is found in Ergias (*FGrHist* 513) fr. 1.

The internal collective use of the city-ethnic is found on C5l coins (*infra*); the internal individual use is found in *I.Lindos* 42 (*c.*340); the external collective use is found in *IG* II² 43.80; Dem. 15.13; Lycurg. 1.15; Theopomp. fr. 121; and on a C4l block found at Nemea (Miller (1990) 70–71); the external individual use is found in *IG* II² 19 (394/3) and 10139–42 (C4 epitaphs); *IG* XII.6 149 (C4l) and Aen. Tact. 18.13.

According to Diod. 13.75.1, the inhabitants of the three old major *poleis* in 408/7 relocated to the city of Rhodos (*μετῳκίσθησαν εἰς μίαν πόλιν τὴν νῦν καλουμένην Ῥόδον*), a process which Strabo 14.2.10 describes as synoecism. As in numerous other cases, only part of the population was transferred to the new urban centre, and it is clear that the synoecising cities continued to exist (Gabrielsen (2000*b*) 188; cf. nos. 995–97). It is as yet unresolved to what extent the building of the town of Rhodos was "immediately followed by a significant demographic event" (Gabrielsen (2000*b*) 189); however, three things are worth noting. (1) It is apparent from Thuc. 8.44.2 that in 411 no city of Rhodos was yet in existence. (2) The democratic revolution in 395 took place in Rhodos town (Diod. 14.79.6: *πόλις*), which by the time already had harbours capable of sheltering large fleets (*Hell. Oxy.* 18.2; Diod. 14.79.6) and an agora (*Hell. Oxy.*), and was the place where officials resided (*Hell. Oxy.*) and assemblies were held (*Hell. Oxy.*). (3) At the time of the floods in 316 the city had a whole range of public buildings (Diod. 19.45.6–8), and during the siege in 305 by Demetrios Poliorketes, Rhodos was a populous city (Diod. 20.84.3).

The territory of Rhodos corresponded to those of Ialysos, Kamiros and Lindos (*c.*1,400 km²), and included a *peraia* already by C4 (Ps.-Skylax 99; Gabrielsen (2000*a*) 149). The population of Rhodos consisted of the populations of the three synoecising *poleis*, which were constituted as *phylai* (subdivided into demes: Papachristodoulou (1999*b*)) of the new *polis* (*Ἰαλυσία*: *BCH* 99 (1975) p. 97 col. B.26–27 (C3); *Καμιρίς*: *Tit. Cam.* 21.6 (C2); *Λινδία*: *BCH* 99 (1975) p. 97 col. A.8–9 (C3); see Jones, *POAG* 243–44). According to Diod. 20.84.3, during the siege of 305 there were 6,000 able-bodied *politai* in the city of Rhodos.

At its foundation, Rhodos presumably became an ally of Sparta (no. 345), as were the three synoecising cities (Thuc.

8.44.2; Berthold (1980) 35–36); prior to 395, however, the Rhodians revolted from Sparta (Diod. 14.79.6; Bruce (1961) 166–68). Rhodos was a member of a *symmachia* attested exclusively by the so-called *ΣΥΝ* coinage (whose legend abbreviates *synmachon*, *synmachikon* or *synmachia*, *vel sim.*) dating to C5l–C4e; the other *poleis* striking *ΣΥΝ* coins were Byzantion (no. 674), Ephesos (no. 844), Iasos (no. 891), Knidos (no. 903), Kyzikos (no. 747), Lampsakos (no. 748) and Samos (no. 864) (Karwiese (1980); Debord (1999) 273–77). Rhodos was a founding member of the Second Athenian Naval League (*IG* II² 43.80 (378/7)), and was probably allied with Athens (no. 361) prior to its entry into the League (Berthold (1984) 28). However, in 357/6, Rhodos joined Chios (no. 840), Kos (no. 497) and Byzantion (no. 674) in a revolt against Athens (the "Social War" of 357–355, Diod. 16.7.3; cf. Dem. 15.3 and *Staatsverträge* 305); the war ended in 355 when the Athenians, fearing Persian support for the rebels, concluded peace with them (Diod. 16.22.2), and recognised the independence of the rebels (Berthold (1980) 43; Cargill (1981) 182–83). In 340, Rhodos sent out forces, presumably naval, to support Byzantion against Philip II of Makedon, a support described as *συμμαχία* by Diod. 16.77.2 (Berthold (1980) 45–46). In 332, Rhodos submitted to Alexander the Great (Arr. *Anab.* 2.20.2), but the Makedonian garrison installed probably on this occasion was expelled in 323 (Diod. 18.8.1).

Oligarchic exiles are attested at *Hell. Oxy.* 18.3, and in 391/0, *οἱ ἐκπεπτωκότες Ῥοδίων ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου* arrived in Sparta. A navy is attested in Xen. *Hell.* 4.8.22 (at least sixteen triremes) and Lycurg. 1.18 (cf. Diod. 16.77.2 (r340)); Arist. *Pol.* 1304^{b}29 attests to the existence of *trierarchoi* (cf. Diod. 20.88.6 (r305)).

Reception of an Athenian embassy is recorded by Plut. *Mor.* 850A (rC4s). Sending of an embassy of submission to Alexander is recorded in Arr. *Anab.* 2.20.2 (r332). Exchange of embassies with Argos (no. 347)—and presumably other *poleis* of mainland Greece—at the time of the Lamian War is attested by an Argive decree (*SEG* 19 317 (325–300) with Stroud (1984) 215–16). During the grain crisis of 330–326, Rhodos received 30,000 *medimnoi* from Kyrene (no. 1028) (Tod 196.11).

A grant of proxeny by Athens to a citizen of Rhodos is attested by *IG* II² 19a (394/3), and one to three men by Arkesine (no. 472) by *IG* XII.7 8 (C4l–C3e); a grant of proxeny by an unknown Ionian *polis* to citizens of Rhodos is found in Peek, *Inschriften von den dorischen Inseln* no. 1 (*c.*300), a text that refers also to an earlier grant. A grant of citizenship by Athens to a citizen of Rhodos is attested by *IG* II² 19b (394/3) and one by Chios in *SEG* 39 1151 (320s); special honours, including the right to address the assembly, were voted by Argos to citizens of Rhodos *c.*320 (Stroud (1984) 215–16).

Rhodos must initially have been an oligarchy (Papachristodoulou (1999*b*) 29) since the revolution in 395 brought a democracy to power (*Hell. Oxy.* 18.3). However, in the years 391/0–390/89 there was a new outbreak of *stasis*; oligarchs and democrats had the opposing faction expelled, possibly twice; the oligarchs were supported by Lakedaimonian squadrons, and the democrats by ships from Athens (Xen. *Hell.* 4.8.20–25, 30; Diod. 14.97.1–4, 99.4–5; cf. Westlake (1983); Gehrke, *Stasis* 137–39, *pace* Berthold (1980) 39–40). Aristotle's mention of severe civic disorder arising from *dikai* is commonly connected with this series of revolutions, and the *stasis* was perhaps triggered by the democrats' introduction of political pay (*Pol.* 1302^{b}23–4, 32–33 and 1304^{b}27–31). In the end the democrats must have expelled the oligarchs: Rhodos was among the founding members of the Second Athenian Naval League, and shortly after the Social War the democracy was overthrown and an oligarchy established with the support of the Karian satrap Mausolos (Dem. 15.3, 14–15, 19, 27–28; Theopomp. fr. 121); a Karian garrison was installed (Dem. 15.14–15), a democratic appeal for assistance in 351 fell on deaf ears in Athens (cf. Dem. 15), and Rhodos remained oligarchic and under Karian domination until the time of Alexander the Great (Berthold (1980) 43–44), to whom the Rhodians submitted in 332 (Arr. *Anab.* 2.20.2). Alexander presumably restored democracy (Berthold (1980) 47; Bosworth (1980) 243); he certainly installed a garrison, whose expulsion is attested for 323 by Diod. 18.8.1. For the democratic institutions, see Gabrielsen (1997) 24–31.

The eponymous official was the priest of Helios (*SEG* 12 360 (C4) with Sherk (1990) 283–85 and Gabrielsen (2000*b*) 202 n. 49); *ἄρχοντες* are mentioned in *Hell. Oxy.* 18.2, and *πρυτάνεις* at Diod. 20.88.3; a council (*βωλά*) is referred to by *SEG* 19 317.31 (325–300) (cf. Diod. 20.93.5 (r304): *ἡ βουλή*). Arist. *Pol.* 1304^{b}27–31 attests to the existence of *misthophora* during a democratic period, but whether for office-holding or assembly attendance *vel sim.* is left unexplained. A meeting of the *ekklesia* is attested in *Hell. Oxy.* 18.2 (cf. *SEG* 18 317.31 (325–300)). The earliest preserved public enactment is the extremely fragmentary decree *SEG* 15 496 (C4). Dem 56.47 refers to a *dikasterion* at Rhodos.

Residence of free foreigners at Rhodos is implied by Lycurg. 1.55 (*ἀπεδήμησεν εἰς Ῥόδον*); according to Diod. 20.84.3, 1,000 able-bodied foreigners (*κατοικοῦντες*

πάροικοι καὶ ξένοι) participated in the defence of the city during the siege of 305/4; this number, however, includes only those who remained behind after disabled foreigners and foreigners unwilling to serve in the defensive forces had left the city.

The acropolis is situated on the terraced hill of Ag. Stephanos (Monte Smith), which dominates the amphitheatre-like shape of the city (cf. Diod. 19.45.3, 20.83.2). The acropolis was included within the circuit of the city wall (cf. *infra*). On the acropolis are remains of several monumental structures, but in their present form these are all Hellenistic or later. The only buildings assumed to have had Classical predecessors are the temple of Athena Polias and Zeus Polieus and the temple of Apollo Pythios. However, very little is known about the acropolis, since no systematic excavations have been conducted there so far (see further Konstantinopoulos (1973); Livadiotti and Rocco (1996) 12–26). Also of Hellenistic date is the reconstructed *stadion* east of the temple of Apollo; however, it has now been demonstrated that it had a C4 predecessor with opposite, i.e. east–west, orientation (Valavanis (1999) esp. 99 with fig. 4).

Recent archaeological discoveries prove that the city wall built in 407 was both of a smaller circumference and of lesser width than its C3e successor. To date, only a section of some 20 m of the early wall is known; it is constructed of orthogonal blocks in isodomic technique, and its width (0.60 m) indicates that this can have been only the outer face of the wall of whose inner face and central and inner constructions (probably in wood) nothing remains (Filimonos in Hoepfner and Schwandner (1994) 53). This type of construction may perhaps explain Diodorus' description of a particular stretch of this wall as ἀσθενὲς καὶ ταπεινόν (20.86.2). The area enclosed by the early wall (*c.*300 ha) was much smaller than the area enclosed by its C3e successor (*c.*430 ha; see Philimonos-Tsopotou (1998) fig. 10): a much stronger and enlarged circuit was constructed in C3e, which at certain points shows a width of 3.50 m and even 4.10 m (see further Philimonos-Tsopotou (1998), (1999)).

The site chosen for the new city of Rhodos was not entirely virgin ground, as various finds indicate (Dreliosi-Herakleidou (1999)). The city was laid out on an orthogonal grid plan at its foundation, but the direct participation of Hippodamos himself is reported only by Strabo 14.2.9 (see Wycherley (1964); Burns (1976)). On average, each street was 5.50 m wide, with the exception of two conspicuously broad main streets, one in the western, the other in the eastern part of the town, which were 16 m and 16.5 m wide respectively (Kondis (1958) 151; *ArchDelt* 35 (1980) *Chron.* 534). In general, see Konstantinopoulos (1970), (1988); and Philimonos (1996).

Archaeologically, the Classical city is poorly known. However, some impression of the C4s city may be gained from Diodorus' description of the great flood of 316 (19.45.6–8). The description refers to (1) private houses built in stone: such houses have been found but are mostly of the Hellenistic period (Philimonos (1996) 87); (2) drains (ὀχετοί): the course of the main drain is known for a stretch of 200 m (Kondis (1954) 11; Philimonos (1996) 85 fig. 12; see also Owens (1991) 59–60); (3) the *deigma*, which may or may not be part of the agora mentioned at *Hell. Oxy.* 18.2: the agora is assumed to have been situated in the centre of the town near the great harbour and within the mediaeval town (Kondis (1958) 152); (4) a Dionysion: this sanctuary is believed to have been situated in the neighbourhood of the agora (Philimonos (1996) 82); (5) an Asklepieion: this sanctuary has been located by recent finds in the south-western outskirts of the mediaeval town (Papachristodoulou (1999*a*) with fig. 1); (6) a theatre: the theatre has not been located, but it seems a reasonable hypothesis that it was situated in the southernmost section of the acropolis (Philimonos (1996) 76). In addition, a C5l–C4 sanctuary of Demeter Thesmophoros has been identified in the northern part of the city; it consists of eight orthogonal structures and a subterranean room (Zervoudaki (1988); Yannikouri (1999) with fig. 2). Finally, for what it is worth, it may be noted that Vitruv. *De arch.* 6 intr. 1 mentions a *gymnasion* in reference to the Classical period (cf. Delorme (1960) 82).

As early as the 390s, the city was equipped with several harbours (Diod. 14.79.7 (r396): εἰς τοὺς λιμένας; cf. 20.82.3). Archaeologically, a total of five harbours—all outside the circuit—are known, one of which is described as ὁ μικρὸς λιμήν by Diod. 20.85.4 and is commonly identified with the modern Mandraki harbour. Here, remains of *neosoikoi* dating from before and after 227 have been found (Blackman *et al.* (1996)). Immediately south of Mandraki are the great harbour, the Akantia harbour and, further south, the southern harbour. The fifth harbour was situated in the north-western part of the city; this harbour, however, was filled up when the city expanded in C3. Archaeological remains associated with naval facilities have been discovered in the vicinity of these harbours, especially by the western harbour and the Mandraki harbour (Blackman (1999); Philimonos-Tsopotou (1998) fig. 10).

In terms of architectural splendour and topographical extent, the C4 cemetery complexes stretching out south of the city are far more modest in scale than those of the

Hellenistic period, the early graves being characterised by simplicity. The C4 graves are situated not only by the city wall but also at a considerable distance from it, perhaps an indication of awareness of the need for future expansion of the urban area. On the cemetery complexes, see Fraser (1977) 1–11; Salta (1999); Patsiada (2001) esp. 34 and fig. 1.

The patron divinity was Helios, depicted on the obverse of Rhodian coins (*infra*), whose priest was eponymous (*supra*) and in whose honour pentaeteric festivals were celebrated (Morelli (1959) 94–99); note, however, that the usual identification of his sanctuary (Kontorini (1989) 129–84) is now disputed by the excavator herself (Michalaki-Kollia (1999)), and the question of the location of Helios' sanctuary must be considered unresolved. A festival of Dionysos is attested by *SEG* 19 317 (325–300); cf. Diod. 20.84.3. See further Morelli (1959).

The Rhodian calendar is known only from C3m onwards (Trümpy, *Monat.* 167–85).

*C.*330–300, the Rhodians dedicated at Delphi a sculptural group depicting the chariot of Helios (Jacquemin and Laroche (1986)).

Mikinas of Rhodos won the Olympic *stadion* in 324 (Diod. 17.113.1; *Olympionikai* 469); a Rhodian was victorious in the Lykaian Games (Arkadia) in C4l (*IG* v.2 550.vi.27).

Beginning shortly after the synoecism, Rhodos struck coins in silver, bronze and gold. Silver: Ashton (2001) divides the Classical period silver issues of Rhodos (struck initially on the Chian–Rhodian standard, later on a reduced standard termed "Rhodian" by Ashton) into three chronologically distinct periods.

(1) 408–*c.*385: the issues in this period fall into two groups: (a) standard Rhodian issues, and (b) a special series of the so-called ΣYN coins with which is associated a group of conventional Rhodian coins related to the ΣYN coins by their weight. *Re* (a), this group includes tetradrachms, hemidrachms and obols. Types: *obv.* head of Helios facing; *rev.* rose (on tetradrachms between two bunches of grapes) in incuse square, with or without symbols below, or head of nymph Rhodos to r. in incuse square; legend: PO, $PO\Delta ION$, $PO\Delta IOI$ (Babelon, *Traité* ii.2 nos. 1693–94). *Re* (b), Rhodos was one of eight *poleis* producing the so-called ΣYN coinage in C5l–C4e (though the Rhodian coins in fact do not use the legend ΣYN on the obverse; cf. Karwiese (1980) 20 n. 151); just over twenty silver specimens are known (Aiginetan didrachms, or Chian–Rhodian tridrachms, or double *sigloi*). Types: *obv.* infant Herakles strangling serpents; *rev.* rose; legend: PO (Karwiese (1980); Ashton (1993) 13). With these coins are associated a series of triple *sigloi* of conventional Helios/rose types (Ashton (2001) nos. 7–10).

(2) *C.*385–late 340s: this group includes tetradrachms, didrachms, drachms, hemidrachms and diobols. The types are generally similar to the earlier issues: *obv.* head of Helios facing; *rev.* rose in incuse square, beside which are various symbols and letters; legend: PO, $PO\Delta ION$; however, the *obv.* of the diobols in this group depict for the first time the radiate profile head of Helios. During this period tetradrachms ceased to be struck (except for an exceptional issue struck in the next period) and were replaced by didrachms as the main denomination; the didrachms were struck to a reduced weight standard (the "Rhodian" standard proper of Ashton (2001)) which became established as the usual standard of Rhodos.

(3) Late 340s–305/4: this group includes primarily didrachms, but also an exceptional issue of tetradrachms on the Chian–Rhodian standard. Types as earlier; legend: PO, $PO\Delta ION$.

Bronze: the Rhodian mint struck bronze *chalkoi* immediately after it began to function, and again in C4s: *obv.* rose, or head of nymph Rhodos; *rev.* rose; legend: PO, $PO\Delta ION$. Gold: in C4s, Rhodos struck gold staters; four specimens are known, all from the same pair of dies: *obv.* head of Helios facing; *rev.* rose with bud to r. and grapes to l., all in incuse square; legend: $PO\Delta ION$. Head, *HN*² 637–40; Babelon, *Traité* ii.2 1011–28; *SNG Cop. Caria* 723–51; Ashton (1993), (2001).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Archaeology in the Dodecanese = S. Dietz and I. Papachristodoulou, *Archaeology in the Dodecanese*, The National Museum of Denmark, Department of Near Eastern and Classical Antiquities (Copenhagen, 1988).

Ashton, R. H. J. 1993. "A Revised Arrangement for the Earliest Coinage of Rhodes", in M. Price *et al.* (eds.), *Essays in Honour of Robert Carson and Kenneth Jenkins* (London) 9–15.

—— 2001. "The Coinage of Rhodes 408–*c.*190 BC", in A. Meadows and K. Shipton (eds.), *Money and its Uses in the Ancient Greek World* (Oxford) 79–115.

Berthold, R. M. 1980. "Fourth Century Rhodes", *Historia* 29: 32–49.

—— 1984. *Rhodes in the Hellenistic Age* (Ithaca, NY, and London).

Berve, H. 1967. *Die Tyrannis bei den Griechen* (Darmstadt).
Blackman, D. J. 1999. "Οι λιμένες της αρχαίας Ρόδου", in *Rhodes 2,400 Years* 41–50.
—— Knoblauch, P., and Yannikouri, A. 1996. "Die Schiffhaüser am Mandrakihafen in Rhodos", *AA* 371–426.
Bosworth, A. B. 1980. *A Historical Commentary on Arrian's History of Alexander*, i: *Commentary on Books I–III* (Oxford).
Bresson, A. 1981. "Notes rhodiennes: monnaies à palmette", *RÉA* 83: 211–26.
Bruce, I. A. F. 1961. "The Democratic Revolution at Rhodes", *CQ* 55: 166–70.
Burns, A. 1976. "Hippodamus and the Planned City", *Historia* 25: 414–28.
Cahn, H. A. 1957. "Die archaischen Silberstatere von Lindos", in K. Schauenburg (ed.), *Charites: Studien zur Altertumswissenschaft: Festschrift für Ernst Langlotz* (Bonn) 18–26.
Cargill, J. 1981. *The Second Athenian League: Empire or Alliance?* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London).
Debord, P. 1999. *L'Asie mineure au IVe siècle (412–323 a.C.): pouvoirs et jeux politiques* (Bordeaux).
Delorme, J. 1960. *Gymnasion: étude sur les monuments consacrés à l'éducation en Grèce* (Paris).
Demand, N. H. 1990. *Urban Relocation in Archaic and Classical Greece: Flight and Consolidation* (Bristol).
Dreliosi-Herakleidou, A. 1999. "Παλαιά και νέα ευρήματα προ του συνοικισμού από την πόλη της Ρόδου", in *Rhodes 2,400 Years* 21–28.
Drerup, H. 1969. *Griechische Baukunst in geometrischer Zeit*, Archeologia Homerica 2 (Göttingen).
Dyggve, E. 1960. *Lindos: Fouilles de l'acropole 1902–1914 et 1952*, iii: *Le Sanctuaire d'Athana Lindia et l'architecture lindienne*, 2 vols. (Berlin and Copenhagen).
Fischer-Hansen, T. 1996. "The Earliest Town-Planning of the Western Greek Colonies, with Special Regard to Sicily", *CPCActs* 3: 317–73.
Fraser, P. M. 1977. *Rhodian Funerary Monuments* (Oxford).
—— and Bean, G. E. 1954. *The Rhodian Peraea and Islands* (London).
Fried, S. 1987. "The Decadrachm Hoard: An Introduction", in I. Carradice (ed.), *Coinage and Administration in the Athenian and Persian Empires*, The Ninth Oxford Symposium on Coinage and Monetary History, BAR International Series 343 (Oxford) 1–20.
Gabrielsen, V. 1992. "The Status of *Rhodioi* in Hellenistic Rhodes", *ClMed* 43: 43–69.
—— 1997. *The Naval Aristocracy of Hellenistic Rhodes* (Aarhus).
—— 2000*a*. "The Rhodian Peraia in the Third and Second Centuries BC", *ClMed* 51: 129–83.
—— 2000*b*. "The Synoikized *Polis* of Rhodos", *Polis and Politics* 177–205.
Gates, C. 1983. *From Cremation to Inhumation: Burial Practices at Ialysos and Kameiros during the Mid-Archaic Period c.625–525 B.C.*, Occasional Paper 11, Institute of Archaeology, University of California (Los Angeles).
Gawantka, W. 1975. *Isopolitie: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der zwischenstaatlichen Beziehungen in der griechische Antike*, Vestigia 22 (Munich).
Gruben, G. 1986. *Die Tempel der Griechen* (Darmstadt).
Hannick, J.-M. 1976. "Droit de cité et mariages mixtes dans la Grèce classique", *AntCl* 45: 134–48.
Hansen, M. H. 1997. "A Typology of Dependent *Poleis*", *CPCPapers* 4: 29–37.
Hoepfner, W., and Schwandner, E.-L. 1994. *Haus und Stadt im klassischen Griechenland*[2] (Munich).
Hope Simpson, R., and Lazenby, J. F. 1973. "Notes from the Dodecanese III", *BSA* 68: 127–79.
Inglieri, R. U. 1936. *Carta archeologica dell'isola di Rodi* (Florence).
Jacopi, G. 1929–30. *Esplorazione archeologica di Camiro*, i: *Scavi nelle necropoli camirense*, *ClRh* 4.
—— 1932–33. *Esplorazione archeologica di Camiro*, ii: *Necropoli, acropoli*, *ClRh* 6–7.
Jacquemin, A. 1999. *Offrandes monumentales à Delphes* (Paris).
—— and Laroche, D. 1986. "Le char d'or consacré par le peuple rhodien", *BCH* 110: 285–307.
Karwiese, S. 1980. "Lysander as Herakliskos Drakonopnigon ('Heracles the Snake-Strangler')", *NC* 140: 1–27.
Kinch, K. F. 1914. *Fouilles de Vroulia* (Berlin).
Knab, R. 1934. *Die Periodoniken: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der gymnischen Agone an den 4 griechischen Hauptfesten* (Giessen).
Kondis, I. 1954. Συμβολή εις την ρυμοτομίαν της αρχαίας Ρόδου (Rhodes).
—— 1958. "Zum antiken Stadtbauplan von Rhodos", *AM* 73: 146–58.
Konstantinopoulos, G. 1970. "Τὸ ῥυμοτομικὸν σύστημα τῆς ἀρχαίας 'Ρόδου", *AAA* 1: 52–54.
—— 1971. *Ialysos: Kamiros* (Athens).
—— 1972. Ο Ροδιακός κόσμος: i: Λίνδος (Athens).
—— 1973. "Ἀνασκαφαὶ εἰς 'Ρόδον", *Prakt* 127–36.
—— 1986. Αρχαία Ρόδος: Επισκόπηση της ιστορίας και της τέχνης (Athens).
—— 1988. "Hippodamischer Stadtplan von Rhodos: Forschungsgeschichte", in *Archaeology in the Dodecanese* 88–93.
Kontorini, V. 1989. Ανέκδοτες επιγραφές Ρόδου, ii (Athens).
Livadiotti, M., and Rocco, G. 1996. *La presenza italiana nel Dodecaneso tra il 1912 e il 1948: la ricerca archeologica, la conservazione, le scelte progettuali* (Catania).
—— —— 1999. "Il tempio di Athana Polias a Ialiso: un contributo alla conoscenza dell'architectura rodia", in *Rhodes 2,400 Years* 109–18.

Maiuri, A. 1916. "Ricerche archeologiche nell'isola di Rodi", *ASAtene* 2: 285–302.

——1928. "L'acropoli", *ClRh* 1: 72–82.

Melander, T. 1988. "Vroulia: Town Plan and Gate", in *Archaeology in the Dodecanese* 83–87.

Michalaki-Kollia, M. 1999. "*Μνημειώδες στωικό οικοδόμημα στις υπώρειες της ροδιακής ακρόπολης. Το τέμενος του Ηλίου ή δημόσιο κτίριο*", in *Rhodes 2,400 Years* 73–74.

Miller, S. G. (ed.). 1990. *Nemea: A Guide to the Site and Museum* (Berkeley and Los Angeles).

Momigliano, A. 1936. "Note sulla storia di Rodi", *RivFil* 64: 49–63.

Morelli, D. 1955. "Gli stranieri in Rodi", *Studi classici e orientali* 5: 126–90.

——1959. *I culti in Rodi* (Pisa).

Morris, I. 1992. *Death-Ritual and Social Structure in Classical Antiquity* (Cambridge).

Owens, E. J. 1991. *The City in the Greek and Roman World* (London).

Papachristodoulou, I. C. 1989. *Οἱ ἀρχαῖοι Ῥοδιακοὶ δῆμοι. Ἱστορικὴ ἐπισκόπηση, Ἡ Ἰαλυσία, Βιβλιοθήκη τῆς ἐν Ἀθήναις Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας* 110 (Athens).

——1999*a*. "*Νέα στοιχεία για το Ασκληπιείο της πόλης της Ρόδου*", in *Rhodes 2,400 Years* 59–62.

——1999*b*. "The Rhodian Demes within the Framework of the Function of the Rhodian State", in V. Gabrielsen *et al.* (eds.), *Hellenistic Rhodes: Politics, Culture, and Society*, Studies in Hellenistic Civilisation 11 (Aarhus) 27–44.

Patsiada, V. 2001. "*Μνημειώδες ταφικό συγκρότημα στη Ρόδο. Συμβολή στην μελέτη της ελληνιστικής ταφικής αρχιτεκτονικής*, in: *Κείμενο*; ii: *Είκονες πίνακες*" (diss., University of Ioannina).

Philimonos, M. 1996. "*Το ρυμοτομικό σχεδίο και η πολεοδομική οργάνωση της αρχαίας Ρόδου*", in *Proceedings of the International Scientific Symposium: Rhodes, 24 Centuries, October 1–5, 1992* (Athens) 61–90.

Philimonos-Tsopotou, M. 1998. "*Η ελληνιστική οχύρωση της Ρόδου*" (diss., University of Ioannina).

——1999. "*Παρατητήσεις στην οχύρωση της αρχαίας Ρόδου*", in *Rhodes 2,400 Years* 29–40.

Rhodes 2,400 Years = *Ρόδος 2.400 χρόνια. Η πόλη της Ρόδου από την ίδρυση της μέχρι την κατάληψη από τους Τούρκους (1532), Πρακτικά, Τόμος Α* (Athens).

Salta, M. 1999. "*Αρχαία Ρόδος. Μια κλασική νεκρόπολη*", in *Rhodes 2,400 Years* 143–50.

Schuller, W. 1995. "Poleis im Ersten Attischen Seebund", *CPCActs* 2: 165–70.

Sherk, R. 1990. "The Eponymous Officials of Greek Cities II", *ZPE* 84: 231–98.

Sørensen, L. W. 1992. "Excavations and Surveys in Southern Rhodes: The Post-Mycenaean Periods until Roman Times", in L. W. Sørensen and P. Pentz, *Lindos*, iv, 2: *Excavations and Surveys in Southern Rhodes: The Post-Mycenaean Periods until Roman Times and the Medieval Period* (Copenhagen) 11–157.

——2002. "The Archaic Settlement at Vroulia on Rhodes and Ian Morris", *Acta Hyperborea* 9: 243–53.

Stroud, R. S. 1984. "An Argive Decree from Nemea", *Hesperia* 53: 193–216.

Valavanis, P. D. 1999. "*Βαλβίδες και ύσπληγες του σταδίου της Ρόδου*", in *Rhodes 2,400 Years* 95–108.

van Gelder, H. 1900. *Geschichte der alten Rhodier* (The Hague).

Walbank, M. B. 1978. *Athenian Proxenies of the Fifth Century* (Toronto and Sarasota, Fla.).

Weiss, A.-P. C. and Hurter, S. 1998. "The Silver Staters of Ialysos", *SNR* 77: 5–15.

Westlake, H. D. 1983. "Rival Traditions on a Rhodian Stasis", *MusHelv* 40: 239–50.

Wycherley, R. E. 1964. "Hippodamus and Rhodes", *Historia* 13: 135–39.

Yannikouri, A. 1999. "*Το ιερό της Δήμητρος στην πόλη της Ρόδου*", in *Rhodes 2,400 Years* 63–72.

Zervoudaki, E. 1988. "Vorläufiger Bericht über die Terrakotten aus dem Demeter-Heiligtum der Stadt Rhodos", in *Archaeology in the Dodecanese* 129–37.

THE SOUTH COAST OF ASIA MINOR (PAMPHYLIA, KILIKIA)

ANTONY G. KEEN, TOBIAS FISCHER-HANSEN

I. The Regions

The name of Pamphylia is *Παμφυλία, ἡ* (Thuc. 1.100.1; Theopomp. fr. 103.15–16; Arist. *De ventis* 973[a]6). The ethnic is *Πάμφυλος*, used collectively and externally in Hdt. 1.28, 7.91, and internally on an inscription from Aspendos (*SEG* 17 639.6–7 (*c.*300)). It bordered on Lykia in the west (Ps.-Skylax 100) and Kilikia in the east (Ps.-Skylax 102). The border with Lykia was west of Phellos, according to Hecat. fr. 258 *apud* Steph. Byz. 661.19, which locates that settlement in Pamphylia. Ps.-Skylax 100, however, includes the area as far east as Perge in Lykia. By Strabo's time (14.4.1) the border between Lykia and Pamphylia was set around Phaselis (no. 942), which is variously allocated to either region in the sources. The account of Ps.-Skylax may reflect extensions to the satrapy of Lykia in the 330s (cf. Keen (1997) 117 n. 50). A foundation myth for Pamphylia, that it was settled by Greeks, can be found in Hdt. 7.91 and Theopomp. fr. 103.15.

The border between Pamphylia and Kilikia was placed variously (*RE* xviiiA. 358) at Nagidos (Hecat. fr. 266), at Korakesion (Ps.-Skylax 101; Strabo 14.4.2), at Kelenderis (Artemidoros *apud* Strabo 14.5.3; Strabo 16.2.33), at Side (Pompon. 1.78; Plin. *HN* 5.96) or at Syedra (Ptol. *Geog.* 5.7.1). According to Herodotos, Kilikia bordered on Armenia (1.72, 5.49.6, 5.52.3), the border being marked by the Euphrates, Kappadokia (5.49.6, 5.52.1), where the border was marked by the "Kilikian Gates", and Syria, the border being at Posideion (no. 1022) (Hdt. 3.91.1). Diod. 14.21.1 (r401) places the eastern border beyond Issos (no. 1007). According to Strabo 14.5.1, Kilikia bordered to the north on Isauria, Pisidia and Kappadokia, and to the east on Syria (16.2.33). Kilikia itself was later divided into "rough" Kilikia in the west, and "smooth" Kilikia in the east; the border between the two was placed at Soloi (no. 1011) (Strabo 14.5.8).

The name of Kilikia was *Κιλικίη, ἡ*, in Attic *Κιλικία* (Hdt. 2.17.1, 3.90.3; Xen. *An.* 1.4.1; Strabo 14.5.1) or *ἡ Κίλιξ χώρα* (Trag. Adesp. 162). The ethnic is *Κίλιξ*; the external collective use is attested in Hom. *Il.* 6.397, 415; Hdt. 1.28, 3.90.3, etc.; and Xen. *An.* 1.2.17. For the individual external use, note *Συένεσσις ὁ Κίλιξ* (Hdt. 7.98.2). A foundation myth for Kilikia, that the people took their name from Kilix, a Phoenician, is found in Hdt. 7.91. Kallisthenes (*FGrHist* 124) fr. 32 reports the myth that settlements on the western edge of Pamphylia were founded by Kilikians; he names Lyrnateia and Thebe. Strabo cites a number of sources for general south Anatolian foundation myths, including Sophokles, *Reclaiming of Helen* (14.1.28, 5.16) and Kallisthenes (14.4.3; cf. West, *IEG*, ii, Callinus [8]). He also records that Kilikia was founded by Rhodians from Lindos (no. 997), together with Achaians (14.5.8; cf. Roebuck (1959) 25, 65). Both Pamphylia and Kilikia paid tribute to the Persian king (Hdt. 3.90).

North of Pamphylia was Pisidia. A number of sites in that areas are described as *poleis*, largely in the context of Alexander's invasion—e.g. Termessos (Arr. *Anab.* 1.27.5) and Sagalassos (Arr. *Anab.* 1.28.2)—but they were not Hellenic, and lie outside the scope of the present work. Selge, however, has been included among the non-*polis* sites listed in the introduction, even though it is regularly described as Pisidian (Arr. *Anab.* 1.28.1; Strabo 12.7.3), because of the Graeco–Pamphylian dialect found there.

The Kilikians and Pamphylians are both considered *barbaroi* by Xen. *An.* 1.2.15–19, by Ephor. fr. 162, and by Arr. *Anab.* 1.26.1–28.1, 2.4.4–7.2. A mixed Graeco–Anatolian dialect was spoken in some cities in Pamphylia (Robert (1963)). The regions were generally barbarian ones. There were, as already noted, tales told in the Classical period by Greeks ascribing the origins of these regions to Achaian settlement after the Trojan War; these stories were later taken up by the inhabitants of the cities themselves. *Pace* Bing (1969) 213–15 (who views the tales relating to Kilikia as originating from a wave of significant Greek colonisation in C7), it seems best to view such myths as largely a Hellenistic invention (Desideri and Jasink (1990)

30–36, 161–62). No ancient source prior to the Hellenistic period asserts a Greek colonial presence in Pamphylia and Kilikia. Thus, the regions were principally non-Greek, though some settlements (e.g. Side, Soloi) may well have had Greek origins, and in Ps.-Skylax 102 Holmoi (no. 1006) and Soloi (no. 1011) are explicitly classified as *polis Hellenis*. Also the widespread striking of coins with Greek types and Greek legends indicates a certain degree of Hellenisation before Alexander's conquest of Asia Minor; for a recent acute analysis of the problems see Salmeri (2003). The following sites, listed in early investigations by Gjerstad (1934) and Seton-Williams (1954), have yielded important finds which testify to Greek C8–C7 contacts though not necessarily to Greek settlers: *Hesigin* (Kilikia); *Kazanli* (Kilikia) (see Garstang (1953) 254); *Mersin* (Kilikia) see *Zephyrion* (for Greek finds cf. Garstang (1953); Dunbabin (1957) 31–32; Roebuck (1959) 64; and Bing (1969) 110—with the suggestion that Mersin was a Greek colony); *Sirkeli* (Kilikia) (*TIB* 5: 321), a Hittite settlement; *Soyali* (Kilikia), a Hittite site; *Tilan* (Kilikia), a Hittite site; *Karatepe* (Kilikia)—the site is the Late Hittite seat of the dynast Asitawanda, but is of some interest as the findspot of the bilingual inscription naming Mopsos (Landsberger (1948); Bossert (1950–51); Barnett (1953); Erzen (1973) 396); for evidence of Greek contacts cf. Gjerstad (1934) 199; Dunbabin (1957) 32.

The lack of evidence about the areas, especially internal evidence, is an obstacle to reaching conclusions on this matter; but when Aspendos (no. 1001) emerges out of such shadows, with the honorific inscription of 301/298 (*SEG* 17 639), it already possesses many of the features of a typical Greek *polis*. Until more evidence (especially epigraphic) emerges, however, one can make only preliminary suggestions about the evolution of *polis* identity in Pamphylia and Kilikia (cf. Keen (2002)).

The site list below comprises partly non-*polis* settlements of the Archaic and Classical periods and partly some settlements explicitly described as *poleis*, but at the time probably non-Greek *poleis* which became Hellenised in the course of the Hellenistic period.

1. *Pre-Hellenistic Settlements not Attested as Hellenic* Poleis

A. *Pamphylia*

Kibyra (*Κίβυρα*) Ps.-Skylax 101 (*πόλις*); Strabo 14.4.2 (*ἡ Κιβυρατῶν παραλία τῶν μικρῶν*). So far no urban remains are attested from the Greek history of the city, and there is no evidence of Hellenisation. *Barr.* 65, H, but Ps.-Skylax testifies to C.

Korakesion (*Κορακήσιον*) Ps.-Skylax 101 (*πόλις*); Strabo 14.4.2, 5.2 (*φρούριον*). The extant urban remains are no earlier than the Hellenistic period, and probably no earlier than 144–141 (Lloyd and Storm Rice (1958) 1, 24–25). *Barr.* 65, H, but Ps.-Skylax testifies to C.

Kordytos (*Κορδυτός*) Hecat. fr. 263 = Steph. Byz. 373.7 (*πόλις*). Unlocated, not in *Barr.*

Kyrbe (*Κύρβη*) Hecat. fr. 264 = Steph. Byz. 396.13 (*πόλις*). Not in *Barr.*

Lyrnateia (*Λυρνάτεια*) Ps.-Skylax 100 (*νῆσος*, conj. of MS *αὐραιάτεια*); Arist. *De ventis* 973[a]8 (*Λυρνατεῖς οἱ κατὰ Φασηλίδα*); Alex. Polyh. (*FGrHist* 273) fr. 59 = Steph. Byz. 423.4 (*Λυρνατία χερρόνησος καὶ χωρίον Λυκίας*); Hecat. fr. 261 = Steph. Byz. 418.11 (*Λιρνύτεια*); Strabo 14.4.1 (*Λυρνησσός*). Ruge (1927) suggests that the different names may refer to the same locality, possibly the small island of Rashat between Phaselis (no. 942) and Attaleia. There is no archaeological or epigraphic evidence. *Barr.* 65, C.

Magydos (*Μάγυδος*) *SEG* 39 1180.26 (first century AD); Ps.-Skylax 100 (conj. of MSS *Μάσηδος*); Arist. *De ventis* 973[a]5–6 (conj. of MSS *Μύγαλος*)). The settlement is not classified by Ps.-Skylax. The archaeological remains are late Hellenistic or Roman. *Barr.* 65, R, but if the conjecture is accepted, Ps.-Skylax testifies to C.

***Marmara** (*Μαρμαρεῖς*) Diod. 17.28.1 (*χωρίον*). In *Barr.* 65, following Anti (1923) 668–711, identified with Kavak Dağı (*TAVO* BV 15, 15.2); but see Arr. *Anab.* 1.24.5 with Bosworth (1980) 158. Not mentioned by Ruge in *RE* xviii.3. 397–402. The settlement at Kavak Dağı is situated on a high, irregular plateau with habitation areas and public buildings grouped along the outer edges (Anti (1923) 669 fig. 3). A sanctuary, perhaps of Apollo (ibid. 669), has three temples delimited by a *temenos* wall. It is dated C4–Hellenistic, but a supporting polygonal terrace wall may be earlier. Bordering on the *temenos* are the remains of a stoa, a row of structures interpreted as *thesauroi*, and a large structure of C4–C2 identified as a *bouleuterion* by Anti (1923) 669–700. The fortress (*petra*) of the Marmareis near the border of Lykia was besieged by Alexander (Diod. 17.28.1–5 (r334/3) with Anti (1923) 709–12). *Barr.* 65, H, but, if correctly identified, C should be added.

Olbia (*'Ολβία*) Ps.-Skylax 100; Arist. *De ventis* 973[a]5; Strabo 14.4.1; Steph. Byz. 346.11 (*Κάδρεμα πόλις Λυκίας ἄποικος 'Ολβίων*). The urban remains are few and undated (Bean (1979) 84–86). *Barr.* 65, C.

Selge (*Σέλγη*) Strabo 12.7.2 (*πόλις*); Steph. Byz. 560.1 (*πόλις*), from Graeco–Pamphylian *Stelga*. The city-ethnic is *Εστελγιυς*, with variations (coins before 300, see Brixhe (1991)) or *Σελγεύς* (Arr. *Anab.* 1.28.1 (r333); coins (after 300)). Arr. *Anab.* 1.28.1 calls Selge a large *polis* (*Σελγέων πόλιν μεγάλην*), but he describes the inhabitants as Pisidian *barbaroi*. There is little evidence of C4 Hellenisation, apart from the coinage (*infra*), and the myth that Selge was founded by the Lakedaimonians is probably C4l/C3e (Strabo 12.7.3; Steph. Byz. 560.1). The ambition of Selge to present itself as Greek is reflected in the change of the ethnic in coin legends from the Pamphylian *Στελγιυς* to Greek *Σελγεύς c.*300 (Brixhe (1976) 289; *I.Selge* 6 with comm.; cf. Osborne and Byrne (1996) no. 6603). For a survey of late Classical/early Hellenistic history, see *I.Selge* p. 14. Selge struck silver staters (and smaller denominations) on the Persian standard *c.*450–333, imitating the types of Aspendos (no. 1001). *Obv.* two wrestlers; *rev.* slinger; legend: *ΕΣΤΛΕΓΕΙΥΣ* or *ΣΤΛΕΓΕΙΥΣ* or related forms (*SNG Cop. Pisidia* 232–45, *Suppl.* 530; *SNG von Aulock* 5243–65). *Barr.* 65, H., but the coins testify to C.

Sillyon (*Σίλλυον*) *IG* I³ 71.II.114; Ps.-Skylax 101 (*πόλις Σύλλειον*); Arr. *Anab.* 1.26.5 (r333) (*Σύλλιον χωρίον ὀχυρόν*). Graeco–Pamphylian *Selyviys* appears on C3 coinage (*SNG Cop. Pamphylia* 437–38). Sillyon was a member of the Delian League; at least it was assessed for tribute in 425/4 (*IG* I³ 71.II.114). It was a fortified settlement and was besieged by Alexander the Great (Arr. *Anab.* 1.26.5). The site has habitation structures from C5 (Bean (1979) 39–45; Küpper (1996)). The fortifications were quite sophisticated for such a small site (Winter (1971) 91, 137, 170, *passim*). The C5–C4 stater *SNG Cop. Pamphylia* 436, erroneously attributed to Sillyon, belongs to Aspendos (no. 1001) (*SNG von Aulock* 4503; Brixhe (1976) 165 n. 1). Arrian calls the inhabitants *barbaroi*, and a Graeco–Pamphylian dialect was spoken (*SGDI* 1266–67; Blumenthal (1963) 46; Brixhe (1976) 167–90). *Barr.* 65, C.

B. Kilikia

Adana (*Ἄδανα*) Ps.-Skylax 102 (*Ἀδάνη*, conj. of *Ἀλάνη*, *ἐμπόριον*); Steph. Byz. 24.19 (*πόλις*); cf. App. *Mith.* 96; Ptol. *Geog.* 5.7.7, 8.17.46. *Barr.* 66, C?

Anchiale (*Ἀγχιάλη*) Aristoboulos (*FGrHist* 139) fr. 9a–b; Arr. *Anab.* 2.5.2 (r333) (*πόλις*); Steph. Byz. 23.22 (*πόλις*). Bing (1969) 110 suggests that it was a Greek colony, but the evidence for a Greek settlement at Anchiale is wholly circumstantial. *Barr.* 66, H, but Arr. *Anab.* testifies to C.

Anemourion (*Ἀνεμούριον*) Ps.-Skylax 102 (*ἄκρα καὶ πόλις*); Strabo 14.5.3 (*ἄκρα*). The history of the city is unknown before the late Hellenistic period. Public buildings and other urban remains are Roman, but there is evidence for a Hellenistic origin of the circuit wall (*TIB* 5: 189). *Barr.* 66, C.

Charadrous (*Χαραδροῦς*) Ps.-Skylax 102 (*πόλις καὶ λιμήν*); Strabo 14.5.3 (*ἔρυμα ὕφορμον ἔχον*); Steph. Byz. 687.7 (*λιμὴν καὶ ἐπίνειον*); *Stadiasmus* 200 (*Χωρίον Χάραδρος*); Hecat. fr. 265 (*Χάραδρος ποταμός*). There are no urban remains from the Greek history of the city (*TIB* 5: 226), and we have no information about the degree of Hellenisation in the Archaic and Classical periods. *Barr.* 66, H, but Ps.-Skylax testifies to C.

Hyria (*Ὑρία*) Steph. Byz. 560.3 (*πόλις*). Seleukeia Tracheia was earlier named Hermia (Plin. *HN* 5.93) or Hyria (Steph. Byz. 560.5). Holmoi, also mentioned in connection with Seleukeia, is normally seen as a separate settlement (Strabo 14.5.4; Steph. Byz. 490.5–6; *infra* no. 1006). Strangely, Hermia is identified with Holmoi by *Barr.* 66, and Hyria is not mentioned at all. However, Hyria = Hermia seems to be an earlier name for Seleukeia. Gjerstad (1934) 157 refers to pre-Hellenistic finds at "Seleukeia at Kalykadnos . . . the foundation therefore to be understood as a re-foundation of an already existing site". Not in *Barr.*

Magarsos (*Μάγαρσος*) Arr. *Anab.* 2.5.9 (r333); Lycoph. *Alex.* 444; Steph. Byz. 424.6 (*ὄχθος*); Strabo 14.5.16 (*Μάγαρσα*). The harbour town of Mallos (no. 1009). Arrian mentions a sanctuary of Athena Magarsis, whose cult statue was used as a coin type on the Seleucid coinage of Mallos (Houghton (1984)). *Barr.* 66, H. but Arrian testifies to C.

Mopsouestia (*Μοψουεστία*) Theopomp. fr. 103.15; Strabo 14.5.19 (*Μόψου ἑστία*); App. *Syr.* 69.365 (*Ἑστία Μόψου τῆς Κιλικίας*). According to Ruge (1935), there are at least fifty variants of the toponym. Supposedly the oldest of the foundations of Mopsos (Theopomp. fr. 103.15). A C2 coin legend is the earliest attestation of an ethnic: *Μοψεάτης* (Imhoof-Blumer (1901–2) 475.9). *Barr.* 67, C?

Myous (*Μυούς*) Ps.-Skylax 102. Some scholars believe that Myous is the Melania of Strabo 14.5.3 (*TIB* 5: 363). There are no extant urban remains from the Greek history of the city, if the location is Crionaro. *Barr.* 66, R, but Ps.-Skylax testifies to C.

Myriandos (*Μυρίανδος*) Xen. *An.* 1.4.6 (*πόλιν οἰκουμένην ὑπὸ Φοινίκων, ἐμπόριον*); Ps.-Skylax 102

(*λιμὴν Μυρίανδος Φοινίκων*); Strabo 14.5.19 (*πόλις*). There are no urban remains from the Greek history of the settlement (*TIB* 5: 362–63; Hellenkemper and Hild (1986) 113). *Barr.* 67, C.

Salon (*Σάλον*) Ps.-Skylax 102. Unlocated. *Barr.* 66, C.

Sarpedon (*Σαρπηδών*) Ps.-Skylax 102 (*πόλις ἔρημος*); Strabo 13.4.6, 14.5.4 (*ἄκρα*). A sanctuary of Apollo Sarpedonios was situated on the promontory of Sarpedon (Diod. 32.10.2 (r145)); for the few remains, see *TIB* 5: 399; MacKay (1990) 2112: C4 origin. No urban remains have been connected with a city of Sarpedon. *Barr.* 66, C.

Selinous (*Σελινοῦς*) Ps.-Skylax 102 (first toponym listed after *πόλεις αἵδε*); Strabo 14.5.3 (*πόλις*). There are no Greek urban remains (*TIB* 5: 407–8). *Barr.* AC.

Setos (*Σητός*) Ps.-Skylax 102 (*λιμήν*, but the text is corrupt). The site is assumed by some scholars to be identical with the *polis* Sykai which is now identified with the fortified ruins on the high plateau of Softa Kalesi in the plain of Nagidos (Steph. Byz. 591.2; cf. *TIB* 5: 421). The urban remains are all Roman or later (*TIB* 5: 422–23). *Barr.* has C, but only Ps.-Skylax 102 points to such an early date.

Tarsos (*Ταρσός*) Xen. *An.* 1.2.23 (*Ταρσοὺς τῆς Κιλικίας πόλιν μεγάλην*); Diod. 14.20.2 (*Ταρσόν, μεγίστην τῶν ἐν Κιλικίᾳ πόλεων*); Arr. *Anab.* 2.4.5 (*Ταρσὸν . . . πόλιν*). Walls of a temple may have been noted by Goldman ((1963) 8), though the evidence is equivocal (cf. Desideri and Jasink (1990) 156–57). Coin types with head of Dionysos or Ares (*infra*) may attest Greek influence in C4e. Evidence of C8–C7 Greek settlers at Tarsos is tenuous and does not support the idea of Rhodian colonisation suggested by Bing ((1971); cf. Boardman (1980) 46 n. 37; Desideri and Jasink (1990) 151, 158, 162). Urban remains from the Greek history of the settlement are scant and mainly Hellenistic. The tradition found in Strabo (14.5.12, 16.2.5) that the city was founded by a group of Argives led by Triptolemos is probably Hellenistic. Tarsos struck coins on the Persian standard from C5m with Aramaic legends (Kraay (1976) 280–84). Coins of Pharnabazos (379–373) have the Greek ktetic *ΤΑΡΣΙΚΟΣ* or *ΤΕΡΣΙΚΟΝ* (*SNG Cop. Cilicia* 272; cf. *Suppl.* 606–10). *Barr.* AC.

Zephyrion (*Ζεφύριον*) Ps.-Skylax 102 (*πόλις*); Diod. 18.62.1; Strabo 14.5.9 (*κτίσμα Σαρδαναπάλλου*). Architectural features and finds reveal a settlement comparable to that of Al-Mina. However, the material has revealed greater similarity to that known from Vroulia, and the site may have been within the influence of Rhodos (Garstang (1953) 253–55). We have no information about the degree of Hellenisation in the Archaic and Classical periods, and Zephyrion seems to have been a barbarian rather than a Hellenic *polis*. *Barr.* 66, C.

II. The *Poleis*

A. Pamphylia

1001. Aspendos (Aspendios) Map 65. Long. 36.55, lat. 31.10. Size of territory: ? Type: A:*β*. The toponym is *Ἄσπενδος, ἡ* (Thuc. 8.87.3; Xen. *Hell.* 4.8.30; Ps.-Skylax 101; Theopomp. fr. 9 = Steph. Byz. 134.10; Strabo 14.4.2; [*Ἄσπεν*]*δος* is restored at *IG* I³ 71.II.156 (425/4)). The city-ethnic is *Ἀσπένδιος* (Xen. *An.* 1.2.12; *Hell.* 4.8.30; Theopomp. fr. 9 (rC5l), 103.13 (rC4e); Arr. *Anab.* 1.26.2 (r333); *SEG* 17 639.3–4, 6 (301–298)); Graeco–Pamphylian *ΕΣΤϜΕΔΙΙΥΣ* is found on C5 coinage (*SGDI* 1259).

Aspendos is called a *polis* in the urban sense (Ps.-Skylax 101), in the territorial sense with the political sense as a connotation (Xen. *Hell.* 4.8.30), and in the political sense (*SEG* 17 639.6, 10, 18 (a citizenship decree of C4l/C3e)). The collective use of the city-ethnic is found internally on Hellenistic coins (*infra*) and in the citizenship decree *SEG* 17 639.3–4 (C4l/C3e); externally it is found in an Argive decree in honour of Aspendos (*SEG* 34 282.4 (*c.*330–300)) as well as in literary sources (Theopomp. fr. 103.13; Xen. *Hell.* 4.8.30). For the individual and external use, see the Argive decree (*SEG* 34 282.18 (330–300)).

Aspendos is placed in Pamphylia by Ps.-Skylax 101 and Steph. Byz. 134.10. The territory is called *Ἀσπενδία* in Theopomp. fr. 9 and is termed *χώρα* by Diod. 14.99.4 (r388) and Arr. *Anab.* 1.26.5 (r333). Its extent was disputed by its neighbours (Arr. *Anab.* 1.27.4); the dispute may have been with Side (no. 1004) (Bean (1979) 47 n. 1), with whom relations were bad (Polyb. 5.73.4).

According to Hellan. fr. 15, Aspendos was founded by the hero Aspendos. Other versions of the foundation myth are found in later sources: e.g. that it was an Argive foundation (Strabo 14.4.2). However, Mopsos, the legendary founder of Pamphylian cities (cf. Hereward (1958) 58 with refs.), has been suggested as the oecist of Aspendos too (Robert (1960) 177–78, who connects the coin types of a horseman hurling a spear and of a boar (*infra*) with the tradition of Mopsos' sacrifice of a boar to Aphrodite Kastnietis in Aspendos; cf. Strabo 9.5.17; Callim. *Dieg.* VIII.41–IX.1–11, Pfeiffer).

The tradition of an Argive foundation of Aspendos (and Soloi (no. 1011)) is the background for the decree of *c.*330–300 (from Nemea) in which Argos (no. 347) bestowed citizenship on the Aspendians (who are described as *συγγενέ[σι καὶ ἀποίκ]οις*) and granted the privilege of access to the Argive assembly (Stroud (1984) 200–1, 206). Aspendian *theoroi* were sent to Nemea and to Argos to participate in offerings to Zeus and Hera; the Aspendians were possibly granted *prohedria* (the reading is uncertain: Stroud (1984) 203–4).

It has been suggested that Aspendos became a member of the Delian League in the 450s (Meiggs (1972) 58, 102); but the only evidence of League membership is the restoration *[Ἄσπεν]δος [ἐμ Παμφ]υλίαι* in the assessment decree of 425/4 (*IG* I³ 71.II.155–56). Aspendos was possibly under Kilikian control *c.*401 (Xen. *An.* 1.2.12, a passage which distinguishes between Kilikians and Aspendians). In 388 the Aspendians were forced to pay a contribution to the Athenian commander Thrasyboulos, but later killed him in revenge for the conduct of his soldiers (Xen. *Hell.* 4.8.30). In 333 Aspendos sent *πρέσβεις αὐτοκράτορες* to Alexander the Great (Arr. *Anab.* 1.26.2) and was a subordinate party to a treaty with him (*Staatsverträge* 405).

The earliest evidence for public enactments is a decree of C4l/C3e granting citizenship to mercenaries (*SEG* 17 639). This decree attests a number of institutions indicative of *polis* status. Apart from those already mentioned are an eponymous *δημιουργός* (1), an *ἐκκλησία* (2), and a *ἱερὸν τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος* (13–14). A citizen of Aspendos was granted *proxenia* by Anaphe (no. 474) (*IG* XII.3 250; cf. *SEG* 41 1788 (C4l/C3e)).

Aphrodite Kastnietis, named after the mountain on which Aspendos was founded, had a cult in the city (Brandt (1988) 241 with refs.; cf. *supra*). The C4l–C3e citizenship decree (*supra*) mentions a sanctuary of Artemis (*SEG* 17 639.13–14; Brandt (1988) 241). C4–C3 coins (*infra*) testify to a cult of Athena (Brandt (1988) 242), and a cult of Zeus and Hera has been surmised on the basis of a late dedication (*SEG* 17 641; Robert (1960) 187–88; Brandt (1988) 243). The *kerykeion* of Hermes on C5–C1 coins may indicate a cult of this divinity as well (Brandt (1988) 247).

Aspendos was situated in the plain below the foothills of the Tauros mountains; it was on the river Eurymedon and in Antiquity was accessible for trade by sea (Xen. *Hell.* 4.8.30; Ps.-Skylax 101). In 333 it had a walled acropolis (*ἄκρα*) and a defence circuit enclosing the lower city (Arr. *Anab.* 1.26.5–27.3). There are no urban remains from the Greek history of the city.

Aspendos struck silver coins on the Persian standard from C5e. (1) Staters. Types: *obv.* naked warrior helmeted and armed with sword and shield fighting to r.; *rev.* triskeles, in field abbreviations of ethnic (*Estwediiys*) *E*, *EΣ*, *EΣT*, *EΣΠ* or *EΣTFE* (cf. *SGDI* 1259; Brixhe (1976) 194–99), and various symbols, all within incuse square. Lower denominations are obols and hemiobols: *obv.* vase; *rev.* triskeles. (2) C5l–C4: staters. *Obv.* wrestlers; *rev.* slinger, in field ethnic legend *EΣTFEΔIIYE* or various abbreviations, small triskeles and sometimes other symbols such as an eagle, in later issues a standing Eros; also various countermarks, all within incuse square. (3) *C.*420–360. Drachms: *obv.* galloping horseman hurling spear (Mopsos(?); cf. *LIMC* 6: 653.4); *rev.* standing or running boar in circular incuse, legends as above. Obols: *obv.* Gorgoneion; *rev.* head of Athena. Hemiobol: *obv.* Gorgoneion; *rev.* lion's head. (4) Bronze coinage from C4. Types: *obv.* head of Athena, or bridled horse, or shield; *rev.* sling, or head of Athena, or triskeles. The legend *ΑΣΠΕΝΔΙΩΝ* is found only after *c.*300 (Brixhe (1976) 191–200; *SNG Cop. Pamphylia* 153–235, 247–61, 436, erroneously attributed to Sillyon, *SNG Cop. Suppl.* 516–17; *SNG von Aulock* 4477–503).

Though it was allegedly an Argive foundation (Strabo 14.4.2), dialect inscriptions (*SGDI* 1259–64; *SEG* 38 1364–94, 41 1304–21) indicate a substantial indigenous Pamphylian population.

1002. Idyros Map 65. Long. 36.35, lat. 30.35. Size of territory: ? Type: A:*γ*. The toponym is *Ἴδυρος* (Hecat. fr. 260; Ps.-Skylax 100) or *Ἰδυρίς* (Steph. Byz. 327.2) or *Ἰτύρα* (*IG* I³ 71.II.147 (425/4): the identification with Idyros is suggested by *ATL* i. 493). There is no cogent reason to accept Meineke's conjectures *Ἰδυρεύς* and *Ἰδυρίς* for MSS *Γαυρεύς* and *Γαυρίς* at Arist. *De ventis* 973ª6–7. The only source to record a city-ethnic is Steph. Byz., who suggests *Ἰδυρίτης* (327.2).

Idyros is called a *polis* in the urban sense by Ps.-Skylax 100 (cf. Steph. Byz. 327.2, who may quote Hekataios for the site-classification and not just for the toponym (Hecat. fr. 260)). If the identification of Ityra with Idyros is accepted, the presumption is that it was a member of the Delian League and a *polis* in the political sense too: at least, it was assessed for tribute in 425/4 (*IG* I³ 71.II.147 (4,000 dr.)). It belonged to the Ionian district, which by then included the members of the former Karian district.

Idyros is placed in Pamphylia by Steph. Byz. 327.1, possibly citing Hekataios (fr. 260); Ps.-Skylax 100 places it in Lykia. Idyros' location is uncertain (Ruge (1916); cf. *TAVO* BV 15,15.2 and *Barr.* 65). It is normally identified with the ruins

found at modern Kemer on the Lykian Pamphylian border (Özoral (1980)). The 1980 investigation identified no Classical or Hellenistic remains. Hecat. fr. 260, as cited by Steph. Byz. 327.1, associates Idyros with a homonymous river, also mentioned by Theophr. fr. 5.53 (cf. *ATL* i. 493–94).

1003. Perge (Pergaios) Map 65. Lat. 37.00, long. 30.50. Size of territory: probably 5. Type: A:β. The toponym is $\Pi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\gamma\eta$, $\acute{\eta}$ (Ps.-Skylax 100, MSS $\pi\epsilon\lambda\pi\acute{\iota}\pi o\lambda\iota\varsigma$, conj. Salmassius; Arr. *Anab.* 1.26.1 (r333); Strabo 14.4.2; *IG* I^3 71.II.113 (425/4)). The city-ethnic is $\Pi\epsilon\rho\gamma\alpha\hat{\iota}o\varsigma$ (Arr. *Anab.* 1.25.9 (r333)); possibly Graeco–Pamphylian $\Pi\rho\epsilon\acute{\iota}o\varsigma$ on inscriptions (Merkelbach and Şahin (1988) no. 1 (C5l/C4e)). Perge is called a *polis* in the urban sense by Ps.-Skylax 100. The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested externally in Arr. *Anab.* 1.25.9 (r333) (Pergaian guides used by Alexander).

Perge may have been one of the cities allegedly founded by a mixed contingent of people, led by Amphilochos, Mopsos and Kalchas, in the aftermath of the fall of Troy, but the city is not specifically mentioned in the sources (cf. Hdt. 7.91; Strabo 14.4.3). Statues of mythological founders, including Mopsos and Kalchas, stood at the main gates of Roman Perge, as revealed by inscriptions on bases (Merkelbach and Şahin (1988) nos. 24, 27, imp.; Şahin (1999) 140–45; for Mopsos, see Hanfmann (1958)). Olshausen (1972) suggests that Perge was in fact founded in the Mycenaean period from the Argolid and Sparta. A Graeco-Pamphylian dialect was spoken in Perge (*SGDI* 1265; Ramsay (1880) 246; Blumenthal (1963) 46; Brixhe (1976)). Perge was probably an indigenous community gradually Hellenised from C7 onwards (Martin (2000) 562).

Perge was probably a member of the Delian League; at least, it was assessed for tribute in 425/4 (*IG* I^3 71.II.113). In 333 Alexander sent part of his force inland to Perge, whereas he himself took the route along the coast (Arr. *Anab.* 1.26.1).

Perge is placed in Lykia by Ps.-Skylax (see *supra*, introduction), and in Pamphylia by Strabo. The territory of Perge may have extended westwards to Telmessos and eastwards to the river Kastros, according to the distribution of inscriptions honouring Artemis Pergaia and coin finds (Jameson (1974) 376).

The city of Perge lay on a 50 m-high, flat plateau bordering upon the plain of Pamphylia, at modern Murtana; the city could be reached by the river Kestros (Strabo 14.4.2). The size of the Roman settlement area was *c.*61 ha (Jameson (1974) 375), but the original Greek settlement probably comprised only the northern part of the site, the so-called Acropolis Hill. The earliest extant urban remains are the C3 city walls and the Hellenistic Doric temple outside the southern gate (Bean (1979) 25–38; MacKay (1990) 2078).

A temple and a cult of Artemis Pergaia (*Wanassa Preiia*) is known from Ps.-Skylax 100 and Strabo 14.4.2 (cf. Brandt (1992)). According to Strabo, the location of the sanctuary was extra-urban (14.4.2) (such a location is probably also to be inferred from Ps.-Skylax 100; cf. Jameson (1974) 381 for further refs.). Remains of the Classical sanctuary have not been identified, but remains of a C3–C2 Doric temple and fragments from a large Ionic temple outside the south gate of the city have revealed a major sanctuary (MacKay (1990) 2066–67), possibly that of Artemis Pergaia. The cult with its annual festival (Strabo 14.4.2) is at least as old as the C5e–C4e dedication of $Ma\nu\alpha\psi\alpha\iota\ \ \Pi\rho\epsilon\iota\alpha\iota$ (Merkelbach and Şahin (1988) no. 1; Ps.-Skylax 100; Strabo 14.4.2; Brandt (1992); Lebrun (1992); MacKay (1990) 2048; cf. also the C4 inscription from Naukratis (*SGDI* 5772); full survey: MacKay (1990) 2048–58). The goddess was honoured by Pamphylians in general.

1004. Side (Sidetes) Map 65. Lat. 36.45, long. 31.25. Size of territory: 4. Type: A:β. The toponym is $\Sigma\acute{\iota}\delta\eta$, $\acute{\eta}$ (Hecat. fr. 262 = Steph. Byz. 565.10; Ps.-Skylax 101; Arr. *Anab.* 1.26.4 (r333); Strabo 14.4.2), from Graeco–Pamphylian *Sibdê*. The city-ethnic is $\Sigma\iota\delta\acute{\eta}\tau\eta\varsigma$ (Arr. *Anab.* 1.26.4) or $\Sigma\iota\delta\acute{\alpha}\tau\alpha\varsigma$ (Nollé (1993) 225, TEp 22). It is called a *polis* in the urban sense by Ps.-Skylax 101 (who adds $\kappa\alpha\grave{\iota}\ \lambda\iota\mu\acute{\eta}\nu$). The collective use of the city-ethnic may be attested internally in abbreviated form on a unique coin of C5m (*infra*). It is attested externally in an Attic list of mercenaries (*IG* II^2 1956.132 (*c.*300)) and in literary sources (Arr. *Anab.* 1.26.4–5). The individual use of the city-ethnic is attested externally in C4 sepulchral monuments from Rhodos (*I.Side* 225, TEp 22) and Attica (*IG* II^2 12600a), and internally on a marble base inscribed with the artist's name (*I.Side* 1 (C3e)).

Ps.-Skylax 101 and Steph. Byz. 565.10 place Side in Pamphylia. However, according to a story concerning the musician Stratonikos (Ath. 350A), Side was *not* situated in Pamphylia, but, presumably, in Kilikia. Side was probably the most important harbour in Pamphylia (if that is where it was), at least in Hellenistic times, with a large territory bordering on the territories of Aspendos (no. 1001), Etenna (Nollé (1984)), and Karallia (Nollé (1993) 12–15). Bean ((1979) 47 n. 1) suggests a border dispute with Aspendos, with whom relations were bad (Polyb. 5.73.4 (r218)).

Side was supposedly colonised from Kyme (no. 817) (Ps.-Skylax 101; Arr. *Anab.* 1.26.4; Strabo 14.4.2), possibly in C7l (Martin (2001) 517). The foundation myth was that Side was

named after Side, the daughter of Tauros and wife of Kimolos; it is reported by Steph. Byz. 565.10–12, perhaps quoting Hekataios (cf. Hecat. fr. 262). The tradition—found in Strabo, Ps.-Skylax and Arrian—that Side was a foundation of Aiolian Kyme probably has its origin in the age of Alexander the Great, but there may be a kernel of truth, reflecting early Kymaian colonisation in Pamphylia. An influx of C8–C7 Greek, possibly Aiolian, settlers at Side is conceivable, given the background of the traditions and the archaeological evidence of Greek influence in other Pamphylian and Kilikian cities; cf. Aspendos (no. 1001) and Soloi (no. 1011). However, the degree of Hellenisation cannot be determined by archaeology, and no Archaic Greek finds are mentioned by Mansel ((1965) 881) or by Nollé ((1993) 37; cf. also 45–47 for the linguistic evidence).

During the reign of Kroisos, Side lay within the Lydian sphere of influence (Hdt. 1.28), but after the fall of Lydia the region came under the rule of Persian satraps, and the city is absent from the Athenian tribute lists (historical survey: Nollé (1993) 47ff). According to tradition, the Sidetans gave up speaking their native Hellenic tongue (*Ἑλλάς γλῶσσα*, Arr. *Anab.* 1.26.4) and adopted a barbarian language (*ἐβαρβάριζον*, Arr. *Anab.* 1.26.4) which was spoken until the late Hellenistic period (C3 or C2). It has a non-Greek name (Mansel in Mansel and Neumann (1975) 171). On the Sidetan language and Greek–Sidetan bilinguals, see Neumann (1968); Brixhe (1969*a*); Nollé (1988).

The Greek history of Side commenced—or recommenced—in the early Hellenistic period with the occupation of the city by Alexander the Great, and with the growing Hellenisation reflected, for instance, in the Greek-sounding names of officials recorded on C4 coins (*infra*).

The city had a sanctuary of Athena (Strabo 14.4.2), and the head of this goddess is the most common coin type (*infra*), which testifies to the importance of her cult at Side (cf. Nollé (1993) 107–8). A late source (ibid. 262.4) gives Apollo as *ktistes*, and Apollo was depicted already on C5 coins (*infra*). The cults of Athena and Apollo undoubtedly took over from indigenous divinities (Mansel (1965) 880; Nollé (1993) 107), though Bing (1969) 111 suggests a connection with Athena Lindia.

The city is situated on a low coastal promontory *c.*9 km west of the estuary of the river Melas. There was direct access to a sandy bay which served as the only—not very convenient—harbour of the city (Mansel (1965) 899). The city encompassed the whole promontory, *c.*45 ha, in Hellenistic and Roman times, but probably comprised only the outermost peninsula in the Archaic and Classical periods. However, pre-Hellenistic urban remains are sparse; the impressive fortifications go back no earlier than C2m (Mansel (1965) 881, 897–99).

Side struck silver coins on the Persic standard from *c.*450/430 to 330; for the mint within Persian suzerainty, see Nollé (1993) 49–50. The initial date of minting has been disputed, but is now placed after 450 (Kraay (1976) 275; Nollé (1993) 37, 49; for the coinage of Side: Atlan (1967); Kraay (1969); Brixhe (1969*b*)). (1) A unique stater of C5m has *obv.* pomegranate; legend: *ΣΙΔΗ* (retr.); *rev.* raven. Uncertain legend in Sidetan–Pamphylian alphabet (Destrooper-Georgiades (1995)). (2) Staters, C5s: *obv.* pomegranate resting on dolphin; *rev.* head of Athena in Corinthian helmet, in incuse square. Lower denominations are tetrobols and obols, types as above. (3) Rare early issues have two dolphins and a sprig of olive or a head of Apollo as *rev.* types. (4) Staters with *obv.* pomegranate and *rev.* head of Athena continue in later issues. Lower denominations are tetrobols and obols, types as above: *obv.* lion's head, or Gorgoneion; *rev.* head of Athena in Corinthian helmet, in incuse square. (5) *C.*C4e–300 new types were introduced: staters: *obv.* standing Athena resting on shield or spear, holding owl or Nike, in field a pomegranate; *rev.* Apollo wearing only *chlamys* standing before an altar holding patera and laurel branch, in field legends naming officials in the Sidetan alphabet. For the stereotypically statue-based renderings of the divinities, see Nollé (1993) 51, 112. (*SNG Cop. Pamphylia* 369–78; *Suppl.* 520).

B. Kilikia

1005. Aphrodisias Map 66. Lat. 36.10, long. 33.40. Size of territory: ? Type: C:*γ*. The toponym is *Ἀφροδίσιος* (Ps.-Skylax 102) or *Ἀφροδισιάς, -άδος, ἡ* (Alex. Polyh. (*FGrHist* 273) fr. 29 (= Steph. Byz. 150.11), citing Zopyros; Diod. 19.64.5 (r315)). Ps.-Skylax describes it as a *λιμήν*; Diodorus, Ps.-Skylax and Alexander Polyhistor place it in Kilikia. Alexander Polyhistor relates a foundation myth.

The territory of Aphrodisias must have comprised the coastal lowland of the river Melas, later, with the foundation of Seleukeia, probably annexed by this city. Aphrodisias is situated on the eastern side of the isthmus joining the promontory of Zephyrion with its hinterland, *c.*31 km south-west of Seleukeia. The city had harbours on the western and eastern sides of the peninsula (Ps.-Skylax 102; cf. Hellenkemper and Hild (1986) 28 n. 12 for the suggestion that the eastern harbour is the *limen heteros* of Holmoi (no. 1006)). The early remains are on two hills to the south-west of the isthmus (Bean and Mitford (1970) 193–94 fig. 8).

These, separated by a gully, were fortified by C5–C4 walls raised in cyclopean and in polygonal masonry, strengthened with square towers and a curtain-wall. The settlement area on the small plateau above the eastern harbour comprised *c.*15 ha, but no extant remains are Greek (*TIB* 5: 194).

A cult of Aphrodite is suggested partly by the name of the city (cf. the foundation myth (Steph. Byz. 150.13)) and partly by the evidence of the coin types (*infra*).

Aphrodisias struck silver coins on the Aiginetan standard from *c.*520 (Imhoof-Blumer (1901–2) 433–36). *Obv.* female(?) figure in *Knielauf* holding uncertain object; *rev.* baetyl in incuse square (Head, *HN*² 717). From *c.*485: *obv.* winged female figure in *Knielauf* holding *kerykeion* or staff or wreath; *rev.* baetyl in incuse square; legend: letters of uncertain meaning (Head, *HN*² 717). From *c.*379–374, the time of Pharnabazos(?), coins were perhaps struck at this mint on the Persic standard. Staters: *obv.* Aphrodite seated between sphinxes; *rev.* Athena Parthenos (cf. Kraay (1976) 280, 283; Head, *HN*² 718). Obols: *obv.* Gorgoneion; *rev.* seated sphinx (*SNG Cop. Cilicia* 68). Other *obv.* types, all obols, carry beardless head, or head of Hermes, or facing female head; and *rev.* head of Aphrodite, or Aphrodite seated between sphinxes, or sphinx.

1006. Holmoi (Holmites) Map 66. Lat. 36.20, long. 33.55. Size of territory: ? Type: A:*α*. The toponym is *Ὅλμοι* (Ps.-Skylax 102; Strabo 14.5.4). The city-ethnic *Ὁλμίτης* is attested on C4 coins (*infra*). Ps.-Skylax 102 describes it as a *polis Hellenis*, *polis* being used in the urban sense.

The population of Holmoi was transferred to Seleukeia on the Kalykadnos when that city was founded in 312 (Strabo. 14.5.4). However, Holmoi may have continued to serve as the harbour of Seleukeia, and the toponym survived into the Byzantine period (*TIB* 5: 272). Coin types may indicate cults of Athena and of Apollo (*infra*).

Holmoi is placed in Kilikia (Ps.-Skylax 102; Strabo 14.5.4) and is identified with the modern site of Taşucu, on the coast *c.*8 km south-west of Seleukeia. The city probably occupied the upper part of the coastal plateau (Blumenthal (1963) 114 fig. 38, 120). There are no urban remains from the Greek history of the city (*TIB* 5: 272).

Holmoi struck silver coins on the Persian standard from C4 (Imhoof-Blumer (1901–2) 453–54; *BMC Lycaonia* 109–10). Staters: *obv.* standing Athena holding Nike; *rev.* Apollo Sarpedonios; legend: *ΟΛΜΙΤΙΚΟΝ*. Smaller denominations (including some in bronze) have *obv.* head of Athena; *rev.* head of Apollo, or of a goddess; legend: *ΟΛΜΙΤΙΚΟΝ* or *ΟΛΜΙΤΟΝ* or abbreviations (Head, *HN*² 721).

1007. Issos (Isseus) Map 67. Lat. 36.50, long. 36.10. Size of territory: ? Type: A:*γ*. The toponym is *Ἰσσός, ἡ* (Diod. 17.32.4; Arr. *Anab.* 2.7.1 (r333)) or *Ἰσσός, ὁ* (Strabo 14.5.8; Ael. *HA* 6.48) or *Ἰσσοί* (Xen. *An.* 1.2.24, 1.4.1). It was renamed *Νικόπολις* by Alexander the Great (Steph. Byz. 340.2; however, Strabo 14.5.19 distinguishes the two). The city-ethnic is *Ἰσσεύς* on some coins of *c.*400 (*infra*); Steph. Byz. 340.3 suggests *Ἰσσαῖος*. Issos is called a *polis*, in the urban sense, by Xen. *An.* 1.4.1 and Diod. 14.21.1 (r401). Xenophon describes it as *μεγάλην καὶ εὐδαίμονα* and places it in Kilikia (*An.* 1.4.1), as does Diod. 14.21.1.

Issos was situated on a *c.*6,000 m²-wide coastal plateau near the estuary of the river Pinaros, on the western border of Kilikia Pedia (cf. Diod. 14.21.1; Strabo 14.5.1; for the identification of the site with Yeşil (Kinet) Hüyük, see Hellenkemper (1984)). *TIB* 5: 278 refers to Hellenistic pottery, but no Greek urban remains have been recorded.

A silver coinage struck by local officials on the Persian standard from *c.*400 has been attributed to Issos (the most recent survey is Brindley (1993)). (1) Staters: *obv.* bearded Baal holding sceptre releases bird; *rev.* Ahuramazda with human upper body and winged lower body. On some the *obv.* legend is *ΙΣΣΕΩΝ* (information from Peter Franke) or *ΙΣΣΙΚΟΝ* and Teribazu in Aramaic (Head *HN*² 722; *SNG von Aulock* 5601; Brindley (1993) 4–5). (2) Coins struck in the period of the Satrap's Revolt *c.*380–370 are very similar to contemporary issues of Side (no. 1004), Nagidos (no. 1010) and Holmoi (no. 1006). Staters: *obv.* naked Apollo standing l. holding patera; legend: *ΑΠΑΤΡΙΟΥ* and *ΙΣΣΙ*, or variants; *rev.* naked Herakles standing r. holding club, bow and arrow, and lion skin (*SNG Cop. Cilicia* 153–55; Brindley (1993) 7–8). (3) Another issue from the same period has *obv.* head of Athena, in style of Athena Parthenos; legend: *ΙΣΙ* (Brindley (1993) 8).

The coinage is the only evidence for Hellenisation in the Classical period; there is no tradition of Greek colonisation, and Issos may well have been a barbarian rather than a Hellenic *polis*.

1008. Kelenderis Map 66. Lat. 36.10, long. 33.20. Size of territory: ? Type: A:*α*. The toponym is *Κελένδερις, -έως* (*IG* I³ 71.146; Strabo 14.5.3; *Stadiasmus* 192). The MSS of Ps.-Skylax 102 have *Κελενδρίς*, emended in *GGM*. Kelenderis is called a *polis* in the urban sense by Ps.-Skylax 102. That it was a *polis* in the political sense too is indicated by its membership of the Delian League. At least, it was assessed for tribute in 425/4 (*IG* I³ 71.146), 2 tal.

Kelenderis was a Greek colony founded by Samos (no. 864) (Pompon. 1.77 (with Nagidos); Hdn. III.2 925.7). The

Samian foundation is tentatively dated before 700 (Shipley (1987) 41–42). A cult of Hera was taken over from the *metropolis* Samos (Hdn. *Περὶ μον. λέξ.* 925.7, Lentz). C8l Greek sherds from Tarsos attest Greek presence in Kilikia from this period (Braun (1982) 15).

Ps.-Skylax 102 places Kelenderis in Kilikia. It lay on a coastal promontory, protecting the natural harbour below; a larger harbour was situated 1.6 km to the west. Strabo 14.5.3 describes it as having a *λιμήν*. Urban remains from the Greek history of the site are sparse; some stretches of the circuit wall are probably Greek, though no chronology is offered (*TIB* 5: 298).

Kelenderis struck silver coins on the Persic standard from C5m. (1) Staters: *obv.* nude horseman with whip riding to l.; *rev.* goat kneeling l. head reverted, at times symbols in field, all within incuse circle; legends on either *obv.* or *rev.* *ΚΕΛ*, *ΚΕΛΕΝ* (*SNG Cop. Cilicia* 76–78; Kraay (1962) 2–6); one issue has *ΚΕΛΕΝΔΕΡΙΤΙΚΟΝ* (Head, *HN*² 719). (2) Lower denominations: thirds with types as above (*SNG von Aulock* 5333–34), obols, hemiobols: *obv.* forepart of Pegasos; *rev.* forepart of goat; legend: *ΚΕΛ* (*SNG Cop. Cilicia* 79–80); or Gorgoneion, or head of Athena or other types (*SNG von Aulock* 5614–16). (3) From *c.*400–333, staters: types and legends as above, but *obv.* horseman riding r. (*SNG Cop. Cilicia* 81–84, 90–91; *SNG von Aulock* 5630–38); obols, types as above and *obv.* horse prancing, or head of Herakles (*SNG Cop. Cilicia* 85–89, 92–94).

1009. Mallos (Marlotas, Mallotes) Map 66. Lat. 36.45, lat. 35.30. Size of territory: ? Type: A:*β*. The toponym is *Μαλλός*, *ἡ* (Arist. *De ventis* 973[a]1; Ps.-Skylax 102; Arr. *Anab.* 2.5.9; Eust. *Comm. Dionys. Per.* 875) or *Μάλος* (Diod. 19.56.5). The city-ethnic is *Μαρλότας* on C5l/C4e coins (*infra*) or *Μαλλώτης* (Arr. *Anab.* 2.5.9). Mallos is called a *polis* in the urban sense by Ps.-Skylax 102. The collective use of the city-ethnic is found internally on coinage (*infra*), and externally in Arr. *Anab.* 2.5.9 (r333).

The Mallotai were supposedly *ἄποικοι* of Argos (no. 347) (Arr. *Anab.* 2.5.9; cf. Bing (1969) 110). A foundation myth involved the Argive hero Amphilochos and Mopsos (Strabo 14.5.16; cf. *supra* 1216). There was a cult of Amphilochos in Mallos (Arr. *Anab.* 2.5.9 (r333)), and his famous oracle in Mallos is attested in late sources (Bosworth (1980) 197). The Aramaic coin legends, however, should be noted, and it has been suggested that the name indicates a Phoenician origin (Triedler (1969)). Alexander the Great conquered Mallos in 333 and put an end to an ongoing *stasis* between the citizens (Arr. *Anab.* 2.5.9).

Mallos is placed in Kilikia by Ps.-Skylax 102 and Diod. 19.56.5. It has been identified with the urban remains on a hill above the river Ceyhan (ancient Pyramos), near the present-day village of Kiziltahta. According to local inhabitants, an inscription mentioning the city was found in the vicinity (*AnatSt* (1974) 28). Mallos' harbour was Magarsos (see *supra* 1213), and the two cities became Antiocheia on the Pyramos during the reign of Antiochos IV. The extant urban remains are Roman (*TIB* 5: 337).

Mallos struck coins from C5s on the Persian standard. (1) Staters: *obv.* semi-nude male winged figure in *Knielauf* to r., holding disk with star on it, at times Aramaic legend; *rev.* swan, in field various symbols; legend: *ΜΑΡΛΟΤΑΝ*, *ΜΑΡΛΟ*, *ΜΑΛΡΟ* or other abbreviations. Other types are *obv.* bearded winged figure in *Knielauf* holding disk, various symbols in field; *rev.* as above. An issue attested by a single specimen has *obv.* Hermes riding l. on a ram; *rev.* male winged figure in *Knielauf* to l. carrying disk; legend: *ΜΑΡ*. Minor denominations have *obv.* bearded head of Herakles, or head of Athena, or head of Aphrodite and *rev.* types as above; legend: *ΜΑΛ*. (2) *C.*385–333 Mallos issued a rich coinage with a great variety of types. Staters: *obv.* Dionysos; *rev.* male figure ploughing. Or *obv.* head of Kronos; *rev.* Demeter. Or *obv.* Baal standing resting on sceptre; *rev.* Ahuramazda (issue of Tiribazos, 386–380)). Or *obv.* Athena seated; *rev.* Hermes and Aphrodite standing. Or *obv.* head of Herakles; *rev.* bearded satrap; head of Aphrodite. Or *obv.* head of satrap; *rev.* legend: *ΜΑΛ* or *ΜΑΛΛΩΤΗΣ* (Imhoof-Blumer (1901–2) 467–68; Kraay (1962) 7–8; *SNG Cop. Cilicia* 164–65, *Suppl.* 580–81; *SNG von Aulock*, 5705–6, 5708–10).

1010. Nagidos (Nagideus) Map 66. Lat. 36.05, long. 33.00. Size of territory: ? Type: A:*α*. The toponym is *Νάγιδος*, *ἡ* (Hecat. fr. 266; Ps.-Skylax 102; Strabo 14.6.3, conj. Corais; *SEG* 39 1426.46 (after 238)). The city-ethnic is *Ναγιδεύς* (*SEG* 39 1426.4 (after 238); C4e coins (*infra*)). It is called a *polis* in the urban sense by Hecat. fr. 266 (Hansen (1997) 24) and Ps.-Skylax 102. It is placed between Pamphylia and Kilikia by Steph. Byz. 466.24, possibly citing Hecat. fr. 266, and in Kilikia by Ps.-Skylax 102. The *metropolis* was supposedly Samos (no. 864) (Pompon. 1.77; cf. Shipley (1987) 41–42), and Hecat. fr. 266 identifies an eponymous founder, Nagis.

On the basis of Strabo, who mentions Nagidos as the first city after Anemourion (14.5.3, cf. 14.6.3), the city has been identified with the ruins of Bozyazı, *c.*18 km east of Anemourion. Nagidos was situated on a coastal plateau,

fortified with a circuit wall, of which substantial segments are extant. The C5–C4 fortification was built in polygonal and isodomic masonry, strengthened with square bastions. The few other urban remains are Roman, but surface finds cover C4 through Roman periods. The cemetery of the Greek city on the slopes of the settlement plateau has been investigated (*TIB* 5: 363–64; Bean and Mitford (1970) 191–92).

Nagidos struck silver coins from C5l on the Persian standard. Staters: *obv.* Aphrodite seated l. on throne holding phiale, crowned by Eros; *rev.* bearded Dionysos, in *himation*, standing l. holding *thyrsos* and grapes; legend: ΝΑΓΙΔΙΚΟΝ or ΝΑΓΙΔ, all in incuse circle. Variant types have *rev.* Dionysos in *chlamys* holding kantharos; legend: ΝΑΓΙΔΕΩΝ. Or *obv.* head of bearded Dionysos with ivy wreath; *rev.* head of Athena, legends as above. Smaller denominations are tetrobols: types as above, and obols: *obv.* head of Aphrodite; *rev.* head of Dionysos, or standing Dionysos, or head of Pan, or kantharos. The mint produced coins until *c.*333, with variations of the above types. Nagidos also issued a bronze coinage in the same period (*SNG Cop. Cilicia* 174–84; *Suppl.* 588; *SNG von Aulock* 5748–52).

1011. Soloi (Soleus) Map 66. Lat. 36.45, long. 34.30. Size of territory: ? Type: A:*α*. The toponym is Σόλοι, οἱ (Hecat. fr. 268 = Steph. Byz. 581.12; Xen. *An.* 1.2.24; Ps.-Skylax 102; Strabo 14.5.8, 17 (rC4l); Eust. *Comm. Dionys. Per.* 875) or Σώλεια, ἡ (Dion. Epic. fr. 5, Müller, *GGM* II, xxvii (undated)). The city-ethnic is Σολεύς (C5 coins (*infra*); *Lind. Temp. Chron.* (*FGrHist* 532) C.33; Polyb. 21.24.11 (190/89)) or, exceptionally, Σόλιος (some C5 coins (*infra*); cf. Stroud (1984) 201 n. 24. Soloi is called a *polis Hellenis* in the urban sense by Ps.-Skylax 102. The earliest attestation of the political sense is Polyb. 21.24.10. The collective use of the city-ethnic is found internally on Classical coins (*infra*), and externally in *Lind. Temp. Chron.* (*FGrHist* 532) C.33 (rC6 or rC5)) and at Polyb. 21.24.11.

Hes. fr. 279, MW, associates Soloi with the death of Amphilochos; Euphorion fr. 1 (Scheidweiler) and Diog. Laert. 1.51 report that the name originally derived from Solon and believe it to be an Athenian colony. Soloi was allegedly founded by Lindos (no. 997) on Rhodos and by Achaians (Strabo 14.5.8, 17). Bing (1971) suggests a foundation date of 700–600; Boardman ((1980) 50) suggests C7e (but notes that there is no archaeological evidence). For a pre-C7 colonisation by Argos (no. 347), see Pompon. 1.13; Polyb. 21.24.11; Livy 37.56.7 (with Blumenthal (1963) 106). Ps.-Skylax 102 describes Soloi as a *polis Hellenis*, and inscriptions in Doric Greek are known from the site (Erzen (1940) 71 n. 118), though the term σολοικίζειν, "speaking incorrectly", is supposed to derive from Kilikian Soloi (Strabo 14.2.28; cf. Diog. Laert. 1.51). It has been suggested that originally it was a Phoenician colony settled by Rhodians in C8 (Olshausen (1975)).

The Argive foundation of Soloi and kinship between Argos (no. 347) and Soloi are reflected in the Argive decree (*SEG* 34 282) which grants citizenship to the Aspendians and access to the Argive *aliaia* (cf. Aspendos (no. 1001)) and refers to similar rights as granted previously, i.e. before *c.*330, to Soloi (Stroud (1984) 201–2, 208).

In 333 Alexander the Great fined the city for its support for Persia (Arr. *Anab.* 2.5.5) and gave it a democratic constitution (*Anab.* 2.5.8). A dedication was made to Athana Lindia, prior to C3, possibly in C5 or even in C6 according to Blinkenberg ((*FGrHist* 532) C.33).

Soloi was situated on a coastal plateau on the estuary of the river Liparis. The urban remains of the *c.*35 ha settlement site are no earlier than the late Hellenistic period (*TIB* 5: 382). An acropolis is mentioned by Curt. 3.7.2.

Soloi struck silver coins from *c.*480 to 333. (1) Sigloi of the royal Persian type, *c.*480: *obv.* Amazon examining bow l.; *rev.* rough rectangular incuse. (2) In *c.*460 followed a first issue of staters on the Persic standard: *obv.* type as above; *rev.* bunch of grapes, no legend. (3) From *c.*440 staters: *obv.* Amazon kneeling l. wearing pointed cap, holding bow, in field bow case and quiver; *rev.* bunch of grapes; legend: ΣΟ or ΣΟΛΕΩΝ, at times letters, possibly magistrates' initials, all within incuse square. Lower denominations are tetrobols (types as above), obols and hemiobols: *obv.* head of Amazon; *rev.* as above. (4) Later issues have *obv.* head of Athena in Athenian helmet; *rev.* bunch of grapes; legend: ΣΟΛΙ, or ΣΟΛΙΟ, or ΣΟΛΙΟΝ, or the ktetic ΣΟΛΙΚΟΝ. Lesser denominations are obols and hemiobols (types as above). (5) From 386 to 333, staters: *obv.* head of Herakles; *rev.* bearded head of satrap in Persian tiara; legend: ΣΟΛΕΩΝ or ΣΟΛΙΚΟΝ. Also staters with types as above, but on *rev.* owl in field. (6) In C4 also an issue of bronze coins: *obv.* head of Athena; *rev.* bunch of grapes; legend: ΣΟΛΕΩΝ and magistrates' names (Head, *HN*² 728; Brindley (1994) 264–65, groups 1–7; *SNG Cop. Cilicia* 223–38; *SNG von Aulock* 5857–65).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

AnnotNum = Annotazione Numismatiche (Milan).

Anti, C. 1923. "Esplorazioni archeologiche nella Licia e nella Panfilia", *MonAnt* 29: 657–782.

Atlan, S. 1967. *Untersuchungen über die sidetischen Münzen des V. und IV. Jhdts. v. Chr.* (Ankara).

Barnett, R. D. 1953. "Karatepe, the Key to the Hittite Hieroglyphs", *AnatSt* 3: 53–95.

Bean, G. E. 1979. *Turkey's Southern Shore*² (London).

——and Mitford, T. B. 1970. *Journeys in Rough Cilicia 1964–1968*, Ergänzungsbände zu den *TAM* 3 (Vienna).

BiblInstFrancStAnatIstanb = Bibliothèque de L'Institut Français d'Études Anatoliennes d'Istanbul.

Bing, J. D. 1969. "A History of Cilicia during the Assyrian Period" (Ann Arbor: University Microfilms).

——1971. "Tarsus: A Forgotten Colony of Lindos", *JNES* 30: 99–109.

Blumenthal, E. 1963. *Die altgriechische Siedlungskolonisation im Mittelmeeraum unter besondere Berücksichtigung der Südkuste Kleinasiens* (Tübingen).

Boardman, J. 1980. *The Greeks Overseas*³ (London).

Bossert, H. T. 1950–51. "Die phönizisch-hetitischen Bilinguen vom Karatepe. 3. Fortsetzung", *JKF* 1: 264–95.

Bosworth, A. B. 1980. *A Historical Commentary on Arrian's History of Alexander*, i: *Commentary on Books I–III* (Oxford).

Brandt, H. 1988. "Kulte in Aspendos", *IstMitt* 38: 237–50.

——1992. *Gesellschaft und Wirtschaft Pamphyliens und Pisidiens im Altertum* (Bonn).

Braun, T. F. R. G. 1982. "The Greeks in the Near East", *CAH*² iii.3. 1–31.

Brindley, J. C. 1993. "Early Coinages Attributable to Issus", *NC* 153: 1–10.

——1994. "A Note on the Amazon Coins of Soli in Cilicia", *NC* 102.6: 264–65; 102.7: 303.

Brixhe, C. 1969*a*. "L'alphabet épichorique de Sidé", *Kadmos* 8: 54–84.

——1969*b*. "Un nouveau document de Sidé", *Kadmos* 8: 143–51.

——1976. *Le Dialecte grec de Pamphylie: documents et grammaire* (Paris).

——1991. "Etymologie et onomastique en pays bilingue", *RPhil* 65: 67–81.

Desideri, P., and Jasink, A. M. 1990. *Cilicia: dall'età di Kizzuwatna alla conquista macedone* (Turin).

Destrooper-Georgiades, A. 1995. "An Unusual Coin from Side", *NomChron* 14: 13–17.

Dunbabin, T. J. 1957. *The Greeks and their Eastern Neighbours* (London).

Erzen, A. 1940. *Kilikien bis zum Ende der Perserherrschaft* (Leipzig).

——1973. "Das Besiedlungsproblem Pamphyliens im Altertum", *AA* 388–401.

Garstang, J. 1953. *Prehistoric Mersin, Yümük Tepe in Southern Turkey* (Oxford).

Gjerstad, E. 1934. "Cilician Studies", *RA* ser. 6.3: 155–203.

Goldman, H. 1963. *Excavations at Gözlü Kule, Tarsus*, iii (Princeton).

Hanfmann, G. M. A. 1958. "Lydiaka", *HSCP* 63: 65–88.

Hansen, M. H. 1997. "Hekataios' Use of the Word *Polis* in his *Periegesis*", *CPCPapers* 4: 17–27.

Hellenkemper, H. 1984. "Das wiedergefundene Issos", in J. Ozols and V. Thewalt (eds.), *Aus dem Osten des Alexanderreichs: Festschrift zum 65. Geburtstag von Klaus Fischer* (Cologne) 43–50.

——and Hild, F. 1986. *Neue Forschungen in Kilikien*, *VTIB* 4, *DenkschrWien* 186 (Vienna).

Hereward, D. 1958. "Inscriptions from Pamphylia and Isauria", *JHS* 78: 57–77.

Houghton, A. 1984. "The Seleucid Mint of Mallus and the Cult Figure of Athena Magarsia", in A. Houghton *et al.* (eds.), *Festschrift für Leo Mildenberg: Numismatik, Kunstgeschichte, Archäologie* (Wetteren) 91–110.

Imhoof-Blumer, F. 1901–2. *Kleinasiatische Münzen* (Vienna).

Jameson, S. 1974. "Perge", *RE* suppl. xiv. 375–83.

Keen, A. G. 1997. "Alexander's Invasion of Lycia: Its Route and Purpose", *Ancient History Bulletin* 11: 110–18.

——2002. "The *Poleis* of the Southern Anatolian Coast (Lycia, Pamphylia, Pisidia) and their Civic Identity: The 'Interface' between the Hellenic and the Barbarian *Polis*", in A. M. Snodgrass and G. R. Tsetskhladze (eds.), *Greek Settlements in the Eastern Mediterranean and the Black Sea* (Oxford) 27–40.

Kraay, C. M. 1962. "The Celenderis Hoard", *NC* ser. 7.2: 1–15.

——1969. "Notes on the Mint of Side in the Fifth Century B.C.", *NC* ser. 7.9: 15–20.

——1976. *Archaic and Classical Greek Coins* (London).

Küpper, M. 1996. "Sillyon: Vorbericht über die Arbeiten", *AA* 259–68.

Landsberger, B. 1948. *Sam'al: Studien zur Entdeckung der Ruinen-stätte Karatepe* (Ankara).

Lebrun, R. 1992. "De quelques cultes lyciens et pamphyliens", in H. Otten *et al.* (eds.), *Hittite and Other Near Eastern Studies in Honour of Sedat Alp* (Ankara) 357–63.

Lloyd, S., and Storm Rice, D. 1958. *Alanya ('Ala'iyya)* (London/Ankara).

MacKay, T. S. 1990. "The Major Sanctuaries of Pamphylia and Cilicia", *ANRW* 2.18.3: 2045–2129

Mansel, A. M. 1965. "Side", *RE* x suppl. 879–918.

——and Neumann, G. 1975. "Side", *KlPauly* v. 171–74.

Martin, W. 2000. "Perge", *Neue Pauly* ix. 562–64.

——2001. "Side", *Neue Pauly* xi. 517–19.

Meiggs, R. 1972. *The Athenian Empire* (Oxford).

Merkelbach, R., and Şahin, S. 1988. "Inschriften von Perge", *EA* 11: 97–170.
Neumann, G. 1968. "Zur Entzifferung der Sidetischen Inschriften", *Kadmos* 7: 75–93.
Nollé, J. 1984. "Etenna: ein Vorbericht", *EA* 3: 143–56.
—— 1988. "Mitteilungen zu sidetischen Inschriften", *Kadmos* 27: 57–62.
—— 1993. *Side im Altertum: Geschichte und Zeugnisse*, i, *IGSK* 43 (Bonn).
Özoral, T. 1980. "Idyros kazısı/Fouilles d'Idyros (1976–1977)", in H. Metzger (ed.), *Actes du colloque sur la Lycie antique*, Bibliothèque de l'Institut Français d'Études Anatoliennes d'Istanbul 27 (Paris) 101–7.
Olshausen, E. 1972. "Perge", *KlPauly* iv. 631–32.
—— 1975. "Soloi", *KlPauly* v. 262.
Osborne, M. J., and Byrne, S. G. 1996. *The Foreign Residents of Athens* (Leuven).
Ramsay, W. M. 1880. "Notes and Rectifications; Pamphylian Inscriptions", *JHS* 1: 242–57.
Robert, L. 1963. *Noms indigènes dans l'Asie Mineure gréco-romaine*, i (Paris).
—— 1960. *Hellenica*, xi–xii (Paris).
Roebuck, C. 1959. *Ionian Trade and Colonization* (New York).
Ruge, W. 1916. "Idyros", *RE* ix. 919–20.
—— 1927. "Lyrnas", *RE* xiii.2. 2500.
—— 1935, "Mopsu(h)estia", *RE* xvi.1. 243–50.
Şahin, S. (ed.) 1999. *Die Inschriften von Perge*, i, *IGSK* 54 (Bonn).
Salmeri, G. 2003. "Process of Hellenization in Cilicia", *Olba* (KAAM, Mersin) 8: 265–93.
Seton-Williams, M. V. 1954. "Cilician Survey", *AnatSt* 4: 122–74.
Shipley, G. 1987. *A History of Samos 800–188 B.C.* (Oxford).
Stroud, R. 1984. "An Argive Decree from Nemea concerning Aspendos", *Hesperia* 53: 193–216.
TAVO = *Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients* (Tübingen).
TIB 5 = F. Hild and H. Hellenkemper, *Kilikien und Isaurien*, *Tabula Imperii Byzantini* 5 (Vienna, 1990).
Triedler, H. 1969. "Mallos", *KlPauly* iii. 935–36.
VTIB = *Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für die Tabula Imperii Byzantini*
Winter, F. 1971. *Greek Fortifications* (Toronto).

CYPRUS

FRANZ GEORG MAIER

I. The Island

The name of the island is Κύπρος, ἡ (Hom. *Od.* 4.83; Hdt. 1.199.5); the ethnic is Κύπριος (Pind. *Pyth.* 2.16; Hdt. 1.105.3). During the Archaic and Classical periods (*c.*750–*c.*325) Cyprus was divided into local kingdoms—relatively small political units whose rulers were vassals first of Assyria (C8l–*c.*663 (*c.*612?)), then of Egypt (*c.*570–526/5), and finally of Achaemenid Persia (526/5–332).[1] Our information about the history of Cyprus in these times is unfortunately scanty and often confused. Extant contemporary written sources are confined to Herodotos, Isokrates, Ps.-Skylax, some fragments of authors such as Solon, Aristotle and Klearchos of Soloi, and to syllabic inscriptions. The archaeological evidence is uneven, to say the least: "While the major settlements remain largely unexcavated, it is the cemeteries which provide most of our available information."[2]

Hellenistic and Roman inscriptions and literary texts also refer to cities in the island as *poleis*. From a methodological point of view, however, this later evidence cannot be used retrospectively in order to determine whether a Cypriot city was a *polis* (or was considered as such) in Archaic or Classical times. After the abolition of the kingdoms between 313 and 306,[3] the cities began to evolve institutions modelled on the traditional Greek *polis*.[4] A digraphic inscription from Amathous, in which *he polis he Amathousion* honours a citizen, attests the beginnings of this process.[5] Later writers such as Diodorus may be fairly reliable witnesses for political and military events in Cyprus, or for the cults of the cities; but their designation of a city as a *polis* reflects more likely than not its status in the Hellenistic or Roman period.

The earliest evidence for the kingdoms of Cyprus are inscriptions of Sargon II (709) which mention seven kings of *Yadnana* (Kypros) paying tribute.[6] A prism of Essarhadon (673/2) and an identical list of Ashurbanipal (664) name ten kingdoms of Cyprus.[7] Of these, eight can be identified: Idalion, Chytroi, Salamis, Paphos, Soloi, Kourion, Tamassos, Ledroi. *Qartihadast* very likely equals Kition, while *Nûria* defies identification, although it is sometimes equated with Amathous.

From C6l to C4l, when Cyprus formed part of the Fifth Satrapy (Hdt. 3.91.1), twelve local kingdoms are securely attested in contemporary literary and epigraphical sources: Salamis, Lapethos, Soloi, Marion, Tamassos, Idalion, Amathous, Kourion, Paphos, Karpasia, Keryneia and Kition.[8] Diodorus confirms the continuing political division of Cyprus when he reports that by C4m the island had nine πόλεις ἀξιόλογοι, ruled by a king who was in turn a vassal of the Great King (16.42.4); he probably no longer counted Idalion and Tamassos.[9] The numbers of kingdoms given by the various ancient authors never tally exactly, but as it is obvious that critical caution has to be exercised with regard to the reliability of such lists, there seems no point in arguing too finely about the differences. There can be no doubt, however, that the number of kingdoms did vary to a certain extent.[10]

The Cypriot kingdoms are often called "city kingdoms", but this term seems somehow incongruous. The kings of Cyprus ruled over fairly large territories which comprised, besides the city which served both as residence and

[1] See in general Hill (1949); for the Archaic period, see Karageorghis (1982*a*) 530–33, (1982*b*); Reyes (1994); for the Classical period, see Collombier (1991), (1993); Maier (1994).

[2] Coldstream (1985) 53.

[3] See Collombier (1993) 127–41.

[4] Mehl (1996*a*) 127–28, 142–44; see also Collombier (1993) 121.

[5] *ICS* 196b; after the end of the last king, Androkles: Mitford (1953) 87; Masson (1983) 207; Mehl (1995) 102 n. 20; Collombier (1993) 136.

[6] Saporetti (1976); Elayi and Cavigneaux (1979).

[7] Campbell Thompson (1931); Borger (1956) 60; Pritchard (1969) 290–91, 294; see Hill (1949) 105–8; Karageorghis (1982) 57–59; Reyes (1994) 58–60.

[8] Karpasia (no. 1014) and Keryneia (no. 1015) appear—together with Salamis (no. 1020), Lapethos (no. 1017), Soloi (no. 1021), Marion (no. 1018), and Amathous (no. 1012)—as *poleis* in Ps.-Skylax 103. As this *Periplous* seems to have been compiled at the end of C4 ("c. 325 B.C.", *OCD*² 802; "late 4th cent.", *OCD*³ 1141), it may with some confidence be considered as a more or less contemporary source.

[9] Collombier (1991) 29, 38 lists for C4 Salamis, Kition, Amathous, Kourion, Paphos, Marion, Soloi, Lapethos and Keryneia.

[10] See also Collombier (1991) 28–30.

administrative centre, small towns and villages. Diodorus hints at this state of affairs when he refers to *μικρὰ πολίσματα* dependent on the *πόλεις ἀξιόλογοι* (16.42.4 (rC4m)). Most of these smaller settlements are known from archaeological evidence only. The settlement patterns, and especially the relations between centre and periphery, are now being investigated by a number of survey projects in various parts of the island. The size of the kingdoms cannot be determined with any accuracy at present. The attempts made so far are, in view of the evidence available, at best inspired guesswork.[11] There can be little doubt, however, that all the Cypriot *poleis* had territories of over 500 km² and thus belong in the largest of the categories used in this Inventory.

How far do these Cypriot kingdoms and their cities fit into an inventory of Archaic and Classical Greek *poleis*? Their political institutions are difficult to reconstruct. The contemporary sources unequivocally record the rule of kings in the cities of Cyprus.[12] The conditions of their vassalage and the resulting restrictions of sovereignty are not known in great detail. The basic structure common to all kingdoms—whether they were ruled by Greek or Phoenician dynasties—seems to have been a hereditary autocratic monarchy.[13] This political system survived until the kingdoms were abolished by Ptolemy I at the end of C4.

The contemporary sources do not often designate the cities that formed the capitals of the Greek kingdoms in Cyprus as *poleis*. The term is applied in its urban meaning e.g. when Herodotos, describing the Persian siege operations and reconquest in 498/7, refers to *τὰς πόλις τῶν Κυπρίων, viz. τῶν δὲ ἐν Κύπρῳ πολίων* (5.115). When Solon wishes King Philokypros of Soloi to rule long *τήνδε πόλιν*, *polis* might be taken to mean the state; the *οἰκισμός* context of these distics, on the other hand, could suggest an urban meaning.[14]

In hundreds of contemporary syllabic inscriptions the term *polis* occurs in one text only: in the C5 bronze tablet from Idalion (no. 1013) (*ICS* 217) *πτόλις* seems to be used in a restricted political sense. It is indeed extremely doubtful whether *poleis* in the traditional Greek sense existed in Archaic and Classical Cyprus. There is no positive evidence either for the inhabitants of the cities being citizens and not subjects, or for the development of representative institutions before the end of C4.[15]

If we confine ourselves to the facts that are based on reliable contemporary evidence or can be inferred from it with a sufficient degree of plausibility, ten out of the fourteen settlements mentioned so far can be included in the Inventory of Archaic and Classical Greek *poleis* in Cyprus: Amathous (no. 1012), Idalion (no. 1013), Karpasia (no. 1014), Keryneia (no. 1015), Kourion (no. 1016), Lapethos (no. 1017), Marion (no. 1018), Paphos (no. 1019), Salamis (no. 1020) and Soloi (no. 1021).

Kition possibly appears in the Assyrian kingdom lists,[16] but was and remained a Phoenician foundation. *Chytroi*, named in the Assyrian lists as a kingdom,[17] is not mentioned again before C2e.[18] For *Ledroi*, also named in the Assyrian lists,[19] the ethnic *Λέδριος* is attested in a C4l inscription and in C3 inscriptions and graffiti.[20] In the first century AD, however, Ledrai appears as a *κώμη* (*Acta Barnabae* 25). Neither town obviously was any longer autonomous at the beginning of Persian rule.[21] Their listing as kingdoms in the Assyrian texts cannot be regarded as an equivalent for the term *polis*, and Chytroi and Ledroi therefore are not included in the Inventory.

Tamassos does not appear as a *polis* in contemporary sources, although it is named as "Tamesi" in the lists of Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal.[22] After that, "history has nothing to say about Tamassos",[23] until around 350–340 the bankrupt King Pasikypros sells *τὸ χωρίον καὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ βασιλείαν* to King Pumiathon of Kition for 50 tal. (Douris (*FGrHist* 76) fr. 4).[24] Here again the Assyrian texts cannot provide an equivalent for the term *polis*. The existence of C6 built "royal tombs", of remains of a C5–C4 fortification wall, and of Archaic/Classical sanctuaries (of Aphrodite-Astarte

[11] E.g. the maps sketched by Rupp (1987) 166–68; cf. also Collombier (1991) 38; Masson and Hermary (1992). Snodgrass (1988) 14–15 calculates about 925 km² for the "'notional' Cypriot kingdoms".

[12] Herodotos describes the rulers sometimes as *basilees*, sometimes (even in the same chapter) as *tyrannoi* (5.109, 110, 113): both terms denote autocratic rule. Isokrates' description of the ruling methods of Euagoras conforms, despite its openly eulogistic tendencies (9.20–23, 46, 48, 72, 3.38), in principle with Herodotos.

[13] Maier (1994) 299–302; Mehl (1995), (1996*a*) 140–41.

[14] Solon fr. 7.2, Diehl; Plut. *Sol.* 26: Solon counselled Philokypros to transfer the city from a hill-top to the coastal plain.

[15] The hypothesis of an "essentially aristocratic government" in the kingdoms, suggested (in the wake of R. S. Merrillees, H. van Effenterre and W. D. Rupp) recently by Demand (1996), is based on a speculative (and slightly preconceived) reading of the archaeological evidence; it tends to create another factoid.

[16] But not certainly: Hill (1949) 107–8; Collombier (1991) 27–28.

[17] Borger (1956) no. 60. 64.

[18] Save for a reference to *τοὺς Χυτρούς* in a fragment of Lysias, preserved by Harpokration, s.v. *Chytrioi*. *Chytroi* in a Delphic list of *theorodokoi* from Cyprus (C2e): Plassart (1921) 4 col. I.3; the restoration of the ethnic in Kafizin (C3l) by Mitford (1980) nos. 46, 221, 226, is open to doubt.

[19] Borger (1956) no. 60.71.

[20] Mitford (1961) 136 no. 36: *Λεδρίῳ ἐ[ν] τεμένει*; Kafizin (C3s): Mitford (1980) no. 236; graffiti on the temple of Achoris (390–378) at Karnak: Masson (1980) 232–33; Traunecker *et al.* (1981); the C4 date for the graffiti is hypothetical.

[21] Collombier (1991) 38.

[22] Borger (1956) no. 60.69.

[23] Mitford (1961) 138.

[24] Maier (1994) 327.

and Apollo)[25] do not warrant inclusion of Tamassos in the list of Archaic and Classical *poleis*.

Golgoi presents a slightly different case. It does not appear in contemporary sources; no coins of Golgoi are known.[26] The archaeological evidence points to a fortified town in C5–C4,[27] but this does not seem reason enough to list Golgoi as a *polis* (not even as a weak type C)—especially as it appears as a χωρίον in Paus. 8.5.2. Golgoi seems to have been, however, a relatively important cult centre "en dehors des capitales", comparable to places such as Ag. Irini.[28] Settlements of this type might represent the dependent *mikra polismata* to which Diodorus refers (16.42.4 (rC4m)).

II. The *Poleis*

1012. Amathous (Amathousios) Map 72. Lat. 34.15, long. 33.10. Size of territory: 5. Type: A:β. The toponym is Ἀμαθοῦς, -ντος, ἡ (Hdt. 5.105.1; Epiph. *De xii Gemmis* 1.6). The city-ethnic is Ἀμαθούσιος (Hdt. 5.104.2). Amathous possibly appears as a kingdom in the inscriptions of Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal (Borger (1956) no. 60.71; Baurain (1981); Collombier (1991) 27–28). It is called a *polis* in the urban sense at Ps.-Skylax 103, where Amathous, with the comment αὐτόχθονές εἰσιν, is listed as one of the toponyms after the heading πόλεις . . . αἵδε. *Polis* in the political sense is found in *SEG* 16 789 (C4l/C3e). The syllabic inscriptions of Amathous show indeed that a thus far undeciphered language ("Eteokyprian") was written (and spoken?) there (Masson (1983) 203–6; but see Reyes (1994) 13–17); a Phoenician element is also attested, especially in the Archaic period (Hermary (1997)). The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested externally in Hdt. 5.104.2.

Amathous sided with the Persians in the Ionian Revolt. The city must have been fortified by then, as it was besieged by Onesilos of Salamis and successfully defended (Hdt. 5.104–8, 114). In 391 it was allied with Soloi (no. 1021) and Kition against Euagoras I (Ephor. fr. 76; Diod. 14.98.2). King Androkles joined Alexander the Great during the siege of Tyros in 332 and lost his quinquireme (Arr. *Anab.* 2.22.2).

[25] Masson (1964) 210–31; Nicolaou (1976*c*); Buchholz (1977).

[26] Collombier (1991) 38. No evidence for Golgoi as an independent state in this period: Hill (1949) 133 n. 4.

[27] Sector of living quarters and fortification wall of the Classical period: Bakalakis (1988).

[28] Collombier (1991) 30. "Rural sanctuary" at Golgoi, 1st phase until C4l: Christou (1995) 822–24. For Ayia Irini, see *SCE* ii. 642–824; Quilici and Quilici-Gigli (1972–73); Nicolaou (1976*a*).

During the Archaic and Classical periods the acropolis and the lower town were defended by a city wall with rectangular towers (Hermary (1993) 174–75; Aupert and Hermary (1995) 95; Aupert (2000) 47–52); the defences enclosed *c.*18 ha. The main architectural remains on the acropolis consist of a large public building (a palace?), rebuilt several times between C8m and *c.*300, and the open court sanctuary of Aphrodite, C8m to first century AD (Hermary (1993) 175–76, 183–87, (1997) 88; Aupert and Hermary (1995) 90–93; Aupert (2000) 52–55, 59–63).

The "goddess of Amathous" was Aphrodite, often called "Kypria" or "Aphrodite Kypria" (*Catal.* 36.11–14, 68.51; Verg. *Aen.* 10.51; Ov. *Met.* 10.220–42; Paus. 9.41.2 mentions an "ancient sanctuary of Adonis and Aphrodite"). The eponymous hero Amathous, son of Aërias, the founder of the Paphian shrine of Aphrodite, is said to have founded the sanctuary of the Amathousian Venus, one of the three oldest shrines in Cyprus (Tac. *Ann.* 3.62.4). Another tradition makes the Amathousians descendants of "companions of Kinyras, who had been put to flight by the Greeks who accompanied Agamemnon" (Theopomp. fr. 103).

The kings of Amathous struck coins on the Persian standard, from C4e on the Rhodian standard, *c.*460/430–*c.*350 (Rhoïkos). Denominations: stater and fractions down to hemiobol. Principal types: *obv.* recumbent lion, sometimes with eagle flying above, or lion's head; *rev.* forepart of lion in incuse square or circle; legend: name of king in syllabic script (Babelon, *Traité* ii.2 nos. 1254–77; Head, *HN*[2] 737; Masson (1983) 209–12; Amandry (1984); *SNG Cop. Cyprus* 1–4).

1013. Idalion (Edalios) Map 72. Lat. 35.7, long. 33.25. Size of territory: 5. Type: A:β. The toponym is Ἰδάλιον (e-ta-li-o-ne (Ἐδάλιον) in C5 syllabic inscriptions such as *ISC* 217–18; Steph. Byz. 326.6). The city-ethnic is Ἐδάλιος (syllabic e-ta-li-e-we-se: *ICS* 217.2). Idalion appears as a kingdom, "Edil", in the lists of Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal (Borger (1956) no. 60.63). The C5m syllabic inscription *ICS* 217 (Mitford and Masson (1982) 72) mentions the *basileus* Stasikypros and the πτόλις of Idalion. Both contribute to the emoluments of physicians, and this seems to imply that the *ptolis* had a separate treasury. Thus ἁ πτόλις here seems to have a political meaning, although it does not follow from the extant text that the king and city shared the government of Idalion, as is sometimes assumed. In line 1 referring to a siege of the city, πτόλις is used in the urban sense; and Idalion is likely to be one of the unnamed *poleis* mentioned in the urban sense by Hdt. 5.115. The

collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally on coins (*infra*) and in inscriptions (*ICS* 217, 220, 228).

Idalion joined the Ionian Revolt and was besieged and taken by the Persians (Hdt. 5.115.1–2). The inscription *ICS* 217 records a siege of Idalion by "Medes and Kitians" (its date is disputed, between *c.*478 and *c.*445, if not later); but the siege was unsuccessful, as King Stasikypros still ruled when the inscription was set up. Thus these operations cannot have been connected with the conquest of Idalion by the Phoenicians during the reign of King Ozbaal of Kition, who seems to have ruled shortly after the middle of C5 (the precise chronology of these events and of the kings of Kition is still disputed: Collombier (1991) 34–35; Maier (1994) 310). It is also open to debate whether Idalion was incorporated into the kingdom of Kition or ruled in personal union only. In any case, Phoenician influence followed political conquest: Phoenicians lived at Idalion, as their tomb inscriptions testify; Phoenician deities were worshipped in the city. The city seems to have suffered a major destruction at the end of C4 (Stager and Walker (1989) 466; Hadjicosti (1993)), but survived into Hellenistic and Roman times.

The principal (western) acropolis was fortified already in the Archaic period, and thus was possibly affected by the Persian siege of 498/7. At the end of C6 the whole city, including both citadels (an area of *c.*40 ha), was enclosed by a fortification wall with rectangular bastions (stone foundation with mudbrick superstructure), which was rebuilt at least twice and remained in use until *c.*300 (Stager and Walker (1978), (1979), (1989) 13–57, 462–64; Hadjicosti (1994), (1995)). A large building on the western acropolis may have served in the Archaic period as a palace, and in the Classical period as the administrative centre of Idalion with archives (C4 ostraka, with mainly Phoenician, but also some syllabic and alphabetic Greek texts; Masson (1992); Hadjicosti (1994), (1995); Stager and Walker (1989) 5–13, 462–64). It remains to be seen whether the "alignments suggestive of an overall building plan" observed so far do constitute "evidence for town-planning" in C5 (Stager and Walker (1989) 463).

The main cult of Idalion was that of Aphrodite (Theoc. *Id.* 15.100–3; Verg. *Aen.* 1.681, 692–93, 10.51–52; *Catal.* 36.11–12, 64.96). A court sanctuary of the "Great Mother", identified by the Greeks with Aphrodite, and a C8–C4 open-air sanctuary of Apollo Amyklos, the Phoenician "Reshef Mikal", were situated on the eastern acropolis (Masson (1968*a*); Senff (1993); Gaber (1997) 137). The western acropolis housed a *temenos* of Athena (identified with "Anat" by the Phoenicians), C8m(?)–*c.*475.

The kings of Idalion struck coins on the Persian standard C6l–*c.*450 (Stasikypros). Denominations: stater and fractions down to twelfth. Principal types: *obv.* sphinx seated, or head of Aphrodite; legend: name of king in syllabic script; e-ta-li on a series of Stasikypros; *rev.* incuse square, or lotus flower in incuse circle (Babelon, *Traité* ii.2 nos. 1245–53; Head, *HN*² 738–39; Masson (1983) 250–52; *SNG Cop. Cyprus* 22).

1014. Karpasia (Karpaseus) Map 72. Lat. 35.40, long. 34.25. Size of territory: 5. Type: [A]:*α*. The toponym is *Καρπασία*, *ἡ* (Hellan. fr. 57) or *Καρπάσεια* (Ps.-Skylax 103) or *Κραπάσεια* (Dion. Epic. fr. 2, Heitsch). The city-ethnic is *Καρπασεύς* (*Hell. Oxy.* 15.3; Theopomp. fr. 20). Karpasia is called a *polis* in the urban sense at Ps.-Skylax 103, where it is listed as one of the toponyms after the heading *πόλεις . . . αἵδε*; it was, however, possibly never the capital of a kingdom (Hadjiioannou (1983) no. 197; Collombier (1993) 145). The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested externally in Theopomp. fr. 20; in *Hell. Oxy.* 15.2–4 an individual is repeatedly referred to as *ὁ Καρπασεύς* (e.g. 23.2, 3, Chambers), but the individual use proper is not attested before C3 (*I.Cal.* 227.A.17).

In 398 a *Καρπασεύς*, elected *strategos* of Cypriot troops in Konon's force, led a mutiny at Kaunos (*Hell. Oxy.* 15.1–3). There is no further mention of the city until the siege by Demetrios in 307/6 (Diod. 20.47.2). Thus Karpasia must have been fortified at least in C4; but so far the only traces of the Archaic and Classical town are remains of a few C5–C4 houses (du Plat Taylor (1980) 160–82; see also Hogarth (1889) 88–90) and a Classical cemetery (Dray and du Plat Taylor (1937–39)). According to a fragment of Hellanikos' *Kypriaka*, the town was founded by Pygmalion, king of Sidon (Hellan. fr. 57 *apud* Steph. Byz. 361.13–14), but there is no evidence of Phoenician presence thus far (see also Gjerstad (1948) 441–42).

1015. Keryneia (Kerynites) Map 72. Lat. 35.20, long. 33.20. Size of territory: 5. Type: [A]:? The toponym is *Κερύνεια*, *ἡ* (Ps.-Skylax 103; Diod. 19.62.6). The city-ethnic is *Κερυνίτης* (Diod. 19.59.1 (r315); a restored [*Κερυ*]*νήτης* in Mitford (1980) no. 317 (225/4) is doubtful). Keryneia is called a *polis* in the urban sense at Ps.-Skylax 103, where it is listed as one of the toponyms after the heading *πόλεις . . . αἵδε*. It was ruled by kings (Diod. 19.59.1 (r315): *basileus*, 19.79.4 (r313/12): *dynastes*). The individual use of the city-ethnic is attested externally in Diod. 19.59.1 (r315) and possibly at Kafizin (Mitford (1980) no. 307).

No remains of Archaic or Classical architecture have been discovered so far; Archaic–Hellenistic terracotta and lime-

stone statuettes come from the sanctuary of an unknown deity.

From Strabo's reference to an *Achaion akte* (14.6.3) on the north coast of Cyprus, it has sometimes been inferred, not very convincingly, that Keryneia was colonised from Achaia.

1016. Kourion (Kourieus) Map 72. Lat. 34.40, long. 32.50. Size of territory: 5. Type: B:*α*. The toponym is *Κούριον* (Hdt. 5.113.1). The city-ethnic is *Κουριεύς* (Hdt. 5.113.1; Arr. *Anab.* 22.22.2 (r332); Aupert (1982) no. 265.5). Kourion appears as a kingdom, "Kuri", in the inscriptions of Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal (Borger (1956) no. 60.68) and may have been one of the unnamed *poleis* mentioned in the urban sense at Hdt. 5.115. The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested externally in Hdt. 5.113.1 (cf. Aupert (1982) no. 265.5 (C2e)), its individual use externally in Arr. *Anab.* 22.22.2 (r332).

According to Hdt. 5.113.1, the *Kouriees* were *Ἀργείων ἄποικοι* (cf. Strabo 14.6.3: *Argeion ktisma*). Kourion joined the Ionian Revolt (Hdt. 5.113.1, by implication), but King Stasanor deserted the Cypriot army in the battle of Salamis in 498 (Hdt. 5.113.1). Thus we cannot be certain that Hdt. 5.115. implies a siege and conquest of Kourion by the Persians in 498/7; no remains of city defences of this period have been discovered so far. In 332 King Pasikrates joined Alexander the Great at the siege of Tyros and lost his quinquireme (Arr. *Anab.* 22.22.2); in 323/2 he was appointed *theorodokos* to host *theoroi* from Nemea (Miller (1988) 148.6–7).

The protecting god of Kourion was Apollo Hylates (*I.Kourion* 41, 104, etc.; Strabo 14.6.3). The remains of his sanctuary outside the walls date from C7 to the fourth century AD (Scranton (1967); Christou (1986) 50–57; Soren (1997) 305).

No coins can be securely attributed thus far to the kings of Kourion (Babelon, *Traité* ii.2 nos. 827–31; Head, *HN*² 745; Cox (1959); Masson (1983) 200–1; Collombier (1991) 30).

1017. Lapethos (Lapithios) Map 72. Lat. 35.20, long. 33.10. Size of territory: 5. Type: [A]:*β*. The toponym is *Λήπηθις* (Ps.-Skylax 103) or *Λάπιθος* (Diod. 19.62.6 (r315)) or *Λάπηθος* (*BCH* 45 (1921) 4.1.5 (230–220)). The city-ethnic is *Λαπίθιος* (Diod. 19.59.1 (r315)) or *Λαπήθιος* (Traunecker *et al.* (1981) no. 38 (*c.*385); *REG* 3 (1890) 85 no. 74); cf. on the name *RE* xii. 763. Lapethos occurs only once in a contemporary source: as a *polis* in the urban sense at Ps.-Skylax 103, where it is listed as one of the toponyms after the heading *πόλεις . . . αἵδε*. The individual use of the city-ethnic is attested externally in Traunecker (1981) no. 38 (*c.*385: *Ὀνασίλος Λαπή(θιος)*) and Diod. 19.59.1 (r315).

Ps.-Skylax 103 calls the city *Λήπηθις Φοινίκων*. In the Archaic and Classical periods Lapethos seems indeed to have represented a kind of Graeco–Phoenician community—despite a Greek foundation legend (Lakonians under Praxandros: Strabo 14.6.3) and its undoubtedly Greek character in the subsequent Hellenistic period (Lapethos in a Delphic list of *theorodokoi* in Cyprus: Plassart (1921) 4.1.5 (230–220)). Greek and Phoenician names occur side by side in the list of kings; their coin legends uniformly use Phoenician script (except for the last king, Praxippos, who ruled when Lapethos was involved in the Successors' struggle for Cyprus (Diod. 19.59.1, 62.6 (r315); Maier (1994) 306); no syllabic inscriptions have been found thus far.

The kings of Lapethos struck silver staters on the Persian standard C5f–*c.*312 (Praxippos). Principal types: *obv.* helmeted head of Athena; *rev.* helmeted head of Athena, or *obv.* head of Aphrodite; *rev.* helmeted head of Athena, or *obv.* head of Apollo; *rev.* Krater (Praxippos). Legends are: name of king in Phoenician script; Praxippos' in Greek letters (Babelon, *Traité* ii.2 nos. 1356–64; Head, *HN*² 739; Schwabacher (1947) 79–84, 100–1 nos. 206–222; Robinson (1948) 45–47, 60–65; Kraay (1976) 302–3; *SNG Cop. Cyprus* 23, Suppl. 627).

1018. Marion (Marieus) Map 72. Lat. 35.05, long. 32.25. Size of territory: 5. Type: A:*α*. The toponym is *Μάριον, τό* (Ps.-Skylax 103). The city-ethnic is *Μαριεύς* (syllabic ma-ri-e-u-se on coins of King Sasmas (C5e), Timocharis (C5l), Stasioikos II (C4l); cf. *ICS* 168, 170c, 171e; Diod. 19.59.1 (r315)). Marion is called a (*polis*) *Hellenis* in the urban sense by Ps.-Skylax 103 (cf. Flensted-Jensen and Hansen (1996) 142). It is also likely to be one of the unnamed *poleis* mentioned in the urban sense by Hdt. 5.115. The individual use of the city-ethnic is attested externally in Diod. 19.59.1 (r315), internally on the coins of Sasmas (C5e), Timocharis (C5l), Stasioikos II (C4l); cf. *ICS* 168, 170c, 171e.

Marion joined the Ionian Revolt and was besieged and taken by the Persians (Hdt. 5.115.1–2). Kimon laid siege to Marion in 449 (Diod. 12.3.3; Hill (1949) 123). The city was destroyed by order of Ptolemy I in 312 (Diod. 19.79.4).

Whether and when the kings of Marion were lords of the palace of Vouni and dominated Soloi (no. 1021) from there is still open to debate (Hill (1949) 123; Nicolaou (1976*d*); Maier (1985) 36–37; Collombier (1991) 31–32; Reyes (1994) 92–94; Nielsen (1994) 54–61). Marion must have been a walled city, most likely already in 498/7, and certainly in 449, when it was besieged by the Athenians. The only remains of public architecture known so far consist of a sanctuary founded in

C8–C7 and abandoned or destroyed in C5, and of (possible) traces of ramparts (Childs (1990), (1992), (1995), (1999)). Rich cemeteries of the Archaic and Classical periods have also been excavated.

The kings of Marion struck coins of silver and later also of gold and bronze on the Persian standard from C5e (Sasmas) to *c.*312 (Stasioikos II, who used the Rhodian standard for some of his coins). Denominations (silver): stater and fractions down to twelfth. Principal types: *obv.* recumbent lion; *rev.* boar with Phrixos, or *obv.* head of Apollo; *rev.* female deity (Aphrodite?) on bull, or *obv.* head of Aphrodite; *rev.* thunderbolt, or ankh. Legends are *basileus* and name of king in syllabic script; sometimes *Marieus* is added in syllabic script, in Greek letters on coins of Stasioikos II (Babelon, *Traité* ii.2 nos. 1328–47; Head, *HN*² 739–40; Schwabacher (1947) 72–78, 92–97 nos. 5–154; Masson (1983) 181–85; *SNG Cop. Cyprus* 24).

Ps.-Skylax 103 classifies Marion as a (*polis*) *Ἑλληνίς*. To judge from the archaeological evidence and from the epitaphs (Mitford (1960) 178–98; Masson (1983) 154–81), Marion was definitely a Greek city, despite King Sasmas (*c.*470/60–450?), whose name is Phoenician and who uses the Phoenician *MLK* for "king" on some of his coins (Gjerstad (1946); Mehl (1996*b*) 381 assumes a Phoenician ruling family using Greek names).

1019. Paphos (Paphios) Map 72. Lat. 34.40, long. 32.35. Size of territory: 5. Type: A:*a*. The toponym is *Πάφος*, *ἡ* (Alcm. fr. 55, *PMG*; Hdt.7.195). The city-ethnic is *Πάφιος* (Hdt. 7.195). Paphos appears as a kingdom, "Pappa", in the lists of Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal (Borger (1956) no. 60.66); whether the men from "Pappa" (or "Papa") mentioned in the annals of Sargon are Paphians, Anatolians or Urartians is still uncertain: see Reyes (1994) 56. It is called a *polis*, possibly in the political sense, at Aesch. *Pers.* 892. It must also be one of the unnamed Cypriot *poleis* mentioned in the urban sense at Hdt. 5.115. Paphos also appears as a *polis* in the urban sense in an inscription (*c.*321–309) of the last king, Nikokles, which refers to the defences of the *εὐρύχορος πόλις* (Maier (1959) 207 no. 58; Mitford (1960) 203; *CEG* ii 869). The individual use of the city-ethnic is attested externally in Hdt. 7.195, the collective use internally on coins of King Timarchos *c.*350–*c.*325 (*Πα*[*φίων*]: *ICS* 29) and Nikokles (*Παφίων*: Masson (1968*b*)).

Paphos took part in the Ionian Revolt and was besieged and taken by the Persians (Hdt. 5.115.1–2). Elaborate siege and counter-siege works recovered by excavation allow a detailed reconstruction of the operations (Maier and Karageorghis (1984) 194–203; Maier (1996) 125–27). A Paphian contingent of twelve ships, commanded by Penthylos, fought in the Persian fleet of 480 (Hdt. 7.195). Paphos became an ally of Alexander the Great in 332 (Arr. *Anab.* 2.20.3, by implication).

The kings of Paphos traced their origin to the legendary founder-king Kinyras; they alone in Cyprus combined political power with the cult functions of high priest of Aphrodite (Maier (1989*b*)). Two syllabic inscriptions of King Nikokles (*ICS* 8; *AAP* 4, 237) are fragments of oaths, but do not (as suggested by Mehl (1996*a*) 141) represent a kind of treaty between the king and his subjects.

Paphos was defended by a circuit of walls with rectangular towers, built in C8l and maintained until about 300 (remodelled C6l, repaired C4m: Maier and Karageorghis (1984) 128–70, 209–12; Maier and von Wartburg (1985) 153–55; cf. *CEG* ii 869 (C4l)); it enclosed an area of *c.*45 ha. A large C6–C5 ashlar building, reminiscent of Achaemenid prototypes, seems to have been a royal palace; a large C4s peristyle mansion may have served public functions (Schäfer (1960); Maier (1989*a*) 17). An imposing chamber tomb was the burial place of two C4s kings of Paphos, Timocharis and Echetimos (Maier and von Wartburg (1998) 105–10; *AAP* 5).

Aphrodite, the "Wanassa" of the syllabic inscriptions, was the protective goddess of Paphos (Hom. *Od.* 8.362–66; *Hymn. Hom. Ven.* 56–67). Her main shrine was an open court sanctuary (C12 to fourth century AD), but of its Archaic and Classical period only votive statuettes survive (Maier and Karageorghis (1984) 182–83; Maier and von Wartburg (1985) 155–56). Outside the intricate north-east gate stood an Archaic sanctuary, dedicated possibly to Aphrodite/Astarte and Melquart/Baal and destroyed in 498/7 (Maier and Karageorghis (1984) 186–92).

The kings of Paphos struck silver coins on the Persian standard C6l–*c.*325; Nikokles (*c.*325–*c.*309) used the Attic standard. Denominations: stater and fractions down to 1/24th. Principal types: *obv.* human-headed bull; *rev.* astragalos, or head of eagle, or *obv.* bull walking or standing; *rev.* eagle standing or flying, or *obv.* Zeus(?) seated on throne; *rev.* Aphrodite(?) sacrificing, or *obv.* head or bust of Aphrodite wearing crown; *rev.* Apollo seated on omphalos. Legends are name of king in syllabic script, except for *Nikokleous Paphion* in alphabetic Greek (Babelon, *Traité* ii.2 nos. 1278–1327; Head, *HN*² 740–41; Schwabacher (1947) 85–87, 101–2 nos. 224–43; May (1952); Masson (1983) 115–23; Gesche (1970) 169, 191–93; *SNG Cop. Cyprus* 25–30, *Suppl.* 628).

The traditional founder of sanctuary and town was the Arkadian king Agapenor of Tegea (Paus. 8.5.2; cf. Roy (1987); Strabo 14.6.3); but another tradition names the indigenous King Kinyras as the mythical founder (Pind. *Pyth.* 2.15–17; *Nem.* 8.16–18). The cult of Aphrodite and the Archaic sculpture of Paphos show definite Phoenician influences, but traces of Phoenician presence are lacking so far (Masson and Sznycer (1972) 81–86).

1020. Salamis (Salaminios) Map 72. Lat. 35.10, long. 33.55. Size of territory: 5. Type: A:*a*. The toponym is *Σαλαμίς, ἡ* (Hdt. 4.162; Thuc. 1.112.4). The city-ethnic is *Σαλαμίνιος* (Hdt. 5.104.1–2) or *Σελαμίνιος* (*ICS* 323 (C5)). Salamis appears as a kingdom, "Silli", in the lists of Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal (Borger (1956) no. 60.67). It is called a *polis* in the political sense at Aesch. *Pers.* 893 and Isoc. *Paneg.* 141, 9.19 and 3.32. Salamis is mentioned as a *polis* in the urban sense by Hdt. 5.104.3, 115.1; Isoc. 9.20, 47 and 3.28; Ps.-Skylax 103. *τὸ ἄστυ τὸ Σαλαμινίων* is found at Hdt. 5.104.2. The term *Polites* is found in Isoc. 9.30–31.

The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested externally in Hdt. 5.104.1–2 and internally on coins of King Nikodamos (C5e?): syllabic se-la-mi-ni (*Σελαμινί(ων)*) in *ICS* 323; the individual use is found externally in Hdt. 5.108.1 and *SEG* 29 296 (C5).

The Greek dynasty of Salamis traced its ancestry back to the legendary hero Teukros, son of Telamon, king of the Greek Salamis (Pind. *Nem.* 4.46–48; Paus. 1.3.2, 2.29.4; Pouilloux (1975) 111–15). Salamis joined the Ionian Revolt (Hdt. 5.104–15) after King Gorgos had been expelled by a faction (*stasiotai*) led by his younger brother Onesilos (Hdt. 5.104). The desertion of its war chariots led to the defeat of the Cypriots in the battle of the *πεδίον τὸ Σαλαμινίων* (Hdt. 5.110), but Salamis was granted exemption from the retaliatory measures of the Persian army (Hdt. 5.115.1). At the end of the Athenian operations in the eastern Mediterranean in 450/49, a combined action on land and sea was fought off Salamis (Thuc. 1.112.4; Isoc. 8.86). King Euagoras I (410–374/3) strengthened the fortifications, enlarged the harbour and built a fleet of triremes (Isoc. 9.47). In 351/0–350/49 Salamis was besieged by Persian forces (Diod. 16.42.3–9, 46.1–3). King Pnytagoras joined Alexander the Great in the siege of Tyros in 332 and lost his quinquireme (Arr. *Anab.* 2.22.2); in 331 he acted as *choregos* at Alexander's victory celebrations (Plut. *Alex.* 29.1). His son Nitaphon served as *trierarchos* on the Indian expedition (Arr. *Ind.* 18.1–2.8 (r326)). In 323/2 King Nikokreon was appointed *theorodokos* to host *theoroi* from Nemea (Miller (1988) 148.3–4). King Euagoras I was given Athenian citizenship in 410 or 409; he was made *proxenos* in 393/2 (Pouilloux (1975) 117–18; Maier (1994) 313–14).

The monumental remains of Archaic and Classical Salamis, besides the sumptuous "princely" C8–C7 dromos tombs (Karageorghis (1969) 23–150 and (1967–71)), are scanty. They consist mainly of a short section of the southern defences which possibly included a gate. The stone and mudbrick wall was erected in the Archaic period on Protogeometric foundations (C11?), and destroyed by fire in C6 (Jehasse (1980)). Inside the wall the remains of a sanctuary of the "Great God of Salamis", dating to the same period, were discovered; a C5–C4 rural sanctuary of the Great Goddess was situated outside the walls to the west of the city (Yon (1993) 144–46).

The most important cult of Salamis was that of Zeus Salaminios, said to have been founded by Teukros and regarded by Tacitus as nearly as prominent as that of the Paphian Aphrodite (*Ann.* 3.62.4).

The kings of Salamis struck silver coins on the Persian standard from *c.*530/20 (Euelthon) to *c.*310 (Nikokreon, who also used the Rhodian standard). Denominations: stater and fractions down to twelfth. From 411 coins of gold and bronze were struck too. Principal types: *obv.* recumbent ram, or ram's head; *rev.* ankh, or smooth; or *obv.* head of bearded Herakles in lion skin; *rev.* forepart of recumbent goat, or goat's head; or *obv.* bust or head of crowned Aphrodite; *rev.* helmeted head of Athena, or head of crowned Aphrodite; or *obv.* forepart of galloping horse; *rev.* ram's head; or *obv.* ram's head; *rev.* lion's head; or *obv.* helmeted head of Athena; *rev.* lion walking, or lion's head; or *obv.* head of Aphrodite; *rev.* head or bust of Euagoras II; or *obv.* head of Artemis; *rev.* head of Aphrodite; or *obv.* head of Aphrodite in turreted crown; *rev.* head of Apollo. Legends are name of king in syllabic script; from C4m in alphabetic Greek (Babelon, *Traité* ii.2 nos. 1129–95; Head, *HN*² 742–44; Masson (1983) 318–23; Gesche (1970) 169, 193–96; Helly (1970); *SNG Cop. Cyprus* 31–62).

Ps.-Skylax 103 calls Salamis a (*polis*) *Ἑλληνίς*; its society and culture were basically Greek, although there existed a small Phoenician colony there (Karageorghis (1969) 12, 149; Masson and Sznycer (1972) 123–28; Pouilloux *et al.* (1987) 9).

1021. Soloi (Solios) Map 72. Lat. 35.10, long. 32.50. Size of territory: 5. Type: A:*a*. the toponym is *Σόλοι, αἱ* (Aesch. *Pers.* 892 with schol.; Hdt. 5.115.2). The city-ethnic is *Σόλιος* (Solon fr. 7.1, Diehl; Hdt. 5.110, 113.2). Soloi appears as a

kingdom, "Sillua", in the lists of Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal (Borger (1956) no. 60.65). It is called a *polis* in the political sense by Solon fr. 19.2, West, and Aesch. *Pers.* 892; in the urban sense by Hdt. 5.115.2 and Ps.-Skylax 103. The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested externally in Solon fr. 7.1, Diehl, and Hdt. 5.110, 113.2.

Soloi was founded, according to Strabo 14.6.3, by the Athenians Phaleros and Akamas. Soloi took part in the Ionian Revolt, and King Aristkypros was killed in the battle of Salamis (Hdt. 5.104.1, by implication); the city was besieged and taken by the Persians in 498/7 (Hdt. 5.115.1–2). That the city was afterwards for a time controlled by a "Persophile king" of Marion remains an unproved hypothesis (Maier (1985) 36–37, (1989*a*) 18; Collombier (1991) 31–32). In 391 it was allied with Amathous (no. 1012) and Kition against Euagoras I of Salamis (Ephor. fr. 76; Diod. 14.98.2; Maier (1994) 314–15): after the Cypriot rulers had sided with Alexander the Great in 332 (Arr. *Anab.* 2.20.3; Plut. *Alex.* 24.2), King Pasikrates acted as *choregos* at Alexander's victory celebrations in 331 (Plut. *Alex.* 29.2); his son Nikokles served as *trierarchos* on the Indian expedition (Arr. *Ind.* 18.1–2.8 (r326)). In 323/2 King Stasikrates was appointed *theorodokos* to host *theoroi* from Nemea (Miller (1988) 148.9–10).

Solon is said to have counselled King Philokypros to transfer the city from the hill-top position of Aipeia down into the coastal plain (Plut. *Sol.* 26; cf. Hdt. 5.113.2). The city must have been walled before 499/8, since it took the Persian army five months to defeat it (Hdt. 5.115.2), but no remains of the fortifications have been discovered thus far. A large, well-constructed C5l–C4 building on a prominent site above the Roman theatre has been identified tentatively as a royal palace (de Gagniers and Tam Tinh (1985) XXII; Maier (1989*a*) 16). Remains of Archaic and Classical buildings have been traced in the lower city (Nicolaou (1976*b*) 851); an Archaic temple has been excavated on the acropolis (Gjerstad (1937) 412–15).

The kings of Soloi struck silver coins on the Persian standard C5f–*c.*310 (Eunostos). Principal types: *obv.* head or forepart of lion; *rev.* Gorgoneion, or octopus; or *obv.* lion's head; *rev.* forepart of bull; or *obv.* Herakles; *rev.* Athena; or *obv.* head of Apollo; *rev.* tripod; or *obv.* head of Apollo; *rev.* head of Aphrodite. Legends are name of king in syllabic script; in alphabetic Greek for Pasikrates and Eunostos, after *c.*311 (Babelon, *Traite* ii.2 nos. 1348–53; Head, *HN*² 745; Masson (1983) 220–22).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

AAP = Maier, F. G. (ed.) 1977–2004. *Ausgrabungen in Alt-Paphos*, i–v (Konstanz and Mainz).

Amandry, M. 1984. "Le monnayage d'Amathonte", in P. Aupert and M.-C. Hellmann (eds.), *Amathonte*, i: *Testimonia 1* (Paris) 57–76.

Aupert, P. 1982. "Une donation Lagide et chypriote à Argos (170–164 av. J.-C.)", *BCH* 104: 263–77.

—— (ed.) 2000. *Guide to Amathous* (Nicosia).

—— and Hermary, A. 1995. "Les fouilles françaises d'Amathonte", in *Chypre au coeur des civilisations méditerranéennes* (Dijon) 88–95.

Bakalakis, G. 1988. *Excavations on the Hill Giorkous NE of Athinou, Cyprus* (Athens) (in modern Greek).

Baurain, C. 1981. "Un autre nom pour Amathonte de Chypre", *BCH* 105: 361–72.

Borger, R. 1956. *Die Inschriften Asarhaddons Königs von Assyrien* (Graz).

Buchholz, H.-G. 1977. "Bemerkungen zu einigen neuen C-14-analysen Zyperns und Griechenlands", *RDAC* 301–7.

Campbell Thompson, R. 1931. *The Prisms of Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal Found at Nineveh 1927–28* (London).

Childs, W. 1990. "Polis-Chrysochou", *BCH* 114: 982–83.

—— 1992. "Polis-Chrysochou", *BCH* 116: 819.

—— 1995. "Polis-Chrysochou", *BCH* 119: 829–32.

—— 1999. "Princeton Excavations at Polis Chrysochou, 1994–1997. Interim Report", *RDAC* 223–36.

Christou, D. 1986. *Kourion, a Complete Guide to its Monuments and Local Museum* (Nicosia).

—— 1995. "Chronique des fouilles et découvertes archéologiques à Chypre en 1994", *BCH* 119: 799–838.

Coldstream, J. N. 1985. "Archaeology in Cyprus 1960–1985: the Geometric and Archaic Periods", in V. Karageorghis (ed.), *Archaeology in Cyprus 1960–1985* (Nicosia) 47–59.

Collombier, A.-M. 1991. "Organisation du territoire et pouvoirs locaux dans l'île de Chypre à l'époque perse", *Transeuphratène* 4: 21–43.

—— 1993. "La fin des royaumes chypriotes: ruptures et continuités", *Transeuphratène* 6: 119–47.

Cox, D. H. 1959. *Coins from the Excavations at Curium, 1932–1953* (New York).

de Gagniers, J., and Tam Tinh, T. 1985. *Soloi: Dix campagnes de fouilles (1964–1974)*, i (Sainte Foye).

Demand, N. H. 1996. "*Poleis* on Cyprus and Oriental Despotism", *CPCPapers* 3: 7–15.
Dray, E., and du Plat Taylor, J. 1937–39. "Tsambres and Aphendrika: Two Classical and Hellenistic Cemeteries", *RDAC* 24–123.
du Plat Taylor, J. 1980. "Excavations at Ayios Philon, the Ancient Carpasia, Part I: The Classical to Roman Periods", *RDAC* 152–216.
Elayi, J., and Cavigneaux, A. 1979. "Sargon II et les Ioniens", *OA* 18: 59–68.
Flensted-Jensen, P., and Hansen, M. H. 1996. "Pseudo-Skylax' Use of the Term *Polis*", *CPCPapers* 3: 137–67.
Gaber, P. 1997. "Idalion", in *Oxford Encyclopedia of Archaeology in the Near East*, iii (Oxford) 137–38.
Gesche, H. 1970. "Literaturüberblicke der griechischen Numismatik: Cypern", *JNG* 20: 161–216.
Gjerstad, E. 1937. *The Swedish Cyprus Expedition*, iii (Stockholm).
——1946. "Four Kings", *OpArch* 4: 21–24.
——1948. *The Swedish Cyprus Expedition*, iv.2: *The Cypro-Geometric, Cypro-Archaic and Cypro-Classical Periods* (Stockholm).
Hadjicosti, M. 1993. "Dali-Idalion", *BCH* 117: 740–42.
——1994. "Dali-Idalion", *BCH* 118: 677–78.
——1995. "Dali-Idalion", *BCH* 119: 821–22.
Hadjiioannou, K. 1983. *Ancient Cyprus in the Greek Sources*, v (Nicosia).
Helly, B. 1970. "Les monnaies, Appendix I", in V. Karageorghis (ed.), *Excavations in the Necropolis of Salamis*, iv (Nicosia) 236–68.
Hermary, A. 1993. "Les fouilles françaises d'Amathonte", in *Kinyras: l'archéologie française à Chypre* (Lyon) 167–93.
——1997. "Amathus", in *Oxford Encyclopedia of Archaeology in the Near East*, i (Oxford) 87–88.
Hill, G. 1949. *A History of Cyprus*, i (Cambridge).
Hogarth, D. G. 1889. *Devia Cypria* (London).
ICS = O. Masson, *Les inscriptions chypriotes syllabiques*² (Paris, 1983).
Jehasse, J. 1980. "Le rempart méridional de Salamine", in *Salamine de Chypre: Histoire et archéologie* (Paris) 147–52.
Karageorghis, V. 1967–71. *Excavations in the Necropolis of Salamis*, 4 vols. (Nicosia).
——1969. *Salamis in Cyprus* (London).
——1982. "Cyprus", *CAH* iii.3². 57–70.
Kraay, C. M. 1976. *Archaic and Classical Greek Coinage* (London).
Maier, F. G. 1959. *Griechische Mauerbauinschriften*, i (Heidelberg).
——(ed.) 1977–2004. *Ausgrabungen in Alt-Paphos*, i–v (Konstanz and Mainz) (cited as *AAP*).
——1985. "Factoids in Ancient History: The Case of Fifth-Century Cyprus", *JHS* 105: 32–39.
——1989*a*. "Palaces of Cypriot Kings", in V. Tatton-Brown (ed.), *Cyprus and the East Mediterranean in the Iron Age* (London) 16–19.
——1989*b*. "Priest Kings in Cyprus", in E. Peltenburg (ed.), *Early Society in Cyprus* (Edinburgh) 376–91.
——1994. "Cyprus and Phoenicia", *CAH* vi². 297–336.
——1996. "History from the Earth: The Kingdom of Paphos in the Achaemenid Period", *Transeuphratène* 12: 121–37.
——and Karageorghis, V. 1984. *Paphos: History and Archaeology* (Nicosia).
——and von Wartburg, M.-L. 1985. "Reconstructing History from the Earth, *c.*2800 B.C.–1600 A.D.: Excavating at Palaepaphos, 1966–1985", in V. Karageorghis (ed.), *Archaeology in Cyprus 1960–1985* (Nicosia) 142–72.
————1998. "Ausgrabungen in Alt-Paphos. 17. Vorlaüfiger Bericht: Grabungkampagnen 1991–1995", *AA* 105–32.
Masson, O. 1964. "Recherches sur les antiquités de Tamassos", *BCH* 88: 199–238.
——1968*a*. "Le sanctuaire d'Apollon à Idalion", *BCH* 92: 386–402.
——1968*b*. "L'émission de Nikokles de Paphos au type d'Apollon sur l'omphalos", *OpAth* 8: 116–18.
——1980. "Remarques sur le nom de Lédra", *BCH* 104: 232–35.
——1983. *Les Inscriptions chypriotes syllabiques*² (Paris) (cited as *ICS*).
——1992. "Les fouilles américains à Idalion (1971–1980) et leurs résultats épigraphiques", *Kadmos* 31: 113–23.
——and Hermary, A. 1992. "La géographie des royaumes chypriotes chez les modernes", *Centre d'Etudes Chypriotes Cahier* 17: 23–28.
——and Sznycer, M. 1972. *Recherches sur les Phéniciens à Chypre* (Geneva and Paris).
May, J. M. F. 1952. "The Alexander Coinage of Nikokles of Paphos", *RN* 6, ser. 12: 1–18.
Mehl, A. 1995. "Zypern und die grossen Mächte im Hellenismus", *Ancient Society* 26: 93–132.
——1996*a*. "Cyperns Städte im Hellenismus: Verfassung, Verwaltung und führende Gesellschaft", in W. Leschhorn *et al.* (eds.), *Hellas und der griechischen Osten* (Saarbrücken) 127–52.
——1996*b*. "Griechen und Phöniker im hellenistischen Zypern—ein Nationalitätsproblem?", in B. Funck (ed.), *Hellenismus* (Berlin) 377–414.
Miller, S. G. 1988. "The *Theorodokoi* of the Nemean Games", *Hesperia* 57: 147–63.
Mitford, T. B. 1953. "The Character of Ptolemaic Rule in Cyprus", *Aegyptus* 33: 81–90.
——1960. "Unpublished Syllabic Inscriptions of the Cyprus Museum", *OpAth* 3: 177–213.
——1961. "Further Contributions to the Epigraphy of Cyprus", *AJA* 65: 93–151.
——1980. *The Nymphaeum of Kafizin* (Berlin).
——and Masson, O. 1982. "The Cypriot Syllabary", in *CAH* iii.3². 71–82.

Nicolaou, K. 1976*a*. "Melabron", *PECS* 567.
—— 1976*b*. "Soloi", *PECS* 850–51.
—— 1976*c*. "Tamassos", *PECS* 875–76.
—— 1976*d*. "Vouni Palace", *PECS* 990.
Nielsen, I. 1994. *Hellenistic Palaces: Tradition and Renewal* (Aarhus).
Plassart, A. 1921. "Inscriptions de Delphes: la liste de Théarodoques", *BCH* 45: 1–85.
Pouilloux, J. 1975. "Athènes et Salamine de Chypre", *RDAC* 111–21.
—— *et al.* (eds.) 1987. *Salamine de Chypre*, xiii: *Testimonia Salaminia* 2 (Paris).
Pritchard, J. B. (ed.) 1969. *Ancient Near Eastern Texts*[3] (Princeton).
Quilici, L., and Quilici-Gigli, S. 1972–73. "Ricerche intorno Melabron", *RivIstArch* 19–20: 7–102.
Reyes, A. T. 1994. *Archaic Cyprus: A Study of the Textual and Archaeological Evidence* (Oxford).
Robinson, E. S. G. 1948. "Greek Coins Acquired by the British Museum in 1938–1948. I", *NC* 6th ser. 8: 43–65.
Roy, J. 1987. "Pausanias VIII, 5, 2–3 and VIII, 53, 7: Laodice Descendant of Agapenor; Tegea and Cyprus", *AntCl* 56: 192–200.
Rupp, D. W. 1987. "Vive le roi: The Emergence of the State in Iron Age Cyprus", in D. W. Rupp (ed.), *Western Cyprus: Connections* (Göteborg) 147–68.
Saporetti, C. 1976. *Cipro nei testi assiri*, Studi ciprioti e rapporti di scavi (Rome) 83–88.
Schäfer, J. 1960. "Ein Perserbau in Alt-Paphos?", *OpAth* 3: 155–75.
Schwabacher, W. 1947. "The Coins of the Vouni Treasure Reconsidered", *Nordisk Numismatisk Årsskrift* 67–104.
Scranton, R. 1967. *The Architecture of the Sanctuary of Apollo Hylates at Kourion* (Philadelphia).
Senff, R. 1993. *Das Apollonheiligtum von Idalion: Architektur und Statuenausstattung eines zyprischen Heiligtums* (Jonsered).
Snodgrass, A. M. 1988. *Cyprus and Early Greek History* (Nicosia).
Soren, D. 1997. "Kourion", in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Archaeology in the Near East*, iii (Oxford) 304–6.
Stager, L., and Walker, A. 1978. "Fouilles d'Idalion", *BCH* 102: 925.
—— —— 1979. "Fouilles d'Idalion", *BCH* 103: 708–9.
—— —— (eds.) 1989. *American Expedition to Idalion, Cyprus 1973–1980* (Chicago).
Traunecker, C., *et al.* 1981. *La Chapelle d'Achôris à Karnak*, ii: *Décor, texte et interpretation* (Paris).
Yon, M. 1993. "La ville de Salamine", in *Kinyras: l'archéologie française à Chypre* (Lyon) 139–51.

FROM SYRIA TO THE PILLARS OF HERAKLES

MICHEL AUSTIN

I. The Regions

The area considered here includes the lands stretching from the mouth of the river Orontes in Syria to the Pillars of Herakles in the far west. This is a vast and diverse area, but the common element is that, apart from the Libyan plateau and its coastline, and the special case of Egypt, it was characterised by the absence of large-scale Greek implantation in the period before Alexander and the scarcity of definite or probable *poleis*. In Syria, while Greek contacts are attested archaeologically from an early date, only one *polis* receives a casual mention in C5—Posideion (no. 1022) in north Syria—and it has little recorded history. In Egypt significant Greek presence started in C7, but only two Greek settlements—Naukratis (no. 1023) in the west of the Nile Delta and the Samian settlement Oasis (no. 1024)—may have been *poleis* in Archaic and Classical times, though in both cases *polis* status is debatable. It was only in Libya that several Greek *poleis* were founded in the Archaic period: Kyrene (no. 1028), Barke (no. 1025), Taucheira (no. 1029) and Eu(h)esperides (no. 1026). Further to the south and west beyond Eu(h)esperides there was no lasting Greek settlement, and evidence for Greek *poleis* is almost completely missing.

The reason for this is probably that in this period, and with the exception of Libya, the Greeks were not in a position to establish themselves on their own terms, as they were elsewhere. If they settled at all, it was on conditions regulated by the local powers: the empires of the Middle East in Syria (the Assyrians, later the Babylonians, then the Persians), the Phoenician cities, the pharaohs in Egypt, and to the west of the Libyan plateau the Carthaginians (cf. Strabo 17.1.19 on their hostility).

1. Syria

The name "Syria" designated a large but ill-defined area, and there were different ancient views of its boundaries (cf. Honigmann (1932) 1552–53). For Herodotos Syria started at Posideion (no. 1022) (modern Bassit), which he described as lying on the boundaries between the Kilikians and the Syrians—in other words, some 25 km to the south of the river Orontes (which he does not mention). Strabo, on the other hand, defined Syria as bounded on the north by Kilikia and Mt. Amanos (16.2.1), with Pylai as the boundary between the Kilikians and the Syrians (14.5.19; cf. 20 on Seleukia in Pieria). In this chapter the dividing line is taken as the river Orontes. Syria comprised both Phoinike (Hdt. 2.116.6) and Palestine (Hdt. 3.5.1), and Herodotos drew the boundary between Syria in the south and Egypt at Mt. Kasios (modern Ras el Kasroun) and Lake Serbonis, where Egypt started (2.6.1, 158.4, 3.5.2; cf. 2.141.4 on Pelousion).

After the breakdown of relations between the Greek world and the Levant at the end of the Bronze Age, contacts were eventually resumed. The earliest evidence of Greek finds from coastal Levantine sites comes now from some Protogeometric amphoras of C10m found at Bassit and at Tyre in Phoinike (Courbin (1993), and 103–4 on Tyre). At Al Mina at the northern mouth of the Orontes, Greek pottery was arriving not later than C8s and possibly earlier (the date is disputed), while at Tell Sukas some 30 km to the south of Lattakiye, Greek material began to arrive from C9s. The interpretation of this evidence is disputed, and there are conflicting estimates of the relative roles played by Greeks and easterners, notably the Phoinikians, in the renewal of links between the Greeks and the eastern world (for contrasting views see e.g. Riis (1970) 126–75; Graham (1986); Boardman (1990); Perreault (1993); Courbin (1993)).

It is clear, however, that even on the most favourable estimate of the role played by Greeks, Greek settlement in Syria was limited. Even where there is most evidence of Greek presence, the sites have a Levantine history that precedes the arrival of the Greeks, and any resident Greeks represented only a part of the total population (Riis (1970) 129; Perreault (1993) 82). In practice, with one exception (Posideion (no.

1022)), the whole of Syria was empty of Greek *poleis* down to the time of Alexander.

Neither Al Mina nor Tell Sukas are mentioned in any Classical source, and there is no evidence to show that either had the status of a *polis*. The excavations at Al Mina uncovered only part of the town and the warehouses, and there is no evidence for any sanctuaries there. At Tell Sukas remains have been found of a sanctuary of C7 and C6, which has been identified as Greek and possibly dedicated to Apollo (Riis (1970)), but the identification has been questioned (Perreault (1993) 71–79, esp. 75–77). In any case, this does not by itself say anything about the institutional status of the Greek community there.

Bassit, however, is almost certainly identical with Posideion (*Ποσιδήιον*) (no. 1022), the one Greek settlement in Syria that can be considered a *polis* in the Classical period.

In Phoinike further south there is nothing to suggest the existence of any Greek *polis* through the Archaic and Classical periods. A few Protogeometric Greek amphoras reached Tyre as early as C10m, and there are finds of Greek pottery subsequently (Courbin (1993) 103–4). There is evidence in the Old Testament of the presence of Greek traders at Tyre in the Archaic period (Ezekiel 27; cf. Bunnens (1979) 79–90; Diakonoff (1992)). Sources of the Classical period attest commercial relations between the Greek world and the Phoinikian cities (e.g. Thuc. 2.69.1; Xen. *Hell.* 3.4.1; Tod 139 (C4f); cf. Perreault (1986)). But there were no Greek settlements in Phoinikian territory.

Further south at Mezad Hashavyahu in Palestine, halfway between Jaffa and Ashdod, remains have been found of a fortress with a substantial amount of east Greek pottery dated to the last third of C7, and sufficient to imply the presence of Greeks on the spot at that time. It is most likely that they were mercenaries in the service of Psammetichos I of Egypt (664–610), who established the fort during his campaigns in Palestine and Syria in the latter part of his reign. There is nothing to suggest that this temporary settlement was ever a *polis* (Naveh (1962); Austin (1970) 16 and n. 1; Haider (1988) 204–6).

2. *Egypt*

According to Herodotos, the boundaries of Egypt along the sea in the north stretched from the Gulf of Plinthinetes in the west of the Nile Delta to Mt. Kasios (modern Ras el Kasroun) and Lake Serbonis in the east (2.6.1; cf. 2.7–9 for a description of the land). The Cataracts and Elephantine formed the southern boundary, beyond which lay Ethiopia (2.17–18).

Egypt attracted Greeks from an early period. Stories in the *Odyssey* (14.245–86, 17.224–44) imply raiding by Greeks on the Nile Delta as a contemporary phenomenon. Strabo relates how the rulers placed a guard at Rhakotis, the site of the later Alexandria, to keep out Greek raiders (17.1.6; cf. 17.1.19 on Egyptian hostility to foreigners). Under Psammetichos I (664–610) Egypt was brought under the control of a strong central government, partly with the help of Ionian and Carian pirates enlisted by Psammetichos as mercenaries. It is to his reign that Hdt. 2.152 dates the first settlement of Greeks in Egypt and the beginnings of a more accurate knowledge by them of Egyptian affairs. The rulers of Egypt needed the services of Greeks as well as other foreigners, but they regulated the terms on which they were admitted to the land (cf. Austin (1970); Lloyd (1975) 1–60; Boardman (1980) 111–53; Braun (1982); Haider (1988) 153–223).

Greek settlement was concentrated for the most part in Lower Egypt, i.e. the Nile Delta and as far as Memphis. Known Greek settlements of the Archaic and Classical periods include the following (in alphabetical order).

Daphnai (*Δάφναι*) Hdt. 2.30 mentions the establishment of three principal garrison posts in Egypt by Psammetichos I, one of them at Daphnai on the Pelusian (eastern) branch of the Nile, against the Arabs and the Assyrians. There is no mention of Greeks (or Carians) in this context, though the settlement is very likely to have included them. At a site called Tell Defenneh evidence of Greek (and Carian) presence in C6 in the reign of Amasis (570–526) has been found, and the identification with Daphnai is probable. The recovered pottery finds end around 525, though this need not mean that the settlement came to an end then (Austin (1970) 20; Boardman (1980) 133–34).[1] On a C5 graffito from Abydos a certain Timarchos describes himself as *Δαφναίτες*, which could imply continuity of the Greek community at Daphnai. The use of the ethnic does not mean, however, that the Greeks at Daphnai ever formed a *polis* with its own citizenship (Bresson (1980) 316; Hansen (1996*b*) 185). *Barr.* 74, AC.

Memphis (*Μέμφις*) Hdt. 2.154 mentions the transfer of the Greek and Carian mercenaries from Stratopeda (*infra*) to Memphis during the reign of Amasis. Archaeological

[1] Evidence has also been discovered of another large fort some 20 km from Tell Defenneh, with C6 Greek pottery and cremations (Boardman (1980) 134–35; Haider (1988) 203–4).

evidence further suggests the presence of Greeks in Memphis from C7l onwards, and it is likely that the Greek community there had a continuous existence through to Hellenistic times. In C3 a body of *Ἑλληνομεμφῖται* was established there, with a sanctuary called the *Ἑλλήνιον* and representatives known as *τιμοῦχοι*, both of which recall Naukratis (no. 1023), and which may have originated in C6 (Austin (1970) 20–22; Boardman (1980) 134–35; Thompson (1988) 95–97; cf. too Gallo and Masson (1993)). On a C5 graffito from Abydos a certain Chariandros describes himself as *Μεμφίτης*, but as with the case of Timarchos from Daphnai, this does not imply that the Greeks at Memphis formed a *polis* with its own citizenship (Bresson (1980) 316; Hansen (1996*a*) 185).

Milesion Teichos (*Μιλησίων τεῖχος*) This settlement near the Bolbitine mouth of the Nile is mentioned by Strabo 17.1.18, who relates its fortification by the Milesians in the time of Psammetichos I, before they went on to found Naukratis not far above Schedia. Nothing further is known about the site, and the role credited to the Milesians will be discussed below in relation to Naukratis (no. 1023). *Barr.* 74 lists it as unlocated and dates it HR.

Naukratis (*Ναύκρατις*) See the Inventory (no. 1023).

Oasis (*Ὄασις*) See the Inventory (no. 1024).

Stratopeda (*Στρατόπεδα*) Hdt. 2.154 mentions the settlement by Psammetichos I of his Greek and Carian mercenaries in opposite camps (*στρατόπεδα*), with the Nile flowing between them, on the eastern (Pelusian) branch of the Nile, near the sea and a little below Bubastis. He relates that they stayed there until Amasis moved them to Memphis to use them as a bodyguard against the Egyptians, and according to Herodotos traces of the settlement at Stratopeda were still to be seen in his time. There is no evidence to suggest that these settlements (not to be identified with Tell Defenneh (*supra*)) constituted a *polis*.

Beyond these settlements attested by literary and/or archaeological evidence, there are indications in Herodotos of Greeks present elsewhere in Egypt in the Classical period (2.39.2, 41.3, 91, 180.2; cf. Austin (1970) 33).

3. *Libya*

Libya was commonly reckoned to begin at the Nile valley, which for most writers formed the boundary between Asia and Libya (Hdt. 2.15–17; cf. 4.45.2). Herodotos, however, argued that the whole of Egypt should be reckoned as part of Asia, and Libya proper therefore lay to the west of Egypt (cf. also 2.8, 18, 19.1, 30.2, 124.2; 4.41, 197). Strabo reasserted the standard view, without any mention of Herodotos on this point (2.5.26; cf. 2.5.33, 17.1.30, 53). Knowledge of the western and southern extremities of Libya was extremely vague in the Classical period (cf. Hdt. 4.181, 185), as the area of Greek settlement and influence was confined to a small part of the continent. The name "Libya" was therefore often used to designate that area specifically (cf. frequently in the account of the foundation of Kyrene, Hdt. 4.150–51; Pind. *Pyth.* 4.6), though no *a priori* limits were established to Greek settlement (cf. Malkin (1994) 169–74).

Under the Roman Empire the area constituted the province of Cyrenaica, but the term "Cyrenaica" is not found until the time of Augustus.[2] Though convenient and commonly used,[3] it is therefore anachronistic for the Classical and Hellenistic periods (Chamoux (1953) 35–36; Laronde (1987) 44–45, 418, 488). The term "Cyrenaica" is frequently used by the Elder Pliny, for example (e.g. *HN* 2.115, 5.28, 6.209). Strabo, on the other hand, avoids it and applies instead *ἡ Κυρηναία* to distinguish the area of Greek settlement from Carthaginian territory in the west and Egyptian territory in the east (e.g. 2.5.20, 33; 17.3.20). The word and concept are attested first in late Classical and early Hellenistic times (*SEG* 23 189 1 l.16 (*c.*330); Arist. *Hist. an.* 556[b]; Theophr. *Hist. pl.* 4.3.1, 4, 5.3.7). The phrase *ἡ Κυρηναίη χώρη* is used by Hdt. 4.199.1, but only to refer to the territory of Kyrene proper, not to the whole area of Greek influence.

Kyrene (no. 1028), the earliest Greek foundation in Libya, became rapidly the largest and most conspicuous of the Greek *poleis* there. A wide sphere of potential Kyrenaian influence was recognised by C4l, as appears from the *diagramma* of Ptolemy I for Kyrene (*SEG* 9 1 and 18 726) (322/1); Laronde (1987) chs. 4–5), where Kyrenaian citizenship is defined as including, among others, men born from (Kyrenaian fathers and) the Libyan women between the Great Katabathmos and Authamalax (*SEG* 9 1.3). The Great Katabathmos lies to the east and corresponds to the modern Gulf of Solloum, east of Tobruk and at the western limit of modern Egypt (Laronde (1987) 220–28). Since, according to Ps.-Skylax 108, Kyrenaian influence started only at Cape Chersonese (modern Ras et Tin; Laronde (1987) 219) it is likely that Kyrene's control was extended eastward during

[2] An exception is Diod. 40.4.1, citing an inscription set up by Pompey in the late 60s to celebrate his achievements.

[3] As frequently by Malkin (1994).

C4s (ibid. 228). Authamalax lies west in the Great Syrtis, to the east of Arae Philaenorum, and is identified with modern Bu Sceefa (Goodchild (1952*a*); Laronde (1987) 199–200, 206–7, 350; testimonia in Purcaro Pagano (1976) 328–29). This wide area is much larger than the territory proper of Kyrene, or even the area of Greek settlement, which extended from Kyrene on the Libyan plateau in the east to Eu(h)esperides in the west.

A. *The area of Greek settlement as far as Eu(h)esperides*

The fertile and well-watered Libyan plateau, within easy reach of the Aegean Greek world, was a natural target for Greek settlement, not least because of the lack of strong organisation on the part of the indigenous Libyan tribes, which allowed the Greeks to maintain the initiative.[4] The known Greek settlements in Libya in the Archaic and Classical period are as follows (alphabetically).

Apollonia (*Ἀπολλωνία*) Archaeological evidence indicates that the site of the harbour of Kyrene (no. 1028), some 12.5 km inland in a straight line, was occupied from *c.*600, soon after Kyrene herself (Boardman (1966) 152–53; testimonia on Apollonia in Purcaro Pagano (1976) 327–28).[5] After the Classical period the site was known as Apollonia, and it eventually became a *polis* in its own right, though the precise date and circumstances are uncertain (Goodchild *et al.* (1976); Laronde (1987) 457–61, (1996), who sets the change in C1e). The earliest mention of the name of Apollonia appears to be in the Aristotelian *Περὶ σημείων* (Arist. fr. 363). The earliest epigraphic mention of Apollonia is in an inscription of the year 67, though the name is restored (*SEG* 20 709.4; cf. Laronde (1987) 457, 459, 461). The first reference to Apollonia as a *polis* is in Strabo, where it is described as the "naval station" (*ἐπίνειον*) of the Kyrenaians and a large *polis* (17.3.20), and also as one of several *πολίχνια* that were *περιπόλια* of Kyrene (17.3.21). During the Classical period references to the harbour of Kyrene do not give it a name, and it is very unlikely that it was a *polis* at this time (Chamoux (1953) 221 n. 21; cf. Hdt. 5.47.1, where it is referred to by implication; Ps-Skylax 108; Diod. 18.20.1–2). It was fortified in 322, as the siege by Thibron in 322 shows (Diod. *loc. cit.*).

Aziris (*Ἄζιρις*) Aziris was the site on the Libyan coast opposite the island of Platea which the early colonists settled first and occupied for 6 years before they moved to Kyrene (no. 1028) inland (Hdt. 4.157.3–58.1, 169.1; testimonia in Purcaro Pagano (1976) 330). The site, tentatively identified with the Wadi el Chalig (Boardman (1966) 150–52 against Chamoux (1953) 118–20; cf. Laronde (1987) 229 n. 1), has traces of the early settlement and continued to be occupied later. Kyrene was almost certainly a *polis* from the very beginning of its existence, but it is not possible to say whether the early Greek settlers at Aziris organised themselves as a *polis* during their stay there (Hdt. 4.157.3 refers to Aziris only as a *χῶρος*).

Barke (*Βάρκη*) See the Inventory (no. 1025).

Eu(h)esperides (*Εὐεσπερίδες*) See the Inventory (no. 1026).

Kinyps (*Κίνυψ*) See the Inventory (no. 1027).

Kyrene (*Κυρήνη*) See the Inventory (no. 1028).

Platea (*Πλατέα*) This was the island off the coast of Libya where the early colonists from Thera (no. 527) established themselves for 2 years, before they eventually moved to the mainland and settled, first at Aziris (*supra*) and then at Kyrene (no. 1028) (Hdt. 4.151.2–52.2, 156.3, 157.1, 3). The island is to be sought in the Gulf of Bomba, but the precise identification is disputed (Chamoux (1953) 115–17; Boardman (1966) 149–50; Laronde (1987) 223–24; testimonia in Purcaro Pagano (1976) 344–45).

Taucheira (*Ταύχειρα*) See the Inventory (no. 1029).

Tolmeita Modern Tolmeita, the site of the harbour of Barke (no. 1025) some 30 km away, has produced pottery fragments dating from C7l onwards (Boardman (1966) 153). According to Hdt. 4.160.1, Barke itself was founded only in the reign of Arkesilas II (*c.*C6m). It seems therefore possible that there was a town on the site before the foundation of Barke. The harbour of Barke is first mentioned in Ps.-Skylax 108 (Laronde (1987) 61–63), who says simply *λιμὴν ὁ κατὰ Βάρκην* and does not name it. There is no evidence to show that it was a *polis* in the Classical period (cf. Apollonia (*supra*) and Kyrene (no. 1028)). In the reign of Ptolemy III, the harbour town was built up somewhat artificially at royal instigation to become a major city, with large fortifications and a new urban layout on a regular grid plan. Barke was deliberately demoted in status, while the new city received the name of Ptolemais (*Πτολεμαΐς*), which has survived in

[4] There is no mention in the story of the foundation and growth of Kyrene of any presence or intervention on the part of the Phoinikians.

[5] On the ports of inland cities cf. Hansen (1995) 44.

the modern place-name Tolmeita (Strabo 17.3.20; Laronde (1987) 382–83, 396–401, 460; testimonia in Purcaro Pagano (1976) 345–46).

B. To the west of Eu(h)esperides as far as the Pillars of Herakles

To the south and west of Eu(h)esperides there was no long-term Greek settlement in the period before Alexander, though there is evidence of continued Greek interest in the possibility of further expansion in this direction. Legends associated with the voyages of the Argonauts connected them not just with the part of Libya settled by the Greeks but with lands further to the west. Thera (no. 527), the mother city of Kyrene (no. 1028), was reportedly founded by a band of Minyans from Sparta (no. 345), descendants of the Argonauts (Hdt. 4.145–49). Pindar elaborated at length the connection between Kyrene and the Argonauts: the Battiads themselves were of Argonaut descent through Euphemos, and the Greek settlement in Libya was presented as the long-delayed fulfilment of a prophecy once made by Medeia, who was herself recalling an earlier prophecy made to Euphemos at (the mysterious) Lake Tritonis (*Pyth.* 4.9–69).[6] Herodotos mentions elsewhere (4.178) a prophecy that the island of Phla in Lake Tritonis was to be settled by the Lakedaimonians, and goes on to relate a prophecy made by the sea-god Triton to Jason that 100 Greek cities would have to be founded around Lake Tritonis, a prophecy which the Libyans contrived to frustrate (4.179).

The unsuccessful attempt of the Spartan Dorieus in around 512 to found a settlement at Kinyps (*Κίνυψ*) (no. 1027) fits such legends, and illustrates the long Spartan connection with Libya (Chamoux (1953) 88, 242; Nafissi (1985); Schaus (1985); Schaus in White (1984–93) ii. 98–102; Malkin (1994)). On the settlement, which may have been a short-lived *polis*, see the Inventory.

No further Greek attempt at settlement along the west coast of Libya is known until the time after Alexander (the expedition of Ophellas from Kyrene to Carthage), but there are indications of moves in C4 by the Greeks of Libya to push the Greek sphere of influence further westward in opposition to the Carthaginians (Laronde (1987), 200, 202, 487).

The colonisation of Libya was carried out by Dorian Greeks. It has been claimed, however, that it was preceded by an earlier colonisation, by Ionian Greeks, who were the first to settle in the west in Italy and Sicily. This alleged colonisation was not in the region of the Syrtis (unlike the attempt of Dorieus), but much further, to the west of Carthage, and was eventually stifled by Carthaginian opposition (Mazzarino (1947) 117–20; at length, Treidler (1959)). This is a possibility, but the evidence for it is limited to two passages in literary sources, and there is as yet no archaeological or other confirmation.

(1) Hecat. fr. 343 = Steph. Byz. 389.13–14 mentions a place called Kybos on the coast of North Africa which he describes as a *polis* of the Ionians: *Κύβος· πόλις Ἰώνων ἐν Λιβύῃ Φοινίκων. Ἑκαταῖος Περιηγήσει αὐτῆς· "καὶ λιμήν που ἄκρη καὶ Κυβώ"*. The exact location is unknown. There is no further evidence of its existence, and the accuracy of the information is disputed (in favour: Mazzarino (1947) 119; Treidler (1959) 263; against: Gsell (1914) 344–46).

(2) Ps.-Skylax 111, describing the Libyan coast from east to west, writes *Ἀπὸ Ἰτύκης Ἵππου ἄκρα [ἥ] Ἵππων πόλις, καὶ λίμνη ἐπ' αὐτῇ ἐστι καὶ νῆσοι ἐν τῇ λίμνῃ, καὶ περὶ τὴν λίμνην πόλεις <ἐν ταῖς νήσοις> αἵδε· Ψέγας πόλις, καὶ ἐναντίον αὐτῆς Ναξικαὶ πολλαί. Πιθηκοῦσαι καὶ λιμήν· κατ' ἐναντίον αὐτῶν καὶ νῆσος καὶ πόλις ἐν τῇ νήσῳ Εὔβοια*. On the strength of the Greek names, the sites have been interpreted as foundations by Ionian Greeks to the west of Carthage (see Treidler (1959)). But the reliability of the information is far from established, and the use of Greek names to describe far-away places is no guarantee of their Greekness. While Ps.-Skylax is generally accurate in his description of the Greek world, his information about countries remote from the Greek world is of uncertain value,[7] and in the absence of supporting evidence the question must remain open.

II. The *Poleis*

1. Syria

1022. Posideion Map 68. Lat. 35.50, long. 35.50. Size of territory: 1? Type: A:*β*. The toponym is *Ποσιδήιον, τό* (Hdt. 3.91.1) or *Ποσείδιον* (Strabo 16.2.8); *Ποσείδειον* at Ps.-Skylax 102 is an emendation of MS *Ποσειθέριον*. No city-ethnic is attested in the full form apart from Steph. Byz. 533.12. The identification of Posideion with Bassit has long

[6] There is no agreement among ancient writers as to the exact location in Libya of Lake Tritonis (Malkin (1994) 197–203).

[7] Ps.-Skylax 111 contains a large number of place-names that are unknown from other sources; see the list in Flensted-Jensen and Hansen (1996) 165.

been considered probable from the similarity of name (cf. Riis (1970) 137–38; Courbin (1986) 187–88 and 206–7). Posideion is first mentioned by Hdt. 3.91.1 as a *polis* founded by Amphilochos, son of Amphiaraos, on the borders between the Kilikians and the Syrians—in other words, a foundation that was believed to go back to the Bronze Age, and which Herodotos presented as Greek. Since the C7 poet Kallinos of Ephesos (cited by Strabo 14.4.3) alluded to the settlement of the followers of Amphilochos in Kilikia and Syria as far as Phoinike, it is probable that the story of the foundation of Posideion by them was already in circulation by his time. Courbin (1986) 194 suggests that the story does not reflect an actual Greek settlement of the late Bronze Age, for which there is no archaeological confirmation, but was invented in C8s as a legitimation for the Greek presence at the site which begins at that time. For Greek heroic legends connected with the Levant cf. Riis (1970) 137–42. Strabo mentions Posideion at 16.2.8 and 12, where it is called a *πολίχνιον*, while Steph. Byz. 533.12 refers to it as a *polis* for which he gives the ethnic *Ποσειδειεύς*, though this information may be merely constructed from Herodotos.

Archaeological evidence has shown that Ras el Bassit had a continuous existence through to Hellenistic and Roman times, but it clearly was in origin a Levantine site to which the Greeks came late (C8s), and which in the Archaic and Classical periods was not purely Greek, though it became a Greek *polis* (Courbin (1986); Perreault (1993) 69–71, though he obscures the character of Posideion as a Greek *polis*). Archaeology has not revealed for this time any public buildings, cultic places or city walls (Courbin (1986) 203). The settlement developed in the Hellenistic period, and there is now evidence of fortifications (Courbin (1986) 206–9). In C3m it is referred to in the Gurob papyrus (*FGrHist* 160 1 §3), where it is described as a *φρούριον*. It is also mentioned by Diod. 34/35.28.1, 2 (r123), though without indication of its character.

Posideion struck coins of silver (drachm on the Attic standard) and bronze in C4s. Only a few are known, identified by the legend *ΠΟΣΙΔ* or *ΠΟΣΙΔΕ* on the reverse. The types are: *obv.* seated deity (Baal of Tarsos); *rev.* head of a Kabeiros or Poseidon with trident (Head, *HN*² 785; Courbin (1986) 205–6; Le Rider (1986) 400–3).

2. *Egypt*

1023. Naukratis (Naukratites) Map 74. Lat. 30.55, long. 30.35. Size of territory: unknown. Type: A:*β*. The toponym is *Ναύκρατις, ἡ*, attested on dedications at Naukratis of C6 (Bernand (1970), 683 no. 419, 744–45 no. 5; Lazzarini (1976), nos. 175, 177c), in Herodotos (2.97.2, 135.5, 178.1, 179) and on a Rhodian proxeny decree (*Lindos* II no. 16.4–5 (C5l)), and frequently thereafter. The city-ethnic is *Ναυκρατίτης*, doubtfully restored on a C6 vase dedication (Bernand (1970), 708 no. 670), and first securely attested on an Attic tombstone dated to C5l (*IG* II² 9984). There are further examples on inscriptions of C4, at Athens (*IG* II² 163.1 (C4f), 206.7–8, 20 (C4m), 9985–87 (C4f)), at Delphi (*CID* II 4.1.37, III.21, 24, II 10 fr. B.1, 3, 5), and at Ephesos (*I.Eph* 1424.1 (323–321)). The form *[N]αοκρατίτης* is also found (*I.Eph* 1425.1 (323–321); on the date, cf. Keil (1923) 238–39, 244). Steph. Byz. 470.12–15 also mentions the form *Ναυκρατιώτης*, but there is no attestation of this.

The external use of the city-ethnic is found collectively in the Delphic *naopoioi* accounts (*CID* II 4.1.37 (360s)) and individually in Attic sepulchral inscriptions (*IG* II² 9587–89 (C4f)). An early literary example of the non-political use of *Ναυκρατίτης* is in Anakreon (fr. 89, Page *PMG*; Campbell, *Greek Lyric* ii (1988) 106 no. 434). Literary examples of the city-ethnic in the political sense are all post-Classical. For example, Plutarch introduces *ὁ Ναυκρατίτης Νειλόξενος* in a C6 context (*Mor.* 146E), allegedly an intimate of Solon and Thales in Egypt (cf. also repeatedly in Athenaios, himself a Naukratite, e.g. 3.73A, 4.149D).

Naukratis was without doubt a *polis* in the period after Alexander: an honorific decree of probably C2f was passed by *ἡ πόλις ἡ Ναυκρατιτ[ῶν]* (*OGIS* 120; Bernand (1970) 751–72 no. 15), and later writers assume that it was a *polis* that had been founded in the same way as others in the Archaic period (Strabo 17.1.18; Steph. Byz. 470.12–15 citing Strabo; Suda s.v. *Ναύκρατις*). But whether it can be reckoned to have been a *polis* in the Archaic and Classical periods continues to be debated (for Naukratis as a *polis* cf. Roebuck (1951), followed by Sherk (1992) 259–60 and 268–69; Austin (1970) 29–33; Hansen (1997*a*) 91–94, (1997*b*) 29, 32–33; against: Bresson (1980); Bowden (1996) 29–30).

Herodotos is the earliest author to call Naukratis a *polis* already in C6 (2.178.1): *Φιλέλλην δὲ γενόμενος ὁ Ἄμασις ἄλλα τε ἐς Ἑλλήνων μετεξετέρους ἀπεδέξατο καὶ δὴ καὶ τοῖσι ἀπικνεομένοισι ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἔδωκε Ναύκρατιν πόλιν ἐνοικῆσαι*. There may be a very indirect reference to Naukratis as a *polis* in 2.180.2, where the Delphians visit the *poleis* and receive contributions from Amasis and from "the Greeks living in Egypt", a reference which must include Naukratis (compare the same phrase in the Rhodian decree *Lindos* II cols. 212–14, referring to Naukratis). It has been questioned whether Herodotos is

using the word *polis* strictly (Bresson (1980) 292–93; Bowden (1996) 29–30), but he is otherwise consistent in applying the word to Greek communities that were *poleis* in the political as well as the urban sense (Hansen (1996*b*) 23–34, 39–54). Inscriptions of the Classical period provide conclusive evidence from the use of the city-ethnic *Ναυκρατίτης*, found on tombstones of metics in Athens (*IG* II² 9984–87 (C5l–C4)), in a proxeny decree from Delphi for Naukratites (*F.Delphes* III.1 419 (C4l?)), from two Athenian proxeny decrees for Naukratites (*IG* II² 163.1 (C4f), 206.7–8, 20 (349/8)), and from two decrees from Ephesos granting citizenship to Naukratites (*I.Eph* 1424, 1425). Furthermore, in the Delphic *naopoioi* accounts the Naukratitai are listed as a community under the heading *πόλεις καὶ ἰδιῶται* (*CID* II 4.I.37, 4.III.21, 24, 10 fr. B.1, 3, 5 (369–363)). It has been denied that these ethnics indicate political status as opposed merely to place of origin (Bresson (1980) 316–17, 332 no. 84; Bowden (1996) 30), but this is not consistent with the evidence for ethnics on Attic tombstones or for the institution of the proxeny (Hansen (1996*a*) 184–85, cf. 177–80; Hansen (1997*a*) 91–94). Note also the notorious Kleomenes of Naukratis, appointed as financial official in Egypt by Alexander in 332/1 (Berve (1926) no. 431), who is described as *Ναυκρατίτης* by Ps.-Callisthenes 1.31, though only as *ἐκ Ναυκράτιος* at Arr. *Anab.* 3.5.4.

Naukratis was an unusual community in a special position. Established by a multiplicity of different Greeks as an enclave within Egyptian territory, on the eastern side of the Canobic branch of the Nile, and some 70 km from the sea (cf. Bernand (1970) 615–25 on its position), it was dependent for its existence and prosperity on the continued good will of the rulers of Egypt, from the pharaohs to the Romans. It could not engage in any independent political activity, and if it was a *polis* already in the Archaic and Classical periods, it belonged to the category of *poleis* that were dependent (Hansen (1997*b*) 29, 32–33).

Uncertainty also surrounds the exact role of Miletos (no. 854) in the early history of Naukratis. Post-Classical evidence unanimously attributes the "foundation" of Naukratis (if "foundation" is an appropriate concept; cf. Austin (1970) 22; Malkin (1987) 130–31) to Miletos exclusively. This applies not only to the literary sources (Strabo 17.1.18; Eusebios, ed. Schoene, ii. 81; Steph. Byz. 470.12–15; Suda s.v. *Ναύκρατις*), but also to epigraphic evidence from Miletos itself, which reproduces a version of events traceable to the Hellenistic period (Austin (1970) 22 and n. 5). The Milesian origin of Naukratis has often been accepted (Lloyd (1975) 24–25; Braun (1982) 37–38; Ehrhardt (1983) 87–90, 119 (in a qualified form); Haider (1988) 184–99, 211; Sherk (1992) 259–60 and 268–69), but this does not harmonise with the more complex account of Herodotos, which does not give any specially prominent role to Miletos in the origins of Naukratis. There is thus a case for regarding this tradition as a construct of the Hellenistic period (Austin (1970) 23, followed by Bresson (1980) 315–16). Ehrhardt (1983) 89–90 and 119 argues for Milesian participation in the "foundation" of Naukratis from the Milesian calendar of Antinoopolis which derived its laws from Naukratis (Wilcken (1912) no. 27), but it is not certain how far back these date (cf. Bowden (1996) 25–26).

Nothing is known of the territory of Naukratis, if indeed it had a territory of its own beyond the area of urban settlement with its sanctuaries, houses and workshops, to the north of the Egyptian town and covering an area of *c.*800 m from south to north and 400 m from west to east (Bernand (1970) 857–63; on the question of Naukratis' territory cf. Bresson (1980) 325 n. 12; Boardman (1994) 140; Bowden (1996) 30–31).

Hdt. 2.178–79 appears to present Naukratis in C6 as a double community, at once a *πόλις* and an *ἐμπόριον* (cf. Austin (1970) 29–30; Malkin (1987) 130–31; Hansen (1997*a*) 91–94), which comprised a *polis* of residents on the one hand, and non-resident traders who were not part of the *polis* on the other. The latter included the founders of the Hellenion: *viz.* the Ionian cities of Chios (no. 840), Teos (no. 868), Phokaia (no. 859) and Klazomenai (no. 847), the Dorian cities of Rhodos, Knidos (no. 903), Halikarnassos (no. 886) and Phaselis (no. 942), and the Aeolian city of Mytilene (no. 798). According to him, these had the exclusive right of appointing the *προστάται τοῦ ἐμπορίου*, whose precise functions cannot be defined (Roebuck (1951); Bresson (1980) 311–15; Sherk (1992) 268–69; Bowden (1996) 32–34). Roebuck (1951) argued that the *prostatai* must have been appointed by the traders on the spot, and not by the Greek cities at home, as stated by Herodotos; but see Bresson (1980) 311–15.

Late evidence mentions the existence of a *πρυτανεῖον* where communal festivals were celebrated on the birthday of Hestia Prytanitis, at the Dionysia and at the *πανήγυρις* for Apollo Komaios (Miller (1978) 11, 12–13, 16, 199–200; Bresson (1980) 344 n. 161), and officials called *τιμοῦχοι* (Gottlieb (1968) 28–30) had the power to inflict fines on offenders (Ath. 4.149D–F, citing Hermeias *FHG* II 80–81). The identity and date of Hermeias, Athenaios' source, are uncertain, and he need not be identical with the C4 historian Hermeias of Methymna (*FGrHist* 558). It is therefore not

clear whether this evidence can be projected back to the Classical or the Archaic periods (as by Sherk (1992) 259–60 and 268–69; Hansen (1997*a*) 92, (1997*b*) 33).

According to Herodotos the Hellenion, founded jointly by several Greek cities of Asia Minor, was the largest, best-known and most frequented of the sanctuaries at Naukratis. He also mentions (2.178.2) separate foundations of a sanctuary of Zeus by the Aiginetans (no. 358), one of Hera by the Samians (no. 864), and one of Apollo by the Milesians (no. 854). Excavations have to some extent confirmed and supplemented this evidence, though important areas of uncertainty persist. On the basis of the numerous inscribed dedications on vases (cf. Lazzarini (1976) 177, index p. 326), remains of all the sanctuaries mentioned by Herodotos have been identified, except for that of Zeus founded by the Aiginetans (Bernand (1970) 817–49; Boardman (1980) 118–29; though cf. Bowden (1996) esp. 18–28 for a sceptical view, doubting the identification of the Hellenion and the sanctuary of Hera). Dedications to Apollo, sometimes specifically described as Milesian, are the most numerous to have survived (Bernand (1970) 772 for comparative figures). Another sanctuary, of Aphrodite and probably founded by Chios (no. 840), is not mentioned by Herodotos, though from its position in the south of the town it is likely to have been the earliest to be founded (Bernand (1970) 829–37; Boardman (1980) 119–20; Bresson (1980) 313–14). Extant dedications to Aphrodite are second in importance to those to Apollo, and late evidence tells of the popularity of the cult in early times, allegedly already in the Twenty-third Olympiad, i.e. 688–685 (Ath. 15.675F–76C from Polycharmos (*FGrHist* 640) fr. 1; Bernand (1970) 772, 774, 829–37). Later evidence (above) also mentions cults of Hestia Prytanitis, Dionysos and Apollo Komaios. The archaeological evidence has thus not revealed the existence of any civic sanctuaries distinct from those set up by the traders themselves, and they seem to have been used by all members of the community on the spot (cf. Burkert (1995) 206). Without exception the remains of all the sanctuaries are poorly preserved. Excavation has not revealed either the existence of any city wall. Civic architecture (a *πρυτανεῖον*) is implied by later literary evidence (Ath. 4.149D–F; see *supra*), but it has not been located (cf. Bernand (1970) 857–63 on Naukratis as a town). Little is known of the Egyptian part of the town to the south, and the archaeological evidence was interpreted in different ways by the excavators themselves (Bernand (1970) 849–57). It has even been argued that the Greeks may have been the first to settle at Naukratis (Boardman (1994) 139; cf. Möller (2000)). The sanctuaries of Naukratis remain the best-known part of a badly known site.

Only a few isolated bronze coins of Naukratis survive (Head, *HN*² 845). Type: *obv.* wreathed female head (Aphrodite?), legend underneath *ΝΑΥ*; *rev.* unidentified wreathed head, legend underneath *ΑΛΕ*. The coins thus date from the time of Alexander the Great (not earlier than 332/1).

1024. Oasis Not in *Barr.* Type: A.*α*. The toponym is *Ὄασις* (Hdt. 3.26.1) and the site is classified as a *πόλις* in the urban sense (ibid.). Herodotos is the only writer to allude to this settlement. He describes Oasis as lying 7 days' journey from Egyptian Thebes and being occupied by Samians said to be of the "tribe" Aischrione (cf. Chamoux (1953) 63–66; Jones, *POAG* 195 on Herodotos' probably non-technical use of the word "tribe"). On the other hand, he may be correct in describing the settlement as a *polis*.

3. *Libya*

1025. Barke (Barkaios) Map 38. Lat. 32.30, long. 20.55. Size of territory: 4 or 5. Type: A:*α*. The toponym is *Βάρκη, ἡ* (Hdt. 3.91.2, 4.160.1; Ps.-Skylax 108; Diod. 1.68.2 from Hekataios of Abdera (*FGrHist* 264) fr. 25; testimonia in Purcaro Pagano (1976) 330–31). Hrd., *De prosodia catholica* 3,1 272.16–17 and Steph. Byz. 159.11 both state that it was also called *Βάρκαια*, though this is not attested otherwise. The city-ethnic is *Βαρκαῖος* (Hdt. 3.13.3, 4.164.4; Ps.-Skylax 108; Polyaen. 7.28.1 (rC5e)), sometimes *Βαρκαιεύς* (*BGU* VI 1280.10, X 1943.5, 25 (Ptolemaic)). Steph. Byz. *loc. cit.* also gives *Βαρκαιάτης*, for which there is no known example.

In C3, in the reign of Ptolemy III, the harbour of Barke was renamed Ptolemais and elevated to the status of a *polis*, while Barke itself was subordinated to Ptolemais (see *supra*). But the use of the name Barke survived, as shown by references in post-Classical authors (e.g. Strabo 17.3.20, 21; Plin. *HN* 5.32) and by documents (*P Lond.* VII 1986 r 4, 13, 17 (C3); cf. Laronde (1987) 396–97).

The earliest references to Barke as a *polis* are in Herodotos, who uses the word in various senses. In 4.160.1 and in 4.202.2 he uses it primarily in the political sense. In 4.200.1–2 and 203.2 he refers to it in the urban sense, emphasising that Barke was a Hellenic *polis*. Ps.-Skylax 108 uses the word in the urban sense. Strabo, who at 17.3.20 implies that Barke was a *polis*, describes her at 17.3.21 as one of several *πολίχνια* that were *περιπόλια* of Kyrene (no. 1028). Hdt. 4.201.3 refers to the *ἄστυ* of Barke.

The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally on coins (*infra*), and externally in Hdt. 3.13.3 (and repeatedly in 4.167.2 and 200–5). For the individual and external use of the city-ethnic see *I.Délos* I 298 A.61, 313 a.51 (C3s).

The territory is called Βαρκαίη (Hdt. 4.171). Its exact extent is not known, and fluctuated at different periods. It was certainly large and second in size only to that of Kyrene, though less well-watered (cf. Laronde (1987) 49–51 for a comparison with Kyrene, 259–60 on climate and rainfall). It reached to the sea, where its harbour lay some 30 km away to the east, and in C5 its control extended along the coast westward over Taucheira (no. 1029) (Hdt. 4.171 where Taucheira is described as πόλις τῆς Βαρκαίης), though Taucheira seems to have recovered its independence subsequently (Laronde (1987) 62–63). Ps.-Skylax 108 refers to the control exercised by Barke westwards as far as Eu(h)esperides (no. 1026) (cf. Laronde (1987) 200–2).

Founded by brothers of Arkesilas II of Kyrene in conflict with him (Hdt. 4.160.1), Barke was from the start in opposition to Kyrene and frequently followed a different political line (Laronde (1987) 49, 211, 252). *C.*514 a Persian expedition invited by Pheretime, mother of Arkesilas III (Hdt. 4.165, 167), captured Barke after a siege and exposed the city to an *andrapodismos* (Hdt. 4.203.1, 204) in which she executed the opponents of the Battiads and enslaved a large part of the population (Hdt. 4.200–2). They were deported to Bactria by Darius and settled in a village to which they gave the name Barke, which was still inhabited in Herodotos' time (4.204). The population of Barke must have recovered subsequently, since Barke enjoyed a period of prosperity in C5, as shown by its abundant coinage, though after the second quarter of C4 she was eclipsed by Kyrene (Laronde (1987) 49–50, 162). *C.*390–386 Barke was in alliance with Evagoras of Salamis (no. 1020) and King Akoris of Egypt against the Persians (Theopomp. fr. 103; *Staatsverträge* 237). Together with Eu(h)esperides, Barke was in alliance with Thibron in his war with Kyrene in 322 (Diod. 18.20.3; cf. Laronde (1987) 41, 63). A league of the Greek cities in Libya has been postulated on the basis of a passage in the "Stele of the ΣΥΛΑ" (*SEG* 20 716.8 (C4s); Laronde (1987) 150), but the evidence is not cogent (Laronde (1987) 156–57).

Little is known of the constitution and cults of Barke, though it is likely to have adopted many of the institutions of Kyrene. In the Bacchiad period Barke is mentioned as having been under a *basileus* of the name of Alazeir (Hdt. 4.164.4). The account in Polyaen. 7.28 of the siege of Barke at the time of the Persian Wars (Chamoux (1953) 164–65) mentions the *archontes* of Barke, but without specific detail. In the Classical period Barke was probably oligarchic in character. An eponymous priest of Apollo is attested at Ptolemais (Barke) in the Roman period, and may have derived from Kyrene in earlier times (Sherk (1992) 271–72).

Barke may have been named in a catalogue of *theorodokoi* of the Heraia at Argos (no. 347) (*SEG* 23 189 (*c.*330), I ll. 16–19; Laronde (1987) 161–62, though cf. Charneux in *BE* (1988) no. 595). Amesinas of Barke won the wrestling match at Olympia in 460 (*Olympionikai* 261).

In his account of the siege of Barke by the Persians, Herodotos mentions the city wall which the Persians tried unsuccessfully to sap before they entered the city by a ruse (4.200–2). In the other Persian siege of Barke at the time of the Persian War the city gates are mentioned again (Polyaen. 7.28; cf. Chamoux (1953) 164–65). Little is known as yet of the archaeology of the site (Boardman (1966) 153).

The coinage of Barke (mostly silver except for a scarce bronze coinage at the end of C4) developed along the same lines as that of Kyrene, and went through three main periods: *c.*525–480, *c.*480–435 and *c.*435–308, (see *BMC Cyrenaica* pp. clxiv–clxxxvii and 91–106; cf. also Laronde (1987) 51–52).

At first Barke coined in silver on the Attic standard (tetradrachms, didrachms, fifths, later also tenths). Types: *obv.* silphium plant and/or fruit; *rev.* bull with palm tree, or ram's head, then head of Ammon as the most frequent type, legends sometimes BAPKAION but mostly abbreviated, sometimes down to B. In the third period Barke switched to the Asiatic standard (tetradrachms, drachms, hemidrachms and fractional denominations). Types mostly: *obv.* silphium plant; *rev.* head of Ammon, same legends. A number of coins now bear magistrates' names as well, and a few invert the obverse and reverse types.

Some silver issues of C5s have been described as "alliance" coinages, in that they bear the city-ethnics of Kyrene (no. 1028) on the obverse and Barke on the reverse, or Taucheira (no. 1029) on the obverse and Barke on the reverse. The presence of the city-ethnic of Barke on the reverse suggests that Barke was at the time the predominant partner, which corresponds to the implications of Hdt. 4.171 for Taucheira, but the precise historical circumstances are not known (see *BMC Cyrenaica* pp. xliv–xlvi and 107–8).

1026. Eu(h)esperides (Eu(h)esperites) Map 38. Lat. 32.07, long. 20.05. Size of territory: 2? Type: A:α (testimonia in Purcaro Pagano (1976) 331, 335). The toponym is Εὐεσπερίδες (Hdt. 4.171; Theophr. *Hist. pl.* 4.3.2, 6.3.3, 8.6.6; *SEG* 9 76.6 and Tod 203 (C4s); Steph. Byz. 284.19–21) or Ἑσπερίδες, αἱ (Ps.-Skylax 108–9; Heracl. Lemb. 17;

Theotimos of Kyrene (*FGrHist* 470) fr. 1 (C2); Strabo 10.2.18). Steph. Byz. 282.16–17, who draws attention to the two forms of the name, does not mention the form *Ἑσπερίδες*, but gives the alternative form as *Ἑσπερίς* (cf. *SEG* 9 362.7 = *CEG* II 680.6 (C4)). Similarly the city-ethnic is found in both forms, *Εὐεσπερίτης* (Hdt. 4.198.3; Thuc. 7.50.2; Diod. 4.56.6 = Timaios (*FGrHist* 566) fr. 85 §6; *CID* II 26.4–7; cf. Laronde (1987) 148) and *Ἑσπερίτης* (Diod. 18.20.3; *BGU* X 1946.14, 1956.5, 1958.11 (all C3); *SEG* 9 362.1 (C4) has the feminine form *Ἑσπερῖτις*). A C4s proxeny decree has the form *Εὐσπερίτης* (*SEG* 18 772.5). *Εὐεσπερίδες* and *Εὐεσπερίτης* are first attested in C5 in literary sources and (in abbreviated form) on the coinage, while *Ἑσπερίς* and *Ἑσπερίτης* are not found till C4 but become common thereafter.

The earliest reference to Eu(h)esperides as a *polis* is in Ps.-Skylax 108, where it is described as both a *polis* and a *λιμήν*. There is no doubt that it was a *polis* in C5 and probably from the time of its foundation, as shown by the use of the city-ethnic in Hdt. 4.198.2 and Thuc. 7.50.2 and later writers (Diod. 18.20.3; Paus. 4.26.2–3, 5), the coins it issued, which bear the city-ethnic, and from the historical record which shows it involved in active warfare with its Libyan neighbours (Thuc. 7.50.2; Paus. *loc. cit.*). It is called *patra* (= *patris*) in *SEG* 9 362.7 (C4).

The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally, mostly in an abbreviated form, by coins of Eu(h)esperides, and externally in literary sources (Hdt. 4.198.3; Thuc. 7.50.2). The external individual use is found in *SEG* 9 362.1 (C4).

Colonists were sent to Eu(h)esperides by Arkesilas IV, i.e. in C5f (Theotimos of Kyrene (*FGrHist* 470) fr. 1 (C2); Chamoux (1953) 173–75), but the city had been founded well before this. Pottery dating to C6f has been found (Boardman (1966) 155–56; Vickers and Gill (1986), who leave the chronology open), and Eu(h)esperides is first mentioned *c.*514 during the Persian expedition to Libya (Hdt. 4.204). Though founded from Kyrene (no. 1028), it was often in conflict with its mother city. In C4s there is a dedication to Apollo at Kyrene by the *strategos* Aristis for victories won at sea, one of them *ἐν Εὐεσπερίδεσσι* (*SEG* 9 76.6 and Tod 203; Laronde (1987) 66–69).

In C3 under Ptolemy III the site of Eu(h)esperides was abandoned and moved nearly 3 km to the coast; the new city, fortified from the start, was renamed Berenike, a name which supplanted the original one (Steph. Byz. 164.6–9; Laronde (1987) 382–96). Strabo, who mentions Berenike several times, does not refer to the refoundation and renaming of the old city, which he does not name explicitly (17.3.20, 21).

The exact extent of the territory of Eu(h)esperides is not known, though it was certainly more restricted than that of Kyrene (no. 1028) or even Barke (no. 1025). Hdt. 4.198.3 probably exaggerates the fertility of the land. Eu(h)esperides was frequently in conflict with neighbouring Libyan tribes and welcomed support from Greeks of the mainland (Thuc. 7.50.2; Paus. 4.26.2–3; cf. Chamoux (1953) 226–27, 230; Laronde (1987) 27, 52).

Together with Barke, Eu(h)esperides was in alliance with Thibron in his war with Kyrene in 322 (Diod. 18.20.3; cf. Laronde (1987) 41–42, 49, 63, 211). For the alleged C4 league of Greek cities in Libya, see *supra* under Barke (no. 1025).

The political institutions of Eu(h)esperides probably reproduced those of her mother city Kyrene, though little detail is known. A proxeny decree for two Syracusans of C4s shows the existence of *ephoroi* and *gerontes* who introduce motions to the *boule* (*SEG* 18 772.1–2; cf. *SEG* 41 1693). In the Classical period the constitution was probably oligarchic in character.

Little is known of the cults of Eu(h)esperides, beyond a dedication to Apollo of C4 (Laronde (1987) 394) and a C4 relief in honour of four local heroes (*SEG* 9 769; Chamoux (1953) 279; Laronde (1987) 390 fig. 141 and 411 n. 101). In the Roman period Eu(h)esperides had an eponymous priest of Apollo (*SEG* 28 1540 (62–61); cf. Sherk (1992) 271–72), and this was probably derived from the institutions of Kyrene (no. 1028).

It is not clear whether Eu(h)esperides was named in a catalogue of *theorodokoi* of the Heraia at Argos (no. 347) (*SEG* 23 189 (*c.*330) I ll. 16–19; Laronde (1987) 161–62; Charneux in *BE* (1988) no. 595).

The urban planning seems to fall into two major phases, the first of C6e in the northern part of the site, the second, to the south and more large-scale, completed by C4e. The southern part of the city, unlike the earlier northern part, was laid out on a Hippodamian grid plan with space for an agora in the centre of a residential area. It dates from C4e, as do the extant parts of the city wall. The area enclosed by the city walls has been estimated as *c.*21 ha at its maximum extent. Eu(h)esperides was besieged by the Libyans in 413, which shows that the city was fortified by then (Thuc. 7.50.2); recent excavations have revealed a stretch of a fortification wall of 1.5 m width and a possible square tower, probably dating to C7l–C6e (Buzaian and Lloyd (1996) 143–46). Because of silting, the harbour had to be moved westward away from the urban settlement by C4, as shown by the distinction drawn by Ps.-Skylax 108 between the city and the port. The site has yielded sherds dating from C6e

onwards (see Goodchild (1952*b*) 210–11; Jones and Little (1971) 65–67; Jones (1985) 28–33 with figs. 3.1–3; Lloyd (1985) esp. 51–53 with figs. 5.1 and 5.2; Laronde (1987) 389–90 and fig. 142).

Eu(h)esperides struck coins intermittently from C5e (C5m according to Buttrey (1994) 137), mostly silver on the Asiatic standard except for some bronze issues of C4l, and its coinage follows the same lines as those of Kyrene and Barke, though it was never abundant (see *BMC Cyrenaica* pp. clxxxviii–cxcvii and 109–12). Types: *obv.* silphium plant; *rev.* dolphin, then head of Ammon, legends ΕΥ, ΕΥΕΣ (a tetradrachm has the full legend ΕΥΕΣΠΕΡΙΤΑΝ). Other denominations: didrachm, drachm and hemidrachm.

Some silver issues of C5s have been described as "alliance" coinages, in that they bear the city-ethnics of Eu(h)esperides on the obverse and that of Kyrene (no. 1028) on the reverse. This suggests that Kyrene was at the time the predominant partner, and contrasts with the apparently subordinate position of Kyrene in relation to Barke (no. 1025) at the same period (see *BMC Cyrenaica* pp. xli–xlvi).

1027. Kinyps Map 35. Lat. 32.35, long. 14.30. Size of territory: ? Type: A:*α*. The toponym is Κίννψ, -υπος or -υφος, ἡ (Hdt. 4.198.1; Ps.-Skylax 109). No city-ethnic is attested. Kinyps is called a *polis* by Ps.-Skylax 109.

In about 512, Dorieus, half-brother of King Kleomenes of Sparta (no. 347), led a band of followers to found a new settlement. He sailed first to Libya and settled in the land of Kinyps (some 18 km to the east of Lepcis Magna; cf. Hdt. 4.175.2, 198.1–2 on the reported fertility of its territory), though he was expelled after two years by the Libyan Maces and the Carthaginians (Hdt. 5.42.2–3; cf. Chamoux (1953) 162–63; Malkin (1994), 192–203). Ps.-Skylax 109 refers to Kinyps as a πόλις ἔρημος, which may simply be a mistake on his part (cf. Flensted-Jensen and Hansen (1996) 151–53, cf. 160). It is possible, however, that he is referring to the ruins of the short-lived settlement by Dorieus, which may still have been extant in C4 (Müller *GGM* I p. 85).

1028. Kyrene (Kyrenaios) Map 38. Lat. 32.50, long. 21.52. Size of territory: 5. Type: A:*α* (some literary testimonia in Purcaro Pagano (1976) 339). The toponym is Κυρήνη, ἡ (Hdt. 2.181.4–5; Thuc. 1.110.1), Doric Κυράνα (Pind. *Pyth.* 4.2; ML 5.6).[8] The city-ethnic is Κυρηναῖος (Hdt. 2.32.1; *IG* II² 9124 (C4)), feminine Κυρηναία (*IG* II² 9136 (C4)). The Doric form Κυρανα ῖος seems to be attested only on inscriptions and coins (*CID* II 4.III.11 (363); *BMC Cyrenaica*).

[8] Alone of the Greek cities in Libya, Kyrene preserved her original name throughout. On the name cf. Chamoux (1953) 126–27, and 275–77.

Kyrene is first referred to as a *polis* in Pind. *Pyth.* 5.81 of 462, then in Hdt. 4.156.3, 164.3, 203.1. Pindar uses the word in the political sense. Herodotos uses the word in the urban sense at 4.164.3 and 4.203.1, and in the territorial sense at 4.156.3. Pindar refers to the ἄστυ of Kyrene in *Pyth.* 4.260–61, as does Hdt. at 2.181.5 and 4.203.1. The first epigraphic attestations of Kyrene as a *polis* are in C4, all of them in the political sense: ML 5.3; *Tit. Cam.* 105.10–11; *SEG* 20 716.6, 15; Tod 196.2 (330–326). *Patris* is found in *CEG* II 850 (*c.*335) and *patra* (= *patris*) in Pind. *Pyth.* 9.74.

The collective use of the city-ethnic internally is attested by the reverse of coins. The collective use of the city-ethnic externally is attested by several dedications (*SGDI* 4838) (Archaic); Paus. 10.13.5 (rC5); 10.15.6 (rC5m)). The individual external use is frequently found, e.g. in Attika (*IG* II² 9124, 9136–39; tombstones (C4)), and at Oropos (no. 214) (*IG* VII 414.11 (366–338)).

Starting from very modest beginnings (Hdt. 4.153, 156.2), the population of Kyrene grew rapidly to become the largest of the Greek cities of Libya. Hdt. 4.160.3 gives a figure of 7,000 hoplites killed at the battle fought by Arkesilas II against Barke (no. 1025) and the Libyans. The *diagramma* of Ptolemy I in 322/1 defines a citizen body referred to as the "Ten Thousand", which was to replace a narrower body of 1,000 (*SEG* 9 1.6–15, 35 and *passim* (cf. *SEG* 18 726)). The total population of Kyrene, city and countryside included, has been estimated for C4 at around 300,000 (Laronde (1987) 340, 342, discussing earlier estimates; lower estimates in Goodchild (1971) 15). Even on a low figure, Kyrene was one of the most populous Greek states of her time. The original colonists came from Thera (no. 527) *c.*631 (Chamoux (1953) 120–24), though may have included others as well (cf. Paus. 3.14.3; *Lindos Temple Chronicle* (*FGrHist* 532) §17). In the reign of Battos II they were supplemented by colonists from the Peloponnese and the islands (cf. Hdt. 4.159.2–3, 161.3). Intermarriage with the Libyans was apparently common from the start (cf. Hdt. 4.186.2; Chamoux (1953) 129), and was recognised in the *diagramma* of Ptolemy I (*SEG* 9 1.2–3). Libyan influence on the Greek settlers is shown in many ways, though relations were ambivalent and ranged from co-operation to hostility (cf. Hdt. 4.158–60 and numerous Libyan wars subsequently; cf. *SEG* 9 1.29), but Kyrene maintained her dominant position as well as her Hellenic character (cf. Chamoux (1953) 129, 223–24; Masson (1976) for the evidence of names).

It is likely that the Kyrenaians were divided from the start into the three Dorian tribes, as were the Theraians (Jones, *POAG* 215–16). Under Battos III, Demonax of Mantinea (no.

281) was called in as arbitrator to settle internal conflicts (Hdt. 4.161.1–2); he redistributed the people into three tribes, making three parts (*moirai*) respectively of Theraians and *perioikoi*, Peloponnesians and Cretans, and all the islanders. This may refer to a redefinition of the composition of the pre-existing tribes, each tribe being composed of one of the three parts Herodotos mentions (cf. Chamoux (1953) 221–24 on the *perioikoi*; Jones, *POAG* 217–18). Alternatively, Demonax may have made each of the three tribes comprise all three parts (Hölkeskamp (1993)). Arist. *Pol.* 1319^{b}1–27 alludes to constitutional changes at Kyrene involving the organisation of the citizen body after the end of the monarchy, but date and details are obscure (Jones, *POAG* 218–19; Laronde (1987) 249–52). The C4 decree on citizenship for Theraians resident at Kyrene specifies their assignment to *phylai*, *patrai* (phratries) and nine *hetairai*, the latter peculiar to Crete and Thera (ML 5.15–16; Chamoux (1953) 214; Jones, *POAG* 219; Hölkeskamp (1993) 410–13).

Situated on a well-watered plateau, the territory of Kyrene, called ἡ Κυρηναίη χώρη by Hdt. 4.199.1, was reputed for its fertility and formed the basis of Kyrene's great wealth (Hdt. 4.199; Laronde (1987) 257–323). The land was previously occupied by Libyan tribes, who were gradually pushed out. From early days, Kyrene showed a continuous tendency to expand, through the invitation to new Greek settlers (Hdt. 4.159.2–4; cf. too 4.163.1) and new foundations, as that of Barke (Hdt. 4.160.1). The C4 decree for Theraians in Kyrene assumes the availability of unoccupied land for settlement (ML 5.33), and the *diagramma* of Ptolemy I mentions the establishment of new outposts by Kyrene to the east (described as πόλεις, *SEG* 9 1.4–5; cf. Laronde (1987) 349). The territory of Kyrene thus grew to become probably one of the largest of any Greek *polis*, though its precise extension is conjectural (Laronde (1987) 15). The total area available for cultivation in Greek Libya depended on the rainfall (cf. Laronde (1987) 15–17 and figs. 1–3) and has been variously calculated: even a lower estimate of 16,100 km² corresponds to about three-quarters of the area of the Peloponnese or twice that of Crete (Laronde (1987) 15 and 340). The territory under the direct control of Kyrene consisted of a central inner core measuring about 50 × 35 km, i.e. 1,750 km² (Laronde (1987) 285–93 with fig. 87), where a scattered population depended directly on the urban centre, and further away a zone of nucleated villages (Laronde (1987) 293–313 with fig. 108). About a quarter of the territory of Kyrene was occupied by Libyans (Laronde (1987) 313).

Kyrene claimed a pre-eminent position in Libya as the mother city of the other Greek foundations there (Barke (no. 1025), Eu(h)esperides (no. 1026), Taucheira (no. 1029)), though she was frequently in conflict with them. The Battiads sought to restore control over Barke after its foundation, and eventually invited Persian intervention to punish the rebellious city (Hdt. 4.164.3–65, 167, 200–4). Arkesilas IV is addressed by Pindar as "king of cities" (Pind. *Pyth.* 5.15); he sent colonists to Eu(h)esperides, which he made into a place of refuge (Theotimos of Kyrene (*FGrHist* 470) fr. 1 (second century AD?); Chamoux (1953) 173–75), and was eventually killed there (Heracl. Lemb. 17 = Arist. fr. 611, Rose). But Kyrene's relationship with the Greek cities in Libya was not translated into constitutional forms. The political interpretation of the so-called alliance coinages of C5s is unclear (see under Barke, Eu(h)esperides, Taucheira). A federation of Greek cities in Libya in C4 has been postulated on the basis of a passage in the "Stele of the ΣΥΛΑ" (*SEG* 20 716.8–9; cf. Oliviero *et al.* (1961–62) 273–80), but this seems doubtful (Laronde (1987) 156).

Kyrene maintained from earliest days close relations with the mainland of Greece and the Aegean world (for C4 cf. Laronde (1987) 137–68). But politically she played no part in the major conflicts and alliances of the mainland.

The political and constitutional history of Kyrene divides into two periods: the monarchy down to the end of the Battiads *c.*440, and the establishment of a republican form of government down to Alexander. The Aristotelian collection of *politeiai* included a *Kyrenaion Politeia* (Heracl. Lemb. 16–17; Arist. frr. 535–38).

Thera (no. 527) at the time of the foundation of Kyrene was herself under a *basileus* (Hdt. 4.150.2–3; Malkin (1994) 113–14), and Kyrene adopted the institutions of her mother city. Hence Battos,[9] the *oikistes*, was at the same time *basileus*, and founded a hereditary dynasty that lasted eight generations (cf. Hdt. 4.163.2; for the designation *basileus* cf. Hdt. 4.153; Pind. *Pyth.* 4.2, 62, 5.15). The monarch was probably from the start the priest of Apollo (Chamoux (1953) 217–19). Battos the founder received after his death a heroic cult at his tomb in the agora of Kyrene (Pind. *Pyth.* 5.93–95; Leschhorn (1984) 60–72; Malkin (1987) 204–16). As Kyrene grew, the monarch's position was increasingly challenged. In the reign of Battos II a large-scale influx of new settlers changed the political and social balance (Hdt. 4.159). Conflict broke out within the dynasty itself in the reign of Arkesilas II (Hdt. 4.160). This necessitated the intervention in the reign of Battos III of the arbitrator Demonax of

[9] He is called Aristoteles by Pind. *Pyth.* 5.87 and other sources, a name unknown to Herodotos; on this problem, cf. Chamoux (1953) 95–98; Malkin (1987) 63.

Mantinea. He handed over the powers of the *basileus* to the *demos*, while leaving him only *temene* and priesthoods (Hdt. 4.161.3; Chamoux (1953) 138–42; E. W. Robinson (1997) 105–8). The history of the dynasty thereafter was a long struggle by the rulers (Arkesilas III and his mother Pheretime) to restore their lost power against internal opposition, first with support from the Greek world (Hdt. 4.162–64), then thanks to Persian intervention (Hdt. 4.165, 167, 200–5; Austin (1990) 301–2). Arkesilas IV was eventually killed at Eu(h)esperides, and the monarchy came to an end *c.*440 (Chamoux (1953) 202–9; cf. Bacchielli (1985)).

The government which followed was classified as a "democracy" by Arist. *Pol.* 1319^{b}15–27 and Heracl. Lemb. 17, Arist. fr. 611, Rose); however, according to Laronde (1987) it was more likely republican in character (27), though dominated by a wealthy aristocracy (129–36). There were further internal conflicts down to the age of Alexander (cf. Diod. 14.34.3–6 (401); Arist. *Pol.* 1319^{b}1–27; cf. Laronde (1987) 249–56). From the evidence of some inscribed sherds it seems possible that Kyrene used the institution of ostracism in C5l (Bacchielli (1994)). In 331 Kyrene sent an embassy to Alexander to ask for his friendship (Diod. 17.49.3; Curt. 4.7.8; Laronde (1987) 28–30, 35–36). After his death the mercenary captain Thibron intervened at the invitation of exiles (Diod. 18.19–21; App. (*FGrHist* 156) fr. 9 §§16–19; Laronde (1987) 41–84). His defeat and death eventually provoked the intervention of Ptolemy I, who imposed a settlement on Kyrene, recorded in a long inscription (the *diagramma*) of probably 322/1 (*SEG* 9 1) which sheds much light on the constitution of Kyrene before this time.

After the end of the monarchy, the priesthood of Apollo became an eponymous magistracy (cf. *SEG* 9 11–13 etc.; Chamoux (1953) 217, 301–2; Sherk (1992) 270–72). The *diagramma* of Ptolemy I specifies a minimum age of 50 (*SEG* 9 1.25; list of known priests in Oliviero *et al.* (1961–62) 359–75). The *temene* of the monarchy probably then became public property, administered by a body of three *damiergoi* whose functions are illustrated by a series of inscriptions of C4–C2 (*SEG* 9 11–44; Laronde (1987) 156–57, 325–34; Chamoux (1988); Sherk (1992) 270–72). A body of 101 *gerontes* is first attested in 322/1 (*SEG* 9 1.20–23). They are found also in a proxeny decree of Eu(h)esperides of C4s (*SEG* 18 772.1–2; cf. *SEG* 41 1693), and are likely to have existed in some form since the early history of Kyrene. A building of C4 on the west side of the agora has been identified as the chamber for their meetings (Laronde (1987) 176–77; but see Goodchild (1971) 98). *Ephors* are likely to have existed from an early date, as part of Kyrene's Theran–Spartan inheritance (Chamoux (1953) 214–16). Heraclid. Pont. (*FHG* II 212; Arist. fr. 611.115–17, Rose) mentions their judicial powers. They were five in number in 322/1 (*SEG* 9 1.33; cf. 82–84). *Strategoi* are first attested in C4 by dedications put up by them (*SEG* 9 76, 77; Laronde (1987) 52–53 with fig. 10, 66–69, 104, 178, 199, 207). Lists of soldiers of C4 also mention *lochagoi* (*SEG* 9 46.13, 49.1–2, 50.32, 51; Laronde (1987) 131–34). Kyrene is likely to have had a *boule* in addition to *gerontes* and *ephors* (cf. Eu(h)esperides). Pheretime, the mother of Arkesilas III, is presented by Hdt. 4.165.1 as sitting in the *boule*, but the reference could be to the *gerousia* (cf. Chamoux (1953) 216). A stoa built in C4 in the north-west corner of the agora has been identified as a chamber for the meetings of the *boule* (Stucchi (1975) 65; cf. Laronde (1987) 175–76). A *boule* of 500 men appointed by lot and over the age of 50 is specified in 322/1 (*SEG* 9 1.16–19, 34–35). An assembly of the people is presupposed as existing already at Thera in C7 in the *Oath of the Founders* (ML 5.24), but this may be anachronistic. The C4 decree on citizenship for Thera was passed by the *demos* (ML 5.11; cf. Laronde (1987) 250).

Kyrene was almost certainly named in a C4 list of *theorodokoi* for the Argive *Heraia* (*SEG* 23 189 (*c.*330) I ll. 16–19; Laronde (1987) 161–62; Charneux in *BE* (1988) no. 595). In C5l a citizen of Kyrene was granted *proxenia* by Athens (no. 361) (*IG* II^{2} 174). Competitors from Kyrene were very prominent in the major Panhellenic festivals (Pind. *Pyth.* 4, 5, 9 for the Pythian Games, with Chamoux (1953) 169–201; Paus. 6.12.7 for the Isthmian Games; *Olympionikai* 194, 257, 268, 269, 347, 421, 423, 428, 430, 442, 508, 990 for the Olympic Games; and see generally Laronde (1987) 146–47). In C4l, the city dedicated a treasury at Delphi (Bommelaer (1991) 155–58).

The site of Kyrene lies inland some 12.5 km from its harbour (Apollonia) in a straight line.[10] It was built on a large hill with two peaks in the west and the east at 620 m, and strong natural defences to the south (the Wadi Bel Gadir) and the north (the Wadi Bu Turkia). The suburban approaches to the city from the north were used as a large necropolis, and other cemeteries were also located around the city (Chamoux (1953) 287–300; Cassels (1955); Goodchild (1971) 165–71). The city consisted of four main areas.

(1) The acropolis on the western peak had no public buildings (Goodchild (1971) 104–8), and it is not clear whether it was used as a residence by the Battiads.[11]

[10] On the routes of approach to Kyrene cf. Stucchi (1985).

[11] Cf. Hansen and Fischer-Hansen (1994) 27 against Chamoux (1953) 260; cf. 217, 310.

(2) The civic centre of the agora, slightly below the acropolis to the south-east, grew in time with the addition of new buildings (Stucchi (1965); Goodchild (1971) 91–103 with fig. 7; Vickers and Reynolds (1972) 33–34; Bacchielli (1981); Laronde (1987) 169–78 with fig. 48 for C4). By C4 it had four stoas (Stucchi (1975) 31–34, 63–65; Coulton (1976) 228, 230–31 with fig. 59), but the identification of many of the public buildings and sanctuaries remains disputed, including the location of the *heroon* of Battos the founder, the *bouleuterion*, *geronteion*, *prytaneion* (the latter attested in *SEG* 9 1.44 of 322/1; cf. Miller (1978) 183–84, 227), and the sanctuaries of Apollo and Demeter. In C4 a monumental altar of Apollo was built in the agora, similar to that in front of his temple (Stucchi (1975) 59–60; Laronde (1987) 175).

(3) The eastern peak was chosen as the location for the sanctuary of Zeus Lykaios (plan with site index in Goodchild (1971) facing p. 200). Hdt. 4.203.2 implies that the latter was originally outside the city perimeter. In C6l under Battos IV Zeus Lykaios was identified with the Egyptian god Amon who achieved great status at Kyrene (cf. coin types), from where his cult spread to the Greek world (Chamoux (1953) 320–41 with pls. XIX, XXVII–XXVIII; Goodchild (1971) 149–55; Stucchi (1975) 19–20, 23–29; Bisi (1985)). His temple, made of local limestone, was built at some time during C6s–C5s, the largest Greek temple in Libya, comparable in size to the Parthenon at Athens and the temple of Zeus at Olympia. Traces of two other sanctuaries have been found on the eastern hill in addition to the temple of Zeus (Stucchi in Goodchild (1971) 155–56).

(4) A paved street led down from the acropolis via the agora to the terrace of the sanctuary of Apollo, to the north-north-east of the acropolis and on a lower level than the agora (Goodchild (1971) 109–28 with fig. 13). A temple of C6 ascribed to Battos the founder (Pind. *Pyth.* 5.89; Callim. *Hymn* 2.75–79; *SEG* 9 189) was rebuilt in C4 on a larger scale (Chamoux (1953) 203, 304–8; Goodchild (1971) 116–19; Laronde (1987) 104–5, 178–79). A monumental altar in front of the temple was also renovated in C4s (*SEG* 9 85, 86; Chamoux (1953) 308–9; Goodchild (1971) 116; Stucchi (1975) 29, 58–59; Laronde (1987) 110–13). The sacred spring near the sanctuary was dedicated to the god (Pind. *Pyth.* 4.294; Hdt. 4.158.3; Chamoux (1953) 77–82, 126–27; Goodchild (1971) 109–12). Artemis was closely associated with Apollo from the start (Chamoux (1953) 311–20 with pls. XVII–XVIII; Goodchild (1971) 127–28; Stucchi (1975) 8–9, 48–49, 58). Her temple, immediately to the north of the temple of Apollo and with a C6 monumental altar in front of it, was also reconstructed in C4. The terrace received substantial additions subsequently, notably in C4 (Laronde (1987) 178–92 with fig. 54). A small treasure was built there by the *strategoi* in C4s to commemorate victories over the Libyans (*SEG* 9 89–90; Goodchild (1971) 113–14; Laronde (1987) 104–5 with fig. 29). To the west of the sanctuary of Apollo a theatre (*TGR* iii. 137) was constructed, partly excavated in the hill, though the date of initial construction is uncertain (Goodchild (1971) 125–27; Stucchi (1975) 34–36, 69–70).

Outside the city, on a terraced site across the Wadi Bel Gadir, lay the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore, in an isolated position opposite the agora and about 75 m south of the city's wall circuit. It was established by C6e and had a continuous history till Roman times, as shown by numerous votive offerings (White (1981), (1984–93)).

The city wall was gradually developed (detailed description for C4l in Laronde (1987) 71–76 with figs. 19–22), and by the early Hellenistic period enclosed both peaks, with a total length of 5,560 m and an enclosed area of about 750 ha. The acropolis was separately fortified in C4l (Diod. 19.79.1). Kyrene was besieged in 322 (Diod. 18.19.4). Only about one-third of the area enclosed by the city walls was inhabited. Estimates of the size of the urban population depend on the density of settlement assumed, and thus vary considerably from *c.*30,000 (Goodchild (1971) 15) to as much as 100,000 or more (Laronde (1987) 342, discussing other estimates). A settlement density of 100–300 per ha (Jameson *et al.* (1994), 542–43; cf. Hansen (1997*c*) 28–30) would indicate an urban population in the range 25,000–75,000.

The coinage of Kyrene provided the models for the coinages of the other Greek cities of Libya. It went through three main phases: *c.*570–480, *c.*480–435 and *c.*435–308 (see *BMC Cyrenaica*; Laronde (1987) 233–48; *SNG Cop. Suppl.* 1330).

The earliest coinage (*BMC Cyrenaica* pp. xviii–xxxvi and 1–9) was in silver on the Euboic–Attic standard, at first tetradrachms, didrachms and drachms and later fractional denominations as well. Types: *obv.* silphium plant or fruit, which remained the distinctive obverse type at Kyrene;[12] *rev.* at first incuse, later animals, then anthropomorphic types. In the second period (*BMC Cyrenaica* pp. xxxvi–xlvii and 10–14) the Asiatic standard mostly took over from the Attic, and types became more standardized, and the head of Amon was introduced as the normal reverse type. In the third period (*BMC Cyrenaica* pp. xlvii–xcviii and 15–47), the names of magistrates appear on a number of gold and silver

[12] On the silphium plant cf. *BMC Cyrenaica* pp. ccli–cclvii; Chamoux (1953) 246–63 and in Barker *et al.* (1985).

coins, but are not found on the bronze coins which were introduced in the latter part of the period (C4l). In the latter part of the period there are also numerous gold issues on the Attic standard with a greater variety of types (on these see also Naville (1951); Laronde (1987) 208–11, 239–40). Legends appear late in the first period, with the city-ethnic, which becomes common, mostly abbreviated, sometimes down to *KY* but occasionally in the full form *KYPANAION*. On the C5s "alliance" coinage, see under Barke (no. 1025) and Eu(h)esperides (no. 1026).

1029. Taucheira (Taucheirites) Map 38. Lat. 32.32, long. 20.34. Size of territory: 3? Type: A:*α*. The toponym is *Ταύχειρα* or *Τεύχειρα*, and other variants are found (testimonia in Purcaro Pagano (1976) 347–48). *Ταύχειρα* is the earliest attested form, and it continued to be used in the post-Classical period (Hdt. 4.171; Ps.-Skylax 108). *Τεύχειρα* appears not to be found till the Roman Empire (Arr. *Diadochi* (*FGrHist* 156) fr. 9 §17; Hippol. *Chron.* §300 l. 1 (second century AD)); the letters *TE*, however, are found on the obverse of some C5s coins issued jointly by Barke and Taucheira (*BMC Cyrenaica* pp. clxxxvi–clxxxvii and 107–8). This latter form of the toponym is not mentioned anywhere by Steph. Byz. Other forms are also found, as *Ταύχιρα*, *Τεύχηρα* and *Τεύχιρα*. The gender of the toponym was treated as either feminine singular (Strabo; Procopius) or neuter plural (Hdt.; Diod. 18.20.6; Hippol.). In C3 under the Ptolemies Taucheira was renamed Arsinoe (Laronde (1987) 382–83), but the original name survived, as shown by references in post-Classical sources (e.g. Strabo 17.3.20; Plin. *HN* 5.32). The city-ethnic is rarely attested. Steph. Byz. 608.20–609.1 gives several versions: *Ταυχείριος*, *Ταυχέριος*, *Ταύχερος*, *Ταυχερίτης*. Of these, only *Ταυχέριος* seems to be attested in a literary source (Parthenius frr. 45.1 and 662.1 (C1)). Not mentioned by Steph. Byz. is the form *Τευχειρῖται* found in Arr. *Diadochi* (*FGrHist* 156) fr. 9 §18 (r322).

Taucheira is first referred to as a *polis* (in the urban sense) by Hdt. 4.171. Ps.-Skylax describes it as only a *χωρίον*, while Strabo, who calls it a *polis* at 17.3.20, lists it at 17.3.21 among the *περιπόλια* of Kyrene (no. 1028), which he describes as *πολίχνια*. It is also described as a *polis* in the urban sense by Diod. 18.20.6 and in the political sense by Arrian (*FGrHist* 156) fr. 9 §17 (both r322). The collective use of the city-ethnic internally is attested (abbreviated as *TE*) by some coins of Taucheira issued together with Barke.

Little is heard of Taucheira in the Archaic and Classical periods. It was reportedly founded by Kyrene, at an unspecified date (schol. Pind. *Pyth.* 4.26). Archaeological evidence of Greek presence there goes back to C7l (Boardman (1966) 153–55; Boardman and Hayes (1966) 12–15, 170; Boardman (1994) 143–46), and its foundation is likely to have preceded that of Barke (no. 1025).

The extent of Taucheira's territory is unknown, though it was probably much more limited than that of Kyrene or Barke (see Laronde (1987) 59–63, (1994) 25, 27–28 who estimates the arable land potentially available at 250 km², which could sustain a population of more than 20,000). Situated on the coast, Taucheira was overshadowed by Barke inland to the east, and in C5 it was in some sense subordinated to her (cf. Hdt. 4.171 and the evidence of the so-called alliance coinage). To the south-west its possibilities of expansion were restricted by Eu(h)esperides as well as by Libyan tribes.

In the war of Thibron against Kyrene in 322, Taucheira was in alliance with Kyrene (no. 1028), while Barke (no. 1025) and Eu(h)esperides (no. 1026) sided with him; but it was captured by Thibron (Diod. 18.20.6; Laronde (1987) 42, 49, 63).

There is no evidence regarding the political institutions of Taucheira and little regarding its cults. Votive material from a sanctuary of Demeter and Kore has been found (Boardman and Hayes (1966) 11–12, 15; Boardman (1994) 143–46). A temple of Dionysos is reported from the centre of Taucheira, but no further details are available (Laronde (1987) 335).

It is not clear whether Taucheira was named in a catalogue of *theorodokoi* of the Heraia at Argos (no. 347) (*SEG* 23 189 (*c.*330), I ll. 16–19; Laronde (1987) 161–62; Charneux in *BE* (1988) no. 595).

Traces of what may be a C6e circuit wall have been found (Boardman and Hayes (1966) 9–10, 13; Boardman (1994) 144; cf. Smith and Crow (1998) 37), and Thibron's siege and capture of Taucheira in 322 implies that it had a wall at the time (Diod. 18.20.6). It is not clear whether the urban remains of Taucheira, with traces of a city wall, can be dated to before the Hellenistic period (Laronde (1987) 59–61). The city perimeter as fixed in C3m enclosed an area of 40 ha and an urban population at the time estimated at a minimum of 6,000 (Laronde (1994) 27–28).

The only known coinage of Taucheira consists of an issue of C5s of silver tetradrachms (Attic standard) and drachmas (Asiatic standard). It has been described as an "alliance" coinage, as the coins bear the city-ethnic of Taucheira (in the form *TE*) on the obverse and Barke (no. 1025) on the reverse. Types: *obv.* silphium plant; *rev.* head of Amon.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Austin, M. M. 1970. *Greece and Egypt in the Archaic Age*, Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society, Supplement 2.

—— 1990. "Greek Tyrants and the Persians, 546–479 B.C.," *CQ* 40: 289–306.

Bacchielli, L. 1981. *L'Agorà di Cirene*, ii.1 (Rome).

—— 1985. "Modelli politici e modelli architettonici a Cirene durante il regime democratico", in Barker *et al.* (1985) 1–14.

—— 1994. "L'ostracismo a Cirene", *RivFil* 122: 257–70 with pls. 2–4.

Barker, G., Lloyd, J., and Reynolds, J. (eds.) 1985. *Cyrenaica in Antiquity*, BAR International Series 236 (Oxford).

Bernand, A. 1970. *Le Delta égyptien d'après les textes grecs*, i: *Les Confins libyques*, i–iv (Cairo).

Berve, H. 1926. *Das Alexanderreich auf prosopographischer Grundlage* (Munich).

Bisi, A. M. 1985. "Origine e diffusione del culto cirenaico di Zeus Ammon", in Barker *et al.* (1985) 307–17.

BMC Cyrenaica: see Robinson, E. S. G.

Boardman, J. 1966. "Evidence for the Dating of Greek Settlements in Cyrenaica", *BSA* 61: 149–56.

—— 1980. *The Greeks Overseas: Their Early Colonies and Trade*, new edn. (London).

—— 1990. "Al Mina and History", *OJA* 9: 169–91.

—— 1994. "Settlement for Trade and Land in North Africa: Problems of Identity", in Tsetskhladze and De Angelis (1994) 137–49.

—— and Hayes, J. W. 1966, 1974. *Excavations at Tocra, 1963–5*, 2 vols. (London).

Bommelaer, J.-F. 1991. *Guide de Delphes: le site* (Paris).

Bowden, H. 1996. "The Greek Settlement and Sanctuaries at Naukratis: Herodotus and Archaeology", *CPCPapers* 3: 17–37.

Braun, T. F. R. G. 1982. "The Greeks in Egypt", in *CAH* iii².3 32–56.

Bresson, A. 1980. "Rhodes, l'Hellénion et le statut de Naucratis (VI–IVe siècle avant J.C.)", *Dialogues d'histoire ancienne* 6: 291–349.

—— and Rouillard, P. (eds.) 1993. *L'Emporion* (Paris).

Bunnens, G. 1979. *L'Expansion phénicienne en Méditerranée: essai d'interprétation fondé sur une analyse des traditions littéraires* (Brussels).

Burkert, W. 1995. "Greek *Poleis* and Civic Cults: Some Further Thoughts", *CPCPapers* 2: 201–10.

Buttrey, T. V. 1994. "Coins and Coinage at Euesperides", *LibSt* 25: 137–45.

Buzaian, A., and Lloyd, J. A. 1996. "Early Urbanism in Cyrenaica", *LibSt* 27: 129–52.

Cassels, J. 1955. "The Cemeteries of Cyrene", *PBSR* 23 NS 10: 1–43 with pls. I–XIII.

Chamoux, F. 1953. *Cyrène sous la monarchie des Battiades* (Paris).

—— 1988. "Les comptes des démiurges à Cyrène", in Knoepfler, and Quella (1988) 143–54.

Coulton, J. J. 1976. *The Architectural Development of the Greek Stoa* (Oxford).

Courbin, P. 1986. "Bassit", *Syria* 63: 175–220.

—— 1993. "Fragments d'amphores protogéométriques grecques à Bassit (Syrie)", *Hesperia* 62: 95–113.

Diakonoff, I. M. 1992. "The Naval Power and Trade of Tyre", *IEJ* 42: 168–93.

Ehrhardt, N. 1983. *Milet und seine Kolonien: vergleichende Untersuchung der kultischen und politischen Einrichtungen* (Frankfurt).

Flensted-Jensen, P., and Hansen, M. H. 1996. "Pseudo-Skylax' Use of the Term *Polis*", *CPCPapers* 3: 137–67.

Gallo, P., and Masson, O. 1993. "Une stèle 'hellénomemphite' de l'ex-collection Nahman", *BIFAO* 93: 265–76.

Goodchild, R. G. 1952*a*. "Arae Philaenorum and Automalax", *PBSR* 20: 94–110 (also in J. Reynolds (ed.), *Libyan Studies: Select Papers* (London, 1976) 155–72).

—— 1952*b*. "Euesperides, a Devastated City", *Antiquity* 26: 208–12.

—— 1971. *Kyrene und Apollonia* (Zürich).

—— Pedley, J. G., and White, D. 1976. In J. D. Humphrey (ed.), *Apollonia the Port of Cyrene*, *LibAnt* Suppl. 4 (Tripoli).

Gottlieb, G. 1968. *Timuchen* (Heidelberg).

Graham, A. J. 1986. "The Historical Interpretation of Al Mina", *Dialogues d'histoire ancienne* 12: 51–65.

Gsell, S. 1914. *Histoire Ancienne de l'Afrique du Nord*, i² (Paris).

Haider, P. W. 1988. *Griechenland—Nordafrika: Ihre Beziehungen zwischen 1500 und 600 v.Chr.* (Darmstadt).

Hansen, M. H. 1995. "Boiotian *Poleis*—a Test Case", *CPCActs* 2: 13–63.

—— 1996*a*. "City-Ethnics as Evidence for *Polis* Identity", *CPCPapers* 3: 169–96.

—— 1996*b*. "ΠΟΛΛΑΧΩΣ ΠΟΛΙΣ ΛΕΓΕΤΑΙ (Arist. Pol. 1276ª23): The Copenhagen Inventory of *Poleis* and the *Lex Hafniensis de Civitate*", *CPCActs* 3: 7–72.

—— 1997*a*. "Emporion: A Study of the Use and Meaning of the Term in the Archaic and Classical Periods", *CPCPapers* 4: 83–105.

—— 1997*b*. "A Typology of Dependent *Poleis*", *CPCPapers* 4: 29–37.

—— 1997*c*. "The *Polis* as an Urban Centre: The Literary and Epigraphical Evidence", *CPCActs* 4: 9–85.

—— and Fischer-Hansen, T. 1994. "Monumental Political Architecture in Archaic and Classical Greek *Poleis*: Evidence and Historical Significance", *CPCPapers* 1: 23–90.

Hölkeskamp, K. J. 1993. "Demonax und die Neuordnung der Bürgerschaft von Kyrene", *Hermes* 121: 404–21.

Honigmann, E. 1932. "Syria 3", *RE* 2.IV.2. 1549–1727.
Jameson, M. H., Runnels, C. N., and van Andel, T. H. 1994. *A Greek Countryside: The Southern Argolid from Prehistory to the Present Day* (Stanford, Calif.).
Jones, G. D. B. 1985. "Beginnings and Endings in Cyrenaican Cities", in Barker *et al.* (1985) 27–41.
—— and Little, J. H. 1971. "Coastal Settlements in Cyrenaica", *JRS* 61: 64–79.
Keil, J. 1923. "Ephesische Bürgerrechts- und Proxeniedekrete aus dem vierten und dritten Jahrhundert v. Chr.", *ÖJh* 16: 231–44.
Knoepfler, D., and Quellat, N. (eds.) 1988. *Comptes et inventaires dans la cité grecque* (Geneva).
Laronde, A. 1987. *Cyrène et la Libye hellénistique* (Paris).
—— 1994. "Le territoire de Taucheira", *LibSt* 25: 23–29.
—— 1996. "Apollonia de Cyrénaïque: archéologie et histoire", *JSav*, January–June 3–49.
Lazzarini, M. L. 1976. *Le formule delle dediche votive nella Grecia arcaica*, *MemLinc*, ser. III, vol. XIX, fasc.2 (Rome).
Le Rider, G. 1986. "L'atelier de Posidèion et les monnaies de la fouille de Bassit en Syrie", *BCH* 110: 393–408.
Leschhorn, W. 1984. *'Gründer der Stadt': Studien zu einem politisch-religiösen Phänomen der griechischen Geschichte* (Stuttgart).
Lloyd, A. B. 1975. *Herodotus, Book II: Introduction* (Leiden).
Lloyd, J. 1985. "Some Aspects of Urban Development at Euesperides/Berenice", in Barker *et al.* (1985) 49–66.
Malkin, I. 1987. *Religion and Colonization in Ancient Greece* (Leiden).
—— 1994. *Myth and Territory in the Spartan Mediterranean* (Cambridge).
Masson, O. 1976. "Grecs et Libyens en Cyrénaïque d'après les témoignages de l'épigraphie", *AntAfr* 10: 49–62.
Mazzarino, S. 1947. *Fra oriente e occidente: ricerche di storia greca arcaica* (Florence).
Miller, S. G. 1978. *The* Prytaneion*: Its Function and Architectural Form* (Berkeley and Los Angeles).
Möller, A. 2000. *Naukratis: Trade in Archaic Greece* (Oxford).
Nafissi, M. 1985. "Battiadi ed Aigeidai: per la storia dei rapporti tra Cirene e Sparta in età arcaica", in Barker *et al.* (1985) 375–86.
Naveh, J. 1962. "The Excavations at Mezad Hashavyahu: Preliminary Report", *IEJ* 12: 89–113.
Naville, L. 1951. *Les Monnaies d'or de Cyrénaïque* (Geneva).
Oliverio, G., Pugliese Carratelli, G. and Morelli, D. 1961–62, "Supplemento epigrafico cirenaico", *ASAtene* 39–40: 219–375.
Perreault, J. Y. 1986. "Céramique et échanges: les importations attiques au Proche-Orient du VIe au milieu de Ve siècle avant J.-C. Les données archéologiques", *BCH* 110: 145–75.
—— 1993. "Les emporia grecs du Levant: mythe ou réalité?", in Bresson and Rouillard (1993) 59–83.
Purcaro Pagano, V. 1976. "Le rotte antiche e gli itinerari della cirenaica", *QAL* 8: 285–352.
Riis, P. J. 1970. *Sukas*, i: *The North-East Sanctuary and the First Settling of Greeks in Syria and Palestine* (Copenhagen).
Robinson, E. S. G. 1927. *Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Cyrenaica*, *BMC Cyrenaica* (London).
Robinson, E. W. 1997. *The First Democracies: Early Popular Government outside Athens*, *Historia* Einzelschriften 107 (Stuttgart).
Roebuck, C. 1951. "The Organisation of Naukratis", *CP* 46: 212–20.
Schaus, G. 1985. "The Evidence for Laconians in Cyrenaica in the Archaic Period", in Barker *et al.* (1985) 395–403.
Sherk, R. K. 1992. "The Eponymous Officials of Greek Cities IV", *ZPE* 93: 223–72.
Smith, D., and Crow, J. 1998. "The Defences of Tocra", *LibSt* 29: 35–82.
Stucchi, S. 1965. *L'Agorà di Cirene*, i (Rome).
—— 1975. *Architettura cirenaica* (Rome).
—— 1985. "Gli approcci al santuario cireneo di Apollo in età greca", in Barker *et al.* (1985) 67–86.
Thompson, D. J. 1988. *Memphis under the Ptolemies* (Princeton).
Treidler, H. 1959. "Eine alte ionische Kolonisation in numidischen Afrika—ihre historische und geographische Grundlage", *Historia* 8: 257–83.
Tsetskhladze, G. R., and De Angelis, F. (eds.) 1994. *The Archaeology of Greek Colonisation: Essays Dedicated to Sir John Boardman* (Oxford).
Vickers, M., and Gill, D. W. J. 1986. "Archaic Greek Pottery from Euesperides, Cyrenaica", *LibSt* 17: 97–108.
—— and Reynolds, J. 1972. "Cyrenaica, 1962–1972" in, *AR 1971–72* (London) 27–47.
White, D. 1981. "Cyrene's Sanctuary of Demeter and Persephone: A Summary of a Decade of Excavation", *AJA* 85: 13–30 with pls. 4–5.
—— (ed.) 1984–93. *The Extra-Mural Sanctuary of Demeter and Persephone at Cyrene, Libya: Final Reports*, I–V (Philadelphia).
Wilcken, U. 1912. *Grundzüge und Chrestomathie der Papyruskunde: erster Band Historischer Teil, Zweite Hälfte: Chrestomathie* (Leipzig and Berlin).

UNLOCATED

MOGENS HERMAN HANSEN

1030. (Astraiousioi) Unlocated. Not in *Barr.* Type: [A]. The city-ethnic is *Ἀστραιούσιοι* (*IG* II² 43.B.22). There is no other source. The Astraioi were members of the Second Athenian Naval League, and in the so-called Charter of the League they are recorded under the heading *Ἀθηναίων πόλεις αἵδε σύμμαχοι* (*IG* II² 43.A.78 (378/7)).

1031. (Erodioi) Unlocated. Not in *Barr.* Type: C. The ethnic is *Ἐρόδιος*, attested in *IG* I³ 263.IV.18, which is the only source we have for this community. The ethnic is almost completely restored in the list of 454/3 (*IG* I³ 259.II.8: *Ἐ*[*ροδιοι*]). Thus, the only thing we know is that the Erodioi were members of the Delian League and that in 450/49 they paid a *phoros* of 500 dr. (*IG* I³ 263.IV.18). They are listed after Astakos in Propontis and Stolos in Chalkidike (IV.16–17) and before the islands of Tenos and Siphnos (IV.19–20). There is no foundation for the suggestion in *ATL* i. 485 that the Erodioi should be located somewhere in Thrace.

1032. (Eurymachitai) Unlocated. Not in *Barr.* Type: C. The ethnic is *Εὐρυμαχίτης* (*IG* I³ 264.III.16, 265.II.46). There are no other sources. The Eurymachitai were members of the Delian League and are recorded twice in the tribute lists, in 448/7 (*IG* I³ 264.III.16) and in 447/6 (*IG* I³ 265.II.46), paying 1,000 dr. In both cases we find the sequence: Dikaia (in Thrace), the Dieis (on Euboia), the Eurymachitai (unlocated), the Brykontioi (on Karpathos, which belonged to the Karian district) and, probably, the Kioi (in the Hellespontine district).

1033. Kystiros (Kystirios) Unlocated. Not in *Barr.* Type: A. The toponym is *Κύστιρος* (Hdn. III.1 198.20; III.2 449.2). The city-ethnic is *Κυστίριος* (*IG* I³ 278.VI.37).

Kystiros is called a *polis* in the political sense in the Athenian tribute list of 434/3, where it is the only community recorded after the heading *ἄτακτος πόλις* and is put down for a payment of 300 dr. (*IG* I³ 278.VI.36–7, followed by *vacat*). Since this heading stands apart from the organisation of the members into districts, we have no clue as to where Kystiros was located. *ATL* i. 509 attempts to identify the Kystirioi with the inhabitants of Pistiros on the coast of Thrace (Hdt. 7.109.2; no. 638). It is true that one family of MSS of Herodotos has *Πύστιρος* (ABDV) and that *K* and *Π* are sometimes mixed up (*Cydna* for *Pydna* at Pompon. 2.35). But Herodian clearly distinguishes between *Πίστιρος* and *Κύστιρος* in both the passages cited above (not mentioned in *ATL*). As the evidence stands, the identification of the two communities should be abandoned, and Kystiros recorded as an unlocated *polis.*

1034. (Lechoioi) Unlocated. Not in *Barr.* Type: A. The city-ethnic is *Λεχώιος*, attested in our only source: a C5 dedication from Dodone: *Διὶ δῶρον ἀνέθηκε πόλις Λεχωίων* (Lazzarini (1976) 897) where the Lechooi are classified as a *polis* in the political sense.

1035. (Phytaioi) Unlocated. Not in *Barr.* Type: C. The city-ethnic is *Φύταιος* (Head, *HN*² 252). The only source for this *polis* is one surviving coin dated to C5s: *obv.* bearded head of Dionysos (?); *rev.* round incuse square with vine. Legend: *ΦΥΤΑΙΟΝ*. Because of the types, Head believes that this unidentified community was somewhere in the neighbourhood of Maroneia. He may be right, but, to be on the safe side, it is better placed here among the unlocated *poleis.*

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Lazzarini, M. L. 1976. *Le Formule delle dediche votive nella Grecia arcaica, MemLinc,* ser. iii, vol. xix, fasc. 2 (Rome).

PART 3

Indices

This page intentionally left blank

1. *Toponyms and City-Ethnics in Numerical Order*

1. (Alalie
2. Emporion (Emporites)
3. Massalia (Massaliotes)
4. Rhode (Rhodetes)
5. Abakainon (Abakaininos)
6. Adranon (Adranites)
7. Agyrion (Agyrinaios)
8. Aitna (Aitnaios)
9. Akragas (Akragantinos)
10. Akrai (Akraios)
11. Alaisa (Alaisinos)
12. Alontion (Alontinos)
13. Apollonia (Apolloniates)
14. Engyon (Engyinos)
15. Euboia (Euboeus)
16. Galeria (Galarinos)
17. Gela (Geloios, Geloaios)
18. Heloron (Ailoros)
19. Henna (Hennaios)
20. Herakleia (1) (Herakleotes)
21. Herakleia (2)
22. Herbes(s)os (Herbessinos)
23. Herbita (Herbitaios)
24. Himera (Himeraios)
25. Hippana (Hipanatas)
26. *Imachara (Imacharaios)
27. Kallipolis (Kallipolites)
28. Kamarina (Kamarinaios)
29. Kasmenai (Kasmenaios)
30. Katane (Katanaios)
31. Kentoripa (Kentoripinos)
32. Kephaloidion (Kephaloiditas)
33. Leontinoi (Leontinos)
34. Lipara (Liparaios)
35. *Longane (Longenaios)
36. Megara (Megareus)
37. Morgantina (Morgantinos)
38. Mylai (Mylaios)
39. Mytistratos (Mytiseratinos)
40. Nakone (Nakonaios)
41. Naxos (Naxios)
42. Petra (Petrinos)
43. Piakos (Piakinos)
44. Selinous (Selinousios)
45. (Sileraioi)
46. (Stielanaioi)
47. Syrakousai (Syrakosios)
48. Tauromenion (Tauromenitas)
49. Tyndaris (Tyndarites)
50. (Tyrrhenoi)
51. Zankle (Zanklaios)/Messana (Messanios)
52. Herakleia (Herakleios)
53. Hipponion (Hipponieus)
54. Hyele (Hyeletes)/Elea (Eleates)
55. Kaulonia (Kauloniatas)
56. Kroton (Krotoniatas)
57. Kyme (Kymaios)
58. Laos (La(w)inos)
59. Lokroi (Lokros)
60. Medma (Medmaios)
61. Metapontion (Metapontinos)
62. Metauros (Mataurinos)
63. Neapolis (Neapolites)
64. Pandosia (Pandosinos)
65. Pithekoussai (Pithekoussaios)
66. Poseidonia (Poseidoniatas)
67. Pyxous
68. Rhegion (Rheginos)
69. Siris (Sirites)
70. Sybaris (Sybaritas)
71. Taras (Tarantinos)
72. Temesa (Temesaios)
73. Terina (Terinaios)
74. Thourioi (Thourios)
75. Adria
76. Ankon (Ankonites)
77. Apollonia (Apolloniates)
78. Brentesion (Brendesinos)
79. Epidamnos (Epidamnios)/Dyrrhachion (Dyrrachinos)
80. Herakleia (Herakleiotes)
81. Issa (Issaios)
82. Lissos (Lissates)
83. Melaina Korkyra (Korkyraios)

84. Pharos (Pharios)
85. Spina (Spinites)
86. Amantia (Amantieus)
87. Artichia
88. Batiai
89. [Berenike]
90. Boucheta (Bouchetios)
91. Bouthroton (Bouthrotios)
92. Byllis (Byllion)
93. Dodone (Dodonaios)
94. Elateia
95. Elea (Eleaios)
96. Ephyra (Ephyros)
97. Eurymenai (Eurymenaios)
98. Gitana
99. Horraon (Horraitas)
100. Kassopa (Kassopaios)
101. Nikaia
102. Olympa (Olympastas)
103. Orikos (Orikios)
104. Pandosia
105. Passaron
106. *Phanote* (Phanoteus)
107. Phoinike
108. Poionos
109. Tekmon
110. Torone
111. Zmaratha
112. Alyzeia (Alyzaios)
113. Ambrakia (Ambrakiotes)
114. Anaktorion (Anaktorieus)
115. Argos (Argeios)
116. Astakos (Astakenos)
117. Derion (Derieus)
118. Echinos (Echinaios)
119. Euripos (Euripios)
120. Herakleia (Herakleotes?)
121. Hyporeiai (Hyporeates)
122. Ithaka (Ithakesios)
123. Korkyra (Korkyraios)
124. Koronta (Korontaios)
125. Kranioi (Kranios)
126. Leukas (Leukadios)
127. Limnaia (Limnaios)
128. *Matropolis (Matropolites)
129. Medion (Medionios)
130. Oiniadai (Oiniadas)
131. Palairos (Palaireus)
132. Paleis (Paleus)
133. Phara
134. Phoitiai (Phoitieus)
135. Pronnoi (Pronnos)
136. Same (Samaios)
137. Sollion
138. Stratos (Stratios)
139. Thyrreion (Thyrieus)
140. Torybeia (Torybeieus)
141. Zakynthos (Zakynthios)
142. Agrinion (Agrinieus)
143. Aigition
144. Akripos
145. Chalkis (Chalkideus)
146. Halikyrna
147. Kallion (Kallieus)/Kallipolis (Kallipolites)
148. Kalydon (Kalydonios)
149. Makynea (Makyneus)
150. Molykreion (Molykreus)
151. *Phola (Pholaieus)
152. Phylea
153. Pleuron (Pleuronios)
154. Proschion (Proscheios)
155. Therminea
156. Trichoneion (Trichonieus)
157. Alpa (Alpaios)
158. Amphissa (Amphisseus)
159. Chaleion (Chaleieus)
160. *Hyaia (Hyaios)
161. Hypnia (Hypneus)
162. (Issioi)
163. (Messapioi)
164. Myania (Myaneus)
165. Naupaktos (Naupaktios)
166. Oianthea (Oiantheus)
167. Tolophon (Tolophonios)
168. Tritea (Triteus)
169. Abai (Abaios)
170. *Aiolidai (Aiolideus)
171. Ambryssos (Ambryssios)
172. Amphikaia (Amphikleieus)
173. Antikyra (Antikyreus)
174. Boulis (Boulios)
175. Charadra (Charadraios)
176. Daulis (Daulieus)
177. Delphoi (Delphos)
178. Drymos (Drymios)
179. Echedameia (Echedamieus)

180. Elateia (Elateus)
181. Erochos (Erochos)
182. Hyampolis (Hyampolios)
183. Kirrha (Kirrhaios)
184. Ledon (Ledontios)
185. Lilaia (Lilaieus)
186. Medeon (Medeonios)
187. Neon (Ne(-))/Tithorea (Tithoreus)
188. Parapotamioi (Parapotamios)
189. Pedieis (Pedieis)
190. Phanoteus/Panopeus (Phanoteus, Panopeus)
191. Phlygonion (P(h)lygoneus)
192. Po[——]
193. Stiris (Stirios)
194. Teithronion (Teithronios)
195. Trachis (Trachinios)
196. Triteis
197. Troneia (Troneieus)
198. Akraiphia, Akraiphnion (Akraiphieus)
199. Alalkomenai
200. Anthedon (Anthedonios)
201. Chaironeia (Chaironeus)
202. Chorsiai (Chorsieus)
203. Erythrai
204. Eteonos/Skaphai (Skaph(l)eus)
205. Eutresis (Eutretidieus)
206. Haliartos (Haliartios)
207. Hyettos (Hyettios)
208. Hysiai
209. Kopai (Kopaieus)
210. Koroneia (Koroneus)
211. Lebadeia (Lebadeus)
212. Mykalessos (Mykalessios)
213. Orchomenos (Orchomenios)
214. Oropos (Oropios)
215. Pharai
216. Plataiai (Plataieus)
217. Potniai (Potnieus)
218. Siphai (Siphaieus)
219. Skolos
220. Tanagra (Tanagraios)
221. Thebai (Thebaios)
222. Thespiai (Thespieus)
223. Thisbai (Thisbeus)
224. Aigosthena (Aigosthenitas)
225. Megara (Megareus)
226. Pagai (Pagaios)
227. Korinthos (Korinthios)
228. Sikyon (Sikyonios)
229. Aigai (Aigaios)
230. Aigeira (Aigeirates)
231. Aigion (Aigieus)
232. Ascheion (Ascheieus)
233. Boura (Bourios)
234. Dyme (Dymaios)
235. Helike (Helikeus)
236. Keryneia (Keryneus)
237. Leontion (Leontesios)
238. Olenos (Olenios)
239. Patrai (Patreus)
240. Pellene (Pelleneus)
241. Pharai (Pharaieus)
242. Phelloe
243. Rhypai, Rhypes (Rhyps)
244. Tritaia (Tritaieus)
245. Alasyaion (Alasyeus)
246. Alion
247. Amphidolia (Amphidolos)
248. (Anaitoi)
249. (Chaladrioi)
250. Dyspontion (Dyspontios)
251. Elis (Eleios)
252. Eupagion
253. (Ewaoioi)
254. Kyllene (Kyllenios)
255. Laris(s)a
256. Lasion (Lasionios)
257. Lenos
258. Letrinoi (Letrinos)
259. Marganeis (Marganeus)
260. (Metapioi)
261. Opous (Opountios)
262. Pisa (Pisatas)
263. Pylos (Pylios)
264. Thraistos (Thraistios)
265. Alea (Aleos)
266. Alipheira (Alipheireus)
267. Asea (Aseates)
268. Dipaia (Dipaeus)
269. Euaimon (Euaimnios)
270. Eutaia
271. Gortys (Kortynios)
272. Halous
273. Helisson (Heliswasios)
274. Heraia (Heraieus)
275. Kaphy(i)ai (Kaphyieus)

276. Kleitor (Kleitorios)
277. Koila
278. Kynaitha (Kynaitheus)
279. Lousoi (Lousiatas)
280. Lykosoura (Lykourasios)
281. Mantinea (Mantineus)
282. Megale polis (Megalopolites)
283. Methydrion (Methydrieus)
284. Nestane (Nestanios)
285. Nonakris (Nonakrieus)
286. Orchomenos (Orchomenios)
287. Oresthasion (Oresthasios)
288. Paion
289. Pallantion (Pallanteus)
290. Phara
291. Pheneos (Pheneeus)
292. Phigaleia (Phigaleus)
293. Phorieia (Phoriaeus)
294. Psophis (Psophidios)
295. Pylai (Parpylaios)
296. Stymphalos (Stymphalios)
297. Tegea (Tegeatas)
298. Teuthis (Teuthidas)
299. Thaliades
300. Thelphousa (Thelphousios)
301. Thisoa (Thisoaios)
302. Torthyneion (Torthyneus)
303. Trapezous (Trapezountios)
304. Ep(e)ion
305. Epitalion (Epitalieus)
306. Lepreon (Lepreatas)
307. Makiston (Makistios)
308. Noudion
309. Phrixa(i)
310. Pyrgos
311. Skillous (Skillountios)
312. Aithaia (Aithaieus)
313. Asine (Asinaios)
314. Aulon (Aulonites)
315. Kardamyle (Skardamylites)
316. Korone (Koronaios)
317. Kyparissos (Kyparissieus)
318. Messene (Messenios)/Ithome (Ithomaios)
319. Mothone (Mothonaios)
320. Pharai (Pharaiates)
321. Thalamai (Thalamates)
322. Thouria (Thouriates)
323. Aigys (Aigyeus)
324. Anthana
325. Aphroditia, Aphrodisia
326. Belbina (Belbinetes?)
327. Boia (Boiates)
328. Chen (Cheneus)
329. Epidauros (Epidaurios)
330. Etis (Eteios?)
331. Eua (Euitas)
332. Geronthrai (Geronthretes)
333. Gytheion (Gytheates)
334. Kromnos (Kromnites?)
335. Kyphanta (Kyphantaseus)
336. Kythera (Kytherios)
337. Las (Laos)
338. Oinous (Woinountios)
339. Oios (Oiates)
340. Oitylos (Oitylios?)/Beitylos (Beityleus)
341. Pellana (Pellaneus)
342. Prasiai (Brasiates)
343. Sellasia (Sellasieus?)
344. Side
345. Sparta (Spartiates)/Lakedaimon (Lakedaimonios)
346. Thyrea
347. Argos (Argeios)
348. Epidauros (Epidaurios)
349. Halieis (Halikos)
350. Hermion (Hermioneus)
351. Kleonai (Kleonaios)
352. Methana (Methanaios)
353. Mykenai (Mykenaios)
354. Orneai (Orneates)
355. Phleious (Phleiasios)
356. Tiryns (Tirynthios)
357. Troizen (Troizenios)
358. Aigina (Aiginetes)
359. Belbina (Belbinites)
360. Kalaureia (Kalaureates)
361. Athenai (Athenaios)
362. Eleusis
363. Salamis (Salaminios)
364. Athenai Diades (Athenites)
365. Chalkis (Chalkideus)
366. Diakrioi en Euboia
367. Diakres apo Chalkideon
368. Dion (Dieus)
369. Dystos
370. Eretria (Eretrieus)
371. *Grynchai (Gryncheus)

372. Histiaia (Histiaieus)/Oreos (Oreites)
373. Karystos (Karystios)
374. Orobiai (Orobieus)
375. *Peraia (Peraeus)
376. Posideion (Posideites)
377. Styra (Styreus)
378. Alope (Alopaios)
379. Alponos (Alponios)
380. Halai (Haleeus)
381. Knemi(de)s
382. Kynos (Kynios)
383. Larymna (Larymnaios)
384. Naryka (Narykaios)
385. Nikaia (Nikaeus)
386. Opous (Opountios)
387. Skarpheia (Skarpheus)
388. Thronion (Thronieus)
389. Akyphas/Pindos
390. Boion (Boiaios)
391. Erineos (Erinaios)
392. Kytinion (Kytinieus)
393. Amphanai (Amphanaieus)
394. Argoussa (Argoussios)
395. Atrax (Atragios, Atrakios)
396. Gomphoi (Gompheus)
397. Gyrton, Gyrtone (Gyrtonios)
398. Kierion (Kierieus)
399. *Kondaia (Kondaieus)
400. Krannon (Krannonios)
401. Larisa (Larisaios)
402. Methylion (Methylieus)
403. Metropolis (Matropolitas)
404. Mopsion (Mopseus)
405. Orthos (Orthieus)
406. Oxynion
407. Pagasai (Pagasitas)
408. Peirasia (Peirasieus)
409. Pelinna(ion) (Pelinna(i)eus)
410. Phakion (Phakiastas)
411. Phaloria (Phaloriastes)
412. Pharkadon (Pharkadonios)
413. Pharsalos (Pharsalios)
414. Pherai (Pheraios)
415. Skotoussa (Skotoussaios)
416. Thetonion (Thetonios)
417. Trikka (Trikkaios)
418. Angeia (Angeieus)
419. Ktimene (Ktimenaios)
420. Hypata (Hypataios)
421. (Kapheleis)
422. (Korophaioi)
423. (Phyrrhagioi)
424. Talana
425. Chen (Cheneus)
426. Parasopioi (Parasopieus)
427. Anthele
428. Antikyre (Antikyritas)
429. Echinos (Echinaios)
430. Herakleia (Herakle(i)otes)
431. Lamia (Lamieus)
432. Trachis (Trachinios)
433. Antron
434. *Ekkarra (Ekkarreus)
435. Halos (Haleus)
436. Kypaira (Kypharreus)
437. Larisa (Larisaios)
438. Melitaia (Melitaieus)
439. Peuma (Peumatios)
440. Phylake
441. Proerna (Proernios)
442. Pyrasos (Pyrasios)
443. Thaumakoi (Thaumakos)
444. Thebai (Thebaios)
445. Amyros (Amyreus)
446. (Eureaioi)
447. Eurymenai (Eurymenios)
448. Homolion (Homolieus)
449. Iolkos (Iolkeus)
450. Kasthanaie (Kassanaeus)
451. Kikynethos
452. Korakai (Korokaios)
453. Meliboia (Meliboieus)
454. Methone (Methonaios)
455. Olizon (Olizonios)
456. (Oxoniaioi)
457. Rhizous (Rhizousios)
458. Spalauthra (Spalauthreus)
459. Azoros (Azoriastas)
460. Chyretiai (Chyretiaios)
461. Doliche (Dolichaios)
462. *Ereikinion (Ereikineus)
463. Gonnos (Gonneus)
464. *Malloia (Malloiatas)
465. Mondaia (Mondaieus)
466. Mylai (Mylaios)
467. Oloosson (Oloossonios)

468. Phalanna (Phalannaios)
469. Pythoion (Pythoiastas)
470. Argethia (Argethieus)
471. Aigiale (Aigialeus)
472. Arkesine (Arkesineus)
473. Minoa (Minoetes)
474. Anaphe (Anaphaios)
475. Andros (Andrios)
476. Astypalaia (Astypaleieus)
477. Chalke (Chalkeates)
478. Delos (Delios)
479. Helene
480. Oine (Oin(o)aios)
481. *Therma (Thermaios)
482. Ikos (Ikios)
483. Imbros (Imbrios)
484. Ios (Ietes)
485. Kalymna (Kalymnios)
486. Arke(s)seia (Arkesieus)
487. Brykous (Brykountios)
488. Eteokarpathioi
489. Karpathos (Karpathios)
490. Kasos (Kasios)
491. Ioulis (Ioulietes)
492. Karthaia (Karthaieus)
493. Koresia (Koresios)
494. Poiessa (Poiessios)
495. Keria (Keraitas)
496. Kimolos (Kimolios)
497. Kos (Koos)
498. Astypalaia
499. Kos Meropis
500. Halasarna (Halasarnitas)
501. Kythnos (Kythnios)
502. Myrina (Myrinaios)
503. Hephaistia (Hephaistieus)
504. Leros (Lerios)
505. Melos (Melios)
506. Mykonos (Mykonios)
507. Naxos (Naxios)
508. Nisyros (Nisyrios)
509. Paros (Parios)
510. Panormos
511. Peparethos
512. Seleinous
513. Pholegandros (Pholegandrios)
514. Rheneia (Rhenaieus, Rheneus)
515. Samothrake (Samothrax)
516. *Saros (Sarios)
517. Seriphos (Seriphios)
518. Sikinos (Sikinetes)
519. Siphnos (Siphnios)
520. Skiathos (Skiathios)
521. Skyros (Skyrios)
522. Syme (Symaios)
523. Syros (Syrios)
524. Telos (Telios)
525. Tenos (Tenios)
526. Thasos (Thasios)
527. Thera (Theraios)
528. Aiane (Aianaios?)
529. Aigeai (Aigaios)
530. Alebaia
531. Allante (Allantaios)
532. Aloros (Alorites)
533. Beroia (Beroiaios)
534. Dion (Diestes)
535. Edessa (Edessaios)
536. Europos (Europaios)
537. Herakleion (Herakleiotes)
538. Ichnai (Ichnaios)
539. Kyrrhos (Kyrrhestes)
540. Leibethra (Leibethrios)
541. Methone (Methonaios)
542. Mieza (Miezaios/Miezeus)
543. Pella (Pellaios)
544. Pydna (Pydnaios)
545. Apollonia (Apolloniates)
546. Arethousa (Arethousios)
547. Bormiskos
548. Chalestre
549. Herakleia (Herakleotes)
550. Lete (Letaios)
551. Sindos (Sindonaios?)
552. Therme
553. Amphipolis (Amphipolites)
554. Argilos (Argilios)
555. Traïlos (Traïlios)
556. Aige (Aigantios)
557. Aineia (Aineiates)
558. Aioleion (Aiolites)
559. Akanthos (Akanthios)
560. Akrothooi (Akrothoios)
561. Alapta (Alaptes)
562. Anthemous (Anthemountios)
563. Aphytis (Aphytaios)

564. Assera (Asserites)
565. Charadrous
566. (Chedrolioi)
567. Chytropolis (Chytropolitai)
568. Dikaia (Dikaiopolites)
569. Dion (Dieus)
570. Eion
571. Galepsos (Galaios)
572. Gigonos
573. Haisa
574. Istasos
575. Kalindoia
576. Kamakai
577. Kampsa
578. Kissos (Kisseites)
579. Kithas
580. Kleonai
581. Kombreia
582. Lipaxos
583. Mekyberna (Mekybernaios)
584. Mende (Mendaios)
585. Milkoros (Milkorios)
586. Neapolis (Neopolites)
587. Olophyxos (Olophyxios)
588. Olynthos (Olynthios)
589. (Osbaioi)
590. Othoros (Othorios)
591. Pharbelos (Pharbelios)
592. (Phegontioi)
593. Piloros
594. Pistasos
595. Pleume (Pleumeus)
596. (Polichnitai)
597. Posideion
598. Poteidaia (Poteidaiates)
599. Prassilos (Prassilios)
600. Sane (Sanaios)
601. Sane
602. Sarte (Sartaios)
603. Serme (Sermaios)
604. Sermylia (Sermylieus)
605. Singos (Singaios)
606. Sinos
607. Skabala (Skablaios)
608. (Skapsaioi)
609. Skione (Skionaios)
610. Skithai (Skithaios)
611. Smila
612. Spartolos (Spartolios)
613. Stagiros (Stagirites)
614. Stolos (Stolios)
615. Strepsa (Strepsaios)
616. Therambos (Thrambaios)
617. Thestoros
618. Thyssos (Thyssios)
619. Tinde (Tindaios)
620. Torone (Toronaios)
621. Tripoiai
622. Zereia (Zeranios)
623. Aison (Aisonios)
624. Brea (Breaios)
625. Kossaia (Kossaios)
626. Okolon
627. Apollonia
628. Berga (Bergaios)
629. Datos (Datenos)
630. Eion
631. Galepsos (Galepsios)
632. Krenides (Krenites)
633. Myrkinos (Myrkinios)
634. Neapolis (Neopolites)
635. Oisyme (Oisymaios)
636. Phagres (Phagresios)
637. Philippoi (Philippeus)
638. Pistyros
639. Sirra (Sirraios)
640. Abdera (Abderites)
641. Ainos (Ainios)
642. Bergepolis (Bergepolites)
643. Dikaia
644. Drys (Dryites)
645. Kypsela
646. Maroneia (Maronites)
647. Mesambrie
648. Orthagoria (Orthagoreus)
649. Sale
650. Stryme
651. Zone (Zonaios)
652. Alexandropolis
653. Apros
654. Kabyle (Kabylenos)
655. Philippopolis (Philippopolites)
656. Pistiros (Pistirenos)
657. Seuthopolis
658. Aigos potamoi (Aigos po(-))
659. Alopekonnesos (Alopekonnesios)

660. Araplos
661. Chersonesos/Agora (Chersonesites ap' Agoras)
662. Deris (Deraios?)
663. Elaious (Elaiousios)
664. Ide
665. Kardia (Kardianos)
666. Kressa
667. Krithote (Krithousios)
668. Limnai (Limnaios)
669. Madytos (Madytios)
670. Paion
671. Paktye
672. Sestos (Sestios)
673. Bisanthe (Bisanthenos)
674. Byzantion (Byzantios)
675. Daminon Teichos (Daminoteichites)
676. Heraion, Heraion Teichos (Heraites)
677. Neapolis (Neopolites)
678. Perinthos (Perinthios)
679. Selymbria (Selymbrianos)
680. Ser(re)ion Teichos (Ser(re)ioteichites)
681. Tyrodiza (Tyrodizenos)
682. Apollonia (Apolloniates)
683. Bizone (Bizonites)
684. Dionysopolis (Dionysopolites)
685. Istros (Istrianos)
686. Kallatis (Kallatianos)
687. Mesambria (Mesambrianos)
688. Nikonion
689. Odessos (Odess(e)ites)
690. Olbia (Olbiopolites)/Borysthenes (Borysthenites)
691. Ophiousa
692. Orgame
693. Tomis (Tomites)
694. Tyras (Tyranos)
695. Chersonesos (Chersonesites)
696. Gorgipp(e)ia (Gorgippeus)
697. Hermonassa (Hermonaseites)
698. Karkinitis (Kerkinites)
699. Kepoi (Kepites)
700. Kimmerikon
701. Kytaia
702. Labrys/Labryta
703. Myrmekeion
704. Nymphaion (Nymphatos)
705. Pantikapaion (Pantikapaites)/Bosporos (Bosporites)
706. Phanagoria (Phanagorites)
707. Theodosia (Theudosieus)
708. Tyritake
709. Dioskouris
710. Gyenos
711. Phasis (Phasianos)
712. Amisos (Amisenos)/Peiraieus (Peiraieus)
713. Becheirias
714. Choirades
715. Herakleia (Herakle(i)otes)
716. Iasonia
717. Karambis
718. Karoussa
719. Kerasous (Kerasountios)
720. Kinolis
721. Koloussa
722. Kotyora (Kotyorites)
723. Kromna (Kromnites)
724. Kytoros
725. Limne
726. Lykastos
727. Odeinios
728. Sesamos (Sesamenos)/Amastris (Amastrianos)
729. Sinope (Sinopeus)
730. Stameneia
731. Tetrakis
732. Themiskyra
733. Tieion (Tianos)
734. Trapezous (Trapezountios)
735. Artaiou Teichos (Artaioteichites)
736. Artake (Artakenos)
737. Astakos (Astakenos)
738. Bysbikos (Bysbikenos)
739. Dar(i)eion
740. Daskyleion (Daskyleianos)
741. *Didymon Teichos (Didymoteichites)
742. Harpagion (Harpagianos)
743. Kalchedon (Kalchedonios)
744. Kallipolis (Kallipolites)
745. Kios (Kianos)
746. Kolonai (Koloneus?)
747. Kyzikos (Kyzikenos)
748. Lampsakos (Lampsakenos)
749. Metropolis
750. Miletoupolis (Miletopolites)
751. Miletouteichos (Miletoteichites)
752. Myrleia (Myrleanos)/Brylleion
753. Olbia
754. (Otlenoi)
755. Paisos (Paisenos)

756. Parion (Parianos)
757. Plakia (Plakianos)
758. Priapos (Priapenos)
759. Prokonnesos (Prokonnesios)
760. Pythopolis (Pythopolites)
761. Skylake
762. Sombia
763. Tereia
764. Zeleia (Zeleites)
765. Abydos (Abydenos)
766. Achilleion
767. Antandros (Antandrios)
768. Arisbe (Arisbaios)
769. Assos (Assios)
770. Astyra (Astyrenos)
771. Astyra Troika
772. Azeia (Azeieus)
773. Birytis (Berysios)
774. Dardanos (Dardaneus)
775. Gargara (Gargareus)
776. Gentinos (Gentinios)
777. Gergis (Gergithios)
778. Hamaxitos (Hamaxiteus)
779. Ilion (Ilieus)
780. Kebren (Kebrenios)
781. *Kokylion (Kokylites)
782. Kolonai (Kolonaeus)
783. Lamponeia (Lamponeus)
784. Larisa (Larisaios)
785. Neandreia (Neandrieus)
786. Ophryneion (Ophryneus)
787. *Palaiperkote (Palaiperkosios)
788. Perkote (Perkosios)
789. Polichna (Polichnaios)
790. Rhoiteion (Rhoiteus)
791. Sigeion (Sigeieus)
792. Skepsis (Skapsios)
793. Tenedos (Tenedios)
794. Antissa (Antissaios)
795. Arisba
796. Eresos (Eresios)
797. Methymna (Methymnaios)
798. Mytilene (Mytilenaios)
799. Pyrrha (Pyrrhaios)
800. Adramyttion (Adramytenos)
801. Aigai(ai) (Aigaieus)
802. Aigiroessa
803. Atarneus (Artaneites)
804. Autokane (Autokanaios?)
805. *Boione
806. Chalkis (Chalkideus)
807. Elaia (Elaiites)
808. Gambrion (Gambreiotes)
809. Gryneion/Gryneia (Gryneieus)
810. Halisarna
811. Herakleia? (Herakleotas)
812. Iolla (Iolleus)
813. Karene (Karenaios)
814. Killa
815. Kisthene
816. Kyllene
817. Kyme (Kymaios)
818. Larisa (Larisaios)
819. Leukai (Leokates)
820. Magnesia (Magnes)
821. *Melanpagos? (Melanpagitas)
822. Myrina (Myrinaios)
823. Nasos (Nasiotas)
824. Neon Teichos
825. Notion
826. Palaigambrion
827. Parthenion
828. Pergamon (Pergamenos)
829. Perperene (Perperenios)
830. Pitane (Pitanaios)
831. Pordoselene
832. Temnos (Temnites)
833. Teuthrania
834. Thebe
835. *Tisna (Tisnaios)
836. Achilleion
837. Airai (Airaios)
838. Anaia (Anaïtes)
839. Boutheia (Boutheieus)
840. Chios (Chios)
841. Chyton
842. Dios Hieron (Diosirites)
843. (Elaiousioi)
844. Ephesos (Ephesios)
845. Erythrai (Erythraios)
846. Isinda (Isindios)
847. Klazomenai (Klazomenios)
848. Kolophon (Kolophonios)
849. Korykos (Korykaios)
850. Lebedos (Lebedios)
851. Leukophrys

852. Magnesia (Magnes)
853. Marathesion (Marathesios)
854. Miletos (Milesios)
855. Myonnesos (Myon(n)esios)
856. Myous (Myes(s)ios)
857. Naulochon
858. Notion (Notieus)
859. Phokaia (Phokaieus)
860. (Polichnitai)
861. Priene (Prieneus)
862. Pteleon (Pteleousios)
863. Pygela (Pygeleus)
864. Samos (Samios)
865. Samos (the klerouchy of 365–322)
866. Sidousa (Sidousios)
867. Smyrna (Smyrnaios)
868. Teos (Teios)
869. Thebai (Thebaios)
870. Alabanda (Alabandeus)
871. Alinda (Alindeus)
872. Amos (Amios)
873. (Amynandeis)
874. Amyzon (Amyzoneus)
875. Arlissos (Arlisseus)
876. (Armelitai)
877. Aulai (Auliates)
878. Bargasa (Pargaseus)
879. Bargylia (Bargylieus)
880. Bolbai (Bolbaieis)
881. Chalketor (Chalketoreus)
882. Chersonesos (Chersonesios)
883. Chios (Chios)
884. (Erineis)
885. Euromos (Euromeus)
886. Halikarnassos (Halikarnasseus)
887. (Hybliseis)
888. (Hydaieis)
889. Hydisos (Hydisseus)
890. (Hymisseis)
891. Iasos (Iaseus)
892. Idrias (Edrieus)
893. Idyma (Idymeus)
894. Kalynda (Kalyndeus)
895. *Karbasyanda (Karbasyandeus)
896. Karyanda (Karyandeus)
897. Kasolaba (Kasolabeus)
898. Kaunos (Kaunios)
899. Kedreai (Kedreates)
900. Keramos (Kerameus)
901. (Killareis)
902. Kindye (Kindyeus)
903. Knidos (Knidios)
904. (Kodapeis)
905. (Koliyrgeis)
906. Koranza (Koarendeus)
907. Krya (Kryeus)
908. Kyllandos (Kyllandios)
909. Kyrbissos (Kyrbisseus)
910. Latmos (Latmios)/Herakleia (Herakleotes)
911. Lepsimandos (Lepsimandeus)
912. Medmasos (Madnaseus)
913. Mylasa (Mylaseus)
914. Myndos (Myndios)
915. (Narisbareis)
916. Naryandos (Naryandeus)
917. Naxia (Naxiates)
918. (Olaieis)
919. Olymos (Hylimeus)
920. Ouranion (Ouranietes)
921. (Parpariotai)
922. Passanda (Pasandeus)
923. Pedasa (Pedaseus)
924. (Peleiatai)
925. Pidasa (Pidaseus)
926. Pladasa (Pladasieus)
927. Pyrindos (Pyrindios)
928. Pyrnos (Pyrnios)
929. Salmakis (Salmakites)
930. (Siloi)
931. Syangela (Syangeleus)/Theangela (Theangeleus)
932. (Talagreis)
933. Taramptos
934. (Tarbaneis)
935. Telandros (Telandrios)
936. Telemessos (Telemesseus)
937. Termera (Termereus)
938. (Terssogasseis)
939. (Thasthareis)
940. Thydonos
941. Tralleis (Traldeus)
942. Phaselis (Phaselites)
943. Xanthos (Xanthios)
944. Allaria (Allariotas)
945. Anopolis (Anopolites)
946. Apellonia (Apelloniatas)
947. Aptara (Aptaraios)

948. Arkades (Arkas)
949. Aulon
950. Axos (Axios)
951. *Biannos (Biannios)
952. Bionnos
953. *Chersonasos (Chersonasios)
954. Datala (Datales)
955. Dragmos (Dragmios)
956. Dreros (Drerios)
957. Eleutherna (Eleuthernaios)
958. *Eltynia (Eltynieus)
959. Elyros (Elyrios)
960. Gorty(n)s (Gortynios)
961. Herakleion (Herakleiotas)
962. Hierapytna (Hierapytnios)
963. Hyrtakina (Hyrtakinios)
964. Istron (Istronios)
965. Itanos (Itanios)
966. Keraia (Keraïtas)
967. Knosos (Knosios)
968. Kydonia (Kydoniatas)
969. Kytaion
970. Lappa (Lappaios)
971. Lato (Latios)
972. Lebena (Lebenaios)
973. Lisos (Lisios)
974. Lyktos (Lyktios)
975. Malla (Mallaios)
976. Matala (Matalios)
977. Milatos (Milatios)
978. Olous (Olontios)
979. *Petra (Petraios)
980. Phaistos (Phaistios)
981. Phalasarna (Phalasarnios)
982. Polichne (Polichnites)
983. Polyrhen (Polyrhenios)
984. Praisos (Praisios)
985. Priansos (Priansieus)
986. Rhaukos (Rhaukios)
987. Rhithymnos (Rhithymnios)
988. *Rhitten (Rhittenios)
989. Stalai (Stalites)
990. Sybrita (Sybritios)
991. Tarrha (Tarrhaios)
992. Tylisos (Tylisios)
993. Brikindera (Brikindarios)
994. (Diakrioi)
995. Ialysos (Ialysios)
996. Kamiros (Kamireus)
997. Lindos (Lindios)
998. Oiai (Oiiates)
999. (Pedieis)
1000. Rhodos (Rhodios)
1001. Aspendos (Aspendios)
1002. Idyros
1003. Perge (Pergaios)
1004. Side (Sidetes)
1005. Aphrodisias
1006. Holmoi (Holmites)
1007. Issos (Isseus)
1008. Kelenderis
1009. Mallos (Marlotas, Mallotes)
1010. Nagidos (Nagideus)
1011. Soloi (Soleus)
1012. Amathous (Amathousios)
1013. Idalion (Edalios)
1014. Karpasia (Karpaseus)
1015. Keryneia (Kerynites)
1016. Kourion (Kourieus)
1017. Lapethos (Lapithios)
1018. Marion (Marieus)
1019. Paphos (Paphios)
1020. Salamis (Salaminios)
1021. Soloi (Solios)
1022. Posideion
1023. Naukratis (Naukratites)
1024. Oasis
1025. Barke (Barkaios)
1026. Eu(h)esperides (Eu(h)esperites)
1027. Kinyps
1028. Kyrene (Kyrenaios)
1029. Taucheira (Taucheirites)
1030. (Astraiousioi)
1031. (Erodioi)
1032. (Eurymachitai)
1033. Kystiros (Kystirios)
1034. (Lechoioi)
1035. (Phytaioi)

2. *Toponyms and City-Ethnics in Alphabetical Order*

The nos. refer to Index 1.

Abai (Abaios) — Phokis 169
Abakainon (Abakaininos) — Sikelia 5
Abdera (Abderites) — Thrace: from Nestos to Hebros 640
Abydos (Abydenos) — Troas 765
Achilleion — Troas 766
Achilleion — Ionia 836
Adramyttion (Adramytenos) — Aiolis 800
Adranon (Adranites) — Sikelia 6
Adria — The Adriatic 75
Agrinion (Agrinieus) — Aitolia 142
Agyrion (Agyrinaios) — Sikelia 7
Aiane (Aianaios?) — Makedonia 528
Aigai (Aigaios) — Achaia 229
Aigai(ai) (Aigaieus) — Aiolis 801
Aige (Aigantios) — Chalkidike 556
Aigeai (Aigaios) — Makedonia 529
Aigeira (Aigeirates) — Achaia 230
Aigiale (Aigialeus) — The Aegean 471
Aigina (Aiginetes) — The Saronic Gulf 358
Aigion (Aigieus) — Achaia 231
Aigiroessa — Aiolis 802
Aigition — Aitolia 143
Aigos potamoi (Aigos po(-)) — Thracian Chersonesos 658
Aigosthena (Aigosthenitas) — Megaris, etc. 224
Aigys (Aigyeus) — Lakedaimon 323
Aineia (Aineiates) — Chalkidike 557
Ainos (Ainios) — Thrace: from Nestos to Hebros 641
Aioleion (Aiolites) — Chalkidike 558
*Aiolidai (Aiolideus) — Phokis 170
Airai (Airaios) — Ionia 837
Aison (Aisonios) — Unlocated in Thrace 623
Aithaia (Aithaieus) — Messenia 312
Aitna (Aitnaios) — Sikelia 8
Akanthos (Akanthios) — Chalkidike 559
Akragas (Akragantinos) — Sikelia 9
Akrai (Akraios) — Sikelia 10
Akraiphia, Akraiphnion (Akraiphieus) — Boiotia 198
Akripos — Aitolia 144
Akrothooi (Akrothoios) — Chalkidike 560
Akyphas/Pindos — Doris 389
Alabanda (Alabandeus) — Karia 870
Alaisa (Alaisinos) — Sikelia 11
Alalie — Spain and France 1
Alalkomenai — Boiotia 199
Alapta (Alaptes) — Chalkidike 561
Alasyaion (Alasyeus) — Elis 245
Alea (Aleos) — Elis 265
Alebaia — Makedonia 530
Alexandropolis — Inland Thrace 652
Alinda (Alindeus) — Karia 871
Alion — Elis 246
Alipheira (Alipheireus) — Arkadia 266
Allante (Allantaios) — Makedonia 531
Allaria (Allariotas) — Crete 944
Alontion (Alontinos) — Sikelia 12
Alope (Alopaios) — East Lokris 378
Alopekonnesos (Alopekonnesios) — Thracian Chersonesos 659
Aloros (Alorites) — Makedonia 532
Alpa (Alpaios) — West Lokris 157
Alponos (Alponios) — East Lokris 379
Alyzeia (Alyzaios) — Akarnania 112
Amantia (Amantieus) — Epeiros 86
Amathous (Amathousios) — Cyprus 1012
Ambrakia (Ambrakiotes) — Akarnania 113
Ambryssos (Ambryssios) — Phokis 171
Amisos (Amisenos)/Peiraieus — Pontic Coast of Asia Minor 712
Amos (Amios) — Karia 872
Amphanai (Amphanaieus) — Thessalia 393
Amphidolia (Amphidolos) — Elis 247
Amphikaia (Amphikleieus) — Phokis 172
Amphipolis (Amphipolites) — Bisaltia 553
Amphissa (Amphisseus) — West Lokris 158
(Amynandeis) — Karia 873
Amyros (Amyreus) — Magnesia 445
Amyzon (Amyzoneus) — Karia 874
Anaia (Anaïtes) — Ionia 838
(Anaitoi) — Elis 248
Anaktorion (Anaktorieus) — Akarnania 114
Anaphe (Anaphaios) — The Aegean 474
Andros (Andrios) — The Aegean 475

Angeia (Angeieus) — Dolopia 418
Ankon (Ankonites) — The Adriatic 76
Anopolis (Anopolites) — Crete 945
Antandros (Antandrios) — Troas 767
Anthana — Lakedaimon 324
Anthedon (Anthedonios) — Boiotia 200
Anthele — Malis 427
Anthemous (Anthemountios) — Chalkidike 562
Antikyra (Antikyreus) — Phokis 173
Antikyre (Antikyritas) — Malis 428
Antissa (Antissaios) — Lesbos 794
Antron — Achaia Phthiotis 433
Apellonia (Apelloniatas) — Crete 946
Aphrodisias — Kilikia 1005
Aphroditia, Aphrodisia — Lakedaimon 325
Aphytis (Aphytaios) — Chalkidike 563
Apollonia (Apolloniates) — Sikelia 13
Apollonia (Apolloniates) — The Adriatic 77
Apollonia (Apolloniates) — Mygdonia 545
Apollonia — Thrace from Strymon to Nestos 627
Apollonia (Apolloniates) — Pontos, West Coast 682
Apros — Inland Thrace 653
Aptara (Aptaraios) — Crete 947
Araplos — Thracian Chersonesos 660
Arethousa (Arethousios) — Mygdonia 546
Argethia (Argethieus) — Athamania 470
Argilos (Argilios) — Bisaltia 554
Argos (Argeios) — Akarnania 115
Argos (Argeios) — Argolis 347
Argoussa (Argoussios) — Thessalia 394
Arisba — Lesbos 795
Arisbe (Arisbaios) — Troas 768
Arkades (Arkas) — Crete 948
Arke(s)seia (Arkesieus) — The Aegean 486
Arkesine (Arkesineus) — The Aegean 472
Arlissos (Arlisseus) — Karia 875
(Armelitai) — Karia 876
Artaiou Teichos (Artaioteichites) — Propontic Coast of Asia Minor 735
Artake (Artakenos) — Propontic Coast of Asia Minor 736
Artichia — Epeiros 87
Ascheion (Ascheieus) — Achaia 232
Asea (Aseates) — Arkadia 267
Asine (Asinaios) — Messenia 313
Aspendos (Aspendios) — Pamphylia 1001
Assera (Asserites) — Chalkidike 564
Assos (Assios) — Troas 769
Astakos (Astakenos) — Akarnania 116
Astakos (Astakenos) — Propontic Coast of Asia Minor 737
(Astraiousioi) — Unlocated 1030
Astypalaia (Astypaleieus) — The Aegean 476
Astypalaia — The Aegean 498
Astyra Mysia (Astyrenos) — Troas 770
Astyra Troika — Troas 771
Atarneus (Artaneites) — Aiolis 803
Athenai (Athenaios) — Attika 361
Athenai Diades (Athenites) — Euboia 364
Atrax (Atragios, Atrakios) — Thessalia 395
Aulai (Auliates) — Karia 877
Aulon (Aulonites) — Messenia 314
Aulon — Crete 949
Autokane (Autokanaios?) — Aiolis 804
Axos (Axios) — Crete 950
Azeia (Azeieus) — Troas 772
Azoros (Azoriastas) — Perrhaibia 459

Bargasa (Pargaseus) — Karia 878
Bargylia (Bargylieus) — Karia 879
Barke (Barkaios) — Libya 1025
Batiai — Epeiros 88
Becheirias — Pontic Coast of Asia Minor 713
Belbina (Belbinetes?) — Lakedaimon 326
Belbina (Belbinites) — The Saronic Gulf 359
[Berenike] — Epeiros 89
Berga (Bergaios) — Thrace: from Strymon to Nestos 628
Bergepolis (Bergepolites) — Thrace: from Nestos to Hebros 642
Beroia (Beroiaios) — Makedonia 533
*Biannos (Biannios) — Crete 951
Bionnos — Crete 952
Birytis (Berysios) — Troas 773
Bisanthe (Bisanthenos) — Propontic Thrace 673
Bizone (Bizonites) — Pontos: West Coast 683
Boia (Boiates) — Lakedaimon 327
Boion (Boiaios) — Doris 390
*Boione — Aiolis 805
Bolbai (Bolbaieis) — Karia 880
Bormiskos — Mygdonia 547
Boucheta (Bouchetios) — Epeiros 90
Boulis (Boulios) — Phokis 174
Boura (Bourios) — Achaia 233
Boutheia (Boutheieus) — Ionia 839
Bouthroton (Bouthrotios) — Epeiros 91
Brea (Breaios) — Unlocated in Thrace 624
Brentesion (Brendesinos) — The Adriatic 78
Brikindera (Brikindarios) — Rhodos 993

Brykous (Brykountios) — The Aegean 487
Byllis (Byllion) — Epeiros 92
Bysbikos (Bysbikenos) — Propontic Coast of Asia Minor 738
Byzantion (Byzantios) — Propontic Thrace 674

Chaironeia (Chaironeus) — Boiotia 201
(Chaladrioi) — Elis 249
Chaleion (Chaleieus) — West Lokris 159
Chalestra — Mygdonia 548
Chalke (Chalkeates) — The Aegean 477
Chalketor (Chalketoreus) — Karia 881
Chalkis (Chalkideus) — Aitolia 145
Chalkis (Chalkideus) — Euboia 365
Chalkis (Chalkideus) — Aiolis 806
Charadra (Charadraios) — Phokis 175
Charadrous — Chalkidike 565
(Chedrolioi) — Chalkidike 566
Chen (Cheneus) — Lakedaimon 328
Chen (Cheneus) — Oita 425
Chersonesos/Agora (Chersonesites) — Thracian Chersonesos 661
*Chersonasos (Chersonasios, Cherronesios) — Crete 953
Chersonesos (Chersonesites) — Pontos: Skythia 695
Chersonesos (Chersonesios) — Karia 882
Chios (Chios) — Ionia 840
Chios (Chios) — Karia 883
Choirades — Pontic Coast of Asia Minor 714
Chorsiai (Chorsieus) — Boiotia 202
Chyretiai (Chyretiaios) — Perrhaibia 460
Chyton — Ionia 841
Chytropolis (Chytropolitai) — Chalkidike 567

Daminon Teichos (Damnioteichites) — Propontic Thrace 675
Dar(i)eion — Propontic Coast of Asia Minor 739
Dardanos (Dardaneus) — Troas 774
Daskyleion (Daskyleianos) — Propontic Coast of Asia Minor 740
Datala (Datales) — Crete 954
Datos (Datenos) — Thrace: from Strymon to Nestos 629
Daulis (Daulieus) — Phokis 176
Delos (Delios) — The Aegean 478
Delphoi (Delphos) — Phokis 177
Derion (Derieus) — Akarnania 117
Deris (Deraios?) — Thracian Chersonesos 662
(Diakres apo Chalkideon) — Euboia 367
(Diakrioi en Euboia) — Euboia 366
(Diakrioi) — Rhodos 994
*Didymon Teichos (Didymoteichites) — Propontic Coast of Asia Minor 741
Dikaia (Dikaiopolites) — Chalkidike 568
Dikaia — Thrace: from Nestos to Hebros 643
Dion (Dieus) — Euboia 368
Dion (Diestes) — Makedonia 534
Dion (Dieus) — Chalkidike 569
Dionysopolis — Pontos: West Coast 684
Dios Hieron (Diosirites) — Ionia 842
Dioskouris — Pontos: Kolchis 709
Dipaia (Dipaeus) — Arkadia 268
Dodone (Dodonaios) — Epeiros 93
Doliche (Dolichaios) — Perrhaibia 461
Dragmos (Dragmios) — Crete 955
Dreros (Drerios) — Crete 956
Drymos (Drymios) — Phokis 178
Drys (Dryites) — Thrace: from Nestos to Hebros 644
Dyme (Dymaios) — Achaia 234
Dyspontion (Dyspontios) — Elis 250
Dystos — Euboia 369

Echedameia (Echedamieus) — Phokis 179
Echinos (Echinaios) — Akarnania 118
Echinos (Echinaios) — Malis 429
Edessa (Edessaios) — Makedonia 535
Eion — Chalkidike 570
Eion — Thrace: from Strymon to Nestos 630
*Ekkarra (Ekkarreus) — Achaia Phthiotis 434
Elaia (Elaiites) — Aiolis 807
Elaious (Elaiousios) — Thracian Chersonesos 663
Elaiousioi — Ionia 843
Elateia — Epeiros 94
Elateia (Elateus) — Phokis 180
Elea (Eleaios) — Epeiros 95
Eleusis — Attika 362
Eleutherna (Eleuthernaios) — Crete 957
Elis (Eleios) — Elis 251
*Eltynia (Eltynieus) — Crete 958
Elyros (Elyrios) — Crete 959
Emporion (Emporites) — Spain and France 2
Engyon (Engyinos) — Sikelia 14
Ep(e)ion — Triphylia 304
Ephesos (Ephesios) — Ionia 844
Ephyra (Ephyros) — Epeiros 96
Epidamnos (Epidamnios)/Dyrrhachion (Dyrrachinos) — The Adriatic 79
Epidauros (Epidaurios) — Lakedaimon 329
Epidauros (Epidaurios) — Argolis 348

Epitalion (Epitalieus) — Triphylia 305
*Ereikinion (Ereikineus) — Perrhaibia 462
Eresos (Eresios) — Lesbos 796
Eretria (Eretrieus) — Euboia 370
(Erineis) — Karia 884
Erineos (Erinaios) — Doris 391
Erochos (Erochos) — Phokis 181
(Erodioi) — Unlocated 1031
Erythrai — Boiotia 203
Erythrai (Erythraios) — Ionia 845
Eteokarpathioi — The Aegean 488
Eteonos/Skaphai (Skaph(l)eus) — Boiotia 204
Etis (Eteios?) — Lakedaimon 330
Eu(h)esperides (Eu(h)esperites) — Libya 1026
Eua (Euitas) — Lakedaimon 331
Euaimon (Euaimnios) — Arkadia 269
Euboia (Euboeus) — Sikelia 15
Eupagion — Elis 252
(Eureaioi) — Magnesia 446
Euripos (Euripios) — Akarnania 119
Euromos (Euromeus) — Karia 885
Europos (Europaios) — Makedonia 536
(Eurymachitai) — Unlocated 1032
Eurymenai (Eurymenaios) — Epeiros 97
Eurymenai (Eurymenios) — Magnesia 447
Eutaia — Arkadia 270
Eutresis (Eutretidieus) — Boiotia 205
(Ewaoioi) — Elis 253

Galepsos (Galaios) — Chalkidike 571
Galepsos (Galepsios) — Thrace: from Strymon to Nestos 631
Galeria (Galarinos) — Sikelia 16
Gambrion (Gambreiotes) — Aiolis 808
Gargara (Gargareus) — Troas 775
Gela (Geloios, Geloaios) — Sikelia 17
Gentinos (Gentinios) — Troas 776
Gergis (Gergithios) — Troas 777
Geronthrai (Geronthretes) — Lakedaimon 332
Gigonos — Chalkidike 572
Gitana — Epeiros 98
Gomphoi (Gompheus) — Thessalia 396
Gonnos (Gonneus) — Perrhaibia 463
Gorgipp(e)ia (Gorgippeus) — Pontos, Skythia 696
Gorty(n)s (Gortynios) — Crete 960
Gortys (Kortynios) — Arkadia 271
*Grynchai (Gryncheus) — Euboia 371
Gryneion/Gryneia (Gryneieus) — Aiolis 809
Gyenos — Pontos: Kolchis 710
Gyrton, Gyrtone (Gyrtonios) — Thessalia 397
Gytheion (Gytheates) — Lakedaimon 333

Haisa — Chalkidike 573
Halai (Haleeus) — East Lokris 380
Halasarna (Halasarnitas) — The Aegean 500
Haliartos (Haliartios) — Boiotia 206
Halieis (Halikos) — Argolis 349
Halikarnassos (Halikarnasseus) — Karia 886
Halikyrna — Aitolia 146
Halisarna — Aiolis 810
Halos (Haleus) — Achaia Phthiotis 435
Halous — Arkadia 272
Hamaxitos (Hamaxiteus) — Troas 778
Harpagion (Harpagianos) — Propontic Coast of Asia Minor 742
Helene — The Aegean 479
Helike (Helikeus) — Achaia 235
Helisson (Heliswasios) — Arkadia 273
Heloros (Ailoros) — Sikelia 18
Henna (Hennaios) — Sikelia 19
Hephaistia (Hephaistieus) — The Aegean 503
Heraia (Heraieus) — Arkadia 274
Heraion, Heraion Teichos (Heraites) — Propontic Thrace 676
Herakleia (1) — (Herakleotes) — Sikelia 20
Herakleia (2) — Sikelia 21
Herakleia (Herakleios) — Italia 52
Herakleia (Herakleiotes) — The Adriatic 80
Herakleia — Akarnania 120
Herakleia (Herakle(i)otes) — Malis 430
Herakleia (Herakleotes) — Mygdonia 549
Herakleia (Herakleiotes) — Pontic Coast of Asia Minor 715
Herakleia(?) (Herakleotai) — Aiolis 811
Herakleion (Herakleiotes) — Makedonia 537
Herakleion (Herakleiotas) — Crete 961
Herbes(s)os (Herbessinos) — Sikelia 22
Herbita (Herbitaios) — Sikelia 23
Hermion (Hermioneus) — Argolis 350
Hermonassa (Hermonaseites) — Pontos: Skythia 697
Hierapytna (Hierapytnios) — Crete 962
Himera (Himeraios) — Sikelia 24
Hippana (Hipanatas) — Sikelia 25
Hipponion (Hipponieus) — Italia 53
Histiaia (Histiaieus)/Oreos (Oreites) — Euboia 372
Holmoi (Holmites) — Kilikia 1006
Homolion (Homolieus) — Magnesia 448

Horraon (Horraitas) — Epeiros 99
*Hyaia (Hyaios) — West Lokris 160
Hyampolis (Hyampolios) — Phokis 182
(Hybliseis) — Karia 887
(Hydaieis) — Karia 888
Hydisos (Hydisseus) — Karia 889
Hyele (Hyeletes)/Elea (Eleates) — Italia 54
Hyettos (Hyettios) — Boiotia 207
(Hymisseis) — Karia 890
Hypata (Hypataios) — Dolopia 420
Hypnia (Hypneus) — West Lokris 161
Hyporeiai (Hyporeates) — Akarnania 121
Hyrtakina (Hyrtakinios) — Crete 963
Hysiai — Boiotia 208

Ialysos (Ialysios) — Rhodos 995
Iasonia — Pontic Coast of Asia Minor 716
Iasos (Iaseus) — Karia 891
Ichnai (Ichnaios) — Makedonia 538
Idalion (Edalios) — Cyprus 1013
Ide — Thracian Chersonesos 664
Idrias (Edrieus) — Karia 892
Idyma (Idymeus) — Karia 893
Idyros — Pamphylia 1002
Ikos (Ikios) — The Aegean 482
Ilion (Ilieus) — Troas 779
*Imachara (Imacharaios) — Sikelia 26
Imbros (Imbrios) — The Aegean 483
Iolkos (Iolkeus) — Magnesia 449
Iolla (Iolleus) — Aiolis 812
Ios (Ietes) — The Aegean 484
Ioulis (Ioulietes) — The Aegean 491
Isinda (Isindios) — Ionia 846
Issa (Issaios) — The Adriatic 81
(Issioi) — West Lokris 162
Issos (Isseus) — Kilikia 1007
Istasos — Chalkidike 574
Istron (Istronios) — Crete 964
Istros (Istrianos) — Pontos: West Coast 685
Itanos (Itanios) — Crete 965
Ithaka (Ithakesios) — Akarnania 122

Kabyle (Kabylenos) — Inland Thrace 654
Kalaureia (Kalaureates) — The Saronic Gulf 360
Kalchedon (Kalchedonios) — Propontic Coast of Asia Minor 743
Kalindoia — Chalkidike 575
Kallatis (Kallatianos) — Pontos: West Coast 686
Kallion (Kallieus)/Kallipolis (Kallipolites) — Aitolia 147
Kallipolis (Kallipolites) — Sikelia 27
Kallipolis (Kallipolites) — Propontic Coast of Asia Minor 744
Kalydon (Kalydonios) — Aitolia 148
Kalymna (Kalymnios) — The Aegean 485
Kalynda (Kalyndeus) — Karia 894
Kamakai — Chalkidike 576
Kamarina (Kamarinaios) — Sikelia 28
Kamiros (Kamireus) — Rhodos 996
Kampsa — Chalkidike 577
(Kapheleis) — Ainis 421
Kaphy(i)ai (Kaphyieus) — Arkadia 275
Karambis — Pontic Coast of Asia Minor 717
*Karbasyanda (Karbasyandeus) — Karia 895
Kardamyle (Skardamylites) — Messenia 315
Kardia (Kardianos) — Thracian Chersonesos 665
Karene (Karenaios) — Aiolis 813
Karkinitis (Kerkinites) — Pontos: Skythia 698
Karoussa — Pontic Coast of Asia Minor 718
Karpasia (Karpaseus) — Cyprus 1014
Karpathos (Karpathios) — The Aegean 489
Karthaia (Karthaieus) — The Aegean 492
Karyanda (Karyandeus) — Karia 896
Karystos (Karystios) — Euboia 373
Kasmenai (Kasmenaios) — Sikelia 29
Kasolaba (Kasolabeus) — Karia 897
Kasos (Kasios) — The Aegean 490
Kassopa (Kassopaios) — Epeiros 100
Kasthanaie (Kassanaeus) — Magnesia 450
Katane (Katanaios) — Sikelia 30
Kaulonia (Kauloniatas) — Italia 55
Kaunos (Kaunios) — Karia 898
Kebren (Kebrenios) — Troas 780
Kedreai (Kedreates) — Karia 899
Kelenderis — Kilikia 1008
Kentoripa (Kentoripinos) — Sikelia 31
Kephaloidion (Kephaloiditas) — Sikelia 32
Kepoi (Kepites) — Pontos: Skythia 699
Keraia (Keraïtas) — Crete 966
Keramos (Kerameus) — Karia 900
Kerasous (Kerasountios) — Pontic Coast of Asia Minor 719
Keria (Keraitas) — The Aegean 495
Keryneia (Keryneus) — Achaia 236
Keryneia (Kerynites) — Cyprus 1015
Kierion (Kierieus) — Thessalia 398
Kikynethos — Magnesia 451

Killa — Aiolis 814
(Killareis) — Karia 901
Kimmerikon — Pontos: Skythia 700
Kimolos (Kimolios) — The Aegean 496
Kindye (Kindyeus) — Karia 902
Kinolis — Pontic Coast of Asia Minor 720
Kinyps — Libya 1027
Kios (Kianos) — Propontic Coast of Asia Minor 745
Kirrha (Kirrhaios) — Phokis 183
Kissos (Kisseites) — Chalkidike 578
Kisthene — Aiolis 815
Kithas — Chalkidike 579
Klazomenai (Klazomenios) — Ionia 847
Kleitor (Kleitorios) — Arkadia 276
Kleonai (Kleonaios) — Argolis 351
Kleonai — Chalkidike 580
Knemi(de)s — East Lokris 381
Knidos (Knidios) — Karia 903
Knosos (Knosios) — Crete 967
(Kodapeis) — Karia 904
Koila — Arkadia 277
*Kokylion (Kokylites) — Troas 781
(Koliyrgeis) — Karia 905
Kolonai (Koloneus?) — Propontic Coast of Asia Minor 746
Kolonai (Kolonaeus) — Troas 782
Kolophon (Kolophonios) — Ionia 848
Koloussa — Pontic Coast of Asia Minor 721
Kombreia — Chalkidike 581
*Kondaia (Kondaieus) — Thessalia 399
Kopai (Kopaieus) — Boiotia 209
Korakai (Korokaios) — Magnesia 452
Koranza (Koarendeus) — Karia 906
Koresia (Koresios) — The Aegean 493
Korinthos (Korinthios) — Megaris, etc. 227
Korkyra (Korkyraios) — Akarnania 123
Korone (Koronaios) — Messenia 316
Koroneia (Koroneus) — Boiotia 210
Koronta (Korontaios) — Akarnania 124
(Korophaioi) — Ainis 422
Korykos (Korykaios) — Ionia 849
Kos (Koos) — The Aegean 497
Kos Meropis — The Aegean 499
Kossaia (Kossaios) — Unlocated in Thrace 624
Kotyora (Kotyorites) — Pontic Coast of Asia Minor 722
Kourion (Kourieus) — Cyprus 1016
Kranioi (Kranios) — Akarnania 125
Krannon (Krannonios) — Thessalia 400.
Krenides (Krenites) — Thrace: from Strymon to Nestos 632
Kressa — Thracian Chersonesos 666
Krithote (Krithousios) — Thracian Chersonesos 667
Kromna (Kromnites) — Pontic Coast of Asia Minor 723
Kromnos (Kromnites) — Lakedaimon 334
Kroton (Krotoniatas) — Italia 56
Krya (Kryeus) — Karia 907
Ktimene (Ktimenaios) — Dolopia 419
Kydonia (Kydoniatas) — Crete 968
Kyllandos (Kyllandios) — Karia 908
Kyllene (Kyllenios) — Elis 254
Kyllene — Aiolis 816
Kyme (Kymaios) — Italia 57
Kyme (Kymaios) — Aiolis 817
Kynaitha (Kynaitheus) — Arkadia 278
Kynos (Kynios) — East Lokris 382
Kypaira (Kypharreus) — Achaia Phthiotis 436
Kyparissos (Kyparissieus) — Messenia 317
Kyphanta (Kyphantaseus) — Lakedaimon 335
Kypsela — Thrace: from Nestos to Hebros 645
Kyrbissos (Kyrbisseus) — Karia 909
Kyrene (Kyrenaios) — Libya 1028
Kyrrhos (Kyrrhestes) — Makedonia 539
Kystiros (Kystirios) — Unlocated 1033
Kytaia — Pontos: Skythia 701
Kytaion — Crete 969
Kythera (Kytherios) — Lakedaimon 336
Kythnos (Kythnios) — The Aegean 501
Kytinion (Kytinieus) — Doris 392
Kytoros — Pontic Coast of Asia Minor 724
Kyzikos (Kyzikenos) — Propontic Coast of Asia Minor 747

Labrys/Labryta — Pontos: Skythia 702
Lamia (Lamieus) — Malis 431
Lamponeia (Lamponeus) — Troas 783
Lampsakos (Lampsakenos) — Propontic Coast of Asia Minor 748
Laos (La(w)-inos) — Italia 58
Lapethos (Lapithios) — Cyprus 1017
Lappa (Lappaios) — Crete 970
Laris(s)a — Elis 255
Larisa (Larisaios) — Thessalia 401
Larisa (Larisaios) — Achaia Phthiotis 437
Larisa (Larisaios) — Troas 784
Larisa (Larisaios) — Aiolis 818
Larymna (Larymnaios) — East Lokris 383
Las (Laos) — Lakedaimon 337

Lasion (Lasionios) — Elis 256
Latmos (Latmios)/Herakleia (Herakleotes) — Karia 910
Lato (Latios) — Crete 971
Lebadeia (Lebadeus) — Boiotia 211
Lebedos (Lebedios) — Ionia 850
Lebena (Lebenaios) — Crete 972
(Lechoioi) — Unlocated 1034
Ledon (Ledontios) — Phokis 184
Leibethra (Leibethrios) — Makedonia 540
Lenos — Elis 257
Leontinoi (Leontinos) — Sikelia 33
Leontion (Leontesios) — Achaia 237
Lepreon (Lepreatas) — Triphylia 306
Lepsimandos (Lepsimandeus) — Karia 911
Leros (Lerios) — The Aegean 504
Lete (Letaios) — Mygdonia 550
Letrinoi (Letrinos) — Elis 258
Leukai (Leokates) — Aiolis 819
Leukas (Leukadios) — Akarnania 126
Leukophrys — Ionia 851
Lilaia (Lilaieus) — Phokis 185
Limnai (Limnaios) — Thracian Chersonesos 668
Limnaia (Limnaios) — Akarnania 127
Limne — Pontic Coast of Asia Minor 725
Lindos (Lindios) — Rhodos 997
Lipara (Liparaios) — Sikelia 34
Lipaxos — Chalkidike 582
Lisos (Lisios) — Crete 973
Lissos (Lissates) — The Adriatic 82
Lokroi (Lokros) — Italia 59
*Longane (Longenaios) — Sikelia 35
Lousoi (Lousiatas) — Arkadia 279
Lykastos — Pontic Coast of Asia Minor 726
Lykosoura (Lykourasios) — Arkadia 280
Lyktos (Lyktios) — Crete 974

Madytos (Madytios) — Thracian Chersonesos 669
Magnesia (Magnes) — Aiolis 820
Magnesia (Magnes) — Ionia 852
Makiston (Makistios) — Triphylia 307
Makynea (Makyneus) — Aitolia 149
Malla (Mallaios) — Crete 975
*Malloia (Malloiatas) — Perrhaibia 464
Mallos (Marlotas, Mallotes) — Kilikia 1009
Mantinea (Mantineus) — Arkadia 281
Marathesion (Marathesios) — Ionia 853
Marganeis (Marganeus) — Elis 259
Marion (Marieus) — Cyprus 1018
Maroneia (Maronites) — Thrace: from Nestos to Hebros 646
Massalia (Massaliotes) — Spain and France 3
Matala (Matalios) — Crete 976
*Matropolis (Matropolites) — Akarnania 128
Medeon (Medeonios) — Phokis 186
Medion (Medionios) — Akarnania 129
Medma (Medmaios) — Italia 60
Medmasos (Madnaseus) — Karia 912
Megale polis (Megalopolites) — Arkadia 282
Megara (Megareus) — Sikelia 36
Megara (Megareus) — Megaris, etc. 225
Mekyberna (Mekybernaios) — Chalkidike 583
Melaina Korkyra (Korkyraios) — The Adriatic 83
*Melanpagos? (Melanpagitas) — Aiolis 821
Meliboia (Meliboieus) — Magnesia 453
Melitaia (Melitaieus) — Achaia Phthiotis 438
Melos (Melios) — The Aegean 505
Mende (Mendaios) — Chalkidike 584
Mesambria (Mesambrianos) — Pontos: West Coast 687
Mesambrie — Thrace: from Nestos to Hebros 647
(Messapioi) — West Lokris 163
Messene (Messenios)/Ithome (Ithomaios) — Messenia 318
(Metapioi) — Elis 260
Metapontion (Metapontinos) — Italia 61
Metauros (Mataurinos) — Italia 62
Methana (Methanaios) — Argolis 352
Methone (Methonaios) — Magnesia 454
Methone (Methonaios) — Makedonia 541
Methydrion (Methydrieus) — Arkadia 283
Methylion (Methylieus) — Thessalia 402
Methymna (Methymnaios) — Lesbos 797
Metropolis (Matropolitas) — Thessalia 403
Metropolis — Propontic Coast of Asia Minor 749
Mieza (Miezaios/Miezeus) — Makedonia 542
Milatos (Milatios) — Crete 977
Miletos (Milesios) — Ionia 854
Miletoupolis (Miletopolites) — Propontic Coast of Asia Minor 750
Miletouteichos (Miletoteichites) — Propontic Coast of Asia Minor 751
Milkoros (Milkorios) — Chalkidike 585
Minoa (Minoetes) — The Aegean 473
Molykreion (Molykreus) — Aitolia 150
Mondaia (Mondaieus) — Perrhaibia 465
Mopsion (Mopseus) — Thessalia 404
Morgantina (Morgantinos) — Sikelia 37
Mothone (Mothonaios) — Messenia 319

Myania (Myaneus) — West Lokris 164
Mykalessos (Mykalessios) — Boiotia 212
Mykenai (Mykenaios) — Argolis 353
Mykonos (Mykonios) — The Aegean 506
Mylai (Mylaios) — Sikelia 38
Mylai (Mylaios) — Perrhaibia 466
Mylasa (Mylaseus) — Karia 913
Myndos (Myndios) — Karia 914
Myonnesos (Myon(n)esios) — Ionia 855
Myous (Myes(s)ios) — Ionia 856
Myrina (Myrinaios) — The Aegean 502
Myrina (Myrinaios) — Aiolis 822
Myrkinos (Myrkinios) — Thrace: from Strymon to Nestos 633
Myrle(i)a (Myrle(i)anos) — Propontic Coast of Asia Minor 751
Myrmekeion — Pontos: Skythia 703
Mytilene (Mytilenaios) — Lesbos 798
Mytistratos (Mytiseratinos) — Sikelia 39

Nagidos (Nagideus) — Kilikia 1010
Nakone (Nakonaios) — Sikelia 40
(Narisbareis) — Karia 915
Naryandos (Naryandeus) — Karia 916
Naryka (Narykaios) — East Lokris 384
Nasos (Nasiotas) — Aiolis 823
Naukratis (Naukratites) — Egypt 1023
Naulochon — Ionia 857
Naupaktos (Naupaktios) — West Lokris 165
Naxia (Naxiates) — Karia 917
Naxos (Naxios) — Sikelia 41
Naxos (Naxios) — The Aegean 507
Neandreia (Neandrieus) — Troas 785
Neapolis (Neapolites) — Italia 63
Neapolis (Neopolites) — Chalkidike 586
Neapolis (Neopolites) — Thrace: from Strymon to Nestos 634
Neapolis (Neopolites) — Propontic Thrace 677
Neon (Ne(-))/Tithorea (Tithoreus) — Phokis 187
Neon Teichos — Aiolis 824
Nestane (Nestanios) — Arkadia 284
Nikaia — Epeiros 101
Nikaia (Nikaeus) — East Lokris 385
Nikonion — Pontos: West Coast 688
Nisyros (Nisyrios) — The Aegean 508
Nonakris (Nonakrieus) — Arkadia 285
Notion — Aiolis 825
Notion (Notieus) — Ionia 858
Noudion — Triphylia 308
Nymphaion (Nymphatos) — Pontos: Skythia 704

Oasis — Egypt 1024
Odeinios — Pontic Coast of Asia Minor 727
Odessos (Odess(e)ites) — Pontos: West Coast 689
Oiai (Oiiates) — Rhodos 998
Oianthea (Oiantheus) — West Lokris 166
Oine (Oin(o)aios) — The Aegean 480
Oiniadai (Oiniadas) — Akarnania 130
Oinous (Woinountios) — Lakedaimon 338
Oios (Oiates) — Lakedaimon 339
Oisyme (Oisymaios) — Thrace: from Strymon to Nestos 635
Oitylos (Oitylios?)/Beitylos (Beityleus) — Lakedaimon 340
Okolon — Unlocated in Thrace 626
(Olaieis) — Karia 918
Olbia (Olbiopolites)/Borysthenes (Borysthenites) — Pontos: West Coast 690
Olbia — Propontic Coast of Asia Minor 753
Olenos (Olenios) — Achaia 238
Olizon (Olizonios) — Magnesia 455
Oloosson (Oloossonios) — Perrhaibia 467
Olophyxos (Olophyxios) — Chalkidike 587
Olous (Olontios) — Crete 978
Olymos (Hylimeus) — Karia 919
Olympa (Olympastas) — Epeiros 102
Olynthos (Olynthios) — Chalkidike 588
Ophiousa — Pontos: West Coast 691
Ophryneion (Ophryneus) — Troas 786
Opous (Opountios) — Elis 261
Opous (Opountios) — East Lokris 386
Orchomenos (Orchomenios) — Boiotia 213
Orchomenos (Orchomenios) — Arkadia 286
Oresthasion (Oresthasios) — Arkadia 287
Orgame — Pontos: West Coast 692
Orikos (Orikios) — Epeiros 103
Orneai (Orneates) — Argolis 354
Orobiai (Orobieus) — Euboia 374
Oropos (Oropios) — Boiotia 214
Orthagoria (Orthagoreus) — Thrace: from Nestos to Hebros 648
Orthos (Orthieus) — Thessalia 405
(Osbaioi) — Chalkidike 589
Othoros (Othorios) — Chalkidike 590
(Otlenoi) — Propontic Coast of Asia Minor 754
Ouranion (Ouranietes) — Karia 920

(Oxoniaioi) — Magnesia 456
Oxynion — Thessalia 406

Pagai (Pagaios) — Megaris, etc. 226
Pagasai (Pagasitas) — Thessalia 407
Paion — Arkadia 288
Paion — Thracian Chersonesos 670
Paisos (Paisenos) — Propontic Coast of Asia Minor 755
Paktye — Thracian Chersonesos 671
Palaigambrion — Aiolis 826
*Palaiperkote (Palaiperkosios) — Troas 787
Palairos (Palaireus) — Akarnania 131
Paleis (Paleus) — Akarnania 132
Pallantion (Pallanteus) — Arkadia 289
Pandosia (Pandosinos) — Italia 64
Pandosia — Epeiros 104
Panormos — The Aegean 510
Pantikapaion (Pantikapaites)/Bosporos (Bosporites) — Pontos: Skythia 705
Paphos (Paphios) — Cyprus 1019
Parapotamioi (Parapotamios) — Phokis 188
Parasopioi (Parasopieus) — Oita 426
Parion (Parianos) — Propontic Coast of Asia Minor 756
Paros (Parios) — The Aegean 509
(Parpariotai) — Karia 921
Parthenion — Aiolis 827
Passanda (Pasandeus) — Karia 922
Passaron — Epeiros 105
Patrai (Patreus) — Achaia 239
Pedasa (Pedaseus) — Karia 923
Pedieis (Pedieis) — Phokis 189
(Pedieis) — Rhodos 999
Peirasia (Peirasieus) — Thessalia 408
(Peleiatai) — Karia 924
Pelinna(ion) (Pelinna(i)eus) — Thessalia 409
Pella (Pellaios) — Makedonia 543
Pellana (Pellaneus) — Lakedaimon 341
Pellene (Pelleneus) — Achaia 240
Peparethos — The Aegean 511
*Peraia (Peraeus) — Euboia 375
Pergamon (Pergamenos) — Aiolis 828
Perge (Pergaios) — Pamphylia 1003
Perinthos (Perinthios) — Propontic Coast of Thrace 678
Perkote (Perkosios) — Troas 788
Perperene (Perperenios) — Aiolis 829
Petra (Petrinos) — Sikelia 42
*Petra (Petraios) — Crete 979
Peuma (Peumatios) — Achaia Phthiotis 439
Phagres (Phagresios) — Thrace: from Strymon to Nestos 636
Phaistos (Phaistios) — Crete 980
Phakion (Phakiastas) — Thessalia 410
Phalanna (Phalannaios) — Perrhaibia 468
Phalasarna (Phalasarnios) — Crete 981
Phaloria (Phaloriastes) — Thessalia 411
Phanagoria (Phanagorites) — Pontos: Skythia 706
Phanote (Phanoteus) — Epeiros 106
Phanoteus/Panopeus — Phokis 190
Phara — Akarnania 133
Phara — Arkadia 290
Pharai — Boiotia 215
Pharai (Pharaieus) — Achaia 241
Pharai (Pharaiates) — Messenia 320
Pharbelos (Pharbelios) — Chalkidike 591
Pharkadon (Pharkadonios) — Thessalia 412
Pharos (Pharios) — The Adriatic 84
Pharsalos (Pharsalios) — Thessalia 413
Phaselis (Phaselites) — Lykia 942
Phasis (Phasianos) — Pontos: Kolchis 711
(Phegontioi) — Chalkidike 592
Phelloe — Achaia 242
Pheneos (Pheneeus) — Arkadia 291
Pherai (Pheraios) — Thessalia 414
Phigaleia (Phigaleus) — Arkadia 292
Philippoi (Philippeus) — Thrace: from Strymon to Nestos 637
Philippopolis (Philippopolites) — Inland Thrace 655
Phleious (Phleiasios) — Argolis 355
Phlygonion (P(h)lygoneus) — Phokis 191
Phoinike — Epeiros 107
Phoitiai (Phoitieus) — Akarnania 134
Phokaia (Phokaieus) — Ionia 859
*Phola (Pholaieus) — Aitolia 151
Pholegandros (Pholegandrios) — The Aegean 513
Phorieia (Phoriaeus) — Arkadia 293
Phrixa(i) — Triphylia 309
Phylake — Achaia Phthiotis 440
Phylea — Aitolia 152
(Phyrrhagioi) — Ainis 423
(Phytaioi) — Unlocated 1035
Piakos (Piakinos) — Sikelia 43
Pidasa (Pidaseus) — Karia 925
Piloros — Chalkidike 593
Pisa (Pisatas) — Elis 262
Pistasos — Chalkidike 594
Pistiros (Pistirenos) — Inland Thrace 656
Pistyros — Thrace: from Strymon to Nestos 638

Pitane (Pitanaios) — Aiolis 830
Pithekoussai (Pithekoussaios) — Italia 65
Pladasa (Pladasieus) — Karia 926
Plakia (Plakianos) — Propontic Coast of Asia Minor 757
Plataiai (Plataieus) — Boiotia 216
Pleume (Pleumeus) — Chalkidike 595
Pleuron (Pleuronios) — Aitolia 153
Poiessa (Poiessios) — The Aegean 494
Poionos — Epeiros 108
Polichna (Polichnaios) — Troas 789
Polichne (Polichnites) — Crete 982
(Polichnitai) — Chalkidike 596
(Polichnitai) — Ionia 860
Polyrhen (Polyrhenios) — Crete 983
Pordoselene — Aiolis 831
Poseidonia (Poseidoniatas) — Italia 66
Posideion (Posideites) — Euboia 376
Posideion — Chalkidike 597
Posideion — Syria 1022
Poteidaia (Poteidaiates) — Chalkidike 598
Potniai (Potnieus) — Boiotia 217
Po[---] — Phokis 192
Praisos (Praisios) — Crete 984
Prasiai (Brasiates) — Lakedaimon 342
Prassilos (Prassilios) — Chalkidike 599
Priansos (Priansieus) — Crete 985
Priapos (Priapenos) — Propontic Coast of Asia Minor 758
Priene (Prieneus) — Ionia 861
Proerna (Proernios) — Achaia Phthiotis 441
Prokonnesos (Prokonnesios) — Propontic Coast of Asia Minor 759
Pronnoi (Pronnos) — Akarnania 135
Proschion (Proscheios) — Aitolia 154
Psophis (Psophidios) — Arkadia 294
Pteleon (Pteleousios) — Ionia 862
Pydna (Pydnaios) — Makedonia 544
Pygela (Pygeleus) — Ionia 863
Pylai (Parpylaios) — Arkadia 295
Pylos (Pylios) — Elis 263
Pyrasos (Pyrasios) — Achaia Phthiotis 442
Pyrgos — Triphylia 310
Pyrindos (Pyrindios) — Karia 927
Pyrnos (Pyrnios) — Karia 928
Pyrrha (Pyrrhaios) — Lesbos 799
Pythoion (Pythoiastas) — Perrhaibia 469
Pythopolis (Pythopolites) — Propontic Coast of Asia Minor 760
Pyxous — Italia 67
Rhaukos (Rhaukios) — Crete 986
Rhegion (Rheginos) — Italia 68
Rheneia (Rhenaieus, Rheneus) — The Aegean 514
Rhithymnos (Rhithymnios) — Crete 987
*Rhitten (Rhittenios) — Crete 988
Rhizous (Rhizousios) — Magnesia 457
Rhode (Rhodetes) — Spain and France 4
Rhodos (Rhodios) — Rhodos 1000
Rhoiteion (Rhoiteus) — Troas 790
Rhypai, Rhype (Rhyps) — Achaia 243

Salamis (Salaminios) — Attika 363
Salamis (Salaminios) — Cyprus 1020
Sale — Thrace: from Nestos to Hebros 649
Salmakis (Salmakites) — Karia 929
Same (Samaios) — Akarnania 136
Samos (Samios) — Ionia 864
Samos (the klerouchy of 365–322) — Ionia 865
Samothrake (Samothrax) — The Aegean 515
Sane (Sanaios) — Chalkidike 600
Sane — Chalkidike 601
*Saros (Sarios) — The Aegean 516
Sarte (Sartaios) — Chalkidike 602
Seleinous — The Aegean 512
Selinous (Selinousios) — Sikelia 44
Sellasia (Sellasieus?) — Lakedaimon 343
Selymbria (Selymbrianos) — Propontic Coast of Thrace 679
Ser(re)ion Teichos (Ser(re)ioteichites) — Propontic Coast of Thrace 680
Seriphos (Seriphios) — The Aegean 517
Serme (Sermaios) — Chalkidike 603
Sermylia (Sermylieus) — Chalkidike 604
Sesamos (Sesamenos)/Amastris (Amastrianos) — Pontic Coast of Asia Minor 728
Sestos (Sestios) — Thracian Chersonesos 672
Seuthopolis — Inland Thrace 657
Side — Lakedaimon 344
Side (Sidetes) — Pamphylia 1004
Sidousa (Sidousios) — Ionia 866
Sigeion (Sigeieus) — Troas 791
Sikinos (Sikinetes) — The Aegean 518
Sikyon (Sikyonios) — Megaris, etc. 228
(Sileraioi) — Sikelia 45
(Siloi) — Karia 930
Sindos (Sindonaios?) — Mygdonia 551
Singos (Singaios) — Chalkidike 605
Sinope (Sinopeus) — Pontic Coast of Asia Minor 729

Sinos — Chalkidike 606
Siphai (Siphaieus) — Boiotia 218
Siphnos (Siphnios) — The Aegean 519
Siris (Sirites) — Italia 69
Sirra (Sirraios) — Thrace: from Strymon to Nestos 639
Skabala (Skablaios) — Chalkidike 607
(Skapsaioi) — Chalkidike 608
Skarpheia (Skarpheus) — East Lokris 387
Skepsis (Skapsios) — Troas 792
Skiathos (Skiathios) — The Aegean 520
Skillous (Skillountios) — Triphylia 311
Skione (Skionaios) — Chalkidike 609
Skithai (Skithaios) — Chalkidike 610
Skolos — Boiotia 219
Skotoussa (Skotoussaios) — Thessalia 415
Skylake — Propontic Coast of Asia Minor 761
Skyros (Skyrios) — The Aegean 521
Smila — Chalkidike 611
Smyrna (Smyrnaios) — Ionia 867
Sollion — Akarnania 137
Soloi (Soleus) — Kilikia 1011
Soloi (Solios) — Cyprus 1021
Sombia — Propontic Coast of Asia Minor 762
Spalauthra (Spalauthreus) — Magnesia 458
Sparta (Spartiates)/Lakedaimon (Lakedaimonios) — Lakedaimon 345
Spartolos (Spartolios) — Chalkidike 612
Spina (Spinites) — The Adriatic 85
Stagiros (Stagirites) — Chalkidike 613
Stalai (Stalites) — Crete 989
Stameneia — Pontic Coast of Asia Minor 730
(Stielanaioi) — Sikelia 46
Stiris (Stirios) — Phokis 193
Stolos (Stolios) — Chalkidike 614
Stratos (Stratios) — Akarnania 138
Strepsa (Strepsaios) — Chalkidike 615
Stryme — Thrace: from Nestos to Hebros 650
Stymphalos (Stymphalios) — Arkadia 296
Styra (Styreus) — Euboia 377
Syangela (Syangeleus)/Theangela (Theangeleus) — Karia 931
Sybaris (Sybaritas) — Italia 70
Sybrita (Sybritios) — Crete 990
Syme (Symaios) — The Aegean 522
Syrakousai (Syrakosios) — Sikelia 47
Syros (Syrios) — The Aegean 523

(Talagreis) — Karia 932
Talana — Ainis 424
Tanagra (Tanagraios) — Boiotia 220
Taramptos — Karia 933
Taras (Tarantinos) — Italia 71
(Tarbaneis) — Karia 934
Tarrha (Tarrhaios) — Crete 991
Taucheira (Taucheirites) — Libya 1029
Tauromenion (Tauromenitas) — Sikelia 48
Tegea (Tegeatas) — Arkadia 297
Teithronion (Teithronios) — Phokis 194
Tekmon — Epeiros 109
Telandros (Telandrios) — Karia 935
Telemessos (Telemesseus) — Karia 936
Telos (Telios) — The Aegean 524
Temesa (Temesaios) — Italia 72
Temnos (Temnites) — Aiolis 832
Tenedos (Tenedios) — Troas 793
Tenos (Tenios) — The Aegean 525
Teos (Teios) — Ionia 868
Tereia — Propontic Coast of Asia Minor 763
Terina (Terinaios) — Italia 73
Termera (Termereus) — Karia 937
(Terssogasseis) — Karia 938
Tetrakis — Pontic Coast of Asia Minor 731
Teuthis (Teuthidas) — Arkadia 298
Teuthrania — Aiolis 833
Thalamai (Thalamates) — Messenia 321
Thaliades — Arkadia 299
Thasos (Thasios) — The Aegean 526
(Thasthareis) — Karia 939
Thaumakoi (Thaumakos) — Achaia Phthiotis 443
Thebai (Thebaios) — Boiotia 221
Thebai (Thebaios) — Achaia Phthiotis 444
Thebai (Thebaios) — Ionia 869
Thebe — Aiolis 834
Thelphousa (Thelphousios) — Arkadia 300
Themiskyra — Pontic Coast of Asia Minor 732
Theodosia (Theudosieus) — Pontos: Skythia 707
Thera (Theraios) — The Aegean 527
Therambos (Thrambaios) — Chalkidike 616
*Therma (Thermaios) — The Aegean 481
Therme — Mygdonia 552
Therminea — Aitolia 155
Thespiai (Thespieus) — Boiotia 222
Thestoros — Chalkidike 617
Thetonion (Thetonios) — Thessalia 416
Thisbai (Thisbeus) — Boiotia 223
Thisoa (Thisoaios) — Arkadia 301
Thouria (Thouriates) — Messenia 322

Thourioi (Thourios) — Italia 74
Thraistos (Thraistios) — Elis 264
Thronion (Thronieus) — East Lokris 388
Thydonos — Karia 940
Thyrea — Lakedaimon 346
Thyrreion (Thyrieus) — Akarnania 139
Thyssos (Thyssios) — Chalkidike 618
Tieion (Tianos) — Pontic Coast of Asia Minor 733
Tinde (Tindaios) — Chalkidike 619
Tiryns (Tirynthios) — Argolis 356
*Tisna (Tisnaios) — Aiolis 835
Tolophon (Tolophonios) — West Lokris 167
Tomis (Tomites) — Pontos: West Coast 693
Torone (Toronaios) — Chalkidike 620
Torone — Epeiros 110
Torthyneion (Torthyneus) — Arkadia 302
Torybeia (Torybeieus) — Akarnania 140
Trachis (Trachinios) — Malis 432
Trachis (Trachinios) — Phokis 195
Traïlos (Traïlios) — Bisaltia 555
Tralleis (Traldeus) — Karia 941
Trapezous (Trapezountios) — Arkadia 303
Trapezous (Trapezountios) — Pontic Coast of Asia Minor 734
Trichoneion (Trichonieus) — Aitolia 156
Trikka (Trikkaios) — Thessalia 417
Tripoiai — Chalkidike 621
Tritaia (Tritaieus) — Achaia 244
Tritea (Triteus) — West Lokris 168
Triteis — Phokis 196
Troizen (Troizenios) — Argolis 357
Troneia (Troneieus) — Phokis 197
Tylisos (Tylisios) — Crete 992
Tyndaris (Tyndarites) — Sikelia 49
Tyras (Tyranos) — Pontos: West Coast 694
Tyritake — Pontos: Skythia 708
Tyrodiza (Tyrodizenos) — Propontic Thrace 681
(Tyrrhenoi) — Sikelia 50

Xanthos (Xanthios) — Lykia 943

Zakynthos (Zakynthios) — Akarnania 141
Zankle (Zanklaios)/Messana (Messanios) — Sikelia 51
Zeleia (Zeleites) — Propontic Coast of Asia Minor 764
Zereia (Zeranios) — Chalkidike 622
Zmaratha — Epeiros 111
Zone (Zonaios) — Thrace: from Nestos to Hebros 651

3. *Toponyms and City-Ethnics in Greek*

Toponyms and city-ethnics are separated by a dash.
If no toponym is attested the entry opens with a dash.
(L) = Attested in Hellenistic and/or Roman texts only.

Ἄβαι, αἱ; *Ἄβα*; *Ἄβη*; *Ἄβαντα* (L) — *Ἀβαῖος* (L) no. 169
Ἀβακαίνη, ἡ (L); *Ἀβάκαινον, τό* (L) — *Ἀβακαινῖνος* no. 5
Ἄβδηρα, τά; *Ἄβδηρος*; *Ἄβδηρα, ἡ* (L) — *Ἀβδηρίτης*; *Ἀβδθρίτης* no. 640
Ἄβυδος, ἡ — *Ἀβυδενός*; *Ἀβυδηνός* no. 765
Ἀγγεία, ἡ (L) — *Ἀνγειεύς*; *Ἀγγειάτης* (L) no. 418
Ἀγκών, ἡ — *Ἀγκων(ε)ίτης* (L) no. 76
Ἀγορά, ἡ — no. 661
Ἀγρίνιον, τό (L) — *Ἀγρινιεύς* (L) no. 142
Ἀγύριον, τό (L); *Ἀγούριον* (L); *Ἀγύρινα* (L) — *Ἀγυρινaῖος* (L) no. 7
Ἀδραμύττ(ε)ιον — *Ἀδραμυτηνός*; *Ἀδραμου[ττανός]* no. 800
Ἀδρανον, τό (L) — *Ἀδρανίτας*; *Ἀδρανίτης* (L) no. 6
Ἀδρία, ἡ; *Ἀτρία* (L) — no. 75
Ἄζεια (L?) — *Ἀζειεύς*; *Ἀζειός*; *Ἀζειώτης* no. 772
Ἄζωρος (L); *Ἄζωροι* (L); *Ἀζώριον, τό* (L); *Ἀζώρεια* (L) — *Ἀζωριαστάς* (L) no. 459
Ἀθῆναι, αἱ; *Ἀθᾶναι* — *Ἀθηναῖος*; *Ἀθαναῖος* no. 361
Ἀθῆναι Διάδες, αἱ — *Ἀθηνίτης*; *Ἀθηνήτης* (L); *Ἀθηναῖος* no. 364
Αἰανή, ἡ (L) *Ἐάνη* (L) — no. 528
Αἰγαί, αἱ; *Αἰγά, ἡ* — *Αἰγαῖος* no. 229
Αἰγαῖαι, αἱ; *Αἰγαί, αἱ* — *Αἰγαεύς* no. 801
Αἰγεαί, αἱ; *Αἰγαῖαι* (L); *Αἰγαί* (L); *Αἰγειαί* (L); *Αἰγαία* (L) — *Αἰγαῖος* (L); *Ἐγέος* (L) no. 529
Αἴγειρα, ἡ; *Αἴγιρα* — *Αἰγειράτης* no. 230
Αἰγή, ἡ — *Αἰγάντιος* no. 556
Αἰγιάλη, ἡ (L); *Αἰγιαλός, ὁ* (L); *Αἰγιαλόν, τό* (L) — *Αἰγιαλεύς* no. 471
Αἴγινα, ἡ — *Αἰγινήτης*; *Αἰγινάτας* no. 358
Αἴγιον, τό — *Αἰγιεύς*; *Αἰγαιεύς* no. 231
Αἰγιρόεσσα — no. 802
Αἰγίτιον, τό — no. 143
Αἰγὸς ποταμοί, οἱ — *Ἀιγὸς πο(-)* no. 658
Αἰγόσθενα, τά — *Αἰγοσθενίτας* (L); *Ἠγοσθενίτης* (L) no. 224
Αἶγυς, ἡ — *Αἰγυεύς*; *Αἰγύτης* (L) no. 323
Αἴθαια (L) — *Αἰθαιεύς* no. 312
Αἴνεια, ἡ — *Αἰνιάτης*; *Αἰνε(ι)άτης*; *Αἰνεήτης* no. 557
Αἶνος, ἡ — *Αἴνιος*; *Αἰνειεύς* no. 641
Αἰόλειον; *Αἰόλειον* — *Αἰολίτης* no. 558
— *Αἰολιδεύς* no. 170
Αἰραί, αἱ; *Αἰραί* (?) — *Αἰραιεύς*; *Αἰραιεύς*; *Αἰραῖος*; *Αἰραῖος* no. 837
Αἶσα — no. 573
Αἴσων; *Αἴσων* — *Αἰσονεύς*; *Αἰσωνεύς*; *Αἰσώνιος* no. 623
Αἴτνα, ἡ; *Αἴτνη* (L) — *Αἰτναῖος* no. 8
Ἄκανθος, ἡ — *Ἀκάνθιος* no. 559
Ἄκκαρα (L) — *Ἐκκαρεύς* no. 434
Ἀκράγας, ἡ — *Ἀκραγαντῖνος* no. 9
Ἄκραι, αἱ; *Ἄκρα* (L) — *Ἀκαραῖος* (L) no. 10
Ἀκραιφία, ἡ; *Ἀκραίφνιον*; *Ἀκραιφνία*; *Ἀκραίφια, τά* (L) — *Ἀκραιφιεύς*; *Ἀκραιφνιεύς*; *Ἀκραίφνιος*; *Ἀκραιφνεώτης* no. 198
Ἄκριπος — no. 144
Ἀκρόθῳον, τό; *Ἀκρόθῳοι*; *Ἀκρόθωοι* (L) — *Ἀκρόθωιος*; *Ἀκροθώτης* no. 560
Ἀκύφας — *Ἀκυφάνιος* (L) no. 389
Ἀλάβανδα, τά/ἡ — *Ἀλαβανδεύς*; *Ἀλαβαδεύς* (L) no. 870
Ἀλαί, αἱ (L) — *Ἀλεεύς* no. 380
Ἀλ(α)ιβαῖοι (L); *Λεβαίη, ἡ*; *Ἀλεβία* (L) — no. 530
Ἄλαισα, ἡ (L) — *Ἀλαισῖνος* no. 11
Ἀλαλίη, ἡ — no. 1
Ἀλαλκομεναί, αἱ (L) — no. 199
Ἄλαπτα — *Ἀλάπτης* (L) no. 561
Ἀλασάρνα — *Ἀλασαρνίτας* (L) no. 500
Ἀλασυαῖων (L) — *Ἀλασυεύς* no. 245
Ἀλέα, ἡ — *Ἀλε(ι)ός*; *Ἀλεάτας* no. 265
Ἄλεοι; *Ἀλοῦς, ὁ* — no. 272
Ἀλεξανδρόπολις (L) — no. 652
Ἀλίαρτος, ὁ; *Ἁρίαρτος, ὁ* — *Ἀλιάρτιος* (L); *Ἀριάρτιος*; *Ἀλιάρτιος* (L) no. 206
Ἁλιεῖς, οἱ; *Ἁλία, ἡ*; *Ἁλική* (L) — *Ἁλιεύς*; *Ἁλικός* no. 349
Ἁλικαρνασσός, ἡ; *Ἁλικαρνησσός* — *Ἁλικαρνασσεύς*; *Ἁλικαρνησσεύς*; *Ἁλικαρνάσσιος* no. 886

Ἁλίκυρνα, ἡ (L); *Ἁλίκαρνα* (?) — no. 146
Ἄλινδα, τά — *Ἀλινδεύς* no. 871
Ἄλιον (L) — no. 246
Ἁλίσαρνα, ἡ — no. 810
Ἁλίφειρα, ἡ (L); *Ἁλίφηρα* (L) — *Ἁλιφειρεύς* (L); *Ἁλιφηρεύς* (L) no. 266
Ἀλλάντειον, τό; *Ἀταλάντη, ἡ*; *Ἀλ(λ)άντη* (L) — (-)*νταῖος*; *Ἀλλανταῖος* (L) no. 531
Ἀλλαρία, ἡ — *Ἀλλαριώτας*; *Ἀλλαριάτης* (L) no. 944
Ἀλοντίον, τό (L) — *Ἀλοντῖνος* no. 12
Ἀλόπη, ἡ — *Ἀλοπαῖος* (L) no. 378
Ἄλος; *Ἅλος, ὁ/ἡ* — *Ἁλεύς*; *Ἀλούσιος*; *Ἅλιος* (L) no. 435
Ἄλπα (L); *Ἀλόπη* (L) — *Ἀλπαῖος* no. 157
Ἀλπηνός, ἡ; *Ἀλπηνοί, οἱ*; *Ἀλπωνός* — *Ἀλπώνιος* (L) no. 379
Ἀλύζεα, ἡ; *Ἀλύζια*; *Ἀλύζεια*; *Λύζεια* — *Ἀλυζαῖος*; *Ἀλυζῆος*; *Ἀλυζεύς* (L) no. 112
Ἀλωπεκόννησος, ἡ — *Ἀλωπεκοννήσιος*; *Ἀλωποκοννήσιος*; *Ἀλαποκονήσιος* (L) no. 659
Ἄλωρος, ἡ — *Ἀλωρίτης* (L) no. 532
Ἀμαθοῦς, ἡ — *Ἀμαθούσιος* no. 1012
Ἀμαντία, ἡ; *Ἀβαντία* (L) — *Ἀμαντιεύς* no. 86
Ἀμαξιτός, ἡ; h[αμαχ]σιτός — *Ἀμαξιτεύς*; *Ἀμαξιτηνός* (L) no. 778
Ἄμβρυσ(σ)ός, ἡ (L); *Ἄμβροσσος* (L); *Ἄμφρυσος* (L) — *Ἀμβρυσσεύς* (L); *Ἀμφρύσιος* (L); *Ἀμβρόσσιος* (L); *Ἀμβροσσεύς* (L); *Ἀμβρωσσεύς* (L); *Ἀμβρύσ(σ)ιος* (L) no. 171
Ἀμισός, ὁ/ἡ — *Ἀμισηνός* no. 712
Ἄμ(μ)ος, ἡ (L) — *Ἄμιος* no. 872
Ἀμπρακία, ἡ; *Ἀμβρακία, ἡ*; *Ἀνπρακία, ἡ* — *Ἀμπρακιώτας*; *Ἀμβρακιώτης*; *Ἀμβρακιάτ[ης]* (L); *Ἀμβρακῖνος* no. 113
Ἀμύζονα, τά; *Μύδων*; *Ἀμυζών, ἡ* (L) — *Μυδονεύς*; *Ἀμυζονεύς* no. 874
— *Ἀμυνανδεύς* no. 873
Ἄμυρος, ἡ; *Ἀμυρική, ἡ* — *Ἀμυρεύς*; *Ἀμύριος* (?) no. 445
Ἀμφαναία, ἡ; *Ἀμφαναί, αἱ*; *Ἀμφαναῖον, τό* — [*Ἀμ*]*φάνιος* (L); *Ἀμφαναιεύς* (L) no. 393
Ἀμφιδολία, ἡ (L) — *Ἀμφίδολος* no. 247
Ἀμφίκαια, ἡ/τά; *Ἀμφίκλεια* (L) — *Ἀμφικλειεύς* (L) no. 172
Ἀμφίπολις, ἡ — *Ἀμφιπολίτης* no. 553
Ἀμφισσα, ἡ; *Ἀνφισσα* (L) — *Ἀμφισσεύς*; *Ἀνφισσεύς* (L) no. 158
Ἄναια, τά; *Ἀναία, ἡ* (L) — *Ἀναιΐτης* no. 838
— *Ἀναίτο*[*ς*] no. 248
Ἀνακτόριον, τό — *Ἀνακτοριεύς*; *Ϝανακτοριεύς*; *Ἀνακτόριος* no. 114
Ἀνάφη, ἡ (L) — *Ἀναφαῖος*; *Ἀναφαιεύς* no. 474
Ἄνδρος, ἡ — *Ἄνδριος* no. 475
Ἀνθεμοῦς, ὁ/ἡ — *Ἀνθεμούντιος* (L); *Ἀνθεμούσιος* (L) no. 562
Ἀνθηδών, ἡ — *Ἀνθηδόνιος* (L); *Ἀνθάδονιος* (L) no. 200
Ἀνθήλη, ἡ — no. 427
Ἀνθήνη, ἡ; *Ἀνθάνα* (L) — no. 324
Ἄνταν̣δρος, ἡ — *Ἀντάνδριος* no. 767
Ἀντίκυρα, ἡ — *Ἀντικυρεύς* (L) no. 173
Ἀντικύρη, ἡ — *Ἀντικυρεύς*; *Ἀντικυρίτας* no. 428
Ἄντισσα, ἡ — *Ἀντισσαῖος* no. 794
Ἀντρών, ὁ/ἡ; *Ἀντρῶνες* — no. 433
Ἀνώπολις (L) — *Ἀνωπολίτης* (L) no. 945
Ἄξος (L); *Ϝάξος* (L); *Ὄαξος, ἡ* — *Ϝάξιος*; *Ἄξιος*; *Ὀάξιος* (L) no. 950
Ἀπελλωνία, ἡ (L); *Ἀπολλωνία, ἡ* (L) — *Ἀπελλωνάτας* (L); *Ἀπολλωνιάτας* (L) no. 946
Ἀπολλωνία, ἡ (L) — *Ἀπολλωνιάτης* (L) no. 13
Ἀπολλωνία, ἡ — *Ἀπολλωνιάτης* no. 77
Ἀπολλωνία — *Ἀπολλωνιάτης* no. 545
Ἀπολλωνία, ἡ — no. 627
Ἀπολλωνία, ἡ — *Ἀπολλωνιάτης* no. 682
Ἄπρος, ἡ — no. 653
Ἅπταρα, ἡ (L); *Ἅπτερα, ἡ* (L) — *Ἀπταραῖος*; *Ἀπτεραῖος* no. 947
Ἄραπλος — no. 660
Ἀργεθία, ἡ (L) — *Ἀργεθιεύς* no. 470
Ἄργιλος, ἡ — *Ἀργίλιος*; *Ἀρκί(λιος)* no. 554
Ἄργισσα, ἡ; *Ἄργουσσα* — *Ἀργούσσιος* (L) no. 394
Ἄργος, τό — *Ἀργεῖος*; *Ἀργεῖος ὁ Ἀμφίλοχος* no. 115
Ἄργος, τό — *Ἀργεῖος* no. 347
Ἀρεθούσα, ἡ — *Ἀρεθούσιος*; *Ἐρεθούσιος* (L?) no. 546
Ἀρίσβα, ἡ; *Ἀρίσβη* (L) — no. 795
Ἀρίσβη, ἡ; *Ἀρίσβα* — *Ἀρισβαῖος* no. 768
Ἀρκάδες, οἱ (L) — *Ἀρκάς* no. 948
Ἀρκέσ(σ)εια, ἡ — *Ἀρκασ(ϵ)ιεύς* (L) no. 486
Ἀρκεσίνη, ἡ/ὁ (L) — *Ἀρκεσινεύς* no. 472
Ἀρλισσός — *Ἀρλισσεύς* no. 875
— *Ἀρμελίτης* no. 876
Ἀρπάγιον — *Ἀρπάγιος*; *Ἀρπαγιανός* no. 742
Ἀρταίου τεῖχος, τό — *Ἀρταιοτειχίτης* (L) no. 735
Ἀρτάκη, ἡ — *Ἀρτακηνός*; *Ἀρτακεύς* no. 736
Ἀρτιχία, ἡ — no. 87
Ἄσέα, ἡ; *Ἀσεός* (L) — *Ἀσεάτης* no. 267
Ἀσίνη, ἡ — *Ἀσιναῖος* no. 313

Ἄσπενδος, ἡ — Ἀσπένδιος no. 1001
Ἄσσα; Ἄσσηρα, τά — Ἀσσερίτης; Ἀσσερίτης no. 564
Ἄσσος, ἡ — Ἄσσιος; Ἔσσιος; Ἔσσιος; Ἤσσιος; Ἄσσοος no. 769
Ἀστακός, ἡ; Ἀστακοί — Ἀστακός (L); *Ἀστακηνός* (L) no. 116
Ἀστακός, ἡ; Ὄστακος, ἡ — Ἀστακηνός no. 737
— Ἀστραιούσιος no. 1030
Ἀστυπάλαια, ἡ — Ἀστυπαλαιεύς no. 476
Ἀστυπάλαια, ἡ (L) — no. 498
Ἄστυρα Μύσια, τά — Ἀστυρηνὸς Μύσος no. 770
Ἄστυρα Τροϊκά, τά — no. 771
Ἄσχεον, τό; Ἄσχειον (L) — *Ἀσχειεύς; Ἀσχεύς* (L) no. 232
Ἀταρνεύς, ὁ — Ἀταρν(ε)ίτης no. 803
Ἄτραξ; Ἄδρακος; Ἀτρακία — Ἀτράγιος no. 395
Αὐλαί, αἱ (L) — *Αὐλιάτης; Αὐλιήτης; Αὐλεάτης* no. 877
Αὐλών, ὁ — Αὐλωνίτης no. 314
Αὐλών (L); *ϜΑλόν —* no. 949
Αὐτοκάνη, ἡ — Αὐτοκανα(ῖος) no. 804
Ἀφροδισία, ἡ; Ἀφροδιτία (L); *Ἀφροδισιάς* (L) — no. 325
Ἀφροδίσιος; Ἀφροδισιάς, ἡ (L) — no. 1005
Ἄφυτις, ἡ; Ἀφύτη (L); *Ἄφυτος — Ἀφυταῖος* no. 563
Ἀχιλλεῖον, τό — no. 836
Ἀχιλλήιον, τό — no. 766

Βάργασα (L) — *Παργασεύς; Βαργασηνός* (L) no. 878
Βαργύλια, τά (L) — *Βαργυλιώτης* (L); *Βαργυλιεύς; Βαργυλιήτης* no. 879
Βάρκη, ἡ; Βάρκαια (L) — *Βαρκαῖος; Βαρκαιεύς* (L) no. 1025
Βατίαι, αἱ; Βιτία, ἡ — no. 88
Βελβίνα, ἡ (L); *Βελεμίνα* (L) — no. 326
Βέλβινα, ἡ — Βελβινίτης; Βελβινείτης (L) no. 359
Βέργα, ἡ; Βέργη, ἡ; Βέργιον (L) — *Βεργαῖος* no. 628
Βεργέπολις, ἡ — no. 642
Βέροια, ἡ; Βέρροια (L) — *Βεροιαῖος; Βεροιεύς* (L); *Βεροιᾶος* (L); *Βερωαῖος* (L) no. 533
Βέρυτις (L); *Βήριθος* (L) — *Βερύ[σιος]; Βιρύ(σιος)* no. 773
Βεχειριάς — no. 713
Βίεννος (L) — *Βιάννιος* no. 951
Βιζώνη, ἡ (L) — *Βιζωνίτης* (L) no. 683
Βισάνθη, ἡ — Βισανθηνός (L) no. 673
Βίωννος — no. 952
Βοΐα, ἡ; Βοιαί, αἱ (L) — *Βοιάτης* (L) no. 327
Βοιόν, τό — Βοιαῖος no. 390
Βόλβαι (L) — *Βολβαιεύς* no. 880
Βορμισκός; Βρομισκός — no. 547
Βορυσ(σ)θένης — Βορυσθεν(ε)ίτης no. 690
Βόσπορος, ὁ — Βοσπορίτης no. 705
Βούθεια, ἡ; Βουθία — Βουθειεύς no. 839
Βουθρωτός; Βουθρωτόν (L) — *Βουθρώτιος* (L) no. 91
Βοῦλις, ἡ (L) — *Βούλιος* (L) no. 174
Βοῦρα, ἡ — Βούριος (L); *Βουραῖος* (L); *Βουρεύς* (L) no. 233
Βούχετα, τά; Βουχέτιον, τό; Βουχέτον, τό (L) — *Βουχέτιος* (L) no. 90
Βρέα, ἡ — Βρεαῖος no. 624
Βρεντέσιον, τό; Βρεντήσιον — Βρενδεσῖνος; Βρεντέσιος; Βρεντέσινος no. 78
Βρικίνδηρα, τά (L) — *Βρικινδάριος* no. 993
Βρυκοῦς (L) — *Βρυκόντιος; Βρυκούντιος* (L) no. 487
Βρύλλειον — Βρυλλεανός no. 752
Βυζάντιον, τό — Βυζάντιος no. 674
Βύλλις, ἡ (L); *Βουλλίς* (L) — *Βυλλίων; Βουλινός* no. 92
Βύσβικος — Βυσβικενός no. 738

Γαλερία, ἡ (L); *Γαλαρία* (L) — *Γαλαρῖνος* no. 16
Γαληψός — Γαλαῖος; Γαλήψιος (?) no. 571
Γαληψός, ἡ — Γαλήψιος no. 631
Γάμβριον, τό — Γαμ(βρειώτης) no. 808
Γάργαρος, ἡ; Γάργαρα, τά — Γαργαρεύς no. 775
Γέλα; Γέλη, ἡ — Γελόαιος; Γελῶιος; Γελεαῖος (?) no. 17
Γεντῖνος (L) — *Γεντίνιος* no. 776
Γέργις, ἡ; Γέργιθος (L); *Γεργιθία* (L) — *Γεργίθιος; Γέργις Τευκρός; Γεργιθιεύς* (L) no. 777
Γέρονθραι, αἱ (L); *Γεράνθραι* (L); *Γερένθραι* (L) — *Γερονθρήτης* (L); *Γερονθράτης* (L); *Γερανθράτης* (L) no. 332
Γίγωνος; Γιγωνίς, ἡ (L) — no. 572
Γίτανα (L) — no. 98
Γόννος, ἡ; Γόννοι (L) — *Γοννεύς* no. 463
Γόνφοι, οἱ; Γόμφοι (L) — *Γομφεύς; Γομφίτης* no. 396
Γοργιππ(ε)ία (L) — *Γοργιππεύς* (L) no. 696
Γόρτυνς; Γόρτυς; Γόρτυνα — Γορτύνιος no. 960
Γόρτυς, ἡ; Κόρτυς, ἡ (L); *Γόρτυνα, ἡ* (L) — *Κορτύνιος; Κορτυνεύς* (L) no. 271
Γρύνεια, ἡ; Γρύνειον, τό; Γρύνιον (L); *Γρύνεια, τά* (L) — *Γρυνειεύς; Γρυνεύς; Γυρνεύς* (L) no. 809
Γυηνός — no. 710
Γύθειον, τό; Γύθιον (L); *Γύθυον* (L) — *Γυθε(ι)άτης* (L) no. 333

Γυρτώνη; *Γυρτών, ἡ* — *Γυρτώνιος*; *Κυρτώνιος* no. 397

Δαμινὸν Τεῖχος; *Δαύνιον Τεῖχος* (L) — *Δαμνιοτειχίτης*; *Δαυνι[οτε]ιχίτης* no. 675
Δάρδανος, ἡ — *Δαρδανεύς* no. 774
Δαρεῖον; *Δαρίειον* — no. 739
Δασκύλειον — *Δασκυλειανός* no. 740
Δάτος, ὁ/ἡ; *Δάτον, τό* — *Δατηνός* (L) no. 629
Δαυλίς, ἡ; *Δαυλία, ἡ* — *Δαυλιεύς* (L); *Δαύλιος* no. 176
Δελφοί, οἱ; *Δαλφοί, οἱ* — *Δελφός* no. 177
Δέρις — [*Δεραῖος*] no. 662
Δῆλος, ἡ — *Δήλιος* no. 478
Δημήτριον, τό — no. 442
Δήριον, τό — *Δηριεύς* (L) no. 117
Δητ[άλ(λ)α]; *Δάττ[άλλα]* (L) — *Δαταλής* no. 954
— *Διακρεύς ἀπὸ Χαλκιδέον* no. 367
Διάκρια (L) — *Διάκριος*; *Διακρεύς* no. 366
— *Διάκριος* no. 994
— *Διδυμοτειχίτης* no. 741
Δίκαια — *Δικαιοπολίτης* no. 568
Δίκαια, ἡ; *Δικαιόπολις, ἡ* — no. 643
Δῖον, τό — *Διεύς* no. 368
Δῖον, τό; *Δεῖον* (L) — *Διέστης* (L); *Διάστης* (L); *Δεῖος* (L) no. 534
Δῖον, τό — *Διεύς* no. 569
Διονυσόπολις, ἡ (L) — *Διονυσοπολίτης* (L) no. 684
Διὸς Ἱερὸν, τό — *Διοσιρίτης*; *Διοσερίτης* no. 842
Διοσκουρίς; *Διοσκουριάς* (L) — *Διοσκου(-)* (L) no. 709
Διπαιεῖς; *Δίπαια, ἡ* — *Διπαεύς*; *Διπαιεύς* (L) no. 268
Δολίχη, ἡ (L) — *Δολιχαῖος* (L) no. 461
Δράγμος (L) — *Δράγμιος* (L) no. 955
Δρῆρος (L) — *Δρήριος* no. 956
Δρυμός, ὁ — *Δρύμιος* (L); *Δρυμαῖος* (L) no. 178
Δρῦς, ἡ — *Δρυίτης* no. 644
Δύμη, ἡ; *Δύμα* (L); *Δύμαι* (L); *Δυμαῖαι* (L) — *Δυμαῖος* no. 234
Δυρράχιον (L) — *Δυρ(ρ)άχινος* no. 79
Δυσπόντιον, τό (L) — *Δυσπόντιος* (L); *Δυσποντεύς* (L) no. 250
Δύστος, ὁ — no. 369
Δωδώνη, ἡ — *Δωδωναῖος* no. 93

Ἔγγυον, τό (L) — *Ἐγγυῖνος* (L) no. 14
Ἔδεσσα, ἡ — *Ἐδεσσαῖος* (L); *Ἐδεσσῆος* (L); *Ἐδεσσηνός* (L) no. 535
— *Ἐϝαοίος* no. 253
Ἐλαία, ἡ; *Ἐλαιέα, ἡ* — *Ἐλαΐτης*; *Ἐλαίτης* no. 807
— *Ἐλαιόσιος* no. 843
Ἐλαιοῦς, ἡ; *Ἐλεοῦς* (L) — *Ἐλαιούσιος* no. 663
Ἐλάτεια, ἡ; *Ἐλάτρεια*; *Ἐλάτρια* (L) — no. 94
Ἐλάτεια, ἡ; *Ἐλάτη* (L); *Ϝελατίη* (L) — *Ἐλατ(ει)εύς* no. 180
Ἐλέα, ἡ — *Ἐλεαῖος*; *Ἐλεάτας* no. 95
Ἐλευθέρνα, ἡ (L); *Ἐλευθέννα, ἡ* (L); *Ἐλουθέρνα* (L); *Ἐλευθέρναι, αἱ* — *Ἐλευθερναῖος*; *Ἐλευθενναῖος*; *Ἐλουθερναῖος* (L) no. 957
Ἐλευσίς — no. 362
Ἑλήνη, ἡ — no. 479
Ἑλίκη, ἡ; *Ἐλίκα*; *Ἑλίκεια* — *Ἑλικεύς* no. 235
Ἑλισ(σ)ών, ὁ; *Ἑλισ(σ)οῦς, ὁ*; *Ἑλισσοῦς* (L) — *Ἑλισϝάσιος*; *Ἑλισφάσιος* (L) no. 273
— *Ἐλτυνιεύς*; *Ἐλτυναιεύς* (L); *Ἐλτύνιος* (L) no. 958
Ἔλυρος; *Ἴλυρος* (L) — *Ἐλύριος*; *Ἰλύριος* no. 959
Ἕλωρον, τό; *Ἕλωρος* (L) — *Αἰλῶρος* (L); *Ἑλωρίτης* no. 18
Ἐμπόριον, τό — *Ἐμπορίτης*; *Ἐμπορείτης* no. 2
Ἔννα, ἡ (L) — *Ἑνναῖος*; *Ἐνναῖος* no. 19
Ἐπίδαμνος, ἡ — *Ἐπιδάμνιος* no. 79
Ἐπίδαυρος, ἡ — [*Ἐπιδ*]*αύριος* no. 329
Ἐπίδαυρος, ὁ/ἡ — *Ἐπιδαύριος* no. 348
Ἔπιον, τό; *Ἤπειον*; *Αἴπιον* (L) — no. 304
Ἐπιτάλιον, τό — *Ἐπιταλιεύς* no. 305
Ἑρβήσ(σ)ος, ὁ (L) — *Ἑρβησσῖνος* no. 22
Ἔρβιτα, ἡ — *Ἑρβιταῖος* no. 23
— *Ἐρεικινεύς* no. 462
Ἔρεσος, ἡ; *Ἐρεσ(σ)ός* — *Ἐρέσιος* no. 796
Ἐρέτρια, ἡ — *Ἐρετριεύς* no. 370
Ἐρινεός, ὁ/ἡ — *Ἐριναῖος* no. 391
— *Ἐρινεύς* no. 884
Ἑρμιών, ἡ; *Ἑρμιόνη, ἡ* — *Ἑρμιονεύς* no. 350
Ἑρμώνασσα — *Ἑρμωνασείτης* (L) no. 697
— *Ἐρόδιος* no. 1031
Ἐρύθραι, αἱ — *Ἐρυθραῖος* no. 203
Ἐρυθραί, αἱ — *Ἐρυθραῖος* no. 845
Ἔρωχος — *Ἐρωχός* no. 181
— *Ἐτεοκαρπάθιος* no. 488
Ἐτεωνός — no. 204
Εὔα, ἡ — *Εὔϝαος* (?); *Εὐίτης*; *Εὐάτης* (L); *Εὐαεύς* (L) no. 331
Εὐαίμων — *Εὐαίμνιος* no. 269
Εὔβοια, ἡ (L) — *Εὐβοεύς* no. 15
Εὐεσπερίδες, αἱ; *Ἑσπερίδες, αἱ*; *Ἑσπερίς* — *Εὐεσπερίτης*; *Ἑσπερίτης*; *Εὐσπερίτης* no. 1026
Εὐπάγιον (L) — no. 252

— *Εὐρεαῖος* no. 446
Εὔριπος, ὁ — *Εὐρίπιος* (L) no. 119
— *Εὐρυμαχίτης* no. 1032
Εὐρυμεναί, αἱ (L) — *Εὐρυμεναῖος* no. 97
Εὐρυμεναί, αἱ — *Εὐρυμεναῖος* no. 447
Εὔρωμος (L); *Εὔρωπος* (L) — *Ὑρομεύς*; *Κυρωμεύς*; *Εὐρωπεύς* no. 885
Εὐρωπός; *Ὠρωπός* (L) — *Εὐρωπαῖος*; *Εὐρόπιος* (L) no. 536
Εὐταία, ἡ — no. 270
Εὔτρεσις, ἡ — *Εὐτρειτιδιεύς* (L) no. 205
Ἔφεσος, ἡ — *Ἐφέσιος* no. 844
Ἐφύρη, ἡ; *Ἐφύρα, ἡ* (L); *Κίχυρος* (L) — *Ἔφυρος* no. 96
Ἐχεδάμεια, ἡ (L); *Ἐχεδαμιεύς* (L) no. 179
Ἐχίνεος, ὁ — *Ἐχιναῖος* no. 118
Ἐχινοῦς, ὁ; *Ἐχῖνος*; *Ἐχινέος* (L) — *Ἐχιναῖος* no. 429

Ζάγκλη, ἡ; *Δάνκλε* — *Δανκλαῖος*; *Ζαγκλαῖος* no. 51
Ζάκυνθος, ἡ — *Ζακύνθιος* no. 141
Ζέλεια — *Ζελείτης* no. 764
Ζερεία — *Ζηράνιος* (?) no. 622
Ζμαράθα, ἡ — no. 111
Ζόνε, ἡ; *Ζώνη* — *Ζωναῖος* no. 651

Ἰιών — no. 570
Ἰιών, ἡ — no. 630
Ἴλις, ἡ; *Ϝâλις*; *Ἅλις* — *Ϝαλεῖος*; *Ἰλεῖος*; *Ἁλεῖος* no. 251
Ἱραία, ἡ; *Ἑρ[αί]α* — *Ἱρα(ι)εύς*; *Ἐραεύς* no. 274
Ἵραιον, τό; *Ἱραῖον τεῖχος* — *Ἱραιίτης* (L); *Ἱραίτης* (L); *Ἱραείτης* (L) no. 676
Ἱράκλεια, ἡ (L) — *Ἱρακλεώτης* (L) no. 20
Ἱράκλεια, ἡ; *Ἱρακλέα*; *Ἱράκλειον* — *Ἱράκλειος*; *Ἱράκληιος*; *Ἱρακλεώτης* (L) no. 52
Ἱρακλεία, ἡ — *Ἱρακλειόται* no. 80
Ἱράκλεια (L); *Ἑράκλεα, ἡ* — *Ἱρακλεώτης*(?) no. 120
Ἱράκλεια, ἡ — *Ἱρακλε(ι)ώτης* no. 430
Ἱράκλεια (L) — *Ἱρακλεώτης* no. 549
Ἱράκλεια, ἡ — *Ἱρακλε(ι)ώτης* no. 715
Ἱράκλεια (L) — *Ἱρακλεώτης* no. 811
Ἱράκλεια, ἡ — *Ἱρακλεώτης* no. 910
Ἱρακλείη, ἡ; *Ἱράκλεια, ἡ* (L) no. 21
Ἱράκλειον, τό; *Ἑράκλειον*; *Ἱράκλεια, ἡ* — *Ἱρακλειώτης* (L) no. 537
Ἱράκλειον, τό (L) — *Ἱρακλειώτας* (L) no. 961
Ἰσσός (L) — <*Ϝ*>*σσιος* no. 162
Ἴτις (L) — *Ἰτεῖος* (L) no. 330
Ἡφαιστία, ἡ — *Ἡφαιστιεύς* no. 503

Θαλάμαι, αἱ — *Θαλαμάτης* (L) no. 321
Θαλιάδες — *Θαλι(-)* no. 299
— *Θασθαρεύς* no. 939
Θάσος, ἡ — *Θάσιος* no. 526
Θαυμακοί (L); *Θαυμακία* (L) — *Θαυμακός* (L) no. 443
Θέλφουσα; *Θελ[φ]ούσσα* (L); *Τέλφουσα* (L); *Θέλπουσα* (L); *Θαλποῦσα* (L) — *Θελφούσιος*; *Θελφοίσιος*; *Θελπούσσιος*; *Τελφούσιος*; *Θελπούσιος* (L) no. 300
Θεμισκύρα, ἡ; *Θεμισκύρη* — no. 732
Θεράμβως; *Θραμβηῖς* — *Στραμβαῖος*; *Θραμβαῖος* no. 616
— *Θερμαῖος* no. 481
Θέρμη, ἡ — no. 552
Θερμινέα, ἡ — no. 155
Θεσπιαί, αἱ; *Θέσπεια* — *Θεσπιεύς* no. 222
Θέστωρος — no. 617
Θευδοσία — *Θευδοσιεύς*; *Θεοδεο(-)*; *Θεοδεω(-)* no. 707
Θῆβαι, αἱ; *Θήβη*; *Θήβα* — *Θηβαῖος*; *Θειβῆος* no. 221
Θῆβαι, αἱ — *Θηβαῖος* (L) no. 444
Θῆβαι, αἱ — *Θηβαῖος* no. 869
Θήβη, ἡ; *Θῆβαι, αἱ* — no. 834
Θήρα, ἡ; *Θήρη* — *Θηραῖος* no. 527
Θητώνιον, τό — *Θετόνιος* no. 416
Θίσβη, ἡ; *Θίσβαι, αἱ* — *Θισβεύς* (L) no. 223
Θισόα, ἡ (L); *Θεισόα* (L) — *Θισοαῖος* no. 301
Θουρία, ἡ; *Θευρία, ἡ* (L); *Θούριον* (L) — *Θουριάτης*; *Θουριεύς* (L) no. 322
Θούριοι, οἱ; *Θουρία* (?); *Θούριον* (L) — *Θούριος* no. 74
Θραῖστος (L); *Θραῦστος* — *Θραίστιος* no. 264
Θρόνιον, τό — *Θρονιεύς*; [*Θρ*]*όνιος* (?) no. 388
— *Θυδ*[*όνιος*] no. 940
Θυρέα, ἡ — no. 346
Θύρρειον, τό; *Θυριον* — *Θυριεύς*; *Θούριος*; *Θύρρειος* (L); *Θυρρεύς* (L); *Θυρρειεύς* no. 139
Θυσσός, ἡ — *Θύσσιος* no. 618

Ἰάλυσος; *Ἰήλυσ(σ)ος, ἡ*; — *Ἰηλύσιος*; *Ἰελύσιος*; *Ἰαλύσιος* no. 995
Ἰασονία — no. 716
Ἴασος, ἡ — *Ἰασεύς* no. 891
Ἰδάλιον (L); *Ἐδάλιον* — *Ἐδάλιος* no. 1013
Ἴδη — no. 664
Ἰδριάς (L) — *Ἐδριεύς* no. 892
Ἴδυμα, τά — *Ἰδυμεύς*; *Ἰδιμεύς*; *Ἰδύμιος* no. 893

Ἴδυρος; *Ἰτύρα*; *Ἰδυρίς* (L) — no. 1002
Ἱεράπυτνα, ἡ (L) — *Ἱεραπύτνιος* (L) no. 962
Ἰθάκη, ἡ — *Ἴθακος*; *Ἰθακήσιος* no. 122
Ἰθώμη, ἡ — *Ἰθωμ(αῖος)* no. 318
Ἴκος, ἡ (L) — *Ἴκιος* no. 482
Ἴλιον, τό — *Ἰλιεύς* no. 779
— *Ἰμαχαραῖος* no. 26
Ἴμβρος, ἡ — *Ἴμβριος* no. 483
Ἱμέρη, ἡ; *Ἱμέρα* — *Ἱμεραῖος* no. 24
Ἰόλλα — *Ἰολλεύς* no. 812
Ἴος, ἡ — *Ἰήτης* no. 484
Ἰουλίς, ἡ — *Ἰουλιήτης* no. 491
Ἱππάνα, ἡ (L); *Σιττάνα, ἡ* (L) — *Ἱππανάτας* no. 25
Ἱππώνιον; *Εἰπώνιον, τό*; *Ἱππώνειον* (L) — *Ϝειπονιεύς*; *Εἰπωνιεύς*; *Ἱππωνιεύς*; *Ἰππωνιάτης* (L); *Ἱππωνείτης* (L) no. 53
Ἴσινδα (L); *Ἴσινδος* (L) — *Ἰσίνδιος* no. 846
Ἴσσα, ἡ — *Ἴσσαιος* no. 81
Ἰσσοί; *Ἴσσος, ὁ/ἡ* (L) — *Ἰσσεύς* no. 1007
Ἴστασος — no. 574
Ἱστίαια, ἡ; *Ἑστίαια, ἡ* — *Ἱστιαιεύς*; *Ἑστιαιεύς* no. 372
Ἴστρος; *Ἰστρίη* — *Ἰστριηνός*; *Ἰστριανός* no. 685
Ἴστρων (L) — *Ἰστρώνιος* (L) no. 964
Ἴτανος, ἡ — *Ἰτάνιος* no. 965
Ἴχναι, αἱ; *Ἄχναι* (L) — *Ἰχναῖος*; *Ἰχνᾶος* no. 538
Ἰωλκός; *Ἰαολκός, ὁ/ἡ*; *Ἰαωλκός* — *Ἰωλκεύς*; *Ἰώλκιος* (L) no. 449

Καβύλη, ἡ; *Καλύβη* (L); *Βαβύλη* (L) *Καβυληνός* (L) no. 654
Καλαυρέα; *Καλαυρεία*; *Καλαυρία* — *Καλαυρεάτας* no. 360
Καλίνδοια, ἡ; *Ἀλίνδοια* (L) — no. 575
Κάλλατις, ἡ; *Κάλατις* (L); *Καλλατία* (L) — *Καλλατιανός*; *Καλλαντιανός* (L) no. 686
Καλλίπολις (L) — *Καλλιπολίτης* no. 27
Καλλίπολις (L); *Κάλλιον* — *Καλλιπολίτας* (L); *Καλλιεύς* (L) no. 147
Καλλίπολις — *Κ*[*αλλιπολίτης*] (?) no. 744
Καλυδών, ἡ — *Καλυδώνιος* no. 148
Κάλυμνα, ἡ; *Καλύδνα, ἡ* — *Καλύδνιος*; *Καλύμνιος* no. 485
Κάλυνδα, τά (L) — *Κλαυνδεύς*; *Καλυνδεύς* no. 894
Καλχηδών, ἡ; *Καλχαδών*; *Χαλκηδών* — *Καλχηδόνιος*; *Καλχαδόνιος*; *Χαλκηδόνιος*; *Χαλχηδόνιος* no. 743
Καμακαί; [*Κ*]*εμακαί* — no. 576
Καμάρινα, ἡ — *Καμαριναῖος* no. 28
Καμ(ε)ιρος, ὁ/ἡ — *Καμιρεύς*; *Καμερεύς*; *Καμειρεύς* (L) no. 996
Κάμψα; *Κάψα* (L) — *Κα*(-) no. 577
Κάραμβις — no. 717
— *Καρβασυανδεύς*; *Καρπασυανδεύς* no. 895
Καρδαμύλη, ἡ — *Καρδαμυλίτης* (L); *Σκαρδαμυλίτης* (L) no. 315
Καρδία, ἡ — *Καρδιανός* no. 665
Καρήνη, ἡ — *Καρηναῖος* no. 813
Κάρθαια, ἡ — *Καρθαιεύς*; *Καρθαεύς* no. 492
Καρκινῖτις; *Κερκινῖτις* — *Κερκινίτης* (L) no. 698
Κάρουσσα — no. 718
Κάρπαθος — *Καρπάθιος* no. 489
Καρπασία, ἡ; *Καρπάσεια*; *Κραπάσεια* (L) — *Καρπασεύς* no. 1014
Καρύανδα, τά — *Καρυανδεύς* no. 896
Κάρυστος, ἡ — *Καρύστιος* no. 373
Κασθαναίη, ἡ; *Κασθαναία* (L); *Κασθανέα* (L); *Κασταναία* (L) — *Κασσαναεύς* no. 450
Κασμένη, ἡ; *Κασμέναι* — no. 29
Κάσος, ἡ — *Κάσιος* no. 490
Κασσώπα; *Κασσώπη, ἡ* (L); *Κασσωπία* (L) — *Κασσωπός*; *Κασσωπαῖος* no. 100
Κασωλάβα — *Κασωλαβεύς* no. 897
Κατάνη, ἡ; *Κατάνα* — *Καταναῖος* no. 30
Καυλωνία, ἡ; *Αὐλωνία* — *Καυλωνιάτας*; *Αὐλ*(*ωνιάτας*) no. 55
Καῦνος, ἡ — *Καύνιος* no. 898
— *Καφελεύς* no. 421
Καφυαί, αἱ; *Καφύαι, αἱ* — *Καφυ*(*ι*)*εύς* no. 275
Κεβρήν; *Κεβρήνη* (L); *Κεβρηνία* (L) — *Κεβρήνιος*; *Κεβρένιος*; *Κεβρενε*(*ύς*); *Κεβρηνός* (L); *Κεβρηνεύς* (L) no. 780
Κεδρε(*ι*)*αί, αἱ* — *Κεδριάτης*; *Κεδριήτης*; *Κεδρεάτας* no. 899
Κελένδερις — *Κελεν*(-) no. 1008
Κεντόριπα, τά; *Κεντούριπαι, αἱ* (L) — *Κεντόριψ*; *Κεντοριπῖνος* no. 31
Κεραία (L) — *Κεραΐτας*; *Κεραιίτης* (L); *Κερέτης* (L) no. 966
Κέραμος, ἡ (L) — *Κεραμεύς*; *Κεράμιος* no. 900
Κερασοῦς — *Κερασούντιος* no. 719
Κερία, ἡ — *Κεραῖτας* no. 495
Κερύνεια, ἡ (L); *Καρύνεια, ἡ* (L) — *Καρυν*(*ν*)*εύς* (L) no. 236
Κερύνεια, ἡ — *Κερυνίτης* (L); [*Κερυ*]*νήτης* no. 1015
Κεφαλοίδιον, τό; *Κεφαλοιδίς*; *Κεφαλωίδης* (L) — *Κεφαλοιδίτας*; *Κεφαλοίδιος* (L) no. 32

Κῆποι — *Κηπίτης* no. 699
Κιέριον, τό; *Κίερος* (L); *Κιάριον* (L) — *Κιερεύς*; *Κιάριος* (L) no. 398
Κίθας — no. 579
Κικύνηθος — no. 451
Κίλλα, ἡ — no. 814
— *Κιλλαρεύς*; *Κιλδαρεύς* no. 901
Κιμμερικόν (L) — no. 700
Κίμωλος, ἡ — *Κιμώλιος* no. 496
Κίνυψ, ἡ — no. 1027
Κίνωλις — no. 720
Κίος, ἡ — *Κιανός* no. 745
Κίρρα, ἡ; *Κύρρα* (L); *Κιρραῖος* no. 183
Κισθήνη, ἡ — no. 815
Κισσός, ἡ (L) — *Κισσείτης* no. 578
Κλαζομεναί, αἱ — *Κλαζομένιος* no. 847
Κλείτωρ, ἡ; *Κλήτωρ* — *Κλειτόριος*; *Κλητόριος*; *Κλετό(ριος)* no. 276
Κλεωναί, αἱ — *Κλεωναῖος* no. 351
Κλεωναί, αἱ — no. 580
Κνῆμις; *Κνημῖδες* (L) — no. 381
Κνίδος, ἡ — *Κνίδιος* no. 903
Κνωσός, ἡ — *Κνώσιος* no. 967
— *Κοδαπεύς* no. 904
Κοίλα — no. 277
— *Κοκυλίτης* no. 781
Κολίοργα (L); *Κολίεργα* (L) — *Κολιυργεύς* no. 905
Κόλουσσα — no. 721
Κολοφών, ὁ/ἡ — *Κολοφώνιος*; *ϙολοφόνιος*; *Κολοφωνίτης* no. 848
Κολωναί, αἱ — [*Κολο*]*νεύς* no. 746
Κολωναί, αἱ — *Κολωναεύς* no. 782
— *Κονδαιεύς* no. 399
Κορακαί — *Κοροκαῖος*; *Κροκαῖος* no. 452
Κορησσία, ἡ; *Κορησία* — *Κορήσιος* no. 493
Κόρινθος, ἡ; *ϙόρινθος* — *Κορίνθιος*; *ϙορίνθιος* no. 227
Κόρκυρα, ἡ; *Κέρκυρα, ἡ*; *Κορκού*[*ρα*] — *Κορκυραῖος*; *Κερκυραῖος*; *ϙορϙυραῖος* no. 123
Κόροντα, τά; *Κορόνται, αἱ* — *Κορονταῖος* (L) no. 124
— *Κοροφαῖος* no. 422
Κορσιαί, αἱ; *Χορσιαί* (L) — *Χορσιεύς* (L) no. 202
Κορώνεια, ἡ — *Κορωναῖος*; *Κορωνεύς* no. 210
Κορώνη, ἡ (L); *Κορωνεία* (L) — *Κορωναῖος* (L) no. 316
Κοσσαία, ἡ (L) — *Κοσσ*[*αῖος*] no. 625
Κοτύωρα — *Κοτυωρίτης* no. 722
Κούριον — *Κουριεύς* no. 1016
Κράνιοι; *Κράναια* (L) — *Κράνιος*; *Κράνειος* (L) no. 125
Κραννών, ἡ; *Κράννουν* (L); *Κράννους* (L) — *Κραν*(*ν*)*ούνιος*; *Κραννώνιος*; *Κρανώνιος* (L) no. 400
Κρενίδες, αἱ — *Κρηνίτης* (L) no. 632
Κρῆσσα — no. 666
Κριθώτη — *Κριθούσιος* no. 667
Κρότων, ἡ — *Κροτωνιάτης*; *ϝροτονιάτας*; *Κροτονιάτας*; *Κροτωνιήτης* no. 56
Κρύα, τά (L) — *Κρυεύς* no. 907
Κρῶμνα, ἡ — *Κρωμνίτης* no. 723
Κρῶμνος, ὁ; *Κρώμνα, ἡ*; *Κρῶμοι, οἱ* (L) — *Κρωμνίτης*(?) no. 334
Κτιμένη, ἡ (L); *Κτιμέ*[*ναι*] (L) — *Κτιμεναῖος* no. 419
Κυδωνία, ἡ — *Κυδωνιάτης* no. 968
Κύζικος, ἡ — *Κυζικηνός* no. 747
Κύθηρα, τά — *Κυθήριος* no. 336
Κύθνος, ἡ — *Κύθνιος* no. 501
Κύλλανδος — *Κυλλάνδιος*; *Κύλ*(*λ*)*αντιος* no. 908
Κυλλήνη, ἡ — *Κυλλήνιος* no. 254
Κυλλήνη, ἡ — no. 816
Κύμη, ἡ; *Κύμε*; *Κύμα* — *Κυμαῖος* no. 57
Κύμη, ἡ — *Κυμαῖος* no. 817
Κύναιθα, ἡ (L) — *Κυναιθεύς* no. 278
Κυνδύη — *Κινδυεύς* no. 902
Κῦνος, ἡ — *Κύνιος* (L) no. 382
Κύπαιρα (L); *Κύφαιρα, ἡ* (L) — *Κυφαρρεύς* no. 436
Κυπάρισσος, ἡ; *Κυπαρισσία, ἡ* (L); *Κυπαρισσιαί* (L) — *Κυπαρισσιεύς*; *Κυπαρισσεύς* (L) no. 317
Κυρβισσός — *Κυρβισσεύς* no. 909
Κυρήνη, ἡ; *Κυράνα* — *Κυρηναῖος*; *Κυραναῖος* no. 1028
Κύρρος, ἡ; *Κύρνος* (L); *Κύριος* (L) — *Κυρρέστης* (L); *Κυρραῖος* (L) no. 539
Κύστιρος — *Κυστίριος* no. 1033
Κύταια — no. 701
Κύταιον, τό (L) — *Κυ*(-) no. 969
Κυτίνιον, τό; *Κυτένιον, τό* — *Κυτινιεύς*; *Κυτενιεύς* no. 392
Κύτωρος, ὁ/ἡ; *Κύτωρις*; *Κύτωρον* — no. 724
Κύφαντα, τά (L); *Κύφας, ἡ* (L) — *Κυφαντασεύς* no. 335
Κύψελα, τά (L); *Κυψε*(-) no. 645
Κώμβρ(*ε*)*ια, ἡ* — *Κομβρεάτης* (L) no. 581
Κῶπαι, αἱ — *Κωπαιεύς*; *Κωπαῖος*; *Κωπῆος* no. 209
Κώρανζα, τά (L) — *Κοαρενζεύς*; *Κοαρρενδεύς*; *Κοαρανζεύς*; *Κωρανζεύς* no. 906
Κώρυκος, ὁ — *Κωρυκαῖος* no. 849
Κῶς, ἡ — *Κῷος* no. 497
Κῶς (*ἡ Μεροπίς*) — *Κῷος* no. 499

Λάβρυτα, τά (?) — no. 702
Λακεδαίμων, ἡ — *Λακεδαιμόνιος* no. 345

Λαμία, ἡ — *Λαμιεύς* no. 431
Λαμπώνιον, τό; *Λαμπώνεια, ἡ*; *Λαμπωνία* (L) — *Λαμπων(ι)εύς*; *Λαμπονειεύς* no. 783
Λάμψακος, ἡ — *Λαμψακηνός* no. 748
Λᾶος — *ΛαϜῖνος*; *Λαῖνος* no. 58
Λάπιθος (L); *Λήπηθις* — *Λαπίθιος* (L) no. 1017
Λάππα, ἡ (L) — *Λαππαῖος* no. 970
Λάρισα, ἡ; *Λήρισαι, αἱ* — *Ληρισαῖος*; *Λαρισαῖος* no. 818
Λάρισ(σ)α, ἡ — no. 255
Λάρισ(σ)α, ἡ — *Λαρισ(σ)αῖος*; *Ληρισαῖος*; *Λαρισαεύς* no. 401
Λάρισσα, ἡ — *Λαρισαῖος* no. 437
Λάρισ(σ)α, ἡ — *Λαρισαῖος* (L) no. 784
Λάρυμνα, ἡ — *Λαρυμναῖος* (L); *Λαρυμνεύς* (L) no. 383
Λᾶς, ὁ; *Λᾶ, ἡ* — *Λᾶος* (L) no. 337
Λασιῶν, ὁ — *Λασιώνιος* no. 256
Λάτμος, ἡ — *Λάτμιος* no. 910
Λατώ (L) — *Λάτιος* (L) no. 971
Λεβάδεια, ἡ — *Λεβαδεύς*; *Λεπαδεύς* no. 211
Λέβεδος, ἡ — *Λεβέδιος* no. 850
Λεβήνα (L) — *Λεβεναῖος*; *Λεβηναῖος* (L) no. 972
Λέδων, ἡ (L) — *Λεδόντιος* (L) no. 184
Λείβηθρα, τά; *Λείβηθρον* (L); *Λίβηθρα* (L) — *Λειβήθριος*; *Λιβήθριος* (L) no. 540
Λεοντῖνοι — *Λεοντῖνος* no. 33
Λεόντιον (L) — *Λεοντήσιος* (L) no. 237
Λέπρεον — *Λεπρεάτης*; *Λεπρεεύς* no. 306
Λέρος, ἡ — *Λέριος* no. 504
Λετρῖνοι, οἱ (L); *Λέτρινα, ἡ* (L) — *Λετρῖνος*; *Λεδρῖνος* no. 258
Λεῦκαι, αἱ; *Λεύκη, ἡ* (L) — *Λεοκάτης*; *Λεκαιεύς* (L) no. 819
Λευκάς, ἡ — *Λευκάδιος* no. 126
Λεύκοφρυς — no. 851
— *Λεχώιος* no. 1034
Λῆνος (L) — no. 257
Λήτη — *Ληταῖος* no. 550
Ληψίμανδος (L) — *Ληψιμάνιος*; *Ληψιμανδεύς*; *Ληψυανδεύς* no. 911
Λίλαια, ἡ; *Λίλαιον* (L) — *Λιλαιεύς* no. 185
Λιμναί, αἱ — *Λιμναῖος* no. 668
Λιμναία, ἡ — *Λιμναῖος* (L) no. 127
Λίμνη, ἡ — no. 725
Λίνδος, ἡ — *Λίνδιος* no. 997
Λίπαξος — no. 582
Λιπάρα, ἡ; *Λιπάραι* (L) — *Λιπαραῖος* no. 34
Λισός (L); *Λίσσα* — *Λίσιος* (L); *Λισσίτης* (? L) no. 973
Λίσσος, ὁ/ἡ (L) — *Λισσάτας* (L) no. 82
Λογγώνη (L) — *Λονγεναῖος*; *Λογγαναῖος* no. 35
Λοκροί, οἱ; *Λοκρίς* — *Λοκρός* no. 59
Λουσοί, οἱ; *<Λ>οῦσα, τά* — *Λουσιάτας*; *Λουσεάτας*; *Λουσιεύς*; *Λουσεύς* (L) no. 279
Λύκαστος, ἡ — no. 726
Λυκόσουρα, ἡ (L) — *Λυκουράσιος* (L); *Λυκοσουρεύς* (L) no. 280
Λύκτος; *Λύττος* — *Λύκτιος*; *Λύτ(τ)ιος* no. 974

Μαγνησία, ἡ — *Μάγνης* no. 852
Μαγνησίη, ἡ — *[Μάγν]ης* no. 820
Μάδυτος, ἡ — *Μαδύτιος* no. 669
Μάκιστον, τό; *Μήκιστον*; *Μάκεστον* (L) — *Μακίστιος*; *Μακέστιος* (L) no. 307
Μακυνέα, ἡ (L); *Μακυνία* (L); *Μακύνεια* (L); *Μάκυνα* (L) — *Μακυνεύς* (L); *Μακύνιος* (L) no. 149
Μάλλα (L) — *Μαλλαῖος* (L) no. 975
— *Μαλλοιάτας* no. 464
Μαλλός, ἡ; *Μάλος* (L) — *Μαρλότας*; *Μαλλώτης* no. 1009
Μαντινέα, ἡ; *Μαντινέη*; *Μαντίνη*; *Μαντίνεια, ἡ* — *Μαντινεύς* no. 281
Μαραθήσιον, τό — *Μαραθήσιος* no. 853
Μαργανεῖς; *Μάργανα* (L); *Μάργαια* (L) — *Μαργανεύς* no. 259
Μάριον, τό — *Μαριεύς* no. 1018
Μαρώνεια, ἡ — *Μαρωνίτης*; *Μαρωνεύς*; *Μαρωνειεύς* no. 646
Μασαμβρίη, ἡ — no. 647
Μασσαλίη, ἡ; *Μασσαλία* — *Μασσαλιήτης*; *Μασσαλιώτης* no. 3
Μάταλα, τά (L); *Ματαλόν* (L) — *Ματάλιος* (L) no. 976
Ματρόπολις, ἡ (L) — *Ματροπολίτας*; *Μητροπολίτης* no. 403
Μεγάλη πόλις; *Μεγάλα πόλις*; *Μεγαλόπολις* (L) — *Μεγαλοπολίτης*; *Μεγαλοπολίτας* no. 282
Μέγαρα, τά; *Μεγαρεῖς*; *Μεγαρίς* — *Μεγαρεύς* no. 36
Μέγαρα, τά — *Μεγαρεύς* no. 225
Μεδεών; *Μεδίων* — *Μεδιώνιος* no. 129
Μεδεών, ὁ (L) — *Μεδεώνιος* no. 186
Μέδμασος — *Μαδνασεύς* no. 912
Μέδμη, ἡ; *Μέσμα*; *Μέδμα* (L); *Μέδαμα* (L) — *Μεδμαῖος*; *Μεσμαῖος* no. 60
Μέθανα, τά; *Μεθάνη, ἡ* (L); *Μεθώνη, ἡ*; *Μεθάνα, ἡ* (L) — *Μεθ(αναῖος)* no. 352
Μεθύδριον, τό — *Μεθυδριεύς*; *Μετιδριεύς* no. 283
Μεθύλιον, τὸ (L) — *Μεθυλιεύς* no. 402

Μεθώνη, ἡ; *Μηθώνη*; *Μοθώνη* — *Μεθωναῖος* no. 454
Μεθώνη, ἡ; *Μεθώνα* — *Μεθωναῖος* no. 541
Μέλαινα Κόρκυρα, ἡ (L) — *Κορκυραῖος* (L) no. 83
— *Μελανπαγίτης* no. 821
Μελίβοια, ἡ — *Μελιβο(ι)εύς* no. 453
Μελίτεα, ἡ; *Μελιταία*; *Μελιτέα* — *Μελιταιεύς* no. 438
Μένδη, ἡ; *Μενδαῖος*; *Μινδᾶος*; *Μινδαῖος* no. 584
Μεσημβρία; *Μεσαμβρίη*; *Μεσεμβρία* (L) — *Μεσεμβριανός*; *Μεσσαμβριανός* (L); *Μετα(μβριανός)* no. 687
Μεσσάνα, ἡ; *Μεσσήνη* — *Μεσσάνιος*; *Μεσσένιος*; *Μεσσήνιος* no. 37
— *Μεσσάπιος* no. 163
Μεσσήνη, ἡ — *Μεσσήνιος*; *Μεσσάνιος* no. 318
— *Μετάπιος* no. 260
Μεταπόντιον, *τό* — *Μεταποντῖνος* no. 61
Μέταυρος; *Μάταυρος* — *Μεταυρῖνος* no. 62
Μήθυμνα, ἡ — *Μηθυμναῖος*; *Μαθυμναῖος* no. 797
Μηκύβερνα, ἡ — *Μηκυβερναῖος*; *Μεκυπερναῖος* no. 583
Μῆλος, ἡ; *Μᾶλος* — *Μήλιος*; *Μάλιος* no. 505
Μητρόπολις (L) — *Ματροπολίτας* (L) no. 128
Μητρόπολις — no. 749
Μίεζα, ἡ (L); *Μέζα* (L); *Μύεζα* (L) — *Μιεζαῖος* (L); *Μιεζεύς* (L) no. 542
Μίλητος — *Μιλάτιος* no. 977
Μίλητος, ἡ — *Μιλήσιος* no. 854
Μιλητούπολις, ἡ (L) — *Μιλητοπολίτης*; *Μιλητοπόλιος* (L) no. 750
Μιλητουτεῖχος — *Μιλητο[τειχίτης]* no. 751
Μίλκωρος (L) — *Μίλκόριος*; *Μιλτόριος* no. 585
Μινῴα, ἡ (L) — *Μινοήτης*; *Μινωίτης* no. 473
Μινώη, ἡ; *Μινῴα* — no. 21
Μοθώνη; *Μεθώνη*, ἡ — *Μοθωναῖος* (L) no. 319
Μολύκρειον, *τό*; *Μολύκρεια*, ἡ; *Ὀλύκραι*, *αἱ*; *Μολυκρία* (L); *Μολύκριον* (L) — *Μολυκρεύς* (L) no. 150
Μονδαία (L) — *Μονδαιεύς*; *Μονδαιάτας* (L) no. 465
Μοργαντίνη, ἡ; *Μοργαντίνα*; *Μοργαντῖνον* (L); *Μοργάντιον* (L) — *Μοργαντῖνος* no. 37
Μόψιον, *τό* (L) — *Μοψεύς*; *Μοψε(ι)άτης* no. 404
Μυανία, ἡ (L) — *Μυανεύς*; *Μυονεύς* no. 164
Μυκαλησσός, ἡ — *Μυκαλήσσιος* no. 212
Μυκάνα, ἡ; *Μυκάναι*, *αἱ*; *Μυκήνη*, ἡ; *Μυκῆναι*, *αἱ* — *Μυκηναῖος*; *Μυκανεύς* no. 353
Μύκονος, ἡ — *Μυκόνιος* no. 506
Μύλαι, *αἱ* — *Μυλαῖος* no. 38
Μυλαί, *αἱ* (L) — *Μυλαῖος* no. 466
Μύλασα, *τά*; *Μύλασος* — *Μυλασεύς* no. 913
Μύνδος, ἡ — *Μύνδιος* no. 914
Μυόν(ν)ησος, ἡ — *Μυονήσιος* no. 855
Μυοῦς, ὁ; *Μύης* — *Μυήσ(σ)ιος* no. 856
Μύρινα, ἡ — *Μυριναῖος* no. 502
Μύρινα, ἡ — *Μυριναῖος* no. 822
Μύρκινος, ὁ; *Μυρκιννία* (L) — *Μυρκίνιος* no. 633
Μύρλεια, ἡ — *Μυρλεανός* no. 752
Μυρμήκειον; *Μυρμήκιον* (L) — no. 703
Μυτιλήνα, ἡ; *Μυτιλήνη*; *Μιτυλήνη* — *Μυτιληνᾶος*; *Μυτιληναῖος* no. 798
Μυτισέρατος; *Μυττίστρατον*, *τό* (L); *Μυτίστρατος*, ἡ (L) — *Μυτι(-)* no. 39

Νάγιδος, ἡ — *Ναγιδεύς* no. 1010
Νακόνη, ἡ — *Νακοναῖος*; *Νακωναῖος* no. 40
— *Ναρισβαρεύς* no. 915
— *Ναρυανδεύς* no. 916
Ναρύκα, ἡ (L) — *Ναρυκαῖος* (L) no. 384
Ναύκρατις, ἡ — *Ναυκρατίτης*; *[N]αοκρατίτης* no. 1023
Ναύλοχον, *τό* — *Ναυ(-)* no. 857
Ναύπακτος, ἡ — *Ναυπάκτιος* no. 165
Ναξία — *Ναξιάτης*; *Ναξιήτης* no. 917
Νάξος, ἡ — *Νάξιος* no. 597
Νάξος, ἡ — *Νάχιος*; *Νάξιος* no. 41
Νεάνδρε(ι)α, ἡ; *Νεάνδρειον*, *τό*; *Νεανδρία* (L) — *Νεανδρ(ε)ιεύς* no. 785
Νεάπολις, ἡ; *Νεήπολις* — *Νεοπολίτες*; *Νεοπολίτης*; *Νηοπολίτας*; *Νεοπολίτας*; *Νεαπολίτης* (L); *Νευπολίτης*; *Νουπολίτης*; *Νειοπολίτης* no. 63
Νεάπολις; *Νέη πόλις* — *Νεοπολίτης* no. 586
Νεάπολις, ἡ; *Νέα πόλις*, ἡ — *Νεοπολίτης* — *Νεαπολίτης* (L) no. 634
Νεάπολις, ἡ — *Νεοπολίτης* no. 677
Νέον Τεῖχος, *τό* — no. 824
Νῆσος, ἡ — *Νασιώτας* no. 823
Νεστάνη, ἡ (L); *Νοστία* — *Νεστάνιος* no. 284
Νέων; *Νέωνες* — *Νε(ώνιος)*; *Νε(ωναῖος)* no. 187
Νίκαια — no. 101
Νίκαια, ἡ — *Νικαεύς* (L) no. 385
Νικώνιον, *τό* — no. 688
Νίσυρος, ἡ — *Νισ(ο)ύριος* no. 508
Νότιον, *τό* — no. 825
Νότιον — *Νοτιεύς* no. 858
Νούδιον — no. 308
Νύμφαιον — *Νύμφατος*; *Νυν(-)*; *Νυμφαΐτης* (L) no. 704
Νώνακρις, ἡ — *Νωνακριεύς* no. 285

Ὄασις — no. 1024
Ὀδησ(σ)ός, ἡ; *Ὀδησσόπολις*; *Ὀδασός* (L) — *Ὀδησσ(ε)ίτης* (L); *Ὠδασσίτα[ς]* no. 689
Ὄθορος — *Ὀθόριος* no. 590
Οἶαι, αἱ (L) — *Οἰάτης* no. 998
Οἰάνθεια, ἡ; *Οἰάνθη*; *Εὐανθίς*; *Εὐάνθεια* (L) — *Οἰανθεύς*; *Εὐανθεύς* (L) no. 166
Οἴνη, ἡ — *Οἰναῖος* no. 480
Οἰνιάδαι, οἱ; *Οἰνειάδαι* — *Οἰνιάδας* no. 130
Οἰνοῦς, ἡ — *Ϝοινόντιος* no. 338
Οἰός, ὁ — *Οἰάτης* no. 339
Οἰσύμη, ἡ; *Οἰσύμα* (L) — *Οἰσυμαῖος* no. 635
Οἴτυλος, ὁ; *Βαίτυλος* (L); *Βίτυλα* (L) — *Βειτυλεύς* (L) no. 340
Ὄκωλον no. 626
— *Ὀλαιεύς* no. 918
Ὀλβία — no. 753
Ὀλβιόπολις; *Ὀλβία*; *Ὀλβίη* — *Ὀλβιοπολίτης* no. 690
Ὀλιζών, ἡ — *Ὀλιζώνιος* no. 455
Ὅλμοι — *Ὁλμίτης* no. 1006
Ὀλοοσσών, ἡ; *Ὁλόσσων* (L) — *Ὁλοσσόν(ιος)* no. 467
Ὀλοῦς; *Βολόεις* (L) — *Ὀλόντιος*; *Βολοέντιος* (L); *Βολόντιος* (L) no. 978
Ὀλόφυξος, ἡ; *Ὀλυφυξις*; *Ὀλόφυξις* — *Ὀλοφύχσιος* no. 587
Ὄλυμος (L); *Ὑλιμεύς*; *Ὀλυμεύς* no. 919
Ὁλύμπα, ἡ (L); *Ὀλύμπη, ἡ* — *Ὀλυμπαστάς* (L) no. 102
Ὄλυνθος, ἡ — *Ὀλύνθιος* no. 588
Ὁμόλιον, τό — *Ὁμολιεύς* no. 448
Ὀξύνιο[ν]; *Ὀξύνεια, ἡ* (L) — no. 406
— *Ὀξωνιαῖος* no. 456
Ὀπόεις, ἡ; *Ὀποῦς* — *Ὀποέντιος*; *Ὀπόντιος*; *Ὀπούντιος* no. 386
Ὀποῦς (L); *Ὀφιοῦς* (L) — *Ὀπούντιος* (L) no. 261
Ὀργάμη — no. 692
— *Ὀρειοί*; *Ὀρειᾶται* (L) no. 342
Ὀρεσθάσιον, τό (L); *Ὀρέσθειον, τό* — *Ὀρεσθάσιος* no. 287
Ὀρθαγορία, ἡ (L) — *Ὀρθαγορεύς* no. 648
Ὄρθος (L); *Ὄρθοι* (L); *Ὄρθα, ἡ* (L) — *Ὀρθιεύς* no. 405
Ὀρνε(ι)αί, αἱ — *Ὀρνεάτης*; *Ὀρνεήτης* no. 354
Ὀρόβιαι, αἱ — *Ὀροβιεύς* no. 374
Ὄρραον, τό (L) — *Ὁρραίτας* (L); *Ὁρραείτας* (L); *Ὁρ(ρ)είτας* (L) no. 99
Ὀρχομενός, ὁ; *Ἐρχομενός, ἡ* — *Ὀρχομένιος*; *Ἐρχομένιος* no. 213
Ὀρχομενός, ὁ; *Ἐρχομενός*; [*Ἐρχομιν*]*ός* — *Ὀρχομένιος*; *Ἐρχομένιος*; *Ἐρχομίνιος* no. 286
— *Ὀσβαῖος* no. 589
— *Ὀτλενός* no. 754
Οὐράνιον, τό (L) — *Οὐρανιήτης* no. 920
Ὀφιοῦσα — no. 691
Ὀφρύν(ε)ιον, τό; *Ὀφρύνιον* — *Ὀφρυνεύς* no. 786

Παγαί, αἱ; *Πηγαί, αἱ* — *Παγαῖος* (L) no. 226
Παγασαί, αἱ — *Παγασίτας*; *Παγασαῖος* no. 407
Παῖον — no. 288
Παισός, ἡ — *Παισηνός* no. 755
Παιών — no. 670
Πακτύη — no. 671
Παλαιγάμβριον, τό — no. 826
— *Παλαιπερκόσιος* no. 787
Πάλαιρος — *Παλαιρεύς*; *Παλαιραῖος* no. 131
Παλεῖς; *Πάλη, ἡ* (L) — *Παλεύς*; *Παλαιεύς* (L) no. 132
Παλλάντιον, τό; *Βαλλά[ντιο]ν*; *Παλλάντειον* (L) — *Παλλαντεύς*; *Παλλάντιος* (L); *Παλλαντίνος* (L) no. 289
Πανδοσία, ἡ; *Πανδοσίη* (L); *Πανδοσῖν(ος)* no. 64
Πανδοσία, ἡ — *Παν(-)* (L) no. 104
Πανοπεύς, ὁ/ἡ; *Πανοπεῖς*; *Φανοτεύς*; *Φανατεύς* — *Πανοπεύς*; *Φανοτεύς*; *Φανατεύς* (L) no. 190
Πανορμός, ὁ (L) — no. 510
Παντικάπαιον, τό; *Παντικαπαΐτης* no. 705
Παραποτάμιοι, οἱ — *Παραποτάμιος* no. 188
Παρασώπιοι; *Παρασωπιάς* (L) — *Παρασωπιεύς* no. 426
Παρθένιον, τό — no. 827
Πάριον, τό — *Παριανός*; *Παριηνός* no. 756
Πάρος, ἡ — *Πάριος* no. 509
— *Παρπαριώτης* no. 921
Πάσσανδα (L); *Πασάδα* (L) — *Πασανδεύς* no. 922
Πασσαρών (L) — no. 105
Πάτραι, αἱ — *Πατρεύς*; *Πατραιεύς* (L) no. 239
Πάφος, ἡ — *Πάφιος* no. 1019
Πεδιεῖς, οἱ — *Πεδιεύς* no. 189
— *Πεδιεύς* no. 999
Πειραιεύς (L) — *Πειρα(ι)εύς* no. 712
Πειρεσία (L) — *Πειράσιος*; *Πειρασιεύς* no. 408
— *Πελειάτης* no. 924
Πελινναῖον, τό; *Πέλιννα, ἡ* — *Πελινναιεύς*; *Πελινναεύς*; *Πελινναῖος* no. 409
Πέλλα, ἡ — *Πελλαῖος* (L) no. 543
Πελλάνα, ἡ; *Πελλήνη, ἡ*; *Πέλλανα, τά* (L) — *Πελλ[α]νεύς*; *Πελληνεύς* (L) no. 341

Πελλήνη, ἡ; *Πελ(λ)άνα*; *Πελλίνα* (L) — *Πελληνεύς*; *Πελλανεύς*; *Πελληναῖος* (L); *Πελλήνιος* no. 240
Πεπάρηθος, ἡ — *Πεπαρήθιος* no. 511
— *Περαεύς* no. 375
Πέργαμον, τό — *Περγαμηνός* (L) no. 828
Πέργη, ἡ — *Περγαῖος* (L) no. 1003
Πέρινθος, ἡ — *Περίνθιος* no. 678
Περκώτη, ἡ; *Περκότε*; *Περκώπη* (L) — *Περκώσιος*; *Περκόσιος* no. 788
Παρπάρων (L); *Περπερήνα, ἡ* (L) — *Παρπαρωνιώτης*; *Περπερήνιος* (L) no. 829
Πέτρα (L) — *Πετρῖνος* no. 42
— *Πετραῖος* (L) no. 979
Πεῦμα, τό (L) — *Πευμάτιος* (L) no. 439
Πήδασα, τά (L) — *Πηδασεύς* no. 923
Πιακός (L) — *Πιακῖνος* no. 43
Πίδασα, τά — *Πεδασεύς*; *Πιδασεύς* no. 925
Πιθηκοῦσ(σ)α — *Πιθηκουσσαῖος* (L) no. 65
Πίλωρος — no. 593
Πίνδος, ἡ — no. 389
Πίσα, ἡ — *Πισάτης* no. 262
Πίστασος — no. 594
Πίστιρος — *Πιστιρηνός* no. 656
Πίστυρος — no. 638
Πιτάνη, ἡ — *Πιταναῖος* no. 830
— *Πλαδασεύς*; *Πλατασεύς*; *Πλαδασιήτης* no. 926
Πλακία — *Πλακιηνός*; *Πλακια(νός)* no. 757
Πλαταιαί, αἱ; *Πλάταια, ἡ* — *Πλαταιεύς* no. 216
Πλεύμε — *Πλευμεύς* no. 595
Πλευρῶν, ἡ — *Πλευρώνιος* no. 153
Ποιῆσσα, ἡ; *Ποιᾶσσα* — *Ποιήσσιος*; *Ποιάσσιος* no. 494
Ποιωνός — no. 108
Πολιεῖον (L) — no. 69
Πολίχνα, ἡ (L) — *Πολιχνίτης* no. 789
— *Πολιχναῖος*; *Πολιχνίτης* no. 860
Πολίχνη, ἡ (L) — *Πολιχνίτης* no. 982
— *Πολιχνίτης* no. 596
Πολυρήν (L); *Πολυρρήνια, ἡ* — *Πολυρήνιος*; *Πολυρρήνιος* (L) no. 983
Πορδοσελήνη, ἡ — *Πορδοσιλ(-)* no. 831
Ποσειδωνία; *Ποσειδανία, ἡ*; *Ποσειδωνιάς* (L) — *Ποσειδανιάτας*; *Ποσειδωνιάτης*; *Ποσειδωνιήτης* no. 66
Ποσίδειον, τό — *Ποσειδίτης* (L) no. 376
Ποσίδειον, τό — no. 597
Ποσιδήιον, τό; *Ποσείδιον* (L) — no. 1022
Ποτ(ε)ίδαια, ἡ — *Ποτειδαιήτης*; *Ποτειδεάτης*; *Ποτειδαιάτης*; *Ποτειδαεύς* no. 598
Ποτνιαί, αἱ — *Ποτνιεύς* no. 217
— *Πο*[---]*ος* no. 192
Πραισός (L) — *Πραίσιος* no. 984
Πρασιαί, αἱ; *Πρασία*; *Βρασιαί* (L) — *Πρασιεύς* (L); *Βρασιάτης* (L) no. 342
Πράσσιλος — [*Πρα*]*σσίλιος* no. 599
Πρίανσος, ὁ (L); *Πριαμψός* (L) — *Πριανσιεύς*; *Πριάνσιος* (L); *Πριάσσιος* (L); *Πριάνσικος* (L) no. 985
Πρίαπος, ὁ/ἡ — *Πριαπηνός* (L); *Πριαπεύς* no. 758
Πριήνη, ἡ — *Πριηνεύς*; *Πριανεύς* no. 861
Προέρνα, ἡ — *Προέρνιος*; *Πρωέρνιος* (L); *Προέλνιος* no. 441
Προκόννησος, ἡ — *Προκοννήσιος* no. 759
Προννοί, οἱ (L); *Πρῶννοι, οἱ* (L); *Πρώναια* (L); — *Προνναῖος*; *Πρῶννος* no. 135
Πρόσχιον, τό; *Πρόσχεον* — *Πρόσχειος* no. 154
Πτελεόν, τό — *Πτελεούσιος* no. 862
Πύγελα, τά; *Φύγελα* — *Πυγελεύς*; *Πυγαλεύς*; *Φυγελεύς* no. 863
Πύδνα, ἡ; *Πύτνα*; *Κύδνα* (L) — *Πυδναῖος*; *Πυνδναῖος*; *Πυδδναῖος*; *Πυτναῖος* no. 544
Πύθοιον, τό (L); *Πύθειον* (L); *Πύθιον* (L) — *Πυθοιάσταις* (L) no. 469
Πυθόπολις (L) — *Πυθοπολίτης* no. 760
Πύλαι, αἱ (L) — *Παρπυλαῖος* no. 295
Πύλος, ὁ — *Πύλιος* no. 263
Πυξοῦς — no. 67
Πύρασος, ἡ — *Πυράσιος* no. 442
Πύργος, ὁ — no. 310
Πύρινδος (L) — *Πυρίνδιος* no. 927
Πύρνος (L) — *Πύρνιος* no. 928
Πύρρα, ἡ — *Πυρραῖος* no. 799

῾Ραῦκος — *῾Ραύκιος*; *῾Ρώκιος* (L) no. 986
῾Ρέγιον, τό; *῾Ρήγιον, τό* — *῾Ρεγῖνος*; *῾Ρηγῖνος* no. 68
῾Ρήνεια, ἡ; *῾Ρήναια*; *῾Ρήνη* — *῾Ρηναιεύς*; *῾Ρήνευς* no. 514
῾Ριζηνία (L) — *῾Ριττένιος* no. 988
῾Ριζοῦς, ὁ — *῾Ριζούσιος* no. 457
῾Ρίθυμνος; *῾Ρίθυμνα* (L); *῾Ριθμνία* (L) — *῾Ριθύμνιος* no. 987
῾Ρόδη (L); *῾Ρόδος* (L) — *῾Ροδήτης* no. 4
῾Ρόδος, ἡ — *῾Ρόδιος* no. 1000
῾Ροίτειον, τό — *῾Ροιτειεύς* (L); *῾Ροιτεύς* (L) no. 790
῾Ρύγκαι (L); *Τρύχαι* (L) — *Γρυνχεύς*; *Γρυγχεύς*; *Βρυνχειεύς* no. 371
῾Ρύπες; *῾Ρύπαι* (L); *῾Ρύπη* (L); *῾Ρυπαίη* (L) — *῾Ρύψ*; *Ἄρυψ* no. 243

Σαλαμίς, ἡ — Σαλαμίνιος no. 363
Σαλαμίς, ἡ — Σαλαμίνιος no. 1020
Σάλη, ἡ — no. 649
Σαλμακίς — Σαλμακίτης no. 929
Σάμη, ἡ (L); *Σάμα* (L); *Σάμος, ὁ* (L); *Σάμαια* (L) — *Σαμαῖος* no. 136
Σαμοθρᾴκη, ἡ; *Σαμοθρῄκη — Σαμοθρᾴξ* no. 515
Σάμος, ἡ — Σάμιος no. 864
Σάνη, ἡ — Σαναῖος no. 600
Σάνη, ἡ — no. 601
— Σάριος no. 516
Σάρτη, ἡ — Σαρταῖος no. 602
— Σελεινούσιος (L) no. 512
Σελινόεις, ἡ; *Σελινοῦς — Σελινόντιος*; *Σελινούντιος*; *Σελινούσιος*; *Σελινύσιος* no. 44
Σελλασία, ἡ; *Σελασία* (L) — no. 343
Σηλυμβρία, ἡ; *Σαλυβρία*; *Σηλυβρία* (L) — *Σηλυμβριανός*; *Σελυνβριανός*; *Σαλυπριανός*; *Σηλυβριανός* (L) no. 679
Σέριφος, ἡ — Σερίφιος no. 517
Σέρμε — Σερμεύς; *Σερμαιεύς*; *Σερμαῖος* no. 603
Σερμυλία; *Σερμύλη, ἡ — Σερμυλιεύς*; *Σερβυλιεύς*; *Σερμυλιαῖος* no. 604
Σέρριον τεῖχος; *Σέρρειον τεῖχος*; *Σέρριον* (L) — *Σεριοτειχίτης* no. 680
Σευθόπολις — no. 657
Σήσαμος, ἡ — Σησαμηνός no. 728
Σηστός, ὁ/ἡ — Σήστιος no. 672
Σίγγος — Σίγγιος; *Σιγγαῖος* no. 605
Σίγειον, τό; *Σίγη, ἡ — Σιγευεύς*; *Σιγ(ει)εύς*; *Συκεεύς* no. 791
Σίδη, ἡ — no. 344
Σίδη, ἡ — Σιδήτης (L); *Σιδάτας* no. 1004
Σίδουσα; *Σιδούσση, ἡ — Σιδούσιος* no. 866
Σίκινος, ἡ — Σικινήτης no. 518
Σικυών, ὁ/ἡ; *Σεκυών — Σικύωνιος*; *Σεκυόνιος*; *Σεκυώνιος*; *Σε϶υϝόνιος* no. 227
— Σιλεραῖος no. 45
— Σίλος no. 930
Σίνδος; *Σίνδοι* (L) — *Σινδοναῖος* (?) no. 551
Σίνος — no. 606
Σινώπη, ἡ; *Σινώπα — Σινωπεύς* no. 729
Σῖρις, ἡ; *Σ(ε)ιρίτις — Σιρίτης*; *Σιρῖνος* no. 69
Σίρρα, ἡ; *Σέρραι* (L) — *Σιρραῖος* (L); *Σειρραῖος* (L) no. 639
Σίφαι, αἱ — Σιφειεύς (L) no. 218
Σίφνος, ἡ — Σίφνιος no. 519
Σκάβαλα — Σκαβλαῖος no. 607
Σκάρφη, ἡ; *Σκάρφεια, ἡ* (L) — *Σκαρφεύς*; *Σκαρφαιεύς* (L); *[Σκ]αρφ[αῖ]ος* no. 387
Σκαφαί, αἱ; *Σκαφλαί, αἱ — Σκαφεύς* (L); *Σκαφλεύς* no. 204
— Σκαφσαῖος no. 608
Σκῆψις — Σκήψιος; *Σκέμφσιος*; *Σκάψιος*; *Σκάφσιος* no. 792
Σκίαθος, ἡ — Σκιάθιος no. 520
Σκίθαι, αἱ — Σκιθαῖος no. 610
Σκιλλοῦς, ὁ — Σκιλλούντιος no. 311
Σκιώνη, ἡ; *Σκιώνα — Σκιωναῖος* no. 609
Σκοτοῦσ(σ)α, ἡ; *Σκοτοῦσαι* (L); *Σκοτόεσσα* (L) — *Σκοτοσσαῖος*; *Σκοτουσσαῖος*; *Σκοτοεσσαῖος* (L) no. 415
Σκυλάκη — no. 761
Σκῦρος, ἡ — Σκύριος no. 521
Σκῶλος, ὁ — no. 219
Σμίλ(λ)α — no. 611
Σμύρνα; *Σμύρνη, ἡ — Σμυρναῖος* no. 867
Σόλλιον, τό — no. 137
Σόλοι, οἱ; *Σώλεια, ἡ* (L) — *Σολεύς*; *Σόλιος* no. 1011
Σόλοι, αἱ — Σόλιος no. 1021
Σομβία, ἡ — no. 762
Σπάλαυθρα, τά; *Σπαλέθρη* (L); *Σπαλάθρα* (?); *Σπάλαθρον* (?) — *Σπαλαυθρεύς* (L) no. 458
Σπάρτη, ἡ; *Σπάρτα — Σπαρτιάτης*; *Σπαρτιάτας*; *Σπαρτιήτης* no. 345
Σπάρτωλος, ἡ — Σπαρτόλιος no. 612
Σπίνα, ἡ (L) — *Σπινίτης* no. 85
Στάγιρος; *Στάγιρα*; *Στάγειρα, τά*; *Στάγειρος* (L) — *Σταγιρίτης*; *Σταγειρίτης* (L) no. 613
Σταμένεια — no. 730
Στ(ε)ῖρις (L) — *Στ(ε)ίριος* (L); *Στιριεύς* (L) no. 193
Στῆλαι (L) — *Σταλίτης* (L); *Στηλίτης* (L) no. 989
Στράτος, ὁ/ἡ — Στράτιος; *Στρατικός* (L) no. 138
Στρέψα, ἡ — Στρεψαῖος no. 615
Στρύμη, ἡ — no. 650
Στύελλα (? L) — *Στιελαναῖος* no. 46
Στύμφαλος, ὁ/ἡ; *Στύμφηλος — Στυμφάλιος* no. 296
Στύρα, τά — Στυρεύς no. 377
Στῶλος; *Σκῶλος, ἡ — Στόλιος* no. 614
Συάγγελα, τά; *Θεάγγελα, τά — Συαγγελεύς*; *Θεαγγελεύς* no. 931
Σύβαρις, ἡ — Συβαρίτης; *Συβαρίτας* no. 70
Σύβριτα; *Σίβρυτος* (L) — *Συβρίτιος* no. 990
Σύμη, ἡ; *Σύμα* (L) — *Συμαῖος* no. 522

Συράκουσ(σ)αι, αἱ; *Συρήκουσαι*; *Συρακόσ(σ)αι* — *Συραϙόσιος*; *Συρακόσιος*; *Συρηκόσιος*; [*Συρ*]*αϙούσιος* no. 47
Σῦρος, ἡ — *Σύριος* no. 523

— *Ταλαγρεύς* no. 932
Ταλάνα, ἡ — *Ταλάωνος* (? L) no. 424
Τάναγρα, ἡ — *Ταναγραῖος*; *Ταναγρῆος*; *Ταναγρεῖος* (L) no. 220
Ταράμπτος — no. 933
Τάρας, ὁ/ἡ — *Ταραντῖνος* no. 71
— *Ταρβανεύς* no. 934
Τάρρα (L) — *Ταρραῖος* (L) no. 991
Ταυρομένιον, τό; *Ταυρομενία, ἡ* (L) — *Ταυρομενίτας*; *Ταυρομένιος* (L) no. 48
Ταύχειρα, τά/ἡ; *Τεύχειρα* (L); *Ταύχιρα* (L); *Τεύχηρα* (L); *Τεύχιρα* (L) — *Ταυχέριος* (L); *Τευχειρίτης* (L) no. 1029
Τεγέα, ἡ; *Τεγέαι* (L) — *Τεγεάτης*; *Τεγεήτης* no. 297
Τεθρώνιον, τό; *Τεθρόνιον*; *Τείθρων* (L) — *Τειθρώνιος* no. 194
Τέκμων — no. 109
Τελεμεσσός; *Τέλμεσσος* (L) — *Τελεμεσσεύς*; *Τελμεσσεύς* (L) no. 936
Τεμέσ(σ)α, ἡ; *Τεμέσεια, ἡ* (L); *Τεμέση, ἡ* (L) — *Τεμεσαῖος* (L) no. 72
Τένεδος, ἡ — *Τενέδιος* no. 793
[*T*]*ερεία* — no. 763
Τέρινα; *Τέρεινα* (L) — *Τεριναῖος*; *Τερειναῖος* (L) no. 73
Τέρμερα, τά; *Τέρμερον* (L) — *Τερμερεύς* no. 937
— *Τερσσωγασσεύς* no. 938
Τετράκις — no. 731
Τεῦθις, ἡ (L) — *Τευθίδας* (L) no. 298
Τευθρανία, ἡ — *Τευ*(-) no. 833
Τέως, ἡ — *Τήιος*; *Τείιος* no. 868
Τήλανδρον, τό (L); *Τηλάνδρεια, ἡ* (L); *Τήλανδρος* (L) — *Τελάνδριος* no. 935
Τῆλος, ἡ — *Τήλιος* no. 524
Τῆμνος, ἡ/ὁ — *Τημνίτης* no. 832
Τῆνος, ἡ — *Τήνιος* no. 525
Τίειον, τό; *Τῖος, ἡ* (L); *Τίον, τό* (L) — *Τιανός* no. 733
Τιθορέα, ἡ (L); *Τιθόρ*(*ρ*)*α* (L); *Τιθύρρα* (L) — *Τιθορ*(*ρ*)*εύς*; *Τιθορεεύς* (L) no. 187
Τίνδη (L) — *Τινδαῖος* no. 619
Τίρυνς, ἡ; *Τίρυνθος* — *Τιρύνθιος* no. 356
— *Τισναῖος* no. 835
Τολ(*ο*)*φών, ἡ* (L) — *Τολ*(*ο*)*φώνιος* no. 167
Τόμοι (L) — *Τομ*(*ε*)*ίτης* (L); *Τομέος* (L) no. 693
Τορθύ[*νε*]*ον, τό* — *Τορθυνεύς* no. 302
Τορύβεια, ἡ; *Τύρβειον, τό* — *Τορυβειεύς* no. 140
Τορώνη, ἡ (L) — no. 110
Τορώνη, ἡ — *Τορωναῖος*; *Τερωνᾶος* no. 620
Τράϊλος; *Τράγιλα*; *Τράγιλος* (L) — *Τραΐλιος*; *Τραγίλιος* no. 555
Τράλλεις — *Τραλδεύς*; *Τραλλιανός* (L) no. 941
Τραπεζοῦς — *Τραπεζούντιος* (L) no. 303
Τραπεζοῦς, ἡ — *Τραπεζούντιος* no. 734
Τραχίν, ἡ (L); *Τραχίς* (L) — *Τραχίνιος* (L) no. 195
Τραχίς; *Τρηχίς* — *Τρηχίνιος*; *Τραχίνιος* no. 432
Τρίκ(*κ*)*η, ἡ*; *Τρίκκα* (L) — *Τρικ*(*κ*)*αῖος* no. 417
Τριποιαί, αἱ — no. 621
Τριταία (L); *Τρίτεια* (L) — *Τριταιεύς* no. 244
Τριτέα, ἡ — *Τριτεύς* no. 168
Τριτεῖς — no. 196
Τριχόνειον, τό (L); *Τριχώνιον* (L) — *Τριχονιεύς* (L); *Τριχονειεύς*; *Τριχονεύς* (L); *Τριχων*(*ι*)*εύς* (L); *Τριχόνιος* (L); *Τρικωνιεύς* (L) no. 156
Τροιζήν, ἡ; *Τροζάν, ἡ* — *Τροιζήνιος*; *Τροζάνιος*; *Τροζήνιος*; *Τροιζάνιος*; *Τροιζείνιος* (L) no. 357
Τρώνεια, ἡ — *Τρωνειεύς* no. 197
Τύλισος — *Τυλίσιος* no. 992
Τυνδαρίς, ἡ (L); *Τυνδάριον* (L) — *Τυνδαρίτης* (L); *Τυνδάριος* (L) no. 49
Τύρας, ἡ (L) — *Τύρανος* no. 694
Τυριτάκη (L) — no. 708
Τυρόδιζα, ἡ; *Τυρόδιζαι*; *Τυρόριζα* — *Τυροδιζηνός* no. 681
— *Τυρρη*(-) no. 50

Ὑαία (L) — *Ὑαῖος* no. 160
Ὑάμπολις, ἡ; *Ὑσάμπολις, ἡ* (L) — *Ὑαμπόλιος*; *Ὑαμπολίτης* no. 182
— *Ὑβλισεύς*; *Κυβλισσεύς* no. 887
— *Ὑδα*(*ι*)*εύς*; *Κυδαιεύς* no. 888
Ὑδισ(*σ*)*ός* — *Ὑδισσεύς*; *Ὑδισεύς* (L) no. 889
Ὑέλη, ἡ; *Ἐλέα, ἡ* — *Ὑελήτης*; *Ϝελεάτης*; *Ἐλεάτης* no. 54
Ὕηττος, ἡ (L) — *Ὑέτιος*; *Ὑείττιος* (L); *Ὑέττιος* (L); *Ὑήττιος* (L) no. 207
— *Ὑμισσεύς*; *Ὑμεσσεύς* no. 890
Ὑπάτα, ἡ (L); *Ὑπάτη* (L) — *Ὑπάταῖος*; *Ὑπαταιεύς* no. 420
Ὑπνία, ἡ (L) — <*Ὑ*>*πνεύς* no. 161
Ὑπώρειαι, αἱ — *Ὑπωρεά*(*της*) no. 121

Ὑρτακίνα (L); *Ὑρτακός* (L); *Ὑρτακῖνος* (L) — *Ὑρτακίνιος*; *Ὑρτακῖνος* (L) no. 963
Ὑσιαί, αἱ — no. 208

Φάγρης — *Φαγρήσιος* no. 636
Φαιστός — *Φαίστιος* no. 980
Φάκιον, τό — *Φακιαστάς* (L) no. 410
Φαλάννα, ἡ; *Φάλλανος, ἡ* — *Φαλανναῖος*; *Φαλαννεύς* no. 468
Φαλάσαρνα, ἡ — *Φαλασάρνιος* (L) no. 981
Φαλώρη (L); *Φαλωρία* (L); *Φαλορέα* (? L); *Φαλευρία* (L) — *Φαλωριαστάς* (L) no. 411
Φαναγόρια (L); *Φαναγόρεια* (L); *Φαναγόρειον* (L) — *Φαναγορίτης* (L); *Φανα(-)* no. 706
— *Φανοτεύς* (L) no. 106
Φαρά — no. 133
Φάρα, ἡ; *Φαραί, αἱ* (L) — *Φαραιεύς*; *Φαρεύς* no. 241
Φάρα, ἡ — no. 290
Φαραί, αἱ (L) — *Φα(-)* no. 215
Φαραί, αἱ; *Φηραί* (L); *Φεραί* (L) — *Φαραιάτης* (L) no. 320
Φάρβελος — *Φαρβέλιος* no. 591
Φαρκαδών; *Φαρκηδών* (L) — *Φαρκαδόνιος*; *Φαρκαδώνιος* (L); *Φαρκηδόνιος* (L) no. 412
Φάρος, ὁ/ἡ — *Φάριος* no. 84
Φάρσαλος — *Φαρσάλιος*; *Φάρσαλος*; *Φαρράλιος* (L) no. 413
Φάσις — *Φασιανός* no. 711
— *Φεγέτιος*; *Φεγέντιος*; *Φεγόντιος* no. 592
Φελλόα, ἡ; *Φελλόη* (L) — no. 242
Φενεός, ὁ/ἡ — *Φενεεύς*; *Φενικός*; *Φενεάτης* (L) no. 291
Φεραί, αἱ — *Φεραῖος* no. 414
Φιγάλεια, ἡ (L); *Φιάλεια, ἡ* (L) — *Φιγαλεύς* no. 292
Φίλιπποι (L) — *Φιλιππο*πολίτης no. 396
Φίλιπποι, οἱ (L) — *Φίλιππος*; *Φιλιππεύς*; *Φιλιππηνός* (L) no. 637
Φιλιππόπολις, ἡ — no. 655
Φλειοῦς, ὁ — *Φλειάσιος*; *Φλειήσιος*; *Φλειϝάσιος*; *Φλιάσιος* (L) no. 355
Φλυγόνιον, τό (L) — *Πλυγονεύς* (L); *Φλυγονεύς* (L); *Φλυγωνεύς* (L); *[Φλυγ]ονεύς/[Πλυγ]ονεύς* no. 191
[Φοιν]ίκα, ἡ — no. 107
Φοιτιαί, αἱ; *Φυτία, ἡ* — *Φοιτιεύς*; *Φοίτιος* no. 134
— *Φολαιεύς*; *Φολάντιος* (L); *Φολᾶς* (L) no. 151
Φολέγανδρος, ἡ; *Φελέγανδρος* — *Φολεγάνδριος* no. 513
Φορίεια (L) — *Φοριαεύς* no. 293
Φρίξαι, αἱ; *Φρίξα, ἡ* — no. 309
Φυλάκη (L) — no. 440
Φυλέα, ἡ — no. 152
— *Φυρράγιος* no. 423
— *Φύταιος* no. 1035
Φώκαια, ἡ; *Φώκα, ἡ* — *Φωκαιεύς*; *Φωκαεύς* no. 859

Χαιρώνεια, ἡ; *Χ[η]ρώνια* (L); *Χαιρωνήα* (L) — *Χαιρωνεύς* (L) no. 201
— *Χαλάδριος* no. 249
Χαλειόν, τό — *Χαλειεύς*; *Χαλεύς*; *Χαλεεύς*; *Χαλαῖος* no. 159
Χαλέστρη; *Χαλάστρη* — *Χαλεστρ*ε̂*[ος]* (L) no. 548
Χάλκη, ἡ; *Χαλκία*; *Χάλκεια* — *Χαλκε(ι)άτης* no. 477
Χαλκήτωρ (L); *Χαλκητόρες* (L) — *Χαλκητώρ*; *Χαλκητορεύς* no. 881
Χαλκίς, ἡ; *Ὑποχαλκίς*; *Χάλκεια* (L) — *Χαλκ[ιδεύς]* no. 145
Χαλκίς, ἡ — *Χαλκιδεύς* no. 365
Χαλκίς (L) — *Χα(λκιδεύς)* no. 806
Χαράδρα, ἡ — *Χαραδραῖος* (L) no. 175
Χαραδροῦς — no. 565
— *Χεδρόλιος*; *Ἐδρόλιος* no. 566
Χερρόνησος — *Χερρονήσιος*; *Χερρονεσίτης* no. 661
Χερρόνησος, ἡ; *Χερσόνασος* — *[Χερσο]νησίτης* no. 695
Χερρόνησος — *Χερρονήσιος* no. 882
Χερρόνησος (L) — *Χερσονάσιος* no. 953
Χήν, ὁ (L); *Χήν* (L) — *Χηνεύς* no. 328
Χήν, ὁ (L); *Χῆναι, αἱ* (L) — *Χηνεύς*; *Χηναῖος* (L) no. 425
Χίος, ἡ (L) — *Χῖος* no. 883
Χίος, ἡ — *Χῖος* no. 840
Χοιράδες — no. 714
Χυρετίαι, αἱ (L) — *Χυρετιαῖος*; *Χυρετιεύς* (L) no. 460
Χύτον, τό — no. 841
Χυτρόπολις — *Χυτροπολίτης* no. 567

Ψωφίς, ἡ — *Ψωφίδιος* no. 294

Ὠδείνιος — no. 727
Ὤλενος — *Ὀλένιος*; *Ὠλένιος* no. 238
Ὠρεός, ὁ/ἡ — *Ὠρείτης* no. 372
Ὤρικος, ὁ; *Ὠρικόν, τό* (L) — *Ὠρίκιος* no. 103
Ὠρωπός, ὁ — *Ὠρώπιος* no. 214

4. *Non*-Polis *Settlements*

A. Identified Pre-Hellenistic Settlements

Abarnis — Propontic Coast of Asia Minor
Achaiion — Troas
Achaion limen — Aiolis
Acharna — Crete
Adana — Kilikia
Adrasteia — Propontic Asia Minor
Adryx — Sikelia
Agathe — Spain and France
Agathyrnon — Sikelia
<A>griades — Elis
Aia — Thessalia: Malis
Aianteion — Troas
Aidepsos — Euboia
Aigai — Euboia
Aigiai/Aigaiai — Lakedaimon
Aigialos — Thrace: from Axios to Strymon
Aigilea — Euboia
Aigilia/Ogylos — Lakedaimon
Aiglepheira — Euboia
Aigoneia — Thessalia: Malis
Aitolia — Lakedaimon
Akakesion — Arkadia
Akele — Ionia
Akonai — Black Sea Area
Akontion — Arkadia
Akontisma — Thrace: from Strymon to Nestos
Akragas — Aitolia
Akrai — Aitolia
Akriai — Lakedaimon
Akrilla — Sikelia
Akropolis — Aitolia
Alagonia — Messenia
Alalkomenai — Akarnania
Alesiai — Lakedaimon
Alonis — Spain and France
Alope — Thessalia: Achaia
Alopekia — Black Sea Area
Amarynthos — Euboia
Ambrakos — Akarnania
Ami(. . .) — Italia and Kampania
Amnistos — Karia
Amyklaion — Crete
Anastasis — East Lokris
Anchiale — Black Sea Area
Anchiale — Kilikia
Anchoe — East Lokris
Anemourion — Kilikia
Antheia — Achaia
Antheia — Black Sea Area
Antipolis — Spain and France
Antisara — Thrace: from Strymon to Nestos
Aphetai — Thessalia: Magnesia
Aphrodision — Arkadia
Apollonia — Aiolis
Apollonia — Libya
Apros — Propontic Thrace
Araiai/Arai — Aegean Islands
Arba — Achaia
Ardynion — Aiolis
Arginoussai — Aiolis
Argoura — Euboia
Argyra — Achaia
Armenion — Thessalia
Arnai — Thrace: from Axios to Strymon
Arnisa — Macedonia
Arrhianoi — Thracian Chersonesos
Asbotos — Thessalia
Asine — Argolis
Asine — Lakedaimon
Askania — Aegean Islands
Askra — Boiotia
Askyris — Thessalia: Perrhaibia
Aspledon — Boiotia
Assesos — Ionia
Assoros — Sikelia
Athenaion — Arkadia
Aulis — Boiotia
Avenion — Spain and France
Aziris — Libya

Babrantion — Ionia
Baiake — Epeiros
Basilis — Arkadia
Bathos — Arkadia
Beos/Beon — Propontic Thrace
Blakeia — Aiolis
Boibe — Thessalia
Boline — Achaia
Boliskos — Ionia
Boukephalos — Korinthia
Boumelitaia — East Lokris
Bouneima — Epeiros
Bouthoe — The Adriatic
Bryanion — Makedonia
Bryseai — Lakedaimon

Callithera — Thessalia
Chalai(on) — Thessalia: Achaia
Chalia — Boiotia
Chalkai — Thessalia
Chalkideon limen — Ionia
Charadros — Epeiros
Charadrous — Ionia
Charadrous — Kilikia
Charakoma — Thrace: from Nestos to Hebros
Charisia(i) — Arkadia
Cheimerion — Epeiros
Chimera — Epeiros
Choireai — Euboia
Chrysa — Troas
Chrysaoris — Karia

Daphnai — Egypt
Daphnous — East Lokris
Daphnous — Ionia
Dasea(i) — Arkadia
Delion — Boiotia

Delion — Ionia
Delphinion — Boiotia
Delphinion — Ionia
Didyma — Ionia
Dikaiarcheia — Italia and Kampania
Dion — Thessalia: Achaia
Dipoina(i) — Arkadia
Donakon — Boiotia
Donoussa — Achaia/Sikyonia
Doriskos — Thrace: from Nestos to Hebros
Drabeskos — Thrace: from Strymon to Nestos
Drabos — Thracian Chersonesos
Drymos — Boiotia
Drymoussa — Ionia
Drys — Ionia

Eileoi — Argolis
Eilesion — Boiotia
Elaias Limen — Epeiros
Elaious — Argolis
Eleutherai — Boiotia
Elina — Epeiros
Ellomenon — Akarnania
Ellopia — Euboia
Elpiai — The Adriatic
Elymnion — Euboia
Embaton — Ionia
Ennea Hodoi — Thrace: from Strymon to Nestos
Ephyra — Sikyonia
Eretria — Thessalia
Ergetion — Sikelia
Ergiske — Propontic Thrace
Erineos — Achaia
Erythrai — West Lokris
Erythrai — Thessalia: Ainis
Euboia — Akarnania
Euhydrium — Thessalia
Eupalion — West Lokris

Ganiai — Propontic Thrace
Ganos — Propontic Thrace
Gasoros — Thrace: from Strymon to Nestos
Genesion/Genethlion — Argolis
Geraistos — Euboia
Gerenia/Gerena — Messenia
Glaphyrai — Thessalia: Magnesia
Glauke — Ionia
Glisas — Boiotia
Glyppia/Glympeis — Lakedaimon
Gortynia — Makedonia
Graia — Boiotia
Gyaros — Aegean Islands

Haimoniai — Arkadia
Halonnesos — Aegean Islands
Harma — Boiotia
Harmene — Black Sea Area
Harpagion — Euboia
Harpina — Elis
Hekatompedon — Epeiros
Heleon — Boiotia
Helikore — Propontic Coast of Asia Minor
Helikranon — Epeiros
Helos — Ionia
Helos — Lakedaimon
Hemeroskopeion — Spain and France
Herakleia — Elis
Herakleia — Propontic Thrace
Hermaion — Propontic Coast of Asia Minor
Hermonassa — Ionia
Hiera kome — Karia
Hippola — Lakedaimon
Hippotai — Boiotia
Homilai — Thessalia: Oita
Hybla Geleatis — Sikelia
Hybla Heraia — Sikelia
Hydrous — The Adriatic
Hykkara — Sikelia
Hyle — Boiotia
Hypana — Triphylia
Hyria — Boiotia
Hyria — Kilikia
Hyria — The Adriatic
Hyrmine — Elis
Hysia/Hysiai — Argolis

Iasaia — Arkadia
Iasos — Lakedaimon
Idakos — Thracian Chersonesos
Idomene — Akarnania
Ilium — Epeiros
Inessa — Sikelia
Inyx/Inykos — Sikelia
Isai Limen — Thessalia: Magnesia
Ismaros — Thrace: from Nestos to Hebros
Isos — Boiotia
Istros — Aegean Islands
Ithome/Thamiai — Thessalia
Ithoria — Aitolia
Ithoria — Akarnania

Kakyron — Sikelia
Kalamai — Messenia
Kalamoi — Ionia
Kale Akte — Sikelia
Kallia(i) — Arkadia
Kalliaros — East Lokris
Kallipolis — Karia
Kallipolis — The Adriatic
Kallipolitai — Thrace: from Axios to Strymon
Kamikos — Sikelia
Kaous — Arkadia
Kardamyle — Ionia
Karides — Ionia
Karion — Ionia
Karteriois, limen en — Ionia
Karyai — Lakedaimon
Karystos — Lakedaimon
Kasara — Karia
Kas(s)iope — Epeiros
Kattabia — Rhodos
Kaukasa — Ionia
Kelaitha — Thessalia
Kenchreai — Argolis
Kenchreus — Ionia
Kerdylion — Thrace: from Axios to Strymon
Keressos — Boiotia
Kerinthos — Euboia
Kerkas — Argolis
Kerkinion — Thessalia: Magnesia
Kertonon — Aiolis
Kibyra — Pamphylia
Kieros — Black Sea Area
Kinaros — Aegean Islands
Klamadai — Ionia

Kleai — Ionia
Kleonai — Phokis
Knauson — Arkadia
Kobrys — Thracian Chersonesos
Koila — Thracian Chersonesos
Kolakeia — Thessalia: Malis
Kolonai — Ionia
Kolonis/Kolonides — Messenia
Koloura — Ionia
Kondylos — Thessalia: Perrhaibia
Kophos — Thrace: from Axios to Strymon
Korakesion — Pamphylia
Kordytos — Pamphylia
Koressos — Ionia
Korokondame — Black Sea Area
Koroneia — Thessalia: Achaia
Korope — Thessalia: Magnesia
Korseai — Aegean Islands
Korseia — Boiotia
Korseia — East Lokris
Koryphasion — Messenia
Kotylaion — Euboia
Kotyrta — Lakedaimon
Kragalidai — Phokis
Kraneia — Akarnania
Krannon — Thessalia: Athamania
Kremaste — Troas
Kremnoi — Black Sea Area
Krenai — Akarnania
Kreusis — Boiotia
Krimissa — Italia and Kampania
Krobyle — Propontic Thrace
Krokeai — Lakedaimon
Krokyleion — Aitolia
Krommyon — Korinthia
Kromna — Korinthia
Krotalla — Italia and Kampania
Kybeleia — Ionia
Kymisala — Rhodos
Kynosoura — Megaris
Kyparissia — Lakedaimon
Kypasis — Thracian Chersonesos
Kyrbe — Pamphylia
Kyrbe — Rhodos
Kyrnos — Euboia
Kyrtone — Boiotia
Kytonion — Aiolis

Lade — Ionia
Lagaria — Italia and Kampania
Lakereia — Thessalia
Lametinoi — Italia and Kampania
Lampsos — Ionia
Laphron — West Lokris
Lassoia — Crete
Latosion — Crete
Lebinthos — Aegean Islands
Lecheion — Korinthia
Leimone — Thessalia: Perrhaibia
Lepsia — Aegean Islands
Lerna — Argolis
Leros — Ionia
Lessa — Argolis
Leukonia — Ionia
Leukonion — Ionia
Leuktra — Boiotia
Leuktra/Leuktron — Lakedaimon
Leuktron/Leuktra — Messenia
Limnaeum — Thessalia
Linon — Propontic Coast of Asia Minor
Loryma — Karia
Lykastos — Crete
Lykoa — Arkadia
Lykoa(tai) — Arkadia
Lykouria — Arkadia
Lyrkeia — Argolis
Lyrnateia — Pamphylia
Lyrnessos — Aiolis

Magarsos — Kilikia
Magydos — Pamphylia
Maiandrioi — Ionia
Mainake — Spain and France
Mainalos — Arkadia
Makalla — Italia and Kampania
Makaria — Arkadia
Makra Kome — Thessalia: Ainis
Maktorion — Sikelia
Malea — Lakedaimon
Malene — Aiolis
Malyeie — Ionia
Marathon epi thalassan — Ionia
Marathoussa — Ionia
Marios — Lakedaimon
Marmara — Pamphylia
Marpessos — Troas
Mases — Argolis
Medeon — Boiotia
Melainai — Arkadia
Melie — Ionia
Menai — Sikelia
Menai/Menainon — Sikelia
Mende — Thrace: from Nestos to Hebros
Mesatis — Achaia
Messapeai — Lakedaimon
Metachoion — Boiotia
Metropolis — Akarnania
Metropolis — Euboia
Mideia — Boiotia
Miletos — Troas
Minoa — Crete
Misgomenai — Thessalia
Molpa — Italia and Kampania
Monoikos — Spain and France
Mopsouestia — Kilikia
Motyon — Sikelia
Myous — Kilikia
Myriandos — Kilikia
Myrsinoussa — Ionia
Myrtenon — Propontic Thrace
Myrtiske — Propontic Thrace
Myrtountion — Elis
Mysia — Argolis

Nais — Ionia
Narthakion — Thessalia: Achaia
Naulochos — Phokis
Neleia — Thessalia: Magnesia
Nellos — Akarnania
Neon Teichos — Propontic Thrace
Nerikos — Akarnania
Nerikos — Epeiros
Neris — Lakedaimon
Nesos — Akarnania
Netteia — Rhodos
Nikaia — Spain and France
Nisa — Boiotia
Nisaia — Megaris
Nonakris — Arkadia

Ogylos, see Aigilia — Lakedaimon
Oichalia — Aitolia

Oichalia — Euboia
Oie — Ionia
Oineon — West Lokris
Oinoa/Oinoe — Argolis
Oinoe — Korinthia
Oion — Ionia
Okalea — Boiotia
Olbia — Pamphylia
Olenos — Aitolia
Oleros — Crete
Olmones — Boiotia
Olouros — Achaia
Olpai — Akarnania
Olympias/Gonnokondylos — Thessalia: Perrhaibia
Omphake — Sikelia
Onchesmos — Epeiros
Onchestos — Boiotia
Onkeion — Arkadia
Onthyrion — Thessalia
Orchomenos — Thessalia: Achaia
Ordessos — Black Sea Area
Orminion — Thessalia: Magnesia
Ornoi — Propontic Thrace
Oroanna — Ionia
Oropos — Epeiros

Paianion — Aitolia
Palaipharsalos — Thessalia
Palamedeion — Troas
Palike — Sikelia
Palinouros — Italia and Kampania
Panakton — Euboia
Panion/Paniai — Propontic Thrace
Panormos — Achaia
Panormos — Epeiros
Panormos — Ionia
Pantomatrion — Crete
Paraipioi — Thrace: from Axios to Strymon
Paroikopolis — Thrace: from Strymon to Nestos
Paror(e)ia — Arkadia
Parthenion — Euboia
Parthenope — Italia and Kampania
Passanda — Aiolis
Patmos — Aegean Islands
Pele — Ionia
Pelion — The Adriatic
Peraitheis — Arkadia
Pereia — Thessalia: Achaia
Pergamos — Thrace: from Strymon to Nestos
Petelia — Italia and Kampania
Peteon — Boiotia
Phagai — Rhodos
Phaistinos — West Lokris
Phalannai — Crete
Phalara — Thessalia: Malis
Phanai — Ionia
Pharmakoussa — Aegean Islands
Pharygai — Phokis
Phayttos — Thessalia
Pheia — Elis
Philanorion — Argolis
Phoibia — Sikyonia
Phoinikous — Ionia
Phokaia — Ionia
Photike — Epeiros
Photinaion — Thessalia
Phyliadon — Thessalia: Achaia
Phyllos — Thessalia
Physka — Thrace: from Axios to Strymon
Physkeis — West Lokris
Physkos — Karia
Pioniai — Aiolis
Pitya — Propontic Coast of Asia Minor
Pityeia — Troas
Plataiai — Sikyonia
Platea — Libya
Plateeis — Italia and Kampania
Pleiai/Palaia — Lakedaimon
Poikilasion — Crete
Polichna — Ionia
Polichna — Lakedaimon
Polichne — Ionia
Polion/Polisma — Troas
Polis — West Lokris
Porthmion — Black Sea Area
Porthmos — Euboia
Potidania — Aitolia
Pras — Thessalia: Achaia
Prineus — Ionia
Proseis — Arkadia
Prote — Messenia
Psamathous — Lakedaimon
Pteleon — Thessalia: Achaia
Pteleon — Thracian Chersonesos
Ptolederma — Arkadia
Ptychia — Akarnania
Pylene — Aitolia
Pyrgoi — Triphylia

Rhaikelos — Thrace: from Axios to Strymon
Rhamioi — Thrace: from Axios to Strymon
Rhion — Aitolia
Rhodanousia — Spain and France
Rhodiai — The Adriatic
Rhytion — Crete
Rustiana — East Lokris

Salganeus — Boiotia
Salmone — Elis
Salon — Kilikia
Samikon — Triphylia
Sarpedon — Kilikia
Sauria — Akarnania
Sauthaba — Propontic Thrace
Schedia — Boiotia
Schoinos — Boiotia
Schoinous — Korinthia
Selge — Pamphylia
Selinous — Kilikia
Selinous — Lakedaimon
Sepias — Thessalia: Magnesia
Setos — Kilikia
Side — Karia
Side — Thessalia: Ainis
Sidele — Ionia
Sidous — Korinthia
Sillyon — Pamphylia
Sipte — Thrace: from Nestos to Hebros
Skamandreia — Troas
Skapte Hyle — Thrace: from Strymon to Nestos
Skidros — Italia and Kampania
Skiros/Skiritis — Lakedaimon
Skolopoeis — Ionia
Skotoussa — Thrace: from Strymon to Nestos

Skylletion — Italia and Kampania
Skyphia — Ionia
Skyppion — Ionia
Sminthion — Troas
Smyrna — Ionia
Solygeia — Korinthia
Sosthenis — Thessalia: Ainis
Soumateion — Arkadia
So(. . .) — Italia and Kampania
Spercheiai — Thessalia: Ainis
Stephon — Boiotia
Stoichades Islands — Spain and France
Stratokleia — Black Sea Area
Stratopeda — Egypt
Stylangion — Triphylia
Sybota — Epeiros
Sykyrion — Thessalia
Symaitha — Thessalia

Tainaron — Lakedaimon
Tamynai — Euboia
Tarsos — Kilikia
Tegyra — Boiotia
Teichion — Aitolia
Teichioussa — Ionia
Teichos Aratou — Thracian Chersonesos
T(e)iristasis — Propontic Thrace
Teleidai — Euboia
Temenion — Argolis
Temoessos — Karia
Tenea — Korinthia
Teumessos — Boiotia
Teuthrone — Lakedaimon
Thaumakie — Thessalia: Magnesia
Theline — Spain and France
Therme — Korinthia
Thesprotia — Epeiros
Thisoa — Arkadia
Thoknia — Arkadia
Thornax — Lakedaimon
Thronion — The Adriatic
Thyessos — Aiolis
Thymbra — Troas
Thymbrara — Aiolis
Tilphosaion — Boiotia
Tiristasis — Thracian Chersonesos
Tirizis — Black Sea Area
Torikos — Black Sea Area
Tragia — Aegean Islands
Trampya — Epeiros
Trapezous — Thrace: from Axios to Strymon
Trapheia — Boiotia
Trikolonoi — Arkadia
Trinakrie — Sikelia
Trinasos — Lakedaimon
Triopion — Karia
Tripodiskos — Megaris
Tripolis — Thessalia
Typaneiai — Triphylia
Tyrakinai — Sikelia
Tyros — Lakedaimon

Xantheia — Thrace: from Nestos to Hebros
Xyniai — Thessalia: Achaia

Zarax — Lakedaimon
Zarex — Euboia
Zeirenia — Thrace: from Nestos to Hebros
Zephyrion — Kilikia
Zoiteion — Arkadia

B. Unidentified Settlements

Ag. Athanassios/Prophitis Ilias — Thrace: from Nestos to Hebros
Ag. Eirini — Crete
Ag. Giorgios Papoura — Crete
Ag. Ilias — Euboia
Ag. Ioannis — Argolis
Ag. Ioannis — Argolis
Ag. Ioannis — Crete
Ag. Ioannis — Thrace: from Axios to Strymon
Ag. Leonidhas — Argolis
Ag. Mina — Akarnania
Ag. Pandeleimona — Akarnania
Ag. Paraskevi — Euboia
Ag. Triada — Euboia
Ag. Vasileios — Euboia
Alistrati — Thrace: from Strymon to Nestos
Amades — Ionia
Amendolara — Italia and Kampania
Amnatos — Crete
Ampelia — Rhodos
Ampelos — Crete
Amvrakia — Aitolia
Amygdaleonas — Thrace: from Strymon to Nestos
Analipsis — Aitolia
Anavlokhos — Crete
Anchialos — Thrace: from Axios to Strymon
Ano Ktimeni — Thessalia: Achaia
Ano Parakalamo — Epeiros
Ano Phanari — Argolis
Ano Phteri — Thessalia: Ainis
Arachovitsa — Epeiros
Arkhampolis — Euboia
Armakades — Lakedaimon
Armolia — Ionia
Arvi — Crete
Avgonema — Ionia
Avgousti — Crete
Aytepe-Altintarla — Propontic Thrace
Azoria — Crete

Belishove — Epeiros
Belkahve — Aiolis
Belkahve — Ionia
Berbati — Argolis
Brinies (or Dherpeza) — Argolis
Butera — Sikelia

Çatalkaya — Ionia
Charakas — Crete
Chinitsa — Argolis
Choritsa — Argolis
Chryssa — Thrace: from Nestos to Hebros
Çobanpinari — Ionia

Daphne Hill — Rhodos
Değirmenaltı — Propontic Thrace
Dialekton-Paradeisos — Thrace: from Strymon to Nestos
Dimini — Thessalia: Magnesia
Diomedeia — Thrace: from Nestos to Hebros

Dorikon — Aitolia
Drossochori — Phokis
Drymon — Aitolia
Dyo Ekklesies — Aitolia

Elaionas — Elis
Elimi — Epeiros
Elinta — Ionia
Ellinika — Crete
Elliniko Kastello — Crete
Emporio — Ionia
Epanomi — Thrace: from Axios to Strymon
Erina — Ionia

Fousia — Argolis

Gennadi — Rhodos
Giftokastro — Argolis
Gla — Boiotia
Goritsa — Thessalia: Magnesia
Goumero — Elis
Gournes — Phokis
Grammenos/Vourta — Epeiros

Helliniko — Euboia
Helliniko — Argolis

Incoronata — Italia and Kampania
Iria — Argolis

Kalamos — Akarnania
Kali Vrysi — Thrace: from Strymon to Nestos
Kalivo — Epeiros
Kalloni (Ayios Yioryios) — Argolis
Kalogeros — Rhodos
Kalyva — Thrace: from Nestos to Hebros
Kapari — Argolis
Karakolithos — Phokis
Karatsadagli — Thessalia: Achaia
Karos — Epeiros
Karyani — Thrace: from Strymon to Nestos
Kassaros — Rhodos
Kastellos (1) — Crete
Kastellos (2) — Crete
Kasteriotis — Crete
Kastri (Apodholou) — Crete
Kastri (Keratokampos) — Crete
Kastri (Pantanassa) — Crete
Kastri (Pharmakokephalo) — Crete
Kastri (Tourloti) — Crete
Kastri tou Psellou — Ionia
Kastriza — Epeiros
Kastro Tseresi — Phokis
Kastrosykia — Epeiros
Kastrouli Zemenou — Phokis
Katsingri (Prophitis Ilias) — Argolis
Kavakli — Karia
Kefala (1) — Crete
Kefala (2) — Crete
Kefala (3) — Crete
Keramidaki, Kamara — Lakedaimon
Kharakti (= Kastro tou Sordatou) — Akarnania
Khironisi — Euboia
Khoika — Epeiros
Kinetta — Argolis
Kiotari — Rhodos
Kleisoura — Epeiros
Klepa — Aitolia
Klima — Aitolia
Klimatia — Epeiros
Komnina — Thrace: from Nestos to Hebros
Koniakos — Aitolia
Kontari — Ionia
Kontokynigi — Crete
Korakia Island — Argolis
Korifi — Elis
Koroni — Argolis
Koufo — Argolis
Koukos — Thrace: from Axios to Strymon
Koukouras — Argolis
Koutsi — Epeiros
Koutson — Thrace: from Nestos to Hebros
Krebeni Kato Melpeias — Messenia
Krini — Thrace: from Axios to Strymon
Kroussonas — Crete
Kryonerion (Galatas) — Aitolia
Kuyruklou Kala — Karia
Kyriaki — Phokis

Lefkandi — Euboia
Lemonodhasos — Argolis
Levka — Aitolia
Lidorikion — Aitolia
Limena Vatheos (= Ormos Vathy) — Akarnania
Lithi — Ionia
Loutro — Argolis
Lukovë — Epeiros
Lykoniko — Akarnania

Magoula — Argolis
Magoula sta Ilia — Argolis
Makri Longoni — Rhodos
Makri — Thrace: from Nestos to Hebros
Makrini-Mt. Gyros — Aitolia
Malevros — Aitolia
Mali — Boiotia
Managros — Ionia
Mantra Voutouriou — Rhodos
Marmaralono, Ag. Petros — Lakedaimon
Matohasanaj — Epeiros
Melindra (Milindra) — Argolis
Mendenitsa — East Lokris
Mesia — Thrace: from Strymon to Nestos
Mesokomi — Thrace: from Strymon to Nestos
Methochi — Ionia
Milea-Mt. Bouchori — Aitolia
Milingos — Ionia
Mitropoliti — Rhodos
Modi — Phokis
Monopari — Crete
Monte Bubbonia — Sikelia
Monte Desusino — Sikelia
Monte Gibil Gabel — Sikelia
Monte Iudica — Sikelia
Monte San Mauro — Sikelia
Monte Saraceno — Sikelia
Mouzakeika — Epeiros

Nea Karvali — Thrace: from Strymon to Nestos

Nea Triglia — Thrace: from Axios to Strymon
Nea Zichni — Thrace: from Strymon to Nestos
Neo Karlovasi — Ionia
Neokhorion — Ionia
Nikesiane — Thrace: from Strymon to Nestos

Oga — Argolis
Oreiokastron — Epeiros
Ossa — Thrace: from Axios to Strymon
Oxa — Crete

Paizoulia, Valtaki — Lakedaimon
Palaiochori — Euboia
Palaiokomi — Thrace: from Strymon to Nestos
Palaiotarsos-Kyriaki — Phokis
Palatia — Akarnania (see Same (no. 136))
Palia Phiva — Phokis
Paliampela — Thrace: from Strymon to Nestos
Paliochora — Lakedaimon
Panagitsa — Argolis
Panagitsa — Phokis
Papoura — Crete
Parthenonas — Thrace: from Axios to Strymon
Patela — Crete
Perista — Aitolia
Petrokhorion — Aitolia
Petrothalassa — Argolis
Phanes — Rhodos
Phaskomelia — Epeiros
Philagra — Euboia
Phoinikias — Crete
Pigadhaki — Argolis
Podochori — Thrace: from Strymon to Nestos
Prasidaki — Triphylia
Prokopion (Kastro) — Euboia
Prophitis Elias (1) — Crete
Prophitis Elias (2) — Crete
Psara — Akarnania
Psina — Epeiros
Pyrgos — Epeiros

Ripes — Epeiros
Riza — Epeiros
Riziani — Epeiros
Rosoufi — Phokis

Sambariza Magoula — Argolis
Sarniç — Karia
Selli — Crete
Selo — Epeiros
Skalia — Crete
Sourota — Thrace: from Axios to Strymon
Stathmos Angistas — Thrace: from Strymon to Nestos
Steno — Rhodos
Sterna — Akarnania
Sykea (Palaiokastro Koniakos) — Aitolia
Syra — Rhodos

Tatzat — Epeiros
Theotokos — Phokis
Thermi — Thrace: from Axios to Strymon
Thermisi Kastro — Argolis
Tolmeita — Libya
Toxotes — Thrace: from Nestos to Hebros
Tracheia — Argolis
Troulli — Crete
Trypitos — Crete
Tsoukka — Aitolia

Vartholomio — Elis
Vassallaggi — Sikelia
Vathi — Crete
Veni — Crete
Vigla — Crete
Voulgari Armokastella — Crete
Vounous — Thessalia: Ainis
Vourlia Amphikleias — Phokis
Vroulia — Rhodos

Zuka d' Ajtoj — Epeiros

C. Other Ancient Toponyms Discussed in the Text

Agassai — Makedonia
Agatheia — Phokis
Aiginion — Makedonia
Aiginion — Makedonia
Aigostheneia — Phokis
Alkomena — Makedonia
Ampelos — Thrace: from Axios to Strymon
Andria — Elis
Anemoreia — Phokis
Antaieis — Phokis
Anthemousis Limne — Black Sea Area
Apatouron — Black Sea Area
Apollonia — Thrace: from Axios to Strymon
Apollonia — Phokis
Argos Orestikon — Makedonia
Arkiroessa — Black Sea Area
Athenopolis — Spain and France
Aulaiouteichos/Agathopolis — Black Sea Area
Azania — Spain and France

Balla — Makedonia
Bokeria — Makedonia
Boukaia — Phokis

Chalkis — Thrace: from Axios to Strymon
Chryse — Aiolis
Cypsela — Spain and France

Dioryktos — Akarnania

Erannos — Phokis
Euia/Euboia — Makedonia

Gaimeion — Makedonia
Galadra — Makedonia
Genderros — Makedonia
Glechon — Phokis
Greia — Makedonia
Groneia — Phokis

Harpasa — Karia

Helikonioi — Phokis
Herakleia — Makedonia
Hermesion — Black Sea Area
Hieron Achilleos — Black Sea Area
Hieron Demetros — Black Sea Area
Hieron Dios Ouriou — Black Sea Area
Hipponesos — Karia
Hya(m)peia — Phokis

Itone — Aiolis

Kabellion — Spain and France
Kastabos — Karia
Keletron — Makedonia
Kerilloi — Italia and Kampania
Kirphis — Phokis
Krade — Karia
Krisa — Phokis
Kybos — Libya
Kyme — Euboia
Kyparissos — Phokis
Kyrene — Spain and France

Laeia — Karia
Larissa — Phokis
Lykoreia — Phokis
Marathon — Phokis
Marinia — Makedonia
Marmarion — Euboia
Melainai — Phokis
Memphis — Egypt
Midea/Mideia — Argolis
Milesion Teichos — Egypt

Naulochos — Black Sea Area
Nea[——] — Makedonia
Oinophyta — Boiotia
Olbia — Spain and France
Onchoe — Phokis

Panelos — Black Sea Area
Panormos — Thrace: from Axios to Strymon
Parthenopolis — Thrace: from Axios to Strymon
Patronis — Phokis
Pedaion — Aiolis
Pedasos — Troas
Petra — Makedonia
Phoinix — Karia
Phylakai — Makedonia
Physkelle/Myskella — Thrace: from Axios to Strymon
Pimpleia — Makedonia
Priola — Black Sea Area
Pyrene — Spain and France
Pyrrha — Phokis

Sekoanos — Spain and France
Skirphai — Phokis
Skydra — Makedonia
Stephane — Phokis
Styberra — Makedonia

Tamyrake — Black Sea Area
Tauroeis — Spain and France
Thera — Karia
Thermasia — Argolis
Thermos — Aitolia
Tnyssos — Karia
"Tower of Hero" — Thracian Chersonesos
Tristolos — Thrace: from Strymon to Nestos
Troizen — Spain and France

Xylos — Karia

5. *Polities Called* Polis

Key

A = Called *polis* in Archaic and/or Classical sources
[A] = Listed under the heading *poleis* in Archaic and/or Classical sources
B = Known for one or more of the essential characteristics of a *polis*
C = Known for one or more characteristics of a *polis*

U = Attested as a *polis* in the urban sense
[U] = Listed under the heading *polis* in the urban sense
P = Attested as *polis* in the political sense
[P] = Listed under the heading *polis* in the political sense
T = Attested as *polis* in the territorial sense

Spain and France		
Alalie	A	U
Emporion	A	U
Massalia	A	UP
Rhode	B	

Sikelia		
Abakainon	B	
Adranon	B	
Agyrion	B	
Aitna	A	UP
Akragas	A	UP
Akrai	C	
Alaisa	B	
Alontion	C	
Apollonia	C	
Engyon	C	
Euboia	C	
Galeria	C	
Gela	A	UP
Heloron	A	U
Henna	A	U
Herakleia Minoa	B	
Herakleia	C	
Herbessos	C	
Herbita	C	
Himera	A	UPT
Hippana	C	
Imachara	C	
Kallipolis	A	UP
Kamarina	A	[U]P
Kasmenai	A	U
Katane	A	UP
Kentoripa	C	
Kephaloidion	C	
Leontinoi	A	UPT
Lipara	A	U
Longane	C	
Megara	A	U
Morgantina	C	
Mylai	A	U
Mytistratos	C	
Nakone	C	
Naxos	A	UP
Petra	C	
Piakos	C	
Selinous	A	UP
Sileraioi	C	
Stielanaioi	C	
Syrakousai	A	UP
Tauromenion	[A]B	[U]
Tyndaris	B	
Tyrrhenoi	C	
Zankle/Messana	A	UP

Italia and Kampania		
Herakleia	A	UP
Hipponion	[A]B	[U]
Hyele	A	U
Kaulonia	[A]B	[U]
Kroton	A	UP
Kyme	A	UP
Laos	[A]B	[U]
Lokroi	A	UP
Medma	[A]B	[U]
Metapontion	A	UT
Metauros	C	
Neapolis	A	U
Pandosia	[A]B	[U]
Pithekoussai	A	U
Poseidonia	A	[U]P
Pyxous	B	
Rhegion	A	UP
Siris	A	UT
Sybaris	A	UP
Taras	A	UP
Temesa	B	
Terina	[A]B	[U]
Thourioi	A	U[P]

The Adriatic		
Adria	C	
Ankon	A	U
Apollonia	A	UP
Brentesion	C	
Epidamnos/ Dyrrhachion	A	UPT
Herakleia	A	U
Issa	A	U
Lissos	C	
Melaina Korkyra	A	U
Pharos	A	UP
Spina	A	U?

Epeiros		
Amantia	B	
Artichia	C	
Batiai	A	U
[Berenike]	C	
Boucheta	A	U
Bouthroton	A	U
Byllis	B	
Dodone	B	
Elateia	A	U
Elea	B	

Ephyra	A	U
Eurymenai	B	
Gitana	B	
Horraon	B	
Kassopa	A	P
Nikaia	C	
Olympa	C	
Orikos	A	U
Pandosia	A	U
Passaron	C	
Phanote	C	
Phoinike	B	
Poionos	C	
Tekmon	C	
Torone	C	
Zmaratha	C	

Akarnania

Alyzeia	A	U
Ambrakia	A	UP
Anaktorion	A	UP
Argos	A	UPT
Astakos	A	U
Derion	C	
Echinos	B	
Euripos	B	
Herakleia	C	
Hyporeiai	C	
Ithaka	A	U
Korkyra	A	UPT
Koronta	B	
Kranioi	A	UP
Leukas	A	UP
Limnaia	B	
Matropolis	B	
Medion	B	
Oiniadai	A	U
Palairos	B	
Paleis	A	UP
Phara	A	U
Phoitiai	[A]B	[P]
Pronnoi	A	UP
Same	A	UP
Sollion	A	U
Stratos	A	UPT
Thyrreion	B	
Torybeia	B	
Zakynthos	A	U[P]

Aitolia

Agrinion	B	
Aigition	A	U
Akripos	C	
Chalkis	A	UP
Halikyrna	[A]C	[U]
Kallion/Kallipolis	B	
Kalydon	[A]B	[U]
Makynea	C	
Molykreion	[A]B	[U]
Phola	C	
Phylea	C	
Pleuron	A	U
Proschion	B	
Therminea	C	
Trichoneion	B	

West Lokris

Alpa	C	
Amphissa	A	U
Chaleion	A	UP
Hyaia	C	
Hypnia	C	
Issioi	C	
Messapioi	[A]B	[P]
Myania	C	
Naupaktos	A	UP
Oianthea	A	U
Tolophon	C	
Tritea	A	P

Phokis

Abai	A	U
Aiolidai	A	UP
Ambryssos	B	
Amphikaia	A	U
Antikyra	A	U
Boulis	C	
Charadra	A	U[P]
Daulis	A	UP
Delphoi	A	UP
Drymos	A	U
Echedameia	B	
Elateia	A	UP
Erochos	A	U
Hyampolis	A	U
Kirrha	A	U
Ledon	B	
Lilaia	B	
Medeon	B	
Neon/Tithorea	A	U
Parapotamioi	A	UP
Pedieis	A	U[P]
Phanoteus	A	UP
Phlygonion	B	
Po[——]	C	
Stiris	B	
Teithronion	A	U[P]
Trachis	B	
Triteis	A	U
Troneia	B	

Boiotia

Akraiphia	A	UP
Alalkomenai	C	
Anthedon	A	U
Chaironeia	A	UP
Chorsiai	A	U
Erythrai	C	
Eteonos/Skaphai	C	
Eutresis	C	
Haliartos	A	P
Hyettos	B	
Hysiai	C	
Kopai	[A]B	[P]
Koroneia	A	P
Lebadeia	A	P
Mykalessos	A	UP
Orchomenos	A	UPT
Oropos	B	
Pharai	B	
Plataiai	A	UP
Potniai	C	
Siphai	A	UP
Skolos	C	
Tanagra	A	U[P]T
Thebai	A	UPT
Thespiai	A	UP
Thisbai	B	

Megaris, Korinthia, Sikyonia

Aigosthena	[A]C	[U]
Korinthos	A	UPT
Megara	A	UP
Pagai	[A]C	[U]
Sikyon	A	UPT

Achaia		
Aigai	[A]B	[U]
Aigeira	A	U
Aigion	[A]B	[U]
Ascheion	C	
Boura	A	U
Dyme	[A]B	[U]
Helike	A	U
Keryneia	C	
Leontion	C	
Olenos	B	
Patrai	[A]B	[U]
Pellene	A	UP
Pharai	B	
Phelloe	C	
Rhypai	[A]B	[U]
Tritaia	B	
Elis		
Alasyaion	C	
Alion	B	
Amphidolia	A	P
Anaitoi	B	
Chaladrioi	B	
Dyspontion	C	
Elis	A	UP
Eupagion	B	
Ewaoioi	B	
Kyllene	A	U
Larissa	A	U
Lasion	A	P
Lenos	C	
Letrinoi	A	P
Marganeis	A	P
Metapioi	B	
Opous	B	
Pisa	B	
Pylos	C	
Thraistos	A	UP
Arkadia		
Alea	B	
Alipheira	C	
Asea	A	PT
Dipaia	C	
Euaimon	B	
Eutaia	A	UT
Gortys	B	
Halous	C	
Helisson	A	UP
Heraia	A	U[P]
Kaphyai	B	
Kleitor	A	P
Koila	C	
Kynaitha	C	
Lousoi	A	P
Lykosoura	C	
Mantinea	A	UPT
Megale polis	A	UPT
Methydrion	B	
Nestane	C	
Nonakris	A	T
Orchomenos	A	UP
Oresthasion	A	U
Paion	A	UP
Pallantion	A	PT
Phara	C	
Pheneos	B	
Phigaleia	[A]B	[P]
Phorieia	C	
Psophis	A	P
Pylai	C	
Stymphalos	A	[U]P
Tegea	A	UPT
Teuthis	C	
Thaliades	C	
Thelphousa	B	
Thisoa	C	
Torthyneion	B	
Trapezous	C	
Triphylia		
Epeion	A	UPT
Epitalion	A	P
Lepreon	A	UP
Makiston	A	U
Noudion	A	U
Phrixai	A	UP
Pyrgos	A	U
Skillous	A	P
Messenia		
Aithaia	B	
Asine	[A]B	[U][P]
Aulon	C	
Kardamyle	C	
Korone	C	
Kyparissos	[A]B	[U]
Messene/Ithome	A	UP
Mothone	A	U
Pharai	C	
Thalamai	C	
Thouria	B	
Lakedaimon		
Aigys	C	
Anthana	A	U
Aphroditia	C	
Belbina	C	
Boia	A	U
Chen	C	
Epidauros	A	U
Etis	C	
Eua	C	
Geronthrai	C	
Gytheion	B	
Kromnos	C	
Kyphanta	B	
Kythera	A	U
Las	A	U
Oinous	B	
Oios	B	
Oitylos	C	
Pellana	B	
Prasiai	A	U
Sellasia	B	
Side	A	U
Sparta	A	UPT
Thyrea	A	U
Argolis		
Argos	A	UPT
Epidauros	A	UP
Halieis	A	UP
Hermion	A	U[P]
Kleonai	B	
Methana	A	U?
Mykenai	A	U?
Orneai	C	
Phleious	A	UP
Tiryns	B	
Troizen	A	UP
Saronic Gulf		
Aigina	A	UPT
Belbina	A	U
Kalaureia	A	UP

Attika		
Athenai	A	UPT
Eleusis	B	
Salamis	A	U
Euboia		
Athenai Diades	[A]B	[P]
Chalkis	A	UP
Diakrioi in Euboia	C	
Diakres apo Chalkideon	C	
Dion	[A]B	[P]
Dystos	A	U
Eretria	A	UP
Grynchai	B	
Histiaia/Oreos	A	UP
Karystos	A	UP
Orobiai	A	U
Peraia	C	
Posideion	C	
Styra	[A]B	[P]
East Lokris		
Alope	[A]C	[U]
Alponos	A	U
Halai	B	
Knemides	[A]C	[U]
Kynos	A	U
Larymna	[A]B	[U]
Naryka	B	
Nikaia	C	
Opous	A	[U]P
Skarpheia	B	
Thronion	A	U
Doris		
Akyphas/Pindos	B	
Boion	A	UP
Erineos	A	UP
Kytinion	A	UP
Thessalia		
Amphanai	[A]B	[U]
Argoussa	B	
Atrax	A	P
Gomphoi	B	
Gyrton	[A]B	[P]
Kierion	[A]B	[U]
Kondaia	C	
Krannon	[A]B	[U][P]
Larisa	A	U[P]
Methylion	B	
Metropolis	[A]B	[P]
Mopsion	B	
Orthos	B	
Oxynion	C	
Pagasai	[A]C	[U]
Peirasia	[A]B	[P]
Pelinnaion	[A]B	[U]
Phakion	[A]C	[P]
Phaloria	C	
Pharkadon	B	
Pharsalos	A	UP
Pherai	A	UP
Skotoussa	[A]B	[U]
Thetonion	B	
Trikka	[A]B	[P]
Dolopia		
Angeia	[A]C	[P]
Ktimene	[A]B	[P]
Ainis		
Hypata	[A]B	[P]
Kapheleis	[A]C	[P]
Korophaioi	C	
Phyrragioi	[A]B	[P]
Talana	[A]C	[P]
Oita		
Chen	C	
Parasopioi	B	
Malis		
Anthele	A	U
Antikyre	A	U
Echinos	A	U
Herakleia	A	UP
Lamia	A	U[P]
Trachis	A	U
Achaia Phthiotis		
Antron	[A]C	[U]
Ekkarra	C	
Halos	A	UP
Kypaira	[A]C	[P]
Larisa	[A]B	[U][P]
Melitaia	[A]B	[U][P]
Peuma	C	
Phylake	B	
Proerna	[A]B	[P]
Pyrasos/Demetrion	[A]B	[U][P]
Thaumakoi	C	
Thebai	[A]B	[U]
Magnesia		
Amyros	C	
Eureaioi	B	
Eurymenai	[A]B	[U]
Homolion	A	U[P]
Iolkos	[A]B	[U]
Kasthanaie	A	U
Kikynethos	A	U
Korakai	[A]B	[U][P]
Meliboia	A	[U]T
Methone	[A]B	[U][P]
Olizon	[A]B	[U]
Oxoniaioi	[A]C	[P]
Rhizous	[A]B	[U]
Spalauthra	[A]C	[U]
Perrhaibia		
Azoros	C	
Chyretiai	C	
Doliche	C	
Ereikinion	[A]B	[P]
Gonnos	A	UP
Malloia	C	
Mondaia	B	
Mylai	C	
Oloosson	B	
Phalanna	[A]B	[P]
Pythoinon	C	
Athamania		
Argethia	C	
The Aegean (Amorgos)		
Aigiale	A	UP
Arkesine	A	UP
Minoa	A	UP
Anaphe	B	
Andros	A	UP
Astypalaia	B	
Chalke	B	
Delos	A	[U]P
Helene (Ikaros)	[A]C	[U]
Oine	A	U[P]

Therma	A	U[P]
Ikos	A	U[P]
Imbros	A	UP
Ios	A	UP
Kalymna	A	UP
(Karpathos)		
Arkesseia	A	U
Brykous	A	U
Eteokarpathioi	[A]B	[P]
Karpathos	A	U
Kasos	[A]C	[P]
(Keos)		
Ioulis	A	UPT
Karthaia	A	UP
Koresia	A	UP
Poiessa	A	UP
Keria	C	
Kimolos	B	
(Kos)		
Astypalaia	C	
Halasarna	B	
Kos	A	UP
Kos Meropis	A	U
Kythnos	A	U[P]
(Lemnos)		
Hephaistia	A	UP
Myrina	A	UP
Leros	C	
Melos	A	UP
Mykonos	A	U[P]
Naxos	A	UPT
Nisyros	A	P
Paros	A	UPT
(Peparethos)		
Panormos	A	U
Peparethos	A	UP
Seleinous	A	U
Pholegandros	B	
Rheneia	A	UP
Samothrake	A	[U]P
Saros	B	
Seriphos	A	UP
Sikinos	A	UP
Siphnos	A	UP
Skiathos	A	U[P]
Skyros	A	UP
Syme	[A]C	[P]
Syros	A	[U]P
Telos	B	
Tenos	A	U[P]
Thasos	A	UPT
Thera	A	UPT

Makedonia

Aiane	C	
Aigeai	A	P
Alebaia	A	U
Allante	B	
Aloros	A	U
Beroia	A	P
Dion	[A]B	[U]
Edessa	C	
Europos	C	
Herakleion	A	U
Ichnai	A	UP
Kyrrhos	B	
Leibethra	C	
Methone	A	UP
Mieza	B	
Pella	A	UP
Pydna	A	U[P]

Mygdonia

Apollonia	A	UP
Arethousa	A	U[P]
Bormiskos	C	
Chalestre	A	U
Herakleia	C	
Lete	B	
Sindos	A	U
Therme	A	U

Bisaltia

Amphipolis	A	UP
Argilos	A	UP
Traïlos	B	

Chalkidike

Aige	A	UP
Aineia	A	UP
Aioleion	A	UP
Akanthos	A	UPT
Akrothooi	A	UP
Alapta	A	U
Anthemous	C	
Aphytis	A	UP
Assera	A	UP
Charadrous	A	U
Chedrolioi	[A]C	[P]
Chytropolis	C	
Dikaia	[A]B	[P]
Dion	A	UP
Eion	C	
Galepsos	A	UP
Gigonos	A	U[P]
Haisa	A	UP
Istasos	C	
Kalindoia	[A]B	[P]
Kamakai	[A]B	[P]
Kampsa	A	UP
Kissos	C	
Kithas	[A]C	[P]
Kleonai	A	UP
Kombreia	A	UP
Lipaxos	A	UP
Mekyberna	A	UPT
Mende	A	UP
Milkoros	[A]C	[P]
Neapolis	A	UP
Olophyxos	A	UP
Olynthos	A	UPT
Osbaioi	C	
Othoros	[A]C	[P]
Pharbelos	[A]B	[P]
Phegontioi	B	
Piloros	A	UP
Pistasos	[A]C	[P]
Pleume	[A]C	[P]
Polichnitai	C	
Posideion	C	
Poteidaia	A	UP
Prassilos	B	
Sane on Pallene	A	UP
Sane on Athos	A	UP
Sarte	A	UP
Serme	C	
Sermylia	A	UP
Singos	A	UPT
Sinos	[A]C	[P]
Skabala	B	
Skapsaioi	B	
Skione	A	UP
Skithai	B	
Smila	A	UP
Spartolos	A	UP
Stagiros	A	UP

Stolos/Skolos	A	UP
Strepsa	B	
Therambos	A	UP
Thestoros	C	
Thyssos	A	UP
Tinde	[A]C	[P]
Torone	A	UPT
Tripoiai	[A]B	[P]
Zereia	C	

Unlocated in Thrace

Aison	[A]C	[P]
Brea	B	
Kossaia	C	
Okolon	C	

Thrace: from Strymon to Nestos

Apollonia	A	U
Berga	B	
Datos	A	U
Eion	A	U
Galepsos	[A]B	[U]
Krenides	B	
Myrkinos	A	UP
Neapolis	[A]B	[U][P]
Oisyme	A	U
Phagres	[A]B	[U]
Philippoi	B	
Pistyros	A	UT
Sirra	C	

Thrace: from Nestos to Hebros

Abdera	A	UPT
Ainos	A	UP
Bergepolis	C	
Dikaia	A	U
Drys	B	
Kypsela	B	
Maroneia	A	U[P]
Mesambrie	A	UT
Orthagoria	B	
Sale	A	U
Stryme	A	PT
Zone	A	U

Inland Thrace

Alexandropolis	B	
Apros	C	
Kabyle	C	
Philippopolis	B	
Pistiros	C	
Seuthopolis	B	

Thracian Chersonesos

Aigos potamoi	C	
Alopekonnesos	[A]B	[U][P]
Araplos	[A]C	[U]
Chersonesos/Agora	A	UT
Deris	B	
Elaious	[A]B	[U][P]
Ide	[A]C	[U]
Kardia	A	UP
Kressa	[A]C	[U]
Krithote	A	UP
Limnai	[A]B	[P]
Madytos	A	U[P]
Paion	[A]C	[U]
Paktye	A	U
Sestos	A	UP

Propontic Thrace

Bisanthe	B	
Byzantion	A	UP
Daminon Teichos	B	
Heraion Teichos	A	U
Neapolis	B	
Perinthos	A	U[P]
Selymbria	A	UP
Serrion Teichos	C	
Tyrodiza	B	

Pontos: West Coast

Apollonia	A	U[P]
Bizone	C	
Dionysopolis	B	
Istros	A	P
Kallatis	[A]B	[U]
Mesambria	A	U
Nikonion	A	U
Odessos	[A]B	[U]
Olbia/Borysthenes	A	UPT
Ophiousa	A	U
Orgame	C	
Tomis	C	
Tyras	B	

Pontos: Skythia

Chersonesos	A	UP
Gorgippia	B	
Hermonassa	A	U
Karkinitis	A	U
Kepoi	[A]B	[U]
Kimmerikon	C	
Kytaia	[A]C	[U]
Labrys	A	UP
Myrmekeion	[A]C	[U]
Nymphaion	[A]B	[U]
Pantikapaion/Bosporos	[A]B	[U]
Phanagoria	A	U
Theodosia	[A]B	[U]
Tyritake	C	

Pontos: Kolchis

Dioskouris	A	UP
Gyenos	A	U
Phasis	A	U

Pontic Coast of Asia Minor

Amisos	B	
Becheirias	A	U
Choirades	A	U
Herakleia	A	UP
Iasonia	A	U
Karambis	A	U
Karoussa	A	U
Kerasous	A	U
Kinolis	A	U
Koloussa	A	U
Kotyora	A	UP
Kromna	B	
Kytoros	A	U
Limne	A	U
Lykastos	A	U
Odeinios	A	U
Sesamos	A	U
Sinope	A	UP
Stameneia	A	U
Tetrakis	A	U
Themiskyra	A	U
Tieion	A	U
Trapezous	A	UP

Propontic Coast of Asia Minor

Artaiou Teichos	C	
Artake	A	U
Astakos	B	
Bysbikos	B	
Darion	B	
Daskyleion	B	

Didymon Teichos	B	
Harpagion	B	
Kalchedon	A	UP
Kallipolis	A	U[P]
Kios	A	UP
Kolonai	B	
Kyzikos	A	UP
Lampsakos	A	UP
Metropolis	B	
Miletoupolis	B	
Miletouteichos	B	
Myrleia/Brylleion	[A]B	[U]
Olbia	A	U
Otlenoi	C	
Paisos	A	U
Parion	A	U[P]
Plakia	A	U
Priapos	A	U
Prokonnesos	A	UP
Pythopolis	B	
Skylake	C	
Sombia	B	
Tereia	C	
Zeleia	A	UP

Troas

Abydos	A	UPT
Achilleion	A	U[P]
Antandros	A	UP
Arisbe	B	
Assos	B	
Astyra Mysia	[A]B	[U]
Astyra Troika	C	
Azeia	C	
Birytis	B	
Dardanos	A	UPT
Gargara	A	UP
Gentinos	B	
Gergis	A	UP
Hamaxitos	A	UP
Ilion	A	UP
Kebren	A	U
Kokylion	A	UP
Kolonai	A	UP
Lamponeia	B	
Larisa	A	UP
Neandreia	A	UP
Ophryneion	A	U[P]
Palaiperkote	C	
Perkote	A	U
Polichna	C	
Rhoiteion	A	UP
Sigeion	A	U
Skepsis	A	UP
Tenedos	A	UP

Lesbos

Antissa	A	UP
Arisba	A	UP
Eresos	A	UPT
Methymna	A	UP
Mytilene	A	UPT
Pyrrha	A	UP

Aiolis

Adramyttion	A	U
Aigaiai	A	UPT
Aigiroessa	A	UPT
Atarneus	A	U
Autokane	B	
Boione	C	
Chalkis	C	
Elaia	[A]B	[U]
Gambrion	A	UPT
Gryneion	A	UPT
Halisarna	A	UP
Herakleia	B	
Iolla	C	
Karene	A	T
Killa	A	UPT
Kisthene	B	
Kyllene	A	UPT
Kyme	A	UPT
Larisa	A	UPT
Leukai	A	U
Magnesia	C	
Melanpagos	B	
Myrina	A	UPT
Nasos	A	UP
Neon Teichos	A	UPT
Notion	A	UPT
Palaigambrion	A	UP
Parthenion	B	
Pergamon	A	UP
Perperene	C	
Pitane	A	UPT
Pordoselene	A	UP
Temnos	A	UPT
Teuthrania	A	UP
Thebe	B	
Tisna	C	

Ionia

Achilleion	A	U
Airai	A	UP
Anaia	C	
Boutheia	B	
Chios	A	UPT
Chyton	C	
Dios Hieron	B	
Elaiousioi	B	
Ephesos	A	UPT
Erythrai	A	UP
Isinda	C	
Klazomenai	A	UP
Kolophon	A	UP
Korykos	C	
Lebedos	A	UP
Leukophrys	A	U
Magnesia	A	UP
Marathesion	C	
Miletos	A	UP
Myonnesos	A	U
Myous	A	UP
Naulochon	A	U?P?
Notion	A	U[P]
Phokaia	A	UP
Polichnitai	B	
Priene	A	UP
Pteleon	B	
Pygela	A	P
Samos	A	UPT
Samos (the klerouchy of 365–322)	B	
Sidousa	A	U
Smyrna	A	UPT?
Teos	A	UP
Thebai	B	

Karia

Alabanda	C	
Alinda	B	
Amos	[A]C	[P]
Amynandeis	C	
Amyzon	B	
Arlissos	B	

Armelitai	C	
Aulai	C	
Bargasa	C	
Bargylia	B	
Bolbai	C	
Chalketor	A	P
Chersonesos	B	
Chios	C	
Erineis	C	
Euromos	B	
Halikarnassos	A	UP
Hybliseis	[A]B	[P]
Hydaieis	B	
Hydisos	B	
Hymisseis	C	
Iasos	A	UP
Idrias	C	
Idyma	B	
Kalynda	B	
Karbasyanda	C	
Karyanda	A	U
Kasolaba	[A]B	[P]
Kaunos	A	U[P]
Kedreai	A	UP
Keramos	B	
Killareis	[A]B	[P]
Kindye	B	
Knidos	A	UP
Kodapeis	C	
Koliyrgeis	C	
Koranza	A	P
Krya	C	
Kyllandos	C	
Kyrbissos	C	
Latmos/Herakleia	A	UP
Lepsimandos	C	
Medmasos	B	
Mylasa	A	UP
Myndos	A	U
Narisbareis	C	
Naryandos	C	
Naxia	C	
Olaieis	C	
Olymos	C	
Ouranion	B	
Parpariotai	C	
Passanda	C	
Pedasa	C	
Peleiatai	C	
Pidasa	A	P
Pladasa	A	P
Pyrindos	C	
Pyrnos	C	
Salmakis	C	
Siloi	C	
Syangela/Theangela	A	UP
Talagreis	C	
Taramptos	C	
Tarbaneis	C	
Telandros	C	
Telemessos	B	
Termera	B	
Terssogasseis	C	
Thasthareis	C	
Thydonos	C	
Tralleis	B	
Lykia		
Phaselis	A	U[P]
Xanthos	A	UP
Crete		
Allaria	B	
Anopolis	C	
Apellonia	C	
Aptara	B	
Arkades	B	
Aulon	C	
Axos	A	[U]P
Biannos	C	
Bionnos	C	
Chersonasos	B	
Datala	A	P
Dragmos	C	
Dreros	A	U?P
Eleutherna	A	UP?
Eltynia	A	P
Elyros	A	U
Gortyns	A	UPT
Herakleion	C	
Hierapytna	B	
Hyrtakina	[A]B	[U]
Istron	C	
Itanos	A	U
Keraia	C	
Knosos	A	P
Kydonia	A	UP
Kytaion	B	
Lappa	B	
Lato	B	
Lebena	C	
Lisos	A	U
Lyktos	[A]B	[U]
Malla	C	
Matala	C	
Milatos	C	
Olous	B	
Petra	C	
Phaistos	[A]B	[U]
Phalasarna	A	U
Polichne	C	
Polyrhen	[A]B	[U]
Praisos	[A]B	[U]
Priansos	B	
Rhaukos	[A]B	[U]
Rhithymnos	C	
Rhitten	B	
Stalai	C	
Sybrita	[A]B	[U]
Tarrha	B	
Tylisos	A	P
Rhodos		
Brikindera	C	
Diakrioi	C	
Ialysos	A	UP
Kamiros	A	UP
Lindos	A	UP
Oiai	C	
Pedieis	C	
Rhodos	A	UPT
Pamphylia		
Aspendos	A	UPT
Idyros	A	U
Perge	A	U
Side	A	U
Kilikia		
Aphrodisias	C	
Holmoi	A	U
Issos	A	U
Kelenderis	A	U
Mallos	A	U
Nagidos	A	U
Soloi	A	U

Cyprus		
Amathous	A	[U]P
Idalion	A	UP
Karpasia	[A]C	[U]
Keryneia	[A]C	[U]
Kourion	B	
Lapethos	[A]B	[U]
Marion	A	U
Paphos	A	UP
Salamis	A	UP
Soloi	A	UP
Syria		
Posideion	A	U
Egypt		
Naukratis	A	U[P]
Oasis	A	U
Libya		
Barke	A	UP
Eu(h)esperides	A	U
Kinyps	A	U
Kyrene	A	UPT
Taucheira	A	U
Unlocated		
Astraiousioi	[A]C	[P]
Erodioi	C	
Eurymachitai	C	
Kystiros	A	P
Lechoioi	A	P
Phytaioi	C	

6. *Polities Called* Asty *and* Polisma

Key
asty = Called *asty* in Archaic and/or Classical sources
polisma = Called *polisma* in Archaic and/or Classical sources

Sikelia
Akragas *asty*
Kamarina *asty*
Kentoripa *polisma*
Syrakousai *asty*

Italia and Kampania
Metapontion *asty*

Akarnania
Sollion *polisma*

Boiotia
Chaironeia *polisma*
Plataiai *asty*
Thebai *asty*

Megaris, Korinthia, Sikyonia
Korinthos *asty*
Sikyon *asty*

Elis
Elis *asty*

Lakedaimon
Kythera (Skandaia) *polisma*
Prassiai *polisma*
Sparta *asty*, *polisma*

Argolis
Phleious *asty*

Saronic Gulf
Aigina *asty*

Attika
Athenai *asty*, *polisma*

Euboia
Eretria *asty*

East Lokris
Opous *asty*

Doris
Boion *polisma*
Erineos *asty*, *polisma*
Kyrinion *polisma*

Thessalia
Larisa *asty*
Pharsalos *asty*

The Aegean
Naxos *asty*
Siphnos *asty*
Tenos *asty*

Makedonia
Aigeai *asty*
Dion *polisma*

Mygdonia
Therme *polisma*

Bisaltia
Amphipolis *polisma*

Chalkidike
Akrothooi *polisma*
Dion *polisma*
Kleonai *polisma*
Olophyxos *polisma*
Sane *polisma*
Thyssos *polisma*
Torone *asty*

Thrace: from Strymon to Nestos
Eion *asty*

Propontic Thrace
Perinthos *asty*

Pontos: West Coast
Olbia *asty*

Troas
Abydos *asty*
Ilion *polisma*

Aiolis
Parthenion *polisma*

Ionia
Chios *asty*
Ephesos *polisma*
Kolophon *asty*
Miletos *asty*, *polisma*
Samos *asty*
Smyrna *asty*

Lykia
Xanthos *asty*

Cyprus
Salamis *asty*

Libya
Barke *asty*
Kyrene *asty*.

7. *Polities Called* Patris

Sikelia
Akragas C5
Gela C5
Himera C5m
Syrakousai C5

Italia
Herakleia C5
Lokroi C4s–C3e
Rhegion C5s
Siris/Polieion C5
Sybaris C5
Taras C5l–C4e
Thourioi C5

The Adriatic Sea
Epidamnos/Dyrrhachion C5

Akarnania
Ambrakia C6m
Korkyra C4f

West Lokris
Oianthea C7l

Boiotia
Plataiai C4
Thebai C5
Thespiai C4m

Megaris, Korinthos, Sikyon
Megara C5f
Korinthos C4f
Sikyon C4m

Elis
Elis C5

Arkadia
Mantinea C5
Paion C5
Phigaleia C4f
Thelphousa C4m
Trapezous C5

Triphylia
Lepreon C5f

Messenia
Messene/Ithome C4

Lakedaimon
Prasiai/Oreiatai C4s–C3e
Sparta C6

Argolis
Argos C5
Epidauros C4

Saronic Gulf Islands
Aigina C5

Attika
Athenai C6

Euboia
Eretria C4
Karystos C4l

East Lokris
Opous C4s

Thessalia
Krannon C5
Larisa C4
Pharsalos C4

Perrhaibia
Phalanna C4

Aegean Islands
Astypalaia C4l–C3e
Ios C4
Kalymna C5
Melos C5
Naxos C4
Paros C5
Pholegandros C6
Sikinos C6
Siphnos C4
Tenos C4l
Thasos C4

Makedonia
Pella C4s

Chalkidike
Akanthos C4
Olynthos C4

Propontis North
Selymbria C5m

Pontos: West Coast
Istros C4
Kallatis C4

Pontos: Skythia
Olbia C4

Pontic Coast of Asia Minor
Herakleia C4f

Propontis South
Kalchedon C4
Kyzikos C4s
Lampsakos C4

Troas
Skepsis C4
Tenedos C5

Lesbos
Antissa C4
Eresos C4
Methymna C4

Mytilene	C5	Samos	C5	Knosos	C5
Pyrrha	C4	Samos (the klerouchy of 365–322)	C4m	**Rhodos**	
Ionia		Teos	C5	Ialysos	C5
Chios	C4			Rhodos	C4
Ephesos	C4e	**Karia**			
Kolophon	C5	Halikarnassos	C5	**Libya**	
Magnesia	C4l–C3e			Euhesperides	C4
Phokaia	C5	**Crete**		Kyrene	C5

8. *Use of City-Ethnic*

Key
Ci = Collective internal
Ce = Collective external
Ii = Individual internal
Ie = Individual external
—— = Unattested in Archaic and Classical sources

Spain and France

Alalie	——
Emporion	Ci, Ce
Massalia	Ci, Ce, Ie
Rhode	Ci

Sikelia

Abakainon	Ci
Adranon	Ci
Agyrion	Ci
Aitna	Ci, Ce, Ie
Akragas	Ci, Ce, Ii, Ie
Akrai	——
Alaisa	Ci
Alontion	Ci
Apollonia	——
Engyon	——
Euboia	Ce
Galeria	Ci
Gela	Ci, Ce, Ie
Heloron	——
Henna	Ci, Ce
Herakleia	——
Herakleia Minoa	Ie
Herbessos	Ci
Herbita	Ci
Himera	Ci, Ce, Ie
Hippana	Ci
Imachara	Ci
Kallipolis	Ce
Kamarina	Ci, Ce, Ie
Kasmenai	——
Katane	Ci, Ce, Ie
Kentoripa	Ci, Ce
Kephaloidion	Ci
Leontinoi	Ci, Ce, Ie
Lipara	Ci, Ce, Ie
Longane	Ci
Megara	Ce
Morgantina	Ci
Mylai	Ce
Mytistratos	——
Nakone	Ci
Naxos	Ci, Ce, Ie
Petra	Ci
Piakos	Ci
Selinous	Ci, Ce, Ie
Sileraioi	Ci
Stielanaioi	Ci
Syrakousai	Ci, Ce, Ie
Tauromenion	Ci, Ce
Tyndaris	——
Tyrrhenoi	Ci
Zankle/Messana	Ci, Ce, Ie

Italia and Kampania

Herakleia	Ci, Ce, Ie
Hipponion	Ci, Ce, Ie
Hyele	Ci, Ce, Ie
Kaulonia	Ci
Kroton	Ci, Ce, Ie
Kyme	Ci
Laos	Ci
Lokroi	Ci, Ce, Ie
Medma	Ci, Ce
Metapontion	Ci, Ce, Ie
Metauros	——
Neapolis	Ci
Pandosia	Ci
Pithekoussai	——
Poseidonia	Ci, Ce
Pyxous	——
Rhegion	Ci, Ce, Ie
Siris	Ci, Ie
Sybaris	Ci, Ce, Ie
Taras	Ci, Ce, Ie
Temesa	Ci
Terina	Ci, Ce, Ie
Thourioi	Ci, Ce, Ie

The Adriatic

Adria	——
Ankon	——
Apollonia	Ce, Ie
Brentesion	Ce
Epidamnos	Ci, Ce, Ie
Herakleia	Ci
Issa	Ci
Lissos	——
Melaina Korkyra	Ci
Pharos	Ci
Spina	——

Epeiros

Amantia	Ce
Artichia	——
Batiai	——
Berenike	——
Boucheta	——
Bouthroton	——
Byllis	Ci, Ce
Dodona	Ce, Ie
Elateia	——
Elea	Ci, Ie
Ephyra	——
Eurymenai	Ie
Gitana	——
Horraon	Ie
Kassopa	——
Nikaia	——
Olympa	——
Orikos	Ce
Pandosia	——
Passaron	——
Phanote	——
Phoinike	——
Poionos	——
Tekmon	——
Torone	——
Zmaratha	——

Akarnania

Alyzeia	Ci, Ce, Ie
Ambrakia	Ci, Ce, Ie
Anaktorion	Ci, Ce
Argos	Ci, Ce, Ie
Astakos	Ce
Derion	——
Echinos	Ci, Ie
Euripos	——
Herakleia	——
Hyporeiai	Ie
Ithaka	Ci, Ce
Korkyra	Ci, Ce, Ie
Koronta	Ci
Kranioi	Ci, Ce
Leukas	Ci, Ce, Ie
Limnaia	——
Matropolis	——
Medion	Ci
Oiniadai	Ci, Ce
Palairos	Ce
Paleis	Ci, Ce
Phara	——
Phoitiai	Ci, Ie
Pronnoi	Ci, Ce
Same	Ci
Sollion	——
Stratos	Ci, Ce, Ie
Thyrreion	Ci, Ce
Torybeia	Ci, Ie
Zakynthos	Ci, Ce, Ie

Aitolia

Agrinion	——
Aigition	——
Akripos	——
Chalkis	Ce?
Halikyrna	——
Kallion/Kallipolis	Ce
Kalydon	Ci, Ce, Ie
Makynea	——
Molykreion	——
Phola	Ie
Phylea	——
Pleuron	——
Proschion	Ie
Therminea	——
Trichoneion	Ci, Ce

West Lokris

Alpa	Ce
Amphissa	Ce, Ie
Chaleion	Ci, Ce, Ie
Hyaia	Ce
Hypnia	Ce
Issioi	Ce
Messapioi	Ce, Ie
Myania	Ce
Naupaktos	Ce, Ie
Oianthea	Ce, Ie
Tolophon	Ce
Tritea	Ce

Phokis

Abai	——
Aiolidai	Ce
Ambryssos	——
Amphikaia	——
Antikyra	——
Boulis	——
Charadra	Ce
Daulis	Ce, Ie
Delphoi	Ci, Ce, Ii, Ie
Drymos	——
Echedameia	——
Elateia	Ie
Erochos	Ie
Hyampolis	Ci, Ie
Kirrha	Ce
Ledon	——
Lilaia	Ci, Ie
Medeon	Ce, Ie
Neon/Tithorea	Ci
Parapotamioi	Ce
Pedieis	Ce
Phanoteus	Ce, Ie
Phlygonion	Ce
Po[——]	——
Stiris	——
Teithronion	Ce, Ie
Trachis	——
Triteis	——
Troneia	Ce

Boiotia

Akraiphia	Ci, Ce, Ii
Alalkomenai	——
Anthedon	——
Chaironeia	Ci
Chorsiai	——
Erythrai	——
Eteonos/Skaphai	——
Eutresis	——
Haliartos	Ci, Ce, Ie
Hyettos	Ci, Ce
Hysiai	——
Kopai	Ci, Ce
Koroneia	Ci, Ce
Lebadeia	Ci, Ce, Ie
Mykalessos	Ci, Ce
Orchomenos	Ci, Ce, Ie
Oropos	Ci, Ce, Ie
Pharai	——
Plataiai	Ci, Ce, Ie
Potniai	Ci, Ie
Siphai	——
Skolos	——
Tanagra	Ci, Ce, Ie
Thebai	Ci, Ce, Ie
Thespiai	Ci, Ce, Ie
Thisbai	——

Megaris, Korinthia, Sikyonia

Aigosthena	——
Korinthos	Ci, Ce, Ie
Megara	Ci, Ce, Ii, Ie
Pagai	——
Sikyon	Ci, Ce, Ie

Achaia

Aigai	Ci
Aigeira	Ci
Aigion	Ie
Ascheion	Ie
Boura	——
Dyme	Ci, Ce, Ie
Helike	Ci
Keryneia	——
Leontion	——
Olenos	Ce
Patrai	Ce, Ie
Pellene	Ci, Ce, Ie
Pharai	Ce, Ie
Phelloe	——
Rhypai	Ce, Ie
Tritaia	Ce

Elis

Alasyaion	Ce
Alion	——
Amphidolia	Ce
Anaitoi	Ce
Chaladrioi	Ci
Dyspontion	——
Elis	Ci, Ce, Ii, Ie
Eupagion	——
Ewaoioi	Ce
Kyllene	Ie
Larissa	——
Lasion	Ce
Lenos	——
Letrinoi	Ce
Marganeis	Ce
Metapioi	Ce
Opous	——
Pisa	Ci, Ce
Pylos	Ce
Thraistos	Ce

Arkadia

Alea	Ci, Ce, Ie
Alipheira	——
Asea	Ce
Dipaia	Ce
Euaimon	Ce
Eutaia	——
Gortys	Ce, Ie
Halous	——
Helisson	Ce
Heraia	Ci, Ce, Ie
Kaphyai	Ce, Ie
Kleitor	Ci, Ce, Ie
Koila	——
Kynaitha	Ie
Lousoi	Ci, Ie
Lykosoura	——
Mantinea	Ci, Ce, Ie
Megale polis	Ce, Ie
Methydrion	Ci, Ce, Ie
Nestane	Ce or Ie
Nonakris	Ce or Ie
Orchomenos	Ci, Ce, Ie
Oresthasion	Ie
Paion	——
Pallantion	Ci, Ce
Phara	——
Pheneos	Ci, Ce
Phigaleia	Ce, Ie
Phorieia	Ce or Ie
Psophis	Ci, Ce
Pylai	Ie
Stymphalos	Ci, Ce, Ie
Tegea	Ci, Ce, Ie
Teuthis	——
Thaliades	——
Thelphousa	Ci, Ce
Thisoa	Ie
Torthyneion	Ce
Trapezous	——

Triphylia

Epeion	——
Epitalion	Ce
Lepreon	Ce
Makiston	Ce, Ie
Noudion	——
Phrixai	——
Pyrgos	——
Skillous	Ce

Messenia

Aithaia	Ce
Asine	Ce, Ie
Aulon	Ce
Kardamyle	——
Korone	——
Kyparissos	Ci, Ie
Messene/Ithome	Ci, Ce, Ie
Mothone	——
Pharai	——
Thalamai	——
Thouria	Ce, Ci

Lakedaimon

Aigys	Ce
Anthana	——
Aphroditia	——
Belbina	——
Boia	——
Chen	Ie
Epidauros	Ie
Etis	——
Eua	Ce?, Ii
Geronthrai	——
Gytheion	——
Kromnos	Ie?
Kyphanta	Ie
Kythera	Ce, Ie
Las	——
Oinous	Ie
Oios	Ce
Oitylos	——
Pellana	Ie
Prasiai	——
Sellasia	——
Side	——
Sparta	Ci, Ce, Ie
Thyrea	——

Argolis

Argos	Ci, Ce, Ie
Epidauros	Ci, Ce, Ii, Ie
Halieis	Ci, Ce, Ie
Hermion	Ci, Ce, Ii, Ie
Kleonai	Ci, Ce, Ii, Ie
Methana	Ci
Mykenai	Ce, Ie
Orneai	Ce
Phleious	Ci, Ce, Ii, Ie
Tiryns	Ce, Ie
Troizen	Ci, Ce, Ie

Saronic Gulf

Aigina	Ci, Ce, Ie
Belbina	Ce, Ie
Kalaureia	Ci

Attika

Athenai	Ci, Ce, Ii, Ie
Eleusis	——
Salamis	Ci, Ce, Ii, Ie

Euboia

Athenai Diades	Ce
Chalkis	Ci, Ce, Ie
Diakrioi en Euboia	Ce
Diakres apo Chalkideon	Ce
Dion	Ce
Dystos	——
Eretria	Ci, Ce, Ie
Grynchai	Ce
Histiaia/Oreos	Ci, Ce, Ie
Karystos	Ci, Ce, Ie
Orobiai	——

Peraia	——
Posideion	——
Styra	Ce
East Lokris	
Alope	——
Alponos	——
Halai	Ci
Knemides	——
Kynos	——
Larymna	Ci
Naryka	——
Nikaia	——
Opous	Ci, Ce, Ie
Skarpheia	Ci, Ie
Thronion	Ci, Ce, Ie
Doris	
Akyphas/Pindos	——
Boion	——
Erineos	Ie
Kytinion	Ie
Thessalia	
Amphanai	——
Argoussa	——
Atrax	Ci, Ce, Ie
Gomphoi	Ci
Gyrton	Ci, Ce, Ie
Kierion	Ci
Kondaia	Ie?
Krannon	Ci, Ce, Ie
Larisa	Ci, Ce, Ie
Methylion	Ci
Metropolis	Ci, Ie
Mopsion	Ci
Orthos	Ci
Oxynion	——
Pagasai	Ce, Ie
Peirasia	Ci, Ce
Pelinnaion	Ci, Ie
Phakion	Ie?
Phaloria	Ci
Pharkadon	Ci
Pharsalos	Ci, Ce, Ie
Pherai	Ci, Ce, Ie
Skotoussa	Ci, Ce, Ie
Thetonion	Ci
Trikka	Ci, Ce, Ie
Dolopia	
Angeia	Ce
Ktimene	Ie
Ainis	
Hypata	Ci, Ce
Kapheleis	Ie
Korophaioi	Ie
Phyrrhagioi	Ie
Talana	——
Oita	
Chen	——
Parasopioi	Ie
Malis	
Anthele	——
Antikyre	Ie
Echinos	Ce, Ie
Herakleia	Ci, Ce, Ie
Lamia	Ci, Ce, Ie
Trachis	Ci, Ce, Ie
Achaia Phthiotis	
Antron	——
Ekkarra	Ci
Halos	Ci, Ce
Kypaira	Ce
Larisa	Ci, Ie
Melitaia	Ci, Ce, Ie
Peuma	Ci
Phylake	——
Proerna	Ci, Ce, Ie
Pyrasos	Ce
Thaumakoi	Ie
Thebai	Ci
Magnesia	
Amyros	Ce
Eureaioi	Ci
Eurymenai	Ci
Homolion	Ci, Ce, Ie
Iolkos	Ci
Kasthanaie	Ce
Kikynethos	——
Korakai	Ci, Ce
Meliboia	Ci, Ce, Ie
Methone	Ce, Ie
Olizon	Ie
Oxoniaioi	Ce
Rhizous	Ci
Spalauthra	——
Perrhaibia	
Azoros	——
Chyretiai	Ce, Ie
Doliche	——
Ereikinion	Ce
Gonnos	Ci, Ce
Malloia	Ce
Mondaia	Ce
Mylai	Ce
Oloosson	Ci, Ce
Phalanna	Ci, Ce, Ie
Pythoion	——
Athamania	
Argethia	Ie
The Aegean	
(Amorgos)	
Aigiale	Ci
Arkesine	Ci
Minoa	Ci, Ce
Anaphe	Ci, Ce
Andros	Ci, Ce, Ie
Astypalaia	Ce, Ie
Chalke	Ci, Ce
Delos	Ci, Ce. Ii, Ie
Helene	——
(Ikaros)	
Oine	Ci, Ce
Therma	Ce
Ikos	Ci, Ce, Ie
Imbros	Ci, Ce, Ie
Ios	Ci, Ce, Ie
Kalymna	Ci, Ce, Ie
(Karpathos)	
Arkesseia	——
Brykous	Ce
Eteokarpathioi	Ce
Karpathos	Ci, Ce
Kasos	Ce
(Keos)	
Ioulis	Ci, Ce, Ie
Karthaia	Ci, Ce
Koresia	Ci, Ce
Poiessa	Ci, Ce
Keria	——

Kimolos	Ce, Ie
(Kos)	
Astypalaia	——
Halasarna	——
Kos	Ci, Ce, Ie
Kos Meropis	——
Kythnos	Ce, Ie
(Lemnos)	
Hephaistia	Ci, Ce
Myrina	Ci, Ce
Leros	Ce
Melos	Ci, Ce, Ie
Mykonos	Ci, Ce, Ie
Naxos	Ci, Ce, Ii?, Ie
Nisyros	Ci, Ce, Ie
Paros	Ci, Ce, Ie
(Peparethos)	
Panormos	——
Peparethos	Ci, Ce, Ie
Seleinous	——
Pholegandros	Ce
Rhenaia	Ce, Ie
Samothrake	Ci, Ce, Ie
Saros	Ce
Seriphos	Ci, Ce, Ie
Sikinos	Ci, Ce
Siphnos	Ci, Ce, Ie
(Skiathos)	
Palaiskiathos	Ie
Skiathos	Ci, Ce, Ie
Skyros	Ce, Ii?, Ie,
Syme	Ce
Syros	Ce, Ie
Telos	Ci, Ce, Ie
Tenos	Ci, Ce, Ie
Thasos	Ci, Ce, Ie
Thera	Ci, Ce, Ie

Makedonia

Aiane	——
Aigeai	——
Alebaia	——
Allante	Ce
Aloros	——
Beroia	Ie
Dion	——
Edessa	——
Europos	Ce, Ie
Herakleion	——
Ichnai	Ci
Kyrrhos	——
Leibethra	Ci?, Ce
Methone	Ci, Ce, Ie
Mieza	——
Pella	——
Pydna	Ci, Ie

Mygdonia

Apollonia	Ci, Ce
Arethousa	Ce, Ie
Bormiskos	——
Chalestre	——
Herakleia	Ie
Lete	Ci, Ie
Sindos	Ce
Therme	——

Bisaltia

Amphipolis	Ci, Ce, Ie
Argilos	Ci, Ce, Ie
Traïlos	Ci, Ie

Chalkidike

Aige	Ce
Aineia	Ci, Ce
Aioleion	Ce
Akanthos	Ci, Ce, Ie
Akrothooi	Ce
Alapta	——
Anthemous	——
Aphytis	Ci, Ce, Ie
Assera	——
Charadrous	——
Chedrolioi	Ce
Chytropolis	Ce
Dikaia	Ci, Ce
Dion	Ce
Eion	——
Galepsos	Ce
Gigonos	——
Haisa	——
Istasos	——
Kalindoia	——
Kamakai	——
Kampsa	——
Kissos	Ce
Kithas	——
Kleonai	——
Kombreia	——
Lipaxos	——
Mekyberna	——
Mende	——
Milkoros	——
Neapolis	Ce
Olophyxos	Ci, Ce
Olynthos	Ci, Ce, Ie
Osbaioi	Ce, Ie
Othoros	Ce
Pharbelos	Ce
Phegontioi	Ce, Ie?
Piloros	——
Pistasos	——
Pleume	Ce
Polichnitai	Ce
Posideion	——
Poteidaia	Ci, Ce, Ie
Prassilos	Ce
Sane, Pallene	Ce?
Sane, Akte	Ce?
Sarte	Ce
Serme	Ce
Sermylia	Ci, Ce
Singos	Ce
Sinos	——
Skabala	Ce
Skapsaioi	Ce
Skione	Ci, Ce, Ie
Skithai	Ci——?
Smila	——
Spartolos	Ce
Stagiros	Ci, Ce, Ie
Stolos/Skolos	Ce
Strepsa	Ce
Therambos	Ce
Thestoros	——
Thyssos	Ce
Tinde	Ce
Torone	Ci, Ce, Ie
Tripoiai	——
Zereia	Ce

Unlocated in Thrace

Aison	Ce
Brea	Ce

Kossaia	Ce?
Okolon	——

Thrace: from Strymon to Nestos

Apollonia	Ci, Ce
Berga	——
Datos	——
Eion	——
Galepsos	Ci, Ce, Ie?
Krenides	——
Myrkinos	Ce
Neapolis	Ci, Ce, Ie
Oisyme	Ci
Phagres	Ci, Ce, Ie
Philippoi	Ci
Pistyros	——
Sirra	——

Thrace: from Nestos to Hebros

Abdera	Ci, Ce, Ie
Ainos	Ci, Ce, Ie
Bergepolis	——
Dikaia	——
Drys	Ce
Kypsela	——
Maroneia	Ci, Ce, Ie
Mesambrie	——
Orthagoria	Ci
Sale	——
Stryme	——
Zone	Ci, Ce

Inland Thrace

Alexandropolis	——
Apros	——
Kabyle	——
Philippopolis	——
Pistiros	Ce
Seuthopolis	——

Thracian Chersonesos

Aigos potamoi	Ci
Alopekonnesos	Ci, Ce
Araplos	——
Chersonesos/Agora	Ce, Ie
Deris	Ce?
Elaious	Ci, Ce, Ie
Ide	——
Kardia	Ci, Ce, Ie
Kressa	——
Krithote	Ci
Limnai	Ce
Madytos	Ci, Ce
Paion	——
Paktye	——
Sestos	Ce, Ie

Propontic Thrace

Bisanthe	——
Byzantion	Ci, Ce, Ie
Daminon Teichos	Ce
Heraion Teichos	——
Neapolis	Ce
Perinthos	Ci, Ce, Ie
Selymbria	Ci, Ce, Ie
Serrion Teichos	Ce
Tyrodiza	Ce

Pontos: West Coast

Apollonia	Ci, Ce, Ie
Bizone	——
Dionysopolis	——
Istros	Ci, Ie
Kallatis	Ci, Ie
Mesambria	Ci, Ie
Nikonion	——
Odessos	——
Olbia/Borysthenes	Ci, Ce, Ii, Ie
Ophiousa	——
Orgame	——
Tomis	——
Tyras	Ci

Pontos: Skythia

Chersonesos	Ci, Ce, Ie
Gorgippia	——
Hermonassa	——
Karkinitis	Ci, Ie
Kepoi	Ie
Kimmerikon	——
Kytaia	——
Labrys	Ce?
Myrmekeion	——
Nymphaion	Ci, Ie
Pantikapaion	Ci, Ie
Phanagoria	Ci
Theodosia	Ci, Ie
Tyritake	Ci, Ie

Pontos, Kolchis

Dioskouris	——
Gyenos	——
Phasis	Ce

Pontic Coast of Asia Minor

Amisos	Ci, Ie
Becheirias	——
Choirades	——
Herakleia	Ci, Ce, Ie
Iasonia	——
Karambis	——
Karoussa	——
Kerasous	Ce
Kinolis	——
Koloussa	——
Kotyora	Ce
Kromna	Ie
Kytoros	——
Limne	——
Lykastos	——
Odeinios	——
Sesamos	Ci
Sinope	Ci, Ce, Ie
Stameneia	——
Tetrakis	——
Themiskyra	——
Tieion	Ci
Trapezous	Ci, Ce, Ie

Propontic Coast of Asia Minor

Artaiou Teichos	Ce
Artake	Ce
Astakos	Ce
Bysbikos	Ce
Darion	——
Daskyleion	Ce
Didymon Teichos	Ce
Harpagion	Ce
Kalchedon	Ci, Ce, Ie
Kallipolis	Ce?
Kios	Ci, Ce, Ie
Kolonai	Ce?
Kyzikos	Ci, Ce, Ie
Lampsakos	Ci, Ce, Ie
Metropolis	——
Miletoupolis	Ci, Ie
Miletouteichos	Ce
Myrleia/Bryllion	Ci, Ce

Olbia	——
Otlenoi	Ce
Paisos	Ce
Parion	Ci, Ce, Ie
Plakia	Ce
Priapos	Ci, Ce
Prokonnesos	Ci, Ce, Ie
Pythopolis	Ce
Skylake	——
Sombia	——
Tereia	——
Zeleia	Ci, Ie

Troas

Abydos	Ci, Ce, Ie
Achilleion	——
Antandros	Ci, Ce, Ie
Arisbe	Ce
Assos	Ci, Ce
Astyra Mysia	Ce
Astyra Troika	——
Azeia	Ce
Birytis	Ci, Ce
Dardanos	Ci, Ce, Ie
Gargara	Ci, Ce, Ie
Gentinos	Ci, Ce
Gergis	Ci, Ce,
Hamaxitos	Ci, Ce,
Ilion	Ci, Ce, Ie
Kebren	Ci, Ce, Ie
Kokylion	Ce
Kolonai	Ci
Lamponeia	Ci, Ce
Larisa	——
Neandreia	Ci, Ce
Ophryneion	Ci, Ce?
Palaiperkote	Ce
Perkote	Ce
Polichna	Ce
Rhoiteion	Ci
Sigeion	Ci, Ce, Ie
Skepsis	Ci, Ce
Tenedos	Ci, Ce, Ie

Lesbos

Antissa	Ce, Ie
Arisbe	——
Eresos	Ci, Ce, Ie
Methymna	Ci, Ce, Ie
Mytilene	Ci, Ce, Ie
Pyrrha	Ci, Ce, Ie

Aiolis

Adramyttion	Ci, Ie
Aigai(ai)	Ci
Aigiroessa	——
Atarneus	Ci, Ie
Autokane	Ci?
Boione	——
Chalkis	Ci?
Elaia	Ci, Ce
Gambrion	Ci
Gryneion	Ci, Ce
Halisarna	——
Herakleia	Ci, Ce
Iolla	Ci
Karene	Ce
Killa	——
Kisthene	——
Kyllene	——
Kyme	Ci, Ce, Ie
Larisa	Ci, Ce
Leukai	Ci
Magnesia	Ie?
Melanpagos	Ci
Myrina	Ci, Ce
Nasos	Ci
Neon Teichos	——
Notion	——
Palaigambrion	——
Parthenion	——
Pergamon	Ci, Ie
Perperene	Ci, Ce
Pitane	Ci, Ce, Ie
Pordoselene	Ci
Temnos	Ci, Ie
Teuthrania	Ci
Thebe	——
Tisna	Ci

Ionia

Achilleion	——
Airai	Ci, Ce
Anaia	Ce
Boutheia	Ce
Chios	Ci, Ce, Ie
Chyton	——
Dios Hieron	Ce
Elaiousioi	Ce
Ephesos	Ci, Ce, Ie
Erythrai	Ci, Ce, Ie
Isinda	Ce
Klazomenai	Ci, Ce, Ie
Kolophon	Ci, Ce, Ie
Korykos	Ce
Lebedos	Ce
Leukophrys	——
Magnesia	Ci, Ce, Ie
Marathesion	——
Miletos	Ci, Ce, Ie
Myonnesos	Ce
Myous	Ci, Ce, Ie
Naulochon	——
Notion	Ce
Phokaia	Ci, Ce, Ie
Polichnitai	Ce
Priene	Ci, Ce, Ie
Pteleon	Ce
Pygela	Ci, Ce, Ie
Samos	Ci, Ce, Ie
Sidousa	Ce
Smyrna	Ci, Ce, Ie
Teos	Ci, Ce, Ie
Thebai	Ci

Karia

Alabanda	Ce
Alinda	Ce
Amos	Ce
Amynandeis	Ce
Amyzon	Ci, Ce
Arlissos	Ce
Armelitai	Ce
Aulai	Ce
Bargasa	Ce
Bargylia	Ce
Bolbai	Ce
Chalketor	Ci, Ce, Ie
Chersonesos	Ci, Ce
Chios	Ce
Erineis	Ce
Euromos	Ci, Ce, Ie
Halikarnassos	Ci, Ce, Ie
Hybliseis	Ce
Hydaieis	Ce
Hydisos	Ce

Hymisseis	Ce
Iasos	Ci, Ce, Ie
Idrias	Ce
Idyma	Ci, Ce
Kalynda	Ce
Karbasyanda	Ce
Karyanda	Ce, Ie
Kasolaba	Ce
Kaunos	Ci, Ce, Ie
Kedreai	Ce
Keramos	Ci, Ce
Killareis	Ce
Kindye	Ci, Ce, Ie
Knidos	Ci, Ce, Ie
Kodapeis	Ce
Koliyrgeis	Ce
Koranza	Ci, Ce, Ie
Krya	Ce
Kyllandos	Ce
Kyrbissos	Ce
Latmos/Herakleia	Ci, Ce, Ie
Lepsimandos	——
Medmasos	Ce
Mylasa	Ci, Ce, Ie
Myndos	Ce, Ie
Narisbareis	Ce
Naryandos	Ce
Naxia	Ce
Olaieis	Ce
Olymos	Ce
Ouranion	Ce
Parpariotai	Ce
Passanda	Ce
Pedasa	Ie
Peleiatai	Ce
Pidasa	Ce
Pladasa	Ci, Ce
Pyrindos	Ci or Ce
Pyrnos	Ce
Salmakis	Ci
Siloi	Ce
Syangela/Theangela	Ci, Ce, Ie
Talagreis	Ce
Taramptos	——
Tarbaneis	Ce
Telandros	Ce
Telemessos	Ce
Termera	Ce
Terssogasseis	Ie
Thasthareis	Ce
Thydonos	——
Tralleis	Ci

Lykia

Phaselis	Ci, Ce, Ie
Xanthos	Ci, Ce

Crete

Allaria	Ci
Anopolis	——
Apellonia	——
Aptara	Ci
Arkades	Ci
Aulon	——
Axos	Ci
Biannos	——
Bionnos	——
Chersonasos	Ci, Ie
Datala	Ci, Ie
Dragmos	——
Dreros	——
Eleutherna	Ci
Eltynia	Ci
Elyros	Ci, Ce
Gortyns	Ci, Ce, Ie
Herakleion	——
Hierapytna	——
Hyrtakina	Ci, Ce
Istron	——
Itanos	Ci, Ce
Keraia	Ci
Knosos	Ci, Ce, Ie
Kydonia	Ci, Ce, Ie
Kytaion	Ci
Lappa	Ci
Lato	——
Lebena	Ce
Lisos	Ci
Lyktos	Ci, Ce
Malla	——
Matala	——
Milatos	Ce
Olous	Ci
Petra	——
Phaistos	Ci
Phalasarna	——
Polichne	Ce
Polyrhen	Ci
Praisos	Ci, Ce
Priansos	Ci
Rhaukos	Ci, Ie
Rhithymnos	Ci, Ie
Rhitten	Ce
Stalai	——
Sybrita	Ci
Tarrha	Ci, Ie
Tylisos	Ci, Ce

Rhodos

Brikindera	Ce
Diakrioi	Ce
Ialysos	Ci, Ce, Ie
Kamiros	Ci, Ce,
Lindos	Ci, Ce, Ie
Oiai	Ce
Pedieis	Ce
Rhodos	Ci, Ce, Ii, Ie

Pamphylia

Aspendos	Ce, Ie
Idyros	——
Perge	——
Side	Ci?, Ce, Ie

Kilikia

Aphrodisias	——
Holmoi	Ci
Issos	Ci
Kelenderis	——
Mallos	Ci
Nagidos	Ci
Soloi	Ci

Cyprus

Amathous	Ce
Idalion	Ce
Karpasia	Ce, Ie
Keryneia	——
Kourion	Ce
Lapethos	——
Marion	Ci
Paphos	Ci, Ie
Salamis	Ci, Ce, Ie
Soloi	Ce

Syria

Posideion	——

Egypt	
Naukratis	Ce, Ie
Oasis	——
Libya	
Barke	Ci, Ce, Ie
Euhesperides	Ci, Ce, Ie
Kinyps	——
Kyrene	Ci, Ce, Ie
Taucheira	Ci
Unlocated	
Astraiousioi	Ce
Erodioi	Ce
Eurymachitai	Ce
Kystiros	Ce
Lechoioi	Ce
Phytaioi	Ci

9. *Size of Territory*

Key
1 = <25 km²
2 = 25–100 km²
3 = 100–200 km²
4 = 200–500 km²
5 = >500 km²
U = unlocated
—— = unknown

Spain and France

Alalie	3?
Emporion	2
Massalia	2
Rhode	——

Sikelia

Abakainon	——
Adranon	——
Agyrion	——
Aitna	——
Akragas	5
Akrai	——
Alaisa	——
Alontion	——
Apollonia	——
Engyon	——
Euboia	——
Galeria	——
Gela	4 or 5
Heloron	——
Henna	——
Herakleia	U
Herakleia Minoa	
Herbessos	U
Herbita	U
Himera	5
Hippana	——
Imachara	U
Kallipolis	U
Kamarina	4
Kasmenai	——
Katane	4
Kentoripa	——
Kephaloidion	——
Leontinoi	4
Lipara	2
Longane	——
Megara	4
Morgantina	——
Mylai	2
Mytistratos	——
Nakone	U
Naxos	4
Petra	U
Piakos	U
Selinous	5
Sileraioi	U
Stielanaioi	——
Syrakousai	5
Tauromenion	——
Tyndaris	——
Tyrrhenoi	U
Zankle/Messana	4

Italia and Kampania

Herakleia	4
Hipponion	3
Hyele	2
Kaulonia	3
Kroton	4
Kyme	4
Laos	2?
Lokroi	3
Medma	2
Metapontion	4
Metauros	1
Neapolis	1–2
Pandosia	U
Pithekoussai	1
Poseidonia	4
Pyxous	——
Rhegion	5
Siris	——
Sybaris	5
Taras	4
Temesa	——
Terina	——
Thourioi	3 or 4

The Adriatic

Adria	——
Ankon	——
Apollonia	5?
Brentesion	——
Epidamnos	——
Herakleia	U
Issa	3
Lissos	——
Melaina Korkyra	4
Pharos	1
Spina	——

Epeiros

Amantia	——
Artichia	——
Batiai	1 or 2
Berenike	——
Boucheta	1 or 2
Bouthroton	——
Byllis	——
Dodona	——
Elateia	——
Elea	——
Ephyra	——
Eurymenai	——
Gitana	——
Horraon	——
Kassopa	5
Nikaia	——
Olympa	——
Orikos	——
Pandosia	——
Passaron	——
Phanote	——
Phoinike	——
Poionos	U
Tekmon	——
Torone	1 or 2

Zmaratha	U

Akarnania

Alyzeia	2
Ambrakia	4
Anaktorion	2
Argos	3
Astakos	2
Derion	1
Echinos	1
Euripos	1
Herakleia	1 or 2
Hyporeiai	U
Ithaka	2
Korkyra	5
Koronta	2
Kranioi	2 or 3
Leukas	4
Limnaia	2
Matropolis	2
Medion	2
Oiniadai	3
Palairos	2
Paleis	2 or 3
Phara	
Phoitiai	2
Pronnoi	2 or 3
Same	2 or 3
Sollion	U
Stratos	2
Thyrreion	2
Torybeia	2
Zakynthos	4

Aitolia

Agrinion	2?
Aigition	——
Akripos	U
Chalkis	1 or 2
Halikyrna	1 or 2
Kallion	——
Kalydon	2?
Makynea	1 or 2
Molykreion	1 or 2
Phola	U
Phylea	U
Pleuron	2?
Proschion	U
Therminea	U
Trichoneion	——

West Lokris

Alpa	——
Amphissa	2
Chaleion	2?
Hyaia	——
Hypnia	1
Issioi	U
Messapioi	U
Myania	1
Naupaktos	2?
Oianthea	——
Tolophon	1?
Tritea	1

Phokis

Abai	1 or 2
Aiolidai	——
Ambryssos	2
Amphikaia	1 or 2
Antikyra	2
Boulis	2
Charadra	1 or 2
Daulis	1 or 2
Delphoi	2 or 3
Drymos	2
Echedameia	U
Elateia	3 or 4
Erochos	1 or 2
Hyampolis	1 or 2
Kirrha	——
Ledon	1 or 2
Lilaia	1 or 2
Medeon	2
Neon/Tithorea	2
Parapotamioi	2
Pedieis	2
Phanoteus	1 or 2
Phlygonion	2
Po[——]	U
Stiris	2
Teithronion	2
Trachis	——
Triteis	U
Troneia	1 or 2

Boiotia

Akraiphia	2
Alalkomenai	1
Anthedon	2
Chaironeia	2
Chorsiai	2
Erythrai	1
Eteonos/Skaphai	U
Eutresis	1
Haliartos	2
Hyettos	2
Hysiai	1
Kopai	3
Koroneia	2
Lebadeia	2
Mykalessos	2
Orchomenos	3
Oropos	3
Pharai	1?
Plataiai	3
Potniai	1
Siphai	1
Skolos	1
Tanagra	5
Thebai	5
Thespiai	4
Thisbai	3

Megaris, Korinthia, Sikyonia

Aigosthena	1
Korinthos	5
Megara	4
Pagai	1
Sikyon	4

Achaia

Aigai	1 or 2
Aigeira	1 or 2
Aigion	2 or 3
Ascheion	U
Boura	2 or 3
Dyme	——
Helike	1 or 2
Keryneia	1 or 2
Leontion	——
Olenos	——
Patrai	——
Pellene	3 or 4
Pharai	——
Phelloe	1 or 2
Rhypai	——
Tritaia	——

Elis	
Alasyaion	U
Alion	U
Amphidolia	U
Anaitoi	U
Chaladrioi	U
Dyspontion	U
Elis	5
Eupagion	U
Ewaoioi	U
Kyllene	1 or 2
Larissa	U
Lasion	2
Lenos	U
Letrinoi	1 or 2
Marganeis	1 or 2
Metapioi	U
Opous	U
Pisa	4
Pylos	1 or 2
Thraistos	U

Arkadia	
Alea	3
Alipheira	2 or 3
Asea	2
Dipaia	U
Euaimon	U
Eutaia	1 or 2
Gortys	2 or 3
Halous	2 or 3
Helisson	1 or 2
Heraia	4
Kaphyai	4
Kleitor	5
Koila	U
Kynaitha	3
Lousoi	2 or 3
Lykosoura	——
Mantinea	4
Megale polis	4 or 5
Methydrion	2
Nestane	1 or 2
Nonakris	1 or 2
Orchomenos	3
Oresthasion	1 or 2
Paion	——
Pallantion	2
Phara	U
Pheneos	4
Phigaleia	3
Phorieia	U
Psophis	4
Pylai	U
Stymphalos	3
Tegea	4
Teuthis	——
Thaliades	——
Thelphousa	4
Thisoa	——
Torthyneion	——
Trapezous	1 or 2

Triphylia	
Epeion	1 or 2
Epitalion	1 or 2
Lepreon	3
Makiston	3
Noudion	U
Phrixai	1 or 2
Pyrgos	——
Skillous	——

Messenia	
Aithaia	U
Asine	2 or 3
Aulon	1 or 2
Kardamyle	1
Korone	2 or 3
Kyparissos	3 or 4
Messene/Ithome	4 or 5
Mothone	2 or 3
Pharai	1 or 2
Thalamai	1
Thouria	1 or 2

Lakedaimon	
Aigys	1?
Anthana	1?
Aphroditia	U
Belbina	1?
Boia	2?
Chen	U
Epidauros	2?
Etis	——
Eua	——
Geronthrai	2?
Gytheion	2?
Kromnos	1?
Kyphanta	1?
Kythera	4
Las	1?
Oinous	U
Oios	1 or 2
Oitylos	1 or 2
Pellana	1 or 2
Prasiai	2?
Sellasia	1 or 2
Side	1
Sparta	5
Thyrea	1?

Argolis	
Argos	5
Epidauros	4
Halieis	2
Hermion	4
Kleonai	3
Methana	2
Mykenai	2?
Orneai	1 or 2
Phleious	3
Tiryns	2?
Troizen	4

Saronic Gulf	
Aigina	2
Belbina	1
Kalaureia	2

Attika	
Athenai	5
Eleusis	1 or 2
Salamis	2

Euboia	
Athenai Diades	1?
Chalkis	5
Diakrioi en Euboia	U
Diakres apo Chalkideon	U
Dion	1?
Dystos	1?
Eretria	5
Grynchai	1 or 2
Histiaia/Oreos	4, later 5
Karystos	4
Orobiai	1?

Peraia	U
Posideion	1 or 2
Styra	1 or 2
East Lokris	
Alope	1 or 2
Alponos	1 or 2
Halai	2
Knemides	1
Kynos	1 or 2
Larymna	1 or 2
Naryka	1 or 2
Nikaia	1 or 2
Opous	2 or 3
Skarpheia	U
Thronion	1 or 2
Doris	
Akyphas/Pindos	1
Boion	1
Erineos	1
Kytinion	1
Thessalia	
Amphanai	——
Argoussa	2
Atrax	2
Gomphoi	2
Gyrton	2
Kierion	2
Kondaia	——
Krannon	3
Larisa	3
Methylion	U
Metropolis	2
Mopsion	2
Orthos	——
Oxynion	U
Pagasai	2
Peirasia	1
Pelinnaion	2
Phakion	U
Phaloria	——
Pharkadon	2
Pharsalos	3
Pherai	2
Skotoussa	2
Thetonion	2
Trikka	2 or 3
Dolopia	
Angeia	2?
Ktimene	2
Ainis	
Hypata	——
Kapheleis	U
Korophaioi	U
Phyrrhagioi	U
Talana	U
Oita	
Chen	U
Parasopioi	U
Malis	
Anthele	1 or 2
Antikyre	2
Echinos	——
Herakleia	2
Lamia	2
Trachis	1 or 2
Achaia Phthiotis	
Antron	——
Ekkarra	2?
Halos	2
Kypaira	2
Larisa	——
Melitaia	2
Peuma	1
Phylake	——
Proerna	2
Pyrasos	2
Thaumakoi	2 or 3
Thebai	4
Magnesia	
Amyros	——
Eureaioi	U
Eurymenai	U
Homolion	2
Iolkos	1 or 2
Kasthanaie	2
Kikynethos	1
Korakai	U
Meliboia	2
Methone	1 or 2
Olizon	2
Oxoniaioi	U
Rhizous	2
Spalauthra	2
Perrhaibia	
Azoros	2
Chyretiai	2
Doliche	2
Ereikinion	2
Gonnos	3
Malloia	2
Mondaia	2
Mylai	2
Oloosson	2
Phalanna	2
Pythoion	2
Athamania	
Argethia	——
The Aegean	
(Amorgos)	
Aigiale	2
Arkesine	2
Minoa	2
Anaphe	2
Andros	4
Astypalaia	2
Chalke	2
Delos	1
Helene	1
(Ikaros)	
Oine	3
Therma	3
Ikos	2
Imbros	4
Ios	3
Kalymna	2
(Karpathos)	
Arkesseia	1 or 2
Brykous	1 or 2
Eteokarpathioi	U
Karpathos	U
Kasos	2
(Keos)	
Ioulis	2
Karthaia	2
Koresia	1
Poiessa	2
Keria	1
Kimolos	2
(Kos)	

Astypalaia	3
Halasarna	1?
Kos	4
Kos Meropis	3
Kythnos	2
(Lemnos)	
Hephaistia	3
Myrina	3
Leros	2
Melos	3
Mykonos	2
Naxos	4
Nisyros	2
Paros	3
(Peparethos)	
Panormos	1
Peparethos	2
Seleinous	1
Pholegandros	2
Rheneia	1
Samothrake	3
Saros	1
Seriphos	2
Sikinos	2
Siphnos	2
Skiathos	2
Skyros	4
Syme	2
Syros	3
Telos	2
Tenos	3
Thasos	4
Thera	2

Makedonia

Aiane	——
Aigeai	2
Alebaia	U
Allante	——
Aloros	——
Beroia	4
Dion	4
Edessa	——
Europos	——
Herakleion	3
Ichnai	——
Kyrrhos	4?
Leibethra	3
Methone	3?
Mieza	——
Pella	4
Pydna	3 or 4

Mygdonia

Apollonia	——
Arethousa	2 or 3
Bormiskos	2
Chalestre	——
Herakleia	——
Lete	——
Sindos	——
Therme	——

Bisaltia

Amphipolis	——
Argilos	2
Traïlos	——

Chalkidike

Aige	2
Aineia	1 or 2
Aioleion	1?
Akanthos	3
Akrothooi	2
Alapta	U
Anthemous	——
Aphytis	2
Assera	2
Charadrous	U
Chedrolioi	U
Chytropolis	U
Dikaia	——
Dion	1 or 2
Eion	U
Galepsos	2 or 3?
Gigonos	1 or 2
Haisa	1?
Istasos	U
Kalindoia	——
Kamakai	U
Kampsa	U
Kissos	U
Kithas	——
Kleonai	1 or 2
Kombreia	U
Lipaxos	U
Mekyberna	1 or 2
Mende	2
Milkoros	U
Neapolis	2
Olophyxos	1 or 2
Olynthos	5
Osbaioi	U
Othoros	U
Pharbelos	U
Phegontioi	U
Piloros	——
Pistasos	U
Pleume	1
Polichnitai	U
Posideion	U
Poteidaia	2
Prassilos	U
Sane, Pallene	2
Sane, Akte	2 or 3
Sarte	——
Serme	U
Sermylia	1 or 2
Singos	2 or 3
Sinos	1 or 2
Skabala	2 or 3
Skapsaioi	U
Skione	2
Skithai	U
Smila	U
Spartolos	——
Stagiros	——
Stolos/Skolos	2 or 3
Strepsa	——
Therambos	2
Thestoros	U
Thyssos	1 or 2
Tinde	
Torone	3
Tripoiai	U
Zereia	U

Thrace, unlocated

Aison	U
Brea	U
Kossaia	U
Okolon	U

Thrace: from Strymon to Nestos

Apollonia	——
Berga	3

Datos	3
Eion	3
Galepsos	3
Krenides	——
Myrkinos	3
Neapolis	2
Oisyme	3
Phagres	3
Philippoi	2 or 3
Pistyros	3
Sirra	3

Thrace: from Nestos to Hebros

Abdera	5
Ainos	4 or 5
Bergepolis	——
Dikaia	2 or 3
Drys	2 or 3
Kypsela	——
Maroneia	5
Mesambria	2
Orthagoria	U
Sale	3
Stryme	3
Zone	2

Inland Thrace

Alexandropolis	U
Apros	——
Kabyle	——
Philippopolis	——
Pistiros	——
Seuthopolis	——

Thracian Chersonesos

Aigos potamoi	1 or 2
Alopekonnesos	2 or 3
Araplos	U
Chersonesos/Agora	3
Deris	——
Elaious	2 or 3
Ide	U
Kardia	2 or 3
Kressa	——
Krithote	2 or 3
Limnai	2
Madytos	3
Paion	U
Paktye	1 or 2
Sestos	3 or 4

Propontic Thrace

Bisanthe	2
Byzantion	5
Daminon Teichos	1
Heraion Teichos	1 or 2
Neapolis	1
Perinthos	5
Selymbria	4
Serrion Teichos	1
Tyrodiza	5

Pontos: West Coast

Apollonia	5
Bizone	2
Dionysopolis	4
Istros	5
Kallatis	5
Mesambria	5
Nikonion	3
Odessos	5
Olbia/Borysthenes	5
Ophiousa	U
Orgame	1
Tomis	4
Tyras	5

Pontos: Skythia

Chersonesos	5
Gorgippia	1
Hermonassa	1
Karkinitis	2
Kepoi	1
Kimmerikon	1
Kytaia	1
Labrys	——
Myrmekeion	1
Nymphaion	1
Pantikapaion	3 or 4
Phanagoria	4
Theodosia	1
Tyritake	——

Pontos: Kolchis

Dioskouris	4
Gyenos	1
Phasis	

Pontic Coast of Asia Minor

Amisos	——
Becheirias	U
Choirades	U
Herakleia	5
Iasonia	——
Karambis	——
Karoussa	——
Kerasous	——
Kinolis	——
Koloussa	——
Kotyora	——
Kromna	——
Kytoros	——
Limne	U
Lykastos	——
Odeinios	——
Sesamos	——
Sinope	5
Stameneia	——
Tetrakis	U
Themiskyra	——
Tieion	——
Trapezous	——

Propontic Coast of Asia Minor

Artaiou Teichos	——
Artake	1 or 2
Astakos	——
Bysbikos	1
Dareion	U
Daskyleion	——
Didymon Teichos	——
Harpagion	——
Kalchedon	5
Kallipolis	U
Kios	5
Kolonai	U
Kyzikos	5
Lampsakos	5
Metropolis	U
Miletoupolis	——
Miletouteichos	——
Myrleia/Bryllion	——
Olbia	U
Otlenoi	U
Paisos	1 or 2
Parion	5
Plakia	——
Priapos	2 or 3
Prokonnesos	3
Pythopolis	——

Skylake	——
Sombia	U
Tereia	——
Zeleia	——

Troas

Abydos	4
Achilleion	1
Antandros	4?
Arisbe	——
Assos	4
Astyra	1?
Astyra Troika	——
Azeia	U
Birytis	——
Dardanos	2
Gargara	2
Gentinos	1 or 2
Gergis	4
Hamaxitos	1 or 2
Ilion	3 or 4
Kebren	5
Kokylion	——
Kolonai	2?
Lamponeia	2?
Larisa	2?
Neandreia	4
Ophryneion	1 or 2
Palaiperkote	——
Perkote	1 or 2
Polichna	U
Rhoiteion	2
Sigeion	2
Skepsis	5
Tenedos	2

Lesbos

Antissa	4
Arisba	2 or 3
Eresos	4
Methymna	4
Mytilene	4
Pyrrha	4

Aiolis

Adramyttion	——
Aigai(ai)	——
Aigiroessa	U
Atarneus	——
Autokane	U
Boione	U
Chalkis	1
Elaia	2 or 3
Gambrion	——
Gryneion	1 or 2
Halisarna	——
Herakleia	——
Iolla	U
Karene	——
Killa	U
Kisthene	——
Kyllene	1 or 2
Kyme	2 or 3
Larisa	——
Leukai	1
Magnesia	——
Melanpagos	——
Myrina	1 or 2
Nasos	1
Neon Teichos	——
Notion	U
Palaigambrion	U
Parthenion	——
Pergamon	——
Perperene	——
Pitane	1 or 2
Pordoselene	1?
Temnos	——
Teuthrania	——
Thebe	——
Tisna	——

Ionia

Achilleion	U
Airai	1 or 2
Anaia	1 or 2
Boutheia	——
Chios	5
Chyton	1 or 2
Dios Hieron	1 or 2
Elaiousioi	U
Ephesos	5
Erythrai	5
Isinda	U
Klazomenai	3 or 4
Kolophon	4
Korykos	1 or 2
Lebedos	2 or 3
Leukophrys	——
Magnesia (Mai)	——
Marathesion	1
Miletos	5
Myonnesos	1
Myous	2 or 3
Naulochon	1 or 2
Notion	1 or 2
Phokaia	3
Polichnitai	——
Priene	3 or 4
Pteleon	1 or 2
Pygela	1 or 2
Samos	5
Sidousa	——
Smyrna	——
Teos	3 or 4
Thebai	1 or 2

Karia

Alabanda	——
Alinda	——
Amos	——
Amynandeis	1 or 2
Amyzon	——
Arlissos	U
Armelitai	U
Aulai	——
Bargasa	——
Bargylia	1 or 2
Bolbai	U
Chalketor	1 or 2
Chersonesos	U
Chios	U
Erineis	U
Euromos	1 or 2
Halikarnassos	2, with dependencies 5
Hybliseis	U
Hydaieis	1 or 2
Hydisos	——
Hymisseis	U
Iasos	2 or 3
Idrias	——
Idyma	——
Kalynda	——
Karbasyanda	1 or 2

Karyanda	1
Kasolaba	U
Kaunos	——
Kedreai	——
Keramos	——
Killareis	1 or 2
Kindye	1 or 2
Knidos	4 or 5
Kodapeis	U
Koliyrgeis	——
Koranza	U
Krya	1 or 2
Kyllandos	——
Kyrbissos	U
Latmos/Herakleia	——
Lepsimandos	1
Medmasos	1 or 2
Mylasa	——
Myndos	1 or 2
Narisbareis	U
Naryandos	U
Naxia	1 or 2
Olaieis	——
Olymos	——
Ouranion	——
Parpariotai	——
Passanda	——
Pedasa	1
Peleiatai	U
Pidasa	——
Pladasa	——
Pyrindos	U
Pyrnos	——
Salmakis	U
Siloi	U
Syangela/Theangela	2 or 3
Talagreis	U
Taramptos	1
Tarbaneis	U
Telandros	1
Telemessos	1 or 2
Termera	1 or 2
Terssogasseis	U
Thasthareis	1 or 2
Thydonos	U
Tralleis	——
Lykia	
Phaselis	——
Xenthos	——
Crete	
Allaria	2
Anopolis	2
Apellonia	2
Aptara	3
Arkades	3
Aulon	1
Axos	2
Biannos	2
Bionnos	1
Chersonasos	1
Datala	U
Dragmos	1
Dreros	2
Eleutherna	3
Eltynia	2
Elyros	2
Gortyns	4
Herakleion	3
Hierapytna	4
Hyrtakina	2
Istron	2
Itanos	3
Keraia	1
Knosos	4
Kydonia	4
Kytaion	1
Lappa	3
Lato	2
Lebena	2
Lisos	2
Lyktos	4
Malla	2
Matala	1
Milatos	2
Olous	3
Petra	1
Phaistos	2
Phalasarna	3
Polichne	2
Polyrhen	3
Praisos	3
Priansos	3
Rhaukos	2
Rhithymnos	3
Rhitten	1
Stalai	1
Sybrita	2
Tarrha	2
Tylisos	2
Rhodos	
Brikindera	——
Diakrioi	U
Ialysos	4
Kamiros	4
Lindos	5
Oiai	U
Pedieis	U
Rhodos	5
Pamphylia	
Aspendos	——
Idyros	——
Perge	5
Side	4
Kilikia	
Aphrodisias	——
Holmoi	——
Issos	——
Kelenderis	——
Mallos	——
Nagidos	——
Soloi	——
Cyprus	
Amathous	5
Idalion	5
Karpasia	5
Keryneia	5
Kourion	5
Lapethos	5
Marion	5
Paphos	5
Salamis	5
Soloi	5
Syria	
Posideion	1?
Egypt	
Naukratis	——
Oasis	U
Libya	
Barke	4 or 5
Euhesperides	2?
Kinyps	——

Kyrene	5
Taucheira	3?
Unlocated	
Astraiousioi	U
Erodioi	U
Eurymachitai	U
Kystiros	U
Lechoioi	U
Phytaioi	U

10. Poleis *in 400 versus* Poleis *no longer or not yet Existing in 400*

A. Poleis *in 400*

Spain and France
Emporion
Massalia

Sikelia
Abakainon
Agyrion
Akrai
Alaisa
Apollonia
Engyon
Galeria
Heloron
Henna
Herakleia Minoa
Imachara
Kallipolis
Kamarina
Kasmenai
Kephaloidion
Lipara
Longane
Morgantina
Mylai
Mytistratos
Nakone
Selinous
Syrakousai
Zankle/Messana

Italia and Kampania
Herakleia
Hipponion
Hyele
Kaulonia
Kroton
Kyme
Laos
Lokroi
Medma
Metapontion
Metauros
Neapolis
Pandosia
Pithekoussai
Pyxous
Rhegion
Taras
Temesa
Terina
Thourioi

The Adriatic
Adria
Apollonia
Brentesion
Epidamnos/Dyrrhachion
Spina

Epeiros
Batiai
Boucheta
Bouthroton
Dodone
Elateia
Ephyra
Pandosia

Akarnania
Alyzeia
Ambrakia
Anaktorion
Argos
Astakos
Derion
Herakleia
Ithaka
Korkyra
Koronta
Kranioi
Leukas
Oiniadai
Palairos
Paleis
Phoitiai
Pronnoi
Same
Stratos
Zakynthos

Aitolia
Aigition
Chalkis
Kallion
Kalydon
Makynea
Molykreion
Phola
Pleuron
Proschion
Trichoneion

West Lokris
Alpa
Amphissa
Chaleion
Hyaia
Hypnia
Issioi
Messapioi
Myania
Naupaktos
Oianthea
Tolophon
Tritea

Phokis
Abai
Ambryssos
Amphikaia
Antikyra
Boulis
Charadra
Daulis
Delphoi
Drymos
Echedameia
Elateia
Erochos
Hyampolis

Ledon
Lilaia
Medeon
Neon/Tithorea
Parapotamioi
Pedieis
Phanoteus
Phlygonion
Po[——]
Stiris
Teithronion
Trachis
Troneia

Boiotia
Akraiphia
Anthedon
Chaironeia
Chorsiai
Erythrai
Eteonos/Skaphai
Eutresis
Haliartos
Hyettos
Hysiai
Kopai
Koroneia
Lebadeia
Mykalessos
Orchomenos
Oropos
Pharai
Siphai
Skolos
Tanagra
Thebai
Thespiai
Thisbai

Megaris, Korinthia, Sikyonia
Korinthos
Megara
Sikyon

Achaia
Aigai
Aigeira
Aigion
Boura
Dyme
Helike
Keryneia
Olenos
Patrai
Pellene
Pharai
Phelloe
Rhypai
Tritaia

Elis
Alasyaion
Alion
Amphidolia
Elis
Eupagion
Kyllene
Larissa
Lasion
Letrinoi
Marganeis
Opous
Pylos
Thraistos

Arkadia
Alea
Alipheira
Asea
Dipaia
Euaimon
Eutaia
Gortys
Halous
Helisson
Heraia
Kaphyai
Kleitor
Koila
Kynaitha
Lousoi
Lykosoura
Mantinea
Methydrion
Nestane
Nonakris
Orchomenos
Oresthasion
Paion
Pallantion
Phara
Pheneos
Phigaleia
Phorieia
Psophis
Pylai
Stymphalos
Tegea
Teuthis
Thaliades
Thelphousa
Thisoa
Torthyneion
Trapezous

Triphylia
Epeion
Epitalion
Lepreon
Makiston
Phrixai
Pyrgos
Skillous

Messenia
Aithaia
Asine
Aulon
Kardamyle
Kyparissos
Mothone
Pharai
Thalamai
Thouria

Lakedaimon
Anthana
Aphroditia
Boia
Chen
Epidauros
Etis
Eua
Geronthrai
Gytheion
Kromnos
Kythera

Las
Oinous
Oios
Oitylos
Pellana
Prasiai/Oreiatai
Sellasia
Side
Sparta

Argolis
Argos
Epidauros
Halieis
Hermion
Kleonai
Methana
Phleious
Troizen

Saronic Gulf
Aigina
Belbina
Kalaureia

Attika
Athenai
Salamis

Euboia
Athenai Diades
Chalkis
Dion
Eretria
Histiaia/Oreos
Karystos
Orobiai
Posideion

East Lokris
Alope
Alponos
Halai
Kynos
Larymna
Naryka
Opous
Skarpheia
Thronion

Doris
Boion
Erineos
Kytinion

Thessalia
Amphanai
Argoussa
Atrax
Gomphoi/Philippoi
Gyrton
Kierion
Kondaia
Krannon
Larisa
Methylion
Mopsion
Orthos
Oxynion
Pagasai
Peirasia
Pelinnaion
Phakion
Pharkadon
Pharsalos
Pherai
Skotoussa
Thetonion
Trikka

Dolopia
Angeia
Ktimene

Ainis
Hypata
Kapheleis
Korophaioi
Phyrragioi
Talana

Oita
Chen
Parasopioi

Malis
Anthele
Antikyre
Echinos
Herakleia
Lamia

Achaia Phthiotis
Antron
Ekkarra
Halos
Kypaira
Larisa
Melitaia
Phylake
Proerna
Pyrasos/Demetrion
Thaumakoi

Magnesia
Eureaioi
Eurymenai
Homolion
Iolkos
Kasthanaie
Kikynethos
Korakai
Meliboia
Methone
Olizon
Oxoniaioi
Rhizous
Spalauthra

Perrhaibia
Azoros
Chyretiai
Doliche
Ereikinion
Gonnos
Malloia
Mondaia
Mylai
Oloosson
Phalanna
Pythoinon

Athamania
Argethia

The Aegean
(Amorgos)
Aigiale
Arkesine
Minoa
Anaphe
Andros

Astypalaia
Chalke
Delos
Helene
(Ikaros)
Oine
Therma
Ikos
Imbros
Ios
Kalymna
(Karpathos)
Arkesseia
Brykous
Karpathos
Kasos
(Keos)
Ioulis
Karthaia
Koresia
Poiessa
Keria
Kimolos
(Kos)
Astypalaia on Kos
Halasarna
Kos Meropis
Kythnos
(Lemnos)
Hephaistia
Myrina
Leros
Melos
Mykonos
Naxos
Nisyros
Palaiskiathioi
Paros
(Peparethos)
Panormos
Peparethos
Seleinous
Pholegandros
Rheneia
Samothrake
Saros
Seriphos
Sikinos
Siphnos
Skiathos
Skyros
Syme
Syros
Telos
Tenos
Thasos
Thera

Makedonia
Aiane
Aigeai
Alebaia
Allante
Aloros
Beroia
Dion
Edessa
Europos
Herakleion
Ichnai
Kyrrhos
Leibethra
Methone
Mieza
Pella
Pydna

Mygdonia
Apollonia
Arethousa
Bormiskos
Herakleia
Lete
Sindos
Therme

Bisaltia
Amphipolis
Argilos
Traïlos

Chalkidike
Aige
Aineia
Aioleion
Akanthos
Akrothooi
Alapta
Anthemous
Aphytis
Assera
Charadrous
Chedrolioi
Chytropolis
Dikaia
Dion
Eion
Galepsos
Gigonos
Haisa
Istasos
Kalindoia
Kamakai
Kampsa
Kissos
Kithas
Kleonai
Kombreia
Lipaxos
Mekyberna
Mende
Milkoros
Neapolis
Olophyxos
Olynthos
Osbaioi
Othoros
Pharbelos
Phegontioi
Piloros
Pistasos
Pleume
Polichnitai
Posideion
Poteidaia
Prassilos
Sane on Pallene
Sane on Athos
Sarte
Serme
Sermylia
Singos
Sinos
Skabala
Skapsaioi
Skione

Skithai
Smila
Spartolos
Stagiros
Stolos/Skolos
Strepsa
Therambos
Thestoros
Thyssos
Tinde
Torone
Tripoiai
Zereia

Unlocated in Thrace
Aison
Brea
Kossaia
Okolon

Thrace: from Strymon to Nestos
Apollonia
Berga
Galepsos
Myrkinos
Neapolis
Oisyme
Phagres
Pistyros

Thrace: from Nestos to Hebros
Abdera
Ainos
Bergepolis
Dikaia
Drys
Kypsela
Maroneia
Mesambrie
Orthagoria
Sale
Stryme
Zone

Inland Thrace
Pistiros

Thracian Chersonesos
Alopekonnesos
Araplos
Chersonesos/Agora
Deris
Elaious
Ide
Kardia
Kressa
Krithote
Limnai
Madytos
Paion
Paktye
Sestos

Propontic Thrace
Bisanthe
Byzantion
Daminon Teichos
Heraion Teichos
Neapolis
Perinthos
Selymbria
Serrion Teichos
Tyrodiza

Pontos: West Coast
Apollonia
Bizone
Dionysopolis
Istros
Kallatis
Mesambria
Nikonion
Odessos
Olbia/Borysthenes
Ophiousa
Orgame
Tomis
Tyras

Pontos: Skythia
Chersonesos
Gorgippia
Hermonassa
Karkinitis
Kepoi
Kimmerikon
Kytaia
Labrys
Myrmekeion
Nymphaion
Pantikapaion/Bosporos
Phanagoria
Theodosia
Tyritake

Pontos: Kolchis
Dioskouris
Gyenos
Phasis

Pontic Coast of Asia Minor
Amisos/Peiraieus
Becheirias
Herakleia
Karoussa
Kerasous
Kinolis
Koloussa
Kotyora
Kromna
Kytoros
Limne
Sesamos
Sinope
Stameneia
Themiskyra
Tieion
Trapezous

Propontic Coast of Asia Minor
Artaiou Teichos
Artake
Astakos
Bysbikos
Dareion
Daskyleion
Didymon Teichos
Harpagion
Kalchedon
Kallipolis
Kios
Kolonai
Kyzikos
Lampsakos
Metropolis
Miletoupolis
Miletouteichos
Myrleia
Olbia

Otlenoi
Parion
Plakia
Priapos
Prokonnesos
Pythopolis
Sombia
Tereia
Zeleia

Troas
Abydos
Achilleion
Antandros
Arisbe
Assos
Astyra Mysia
Astyra Troika
Azeia
Birytis
Dardanos
Gargara
Gentinos
Gergis
Hamaxitos
Ilion
Kebren
Kokylion
Kolonai
Lamponeia
Larisa
Neandreia
Ophryneion
Palaiperkote
Perkote
Polichna
Rhoiteion
Sigeion
Skepsis
Tenedos

Lesbos
Antissa
Eresos
Methymna
Mytilene
Pyrrha

Aiolis
Adramyttion
Aigai(ai)
Aigiroessa
Atarneus
Autokane
Boione
Chalkis
Elaia
Gambrion
Gryneion
Halisarna
Herakleia
Iolla
Karene
Killa
Kisthene
Kyllene
Kyme
Larisa
Leukai
Magnesia
Melanpagos
Myrina
Nasos
Neon Teichos
Notion
Palaigambrion
Parthenion
Pergamon
Perperene
Pitane
Pordoselene
Temnos
Teuthrania
Thebe
Tisna

Ionia
Achilleion
Airai
Anaia
Boutheia
Chios
Chyton
Dios Hieron
Elaiousioi
Ephesos
Erythrai
Isinda
Klazomenai
Kolophon
Korykos
Lebedos
Leukophrys
Magnesia
Marathesion
Miletos
Myonnesos
Myous
Notion
Phokaia
Polichnitai
Priene
Pteleon
Pygela
Samos
Sidousa
Teos
Thebai

Karia
Amos
Amynandeis
Amyzon
Aulai
Bargasa
Bargylia
Bolbai
Chalketor
Chersonesos
Chios
Erineis
Euromos
Halikarnassos
Hydisos
Hymisseis
Idrias
Idyma
Kalynda
Karbasyanda
Karyanda
Kindye
Knidos
Kodapeis
Krya

Kyllandos
Kyrbissos
Latmos/Herakleia
Lepsimandos
Medmasos
Mylasa
Myndos
Narisbareis
Naryandos
Naxia
Olaieis
Olymos
Parpariotai
Passanda
Pedasa
Peleiatai
Pidasa
Pyrindos
Pyrnos
Salmakis
Siloi
Talagreis
Taramptos
Tarbaneis
Telandros
Telemessos
Termera
Thasthareis
Thydonos
Tralleis

Lykia
Phaselis

Crete
Anopolis
Apellonia
Aptara
Aulon
Axos
Biannos
Datala
Dreros
Eleutherna
Eltynia
Elyros
Gortyns
Herakleion
Hierapytna
Istron
Itanos
Knosos
Kydonia
Kytaion
Lato
Lebena
Lisos
Lyktos
Malla
Milatos
Olous
Petra
Phaistos
Phalasarna
Polichne
Polyrhen
Praisos
Rhitten
Sybrita
Tarrha
Tylisos

Rhodos
Ialysos
Kamiros
Lindos
Rhodos

Pamphylia
Aspendos
Idyros
Perge
Side

Kilikia
Aphrodisias
Holmoi
Issos
Kelenderis
Mallos
Nagidos
Soloi

Cyprus
Amathous
Idalion
Karpasia
Keryneia
Kourion
Lapethos
Marion
Paphos
Salamis
Soloi

Syria
Posideion

Egypt
Naukratis
Oasis

Libya
Barke
Euhesperides
Kyrene
Taucheira

Unlocated
Astraiousioi
Erodioi
Eurymachitai
Kystiros
Phytaioi

B. Poleis *no longer or not yet Existing in 400*

Spain and France

Alalie	abandoned in *c.*540
Rhode	colonised by Massalia in, perhaps, C4e

Sikelia

Adranon	founded by Dionysios I *c.*400
Aitna	Aitnaians expelled in 461
Akragas	destroyed in 406, refounded in C4s
Alontion	Sikel community, Hellenised in C4
Euboia	incorporated into Syracuse in C5e
Gela	destroyed in 405, refounded in C4s
Herakleia	short-lived colony founded by Dorieus in C6l

Herbessos	Sikel community, Hellenised in C4
Herbita	Sikel community, Hellenised in C4
Himera	destroyed in 409
Hippana	indigenous community, refounded as a Hellenic *polis* in C4s
Katane	settled by Campanians 403–396
Kentoripa	Sikel community, refounded as a Hellenic *polis* in C4s
Leontinoi	incorporated into Syracuse 403, resettled in 396
Megara	incorporated into Syracuse *c.*483
Naxos	enslaved by Syracuse in 403
Petra	indigenous community?, Hellenised in C4
Piakos	indigenous community?, Hellenised in C4
Sileraioi	indigenous community?, Hellenised in C4
Stielanaioi	indigenous community?, Hellenised in C4
Tauromenion	a Hellenic *polis* from C4e onwards
Tyndaris	founded by Dionysios I in 396
Tyrrhenoi	indigenous community, Hellenised in C4

Italia and Kampania

Poseidonia	conquered by Leukanians in C5l–C4e
Siris/Polieion	disappeared in C5s
Sybaris	destroyed in 510, disappears in C5f

The Adriatic

Ankon	colonised by Syracusans *c.*387
Herakleia	probably founded by Dionysios I in C4e
Issa	probably founded by Dionysios I in C4e
Lissos	founded by Dionysios I in C4e
Melaina Korkyra	deserted Knidian colony refounded by Issa in C4–C3
Pharos	colony founded by Paros in 385

Epeiros

Amantia	not yet a *polis* in 400?
Artichia	not yet a *polis* in 400?
[Berenike]	not yet a *polis* in 400?
Byllis	not yet a *polis* in 400?
Elea	not yet a *polis* in 400?
Eurymenai	not yet a *polis* in 400?
Gitana	not yet a *polis* in 400?
Horraon	not yet a *polis* in 400?
Kassopa	a *polis* from C4m onwards
Nikaia	not yet a *polis* in 400?
Olympa	not yet a *polis* in 400?
Orikos	a *polis* from C4m onwards
Passaron	not yet a *polis* in 400?
Phanote	not yet a *polis* in 400?
Phoinike	a *polis* from C4m onwards
Poionos	a *polis* from C4m? onwards
Tekmon	not yet a *polis* in 400?
Torone	a *polis* from C4m? onwards
Zmaratha	a *polis* from C4m? onwards

Akarnania

Echinos	a *polis* from C4e? onwards
Euripos	a *polis* from C4e? onwards
Hyporeiai	a *polis* from C4e? onwards
Limnaia	a *polis* from C4e onwards
Matropolis	a *polis* from C4e? onwards
Medion	a *polis* from C4e? onwards
Phara	a *polis* in C4? onwards
Thyrreion	a *polis* from C4e? onwards
Torybeia	a *polis* from C4e? onwards

Aitolia

Agrinion	a *polis* from C4m onwards
Akripos	a *polis* from C4e? onwards
Halikyrna	not yet a *polis* in 400?
Phylea	a *polis* from C4e? onwards
Sollion	incorporated into Palairos in 431/0
Therminea	a *polis* from C4e? onwards

Phokis

Aiolidai	presumably destroyed in 480
Kirrha	ghost *polis*
Triteis	presumably destroyed in 480

Boiotia

Alalkomenai	incorporated into Koroneia in C7–C6?
Plataiai	destroyed in 427, resettled in 386
Potniai	synoecised with Thebes 431, not re-established later

Megaris, Korinthia, Sikyonia

Aigosthena	not yet a *polis* in 400?
Pagai	not yet a *polis* in 400?

Achaia

Ascheion	not yet a *polis* in 400?
Leontion	not yet a *polis* in 400?

Elis

Anaitoi	no longer a *polis* in 400?
Chaladrioi	no longer a *polis* in 400?
Dyspontion	destroyed *c.*570
Ewaoioi	no longer a *polis* in 400?
Lenos	no longer a *polis* in 400?

Metapioi	no longer a *polis* in 400?
Pisa	a *polis* 365–62
Arkadia	
Megale polis	founded in 368
Triphylia	
Noudion	destroyed by Elis in C5s?
Messenia	
Korone	founded or refounded in 369
Messene/ Ithome	founded in 369
Lakedaimon	
Aigys	need not have existed before C4l
Belbina	not earlier than C4
Kyphanta	perhaps a C4 foundation
Thyrea	destroyed in 424
Argolis	
Mykenai	destroyed *c.*460
Orneai	destroyed *c.*416/15
Tiryns	destroyed in 460s
Attika	
Eleusis	in existence 403–401
Euboia	
Diakrioi	incorporated into Eretria? C5l?
Diakres apo Chalkideon	incorporated into Chalkis C5l?
Dystos	ghost *polis*? still a dependent *polis* in C4m?
Grynchai	incorporated into Eretria C5l–C4e
Peraia	incorporated into Eretria C5l–C4e
Styra	incorporated into Eretria C5l
East Lokris	
Knemides	ghost *polis*?
Nikaia	founded in C4f
Doris	
Akyphas/ Pindos	not yet a *polis* in 400?
Thessalia	
Metropolis	founded by synoecism in C4f
Phaloria	not yet a *polis* in 400?
Malis	
Trachis	absorbed by Herakleia in 426
Phthiotis	
Peuma	not yet a *polis* in 400?
Thebai	founded by synoecism in C4s
Magnesia	
Amyros	abandoned *c.*400, population moved to Kasthanaia?
The Aegean	
Eteokarpathioi	splinter community in 5s? no *polis* town?
Kos	synoecised in 366/5
Mygdonia	
Chalestre	perhaps not a Hellenic *polis* in 400
Thrace: from Strymon to Nestos	
Datos	founded *c.*360
Eion	incorporated into Amphipolis in C5l
Krenides	founded *c.*360
Philippoi	founded in 356
Sirra	presumably a *polis* from C4m onwards
Inland Thrace	
Alexandropolis	founded in 341
Apros	not yet a *polis* in 400
Kabyle	founded *c.*340
Philippopolis	founded in C4m
Seuthopolis	founded *c.*325–15
Thracian Chersonesos	
Aigos potamoi	not a *polis* between C5l and C4m
Pontic Coast of Asia Minor	
Choirades	not a Hellenic *polis* in 400
Iasonia	ghost *polis*
Karambis	ghost *polis*
Lykastos	ghost *polis*
Odeinios	ghost *polis*
Tetrakis	ghost *polis*
Propontic Coast of Asia Minor	
Paisos	incorporated into Lampsakos in, perhaps, C5l
Skylake	perhaps incorporated into Kyzikos before 400
Lesbos	
Arisba	incorporated into Methymna in C6
Ionia	
Naulochon	a *polis* in C4 onwards
Smyrna	destroyed in C6m, refounded in C4l.
Karia	
Alabanda	not yet a Hellenic *polis* in 400?
Alinda	not yet a Hellenic *polis* in 400?
Arlissos	not yet a Hellenic *polis* in 400?
Armelitai	not yet a Hellenic *polis* in 400?
Hybliseis	not yet a Hellenic *polis* in 400?
Hydaieis	not yet a Hellenic *polis* in 400?
Iasos	destroyed in 405, reappears in C4f
Kasolaba	not yet a Hellenic *polis* in 400?
Kaunos	not yet a Hellenic *polis* in 400?
Kedreai	destroyed in 405, reappears in C4–C3
Keramos	not yet a Hellenic *polis* in 400?
Killareis	not yet a Hellenic *polis* in 400?
Koliyrgeis	not yet a Hellenic *polis* in 400?

Koranza	not yet a Hellenic *polis* in 400?
Ouranion	not yet a Hellenic *polis* in 400?
Pladasa	not yet a Hellenic *polis* in 400?
Syangela/ Theangela	not yet a Hellenic *polis* in 400?
Terssogasseis	not yet a Hellenic *polis* in 400?
Lykia	
Xanthos	not yet a Hellenic *polis* in 400
Crete	
Allaria	a *polis* from C4s onwards
Arkades	a *polis* from C4s onwards
Bionnos	a *polis* from C4s onwards
Chersonasos	a *polis* from C4s onwards
Dragmos	a *polis* from C4s onwards
Hyrtakina	not yet a *polis* in 400?
Keraia	a *polis* from C4s onwards
Lappa	a *polis* from C4s onwards
Matala	not yet a *polis* in 400?
Priansos	a *polis* from C4s onwards
Rhaukos	a *polis* from C4s onwards
Rhithymnos	a *polis* from C4s onwards
Stalai	a *polis* from C4s onwards
Rhodos	
Brikindera	incorporated into Lindos in C5l?
Diakrioi	incorporated into Lindos in C5l?
Oiai	incorporated into Lindos in C5l?
Pedieis	incorporated into Lindos in C5l?
Libya	
Kinyps	short-lived colony founded by Dorieus in C6l

11. *Constitution*

Key
Bas. = *Basileia*
Dem. = *Demokratia*
Ol. = *Oligarchia*
Pol. = *Politeia*
Tyr. = *Tyrannis*

Spain and France

Massalia	Ol. later Dem. (Pol.)

Sikelia

Agyrion	Tyr. C4
Aitna	Bas. Tyr. C5f
Akragas	Tyr. 570–471; Dem. *c.*500; 471–?; Ol. 450s
Apollonia	Tyr. C4m
Engyon	Tyr. C4m
Gela	Tyr. 505–466/5; Ol. C5l
Henna	Tyr. C5l
Herbita	Bas. C5m
Himera	Tyr. C5e
Kamarina	Tyr. C5f
Katane	Tyr. C4m
Kentoripa	Tyr. C6l, C4m
Leontinoi	Ol. C7l; Tyr. C7l; Dem. C5s; Ol. C5l
Selinous	Tyr. C6m–?
Syrakousai	Ol. C8s–C6; Tyr. C6; Ol. C6l; Dem. C5e; Tyr. 485–466; Dem. 466–406; Tyr. 406–344; Dem. 344–?; Ol. ?–316
Tauromenion	Tyr. C4m
Zankle	Bas. C5e–488/7; Tyr. C4m

Italia and Kampania

Herakleia	Tyr.?
Hyele	Tyr. C5f
Kaulonia	Ol. C6l–C5f?
Kroton	Ol. ?–510; Dem. C6l; Tyr. C5e; Ol. C5m.
Kyme	Ol. ?–504; Tyr. 504–490; Ol. 490–?
Lokroi	Ol. ?–352; Tyr. 352 or 346; Dem. 346–?
Metapontion	Ol. ?–C5l; Dem.? C5l–?
Neapolis	Dem.? C4
Rhegion	Ol. ?–494; Tyr. 494–461
Sybaris	Ol. ?–C6s; Tyr. C6l
Taras	Pol. –C6l; Tyr. C6l?; Dem. C5f–?
Thourioi	Dem. ?–413; Ol. 413–?; Dem. C4?; *dynasteia* C4?

The Adriatic

Apollonia	Dem. C5–C4
Epidamnos	Ol. ?–437; Dem. 437–433; Ol. 433–C4s

Akarnania

Ambrakia	Tyr. C6; Ol. C6–C5; Dem. C4m; Ol. 338–336; Dem. 336–?
Astakos	Tyr. C5s
Korkyra	Tyr. C6; Ol. C5; Dem. 426–361; Ol. 361–?
Leukas	Tyr. C7s–C6; Ol. ?–C5e; Dem. C5e–?
Zakynthos	Dem. C5–404; Ol. 404–C4e; Dem. 380s; Ol. 380s–?

West Lokris

Chaleion	Ol. C5m
Oianthea	Ol. C5m; Tyr. C4f

Phokis

Delphoi	Ol./Dem. C4

Boiotia

Akraiphia	Ol. 446–386
Chaironeia	Ol. 446–386
Haliartos	Ol. 446–386
Hyettos	Ol. 446–386
Kopai	Ol. 446–386
Koroneia	Ol. 446–386
Orchomenos	Ol. 446–364
Plataiai	Dem. C5s
Siphai	Ol. C5s
Tanagra	Ol. 446–386
Thebai	Ol. C6–379; Dem. 378–35
Thespiai	Ol. 446–372

Megaris, Korinthia, Sikyonia

Korinthos	Bas. ?–C8m; Ol. C8m–C7m; Tyr. C7m–C6e; Ol. C6e–C4l; Dem. 392–86; Tyr. 366.
Megara	Ol. Tyr. C7s; Ol. Dem. C6; 427–24, *c.*375–?
Sikyon	Tyr. C7m–C6m; Ol. C6m–C4l; Tyr. 367–66

Achaia

Aigai	Ol. 417–366 and C4s; Dem. 366–365
Aigeira	Ol. 417–366 and C4s; Dem. 366–365
Aigion	Ol. 417–366 and C4s; Dem. 366–365
Ascheion	Ol. 417–366 and C4s; Dem. 366–365
Dyme	Ol. 417–366 and C4s; Dem. 366–365
Keryneia	Ol. 417–366 and C4s; Dem. 366–365
Leontion	Ol. 417–366 and C4s; Dem. 366–365
Olenos	Ol. 417–366 and C4s; Dem. 366–365
Patrai	Ol. 417–366 and C4s; Dem. 366–365
Pellene	Ol. 417–366 and C4s; Dem. 366–365, 330s; Tyr. 330s
Pharai	Ol. 417–366 and C4s; Dem. 366–365

Phelloe	Ol. 417–366 and C4s; Dem. 366–365
Rhypai	Ol. 417–366 and C4s; Dem. 366–365
Tritaia	Ol. 417–366 and C4s; Dem. 366–365

Elis

Elis	Ol. C6–471; Dem. 471–365; Ol. 365–?

Arkadia

Helisson	Dem. C4f
Heraia	Dem. C4f?
Mantinea	Dem. C6–385; Ol. 385–370; Dem. 370–?
Megalopolis	Dem. 368–?
Phigaleia	Dem. C4f
Tegea	Ol. ?–370; Dem. 370–?

Messenia

Messene	Dem. 369–?

Lakedaimon

Sparta	Mixed

Argolis

Argos	Bas.? ?–C6f; Ol. C6f–C5f; Dem. C5f–C4l; Ol. 417 and 370
Epidauros	Ol. ?–C7s; Tyr. C7s; Dem. C4
Phleious	Tyr. C6; Dem. C4e; Ol. 379–?

Saronic Gulf

Aigina	Ol. C5

Attika

Athenai	Bas.? ?–C8; Ol. C8–561; Tyr. 561–510; Dem. 508/7–322/1; Ol. 411, 404–3
Eleusis	Ol. 403–401

Euboia

Chalkis	Tyr. C6; Ol. C6, C5f; Dem. C6l, C5–C4
Eretria	Ol. C6, C5e; Dem. C6l, C5–C4f, C4s; Tyr. C4m
Histiaia/Oreos	Ol. C5f, C5l; Dem. C5s, C4f, C4s; Tyr. C4f, C4m
Karystos	Dem. C5; Ol. C5l

East Lokris

Opous	Ol. C5f

Thessalia

Krannon	Ol. C6; Tyr. C4
Larisa	Ol.
Pharsalos	Ol.
Pagasai	Tyr. C4f
Pherai	Tyr. C5l–C4f

The Aegean

Andros	Dem. ?–411; Ol. 411–C4e; Dem. C 4e–?
Kos	Dem. 366/5–C4m; Ol. C4m; Dem. 332–?
Paros	Ol. ?–410/9; Dem. 410/9–404?; Tyr. or Ol. C4e; Dem. 393–?
Siphnos	Dem. C5–404/3; Ol. 404/3–394/3; Dem. 394/3–?
Tenos	Dem C5–411; Ol. 411–?
Thasos	Dem. ?–411; Ol. 411–407; Dem. 407–404; Ol. 404–*c.*390; Dem. 390–?
Thera	Bas. Ol. Dem.

Makedonia

Aiane	Bas.
Beroia	Ol.

Chalkidike

Amphipolis	Dem. 437/6?; Dem. C4m
Akanthos	Dem. 424
Aphytis	Dem. C4
Mende	Dem. 423; Ol. 423; Dem. 423–?
Torone	Dem. 423; Ol. 423–?

Thrace: from Strymon to Nestos

Myrkinos	Tyr. C6l
Neapolis	Dem. C5s
Philippoi	Mixed C4s

Thrace: from Nestos to Hebros

Abdera	Dem. C5

Thracian Chersonesos

Alopekonnesos	Tyr. C6s
Chersonesos/Agora	Tyr. C6s
Elaious	Tyr. C6s
Kardia	Tyr. C6s, C4s
Krithote	Tyr. C6s
Limnai	Tyr. C6s
Madytos	Tyr. C6s
Paktye	Tyr. C6s
Sestos	Tyr. C6s

Propontic Thrace

Byzantion	Tyr. C6l; Ol. 404–390; Dem. 390–?

Pontos: West Coast

Apollonia	Ol. C6
Istros	Ol. ?–C5s; Dem. C5s–?
Olbia	Ol. ?–*c.*480; Tyr. *c.*480–?; Dem. C4

Pontos: Skythia

Chersonesos	Dem. C5–C4
Nymphaion	Bas. C5s–?
Pantikapaion	Tyr. C5f; Bas. C5s–?
Phanagoria	Bas. C4e–?
Theodosia	Bas. C4e–?
Tyritake	Bas. C5s–?

Pontic Coast of Asia Minor

Amisos	Dem. C5s
Herakleia	Dem. C6m; Tyr. C6s; Ol. C6l; Pol. C5f; Dem. C5l; Tyr. 364–?
Sinope	Tyr. C5m; Dem. C5s

Propontic Coast of Asia Minor

Kalchedon	Dem. C4m
Kios	Dem. C4; Tyr. 337–302
Kyzikos	Tyr. C6l; Dem. C5?
Lampsakos	Bas.? C7; Tyr. C6l–C5e, C4f, 340s. Dem. C4l
Myrleia (Bryllion)	Tyr. 337–302
Parion	Tyr. C6l
Prokonnesos	Tyr. C6l
Zeleia	Dem. 334–?

Troas

Abydos	Tyr. 520s; Ol. 411–C4e; Tyr. C4f
Assos	Tyr. C4m
Gergis	Persian "satraps"
Ilion	Dem. C4l
Sigeion	Tyr. C6, C4
Tenedos	Bas. C7–C6?

Lesbos

Antissa	Tyr. C4s–332; Dem. C4l?
Eresos	Tyr. C4s–332; Dem. C4l
Methymna	Dem. C4l; Ol. C4m; Tyr. C4m–332; Dem. C4l?
Mytilene	Bas. C7; Tyr. C7l–C6e; Ol. C6; Tyr. C6l–C5e; Ol. C5–427; Dem. 427–405; Ol. 405–389; Dem. 389–C4m; Tyr. C4m–347/6; Dem. 347/6–333; Tyr. 333–332; Dem. 332–?

Aiolis

Atarneus	Tyr. C4m
Gambrion	Tyr. C5–C4e
Gryneion	Tyr. C5–C4e
Halisarna	Tyr. C4e
Kyme	Tyr. 550–500; Dem. replaced by Ol. C5–C4
Myrina	Tyr. C5–C4e
Nasos	Dem. C4l
Palaigambrion	Tyr. C5–C4e
Pergamon	Tyr. C4e
Teuthranion	Tyr. C4e

Ionia

Chios	Tyr. 513–480; mixed 480–412; Ol. 412 or 394; Ol. C4; Dem. C4l
Ephesos	Tyr. ?–492; Dem. 492 or 334; Ol. 334; Dem. 334–?
Erythrai	Ol. C7–C6?; mixed C6–492; Dem. 492–C5m; Ol. C5m; Dem. 453–C4e; Ol. C4s; Dem. 330s–?
Klazomenai	Dem. C5l–C4e; Tyr. C4m?; Dem. 334–?
Kolophon	Ol. –C5m; Dem. 420s; Ol. C4?; Dem. 334–?
Magnesia	Ol. C6; Dem. C4l
Miletos	Tyr. ?–C6s; Ol. C6s; Tyr. C6l; Dem. C5e; Ol. ?–*c.*440; Dem. *c.*440–405; Ol. 405–401; Dem. C4f; Tyr. C4m; Dem. 334–?
Priene	Dem. C4l
Samos	Bas. C7?; Ol. C7–C6e; Tyr. 590s–479; Dem. 492; Ol. 479–441; Dem. 441–404; Ol. 404–365; klerouchy 365–22
Teos	Dem. C5

Karia

Alabanda	Tyr. C5e
Halikarnassos	Tyr. C6–C4
Iasos	Dem. C4
Kindye	Tyr. C5–C4
Knidos	Ol. ?–C4; Dem. C4–?
Kyllandos	Tyr. C5s
Mylasa	Dem. C4s; Tyr. C4l
Syangela/ Theangela	Tyr. C5s

Crete

Axos	Bas.
Lappa	Bas.?

Rhodos

Ialysos	Dem. ?–411; Ol. 411–?
Kamiros	Dem. ?–411; Ol. 411–?
Lindos	Dem. ?–411; Ol. 411–?
Rhodos	Ol. ?–395; Dem. 395–91; Ol. 391–90; Dem. 390–55; Ol. 355–32; Dem. 332–?

Kilikia

Soloi	Dem. 333–?

Cyprus

Amathous	Bas.
Idalion	Bas.
Kourion	Bas.
Lapethos	Bas.
Marion	Bas.
Paphos	Bas.
Salamis	Bas.
Soloi	Bas.

Libya

Barke	Bas. C6; Ol. C6–C4
Euhesperides	Ol. C5–C4
Kyrene	Bas. *c.*631–440; Dem. C6m, 440–?

12. *Decision-Making Institutions*

Key
demos = assembly, sometimes called *ekklesia* or *halia* or *polis vel sim.*
boule = council
dikasterion = court, manned with jurors or magistrates
gerousia = council of elders
nomothetai = boards of legislators

Spain and France

Massalia	*boule* of 600

Sikelia

Akragas	*demos*, *boule*, *dikasterion*
Gela	*demos*
Kamarina	*demos*
Katane	*demos*
Kentoripa	*demos*
Megara	*demos* or *dikasterion*
Nakone	*boule*, *demos*
Selinous	*demos* or *dikasterion*
Syrakousai	*demos*, *boule*, *nomothetai*
Zankle/Messana	*demos*

Italia

Herakleia	*demos*
Kroton	*demos*, *gerousia*, The Thousand
Kyme	*demos*, *boule*
Lokroi	*demos*, *boule*, *gerousia*?
Neapolis	*demos*, *boule*
Poseidonia	*demos*?
Rhegion	*demos*
Taras	*demos*

The Adriatic

Epidamnos	*demos*, *boule*
Issa	*demos*

Akarnania

Anaktorion	*demos*
Korkyra	*demos*, *boule*, *dikasterion*
Stratos	*demos*, *boule*

Phokis

Delphoi	*demos*, *boule*, *dikasterion*

Boiotia

Akraiphia	*boule*
Chaironeia	*boule*
Haliartos	*boule*
Hyettos	*boule*
Kopai	*boule*
Koroneia	*boule*
Lebadeia	*boule*
Orchomenos	*boule*
Oropos	*demos*
Plataiai	*demos*
Tanagra	*boule*
Thebai	*demos*, *boule*
Thespiai	*boule*

Megaris, Korinthia, Sikyonia

Korinthos	*demos*, *boule* (of 80 = *gerousia*?)
Megara	*demos*, *boule*, *dikasterion* (The Three Hundred)

Elis

Chaladrioi	*demos*
Elis	*demos*, *boule*, *dikasterion*

Arkadia

Lousoi	*demos*
Mantinea	*demos*, *boule*, *dikasterion*
Stymphalos	*demos*, *boule*
Tegea	*demos*, *boule*, *dikasterion*

Messenia

Messene	*demos*

Lakedaimon

Sparta	*demos*, *gerousia*

Argolis

Argos	*demos*, *boule*, The Eighty
Epidauros	*demos*, *boule*
Halieis	*demos*, *boule*
Tiryns	*demos*
Troizen	*demos*, *boule*

Saronic Gulf

Aigina	*dikasterion*

Attika

Athenai	*demos*, *boule*, *gerousia*, *dikasterion*, *nomothetai*
Salamis	*demos*

Euboia

Eretria	*demos*, *boule*
Histiaia/Oreos	*boule*, *dikasterion*

Thessalia

Argoussa	*demos*
Larisa	*demos*
Skotoussa	*demos*

Malis

Herakleia	*demos*

Magnesia

Meliboia	*demos*

The Aegean

Andros	*boule*
Arkesine	*demos*, *boule*, *dikasterion*
Delos	*demos*, *boule*
Imbros	*demos*, *boule*
Ios	*demos*, *boule*
Kalymna	*demos*, *boule*

(Keos)	
Ioulis	*demos*, *boule*
Karthaia	*demos*, *boule*
Koresia	*demos*, *boule*
Poiessa	*demos*, *boule*
Kos	*demos*, *boule*, *dikasterion*
(Lemnos)	
Hephaistia	*demos*
Myrina	*demos*, *boule*
Naxos	*demos*, *boule*, *dikasterion*
Paros	*demos*, *boule*
Peparethos	*demos*?
Pholegandros	*demos*, *boule*
Sikinos	*demos*, *boule*
Skiathos	*demos*
Skyros	*demos*
Telos	*demos*
Thasos	*demos*, *boule*, *dikasterion* (300)
Thera	*demos*

Chalkidike

Amphipolis	*demos*
Arethousa	*dikasterion*
Olynthos	*demos*, *boule*
Poteidaia	*demos*, *boule* (as Athenian klerouchy)

Thracian Chersonesos

Elaious	*demos*
Chersonesos/ Agora	*demos*

Pontos: West Coast

Kallatis	*boule*
Olbia	*demos*, *boule*
Tyras	*demos*, *boule*

Pontos: Skythia

Chersonesos	*boule*

Pontic Coast of Asia Minor

Herakleia	*boule*, *dikasterion*
Sinope	*demos*, *boule*, *dikasterion*?

Propontic Coast of Asia Minor

Kios	*demos*
Kyzikos	*demos*, *boule*
Lampsakos	*demos*, *boule*
Zeleia	*demos*, *dikasterion*

Troas

Dardanos	*boule*
Skepsis	*demos*
Tenedos	*demos*

Lesbos

Eresos	*demos*, *boule*, *dikasterion*
Mytilene	*demos*, *boule*

Aiolis

Gryneion	*demos*, *boule*
Kyme	*demos*, *boule*
Nasos	*demos*, *boule*

Ionia

Airai	*demos*, *dikasterion*
Chios	*demos*, *boule*, *dikasterion*
Ephesos	*demos*, *boule*
Erythrai	*demos*, *boule*, *dikasterion*
Kolophon	*demos*, *boule*
Magnesia	*demos*, *boule*
Miletos	*demos*, *boule*
Myous	*demos*, *boule*
Phokaia	*dikasterion*
Priene	*demos*, *boule*
Pygela	*demos*
Samos	*demos*, *boule*
Klerouchy	*demos*, *boule*

Karia

Amyzon	*demos*
Halikarnassos	*demos*, *boule*
Iasos	*demos*, *boule*
Killareis	*demos*
Knidos	*demos*, *gerousia*
Mylasa	*demos*

Crete

Axos	*boule*
Bionnos	*dikasterion*
Datala	*demos (polis)*, *boule*?
Dreros	*demos? (polis)*, the twenty (*boule*?), *tois ithyntasi*?
Gortyns	*demos (polis)*, *boule*?, *dikasterion*
Knosos	*boule*
Lyktos	*demos*, *boule*, *dikasterion*
Rhitten	*demos*, *boule*
Tylisos	*boule*

Rhodos

Kamiros	*demos*, *boule*
Lindos	*demos*, *boule*
Rhodos	*demos*, *boule*, *dikasterion*

Pamphylia

Aspendos	*demos*

Libya

Euhesperides	*boule*, *gerousia*
Kyrene	*demos*, *boule*, *gerousia*

13. *Civic Subdivisions*

Spain and France

Massalia	*gene*

Sikelia

Engyon	*phratriai*
Himera	*phratriai*, *phylai*?
Kamarina	*phylai*?, *phratriai*, *triakades*
Morgantina	*eikades*
Naxos	*phylai* or *phratriai*
Selinous	*patrai*
Syrakousai	(3 Doric) *phylai*
Zankle/Messana	*phylai*

Italia and Kampania

Herakleia	two unnamed types
Kaulonia	unnamed type
Lokroi	3 *phylai*, 32? "*demoi*", *phatrai*
Metapontion	*phylai*? or *demoi*?
Poseidonia	unknown type
Terina	territorial units
Thourioi	10 *phylai*

The Adriatic

Epidamnos	*phylai*
Issa	3 Dorian *phylai*
Melaina Korkyra	3 Dorian *phylai*

Akarnania

Korkyra	3 Dorian *phylai*, units described by name plus numeral, unknown type

Phokis

Antikyra	unknown type
Delphoi	*phratriai*, *patriai*

Megaris, Korinthia, Sikyonia

Aigosthena	*kome* of Megara
Korinthos	3 Dorian *phylai*, 8 territorial *phylai*, *hemiogda*, *triakades*, *phatrai*; *komai*?
Megara	3 Dorian *phylai*, 5 *komai*, *hekatostyes*
Sikyon	3 Dorian *phylai* + 4th *phyle*, 4 new *phylai*

Achaia

Dyme	3 *phylai*

Elis

Elis	12, later 8 *phylai*

Arkadia

Mantinea	5 *phylai*, *komai*
Megalopolis	6 *phylai*
Phigaleia	*phylai*
Tegea	4 *phylai*

Lakedaimon

Sparta	3 Dorian *phylai*, 5 *obai*

Argolis

Argos	3 Dorian *phylai* + 4th *phyle*, 12 *phatrai*, *pentekostyes*
Epidauros	2 Dorian *phylai* + 2 *phylai*, 39 territorial units
Troizen	3? Dorian *phylai* + 4th *phyle*

Saronic Gulf

Aigina	*patrai*

Attika

Athenai	4 Ionian *phylai*, *phratriai*, *naukrariai*; 10 *phylai*, 30 *trittyes*, 139 *demoi*

Euboia

Athenai Diades	*demos* of Histiaia/Oreos
Chalkis	*demoi*
Dion	*demos* of Histiaia/Oreos
Dystos	*demos* of Eretria
Eretria	6 *phylai*; 5 *choroi*; 55–60 *demoi*
Gryncheis	*demos* of Eretria
Histiaia (Oreos)	*Phylai*; 25–30 *demoi*
Orobiai	*demos* of Histiaia/Oreos
Peraia	*demos* of Eretria
Posideion	*demos* of Histiaia/Oreos
Styra	*demos* of Eretria; unidentified subdivision

The Aegean

Chalke	*demos* of Rhodos
Delos	4 *phylai*, several *trittyes*
Imbros.	Kleisthenic *phylai* and *demoi*
Kalymna	5 *phylai*, 7 *demoi*, 3 Dorian *phylai*

(Keos)	
Ioulis	*7 phylai*, *koineia*
Karthaia	*phylai*, *oikoi*
Koresia	*phyle* of Ioulis
(Kos)	
Astypalaia	*demos* of Kos, subdivided into *phylai*
Kos	3 Dorian *phylai*, 9 *chiliastyes*, *triakades*, *pentekostyes*
(Lemnos)	
Hephaistia	Kleisthenic *phylai* and *demoi*
Myrina	Kleisthenic *phylai* and *demoi*
Paros	*demoi*?, *patrai*
Samothrake	5 *phylai*
Skyros	Kleisthenic *phylai* and *demoi*
Syros	3 *phylai*
Tenos	10 *phylai*, *patrai*
Thasos	*phylai*?, *patrai*?
Thera	3 Dorian *phylai*

Thrace: from Strymon to Nestos

Abdera	*phyle*

Thrace: from Nestos to Ebros

Byzantion	*hekatostyes*, *patrai*?, *thiasoi*?

Propontic Thrace

Perinthos	3 of the Ionic *phylai*

Pontos: West Coast

Dionysopolis	*phylai*
Odessos	*7 phylai*
Tomis	*phylai*

Pontos: Skythia

Chersonesos	*hekatostyes*

Pontic Coast of Asia Minor

Herakleia	3 Dorian *phylai*, 4, later 60, *hekatostyes*

Propontic Coast of Asia Minor

Kalchedon	*hekatostyes*?
Kyzikos	6 Milesian *phylai*

Troas

Ilion	*phylai*
Skepsis	*phylai*

Ionia

Chios	*phylai*, *phratriai*, *gene*, units designated by numbers and letters
Ephesos	5 *phylai*, *c.*50 *chiliastyes*
Erythrai	*phylai*, *gene*, *chiliastyes*
Kolophon	*gene*
Magnesia	12 *phylai*
Miletos	6 Ionic *phylai*, 9–12 *phylai*
Pygela	*phylai*, *gene*
Samos	6 Ionian *phylai*?
Teos	Ionian *phylai*?

Karia

Iasos	6 *phylai*, *patriai*
Keramos	*phyle*
Koranza	*demoi*? or *komai*?
Latmos	*phylia*, *phratriai*
Mylasa	3 *phylai*
Pidasa	*phylai*, *phratriai*

Crete

Axos	*phylai*, *hetaireia*
Chersonasos	*phylai*?
Datala	*phylai*
Dreros	*phylai*, *agela*, *hetaireia*?
Eleutherna	*politeia*?
Gortyns	*phylai*, *startoi*
Hierapytna	*phylai*?
Knosos	*phylai*?
Lato	*phylai*?
Lyktos	*phylai*
Malla	*phylai*
Olous	*phylai*
Praisos	*phylai*?

Rhodos

Ialysos	a *phyle* of Rhodos
Kamiros	a *phyle* of Rhodos, *phylai*, *demoi*, *ktoinai*, *patrai*
Lindos	a *phyle* of Rhodos, *demoi*, *ktoinai*
Rhodos	*phylai*, *demoi*, *ktoinai*

Libya

Kyrene	3 Dorian *phylai*, later 3 *phylai*, *patrai*, *hetairai*

14. Proxenoi

Key

Rec. *proxenia* bestowed on citizen of *polis* X

Giv. *proxenia* bestowed by *polis* X

Sikelia	
Akragas	Rec.
Gela	Rec.
Herbita	Rec.
Katane	Rec.
Lipara	Rec.
Syrakousai	Rec.
Italia and Kampania	
Herakleia	Rec.
Hipponion	Rec.
Kroton	Rec.
Neapolis	Giv.
Taras	Rec.
Thourioi	Rec.
The Adriatic	
Apollonia	Rec.
Akarnania	
Alyzeia	Rec.
Ambrakia	Rec.
Argos	Rec.
Korkyra	Giv. Rec.
Leukas	Rec.
Paleis	Rec.
Phoitiai	Rec.
Stratos	Giv.
Thyrreion	Rec.
Zakynthos	Rec.
Aitolia	
Kallion	Rec.
Makynea	Rec.
Proschion	Rec.
West Lokris	
Chaleion	Giv. Rec.
Oianthea	Giv. Rec.
Phokis	
Delphoi	Giv. Rec.
Elateia	Rec.
Teithronion	Rec.
Boiotia	
Haliartos	Giv.
Koroneia	Rec.
Lebadeia	Rec.
Oropos	Giv.
Plataiai	Rec.
Tanagra	Rec.
Thebai	Giv. Rec.
Thespiai	Rec.
Megaris, Korinthia, Sikyonia	
Korinthos	Giv. Rec.
Megara	Giv. Rec.
Sikyon	Rec.
Achaia	
Aigeira	Rec.
Aigion	Rec.
Ascheion	Rec.
Pellene	Rec.
Pharai	Rec.
Phelloe	Rec.
Elis	
Elis	Giv.
Pisa	Giv.
Arkadia	
Alea	Giv. Rec.
Kaphyai	Rec.
Kleitor	Rec.
Lousoi	Giv.
Megalopolis	Rec.
Orchomenos	Rec.
Pallantion	Rec.
Pheneos	Rec.
Phigaleia	Giv.
Stymphalos	Giv. Rec.
Tegea	Giv. Rec.
Thisoa	Rec.
Triphylia	
Skillous	Rec.?
Messenia	
Asine	Rec.
Kyparissos	Rec.
Messene	Giv. Rec.
Thouria	Rec.
Lakedaimon	
Epidauros	Rec.
Kyphanta	Rec.
Oinous	Rec.
Pellana	Rec.
Sparta	Giv. Rec.
Argolis	
Argos	Giv. Rec.
Epidauros	Giv. Rec.
Kleonai	Rec.
Phleious	Giv. Rec.
Troizen	Rec.
Saronic Gulf	
Aigina	Giv.? Rec.
Attika	
Athenai	Giv. Rec.
Euboia	
Chalkis	Rec.
Eretria	Giv. Rec.
Histiaia/Oreos	Giv. Rec.
Karystos	Rec.
East Lokris	
Larymna	Rec.
Opous	Rec.
Skarpheia	Rec.
Thessalia	
Gyrton	Rec.
Krannon	Rec.
Larisa	Rec.

Pharsalos	Rec.
Pherai	Giv. Rec.
Skotoussa	Rec.

Ainis

Hypata	Giv.

Oita

Parasopioi	Rec.

Malis

Echinos	Rec.
Herakleia	Rec.
Lamia	Giv.

Achaia Phthiotis

Larisa	Rec.
Proerna	Rec.
Thaumakoi	Rec.

Magnesia

Meliboia	Rec.

Perrhaibia

Gonnos	Giv.

Athamania

Argethia	Rec.

The Aegean

Anaphe	Giv.
Andros	Giv. Rec.
Arkesine	Giv.
Astypalaia	Rec.
Delos	Giv. Rec.
Ios	Giv. Rec.
Kalymna	Giv.
(Keos)	
Ioulis	Rec.
Karthaia	Giv.
Keria	Rec.
Kos	Giv. Rec.
(Lemnos)	Giv.
Myrina	Giv.
Melos	Rec.
Mykonos	Rec.
Naxos	Giv. Rec.
Oine	Giv. Rec.
Palaiskiathos	Rec.
Paros	Giv. Rec.
Pholegandros	Giv.
Samothrake	Giv.
Seriphos	Rec.
Sikinos	Giv.
Syros	Rec.
Tenos	Rec.
Thasos	Giv. Rec.
Thera	Rec.

Makedonia

Aigeai	Rec.
Europos	Rec.
Pella	Rec.
Pydna	Rec.

Mygdonia

Arethousa	Rec.

Bisaltia

Amphipolis	Rec.

Chalkidike

Akrothooi	Rec.
Mende	Rec.
Olynthos	Rec.
Phegontioi	Rec
Poteidaia	Giv.

Thrace: from Strymon to Nestos

Philippoi	Rec.

Thrace: from Nestos to Hebros

Abdera	Rec.
Ainos	Rec.
Maroneia	Rec.

Thracian Chersonesos

Kardia	Rec.
Sestos	Rec.

Propontic Thrace

Byzantion	Giv. Rec.
Selymbria	Rec.

Pontos: West Coast

Istros	Giv. Rec.
Kallatis	Giv. Rec.
Mesambria	Rec.
Olbia	Giv. Rec.
Chersonesos	Rec.
Pantikapaion	Giv. Rec.
Phanagoria	Giv.

Pontic Coast of Asia Minor

Amisos	Rec.
Herakleia	Giv. Rec.
Sinope	Giv. Rec.
Trapezous	Rec.

Propontic Coast of Asia Minor

Kalchedon	Rec.
Kios	Giv. Rec.
Kyzikos	Rec.
Lampsakos	Rec.
Parion	Rec.
Prokonnesos	Rec.
Zeleia	Giv.

Troas

Abydos	Rec.
Gargara	Rec.
Hamaxitos	Giv.
Ilion	Giv.
Rhoiteion	Rec.
Sigeion	Rec.
Tenedos	Rec.

Lesbos

Eresos	Rec.
Methymna	Rec.
Mytilene	Giv. Rec.
Pyrrha	Rec.

Aiolis

Adramyttion	Rec.
Elaia	Rec.
Gryneion	Giv.
Pergamon	Rec.
Pitane	Rec.

Ionia

Chios	Giv. Rec.
Ephesos	Giv. Rec.
Erythrai	Giv. Rec.
Klazomenai	Rec.
Kolophon	Giv.
Lebedos	Giv.
Magnesia	Giv.
Miletos	Rec.
Myous	Giv.
Phokaia	Rec.
Priene	Giv.
Samos	Rec.
Teos	Giv.

Karia

Chalketor	Giv. Rec.
Euromos	Rec.
Halikarnassos	Rec.
Iasos	Giv.
Kaunos	Rec.
Keramos	Giv.
Knidos	Giv. Rec.
Koranza	Rec.
Mylasa	Rec.
Pladasa	Giv.
Syangela/Theangela	Rec.
Telemessos	Rec.

Crete

Gortyns	Rec.
Rhaukos	Rec.
Rhithymnos	Rec.

Rhodos

Ialysos	Rec.
Lindos	Giv.
Rhodos	Rec.

Pamphylia

Aspendos	Rec.

Cyprus

Salamis	Rec.

Egypt

Naukratis	Rec.

Libya

Kyrene	Rec.
Euhesperides	Giv.

15. Theorodokoi

Key
Arg. = Heraia at Argos
Delph. = Pythian Games at Delphoi
Epid. = Asklepiaia at Epidauros
Nem. = Nemean Games

Sikelia

Akragas	Epid.
Gela	Epid.
Katane	Epid.
Leontinoi	Epid.
Syrakousai	Epid.
Zankle	Epid.

Italia and Kampania

Herakleia	Delph.
Kroton	Epid.
Lokroi	Epid.
Metapontion	Epid.
Rhegion	Epid.
Taras	Epid.
Terina	Epid.
Thourioi	Epid.

The Adriatic

Apollonia	Arg.

Epeiros

Artichia	Epid.
Kassope	Epid.
Pandosia	Epid.
Phoinike	Arg.
Poionos?	Epid.
Torone?	Epid.
Zmaratha	Epid.

Akarnania

Alyzeia	Epid., Arg.
Ambrakia	Epid., Arg., Delph.
Anaktorion	Epid., Arg., Nem.
Argos	Epid., Arg.
Astakos	Epid., Nem.
Derion	Nem.
Echinos	Epid., Nem.
Euripos	Epid., Nem.
Hyporeiai	Epid.
Korkyra	Epid., Arg., Nem., Delph.
Koronta	Epid., Nem.
Leukas	Epid., Arg., Nem.
Limnaia	Epid., Nem.
Medeon	Epid., Arg., Nem.
Oiniadai	Epid., Nem.
Palairos	Epid., Arg., Nem.
Phoitiai	Epid., Nem.
Stratos	Epid., Nem.
Thyrreion	Epid., Arg., Nem.
Torybeia	Epid., Arg.

Aitolia

Akripos	Epid.
Kalydon	Epid.
Phylea	Epid.
Proschion	Epid.
Therminea	Epid.

West Lokris

Amphissa	Epid.
Naupaktos	Epid.
Oianthea	Epid.

Phokis

Delphoi	Epid.

Boiotia

Koroneia	Epid.
Lebadeia	Epid., Delph.
Orchomenos	Epid.
Thebai	Epid.
Thespiai	Epid.

Megaris, Korinthia, Sikyonia

Korinthos	Epid.
Megara	Epid.
Sikyon	Pisa

Achaia

Helike	Delph.
Phara	Delph.?

Arkadia

Alea	Arg.
Halous	Delph.
Heraia	Delph.
Kleitor	Arg.
Koila	Delph.
Methydrion	Delph.
Pallantion	Delph.
Phara	Delph.?
Pheneos	Arg.
Stymphalos	Arg., Delph.
Tegea	Arg.
Torthyneion	Delph.

Attika

Athenai	Epid., Delph.

Euboia

Eretria	Nem.

The Aegean

Andros	Arg.
Seriphos	Nem.
Thasos	Epid., Arg.

Thessalia

Atrax	Epid.
Gyrton	Epid.
Larisa	Epid.
Oxynion	Epid.
Pharkadon	Epid.

Magnesia

Homolion	Epid.

Perrhaibia

Pythoion	Epid.

Makedonia

Allante	Nem.
Methone	Epid.
Pella	Nem.
Pydna	Epid.

Mygdonia

Apollonia	Epid.

Arethousa	Epid.
Lete	Nem.

Bisaltia

Amphipolis	Epid., Nem.
Argilos	Epid.
Traïlos	Epid.

Chalkidike

Aineia	Epid.
Akanthos	Epid.
Aphytis	Epid.
Dikaia	Epid.
Kalindoia	Epid.
Mende	Epid.
Olynthos	Epid.
Poteidaia	Epid.
Skione	Epid.
Stagiros	Epid.
Stolos/Skolos	Epid.

Thrace: from Strymon to Nestos

Berga	Epid.
Datos	Epid.
Neapolis	Epid.

Thrace: from Nestos to Hebros

Abdera	Epid.
Ainos	Epid.
Maroneia	Epid.

Propontic Thrace

Kios	Arg.
Lampsakos	Nem.
Miletouteichos	Arg.
Myrleia (Bryllion)	Arg.

Troas

Tenedos	Arg.

Aiolis

Kyme	Arg., Nem.

Ionia

Chios	Arg., Nem.
Ephesos	Arg.
Erythrai	Arg.
Klazomenai	Arg.
Lebedos	Arg.
Magnesia	Arg.
Miletos	Arg.
Naulochon	Arg.
Notion	Arg., Nem.
Pygela	Arg.
Teos	Arg.

Karia

Iasos	Arg.

Cyprus

Kourion	Nem.
Salamis	Nem.
Soloi	Nem.

Libya

Barke	Arg.?
Euhesperides	Arg.?
Kyrene	Arg.
Taucheira	Arg.?

16. *Panhellenic Victors*

Key
Isthm. = Isthmian Games
Nem. = Nemean Games
Ol. = Olympic Games
Pyth. = Pythian Games

Sikelia

Aitna	Ol., Pyth., Nem.
Akragas	Ol., Pyth., Isthm.
Gela	Ol., Pyth.
Himera	Ol., Pyth., Nem., Isthm.
Kamarina	Ol.
Naxos	Ol., Pyth.
Syrakousai	Ol., Pyth.
Zankle	Ol.

Italia and Kampania

Kaulonia	Ol., Pyth., Isthm., Nem.
Kroton	Ol., Pyth.
Lokroi	Ol., Pyth.
Metapontion	Pyth.
Poseidonia	Ol.
Rhegion	Ol.
Sybaris	Ol.
Taras	Ol.
Terina	Ol.
Thourioi	Ol., Pyth., Nem., Isthm.

The Adriatic

Apollonia	Ol.
Epidamnos	Ol.

Akarnania

Ambrakia	Ol.
Korkyra	Ol.
Stratos	Ol.

Phokis

Delphoi	Ol., Pyth.
Parapotamioi	Pyth.

Boiotia

Orchomenos	Ol.
Thebai	Ol., Pyth., Nem., Isthm.
Thespiai	Ol.

Megaris, Korinthia, Sikyonia

Korinthos	Ol., Pyth., Nem., Isthm.
Megara	Ol., Pyth., Nem., Isthm.
Sikyon	Ol., Pyth., Nem., Isthm.

Achaia

Aigeira	Ol.
Aigion	Ol.
Dyme	Ol.
Patrai	Ol., Pyth., Nem., Isthm.
Pellene	Ol., Isthm.

Elis

Dyspontion	Ol.
Elis	Ol., Pyth., Nem.
Lenos	Ol.
Pisa	Ol.

Arkadia

Dipaia	Ol.
Heraia	Ol.
Kleitor	Ol.
Lousoi	Ol., Pyth.
Mantinea	Ol.
Methydrion	Ol.
Oresthasion	Ol.
Pheneos	Ol.
Phigaleia	Ol., Isthm.
Stymphalos	Ol., Pyth., Nem., Isthm.
Tegea	Pyth., Nem.

Triphylia

Lepreon	Ol., Nem., Isthm.

Lakedaimon

Sparta	Ol., Pyth., Nem., Isthm.

Messenia

Messene	Ol., Nem., Isthm.

Argolis

Argos	Ol., Pyth., Nem., Isthm.
Epidauros	Ol.
Kleonai	Ol., Nem.
Phleious	Nem.
Tiryns	Ol.
Troizen	Ol.

Saronic Gulf

Aigina	Ol., Pyth., Nem., Isthm.

Attika

Athenai	Ol., Pyth., Nem., Isthm.

Euboia

Chalkis	Ol., Pyth.
Eretria	Ol.
Karystos	Ol., Pyth., Nem., Isthm.

East Lokris

Opous	Ol., Pyth., Nem., Isthm.

Thessalia

Krannon	Ol.
Larisa	Ol.
Pelinna(ion)	Ol., Pyth.
Pharsalos	Ol., Pyth., Nem., Isthm.
Skotoussa	Ol.

The Aegean

Andros	Ol.
Astypalaia	Ol

Kos Meropis	Ol.
Melos	Ol.
Peparethos?	Ol.
Thasos	Ol., Pyth., Nem., Isthm.
Makedonia	
Pella	Pyth., Isthm.
Thrace: from Nestos to Hebros	
Maroneia	Ol.
Propontis, North	
Byzantion	Ol.?
Lesbos	
Mytilene	Ol.
Ionia	
Chios	Ol.,
Ephesos	Ol., Isthm.
Klazomenai	Ol., Pyth.
Kolophon	Ol.
Magnesia	Ol., Pyth.
Miletos	Ol.
Samos	Ol., Pyth.(?)
Smyrna	Ol.
Karia	
Halikarnassos	Ol.
Rhodos	
Ialysos	Ol., Pyth., Nem., Isthm.
Rhodos	Ol.
Libya	
Barke	Ol.
Kyrene	Ol., Pyth., Isthm.
Spain and France	
Emporion	Artemis Ephesia

17. *Major Divinities*

Massalia	Artemis Ephesia, Athena
Rhode	Artemis Ephesia

Sikelia

Adranon	Hephaistos
Aitna	Zeus
Akragas	Athena Polias (Lindia?), Zeus Polieus (Atabyrios)
Alaisa	Apollo Archagetas
Gela	Athena (Lindia)
Heloron	Demeter?
Henna	Demeter
Himera	Athena?
Kamarina	Athena Poliaochos
Lipara	Hephaistos?
Naxos	Dionysos
Selinous	Zeus
Syrakousai	Apollo, Artemis, Athena, Zeus (Olympios)

Italia and Kampania

Kaulonia	Apollo Daphnephoros
Kroton	Apollo Pythios
Lokroi	Athena, Persephone
Medma	Athena Promachos?
Neapolis	Demeter
Poseidonia	Poseidon
Rhegion	Apollo
Siris	Athena Ilias

The Adriatic

Apollonia	Apollo

Epeiros

Dodona	Zeus Dodonaios
Kassope	Aphrodite
Passaron	Zeus Areios
Phoinike	Athena Polias

Akarnania

Ambrakia	Apollo Soter, Herakles
Anaktorion	Apollo Aktios
Ithaka	Athena Polias
Korkyra	Apollo Korykaios

Aitolia

Kalydon	Artemis Laphria
Molykreion	Poseidon

West Lokris

Naupaktos	Athena Polias, Apollo

Phokis

Abai	Apollo
Ambryssos	Artemis Diktynnaia
Antikyra	Athena
Delphoi	Apollo Pythios
Elateia	Athena Kranaia
Erochos	Demeter
Hyampolis	Artemis Elaphebolia
Stiris	Demeter

Boiotia

Akraiphia	Zeus
Alalkomenai	Athena Alalkomeneis
Anthedon	Zeus Karaios and Anthas
Chaironeia	Zeus?
Haliartos	Athena Itonia
Hysiai	Demeter Eleusinia?
Kopai	Demeter Tauropolos?
Koroneia	Athena Itonia
Lebadeia	Zeus Basileus
Orchomenos	Zeus Karaios and Soter
Plataiai	Hera
Tanagra	Hermes Kriophoros and Promachos
Thebai	Demeter Thesmophoros and Dionysos Kadmeios
Thespiai	Apollo Archegetas

Megaris, Korinthia and Sikyonia

Korinthos	Aphrodite, Hera, Poseidon
Megara	Apollo Pythios
Sikyon	Artemis and Apollo

Achaia

Aigeira	Artemis?
Aigion	Zeus Homarios
Helike	Poseidon Helikonios
Pellene	Apollo

Elis	
Elis	Zeus Olympios
Arkadia	
Gortys	Asklepios
Kleitor	Athena Koria
Lousoi	Artemis Hemera
Lykosoura	Demeter and Despoina
Mantinea	Poseidon Hippios
Megalopolis	Athena Polias and Zeus Lykaios
Orchomenos	Artemis Mesopolitis
Pheneos	Hermes
Phigaleia	Dionysos
Psophis	Artemis Erykine
Stymphalos	Artemis
Tegea	Athena Alea
Messenia	
Messene	Zeus Ithomatas
Lakedaimon	
Aphroditia	Aphrodite
Sparta	Apollo Karneios, Artemis Orthia, Athena (Chalkioikos, Poliachos)
Geronthrai	Apollo?
Kythera	Aphrodite
Prasiai	Apollo?
Argolis	
Argos	Apollo Lykeios
Epidauros	Asklepios
Hermion	Demeter Chthonia
Phleious	Ganymeda (Hebe)
Troizen	Apollo Thearios?
Saronic Gulf	
Aigina	Apollo Delphinios
Kalaureia	Poseidon Kalauros
Attika	
Athenai	Athena Poliouchos, Polias
Euboia	
Chalkis	Zeus Olympios, Athena
Eretria	Apollo Daphnophoros
Histiaia/Oreos	Artemis Proseoea?
Karystos	Dionysos?
East Lokris	
Halai	Athena Poliouchos
Larymna	Dionysos?
Thessalia	
Argoussa	Athena Polias?
Krannon	Athena, Asklepios, Apollo
Metropolis	Aphrodite
Pagasai	Apollo Pagasaios
Pharsalos	Zeus Olympios or Soter
Pherai	En(n)odia
Trikka	Asklepios
Malis	
Herakleia	Herakles
Lamia	Dionysos
Achaia	
Halos	Artemis Panachaia
Thebai	Athena Polias?
Magnesia	
Iolkos	Artemis
Perrhaibia	
Gonnos	Athena Polias
Mondaia	Themis
Pythoion	Apollo Pythios
The Aegean	
(Amorgos)	
Aigiale	Athena Polias
Arkesine	Hera?
Minoa	Apollo Pythios
Anaphe	Apollo Asgelatas
Andros	Apollo Pythios
Brykous	Poseidon Porthmios?
Chalke	Apollo?
Delos	Apollo
(Ikaros)	
Oine	Artemis Tauropolos
Therma	Asklepios?
Imbros.	Athena Polias
Kalymna	Apollo
(Keos)	Athena Polias and Zeus Polieus
Ioulis	Apollo Pythios
Karthaia	Apollo Pythios
Koresia	Apollo Smintheus?
(Lemnos)	
Hephaistia	Hephaistos
Myrina	Artemis Selene
Naxos	Dionysos
Nisyros	Poseidon
Paros	Athena Poliouchos

Samothrake	Athena
Sikinos	Apollo Pythios?
Syme	Athena?
Syros	Kabeiroi
Telos	Athena Polias and Zeus Polieus
Tenos	Poseidon and Amphitrite
Thasos	Artemis Hekate, Apollo Pythios, Athena Poliouchos, Herakles
Thera	Athena Polias

Makedonia

Aigeai	Zeus, Herakles Patroos
Beroia	Herakles Kynagidas
Dion	Zeus Olympios
Kyrrhos	Athena Kyrrhestis
Mieza	Asklepios?
Pella	Athena Alkidemos

Bisaltia

Amphipolis	Apollo

Chalkidike

Aphytis	Zeus Ammon
Mende	Dionysos?
Poteidaia	Poseidon
Torone	Athene?

Thrace: from Strymon to Nestos

Galepsos	Demeter?
Neapolis	(Athena) Parthenos
Oisyme	Athena Polias

Thrace: from Nestos to Hebros

Abdera	Dionysos, Apollo
Ainos	Hermes Perpheraios
Maroneia	Dionysos
Zone	Apollo

Thracian Chersonesos

Byzantion	Apollo
Perinthos	Hera
Selymbria	Apollo (Pythios)

Pontos

Istros	Zeus Polieus, Apollo Ietros
Kallatis	Zeus Polieus, Athena Polias
Mesambria	Zeus Hyperdexios, Athena Soteira
Odessos	Apollo
Olbia	Apollo Delphinios
Tyras	Apollo Ietros
Chersonesos	Zeus, Ge, Helios, Parthenos
Gorgippia	Aphrodite, Herakles, Demeter
Hermonassa	Apollo Ietros
Karkinitis	Aphrodite
Myrmekeion	Apollo Ietros
Pantikapaion	Apollo
Phanagoria	Aphrodite
Theodosia	Aphrodite, Demeter
Dioskouris	Dioskouroi?
Phasis	Apollo Hegemon
Sinope	Apollo Ietros and Delphinios

Propontic Coast of Asia Minor

Kalchedon	Apollo Pythios or Chresterios
Kios	Apollo
Kyzikos	Apollo
Lampsakos	Priapos
Parion	Apollo Aktaios
Priapos	Priapos
Prokonnesos	Apollo

Troas

Antandros	Artemis Astyrene, Apollo
Assos	Athena Polias
Astyra	Artemis Astyrene
Hamaxitos	Apollo Smintheus
Ilion	Athena Ilias
Kolonai	Apollo Killaios
Neandreia	Apollo?
Skepsis	Athena Polias?
Tenedos	Apollo Smintheus

Aiolis

Gryneion	Apollo Grynaieus

Ionia

Chios	Athena Poliouchos
Ephesos	Artemis
Erythrai	Athena Polias
Klazomenai	Athena Polias
Kolophon	Athena Polias
Leukophrys	Artemis
Magnesia	Artemis Leukophryene
Priene	Athena
Samos	Hera

Karia

Amyzon	Artemis?
Halikarnassos	Ares
Iasos	Apollo

Knidos	Aphrodite
Mylasa	Zeus at Labraunda
Telemessos	Apollo
Tralleis	Zeus Larasios

Crete

Apellonia	Apollo (Dekataphoros?)
Aptara	Artemis Aptara
Axos	Apollo Axios
Biannos	Ares?
Dreros	Apollo Delphinios
Eleutherna	Zeus Polioachos
Gortys	Athena Poliouchos, Apollo Pythios
Hierapytna	Athena Polias
Istron	Athena Polias
Lato	Eleuthyia
Lebena	Asklepios
Lisos	Diktynna
Lyktos	Athena Polias
Malla	Zeus Monnitios
Olous	Zeus Tallaios
Phalasarna	Artemis Diktynna
Priansos	Athena Polias
Tarrha	Apollo

Rhodos

Ialysos	Athena Polias and Zeus Polieus
Kamiros	Athena Polias and Zeus Polieus
Lindos	Athena Lindia
Rhodos	Helios

Pamphylia

Perge	Artemis Pergaia
Side	Athena

Kilikia

Aphrodisias	Aphrodite
Mallos	Amphilochos?

Cyprus

Amathous	Aphrodite Kypria
Idalion	Aphrodite
Kourion	Apollo Hylates
Paphos	Aphrodite Wanassa
Salamis	Zeus Salaminios

Egypt

Naukratis	Apollo

Libya

Kyrene	Apollo Karneios

18. *Members of the Delian League*

Key
A, [A], B, C = *polis* status
Ass. = attested in assessment decrees only
Top. = recorded by toponym
Eth. = recorded by ethnic
Eth./Top. = recorded both by toponym and ethnic

Members recorded by, probably, city-ethnic and/or toponym

Lakonia				
Kythera			A	(not in the tribute lists)
Saronic Gulf				
Aigina		Eth.	A	
Belbina	Ass.	Top.	A	
Euboia				
Athenai Diades		Eth./Top.	[A]B	
Chalkis		Eth.	A	
Diakrioi		Eth.	C	
Diakres apo Chalkideon		Eth.	C	
Dion		Eth.	[A]B	
Eretria		Eth.	A	
Grynchai		Eth.	B	
Histiaia		Eth.	A	
Karystos		Eth.	A	
Posideion	Ass.	Top.	C	
Styra		Eth.	[A]B	
The Aegean				
Amorgos		Eth.	AAA	(island, 3 *poleis*)
Anaphe		Eth.	B	
Andros		Eth.	A	
Arkesseia		Top.	A	
Astypaleia		Eth.	B	
Brykous		Eth./Top.	A	
Chalke		Eth.	B	
Delos			A	(not in the tribute lists)
Eteokarpathioi		Eth.	[A]B	
Hephaistia		Eth.	A	
Ikos		Eth.	A	
Imbros		Eth.	A	
Ios		Eth.	A	
Kalymna		Eth.	A	
Karpathos		Eth.	A	
Kasos		Eth.	[A]C	
Keos		Eth.	AAAA	(island, 4 *poleis*, Koresia)
Keria	Ass.	Top.	C	
Kimolos		Eth./Top.	B	
Koresia		Eth.	A	
Kos		Eth.	ACC	(island, 3 *poleis*)
Kythnos		Eth.	A	
Lemnos		Eth.	AA	(island, 2 *poleis*: Hephaistia, Myrina)
Leros		Top.	C	
Melos	Ass.	Eth.	A	
Mykonos		Eth.	A	(island, 2 *poleis*)
Myrina		Eth.	A	
Naxos		Eth.	A	
Nisyros		Eth.	A	
Oine		Eth.	A	
Paros		Eth.	A	
Peparethos		Eth.	AAA	(island, 3 *poleis*)
Pholegandros		Eth./Top.	B	
Rhenaia		Eth.	A	
Samothrake		Eth.	A	
Saros		Eth.	B	
Seriphos		Eth.	A	
Sikinos		Eth.	A	
Siphnos		Eth.	A	
Skiathos		Eth.?	AA	(island, 2 *poleis*)
Skyros			A	(not in the tribute lists)
Syme		Eth./Top.	[A]C	
Syros		Eth.	A	
Telos	Ass.	Eth./Top.	B	
Tenos		Eth.	A	
Thasos		Eth.	A	
Thera		Eth.	A	

Thermai		Eth.	A
Makedonia			
Herakleion	Ass.	Top.	A
Methone		Eth.	A
Mygdonia			
Bormiskos	Ass.	Top.	C:?
Bisaltia			
Argilos		Eth.	A:α
Traïlos	Ass.	Top.	B:α
Chalkidike			
Aige		Eth.	[A]B:α
Aineia		Eth.	A:α
Aioleion		Eth.	A:α?
Akanthos		Eth.	A:α
Akrothooi	Ass.	Eth.	A:β
Aphytis		Eth.	A:α
Assera		Eth.	A:α
Chedrolioi		Eth.	[A]C:α?
Dikaia		Eth./Top.	[A]B:α
Dion		Eth.	A:β
Gale(psos)		Eth.	A:α
Gigonos		Top.	A:α?
Haisa		Top.	A:α
Kamakai		Top.	[A]B:?
Kithas		Top.	[A]C:?
Kleonai		Top.	A:β
Mekyberna		Eth.	A:α
Mende		Eth.	A:α
Milkoros		Eth.	[A]C:?
Neapolis		Eth./Top.	A:α
Olophyxos		Eth.	A:β
Olynthos		Eth.	A:α
Othoros		Eth.	[A]C:?
Pharbelos		Eth.	[A]B:?
Phegontioi		Eth.	B:?
Piloros		Top.	A:α?
Pistasos (Istasos)		Top.	[A]C:?
Pleume		Eth./Top.	[A]C:?
Polichnitai		Eth.	C:α
Posideion	Ass.	Top.	C:?
Poteidaia		Eth./Top.	A:α
Prassilos		Top.	B:?
Sane Pallene		Eth.	A:α (on Pallene or Athos?)
Sarte		Eth.	A:α
Serme		Eth./Top.	C:?
Sermylia		Eth.	A:α
Singos		Eth.	A:α
Sinos		Top.	[A]C:?
Skabala		Eth.	B:α
Skapsaioi		Eth.	B:?
Skione		Eth.	A:α
Smila		Top.	A:?
Spartolos		Eth.	A:α
Stagiros		Eth.	A:α
Stolos/Skolos		Eth.	A:α
Strepsa		Eth.	B:α
Therambos		Eth.	A:α
Thestoros	Ass.	Top.	C:?
Thyssos		Eth.	A:β
Tinde		Eth.	[A]C:?
Torone		Eth.	A:α
Tripoiai		Top.	[A]B:?
Zereia	Ass.	Top.	C:?
Thrace, unlocated			
Aison		Eth./Top.	[A]C:?
Kossaia	Ass.	?	C:?
Thrace: from Strymon to Nestos			
Berga		Eth.	B:β
Galepsos		Eth.	[A]B:α
Neapolis		Eth./Top.	[A]B:α
Thrace: from Nestos to Hebros			
Abdera		Eth.	A:α
Ainos		Eth.	A:α
Dikaia		Top.	A:α
Drys	Ass.	Top.	B:?
Maroneia		Eth.	A:α
Sale	Ass.	Top.	A:?
Zone	Ass.	Top.	A:α
Thracian Chersonesos			
Alopekonnesos		Eth.	[A]B:α
Chersonesitai ap Agoras		Eth.	A:α
Deris	Ass.	Eth.	B:α?
Elaious		Eth.	[A]B:α
Limnai		Eth.	[A]B:α
Madytos		Eth.	A:α
Sestos		Eth.	A:α
Propontic Thrace			
Bisanthe	Ass.	Top.	B:β
Byzantion		Eth.	A:α
Daminon			

Teichos		Eth.	B:α?	
Neapolis ap'				
Athenon		Eth./Top.	B:α	
Perinthos		Eth.	A:α	
Selymbria		Eth.	A:α	
Serrion Teichos		Eth.	C:α?	
Tyrodiza		Eth./Top.	B:?	
Pontos: West Coast				
Apollonia	Ass.	Top.	A:α	
Kallatis	Ass.?	?	[A]B:α	(suppl. Avram)
Mesambria	Ass.?	?	A:α	(suppl. Avram)
Nikonion	Ass.	Top.	A:α	
Orgame	Ass.?	?	C:α	(suppl. Avram)
Tomis	Ass.?	?	C:α	(suppl. Avram)
Tyras	Ass.	Top.	B:β?	
Pontos: Skythia				
Kimmerikon	Ass.	?	C:α	
Nymphaion	Ass.	Top.	[A]B:β	
Pontic Asia Minor				
Herakleia	Ass.	Eth.	A:α	
Kerasous	Ass.	?	A:α	
Propontic Coast of Asia Minor				
Artaiou				
Teichos	Ass.	Eth./Top.	C:β	
Artake		Eth.	A:α	
Astakos		Eth.	B:α	
Bysbikos		Eth./Top.	B:?	
Dareion	Ass.	Top.	B:?	
Daskyleion		Eth./Top.	B:α	
Didymon Teichos		Eth.	B:?	
Harpagion		Eth.	B:α?	
Kalchedon		Eth.	A:α	
Kallipolis		Eth.	A:α	
Kios		Eth.	A:α	
Kolonai		Eth.	B:?	
Kyzikos		Eth.	A:α	
Lampsakos		Eth.	A:α	
Metropolis	Ass?	Top.	B:α	
Miletouteichos	Ass.	?	B:α	
Myrleia (Bryllion)		Eth.	[A]B:α	
Otlenoi		Eth.	C:?	
Paisos		Eth.	A:α	
Parion		Eth.	A:α	
Priapos		Eth./Top.	A:α	
Prokonnesos		Eth.	A:α	
Pythopolis	Ass.	Eth.	B:?	
Sombia		Top.	B:?	
Tereia	Ass.	Top.	C:?	
Zeleia		Top.	A:?	
Troas				
Abydos		Eth.	A:α	
Achilleion	Ass.	Top.	A:α	
Antandros	Ass.	Top.	A:β	
Arisbe		Eth.	B:α	
Assos		Eth.	B:α	
Astyra		Eth./Top.	[A]B:α	
Astyra Troika	Ass.	Top.	C:?	
Azeia		Eth.	C:β?	
Birytis		Eth.	B:?	
Dardanos		Eth.	A:α	
Gargara		Eth.	A:β	
Gentinos		Eth.	B:?	
Hamaxitos	Ass.	Top.	A:α	
Ilion	Ass.	Top.	A:α	
Kebren		Eth.	A:α	
Kolonai	Ass.	?	A:α	(heavily restored)
Lamponeia		Eth./Top.	B:?	
Larisa	Ass.	Top.	A:α	
Neandria		Eth./Top.	A:α	
Ophryneion	Ass.	?	A:α	(heavily restored)
Palaiperkote		Eth.	C:?	
Perkote		Eth./Top.	A:α	
Polichna	Ass.?	Eth.	C:?	
Rhoiteion	Ass.	Eth.	A:α	
Sigeion		Eth.	A:α	
Skepsis	Ass.	Eth.	A:α	
Tenedos		Eth.	A:α	
Lesbos				
Lesbos			AAAAA:α	(not in the tribute lists) (island, 5 *poleis*)
Aiolis				
Elaia		Eth./Top.	[A]B	
Gryneion		Eth.	A	
Karene		Eth.	A	(Krateros fr. 2).
Kyme		Eth.	A	
Larisa	Ass.	Eth./Top.	A	
Myrina		Eth./Top.	A	
Pitane		Eth.	A	
Pordoselene	Ass.	Top.	A	

Ionia			
Airai	Eth.	A	
Boutheia	Eth./Top.	B	
Chios		A	(not in the tribute lists)
Dios Hieron	Eth.	B	
Elaiousioi	Eth.	B	
Ephesos	Eth.	A	
Erythrai	Eth.	A	
Isinda	Eth.	C	
Klazomenai	Eth.	A	
Kolophon	Eth.	A	
Lebedos	Eth.	A	
Leros	Top.		(not in the inventory, see 1083)
Marathesion	Eth.	C	
Miletos	Eth.	A	
Myous	Eth.	A	
Notion	Eth./Top.	A	
Phokaia	Eth.	A	
Polichnitai	Eth.	B	
Priene	Eth.	A	
Pteleon	Eth.	B	
Pygela	Eth.	A	
Samos		A	(not in the tribute lists)
Sidousa	Eth.	A	
Teichioussa	Top.		(not in the inventory, see 1085)
Teos	Eth.	A	
Karia			
Alinda	?	B:γ	
Amos	Eth.	[A]C:β	
Amynandeis	Eth.	C:β	
Amyzon	Eth.	B:β	
Arlissos	Eth./Top.	B:γ	
Aulai	Eth.	C:?	
Bargasa	Eth.	C:γ	
Bargylia	Eth.	B:β	
Bolbai	Eth.	C:?	
Chalketor	Eth.	A:β	
Chersonesos	Eth.	B:α	
Chios	Eth.	C:β	
Erineis	Eth.	C:?	
Euromos	Eth.	B:β	
Halikarnassos	Eth.	A:β	
Hybliseis	Eth.	[A]B:γ	
Hydaieis	Eth.	B:γ	
Hydisos	Eth.	B:?	
Hymisseis	Eth.	C:β	
Iasos	Eth.	A:α	
Idrias	Ass. Eth.	C:β	
Idyma	Eth.	B:β	
Kalynda	Eth.	B:β	
Karbasyanda	Eth.	C:γ	
Karyanda	Eth.	A:β	
Kasolaba	Eth.	[A]B:γ	
Kaunos	Eth.	A:γ	
Kedreai	Eth.	A:β	
Keramos	Eth.	B:γ	
Killareis	Eth.	[A]B:γ	
Kindye	Eth./Top.	B:β	
Knidos	Eth.	A:α	
Kodapeis	Eth.	C:?	
Krya	Eth.	C:?	
Kyllandos	Eth.	C:?	
Kyrbissos	Eth./Top.	C:?	
Latmos	Eth.	A:β	
Lepsimandos	Eth.	C:?	
Medmasa	Eth.	B:β	
Mylasa	Eth.	A:β	
Myndos	Eth.	A:α	
Narisbareis	Eth.	C:?	
Naxia	Eth./Top.	C:?	
Olaieis	Eth.	C:?	
Olymos	Eth.	C:β	
Ouranion	Eth.	B:γ	
Parpariotai	Eth.	C:?	
Passanda	Eth.	C:γ	
Peleiatai	Eth.	C:?	
Pidasa	Eth.	A:?	
Pladasa	Eth.	A:γ	
Polichnaioi	Eth.		(not in the inventory)
Pyrnos	Eth.	C:?	
Siloi	Eth.	C:?	
Syangela/ Theangela	Eth.	A:γ	(name of ruler)
Taramptos	Ass. Top.	C:?	
Tarbaneis	Eth.	C:?	
Telandros	Eth.	C:?	
Termera	Eth.	B:β	
Thasthareis	Eth.	C:?	
Thydonos	?	C:?	

Lykia				
Hiera	Ass.	Top.		(not in the inventory, see 1140)
Phaselis		Eth.	A:α	
Telemessos		Eth.		(not in the inventory, see 1140)
Tymnessos		?		(not in the inventory, see 1140)
Rhodos				
Brikindarioi		Eth.	C:α	
Diakrioi		Eth.	C:α	
Ialysos		Eth.	A:α	
Kamiros		Eth.	A:α	
Lindos		Eth.	A:α	
Oiai		Eth.	C:α	
Pedieis		Eth.	C:α	
Pamphylia				
Aspendos	Ass.	Top.	A:β	
Idyros (= Ityra)	Ass.	Top.	A:?	
Perge	Ass.	Top.	A:β	
Kilikia				
Kelenderis	Ass.	Top.	A:α	
Sillyon	Ass.	Top.		(not in the inventory, see 1213)
Unlocated				
Erodioi		Eth.	C:?	
Eurymachitai		Eth.	C:?	
Kystiros		Eth.	A:?	

Members recorded by regional ethnic

Bottiaioi—*Βοττιαῖοι* (*IG* I³ 266.II.19)
Kares—*Κᾶρες* hôn *Τύμνες ἄρχει* (*IG* I³ 71.I.113; 267.III.25; 270.V.10; 272.II.79)
Lykioi—*Λπυκιοι* (*IG* I³ 261.I.30; 262.V.33; 266.III.34) *ATL* i. 513–14)

Members recorded by, probably, regional ethnic

Maiandrioi—*Μαιάνδριοι* (*IG* I³ 71.I.133; 259.III.29; 261.IV.5; 267.V.19)
Markaioi—*Μαρκαῖοι* (*IG* I³ 100 = Krateros fr. 23)
Mysoi—*Μυσοί* (*IG* I³ 71.III.69–70; 259.V.15)

Members recorded by name of ruler

Paktyes Idymeys—*Παικτύες ’Ιδυμ[εύς]* (*IG* I³ 260.I.16; cf. 262.IV.20)
Pikres Syangeleus—*Πίκρες Συαν[γελεύς]* (*IG* I³ 259.V.16); *Συαγγελῆς* hôn *ἄρχει Πίτρες* (*IG* I³ 284.7–8; cf. 263.I.14–15; 280.I.66–67; 282.IV.48–49)
Sa[---] Killareus—[*Κι*]*λλ*[*αρῆς* hô]*ν Σα*[---*αρχει*] (*IG* I³ 71.II.96–97)
Sambaktys—*Σαμβακτύς* (*IG* I³ 261.V.12); [*Σαμβακτ*]*ύς* (*IG* I³ 259.II.27)
Tymnes—*Κᾶρες* hôn *Τυμνες ἄρχει* (*IG* I³ 71.I.113–14; 267.III.25; 270.V.10 (completely restored); 271.I.84; 272.II.79)

Unconvincingly restored toponyms and ethnics

Dandake—*Δα*[*νδάκε*] (*IG* I³ 71.IV.170) *ATL* i. 478–79
Halonesioi—[h*αλονέσ*]*ιο*[*ι*] (*IG* I³ 71.III.101) *ATL* i. 468
Karkinitis—*Κα*[*ρκινῖτις*] (*IG* I³ 71.IV.165) *ATL* i. 496–97. Avram suggests Kallatis
Karoussa—[*Κάρο*]*σα* (*IG* I³ 71.IV.129) *ATL* i. 497
Karyes para Idyma—[*K*]*αρυ*[*ῆς παρὰ Ἴ*]*δυμ*[*α*] (*IG* I³ 71.II.94–5) *ATL* i. 498–99
Kolone—*K*[*ολόνε*] (*IG* I³ 71.III.135) *ATL* i. 505
Kroseis—[*K*]*ρπσῆ*[*ς*] (*IG* I³ 71.I.116) *ATL* i. 506–7
Krousis—[*πόλε*]*ς* [*Κροσσπί*]*δος* (*IG* I³ 77.V.41–42) *ATL* i. 539–41
Kythera—[*Κύθερα*] (*IG* I³ 287.I.23) *ATL* i. 507
Milyai—*Μι*[*λύαι*] (*IG* I³ 71.II.137) *ATL* i. 520–21
Neapolis—*Νεοπο*[*λῖται ἐκ* vv] *Μιλέ*[*το ἐν Λευκῶι*] *Ἀκρ*[*οτερίο*]*ι* (*IG* I³ 259.III.18–20)
Nipsa—*Νί*[*φσα*] (*IG* I³ 71.IV.143) *ATL* i. 526–27
Palamedeion—*Π*[*αλαμέδειον*] (*IG* I³ 71.III.136) *ATL* i. 531
Patraieus—*Πάτ*[*ρασυς*] (*IG* I³ 71.IV.168) *ATL* i. 532
Pergamoteichitai—[*Περγ*]*αμ*[*οτειχῖται*] (*IG* I³ 71.IV.64) *ATL* i. 533–34
Petra—*Π*[*έτρα*] (*IG* I³ 71.III.133, completely restored at *IG* I³ 77.V.19) *ATL* i. 535
Pieres para Pergamon—[*Πί*]*ερες* {*σ*} *π*[*αρα Περ*]*γαμο*[*ν*] (*IG* I³ 71.IV.61–62) *ATL* i. 538
Tamyrake—*Τα*[*μυράκε*] (*IG* I³ 71.IV.164) *ATL* i. 553
Thymbra—*Θ*[*ύμβρα*] (*IG* I³ 71.III.134) *ATL* i. 491.

19. Stasis

Spain and France

Massalia	C6–C4

Sikelia

Adranon	340s
Akragas	*c.*570, 554, 488, 471, 450s, 413, 394
Gela	C7–C6e, 505, 498, 491, 406
Henna	C4f
Himera	C5e
Kamarina	425
Leontinoi	C6, 424
Megara	C8s, C6, *c.*483
Nakone	C4l–C3e
Naxos	403
Syrakousai	C7m–340, 19 outbreaks
Zankle	424–2, 415, 399, 394

Italia and Kampania

Kroton	510, C5e, C5m
Kyme	504, 490
Lokroi	C7e, 346
Metapontion	413
Neapolis	C4?
Pithekoussai	C7?
Rhegion	461, 425
Sybaris	*c.*700, 511–510, 445
Thourioi	434, *c.*414, 413, C4?, C4?

The Adriatic

Apollonia	C6?, C5–C4?
Epidamnos	C5s

Akarnania

Ambrakia	C6e
Anaktorion	432, 425
Argos	440–38
Korkyra	420s, 411/10, 375/4, 361
Koronta	429
Stratos	429
Zakynthos	*c.*390?, 375/4

West Lokris

Amphissa	340–38

Phokis

Delphoi	C4f

Boiotia

Chaironeia	424
Orchomenos	424, 364
Oropos	412/11, 402
Plataiai	431
Siphai	424
Thebai	C4e, 382–79, 364
Thespiai	414, 378

Megaris, Korinthia, Sikyonia

Korinthos	C7s, 582, 395–87, 375, 366
Megara	C6, 427–24, 375, 343
Sikyon	C6m, 417, 375, 367–66, *c.*340

Achaia

Pellene	366–65

Elis

Elis	471, *c.*400, 365, 343, 336–35

Arkadia

Mantinea	385
Phigaleia	374
Tegea	418, 370

Lakedaimon

Kythera	424
Sparta	C8l

Argolis

Argos	417, 370
Phleious	395, 381–79, 374, 367/6
Troizen	338

Saronic Gulf

Aigina	480s

Attika

Athenai	630s, C7l–C6e, 560s, 550s, 540s, 510, 508/7, 411, 404/3

Euboia

Chalkis	357
Eretria	413–11, 357, 348, 342, 341
Histiaia/Oreos	C5f, 357, 342, 341
Karystos	357

Thessalia

Larisa	C5l, 370/69, *c.*344/3
Pharkadon	320s or earlier
Pharsalos	C4e
Trikka	320s or earlier

Malis

Harakleia	399, 395, 371

The Aegean

Delos	330s
Ioulis	360s
Kos	366/5?, C4m
Melos	416
Naxos	C6s, *c.*500
Paros	410/9, 393, 373/2
Siphnos	C4e
Syros	C4f
Thasos	411, 410, 410/9, 407, 405?, 389/8, *c.*385, 340/39
Thera	370s?

Makedonia

Pydna	357

Bisaltia

Amphipolis	424, 363

Chalkidike

Akanthos	424
Eion	425
Mekyberna	349
Mende	423

Olynthos	349
Poteidaia	423
Spartolos	429
Torone	423, 349

Thrace: from Nestos to Hebros

Ainos	340s

Propontic Thrace

Byzantion	C6, 409/8, 403–399, 390/89
Selymbria	410, 408

Pontos: West Coast

Apollonia	C6, C5–C4?
Istros	C5s

Pontic Coast of Asia Minor

Herakleia	C6l, C5l, C4

Propontic Coast of Asia Minor

Kyzikos	C5f?
Zeleia	334

Troas

Abydos	*c.*360
Antandros	424

Lesbos

Antissa	428/7, 412, 390/89
Eresos	428/7, 412–11, 390/89
Methymna	428/7, 412–11, 406, 390/89, 332
Mytilene	C7, C7s, C7l–C6e, C5e, 428/7, 412, 389, 350s, 346, 333–332
Pyrrha	428/7, 412, 390/89

Aiolis

Karene	Archaic
Kyme	C5 or C4

Ionia

Anaia	428/7
Chios	480, 412, 409, 398, C4m, 330s
Ephesos	492, 334
Erythrai	C5m, *c.*387, 330s
Klazomenai	412–7, *c.*387/6, C4f
Kolophon	*c.*700, 430, 427
Miletos	C6, 452, 405, 402
Phokaia	C4m
Samos	441–39, 412–11, 405

Karia

Halikarnassos	C5m
Iasos	C4f
Knidos	C4?
Myndos	334

Crete

Knosos	C5e

Rhodos

Ialysos	411
Kamiros	411
Lindos	411
Rhodos	395, 391–90, 380s, 355, 351

Kilikia

Mallos	333

Cyprus

Salamis	499

Libya

Kyrene	C6m, C5m, *c.*325

20. *Destruction and Disappearance of* Poleis

Key
Andrap. = *Andrapodismos*
Destr. = Destruction of urban centre
Dioik. = *Dioikismos*
Exp. = Expulsion of population

Sikelia

Akragas	Destr. 406
Gela	Destr. 405
Euboia	*Andrap.* 480s
Herakleia	Destr. C5e
Himera	Destr. C6e; Destr., *Andrap.* 409
Kamarina	Destr., Exp. 484
Katane	Destr., *Andrap.* 403
Megara	Destr., *Andrap. c.*483
Morgantina	Destr. 459/8
Naxos	Destr., *Andrap.* 403
Selinous	Destr., *Andrap.* 409
Zankle	*Andrap.* 488/7

Italia and Kampania

Hipponion	Destr., Exp. 388
Kaulonia	Destr., Exp. 389
Kyme	*Andrap.* 421
Rhegion	*Andrap.*, Destr. 387
Siris	Destr. C6m
Sybaris	Destr., population killed off, 510

Akarnania

Argos Amphil.	*Andrap. c.*440

Phokis

Abai	Destr. 480,
Aiolidai	Destr. 480,
Ambryssos	*Dioik.* 346
Amphikaia	Destr. 480, *Dioik.* 346
Antikyra	*Dioik.* 346
Charadra	Destr. 480, *Dioik.* 346
Daulis	Destr. 480, *Dioik.* 346
Drymos	Destr. 480, *Dioik.* 346
Echedameia	*Dioik.* 346
Elateia	Destr. 480, *Dioik.* 346
Erochos	Destr. 480, *Dioik.* 346
Hyampolis	Destr. 480, *Dioik.* 346
Kirrha	Destr., *Andrap.* C6e (ghost *polis*)
Ledon	*Dioik.* 346
Lilaia	*Dioik.* 346
Medeon	*Dioik.* 346
Neon/Tithorea	Destr. 480, *Dioik.* 346
Parapotamioi	Destr. 480, *Dioik.* 346
Pedieis	Destr. 480
Phanoteus	Destr. 480, *Dioik.* 346
Phlygonion	*Dioik.* 346
Po[---]	*Dioik.* 346
Stiris	*Dioik.* 346
Teithronion	Destr. 480, *Dioik.* 346
Trachis	*Dioik.* 346
Triteis	Destr. 480
Troneia	*Dioik.* 346

Boiotia

Chaironeia	*Andrap.* 446
Chorsiai	Destr., *Andrap.* 346?
Koroneia	*Andrap.* 346
Orchomenos	Destr., *Andrap.* 364; *Andrap.* 346
Plataiai	Destr. 480; *Andrap.* 427; Destr. 426; Destr., Exp. 373
Thebai	*Andrap.*, Destr. 335
Thespiai	Destr. 480

Achaia

Pellene	Destr., *Andrap.* C6e

Elis

Dyspontion	Destr. *c.*570
Pylos	Destr. 360s

Arkadia

Mantinea	Destr., *Dioik.* 385
Tegea	planned *Andrap.* C6f
Trapezous	Exp. 368

Lakedaimon

Thyrea	Destr., *Andrap.* 424

Argolis

Mykenai	Destr., *Andrap. c.*460
Orneai	Destr., Exp. *c.*416/15
Tiryns	Destr., Exp. *c.*460

Saronic Gulf
Aigina Exp. 431

Attika
Athenai Destr. 480, 479; planned *Andrap.* 404

Euboia
Eretria *Andrap.*, Destr. 490
Histiaia/Oreos Exp. 446

East Lokris
Naryka Destr. 352
Nikaia Destr. 353
Thronion *Andrap.* 353

Thessalia
Pharsalos *Andrap.* 395
Skotoussa Citizens killed off, 367/6

Malis
Herakleia Exp. 395, 371

Achaia Phthiotis
Halos Exp. C4m

Magnesia
Meliboia Citizens killed off, 367/6

The Aegean
Delos Exp. 422
Lemnos *Andrap.* C6l
Melos Destr., *Andrap.* 416/15
Naxos Destr., *Andrap.* 490
Skyros *Andrap.* 476/5
Tenos Destr., *Andrap.* 362

Makedonia
Methone Destr., Exp. 354

Chalkidike
Galepsos Destr. 432
Mekyberna Destr. 432
Olynthos Destr., population killed off, 479; Destr., *Andrap.* 348
Poteidaia Exp. 429; *Andrap.* 356
Sermylia Destr. 348?
Singos Destr. 432, 348?
Skione *Andrap.* 421
Stagiros Destr. 348
Torone *Andrap.* 422

Thrace: from Strymon to Nestos
Apollonia Destr. C4m
Eion *Andrap.* 476/5; Destr. C4f
Galepsos Destr. C4m
Phagres Destr. C5f, C4m

Thrace: from Nestos to Hebros
Stryme Destr. C4m

Thracian Chersonesos
Sestos *Andrap.* 353

Propontic Thrace
Tyrodiza *Andrap.* 341

Pontos: West Coast
Nikonion Destr. 331

Pontos: Skythia
Nymphaion Destr. C4e

Propontic Coast of Asia Minor
Artake Destr. 493
Kalchedon Destr. C6l
Prokonnesos Destr. 493

Troas
Abydos Destr. C6l
Sigeion Destr. C4s or later

Lesbos
Arisba *Andrap.* C6
Mytilene planned *Andrap.* 427

Aiolis
Gryneion *Andrap.* 335/4

Ionia
Kolophon Destr. *c.*660
Magnesia Destr. C7
Miletos Destr., *Andrap.* 494
Phokaia Destr. 546
Priene *Andrap.* 546
Samos Population killed off, *c.*517
Smyrna Exp. C7e; Destr., *Dioik. c.*545

Karia
Halikarnassos Destr. 334
Iasos *Andrap.*, Destr. 412?; *Andrap.*, Destr. 405
Kedreai *Andrap.* 405

Crete
Lyktos Exp. C4m

Cyprus
Idalion Destr. C4l

Libya
Barke *Andrap. c.*514

21. Synoikismos

Key

syn.	X created by synoecism
persists:	partial synoecism, X persists after the synoecism
disappears:	full synoecism, X disappears in consequence of the synoecism
reappears:	X disappears but is refounded later
with Y	population of X moved to Y
reinf.	X reinforced by population from pol. (*poleis*) or vil. (villages)

Sikelia

Agyrion	with Syrakousai 339 (persists)
Euboia	with Syrakousai 480s (disappears)
Gela	with Syrakousai 485 (persists)
Kamarina	with Syrakousai 484 (reappears *c.*461)
Katane	with Leontinoi 476 (reappears 461)
Kentoripa	with Syrakousai 339 (reappears)
Leontinoi	with Syrakousai 422 (reappears 405), 403 (reappears 396), 339 (reappears 339/8)
Megara	with Syrakousai 483 (disappears)
Messana	reinf. 396 (pol. Lokroi, Medma)
Naxos	with Leontinoi 476 (reappears 460s)
Syrakousai	reinf. 480s, 424, 403, 396, 389, 388, 340s (pol.)

Italia and Kampania

Hipponion	with Syrakousai 388 (reappears 379)
Kaulonia	with Syrakousai 389 (reappears *c.*357)
Lokroi	with Messana 396 (1,000, persists)
Medma	with Messana 396 (4,000, persists)

Epeiros

Kassopa	syn. C4m (vil.)

Akarnania

Argos Amph.	reinf. C5m (Amprakiot citizens)
Amprakia	with Argos Amph. C5m (persists)

Boiotia

Erythrai	with Thebes 431 (reappears C4)
Eteonos/Skaphai	with Thebes 431 (reappears C4)
Skolos	with Thebes 431 (reappears C4)
Potniai	with Thebes 431 (disappears)
Tanagra	syn. C?? (vil.)
Thebai	reinf. 431 (pol. Erythrai, Eteonos, Skolos, Potniai)

Megaris, Korinthia, Sikyonia

Megara	syn. C8? (vil.)

Achaia

Aigai	with Aigeira C4f? (disappears)
Aigeira	syn. C6–C5f (vil.); reinf. C4f? (pol. Aigai)
Aigion	syn. C5f? (vil.)
Dyme	syn. C5f? (vil.), reinf. C4–C3 (pol. Olenos)
Olenos	with Dyme C4–C3? (disappears)
Patrai	syn. C6l–C5e? (vil.)
Pellene	syn. C6? (vil.)

Elis

Agriades	with Elis 471? (disappears?)
Elis	reinf. 471 (pol. Agriades?)

Triphylia

Lepreon	reinf. C5m (vil.)

Messenia

Messene	syn. 370/69 (vil.)

Arkadia

Alipheira	with Megalopolis 371–68? (persists)
Asea	with Megalopolis 371–68? (persists)
Dipaia	with Megalopolis 371–68? (persists)
Euaimon	with Orchomenos C4m (persists)
Eutaia	with Megalopolis 371–68? (persists)
Gortys	with Megalopolis 371–68? (persists)
Helisson	with Megalopolis 371–68? (persists)
Heraia	syn. or reinf. C6–C5? (vil. or pol.)
Lykosoura	with Megalopolis 371 (not implemented)
Mantinea	syn. or reinf. C6–C5? (vil. or pol.), syn. 370 (vil.)
Megalopolis	syn. 371–68 (vil. and pol.)
Methydrion	with Megalopolis 371–68? (persists)
Orchomenos	reinf. C4m (Euaimon)
Oresthasion	with Megalopolis 371–68? (persists)

Pallantion	with Megalopolis 371–68? (not implemented)
Tegea	syn. or reinf. C6–C5? (vil. or pol.)
Teuthis	with Megalopolis 371–68? (persists)
Thisoa	with Megalopolis 371–68? (persists)
Trapezous	with Megalopolis 371–68 (not implemented)

Argolis

Argos	reinf. C5f (vil. Hysiai), *c.*460 (pol. Tiryns), 416 (pol. Orneai)
Orneai	with Argos 416 (reappears in C4f)
Tiryns	with Argos *c.*460 (disappears)

Attika

Eleusis	syn. 403 (Eleusinians and Athenian oligarchs)

Euboia

Histiaia/Oreos	syn. 440s (pol. and vil.); reinf. 342/1 (vil. Ellopieis)

Thessalia

Metropolis	syn. before 358 (vil.)

Achaia Phthiotis

Phylake	with Thebai C4s (disappears)
Pyrasos	with Thebai C4s (persists)
Thebai	reinf. C4s (pol. Phylake, Pyrasos)

Magnesia

Amyros	with Kasthanaie? *c.*400
Kasthanaie	reinf. *c.*400? (pol. Amyros?)

The Aegean

Astypalaia	with Kos 366/5 (persists)
Halasarna	with Kos 366/5 (persists)
Kos Meropis	with Kos 366/5 (persists)
Kos	syn. 366/5 (pol. Astypalai, Halasarma, Kos Meropis)

Mygdonia

Arethousa	reinf.? C5l? (pol. Bormiskos)
Bormiskos	with Arethousa? C5l? (disappears)

Chalkidike

Galepsos	with Olynthos 432 (disappears?)
Mekyberna	with Olynthos 432 (reappears in 421)
Olynthos	reinf. 431 (pol. Galepsos, Mekyberna, Singos); reinf. 370s (pol.?)
Singos	with Olynthos 432 (reappears in 421)

Propontic Coast of Asia Minor

Kyzikos	reinf. 362 (Prokonnesos)
Lampsakos	reinf. C4f (pol. Paisos)
Paisos	with Lampsakos C4f (disappears)
Prokonnesos	with Kyzikos 362 (persists)

Lesbos

Mytilene	syn. planned by Mytilene 428 (pol.)

Ionia

Chios	syn.? *c.*600 (vil.)

Karia

Halikarnassos	reinf. C5m (vil.), *c.*370 (pol. Medmasos, Ouranion, Pedasa, Telemessos, Termera; vil. Side?)
Latmos	reinf. C4l (pol. Pidasa)
Medmasos	with Halikarnassos *c.*370 (disappears?)
Ouranion	with Halikarnassos *c.*370 (persists)
Pedasa	with Halikarnassos *c.*370 (persists?)
Pidasa	with Latmos C4l (persists?)
Telemessos	with Halikarnassos *c.*370 (persists)
Termera	with Halikarnassos *c.*370 (persists)

Crete

Hierapytna	reinf. C4e (pol.? Larisa)
Larisa	with Hierapytna C4e (disappears)

Rhodos

Ialysos	with Rhodos 408/7 (persists)
Kamiros	with Rhodos 408/7 (persists)
Lindos	with Rhodos 408/7 (persists)
Rhodos	syn. 408/7 (pol. Ialysos, Kamiros, Lindos)

22. *Grid-Planned* Poleis

Spain and France

Massalia	C6m–C4
Rhode	C4

Sikelia

Akragas	C6s–C5e
Akrai	C7m
Alaisa	C4s?
Gela	C4s
Heloron	C4
Herakleia Minoa	C4s
Himera	C7l–C6f
Kamarina	C6, C5
Kasmenai	C7s
Leontinoi	C7
Megara	C8l, C7l
Mytistratos	C4
Naxos	C7, C5f
Selinous	C7, C6e
Syrakousai	C8l, C7, C5–C4
Tauromenion	C4
Tyndaris	C4?
Zankle	C7

Italia and Kampania

Herakleia	C4?
Hyele	C6l–C5e
Kroton	C7l–C6e
Lokroi	C6m
Metapontion	C6m
Neapolis	*c.*470
Poseidonia	C6–C5?
Taras	C6, C5m
Thourioi	C5s–C4f

The Adriatic

Apollonia	C5m–C4e
Spina	undated

Epeiros

Elea	undated
Gitana	undated
Horraon	C4
Kassopa	C4

Akarnania

Ambrakia	C6–C5
Leukas	C4–C3
Palairos	C4
Same	C4f
Stratos	C4
Torybeia	C4

Aitolia

Kallion	C4
Kalydon	C4–C3?

Phokis

Troneia	undated

Boiotia

Plataiai	undated
Tanagra	C4

Arkadia

Stymphalos	C4f
Trapezous	C5f

Messenia

Messene/Ithome	C4m

Argolis

Halieis	C6f

Attika

Athenai	C5f (Peiraieus)

Thessalia

Pellinaion	C4

Makedonia

Aiane	C5f
Dion	C4l
Pella	C4l

Chalkidike

Mekyberna	undated
Olynthos	C4f

Thrace: from Nestos to Hebros

Abdera	C4m
Stryme	C5l–C4m

Pontos: Skythia

Myrmekion	C5

Pontic Coast of Asia Minor

Herakleia	C5–C4?

Troas

Neandreia	C4
Tenedos	undated

Ionia

Miletos	C5–C4
Priene	C4

Karia

Halikarnassos	C4m
Knidos	C4s

Rhodos

Rhodos	C5l–C4

Cyprus

Idalion	C5?

Libya

Euhesperides	C4l

23. *City Walls*

Key

Akrop.	remains of walls enclosing the acropolis
Town	remains of walls enclosing the town
Fortified	information about walls in written sources, e.g. siege
Demolished	information about demolished walls in written sources
Ateichistos	recorded as unfortified in written sources

Spain and France

Alalie	*Town* C6s
Emporion	*Town* C5s, C4f
Massalia	*Akrop.* undated, *Town* C6l, C4

Sikelia

Abakainon	Fortified 393
Adranon	*Town* C4f
Agyrion	*Akrop.* C4e, *Town* C4s, Fortified C4e
Akragas	*Town* C6e, Fortified 406
Akrai	*Town* C4f, Fortified C7m?
Apollonia	*Town* undated
Engyon	*Town* C4m
Euboia	Fortified C5f
Gela	*Akrop.* C6, *Town* C4s, Fortified C7f, 405
Heloron	*Town* C6, C4
Herakleia Minoa	*Town* C6s–C4l
Herbessos	*Town* C6, C4, Fortified C5l
Himera	*Town* C6?, C5e, Fortified C5l
Hippana	*Town* C4s
Kallipolis	Fortified C5e
Kamarina	*Town* C6s, Demolished 405
Kasmenai	*Town* C7?, *Akrop.* C4f
Katane	Fortified 415, Demolished 403
Kephaloidion	*Town* C4?, Fortified 396
Leontinoi	*Town* C6e, destroyed *c.*495, C5m, destroyed *c.*424, Fortified 396, 356/5, 342/1
Lipara	*Town c.*500, C4f, Fortified C5e
Longane	*Town* C5
Megara	*Town* C7, C6s
Mylai	Fortified 426
Mytistratos	*Town* C5–C4
Naxos	*Town* C6m, C5e, Fortified 493, 425, 403
Selinous	*Town* C6l, C5e, 409, *Akrop.* 409, *Ateichistos* 405
Syrakousai	*Town* C6, *Akrop.* C4, Fortified 490s, 466/5, 415–13
Tauromenion	*Akrop.* undated, *Town* C4, Fortified 394/3
Tyndaris	Fortified 396
Zankle	Fortified 490s, ruined in 396–94, Fortified 337

Italia and Kampania

Herakleia	*Akrop.* C5, *Town* C4–C3
Hipponion	*Town* C6s–C5f, C5s–C4f, demolished 388, rebuilt C4
Hyele	*Akrop. c.*520, *Town c.*520, C5e, C4–C3
Kaulonia	*Town* C6, Demolished 389, rebuilt C4s
Kroton	*Town* C4
Kyme	*Akrop.* C6m, *Town* C6e, Fortified 524, 421
Laos	Fortified 390
Lokroi	*Town* C6, C5m–C4m, Fortified C4m
Metapontion	*Town* C6m, C5, C4–C3
Neapolis	*Town c.*470, C4
Poseidonia	*Town* C6?, C4
Pyxous	*Town* C5f, C4l
Rhegion	*Town* C6–C5, Fortified 393, Demolished 387, rebuilt C4m
Siris	*Town* C7–C6
Sybaris	Fortified C6, 467
Taras	*Akrop.* C6, *Town* C5m
Terina	Fortified 356/5
Thourioi	Fortified C5s

The Adriatic

Ankon	*Akrop.* C4
Apollonia	*Akrop.* C6, *Town* C4–C3
Epidamnos	Fortified 437
Issa	*Town* C4
Lissos	*Akrop.* C4
Melaina Korkyra	Fortified C4l–C3e

Pharos	*Town* C4f, Fortified C4f
Spina	*Town* undated

Epeiros

Amantia	*Town* C5
Batiai	*Akrop.* undated, *Town* C4s
Berenike	*Town* C4s
Boucheta	*Town* Archaic, C5l, C4f
Bouthroton	*Akrop.* C6l–C5e, C5–C4
Byllis	*Town* C4m
Dodona	*Akrop.* C4
Elateia	*Town* C5l
Elea	*Town* undated
Ephyra	*Akrop.* LH III onwards
Eurymenai	*Town* C4, Fortified 312
Gitana	*Akrop.* C4, *Town* C4
Horraon	*Town* C4f
Kassope	*Town* C4m
Nikaia	*Town* C5
Olympa	*Town* C5–C4
Pandosia	*Town* C4f
Passaron	*Akrop.* C5s, *Town* C4l
Phanote	*Town* C4l
Phoinike	*Akrop.* C5
Tekmon	*Town* C4
Torone	*Akrop.* C5, *Town* C5l

Akarnania

Alyzeia	*Akrop.*, *Town* C4?, Fortified 391
Ambrakia	*Town* C5e
Anaktorion	*Town* undated, Fortified 425
Argos	*Town* undated, Fortified 430
Astakos	*Town* C5
Derion	*Town* undated, Fortified? C4l
Echinos	*Town* undated
Ithaka	*Akrop.* C5–C4, *Town* C5–C4
Korkyra	*Town* C4 or C3, Fortified 373/2
Koronta	*Town* C4
Kranioi	*Akrop.* C5, *Town*? C4f
Leukas	*Town* undated, Fortified 429/8
Limnaia	*Town* C4l, *Ateichistos* 429
Matropolis	*Akrop.* undated
Medion	*Town* undated
Oiniadai	*Town* C5–C4, Fortified C5m
Palairos	*Akrop.* undated, *Town* C5
Paleis	*Town*? C4f
Phoitiai	*Akrop.* C5–C4, *Town* C5–C4
Pronnoi	*Akrop.* C4?
Same	*Akrop.* C5, *Town* C4m
Stratos	*Town* C5s, Fortified 429
Thyrreion	*Town* undated, Fortified 373/2
Torybeia	*Town* undated

Aitolia

Agrinion	*Town* C4, Fortified 314
Aigition	Fortified 426?
Chalkis	*Town* C4?
Halikyrna	*Town* C4?
Kallion	*Akrop.*, *Town* C4s
Kalydon	*Akrop.* C6l–C5e, *Town* C4, Fortified 389
Makynea	*Town* C4?
Molykreion	*Town* C4
Trichoneion	*Town*? C4–C3

West Lokris

Amphissa	*Akrop.* undated, *Town* C4s, Fortified 321
Chaleion	*Town* C4l–C3e
Myania	*Town* C4
Naupaktos	*Town* Archaic/Classical?, Fortified C5s
Tolophon	*Town* undated

Phokis

Abai	*Akrop.* C6–C5, *Town* C4?
Ambryssos	Fortified 339/8
Amphikaia	*Town* C4–C3
Boulis	*Town* undated
Charadra	*Akrop.*, *Town* undated
Daulis	*Town* C4l?, Fortified 395
Delphoi	Unwalled
Drymos	*Town* C4l
Elateia	Fortified 426, 395, 374, 346
Erochos	*Town* undated
Hyampolis	*Town* C4s, Fortified 395
Kirrha	*Town* Classical?
Ledon	*Akrop.*? C4?
Lilaia	*Akrop.*, *Town* C4m
Medeon	*Town* undated
Neon/Tithorea	*Town* C4s, Fortified 349
Parapotamioi	*Akrop.* undated
Phanoteus	*Town* 340s?, Fortified 395
Phlygonion	*Town* undated
Stiris	*Town* undated
Teithronion	*Town* undated
Troneia	*Akrop.* undated

Boiotia

Akraiphia	*Akrop.* C4?
Chaironeia	*Akrop.* C6?, *Town* C6–C5?, Fortified 424, 354

Chorsiai	*Akrop.* C4, *Town* C4, walls demolished 346
Erythrai	*Akrop.* undated, *Town*?, unwalled 431
Eteonos/Skaphai	Unwalled 431
Eutresis	*Town* C4m
Haliartos	*Akrop.* C6–C5?, *Town* C4?, Fortified 395/4
Hyettos	*Akrop.* C6?
Hysiai	*Town* undated
Kopai	*Town* C4s?
Koroneia	*Akrop.*?, *Town*? Fortified 353
Mykalessos	*Town*?, walls in bad repair 413
Orchomenos	*Town* A or C4, Fortified C4m
Oropos	*Akrop.* undated
Plataiai	*Town* ?–426, 386–73, 335–?, Fortified 431, beseiged 429–27; walls demolished 426, 373
Potniai	Unwalled 431
Siphai	*Akrop.* C4m, *Town* C4m, Fortified 424
Skolos	Unwalled 431
Tanagra	*Town* C4e, walls demolished 457
Thebai	*Akrop.* Bronze Age with repairs in A and C, *Town* C5, Fortified 540, 479, besieged 479, 335
Thespiai	*Town* undated, walls Demolished 423, rebuilt 378, Demolished *c.*373, rebuilt after 343
Thisbai	*Town* C4m?

Megaris, Korinthia, Sikyonia

Aigosthena	*Akrop.* C4l
Korinthos	*Akrop.* C6?, *Town* C7m–l, C5, Fortified C4
Megara	*Town* C4?, Fortified 460, 424
Pagai	*Town* undated
Sikyon	*Akrop.*, *Town* C5

Achaia

Aigeira	*Akrop.*, *Town* C4?
Aigion	Fortified C4l
Patrai	Fortified C5s

Elis

Elis	*Ateichistos c.*400
Kyllene	Fortified *c.*400
Marganeis	Fortified 365

Arkadia

Alipheira	*Akrop.* C4e, *Town* undated
Asea	*Akrop.* C4e?, *Town* C3?
Dipaia	*Akrop.* undated
Eutaia	Fortified C4f
Gortys	*Akrop.* C4m
Halous	*Akrop.* C4?
Heraia	*Town* undated, Fortified 375?
Kaphyai	*Town* undated
Lousoi	*Akrop.* C4
Lykosoura	*Akrop.* C5–C4
Mantinea	*Town* 370, Fortified 385, walls demolished 385, rebuilt 370
Megalopolis	*Town* 360s
Methydrion	*Akrop.*? C5–C4?
Orchomenos	*Town* C4s, Fortified 418, 370
Oresthasion	*Akrop.* C6–C5e?
Paion	*Akrop.* C4?
Pallantion	*Akrop.* undated
Pheneos	*Akrop.* C4?
Phigaleia	*Akrop.*? undated, *Town* C5?, C4m?
Psophis	*Town* C5l–C4e
Stymphalos	*Town* C4s, Fortified C5f, 369
Tegea	*Town* C4e, Fortified 418, 370
Teuthis	*Akrop.* C4–C3?
Thaliades	*Akrop.*?, *Town* undated
Thelphousa	*Town* undated, Fortified C5–C4
Thisoa	*Akrop.* undated
Torthyneion	*Town* undated
Trapezous?	*Town* C5e

Triphylia

Lepreon	*Akrop.* C4?, *Town* undated
Makiston	*Akrop.* undated
Phrixai	*Akrop.* undated

Messenia

Messene	*Town* C4
Mothone	*Town* undated, Fortified 431

Lakedaimon

Anthena	*Akrop.* C4
Epidauros	*Akrop.* C5?, C4?
Eua	*Town* undated
Gytheion	Fortified 370/69
Kythera	Fortified 393
Las	*Akrop.* undated
Sparta	*Ateichistos* 362

Argolis

Argos	*Town* C6–C5, Fortified 417/16
Epidauros	Fortified 418/17, 369

Halieis	*Akrop.* C7, *Town* Classical, Fortified 425/4
Hermion	*Town* C4
Kleonai	*Akrop.*, *Town* undated
Methana	*Akrop.* C4s
Mykenai	Fortified *c.*460
Orneai	*Town* C4s? Fortified 416/15, 353/2
Phleious	*Akrop.* C4e, *Town* C4e?, Fortified 380, 369
Tiryns	*Akrop.* Mycenaean
Troizen	*Akrop.*, *Town* undated, Fortified 369
Saronic Gulf	
Aigina	*Town* C5e, Fortified 460, 389, walls demolished 457
Attika	
Athenai	*Akrop.* C13, *Town* C6, walls demolished 480–79, rebuilt 479/8, Demolished 404, rebuilt 394–91, Acropolis fortified 630s, town fortified 510, 480, 405–4
Eleusis	Fortified 401
Salamis	*Town* C4, Fortified C4
Euboia	
Athenai Diades	*Akrop.* undated
Chalkis	*Town* undated, Fortified C4m
Dystos	*Akrop.* undated, *Town* C4
Eretria	*Akrop.* C6?–C4, *Town* C4, Fortified 490, 341, walls demolished 490
Histiaia/Oreos	Fortified 426, C4m
Karystos	Fortified 490, siege 490
East Lokris	
Alope	*Akrop.* C6?
Alponos	*Akrop.* C5, Fortified 426
Halai	*Akrop.* C6, C4m, *Town* C4–C3
Kynos	*Akrop.* undated
Larymna	*Town* C6l–C5e?, C4
Naryka	*Akrop.* undated, Fortified 352
Opous	*Town* C4l–C3, Fortified 313
Thronion	*Town* undated, Fortified 451, 353
Doris	
Akyphas/Pindos	*Town* undated
Boion	*Town* undated
Erineos	*Town* undated
Kytinion	*Town* undated
Thessalia	
Argoussa	*Town* C5–C4
Atrax	*Akrop.* C5e, C4m, *Town* C4
Gyrton	*Akrop.* C6?, *Town* undated
Kierion	*Town* C5e
Krannon	*Town* undated
Larisa	*Town* undated, Fortified 369/8
Metropolis	*Town* C4f
Orthos	*Town* undated
Pagasai	*Akrop. Town* C6l–C5e, Fortified 353
Peiraia	*Akrop.*, *Town* undated
Pelinna(ion)	*Akrop.* C5, *Town* C4
Phaloria	*Town* undated
Pharkadon	*Akrop.*, *Town* C5–C4, Fortified 356
Pharsalos	*Town* C5e–C4s, Fortified 457/6
Pherai	*Town* C4f, Fortified 344
Skotoussa	*Akrop.* undated, Fortified 367/6
Dolopia	
Angeia	*Town* undated
Ainis	
Hypata	*Akrop.*, *Town* C4–C3
Malis	
Antikyre	*Akrop.*, *Town* undated
Echinos	*Town* C4
Herakleia	*Akrop.*, *Town* undated, Fortified 426, 395, walls demolished 371/0
Lamia	*Akrop.* C6, C5–C4, *Town c.*400, Fortified 323/2
Achaia	
Antron	*Akrop.*, *Town* undated
Ekkarra	*Akrop.* undated, *Town* C4
Halos	Fortified C4m
Melitaia	*Town* undated
Peuma	*Akrop.* undated, *Town* C4?
Proerna	*Akrop.* undated, *Town* C4?
Thaumakoi	*Akrop.* C4
Thebai	*Akrop.* undated, *Town* C4l–C3e
Magnesia	
Eurymenai	*Akrop.*, *Town* undated
Kasthanaie	*Akrop.*, *Town* C5
Korakai	*Town* C5
Methone?	*Town* C4l (Goritsa)
Olizon	*Town* undated
Perrhaibia	
Azoros	Fortified 316
Chyretiai	*Akrop.*, *Town* undated
Doliche	*Akrop.* undated, *Town* C4–C3

Gonnos	*Akrop.* C6?
Malloia	*Town* undated
Mondaia	*Akrop.*, *Town* undated
Mylai	*Akrop.*, *Town* undated
Oloosson	*Akrop.* undated
Phalanna	*Akrop.* undated
Pythoion	*Akrop.*, *Town* undated

Islands

(Amorgos)	
Aigiale	*Town* C6?–C4?
Arkesine	*Town* C4s–C3e
Minoa	*Akrop.* C8l–?, *Town* C4–C3
Andros	*Town* C4, Fortified 480, 408
Chalke	*Town* C6
Delos	Unwalled
Ikos	*Town* C4
Imbros	*Town* C4
Ios	*Town* undated
(Karpathos)	
Arkeseia	*Akrop.* C4s
Brykous	*Akrop.* C4l–C3
(Keos)	
Ioulis	*Akrop.* C5, repairs C4l–C3e
Karthaia	Walls demolished 364, slim walls C4s
Koresia	Walls demolished 364, slim walls C4s
Poiessa	*Town* C6l, walls demolished 364, slim walls C4s
(Kos)	
Kos	*Town* undated, walls built 366/5
Kos Meropis	*Town* C5?, unfortified 412
Kythnos	*Town* C4s
(Lemnos)	
Hephaistia	*Town* C4
Myrina	*Akrop.*, *Town* C6–C3, Fortified *c.*500
Melos	*Town* C6l–C5e, Fortified 424, 416
Naxos	*Town* undated, Fortified C6l, 470s, 376
Nisyros	*Town* C4s
Panormos	Fortified C4m
Paros	*Akrop.*, *Town* C7–C6, Fortified C6l, C5e
Peparethos	Fortified 426
Samothrake	*Town* C7–C6
Seleinous	*Town* C4
Siphnos	*Akrop. c.*500
Skyros	*Akrop.*, *Town* C4s, Fortified C5f
Syme	*Akrop.* Hellenistic?
Telos	*Town* C4?
Tenos	*Town* C7–C6, *New Town* C4s
Thasos	*Town* C6l, Fortified 494, walls demolished 491, rebuilt, demolished 463, rebuilt 411

Makedonia

Aigeai	*Town* C4l
Aloros	*Town* undated
Beroia	*Town* C4l, Fortified 432
Dion	*Town* C4l
Edessa	*Akrop.*, *Town* C4l
Europos	Fortified 429
Herakleion	*Town* undated, Fortified C5
Leibethra	*Town* undated
Methone	Fortified 354
Pella	*Town* C4s
Pydna	*Town* undated, Fortified 432, 411, 357

Mygdonia

Apollonia	*Town* undated, Fortified 382
Arethousa	*Town* C4l

Bisaltia

Amphipolis	*Town* C5s, Fortified 424, 357
Argilos	*Town* C5–C4

Chalkidike

Akanthos	*Akrop.* C5f, Fortified 424
Aphytis	*Town* C5–C4, Fortified 405
Dion	Fortified 423
Eion	Fortified 425
Kissos	*Town*? undated
Mende	*Akrop. c.*700, Fortified 423
Olynthos	*Town* C5s–C4f, Fortified 432, 381, 349–8
Poteidaia	*Town* C5, Fortified 479, 432
Sane, Akte	Fortified 423
Skione	*Akrop.*undated, Fortified 423
Spartolos	Fortified 429
Stagiros	*Akrop.* C5–C4, *Town c.*500, C4l
Torone	*Town* C5–C4, Fortified 423

Thrace: from Strymon to Nestos

Berga	*Town* undated
Eion	Fortified C5e, 424
Galepsos	Fortified C5e
Myrkinos	Fortified 509
Neapolis	*Akrop.* C5–C4, Fortified 410
Oisyme	*Akrop.* C6, *Town* C5f
Phagres	Fortified 480

Philippoi	Fortified C4m
Pistyros	*Town* C6l

Thrace: from Nestos to Hebros

Abdera	*Harbour* C7s–C5, *Town* (relocated) C4m
Dikaia	*Town* C4
Drys	Fortified 375
Maroneia	*Town* undated
Mesambria	Fortified 480
Stryme	*Akrop.*? C5–C4m
Zone	*Town* undated

Thracian Chersonesos

Alopekonnesos	Fortified 360/59
Elaious	Fortified 411, 360/59
Krithote	Fortified 360/59
Sestos	Fortified 479/8, 394, 365

Propontic Thrace

Bisanthe	Fortified 410
Byzantion	Fortified 478/7, 409/8, 357/6, 340
Daminon Teichos	Fortified C5s, C4
Heraion Teichos	Fortified 352
Neapolis	Fortified C4m?
Perinthos	*Akrop.* C5, *Town* C5, Fortified 399, 340
Selymbria	Fortified 408, 403, 340
Serrion Teichos	Fortified C5s, 346

Pontos: West Coast

Apollonia	Fortified C4m
Istros	*Town* C6, C5–C4
Kallatis	*Town* C4f
Mesambria	*Town* C5 or C4e
Nikonion	*Town* C5f
Odessos	Fortified C4s
Olbia	*Town* C4l, Fortified C5s, 331
Orgame	*Akrop.* C4, *Town* C4
Tyras	*Town* C4

Pontos: Skythia

Chersonesos	*Town* C5f, *Town* C4
Gorgippia	*Town* C4
Hermonassa	*Town* C4s
Karkinitis	*Town* C5m
Kimmerikon	*Town* C5l–C4e
Kytaia	*Town* C4e
Myrmekeion	*Akrop.* C6l–C5e, *Town* C4e
Nymphaion	*Akrop.* C5l–C4e, *Town* C5e, C4e
Pantikapaion	*Akrop.* C5l–C4f, *Town* C5e
Phanagoria	*Town* C5l, destroyed C4e, rebuilt C4
Theodosia	*Town* C5e

Pontic Coast of Asia Minor

Herakleia	Fortified C5s
Kotyora	*Town* C5l
Sinope	Fortified 370

Propontic Coast of Asia Minor

Artaiou Teichos	Fortified C5
Astakos	Fortified C4m
Kalchedon	Fortified 513, 409, 387, 360s
Kios	*Town* undated
Kyzikos	*Ateichistos* 410, Fortified 409, Cf4, 364, 334
Lampsakos	*Ateichistos* 411, Fortified 409, 405
Miletouteichos	Fortified 395
Parion	*Town* undated, Fortified *c.*360

Troas

Abydos	Fortified C5l, C4
Antandros	Fortified C5l
Assos	*Akrop.*, *Town* C6?, C4?, Fortified 365
Gargara	*Akrop.* C6?
Gentinos	*Akrop.* C4
Gergis	Fortified C4e
Hamaxitos	Fortified 398
Ilion	Fortified C4f
Kebren	*Akrop.*, *Town* C5l, Fortified C4e
Kokylion	Fortified C4e
Kolonai	Fortified C4e
Lamponeia	*Town* C6?
Larisa	Fortified C4e
Neandreia	*Town* C6?, C5l–C4e, Fortified C4e
Ophryneion	*Akrop.* undated
Palaiperkote	*Town* C6?
Rhoiteion	*Akrop.* undated
Sigeion	Fortified C6
Skepsis	Fortified C4e

Lesbos

Antissa	*Town* C6? Fortified 428/7
Arisba	*Akrop.*, *Town* C6?
Eresos	*Town* C6? Fortified 428/7, 412
Methymna	*Town* C6? Fortified 428/7, 406
Mytilene	*Town* C6–C4m, Fortified 428/7, 405, 333 walls demolished 427
Pyrrha	*Akrop.* undated, Fortified 428/7

Aiolis

Aigai	*Town* C4?
Atarneus	*Town* C5 or C4, Fortified 398/7 and *c.*350
Chalkis	*Town* C5 or C4?
Herakleia	*Town* undated
Kyme	*Town* C6, Fortified 546, *c.*400
Larisa	*Akrop.* C5, *Akrop.* and *Town* C4, Fortified 398/7
Melanpagos	*Town* undated
Myrina	*Akrop.*, *Town* undated
Neon Teichos	Fortified C5
Pergamon	*Town* C7, C5
Pitane	*Town* C4, Fortified 335/4

Ionia

Airai	*Town* C4
Chios	Fortified 425/4, 412/11, C4f
Ephesos	*Town c.*500, Fortified C6f
Erythrai	*Town* C4l, Fortified C4l
Klazomenai	*Akrop.* C6, *Town* C4, Fortified C6?, C4f, *Ateichistos* 411
Kolophon	*Town* C4l, Fortified C4l
Magnesia	*Ateichistos* 400
Miletos	*Akrop.* C7, *Town* C6, C5, Fortified C7, 494, C5
Notion	Fortified *c.*430?
Phokaia	*Town* C6f, Fortified 546, 406
Polichnitai	Fortified 412?
Priene	*Town* C4s
Pteleon	Fortified 412
Pygela	*Town* C4, Fortified 409
Samos	*Akrop.* C6, *Town* C6, C4e, Fortified 524, 441, C4f, wall demolished 339, *Ateichistos* 411
Sidousa	Fortified 412
Smyrna	*Town* C9m?, C8m, C7l, Fortified C7e, C6m
Teos	*Akrop.* C6?, *Town* C4–C3, Fortified C6, wall demolished 494, rebuilt 412, demolished 411, rebuilt C4e
Thebai	*Town* C6?

Karia

Alabanda	*Town* C4
Alinda	*Akrop.*, *Town* C4m, Fortified C4s
Amos	*Akrop.* C4l, *Town* C4
Amyzon	*Town* C4
Bargasa	*Akrop.* undated
Bargylia	*Town* C4
Chalketor	*Akrop.* undated
Euromos	*Town* C4l
Halikarnassos	*Town* C4e, Fortified C5m, 334
Hydaieus	*Akrop.* undated
Iasos	*Akrop.* C9–C8, *Town* C4l
Karbasyanda	*Akrop.* undated
Karyanda	*Town* C4
Kaunos	*Town* C4?–C3, Fortified 396
Keramos	*Akrop.*, *Town* C4
Killareis	*Town* C4
Kindye	*Town* C5–C4
Knidos	*Akrop.* C5l (Burgaz), *Akrop.*, *Town* C4m (Tekir), *Ateichistos* 412
Latmos	*Town* C4e
Medmasos	*Town* undated
Mylasa	*Ateichistos* C4f
Myndos	*Town* C4m, Fortified 334
Ouranion	*Town* C4
Pedasa	*Town* undated
Pidasa	*Town* C4–C3e
Syangela/Theangela	*Town* C4
Termera	*Town* C5
Tralleis	*Ateichistos c.*400

Crete

Anopolis	*Town* undated
Aptara	*Town* undated, Fortified C3l
Axos	*Akrop.* undated
Bionnos	*Town* undated
Datala	(Aphrati) *Akrop.* undated
Dragmos	(Koutsoulopetres) *Town* undated
Dreros	*Akrop.*, *Town* undated
Eleutherna	*Town* undated, Fortified C3l
Elyros	*Akrop.*?, *Town* undated
Gortyns	*Town* Geometric, unfortified until C3s
Hyrtakina	*Town* C4l
Istron	*Town* undated
Itanos	*Akrop.*, *Town* undated
Keraia	*Akrop.* C4
Knosos	Fortified guard-post
Kydonia	*Akrop.*? Fortified C4m
Lato	*Town* undated
Olous	Fortified guard-posts
Petra	*Akrop.* undated
Phaistos	*Town* Geometric
Phalasarna	*Akrop.* C5–C4, harbour C4s

Polichne	*Town* undated
Polyrhen	*Akrop.*, *Town* C4l–C3e
Rhitten	(Patela Prinias) *Town* C4l
Sybrita	*Akrop.* Archaic
Rhodos	
Kamiros	*Ateichistos* 411
Lindos	*Akrop.*, Fortified 490
Rhodos	*Town c.*407
Lykia	
Phaselis	*Town* C5m–*c.*300, Fortified *c.*469
Pamphylia	
Aspendos	*Akrop.* C4s, *Town* C4s
Kilikia	
Aphrodisias	*Town* C5–C4
Kelenderis	*Town* undated
Nagidos	*Akrop.* C5–C4
Cyprus	
Amathous	*Akrop.*, *Town* C6–C5, Fortified 498/7
Idalion	*Akrop.* C6f, *Town* C6l, Fortified 498/7, C5m
Karpasia	Fortified C4
Marion	Fortified 449
Paphos	*Town* C8l, C6l, C4m, Fortified 498/7, C4l
Salamis	*Town* C8–C6f, Fortified C5m, C5l, C4m
Soloi	Fortified 498/7
Libya	
Barke	Fortified *c.*514, 480
Euhesperides	*Town* C7l–C6e, C4e, Fortified 413
Kyrene	*Town* C4, Fortified 322, 313
Taucheira	*Town* C6e, Fortified 322

24. *Political Architecture*

Key

italics buildings attested in written sources
bold buildings attested archaeologically

Sikelia

Agyrion	*bouleuterion* C4
Akragas	**bouleuterion** C4l; **ekklesiasterion** C5–C4
Katane	**bouleuterion**? undated
Lipara	*prytaneion* C4l
Syrakousai	**bouleuterion?** C6l–C5e; *palace* C4e; *desmoterion* C4f

Italia and Kampania

Hyele	**bouleuterion** C5f; ruler's house? C6l
Kaulonia	**theatre-like structure** undated
Kroton	*desmoterion* C5f
Kyme	*bouleuterion* C6
Lokroi	**prytaneion**? undated
Metapontion	**ekklesiasterion**? C7–C4
Poseidonia	**ekklesiasterion**? C5m–C4
Rhegion	**ekklesiasterion**? C4
Taras	*prytaneion* C4f; **bouleuterion**? undated

Epeiros

Kassope	**ekklesiasterion** C3 above earlier structure?

Akarnania

Korkyra	*bouleuterion* C5s
Stratos	**bouleuterion** C4

Aitolia

Kallion	**archive** C4s

Phokis

Delphoi	*prytaneion* C4s; *dikasterion*? C4f
Hyampolis	*bouleuterion* C4f

Megaris, Korinthia, Sikyonia

Korinthos	*bouleuterion* C4m
Sikyon	*prytaneion* C6e; ***bouleuterion*** C4l

Elis

Elis	**prytaneion** C5e; **bouleuterion** C6s

Arkadia

Mantinea	*bouleuterion* C4f
Megale polis	**federal? assembly hall** C4f
Tegea	*desmoterion* C4f

Argolis

Argos	*prytaneion* C4l; **bouleuterion** C5f; **ekklesiasterion**? C5m; *desmoterion* C4
Phleious	**bouleuterion** or **dikasterion**? C5s
Troizen	*prytaneion* C4l–C3e

Saronic Gulf

Kalaureia	**bouleuterion** (Hellenistic?)

Attika

Athenai	*prytaneion* C6e; ***bouleuterion*** C6l–C4; ***ekklesiasterion*** C5–C4; ***dikasteria*** C5–C4; ***stoa basileios*** *c.*500; ***desmoterion*** C5m

Euboia

Histiaia/Oreos	*desmoterion* C4m

Achaia Phthiotis

Halos	*prytaneion* C5f

The Aegean

Delos	***prytaneion*** C5; ***bouleuterion*** C6f; ***eklesiasterion*** C5f
(Keos)	
Ioulis	*prytaneion* C4m
Karthaia	*prytaneion* C5
Koresia	*prytaneion* C4m
Paros	***prytaneion*** C5; **bouleuterion** C4
Peparethos	*prytaneion* C5s
Siphnos	*prytaneion* C6s
Thasos	*prytaneion* C5f

Makedonia

Aigeai	**palace** *c.*400
Pella	**palace**, **bouleuterion** C4l

Chalkidike

Akanthos	*prytaneion* C4l
Olynthos	**bouleuterion** C5l; **dikasterion**? C5e

Thracian Chersonesos

Chersonesos/Agora	*prytaneion* C6s

Pontos: West Coast

Olbia	**prytaneion (hestiatorion)**? C6l; *ekklesiasterion* C4e; *dikasterion* C4

Pontos: Skythia

Pantikapaion	**palace**

Pontic Coast of Asia Minor

Herakleia	*bouleuterion* C4m

Propontic Coast of Asia Minor

Kyzikos	*prytaneion* C6l

Troas

Ilion	*prytaneion c.*300; *dikasterion*? *c.*300
Sigeion	*prytaneion* C6
Tenedos	*prytaneion* C5m

Lesbos

Methymna	*bouleuterion*? undated
Mytilene	*prytaneion c.*600

Aiolis

Larisa	**palace** C6
Kyme	*desmoterion* undated
Nasos	*pryteneion* C4l

Ionia

Airai	*prytaneion* C4
Erythrai	*prytaneion* C4s
Kolophon	**prytaneion annex** or ***metroon*** C4s
Priene	**prytaneion annex** C4s
Samos	*bouleuterion* (C7l); *bouleuterion* (klerouchy C4)

Karia

Alinda	**palace** C4s
Halikarnassos	*prytaneion* (C4l); *palace* C4f
Iasos	*archeion* C4s

Crete

Apellonia	**prytaneion**? C6–C3
Datala	(Aphrati) **bouleuterion**? C7
Dreros	**prytaneion**? C4s–C3f; **theatre steps** C8f
Gortyns	*dikasterion* C5m
Lato	**prytaneion** C4s; **ekklesiasterion**? C4–C3; **dikasterion**? C4–C3
Rhitten	(Patela Prinias) **prytaneion**? C7

Cyprus

Amathous	**palace**? C8m–*c.*300
Idalion	**palace** C6
Paphos	**palace** C6–C5
Soloi	**palace** C5l–C4

Egypt

Naukratis	*Prytaneion*? C4l

Libya

Kyrene	*prytaneion* C4l; **bouleuterion** C4; *geronteion* C4l

25. *Temples, Theatres, Stoas, Gymnasia, Stadia, Hippodromes*

Key
italics buildings attested in written sources
bold buildings attested archaeologically

Spain and France

Alalie	*temples*? C6
Emporion	**temples** C5s
Massalia	***temples*** C6l

Sikelia

Adranon	*temple* C4
Agyrion	*temples* C4s; *theatre* C4s
Aitna	*theatre* C5f
Akragas	**temples** C6sff; **stoas** C5
Akrai	**temple** C7m
Gela	**temples** C6ff; *theatre* C5m
Heloron	**temple** C4s; **theatre** C4–C3
Herakleia Minoa	**theatre** C4l–C3e
Himera	**temples** C7sff
Hippana	**theatre** undated
Kamarina	**temple** C5f
Kasmenai	**temple** C6m
Katane	**theatre** C5?
Leontinoi	*theatre* C4m
Megara	**temples** C6eff; **stoas** C7s
Morgantina	**theatre** C4l
Naxos	**temple** C6s
Selinous	**temples** C6eff; **stoa** C6m; *theatre* C4m
Syrakousai	**temples** C8sff; ***theatres*** C5ff
Tyndaris	**theatre** *c.*300
Zankle	*theatre* C4s

Italia and Kampania

Herakleia	**temple** C6
Hipponion	**temples** C6lff
Hyele	**temple C5e**; **theatre**? C5e; **stoas** C4
Kaulonia	**temple** C6ff
Kroton	*theatre* C5
Kyme	**temple** C5m
Lokroi	**temples** C6, C5; **theatre** C4m; **stoa** C6m
Metapontion	**temples** C6eff; **stoa** C4; **theatre** C7–C3
Metauros	**temple** C6–C4
Pithekoussai	**temple** C6–C4
Poseidonia	**temples** C6mff
Rhegion	*temple*? C5s; **temple** undated
Siris	**temple** C6e
Sybaris	**temples** C7ff
Taras	**temples** C6eff
Thourioi	*gymnasia* C4m

The Adriatic

Ankon	**temple** C4f
Apollonia	**temples** C6sff; **stoas** C4–C3

Epeiros

Amantia	**temple**, **stadion**, both undated
Boucheta	**stoa** undated
Bouthroton	**theatre** C4l; **stoa** C4
Dodona	**temple** C5l
Kassope	**temple** C4m; **theatre** C4–C3
Passaron	**temple** C4; **theatre** undated

Akarnania

Ambrakia	**temple** *c.*500
Anaktorion	*temple* C5
Ithaka	**temple** C6ff
Korkyra	***temples*** C5ff
Kranioi	**temple** undated
Leukas	*temples* C5
Medion	**temple** C4l
Oiniadai	**temple** undated
Phoitiai	**temple** undated
Pronnoi	**temples** C6ff
Same	**temple** undated
Stratos	***temples*** C6ff; **stoai** C4; **theatre** C4
Torybeia	**stoai** undated
Zakynthos	*temples* C4; *stadion* C4m

Aitolia

Agrinion	**stoa** C4
Kalydon	**temples** C7ff
Makynea	**theatre** C4?–C3
Molykreion	**temple** C4; **stoa** C4

Phokis

Delphoi	***temples*** C7ff; ***theatre*** C4; ***stoa*** C5f; ***gymnasion*** C4s; ***stadion*** C4l?; *hippodromos* C4

Hyampolis	*theatre* C4m
Boiotia	
Akraiphia	**temples** C4l
Chaironeia	**theatre** C5–C4
Haliartos	**temple** C7–C6; **stoa** C6?
Koroneia	**temple** undated; **theatre** undated
Lebadeia	**temples** C4; **stoa** C4
Orchomenos	**temples** C6; **theatre** C4s
Oropos	***temple*** C5l–C4s; ***theatres*** C5l–C4m; **stoa** C5l–C4s
Plataiai	*temples* C5
Tanagra	***temples*** C5ff; **theatre** C4f
Thebai	***temples*** C8sff; ***theatre*** C4; *stoas* C4; *stadion* and *gymnasion* C6; ***stadion*** and ***gymnasion*** C5; ***hippodromos*** C5
Thespiai	***temple*** C5f
Megaris, Korinthia, Sikyonia	
Korinthos	***temples*** C7ff; ***theatre*** C5; **stoas** C5–C4l; **stadion** C5f
Megara	**temple** undated; **stoas** undated
Sikyon	***temple*** C6
Achaia	
Aigeira	**temple** C7s
Dyme	**temples** C6ff
Helike	**temples** C6ff
Keryneia	**temple** C6
Leontion	**theatre** C4
Elis	
Elis	**temple** C6; **theatre** C4; **stoas** C5; **gymnasium** C4
Arkadia	
Alea	**temple** undated
Alipheira	**temples** C5eff
Asea	**temples** C7sff
Gortys	**temples** C5lff; **stoas** C4eff
Heraia	**temples** C6ff
Kleitor	**theatre** undated
Lykosoura	**temple** C4
Mantinea	**temples** C5–C4; **theatre** C4; **stoas** C5?ff
Megalopolis	**temple** C4; **theatre** C4f; **stoa** C4m
Methydrion	**temple** undated
Orchomenos	**temples** C6ff; **theatre** C4l; **stoas** C4s
Paion	**temple** undated
Pallantion	**temples** C6fff
Phigaleia	**temples** C7lff; *theatre* C4f
Psophis	**temple** C5; **stoa** C5
Stymphalos	**temples** C5eff; **theatre** undated
Tegea	**temples** C7lff; **theatre** C4
Thelphousa	**temples** C6l–C5eff; **stoas** C4
Triphylia	
Lepreon	**temples** C4
Makiston	**temple** C5e
Pyrgos	**temple** C5e
Messenia	
Messene/Ithome	**temple** undated; **stoa** C4s
Pharai	**temple** C6
Lakedaimon	
Geronthrai	*temple* C6–C5?
Las	**temple** C5–C4?
Sparta	***temples*** *c.*700ff; *stoa* C5f; *palaistrai* C4
Argolis	
Argos	*temple* C5s; **stoas** undated; **gymnasium** C5f; **stadion** C4s
Epidauros	**temples** C4m; ***theatres*** C4sff
Halieis	**temples** C7eff; **stoa** C4?; **stadion** C5–C4
Hermion	**temple** C6l
Kleonai	**temple** C6
Phleious	**theatre** C4?
Tiryns	**temple** C6; **stoa**? C6
Troizen	**temple** C6m, **stadion** C4l–C3e
Saronic Gulf	
Aigina	**temples** C6mff; **stadion** C5–C4
Kalaureia	**temple** C6l; **four stoas** C5–C4
Attika	
Athenai	***temples, theatres*** C4– ; ***stoas*** C6l– ; ***gymnasia*** C5– ; ***stadia*** C5– ; ***hippodrome***
Euboia	
Eretria	**temples** C8ff; ***theatre*** C4; **palaistra** C4?; **gymnasion** C4?
Karystos	**temple** undated
East Lokris	
Halai	***temple*** C6e
Kynos	**temple**? undated
Naryka	theatre?
Thronion	**temple**? undated
Thessalia	
Argoussa	**temples** undated
Atrax	***temples*** C4ff; **theatre** C4

Kondaia	**temple** undated
Krannon	**temple** undated
Larisa	*temple* C5; **temple** C4
Metropolis	**temple** C6l; *temple*
Pagasai	**temple** C5–C4; **stoa** C5–C4
Pelinna(ion)	**temples** undated; **theatre** undated; **stoas** undated
Pherai	**temple** C6e
Skotoussa	*theatre* C4f

Achaia Phthiotis

Halos	**temple** C7?
Thebai	**temple** C6; **theatre** C4m; **stoa** C4–C3

Magnesia

Eurymenai	**temple** C5–C4
Iolkos	**temple** undated
Olizon	**temple** undated
Spalauthra	**temple** undated

Perrhaibia

Gonnos	**temple** C7s
Pythoion	**temple** undated

The Aegean

Minoa	**gymnasion** C4
Andros	**temple** undated; **stoa** C5–C4
Delos	***temples*** C7ff; ***theatre*** C4; **two stoas** C6m–l
Halasarna	**temple** C6ff
Hephaistia	**temples** undated
Ios	**temple** undated
Karthaia	**temples** C6l
Kos	*temples* C4; *theatre* C4; **stoa** C4?
Kythnos	**temples** C6ff
Myrina	**temple** undated
Naxos	***temple*** C6s; theatre C6?
Oine	***temple*** C6
Paros	**temples** C7ff
Poiessa	**temple** undated
Rhenaia	**temple** undated
Seleinous	**temple** undated
Skyros	**temple** undated
Thasos	***temples*** C6mff; *theatre c.*300; **stoas** C4mff
Thera	**temple** *c.*600; **stoa** C6

Makedonia

Aigeai	**temples** C4; ***theatre*** C4s
Aloros	**temple** C4
Beroia	***theatre*** C4l
Dion	**temples** C6l; **theatre** C4e; **stadion** C6l
Mieza	**stoas** C4; **gymnasion** C4; ***school of Aristotle***
Pella	*theatre* C4s; **stoas** C4
Pydna	*temples* C4

Bisaltia

Amphipolis	*temples* C5ff; **gymnasion** C4

Chalkidike

Akanthos	**temple** C5f
Aphytis	***temples*** C4ff
Olynthos	**temple** C6
Poteidaia	*temple* C5e
Stagiros	**stoa** C4
Torone	***temple*** C5

Thrace: from Strymon to Nestos

Galepsos	*temple* undated
Neapolis	**temple** C6
Oisyme	**temple** C5e

Thrace:from Nestos to Hebros

Abdera	*temple* C4; ***theatre*** C4l–C3e; *palaistra* undated
Zone	**temple** C6

Thracian Chersonesos

Kardia	*gymnasium* C4

Propontic Thrace

Byzantion	*temples* C5e; *gymnasion* C4; *stadion* C6

Pontos: West Coast

Istros	**temples** C6mff
Mesambria	*theatre* C4?
Olbia	**temples** C6lff; ***theatre*** C4; **stoa**? undated; **gymnasion** C5e

Pontos: Skythia

Chersonesos	**temples** C4
Gorgippia	**temples** undated
Hermonassa	***temple*** C5
Kepoi	**temples** undated
Myrmekeion	**temples** C5
Nymphaion	**temple** C5–C4
Pantikapaion	**temples** C5mff
Phanagoria	***temples*** undated

Pontos: Kolchis

Phasis	*temples*? undated

Pontic Coast of Asia Minor

Herakleia	*theatre* C4

Propontic Coast of Asia Minor

Kyzikos	*temple* C6; *theatre* C4l; *stoa* C4l

Troas

Assos	**temple** C6; **stoas** undated
Gargara	**temple** C6
Gentinos	**temple** C6–C5
Hamaxitos	**temple** C5?
Ilion	*theatre* C4l
Neandreia	**temple** C6; **theatre** C4; **stoa** undated
Tenedos	**theatre** undated

Lesbos

Antissa	**stoa** C4s
Eresos	**temple** C6
Methymna	**temples** C6l; **theatre** C4?
Mytilene	**theatre** undated; **stoa** C4–C3
Pyrrha	**temple** C4s

Aiolis

Aigai	**temple**? C6
Kyme	**temple** C4?
Larisa	**temples** C6ff; **stoas** C6–C5

Ionia

Chios	*stoa* C4f
Ephesos	***temples*** C8ff; *theatre* C4l
Erythrai	***temples*** C8ff; **theatre** C4; *stoa* C4
Kolophon	*temples* C4l; **stoa** C4
Miletos	***temples*** C7ff
Myous	**temples** C6mff
Phokaia	***temple*** C6f; **theatre** C4f
Priene	**temple** C4; **stadion** C4
Samos	***temple*** C8; *theatre* C4l
Smyrna	**temple** C7; **stoas** C7l
Thebai	**temples** undated

Karia

Amyzon	**temple** C6; *temple* C4l
Halikarnassos	***temples*** C5eff; **theatre** C4?; ***Maussoleion*** C4m
Kedreai	**temple** C6?
Knidos	***temples*** C5ff; **stoa** C4s
Latmos	*temple* C4l
Mylasa	**temples** C4; **stoas** C4; *palaistra* C4l; *gymnasion* C4l
Myndos	**temples** undated; **stadion** undated

Crete

Aptara	**temples** C5–C4
Axos	**temples** C6
Datala	(Aphrati) **temple** C7
Dreros	**temple** C8f or C6
Eltynia	**temple** C6?
Gortyns	**temples** C7s; **stoa**? C6
Itanos	**temples** undated
Kydonia	*temples* C6s
Lato	**temple** C4s–C3e; **stoa** C4s–C3e
Phaistos	**temples** C7l–C6ff
Phalasarna	**temples** undated
Praisos	**temple** C4–C3
Rhitten	(Patela Prinias) **temples** C7

Rhodos

Ialysos	**temples** C6ff; **theatre** C4
Kamiros	**temples** C6–C5
Lindos	**temples** C6ff; **theatre** C4
Rhodos	**temples** C4?; *theatre* C4l; *gymnasion* C5–C4; **stadion** C4

Cyprus

Soloí	***temple***

Egypt

Naukratis	***temples*** C6ff

Libya

Kyrene	***temples*** C6ff; **theatre** undated; **four stoas** C6–C4
Taucheira	**temple** undated

26. *Coins*

Key
Metal: silver if nothing is stated, G = gold, E = electrum, B = bronze.
Legend: only toponyms, ethnics and a few other legends important for site-classification are recorded in this index, and only the longest preserved form of the legend is recorded.

Spain and France

Emporion	C5f–?. *ΕΜΠΟΡΙΤΩΝ*
Massalia	*c.*525–?. *ΜΑΣΣΑΛΙΩΤΑΝ* or *-ΤΩΝ*
Rhode	C4l–C3e. *ΡΟΔΗΤΩΝ*

Sikelia

Abakainon	*c.*340–?, B–C5m–?. *ΑΒΑΚΑΙΝΙΝΟΝ* or *-ΝΩΝ*
Adranon	B–C4s–?. *ΑΔΡΑΝΙΤΑΝ*
Agyrion	B–C5m–?. *ΑΓΥΡΙΝΑΙΩΝ*
Aitna	476–?, B–C4s. *ΑΙΤΝΑΙΟΝ*
Akragas	*c.*520–406, 338–?, B–430–406. *ΑΚΡΑΓΑΣ*, *ΑΚΡΑΓΑΝΤΟΣ*, *ΑΚΡΑΓΑΝΤΙΝΟΝ* or *-ΝΩΝ*
Alaisa	B–C4s–?. *ΑΛΑΙΣΙΝΩΝ*
Alontion	B–C4e–?. *ΑΛΟΝΤΙΝΟΝ*
Galeria	C5m–C5l. *ΓΑΛΑΡΙΝΟΝ*
Gela	490–405, *c.*340–?, G–C5l. *ΓΕΛΑΣ*, *ΓΕΛΩΙΟΝ* or *-ΙΩΝ*
Henna	460–?. *ΕΝΝΑ*, *ΗΕΝΝΑΙΟΝ*
Herbessos	B–C4s–?. *ΕΡΒΗΣΣΙΝΩΝ*
Himera	C6m–408, B–*c.*340–?. *ΗΙΜΕΡΑ*, *ΗΙΜΕΡΑΙΟΝ* or *-ΙΩΝ*
Hippana	C5m, B–C4m. *ΙΠΠΑΝΑΤΑΝ*
Imachara	C4. *ΙΜΑΧΑΡΑΙΩΝ*
Kamarina	492–484, 461–440, 420–405, G–C5l, B–C5s, C4s. *ΚΑΜΑΡΙΝΑΙΟΝ* or *-ΙΩΝ*
Katane	*c.*461–?, B–C5l–?. *ΚΑΤΑΝΕ*, *ΚΑΤΑΝΑΙΟΣ* or *-ΙΟΝ* or *-ΙΩΝ*
Kentoripa	B–339/8–?. *ΚΕΝΤΟΡΙΠΙΝΩΝ*
Kephaloidion	C5l–C4e, B–C5l–C4e. *ΕΚ ΚΕΦΑΛΟΙΔΙΟΥ*, *ΚΕΦΑΛΟΙΔΙΤΑΝ*
Leontinoi	*c.*476–C4m, B–*c.*405–C4m. *ΛΕΟΝΤΙΝΟΣ* or *-ΝΟΝ*
Lipara	B–C5s. *ΛΙΠΑΡΑΙΟΝ*
Longane	B–C5l. *ΛΟΓΓΑΝΑΙΟΝ*
Megara	C4s. *ΜΕΓΑ*
Morgantina	*c.*465–?, B–*c.*330–?. *ΜΟΡΓΑΝΤΙΝΑ*, *ΜΟΡΓΑΝΤΙΝΩΝ*
Mytistratos	B–C4s–?. *ΜΥΤΙ*
Nakone	B–C5l–?. *ΝΑΚΟΝΑΙΟΝ* or *-ΙΩΝ*, *ΚΑΜΠΑΝΩΝ*
Naxos	525–493, 461–403, B–410–403. *ΝΑΧΙΟΝ*, *ΝΑΞΙΩΝ*
Petra	C4s. *ΠΕΤΡΙΝΩΝ*
Piakos	B–C5s. *ΠΙΑΚΙΝΟΣ*
Selinous	540–409, B–420–409. *ΣΕΛΙΝΟΣ*, *ΣΕΛΙΝΟΝΤΙΟΝ*
Sileraioi	B–C4s. *ΣΙΛΕΡΑΙΩΝ*
Stielanaioi	*c.*460–C5l. *ΣΤΙΕΛΑΝΑΙΟ(Ν)*
Syrakousai	510–?, B–C5l–?, G–C5l, E–C4f. *ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΟΝ* or *-ΙΩΝ*
Tauromenion	C4f, B–357–?. *ΝΕΟΠΟΛΙΤΑΝ* or *-ΤΩΝ*, *ΤΑΥΡΟΜΕΝΙΤΑΝ*
Tyndaris	B–C4m. *ΤΥΝΔΑΡΙΣ*, *ΤΥΝΔΑΡΙΤΑΝ*
Tyrrhenoi	B–C4s. *ΤΥΡΡΗ*
Zankle/Messana	*c.*525–?, B–*c.*425–?, G–C5m. *ΔΑΝΚΛΕ*, *ΔΑΝΚΛΑΙΟΝ*, *ΜΕΣΣΑΝΑ*, *ΜΕΣΣΑΝΙΟΝ* or *-ΙΩΝ*

Italia and Kampania

Herakleia	*c.*430–?, B–C4. *ΗΕΡΑΚΛΕΙΩΝ*
Hipponion	B–C4m-. *ΕΙΠΩΝΙΕΩΝ*
Hyele	C6s–?, B–C5s–?. *ΥΕΛΗΤΕΩΝ*
Kaulonia	*c.*525–?, B–C5s–?. *ΚΑΥΛΟΝΙΑΤΑΣ*, *ΚΑΥΛΟΝΙΑΤΑΝ*
Kroton	*c.*530–?, B–*c.*400–?. *ΚΡΟΤΩΝΙΑΤΑΣ*, *ΚΡΟΤΩΝΙΑΤΑΝ*

Kyme	*c.*475–?, G–*c.*475. *KYME*, *KYMAION*
Laos	*c.*510–?, B–C4l. *ΛΑΙΝΩΝ*
Lokroi	*c.*375–?, G–C4m, B–C4m–?. *ΛΟΚΡΩΝ*
Medma	*c.*375–?, B–*c.*375– . *ΜΕΣΜΑΙΩΝ*
Metapontion	*c.*550–?, BC5s–?, G–C4m. *ΜΕΤΑΠΟΝΤΙΟΝ*, *ΜΕΤΑΠΟΝΤΙΝΩΝ*
Neapolis	*c.*450–385. *ΝΕΗΠΟΛΙΣ*, *ΝΕΗΠΟΛΙΤΗΣ*, *ΝΕΟΠΟΛΙΤΕΩΝ*, *ΝΕΟΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΟΝ*
Pandosia	*c.*500–?. *ΠΑΝΔΟΣΙΑ*, *ΠΑΝΔΟΣΙΝ*
Poseidonia	*c.*530–?, B–*c.*420, G–C5l. *ΠΟΣΕΙΔΑΝΙΑΤΑΝ*
Pyxous	C6l. *ΠΥΞΟΕΣ*
Rhegion	*c.*510–?, B–C5s–?. *ΡΗΓΙΝΟΣ*, *ΡΗΓΙΝΟΝ*, *ΡΗΓΙΝΩΝ*
Siris	C6m–l. *ΣΙΡΙΝΟΣ*
Sybaris	*c.*540–510, ca 500, *c.*453–443, *c.*440, *c.*400. *ΣΥΒΑΡΙΤΑΣ*, *ΣΥΒΑΡΙΤΟΝ*
Taras	*c.*520–?, G–C4s. *ΤΑΡΑΣ*, *ΤΑΡΑΝΤΙΝΩΝ*
Temesa	C6l–C5m. *ΤΕ*
Terina	*c.*460–?, B–C4l. *ΤΕΡΙΝΑΙΟΝ* or *-ΙΩΝ*
Thourioi	*c.*440–?, B–ca.440–?. *ΘΟΥΡΙΩΝ*

The Adriatic

Apollonia	C5m–C4m. *ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΟΣ*
Epidamnos	C5m–C4m, B–C4l. *ΔΥΡΑΧΙΝΩΝ*. *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΟΝΟΥΝΙΟΥ ΔΥΡ*
Herakleia	B–C4. *ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΟΤΑΝ*
Issa	B–C4f–?. *ΙΟΝΙΟ*(*Σ*) (name of Hero)
Melaina Korkyra	B–C4. *ΚΟΡΚΥΡΑΙΩΝ*
Pharos	C4, B–C4. *ΦΑΡΙΩΝ*

Epeiros

Elea	B–C4m. *ΕΛΑΤΑΝ*, *ΕΛΕΑΙ*(*ΩΝ*)
Kassopa	C4s, B–C4s. *ΚΑΣΣΩΠΑΙΩΝ*

Akarnania

Alyzeia	350–330, B–350–330. *ΑΛΥΖΑΙΩΝ*
Ambrakia	480, 430s, C4s. *ΑΜΒΡΑΚΙΩΤΑΝ*
Anaktorion	430s, C4s. *ΑΝΑΚΤΟΡΙΕΩΝ*
Argos	C4s. *ΑΡΓΕΙΩΝ*
Astakos	C4s. *ΑΣ*
Echinos	C4s. *Ε*
Herakleia	C5s. *ΗΡΑΚΛΕΩΤΩΝ*
Ithaka	B–C4–?. *ΙΘΑΚΩΝ*
Korkyra	C6–C4, B–C6–C4. *ΚΟΡΚΥΡΑΙΩΝ*
Koronta	C4s. *Κ*
Kranioi	C5–?, B–C5–?. *ΚΡΑ*
Leukas	490, B–C4. *ΛΕΥΚΑΔΙΩΝ*
Matropolis	C4s. *ΜΑ*
Medion	C4s. *ΜΕ*
Palairos	C4m–C3m. *ΠΑΛΑΙΡ*?
Paleis	C5–?, B–C5. *ΠΑ*, *ΚΕΦΑΛΟΣ*
Phoitiai	C4m–C3m, B–C4m–C3m. *ΦΥ*?
Pronnoi	C4–?. *ΠΡΩΝΝΩΝ*
Same	C5–?, B–C5–?. *ΣΑΜΑΙΩΝ*
Stratos	*c.*450–400, C4s. *ΣΤΡΑΤΙΩΝ*
Thyrreion	C4s, B–C4s. *ΘΥΡΡΕΩ*
Torybeia	C4s?. *ΤΟ*?
Zakynthos	C5–?. *ΖΑΚΥΝΘΙΩΝ*, *ΖΑΚΥΝΘΟΣ*

Aitolia

Chalkis	C4. *Χ*

Phokis

Delphoi	C6l–C4m. *ΔΑΛΦΙΚΟΝ*
Hyampolis	C6l?
Lilaia	C5f. *ΛΙ*
Neon/Tithorea	*c.*480–421. *ΝΕ*

Boiotia

Akraiphia	500–480, 456–46, C4e. *ΑΚΡΗ*
Chaironeia	C4e, B–C4e. *ΧΑΙΡΩΝΕ*
Haliartos	456–46, C4e. *ΑΡΙΑΡΤΙΟΝ*
Hyettos	500–480, B–C4s. Epichoric letter h
Kopai	C4e, B–C4e. *ΚΩΠΑΙΩΝ*
Koroneia	500–480, 456–46, C4e, B–C4s. *ΚΟΡΟ*
Lebadeia	C4e, B–C4s. *ΛΕΒΑ*
Mykalessos	500–480, C4e. *ΜΥ*
Orchomenos	500–480, C4e, B–C4s. *ΕΡΧΟ*
Pharai	C4e. *ΦΑ*
Plataiai	C4e. *ΠΛΑ*
Tanagra	500–446, C4e, B–C4s. *ΤΑΝΑ*
Thebai	500–335, G–C5l, B–C4. *ΘΕΒΑΙΟΝ*
Thespiai	500–480, C4e, B–C4s. *ΘΕΣΠΙΙΚΟΝ*

Megaris, Korinthia, Sikyionia

Korinthos	C6f–?, B–C4. *ΚΟΡΙΝΘΙΩΝ*
Megara	C4. *ΜΕΓΑΡΕ*
Sikyon	C6l– . *ΣΙ*

Achaia

Aigai	500–370. *ΑΙΓΑΙΟΝ* or *-ΙΩΝ*
Aigeira	B–C4m. *ΑΙΓΙΡΑΤΑΝ*
Dyme	C4m, B–C4m. *ΔΥΜΑ*
Helike	B–C4f. *ΕΛΙΚ*
Pellene	C4s, B–C4s. *ΠΕΛ*

Elis

Elis	C6l, B–C5l. *ϜΑΛΕΙΟΝ*, *ΟΛΥΝΠΙΚΟΝ*
Pisa	G.365–362. *ΠΙΣΑ*

Arkadia

Alea	*c.*430–?, B–ca.430–?. *ΑΛΕ[Α]ΤΑΝ*
Heraia	*c.*510–?, B–C5l–?, Iron? *ΗΡΑΕΩΝ*
Kleitor	C5m. *ΚΛΕΤΟ*
Mantinea	*c.*500–385, 370–?, B–370–?. *ΜΑΝΤΙΝ*
Megalopolis	360s–?, B–C4l. *ΑΡΚ*
Methydrion	B–C4. *ΜΕΘΥΔΡΙΕΩΝ*
Orchomenos	B–370–?. *ΕΡΧΟΜΕΝΙΩΝ*
Pallantion	*c.*421–371. *ΠΑΛΛΑΝ*
Pheneos	*c.*421–?, B–*c.*421–?. *ΦΕΝΙΚΟΝ*, *ΦΕΝΕΩΝ*
Psophis	C5f–?, B–C4l–?. *ΨΟΦΙΔΙΟΝ*
Stymphalos	*c.*420–?, B–ca.420–?. *ΣΤΥΜΦΑΛΙΟΝ* or *-ΙΩΝ*
Tegea	*c.*480–?, B–C5l–?, Iron–C5s. *ΤΕΓΕΑΤΑΝ*, *ΑΘΑΝΑΣ ΑΛΕΑΣ*
Thaliades	C6. *ΘΑΛΙ*
Thelphousa	*c.*400–?, B–C4l–?. *ΘΕΛ*

Argolis

Argos	C5e–?, B–C4. *ΑΡΓΕΙΟΝ* or *-ΙΩΝ*
Epidauros	C4m–?, B–C4m–?. *ΕΠ*
Halieis	B–C4. *ΤΙΡΥΝΘΙΩΝ*
Hermion	C4m, B–C4m. *ΕΡΜΙΟΝΕΩΝ*
Kleonai	C5, B–C4l. *ΚΛΕΩΝΑΙΩΝ*
Methana	B–C4l. *ΜΕΘ*
Phleious	C6, *c.*431—322, B– *c.*431–322. *ΦΛΕΙΑΣΙΟΝ*
Troizen	*c.*460–?. *ΤΡΟ*

Saronic Gulf

Aigina	*c.*560–?. *ΑΙΓΙ*

Attika

Athenai	*c.*550–?, G–C5l, B–C5l–C4e. *ΑΘΕ*
Salamis	B–C4. *ΣΑΛΑ*

Euboia

Chalkis	550–506, 490–465, 337–308, 337–08–B. *ΧΑΛ*
Eretria	525–446, 411–400. *ΕΥΒΟΙ*
Histiaia/Oreos	C4m, C4m–B. *ΙΣΤΙΑΙΕΩΝ*
Karystos	550–445, 411–336, C4–B. *ΚΑΡΥΣΤΙΟ[Ν]*

East Lokris

Larymna	C4. *ΛΑ*
Opous	C5– B–C4s. *ΟΠΟΝΤΙΩΝ*, *ΛΟΚΡΩΝ (ΥΠΟ)*
Skarpheia	B–C4. *ΣΚΑΡΦΕΩΝ*
Thronion	C5f. *ΘΡΟΝΙ*

Thessalia

Atrax	C4f–?, B–C4f–?. *ΑΤΡΑΓΙΟΝ* or *-ΙΩΝ*
Gomphoi	C4m–?, B–C4m–?. *ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ*, *ΓΟΜΦΕΩΝ*
Gyrton	C4, B–C4. *ΓΥΡΤΩΝΙΟΝ* or *-ΙΩΝ*
Kierion	*c.*400–?, B–ca.400–?. *ΚΙΕΡΙΑΙΟΝ*, *ΚΙΕΡΙΕΩΝ*
Krannon	C5, B–C4. *ΚΡΑΝΩΝΙΩΝ*, *ΚΡΑΝΝΟΥΝΙΟΥΝ*
Larisa	*c.*500–*c.*320. B–*c.*400–?. *ΛΑΡΙΣΑΙΑ*, *ΛΑΡΙΣΑΙΟΝ* or *-ΙΩΝ*
Methylion	C4, B–C4. *ΜΕΘΥΛΙΕΩΝ*
Metropolis	*c.*400–C4m. *ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ*
Mopsion	B–C4f. *ΜΟΨΕΙΩΝ*, *ΜΟΨΕΑΤΩΝ*
Orthos	B–C4m–?. *ΟΡΘΙΕΩΝ*
Peirasia	*c.*400–C4m. *ΠΕΙΡΑΣΙΕΩΝ*
Pelinnaion	C5f, C4, B–C4. *ΠΕΛΙΝΝΑΙΩΝ*, *ΠΕΛΙΝΝΑΙΚΟΝ*
Phaloria	B–C4l–C3e. *ΦΑΛΩΡΙΑΣΤΩΝ*
Pharkadon	*c.*480–400, B–C4f. *ΦΑΡΚΑΔΟΝΙΟΝ* or *-ΙΩΝ*
Pharsalos	*c.*480–320, B–*c.*480–320. *ΦΑΡΣΑΛΙΩΝ*
Pherai	C5f–?, B–*c.*400–?. *ΦΕΡΑΙΟΝ*, *ΦΕΡΑΙΟΥΝ*, *ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ*, *ΤΕΙΣΙΦΟΝΟΥ*

Skotoussa	*c.*480–367, B–*c.*400–367. *ΣΚΟΤΟΥΣΣΑΙΩΝ*
Trikka	*c.*480–400, B–*c.*400–C4m. *ΤΡΙΚΚΑΙΟΝ* or *-ΙΩΝ*
Ainis	
Hypata	B–C4f. *ΥΠΑΤΑΙΩΝ*
Malis	
Herakleia	C4e, B–C4e. *ΗΡΑΚ*
Lamia	C5m?, *c.*400–?, B–*c.*400–?. *ΛΑΜΙΕΩΝ*, *ΜΑΛΙΕΩΝ*
Trachis	C5m? *ΤΡ*
Achaia Phthiotis	
Ekkarra	B–C4s. *ΕΚΚΑΡΕΩΝ*
Halos	B–C4–C3. *ΑΛΕΩΝ*
Larisa	B–C4l–C3e. *ΛΑΡΙΣΑΙΩΝ*, *ΑΧΑΙΩΝ*
Melitaia	C4m, B–C4m. *ΜΕΛΙΤΑΙΩΝ*
Peuma	B–C4l–C3e. *ΑΧ*(*ΑΙΩΝ*) *ΠΕΥΜΑΤΙΩΝ*
Proerna	C4l–C3e. *ΠΡΩΕΡΝΙΩΝ*
Thebai	C4l–C3e, B–C4l–C3e. *ΘΗΒΑΙΩΝ*
Magnesia	
Eureaioi	B–C4m. *ΕΥΡΕΑΙΩΝ*
Eurymenai	B–C4f. *ΕΥΡΥΜΕΝΑΙΩΝ*
Homolion	B–C4. *ΟΜΟΛΙΕΩΝ*, *ΟΜΟΛΙΚΟΝ*
Iolkos	? *ΙΩΛΚΕΩΝ*
Meliboia	C4f, B–C4f. *ΜΕΛΙΒΟΙΕΩΝ*
Rhizous	B–C4m. *ΡΙΖΟΥΣΙΩΝ*
Perrhaibia	
Azoros	B–C4f. *ΤΡΙΠΟΛΙΤΑΝ*
Doliche	B–C4f. *ΤΡΙΠΟΛΙΤΑΝ*
Gonnos	B–C4. *ΓΟΝΝΕΩΝ*
Oloosson	C5, B–C4. (*Π*)*ΕΡΡΑΙΒΩΝ*, *ΟΛΟΣΣΟΝ*(*ΙΩΝ*)
Phalana	C4, B–C4. *ΦΑΛΑΝΝΑΙΩΝ*
Pythoion	B–C4f. *ΤΡΙΠΟΛΙΤΑΝ*
The Aegean	
Anaphe	C5e
Andros	C5e
Astypalaia	C5f, B–C4. *ΑΣΤΥ*
Chalke	C4. *ΧΑ*
Delos	C5l–C4e. *ΔΗΛΙ*
Imbros	B–C4s. *ΙΜΒΡΟΥ*, *ΙΝΒΡΙ*
Ios	C4l, B–C4l. *ΙΗΤΩΝ*
Karpathos?	C6e–C5e. *ΠΟΣ*
(Keos)	
Ioulis	C6m–C4, B–C4. *ΙΟΥΛΙΕ*
Karthaia	C6s–C4, B–C4. *ΚΑΡΘΑΙ*
Koresia	C6e–C5e. *♀Ο*
Kos	C4e–?, B–C4s. *ΚΩΣ*, *ΚΩΙΟΝ*
Kythnos	C6l or C5e
(Lemnos)	
Hephaistia	B–C4f. *ΗΦΑΙΣΤΙ*
Myrina	B–C4f. *ΜΥΡΙ*
Melos	C6e–C4. *ΜΑ*
Mykonos	B–C4. *ΜΥΚΟ*
Naxos	*c.*600–475, C4, B–C4. *ΝΑΞΙΩΝ*
Nisyros	C4, B–C4. *ΝΙΣΥΡΙΟΝ*
Oine	*c.*300, B–*c.*300. *ΟΙΝΑΙΩΝ*
Paros	*c.*525–C4s. *ΠΑΡΙΩΝ*
Samothrake	*c.*500–465. *ΣΑΜΟ*
Seriphos	C6
Siphnos	C6–C4s. *ΣΙΦ*
Skiathos	B–C4m. *ΣΚΙΑΘΙ*
Syros	C4m. *Σύριαι δραχμαί*
Telos	B–C4m. *ΤΗΛΙ*
Tenos	*c.*600–500, C4l. *ΤΗ*
Thasos	C6l– *c.*410, 390–C4s. G–C4, B–C4s. *ΘΑΣΙΟΝ* or *-ΙΩΝ*
Thera	C7l, B–C4. *ΤΗΡ*
Makedonia	
Aiane	B–C4e. *ΔΕΡΔΑ*, *ΔΕΡΔΑΙΟΝ*
Ichnai	C5e. *ΙΧΝΑΙΟΝ*
Methone	B–C4f. *ΜΕΘΩ*
Pydna	B–C4f. *ΠΥΔΝΑΙΩΝ*
Mygdonia	
Apollonia	C4. *ΑΠΟΛΛΩ*
Bisaltia	
Amphipolis	*c.*370–354. G–*c.*400, B–*c.*370–54. *ΑΜΦΙΠΟΛΙΤΕΩΝ*
Argilos	C5e, B–C4. *ΑΡΚΙ*
Traïlos	C5, B–C4f. *ΤΡΑΙΛΙΟΝ*
Chalkidike	
Aineia	C6l–C4m, B–C4f. *ΑΙΝΕΑΣ*, *ΑΙΝΕΙΑΤΩΝ*
Akanthos	C6l–C4m, B–C4. *ΑΚΑΝ*
Aphytis	C5m–C4m, B–C4f. *ΑΦΥΤΑΙΟΝ* or *-ΙΩΝ*
Dikaia	*c.*500–C4m. *ΔΙΚΑΙΑ*, *ΔΙΚΑΙΟΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ*

Dion	C4. ΔΙΕΩΝ
Kampsa	C5e. ΚΑ
Mende	*c.*500–358, B–C4. ΜΕΝΔΑΙΟΝ or -ΙΩΝ
Olophyxos	B–C4m. ΟΛΙΦΥΞΙΩΝ
Olynthos	*c.*432–348, G–C4, B–C4. ΟΛΥΝ, ΧΑΛΚΙΔΕΩΝ
Poteidaia	C6l–356, B–C4. ΠΟΤΕΙ
Sermylia	*c.*500, B–C4. ΣΕΡΜΥΛΙΚΟΝ, ΣΕΡΜΥΛΑΙΟΝ
Skapsaioi	C4f. ΣΚΑΨΑΙ
Skione	C6l– *c.*424, B–C4f. ΣΚΙΩΝΑΙΩΝ
Skithai	*c.*500. ΣΚΙΘ(ΑΙΟ)Ν
Stagiros	C6l. ΣΤΑΓΙ
Torone	C6l–420. ΤΕΡΩΝΑΟΝ

Thrace: from Strymon to Nestos

Berga	C5s. ΒΕΡΓΑΙΟΥ
Eion	C5f, EL–C5f
Galepsos	B–C4e. ΓΑΛΗΨΙΩΝ
Krenides	C4m, G–C4m, B–C4m. ΘΑΣΙΟΝ ΗΠΕΙΡΟ
Neapolis	530–C4m, B–C4. ΝΕΑΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ
Oisyme	B–C4. ΟΙΣΥΜΑΙΩΝ
Phagres	B–C4f. ΦΑΓΡ
Philippoi	C4s, G–C4s, B–C4s. ΦΙΛΙΠΠΩΝ

Thrace: from Nestos to Hebros

Abdera	C6s–?, B–C5m–?, G–C4m. ΑΒΔΗΡΙΤΕΩΝ
Ainos	478–341, B–C5s, G–C4f. ΑΙΝΙΟΝ
Dikaia	C6s–476, C5m. ΔΙΚΑΙΑ
Kypsela	C4l–C3e. ΚΥΨΕ
Maroneia	C6l–C5. ΜΑΡΩΝΟΣ, ΜΑΡΩΝΙΤΕΩΝ
Orthagoria	C4m, B–C4m. ΟΡΘΑΓΟΡΕΩΝ
Zone	B–C4–?. ΖΩΝΑΙΩΝ

Thracian Chersonesos

Aigos potamoi	C5–C4, B–C4. ΑΙΓΟΣ ΠΟ
Alopekonnesos	B–*c.*400–200. ΑΛΩΠΕΚΟΝ
Chersonesos/Agora	C6l–C5e, C4m–?, B–C4m–?. ΧΕΡΡΟ
Elaious	B–C4m–C3e. ΕΛΑΙΟΥΣΙΩΝ
Kardia	B–C4s. ΚΑΡΔΙΑΝΟΣ, ΚΑΡΔΙΑΝΩΝ
Krithote	B–C4m–C3e. ΚΡΙΘΟΥΣΙΩΝ
Madytos	B–C4s. ΜΑΔΥ

Propontic Thrace

Byzantion	C5l–?, Iron–C5s, B–C4. ΒΥ
Perinthos	C4m, B–C4m. ΠΕΡΙΝΘΙΩΝ
Selymbria	492–470, 425–10. ΣΑΛΥ

Pontos: West Coast

Apollonia	C5m–?. B–arrow-head C5. Α
Istros	*c.*480–?, B–C4. ΙΣΤΡΙΗ
Kallatis	C4s–?. ΚΑΛΛΑΤΙ
Mesambria	C5m–?. ΜΕΤΑ
Nikonion	B–C5f–m. ΣΚΥΛ (King Skyles)
Olbia	C5l, B–arrow-head C6f, B-dolphin C6s, B–C5–?. ΟΛΒΙΗ, ΟΛΒΙΟ
Tyras	C4m, B–C4m. ΤΥΡΑΝΟΝ

Pontos: Skythia

Chersonesos	C4e–?, B–C4e–?. ΧΕΡ
Gorgippeia	*c.*400. ΣΙΝΔΩΝ (regional ethnic)
Karkinitis	C4s–?. ΚΑΡΚΙΝΙ
Nymphaion	C5l. ΝΥΜ
Pantikapaion	C5e–?, B–C5e–?, G–C4. ΠΑΝΤΙ, ΑΠΟΛ
Phanagoria	C5l–C4m. ΦΑΝΑ
Theodosia	C5l– *c.*370, B–C5l– *c.*370. ΘΕΟΔΟ

Pontos: Kolchis

Phasis	C5e– ?

Pontic Coast of Asia Minor

Amisos/Peiraieus	C5l– *c.*330. ΠΕΙΡΑΙΩΝ
Herakleia	C5l–?. ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΑ
Kromna	C4, B–C4. ΚΡΩΜΝΑ
Sesamos	C4s, B–C4s. ΣΗΣΑΜΗ
Sinope	*c.*480. ΣΙΝΩ
Tieion	C4l–?. ΤΙΑΝΩΝ, ΤΙΑΝΟΣ
Trapezous	C5l–C4e. ΤΡΑ

Propontic Coast of Asia Minor

Astakos	C5. ΑΣ
Harpagion	B–C4–?. ΑΡΠΑΓΙ
Kalchedon	C4e–?. ΚΑΛΧ
Kios	C4m–?, G–C4m–?. ΚΙΑΝΩΝ
Kyzikos	C6m–?, E–C6f–?, B–C4–?. ΚΥΖΙ
Lampsakos	C6l–?, E–C6l–?, G–C4. ΛΑΜΨΑ
Miletoupolis	B–C4–?. ΜΙΛΗΤΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ
Myrleia (Bryllion)	C4–?. ΜΥΡΛΕΑΝΩΝ
Parion	C5e–?, E–C5e–?, B–C4s–?. ΠΑΡΙ
Plakia	B–C4. ΠΛΑΚΙΑ
Prokonnesos	C5m–C4m, B–C4e–C4m. ΠΡΟΚΟΝ
Zeleia	B–C4s. ΖΕΛΕ

Troas

Abydos	C6l–C3e (G,E,S). B–C4l. *ΑΒΥΔΗΝΟΝ*
Achilleion	B–C4s. *ΑΧ*
Antandros	*c.*440–C3e. B–*c.*440–C3e. *ΑΝΤΑΝ*
Assos	*c.*480–C3m, B–*c.*400–C3m. *ΑΣΣΙΟΝ*
Astyra	C5–C4, B–C5–C4. *ΤΙΣΣΑ*, *ΑΣΤΥΡΗ*, *ΑΣΤΥΡΑ*
Birytis	C4l–C3e, B–C4l–C3e. *ΒΙΡΥ*
Dardanos	C6l–C4 (E,S). B–C4. *ΔΑΡΔΑΝ*
Gargara	*c.*420–C3e. B–*c.*400–C3e. *ΓΑΡΓ*
Gentinos	B–C4. *ΓΕΝΤΙ*
Gergis	*c.*400–C3m, B–*c.*400–C3m. *ΓΕΡ*
Hamaxitos	B–*c.*400–C4l. *ΑΜΑΞΙ*
Ilion	C4l–C3m, B–C4l–C3m. *ΙΛΙ*
Kebren	C6–C4l, B–*c.*400–C4l. *ΚΕΒΡΗΝΙ*
Kolonai	B–*c.*400–C4l. *ΚΟΛΩΝΑΩΝ*
Lamponeia	*c.*420–400, B–*c.*400–350. *ΛΑΜ*
Neandreia	*c.*430–C4l, B–*c.*430–C4l. *ΝΕΑΝ*
Ophryneion	*c.*350–300, B–*c.*350–300. *ΟΦΡΥΝΕΩΝ*
Rhoiteion	*c.*350–300. *ΡΟΙΤΕΙ*
Sigeion	C4m, B–C4m. *ΣΙΓΕ*
Skepsis	*c.*460–C4l, B–*c.*460–C4l. *ΣΚΗΨΙΩΝ*
Tenedos	*c.*550–387. *ΤΕΝΕΔΙΩΝ*

Lesbos

Antissa	C5f. Monogram = *ΑΝ*?
Eresos	B–C4–C3. *ΕΡΕΣΙ*
Methymna	*c.*550–375, E–*c.*550–375. *ΜΑΘΥΜΝΑΙΟΣ*, *ΜΑΘΥΜΝΑΙΟΝ*
Mytilene	C5f–C4s, E–C5f–C4s, Billon *c.*480–450, B–C4. *ΜΥΤΙΛΕΝΑΩΝ*
Pyrrha	B–*c.*370–?. *ΠΥΡΡ*

Aiolis

Adramyttion	C4m, B–C4f. *ΑΔΡΑΜΥ*
Atarneus	*c.*400–?, B–ca.400–?. *ΑΤΑΡ*
Autokane	B–C4m–?. *ΑΥΤΟΚΑΝΑ*
Boione	B–C4. *ΒΟΙΩΝΙΤΙΚΟΣ* or *-ΙΚΟΝ*
Chalkis	B–C4. *ΧΑ*
Elaia	460–400. B–ca.340–?. *ΕΛΑΙ*
Gambrion	C4, B–C4. *ΓΑΜ*
Herakleia	C5. *ΗΡΑΚ*
Iolla	B–C4. *ΙΟΛΛΑ*, *ΙΟΛΛΕΩΝ*
Kisthene	B–C4s. *ΚΙΣΘΗ*
Kyme	C7l–320. B–C4s. *ΚΥ*
Larisa	C4, B–C4. *ΛΑΡΙΣΑΙ*
Leukai	C4s, B–C4s. *ΛΕΥΚΑΙΕΩΝ*
Myrina	C4, B–C4–C3. *ΜΥΡΙ*
Nasos	C4, B–C4. *ΝΑΣΙ*
Pergamon	C5m–C4e, B–C5m–C4e. *ΠΕΡΓΑ*
Perperene	B–C4. *ΠΕΡΠΕ*
Pitane	B–C4. *ΠΙΤΑΝΑΙΩΝ*
Pordoselene	C5l–C4l, B–C5l–C4l. *ΠΟΡΔΟΣΙΛ*
Temnos	B–C4. *ΤΑ*
Teuthrania	*c.*400, B–*c.*400. *ΤΕΥ*
Thebe	B–C5m. *ΘΗΒΑ*
Tisna	B–C4. *ΤΙΣΝΑΙΟΝ*

Ionia

Airai	B–C4. *ΑΙΡΑΙΩΝ*
Anaia	Samian. *Α*, *ΕΠΙΒΑΤΙΟΣ*
Chios	C6m–C4m, E–C6m– *c.*400. B–C4. *ΧΙΟΣ*
Ephesos	C5–C4, E–C7l–C6, B–C4. *ΕΦΕΣΙΟΝ*, *ΦΑΕΝΟΣ ΕΜΙ ΣΗΜΑ*
Erythrai	*c.*500–C4m, B–C5–C4m. *ΕΡΥ*
Klazomenai	C6–C4, E–C6–C5, B–C4. *ΚΛΑΖΟΜΕΝΙΩΝ*
Kolophon	C6l–C4s, B–C4e–C4s. *ΚΟΛΟΦΩΝΙΟΝ* or *-ΙΩΝ*
Magnesia	C5m, C4m–?, B–C4m–?. *ΘΕΜΙΣΤ*[*ΟΚ*]*ΛΕΟΣ*, *ΜΑΓΝΗΤΩΝ*
Miletos	C6–C4, E–C6, B–C4. *ΜΙΛΗΣΙΩΝ*
Myous	C4, B–C4. *ΜΥΗ*
Naulochon	B–C4m. *ΝΑΥ*
Phokaia	C6–C4, E–C6–C4, B–C4. *ΦΩΚΑΕΩΝ*
Priene	B–C4m–?. *ΠΡΙΗ*
Pygela	C4, B–C4. *ΦΥΓΑΛΕΩΝ*
Samos	530–365, E–600–525, Lead–*c.*525, B–394–365. *ΣΑΜΙ*
Smyrna	C4f, E–C6f. *ΣΜΥΡΝΑΙΩΝ*
Teos	C6s–C4, E–C6f, G–C4. *ΤΗΙΩΝ*

Karia

Chersonesos	*c.*530–480. *ΧΕΡ*
Euromos	C5l. *ΥΡΩ*
Halikarnassos	C5e, *c.*400–367. *ΑΛΙΚΑΡΝΑΣΣΕΩΝ*
Iasos	C4. *ΙΑΣΕ*
Idyma	C5s–C4f. *ΙΔΥΜΙΟΝ*

Karyanda	B–C4–C3. *KAPY*
Kaunos	C6–C5, B–C4. Karian legend, C4: *KAY*
Keramos	B–C4. *KE*
Kindye	C6l–C5e. *KI*
Knidos	*c.*500–?. *KNIΔION* or *-IΩN*
Mylasa	C4m, B–C4s–?. *MY*?, *EYΠOΛEMOY*
Syangela	C5l–C4e. *ΣY*
Termera	C6l–C5e. *TYMNO*, *TEPMEPIKON*

Lykia

Phaselis	C6m–?. *ΦAΣH*
Xanthos	C5m–*c.*370. Lykian legend

Crete

Allaria	330–270. *ΑΛΛΑΡΙΩΤΑ*(*Ν*)
Aptara	330–270. *ΑΠΤΑΡΑΙΩΝ*
Arkades	330–270. *ΑΡΚΑΔΩΝ*
Axos	380–270. *ϜΑΚΣΙΩΝ*
Chersonasos	330–270. *ΧΕΡΣΟΝΑΣΙΩΝ*
Eleutherna	350–270. *ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΝΑΙΟΝ*
Elyros	330–270. *ΕΛΥΡΙΟΝ*
Gortyns	470–300. *ΓΟΡΤΥΝΟΣΤΟΠΑΙΜΑ*, *ΓΟΡΤΥΝΣ*, *ΓΟΡΤΥΝΙΟΝ*
Hierapytna	C4f–270. *IPAΠY*
Hyrtakina	330–270, G–C4s–C3f. *YPTAKINIΩN*
Itanos	380–270. *ITANIΩN*
Keraia	330–270. *KEPAITAN*
Knosos	450–270. *KNΩΣIΩN*
Kydonia	475–280. *KYΔΩN*
Kytaion	350–325. *KY*
Lappa	330–270. *ΛΑΠΠΑΙΟΝ*
Lisos	C4s–C3f. G–C4s–C3f. *ΛΙΣΙΩΝ* (with Hyrtakina)
Lyktos	470–C4l. *ΛYKTION*
Olous	330–270. *ΟΛΟΝΤΙΩΝ*
Phaistos	470–300. *ΠΑΙΣΤΙΟΝΤΟΠΑΙΜΑ*, *ΠΑΙΣΤΙΚΟΝ*, *ΦΑΙΣΤΙΩΝ*
Phalasarna	330–280. *ΦA*
Polyrhen	330–270. *ΠΟΛΥΡΗΝΙΟΝ*
Praisos	350–C3e. *ΠΡΑΙΣΙΩΝ*
Priansos	330–270. *ΠΡΙΑΝΣΙΕΩΝ*
Rhaukos	330–270. *PAYKION*
Rhithymnos	330–270. *PI*
Sybrita	380–270. *ΣYBPITIΩN*
Tarrha	330–270. *TAP*
Tylisos	330–270. *TYΛIΣIΩN*

Rhodos

Ialysos	C6s–C5s. *IAΛYΣION*
Kamiros	C6–*c.*400. B–C5. *KAMIPEΩN*
Lindos	C6–408. *ΛINΔION*
Rhodos	*c.*400–?, B–C4, G–C4s. *PAΔION*, *POΔIOI*

Pamphylia

Aspendos	C5e–?, B–C4. *EΣTϜEΔIIYΣ*
Side	C5m–?. *ΣIΔH*

Kilikia

Aphrodisias	*c.*520–?. Letters of uncertain meaning
Holmoi	C4. *OΛMITIKON*, *OΛMITON*
Issos	*c.*400–?. *IΣΣIKON*, *IΣΣEΩN*
Kelenderis	C5m–?. *KEΛENΔEPITIKON*
Mallos	C5s–?. *MAPΛOTAN*, *MAΛΛΩTHΣ*
Nagidos	C5l–?, B–C5l–?. *NAΓIΔIKON*, *NAΓIΔEΩN*
Soloi	480–333, B–C4. *ΣOΛIKON*, *ΣOΛION*, *ΣOΛEΩN*

Cyprus

Amathous	*c.*460–350. Name of king in syllabic script
Idalion	C6l–C5m. Name of king in syllabic script
Lapethos	C5f–C4l. Name of king in Phoenician script
Marion	C5e–C4l, G–C4s, B–C4s. Name of king in syllabic script. *MAPIEYΣ*
Paphos	C6l–C4l. Name of king in syllabic script. C4s: *NIKOKΛEOYΣ ΠAΦION*
Salamis	C6l–C4l. Name of king in syllabic script. C4s: *BA EYA*
Soloi	C5f–C4l. Name of king in syllabic script. C4s: *BA ΠAΣI*

Syria

Posideion	C4s, B–C4s. *ΠOΣIΔ*

Egypt

Naukratis	B–C4s. *NAY*

Libya

Barke	*c.*525–308, B–C4l. *BAPKAION*
Euhesperides	C5e–m, B–C4l. *EYEΣΠEPITAN*
Kyrene	*c.*570–308, G–C5s–C4e, BC4l. *KYPANAION*
Taucheira	C5s. *TE*

Unlocated

Phytaioi	C5s. *ΦYTAION*

27. *Colonisation and Hellenisation*

Key
P. = primary colony
S. = secondary colony
Re. = refoundation
Hell. = Hellenised indigenous community
occ. = Athenian short-term occupation by klerouchs or colonists

Spain and France

Alalie	Phokaia	C6m	P.	α
Emporion	Massalia and Phokaia	*c.*600	P.S.	β
Massalia	Phokaia	*c.*600	P.	α
Rhode	Massalia	C5–C4	P.	α

Sikelia

Abakainon	Hell.			β
Adranon	Syrakousai	*c.*400	S.	α
Agyrion	Hell.			α
	Re. Syrakousai	*c.*340	S.	
Aitna	Syrakousai	476	S.	α
	Re. Aitna	461	S.	β
Akragas	Gela (and Rhodos?)	*c.*580	S.	α
Akrai	Syrakousai	664	S.	α
Alaisa	Herbita	403/2	S.	β
Alontion	Hell.			γ
Apollonia	?			α?
Engyon	?			α
Euboia	Leontinoi	C7	S.	α
Galeria	Hell.			β
Gela	Rhodos and Crete	689/8	P.	α
Heloron	Syrakousai?	?	S.?	α
Henna	Hell.			β
Herakleia Minoa	Selinous	C6?	S.	α
	Re. Syrakousai	*c.*340	S.	
Herakleia	Sparta	*c.*500	P.	α
Herbessos	Hell.			γ
Herbita	Hell.			γ
Himera	Zankle and Syrakousai	648	S.	α
Hippana	Hell.			β
	Re. Syrakousai	*c.*340	S.	
Imachara	Hell.			β
Kallipolis	Naxos	C8l	S.	α
Kamarina	Syrakousai	*c.*598	S.	α
	Re. Gela	461	S.	
	Re. Syrakousai	*c.*340	S.	
Kasmenai	Syrakousai	644/3	S.	α
Katane	Naxos	729	S.	α
	Re. exiled Katanians	461	S.	
Kentoripa	Hell.			γ
Kephaloidion	Hell.			γ
Leontinoi	Naxos	729	S.	α
	Re. exiled Naxians?	424	S.	
	Re. Gela and Kamarina	405/4	S.	
	Re. Syrakousai	396	S.	
Lipara	Knidos	C6e	P.	α
Longane	Hell.			β
Megara Hyblaia	Megara	728	P.	α
	Re. Syrakousai	*c.*340	S.	
Morgantina	Hell.			β
Mylai	Zankle, Messenians?	700?	S.	α
Mytistratos	Hell.			β
Nakone	Hell.			β
Naxos	Chalkis	735/4	P.	α
	Re. exiled Naxians	*c.*468	S.	
Petra	Hell.			γ
Piakos	Hell.			γ
Selinous	Megara Hyblaia	728/7	S.	α
Sileraioi	Hell.			γ
Stielanaioi	Hell.			γ
Syrakousai	Korinthos	733	P.	α
Tauromenion	Hell.			β
	Re. Syrakousai	392	S.	
	Re. Naxos	358	S.	
Tyndaris	Syrakousai	396	S.	α
Tyrrhenoi	Hell.			γ
Zankle/Messana	Chalkis and Kyme	*c.*730	P.S.	α
	Re. mixed	488/7	S.	
	Re. Lokroi, Medma	395	S.	

Italia and Kampania

Herakleia	Taras and Thourioi	*c.*440	S.	α
Hipponion	Lokroi	C7l	S.	α
	Re. Syrakousai (Lokrians)	388	S.	
	Re. exiled Hipponians	379	S.	
Hyele	Phokaia	*c.*540	P.	α

Kaulonia	Kroton	C7s	S.	α
	Re. Syrakousai	*c.*357	S.	
Kroton	Achaia	709/8	P.	α
Kyme	Chalkis (and Eretria?)	*c.*750	P.	α
Laos	Sybaris	C6	S.	β
	Re. Sybaris	*c.*500	S.	
Lokroi	Lokris	C7e	P.	α
Medma	Lokroi	C7	S.	α
Metapontion	Achaia	*c.*630	P.	α
Metauros	Zankle	C7	S.	α
	Re. Lokroi	C7s	S	
Neapolis	Kyme	*c.*470	S.	α
	Re. Chalkis, Pithekoussai, Athenai			
Pandosia	Achaia	C6?	P.?	α
Pithekoussai	Chalkis and Eretria	*c.*750	P.	α
Poseidonia	Sybaris	*c.*600	S.	β
Pyxous	Sybaris	C6	S.	α
	Re. Rhegion	471/0	S.	
Rhegion	Chalkis and Messenia	C8s	P.	α
	Re. exiled Rhegians?	350s	S.	
Siris	Kolophon	C8l–C7e		P. α
Sybaris	Achaia and Troizen	C8l	P.	α
	Re. Thessalians	453	P.	
	Re. Athenai and others	446/5	P.	
Taras	Sparta	706	P.	α
Temesa	Aitolians	C6?	P.	β
Terina	Kroton	C5f?	S.	α
Thourioi	Mixed	444/3	P.	α
The Adriatic				
Adria	Aigina,	C6l	P.	β
	Re. Syrakusai	C4f	S.	
Ankon	Syrakousai	*c.*387		β
Apollonia	Korinthos	*c.*600	P.	α
Brentesion	Hell.			β
Epidamnos/Dyrrachion		Korkyra		
	*c.*625	S.	α	
Herakleia	Syrakousai?	C4f	S.	α
Issa	Syrakousai	C4f	S.	α
Lissos	Syrakousai	*c.*385	S.	β
Melaina Korkyra	Knidos	C6	P.	α
	Re. Issa	C4l	S.	
Pharos	Paros	385	P.	α
Spina	Hell.?			β
Epeiros				
Batiai	Elis	?	P.	
Boucheta	Elis	?		
Elateia	Elis	?	P.	
Elea	Korinthos	?	P.	
Pandosia	Elis	?	P.	
Akarnania				
Alyzeia	Korinthos?	?	P.	
Ambrakia	Korinthos	*c.*650–25		P.
Anaktorion	Korinthos (and Korkyra?)			
	*c.*650–25	P.		
Argos	Ambrakia	?	S.	
	Re. Akarnanians	*c.*440		
Astakos	Korinthos?	?	P.	
Korkyra	Korinthos	*c.*706	P.	
Leukas	Korinthos	*c.*650–25		P.
Sollion	Korinthos	?	P.	
Zakynthos	Achaia	?	P.	
Aitolia				
Chalkis	Korinthos	?	P.	
Molykreion	Korinthos	?	P.	
West Lokris				
Naupaktos	Re. East Lokris and Chaleion		C5f	P.
	Re. exiled Messenians	456/5		
Messenia				
Aithaia	Sparta?	C8	P.	
Asine	Asine in Argolis	C8l	P.	
Korone	Exiled Messenians	369?		?
Mothone	Nauplia	C8l	P.	
Saronic Gulf				
Aigina	Athenai occ.	431	P.	
Euboia				
Chalkis	Athenai occ.	506	P.	
Histiaia/Oreos	Athenai occ.	446	P.	
Karystos	Athenai occ.	C5m	P.	
Malis				
Herakleia	Mixed	426	P.	
The Aegean				
Aigiale (Amorgos)	Samos?	?	P.	
Andros	Athenai occ.	C5m	P.	
Arkesine (Amorgos)	Samos?			
Astypalaia	Epidauros	?	P.	
Kos	Epidauros	?	P.	
Lemnos	Athenai	*c.*500	P.	
Imbros	Athenai	*c.*500	P.	
Kalymna	Epidauros	?	P.	
Leros	Miletos	C6?	P.	

Melos	Sparta?	C8e	P.	
	Re. Athenai occ.	415	P.	
Minoa (Amorgos)	Samos	?	P.	
Naxos	Athenai occ.	C5m	P.	
Nisyros	Epidauros	?	P.	
	Miletos?	?	P.	
Peparethos	Chalkis?	?	P.	
Samothrake	Samos	C6f		?
Skiathos	Chalkis?	?		?
Skyros	Athenai	476/5	P.	
Syme	Knidos and Rhodos?	?	S.	
Thasos	Paros	C8l–C7e	P.	
Thera	Sparta?	C8e	P.	
Therma (Ikaros)	Miletos?	?	P.	
Makedonia				
Ichnai	Unknown	?	P.	
Methone	Eretria	*c.*730	P.	
Mygdonia				
Apollonia	Chalkideis	432	S.	α
Arethousa	Hell.			α
Bormiskos	?			?
Chalestre	Hell.?			γ
Herakleia	?			α?
Lete	Hell.			β
Sindos	Hell.			β
Therme	Hell.			β
Bisaltia				
Amphipolis	Athenai	437/6	P.	α
Argilos	Andros	C7	P.	α
Traïlos	Hell.			β
Chalkidike				
Aige	?			α
Aineia	?			α
Aioleion	?			α?
Akanthos	Andros	C7e	P.	α
Akrothooi	Hell.			β
Alapta	?			α
Anthemous	?			α?
Aphytis	?			α
Assera	?			α
Charadrous	?			β?
Chedrolios	?			α?
Chytropolis	?			α
Dikaia	Eretria	?	P.	α
Dion	Hell.			β
Eion	Mende	?	S.	α
Galepsos	Thasos	C6	S.	α
Gigonos	?			α?
Haisa	Unknown	C8l	?	α
Istasos	?			?
Kalindoia	?			α
Kamakai	?			?
Kampsa	?			α?
Kissos	?			α?
Kithas	?			?
Kleonai	?			β
Kombreia	?			?
Lipaxos	?			?
Mekyberna	?			α
Mende	Eretria	C8	P.	α
Milkoros	?			?
Neapolis	Mende	?	S.	α
Olophyxos	Hell.			β
Olynthos	?			α
	Re. Chalkideis	479	S.	
Osbaioi	?			?
Othoros	?			?
Pharbelos	Eretria?	?	P.	?
Phegontioi	?			?
Piloros	?			α?
Pistasos	?			?
Pleume	?			?
Polichnitai	?			α
Posideion	?			?
Poteidaia	Korinthos,	*c.*600	P.	α
	Re. Athenai occ.	430	P.	
	Re. Athenai occ.	362/1	P.	
Prassilos	?			?
Sane, Pallene	?			α
Sane, Akte	Andros	?	P.	α
Sarte	?			α
Serme	?			?
Sermylia	?			α
Singos	?			α
Sinos	?			?
Skabala	Eretria	?	P.	α
Skapsaioi	?			?
Skione	Achaia (Pellene?)	?	P.	α
	Re. Athenai (Plataians) occ.	421	P.	
Skithai	?			α?
Smila	?			?
Spartolos	?			α
Stagiros	Andros			α

Stolos/Skolos	Chalkideis?	?	S.	α
Strepsa	?			α
Therambos	?			α
Thestoros	?			?
Thyssos	Hell.			β
Tinde	?			?
Torone	?	*c.*1000		α
Tripoiai	?			?
Zereia	?			?
Thrace, Unlocated				
Aison	?			?
Brea	Athenai	*c.*445	P.	α
Kossaia	?			?
Thrace: from Strymon to Nestos				
Apollonia	Ionia	?	?	α
Berga	Thasos	?	S.	β
Datos	Thasos	*c.*360	S.	β
Eion	Athenai occ.	476	P.	α?
Galepsos	Thasos	C7l	S.	α
Krenides	Thasos	360/59	S.	α
Myrkinos	Hell.			β
	Re. Miletos	497	P.	
Neapolis	Thasos	650–625	S.	α
Oisyme	Thasos	650–625	S.	α
Phagres	Thasos	C6?	S.	α
Philippoi	Philip II	356	?	α
Pistyros	Thasos	C6	S.	α
Sirra	Philip II	C4m	?	β
Thrace: from Nestos to Hebros				
Abdera	Klazomenai	*c.*650	P.	α
	Re. Teos	544	P.	
Ainos	Alopeke, Mytilene and Kyme	C7s–C6f		α
Bergepolis	Abdera?	?	S.	?
Dikaia	Unknown, Samos?	C6	?	α
Drys	Samothrake?	?	S.	?
Kypsela	?	?		β
Maroneia	Chios	C7f	P.	α
Mesambrie	Samothrake	?	S.	?
Orthagoria	?			α?
Sale	Samothrake?	?	S.	?
Stryme	Thasos	C7	S.	α
Zone	Samothrake?	?	S.	α
Inland Thrace				
Alexandropolis	Hell.			β
Apros	Hell.?			γ
Kabyle	Philip II	C4m	P.	γ
Philippopolis	Philip II	C4m	P.	γ
Pistiros	Pistyros on the coast?	?	S.	β
Seuthopolis	Seuthes III	C4l	P.	γ
Thracian Chersonesos				
Aigos potamoi	?			α
Araplos	?			α?
Alopekonnesos	Aiolis	C7–C6f	P.	α
Chersonesos/Agora	Athenai	C6m	P.	α
	Re. Athenai	C5m, C4f		P
Deris	?			α?
Elaious	?	C7l	P.	α
	Re. Athenai	C6m	P.	α
	Re. Athenai occ.	353–343	P.	α
Ide	?			α?
Kardia	Miletos and Klazomenai		?	P. α
	Re. Athenai	C6m	P.	
Kressa	?			α?
Krithote	Athenai	C6m	P.	α
Limnai	Miletos	?	P.	α
Madytos	Lesbos	C7	P.	α
Paion	?			α?
Paktye	Athenai	C6m	P.	α
Sestos	Lesbos,	C7	P.	α
	Re. Athenai	C6m	P.	
	Re. Athenai occ.	353/2	P.	
Propontic Thrace				
Bisanthe	Samos	C6?	P.	α
Byzantion	Megara	*c.*660	P.	α
Daminon Teichos	?			α?
Heraion Teichos	Samos or Perinthos	?	P.S.?	α
Neapolis	Athenai occ.	C5?	P.	α
Perinthos	Samos	602	P.	α
Selymbria	Megara	C7f	P.	α
Serrion Teichos	?			α?
Tyrodiza	?			?
Pontos: West Coast				
Apollonia	Miletos	*c.*610	P.	α
Bizone	Miletos?	C6	P.	α
Dionysopolis	Miletos?	C6l–C5	P.	α
Istros	Miletos	657	P.	α
Kallatis	Herakleia Pontike	C6l?	S.	α
Mesambria	Kalchedon and Byzantion	C6l	S.	α
Nikonion	Istros	C6l	S.	α
Odessos	Miletos	585–570	P.	α

Olbia	Miletos	647/6	P.	α
Ophiousa	?			α
Orgame	Istros	C7s	S.	β
Tomoi	Miletos	C6	P.	α
Tyras	Miletos	C6	P.	α

Pontos: Skythia

Chersonesos	Herakleia Pontike and Delion	528	P.S.	α
Gorgippia	Mixed, from neighbours	C6	S.	β
Hermonassa	Ionia	580–570	P.	α
Karkinitis	Unknown	C6l	?	α
Kepoi	Miletos	580–570	P.	α
Kimmerikon	East Greeks	C6m	?	α
Kytaia	East Greeks	C5e	?	α
Labrys	Hell.			γ
Myrmekeion	Ionia	580–560	?	α
Nymphaion	Miletos or Samos	560s	P.	β
Pantikapaion	Miletos	575	P.	β
Phanagoria	Teos	*c.*540	P.	α
Theodosia	Miletos	*c.*570	P.	β
Tyritake	Ionia	*c.*580–560	?	α

Pontos: Kolchis

Dioskouris	Miletos	C6m	P.	α
Gyenos	East Greeks	C6m	?	β
Phasis	Miletos	C6–C5	P.	β

Pontic Coast of Asia Minor

Amisos	Phokaia (or Miletos?)	*c.*560	P.	α
	Re. Athenai occ.	430s	P.	α
Becheirias	?			α
Choirades	?			α
Herakleia	Megara and Tanagra	C6m	P.	α
Iasonia	?			α
Karambis	?			α
Karoussa	?			α
Kerasous	Sinope	?	S.	α
Kinolis	?			α
Koloussa	?			α
Kotyora	Sinope	?	S.	α
Kromna	Miletos?	?	P.	α
Kytoros	Miletos?	?	P.	α
Limne	?			γ
Lykastos	?			α
Odeinios	?			α
Sesamos	Miletos?	?	P.	α
Sinope	Miletos	C7l	P.	α
	Re. Athenai occ.	430s	P.	α
Stameneia	?			α
Tetrakis	?			α
Themiskyra	?			α
Tieion	Miletos?	?	P.	α
Trapezous	Sinope	?	S.	α

Propontic Coast of Asia Minor

Artaiou Teichos	Hell.?			β
Artake	Miletos	C6?	P.	α
Astakos	Kalchedon or Megara	C7	P.S.	?α
	Re. Athenai occ.	435/4	P.	
Bysbikos	Hell.?			?
Dareion	?			?
Daskyleion	Miletos?	?	P.	α
Didymon Teichos	Hell.?			?
Harpagion	Hell.?			α?
Kalchedon	Megara	*c.*675	P.	α
Kallipolis	Hell.			α
Kios	Miletos	626/5	P.	α
Kolonai	Lampsakos?	?	S.	?
Kyzikos	Miletos	679	P.	α
Lampsakos	Phokaia	654/3	P.	α
Metropolis	?	?	?	α
Miletoupolis	Miletos?	C7l–C6e	P.	α
Miletouteichos	Athenai occ.	410	P.	α
Myrleia (Bryllion)	Kolophon	?	P.	α
Olbia	Megara?	?	P.	α
Otlenoi	?	?		
Paisos	Miletos	C7	P.	α
Parion	Paros	C7?	P.	α
Plakia	Athenai	?	P.	β
Priapos	Miletos or Kyzikos	C7e	P.S.	α
Prokonnesos	Miletos	C7e	P.	α
Pythopolis	Hell.?			?
Skylake	Athenai	?	P.	β
Sombia	Hell.?			?
Tereia	Hell.?			?
Zeleia	Hell.			?

Troas

Abydos	Miletos	C7e	P.	α
Achilleion	Mytilene?	C6?	P.	α
Antandros	Aiolis	?	P.	β
Arisbe	Miletos	?	P.	α
Assos	Aiolians from Lesbos	C6	P.	α
Astyra	Hell.			α
Astyra Troika	Hell.			?

Azeia	Hell.			β?
Birytis	Hell.			?
Dardanos	Unknown	?	?	α
Gargara	Assos	?	S.	β
Gentinos	Hell.			?
Gergis	Hell.			γ
Hamaxitos	Hell.			α
Ilion	Aiolis	?	P.	α
Kebren	Kyme (Aiolis)	C6?	P.	α
Kokylion	Aiolis	?	P.	α
Kolonai	Aiolis	?	P.	α
Lamponeia	Aiolis	C6?	P.?	
Larisa	Hell.			α
Neandreia	Aiolis	C6?	P.	α
Ophryneion	Hell.?			α
Palaiperkote	Hell.			?
Perkote	Hell.			α
Polichna	Hell.			?
Rhoiteion	Astypalaia	C7/6	P.	α
Sigeion	Athenai	C7l	P.	α
Skepsis	Aiolis	?	P.	α
	Re. Miletos	C5e	P	
Tenedos	Aiolians from Lesbos	?	P.	α
Lesbos				
Antissa	Athenai occ.	427	P.	
Eresos	Athenai occ.	427	P.	
Mytilene	Athenai occ.	427	P.	
Pyrrha	Athenai occ.	427	P.	
Aiolis				
Adramyttion	Delos	422	P.	
Atarneus	Chios	547/6	P.	
Leukai	Klazomenai and Kyme	*c.*383/2	P.	
Neon Teichos	Kyme?	?	P.	
Ionia				
Kolophon	Athenai occ.	427	P.	
Samos	Athenai occ.	365	P.	
Karia				
Alabanda	Hell.?			γ
Alinda	Hell.?			γ
Amos	Hell.?			β
Amynandeis	Hell.?			β
Amyzon	Hell.?			β
Arlissos	Hell.?			γ
Armelites	Hell.?			γ
Aulai	Hell.?			?
Bargasa	Hell.?			γ
Bargylia	Hell.?			β
Bolbai	Hell.?			?
Chalketor	Hell.?			β
Chersonesos	Hell.?			α
Chios	Hell.?			β
Erinius	Hell.?			?
Euromos	Hell.?			β
Halikarnassos	Troizen	?		β
Hybliseis	Hell.?			γ
Hydaieis	Hell.?			γ
Hydisos	Hell.?			?
Hymisseis	Hell.?			β
Iasos	Hell.			α
Idrias	Hell.?			β
Idyma	Hell.?			β
Kalynda	Hell.?			β
Karbasyanda	Hell.?			γ
Karyanda	Hell.?			β
Kasolaba	Hell.?			γ
Kaunos	Hell.?			γ
Kedreai	Hell.?			β
Keramos	Hell.?			γ
Killareis	Hell.?			γ
Kindye	Hell.?			β
Knidos	Lakedaimon?	C8?	P.	α
Kodapeis	Hell.?			?
Koliyrgeis	Hell.?			γ
Koranza	Hell.?			γ
Krya	Hell.?			?
Kyllandos	Hell.?			?
Kyrbissos	Hell.?			?
Latmos	Hell.?			β
Lepsimandos	Hell.?			?
Medmasos	Hell.?			β
Mylasa	Hell.?			β
Myndos	Hell.?			α
Narisbareis	Hell.?			?
Naryandos	Hell.?			γ
Naxia	Hell.?			?
Olaieis	Hell.?			?
Olymos	Hell.?			β
Ouranion	Hell.?			γ
Parpariotai	Hell.?			?
Passanda	Hell.?			γ
Pedasa	Hell.?			ν
Peleiates	Hell.?			?
Pidasa	Hell.?			?
Pladasa	Hell.?			γ

Pyrindos	Hell.?			α
Pyrnos	Hell.?			?
Salmakis	Hell.?			?
Siloi	Hell.?			?
Syangela/Theangela	Hell.?			γ
Talagreus	Hell.?			?
Taramptos	Hell.?			?
Tarbaneis	Hell.?			?
Telandros	Hell.?			?
Telemessos	Hell.?			β
Termera	Hell.?			β
Terssogasseis	Hell.?			γ
Thasthareis	Hell.?			?
Thydonos	Hell.?			?
Tralleis	Hell.?			β
Lykia				
Phaselis	Lindos	691/0	P.	α
Xanthos	Hell.			β
Crete				
Kydonia	Samos	C6l	P.	
	Re. Aigina	C6l	P.	
Pamphylia				
Aspendos	Argos	?	P.	β
Idyros	?			?
Perge	Hell.			β
Side	Aiolian Kyme?	C7?	P.	β
Kilikia				
Aphrodisias	Hell.?			γ
Holmoi	Hell.			α
Issos	Hell.?			γ
Kelenderis	Samos	C8l	P.	α
Mallos	Hell.			β
Nagidos	Samos?	?	P.	α
Soloi	Lindos	C7	P.	α
Syria				
Posideion	Unknown	C8s	?	β
Egypt				
Naukratis	Mixed	C7l	P.	β
Oasis	Samos	?	P.	
Libya				
Barke	Kyrene	C6m	S.	α
Euhesperides	Kyrene	C6f	S.	α
Kinyps	Lakedaimon (Dorieus)	C6l	P.	α
Kyrene	Thera (and others)	*c.*631	S.	α
	Re. Peloponnese and islands	C6f	P.	
Taucheira	Kyrene	C7l	S.	α
Unlocated				
Okolon	Eretria	?	P.	α