

Introduction to an Inventory of *Poleis*

Symposium August, 23-26 1995

Acts of the Copenhagen Polis Centre vol. 3.

Edited by MOGENS HERMAN HANSEN



Historisk-filosofiske Meddelelser **74**
Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab
The Royal Danish Academy of Sciences and Letters

Commissioner: Munksgaard . Copenhagen 1996

The Royal Danish Academy of Sciences and Letters

publishes four monograph series, an Annual Report and, occasionally, special publications. The format is governed by the requirements of the illustrations, which should comply with the following measures.

Historisk-filosofiske Meddelelser, 8°

Historisk-filosofiske Skrifter, 4°
(History, Philosophy, Philology,
Archaeology, Art History)

Matematisk-fysiske Meddelelser, 8°
(Mathematics, Physics,
Chemistry, Astronomy, Geology)

Biologiske Skrifter, 4°
(Botany, Zoology, Palaeontology,
General Biology)

Oversigt, Annual Report, 8°

Authorized Abbreviations

Hist.Fil.Medd.Dan.Vid.Selsk.
(printed area 175 × 104 mm, 2700 units)

Hist.Filos.Skr.Dan.Vid.Selsk.
(printed area 2 columns,
each 199 × 77 mm, 2100 units)

Mat.Fys.Medd.Dan.Vid.Selsk.
(printed area 180 × 126 mm, 3360 units)

Biol.Skr.Dan.Vid.Selsk.
(printed area 2 columns,
each 199 × 77 mm, 2100 units)

Overs.Dan.Vid.Selsk.

The Academy invites original papers that contribute significantly to research carried on in Denmark. Foreign contributions are accepted from temporary residents in Denmark, participants in a joint project involving Danish researchers, or partakers in discussion with Danish contributors.

Instructions to Authors

Manuscripts from contributors who are not members of the Academy will be refereed by two members of the Academy. Authors of accepted papers receive galley proof and page proof which should be returned promptly to the Editor. Minidiscs, etc. may be accepted; contact the Editor in advance, giving technical specifications.

Alterations causing more than 15% proof changes will be charged to the author(s). 50 free copies are supplied. Authors are urged to provide addresses for up to 20 journals which may receive review copies.

Manuscripts not returned during the production of the book will not be returned after printing. Original photos and art work will be returned when requested.

Manuscript

General. – Manuscripts and illustrations must comply with the details given above. The original ms. and illustrations plus one clear copy of both should be sent to the undersigned Editor.

NB: A ms. should not contain less than 32 *printed* pages. This applies also to the *Mat.Fys.Medd.*, where contributions to the history of science are welcome.

Language. – English is the preferred language. Danish, German and French mss. are accepted and in special cases other languages. Where necessary, language revision must be carried out before final acceptance.

Title. – Titles should be kept as short as possible and with an emphasis on words useful for indexing and information retrieval.

Introduction to an Inventory of *Poleis*

Symposium August, 23-26 1995

Acts of the Copenhagen Polis Centre vol. 3.

Edited by MOGENS HERMAN HANSEN



Historisk-filosofiske Meddelelser **74**
Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab
The Royal Danish Academy of Sciences and Letters

Commissioner: Munksgaard . Copenhagen 1996

Abstract

On August 23-26 1994 eighteen scholars from eight countries met with the members of the Copenhagen Polis Centre to hold a symposium on the inventory of archaic and classical Greek *poleis*, which is the major single project undertaken by the Copenhagen Polis Centre.

The symposium was planned and organized by the editor of this volume. Six of the scholars submitted papers which had been circulated in advance to all participants. Six others were asked each to respond to one of the papers. For the names of the participants see the list on page 4.

The two main themes of the symposium were (a) the term *polis* and its use in archaic and classical literary and epigraphical sources, and (b) a number of case studies, each devoted to a region. Two papers treated regions in the Peloponnese, *viz.*, Arkadia and Achaia; one was devoted to the *poleis* in Crete; and two focused on colonies, *viz.*, the Greek *poleis* in Sicily and along the northwest coast of the Black Sea. In the light of the respondents' views and the following discussion of each of the papers among all the participants the six papers were subsequently revised by their authors, and are published in this volume together with the editor's contribution to the inventory, *viz.*, a short account of the region Boiotia and an alphabetical list of the *poleis* within the region.

MOGENS HERMAN HANSEN
The Copenhagen Polis Centre
94, Njalsgade
DK-2300 Copenhagen S

Contents

Preface	
MOGENS HERMAN HANSEN.....	5
ΠΟΛΛΑΧΩΣ ΠΟΛΙΣ ΛΕΓΕΤΑΙ (Arist. <i>Pol.</i> 1276a23). The Copenhagen Inventory of <i>Poleis</i> and the <i>Lex Hafniensis de Civitate</i>	
MOGENS HERMAN HANSEN.....	7
An Inventory of Boiotian <i>Poleis</i> in the Archaic and Classical Periods	
MOGENS HERMAN HANSEN.....	73
Arkadia. City-Ethnics and Tribalism.	
THOMAS HEINE NIELSEN.....	117
Achaian <i>Poleis</i> and Achaian Colonisation	
CATHERINE MORGAN and JONATHAN HALL.....	164
Πόλις Ὑπήκοος. The Dependent <i>Polis</i> and Crete	
PAULA PERLMAN.....	233
Les cités grecques de la côte Ouest du Pont-Euxin	
ALEXANDRU AVRAM.....	288
The Earliest Town-Planning of the Western Greek Colonies. With special regard to Sicily.	
TOBIAS FISCHER-HANSEN	317
Index of Sources.....	374
Index of Names	395

List of Participants

Dr. Alexandru Avram, Bucarest University
Prof. Pierre Ducrey, l'Université de Lausanne
Mr. Tobias Fischer-Hansen, The Copenhagen Polis Centre
Ms. Pernille Flensted-Jensen, The Copenhagen Polis Centre
Prof. Dr. Peter Funke, Westfälische Wilhelms-Universität, Münster
Prof. Dr. Hans-Joachim Gehrke, Albert-Ludwigs-Universität, Freiburg
Dr. Jonathan Hall, Downing College, Cambridge
Dr. Mogens Herman Hansen, Dir. The Copenhagen Polis Centre
Prof. Bruno Helly, Université Lumière Lyon 2.
Dr. John Hind, University of Leeds
Prof. Ronald P. Legon, University of Baltimore
Prof. Louisa Loukopoulou, Ethniko Idryma Ereynon, Athens
Dr. Antony Keen, The Queen's University of Belfast
Prof. Dr. Franz Georg Maier, Universität Zürich
Dr. Catherine Morgan, Royal Holloway and Bedford New College, London
Mr. Thomas Heine Nielsen, The Copenhagen Polis Centre
Dr. Jacques Oulhen, l'Université de Rennes 2
Prof. Paula Perlman, University of Texas at Austin
Prof. Denis Rousset, École Normale Supérieure, Paris
Dr. James Roy, The University of Nottingham
Ms. Lene Rubinstein, Royal Holloway and Bedford New College, London
Prof. Richard Talbert, Atlas of the Greek and Roman World, Chapel Hill
Dr. Gocha R. Tsetshladze, Royal Holloway and Bedford New College, London
Prof. Erik Østby, Dir. Norwegian Institute at Athens

Preface

MOGENS HERMAN HANSEN

The major single project undertaken by the Copenhagen Polis Centre is to build up an inventory of archaic and classical Greek *poleis*. The symposium held in August 1995 was devoted to some key problems related to the inventory. The two main themes of the symposium were (a) the term *polis* and its use in archaic and classical literary and epigraphical sources, and (b) a number of case studies, each devoted to a region. Two papers treated regions in the Peloponnese, *viz.*, Arkadia and Achaia; one was devoted to the *poleis* in Crete; and two focused on colonies, *viz.*, the Greek *poleis* in Sicily and along the northwest coast of the Black Sea.

In each paper some central problems were selected and studied in relation to the *poleis* found within the region. The paper on Arkadia focused on two problems: ethnics as evidence for polis-ness and the subdivision of eastern Arkadia into tribal communities. The paper on Achaia demonstrated that *polis* formation in this region took place more than two centuries after Achaian colonists had founded their large colonies in southern Italy. The paper on the Sicilian colonies was devoted to the urbanization of the island and the earliest examples of grid planning of towns. The paper on Crete analysed the concept of the dependent *polis*, one of the central themes in *Acts 2*; and the paper on the colonies in the Black Sea area discussed *inter alia* the chronology of the foundation of the colonies and the problem to what extent these colonies were proper *poleis* or had the status of e.g. an *emporion*.

In the light of the respondents' views and the following discussion of each of the papers among all the participants the six papers were subsequently revised by their authors, and are published in this volume together with the editor's contribution to the inventory, *viz.*, a short account of the region Boiotia and an alphabetical list of the *poleis* within the region.

In addition to the papers two lectures were given, one by Prof. Richard Talbert about the new Atlas of the Greek and Roman World, a project with which the Polis Centre is now officially affiliated, and one by Mogens Herman Hansen about ethnics as evidence for *polis*-ness, to be published in the third volume of the Papers from the Copenhagen Polis Centre.

This book could not have been published within a year after the Symposium if it had not been for the unfailing support and help from friends and colleagues. Pernille Flensted-Jensen composed the index of names, Thomas Heine Nielsen the index of sources, and the eagle-eyed Theodore Buttrey read the first version of the manuscript and detected more inconsistencies than I like to remember. Next, I am indebted to the Royal Danish Academy of Sciences and Letters for having sponsored the symposium and undertaken the publication of these acts; and finally, i owe a great debt of gratitude to all the participants who by their papers, their responses and their contributions to the discussion turned our meeting into what we all thought was a success.

ΠΟΛΛΑΧΩΣ ΠΟΛΙΣ ΛΕΓΕΤΑΙ

(Arist. Pol. 1276a23)

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

MOGENS HERMAN HANSEN

(Respondent: FRANZ GEORG MAIER)

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

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

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

seems to have been coined in the mid 19th century and first applied to the Roman republican concept of *civitas*,⁹ from where it was rapidly transferred not only to studies of the Greek *polis*¹⁰ but also to investigations of Italian city-states from ca. 1100 onwards,¹¹ of medieval German Reichsstädte, of Sumerian, Phoenician and Etruscan cities and of other city-state cultures as well.¹² Thus modern historical discussions of the concept of the city-state combine characteristics borrowed from many different cultures¹³ and therefore the concept of city-state is not necessarily coextensive with the concept of *polis*. Mykalessos may well have been a *polis* in the eyes of the Greeks, although it is not a city-state in the eyes of a modern historian.

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

Consequently, instead of saying that Mykalessos, though called a *polis*, was not a *polis* in the true sense, the historian ought to say that Mykalessos, though apparently a *polis* in the age of Thucydides, was not a city-state. In this form the statement makes sense. Whether it is historically true is a different matter. Whenever the city-state is discussed, independence or *autonomia* are singled out as the most important defining characteristics.¹⁴ But a great number of communities called *polis* in our sources were *not* independent and did not enjoy *autonomia*.¹⁵ Thus Mykalessos was a dependency of Tanagra;¹⁶ the Greeks thought it was a *polis* but according to modern orthodoxy its lack of independence or *autonomia* indicates that it was not a city-state.

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

It would be wrong to say that one of the two pictures is the right one and that the other is misleading; rather, the two pictures are complemen-

tary. It is always legitimate to contrast a culture's perception of itself with an outsider's more detached perception of the same culture.

At the Copenhagen Polis Centre we want to know how the Greeks perceived their own settlement pattern and therefore our investigation must be based, first of all, on a careful examination of the terminology used and the site-classifications found in our sources. In this type of study it is necessary to describe and define the ancient concept of the *polis* before we begin to compare it with the modern concept of the city-state.

So what do we do? In all literary and epigraphical sources of the archaic and classical periods we collect every attestation of the term *polis* in order to conduct two different investigations.

One of our tasks is to examine how the term *polis* is used whenever we meet it. Our sources tell us, for example, that a *polis* waged war, or made peace, or entered into an alliance, or struck coins, or passed a law, or a sentence, or founded a colony, or defrayed expenses, or repaired the walls, and we hear about the territory of a *polis*, or its roads and water supply, or its altars, or its protecting divinity.¹⁷

The other task is to examine every single attestation of the term *polis* referring to a named *polis* such as Korinth, or Melos, or Megalopolis.

In the first investigation we must analyse all the passages we have listed, no matter whether they concern a named *polis* or refer to a *polis* or the *polis* in general; and for this investigation a specific law passed by the *polis* Dreros is just as valuable a source as is a general reference in Aristotle that it is the *polis* which is responsible for passing laws.¹⁸ Conducting the second investigation we must, of course, restrict ourselves to the attestations which contain an explicit reference to a named *polis* and ignore all the passages referring to the *polis* in general.

These two different investigations relate to a very simple, but very important distinction, acknowledged in linguistics and philosophy and applied in that branch of logic which is devoted to the definition and classification of concepts.

The meaning of a term is one thing; that which is denoted by a term because it has a certain meaning is another. In linguistics this distinction is sometimes referred to as the distinction between connotation and denotation; in modern logic the two terms used are the intension of a term (that is its meaning) and the extension of a term (that is the totality of objects to which the term refers).

Example: the *connotation* (or meaning) of the term "state" is something like "a geographically delimited segment of human society united

by common obedience to a single sovereign”,¹⁹ but the term “state” *denotes* any existing state, such as Greece, Denmark, Russia or Australia.

The *intension* of the term state is the sum total of all the proprieties that must be possessed by a community in order to be called a state; the *extension* of the term state is constituted by the total number of existing states.²⁰

If we concentrate on the *connotation* or *intension* of a term we can determine its meaning by listing the essential characteristics which the term connotes, and then afterwards establish a list of the objects which fulfill the requirements of our definition.

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

After this digression I will return to my topic and ask the question: what is a *polis*? Let me subdivide the main question into three questions: do we want to examine the term itself? or the concept behind the term? or the objects denoted by the term?

The term. An analysis of the term is principally a linguistic investigation and in a study of ancient Greek history it is relevant only in so far it can shed light on the meaning and uses of the term. By studying the etymology of the word *polis*, for example, we learn that it is related to Old Indian *púr*, Lithuanian *pilis* and Latvian *pils* and that these three words originally meant stronghold.²¹ Consequently the original meaning of *polis* must have been stronghold, and in this sense it may perhaps have been used about the fortified sites in Crete in the 10th century B.C. at, for example, Dreros and Anavlochos etc.²²

The concept. A historian studies a term not for its own sake but in order to grasp the concept behind the term, to determine its essence, to find all the essential characteristics that go with it and transform these criteria into a description or even a definition of the concept. In doing all this the historian is faced with the problem that he has to apply modern terms and concepts in his description both of the ancient societies themselves and of the concepts used by the ancients themselves to describe them. Sometimes the historian prefers in his analysis to use modern terms, such as “state” or “settlement” or “town” or “village”; but sometimes the historian takes over an ancient term found in the sources and

uses it in transliterated form. As pointed out above, *polis* is precisely such a term and accordingly we cannot conduct our investigation of the term *polis* before we have decided whether we want to study the ancient concept of *polis* as found in our sources or the modern concept of *polis* as we meet it in the 19th and 20th century accounts of the history of ancient Greece, where the word *polis* is frequently used synonymously with the modern term city-state.

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

On the other hand, the *objects* to which a term refers leave many other traces than the term itself. If we focus on the objects rather than on the concept, an examination of the terms used about the objects may be relegated to the background and that is in fact what has happened in recent studies of ancient Greek society. Inspired by the growing number of archaeological surveys of the Greek landscape the focus of interest has shifted from the written to the archaeological sources, and from the towns to the countryside. The result has been a rapidly increasing number of what can be called settlement pattern studies. Here the historian starts with the settlement pattern of a landscape, so far as it can be ascertained for macro-periods (archaic, classical, Hellenistic, Roman, late Roman), then the investigation is focused on the actual pattern of the social, economic and political structure of the landscape and its settlements, and only then does the historian start looking at the names given to the various types of settlement and the terms used to describe them.²³ In such an investigation it does not matter very much how the Greeks classified the different types of settlement, and what they themselves thought of their settlement pattern comes second to the study of the settlement pattern itself.²⁴

Prominent examples of such an approach are John Fossey's studies of Boiotia, Lokris and Phokis. Or the Cherry-Davies-Mantzourani investigation of northern Keos. Or Carter's studies of Metapontion.²⁵ And a survey for the general reader, covering the whole of Hellas, is given by

Robin Osborne in his *Classical Landscape With Figures* (London 1987). In this study the settlements under discussion are called either “cities” or “towns” or “villages” (11). A discussion of the Greek terminology as applied to each individual settlement is eschewed. Admittedly, Osborne states in his preface that he will use the English term “city” synonymously with the Greek term “*polis*” in its political sense (ibid.). Nevertheless, he sometimes uses the term village about a settlement that, in a contemporary source, is unquestionably called a *polis* in the political sense.²⁶ Such inconsistencies, however, do not necessarily subtract from the value of his book, since the Greek terminology and the Greeks’ understanding of their own environment are issues intentionally left out of consideration in this type of study.²⁷

Although such investigations are extremely valuable in their own right they are not designed to answer the question: what is a *polis*? This is nevertheless still an important question although to some extent it seems to have become a neglected one. That is why we have set up the Copenhagen Polis Centre with the explicit aim of answering that question or at least to shed light on some important aspects of it.

First we collect all attestations of the term *polis* in archaic and classical sources in order to analyse and list how the term is used in every single case, i.e. that a *polis* wages war, or strikes coins, or passes a law, or has its walls repaired, or sets up a cult for a protecting divinity, etc.

After this first investigation which focuses on the intension of the term we move to the extension and try to build up an inventory of all attested *poleis*.

In our collection of all attestations of the term *polis* we now discard all the instances of the word *polis* being used in a general way without reference to any named *polis*, and in our second investigation we focus exclusively on attestations of the term *polis* being linked to a named locality such as Korinth, or Megalopolis, or Thasos, or Kyrene. Next, for every single locality that is called *polis* in a contemporary source we then attempt to have 45 other questions answered; cf. the specimen of the centre’s data-base questionnaire: see Appendix IV on pages 55-62.

We start from the term itself as found in the written sources, but many of the entries can only be filled by adducing archaeological evidence. Did the *polis* in question possess an *agora* or a *bouleuterion* or a *prytaneion*? Do we know about victors in one of the Panhellenic games coming from this particular *polis*? Did it have a mint? Was its urban centre protected by a circuit of walls? Do we know about citizenship decrees

passed by the *polis*? Was the name of the *polis* used in personal names after the patronymic as a kind of city-ethnic, e.g. Korinthios or Thebaïos, or is a citizen of this *polis* designated by e.g. a demotic instead of a city-ethnic? The 45 questions we ask have, of course, been generated by the first investigation in which we examined the various proprieties and activities typically connected with the concept of *polis*. When, for example, we ask for a *bouleuterion* it is because we know from our sources that a *boule* and its *bouleuterion* were a characteristic of a *polis* but not to be found in a *deme* or in a *kome*.²⁸

Every attested *polis* is included in our inventory and classified as a *polis* type A. Next we collect information about locations which are *not* actually called *polis* in any contemporary source, but are known for a number of the activities we examined in our first investigation; for example, the community in question may have had an *agora* or a *bouleuterion* or a *prytaneion*; its citizens may have been known as victors in the Panhellenic games; or it possessed a mint. Its urban centre may have been protected by a circuit of walls, and a citizenship decree passed by the assembly may be preserved or referred to in a literary source.

If such a community shared a number of proprieties with the communities actually called *polis*, the presumption is that it was in fact considered a *polis* by the Greeks, and that it is only because of the fragmentary state of our sources that it is not attested directly as a *polis* in a contemporary inscription or piece of literature. If the community is called *polis* in Hellenistic or Roman sources, e.g. in Diodoros or Strabo or Pausanias, it is noted, especially if the reference is “retrospective”.²⁹ All such communities are now added to our inventory, but classified as *poleis* type B and C. We choose between B and C according to how certain or uncertain we are that it is only due to lack of sources that the community in question is not actually recorded as a *polis* in archaic and classical sources.

Thus, our principal criterion for inclusion and classification is the requirement that a locality is called a *polis* in at least one contemporary source, that is in archaic and classical sources down to the death of Alexander the Great in 323. By adopting this method we are faced with a number of methodological problems: (a) to what extent was *polis* a loaded term and consequently subject to manipulation? (b) to what extent are our sources consistent in their terminology? (c) to what extent did the word *polis* denote the same concept in the 7th and again in the 4th century? (d) to what extent will the mass of Athenian evidence result in an inventory of *poleis* which reflects the idea of a *polis* in classical

Athens but obscures the complexity of the concept as used in the rest of the Greek world? (e) to what extent is our investigation thwarted by the fact that the word *polis* is used not just in one sense but has four different meanings?

(a)

To what extent was *polis* a loaded term? Did it matter to the ancient Greeks if they lived in a *polis* rather than in some other form of community? Was it something they took pride in? According to our sources it certainly was, and I shall adduce some passages to substantiate the point.

1. During the council of war before the battle of Salamis the Corinthian general Adeimantos tried to silence Themistokles by saying that he had no right to speak as long as he had no *patris* and was *apolis*. Now, Themistokles did not reply: "it is irrelevant whether or not we have a *patris* and a *polis*; what matters is that we have 200 ships." No, his answer was that Athens had an even better claim than Corinth to be labelled *polis* and *ge* (here echoing *patris*) as long as the Athenians had 200 ships.³⁰ This exchange of words is undoubtedly anecdotal, but it shows that Herodotos and his contemporary readers (or listeners) took the concept of the *polis* very seriously. It is worth noting that, a century and a half later, Lykourgos made the same point: by leaving Athens the Athenians had not left their *polis* but just moved it to Salamis.³¹

2. When Kyros had conquered the Ionian cities their representatives met at the Panionion to discuss whether they should put up with being Persian subjects or consider the alternatives. But, according to Herodotos, already before the Persian conquest the philosopher Thales had advised the Ionians to set up a common *bouleuterion* at Teos, and his proposal was concluded with the remark that the other *poleis* would be inhabited as before, but would change their status and become like demes.³² The plan came to nothing, but the political status of a community – to be a *polis* or just to be a deme – was obviously a matter of considerable consequence.

3. The same idea is expressed by Isokrates in the *Panathenaikos* where he claims that the Spartans treated their perioikic communities so that in name they were *poleis* but in reality they had less self-government than demes.³³ Once again, it was desirable to be a *polis*, and there-

fore Isokrates comments on the universally accepted view that perioikic communities, a second rate sort of communities, were *poleis*.

4. Similarly, Thucydides tells us that when, in 431, many Athenians had to evacuate their houses and sanctuaries in the countryside and move into Athens they felt it “as if they were leaving their *polis*”. What Thucydides wants to emphasize is the feelings an ordinary Athenian had towards his home, but the comparison he has chosen reveals the strong feelings a citizen must have possessed towards his *polis*.³⁴

5. According to Thucydides the so-called synoikism of Attika in the age of Theseus consisted in the reduction of a number of *poleis* to local communities without a *bouleuterion* and a *prytaneion*.³⁵ Thucydides is emphatic in pointing out not just that all the other Attic communities lost their political institutions, but that one *polis* only was created by the reform.

6. In Xenophon’s *Memorabilia* *polis* is singled out as one of the essential human concepts that are worth discussing and need a definition.³⁶

7. Aristotle describes man as a *politikon zoon* and asserts that a person who is *apolis* is either subhuman or superhuman.³⁷ Other forms of community, such as the *oikia* or the *kome*, or the *ethnos*, are not as developed and valuable as the *polis* which is the perfect form of human society (1252a1-6, 1252b27-31). The ideal life which man is made for is the life of a citizen (*Pol.* 1288a38). *Ho politikos bios* is described as the life of a citizen who participates in the running of the political institutions of his *polis* (*Pol.* 1283b42-84a3). Similarly persons who do not participate in the *polis*, such as women, foreigners and slaves, are essentially second-rate. They live in the *polis* but they are not members of the *polis* (*Pol.* 1275a7-8, 1326a18-20). In his political philosophy Aristotle establishes a hierarchy within the human race, and only those who live in *poleis* and are members of a *polis*, typically adult male Hellenes, are capable of fulfilling man’s purpose in life (1327b18-33).

8. Most Greeks believed that history of man had been a progress from bestiality to humanity and civilization, and in many accounts the formation of *poleis* was a decisive step towards civilization.³⁸

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

On the other hand, if living in a *polis* was something worth fighting

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

The meaning (or intension) of the term democracy is e.g. “a political system in which the whole people make the basic decisions on important matters of public policy”,³⁹ whereas the reference (or extension) of the term comprises all democratically governed states.⁴⁰ But nowadays democracy has become a hurrah word and – apart from China, Iran, Nigeria and a few others – every nation claims to be a democracy. So an inventory including every state called a democracy will comprise more than one hundred states many of which do not fulfill the criteria included in the definition suggested above. To study the concept of democracy on the basis of a list of states called democracies would be grossly misleading.⁴¹

The meaning (or intension) of the term state is e.g. “a geographically delimited segment of human society united by common obedience to a single sovereign”; the corresponding reference (or extension) of the term comprises all states. Like democracy the word state is a loaded term, and it really matters to a people whether or not their country is recognized as a state, but, unlike democracy, there is very little disagreement about which countries to include in or exclude from a list of all states. There is no disagreement about the state-hood of the 185 members of the United Nations⁴² plus Switzerland, and today the principal problems concern e.g. the former Yugoslavian republics of Bosnia and Macedonia and some other politically sore regions. Thus, a study of the extension of the term state and of the essential characteristics shared by all states will be a very valuable contribution to our understanding of the concept of state in our times.

Let us return to the term *polis*. Was it – like democracy – a hurrah word? or was it – like state – a loaded term, but not one which became a slogan to such an extent that it was constantly disputed whether or not a country was a state? Admittedly, the council of war before the battle of Salamis provides us with one such example: it testifies to a disagreement between the Korinthian and the Athenian generals as to whether Athens was a *polis* or not. There may have been other similar cases.

Suppose, for example, that the inhabitants of a small town insisted on being recognized as a *polis* but were dominated by a strong neighbouring town whose inhabitants would deny that the small dependent town was a *polis*. Let me adduce some possible instances to illustrate the problem.

In the classical period the small fortified town Aigosthena in northern Megaris was a dependency of the *polis* Megara, and in a Megarian decree of ca. 300 B.C. it is classified as a *kome*. But it is apparently referred to as a *polis* by Skylax, writing in the first half of the 4th cent.⁴³ Furthermore, in ca. 240 it became a member of the Boiotian federation and in a decree passed ca. 200 Aigosthena is explicitly called a *polis*.⁴⁴ We may reject the classification found in Skylax and hold that, in ca. 240 B.C., Aigosthena changed its status from being a *kome* in Megaris into being a member state of the Boiotian federation, i.e. a *polis*. But we cannot rule out the possibility that the Aigosthenitai had always claimed that they lived in a *polis* whereas the Megarians would only grant them the status of being a *kome*.

A somewhat similar problem may lie behind some of the entries in the Athenian Tribute Lists and in the list of Allies appended to the so-called Charter of the Second Athenian Naval Confederacy.⁴⁵ Let me adduce just one example: among the members of the Second Naval Confederacy is recorded Ζακύνθίων ὁ δῆμος ὁ ἐν Νήλλωι.⁴⁶ A comparison with the literary sources indicate that the *demos* in question was a rebellious faction of exiled democrats who had established themselves in a stronghold called Arkadia, probably to be identified with Nellos. Both Xenophon (*Hell.* 6.2.2-3) and Diodoros (15.45.4) contrast the exiled democrats with οἱ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως Ζακύνθιοι, indicating that the position held by the exiled democrats was *not* a *polis*. But the exiles in Nellos are included in the list of allied *poleis* appended to the decree proposed and carried by Aristoteles of Marathon. Now, from the use of the term *polis* in the heading of the list of allies we cannot infer that all the communities subsumed were actually *poleis* in the sense of being political communities of citizens. Nevertheless we cannot preclude the possibility that the Athenians and the exiled democrats themselves would claim that the stronghold on Zakynthos was a *polis*.⁴⁷

On the other hand, it is worth noting that the exchange of words between Themistokles and Adeimantos is the only unquestionable example of a community whose status as a *polis* is claimed by one person but denied by another. Admittedly, there are more possible examples like the two I have cited, but, on the whole, there is a remarkable agree-

ment in our sources about whether or not a community was a *polis*. The perioikic communities in Lakedaimon, for example, are unanimously referred to as being *poleis*.⁴⁸ One suspects that the Spartans might have tried to deny them the status of *polis*, especially after the King's Peace of 386 B.C.,⁴⁹ but among the sources that classify the perioikic communities as *poleis* is Xenophon who had no axe to grind with the Spartans and, in my opinion, his use of the term guarantees that the Greeks were unanimous in their classification of the perioikic communities as dependent *poleis*, i.e. as *poleis* without *autonomia*.

To conclude: in our sources there is a remarkable agreement and very little disagreement about which communities were *poleis*, and the inference is that, like the word state but unlike the word democracy, the word *polis* did not become a slogan and its application to named communities seems only very occasionally to have been a bone of contention. Admittedly, there were no "international criteria" – like e.g. membership of the UN – by which it was formally decided whether a given political community was a *polis* or not. Yet, the rules for participation in the Panhellenic festivals, principally the Olympic Games, may have served as a yardstick not too far removed from some modern international agreements about statehood. A competitor had to be "the legitimate son of free Greek Parents" and "officially registered on the citizen roster of his native city".⁵⁰ I suspect that far from all *poleis* had rosters of citizens, but our sources show that every victor was proclaimed as a citizen of a named *polis* as well as in his own right. Thus, in cases of doubt the *hellenodikai* must have made a decision about the *polis* status of the community with which a competitor claimed to be affiliated.

(b)

Next, are the sources consistent in the way they use the term *polis*? Many historians are sceptical, and as an example I will quote Peter Rhodes' reaction to the way the Copenhagen Polis Centre has constructed its inventory of *poleis*: "I suspect we shall find that the Greeks themselves were not wholly consistent in their use of the word. They did not have the advantages of being able to use Liddell and Scott or Ibycus; and I ought to add here that they could not benefit from the researches of the Copenhagen Polis Centre: that is, they were often not as tidy and systematic in their use of their language as a tidy and systematic scholar would wish, and the principle that any political entity which a Greek is

known to have called a *polis* must have been a *polis* may not be a useful principle on which to base our research.”⁵¹

This apparently cautious approach may land modern historians in a different pitfall: whenever a site-classification found in the sources does not fit their understanding of what a *polis* ought to be, they are inclined to dismiss the source as untrustworthy. Let me quote the judicious comment stated by Edmond Lévy: “Les modernes savent – ou croient savoir – mieux que les Anciens ce qu’est une cité, ce qui leur permet de reprocher à Hérodote d’appeler indûment telle localité une *polis*, d’affirmer que telle *polis* n’est pas une vraie *polis* ou de traduire à l’occasion, quand le texte grec ne correspond pas aux conceptions modernes, *polis* par “petite cité”, “bourgade” ou établissement”.⁵² Like Lévy I have always suspected that the ancient Greeks were more consistent in their use of the term *polis* than many modern historians believe – they were as consistent, I think, as modern Europeans are in their use of e.g. the term “state”, see *supra* page 16. No great dictionary or computer concordance is required to use a term with reasonable precision. Most educated persons may not know all the problems concerning how to define a state, but they nevertheless apply the term to named countries with very few mistakes, and I can report that a collection of the use of the term *polis* in archaic and classical sources seems to confirm my suspicion.⁵³

Now, first we must make sure what we mean by “inconsistency”. In this context I take it to be an “inconsistency” if a named locality is described with mutually exclusive terms; whereas to describe a locality with two different terms that can be used synonymously is not an inconsistency. Let me adduce just two examples: if Skylax in his *periplous* had classified Eleusis as a *polis*, as some scholars believe,⁵⁴ it would have been a flagrant inconsistency, since Eleusis was incontestably a *demos* and since, in classical Attika, *demos* and *polis* are mutually exclusive terms.⁵⁵ On the other hand, to call a place *polis* in one passage but *chorion* in another one is not an inconsistency, since *chorion* is a vague term that could be used about any type of settlement.⁵⁶ Similarly the term *polisma* is often used synonymously with the term *polis* in its urban sense, which should cause no surprise.⁵⁷

Following these guide-lines we in the Polis Centre plan to examine all archaic and classical sources and look out for two different types of inconsistency: (a) one author (or text) applies different and incompatible site-classifications to the same locality; (b) different authors apply dif-

ferent and incompatible site-classifications to the same locality. We have not yet completed our investigation, but so far we have found very few inconsistencies, and in some of these cases it can be debated whether there is an inconsistency at all. Let me adduce just one example of each type. (a) In Herodotos Anthele and Alpenos are both classified both as *poleis* and as *komai*, see *infra* page 41. (b) When referred to at large the perioikic communities in Lakonia are called *poleis* in all our sources;⁵⁸ some of the named perioikic cities are called *poleis*, e.g. Anthene and Thyrea,⁵⁹ but others are called *komai*, e.g. Oion, Tyros and Belbina.⁶⁰

Conversely, the sources testify to a considerable degree of consistency. It is no wonder that all sources refer to e.g. Athens, Megara, Plataiai and Naupaktos as being *poleis*. But it is worth noting that the consistency applies to many small settlements as well. There seems, for example, to have been six urban communities on the Athos peninsula (including Sane). They are called *poleis* by both Herodotos and Thucydides. One is called a *polis* in the Peace of Nikias, five are listed in Skylax's *Periplus*, and five turn up in the Athenian Tribute Lists.⁶¹

The conclusion of the investigations we have conducted so far is that there is no support for the view that the Greeks were inconsistent in their use of the term *polis*. They may not have been *wholly* consistent, but the margin of error seems to be in the range of one per hundred or less. Nor are modern Europeans *wholly* consistent in the way they use the term "state".

(c)

Our investigation covers the period ca. 600 – 323 B.C., but this span of almost three hundred years forces us to address the question whether the concept of *polis* was transformed to such an extent that we ought to split it up into a number of successive concepts rather than perceiving it as, essentially, one concept which, of course, underwent some changes in the course of the period. This question requires a thorough treatment, but, provisionally, a comparison between Aristotle's *Politics* and some archaic texts are offered here in support of my conviction that the concept of *polis* had a core that persisted unchanged throughout the period in question.

In the *Politics* Aristotle defines a *polis* both as a town created by the synoikism of a number of *komai* (Book 1) and as a community of citizens around their political institutions (α κοινωνία πολιτῶν πολιτείας)

(Book 3).⁶² His two definitions match the two different senses of the word *polis*. Defining the *polis* as a town composed of *komai* which again are composed of *oikiai* he takes all the inhabitants, including women, children and slaves, to be members of the *polis*. When defining the *polis* as a political community he emphasizes that the *politai* are the adult male citizens to the exclusion of foreigners, women, children and slaves.

That Aristotle's view of the *polis* is essentially in agreement with views held ca. 600 B.C. is apparent, e.g., from the following five passages.

Alkaios fr. 426, Lobel & Page: τὸν λόγον ὄν πάλαι μὲν Ἄλκαϊος ὁ ποιητῆς εἶπεν .. ὡς ἄρα οὐ λίθοι οὐδὲ ξύλα οὐδὲ τέχνη τεκτόνων αἰ πόλεις εἶεν ἀλλ' ὅπου ποτ' ἂν ὦσιν ἄνδρες αὐτοὺς σῶζειν εἰδότες ἐνταῦθα καὶ τείχη καὶ πόλεις.

Alkaios fr. 130.17-23, Lobel and Page: ζῶω μοῖραν ἔχων ἀγορεύ-
τίκην / ἰμέρων ἀγόρας ἄκουσαι / καρυ[ζο]μέναις ἄγεσιλαῖδα / καὶ
β[ό]λλας. τὰ πάτηρ καὶ πάτερος πάτηρ / κα...ηρας ἔχοντες πεδὰ
τωνδέων / τῶν [ἀ]λλαλοκάκων πολίταν / ἔ ... [ἀ]πὺ τούτων ἀ-
πελήλαμαι ...

Tyrtaios fr. 12.27-8, West: τὸν δ' ὀλοφύρονται μὲν ὁμῶς νέοι ἠδὲ
γέροντες, / ἀργαλέω δὲ πόθω πᾶσα κέκηδε πόλις.

IC IV 13 (Law from Gortyn, ca. 600 B.C.): ... Φαστίαν δίκαν ἐν ταῖ
ἀγοραῖ καὶ ἀδίκαι αἰρεθῆμι τῷ κσενοδόφοι ...

M&L 2.1-2 (Law from Dreros, ca. 600 B.C.): ἄδ' ἔφαδε πόλι.

Alkaios argues that a *polis* is not just a town but a community. The personal sense of the word is emphasized at the expense of the urban sense, but the antithetical way of expressing his view reveals that others might prefer to describe a *polis* as a city in the urban sense of the term. So, as far back as our written sources go, the word *polis* is used to designate both a community of human beings and its physical setting, i.e. an urban centre and its hinterland. Next, the contemporary law from Dreros demonstrates that the persons who make up the *polis* act as a political community. Here the *polis* in the sense of community is identified with its *politai*. In the other Alkaios fragment the *politai* are described as some who participate in the meetings of the assembly (ἀγορά) and the council (βόλλα); and finally the fragmentary law from Gortyn testifies to an opposition between citizens (*astoi*) and foreigners (*xenoi*) and shows that the citizens form a (small) privileged group different from and smaller

than the inhabitants of the *polis* in the sense of a city with its hinterland.⁶³ On the other hand, when Tyrtaios uses *polis* in its personal sense and speaks of how the whole *polis* mourns for a brave soldier killed in battle, women and children are undoubtedly included among those who constitute the *polis*.⁶⁴ Thus the essential elements in the concept of *polis* found in the late classical period are all present around 600 B.C. Aristotle can have had no difficulty agreeing with the archaic texts quoted above, and if Alkaios had had an opportunity to read Aristotle's *Politics* he would have appreciated the philosopher's descriptions of the *polis* in Books 1 and 3. How widespread this concept of *polis* was in ca. 600 B.C., and how many *poleis* there were in Alkaios' day are different questions not to be addressed here.

During the period ca. 600 – 323 B.C. the *polis* as an urban centre must have changed as much or perhaps even more than the *polis* as a community, and in the late 4th century towns like Athens, Eretria, Korinth and Syracuse were certainly very different from what they had been in the early 6th century. Yet, the concept of *polis* in the sense of town is already apparent at the beginning of our period. The fragment of Alkaios quoted above shows, *e contrario*, that many would take a circuit of walls to be an essential element of a *polis*, and this impression is corroborated by what we learn from the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. The Homeric *polis*⁶⁵ has broad streets⁶⁶ and is enclosed with steep walls⁶⁷ and beautiful towers.⁶⁸ Inside the city there is an assembly place,⁶⁹ and sanctuaries,⁷⁰ in which (sometimes) temples are erected.⁷¹ We do not hear much about houses,⁷² but the Homeric *polis* includes one or more mansions, which in some cases are so magnificent that the traditional designation of them as palaces seems well deserved.⁷³

I do not intend here to reopen the debate about the eighth-century date of the so-called Homeric society but it is in any case indisputable that in the sixth century the Homeric poems were recited throughout the Greek world and formed an important part of a Greek's intellectual background. Thus, although there can be no doubt that around 600 B.C. very few urban centres in Hellas had walls⁷⁴ and monumental buildings (apart from temples),⁷⁵ nevertheless our written sources show that the circuit of walls, the agora and the shrines of the gods were already associated with the concept of the *polis*. When we move down to the classical period the grid-plan, the terrace houses, the public political architecture and the larger size of many urban centres were very important accessories to the *polis* in the sense of town, but even in the 4th century most small *poleis*, as e.g. Koresia on Keos, Akraiphia in Boiotia or Alipheira in Arkadia,

cannot have been much different from what larger *poleis* such as Eretria or Argos had been like in the sixth century.

(d)

Not only chronological but also regional variations must be taken into account. One might suspect that the concept of *polis* in Athens was different from what people thought a *polis* was in Mantinea, or in Pantikaipion, or in Telmessos, or in Kyrene, etc. Consequently, since our investigation starts from the term *polis* as found in the written sources and since the bulk of our texts are Athenian we must beware of the risk that our inventory of *poleis* will reflect the idea of the *polis* in classical Athens and obscure the complexity of the concept as used in the rest of the Greek world. Let me adduce two examples. Most of our information about the number and identity of Greek *poleis* in the last third of the fifth century comes from Thucydides and from the Athenian Tribute Lists. But Thucydides, though in exile, was an Athenian citizen, and the tribute lists must reflect the official Athenian view of the members of the Delian League.⁷⁶ Furthermore, the most important general discussions of the concept of *polis* are found in Plato's dialogues and in Aristotle's political treatises. Plato was an Athenian citizen, and Aristotle, though born in Stageiros in Thrace, spent most of his adult life in Athens.

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

Let me adduce four examples.

1. Apart from Thucydides, our principal source for the meaning and uses of the term *polis* in the fifth century is Herodotos, and he was *not* an Athenian but a Halicarnassian who probably spent the last two decades of his life in Thourioi. If we focus on the intension of the term *polis* we note, for example, that Herodotos and Thucydides both take a *bouleuterion* to be *the* public building which constitutes a *polis* in the sense of a self-governing community.⁷⁷ And if we examine the extension of the term *polis* we can compare the two historians' classification of the

Greek settlements from Argilos west of the river Strymon and to Poteidaia on Pallene. Herodotos lists the *poleis* in this region in Book 7 in connection with Xerxes' march through Thrace. Thucydides treats the same region in Book 4 in his description of Brasidas' campaign in 424-22 and a number of the communities are mentioned again in the Peace of Nikias. A comparison between the settlements called *polis* by either author reveals a remarkable agreement and there is no detectable disagreement. In the list presented here the references in brackets are to instances of the settlement in question being called a *polis*.

- Aige (Hdt. 7.123.1) – not mentioned by Thuc.
- Akanthos (Hdt. 7.115.2; Thuc. 4.85.6; 5.18.6)
- Akrothoon (Hdt. 7.22.3; Thuc. 4.109.3)
- Aphytis (Hdt. 7.123.1) – Thuc. 1.64.2 without site-classification
- Argilos (Hdt. 7.115.1; Thuc. 4.103.4)
- Assa (Hdt.7.122.1) – not mentioned by Thuc.
- Dion (Hdt. 7.22.3; Thuc. 4.109.3)
- Gale[psos] (Hdt.7.122.1) – not mentioned by Thuc.
- Kleonai (Hdt. 7.22.3; Thuc. 4.109.3)
- Mekyberna (Hdt.7.122.1; Thuc. 5.18.6)
- Mende (Hdt. 7.123.1; Thuc. 4.123.1)
- Neapolis (Hdt. 7.123.1) – not mentioned by Thuc.
- Olophyxos (Hdt. 7.22.3; Thuc. 4.109.3)
- Olynthos (Hdt.7.122.1; Thuc. 1.58.2; 5.18.6)
- Piloros (Hdt.7.122.1) – not mentioned by Thuc.
- Poteidaia (Hdt. 7.123.1; Thuc. 1.62.1)
- Sane (Hdt. 7.22.3; Thuc. 4.109.3; 5.18.6)
- Sane (Hdt. 7.123.1) – not mentioned by Thuc.
- Sarte (Hdt.7.122.1) – not mentioned by Thuc.
- Sermyle (Hdt.7.122.1; Thuc. 1.65.2)
- Singos (Hdt.7.122.1; Thuc. 5.18.6)
- Skione (Hdt. 7.123.1; Thuc. 4.120.1)
- Stageiros (Hdt. 7.115.2; Thuc. 5.18.5)
- Therampos (Hdt. 7.123.1) – not mentioned by Thuc.
- Thyssos (Hdt. 7.22.3; Thuc. 4.109.3)
- Torone (Hdt.7.122.1; Thuc. 4.110.2)

2. In his book *How to Survive Under Siege* Aineias the Tactician treats the *polis* both as a (walled) urban centre and as a political community which has to make decisions about its defence. His views of the *polis* are

so varied and illuminating that they have inspired a historian to write an article entitled: “Polisbegriff und Stasistheorie des Aeneas Tacticus.”⁷⁸ Who Aineias was is still in dispute but the prevailing opinion – to which I subscribe – is that he was Aineias of Stymphalos, general of the Arkadians in the 360s.⁷⁹ Thus he provides us with another non-Athenian view of the *polis*, but nevertheless one which is indistinguishable from what we would have got if a similar investigation of the concept of *polis* had been based on Thucydides, Xenophon and Demosthenes.

3. As stated above, the 45 questions we ask concerning every community called *polis* in a contemporary source have been generated by our investigation of how the term *polis* is used in all sources: a *polis* struck coins, passed laws, was protected physically by its walls and spiritually by its protecting divinity, etc. The references given above in note 17 are all from Athenian sources. But in every single case non-Athenian sources can be adduced to show that the activity or characteristic in question was an element in the concept of the *polis*.⁸⁰

4. In the *Politics* Aristotle adduces some 270 historical examples to illustrate and exemplify his analysis of the *polis*. Only some 30 of his historical examples concern Athens whereas the ca. 240 other examples are drawn from a wide range of *poleis*, e.g. Lakedaimon, Syracuse, Kyrene plus some 80 other *poleis*. The impression one gets from reading the empirical part of the treatise, viz. Books 3-6, is that the work is far from being Atheno-centric. It may, of course, be objected that Aristotle is interpreting all the other *poleis* and their constitutions in the light of the Athenian constitution, but as far as we can check them Aristotle’s generalisations about the *polis* seem to be based on the non-Athenian much more than on the Athenian examples.

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

(e)

The most serious problem we have to face is that the term *polis* has more than one meaning. In fact, it seems to have had four, since it is found in

the senses of (1) stronghold (2) town (3) country and (4) state. When used synonymously with *akropolis* the term *polis* denotes a stronghold and/or a small hill-top settlement.⁸¹ When used synonymously with *asty* the term *polis* denotes an urban centre.⁸² When used synonymously with *ge* or *chora* the term *polis* denotes the totality of town plus hinterland,⁸³ and when used synonymously with a *koinonia* or a *plethos politon* the term *polis* denotes what we today call a city-state.⁸⁴

Now, recording every single attestation of the word *polis* found in archaic and classical documents and literature must, accordingly, result in an inventory of *poleis* which comprises not only city-states, but also strongholds, towns, and countries. Under such circumstances an inventory of all localities called *polis* is apparently doomed to be a hotchpotch of settlements and of no value whatsoever. In the Polis Centre, however, we think that this problem is much less threatening than it appears, and this optimistic view is based on the following observations:

Let me first mention the relative frequency with which the four different senses occur. In archaic and classical authors and inscriptions attestations of *polis* in the sense of stronghold amount to *less* than one per hundred of all attestations, and attestations of *polis* where country is the principal sense or a secondary meaning that goes with the sense of town and/or state amount to less than two per hundred only. In the remaining ca. 98 per cent of the attestations *polis* is used either in the sense of town or in the sense of (city)-state, or the two senses are combined and indistinguishable. Again, in some authors, such as Herodotos and Aineias the Tactician, the urban sense is much more common than the political, whereas in Thucydides and Xenophon the sense of political community is about twice as common as the sense of urban centre. In inscriptions the political sense dominates and there are few attestations only of *polis* in the sense of town.

Next a brief discussion of the different meanings:

(a) *Polis* used synonymously with *akropolis* in the sense of stronghold is not only extremely rare, it is also confined to fixed formulas almost exclusively found in public documents, such as the provision that a certain document be inscribed and set up on the *polis*, that is on the *akropolis*, for everybody to inspect.⁸⁵ Consequently it is easy to spot and identify the very few attestations of a locality being called *polis* in the sense of stronghold or small hill-top settlement, and even if we include such sources for the sake of completeness, we shall find only a handful of lo-

calities which are called *polis* in the sense of *akropolis* without being a *polis* in the political sense. One such example is the Attic deme Erchia, whose sacrificial calendar has several references to the *polis*, that is the *akropolis* of the deme, to be distinguished from the *polis* of the *asty*, that is the *akropolis* of all Athenians in Athens.⁸⁶

(b) In a number of passages “country” or “territory” is either the principal meaning of the word *polis* or at least a secondary meaning where the principal meaning is either “state” or “town” or both.⁸⁷ But whenever *polis* occurs in the sense of territory, there is no doubt that the reference is to the territory of a *polis* in the political sense. We have, for example, references to a law or a verdict prescribing that a person be exiled from a named *polis*, or that the corpse of an executed criminal be thrown over the border of the *polis*. In such passages *polis* must denote both the town and its hinterland, but obviously the reference is to the territory of a *polis* in the sense of “state”. Consequently we do not muddle up our inventory of attested *poleis* if we classify such communities as *polis* type A.

(c) Having discussed *polis* in the sense of stronghold and in the sense of territory we are left with two different meanings of the word *polis* which are both very common, namely (1) *polis* in the sense of town denoting an urban centre and (2) *polis* in the sense of political community denoting what we today call a city-state. When constructing our inventory of *poleis* in the CPC we have to face two questions: (a) is it possible in our sources to distinguish between *polis* used in the sense of town and *polis* used in the sense of state? and (b) what happens if we simply record all attestations of the term *polis* irrespective of whether it means town or state?

Sometimes it is very easy to determine whether an author uses *polis* in the sense of town or state. See for example the following passage from Aeneas Tacticus in which the sense of town and the sense of state, both easily recognizable, appear only two lines apart: ἔτι δὲ συνεβούλευε καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν τὴν πόλιν φυλασσόντων ἀπόμισθον ποιῆσαι, ἵν’ ὡς ἐλάχιστον δῆθεν ἀνάλωμα τῇ πόλει ἦ (Aen. Tact. 11.4). Here those who guard the town (*polis*) and its walls are juxtaposed with the state (*polis*) providing their pay. But in many other cases it is simply impossible to know which of the two senses an author has in mind and in such cases the correct answer is that he probably uses the term in both senses without distinguishing one from the other, so that it is simply pointless to try to establish a distinction. When, for example, Herodotos lists the six *poleis* on Athos, it is impossible to decide whether the six names he

mentions denote towns or states: ἐν δὲ τῷ ἰσθμῷ τούτῳ, ἐς τὸν τελευτᾶ ὁ ἾΑθως, Σάνη πόλις Ἑλλάς οἴκηται, αἱ δὲ ἐκτὸς Σάνης, ἔσω δὲ τοῦ ἾΑθω οἰκημέναι, τὰς τότε ὁ Πέρσης νησιώτιδας ἀντὶ ἡπειρωτίδων ὄρητο ποιέειν, εἰσὶ αἶδε, Δίον, Ὀλόφυξος, Ἀκρόθρον, Θύσσοσ, Κλεωναί. πόλιες μὲν αὐται αἶ τὸν ἾΑθον νέμονται (Hdt. 7.22.3-23.1). Here the word *polis* is probably intended to convey both meanings simultaneously.

One important reason for this ambiguity in the meaning of the term *polis* is that in almost all *poleis* the name of the town was the same as the name of the state. In modern Europe there is only one example of the name of a state being identical with the name of the state's principal city, namely Luxembourg. But in ancient Hellas, as we all know, this applied to nearly every *polis*. The toponym Κόρινθος, for example, can denote both the town Korinth and the Korinthian state⁸⁸ and the ethnic οἱ Κορίνθιοι is used to denote both the inhabitants of the town Korinth and the Korinthian citizens. So, when Xenophon, for example, tells us that the Korinthians feared that their *polis* was being betrayed, it is impossible to know whether their concern was for the town Korinth or the entire Korinthian state.⁸⁹

In the case of Korinth this ambiguity does not confuse us because, even admitting that *polis* is used ambiguously in such a passage, we know from innumerable other sources that Korinth was a *polis* in the political sense as well as in the urban sense. Consequently it appears in our inventory as a *polis* type A. But what about all the *poleis* which are attested as *polis* in one passage only? If in this case we are in doubt whether the reference is to the town or the state, are we then, in our list of attested *poleis*, to include or to exclude the *polis* in question?

On the face of it, this ambiguity in the meaning of the term *polis* in our sources seems to be a major threat to the whole investigation we are conducting, but the difficulty in distinguishing between the sense of state and the sense of town does not make our investigation impossible, quite the contrary; it sheds light on an important aspect of the Greek *polis*.

A closer study of *polis* in the senses of town and state reveals that the term *polis* is not used to denote any town, but only a town that is also the urban centre of a *polis* in the sense of political community. The word *polis* has two different meanings, but its reference, its denotation, seems invariably to be what the Greeks called a *polis* in the sense of a *koinonia politon politeias*, and what we today call a city-state. Exceptions to this rule seem to amount to less than one percent. So far the investigation has

been completed for Herodotos,⁹⁰ Thucydides,⁹¹ Xenophon⁹² and Aineias the Tactician⁹³ and is being conducted for the Attic orators and for Skylax. The results look very promising and let me report them here for the three historians, the military expert and the geographer.

(a) Of 159 communities called *polis* in the urban sense in Herodotos 133 are attested either in Herodotos' own work or in some other source as *poleis* in the political sense as well. In 23 instances we have no contemporary information about the political status of the urban centre in question, Naukratis is a case apart, and there are only two exceptions to the rule we have stated, namely the small settlements Anthela and Alpenos near Thermopylai, which are classified both as *poleis* and as *komai*; cf. *infra* page 41.

(b) In Thucydides 70 communities are called *polis* in the urban sense. In some five cases we are in doubt whether the community was a *polis* in the political sense as well, and there is only one attestation of a *polis* in the urban sense, which seems *not* to have been a *polis* in the political sense, namely Skandeia, the harbour of Kythera, the island south of Lakonia. Skandeia is called *polis* in the urban sense at 4.54.1 although Kythera was a one-*polis* island with the city of Kythera as its political centre.⁹⁴ But even here Thucydides' use of the term *polis* does not necessarily break the rule stated above. A distinction is made between ἡ ἐπὶ θαλάσσει πόλις (4.54.1) and ἡ ἄνω πόλις (4.54.2) which indicates that Thucydides took both Skandeia and Kythera to be one half of a *polis*. So Skandeia can be viewed as a part of Kythera and not as a *polis* in its own right.⁹⁵

(c) In Xenophon's *Hellenika* there is no detectable exception to our rule. In 75 out of 86 cases we can be fairly certain that a town called *polis* by Xenophon was a city-state as well; in the remaining 11 cases the result is a *non liquet*. But if we extend the investigation to cover the other Xenophontic treatises we find in the *Poroi* Xenophon's proposal to increase the number of mining slaves and to found a new *polis* in the mining district.⁹⁶ Here the word *polis* is undeniably used about an urban centre that was not the political centre of a *polis*. This is an exception to our rule, but it is the only one in the entire Xenophontic corpus.

(d) In Aineias the Tactician's work *polis* in the sense of town obviously prevails over *polis* used in the sense of state, whereas *polis* in the sense of territory is attested in a few passages only.⁹⁷ In most cases the term *polis* refers either generally to any town under siege, or to an unnamed town. But occasionally Aineias' examples concern named *poleis* and the towns to which he refers are the following:

Abdera	15.9; 15.10bis;
Apollonia (Pontos)	20.4
Argos	11.8bis; 17.2; 17.4ter;
Chalkis	4.1; 4.2; 4.4
Chios	11.4bis;
Himera	10.22
Ilion	24.12; 24.14.
Klazomenai	28.5ter
Sparta	2.2bis (<i>polisma</i>);
Megara	4.10
Plataiai	2.3bis
Poteidaia	31.25
Teos	18.13; 18.15; 18.19

The list is short – only 13 entries – but there is no denying the fact that all the towns called *poleis* by Aineias were *poleis* in the political sense as well. Furthermore, in several of Aineias' references to an unnamed *polis* he takes it for granted that the town he describes was also a political community.⁹⁸

To conclude, in Aineias' treatise the term *polis* has several meanings and is used most frequently in the sense of town, sometimes in the sense of state and occasionally in the sense of land or country; but the sites called *poleis* in the urban or territorial sense are all known to have been *poleis* in the political sense as well.

(e) Another text in which *polis* is used in the urbanistic rather than in the political sense is the fourth-century *Periplus* erroneously ascribed to Skylax of Karyanda. In this short text there are several hundred occurrences of *polis*, in fact the highest concentration of the term in any extant classical Greek text. The prevailing opinion is that, in so far as Skylax can be trusted, he uses the term *polis* in the urbanistic sense only and applies it to many settlements which no ancient historian would call a *polis* in the political sense and no modern historian would call a city-state. Moreover, the term is not infrequently used about settlements which, according to the usage in other sources, were certainly not *poleis*, not even in the urbanistic sense of the word. Let me quote the chapter on Attika and the verdict of an eminent Dutch scholar who, in his treatment of the Boiotian *poleis* in the 4th century B.C., prefers to avoid the term city-state altogether and has the following note: "Texts like Ps.-Scylax 57, in which the Attic towns of Rhamnous, Thorikos, Sounion, Anaphlystos, Peiraieus and Eleusis are referred to as

poleis (fourth century), can be used to explore the ancient notion of *polis*.”⁹⁹

Skylax’s text runs as follows: μετὰ δὲ Μεγαροεῖς εἰσὶν Ἀθηναίων πόλεις. καὶ πρῶτον τῆς Ἀττικῆς Ἐλευσίς, οὗ ἱερὸν Δήμητρος ἐστὶ καὶ τεῖχος. Κατὰ τοῦτό ἐστι Σαλαμὶς νῆσος καὶ πόλις καὶ λιμὴν. ἔπειτα ὁ Πειραιεὺς καὶ τὰ σκέλη καὶ Ἀθῆναι. ὁ δὲ Πειραιεὺς λιμένας ἔχει γ’. Ἀνάφλυστος τεῖχος καὶ λιμὴν. Σούνιον ἀκρωτήριον καὶ τεῖχος. ἱερὸν Ποσειδῶνος. Θορικὸς τεῖχος καὶ λιμένες δύο. Ῥαμνοῦς τεῖχος.

If we accept this interpretation of Chapter 57 in particular and of the *Periplus* in general it follows that the only extant geographical treatise of the classical period is of very limited value for our inventory of archaic and classical Greek *poleis*, and that, in the case of Skylax, we must allow not just for one or two, but for numerous exceptions to the rule we have established for the other authors.

However, a closer reading of Skylax’ text shows that the generally accepted opinion of Skylax’ use of the term *polis* is based on a slightly misleading interpretation of how he uses the word *polis* as a heading. A typical introduction to a chapter of the *Periplus* runs as follows: μετὰ δὲ Ἀκαρνανίαν Αἰτωλία ἐστὶν ἔθνος, καὶ πόλεις ἐν αὐτῇ εἰσὶν αἶδε (35).¹⁰⁰ After the heading πόλεις αἶδε (*vel sim.*) follows an enumeration of names of sites. In many cases Skylax simply lists the names of the sites without any further comment, see e.g. Chapter 42 (Achaia); but often he adds a specification to many or sometimes even to all the names he lists, see e.g. Chapter 34 (Akarnania). The specifications used are the following: πόλις, δίπολις, τρίπολις, τετράπολις, ἱερὸν, λιμὴν, τεῖχος, νεώριον, ἐμπόριον, ἄκρα, ἀκρωτήριον, νῆσος, ποταμός, κόλπος, ὄρος, χώρα, and combinations of these, e.g. πόλις καὶ λιμὴν, ἱερὸν καὶ τεῖχος etc. Thus, under the heading πόλεις αἶδε *vel sim.* Skylax records not only *poleis* but also harbours,¹⁰¹ sanctuaries,¹⁰² rivers,¹⁰³ mountains¹⁰⁴ and headlands.¹⁰⁵ Of course, rivers, mountains and headlands are not *poleis*, nor even settlements; furthermore there is no reason to believe that a site classified as a ἱερὸν, a λιμὴν or a τεῖχος was also a πόλις unless it is explicitly stated or clearly implied.¹⁰⁶ The inference is that Skylax uses the heading αἶδε πόλεις in a very loose manner and he has no intention of conveying the impression that every site listed under this heading is a *polis*.

With this in mind let me return to the chapter on Attika quoted above and suggest a more cautious interpretation than the one offered by Bakhuizen and others. The description is introduced with the phrase εἰσὶν

ἸΑθηναίων πόλεις, and from the plural πόλεις we can infer that at least two of the communities subsumed under the heading must have been πόλεις, sc. Salamis (which, being a clerouchy, is correctly described as a *polis*)¹⁰⁷ and Athens itself (which is left without a site-classification but known by everybody to be a *polis*). None of the other sites, however, is called a *polis* by Skylax: Eleusis is described as a sanctuary and a fortress,¹⁰⁸ and if Skylax had taken it to be a *polis* he would have introduced the phrase with πρώτη, sc. πόλις¹⁰⁹ and not with πρώτον. Furthermore, from the explicit reference to Salamis as a *polis* we can infer (a) that not all the sites listed after the heading πόλεις were actually *poleis* and (b) that the preceding site, sc. Eleusis, was probably *not* a *polis*. The status of Peiraeus is unclear; the information that it has three harbours may perhaps indicate that Skylax took it to be a *polis*, but not necessarily.¹¹⁰ Anaphlystos is classified as a fortress with a harbour, Sounion as a promontory with a fortress and a sanctuary of Poseidon, Thorikos as a fortress with two harbours¹¹¹ and Rhamnous as a fortress.

A new reading of the whole *Periplus* along the lines indicated here leads to the conclusion that Skylax, of course, uses the term *polis* in its urbanistic sense, but, with a few exceptions, only about settlements which were *poleis* in the political sense as well. The most problematical section of the treatise is now the first section about Megaris. Μεγαρεῖς εἰσὶν ἔθνος, καὶ πόλεις αἴδε. Αἰγόσθηνα, Πῆγαι, τεῖχος Γεράνεια, ἸΑρις (39). From the plural πόλεις we would expect at least two of the sites listed to have been *poleis*, but none of them is according to the generally accepted view of the political organization of this region. In the Hellenistic period, however, both Aigosthena and Pegai were in fact *poleis*¹¹² and we cannot preclude that both were *poleis* in the 4th century as well.¹¹³ If so they must have been dependencies of Megara. On the other hand it is worth noting that in an inscription of ca. 300 B.C. Aigosthena is classified as a *kome* in Megaris.¹¹⁴ I will leave the problem here and announce that a detailed analysis of Skylax will be conducted by the Polis Centre by Pernille Flensted-Jensen and myself and published in a forthcoming volume of the Papers from the Copenhagen Polis Centre.

To conclude: as is well known, authors like Herodotos, Thucydides and Xenophon did not care much about technical terms. It is unlikely that they spent long hours making sure that in every case they had used the term *polis* in accordance with the rule stated above. In my opinion, their use of *polis* simply reflects the ordinary use of the word in classical Greek.

Thus, I think that a generalisation is permitted, and let me sum up by

stating what we in the Polis Centre propose to call the *lex Hafniensis de civitate*: in archaic and classical sources the term *polis* used in the sense of “town” to denote a named urban centre is not applied to any urban centre but only to a town which was also the political centre of a *polis*. Thus, the term *polis* has two different meanings, town and state, but even when it is used in the sense of town its *reference*, its denotation, seems almost invariably to be what the Greeks called *polis* in the sense of a *koinonia politon politeias* and what we call a city-state. The *lex Hafniensis* applies to Hellenic *poleis* only. The references to barbaric communities called *poleis* in the urban and/or in the political sense must, of course, be analysed separately. Whenever a term is transferred from one culture to describe a more or less similar phenomenon in other cultures it is unavoidably twisted, sometimes more, sometimes less according to how remote the other culture is. An obvious example is the term “state” as applied, for example, by historians to describe ancient Greek *poleis* or by 19th century politicians to describe contemporary African societies.

Consequently, in our inventory of archaic and classical *poleis* in the political sense of the term we can register as *poleis* type A not only localities explicitly called *polis* in the political sense but also all the localities explicitly called *polis* in the urban sense, but then implicitly in the political sense since we can infer from this usage that the town in question must have been a *polis* in the sense of state as well.

A further consequence of applying this law is the recognition that the concept of *polis* in the sense of town was much more closely connected with the concept of *polis* in the sense of state than many modern historians are inclined to believe. The prevailing orthodoxy is that there were city-states without an urban centre, or, to formulate the view in ancient terms, that there were *poleis* in the political sense which were not centred on a *polis* in the urban sense.¹¹⁵ This orthodoxy is without support in our sources and, in my opinion, it ought to be rejected as unfounded, at least for the late archaic and classical periods. In the Copenhagen Polis Centre we expect every *polis* in the political sense to have had an urban centre, perhaps so small that a modern European would call it a village rather than a town; but in this context it is the existence of an urban centre, not its size that is important. Furthermore we hope that in many cases it is possible to trace the physical remains of these urban centres. And by combining the archaeological evidence of urbanisation with the written evidence about *polis* in the political sense we hope to revive the view that in ancient Greece the concept of state, or rather the concept of self-governing political community, was inseparably bound up with the concept of town. The

traditional rendering of *polis*, namely by city-state, is basically correct and not a mis-nomer as it has become rather fashionable to say. But that is a separate investigation to be developed in future studies.¹¹⁶

Appendix I

Polis Used Synonymously with Akropolis

A study of *polis* used synonymously with *akropolis* in the sense of stronghold must start from the etymology of the word *polis*. First, it should be noted that the early variant form of *polis*, namely *ptolis*, is probably attested in the Mycenaean Linear-B tablets in the form *po-to-ri-jo*. But, alas, *po-to-ri-jo* is not attested as a noun, only as (part of) a proper name,¹¹⁷ and we have no clue to what *po-to-ri-jo* can have meant in Mycenaean Greek.

A comparison with other Indo-European languages yields better results. The Greek word *polis* is related etymologically to Old Indian *púr*, Lithuanian *pilis* and Latvian *pils*.¹¹⁸ In all three languages the original meaning was “stronghold”, or “castle” but in Old Indian the word developed the meaning “town” or “city”, whereas in the two Baltic languages it seems to have kept its original meaning and it is only in names, such as Daugapils (= Dynabourg), that the term has been applied to what is now a city.¹¹⁹

From the etymology it is reasonable to infer that the original meaning of *polis* in Greek too must have been “stronghold”. Our sources support this assumption, but not as unambiguously as one could have hoped for. In Homer *polis* and *ptolis* occur 236 times,¹²⁰ but there are just two reasonably certain instances of the word being used synonymously with *akropolis*: *Il.* 4.514: ὡς φάτ’ ἀπὸ πτόλιος δεινὸς θεός and *Il.* 7.370: νῦν μὲν δόρπον ἔλεσθε κατὰ πτόλιν; in both cases the reference is to the akropolis of Troy.¹²¹ Admittedly, there are many more instances of *polis* denoting the castle of Troy or some other city, but in all these cases it is the addition of the adjective ἀκρόῃ *vel sim.* which shows that the reference is to the “citadel” and not to the “city”.¹²²

There are some more examples in later poetry, for example in the Homeric hymn to Demeter,¹²³ in Euripides¹²⁴ and in Aristophanes.¹²⁵ In Attic prose there are a few attestations, which seem to reflect official language¹²⁶ and are sometimes found in documents quoted by the author.¹²⁷

It is in fact in inscriptions that we find the best evidence of *polis* used in the original sense of “stronghold” or “citadel”. Many Athenian public

enactments of the archaic and classical periods include formulas such as γράφσαι δ[ὲ ταῦτα ἐν στέλ]ει καὶ καταθῆναι ἐμ πόλει,¹²⁸ where *polis* is used synonymously with *akropolis* and in fact was replaced by *akropolis* from the beginning of the 4th century onwards.¹²⁹ The Athenian official departmental style, however, seems to have reflected common Athenian usage as we know from Thucydides who tells us that, in his day, the Akropolis was still called *polis* by the Athenians.¹³⁰ Similar formulas are found in inscriptions from other parts of Greece, e.g. Mykenai, Eretria, and Rhodes,¹³¹ but it is worth noting how few they are.

Both in literary and in epigraphical sources the use of *polis* in the sense of stronghold is much more restricted than usually believed; and furthermore, with a few exceptions, this usage is only tolerated after a local preposition, and in certain familiar and unambiguous combinations such as ἀναγράψαι τὸν γραμματέα τῆς βουλῆς ἐν στήλῃ λιθίνῃ ἐμ πόλει προξένους καὶ εὐεργέτας αὐτοῦς καὶ ἐκγόνους τῆς πόλεως τῆς Ἀθηναίων.¹³²

Let me adduce some passages from Thucydides to illustrate that even in Athens, where the formulaic use of *polis* in the sense of *akropolis* was widespread and to some extent reflected common usage, an Athenian would not have the meanings “stronghold” or “citadel” springing to his mind when he heard the word *polis*, except, of course, when it was applied in one of the formulas discussed above. In all other cases the word *polis* would not be used synonymously with *akropolis*.

The word *akropolis* could designate both an eminence used as a settlement and a fortified place devoid of human habitation. Mylai in Sicily is an example of the first type of *akropolis*,¹³³ Pylos on the Peloponnesian west coast of the second.¹³⁴ But when Thucydides tells us that the Akropolis was called *polis* by the Athenians he points out that the reason for this usage is that the Akropolis was once the centre of the urban settlement. Similarly when Dekeleia was fortified and all grain had to be brought by sea to Athens Thucydides has the comment that Athens had become a fortress instead of a *polis*: ἀντὶ τοῦ πόλις εἶναι φρούριον κατέστη.¹³⁵ This would be a strange comment if *polis* had been commonly used in the sense of stronghold or fortress. On the contrary the comment suggests that a *polis* was, essentially, different from a *phourion*, i.e. a town, not a fortress.

So the use of the word *polis* to designate an *akropolis* was probably restricted to *akropoleis* that were centres of human habitation. On the other hand, the *akropoleis* which were called *poleis* did not have to be the centres of a *polis* in the political sense of the term, as were e.g. the *akropoleis*

of Athens or Korinth. The word could also be used to denote the *akropolis* of a civic subdivision, such as an Attic deme. The sacrificial calendar of Erchia, for example, regulates the cults of Athena Polias and Zeus Polieus, both located in the *polis*, i.e. on the *akropolis* of Erchia,¹³⁶ and explicitly distinguished from the *polis* in the *asty*, i.e. the Akropolis of Athens.¹³⁷ Similarly, Thucydides mentions a *kome* in Lokris called Polis,¹³⁸ and according to Pausanias the ruins of Old Mantinea could still be seen on a mountain called Ptolis.¹³⁹ In both cases the name Polis is probably used synonymously with the noun *akropolis* in its original sense of “stronghold” and applied to a small settlement situated on an eminence.

The cults of Athena Polias and Zeus Polieus deserve a further note. The epithets *Polias* and *Polieus* seem to be derived from *polis* in the sense of *akropolis*.¹⁴⁰ Admittedly, in the classical period Athena Polias and Zeus Polieus were interpreted as protectors of the *polis*, not just of the *akropolis*,¹⁴¹ but that is a secondary meaning of the epithet developed only after the connection between *polis* = *akropolis* and the epithets *Polias/Polieus* had been forgotten or at least obscured.¹⁴²

To sum up: The Indo-European etymology strongly suggests that the original meaning of *polis* was “stronghold” or “citadel”, and that the word may have signified a settlement on a fortified eminence, like Dreiros or Anavlochos. Our early written sources confirm that in certain contexts *polis* could be used synonymously with *akropolis*, but this meaning of the word, already rare in the archaic period, died out in the classical and Hellenistic periods, and in the Roman period only men of learning would know that *polis* had once been used synonymously with *akropolis*, as is apparent from a passage in Plutarch’s life of Pelopidas: τὸν δ’ ἰερὸν λόχον ὡς φασὶ συνετάξατο Γοργίδας πρῶτος ἐξ ἀνδρῶν ἐπιλέκτων τριακοσίων, οἷς ἡ πόλις ἄσκησιν καὶ δίαίταν ἐν τῇ Καδμείᾳ στρατοπεδευομένοις παρεῖχε. καὶ διὰ τοῦθ’ ὁ ἐκ πόλεως λόχος ἐκαλοῦντο. τὰς γὰρ ἀκροπόλεις ἐπεικῶς οἱ τότε πόλεις ὠνόμαζον.¹⁴³ In the same vein Pausanias notes that, in his day, the Athenian Akropolis was no longer called *polis*: Ἀθηναῖς ἄγαλμα ἐν τῇ νῦν ἀκροπόλει, τότε δὲ ὀνομαζένη πόλει.¹⁴⁴

Appendix II

Polis Used in the Sense of Country

When used in a topographical sense rather than in a personal-political sense *polis* means “town” and is often opposed to terms such as *agros*¹⁴⁵

or *ge*¹⁴⁶ or *chora*.¹⁴⁷ One of the most illuminating attestations of this meaning of the term *polis* is the 4th-century B.C. boundary stone from Paros inscribed: ὄρος πόλεως.¹⁴⁸ Since Paros was a one-*polis*-island, the stone can not have marked the boundary between two *poleis*; it must have marked the line between the town (*polis*) and its hinterland; cf. the reference in Aristotle's *Politics* to laws prescribing how much land a citizen may own in the immediate vicinity of the town.¹⁴⁹ Such laws presuppose that it is known where the town ends and the countryside begins.

Occasionally, however, *polis* denotes both the town and its hinterland. It is used as the generic term for *chora-plus-asty*¹⁵⁰ or for *chora-plus-polis* (where *polis* is used in the specific sense of town).¹⁵¹ In such cases *polis* carries the meaning "country", as we should say. This is only what we should expect. It is a common linguistic phenomenon that, in a pair of antonyms, one of the two opposed words may also be used to denote the whole category.¹⁵² In many Indo-European languages the words for urban centre and countryside form a pair of antonyms, e.g. city/country (English) Stadt/Land (German) cité/pays (French) and by/land (Danish). Only in ancient Greek was it the word for town (*polis*) which came to denote the totality of town-plus-country, whereas in modern European languages it is invariably the word for country which is used about the entity of urban and rural sites.¹⁵³ What is more surprising is that in a few cases *polis* may take on the sense of countryside alone almost to the exclusion of its urban centre:

Hdt. 7.58.2: ὁ δὲ κατ' ἡπειρον στρατὸς ... ἐποιέετο τὴν ὁδὸν διὰ τῆς Χερσονήσου ... διὰ μέσης πορευόμενος πόλιος τῆ οὔνομα τυγχάνει ἐδὸν Ἀγορῆ.

Xen. *Hell.* 5.4.49: τὰ πρὸς ἔω τῆς τῶν Θηβαίων πόλεως ἐδήγου (ὁ Ἀγησίλαος) μέχρι τῆς Ταναγραίων. ἔτι γὰρ τότε καὶ τὴν Τάναγραν οἱ περὶ Ὑπατόδωρον, φίλοι ὄντες τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, εἶχον.

In both these passages *polis* is used to denote the countryside alone: Xerxes' army did not march through the gates of the city of Agore, and Agesilaos pillaged "the eastern part of the territory of Thebes up to the territory of Tanagra", and not "the countryside east of the city of Thebes up to the city of Tanagra".¹⁵⁴

An inspection of the attestations of *polis* in the sense of country shows that it is not used about the hinterland of any urban centre, but only about the hinterland of an urban centre which was the centre of a *polis* in the sense of political community. In most cases, in fact, "territory" is a better rendering than hinterland or countryside.¹⁵⁵ Some attestations

are from a law or a verdict that a person be exiled from a named *polis*¹⁵⁶ or that the corpse of an executed criminal be thrown over the border of the *polis*.¹⁵⁷ Other attestations concern the borders between two or more *poleis*.¹⁵⁸

The investigation of *polis* in the sense of territory leads to the following supplement to the *lex Hafniensis*: when the term *polis* is used in the sense of country or territory the reference is always to the territory of a *polis* in the political sense; there is no attestation of *polis* being used about the territory of a subdivision of a *polis*, such as a deme or a *kome*, or about the territory of a plurality of *poleis* or about a whole region. In such cases the proper term to use is *chora*.¹⁵⁹ This may seem very commonplace and almost too obvious to be stated as a general rule. Yet the observation is not without importance. Its corollary is that the (infrequent) occurrences of *polis* in the sense of country will not upset our inventory of all *poleis* in the political sense attested in archaic and classical sources, since the word *polis*, even when it is used synonymously with *chora* or *ge* in the sense of country, must refer to what was a *polis* in the sense of a *koinonia politon politeias*. Thus, apart from the few attestations of *polis* in the sense of akropolis, the word *polis* is used in three different senses, namely (1) town (2) country and (3) state but the object referred to by the term in sense (1) and (2) seems invariably to be a political community of the type called *polis* by the Greeks and city-state by modern historians.

The habit of using *polis* in three different senses all referring to the same denotatum is reflected in the way the Greeks named their *poleis*. It is common knowledge that the people of an ancient Greek city-state used the same name to denote the city and the state. Thus, Korinthos is either the name of the Korinthian state or of its urban centre.¹⁶⁰ What is hardly ever discussed is that the name of the state and city was also commonly used to designate the countryside. Thus the name Tanagra designates either the Tanagraian state (Xen. *Hell.* 5.4.49) or its urban centre (Heraclides 8 in *GGM* I p. 101) or its hinterland (Thuc. 1.108.1), just as the term *polis* can be used to designate the Tanagraian state (Thuc. 4.91.1 & 93.4) or the town (Heraclides 8 in *GGM* I p. 101) or the territory (Xen. *Hell.* 5.4.49). Let me add that the case of Tanagra is not an exception; rather, it is the rule, and other examples of names of town which can be used about the territory as well include Chaironeia (Lycurg. 1.16), Haliartos (Xen. *Hell.* 3.5.17), Koroneia (Arist. *Mir.* 842b3), Lebadeia (Xen. *Mem.* 3.5.4), Mykalessos (Paus. 9.19.5), Orchomenos (Thuc. 1.113.2), Oropos (Hyp. 3.16), Plataiai (Xen. *Hell.* 5.4.48), Siphai (Arist.

Part. An. 696a5) and Thebes (*Xen. Hell.* 5.2.25), to mention just the examples from Boiotia.

Appendix III Herodotos' Use of "*Polis*" in the sense of "Town"

The term *polis* occurs 469 times in Herodotos' work. In some 320 passages the only or the principal meaning is "urban centre" or "town";¹⁶¹ in some 85 passages it is "political community" or "state"¹⁶² and in 5 passages it is "country" or "territory".¹⁶³ In the remaining ca. 60 passages there is no way of deciding whether the principal meaning is "town" or "state" or "country".¹⁶⁴ There is no occurrence in Herodotos of *polis* being used synonymously with *akropolis* in the sense of "stronghold".¹⁶⁵ The overlap between the different senses of the word makes it impossible to give more precise figures, and although town is the most common meaning of *polis* in Herodotos "community" is a connotation which goes with "town" in many of the 320 passages. Occasionally the term is used about one or more unnamed *poleis*,¹⁶⁶ but in most passages the reference is to one or more identifiable communities and here the word *polis* appears juxtaposed with the name(s) of the *pol(e)is* in question.¹⁶⁷ A count shows that it is applied to 254 different named communities, namely 194 Hellenic and 60 barbarian *poleis*. In this investigation I shall focus on *polis* used about the Hellenic communities only¹⁶⁸ and reserve the treatment of barbarian *poleis* to a forthcoming study.

Of the 194 Hellenic *poleis* 34 are referred to in the political sense only,¹⁶⁹ one is called *polis* in the territorial sense only,¹⁷⁰ whereas 159 communities are referred to as being *poleis* either in the urban sense only or in both the urban and the political sense of the term or, in a few cases, in both the urban and the territorial sense. Let me adduce a few examples: Thespiiai is called a *polis* once in Herodotos, viz. at 8.50.2 and here in the urban sense: ὁ γὰρ διὰ Βοιωτῶν τραπόμενος στρατὸς ἅμα Ξέρξη ἐμπρόσθε Θεσπιέων τὴν πόλιν ... ἤκέ τε ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας ... At 7.122.1 five *poleis* on Sithonia are referred to as *poleis* principally in the urban sense, but probably in the political sense too: ὁ ναυτικὸς στρατὸς ... παραμείβετο Ἑλληνίδας τάσδε πόλεις, ἐκ τῶν νέας τε καὶ στρατιῆν παρελάμβανε, Τορῶνην, Γαληψόν, Σερμύλην, Μηκύβερναν, Ὀλυνθον. ἡ μὲν νυν χώρα αὕτη Σιθωνίη καλεῖται. Tenedos is referred to as a *polis* in the urban sense at 1.151.2: ἐν Τενέδῳ δὲ μία οἰκέεται πόλις, but it is included among the *poleis* in the political sense mentioned at

1.151.3: Λεσβίοισι μὲν νῦν καὶ Τενεδίοισι, κατὰ περὶ Ἰώνων τοῖσι τὰς νήσους ἔχουσι, ἦν δεινὸν οὐδέν. τῆσι δὲ λοιπῆσι πόλισι ἕαδε κοινῇ Ἴωσι ἔπεσθαι ... Kyrene is called *polis* in the urban sense at 4.164.3, but in the territorial sense at 4.156..3: ... καὶ ἔκτισαν νῆσον ἐπὶ Λιβύῃ κειμένην, τῇ οὖνομα ... ἐστὶ Πλατέα. λέγεται δὲ ἴση εἶναι ἢ νῆσος τῇ νῦν Κυρηναίων πόλι.

Below follows an alphabetically ordered list of the 159 Hellenic communities which in Herodotos' work are called *polis* in the urban sense. After the name of the settlement I have recorded (in italics) all occurrences in Herodotos of *polis* in the sense of town being used for the settlement in question. Next, I have cited one or more sources which show that the community was a *polis* in the political sense too. The evidence adduced is selective and in many cases I find it sufficient to cite one (good) archaic or classical source in which the locality in question is called a *polis* in the political sense.¹⁷¹ Often it is Herodotos himself who in another passage has a reference to the town as a *polis* in the political sense. In many other cases the reference given is to Thucydides or Xenophon or Demosthenes or an archaic or classical inscription, etc. In quite a few instances, however, there is no attestation of the settlement being called *polis* in the political sense in any archaic or classical source, and here other sources must be adduced, e.g. an entry in the Athenian tribute lists, or evidence of *proxenoi* or *theorodokoi*, or coins struck by the city etc. Admittedly to be recorded in the tribute lists does not amount to proof that the settlement in question was a *polis*, but a combination of Herodotos' mention of the settlement as a *polis* in the urban sense with an entry in the Athenian tribute lists is in my opinion a very strong indication that the settlement must have been a *polis* in the political sense as well as in the urban sense. The same line of argument applies to towns which had a mint, etc.

To conclude, the investigation shows that of the 159 communities called *polis* in the urban sense 133 are attested either in Herodotos' own work or in some other source as *poleis* in the political sense as well. In 23 instances¹⁷² we have no other contemporary information about the political status of the urban centre in question. It may have been a *polis* in the political sense, but we do not know. Next, at 2.178.1 Herodotos seems to refer to Naukratis as a *polis* and at 2.179.1 as an *emporion*; but the prevailing view is that Herodotos is using *polis* in a loose sense and that Naukratis was a *emporion*, not a *polis*.¹⁷³ Yet, as duly noted by Austin in his description of Naukratis, "Herodotos is making a fundamental distinction between the residents of the *polis* and those who only came

for trade but did not settle permanently in Naukratis ... It seems rather that we are dealing with, so to speak, a double Naukratis, the first composed of citizens resident on the spot, the second of foreigners not included in the civic organization.”¹⁷⁴ Thus, the probability is that Naukratis became a *polis* in the political sense already during the reign of Amasis and not in the fourth century only.¹⁷⁵ Finally, in two cases a community which Herodotos calls *polis* in the urban sense is referred to in another chapter as being a *kome*. The two communities are Anthela and Alpenos. Anthela was a small settlement in Oitaia near Thermopylai. At 7.176.2 it is called a *polis* but when referred to again at 7.200.2 it is called a *kome*. Alpenoi was a settlement in East Lokris. It is called a *polis* at 7.216.1 but a *kome* at 7.176.5. These are the only demonstrable inconsistencies in Herodotos’ use of the term *polis*. Thus, Herodotos used the term *polis* much more consistently than is commonly believed,¹⁷⁶ and with Anthela and Alpenos as the only exceptions Herodotos corroborates what was found by our study of the term *polis* in Thucydides and in Xenophon’s *Hellenika*: in archaic and classical sources the term *polis* used in the sense of town to denote a named and identifiable urban centre is not applied to any urban centre, but only to a town which was also the political centre of a *polis* in the sense of “state”. The term *polis* is used in two different meanings, “city” and “state” but the reference seems, with two exceptions, to be what the Greeks called *polis* in the sense of a *koinonia politon politeias* and what we today call a city-state. The consistency with which Herodotos uses the term *polis* should not be ascribed to a particular interest in political terminology. As in the case of Thucydides and Xenophon the presumption is rather that his way of applying the term *polis* followed common Greek usage in the archaic and classical periods.

List of poleis

Abai	8.33.1, in 346 exempted from the <i>dioikismos</i> of the Phokian <i>poleis</i> (Paus. 10.3.2).
Abdera	1.168.1; 7.109.1, a Tean colony; called <i>polis</i> in the personal/political sense by Anakreon fr. 100, Diehl. (Isaac 73-108).
Abydos	5.117.1, a Milesian colony; called <i>polis</i> in the political sense by Xen. in <i>Hell.</i> at 4.8.36. (Cook 56-7).
Achilleion	5.94.2, 'A[χίλλειον] restored in the assessment decree

- of 425/4 (*IG I³* 71 col. 3.137); coins struck ca. 350-300 (Head 540). (Cook 180).
- Aigaiai *1.149.1*, One of eleven Aiolian *poleis*; the Αἰγαεῖς are referred to by Xen. at *Hell.* 4.8.5 as forming an independent political community.
- Aige *7.123.1*, one of eight *poleis* on Pallene; Αἰγάντιοι in the Athenian tribute lists (*IG I³* 269 col. 3.4). (Zahrnt 142).
- Aigina *5.83.2*; *6.88.1*, called *polis* in the political sense at 2.178.3 and 8.46.1, cf. 8.42.1 & 49.1
- Aigiroessa *1.149.1*, one of eleven Aiolian *poleis*, unknown from other sources. The identification with the Aiolian city Elaia mentioned by Strabo at 13.1.67 seems unfounded.
- Aineia *7.123.2*, one of seven *poleis* in Krousis in the Thermaic Gulf; referred to as a *polis* principally in the urban sense, but probably in the political sense too; Αἰνεᾶται in the Athenian tribute lists (*IG I³* 266 col. 2.34). (Zahrnt 231-3); coins struck from before 500 to ca. 350 (Head 214); *theorodokos* appointed in 359 (*IG IV²* 94 1b.10). (Zahrnt 142-4).
- Ainos *4.90.2*; *7.58.3*. Implicitly referred to as a *polis* by Antiphon at 5.78; Αἴνιοι in the Athenian tribute lists (*IG I³* 260 col. 6.15); coins struck ca. 450 onwards (Head 246-7); *theorodokos* appointed in 359 (*IG IV²* 94 1b.46). (Isaac 140-6).
- Aiolidai *8.35.1*. For the otherwise unknown Αἰολιδέων Valckenaer conjectured Λιλαιέων, and Lilaia was one of the Phokian *poleis* dioikized in 346 (Paus. 10.3.1). Accepting the the MSS reading we have no other source. The possible location of Aiolidai is discussed most recently by J.M. Fossey in *The Ancient Topography of Eastern Phokis* (Amsterdam 1986) 54-5.
- Akraiphia *8.135.1*, called *polis* in the political sense by the Oxyrhynchus historian at 19.3, Chambers.
- Akrothoon *7.22.3*, one of six *poleis* on Athos called *polis* by Thucydides at 4.109.3, possibly in the political sense. In contradistinction to the other five *poleis* on Athos listed by Herodotos at 7.22.3, Akrothoon is not attested in the Athenian tribute lists, (Zahrnt 150-1), but the Ἀκρόθιοι are recorded in the assessment decree of

- 422/1 (*IG I³ 77* col. 5.33).
- Alalia *1.165.1*, a Phokaian colony and probably a *polis* in the political sense during the few years of its existence. (Morel 861).
- Alpenos *7.216.1*, called *kome* at 7.176.5. In an honorary decree of 271/0 a certain Φρύκος Ἀλπώνιος is recorded as the Lokrian *hieromnemon* (*Syll³ 419*) and the city-ethnic Ἀλπῶν[ίου] is also attested in *CID II 126.1, C3. 8.33.1*, Phokian *polis* dioikized in 346 (Paus. 10.3.2).
- Amphikaia *8.32.2*. To judge from Aischines' account at 3.123-9 Amphissa was undoubtedly a *polis* in the political sense. In the Delphic accounts of 337/6 a citizen of Amphissa is recorded as one of the two Lokrian *hieromnemones* (*CID II 74 I 37-8*).
- Amphissa
- Antandros *7.42.1*, called *polis* by Alkaios (*PLF Z13*); one of the Ἀκταῖαι πόλεις mentioned by Thuc. at 4.52.3 where *polis* is used in the political sense; Ἄνταν[δ]ρο[ς] in the assessment decree of 422/1 (*IG I³ 77* col. 4.15). In 410 the Antandrians voted to give *politeia* to the Syracusans (Xen. *Hell.* 1.1.26).
- Anthele *7.176.2*, called *kome* at 7.200.2.
- Antikyra *7.198.2*, Phokian *polis* dioikized in 346 (Paus. 10.3.2).
- Aphytis *7.123.1*, one of eight *poleis* on Pallene; Ἀφυταῖοι in the Athenian tribute lists (*IG I³ 261* col. 1.1); fragment of coinage decree found in Aphytis (*M&L 45*); *theorodokos* appointed in 359 (*IG IV² 94 1b.24*); coins struck in the 4th cent. before the conquest by Philip (Head 209-10). (Zahrnt 167-9).
- Apollonia *4.93.1* (in the Pontic), a Milesian colony; described as an oligarchy by Aristotle in *Pol.* 1306a9-10. (Isaac 241-7).
- Apollonia *9.93.1; 9.94.2* (in Illyria); called *polis* in the political sense by Aristotle in *Pol.* 1290b11-2.
- Argilos *7.115.1*, an Andrian colony (Thuc. 4.103.3); called *polis* in the political sense in the Peace of Nikias (Thuc. 5.18.5). (Isaac 52-4).
- Argos *6.82.1; 6.82.2*, called *polis* in the political sense at 7.151.1.
- Artake *4.14.2*, cf. 6.33.2, a Milesian colony (Anaximenes of Lampsakos [*FGrHist 72*] fr. 26 = Strab. 14.1.6; Steph.

- Byz. 127.13).
- Assa 7.122.1, probably to be identified with Assera (Zahrnt 162-7), one of four *poleis* along the east coast of Sithonia; later in 7.122.1 *polis* is used in what is probably the political sense of the term; Ἀσσερῦται in the Athenian tribute lists (*IG I³* 263 col. 3.17). (Zahrnt 162-3).
- Athenai 6.99.2; 7.133.2; 7.140.2; 8.41.3, called *polis* in the political sense at 1.30.4; 1.59.6; 5.91.2; 5.97.1; 8.44.1.
- Barke 4.160.1; 4.200.1; 4.200.2; 4.203.1, 2. It is apparent from Herodotos' account (4.160-204) that Barke was a *polis* in the political sense and the term *polis* is used principally in the political sense at 4.202.2.
- Byzantion 4.87.2; 6.33.1.
- Charadra 8.33.1, Phokian *polis* dioikized in 346 (Paus. 10.3.2).
- Chios 1.142.4; 6.27.2, one of twelve Ionian *poleis*; called *polis* in the political sense at 2.178.2.
- Dardanos 5.117.1; 7.43.2, where Dardanos is described as "bounding on Abydos"; one of six Hellespontine *poleis*; Δαρδανῆς in the Athenian tribute lists (*IG I³* 267 col. 1.24). (Cook 60).
- Daulis 8.35.1, Phokian *polis* dioikized in 346 (Paus. 10.3.1).
- Delphoi 8.36.2, called *polis* in the political sense in the account of the *naopoi* of 358 B.C. (*CID II* 31.1).
- Dikaia 7.109.1, Δίκαια παρὰ Ἄβδερα in the Athenian tribute lists (*IG I³* 263 col. 3.19-20); coins struck ca. 500-450 (J.M.F. May in *NC* (1965) 1-21). (Isaac 109-11).
- Dion 7.22.3, one of six *poleis* on Athos called *polis* by Thucydides at 4.109.3, possibly in the political sense; Διῆς ἄπ[ὸ τ]ῶ Ἄθo in the Athenian tribute lists (*IG I³* 269 col. 2.35). (Zahrnt 182-5).
- Drymos 8.33.1, Phokian *polis* dioikized in 346 (Paus. 10.3.2).
- Eion 7.113.1, ruled by Boges and thus a *polis* in the political sense as well; coins struck ca. 500-450 (Head 197); (Isaac 60-3 takes Eion to be a military base only and not a true settlement); called *emporion* by Thuc. at 4.102.4.
- Elateia 8.33.1, Phokian *polis* dioikized in 346 (Paus. 10.3.2).
- Ephesos 1.26.2bis; 1.142.3, one of twelve Ionian *poleis*; called *polis* in the political sense in the arbitration treaty between Miletos and Myous of ca. 390 B.C. (Tod 113.28 & 38).

- Epion 4.148.4, one of six *poleis* in Triphylia, see Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.23 & 30 where Epeion is included among the peri-oikic *poleis* ruled by Elis. (Heine 88).
- Eretria 6.99.2; 6.100.2; 6.101.2; 6.101.3, referred to as a *polis* in the political sense at 8.46.2, cf. 8.42.1.
- Erochos 8.33.1, Phokian *polis* dioikized in 346 (Paus. 10.3.2).
- Erythrai 1.142.4, one of twelve Ionian *poleis*; called *polis* in the political sense in the arbitration treaty between Miletos and Myous of ca. 390 B.C. (Tod 113.15 & 38).
- Galepsos 7.122.1, one of five *poleis* on Sithonia; referred to as a *polis* principally in the urban sense, but probably in the political sense too. I follow *ATL* (Gazetteer 477) in believing that Γαληψός is Herodotos' or somebody else's error for *Γάλη, cf. the Γαλαῖοι in the assessment decree of 422/1 (*IG I³* 77 col. 5.24). (Zahrnt 178-9).
- Gigonos 7.123.2, one of seven *poleis* in Krousis in the Thermaic Gulf; referred to as a *polis* principally in the urban sense, but probably in the political sense too; Γίγονος in the Athenian tribute lists (*IG I³* 278 col. 6.32). (Zahrnt 179-80).
- Gonnos 7.128.1; 7.173.4, in Perrhaibia (Helly I.75); ἡ πόλις ἡ Γοννέων in Hellenistic decrees (Helly II no. 5.1-2, 3rd cent. etc.); bronze coins of the early 4th cent. (Helly I.75).
- Gryneia 1.149.1, one of eleven Aiolian *poleis*, see Hekataios (*FGrHist* 1) fr. 225 = Steph. Byz. 213.12 (see Whitehead 119); Γρυνειῆς in the Athenian tribute lists (*IG I³* 265 col. 1.17); the ethnic Γρυνεῖς attested in a *psephisma* quoted by Krateros (*FGrHist* 342) fr. 2; coins struck in the 3rd cent. B.C. (Head 555). (Heine 89-90).
- Hekatonnesoi 1.151.2, included among the *poleis* in the political sense mentioned at 1.151.3; coins struck in the 4th cent. (Head 563).
- Heraion 4.90.2, same as Heraionteichos (Dem. 3.4), a Samian colony (Harp. s.v.). It was certainly a *polis* in the political sense in the mid 3rd cent. B.C. (*F.Delphes* III 3 207) and presumably in the early 5th cent. as well. (Isaac 203).
- Histiaia 8.23.1, called *polis* in the political sense in the treaty

- with Keos of 363/2 (*Syll.*³ 172.3).
- Hyampolis 8.33.1, Phokian *polis* dioikized in 346 (Paus. 10.3.2).
- Hyele 1.167.3, a Phokaian colony (Elea, Velia). (Morel 858-61).
- Hyria 7.170.2; 7.170.3, allegedly a Cretan colony east of Tarent, cf. Strab. 6.3.6.
- Itanos 4.151.2. For Itanos as a political community, and probably a *polis*, see τὸνς Ἰτανίονς in an archaic law from Lyttos (*SEG* 35 991.4); coins struck in the 5th and 4th cent. (Head 469-70).
- Kardia 6.33.3; 6.36.2; 6.41.1; 7.58.2; 9.115.1, called *polis* in the political sense by Demosthenes at 23.181-2. (Isaac 187-8).
- Karene 7.42.1, in Mysia; the ethnic Καρηναῖου attested in a *psephisma* quoted by Krateros (*FGrHist* 342) fr. 2.
- Kampsas 7.123.2, one of seven *poleis* in Krousis in the Thermaic Gulf; referred to as a *polis* principally in the urban sense, but probably in the political sense too; probably to be identified with *Σκάψα, cf. Σκαρσαῖου in the Athenian tribute lists (*IG* I³ 279 col. 2.49); coins struck before ca. 480 (Head 212). (Zahrnt 231-3).
- Kasmenai 7.155.2, Syracusan colony (Thuc. 6.5.2), see A. di Vita, "Town Planning in the Greek Colonies of Sicily from the Time of their Foundations to the Punic Wars," in J.P. Descœudres (ed.), *Greek Colonies and Native Populations* (Oxford 1990) 350.
- Kasthanaia 7.183.3; 7.188.1, called *kome* by Strabo at 9.5.22; it was probably synoikized with Demetrias in 294 and may on that occasion have changed its status from *polis* to *kome*. (Stählin 51-2, 68)
- Killa 1.149.1, one of eleven Aiolian *poleis*, mentioned again by Strabo at 13.1.62. Apart from Herodotos' classification of Killa as a *polis* nothing is known about its status.
- Klazomenai 1.142.3 5.123.1, one of twelve Ionian *poleis*; called *polis* in the political sense at 2.178.2 and in the arbitration treaty between Miletos and Myous of ca. 390 B.C. (Tod 113.21 & 38).
- Kleonai 7.22.3, one of six *poleis* on Athos, called *polis* by Thucydides at 4.109.3, possibly in the political sense;

- Κλεοναί in the Athenian tribute lists (*IG I³ 278 col. 6.23*). (Zahrnt 194).
- Kolophon *1.142.3*, one of twelve Ionian *poleis*; called *polis* in the political sense in a decree of ca. 334 B.C. (*AJP* 56 [1935] 3.11, 16 p. 378).
- Kombreia* *7.123.2*, one of seven *poleis* in Krousis in the Thermaic Gulf; referred to as a *polis* principally in the urban sense, but probably in the political sense too; otherwise unknown apart from the ethnic Κομβρεῖται which is attested in *SEG* 38 681 (1st cent. A.D). (Zahrnt 198-9).
- Kroton *3.137.3*, listed as a *polis* in the political sense at 8.47.1, cf. 8.42.1 & 49.1.
- Kyme *1.149.1*; *5.123.1*, one of eleven Aiolian *poleis*; the city-ethnic Κυμαῖος is attested at 5.37.1 where Kyme is listed as a *polis* in the political sense, ruled by a tyrant; Κυμαῖοι in the Athenian tribute lists (*IG I³ 261 col. 5.2*); coins struck from ca. 600 onwards (Head 552-3).
- Kyrene *4.156.3*; *4.164.3*; *4.203.1*; *4.203.2bis*, called *polis* in the political sense in the foundation decree of the 4th/7th cent. (*M&L* 5.3-4).
- Lampsakos *5.117.1*, a Phokaian colony; Λαμψσακενοί in the Athenian tribute lists (*IG I³ 269 col. 2.10*); coins struck ca. 500 onwards (Head 529-30).
- Larisa *1.149.1*, one of eleven Aiolian *poleis*; called *polis* in the urban sense by Xenophon in *Hell.* at 3.1.13; and in *Cyrop.* at 7.1.45; Λ[άρισα] restored in the assessment decree of 425/4 (*IG I³ 71 col. 3.130*); cf. Cook 196-8.
- Lebedos *1.142.3*, one of twelve Ionian *poleis*; called *polis* in the political sense in the arbitration treaty between Miletos and Myous of ca. 390 B.C. (Tod 113.25 & 38).
- Lepreon *4.148.4*, one of six *poleis* in Triphylia; called *polis* in the political sense by Thucydides at 5.31.4-5; Λεπρεῖται recorded on the Serpent Column (*M&L* 27.11).
- Lipaxos* *7.123.2*, one of seven *poleis* in Krousis in the Thermaic Gulf; referred to as a *polis* principally in the urban sense, but probably in the political sense too; cf. Steph. Byz. 418.7 but virtually unattested in other sources. (Zahrnt 199).
- Madytos *9.120.4*, Μαδύτιοι in the Athenian tribute lists (*IG I³*

- 271 col. 2.34); coins struck ca. 350 and later (Head 260); (Isaac 194).
- Makistos 4.148.4, one of six *poleis* in Triphylia; see Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.25, 30, cf. 23 where Makistos is included among the perioikic *poleis* ruled by Elis.
- Maroneia 7.109.1, Μαρονῆται in the Athenian tribute lists (*IG I³* 260 col. 6.19); coins struck from ca. 500 onwards (Head 248-52; A.B. West in *NNM* 40 [1929]).
- Mekyberna 7.122.1, one of five *poleis* on Sithonia; referred to as a *polis* principally in the urban sense, but probably in the political sense too; called *polis* in the political sense in the Peace of Nikias (Thuc. 5.18.6). (Zahrnt 203-4).
- Meliboia 7.188.3, proxeny decree of the 3rd cent. passed by Iasos for a citizen of Meliboia (Michel 463); coins struck ca. 400-344 (Head 301). (Stählin 50).
- Mende 7.123.1, one of eight *poleis* on Pallene; called *polis* in the political sense by Thucydides at 4.121.2. (Zahrnt 200-203).
- Mesambria (Pontic) 4.93.1, a colony founded in ca. 510 by Megara, Byzantion and Chalkedon, called *polis* in the political sense at 6.33.2.
- Mesambria* (Thrace) 7.108.2, unknown from other sources apart from a bronze coin of the 1st cent. (Head 248).
- Miletos 1.142.3; 6.7.1; 6.18.1; 6.20.1, one of twelve Ionian *poleis*; called *polis* in the political sense in the arbitration treaty between Miletos and Myous of ca. 390 B.C. (Tod 113.8-9 & 32).
- Myrina 1.149.1, one of eleven Aiolian *poleis*; Μυριναῖοι in the Athenian tribute lists (*IG I³* 265 col. 1.11); coins struck in the 4th cent. B.C. (Head 555). (Heine 92).
- Myous 1.142.3, one of twelve Ionian *poleis*; called *polis* in the political sense in the arbitration treaty between Miletos and Myous of ca. 390 B.C. (Tod 113.8-9 & 32).
- Naukratis 2.178.1, ἡ πόλις ἡ Ναυκρατιτ[ῶν] in an honorary decree of the 4th cent. Flinders Petrie, *Naukratis* I (1886) p. 63 no. 3; Athenian proxeny decree of 349/8 for Θεογένης ὁ Ναυκρατίτης (*IG II²* 206). (Austin 29-33).
- Naxos (the island) 5.30.3; 5.30.4; 6.96.1, called *polis* in the political sense by Thucydides at 1.98.4.

- Neapolis 7.123.1, one of eight *poleis* on Pallene; Νεάπολις in the Athenian tribute lists (*IG I³ 267* col. 2.29 *versus* col. 3.5). (Zahrnt 207).
- Neon 8.32.1; 8.33.1, Phokian *polis* dioikized in 346 (Paus. 10.3.2); coins struck in the archaic period (Head 343).
- Neonteichos 1.149.1, one of eleven Aiolian *poleis*, cf. Steph. Byz. 472.14 but unattested in other sources.
- Nonakris 6.74.1; 6.74.2bis, called *polisma* by Pausanias at 8.17.6, otherwise unattested; cf. J. Hejnic, *Pausanias the Perieget and the Archaic History of Arcadia* (Prague 1961) 38.
- Notion 1.149.1, one of eleven Aiolian *poleis*, unattested in other sources.
- Noudion 4.148.1, one of six *poleis* in Triphylia; unattested in other sources.
- Oasis polis 3.26.1, a Samian colony in Libya; cf. F. Chamoux, *Cyrène sous la monarchie de Battiades* (Paris 1953) 64; N. Jones, *Public Organization in Ancient Greece* (Philadelphia 1987) 195.
- Oaxos 4.154.1, called *polis* in the political sense in a 6th century law (*I.Cret II.v no.1* = Koerner 101).
- Olbia 4.79.2 (οἱ ἐν Βορυσθενειτέων τῇ πόλι); the term ἄστν occurs at 4.78.3 and ἐμπόριον at 4.17.1; called *polis* in the political sense at *Syll³ 218.14-5*: τὸ νόμισμα τὸ τῆ[ς πόλ]εως; a Milesian colony (Hdt. 4.78.3, *CAH* 3.3, 126).
- Olophyxos 7.22.3, one of six *poleis* on Athos; called *polis* by Thucydides at 4.109.3, possibly in the political sense; Ὀλοφύχσιοι in the Athenian tribute lists (*IG I³ 268* col. 2.23); coins struck ca. 350 B.C. (Head 206). (Zahrnt 208).
- Olynthos 8.127.1, called *polis* in the political sense in the Peace of Nikias (Thuc. 5.18.5). (Zahrnt 209-10).
- Ophryneion 7.43.2, Ὀ[φρυώνειον] restored in the assessment decree of 425/4 (*IG I³ 71* col. 3.131); coins struck ca. 350-300 (Head 547-8). Cf. Cook 72-7.
- Paion 6.127.3, a *theorodokos* from Paion is recorded in the Delphic list of ca. 200 B.C. (*BCH* 45 [1921] 2.72); cf. Hejnic (*supra* s.v. Nonakris) 41.

- Paisos 5.117.1, one of six Hellespontine *poleis*; a Milesian colony according to Anaximenes of Lampsakos (*FGrHist* 72 fr. 26); Παισενοί in the Athenian tribute lists. (*IG I³* 272 col. 132).
- Panopeis 8.35.1, Phokian *polis* dioikized in 346 (Paus. 10.3.1).
- Parapotamioi 8.33.1, Phokian *polis* dioikized in 346 (Paus. 10.3.2).
- Parion 5.117.1, the city-ethnic Παριωνός is attested at 4.138.1 where Parion is listed as a *polis* (4.137.2) in the political sense, ruled by a tyrant; Παριανοί in the Athenian tribute lists (*IG I³* 259 col. 6.15).
- Paros 6.133.3; 6.134.2; called *polis* in the political sense in Parian decrees of the fourth century B.C. (*IG XII 5* 110.6; 111.6; 114.15).
- Pedasa 8.104.1, at 6.20.1 the Pedaseis are referred to as a people forming a political community; Πεδασεῖς in the Athenian tribute lists.
- Pedieis* 8.33.1, Phokian *polis*; mentioned by the Oxyrhynchus historian at 21.5, Chambers, otherwise unknown.
- Perinthos 6.33.1, a Samian colony. Περίνθιοι in the Athenian tribute lists (*IG I³* 261 col. 5.3).
- Perkote 5.117.1, one of six Hellespontine *poleis*; a Milesian colony according to Anaximenes of Lampsakos (*FGrHist* 72 fr. 25); according to Schol. Hom. *Il.* 11.229 [III 167, Erbse] situated in the territory of Lampsakos and presumably a dependent *polis*; Περχόσιοι in the Athenian tribute lists (*IG I³* 272 col. 1.33).
- Phokaia 1.80.1; 1.142.4; 1.162.2-163.1; 1.163.3; 1.165.2; 1.165.3, one of twelve Ionian *poleis*; called *polis* in the political sense at 2.178.2 and in the treaty with Mytilene of the early 4th cent. (Tod 112.1, 6).
- Phrixai 4.148.4, one of six *poleis* in Triphylia; see Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.30, cf. 23-5 where Phrixa is included among the perioikic *poleis* ruled by Elis.
- Piloros 7.122.1, one of four *poleis* along the east coast of Sithonia; later in 7.122.1 *polis* is used in what is probably the political sense of the term; Πίλορος in the Athenian tribute lists (*IG I³* 278 col. 6.22). (Zahrnt 212-3).
- Pitane 1.149.1, one of eleven Aiolian *poleis*; Πιταναῖοι in the Athenian tribute lists (*IG I³* 262 col. 3.24); coins struck in the 5th and 4th cent. (Head 537).

- Plataiai 8.50.2; 9.51.2; 9.52. *Ibis*; called *polis* in the political sense by Thucydides e.g. at 2.2.2; 3.57.2.
- Pistiros 7.109.1, *polis* in Thrace; called *emporion* by Steph. Byz. at 524.11 but unattested in other sources, cf. Thuc. 1.100.2 (Bresson 202).
- Posideion* 3.91.1, a colony in northern Syria founded by Amphilochos; called *polichne* by Strab. at 16.2.8 & 12 and *polis* by Steph. Byz. at 533.12.
- Poteidaia 7.123.1, one of eight *poleis* on Pallene, called *polis* in the political sense by Thucydides at 1.66.1.
- Priene 1.142.3, one of twelve Ionian *poleis*, called *polis* in the political sense in an honorary decree of 334 B.C. (*Syll.*³ 278.5-7).
- Prokonnesos 4.14.2, cf. 6.33.2, called *polis* in the political sense at 4.15.1.
- Pyrgos 4.148.4, one of six *poleis* in Triphylia; listed again among the Triphylian *poleis* by Polybios at 4.77.9, 4.80.13, cf. E. Meyer, *Neue Peloponnesische Wanderungen* (Bern 1957) 69-70.
- Rhoiteion 7.43.2, one of the Ἀκταῖαι πόλεις mentioned by Thuc. at 4.52.2 where *polis* is used in the political sense; Ῥοίτειον in the Athenian assessment decree of 422/1 (*IG* I³ 77 col. 4.16); coins struck ca. 350-300 (Head 548). Cf. Cook 87-9.
- Salamis (Cyprus) 5.115.1, called *polis* in the political sense at 5.104.3.
- Sale* 7.59.2, a Samothracian colony; unattested in other Greek sources.
- Samos 1.142.4; 3.54.1; 3.55.1; 3.60.2; 3.139.1; 3.146.1; 6.25.2, one of twelve Ionian *poleis*;
- Sane 7.22.3; 7.23.1, one of six *poleis* on Athos called *polis* by Thucydides at 4.109.3, probably in the political sense; called *polis* in the political sense in the Peace of Nikias (Thuc. 5.18.6). (Zahrnt 219-21).
- Sane* 7.123.1, one of eight *poleis* on Pallene, mentioned again by Strabo at 7 fr. 27 but unknown from other sources. (Zahrnt 221, rejecting the identification with the Sane on Athos suggested by Gomme in *Comm.* III 588, 673).
- Sarte 7.122.1, one of four *poleis* along the east coast of Sithonia; later in 7.122.1 *polis* is used in what is probably the

- political sense of the term; Σαρχαῖοι in the Athenian tribute lists (*IG I³ 279* col. 2.79).
- Selymbria 6.33.1, a Megarian colony; Athenian decree about Selymbria in 408-7 (*IG I³ 118*); Σελυμβριανοί in the Athenian tribute lists (*IG I³ 267* col. 1.26); coins struck ca. 500-450 (Head 271).
- Sestos 7.33.1; 9.118.2. referred to as a political community at 7.78.1; Σέστυοι in the Athenian tribute lists (*IG I³ 267* col. 4.33);
- Sermyle 7.122.1, one of five *poleis* on Sithonia; referred to as a *polis* principally in the urban sense, but probably in the political sense too; called *polis* in the political sense in the Peace of Nikias (Thuc. 5.18.8). (Zahrnt 225-6).
- Sindos 7.123.3, in the Thermaic Gulf; unattested in other sources.
- Singos 7.122.1, one of four *poleis* along the east coast of Sithonia; later in 7.122.1 *polis* is used in what is probably the political sense of the term; called *polis* in the political sense in the Peace of Nikias (Thuc. 5.18.6). (Zahrnt 226-9).
- Sinope 1.76.1; 4.12.2, called a *polis* in the political sense of the term by Xenophon in *Anabasis* at 5.5.8 and 10.
- Siphnos 3.58.1, called *polis* in the political sense at 8.46.4.
- Skione 7.123.1, one of eight *poleis* on Pallene; called *polis* in the political sense at 8.128.3, and in the Peace of Nikias (Thuc. 5.18.8). (Zahrnt 234-6).
- Smila 7.123.2, one of seven *poleis* in Krousis in the Thermaic Gulf; referred to as a *polis* principally in the urban sense, but probably in the political sense too; Σμίλλα in the Athenian tribute lists (*IG I³ 278* col. 6.31). (Zahrnt 236).
- Smyrna 1.149.1, one of eleven Aiolian *poleis*; doikized in ca. 545, but classified as a *polis* in the political sense in *IG II² 28.17-20* (of 387/6 B.C., restored).
- Soloi 5.115.2, but at 5.110.1 Soloi is juxtaposed with Salamis and referred to as a political community.
- Sparta 6.58.1; called *polis* in the political sense at 7.101.1 and 7.234.2.
- Stagiros 7.115.2, called *polis* in the political sense in the Peace of Nikias (Thuc. 5.18.5). (Zahrnt 238-43).

- Stryme* 7.108.2, a Thasian colony; described as a *chorion* by Demosthenes at 50.22; classified as a *polis* by Steph. Byz. at 587.17 citing Androtion (*FGrHist* 324 fr. 31), but we cannot be sure that the site-classification stems from Androtion, see Whitehead 118-9; see also *IG XII* 8 p. 79 *re* 361 (hieme).
- Sybaris 5.45.1, called *polis* in the political sense at 6.21.1.
- Syrakousai 7.155.2, called *polis* in the political sense at 7.154.2.
- Taucheira 4.171.1, coins struck ca. 480-31 (Head 874); called *polis* in the political sense by Arrian *De Succ. Alex.* fr. 1.17.
- Temnos 1.149.1, one of eleven Aiolian *poleis*; not recorded in the Athenian tribute lists; coins struck in the 4th cent. B.C. (Head 556); called a *polis* in the political sense of the term by Xenophon in *Hell.* at 4.8.5.
- Tenedos 1.151.2, included among the *poleis* in the political sense mentioned at 1.151.3; Τενέδιοι in the Athenian tribute lists (*IG I³* 261 col. 1.6); coins struck from ca. 550 to ca. 387 (Head 550).
- Teos 1.142.3, one of twelve Ionian *poleis*; called *polis* in the political sense in some public imprecations of ca. 470 B.C. (*Syll.*³ 37, 38; *SEG* 31 984).
- Tethronion 8.33.1, Phokian *polis* dioikized in 346 (Paus. 10.3.2).
- Thebai 9.86.1, called *polis* in the political sense at 1.61.3.
- Thera 4.150.2, classified under the heading *polis* in the political sense of the term by Thucydides at 2.9.4.
- Therambos 7.123.1, one of eight *poleis* on Pallene; Θραμβάϊου in the Athenian tribute lists (*IG I³* 262 col. 1.4). (Zahrnt 187-8).
- Therme* 7.124.1, called *polis* in the urban sense by Hekataios (fr. 146); not attested in the Athenian tribute list; called a *chorion* by Aischines at 2.27. The attribution to Therme of some late archaic coins rests on no strong evidence (Head 203, Kraay 141). (Zahrnt 188-9).
- Thespiiai 8.50.2, called *polis* in the political sense in an honorary decree of ca. 414 B.C. (*IG I³* 72.6).
- Thyssos 7.22.3, one of six *poleis* on Athos called *polis* by Thucydides at 4.109.3, possibly in the political sense. Θύσσιοι in the Athenian tribute lists (*IG I³* 263 col. 3.23). (Zahrnt 189-91).

Torone	7.122.1, one of five <i>poleis</i> on Sithonia; referred to as a <i>polis</i> principally in the urban sense, but probably in the political sense too; called <i>polis</i> in the political sense in the Peace of Nikias (Thuc. 5.18.8). (Zahrnt 247-51).
Trachis	7.199.1, the urban centre of the Τραχίνιοι, one of the three “tribes” into which the Malians were subdivided (Thuc. 3.92.2).
Tritea	8.33.1, listed by Herodotos among the Phokian <i>poleis</i> , but by Thucydides at 3.101.2 listed among the Lokrian towns of which most, and presumably all, were <i>poleis</i> in the political sense. See L. Lerat, <i>Les Locriens de l'Ouest</i> II (Paris 1952) 39, 116.
Zankle	6.23.3; 6.23.4; 6.23.5; 6.24.2; 7.164.1, a Chalkidian colony, called <i>polis</i> in the political sense at 7.154.2.
Zone	7.59.2, Ζόνε παρὰ Σέρροειον in the assessment decree of 422/1 (<i>IG</i> I ³ 77 col. 5.27-8); coins struck in the 4th cent. (Isaac 130-1).

NB. At 7.123.2 Λισαί is probably a corruption for Αἴσα, cf. *ATL*, Gazetteer 466.

Abbreviations: *ATL* (Gazetteer) = B.D. Meritt, H.T. Wade-Gery & M.F. McGregor, *The Athenian Tribute Lists* I (Cambridge Mass. 1939) 461-566; Austin = M.M. Austin, *Greece and Egypt in the Archaic Age*. *PCPS* Suppl. 2 (1970); Bresson = A. Bresson, “Les cités grecques et leurs *emporía*,” in A. Bresson & P. Rouillard, *L'emporion* (Paris 1993) 163-226. Cook = J.M. Cook, *The Troad* (Oxford 1973); Head = B.V. Head, *Historia Numorum* (2nd edn. London 1911); Heine = Th. Heine Nielsen, “Was Eutaia a *Polis*,” *Papers from the Copenhagen Polis Centre* 2 (1995) 83-102; Helly = B. Helly, *Gonnoi* I-II (Amsterdam 1973); Isaac = B. Isaac *The Greek settlements in Thrace until the Macdonian Conquest* (1986) 203; Morel = J.-P. Morel, “L’expansion Phocéenne en occident. Dix années de recherches (1966-75) *BCH* 99 (1975) 853-96 (see also *PP* 107 [1966] 378-420); Stählin = Fr. Stählin, *Das hellenistische Thessalien* (Stuttgart 1924); Whitehead = D. Whitehead, “Site-Classification and Reliability in Stephanus of Byzantium,” *Papers from the Copenhagen Polis Centre* 1 (1994) 99-124; Zahrnt = M. Zahrnt, *Olynth und die Chalkidier* (München 1971).

Appendix IV

Database Layout Filled in for Tanagra¹⁷⁷

NAME (toponym and/or ethnic): *Tanagra (Tanagraios)*.

SITE (map reference): Map 54. Lat. 38.20, long. 23.35.

SIZE OF TERRITORY: 5.

CATEGORY: A.

1. NAME & ETHNIC: Τάναγρα (Meiggs-Lewis, *GHI* 35, 36 = Lazarini 998); Ταναγραῖος (*LSAG* 95 no. 12; *SEG* 9 2.32, C4s); Ταναγοῦχος (*IG* VII 3055.25 C4m; 2723.2-3, C3e); Ταναγοεῖος (*IG* VII 522.10, C3s).
2. LOCATION

3A. CALLED A *POLIS*:

	C6 and earlier	C5	C4
Arch/Class.		Thuc. 4.91.1 & 93.4.	Isoc. 14.9 (implicitly).
	retrospective		contemporary
later sources	Strab. 9.2.25.	<i>IG</i> VII 504-9 (C3s).	

3B. CALLED A *POLIS*

in topographical sense

qua citadel (akropolis)

qua town (*asty*): Heraclides (*GGM* I p. 101) 8.

qua totality of territory (*asty+chora*): Xen. *Hell.* 5.4.49.

in personal/political sense: Thuc. 4.91.1 & 93.4; Isoc. 14.9.

4. *POLIS* COGNATES

polites (sg./pl.)

politeia

politeuein/politeuesthai

politikos

polisma/polichne/polichnion

other

5. ASTY + COGNATES

asty
astos
 other

6. PATRIS + COGNATES

7. ETHNIKON:

	INDIVIDUAL	COLLECTIVE
INTERNAL	<i>IG VII 540.5 = SEG 19 335 (C1f).</i>	Head (1911) 347-8, (C4f).
EXTERNAL	<i>CID II 76 col 2. 19-20 (335).</i>	<i>LSAG 95 no. 12. (C6s); SEG 15 245 (C6s).</i>

8. ALTERNATIVE TOPONYMS

emporion
hieron/temenos
kome: ἔτι τῆς Ταναγραικῆς κατὰ κόμας οἰκουμένης (Plut. *Mor.* 299C).
limen/epineion
phourion/teichos

9. TERRITORY name of territory: (+*-chora, ge*): Τάναγρα (Thuc. 3.91.3-4); ἡ Ταναγραία (Thuc. 4.76.4); ἡ Ταναγραϊκή (Strab. 9.2.11). During the first federation one of the eleven Boiotian districts (*Hell. Oxy.* 19.3); it comprised Delion (Thuc. 4.76.4), Aulis (Nikokrates *FGrHist* 376 fr. 1; Strab. 9.2.8), Salganeus (Nikokrates *FGrHist* 376 fr. 1), the *Tetrakomia*, i.e. Eleon, Harma, Mykalessos and Pharai (Strab. 9.2.14, Fossey [1988] 43-99 and 222-3). Tanagra was bounded on the east by Oropos (Heraclides 7-8, *GGM I*, 101) on the west by Skolos (belonging to Thebes) (Hdt. 9.15.2; 5.79.2; Xen. *Hell.* 5.4.49) and on the north by Anthedon (Nikokrates *FGrHist* 376 fr. 1) and Glisas (Hdt. 9.43.1) (belonging to Thebes, Strab. 9.2.31).

10. POPULATION: casualty list of Tanagraians killed at Delion in 424 (*IG VII 585, SEG 35 411*).

11. REGION: Boiotia (Thuc. 1.108.1; *Hell. Oxy.* 19.2-4).
12. TRIBAL AFFILIATION
13. FEDERAL MEMBERSHIP: first Boiotian Confederacy 446-386 (*Hell. Oxy.* 19.3); Second Boiotian Confederacy 374-338 (Isoc. 14.9); third Boiotian confederacy 338-172 (*SEG* 32 476.14, Tanagraian boiotarch shortly after 338).
14. LEAGUE MEMBERSHIP
15. ALLIANCE MEMBERSHIP: alliance between Thebes, Thespias, Koroneia and Tanagra in 506 and earlier (Hdt. 5.79.2).
16. PARTY TO A TREATY
 - equal
 - subordinate
 - superior
 - unknown
17. SYNOIKISM, METOIKISM, DIOIKISM, *ANDRAPODISMOS*, REFOUNDATION, *SYMPOLITEIA* etc.
 - synoikism
 - metoikism
 - dioikism
 - andrapodismos*
 - physical destruction
 - refoundation
 - sympoliteia*
18. EXILES, REFUGEES
19. MILITARY MATTERS
 - armed forces: at Delion in 424 (Thuc. 4.91.1 & 93.4).
 - commanders
20. ENVOYS

21. *PROXENIA*

given: (*IG VII 504-09*, ca. 245-10; cf. J.M. Fossey, in *Horos* 2 [1984] 119-35).

received: Eretria (*IG XII.9 203*, C4s).

22. *NATURALIZATION*

citizenship given

citizenship received

23. *THEORODOKOI & THEOROI*: *Theorodokoi* to host *theoroi* from Delphi: ἐν [T]ανάγρααι (*BCH 45* [1921] 2.21, 2.150, 5.7, C2).

24. *CIVIC SUBDIVISIONS*: *phratriai* attested in a C1 list of victors (*SEG 19 335.67*) see Knoepfler (1992) 430.

25. *CONSTITUTION TYPE*: Oligarchy: *Hell. Oxy.* 19.2. Probably a Constitution of Tanagra among the 158 Aristotelian *Politeiai* (*Plut. Mor.* 299C, cf. Hansen [1995a] 53).

26. *PUBLIC ENACTMENTS*: the oldest attested public enactments are some proxeny decrees of C3s (*IG VII 504-09 = EBi 34-5*).

27. *OTHER MANIFESTATIONS OF LEGAL SYSTEM* (δίκαι ἀπὸ συμβ., arbitration, [death] sentences, lawgiver etc.)

28. *OFFICIALS*

eponymous: *archon* attested only from C3s onwards (*IG VII 505*), cf. Sherk [1990] 286-7.

boule: (*Hell. Oxy.* 19.2).

other: Tanagraian boiotarch shortly after 338 (*SEG 32 476.14*); ἀφεδριατευόντων ... Νίωνος Ἀριστωνυμίου Ταναγραῖω (*IG VII 2724b.4-5*, ca. 280-70 B.C.).

29. *ASSEMBLY*30. *PUBLIC ARCHITECTURE*

bouleuterion

prytaneion

ekklesiasterion

agora

law courts

stoas

temples/ cult sites: temple of Hermes Promachos near the theatre (Paus. 9.22.2)

theatre: there are a few remains of a theatre, which may date from C4 (Roller [1989] 182-4).

fountain houses and drains

other

31. AKROPOLIS

32. WALLS: walled city in 457 but walls demolished by the Athenians (Thuc. 1.108.1). Existing circuit of walls of 2,2 km with 43 towers, mostly of isodomic ashlar construction. Dated ca. 425-375 and presumably erected after the King's Peace (Roller [1974], [1987]). τὸ τεῖχος at Xen. *Hell.* 5.4.49 refers to the Theban stockade, not to the walls of Tanagra (Munn [1987] 124-6).
33. URBANISATION: Walls enclose an area of 60 hectares (Bintliff [1991] 201). Except, perhaps, a temple of Hermes Promachos near the theatre (Paus. 9.22.2) all architectural remains seem to be later than the reconstruction of the walls in the early fourth century; and the elaborate orthogonal town plan, with insulae of 52 x 102 metres was clearly devised to fit the existing walls. Nothing of archaic and fifth-century Tanagra is visible today (Roller 1987). For Hellenistic Tanagra cf. the description in Heraclides, *GGM* I p. 101.8.
34. MINT: Coins on the Aiginetan standard from ca. 500 to 446, from before 410 to 374 (or later) (Hansen [1995] 20-1) and again from ca. 338 to 315. Obv.: mostly Boiotian shield but some of the earliest have the forepart of a bridled horse (Schachter [1958] 43-6); Rev.: mostly an incuse but between 410 and 374 some have a horse's head or the stern of a galley, legend: T, TA, TAN, TANA. Between 480 and 456 some are inscribed BO or BOI (Head 347-8; Kraay 109-14; Schachter [1989] 85).

35. CONTROL OF LAND OWNERSHIP

enktesis grants
other mechanisms

36. TAXATION

levied
paid

37. FREE NON-CITIZENS

38. CULTS

patron deities (*polias*, *polieus*, *poliouchos*): Hermes with the epithets Kriophoros and Promachos (Schachter 2 [1986] 47).
other communal cults
festivals

39. CALENDAR: Roesch (1982) 25-28, Hellenistic.

40. COMMUNAL ORACLE CONSULTATION (incl. *promanteia*)

41. PARTICIPATION/VICTORS IN GAMES

Isthmian
Nemean
Olympian
Pythian
Other

42. COMMUNAL DEDICATIONS

internal
external (incl. *thesouroi* at Delphi/Olympia): Lazzarini 958 (= *LSAG* 95 no. 12), Olympia (C61); Lazzarini 968, Olympia (ca. 500); Lazzarini 987 (*LSAG* p. 375), Delphi (458/7); Lazzarini 998 (= Meiggs-Lewis, *GHI* 36), Olympia (458/7).

43. COLONIZER: of Herakleia Pontike ca. 560 (Paus. 5.26.7), Burstein 15-8.

44. COLONIZED

foundation year
metropolis
oikist(s)

45. FOUNDATION MYTH

46. HELLENIC/BARBARIAN POLIS

Hellenic
barbarian
mixed

47. BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. Bintliff, "Die Polis-Landschaften Griechenlands: Probleme und Aussichten der Bevölkerungsgeschichte," in E. Olshausen & H. Sonnabend (eds.), *Geographica Historica* 5 (1991) 149-202; S.M. Burstein, *Outposts of Hellenism. The Emergence of Heraclea on the Black Sea* (Berkeley & Los Angeles 1976); J.M. Fossey, *Topography and Population of Ancient Boiotia* (Chicago 1988) 43-99; M.H. Hansen, "Boiotian *Poleis*. A Test Case," in M.H. Hansen (ed.), *Sources for The Ancient Greek City-State*. Acts of the Copenhagen Polis Centre 2. Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, *Historisk-filosofiske meddelelser* 72 (Copenhagen 1995) 13-63; M.H. Hansen, "Kome. A Study in How the Greeks Designated and Classified Settlements which were not *Poleis*," in M.H. Hansen and K. Raaflaub (eds.), *Studies in the Ancient Greek Polis*. Papers from the Copenhagen Polis Centre 2. *Historia Einzelschriften* 95 (Stuttgart 1995) 45-82. [= 1995a]; D. Knoepfler, "Sept années de recherches sur l'épigraphie de la Béotie (1985-1991)," *Chiron* 22 (1992) 411-503; M.L. Lazzarini, *Le formule delle dediche votive nella Grecia arcaica*. Atti della Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei 373 (Rome 1976); M. Munn, "Agesilaos' Boiotian Campaigns," *Cl.Ant.* 6 (1987) 106-38; P. Roesch, *Études Béotiennes* (Paris 1982); D.W. Roller, *Tanagra Studies I. Sources and Documents on Tanagra in Boiotia. II. The Prosopography of Tanagra in Boiotia* (Amsterdam 1989); D.W. Roller, "The Date of the Walls at Tanagra," *Hesperia* (1974) 260-3; D.W. Roller, "Tanagra Survey Project 1985," *BSA* 82 (1987) 213-32; D.W. Roller, "Recent Investigations at

Grimátha (Tanagra),” *Boeotia Antiqua* 1 (1989) 129-63; A. Schachter, *Cults of Boiotia* II, *BICS* 38.2 (1986); A. Schachter, “Horse Coins from Tanagra,” *Num. Chron.* 6.18 (1958) 43-6; A. Schachter, “Boiotia in the Sixth Century B.C.,” in H. Beister and J. Buckler (eds.), *Boiotika. Vorträge vom 5. Internationalen Bötien-Kolloquium* (München 1989) 73-86; R. Sherk, “The Eponymous Officials of Greek Cities,” *ZPE* 83 (1990) 279-88.¹⁷⁸

Notes

- 1 We have called it the *lex Hafniensis* on the assumption that the Latinized name of the *Copenhagen Polis Centre* would be *Institutum de Civitatibus Graecis Hafniense*.
- 2 M.H. Hansen, “*Poleis* and City-States, 600-323 B.C. A Comprehensive Research Programme,” in D. Whitehead (ed.), *From Political Architecture to Stephanus Byzantius*. Papers from the Copenhagen Polis Centre 1. *Historia Einzelschriften* 87 (1994) 14-5.
- 3 Strab. 9.2.11, 14. Fiehn, “Mykalessos,” *RE* XVI,1 (1935) 1005; M.H. Mc Allister, “Mykalessos,” *The Princeton Encyclopedia of Classical Sites* (Princeton 1976) 600-1.
- 4 Thuc. 7.29.3, 5; 7.30.2; see M.H. Hansen, “Boiotian *Poleis* – A Test Case,” in M.H. Hansen (ed.), *Sources for The Ancient Greek City-State*. Acts of the Copenhagen Polis Centre 2. Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, Historisk-filosofiske meddelelser 72 (Copenhagen 1995) 18-21.
- 5 See e.g. the thorough discussion of klerouchies in A.J. Graham, *Colony and Mother City in Ancient Greece* (Manchester 1964) 166-92; cf. also P.J. Rhodes, “Epigraphical Evidence. Laws and Decrees,” in Hansen (ed.) (*supra* n. 4) 94-5.
- 6 *IG* I² 285 col. 1.107-11: [πόλ]ες αἶδε στρατιᾶι μισθὸν ἐτέλεσαν ... Ἐφαισιτῆς, Ἰμβριοι, Μυριναῖοι vacat; Hyp. 2.18: ἐστεφανώθην ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ ἐν Ἡφαισι[τί]αι καὶ ἑτέροις ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐν Μυ[Ϝ]ρίνηι ... παρακατατιθέμενοι δύο πόλεις τῶν ὑμετέρων αὐτῶν. Cf. Xen. *Hell.* 5.1.31 and Skylax 57.
- 7 See e.g. P.J. Rhodes, “Demes, Cities and Leagues,” in M.H. Hansen (ed.), *The Ancient Greek City-State*. Acts of the Copenhagen Polis Centre 1. Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, Historisk-filosofiske Meddelelser 67 (Copenhagen 1993) 163 (writing about the perioikic towns in Lakonia). Cf. also Rhodes’ comments in Hansen (ed.) (*supra* n. 4) 91-2, quoted and discussed *supra* page 18. Contrast E. Lévy, “La cité grecque: invention moderne ou réalité antique?” *Cahiers du Centre G. Glotz* 1 (1990) 53-67.
- 8 See e.g. M.I. Finley, “The Ancient City: From Fustel de Coulanges to Max Weber and Beyond,” in *Economy and Society in Ancient Greece* (London 1981) 4.
- 9 M.H. Hansen, “*Polis, Civitas, Stadtstaat* and City-State,” in Whitehead (ed.) (*supra* n. 2) 19-22.
- 10 W. Gawantka, *Die sogenannte Polis* (Wiesbaden 1985) 204-6.
- 11 A. Molho, K. Raaflaub and J. Emlen (eds.), *City-States in Classical Antiquity and Medieval Italy* (Stuttgart 1991).

- 12 R. Griffith and C.G. Thomas, (eds.), *The City-State in Five Cultures* (Santa Barbara 1981). Cf. the list in Hansen (ed.) (*supra* n. 2) 10-11.
- 13 P. Burke, "City-States," in J.A. Hall (ed.), *States in History* (Oxford 1986) 137-53.
- 14 M.I. Finley (*supra* n. 8) 4-5: "Aristotle ... was writing about the autonomous city-state, the *polis* in Greek ... (5) ... The ancient city was soon to lose its autonomy. The process began soon after Aristotle died."; O. Murray & S. Price (eds.), *The Greek City-State From Homer to Alexander* (Oxford 1990) vii: "our focus has been the autonomous Greek city-state or *polis* from its origins in the "Dark Age" until the point at which it was transformed into a basis for world civilization by the conquests of Alexander the Great."; R. Osborne, *Classical Landscape with Figures* (London 1987) 195: "The essential mark of the Greek city is political independence." (For city = *polis* see Osborne page 11).
- 15 M.H. Hansen, "The "Autonomous City-State". Ancient Fact or Modern Fiction?" in M.H. Hansen and K. Raaflaub (eds.), *Studies in the Ancient Greek Polis*. Papers from the Copenhagen Polis Centre 2. *Historia Einzelschriften* 95 (Stuttgart 1995) 36. See also Burke (*supra* n. 13) 137, 140 etc.
- 16 Hansen (*supra* n. 4) 36-7.
- 17 A *polis* waged war (Aeschin. 3.122); made peace (Dem. 19.336); entered into an alliance (*IG* II² 43.32); struck coins (Dem. 24.213); passed a law (Ar. *Wasps* 467; Dem. 18.120); passed a sentence (Lycurg. 1.93); founded a colony (as μητρόπολις) (Thuc. 1.24.6); defrayed expenses (Xen. *Mem.* 3.6.6); erected or repaired the walls (Xen. *Hell.* 6.5.5); organized a festival (Dem. 21.26, 34); *horoi* marking the borders of a *polis* (Xen. *Hell.* 4.4.6); the roads and water supply of a *polis* (Dem. 13.30); the altars of a *polis* (Xen. *Mem.* 1.1.2), the protecting divinities of a *polis* (Ar. *Eq.* 763; Meiggs-Lewis, *GHI* 23.4-5).
- 18 Law on the proclamation of crowns passed by the *polis* (Dem. 18.120); the passing of laws is one of the principal duties of a *polis* (Arist. *Rhet.* 1360a18ff).
- 19 F.M. Watkins s.v. "State" in *The International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences* 17 (reprint 1972) 150.
- 20 The connotation versus the denotation of a term: J.S. Mill, *A System of Logic* (1843) Book 1, Sections 2, 5 and 6. The intension versus the extension of a concept: N. Rescher, *Introduction to Logic* (New York 1964) 26-7. On the definition (connotation, intension) of the term *polis* cf. now M. Sakellariou, *The Polis State. Definition and Origin* (Athens 1989).
- 21 See Hansen (*supra* n. 7) 9-10 and Appendix I p. 34.
- 22 K. Nowicki, "Fortifications in Dark Age Krete," in S. van de Maele & J.M. Fossey (eds.), *Fortificationes Antiquae* (Amsterdam 1992) 72-3.
- 23 Cf. M.H. Hansen, "Kome. A Study in How the Greeks Designated and Classified Settlements which were not *Poleis*," in Hansen & Raaflaub (eds.) (*supra* n. 15) 46-7.
- 24 Cf. J.M. Fossey, *The Ancient Topography of Opountian Lokris* (Amsterdam 1990) 94-5: "The overall conclusion must be that in this area it is purely an archaeological investigation, almost entirely bereft of written sources, which can reconstruct the history of Opountian Lokris. The primacy of archaeology as our means of investigating the past of this part – and of many others – of Greece, even in the "historical" period is beyond dispute, *pace* those colleagues in the Classical profession who would see archaeology essentially as an adjunct, or peripheral aspect of their discipline."
- 25 J.M. Fossey, *The Ancient Topography of Eastern Phokis* (Amsterdam 1986); *Idem*, *Topography and Population of Ancient Boiotia* (Chicago 1988); for Lokris see preceding note; J.F. Cherry, J.L. Davies and E. Mantzourani, *Landscape Archaeology as Long-Term History* (Los Angeles 1991); J.C. Carter, "The Decline of Magna Graecia in the Age of

Pyrrhos? New Evidence from the Chora,” in T. Hackens *et alii* (eds.), *The Age of Pyrrhus* (Louvain 1992) 97-145.

26 According to Osborne Elis is the only “city” (= *polis*) in the region and other settlements are described as “villages” (124-7), but in the *Hellenika* Xenophon repeatedly refers to several of them as being *poleis*, see 3.2.23; 3.2.30; 3.5.12; 6.5.2.

27 See e.g. Fossey’s thorough and valuable studies of the settlement pattern of Boiotia, Phokis and Opountian Lokris (*supra* nn. 24-5) in which he focuses on site-location and has no discussion whatsoever of the site-classifications found in our sources.

28 Hdt. 1.170.3 (quoted *infra* n. 32); Thuc. 2.15.2 (quoted *infra* n. 35). See Rhodes (*supra* n. 5) 102.

29 “*Later sources*” are subdivided into (a) *Retrospective*: the literary sources belonging here are e.g. attestations of the term *polis* in Diodoros, Strabo, Plutarch and Pausanias referring to the archaic/classical period, e.g. Strabo’s list of synoikisms in 8.3.2 or ἐρείπια πόλεως in Paus. when associated with the archaic or classical periods. Retrospective epigraphical sources are e.g. the renewal of a treaty originally concluded before 323, confirmation of a grant or references in inscriptions to earlier events (e.g. IG II² 505.17ff and *I-Priene* 37-8). (b) *Contemporary*: references to a community being a *polis* in the age of the author or document in question, e.g. Strabo’s remark that in his days Thespiiai and Tanagra are the only settlements which deserve to be called *poleis* (Strab. 9.2.5); Hellenistic proxy-decrees or alliances etc.

30 Hdt. 8.61: ταῦτα λέγοντος Θεμιστοκλέος αὐτῖς ὁ Κορίνθιος Ἀδείμαντος ἐπεφέρετο, σιγᾶν τε κελεύων τῷ μὴ ἐστί πατρις καὶ Εὐρυβιάδην οὐκ ἐὼν ἐπιμηφρίζειν ἀπὸλι ἀνδρῖ. πόλιν γὰρ τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα παρεχόμενον ἐκέλευε οὕτω γνώμας συμβάλλεσθαι. ... τότε δὴ ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς ... ἔλεγε, ἐωτοῖσι τε ἐδήλου λόγῳ ὡς εἶη καὶ πόλις καὶ γῆ μέζων ἢ περ ἐκείνοισι, ἔστ’ ἂν διακόσαι νέες σφι ἔωσι πεπληρωμέναι.

31 Lykourg. 1.69: οὐ γὰρ τὴν πόλιν ἐξέλιπον, ἀλλὰ τὸν τόπον μετέλλαξαν.

32 Hdt. 1.170.3: χορηγὴ δὲ καὶ (sc. γνώμη) πρὶν ἢ διαφθαρήναι Ἰωνίην Θεάλω ἀνδρὸς Μιλησίου ἐγένετο, ... ὃς ἐκέλευε ἐν βουλευτήριον Ἰωνας ἐκτεῖσθαι, τὸ δὲ εἶναι ἐν Τέῳ, Τέων γὰρ μέσον εἶναι Ἰωνίης, τὰς δὲ ἄλλας πόλιας οἰκειομένας μηδὲν ἦσσαν νομίζεσθαι κατὰ περ εἰ δήμοι εἶεν.

33 Isoc. 12.179: μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα διελόντας τὸ πλῆθος αὐτῶν ὡς οἶόν τ’ ἦν εἰς ἐλαχίστους εἰς τόπους κατοικήσαι μικροὺς καὶ πολλοὺς, ὀνόμασι μὲν προσαγορευομένους ὡς πόλεις οἰκοῦντας, τὴν δὲ δύναμιν ἔχοντας ἐλάττω τῶν δήμων τῶν παρ’ ἡμῖν.

34 Thuc. 2.16.2: ἐβαρύνοντο δὲ καὶ χαλεπῶς ἔφερον οἰκίας τε καταλείποντες καὶ ἱερά ἅ διὰ παντὸς ἦν αὐτοῖς ἐκ τῆς κατὰ τὸ ἀρχαῖον πολιτείας πάτρια διατάξαι τε μέλλοντες μεταβάλλειν καὶ οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ πόλιν τὴν αὐτοῦ ἀπολείπων ἕκαστος.

35 Thuc. 2.15.2: ἐπειδὴ δὲ Θησεὺς ἐβασίλευσε, ... τὰ τε ἄλλα διεκόσμησε τὴν χώραν καὶ καταλύσας τῶν ἄλλων πόλεων τὰ τε βουλευτήρια καὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς ἐς τὴν νῦν πόλιν οὖσαν, ἐν βουλευτήριον ἀποδείξας καὶ πρυτανεῖον, ξυνήκισε πάντας, καὶ νεμομένους τὰ αὐτῶν ἐκάστους ἄπερ καὶ πρὸ τοῦ ἠνάγκασε μῖα πόλει ταύτῃ χορηγεῖσθαι, ἢ ἀπάντων ἡδὴ ξυντελούντων ἐς αὐτὴν μεγάλην γενομένην παρεδόθη ὑπὸ Θησεὺς τοῖς ἔπειτα.

36 Xen. *Mem.* 1.1.16: αὐτοὺς δὲ περὶ τῶν ἀνθρωπειῶν αἰεὶ διελέγετο σκοπῶν τί εὐσεβές, τί ἀσεβές, τί καλόν, τί αἰσχρόν, τί δίκαιον, τί ἄδικον, τί σφραροσύνη, τί μανία, τί ἀνδρεία, τί δειλία, τί πόλις, τί πολιτικός, τί ἀρχὴ ἀνθρώπων, τί ἀρχικὸς ἀνθρώπων, καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων, ἃ τοὺς μὲν εἰδότας ἠγείτο καλοὺς ἀγαθοὺς εἶναι, τοὺς δ’ ἀγνοοῦντας ἀνδραποδάδεις ἂν δικάως κεκλήσθαι.

- 37 Arist. *Pol.* 1253a2-4: ὁ ἄνθρωπος φύσει πολιτικὸν ζῶον, καὶ ὁ ἄπολις διὰ φύσιν καὶ οὐ διὰ τύχην ἦτοι φαῦλός ἐστιν, ἢ κρείττων ἢ ἄνθρωπος.
- 38 Soph. *Ant.* 370: ὑψίπολις *versus* ἄπολις; Pl. *Resp.* 369C: πολλοὺς εἰς μίαν οἴκησιν ἀγείραντας κοινωνοὺς τε καὶ βοηθοὺς, ταύτη τῇ συνοικίᾳ ἐθέμεθα πόλιν ὀνομα; Isoc. 3.6 = 15.254: συνελθόντες πόλεις ᾠκίσαμεν καὶ νόμους ἐθέμεθα καὶ τέχνας εὔρομεν; Moschion fr. 6.6-8: οὐδέπω γὰρ ἦν / οὔτε στεγῆρης οἶκος οὔτε λαῖνοις / εὐρεῖα πύργους ᾠχυρωμένη πόλις; Philochoros (*FGrHist* 328) fr. 2b: ἄστν δὲ προσηγόρευσαν τὴν πόλιν διὰ τὸ πρότερον νομάδας καὶ σποράδην ζῶντας τότε συνελθεῖν.
- 39 B. Holden, *The Nature of Democracy* (London 1974) 8.
- 40 See e.g. A. Lijphart, *Democracies. Patterns of Majoritarian and Consensus Government in Twenty-One Countries* (New Haven 1984) Chapter 3, 37-45: *The Universe of Democracies*.
- 41 Holden (*supra* n. 39) 6-8.
- 42 All members of the UN are states. See *The Charter*, Chapter 2 Articles 3-4 and *Rules of Procedure of the General Assembly* 134-38.
- 43 Skylax 39, see the discussion *infra* page 30).
- 44 *IG VII* 1.18 (ca. 300 B.C.) and 207.4 (ca. 200 B.C.).
- 45 See A. Avram, "Poleis und Nicht-Poleis im Ersten und Zweiten Attischen Seebund," in Hansen & Raaflaub (eds.) (*supra* n. 15) 191-200.
- 46 *IG II²* 43 B 35-8.
- 47 See M. Dreher, "Poleis und Nicht-Poleis im Zweiten Athenischen Seebund," in Hansen (ed.) (*supra* n. 4) 176-8.
- 48 Pherecydes (*FGrHist* 3) fr. 168; Hdt. 7.234.2; Thuc. 5.54.1; Xen. *Hell.* 6.5.21; *Ages.* 2.24; *Lac. Pol.* 15.3; Skylax 46; Isoc. 12.179; Strab. 8.4.11; Paus. 3.2.6; Polemon Περὶ τῶν ἐν Λακεδαιμόνι πόλεων, p. 50 Preller. See S. Isager and J.E. Skydsgaard, *Ancient Greek Agriculture* (London 1992) 131; P.J. Rhodes (*supra* n. 7) 163-4.
- 49 Cf. the exchange of words between Agesilaos and Epameinondas in 371 reported by Pausanias at 9.13.2 and by Plutarch in *Ages.* 28.1-3.
- 50 M.I. Finley & H.W. Pleket, *The Olympic Games* (London 1976) 61. References to the sources are omitted from this work but can easily be supplied: we know from Hdt. 5.22.1-2 that competitors in the Olympic games had to be Greeks, cf. also Hdt. 2.160.3. That the crown was awarded the *polis* as well as the victor is apparent from e.g. Dem. 58.66: ὁ πάππος ὁ ἐμὸς Ὀλυμπίασι νικήσας παῖδας στάδιον ἐστεφάνωσε τὴν πόλιν, cf. Isoc. 16.32. Several sources confirm that affiliation with a *polis* was a condition for participating in the games: In 420 Sparta was excluded from the Olympic games but a Spartan named Lichas participated and had his victory proclaimed pretending that he was a Boiotian (Thuc. 5.50.4; cf. Eur. fr. 282, Nauck). The Syracusans tried to bribe Kleinopatros of Miletos to have his victorious son proclaimed as a Syracusan (Paus. 6.2.6). Astylos of Kroton won three successive victories at Olympia; the second and third times he consented to being proclaimed a Syracusan, whereupon the Krotoniatai confiscated his house (Paus.6.13.1). In 380 the victorious runner Sotades from Crete was bribed by the Ephesians to be proclaimed as a citizen of Ephesos and was subsequently exiled by the Cretans (Paus. 6.18.6). That the same rules applied at the other Panhellenic games is apparent from Paus. 5.2.1-5; 6.3.9; 6.16.2 (Elis excluded from the Isthmian Games) and Paus. 8.18.8 (the fact that a man of Lousoi was proclaimed victor in the Pythian Games in 546 is adduced as proof that Lousoi was once a *polis*). It must be added that Kimon, although in exile, twice sent a *quadriga* to Olympia and was twice victorious. The second time he allowed Peisistratos to be proclaimed; what he did the first time is unknown (Hdt. 6.103.2).

- 51 Rhodes (*supra* n. 5) 91-2.
- 52 Lévy (*supra* n. 7) 53-4.
- 53 I have once before had the same experience. Until recently it was universally accepted by modern historians that the fourth-century Athenians were inconsistent in their way of using the terms *nomos* and *psephisma* and that the assembly often legislated by *psephisma* although the passing of all *nomoi* rested with the *nomothetai*. A collection of all relevant sources showed that the Athenians were much more consistent in their legislative procedures and in their use of the terms *nomos* and *psephisma* than modern historians had believed (without having examined the evidence). See M.H. Hansen, *The Athenian Ecclesia* I (Copenhagen 1983) 161-206.
- 54 Skylax 57 (in *GGM* I p. 46). See the interpretation of the passage *supra* pages 30-32.
- 55 The so-called Marathonian τετράπολις, composed of four δήμοι, is apparently a contradiction in terms, but a plausible explanation is that the four communities were *poleis* long before they were made into demes by Kleisthenes' reforms, see R. Sherk, "The Eponymous Officials of Greek Cities," *ZPE* 83 (1990) 278.
- 56 Compare e.g. *Hell. Oxy.* 20.3, Chambers (where the small Boiotian communities synoikized with Thebes in ca. 430 are called *choria*) with 21.5 (where the term *chorion* is used jointly with *polis* about Hyampolis which was undeniably a *polis* in the political sense).
- 57 Thucydides uses the terms *polis* and *polisma* synonymously about the four cities in Doris (Thuc. 1.107.2); Chaironeia is classified as a *polis* by the Oxyrhynchus Historian at 19.2-3 but as a *polisma* by Aristophanes Boeotus (*FGrHist* 379) fr. 3. Cf. P. Flensted-Jensen, "The Bottiaians and their *Poleis*," in Hansen & Raaflaub (eds.) (*supra* n. 15) Appendix 129-31.
- 58 See *supra* n. 48.
- 59 Thuc. 4.56.2-57.3 (Thyrea) and 5.41.2 (Thyrea and Anthene).
- 60 Oion: Xen. *Hell.* 6.5.25-6; Tyros: *F. Delphes* III 1 68; Belbina: *Comica Adespota* P. Oxy. 1801 col. 2.42 = Austin *CGF* fr. 343. Cf. Hansen (*supra* n. 23) 74.
- 61 Hdt. 7.22.3-23.1; Thuc. 4.109.3; 5.18.6 (Peace of Nikias, where Sane is called *polis*); Skylax 66; *IG* I³ 269 col. 2.35 (Dion), 278 col. 6.23 (Kleonai), 268 col. 2.23 (Olophyxos), 260 col. 8.19 (Sane), 263 col. 3.23 (Thyssos); see *supra* p. 24.
- 62 Arist. *Pol.* 1252b19-20, 27-30; 1276b1-3. See M.H. Hansen, "Aristotle's two Complementary views of the Greek *Polis*," forthcoming in R.W. Wallace and E.M. Harris (eds.), *Transitions to Empire in the Graeco-Roman World, 360-146 B.C.* (Oklahoma 1996).
- 63 See also the Solonian law Plut. *Solon* 24.4 (= Fr. 75, Ruschenbusch): παρέχει δ' ἀπορίαν καὶ ὁ τῶν δημοποιήτων νόμος, ὅτι γενέσθαι πολίτας οὐ δίδωσι πλὴν τοῖς φεύγουσιν ἀειφύγιά τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἢ πανεστίους Ἀθήναζε μετοικιζομένους ἐπὶ τέχνῃ. I fully endorse the interpretation offered by S.D. Lambert, *The Phratries of Attica* (Ann Arbor 1993) 381-3, *pace* J.K. Davies, "The Descent Group and the Alternatives," *CJ* 73 (1978) 105-21.
- 64 Cf. e.g. Thuc. 2.44-5; Lycurg. 1.40
- 65 See S. Scully, *Homer and the Sacred City* (Ithaca 1990); K. Raaflaub, "Homer to Solon. The Rise of the *Polis*. The Written Sources," in Hansen (ed.) (*supra* n. 7) 46-59.
- 66 νῦν γάρ κεν ἔλοις πόλιν εὐρύγυιαν *Il.* 2.12, 29, 66 etc.
- 67 *Od.* 14.472; *Il.* 1.129 (Troy); *Il.* 18.514 (shield of Achilles); *Od.* 6.9 (Scheria).
- 68 *Il.* 3.153 (Troy); *Od.* 6.262-3 (Scheria).
- 69 *Il.* 18.497 (shield of Achilles); *Od.* 6.266 (Scheria).

- 70 *Od.* 6.10, 266 (Scheria).
- 71 *Il.* 1.39; 5.446; 7.83 (Temple of Apollon); *Il.* 6.297-300 (temple of Athena).
- 72 *Od.* 6.9 (Scheria).
- 73 *Il.* 6.242ff (palace of Priamos); *Od.* 4.15ff (palace of Menelaos); *Od.* 7.81ff (palace of Alkinoos). Cf. C. Rider, *The Greek House* (reprint Cambridge 1965), Chapter xiv: "Homeric Palaces" 166-209.
- 74 P. Ducrey, "La muraille est-elle un élément constitutif d'une cité?," in Hansen (*supra* n. 4) 245-56.
- 75 M.H. Hansen and T. Fischer-Hansen, "Monumental Political Architecture in Archaic and Classical Greek *Poleis*," in Whitehead (ed.) (*supra* n. 2) 85.
- 76 W. Schuller, "*Poleis* im Ersten Attischen Seebund," in Hansen (ed.) (*supra* n. 4) 165-70.
- 77 See *supra* n. 28.
- 78 Aloys Winterling in *Historia* 40 (1991) 193-229, cf. especially 205-11.
- 79 D. Whitehead, *Aineias the Tactician. How to Survive under Siege* (Oxford 1990) 10-3.
- 80 A *polis* waged war (Meiggs-Lewis, *GHI* 42B31-2, Argos); made peace (Tod, *GHI* 145.5-6, Argos); entered into an alliance (C¹ 19.2-3, Delphi; Poseidonia); struck coins (*Syll*³ 218.10, Olbia); passed a law (C¹D 19.2-3, Delphi; Meiggs-Lewis, *GHI* 2.1-2, Dreros); passed a sentence (*Syll*³ 530.4, Dyme); founded a colony (Meiggs-Lewis, *GHI* 5.37, Thera); defrayed expenses (Meiggs-Lewis, *GHI* 83.2, Thasos; *IvO* 16.7-8, Elis and Skillous); repaired the walls (CEG 869, Paphos); organised a festival (*IG* XII 9 189.5, Eretria); *horoi* marking the borders of a *polis* (Treaty between Sparta and Argos quoted by Thuc. 5.79.4); the water supply of a *polis* (Heraclides 13-4, *GGM* I 102-3, Thebai); the altars of a *polis* (*F. Delphes* III 2.18.5-7, Delphi); the protecting divinities of a *polis* (*IG* XII 8 356, Thasos).
- 81 Thuc. 2.15.6: καλεῖται δὲ διὰ τὴν παλαιὰν ταύτη κατοίκησιν καὶ ἡ ἀκρόπολις μέγχοι τοῦδε ἔτι ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων πόλις.
- 82 Dem. 18.215-6: οὕτως οἰκείως ὑμᾶς ἐδέχοντο (sc. οἱ Θηβαῖοι) ὥστ' ἔξω τῶν ὀπλιτῶν καὶ τῶν ἱππέων ὄντων εἰς τὰς οἰκίας καὶ τὸ ἄστυ δέχεσθαι τὴν στρατιάν ἐπὶ παῖδας καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ τὰ τιμώτατα ... οὔτε γὰρ εἰς τὴν πόλιν εἰσελθόντος τοῦ στρατοπέδου οὐδεὶς οὐδὲν οὐδ' ἀδίκως ὑμῖν ἐνεκάλεσεν.
- 83 Hdt. 7.58.2: ὁ δὲ κατ' ἡπειρον στρατὸς (Xerxes' army) ... ἐποιέετο τὴν ὁδὸν διὰ τῆς Χερσονήσου ... διὰ μέσης δὲ πορευόμενος πόλιος τῆ οὐνομά τυγχάνει ἐδὸν Ἀγορή.
- 84 Thuc. 5.18.5 (Peace of Nikias): ὅσας δὲ πόλεις παρέδωσαν Λακεδαιμόνιοι Ἀθηναίοις, ἐξέστω ἀπιέναι ὅποι ἂν βούλωνται αὐτοὺς καὶ τὰ ἑαυτῶν ἔχοντας.
- 85 See Appendix I on pages 34-6.
- 86 Sacrificial calendar of Erchia: *SEG* 21 541. Cult of Athena Polias (col. 1 lines 62-66) and of Zeus Polieus (col. 3 lines 59-64) on the akropolis of Erchia (distinguished from the akropolis in the city of Athens: col. 3 lines 15-7). See *infra* notes 136-7.
- 87 See Appendix II on pages 36-9.
- 88 Thuc. 2.93.2 (town); Xen. *Hell.* 4.4.6 (state), quoted in note 158 *infra*. See Hansen (*supra* n. 7) 20 with notes 139-40 and *infra* p. 38 at n. 160.
- 89 Xen. *Hell.* 4.5.3: Ἀγησίλαος ... ἀπεχώρησε μετ' ἄριστον πρὸς τὸ ἄστυ, ὡς προδιδομένης τῆς πόλεως, ὥστε οἱ Κορίνθιοι δείσαντες μὴ προδιδοῖτο ὑπὸ τινῶν ἢ πόλις, μετεπέμψαντο τὸν Ἴφικράτην.
- 90 See Appendix III on pages 38-54.
- 91 See Hansen (*supra* n. 4) 39-45.

- 92 See Th. Heine Nielsen, "Was Eutaia a *Polis*? A Note on Xenophon's Use of the Term *Polis* in the *Hellenika*," in Hansen & Raaflaub (eds.) (*supra* n. 15) 83-102.
- 93 See *infra* pages 29-30.
- 94 Thuc. 4.54.1: ἡ ἐπὶ θαλάσσει πόλις as opposed to Kythera which at 4.54.2 is called: ἡ ἄνω πόλις. Cf. 5.4.4 where the reference is to: Σκάνδειαν τὸ ἐπὶ τῷ λιμένι πόλισμα. As far as we know the island Kythera had only one polis, viz. Kythera (cf. Skylax 46; Strab. 8.5.1; Paus. 3.23.1), and Skandeia is just the port of Kythera, not a political community in its own right. Cf. A.W. Gomme *A Historical Commentary on Thucydides* III (Oxford 1956) 509.
- 95 See Hansen (*supra* n. 4) 43-4.
- 96 In Xenophon the term *polis* is used about the urban centre to be founded in the mining district (*Vect.* 4.50). How strange Xenophon's usage is here is duly noted by Ph. Gauthier in his *Commentaire historique des Poroi de Xénophon* (Paris 1976) 188-9.
- 97 E.g. at 1.1; 7.1.
- 98 E.g. at 10.23.
- 99 S.C. Bakhuizen, "Thebes and Boeotia in the Fourth Century B.C.," *Phoenix* 48 (1994) 308 n. 3.
- 100 Repeated with small variations in 36, 38, 39, 42, 43, 45, 46, 57, 58, 60, 61, 63, 64, 65. In the rest of the work replaced by πόλεις Ἑλληνίδες αἶδε, cf. 67 etc.
- 101 E.g. Achilleios and Psamathous (46), Isai (65).
- 102 E.g. sanctuaries of Poseidon at Cape Tainaros (46) and Cape Geraistos (58).
- 103 E.g. Alpheios (43) and Eurotas (46).
- 104 Geraneia (39). Since there is no reliable evidence of any fortification on Mount Geraneia (Paus 1.43.8; Thuc. 1.105.3; 4.70.1) I suggest the punctuation Αἰγόσθενα, Πήγαι τεῖχος, Γεράνεα, Ἄρις. In the 1831 edn. R.H. Klausen suggests the attractive conjecture: Γεράνεα ὄρος.
- 105 E.g. Cape Malea (46).
- 106 In addition to πόλις καὶ λιμὴν (e.g. Leukas and Astakas, 34) and λιμὴν (Achilleios and Psamathous, 46) we also find καὶ λιμὴν in contexts which indicate that πόλις has to be understood from the heading so that the meaning is <πόλις> καὶ λιμὴν, cf. Siphai (38), Kyllene (43), Messene (45) etc.
- 107 See *supra* page 7 with n. 6.
- 108 For the relative οὗ cf. καὶ Ἴσθμός, οὗ ἰερόν Ποσειδῶνος. Like Eleusis, the Isthmos was certainly not a *polis* and Skylax does not say so.
- 109 Cf. e.g. 34, 47, 62, 66 etc.
- 110 For ἔχει cf. 58: Πάρος λιμένας ἔχουσα δύο, where it is unclear whether νῆσος or πόλις is to be understood with the participle ἔχουσα. Alternatively, since islands are grammatically feminine, ἔχουσα may go directly with Πάρος.
- 111 It is worth noting, however, that Hekataios seems to have used the term *polis* about Thorikos, see Steph. Byz 315.7-8 (= *FGrHist* 1 fr. 126): Θόρικος, δῆμος τῆς Ἀκαμαντίδος φυλῆς. Ἐκαταῖος δὲ πόλιν αὐτὴν φησιν.
- 112 Aigosthena: *IG* VII 207; Pegai: *IG* VII 190.
- 113 See Hansen (*supra* n. 23) 74-5.
- 114 *IG* VII 1.
- 115 E.g. W.G. Runciman, "Doomed to Extinction: The *Polis* as an Evolutionary Dead-End," in Murray and Price (*supra* n. 14) 348; K.-W. Welwei, *Die griechische Polis* (Köln 1983) 16; K. Raaflaub, "Homer und die Geschichte des 8. Jh.s v. Chr.," in J. Latacz (ed.), *Zweihundert Jahre Homer-Forschung* (Stuttgart 1991) 241.

- 116 Argued provisionally in Hansen (*supra* n. 7) 13-6.
- 117 KN As 1517,12, cf. A. Thumb & A. Scherer, *Handbuch der griechischen Dialekte II* (Heidelberg 1959) 335 §337 13a; A. Morpurgo, *Mycenaeae Graecitatis Lexicon* (Rome 1963) 262.
- 118 Cf. H. Frisk, *Griechisches etymologisches Wörterbuch II* (Heidelberg 1970) 576-7; M. Monier-Williams, *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary* (Oxford 1899) 635: "púr, f. a rampart, wall, stronghold, fortress, castle, city, town." K. Strunk, "Verkannte Spuren eines weiteren Tiefstufentyps im Griechischen," *Glotta* 47 (1970) 2.
- 119 It is misleading when in his book *Indo-European Language and Society* (London 1973) 298 E. Benveniste claims: "we have thus here an old Indo-European term, which in Greek, and only in Greek, has taken on the sense of "town, city", then "state"." In Sanskrit *púr* certainly developed the meaning "town", "city" (see *supra* n. 118) and since many of these cities were actually states I would not preclude that the word may take on the sense of "state" or "political community" as well.
- 120 E. Lévy, "Asty et Polis dans l'Illiade," *Ktema* 8 (1983) 55 nn.3-4.
- 121 But Lévy (*supra* n. 120) 59-60 is prepared to question even these two occurrences and holds that *polis* in the sense of *akropolis* is unattested in the Iliad. Sakellariou (*supra* n. 20) 156 n. 3 would like to add *Il.* 17.144: ὄππως κε πόλιν καὶ ἄστυ σαώσης whereas Lévy (60-1) believes that here and in similar instances *polis* is used synonymously with *asty*.
- 122 See e.g. *Il.* 6.88, 297, 317 etc.
- 123 *Hymn. Hom. Cer.* 270-2: ἄλλ' ἄγε μοι νηόν τε μέγαν καὶ βομιὸν ὑπ' αὐτῶ / τευχόντων πᾶς δῆμος ὑπαὶ πόλιν αἰπύ τε τείχος / Καλλιχόρου καθύπερθεν ἐπὶ προΐχοντι κολωνῶ.
- 124 Eur. fr. 228.6, Nauck; Strab. 5.2.4; 8.6.9.
- 125 ἐς πόλιν (*Lys.* 302, 912; *Thesm.* 812); πρὸς πόλιν (*Nub.* 69; *Lys.* 266, 288); ἐκ πόλεως (*Eq.* 1093); ἐν πόλει (*Eq.* 267; *Lys.* 245, 317, 754, 758, 1183).
- 126 Ant. 6.39; Andoc. 1.132; Is. 5.44; Aeschin. 1.97; see the extremely illuminative note in W. Wyse, *The Speeches of Isaeus* (Cambridge 1904) 476-77 (*ad* Is. 5.44).
- 127 Thuc. 5.18.10; 5.23.5; 5.47.11.
- 128 *IG I³* 46.21-2. The earliest attestation in a decree is in *IG I³* 4 B.3 (485/4), the last securely dated attestation is *IG II²* 17.10 (394/3).
- 129 A. Henry, "Polis/Acropolis, Paymasters and the Ten Talent Fund," *Chiron* 12 (1982) 91-118.
- 130 Thuc. 2.15.6, quoted *supra* n. 81.
- 131 Mykenai: *IG IV.2* 492.2: παρ' Ἀθηναίᾳς ἐς πόλιος ἰκέτας ἔγεντο (6th cent. B.C.); Eretria: XII 9 196.8-11: ἀναθῆναι ὄπου ἂν βούληται τῶν ἱερῶν τῶν ἐν Ἐρετροίᾳ ἢ τῆς πόλεως; Rhodos: *IG XII 1* 677.13-9: [θ]έμειν δὲ τὰς στήλας ἄλλαν δὲ ἐπὶ τὰς καταβάσιος τᾶ[ς] ἐξ Ἀχαΐας πόλιος.
- 132 E.g. *IG II²* 57. Note that *polis* is used without the article in the sense of *akropolis* but with the article when it signifies the Athenian state. See Wyse's note to Is 5.44 (*supra* n. 126).
- 133 Thuc. 3.90.3. See L. Bernabò Brea & M. Cavalier, *Myiai* (Novara 1959).
- 134 Thuc. 4.26.2, cf. 4.3.2-3.
- 135 Thuc. 7.28.1.
- 136 *SEG* 21 541 col. I 62-4: Ἀθηναίαι Πολιάδι, ἐμ πόλει Ἐρχιάσι; col. III 61-3: Δὲ Πολιε(ῖ), ἐμ πόλει Ἐρχιάσι (375-50 B.C.).
- 137 *SEG* 21 541 col. 3.15-7: Δὲ Πολιε(ῖ) ἐμ πόλε(ι) ἐν ἄστε(ι).
- 138 Thuc. 3.101.2.

- 139** Paus. 8.12.7. Remains of old Cyclopean walls have been found on the eminence. See R. Hope Simpson and J.F. Lazenby, *The Catalogue of Ships in Homer's Iliad* (Oxford 1970) 92-3.
- 140** See S. Cole, "Civic Cult and Civic Identity," in Hansen (*supra* n. 4) 301-5.
- 141** See e.g. the Kolophonians' decree about the repair of their walls (ca. 311-06 B.C.), L. Migeotte, *Les souscriptions publiques dans les cités grecques* (Genève 1992) no. 69 lines 18-20.
- 142** Note, however, that the archaic sanctuary of Athena Polias and Zeus Polieus at Alalcomenai (Steph. Byz. 68.18-9) was located in the plain and not on an *akropolis* (Strabo 9.2.36; Paus. 9.33.5). The inference is that the epithets *Polias* and *Polieus* must be taken to mean "protecting the *polis*" and that this interpretation of the epithet seems to be considerably older than Susan Cole assumes. See Hansen (*supra* n. 4) 32-3.
- 143** Plut. *Pelop.* 18.1.
- 144** Paus. 1.26.6.
- 145** Thuc. 2.5.4: οἱ Θηβαῖοι ... ἐπεβούλευον τοῖς ἔξω τῆς πόλεως τῶν Πλαταιῶν. ἦσαν γὰρ καὶ ἄνθρωποι κατὰ τοὺς ἀγρούς καὶ κατασκευή, ...
- 146** Thuc. 2.71.2: ἀπεδίδου (Pausanias) Πλαταιεῦσι γῆν καὶ πόλιν τὴν σφετέραν ἔχοντας αὐτονόμους οἰκεῖν.
- 147** Thuc. 2.68.9: ἐλθόντες τε πρὸς τὸ Ἄργος τῆς μὲν χώρας ἐκράτουν, τὴν δὲ πόλιν ὡς οὐκ ἐδύναντο ἐλεῖν προσβαλόντες, ἀπεχώρησαν ἐπ' οἴκου καὶ διελύθησαν κατὰ ἔθνη.
- 148** Apparently unpublished but exhibited in the court of the Museum on Paros. I am grateful to Prof. J.E. Skydsgaard for drawing my attention to this precious source and providing me with a photo of the stone, and to Prof. Stephen Tracy for dating the inscription to (presumably) the second half of the 4th century B.C., but perhaps a little later.
- 149** Arist. *Pol.* 1319a8-10; cf 1330a14-6 and Plat. *Lg.* 745C.
- 150** Hdt. 5.29.2: διεξέλασαντες δὲ πᾶσαν τὴν χώραν ... ὡς τάχιστα κατέβησαν ἐς τὸ ἄστυ, ἀλίην ποιησάμενοι ἀπέδεξαν τούτους μὲν τὴν πόλιν νέμειν τῶν εὗρον τοὺς ἀγρούς εὖ ἐξεργασμένους.
- 151** Arist. *Pol.* 1325b36: περὶ τῆς μελλούσης κατ' εὐχὴν συνεστάναι πόλεως (*polis* used as the generic term); 1326b26: τὰ περὶ τῆς χώρας (the hinterland of the *polis*); 1327a3-4: τῆς δὲ πόλεως τὴν θέσιν εἰ χρὴ ποιεῖν κατ' εὐχὴν (*polis* used in the more specific sense of town).
- 152** For this linguistic phenomenon (sometimes called participatory opposition) cf. J. Lyons, *Semantics I* (Cambridge 1977) 307-8: "semantic marking".
- 153** See Hansen (*supra* n. 7) 15.
- 154** As is apparent from the passage the Tanagraians were allied with the Lakedaimonians, and accordingly it is unbelievable that Agesilaos pillaged the western part of the territory of Tanagra up to the city of Tanagra. Thus the genitive πόλεως to be understood after τῆς Ταναγραίων must denote the territory, not the town, and, similarly, in the phrase τῆς τῶν Θηβαίων πόλεως the term πόλις must denote the territory of Thebes, not the city of Thebes. Thus, *pace* LSJ s.v. ἠώς, the genitive τῆς τῶν Θηβαίων πόλεως must be partitive and not separative. See also τοῦ Τελευτίου ἐστρατευμένου πρὸς τὴν τῶν Ὀλυνθίων πόλιν at *Hell.* 5.3.3.
- 155** Lys. 6.46: ἀλλ' οὐδεπώποτ' ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐστρατεύσατο, οὔτε ἱπτεὺς οὔτε ὀπλίτης, οὔτε τριήραρχος οὔτ' ἐπιβάτης...
- 156** Lys. 6.15: οὗτος μὲν κατὰ τοὺς νόμους τοὺς ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου φεύξεται τὴν τοῦ ἀδικηθέντος πόλιν.

157 Din. 1.77: τὸν τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀλιτήριον ἀποκτείναντας ἐξόριστον ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ποιῆσαι.

158 Xen. *Hell.* 4.4.6: αἰσθανόμενοι (the Corinthians) ἀφανίζομένην τὴν πόλιν διὰ τὸ καὶ ὄρους ἀνασπᾶσθαι καὶ Ἄργος ἀντὶ Κορίνθου τὴν πατριδα αὐτοῖς ὀνομάζεσθαι ... Isoc. 4.131: ἐπεὶ καὶ τοῦτ' ἔχομεν αὐτοῖς ἐπιτιμιᾶν, ὅτι τῇ μὲν αὐτῶν πόλει τοὺς ὁμόρους εἰλωτεῖν ἀναγκάζουσι (the Lakedaimonians). See D. Rousset, "Les frontières des cités grecques. Premières réflexions à partir du recueil des documents épigraphiques," *Cahiers du Centre G. Glotz* 5 (1994) 97-126.

159 Cf. e.g. *Hell. Oxy.* 19.3, Chambers, where *chora* is used to denote the whole of Boiotia subdivided into eleven *mere*, and Xen. *Hell.* 7.1.28 where *chora* is used about the territory of the Parrhasians.

160 See *supra* page 28 with n. 88.

161 See e.g. Hdt. 6.96.1: οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ... ἐνέπρησαν καὶ τὰ ἰρὰ καὶ τὴν πόλιν (i.e. Naxos).

162 See e.g. Hdt. 5.92β1; Κορινθίοισι γὰρ ἦν πόλιος κατάστασις τοιῆδε. ἦν ὀλγαρχία ...

163 See e.g. Hdt. 6.74.2: ἐν δὲ ταύτῃ τῇ πόλι (Nonakris) λέγεται εἶναι ὑπ' Ἀρχαδῶν τὸ Στυγὸς ὕδωρ.

164 See e.g. Hdt. 4.150.3: χρῶν ἡ Πυθίη κτίζειν ἐν Λιβύῃ πόλιν.

165 In his description of Aigina Herodotos mentions ἡ παλαιὴ καλεομένη πόλις (Hdt. 6.88.1). One might think that he had the akropolis in mind, but it is more likely that the reference is to the oldest part of the city near the bay north of Cape Colonna; see T. Figueira, *Aegina. Society and Politics* (Salem 1981) 190-1.

166 *Polis* in the sense of political community used about the Hellenic cities in general: εἰ γὰρ δὴ τοῦτο γε δοκέει ὑμῖν εἶναι χρηστὸν ὥστε τυραννεῦσθαι τὰς πόλεις, κτλ. (Hdt. 5.92α2). *Polis* in the sense of town used about the Ionian cities in general: οὗτος ὄνηρ ... ὡς ἀπίκετο ἐς τὴν Ἰωνίην, αἴρρει τὰς πόλιας χώμασι (Hdt. 1.162.2).

167 In surveys, e.g. of contingents in a battle, where the term *polis* is used as a heading it is a matter of interpretation how many of the names listed are covered by the heading. One example is Herodotos' list at 8.43-48 of the ships which fought on the Greek side in the battle of Salamis. The heading is συνελέχθησάν τε δὴ πολλῶν πλεῦνες νέες ἢ ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ ἐναντιμάχουσι καὶ ἀπὸ πολίων πλεόνων (8.42.1). Again, after the list the account of the Greeks' war council is opened with the phrase: ὡς δὲ ἐς τὴν Σαλαμίνα συνῆλθον οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἀπὸ τῶν εἰρημένων πολίων, ἐβουλεύοντο ... (8.49.1). A list of twenty-two named communities is sandwiched between ἀπὸ πολίων πλεόνων at 8.42.1 and ἀπὸ τῶν εἰρημένων πολίων at 8.49.1, and I believe that Herodotos must have taken these twenty-two communities to be *poleis* in the political sense of the term.

168 Thus, I exclude (a) Atramyttion, called *polis* at 7.42.1, because, in the lifetime of Herodotos, it was a barbarian *polis* and not hellenized until 422 when it was settled by the Delians (Thuc. 5.1.1; Diod. 12.73.1; Skylax 98); (b) the Edonian *polis* Myrkinos (5.11.2; 5.24.4, cf. Thuc. 4.107.3) although the colonists were probable Hellenes (Hdt. 5.23.2); (c) the Sicilian town Maktorion (7.153.3) to be Hellenized only after the age of Herodotos. (d) Pyrene (2.33.2) which, however, may have been the Massalian colony Emporion.

169 They are Aineia (7.123.2); Amprakia (8.45.1); Arisba (1.151.2); Asine (8.73.2); Chalkis (8.46.2); Elis (8.73.2); Epidauros (8.43.1); Eretria (8.46.2); Halikarnassos (1.144.3; 2.178.2; 7.99.2); Hermione (8.43.1; 8.73.2); Ialysos (1.144.3); Kallipolis (7.154.2); Kalydnos (7.99.2); Kamiros (1.144.3); Keos (the four *poleis* perhaps united, cf. Brun in *ZPE* 76 [1989] 129) (8.46.2); Knidos (1.144.3, 2.178.2); Korinthos (5.92β1bis;

8.43.1); Kos (1.144.3; 7.99.2); Kythnos (8.46.4); Kyzikos (4.15.1, cf. 4.14.1); Leontinoi (7.154.2); Leukas (8.45.1); Lindos (1.144.3); Megara (8.45.1); Melos (8.46.4); Mytilene (2.178.2); Naxos (in Sicily) (7.154.2); Nisyros (7.99.2); Phaselis (2.178.2); Rhodos (probably = Kamiros, Ialysos and Lindos combined) (2.178.2); Seriphos (8.46.4); Sikyon (8.43.1); Styra (8.46.4); Troizen (8.43.1, cf. *supra* n. 167).

170 Agore in the Thracian Chersonese, mentioned at 7.58.2.

171 For the Phokian *poleis* I cite Pausanias' account at 10.3.2 of the *dioikismos* of Phokis in 346, cf. Diod. 16.60.1-2; Dem. 19.123 (twenty-two Phokian *poleis*). For a full discussion of the archaic and classical sources see Jacques Oulhen's and Dennis Rousset's forthcoming contribution to the *CPC* inventory of *poleis*.

172 Indicated in the list by italics.

173 Interpreting Thuc. 4.102.3 Bresson emphasizes how a *polis* was often developed out of an *emporion*. See A. Bresson, "les cités grecques et leurs *emporion*," in A. Bresson & P. Rouillard (eds.), *L'emporion* (Paris 1993) 218-21.

174 M.M. Austin, *Greece and Egypt in the Archaic Age*. *PCPS* Suppl. 2 (1970) 30.

175 As argued most recently by A. Bresson, "Rhodes, L'Hellénion et le statut de Naucratis (VIe- IVe siècle a.C.)," *DAH* 6 (1980) 291-349. Bresson's discussion on pages 316-7 of the use of the ethnic *Ναυκρατίτης* will be discussed in my forthcoming article on ethnics as evidence for *polis*-ness, to be published in *Papers from the Copenhagen Polis Centre* 3.

176 Cf. e.g. Macan's comment on Hdt. 7.123 (page 156-7): "One might wish to believe that this list of trivial villages were a gloss from a local pedant! Why should Hdt. stud the few miles of Krossian coast with this heptarchy of hamlets?"

177 *Conventions*: references to Greek authors follow the abbreviations of *OCD*. References to inscriptions follow the latest standard editions, conventions are those of *SEG*. Citations of modern works follow the abbreviations of *American Journal of Archaeology* (1991 issue). Centuries are abbreviated C6, C5, C4 (= 6th, 5th, 4th cent. B.C.). C5e (= early fifth century B.C.), C5f (= first half of the 5th cent.) C5m (= ca. 450 B.C.) C5s (second half of the 5th cent.). C5l (= late fifth century B.C.). Whenever a source is used retrospectively the period to which it refers is indicated. A reference in Diodoros to an event in 402 B.C. is recorded: Diod. 14.17.3, r402 B.C. or: Harp. s.v. Hysiai, rC4. – Apart from some later additions and revisions this database layout was composed during the summer and autumn of 1993 by Mogens Herman Hansen, Lene Rubinstein and David Whitehead.

178 For valuable comments on this paper I would like to thank my respondent Franz Georg Maier and my colleagues in the *CPC*: Tobias Fischer-Hansen, Pernille Flensted-Jensen, Antony Keen, Thomas Heine Nielsen and Lene Rubinstein. A much shorter version of the paper was delivered at the symposium on *The Development of the Polis in Archaic Greece*, arranged by P.J. Rhodes and held in Durham in Sept. 1995. It will appear in the acts of the symposium published by Routledge.

An Inventory of Boiotian Poleis in the Archaic and Classical Periods

MOGENS HERMAN HANSEN

I. The Region Boiotia

The name of the region is Βοιωτία (Ar. *Ach.* 160; Thuc. 1.12.3; *SEG* 28 461.28, 287-0 B.C.). The ethnic is Βοιωτός (Hom. *Il.* 2.494, Ducat no. 257) or Βοιώτιος (Hom. *Il.* 14.476; *CID* II 31.93); cf. Gschnitzer (1983) 153. The collective use of the ethnic is attested externally in the epigram commemorating the Athenian victory over the Boiotians in 506 B.C. (ἔθνεα Βοιωτῶν, *IG* I³ 501) and internally on the obverse of the coins (BOI, BOIΩ Head [1881] 21, 54) and in the C4f Boiotian proxeny decrees πρόξενον εἶμεν Βοιωτῶν, (*IG* VII 2407-8). For the individual and external use see [Ἐ]πίδδαλος τόπό[λλονι] Βοιώτιος ἐχς Ἐρχ[ομενῶ] (Lazzarini 374, C5f); for the internal use see Εὔβουλος Παναρμόστου Βοιώτιος (*BCH* 99 [1975] 51-3 line 4, C3f). The region Boiotia is described with the terms χώρα (Hdt. 8.44.1; *Hell. Oxy.* 19.2) or γῆ (Soph. fr. 314.31, Radt; Hdt. 5.57.1), and from ca. 500 B.C. the term ἔθνος is used of the people (*IG* I³ 501; Hdt. 9.31.5-32.1; *Hell. Oxy.* 19.4; Aeschin. 2.116, Bakhuizen 1989).

In the *Catalogue of Ships* Orchomenos and Aspledon are described as Mynyan settlements outside Boiotia (Hom. *Il.* 2.511; cf. Thuc. 4.76.3). In later sources both Orchomenos (Hdt. 8.34.1; Thuc. 1.113.1) and Aspledon (Strab. 9.2.41; Paus. 9.38.9) were considered Boiotian, and in the archaic and classical periods the frontiers of the whole region were the following: Boiotia bordered on Phokis, and the westernmost Boiotian *poleis* were Orchomenos (Hdt. 8.34.1), Chaironeia (Hekataios [*FGrHist* 1] fr. 116; Thuc. 4.76.3), Lebadeia (Strab. 9.3.14) and Chorsiai (Skylax 38). To the north Boiotia bordered on Opountian Lokris and the frontier must have run north of Hyettos and Kopai (no explicit evidence) and west of Anthedon (Strab. 9.2.13, cf. Hom. *Il.* 2.508). The easternmost Boiotian settlement was Delphinion in the Oropia (Strab. 9.2.6). Oropos was contiguous to Attika (Thuc. 4.99.1); it was under Athenian domination in the years ca. 500-411, ca. 375-66 and 338-22, but never integrated into Attika (see *infra* page 97). Moving westward from Oropos (Heraklides 7-8, *GGM* I, 101) the Boiotian *poleis* bordering on Attika were

Tanagra (Thuc. 3.91.3-5; Dem. 18.96), Hysiai (Hdt. 6.108.6) and Plataiai (Hdt. 6.108.3). In the years around 500 B.C. Hysiai was an Attic “deme” (Hdt. 5.74.1), and Plataiai may have been a part of Attika as well (see *infra* page 100). Eleutherai was originally a Boiotian settlement (Polemon fr. 2; Steph. Byz. 265.10) incorporated into Attika (Paus. 1.38.8) in, probably, 506 (Connor 8-16). It is a moot point whether it belonged to Boiotia once again in the fourth century (for: Camp [1991]; against: Munn [1993] 8-9). Towards the Isthmos Boiotia bordered on Megaris and the frontier ran along the ridge of Kithairon between Boiotian Kreusis and Megarian Aigosthena (Xen. *Hell.* 5.4.17-8).

Our written sources provide us with information about 63 named Boiotian settlements¹ of the archaic and classical periods.² Of these 58 have been identified,³ most beyond reasonable doubt, some with a certain amount of probability only.⁴ Five ancient toponyms, however, remain unlocated⁵ and, conversely, we have remains of two fairly small ancient settlements which cannot be convincingly matched with any of the toponyms found in the written sources.⁶ Thus we know of 65 archaic and classical settlements altogether. Twenty-seven are described below in the inventory which comprises every Boiotian settlement which was either certainly (type A) or probably (type B) or possibly (type C) a *polis*. The other thirty-eight settlements are in alphabetical order:⁷

- Askra* (Ἄσκρα) – Hes. *Op.* 639-40 (κώμη); Ephorus (*FGrHist* 70) fr. 1 (κώμη); Strab. 9.2.25; Paus. 9.29.1-2; Steph. Byz. 133.12 (πόλις). AC. (Fossey [1988] 142-5).
- Aspledon* (Ἄσπληδών) – Hom. *Il.* 2.511; Cf. Hes. fr. 77; Strab. 9.2.41; Paus. 9.38.9 (πόλις); Steph. Byz. 135.8 (πόλις). C, but also A since it is recorded in Homer and Hesiod. (Fossey [1988] 361-3).
- Aulis* (Ἀυλῖς) – Hom. *Il.* 2.496; Hes. *Op.* 651; Aesch. *Ag.* 191; Xen. *Hell.* 3.4.3; Ephorus (*FGrHist* 70) fr. 119; *Hell. Oxy.* 20.3 (?); Skylax 59 (ἱερόν); Nicocrates (*FGrHist* 376) fr. 1; Dion. Call. 88, *GGM* 1.241 (πόλις); Strab. 9.2.8 (χωρίον, κώμη, λιμῆν); Paus. 9.19.6. Steph. Byz. 147.1. AC. (Fossey [1988] 68-74).
- Chalia* (Χαλία) – Theopomp. (*FGrHist* 115) fr. 211-2 = Steph. Byz. 681.4 (πόλις). AC. (Fossey [1988] 77-8).
- Delion* (Δήλιον) – Hdt. 6.118.2; Thuc. 4.76.4-5; Skylax 59 (ἱερόν); Strab. 9.2.7 (ἱερόν; πολίχνην); Paus. 9.20.1; Steph. Byz. 226.13-4 (ἱερόν; πολίχνην). C. (Fossey [1988] 62-6).
- Delphinion* (Δελφίνιον) – Strab. 9.2.6 (ἱερός λιμῆν). C. Fossey [1988] 37-8.

- Donakon* (Δονακών) – Paus. 9.31.7. C. (Fossey [1988] 147-9).
- Drymos* (Δρυμός) – Harp. s.v. (πόλις) = Arist. fr. 612, Rose. Unlocated settlement near Panaktos.
- Eilesion* (Ειλέσιον) – Hom. *Il.* 2.499; Dion. Call. 90, *GGM* 1.241; Strab. 9.2.17; Steph. Byz. 261.13. AC. (Fossey [1988] 127-30).
- Gla* Unidentified settlement. C. (Fossey [1988] 288).
- Glisas* (Γλίσας) – Hom. *Il.* 2.504; Hdt. 9.43.2; Hellenicus (*FGrHist* 4) fr. 100; Strab. 9.2.31 (κατοικία); Paus. 9.19.6 (ἐρείπια); Steph. Byz. 209.16 (πόλις). AC. (Fossey [1988] 217-23).
- Graia* (Γραῖα) – Hom. *Il.* 2.498; Arist. fr. 613, Rose. *A?C.* (Fossey [1988] 66-7).
- Harma* (Ἄρμα) – Hom. *Il.* 2.499; Philoch. fr. 113 (κωμηταί) = Strab. 9.2.11, 14 (κώμη ἔρημος); Paus. 9.19.4 (ἐρείπια πόλεως); Steph. Byz. 122.6 (πόλις). AC. (Fossey [1988] 85-9).
- Heleon* (Ἑλεών) – Hom. *Il.* 2.500; Strab. 9.2.12, 14 (κώμη); Plut. *Mor.* 301A; Paus. 1.29.6. AC. (Fossey [1988] 89-95).
- Hippotai* (Ἰππόται) – Plut. *Mor.* 775A (κώμη). C. (Fossey [1988] 339-40).
- Hyle* (Ἵλη) – Hom. *Il.* 2.500; Strab. 9.2.20 (κώμη); Steph. Byz. 647.13. AC. (Fossey [1988] 235-43).
- Hyria* (Ἵρία) – Hom. *Il.* 2.496; Theopomp. (*FGrHist* 115) fr. 211 = Steph. Byz. 651.15 (πολίδιον); Strab. 9.2.12. AC. (Fossey [1988] 75-6).
- Isos* (Ἴσος) – Strab. 9.2.14 (ἵχνη πόλεως). AC. (Fossey [1988] 257-61).
- Keressos* (Κερησσός) – Plut. *Cam.* 19.4; Paus. 9.14.2-4 (ἐχυρὸν χωρίον)(= *Anthologiae Graecae* Appendix 6.73, cf. Fontenrose Q 204). A, according to the literary sources. Near Thespiiai but unlocated.
- Kreusis* (Κρεῦσις) – Xen. *Hell.* 5.4.16-7, 6.4.3 (τεῖχος); Strab. 9.2.25 (ἐπίνειον); Paus. 9.32.1 (ἐπίνειον); Steph. Byz. 383.6 (πόλις). AC. (Fossey [1988] 157-63).
- Kyrtone* (Κυρτώνη later Κύρτωνες) – Paus 9.24.4 (πόλισμα) = Steph. Byz. 398.9 (πόλις). C. (Fossey [1990] 52-7).
- Leuktra* (Λεῦκτρα) – Xen. *Hell.* 6.4.4 (ἐν Λεῦκτροις τῆς Θεσπικῆς); Dem. 9.23; Diod. 15.53.2 (τὸ Λευκτρικὸν πεδίων); Harp. s.v. (χωρίον περὶ Θεσπιάς); Plut. *Mor.* 773B (κωμίον τῆς τῶν Θεσπιέων χώρας); Strab. 9.2.39 (τόπος). C. (Fossey [1988] 154-7).
- Mali* – Unidentified settlement. A. (Fossey [1988] 194-5).
- Medeon* (Μεδεών) – Hom. *Il.* 2.501 (ἐὐκτίμενον πτολίεθρον); Strab.

- 9.2.26; Dion. Call. 99, *GGM* 1.241 (πόλις); Steph. Byz. 439.19 (πόλις). *AC*. (Fossey [1988] 312-4).
- Metachioion* (Μετάχοιον) – Ephorus (*FGrHist* 70) fr. 94 = Steph. Byz. 448.19 (φρούριον); (Μετατοίχου MSS: Μεταχοίου Marx). Between Orchomenos and Koroneia, but unlocated. *C*, according to the literary sources.
- Mideia* (Μίδεια) – Hom. *Il.* 2.507; Steph. Byz. 451.17 (πόλις). Unlocated.
- Nisa* (Νῖσα) – Hom. *Il.* 2.508; Dion. Call. 102, *GGM* 1.242. Unlocated.
- Oinophyta* (Ὀινόφυτα) – Thuc. 1.108.3; 4.95.3; Plat. *Menex.* 242B; Arist. *Pol.* 1302b29; Diod. 11.83.1. *AC*. (Fossey [1988] 58-60).
- Okalea* (Ὠκαλέα) – Hom. *Il.* 2.501; *Hymn. Hom. Ap.* 242 (Ὠκαλέην πολύπτυρον); Strab. 9.2.26-7; Dion. Call. 99, *GGM* 1.241 (πόλις); Steph. Byz. 706.11 (πόλις). *H*, but also *A* and *C* (implicitly) since it is recorded in Homer and in the hymn to Apollon. (Fossey [1988] 314-8).
- Olmones* (Ὀλμωνες) – Paus. 9.24.3; 9.34.10 (κώμη); Steph. Byz. 490.7 (κώμη); *IG VII* 2808a15, after 212 A.D. *C*. (Fossey [1988] 296-8).
- Peteon* (Πετεών) – Hom. *Il.* 2.500; Strab. 9.2.26 (κώμη); Steph. Byz. 519.13 (πόλις). *AC*. (Fossey [1988] 233-4).
- Salganeus* (Σαλγανεύς) – Nicocrates (*FGrHist* 376) fr. 1; Heraclides 26, *GGM* 1.105; Diod. 19.77.4; Strab. 9.2.9 (χωρίον); Steph. Byz. 551.6 (πόλις). *C*. (Fossey [1988] 78-80).
- Schoinos* (Σχοῖνος) – Hom. *Il.* 2.497; *Hell. Oxy.* 20.3; Strab. 9.2.22. *AC*. Fossey [1988] 229-32.
- Stephon* (Στέφων) – Plut. *Mor.* 299C (ἔτι τῆς Ταναγραϊκῆς κατὰ κώμας οἰκουμένης). *AC*. (Fossey [1988] 49-52).
- Tegyra* (Τεγύρα) – Lycophron *Alex.* 646; Callisthenes (*FGrHist* 124) fr. 11 = Steph. Byz. 611.3 (πόλις); Plut. *Pelop.* 16-9. *AC*. (Fossey [1988] 367-72).
- Teumessos* (Τευμησσός) – *Hymn. Hom. Ap.* 224; Eur. *Phoen.* 1100; Strab. 9.2.24; Paus. 9.19.1 (χωρίον); Steph. Byz. 618.21 (ὄρος). *C*. (Fossey [1988] 212-6).
- Tilphosaion* (Τιλφωσαῖον) – Dem. 19.141, 148 (fortification, see Fossey [1992] 112-4); Ephorus (*FGrHist* 70) fr. 153 and Theopomp. (*FGrHist* 115) fr. 301 (ὄρος); Τιλφῶσσα Pind. fr. 198b; Aristophanes (*FGrHist* 379) fr. 4 (κρήνη). *CH*.
- Trapheia* (Τράφεια) – Nicander *Ther.* 887; Steph. Byz. 632.4 (πόλις). *AC?* (Fossey [1988] 244-6).

Some of these settlements may indeed have been *poleis*; Eleon for example seems to have had a territory of its own bordering on the territory of Tanagra (Paus. 1.29.6) and that is an indication of the *polis*-ness of the settlement. Similarly, Harma is a rather sizeable settlement with impressive fortifications (Fossey [1988] 86-8) and is described by Pausanias as the ruins of a *polis* (9.19.4). Thus we must consider the possibility that all four members of what in the Hellenistic period was called the *tetrakomia*, i.e. Pharai, Mykalessos, Eleon and Harma (Strab. 9.2.14), had all been *poleis* in the archaic and/or classical period (Etienne & Knoepfler [1976] 225-6). Conversely some of the settlements included in the inventory of *poleis* might perhaps be omitted, viz., Alalkomenai and Onchestos. Even allowing for some uncertainty the inventory leads to the conclusion that more than two fifths of all the Boiotian settlements must have been considered to be *poleis* either throughout the archaic and classical periods or at least for some time within these periods.

Many of these *poleis*, however, were small dependencies, and at least in the classical period the Boiotian *poleis* seem to have formed a hierarchy with at least three different layers: during the 1st and 2nd federation (ca. 446-387 and 378/4-338) the only truly independent *polis* was Thebes which, in addition to being the leading member of the confederacy, preserved its capacity to enter into relations with other *poleis* (*Staatsverträge* nos. 273, 277, 283, 345, see *infra* page 108). Beneath Thebes was a number of *poleis* which, being member states of the federation, provided magistrates and councillors to the federal government and contingents to the federal army. Beneath these *poleis* was a number of little *poleis*, each depending on one of the larger *poleis* and with its own territory inside the territory of the larger *polis* but without any representation in the federal government. Chorsiai, Eutresis, Siphai and Thisbai were *poleis* depending on Thespiiai; Mykalessos and Pharai belonged to Tanagra; Erythrai, Skolos, Eteonos/Skaphlai and Hysiai were first connected with Plataiai in some form of *sympoliteia* but were later subdued by Thebes, which also possessed Anthedon, Oropos and Potniai; Chaironeia lay within the territory of Orchomenos until after 424.

We are poorly informed indeed about the status of all the settlements which were not *poleis*. The orthodoxy is that they were *komai* and – *mutatis mutandis* – had a status similar to the Attic demes (see Hansen [1995a] 69-71). But apart from phratries, attested in the late Hellenistic period (Knoepfler [1981] 148-9), we know of no civic subdivisions in Boiotia (Jones 79). So even supposing that these settlements were in fact *komai* there is no evidence to show that *komai* were an element in the

political organization of Boiotia in the same way as they must have been in e.g. Argos (Charneux in *BCH* 108 [1984] 207-27). Furthermore, only one Boiotian settlement is called *kome* in archaic and classical sources, namely Askra (Hes. *Op.* 639-40; Ephorus [*FGrHist* 70] fr. 1). Philochoros may have used the term *kometai* about the inhabitants of Harma (*FGrHist* 228 fr. 113). In all other cases the authority for Boiotian *komai* is either Strabo or Pausanias, but it is illegitimate to project their site-classifications back into the archaic and classical periods (see Hansen [1995a] 48-52). To conclude: the territory of a major Boiotian *polis*, e.g. Thebes or Thespiai or Tanagra, comprised a number of settlements of which some were *poleis*, some were not and the relation between dependent *poleis* and other dependencies remains obscure.

II. The Inventory of Poleis⁸

Akraiphia, Akraiphnion (Akraiphieus). Map 54. Lat. 38.25, long 23.15; size of territory: 1; type: A. The toponym is Ἀκραίφια, τὰ (*IG* VII 4135.6, C3s; 2871.1, C1) or (in literary sources only) Ἀκραίφια, ἡ (*Hdt.* 8.135.1; *Steph. Byz.* 63.1); Ἀκραίφια (Strab. 9.2.27); Ἀκραίφνιον (*Hell. Oxy.* 19.3); Ἀκραίφνια (Theopomp. [*FGrHist* 115] fr. 362). The city-ethnic is: Ἀκραίφιεύς (Ducat no. 260 = *SEG* 31 393, C5f); Ἀκρηφιεύς (*IG* VII 2708.4, C2f); or (in literary sources only) Ἀκραίφνιεύς (Theopomp. [*FGrHist* 115] fr. 362); Ἀκραίφνιος, Ἀκραίφνεώτης (Ephorus [*FGrHist* 70] fr. 229).

Akraiphia is called a *polis* in the urban sense by Herodotos (8.135.1) and in the political sense by the Oxyrhynchus historian (*Hell. Oxy.* 19.3). The earliest epigraphical reference to a πόλις Ἀκρηφιείων is in a dedication from Ptoion (*IG* VII 4156.2, C3f).

The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested externally in a decree from Oropos (*IG* VII 351.9 = *SEG* 25 489, 228/26 B.C.) and internally in a dedication from Ptoion (*LSAG* 95 no. 13, C6l). The individual use of the city-ethnic is attested externally in a list of *aphedriateuontes* (*IG* VII 2724a.2, ca. 280-70 B.C., cf. Knoepfler [1992] 451) and internally in a dedication: Πυθίας ὀκραίφ[ιεύς] (*LSAG* 95 no. 15, ca. 500 B.C.).

An inscription of ca. 315 B.C. cut in the rock near Vristika marked the border between Akraiphia and Kopai (*IG* VII 2792, *SEG* 36 411, Lauffer [1986] 136), and, similarly, a *horos* of the late archaic period probably records the border between the two *poleis* (*SEG* 30 440, C6-5): [ἥρος Ἀ]κραίφ[ιέων κ]αὶ Κοπ[αίων]. The nearby sanctuary at Ptoion

was controlled by Akraiphia in the archaic period (Ducat [1971] 448-50) as well as in the Hellenistic age (*IG VII* 4139.20-1, C21, Roesch [1982] 225ff), but when the oracle was consulted by Mys in 479 it was under Theban control (Hdt. 8.135.1, cf. Strab. 9.2.34). The Thebans may have dispossessed the Akraiphians of the oracle in C6s (Gullath [1989] 166) but a preferable explanation is that “the oracle may have remained within the direction of Akraiphia, although formally the sanctuary and the territory of Akraiphia were under Theban control” (Schachter 1 [1981] 69). In 395, however, Akraiphia was united with Chaironeia and Kopai and constituted one of the eleven Boiotian districts (*Hell. Oxy.* 19.3). The size of the territory has been assessed at ca. 35 km² (Fossey [1988] 264, 198). There is no explicit evidence for membership of the Second Federation whereas the attestation of an *aphedriateuon* from Akraiphia testifies to membership of the Third Federation (*IG VII* 2724a.2, ca. 280-70 B.C., cf. Knoepfler [1992] 451). The oldest attested public enactments are two proxeny decrees of ca 200 B.C. (*BCH* 23 [1899] 90-1). An eponymous *archon* is attested in C6s (*LSAG* 95 no. 13). The protecting god of Akraiphia was perhaps Zeus of some sort (Schachter 3 [1994] 93-5 and letter of Dec. 1994).

The akropolis was fortified with a double wall: an outer face of hard limestone in trapezoidal coursed masonry, perhaps of C4, and an inner face of poros stone in ashlar coursed masonry, built in C3 and probably destroyed in 196 BC. A *diateichisma* in polygonal work is either older than or contemporary with the limestone wall. There are substantial remains of a pentagonal tower of the Hellenistic period. The circuit of walls enclosed an area of ca. 17 hectares (Fossey [1988] 266-8, Garland *BCH* 98 [1974] 98-112 and information from John Camp). The size of the lower town is unknown, nor do we know whether there was a circuit of walls enclosing the entire town. The settlement can be traced back to C8 (Fossey [1988] 269).

Akraiphia struck coins on the Aiginetan standard from ca. 500 to 480, from 456 to 446, and from 387 (or earlier) to 374 (or later). Type: Obv.: Boiotian shield; Rev.: kantharos in incuse square (some), legend: A (C5e), AK (C5m) or AKPH (C4e) (Head [1911] 344; Schachter [1989] 85; Baldwin Brett [1955] 137 no. 1011).

Alalkomenai. Map 54. Lat. 38.25, long. 23.00. Located at Vouno ca. 1 km east of Solinarion (Knauss 42-68); size of territory: 1; type: C. The toponym is Ἀλαλκομεναί, αἱ (Strab. 9.2.27; Paus. 9.33.5). Apart from Steph. Byz. 68.19 there is no attestation of a city-ethnic.

The only author to call Alalkomenai a *polis* is Strabo who retrospectively describes the site as a small *polis* situated in a plain (9.2.36). According to Pausanias (9.33.5) the settlement was just a κώμη. But it may deserve inclusion in this inventory of *poleis* because it seems to have had a territory of its own and especially because of its famous sanctuary for Athena, τὸ Ἀλαλκομενεῖον (*IG IX*² 170.5) dedicated to the cult of Ἀλαλκομενίης Ἀθήνη (Hom. *Il.* 4.8, see Schachter 1 [1981] 111-4). According to Steph. Byz. 68.18-9 the goddess had the epithet πολλιάς, and her cult was linked with that of Ζεὺς Πολλεύς. Since the sanctuary was in the lowlands (Paus. 9.33.5) the epithets πολλιάς and πολλεύς must refer not to an akropolis cult but rather to cults of divinities protecting the *polis*. The cult of Athena at the Alalkomenion was presumably an old one (Schachter 1 [1981] 12) which indicates that at least in the archaic period Alalkomenai was a *polis* (Hansen [1995] 32-3) with the cult of its protecting god located in an extra-mural sanctuary. The territory is called Ἀλαλκομενία; it must have been very small but at least it included the fortified mountain Tilphosaion (Ephorus [*FGrHist* 70] fr. 153; Diod. 19.53.7). The Alalkomenion was located ca. 300 m north of Alalkomenai (Knauss 50).

Anthedon (Anthedonios) Map 54. Lat. 38.30, long. 23.25; size of territory: 2; type: B. The toponym is Ἀνθηδών, ἡ (Hom. *Il.* 2.508; Skylax 59; *I. Stratonikeia* 508.43, C1), the city-ethnic is Ἀνθηδόνιος (*IG IX*² 27.4, C3), in the Boiotian dialect: Ἀνθάδονιος (*IG VII* 2723.4, C3e).

The earliest explicit reference to Anthedon as a *polis* (in the urban sense) is in Heraclides (23, *GGM I* p. 104, C3s); that it was a *polis* in the political sense as well is apparent from the fact that Ἀριστοκλεῖς Ἀγασιῶ Ἀνθαδόνιος appears ca. 280-70 B.C. among the *aphedriateuontes* (*IG VII* 2723.4, cf. Knoepfler [1992] 451). There is no proof that Anthedon was a *polis* in the classical period, but if we can trust Steph. Byz. 96.18-9: Λεωνίδης Ζωγράφος, Εὐφράνορος μαθητής, Ἀνθηδόνιος the application of the city-ethnic to a fourth century painter is an indication that Anthedon was a *polis* in the political sense at least from the beginning of the Third Federation (i.e. from 338 B.C.). The eight victories at the four major Panhellenic games won ca. 300 B.C. by the pankratisist Nikon of Anthedon point in the same direction (Steph. Byz. 96.17-8 & Phlegon of Tralles [*FGrHist* 257a] = *P.Oxy.* 2082 4.27); see also the reference in Plut. *Mor.* 300F to Μυρτίς ἡ Ἀνθηδονία ποιήτρια, probably to be dated in C3 rather than in C5 (Knoepfler [1986] 601 n. 31). Similarly, Skylax' classification of Anthe-

don as a *teichos* (59) points to the conclusion that Anthedon had not been a *polis* during the first and second federations. The only epigraphical reference to Anthedon as a *polis* is a heavily restored proxeny decree of C3 (*SEG* 36 413 = Knoepfler [1986] 624-30).

The territory is called ἡ Ἀνθηδονία (Strab. 9.2.13) and its size has been assessed at ca. 85 km² (Fossey [1988] 250). Anthedon bounded on Tanagra to the southeast (Nikokrates [*FGrHist* 376] fr. 1) and on Thebes to the southwest (Heraclides 23, *GGM* I, 104). Although there is no explicit evidence, it is usually assumed that Anthedon belonged to Thebes and that its harbour was used as a naval base by the Thebans when in the 360s they built a fleet (Schläger *et alii* [1968] 90), but see Fossey (1993) 117-20. The attestation of an *aphedriateuon* from Anthedon testifies to membership of the Third Federation (*IG* VII 2723.4, ca. 280-70, cf. Knoepfler [1992] 451). The protecting god of Anthedon was probably Zeus Karaios and Anthas whose cult, however, is unattested before C2 (*IG* II² 2360, Schachter 3 [1994] 97 and letter of Dec. 1994)

The ancient town lay next to the sea around a tiny harbour (Strab. 9.2.13; Schläger *et alii* [1968]). A hill of about 30 m high was used for the akropolis. On the north side of the hill are the remains of a Hellenistic (Roesch [*PECS*] 59) fortification wall built in ashlar masonry with interval towers. The city walls encompassed both the hill and the harbour and enclosed an area of 36 hectares (Wallace [1979] 58; Fossey [1988] 252). Herakleides mentions an *agora* flanked with two stoas. The settlement can be traced back to the Neolithic period (Fossey [1988] 255).

Chaironeia (*Chaironeus*). Map 54. Lat. 38.30, long.22.55; size of territory: 2; type: A. The toponym is Χαιρώνεια, ἡ (Thuc. 1.113.1; *F. Delphes* III 3 96 = *SEG* 32 529, ca. 313-300 B.C.), but in some Boiotian inscriptions Χ[η]ρώνια (*IG* VII 3170.10, C3) or Χαιρωνήα (*SEG* 38 380.1, C1). The city-ethnic is Χαιρωνεύς (*SEG* 15 282.4, 263/55 B. C.).

Chaironeia is called a *polis* presumably in the urban sense by Hekataios (*FGrHist* 1 fr. 116, cf. Hansen [1995] 55 n. 44) and in the political sense by Thucydides (4.76.3 and 4.89.2, cf. Hansen [1995] 21-4; *Hell. Oxy.* 19.3). The earliest epigraphical reference to a πόλις Χηρωνεί[ω]ν is a proxeny decree of C2e (*IG* VII 3287 = Michel 240). The term πόλισμα is used by Aristophanes (*FGrHist* 379 fr. 3, C4).

The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested (internally) on the reverse of the coins ΧΑΙΡΩΝΕ(ΩΝ), 387-74 (Head [1881] 44) and externally by Polybios at 27.1.4. For the individual use of the city-ethnic see

e.g. Εὐρυφάντος Καλλίφρονος Χαιρωνέως (*SEG* 15 282.4, *grammateus* 263/55 B.C.).

The territory is called Χαιρώνεια (Lycurg. 1.16: ἡ ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ μάχῃ) and it was the westernmost region of Boiotia, bounding Phokis (Thuc. 4.76.3, cf. Hekataios [*FGrHist* 1] fr. 116). In C5f its territory was a part of the territory of Orchomenos (inference from Hdt. 8.34.1). In 395, however, Chaironeia was united with Kopai and Akraiphia and constituted one of the eleven Boiotian districts (*Hell. Oxy.* 19.3). The size of the territory has been assessed at ca. 55 km² (Fossey [1988] 342).

In C5 Chaironeia was a dependent *polis* under Orchomenos (πόλιν Ὀρχομενίων, Theopomp. [*FGrHist* 115] fr. 407, probably referring to 446 B.C.; ἐς Ὀρχομενὸν ξυντελεῖν, Thuc. 4.76.3, referring to 424 B.C.) and was perhaps without any representation in the federal government. In 395, however, Chaironeia was united with Akraiphia and Kopai and constituted one of the eleven Boiotian districts (*Hell. Oxy.* 19.3). It is not known when Chaironeia changed its status from an Orchomenian dependency to one of the six *poleis* which provided one boiotarch every third year. Chaironeia was a member of the Second Federation (ἐπιβοηθεῖν, Diod. 16.39.8) and of the Third Federation as well (*IG* VII 2724c.6, 245-40 B.C.). In 446 Chaironeia was conquered by the Athenians and exposed to *andrapodismos* (Thuc. 1.113.1; Theopomp. fr. 407).

Chaironeia must have been fortified in 424 (Thuc. 4.89.2). On the akropolis there are remains of (1) a circuit of walls of cyclopean masonry, probably of the archaic period; (2) Lesbian blocks, presumably archaic; (3) a C4 ashlar circuit of walls. Small extensions at the NE corner of the cyclopean wall and at the NW corner of the ashlar wall suggest that the lower city in the archaic and classical periods was walled and lay north of the akropolis. The akropolis walls enclose an area of ca. 15 hectares. The size of the lower city is unknown (Fossey [1988] 376-9). The city's extent is unknown and Bintliff's estimate of 30? hectares is guesswork (Bintliff [1991] 202). The settlement can be traced back to the Early Helladic period (Fossey [1988] 380). Of public architecture the only known building is a small rock-cut theatre of the 5th or 4th century (Dilke in *BSA* 45 [1950] 35-7). The protecting god of Chaironeia may have been Zeus (Paus. 9.41.6, Schachter 3 [1994] 99).

Chaironeia struck coins on the Aiginetan standard between 387 (or earlier) and 374 (or later). Type: Obv.: Boiotian shield; Rev.: club, legend: XAI or XAIΠΩNE (Head [1911] 344).

Chorsiai (*Chorsieus*). Map 54. Lat. 38.15, long. 22.55; size of territory:

1; type: A. The toponym Κορρσιαί, αἱ (Dem. 19.141 codd. AY; Harp. s.v.; Skylax 38) is attested in literary sources but not in inscriptions. From the city-ethnic Χορρσιεύς (*SEG* 3 342, Migeotte [1984] no. 11) we can infer that in the Boiotian dialect the toponym must have been Χορρσιαί which is the spelling offered by Steph. Byz. at 696.1. It has been suggested that the Κορρσιαί referred to by Demosthenes must be Κορρσειά in eastern Lokris (Etienne & Knoepfler [1976] 32-41), but Demosthenes' mention of Orchomenos, Koroneia and Tilphosaion side by side with Κορρσιαί as well as the notes in Harp. and Skylax strongly support the traditional location of the site in southern Boiotia.

Skylax (38) lists Chorsiai as the first toponym after the heading πόλεις αἴδε, and the settlement is presumably called a *polis* by Theopompus (*FGrHist* 115 fr. 167). The earliest epigraphical reference to a πόλις Χορρσιέων is in a proxeny decree of C3s (*IG* VII 2385 = Michel 231).

The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested externally in a treaty with Thisbai (*SEG* 3 342, C2e) and internally in a proxeny decree (*SEG* 22 410, C2f). There is no attestation of the individual use.

The name of the territory is unknown; its size has been assessed at ca. 40 km² (Fossey [1988] 186). A C4f list of Thespian dedications found in Chorsiai indicates that Chorsiai in the early fourth century was a dependent *polis* lying inside the territory of Thespiiai (*SEG* 24 361, soon after 395/4, Schachter 1 [1981] 238).

In 346 Chorsiai was destroyed by the Thebans, had its walls demolished and, like Orchomenos and Koroneia, was perhaps exposed to an *andrapodismos* (Dem. 19.141).

The only reference in written sources to walls is ὄχυρομένοσ at Diod. 16.58.1, describing the Phocians' occupation of Chorsiai during the Sacred War down to 346 B.C. Remains of a coursed trapezoidal wall enclose both the akropolis and the lower town on the east, north and west sides, whereas the south side is protected by cliffs. This circuit of walls seems to date from the years after the battle of Leuktra; it was probably destroyed by the Thebans in 346 (Dem. 19.141), but re-erected later on in the 4th century in isodomic ashlar work. The walls enclose residential quarters of max. one hectare (Büsing & Büsing-Kolbe [1972] 79-87; Fossey [1988] 188-91). The settlement can be traced back to the Early Helladic period (Fossey [1988] 193).

Erythrai. Map 54. Lat. 38.15, long. 23.25; size of territory: 1; type: C. The toponym is Ἐρύθραι (Hom. *Il.* 2.499 [for the accent see Schol. *ad*

loc.]; Thuc. 3.24.2). There is no attestation of the toponym in epigraphical sources, and the only attestation of a city-ethnic is Ἐρυθραῖος Παντία[ς] (*SEG* 30 457, C6l, cf. Fossey [1991] 181-9; Hansen [1995] 46-7; for the word order ethnic-name see *IG* VII 2796). But Δημαρῆτη Μοιρίχου Ἐρυθραία (*IG* II² 8500 = *SEG* 14 194, C4s) may come from Boiotian Erythrai too, since Μοίριχος is a good Boiotian name and since the stele was found in Eleusis where several other sepulchral inscriptions commemorating Boiotians have been found (Koumanoudis [1961] 104).

The only reference in ancient literature to Erythrai having been a *polis* is Pausanias' remark: Ὑσιῶν καὶ Ἐρυθρῶν ἐρείπια ἔστι. πόλις δέ ποτε τῶν Βοιωτῶν ἦσαν (Paus. 9.2.1). Pausanias' retrospective site-classification is supported by two observations: (a) in 479 Erythrai had a territory which must have been very small (Hdt. 9.15.3, 25.2: ὁ Ἐρυθραῖος χώρος), and (b) a *sympoliteia* with Plataiai in C5m suggests that Erythrai had been a *polis* before it joined the *sympoliteia* and may perhaps still have been a dependent *polis* even after the union (*Hell. Oxy.* 19.3, Hansen [1995] 16) by which its territory seems to have become a part of Plataiis (Strab. 9.2.24). Erythrai must have been annexed by Thebes before the synoikism of ca. 431 when its population was moved to Thebes (*Hell. Oxy.* 20.3). By 395, however, Erythrai had been repopulated, but was still lying within the territory of Thebes (*Hell. Oxy.* 19.3).

The akropolis was fortified by an undated circuit of walls of rubble with no pretence to style enclosing an area of 1600 m² (Fossey [1988] 117-8). A wall of the lower town "is only visible as a line in the fall of the land" (Letter from Fossey of Jan 1995). The walls are probably later than 431 when Erythrai is described as unfortified (*Hell. Oxy.* 20.3). Apart from a few LH III sherds the settlement cannot be traced further back than the classical period (Fossey [1988] 118).

Eteonos/Skaphai (Skaph(l)eus). Location unknown; type: C. The toponym was originally Ἐτεωνός, ὁ (Hom. *Il.* 2.497) but it was changed into Σκαφαί, αἱ (*Hell. Oxy.* 20.3) or alternatively Σκαφλαί (*IG* II² 11654, C4m; Strab. 9.2.24, erroneously emended Σκάροφη by all eds.). The change of name may perhaps be connected with the refoundation of the town in ca. 400 B.C. after the synoikism with Thebes in ca. 431. We know that Eteonos/Skaphai was located near Skolos and occupied a hill (Hom. *Il.* 2.497) in the Parasopia (Strab. 9.2.24), but the precise location is unknown (Fossey [1988] 130-1).

Apart from Steph. Byz. (283.8) Eteonos/Skaphai is never called a *polis* and the reasons for including the site in this inventory are (a) that a city-ethnic is attested in classical sources (Hansen [1995] 28, 48) and (b) that a *sympoliteia* with Plataiai in C5m suggests that Eteonos/Skaphai had been a *polis* before it joined the *sympoliteia* and may perhaps still have been a dependent *polis* even after the union (*Hell. Oxy.* 19.3, Hansen [1995] 16).

Apart from Steph. Byz. 283.10 there is no attestation of a city-ethnic derived from the toponym Eteonos, but the city-ethnic Σκαφ(λ)εύς is attested in four Attic sepulchral inscriptions of C4 of which the two last have been found in Eleusis: *IG II² 11202*: Σκαφλεύς, C4f; *IG II² 11654*: ἐΣκαφλάων, C4m [Koumanoudis: α<ι>ων, but see δραχμίων in *IG VII 3055.4*]; *SEG 15 161*: Σκαφλικά, Σκαφλικάί, C4m; *SEG 22 191*: Σκαφλικάί, C4s; cf. also *SEG 22 192*, C2-3 AD. The only other attestation is in Men. *Dysc.* hypoth. 14: ὑπεκρίνατο Ἀριστόδημος Σκαφεύς.

Eutresis (Eutretidieus). Map 54. Lat. 38.15, long. 23.15; size of territory: 1; type: C. The toponym is Εὔτρησις (Hom. *Il.* 2.502; *Hell. Oxy.* 19.3). The only surviving attestation of the city-ethnic is in a Hellenistic dedication to Apollo: Εὔτρητιδιεῖς Ἀπόλλωνι (*BCH* 28 [1904] 430-1 no. 1).

Strabo calls Eutresis a κομίον Θεσπιέων (9.2.28) and in Steph. Byz. (287.21) it is classified as a *kome*. Eutresis is not called a *polis* in any extant source, but the reference at *Hell. Oxy.* 19.3 to what was probably a *sympoliteia* between Thespiiai, Thisbai and Eutresis suggests that Eutresis during the First Federation was a dependent *polis* dominated by Thespiiai (Siewert [1977] 463, Hansen [1995] 16), cf. τοῖ Θεσπίεσιν καὶ τοῖσὺν αὐτοῖς (*SEG* 26 475.5, C5f). The attestation of the city-ethnic further suggests that Eutresis was still a *polis* in the Hellenistic period during the Third Federation.

Excavations have revealed a part of a circuit of walls. Its compartment construction has been taken to suggest a mid fourth century date (Fossey [1988] 152). The settlement can be traced back to the Neolithic period (Fossey [1988] 152).

Haliartos (Haliartios). Map 54. Lat. 38.25, long. 23.05; size of territory: 2; type: A. The toponym is Ἀλίαρτος, ὁ (Armenidas [*FGrHist* 378] fr.7) or Ἀλίαρτος (Hom. *Il.* 2.503, cf. *P. Lit. Lond.* 6; *Lys.* 16.13; *IG VII 2850*, C2-C1). In Boiotia the city-ethnic is either Ἀλιάρτιος (*SEG*

25 554, C5, Etienne & Knoepfler [1976] 221-5) or Ἀλιάρτιος (*IG* VII 2724.4-5, ca. 280-70 B.C., cf. Knoepfler [1992] 451); outside Boiotia it is always Ἀλιάρτιος (Thuc. 4.93.4). For the late appearance of the form Ἀλιάρτιος see most recently Knoepfler (1992) 480-1.

Haliartos is listed as one of the Boiotian *poleis* in Thucydides' description of the battle of Delion (4.91.1 & 93.4). It is called a *polis* in the urban sense by Heraclides (25, *GGM* I 104, C3) and in the political sense by the Oxyrhynchus historian (*Hell. Oxy.* 19.3). The earliest epigraphical attestation of a πόλις Ἀρια[ρτίων] is in a C3 decree concerning the cult of Athena Itonia (*SEG* 32 456.7, 235-30 B.C.), but the term [πο]λιτεία (citizenship) in a citizenship decree of C41 (*SEG* 28 453.8) strongly supports Knoepfler's restoration [τᾶς πόλιος Ἀλιαρτίων] in lines 3-4 of the decree (*BCH* 102 [1978] 381, *pace* Fossey in *Boeotia Antiqua* 4 [1994] 49-51).

The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested externally in a C5 dedication found near Onchestos (*SEG* 25 554) and internally on the reverse of a coin of C4f (APIAPTION, Head [1911] 345, see Etienne & Knoepfler [1976] 222 n. 771). For the individual (and external) use see e.g. Κρισιάδαο Ἀγχιαρίω Ἀριαρτίω (*IG* VII 2724b.2, ca. 280-70 B.C., cf. Knoepfler [1992] 451).

The territory was called Ἀλίαρτος (Xen. *Hell.* 3.5.17) or Ἀλιαρτία (Strab. 9.2.33; Paus. 9.33.4). Together with Lebadeia and Koroneia Haliartos constituted one of the eleven Boiotian districts (*Hell. Oxy.* 19.3). The size of the territory has been assessed at ca. 80 km² (Fossey [1988] 300). It comprised Onchestos (Strab. 9.2.33; *SEG* 25 554, Etienne & Knoepfler [1976] 223; Schachter 2 [1986] 206) and Okalea and Medeon as well (Strab. 9.2.26). A line of fortifications, now dated to 371 BC (Fossey [1992] 112-4) indicates the border of the city towards Koroneia (Fossey [1988] 320). The Cambridge/Bradford survey of Boiotia has disclosed that there is a band of almost empty territory running east-west just north of Askra, probably the border-zone between the territory of Haliartos and that of Thespiiai (Snodgrass [1990] 129). The Thebans' remark at *Hdt.* 5.79.2 that the Koroneians and Thespiians are their neighbours indicates that Haliartos in 507/6 was a dependent *polis* and situated in what was then the territory of either Koroneia or Thebes. Haliartos was a member of the First Federation (*Hell. Oxy.* 19.3) and of Third Federation (*IG* VII 2724b.2, ca. 280-70 B.C., cf. Knoepfler [1992] 451). We have no evidence relating to the Second Federation.

A small circuit of walls of cyclopean masonry (Mycenaean) with Lesbian (archaic) and trapezoidal (classical) repairs encloses the akropolis.

An ashlar circuit of walls, probably of C4, encloses the lower city and covers an area of ca. 36 hectares (Fossey [1988] 301-5). Haliartos was fortified when attacked by Lysandros in 395/4 (Xen. *Hell.* 3.5.17-9; Paus. 3.5.3-5). Both passages refer to a circuit of walls enclosing the whole city and not just the akropolis. Haliartos seems to have been an early iron age settlement located in and round the akropolis wherefrom it spread down the slope to the south. The settlement can be traced back to the Neolithic period (Fossey [1988] 305-6). The urban centre reached its maximum size in the 4th century (Bintliff & Snodgrass [1988] 61-5). On the akropolis have been found the remains of an archaic sanctuary of Athena (C7-6), and the protecting god of Haliartos was probably Athena Itonia (*SEG* 25 556.6-7, C31, Schachter 1 [1981] 116)

Haliartos struck coins on the Aiginetan standard from ca. 456 to 446, from ca. 400 (or earlier) to 374 (or later), and again from ca. 338 to 315. Type: Obv.: Boiotian shield; Rev.: amphora, later a trident, legend: either API or AP, later ΑΛΙ (Head [1911] 345; Kraay [1976] 111-2). A remarkable stater has on the reverse a naked Poseidon and the legend AP-IAPTION (or -ΙΟΣ) in epichoric letters, which points to a date around 400 B.C. rather than after 387 (Etienne & Knoepfler [1976] 222, Hansen [1995] 63 add. note). The archaic coins inscribed with an epichoric H and traditionally assigned to Haliartos are now believed to have been struck by Hyettos (Etienne and Knoepfler [1976] 218-26).

Hyettos (Hyettios). Map 54. Lat. 38.35, long. 23.05; size of territory: 2; type: B. Apart from the Latinized version in Pliny *NH* 36.128 the toponym Ὑήρτος, ὄ is attested in two late sources only, viz., Pausanias (9.24.3-4, 36.6) and Stephanus (646.14). But the personal name Ὑήρτος (Hes. fr. 257, C7-6) implies that the toponym goes back to the archaic period. The city-ethnic is Ὑέτιος (*SEG* 24 300, C6s), Ὑείττιος (*IG* VII 1673.4, ca. 240 B.C.), Ὑέττιος (*IG* VII 416.78, C1) or Ὑήττιος (*IG* VII 2833.4, ca. 200 AD).

The earliest explicit reference to Hyettos as a *polis* is in a military catalogue of ca. 250 (*SEG* 26 498.3-4). But other evidence implies that Hyettos was a *polis* in the archaic and classical periods as well. (a) *SEG* 24 300, C6s: Θεβαῖοι τῶν ηυετίων inscribed on a greave and undoubtedly commemorating a Theban victory over the Hyettans. (b) *Hell. Oxy.* 19.3: δύο δὲ παρείχοντο βοιωτάρχας Ὀρχομένιοι καὶ Ὑήττιοι (Wilamowitz, Etienne and Knoepfler [1976] 230 : MS Ὑσιαῖοι), which shows that in ca. 400 B.C. Hyettos was one of the *poleis* which participated in the running of the Federal administration. Further evidence of

the close relations between Hyettos and Orchomenos is provided by a public dedication of ca. 400 B.C. set up by the Orchomenians on the akropolis of Hyettos (now lost but seen in 1938 by M. Feyel, *BCH* 62 [1938] 165 n. 5.; Etienne and Knoepfler [1976] 228-9).

The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested externally in the dedication *SEG* 24 300, C6s and internally on the coins if Ξ is an abbreviation of $\text{h}\nu\epsilon\tau\acute{\iota}\omicron\nu$. The individual use of the city-ethnic is attested in a list of *aphedriateuontes*: ... Ἀριστομάχῳ Ὑειττίῳ (*IG* VII 1673.4, ca. 240 B.C.). The name of the territory is unknown; its size has been assessed at ca. 55 km² (Fossey [1988] 292).

During the First Federation Orchomenos and Hyettos constituted two of the Boiotian districts and provided two Boiotarchs (*Hell. Oxy.* 19.3). The difference in size between the two cities indicates that, like the other small *poleis* around lake Kopais, Hyettos provided one boiotarch every third year and Orchomenos all the others (Etienne & Knoepfler 229-33). Hyettos was a member of the Third Federation (*IG* VII 1673.4, ca. 240 B.C.). There is no evidence concerning the Second Federation.

The akropolis was fortified by a wall of Lesbian masonry dating from ca. 500 B.C. with repairs of the 4th and 2nd centuries B.C. The circuit of walls encloses an area of ca. 6 hectares. There are no traces of any wall around the lower city, which seems to have lain south and east of the akropolis (Etienne & Knoepfler 45-65). There are no traces of habitation antedating the archaic period (Fossey [1988] 294-5).

Hyettos struck coins on the Aiginetan standard from ca. 500 to ca. 480. Type: Obv.: Boiotian shield; Rev.: a mill-sail punch. Legend: (first on obv. later on rev.) the epichoric letter h (Ξ) (Head [1911] 345 & Kraay [1976] 109-10 under Haliartos, but assigned to Hyettos by Etienne & Knoepfler [1976] 218-26 & 383-90; Schachter [1989] 85).

Hysiai. Map 54. Lat. 38.15, long. 23.20; size of territory: 1; type: *C*. The toponym is Ὑσιαί (Hdt. 5.74.2; Eur. *Bacch.* 751). There is no attestation of the toponym in epigraphical sources and the only attestation of a city-ethnic is in Steph. Byz. 653.9.

Apart from Pausanias' description of Hysiai as the ruins of what had once been a Boiotian *polis* (9.2.1) the only reference in ancient literature to Hysiai as a *polis* is in Harpokration s.v. Ὑσιαί, τῆς Βοιωτίας πόλις, quoting Hypereides' speech *For Xenophilos* (fr. 156, Sauppe) on the toponym, but not necessarily on the classification of the site as a *polis*. The two main reasons for including Hysiai in this inventory are (a) that it had a territory of its own and (b) that it was placed right between Pla-

taiai and the three small cities which are named by the Oxyrhynchus historian as συμπολιτευόμενοι with Plataiai (*Hell. Oxy.* 19.3), viz. Erythrai, Skolos and Skaphai. This location strongly indicates that Hysiai must have been one of the small members of the *sympoliteia* not mentioned explicitly by the Oxyrhynchus historian but referred to with the phrase τῶν ἄλλων χωρίων, and thus Hysiai was presumably a *polis*, at least before it joined the *sympoliteia*.

Hysiai had been annexed by Athens, probably in 519, and was still part of Attika in 506 (Hdt. 5.74.2; 6.108.6); but in 479 Hysiai had a territory of its own which, however, must have been very small (Hdt. 9.25.3, cf. 6.108.6) bounding Plataiai to the west (Hdt. 9.15.3; 25.3), Thebes to the north (Hdt. 6.108.6), Erythrai to the east (Hdt. 9.15.3) and Eleutherai to the south (Paus. 9.1.6). Later in C5 Hysiai seems to have been a member of the *sympoliteia* led by Plataiai (*Hell. Oxy.* 19.3) and must accordingly have been a part of Plataiis (cf. Paus. 9.2.1).

Traces of a circuit of walls could still be seen a hundred years ago (Fossey [1988] 113) and some remains of buildings as well as two dedications to Demeter (*IG VII* 1670-1) have been connected with the sanctuary of Demeter Eleusinos (Hdt. 9.57.2; Plut. *Mor.* 325E)(Schachter I [1981] 153).

Kopai (Kopaieus). Map 54. Lat. 38.30, long. 23.10; size of territory: 3; type: A. The toponym Κῶπαι is attested in literary sources only (Hom. *Il.* 2.502; *Hell. Oxy.* 19.3). The city-ethnic is Κῶπαιεύς (Thuc. 4.93.4; *IG VII* 4149.15, C1f) or Κῶπαιῶς (Head [1911] 344, C4f) or Κῶπιῶς (*IG VII* 2792, C4s), which is the more common form in Boiotian inscriptions (Fossey in *LCM* 10 [1985] 39).

Kopai is listed as one of the Boiotian *poleis* in Thucydides' description of the battle of Delion (4.91.1 & 93.4) and in the Oxyrhynchus Historian's account of the federal constitution (*Hell. Oxy.* 19.3). The earliest epigraphical attestation of a πόλις Κῶπιῶν is in a dedication of the Hellenistic period (*SEG* 41 452, C2f).

The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested externally on a C4s boundary stone (*IG VII* 2792) and internally on the reverse of a coin of C4f (ΚΩΠΑΙΩΝ, Head [1911] 344); the individual use is attested externally in a list of *aphedriateuontes*: Ἀριστοκράτιος [Ἐμ]πέδωνος Κῶπ[ή]ω (*IG VII* 2724d.5, ca. 240 B.C.) and internally in a Hellenistic grave epigramme (*IG VII* 2796.1).

An inscription of ca. 315 cut in the rock near Vristika marked the border between Kopai and Akraiphia (*IG VII* 2792, *SEG* 36 411, Lauffer

[1986] 136), and, similarly, a *horos* of the late archaic period probably records the border between the two *poleis* (*SEG* 30 440). The size of the territory has been assessed at ca. 105 km² (Fossey [1988] 264).

In 395 Kopai was united with Akraiphia and Chaironeia and constituted one of the eleven Boiotian districts (*Hell. Oxy.* 19.3). There is no explicit evidence concerning the Second Federation, but Kopai was a member of the Third Federation (*IG* VII 2724d.5, ca. 240 B.C.).

A line of an ashlar wall (presumably of the second half of the 4th century B.C.) and possibly the position of a tower can still be observed (Fossey [1988] 278). The settlement can be traced back to the Neolithic period (Fossey [1988] 279).

Kopai struck coins on the Aiginetan standard between 387 (or earlier) and 374 (or later). Type: Obv.: Boiotian shield; Rev.: forepart or head of a bull, legend: ΚΩ or ΚΩΠΑΙΩΝ (Head [1911] 344).

Koroneia (*Koronaios* or *Koroneus*). Map 54. Lat. 38.25, long. 22.55; size of territory: 2; type: A. The toponym is Κορώνεια (Hom. *Il.* 2.503; Thuc. 1.113.2; *IG* II² 5222, 394 B.C.) but a C6 dedication in Olympia has ρορόνεια (*LSAG* 95 no. 11). In most literary sources the city-ethnic is Κορωνάιος (Hdt. 5.79.2; Thuc. 4.93.4) but in inscriptions and some literary sources it is Κορωνεύς (Lazzarini 916; *CID* II 74 col. 1.50, 337/6; *Hell. Oxy.* 19.3); once it is Κορωνίος (Strab. 9.2.29). Again, [ϙο]ρονε[ῆς] has been restored on a C6I helmet dedicated to Olympian Zeus (*BSA* 87 [1992] 288) and the oldest coins (500-480) are marked with a ϙ whereas the coins of the next series (from ca. 456-46) are signed ΚΟΡΟ (Head [1911] 345).

Koroneia is presumably called a *polis* by Hekataios (*FGrHist* 1 fr. 117) but the first unquestionable attestation of Koroneia as a *polis* is in Thucydides' description of the battle of Delion (Thuc. 4.91.1 & 93.4). The oldest epigraphical reference to a πόλις Κορωνέων is in a C3I proxeny decree (*SEG* 26 552).

The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested externally in a dedication in Thebes (Lazzarini 916) as well as in literary sources (Hdt. 5.79.2; Thuc. 4.93.4) and internally on the coins ΚΟΡΟ(ΝΕΙΩΝ) (Head [1881] 26). For the individual and external use of the city-ethnic cf. the sepulchral inscription Εὐκράτη Κορωνεῦ χαῖρε (*IG* VII 2114 = Choix 49, Hellenistic), for the individual and internal use see the list of victors at the Pamboiotia (*SEG* 26 551, C3s)

The territory was called Κορώνεια (Thuc. 1.113.2; Arist. *Mir.* 842b3) or ἡ Κορωνειακή (Strab. 9.2.19, 28). Together with Haliartos

and Lebadeia Koroneia constituted one of the eleven Boiotian districts (*Hell. Oxy.* 19.3). The territory of Koroneia comprised Hermaion (a valley), Metachoion (a fortress between Koroneia and Orchomenos) (Ephorus [*FGrHist* 70] fr. 94a) and the sanctuary of Athena Itonia (Strab. 9.2.29; Schol. Apol. Rhod. 1.551a). Its size has been assessed at ca. 95 km² (Fossey [1988] 322).

Koroneia was allied with Thebes in 506 and earlier (Hdt. 5.79.2). The city was a member of the First Federation (*Hell. Oxy.* 19.3-4), the Second Federation (Diod. 16.35.3) and the Third Federation (*CID* II 74.50). In 359 *theorodokoi* were appointed to host *theoroi* from Epidauros (*IG* IV² 1.94.7). The protecting god of Koroneia was Athena Itonia whose sanctuary seems to have been located just to the north of the akropolis (Alc. fr. 325, L&P; Schachter 1 [1981] 117-27).

In 353/2 Koroneia was conquered by Onomarchos (Ephorus fr. 94a; Diod. 16.35.3) and became a Phokian stronghold (Dem. 19.148; Diod. 16.58.1) until 346 when Philip had the city handed over to the Thebans (Dem. 5.22, 6.13) who exposed it to an *andrapodismos* (Dem. 19.112, 325); but shortly afterwards Koroneia must have been resettled since, in 337/6, one of the Boiotian *tamiai* in Delphi is a Koroneian citizen (*CID* II 74.50).

Koroneia was a walled city when conquered by the Phokians in 353 (Ephorus fr. 94a; Diod. 16.58.1). There are remains of an undated polygonal circuit of walls around the akropolis, enclosing an area of 38 hectares (Fossey [1988] 325-6, letter of Jan. 1995); another circuit of walls of unknown date enclosing the lower town could still be seen in the 19th century (Frazer *Paus.* V 70). The settlement can be traced back to the Neolithic period (Fossey [1988] 326).

Koroneia struck coins on the Aiginetan standard in the periods ca. 500-480, ca. 456-46, ca. 387 (or earlier) – 374 (or later) and after 338. Type: Obv.: Boiotian shield; Rev.: head of Athena Itonia (some), legend: down to ca. 480: ♀, thereafter either KOPO or KO or KOP (Head [1911] 345; Kraay [1976] 110-1; Schachter [1989] 85).

Lebadeia (Lebadeus). Map 54. Lat. 38.25, long. 22.50; size of territory: 2; type: A. The toponym is Λεβάδεια, ἡ (Hdt 8.134.1; *IG* VII 3083.4-5, C3s). The city-ethnic is Λεβαδεύς (*Hell. Oxy.* 19.3; *CID* II 102 col. I 11, 324/3) but in some Boiotian inscriptions it is Λεβαδειῆος (*IG* VII 3068.1 = Michel 635, C3).

Lebadeia is called a *polis* in the political sense by *Hell. Oxy.* (at 19.3). The earliest epigraphical attestation of a πόλις Λεβαδει[ήων] is in a sa-

cred law of C4m (*IG VII 3055*). The formula is restored in *IG VII 3086* of ca. 400 B.C., but see Schachter 3 (1994) 76 n.1.

The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally in a sacred law (*IG VII 3055*, C4s, Schachter 3 [1994] 86-8) and externally in *Hell. Oxy.* 19.3. For the individual and external use see e.g. Σωκράτης[ος Λ]-εβαδειέο[ς], *hieromnemon* in 324/3 (*CID II 102 col. 1.11*).

The territory was called Λεβάδεια (Cratinus fr. 220; Xen. *Mem.* 3.5.4; Theophr. *Hist. Pl.* 4.11.8) or ἡ Λεβαδιακή (Arist. *HA* 606a1). Together with Koroneia and Haliartos Lebadeia constituted one of the eleven Boiotian districts (*Hell. Oxy.* 19.3). A *horos* of C4-C3 found some 4 km. south-east of Lebadeia marks the border between Lebadeia and Koroneia (*SEG 23 297*). To the north-east Lebadeia bordered the territory of Orchomenos (Arist. *HA* 606a1). The adjoining city to the north was Chaironeia (Plut. *Mor.* 849A, rC4). The size of the territory has been assessed at ca. 95 km² (Fossey [1988] 322, 342).

Lebadeia was a member of the First Federation (*Hell. Oxy.* 19.3). The city must have been a member of the Second Federation as well since the annual *panegyris* celebrating the Boiotian victory at Leuktra took place in Lebadeia (Diod. 15.53.4; *IG VII 552*, C4), and the attestation of a *hieromnemon* in 324/3 testifies to membership of the Third Federation (*CID II 102 col. 1.11*)

Theorodokoi were appointed in ca. 400 B.C. to host *theoroi* from Delphi (*Syll*³ 90.14-5) and in 359 to host *theoroi* from Epidauros (restored in *IG IV*² 1.94.9). The protecting god of Lebadeia was probably Zeus Basileus (Schachter 3 [1994] 109-18).

The city was situated on the eastern bank of the Herkyna river (Paus. 9.39.2) beneath the modern city. The size of the city is unknown and so far no traces of an ancient circuit of walls have been found. Excavations have revealed some remains of C4 monumental buildings including a stoa and a temple of the Megale Meter (Fossey [1988] 345; Schachter 2 [1986] 127-30). To the west of the Herkyna river was the sanctuary of Zeus Basileios and the famous oracle of Trophonios (Paus. 9.39.5-13). Lebadeia was sacked by Lysandros in 395 B.C. (Plut. *Lys.* 28.2).

Lebadeia struck coins on the Aiginetan standard from ca. 387 (or earlier) to 374 (or later) and again from ca. 338 to 315. Type: Obv.: Boiotian shield; Rev.: thunderbolt (some), legend: ΛΕΒΑ or ΛΕΒ (Head [1911] 346).

Mykalessos (Mykalessios). Map 54. Lat. 38.25, 23.30; size of territory: 2?; type: A. The toponym is Μυκαλησσός, ἡ (Hom. *Il.* 2.498; Thuc.

7.29.2-3). The city-ethnic is Μυκαλήσσιος (Thuc. 7.30.3). Neither the toponym nor the city-ethnic is attested in epigraphical sources.

Mykalessos is called a *polis* both in the urban and in the political sense by Thucydides at 7.29-30. According to Strabo it was a *kome* (Strab. 9.2.11, 14), whereas Pausanias, retrospectively, describes Mykalessos as the ruins of a *polis* (9.19.4).

The only attestation of the city-ethnic (in its collective and external use) is in Thuc. 7.30.3, paraphrased by Pausanias at 1.23.3.

In the Hellenistic and Roman periods Mykalessos was located in the territory of Tanagra (Strab. 9.2.11, 14; Paus. 9.19.8), and that seems to have been the case already in the early 5th cent. B.C (Fossey [1988] 83-4, 222-3; Hansen [1995] 36-7). Within the Tanagraian territory, however, Mykalessos had its own territory, called Μυκαλήσσιος, which seems to have stretched as far as the Euboian Gulf (Paus. 9.19.5, Bakhuizen [1970] 20-1, 148-9) and so must be assessed at at least 50 and perhaps over 100 km².

In 413 the city was sacked by Thracian mercenaries and a large part of the population was killed off (Thuc. 7.29-30). Mykalessos was walled but the circuit of walls was not very high and parts of it had collapsed (Thuc. 7.29.3). The wall reported by Lolling (1989) 508 may have been the remains of a circuit of walls (Fossey [1988] 80-1). Thucydides describes Mykalessos as a small *polis* and apart from houses the only buildings referred to are some sanctuaries and a school (Thuc. 7.29.4-5). The large nekropolis testifies to a peak of population in C6s (Ure [1940] 496-510). The settlement can be traced back to EH II (Fossey [1988] 79-80).

Mykalessos struck coins on the Aiginetan standard from ca. 500 to 480 and from 387 (or earlier) to 374 (or later). Type: Obv.: Boiotian shield; Rev.: thunderbolt (some), legend: M or later MY (Head [1911] 346; Kraay [1976] 110; Schachter [1989] 85).

Onchestos. Map 54. Lat. 38.25, long. 23.10; size of territory: 1; type: C. The toponym is Ὀγχηστός, ὄ (Hom. *Il.* 2.506; *IG IX²* 1.1 170.5, 292 B.C.). There is no attestation of a city-ethnic.

Onchestos is called a *polis* in the urban sense by Heraclides at 25, *GGM I* 104) and retrospectively by Pausanias at 9.26.5. There is no explicit reference to Onchestos being a *polis* in the political sense. In 338, however, Onchestos became the capital of the Boiotian Federation (Roesch [1982] 266-82), and the federal archon was hereafter referred to as the Archon in Onchestos (*IG XII 9* 912.5, ca. 308-04 B.C.). The re-

mains of a C6s temple of Poseidon have been found (*ArchDelt* 28 [1973] 269-71, Schachter 2 [1986] 207) and near the temple what may be the remains of an early Hellenistic *bouleuterion* (*ArchDelt* [1973-4] *Chron.* 442). If the identification is correct, it probably accommodated the federal council (*SEG* 23 271.64-6, Roesch [1965] 126-33).

According to Steph. Byz. (483.9) the city-ethnic was Ὀρχήστιος, but in earlier and more reliable sources this adjective is unattested as a city-ethnic and known only as an epithet of Poseidon (Paus. 9.37.1) or his son Megareus (Hellanicus [*FGrHist* 4] fr. 78).

Together with Haliartos (Hdt. 5.79.2) Onchestos may originally have belonged to Thebes (Hes. *Scut.* 103-5, Schachter 2 [1986] 215) or to Koroneia. A C5 public dedication of the Haliartians found in the Poseidonion indicates that it then belonged to Haliartos (*SEG* 25 554, Schachter 2 [1986] 206). After 338 it was probably independent.

The settlement of Onchestos has been tentatively identified with a site of ca 5 hectares about 1 km. west of the sanctuary of Poseidon. On the site were found fragments of monumental Doric architecture, traces of a fortification wall, of a Hellenistic *bouleuterion*, and the plan of what appears to be an agora of Hellenistic date. (Bintliff & Snodgrass [1985] 140; Schachter 2 [1986] 208).

Orchomenos (Orchomenios). Map 54. Lat. 38.30, 22.55; size of territory: 3; type: A. The toponym is Ὀρχομενός (Hom. *Il.* 2.511; Thuc. 3.87.4) or, in the Boiotian dialect, Ἐρχομενός (*LSAG* 95 no. 17, ca. 475-50?). The city-ethnic is Ὀρχομένιος (Hdt. 9.16.1; *CID* II 74 col. 1.36) but in Boiotian inscriptions almost always Ἐρχομένιος (*LSAG* 95 no. 11) and only occasionally Ὀρχομένιος (both forms are attested in *IG* VII 3172.17 & 51-2, 223 B.C.).

Orchomenos is called a *polis* in the territorial sense by Pindar (?) in a poem for Apollon (fr. 333.8, Maehler), in the urban sense by Herodotos (8.34.1), and in the political sense by Thucydides in his description of the battle of Delion (Thuc. 4.91.1 & 93.4). The earliest epigraphical reference to a πόλις Ἐρχομενίων is a proxeny decree of C31 (*IG* VII 3166 = Michel 238).

The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested externally on a C6m helmet at Olympia commemorating a victory over Koroneia (*LSAG* 95 no. 11) and internally (in an abbreviated form) on the reverse of the coins: ΕΡΧΟ(ΜΕΝΙΩΝ) (Head [1911] 346-7). For the individual (and external) use cf. e.g. Νικίας Ἐρμαίου Ἐρχομένιος (*IG* II² 10036, 410-390 B.C.). Both the ethnic and the city-ethnic are recorded in a C5 ded-

ication from Delphi: [Ἐ]πίδαλος ... Βοιότιος ἔχῃ Ἐρχ[ομενῶ] (*LSAG* 95 no. 17, ca. 475-50).

The territory was called γῆ ἢ Ὀρχομενίων (Hdt. 8.34.1) or ἡ Ὀρχομενία (Theophr. *Hist. Pl.* 9.13.1; Strab. 9.2.19) or ἡ Ὀρχομενός (Thuc. 1.113.2). [When denoting the city the gender of the toponym is invariably masculine (the exception is Apol. Rhod. *Arg.* 4.257), thus ἡ Ὀρχομενός probably denotes the territory of Orchomenos with either γῆ or χώρα implied]. Together with Hyettos Orchomenos constituted two of the eleven Boiotian districts (*Hell. Oxy.* 19.3). Down to the end of the 5th century the territory of Orchomenos seems to have included Chaironeia (Hdt. 8.34.1; Thuc. 4.76.3; Theopomp. [*FGrHist* 115] fr. 407), but Chaironeia became free of Orchomenos at one time after 424 (Thuc. 4.76.3; 4.93.4) but before 395 (*Hell. Oxy.* 19.3). To the south Orchomenos bordered the territory of Lebadeia (Arist. *HA* 605b31). The size of the territory has been assessed at ca. 105 km² (Fossey [1988] 342).

In the Catalogue of Ships Orchomenos is called Μινύεος and is not a part of Boiotia (Hom. *Il.* 2.511; cf. Thuc. 4.76.3). According to this tradition Orchomenos and the Minyans had once ruled Boiotia and received tribute from the Boiotian cities (Isoc. 14.10; Diod. 15.79.5).

As a member of the First Federation Orchomenos (together with Hyettos) supplied two of the eleven Boiotarchs (*Hell. Oxy.* 19.3); but in 395 at the outbreak of the Korinthian War the Orchomenians joined Sparta and defected from the federation (Xen. *Hell.* 3.5.6). The city was garrisoned by the Spartans from 395 to 375 or even later (Xen. *Hell.* 4.3.15; 5.1.29; Diod. 15.37.1) and the war between Thebes and Orchomenos went on until 371 (Xen. *Hell.* 6.4.10). In 370, however, Orchomenos was forced to rejoin the Boiotian federation (Diod. 15.57.1), apparently without any representation in the federal government (only 7 boiotarchs in 365, *SEG* 34 355). An abortive coup d'état planned by the Orchomenian knights in collusion with some Theban exiles resulted in a Theban attack on Orchomenos in 364. The city was conquered, destroyed and exposed to an *andrapodismos* by which all men were killed while women and children were sold into slavery (Diod. 15.79.3-6; Dem. 16.4, 25; 20.109). But the site was not abandoned, and in 359 an Orchomenian *theorodokos* was appointed to host a *theoros* from Epidaurus (*IG* IV² 1 94.8). So in 364 Orchomenos must have been given to settlers who were loyal to Thebes. In the spring of 353 Orchomenos was conquered by Onomarchos (Diod. 16.33.4) and occupied by the Phokians until their capitulation in the summer of 346 (Dem. 19.148; Aes-

chin. 2.141; Diod. 16.58.1). During the Phokian occupation the city was resettled by some Orchomenians, probably those who had escaped the *andrapodismos* of 364 (Aeschin. 2.141; Dem. 16.25; Schol. Dem. 6.13, 21 Dilts). After the peace with the Phokians Philip surrendered Orchomenos to the Thebans (Dem. 5.21-2) and the city seems to have suffered yet another *andrapodismos* (Dem. 19.112, 141, 325). When the Thebans had been defeated at Chaironeia, however, Orchomenos was refounded, this time with Philip's support, and the city was given back to the surviving Orchomenians (Paus. 4.27.10; 9.37.8); it joined the federation again, and in 337-6 one of the Boiotian *hieromnemes* at Delphi was an Orchomenian (*CID* II 74 col. 1.36; col. 2.27). After the destruction of Thebes in 335 Orchomenos became once again a walled city (Arr. *Anab.* 1.9.10).

Orchomenos was a member of the Kalaurian amphiktyony (Strab. 8.6.14, Schachter 2 [1986] 213-4; Tausend [1992] 12-3). In 452 Orchomenos may have been a member of the Delian League (*IG* I³ 260 col. 9.9, as restored by D. Lewis; see *CAH* 5.50)

The constitution of Orchomenos was oligarchic (Thuc.4.76.3; Diod. 15.79.3) and based on a property qualification (*Hell. Oxy.* 19.2). The Aristotelian collection of *politeiai* included a *Constitution of the Orchomenians* (Arist. fr. 578-82, Gigon). Pausanias' reference at 9.34.10 to two Orchomenian *phylai*, if trustworthy, must refer to his own day (Jones [1987] 78-9).

The protecting god of Orchomenos was Zeus with various epithets (Laphystios, Akraios, Karaios, Keraios)(Schachter 3 [1994] 120-24, letter of Oct. 1994). Asopichos of Orchomenos is recorded as victor in the Olympic games of 488 (Pind. *Ol.* 14.4, 17)

The only explicit reference in written sources to walls is ὀχυρωμένος at Diod. 16.58.1 which shows that Orchomenos was fortified during the Phokian occupation 353-46. Substantial remains of a polygonal and irregular trapezoidal wall enclose the akropolis and the western part of the town, and is crowned by a keep of ashlar masonry. The walls enclose an area of less than 20 hectares but the lower city must have extended further to the south. The date of the wall is disputed. Fossey (1988) 353 suggests archaic, Scranton (1941) 91 the mid 4th century, whereas Lauffer (1974) 297-9 prefers to identify the remains with the walls erected in the 330s after the sack of Thebes in 335 (Arr. *Anab.* 1.9.10). For the archaic and classical periods the degree of urbanisation is virtually unknown, partly because the classical remains were destroyed by the later Byzantine occupation and partly because the relevant material from

Bulle's excavations was never published (Lauffer [1974] 311). Remains have been found of archaic temples, a shrine for Dionysos (Fossey [1988] 354, and a theatre which is now dated C4s (Spyropoulos in *AR* 20 [1973-4] 20).

Orchomenos struck coins on the Aiginetan standard from ca. 500 to 480: Type: Obv.: incuse; Rev.: sprouting corn-grain, legend: E or EP. From ca. 400 (or earlier, cf. Hansen [1995] 63 add. note) to 374 (or later). Type: Obv.: Boiotian shield; Rev.: running horse or amphora, legend: EP, EPX or EPXO. From ca. 338 to 315. Types: Obv.: Boiotian shield; Rev.: plain, legend: OPX (Head [1911] 346-7; Kraay [1976] 110; Schachter [1989] 85).

Oropos (Oropios). Map 54. Lat. 38.20, long. 23.45; size of territory: 3; type: *B*. The toponym is Ὀρωπός, ὄ (Hdt. 6.101.1; *SEG* 3 117.14, 303/2 B.C.). The city-ethnic is Ὀρωπίος (Thuc. 2.23.3; *IG* VII 4250-1 = Tod, *GHI* 164 A-B, C4m).

Oropos is called a *polis* in the urban sense by Heraclides (7, *GGM* I 100, C3s) in the territorial sense by Aristotle (fr. 613, Rose) and in the political sense by Diodoros (Diod. 14.17.3, rC4). The earliest epigraphical attestations of Oropos as a *polis* are in some citizenship decrees of ca. 322-310 B.C. (*IG* VII 4256-7 and *SEG* 15 264).

The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally in two proxeny decrees of C4m (Tod, *GHI* 164 A-B) and externally in many literary sources (e.g. Thuc. 2.23.3). The individual use of the city-ethnic is attested internally in a sepulchral inscription of C2 (*SEG* 15 303) and externally in a list of *aphedriateuontes* of 312-04 B.C.: [Κ]ρατύλλω Ἀμφιδαμίω Ὀρωπίω (*IG* VII 2724a.5, ca. 280-70 B.C., cf. Knoepfler [1992] 451).

The name of the territory is Ὀρωπία (Thuc. 4.99.1) or Ὀρωπός (Hyp. 3.16). It is sometimes referred to as being contiguous to Boiotia (*SEG* 37 100.142, ca. 330 B.C.) and sometimes as being part of Boiotia (Paus. 1.34.1). Thucydides' account of the aftermath of the battle of Delion shows that Oropos was a border district between Attika and Boiotia (Thuc. 4.99.1). The size of the territory has been assessed at ca. 110 km² (Fossey [1988] 28).

According to the Boiotian historian Nikokrates (*FGrHist* 376 fr. 1) Oropos was originally an Eretrian colony, and this piece of information is supported by a study of the local dialect which was neither Boiotian nor Attic but a form of Ionian very close to that spoken by the Eretrians (Wilamowitz [1886] 97-103). Oropos fell to Athens probably after

507/6 (since the settlement did not become an Attic deme), perhaps before 490 (Hdt. 6.101.1), but perhaps only after the Persian destruction of Eretria (Knoepfler [1985] 52). During most of the 5th cent. Oropos was an Athenian dependency (Thuc. 2.23.3) but in 411 the city was conquered by the Boiotians (Thuc. 8.60.1) and enjoyed a short period of independence (Lys. 31.9) until 402 when the losing side in a civil war appealed to Thebes. The Thebans captured the city and forced its population to leave their settlement at the coast and move seven stades inland. The Oropians were first allowed to retain their political institutions, probably as a Theban dependency, but after a few years Oropos was annexed to the Boiotian federation and all Oropians were made citizens of Thebes (Diod. 14.17.1-3; Theopomp. [*FGrHist* 115] fr. 12). When the Boiotian federation was dissolved in 386 after the King's Peace Oropos must have regained its independence, but some time between 375 and 373 the Oropians preferred to join Athens once again rather than to be forced by Thebes to join the new Boiotian federation (Isoc. 14.20, 37, Knoepfler [1986] 90-3; *SEG* 36 442). Already in 366 (Diod. 15.76.1), however, Oropos was captured by the Eretrian tyrants (Aeschin. 3.85; Dem. 18.99). Facing the threat of a major Athenian attack they agreed to hand over Oropos to the Thebans and submit to international arbitration. The Thebans garrisoned the city, but the arbitration came to nothing and Thebes arrogated Oropos once again (Xen. *Hell.* 7.4.1; Diod. 15.76.1; Schol. Dem. 18.99, 176 Dilts; 21.64, 204 Dilts). Two proxeny decrees passed by the Oropians in their *ekklesia* (Tod, *GHI* 164A-B) in probably 359/8 (Coulton [1968] 182) strongly suggest that Oropos, though a dependency of Thebes, was still a *polis*, and not just a municipality (Hansen [1995] 39). After the defeat at Chaironeia Oropos was transferred to Athens, perhaps already by Philip in 338 (Paus. 1.34.1; Schol. Dem. 18.99, 176 Dilts; Robert [1960] 195), perhaps only in 335 after Alexander's destruction of Thebes (Knoepfler [1993] 295). Oropos regained its independence in 322, had it confirmed in 319 (Diod. 18.56.6), but became a member of the Third Boiotian Federation in the years 312-04 (Diod. 19.78.3; *IG* VII 2724a.5, ca. 280-70 B.C., cf. Knoepfler [1992] 451).

Remains of an undated fortification wall enclosing the akropolis are still visible along the west side, but only as a fall in the land with some debris. All remains of ancient structures have disappeared (Fossey [1988] 30 and letter of Jan. 1995).

Pharai. Map 54. Lat. 38.20, long. 23.40, size of territory: 1?; type *B*.

The toponym is Φαραί, attested in Strab. 9.2.14 and Steph. Byz. 658.5 but not in any other source. The full form of the city-ethnic is unknown since it is only attested in the abbreviated form ΦΑ on the reverse of some C4f coins (Head [1911] 347).

Pharai is not called a *polis* in any extant source but the existence of a fourth-century mint strongly suggests that Pharai must have been a *polis*, at least in the period after the King's Peace of 386.

According to Strabo (9.2.14-5) Pharai, Eleon, Harma and Mykalessos formed a τετρακομία which lay in the territory of Tanagra.

Pharai struck coins on the Aiginetan standard between ca. 386 (or earlier) and 374 (or later). Type: Obv.: Boiotian shield; Rev.: amphora, legend: ΦΑ (Head [1911] 347). On the archaic issues traditionally assigned to Pharai see *infra* s.v. Thespiiai.

Plataiai (Plataieus). Map 54. Lat. 38.15, long. 23.15; size of territory: 3; type: A. The toponym is Πλαταιαί, αί (Tod, *GHI* 204.34-5, C4; *IG* IV² 1 629, C2; Hdt. 9.25.2) but some authors use the singular: Πλάταια, ἡ (Hom. *Il* 2.504; Thuc. 2.2.1 *et alibi*). The city-ethnic is Πλαταιεύς (Meiggs-Lewis, *GHI* 27.6, 479 B.C.; *SEG* 9 2.44, C4s; *IG* VII 1664.2-3, C3; Hdt. 8.44.1; Thuc. 2.3.1; Lys. 23.2) and the *ketikon* Πλαταικός is only used as an ethnic in the feminine (*IG* II² 10096, C4m); for one possible exception see Aeschin. 3.162.

Plataiai is called a *polis* in numerous literary sources both in the urban sense (Hdt. 8.50.2; Thuc. 2.5.4; 3.68.3) and in the political sense (Thuc. 2.2.2; 3.57.2; Isoc. 14.1, cf. *polites* at Thuc. 2.2.2; 3.65.3). The term *asty* is used by Herodotos at 7.233.2. The earliest epigraphical reference to a πόλις Πλαταιέων is in a C3 proxeny decree (*IG* VII 1664.3 = Michel 225).

The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested externally on the Serpent Column (Meiggs-Lewis, *GHI* 27.6, 479 B.C.) and internally in a Hellenistic proxeny decree (*IG* VII 1664.2-3, C3). For the individual (and external) use cf. e.g. Ἐχίλαος Φιλωνίδου Πλαταιεύς in a Troizenian citizenship decree of 369 B.C. (*Syll.*³ 162.2-3, 369 B.C.).

The name of the territory is γῆ Πλαταιίς (Thuc. 2.71.4); χώρα Πλαταιίς (Thuc. 3.58.5); Πλαταιᾶσιν (Thuc. 4.72.1); ἐν ταῖς Πλαταιαῖς (Xen. *Hell.* 5.4.48). In 506 the Asopos river was made the border between Plataiai and Thebes (Hdt. 6.108.6; Paus. 9.4.4). To the west Plataiai bounded on Thespiiai (Hdt. 8.50.2) and to the east on Hysiai (Hdt. 6.108.6) which was then a part of Attika (Hdt. 5.74.2). The size of the territory has been assessed at ca. 170 km² (Fossey [1988] 100). It is

debated whether Plataiai too was a part of Attika from 519 onwards (for: Badian [1993] 117; against: Hammond [1992] 145). But at least from 479 Plataiai was a part of Boiotia. Plataiis came to constitute two of the eleven Boiotian districts and included the small towns in the Parasopia which by then had entered into a *sympoliteia* with Plataiai, i.e. Skolos, Erythrai, Skaphai and, undoubtedly, Hysiai (*Hell. Oxy.* 19.3). In 429 King Archidamos summoned the Plataians to show him the borders of Plataian territory (Thuc. 2.72.3). In 427-6 the territory was annexed by Thebes (Thuc. 3.68.2-3; 5.17.2). In 519 (Thuc. 3.68.5, Hornblower [1991] 464-5) Plataiai entered into an alliance with Athens (Thuc. 2.73.3; 3.68.5, Hammond [1992] 144) whereby the Plataians were granted Athenian citizenship collectively (Thuc. 3.55.3; 63.2, Amit [1973] 75-8; Hornblower [1991] 449); the grant probably implied that a Plataian who moved to Athens was inscribed as citizen without an individual decree passed by the people. The Plataians fought side by side with the Athenians at Marathon (Hdt. 6.108.1) and those who died in battle were buried with the Athenian (manumitted) slaves (Paus. 1.32.3, Hammond [1992] 147-50). In 480 the Persians occupied Plataiai and destroyed the city by fire (Hdt. 8.50.2). Six hundred Plataians fought in the battle of Plataiai in 479 (Hdt. 9.28.6) and after the battle Pausanias had all the victors take an oath that guaranteed the independence of the Plataian *polis* (Thuc. 2.71.2). At one time between the Persian and the Peloponnesian War, when the First Federation was organized as described by the Oxyrhynchus historian, Plataiai had some kind of *sympoliteia* with the small towns in the Parasopia, controlled two of the eleven districts of Boiotia, and provided two boiotarchs (*Hell. Oxy.* 19.3, Kirsten [1950] 2302-3). It is apparent, however, from Thucydides' account (Thuc. 2.2.4; 3.65.2, Buck [1979] 153-4) that Plataiai had left the federation when the city was attacked by Thebes in the spring of 431 (Thuc. 2.2-6). During this period Plataiai was a democracy in which major decisions were made by the people in assembly (Thuc. 2.72.2, see Amit 66-71). In the years 429-7 Plataiai was besieged by the Lakedaimonians and the members of the Peloponnesian League (Thuc. 2.71-8; 3.20-4; 3.52-68). After its capture in 427 the men were killed while the women were exposed to *andrapodismos* (Thuc. 3.68.2; Dem. 59.103). In 426 the city was razed to the ground (Thuc. 3.68.3) and settled by some Megarians plus a few Plataians who were loyal to Sparta (Thuc. 3.68.3). Some Plataian evacuees of 431 (Thuc. 2.6.4) and some who in 428 escaped the siege (Thuc. 3.24.2) were all granted Athenian citizenship (Dem. 59.103-4; Isoc. 12.94, Osborne [1982] D 1) and inscribed in the

Attic tribes and demes (Lys. 23.2-3). After the destruction of Skione in 421 the Athenians gave the place to the Plataians (Thuc. 5.32.1) but many remained in Athens (Lys. 23.5-7). The Plataians were restored to their native city only after the King's Peace of 386 (Paus. 9.1.4) and perhaps in connection with Sparta's occupation of the Kadmeia in 382 (Isoc. 14, hypoth.). They remained loyal to the Lakedaimonians after the liberation of Thebes in 379 (Xen. *Hell.* 5.4.14), and when the Thebans put pressure on the Plataians to join the Second Federation they refused (Isoc. 14.8-9). As a result Plataiai was conquered and destroyed once again by the Thebans (Xen. *Hell.* 6.3.1; 6.3.5; Isoc. 14. 1, 5, 7, 19, 35, 46), probably in 373 (Paus. 9.1.5-8, Tuplin [1986] 321 n. 2) rather than in 374 (Diod 15.46.6). This time the Plataians were allowed to go into exile (Paus. 9.1.7). They found refuge in Athens once again and had their previous grant of citizenship renewed (Diod. 15.46.6, cf. Isoc. 14.51-2). The town was still deserted and unfortified in 343 (Dem. 19.21, 112, 325), but the Plataians were repatriated by Philip II (Paus. 4.27.10; 9.1.8) undoubtedly in consequence of the peace of 338. They took an active part in the destruction of Thebes in 335 (Arr. *Anab.* 1.8.8; Diod. 17.13.5), whereupon the members of the Korinthian League decided to rebuild and refortify Plataiai (Arr. *Anab.* 1.9.10). Yet it may have taken another four years before the town and its walls were re-erected in 331 B.C. (Plut. *Alex.* 34.2; *Arist.* 11.9). Plataiai provided one of the *naopoioi* of 336/5 and must accordingly have joined the Boiotian federation already before the destruction of Thebes (*CID* II 32.32). The attestation in the early 3rd century of a Plataian as one of the *aphedriateuontes* shows that the city was a member of the Third Federation as well (*IG* VII 2724.5-6, ca. 280-70, cf. Knoepfler [1992] 451).

Plataiai was a fortified city when attacked by Thebes in 431 (Thuc. 2.4.4; 2.75.4), but in 426 the walls were demolished (Thuc. 3.68.3) and not reerected until after the King's Peace of 386, now with Spartan help (Paus. 9.1.6). This circuit of walls, however, was destroyed once again by the Thebans in 373 (Isoc. 14.19, 35; Dem. 6.30), and new walls were built only after the sack of Thebes in 335 (Arr. *Anab.* 1.9.10). Remains of all three phases are still to be seen: (1) Plataiai had no proper akropolis; but the oldest part of the settlement to the NW, an area of 10 hectares, was enclosed by a wall in Lesbian masonry probably the one that was demolished in 426. (2) A new and much larger wall in polygonal masonry with interval towers enclosed an area of 80 hectares. (3) Re-founded in 335 the city was protected by a wall of coursed ashlar blocks enclosing an area of 70 hectares (Fossey [1988] 102-7).

Plataiai is described as a small town (Thuc. 2.77.2) and according to Poseidippos (fr. 29, C3e) it deserved to be called a *polis* only during the celebration of the Eleutheria (Prandi [1988] 161-73) which were celebrated in the agora (Thuc. 2.71.2). Six hundred Plataians fought at Plataiai in 479 (Hdt. 9.28.6), and there were four hundred to defend the city when the siege began in 429 (Thuc. 2.78.3). The protecting god of Plataiai was Hera (Schachter I [1981] 242-50) whose sanctuary was outside the city (Hdt. 9.52.1), whereas the temple for Hera built by the Thebans in 427-6 was probably inside the walls (Thuc. 3.68.3). The settlement can be traced back to the Neolithic period (Fossey [1988] 109).

Plataiai struck coins on the Aiginetan standard from ca. 387 (or earlier) to 374 (or later). Type: Obv.: Boiotian shield; Rev.: head of Hera, legend: ΠΛΑ (Head [1911] 347).

Potniai (Potnieus). Map 54. Lat. 38.20, long. 23.20; size of territory: 1; type: C. The toponym is Ποτνιαί (*Hell.Oxy.* 20.3; Xen. *Hell.* 5.4.51). The city-ethnic is Ποτνιαεύς (*ADelt.* 3 [1917] 64).

Potniai is called a *polis* in late sources only (Strab. 9.2.24; Schol. Eur. *Or.* 317-8; Steph. Byz. 533.21) and Pausanias has just ἐρείπια (9.8.1). The reason for including Potniai in this inventory of *poleis* is the C6 attestation of a city-ethnic inscribed on a poros column drum dedicated to Apollon: [Ἰ]Ἀπόλλ]λονι Ποτνιαῖς (*ADelt.* 3 [1917] 64, cf. Hansen [1995] 32, 48).

We have no information about the name of the territory. Potniai was one of the small unwalled settlements whose population was moved to Thebes (*Hell. Oxy.* 20.3) in connection with the major synoikism at the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War (Demand [1990] 83-5). The absence of physical remains of the Hellenistic period (Fossey [1988] 209) may indicate that, unlike the other small towns synoikized with Thebes in 431, Potniai was not resettled. Potniai was famous for its sanctuary of Demeter and Kore (Paus. 9.8.1) which was an ancient one (Schachter I [1981] 159-60). The settlement can be traced back to the Protogeometric period (Fossey [1988] 209) but po-ti-ni-ja on a Theban Linear B tablet suggests that Potniai was inhabited in the Mycenaean period (Schachter I [1981] 159).

Siphai (Siphaietus). Map 54. Lat. 38.10, long. 23.05; size of territory: 1; type: A. The toponym is Σίφαι (Thuc. 4.76.2) but according to Pausanias Τίφα (9.32.4). The city-ethnic is Σιφαιεύς (*IG VII* 207 = Michel 170, C3s).

Siphai is called a *polis* (in the political sense) by Thucydides at 4.76.2-3 & 89.2 (Cf. Hansen [1995] 21-3) and in the urban sense by Skylax (38, emendation of MSS Σφάσις). The only epigraphical reference to a πόλις Σιφείων is in a Hellenistic pact of friendship between Aigosthena and Siphai (*IG VII* 207, C3s) which, too, provides us with the only preserved attestation of the city-ethnic.

The territory is called Σίφαι (Arist. *Part. An.* 696a5, Schwandner [1977] 519-20). It constituted the littoral region of the territory of Thespiai (Thuc. 4.76.3) and its size has been assessed at ca. 25 km² (Fossey [1988] 134). Stephanus calls Siphai an ἐπίνειον τῆς Θεσπιακῆς (Steph. Byz. 573.1). A C4f list of Thesopian dedications includes some in Siphai (*SEG* 24 361.25), which supports the assumption that Siphai was a dependent *polis* in Thesopian territory.

From the abortive attempt in 424 B.C. to introduce a democracy we can infer that Siphai must have had an oligarchic constitution (Thuc. 4.76.2-3; 89.2; 101.3)

Siphai was walled in 424 (προδώσειν, Thuc. 4.76.3). The existing circuit of walls in ashlar masonry with square towers (of which 7 are preserved) encloses both the akropolis and the settlement below to the north, east and south. To the west was the Corinthian Gulf and no traces of a wall have been found here. The wall is of C4 and, partly for historical reasons, Schwandner suggests a date between 363 and 330, but the nearby tower at Mavrovouni (Ano-Siphai) from ca. 400 B.C. points to earlier fortifications at Siphai as well (Schwandner [1977] 548-51). The circuit encloses an area of ca. 3 hectares, of which only a part was used for settlement. The harbour was presumably to the south of the city.

Siphai had no mint but stray finds on the akropolis of Thesopian coins (Schwandner [1977] 547 n. 32) demonstrate that such coins were legal tender in Siphai.

Skolos. Map 54. Lat. 38.20/38.15, long. 23.20; size of territory: 1; type: C. Down to ca. 404 probably north of the Asopos river, after 404 south of the river, see *infra*. B. The toponym is Σκῶλος (Hom. *Il.* 2.497; Xen. *Ages.* 2.22). Apart from Steph. Byz. 580.8 there is no attestation of an ethnic.

The only classification of Skolos as a *polis* is in Steph. Byz. 580.7. According to Strabo it was a κώμη τῆς Παρασωπίας (9.2.23) and Pausanias has just ἐρείπια (9.4.4). What justifies the inclusion of Skolos in this inventory is only its membership of the *sympoliteia* headed by Plataiai (*Hell. Oxy.* 19.3, Hansen [1995] 16)

We have no information about the name of the territory which must have been very small. Down to 479 B.C. Skolos was in Theban territory (Hdt. 9.15.2; 65.1) and probably situated north of the Asopos river, which was the southern border of the territory of Thebes (Hdt. 6.108.6, cf. most recently Munn [1987] 121-4). After the Persian Wars Skolos became part of the Plataian territory and a member of the *sympoliteia* which for some time constituted two of the eleven Boiotian districts (*Hell. Oxy.* 19.3). But by 431 B.C. Skolos must have been annexed by Thebes once again, since it was one of the small unwallled settlements whose population was moved to Thebes (*Hell. Oxy.* 20.3) in connection with the major synoikism at the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War. By 395 Skolos had been repopulated. It still belonged to Thebes (*Hell. Oxy.* 19.3), but since both Strabo (9.2.23) and, more importantly, Pausanias (9.4.4, Wallace 89) place Skolos south of the Asopos river, the re-founded village was probably placed south of the Asopos river in land that had been Theban territory since the destruction of Plataiai in 426.

Tanagra (Tanagraios). Map 54. Lat. 38.20, long. 23.35; size of territory: 5; type: A. The toponym is Τάναγρα (Meiggs-Lewis, *GHI* 35, 36 = Lazarini 998), the city-ethnic is Ταναγραῖος (*LSAG* 95 no. 12, C6; *SEG* 9 2.32, C4s) but in Boiotian inscriptions from C4 onwards mostly Ταναγραῖος (*IG* VII 3055.25, C4m; 2723.2-3, C3e), sometimes Ταναγραεῖος (*IG* VII 522.10, C3s).

Tanagra is listed as one of the Boiotian *poleis* in Thucydides' description of the Battle of Delion in 424 (4.91.1 & 93.4). It is described as a *polis* in the urban sense by Heraclides (8-10 *GGM* I p. 101, C3s) and in the territorial sense by Xenophon (*Hell.* 5.4.49). The earliest epigraphical references to a πόλις Ταναγραίων are in a series of proxeny decrees of C3s (*IG* VII 504-9).

The collective use of the city-ethnic Ταναγραῖοι is attested externally on a late C6 shield at Olympia commemorating a victory over? (*LSAG* 95 no. 12), and internally (in an abbreviated form) on the reverse of the coins: TANA(ΓΡΑΙΩΝ) (Head [1911] 347-8). For the individual use of the city-ethnic see e.g. Σ[χ]υθρίωνι Φορμίδα Τανα[γραῖοι], *naopoios* at Delphi in 335 (*CID* II 76 col 2.19-20).

The territory is called Τάναγρα (Thuc. 3.91.3-4) or ἡ Ταναγραία (Thuc. 4.76.4) or (later) ἡ Ταναγραικὴ (Strab. 9.2.11). During the First Federation the territory of Tanagra constituted one of the eleven Boiotian districts (*Hell. Oxy.* 19.3); it comprised Delion (Thuc. 4.76.4), Aulis (Nikokrates [*FGrHist* 376] fr. 1; Strab. 9.2.8), Salgameus (Nikokrates

[*FGrHist* 376] fr. 1), and what was later called the *Tetrakomia*, i.e. Eleon, Harma, Mykalessos and Pharai (Strab. 9.2.14, Fossey [1988] 43-99 and 222-3). Tanagra was bounded on the east by Oropos (Heraclides 7-8, *GGM* I, 101) on the west by Skolos (belonging to Thebes)(Hdt. 9.15.2; 5.79.2; Xen. *Hell.* 5.4.49) and on the north by Anhedon (Nikokrates [*FGrHist* 376] fr. 1) and Glisas (Hdt. 9.43.1)(belonging to Thebes, Strab. 9.2.31). Inclusive of the small dependent *poleis* its size has been assessed at ca. 530 km² (Fossey [1988] 28).

Tanagra was allied with Thebes in 506 and earlier (Hdt. 5.79.2) and the city was a member of the First Federation (*Hell. Oxy.* 19.3), the Second Federation (Isoc. 14.9) and the Third Federation (*SEG* 32 476.14, ca. 338 B.C. recording a boiotarch from Tanagra). The Aristotelian collection of *politeiai* seems to have included a *Constitution of Tanagra* (Plut. *Mor.* 299C, Hansen [1995a] 53) which reported a tradition that the territory of Tanagra had once been inhabited *κατὰ κώμας*.

According to Thucydides Tanagra was a walled city in 457 but following the battle of Oinophyta the Tanagraians had their walls demolished by the Athenians (Thuc. 1.108.1). The existing circuit of walls of 2,2 km. with 43 towers, mostly of isodomic ashlar construction, can be dated to the period ca. 425-375 and may have been erected after the King's Peace in 386 (Roller [1974], [1987]). Xenophon's mention at *Hell.* 5.4.49 of τὸ τεῖχος, however, must refer to the Theban stockade and not to the walls of Tanagra (Munn [1987] 124-6). The city walls enclose an area of 60 hectares. Except, perhaps, for a temple of Hermes Promachos near the theatre (Paus. 9.22.2) all architectural remains seem to be later than the C4 circuit of walls; and the orthogonal town plan, with insulae of 52 x 102 metres, was clearly devised to fit the existing walls. Nothing of archaic and fifth-century Tanagra is visible today (Roller [1989] 157). There are a few remains of the theatre, which may have been built in C4 (Roller [1989] 152-4). Heraclides describes Tanagra as a town inhabited by farmers (9, *GGM* I p. 101, 9).

The protecting god of Tanagra seems to have been Hermes with the epithets Kriophoros and Promachos (Schachter 2 [1986] 47). Tanagra struck coins on the Aiginetan standard from ca. 500 to 446, from before 410 to 374 (or later) (Hansen [1995] 20-1) and again from ca. 338 to 315. Type: Obv.: mostly Boiotian shield but some of the earliest have the forepart of a bridled horse (Schachter [1958] 43-6); Rev.: mostly an incuse but between 410 and 374 some have a horse's head or the stern of a galley, legend: T, TA, TAN, TANA. Between 480 and 456 some are inscribed BO or BOI (Head [1911] 347-8; Kraay [1976] 109-14;

Schachter [1989] 85). In ca. 560 Tanagra joined Megara in colonizing Herakleia Pontike (Paus. 5.26.7, Burstein [1976] 15-8).

Thebai (Thebaios). Map 54. Lat. 38.20, long. 23.20; size of territory: 5; type: A. The toponym is Θῆβαι, αἰ (LSAG 95 no. 16, ca. 470; Hom. *Il.* 5.804); the singular Θῆβη or Θῆβα is sometimes found in poetry (Hom. *Il.* 4.378, *IG VII* 2470.1, ca. 300 B.C.). The city-ethnic is Θηβαῖος (LSAG 94 no. 7, C6f; Hdt. 5.79.2), in the Boiotian dialect often Θειβῆος (*SEG* 28 465.4, C4s).

Thebes is called a *polis* in the urban sense in Hes. *Scut.* 105 (C6) and in many later sources (Theog. *Eleg.* 1.1209; Hdt. 9.86.1; Dem. 18.216). The term *asty* is used by e.g. Demosthenes at 18.215. Thebes is called a *polis* in the territorial sense by Xenophon (*Hell.* 5.4.49) and in the political sense by e.g. Herodotos (9.13.3), Thucydides (3.62.3-4) and Xenophon (*Hell.* 3.5.8). The earliest epigraphical attestation of a πόλις Θειβῆων is in a proxeny decree of C4s (*SEG* 28 465; 32 430). The term *polisma* is found at Aesch. *Sept.* 63.

The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally on the reverse of some coins (ΘΕΒΑΙΟΝ, Head [1881] 31-2, C5s) and externally on a dedication in Olympia of C6s (*SEG* 24 300). For the individual use of the city-ethnic see Ducat [1971] no. 232: Ἐπιχάρες ἡο Θεβ[αῖος] (dedication in Ptoion, C6s).

The territory is called Θηβαῖς (Hdt. 9.65.1; Thuc. 3.58.5) or Θῆβαι (Xen. *Hell.* 5.2.25), or in later sources sometimes Θηβαία (Strab. 9.2.26). Before 506 the Thebais extended south of the Asopos but in 506 the river was made the border between Thebes and Plataiai (Hdt. 6.108.6; Paus. 9.4.4), and the territory of Thebes may then have comprised both Haliartos (inference from Hdt. 5.79.2) and presumably Akraiphia with Apollon's sanctuary at Ptoion (Hdt. 8.135.1, Schachter 1 [1981] 69, cf. also Strab. 9.2.34; Paus. 9.23.5). To the east Theban territory may have reached the coast and included Delion (Hdt. 6.118.2, Schachter 1 [1981] 46). After the battle of Plataiai Thebes was probably deprived of most of its former territory including the *Tetrakomia* (Hdt. 9.43.2, Fossey [1988] 222-3, probably relating to the period ca. 450-30, cf. Hansen [1995] 37 with n. 137) and Delion (Thuc. 4.76.4). But at the beginning of the Peloponnesian War the Thebais must have comprised all the small towns that joined the synoikism and had their population moved to Thebes (*Hell. Oxy.* 20.3). The size of its territory ca. 435 B.C. has been assessed at ca. 650 km² (Bakhuizen [1994] 314). In 427-6 the territory of Plataiai was incorporated into Thebes (Thuc. 3.68.2-3, 5.17.2). In 395 the Thebais con-

stituted two of the eleven Boiotian districts and controlled the two Plataian districts as well (*Hell. Oxy.* 19.3), plus Oropos (Diod. 14.17.1-3) and Aulis (Xen. *Hell.* 3.5.5). Thebes suffered its next major setback during the Spartan occupation in 382-79 (Xen. *Hell.* 5.2.25-36; 5.4.1-12), but when the Boiotian Federation had been re-established in 378-4 Thebes extended its territory to include Plataiai (from 373, Xen. *Hell.* 6.3.1; Paus. 9.1.5-8), Thespiiai (after 377 [Xen. *Hell.* 5.4.46-8] but before the autumn of 371, Xen. *Hell.* 6.3.5; Isoc. 8.17), Kreusis (Xen. *Hell.* 6.4.3) and Oropos (from 366, Xen. *Hell.* 7.4.1). We have no information about Anthedon (Gullath [1989] 164), and we do not know whether Orchomenos was annexed by Thebes after its destruction in 364 (Diod. 15.79.3-6). During the Third Sacred War Koroneia and Orchomenos were held by the Phokians but in 346 Philip handed them back to the Thebans (Dem. 5.21-2). The Thebaïis must now have been bounded by Thisbai, Haliartos, Akraiphia, Tanagra (Xen. *Hell.* 5.4.49) and Athens (πόλις ἀστυγείτων, Aeschin. 3.133; Din. 1.38). In 338 Thebes lost Plataiai, Orchomenos (Paus. 4.27.10), Thespiiai (*SEG* 32 476) and Oropos (Paus. 1.34.1), and after the destruction of Thebes in 335 what remained of its territory was given to the neighbouring cities (Hyp. 6.17; Diod. 18.11.3-4; Paus. 1.25.4; Gullath [1982] 77-82).

After the victory at Plataiai in 479 Thebes was besieged by the Greek army until it surrendered the leaders of the pro-Persian faction (Hdt. 9.86-8). Shortly after the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War many small unfortified Boiotian towns were synoikized with Thebes which thereby doubled its population. The towns merged with Thebes included Erythrai, Skaphai, Skolos, [...]lis, Schoinos and Potniai (*Hell. Oxy.* 20.3, Demand [1990] 83-5, *pace* Moggi [1976] 197-204 who prefers a date ca. 426-4). From 382 to 379 Thebes had to suffer a Spartan occupation (Xen. *Hell.* 5.2.25-36; 5.4.1-12); and by the peace of 338 a Macedonian garrison was placed on the Kadmeia (Diod. 16.87.3).

In 335 Thebes was conquered by Alexander and razed to the ground (Din. 1.24; Arr. *Anab.* 1.7-9; Diod. 17.7-14; Plut. *Alex.* 11.6-12, Gullath 60-85). More than 6000 men were killed and the remaining population, some 30,000 men, women and children, were exposed to *andrapodismos* and sold into slavery (Din. 1.24; Arr. *Anab.* 1.9.9; Diod. 17.13.3; 17.14.1; Plut. *Alex.* 11.12).

Thebes was the leading member of the First Federation (Thuc. 4.91.1; *Hell. Oxy.* 19.3); it re-established the federation immediately after the liberation of the city in 379 (Plut. *Pelop.* 13.1) and dominated all the other member states (Isoc. 14.8-10; Aeschin. 3.142); and in spite of the

defeat in 338 Thebes was still a member of the Third Federation between 338 and the destruction of the city in 335 (Arr. *Anab.* 1.7.11; *CID* II 74 col. 1.72, 337/6).

Membership of the Boiotian Federation did not prevent Thebes from joining one of the major leagues or from entering into alliance with other *poleis*: during the 370s Thebans was a member of the Second Athenian Naval Confederacy (*IG* II² 40; 43.24-5, 79; 1607.155), and in 339 Athens concluded an alliance with Thebes, not with the Boiotian federation (Aeschin. 3.142, *Staatsverträge* 345).

Theban laws were traditionally ascribed to Philolaos of Korinth (Arist. *Pol.* 1274a31-2) who probably lived in C7s. The Aristotelian collection of *politeiai* included a *Constitution of Thebes* (Arist. fr. 506-7, Gigon). Down to the Spartan occupation of Kadmeia 382-79 Thebes was an oligarchy, in C6l-C5e of the narrow type (*dynasteia*, Thuc. 3.62.3), later a more moderate oligarchy (ibid., Arist. *Pol.* 1278a25) ruled by a *boule* based on a property qualification (*Hell. Oxy.* 19.2). The battle of Oinophyta in 457 B.C. was followed by a brief period of democracy (Arist. *Pol.* 1302b28-9). Between 382 and 379 the constitution was again a *dynasteia* (Xen. *Hell.* 5.4.46). From 379 onwards Thebes was a democracy (Diod. 15.79.3; Polyb. 6.43). Thebes had a *boule* (Xen. *Hell.* 5.2.29) which prepared the matters to be put to the assembly (Diod. 17.9.1). An oracular response refers to a meeting of the popular assembly in 506 B.C. (Hdt. 5.79.1). It is unknown what powers it had during the oligarchy down to 379, but from then on major decisions were made by the people in assembly (Aeschin. 2.105; Dem. 18.213; Ar. *Anab.* 1.7.2). An eponymous *archon* is attested in C4s (*SEG* 28 466, ca. 338 B.C.) and polemarchs from 382 (Xen. *Hell.* 5.2.25, Schaefer [1956] 1108-11).

The protective divinities of Thebes were probably Demeter and Dionysos Kadmeios (Pind. *Isthm.* 7.1-5; Brackertz [1976] 73-8; Schachter 1 [1981] 168; 187). *Theorodokoi* were appointed in 359 to host *theoroi* from Epidaurus (*IG* IV² 1.94.4); In 360/59 Thebes was granted *promanteia* by the Delphians (*F.Delphes.* III.4 375).

Citizens of Thebes are frequently attested as victors at the major Panhellenic festivals, e.g. at the Isthmian games (Pind *Isthm.* 1, 3-4, 7, 474, 458 and 454 B.C.), at the Nemean games (Schol. Pind. *Isthm.* 223.10, Drachmann, 470s B.C.), at the Olympic games (Paus. 5.8.7, 680 B.C. See Moretti nos. 33, 69, 136, 206, 352, 427, 441), at the Pythian games (Pind. *Pyth.* 11, 474 B.C.), and at the Amphiareia (*IG* VII 414.4, 24, 366-38 B.C.).

Thebes is called a fortified city in ca. 540 (Theog. *Eleg.* 1.1209) and

again in 479 (Hdt. 9.41.2; 9.86-8), but it is uncertain whether the references are to the akropolis wall or to a wall enclosing the lower city as well. In C4 the city had two circuits of walls (Arr. *Anab.* 1.7.9-10, 8.5-6): an akropolis wall around the Kadmeia with the seven famous gates (Pind. *Pyth.* 11.12; Paus. 9.8.4) enclosed an area of ca. 25 hectares, and a wall around the lower city enclosed an area of ca. 328 hectares. Only a few traces are left (Symeonoglou [1985] 119). The akropolis wall seems to have followed the line of the late Helladic cyclopean wall, and the surviving traces of polygonal and isodomic masonry may be no more than archaic and classical repairs of the late Helladic wall (Cf. Hes. *Scut.* 105). The short south side of the akropolis wall seems to have been a part of the city wall as well (Arr. *Anab.* 1.7.9-10). The great city wall was of mud-brick superimposed on a foundation of isodomic masonry and covered with tiles. The masonry suggests a date in the 5th century. The synoikism of 431 must be the *terminus ante quem*, and the most likely *terminus post quem* seems to be the liberation of Boiotia from Athenian domination in 446 (Symeonoglou [1985] 118-22). The city wall was demolished in 335 (Aeschin. 3.157), but the akropolis wall was probably left to protect the Macedonian garrison on the Kadmeia (Hyp. 6.17; Arr. *Anab.* 1.9.9).

In the archaic period much of the Kadmeia was inhabited (Fossey [1988] 204), but some Thebans, including Pindar, lived in the lower city (Paus. 9.25.3) which became densely populated after the erection of the greater circuit of walls in the mid-fifth century and the synoikism of ca. 431 (*Hell. Oxy.* 20.3). In the classical period Thebes had at least 23 sanctuaries, twelve on the Kadmeia and eleven in the lower city (Symeonoglou [1985] 123-37). The Theban *boule* (Xen. *Hell.* 5.2.29) as well as the federal council (*Hell. Oxy.* 19.4) and the boiotarchs (Aeschin. 3.145) had their meeting place on the Kadmeia. In lower Thebes was the *polemarcheion* (Xen. *Hell.* 5.4.6), a hippodrome (Paus 9.23.2; Symeonoglou [1985] 140 and Cat. no. 106), a stadion and a gymnasium (Paus. 9.23.1; Symeonoglou [1985] 140, cat. nos. 65, 169); another gymnasium was situated outside the walls (Xen. *Hell.* 5.2.25). The agora in the lower city was flanked with several stoas (Xen. *Hell.* 5.2.29; Diod. 12.70.5). Thebes had a theatre (Paus. 9.16.6) which in C4 was used for meetings of the assembly (Plut. *Mor.* 799E-F); traces have been found in the northern part of the lower city (Symeonoglou [1985] 189-90). The city got most of its water through an impressive system of subterranean aqueducts already famous in antiquity (Heraclides 13, *GGM* I 102) and still partly preserved (Symeonoglou [1985] 141-4).

Thebes struck coins on the Aiginetan standard from ca. 500 to 335 (Head [1881] 11, 16-8, 23-4, 29-42, 54-5, 61-72, Kraay [1976] 109-14; Schachter [1989] 85). Type: Obv.: mostly Boiotian shield, but on some C4 bronze issues the head of young Herakles; Rev.: down to 479 mill-sail; thereafter Herakles or Dionysos or an amphora with symbols relating to Herakles or Dionysos. Legend: first Θ, later various abbreviations of the city ethnic or occasionally the full form: ΘΕΒΑΙΟΝ. An abbreviated personal name, denoting the issuing magistrate appears on the C4 amphora coins, and 45 separate magistrates can be identified (Hepworth [1986] 35). A series of probably Theban coins struck ca. 386-79 have a kantharos on the rev. and the legend BOI or BOIΩ.

In ca. 560 B.C. Thebes joined Megara in colonizing Herakleia Pontike (*Suda* s.v. Ἡρακλείδης, 461 Adler, cf. Burstein [1976] 15-8).

Thespiiai (*Thespieus*). Map 54. Lat. 38.15, long. 23.10; size of territory: 4; type: A. The toponym is Θεσπιαί (Xen. *Hell.* 5.4.10; *IG* VII 1862, Roman, but Θέσπεια at Hom. *Il.* 2.498, Hdt. 8.50.2). The city-ethnic is Θεσπιεύς (*F.Delphes* III.4 148, C5f). At Hes. *Op.* 222 πόλις probably denotes Thespiiai. After Hesiod the earliest explicit references to Thespiiai as a *polis* are Hdt. 8.50.2 (in the urban sense) and *IG* I³ 72.6 (in the political sense). The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested externally on the Serpent Column (Meiggs-Lewis, *GHI* 27.6: Θεσπιῆς, 479 B.C.) and internally in a proxeny decree of C3m (*SEG* 32 496.2-3). For the individual use of the city-ethnic cf. e.g. Πύθωνι Θεσπιεῖ, *naopoios* at Delphi in 334 (*CID* II 79A.15). In the feminine the *ketikon* Θεσπική is sometimes used (*IG* II² 8834, C4).

The territory is called ἡ Θεσπική γῆ (Thuc. 4.76.3); ἡ τῶν Θεσπιῶν χώρα (Xen. *Hell.* 5.4.42) or just ἡ Θεσπική (Xen. *Hell.* 6.4.4). During the First Federation Thespiiai constituted two of the eleven Boiotian districts (*Hell. Oxy.* 19.3) including Siphai (Thuc. 4.76.3), Leuktra (Xen. *Hell.* 6.4.4), Eutresis and Thisbai (*Hell. Oxy.* 19.3), Kreusis (Skylax 38 [as restored by Roesch 1980]; Livius 36.21.5; but Xen. *Hell.* 6.4.3 shows that in 371 it belonged to Thebes), Askra (Hes *Op.* 639-40 & 222; Arist. fr. 580, Gigon) and Keressos (Paus. 9.14.1-4; Plut. *Cam.* 19.4; *Mor.* 866F). Thespiiai bounded on Haliartos to the north (see s.v. Haliartos), on Thebes to the east (Hdt. 5.79.2), on Plataiai to the south-east (Hdt. 8.50.2), and on Thisbai to the south-west (Xen. *Hell.* 6.4.3-4). The size of its territory has been assessed at ca. 260 km² (Fossey [1988] 134).

Thespiiai was allied with Thebes in 506 and earlier (Hdt. 5.79.2). The

city was a member of the First Federation and provided two boiotarchs (*Hell. Oxy.* 19.3-4). Thespiiai was garrisoned by the Spartans in 379 and 378 (*Xen. Hell.* 5.4.15, 41) but by 372 it had been forced by the Thebans to join the Second Federation (*Isoc.* 14.9, συντελεῖν εἰς τὰς Θήβας). Before the autumn of 371 (*Xen. Hell.* 6.3.5; 6.4.10) the city was sacked by the Thebans and depopulated (*Diod.* 15.46.6, *Isoc.* 6.27; *Dem.* 16.4, 25, 28). In 359, however, a Thespian *theorodokos* hosted *theoroi* sent from Epidaurus (*IG IV²* 1.94.6) and Aischylos of Thespiiai was a victor in the Olympic Games, probably in 348 (*CIA* 26); so Demosthenes' contention (19.325) that the city was still not rebuilt in 346 must be read with a grain of salt. But shortly after 338 the city was resettled and provided one of the boiotarchs for the federation in its third period (*SEG* 32 476.13, C4s).

The constitution of Thespiiai was oligarchic and based on a property qualification (*Hell. Oxy.* 19.3; *Xen. Hell.* 5.4.46), and a democratic uprising in 414 was immediately quenched by the Thebans (*Thuc.* 6.95.2). An eponymous archon is attested in ca. 386 (*SEG* 24 361.3, Sherk 287).

The Aristotelian collection of *politeiai* included a *Constitution of Thespiiai* (*Arist.* No. 59, p. 640, Gigon).

The walls were demolished by the Thebans in 423 (*Thuc.* 4.133.1); re-erected with Spartan help in 378 (*Xen. Hell.* 5.4.41); demolished once more by the Thebans (*Dem.* 6.30; *Isoc.* 14.19, 35), probably before 373-2 (the date of *Isoc. Plat.*) and not yet rebuilt in 343 (*Dem.* 19.112). Three huge square blocks of the classical city wall were discovered in 1987 (Bintliff-Snodgrass [1988]67). Surveys have shown that "the early city consisted of at least four separate nuclei, spread out over a total area of about 100 hectares". In the 5th and 4th centuries they were merged together into one large conurbation (Snodgrass [1987-9] 57). The city was burned down by the Persians in 480 (*Hdt.* 8.50.2). Seven hundred Thespiians were killed at Thermopylai in 480 (*Hdt.* 7.202.1), and 1800 fought in the battle of Plataiai in 479 (*Hdt.* 9.30.1). South and west of the city remains have been found of a Doric temple dedicated to Apollon Archegetas who seems to have been the protecting god of Thespiiai (Schachter 1 [1981] 89, letter of Oct. 1994).

Thespiiai struck coins on the Aiginetan standard from ca. 500 to 480 (Etienne and Knoepfler [1976] 219; Schachter [1989] 85), from 387 (or earlier) to 374 (or later) and again from ca. 338 to 315 (Head [1911] 354). Obv.: Boiotian shield; Rev.: crescent and (on some) amphora or head of Aphrodite, legend: 510-480: the epichoric letter (⊕), originally interpreted as a Φ and associated with Pharai, but now interpreted as a Θ

signifying Thespiiai (Etienne and Knoepfler [1976] 219); the fourth century coins are inscribed ΘΕΣ or ΘΕΣΠΙ or ΘΕΣΠΙΚΟΝ. Some have the epichoric sigma (ς), pointing to a date earlier than 387.

Thisbai (Thisbeus). Map 54. Lat. 38.15, long. 22.55; size of territory: 3; type: B. The toponym is Θίσβη, ῆ (Hom. *Il.* 2.502) or more frequently Θίσβαι in the plural (*Hell. Oxy.* 19.3, *F. Delphes* III 3 103.3, 300-280 B. C.). The city ethnic is Θισβεῖς (*IG VII* 2724b6, ca. 280-70 B.C., cf. Knoepfler [1992] 451; *SEG* 15, 282.4, 263-55 B.C.).

The earliest attestation of Thisbai as a *polis* is in a third-century treaty with Chorsiai (*SEG* 3 342.4 = Migeotte [1984] no. 11, C2e) and the only attestation in a literary source is in Paus. 9.32.2. The occurrence in the late fourth century of a Thisban among the *aphedriateuontes*, however, shows that Thisbai was a *polis* at least from the beginning of the Third Federation (*IG VII* 2724b.6, ca. 280-70 B.C., cf. Knoepfler [1992] 451), and the reference at *Hell. Oxy.* 19.3 to what was probably a *sympoliteia* between Thespiiai, Eutresis and Thisbai suggests that during the First Federation Thisbai was a dependent *polis* dominated by Thespiiai (Roesch [1965] 37; Siewert [1977] 463; Hansen [1995] 16). The size of its territory has been assessed at just over 100 km² (Fossey [1988] 176).

The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally in Thisbai's copy of a treaty with Chorsiai (*SEG* 3 342 = Migeotte [1984] no. 11, C2e) but externally only in a Roman inscription (*IG VII* 2870.13, 155 A.D.). For the individual use see e.g. Πύρρακος Ἰθουδαμῖω Θισβεῖος in a list of *aphedriateuontes* (*IG VII* 2724b.4, ca. 280-70 B.C., cf. Knoepfler [1992] 451). The territory was called Θίσβαι (Xen. *Hell.* 6.4.3).

Thisbai is attested as a member of the First Federation (*Hell. Oxy.* 19.3) and of the Third Federation (*IG VII* 2724b.4).

A circuit of walls of ca. 2.5 km. with interval square towers enclosed the city which was situated on a rocky hill to the north, the foothill of mount Helikon to the south and the narrow corridor between the two eminences. Most of the wall is of pseudo-isodomic trapezoidal or ashlar work, but one round tower on the northern hill (the akropolis) is in Lesbian masonry (Maier [1958]). The circuit of walls enclosed an area of ca. 47 hectares. Maier (24-5) suggests a date between ca. 325 and 175 B.C., but the tower indicates a date between 375 and 325 B.C. (Buckler [1980] 283 n. 19). No remains of buildings have been traced. The settlement can be traced back to the Early Helladic period (Fossey [1988] 180).⁹

Bibliography

(books and articles referred to in the inventory)

- Amit, A., *Great and Small Poleis* (Brussels 1973).
- Badian, E., "Plataea between Athens and Sparta," in *From Plataea to Potidaea. Studies in the History and Historiography of the Pentecontaetia* (Baltimore 1993) 109-23.
- Bakhuizen, S.C., *Salganeus and the Fortifications on its Mountains* (Groningen 1970).
- Bakhuizen, S.C., "The Ethnos of the Boeotians," in H. Beister and J. Buckler (eds.), *Boiōtika. Vorträge vom 5. Internationalen Bōiotien-Kolloquium* (München 1989) 65-72.
- Bakhuizen, S.C., "Thebes and Boiotia in the Fourth Century B.C.," *Phoenix* 48 (1994) 307-30.
- Baldwin Brett, A., *Catalogue of Greek Coins. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* [1955].
- Bintliff, J., "Die Polis-Landschaften Griechenlands: Probleme und Aussichten der Bevölkerungsgeschichte," in E. Olshausen & H. Sonnabend (eds.), *Geographica Historica* 5 (1991) 149-202.
- Bintliff, J. and Snodgrass, A., "The Cambridge/Bradford Boeotian Expedition: the First Four Years," *JFA* 12 (1985) 123-61.
- Bintliff, J. and Snodgrass, A., "Mediterranean Survey and the City," *Antiquity* 62 (1988) 57-71.
- Brackertz, U., *Zum Problem der Schutzgottheiten griechischer Städte* (Berlin 1976).
- Buck, R.J., *A History of Boeotia* (Edmonton 1979).
- Buckler, J., *The Theban Hegemony 371-362 B.C.* (Cambridge Mass. 1980).
- Büsing, H. & Büsing-Kolbe, A., "Chorsiai. Eine Boiotische Festung," *AA* (1972) 74-87.
- Burstein, S.M., *Outposts of Hellenism. The Emergence of Heraclea on the Black Sea* (Berkeley & Los Angeles 1976).
- Camp, J. McK., "Notes on the Towers and Borders of Classical Boiotia," *AJA* 95 (1991) 193-202.
- Coulton, J.J., "The Stoa at the Amphiaraiion, Oropos," *BSA* 63 (1968) 147-83.
- Demand, N., *Urban Relocation in Archaic and Classical Greece* (Bristol 1990).
- Dilke, O.A.W., "Details and Chronology of Greek Theatre Caveas," *BSA* 45 (1950) 21-62.
- Ducat, J., *Les Kouroi du Ptoion* (Paris 1971).
- Etienne, R. & Knoepfler D., *Hyettos de Béotie et la chronologie des archontes fédéraux entre 250 et 171 avant J.-C.* (Paris 1976) *BCH* Suppl. 3.
- Fossey, J.M., *Epigraphica Boeotica I. Studies in Boiotian Inscriptions* (Amsterdam 1991).
- Fossey, J.M., *Topography and Population of Ancient Boiotia* (Chicago 1988).
- Fossey, J.M., *Papers in Boiotian Topography and History* (Amsterdam 1990).
- Fossey, J.M., "The Development of Some Defensive Networks in Eastern Central Greece During the Classical Period," in S. van de Maele & J.M. Fossey (eds.), *Fortificationes Antiquae* (Amsterdam 1992) 109-32.
- Garlan, Y., "Études d'histoire militaire et diplomatique. IX. Recherches sur les fortifications d'Akraiphia," *BCH* 98 (1974) 95-113.
- Gschntzer, F., "Zur Geschichte des Systems der griechischen Ethnika," in *Res Mycenaee, Akten des VII. Internationalen Mykenologischen Colloquiums in Nürnberg 1981* (Göttingen 1983) 140-54.
- Gullath, B., *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte Boiotiens in der Zeit Alexanders und der Diadochen* (Frankfurt am Main 1982).
- Gullath, B., "Veränderung der Territorien boiotischer Städte zu Beginn der hellenistischen

- Zeit am Beispiel Thebens," in H. Beister and J. Buckler (eds.), *Boiotika. Vorträge vom 5. Internationalen Böotien-Kolloquium* (München 1989) 163-8.
- Hammond, N.G.L., "Plataea's Relations with Thebes, Sparta and Athens," *JHS* 112 (1992) 143-50.
- Hansen, M.H., "Boiotian *Poleis*. A Test Case," in M.H. Hansen (ed.), *Sources for The Ancient Greek City-State*. Acts of the Copenhagen Polis Centre 2. Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, Historisk-filosofiske meddelelser 72 (Copenhagen 1995) 13-63.
- Hansen, M.H., "Kome. A Study in How the Greeks Designated and Classified Settlements which were not *Poleis*," in M.H. Hansen and K. Raaflaub (eds.), *Studies in the Ancient Greek Polis*. Papers from the Copenhagen Polis Centre 2. *Historia Einzelschriften* 95 (Stuttgart 1995) [= 1995a]
- Head, B.V., *Historia Numorum. A Manual of Greek Numismatics* (2nd edn. London 1911).
- Hepworth, R.G., "Epaminondas' Coinage," *Proceedings of the 10th International Congress of Numismatics* (London 1986) 35-40.
- Hornblower, S., *A Commentary on Thucydides Volume I: Books I-III* (Oxford 1991).
- Kirsten, E., "Plataiai," *RE* XX,2 (1950) 2255-2331.
- Knauss, J., *Die Melioration des Kopaisbeckens durch die Minyer im 2. Jt. v. Chr.* (München 1987).
- Knoepfler, D., Review of R.J. Buck, *A History of Boeotia* in *Gnomon* 53 (1981) 140-9.
- Knoepfler, D., "Inscriptions de la Béotie orientale. II Anthedon," in H. Kalcyk et alii (eds.), *Studien zur alten Geschichte Siegfried Lauffer zum 70. Geburtstag dargebracht* (Rome 1986) 595-632.
- Knoepfler, D., "Sept années de recherches sur l'épigraphie de la Béotie (1985-1991)," *Chiron* 22 (1992) 411-503.
- Knoepfler, D., "Adolf Wilhelm et la *pentétèris* des Amphiaraiia d'Oropos," in M. Piérart (ed.), *Aristote et Athènes* (Paris 1993) 279-302.
- Koumanoudis, S.N., "Une ville Béotienne dans Strabon," *Rev. Phil.* 35 [1961] 99-105.
- Kraay, C.M., *Archaic and Classical Greek Coins* (London 1976).
- Jones, N.F., *Public Organization in Ancient Greece* (Philadelphia 1987).
- Lazzarini, M.L., *Le formule delle dediche votive nella Grecia arcaica*. Atti della Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei 373 (Rome 1976).
- Lauffer, S., *Kopais. Untersuchungen zur historischen Landeskunde Mittelgriechenlands* (Frankfurt am Main 1986).
- Lauffer, S. & Hennig, D. "Orchomenos," in *RE Suppl.* 14 (1974) 290-355.
- Lolling, H.G., *Reisenotizen aus Griechenland 1876 und 1877*, ed. B. Heinrich and H. Kalcyk (Berlin 1989).
- Maier, F.G., "Die Stadtmauer von Thisbe," *Mdl* 73 (1958) 17-25.
- Migeotte, L., *L'emprunt public dans les cités grecques* (Paris 1984).
- Moggi, M., *I Sinecismi Interstatali Greci* (Pisa 1976).
- Moretti, L., (*Olympionikai, i vincitori negli antichi agoni olimpici* Atti della Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei (Rome 1959).
- Munn, M.H., "Agesilaos' Boiotian Campaigns," *Cl.Ant.* 6 (1987) 106-38
- Munn, M.H., *The Defense of Attica. The Dema Wall and the Boiotian War of 378-75 B.C.* (Berkeley and Los Angeles 1993).
- Osborne, M.J., *Naturalization in Athens II* (Brussels 1982).
- Prandi, L., *Platea: momenti e problemi della storia di una polis* (Milano 1988).
- Robert, L., "Sur une loi d'Athènes relative aux petites Panathénées," *Hellenica* XI-XII (Paris 1960) 189-203.

- Roesch, P., *Thespies et la confédération béotienne* (Paris 1965).
- Roesch, P., "Anthedon," in *PECS* (Princeton 1976) 59.
- Roesch, P., "Le Géographe Skylax et la côte méridionale de la Béotie," *Centre Jean Palerne, Memoires II* (Paris 1980) 123-30.
- Roesch, P., *Études Béotiennes* (Paris 1982).
- Roller, D.W., "The Date of the Walls at Tanagra," *Hesperia* (1974) 260-3.
- Roller, D.W., *Tanagran Studies I. Sources and Documents on Tanagra in Boiotia. II. The Prosopography of Tanagra in Boiotia* (Amsterdam 1989).
- Roller, D.W. "Recent Investigations at Grimádha (Tanagra)," *Boeotia Antiqua* 1 (1989) 129-63.
- Schachter, A., "Horse Coins from Tanagra," *NC* 6.18 (1958) 43-6.
- Schachter, A., *Cults of Boiotia, BICS* 38.1-4 (London 1981-94).
- Schachter, A., "Boiotia in the Sixth Century B.C.," in H. Beister and J. Buckler (eds.), *Boiotika. Vorträge vom 5. Internationalen Bötien-Kolloquium* (München 1989) 73-86.
- Schaefer, H., "Polemarchos," *RE Suppl.* 8 (1956) 1108-17 (Boiotien).
- Schlaeger, H *et alii*, "Der Hafen von Anthedon mit Beiträgen zur Topographie und Geschichte der Stadt," *AA* (1968) 21-202, (1969) 229-31.
- Schwandner, E.L., "Die Bötische Hafenstadt Siphai," *AA* (1977) 513-51.
- Scranton, R.L., *Greek Walls* (Cambridge Mass. 1941).
- Sherk., R., "The Eponymous Officials of Greek Cities," *ZPE* 83 (1990) 279-88.
- Siewert, P., "L'autonomie de Hyettos et la sympolitie thespienne dans les *Hélléniques d'Oxyrhynchos*," *REG* 90 (1977) 462-4.
- Snodgrass, A., "The Rural Landscape and its Political Significance," *Opus* 6-8 (1987-9) 53-70.
- Snodgrass, A., "Survey Archaeology and the Rural Landscape of the Greek City," in O. Murray and S. Price (eds), *The Greek City from Homer to Alexander* (Oxford 1990) 113-36.
- Symeonoglou, S., *The Topography of Thebes from the Bronze Age to Modern Times* (Princeton 1985)
- Tausend, K., *Amphiktyonie und Symmachie* (Stuttgart 1992).
- Tuplin, C.J., "The Fate of Thespieae during the Theban Hegemony," *Athenaeum* 74 (1986) 321-41.
- Ure, P.N., "Mykalessos," *RE Suppl.* VII (1940) 496-510.
- Wallace, P.W., *Strabo's description of Boiotia* (Heidelberg 1979).
- Wilamowitz-Möllendorff, U. von, "Oropos und die Graer," *Hermes* 21 (1886) 91-115.

Notes

- 1 The list of settlements excludes sanctuaries, cf. Fossey (1988) 435 note 107, i.e. the Amphiaraiion, the Kabeirion and the sanctuaries of Apollon Ptoios, Apollon Tegyrios, Apollon Thourios, Athena Itonia, Dionysos at Tzamali, the Muses near Thespieai and Zeus Hypatos at Moni Sagmata.
- 2 Doubtful or spurious settlements mentioned in late sources only include a number of toponyms recorded in Strabo, viz., Θεράπναι (9.2.24) and Φουινιζίς (9.2.27) or in Steph.

Byz. viz.: Ἄστυρα (140.18); Ἄχυνα (152.17-8); Γέφυρα (= Tanagra, Fossey 54); Ζαῖα (293.20); Ἰσμήνη (338.21); Ἴτων (342.10 cf. Armenidas *FGrHist* 378 fr. 1); Κελαίθρα (372.8); Ὀλμιον (490.3); Φιληνώριον (665.21) and Φλεγύα (667.15). Furthermore, following Bakhuizen ([1989] 65-6), I have left out Ἄρνη (Hom. *Il.* 2.507; Hes. fr. 218; Strab. 9.2.35; Steph. Byz. 123.18, πόλις) which allegedly was swallowed up by the Lake Kopais (Strab. 9.2.35). It seems to be a mythical toponym, not even to be placed on an atlas of Bronze Age settlements. However, in *Papers* (1990) 64-5 Fossey identifies Homeric Arne with a settlement (Magoula Balomenou) which has substantial remains from the Bronze Age plus some Roman and Late Roman.

3 For the location and identification of the settlements see Map 54 of the *Atlas of the Greek and Roman World*, compiled by J. Fossey and J. Morin and the directory which accompanies the map.

4 Viz., Delphinion, Donakon, Heleon, Hyle, Oinophyta, Okalea, Pharai, Stephon, Tilphosaion, and Trapheia, see Fossey (1988) 390-1; for Tilphosaion, however, see Map 54.

5 Eteonos/Skaph(1)ai, Keressos, Mideia, Metachioion and Nisa.

6 Gla and Mali both recorded in the *Atlas of the Greek and Roman World* as settlements of the smallest size.

7 Information about the date of the remains found on the site is derived from the directory accompanying Map 54 (*supra* n. 3). *A* means Archaic and *C* classical. The lat/long coordinates given for each of the *poleis* recorded in the inventory below are approximations. I would like to thank Dir. R. Talbert and the compilers of Map 54 for permission to refer to the still unpublished information on the map itself and in the accompanying directory. Let me add that the map is still being revised and that the final version in some details may be different from the one I have used.

8 *Conventions*: references to Greek authors follow the abbreviations of *OCD*. References to inscriptions follow the latest standard editions, conventions are those of *SEG*. Citations of modern works follow the abbreviations of *American Journal of Archaeology* (1991 issue). Centuries are abbreviated C6, C5, C4 (= 6th, 5th, 4th cent. B.C.). C5e (= early fifth century B.C.), C5f (= first half of the 5th cent.) C5m (= ca. 450 B.C.) C5s (second half of the 5th cent.). C5l (= late fifth century B.C.). Whenever a source is used retrospectively the period to which it refers is indicated. A reference in Diodoros to an event in 402 B.C. is recorded: Diod. 14.17.3, r402 B.C. or: Harp. s.v. Hysiai, rC4.

Re size of territory: we distinguish between five different categories: (1) 0-25 km², (2) 25-100 km², (3) 100-200 km², (4) 200-500 km² and (5) 500 km² or more.

9 I am extremely grateful to Prof. Denis Knoepfler and Prof. Albert Schachter for their valuable *addenda* and *corrigenda* to an earlier version of this inventory. I would furthermore like to thank Prof. John Camp and Prof. John Fossey for providing me with additional information about Boiotian city walls.

Arkadia. City-Ethnics and Tribalism

THOMAS HEINE NIELSEN
(Respondent: JAMES ROY)

In the present paper I discuss two of the data-base entries and their application to Arkadia (*supra* pages 55-62). The entries selected are “ethnics” and “tribal affiliation”. The two selected topics are not connected with each other. However, the conclusions reached in the part dealing with city-ethnics become important in the part dealing with tribalism, since that part makes frequent use of city-ethnics in discussing the *polis*-ness of different tribal communities. The aim of the paper is to show: 1. that the occurrence of a city-ethnic is a very good indication of *polis*-ness of the city to which the ethnic belongs, and 2. that the so-called tribes of Arkadia were, contrary to what is normally held, believed by the Greeks to be subdivided into *poleis* and that this view of the tribal communities is corroborated by other evidence.

I. Arkadian City-Ethnics as Sources for *Polis*-ness

It was one of the major results of M.H. Hansen’s investigation of *Boiotian Poleis* that in Boiotia a city-ethnic, if recorded in a good source, is a very strong indication of the *polis*-ness of the city in question. We know this because Boiotia had no civic subdivisions like the Attic demes or Argive *komai*, and consequently the third and often political part of a Boiotian’s name was never a demotic, but either the regional ethnic Βοιωτός/Βοιώπιος or the ethnic of his *polis*, e.g. Θεσπιεύς, Ταναγραῖος etc. These ethnics are, of course, also used in the plural, in the regular Greek manner, to denote the community of citizens making up a *polis*, as in e.g. Σιμωνίδα ἄρχοντος τῷ ἡρώδι Πτοίῳ Ἀκριφίδος ἀνέθεαν (LSAG 402 7 13).¹

In Arkadia the situation is more complex, partly because we meet tribal ethnics such as e.g. Παροράσιος in addition to the regional ethnic and city-ethnics, and partly because civic subdivisions are attested in e.g. Tegea, Thisoa and Phigaleia. It seems, however, that the civic subdivi-

visions of Arkadian *poleis* were never used to coin demotics in the way the Attic demes were, and so we can take an ethnic, when used as a part of a name, to be a city-ethnic and use it as source for *polis*-ness if we are able to distinguish it from tribal and regional ethnics, which is, in practice, very easy (see part II below). It will also emerge that external collective uses of city-ethnics are very valuable in establishing the *polis*-ness of a given site. The rest of this part will be devoted to substantiating this claim and to draw up a list of ethnics attested in contemporary sources from the archaic to the Hellenistic period.²

1. Alea

*Attestations of the city-ethnic:*³ 5th cent: external collective, *IvO* 30; external individual, *IG* 1³ 80. *Hellenistic period:* external collective, *IvO* 295, *I. Magnasia* 38.65; external individual, Dubois O.9, *IG* IX.1² 7, 9, *IG* VII 2112, *IG* IV.1² 96.46; internal collective, Head *HN*² 418.

Comments: *IvO* 30 reads: ἔδοξεν Ἀλειοῖς ι[...] // Δίφιλον τὸν Ἀθαν[αῖ]ον, Μελανώπω υἱόν, // πρόξενον καὶ εὐεργέ/ταν τῶν Ἀλειῶν γράψ//αι ἐν Ὀλυμπία ἔδοξεν, and it surely belongs to Alea, not Elis. In addition to earlier arguments, it should be noted that the enactment formula of *IvO* 30: ἔδοξεν Ἀλειοῖς, is different from the Elean enactment formula. In the archaic period, the Elean enactment formula is invariably ἅ Φράτρα τοῖς Φαλείοις, and the only contemporary decree of Elis has Θεοτιμίδην τὸν / Εὐδήμο Μενδαῖον / πρόξενον ἐπόησαν / τοῖ Φαλείοι, δαμιο/ργεόντων κτλ., whereas the first instance of ἔδοξε (ταῖ πόλι) in an Elean decree is *SEG* 12 371 from 242 BC, where we still find digamma in both toponym and ethnic of Elis.⁴

The decree *SEG* 12 371 (which has the digamma in both toponym and ethnic of Elis) leads us to expect, *a fortiori*, digamma in inscriptions set up in Elis itself around 300 BC, which is *IvO*'s date for *IvO* 295, a dedication by ἅ πόλις τῶν Ἀλειῶν in honour of Φύσκος Αἰτωλός. Klaffenbach suggested that *IvO* 295 should be attributed to Alea on the basis of *IG* IX.1² 7, an Aitolian grant of citizenship to a man of Alea dated ἐπὶ τῶν περὶ Φύσκον βουλαρχούντων. In the light of the digammas found in *SEG* 12 371 it is very tempting to accept the attribution of *IvO* 295 to Alea.

Demotics: there is no information about demotics in Alea.

2. Alipheira

Attestations of the city-ethnic: *Hellenistic period:* external collective, Polyb. 4.77.10, 78.8, *IvO* 48; external individual, *CIG* 1936, *IG* II² 8046; internal collective, *SEG* 25 449, Head *HN*² 418.

Demotics: although the evidence is at present exiguous, it is worth pointing out that there are no traces of civic subdivisions used to coin demotics in Alipheira. The preserved epitaphs from the city make no use of either city-ethnic or demotics, and neither is there any trace of demotics in the amnesty of 273 BC; however, it is reasonable to assume that Κλεώνυμος, who liberated the city, Μίλων and Ἀπέλιχος, whose fines shall be abrogated, Ξενοφῶν, who is a magistrate (τὸς δαμορογὸς τὸς περὶ Ξενοφῶντα), and Ξενοκράτης, also a magistrate (χρεονόμος τὸς περὶ Ξενοκράτα), and Εὐμηλος, perhaps a lawgiver, were citizens. But although for at least some of these persons a reference to this decree could be important and precise identification therefore necessary, they are referred to solely by their personal names, and thus the custom of coining demotics from civic subdivisions probably did not exist at Alipheira.⁵

3. Asea

Attestations of the city-ethnic: 4th cent.: external collective, Xen. *Hell.* 7.5.5. *Hellenistic period*: internal collective, Head *HN*² 418.

Demotics: there is no information about demotics in Asea.

4. Dipaia

Attestations of the city-ethnic: 5th cent.: external individual, Paus. 6.7.9 = Moretti no. 314. 4th cent.: external collective, *SEG* 23 179. *Hellenistic period*: internal collective, Head *HN*² 418.

Comments: the nature of the inscription *SEG* 23 179 is not entirely clear. Bradeen thinks that it is a record of a judgement by a foreign board of arbitration in a dispute involving the city of Dipaia.⁶

Demotics: there is no information about demotics in Dipaia.

5. Eua

Attestations of the city-ethnic: *Hellenistic period*: internal collective, *NC* (1917) 139 (Achaian federal bronze coin), *SEG* 30 377.

Comments: Eua is often discussed in an Arkadian context, since at 283.12-13 Stephanos of Byzantion has this entry: Εὐα, πόλις Ἀρκαδίας, Θεόπομπος ἐν ἔκτῳ. τὸ ἔθνικόν Εὐαῖος. That this Eua was Arkadian is accepted by Ernst Meyer, who argues that it must have been situated near Orchomenos, because the Achaian federal bronze coin inscribed [ΑΧΑΙΩ]Ν ΕΥΑΕΩΝ was found there. However, Roy thinks that this Eua was the one in Thyreatis in Lakonia, and this is almost certainly correct. The reason that Theopompos described it as Arkadian

may well be that it was a member of the Arkadian Confederacy, like Triphylian Lepreon.⁷

Theopompos seems to have treated Peloponnesian, and perhaps especially Arkadian, matters fully in his *Philippica*, often in a way that inspires confidence, as is seen when frag. 60, Εὐαίμων, πόλις Ὀρχομενίων, Θεόπομπος ἐν ἔκτῳ, is compared with *IG V.2 343* (= *IPark* [*supra* n. 5] no. 15), a record of συΦοικία between Euaimon and Orchomenos. For Euaimon, see below no. 6.⁸

Demotics: there is no information about demotics in Eua.

6. Euaimon

Attestations of the city-ethnic: 4th cent.: external collective, *IG V.2 343* = Dubois (*supra* n. 3) 146-163 = *IPark* (*supra* n. 5) no. 15.

Demotics: An interesting feature of the inscription is the list of personal names found in lines 91-?; it originally held at least five names, but one or two more is not impossible. It is not immediately clear in what capacity these 5-7 persons are listed, but it seems reasonable to agree with Dubois 162 that “ces noms doivent être ceux des magistrats qui ont prêté serment pour les deux cités.” Oaths are recorded for both the Orchomenians (ll. 77-95) and the Euaimnians (ll. 58-77), and if Dubois is right, we should expect the list to include people of both Orchomenos and Euaimon. But the bare personal names are given, and so all persons listed are perhaps Orchomenians (see below s.v. Orchomenos); if Euaimnians are included, it seems that there was no custom of naming with demotics in this city.

7. Helisson

Attestations of the city-ethnic: 4th cent.: external collective, *SEG 37 340* (= *IPark* [*supra* n. 3] no. 9), *IG IV.1² 42*. *Hellenistic period*: external collective, Polyb. 11.11.6; internal collective, Head *HN² 418*.⁹

Demotics: *SEG 37 340* contains a stipulation of great importance in this connection, ll. 16-18: ἘλισΦασίος πάντας ἀπυγράψασθαι ἰν τὸς ἐπιμελητᾶς πατριᾶφι κατ [ἀ]λικίαν ἰν δέκ' ἀμέραις ἅμιν οἱ σταλογράφοι μὀλωνσι; “All the Heliswasians are to register themselves with the *epimeletai* with their father's name according to age.” What is important here is that there is no mention of any kind of civic subdivision like *phylai* or demes, although it is obvious that precise identification of the persons registered could be very important (see e.g. ll. 23-25). This leads to the conclusion that there were no civic subdivisions in Helisson, or, at the very least, that they were not used in official naming customs.

This conclusion is corroborated by another inscription, *IG IV.1² 42* of ca. 300 BC, which lists seven people of Helisson just by their personal names, although other people listed are allotted city-ethnics or demotics.¹⁰

8. *Heraia*

Attestations of the city-ethnic: 6th cent.: external collective, *SV II 110*. *5th cent.:* external collective, Lazzarini no. 975, *Thuc. 5.67.1*; internal collective, Head *HN² 448*. *4th cent.:* external collective, *Xen. Hell. 6.5.11, 22, IG V.2 1.58; IG V.2 343.13*. *Hellenistic period:* external collective, *Polyb. 4.78.5, I.Magnesia 38.65, IvO 48*; external individual, *IG II² 2326, IG V.2 368.143-45, IG IV.1² 96.35, 43*; internal collective, Head *HN² 418*.

Demotics: the only major inscription assigned to Heraia by von Gaertringen seems to show that civic subdivisions were not used to coin demotics in Heraia. It is a 3rd century record of a verdict given by an unknown *polis* in a case between Heraia and an unknown *polis*. Lines 7-11 contain a list of the Heraians involved in the case; they are listed merely with name and patronymic.¹¹

9. *Kaphyai*

Attestations of the city-ethnic: 5th cent.: external collective, *Syll.³ 48*. *4th cent.:* external individual, *IG II² 66, CID II 12.II.1*. *Hellenistic period:* external collective, *IG II² 687.25, 39, Polyb. 4.11.13, 13.3, IG V.2 534, IvO 50, I.Magnesia 38.61*; external individual, *CIG 1936, IG IX.1² 22, Dubois (supra n. 3) O.4, O.6, SEG 11 414.8*; internal collective, Head *HN² 418*.¹²

Demotics: there is no information about demotics in Kaphyai.

10. *Kleitior*

Attestations of the city-ethnic: 6th cent.: external collective, *Paus. 5.23.7*. *4th cent.:* external collective, *IG V.2 1.52, Xen. Hell. 5.4.36, 37, SEG 20 716.18*; external individual, *IvO 167, CID II 51.7, Syll.³ 291*. *Hellenistic period:* external collective, *I.Magnesia 38.63, Polyb. e.g. 4.18.12*; external individual, *IG XI.4 532 (see SEG 18 235), IG IV.1² 96 bis*; internal collective, *IG V.2 367 e.g. I.1, II.1, Head HN² 418*.

Demotics: unfortunately there is no good evidence about demotics in Kleitior, although it should perhaps be noted that there are no traces of demotics on the surviving funerary monuments.¹³

11. Kortys/Gortys

Attestations of the city-ethnic: 6th cent.: external individual, *IG* I² 488 (?). *5th cent.:* external collective, *SEG* 11 1168. *Hellenistic period:* internal collective, Head *HN*² 418.

Comments: Hiller von Gaertringen printed *IG* I² 488 like this: [ΘϞ]ᾶιχς Κορτύνιο[ς] / [ἀν]ῆθεκεν / [τὰ]θ[ε]ναίαι, and commented “Arcas fuit”, thus producing an extremely early use of the ethnic (ca. 525 BC). *IG* I³ 639, however, has changed the reading to: [ΘϞ]ᾶιχς Κορτυνίο κτλ., thus turning the city-ethnic into a personal name “ab ethnico Arcadico deductum.” Perhaps this interpretation is the most probable as there is no direct parallel to the formula: dedicant’s name in the nominative + city-ethnic, from archaic Athens, whereas there are good parallels to the formula: dedicant’s name in the nominative + patronymic, or slight variations hereof. But even if we read Κορτυνίο, it would be fair to interpret this to mean that the city-ethnic of Kortys existed and was used in the 6th century.¹⁴

Demotics: there is no evidence relating to the question of demotics in Kortys.

12. Kynaitha

Attestations of the city-ethnic: 4th cent.: external individual, Aristoxenos (Wehrli frag. 135). *Hellenistic period:* external collective, *I. Magnesia* 38.66, *SEG* 15 254.3, *SGDI* 1604, Polyb. e.g. 9.17; external individual, *SGDI* 2566.

Demotics: there is no evidence relating to the questions of demotics in Kynaitha.¹⁵

13. Lasion

Attestations of the city-ethnic: 4th cent.: external collective, Xen. *Hell.* 4.2.16. *Hellenistic period:* external individual, Euphoriion of Chalkis (Meineke p. 139), *Ant. Graeca* 6.111.

Comments: according to Xenophon the Arkadians laid claim to Lasion in the 390s; since no pan-Arkadian political organization existed in the 390s, Xenophon’s statement should probably be interpreted to mean that Lasion was considered ethnically Arkadian. In the 360s Lasion was a member of the Arkadian Confederacy.¹⁶

Demotics: *SEG* 11 1173, two grave stelae, give just the personal names, once accompanied by a patronymic.

14. Lousoi

Attestations of the city-ethnic: 5th cent.: external individual, Xen. *Anab.* 7.6.40; internal collective, *IG V.2* 387. *4th cent.:* internal collective, *IG V.2* 388-396. *Hellenistic period:* external collective, *I.Magnesia* 38.68, Polyb. 4.18.11, *IG V.2* 358; external individual, *IG IV.1*² 73.24, Dubois (*supra* n. 3) O.12; internal collective, Head *HN*² 418.

Demotics: although some of the decrees of Lousoi list magistrates, the persons in question are listed solely by personal names, and thus we must on present evidence assume that there was no custom of naming with demotics in Lousoi.¹⁷

15. Lykosoura

Attestations of the city-ethnic: Hellenistic period: external collective, *SEG* 41 332; internal collective, *SEG* 41 332.

Demotics: *SEG* 41 332 is the only evidence of any significance surviving from our period. It shows no traces of demotics, and the same holds true of the Roman era documents from the city.

16. Mantinea

Attestations of the city-ethnic: 5th cent.: external collective, *IvO* 16.17, *SEG* 28 408 (?), *IG I*³ 83, Hdt. e.g. 9.35, Thuc. e.g. 3.107.4; external individual, Hdt. 4.162.2. *4th cent.:* external collective, *IG II*² 33, *IG V.2* 1.34, Xen. *Hell.* e.g. 3.2.21, 4.2.13; external individual, *IG II*² 9279-82, *SEG* 26 330, *SEG* 11 347, *CID II* 1.II 24, 5.I.4; internal collective, *SEG* 37 340. *Hellenistic period:* external collective, Polyb. e.g. 2.56.6; external individual, e.g. *FD III.1* 32, 43.

Demotics: a system of five *phylai* is attested at Mantinea. *IG V.2* 271 is a fully preserved catalogue of names, arranging the entries, consisting of onoma + patronymic, by the headings: 'Επαλέας, 'Ενυαλίας, 'Οπλοδμίας, Π[ο]σοιδαίας and Φανακισίας. There is, however, no evidence that these *phylai* served to coin demotics, though we could fairly expect to find traces of such a custom if it existed: *IG V.2* 262 ll. 1-13 is a mid-5th century list of persons convicted in a trial, listed solely by their personal names; *IG V.2* 272-73 are two fragmentary catalogues of names of the 4th-3rd centuries and again only the personal name is employed; *IG V.2* 278 of the 4th century is commonly thought to be a dedication by two boards of officials, and the ten persons are again recorded only with their personal names; finally, *SEG* 37 340.23 has provided evidence that the eponymous official of Mantinea was a *damior-*

gos, who is referred to in this inscription merely by his personal name: ἰν τῷ ὕστερον Φέτ[ε]ι ἢ Νικῆς ἑδαμύοργη.¹⁸

Three undated *horos* stones of some kind suggest that there did exist organizations after which a group of people could be named. The best preserved reads: ὄρ(ος) χω(ρίου) Στρανβωνέων. I know of no scholarly discussion of these inscriptions and it is difficult to see what kind of organization we are dealing with, except that they must have been of a territorial character. Perhaps the most likely explanation is that they are *horoi* of private estates or small religious associations. In any case, these subdivisions are not used to coin demotics, on present evidence.¹⁹

And so we can reasonably conclude that Mantinea conforms to the general Arkadian pattern in not using demotics although the city did demonstrably possess civic subdivisions.

17. Megalopolis

Attestations of the city-ethnic: 4th cent.: external collective, Xen. *Hell.* 7.5.5, *IG* V.2 1.23; external individual, *CID* II 5.1.26-47. *Hellenistic period:* external collective, *IvO* 46.5, 26; external individual, *FD* III.1 44, 45, 46; internal collective, *IG* V.2 437.438.18; internal individual, *IG* V.2 437.438.21, *SEG* 36 379.

Demotics: First, it is worth pointing out that there is no evidence to suggest that the communities absorbed by the synoecism in 368 BC lived on as administrative units of the new *polis*. The importance of this will emerge later.²⁰

But civic subdivisions are attested in Megalopolis. A system of six *phylai* was in existence in the classical period; the *phylai* are called Ἀρχαδισία, Ἀπολλωνία, Παναθαναία, Ἡρακλεία, Πανία and [Λυ]-καία, all named after important Arkadian divinities.²¹

Again, these *phylai* are not used to coin demotics. If they were, we could expect to find traces of the custom in the inscriptions of the city. These, however, normally use the plain personal name, personal name + patronymic, or personal name + patronymic + city-ethnic, and even officials are not treated otherwise.²²

There is a late Hellenistic decree by the *phatra* of the *Lykoatai* and a dedication of the *patra* of the *Prosymnaians*, but both seem to be religious associations, and they are not used in individual naming.

So Megalopolis conforms to the general Arkadian pattern of not using demotics.

18. Methydrion

Attestations of the city-ethnic: 5th cent.: external individual, Xen. *Anab.* 4.1.27, 6.20, 7.9. *4th cent.:* external collective, *IPArk* (*supra* n. 5) no. 14.6-7; internal collective, Head *HN*² 451. *Hellenistic period:* external collective, *I.Magnesia* 38.61, *IG* V.2 344.18; external individual, *FD* III.1.83 (p. 384) with *IG* V.2 p. 130; internal collective, Head *HN*² 418.

Comments: there is no agreement on the date of the coinage inscribed ΜΕΘΥΔΡΙΕΩΝ and described by Head *HN*² 451. It is perhaps most likely that it dates to the 4th century as the types (which refer to a peculiar epichoric version of the Kallisto myth) are clearly identical to those of Orchomenos – a city with which Methydrion had special relations – and this coinage is assigned to the 4th century by Head.²³

Demotics: there is no evidence about civic subdivisions or the custom of naming from demotics in Methydrion.

19. Orchomenos

Attestations of the city-ethnic: 5th cent.: external collective, *Syll.*³ 31.12, *Hdt.* 9.28, *Thuc.* 5.61.5; external individual, Xen. *Anab.* 2.5.37. *4th cent.:* external collective, Xen. *Hell.* 6.5.11, *IG* V.2 1.46; external individual, *IvOlb* 4; internal collective *IG* V.2 343 *passim*, Dubois (*supra* n. 3) O.1, Head *HN*² 451. *Hellenistic period:* external collective, Polyb. 4.11.3, *I.Magnesia* 38.60; external individual, Dubois TE.8; internal collective, *IG* V.2 344; internal individual, *IG* V.2 345.8.

Demotics: the epigraphic material from Orchomenos is rich in precisely those details which allow us to say for sure that no demotics were employed there.

IPArk (*supra* n. 5) no. 14 is a demarcation of the borders of Orchomenos towards an unknown *polis* made by, presumably, the Arkadian Confederacy; it thus dates to the 360s. The inscription ends with two catalogues of Orchomenian officials: five θεαροί are listed, solely by personal name, and five πολέμαρχοι, likewise only by personal name. The list of names appended to *IG* V.2 343 (= *IPArk* [*supra* n. 5] no. 15) was discussed above in connection with Euaimon. Dubois O.3 is a grant of proxeny to three Athenians from 265/4. It mentions the eponymous *thearos* solely by his personal name (l. 9), and the προ[στάτας τᾶς] ἀλιείας is treated in the same way (ll. 9-10).²⁴

Dubois O.4 is a Hellenistic grant of proxeny; again, the eponymous *thearos* and the *prostatas haliaias* are referred to solely by personal name, and the same goes for a new official, a χερσοκόπος. Dubois O.5 is another 3rd century grant of proxeny. Again, the eponymous official,

the *prostatas haliaias*, the *cheroskopos* and this time also the *grammateus* are referred to solely by their personal names. In Dubois O.6 of the 3rd century only the eponymous *thearos* and the *grammateus* are mentioned; both are referred to solely by their personal names. In Dubois O.8 at least the *grammateus ton thearon* and the priest of Artemis are referred to solely by personal names. In Dubois O.9 the eponymous official has become a *damiorgos*, but he is still referred to solely by personal name (l. 8). In Dubois O.10, the eponymous official is again referred to solely by personal name. In Dubois O.11 the eponymous *thearos* and the *grammateus* are referred to solely by their personal names (ll. 1, 18). Finally, epitaphs and dedications from the city show no traces of demotics.²⁵

So we can conclude that the custom of naming with demotics did not exist at Orchomenos; if any kind of civic subdivisions existed, it has left no traces whatsoever.²⁶

20. Oresthasion

Attestations of the city-ethnic: 5th cent.: external individual, *IvO* 147.148. *4th cent.:* external individual, *SEG* 20 716.23.

Demotics: there is no evidence at all on the question of demotics in Oresthasion.

21. Pallantion

Attestations of the city-ethnic: 4th cent.: external collective, *Xen. Hell.* 7.5.5, *SEG* 33 276; external individual, *CID* II 5.21; internal collective, *SEG* 11 1084, *Diod.* 15.59.3. *Hellenistic period:* internal collective, *Head HN*² 418.

Demotics: there are only a few sources that can throw any light on the question about demotics in Pallantion. Three dedications of the 6th century have simply the personal names, which is not surprising.²⁷

The Argive decree *SEG* 11 1084 contains a grant of proxeny and *theorodokia* to seven people of Pallantion; they are listed with personal name and patronymic. The decree was set up in copy at Pallantion itself and we can perhaps conclude that Pallantians could be identified in a satisfying way without the use of demotics.

22. Pheneos

Attestations of the city-ethnic: 5th cent.: external collective, *SEG* 39 1365. *4th cent.:* external individual, *SEG* 30 356; internal collective, *Head HN*² 452. *Hellenistic period:* external collective, *I.Magnesia*

38.63; external individual, *SEG* 21 992, *IG* XII 3.250.17, *IG* IX.1¹ 22, *FD* III.1.16, 39-42, *IG* IV.1² 73.13, 96.48, 71, 100.1, 3; internal collective, Head *HN*² 418.

Demotics: unfortunately, there is no good evidence bearing on the question of demotics in Pheneos. *IG* V.2 362-366 are from Mt. Kyllene, inscribed with just personal names, and the purpose is uncertain; *SEG* 19 328 is a base of a statue recording the dedication of the statue ἐπὶ ἰερέως τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ Θηριλάου τοῦ Ἡρώιδα, but we cannot be sure that we are facing a public document, since it is uncertain whether the priest of Asklepios was the eponymous official of the polis.²⁸

23. Phigaleia

Attestations of the city-ethnic: 5th cent.: external individual, Hdt. 6.83.2. 4th cent.: external collective, *CID* II 4.III.45; external individual, *IvO* 161. *Hellenistic period*: external collective, *IG* II² 687, *I.Magnesia* 38.64, *SGDI* 4646-48, Polyb. 4.3.5; external individual, *IG* IX.1² 13; internal collective, *IG* V.2 421, Head *HN*² 418.

Demotics: in *IG* V.2 421, undated and very fragmentary, occurs the expression ἐκάστα φυλά; this shows that at some time there was a system of *phylai* in Phigaleia. There is, however, nothing to suggest that demotics were coined from these *phylai*. On the contrary, what evidence there is suggests that Phigaleia did not have the custom of naming with demotics: *IG* V.2 425 is an archaic list of names, perhaps a funerary monument. Six persons are listed, all males, solely by personal name. *IG* V.2 423 is an undated dedication by two *damiorgoi*; only their personal names are given. Dubois (*supra* n. 3) PHI.2 is a list of names; three males are listed, solely by personal names. Dubois PHI.5 is a list of names. One person has the city-ethnic of Triphylian Lepreon, Λεπρεάτας, added to his name. The others have nothing, so we can assume that Phigaleian citizens could be satisfyingly identified by their personal name alone.²⁹

Other sources strongly support this assumption. In *IG* V.2 419, a Messenian decree set up at Phigaleia itself, there is a list of Phigaleian envoys to Messene; eight persons are listed, solely by personal names; dedicators in the city also used only their personal names, and the same habit can be observed on the funerary monuments.³⁰

Finally, *IvO* 402 is a late Hellenistic base set up in Olympia by ἄ πό[λις] τῶν Φιαλέων (sic) in honour of three of its own citizens; they are all named, with personal name and patronymic.

So, Phigaleia conforms to the Arkadian pattern in not using demotics in naming.

24. Psophis

Attestations of the city-ethnic: 6th cent.: external collective, *SEG* 24 299. 5th cent.: external collective, Hekataios (*FGrHist* 1) frag. 6; internal collective, Head *HN*² 453. 4th cent.: external collective, *IvO* 294. *Hellenistic period:* external collective, Polyb. 4.71.13, *I.Magnesia* 38.66; internal collective, *NC* (1921) 172.

Demotics: no individual use of the city-ethnic has been transmitted and neither is there any evidence relating to the question of demotics in Psophis.

25. Stymphalos

Attestations of the city-ethnic: 5th cent.: external collective, Pind. *Ol.*6.99; external individual, Xen. *Anab.* 2.5.37, 3.1.31, 4.7.13. 4th cent.: external collective, *SEG* 32 370, *SEG* 36 147, *SEG* 20 716; external individual, *Syll.*³ 189, *IG* V.2 389.16, *IG* IV.1² 102; internal collective, Head *HN*² 454. *Hellenistic period:* external collective, *I.Magnesia* 38.62, *SEG* 25 445, Polyb. 2.55.8, Diod. 19.63; external individual, *FD* III.1.14, 38, 447 (see *SEG* 18 235); internal collective, *SEG* 11 1109, Head *HN*² 418.

Demotics: fortunately the epigraphical material from Stymphalos provides those details that allow us to conclude that there was no custom of naming with demotics in this city: *IG* V.2 351 is a grant of citizenship to an unknown man; it has no mention of civic subdivisions like the one found in e.g. *IG* V.2 510, a grant of citizenship from Thisoa, containing a stipulation that the naturalized man choose whatever φάτρᾱ he likes. Furthermore, the decree lists a number of officials solely by their personal names. The same is true of the decrees *IG* V.2 355 and 356. In *SEG* 25 445 two envoys of Stymphalos are mentioned, one solely by personal name and one with patronymic added (l. 21). Finally, the funerary monuments from Stymphalos show no traces of demotics.³¹

So it can be concluded that Stymphalos conforms to the Arkadian pattern in not naming with demotics; if any kind of civic subdivisions existed, it has left no traces whatsoever.

26. Tegea

Attestations of the city-ethnic: 5th cent.: external collective, Hdt. 1.66.3, Thuc. 4.134.1, *Syll.*³ 31.7; external individual, Hdt. 9.9.1, Thuc. 2.67.1, *IG* I³ 1371; internal collective, *IG* V.2 159. 4th cent.: external collective, Dubois (*supra* n. 3) TE.3, Xen. *Hell.* 4.2.13; external individual, *IG* V.1 719, *IG* II² 10435, *CID* II 4.I.40; internal collective, Head *HN*² 455, Dubois TE.8. *Hellenistic period:* external collective, *I.Magnesia* 38.60,

Polyb. *passim*; external individual, *IG* IV.1² 96.70; internal collective, *IG* V.2 9, Head *HN*² 418.

Demotics: Tegea had a system of four *phylai*. The *phylai* were called: Ἴπποθοῖται, ἐπ' Ἀθηναίαν, Κρασιώται and Ἀπολλωνιάται. One could easily imagine that demotics, e.g. Ἴπποθοίτας, could be coined from these *phylai*. But it was certainly not the case. Just as in Mantinea, the *phylai* were used to arrange certain public documents of unknown purpose and lists of fallen warriors, but that is all.³²

In *IG* V.2 6 B.1 59-60 a board of three ταμίαι στρα[ταγῶν] is listed, but only by personal names. In B.2 109-110 a board of *stratagoi* is listed, again only by personal names. A number of other people are mentioned in the inscription, with name + patronymic. The inscription also contains two references to the *phyle* ἐπ' Ἀθηναίαν in fragmentary contexts. *IG* V.2 10 mentions a *stratagos*, simply by his personal name. *IG* V.2 11 lists the *prostatai tou damou*, the *stratagoi*, the *hipparchos*, a *grammateus* and a priest of Athena, all simply by their personal names, and exactly the same is seen in *IG* V.2 12 and 13. *IG* V.2 16 contains references to several heads of boards of *stratagoi*, all simply referred to by their personal names. *IG* V.2 30 is a catalogue of the 3rd century, containing at least 27 persons, listed with name + patronymic. In *IG* V.2 31 at least 32 persons are listed, some with, some without patronymic. *IG* V.2 2.35 is a list of perhaps as many as 75 persons, listed with name and patronymic. *IG* V.2 116 is a 3rd century dedication by seven *stratagoi*, a *hipparchos* and a *grafes*; all are listed with name + patronymic, but without demotic, and, in short, no traces whatsoever are found of demotics in the rich epigraphical material from Tegea.

So Tegea conforms to the Arkadian pattern of not using demotics in naming.

27. Teuthis

Attestations of the city-ethnic: Hellenistic period: internal collective, Head *HN*² 418.

Comments: this is an extremely badly documented city. The Achaian federal bronze is the *only* documentary attestation of the city-ethnic. The ethnic is given by Herodianus *De Prosodia Catholica* 3.1 67: Τευθίδης ὁ οἰκῶν Τευθίδα πόλιν Ἀρχαδίας, apparently not reconstructed by Lentz from Stephanos of Byzantium.³³

Demotics: there is one inscription from Teuthis, *SEG* 35 347: it is an epitaph of the 2nd century, with no sign of demotics. This is all we can say about Teuthis.³⁴

28. Thelpoussa

Attestations of the city-ethnic: 4th cent.: external collective, *IG* V.2 1.64. *Hellenistic period:* external collective, *SEG* 12 371, *IG* IV.1² 72B, *I.Magnesia* 38.67, Polyb. 4.73.2; external individual, *IG* IX.1² 31.89, *FD* III.4 15, 19, *IG* V.2 512; internal collective, *IG* V.2 411.

Comments: the oldest occurrence of the ethnic of Thelpoussa is *SEG* 13 1254a. Here the word is not really an ethnic, i.e. it is not used as a (part of a) name: $\kappa\tilde{\alpha}\rho\upsilon\chi\tilde{\iota}\varsigma$ $\delta\alpha\mu\acute{\omicron}\sigma\iota\omicron\varsigma$ $\Theta\epsilon\lambda\phi\omicron\iota\sigma\iota\omicron\varsigma$, on a *kerykeion* from Olympia. It dates to the early 5th century.

Demotics: if Thelpoussa had any structure of civic subdivisions, it has left no traces in the sparse material from the city. *IG* V.2 411 is an honorary statue set up by Thelpoussa for [X]έλεις Πλειστί[α]; as the honorand is recorded without city-ethnic, we may perhaps assume that he was a citizen of Thelpoussa itself, in which case we have an instance of naming without demotic in an official context. In *SEG* 12 371 we find exactly the same: the *thearodokos* elected by Thelpoussa for Kos is named, and only personal name + patronymic is given (l. 31). If *IG* IV.1² 72 has been correctly restored to [Θελπ]ούσσ[ιτοι], we have at least 14 citizens of Thelpoussa listed with just personal name + patronymic, though that is perhaps not very significant in an external context. Dedications and epitaphs of the city show no traces of demotics either.³⁵

And so it can be concluded that Thelpoussa conforms to the Arkadian pattern of not using demotics in naming.

29. Thisoa

Attestations of the city-ethnic: 4th cent.: external individual, *SEG* 14 455, *CID* II 5.I.23-24. *Hellenistic period:* internal collective, *IG* V.2 511, Head *HN*² 418.³⁶

Comments: the entry *CID* II 5.I.23-24 reads: Βαθυκλήης Θισσοᾶος ἐγ Μεγάλας Πόλιος, followed immediately by ten citizens of Megalopolis listed just with the city-ethnic of Megalopolis, e.g. Ἀγησίδαμος Μεγαλοπολίτας. According to Paus. 8.27.4, Thisoa was one of the *poleis* synoecized into Megalopolis. But as stated above, the cities synoecized into Megalopolis did not live on as administrative units of the new *polis*. So Bathykles is either a metic in Megalopolis or he is sentimentally hanging on to his old ethnic. In both cases, this must be treated as an individual use of the city-ethnic.

Demotics: *IG* V.2 511 is a 3rd-2nd century grant of citizenship to an unknown man. The decree contains the stipulation that the naturalized man εἰς φάραγαν ἔρπειν ὅποιαν ἂν βόληται. But as no other relevant

evidence survives from Thisoa, we cannot know if demotics were coined from these *phatrai*.³⁷

30. Torthyneion

Attestations of the city-ethnic: 4th cent.: external collective, *IPArk (supra n. 5) no. 14. Hellenistic period:* external individual, *IG IX.1² 17.37.*

Demotics: there is no information about demotics in Torthyneion.

Conclusion

Though civic subdivisions, primarily in the form of *phylai*, are found in Arkadia, adjectives coined from the names of these *phylai* are never used in personal names as a kind of demotic (in the wider sense), and thus it must be legitimate to conclude that a city-ethnic used as the third and political part of a name is an extremely good indication of the *polis*-ness of the site from whose toponym the ethnic is derived.

A few documents use names of subdivisions collectively, though not individually; e.g. in Megalopolis we find a decree of the *phatra* of the Λυκοῶται. These documents are found only within the *polis*, and so we can regard external collective attestations of ethnics as attestations of city-ethnics, and use them as very good indications of the *polis*-ness of the sites from whose toponym the ethnics are derived.

Important as this conclusion is in itself, it also points to some other interesting perspectives. Thus, three small pieces of evidence become very interesting in the light of the conclusions reached above. First, *SEG* 18 157 is a *subscriptio statuae* of the 5th century: Σαέας Θρασυβόλο Παρπυλαῖος. As should be clear by now, it is very unlikely that Παρπυλαῖος is a demotic. It is more likely that it is the city-ethnic of the Πύλαι mentioned by Stephanos of Byzantion at 539.18 and described as τόπος Ἀρκαδίας. If so, this (Par)Pylai may very well have been a small *polis*.³⁸

Secondly, Stephanos of Byzantion (478.8) cites Ephoros for the ethnic Νεστάριος, the ethnic of Nestane in Mantinike. Nestane is normally regarded as a village of Mantineia, but in view of the conclusions reached here, this instance of its ethnic opens up the possibility that Nestane was a dependent *polis* of Mantineia in the same way as Helisson. But as we do not know exactly how the ethnic was used by Ephoros, this cannot be more than a suggestion. And exactly the same caveat applies to the third piece of evidence: At 670.7-8 Stephanos again cites Ephoros, this time for the ethnic Φοριαεύς, of Phorieia, described as a *kome*. Nothing else is known of this Phorieia, but the existence of a separate

ethnic suggests that it may have been a small dependent *polis* somewhere in Arkadia.³⁹

II. Tribalism and *Polis*-Structure

Introduction

It is well-known that a number of tribal communities existed in Arkadia right down to the synoecism which produced Megalopolis, and even beyond. The tribes in question were the Eutresians, the Kynourians, the Mainalians, the Parrhasians, and in the archaic period perhaps also the Azanes.

We have no information about the ethnic character of these “tribes” in the archaic and classical periods; they are not referred to as e.g. ἔθνη or φύλα in classical sources. Thucydides and Xenophon refer to them by their collective ethnics such as Μαινάλιοι, Παρράσιοι or Εὐτρῆσιοι and some of them are listed in this way by an important document of the Arkadian Confederacy. They are, however, classified as ἔθνη by Strabo and perhaps for this reason it has become modern practice to refer to them as “tribes”. It is not impossible that the tribes claimed a common ancestry for their members; thus the Mainalians probably claimed Mainalos as an ancestor. And it is at least a possible interpretation of a passage in Hellanikos that Mainalos was a son of Arkas, the eponymous ancestor of all Arkadians.⁴⁰

The tribes were made up of a number of minor communities, and it is the aim of the present part of this paper to investigate whether these subdivisions were *poleis* or not. It will be shown that a substantial number of these tribal communities were believed by the Greeks to be *poleis*. This runs counter to the prevailing view: that the tribal states were “settled in villages” and that the use by the ancient sources of the word *poleis* to describe these tribal communities “is unlikely to be precise.”⁴¹

But first it will be necessary to draw up a list of the attested tribal communities. The tribal affiliations of 50 different Arkadian communities are set out in Table 1.⁴²

Two things are immediately striking. First, not one of the major *poleis* of Arkadia is described by the ancient sources as belonging to a tribal group. In his list of the μεγάλα πόλεις of Arkadia at 44 Ps.-Skylax names the following: Tegea, Mantinea, Heraia, Orchomenos and Stymphalos, and these big *poleis* are never described as belonging to any of the tribal groups. These *poleis* (Heraia excepted) are all situated in east-

ern Arkadia and this area, then, seems to have been an area of *poleis* only. Second, the scarcity of contemporary evidence relating to the tribal affiliations of these communities: we find only three communities (Dipaia, Oresthasion, and Paion) whose tribal affiliations are attested in classical sources; and in one case (Dipaia) the classical source is only transmitted *via* Pausanias. Hellenistic sources attest the tribal affiliation of only one community (Psophis). Roman sources, on the other hand, attest the tribal affiliation of no less than 29 communities, counting Enispe. Pausanias alone is responsible for 27 of these 29 attributions. And 26 of these tribal affiliations given by Pausanias are found in one single passage, 8.27.3-4, the decree listing the participants in the synoecism of Megalopolis.⁴³

On the basis of the location of the attested tribal communities, modern scholars have placed on the map a total of 17 communities and the tribes to which they are believed to have belonged. So, the ancient sources assign 33 communities to various tribal groups and for 26 of these attributions we depend on one single source; in 17 cases we rely on modern inference.

The key passage contained in Pausanias is the list of communities that were synoecized into Megalopolis. The list is laid out on the basis of the different Arkadian tribes. Pausanias himself believes that it is a genuine list representing a decision passed by the Arkadian Confederacy. Modern opinions, however, are divided on the issue of the genuineness of this list. Some, e.g. Callmer, Hejnic, Dušanić and Roy, accept that the passage does ultimately reflect the original federal decision, whereas others, e.g. Moggi, Demand and myself, hold that it is later and perhaps a forgery made to justify Megalopolitan claims to cities acquired subsequent to the original synoecism.⁴⁴

However, in both cases the list must have originated from local sources and this fact ought to guarantee the authenticity of the tribal affiliations expressed in the list. Moreover, the tribal affiliations of Dipaia and Oresthasion expressed in classical sources correspond to those of Pausanias' list, and a combination of *IvO* 147.148 and *P. Oxy.* 222.29 also supports the authenticity of the tribal affiliations expressed in the list: *IvO* 147.148 is a dedication of a victorious athlete in Olympia; he describes himself as Ὀρεσθάσιος. *P. Oxy.* 222 is a fragment of a list of Olympionikai; in line 29 the victor who dedicated *IvO* 147.148 appears; he is described as Μαινάλιος, which fits Pausanias' list. Finally, the list seems to betray a high degree of local geographical knowledge; Iasaia, Lykaia, Ptoleiderma, Knauson and Proseis, are sites known exclusively

from this list, and this should be considered a support of the conclusion that the list is reliable as regards the tribes and the tribal affiliations of the communities included in the list, no matter whether it is a forgery or not.

One community (Thisoa) is ascribed to two different tribal groups by Pausanias, to Kynouria in the list at 8.27.4, and to Parrhasia at 8.38.3. This may perhaps be an indication that tribal borders were fluctuating, but it is more likely that we are dealing with an error on the part of a late source. The attribution to Kynouria in the list at 8.27 should be considered the correct one, as this list is probably derived from local sources; the attribution of the city to Parrhasia at 8.38 must then be considered “a mere slip by Pausanias.” Thus we can accept the tribal affiliations set out in Table 1, though we cannot, of course, be sure that the table includes all communities that belonged to the tribal states.⁴⁵

In the following I shall concentrate on the Mainalians and their communities and investigate whether these communities were believed by the Greeks to be *poleis* or not, and to what extent the description of them as *poleis* that are in fact found in the sources can be corroborated by other evidence. The reason for concentrating on the Mainalians is that this tribe is by far the best documented, and that the conclusions reached in discussing the Mainalians will provide a suitable point of departure for a short discussion of the other tribes.

Mainalia

The Mainalians are far better documented than any of the other tribal groups in Arkadia. The name of the tribal territory is given by Thucydides at 5.64.3; it was Μαιναλία. Pausanias once uses this form but more often he uses the name of the mountain, Μάιναλον, to refer to Mainalia. The tribal ethnic is used as the third part of a name, e.g. Ξενοκλῆς Εὐθύφρονος Μαινάλιος. Whether the athletic games ἐμ Μαινάλωι mentioned in a 3rd century Argive inscription go back to the time of tribal organization, we cannot say. In the 4th century the Mainalians supplied two oecists for the founding of Megalopolis, 10 Mainalian communities were planned to be absorbed by Megalopolis, and (some of?) the Mainalians were members of the Arkadian Confederacy on a tribal basis. Thus the Mainalian tribal state existed both before and after the synoecism of Megalopolis and we can assume that it existed throughout the classical period, although we do not know when it ceased to exist.⁴⁶

In this period we also meet some fully developed Mainalian *poleis*

(see below) and perhaps the evidence presented by Thucydides and discussed below can be interpreted in the light of this fact, namely that *poleis* existed in Mainalia alongside the tribal structure.

At 4.134 Thucydides briefly describes a battle fought in 423/2 between Μαντινῆς...καὶ Τεγεᾶται καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι ἑκατέρων. He does not specify who these allies were. It is, however, likely that the Mantineian allies were (at least) the Parrhasians, as it appears from 5.33 that the Parrhasians were *hypekooi* of Mantinea and their territory could be considered Mantineian *συμμαχίς*. This state of affairs was however brought to an end by the Lakedaimonians, who made the Parrhasians *autonomoi*. Considering the context, where ξύμμαχοι and ὑπῆρκοι are taken to be more or less the same thing, the liberation of the Parrhasians must equal the dissolution of their *symmachia* with the Mantineians.⁴⁷

The allies of Tegea were perhaps the Mainalians as they fought alongside the Tegeatai in the battle of Mantinea in 418.⁴⁸

If this reconstruction is correct, who were the Arkadian allies of Mantinea in 418, mentioned by Thucydides at 5.67.2? It is not very likely that they were the Parrhasians, since we have not heard of any further changes in the foreign connections of Parrhasia since 5.33 (where Thucydides describes how the Lakedaimonians “liberated” the Parrhasians from Mantineian rule). The allies were almost certainly some of the Mainalians, and perhaps the Orchomenians. This is very strongly indicated by 5.77.1, the treaty between Argos and Sparta, which stipulates that the Argives are to return τὼς παῖδας τοῖς Ὀρχομενίοις καὶ τὼς ἄνδρας τοῖς Μαιναλίοις. These Orchomenian children must be the hostages given by Orchomenos to Mantinea, when Orchomenos surrendered shortly before the battle of Mantinea. Likewise we must suppose that the Mainalian men were hostages taken from the Mainalians in question to ensure their loyalty; this may have been deemed necessary, because they were to face other Mainalians in battle, namely those who were allies of Tegea (?) and Sparta.⁴⁹

If this is accepted, the Mainalian tribe was clearly divided into two parts in 418, one allied with Tegea and Sparta, and one allied with Mantinea. This division can of course have been the result of force, but may perhaps also be explained by the fact that some of the Mainalian communities acted as *poleis* on their own.

All this leads to the conclusion that the Mantineian “empire” mentioned by Thucydides in 5.29.1 and 81.1 at least in its later phases included some of the Mainalians. Clearly, then, it must be these Mainalian subjects (and perhaps Orchomenos) that are referred to at 5.81.1. Thucy-

didēs here states that the Mantineians came to terms with Sparta and τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀφείσαν τῶν πόλεων.⁵⁰

The Mainalian subjects of Mantinea must be included in τῶν πόλεων. So, Thucydides could refer to the Mainalian communities in general as *poleis*. M.H. Hansen has shown that whenever Thucydides uses the term *polis* about a named urban site, this “town” is also the political centre of a city-state. If we can assume by analogy that this rule applies also when the term *polis* is used generally, then Thucydides clearly considered (some of) the Mainalian communities to be *poleis* in the political sense of the word.⁵¹

Individual Mainalian communities

That Thucydides was indeed right can be shown by an examination of the individual Mainalian communities.⁵²

Oresthasion, or *Orestheion*, is mentioned by Herodotos, but he does not give any information on its status. The city is, however, called *polis* by Pherekydes and Euripides. There is good evidence to support the description of Oresthasion as a *polis*. The territory of the city is mentioned by Thucydides; it was called *Oresthis*. The city produced an Olympic victor in 472 BC. The inscription of his victory dedication has survived; the victor is referred to as Ἀρκὰς Ὀρεσθάσιος. The same victor is listed by *P. Oxy.* 222.29, but here described as Μαινάλιος. So, the victor himself seems to have placed emphasis upon his being an Oresthasion. In the 4th century there is one more external attestation of the city-ethnic used as the third part of a name. So the city was called *polis*, had its own territory, had an Olympic victor, and the city-ethnic was used as the 3rd part of names; it must be reasonable to assume that the ancient sources were right in their classification of Oresthasion as a *polis*.⁵³

Asea is poorly documented by the written sources. It is, however, mentioned by Xenophon in an extremely important passage where he seems to think of Asea as a not unimportant *polis*: ὁ μὲντοι Ἐπαμεινώνδας ἐλογίζετο καὶ ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ σφίσιν ὑπάρχειν Ἀργείους τε καὶ Μεσσηνίους καὶ Ἀρκάδων τοὺς τὰ σφέτερα φρονοῦντας. ἦσαν δ' οὗτοι Τεγεᾶται καὶ Μεγαλοπολῖται καὶ Ἀσεᾶται καὶ Παλλαντεῖς, καὶ εἴ τινες δὴ πόλεις διὰ τὸ μικραὶ τε εἶναι καὶ ἐν μέσαις ταύταις οἰκεῖν ἠναγκάζοντο (*Hell.* 7.5.5). Asea is here listed with Tegea, Megalopolis and Pallantion, all three of them demonstrably *poleis*, and all four are contrasted with small *poleis* who are *forced* to side with Thebes. This must mean that Asea is a *polis* siding with Thebes not due to force, but due to its *phronesis*. So the conclusion must be that Xeno-

phon considered Asea a not unimportant *polis*. In the Hellenistic period the city was demonstrably a *polis*. The city has been thoroughly excavated. It seems to have been a centre of some importance in the Hellenistic period. The akropolis was fortified in the 3rd century and so was the town below. Remains of private houses, a temple and a *palaistra* have been unearthed. The city was a member of the Achaian Confederacy and had its own Delphic *thearodokos*. Thus Asea was a *polis* in the classical period and continued to be so in the Hellenistic period.⁵⁴

In the case of *Eutaia* Xenophon is again the only source of any importance. He describes the activities of Agesilaos in Eutaia in 370 BC. From the description it appears that the city was walled, that there was a number of private houses in the city, and that the city had placed troops under the command of the Arkadian Confederacy. Xenophon thrice uses the word *polis* about Eutaia, once primarily in the sense of "territory," and twice primarily in the sense of "town." But as I have shown elsewhere, Xenophon uses the word *polis* in precisely the same way as Thucydides: to denote the urban centre of a city-state. So the conclusion must be that Xenophon thought of Eutaia as a city-state.⁵⁵

That *Helisson* was a *polis* in the first half of the 4th century has been definitely proved by the discovery of an inscription recording an agreement between Helisson and Mantinea whereby the Heliswasians become citizens of Mantinea. The inscription twice refers to Helisson as a *polis*, mentions its territory, its laws, its magistrates and has the city-ethnic in its external collective use. It further appears that it was possible to prove that a man was not a Heliswasian, which must mean that citizenship was defined at Helisson. All this refers to the period prior to the inclusion of Helisson in Mantinea, i.e. (according to most scholars) to the period before 385 BC, and for that period the *polis*-ness of Helisson cannot reasonably be doubted. The city-ethnic of Helisson is found in the external collective use ca. 300 BC and in Polybios. In the Hellenistic period the city was a member of the Achaian Confederacy and had its own territory. Thus, Helisson was a *polis* in the classical period and again in the Hellenistic period.⁵⁶

Pallantion was surely a *polis*. This appears both from the passage of Xenophon discussed above in connection with Asea, and from an Argive decree in which the city is described as a *polis*. This decree furthermore contains an Argive grant of *proxenia* and *thearodokia* to seven named Pallantians and has the city-ethnic in its external collective use. In the 5th century, Pallantion had its own Delphic *thearodokos*, and its own coinage. In the 4th century Ἀσάλατος Παλλαντεύς donated mon-

ey in Delphi. Pallantion existed in the archaic period, and a number of votive offerings and temples dates to this period. The akropolis was walled. In the Hellenistic period the city was a member of the Achaian Confederacy and had a Delphic *thearodokos*. Thus, Pallantion was a *polis* already in the classical period and continued to be so in the Hellenistic period.⁵⁷

The city of *Mainalos* is not very amply documented. The only evidence that suggests its *polis*-ness is the Olympic victor it produced in 400 BC. There is possibly a reference to the Mainalian city of *Lykaia* in Theopompos; Stephanos of Byzantion has the following s.v. *Lykaia*: Λύκαια, πόλις Ἰορκαδίας. Θεόπομπος νς'. The probability that Theopompos *did* describe *Lykaia* as a *polis* is not bad, but the reference might as well be to the homonymous Kynourian city.⁵⁸

Dipaia is not actually called *polis* in any source from the classical period. It is mentioned both by Herodotos and Isokrates in connection with the battle fought there in the 460s; neither of them says anything about the status of the town. The city had an Olympic victor in ca. 440 BC, who erected a statue in Olympia and decribed himself as a Διπαιεύς τῆς Μαιναλίων χάρας, according to Pausanias. An inscription dating to the first half of the 4th century mentions the Διπαέες, thus providing an attestation of the city-ethnic in its external collective use which is, as demonstrated above, a very strong indication of *polis*-ness. The nature of the inscription is not clear, but it seems to be a verdict in a case involving *Dipaia*. If correct, the nature of the document may lend support to the idea that *Dipaia* was a *polis*. In the Hellenistic period the city was a member of the Achaian Confederacy. Thus *Dipaia* was perhaps a *polis* already in the classical period; it surely came to be one in the Hellenistic period.⁵⁹

So in the classical period, even after the synoecism of Megalopolis, there existed a Mainalian tribal state, which included a number of communities referred to by Thucydides, Xenophon and other literary and epigraphic sources as *poleis*. These Mainalian *poleis* show some features characteristic of ordinary *poleis* such as defined territories, city-ethnics, coinage, *proxenoi*, *thearodokoi*, participation in the Olympic Games, walls, magistrates, laws, and so on. It must, then, be concluded, that these Mainalian communities not only were *called poleis* in a rather loose sense, but that they *were poleis* in the sense of political communities.⁶⁰

The other tribes

No traces have been left of the Azanian tribal state if it ever existed. All three communities called Azanian by good ancient authorities are described by our sources as *poleis* or were probably *poleis*: *Paion* is called *polis* by Herodotos. But apart from that the only source pointing to the *polis*-ness of *Paion* is the existence there of a Hellenistic *thearodokos*. *Psophis* refers to itself as a *polis* on a 4th century dedication set up in Olympia, and its city-ethnic is attested from the 6th century onwards. *Pheneos* is not actually called *polis* in any archaic or classical source, but it was probably a *polis* since its city-ethnic is found in good sources and since it has coinage from the 5th century and produced an Olympic victor in 392 BC. So the communities described as Azanian were *poleis*, but it is impossible to decide whether the *poleis* only developed when a tribal structure broke down, or whether tribalism and *polis* structure ever coexisted for a time.⁶¹ The Eutresians must be left out of consideration in this connection since next to nothing is known about the individual Eutresian communities.⁶²

For the Parrhasians, the situation is a little better. Thucydides (5.33.2) refers to the Parrhasian communities as *poleis*: ἀδύνατοι δ' ὄντες (sc. οἱ Μαντινεῖς) διασῶσαι τό τε ἐν Κυψέλοις τεῖχος καὶ τὰς ἐν Παρρασίοις πόλεις ἀπῆλθον. Here the word *polis* is probably used in the sense of "town", but as already discussed, Thucydides only describes towns as *poleis* when they are centres of political communities, at least when he is dealing with named urban sites. Thus if we can rely on analogy here, Thucydides probably did think of the Parrhasian communities as *poleis* in the sense of political communities.⁶³

We are, however, not in a position to test whether Thucydides was right, since our sources for the individual Parrhasian communities are very few. The only classical reference to any Parrhasian community is found in Herodotos. In his description of the suitors of Agariste he lists two Arkadians, one being Ἀμίαντος Λυκούργου Ἀρκὰς ἐκ Τραπεζοῦντος. Since Herodotos states that Ἑλλήνων ὅσοι σφίσι τε αὐτοῖσι ἦσαν καὶ πάτρῃ ἐξωγκωμένοι ἐφοίτεον μνηστῆρες, we can perhaps assume that Herodotos (or rather his source) considered *Trapezous* a not completely negligible community. But unfortunately this does not throw light on the status of *Trapezous*.⁶⁴

For *Lykosoura* we now have epigraphical proof that the city was a *polis* in the Hellenistic period. SEG 41 332 is a decree of *Lykosoura* dating to 223-190 BC. The decree refers to *Lykosoura* as a *polis* six times, gives the city-ethnic five times, refers to the citizen body and to envoys

of the city, and it contains a grant of proxeny. So Lykosoura was clearly a *polis* in the late 3rd-early 2nd century. This is a nice confirmation of Pausanias' statement that Lykosoura was not absorbed by Megalopolis. Unfortunately, the decree does not throw any light on the question whether Lykosoura only developed into a *polis* after the foundation of Megalopolis or whether it was a *polis* also prior to the foundation of Megalopolis. But it is reasonable to assume that it was a *polis* at least from 368 BC, since it is hard to see how else the city could have been organized when the rest of the Parrhasians had been synoecized into Megalopolis. So we do not know whether the Parrhasians were settled in *poleis* during the existence of their tribal state.⁶⁵

We know that the tribal state of the Kynourians survived the synoecism of Megalopolis, since they appear on the Phylarchos decree side by side with Megalopolis. The decree lists five *damiorgoi* of the Kynourians, the same number as e.g. Tegea and Mantinea supplied. This probably means that no Kynourian communities took part in the synoecism of Megalopolis. At least we know of only four Kynourian communities, and according to Pausanias all but Alipheira were incorporated into Megalopolis. If this is correct, the five *damiorgoi* must have been supplied by Alipheira alone, in which case we should have expected the heading Ἀλιφειρεῖς, not Κυνούριοι; or they must have been supplied by Alipheira and a number of other Kynourian communities of which not a single trace of evidence has survived. The most likely solution to the problem is that no Kynourians were incorporated into Megalopolis and that Pausanias (or rather his source) is wrong. But, as shown below, the evidence relating to Alipheira seems to contradict this.⁶⁶

Although it cannot be proved, it is indeed possible that the Kynourians were settled in *poleis* like the Mainalians. Thus, as we have already seen, it is possible that Theopompos referred to Kynourian *Lykaia* as a *polis* (see above). *Kortys*, or *Gortys*, set up a dedication of spoils in Delphi in the early 5th century. The dedication uses the city-ethnic and can be considered proof of action by Kortys independently of the tribe: "The Gortynians certainly dedicated their spoils without reference to the Kynourian tribe, and it seems entirely likely that they had undertaken independently of the tribe the war from which the spoils came." As we have seen, such an external attestation of the city-ethnic is a very strong indication of *polis*-ness. In the Hellenistic period Kortys was certainly a *polis*, since it was a member of the Achaian Confederacy.⁶⁷

It is not entirely clear whether *Alipheira* participated in the synoecism of Megalopolis. According to Pausanias 8.27.7, Alipheira remained a

polis in spite of the synoecism. This is probably correct, as we shall see, but it is unclear whether it means that the city was not synoecized. Both Polybios and Livy state that it was, but the evidence relating to the Kynourian tribe as such seems to point in the opposite direction (see above).⁶⁸

The city is not attested in written sources until the Hellenistic period. It must, however, have existed in the 5th century, since the colossal statue of Athena mentioned by both Polybios and Pausanias must be dated to that period. Furthermore, the construction of the temple of Athena on the akropolis took place ca. 500-490 BC and some ex-votos found at the temple go back to the 6th century. The temple of Asklepios was constructed in the second half of the 4th century. The walls probably belong to the 5th century. Thus the existence of the city in the archaic and classical periods is proved by archaeological evidence. However, as already stated, the city is not attested in written sources until the 3rd century. Polybios describes an attack on the city during the Social War (221-217 BC); he calls it a *polis* twice and mentions the walls, the akropolis, and the *proasteion*, and then relates how the *Alipheireis* negotiated a settlement with Philip V. A little earlier he has given a short review of 3rd century Alipheirian history. The city had been controlled by the tyrant of Megalopolis, Lydiadas, who gave it to the Eleians πρὸς τινὰς ἰδίας πράξεις ἀλλαγῆν. Polybios uses the phrase ἢ τῶν Ἀλιφειρῶν πόλις in this connection, and he probably does not regard it as a *kome* (*vel sim*). of Megalopolis, but as a dependency. It is proved beyond doubt by inscriptions from the city that Alipheira was a *polis* in the political sense of that word early in the 3rd century: *IPArk* (*supra* n. 5) no. 24 is an amnesty of 273 BC. Containing detailed regulations for a return to peaceful conditions after a period of *stasis*, it refers to Alipheira as a *polis* three times and contains references to officials and possibly to a *boule*. Alipheira also had a defined territory and it had a dispute with Heraia settled by arbitration. The city became a member of the Achaian Confederacy, and had a Delphic *thearodokos*.

So Alipheira was clearly an urban site and certainly a *polis* in the 3rd century. It is not known whether Alipheira developed into a *polis* only when the Kynourian tribal structure broke down (presumably in the late 4th century), or whether it was a *polis* also at the time of the existence of the tribal structure. The latter cannot be excluded, as has become clear from the discussion of the Mainalians.⁶⁹

Conclusions

City-ethnics are a very important type of source in dealing with Arkadia, since the existence of a city-ethnic is a very strong indication of *polis*-ness of the city in question. That this is the case is shown by an examination of civic subdivisions in Arkadia. Civic subdivisions are found in a number of Arkadian cities, but there is not a single instance of these subdivisions being used to coin demotics, and not a single instance of a personal name including a part that is demonstrably a demotic. For a number of sites the city-ethnic is one of the best indications of *polis*-ness, if not the only one: Alea, Asea, Dipaia, Euaimon, Kaphyai, Kortys, Kynaita, Lasion, Methydriion, Pheneos, Thelpoussa, Thisoa and Torthyneion. In the case of other cities, the city-ethnic is the oldest source to have survived: Heraia, Kleitor and Psophis, to mention only some prominent cities. The importance of city-ethnics as a type of source is illustrated by the fact that this group alone puts 30 sites on a map of Arkadian *poleis*, some of them already in the archaic period.

The demonstration that the Mainalian tribal state was subdivided into *poleis* and the probability that some of the other tribal states were too, adds an interesting perspective to the political organization of Arkadia and to Greek history at large.

In the classical period, Arkadia was clearly organized into a number of major *poleis* such as Heraia, Kleitor, Stymphalos, Orchomenos, Mantinea, Tegea and after 368 BC Megalopolis.⁷⁰ These big *poleis* did not unite into a federation until 370 BC. Prior to that, each one of them seems to have followed its own policy.

This political fragmentation sometimes led to serious conflicts among the major *poleis*. One such conflict between Mantinea and Tegea is described in Thucydides, and Xenophon has a reference to a traditional state of hostility between Orchomenos and Mantinea, as well as a reference to a war between Orchomenos and Kleitor.⁷¹

Sometimes a number of the major *poleis* united to meet external threats. This happened e.g. during the Persian Wars, and Herodotos attests an alliance between all Arkadians (except the Mantineians) which fought Sparta in vain in the 460s.⁷²

But Arkadia also housed a number of minor *poleis* such as Alea, Paion, Pallantion, Helisson and Eutaia, to mention just a few. It seems certain that these small *poleis* were the objects of aggression on the part of the major *poleis*. Thus Orchomenos was the centre of a *synteleia* prior to the foundation of Megalopolis, if we accept Pausanias 8.27 as a reliable reflection of Arkadian conditions around 368; Methydriion, Thisoa

and Teuthis and others belonged to this *synteleia*. This must have meant some kind of dependence upon Orchomenos. Kleitor was clearly an aggressive *polis*, and it has been assumed that it turned Paion and Thaliades into dependencies.⁷³

But the best example of the aggressiveness of the major *poleis* is Mantinea. During the Peloponnesian War Mantinea established an empire. This empire included at least the Parrhasians and probably also some Mainalians and others. To maintain this empire against the will of Sparta, Mantinea allied with Argos, Elis and Athens. This alliance conquered Orchomenos and then turned against Tegea. This led to the battle of Mantinea in 418 BC. Sparta won this battle and Mantinea had to give up its empire.⁷⁴

A glance at Map 2 shows that the Mainalians were the neighbours of three of the major *poleis*: Orchomenos, Mantinea, and Tegea. It was perhaps to maintain themselves against the threats constituted by these big *poleis* that the Mainalians, presumably on the basis of a feeling of common ancestry but certainly on the basis of geographical proximity, formed a tribal state. If the Mainalians did unite to stand up against the big *poleis*, they were not completely successful, since they probably had to give in to Mantinea during the Peloponnesian War. But the Mainalians should be taken into account in descriptions of how Greek *poleis* formed larger units.⁷⁵

From a diachronical point of view it is interesting to note that the tribal structures disappeared in the late 4th century and that the former tribal communities all were *poleis* in the Hellenistic period: either they had been absorbed by the synoecism of Megalopolis, or they became *poleis* without any tribal affiliation like Lykosoura. Of the former Mainalian communities we meet Asea, Dipaia, Helisson and Pallantion, as members of the Achaian Confederacy in the Hellenistic period. Of the former Kynourian communities we meet Alipheira and Kortys as members, and of the former Parrhasian communities Lykosoura is attested as a *polis* on its own in the Hellenistic period. Taken with the synoecism of Megalopolis this testifies to an Arkadia under continuous development as far as the *polis* structure is concerned, a development that lasted into the Hellenistic period, and a development which made Arkadia look more like the other Greek regions such as Boiotia and Argolis (see Figure 2 for a diachronical view of the structure of the Arkadian *ethnos*). If the Battle of Chaironeia did in any way mark the end of the *polis*, this was not noticed in Arkadia.

Figure 1
First Occurrence of Each Category of City-Ethnics

City	ext. coll.	ext. ind.	int. coll.	int. ind.
Alea	classical	classical	Hellenistic	
Alipheira	Hellenistic	Hellenistic	Hellenistic	
Asea	classical	Hellenistic		
Dipaia	classical	classical	Hellenistic	
Eua	Hellenistic			
Euaimon	classical			
Helisson	classical		Hellenistic	
Heraia	archaic	classical	classical	
Kaphyai	classical	classical	Hellenistic	
Kleitōr	archaic	classical	Hellenistic	
Kortys	classical	archaic	Hellenistic	
Kynaitha	Hellenistic	classical		
Lasion	classical	Hellenistic		
Lousoi	Hellenistic	classical	classical	
Lykosoura	Hellenistic		Hellenistic	
Mantineia	classical	classical	classical	
Megalopolis	classical	classical	Hellenistic	Hellenistic
Methydriōn	classical	classical	classical	
Orchomenos	classical	classical	classical	Hellenistic
Oresthasion		classical		
Pallantion	classical	classical	classical	
Pheneos	classical	classical	classical	
Phigaleia	classical	classical	Hellenistic	
Psophis	archaic		classical	
Stymphalos	classical	classical	classical	
Tegea	classical	classical	classical	
Teuthis			Hellenistic	
Thelpoussa	classical	Hellenistic	Hellenistic	
Thisōa		classical	Hellenistic	
Torthyneion	classical	Hellenistic		

Appendix Missing City-Ethnics

A city-ethnic is something every *polis* must have had. For some *poleis*, however, the city-ethnic is not attested. In Arkadia, the city-ethnic has not been transmitted in the cases of the following *poleis*, excluding from consideration the ethnics evidenced by Stephanos of Byzantion and Pausanias (in brackets, sources pointing to the *polis*-ness of the sites listed):

Amilos (Paus. 8.13.5); **Brenthe** (Paus. 8.28.7); **Dasea** (Paus. 8.3.2, 36.9); **Eutaia** (Xen. *Hell.* 6.5.12); **Eutresia**: none of the Eutresian communities has produced a city-ethnic (for a list of Eutresian communities see table 1); **Halous** (possibly had a Delphic *thearodokos* in the 5th century [G. Daux, *REG* 62 (1949) 9]); **Koila** (a possible Arkadian *polis*; perhaps it had a Delphic *thearodokos* in the 5th century [Dubois [*supra* n. 3] 295-96]); **Kynouria**: Thisoa and Lykaia of Kynouria have failed to produce a city-ethnic (for a list of Kynourian communities, see table 1); **Mainalia**: the following Mainalian cities have failed to produce a city-ethnic: Eutaia (see above), Iasaia, Lykaia, Peraitheis, Soumateion, Haimoniai and Mainalos (for a list of Mainalian communities, see table 1); **Melainai** (Paus. 8.3.3); **Nonakris** (Hdt. 6.74.2.) Another Nonakris was a part of the Arkadian Tripolis, see below. **Paion** (Hdt. 6.127.3); **Parrhasia**: all Parrhasian communities except Lykosoura have failed to produce a city-ethnic (for a list of Parrhasian communities, see table 1). **Phalanthos** (Paus. 8.35.9); **Phara** (a possible Arkadian *polis*; it had a Delphic *thearodokos* in the 5th century (Dubois 295-96); it is just possible that the city-ethnic occurs in *IG* V.2 548.7 (see Roy [*supra* n. 7] 142)); **Thaliades** (possibly a *polis*; it had a coinage in the archaic period, but is otherwise unattested until Pausanias); **Thyraion** (Paus. 8.35.7); **Tripolis** (mentioned only by Pausanias at 8.27.4; it consisted of Dipoina, Kallia and Nonakris [different from the Nonakris mentioned by Hdt. 6.74.2]).

Table 1 Communities Ascribed to Various Tribal Groups

Azania

The following communities are ascribed to the Azanes by:

Classical sources

1. Paion (Hdt. 6.127.3)

Hellenistic sources

2. Psophis (Polyb. 4.70.3)

Roman sources only

3. Pheneos (Steph.Byz.662.6)
4. Phigaleia (Paus. 8.42.6)

Modern scholars

5. Bouphegion (Hejnic [*supra* n. 40] 61)
6. Kaphyai (Hejnic 18)
7. Kleitor (Hejnic 19, Jost [*supra* n. 59] 25)
8. Kynaitha (Hejnic 21, Jost 26)
9. Lousoi (Hejnic 103, Jost 26)
10. Nonakris (Jost 36)
11. Pellana (Jost 26)
12. Teuthis (Hejnic 61)
13. Thelpousa (Hejnic 58, Jost 26)

Perhaps we should add

14. Enispe

to the Azanian communities; Stephanos of Byzantion at 271.1 states that it was thought to have been situated in the territory of either Kleitor or Psophis: Ἐνίσπη, πόλις Ἀρκαδίας...νῦν οὐκ ἔστι. φασὶ δὲ ἢ τῆς Κλειτορίας γῆς εἶναι ἢ Ψωφίδος.

Alipheira is treated as Azanian by Jost 77, but is here considered Kynourian.

Heraia is treated as Azanian by Callmer (*supra* n. 36) 50, but this has not won general acceptance.

Eutresia

The following communities are ascribed to the Eutresians by:

Roman sources only

15. Chairisia (Paus. 8.27.3)
16. Knauson (Paus. 8.27.3)
17. Paroreia (Paus. 8.27.3)
18. Ptoleiderma (Paus. 8.27.3)
19. Trikolonoi (Paus. 8.27.3)
20. Zoiteion (Paus. 8.27.3)

Modern scholars

21. Hypsous (Hejnic 26)
22. Phalanthos (Hejnic 42)
23. Thyraion (Hejnic 60)

Kynouria

The following communities are ascribed to the Kynourians by:

Roman sources only

24. Alipheira (Paus. 8.27.4)
25. Kortys (Paus. 8.27.4)
26. Thisoa (Paus. 8.27.4)
27. Lykoa (Paus. 8.27.4)

Mainalia

The following communities are ascribed to the Mainalians by:

Classical sources

28. Dipaia (Paus. 6.7.9, cf. Moretti no. 314)
29. Oresthasion (Thuc. 5.64.3)

Roman sources only

30. Asea (Paus. 8.27.3)
31. Eutaia (Paus. 8.27.3)
32. Helisson (Paus. 8.27.3)
33. Iasaia (Paus. 8.27.3)
34. Lykaia (Paus. 8.27.3)
35. Pallantion (Paus. 8.27.3)
36. Peraitheis (Paus. 8.27.3)

37. Soumateion (Paus. 8.27.3)

Modern scholars

38. Haimoniai (Hejnic 24)

39. Mainalos (Callmer 18, Hejnic 29, 81)

Parrhasia

The following communities are ascribed to the Parrhasians by:

Roman sources only

40. Akakesion (Paus. 8.27.4)

41. Akontion (Paus. 8.27.4)

42. Dasea (Paus. 8.27.4)

43. Lykosoura (Paus. 8.27.4)

44. Makaria (Paus. 8.27.4)

45. Proseis (Paus. 8.27.4)

46. Thoknia (Paus. 8.27.4)

47. Trapezous (Paus. 8.27.4)

Modern scholars

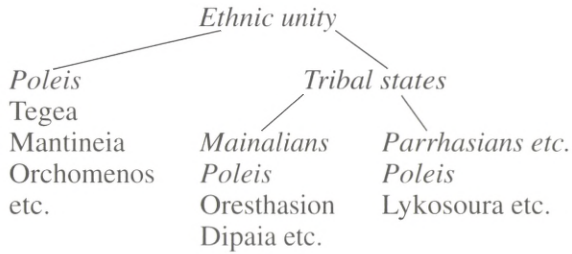
48. Bathos (Callmer 18, Meyer *RE* Suppl. XI [1968] col. 1031], Hejnic 15, Jost 170)

49. Basilis (Callmer 18, Meyer col. 1031, Jost 170)

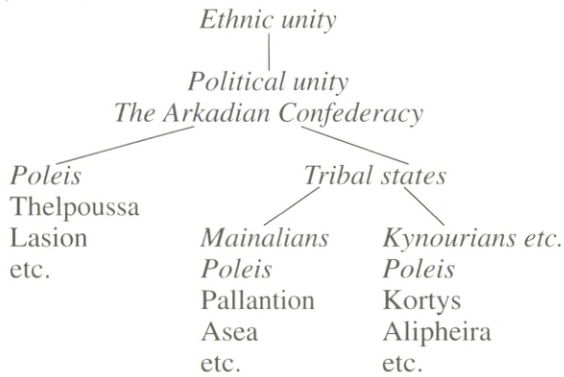
50. Kypsela (Meyer 1031)

Figure 2
 Diachronical View of the Structure of
 the Arkadian Ethnos

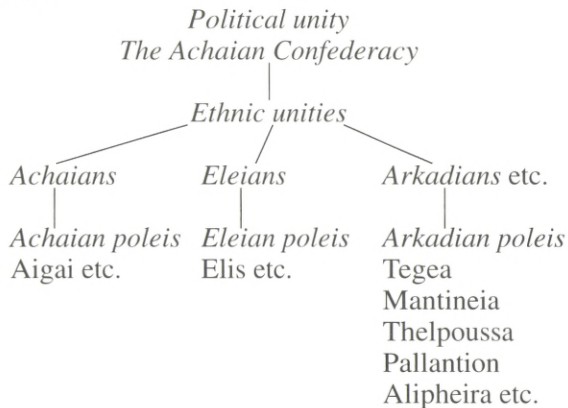
The fifth century



The federal period, ca. 370-324



The Hellenistic period



Map 1
 Cities with Attested City-Ethnics



Map 2
The (Supposed) Locations of Mainalian Cities



Notes

1 M.H. Hansen, “Boiotian *Poleis*. A Test Case”, in M.H. Hansen (ed.), *Sources for the Ancient Greek City-State*. Acts of the Copenhagen Polis Centre 2. Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, Historisk-filosofiske Meddelelser 72 (Copenhagen 1995), Appendix II, 45-51.

I use the term *city-ethnic* to refer to ethnics such as Θηβαῖος, Ἀθηναῖος, Μαντινεύς, Μιλήσιος κτλ., i.e. ethnics that refer to *towns* in contradistinction to *regional ethnics* such as Βοιωτός, Ἀρκάς, Θετταλός κτλ., that refer to regions, and *demotics* such as the Attic “*demotika*” (Μελιτεύς, Παιανιεύς, Ἐλευσίνιος κτλ.) and the Argive “*kometika*” (Κλεωναί, Μυκάννα, Πρόσφυμνα) that refer to subdivisions of a city-state, and *tribal ethnics* such as Ἀκρόρειος, Παρράσιος, Μαινάλιος κτλ., that refer to areas inside regions.

I would like to thank my respondent Dr. James Roy, Dr. M.H. Hansen, Dr. A. Keen, and the other participants in the symposium for their helpful criticisms and proposals. I would also like to thank Dr. Y.A. Pikoulas, who kindly discussed topographical questions with me.

2 Tribal ethnic: e.g. Xen. *Anab.* 1.1.2: ἀναβαίνει οὖν ὁ Κῦρος λαβῶν ... Ξενίαν Παρράσιον. Regional ethnic: e.g. Thuc. 5.49.1: Ἀνδροσθένης Ἀρκάς. City-ethnic: e.g. Xen. *Anab.* 3.1.31: Ἀγασίας Στυμφάλιος. Civic subdivisions: see N.F. Jones, *Public Organization in Ancient Greece* (Philadelphia 1987) 132-142 (Arkadia).

The most important later source for Arkadian city-ethnics is Stephanos of Byzantium. However, he seems to have generated quite a lot of Arkadian ethnics; for this problem in Stephanos in general, see D. Whitehead, “Site-Classification and Reliability in Stephanos of Byzantium”, in D. Whitehead (ed.), *From Political Architecture to Stephanus Byzantius*. Papers from the Copenhagen Polis Centre 1. *Historia Einzelschriften* 87 (1994) 99-124.

Stephanos has ethnics of the following cities not discussed here: Akakesion (56.5), Akontion (61.15), Allante (76.1), Amilos (85.18), Anthana (95.15), Aulon (147.7), Basilis (160.5), Brenthe (185.10), Charisiai (688.20), Delphousia (225.3), Deraia (226.4), Diope (233.10), Enispe (271.1), Eugeia (284.10), Gatheai (195.9), Haimoniai (50.4), Hermoupolis (278.9), Kalliai (349.5), Kaous (355.13), Lykaia (420.13), Lykoa (421.13), Lyle (422.19), Mainalos (426.6), Makareai (427.7), Manthylrea (431.1), Melainai (441.6), Nede (471.13), Nymphas (479.3), Nonakris (479.20), Onkeion (482.22), Oios (487.5), Oichalia (487.18), Parrhasia (508.18), Paroreia (509.7), Petrosaka (519.19), Pylai (539.19), Rhiphe (545.17), Skias (574.14), Skiros (575.7), Skirtonion (576.7), Soumatia (586.10), Stratia (586.2), Schoinous (596.1), Thokneia (320.24), Thyreion (320.13), Trapeza (631.7), Trikolonoi (635.3), Phalaisiai (655.5), Phalanthos (655.14), Phegeia (663.5), Phrixa (672.12), Zoiteion (297.11).

3 I have arranged the attestations of the respective city-ethnics in the manner used by the Copenhagen Polis Centre. Thus an attestation is classed as “internal” if it originates from organs of the *polis* (e.g. ἔδοξε τοῖς Μαντινεῦσι, *SEG* 37 340) or if it is used by a citizen and is used *inside* the *polis*. An “individual” use is the use of the city-ethnic as part of a personal name (Πειθίας Ἐξαινέτου Μαντινεύς, *IG* II² 9282); this use is very rare inside the *polis*. “Collective” uses denote the citizen-body, as in e.g. ἔδοξε τοῖς Ἀλειοῖς and thus I take the legend of the Achaian federal bronze coins (and other coinages) as examples of the internal use of the ethnic, as these coins were struck by the individual cities, not the federation. See A. Aymard, *Les assemblées de la confédération Achaïenne* (Paris

1938) 167 note 6; for the date (2nd century) of these coins, see H. Chantraine, “Der Beginn der jüngeren achäischen Bundesprägung”, *Chiron* 2 (1972) 175-191. Attestations are classed as “external” when they originate from organs or writers etc. outside of the *polis*, or from the *polis* itself or its citizens themselves, but are used outside of the *polis*, e.g. *IvO* 16.17, an Elean decree concerning Skillous and mentioning the Mantineians; *IG* I³ 1871, a gravestone of a Tegeates erected in Athens.

On the different forms of the Alean city-ethnic, see J. Roy, “Ethnics of Northeastern Arcadia (Pheneos, Caphyae and Alea)”, *Athenaeum* n.s. 50 (1972) 330-336; and Laurent Dubois, *Recherches sur le dialecte arcadien. 2. Corpus dialectal* (Louvain-la-Neuve 1986) 186. References to “Dubois” are to this work.

4 Earlier arguments that *IvO* 30 belongs to Alea: R. Weil, “Vau auf elischen Inschriften”, *ZfN* 7 (1880) 117-120, pointed out that the earliest instance of missing digamma (*IvO* 30 has Ἰάλεϊοῖς, not Φάλεϊοῖς) in the city-ethnic of Elis is at the turn of the 4th century (the reference is to *IvO* 295, but even this inscription has been attributed to Alea [see below]; and digamma is found in both toponym and ethnic in the Elean decree *SEG* 12 371 from 242 BC); so, as the Athenian honorand lived in the 5th-4th century (see *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names* II s.v. Δίφυλος 8), *IvO* 30 must belong to Alea. The aspiration of υῖν, too, is against the attribution of *IvO* 30 to Elis. See R. Meister, *Die Griechischen Dialekte* II, 79 and C.D. Buck, *The Greek Dialects* (London 1955) 155.

The archaic enactment formula of Elis: *IvO* 2, 9, 10, 11, 16. The proxeny decree for Theotimides: *SEG* 15 241.

5 See Dubois (*supra* n. 3) 242-247; G. Thür & H. Taeuber, *Processrechtliche Inschriften Der Griechischen Poleis. Arkadien* (Wien 1994) (=IPArk) 284 do not discuss Dubois’ reading of line 19 καὶ τὰ Εὐμήλω, but on the interpretation there offered, Eumelos was a citizen (or had been). Epitaphs from Alipheira: *SEG* 11 1139-41 and Dubois (*supra* n. 3) AL.3. For the amnesty of 273 BC, see IPArk no. 24, p. 279 (= *SEG* 25 447); J. Roy, “When Did Cleonymus Liberate Alipheira?”, *Talanta* 4 (1972) 39-45, dates this inscription to the period after 199/8 on the ground that it shows Alipheira as a *polis*; however, as shown below, Alipheira was probably always a *polis*, and thus this argument is not valid. On the contrary, since the inscription is in pure Arkadian dialect (as Roy himself notes), it should be dated to the 3rd century (as commonly done), since the Arkadian dialect fell out of use in the 2nd century, whereas a rough count of Arkadian inscriptions shows that half of all 3rd century inscriptions still use the dialect.

6 See D.W. Bradeen, “Inscriptions from Nemea”, *Hesperia* 35 (1966) 321.

7 The ethnic on the Achaian federal bronze coin, [ΑΧΑΙΩ]Ν ΕΥΑΕΩΝ (for which see *NC* 1917 p. 319), is different from that given by Stephanos and so is that found in *SEG* 30 377 which simply means that Stephanos has generated his ethnic, see Whitehead (*supra* n. 2) 103-105.

Ernst Meyer: *RE* s.v. Orchomenos col. 898. Eua as an Arkadian community: J. Roy, *Studies in the History of Arcadia in the Classical and Hellenistic Periods* (diss. Cambridge 1968) 35-36.

8 Theopompos on Arkadia: see frags. 33, 60, 69, 77, 119, 175, 215, 242, 243, 244, 269, 323, 343, 344. An interesting treatment of these fragments and the problems they raise is S. Dušanić, “On Theopompos’ *Philippica* VI-VIII”, *Aevum* 51 (1977) 27-36.

9 For the different forms of the city-ethnic of Helisson, see L. Dubois, “À propos d’une nouvelle inscription Arcadienne”, *BCH* 112 (1988) 288-90.

10 See IPArk (*supra* n. 5) no. 9, p. 100.

11 *IG* V.2 415 = IPArk (*supra* n. 5) no. 23 = Dubois (*supra* n. 3) 235-36.

12 On the different forms of the city-ethnic of Kaphyai, see Roy (*supra* n. 3).

13 *IG* V.2 371-386, *SEG* 24 287-88.

14 “Kortys” is the epichoric form of the name; “Gortys” is found in literature; see Dubois (*supra* n. 3) 287.

The nearest parallel to the reading of *IG* I² is *IG* I³ 741: [?....]θεος ἀνέθεκεν / [? ho Σε]-κυνόνιος. Lazzarini no. 29 is an exact parallel to the reading of *IG* I³: Δίκα[ι]ος / Εὐροπ[ί]δο / ἀνέθεκε τέ[ι] θεῶι.

15 The only epitaph from the city is late Hellenistic; it has name + patronymic + χαῖρε; *SEG* 24 289.

16 Arkadian claim to Lasion in the 390s: Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.30. Lasion a member of the Arkadian Confederacy: Xen. *Hell.* 7.4.12. Lasion as an Arkadian community: Roy (*supra* n. 7) 39-40.

17 See *IG* V.2 389, 390, 395.

18 Civic subdivisions of Mantinea: Jones (*supra* n. 2) 133-35. *IG* V.2 278 as a dedication by officials: see *IG* comm. *ad loc.*

19 *Horoi*: *IG* V.2 315-17. They may represent *horoi* of private estates since the most likely reading of 316 is ὄρ(ος) + a personal name.

20 See Jones (*supra* n. 2) 135.

21 See Jones (*supra* n. 2) 135-38.

22 Plain personal name: *IG* V.2 447, 448, 478, 479, 482. Personal name + patronymic: *IG* V.2 432.3, 437.438. *latus reversum* 16, 18, 439 *passim*, 440.441 *passim*, 442 *passim*, 443.444.445 *passim*, 453.1, 468. Personal name + patronymic + city-ethnic: *IG* V.2 436.3-4, 437.438.22-23, *SEG* 36 379. Officials: *IG* V.2 440.441.1.

23 On the proposed dates for the civic coinage of Methydrion, see *RE* s.v. Methydrion col. 1390; see also M. Moggi, “Il sinecismo di Megalopoli”, *ASNP* 3.4 (1974) 93 n. 72. For the close relations between Methydrion and Orchomenos, see *RE* s.v. Methydrion col. 1389, *IG* V.2 344 and Paus. 8.27.4. Date of Orchomenian coinage: Head *HN*² 451. R. Weil, “Nochmals das altarkadische Gemeinwesen”, *ZfN* 29 (1912) 139-46, also dates the Methydrion coinage to the 4th century (370-323).

24 See Dubois (*supra* n. 3) 166 *ad loc.*

25 See Dubois (*supra* n. 3) O.15, 16, 17, *IG* V.2 348.349, 350.

26 The inscription *SEG* 17 829, containing accounts of *tamiai*, has been attributed to Orchomenos (see *SEG* 33 320); if correct, this only corroborates the conclusion here reached: in l. 1 the eponymous *damiorgos* is mentioned solely by personal name, and all other persons mentioned in the accounts are treated likewise, though acting in an official capacity.

27 Dubois (*supra* n. 3) P.1, 2, *SEG* 11 1085.

28 See R. Sherk, *ZPE* 83 (1990) 264. On the different forms of the Pheneatan city-ethnic, see Roy (*supra* n. 3).

29 See Dubois (*supra* n. 3) comm. *ad loc.*: “les autres personnages sans ethnique doivent être des Phigaliens.”

30 Dedicators using the bare personal name: see Dubois (*supra* n. 3) PHI.1 and PHI.4. Funerary monuments: see *IG* V.2 426, 427.428, Dubois PHI.7, 8, 9, *SEG* 23 246, 247, 248, 249, 250.

31 Funerary monuments from Stymphalos: Ph. Harding & H. Williams, “Funerary Inscriptions from Stymphalos”, *ZPE* 93 (1992) 57-66.

32 Civic subdivisions of Tegea: Jones (*supra* n. 2) 139-42. Public documents arranged by phyletic headings: see *IG* V.2 36, 38-41. Lists of fallen warriors: see *IG* V.2 173, 174.

33 On this, see Whitehead (*supra* n. 2) 106 note 22.

34 On the other inscriptions in the museum of modern Dimetsana, see *IG* V.2 p. 126 19-25, *SEG* 36 386.

35 See *SEG* 11 1124-1134, *SEG* 22 325 and Dubois (*supra* n. 3) THE.2.

36 I assume here that all the material treated relates to the same Thisoa, the one by Orchomenos, see Paus. 8.27.4; this is also the opinion of Chr. Callmer, *Studien zur Geschichte Arkadiens bis zur Gründung des arkadischen Bundes* (Lund 1943) 11, and S. Dušanić, *The Arkadian League of the Fourth Century* (Belgrade 1970) 329, n. 100.

We cannot, however, be completely certain that this is correct, since there were two cities called Thisoa in Arkadia: one is situated slightly west of Methydrion at Karkalou; this is the city which has produced *IG* V.2 510-11, two Hellenistic decrees of the *polis* of the Thisoioi; the second is the Kynourian, probably located at modern Lavda, where excavations have been carried out recently (see *BCH* 104.2 [1980] p. 610 for a plan of the site, *BCH* 110.2 [1986] p. 693, and *AR* 1986-87 21, 1987-88 23, 1988-89 33). A sherd inscribed ΘΙΣ has been found, which seems to guarantee the identification of this site with Thisoa. The identification furthermore fits Pausanias' description of the city as πρὸς Λυκαίῳ (8.27.4). The town is fortified and so is the akropolis. The urban remains are Hellenistic.

The Thisoa at Karkalou seems to have been a somewhat substantial settlement, and was clearly a *polis* from the 4th century onwards, if all sources ascribed to it in fact belong to it. All sources dealing with a Thisoa are traditionally ascribed to this Thisoa. And so the only written information on Kynourian Thisoa comes from Pausanias, who includes it in the list at 8.27, but describes it as a *kome* in his day. Thus, it is impossible to say anything about the status of Kynourian Thisoa in the classical period. But in fact the Hellenistic federal coinage could belong to the former Kynourian Thisoa.

The publication of the work carried out by the Dutch at Lavda has begun in the journal of the Netherlands institute at Athens, *Pharos*. Volume I (1993) contains: G.J.-M.J. te Riele, "Pourquoi des recherches á Lavda?" 177-181; J.J. Feije, "Lavda. History of the Site" 183-199; Y.C. Goester, "The Landscape of Lavda" 201-207. Volume II (1994) contains: Y.C. Goester, "Lavda. Outside the Circuit Walls" 39-48; J.J. Feije, "Lavda. The Site, the Walls" 49-89. So far, no secure chronological conclusions have been reached, but it seems that the walls date to the Hellenistic period.

37 The provenance of *SEG* 36 388, a dedication of the 3rd century with just the personal name, is given as: THISOA?, by *SEG*.

38 In *SEG* 18 157, I follow the reading of Dubois (*supra* n. 3) AS.1 in reading Παρπυλαῖος and not Παραπυλαῖος; Dubois gives a facsimile. For Παρπυλαῖος as the ethnic of Πύλαι, see E. Meyer, "Arkadisches", *MH* 14 (1957) 81 and Dubois 221-22.

39 Nestane a village in Mantinike: see N.H. Demand, *Urban Relocation in Archaic and Classical Greece* (Bristol 1990) 68. For Helisson as a dependent *polis* of Mantinea, see Hansen (*supra* n. 1). The source for Helisson's status as a dependent *polis* of Mantinea is *SEG* 37 340.

40 Thucydides uses Παρράσιοι at 5.33.1 and Μαινάλιοι at 5.67.1 and 5.77.1; Xenophon uses Εὐτρήσιοι at *Hell.* 7.1.29 and Παρράσιοι at *Hell.* 7.1.28. The federal document is *IG* V.2 1, which has Μαινάλιοι in 1. 16 and Κυνούριοι in 1. 40. Strabo refers to several Arkadian *ethne* at 8.8.1: δοκεῖ δὲ παλαιότατα ἔθνη τῶν Ἑλλήνων εἶναι τὰ Ἀρκαδικά, Ἀζάνες τε καὶ Παρράσιοι καὶ ἄλλοι τοιοῦτοι. Roy (*supra* n. 7) 135 states as a fact about the tribal state that it "united several communities in an ethnic relationship ..."

James Roy, "Tribalism in Southwestern Arcadia in the Classical Period", *Acta Antiqua* 20 (1972) 43-51 is the modern standard work on these tribal states; he provides ample re-

ferences to other literature. Roy exemplifies the modern practice of referring to our groups as “tribes.” His views are accepted by M. Jost, “Villages de l’Arcadie antique”, *Ktema* 11 (1986) 150-52. The tribal states are briefly discussed by H.J. Gehrke, *Jenseits von Athen und Sparta. Das Dritte Griechenland und seine Staatenwelt* (München 1986) 112 and 154; he understands them as either “Dorfverbände” or as “Mini-Föderationen, aus denen sich kleinere Poleis zuhelfend herauslösten...” There is a brief study by Y.A. Pikoulas, “Μαϊνάλοι καὶ Παρράσιοι. Πολιτική χειραγώγηση καὶ χειραφέτηση”, *Πρακτικά Β' Τοπικού Συνεδρίου Αρχαδικῶν Σπουδῶν* (Athens 1990).

Hellanikos (*FGrHist* 4) fr. 162 reads: Μαίναλος δὲ ὄρος Ἀρχαδίας. ἐν ᾧ ἡ Ἀταλάντη διῆγεν, ἀπὸ Μαϊνάλου Ἀρχάδος, ὃς ψησιν Ἑλλάνικος. Jacoby (comm. ad loc.) seems to prefer the interpretation that τοῦ Ἀρχάδος is an ethnic rather than a patronymic. J. Hejnic, *Pausanias the Perieget and the Archaic History of Arcadia* (Prague 1961) 29, on the other hand seems to interpret it as a patronymic. This is an attractive interpretation, and perhaps the most likely, since one would not expect characters to be designated by the regional ethnic “Arkas” in a work entitled Περὶ Ἀρχαδίας. Hiller v. Gaertringen (*RE* II² 1159) also interprets the passage to mean that Mainalos was a son of the eponymous hero Arkas.

41 The quotations are from Roy (*supra* n. 40) 43, 48.

42 I leave out of consideration the settlements of Skiritis and Aigytis, as these areas were until the synoecism of Megalopolis Lakedaimonic perioikic communities, see Callmer (*supra* n. 36) 61-62; P. Cartledge *Sparta and Lakonia* (London 1979) 103, 126; P. Cartledge & A. Spawforth *Hellenistic and Roman Sparta* (London 1989) 4-5, 14; Callmer 19-20 gives a short review of the settlements of Aigytis; Skiritis is treated at *RE* 2.III.1 536-37. I also leave out the Heraieis/Heraia as it is unlikely that they were a tribe, as Roy (*supra* n. 40) thinks. That a synoecism occurred at some stage in Heraian history is not a proof that the *polis* was created by that synoecism since synoecisms occurred that did not create, but strengthen existing *poleis*, as at Olynthos and Thebes, see Demand (*supra* n. 39) 74-85; in Arkadia itself Mantinea is a possible example of a *polis* strengthened, not created, by synoecism, see Demand 67-68. Callmer 49-53 does not treat the Heraieis as a tribe. Moreover, Heraia is mentioned by Ps.-Skylax at 44 as one of the major urban centres of Arkadia; the author does not include Megalopolis in his list of μεγάλαι πόλεις, a fact which seems to indicate that the final redaction of chapter 44 took place before Megalopolis had developed into a significant city; it is perhaps not unreasonable, then, to consider 362 BC the *terminus ante quem* for the redaction of chapter 44, since in that year Epameinondas could count on support from Megalopolis for the battle of Mantinea (see Xen. *Hell.* 7.5.5). The fact that Heraia could be considered an urban centre on a par with Tegea and Mantinea in the 360s (or even before) seems to me to seriously question the idea that the city was created by synoecism only in 370 BC.

It is possible, but (I think) unlikely that Μεγάλη Πόλις was originally in Ps.-Skylax 44, but dropped out due to the proximity of αἱ μεγάλαι αἶδε; see *GGM* I p. 40 note *ad* 44. To have been affected by αἱ μεγάλαι αἶδε, Megalopolis must have been the first item in the list, but since the list is only partially laid out on in a geographical way, it is far from certain that Megalopolis would have been placed first. But even if this is the case, Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.30, 3.3.1 are a very strong indication that Heraia was an urban site in the 390s, as is Ps.-Skylax’ use of the toponym.

43 I follow the readings of M.H. Rocha-Pereira in the Teubner edition. The most important consequences of this is that Asea and Iasaia are included, but Alea left out.

44 Pausanias calls the list given at 8.27 a κοινὸν δόγμα in 8.27.5 and 6.12.8. For the

view that Pausanias' list represents the original federal decree: see Callmer (*supra* n. 36) 16, Hejnic (*supra* n. 40) 34, Dušanić (*supra* n. 36) 319-20 and Roy (*supra* n. 40) 45 n. 14; Hiller von Gærtringen (*RE* XV col. 130) believes that Pausanias' list depends ultimately on Aristotle's ἡ κοινὴ Ἀρκάδων πολιτεία; accepted by Dušanić 330. For the view that Pausanias' list reflects later territorial ambitions of Megalopolis, see Moggi (*supra* n. 23) 71-107, 98; Demand (*supra* n. 39) 113. T.H. Nielsen, "Was Eutaia a *Polis*? A Note on Xenophon's Use of the Term *Polis* in the *Hellenika*" in M.H. Hansen and K. Raaflaub (eds.), *Studies in the Ancient Greek Polis*. Papers from the Copenhagen Polis Centre 2. *Historia Einzelschriften* 95 (Stuttgart 1995) 85 with n. 16; see also B. Niese, "Beiträge zur Geschichte Arkadiens", *Hermes* 34 (1899) 520-552, 540-41. That Megalopolis did acquire new cities after the original synoecism seems to be proved by Plutarch *Life of Philopoimen* 13: ... ὁ Φιλοποίμην ἀπέστησε πολλὰς τῶν περιοικίδων κωμῶν, λέγειν διδάξας ὡς οὐ συνετέλουν οὐδ' ἦσαν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐκείνων ... The phrase "and that they were not theirs from the beginning," must mean, if correct, that they had been acquired by Megalopolis subsequent to the synoecism.

45 For the view that tribal borders fluctuated, see Callmer (*supra* n. 36) 50; Roy (*supra* n. 40) 46 with n. 22 (the source of the quotation) dismisses this theory.

46 Name of Mainalian territory: Thuc. 5.64.3. Paus.: Mainalia: 3.11.7; Mainalon: e.g. 8.27. 2 et 3. The known or supposed locations of the Mainalian cities are shown on map 2. Tribal ethnic as part of a personal name: see *IvO* 164 (372 BC, Moretti s.v no. 408); see also *IvO* 158.2, Phlegon (*FGrHist* 415) frag. 1.16, Paus. 5.25.7, 5.27.1 et 2 et 7, 6.6.1, 6.9.2, Schol. in Ar. *Vesp.* 1191b. Games ἐμ Μαινάλῳι: *SEG* 17 150. It is, of course, possible that the expression ἐμ Μαινάλῳι refers to the particular city called Mainalos. It is interesting to note that the only thing Pausanias has to say about the city of Mainalos is: λείπεται δὲ καὶ αὐτῆς ἔτι ἐρείπια Μαινάλου, ναοῦ τε σημεῖα Ἀθηνᾶς καὶ στάδιον ἐς ἀθλητῶν ἀγῶνα καὶ τὸ ἔτερον αὐτῶν ἐς ὕπνων δρόμον (8.36.8). Mainalian oecists of Megalopolis: Paus. 8.27.2. Mainalian communities to be absorbed by Megalopolis: Diod. 15.72.4, Paus. 8.27. Mainalian membership of Arkadian Confederacy: *IG* V.2 1.16.

47 Συμμαχίς at Thuc. 5.33 is an emendation of συμμαχία, the MSS reading. If kept, the MSS reading does not affect the argument here. Parrhasians made *autonomoi* by Sparta: see Thuc. 5.33.3.

48 See Thuc. 5.67.1. See also *HCT* III 625 ad 4.134.

49 Orchomenos' surrender to the quadruple alliance: see Thuc. 5.61.5, and *HCT* IV 136. We do not know why the hostages were kept at Argos, but it is reasonable to suppose that the deposition was occasioned by the war in Arkadia.

50 That Mantinea subdued Mainalian communities is also assumed by Gehrke (*supra* n. 40) 110. Mantineian aggression against the Mainalians is also suggested by the transference of the bones of the hero Arkas from Mt. Mainalon to Mantinea. The transference is mentioned by Pausanias at 8.9.3 and 8.36.8 and explained as ordered from Delphi, and an oracle to this effect is quoted. Pausanias does not date the transference, but the 5th century is assumed by Hejnic (*supra* n. 40) 29 and by M. Jost, *Sanctuaires et cultes d' Arcadie* (Paris 1985) 128. This is the most likely date, since it is reasonable to interpret this transference as a diplomatic expression of aggression and of a Mantineian claim to the leadership of Arkadia, and the period ca. 425-418 is the only period for which Mantineian aggressiveness of this kind is attested in good sources. Some kind of aggression is, perhaps, to be inferred from the treaty of Mantinea with Helisson by which Helisson is in fact absorbed by Mantinea. The dates proposed for this treaty (= *SEG* 37 340) vary from 418 to 370. It is not entirely impossible, however, that the transference should be dated to the pe-

riod after the Battle of Mantinea in 362. After that battle the Arkadian Confederacy broke into two parts, one of which was headed by Mantinea, the other by Megalopolis (see Dušančić [*supra* n. 36] 307-311); Megalopolis certainly exploited the Arkadian nationalism evidenced by Xenophon (*Hell.* 7.1.23-24) (e.g. by striking coins inscribed APK and laying out lists of Lykaionikai not with Arkadian city-ethnics but with the regional ethnic Ἰαρκάδας), and perhaps Mantinea did the same.

For the transference of the bones of a hero as a diplomatic expression of aggressiveness, the history of Sparta offers two good parallels in the transferees of the bones of Orestes and Teisamenos. See G.E.M. de Ste. Croix, *The Origin of the Peloponnesian War* (London 1972) 96, and D.M. Leahy, "The Bones of Tisamenus", *Historia* 4 (1955) 26-38.

The original grave of Arkas seems to have been near the city of Mainalos (Paus. 8.36.8), and the lack of importance of this city is perhaps due to this transference of the hero's bones.

51 Mainalians included in τῶν πόλεων at Thuc. 5.81.1; see *HCT* IV 148. On Thucydides' use of the term *polis*, see Hansen (*supra* n. 1) 39-45.

52 We know nothing of importance about *Iasaia*, *Peraithis*, *Soumateion* or *Haimoniai*. Thus these sites are left out of consideration here.

53 Herodotos: 9.11.2. Name of territory: Thuc. 4.134.1. Olympic victor: *lvO* 147.148; Moretti 231. Pherekydes: (*FGrHist* 3) frag. 135a. Eur. *Or.* 1273-75. 4th century attestation of city-ethnic: *SEG* 20 716 (a payment by the city of Kyrene to Δαμαθίδας Ὀρεσθάσιος). It is worth noting that the treaty between Mantinea, Elis, Argos and Athens recorded by Thuc. 5.47 contains a stipulation in paragraph 6, which indicates that the Mantineian allies (= Mainalians, as argued above) possessed territories; the reference is probably to the *polis* territories of the individual Mainalian communities, but it might refer to the tribal territory; this is perhaps very unlikely, since the Mainalian tribe was split in two at this time.

54 Excavation of Asea: E. Holmberg, *The Swedish Excavations at Asea in Arcadia* (Lund 1944). Federal membership: Head *HN*² 418 and Holmberg 168. Delphic *theorodokos*: *IG* V.2 p. xxxvii l. 64. In the summer of 1995 a Swedish team directed by Jeanette Forsén began new investigations at Asea. The team was able to establish that the city was always situated on the site of its present ruins, although Holmberg thought that the archaic and classical city was situated elsewhere. The team made archaic and classical finds. Jeanette Forsén is now inclined to date the wall of the akropolis to the 5th century.

I take membership of the Achaian Confederacy as a proof of the *polis*-ness of the city in question. It is clear that Polybios considered the individual members of this confederacy to be *poleis* (see e.g. 3.37.11 ... κατά πόλεις). Thus, of the 43 cities listed by B.V. Head as striking federal coins, Polybios explicitly calls no less than 27 *poleis*: see Head *HN*² 418-19 with Polybios: ΑΧΑΙΩΝ ΑΙΓΕΙΡΑΤΩΝ/ 2.41.8 & 4.57.5: ἡ τῶν Αἰγείρατων πόλις; ΑΧΑΙΩΝ ΑΙΓΕΩΝ/ 2.41.8 & 4.57.5: τῆς Αἰγέων..πόλεως; ΑΧΑΙΩΝ ΚΑΡΥΝΕΩΝ/ 2.41.8; ΑΧΑΙΩΝ ΔΥΜΑΙΩΝ/ 2.41.8 & 5.3.2: τῆ τῶν Δυμαίων πόλει; ΑΧΑΙΩΝ ΠΕΛΛΑΝΕΩΝ/ 2.41.8 & 4.8.4: τῆς Πελλανέων πόλεως; ΑΧΑΙΩΝ ΣΙΚΥΩΝΙΩΝ/ 5.27.3 & 4.57.5: τῆς..Σικυωνίων πόλεως; ΑΧΑΙΩΝ ΦΛΕΙΑΣΙΩΝ/ 2.52.2; ΑΧΑΙΩΝ ΚΟΡΙΝΘΙΩΝ/ 2.61.6: τὴν Κορινθίων πόλιν; ΑΧΑΙΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΡΕΩΝ/ 2.43.5: τὴν Μεγαρέων πόλιν; ΑΧΑΙΩΝ ΑΡΓΕΙΩΝ/ 2.64.1: τῆ Ἀργείων πόλει; ΑΧΑΙΩΝ ΚΛΕΩΝΝΑΙΩΝ/ 2.52.2; ΑΧΑΙΩΝ ΕΠΙΔΑΥΡΕΩΝ/ 2.52.2; ΑΧΑΙΩΝ ΕΡΜΙΟΝΕΩΝ/ 2.52.2; ΑΧΑΙΩΝ ΑΛΙΦΕΙΡΕΩΝ/ 4.77.10: τὴν Ἀλιφειρέων πόλιν; ΑΧΑΙΩΝ ΚΑΦΥΕΩΝ/ 2.52.2; ΑΧΑΙΩΝ ΚΛΕΙΤΟΡΙΩΝ/ 4.18.12: τῆ τῶν Κλειτορίων πόλει; ΑΧΑΙΩΝ ΗΡΑΙΕΩΝ/ 4.78.2: τὴν τῶν Ἡραίων πόλιν; ΑΧΑΙΩΝ ΑΝΤΙΓΟΝΕΩΝ/ 2.58.4 & 2.54.11: τὴν τῶν

Μαντινέων...πόλιν; ΑΧΑΙΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ/ 9.26a.2: τὴν τῶν Μεγαλοπολι-
τῶν πόλιν; ΑΧΑΙΩΝ ΦΕΝΕΩΝ/ 2.52.2; ΑΧΑΙΩΝ ΦΙΓΑΛΛΕΩΝ/ 4.3.5: τὴν τῶν Φιγα-
λέων πόλιν; ΑΧΑΙΩΝ ΣΤΥΜΦΑΛΙΩΝ/ 4.69.1: τῆς τῶν Στυμφαλίων πόλεως; ΑΧΑΙ-
ΩΝ ΤΕΓΕΑΤΑΝ/ 2.54.6: τὴν τῶν Τεγεατῶν πόλιν; ΑΧΑΙΩΝ ΘΕΛΠΟΥΣΙΩΝ/
2.54.13; ΑΧΑΙΩΝ ΑΛΕΙΩΝ/ 20.3.1: τῆς τῶν Ἡλείων πόλεως; ΑΧΑΙΩΝ ΥΠΙΑΝΕΩΝ/
4.77.9; ΑΧΑΙΩΝ ΜΕΣΣΑΝΙΩΝ/ 4.4.3.

The following cities are not mentioned by Polybios: Pagai, Tenea, Alea, Asea, Kallistai, Dipaia, Teuthis, Thisoa and Koroneia in Messenia. The following are for some reason not called *poleis*: Helisson, Kortys, Lousoi, Methydrion, Pallantion (called *metropolis*) and Asine. Since the work by Head, federal bronze coins of Eua (for which see *NC* 1917 p. 319), Psophis and Troizen (see Chantraine, *JNG* 8 [1957] 70) have come to light; Eua is not mentioned by Polybios; Psophis is called *polis* at 4.70.5; Troizen is called *polis* at 2.52.2.

That the individual members of the Achaian Confederacy were *poleis* in their own right is also generally acknowledged by modern scholarship. See e.g. G. Busolt, *Griechische Staatskunde* (Munich 1926) 1311 with notes 1 and 2; J.O.A. Larsen, *Representative Government in Greek and Roman History* (Los Angeles 1966) 23, and *Greek Federal States* (Oxford 1968) 220, 226, 232, 234, 237; R.M. Errington, *Philopoemen* (Oxford 1969) 5 (see also 91); Aymard (*supra* n. 3) e.g. 165; W.W. Tarn & G.T. Griffith, *Hellenistic Civilisation* (New York 1951) 73; F.W. Walbank, *The Hellenistic World* (Glasgow 1981, and London 1993) 155; P. Green, *Alexander to Actium. The Hellenistic Age* (London 1990) 139-40, 248. Chantraine (*supra* n. 3) takes for granted throughout his article that the individual members were states in themselves, see e.g. 183. P.J. Rhodes, "The Greek *Poleis*: Demes, Cities and Leagues", in M.H. Hansen (ed.) *The Ancient Greek City-State. Acts of the Copenhagen Polis Centre 1* (Copenhagen 1993) 176. It is, furthermore, proved by epigraphical evidence: see e.g. *Syll.*³ 529, a grant of citizenship by Dyme to some soldiers; it refers to Dyme as πόλις in line 6 and 10. In *Syll.*³ 530 Dyme again refers to itself as πόλις in line 6. In 531 we find in line 1 τὰ πόλι, in 2 [Δυμιαί[ων τὰς πόλιος] (for a discussion of the *polis*-ness of the federal members and these inscriptions, see P.J. Rhodes "Sources for establishing *Polis* Identity. Epigraphical Evidence: Laws and Decrees", in Hansen (ed.) (*supra* n. 1) 99.

55 Xenophon: *Hell.* 6.5.12: ὁ δὲ Ἀγησίλαος, ἐπεὶ ἐγένετο αὐτῷ τὰ διαβατήρια, εὐθὺς ἐχώρει ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀρχαδίαν. καὶ καταλαβὼν πόλιν ὁμορον οὕσαν Εὐταίαν, καὶ εὐρῶν ἐκεῖ τοὺς μὲν πρεσβυτέρους καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας καὶ τοὺς παῖδας οἰκοῦντας ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις, τοὺς δ' ἐν τῇ στρατευσίμῳ ἡλικίᾳ οἰχομένους εἰς τὸ Ἀρχαδικόν, ὅμως οὐκ ἠδίκησε τὴν πόλιν, ἀλλ' εἶτα τε αὐτοὺς οἰκεῖν, καὶ ᾠνούμενοι ἐλάμβανον ὅσαν δέοιντο. εἰ δέ τι καὶ ἠρώπασθη, ὅτε εἰσῆι εἰς τὴν πόλιν, ἐξευρῶν ἀπέδωκε. καὶ ἐπωκοδόμει τὸ τεῖχος αὐτῶν ὅσα ἐδεῖτο κτλ. Xenophon's use of *polis*: Nielsen (*supra* n. 44).

In his new forthcoming edition of the Delphic lists of *thearodokoi*, J. Oulhen proposes the restoration [ἐν Εὐ]τέα at col. II l. 113 in the great 3rd century list (= *BCH* 45 [1921]); if correct, this may be interpreted as an indication that Eutaia was once a *polis*. See P. Perlman, "Θεωροδοκούντες ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν. Panhellenic *Epangelia* and Political Status", in Hansen (*supra* n. 1) 135.

For the location of Eutaia, see W. Loring, "Some Ancient Routes in the Peloponnese", *JHS* 15 (1895) 50-52.

56 For the inscription, see: *SEG* 37 340, *IPArk* (*supra* n. 5) no. 9. Helisson called *polis*: l. 5 (primarily in the sense of "city-state") and ll. 6-7 (primarily in the sense of "town").

Territory: l. 5 (χώρα). Laws: l. 15. Magistrates: l. 17; it is the most reasonable interpretation that the ἐπιμεληταί referred to are magistrates of Helisson, not Mantinea, because the very next sentence mentions the coming of officials from Mantinea to Helisson. This indicates that the *epimeletai* are supposed already to be in Helisson, and this suggests that they are Heliswasian magistrates. It may have been their duty to prevent metics and slaves from fraudulently getting themselves enrolled as Mantinean citizens and to supervise the registration in general (e.g. by confirming a man's patronymic, etc.).

For the city-ethnic, see above. Federal membership: Head *HN*² 418. Territory: Polyb. 11.11.6. Helisson is mentioned by Diodorus Siculus at 16.39.5, where he calls it a *polis*; the reference is to the 350s.

57 Literature on Pallantion: Hejnic (*supra* n. 40) 40–41, Jost (*supra* n. 50) 197–199, *PECS* s.v. Pallantion. Xenophon: *Hell.* 7.5.5. 5th century Delphic *thearodokos*: *REG* 62 (1949) 6–7. Coinage: Head *HN*² 451. Delphic donation: *CID* II 5.21. Treaty with Argos: *SEG* 11 1084. Federal membership: Head *HN*² 418. 3rd century Delphic *thearodokos*: *IG* V.2 xxxvii. col. III. 7.

58 Mainalos: Olympic victor from Mainalos: see Moretti no. 362 (and 377). For the significance of participation in the Olympics, see the contribution of M.H. Hansen in this volume, p. 18 with n. 50. Lykaia: for the possibility that Stephanos reproduces *polis* correctly from Theopompos, see Whitehead (*supra* n. 2) 119, Roy (*supra* n. 7) 160.

59 Herodotos: 9.35.2. Isocrates: 6.99. Olympic victor: Moretti no. 314, Paus. 6.7.9. Verdict in case involving Dipaia: *SEG* 23 179, see Bradeen (*supra* n. 6) 321. Federal membership: Head *HN*² 418. Jost (*supra* n. 40) 152 has pointed out that “Dipaia” is a much better reading than “Dipoina” at Paus. 8.27.7. This reading will testify to the physical survival of Dipaia. Jost proposes a location for Dipaia at modern Davia (see M. Jost, “Pausanias en Megalopolitide”, *REA* 75 [1973] 253 with pl. IX 1, 3).

60 This the opinion of Roy (*supra* n. 40) 48.

61 I leave Phigaleia out of consideration as a tribal community of Azania because the adjective Ἀζᾶνες in the oracle inserted by Pausanias at 8.42.6 is probably merely a poetical auxesis of Ἀρκάδες; a similar usage is found in Euripides (Roy [*supra* n. 40] 44 with n. 6). So it can be left out of the discussion here although its *polis*-ness should not be doubted (for the *polis*-ness of Phigaleia: Hdt. 6.83, *IvO* 161, *CID* II. 4.II 45; Moretti places the Olympic victor Arrhichion early in the 6th century, nos. 95, 99, 102), and although its inclusion among the tribal communities would not alter the conclusions here reached. The oracle is not considered genuine by H.W. Parke & D.E.W. Wormell, *The Delphic Oracle II* (Oxford 1956) 200–01 (who date it to after 30 BC), or J. Fontenrose, *The Delphic Oracle* (Berkeley 1978) 139, 182, 183, 327–28.

Paion is called *polis* by Herodotos at 6.127. The reference is to the archaic period, and the existence of the town in that period is proved by finds of archaic coins on the site (see Hejnic [*supra* n. 40] 41). In the classical period, Paion was perhaps a dependency of Kleitor. The dependence of Paion upon Kleitor is inferred from Paus. 5.23.7, a dedication by Kleitor in Olympia of spoils taken πολλὰν ἐκ πολλῶν, among which Paion is supposed to have been by von Gaertringen, *IG* V.2 p. 85 l. 106ff.

The fortifications of the akropolis and the town itself date to the 4th century. The urban area shows extensive signs of occupation (see E. Meyer, *Peloponnesische Wanderungen* [Leipzig 1938] 83). In the Hellenistic period a Delphic *thearodokos* resided in the town, see *IG* V.2 p. xxxvii l. 22. Thus nothing contradicts Herodotos' description of the city as a *polis*.

Literature on Paion: Hejnic (*supra* n. 40) 41, and *RE* s.v. Paion I. Date of walls and

fortifications, see E. Meyer (*supra*). The Delphic *thearodokos*, see *IG* V.2 p. xxxvii 1. 22.

Psophis: The Olympian dedication on which Psophis refers to itself as a *polis* is *IvO* 294; the inscription is, however, heavily restored, but the restoration is fairly secure since it is based on Pausanias (see *IvO* ad loc.).

Psophis is mentioned by Hekataios, who gives the city-ethnic of the town. So the city must have existed in the archaic period, and this is confirmed by the Psophidian dedication of spoils at Olympia, set up in the 6th century (*SEG* 24 299). Furthermore, “of this city, there are archaic silver coins of the 5th century,” (Head *HN*² 453). Physically, Psophis was a big city; it was walled, had a fortified akropolis and a theatre, though these have not yet been dated. The urban area shows extensive signs of occupation. In the 4th century the city set up a monument in Olympia, on which it called itself a *polis*. In the Hellenistic period the city passed an *asylia* decree for Magnesia, had Delphic *thearodokoi*, had a political union with Elis, was later a member of the Achaian Confederacy, and was described as a *polis* by Polybios. Its border with Thelpoussa was marked by a stele inscribed with ἄρχαῖα γράμματα; thus, Psophis had a defined territory. So, Psophis was a *polis* at least from the 6th century onwards.

Literature on Psophis: Callmer (*supra* n. 36) 15, Hejnic 46-48, *PECS* 741 s.v. Psophis, E. Meyer *RE* XXIII.2 s.v. Psophis 5. Dedications at Olympia: *IvO* 294 (+ Paus. 5.24.2 [undated]). Coinage: Head *HN*² 453; see also *NC* 1921, 172. Delphic *thearodokoi*: *IG* V.2 p. xxxvii ll. 124-25. *Asylia* decree for Magnesia: *I. Magnesia* 38. Union with Elis: Polyb. 4.70.4. Federal membership: *NC* 1921, 172. Polybios’ description: 4.70.2-73.1. Stele at border with Thelpoussa: Paus. 8.25.1.

Pheneos is mentioned in the Homeric *Catalogue of ships* (*Il.* 2.605) (see R.H. Simpson & J.F. Lazenby, *The Catalogue of the Ships in Homer’s Iliad* [Oxford 1970] 91). In the early 5th century the city was the location of athletic games (*SEG* 30 1456, 39.1365), and in this century the city made a dedication in Olympia (Paus. 5.27.8). The akropolis was fortified, but the fortification has not been dated (see Hejnic 42). It follows from a passage in Herodotos (6.74) that he considered Pheneos a *polis* early in the 5th century, and that this is correct is proved by the occurrence of the city-ethnic in the early 5th century. From the 5th and 4th centuries we have coinage of the city, and in 392 BC the city produced an Olympic victor. In the Hellenistic period, the city had Delphic and Epidaurian *thearodokoi*, *proxenoi* of Argos, of Epidauros, of Delphi and of the Aitolian Confederacy. It passed an *asylia* decree for Magnesia and was a member of the Achaian Confederacy. Polybios mentions the territory of the city and calls it a *polis*. So as far back as our sources can take us, Pheneos seems to have been a *polis*.

Literature on Pheneos: Callmer 12, Hejnic 42-44, *PECS* 701-02 s.v. Pheneos, F. Bölte, *RE* s.v. Pheneos. Herodotos at 6.74 describes Nonakris as a *polis* πρὸς Φενεῶν, from which Hejnic infers that Herodotos considered Pheneos a *polis* too. 5th century attestation of Pheneatan city-ethnic: *SEG* 39 1365. Coinage: Head *HN*² 418, 452. Olympic victor: Morretti no. 380. Delphic *thearodokoi*: *IG* V.2 p. xxxvii ll. 118-19. Epidaurian *thearodokoi*: *IG* IV² 1 96.48, *SEG* 11 414.7. *Proxenoi*: of Argos, *SEG* 30 356, of Aitolia, *IG* IX² 1 22, of Delphi, *FD* III.1.16, 39, 40, 41, 42, of Epidauros, *IG* IV.1² 1 96.48, 71. *Asylia* decree: *I. Magnesia* 38.63. Federal membership: *IG* IV.1² 1 73.13-14, Head *HN*² 418. Polybios: territory, 4.68.1, *polis*, 2.52.2.

Roy (*supra* no. 40) 44 thinks that the development of the Azanian settlements into urban centres was associated with the break-up of the Azanian tribe.

62 The Eutresians: *Trikolonoi* is the only Eutresian community of any interest in this

connection. It has not been located. It is included in Pausanias' list at 8.27. It was perhaps the main settlement of the Eutresians, since its eponymous hero Trikolonos (8.35.5) was considered the father of both Paroreus, eponymous hero of Paroreia (8.35.6), and of Zoiteus, eponymous hero of Zoiteion (8.35.6), and since it is the only Eutresian city for which any additional detail has been preserved; according to Pausanias 8.27.5, the Trikoloneis resisted the federal decision to found Megalopolis, but were forced to join. At 8.35.5 Pausanias says: πόλις δὲ ἦσαν καὶ οἱ Τρικολώνοι ποτε; at 8.18.8 he makes a similar remark about Lousoi for which it is literally true that it was once a *polis*; but even so, we shall have to dismiss this evidence since it has been shown by L. Rubinstein that such remarks are intrinsically unreliable (see L. Rubinstein, "Pausanias as a Source for the Classical *Poleis*", in Hansen & Raaflaub (*supra* n. 44) 211-219). Thus the conclusion should be that it is impossible to say anything about the status of Trikolonoii.

The Eutresians disappeared with the synoecism of Megalopolis, see Dušanić (*supra* 36) 324.

63 See the discussion of Eutaia *supra*.

64 Herodotos 6.127.

65 *Lykosoura* was by common consent the most important town of the Parrhasians. Part of the city-wall has been preserved and dates to the classical period, perhaps to the 5th century (*PECS* s.v. *Lykosoura* and *RE* s.v. *Lykosoura*). The temple of Despoina probably belongs to the late 4th-early 3rd century (see Jost [*supra* n. 50] 175); The only literary source for the city is Pausanias!

The Parrhasian tribal state disappears after the synoecism of Megalopolis, see Dušanić (*supra* 36) 326.

66 See Moggi (*supra* n. 23) 76-77.

67 Kortynian dedication at Delphi: see *SEG* 11 1168. The quotation is from Roy (*supra* n. 40) 49. Kortynian membership of the Achaian Confederacy: see Head *HN*² 418.

68 See Polyb. 4.77.10 and Livy 28.8.6, 32.5.4-5.

69 Literature on Alipheira: Callmer (*supra* n. 36) 17, Hejnic (*supra* n. 40) 12-13. Athena statue to be dated to the 5th century: Jost (*supra* n. 50) 78-79. Date of Athena temple on akropolis: Jost 80. Date of temple of Asklepios: Jost 81. Date of walls: R.L. Scranton, *Greek Walls* (Cambridge, Mass. 1941) 81-82. Ex-votos from the 6th century: Jost 80. Polyb.: 4.77.10-78. Defined territory: *IPArk* (*supra* n. 5) no. 25. International arbitration: *IvO* 48. Federal membership: Head *HN*² 418. Delphic *thearodokos*: *IG* V.2 p. xxxvii l. 28.

70 For the *megalai poleis* of Arkadia, see e.g. Ps.-Skylax 44. These *poleis* are met with very often in Xenophon's *Hellenika*: *Heraia*: 3.2.30, 3.3.1, 6.5.11, 6.5.22; *Kleitōr*: 5.4.36-37; *Stymphalos*: 7.3.1; *Orchomenos*: 4.5.18, 5.1.29, 6.5.15; *Mantineia*: 5.2.1-7, 6.5.4-5; *Tegea*: 3.5.7, 5.1.3 et passim; *Megalopolis*: 7.5.5; and in Polybios (see vol. V *Indices* under the individual cities). Arkadia not politically united before 370: see J.O.A. Larsen, *Greek Federal States* (Oxford 1968) 180-195, and Dušanić (*supra* 36) 281-290.

Individual policies of the big *poleis*: *Heraia* concluded an alliance with Elis on its own in the late 6th century (*Syll.*³ 9), *Tegea* fought it out with Sparta on its own in the 6th century (Hdt. 1.65-68), and *Mantineia* joined Argos on its own in 421. A number of Arkadian cities had their own mint in the 5th century, see Head *HN*² 444-456.

71 Thuc. 4.132; Xen. *Hell.* 5.4.36, 6.5.11.

72 Persian Wars: Troops from Tegea, Mantineia and Orchomenos fought at Thermopylai, Hdt. 7.202. Arkadian alliance fighting Sparta: Hdt. 9.35.2.

73 Orchomenos: see Pausanias 8.27.4, Kleitōr: see H. von Gaertringen, *IG* V.2 p. 85 ll. 94-p. 86 l. 10; Jost (*supra* n. 40) 148-49.

74 Thuc. 5.29-81.

75 See e.g. Rhodes (*supra* n. 54 *Demes*); Rhodes does not discuss the Arkadian tribal states.

My suggestion that the Mainalian tribal state was formed from pre-existing *poleis* provoked a good deal of criticism at the symposium, both from my respondent and from others. J. Roy will publish his reponse as “*Polis and Tribe in Classical Arkadia*” (in *Papers from The Copenhagen Polis Centre 3*). I have to admit that my remark about the possible origin of tribalism (fear of big *poleis* such as Mantinea) can be nothing but a suggestion. In fact, the threats posed by the big *poleis* could rather be seen as the reason for the long lives of the tribal states, and not for their origin. So I am not strongly opposed to the idea that the *poleis* of e.g. Mainalia arose *within* the tribal structure. But as my respondent himself pointed out, the very name *Tripolis* (of an insignificant Arkadian grouping presumably synoecized into Megalopolis) suggests a small union of preexisting *poleis* (unless the name refers to a remarkable feature of the landscape). Unfortunately, we cannot date the foundation of the Tripolis. But, let me draw attention to some archaeological evidence which suggests the existence of nucleated settlements in the tribal areas in the late 6th century. In the summer of 1995 a Swedish expedition began new investigations at the site of *Asea*. According to Jeanette Forsén, this expedition has found numerous traces of an archaic settlement on the site of the Hellenistic city. Furthermore, there were a number of temples at *Pallantion* in the 6th century. At *Alipheira*, the temple of Athena was constructed around 500; the walls are from the 5th century. Finally, I would like to draw attention to what I consider an extremely important source: Pausanias (5.23.7) quotes verbatim the inscription on a dedication set up in the late 6th century by the city of Kleitor. The inscription states that Kleitor took spoils πολλὰν ἐκ πολλῶν. As my respondent has himself suggested in an article (see J. Roy, “An Arcadian League in the Earlier Fifth Century?”, *Phoenix* 26.4 [1972] 339) these “many cities” are best explained as small Arkadian *poleis* near Kleitor. If so, there existed in the north of Arkadia a number of small *poleis* in the 6th century. And so there may well have existed small *poleis* elsewhere in Arkadia, in Mainalia for instance. And thus it is not completely impossible that tribal states were formed from *poleis*. But, as I have already stated, it can only be a suggestion; it is not critical, and the point I want to stress is that tribalism does not exclude *polis*-structure.

Achaian *Poleis* and Achaian Colonisation¹

CATHERINE MORGAN and JONATHAN HALL
(Respondent: MOGENS HERMAN HANSEN)

I

It is perhaps not entirely paradoxical that those regions of Greece which modern scholarship has traditionally designated as *ethnos* states (in contradistinction to *poleis*) may prove to have the greatest potential in illuminating the origins, nature and development of the *polis* by eroding and subverting many current orthodoxies. Achaia is one such region, and this paper will use documentary and archaeological evidence to explore some of the issues which are of central concern to the Copenhagen Polis Centre: namely, the relationship between region and *polis*, the connection between city and state, and the emergence of the *polis vis à vis* colonial foundations.²

The enterprise will also reveal, however, the inevitable limitations of the evidence. Achaia is certainly not unique in the fact that documentary sources tend to be late, but contemporary literary evidence is particularly scarce when compared with many other regions of the Peloponnese. Herodotos (1.145) is more interested in Achaia as the traditional point of departure for the Ionian settlers of Asia Minor than he is in the Achaian political landscape of the fifth century – a silence dictated, no doubt, by the fact that Achaia contributed nothing to the defence of Greece during the Persian Wars. Achaia and the Achaians appear more frequently in the works of Thucydides and Xenophon, but only incidentally and usually in terms of their occasional interaction with more important protagonists such as the Athenians, Spartans or Thebans.³ Detailed information on the settlements and internal divisions of Achaia is generally limited to the later accounts of Strabo and Pausanias.

An especially privileged source for the political history of the region is represented by Polybios. Son of the eminent Achaian *strategos* Lykortas and *hipparkhos* of the Achaian League in 170/169 B.C., Polybios was ideally qualified to write about the institutions and policies of the League after its refoundation in 280 B.C.⁴ His value for earlier periods of Achaian history is, however, more questionable. Larsen assumed that the refounded Achaian League of the Hellenistic period perpetuated the

structures and functions of its predecessor (whose origins he dated to the eighth century),⁵ and this is almost certainly the impression that Polybios intended to give. On the other hand, the cohesion of the League was founded on the putative notion of ethnic homogeneity,⁶ which inevitably requires the invention – or, at least, reordering – of a historical pedigree that might serve to justify the present.⁷ Given that much of the received opinion about earlier Achaian political history is based on the retrospective information of Polybios, it is necessary to subject this testimony to particularly careful scrutiny.

Epigraphic evidence is similarly scarce.⁸ Only a handful of Archaic inscriptions are known,⁹ and those from the Classical period are hardly more plentiful; in fact, it is not until Hellenistic and especially Roman times that inscriptions are attested in any quantity. It is partly for this reason that approximately half of all known inscriptions come from Patrai – a city which acquired its greatest prominence after its refoundation as a Roman colony under Augustus.¹⁰ Interestingly, there is also a typological distinction among Classical inscriptions between western Achaia where inscribed gravestones are more common, and eastern Achaia where dedicatory inscriptions and decrees are more in evidence. This may be a factor of the nature of archaeological investigation in the two areas, but it may also reflect genuinely different approaches to the marking of identity and property.¹¹

Archaeological evidence, while growing rapidly in quality and quantity, also carries with it certain difficulties. A programme of extensive and intensive surface survey has been conducted since 1986 by the Ephoreia of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities in Patras and the Centre for Greek and Roman Antiquity of the Greek National Research Foundation, under the direction of M. Petropoulos, M. Lakakis and A. Rizakis. To date this has covered the Dyme area and the *chora* of Patras, and is scheduled to continue. Survey data allow closer examination of the spatial ordering of regional settlement and its diachronic evolution, and also give a degree of probability for negative inference, but they do not offer close chronological control or, in this area, detailed architectural evidence. Elsewhere, the north coast has seen systematic excavation by the Austrian Institute in Athens of the acropolis area at Aigeira (although the lower city and port remain largely unresearched), as well as rescue work associated with the development of two national roads and the Athens-Patras railway.

In the major urban centres of Achaia, Aigion and Patras, excavation has been driven by rescue. This brings its own biases, not least through

the random nature of sampling – many large nineteenth- and early twentieth-century warehouses and private houses in Aigion still cover significant areas, promoting an excavation bias towards areas subject to modern development. In Patras, rescue work has revealed extensive remains of the Hellenistic-Roman city, and the consequent focus on this period is a reflection partly of its historical importance and the opportunity offered by very extensive traces to reconstruct it, and partly of the destructive effects of its foundation on earlier levels (which otherwise lie deeply buried). Nonetheless, rescue excavation in the last few years has begun to uncover Archaic traces, and it is clear that significant areas of the early city lie under modern building; much therefore needs to be explored before either negative or positive conclusions can be drawn.

Elsewhere, discoveries are a matter of chance, relying on exposure through agricultural or building activity (such as the construction of the Athens-Patras railway and national road), or the research interests of archaeologists. Thus, for example, two significant periods of research in the Pharai valley during the late 1920s and the mid 1950s centred on the interests of Ephors Kyparissis and Zapheiropoulos. In the north coast and Pharai valley areas, negative arguments should therefore be treated with caution, since our evidence is certainly only the tip of the iceberg. Conversely, it should be noted that a high proportion of known sites in these areas have been excavated to some extent, producing a clearer picture than in the west of the nature of artefacts, burial customs, and architecture.

II

Achaia is not self-evidently a natural unity. Geographically and culturally, four sub-regions can be recognised: first, the north coast from Aigeira to Neos Erineos (Pellene, further to the east, appears to be distinct both in its topography and its role in history). Secondly, the *chora* of Patrai, which in Classical times extended from Drepanon perhaps as far as Tsoukaleika (although the exact boundary of the *chora* of Olenos is hard to define), and consisted of a broader area of plain with fewer natural divisions; thirdly, the area of Dyme (Kato Achaia) west of the Peiros; and finally, the Pharai valley, an increasingly narrow inland valley punctuated by small, well-watered plains.¹² These divisions rest upon a range of cross-cutting criteria, from topography to site groupings and the spread of particular types of artefact, and although not rigid, they do serve to

highlight the considerable degree of variation in the nature of the archaeological record within Achaia, and in the pace and pattern of local development.

According to literary sources, Achaia was divided into twelve regions. Herodotos (1.145) names these as Pellene, Aigeira, Aigai, Boura, Helike, Aigion, Rhypes, Patrees (Patrai), Pharees (Pharai), Olenos, Dyme and Tritaiees (Tritaia). Strabo (8.7.4) is almost certainly making use of Herodotos, since he gives the same names in the same order. Skylax (42) also follows the same order, but omits Boura, Helike, Pharai, Olenos and Tritaia (the absence of the inland settlements of Pharai and Tritaia is perfectly explicable in an account which is a *periplous*). Polybios (2.41) omits Aigai, Rhypes, Helike and Olenos, but adds the names of Keryneia and Leontion. Pausanias' list is largely in agreement with that of Herodotos, though he too adds the name of Keryneia and, interestingly enough, omits that of Patrai (perhaps because by his day it had been refounded as a Roman colony).¹³

It is not difficult to explain these slight discrepancies. Helike had been engulfed by a tidal wave occasioned by an earthquake in 373 B.C.¹⁴ Boura had also been affected, but was swiftly resettled by survivors who had escaped the cataclysm by being away on military service.¹⁵ The absence of Boura in Skylax's list may therefore indicate a composition date immediately after this earthquake – i.e. ca. 370 B.C. Olenos had been abandoned due to weakness (ὕπὸ ἀσθενείας)¹⁶ and its inhabitants incorporated within Dyme.¹⁷ The exact date of this is uncertain: Pausanias cites the third-century elegiac poet Hermesianax of Kolophon to demonstrate that Olenos had been a small *polis*, though without informing us as to whether or not Olenos still existed in Hermesianax's day. Nevertheless, the absence of Olenos in Skylax's list may suggest that it had been absorbed within Dyme by ca. 370 B.C. Strabo adds that Aigai was incorporated within Aigeira through a process of *synoikismos*, though the citizens of Aigeira took the name of Aigaioi.¹⁸ By Strabo's day, Rhypes was also uninhabited, and its *chora* had been distributed between Aigion and (perhaps a little surprisingly, given its location) Pharai: according to Pausanias, it had been razed to the ground by Augustus and its inhabitants settled at Patrai.¹⁹ Leontion and Keryneia may have originally been hill sites ("fortresses" in Anderson's words).²⁰ Pausanias implies that the latter, situated between Helike and Boura, was already in existence when it took in refugees from Mykenai shortly after 468 B.C., but that it was this increase in population which guaranteed Keryneia's future importance.

What is problematic is the terminology adopted to describe these internal divisions of Achaia. For Herodotos, the Ionians of Asia Minor had originated from the northern Peloponnesian region of Achaia; the reason why they were organised into twelve *poleis* and were reluctant to admit any new members was because they had been divided into twelve *mere* when they had occupied Achaia: ὅτι καὶ ὅτε ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ οἴκεον δωδέκα ἦν αὐτῶν μέρη, κατὰ περ νῦν Ἀχαιῶν τῶν ἐξελασάντων Ἴωνας δωδέκα ἐστι μέρη. After enumerating the names of these twelve *mere* (see above), Herodotos repeats his point: ταῦτα δωδέκα μέρη νῦν Ἀχαιῶν ἐστι καὶ τότε γε Ἰώνων ἦν (1.145-146.1). At first sight, Herodotos appears to be establishing a direct contrast between Ionia, divided into twelve *poleis*, and Achaia, divided into twelve *mere*, and this has led Michel Sakellariou to hypothesise that the emergence of *poleis* in Achaia must postdate the time of Herodotos.²¹ Yet if this really was Herodotos' intention, it was misunderstood by later writers. Pausanias (7.6.1) says that the Achaians established *poleis* upon their arrival in Achaia: τὴν τε γῆν οἱ Ἀχαιοὶ τὴν Ἰώνων διελάγχανον καὶ ἐσακίζοντο ἐς τὰς πόλεις. Strabo (8.7.4) presents a similar picture when he contrasts the village settlements of the Ionians with the *poleis* founded by the Achaians (οἱ μὲν οὖν Ἴωνες κομηδὸν ὄκουν, οἱ δ' Ἀχαιοὶ πόλεις ἔκτισαν), although in an earlier chapter he describes Achaia as already being settled in *poleis* at the time of the Ionian "occupation" (εἰς δώδεκα πόλεις μερισθέντες).²² These apparent discrepancies provide a salutary reminder that we should not always expect terminological precision within the work of one author, let alone between authors.

Nevertheless, we should also be careful not to adopt too literal an interpretation of the Herodotean passage. Herodotos' purpose is not to shed light on the political geography of Achaia in historical times but to provide an *aition* as to why the Ionians restricted membership of the Panionion to twelve cities. The *mere* of Achaia are introduced into the passage in the context of the protohistoric period prior to the Return of the Herakleidai (whose arrival in Argos and Sparta supposedly forced the Achaians to migrate to the north Peloponnese).²³ If Herodotos subscribes to a view of Achaia at this time as relatively unurbanised, he is almost certainly reflecting a commonly-held opinion: Homer mentions only Hyperesia (Aigeira), Gonoessa (Donoussa?), Pellene, Aigion, Aigai and Helike, and to none of these does he attach a term such as *polis* or *ptoliethron*.²⁴ *Polis*, then, would have been an unsuitable term to ascribe to this period and so Herodotos uses the term *meros* which, togeth-

er with its cognate (*meris*), continued to be employed in Achaia as a synonym for *chora* even after the appearance of urban centres.²⁵ But having introduced this term, Herodotos is obliged to retain it to describe the organisation of Achaia in his own day, since his argument would have been weakened had he written “when [the Ionians] used to live in the Peloponnese they had twelve *mere*, just as the Achaians today, after having expelled the Ionians, have twelve *poleis*.” In short, the dictates of Herodotos’ argument, together with the fact that *meros* could be used to describe a *chora* with or without an urban centre, makes it difficult to maintain that *poleis* cannot have existed by Herodotos’ day.

Poleis are certainly attested in Achaia by the fourth century B.C. During the Theban invasion of Lakonia in the winter of 370/369 B.C., the Spartans received aid from Φλειάσιοί τε καὶ Κορίνθιοι καὶ Ἐπιδαύριοι καὶ Πελλήνηες καὶ ἄλλαι δέ τινες τῶν πόλεων,²⁶ which should suggest that Pellene at least was regarded as a *polis* by this time. Indeed, Cicero says that Dikaiarchos, a pupil of Aristotle, wrote a Πελληνέων Πολιτεία,²⁷ and an inscription dated to 344/3 B.C. refers to *presbeis* from Pellene being entertained in the *prytaneion* at Athens.²⁸ More explicit evidence is available for 367 B.C. when the Thebans decided to send *harmostai* to the cities of Achaia (εἰς τὰς Ἀχαΐδας πόλεις).²⁹ Similarly, Skylax (42) – in a document thought to date to ca. 370 B.C. (see above) – explicitly refers to the settlements of Achaia as *poleis*. In order to trace the earlier development of Achaian *poleis*, it is necessary to embark upon a detailed examination of the literary and archaeological evidence for each site, by sub-region.

i. The north coast

The early significance of the sites along the north coast of Achaia is emphasised not only by their association with the ancestral kings of the Achaians but also by the role they are supposed to have played in the establishment of colonies in South Italy (see below). The sites of Aigeira and Aigion both have early origins and, exceptionally in the wider context of Achaia, both seem to have developed shrines during the eighth century (albeit somewhat different in nature).

The most easterly site of Achaia is *Pellene*, which always seems to have acted independently from other Achaian communities. For instance, the people of Pellene were the only Achaians to ally themselves with the Spartans at the onset of the Peloponnesian War in 431 B.C. (al-

though the rest of the Achaians may have followed suit two years later).³⁰ Pellene seems to have been regarded as a *polis* at this period (or at least sufficiently similar not to have merited differentiation), since Thucydides describes how the Spartans put the vote for war to all the allied cities, big and small (καὶ μείζονι καὶ ἐλάσσονι πόλει).³¹ Similarly, Thucydides (8.3.2) describes how, in 411 B.C., the Spartans gave orders to the *poleis* (ταῖς πόλεσιν) to build and provide ships. Among those who responded to the call was Pellene, and this may again be taken as implicit evidence of Pellene's *polis* status. This status can probably be retrojected somewhat, since Pausanias (7.17.13; cf. 7.17.6) attaches the city-ethnic Πελλήνην to an athlete named Sostratos who won the boys' foot-race shortly after the eightieth Olympiad of 460–457 B.C. It has even been suggested that Pellene was already a *polis* in the late seventh or sixth century when she is supposed to have waged a protracted war against Sikyon,³² though this is not in our opinion a sufficiently concrete criterion for *polis* status.

According to Strabo (8.7.5), each of the twelve *mere* of Achaia was formed from seven or eight *demoi*: ἐκάστη δὲ τῶν δώδεκα μερίδων ἐκ δήμων συνειστήκει ἑπτὰ καὶ ὀκτώ. It is not impossible that these *demoi* were invented during the Hellenistic period to bestow a deeper historical pedigree upon the members of the Achaian League, though it is equally likely that *demoi* had existed during the Archaic period at least. Unfortunately, there is no epigraphic evidence for the existence of *demoi* in Achaia at any period – indeed, the only testimony for civic subdivisions comes in a third-century law which regulates citizenship at Dyme and names three *phylai* (Stratis [or Spatis], Dymaia and Thesmiaia). Nicholas Jones believes that since *demoi* are absent in this inscription, “they presumably played no role in the public administration”. He does, however, suggest that the *phylai* (which in Dyme, at any rate, seem to have had a geographical significance) were modelled on a pre-existing *demoi* system.³³ The archaeological evidence would appear to suggest that the *physical* existence of the *demoi* continued long after the Archaic period, even if their political identity was lost after synoecism.

In the region of Pellene, Pausanias refers to the localities of Mysaion (7.27.9), Kyros (7.27.11) and Poseidion (7.27.8). Poseidion is explicitly described as having been a *demos* in earlier times, although it is not at all certain that Mysaion and Kyros – the locations of the sanctuaries of Demeter Mysaia and Asklepios respectively – were true *demoi*.³⁴ We do not know whether the harbour, known as Aristonautai, was a *demos* of Pellene or whether it retained a certain independence.³⁵ In describing the

war between Elis and Arkadia in 365 B.C., Xenophon reports how the Arkadians seized a settlement belonging to Pellene named Olouros which should probably be regarded as a *demos*.³⁶ Finally, Strabo refers to a village (κώμη) of Pellene lying between Aigion and Pellene where the well-known games were held.³⁷ It is the proximity of these homonymous settlements which may indicate that the city of Pellene represents a later urban centre resulting from a synoecism and taking its name from the older village where the games were held.³⁸ There has been only limited excavation in the area, producing mainly Hellenistic finds from tombs, but also a little Classical material.³⁹

According to Pausanias, the *polis* of *Aigeira* had originally been called Hyperesia.⁴⁰ The upper city (ἄνω πόλιν), which he situates two and a half kilometres from the coast, should be associated with the plateau, some 750m² in area, which has been excavated since 1972 by the Austrian Archaeological Institute under Wilhelm Alzinger and Anton Bammer successively. This is one of the very few Achaian sites to have been systematically investigated, but unfortunately, even though it has not suffered from overbuilding in the same way as Aigion, it has been severely damaged by erosion.⁴¹ In building phases I and II, Mycenaean house structures plus a pottery kiln have been traced from ca. 1200, LHIIIC; a small number of artefacts date earlier in LHIIIB, but there is no evidence of any other contemporary activity.⁴²

The Early Iron Age phase III (tenth to eighth centuries) lies over the final Mycenaean destruction level. Perhaps the most striking innovation of this period is the so-called Temple A, identified somewhat controversially as the first of a series of cult buildings on the plateau. As the earliest candidate for a public building yet discovered in Achaia, this is worthy of detailed discussion. Only sections of the north, east and west walls are preserved, but a rectangular structure with antae has been restored on the basis of comparison with architectural models from other sites, notably the Argive Heraion. Both the orientation of the building (east-west), and the construction of the walls, 0.45-0.55m thick and built of small field stones bound with earth, are different from Mycenaean structures; there is no evidence for the form of the roof. Largely due to severe erosion, material of all periods is scarce and there is no clear votive deposit. Of the Geometric finds represented, bronze items including spits and sheet fragments occur in settlements and shrines, but a large tripod found west of the acropolis is more revealing of cult (if not unparalleled in settlement). Alzinger proposed a ninth-century date for this on the basis of parallels with the Olympia massif style; this largely finishes

ca. 800 at Olympia, but there are occasional later Middle Geometric examples, and so an eighth-century date is also possible. In short, we have just enough evidence to identify cult activity by the eighth century, but not to examine the interests represented among the participating community nor, perhaps more significantly for the present discussion, to trace their geographical origins. Identification of the cult rests on inference from later sources: Alzinger associated the succeeding Temple B with Artemis and Iphigeneia, on the basis of Pausanias' statement (7.26.5) that Artemis' was the oldest cult here (although he also mentions a *xoanon* of Apollo). It is possible that this also applies to Temple A, if indeed it is a cult building, but there is no independent supporting evidence.⁴³

The tripod would seem to indicate that cult was being practised at least by the early eighth century. There are, however, earlier vessels among the 30 or so Early Iron Age sherds found in slopewash which probably originated on the acropolis. These include LHIIC/SM and dark ground Proto-geometric, followed by eighth-century local wares including Corinthianising, and Corinthian Middle-Late Geometric and Lakonian imports. Little is published, but it is unlikely that these sherds form a continuous sequence. Notable, however, is the presence of imports from Corinth (part of a pattern along the north coast, which from this point seems to have formed links with expanding cross-Gulf traffic), and then with Lakonia (implying links up through Arkadia). Despite its location in the east of the region, diagonally opposite Delphi, Aigeira did not receive imports earlier than other coastal sites, but instead forms part of a clear local pattern. The bias towards open shapes among these sherds best fits a settlement or shrine; indeed, no burials have yet been discovered. Material pre-dating the earliest indication of cult in Temple A probably relates to other post-Mycenaean (phase III) house structures in the north-west corner of the plateau. These are poorly preserved, but their wall construction is similar to that of Temple A. It is unclear how these relate chronologically to Temple A; phase III is a long one, and there are no controls to place structures more closely within it. The context and the social role of the "Temple" are therefore hard to assess. By ca. 650 and the construction of Temple B (see below), it is clear that the acropolis had become primarily a cult area, but this is merely a *terminus ante quem*. At present, it seems most likely that Temple A existed within a settlement (or perhaps, in view of the small area of the plateau and the extent of excavation, a complex of some sort), which was possibly, although not probably, continuous from

the Bronze Age. There is, however, insufficient evidence to assess Alexander Mazarakis Ainian's suggestion that it was a ruler's dwelling housing cult activity.⁴⁴

The Archaic building Phase IV on the acropolis has produced evidence for the aggrandisement of the temple itself, but there are as yet no signs of other structures: by this period at least, the area seems to have become primarily, if not exclusively, a sacred precinct.⁴⁵ The significance of this change is a matter of some interest, especially if it implies a greater separation of public and private activities, but this must remain speculative. Temple B, which replaced Temple A during the second half of the seventh century, was an old-fashioned structure by the standards of other regions, especially the neighbouring Corinthia. It consisted of a 6 x 20m cella on an orthostat foundation, with a Corinthian-style tiled roof (Alzinger identifies the tiles as of Corinthian manufacture), but it had no colonnade; architectural debris was found dumped in a cistern. There is no evidence for a cult statue; the only sculpture of this period yet found is a terracotta kore head of ca. 520-510. Pottery finds on the acropolis continue to include Protocorinthian, Corinthian and Attic black figure imports, but there is otherwise scant evidence with which to assess the development of the sanctuary's local or regional role. Temple B continued in use during the Classical period, and received a new roof early in the fifth century, along perhaps with some form of (now unreconstructable) gable ornament. Finds associated with the structure include a cover tile bearing the inscription AMYΜΩΝΑ, which Alzinger links to Aischylos' satyr play of 463. Among the published pottery from acropolis wash deposits are fifth-century Attic black and red figure, and Classical Corinthian sherds; illustrated material does not postdate ca. 400, and the fourth century may have been a period of marked decline.

According to Pausanias, Hyperesia changed its name to Aigeira during the period of Ionian occupation. Elsewhere, however, he attaches the city ethnic Ὑπερῆσιαιον to a certain Ikaros who won the foot-race at Olympia in 688 B.C.⁴⁶ It is difficult to appeal to evidence as late as this to conclude that Hyperesia was a fully-fledged *polis* in the early seventh century, and it is surely preferable to assume that this particular ethnic was employed because the *polis* of Aigeira had not yet been established. Pausanias also notes (7.26.1) that the dockyard (ἑπίνειον) of Aigeira bore the same name as the city, and it is tempting to suppose that Hyperesia was the original name of the acropolis area, but that *synokismos* resulted in the creation of a new, wider community to which the port of Aigeira gave its name.

One of the *demoi* which had constituted the synoecised Aigeira may well be the *polis* of Phelloe (modern Seliana Aigialeias), some eight kilometres from Aigeira, which Pausanias (7.26.10) describes as having been intermittently occupied. Surface exploration on the west slopes of Evrostina in this area shows that settlement dates from the second half of the eighth century, contemporary with, or slightly earlier than, colonisation (the earliest pottery is imported Corinthian LG).⁴⁷ Limited excavation confirms this picture, and two nearby burials both contained Corinthian imports (including a Thapsos tripod, a pottery form unparalleled in Corinth, but relatively popular further west).⁴⁸ It thus seems that activity in this area followed upon the construction of Temple A on the acropolis at Aigeira, and the presence of imports further links the two sites. These settlement traces continue into the Archaic and Classical periods, with local pithoi, Archaic Corinthian imports and red figure sherds among surface material. There are also stone footings for LG/Archaic pithoi and Archaic pottery from the seventh century onwards, contained in fill around a late Classical structure of indeterminate function in the north part of the site: pottery in fill to the north of this building dates from the seventh to the fourth century.

Aigai may perhaps be identified with modern Akrata (although other candidates exist), but as yet no Early Iron Age material has been found in this area. The earliest evidence, instead, comprises a fragment of an Archaic or early Classical Doric poros column, and part of a contemporary decorated perirrhanterion from a separate location. These would seem to belong to a public, probably cultic building – perhaps the shrine of Poseidon to which Pausanias refers (7.25.12). There is, as yet, no evidence for settlement activity although the area has barely been explored.⁴⁹ Around 500 B.C., there appears a series of silver triobols, conforming to the Aiginetan standard and depicting the protome of a goat, the bearded head of Dionysos and the legend AIF.⁵⁰ Thomas Martin has demonstrated convincingly that the minting of coinage is not a *sine qua non* for *polis* status, since there were many communities in antiquity that were undoubtedly *poleis*, but which employed coinage issues minted in other city-states.⁵¹ Nevertheless, we would be reluctant to discount entirely the symbolic dimension of minting coinage in favour of economic factors. In our opinion, the decision to issue in the early fifth century a series of coins carrying an emblem (the goat protome) which evidently serves as an aetiological commentary on the self-appointed city-ethnic AIF[AION] implies a strong political consciousness.

The site of ancient *Boura* may possibly be associated with scant

traces of material near the village of Kastro. If this identification is correct, the apparent continuity from Classical (and possibly even late Archaic) times through to the Roman period would tend to confirm the literary tradition that the earthquake which destroyed Helike had no permanent effect on Boura.⁵²

Ancient *Helike* has for many decades been the subject of speculation and geophysical exploration along the coastal zone. The nature of the site and its approximate location have long been known: Homer (*Il.* 8.203; 20.404) describes it as εὐϕεῖα, presumably on a high plain; Strabo (8.7.2), citing Herakleides, says that it was 12 stades from the sea, while Pausanias (7.24.3) puts it 40 stades east of Aigion. By implication, it should lie between the ancient courses of the Selinous and Kerynitis rivers. Further topographical indication is provided by Pausanias' reference (7.25.6) to an oracular cave of Herakles Bouraikos some 30 stades east of Helike, now identified south of the village of Eleaion.⁵³ Until 1988, it had been argued (albeit not unanimously) that Helike lay underwater. Exploration off the Achaian coast has not, however, proved fruitful. One recent programme of sonar investigation, instigated in September 1988, covered some 7 km² between the Selinous and Bouraikos rivers, and produced evidence of a harbour mole but little else. The position of this mole implies that the coastline has changed little since antiquity, and it is therefore likely that, as had already been suggested, Helike is to be found inland. It seems that the earthquake of 373 B.C. produced a tidal wave which swamped the city, leaving massive sediment cover inland; study of deposits in the area of the likely acropolis area indicates a 6-12m deep cover, and survey with ground penetrating radar continues.⁵⁴ The discovery at Nea Keryneia (Gardena) of two sets of foundations, almost certainly belonging to small temples, had already led Petropoulos to associate this site with the ancient acropolis of Helike. One set of foundations is Archaic in date, the other is Classical and was probably destroyed in the earthquake of 373 B.C.⁵⁵

Evidence is similarly scarce from the hill of Mamousia near Derveni, which Meyer equated with ancient Keryneia. The small body of evidence from the eighth century is almost certainly just the tip of an iceberg (a single pithos burial is also probably to be dated to the eighth century, within the local PG phase, on the grounds of the 11 local fine vessels and one coarse vessel found within).⁵⁶ A further pithos was found during the opening of a new road to Stamnoulia; it probably falls from the eighth century to the Archaic period, but cannot be more closely dated, and sculptural fragments found here probably come from an Archaic temple.⁵⁷

Aigion is the only other major centre (together with Aigeira) to have been excavated in this part of Achaia. Activity here may extend back continuously to the Neolithic period, although the current lack of Protogeometric evidence may imply a break into the early eighth century. Clearly, rescue excavation in a modern city can only give a partial picture, especially as much material was re-used in antiquity (notably for rebuilding after earthquakes); the following account is a summary of findings to date.⁵⁸ Eighth-century evidence consists largely of burials concentrated on the plateau over the harbour (south-east of the main area of Mycenaean settlement). A considerable number of burials from this period have been reported, with other empty pithoi being probably Geometric or Archaic.⁵⁹ The overall percentage of burials with goods is low, but includes Thapsos pottery, local impressed ware, small amounts of bronze jewellery, and, in one case, two scarabs. Adults were normally inhumed in pithoi and children in cists (as far as we can tell, the normal pattern across the north coast, with pithoi common in other parts of Achaia too), but there is insufficient evidence to consider issues of ranking and social structure. The only instance of architecture of this period yet found comprises traces of a late eighth- or seventh-century apsidal building on the edge of the main area of Bronze Age settlement.⁶⁰ This is an isolated find, and there is no evidence to determine its function or context. Other traces are confined to occasional instances of displaced sherds.⁶¹

Archaic evidence from *Aigion* is strikingly slight, and mainly belongs to the sixth, rather than the seventh century. Although it is most likely that this picture has been distorted by the hazards of preservation and rescue excavation, the immediate post-colonial period is at present a major gap, and is reminiscent of the seventh-century "problem" in other regions (notably Attica). Apart from the apsidal structure (see above) which may well belong early in the period, the only securely datable evidence consists of a large orthogonal potters' kiln, dating ca. 600,⁶² and a collection of sherds in mixed fill. Yet the new appearance of three inscribed circular monument bases found in the area of Panagia Trypitis may imply some degree of communal consciousness.⁶³

Certainly, marked changes are evident at *Aigion* during the Classical period. The city seems to have grown considerably, with Classical building traces found in the western part of the modern town by the ancient main drain (including one fifth- and one fourth-century building, plus a later Roman structure re-using blocks of the second half of the fifth century). There is, however, no surviving evidence to characterise these as public buildings. A further area of Classical activity lies in the east of

the city, and comprises architectural traces plus a pottery deposit with red figure sherds. The main Classical cemetery probably lay in the western area, north-west of the drain. Two disturbed fifth-century slab cists are typical of finds here, and illustrate the change in mortuary practices beginning in Achaia as a whole. Furthermore, occasional burials outside the immediate confines of the city (but much closer than earlier outlying sites) may imply a dependent scatter of small satellite settlements, perhaps single families: two Classical tile-covered graves were found north of the old Athens-Patras road at the 164km mark (one containing a bronze mirror and a red figure lekythos).⁶⁴

There is limited evidence to suggest that certain graves may have been very wealthy: a bronze oinochoe of ca. 450-440, now in Baltimore but found in a tomb in Aigion in 1938, is inscribed on the lip interior $\tau\epsilon\theta[\omicron]\nu \text{ΑΥΓΕΟΣ}$, presumably indicating the existence of a local hero cult (but possibly a cult name of Poseidon). A pair of gold earrings of the same date, also in Baltimore, is said to come from a further grave.⁶⁵ The hydria inscription is the sole indication of Classical cult in the city; there is no other evidence of any form of shrine or any other public building. One possible, but tenuous, reference to a Bouleuterion refers to a later, third-century structure linked to the federal organisation. This need not be surprising: with the (very limited) exception of Athens, the great majority of constructions elsewhere, other than temples and theatral areas (often linked to race tracks), are Hellenistic.⁶⁶ An absence of physical evidence cannot therefore support negative arguments.

Strabo (8.7.5) notes that Aigion originally comprised seven or eight *demoi*, and rural sites which may be related to Aigion begin to appear during the latter part of the eighth century. 3km west of Kato Mavriki (5km south south-west of Aigion), 6 pithos burials and a further cist grave nearby are disturbed, but the mode of burial, *may* imply an Early Iron Age or Archaic date.⁶⁷ A further pithos burial, containing an EPC Thapsos krater, an unusually late example of a Naue III sword, an iron knife and 2 bronze bowls, dates to ca. 700 at the earliest, and is at least as rich as any grave yet found in Aigion.⁶⁸ At present there is no firm evidence for Archaic activity. The status of these remains, and the nature of their relationship to Aigion, is unclear. If they are offshoots of Aigion, it is interesting to speculate on the rationale for their establishment and to note the date of this phenomenon in relation to colonisation.

Perhaps the most significant site in terms of the territorial definition of Aigion is Ano Mazaraki-Rakita, where an open-air shrine was established by ca. 750 in a large valley beside the main road into Arkadia

along the Meganeitas valley.⁶⁹ Votives were contained in a shallow deposit covering some 46m², comprising six strata of dark earth laid directly over the ground. This deposit contained much thoroughly broken pottery (LG in the lowest layer 1, EPC in layer 2), and included both local wares (notably a form of impressed ware which also occurs at Aigion, Lousoi and Delphi),⁷⁰ and both orthodox and Thapsos Corinthian imports. Indeed, Petropoulos notes the strength of ceramic connections with Corinth (EPC conical oinochoai being particularly popular) and Argos – a link which is more likely to reflect traffic north from Arkadia than inland from the Achaian coast, where Argive imports have not yet been found.⁷¹ Thus he highlights this site as an exemplar of the marked divide between Eastern Achaia and the western areas of Patras and Kato Achaia in terms of access to imports. Perhaps the most striking feature of the shrine is a large apsidal temple, a hecatompedon, with an exterior colonnade of wooden columns on stone bases; the foundations of this structure are bedded in a thick and extensive ash layer, presumably from an earlier altar. Excavation of this structure is incomplete, and it is as yet unclear whether its Corinthian tiled roof may date it to the early seventh century, or whether this replaced an earlier thatched roof, or indeed, even whether this is the earliest structure on site.⁷² The building was destroyed by fire and earthquake early in the fourth century (perhaps by the same earthquake that destroyed Helike), but the presence of pottery and coins until the third century A.D. indicates continuing activity; no later temple has yet been discovered.

Although the site of Ano Mazaraki is not yet fully published, it is possible to make some observations about the nature of cult activity from the material evidence: the high percentage of open forms represented among the pottery, combined with burnt debris, suggests drinking and dining. The popularity of conical oinochoai is reminiscent of Corinthian sanctuaries (Perachora, Isthmia and the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore on Acrocorinth) where they are likely to have contained liquid offerings,⁷³ and it is interesting to note that this use may have been adopted in Achaia (especially as the shape is not common in graves). Other early votives include three small granary models of the very end of the eighth or early seventh centuries; although these probably represent agricultural interests, we cannot yet determine whether they imply a farming population in the immediate vicinity (as the case of Perachora shows, architectural models can be offered at quite remote shrines). Notable is the wealth of small finds from the very beginning, including exotica such as an Egyptian faience scarab of the 22nd dynasty (ca. 725 B.C.),

as well as personal items like bone and stone stamps, bronze jewellery, combs and mirrors, glass beads, iron weapons, and bronze double axes and small shields. It is not yet possible to quantify these different categories, but we may note the range of male and female interests represented. The identification of Artemis and Apollo as the joint patron deities is conjectural.

The wealth and diversity of finds at Ano Mazaraki does not suggest a small roadside shrine, but rather a rural sanctuary with strong links to a wealthy centre. It is possible that there was a settlement on the Rakita plain ca. 1km to the south, since walling has been noted around the modern village, but this has yet to be investigated. Although there is no additional evidence to link the shrine to any particular city, ceramic connections with Aigion are very clear. If Aigion did indeed control or maintain a strong interest in the shrine, this would be a unique instance in Achaia of the territorial use of cult highlighted elsewhere as a feature of the eighth century.⁷⁴ Interestingly, no shrine has yet been found in Aigion itself – something which marks a strong contrast with Aigeira.

The shrine at Ano Mazaraki continued into the third century A.D. at least, spanning many changes at Aigion itself, including the incorporation of the city into the Achaian League. In view of the shrine's location, and likely contacts with northern Arkadia, it would be unwise to link its fate totally to the development of Aigion. Nonetheless, when considering the physical changes evident in the Classical city it is worth bearing in mind that the development of the city does not seem to have occurred at the expense of the countryside, and that a relatively constant territorial perception is perhaps unusually evident here.

Colonial tradition implies the existence of an eighth-century settlement at *Rhypes* (see below). The site has long been identified with Trapeza hill, 7 km south-west of Aigion, but although extensive Bronze Age and Hellenistic architectural remains have been reported, only small-scale excavation has taken place, and Geometric and Archaic evidence consists solely of occasional surface finds.⁷⁵ According to Thucydides (7.34.1), Erineos was a coastal settlement within the territory of Rhypes (ἐν τῇ Ῥυπικῆ). There are dispersed finds in all this area; at Neos Erineos, for example, there was continuous settlement from the Protogeometric period onwards. The Gulf of Erineos is probably to be located in Lambiri.⁷⁶ Tombs discovered (and partially destroyed) during the cutting of the Athens-Patras railway begin to appear in the first half of the eighth century and continue, along with scattered finds, through the Archaic and Classical periods.⁷⁷ Surface remains indicate settlement

at Provodos, slightly further west and inland, from the Classical period onwards.⁷⁸ A further settlement within Rhypike was Leuktron, which Strabo (8.7.5) describes as having once been a *demos* of Rhyphes.

Before considering other regions of Achaia, certain general observations may be made about the development of the north coast. In the eighth century, the principal sites are evenly spaced along the edge of the coastal plain or on headlands. In the case of Aigeira, the site is confined by topography, but elsewhere the principal constraint may have been access to the resources of a relatively narrow and fragmented coastal plain, punctuated by the outflow of many mountain streams (which made east-west passage by land very difficult). The location of principal settlements remained remarkably stable over time, but the second half of the eighth century saw both an expansion at main sites and a spread of activity into the hinterland – in certain instances this appears to have been short-lived, although it must be emphasised that this area has not been systematically surveyed. Traits shared between sites in this period include burial practices, but there is also a degree of material differentiation in factors such as the nature of local pottery, and the presence or absence of imports and local copies. Furthermore, the presence of imported pottery in this area is one of the key differences which marks it off from the western regions of Patrai and Dyme.⁷⁹ There is no evidence of secular public buildings. By contrast, our only evidence for eighth-century cult is confined to the north coast, but the nature and likely role of the two sites involved appear wholly different – a further sign of strong local subdivision. Only at Aigion, however, do we have sufficient evidence to reconstruct, however tentatively, a discrete local system in place by ca. 700 and focused more or less formally on the site of Aigion itself.

In the Archaic period, there is a basic continuity of activity at major sites but a major reduction in the quantity of evidence, especially from burials. The addition of two shrines at Akrata and Nea Keryneia brings the regional total to four (noting also the aggrandisement of Temple B at Aigeira, and the hypothetical change in role attendant upon its more isolated place on the acropolis). This may be an indication of a growing tendency to mark local identity with cult, but if so it is limited. There is no evidence for any other form of public building, let alone for physical signs of new institutions or forms of organisation which could imply cross-fertilisation from colonies.

The literary evidence for Pellene and the numismatic evidence from Aigai ought in theory to suggest that the Classical phase should be when

the impact of polis formation shows in the material record. Such a case can be made for Aigion, but it is impossible to determine whether this is typical of the north coast. There remains, however, the problem of defining what we mean by "Classical". This is a long phase, and it can be hard to date precisely battered sherds from mixed fill or surface collections. This is not a minor point: when we come to discuss western areas in an attempt to understand the relationship between archaeological material and the later political history of Achaia, there is a major difference between developments datable to the fifth century and those which belong to the fourth-century transition into Hellenistic.

ii. The area of Patrai

The area which formed the *chora* of Patrai in the Classical period extends along the coastal plain from modern Drepanon to Patras (Patrai) and west as far as Tsoukaleika (equated with ancient Olenos).⁸⁰ Archaeologically, the principal distinction from the north coast is the fact that most data come from extensive and intensive surface survey (noted above), and with few exceptions, excavation has been confined to rescue work within the modern city of Patras.

Although most of Achaia was settled throughout the Bronze Age, this region above all has produced evidence for large cemeteries spanning the Late Helladic period, and it is clear that it was an area of great wealth and dense settlement. Many of these graves continue into LHIIC, but few have produced SM material, and Protogeometric evidence is even rarer.⁸¹ Only in two cases – Thea and Kallithea-Laganida (relatively close together, south of Patrai) – are Protogeometric sherds reported as the latest material on Mycenaean sites.⁸² Clearly, Protogeometric representation in the area is very slight, and with one exception there is nothing approaching the degree of continuity evident at Aigion or Aigeira. The exception is Drepanon where activity was continuous from Protogeometric onwards (Bronze Age remains at present are LHI), and it may be no coincidence that this is the site closest to the north coast zone. This pattern cannot merely reflect a bias towards burials in the Bronze Age record, since survey data should have gone some way towards redressing the balance. A preliminary summary of these data lists 15 Geometric sites (a 37.5% reduction on LH), almost all of which were re-occupied in Late Geometric. The Geometric (i.e. eighth-century) picture is thus in essence a new creation.⁸³

In the succeeding Archaic period, the region appears to show a strikingly low level of activity. The six Archaic sites noted in survey reports

constitute a 60% decrease from Geometric levels; 11 earlier sites – 73.3% of the record – were abandoned, and just 4 continue.⁸⁴ We therefore find a reduction in the level of representation which is comparable to – or rather greater than – that observed in the north coast area, but also a change in site location which implies a greater degree of instability. It may also be significant that where dates are indicated in publications, Archaic material is generally sixth-century, echoing the seventh-century problem noted earlier. The available sample is too small to tell whether the apparent diminution in burial numbers is significant; this is not necessarily a factor of recovery techniques, but may imply a change in practice or cemetery location which has not yet been documented. The loss of Geometric burial sites accounts for the disappearance of the great majority of small rural sites noted during the previous period.

By contrast, the Classical period saw a marked increase in activity, especially towards the end; a comparable increase into the Hellenistic period brought the level of activity almost up to that of the Late Bronze Age. Survey figures show 11 Classical sites (an 183.3% increase), with the abandonment of just one site and continuity at the remaining 5; this rose to 34 during the Hellenistic period (a 309% increase on Classical figures, with continuity at 5 Classical sites).

At *Patrai* itself, reported Geometric evidence from the modern town centre is very slight, comprising a small quantity of material from the area of the Odeion.⁸⁵ It must, however, be noted that the combination of ancient overbuilding (especially following the establishment of the Roman colony) and the constraints of rescue excavation in a modern city present serious difficulties. It is quite possible that significant areas of early activity remain to be uncovered; indeed, the discovery of Archaic pottery in 1993 under Psila Alonia square may indicate that this is one such area.⁸⁶ Late Classical sherds were also found displaced into later layers in this square, and traces of Classical wall appear under a later building on *Odos Korinthou* 18. It is unfortunate that only the ending of a particularly early inscription from *Patras* is preserved on a limestone pillar; this reads $\text{-}\theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$, and according to Jeffery is unlikely to be earlier than the mid fifth century. Again, the evidence is too fragmentary to comment on urban structure, although there is no record of any civic building.⁸⁷ We know enough to speak of some form of continuity, perhaps from Geometric to Classical times, but not as yet to assess the exact nature of the activity represented, or the place of *Patrai* within local settlement. *Patrai* would appear, however, to have been a unified conurbation by 419 B.C., when *Alkibiades* attempted to induce its inhabitants

to extend their walls down to the sea,⁸⁸ but it would be unwise to assume that the site always played the prominent role it was to enjoy in later times.

According to Pausanias (7.18.2-6), Patrai originally consisted of three *poleis*: Aroe, founded by the autochthonous Eumelos; Antheia, founded by Eumelos and Triptolemos; and Mesatis, founded between Aroe and Antheia. After they had expelled the Ionians, the eponymous Patreus is supposed to have forbidden the Achaians to settle in Antheia or Mesatis, and to have thrown a wall around Aroe which he renamed Patrai. Later, after suffering reverses in aiding the Aitolians against the Gauls in 279 B.C., Patrai was subject to a *dioikismos* and its population became more scattered, settling the *polismata* of Mesatis, Antheia, Boline, Argyra and Arba as well as Patrai. Finally, Augustus imposed another synoecism on Patrai, and Strabo's notice (8.3.2) that the city was formed from seven demes almost certainly belongs to this later context.⁸⁹

Ernst Curtius posited two chronologically distinct synoecisms prior to the final Augustan union.⁹⁰ The first saw the fusion of Aroe, Antheia and Mesatis. This explains for some the tripartite significance behind the epithet τρίφυγος, attached to Aroe by a Sibylline Oracle,⁹¹ as well as the early importance accorded to the cult of Artemis Triklaria, located at Meilichos (modern Velvitsianiko).⁹² The second, which he dated to the fifth century B.C., saw the incorporation of Boline, Argyra and Arba. Mauro Moggi suggests that these six *demoi* were never completely abandoned and continued as rural settlements until their repopulation in 279 B.C.⁹³ It is often assumed (though not unproblematically) that the same six demes were among those synoecised by Augustus – the seventh might then be either Panormos, which Thucydides (2.86.1, 4; cf. 2.92.1) situates near Rhion, or even Rhyphes, whose population was according to Pausanias (7.18.7) incorporated (προσσυνώχισε) within the *polis* of Patrai.

Many of these *demoi* have been identified in the archaeological record. Ancient Antheia is probably to be located at Ano Sykaina (Koufomikeli-Melitzani), where Archaic sherds and burials are reported on the site of a Classical villa complex (see below), along with a sixth-century grave on the nearby Anemos hill.⁹⁴ Classical surface finds have been reported in the vicinity at Charadron-Patras.⁹⁵ Ancient Mesatis, on the other hand, is perhaps to be equated with Mygdalia (by the acropolis of Achaia Klauss), where Late Geometric and Classical burials have been reported.⁹⁶ Petropoulos associates modern Drepanon with ancient Boline, where surface remains across part of the modern village and in

fields to the south indicate continuous and probably extensive PG-Roman settlement.⁹⁷ Burials have also been found, of which the most complete are two pairs of pithoi found during construction work in the village.⁹⁸ Pithoi 1 and 2, which form a pair, belong early in the eighth century, at the end of the local Protogeometric phase (dated by pins contained in 1 and a local kantharos in 2).⁹⁹ Pithoi 3 and 4 belong to the last quarter of the eighth century. Pithos 3 is of interest as a warrior grave containing a quantity of bronze and iron items, including a knife, sword and spearhead – such strong external influences on metalwork and pottery have not so far been traced further west.¹⁰⁰ An empty pair of burials was found nearby, while a few late Protogeometric sherds found some distance from pithos 4 could come from disturbed graves, and one further pithos close to the National Road is similar to Pithos 2 in date and contents. A further Geometric pithos south of the Panagia church was noted as part of the existing cemetery, but no grave goods are published, and at Bosinaki a pithos burial cannot be closely dated.¹⁰¹ Incomplete investigation can only give a partial picture, but the area covered by scattered remains – and the chance basis of grave finds – may indicate substantial activity. It is also clear that Drepanon/Boline was not an isolated site in this area (see below).

Geometric vessels are reported at the site of Mavropodia in the area of Kato Kastritsi (which may well be ancient Argyra). Other Geometric graves are as yet unpublished;¹⁰² Classical tile graves without goods have been found nearby at Platani and Papadokosta.¹⁰³ Another deme, Arba, may possibly be identified with the site of Ano Kastritsi (or at least be situated in the immediate area). A badly damaged pithos burial here dates to the late eighth century, and contains an oinochoe (the decoration of which is closer to the local styles of Delphi and Galaxidi than to the rest of Achaia).¹⁰⁴ Modern Golimi in the area of Tekke Ag. Basileiou (opposite Naupaktos) has produced traces of Classical settlement, including remains of pithoi and walls, and should probably be identified with ancient Panormos; tile graves are attested at the nearby settlement of Chatzeika.¹⁰⁵

Survey has also revealed a number of unidentified rural sites within the *chora* of Patrai. Geometric burials are reported at Psathopyrgos (close to the east coast of the Drepanon promontory) and Platani (Dendros) to the south-west.¹⁰⁶ Geometric settlement is indicated in the Gerokomeio area of Patras. Further west, and perhaps in the territory of Olenos, surface material attested at Alissos/Ag. Paraskevi by the Peiros river is securely Archaic and Classical but may also contain a few Geometric

sherds, and at nearby Alissos/Kamenitsa, Geometric sherds are said to come from Mycenaean tombs. Indeed, in his report of surface prospection in the area of Alissos-Therianos (which he interprets as one of the demes of Olenos), Papagiannopoulos notes the surprising extent of Geometric material in the Kamenitsa area and, by contrast, the poverty of Archaic to Hellenistic finds which may indicate a move away from the area.¹⁰⁷

What the survey results show is that groups of sites which can be equated with areas of later importance to synoecised Patras existed as early as the eighth century. The long term significance of this observation is harder to establish, however. The hypothesis of a two-stage synoecism is not so evident, especially since Ano Sykaina (ancient Antheia) does not appear to predate the sixth century. In fact, from an archaeological point of view, it is difficult to recognise any synoecism much before the Classical period, when its effect can be seen in the gradual appearance of large “agroikia” in the *chora* of Patrai at some distance from the city centre.¹⁰⁸ An early example of this is the extensive country house complex at Ano Sykaina, which was constructed in the second half of the fifth century and destroyed by fire and earthquake early in the fourth. This complex contained areas for storage (with pithoi and a mortar), weaving (with many loomweights), cooking and probably also bathing, and it bears favourable comparison with housing at Olynthos. Of particular interest is the re-use of a section of Doric capital, which may have come from the sanctuary of Artemis Triklaria, although a more likely candidate is the temple by Charadron which probably produced the sculptural fragments noted earlier (see n. 92 above).¹⁰⁹ If so, this would imply the abandonment, during the early fourth century, of a temple whose importance may have been paramount, but whose existence may have been very short-lived indeed. Further investigation of this shrine would be of great interest.

To summarise, the evidence from the *chora* of Patras is generally more fragmentary (albeit more controlled in its recovery) than that from the north coast. Nonetheless, certain points of comparison may be noted. First, there is greater instability in site location, with relatively few sites occupied for more than one period. Secondly, although activity in certain later demes of Patras can be traced as early as the eighth century, there is no uniform or simple progression towards the Classical model presented by Strabo, and the Archaic hiatus presents serious problems. Thirdly, there is no clear evidence of cult installations until the Classical period. Fourthly, the shortage of Archaic burials may imply a change in

customs/location. Fifthly, there is a greater preference for local pottery until the Archaic period, when imports travel widely across Achaia as a whole, and there is no strong evidence for regular external links during the eighth century. Finally, there is a lack of evidence for strong expressions of local identity in relation to other sites or groups of sites (and here it is interesting to contrast the pattern of epigraphical evidence in later times).

iii. The Dyme area

The region west of the Peiros around Kato Achaia (ancient Dyme), marks the westernmost extent of activity during our period. This area too has been the subject of recent surface survey, and the resulting data indicate clear contrasts with patterns of development noted further east.¹¹⁰ Here too, the Mycenaean period saw a peak of settlement, but unlike the areas so far discussed, Geometric evidence is slight. Geometric sherds are among those collected from a hill close to Kato Achaia, and at Teichos Dymaion (Kalogria, Araxos G) what has been (optimistically) interpreted as a Geometric altar was constructed in front of the propylon of the main gate. Occasional SM/PG? and also later Geometric sherds have been found, but in small numbers and generally displaced into later, Medieval levels. The nature of the activity represented by these sporadic finds is unclear, although it is important to emphasise that very little of the site has been investigated. If the “altar” genuinely is a ritual structure (and both its date and function are speculative), then some form of cult marking of a remote promontory is possible, but it is important to stress that there is no significant body of votives, nor as yet any evidence of permanent occupation. The site continues into the Archaic period at much the same level, with sporadic finds of seventh-century Protocorinthian, handmade, and black glaze sherds.¹¹¹

By the Classical period, the most important site of the region was Dyme – now identified with Kato Achaia. For Strabo (8.3.2), Dyme had been formed from eight demes, though the only rural deme mentioned by name is the *polichne* of Teuthea (8.3.11). According to Pausanias (7.17.6-7), Dyme was formerly called Paleia, while for Stephanos of Byzantium (s.v. Δύμη) Dyme was the name given to the *chora* of a *polis* originally known as Stratos; in time, both *polis* and *chora* came to be known as Dyme. It is thus normally suspected that Dyme was the name adopted after synoecism – something which is often assumed to have occurred prior to 496 B.C. when Dyme is named as the home of the Olympic victor, Pataikos. On the other hand, it is not entirely impossible

that the name Dyme in this inscription refers to a specific locality rather than the synoecised *polis*, since the name Paleia is still attested as late as 460 B.C. (see below).¹¹²

The archaeological evidence also seems to point to a rather late development at Dyme, although particular problems attend excavation within the modern town. A few sixth-century sherds, displaced into Hellenistic levels in the north-west of the plateau, suggest that there was probably a small settlement at least from Archaic times.¹¹³ Furthermore, a limestone grave stele, bearing the retrograde inscription Δαμοκάδεος τ[όδε σᾶμα] and found near to Kato Achaia, is probably seventh-century in date – thus making it the earliest inscription from Achaia.¹¹⁴ Remains of the fifth and – more plentifully – the fourth-centuries are represented, generally displaced into later contexts, but in smaller quantities than might be hoped. This is largely due to building over earlier remains (notably after earthquakes from Hellenistic times onwards), and the very shallow burial of the ancient city beneath the modern town, with consequent re-use of material. As a result, most remains are second-century B.C. and later. We know enough to infer an expansion in activity in Classical times, but not yet to document it precisely.

Yet evidence from Dyme is hardly outstanding in comparison with that from a string of sites in the surrounding countryside, represented both by graves and sherd scatters, which, with the likely exception of Ano Soudheneika,¹¹⁵ begins in the Archaic period. Associated material is rarely precisely dated within the Archaic period, but where it is, seventh-century material is represented. Comparisons based on partial samples should always be treated with caution, but it may be that the seventh century was less ephemeral here – certainly, the build-up in the level of settlement seems to have been more gradual here than in other areas. Archaic sherds found on the plateau at Lousika may indicate settlement, while a further two Archaic/Classical vases found during the construction of houses in the village are possibly from burials.¹¹⁶ At Ag. Nikolaos-Plakes, an extensive sherd scatter dates principally to the Classical period, but also contains Archaic material probably relating to settlement.¹¹⁷ At Ano Soudheneika (Stroupheika, Ag. Konstantinos), Archaic sherds (including Protocorinthian and Subgeometric) may come from burials, especially as illegal excavation revealed a tumulus in the same field.¹¹⁸ Further indications of burials come from Phlokas (Zisimeika, Platanos) where four late-sixth/early-fifth-century black figure lekythoi were found during road construction in the village in 1949 (tombs were destroyed in these works).¹¹⁹ Evidence of settlement is also

known from Petrochorion (Profitis Ilias), where tiles and stones were accompanied by Archaic sherds (including Protocorinthian),¹²⁰ and at Riolos-Katarchia, where Archaic sherds have been found on the surface.¹²¹ Two further sites may also have seen Archaic activity: at Elaiochorion (Bourdaneika), sherds and tiles from later tile tombs are predominantly Classical and Hellenistic but include some candidates for an earlier date,¹²² while at Santameri, far to the south, there are reports of the foundations of a small “Archaic” temple, with triglyph and metope blocks – the only cult evidence found in this area.¹²³

Classical development has been characterised by Lakakis as the rise of urban centres at the expense of the countryside; although she cites the development of Dyme as an example of this, she notes it as but one instance of a wider phenomenon. There is a clear increase in site numbers (survey reports note 23), but the degree of continuity from the Archaic period appears low, and much Classical evidence is fourth-century rather than fifth. It may therefore be better to think in terms of the Classical roots of a Hellenistic rural revival (Hellenistic being the first time that the Mycenaean settlement level was re-attained in the Dyme area).

Only one site close to Kato Achaia, Maneteika (Keramida), has produced probable Classical pottery mixed with Late Antique in a sherd scatter probably related to habitation.¹²⁴ Otherwise, to the east and south of Dyme, we have widely separated surface traces generally related to settlement (perhaps scattered farmsteads) at the following sites: Ano Achaia (Agia Paraskevi), Limnochorion (Kalamakion, Profitis Ilias), Lakkopetra (Karavostasi Kastro, Ag. Nikolaos), Lakkopetra-Kiaphes, Lakkopetra-Stamatopouleika, Lakkopetra-Tragani, Ag. Nikolaos-Vasilykia, Ag. Nikolaos-Plakes, Ano Soudheneika-Stroupheika, and Phlokas (Zisimeika, Phegoula).¹²⁵ Burial evidence is reported from only two sites. At Kato Mazarakion (Galaneika, Tria Magoulia), two groups of tumuli have been found: the first comprises three small tumuli of which only one is preserved to any extent, but which may be dated by the numerous, mainly Classical, tiles and sherds which surrounded it (the second, further west, had two larger tumuli and is probably Hellenistic).¹²⁶ Further evidence of Classical tumulus burial was discovered during illegal excavation at Ano Soudheneika-Stroupheika (Ag. Konstantinos), close to the settlement traces noted above.¹²⁷ The practice of tumulus burial seems to be a local trait.

Further west, at Teichos Dymaion, pottery displaced into later levels includes Classical as well as earlier sherds, but finds continue to be sporadic.¹²⁸ The site was, however, no longer isolated since surface sherds

at Araxos-Mesa Paralimni (Vardhia) indicate Classical settlement.¹²⁹ To the south, Classical settlement traces at Metochion may relate to surface sherds and burials at Lapas. A group of vases and a bronze mirror found in 1958 in the area of the railway station almost certainly come from a burial in view of their state of preservation – perhaps from a further fifth-century pithos which was destroyed by a bulldozer in 1986 – while a coin hoard found in this area in 1938 is also reported to come from a fifth-century burial.¹³⁰ To the east, near Petrochorion, there are two similar instances of settlement traces: pottery, tiles and what are probably construction stones were found on the hill slope of Profitis Ilias, while Classical and Hellenistic pithoi and cist tombs were recorded at Skaloula (Tzeros).¹³¹ Finally, to the south-west at Katarchia near Riolos, blocks, tiles and sherds have been discovered from a building which is probably Classical in date and may be the Temple of Athena Larisaia mentioned by Pausanias (7.17.5).¹³²

In summary, the Dyme region is exceptional in Achaia both for being internally settled as late as the Archaic period, and for the steady increase in site numbers with no major hiatuses. Only two shrines have been discovered, both in the south and close to the Elean border; there are no other indications of public building. Despite the weight of historical tradition surrounding Dyme, archaeological evidence currently suggests that a dispersed settlement pattern probably lasted until well into the Classical period. It is, of course, impossible to reconstruct the relationship between particular sites, and the existence of local site grouping is likely, but there is nothing in the present record to indicate any early emergence of local or regional centres.

iv. The Pharai Valley

The Pharai valley runs inland from Chalandritsa towards Katarraktis and the northern borders of Arkadia (Arkadian Azanidos, in the area of Kalavryta, within modern Achaia). Literary references to this area are extremely scarce, a fact which almost certainly reflects its remoteness from the scene of major historical events. Yet it is also possible, albeit highly speculative, that the major changes in the structure of the archaeological record at the start of the Archaic period, to be outlined in this section, indicate the early emergence of a political ordering which remained relatively stable through the Archaic and Classical periods. If so, it may have seemed to later commentators that the region had always been as they found it, and thus could contribute little to accounts of the developmental traits (notably synoecism) regarded implicitly or expli-

citly as characteristic of Achaian cities; thus the very different Early Iron Age ordering may have been of little interest if indeed it was known. Whatever the case, archaeology furnishes virtually the only evidence for the area. As elsewhere, this region was intensely settled during the Mycenaean period, with notable town sites excavated at Katarraktis and, most recently, Stavros Chalandritsa.¹³³ Thereafter, the earliest Early Iron Age evidence is a late Protogeometric cist burial from Liopesi (Adriakou), but this need not long predate the mid-late eighth-century material to be considered here.¹³⁴ With the exception of early sherds in a mainly Archaic scatter at Ag. Giorgios,¹³⁵ Geometric evidence comes from dispersed burial sites, the exact date of which is hard to determine in the absence of independent checks, although they are unlikely to extend beyond ca. 690. In the great majority of cases, it is clear from excavation reports that these were discovered by chance and already disturbed, and that other nearby burials were noted but not investigated. Nonetheless, even within this problematic sample there is such considerable variation in the form and content of burials over a small area that it is worth reviewing the evidence in detail.

Burials have been recorded at a number of sites. At Starochori (Koufales Pyrgaki, in the region of Bolioti), a Late Geometric pithos burial is reported as containing a small iron knife, with two vases and more sherds outside. Other tombs have been observed in this area: local information reports the discovery, in 1948, of two pithoi of uncertain date, and in the past few years a further Geometric pithos was observed in an area of prehistoric settlement.¹³⁶ At Platanovrisi (Kamini, in the Metzerna Gorge) a disturbed double cist grave was found with an eighth-century oinochoe in situ (a Geometric ring was also found in this area, while a glass bead – possibly of Geometric date – is reported from nearby Leontion).¹³⁷ At Skoros, two tumuli contained a number of cist burials (one of an unusual apsidal construction), and although the site was disturbed, three oinochoai were restored from sherds scattered nearby. Other similar tumuli were reported but not investigated.¹³⁸

At Troumbe, a disturbed Geometric burial in one of a group of tholos tombs contained 3 vessels (including a local prochous with a lion hunt scene), a bronze pin and a terracotta figurine; a further 7 vessels were restored from sherds probably dispersed from partially destroyed tombs which were investigated briefly. The re-use of the tholos was interpreted by Coldstream as hero cult on the basis of a newly-constructed interior wall which he saw as an altar, but this has not been generally accepted.¹³⁹

Several grave mounds have been noted on the plain of Pharai, outside the village of Lalikosta and east of the Peiros river. Only one of these was opened, revealing cists and pithoi in its upper levels and a possibly Geometric chamber tomb at the bottom.¹⁴⁰ Close to the 28km marker on the Patras road are 3 slab cists, the so-called A, B, Γ Group. Each contained a small number of local vessels together with small bronze objects (including spit fragments). Two similar burials nearby, possibly of Geometric date, were reported but not investigated, while three further tumuli on the opposite hillside appear similar to those near Chalandritsa (Lalikosta).¹⁴¹ At Fteri, a large disturbed pithos contained at least 4 local vessels.¹⁴² Also close to the 28km marker on the Patras road, but on the opposite face of the ravine from Fteri, was a disturbed slab cist surrounded by a peribolos wall, which has produced 4 vessels (including a local oinochoe with bird frieze) as well as skeletal material.¹⁴³ Finally, we should note the chance find of a kantharos at Bourines, probably from a burial.¹⁴⁴

This evidence reveals an eclectic mixture of grave forms (pithoi, a re-used tholos, cists within tumuli etc.), grouping strategies (including tumuli and a peribolos wall), and offerings (although imported pottery is significantly absent). While one cannot assess levels of wealth when graves are so disturbed, the variety of ceramic iconography is striking, and the instances of figure decoration (a lion at Troumbe, fish in grave A of the A, B, Γ Group, and birds at Fteri) are particularly striking and have given rise to considerable debate about their derivation. It has been argued elsewhere that in this area traits such as iconography and burial forms were linked in complex strategies of local differentiation between groups living in close proximity in a confined environment. It is surely no accident that of all the regions considered, the marking of local identities is at its most complex in inland Achaia, and that the sharpest discontinuities in the quantity and form of material evidence occur here also.¹⁴⁵

The contrast between this situation and Archaic evidence is especially striking. The only Archaic burial so far discovered is a re-use of slab-cist B of the A, B, Γ Group, which is dated to the late sixth or early fifth century by Corinthian conventionalising pottery.¹⁴⁶ At Ag. Basileios, Chalandritsa, the discovery of a single Archaic oinochoe in a Mycenaean chamber tomb (part of a cemetery which otherwise went out of use in LHIIIC) may represent re-use, but the only other securely datable Archaic material is contained in the extensive sherd scatter at Ag. Gior-

gios, which includes relief band pithoi among other Archaic wares.¹⁴⁷ Suspected traces of cult (perhaps to Pan) have been detected in the caves of Monastiraki and Pangitsa near Katarraktis: unfortunately, the caves were thoroughly cleared in the Middle Ages, so the precise nature, date of commencement and duration of activity cannot be established (though it is certainly later than the Early Iron Age).¹⁴⁸

Overall, therefore, there seems to be a marked change in the quantity and nature of evidence. Naturally biases exist, not least because of limited investigation. Without goods, burials may be hard to date, and this may create an artificially large fall in post-Geometric site numbers, though in most cases the alternative dates proposed are earlier, rather than later, than the Early Iron Age.¹⁴⁹ It is, however, clear that there was at the very least a major shift in site location (with the location of later sites as yet unknown) and this situation lasts throughout the Classical period. At Ag. Giorgios the sherd scatter includes a few Classical black glaze sherds, but the main area of Classical activity was slightly further west. It is conceivable that activity continued in the Monastiraki and Pangitsa Caves. Otherwise, only one Classical pithos burial, containing three pots, has been discovered at Rachividi, about 1 km outside Katarrakti. This pithos was not covered, and was only protected by a chance rockfall; if it was common practice to leave pithoi exposed in this way, this might help to explain the paucity of burial evidence, but this is speculation.¹⁵⁰

In view of the long duration of this apparent trough in site numbers throughout the Archaic and Classical periods, it is tempting to suggest that the shortage of sites reflects settlement nucleation, although at present the only candidate for a large site during these periods is Ag. Giorgios which remains unexcavated. It is easy to envisage a situation where only a small change in circumstances – perhaps a small population rise – could disrupt the organisation of, and balance between, the mutually self-aware and closely proximate groups inferred during the eighth century, and thus act as a catalyst for very dramatic change in social organisation and thus the structure of the archaeological record. Here it is interesting to compare the much more stable situation on the broader plains of northern Arkadia, immediately to the east around Kalavryta, where a number of small burial sites are found from the eighth century into Classical times (growing increasingly rich through the Archaic period).¹⁵¹ How such change might relate to the establishment of the *mere* of Tritaia and Pharai is a more difficult issue, although if there was a real shift early in the seventh century, then this would be strikingly early in comparison with evidence from other parts of Achaia.¹⁵²

Much more detailed and systematic investigation will be needed to test these hypotheses adequately.

What emerges very clearly from the detailed analysis presented above is the regional diversity in the development of various Achaian settlements. Even allowing for a fragmentary literary and archaeological record, the pace and nature of change in each sub-region appears very variable, inevitably presenting difficulties in imposing any universal or generalising models. Nevertheless, we are unable to find any good evidence which would allow us to date the emergence of Achaian *poleis* much, if at all, before the fifth century B.C.

Particularly relevant to this question is the issue of synoecism, which represents a frequent *topos* within the literary sources and has a clear bearing on the CPC's working assumption that the *polis* is simultaneously a city and a state.¹⁵³ Reinhard Koerner has argued that many of these synoecisms should have already taken place by the end of the sixth century B.C., citing the example of the athlete from Dyme who won an Olympic victory in 496 B.C. (see above). It is not certain whether Strabo wishes to imply a chronological synchronism when he juxtaposes the synoecisms of Dyme, Aigion and Patrai with those of Mantinea, Tegea, Heraia and Elis – the last of which is dated to the period after the Persian Wars –¹⁵⁴ but the archaeological record generally argues against sixth-century synoecisms. It is not until the Classical period that there is a discernible emphasis on urban centres at the expense of rural sites in the Dyme region, while at Patrai this is the period when the establishment of large rural sites at some distance from the urban centre may indicate some abandonment among intervening settlements. In the area of Aigion, the commencement of urbanisation within the city itself was a phenomenon of the fifth century. The process of synoecism is, no doubt, a lengthy one, but there is no evidence that would allow us to place the start of this process before 500 B.C. – the date at which the issue of coinage, probably at Aigai, provides the first clear indication of a self-conscious political identity.

It is often assumed that even if *poleis* were a relatively late phenomenon in Achaia, some sort of overarching political organisation existed from an early period. There is certainly good evidence to indicate that the Achaian League existed prior to its refoundation in 280 B.C., but it is difficult to subscribe to Larsen's view that the legend of Achaian colonial foundations in South Italy allows us to trace Achaian political unity back as far as the eighth century.¹⁵⁵ For what it is worth, the local

traditions recorded by Pausanias (7.6.1-2) speak of a plurality of rulers in the early period (οἱ Ἀχαιοὶ καὶ οἱ βασιλεῖς αὐτῶν). After the death of Teisamenos (the son of Orestes and reputedly the leader of the Achaian migration to the northern Peloponnese) the rule (κράτος) of the Achaians was distributed among the four sons of Teisamenos – Daimenes, Sparton, Tellis and Leontomenes – as well as being extended to their cousin Damasias and the unrelated Preuges and his son, Patreus.

The first explicit reference to a collective *boule* of the Achaians is found in an inscription dating to the late fourth or very early third century, though Hypereides, in describing events of 324 B.C., speaks of a *synlogos* (assembly) of the Achaians.¹⁵⁶ However, the existence of a double *politeia* (i.e. of both an Achaian *polis* and the Achaian League), which was so central to the refounded League, can probably be traced back to the first third of the fourth century B.C., since at some point shortly before 389 B.C., the Achaians enrolled the Aitolian city of Kalydon in the *politeia* of the League: οἱ Ἀχαιοὶ ἔχοντες Καλυδῶνα, ἢ τὸ παλαιὸν Αἰτωλίας ἦν, καὶ πολίτας πεποιημένοι τοὺς Καλυδωνίους, φρουροεῖν ἠναγκάζοντο ἐν αὐτῇ.¹⁵⁷ Xenophon even appears to regard Achaia itself as a *polis* when he describes the allies who rallied to the aid of Sparta immediately after the Battle of Leuktra: καὶ Κορίνθιοι δὲ καὶ Σικυώνιοι καὶ Φλειάσιοι καὶ Ἀχαιοὶ μάλα προθύμως ἠκολούθουν, καὶ ἄλλαι δὲ πόλεις ἐξέπεμπον στρατιώτας (*Hell.* 6.4.18).

The fact that a shipowner named Lykon is described as Ἀχαιός in an Athenian honorific inscription which should predate 413 B.C. may testify to the League's existence at this date,¹⁵⁸ but earlier indications are difficult to substantiate. Patrai seems not to have consulted with other Achaian cities when it responded to Alkibiades' request to extend its walls to the sea,¹⁵⁹ and Pellene appears to have acted independently in joining the Peloponnesian League in 431 B.C.¹⁶⁰ Nor does Thucydides' reference (1.111.3) to Perikles taking Achaians with him on his siege of Akarnanian Oiniadai in the 460s B.C. necessarily imply the existence of the Achaian League: they are simply referred to as Ἀχαιούς without any definite article and could just as easily be Achaian mercenaries. In fact, Thucydides refers far more frequently to the region of Achaia as a geographical pawn in Athenian and Spartan attempts to control the Corinthian Gulf than he does to the Achaians as a collective political entity.¹⁶¹

Polybios writes that the Italian cities of Kroton, Sybaris and Kaulonia met in the middle of the fifth century and decided to adopt the *politeia* of

the Achaians. Since this passage has been so central to many accounts of Achaian political history, it is worth citing in full: οὐ μόνον δὲ κατὰ τούτους τοὺς καιροὺς ἀπεδέξαντο τὴν αἴρεσιν τῶν Ἀχαιῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ μετὰ τινὰς χρόνους ὀλοσχερῶς ὤρμησαν ἐπὶ τὸ μιμηταὶ γενέσθαι τῆς πολιτείας αὐτῶν. παρακαλέσαντες γὰρ σφᾶς καὶ συμφρονήσαντες Κροτωνιάται, Συβαρίται, Καυλωνιάται, πρῶτον μὲν ἀπέδειξαν Διὸς Ἀμαρίου κοινὸν ἱερὸν καὶ τόπον, ἐν ᾧ τὰς τε συνόδους καὶ τὰ διαβούλια συνετέλουν, δευτέρον τοὺς ἔθισμοὺς καὶ νόμους ἐκλαβόντες τοὺς τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἐπεβάλοντο χρῆσθαι καὶ διοικεῖν κατὰ τούτους τὴν πολιτείαν.¹⁶² It has generally been assumed from this notice that by the middle of the fifth century B.C. the Achaians both possessed a *politeia* and held regular *synodoi* in the sanctuary of Zeus. However, in our opinion far too much credence has been given to Polybios' information and there are a number of objections which can be levelled against it.

First, it is important to recognise that Polybios' intention is not to document early Achaian history *per se* but to establish a historical credential which might prove his contention that the Achaian League of his own day enshrined age-old principles of equality and fairness. To emphasise these qualities, it was necessary to retroject them, and it should be noted that elsewhere he attempts to trace the origins of the Achaian League back to the time of Teisamenos.¹⁶³ Secondly, difficulties surround the inclusion of Sybaris, since this city had been destroyed by Kroton ca. 511/510 B.C.¹⁶⁴ Strabo says that some survivors of the destruction did attempt to resettle the city at a later date but were driven out by the Athenians and their allies who then refounded the site as Thourioi in 443 B.C.¹⁶⁵

In any case, it is unlikely that conditions during the attempted resettlement were stable enough for Sybaris to participate in the confederacy described by Polybios, or that her presence would have been tolerated by her enemy. Frank Walbank has recognised the problem and suggested that Polybios is referring to Sybaris on the Traeis, where the exiles from Thourioi are supposed to have fled,¹⁶⁶ but the Achaian pedigree of Sybaris on the Traeis is not so evident, especially in the light of Strabo's assertion that it was a Rhodian colony.¹⁶⁷ Thirdly, we are not entirely convinced that the sanctuary of Zeus Hamarios/Homarios did act as a centre for the Achaian League as early as the fifth century.¹⁶⁸ There is no doubt that the League met in the sanctuary after its refoundation: Strabo describes how the *koinon* of the Achaians met in the Homarion from 280 B.C.;¹⁶⁹ Polybios recounts that a stele was erected here in 217 B.C. re-

ording a mediation by the federal general, Aratos, to re-establish peace in Megalopolis;¹⁷⁰ and an inscription from Arkadian Orchomenos which dates to 234-224 B.C. stipulates that the representatives of the Achaian federation have to invoke Zeus Amarios and Athena Amaria.¹⁷¹ This literary *terminus ante quem* of 280 B.C. can be pushed back to ca. 371 B.C. – the issue date of the earliest federal coinage of the Achaians which depicts the head of Zeus.¹⁷²

The sanctuary of Zeus Homarios belonged to Aigion, but it almost certainly lay outside the city itself.¹⁷³ Interestingly, Pausanias does not mention the Homarion;¹⁷⁴ he mentions that the *synedrion* of the Achaians met at Aigion in his own day but he implies elsewhere that this only came about because of the destruction of Helike.¹⁷⁵ Aymard therefore hypothesised that the sanctuary lay midway between Helike and Aigion and that it was originally part of the *chora* of Helike, but became part of the territory of Aigion after the destruction of Helike and the redistribution of its *chora*.¹⁷⁶ Nevertheless, this is not entirely satisfactory and rather forces the meaning of Pausanias' testimony which does appear to make a clear distinction between an earlier meeting place at Helike and a later place of assembly near Aigion.

In fact, if any location functioned as a place of union for the Achaians in an earlier period it is far more likely to have been the sanctuary of Poseidon Helikonios rather than that of Zeus Homarios. The cult of Poseidon was associated with Helike as early as the Homeric epics,¹⁷⁷ and although it was traditionally treated as the meeting-place of the Ionians of Achaia, it clearly retained its importance through to the destruction of Helike in 373 B.C.¹⁷⁸ Indeed, one might argue that it could not have continued to act as a potent symbol of Ionian ancestral origins in the northern Peloponnese had it not retained its importance throughout the historical period. If this hypothesis proves correct, then we might suppose that the sanctuary of Zeus Homarios only became the federal sanctuary of the Achaians after the destruction of Helike – the fact that federal coinage bearing the head of Zeus appears only two years after this destruction is therefore particularly suggestive. In the absence of archaeological evidence, certainty is impossible but we hope to have shown that there are good reasons for doubting the early existence of the Homarion as a federal centre and for viewing Polybios' testimony as an attempt to construct a historical legitimation for the Achaian League of his own day.

Nor do two earlier events which are sometimes invoked in support of an early Achaian League command much more plausibility. Pausanias (7.25.6) reports that when the Argives destroyed Mykenai in 468 B.C.,

Mykenaian refugees fled to Kleonai, Makedonia and Keryneia in the vicinity of Aigion and Helike. Larsen has argued that this indicates the existence of a federal government which extended free passage to the foreign refugees through the “string of city-states” which lay to the east of Aigion,¹⁷⁹ though this argument would appear to be predicated on a rather anachronistic view of state boundaries and ignores the fact that by tracing descent from the Herakleidai, the Mykenaians could claim ethnic ties with the Achaians.¹⁸⁰ Finally, Anderson has suggested that the independent stance taken by the Achaians during the Persian Wars points to a common policy decision.¹⁸¹ Again, however, this is not an inevitable conclusion, especially since Achaia was barely, if at all, affected by the invasion of Xerxes. Collective participation would have been a good deal more significant than collective non-participation.

In short, there is little solid evidence for the existence of an earlier Achaian League much before the very end of the fifth century. Indeed, if the league postdates the emergence of *poleis* in Achaia, it becomes easier to explain why in the later period there are clear differences between the constitutions of individual Achaian *poleis*.¹⁸² Nevertheless, if the League itself is late, there is some evidence for an earlier, less formal and looser association of Achaian *mere* based on perceived ethnic affinity.

By the fifth century at the very latest, the Achaians were thought to constitute an *ethnos*. Herodotos (8.73.1) describes them as one of the seven *ethne* which inhabit the Peloponnese and adds that they have always been indigenous there even if they had originally occupied another region within the Peloponnese. Thucydides (3.92.5), in describing the foundation of Herakleia Trachinia in 426 B.C., reports that the Spartans made a proclamation to the effect that any Greek could join the new settlement πλὴν Ἰώνων καὶ Ἀχαιοῶν καὶ ἔστιν ὄν ἄλλων ἔθνῶν. In Greek, the word *ethnos* carries a far wider semantic scope than its English derivations,¹⁸³ though it certainly can be applied to ethnic groups – that is, those whose common identity is predicated on kinship (however fictive) and an association with a primordial territory.¹⁸⁴ The centrality of descent to notions of Achaian ethnic affinity is demonstrated by Herodotos’ comment (8.47) that the people of Kroton are Achaian “by birth” (Κροτωνῆται δὲ γένος εἰσὶ Ἀχαιοί). What engendered a sense of a collective identity among the historical Achaians was their belief that they were descended from heroes who, after being expelled by the Dorians from their original homes in Argos and Sparta, had migrated to Achaia where they replaced the former Ionian population.

It has already been noted that there are few material indications for a sharp cultural discontinuity in Achaia, and we prefer to regard Achaian ethnicity as a constructed identity of the Early Iron Age rather than as the hazy memory of genuine migrations.¹⁸⁵ It was important for the collective identity of the Ionians of Asia Minor to situate their origins in mainland Greece; Achaia was an obvious candidate since the Achaians had to regard themselves as newcomers to the region if they were to substantiate their claim to being the descendants of the Homeric Achaians who had ruled in the Argolid and Lakonia. In fact, with the notable exception of the Athenians and the Arkadians, it was generally the rule for Greek populations to regard themselves as immigrants from other regions – such a strategy allowed the Greeks to defer confrontation with the thorny issue of human origins. Nevertheless, the invention of the tradition is revealed by clear traces of other myths of ethnic origin among the Ionians of Asia Minor which situated their *Urheimat* elsewhere in Greece.¹⁸⁶

Territoriality is an important component of *ethnos* states, but as we have seen, Achaia does not form a natural geographical or cultural unity.¹⁸⁷ It is for this reason that we should perhaps follow Pausanias' view that the geographical definition of Achaia was structured around the ethnic definition of its inhabitants and not *vice versa*.¹⁸⁸ The likelihood is that the notion of Achaian territoriality was a gradual and aggregative process, which began in the east of the region. First, it is the northern coastal *mere* of Pellene, Aigeira, Aigai, Helike and Aigion which are first attested in the literary sources,¹⁸⁹ and it is here that the earliest evidence for cult is attested (see above). References to the western and inland regions of Achaia are, by contrast, scarce in the literary record.¹⁹⁰ Secondly, many of our sources state that the earlier name of Achaia was Aigialos/Aigialeia,¹⁹¹ a designation which is more appropriate to the northern coastal area with its settlements of Aigion, Aigai and Aigeira.

The very latest *terminus ante quem* for the association of ethnic Achaians with the north coast of Achaia is the middle of the sixth century, the date at which the Spartans decided to repatriate the bones of the Achaian king, Teisamenos, which were said to have been discovered in the region of Helike.¹⁹² If, on the other hand, Strabo (8.7.5) is right to derive the name of Dyme from the fact that it was the most westerly of the Achaian cities, then this should mark the completion of the territorial construction of Achaia (at least in a westerly direction). Mendone argues that Dyme is attested in the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo*, normally

dated ca. 600 B.C.,¹⁹³ though the fact that it is mentioned as part of a sea-voyage around the Peloponnese *after* Pylos and *before* Elis, Ithaka, Doulichion and Zakynthos may suggest that this is a different Dyme. In fact, the literary and archaeological evidence considered above should suggest a date in the fifth century (and possibly even late in that century) for the synoecism of Dyme and thus for the final stage in the territorial construction of Achaia.

Certainly in the fifth century, Ἀχαιός appears to be used as a regional/ethnic designation rather than as a *politikon sensu stricto*. The clearest indication of this is the bronze statue group, seen by Pausanias (5.25.8-10) at Olympia, which depicted the Achaian heroes casting lots to see who would meet Hektor in single combat: the inscription, cited by Pausanias, reads Τῷ Διὶ τᾶχαιοὶ τὰγάλματα ταῦτ' ἀνέθηκαν ἔγγονοι ἀντιθέου Τανταλίδα Πέλοπος. Jeffery assumed that this was a dedication by the Achaian Federation,¹⁹⁴ but Pausanias (5.25.8) simply describes it as the donation ἐν κοινῷ τοῦ Ἀχαιῶν ἔθνους, and the ethnic signification of τᾶχαιοὶ is emphasised not only by the subject matter of the statue group but by the self-professed derivation of descent from Pelops (via Teisamenos, Orestes and Agamemnon).

A similar usage of *Achaios* appears to be indicated on the base of the statue erected at Olympia in 460 B.C. for the athlete Oibotas. The inscription describes him as an Achaian but his *patris* as Paleia (one of the demes of Dyme): Οἰνία Οἰβώτας στάδιον νικῶν ὄδ' Ἀχαιός | πατρὶς Πάλειαν θῆκ' ὀνομαστοτέραν.¹⁹⁵ On another statue base at Olympia, dated to 480-475 B.C., the sculptor, Athanodoros, is described as Ἀχαιός:¹⁹⁶ that this is not simply a *politikon* may be suggested by the fact that his collaborator, Asopodoros, is described not as Ἀργεῖος but as ὁ δ' ἐξ Ἀργεος εὐρυχόρῳ (probably indicating the Argive Plain rather than the city of Argos itself). It is possible too that the Ἀχαιός attached to the shipowner Lykon in a late fifth-century Athenian inscription (see above)¹⁹⁷ is meant to indicate his *ethnos* rather than act as a *politikon*, especially since it is applied externally.¹⁹⁸ In short, it should be reiterated that there is, at this period, no good evidence that the term "Achaian" carried its later political and juridical definition.

III

The traditional view that the colonising movement of the eighth century B.C. provides evidence for the pre-existence of the *polis* in mainland

Greece¹⁹⁹ seems paradoxical when confronted with the fact that ““Achaia” was not a *polis* yet Achaians founded many important colonies.”²⁰⁰ In fact, the case of Achaia highlights the theoretical problem of the role of colonisation in state formation. If the *polis* need not be a precondition for colonisation, can the reverse be true? Is it the case – as has recently been suggested, notably by Malkin and Hansen – that colonisation and the formation of mother cities were reciprocal, simultaneous and interdependent processes? That is to say, was the act of separation and of sending out distinct groups of people a key factor in motherland consolidation?²⁰¹ To explore this problem, we have to examine not only the form of Achaian colonies and their development (including the existence of material links with the mother region), but also ways in which they may have influenced political development in the motherland, both in terms of the evolution of *poleis* as well as of ethnic identity.

There are a number of questions which immediately arise when considering the motivation behind the Achaian colonisation of the west. First, why did the Achaians need to colonise? Secondly, who was involved in the group as a whole, and from where did they come? Thirdly, who was the oikist, where was he from and when did the oikist tradition arise in each case? Fourthly, why did Achaians colonise in Italy when so much of western Achaia beyond the Peiros river was relatively empty during the eighth century? Finally, how much of our knowledge of Achaian colonisation is based on outsider traditions and perceptions?

As we have argued in the previous section, the archaeological record suggests that population increase seems to have enhanced local variation rather than acting as a catalyst for the evolution of any unifying political or social structures. The rationale for colonisation may therefore vary from area to area. It should, however, be noted that tolerance of demographic change depends as much on social structure and flexibility (or willingness to modify when pressure cannot be accommodated), as it does on subsistence needs. In the absence of institutions designed to aid decision-making, any society which is dependent upon personal ties or kinship is likely to be especially vulnerable to demographic fluctuations.²⁰² In the Pharaï valley, we have described what appears to be a sharp transition from strongly differentiated grave groups within a highly fragmented landscape to what may be one, single large site. If this really is true, it marks the earliest and most dramatic shift in the level of integration in any part of Achaia. Interestingly, this appears to occur at the very end of the eighth century – i.e. immediately after colonisation – and it is tempting to speculate that the departure of part of the population

was a means of alleviating stress, succeeded by integration. Different circumstances prevail along the north coast. If Aigion was in any way typical, then the second half of the eighth century witnessed settlement expansion and a greater concern for territory, something which might well create (and be symptomatic of) strains and tensions. In neither case, however, need we infer any formal definition of the groups to be “expelled”, and there is certainly nothing to compare with the Spartan Partheniai – perhaps a more apt comparison would be with the trend for regions such as Achaia and also Arkadia to view mercenary service as an economic (albeit seasonal) opportunity, still allowing the retention of citizenship. If (as we believe) more than one area of Achaia participated in colonisation, this need not imply any regional unity or organised form of effort, but rather an identical response to shared problems.

It is, however, striking that the Dyme area seems, on present evidence, to have so few signs of settlement during the Early Iron Age. The settlement attested here from the seventh century effectively constitutes internal movement, something which follows, rather than precedes, ventures in the far west. At first sight, this observation seems illogical: if there is so much space close to home, why go abroad? In fact, internal settlement and external colonisation are not mutually exclusive. Athens, where internal settlement seems to have taken place prior to external colonisation, would appear to be a rare case. Corinth, by contrast, was active at an early date in the west, where she had links throughout the eighth century, yet settlement evidence from the Corinthian countryside is very limited. In the case of Sparta, the exodus of the Partheniai to Taras should almost certainly be regarded as a political consequence of the Spartan creation of her conquest state.

It need not, therefore, be surprising that western colonisation preceded internal movement, but it is worth considering how Achaians gained knowledge of the west, especially as west-east links along the Gulfs of Corinth and Patras were only sporadic after the end of the Bronze Age. During the Protogeometric period, much has been made of the similarity between three oinochoai from Derveni, Aetos and Medeon. If all three come from the same source, Ithaka seems the most likely, but it is important to emphasise that they run counter to the regionalism which is so evident until the second half of the eighth century.²⁰³ Evidence for cross-Gulf traffic when it reappears during the second half of the eighth century is very different in nature, and rests on the spread of Corinthian imports into the north coast area. The catalyst here is probably Corinth’s interest in forging links at least as far west as Ithaka and

probably beyond, in view of the presence of Corinthian pottery at Otranto from at least 800 (although this probably involved more complex interactions).²⁰⁴ It is important to stress that at this stage evidence of imports in Achaia is confined to the north coast, and that contacts should be interpreted only in the most general sense, as a means of acquiring knowledge of the west via interacting with those (especially Corinthians) who had already pursued interests in this direction for over half a century. There is no evidence for independent Achaian trading interests, let alone on a scale to match Corinth.²⁰⁵ An alternative source of information would be Delphi, where the first signs of contact (i.e. the presence of impressed ware) also date to the second half of the eighth century.

With these points in mind, we should review briefly evidence for the nature and early development of Achaian colonies, beginning with *Sybaris*, by the mouth of the river Aisaros.²⁰⁶ Its small double harbour by a fortified promontory, close to trade routes, implies maritime interests, though the plain also provided wealthy resources (particularly of grain and wine), and there is access overland to the Tyrrhenian coast. The city, which currently lies ca. 5m below the water table, was founded in 721/720 B.C. according to Pseudo-Skymnos (360), though Eusebios dates it to 709 B.C.²⁰⁷

Archaeologically, the earliest occupation is indicated by Greek pottery in a layer over virgin soil, with no sign of structures. Thapsos ware is particularly well represented among the earliest pottery, and is followed by Corinthian Subgeometric and Rhodian.²⁰⁸ No evidence of Achaian imports has yet been identified, but by this point Corinthian pottery had spread along the Corinthian Gulf, making it impossible to tell exactly who brought what to the west. The situation does not change much through the Archaic period: the highest percentage of pottery is late seventh century onwards, and despite a considerable increase in the volume of material, imports still remain mainly Corinthian and East Greek, together with some Attic black figure. By this period, the greatest proportion of pottery is local (a pottery kiln was established in the Stombi area, see below), though it often shows strong East Greek influence. As Guzzo stresses, early evidence from *Sybaris* reflects general trends in Archaic Aegean/Tyrrhenian commerce, and is echoed widely in *Magna Grecia*.²⁰⁹ The only point of similarity with Achaia is the presence of Corinthian and Archaic Attic imports; everything else, including the East Greek pottery, makes *Sybaris* distinct from the motherland.

Very similar influences are shown in the limited metalwork that is preserved, as well as in the terracottas; here too, numbers reflect the same period of expansion.²¹⁰

Although we cannot say much about the very earliest form of the colony, the situation changes during the second half of the seventh and early sixth centuries, when two principal excavated zones, ca. 1600m apart, provide key evidence for urban development. At Stombi, to the north, a lack of later overbuilding has preserved regularly disposed buildings which are probably private houses; similar, though more fragmentary, structures are found at Parco del Cavallo to the south. Knowledge of architecture is thus confined to houses and, in the case of the better-preserved site of Stombi, dates to the last phase of the city. There are occasional signs of repair, but only one instance where a surviving lower foundation indicates the dismantling of an earlier structure. The houses are built of dry-jointed rectangular blocks of “river stone”, laid on virgin sand. They are tiled, with painted terracotta antefixes of local manufacture (nothing comparable is found in Achaia), and have beaten earth floors with pithoi outside.²¹¹ The plan axis of both areas is dictated by topographical factors, running parallel to the sea and following the alignment of the ancient course of the rivers Krathis and Sybaris.

Urbanisation is therefore an essentially sixth-century phenomenon, although our knowledge of it is partial. We have a general picture of the location of necropoleis and lines of defence as well as residential areas, but we do not yet know the form or position of any public area. Equally, we cannot reconstruct the pace and process by which continuous occupation over such a large area was achieved. Evidence for non-domestic architecture is limited to isolated fragments – a limestone capital from the Stombi area, and fragments of triglyphs together with the quite outstanding find of a continuous frieze in the Parco del Cavallo, which Mertens regards as part of two separate monuments (probably temples).²¹²

In the *chora*, the impact on native settlement is immediate from the time of colonisation (indeed, native sites such as Francavilla were already receiving Greek imports), but the later seventh or early sixth century was a period of particular influence on cults and architecture, reflecting the urbanisation process within the city.²¹³ Peripheral settlements such as Amendolara and Francavilla show similar architecture and layout to the Stombi area, and were abandoned in the late sixth century along with Sybaris. The use of cult in marking territoriality is chiefly a feature of the sixth century. The most spectacular example is the shrine of Athena on Motta hill at Francavilla, which has both Sybarite

and local dedications – e.g. a bronze plaque dedicated to Athena by Kleombrotos son of Dexilaos (a mid-sixth-century Olympic victor). There are two superimposed buildings here. Building III, which is earlier, is rectangular with a pronaos; it is similar to the Greek “megaron” type, but also has roots in local architecture (especially in its column forms). The later Building I, dated to the first decade of the sixth century B.C., takes the form of a Greek temple, but with an elaborate fusion of Doric and Ionic architectural traits, a combination typical of Achaian colonies (cf. Metapontion) but unparalleled in the mother region.²¹⁴ Sixth-century votives are also attested at Cozzo Michelicchio, San Mauro, San Marco-Roggiano and San Sosti,²¹⁵ though unlike the Athena cult, there is insufficient archaeological evidence to identify the deities worshipped at these sites. This use of cult in marking colonial territory is much closer to the model of other colonies than it is to practice within Achaia.²¹⁶

Strabo (6.1.13) describes Sybaris as an Ἀχαιῶν κτίσμα, and this view would appear to have been already accepted by the fifth century B.C., since elsewhere Strabo cites Antiochos of Syracuse, who refers to τῶν ἐν Συβάρει Ἀχαιῶν (6.1.15). Much of the secondary literature names its oikist as Is of Helike,²¹⁷ though our only source for this is Strabo (6.1.13): Helike’s supposed earlier importance at the centre of an Achaian identity (see above) would certainly make it a suitable candidate for an invented homeland. Alternatively, an ancient commentator notes an eponymous founder, and it has been suggested that Strabo’s reading is a corruption of [ΣΥΒΑΡ]ΙΣ.²¹⁸ Aristotle also attests to the Achaian foundation of Sybaris, but he adds the detail that the Troizenians joined in the venture before being expelled by the Achaians: οἶον Τροιζηνίους Ἀχαιοὶ συνώκησαν Σύβαριν, εἶτα πλείους οἱ Ἀχαιοὶ γενόμενοι ἐξέβαλον τοὺς Τροιζηνίους.²¹⁹ It is difficult to know what to make of this information, though the fact that Aristotle introduces it to corroborate his point that joint foundations were seldom successful should ensure that the story of Troizenian participation enjoyed common currency by at least the fourth century. Yet Aristotle’s motivation here is surely concern with later Sybarite history, rather than any direct interest in the ethnic composition of the colonising group *per se*. Herodotos (5.44.2) notes the presence at Sybaris of a *mantis* from Elis, named Kallias, though there is no suggestion of a wider Eleian presence. Finally, Nikandros connects the toponym Sybaris with a river in Lokris and argues on this basis for the presence of Lokrian colonists, while Solinus attributes its foundation to Troizenians and to Sagaris, the son of Lokrian Ajax.²⁰⁰

A very similar picture emerges at *Kroton*, in terms of town planning, the pace of development and the nature of material culture.²²¹ Eighth-century pottery has been found in several parts of the modern city. On via Firenze (by the Calabro-Lucane station), constructions are mainly fourth-century, but the pottery goes back to the eighth century; some of the material here seems to suggest that Kroton was a well-established native site. Via Tedeschi has pottery dating to the end of the eighth century and walling belonging to structures laid out at the end of the seventh or beginning of the sixth century on a rectilinear plan with a north-south axis. The area around Campo Sportivo has dense occupation dating back to the eighth century, with seventh- and sixth-century kilns in nearby via Cutro indicating its use as an industrial area. Further activity is attested at the end of the eighth century at the foot of the Batteria hill. In general, the ceramic record appears to be very close to that of Sybaris, with the early appearance of Thapsos ware as well as orthodox Late Geometric Corinthian dating to the third quarter of the eighth century. Like Sybaris, Kroton displays the same pattern of imports and the same lack of Achaian links, though it sustained an earlier and more lively local production than that of Sybaris.²²²

It is therefore clear that right from the beginning there was simultaneous occupation of at least three nuclei in the area between the hills of Castello and Batteria, although, like Sybaris, evidence consists of pottery rather than architecture. A formal layout on a grid-plan is only evident at the transition from the seventh to the sixth centuries. Spadea sees this as a “realisation” of an initial plan, but this is conjecture, and there are no indications that an agora was a feature of the city from its foundation. The grid-plan layout of the city, which runs perpendicular to the coast, incorporates the pre-existing settlement nuclei, thus implying some degree of overall planning (though the grid is not always perfect, occasionally slipping in the Campo Sportivo). Interestingly enough, this nucleation does not disappear but remains a constant feature of the city – if anything, it becomes even more pronounced over time. The city may also have had a mud-brick defensive wall. A massive structure on via Tedeschi, dating to the late sixth or early fifth century may well be a temple, especially since a head which probably belongs to a marble acrolith was found in the vicinity.

In the *chora*, the first phase of sanctuary development dates to the mid-seventh to early sixth centuries. Particularly notable is the extramural shrine of Hera Lakinia on Cape Colonna, ca. 10km to the southwest of Kroton, where the first cult building (Edificio B) dates to the ve-

ry beginning of the sixth century, though votives found within the building are clearly earlier.²²³ From the seventh century onwards, shrines appear to Apollo at *Ciro Marina* (an originally native site) and to a chthonic divinity at *Santa Anna*. On the hill of *Vigna Nuova*, the sacred area had religious buildings dating to the late sixth or early fifth century, and fifth-century votives, including iron and bronze; the popularity of inscribed dedications here marks a clear difference from normal Achaian practice. As at *Sybaris*, the shrines appear to suit local purposes and cultic links to the mainland are unconvincing.²²⁴

Kroton was already regarded as an Achaian foundation by the time of the earliest literary references in the fifth century:²²⁵ a number of sources name its oikist as *Myskellos* of *Rhypes*.²²⁶ *Strabo* (6.2.4; cf. 6.1.12) makes its foundation contemporary with that of *Syracuse* (i.e. 733 B.C.), describing how *Myskellos*, the oikist of Kroton, and *Archias*, the oikist of *Syracuse*, made a joint consultation of the *Delphic Oracle*; asked whether they preferred wealth or health, *Archias* opted for the former and *Myskellos* for the latter. This tale is clearly a later fabrication, forged during a period when Kroton had achieved a certain fame for its doctors,²²⁷ and many scholars prefer to accept the *Eusebian* foundation date of 709/708 B.C., which would make it virtually contemporary with *Sybaris*.²²⁸

The fullest account of the foundation of Kroton is given by *Diodoros* (8.17). *Myskellos* arrives at *Delphi* to ask *Apollo* to grant him children. The first response that is given to him tells him that his wish will be fulfilled, but that he must first make his home in “great Kroton among the fair fields”. The fact that he will only be granted offspring after founding Kroton has suggested to some a memory of overpopulation in *Achaia*.²²⁹ Since he does not know where Kroton is, the oracle gives a second response describing the route past *Taphios*, *Chalkis*, the lands of the *Kouretes* and *Echinades* to *Cape Lakinion*, “sacred” *Krimisa* and the *Aisaros* river. Having visited Kroton, *Myskellos* returns to *Delphi* to ask if it might not be better to settle the more attractive site of *Sybaris*, to which the oracle replies that he should approve the gift that the god grants. It is this last oracular response which is also preserved by *Hippys* of *Rhegion* and *Antiochos* of *Syracuse*.²³⁰

There are a number of elements in this story which are sufficient to cast doubt on its original authenticity. The third oracle appears to suit the context of the rivalry between Kroton and *Sybaris* which should date to the sixth century B.C.²³¹ Similarly, the mention of “sacred *Krimisa*” in the second oracle is probably to be seen in the light of *Krotoniate* expan-

sion throughout the sixth century.²³² Furthermore, the list of sites given in the second oracle is useless as a genuine navigational document; it refers to locations in the Korinthian Gulf and in the immediate vicinity of Kroton but nothing in between.²³³ The colonisation of Kroton presents all the typical ingredients of a foundation myth: like Battos (the founder of Kyrene), Myskellos becomes an oikist *malgré lui* when he consults Delphi on an unrelated matter; like Battos, he attempts to evade the instructions given to him; and like Battos, he bears a name derived from a physical disability.²³⁴ For this reason, it has been argued that the foundation legend can only have developed once the genre had been established and once Delphi had acquired an international prestige.¹³⁵ The appearance of the Delphic tripod on the earliest Krotoniate coinage of the mid sixth century may suggest that the “official” foundation story had developed by then, though it might also be connected with the ascendancy of the Pythagoreans.¹³⁶

While the story of Myskellos represents one of the most consistent foundation accounts among the Achaian colonies of South Italy, other versions also survive. According to Diodoros (4.24.7), Herakles unintentionally killed the eponymous Kroton and made a promise to found a great city on the site of his grave. In a later attempt to synthesise the two versions, Ovid (*Met.* 15.12-59) has Herakles appear in a dream to Myskellos and order him to found the Italian city. That the Heraklean version commands some credibility is demonstrated by the issue of coins from 420 B.C. onwards which show on the obverse Herakles sitting on a rock in front of an altar and the legend ΟΙΚΙΣΤΑΣ, and on the reverse the Delphic tripod with Apollo fighting Python.²³⁷ The numismatic evidence might indicate that the version of Herakles’ foundation is later than that of Myskellos, though Maurizio Giangiulio argues for a more ancient connection between Kroton and Herakles.²³⁸

For Strabo (6.1.12), Myskellos was not the first Greek to arrive in the region of Kroton. He describes how some Achaians on their return from Troy strayed from the rest of the fleet and disembarked at the river Neaitos near Kroton. While they were exploring the area, their female Trojan captives decided to burn their boats, forcing them to remain in Italy. They were immediately joined by other settlers on the basis of ethnic affinity (κατὰ τὸ ὁμόφυλον). Although these Homeric Achaians inhabit the general area of the Tarentine Gulf rather than specific colonial foundations, the theme of a *nostos* preceding colonisation is important and recurs in the foundation stories of other South Italian settlements.

Finally, Pausanias (3.3.1) attributes the foundation of Kroton to Spar-

tans who settled there during the reign of Polydoros (i.e. the last third of the eighth century B.C.). Giulio Gianelli connected this legend with Lykophron's description of Menelaos' voyage to Cape Lakinion in Krotoniate territory and the presence at Kroton of cults to Achilles and Helen;²³⁹ Irad Malkin suggests that Kroton tried to establish "Lakonian national origins" in the 540s B.C. to prevent the Spartans aiding her enemy, Lokroi Epizephyrioi.²⁴⁰ There is, however, always the possibility that too much credence has been given to Pausanias' notice,²⁴¹ and it may be that this particular foundation legend was invented by Taras, which was the only city of the region still in existence by the Roman period.²⁴²

Kaulonia lies on low hills by a straight open beach without a harbour.²⁴³ The archaeological evidence is very fragmentary, but Orsi distinguished a northern, a western and a southern settlement area. The northern area is clearly sixth-century and was created by the expansion of the primitive settlement on the lighthouse hill and in the Castellone region to the south of it. Elsewhere settlement traces are earlier; trial trenches dug by the north gate of the Hellenistic fortification wall have revealed Corinthian Subgeometric pottery in the lowest layer, and through the Archaic period there was a heavy concentration of Corinthian finewares as well as Corinthian A, SOS and Ionian amphorae. By and large, the pottery of Kaulonia is very similar to the other Achaian colonies, especially with regard to the pattern of imports and local imitations. Archaic mud brick structures are attested, although they are extremely fragmentary and hard to date precisely. Part of the early sixth-century rampart wall is also preserved, showing that it was abandoned and then replaced during the fifth century. This Archaic fortification implies that the area to the north of the lighthouse was already incorporated within the city to some extent during the sixth century, though it is unclear whether the southern area was also included. Burials start from the mid sixth century, but the real expansion of the site, including the construction of a temple, belongs to the fifth century.

Kaulonia is described as a foundation of the Achaians (Ἀχαιῶν κτίσμα) by Strabo (6.1.10). Pseudo-Skymnos, Solinus and Stephanos of Byzantium regard it as a secondary foundation of Kroton,²⁴⁴ though Pausanias (6.3.12) says its oikist was Typhon of Aigion. Anderson and Koerner have attempted to reconcile these conflicting accounts by positing the presence of people from Aigion in the original foundation of Kroton.²⁴⁵ While it is certainly possible that some of the early inhabitants of Kroton originated from the area of Aigion, we prefer to see two

concurrent versions of Kaulonia's foundation: a Krotoniate version in which Kroton is named as the Kaulonian metropolis, and a Kaulonian version which denied its derivative foundation and attempted to establish genuine first-generation Achaian credentials by tracing its origins back to the (by now) wealthy town of Aigion. Kaulonia certainly seems to have been independent of Kroton in the sixth century when it was minting its own coins.²⁴⁶

Metapontion, situated 50 km west of Taras/Taranto, is from an archaeological point of view one of the best explored sites in South Italy.²⁴⁷ There is clear evidence of the pre-Achaian city discovered in soundings beneath the Achaian grid. The earliest pottery here includes imported Thapsos ware of the late eighth century as well as native wares. Both pottery and architectural structures at Metapontion display strong similarities with the nearby site of Incoronata, a site often claimed to be an *emporion* and suggested by Orlandini to overlie the ruins of an indigenous village, though now believed always to have been a mixed site. The pottery is mainly local, though Corinthian dominates the imported finewares from the start, and there are also many Corinthian and SOS amphorae. The local wares owe nothing to Achaia (a few parallels have been noted with Megara Hyblaia), while the pithoi seem to be linked stylistically to Corinth and Athens rather than Achaia. The destruction of Incoronata is dated by the presence of imported Protocorinthian pottery but an absence of Early Corinthian. Conversely, although there is a small amount of Protocorinthian at Metapontion, it is dwarfed by the amount of Early Corinthian. This has led to the hypothesis of a direct link between Incoronata and Metapontion. Though the issues remain complex, there is a growing opinion that the origins of colonial Metapontion date to ca. 630 B.C.

It is not until at least the middle of the sixth century that we find evidence of a walled, grid-planned city, with an *agora* and monumental shrine. Three principal cemeteries are known: the Pantanello necropolis begins in the 580s B.C., with mainly tile graves but some (generally wealthy) cists and sarcophagi, as well as some cremations; the Saldone necropolis lies 8km outside the city, while the Crucinia chamber tomb cemetery is situated immediately outside the city walls. At this point we can definitely speak of an urban centre linked to colonial activity, though its relationship to earlier institutions remains unclear. Under the fourth-century theatre in the *agora* has been found an amphitheatral building, capable of seating 8000, which has been interpreted as an *Ekklesiasterion*; its first phase dates to the mid sixth century, which is strik-

ingly early by any standards. A wooden predecessor, with ikria, is dated ca. 600, and if it is legitimate to assume a continuity of function, this establishment of a common meeting place may provide concrete evidence for *polis* status. To the late seventh century belong remains of a sanctuary in the area of sacellum C; an ash altar and argoi lithoi were found at the east end and along the flank of the site where Temple B (possibly dedicated to Hera) once stood.²⁴⁸ Sacellum C itself is not earlier than 600, but is built over a charred layer which indicates a wooden predecessor. Thapsos ware was recorded between the virgin soil and this charred layer, and the presence of late seventh-century figurines should indicate a cultic function. Unfortunately, the relationship between these elements, which appear to relate to the earliest *polis*, and pre-existing settlement is still unclear: unless the wooden remains constitute a defined phase, there still appears to be a chronological gap between the two. Although it has often proved tempting to attribute the destruction of the wooden shrine and assembly place to the Samnites whom Strabo (6.1.15) describes as having put an end to the earlier settlement, such an attribution is, on both chronological and textual grounds, impossible. It is impossible within the scope of this paper to give a full account of the extensive research undertaken on the Metapontine *chora* and its cults. It will be sufficient, however, to note that in general Metapontion fits well within the general picture of Achaian colonial activity that we have been sketching. There are a number of rural shrines in the *chora*, where the earliest votives replicate those found in the city.²⁴⁹

According to Antiochos of Syracuse ([*FGrHist* 555] fr. 12), Metapontion was founded by Achaians who were sent for by the Achaians of Sybaris because of their enmity with the Tarantinoi: τὸν τόπον ἐποικῆσαι τῶν Ἀχαιῶν τινὰς μεταπεμφθέντας ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν Συβάρει Ἀχαιῶν, μεταπεμφθῆναι δὲ κατὰ μῖσος τὸ πρὸς Ταραντίνους τῶν Ἀχαιῶν, τῶν ἐκπεσόντων ἐκ τῆς Λακωνικῆς, ἵνα μὴ Ταραντῖνοι γεινιῶντες ἐπιπηδήσαιεν τῷ τόπῳ. Similarly, Pseudo-Skymnos (328) includes Metapontion among those cities that were colonised by Achaians from the Peloponnese. It has been pointed out that an ancestral hatred between Sybaris and Taras is hard to reconcile with Ephoros' comment ([*FGrHist* 70] fr. 216) that the Partheniai had aided the Achaians in their struggles against indigenous Italic peoples prior to founding Taras; in Bérard's view, a better context for this conflict between Tarentinoi and Achaians is the struggle between Thourioi and Taras for possession of the Siritid between 443 and 433 B.C. – the time at which Antiochos was writing.²⁵⁰

Antiochos specifies that the site of Metapontion had formerly been occupied, and Strabo (6.1.15) says that it was first founded by Pylian companions of Nestor after their return from Troy: he adds that the evidence for this is the fact that funerary ceremonies were performed in later times in honour of the Neleids. Solinus (2.10) also reports the Pylian foundation of Metapontion, while Bacchylides (11.113-26) attributes its foundation to Achaians (without further specification) on their return from Troy. This version of Metapontine origins thus belongs to the ranks of *nostoi* foundations. Strabo (6.1.15) recounts another (unreferenced) tradition which has Metapontion founded by an Achaian named Leukippos who obtained the site by trickery from the Tarantinoi. Leukippos was almost certainly recognised as the official oikist by the second half of the fourth century, when he first appears on Metapontine coinage, though the earlier authenticity of the tradition is rendered suspect by the fact that the same hero and the same artifice are reported by Dionysios of Halikarnassos for the foundation of Kallipolis.²⁵¹ Ephoros' attribution ([*FGrHist* 70] fr. 141) of the foundation to Daulios, tyrant of Krisa, is also dubious.²⁵² Eusebios dates the foundation of Metapontion to 773/732 B.C., but in the light of the archaeological evidence presented above, this is almost certainly more than a century too early.²⁵³

Finally, *Poseidonia* is named as a secondary colonial foundation of Sybaris by Strabo (5.4.13) and Pseudo-Skymnos (249). Solinus (2.10) simply attributes its foundation to "Dorians", and it has often been suspected that it was founded by the Dorian Troizenians who had co-founded Sybaris but were expelled shortly afterwards by the Achaians.²⁵⁴ No oikist or foundation date is given, though recent excavations have determined that the colony was established simultaneously with the implantation of the extra-urban sanctuary to Hera at Foce del Sele in the early years of the sixth century (i.e. almost a century later than previously supposed). Burial evidence suggests an escalation in activity throughout the sixth century with a balance of Archaic imported wares comparable to other sites.²⁵⁵

Despite the evident variations in foundation legends, it is fair to say that we can also discern a more persistent tradition associating the cities of Sybaris, Kroton, Kaulonia, Metapontion and Poseidonia with the Achaians. On the other hand, there is no solid evidence for viewing these foundations as official enterprises, undertaken either by the Achaians collectively or by individual Achaian *metropoleis*.²⁵⁶ In the case of the foundation of Kroton, Myskellos receives his orders as an individual rather than as an official statesman.²⁵⁷ Rhyepes is simply treated

as his place of origin rather than as the official *metropolis* of Kroton, and it is worth noting that the sources in which this city of departure is mentioned are slightly outnumbered by those in which it is not. The tradition for the foundation of Sybaris by Is of Helike is less secure, and more general Achaian origins are normally hypothesised due to the fact that the names of the Sybaris and Krathis rivers, between which Sybaris was situated, appear to replicate the hydronyms of a spring near Boura and a river at Aigai respectively.²⁵⁸

Werner Goegebeur has gone so far as to argue that in Herodotos' opinion, the Achaian colonies of South Italy were not historical foundations of the north Peloponnese at all.²⁵⁹ The problem arises with the ambiguity of the term "Achaian", and the fact that it may designate the pre-Dorian inhabitants of the southern and eastern Peloponnese on the one hand, and the historical occupants of the northern Peloponnese on the other. This ambiguity is, as we have seen, preserved in the western colonies where foundation legends referring to colonisation by the historical region of Achaia coexist with *nostoi* legends telling of the arrival of Homeric Achaians to Magna Graecia. Goegebeur analyses Herodotos' description (8.43-48) of the contingents at the Battle of Salamis, and notes that while Herodotos normally describes the contingents in terms of both their ethnic affiliation and their metropolis,²⁶⁰ the Krotoniates are simply described as ethnically Achaian (Κροτωνιῆται δὲ γένος εἰσὶ Ἄχαιοί).²⁶¹ Noting that this passage – together with Bacchylides' reference (11.113-26) to the foundation of Metapontion by Achaians returning from Troy – constitutes our earliest evidence for the origins of the Achaian colonies, Goegebeur concludes that for Herodotos, "Achaian" has its "protohistorical" meaning which situates the roots of the western colonies in the pre-Dorian Peloponnese.²⁶²

It is certainly true that the evidence for close links between Achaia and the Achaian colonies is ambiguous. The preservation of north Peloponnesian toponyms and hydronyms in South Italy seems to suggest that many or most of the colonists hailed from the historical region of Achaia,²⁶³ and both Achaia and the Achaian colonies appear to share the same alphabetic script and Western Greek dialect (though it should be stressed that this assumption is largely predicated on the evidence of the Italian settlements).²⁶⁴ There is also limited evidence for cultic connections; the epithet Μελίχιος, attached to Zeus in a late sixth-century inscription from Kroton, can probably be connected with the Zeus Μελλίχιος worshipped at Pellene and the river Meilichos in the vicinity of Patrai.²⁶⁵ Furthermore, Metapontine coins of the first half of the fifth

century testify to a cult of Acheloos, a name shared with a river near Dyme.²⁶⁶

Conversely, material evidence linking the Achaian colonies with Achaia is very thin indeed. The colonies have a great deal in common, but what seems to be a peculiarly colonial fusion of traits (such as the nature and origin of imports, burial customs, and architectural styles) owes nothing to Achaia. Thus, for example, Mertens remarks that of all the South Italian colonies, those of Achaia have a distinctively local architectural mix of stylistic components of diverse origins, in which Doric and Ionic stylistic traits compete on almost equal terms, and in general, the material culture of the colonies is as open to Attic, Doric and Ionic elements as it is to general Peloponnesian features.²⁶⁷ Similarly, while the *politeiai* of the colonies exhibit certain similarities,²⁶⁸ it is not clear how these relate to the mainland – indeed, the model for the prytany organisation of the colonies may derive from Corinth rather than Achaia.²⁶⁹ Furthermore, in terms of cultic connections, it is important to note that the significance attached to the worship of Dionysos, Artemis and Poseidon in Achaia is not nearly so evident in the western colonies, where the most prominent cults are to Hera and Apollo.²⁷⁰ In fact, Hera Lakinia, whose cult was from the beginning so intrinsic to the identity of Kroton, appears to bear the characteristic warrior and kourtophobic aspects which are the hallmark of Hera Argeia in the Argolid.²⁷¹

In the Argive Plain, the cult of Hera appears to have acted as a symbol of Achaian identity, manipulated by those who employed their supposed descent from Herakles and the Herakleidai to legitimate their claims to territory and status.²⁷² Is it possible that the cult of Hera Lakinia served similar purposes in South Italy? Apart from the strong resemblance between Hera Lakinia and Hera Argeia, there was a tradition that her sanctuary had been founded by Herakles himself.²⁷³ Nor is the importance of Herakles restricted to the immediate vicinity of Kroton: a sixth century inscription attests to his cult at Metapontion.²⁷⁴ The catalyst for “playing the Achaian card” was almost certainly the rivalry that existed between the Achaian colonies and Taras.²⁷⁵ By promoting their Achaian origins, the Achaian colonies could lay claim to a glorious heroic past in which the Dorian ancestors of the Tarentine colonists had not participated.²⁷⁶ They could also, however, employ their Achaian identity to pass themselves off as the direct descendants of those heroes whose *nostoi* first brought them to the shores of Italy, establishing a prior legitimisation for settlement which was aimed not only at their Tarentine neighbours but also at the indigenous populations of South Italy.

Clearly, this construction of an Achaian identity through opposition with the Dorians of Taras sought its legitimation in the pre-Dorian patrimony of the Peloponnese. We would not, however, establish as sharp a dichotomy between the protohistorical and historical meanings of “Achaian” as Goegebeur does (see above). The ethnic and geographical definitions of “Achaian” had, as we have seen, already coalesced by the middle of the sixth century at the very latest, when Teisamenos’ bones were located at Helike. It is therefore clear that Herodotos gives no place of origin for the Krotoniates because he wished to avoid the redundancy that would have resulted from saying that they were “Achaians from Achaia.” The historical region of Achaia provided an important stepping-stone and point of reference within the colonists’ attempts to trace their ultimate origins back to Lakonia and the Argolid. It may indeed be the case that the proclamation of Achaian identity in South Italy also had an important galvanising effect on the identity of the scattered populations of Achaia.

In this paper, we have sought to trace the emergence of *poleis* sharing a politically significant ethnic consciousness across a region which is both culturally and geographically diverse. We have documented major differences in the developmental trajectories of various sub-regions of Achaia, contrasting material and documentary evidence from the settlements of the north coast, from Patras (with demes scattered through the *chora* of the later city), from Dyme, and the Pharai valley. In all cases, archaeological evidence can be equated with the 12 *mere* and their constituent settlements listed in literary sources, but the relationship is not clear cut, uniform across Achaia, or stable through time, and it is clear that common terminology (such as the *topos* of synoecism) covers significant developmental differences. In no area can *polis* status be pushed earlier than the fifth century, and tentative signs of urbanisation are a phenomenon of the Classical period (and often fourth-century rather than fifth).

Against this background, we suggest that both internal settlement and external colonisation can be understood in terms of common interests arising from these very different situations (notably along the north coast and in the Pharai valley). This coincidence should not be taken to imply a strong regional organisation or even temporary political unity, and it must also be noted that the localisation of oikist traditions on the north coast is a post-colonial phenomenon. Equally, nothing in the material record of Achaia can be directly ascribed to the impact of colonisa-

tion. Indeed, the pace of change in Achaia and among her western colonies is very different. In the west, the sixth century was the key period of urbanisation, whereas on the mainland, the next phase of change following the eighth century colonial period was the fifth and fourth centuries. There is no evidence of material interaction or shared institutions. Likewise, a self-conscious Achaian ethnicity seems to have developed in the west during the sixth century, probably in reaction to pressures from Lakonian Taras rather than any input from the mainland. In Achaia, although a general ethnic sense may have existed throughout the periods under consideration, the *politicisation* of Achaian identity follows upon *polis* development from the fifth century onwards. Here too, there is something of a chronological mismatch, but we should not rule out the possibility that colonial ethnicity had a long term effect on the mother-region in the wake of *polis* formation. Achaian ethnicity is thus a double phenomenon, with two distinct strands serving two distinct needs; rather than creating a hybrid notion of “Achaian-ness”, it is essential to trace these elements independently and then to consider possible interactions. In short, the very fact that Achaia and her colonies do not readily fit any of the existing models of colony/mother-city relations raises important questions concerning the relationship between the processes of construction of identity in the two areas.

Notes

1 Our first debt of gratitude is owed to our respondent, Mogens Herman Hansen, for his helpful comments and suggestions. We should also like to extend particular thanks to Dr. A.D. Rizakis (KERA) and Dr. M. Petropoulos (ΣΤ ΕΠΙΚΑ, Patras) for their valuable comments on earlier drafts of the text, and to Ms A. Vasilogamvrou and Ms A. Gadolou (ΣΤ ΕΠΙΚΑ, Patras), Dr. T. Fischer-Hansen and Prof. J. Kroll for discussion and information on certain aspects of the paper. An opportunity to present a summary of this work arose at the conference “Dymaia-Bouprasia”, Kato Achaia, 6-8 Oct 1995, for which we should like to thank the organising committee, and especially the successive Demarchoi of Kato Achaia.

2 See M.H. Hansen, “Introduction: The *Polis* as a Citizen-State,” in M.H. Hansen (ed.), *The Ancient Greek City-State*. Acts of the Copenhagen Polis Centre 1. Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, Historisk-filosofiske Meddelelser 67 (Copenhagen 1993) 13-16; *Idem*, “*Poleis* and City-States, 600-323 B.C.: A Comprehensive Research Programme,” in D. Whitehead (ed.), *From Political Architecture to Stephanus Byzantius*. Papers from the Copenhagen Polis Centre 1. *Historia Einzelschriften* 87 (1994) 99-124. 15-17.

- 3 C. Morgan, "Ethnicity and Early Greek States: Historical and Material Perspectives," *PCPS* 37 (1991) 132; A.D. Rizakis, "Αρχαϊκή ιστοριογραφία; απολογισμός και προοπτικές της έρευνας," in A.D. Rizakis (ed.), *Αρχαία Αχαΐα και Ηλεία*. Meletemata 13 (Athens 1991) 51-52; of general relevance throughout this paper is *Idem*, *Achaïe I. Sources textuelles et histoire régionale*. Meletemata 20 (Athens 1995).
- 4 J.A.O. Larsen, *Greek Federal States: Their Institutions and History* (Oxford 1968) xi-xii.
- 5 Larsen (*supra* n. 4) 83, 216.
- 6 Paus. 7.16.9 describes the Achaian League as a συνέδριον τε κατὰ ἔθνος.
- 7 See B. Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism* (2nd edn. London 1991) 5. In speaking of nations, Anderson notes that they tend to appear modern to the objective observer but ancient to the subjective eye of the nationalist.
- 8 See G. Audring, "Information über die im Archiv der IG aufbewahrten Materialien zu Achaia und Elis," in Rizakis (*supra* n. 3) 109-110; A.D. Rizakis, *Achaïe II. Les inscriptions grecques et latines de Patras* (Athens 1996) forthcoming; *idem*, "Inscriptions grecques et latines d' Achaïe," in *Actes du IXe congrès internationale d' épigraphie grecque et latine* (Sofia 1987) 206-209.
- 9 L.H. Jeffery, *The Local Scripts of Archaic Greece: A Study of the Origin of the Greek Alphabet and its Development from the Eighth to the Fifth Centuries B.C.* (2nd edn. Oxford 1990) 221-23 lists eight Achaian inscriptions prior to the early fifth century. Nevertheless, Johnston (in *eadem*, 451) believes that two of these are from the Achaian colonies in Italy, one is Phokian and one (a bronze plaque from Kalavryta), while written in what appears to be the Achaian script, shows dialectal traces of Arkadian.
- 10 Rizakis (*supra* n. 3, *Αρχαία Αχαΐα*) 56; *idem*, (*supra* n. 8, *Achaïe II*). Classical-Hellenistic funerary inscriptions: I. Papapostolou, *Achaean Grave Stelai* (Athens 1993). Inscriptions concerning local citizenship are published in A.D. Rizakis, "La *politeia* dans les cités de la confédération achéenne," *Tyche* 5 (1990) 109-34.
- 11 Rizakis (*supra* n. 3, *Αρχαία Αχαΐα*) 56.
- 12 The area around modern Kalavryta which today lies within the province of Achaia was, in antiquity, part of the border zone of Arkadia: M. Petropoulos, "Τοπογραφικά Βόρειας Αρκαδίας," *HOROS* 3 (1985) 63-73. For a summary account of the geography of the region: A. Philippson, *Die griechischen Landschaften III* (Frankfurt 1959), ch. 1.
- 13 Paus. 7.6.1. cf. 7.18.7; 7.22.1; 7.22.6.
- 14 Polyb. 2.41; Strab. 8.7.2; Paus. 7.24.6.
- 15 Paus. 7.25.8-9.
- 16 Paus. 7.18.1.
- 17 Strab. 8.7.4.
- 18 Strab. 8.7.4. cf. 8.7.5. Like Olenos, Pausanias (7.25.12) says Aigai was abandoned ὑπο ἀσθeneίας.
- 19 Rhypes as uninhabited: Strab. 8.7.5; Paus. 7.23.4. For its destruction by Augustus: Paus. 7.18.7. This does not explain why Rhypes is absent from Polybios' list, and Anderson has suggested that like Aigai, it had already been abandoned in the fourth century: J.K. Anderson, "A Topographical and Historical Study of Achaia," *BSA* 49 (1954) 73 (this does not, however, accord with the archaeological record, see n. 75 here below).
- 20 Anderson (*supra* n. 19) 73.
- 21 M.B. Sakellariou, "Le peuplement de l' Achaïe à la fin de l' âge du bronze et le début de l' âge du fer," in Rizakis (*supra* n. 3) 14. See also Larsen (*supra* n. 4) 82.

- 22 Strab. 8.7.1. See R. Koerner, "Die staatliche Entwicklung in Alt-Achaia," *Klio* 56 (1974) 467.
- 23 Paus. 7.1.5. Cf. Hdt. 7.94; Strab. 8.7.1.
- 24 Hom. *Il.* 2.573-75; 8.203. Cf. 2.501, 505, 538, 546, 569, 584, 648-49, 677, 739. Homer's use of the verb ἀμεινόμενον in connection with Aigion and the adjective ἄμφ' with Helike may well suggest some form of dispersed settlement pattern. For discussion of Donoussa, see J.G.T. & J.K. Anderson, "A Lost City Discovered," *CSCA* 8 (1975) 1-6.
- 25 Strab. 8.7.4; 8.7.5. Cf. Strab. 8.7.2 (τὴν χώραν [sc. τὴν Ἐλικὴν]); 8.7.5 (τὴν δὲ χώραν Ῥυπίδα); Paus. 7.17.13 (χώρα τῆ Δυμεία). The term *meros* is not unique to Achaia. The Oxyrynchus historian (*Hell. Oxy.* 19.2-3) describes Boiotia as being divided into eleven μέρη, each of which provided one boiotarch and 60 councillors to the federal *boule*: see M.H. Hansen, "Boiotian *Poleis* – A Test Case," in M.H. Hansen (ed.), *Sources for the Ancient Greek City-State*. Acts of the Copenhagen Polis Centre 2. Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, Historisk-filosofiske Meddelelser 72 (Copenhagen 1995) 15. Hellanikos of Lesbos (*FGrHist* 4) fr. 52 describes how Thessaly was divided into four μέρη, while Demosthenes (23.212) notes that the Oreatai inhabit a fourth μέρος of Euboea. In Thessaly, B. Helly, *L'état thessalien. Aleuas le roux, les tétrades et les Tagoi* (Lyon 1995) argues that the term *meros* defines a military unit, though, as will become clear, we find the idea of a federal Achaian military system as early as the fifth century B.C. hard to sustain.
- 26 Xen. *Hell.* 6.5.29.
- 27 Dikaiarchos *ap. Cic. Ad. Att.* II, 2.
- 28 *IG* II² 220.
- 29 Xen. *Hell.* 7.1.43.
- 30 For Pellene: Thuc. 2.9.2. The entry of the Achaian cities into the Peloponnesian League is not stated explicitly but is often assumed because of the use by the Peloponnesian fleet of naval bases at Patrai, Panormos and Rhion during 429 B.C.: Thuc. 2.83.3; 2.86; 2.92.5. See J.A.O. Larsen, "The Early Achaean League," in G. Mylonas & D. Raymond (eds.), *Studies Presented to David Moore Robinson* II (St. Louis 1953) 802-803; Koerner (*supra* n. 22) 470-80.
- 31 Thuc. 1.125.1. See Larsen (*supra* n. 4) 811.
- 32 *P.Oxy* 11.1365 = (*FGrHist* 105) fr. 2. See Koerner (*supra* n. 22) 468.
- 33 N.F. Jones, *Public Organization in Ancient Greece: A Documentary Study* (Philadelphia 1987) 130-32 (the quotation comes on p. 131). For the third-century inscription: *Syll.*³ 531.
- 34 *Contra* Koerner (*supra* n. 22) 468.
- 35 Paus. 7.26.14. See Koerner (*supra* n. 22) 468 n. 65, who observes that harbours normally retained their independence.
- 36 Xen. *Hell.* 7.4.17. The precise nature of the settlement of Olouros is not given, though it was subjected to a siege by the Pellenes (Xen. *Hell.* 7.4.18).
- 37 Strab. 8.7.5. For the games: Bacchyl. 9.33 Jebb; Pind. *Ol.* 9.146; 13.155; *Nem.* 10.82; *IG* IV 510. The games, at which cloaks (Πελληνικαὶ χλαῖναι) were awarded as prizes, were celebrated under the name of the Theoxenia in honour of Apollo and Hermes: Paus. 7.27.4; schol. Pind. *Ol.* 7.156; 9.148; *Nem.* 10.82. However, schol. Ar. Av. 1421 and *Suda* s.v. Πελλήνη say that a cloak was awarded on the occasion of the Heraia.
- 38 Koerner (*supra* n. 22) 468.
- 39 A. Orlandos, "Ανασκαφαὶ ἐν Πελλάνη," *Prakt* (1931) 73-83.
- 40 Paus. 7.26.2; cf. Hom. *Il.* 2.573.

- 41 Preliminary reports relevant to our period: W. Alzinger *et al.*, "Aegira-Hyperesia und die Siedlung Phelloe in Achaia I," *Klio* 67 (1985) 389-451; *Idem*, "Aegira-Hyperesia und die Siedlung Phelloe in Achaia II, III," *Klio* 68 (1986) 6-62, 309-47; *Idem*, "Aegeira," *ÖJh* 50 (1972-73); *Idem*, "Grabungen Aegeira," *ÖJh* 51 (1976-77) 30-34; *Idem*, "Grabungen Aegeira," *ÖJh* 53 (1981-82) 8-15; *Idem*, "Aegeira," *ÖJh* 54 (1983) 36-38.
- 42 In addition to the preliminary reports listed in n. 41, see S. Deger-Jalkotzy, "Zum Verlauf der Periode SH IIIC in Achaia," in Rizakis (ed.) (*supra* n. 3) 19-29. S. Gogos, "Kult und Heiligtümer der Artemis von Aegeira," *ÖJh* 57 (1986) 108-39 (119 for discussion of a Mycenaean house with internal hearth in terms of possible cult). P. Åström, "Mycenaean Pottery from the Region of Aigion with a List of Prehistoric Sites in Achaia," *OpAth* 5 (1964) 97, notes that sporadic earlier Mycenaean finds from Aigeira are stored in the National Museum, Athens. Classical and Mycenaean sherds from earlier investigations on the site are now in the collection of the British School at Athens.
- 43 Gogos (*supra* n. 42) 108-39; W. Alzinger, "Pausanias und der Tempel von Aigeira," *Tagung Innsbruck* (1982) 13-18.
- 44 A. Mazarakis Ainian, *From Rulers' Dwellings to Temples: a Study of the Origins of Greek Religious Architecture in the Protogeometric and Geometric Periods* (Ph.D. thesis, University of London, 1987) 481-84; *Idem*, "Early Greek Temples: their Origin and Function," in R. Hägg, N. Marinatos & G. Nordquist (eds.), *Early Greek Cult Practice* (Stockholm 1988) 109-110.
- 45 (*Supra* n. 41).
- 46 Paus. 4.15.1. See Koerner (*supra* n. 22) 468; Gogos (*supra* n. 42) 129.
- 47 Alzinger *et al.* (*supra* n. 41 [1986]) 319-26.
- 48 I. Dekoulakou, "Κεραμεική 8ου και 7ου αι. Π.Χ. από τάφους της Ἀχαΐας και της Αἰτωλίας," *ASAtene* 60 (1982) 229-31; Corinthian LG TMO probably from destroyed grave at Polydgerianika, plus a second burial from area of Seliana (ca. 700) with Thapsos tripod and 2 Thapsos pyxides (PM 1063-1065).
- 49 N. Papahatzis, *Πανσάνιον Ελλάδος Περιοήγησις. Αχαϊκά και Αρκαδικά* (Athens 1980) 157 fig. 24; *ArchDelt* 17B (1961-62) 130. See however Rizakis (*supra* n. 3, *Sources*) 213-214.
- 50 E. Babelon, *Traité des monnaies grecques et romaines* II.1 (Paris 1907) 823-26; B.V. Head, *Historia numorum* (2nd edn. Oxford 1911) 412; Anderson (*supra* n. 19) 75. F. Imhoof-Blumer, *Monnaies grecques* (Paris 1883) 157 and Jeffery (*supra* n. 9) 222 both assigned the coins to Aigion rather than Aigai, though J.H. Kroll, "Hemiobols to Assaria: the Bronze Coinage of Roman Aigion," *NC* (1996) redefines the original attribution by positing a misreading on Imhoof-Blumer's part. We are grateful to Professor Kroll for allowing us to cite this article prior to publication.
- 51 T.R. Martin, "Coins, Mints, and the Polis," in M.H. Hansen (*supra* n. 25) 257-91.
- 52 S. Lauffer (ed.), *Griechenland. Lexicon der historischen Stätten von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart* (Munich 1989) 160 s.v. Bura; N.K. Moutsopoulos, *Αρχιτεκτονικά Μνημεία της Περιοχής της Αρχαίας Βούρας* (Athens 1958). Rizakis (*supra* n. 3, *Sources*) 209-212.
- 53 This identification is most fully explored by Moutsopoulos (*supra* n. 52) 11-18; see also D. Katsonopoulou & S. Soter in *Αρχαιολογία* 47 (1993) 60-64 (noting the reply of the Ephoreia, *Αρχαιολογία* 50 (1994) 109, with bibliography); Rizakis (*supra* n. 3, *Sources*) 212-213.
- 54 For recent reviews of research, including bibliography, see: *Πρακτικά του Ἄ Διεθνούς Επιστημονικοῦ Συνεδρίου διά την Αρχαίαν Ἐλλάδα. Αἴγιον 14-16 Δεκεμ. 1979*

(Aigion/Athens 1981); M. Petropoulos, "Ελλάκη," *Αρχαιολογία* 9 (1983) 76-79; D. Katsanopoulou, "Αρχαία Ελλάδα" in Rizakis (ed.) (*supra* n. 3) 227-33; *Idem*, Intervention in *Sibari e la Sibariide. Atti del Trenteduesimo Convegno di Studi sulla Magna Grecia, Taranto-Sibari 7-12 Ott. 1992* (Taranto 1993) 513-23; *AR* (1993-94) 21 (citing *Τύπος της Κυριακής* 10.4.94). Further information will appear in the proceedings of the 2nd International Congress on Ancient Helike, held in Aigion, 1-3 December 1995.

55 *ArchDelt* 40 B (1985) 123-27. M. Petropoulos, "Αρχαιολογικές Ερευνές στην Αχαΐα," in *Τόμος Τιμητικός Κ.Ν. Τριανταφύλλου I* (Patras 1990) 510-13; Petropoulos also notes three cist tombs of the second half of the sixth century in the wider area of the town, and equates Keryneia with the acropolis of Helike, with most of the city buried under modern Rizomilos. Rizakis (*supra* n. 3, *Sources*) 203-208.

56 Derveni: J.N. Coldstream, *Greek Geometric Pottery* (London 1968) 221-23; E.T. Vermeule, "The Mycenaean in Achaea," *AJA* 64 (1960) 16-17. The grave contained 11 fine vessels (2 oinochoai, 1 krater of a locally unique form, 8 kantharoi), and 1 coarse. *ArchDelt* 19 B (1964) 187, with reference to sculptural fragments Patras Λ151, 152, 154.

57 *ArchDelt* 39 B (1984) 99.

58 L. Papakosta, "Παρατηρήσεις σχετικά με την Τοπογραφία του Αρχαίου Αιγίου," in Rizakis (ed.) (*supra* n. 3), 235-40. Petropoulos (*supra* n. 55) 508-10, stressing the damage done to early remains by Byzantine building.

59 Markou Botsari 15, pithoi reported, no details of contents: *ArchDelt* 31 B (1976) 97. Odos Kolokotronis 23, 8 pithoi, surviving contents = 3 bronze rings, iron ornament, local impressed ware pyxis, Thapsos skyphos of third quarter 8thC: *ArchDelt* 31 B (1976) 97; Dekoulakou (*supra* n. 48) 228-29 figs. 20-23. Odos Palaiologou, 2 pithoi from a group of 5 cut into a LH level have G finds (2 bronze rings, 2 oinochoai, 1 kantharos, sherds, iron hook and spearhead), 3 remaining badly disturbed by later activity (area strewn with sherds of all periods): *ArchDelt* 29 B (1973-74) 381; Dekoulakou (*supra* n. 48) 224-25 figs. 15-17. Odos Ermou, 2 badly damaged pithoi cut into Neolithic levels, surrounded by G and Neolithic sherds: *ArchDelt* 22 B (1967) 214-15; Geometric jewellery also found during construction work between Od. Riga Ferraïou and Griba with no surviving context. Odos Aristeïdou 2, 1 MG pithos (no goods), 1 child cist burial, cut into Myc layers: *ArchDelt* 39 B (1984) 94-95. Od. Plastira 7: 14 LG pithoi, mainly robbed, including one with 4 large Boiotian fibulae and 2 faience scarabs: *Arch. Delt.* 45 B (1990) 137.

60 *ArchDelt* 40 B (1985) 120-23.

61 Odos Plastira and Kanellopoulos, Geometric and Hellenistic sherds around HL building: *ArchDelt* 33 B (1978) 100; *AR* (1985-86) 38. Odos Polychroniadou 8, Geometric sherds over Mycenaean level: *ArchDelt* 37 B (1982) 149.

62 *ArchDelt* 40 B (1985) 120-23. For summary: Papakosta (*supra* n. 58).

63 Od. Dodecanesos 4: *ArchDelt* 40 B (1985) 120-22; Od. Plastira 7: *Arch. Delt.* 45 B (1990) 137. Bases: Papakosta (*supra* n. 58) 236 and n.15.

64 See summary in Papakosta (*supra* n. 58). Odos Rouvali 3: *ArchDelt* 33 B (1978) 99. Odos Solotrios: *ArchDelt* 27 B (1972) 290.

65 D. Robinson, "New Greek Bronze Vases," *AJA* 46 (1942) 194-97.

66 Polyb. 11.9.8, with reference to the federal bouleuterion in a speech made by Philopoimen in 208/7. M.H. Hansen & T. Fischer-Hansen, "Monumental Political Architecture in Archaic and Classical Greek *Poleis*. Evidence and Historical Significance," in Whitehead (*supra* n. 2) 37-75.

67 *ArchDelt* 33 B (1978) 100-102; *ArchDelt* 43B (1988) 166, 168.

68 N. Kourou, "Ταφικό σύνολο από την περιοχή Αιγίου," in *ΣΤΗΛΗ; Τόμος είς*

μνήμην Νικόλαου Κοντολεόντος (Athens 1980) 313-17 pl. 145g; *Eadem*, "Some Problems Concerning the Origins and Dating of the Thapsos Class Vases," *ASAtene* 61 (1983) 259-68.

69 I. Paparastolou, "Ανασκαφή ύστερογεωμετρικού ἀποθέτη στὴ Ρακίτα Παναχαικού," *Prakt* (1982) 187-88; M. Petropoulos, "Τρίτη ανασκαφική περίοδος στο Ἀνω Μαζαράκι (Ρακίτα) Αχαΐας," in *Πρακτικά Γ Διεθνoῦς Συνεδρίου Πελοποννησιακῶν Σπουδῶν* (Athens 1987-88) 85-86; *ArchDelt* 34 B (1979) 153; *CMS* V 1B (Berlin 1993) 163-64, cat.165. The pottery from the shrine is being studied by Anastasia Gadoiou for her Athens University doctoral thesis; we are grateful to her for preliminary discussion. Walling has been traced on site, but almost certainly belongs to terraces rather than structures.

70 Dekoulakou (*supra* n. 48) 230 figs. 20-21 (Aigion, Odos Kolokotronis 23); P. Amandry, "Petits objets de Delphes," *BCH* 68/9 (1944-5) 37 fig. 3 (Delphi, Geometric House deposit). Finds from Lousoi were noted by M. Petropoulos in a paper delivered to the 5th International Congress of Peloponnesian Studies, Nauplion, 6-10 September 1995 (with thanks to the excavation director, Dr. V. Mitsopoulou Leon); we are grateful to Dr. Petropoulos for this information.

71 See e.g. M.E. Voyatzis, *The Early Sanctuary of Athena Alea at Tegea and Other Archaic Sanctuaries in Arcadia* (Göteborg 1990) ch. 3.

72 M. Petropoulos, "Περίπτερος ἀψιδιωτὸς γεωμετρικὸς ναὸς στο Ἀνω Μαζαράκι (Ρακίτα) Πατρῶν," in *Πρακτικά Δ Διεθνoῦς Συνεδρίου Πελοποννησιακῶν Σπουδῶν. Κόρινθος 9-16 Σεπτεμβρίου 1990* II (Athens 1992-93) 141-58.

73 *Enciclopedia dell'Arte Antica, Classica e Orientale* VI, s.v. Pitsa, colour plate between pp. 202 and 203, for depiction of a conical oinochoe being borne in a procession towards an altar on a votive plaque from Pitsa.

74 See F. de Polignac, *Cults, Territory and the Origins of the Greek City-State* (Chicago 1995); also papers in S.E. Alcock & R. Osborne (eds.), *Placing the Gods: Sanctuaries and Sacred Space in Ancient Greece* (Oxford, 1994).

75 Åstrom (*supra* n. 42) 108; Rizakis (*supra* n. 3, *Sources*), 193-94.

76 *ArchDelt* 20 B (1965) 223.

77 Among the Archaic material are Corinthian and black-figured sherds: *ArchDelt* 20B (1965) 223.

78 *ArchDelt* 43B (1988) 170.

79 Early Iron Age pottery from surface survey in western Achaia is currently being studied by Ms Eleni Simoni. We are grateful to her for confirming this observation.

80 For recent overviews of this area, see M. Petropoulos, "Τοπογραφικά της χώρας των Πατρῶν," in Rizakis (ed.) (*supra* n. 3) 249-58; M. Petropoulos & A. Rizakis, "Settlements Patterns and Landscape in the Coastal Area of Patras. Preliminary Report," *JRA* 7 (1994) 183-207. For Tsoukaleika/Olenos, where a fourth-century cist tomb has been found, see Petropoulos & Rizakis (*op. cit.*) site 25; Petropoulos (*op. cit.*) 253 n. 50.

81 E.g. at Koukoura (Achaia Klaus), only four chamber tombs continue from LHIII A-SM; *AR* (1992-93) 23, citing report in *Rizospastes* 27.8.92.

82 Thea: Petropoulos & Rizakis (*supra* n. 80) 197. Kallithea: *AR* (1988-89) 41; *Ergon* (1987) 89-91 (PG? sherds in LH tholos with multiple (40+) burials, LHI-III; elsewhere in this cemetery, burials go to LHIIC).

83 Petropoulos (*supra* n. 80) 256.

84 Petropoulos & Rizakis (*supra* n. 80) 197 and tables 2a-2d, figs. 4a-4c.

85 Th. Papadopoulou, *Mycenaean Achaia* (Göteborg 1979) 28. However, Petropoulos

(*supra* n. 55) 495 and n. 5 notes that no PG or G traces have been found and that Papadopoulos' report does not cross-check.

86 Petropoulos & Rizakis (*supra* n. 80) 197 n. 23 report 6th century sherds.

87 Psila Alonia: *ArchDelt* 26 B (1971) 151. Odos Korinthou 18: *ArchDelt* 42 B (1987) 151. Inscription: Jeffery (*supra* n. 9) 224 no. 3; Papapostolou (*supra* n. 10) 34 no. 1, Patras inv. 147. Petropoulos (*supra* n. 55) 495-96 notes that the Archaic and Classical city extended from the south slope of the Acropolis towards Psila Alonia, whereas the late Hellenistic goes down towards the sea.

88 Thuc. 5.52.2. See Anderson (*supra* n. 19) 79; Koerner (*supra* n. 22) 467, 476. I. Papapostolou, "Ιστορικές μαρτυρίες και αρχαιολογικά ευρήματα της κλασικής και της προωμής Ελληνιστικής πόλης των Πατρών," in *Τόμος Τιμητικός Κ.Ν. Τριανταφύλλου* I (Patras 1990) 466 n. 11 conjectures that the lower part of a fortified structure found at the northern edge of the Roman city on Odos D. Botsi 52 may be part of this wall.

89 Rizakis (*supra* n. 3, *Sources*) 163-65; *LIMC* s.v. Patreus, Preugenes (M. Petropoulos).

90 E. Curtius, *Peloponnesos: eine historich-geographische Beschreibung der Halbinsel* I (Gotha 1851) 437, 453.

91 *Etym. Magn.* s.v. Ἀρόη.

92 *ArchDelt* 40 B (1985) 120. The only other remains of the temple found to date comprise three fragments of architectural sculpture of the end of the fifth century – two combatants from a pediment and an acroterial Nike: I. Trianti, *Ο Γλυπτός διάκοσμος του Ναού στο Μάζι της Ηλείας* (Thessaloniki 1985) 116-17, 133; Petropoulos (*supra* n. 80) fig. 3. Paus. 7.19.1 notes that this sanctuary was shared by Aroe, Antheia and Mesatis during the Ionian occupation of Achaia.

93 M. Moggi, *I sinecismi interstatali greci* (Pisa 1976) 92-93. M. Petropoulos, *Τὰ ἐργαστήρια τῶν ρωμαϊκῶν λυχναρῶν τῆς Πάτρας καὶ το Λυχνομαντεῖο* (PhD thesis, University of Ioannina, 1994) 43 argues that the political synoicism of Patras did not take place before the mid fifth century, noting that the city cemetery does not predate the second half of the century (we thank him for this reference).

94 Petropoulos & Rizakis (*supra* n. 80) sites 102, 103. Anemos: *AR* (1955) 17.

95 Charadron/Patras: Petropoulos & Rizakis (*supra* n. 80) site 109.

96 Petropoulos (*supra* n. 80) 253; Petropoulos & Rizakis (*supra* n. 80) site 57. Graves at Mygdalia/Petroton: *ArchDelt* 43 B (1988) 168. Petropoulos (*supra* n. 55) 517 n. 28 reports signs of a fortified acropolis on the hill of Siderokastro, with scattered Myc. and G sherds, damaged C or HL cist tombs on the east slope, and 5 LG pithos burials slightly higher on the west side. Lower in the nearby hollow of Xeropotamos are blocks from a large Classical or Hellenistic building.

97 *ArchDelt* 26 B (1971) 185-86; Petropoulos (*supra* n. 80); Petropoulos & Rizakis (*supra* n. 80) 197.

98 I. Dekoulakou, "Γεωμετρικοί ταφικοί πίθοι ἐξ Αχαΐας," *ArchEph* (1973) Chr., 15-29. Contents as follows: Pithos 1 = 2 handmade prochoes, 2 bronze rings, 2 pins and a spiral; Pithos 2 = kantharos, iron pin, bronze lekythos/oinochoe, bead necklace, ring, spiral, 2 disc ornaments; Pithos 3 = clay bowl, 2 bronze fibulae, bronze bowl, bronze pins and a ring, iron knife, iron pins, sword and spearhead, glass beads; Pithos 4 = clay bowl, kotyle, bronze ring and a bead, iron pin.

99 Dekoulakou (*supra* n. 98) dates pithos 1 as E/MG on the basis of the pins contained. Yet these are of a type which dates from the early ninth to the mid eighth century (P. Jacobsthal, *Greek Pins and their Connexions with Europe and Asia* [Oxford 1956] 5-6); had they been found in a region further east one might suggest a ninth century date, but it is

very hard to place Achaian finds so precisely. For general discussion of the chronology of this pair of burials: C. Morgan, *Settlement and Exploitation in the Region of the Corinthian Gulf, c.1000-700 BC* (PhD thesis, University of Cambridge, 1986), 17-20.

100 Dekoulakou (*supra* n. 98); Morgan (*supra* n. 99) 65-66. Pithos 4 is dated by a Corinthianising kotyle.

101 National Road: *ArchDelt* 26 B (1971) 185-86 pls. 166-67, containing a clay flask and similar quantity of bronze items to those in pithos 2. Panagia: *ArchDelt* 36 B (1981) 166. Bosinaki: *ArchDelt* 30 B (1975) 120 (only find is a spearhead outside the grave).

102 Petropoulos (*supra* n. 80) 256; Petropoulos and Rizakis (*supra* n. 80) site 111.

103 Petropoulos & Rizakis (*supra* n. 80) site 124 (Platani). Kato Kastritsi/Papadokosta: Petropoulos (*supra* n. 80) 256.

104 *ArchDelt* 30 B (1975) 118; Dekoulakou (*supra* n. 48) 228 fig. 19; Petropoulos (*supra* n. 80) 257; Petropoulos & Rizakis (*supra* n. 80) sites 113-116.

105 Panormos: Petropoulos (*supra* n. 80) 257; *ArchDelt* 22 B (1967) 216 (the Chatzeika tombs contained three black figure lekythoi, PM 940-942); see also Petropoulos & Rizakis (*supra* n. 80) sites 118, 120.

106 Petropoulos & Rizakis (*supra* n. 80) sites 137 and 124 respectively.

107 Petropoulos & Rizakis (*supra* n. 80) sites 70 (Gerokomeio), 6 (Alissos/Ag Paraskevi), reported in *ArchDelt* 45 B (1990, forthcoming), 5 (Alissos/Kamenitsa). K. Papagianopoulos, "Αρχαιολογική έρευνα στη περιοχή Αλίσσου-Θερίανου," in *Τόμος Τιμητικός Κ.Ν. Τριανταφύλλου* I (Patras 1991) 545.

108 Petropoulos & Rizakis (*supra* n. 80) 197-98, and tables 2a-2d, figs.4a-4c; M. Petropoulos, "Αγροτικές Πατρώϊδες," in P.N. Doukellis & L.G. Mendoni (eds.), *Structures rurales et sociétés antiques. Actes du colloque de Corfou, 14-16 Mai 1992* (Paris 1994) 405-424.

109 *ArchDelt* 40 B (1985) 120; Petropoulos (*supra* n. 108). Papapostolou (*supra* n. 88) 466 n. 5 notes early Classical material at Kouphomiheli-Melitzani, also in fill around the ca. 1st AD bridge across the river, further NW; cf. n. 93.

110 A. Rizakis, *Paysages d'Achaïe I. Le bassin du Peiros et la plaine occidentale* (Athens 1992); M. Lakakis, "Αγρότικοι οικισμοί στη Δυμαία χώρα; η περίπτωση του Πετροχώρου," in Rizakis (*supra* n. 3) 241-46; A. Rizakis & M. Lakakis, "Polis et Chora, l'organisation de l'espace urbain et rural en Achaïe occidentale," *Actes du congrès international de l'archéologie classique de Berlin* (Frankfurt 1990) 551-52.

111 Kato Achaia: this material is currently being studied by Ms A. Vasilogamvrou (Patras Ephoreia), and we are grateful to her for this information. Papadopoulos (*supra* n. 85) 24, 46-7; Rizakis (*supra* n. 110) 102-107, site 7; *Prakt* (1962) 130; *ArchDelt* 19 B (1964) 187-89; *ArchDelt* 20 B (1965) 224-27.

112 Paus. 5.9.1. See Koerner (*supra* n. 22) 469; Moggi (*supra* n. 93) 123; L. Moretti, *Olympionikai, I vincitori negli antichi Agoni Olimpici* (Rome 1957) no. 171. For Paleia: Paus. 6.3.8; 7.17.6.

113 *ArchDelt* 39 B (1984) 101; *ArchDelt* (1985-1988, forthcoming); Rizakis (*supra* n. 110) 68 and ch. 4, site 24.

114 Jeffery (*supra* n. 9) 224 no. 1; A. Wilhelm, *Beiträge zur griechischen Inschriftenkunde* (Vienna 1909) 121 no. 106, fig. 69; Papapostolou (*supra* n. 10) 34 compares it with his no. 1.

115 *ArchDelt* 43 B (1988) 168 notes discovery of parts of large burial pithoi, probably Geometric in date.

116 Rizakis (*supra* n. 110) site 36.

- 117 Rizakis (*supra* n. 110) site 45.
- 118 Rizakis (*supra* n. 110) site 49.
- 119 Rizakis (*supra* n. 110) site 50, lekythoi Patras Museum 604-607.
- 120 Rizakis (*supra* n. 110) site 65; Lakakis (*supra* n. 110) 244-45.
- 121 Rizakis (*supra* n. 110) site 77.
- 122 Rizakis (*supra* n. 110) site 63.
- 123 *ArchDelt* 22 B (1967) 216.
- 124 Rizakis (*supra* n. 110) site 26.
- 125 In order of notice: Rizakis (*supra* n. 110) sites 33 (1 fragt C? pithos rim with modern), 18 (C-R sherds, tile), 10 (Hell fortification, earlier stray sherds 4thC), 15 (C-R, few Classical sherds localised on east part of site), 16 (C-R, few sherds and tiles), 17 (C-H, sherds and tile), 44 (C?-Hell, tiles and sherds), 45 (extensive sherd scatter mainly C), 48 (C-R sherd and tile scatter, dispersed stones probably ancient), and 53 (C?-Hell sherds).
- 126 Rizakis (*supra* n. 110) site 46.
- 127 Rizakis (*supra* n. 110) site 49.
- 128 *ArchDelt* 20 B (1965) 224-27; red figure sherds include one with an incised sigma.
- 129 Rizakis (*supra* n. 110) site 2. Åstrom (*supra* n. 42) 102 notes the collection of black glaze sherds from Gerbesi (Loutra Araxou) in 1961.
- 130 Rizakis (*supra* n. 110) sites 8, 9. Burials: *ArchDelt* 42 B (1987) 165. 1958 group comprised 4 lekythoi (PM 562-565), a skyphos (PM 566), and a bronze mirror (PM 656). 1986 pithos burial contained 2 BG lekythoi (PM 7491-7492), a BG kylix (PM 7493), and a small BG kotyle (PM 7494). Coin hoard: *BCH* 63 (1939), chronique 288; M. Thompson, O. Mørkholm, and C. Kraay, *An Inventory of Greek Coin Hoards* (New York 1973) 8 no. 35 (containing coinage of Elis, Phokis and Aigina).
- 131 Rizakis (*supra* n. 110) sites 65, 66.
- 132 Rizakis (*supra* n. 110) site 77.
- 133 Papadopoulos (*supra* n. 85) 30-31, 44-48. Chalandritsa: *ArchDelt* 40 B (1985) 136-38, LHIIIB-SM settlement on site of local health centre. 3 concentric areas of building with radiating roads; 2 storeyed houses (cuttings for wooden stairs), with one or two trapezoidal rooms, ground floors with hearths used for heating also storage, cooking areas outside.
- 134 *ArchDelt* 19 B (1964) 186, containing a kyathos (PM679) and kantharos (PM680).
- 135 N. Zappeiropoulos, "Ανασκαφικά ἔρευναί εἰς Περιφέρειαν Φαρῶν Αἰχῆας" *Prakt* (1956) 195-96; sherds mainly kantharoi, skyphoi and kraters, plus some closed forms and coarsewares.
- 136 *ArchDelt* 39 B (1984) 103-104; *ArchDelt* 42 B (1987) 163.
- 137 *ArchDelt* 19 B (1964) 186.
- 138 *ArchDelt* 17 B (1961-62) 129.
- 139 N. Kyriarissis, "Ανασκαφή Μυκηναϊκῶν νεκροταφείων Δήμου Φαρῶν Αἰχῆας ἐν Ἁγῶ Βασιλείῳ Χαλανδρίτσης καὶ Μητροπόλει," *Prakt* (1929) 89-91; *Idem*, "Ανασκαφή Μυκηναϊκῶν νεκροταφείων ἐν Χαλανδρίτση (Δήμου Φαρῶν Αἰχῆας) καὶ Μάνεσι (Δήμου Λαπαθῶν Καλαβρυτιῶν)," *Prakt* (1930) 83-85; V.R.d'A. Desborough, *The Greek Dark Ages* (London 1972) 92; Zappeiropoulos (*supra* n. 135) 199-200; J.N. Coldstream, *Geometric Greece* (London 1977) 180.
- 140 N. Zappeiropoulos, "Ανασκαφή Φαρῶν," *Prakt* (1957) 114-17.
- 141 P. Zappeiropoulos, "Ανασκαφικά ἔρευναί εἰς Περιφέρειαν Φαρῶν Αἰχῆας" *Prakt* (1952) 400-412. A contained 1 oinochoe, 6 skyphoi (incl 1 with fish), bronze rings and iron spit fragments. BI=pyxys, kyathos, 2 skyphoi, Γ=3 skyphoi, 3 oinochoai, a bronze ring and bracelet. Γ has spit fragments plus at least 1 oinochoe and skyphos.

- 142 Zapheiropoulos (*supra* n. 135) 196-97.
- 143 Zapheiropoulos (*supra* n. 135) 197-98.
- 144 Dekoulakou (*supra* n. 48) fig. 18.
- 145 Morgan (*supra* n. 3) 139-40. Analogous observations have been made about the Sperchios valley in Thessaly: F. Dakoronia, "Sperchios Valley and the Adjacent Area," in *ΘΕΣΣΑΛΙΑ. Δεκαπέντε χρόνια αρχαιολογικής έρευνας 1975-1990. Αποτελέσματα και προόψεις* (Athens 1994) 233-42.
- 146 Zapheiropoulos (*supra* n. 141) 403-404 fig. 14.
- 147 Zapheiropoulos (*supra* n. 135) 195-96. Petropoulos (*supra* n. 55) 504-505.
- 148 Zapheiropoulos (*supra* n. 141) 396-98.
- 149 The following fall into this category: Bouga: Zapheiropoulos (*supra* n. 135) 193; a tholos originally described as Geometric, but almost certainly Mycenaean. Pori: Kyparissis (*supra* n. 139 [1930]) 87; disturbed traces of unexcavated Mycenaean or possibly later cemetery at the foot of Korakofolia hill. Troumbe: Kyparissis, 85; destroyed tomb surrounded by peribolos wall, with one obsidian point; further uninvestigated burials on nearby hilltops. Agrapadies: Papadopoulos (*supra* n. 85) 29; Coldstream (*supra* n. 139) 180; a group of cist tombs within a peribolos wall, undatable coarseware and beads from one burial only; Coldstream dates the group as Geometric, Papadopoulos restores a tumulus and suggests LH (II?). Ag. Basileos in Marnolaka ravine: Kyparissis (*supra* n. 139 [1929]) 86-88; *idem* "Ανασκαφή Μυκηναϊκού Νεκροταφείου ἐν Αγ. Βασιλείῳ Χαλανδρίτσης, Αχαΐας," *Prakt* (1928) 110-119; pithos without goods, probably Mycenaean since there are numerous Mycenaean remains in the area.
- 150 *ArchDelt* 39 B (1984) 103: G. Hatzı Spiliopoulou "Ταφικοί Πίθου στην Ηλεία κατά τον 4ου αι. π.Χ. και τους Ελληνιστικοὺς Χρόνους" in Rizakis (*supra* n. 3) n. 57.
- 151 EIA Manesi: single burial, end 8thC (containing local pottery, showing Lakonian influence but no strong stylistic links with the rest of Achaia); Dekoulakou (*supra* n. 48) 231-32 figs. 24-29. Kompegadi: Geometric burial reported, no further details: *AR* (1954) 157. Priolithos: late eighth century pithos burial: *ArchDelt* 22 B (1967) pl. 156e. Three further undatable burials (EIA or later?): Xydia, disturbed cist tomb without contents: *ArchDelt* 35 B (1980) 198; Agros Katsikopoulou (N. of Mon. Lavra, Kalavryta), 2 cist tombs, robbed and badly damaged: *ArchDelt* 33 (1978) 103.
- Flaboura: early seventh-century kantharos probably from a burial: Dekoulakou (*supra* n. 48) fig. 35, PM 883. Asani (= Classical Kryoneri): early seventh-century pithos burial, containing one imported Corinthian aryballos and local Corinthianising pottery: Dekoulakou (*supra* n. 48), 232-34 figs. 30-34. Pithos burial of late 5thC-Hellenistic type, plus a further pithos burial 100m from Kryoneri church in contact with a contemporary enchytrismos vessel (the latter with a kotyle as an offering). Possibly related are vases deposited in Patras Museum 20 years ago from Kouzia property: Hatzı (*supra* n. 150) n. 57; *ArchDelt* 42 B (1987) 163. Ag. Konstantinos, early-mid seventh-century panoply burial (containing a sword and an early Illyrian helmet): *ArchDelt* 17 B (1961-62) 131-32.
- Planiterou (Kleisoura, Seremetaki); cemetery destroyed in road building, 3 tile tombs rescued, presumed Classical; stele with Σ also found: *ArchDelt* 39 B (1984) 104. Kalavryta Kastro: ancient cemetery noted at Kioupia ca. 1km from Kastro; prehistoric, Classical and Medieval sherds reported, perhaps related to Arkadian Kynaitha? Ag. Vlasi, Glastra: Classical-Hellenistic tiles used to cover a later cist tomb (re-used into Roman period) implies the existence of a building: *ArchDelt* 42 B (1987) 163-64. At Drosato Brysariou-Lakes, west of the Selinous river, extensive surface traces of settlement include a continu-

ous pottery sequence from the eighth to the first century BC. Of particular interest here is the chance discovery of an eighth-century bronze horse figurine, since although isolated finds are hard to interpret, horse figurines elsewhere are most usually found in sanctuaries (being rare in settlements and almost unknown in graves): *ADelt* 42 B (1982) 164-65 (horse Patras 3866).

152 Among the earliest evidence relating to Pharai is the late 5th/early 4th C. Φαιλύκος stele: Papadopoulos (*supra* n. 10) 36 no. 11, Patras inv. 175. Petropoulos (*supra* n. 55) 496-97 notes that excavations conducted by Maria Lakakis at Ag. Marina Tritaia have uncovered remains of ancient Tritaia; further details will appear in the forthcoming *ArchDelt* (1987-1989).

153 See Hansen (*supra* n. 2 [1993]) 13-16.

154 Strab. 8.3.2. See Moggi (*supra* n. 93) 93, 124, 126. N. Demand, *Urban Relocation in Archaic and Classical Greece: Flight and Consolidation* (Bristol 1990) 61-64 argues that Strabo envisages the synoecism of Dyme as involving the incorporation of Olenos – something that must have happened after Herodotos was writing (cf. Hdt 1.145). See *supra*, where it was suggested that the incorporation should predate ca. 370 B.C. since the name of Olenos is omitted by Skylax (42).

155 Larsen (*supra* n. 4) 83.

156 *Boule*: *SEG* 14 375. See Larsen (*supra* n. 4) 86, who dates it to the earlier confederacy, and Koerner (*supra* n. 22) 490.

157 Xen. *Hell.* 4.6.1. See Larsen (*supra* n. 30) 809; *Idem* (*supra* n. 4) 9; Koerner (*supra* n. 22) 485. Interestingly enough, after the refoundation of the League, grants of citizenship to foreigners were made by individual *poleis* rather than by the League itself: P.J. Rhodes, "The Greek *Poleis*: Demes, Cities and Leagues," in Hansen (*supra* n. 2) 176. See also Rizakis (*supra* n. 10).

158 *IG* P 93. See Koerner (*supra* n. 22) 483, 486. However, it is also possible that this external ethnic simply designates the *ethnos* to which Lykon belonged: see below.

159 Thuc. 5.52.2. See Anderson (*supra* n. 19) 84; Koerner (*supra* n. 22) 480.

160 Thuc. 2.9.2. See Larsen (*supra* n. 30) 802; *Idem* (*supra* n. 4) 128. Again, the Peloponnesians are the only Achaians enrolled in the Peloponnesian League in 418 B.C.: Thuc. 5.58.4; 5.59.3; 5.60.3; Larsen (*supra* n. 4) 153.

161 E.g. Thuc. 1.115.1; 2.86.1, 4; 2.92.5; 4.21.3; 5.82.1.

162 Polyb. 2.39.5-6. Chronological indications are given by the fact that Polybios dates this meeting to some time shortly after the *synedria* of the Pythagoreans had burned down.

163 Polyb. 2.41.3-6.

164 Hdt. 5.44-45; 6.21.2; 6.1.13. The date is given by Diod. 11.90.3 who places it 58 years before the archonship of Lysikrates at Athens in 453/452 B.C.

165 Strab. 6.1.13; cf. Diod. 11.90.3; 12.9-10. See W. Leschhorn, "Gründer der Stadt": *Studien zu einem politisch-religiösen Phänomen der griechischen Geschichte* (Stuttgart 1984) 128-29.

166 F.W. Walbank, *A Historical Commentary on Polybius I* (Oxford 1957) 225-26. See also T.J. Dunbabin, *The Western Greeks* (Oxford 1948) 35.

167 Strab. 6.1.14. Strabo actually refers to Sybaris on the Teuthras, but Meinecke emended this to Traeis.

168 This is the view of A. Aymard, "Le Zeus fédéral achaien Hamarios-Homarios," in *Melanges offerts à M. Octave Navarre* (Toulouse 1935) 454; Anderson (*supra* n. 19) 80; Larsen (*supra* n. 4) 84.

169 Strab. 8.7.3. In actual fact, Strabo refers to the Arnarion and later (8.7.5) to the Ai-

narion, but as Aymard (*supra* n. 168) argues this is almost certainly a copyist's error from Amarion, which is the regular epigraphic form for Hamarion once the aspirate was no longer in use. In accounting for the oscillation between Homarion and Hamarion, Aymard suggests that the former is a dialectal form, while the latter is the common Greek form.

170 Polyb. 5.93.10.

171 P. Foucart, "Fragment inédit d' un décret de la Ligue achéenne," *RA* 32 (1876) 96-103; Aymard (*supra* n. 168) 457.

172 Head (*supra* n. 50) 416.

173 Livy 38.30.2: "Aegium a principio Achaici concilii semper conventus gentis indicti sunt." Strab. 8.7.5 seems to situate it within the *chora* of Aigion.

174 It is extremely unlikely that the Homarion is to be associated with the coastal sanctuary of Zeus Homagyrios at Aigion, where Agamemnon is supposed to have held consultations prior to embarking upon the expedition against Troy: Paus. 7.24.2. See Aymard (*supra* n. 168) 454 n. 1; *Idem*, *Les assemblées de la confédération achaienne* (Bordeaux 1938) 279-80. Rizakis (*supra* n. 3, *Sources*), 200-201.

175 Paus. 7.24.4 (Aigion); 7.7.2 (Helike).

176 Aymard (*supra* n. 174) 286-87, 293. Aymard suggests that the Homarion should be situated at either Kato Temeni or Ano Temeni which he believes to lie midway between Aigion and Helike; for recent research on the location of Helike see n. 55 here above.

177 Hom. *Il.* 8.203. See also Rizakis (*supra* n. 3, *Sources*) 101-102.

178 As a symbol of Ionian identity: Hdt. 1.148.1; Paus. 7.24.5. For its continued existence through to 373 B.C.: Strab. 8.7.2; Paus. 7.24.6. Pausanias notes that it was still a place of refuge for suppliants in the fourth century which may also testify to its status as a regional sanctuary: cf. U. Sinn, "Das Heraion von Perachora: eine sacrale Schutzzone in der korinthischen Peraia," *AM* 105 (1990) 92.

179 Larsen (*supra* n. 4) 81-82; cf. Anderson (*supra* n. 19) 81.

180 For the Heraklid/Achaian identity of Mykenai in confrontation with the Dorians of Argos: J.M. Hall, "Approaches to Ethnicity in the Early Iron Age of Greece," in N. Spencer (ed.), *Time, tradition and society in Greek archaeology: bridging the "Great Divide"* (London 1995) 13-16.

181 Anderson (*supra* n. 19) 80.

182 *Damiourgoi* are not attested in every Achaian *polis*, and at Dyme an official named the *Theokolos* appears to share equal rank with the *damiourgoi*: Koerner (*supra* n. 22) 474. Analogous reflections concerning the likely date of the Arkadian confederation are presented by Thomas Heine Nielsen, "Was there an Arkadian Confederacy in the Fifth Century?"; *Papers from the Copenhagen Polis Centre* 3, 39-61.

183 See A. Giovannini, *Untersuchungen über die Natur und die Anfänge der bundesstaatlichen Sympolitie in Griechenland = Hypomnemata* 33 (Göttingen 1971) 14-16; W. Donlan, "The Social Groups of Dark Age Greece," *CP* 80 (1985) 295.

184 J.M. Hall, *Ethnic Identity in the Argolid, 900-600 B.C.*, (PhD thesis, University of Cambridge, 1993) 35-36, 55-61. These issues are explored more fully in *Idem*, *Ethnic Identity in Greek Antiquity* (Cambridge forthcoming).

185 *Contra* Sakellariou (*supra* n. 21).

186 Messenia: Mimnermos fr. 9 West, cf. Hom. *Il.* 11.690-93; Hes. fr. 33(a) Merkelbach & West; Hellanikos (*FGrHist* 4) fr. 125; Hdt. 9.97; Pherekydes (*FGrHist* 3) fr. 155; Strab. 14.1.3; Paus. 7.2.1-2. Boiotia: Hellanikos (*FGrHist* 4) fr. 101; Hdt. 1.146.1-2.

187 See also Koerner (*supra* n. 22) 458; Morgan (*supra* n. 3) 135-36.

188 Paus. 7.1.1. See F. Gschnitzer, "Stammes- und Ortsgemeinden im alten Griechenland," *WS* 68 (1955) 120-44; Koerner (*supra* n. 22) 458.

- 189** Hom. *Il.* 2.573-75; 8.203.
- 190** Olenos appears to be listed among the contingent from Eleia in the Catalogue of Ships: Hom. *Il.* 2.617.
- 191** Hom. *Il.* 2.575; Hdt. 7.94; Strab. 8.7.1; Paus. 7.1.1.
- 192** Paus. 7.1.8. See D.M. Leahy, "The Bones of Teisamenos," *Historia* 4 (1955) 26-38; M. Giangiulio, *Ricerche su Crotone arcaica* (Pisa 1989) 208. Leahy dates this transferal between 560 B.C. and 555 B.C. There is no suggestion that the Achaiaans had been aware of Teisamenos' tomb prior to the Spartan "discovery", though the connection of Teisamenos with eastern Achaia must have already been established for the Spartans to have made any political capital out of the event.
- 193** *Hymn. Hom. Ap.* 416-26. See L. Mendone, "Η Αχαΐα στους αρχαίους Έλληνες και λατίνους συγγραφείς," in Rizakis (*supra* n. 3) 68.
- 194** Jeffery (*supra* n. 9) 221.
- 195** Cited by Paus. 7.17.7. It is possible that the attestation of Paleia is deliberately archaising. Alternatively, it may provide evidence for a synoecism of Dyme later than 460 B.C. (cf. Demand (*supra* n. 154) 63-64). We see no compelling reason to treat Paleia as an originally independent polis.
- 196** W. Dittenberger & K. Purgold, *Olympia V: die Inschriften von Olympia* (Berlin 1896) 630-31.
- 197** *IG* I² 93.
- 198** *Contra* Koerner (*supra* n. 22) 486.
- 199** E.g. M.M. Austin & P. Vidal-Naquet, *Economic and Social History of Ancient Greece: An Introduction* (Berkeley 1977) 50; A.J. Graham, "The Colonial Expansion of Greece," *CAH* III.3 (Cambridge 1982) 159.
- 200** I. Malkin, *Religion and Colonization in Ancient Greece* (Leiden 1987) 263.
- 201** I. Malkin, "Inside and Outside: colonization and the formation of the mother city," in B. d'Agostino & D. Ridgway (eds.), *APOIKIA. Scritti in onore di Giorgio Buchner = AnnArchStorAnt* 1 (1994) 1-9. Hansen (*supra* n. 2 [1994]) 15 cites Achaia as a case; cf. Malkin (*supra* n. 200) 12.
- 202** Malkin (*supra* n. 200) 43-47, 88-91; Morgan (*supra* n. 3) 147; cf. Plat. *Leg.* 708b, 740a.
- 203** A.M. Snodgrass, *The Dark Age of Greece* (Edinburgh 1971) figs. 42-43. Ithakan origin: Morgan (*supra* n. 99) 27-28.
- 204** C. Morgan, "Problems and Prospects in the Study of Corinthian Pottery Production," in *Magna Graeca e Corinto. Atti del XXXIV Convegno di Studi sulla Magna Graecia, Taranto 7-11 Ott. 1994* (forthcoming) includes bibliography.
- 205** As suggested by Larsen (*supra* n. 30) 798 n. 5, and refuted by Anderson (*supra* n. 19) 78-79 n. 19.
- 206** The bibliography of the site, excavated since 1879, is extensive: latest summary in *Sibari e la Sibaritide* (*supra* n. 54). Summary of evidence for relevant periods: P.G. Guzzo, "Sibari. Materiali per un bilancio archeologico," in *Sibari e la Sibaritide*, 51-66; *Idem*, "Sibari e la Sibaritide: materiali per un bilancio della conoscenza archeologica," *RA* (1992) 3-35. Principal reports: *Sibari. Saggi di Scavo al Parco del Cavallo* (1969), *NSc* 23 [94] (1969), supp.1; *Sibari. Scavi al Parco del Cavallo* (1960-1962; 1969-1970) e agli *Stombi* (1969-1970), *NSc* 24 [95] (1970), supp.3; *Sibari II. Rapporto Preliminare della Campagna di Scavo: Stombi, Casa Bianca, Parco del Cavallo, San Mauro* (1971), *NSc* 26 [97] (1972) supp.; *Sibari IV. Relazione Preliminare della Campagna di Scavo: Stombi Parco del Cavallo, Prolungamento Strada, Casa Bianca* (1972), *NSc* 28 [99] (1974),

supp.; Sibari IV. *Relazione Preliminare delle Campagne di Scavo 1973 (Parco del Cavallo, Casa Bianca) e 1974 (Stombi; Incrocio; Parco del Cavallo; Prolungamento Strada; Casa Bianca)*, *NSc* 42/43 [113/4] (1988-9), supp.III (see 590-92 for bibliography).

207 Pseudo-Skymnos says that at the time of its destruction (in 511/510 B.C.) Sybaris had existed for about 210 years: see J. Bérard, *La colonisation grecque de l' Italie méridionale et de la Sicile dans l' antiquité. L' histoire et la légende* (2nd edn. Paris 1957) 144. Bérard prefers the Eusebian date.

208 C. Dehl, *Die korinthische Keramik des 8 und früher 7 Jhr. v. Chr. in Italien* (Berlin 1984) 211-12 (Kroton), 260-62 (Sybaris); P.G. Guzzo, "La Sibaritide e Sibari nell' VIII e VII sec. a.C.," *ASAtene* 60 (1982) 237-50, noting also a Corinthian MG chevron skyphos from Torre Mordilla in the later *chora* of Sybaris.

209 P.G. Guzzo, "Importazioni fittili Greco-Orientali sulla Costa Jonica d'Italia," in *Céramique de la Grèce de l'est et leur diffusion en occident* (Paris-Naples 1978) 107-130; see also Guzzo (*supra* n. 208).

210 F. Croissant, "Sybaris: la production artistique," in *Sibari e la Sibaritide* (*supra* n. 54) 539-59.

211 Architecture discussed by D. Mertens, "Architettura arcaica dal Parco del Cavallo," *NSc* (1972) supp. (*supra* n. 206) 451-78.

212 D. Mertens, "Note preliminari sull' architettura arcaica di Sibari," in *Sibari e la Sibaritide* (*supra* n. 54) 567-70.

213 S. Settis (ed.), *Storia della Calabria I. La Calabria Antica* (Rome/Reggio 1987) 137-226; for earlier local settlement, see R. Peroni, "La Sibaritide prima di Sibari," in *Sibari e la Sibaritide* (*supra* n. 54) 103-35. Guzzo (*supra* n. 206) for pre-colonial pottery.

214 Mertens (*supra* n. 211) 561-70.

215 Guzzo (*supra* n. 206).

216 Among an extensive bibliography, see: Polignac (*supra* n. 74) ch. 3; I.E.M. Edlund, *The Gods and the Place* (Stockholm 1987) part IV; Malkin (*supra* n. 200) 135-86; *Idem*, "Territorial Domination and the Greek Sanctuary," in B. Alroth and P. Hellström (ed), *Religion and Power in the Ancient Greek World* (Uppsala 1996).

217 E.g. Dunbabin (*supra* n. 166) 24; Anderson (*supra* n. 19) 78.

218 See Leschhorn (*supra* n. 165) 26 n. 3. Alternatively, the name Wis has been suggested for the oikist of Sybaris on the basis of the legends $\Phi\iota\iota\varsigma$ on the early coinage of Poseidonia (often treated as a Sybarite foundation): see G. Pugliese Carratelli, "Le vicende di Sibari e Thurii," in G. Pugliese Carratelli, *Scritti sul mondo antico* (Naples 1976) 365.

219 Arist. *Pol.* 1303a 29. He is followed by Solin. 2.10.

220 Nic. *ap. Ant. Lib.* 8; Solin. 2.10.

221 For summary, see: *Crotone. Atti del Ventitreesimo Convegno di Studi sulla Magna Grecia, Taranto 7-10 Ott. 1983* (Taranto 1984). For history of research: E. Lattanzi, "Problemi archeologici – dalla ricerca alla tutela," in *Crotone* 95-117; R. Spadea, "La topografia," in *Crotone* 119-66.

222 C. Sabbione, "Le aree di colonizzazione di Crotone e Locri Epizefiri nell' VIII e VII sec. a.C.," *ASAtene* 60 (1982) 251-77; *Idem*, "L' artigianato artistico," in *Crotone* (*supra* n. 221) 245-301.

223 P. Orsi, *Croton – prima campagna di scavi al santuario di Hera Lacinia*, *NSc* 46 (1911) supp; R. Spadea (ed.), *Il tesoro di Hera: scoperte nel santuario di Hera Lacinia a Capo Colonna de Crotone* (Milan 1996).

224 G.F. Maddoli, "I culti di Crotone," in *Crotone* (*supra* n. 221) 313-43.

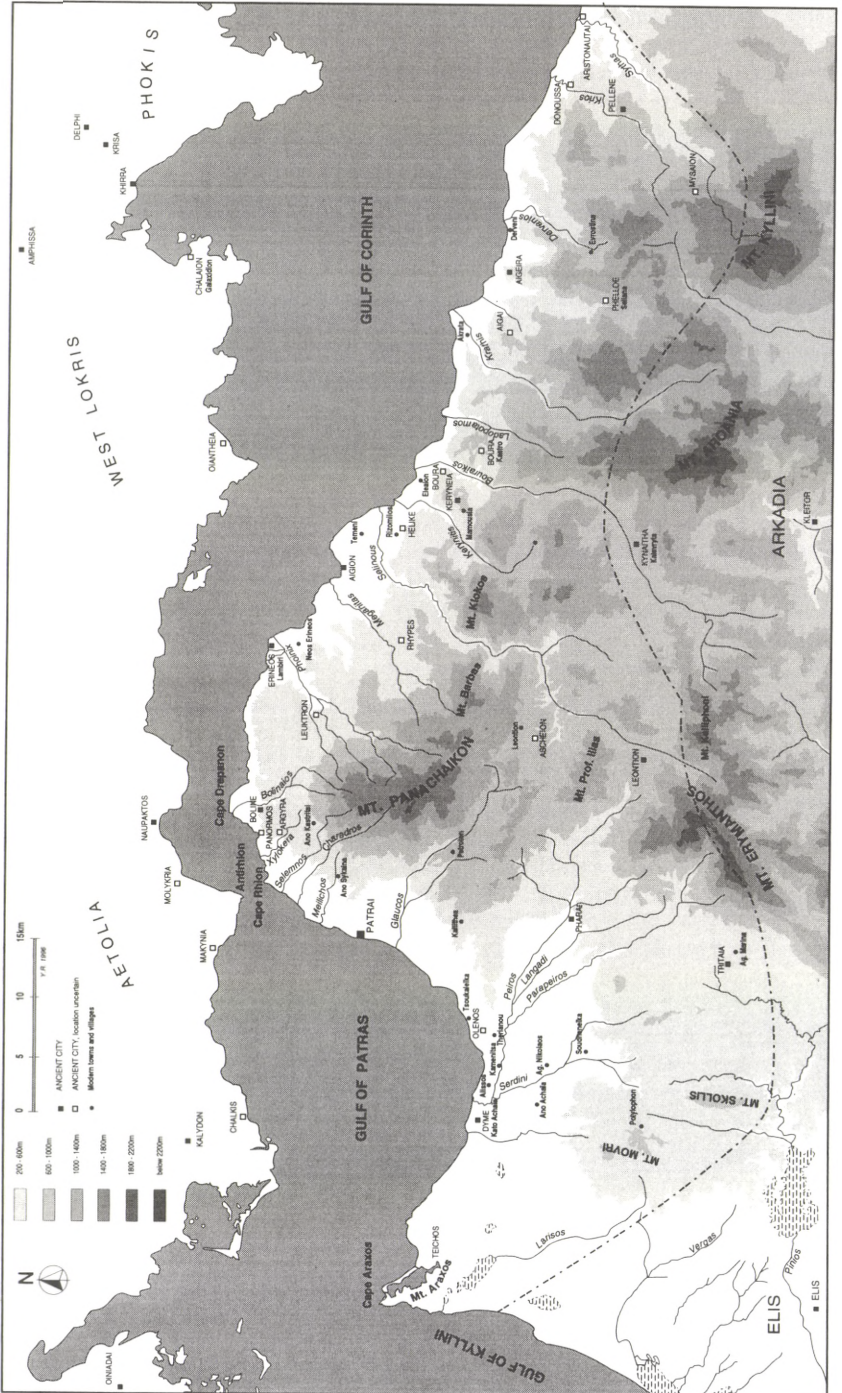
225 Antiochos of Syracuse (*FGrHist* 555) fr. 10 *ap.* Strab. 6.1.12; Hdt. 8.47.

- 226 The name Myskellos is given by Antiochos of Syracuse (*FGrHist* 555) fr. 10; ps-Scymn. 325; Dion. Hal. 2.59.3; Strab. 6.1.12; Solin. 2.10; Zenob. 3.42. His home town is named as Rhyes by Hippias of Rhegion (*FGrHist* 554) fr.1; Diod. 8.17; Strab. 8.7.5.
- 227 Leschhorn (*supra* n. 165) 28. Dunbabin (*supra* n. 166) 27 dates its invention to the late sixth or early fifth centuries, while Giangiulio (*supra* n. 192) 134 places it in the late fifth century. It is not entirely apparent that Strabo's story of the double oracular consultation is still part of a citation from Antiochos: *contra* Bérard (*supra* n. 207) 152.
- 228 Dion. Hal. 2.59.3 says that Myskellos founded Kroton in the third year of the 17th Olympiad (709 B.C.).
- 229 E.g. Koerner (*supra* n. 22) 463.
- 230 Hippias of Rhegion (*FGrHist* 554) fr.1 *ap.* Zenob. 3.42; Antiochos of Syracuse (*FGrHist* 555) fr.10 *ap.* Strab. 6.1.12.
- 231 Malkin (*supra* n. 200) 45.
- 232 Giangiulio (*supra* n. 192) 143-44.
- 233 Malkin (*supra* n. 200) 45-46.
- 234 Leschhorn (*supra* n. 165) 30; Giangiulio (*supra* n. 192) 136-39. For the foundation of Kyrene: Hdt. 4.150-161. Battos' name means "stammerer"; the Delphic Oracle repeatedly refers to Myskellos as βραχύνωτε or "crooked-backed" and according to Hesychios, μύσκιλος means σκολιός ("crooked"). Note, however, that unlike Battos, Myskellos does not consult the oracle about his deformity: see Malkin (*supra* n. 200) 44.
- 235 Giangiulio (*supra* n. 192) 142-43.
- 236 For the Delphic tripod on Krotoniate coinage: Head (*supra* n. 50) 95; Dunbabin (*supra* n. 166) 27; Bérard (*supra* n. 207) 153; Leschhorn (*supra* n. 165) 30; Jeffery (*supra* n. 9) 257. Giangiulio (*supra* n. 192) 133 n. 7 notes that in the sixth and fifth centuries the Delphic tripod only appears elsewhere on the coinage of Delphi and Zakynthos, both of which are later issues. For the importance of the cult of Apollo Pythios to the Pythagoreans of Kroton: Giangiulio, 93-94.
- 237 Head (*supra* n. 50) 96-7; Bérard (*supra* n. 207) 154; Leschhorn (*supra* n. 165) 29; Jeffery (*supra* n. 9) 257.
- 238 First, Herakles was the traditional founder of the Olympic Games in which Kroton was a successful participant from the seventh century onwards. Secondly, Herakles is intimately associated with Hera, whose cult appears to go back to the early years of the colony: see Giangiulio (*supra* n. 192) esp. 71-72, 102-103.
- 239 For Menelaos: Lycoph. *Alex.* 858; Helen: Dion Hal. *Vett. Cens.* I; Cic. *De Invent.* 2.1.1; Achilleus: Lycoph. *Alex.* 857. See G. Giannelli, *Culti e miti della Magna Grecia. Contributo alla storia più antica delle colonie greche in Occidente* (Florence 1963) 148-51. Bérard (*supra* n. 207) 155 views these Lakonian cults as pre-Dorian ones carried from Sparta to Achaia at the time of the Dorian invasion and from there to South Italy.
- 240 I. Malkin, *Myth and Territory in the Spartan Mediterranean* (Cambridge 1994) 62-64.
- 241 See the objections of Giangiulio (*supra* n. 192) 183-84.
- 242 Strab. 6.1.11.
- 243 P. Orsi, "Caulonia. Campagne archeologiche del 1912, 1913 e 1914," *MonAnt* 23 (1914) 685-947; *Idem*, "Caulonia II. Memoria," *MonAnt* 29 (1924) 410-90. H. Tréziny, *Kaulonia I. Sondages sur la fortification nord (1982-1985). Cahiers du Centre Jean Bérard XIII* (Naples 1989).
- 244 Ps-Scymn. 318-19; Solin. 2.10; Steph. Byz. s.v. Ἀυλώων.
- 245 Anderson (*supra* n. 19) 78; Koerner (*supra* n. 22) 464.

- 246** Head (*supra* n. 50) 92-3; Dunbabin (*supra* n. 166) 41; Bérard (*supra* n. 207) 159.
- 247** The following is a brief selection from the extensive bibliography on Metapontion and its *chora*: D. Adamesteanu, D. Mertens & F. d'Andria, *Metaponto* I, *NSc* 29 [100] (1975), supp.; D. Adamesteanu, D. Mertens & F. d'Andria, *Metaponto* II, *NSc* 31 [102] (1977), supp.; F.G. lo Porto, "Metaponto," *NSc* 35 [106] (1981) 289-301; D. Adamesteanu, "Siris e Metaponto alla luce delle nuove scoperte archeologiche," *ASAtene* 60 (1982) 301-13; D. Mertens, "Metapont. Ein neuer Plan der Stadtzentrum," *AA* (1985) 645-71; A. de Siena, "Contributi archeologici alla definizione della fase protocoloniale del Metapontino," *Bolletino storico della Basilicata* 6 (1990) 71-88; D. Adamesteanu, D. Mertens & A. de Siena, "Metaponto: santuario di Apollo Tempio D," *BdA* 60 (1975) 26-49; D. Adamesteanu, "Santuari Metapontini," in U. Jantzen (ed.), *Neue Forschungen in griechischen Heiligtümern* (Tübingen 1976) 151-66; J.C. Carter, "Sanctuaries in the Chora of Metapontum," in Alcock & Osborne (*supra* n. 74) 161-98; *Idem*, "Metapontum – Land, Wealth, and Population," in J.-P. Descoeudres (ed.), *Greek Colonists and Native Populations* (Oxford 1990) 405-41. Inconronata: *Ricerche archeologiche all'Inconronata di Metaponto I. Le fosse di Scarico del Saggio P. Materiali e problematiche* (Milan 1991); P. Orlandini, *Ricerche archeologiche all'Inconronata di Metaponto II. Dal villaggio indigeno all'emporio greco. Le strutture e i materiali del saggio T* (Milan 1992); P. Orlandini, "Scavi e scoperte di VIII e VII sec. a.C. in località Inconronata tra Siris e Metaponto," *ASAtene* 60 (1982) 315-27.
- 248** D. Adamesteanu, "Argoi lithoi a Metaponto" in *Adriatica praehistorica et antiqua: Miscellanea G. Novak dicata* (Zagreb 1970) 307-24, suggests that these unworked stones, sometimes with inscriptions, point to close cult connections with the Achaian homeland. This rests on Pausanias' description of Achaian argoi lithoi, and not on contemporary Achaian evidence.
- 249** Samnite destruction: D. Musti, *Strabone e la Magna Grecia. Città e popoli dell'Italia antica* (Padua 1988) 120. Rural shrines and territory: Carter (*supra* n. 247); M. Osanna, *Chorai coloniali da Taranto a Locri* (Rome 1992).
- 250** See Bérard (*supra* n. 207) 176.
- 251** Head (*supra* n. 50) 78; Dion. Hal. fr. 19.3. See generally Dunbabin (*supra* n. 166) 32; Bérard (*supra* n. 207) 177-78.
- 252** See Dunbabin (*supra* n. 166) 32; Bérard (*supra* n. 207) 181. Bérard cites schol. ad *Il.* 2.520 which mentions a Daulieus, son of Tyrannos, and suggests that Ephoros (or Strabo) has made an error.
- 253** Bérard (*supra* n. 207) 177; Malkin (*supra* n. 200) 181-82.
- 254** E. Pais, *Storia della Sicilia e della Magna Grecia* (Turin 1894) 533-40. Bérard (*supra* n. 207) 216 also notes: i) that Stephanos of Byzantium (s.v. Τροίτζην) mentions a second Troizen in the Massaliot region of Italy; and ii) that Poseidon, from whom Poseidonia took its name, was the principal deity at Troizen (and more especially neighbouring Kalau-rea).
- 255** J.G. Pedley, *Paestum* (London 1990) chs 1-4. The most recent collection of studies on this site is *Poseidonia-Paestum. Atti del Ventisettesimo Convegno di Studi sulla Magna Grecia, Taranto-Paestum, 9-15 Ott. 1987* (Taranto 1988). For a revised dating of Poseidonia: E. Greco, *Archeologia della Magna Grecia* (2nd. edn. Rome and Bari 1993) 71, 157.
- 256** Malkin (*supra* n. 200) 131-32.
- 257** Anderson (*supra* n. 19) 78; Koerner (*supra* n. 22) 465.
- 258** Hdt. 1.145; Strab. 8.7.4-5; Paus. 7.25.11; 8.15.9. See Dunbabin (*supra* n. 166) 24; Bérard (*supra* n. 207) 141; Koerner (*supra* n. 22) 464; Giangiulio (*supra* n. 192) 166-67.
- 259** W. Goegebeur, "Hérodote et la fondation de Crotone," *AntCl.* 54 (1985) 116-51.

- 260** E.g. the Hermionians are Dryopes from Doris (8.43); the Ambrakiots and Leukadians are Dorians from Korinth (8.45); the Aiginetans are Dorians from Epidaurous (8.46.1); and the Keans and Naxians are Ionians from Athens (8.46.2-3).
- 261** Hdt. 8.47. See Goegebeur (*supra* n. 259) 136-42.
- 262** The ethnic connotation of "Achaian" is also stressed by C. Ampolo, "La città dell'eccesso: per la storia di Sibari fino al 510 a.C.," in *Sibari e la Sibaritide* (*supra* n. 54) 238-42.
- 263** When the Masai tribe was relocated, it attempted to preserve its identity with its original environment by using the same assemblage of toponyms in its new territory: A. White, "The Environment and Social Behaviour," in H. Tajfel & C. Fraser (eds.), *Introducing Social Psychology* (Harmondsworth 1978) 375.
- 264** For similarities of scripts and dialect: Jeffery (*supra* n. 9) 221, 250; Giangiulio (*supra* n. 192) 164; R. Giacomelli, *Achaea Magno-Graeca. Le iscrizioni arcaiche in alfabetico acheo di Magna Grecia* (Brescia 1988); see also review, *Gnomon* 63 (1991) 649-50. For the lack of balance in the sample: Rizakis (*supra* n. 3) 58.
- 265** Kroton: Jeffery (*supra* n. 9) 257. Pellene: *SEG* 3 329. Patrai: Paus. 7.19.9. See Sakkariou (*supra* n. 21) 17.
- 266** Head (*supra* n. 50) 76; Bérard (*supra* n. 207) 179-80.
- 267** D. Mertens, "Zur archaischen Architektur der achaischen Kolonien in Unteritalien," in Jantzen (*supra* n. 247), 167-96; *Idem*, "Some Principal Features of West Greek Colonial Architecture," in Descoedres (*supra* n. 247) 373-83.
- 268** Ampolo (*supra* n. 262) 242-53 for the *politeia* of Sybaris and its relation to other Achaian cities.
- 269** Giangiulio (*supra* n. 192) 286.
- 270** G. Camassa, "I culti," in *Sibari e la Sibaritide* (*supra* n. 55) 573-94; Giangiulio (*supra* n. 192) 175. An early sixth-century stele from Metapontion refers to the cult of Apollo Lykeios which is, as far as we are aware, unattested in Achaia itself: Jeffery (*supra* n. 9) 457.
- 271** Giangiulio (*supra* n. 192) 92-93, 178-79.
- 272** For the connection between Hera Argeia and Herakles, and the use of both as a symbol of Heraklid/Achaian resistance to Dorian claims: J.M. Hall, "How Argive was the "Argive" Heraion? The Political and Cultic Geography of the Argive Plain, 900-400 B.C.," *AJA* 99 (1995) 577-613; *Idem*, "Heroes, Hera and Herakleidai in the Argive Plain," in R. Hägg (ed.), *Peloponnesian Sanctuaries and Cults* (forthcoming).
- 273** *Serv. Aen.* 3.552.
- 274** *IG XIV* 652. See Giangiulio (*supra* n. 192) 186.
- 275** Cf. Antiochos (*FGrHist* 555) fr.12.
- 276** Note that, in their conflict with Kroton at the end of the sixth century, the Sybarites attempt to discredit the Krotoniates by saying that they were assisted by Dorieus, the half-brother of the Spartan king, Kleomenes – a calumny the Krotoniates vigorously denied: Hdt. 5.44.2.

Adendum: The following site information has been published since the completion of this article: Platani-Xylokeras: 3 G pithos burials: *ArchDelt* 45 B (1990), 135. – Vasiliko, Pharaï: late A clay sima, stone bases, rooftiles (no pottery): *ArchDelt* 44 B (1989), 132-33. – Ag. Basileios Chalandritsa: A oinochoe in Myc chamber tomb (re-use?): *ArchDelt* 44 B (1989), 134, 136. – Prevedos: collection of clay figurines and small pots, votive deposit from A shrine: *ArchDelt* 44 B (1989), 133. – Marmara Aigialeias: A sherds: *ArchDelt* 44 B (1989), 140.



— geographic map of Achaia.

Πόλις Ὑπήκοος. The Dependent *Polis* and Crete¹

PAULA PERLMAN

(Respondent: PIERRE DUCREY)

I. Introduction

One of the fundamental tasks of the contributors to the inventory of Greek *poleis* is to decide which of the communities within each region were and which were not *poleis*. Doing so for Crete is less straightforward than I foresaw when I first contemplated the project. I had anticipated that this task would be complicated for me by the paucity of evidence – literary, epigraphic, and material – for the fifth and early fourth centuries B.C. In many cases it would be necessary to argue from Hellenistic and later evidence that a particular *polis* had existed earlier. Whether or not a community was a *polis* seemed to me to be an uncomplicated question. Was the community independent, did it mint coins, sign treaties, enjoy its own laws and courts?² If so, it was a *polis* and would claim its place in the inventory. In fifty-seven cases, the weight of the combined numismatic, epigraphic, and literary evidence endorses such a conclusion (Fig. 1). But for another two dozen or so Cretan toponyms, appeal to these criteria fails to yield an unequivocal answer to the question, *polis* or not? For example, Stephanus of Byzantium (585.12) identified Στήλαι as a *polis*. Yet the political and economic independence of the Stalitai is quite clearly compromised in the only other evidence for the community, the well-known third century B.C. agreement between Stalai and Praisos (*I.Cret.* III.vi [Praisos].7).³ The agreement sets forth the terms by which the Praisians promised the Stalitai enjoyment of their chora, *polis*, islands, and a share of the revenue from harbor taxes and from the purple-dye and fishing industries (*I.Cret.* III.vi.7A, lines 4-8 ἐπὶ τοῖσδε ἔδωκαν Πραῖσιοι Σταλίταις τὴν χλῶραν καὶ τὴν πόλιν καὶ νάσους τὰς καὶ νῦν ἔχον[τι καὶ ἐλλιμενίου καὶ πορφύρας καὶ ἰχθύων δεκά[τα]ς, τούτων πάντων τὸ ἥμισσον, ἰχθύωμ μὲν καθάπε[ρ] | [καὶ] πρότερον; lines 19-20 ἐάσομεν ἔχειν . . . καὶ οὔτε ἀφαιρησόμεθα).⁴ The Stalitai agreed as well to provide the Praisians with rowers (B, lines 12-25). Of course, one might claim that Stephanus (or his source) used the word *polis* in its topographical sense

(as must be the case in the lines of the decree quoted above) or one might suggest instead a diachronic solution; Stephanus' source reflects an earlier moment in the history of Stalaei which by the third century B.C. was controlled by Praisos and so could no longer fairly be called a *polis*.⁵ Yet, the sheer number of problematic cases recommends a reevaluation of the criteria.

Clearly, we must agree upon what a *polis* was, and perhaps as importantly what was not essential to *polis*-ness, before we can determine whether or not a particular community was one. I doubt that there would be much opposition to the minimalist position that a *polis* was *at the least* a community of citizens. Unfortunately, for many communities there is no explicit, unequivocal evidence that they were or were not so constituted. If we move beyond this minimalist approach in search of more substantial signs of the *polis*, we discover as did Pausanias at Panopeus (Paus. 10.4.1-2), that not only can a community be a *polis* despite the absence of government offices, gymnasia, theaters, market-places, or public fountains, but that such accoutrements did not a *polis* make. Indeed, the papers and responses presented at the second annual symposium of the Copenhagen Polis Centre in August 1994, served to remind us how difficult it is to establish a list of criteria or indicia of *polis*-ness: decrees, ethnica, coinage, fortification walls, public buildings, officials, community cults, league membership, as each category was addressed the list of essential features of the *polis* seemed to shrink.

The present essay explores one criterion which has, at least in England and the United States, been privileged as fundamental to the definition of the *polis*, namely political independence. In recent papers, M. H. Hansen has argued against the position that without political independence a community was not a *polis*.⁶ The ancient record, Hansen observes, nowhere premises *polis* status upon political independence. If such were the case, many of the ancient Greek communities we accept uncritically as *poleis* would not pass the test,⁷ and hundreds of communities actually called *poleis* in contemporary sources would have to be denied the status of *polis* on the assumption that even good sources are hopelessly inconsistent in the way they use the term *polis* whereas modern historians know better how the term ought to be used.⁸ Rather, we should recognize that a community often remained a *polis* even if it happened to be politically subordinate to another *polis*. In short, the dependent or *hypekoos polis* was not an oxymoron.⁹ I expect that Hansen's position will meet with considerable resistance. If a *polis* was not an independent community of citizens then what, exactly, was it? Yet not only

are the arguments adduced by Hansen convincing, but, against the view that a community must be independent in order to be a *polis*, the ancient record for the status of many communities quite simply *makes better sense*. One example from beyond the shores of Crete will serve to illustrate this final point.

J. M. Cook introduces his recent study of the political geography of the Troad with a definition of *polis*: “The word πόλις (city) is generally regarded as having a specific meaning in classical and Hellenistic times. It implied a community, often small but normally ranking as Greek, which was autonomous and not subordinated to another city. A community which was so subordinated, and therefore did not have city status was often spoken of as, for instance, a πολίχνιον, πόλισματίον, χωρίον, or more explicitly κατοικία, κώμη, or the like.”¹⁰ The focus of Cook’s article is the use of the *theorodokia* in determining political status, a practice which he rejects, but he begins the essay with a brief exploration of local patriotism and self-definition, suggesting, it would seem, that a community might call itself a *polis* (and be so called by others) when its dependent status did not entitle it to do so. Marpessos is invoked as one example of this phenomenon. Pausanias (10.12) remarked that the nearly-deserted remains of the πόλις of Marpessos were extant in his day and quoted an oracle of the sibyl Herophile, whose portrait has been identified on the fourth century and early Hellenistic coinage of neighboring Gergis, in which she claimed to come from Marpessos.¹¹ Cook suggests that the adoption of the sibyl’s portrait by Gergis for its coins indicates that Marpessos was a dependency of Gergis and so not a *polis*. He seems to attribute Pausanias’ description of Marpessos as a *polis* to the inflated rhetoric of a community which was proud of its standing as the birthplace and home of the sibyl. He notes, finally, that Lactantius I, 6 described the home of the sibyl as “in agro Troiano, vico Marpesso, circa oppidum Gergithum.” In his seminal study of the Troad, Cook had described the remains identified as the site of Marpessos (modern Dam Dere) as those of a village or small town which probably belonged to Gergis.¹² Without the testimony of Pausanias (and Stephanus who also identified Marpessos as a *polis*¹³) there would be no reason to suggest that Marpessos was anything but a κατοικία or κώμη of Gergis.

Marpessos emerges from the ancient record as a modestly sized community situated within eight kilometers of the polis Gergis.¹⁴ The community claimed to be the birthplace of the sibyl Herophile, whose portrait appeared on the coins of neighboring Gergis, and a cult of the

Mother was probably located there.¹⁵ Pausanias and Stephanus identified Marpessos as a *polis*. To be sure, Cook may well be right to identify Marpessos as a dependent community of Gergis, but several points in his argument require additional comment. (1) The numismatic argument is weak. The adoption of the portrait of the sibyl by Gergis might just as well reflect contested claims to her birthplace rather than to political status. Indeed, there were several traditions concerning the sibyl's birthplace and home. If Cook's point is rather that Gergis minted while Marpessos apparently did not, it should be noted that while coinage is a good indication of *polis* status, the failure to mint in and of itself does not indicate the opposite.¹⁶ (2) Pausanias and Stephanus may have erred in their identification of Marpessos as a *polis*, but that their usage of site-classification terms was loose must be demonstrated rather than simply asserted. (3) There is no doubt that communal traditions helped to constitute the *polis* as they did all types of community. That the ancient geographers and periegetes included local foundation legends in their descriptions of cities reflects not only their antiquarian interest in such matters, but also the fact that these traditions were as much a constitutive element of the *polis* as its buildings, monuments and institutions. Thus, if we are willing to admit the category of the dependent *polis*, the evidence for the status of ancient Marpessos may well lead us in that direction.

Still, the question what exactly was a *polis* if not an independent community of citizens remains. In answer to this question, Hansen proposes three criteria which may be used to distinguish the (even dependent) *polis* from other types of communities:¹⁷ (1) the presence of *prytaneia*, *bouleuteria* or *ekklesiasteria* and the institutions which these buildings accommodated, *viz.* magistrates having common meals, a council and an assembly;¹⁸ (2) the possession of a hinterland in the form of a territory bordering on neighboring territories; and (3) self-governance in questions of citizenship, land ownership, inheritance and so on.

The essay which follows explores the evidence from Crete for the *hypekoos polis*. Earlier studies have addressed the question of dependent communities on Crete.¹⁹ This study differs from them not only in its interpretation of particular documents and categories of evidence, but also in its theoretical approach as a test case for the historicity of the dependent or *hypekoos polis*. It must be admitted at the outset that only seldom does the evidence carry us back into the classical or archaic periods. For the most part we must rest content with the Hellenistic record. Furthermore, there is very little evidence for the first of Hansen's

criteria, the architectural expression of the fundamental political institutions of the *polis*, for the communities with which I will be concerned. The evidence is somewhat better for the two remaining criteria, hinterland and self-governance. Finally, I do not pretend to have accomplished here a comprehensive study of the evidence for the *hypekoos polis* on Crete. Rather, I begin with studies of the Cretan terminology of dependency (II) and the use by Cretans of sub-regional *ethnika* as part of the personal name and their collective use as well (III and Fig. 2). The two inquiries function in part as a preface to the fourth and final section of this paper, a study of the communities in the Mesara and the contiguous mountain highlands where the evidence for the political and social hierarchy of settlement is best (IV).

II. Terms for Dependent Communities

II.1. Introduction

J. A. O. Larsen was the first scholar to give full weight to the epigraphic evidence for dependent communities on Crete.²⁰ Earlier discussions had concentrated upon two passages in Aristotle's *Politics* in which Aristotle equated the *perioikoi* of Crete with Sparta's helots (Aristot. *Pol.* 1271b40-72a1, 1272b18-19), and upon a passage from Athenaeus on Cretan terms for servile and dependent status (Athen. 6, 84). Athenaeus quoted a passage from Sosicrates' *Κρητικά* wherein the Cretan *perioikoi* were defined as *hypekooi*, and added that the views of Dosiades on Cretan terms for various categories of servile status were "nearly equal".²¹ Appealing chiefly to the epigraphic evidence, Larsen identified fourteen Cretan towns as "perioikic": Aulon, Rhitten, Kaudos, Amyklai, Lebena, Bene, Boibe, Rhytion, and Matalon (all *perioikic* communities of Gortyn), the Kransopeioi (*perioikoi* of Phaistos and Gortyn),²² Herakleion (perioecic community of Knossos), Stalai and Setaia (perioikic communities of Praisos), and the Kerines (*perioikoi* of Eltynia). The closest he came to defining precisely what he intended by the term is found in his assessment of the status of Kaudos: "...the community (sc. Kaudos) is seen to have been completely under the control of Gortyn but to have had local self-government. It certainly would have as good a claim to be called a polis as the perioecic communities of Sparta."²³ With few exceptions, subsequent discussions of dependent communities on Crete have focused upon just one type of community, the perioikic, and have appealed to an essentially Spartan model.²⁴ While I

shall argue below that the evidence does support the identification of a number of these communities as dependent,²⁵ the approach of Larsen is flawed on two counts.

The perioikic communities of Sparta have not received the scholarly attention they deserve. Fundamental questions about their internal structure and their relationship with Sparta remain unanswered.²⁶ Furthermore, what we do know about the settlement history of Laconia and the development of the Spartan state should lead us to anticipate that the organization of the perioikic communities of Laconia, not to mention Messenia, varied considerably from one to the other.²⁷ The settlement history of Crete was if anything more complex and so we should expect greater variation in community organization and in the structure of inter-community hierarchies. As is becoming increasingly clear, remnants of the pre-Greek and Mycenaean populations continued to flourish on the island following the destructions of the thirteenth century B.C. (LMIIIB).²⁸ The material record of dark age Crete reveals considerable regional diversity.²⁹ We should expect that the conditions encountered by the later colonists to the island varied considerably from place to place and recognize that different conditions pose different problems and different problems demand different responses. Indeed, the dark age communities of Crete seem to have followed different paths toward *polis* development. For example, the abandonment of the three dark age settlements at Hagios Ioannis, Profitis Ilias and Charkíá Pervoli at the northern edge of the Mesara suggests that the foundation of Gortyn at the end of the eighth century B.C. was the result of a synoikism of these and possibly other villages.³⁰ Knossos, on the other hand, evidently survived the destruction of the Mycenaean palace and persisted as a nucleated settlement without interruption into the age of the city-state.³¹ In such case, not only should we avoid appealing to a mainland model for the dependent communities of Crete, but we should anticipate considerable variation in the social, political and economic relations enjoyed by the autonomous and independent *poleis* with their dependent communities.

The discussion which follows explores the evidence provided by the Cretan epigraphic corpus for terms used to identify free but dependent populations and communities on the island. It must be noted at the outset that the term *perioikos* is not securely attested on the island. Larsen invoked *I.Cret.* IV, 65, lines 7-10, a sacrificial law from Gortyn of the fifth century B.C., for the use of the term on Crete: $\tau\omicron\iota$ Ἀλίλοι οὐν ἔρ-
σεν[α -] | [-]α ταδε παρθυμιαται περιφοι[-]. He suggested that the

clause established special regulations for the *perioikoi*. But M. Guarducci suggested as an alternative the reading τὰ δὲ παρθύματ' αἱ περὶ Φοι[χείου].³² Otherwise there is only the reference to ταῖς περιοίκους in a poorly preserved decree of a Cretan *polis* which forbids its citizens from pillaging Attica (*IG* II², 1130, early 2nd century B.C.).³³ Too little of the text survives to deduce the meaning of the term. The feminine form suggests that we might supply πόλεις (or χῶραι), but if so it is impossible to determine whether these perioikic communities were located on Crete or elsewhere.

II.2 ὑπόβοικος

Terms for the citizen and for the servile populations are abundant.³⁴ Only one, *hypoboikos*, probably refers to a member of a free but dependent population. The term occurs in a poorly preserved agreement between Lato and Gortyn of the late third century B.C. (*I. Cret.* I.xvi [Lato].1) which provides for the settlement of private law-suits between Gortynians and Latoans. A plaintiff from Lato was to choose a Gortynian judge and vice versa (lines 9-12). If the plaintiff prevailed, penalties were to be decided in accordance with those specified in the *diagramma* of the Cretans (lines 36-38).³⁵ The final provision extends the terms of the agreement to a group called the ὑπόβοικοι (lines 38-40 κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ δὲ καὶ οἱ ὑπόβοικοι ὑπεχόντων τὸ δίκαιον τοῖς Λατίοις Γόρτυνι). Opinion is divided as to whether the ὑπόβοικοι were members of the community of Lato or Gortyn.³⁶ The answer depends in part upon how one construes τοῖς Λατίοις: construed with κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ the provision required that the ὑπόβοικοι *in the same way as the Latoans* were to be tried at Gortyn;³⁷ construed with ὑπεχόντων τὸ δίκαιον the ὑπόβοικοι *shall defend themselves against charges brought by Latoans* at Gortyn.³⁸ In the first alternative, the ὑπόβοικοι were Latoan defendants who would be tried by Latoan judges chosen by the plaintiff in the plaintiff's hometown of Gortyn. In the second, the ὑπόβοικοι were Gortynian defendants who would be tried by a Gortynian judge chosen by the Latoan plaintiff in the defendant's hometown of Gortyn. Both constructions are grammatical, but are the legal procedures outlined in the two alternatives equally likely?

We know that the choice of judge was left up to the plaintiff. The principle clause concerning venue was apparently lost in the lacuna at lines 13 and following. Several observations suggest that the second alternative proposed above is the more likely of the two. There are no close parallels, and none on Crete, for the procedure envisioned in the first al-

ternative (judges traveling to another town to try a case).³⁹ Indeed, venue would have little effect upon the outcome of the case which was probably decided on the basis of the testimony and oaths of the parties and their witnesses.⁴⁰ The procedure for the selection of judges in this agreement (*viz.* the plaintiff selects a judge from the defendant's *polis*) seems intent to strike a balance between the interests of the two parties. In sum, the weight of the evidence favors the second alternative; the ὑπόβοικοι, members of the *polis* of Gortyn who belonged to neither the citizen class (otherwise the provision would be redundant) or servile class (otherwise the master would represent the ὑπόβοικος in court),⁴¹ were the prospective defendants in cases brought by Latoan plaintiffs. Such cases would be tried at Gortyn by a Gortynian judge who himself had been chosen by the Latoan plaintiff.

Granted that the ὑπόβοικοι were a free but dependent segment of the population of the *polis* of Gortyn, did they form communities and, if so, what, if anything, may be concluded about the political status of those communities? Larsen compared the Gortynian ὑπόβοικοι to the Spartan *perioikoi* and from this we may conclude that he would have assigned the status of ὑπόβοικος to the members of the ten perioikic communities of Gortyn, although he nowhere said this in so many words.⁴²

Furthermore, Larsen argued, the Gortynians used the term *perioikos* to refer to the same social group as *hypoboikos*, adding that the two terms may have been in use at different times, or used synchronically with varying emphasis.⁴³ Neither of these claims has been received with great enthusiasm. Guarducci preferred Aristotle's statements that the Cretan *perioikoi* constituted a serf class comparable to the Spartan helots. Rather, ὑπόβοικος was the term used at Gortyn (and elsewhere on Crete?) for a class comparable to the Spartan *perioikoi*.⁴⁴ Support for this suggestion was sought in the fragment of Sosicrates for which Guarducci proposed the emendation ὑποικοι (= Cretan ὑπόβοικοι) for ὑπήκοοι; οἱ Κρηῆτες καλοῦσι... τοὺς δὲ περιοίκους ὑποίκους.⁴⁵

In all of this discussion, little attention was given to the historical context of the treaty or to the question why the provision concerning the ὑπόβοικοι was included in it. The inscription may be dated epigraphically to the end of the third or first half of the second century B.C. This suits the chronology suggested by the provision that damages be assessed in accordance with the *diagramma* of the Cretans, an instrument of the Hellenistic Cretan κοινόν.⁴⁶ The agreement proper commences with a provision concerning the cessation of hostilities, the establishment of peace for all time, and the peaceful resolution of disputes (lines

5-7 [- τ]άσπονδάνς ἄγεν | [καὶ τὰν εἰράνα]ν αἰεὶ καὶ τὰ δίκαια δια[κρίενεν ἐν ἀλλάλ]οις). A stipulation concerning the return of property follows immediately upon the promise to resort to the courts for conflict resolution (lines 7-9 τὰ μὲν φανερὰ προῤῥα[ντας ἀ]θαμερὸν ἀποδόμεν, τῶν δὲ ἀφα[νέων δόμεν προ]ῤῥα[ντας]). A precise context for the hostilities which this agreement sought to resolve cannot be identified.⁴⁷ But it is clear that raids were conducted and property was stolen.

The western border of Lato was close to sixty kilometers east of the *asty* of Gortyn as the crow flies.⁴⁸ A number of *poleis* lay between the two. The northern route between Gortyn and Lato passed through the territory of Knossos and Lyktos with whom Lato shared her western border. To the south of Mt. Dikte were a number of small communities including (from east to west) the independent *poleis* Biannos and Priansos, as well as Inatos, Pyranthos and Rhytion whose political status is unclear. Inatos does not concern us here as it seems to have belonged to the *polis* of Priansos.⁴⁹ Stephanus identified Pyranthos (modern Pyrathi) as a small *polis* or *kome* located in the vicinity of Gortyn, referring to its inhabitants as οἱ κατοικοῦντες rather than πολῖται.⁵⁰ Rhytion (modern Rotassi) he identified as a *polis* and its inhabitants as πολῖται.⁵¹ Strabo, on the other hand, claimed that Rhytion, like Phaistos, belonged to Gortyn.⁵² I suspect that small communities such as these located at the eastern edge of the Mesara participated with Gortyn in the hostilities against Lato which were concluded by our agreement, and in the raids which lie at its heart, and that they were, as the geographers suggest, *poleis* dependent upon Gortyn, or in Gortynian terms ὑπόβουκοι.

Gortyn possessed a number of such communities which were as a rule located at the edges of the Mesara and so could be called, as Pollux suggests, neighbors of Gortyn.⁵³ In other circumstances they were αὐτόδικοι, but Lato requested and Gortyn conceded that in this instance all cases arising from the hostilities which were brought by Lato against members of these several dependent *poleis* would be heard in Gortyn. It is possible to suggest why Lato might request this concession. Not only would the establishment of a single venue have simplified the process of trial and recovery for the Latoans, but it would no doubt have been easier for them to find a sympathetic ear among Gortyn's much larger population. In conclusion, the ὑπόβουκοι were the dependent *poleis* of Gortyn. One of the rights which they enjoyed was the operation of courts. As we have seen, in special circumstances Gortyn could abrogate this right. Finally, Larsen's suggestion that the ὑπόβουκοι should be num-

bered among the ἀπέταιροι, a term from the Gortyn Law Code (*I.Cret.* IV, 72, ii, lines 5, 25, 41) which has been understood to refer to free non-citizens, has been uniformly accepted despite the absence of supporting evidence.⁵⁴

II.3. ἔποικος

The term ἔποικος appears in an inscription of the late third century B.C. from Eleutherna (*I.Cret.* II.xii [Eleutherna].22). The term appears in an uncertain context on the poorly preserved Face A of a block which is inscribed on three of its faces. The text on Face B, the best preserved of the three, regulates the relations between Eleutherna and the Artemitai. The text seems to be continued on the third face where Guarducci restored [τὰ]ς συνθ[ήκας-τῶν Ἀρ[τε]μιτᾶ[ν-]. Guarducci proposed that ἔποικος was a synonym for ὑπόβοικος and that the ἔποικοι mentioned on Face A of this stone should be identified with the Artemitai mentioned on Faces B and C.⁵⁵ However, ἔποικος should probably be understood to mean “new settlers” or the like rather than taken as a social status term.⁵⁶ In such case, the term does not concern us, although the Artemitai may have been a dependent community of Eleutherna.⁵⁷

II.4. χώρα/χωρίον

The term χώρα in the sense of hinterland is ubiquitous in the texts of the Hellenistic period.⁵⁸ Earlier, it appears only in the toponym Κεσκόρα = Κεσχωρα? in a fifth century B.C. law from Gortyn concerning the use of public lands (*I.Cret.* IV, 43B, a).

θιοί; τὰν ἐ[ν] Κησκόροι καὶ | τὰν ἐμ Πάλαι πυταλιὰν ἔειδο-
καν {ἔδοκαν} ἃ πόλις πυτεῦσαι. αἰΐ τις ταύταν προίαιτο ἢ
καταθε[ῖ]το, μὴ κατέκεθαι τῶι προιαμένοι τὰ[ν] ὀ]νὰν μηδιῆ
[τὰ]ν κα[τά]θειςιν· μηδ' ἐνεκλυράδδεν αἰ μὴ ἐπι[μ]ετρ[ῆ]ι τὰν
ἐπικαρπίαν. *vac.*

Gods. The city leases the orchard? vineyard? at Keskora and at Pala for cultivation. If someone puts it up for sale or mortgage, neither the purchase price nor the mortgage shall he keep. Nor may he pledge it as security if he has not measured out the profit.

Keskora and Pala were probably located in the Mesara. Nothing further may be said about their location. Nor do we know to what precisely these toponyms referred (villages, districts, *vel sim.*). At issue here, as in

several inscriptions which were issued by *poleis* concerning their dependencies, is the use of land owned by the *polis*. In marked contrast to the provisions concerning the use of public land by the Rhittianians (*I.Cret.* IV, 80) these orchards were not alienable.⁵⁹

χωρίον appears in two classical texts from Gortyn in the sense of parcels of privately owned land (*I.Cret.* IV, 46B, lines 7-8; *I.Cret.* IV, 52A, line 7). At the end of the second century B.C. the term was used in the Magnesian arbitration for Itanos and Hierapytna in reference to the settlement which Hierapytna established on sacred land belonging to the sanctuary of Zeus Diktaios (*I.Cret.* III.iv [Itanos].9, line 86). As A. Chaniotis has demonstrated, this unnamed settlement or village was both agricultural and military in character.⁶⁰ Bile maintained that this use of χωρίον was unknown on Crete before the Hellenistic period,⁶¹ but Ptolemy (3.15.2) preserves the toponym Ἴνα χωρίον “village of Ina” which has been identified with the substantial remains at Perivolia in west Crete.⁶² The settlement achieved its period of greatest prosperity only in Roman times, but ceramic evidence proves that it dates back to at least as early as the fifth century B.C. Gondiccas suggests that the village of Ina belonged to Phalasarua during the classical and Hellenistic periods. Finally, there is the Cretan toponym Κόριον (Cretan for Χώριον?) mentioned by Stephanus, Κόριον; τόπος ἐν Κρήτῃ (Steph. Byz. 374.12-15).⁶³

II.5 κώμη

The term κώμη occurs in a single inscription from Crete, a third century B.C. list of the leases of presumably public real property (land and houses) to seven *proxenoi* and one *euergetes* of Kydonia “to farm for so long as the lessors remain useful to the *polis*” (*I.Cret.* II. x [Kydonia]. 1, lines 2-3: τάδε ἐπρίατο ἅ πόλις τοῖς προξένοις καρπεύειν ἄς κα ἐπιτάδειοι ὄντι). The Kydonian *proxenos* at Arkades, Misgolas, was permitted to lease six plethra of grapes in the plain, another two plethra of grapes in Schinouris, and a house in the κώμη Λαχανία. Lachania has been identified with the substantial fortified site (archaic through Byzantine) on Kastellos Varypetro about seven kilometers southwest of Chania at the edge of the coastal plain.⁶⁴

Lachania is the only toponym in the inscription for which the type of community is indicated. This in itself is of some interest to us. In addition to the five parcels of land all planted in grapes located “in the plain” and the single parcel “on the island”, the *proxenoi* were sold vineyards ἐμ Μολοχάντι, ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ κατὰ Βάθειαν, ἐν Μινώιαι ποῖ τῷ

πόρωι ἐσχάτω[ι], ἐπὶ Λιπάροι, and ἐν Σχινούροι, fallow land ποὶ τῶι Κομικοῦ, and a house ἐν τῶι Ἡραΐδι. Heraïs, like Lachania, is distinguished by the use of the definite article and by the nature of the property conveyed (a house). It was most likely a settlement of some sort (e.g. a district or suburb of the *asty* or a *kome*). Little may be said about Molochas, Vatheia, Lipara and Schinouris. The observation that they, like Minoa, are referred to without the definite article may provide a clue to their nature.

Pliny included Minoa in his list of coastal *oppida insignia* (Pliny *NH* 4.12.59). The toponym has been identified with the remains (archaic through Roman) of a large settlement at the southwestern corner of Akrotiri peninsula (modern Marathi).⁶⁵ A second, smaller coastal settlement (classical to Roman) with the remains of houses and a guard tower or lighthouse connected to the shore by a fortified road, is located a short distance to the west at Limnai (south of modern Sternes).⁶⁶ Stephanus included a Cretan Minoa in his lemma for the toponym, but it is unclear whether he intended the Kydonian Minoa (there was a second Minoa on the northeast coast of Crete) and whether he meant to identify the Cretan Minoa as a *polis*.⁶⁷ At the least, we are entitled to conclude that the toponym Minoa referred to a sizeable coastal settlement with perhaps a dependent village and farmland, the latter including vineyards owned by Kydonia.

I suspect that the *polis* of Kydonia consisted of the *asty* (with Heraïs?) and its *chora* (the plain and the anonymous island) and at least two different types of sub-units: κῶμαι like Lachania and a second category of community of which Molochas, Vatheia, Lipara and Schinouris are examples. These latter consisted, like Minoa, of a settlement and agricultural lands including some state owned parcels. Lipara has been identified with one of the small islands located in Souda Bay opposite Marathi, although to the best of my knowledge no remains of a Greek settlement have been found on them.⁶⁸

Πασίθεμις Μαλτάδα Λιπαροῦ Κρής, a Cretan mercenary of the second century B.C., is probably to be identified as a resident of this same Lipara.⁶⁹ Does the use of this sub-regional *ethnikon* as part of his personal name by a mercenary soldier in the Ptolemaic army suggest that Lipara enjoyed a political identity distinct from that of Kydonia? It is to this question that I turn next.

III. Sub-regional *ethnika*

III.1 Introduction: Patterns of Use of Sub-Regional Ethnika on Crete

The following discussion focuses on two uses of what I will refer to for the time being as sub-regional *ethnika*: (1) the sub-regional *ethnikon* used as part of the personal name either alone or in conjunction with the regional *ethnikon* Κρής/Κρησσα (III.2); and (2) the collective use of the sub-regional *ethnikon* (III.3).⁷⁰ M.H. Hansen and T.H. Nielsen have determined that in Boiotia (Hansen) and in Arcadia (Nielsen) city-ethnics (ethnics that refer to towns) are very good evidence for the *polis*-ness of the city in question.⁷¹ May the same be said for the sub-regional *ethnika* of Crete? If so, this category of evidence may prove to be very important in determining the political status of communities which otherwise appear to be subject communities.

Evidence for the use by Cretans of the sub-regional *ethnikon* as part of the personal name is for the most part Hellenistic (Fig. 2, columns II-VII). Examples in the archaic and classical periods are known only for individuals from Chersonesos, Dattalla, Gortyn, Kydonia and perhaps Priansos.⁷² The collective use of the plural sub-regional *ethnikon* on Crete was somewhat more common during the archaic and classical periods and ubiquitous thereafter (Fig. 2, column VIII).⁷³ Two factors, the uses to which writing was first put by the Cretans and the increased mobility of the island's inhabitants during the late classical and Hellenistic periods, help to explain this pattern. Sub-regional *ethnika* as part of the personal name for the most part appear on Crete in one of two contexts: (1) to identify *proxenoi* and *euergetai*; and (2) to identify the dead who died and were buried away from home. Before the fourth century B.C., writing on Crete, at least on stone and metal, was used almost exclusively for the publication of laws. There are very few examples of other types of public inscriptions (agreements between communities, honorary decrees and the like) or of private texts such as funerary monuments or dedications.⁷⁴ The occasions which later prompted the publication of *ethnika* in personal names simply were not very often recorded on stone or metal in the archaic and classical periods. Additionally, common sense recommends what the evidence for the Hellenistic period confirms, that we are more likely to find the regional and sub-regional *ethnika* in personal names in references from outside of the individual's home.⁷⁵ Not only are more Cretans known to have left Crete during the late classical and Hellenistic periods than are known to have done so

earlier, but both the regional and the sub-regional *ethnika* were used as part of the personal name on more occasions beyond the shores of Crete than on the island itself: by victorious athletes, mercenaries, immigrants who struggled to keep or exchange the civic status of their birth and so on.

III.2 *The Political Significance of the Use of the Sub-Regional Ethnika as Part of the Personal Names of Cretans*

III.2.a *Introduction*

The foregoing discussion has sought to make some sense out of the chronological and geographical patterns apparent in the evidence for the personal use of sub-regional *ethnika* by Cretans and by others in referring to Cretans. But what, if anything, does the use of the sub-regional *ethnikon* contribute to the matter at hand, the political status of the dependent communities of Crete? Of the forty-one Cretan sub-regional *ethnika* which were used in this way, thirty-five or roughly eighty per cent represent communities which were quite clearly autonomous and independent *poleis* (Fig. 2, nos. 2-5, 7-8, 10-11, 13-15, 19-26, 29-31, 33-34, 37, 39-48).⁷⁶ The political status of the communities represented by the remaining six *ethnika* is more difficult to determine (Fig. 2, nos. 51-52, 54-56, 60).⁷⁷ The fact that over eighty-five per cent of the *ethnika* used as part of the personal name represent independent and autonomous *poleis* provides a strong presumption in favor of a direct correlation between this use of the *ethnikon* and the identification of a community as a *polis*. This presumption is strengthened by the observation that there is almost no evidence from Crete for territorial civic subdivisions within the Cretan *poleis* like the Argive *komai* or the Attic *demoi*.⁷⁸ Rather, with the exception of a single reference to the *pentekostys*,⁷⁹ the only civic subdivisions known from Crete are the *phylai* and in all but one of the *poleis*, Axos, the names of the *phylai* suggest personal rather than territorial units.⁸⁰ On Crete the names of the *phylai* appear only in the dating formulae of public inscriptions and never as part of the personal name and so are easily distinguished from the sub-regional *ethnika* which are our concern. The evidence for the political status of the six communities of the second group tends to support this preliminary conclusion concerning the significance of this use of the sub-regional *ethnika* on Crete. As will be demonstrated below there are sound reasons apart from the attestation of a sub-regional *ethnikon* to argue that at least three of these communities were *poleis* even though they may not have

been independent and autonomous. We turn next to a brief review of the evidence for the political status of each of the six communities.

III.2.b.i Detonnion/Diatonion

Early in the second century B.C., the Gortynians attacked Knossos, cut τὸ Διατόνιον from her territory and handed it over to Lyktos. The territory was later restored to Knossos as part of the settlement arranged by Appius Claudius between Gortyn and Knossos.⁸¹ Guarducci located Diatonion near the modern village Astritsi, thirteen kilometers southeast of Knossos, where remains of an ancient settlement have been identified.⁸² In 1976, M. Dothan reported the discovery of a funerary stele from Akko, Israel, for Hypergenes, son of Eurymedes, Cretan from Detonion Ὑπεργένης | Εὐρ[υ]μήδ[ο]υς [Κ]ρής | Δη[τό]ννιος [χ]αῖθ[ε].⁸³ The inscription has been dated to the second century B.C. on the basis of letter forms and the deceased has been identified as a mercenary soldier who fell “in one of the many battles of the 2nd century B.C.E. in the vicinity of Akko-Ptolemais”.⁸⁴ S. Alexiou suggested that this inscription provides the correct spelling of Polybius’ Διατόνιον.⁸⁵

III.2.b.ii Kourtolia

The unattested toponym Kourtolia has been deduced from the *ethnikon* Κουρτωλιαῖος which appears in a third century B.C. dedication from the Redesieh, Egypt: Ἀκέστιμος Κρής Κουρτωλιαῖος Πανὶ σωθεὶς ἐκ Τρωγοδυτῶν.⁸⁶ P. Faure identified the proposed ancient toponym with τὸ Κουρταλιώτικο φαράγγι and the Κουταλιώτης ποταμός in Hagios Vasilios province.⁸⁷ Faure reported abundant remains on both sides of the river between the two villages Hagios Vasilios and Koxares at a spot which dominated the valley of the ancient Messalias river (modern ὁ Μέγας ποταμός). S. Hood and P. Warren reported their discovery in 1965 of the remains of a “small Greco-Roman “city” on a flat-topped ridge which forms a natural acropolis” south of Koxares at the northern end of the gorge.⁸⁸ The remains of buildings on the top of the acropolis and of building terraces and walls on its slopes were visible. The acropolis may have been protected by a circuit wall. This is not Faure’s location for Kourtolia, but it is perhaps a better candidate insofar as Hood and Warren do not report Greek remains in the region which lies between Hagios Vasilios and Koxare. There is no evidence for the political status of Kourtolia, but if Faure is right to locate the ancient community in the vicinity of the modern homonymous gorge it should be observed that the modern eparchy of Hagios Vasilios seems not to have

been dominated by a single large *polis*. Rather, the region appears to have been home to several small *poleis* including ancient Biannos and Psycheion?, as well as the unidentified settlements at modern Melambes, Koxare (ancient Kourtolia?) and Pantanassa.⁸⁹

III.2.b.iii *Lebena*

An early fifth century inscription from Gortyn seems to preserve part of an agreement between Gortyn and Lebena (*I.Cret.* IV, 63). Five inscriptions dating to the third and second centuries B.C. concerning the administration of the Asklepieion at Lebena where they were found were probably published by Gortyn and so indicate that Gortyn managed the sanctuary during the Hellenistic period.⁹⁰ These five inscriptions have been understood as decisive evidence in favor of the political absorption of Lebena by Gortyn early in the Hellenistic period.⁹¹ Polybius identified Lebena as the port of Gortyn in his narrative of the civil war at Gortyn which seems to have run its course during the Lyktian war (221-219 B.C.). Lebena was seized by the exiled faction, the νέοι, who continued to make war upon the party in Gortyn from there.⁹² In the final decades of the third century B.C. (ca. 230-210 B.C.) Ἐπαιθός Καρ[-] was appointed to serve as *theorodokos* for the ambassadors sent by Delphi to announce the celebration of the Pythia and Soteria (*SEG* 26 624 col. 4.8). K. Rigsby suggested that the Delphic *theoroi* visited Lebena precisely at the moment when the port was held by the Gortynian exiles and so freed from Gortynian control.⁹³ The *ethnikon* Λεβηναῖος appears in the cure inscriptions from the sanctuary of Asklepios at Lebena (*I.Cret.* I.xvii.8, 9, & 15), in a late dedication also from Lebena (*I.Cret.* I.xvii.27), and in the personal name of a Cretan mercenary in Egypt who scratched his name, Σωτάδας Λεβηναῖος, on a noble's tomb in the Thebaid.⁹⁴

III.2.b.iv *Lipara*

The toponym Lipara occurs in *I.Cret.* II.x (Kydonia).1, line 15 (ἐπὶ Λιπάροι ἀνπέλων τετραπλήθειαν), the third century B.C. decree of Kydonia providing for the lease of land and houses to *proxenoi* and *euergetai* of the *polis*. As previously discussed (II.5) several of the toponyms found in this decree are best understood to represent sub-units but not necessarily civic sub-units of the *polis* of Kydonia. Although the site of ancient Lipara has not been identified, the location of another of these sub-units, Minoa, has been and may serve as a model. Minoa consisted of a sizeable conurbation with perhaps a dependent village and agricul-

tural land including public land which could be disposed of by the state. If the framers of the decree were consistent and careful in their descriptions of the location of the real estate made available to the benefactors of the *polis*, unlike Λαχανία (line 22-23) neither Minoa nor Lipara was a *κόμη*. Lipara may be identified as the hometown of Πασίθεμις Μαλτάδα Λιπαραῖος Κρής, a Cretan mercenary who scratched his name on the Memnonion in Abydos during the second century B.C.⁹⁵

III.2.b.v Lykastos

Lykastos appears in the *Catalogue of Ships* (Il. 2. 647, ἀργινόνεντα Λύκαστον) and has long been identified with the ancient site at Kanli Kastelli twelve kilometers southwest of Knossos in the foothills of Mt. Ida.⁹⁶ Stephanus quoted the *Catalogue of Ships* and identified Lykastos as a *polis* (Steph. Byz. 421.1-5). Strabo described Lykastos as a former *polis* which had been destroyed and its territory taken by Knossos.⁹⁷ These events had surely taken place by the early second century B.C. when Gortyn cut off from Knossos τὸ Λυκάστιον and handed it over to Rhaukos. The territory was restored to Knossos in 184 B.C. in the short-lived settlement arranged by Appius Claudius.⁹⁸ A *terminus post quem* for the destruction of Lykastos is more difficult to determine. Two funerary epigrams for the Cretan Πραταλίδας Λυκάστιος appear in the Greek Anthology where they are attributed to Leonidas of Tarentum.⁹⁹ Gow and Page doubted that the epigrams, particularly the second, were inscriptional,¹⁰⁰ but O. Masson has demonstrated that the name Πραταλίδας (and so perhaps his *ethnikon* as well) is genuine.¹⁰¹ If genuine, we are still left with the uncertainty concerning the *floruit* of Leonidas in the early, middle or even late third century B.C.¹⁰²

III.2.b.vi Pergamos

Aristoxenos of Tarentum and the fourth century B.C. periplus attributed to Skylax provide the earliest references to Pergamos. Aristoxenos claimed to have been shown the tomb of Lykourgos περὶ τὴν Ξενικήν ὁδὸν τῆς Περγαμίας (Plut. *Lyk.* 31). Ps.-Skylax listed the territory of Pergamos (τῆς χώρας Περγαμίας) between Diktynnaion (Cape Spatha) to the north and Hyrtakina (modern Temenia) across the White Mountains to the south (Ps.-Skylax 47). Pliny numbered Pergamos among his Cretan *oppida insignia* and listed the toponym between Kydonia and Kisamos (Pliny *NH* 4.12.59). The toponym is clearly to be located in northwestern Crete, but precisely where remains contested.¹⁰³ Augustan authors variously attributed the foundation of the Cretan *urbs* to Aga-

memnon (Velleius Paterculus *HR* 1.1) or Aeneas (Vergil *Aen.* 3.131-134). Finally, there is the third century B.C. funerary monument of Pasmnasta, daughter of Sosarchos, Pergamene by birth, found at Hyrtakina.¹⁰⁴ No Greek author explicitly identified Pergamos as a *polis* nor are there any references which suggest that Pergamos was a dependent community. The claim of Aristoxenos to have traveled the Ξενική ὁδός of Pergamos provides our best evidence for its political status. Elsewhere on Crete, the phrase seems to have been used of special routes leading beyond the territory of a city.¹⁰⁵ Thus, if Pergamos were merely a sub-unit of a *polis* with no political identity of its own the road would have been named after that *polis* rather than Pergamos. On the other hand, Pergamos appears in none of the Hellenistic treaties of Crete. On current evidence, two interpretations of the testimonia for the political status of Pergamos are recommended. Pergamos, a classical *polis*, lost her status as a political entity sometime after the fourth century B.C. Alternatively, Pergamos was a dependent *polis* of another state, perhaps Polyrrhenia, and as such enjoyed her own territory and defined borders but did not participate as a political entity in interstate affairs.

III.2.c Conclusions

This review of the evidence for the six communities whose *ethnika* were used as part of the personal name but whose political status is uncertain was prefaced by the observation that in general the evidence from Crete for this use of sub-regional *ethnika* recommends a presumption in favor of a direct correlation between their use and the status of the community as a *polis*. Has the foregoing discussion confirmed this presumption? Of these six, the case for the political status of Lykastos as a *polis* is perhaps the best. While one might dismiss the evidence from the *Catalogue of Ships* and Stephanus, the testimony of Polybius and Strabo is more difficult to ignore. Lykastos was destroyed and her territory absorbed by Knossos. Clearly what was destroyed was Lykastos as a political entity. The events of the first two decades of the second century B.C. provide the *terminus ante quem* for this destruction. Thus, it is certainly possible that Πραταλίδας Λυκάστιος died (if indeed ever he lived!) without having seen the destruction of his community. At the other end of the spectrum, there is no evidence apart from the sub-regional *ethnikon* for the political status of Kourtolia.

The evidence for Detonnion, Lipara and Pergamos permits the conclusion that each of the toponyms referred to a territory (seized from and returned to Knossos in the case of Detonnion, including state-owned

vineyards in the case of Lipara, and with a defined border in the case of Pergamos). For Detonnion there is no further evidence as to her status, but I believe that the arguments presented above concerning Lipara and Pergamos indicate that these toponyms refer to communities which enjoyed a separate territorial identity. They were not simply parts of the territory of Kydonia and Polyrrhenia? respectively. For Pergamos, the evidence for a separate territorial identity suggests a separate political identity as well. I would tentatively identify Pergamos as a dependent *polis*.

There remains the case of Lebena. The evidence for Gortyn's administration of the Asklepieion recommends the position that by the third century B.C. Lebena was in some sense a dependency of Gortyn. Thus, it was as a member of dependent Lebena that Σωπτάδας Λεβηναῖος left his name on the tomb of an Egyptian noble. The question remains whether Lebena was a *polis*, albeit a dependent one? The early fifth century B.C. fragment of an agreement between Gortyn and Lebena proves that Lebena was recognized at that time as a political entity by her more powerful neighbor to the north. I suspect that between this fifth century agreement and the third century evidence for Gortyn's administration of Asklepieion the political relationship between Gortyn and Lebena had changed, but it must be admitted that we do not have the evidence required for proof. We may only speculate that the relations between Gortyn and Lebena were perhaps re-negotiated in the course of the fourth century B.C. when the *poleis* of Crete became more active in international affairs and when the earlier sanctuary of Acheloos and the nymphs at Lebena was rededicated to Asklepios.¹⁰⁶ The appointment of a *theorodokos* at Lebena suggests that Lebena remained a *polis*, albeit a dependent one, until late in the third century B.C.

To conclude. For two of the forty-one communities represented by sub-regional *ethnika* used as part of the personal name (Detonnion and Kourtolia) we are unable to draw any independent conclusions concerning their political status. For Lipara we may draw the independent conclusion (independent of the appearance of the sub-regional *ethnikon*) that the community was at least a territorial entity. Lykastos is identified tentatively as a *polis* (type unknown) and Pergamos and Lebena as dependent *poleis*, at least during the Hellenistic period, again on the basis of evidence independent of the sub-regional *ethnika*. One final observation and four conclusions will complete this discussion. First the observation. Of the group of six communities discussed in some detail above, all examples of this use of the *ethnikon* occurred in what I have called

private contexts. (1) Most importantly, we may conclude that the use of the sub-regional *ethnikon* as part of the personal name is a good indication of *polis*-ness on Crete. (2) We may note further that whether the context of the *ethnikon* is public or private does not seem to affect its use as evidence for political status. (3) We may appeal to the sub-regional *ethnika* of Detonnion, Kourtolia and Lipara as strong if not conclusive evidence for their status as dependent *poleis*. (4) Finally, we may substitute the term *polis-ethnikon* for sub-regional *ethnikon* when used as part of the personal name.

III.3 The Collective Use of the Sub-Regional Ethnikon

III.3.a Introduction

I turn next to the collective use of the sub-regional *ethnikon* which is attested for forty-seven of the fifty-seven independent *poleis* of Crete (Fig. 2, 1-40, 42-48, all save Rhithymna [no. 41]). The precise classification of the communities represented by another twelve collective sub-regional *ethnika* is less clear (Fig. 2, nos. 49-50, 53-54, 57-59, 61-65). These twelve are studied in detail below.

III.3.b.i Amyklai

The evidence for the political status of Amyklai is discussed below (IV.2.i). The sub-regional *ethnikon* οἱ Ἀμυκλαῖοι occurs in what appears to be an agreement between them and the Gortynians (*I.Cret.* IV, 172, 2nd-3rd century B.C.). While the evidence is not sufficient to determine that Amyklai was a *polis*, it is important to note that there is no good reason to deny Amyklai *polis* status (as I have indicated in Fig. 2, no. 49).

III.3.b.ii Artemitai

The collective οἱ Ἀρτεμίται occurs in the late third century B.C. text from Eleutherna discussed already in II.3 above (*I.Cret.* II.xii [Eleutherna].22). Earlier I rejected the suggestion of M. Guarducci that ἔποικος was a social status term and was synonymous with ὑπόβοικος. Rather, the term ἔποικος should probably be understood to mean “new settlers” or the like. I return now to the further suggestion of Guarducci that the Artemitai were a dependent population of Eleutherna.¹⁰⁷

The Artemitai are mentioned on Face B and on the poorly preserved Face C of the stone. Face B preserves two provisions. Chaniotis¹⁰⁸ has convincingly argued that the first provision (lines 1-7) concerned the

military obligations of men older than twenty and younger than an age grade identified as τὸς προσγηγίας.¹⁰⁹ Those who failed to comply when ordered to do so by the *kosmos* of Eleutherna were punished by a fine of five staters. The second provision (lines 7-13) required those who left τὰν πολ[ι]τήϊαν τῶν Ἀρτεμιτᾶν to notify the *kosmoi* of Eleutherna. In this case, failure to comply cost the individual his right to participate in public ritual.¹¹⁰ Of immediate interest to us is the term πολιτήϊα which is attested in the sense of “citizenship” and “constitution” elsewhere on the island.¹¹¹ The latter meaning, “constitution”, is difficult to construe in this context, “whoever abandons the constitution of the Artemitai must advise the *kosmoi*”, and should probably be rejected.¹¹² The former meaning, “citizenship”, might be understood in this context to suggest that the individual intended to relinquish his citizenship in this community presumably in order to become a citizen of another. Chaniotis rejects both of these two attested meanings of the term in favor of a third. He suggests that πολιτήϊα here means “Ort” (*vel sim.*), “whoever moves out of the territory of the Artemitai must advise the *kosmoi* etc.”¹¹³ This last suggestion for the use of the term is extremely attractive, although admittedly without parallel. Which meaning of the term one prefers (citizenship or “Ort”) has important ramifications in the context of the present study.

Several points may be made about the relationship of the Artemitai and Eleutherna regardless of the meaning of the term πολιτήϊα. If we assume, as I believe we must, that both provisions of Face B treat the same population – that is, the Artemitai – , then we may certainly deduce that the Artemitai were organized by age grades and that they were obligated to serve in the army of Eleutherna. The officials of Eleutherna had the authority to fine the Artemitai and to restrict their participation in public cult. If we take the term πολιτήϊα in the sense of “citizenship” then surely we are obliged to view the political status of the community as a dependent *polis* of Eleutherna; *polis* because the Artemitai formed a community of citizens, dependent because they were obliged to serve in the army of Eleutherna and were subject to the authority of the *kosmoi* of that *polis*. That a member of this *polis* who wished to abandon his citizenship and relocate must inform the *kosmoi* of Eleutherna makes good sense insofar as Eleutherna stood to suffer the loss of a soldier. If this interpretation of the text and its ramifications is sound, we have at least one parallel from Crete for the military role of the Lakonian *perioikoi*.

If, on the other hand, we follow the suggestion of Chaniotis and understand πολιτήϊα to mean “Ort”, then we must add the power of the

officials of Eleutherna to restrict the movement of the Artemitai to our list of points concerning their legal relationship to Eleutherna. Taken together with their service in the army of Eleutherna and the authority of the officials of Eleutherna to fine them and to restrict their participation in public cult, I would suggest that the πολιτῆια τῶν Ἀρτεμιτᾶν was a civic unit of the *polis* of Eleutherna. If so, the *polis* of Eleutherna was comprised of civic units called πολιτῆια which like the *demoi* of Athens and the *komai* of Argos were geographic units as well. These πολιτῆια provided the organizational basis for the army of Eleutherna. The picture of Eleutherna as polynucleated settlement which is emerging from the excavations of the University of Crete perhaps provides some slight support for this suggestion.¹¹⁴ On the other hand, the traces preserved on Face C undermine this view. Lines 7-8 have been restored [τὰ]ς συνθ[ήκας – τῶν Ἀρ] [τε]μιτᾶ[ν – –]. If correctly restored and if the συνθήκα joined Eleutherna and the Artemitai it is difficult to argue that the Artemitai were a civic unit unless this συνθήκα marked the addition of a new πολιτῆια to the *polis* or some similar occasion. Reference to a συνθήκα would be easy to understand if the Artemitai were the members of a dependent *polis*. On balance it seems preferable to take the term πολιτῆια to mean “citizenship” and I tentatively identify the Artemitai as the members of a dependent *polis* of Eleutherna.

III.3.b.iii *Latosion*

The collective Λατόσιοι occurs in a fragmentary law of Gortyn (*I.Cret.* IV, 58, 5th century B.C.). M. Guarducci identified the Latosioi as the inhabitants of a quarter of the *asty* of Gortyn called the Latosion. This toponym appears in a Gortynian law which grants a particular category of non-citizens the right to reside there and extends to them certain guarantees including the freedom from seizure (*I.Cret.* IV, 78, 5th century B.C.). Guarducci suggested that the group in question were freedmen (τοὶ ἀπελεύ[θεροι], line 1), and on the basis of this suggestion located Latosion in the vicinity of Mitropolis a half kilometer or so to the southwest of the Odeion where the majority of the manumission texts from Gortyn have been found.¹¹⁵ The proximity of Mitropolis to the *asty* of Gortyn provides considerable support for its identification as a neighborhood. More recently H. van Effenterre proposed instead that the group permitted to reside in Latosion were repatriated Gortynians (τοὶ ἀπελευ[σόμενοι]).¹¹⁶ If van Effenterre is right, there is no reason to locate Latosion at Mitropolis and so the site-classification argument from proximity must be abandoned as well.

III.3.b.iv *Lebena*

The evidence for the political status of Lebena as a dependent *polis* is discussed elsewhere in this essay (III.2.b.iii and IV.2.ix). The collective οἱ Λεβηναῖοι occurs in a *lex sacra* concerning the cults of Acheloos and the nymphs and of Asklepios at Lebena (*I.Cret.* I.xvii [Lebena].7, lines 2-3 ὅπῃ οἱ Λεβηναῖοι ἔτι καὶ νῦν θύο[ντι κ]ατὸς ἀρχαίος νόμος, 2nd century B.C.).

III.3.b.v *Mitoi*

The eastern frontier of Lato passed καὶ τουτῶ κατ[ὰ τᾶς κεφαλᾶς τᾶν ναπᾶν] τᾶν ἐμ Μίτοις (*I.Cret.* I.xvi [Lato].5, lines 53-54, 2nd century B.C.). Faure identified Μίτοι as the demotic or ethnic of a village (*ville*) controlled by Hierapytna.¹¹⁷ The Souda identified Μίτος as the name of a *polis*, but did not indicate in what region of Greece Μίτος was located.¹¹⁸ There is no further evidence for either the toponym or the “ethnikon”, if indeed it is one.

III.3.b.vi *Modaioi*

The collective Μωδαίων appears on two silver didrachm issues and a third small bronze issue. The small bronze was found in northwest Crete in the vicinity of the modern village Phaleliana in the Kolenis river valley.¹¹⁹ Faure suggests that the collective Μωδαῖοι refers not to a single community (*polis* vel sim.), but to a federation consisting of the several small settlements located along the Kolenis river. Faure doubts that the modern village Modi, located on the coastal plain between Chania and Cape Spatha, was the site of an ancient community of that name.¹²⁰ On present evidence it is impossible to endorse the views of Faure either as to the precise nature of the Μωδαῖοι (single community or federation) or as to their location. At most on the bases of the numismatic evidence and the modern toponym Modi we may conclude that the Μωδαῖοι were located somewhere in northwest Crete.

III.3.b.vii *Oreioi*

The collective *ethnikon* οἱ Ὀρειοί occurs in Polybius (4.53.6, Ὀρειοί), and in an alliance made by this group with king Magas, king of Cyrene (*I.Cret.* II.xvii [Lisos].1). M. Guarducci demonstrated that this collective referred not to a *polis* vel sim., but to a federation of small *poleis* located on the southern side of the White Mountains in southwest Crete.¹²¹ Members included Tarrha, Lisos, Elyros, and Hyrtakina and perhaps Poikilasion.¹²² Coins of the late fourth or early third century B.C. pro-

vide the earliest evidence for the existence of the federation.¹²³ Towards the middle of the third century B.C. the Oreioi formed an alliance with Magas καθάπερ Γορτυνίοις [συμμαχ]ίαν ποιήσασθαι (*I.Cret.* II. xvii. 1).¹²⁴ An inscribed text of the alliance (our inscription) was to be displayed at Lisos in the Diktynnaion from which Guarducci and others deduced that Lisos served as the federal capital.¹²⁵ The federation is last heard of in 221/0 B.C. when it fought against Knossos in the Lyktian war (Polyb. 4.53.6). Two further attestations of this adjectival form indicate that the federation probably derived its name from the name of the region. The earlier of the two references occurs in a third century B.C. funerary epigram, probably of a Cretan mercenary, which was found in Laconia (*IG* V.1, 723, πατρις μοί ἐστίν Ὀρειοί). The second appears in the decree of an unknown Cretan *polis* which forbids its citizens from pillaging Attica (discussed briefly *infra* II.1) in a clause which seems to concern (Athenian?) ambassadors who had been seized, προσηγυτάνς συγκεκλειμένονς ἐν τᾷ Ὀρειάι (*IG* II², 1130, lines 12-13, early 2nd century B.C.).¹²⁶

III.3.b.viii Prepsidai

The collective Πρεπσίδαι occurs in an archaic inscription from Dreros ([–] δε αἱ οἱ Πρεπσίδαι κοί Μιλάτιοι ἄρχωσαν “from the time when [or “as”] the Milatioi and the Prepsidai began”, *BCH* 70 [1946] 588-590, no. 1, 6th century B.C.). Milatos, mentioned already in the *Catalogue of Ships*, was certainly an independent *polis* throughout the Hellenistic period. There is no reason to conclude that she had not enjoyed the same status in earlier times. This text suggests that οἱ Πρεπσίδαι referred to a community of the same type as Milatos. Yet, *ethnika* in -ιδης are otherwise unattested on the island.¹²⁷ Van Effenterre suggested that οἱ Πρεπσίδαι inhabited “une de ces bourgades...un de ces hameaux isolés dans la montagne.”¹²⁸

III.3.b.ix Rhitten

The evidence for the political status of Rhitten as a dependent *polis* is discussed below (IV.2.iv). The collective οἱ Ῥιττένιοι appears in the 5th century B.C. agreement between them and the Gortynians (*I.Cret.* IV, 80).

III.3.b.x Rhytion

The political status of Rhytion is discussed elsewhere in this essay (II.2; IV.2.vii; IV.3). Certainty in this case is not possible, but I favor the iden-

tification of Rhytion as a dependent *polis* of Gortyn. The collective *ethnikon* Ῥυτιάσιος occurs in a decree of 120 A.D. which mentions Rhytion with Pyrgos as part of a *kome* of Gortyn (IC I.xxix [Rhytion].1, lines 6-8 Ῥυτιάσιος ὁ [κατασ]ταθείς ἰερεὺς Διὸς [Σκυλλίου] τῆς Ἰϋτιασίων κώ[μης καὶ Πύργου]).

III.3.b.xi Setaia

The collective Σηταῖται occurs in the agreement of Praisos with the Stalitai (*I.Cret.* III.vi [Praisos].7B, lines 12-17, 3rd century B.C.). The terms of this agreement regulated the use by Praisos of the ships and crew of the Σταλιται and the Σηταῖται both of whom were responsible for supplying the crew and their provisions on voyages to Delphi and Olympia. Ancient Setaia is presumably to be located in the vicinity of the modern port of the same name in northwest Crete.¹²⁹ Ps.-Skylax indicated that the territory of Praisos extended to the north and south coasts of Crete and it is probably the case that by the time of this agreement both Setaia and Stalai were subjugated to Praisos.¹³⁰ Unlike the case for Stalai (see *infra*), there is little evidence that Setaia was regarded as a *polis*, albeit a dependent one, at the time of this agreement or that she had been one in the past. Only the use of this collective *ethnikon* and the testimony of late authors suggest otherwise. Both Stephanus and Diogenes Laertius (*Life of Myson*) identified Setaia as a *polis*.¹³¹

III.3.b.xii Stalai

The decree of Praisos concerning the Σταλιται (*I.Cret.* III.vi.7, 3rd century B.C.) has been discussed previously in several contexts (I and III.3.b.xi). The collective ethnic occurs as well in the Magnesian arbitration of the dispute between Itanos and Hierapytna (*I.Cret.* III.iv [Itanos].9, line 123, 112 B.C.). At that time Hierapytna claimed to control the (*polis?*, *chora?*, island?) of the Stalilai (τῆς τῶν Στηλιτιῶν).¹³² The toponym Στηλιται is preserved by Stephanus who identified the community as a *polis* (Steph. Byz. 585.12-13). Ancient Stalai has been identified with the remains just south of the modern village Makrigialos on the southwest coast of the island.¹³³

The political status of the Stalilai has been discussed in detail in the past, most recently by F. Gschnitzer who maintained that in consequence of this decree the Stalilai can not be said to have formed a *polis*.¹³⁴ They were not sovereign in their territory, they did not participate either as a community or through their representatives in the oath ceremony by which the provisions of this decree were first ratified nor would they do

so in the future when the oath was renewed each year in the month of Dionysios, no officials of the Stalitai are mentioned, and the Stalitai enjoyed no reciprocity in any one of the decree's several provisions. In light of these observations, I agree that it is impossible to accord the Stalitai the political status of even a dependent *polis* at the time of this decree according to the criteria enumerated by Hansen. To the extent that the decree suggests that they had at one time apparently enjoyed the sovereign possession of their *polis* and *chora*, which was now theirs only by leave of the Praisians, and retained full enjoyment of the public revenue derived from their harbor taxes and from the purple-dye industry and so must have appointed officials and maintained the institutions required to tax, collect and allocate such revenue, the Stalitai may be understood to have met two of the *sine qua non* of *polis*-ness put forward by Hansen: (1) the possession of a hinterland in the form of a territory bordering on neighboring territories; and (2) self-governance in questions of land ownership and so on. This observation lends some weight to the suggestion that the Stalitai had earlier formed a *polis*, although whether of the dependent or independent type is unknown. What is significant for us, however, is that in this case the collective *ethnikon* was used of a community which was not a *polis* of either type.¹³⁵

III.3.c. Conclusions

In contrast to the use of the sub-regional *ethnikon* as part of the personal name, the foregoing study demonstrates that the collective sub-regional *ethnikon* should not be taken as an indication of *polis*-ness. Of the twelve collective *ethnika* studied in detail above, one (Ἀμυγκλαῖοι) may represent a *polis* (type unknown), two (Λεβηναῖοι, Ῥιπτένιοι) were probably and two others (Ἀρτεμίται, Ῥυτιάσιοι) were perhaps used of the members of dependent *poleis*, two (Μώδαοι, Ὀρχειοι) represent federations, and one (Λατόσιοι) was most likely used of the residents of a neighborhood of a *polis*. The evidence for the remaining four (Μίτοι, Πρεπσίδαι, Σηταῆται, Σταλῖται) is not sufficient to determine their site-classification.

IV. The Dependent Communities of Gortyn

IV.1 Introduction

We know more about the settlement of the Mesara and about the political and social history of its dominant power, Gortyn, than about any

other region and *polis* of Crete. The material remains, epigraphic, and literary sources allow us to trace the development of the *polis* of Gortyn from the eighth century B.C. to its establishment as the capital of the Roman province of Crete and Cyrene. The productivity of the Mesara is too well-known to require discussion here. It goes without saying that the Mesara was very desirable agricultural real estate. The ancient record has preserved for us the names and the remains of many settlements which depended upon the fertility of the Mesara for their livelihood. Considerations of defense, climate and economics led the majority of the settlements to locate not on the plain itself but on the northern slopes of the Asterousia mountains which separate the Mesara from the Libyan sea and on the southern slopes of the foothills to the west of Lasithi and the east of Psiloriti (Mt. Ida). In the course of the last two centuries, scholarly travelers and traveling scholars have explored these hills and documented the remains of the ancient settlements which dot them.

Among these ancient settlements of the Mesara are a number which for reasons beyond the simple fact that they shared the plain with Gortyn have been regarded as her "dependencies".¹³⁶ The general question of terminology and of the Gortynian *hypoboikoi* as well as the evidence for the political status of several of these communities have already been considered in earlier sections of this paper. The discussion which follows explores the evidence for the political status of nine communities located along the perimeter of the Mesara, which have for one reason or another been identified as Gortynian dependencies, with the goal of developing a regional picture of settlement hierarchy.¹³⁷ I cannot make the claim that the situation in the Mesara was representative of other regions on Crete as well, but several patterns do emerge which seem to have parallels elsewhere on the island.

Seven of the settlements (Fig. 3) which have been identified as dependencies of Gortyn form a chain extending across the length of the southern edge of the Mesara plain (*ca.* sixty kilometers) from Kommos (ancient Amyklai) on Mesara bay east to Boibe (modern Pobia), Pyloros (modern Plora), Rhitten (in the vicinity of Apessokari), Bene (modern Panagia), Aulon (modern Pirgos) and Rhytion (modern Rotassi).¹³⁸ The Asterousia mountains lie to their south and separate them from the coast. Today, convenient routes south connect the modern villages of Pobia, Plora, Apessokari, Panagia, Pirgos and Rhytion to the sea and we should imagine that ease of access to the sea was one of the factors which prompted the establishment of the ancient settlements. To the best

of my knowledge there is no evidence that the Asterousia mountains were themselves settled in any substantial way.¹³⁹ Three Greek settlements were located along the coast between Tsoutsouros Bay in the east and Cape Lithinos to the west: Inatos (modern Tsoutsouros), Lebena and Lasaia (modern Kali Limenes). Of these, only Lebena appears to have been attached to Gortyn. The territory belonging to the small *polis* of Lasaia extended west to Cape Lithinon and inland to the watershed which divides this part of the the coast from the Mesara.¹⁴⁰ To the east of Rhytion lay the territory of the *polis* of Priansos (modern Kasteliana) and east of Priansos the Lasithi massif. Inatos, recognized as a *polis* by Xenion (Steph. Byz. 261.17-18 s.v. Εἴνατος) and Ptolemy (*Geog.* 3.15.3), has been identified as the harbor of Priansos and part of her territory.¹⁴¹ To the north, only one community has been identified as a Gortynian dependency, Pyranthos (modern Pyrathi), which commanded one of the two principle routes between the north coast and the Mesara. These nine communities are discussed in geographical order beginning in the west with Amyklai and proceeding east counterclockwise along the hilly rim of the Mesara.

IV.2 The “Dependent” Communities of the Mesara

IV.2.i Amyklai

There was a tradition, preserved by Conon ([*FGrHist* 26] fr. 1.xxxvi), that under Spartan leadership a group of Imbrians and Lemnians from Lakonian Amyklai immigrated to Gortyn in the third generation after the conquest of Amyklai by Sparta (early in the eighth century B.C.).¹⁴² Some support for the tradition preserved by Conon is offered by references to the Amyklaioi (οἱ Ἀμυκλαῖοι) in the third or second century B.C. inscription which seems to preserve the text of an agreement between Gortyn and the Amyklaioi (*I.Cret.* IV, 172).¹⁴³ Although twenty-two lines of the text are preserved, the stone is broken at both edges (as well as at the bottom) leaving only a portion from the middle of each line. The agreement seems largely to concern judicial procedure, the role of *kosmoi* and the assessment of fines, but it is not possible to conclude anything about the political status of the Amyklaioi from what survives. Taken together, from Conon’s account of the foundation of Gortyn which links its founders with the toponym Amyklai and *I.Cret.* IV, 172 which attests the existence of a homonymous community with formal relations with Gortyn we may conclude that the Amyklaioi were closely linked to the *polis* of Gortyn. But how, exactly? The *opinio com-*

munis identifies Amyklai as a perioikic town of Gortyn, but in truth there is no evidence for this.¹⁴⁴

Stephanus described the *polis* of Amyklaion as a harbor town and its location has been sought on the coast to the southwest of Phaistos, perhaps in the vicinity of Kommos.¹⁴⁵ Sir Arthur Evans long ago suggested that the topographical details in *Odyssey* 3.293-296, recommended the vicinity of Kommos as the place on the outskirts of the territory of Gortyn (ἔσχατιῇ Γόρτυνος) where Menelaus' fleet was driven ashore.¹⁴⁶ Malkin suggests that the Homeric and post-Homeric accounts of the *nostos* of king Menelaus provided Sparta with "a precedent of presence in the areas (particularly North Africa and the western Mediterranean) in which colonists of Lakonian origins would settle."¹⁴⁷ Most recently, D. Viviers has suggested that the plan of rooms A1 and A2 of Temple C at Kommos (classical period) recommends their function as *andreia*, adducing as well the statement of Dosiades ([*FGrHist* 458] fr. 2) that everywhere on Crete there were two *sysstia*, one for citizens called the *andreion* and one for visitors called the *koimeterion*.¹⁴⁸ Vivier does not himself propose this, but if he is right about the function of these rooms we might conclude that Kommos was the center of a harbor town which enjoyed its own social institutions. The identification of Kommos and ancient Amyklai has now become standard in the literature and is attractive save for the fact that *I.Cret.* IV, 172 was found in the modern village of Apesokari (reused in the wall of the church of the Panagia), some nineteen kilometers east of Kommos. There are, to be sure, substantial ancient remains which extend from Apessokari west to Plora (ancient Pyloros?). But Apessokari-Plora is inland and the only harbor in the vicinity is that of Lebena. The decision rests on whether to prefer the evidence suggested by the provenience of a reused block or the evidence provided by mythological tradition and Stephanus.

IV.2.ii Boibe

Stephanus provides the only ancient reference for the Cretan Boibe. The full lemma for the toponym reads:

Βοίβη, πόλις Θεσσαλίας. Ὅμηρος "Βοίβην καὶ Γλαφύρας καὶ ἔνκτιμένην Ἰαωλκόν". ἔστιν οὖν καὶ πόλις καὶ λίμνη Βοιβιάς, ἀπὸ Βοίβου τοῦ Γλαφύρου τοῦ τὰς Γλαφύρας κτίσαντος. ἔστι καὶ ἐν Κρήτῃ Βοίβη τῆς Γορτυνίδος, καὶ ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ λίμνη Βοίβη, τὸ ἐθνικὸν τῆς Βοίβης Βοιβεύς καὶ Βοιβίς θηλυκόν. εἰ δὲ καὶ Βοιβαῖος, οὐ κωλύει. ἔστι καὶ

Βοιβήιον πόλις. λέγεται δὲ καὶ Βοιβία ἢ λίμνη. (Steph. Byz. 172, 9-15).

Two aspects of this passage call for comment. Stephanus does not explicitly refer to Cretan Boibe as a *polis*, although we may infer as much from his language: there is also the (*polis*) Boibe which belongs to Gortyn. His use of τὸ ἐθνικόν rather than ὁ πολιτής to refer to the inhabitants of Boibe should not be regarded as politically significant.¹⁴⁹ Ancient Boibe has long been identified with the modern Pobia although with little supporting evidence beyond the similarity of their names.¹⁵⁰ The suggested location does, however, suit the geographical pattern which emerges from this study of the “dependent” communities of Gortyn.

IV.2.iii Pyloros.

Pliny provides the only ancient reference for Pyloros which he included in his list of Cretan *oppida insignia* (Pliny *NH* 4.12.59). The ancient toponym has been associated with the modern Plora and the location of Pyloros has been sought in the vicinity of the modern village which is in a good position to control the most convenient route from Gortyn to Lebena. Faure included Pyloros in his list of Roman foundations, but an epichoric inscription (grave marker?) written retrograde was found in Plora (*I.Cret.* I.xxv.1).¹⁵¹ Indeed, evidence for human occupation extends the entire distance between the villages of Plora and Apessokari two kilometers to the east.¹⁵²

IV.2.iv Rhitten

The location of ancient Rhitten¹⁵³ is central to the interpretation of the most important evidence for its political status, namely the fifth century B.C. agreement between the Gortynians and the Rhittenians (*I.Cret.* IV, 80), and so will be addressed first.¹⁵⁴ Guarducci identified ancient Rhitten with the remains of the important settlement at Patela Prinias and the majority of scholars have followed her lead.¹⁵⁵ In support of this identification she adduced (1) a fragment of an epichoric inscription preserving ZENIA in the first of two lines of text, which Guarducci following Xanthoudides and Pernier restored as [Ῥ]ιζενία (*I.Cret.* I.xxviii.2); and (2) the provisions for publication of an agreement between Gortyn and Knossos Ῥι[ττ]ηνιαὶ ἐν τῶι ναῶι τᾶς Ἀθαναίας (*I.Cret.* IV, 182, lines 20-21, ca. 166/5 B.C.) in combination with the inscriptional evidence for a sanctuary of Athena on Patela Prinias (*I.Cret.* I.xxvii.19 & 20). Fa-

ure, on the other hand, has argued strenuously against what has become the *opinio communis*.¹⁵⁶ Faure contended that the epichoric inscription *I.Cret.* I.xxviii.2 was better understood as a reference to Zeus, Ζεὺς ἄγοραῖος, ἄναξ, ἀθάνατος, ἄριστος vel sim. (it is not certain that the scribes of Prinias used a divider between every word), while Guarducci's reading of Πι[ττ]ηνία in *I.Cret.* IV, 182 was simply wrong.¹⁵⁷ Faure located Apollonia at Patela Prinias preferring a location south of the Mesara for Rhitten. He suggested that Rhitten be sought on the northern foothills of the Asterousia mountains near Apressokari, at the foot of a chain of hills called ἡ Κάτω Πύζα, a location already proposed by F. Halbherr at the end of the last century.¹⁵⁸ In favor of Faure's reluctance to identify Rhitten with the settlement at Patela Prinias is the observation that Patela Prinias, does not appear to have been inhabited during the fifth century B.C. when *I.Cret.* IV, 80 was inscribed. The current excavations at Prinias indicate that the settlement was abandoned towards the middle of the sixth century and not reoccupied before the Hellenistic period.¹⁵⁹ The material record as currently understood would seem to rule out the identification of Rhitten with the settlement at Patela Prinias.

Despite differences of detail, in broad outline the provisions of *I.Cret.* IV, 80, have been interpreted by most as demonstrating that Rhitten was a dependent community of Gortyn.¹⁶⁰ H. van Effenterre has recently proposed a fundamentally different interpretation of this text and of the political status of Rhitten.¹⁶¹ He argues that *I.Cret.* IV, 80 should be understood within the context of hostilities between Gortyn and Knossos. Rhitten (Patela Prinias) occupied a strategic position along the main route linking the Mesara and the north coast. Gortyn had defeated Rhitten but was unable to push any further towards the north in the direction of Knossos. Rather than incorporating Rhitten into the *polis* of Gortyn, Gortyn established a military district on Rhittenian territory close to the border shared by these two *poleis* to guard the northern approach into the Mesara. With this decree Gortyn agreed to respect the sovereignty of Rhitten and established the rules and judicial procedures which were to govern relations between the occupation forces of Gortyn and the Rhittenians, particularly as concerned the military district held by Gortyn on Rhittenian land. For van Effenterre, then, the focus of *I.Cret.* IV, 80, was the occupied territory rather than the status of Rhitten and the Rhittenians. This is an important distinction, particularly in the context of this essay, and one which I cannot endorse insofar as it is premised upon three problematic points: (1) the archaeological difficulty raised by the

settlement history of Patela Prinias; (2) the interpretation of the *startagetas* as a military official¹⁶² and (3) the interpretation of the problematic passage in line 6 as having to do with frontiers or borders.¹⁶³ I prefer instead to view the application of the provisions of this text in broader terms than does van Effenterre and to understand them to reflect the status of Rhitten and the Rhittenians vis-à-vis Gortyn.

A detailed explication of *I.Cret.* IV, 80 lies beyond the scope of the present study. The following four points must suffice.

(1) *I.Cret.* IV, 80 is a decree of Gortyn concerning Rhitten and Rhittenians. It is not an agreement between two independent *poleis*, even two *poleis* of unequal size and power. One sign of this is the absence of reciprocity in this decree. Only Rhittenians are envisioned as the wrongdoers who if convicted will be assessed a fine of one drachma (lines 4-8), only Gortynians as defendants in cases concerning security seized from Rhittenians (lines 9-12), and only Rhitten as the plaintiff in the final provision (lines 12-15)

(2) Gortyn's recognition that the Rhittenians were ἀντ[ι]νόμου[ο]ι κ' ἀντόδικοι may have a more specific reference point than is usually entertained. The majority of the provisions which follow concern judicial procedure. I suspect that the initial general reference to Rhittenian judicial authority may have been made with the specific provisions which followed and limited this authority in mind.

(3) At least some of the land occupied by Rhittenians was owned by Gortyn (or by Gortynians). I can see no other reason for the provision in lines 3-4 which provided for the Rhittenian who built a house or planted trees the right to sell the products of his labor.¹⁶⁴ We may compare this with the contemporary decree of Gortyn concerning the lease of public land in Keskora and Pala (*I.Cret.* IV, 43 B,a) and the much later inscription from Kydonia (*I.Cret.* II. x. 1) which prove that some at least of the land within a dependent or constituent community of the *polis* was state-owned.¹⁶⁵

(4) Several of the judicial and executive procedures provided for by this decree were to take place in Rhitten. Officials from Gortyn traveled to Rhitten and there in conjunction with the Rhittenian *kosmate* judged (κοσμεῖν) a particular category of wrongdoer and assessed a fine if the accused was found guilty (lines 4-8).¹⁶⁶ Complaints arising from the fine (size or application) were to be decided according to the laws pertaining to foreigners *κσενεῖαι δίκα[ι δι]κάδδεθαι*. We hear of *Φαστίαι δίκα*, suits pertaining to citizens, at Gortyn (*I.Cret.* IV, 13, g-h, line 2)¹⁶⁷ which implies their use of a separate category for foreigners, as does the exist-

ence there of a magistrate for affairs concerning foreigners, the *κσενίος* (*kosmos*) (*I.Cret.* IV, 14, g-p, lines 1-2). Does this decree then require the use of Gortynian procedure in Rhitten? Or in such cases was the venue transferred to Gortyn? Furthermore, the Rhittenians were to be *αὐτόδικοι*. Are we to understand, then, that the Rhittenians had a separate procedure for suits pertaining to foreigners or *κσενείαι δίκαι*? If so, by extension they had citizen suits and so they had citizens. A further provision required that fines assessed against a Gortynian who lost a suit concerning security taken from a Rhittenian be collected by the Rhittenian *kosmoi* and in the event that they failed to do so the responsibility fell to *τοὺς προειγ[ίσ]τους*, presumably also Rhittenian officials (lines 8-12). The venue of the hearing to determine guilt or innocence is not specified, but one would suspect Rhitten. A third procedure was outlined for public, as opposed to private, complaints, brought by Rhitten against Gortyn (lines 12-15).¹⁶⁸ Such complaints were to be heard before the full assembly, but whose? The text is not clear. Were the Rhittenian complainants or their proxies required to travel to Gortyn in order to present their charges before the Gortynian assembly (so van Effenterre), or were the Gortynian officials?, defendants? or their proxies required to appear before the assembly of Rhitten in order to hear the charges against them (so Guarducci)? At the least we can conclude from the phrase *τὸ κοινὸν οἱ Ῥιττένιοι* that the community of the Rhittenians was regarded as a legal entity with the ability to initiate claims at law against a *polis* and its citizens.

Even if we adopt the position that *κσενεία δίκαι* refers to Gortynian procedure, and that such cases were heard in Gortyn as were suits against Gortynian creditors and public complaints against Gortyn and the Gortynians, we are still left with a community which was regarded as a legal entity by at least one other *polis*, and which employed its own public officials who were responsible for executing fines assessed against the citizens of another *polis*. On the other hand, at least one category of delict fell under the joint jurisdiction of Gortynian and Rhittenian officials while other complaints against Gortyn and individual Gortynians were heard in Gortyn. Finally, at least some territory occupied by Rhittenians was apparently owned by Gortyn or perhaps individual Gortynians and it was within Gortyn's jurisdiction to determine the rights of the Rhittenian occupants. Stephanus, our only other ancient source for Rhitten, identified the community as a *polis*.¹⁶⁹ On balance, the evidence suggests that Rhitten was a *polis* with her own laws, courts, magistrates, council and assembly, but a dependent *polis* of Gortyn who

controlled land within the territory of Rhitten and could under certain circumstances abrogate the judicial and executive authority of the state.

IV.2.v Bene

Stephanus is our only ancient source for Bene: Βήνη; πόλις Κρήτης ὑπὸ Γόρτυν τεταγμένη. τὸ ἐθνικὸν Βηναῖος. Ῥιανὸς γὰρ ὁ ποιητὴς Βηναῖος ἦν ἢ Κερεάτης ἢ Κρής (Steph. Byz. 167. 4-5). Faure suggested that the remains at Kastellos just south of the modern village of Panagia should perhaps be identified as those of ancient Bene.¹⁷⁰ Faure described remains of the archaic, classical and Hellenistic periods extending some 1000 m. across the summit and slopes of Kastellos where there was also discovered a cave sanctuary with remains from the classical, Hellenistic and Roman periods. K. Rigsby, on the other hand, has presented a good case in support of his suggestion that Stephanus or his source (probably Herodian?) mistook Λεβήνη for Βήνη.¹⁷¹

IV.2.vi Aulon

Aulon, identified as a *polis* or a *topos* by Stephanus (Steph. Byz. 147.8 Αὐλών; τρίτη πόλις Κρήτης ἢ τόπος), has long been located at Hagii Deka, just two kilometers east of Gortyn.¹⁷² It would be difficult to imagine a separate village or sub-unit of the *polis* situated in such close proximity to the *asty*, and Guarducci identified Aulon as a suburb.¹⁷³ Apart from Stephanus, evidence for ancient Aulon comes from the earliest honorary decree yet known from Crete, *I.Cret.* IV, 64 (early fifth century B.C.).

θιοί, θυγάθαθαί. δοριὰν ἔδοξαν Διονυσ[ί]οι τῶ]ι Κο[-]
 [- ἀρετᾶς ἐμ πολέ[μοι καὶ ἐ]Φεργεσίας ἔνεκα Γόρτυνς ἐ-
 πίπανσα
 ρ' οἱ ἐν Ἀφλῶνι Φοικίοντες ἀτέλειαν [πάντων ἀ]F.τῶ]ι καὶ ἐ-
 σγόνοις -]
 [- Fα]στίαν δίκαν καὶ Φοικίαν ἐν Ἀφλῶνι ἐ-
 5 νδος Πύργο καὶ Φοικόπεδον ἐκσοι γᾶν κ[-]
 [-]κον καὶ γ[υ]ν[α]σίο. *vac.*

Gods! Good Fortune! The Gortynians and those who live in Aulon give to Dionysios Κο[-] on account of his virtue in war and his benefactions to Gortyn tax exemption in all matters for himself and his descendants, the right to sue as a citizen, a house in Aulon inside of Pyrgos and a parcel of land outside ... and the gymnasium.

Most editors have construed πύργο (line 5) as fortress (a house in Aulon within the fortress). Manganaro has suggested that πύργο in line 5 is a toponym, Pyrgos, a small fortified community within the territory of Aulon, itself a small *polis* which by the time of this decree had fallen under the control of Gortyn. Manganaro proposed that Pyrgos (and Aulon) were in the vicinity of modern Pirgos located twelve kilometers east of Panagia.¹⁷⁴ To the best of my knowledge no ancient remains have been found in the vicinity of modern Pirgos, but Pyrgos is mentioned as part of a *kome* with Rhytion in a Hadrianic decree of 120 A.D. (*I.Cret.* I.xxix [Rhytion]. 1).

Of perhaps greater interest to us is the use of the phrase rather than a collective *ethnikon* to describe the group which joined with all Gortyn in granting the honors to Dionysius. This usage is repeated several centuries later in the second century B.C. agreement between Gortyn and οἱ τὰν Καῦδον Φοικίονσι (*I.Cret.* IV, 184). Was this usage meaningful and if so what did it suggest about the social and political status of the group so referred to and the place where they lived? Most have followed J. A. O. Larsen who denied the phrase a significance different from that of the simple *ethnikon*. For Larsen, Aulon was a perioikic community with its own local government and taxes. I do not believe that the evidence is sufficient to answer this question, but it should be observed that the phrase Γόρτυνς ἐπίπανσα in the sense of the community of citizens is unparalleled at Gortyn or elsewhere on Crete. There is little doubt that this phrase was used synonymously for the collective *ethnikon* of Γορτύνιοι and this perhaps provides some support for the position of Larsen *et al.* regarding the significance of οἱ ἐν Ἀφλῶνι Φοικίοντες. However, as demonstrated above (III.3) the collective use of the sub-regional *ethnikon* should not be adduced as evidence of *polis*-ness.

There is no way to determine conclusively whether the honors granted Dionysius allowed him to sue as a citizen in the courts of Gortyn or Aulon, or made him exempt from taxes imposed by Gortyn or by those who lived in Aulon, but I suspect that the rights pertain to Gortyn rather than Aulon. This need not mean that Aulon was not a political entity with its own courts and perhaps its own taxes. Rather, the inhabitants of Aulon, like those no doubt of Rhitten, were subject to the procedures of *κσενεία δίκαια* in the Gortyn courts. Dionysius, on the other hand, was granted the right to sue as a citizen of Gortyn subject to the procedures there of the *Φαστίαι δίκαια*, suits pertaining to citizens (*I.Cret.* IV, 13, g-h, line 2). The fact that the inhabitants of Aulon were required to join in the grant to Dionysius suggests first of all that they

were legally responsible for the disposition of real property within their community and secondly that they had a political or institutional apparatus which was capable of making decisions such as the current one on behalf of the community. In conclusion, the status of the inhabitants at Aulon seems quite similar to that of the Rhittenians and I would suggest that Aulon, like Rhitten, was a dependent *polis* of Gortyn.

IV.2.vii Rhytion

Rhytion (modern Rotassi) is the easternmost of the chain of seven small communities of the southern Mesara. We have already noted that Stephanus referred to Rhytion as a *polis* and its inhabitants as *politai* while Strabo claimed that Rhytion, like Phaistos, belonged to Gortyn (*supra* II.2). T.B.S. Spratt described a very large settlement whose remains extended for nearly a mile.¹⁷⁵ Rhytion is mentioned as part of a *kome* (with Pyrgos) in a decree of 120 A.D. (*I.Cret.* I.xxix [Rhytion]. 1).

IV.2.viii Pyranthos

Ancient Pyranthos was situated about ten kilometers northeast of Rhytion near the modern village Pyrathi. The remains of the settlement have been identified on Kefala Kirathiani.¹⁷⁶ We have previously noted that Stephanus identified Pyranthos as a small *polis* or a *kome* belonging to Gortyn (*supra* II.2). J. D. S. Pendlebury *et al.* called the site “insignificant”, but described seeing much cut stone and many Greco-Roman sherds.¹⁷⁷ A proconsular boundary stele of 63 A.D. found in the vicinity of Pyrathi mentions public lands and indicates that under Roman rule Pyranthos was a *kome* of Gortyn.

IV.2.ix Lebena.

For the political status of Lebena, see the discussion *supra* III.2.b.iii and III.3.b.iv

IV.3 Conclusions

What general conclusions about the political hierarchy of settlement in the Mesara might we draw from these several brief studies of the individual communities which have in the past been recognized as Gortynian dependencies? For seven of the nine communities there is explicit or readily deduced evidence of political subjugation to Gortyn. For Boibe, Bene, Pyranthos and Rhytion there are the explicit statements of the Hellenistic and Roman geographers who defined the relationship between these communities and Gortyn with the phrases ἔστι καὶ ἐν

Κρήτη Βοίβη τῆς Γορτυνίδος (Boibe), Γορτυνίων δ' ἐστὶ καὶ τὸ Ῥύτιον, and πόλις Κρήτης ὑπὸ Γόρτυν τεταγμένη (Bene), πόλις μικρὰ ἢ κώμη Κρήτης περὶ Γόρτυνα (Pyranthos), Γορτυνίων δ' ἐστὶ καὶ τὸ Ῥύτιον (Rhytion). For the others the case must be made by (1) the decree of Gortyn which resolves certain issues without reciprocity *for*, rather than *with*, the Rhittensians, (2) the gift of property in Aulon to a benefactor of Gortyn and (3) Gortyn's administration of the sanctuary of Asklepios at Lebena. Nothing certain may be said about the relationship between Gortyn and the two communities Amyklai and Pyloros, although the location of Pyloros along the route between the Mesara and Lebena surely requires that it belonged to Gortyn in some sense.

The inscriptions which preserve the provisions regulating the relations between these communities and Gortyn suggest that two areas were of overriding concern, the disposition of public land and judicial authority. In the cases of Rhitten and Aulon it appears that Gortyn owned and regulated the use of public property within their territorial limits (cf. Keskora and Pala). This land was leased by Gortyn to members of the community (Rhitten, cf. Keskora and Pala) or given to public benefactors (Aulon, cf. Kydonia "leased for so long as the benefactors were useful to the *polis*"). The disposition of improvements was regulated as well. Lessees could dispose of improvements (houses and orchards) which they themselves had produced (Rhitten; cf. Keskora and Pala: pre-existing improvements belonged to the state and could not be disposed of by the lessee). Rhitten and the other communities of *hypo-boikoi* had their own laws and courts, were *autonomoi* and *autodikoi*. In exceptional circumstances Gortyn could abrogate their judicial sovereignty, for example at the request of a treaty partner (Lato). At Gortyn, suits involving members of these communities as plaintiffs (Aulon) and defendants ? (Rhitten) came under the jurisdiction of *κσενεῖαι δίκαι*.

On the other hand, at least four of these communities did possess many of the features indicative of *polis*-ness. They possessed a hinterland with recognized boundaries (Aulon, Rhitten; cf. *I.Cret.* II.x [Kydonia].1 and Pergamon in west Crete) and a conurbation together with smaller settlements (e.g. Aulon and Pyrgos; cf. Minoa and the small settlement south of Sternes on Akrotiri peninsula in west Crete). Their own laws concerning property as well as those imposed by Gortyn were enforced and executed by their own political officials (the Rhittensian *kos-moi*, *presbutai* and τὸ κοινὸν οἱ Ῥιπτένιοι; the assembly of οἱ ἐν ῬΑΦλῶνι Φοικίοντες). The member of one of these communities added the *polis-ethnikon* of his hometown to his personal name (Lebena). Fi-

nally, two-thirds of these communities were identified by Stephanus as *poleis* (Boibe, Rhitten, Bene, Aulon [or *topos*], Rhytion, Pyranthos [or *kome*]). Clearly these communities were not independent *poleis*, but the arguments adduced in this paper have presented a reasonably strong case for identifying three of the group of nine Mesara communities as dependent or ὑπήκοοι πόλεις (Rhitten, Aulon, and Lebena), at least according to the criteria suggested by Hansen.¹⁷⁸ And if my interpretation of the agreement between Lato and Gortyn is correct, then we may include the easternmost of these communities, namely Pyranthos and Rhytion, among the dependent *poleis* of Gortyn. Finally, it should be noted that the appearance of the dependent *polis* in the Mesara was not a purely Hellenistic development. At least in the cases of Rhitten and Aulon the evidence for their status as such extends back into the fifth century B.C. Beyond the Mesara our evidence for the political hierarchy of settlement is poorer, yet it has been possible to identify parallels between the situation in the Mesara and in other parts of Crete and to suggest that the ὑπήκοος πόλις on Crete was not a phenomenon unique to the development of one region of the island.

Notes

I * Full bibliographical citations appear in the notes with the exception of sources that are frequently used and so noted by the following abbreviations.

- | | |
|----------------|--|
| Bile | M. Bile, <i>Le dialecte Crétois ancien. Étude de la langue des inscriptions. Recueil des inscriptions postérieures aux IC</i> (Paris 1988). |
| Chaniotis 1992 | A. Chaniotis, Ὁ Κρής τὸν Κρηῖτα. <i>Die Verträge zwischen kretischen Städten in hellenistischer Zeit. Ein Beitrag zur politischen Geschichte Kretas</i> (Ph.D. diss. Heidelberg 1992). |
| Chaniotis 1995 | A. Chaniotis, "Problems of "Pastoralism" and "Transhumance" in Classical and Hellenistic Crete," <i>Orbis Terrarum</i> 1 (1995). |
| Faure 1959 | P. Faure, "La Crète aux cents villes," <i>KrChr</i> (1959) 171-217. |
| Faure 1963 | P. Faure, "Nouvelles localisations de villes crétoises," <i>KrChr</i> 17 (1963) 16-26. |
| Gschnitzer | F. Gschnitzer, <i>Abhängige Orte in griechischen Altertum</i> (Munich 1958). |
| Gondiccas | D. Gondiccas, <i>Recherches sur la Crète occidentale. De l'époque géométrique à la conquête romaine. Inventaire des sources archéologiques et textuelles, position du problème</i> (Amsterdam 1988). |
| Guarducci | M. Guarducci, "Intorno ai perieci di creta," <i>RivFil</i> 15 (1936) 356-363. |

- Hansen (ed.) 1995 M. H. Hansen (ed.), *Sources for the Ancient Greek City-State*. Acts of the Copenhagen Polis Centre 2. Det Kongelige Danske Videnskaberne Selskab, Historisk-filosofiske Meddelelser 72 (Copenhagen 1995)
- Larsen J. A. O. Larsen, "Perioeci in Crete," *CP* 31 (1936) 11-22.
- Le Rider G. Le Rider, *Monnaies crétoises du V^e au I^{er} siècle av. J.-C.* (Paris 1966).
- Nomima H. van Effenterre and F. Ruzé, *Nomima. Recueil d'inscriptions politiques et juridiques de l'archaïsme grec I* (Rome 1994).
- Perlman P. Perlman, "ΘΕΩΡΟΔΟΚΟΥΝΤΕΣ ΕΝ ΤΑΙΣ ΠΟΛΕΣΙΝ: Panhellenic *Epangelia* and Political Status," in Hansen (ed.) 1995, 113-164.
- Sanders I. F. Sanders, *Roman Crete. An Archaeological Survey and Gazetteer of Late Hellenistic, Roman and Early Byzantine Crete* (Warminster, Wilts 1982). Numbers refer to sites in the gazetteer, pp. 135-175.
- Svoronos J.-N. Svoronos, *Numismatique de la Crète ancienne* (Bonn repr. 1972).
- van Effenterre H. van Effenterre, *La Crète et le monde Grec* (Paris 1948).
- Willetts 1955 R. F. Willetts, *Aristocratic Society in Ancient Crete* (London 1955).

I wish to thank Pierre Ducrey for his stimulating response to this paper and to all members of the Copenhagen Polis Centre for the lively discussion which followed. Special thanks are due to Mogens Hansen for reading and commenting upon an earlier draft of this paper. I am particularly thankful for his time.

2 For the use of these criteria to determine *polis* status on Crete, see Faure 1959; Chaniotis 1995, 16-17 n. 93.

3 For Stalai, see most recently F. Gschnitzer, "Επί τοῖσδε ἔδωκαν Πρασιόιοι Σταλίταις τὰν χώραν...Zu einem Geschäftstyp des griechischen Völkerrechts," *Symposion* 1971 (1975) 79-102 and *infra* III.iii.

4 The phrase ἰχθύουμ μὲν καθάπερ[ο] | [κ]αὶ πρότερον suggests that the subordinate position of the Stalitai was not new.

5 For the reliability of site-classification terms in Stephanus, see D. Whitehead, "Site-Classification and Reliability in Stephanus of Byzantium," in D. Whitehead (ed.), *From Political Architecture to Stephanus Byzantius*. Papers from the Copenhagen Polis Centre 1. *Historia Einzelschriften* 87 (1994) 99-124. Whitehead has demonstrated that Stephanus was a fairly faithful copyist and so the question of his sources becomes more than an interesting exercise in antiquarianism (117-120). Stephanos names eleven sources for his Cretan entries: Hellenikos, Herodotos, Ephoros, Demetrios (of Kallatis?), Polybios, Xenion, Artemidoros of Ephesos, Strabo, Claudius Julius, Herrenius Philo of Byblos, and Herodian of Alexandria. Xenion was clearly his most important source. Not only did Stephanus cite him more often than any of the others, but on several occasions he preferred Xenion's account to those of his other sources. We know nothing about Xenion apart from the title of his work which was consulted by Stephanus, Περὶ Κρήτης, in which Xenion gave the name (and presumably said something further about) each of the one-hundred cities of Crete ([*FGrHist* 460] fr. 2). His *floruit* is set in the Hellenistic period "before Polybios" (K. Ziegler, *RE* A:2 [Stuttgart 1967] 1479-1480 s.v. Xenion, suggests between Ephoros and Kallisthenes). P. Faure has demonstrated that Stephanus not only turned to Xenion more often than to other authorities, but that he more or less incorporated Xenion's work wholesale into his own (Faure 1959, 178-180). Two questions about Xenion's methods are of central importance. (1) Did Xenion approach his task with a specific definition of *polis*

in mind and if so was it a topographical or a political one? (2) Did Xenion pad his list in order to reach Homer's fabled one-hundred? In answer to the first question I believe there is a strong case to be made for the position that Xenion approached his task with *polis* in the political sense in mind. But I do fear that he was compelled to pad his list in order to reach his goal. Thus, in those cases where Stephanos provides our only evidence for *polis* status his testimony should be regarded as doubtful at best. On the other hand, the fact that in several cases Stephanos provided site-classification alternatives (*polis* or *kome*; *polis* or *topos*) suggests that Xenion was a conscientious scholar who refused to sacrifice accuracy in order to reach his goal.

6 M. H. Hansen, "The *Polis* as Citizen-State," in M.H. Hansen (ed.), *The Ancient Greek City-State*. Acts of the Copenhagen Polis Centre 1. Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, Historisk-filosofiske Meddelelser 67 (Copenhagen 1993) 18-20; "The "Autonomous City-State". Ancient Fact or Modern Fiction?" in M.H. Hansen and K. Raaflaub (eds.), *Studies in the Ancient Greek Polis*. Papers from the Copenhagen Polis Centre 2. *Historia Einzelschriften* 95 (Stuttgart 1995) 21-24.

7 For a list of those communities which would not be regarded as *poleis* if the test were political independence, see Hansen (*supra* n. 6) 36-37.

8 See in this volume M. H. Hansen, "ΠΟΛΛΑΧΩΣ ΠΟΛΙΣ ΛΕΓΕΤΑΙ (Arist. *Pol.* 1276a23). The Copenhagen inventory of *Poleis* and the *Lex Hafniensis de Civitate*," 7-72.

9 Hansen (*supra* n. 6) 22.

10 J. M. Cook, "Cities in and around the Troad," *BSA* 83 (1988) 7. It is worth pointing out that in the first footnote of this article Cook states that the city status of Ilium was not in doubt from about 425 B.C., "even when under the control of imperial Athens, Persia, or a despot." This would seem at the least to undercut Cook's definition of the *polis* as an *autonomous* and independent community.

11 Steph. Byz. 203.24-25 s.v. Γέργις identified the sibyl on the coins of Gergis as the Gergithian sibyl (Head *HN*³ 545-6).

12 J. M. Cook, *The Troad* (Oxford 1973) 280-282.

13 Steph. Byz. 445.15-17 s.v. Μεριμησός.

14 It is not possible to quantify the size of the site of ancient Marpessos from Cook's description (*Troad*, 280-281). On Crete a number of small *poleis* are clustered within ten kilometers of one another. See *infra* IV and Fig. 3.

15 As suggested by the final line of the oracle quoted by Pausanias (10.3).

16 T. R. Martin, "Coins, Mints and the *Polis*," in Hansen (ed.) 1995, 257-291, esp. 282.

17 For these three criteria, see M. H. Hansen, "Boiotian *Poleis*. A Test Case," in Hansen (ed.) 1995, 38-39.

18 M. H. Hansen and T. Fischer-Hansen, "Monumental Political Architecture in Archaic and Classical Greek *Poleis*. Evidence and Historical Significance," in Whitehead (ed.) (*supra* n. 5) 23-90 esp. p. 86.

19 Larsen; Guarducci; Willetts 1955; Gschnitzer.

20 Larsen.

21 Sosikrates ([*FGrHist* 461] fr. 4): Σωσικράτης δ' ἐν δευτέρῳ Κορητικῶν "τὴν μὲν κοινήν, φησί, δουλείαν οἱ Κοῆτες καλοῦσι μνοίαν, τὴν δὲ ἰδίαν ἀφαμιώτας, τοὺς δ' περαιοίκους ὑπηκόους." τὰ παραλήγρια ἴστορεῖ καὶ Δωσιάδας ἐν δ' Κορητικῶν. Editors have by and large adopted Dobree's emendation. I follow Guarducci in preferring the text of manuscript (A), a collection of excerpts from the *Deipnosophistae* probably from the 10th century.

22 For the “Kransopeioi”, attested in an agreement between Gortyn and Phaistos (*I.Cret.* IV, 165, lines 4-5), see now Chaniotis 1992, 441-442, who restores κ<ό>ρμ[ο]ς ὀπεῖου.

23 Larsen, 14-15.

24 See, for example, Willetts 1955, 37-40 *et passim*. Cf. Gschnitzer and Guarducci. Guarducci argued that the Spartan model was not appropriate because there was no evidence that Cretan *perioikoi* were required to serve in the army of the sovereign *polis*. This may or may not be true (see *infra* III.3.b.ii on the Artemitai), but several observations should be noted in this connection: (1) the Spartan army was a topic of tremendous interest to the authors of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C.; (2) we know very little about the Spartan *perioikoi* apart from their military obligations; and (3) we know practically nothing about the composition of the army of any one of the Cretan *poleis*. The epigraphic evidence discussed by Larsen concerns for the most part judicial and economic matters. I would guess that on a day to day basis similar matters were of central importance to the Spartan *perioikoi* (and to the *Spartiatai*). In short, the distinction may be illusory and a product of our sources.

25 The evidence suggests that Aulon, Rhitten, and Lebena were most likely dependent *poleis* of Gortyn and the same may have been true of Bene, Boibe, and Rhytion. There is insufficient evidence, on the other hand, for determining the status of Amyklai. For these, see *infra* IV. Matalon and Herakleion were probably independent *poleis* despite the testimony of the late Hellenistic and Roman sources who refer to them as the harbors or ports of Phaistos and Knossos respectively. See *infra* III. On current evidence I regard neither Stalai nor Setaia as *poleis* of even the dependent type. See *infra* III.3.

26 For a review of the scholarship on the *perioikoi* of Sparta and a preliminary study of the political and economic implications of the geography of perioikic Lakonia, see G. Shipley, “*Perioikos*: The Discovery of Classical Lakonia,” in J. M. Sanders (ed.) ΦΙΛΟ-ΛΑΚΩΝ. *Laconian Studies in Honor of Hector Catling* (London 1994) 211-226. Shipley promises a comprehensive study of the Spartan *perioikoi* in the future.

27 On the question of the origins of the Lakonian *perioikoi*, see Shipley, (*supra* n. 26) 214.

28 A. Lebesi, ‘Η συνέχεια τῆς κρητομυκηναικῆς λατρείας. Ἐπιβιώσεις καὶ ἀναβιώσεις, *AE* 1981 (1983) 1-24. For Crete during the twelfth century B.C. (LMIIIC), see A. Kanta, *The Late Minoan III Period in Crete. A Survey of Sites, Pottery and their Distribution. Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology* 58 (Göteborg 1980).

29 For regional variation on dark age Crete, see most recently the comments of K. Nowicki, “A Dark Age Centre near Pefki, East Crete,” *BSA* 89 (1994) 235-268, esp. 237-239.

30 See P. Perlman, “Without Kings: Public Authority and Social Organization in Early Gortyn,” in T. Palaima (ed.) *Kingship and the Organization of Power* (forthcoming, University of Texas Press).

31 J. Nicholas Coldstream, “Dorian Knossos and Aristotle’s Villages,” in C. Nicolet (ed.) *Aux origines de l’Hellénisme: la Crète et la Grèce. Hommage à Henri van Effenterre* (Paris 1986) 311-322; “Knossos: An Urban Nucleus in the Dark Age?” in D. Musti *et al.* (eds.) *La Transizione dal miceneo all’alto arcaismo. Dal palazzo alla città. Atti del Convegno Internazionale. Roma, 14-19 marzo 1988* (Rome 1991) 287-299.

32 Larsen, 12-13; M. Guarducci, *I.Cret.* IV, p. 120.

33 For the general thrust of the decree, see W. K. Pritchett, *The Greek State at War*. Part V (Berkeley/Los Angeles/Oxford) 145-146.

34 For the terms for social status on Crete, see R. F. Willetts, *The Law Code of Gortyn* (Berlin 1967) 10-17; H. van Effenterre, “Terminologie et formes de dépendance en Crète,”

in L. Hadermann-Misguich and G. Raepsaet (eds.) *Rayonnement Grec. Hommages à Charles Delvoye* (Brussels 1982) 35-44; Bile, 342-347.

35 For the diagramma of the Cretans, see J. Vélissaropoulos, "Remarques sur le 'diagramma des Crétois'," *RHD* 1975, 36-47.

36 ὑπόβοιοι were members of the *polis* of Lato: E. Kirsten, *Das dorische Kreta. I. Die Insel Kreta im fünften und vierten Jahrhundert* (Würzburg 1942) 85-86; P. Brulé, *La piraterie crétoise hellénistique* (Paris 1978) 153; Bile 273. ὑπόβοιοι were members of the community of Gortyn: Larsen, 13; Guarducci, 358; Willetts 1955, 38-39; P. Gauthier, *Symbola. Les étrangers et la justice dans les cités grecques* (Nancy 1972) 293.

37 For a parallel use of this construction in Cretan diplomacy, see *I.Cret.* III.iii (Hierapytna).3C, lines 5-6.

38 For the meaning of ὑπέχειν δίκαιόν τι (poenas dare, iudicium subire), see M. Guarducci, *I.Cret.* IV, p. 232.

39 Neither the deme dicasts of Peisistratid Athens nor the appeal in public cases to a third party to supply arbitrators or judges is apposite. In this regard, see the remarks of Gauthier (*supra* n. 36) 293 n. 22.

40 M. Gagarin, "The Function of Witnesses at Gortyn," *Symposion 1985. Akten der Gesellschaft für griechische und hellenistische Rechtsgeschichte* (Köln 1989) 29-54. Cf. Vélissaropoulos (*supra* n. 34) 38, "Ce but (restitution des saisies illicites) sera plus facilement atteint si le dommage causé est examiné sur place, en l'occurrence dans la cité meme du demandeur..."

41 On this point, see Willetts 1966, 13.

42 Larsen, 12-13; cf. *supra* n. 25 (list of perioikic communities of Gortyn).

43 Larsen, 13: "It is possible that the usage may have varied at different times, but it is also possible that both terms were used at the same time, depending on whether one wished to emphasize that the perioeci dwelt round about or that they were subjects."

44 Guarducci.

45 Quoted *supra* n. 21.

46 The date of the foundation of the Cretan κοινόν and its subsequent development continue to be vigorously disputed. For a recent study which discusses much of the earlier bibliography, see S. L. Ager, "Hellenistic Crete and the KOINODIKION," *JHS* 114 (1994) 1-18. Vélissaropoulos (*supra* n. 35) argues that the *diagramma* was instituted at the very end of the third century B.C. following the conclusion of the First Cretan War.

47 Chaniotis 1992, 123-124, dates this treaty to the period shortly after the end of the Lyttian War in 219 B.C..

48 For a map showing the borders of Lato based upon their description in the late second century B.C. treaties of Lato and her neighbors, see P. Faure, "Aux frontières de l'État de Lato: 50 toponymes," in *Europa. Festschrift für Ernst Grumach* (1967) 94-112 with map facing p. 97.

49 For Inatos, see *infra* IV.1.

50 Steph. Byz. 541.1-2 πόλις μικρὰ ἢ κώμη Κρήτης περὶ Γόρτυνα. οἱ κατοικοῦντες Πυράνθιοι.

51 Steph. Byz. 548.6-7 Ῥύτιον; πόλις Κρήτης. ὁ πολίτης Ῥυτιεύς.

52 Strabo 10.14, 479.13 Γορτυνίων δ' ἐστὶ καὶ τὸ Ῥύτιον σὺν τῇ Φαισιῶ "Φαισιόν τε Ῥύτιόν τε".

53 Pollux 6.113 included ὑποικοῦντας among his glosses for ὁ γείτων. For these communities, see *infra* IV.

54 Larsen, 18-19.

- 55 M. Guarducci, *I.Cret.* II, p. 163.
- 56 M. Casewitz, *Le vocabulaire de la colonisation en grec ancien. Étude lexicologique: les familles de κτώ and de οἰκέω-οἰκίζω* (Paris 1985) 153-160. Cf. *I.Cret.* III.iii (Hierapytna).31, a statue base bearing the signature of the Itanian sculptor Damokrates, son of Aristomedes, known only from the text of H. Belli (1594). Belli recorded the second line of the text as ἦ [-]. Guarducci restored this line of the text to read Ἰτάνιος ἐποί(η)σε, but L. Beschi has recently argued in favor of Belli's reading, suggesting that Damokrates of Itanos was allowed to live and work in Hierapytna (L. Beschi, "La nike di Hierapytna, opera di Damokrates di Itanos," *RAL* 40 [1985] 131-143). 261j
- 57 See *infra* III.3.b.ii
- 58 M. Bile, "Le vocabulaire du village dans les inscription crétoises," *Ktéma* 11 (1986) 140-141.
- 59 See *infra* IV.2.
- 60 A. Chaniotis, "Habgierige Götter, habgierige Städte. Heiligtumsbesitz und Gebietsanspruch in der kretischen Staatsverträgen," *Ktéma* 13 (1988) 21-39; 1995, 35.
- 61 Bile (*supra* n. 58) 141.
- 62 Gondiccas, 74-78; Faure, 1988, 93.
- 63 For the possibility that there was a Cretan *polis* by this name, see *infra* p. 276 n. 79.
- 64 Faure, 1988, 90; Sanders, 168 (18/9).
- 65 See most conveniently D. J. Blackman, *PECS* 550 s.v. The settlement possessed an important cult of Diktynna? at Marathospelios (P. Faure, *Fonctions des cavernes crétoises* [Paris 1964] 186-187).
- 66 Blackman, (*supra* n. 65) l.c., suggests that this settlement was perhaps dependent upon the larger community at Marathi.
- 67 Steph. Byz. 454.9. For the second Minoan in northeastern Crete (at Pachy Ammos), see Faure 1959, 196 no. 61.
- 68 M. Guarducci, *I.Cret.* II, p. 117.
- 69 F. Preisigke and F. Bilabel, *Sammelbuch griechischer Urkunden aus Aegypten* I (Berlin/Leipzig 1918) no. 4057.
- 70 The use of the regional *ethnikon* Κορής/Κορησσα as part of the personal name is interesting, but not strictly relevant to this essay. To the best of my knowledge no example of the use of the regional *ethnikon* as part of the personal name has been found on Crete, but it was used in almost one-half of the extra-Cretan references to Cretans.
- 71 Hansen (*supra* n. 16) appendix 2; T. H. Nielsen, "Arkadia City-Ethnics and Tribalism," *supra* pp. 117-132.
- 72 Chersonesos: Φιλωνίδης Ζωΐτου (*IvO* 276, 336-323 B.C.); Dattalla: Δαμόθετος (D. Viviers, "La cité de Dattalla et l'expansion territoriale de Lyktos en Crète centrale," *BCH* 118 [1994] 240, 6th BC); Gortyn: Βρόταρχος (*AP* 7.254 [Simonides], 6th-5th BC), Ἐντυμος (Athen. 2.48d-f, 5th BC), Νυκίας (Thuc. 2.85, 429 BC), Πόλυβος Μενεσθέως (*IG* I² 125, 405/4 BC), Σωσίνογος (*IG* II² 8464, late 5th BC); Kydonia: Ὀνασάνδρος (*Inscriptions Graecae Aegypti* III. *Abydos*, no. 405, ca. 400 BC), Κορησίλας (*IG* IV, 683, ca. 450 BC); Priansos: Θεόδωρος (*FD* III.5, 75, col. I, line 6, mid-4th BC).
- 73 Early examples of this use of the collective sub-regional *ethnikon* are known for Dattalla (*SEG* 27 631), Eltynia (*I.Cret.* I.x.2), Gortyn (*I.Cret.* IV, 78, 80), Lebena (*I.Cret.* IV, 63), Lyktos (*I.Cret.* I.xviii.4; *SEG* 35 991A & B), Knossos (*I.Cret.* I.xxx.1), and Tylisos (*I.Cret.* I.viii.4). The plural *ethnikon* appears as well on the classical coins of Axos (= Ὀαξος), Eleutherna, Gortyn, Itanos, Knossos, Lyktos, Phaistos, Praisos, Rhaukos? and

Sybrita. The classical coins of Kydonia use the toponym rather than the *ethnikon*. For the classical Cretan mints, see Le Rider, 194-197.

74 For a regional comparison of the uses to which writing was first put, see S. Stoddard and J. Whitley, "The social context of literacy in archaic Greece and Etruria," *Antiquity* 62 (1988) 761-772. Groups of archaic and classical inscribed dedications are known from Aphrati (H. Hoffmann and A. E. Raubitschek, *Early Cretan Armorers* [Mainz 1972]) and from the sanctuary of Hermes and Aphrodite at Kato Syme Viannou (unpublished). Vi-viers (*supra* n. 71) 229-259, suggests that the inscribed bronzes from Aphrati came from a large public building excavated there and that this site should be identified as ancient Dattalla. A. Lebessi, "A sanctuary of Hermes and Aphrodite in Crete," *Expedition* 18 (1976) 13, indicates that the dedications from Kato Syme Viannou record several sub-regional *ethnika* including those for Dattalla, Lyttos, Knossos, Tylissos, Hierapytna and Arcades, but apart from the signature of Δαμόθετος of Dattalla (*supra* n. 71) no further information about them has been published.

75 See the Fig. 2, Totals for columns II + III (181 extra-Cretan references) and column V + VI (57 intra-Cretan references).

76 For the supporting evidence, see Fig. 1.

77 I remain uncertain about the authenticity of the toponym Κρης Μαρωνείτης which is found in the Souda s.v. Σωτάδης. The passage is generally regarded to be corrupt with Κρης an intrusion. In his interesting but highly speculative study of the Eteocretan language, P. Faure interpreted *I.Cret.* III.vi.3 (Praisos, 6th century BC) to read ί(ε)ρε(ι) (‘Ε)-ρημεία Μαρωφ[νειαι] where φ = ω/υ (?) and to refer to Hermes at Maroneia (P. Faure, "Les sept inscriptions dites "Étéocrétoises" reconsidérées," *KrChr* 28-29 [1988-1989] 103-105). Faure identifies ancient Maroneia with the "sites archéologiques considérables" in the vicinity of modern Maronia, ten kilometers south of Sitia (P. Faure, "Nouvelles identifications d'antiques localités crétoises," *Kadmos* 32 [1993] 68).

78 For the possibility that the *polis* Eleutherna was so constituted, see *infra* III.3.b.ii.

79 The pentekostys is attested in an inscription from Voulgari Armokastella near the modern village Melambes a few kilometers north of Hagia Galini (ancient Soulia). The inscription, a dedication of the custodians of a temple, has been dated to the 3rd-2nd century B.C. (*SEG* 28 753). N. Platon, *KrChr* 13 (1959) 391, read for lines 4-5 ἀ πεντεκοστὸς ἀ πόλιος Κορίων. S. Hood and P. Warren, "Ancient Sites in the Province of Ayios Vasilios, Crete," *BSA* 61 (1966) 169, identified the location of the *polis* Korion with two nucleated settlements, one 2 kilometers northeast of Melambes and a second and earlier cluster 4 kilometers to the northeast at Kastri. The ceramic material they collected was classical and Hellenistic. Cf. Steph. Byz. 374.12-15 Κόριον: τόπος ἐν Κρήτῃ, and G. Huxley, "Stephanus of Byzantium s.v. KOPION," *GRBS* 11 (1970) 53-55. However, G. Manganaro, "Epigrafia e istituzioni di Creta," in *Antichità Cretesi. Studi in onore di Doro Levi* vol. 2 (Catania 1977-1978) 41-50, read for lines 4-5 ἀ πεντεκοστὸς ἀπὸ Διοσκωρίων, and argued that the pentekostys was a unit of the *polis* of Rhethymna. Manganaro suggested that the village of Melambes was incorporated into a pentekostys of Rhethymna. *SEG* presents the text and interpretation of Manganaro. A dedication to Athena Adia (Φαδία) probably also comes from Voulgari Armokastella (*I.Cret.* II.xxx.2). Manganaro suggested that the ancient name of the settlement at Melambes was Γάδιον or Φάδιον. I have not seen the inscription myself and I am unable to endorse one or the other reading on the basis of the photograph published by Manganaro (p. 42, Fig. 4). Lines 4-5 of this text were reinscribed and the surviving traces of the earlier letters render the photograph difficult to read. If Platon's reading proves to be the correct one, then the *polis* Korion must be added to the inventory of Cretan *poleis*.

- 80 N. F. Jones, *Public Organization in Ancient Greece: A Documentary Study* (Philadelphia 1987) 219-231, esp. 220-222.
- 81 Polyb. 22.15. For the mission of Appius Claudius to Crete in 184 BC, see F. W. Walbank, *A Historical Commentary on Polybius III* (Oxford 1979) 200-201.
- 82 M. Guarducci, *I.Cret.* I, p. 46.
- 83 M. Dothan, "Akko: Interim Excavation Report First Season, 1973-1974," *BASOR* 224 (1976) 39-40 (*SEG* 26 1679). The stele was reportedly found in the vicinity of a "massive stone structure" although Dothan did not indicate a connection between the stele and this structure.
- 84 I profess no experience with letter form dating of inscriptions from the Levant, but I see no reason to exclude the third century B.C. on the basis of the photograph published by Dothan.
- 85 As reported by Dothan (*supra* n. 83).
- 86 *OGIS* I, 71. The inscription apparently reads Κουρτωλιαος. Dittenberger proposed that the correct form of the *ethnikon* was Κουρτωλιάος. Faure's Κουρτωλιαῖος is probably preferable (P. Faure, "Sept nouvelles villes de la Crète antique," *KChr* [1965] 226 n. 21).
- 87 Faure (*supra* n. 86) 226-227; 1988, 87-88.
- 88 Hood and Warren (*supra* n. 79) 180, no. 19.
- 89 See Hood and Warren (*supra* n. 79) 169-170 no. 2 (Melambes), 170 no. 3 (Psycheion), 173-174 no. 8 (Bionnos), and 188-189 no. 36 (Pantanassa). For Melambes, cf. *supra* n. 78.
- 90 *I.Cret.* I.xvii.2, 4A & B, 5, 6, 8. The attribution of these inscriptions to Gortyn is based chiefly upon prosopographic grounds. See Perlman, 136-137.
- 91 See e.g. M. Guarducci, *I.Cret.* IV, p. 118.
- 92 Polyb. 4.55.6. Van Effenterre, 165-172, noted that the civil strife need not have been precipitated by the Lykian war, but may have begun sometime earlier for entirely different reasons.
- 93 K. Rigsby, "Notes sur la Crète hellénistique," *REG* 99 (1986) 353, n. 13.
- 94 J. Baillet, *Inscriptions grecques et latines des Tombeaux des Rois ou Syringes III* (Cairo 1920-1926) 816.
- 95 F. Preisigke and F. Bilabel, *Sammelbuch griechischer Urkunden aus Aegypten I* (Berlin/Leipzig 1918) no. 4057.
- 96 For the location of Lykastos and its possible identification with Mycenaean Ru-ki-to, see J. K. McArthur, *Place-Names in the Knossos Tablets. Identification and Location, Minos*. Supp. 9 (Salamanca 1993) 145-146 with earlier bibliography.
- 97 Strabo 10.4.14 αἱ δὲ συγκαταλεχθεῖσαι πόλεις οὐκ ἐτ' εἰσί, Μίλητος τε καὶ Λύκαστος, τὴν δὲ χώραν τὴν μὲν ἐνεμίαντο Λύπτιοι τὴν δὲ Κνώσσιοι κατασκάψαντες τὴν πόλιν.
- 98 Polyb. 22.15. For the mission of Ap. Claudius, see *supra* n. 80.
- 99 *AP* 7. 448 & 449.
- 100 A. S. F. Gow and D. L. Page, *The Greek Anthology. Hellenistic Epigrams II* (Cambridge 1965) 323-324.
- 101 O. Masson, "Cretica VI-IX," *BCH* 109 (1985) 197-198. Masson reported the suggestion of P. Faure (per ep.) that Lykastos was perhaps located at Astritsi rather than Kastelli. If so, another location for Diatonion must be sought.
- 102 Gow and Page (*supra* n. 100) 308.
- 103 Gondiccas, 280-285.

- 104** *I.Cret.* II.xv (Hyrtacina). 3 Ἐρμαίαιμ παριδόντα ἐπὶ δεξιὰ | κεῖμαι· Σωσάροχου
θυγάτηρ Πασμινάστα Περγαμίαια τὸ γένος.
- 105** Chaniotis 1995, 29.
- 106** For a recent study of the history of the sanctuary of Asklepios at Lebena, see A. Savelkoul, "Sur une épigramme de Lébéné (Incr. Creticae, I, 17, 21)," *BIBR* 55/56 (1985/1986)[1987] 47-56.
- 107** M. Guarducci, *I.Cret.* II, p. 163.
- 108** Chaniotis 1992, 410-417.
- 109** *I.Cret.* II. xii. 22, lines 1-7 [. .]τοι τὸς κα α .[-] | Φ.κατιετίας καὶ προεση[[ία]ς. αἱ δέ κα μὴ ἀποφάνηι | [ὄ]χ' ὁ κόσμος κέληται ὁ Ἑλ[ου]θερναίος, πέντε στατήρας ἀποτίθεν ἕκαστον [τ]ὸν μὴ [π]αρεχόμενον. Chaniotis suggests that τὸς προεσηγίας are those of sixty years and over.
- 110** *I.Cret.* II. xii. 22, lines 7-13 ὄσ[τ]ι[ι]ς δέ κ' ἀπολείπη τὰν πολ[ι]τιήαν τῶν Ἀρτεμιτῶν [ἐ]π[α]γγηλάτω τοῖς κόσμοι[ς] | τοῖς Ἑλουθερναίοις· αἱ δέ κ[α] | μὴ ἐπαγγήλη, τὰ θίνα μὴ ἰνῆμεν τῶνυ.
- 111** Citizenship: *I.Cret.* I.xix [Malla].3A; *I.Cret.* III.iv. [Itanos].1; *I.Cret.* III.vi [Praisos].8, *I.Cret.* IV, 168 (restored). Constitution: *I.Cret.* I.xxiv [Praisos].2; *I.Cret.* III.iv [Itanos].8. All citations are Hellenistic (3rd-2nd B.C.) and so provide good parallels for our text.
- 112** It must be admitted that the closest parallel to our text is found in the civic oath of Itanos and has precisely this meaning: καὶ ο<ὕ> προ[ρο]λεῖψω τὰν πολιτε[ί]αν οὔτε ἐ[ν] πολέ[μ]οι οὔτε ἐν εἰ[ρ]ήναια κατὰ τὸ δ[ι]υ[ν]ατόν (*I.Cret.* III.iv [Itanos].8, lines 36-38). If the two verbs προλεῖπω and ἀπολεῖπω are indeed synonyms, we would be forced to imagine a law requiring a traitor to advise the authorities of his intentions!
- 113** Chaniotis (1992), l.c.
- 114** See the statement to this effect by H. van Effenterre, "Les deux inscriptions de Nési," in H. van Effenterre et al. (eds) ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΝΑ II.1 (Rhethymnon 1991) 29.
- 115** M. Guarducci, *I.Cret.* IV, p. 79.
- 116** H. van Effenterre, "Nouvelles lois archaïques de Lyttos," *BCH* 109 (1985) 157-188, esp. 187-188.
- 117** Faure (*supra* n. 86) 229.
- 118** Souda s.v. Μίτιος, Μίτος; ὄνομα πόλεως.
- 119** For the silver issues, see J.-N. Svoronos, *Numismatique de la Crète ancienne* (Bonn repr. 1972) 243-244; for the bronze coin, see Faure (*supra* n. 76) 72-73. An example of one of the silver issues (Svoronos, pl. XXII 20) was found in the hoard of 1936. Le Rider suggests that the hoard was uncovered at Siwa, a village to the south of Phaistos, and dates its deposition to ca. 280-270 B.C. (Le Rider, 18, 41-49).
- 120** Faure, l.c. Cf. Gondiccas, 272-274.
- 121** M. Guarducci, "Una nuova confederazione a Creta, gli Orii," *Riv.Fil.* (1938) 50-55.
- 122** Van Effenterre, 119-127.
- 123** Van Effenterre, l.c.
- 124** Van Effenterre, l.c., argued contra Guarducci (*supra* n. 120), that the terms of the agreement were fully reciprocal.
- 125** Guarducci, l.c.
- 126** Cf. also Steph. Byz. 354.11-12 Κάντανος, πόλις Κρήτης, ὡς Ξενίων ἐν περιορίου (for [τῶ] περὶ Ὀρίου) Κρητικῶ τῶπου. For the location of ancient Kantanos in the vicinity of modern Kadre or Kantanos, see Gondiccas, 26-31, 44-48.
- 127** Indeed, the patronymic suffix occurs in the name of only one of the Cretan *phylai* ([-]τιδᾶν, *I.Cret.* II. v [Axos].28).

128 H. van Effenterre, "Inscriptions archaïques crétoises," *BCH* 70 [1946] 588-590, no. 1. Cf. P. Faure, "La Crète aux cent villes," *BAssBudé* (1960) 244, οἱ Πρεπίοιαι "forment ... un village descendant d'un même ancêtre ... et non un État." J. Bennet suggests (per ep.) that the geometric-archaic settlement at Anavlochos is perhaps to be identified as the home of the Prepsidai. See P. Demargne, "Recherches sur le site de Anavlochos," *BCH* 55 (1931) 365-407.

129 For the location of Setaia, see Sanders, 16 and 136 (1/12).

130 Ps. Scylax 47 Πραισὸς διήκει ἀμφοτέρωθεν.

131 Steph. Byz. 305 Ἦτις; δῆμος Λακωνικῆς, καὶ τῆς Κορήτης πόλις; Diog. Laert. 1.107 Εὐθύφρων δ' ὁ Ἡρακλείδου τοῦ Ποντικοῦ, Κορητὰ φησιν εἶναι Ἥτειάν γὰρ πόλιν εἶναι Κορήτης. Unfortunately, nothing is known about Euthyphron, the son of Herakleides.

132 The subjugation of Stalai by Hierapytna must have occurred at the time of Hierapytna's conquest of Praisos several decades earlier (145-140 B.C.). For the date of the conquest, see M. Guarducci, *I.Cret.* III, pp. 91-92; S. Spyridakis, *Ptolemaic Itanos and Hellenistic Crete* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London 1970) 56-57.

133 For the location of Stalai, see Sanders, 136 (1/10); Faure (1963) 25-26.

134 Gschnitzer (*supra* n. 3).

135 Mention must be made of the suggestion of A. Inglese, "Itinerario cretese dei *theoroi* di Delfi: proposta di integrazione nel percorso orientale," *MGR* 16 (1991) 165-171, that the toponym Στάλαι should perhaps be restored to the list of Cretan toponyms in the grande liste of *theorodokoi* from Delphi (*SEG* 26 624 col. 4.1). I regret that I was not aware of this article when I prepared my discussion of this same section of the Delphic list for publication (Perlman). This reading does not suit the traces as recorded by J. Oulhen to whom I am indebted for providing me with a copy of his text of this inscription in advance of his much awaited publication of it.

136 Views vary as to which communities should be regarded as members of the list of Gortynian dependencies. For Larsen, Aulon and Kaudos, Amyklaion, Lebena, Bene, Boibe, and Rhytion "can be identified with more or less certainty as perioikic communities subject to Gortyn" (Larsen 16). The list of Manganaro includes Lebena, Rhittenia, Pyranthos, Aulon and Rhytion (Manganaro [*supra* n. 79] 54-56).

137 I have omitted from this discussion the well-known decree of Gortyn for Kaudos (*I.Cret.* IV, 184) for reasons of topography and chronology. The island of Kaudos lies well to the west of the shores of the Mesara. Gortyn's interest in the island was probably prompted by somewhat different historic and economic factors from those at play closer to home. Furthermore, the agreement dates to the second century B.C. Those pertaining to the Mesara settlements are for the most part earlier and so provide us with a rare glimpse of the situation during the archaic and classical periods.

138 As will be made clear in the discussion which follows, the location of several of these ancient toponyms is either uncertain or controversial.

139 On the settlement history of the Asterousia mountains, see P. Faure, "Recherches sur le peuplement des montagnes de Crète: sites, cavernes et cultes. iii. Massif des Asterousia," *BCH* 89 (1965) 37-40.

140 For the settlement history of this watershed, see D. J. Blackman and K. Branigan, "An Archaeological Survey of the Lower Catchment of the Ayiofarango Valley," *BSA* 72 (1977) 13-84.

141 For Inatos, see M. Guarducci, *I.Cret.* I, p. 98. Εὐλείθυα Βινατία, whose cult at Inatos was mentioned by Stephanus, was included last in the list of oath gods in a treaty of

Gortyn, Hierapytna and Priansos (*I.Cret.* IV, 174, lines 60-61, 76, 2nd century B.C.). This suggests that at least at the time of this agreement Inatos was part of the *polis* of Priansos.

142 The role of Sparta as colonizer has been doubted in the past, but Irad Malkin has recently argued not only that Sparta was a colonizer but that she was somewhat precocious in this regard. He locates the most active period of Spartan colonization before the First Messenian War in the eighth century B.C.. For the date, see I. Malkin, *Myth and Territory in the Spartan Mediterranean* (Cambridge 1994) 111-113.

143 In addition to this reference to the Amyklaioi, there was a cult of Apollo Amyklaios at Gortyn (*I.Cret.* IV, 72, col. III, 8) and a month name Amyklaios in the Gortynian calendar (*I.Cret.* IV, 182).

144 Larsen, 16; M. Guarducci, *I.Cret.* IV, p. 173; Willetts 1955, 119.

145 Steph. Byz. 88.3 ἔστι καὶ πόλις Ἀμύκλαιον ἐν Κρήτῃ καὶ ὄριος. For the identification of Amyklai and Kommos, see J. Shaw, "Excavations at Kommos (Crete) during 1977," *Hesperia* 47 (1978) 150-154. For the settlement history of the Kommos area as revealed by surface survey, see now R. Hope Simpson et al., "The Archaeological Survey of the Kommos Area," in J. W. Shaw and M. C. Shaw (eds.) *Kommos. An Excavation on the South Coast of Crete*, vol. I, part 1 (Princeton 1995) 325-402.

146 Sir Arthur Evans, *The Palace of Minos at Knossos* II.1 (New York 1964 repr.) 85-88.

147 Malkin (*supra* n. 142) 47.

148 Viviers (*supra* n. 72) 245.

149 Whitehead (*supra* n. 5) 123-124.

150 See Guarducci, *I.Cret.* I.xxiii (Phaistos).20.

151 Faure 1959, 198 no. 19. See also Sanders 159 (10/15).

152 J. D. S. Pendlebury, M. B. Money-Coutts, and E. Eccles, "Journeys in Crete, 1934," *BSA* 33 (1932/1933)[1935] 88-89, describe the remains which they identify as "Greco-Roman".

153 Modern scholars variously refer to this community as Rhittenia, Rhitten, Rhizenia or Rhizen. The toponym is attested only in Stephanus who used the spelling Ῥιζηνία (Steph. Byz. 544.20). *I.Cret.* IV, 80, the only certain epigraphic source for the name of this community, preserves the collective form of the *polis-ethnikon* Ῥιτιένιος and the adverbial form Ῥιτιενάδε. This adverbial form suggests that the toponym was either Ritten or Rizen. For Gortynian ττ = ζ, see Bile, 145.

154 For the date of this text, see *Nomima*, 46 (beginning of the fifth century B.C.); M. Guarducci, *I.Cret.* IV, p. 123 (480-450 B.C.); Gschnitzer, 41 (second half of the fifth century B.C.); B. Bravo, "Sulan. Représailles et justice privée contre des étrangers dans les cités grecques," *ASNP* 10 (1980) 816 (late fifth or early fourth century B.C.).

155 M. Guarducci, *I.Cret.* I, p. 294; IV, pp. 184-185, and most recently H. van Effenterre, "Le pacte Gortyne-Rhittèn," *Cahiers du centre G. Glotz* 4 (1993) 13-21, and *Nomima*, 48-50.

156 Faure 1963, 22-24.

157 Faure 1992, 70, reports the following reading based on autopsy: EN APO [^]2[N]AI ἐν τῷ ναῶι τᾶς Ἀθαναίας (ἐν Απολλω[ν]ίαι ἐν τῷ ναῶι τᾶς Ἀθαναίας in the sanctuary of Athena at Apollonia) for *I.Cret.* 182, lines 20-21.

158 F. Halbherr, "Epigraphical Researches in Gortyna," *AJA* 1 (1897) 204-205.

159 G. Rizza, "Priniás. La città arcaica sulla Patella," in D. Musti et al. (eds.) *La transizione dal Miceneo all'alto arcaismo. Dal palazzo alla città* (Rome 1991) 331-347.

160 See e.g. M. Guarducci, *I.Cret.* IV, 80; Willetts 1955, 110-114; Gschnitzer, 41-43. B.

Bravo (*supra* n. 154) argued that with *I.Cret.* IV, 80 Gortyn's subjugation of Rhitten was weakened if not ended.

161 Van Effenterre (*supra* n. 155) ; *Nomima*, 48-50.

162 For van Effenterre's own doubts, see van Effenterre (*supra* n. 155) 17 n. 27.

163 Line 6 (sinistrograde): τὸν μὲ πειθόμενον το πο[. . .]. Halbherr's facsimile drawing shows a vertical stroke at the right edge of the first letter space after the omikron and a slightly oblique stroke at the right edge of the third letter space after the omikron (Halbherr [*supra* n. 158] 206). Van Effenterre restores the lacuna τὸν μὲ πειθόμενον το 'πορίμ[ο] and proposes the unattested form (ἡ)φοριμός (vel sim.) "frontier" or "border". He admits that the restoration seems too long for the lacuna, but suggests that the mu was written as a single vertical line, an orthography attested only at Axos. This seems an unlikely solution insofar as elsewhere in this text the five bar mu is used. For the phrase "the one who disobeys the frontier", see *infra* n. 165.

164 Lines 3-4: στέγαν δ' ἄν κα Φουκοδομέσαι . . .]ς ἔ δένδρεα πτεύσει, τὸν Ἰ Φουκοδομέσαντα καὶ πτεύσαν[α] καὶ πρίαθα κ' ἀποδόθαι. Attempts to restore the subject of the provision to the lacuna in line 3 have not been successful. See Halbherr (*supra* n. 158) 207-208 (τις is too short and ἄτερος does not suit the traces of letters which remain). Understanding this clause to provide for the reciprocal right of ἔγκησις (for a Gortynian in Rhitten and for a Rhittenian in Gortyn) is unlikely in light of the absence of similar clauses elsewhere in this text. I believe that the Rhittenians must be the subject of this clause. For van Effenterre (*supra* n. 155), "Le pacte" 18, this clause concerns the rights of Rhittenians who owned (or used to own!) land now occupied by Gortyn.

165 For *I.Cret.* IV, 43B,a, see *supra* II.4; for *I.Cret.* II. x. 1, see *supra* II.5.

166 For this use of the term κοσμεῖν, see Bile, 282. The precise nature of the delict is uncertain. The accused is referred to as τὸν μὲ πειθόμενον. The object of πειθόμενον has been variously emended and interpreted: πολέμ[ο] Halbherr 'πορίμ[ο] "does not obey the ephorate" (M. Guarducci, *I.Cret.* IV, p. 80); 'πορίμ[ο] "does not respect the border" (van Effenterre [*supra* n. 155] 17-20); ποριμ[ο] "does not pay the tax" (Bile, 171 n. 70).

167 Van Effenterre and Ruzé (*Nomima*, 32) suggest that *dika* should be translated "droit" rather than "procès".

168 ὅτι δέ [κα αὔ]τ[ι]ς ἀνπιπασοντι τὸ κοινὸν οἱ Ῥιπτένιοι πορτὶ τὸν Γορτυνιον[ς ...ca. 6...]ν τὸν κάρυκα Ῥιπτενάδε ἐν ταῖδ <δ>έ ἴκα παρέμεν ἔ αὐτὸνς ἔ ἄλλονς π[ο]ὸ [τοῦτον ἀπ]οκρίνεθθα κατ' ἀγορὰν Φευμέν ἰαν τᾶς αἰ[ί]τίας ἄς κ' αἰτιά[σ]ονται κ.τ.λ. 261]

169 Steph. Byz. 544.21 Ῥιζηνία; πόλις Κρήτης. ὁ πολίτης Ῥιζηνιάτης.

170 P. Faure, "Nouvelles recherches de spéléologie et de topographie crétoises," *BCH* 84 (1960) 200-201.

171 K. Rigsby, "Notes sur la Crète hellénistique," *REG* 99 (1986) 350-355.

172 The identification of Aulon with Hagii Deka was made on the basis of the account of the ten Cretans (the Hagii Deka) who were martyred (249 or 250 AD) ἔξθεον δὲ τῆς πόλεως εἰς τὸ καλούμενον ... Ἀλώνιον (see M. Guarducci, *I.Cret.* IV, pp. 30-31).

173 Guarducci, 361.

174 Manganaro (*supra* n. 79), 54-56.

175 T. B. S. Spratt, I 333; Pendlebury et al. (*supra* n. 152) 86.

176 Faure (*supra* n. 170) 196.

177 Pendlebury et al. (*supra* n. 152) 85.

178 Amyklai was likely a *polis*, but whether it was a dependent *polis* remains uncertain.

Figure 1.2 The Independent *Poleis* of Crete

30	Λισσόδος (Λίσσα) (Hagios Kyrkos)		x	x	C(ii), Th, Tr(ii), Pl(iii)
31	Λύκτος (Askoi-Xidas)		x	x	C(i, ii), Tr(ii,iii), Pl(i,ii,iii), L(i)
32	Μάλλα (Malles)		x		C(ii), Tr(ii), Pl(iii)
33	Μάταλον (Matala)				Th, Tr(ii), Pl(iii)
34	Μίλατος (Milatos)			x	Tr(i,iii)
35	Ἰοάξος (Ἰἄξος) (Axos)	x	x	x	C(ii), Th, Tr(iii), Pl(i,ii,iii), L(i,ii,iii)
36	Ἰλοῦς (Elounda)			x	C(ii), Tr(iii), Pl(iii)
37	Παντομάτριον (Stavromenos)			x	C(iii)
38	Πέλικις (Πέλικιον) (Kontokynigi)				Th
39	Πέτρα (Lioetra)				C(ii), Tr(iii)
40	Πολίχνα 1 (Cape Trypitos)			x?	C(iii)
41	Πολίχνα 2 (Vryses: <i>Hag. Georgios</i>)			x	C(ii), Th, Pl(iii)
42	Πολυρρηγία (Epano Palaiokastro)		x	x	C(ii), Th, Tr(iii), Pl(iii)
43	Πραισός (Praisos)		x	x	C(ii), Tr(ii), Pl(iii)
44	Πριανσός (Kasteliana)		x	x	C(ii), Th, Tr(iii), Pl(iii)
45	Ῥαῦκος (Hag. Myron)		x	x	C(ii), Tr(ii), Pl(iii)
46	Ῥιθῦμνα (Rhethymnon)			x	C(ii), Th
47	Σύβριτα (Thronos)		x	x	C(ii), Th, Tr(iii), Pl(iii)
48	Τάνος (Almyrida/Castel Apicorno)			x	C(ii)
49	Τάρρα (Hag. Roumeli)			x	C(ii), Th, Tr(iii), Pl(iii)
50	Τύλισσος (Tylisos)		x		C(ii), Tr(ii,iii), Pl(i,ii,iii)
51	Ἰρτακίνα (Temenia: <i>Kastri</i>)		x		C(ii), Tr(ii), Pl(iii)
52	Φαιστός (Phaistos)			x	C(i, ii), Th, Tr(iii), Pl(iii), L(i)
53	Φάλαννα(ι) (Onithi)			x	Th
54	Φαλάσαρνα (south of Cape Koutri)		x(i)	x	C(i, ii), Th, Tr(iii), Pl(iii)
55	Ψυχεῖον (Cape Melissa)			x	Th, Tr?(iii)
56	Χερσόνασος (Limen Chersonisos)		x(i)	x	C(ii), Tr(iii), Pl(iii)
57	Ἰώλερος (Meseleroi)		x(i)	x	Th

Figure 2.1 Use of Sub-Regional *Ethnika* (independent *poieis*)

- I toponym (* indicates nominal form is not attested)
 II private¹ extra-Crete: number of individuals (? = ethnikon restored in one or more examples)
 III public² extra-Crete: number of individuals (? = ethnikon restored in one or more examples)
 IV private and public extra-Crete: chronological range (all references to centuries B.C.)
 V private¹ intra-Crete: number of individuals (? = ethnikon restored in one or more examples)
 VI public² intra-Crete: number of individuals (? = ethnikon restored in one or more examples)
 VII private and public intra-Crete: chronological range (all references to centuries B.C.)
 VIII substantive ("polis of the" or "of")
 IX political status
 X change in political status (Sym = sympoliteia; D = destruction; Sub = subjugation)

	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IXa (ind. <i>poieis</i>)	X
1	* Αιναιεῖς								x	
2	Ἀλαρία		1	iii					x	
3	Ἀνώπολις	2		iii-ii		1	iii-ii	x		
4	Ἀπολλωνία ³					3	iii-ii	x		
5	Ἄπιτταρα	1	4	iii-ii		2	iii	x		
6	Ἀραδῖην							x		
7	* Ἀριατοί	1		ii				x		
8	Ἀρκάδες		3	iii		1	iii	x		
9	Βιάννος							x		
10	Γόρτυς	9	23	vi-i	4	2	iii-ii	x		
11	Δαττάλλα				1		vi	x		
12	Δραγμός							x		
13	Δρήρος	1	2	ii-i				x		
14	Ἐλευθέρινα	3	8	iii-i		2?	iii-ii	x		
15	Ἐλυτινία	1		ii		1	iii-ii	x		

¹ I have considered as private the following: funerary monuments, graffiti, artists' signatures, and soldiers not of the officer class. In cases where an official title is given for the deceased, the reference has been regarded as public.

² I have regarded as public the following: recipients of public honors (*proxenoi*, *euergetai*, *theorodokoi* etc.), individuals in citizen lists (Miletus), athletes, military officers.

³ I agree with Faure 1963, 16-17, on the question of Apollonia. This Apollonia, then, is to be identified with the settlement at Prusias.

Figure 2.3 Use of Sub-Regional *Ethnika* (*varia*)

	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IXb <i>varia</i>	X
49	Ἀμύκλαι							x	<i>polis</i> ?	
50	* Ἀρτεμιταί							x	dependent <i>polis</i> ?	
51	Δετόνιον	I		i					unknown	Sub (Knossos, (?); D (Gortyn) 184 B.C.
52	* Κορυθολιαῖος	I		iii					unknown	
53	Λατόσιον							x	neighborhood?	
54	Λεβήνα	I		?	3?		ii	x	dependent <i>polis</i>	Sub? (Gortyn)
55	Λίπαρα	I		ii					unknown	
56	Λύκαστος				I		iii		<i>polis</i> ?	Sub (Knossos)?; D (Gortyn) 184 B.C.
57	* Μίτοι							x	unknown	
58	* Μωδαῖοι							x	federation	
59	* Ὀρειοί							x	federation	
60	Πέργαμος						iii		dependent <i>polis</i>	
61	Πρεπσιδαί				I			x	unknown	
62	Ῥιττέν							x	dependent <i>polis</i>	
63	Ῥύτιον							x	dependent <i>polis</i> ?	
64	Σηταία							x	unknown	
65	Στάλαι							x	unknown	
	TOTALS	68	113		16	41				

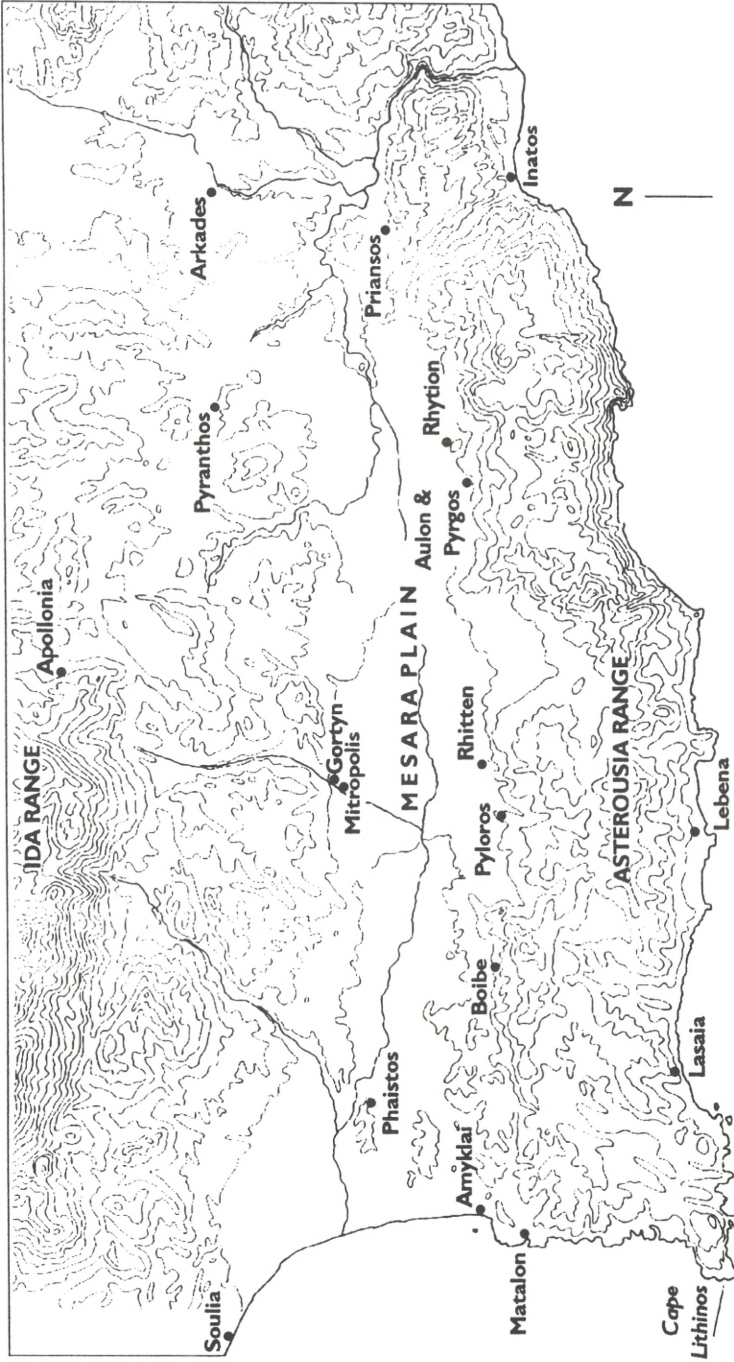


Figure 3 (Map of the Mesara)

Les cités grecques de la côte Ouest du Pont-Euxin

ALEXANDRU AVRAM
(Respondent JOHN HIND)

Rien de plus simple que de présenter un bilan de nos connaissances sur les cités grecques situées sur la rive occidentale du Pont-Euxin aux VII^e – IV^e siècles à la lumière des sources contemporaines. Comme on le sait, l'information épigraphique est à cet égard presque nulle, alors que même les écrits des auteurs anciens ne nous renseignent qu'avec parcimonie sur la vie des Grecs de cette zone bien éloignée. En fait, il n'y a que les quelques récits d'Hérodote et quelques données fort imprécises extraites de chroniques et de périple tardifs qui ont longtemps alimenté les recherches portant sur la colonisation grecque dans ce que les Anciens appelaient le Pont Gauche. Les dates mêmes des fondations de ces villes sont sujettes à caution; car il n'y a point de tradition précise – comme, par exemple, grâce notamment à Thucydide, et ensuite à Diodore, pour la Sicile et l'Italie méridionale – et les données archéologiques, si elles existent bien, ne sauraient à elles seules combler ce vide. Il est donc compréhensible que les savants, qui se sont penchés sur l'histoire des cités grecques du Pont Gauche, ont dû faire état à plusieurs reprises des documents littéraires et épigraphiques plus tardifs, tout en cherchant à en tirer certaines informations qui auraient pu concerner des époques beaucoup plus reculées que la date de la source même. Il s'agit là d'une méthode qui n'est pas nouvelle¹ et qui a déjà donné de bons résultats, notamment en ce qui concerne une datation plus serrée des fondations coloniales et la reconstitution des institutions et des cultes originaires dans le monde milésien² ou mégarien.³

Quelles que soient les difficultés d'une telle démarche, les acquis me paraissent l'avoir emporté sur les déclarations d'ignorance. Néanmoins, sur un tel terrain les questions menacent de rester toujours ouvertes; car les acquis que l'on pourrait considérer comme définitifs sont bien négligeables par rapport aux domaines où règne le doute, et des nouveaux documents, surtout épigraphiques, qui, par exemple pour les villes de la côte septentrionale de la Mer Noire, ont plus d'une fois et à plus d'un titre changé les données sur tel ou tel point, sont encore à attendre.

Avant de procéder à un dépouillement des sources plus tardives il

conviendrait d'attirer l'attention sur un acquis de dernière heure qui me semble être d'une particulière importance pour l'investigation que je propose. Dans une belle étude portant sur les périple de la Mer Noire, P. Arnaud⁴ vient de reprendre et de développer l'idée d'A. Baschmakoff, qui était passée à peu près inaperçue – au moins des exégètes du Pont-Euxin⁵ –, selon laquelle le périple dit “de Scylax” daterait d'environ 500. Sa compilation définitive est, certes, de l'époque d'Alexandre le Grand; mais, au moins pour ce qui est du Pont-Euxin, le périple présente quelques caractères qui en font remonter la source jusqu'à cette date très haute. En fait, contre une telle date il n'y avait apparemment qu'un seul argument: la mention de Chersonèse Taurique, fondée, comme on le sait, en 422/1.⁶ Mais le périple ne mentionne que Χερσόνησος ἐμπόριον, ce qui est brillamment confirmé par un passage de Strabon (7. 4. 2), qui continue à mettre à rude épreuve l'ingéniosité des savants: ἡ παλαιὰ Χερσόνησος κατεσκαμμένη (“la vieille Chersonèse qui est entièrement ruinée”).⁷ Qui plus est, les découvertes archéologiques et notamment les *graffiti* y attestent sans l'ombre d'un doute un établissement à caractère mixte mégaro-milézien dès le dernier quart du VI^e s.⁸ Si c'est donc bien cet *emporion* qui figurait dans le périple,⁹ plus rien ne s'oppose à ce que l'écrit ait été composé vers 500. Aux arguments déjà avancés par son prédécesseur, Arnaud ajoute: “Un fait n'a pas frappé Baschmakoff. Il apportait pourtant indéniablement un atout majeur à son argumentation: le pseudo-Scylax n'est en effet en état de fournir d'évaluation de durée que pour cette «moitié gauche» du Pont. Sur ce point, il se distingue très nettement d'Hérodote (4. 85 sq.), qui, dans la seconde moitié du V^e siècle, mentionne deux itinéraires, des Bouches du Bosphore au Phase (9 jours et 8 nuits, soit 1110 stades) et de Sindique à Témiscyra, aux bouches du Thermodon (3 jours et 2 nuits, soit 330 stades), accorde à plusieurs reprises une importance justifiée à la ville de Sinope, et connaît déjà la conversion des durées en distances, alors que seul le compilateur hellénistique du Périple en fait usage dans les chapitres récapitulatifs”.¹⁰

A tout cela j'ajouterais que dans la liste des villes que donne le Périple pour la côte septentrionale de la Mer Noire il y a une lacune surprenante: c'est Olbia qui n'y est pas mentionnée, alors que des établissements de moindre importance sont même désignés comme étant des *po-leis*, par exemple 68: Νικώντιον πόλις, Ὀφιοῦσα πόλις. Avant l'époque d'Hérodote un tel silence aurait été bien plus pardonnable qu'au IV^e s. Il est de plus étrange que le Périple ne mentionne pas quelques villes des plus importantes, alors qu'il en donne les fleuves homo-

nymes. Le chapitre 67 enregistre le fleuve Istros (Ἴστρος ποταμός), alors que dans le chapitre suivant on trouve Τύρις ποταμός.¹¹ A propos d'Istros, Hérodote distingue clairement le fleuve de la ville et confère – sans doute pour éviter des confusions – à la ville le nom Ἴστροίη,¹² bien qu'en outre celui-ci ne semble jamais avoir désigné la fondation milésienne.¹³ Bref, les chapitres 67-68 du Périple du Pseudo-Scylax apportent des arguments supplémentaires pour la datation de l'écrit originaire au moins avant Hérodote.

Dans ces circonstances, une nouvelle lecture du chapitre 67 du Périple est instructive à plus d'un titre: Εἰσὶ δὲ ἐν τῷ Πόντῳ πόλεις Ἑλληγνίδες αἶδε ἐν Θράκη. Ἀπολλωνία, Μεσημβρία, Ὀδησσόπολις, Κάλλατις καὶ ποταμὸς Ἴστρος. En effet, ce n'est que pour Apollonia, Odessos et Istros, dont les dates de fondation remontent à une époque beaucoup plus ancienne,¹⁴ que le passage est dépourvu d'intérêt. Il n'en est pas de même pour Mésambria, pour ne pas parler de Callatis.

Sur la fondation de Mésambria,¹⁵ nous disposons de deux informations apparemment contradictoires fournies par Hérodote. En décrivant l'itinéraire suivi par Darius lors de sa campagne contre les Scythes (519-517?), le père de l'histoire écrit (4. 93): Πρὶν δὲ ἀπικέσθαι ἐπὶ τὸν Ἴστρον, πρῶτους αἰρέει Γέτας τοὺς ἀθανατίζοντας. Οἱ μὲν γὰρ τὸν Σαλμυδησὸν ἔχοντες Θρήικες καὶ ὑπὲρ Ἀπολλωνίης τε καὶ Μεσαμβρίας πόλιος οἰκημένοι, καλεόμενοι δὲ Σκυρμιάδαι καὶ Νιψαῖοι, ἀμαχητὶ σφέας αὐτοὺς παρέδοσαν Δαρεΐῳ. A un tout autre endroit (6. 33), Hérodote parle de la mésaventure des Byzantins et des Chalcédoniens devant la menace de la flotte perse en 493 dans les termes suivants: Βυζάντιοι μὲν νῦν καὶ οἱ πέρηθε Καλχηδόνιοι οὐδ' ὑπέμειναν ἐπιπλέοντας τοὺς Φοινίκας [à savoir la flotte phénicienne au service des Perses], ἀλλ' οἷχοντο ἀπολιπόντες τὴν σφετέρην ἔσω ἐς τὸν Εὐξείνου Πόντον, καὶ ἐνταῦθα πόλιν Μεσαμβρίην οἷκησαν. Traditionnellement, on a voulu en tirer un renseignement sur l'acte de fondation de Mésambria. Mais comme le même Hérodote avait mentionné la ville dans le contexte des événements de 519-517 (?), les savants ont dû recourir à des interprétations tout aussi ingénieuses qu'inutiles. B. Lenk, par exemple, suivi de près par K. Hanell,¹⁶ estimait que l'historien avait mentionné déjà Mésambria "schon gelegentlich des Skythenzuges, aber nur um die Wohnsitze eines Thrakerstammes seinen Lesern zu bezeichnen".¹⁷ Chr. Danov et V. Velkov y voyaient la preuve d'une colonisation en étapes.¹⁸ "Il est évident que cette colonisation ne s'effectua pas en une seule fois, mais que ce fut un processus répété de plusieurs vagues successives d'émigrants".¹⁹

Cependant, en relisant attentivement le deuxième passage – et en bénéficiant en plus du privilège d’avoir pu faire état des recherches exhaustives de M. Casevitz sur le vocabulaire de la colonisation – N. Ehrhardt a démontré²⁰ qu’Hérodote n’y fait pas usage du verbe qu’il emploie communément pour désigner l’acte de fondation d’une colonie (κτίζω).²¹ Il emploie en revanche l’aoriste de οἰκέω, qui n’est attesté que sept fois dans toute son oeuvre.²² M. Casevitz en a donné et commenté les occurrences, ce qui m’épargne l’effort de poursuivre l’enquête à ce propos. En fait, trois exemples (Hdt. 1.1; 4.116; 5.58) “concernent une migration de peuples non-grecs et leur installation, sans que soient indiqués une colonisation organisée ni un mode d’habitat et d’organisation politique”, alors que deux autres résultent de la correction de la tradition manuscrite (1.57; 7.164). L’exemple le plus proche du passage qui retient mon attention est 7.170: Μίκυθος . . . ἐκπεσὼν ἐκ Ῥηγίου καὶ Τεγέην τὴν Ἀρκάδων οἰκήσας (“Mikythos chassé de Rhégion et s’étant établi à Tégée d’Arcadie...”).²³ Il s’agit donc d’un site préexistant, qui accueillit un réfugié. Il me paraît donc en être de même pour le passage concernant l’installation des Byzantins et des Chalcédoniens à Mésambria et je traduis avec Ph.-E. Legrand: “ils partirent, abandonnant leur patrie, et pénétrèrent dans le Pont-Euxin où ils s’établirent dans la ville de Mésambria”.²⁴ Par conséquent, les deux passages d’Hérodote ne sont guère contradictoires, mais clairs et explicites: la ville existait déjà au moins dès l’époque de la campagne contre les Scythes et n’a fait qu’accueillir des réfugiés, comme Tégée dans le cas de Mikythos.

La tradition relative à la fondation de Mésambria – cette fois-ci avec la spécification de ses fondateurs, les Chalcédoniens et les Mégariens – à l’époque de la campagne de Darius figure ensuite dans la chronique versifiée connue sous le nom du Pseudo-Scymnos (II^e s.), qui fait usage pour la section pontique des renseignements très fiables de Dèmètrios de Callatis (v. 741-742 éd. Diller p. 166):²⁵ Καλχηδόνοι ταύτην δὲ Μεγαρεῖς τ’ ὄκισαν ὅτ’ ἐπὶ Σκύθας Δαρεῖος ἐστρατεύετο. Toutefois je ferai remarquer que le Ps.-Scymnos, qui emploie, lui aussi, largement le verbe κτίζω, préfère ici le verbe οἰκίζω.

Au bout de ces remarques, il convient d’accréditer Mésambria comme une fondation chalcédo-mégarienne des environs des années 520/10; ce que confirme sa présence dans la liste du Ps.-Scylax, qui n’aurait pas pu être expliquée si la colonie avait été fondée en 493. Il ne reste qu’à expliquer sur les traces d’Ehrhardt l’annotation d’Eusthatus 803 [GGM II 356-357]²⁶ à la chronique versifiée de Denys le Périégète:²⁷ Ἱστορεῖται δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐν ἀριστεροῦ τοῦ Εὐξείνου Πόντου Μεσημβρίαν

Χαλκηδονίων εἶναι κτίσμα καὶ Βυζαντίων, ἡπτηθέντων ἔν τινι μάχῃ καὶ φυγόντων ἐκεῖ. Eusthatius suit sans aucun doute Hérodote, sauf qu'il semble avoir confondu – comme les modernes d'ailleurs – οἰκέω avec οἰκίζω et compris qu'il s'agissait de la fondation même; c'est pourquoi qu'il parle de κτίσμα, un "nom instrumental" qui désigne le résultat d'une fondation.²⁸

Si l'épisode de l'installation des Byzantins et d'un nouveau groupe de Chalcédoniens à Mésambria en 493 n'a plus affaire à la fondation proprement dite, il invite en revanche à rouvrir un dossier tout aussi fascinant que mal connu de la colonisation pontique, celui des *époikoi* dont il sera question plus loin.

La mention de Callatis parmi les villes du Pont Gauche vers 500 dans la liste dressée par le Ps.-Scylax est encore plus importante. Comme on le sait, le seul repère pour la fondation de Callatis était le passage du Ps.-Scymnos (v. 760-764 éd. Diller p. 166-167), qui nous fait savoir que la cité ἀποικία <τῶν> Ἡρακλεωτῶν γενομένη κατὰ χρησμόν; ἔκτισαν δὲ ταύτην ἡνίκα τὴν Μακεδόνων ἀρχὴν Ἀμύντας παρέλαβεν. Le problème restait de savoir lequel des trois Amyntas il s'agissait; car le premier avait régné dans la deuxième moitié du VI^e s., alors que l'avènement du troisième se situe beaucoup plus tard, vers 393.²⁹ Les opinions exprimées à cet égard par les savants sont fort diverses.³⁰ Sans entrer ici dans des détails – car je suis en train de préparer une étude spécialement consacrée à la fondation de Callatis – je rappelle qu'il y a plusieurs arguments pour préférer une date plus haute, pour parler avec le Ps.-Scymnos, vers l'époque d'Amyntas I. Il s'agit tout d'abord de l'information sur la consultation de l'oracle, qui me paraît trouver sa place à une époque plus reculée plutôt qu'au IV^e s. Deuxièmement, si c'était Amyntas III, je verrais mal un historien originaire de la cité même, Dèmètrios de Callatis, à qui la chronique versifiée doit les informations pontiques, fournir des renseignements aussi vagues sur des événements bien proches des premiers contacts entre le royaume de Macédoine et les cités ouest-pontiques, qui remontent à 339.³¹ A tout cela je viens d'ajouter récemment un argument plus concret: l'existence de l'institution des proboules à Callatis – qui est de très ancienne origine mégarienne – par rapport à l'absence de tout renseignement sur les mêmes magistrats à Chersonèse montre que cette dernière cité a dû être fondée bien après Callatis, à une époque à laquelle les proboules ne figuraient plus parmi les institutions politiques de la métropole des deux colonies, la ville d'Héraclée du Pont.³²

Sur cette question, le texte du Ps.-Scylax nous fournit une fois de plus

un atout majeur: s'il date d'autour de 500 et si Callatis y est mentionnée, il s'ensuit que, dans la tradition transmise par le Ps.-Scymnos, il est précisément question d'une fondation à l'époque d'Amyntas I. Sinon, il faudrait refaire toutes les données du problème, à savoir dater le Ps.-Scylax après 393 et expliquer, rien que pour les côtes occidentale et septentrionale du Pont, un tas de contradictions et de silences inquiétants.

Pour conclure, à en suivre le Ps.-Scylax, la côte Ouest du Pont ne présentait vers 500 que quatre établissements grecs appelés *poleis*: dans l'ordre de leur fondation, Apollonia, Odessos, Callatis et Mésambria. Istros, la plus ancienne fondation dans la région, y est à ajouter. Du point de vue chronologique, la coupure est très importante, car, à continuer le raisonnement, il s'ensuit que les *poleis* attestées dans la région sur la foi de la documentation littéraire et épigraphique à l'époque hellénistique ont dû être fondées plus tard ou bien avoir "accédé" au statut de *polis* à une époque ultérieure. Malheureusement, c'est justement là où, du point de vue méthodologique, commencent les difficultés.

Prenons tout d'abord le cas de Tomis. L'origine milésienne en est proclamée par le Ps.-Scymnos (v. 765 éd. Diller p. 167: Τομέοι πόλις; ἄποικοι γενόμενοι Μιλησίων), tandis que ses institutions et surtout la présence des anciennes tribus milésiennes³³ ne font que confirmer cela sans conteste. A ce propos, je trouve utile de reprendre le jugement de N. Ehrhardt: "Die Gründung muß, da Tomis die alten sechs milesischen Phylen aufweist, vor der Mitte des 5. Jhs. erfolgt sein, da Milet um diese Zeit die attischen Phylen übernahm. Darüberhinaus muß die Gründung der Stadt mit Sicherheit vor 500 v. Chr. erfolgt sein, da Milet zur Zeit des Ionischen Aufstandes und in der Zeit nach der Zerstörung nicht in der Lage gewesen sein dürfte, Städte im Pontosgebiet anzulegen. Wegen des deutlichen milesischen Charakters der Einrichtungen ist milesische Primärgründung zu vermuten".³⁴ Ce raisonnement est apparemment sans faille; sauf que l'on aurait du mal à expliquer le silence suspect des sources de toutes catégories à l'égard d'une *polis* aussi ancienne jusqu'au III^e s. En effet, Tomis n'est présente dans les sources littéraires (qui sont d'ailleurs, à la seule exception du Ps.-Scymnos, d'époque impériale) qu'à partir des années '60 du III^e s. et alors c'est dans le contexte d'une guerre que menaient les Callatiens et les Istriens contre Byzance περὶ Τόμωος τοῦ ἔμπορίου (Memnon [FGrHist 434] fr. 13).³⁵ Les premières émissions monétaires autonomes datent du III^e s.³⁶ Si l'évidence archéologique offre sans conteste des éléments qui en font remonter le premier habitat vers le début du VI^e s.³⁷ et si les premières inscriptions datent du IV^e s.³⁸ – ce qui serait tout aussi tard et tout aussi tôt que

dans toutes les autres cités de la région – il n'est pas pour autant question d'y voir une *polis*. Les premiers renseignements fournis par les inscriptions sur les institutions typiques pour une *polis* datent de la fin du II^e s.³⁹ Comme la fondation milésienne après 494 semble exclue, il resterait donc à expliquer tous ces siècles d'anonymat presque total; et cela sans préjudice de l'absence de cette cité Sur la liste du Ps.-Scylax.

Il en va de même pour Dionysopolis. Une tradition fort curieuse – léguée uniquement par le Ps.-Scymnos (v. 751-755 éd. Diller p. 166) – veut que la cité se soit appelée à l'origine Crounoi et qu'elle ait changé de nom au moment où une statue de Dionysos fut trouvée dans les eaux de la mer: (Διονυσόπολις) πρῶτον ὀνομάζετο Κρουνοί διὰ τὰς τῶν ἐγγύς ὑδάτων ἐκρύψεις. Διονυσιακοῦ δὲ προσπεσόντος ὕστερον ἐκ τῆς θαλάττης τοῖς τόποις ἀγάλματος, Διονυσόπολιν λέγουσι κληθῆναι πάλιν. La tradition n'est pas, à vrai dire, sans parallèles, car Etienne de Byzance fait état d'un épisode similaire dans le cas d'une ville homonyme située en Phrygie, fondée par Attale I et Eumène (Steph. Byz. s. v. Διονυσόπολις). Cependant, la fondation milésienne de Dionysopolis pontique n'est jamais mentionnée dans les sources et, à la différence de Tomis, où les éléments en mesure d'indiquer une origine milésienne sont plus accentués, ici il n'y a qu'une seule mention vague des "sept tribus" dans une inscription d'époque impériale qui pourrait faire penser aux six tribus d'origine milésienne et à une autre (φυλὴ Ῥωμαίων) qui s'y soit ajoutée à l'époque romaine.⁴⁰ A partir du III^e s. au plus tard, les inscriptions de Dionysopolis⁴¹ ainsi que ses premières émissions monétaires⁴² ne laissent persister aucun doute sur son caractère de *polis*. Pourtant, le problème de son évolution antérieure se pose dans les mêmes termes que pour Tomis: si la colonie avait été fondée par les Milésiens avant la révolte ionienne, de quoi "remplir" les V^e-IV^e siècles? Qui plus est, comment expliquer non seulement le nom, mais l'éponymie même du prêtre de Dionysos⁴³ et en général la position prééminente de Dionysos⁴⁴ par rapport à des divinités beaucoup plus "milésiennes", comme par exemple Apollon ou Artémis? Quoi qu'il en soit, la documentation épigraphique sur Dionysopolis hellénistique cadre mal avec une ancienne fondation milésienne.

J'en viens enfin à la *polis* la moins connue de la région, à savoir Bizonné. En fait, pour définir cette ville comme *polis* il n'y a que le texte du Ps.-Scymnos (v. 759-760 éd. Diller p. 166), une inscription d'Istros de la fin du III^e s. qui atteste la χάρα de Bizonné et, implicitement, ses remparts (car il s'agit d'un siège que les Thraces mirent devant la ville),⁴⁵ et l'ethnique qui figure dans une inscription du II^e s.⁴⁶ L'origine même de

la ville était bien peu connue au temps de Dèmètrios de Callatis, car le Ps.-Scymnos (v. 758-759 éd. Diller p.166) en donne deux variantes: (Βιζώνη πόλις) φασίν τινες μὲν βαρβάρων, τινὲς δ' ἄποικον γεγονέναι Μεσημβρίας. Cependant, ni l'une ni l'autre des deux possibilités envisagées n'est en mesure de satisfaire les exigences de la critique. Deux vers auparavant le Ps.-Scymnos faisait savoir que les régions situées entre Dionysopolis et Bizoné étaient peuplées de Crobydes (d'origine thrace), de Scythes et de μιγάδες Ἑλληνας: ἐν μεθορίοις δὲ τῆς Κροβύζων καὶ Σκυθῶν χώρας μιγάδας Ἑλληνας οἰκητὰς ἔχει. Dans une étude sur le territoire de Callatis j'ai remarqué le parallélisme entre la formule μιγάδες Ἑλληνας et les μιξέλληνας mentionnés dans la χώρα d'Olbia par le célèbre décret pour Protogène au III^e s.⁴⁷ et j'ai proposé de comprendre l'expression μιγάδες Ἑλληνας comme se référant à une population de statut inférieur, mélangée à une enclave scythique hellénisée, qui habitait les confins des territoires de villes comme Callatis, Bizoné, Dionysopolis ou Odessos.⁴⁸ Dans le territoire de Callatis ces μιγάδες Ἑλληνας auraient bien pu être les habitants des φρούρια ou des πύργοι attestés tant par les monuments archéologiques que par les documents épigraphiques.⁴⁹ Il serait, dans ces conditions, bien possible que Bizoné fût à l'origine un fort (comme ceux du territoire callatien ou comme Anchialos ou Naulochos dont il sera question plus bas). En revanche, rien ne nous autorise à considérer Bizoné comme une fondation barbare, mais comme une fondation de l'une des cités grecques de la région. En tout cas, cette cité ne saurait être Mésambria, car des rares inscriptions de Bizoné il ne ressort rien (ni comme traits doriens de la langue ni comme institutions ou comme cultes) qui puisse accréditer une origine mésambrienne.⁵⁰ Si fondation de la part d'une ville de la zone il y eut, il faudrait penser plutôt à Odessos ou bien à Dionysopolis. En ce qui concerne l'évolution ultérieure de la ville à l'époque hellénistique, il est à noter qu'elle tomba victime d'un tremblement de terre.⁵¹ Cela se passa après 72/1, car Bizoné figure encore parmi les cités prises par M. Terentius Lucullus Varron lors de sa campagne en Scythie Mineure⁵² et avant l'époque à laquelle Strabon écrivait. Une confirmation de dernière heure est l'inscription trouvée à Baltchik, qui date de l'époque de Cotys III, fils de Sadalas II (mort peu avant 16) et qui concerne l'établissement des frontières du territoire de Dionysopolis.⁵³ En faisant état des données de cette inscription en ce qui concerne la limite entre le territoire de Callatis et celui de Dionysopolis, j'avais remarqué que les deux cités se partageaient entre elles ce qui appartenait naguère à la χώρα de Bizoné.⁵⁴ La cité de Bizoné cessa donc d'exister à la suite de sa destruction

physique datable entre 72/1 et ca. 16 et ne fut fondée pour la seconde fois qu'à l'époque impériale.

D'autres sites de la région sont mentionnés simplement comme des communautés dépendant d'une *polis*. C'est le cas d'Anchialos, un toponyme désignant dans une importante inscription un $\varphi\rho\omicron\upsilon\upsilon\omicron\nu$ disputé entre Mésambria et Apollonia⁵⁵ et, encore, le cas de Naulochos,⁵⁶ sans doute toujours un $\varphi\rho\omicron\upsilon\upsilon\omicron\nu$ des Mésambriens. Des fondations secondaires – à vocation sans doute commerciale – sont attestées indirectement au compte d'Istros. Il s'agit d'un établissement localisé probablement dans la région de l'estuaire du Dniestr (Tyras), Ἰστριανῶν λιμήν (Arr., *Peripl. Pont. Eux.* 20; Anonym. *Peripl. Pont. Eux.* éd. Diller p. 134), dont le nom semble indiquer l'origine de ses fondateurs,⁵⁷ et notamment de Niconéon (Niconion).⁵⁸ Ce dernier site, localisé par des fouilles archéologiques à Roksolanskoé Gorodichtché,⁵⁹ à la même embouchure du Dniestr, n'est jamais attesté dans les sources comme étant une fondation istrienne; en revanche, les fouilles archéologiques y ont révélé une quantité considérable de monnaies frappées à Istros. Sur la foi des documents archéologiques, on peut donc considérer que l'établissement de Niconéon (Niconion) a été fondé par Istros et qu'il a connu son *floruit* au V^e s. Ceci explique d'ailleurs sa présence non seulement dans la liste du Pseudo-Scylax, mais surtout, en 425/4, dans la liste des tributs attiques, où la restitution Νικ[όνειον] est l'une des très peu nombreuses à pouvoir être considérées comme certaines.⁶⁰ La nouvelle datation du périple du Pseudo-Scylax nous offre un *terminus ante quem* pour la fondation de Niconéon (peu avant ca. 500). Enfin, il faudrait ajouter Ὀργάμη, πόλις ἐπὶ τῷ Ἰστρῷ mentionnée à l'époque préromaine uniquement par Hécatée ([*FGrHist* 1] fr. 172) et localisée sur l'emplacement de la future cité romano-byzantine Argamum située au Cap Dolojman entre Istros et le bras méridional du Delta du Danube.⁶¹ Récemment, j'ai proposé de restituer dans la liste des tributs attiques de 425/4 le nom d'Ὀ[ργάμη] à la place de celui d'Ὀ[λβία],⁶² ce qui nous fournirait une deuxième mention du site à l'époque préromaine. Tout comme dans le cas de Niconéon, Orgamé semble avoir été au V^e s. une communauté dépendant étroitement d'Istros; il est bien possible que Niconéon et Orgamé aient été des *poleis*, mais le silence des sources nous empêche d'en essayer une réponse trop affirmative. Aussi est-il hors de doute que ces deux sites, quelque soit leur statut, sont nettement à distinguer des simples établissements dans la $\chi\acute{\omega}\rho\alpha$ d'une ville, tels qu'Anchialos ou Naulochos, ou des comptoirs tels que "le port des Istriens".

J'ai insisté sur les fondations secondaires des cités du Pont Gauche,

qu'elles soient des forts dans leur proximité ou bien des comptoirs plus éloignés, parce que je suis enclin à y voir un phénomène qui n'a pas encore été suffisamment approfondi par la recherche. Cependant, il me semble que c'est justement là qu'il faudrait chercher l'explication pour les origines des cités comme Tomis, Bizoné ou Dionysopolis, attestées, certes, comme *poleis* dès l'époque hellénistique, mais qui ne sont guère en mesure de produire quelque chose de cohérent à une époque plus ancienne. Leur attribuer une origine directement milésienne – par un acte de fondation qui serait alors forcément antérieur à la révolte ionienne⁶³ – soulèverait les difficultés que je viens d'invoquer. D'autre part, je n'accepterai jamais l'opinion bien étrange, selon laquelle certains sites aient fait le saut du stade d'*emporion* à celui de *polis*,⁶⁴ comme s'il s'agissait d'un octroi de statut accordé on ne comprend pas bien par qui, ni dans quelles circonstances.

En revanche, sans pouvoir invoquer trop d'arguments, il me semble que rien ne s'oppose à ce que certains sites aient été à l'origine de simples comptoirs milésiens; ce ne serait alors que bien plus tard que certaines *poleis* de la région auraient pris la décision d'y fonder des *apoikiai* en règle. Dans ce cas, nous n'aurions point affaire à une promotion, mais à l'acte même de la fondation. Certes, le caractère milésien des institutions, de l'organisation du corps civique, des cultes et du calendrier – là où ces traits peuvent être suivis à la lumière des sources – aurait été le même si le fondateur en avait été directement Milet ou bien, mettons, Istros ou Apollonia. Je crois donc qu'il est grand temps au moins de se poser sérieusement ce problème.

Derrière les fondations coloniales peuvent se cacher, comme on le sait, des motivations fort différentes, notamment à l'époque tardive; il convient d'en analyser quelques unes à partir de certaines études de cas.

Tomis, par exemple, était disputée dans les années 260 par Callatis (ayant de son côté Istros) et Byzance.⁶⁵ Le texte de Memnon ([*FGrHist* 434] fr. 13) est à ce propos, quoi qu'il en soit, bien précis: on guerroyait *περὶ Τόμωος τοῦ ἑμπορίου*. Il n'est pas question de s'attaquer ici au terme d'*emporion* et à sa prétendue opposition par rapport à la *polis*. Aussi me paraît-il bien plus intéressant que le texte ne nous renseigne point sur l'attitude de Tomis même; par contre, tout laisse plutôt penser qu'il s'agissait d'un combat pour un territoire en litige. Or, si fréquents que soient à l'époque hellénistique les litiges frontaliers, même les guerres dont l'enjeu est le contrôle exercé sur tel ou tel territoire, il n'est jamais pour autant question d'une *polis*. D'autre part, l'ingérence des Byzantins – bien loin de Tomis – semble indiquer qu'il s'agissait de motivations

commerciales concrètes.⁶⁶ Tout cela relève plutôt d'un *port of trade*, dont le contrôle était soumis aux sorts changeants de l'enjeu politique que d'une *polis* attaquée par une cité et ses alliés.

Par conséquent, je vois dans l'épisode des années 260 le *terminus post quem* même de la fondation de Tomis en tant qu'*apoikia*. Et comme ce moment ne saurait être par trop abaissé – car les premières émissions monétaires autonomes de Tomis datent, comme nous l'avons vu, du III^e s. – je verrais volontiers l'implantation d'une *apoikia* justement après cette guerre, sans doute pour prévenir des expériences pareilles. Qui en aurait été le fondateur? Sans doute Istros, la cité la mieux placée pour y envoyer des colons.⁶⁷ C'est ainsi que Tomis n'aurait été en rien moins "milésienne" que si elle avait été fondée comme *apoikia* par Milet même. La tradition n'aurait retenu que la "fondation" originaire, qui semble remonter au VI^e s., comme le montrent les trouvailles archéologiques. On notera cependant que le Ps.-Scymnos prend garde à ne pas faire usage de la formule qu'il emploie aussi souvent *Μιλήσιοι κτίζουσι*, car il ne s'agissait pas d'une *κτίσις*, mais d'une simple installation.

A Bizoné on pourrait penser, à suivre le même Ps.-Scymnos, notamment en ce qui concerne ses informations sur les *μυγάδες Ἑλληνες*, à une fondation due à l'une des cités milésiennes de la région, sans doute Odessos ou Dionysopolis, qui aurait fondé une *apoikia* sur l'emplacement d'un *φρούριον* comme Anchialos ou comme Naulochos. En fait rien ne s'oppose à ce que dans un passé lointain les Mésambriens soient venus s'y installer; mais la *polis* d'époque hellénistique ne saurait être fondée que par une ville milésienne, car à Bizoné il n'y a point de traces doriennes.

A Dionysopolis, enfin, les quelques débris d'information – le moindre n'étant pas l'étiologie autour de la statue de Dionysos – me semblent autoriser une hypothèse bien plus hardie. Le nom de la cité est lui même étrange et il semble y être question, de même que pour d'autres composés pareils, d'une fondation pour le compte d'un groupe de colons adorateurs de Dionysos de l'époque d'Alexandre le Grand. La recrudescence des thiasés, le rapport entre le dieu et le "mythe d'Alexandre",⁶⁸ l'ancienneté des mystères bachiques dans les contrées du Pont-Euxin,⁶⁹ mais surtout l'éponymie du prêtre de Dionysos⁷⁰ me semblent être des arguments non dépourvus de valeur dans cette direction. Comme je l'ai fait remarquer plus haut, je ne crois pas que les Milésiens aient pu fonder une *apoikia* au nom de Dionysos et en confier l'éponymie au prêtre de Dionysos contrairement à l'usage. Aussi verrais-je vers l'époque d'Alexandre le Grand un groupe de colons venus d'une ou de

plusieurs villes de la région fonder Dionysopolis sur l'emplacement d'un comptoir sans doute plus ancien (Κρουνοί?). La tradition n'aurait retenu que le changement de nom et l'étiologie née *pro causa* dans le milieu local.⁷¹

Le phénomène des fondations secondaires est encore suggéré par quelques exemples de refuge devant une menace: c'est bien le cas des Callatiens qui se sont réfugiés dans le royaume du Bosphore après que leur cité soit tombée entre les mains de Lysimaque, où ils ont été installés dans une "clérouchie" par le roi Eumèle.⁷²

Il y a ensuite, surtout à l'époque qui succède immédiatement à la fondation d'une *apoikia*, le problème des *époikoi*. Le cas nous est explicitement détaillé par Aristote à Apollonia (*Pol.* 1303 a 36-38). A Mésambria il a été question, comme nous l'avons vu, de réfugiés venus de la métropole et des environs moins d'une génération après la fondation de la cité. Des cas pareils sont sans doute à envisager dans d'autres cités du Pont-Euxin.

Il faut néanmoins souligner que par *ἔποικοι* on entend "les nouveaux colons sans distinguer ceux qu'une métropole a envoyés sur demande de la cité qui les accueille, de ceux que l'exil a fait s'établir dans une cité".⁷³ Dans le cas de Mésambria nous avons sûrement affaire à des *ἔποικοι* de la deuxième catégorie, alors que dans le cas d'Apollonia on pourrait penser aux "colons de renfort" envoyés dans un deuxième temps par Milet. Cela nous permettrait de concilier la tradition sur la date fournie par le Ps.-Scymnos pour la fondation d'Apollonia (v. 728-731 éd. Diller p. 165-166: ταύτην δὲ πρότερον ἔτεσι πεντήκοντά που κτίζουσι τῆς Κύρου βασιλείας τὴν πόλιν εἰς τοὺς τόπους ἐλθόντες οἱ Μιλήσιοι, ce qui signifie autour de 610) avec une autre tradition transmise par Elieen (*Var. hist.* 3, 17), selon laquelle le philosophe Anaximandre en aurait été le fondateur: καὶ Ἀναξίμανδρος δὲ ἠγήσατο τῆς εἰς Ἀπολλωνίαν ἐκ Μιλήτου ἀποικίας. Anaximandre avait, selon Diogène Laërce (2. 2) l'âge de 64 ans dans la deuxième année de la 58^e Olympiade, il était donc né vers 611. Les trouvailles archéologiques de la nécropole d'Apollonia accréditent l'idée d'une fondation de la ville autour de 610.⁷⁴ Alors, à condition que la tradition dont Elieen se fait l'écho soit digne d'être prise en considération, il ne reste qu'à accepter qu'Anaximandre ait dirigé un corps d'*ἔποικοι* envoyés d'une manière organisée par la métropole.⁷⁵

Quoi qu'il en soit, ces *époikoi* ont été la source de dissensions à Apollonia. Il s'agissait bien du partage des terres et une *stasis* alimentée par le conflit entre les colons originaires et ces colons additionnels trouve-

rait confortablement sa place à une époque encore très reculée.⁷⁶ Dans ce cas et sans doute dans beaucoup d'autres, il n'y aurait qu'un pas à franchir pour supposer que des groupes de gens exclus de la distribution des terres ou de vaincus dans les luttes politiques aient pris le chemin du refuge ou que ce soit la cité même qui les aurait envoyés s'établir ailleurs. On arrive donc à la même possibilité de fondations secondaires.

Pour en finir, je ne crois pas qu'il y ait eu sur la côte occidentale du Pont plus de trois fondations directement milésiennes (Istros, Apollonia et Odessos), d'une fondation d'Héraclée du Pont (Callatis, que je date de la fin du VI^e s.) et d'une fondation commune de Chalcédoine et de Mégare, avec des renforts venus de Chalcédoine et de Byzance (Mésambria, datée de 520/10). Les trois autres *poleis* attestées d'une manière indéniable à l'époque hellénistique (Tomis, Bizoné et Dionysopolis) ne sauraient être que des fondations secondaires des cités comme Istros, Odessos ou Apollonia sur l'emplacement d'anciens comptoirs milésiens. Quant à leur date de fondation, on ne saurait dépasser le stade des présomptions, car il n'y a que Tomis qui semble offrir – à condition que mon raisonnement soit correct – un repère indiquant le milieu du III^e s.. C'est à l'époque d'Alexandre le Grand, de Lysimaque ou peu après qu'il conviendrait de chercher la date de fondation de Bizoné et de Dionysopolis.

En laissant donc de côté les cités plus récentes, j'en viens aux institutions des cinq *poleis* du Pont Gauche aux VI^e-IV^e s. Comme à quelques exceptions près toute notre documentation ne concerne que l'époque hellénistique, le problème est d'en tirer les informations qui peuvent intéresser les époques archaïque et classique.

Les institutions ne sauraient être jugées qu'à partir de la distinction fondamentale entre cités milésiennes (Istros, Apollonia, Odessos) et cités mégariennes (Callatis,⁷⁷ Mésambria).

En ce qui concerne les colonies milésiennes, leur cohérence institutionnelle a été récemment mise en évidence par N. Ehrhardt, par rapport à qui je n'aurais pas grand chose à ajouter.⁷⁸ L'éponymie du prêtre d'Apollon, attestée sûrement à Istros⁷⁹ et se situant presque hors de doute à Odessos,⁸⁰ doit être également acceptée pour Apollonia;⁸¹ à peine faut-il souligner qu'il s'agit d'une institution introduite par les colons milésiens, bien que les premières mentions qui nous sont parvenues soient d'époque hellénistique. Il en est de même pour les ἐπιμήνιοι, les "faux éponymes" qui président à l'Assemblée; car c'est justement la cohérence de la documentation coloniale sur les ἐπιμήνιοι qui témoigne de l'ancienneté de cette institution originellement milésienne.⁸²

L'Assemblée (partout δῆμος, parfois ἐκκλησία) et le Conseil (βουλή) doivent être de beaucoup plus anciens que la date de leurs premières attestations (la haute époque hellénistique); néanmoins, on ne saurait dire quels en auront été la composition et le mode de fonctionnement aux VI^e-IV^e siècles, notamment avant l'instauration des régimes démocratiques. Dans certaines inscriptions les membres du Conseil sont désignés à partir du III^e s. par le terme σύνεδροι.⁸³ Il ne semble pas qu'il s'agisse d'une dénomination technique qui ne concerne qu'une partie, qu'une division du corps des membres du Conseil,⁸⁴ mais simplement d'un synonyme pour le Conseil même.⁸⁵ Il paraît en être de même pour les archontes, fréquemment attestés, surtout à Istros, comme *rogatores* de décrets, qui ne seraient que les magistrats en général, non pas un collège de type athénien.⁸⁶ Le collège d'archontes – s'il a jamais existé dans l'une ou plusieurs colonies milésiennes – ne serait alors que le reflet d'une influence athénienne, à mettre éventuellement en rapport avec l'appartenance des cités du Pont Gauche à la Ligue de Délos. Cependant, comme il est difficile de prouver quelque influence athénienne indéniable sur l'une des institutions de ces cités, sauf sans doute pour ce qui est des πάροδοι d'Apollonia (*JGB* I² 391),⁸⁷ il est, je crois, préférable de s'en tenir au sens non-technique du terme ἄρχων.

Les magistratures mineures – à caractère agoranomique ou financier, etc. – ne peuvent pas être datées. Dans la plupart des cas il faudrait compter sur une évolution des institutions à l'époque hellénistique, ce qui aurait sans doute conduit vers une diversification des magistratures. Toutefois, il n'est pas *a priori* exclu que certains des offices à attestation tardive soient en fait plus anciens.

Les colonies mégariennes présentent, elles aussi, quelques institutions qui remontent au moment même de la fondation coloniale. Cela est bien plus visible à Callatis, où les inscriptions hellénistiques nous ont parfois conservé le souvenir de quelques institutions et magistratures qui peuvent être considérées sans conteste comme originaires. Il s'agit tout d'abord du *basileus*, attesté comme éponyme de la cité par de nombreux documents à Callatis, alors qu'il ne figure qu'une seule fois dans les documents de Mésambria;⁸⁸ ceci s'explique aisément par le simple hasard, qui a bien voulu nous faire part surtout de décrets "acéphales", qui nous empêchent d'y trouver la formule canonique ἐπὶ βασιλέως.⁸⁹ La seule mention du *basileus* à Mésambria est, même isolée, bien suggestive; car elle confirme une fois de plus le caractère mégarien prédominant de la fondation. Comme on le sait, l'éponyme était à Byzance le ἱερομνάμων.⁹⁰ A Chalcédoine, le ἱερομνάμων figure dans une inscription à

côté du βασιλεύς,⁹¹ ce qui lui confère à mon avis le statut d'un "faux éponyme". Or, si les Byzantins et les Chalcédoniens avaient été les fondateurs de Mésambria – comme on l'a parfois suggéré sur la foi d'une lecture inexacte d'un passage d'Hérodote⁹² – on aurait eu des difficultés à expliquer la présence du *basileus* dans une fondation byzantine.

Les πρόβουλοι ne sont attestés que dans les inscriptions de Callatis. Récemment, j'ai interprété cette évidence comme étant une preuve que l'institution – qui est d'origine mégarienne – existait à Héraclée du Pont au moment de la fondation de Callatis, alors qu'elle serait ensuite disparue de la constitution héracléote avant la fondation de Chersonèse Taurique, puisqu'elle ne figure pas parmi les institutions de cette dernière cité. Jusqu'à l'heure actuelle, Mésambria n'a, elle non plus, rien livré à ce propos. De très ancienne origine mégarienne est également la fonction de président de l'Assemblée: πρ(ο)αισυμνῶν (dans les inscriptions toujours προαισυμνῶντος au génitif).⁹³

La mention des archontes dans quelques inscriptions de Callatis⁹⁴ n'est guère pertinente pour prouver l'existence d'un collège. Il s'agit plutôt, comme dans les colonies milésiennes, d'une désignation générale pour les notables. En revanche, dans une inscription de Mésambria,⁹⁵ le contexte pourrait apparemment donner à penser à un collège:

τὸ δὲ γενόμενον δαπά-
ναμα δόμεν τοὺς [ἄρχον]τας τοὺς πε-
ρὶ Διόδωρον Διοσκουρίδα.

La construction du type οἱ περὶ indique sûrement un collège. Cependant, je doute de la justesse de la restitution et je propose: δόμεν τοὺς [μερισ]τάς. Les μερισταί sont attestés dans les cités voisines d'Istros et de Callatis⁹⁶ et dans le même contexte (financement de l'érection d'une statue, comme dans ce cas, ou bien simplement de la gravure de la stèle) on trouve d'habitude des magistrats mineurs à responsabilités financières, comme le ταμίαις, les οἰκονόμοι ou les μερισταί. Par conséquent, je ne crois pas à l'existence d'un collège d'archontes à Mésambria.

Aux magistratures originaires des cités mégariennes appartiennent sans aucun doute également les stratèges. A Mésambria, on les trouve groupés d'une manière collégiale, au nombre de six et en compagnie d'un γραμματεὺς.⁹⁷ Les données qu'offre Callatis à ce propos ne sont pas aussi circonstanciées. Toutefois, je renverrais à une inscription où je crois avoir été en droit de restituer ποτὶ τοὺς συστρα[τάγους]⁹⁸ et à deux autres décrets, où il s'agit également de στραταγοί, sans que le

nombre en soit pour autant mentionné.⁹⁹ En dépit du manque d'évidence concrète, j'estime qu'il est presque sûr que leur nombre a toujours été de six, comme à Mésambria. Un argument supplémentaire serait un relief funéraire sur lequel on lit sept noms (tous à patronyme),¹⁰⁰ interprété, sur la foi des analogies convaincantes qu'offre Mésambria, comme désignant les six stratèges et leur *γραμματεὺς*.

Comme dans le cas des colonies milésiennes, il est plus difficile de se prononcer sur l'ancienneté des magistratures mineures, qui peuvent être en grande partie des créations plus tardives; en revanche, pour ce qui est des institutions et des magistratures fondamentales, les données des inscriptions hellénistiques peuvent être appliquées aux époques plus anciennes.

On ne saurait être assez prudent lorsqu'il s'agit de se représenter les constitutions des cités de la côte occidentale du Pont-Euxin avant l'introduction de la démocratie; car le manque de toute information épigraphique à cet égard dessine un vide que les quelques allusions d'Aristote aux troubles d'Istros ou d'Apollonia ne peuvent pas entièrement combler.

De même, on en sait trop peu sur les relations étrangères de ces cités et rien du tout sur leurs liens avec l'oracle de Delphes ou avec d'autres sanctuaires panhelléniques. A en juger d'après la documentation d'époque hellénistique – qui n'est en état de fournir des preuves sur les *théarodokoi* et des consultations oraculaires que dans le seul cas de Calatis¹⁰¹ – il semble que ces liens aient été plutôt rares.

En revanche, nous sommes un peu mieux placés dans le domaine des cultes.

Dans les colonies milésiennes c'est surtout le culte d'Apollon Iètros, sur lequel on a tant glosé, qui nous renseigne sur le fond milésien originaire⁸¹⁴. Son caractère de culte de *γένος* est surtout bien mis en évidence à Istros, où, même après les changements politiques mentionnés par Aristote (*Pol.* 1305 b 1-12) à la suite desquels la constitution de la cité devint démocratique (*ἐν Ἴστρον δ' εἰς δῆμον ἀπετελεύτησεν*),¹⁰³ le sacerdoce d'Apollon Iètros continuait à être monopolisé par la même famille de père en fils.¹⁰⁴ Dans un rapport très étroit avec le dieu, dont le prêtre détient l'éponymie, se trouve le culte d'Artémis – attesté dès l'époque archaïque à Apollonia,¹⁰⁵ à l'époque hellénistique seulement à Istros,¹⁰⁶ mais étant sûrement plus ancien – et de Létô.¹⁰⁷ D'autres cultes qui remontent sans aucun doute aux époques archaïque et classique sont ceux de Zeus Polieus et d'Aphrodite. Le premier est attesté à Istros tant par un temple construit vers le milieu du VI^e s.¹⁰⁸ que par des inscrip-

tions d'époque hellénistique.¹⁰⁹ Le culte d'Aphrodite est, lui aussi, bien représenté à Istros par un temple érigé vers la même époque que le temple de Zeus¹¹⁰ et des inscriptions;¹¹¹ il est présent également à Apollonia.¹¹² Les autres cultes attestés dans les cités milésiennes de la côte occidentale du Pont-Euxin sont ou de moindre importance ou bien plus tardifs. Parmi les cultes qui commencent à pénétrer à la fin de l'époque classique ou à l'époque hellénistique il est question notamment des Dieux de Samothrace, de dieux locaux se situant sans doute dans un certain rapport de syncrétisme avec les premiers et de dieux égyptiens.

Des deux cités mégariennes c'est notamment Callatis qui nous a fourni, grâce à sa belle moisson d'inscriptions d'époque hellénistique, des données fort circonstanciées sur les cultes pratiqués dans cette cité. Il n'est pas question d'en faire ici le bilan, aussi rapide qu'il soit. En revanche, je voudrais attirer l'attention sur deux traits qui me semblent bien importants.

Il s'agit tout d'abord de la cohérence, encore plus prononcée que dans l'univers milésien, que présentent les cultes de Mégare et ceux de ses fondations. A ce propos, je mentionnerais quelques correspondances uniquement mégariennes, comme par exemple les épiclèses Πατρῶς et Δασύλλιος pour Dionysos à Mégare et à Callatis¹¹³ ou Μαλόφορος pour Damatèr à Mégare et à Mésambria.¹¹⁴ Je remarquerais ensuite la position importante que semble détenir à Mésambria et à Callatis, comme dans tout le monde mégarien, Apollon (Pythien).¹¹⁵ Pour les rapports encore plus particuliers entre Callatis et sa métropole, Héraclée du Pont, on se rapportera, certes, au culte d'Héraclès à Callatis, qui doit être tout aussi vieux que la cité même.¹¹⁶

Mais l'exemple le plus fascinant de correspondances culturelles entre Mégare et ses colonies me semble être une inscription callatienne du IV^e s., récemment publiée, qui nous donne une liste de divinités:¹¹⁷

 [Διόν]υσος Πα[τρῶ]ς
 [Δι]όνυσος Βακ[χεύ]ς
 Ἄφροδίτα Πάν[δαμος]
 4 Πειθῶ, Δασύ[λλιος]
 Ἄρτεμις, Χθ[ονία ?]
 Κρόνος [-----]

Il est très significatif que cette liste – comptant, entre autres, quelques

divinités bien rares – peut être calquée, dans ses grandes lignes, sur l’itinéraire mégarien de Pausanias (1. 43. 5-6):¹¹⁸

“Polyeidos construisit en outre le sanctuaire de Dionysos et y consacra une statue de culte qui de nos jours est cachée, sauf le visage qui est la seule partie visible. Un satyre se tient auprès de lui, oeuvre de Praxitèle, en marbre de Paros. Ils appellent ce **Dionysos Patrôos** (*Ancestral*). Il y a un second **Dionysos** qu’ils surnomment **Dasyllios** (tout velu), et dont Euchènor, fils de Coiranos, fils de Polyeidos, a disent-ils, consacré la statue. Après le sanctuaire de Dionysos, il y a un temple d’**Aphrodite**, une statue d’Aphrodite en ivoire et *Praxis* (l’Action) est le surnom d’Aphrodite. Cette statue est la plus ancienne du temple. **Peithô** (*Persuasion*) et une autre divinité qu’ils nomment Parègoros (*Consolatrice*), sont des oeuvres de Praxitèle” [c’est moi qui a souligné].

D’autre part, il conviendrait d’attirer l’attention sur le grand nombre de divinités protectrices de la communauté civique à Callatis. Certes, la documentation porte surtout sur l’époque hellénistique. Mais au moins en ce qui concerne Zeus Πολιεύς et Σωτήρ¹¹⁹ et Athana Πολιάς (et Σωτείρα),¹²⁰ il faudrait admettre leur ancienneté. Il en serait sans doute de même pour bien d’autres cultes civiques attestés à Callatis à l’époque hellénistique.

A la lumière des sources d’époque archaïque et classique l’information sur les cités du Pont Gauche peut donc avoir l’air d’être décevante. Elle l’est sûrement moins, si l’on fait soigneusement usage de certaines sources plus tardives. Car c’est notamment aux inscriptions, heureusement, de très bonne qualité documentaire dans nombre de cas, qu’il revient de combler les lacunes de notre savoir. Il ne reste qu’à espérer que l’avenir nous réserve de nouveaux documents, pour autant que les fouilles archéologiques qui se poursuivent dans la plupart de ces villes nous en offrent l’accès.¹²¹

Notes

1 Voir à ce propos les considérations méthodologiques de N. Ehrhardt, *Die politischen Beziehungen zwischen den griechischen Schwarzmeergründungen und ihren Mutterstädten. Ein Beitrag zur Bedeutung von Kolonialverhältnissen in Griechenland*, dans: *Acta Centri Historiae “Terra Antiqua Balcanica”* 2 (1987) [IX^e Congrès International d’Épigraphie grecque et latine] 78-117, surtout 80-81.

2 F. Bilabel, *Die ionische Kolonisation. Untersuchungen über die Gründungen der Ioni-er, deren staatliche und kultische Organisation und Beziehungen zu den Mutterstädten* (Leipzig 1920) [*Philologus* Suppl. XIV 1]; N. Ehrhardt, *Milet und seine Kolonien. Vergleichende Untersuchung der kultischen und politischen Einrichtungen*² (Frankfurt/ Main-Bern-New York-Paris 1988).

3 K. Hanell, *Megarische Studien* (Lund 1934).

4 P. Arnaud, "Les relations maritimes dans le Pont-Euxin d'après les données numériques des géographes anciens", *REA* 94 (1992) 57-77.

5 A. Baschmakoff, *La synthèse des périples pontiques. Méthode de précision en paléo-ethnologie* [Etudes d'ethnographie, de sociologie et d'ethnologie, tome III] (Paris 1948) 22-29. Je cite d'après A. Diller, *The Tradition of the Minor Greek Geographers* (repr. Amsterdam 1986) 98-99.

6 C'est l'hypothèse déjà plus que séculaire de J. H. Schneiderwirth, *Das pontische Herakleia* (Heiligenstadt 1882) 15, reprise (sans que l'auteur en ait pour autant connu l'origine) avec de bons arguments par A. I. Tjumenev, "Xersonesskie etjudy", *VDI*, 1938, 2, 245-275. En partant de l'information du Ps.-Scymnos (v. 826-832 éd. Diller p. 169) sur la fondation de Chersonèse Taurique comme exploit commun des Héracléotes et des Déliens à la suite d'un oracle accordé aux premiers, les deux historiens ont situé le moment de l'entrepris après le sac du territoire d'Héraclée du Pont par l'Athénien Lamachos d'une part, et la déportation des Déliens par la même Athènes d'autre part. L'hypothèse a été acceptée par le monde savant en général. Sur ce problème voir une ample discussion chez S. Ju. Saprykin, *Gerakleja Pontijskaja i Xersones Tavričeskij* (Moscou 1986) 52-69.

7 C'est déjà M. I. Rostovtzeff, *Iranians and Greeks in South Russia* (Oxford 1922) 63, qui avait attiré l'attention sur le caractère ionien (à savoir, milésien) du site. Dans la littérature soviétique on y a longtemps vu un "emporion", considéré d'une manière unilatérale comme représentant une phase initiale dans le développement d'à peu près tout établissement colonial. Les préjugés idéologiques (relevant d'une certaine conception dogmatique sur "la dialectique" du développement du simple au complexe) l'ont plus d'une fois emporté sur le souci de définir le contenu de ce que certaines sources anciennes désignent comme *emporion*. Pour la variété des réalités qui se cachent derrière ce concept voir n. 8-9.

8 On en trouvera un aperçu chez I. Vinogradov et M. Zolotarev, "La Chersonèse de la fin de l'archaïsme", dans O. Lordkipanidzé et P. Lévêque (éds.), *Le Pont-Euxin vu par les Grecs. Sources écrites et archéologie [Symposium de Vani-Colchide, septembre-octobre 1987]* (Paris 1990) [Ann. Litt. Univ. Besançon 427] 85-119. Les auteurs insistent sur le caractère politiquement structuré de l'établissement, en faisant état avant tout de la belle récolte de 25 *ostraka* révélés par les fouilles des années '70-'80 (voir déjà pour les premières trouvailles de ce genre E. I. Solomonik, "Nekotoryje gruppy graffiti iz antičnogo Xersonesa", *VDI* 1976, 3, 121-124; eadem, *VDI* 1984, 3, 77 n. 22) et interprétés comme étant des bulletins de vote pour les organes représentatifs de la cité; cf. *Bull. ép.* 1990, 420. Vinogradov et Zolotarev écrivent à cet égard: "Les *ostraka* de Chersonèse nous incitent donc à renoncer complètement à l'hypothèse spéculative d'un lieu d'escale de vaisseaux ou d'un *emporion* ionien: quelle que soit leur interprétation, ils sont une preuve évidente de l'existence au seuil du V^{ème} siècle, d'une petite, mais d'une vraie *polis* avec sa communauté de citoyens et ses organismes représentatifs élus du pouvoir". Cf. Ju. G. Vinogradov, "Der Pontos Euxeinos als politische, ökonomische und kulturelle Einheit und die Epigraphik", dans *Acta Centri Historiae* (cf. n. 1) 18. Parmi les découvertes encore plus récentes – dont je viens de prendre connaissance grâce à l'amitié de G. Tsetskhladsé (Université de

Londres) – il convient d’attirer l’attention sur une superbe lékané du troisième quart du VI^e s.: M. I. Zolotarev, “A Boeotian Lekanis from Chersonesus”, *Ancient Civilizations from Scythia to Siberia* 1 (1994); cf. idem, communication présentée au VI^e Symposium de Vani (septembre 1990), à paraître dans les *Ann. Litt. Univ. Besançon* [Je n’ai pas vu le livre du même savant *Arxaičeskij Xersones* (Sébastopol 1993)]. Je ne m’attarderai pas à discuter les opinions de Vinogradov et de Zolotarev sur la composante béotienne dans le groupe des premiers colons héracléotes de Chersonèse Taurique et sur la collaboration d’Héraclée avec Sinope (ce qui expliquerait le fond milésien des trouvailles). En principe je partage leurs avis, sauf que je serais moins optimiste en ce qui concerne la fiabilité de certaines des preuves matérielles et onomastiques qu’ils invoquent et que je ne crois pas qu’il s’agisse dès cette époque d’une “vraie polis”; car les *ostraka* – même s’ils sont des bulletins de vote, ce que j’admet sans réserve – ne sont pas forcément destinés à élire les membres d’un corps politique. Ne pourraient-ils être un premier indice justement pour l’organisation interne d’un *emporion*? Car on ne saurait admettre *a priori* que tout ce qui n’est pas polis soit forcément dépourvu d’organisation. Qui gérait donc les *prosodoi* d’un *emporion* et suivant quel mécanisme? En fait, nous connaissons si peu de l’univers bureaucratique de la polis même, qu’il est encore plus aventureux d’émettre des hypothèses sur ce qui était hors des cadres de la polis. Cependant, une sorte de contrôle bureaucratique spécialisé, quelle qu’eût été sa forme, pourrait expliquer la présence des tessons inscrits dans un établissement aussi actif que l’eût été selon toute vraisemblance “l’ancienne Chersonèse” tout aussi bien que dans une prétendue polis pour laquelle il n’y a encore aucun autre indice. J’y reviendrai sans doute à une prochaine occasion. Cependant, pour ce qui intéresse notre discussion, il est simplement à retenir que l’établissement de Chersonèse existait déjà dès le dernier quart du VI^e s. au plus tard (les arguments invoqués contre cette date par A. Zedgenidzé, *Rossiskaja Arxeologija* 1993, 3, 50-56 ne me paraissent pas convaincants).

9 Il est intéressant de constater 1) que le terme *emporion* est employé juste un chapitre auparavant par le Ps.-Scylax 67 avec référence aux possessions continentales des Thasiens dans la même phrase dans laquelle l’auteur avait désigné les mêmes établissements comme étant des *poleis* (Εἰσὶ δὲ ἐν Θράκῃ πόλεις Ἑλληνίδες αἶδε: Ἀμφίπολις, Φάργη, Γαληψός, Οἰσύμη καὶ ἄλλα ἐμπόρια Θασίων); 2) que le terme *emporion* figure à Chersonèse même (hélas, sans que l’on puisse dire quelque chose de plus précis sur sa signification) sur deux cachets destinés à timbrer des amphores, datés des années 284-275: V. V. Borisova, *Numizmatika i epigrafika* 11 (1974) pl. XV 9; discussion exhaustive chez Y. Garlan, “Εἰς ἐμπόριον dans le timbrage amphorique de Chersonèse”, dans A. Bresson et P. Rouillard (éds.), *L’Emporion* (Paris 1993) 99-102. Il n’est, certes, pas question de reprendre ici la discussion portant sur les *emporion* des Thasiens (voir dernièrement A. Bresson, “Les cités grecques et leurs emporia”, dans le même recueil, 201-204), mais la cohérence du texte du Ps.-Scylax invite à un rapprochement de leur statuts avec le régime de Chersonèse Taurique; c’est justement ce qu’a fait d’une manière bien ingénieuse V. I. Kac, “Emporij Xersones”, *Antičnyj mir i arxeologija* (Saratov) 7 (1990) 97-111, partant – comme il était encore normal – de la prémisse que l’écrit soit du IV^e s. Non seulement la nouvelle datation de la section pontique du périple n’est pas gênée par la référence à l’*emporion* de Chersonèse, mais bien au contraire, elle donne plus de cohérence au texte et est en mesure de présenter l’établissement de Chersonèse comme un centre commercial, dont les rapports vis-à-vis de sa métropole (ou, plus exactement, de ses métropoles, puisqu’il semble s’agir d’une collaboration mégaro-sinopéenne) seraient bien proches des liens très particuliers entre Thasos et ses colonies.

10 Arnaud (*supra* n. 4) 60-61.

11 Cette forme originale (Τύρις) pour Τύρας constitue l'un des arguments de Baschkoff pour sa haute datation du périple; cf. Arnaud (*supra* n. 4) 60.– A l'occasion du colloque, M. H. Hansen m'a attiré l'attention sur la section 43 du même Périple: Ἡλις ἐστὶν ἔθνος, καὶ πόλεις ἐν αὐτῇ αἰδέ: Κυλλήνη καὶ λιμὴν, καὶ ποταμὸς Ἀλφεῖος, avec la remarque que je partage entièrement: "in this case there can be no doubt that Skylax (intentionally) records the river and not (by mistake) the homonymous river. Cf. also Acheleos (34), Eurotas (46), Mesapios (47), Spercheios (62) etc."

12 Cf. Hdt. 2. 33: τελευτᾷ δὲ ὁ Ἰστρός ἐς θάλασσαν ῥέων τὴν τοῦ Εὐξείνου πόντου διὰ πάσης Εὐρώπης, τῇ Ἰστρίῳ οἱ Μιλησίων οἰκέουσι ἄποικοι.

13 Cf. tout de même Arr., *Peripl. Pont. Eux.* 24: Ἰστρία (mais voir justement à ce propos le commentaire d'Etienne de Byzance: Ἀρρῖανὸς δὲ Ἰστρίαν ὡς Ὀλβίαν αὐτὴν φησι).

14 Sur Apollonia voir plus bas. Sur la date de fondation d'Odessos (autour de 585-570 ou, moins vraisemblablement, plus tard, vers 560) voir, entre autres, Chr. Danov, *Altthra-ken* (Berlin-New York 1976) 260; R. F. Hoddinott, *Bulgaria in Antiquity. An Archaeological Introduction* (Londres 1975) 49; B. Isaac, *The Greek Settlements in Thrace until the Macedonian Conquest* (Leiden 1986) 255; A. J. Graham, dans *CAH III 3* (Cambridge 1982) 161. Sur Istros (?657 selon la tradition; ca. 630 d'après les premiers documents archéologiques) voir dernièrement P. Alexandrescu, "Histria in archaischer Zeit", dans P. Alexandrescu et W. Schuller (éds.), *Histria. Eine Griechenstadt an der rumänischen Schwarzmeerküste* [Xenia. Konstanzer althistorische Vorträge und Forschungen 25 (1990)] 50-51.

15 Ample discussion sur l'évidence littéraire et archéologique chez P. Alexandrescu et S. Morintz, "A propos de la couche précoloniale de Mésambria", *Pontica* 15 (1982) 47-55.

16 Hanell (*supra* n. 3) 128.

17 B. Lenk, *RE* 15, col. 1073.

18 Chr. Danov, *RE Suppl.* 9, col. 1071; V. Velkov, dans *Nessèbre I* (Sofia 1969) 16; idem, dans W. Schuller (éd.), *Die bulgarische Schwarzmeerküste im Altertum* [Xenia 16 (1985)] 31.

19 Velkov, *Nessèbre I*, 16. Isaac (*supra* n. 14) 250-251 est, par contre, beaucoup plus tranchant: "There is no reason to question the authority of Herodotus who says that it was founded in 493 by Chalkedonians and Byzantians who fled before the arrival of the Phoenician fleet".

20 Ehrhardt (*supra* n. 1) 92.

21 M. Casevitz, *Le vocabulaire de la colonisation en grec ancien. Etude lexicologique: les familles de κτίζω et de οἰκέω – οἰκίζω* (Paris 1985) 33-34: 33 exemples dont 6 oracles.

22 Sur deux cent six exemples du verbe: *ibidem* 76.

23 *Ibidem* 76-78.

24 Hérodote, *Histoires. Livre VI*, texte établi et traduit par Ph.-E. Legrand (Les Belles Lettres, Paris 1948) 24.– Voir, cependant, les doutes de J. G. F. Hind dans le commentaire présenté au colloque: "I am not myself convinced that the use by Herodotus of the verb οἰκήσαν for the settlement of this city by Chalkedonians and Byzantines in 493 B.C., means that they settled in an already existing city. It may be so, but the context does not seem to suggest that".

25 Sur Dèmétrios de Callatis et la qualité de ses informations voir Schwartz, *RE IV*, col. 2806-2807, s. v. Demetrios 77.

26 Voir aussi R. Merkelbach (mit Hilfe von F. K. Dörner und S. Şahin), *Die Inschriften von Kalchedon* [IK 20] (Bonn 1980) p. 111.

27 G. Mihailov, *IGB I*² p. 255 renvoie à “schol. ad Dionysium Periegetam, cuius editionem novam non vidi: Dionysii Byzantii Anaplous Bospori una cum scholiis, ed. R. Gün-gerich, Berolini 1927” (en confondant apparemment Denys le Périégète avec Denys de Byzance). Son renvoi est repris ensuite par Velkov, *Nessèbre* I, 15 et *Xenia* 16 (1985) 38 n. 9. Il convient noter, avec Isaac (*supra* n. 14) 250 n. 230, que ni chez Denys de Byzance ni dans les scholies, on ne trouve rien qui intéresse Mésambria.

28 Casevitz (*supra* n. 21) 58-59.

29 N. G. L. Hammond, G. T. Griffith, *A History of Macedonia II* (Oxford 1979) 57-60 (Amyntas I, ca. 540 – mort probablement en 498), 168-170 (Amyntas II, autour de 394/3), 172-180 (Amyntas III, 393-370/69); le seul à ne pas entrer en discussion est Amyntas II à une apparition moins qu'éphémère.

30 Pour la fondation de Callatis à l'époque d'Amyntas I voir surtout D. M. Pippidi, *I Greci nel basso Danubio dall'età arcaica alla conquista romana* (Milan 1971) 38-39 et 63-64. Sur les traces d'U. Koehler, *Abh. Berlin* 1869 [1870] 164, le regretté savant avait d'ailleurs proposé, *StCl* 7 (1965) 329-330, de restituer à la l. 165 de la col. IV de la liste des tributs attiques de 425/4 *ATL* I A9 = *IG I*² 71 (décret de Thoudippos) Κά[λλατις] à la place de Κα[ρχινίτις]. La proposition n'a été retenue que dans l'apparat critique lors de la réédition des listes dans les *IG*. En fait, si on admet sur la foi d'autres arguments que la cité de Callatis existait à la date des listes, les deux solutions sont à mon avis également possibles. En revanche, si l'existence de Callatis à cette époque est mise en doute, la nouvelle restitution par rapport à celle avancée par les éditeurs des *ATL* et reprise dans les *IG* ne saurait être, à elle seule, l'argument décisif que l'on souhaiterait. – Le problème est que les fouilles de Callatis n'ont jamais été en état de fournir des trouvailles plus anciennes que le seuil du IV^e s., ni dans la ville même, ni dans son territoire; c'est ce qu'a amené nombre de savants à accorder plus de crédit à la variante “Amyntas III”. Voir dernièrement à cet égard J. G. F. Hind, “Archaeology of the Greeks and Barbarian Peoples around the Black Sea (1982-1992)”, *AR* 39 (1993) 89, et A. J. Graham, “Greek and Roman Settlements on the Black Sea Coast: Historical Background”, *Colloquenda Pontica* 1 (1994) 6. Il faut, cependant, retenir que les fouilles de Callatis sont considérablement limitées dans leur ampleur par l'emplacement de la ville moderne de Mangalia, qui superpose entièrement le site antique et que dès l'antiquité même les édifices de la ville romano-byzantine – pour autant que l'on puisse juger d'après les situations connues jusqu'à l'heure qu'il est – semblent avoir profondément bouleversé le site préromain. – Contre ce point de vue, J. G. F. Hind, dans le commentaire présenté au colloque: “It still seems to me that the most likely time of foundation was in the time of Amyntas III, father of Philip. There is not merely the absence of 6th or 5th century B.C. Greek finds from Mangalia town, but also their absence from the χόρα, to be taken into consideration. Furthermore, the political and economic situation in Herakleia in the early 4th century B.C. was ripe for strife, and for the remedy of sending out colonies. The presence of πρόβουλοι at Kallatis [voir plus bas – A. A.] may be explained by a party of aristocrats forming its first settlement”.

31 D. M. Pippidi, “Les Macédoniens sur le Bas-Danube de Philippe II à Lysimaque”, dans *Ancient Macedonia II* (Thessaloniki 1974) 381-396 = *Parerga. Ecrits de Philologie, d'Épigraphie et d'Histoire ancienne* (Bucarest-Paris 1984) 151-164.

32 A. Avram, “Zur Verfassung von Kallatis in hellenistischer Zeit”, *Il Mar Nero* 1 (1994) 167-175.

33 Documentation résumée par N. F. Jones, *Public Organization in Ancient Greece. A Documentary Study* (Philadelphia 1987) 276-278.

34 Ehrhardt (*supra* n. 2) 68-69.

- 35 Voir plus bas n. 65.
- 36 B. Pick et K. Regling, *Die antiken Münzen von Dacien und Moesien II* (Berlin 1910), s. v. *Tomis*; M. J. Price, *SNG IX 1*, pl. XI.
- 37 Voir à cet égard A. Rădulescu et C. Scorpan, “Rezultate preliminare ale săpăturilor arheologice din Tomis (Parcul Catedralei)”, *Pontica* 8 (1975) 9-54.
- 38 M. Munteanu, *Pontica* 7 (1974) 157-159 n°. 1 [*ISM II* 456]: inscription funéraire de la première moitié du IV^e s. A mon avis, il n’y a pas de raison sérieuse de mettre sous le signe du doute la provenance tomitaine de l’inscription, comme le fait I. Stoian, *ISM II* comm. ad 456.
- 39 *ISM II* 1 (règlement sacré), 2 (décret sur l’organisation de la défense de la ville), 5 (décret accordant la proxénie à un citoyen de Tyras), etc. Ces inscriptions ne datent que de la deuxième moitié du II^e s. au plus tôt, sinon d’autour de 100 ou même du début du I^{er} s.
- 40 Jones (*supra* n. 33) 276.
- 41 *IGB I*² 13 bis et 13 ter (décrets accordant la proxénie à un Odessitain, respectivement à un Callatien).
- 42 B. Pick, *Die antiken Münzen von Dacien und Moesien I* (Berlin 1898) 126, 130.
- 43 *IGB I*² 22 (II^e s.) et, très explicitement 13 (milieu du I^{er} s.), l. 13-14: τοῦ τε ἐπώνυμου τῆς πόλεως Διονυσίου οὐκ ἔχοντος ἱερῆ. Cf. L. Robert, *RPh* 33 (1959) 202-203 = *Opera minora selecta V*, 232-233; Z. Gotchéva, “Prêtres éponymes d’Odessos et de Dionysopolis”, *Klio* 62 (1980) 52.
- 44 Il est d’usage que le dieu détienne lui-même l’éponymie: *IGB I*² 22 (II^e s.) et ensuite à l’époque impériale 14 a (III^e s. ap. J.-C.). Sur le thiasé de Dionysopolis voir *IGB I*² 20. J’ajoute enfin qu’à l’exception de Dionysos aucun des dieux grecs n’est attesté comme faisant l’objet d’un culte civique à Dionysopolis. A Istros en revanche, pour ne donner qu’un seul exemple d’une cité profondément milésienne, Dionysos manque totalement des documents épigraphiques d’époque grecque.
- 45 *ISM I* 15: Βιζώνην μὲν πολιορκούντων.
- 46 W. Blümel, *Die Inschriften von Iassos* [*IK* 28] (Bonn 1985) 408 (inscription datable d’après 167): [K]τησίου τοῦ Ἀπολλω[ν]ίου Βιζωνίου; cf. Robert, *RPh* 33 (1959) 179-180 = *Opera minora selecta V*, 207-208, qui y lisait Ζησίου. On pourrait y ajouter un passage de Clément d’Alexandrie (*Strom.* 5. 5) portant sur des événements survenus en 339 (campagne du roi scythe Ataïas), mais uniquement à condition que la conjecture proposée par V. Iliescu, *RESEE* 7 (1969) 400-404 et *Historia* 20 (1971) 172-185 soit justifiée: Βιζωνιῶν δῆμοῦ au lieu de Βυζαντιῶν δῆμοῦ; contre cette solution: Pippidi, *Parerga* (cf. n. 31) 153 n. 12.
- 47 *IOSPE I*² 32 = *Syll.*³ 495 B l. 17.
- 48 A. Avram, “Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Territoriums von Kallatis in griechischer Zeit”, *Dacia N. S.* 35 (1991) 130.
- 49 Idem, *ibidem* 117-118 pour la situation archéologique et 114, 131-132 pour les mentions de πύργοι.
- 50 Mihailov, *IGB I*², p. 36: “sed ut inscriptiones demonstrant, elementum Doricum, si revera erat, vestigia nulla reliquit”. Dans le même sens Ehrhard (*supra* n. 2) 66-67.
- 51 Strab. 1. 3. 10 et 7. 6. 1 (Pomp. Mel. 2. 2. 22; Plin. *NH* 4. 11. 44).
- 52 Eutr. 6. 10.
- 53 L’inscription sera publiée dans le V^e vol. des *IGB*, dont le manuscrit avait été achevé par le regretté G. Mihailov peu avant sa mort. Cf. pour l’instant K. Banev et M. P. Dimitrov, *Thracia Pontica* 2 (1982) 34-37 et *SEG* 37, 607.
- 54 Avram (*supra* n. 48) 106-108.

- 55 IGB I² 388 bis = ISM I 64 (II^e s.).
- 56 Strab. 7.6.1: Μεσημβριανῶν πολίχνιον (cf. 9.5.19; Plin. *NH* 4.11.45).
- 57 Toutefois, il est également possible que le nom soit tiré des “Istriens” dans le sens d’habitants de la région du fleuve Istros (J. G. F. Hind, commentaire présenté au colloque).
- 58 Pour le nom de la ville et pour ses relations avec Istros et Tyras à l’époque hellénistique voir l’inscription annoncée par Yu. G. Vinogradov, *Ancient Civilizations from Scythia to Siberia* I (1994) n^o. 13. Sur l’origine istrienne du site cf. A. Avram, *StCl* 27 (1991) 23.
- 59 I. M. Sekerskaja, *Antičnyj Nikonij i ego okruga v VI-IV vv. do n. e.* (Kiev 1989).
- 60 *ATL* I A 9 = IG I³ 71 (décret de Thoudippos), col. IV, l. 167, rest. Νικ[ονία].
- 61 M. Mănuclu Adameșteanu, “Le rôle de la colonie grecque Orgamé dans la diffusion des éléments de civilisation hellénique”, dans *Actes du XII^e Congrès International d’archéologie classique (Athènes 1983)* I (Athènes 1983) 169-175; eadem, “Orgamé polis”, *Pontica* 25 (1992) 55-67, avec des remarques sur les sources, présentation de l’évidence archéologique et bibliographie complète.
- 62 A. Avram, “Poleis und Nicht-Poleis im Ersten und Zweiten Attischen Seebund”, dans M. H. Hansen et K. Raafaub (éds.), *Studies in the Ancient Greek Polis*. Papers from the Copenhagen Polis Centre 2. *Historia Einzelschriften* 95 (Stuttgart 1995) 197.
- 63 Voir n. 34.
- 64 C’était surtout la thèse à la mode dans certains travaux soviétiques des années ’50-’60, abandonnée depuis lors par la plupart des savants. Comme je l’ai dit, il n’est pas question d’entrer ici dans des détails sur le concepte d’*emporion*. Je renvoie simplement au beau recueil (cf. n. 9) d’A. Bresson et P. Rouillard et, spécialement sur le Pont, à l’article à paraître de J. G. F. Hind, *Il Mar Nero* 2 (1995) dont je partage entièrement les vues.
- 65 On en trouvera une analyse approfondie chez Vinogradov (*supra* n. 8) 47-49.
- 66 D’ailleurs, le texte le dit μονοπώλιον τοῦτο διανοουμένον κατασκευάσαι τῶν Καλλατιανῶν; ce qui veut dire que les Callatiens essayaient “sich die Einnahmen aus dem Handel des Nachbarn, d. h. vor allem die Zoll- und anderen Marktgebühren anzuzeigen”: Vinogradov (*supra* n. 8) 48.
- 67 Je verrais volontiers un indice pour la fondation istrienne de Tomis dans le fait – qui ne semble pas avoir retenu l’attention qu’il méritait – que l’une des traditions locales de Tomis faisait des Dioscures les “fondateurs de la cité”. En effet, dans une inscription tardive gravée sur une base de groupe statuaire représentant les Dioscures (époque des Sévères: *ISM* II 122) ceux-ci figurent comme κτίστ[αι τῆς πόλεως]. Qui plus est, dès la basse époque hellénistique (*ISM* I 2 = *Syll.*³ 731 l. 37-38) on sacrifiait annuellement ὑπέρ τῆ[ς] τοῦ δήμου σωτηρία[ς] Μητρὶ θεῶν καὶ Διοσκόροις, alors que les mêmes Dioscures sont représentés sur les monnaies autonomes de Tomis (Pick et Regling [*supra* n. 36] 596, n^o. 3; cf. 602 avec n. 1), ce qui leur vaut le statut de dieux civiques. Or, le culte des Dioscures est absent de Milet – Ehrhardt (*supra* n. 2) 187 – alors qu’il est en revanche bien représenté à Istros: *ISM* I 112, 123 etc.. Quoi qu’il en soit, à en consulter l’ouvrage exhaustif de W. Leschhorn, “Gründer der Stadt”. *Studien zu einem politisch-religiösen Phänomen der griechischen Geschichte* (Stuttgart 1984), il n’y a guère d’autre exemple de Dioscures comme κτίσται d’une cité, sauf à Tomis (367, cat. n^o. 52). N’empêche qu’à l’époque impériale une autre tradition – dont les monnaies nous ont conservé le souvenir: I. Stoian, *Dacia N. S.* 10 (1966) 353; cf. L. Robert, *JSav* 1978, 41 – tirait le nom de la ville d’un prétendu Κτίστης Τόμος; dans ce cas il s’agit de la coutume bien fréquente de créer des étiquettes à partir du nom de la cité, ce qui fait que cette tradition soit dépourvue de signi-

fication. Mais la tradition sur les Dioscures – d’une part parce qu’elle est attestée dès l’époque hellénistique, d’autre part parce qu’elle est soutenue par des catégories de documents bien diverses – pourrait soulever un certain intérêt.

68 Voir P. Goukowsky, *Essai sur les origines du mythe d’Alexandre (336-270 av. J.-C.)*, II. *Alexandre et Dionysos* (Nancy 1981), notamment 79-83. Cf. W. W. Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India*² (Cambridge 1951) 11: “The names ending in *-polis*, like Alexandropolis, Dionysopolis, Macedonopolis, are almost certainly names assumed by the settlers themselves, either to claim that they went back to Alexander or to honour their god or themselves”.

69 Voir Hdt. 4. 78-80 sur la mésaventure du roi scythe Scylès, initié aux mystères du dieu extatique à Olbia au V^e s.; cf. A. Avram et F. Lefèvre, “Les cultes de Callatis et l’oracle de Delphes”, *REG* 108 (1995) 17-19, inscription de Callatis du IV^e s.. A Dionysopolis même le thiasse des βαχχεασταί est attesté dès le III^e s. (*IGB* I² 20).

70 Voir n. 43.

71 Cf. un cas pareil aux confins orientaux de l’empire d’Alexandre: Νάγαρα ἢ καὶ Διονυσόπολις (Ptol. 7.1.42).

72 Diod. 20.25.1; cf. Avram (*supra* n. 48) 104; idem (*supra* n. 32) 169-170.

73 Casevitz (*supra* n. 21) 157.

74 I. Venedikov et alii, *Apolonija* (Sofia 1963) cat. n^{os}. 780 et 781; cf. P. Alexandrescu, “La céramique de la Grèce de l’Est dans les colonies pontiques”, dans *Les céramiques de la Grèce de l’Est et leur diffusion en Occident* (Paris-Naples 1978) 52-61. A y ajouter une oenochoé WGS d’autour de 620-600: *Izkustvo*, 1975, 3-4, 30-31.

75 C’est la possibilité qu’envisage G. L. Huxley, *The Early Ionians* (Londres 1966) 101.– Comme on le voit, il y a donc au moins deux cas (Apollonia et Mésambria) où il est question de colons supplémentaires et au moins un cas (Chersonèse) où il s’agit d’une véritable fondation coloniale sur l’emplacement d’un ancien *emporion*. Les données archéologiques (épanouissement des structures urbaines et des χώματα d’Istros et d’Olbia à partir de la deuxième ou la troisième génération de colons, quelques changements dans la structure du lotissement funéraire à Istros etc.) donneraient à penser dans la même direction dans le cas d’Istros et d’Olbia. Voir déjà P. Alexandrescu, “Notes de topographie historique”, *Dacia N. S.* 22 (1978) 335-337; Iu. Vinogradov, Ia. Domanskij, K. Marčenko, “Sources écrites et archéologiques du Pont Nord-Ouest. Analyse comparative”, dans Lordkipanidzé et Lévêque (*supra* n. 8) 131.

76 Cf. Danov (*supra* n. 14) 210, qui date ces événements du VI^e s., “wohl kaum zu Unrecht” selon H.-J. Gehrke, *Stasis. Untersuchungen zu den inneren Kriegen in den griechischen Staaten des 5. und 4. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.* (München 1985) 24 et n. 1; cf. 255. D’autres troubles politiques causés par la gestion incorrecte des finances publiques (Arist. *Pol.* 1306 a 6-9) relèvent sans doute d’un contexte institutionnel plus élaboré et pourraient éventuellement être datés du début du IV^e s.. Ce sont justement ces troubles auxquels il me semble que fait allusion Enée le Tacticien (20. 49) lorsqu’il décrit les mesures de sécurité prises par les Apolloniates après être tombés victimes d’un stratagème par lequel on aurait forcé les portes de la ville.

77 Je prends le mot “mégarien” dans le sens général; comme on le sait, Callatis a été fondée par Héraclée du Pont, qui était, à son tour, une colonie mégarienne.

78 Ehrhardt (*supra* n. 2) passim.

79 *ISM* I 54.

80 *IGB* I² 46. Cf. Robert, *RPh* 33 (1959) 193 = *Opera minora selecta* V, 223 n. 1; Gotchéva (*supra* n. 43) 50-51.

- 81 D'autant plus qu'il s'agit de la ville d'Apollon, qui a d'ailleurs fourni sur le culte du dieu les documents les plus importants de toutes les villes de la zone.
- 82 M. Piérart, "Les ΕΠΙΜΗΝΙΟΙ de Milet", *AntClass* 38 (1969) 365-388; cf. Ehrhardt (*supra* n. 2) 210-213.
- 83 *ISM* I 65 et 55 (Istros); *IGB* I² 39 (Odessos); *IGB* I² 388 bis = *ISM* I 64 et *IGB* I² 390 (Apollonia).
- 84 C'est l'opinion de Mihailov, *IGB* I², p. 87 (comm. ad 39).
- 85 Cf. D. M. Pippidi, *Epigraphische Beiträge zur Geschichte Histrias in hellenistischer Zeit* (Berlin 1962) 36-37.
- 86 Ehrhardt (*supra* n. 2) 208-210.
- 87 Idem, *ibidem* 62.
- 88 *IGB* I² 322 bis: βασιλεύων.
- 89 Il faut dire, cependant, que celle-ci manque même des décrets dont on a conservé le préambule. Pour autant que l'on puisse juger d'après les quelques douzaines de documents conservés dans une mesure inégale, il paraît que le formulaire des décrets de Mésambria était moins complexe que celui de Callatis.
- 90 Hanell (*supra* n. 3) 157.
- 91 *IK* 20 (cf. n. 26) 7: Βασιλεὺς Προμαθίων Θεοδότου, ἱερομνάμων Ἐρμαῖος Ἐρμαῖου.
- 92 Cf. nn. 16-19.
- 93 Avram (*supra* n. 32) 167-175. Sur l'orthographe voir F. Bechtel, *SGDI*, comm. ad 3016.
- 94 A. Aricescu, *StCl* 5 (1963) 315-318; sans doute également *Il Mar Nero* 1 (1994) 176 (restitution).
- 95 *IGB* I² 315.
- 96 *ISM* I 6, 19, 40 (Istros); Aricescu (*supra* n. 94), sans doute aussi A. Avram et M. Bărbulescu, *Pontica* 25 (1992) 167-170 n°. 1 (Callatis).
- 97 *IGB* I² 323, 324, 326 et *SEG* 30 702-704. Cf. M. Alexandrescu Vianu, "L'iconographie des reliefs aux stratèges de Mésambria", *StCl* 24 (1986) 99-107. Il conviendrait de réexaminer l'ancienne théorie d'A. Boeckh, comm. ad *CIG* 1052 [*IG* VII 11], selon laquelle le nombre originare des stratèges à Mégare aurait été de cinq (correspondant au nombre des κώμαι; cf. Plut. *Quaest. Gr.* 17) et qu'après l'apparition d'une nouvelle κώμη il aurait été augmenté à six; voir à ce propos les observations de W. Dittenberger, *IG* VII, p. 2 comm ad 1; A. Kaloyéropoulou, "Un nouveau décret de proxénie de Mégare", *AAA* 7 (1974) 144-146. Car dans ces circonstances on ne saurait expliquer le nombre de six stratèges à Mésambria. L'évidence du monde colonial nous contraint à admettre qu'au moins à la fin du VI^e s. (date de la fondation de Mésambria) il y avait à Mégare six stratèges.
- 98 Avram (*supra* n. 32) 176.
- 99 *SGDI* 3089 et *IGRRP* I 656.
- 100 G. Bordenache, *Dacia N. S.* 4 (1960) 495-497 n°. 5 [E. Pfuhl et H. Möbius, *Die ostgriechischen Grabreliefs* (Mainz 1977-1979) n°. 1549]; fin du III^e – première moitié du II^e s. Cf. M. Alexandrescu Vianu (*supra* n. 97) 104 et photo fig. 5.
- 101 Pour tous ces aspects voir, à la lumière de quelques documents inédits, Avram et Lefèvre (*supra* n. 69) 7-23.
- 102 On trouvera l'état des questions chez Ehrhardt (*supra* n. 2) 130-147.
- 103 Alexandrescu (*supra* n. 14) 70-74.
- 104 M. Alexandrescu Vianu, dans *Mélanges Pierre Lévêque* III (Paris 1989) 1-5.
- 105 Il s'agit notamment d'un graffite portant une dédicace à Artémis Pytheia: *SEG* 3,

557; cf. L. Robert, *RA* 1933, 134 = *Opera minora selecta* III, 1589; M. Sève, *BCH* 103 (1979) 358 n. 181. Le culte bien rare d'Artémis Pytheia (Pythié) est attesté à Didymes par des documents d'époque hellénistique, mais sa présence à Apollonia "prouve que le culte à Milet n'est pas tardif, puisque les colons l'ont emporté à Apollonia": Robert, *RPh* 33 (1959) 226-227 = *Opera minora selecta* V, 256-257.

106 *ISM* I 172.

107 A Istros une base de statue de la déesse du tout début du IV^e s. (*ISM* I 170) porte la dédicace du même personnage qui avait consacré la statue à Apollon Iêtros (*ISM* I 169).

108 D. M. Pippidi, dans *Histria* I (Bucarest 1954) 231-278; idem, "Gli scavi nella zona sacra di Histria. Stadio attuale", *Dacia N. S.* 6 (1962) 139-156; D. Theodorescu, "Un chapiteau ionique de l'époque archaïque tardive et quelques problèmes concernant le style d'Histria", *Dacia N. S.* 12 (1968) 261-303; K. Zimmermann, "Ausgrabungen in der Tempelzone von Histria", *EAZ* 22 (1981) 453-467.

109 *ISM* I 8 (mentionnant l'autel de Zeus Polieus) et 54.

110 Zimmermann (*supra* n. 108); Alexandrescu (*supra* n. 14) 56-57. La zone sacrée d'Istros et notamment le temple d'Aphrodite ont fait l'objet de recherches archéologiques minutieuses dans les années '60-'70. P. Alexandrescu et ses collaborateurs sont en train d'en achever la publication dans le VII^e volume de la série archéologique *Histria*.

111 Le document le plus important est à cet égard une tuile de la première moitié du VI^e s. provenant du toit du temple (ce qui a, d'ailleurs, offert l'argument décisif quant à la déesse à laquelle le temple était consacré): K. Zimmermann, "Zu den Dachterrakotten griechischer Zeit aus Histria", dans Alexandrescu et Schuller (cf. n. 14) 155-177 et pl. 20; idem, *Hesperia* 59 (1990), 228 et pl. 29 d-e (cf. *Bull. ép.* 1991, 105). La tuile porte une dédicace à Aphrodite: *ISM* I 101, avec une lecture sensiblement améliorée par L. Moretti, "Il Corpus delle iscrizioni di Histria e una dedica arcaica ad Afrodite", *RFIC* 111 (1983) 52-57. – Aphrodite dans des inscriptions de basse époque classique et d'époque hellénistique: *ISM* I 108, 113, 118, 119. Aphrodite figure avec l'épiclèse *Pontia* dans la dédicace *ISM* I 173 du II^e s., mais il s'y agit apparemment d'une épithète plus récente. Il reste à savoir quelle Aphrodite était vénérée à Istros à l'époque archaïque.

112 Voir les terres cuites représentant Aphrodite chez Hoddinott (*supra* n. 14) 38.

113 Voir l'inscription de Callatis et le passage de Pausanias cités ci-après. Les deux épicleses de Dionysos ne se rencontrent jusqu'à l'heure qu'il est que dans ces deux documents. Qui plus est, un règlement sacré de Callatis du II^e s. nous fait connaître un Δασυλλεῖον, à savoir le sanctuaire de Dionysos *Dasyllios*: F. Sokolowski, *Lois sacrées des cités grecques* (Paris 1969) n^o. 90; réédition à partir d'une nouvelle disposition des fragments: A. Avram, "Un règlement sacré de Callatis", *BCH* 119 (1995) 235-252. Une étrange coïncidence serait ensuite la dernière occurrence de Δασύλλος, cette fois-ci comme nom porté par un auxiliaire de Dionysos, originaire sans doute d'Héraclée du Pont: Nonnos, *Dionysiaca* 30. 188-190; cf. P. Chuvin, *Mythologie et géographie dionysiaques. Recherches sur l'oeuvre de Nonnos de Panopolis* (Paris 1991) 64 n. 35 et 306 n. 77.

114 Pour la déesse Malophoros dans le monde mégarien voir Hanell (*supra* n. 3) 175-180. Le calendrier mégarien connaît le mois Μάλοφορος, attesté y compris à Callatis. A Mésambria voir la dédicace à Malophoros *IGB* I² 370 bis. Cette dernière inscription a été trouvée en fait à Anchialos, un fortin disputé entre Mésambria et Apollonia, mais sa provenance mésambrienne ne fait guère de difficulté: où l'inscription est une pierre errante (à petite distance, il est vrai) ou bien elle provient d'Anchialos même et est datée alors d'une époque à laquelle ce site se trouvait sous la domination mésambrienne. Voir aussi *Bull. ép.* 1962, 202.

115 Pour Apollon Pythien à Mégare et dans ses colonies voir Hanell (*supra* n. 3) 164-170. A Mésambria les inscriptions mentionnent un sanctuaire d'Apollon, dans lequel on exposait les décrets de la cité: *IGB* P 307, 307 bis, 308 bis, 312, 315. L'épiclèse n'y est jamais mentionnée, sauf peut-être dans la dernière des inscriptions citées, où à la l. 10 on pourrait songer, avec son premier éditeur (A. Salač) et en dépit des doutes de G. Mihailov, à [ἱερ]ὸν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ [Πυθίου]. Pour les relations de Callatis avec l'oracle d'Apollon Pythien voir n. 101.

116 Héraclès figure sur les premières émissions monétaires de Callatis; cf. Pick (*supra* n. 42) n^{os}. 196-204. Une inscription du tout début du III^e s. mentionne un sanctuaire d'Héraclès: Aricescu (*supra* n. 94). J'y ajoute enfin une dédicace encore inédite d'une association de culte à Héraclès Ἀλεξίκακος.

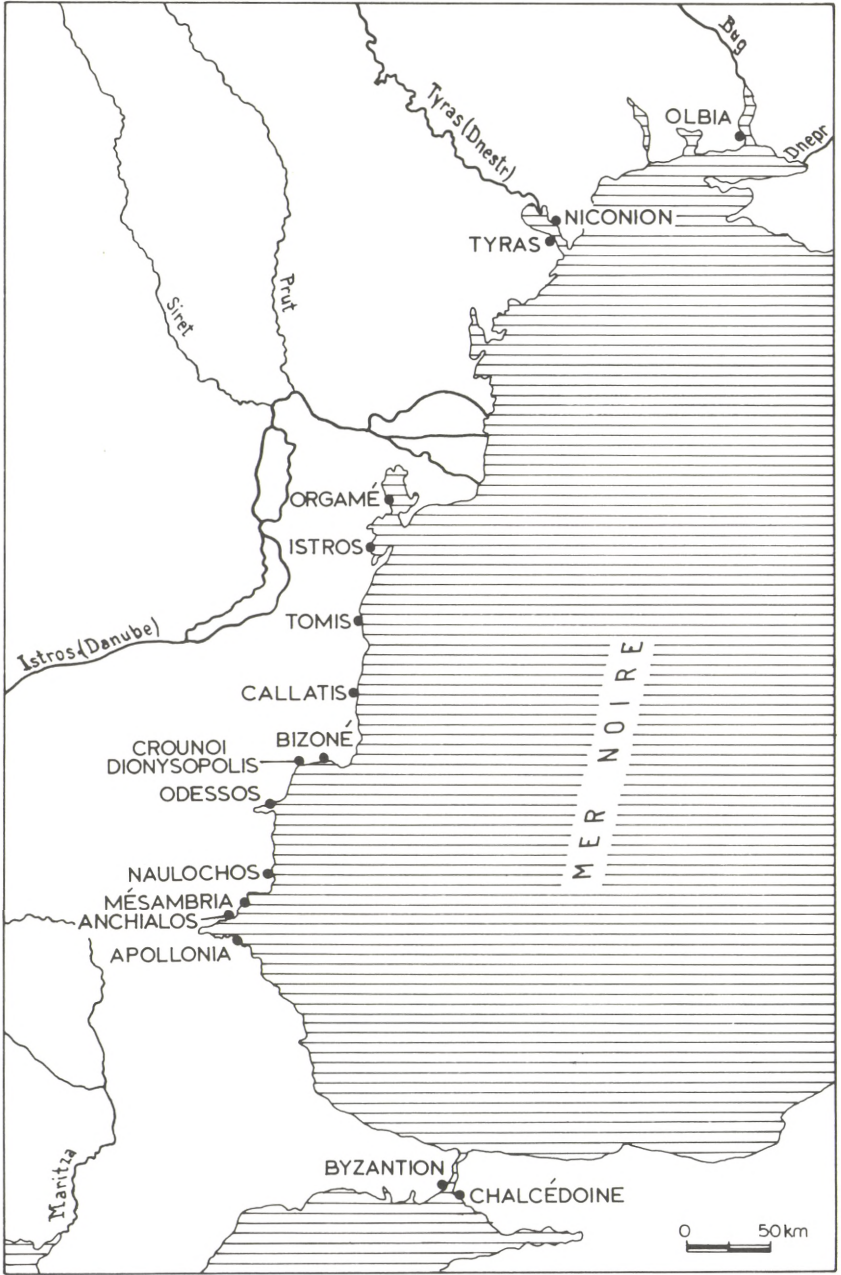
117 Inscription du IV^e s. publiée par Avram et Lefèvre (*supra* n. 69).

118 Traduction de J. Pouilloux, éd. M. Casevitz, F. Chamoux, J. Pouilloux (Belles Lettres, Paris 1992).

119 Zeus Polieus et Zeus Sôtèr étaient les protecteurs de l'Acropole, respectivement de l'agora; cf. S. Guettel Cole, "Civic Cult and Civic Identity", dans M. H. Hansen (éd.), *Sources for the Ancient Greek City-State*. Acts of the Copenhagen Polis Centre 2. Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, Historisk-filosofiske Meddelelser 72 (Copenhague 1995) 301-304. Par conséquent, étant liés aux institutions politiques, il convient de leur concéder une ancienneté à peu près équivalente à celle de la *polis* même, surtout dans les fondations coloniales dont l'espace politique est défini dès le moment du débarquement. D'ailleurs, la plus ancienne inscription de Callatis (graffite au seuil du IV^e s.) est une dédicace à Zeus Σωτήρ: E. Popescu, *SCIV* 15 (1964) 545-549 [*SEG* 24, 1032; 34, 736]. Dans une inscription hellénistique fragmentaire, aujourd'hui introuvable, publiée par T. Sauciuc-Săveanu, *Dacia* 7-8 (1937-1940) 250-251 n^o. 17 je restitue ΔΙΠΙΟΛ en Δὴ Πολ[τεῖ].

120 Cole (*supra* n. 119) 304 estime que "the term Πολιάς itself seems usually to have retained its primary reference to the acropolis and to have been understood as referring to the wider city only by analogy. Thus Athena protected the acropolis just as the acropolis protected the city". Pour les mêmes raisons que pour Zeus Polieus je crois que les origines du culte d'Athana Polias doivent remonter à l'époque des premières structures politiques de Callatis. J'ajoute qu'Athana Polias semble avoir eu un temple à Mégare: Paus. 1. 42. 4, avec le commentaire de Hanell (*supra* n. 3) 49-50. A Callatis elle figure sur des monnaies autonomes du début de l'époque hellénistique: Pick (*supra* n. 42) n^{os}. 234-247; bien plus, elle est attestée par une dédicace du IV^e s.: D. M. Pippidi, *Scythica Minora. Recherches sur les colonies grecques du littoral roumain de la Mer Noire* (Bucarest-Amsterdam 1975) 122 n^o. 1. Athana Soteira n'est pas attestée à Callatis; en revanche, elle est présente à Mésambria (*IGB* P 325).

121 Je remercie vivement J. G. F. Hind – l'auteur d'un commentaire conçu comme une réponse au rapport ici présent –, M. H. Hansen, P. Alexandrescu et M. Piérart pour les remarques critiques et les suggestions de toute sorte dont ils m'ont fait part.



The Earliest Town-Planning of the Western Greek Colonies, with special regard to Sicily.¹

TOBIAS FISCHER-HANSEN
(Respondent: ERIK ØSTBY)

Introduction

Magna Graecia and, above all, Sicily offer basic evidence of Greek urbanism, especially in regard to the problems of the development of early town-planning. The numerous, and well published, urban excavations in the western Greek colonies offer outstanding opportunities to study the early urbanization of settlements founded on virgin sites, or at least founded without regard to the layout of the indigenous settlements, where these precede the Greek foundations.

Studies of the Greek city, focusing on the political or institutional history, often disregard the urbanistic evidence, as succinctly formulated by Emanuele Greco at a recent Taranto-Convegno:

Nel quadro dello studio della città, in quanto comunità, insomma, viene generalmente assegnato uno scarso rilievo allo *σχῆμα*, come dicevano i Greci, da un lato per il contributo ritenuto spesso marginale che lo studio urbanistico può dare alla storia di una città (specialmente quando si tratti di storia politica ed istituzionale) dall'altro perché la elaborazione archeologica dei dati non ha offerto sufficiente materia di riflessione né ha proposto modelli interpretativi sul piano storico generale (almeno nelle fasi iniziali del periodo che stiamo considerando).²

In the context of the Copenhagen Polis Centre it could therefore seem relevant to discuss some of the aspects of western Greek urbanization.

At the time of the western Greek colonization around the middle of the 8th century B.C. the degree of urbanization of the geometric and archaic settlements in Greece itself, even at such sites as Argos, Corinth and Eretria,³ is somewhat elusive and it is normally taken for granted that there is as yet no evidence of regular town-plans. There is a near

enough consensus of opinion when discussing the origin of urban, orthogonal planning to see this as a direct result of colonization, a result of the colony founded on virgin soil, artificially and according to a predetermined plan.⁴ Some settlements such as Zagora on Andros and Vroulia on Rhodes may, however, present limited evidence of early town-planning.⁵ Giorgio Gullini has even argued for a rudimentary Hippodamian town-planning at these sites, and also in the eastern quarter of the 11th century B.C. site of Karphi on Crete, with the use here of orthogonal axes, an overall alignment of the single houses, creating a cellular-like planned lay-out of the settlements.⁶ However, urban grid-plans or orthogonal-planning at any significant scale at these sites, comparable to the evidence from Sicily and Magna Graecia, seems hardly demonstrable. Also Old Smyrna, reconstructed after its destruction in 700 B.C., has been taken as a prototype of an orthogonally planned city, displaying a “plan regulateur, a checkerboard plan”.⁷ But although there is a system of parallel aligned streets, there is no division of the town into equally sized housing blocks or *insulae* with transverse streets, and there is no town-planning with the laying-out of public spaces.⁸

By the time the Sicilian secondary colonies, Akrai, Kasmenai, Kamarina, Selinus and Himera were founded, some within a few generations after the period of the first colonization, we are *not* presented with fully developed and sophisticated town-planning, but we do find well-defined functions of the single units, such as habitation and public areas for both sacred and secular purposes. It should be obvious that the first colonies must have played a decisive part in the development of early town-planning. However, if the evidence for the first, or very early, urbanization of the Greek foundations in the West is examined it can be shown that this evidence, for not a few of the colonies, is far more tenuous than it is often indicated in older standard publications, where the reproduced plans mostly refer to a later, and more developed urbanistic situation.⁹

The scope of this short survey is to focus on some of the evidence for town-planning during the early history of the Greek colonies in Western Greece. Archaic Greek urbanization and town-planning as evidenced in the colonies of Sicily and Magna Graecia has, for several years, been the subject of profound study.¹⁰ For the 5th century period of town-planning in Sicily and the school of Hippodamas, outside the scope of this study, we refer only to the recent study by Oscar Belvedere which contains a copious bibliography.¹¹

Evidence of urbanization from the early period of colonization,

choosing the problems of town-planning as a starting point, is more limited than is, perhaps, often realized in fields of research bordering on classical archaeology. The basic view is that the development of town-planning in the Greek world was given a particular impetus by the foundation of colonies in Magna Graecia, Sicily and in the Black Sea area and the division of the colonised land here into equally sized lots (*isomoiria*), partly as landowning plots (*kleroi*) in the territory, and partly as housing and garden plots (*gepeda*, *oikopeda*) in the town, with more substantial plots laid out for the communal cult or the cult of the *oikistes*. The regular, measured plots divided into larger units created the basis for the later orthogonally planned, "Hippodamian", Greek city.¹²

However, let us turn to the evidence of urbanization from structural remains, looking first briefly at one of the two major areas of western Greek colonization, Magna Graecia.

Magna Graecia

Apart from the 8th century B.C. metal-working centre at Pithekoussai, on the island of Ischia, with its apsis-hut, and the later 7th century rectangular buildings,¹³ we have rather limited evidence of urbanization from civic centres in the Greek foundations of Magna Graecia.¹⁴

Vestiges of habitation from the early archaic period are rare. For instance, apart from archaic houses at Elea (founded c. 540 B.C.) with evidence of early urbanism,¹⁵ and some remains of habitation and streets possibly going back to the late 7th century B.C. at Kroton and at Sybaris, with some indication of a planned orientation of the single houses, we have no evidence of the early urbanization, that is of the period of colonization, at Kyme (founded c. 725-700 B.C.), Poseidonia (625-600 B.C.), Kroton (709 B.C.), Sybaris (c. 720 B.C.), Hipponion (c. 650 B.C.), Rhegion (730-720 B.C.) or Taras (706 B.C.).

Although it is always taken for granted that the early colonizers must have constructed walls to secure and defend their newly founded settlements from hostile indigenous tribes, the evidence of fortifications from the early period of colonization is virtually non-existent. Apart from the primitive 8th century wall at Policoro (Siris?),¹⁶ and 6th century vestiges at Kyme,¹⁷ Kaulonia,¹⁸ and Taras,¹⁹ all other evidence of defensive walls is from the 5th century and, above all, from the 4th century B.C. Most of the early colonies were not fortified at the time of colonization and defensive works can therefore not be used as an indication of the degree of

urbanization of the colonies during their earliest history. Only Siris living at close quarters with the indigenous populations was compelled to fortify its settlement from the earliest period.

Above all there is a lack of evidence of the organization or planning of civic centres, such as the *agora* or buildings for political meetings and assemblies. In most cases we are even in ignorance of the location of the *agora*. The notable exceptions are Metapontion and Poseidonia. At Metapontion (traditional and improbable, 773 B.C.) the traces of wooden bleachers, *ikria*, possibly the remains of an *ekklesiasterion* from as early as the 7th century B.C., probably indicate also the existence of an *agora* of the same date.²⁰ There is some evidence of town-planning from Metapontion from the end of the 6th century B.C., though, as mentioned above, the history of an assembly place and the *agora* may go back to the 7th century. The overall picture, however, is that of scarce knowledge of town-planning at the period of foundation.

At Lokroi (679 B.C.) remains of habitation structures of 7th century date, partly in the coastal plain and partly in the hinterland, may suggest some overall main urban axis in function as early as the foundation of the colony, but the evidence is tenuous, and the remains of the orthogonally planned city are from the second half of the 6th century.²¹

Taras, from the time of foundation (end of 8th century B.C.) until the 5th century, occupied the restricted area of the promontory ("akropolis" – now Città Vecchia) with a perimeter of only about 2 km and an extension of about 16 ha. The urban lay-out is unknown, but, in analogy with Syracuse, the town plan of the medieval city, with its reminiscences of orthogonal planning, may reflect a Greek origin. It was certainly a very restricted area to encompass habitation and public space – with sanctuaries and perhaps also areas with a political function. The location of an *agora* is suggested where the promontory enlarges into the isthmus, near the location of the archaic necropolis. However all of this is uncertain.²² There is evidence that the main axis of the 5th century town, increased in size and encompassing the neighbouring isthmus, respected and took over the axis joining the settlement with the necropolis, in use from the time of the foundation of Taras.²³ The existence of an early major axis in spite of the small size of the settlement is of interest for the problems under examination here, and a possible confirmation that great overall axes were laid out already at the time of the foundation of the colonies.

Kroton (fig. 1) does present important evidence of town-planning. The urban lay-out of the colony is characterised by a division of the territory into three nuclei, each with its own orientation. This does not ne-

cessarily reflect a division with origin in different small settlements, in the manner of *'kata komas'*, but it reflects rather an overall plan with the laying-out of different main areas of lots, possibly already at the time of foundation towards the end of the 8th century B.C., with the orientations retained in the later 7th century urban development and its use of *steno-poi* and *plateiai*. The nuclei were oriented perpendicularly to the coast and in accordance with the morphology of the narrow coastal plain, on both sides of the Esaro river and harbour.²⁴ Of primary interest is the suggestion that a public area was located at the point of convergence of the two western habitation nuclei and the route leading to the *chora*. At this point of convergence the archaeological evidence suggests other functions than that of habitation, partly a *kerameikos*, and possibly a public space such as an agora.²⁵ Direct evidence for defensive works from the time of the first urban history is lacking, though it is suggested that they could have been constructed in clay bricks, leaving no trace.²⁶

Sicily

The evidence from Sicily is more lucrative. Evidence of early city-planning comes above all from Megara Hyblaia (728 B.C.), but also from Syracuse (733 B.C.), Naxos (734 B.C.), Leontinoi (729 B.C.), Akrai (663 B.C.), Kasmenai (643 B.C.), Kamarina (598 B.C.), Himera (648 B.C.), and Selinus (650/628 B.C.) – all sites that from an early period of their settlement history offer evidence, albeit at times sporadic, of division into habitation areas, political centres, workshops, sanctuaries (urban, extra-urban and sub-urban), and cemeteries. As all of these sites have been the subject of several detailed studies. I have chosen to focus on Gela, a site which has played a smaller role in recent studies of western Greek town-planning.²⁷

Gela

Gela was the earliest colony on the south coast of Sicily, traditionally founded 689/8 B.C. by Creto-Rhodian colonists on an oblong plateau, extending east – west and situated west of the mouth of the river Gelas.²⁸ Unfortunately the site offers very little evidence of the urbanistic situation in the first period after the foundation of the settlement and in the archaic period as such. However, the *temenos* and the confining zones on the eastern part of the plateau give a few hints about the early city-plan. According to Thucydides (VI.4.3) Γέλαν δὲ Ἀντίφρημος ἐκ Ἰρόδ-

ου καὶ Ἔντιμος ἐκ Κρήτης ἐποίκους ἀγαγόντες κοινῇ ἔκτισαν ἕτει πέμπτῳ καὶ τεσσαρακοστῷ μετὰ Συρακουσῶν οὔκισιν. καὶ τῇ μὲν πόλει ἀπὸ τοῦ γέλα ποταμοῦ τὸ ὄνομα ἐγένετο, τὸ δὲ χωρίον οὐ νῦν ἢ πόλις ἐστὶ καὶ ὃ πρῶτον ἐτειχίσθη Λίνδιοι καλεῖται. The topographical description is normally translated something like: “the city [*polis*] took its name from the river Gelas, whereas the place [*chorion*] where the city stands [once more the term is *polis*], and which was the first part [of the city] to be fortified, was called *Lindioi*,”²⁹ thus reflecting the Rhodian origin of some of the settlers. The apposition of the two occurrences of the term *polis*, used partly of Gela, the city as such, and partly of a place named *Lindioi* with the earliest defences, explains the normal translation – akropolis – for the latter. From the point of view of the morphology of the site an akropolis at Gela could possibly be identified with a part of the eastern plateau above the estuary of the Gela river, where the sanctuary of Athena and a number of smaller sanctuaries have been identified.

However, if the first occurrence of *polis* is understood as state or community the text might give better sense: “The community got its name from the river Gela, but the place where the town now is, and the first to be walled, is called *Lindioi*.” The reason why Thucydides offers this piece of information would be that Gela, exceptionally, was a *polis* named after a river, and not, as usual, after a town, although there are possibly other examples of this, for instance Siris, Himera and Selinus. The implication of “where the town now is” is that the location of the town in Thucydides’ time was different from what it had once been, – that must at least be what Thucydides believed. Whether he is right is a different matter.³⁰

Our main concern here is the topography of the eastern part of the plateau of Gela, the modern locality of Molino a Vento, during the early history of the colony (fig. 2). It is indisputable that the most significant, and probably earliest cult place of Gela was the Athenaion, situated here, as revealed by the excavations undertaken first by Paolo Orsi at the beginning of the century and in the 1950’s by P. Orlandini and D. Adamesteanu.³¹ The importance of the cult of Athena at Gela reflects the position which the goddess had at Lindos in Rhodes and this is a good example of a principal cult taken over by the colony from the mother city.³² However, there are basic differences between the topography of the Geloan sanctuary and the Lindian which need to be compared and discussed briefly.

There are few indications of the topography and architecture of the

Lindos sanctuary in its early phases. C. Blinkenberg believed that the sanctuary had a shrine in the late 8th or early 7th century B.C.,³³ a belief based solely upon the circumstantial evidence of a postulated (!) cult-image which he saw reflected in the votive terracottas of that period. Such a cult-image would require a cult-building. The Rhodian colonial enterprise in Sicily and the tradition of the early *anathemata* from Gela, mentioned in the Lindian Chronicle and possibly contemporary with the early history of the colony, have also been taken as evidence for a sanctuary with cult-buildings at Lindos.³⁴ The earliest structural remains at Lindos, suggesting a prostyle temple without pteron, and the first remains of monumental steps are dated to the period of Kleoboulos, around the middle of the 6th century B.C.³⁵ The first monumentalization of the sanctuary at Lindos is therefore contemporary with, or a little later than, the first peripteral temple “B” in the Athena sanctuary at Gela, but the degree of monumentalization is somewhat different, temple “B” at Gela being by far the more monumental. The two sanctuaries have, in fact, little in common.

Let us return to Gela. As the evidence of the early urbanization of Gela is rather complicated, and as the lack of correlation between the plans of the published excavation reports is a problem for the understanding of the relationship between the Athenaion and the adjacent zones, it may be useful to attempt to present an overall view.

The remains of an early shrine, “*sacellum* A”, the earliest substantial structural remains at Gela, were revealed inside the cella of the later peripteral temple “B” (fig. 3). The only extant vestiges of this early building consist of a wall running north-south, but at an oblique angle to the orientation of the later temple. The wall, about 12 m. long, was originally longer as parts of it was removed by the foundations of the later temple. The technique is a primitive polygonal-like rubble masonry, with the use of large boulders, or orthostates, the joins filled out with smaller stones,³⁶ and difficult to date by its technique alone. A similar building technique is, however, also used in early archaic private architecture at Megara Hyblaia and at Syracuse, in structures from the earliest period of those sites.³⁷ The cuttings of the upper surfaces suggest that the wall constituted the western-most foundation of shrine “A” so that the building was situated eastwards. The type of structure, a (small) shrine without peripteros, widely used in early Sicilian sanctuaries, was dated to the early 7th century by P. Orsi, contemporary with, or not much later than, the foundation of the colony, a date followed by L. Bernabò Brea and

other scholars.³⁸ It is noteworthy that the orientation of the later *stenopoi* and the early archaic shrines laid out in the part of the *temenos* situated north of shrine “A” are in accordance with the orientation of this first shrine and *not* with that of the later peripteral temple.

We have somewhat analogous situations at Naxos, and later at Himera, where the orientation of the monumental, and later, temples is different from that of the first cult buildings of the sites.³⁹

The early shrine “A” at Gela was replaced by the Doric hexastyle peripteral temple “B” in the first half of the 6th century B.C., and possibly as early as the beginning of the century.⁴⁰ The architectural terracottas from the temple are a testimony to the impressive and elaborate revetment systems evolved at Gela, as reflected also in the Geloan treasury at Olympia. Several sets of revetments testify to successive repairs and replacements around the middle of the 6th century,⁴¹ but Ch. Wikander seems to suggest that perhaps not all of the different revetment sets should be attributed to the same temple.⁴²

If the architectural elements are not all from the same building, we have an indication of more than one large shrine in the sanctuary. In fact other evidence of a temple not identified in the structural remains is an early archaic Doric limestone capital, not attributable to temple “B” according to Bernabò Brea.⁴³

The votive deposit excavated on the south slope of the Athenaion *temenos* contains 7th century and early 6th century votive material from the shrine “A” phase and the early phase of temple “B”.⁴⁴ The lack of finds in the deposit datable to the latter part of the 6th century must reflect the abandonment of temple “B”, replaced by the later Doric temple “C”, see *infra*.

The earliest *temenos* building known in any detail is therefore temple “B”, and without going into a detailed discussion of this, a few points should be discussed (apart from the evidence of the architectural terracottas, already mentioned):

- The foundations of the temple, laid out already in the early part of the 6th century and possibly as early as 600 B.C., are built in a sophisticated ashlar technique.
- There is little evidence for the cella of the temple,⁴⁵ which was perhaps structured in simple mud-brick. S. Stucchi has pointed out the apparent lack of cellas in some western Greek temples, a phenomenon perhaps explained by their simple structure leaving few vestiges,⁴⁶ and E. Østby has added more evidence of this from Lokroi.⁴⁷

- Frieze and peristasis were planned independently of each other according to E. Østby, a suggestion made also for temple “D” at Selinus.⁴⁸ In short what we know of the architectural lay-out, technique and terracotta decoration all clearly indicate western Greek traditions, independent of Greece itself and also of what we know of Rhodian architecture in the time of Kleoboulos.

The abandonment of temple “B” is demonstrated by the absence of remains later than the end of the 6th century B.C.,⁴⁹ and it is suggested that the building was demolished and its function taken over, apparently with some hiatus, in the early part of the 5th century by the so-called Tempio dorico – temple “C”, situated c. 47 m further east.⁵⁰ The plan of the site with two major temples, rendered in *all publications*, is therefore inaccurate, as the *temenos* had two distinct phases, a 7th-6th century phase and a 5th century B.C. phase, with two different locations for the temple of Athena in the two periods.⁵¹

In addition to the Athena temple the *temenos* had a number of smaller buildings, such as *naïskoi* and *oikoi*; their function is not very clear.⁵² The great number of small religious buildings at Gela is one of the characteristic features of the sanctuary and a valuable indication of its organization during the early history of the site. The structural remains are rather sporadic but are supplemented by important votive material and architectural terracottas. Although the sporadic remains indicate that there were some *naïskoi* and *thesauroi* on the main plateau, the main evidence is from the zones adjacent to the temple, above all the border on the northern slope.

Description of the border area along the northern slope of the Athenaion

Naïskos I, dated to the late 7th century, is a narrow building (9.5 m. x 4.7 m.) with a tripartite division, each room with an entrance facing south. The technique is primitive with walls constructed in *pietrame a secco*. Outside, on its south side, there are traces of burnt-offerings, *θυσίαι*, indicating that the building is indeed a small shrine, as is also suggested by the unusual internal division.⁵³

Naïskos (?) II, late 7th century, is built in a technique more advanced than that of I, the lower part of the wall constructed in carefully laid limestone slabs. The preserved part of the structure consists of one square room (4 m. x 4 m.) oriented north-south with an entrance on the

east side, but the excavators believe that the structure originally consisted of two more rooms, comparing it to building I and related structures from Sicilian shrines of the Chthonian divinities. The remains do suggest another room on the north side, but the reconstruction of the building with three rooms is very uncertain.⁵⁴

The 7th century buildings were rebuilt, or replaced by other *oikoi/naïskoi*, in the course of the 6th century B.C.⁵⁵ The monumentalisation of this part of the *temenos* must have been contemporaneous with the early history of temple “B”. Some of the structures were well-built, oblong, megaron-like structures, *naïskoi* or *oikoi*, nos. VI, VII and VIII, oriented east-west, with measurements vacillating around 16 m. x 8 m., VI and VIII with an inner *adyton*, and VIII with an internal row of three pillars.

The building technique used is that of roughly dressed, or irregular limestone blocks, though in one case isodomic ashlar and orthostates. Votive deposits with dates reaching back to the 7th century B.C., traces of offerings and architectural terracottas support the interpretation of *naïskoi* in one or two cases. The term *oikoi* (secondary, “amenity building”) is preferred by B. Bergquist.⁵⁶ The buildings respect the orientation of the *plateiai* and *stenopoi* (nos. 4 and 6), and do in some cases face these. However, I find it worth stressing that in no case do the buildings trespass upon those areas where other *stenopoi* were laid out, even though the date suggested for these is later.

According to G. Fiorentini the period of the first urbanistic planning took place with the laying out of two north-south oriented *stenopoi* (nos. 4 and 6) and an east-west *plateia* in the axis of the plateau, along the northern border of the Athenaion.⁵⁷ However, an earlier date for a first systematic urbanization of the site has been suggested by E. De Miro and G. Fiorentini in a later study of the same area,⁵⁸ and there may be evidence to support an early date for a rudimentary lay-out of a grid-plan, possibly going back to the early 7th century B.C.

Another group of *naïskoi* or *oikoi*, also dated to the 6th century phase of temple “B”, were studied by P. Orlandini in the western area of the north border of the Athenaion, of which only nos. 1-4 are discussed here.⁵⁹ The function of these buildings have, from their first publication, been related to the *temenos*, and they are said to have carried architectural terracottas, small friezes and antefixes, dated to c. 550-530.⁶⁰

The technique used is apparently more primitive than that described for buildings VI, VII, VIII above, though the measurements correspond well with the buildings from the excavation of De Miro and Fiorentini.

The more simple structure could suggest that we have to do not with shrines, but with secondary buildings serving the sanctuary. Buildings 1, 2 and 3 directly face the *plateia*, and form a border on the north side of the Athenaion; building 4 lies awkwardly behind building 1, giving the impression rather of an agglomeration than of town-planning. The plan published by P. Orlandini shows that the south-east corner of building 1 faces the later *stenopos* 2, suggesting a thoroughfare here, in existence prior to the 6th century fortification wall, and in fact corresponding to the later system of *stenopoi* used in the fourth century Timoleonic habitation quarter. There is space between building 1 and 2 for such an early *stenopos*.

Building 3 is apparently also laid out in accordance with the later system of *stenopoi*, as the east wall of this building constitutes the west side of *stenopos* 3.⁶¹ The continuation of *stenopos* 3 coincides with the west wall of the early 7th century temple "A", and the orientation of "A" is exactly the same as that of buildings 1-3, revealing that the basic urban grid-plan existed from the 7th century B.C., that it was respected during the 6th century, and that it formed the basis of the system of *stenopoi* used in the 5th century, and again in the 4th century Timoleonic phase.⁶² Thoroughfares contemporary with the earliest temple have therefore decided the orientation of the later *stenopoi* on the north slope.

C. Parisi Presicce's interpretation of the topography of the sanctuaries at the Molino a Vento is unacceptable and not substantiated by any evidence. He believes that the small sanctuaries are placed along the original perimeter of the settlement, so that they surround an area inside which the city developed from the foundation in 688 B.C. until the time of the Carthaginian destruction of Gela in 405 B.C. The proposed comparison with Selinus is also, from this point of view, unwarranted.⁶³

Western part of the temenos. Molino di Pietro

The *temenos* extended further westwards, the Molino di Pietro quarter of the modern city which comprises part of the *temenos* and the border-area of the habitation.⁶⁴ A narrowing of the plateau and a slight depression of the terrain probably indicate the border between the city proper and the *temenoi*, which was fortified by a north-south running wall, at least in the 4th century B.C.⁶⁵ We know very little about the border between the habitation area, the city proper, and the *temenos*; it is not clearly indicated in the excavation reports, as it cannot be determined in more than general terms.

While the architectural remains in the eastern part of the *temenos* were

accessible for excavation, the remains from the Greek period to the west of the *temenos*, the part of the plateau taken up by the Medieval and modern town, were accessible for examination only in very limited areas.

The finds from the 7th century B.C., in one case possibly the 8th century B.C., consist of Protocorinthian lekythoi, skyphoi, and local imitations of Protocorinthian. This material was not found with, or with an indication of architectural structures, and we cannot know with certainty whether they are the remains of votive deposits and therefore an indication of a sanctuary, or whether they belong to the habitation. The finds are not only from the upper part of the plateau, but also from the northern slope. The latter material cannot be taken as a residue of a downslope from the plateau, as the Greek material succeeds indigenous levels.⁶⁶ The finds indicate the extension of the Greek settlement already during its early history, whether the finds are civic or religious. However, it is tempting to interpret the evidence as religious, at least from the 7th century B.C. If the 7th century finds were from a habitation site it would imply a change in function of the area during the 6th century B.C., as the finds from this period undoubtedly are votive,⁶⁷ and as religious architecture is indicated by the architectural terracottas. The evidence from the eastern part of the *temenos* is the same – no functional changes for the buildings on the northern slope of the Athenaion during the 7th and 6th centuries, though there is evidence of this in the 5th century, for which see *infra*. The archaic *temenos* at Gela would therefore have comprised also this area, making the archaic *temenos* about 200-250 m. long, and therefore about half of the size of the archaic city. It is normally taken for granted that the settlement area of Gela corresponded, *grosso modo*, to the extension of the Medieval city of Gela – Terranova, in fact also suggested by the location of the archaic necropoleis (fig. 2).

In the short space available it is not possible to go into a detailed exposition of the finds with indications of exact find-spots. It is also rather difficult to correlate the results of the several years of the archaeological research undertaken in the area, as no overall site-plan has been published. A short survey of the main results should suffice here:

- Ashlar blocks from the foundation of a *naïskos* or *thesauros*, dated to the latter part of the 6th century by a fragment of an antefix, but probably with an earlier history going back to the earlier part of the century, as indicated by the important votive material found under the floor of the building.⁶⁸ The orientation is the same as that of the 7th and 6th century buildings situated in the eastern part of the *temenos*.

- Ashlar blocks from a (massive) foundation and architectural terracottas of early 6th century date (*kalypteres*, fragments of a lateral sima with parts of revetments and tubular water spouts) from a large temple, comparable to, or even larger than temple “B”,⁶⁹ the size of the sima, and its decoration – double guilloche and central rosette and lotus with five petals – show that the fragments cannot be referred to temple “B”.

That the Molino di Pietro was an integral and important part of the larger *temenos* comprising all of the eastern part of the Gela plateau, is indicated by these substantial remains of foundations and architectural terracottas found here.

- A deposit of yet another series of terracotta revetments, of a size to suggest a temple larger than temple B. This material is unpublished and not mentioned in the early reports by D. Adamesteanu and P. Orlandini.⁷⁰
- In the same area there is evidence of a smaller building, perhaps a smaller shrine or *thesauros*. Its existence is proven by the famous silenoi antefixes of 5th century date (the earlier series from as early as 470-460), and *kalypteres* with a painted palmette decoration.⁷¹ However, an even earlier phase of this 5th century building is evidenced by archaic ceramic material – vases and *pinakes*, but also architectural terracottas of small size. Only a general archaic date is given in the publication, but the building should surely be related to the phase of the archaic temple described above. The material reveals the existence in this part of the *temenos* of yet another large temple and small *naïskos* or *oikos*, the smaller building with a subsequent 5th century phase, not evidenced as far as the larger building is concerned, although this may, of course, have continued with its old architectural elements. The second phase of the *naïskos*, c. 470-460, may correspond to the construction of temple “C”, indicating a general re-organization of the *temenos* in the early period of the the 5th century B.C.
- Votive material going back to the 7th century B.C. and a fragment of an early archaic Doric capital re-used as fill in the foundation of a structure, habitation or shrine, of 4th century date.⁷²
- Remains of an altar 8 m west of the find-place of the silenoi-antefixes, no structural details given.⁷³
- Base of an honorary monument, dated with some uncertainty to the archaic period.⁷⁴
- Architectural terracottas, among which are fragments for a pedimental embellishment and an early archaic Doric capital, re-used in a foundation of archaic date (?).⁷⁵

- Remains of votives and 6th century B.C. architectural terracottas, found in a cistern. Although the location of the cistern is not clearly indicated, the material is taken here as further evidence of the religious character of the area under discussion.⁷⁶
- Well with archaic architectural terracottas, among these a silenos-antefix.⁷⁷
- Apart from the evidence listed above there is also material from at least two 4th century wells. This consists of 6th century architectural terracottas, a fragment of a 5th century Doric capital, and archaic pottery, although not certainly from the *temenos*, at least possibly so.⁷⁸ Among the material a 6th century graffito with the name of Hera, apparently from the Heraion lying further westwards on the slope near the heroon for Antiphemos, neither sanctuaries being discussed here.⁷⁹
- Sporadic finds of architectural terracottas from a structure, which from the size of the material should rather be a temple than a *naïskos*.⁸⁰
- Two Ionic column capitals and two drums found in a cistern west of the modern museum building, and a pilaster capital recovered from a clandestine excavation.⁸¹ Reconstructed as a Ionic prostyle porch with a column height of c. 3.5 m and dated to the late 6th century. An early, if not the earliest, example of this type of building from the Greek West, and a testimony of a sophisticated architectural embellishment of the *temenos*.⁸²
- Evidence from architectural terracottas of 6th century *naïskoi*, found during the construction of the new museum,⁸³ and fragments of winged sphinxes and equestrian sculptured groups in terracotta, *acroteria* of a very high artistic quality, spanning the early and middle 5th century B.C.⁸⁴ There is very little information available about any structural remains, though there is mention of a mass of downfallen tiles on the east side of an ashlar constructed foundation. No plan and orientation of the remains are given in the report.

Though some of the material listed above is of 5th century date I have taken it into account as it indicates the continuity of the area of Molino di Pietro as a *temenos* also in this period, but I have not included it in my plan with the attempted reconstruction of the lay-out of the area (fig. 3).

- Finally the small urban or sub-urban shrine at the “località Carrubazza”.⁸⁵ It is situated on the northern slope of the plateau, west of the area Molino di Pietro, and seems to me, topographically, so much part

of the whole *temenos* complex, that we should consider it part of this. Its position in relation to a hypothetical early circuit wall cannot be ascertained. There are remains of a structure 6.50 m x 8 m thus corresponding in size to the small shrines from the north side of the Athenaion. To this structure belongs the earliest silenos-antefix from the site, second half 6th century B.C. and the prototype for the later 5th century series. Also a gorgo-antefix, and other architectural terracottas of late 6th century date have been found here. A votive terracotta of Athena, showing her armed and echoing the type of Athena Parthenos, suggests that the shrine was dedicated to her. The sanctuaries of Gela could well include two different cults for the goddess. The shrine was in use from middle of the 6th century and again in the 4th century B.C.

There may be further evidence overlooked here, but I hope to have been able to outline some of the main indications for the size and complexity of the Molino di Pietro sanctuary or sanctuaries.

A part of the 7th and early 6th century B.C. *temenos* was destroyed by the late 6th century defensive wall, if the reconstruction of its course is correct.⁸⁶ However, an analogous situation is found on the north slope of the Athenaion, where the construction of the fortification also infringes violently on the already existing structures. The unrest mirrored in the construction of the wall is explained by Orlandini as a result of the introduction of the tyranny under Kleandros, son of Pantares, about 505 B.C.⁸⁷

The conclusion must be that the western part of the *temenos* extending over a quite large area, had at least three large temples, and a number of smaller *naïskoi* or *thesouroi*. We have no certain evidence for the divinities, apart from Athena, though P. Orlandini has made one suggestion, that of the Rhodian Zeus Atabyrios, mentioned by Polybios in his description of Akragas and the cults of that city (9.27).⁸⁸

We have attempted to interpret all this evidence in the form of a reconstructed plan of the whole *temenos* (fig. 3). Although the evidence shows that the area of Molino di Pietro is a sanctuary comparable to that of the Athenaion, and although this has been recognized since the 1950's, when this part of the plateau was examined by excavations, it is not indicated more than superficially on the published plans of ancient Gela. These always show only the part of the plateau with the 6th century and the 5th century Athenaion, and the buildings bordering on this

on its northern side. The reconstruction of the *temenos* is, of course, somewhat hypothetical as far as the location of the single buildings is concerned, but it should mirror some sort of reality, taking into account the evidence and conclusion above. Three temples, as large as temple “B”, and several *naiiskoi* and *thesauroi* or *oikoi* would require an enormous output from the pottery-workshops, substantiating the ideas about the importance of Gela in the development of western Greek architectural terracotta revetment systems and roof ornamentation.⁸⁹

The relationship between the habitation area and the *temene* at Gela, above all to what extent these were part of the same urban planning and urban structure, is nearly unknown at Gela. However, that there are main elements of an overall plan, a division of the plateau into basic units, where the sanctuaries of the Molino a Vento and Molino di Pietro take up an impressive part, seems demonstrable. The evidence may also suggest that we have to do with two separate *temene*, and to compare the topography of the sanctuaries on the akropolis at Selinus.⁹⁰

These sanctuaries therefore belong in the group of Sicilian urban sanctuaries, which are closely linked with the act of foundation and which are part of a preconceived urban structure.⁹¹

Excursus

A digression treating the thorny problem of “Lindioi” and the suggestion of an early settlement on the “akropolis” at Gela could perhaps be excused here. The idea of a primary akropolis-settlement named *Lindioi*, that developed into a later, more extensive city (Gela) is found already in the first, detailed study of the topography of Gela by Schubring, though his suggestion for the location of such an akropolis at Capo Soprano was shown as untenable already by Orsi’s investigations in the early part of this century.⁹²

P. Orsi and C. Blinkenberg avoided the interpretation of an akropolis, but understood *Lindioi* rather as a district, the name reflecting the dominant Rhodian element of the foundation.⁹³ An early, purely Rhodian foundation is not supported by the evidence (Hdt. 3.153 mentions only a Rhodian contingent) and cannot overrule the unambiguous evidence and source of Thucydides; also the archaeological evidence mirrors a Cretan participation, apparently not necessarily smaller than the Rhodian.⁹⁴ However, the idea of Orsi and Blinkenberg, that *Lindioi* may have been a part or quarter of the city of Gela is in fact supported by the passage in

Thucydides 5.4.4 where we learn that *Phokaia* was a part or a quarter of Leontinoi.⁹⁵

The idea of an akropolis was taken up by L. Pareti, but he understood this as the fortified city itself, on the central part of the plateau (where the Medieval city of Terranova was laid out as a re-foundation of the site), the eastern sanctuary lying outside the walls.⁹⁶ A somewhat similar suggestion is given by J. Bérard.⁹⁷ The large-scale investigations of the eastern plateau, undertaken in more recent times, have given the impetus to the widely accepted designation of this area as the akropolis of Gela, found in L. Bernabò Brea, P. Orlandini, and above all P. Orlandini & D. Adamesteanu who erroneously saddle Thucydides with the term ἀκρόπολις, and who misread the text by H. Wentker. Wentker does not interpret *Lindioi* as a Geloan akropolis, on the contrary.⁹⁸

The historically orientated treatises, for example those of A.J. Graham, G.K. Jenkins and W. Leschhorn, interpret the text of Thucydides basically as it stands – *Lindioi* was a preliminary, walled phase of the city and the original name of Gela – and do not deal with the topography of Gela and the problem of its early development, or the location of a first settlement.⁹⁹ The solution proposed by H. Wentker is that Gela was colonized in *two phases*, a first “pre-colonization phase” (the *Lindioi*-phase), where the territory of the later city was occupied but not urbanized (the terms used by Thucydides are ἄποικοι and οἰκίζειν), apart from some fortification of the site mentioned by Thucydides; and a later colonization phase (ἔποικοι and κτίζειν, Wentker’s “Zusiedlung” – the Gela-phase) with the construction of urban features, such as defensive walls, the establishment of sanctuaries and the setting up of political functions. This would be the foundation by the oikists Antiphemos and Entimos.¹⁰⁰ J. De Wever and R. Van Compernelle have studied the terminology of colonization used by Thucydides and find that the evidence does not support this interpretation, the terms ἄποικοι and οἰκίζειν, and ἔποικοι and κτίζειν are used synonymously,¹⁰¹ and their use cannot therefore mirror different phases or internal developments in settlement patterns

Also M. Casevitz suggests that ἔποικοι in Thuc. 6.4.3 refers to colonists in a general sense, and not in the sense of additional, new or replacement colonists, because “. . . il a été établi que le site de Géla n’était pas occupé avant la fondation de la cité.”¹⁰² But this is precisely what has not been established, if by “foundation of the city” Casevitz means the foundation traditionally dated to 688 B.C.! Gela does belong to the, still expanding, group of colonies which in recent years have shown ev-

idence of a pre-colonial phase,¹⁰³ and the discussions of terminology should take into account the possibility of more steps or phases in the establishment of colonies, avoiding too rigid a system of chronology, as shown by R. Martin in his discussion of the colonization of Thasos.¹⁰⁴

Wentker could indeed be right in suggesting that by *polis*, as used of “*Lindioi*”, Thucydides intends a settlement, however sparsely scattered on a part of the whole plateau, though not necessarily fortified (see *infra*), although this later comprised a more fully urbanized *polis* of Gela. An argument in support of this view is, surely, that if a first settlement was situated exclusively on the eastern-most part of the plateau, it is hardly likely that this area was taken up solely by sanctuaries already from the 7th century B.C. Wentker’s interpretation has been widely accepted by the excavators of Gela, ignoring the rejection by philologists of his reading of Thucydides. The evidence of Greek material from the latter part of the 8th century has been taken as proof of Wentker’s pre-colonial, *Lindioi*, phase, and if we disregard the (according to me) erroneous topographical interpretation of an early *akropolis* settlement, but rather follow the original idea of Wentker who proposed a sporadic presence, the evidence could point in this direction, and is also interpreted in this manner by M.G. Canzanella.¹⁰⁵ The archaeological material does give support to the notion of a pre-688 B.C. Greek presence at Gela, although the material does not point specifically to Rhodes and does not reveal what type of presence;¹⁰⁶ and though the evidence is too tenuous to support the idea of two distinct, separate phases of settlement there is still the question whether such an early Greek settlement on the plateau of Gela in fact had defensive walls.¹⁰⁷ On the basis of the archaeological material this seems rather unlikely, though admittedly such early walls could have been constructed in a perishable material such as sun-dried bricks, leaving no traces.¹⁰⁸ There is very little evidence of defensive walls in the early period of colonization in the Greek West, as already pointed out, and at Gela no evidence before the late 6th century B.C.

Other sites

Syracuse

Founded 733 from Corinth, had its earliest settlement on the island of Orthigia, where recent excavations by P. Pelagatti¹⁰⁹ have revealed remains of houses from the earliest history of the colony (Pelagatti uses the term Proto-archaic). The technique and size of the single houses are

very similar to the early settlement remains at Megara Hyblaia, but the density of habitation is higher at Syracuse.¹¹⁰ It has also been possible to reconstruct the main elements of an urban plan, partly on the basis of the Medieval road system and partly with the help of excavation (fig. 4). The urban plan, archaeologically dated to the middle of the 7th century B.C.,¹¹¹ was based upon east-west oriented narrow blocks, c. 23-24 m wide, and narrow streets, *stenopoi*, c. 2.50-3 m wide, which correspond to the measures of the habitation blocks and streets at Megara Hyblaia and Kasmenai.¹¹² The length of the blocks is unknown. A transversal *plateia*, that is a main north-south axis, has not been recognized with certainty, although we may have a trace of it in the Medieval city-plan, if it coincides with one of the streets which even today join the three Greek *temene*, the Athenaion, the Apollonion and the “Tempio Ionico”.¹¹³ A public space, possibly an agora, in use from the earliest history of the site, is hypothetically located west of the temple of Athena and the “Tempio Ionico”, where archaeological investigations have indicated an area free from settlement.¹¹⁴

Akrai

Founded 664 B.C. as a sub-colony of Syracuse, a result of the Syracusan policy of subjugation of a large part of south-eastern Sicily.¹¹⁵ Our insight into the early history of Akrai is limited and the remains of the early city are also sparse, little else being preserved than the Aphrodision.¹¹⁶ The most conspicuous remains are the theatre and the *bouleuterion* from the third century B.C. However, there are traces of early town-planning which may go back to the time of foundation. The evidence consists of a system of a *plateia* and several *stenopoi*, dated to the late Hellenistic and Roman periods, but according to the excavators based upon a scheme going back to the archaic period.¹¹⁷ The *plateia* spans the whole city terminating in public spaces, to the west in the possible location of an agora, to the east in the area of the later theatre and *bouleuterion*. The lay-out of the plan looks rudimentary and supports the idea of its antiquity. The *stenopoi* not only intercept the *plateia* at an obtuse angle, not orthogonally, but the axis of the *stenopoi* north of the *plateia* is different from that of the southern *stenopoi*.

As it is demonstrable that Kasmenai and Kamarina were laid out in accordance with a well-ordered urban plan at the time of their foundation, respectively 643 and 598 B.C., we should be able to take it for granted that the urban lay-out at Akrai also goes back to the time of the foundation. The continuation of the original archaic town-plan in Helle-

nistic times was evidenced at Gela, and is also found at Kamerina. Here the city was greatly enlarged in this period, but the orientation and grid-system of the first period of the site were followed. Akrai is therefore a very valuable testimony of early town-planning in Sicily, probably the earliest evidence of an urban lay-out based upon a system of *plateiai* and narrower *stenopoi* (fig. 5).

Kasmenai

The settlement of Kasmenai, founded 643 B.C. by Syracuse on the height of Monte Casale, was laid out according to a well defined plan in the second half of the 7th century B.C., and therefore contemporaneously with the urban lay-out of Syracuse and Akrai (fig. 6). The urban plan consists of at least 38 narrow streets running perpendicularly to the long axis of the plateau and delimiting the single, c. 25 m wide, narrow blocks. Neither traces nor evidence have been found for a larger, transversal street-net and the plan is rather primitive in its lay-out, mirroring the function of the place, a fort or garrison to defend the territory of Syracuse. The situation of the site, topographically as well as morphologically, is wholly unsuitable for a colony, and the nature of the votive material from the settlement's shrine also point to a military function as a *φρουρίον*.¹¹⁸

The principle of an urban plan based upon narrow rectangular housing blocks, a number of parallel narrow streets – *stenopoi*, cut orthogonally by broader avenues – *plateiai*, a system called “*per strigas*” by F. Castagnoli, and seen by him as the basic element in the Hippodamian town-plan,¹¹⁹ is normally explained on the basis of the fully developed late 6th and early 5th century town-plans of Naxos, Akragas, Himera, Selinus and other sites. However, on the evidence of Gela, Syracuse and Akrai it could be argued that the rudimentary stage is found here. As to Kasmenai, Di Vita has pointed to a very important aspect. Although the urban plan of this site is primitive, in its lack of a transversal *plateia*, it is more important to focus upon the fact that it is the result of a pre-conceived plan effected on the spot, and not a result of a gradual development – such as we know it from the older Sicilian colonies, such as Naxos, Megara Hyblaia and Syracuse, where the well-defined town-plans should, after all, be dated some generations after the foundation. It is noteworthy that Di Vita has argued for the existence of an embryonic stage of the *per strigas* system at Kasmenai at a time when the traces of the early settlement plans at Syracuse and at Akrai were as yet unknown to him.¹²⁰

Naxos

Chalkidian colony (734 B.C.) founded as the earliest colony in Sicily on a low peninsula on the coast (modern Capo Schisò) on the site of an indigenous settlement, revealed above all by the prehistoric necropolis found in the south-western *temenos* of Aphrodite.

The principal elements of the urban lay-out of the colony, and of its two main phases, have been clarified during the enormously fruitful excavations of P. Pelagatti in the 1970's and 80's, making it the only Chalkidian colony in which the urban development is known in any detail.¹²¹ The first generation of colonization is evidenced by dispersed pottery, mainly from the coastal area of the peninsula, and by the structural remains of a house similar to the early habitation of Megara Hyblaia and Syracuse. Of paramount importance is the fact that the house is oriented in accordance not only with the short course of the adjoining 8th century road, but also with the neighbouring early shrine "C".

By the 7th century B.C. almost all of the peninsula is urbanised. The archaic city, with which we are mainly concerned here, goes back to the 7th century. It was destroyed by Hieron in 476 B.C. and it is the fifth century re-foundation by Hieron which forms the primary source for the urban history of Naxos. The fifth century city was laid out with three east-west oriented *plateiai* and a number of north-south orthogonally placed *stenopoi*, creating a Hippodamian grid-plan where the measurements of the streets and the proportions of the single blocks are comparable with other Sicilian cities of the same period.¹²²

Traces of the archaic urban plan have been found under the classical city, in the form of courses of streets, habitation and sanctuaries, and though the traces are rather dispersed they are sufficient to reconstruct some of the principles of the early lay-out. (See fig. 7, letters Sa, Sb, Sd, and the "case" and "sacelli" marked by hatching).

The main points of interest are:

- The gates of the defensive walls, P2, P3, P4, were laid out in accordance with the grid-plan of the archaic city.
- The street "Sf" leading northwards to the coast, the harbour?, and to the archaic necropolis is wider than the other streets, a phenomenon repeated in the classical town-plan.
- There is a main axis, "Sd", joining the *kerameikos* in the north-west with the south-western *temenos*, the so-called Aphrodision, and another axis joining the settlement with the 7th century *temenos* lying outside the city on the other side of the Santa Venera river. The loca-

- tion of the sanctuary of Apollo Archegetes is unknown, and we cannot know how this shrine fitted into the urban plan.
- The orientation of the streets in the eastern part of the city “Se” and “Sg” is different to that of the streets in the western area, but similar to the short course of the 8th century road found in the same area “Sh”. The archaic city is therefore different from the classical in having had two main areas of habitation with different orientations.
 - The orientation of the 7th century shrine “A” in the *temenos* of Aphrodite is in accordance with that of the archaic city (its western part). When temple “B” replaces shrine “A” in the late 6th century, the new orientation of this temple anticipates that of the classical city of Hieron. However the isodomonic defense wall put up between the *temenos* and the city also in the last quarter of the 6th century follows the orientation of the 7th century shrine “A”, and not that of the temple “B” and the later city.
 - The defensive walls along the south-eastern part of the city and along the western side of the sanctuary are dated to the mid 6th century B.C., but they follow the orientation of the early 7th century sanctuary, and, as mentioned above, the gates were laid out in accordance with the 7th. century grid-plan.¹²³ The later 5th century urban plan is aligned in accordance with the 6th century gates.

This is not the place to go into a detailed description of fortification, but a few points should be brought up. The southern walls are built in a technique of two rows of finely dressed polygonal masonry in the local volcanic-basalt rock, with a fill of small stones and basalt rock, in all about 2 m. wide.

The north-western extension of the city wall is constructed in the same technique, but the rocks used are of massive size, roughly hewn and put in place without dressing, a local technique reflecting the local type of volcanic rock readily available. The greater strength of the wall here along the river Santa Venera, is perhaps explained by a lateral function as a dyke to protect against inundations from the river. It is also noteworthy that the defences are in large measure identified seawards, whereas the landward side, the hinterland-defences, have left no remains; at least they have not been identified so far. Local, possibly hostile, indigenous populations were not an impetus for the first fortifications, but the factor of neighbouring, and hostile, Greek cities was probably of primary importance.

Summing up these points, we note the pre-occupation with orienta-

tion, primarily revealed in the archaic and classical urban plans, but indicated already in the few structural remains from the 8th century B.C.

Noteworthy also is the double orientation of the archaic city with the probability that a public space, possibly an agora, was situated in the middle of the city, where the two, differently oriented areas of the city join up. Separate and differently oriented settlement areas could also reflect colonizers of different origin. There is evidence for this at Naxos where we have traditions of settlers of different origin, not only Chalkidians as found in Thucydides (6.3.1.) and Diod. Sic. (14.88), but also Aegean Naxians, according to Hellanikos ([*FGrHist* 4] fr. 82), and other Ionian and Dorian settlers according to Ephoros ([*FGrHist* 70] fr. 137).¹²⁴

Himera

Himera was founded as a secondary colony by Zanklaians and Syracusan exiles, the Myletidai (Thuc. 6.5.1), traditionally in 648 B.C. (240 years before the final destruction of the city by the Carthaginians in 408 [Diod. Sic. 13.62.4]), and therefore as a mixed Chalkidian-Dorian city, though the oikists were from Zankle and the Chalkidian institutions prevailed, according to Thucydides. It was the only Greek colony, apart from Mylai, on the north coast of Sicily.¹²⁵

Bordering on the territory of the Phoenician city of Soloeis it had a strategic position echoing the nearly contemporary foundation of Selinus on the south coast.¹²⁶ The city occupied partly the oblong hill commanding the northern part of the Himera river and partly the coastal plain below, west of the river mouth, though whether this also comprised a harbour settlement near the estuary is as yet unsettled (fig. 9).¹²⁷

Himera has until recently been taken as a site with an urban history rather similar to that of Naxos, with two urban phases, an archaic phase spanning a period from the late 7th century B.C., all of the 6th century and the beginning of the 5th century, and a classical phase originating with the refoundation of Himera by Theron in 476 B.C., after the destruction by the Carthaginians. The two phases had two clearly distinguishable orientations, the archaic phase north-west/south-east, an overall orientation followed by habitation and sanctuary, and the classical town, as was believed, with a new orientation laid out in clearly defined *insulae* oriented east-west. However recent investigations have shown that this view has to be modified: the east-west oriented town with its impressive size and regular lay-out has a history going back to 580-570 B.C. The new interpretation is based upon an examination of the south

temenos wall of the sanctuary. The east-west oriented peribolos wall has an early phase dated not later than 580-570 B.C., revealing that the overall new east-west oriented urban lay-out goes this far back.¹²⁸ A peribolos wall of the sanctuary oriented north-west/south-east and contemporary with the proto-archaic settlement is, however, as yet undocumented. The first phase of the urban history of the colony is now termed “proto-archaic”, in the terminology used by the excavators, and given a chronological span of only about 50 years, from about 625 B.C. to 580 B.C.

Although the proto-archaic remains on the plateau of Himera are numerous, they are too inconsistent to form the basis for a reconstruction of an urban plan with equally sized lots and regular streets. The houses are of unequal size, with some indication of a scattered location, but the same overall orientation is followed by the quite extensive vestiges of proto-archaic remains, and there are indications that the earliest settlement was after all laid out in accordance with some division of lots including houses and a certain amount of surrounding space, as at Megara Hyblaia. The Early Corinthian ceramic material found in all areas of excavation on many parts of the upper plateau, shows that this was occupied over large tracts from the time of the foundation of the colony.¹²⁹ The open tracts of land between the single housing lots may have varied in size, but the remains on the northern part of the plateau seem to suggest that the habitation was relatively close-knit, with remains of the archaic habitation found right on the edge of the plateau. The morphology and the orientation of the northern edge of the plateau may have decided the overall orientation of the archaic structures, habitation and sanctuary. In fact the edge of the plateau also decided the orientation of the northernmost structures of the later archaic phase on this part of the plateau.¹³⁰ Structural remains have been laid bare partly under the structures of the later phases, and partly in areas laid out as roads in the later town-plan, indicating that the later re-organisation took no account of the earlier urban lay-out. It is apparent even from these sparse remains that the structures are concentrated in specific areas. The north-eastern part of the plateau was occupied by the sanctuary, which with its earliest shrine, “Temple A” from the last quarter of the 7th century, respects the orientation of the proto-archaic settlement, pointing to an overall urban plan for the two areas already from this period, an orientation maintained during the later urban phases.¹³¹ There is, however, no indication of a specific structural relationship between the sanctuary and the habitation area, although N. Bonacasa has suggested that the area to the west of the sanctuary, where there is no evidence of habitation structures, was

the location of an open public space, perhaps an agora joining the settlement area with the sanctuary.¹³² There can be little doubt that the first urban phase at Himera was from the beginning conceived as a whole, with a habitation area and a sanctuary, and with a public space conjoining the two main urban units of the colony.

Some of the proto-archaic remains in the settlement are substantial and with a longer span of life, such as the small shrine, *oikos*, possibly for Demeter, which continued in use in the classical period, revealing not only continuity of cult, but also that the early orientation continued unaltered in the later archaic city.¹³³

There is less evidence from the central part of the plateau where the remains are less easy to interpret. One structure dated to the proto-archaic period is, however, not oriented as the other early structures, but in accordance with the later archaic city, that is north-south; the size of the structure is also more suggestive of the later than the earlier.¹³⁴ Apart from this there are proto-archaic evidence – walls oriented as normal for this period, circular walls delimiting proto-archaic deposits of uncertain function, and evidence of later archaic structures laid in strata of proto-archaic date though no structural remains are extant.¹³⁵

The eastern plateau of Himera, “Quartiere Est”, situated east of the sanctuary, has a history also going to the 7th century B.C.,¹³⁶ and so revealing the extent of the early colony, encompassing the confining zones of the plateau. The small urban sanctuary here had a proto-archaic phase, revealed by the material from a votive deposit and there is also evidence of a terracing going back to this early phase.¹³⁷

The reasons behind the refoundation of Himera with its radical change in lay-out are not known, but we must envisage a violent destruction of the city leading to a new foundation. A system of *insulae* oriented east-west, 32 m wide and divided by 6 m wide *stenopoi* was laid out on large parts of the plateau, comprising also the northern part of the “Piano Lungo” plateau to the east of the main plateau of Himera (fig 9).¹³⁸ Although the archaic town-plan is impressive in its size and regularity the remains suggest that even in this second period the habitation was concentrated mainly in certain areas: the northern part (near the sanctuary) and the southern area (near the main route to the *chora*), the central *insula* “12” has revealed few or no remains of the archaic period. The most recent investigations have given indications of a 6.20 m wide north-south oriented *plateia* uniting the main parts of the plateau.¹³⁹

Further remains of the 7th century, proto-archaic phase have been found in the lower city below the north-western corner of the plateau,

where the few structures so far laid bare reveal two orientations, one corresponding to that of the first urban phase of the upper city, the other to the second.¹⁴⁰ Traces of settlement of mid 6th century date west of the temple of Victoria, belonging to the new urban lay-out of the lower city is dated by the excavators to the mid 6th century.¹⁴¹ This phase is represented by *insulae* laid out in accordance with *stenopoi* oriented north/north west – south/south east (not east – west as on the plateau) and with a width of the single *insulae* as high as 40 m, a quite unusual size of *insulae*, contrary to the 32 m width of the *insulae* on the plateau, and not otherwise attested in the urban centres in Sicily and Magna Graecia. These basic differences in the urban lay-out of lower and upper should perhaps be explained by the relationship of the lower town to the sea, river and harbour, or perhaps rather by socio-economic factors which could differentiate the population of the upper city from that of the lower.¹⁴² In any case it does not exclude the possibility of an overall urban planning of lower and upper city.

The remains of a circuit wall from the arely phase of the colony on the southern edge of the plateau corroborates the estimate of the size of the colony, encompassing the whole plateau. The type of fortification used is that of a stone and earth rampart, an *agger*, a primitive type of fortification, otherwise not known from the Greek colonies, but widely used by the non-Greek settlements.¹⁴³ The *agger* at Himera is preserved for a stretch of about 80 m on the southern edge of the plateau, with a north-western/south-eastern orientation and with a small stretch running northwards from the south-east corner. To what extent the whole site was fortified, and the possible location of a gate on the south side, leading to the territory of Akragas, must remain uncertain.¹⁴⁴

Kamarina

Kamarina was founded by Syracusan settlers on the south coast of Sicily at the estuary of the river Hyparis, as a result of Syracusan territorial expansion in south eastern Sicily.¹⁴⁵ The oikists were Daskon and Menekolos, the one Syracusan, the other Corinthian?,¹⁴⁶ and the foundation took place in 599/8, 135 years after the foundation of Syracuse (Thuc. 6.5.3). The inhabitants, or some of them (possibly only the ruling classes), were expelled from Kamarina about 552 B.C. by Syracuse after an uprising and alliances with the Siculans (Thuc., 46 years after the foundation – Schol. Pind. *Ol.* 5.16; Ps.-Scymn. 295-296).¹⁴⁷ The site was apparently not depopulated, there is the record of a Parmenides from Kamarina, victor in the third year of the 63rd Olympiad (526/5 B.C.)

(Diod. 1.68.6) and there is no archaeological evidence of a break in habitation. The recent excavation of a late archaic well has brought to light material from about 550 to 490/480 B.C. with no chronological breaks.¹⁴⁸ The city was refounded and recolonized by Hippokrates of Gela in 492 B.C.¹⁴⁹ The term used by Thucydides is *κατοικίζειν*, that is to “refound”, and Hippokrates himself is designated *oikistes*. However, there is archaeologically no apparent hiatus between 552 and 491, and Herodotus speaks only of the territory, “until then Syracusan”, being given up to Hippokrates. M. Casevitz has shown that the term is used by Thucydides mainly to designate the settling of inhabitants, but that it is also used for a colonization of a site already inhabited (Thuc. 3.34.4).¹⁵⁰

The city was destroyed and the population transplanted to Syracuse a few years later in 484 B.C. as a result of Gelon’s vast program of synoikism; the direct occasion was the revolt of Kamarina against Glaukos of Karystos, the governor put in by Gelon.¹⁵¹

Kamarina was refounded and recolonized for the third time by the Geloans in 462/1 B.C.¹⁵² The decrease of archaeological evidence for the years c. 484-461 B.C. suggests that the site was uninhabited, or at least only sparsely inhabited until this resettlement of the site.¹⁵³ The numismatic evidence supports this reconstruction.¹⁵⁴

Kamarina was founded on the coast, on a promontory and a plateau extending inland, and during the later history of the site comprised a fortified area of not less than c. 150 hectares. The remains of the earliest history of the site have primarily been laid bare in the western part of the later city, nearest the coast on the promontory proper, near the estuary of the river Hyparis and the harbour. The archaic remains present already from the time of foundation an organic lay-out with an overall alignment of the single structures and the designation of a specific cult area (the Athena Polias sanctuary on the highest part of the plateau). However, the limited extent of excavations make the concept of the overall urban system uncertain. The excavators believe that the foundation consisted of single houses and housing plots with open areas. However, the orientation was followed by the later city plan, probably laid out during the Deinomenid refoundation of 461-460 B.C.¹⁵⁵ That the size and plan of the single *insulae* and *stenopoi* of the early classical city may not have had an archaic origin is suggested by the position of the archaic wall which delimits the west side of the *temenos* of Athena Polias. This wall, although following the orientation of the urban lay-out, does not join up with or delimit its neighbouring *stenopoi*. The substantial foundation

walls of the Athena temple are dated to the first half of the 5th century B.C, but the archaic *temenos* wall shows clearly that the Athena sanctuary had an archaic predecessor to the early classical temple.¹⁵⁶

The archaic remains were largely obliterated during the 4th century Timoleontic refoundation, but there are some indications of the extent of the early city. There is testimony of the extension of the archaic city as far as 600 m east of the *temenos*,¹⁵⁷ and in *insula* 34, where an archaic well was revealed during the excavation of the so-called “Casa dell’ iscrizione”, though no archaic walls were laid bare.¹⁵⁸ The evidence is sporadic and unhomogeneous, but so substantial as to reveal an orientation different to that of the habitation known from the western part of the settlement.¹⁵⁹ This could be explained by the morphology of the plateau, characterized by marked differences of level, but it is perhaps noteworthy that according to some traditions there were two founders, of Syracusan and Corinthian origin, to whom we might possibly assign respective areas of habitation, though with the common sanctuary of Athena Polias and public space, agora, and necropolis.

The circuit wall raised about the middle of the 6th century B.C. enclosed an area much vaster than the ascertained area of early habitation. There is so far no evidence of a circuit wall contemporary with the foundation, yet another instance of the lack of evidence of defensive walls contemporary with the foundation dates of the colonies.

There are remains of sanctuaries from the earliest history of the colony, not only the archaic western *temenos* wall of the Athena sanctuary of early 6th century date, but also a few structural remains north of the *temenos*, to which are attributed finds of architectural terracottas. However, we have no detailed information about size and orientation of the structures.¹⁶⁰

The excavation of the two stoas, dated to the 5th and 4th centuries B.C., confirms the existence of a public space in the south-western part of the promontory, and suggests a similar function for this area already from the earliest urban history, because this space has revealed no remains of habitation.¹⁶¹ Paola Pelagatti believes that this vast area was divided into two main public spaces, a mercantile agora to the west with direct access to the river mouth and harbour, and a civic-political agora to the east, later delimited on its west and north sides by stoas.

Recent investigations at the mouth of the Hipparis river have revealed the remains of an impressive harbour structure situated perpendicularly to the coast, about 300 m. long and joining up with the Kamarina plateau. The mole or breakwater, protecting the harbour at the river mouth

from silting, carried various buildings and magazines. Parts of this structure go back to the archaic period.¹⁶²

Although the urban remains at Kamarina datable to the earliest history of the site are somewhat sporadic and elusive the overall impression is that the colony from its foundation consisted of habitation and sanctuary areas laid out in accordance with an overall orientation, with a public space, likely already from this period divided into two agoras, a mercantile and a political, borne out by the strong mercantile function of Kamarina,¹⁶³ and by the harbour installation with its history going back to the archaic period.

Megara Hyblaia

Megara Hyblaia is a site so well-published and documented in all publications treating western Greece, that it is hardly necessary to discuss it here.¹⁶⁴ However, the main aspects should be pointed out in this context. Already in the 8th century B.C., from the earliest history of the site, the urban space is laid out with open spaces and main lines of communication, respected by the later 7th century urban phase (fig. 8). In this period the town-plan may not be strictly orthogonal, but it is systematic and organised according to major and minor transversal axes. The two main arteries oriented north-south are not parallel but converge northwards, and the secondary east-west arteries, converging slightly eastwards, all create a trapezoidal shape for the central public space, the agora, and overall five differently oriented quarters. The five main parts of the settlement, going back to its earliest phase, could mirror different contingents among the early settlers, explained by the tradition of the five villages or districts of the mother city Megara Nisaia (Strabo 8.6.22).¹⁶⁵

The recent investigation of the southern plateau, still within the confines of the archaic circuit wall, reveals the impressive extent of the early colony.¹⁶⁶ Also the southern site has a well defined urban lay-out from the earliest 8th century history of the colony, with oriented streets and housing, at this location closely aligned with the sea and the neighbouring necropolis.

Selinus

Selinus was founded on two north-south oriented plateaus between the Modione river valley to the west and the Gorgo Cotone river valley to the east. The plateaus of Kamarina and Himera, though smaller, have much in common with the basic morphology of the Selinuntian site. The

southern part of the plateau lying above the sea coast, and always regarded as the akropolis of the city, owes its akropolis-like appearance to an artificial accentuation of the site in a late phase in the history of the site. The northern Manuzza plateau has an oblique orientation in relation to the southern akropolis plateau (fig. 10). The morphology of the saddle joining the two plateaus was accentuated by the construction of the northern gate and fortification in the late 5th century B.C., and the fortification of the sides of the akropolis hill at this time also enhances this impression.¹⁶⁷

According to Thucydides (6.4.2) Selinus was founded 100 years after the foundation of the mother-colony Megara Hyblaia, that is about 628-627 B.C. The *oikistes* was Pammilos, possibly from the original mother-city, Megara Nisaia, though the text is ambiguous, and a Megara Hyblaian origin cannot be excluded. Diodorus (13.59.4) supports the Eusebian date for the foundation of Selinus, 242 years before its destruction in 409-408, that is c. 651-650 B.C.¹⁶⁸ The Diodorean date is now largely favoured, supported as it is by the chronology of the recently excavated Buffa and Manuzza necropoleis.¹⁶⁹ Thucydides' use of the term *συγκαταοικίσειν* may imply a lacuna in the text, perhaps indicating that Pammilos had a co-founder (name lost) from Megara Nisaia, or from Megara Hyblaia if Pammilos represented Megara Nisaia.¹⁷⁰

The earliest structural remains of the settlement on the akropolis, laid bare by the French investigations in *insula* FF north of the *temenos*,¹⁷¹ cannot be taken as evidence of town-planning, but it is noteworthy that the technique employed in the wall structures is similar to that used in the earliest habitation on the northern part of the Manuzza plain, suggesting an overall coherence in the urbanization of the two areas.¹⁷²

The early settlement history of Selinus has, above all, been illuminated by the investigations on the north-westernmost area of the Manuzza plateau,¹⁷³ revealing Greek dwellings, datable by Corinthian transitional and Early Corinthian material to the latter part of the 7th century B.C. They are laid out in accordance with that of the north-western/south-eastern orientation of the plateau and its main dorsal artery, probably of pre-Greek origin, and followed also by the later archaic *plateiai*. Although there is no evidence of orthogonal planning from this early phase, there is evidence of some overall orientation with narrow *steno-poi* between the single buildings, not broad enough to serve as passage-ways but probably defining ownership, with paving along the external walls. The façades of the structures are drawn back from the streets and

the techniques used in one larger building shows structural traits similar to those known from Megara Hyblaia. The initial phase of the necropolis situated centrally on the Manuzza is contemporaneous with the foundation of the colony.¹⁷⁴

A. Di Vita believes that there must have been a Greek settlement also on the southernmost part of the akropolis, from the earliest history of the site. There is, however, no certain evidence as to the function of the southern-most part of the akropolis plateau, whereas there is no doubt that the central part of the plateau very early in the history of the site was laid out as a *temenos*. If the idea of Di Vita is accepted the extent of habitation during the late 7th century history of the site is indeed impressive, extending for nearly 700 m from the northernmost point of Manuzza to the southern part of the akropolis.

Selinus thus encompassed, though obviously not in the sense of urbanization as such, but in the sense of urban coherence, the whole area later occupied by the developed, 6th century city. There is already in this early phase an overall coherence between the two central plateaus, the eastern (Marinella) plateau, with an early 7th century shrine (predecessor of the early archaic temple “E1”),¹⁷⁵ and the Malophoros sanctuary on the western Gaggera plateau, with the predecessor of the archaic megaron from the late 7th century B.C.¹⁷⁶ The earliest major temple on the akropolis is not earlier than 580-560 B.C.¹⁷⁷ but there are earlier shrines in the *temenos* going back to the 7th century.¹⁷⁸ There is an overall orientation followed by these early urban features, from the early shrines, predecessors of the temple “E1” and the Malophoros megaron, possibly also oriented in accordance with a major transversal east-west route across the saddle dividing the Manuzza and akropolis plains.¹⁷⁹ In this pattern we have the rudimentary stage of overall orientation of the settlement areas, and the lay-out of the *temenos* on the south part of the akropolis, with a main east-west axis south of the *temenos*, joining up the two valleys and the river mouth harbours – the eastern harbour possibly military, as is suggested by the name of river (Cotone, reflecting the Phoenician *kothon*, i.e. a naval harbour installation), the western harbour possibly commercial, as suggested by the nearby Demeter sanctuary. Such an overall, primordial unity is very different from the idea of Gabrici, who saw a gradual, “diffusionistic”, formation of Selinus, with a diffusion of settlement from the area of the Malophoros sanctuary with a (hypothetical) early harbour settlement at the mouth of the Modione river, to the akropolis, and finally encompassing the habitation area on the Manuzza plain.¹⁸⁰

The second urban phase of the colony, datable to c. 580-560 B.C., reveals clear evidence of overall urban planning, the laying out of *insulae* in a *per strigas* system, encompassing also the eastern and western valleys, not respecting the geomorphological borders of the akropolis (fig. 10).

The French excavations have shown that this town-plan, until recently known from the northern part of the akropolis, comprised also an area north of this, north of the later 5th and 4th century gate. These *insulae* are also of archaic date, and were only at a later date "cut off" from the southern plateau by the construction of the 5th century B.C. fortification at this point, later enlarged by the so-called Hermocratean wall and gate system, which created an artificial saddle between the akropolis and the Manuzza plateau. The orientation of the *insulae* north of the later gate follows that of the *insulae* on the akropolis and extended further northwards, as far north as to comprise a 6th *insula* and about one third of the Manuzza plain. A continuation of the roads and *insulae* to the west of the akropolis, between this and the Modione river, is also demonstrable.¹⁸¹ The most northern east-west oriented *plateia* joined the Manuzza plateau with the Gaggera sanctuaries, and further westwards, about 13 km north-west of Selinus, with the quarry Cave di Cusa.¹⁸²

The roads and *insulae* probably extended over a wide area, from the western river valley to the eastern. There is evidence of this for the western Modione valley¹⁸³ and in the eastern Gorgo Cotone valley. The recently examined circuit wall may give us an indication of the eastern limit of the city.¹⁸⁴

Somewhere further northwards the orientation of the streets and *insulae* changed to north-western/south-eastern orientation, this change probably took place on the northern side of the (hypothetical) location of a public area, an agora.

The system of *insulae*, *plateiai* and *stenopoi* dated to this phase, revealed by the investigations on the Manuzza, maintains the orientation of the earlier phase. It is an indication of the internal coherence that the measurements employed in the laying out of *insulae* and *plateiai* correspond to those used on the akropolis.¹⁸⁵

It is noteworthy that the orientation followed by structures laid bare on the south-eastern part of the plateau is different to those used on the akropolis and those of the northern Manuzza plateau.¹⁸⁶ There is therefore some indication of yet a third habitation area in the southern part of the Manuzza plain, perhaps, to judge from the type of material, identifiable as a craftsmen's or artisans' quarter. A. Rallo has suggested that the

differentiation of orientation of these different “quarters” could reflect different ethnic groups,¹⁸⁷ and it is tempting to imagine a public area, such as an agora, at the junction of these separate areas, not least with the rather similar location of the agora at Megara Hyblaia in mind.¹⁸⁸

According to the interpretations of the French scholars,¹⁸⁹ the southern part of the akropolis was not laid out to habitation before the Hellenistic period, and they do not accept the idea of an east-west transversal route across the akropolis south of the archaic *temenos* area. Contrary to this A. Di Vita stresses the importance of this artery of communication from the period of the first major urbanistic planning of the site, linking up, across the akropolis, the southern and western river valleys near the river harbours.¹⁹⁰ This does seem rather convincing, enhancing the importance of the archaic *temenos* and emphasizing the coherence of this sanctuary with the early 6th century temple “E1” on the Marinella plateau,¹⁹¹ and the three 6th century sanctuaries on the Gaggera plateau – the Malophoros Megaron, the so-called “Temple M” (possibly a monumental fountain) and the recently excavated temple south of the Malophoros sanctuary.¹⁹²

So far none of the defensive walls of the “akropolis” can be dated back to the archaic period or to the classical, earlier than the Hermocratean structures of after 409 B.C.¹⁹³ Remains of circuit walls, with a history going back to the earlier history of the site, in use during the Carthaginian siege in 409 (Diod. 13.54-59), could be the wall structures in the Gorgo Cotone valley and in the Modione valley.¹⁹⁴ If there were archaic circuit walls these would have delimited Selinus along its outer (in respect to the main plateaus) more extensive habitation areas. However, the remains in the Cotone valley, recently examined by German scholars are dated to the first quarter of the 5th century B.C.,¹⁹⁵ and so far the picture of the lack of evidence of early defensive walls is apparently valid also for the site of Selinus.

Recapitulation

– Urbanization as such is not necessarily a basic element of *polis*-formation.¹⁹⁶ Nor, probably, are fortifications.¹⁹⁷ The evidence from the Greek West, as outlined above, has shown that there is a notable lack of defensive walls and circuit walls unequivocally datable to the early period of colonization. This certainly supports the views of A.M. Snodgrass and P. Ducrey for the Greek mainland.

Contrary to this the development of early Greek town-planning must be an essential element in *polis*-formation. The contribution of the western Greek colonies to Greek town-planning is covered by these main points:

- The overall and communal *division of land* in lots – in the city as well as in the *chora*.
- The preoccupation, if not obsession, with *orientations* reflected in the different orientations of the habitation units at Kroton, Megara Hyblaia, Naxos, Akrai and Selinus, in fact at most of the sites discussed above.

The phenomenon of the differently oriented quarters of the towns may be explained simply by the morphological condition of the terrains,¹⁹⁸ but it seems that there is also convincing evidence that the phenomenon could be explained by the presence of different ethnic groups. D. Asheri has pointed to yet another phenomenon, that the successive phases of settlement can entail alterations of orientations, – to distinguish new properties from previous, a practice well known from Roman surveying.¹⁹⁹

The point under discussion here is also documented by the overall common orientation of civic and religious units, visible at several sites. At Naxos we have the preoccupation with orientation in the different resolves of what to respect and what not to respect, observable in the Aphrodision *temenos* and the contingent areas of the colony. Other examples of this have been given above.

Selinus offers an example of axial planing on an enormous scale, probably originating in the first phase of settlement. The overall orientations encompassing the outlying sanctuaries could suggest that these are not really to be understood as sub-urban sanctuaries, but as urban, as they belong in an overall, urban unity.

The role of the oikist here may have been of paramount importance, as suggested by G. P. R. Métraux and I. Malkin.²⁰⁰ And this whole subject seems more suggestive of a “communal activity, in the service of the polity as a whole”.²⁰¹

- Town-planning found in an embryonic phase, for example at Naxos, and in a developed form in the secondary colonies. That urban planning based upon the *per strigas* prevails in the secondary colonies presupposes that such phenomena had already developed in the mother colonies.

With this indication of autonomous development of Greek urbanplanning in the West, I cannot avoid the conclusion that western Greece was more centre than periphery.

- The early development of the *per strigas* system of townplanning, which created one of the basic prerequisites for the later development of orthogonal town-planning.
- The importance of the *temene*, conceived as an integral part of the settlement and the urban-plan from the earliest period, and at some sites taking up an impressive part of the overall settlement area. This is also the case at Gela, and as I have documented we have here the additional evidence of the conspicuous differences and development of size and lay-out of a sanctuary, of the iconography of the major divinity, – in regard to the sanctuary of the mother city.
- The modest evidence for public and civic centres such as an agora. There are primarily the examples of Megara Hyblaia and Metapontion, but there are also the interesting, though indirect, indications for such public areas at Naxos, Syracuse, Akrai, Selinus and Himera.
- Although the evidence from the Greek West may in some respects appear rather limited, it is of primary importance when discussing the problems of *polis*-formation. One of the most important aspects of these new sites is the degree of planning or other *centralised activity* that they display.

The model of settlement sometimes changed from one of sporadic centrifugal growth to one of regular lay-out, clearly planned by some kind of central authority that was concerned with the community as a whole. Present evidence suggests that that moment arrived in the eighth century B.C. at the latest, after which the process was strongly re-enforced by the colonising movement.²⁰²

Abbreviations

BTCGI = G. Nenci & G. Vallet (eds.), *Bibliografia topografica della colonizzazione greca in Italia e nelle Isole Tirreniche I*- (Pisa-Roma 1977-).

Fortification du monde grec = P. Leriche & H. Tréziny (eds.), *La fortification dans l'histoire du monde grec* (Actes du colloque international. La fortification et sa place

- dans l'histoire politique, culturelle et sociale du monde grec. Valbonne, Décembre 1982) (Paris 1986).
- GCNP = J.-P. Descœudres (ed.), *Greek Colonists and Native Populations*. (Proceedings of the First Australian Congress of Classical Archaeology held in honour of Emeritus Professor A.D. Trendall. Sydney 1985) (Canberra-Oxford 1990).
- Gela. *Ritrovamenti vari* = P. Orlandini & D. Adamesteanu, "Gela. Ritrovamenti vari," *NSc* (1956) 203-401.
- Gela. *Nuovi scavi* = P. Orlandini & D. Adamesteanu, "Gela. Nuovi scavi," *NSc* (1960) 67-246.
- Gela. *L'acropoli* = P. Orlandini & D. Adamesteanu, "Gela. L'acropoli di Gela," *NSc* (1962) 340-408.
- Himera I = A. Adriani et al., *Himera I. Campagne di scavo 1963 1965* (Roma 1970).
- Himera II = N. Allegro et al., *Himera II. Campagne di scavo 1966-1973* (Roma 1976).
- Insedimenti = *Insedimenti coloniali greci in Sicilia nell' VIII e VII secolo a. C.* (Atti della 2a riunione scientifica dell' Università di Catania). *CronCatania* 17 (1978 [1980]).
- Lexicon of Greek and Roman Cities* = A.M. Hakkert (ed.), *Lexicon of the Greek and Roman Cities and Place Names in Antiquity* (Amsterdam 1994-)
- Magna Grecia* = G. Pugliese Carratelli (ed.), *Magna Grecia. Il Mediterraneo, le metropoli e la fondazione delle colonie* (Milano 1985).
- Sicilia antica* = E. Gabba & G. Vallet (eds.), *La Sicilia antica I-II* (Napoli 1980).
- Tempio = Il tempio greco in Sicilia. Architettura e culti.* (Atti della la riunione scientifica dell' Università di Catania). *CronCatania* 16 (1977 [1985]).

Notes

- 1 I am greatly indebted to Mogens Herman Hansen and Thomas Heine Nielsen, and to the participants in the Seminar in Copenhagen for their comments on an early version of this paper. Above all I am grateful to Erik Østby for his constructive criticism, not least in regard to the problems of Geloan topography.
- 2 E. Greco, "La città," *AttiTaranto* 28 (1988) 307.
- 3 J. Boardman, *Excavations in Chios 1952-55*. *BSA Suppl.* 6 (1967); A. Cambitoglou et al. *Zagora 1* (Sydney 1971); A. Cambitoglou et al. *Zagora 2* (Athens 1988); H. Drerup, *Griechische Baukunst in geometrischer Zeit* (*Arch. Hom.* II.O) (Göttingen 1969); H. Drerup, "Bürgergemeinschaft und Stadtentwicklung in Griechenland," in *Wohnungsbau im Altertum. Diskussionen zur Archäologischen Bauforschung* 3 (Berlin 1978) 87-101; *Acts of the Convegno internazionale - Grecia, Italia e Sicilia nell'VIII e VII secolo a. C.* (Athens 15-20 October 1979) in *ASatene* 59-61 (1981-1983); A. Mazarakis-Ainian, "Geometric Eretria," *AntK* 20 (1987) 3-24.
- 4 See e.g. D. Asheri, "Osservazioni sulle origini dell'urbanistica ippodamea," *RivStorIt* 87 (1975) 6-7.
- 5 Vroulia: Drerup (*supra* n. 1 [1969]) 51-52. Torben Melander has pointed out difficulties in the normal interpretation of the early town-plan, probably rather governed by the morphology of the site and the lay-out of the defensive wall: "Vroulia: Town Plan and

Gate," in S. Dietz & I. Papachristodoulou (eds.), *Archaeology in the Dodecanese* (Copenhagen 1988) 83-87.

6 G. Gullini, "Tre note di urbanistica antica," *AttiCSDir* 5 (1973-1974) 183-189. Also Aleksandra Coucouzeli has argued recently at a seminar in Copenhagen that the geometric settlement at Zagora shows a unique and complex grid-plan, well up to colonial standards and predating these, *ActaHyp* 7 (1996) forthcoming.

7 G.M.A. Hanfmann, "Sardis, Old Smyrna, Pyrgoi. New light on an old problem," *Anatolia* 22 (1981-1983 [1989]) 243-244.

8 Cf. also E. Greco & M. Torelli, *Storia dell'urbanistica. Il mondo greco* (1983) 127; F. Kolb, *Die Stadt im Altertum* (München 1984) 98-99.

9 As in R. Martin, *L'urbanisme dans la Grèce ancienne* ² (Paris 1974). However for the earliest urban history in the western Greek world see now Greco & Torelli (*supra* n. 8) 149-170; A. Giuliano, "Urbanistica delle città greche," *Xenia* 7 (1984) 13-22.

10 The bibliography is vast; see *BTCGI* for the single sites A. Di Vita, "L'Urbanistica più antica delle colonie di Magna Grecia e di Sicilia: problemi e riflessioni," *ASAtene* 59 (1981) 63-77; A. Di Vita, "Town-planning in the Greek Colonies of Sicily from the Time of their Foundations to the Punic Wars," in *GCNP* 343-363; *Sicilia Antica*, I,2, 240-260; G. Vallet, "L'apporto dell'urbanistica. Le fait urbain en Grèce et en Sicile à l'époque archaïque," *Kokalos* 30-31 (1984-1985) 133-155; A. Wasowicz, "École d'urbanisme de la Sicile et de la Grande Grèce à l'époque archaïque," *RivTopAnt* 2 (1992) 9-22.

11 O. Belvedere, "Himera, Naxos e Camarina, tre casi di urbanistica coloniale," *Xenia* 13 (1987) 5-20; J. Szidat, "Hippodamos von Milet. Seine Rolle in Theorie und Praxis der griechischen Stadtplanung," *BJb* 180 (1980) 31-44; H.-J. Gehrke, "Bemerkungen zu Hippodamos von Milet," in W. Schuller et al. (ed.), *Demokratie und Architektur. Wohnen in der Klassischen Polis* II (München 1989) 58-63.

12 G. Vallet, "La cité et son territoire dans les colonies grecques d'occident," *AttiTaran-to* 7 (1968) 69-80; R. Martin, "Rapports entre les structures urbaines et les modes de division et d'exploitation du territoire," in M. I. Finley (ed.), *Problèmes de la terre en Grèce ancienne* (Paris-La Haye 1973) 97-112.; Asheri (*supra* n. 4) 10-11; G. P. R. Métraux, *Land-use and City-planning in the Archaic Period* (New York-London 1978) 1-3, 81. See also G. De Sensi Sestito, *La Calabria in età arcaica e classica* (Roma 1984) 10-11, 124-125, with an extensive bibliography covering this question.

13 D. Ridgway, *The First Western Greeks* (Cambridge 1992) 91-96, fig. 25.

14 Surveys in F. Cordano, "La fondazione delle colonie greche," in: *Magna Grecia* (1985) 265-336; E. Greco, "Topografia archeologica della Magna Grecia," in *Magna Grecia* (1985) 337-367; P. G. Guzzo, *Le città scomparse della Magna Grecia* (Roma 1982).

15 C. Bencivenga Trillmich, "Resti di casa greca di età arcaica sull'acropoli di Elea," *MEFRA* 95 (1983) 417-448; *idem*, "Elea: Problems of the Relationship between City and Territory, and of Urban Organization in the Archaic Period," in *GCNP*, 365-371; for the 6th century B.C. wall-circuit see F. Krinzing, "Die Stadtmauern von Velia," in *Fortification du monde grec*, 121-124.

16 B. Hänsel, "Policoro. Scavi eseguiti nell'area dell'acropoli di Eraclea negli anni 1965-67," *NSc* (1973) 438 dates the wall to the 7th century; D. Adamesteanu, "Siris – il problema topografico," *AttiTaran-to* 20 (1984) 82-83. The evidence suggests that the Policoro plateau, or at least the eastern, akropolis-like, part was fortified already in the 8th century B.C., possibly with the areas of habitation dispersed in several nuclei, though these have not as yet been identified, and Adamesteanu dates the wall as contemporaneous

with the foundation; see also *idem*, "Quadro storico delle fortificazioni greche della Sicilia e della Magna Grecia," in *Fortification du monde grec*, 106-107.

17 M. Papagano, "Ricerche sulla cinta muraria di Cuma," *MEFRA* 105 (1993) 860-863.

18 H. Tréziny, *Kaulonia I. Sondages sur la fortification nord (1982-1985). Cahiers du Centre Jean Bérard* (Napoli 1989). The earliest phase of the circuit wall of Kaulonia may go back to the second half of the 6th century B.C., with the possible use of clay bricks for the upper part of the walls though there is no direct evidence.

19 F.G. Lo Porto, "Topografia antica di Taranto," *AttiTaranto* 10 (1971) 358-359; E. Greco, "Dal territorio alla città: lo sviluppo di Taranto," *AnnAStorAnt* 3 (1981) 153-154.

20 D. Mertens, "Metapont. Ein neuer Plan des Stadtzentrums," *AA* (1985) 664-668; J. Coleman Carter, "Sanctuaries in the chora of Metaponto," in S.E. Alcock & R. Osborne (eds.), *Placing the Gods. Sanctuaries and Sacred Space in Ancient Greece* (Oxford 1994) 165-168.

21 M. Barra Bagnasco, "Problemi di urbanistica locrese," *AttiTaranto* 16 (1977) 375-408; *idem*, *Locri Epizefiri. Organizzazione dello spazio urbano e del territorio nel quadro della cultura della Grecia di Occidente* (Chiaravalla 1984), 21-31. Barra Bagnasco points out that a circuit wall should not be expected in the foundation phase of the city, the earlier part of the 7th century B.C., which in fact can be seen as a normal phenomenon in the western Greek colonies. The earliest phase of the circuit wall at Lokroi is dated to the 6th century B.C.

22 Lo Porto (*supra* n. 19) 361-2, pl. 59; F. Porsia & M. Scionti, *Taranto (Le città nella storia d'Italia)* (Roma-Bari 1989) 7-8 fig. 10; Greco (*supra* n. 19) 139-57.

23 Greco (*supra* n. 19) 150.

24 R. Spadea, "Crotone. La topografia," *AttiTaranto* 23 (1983) 119-166, esp. 124-138; *idem*, "replica," *loc. cit.* 412.

25 Spadea (*supra* n. 24) 132.

26 Spadea (*supra* n. 24) 134. This is a suggestion put forward not only here but at other sites, also in Sicily, and it is obviously a possibility to be taken into consideration. The problem is that we have so little structural evidence. The best known example of mud brick walls are those of Old Smyrna: R.V. Nicholls, "Old Smyrna: The Iron Age Fortifications," *BSA* 53-54 (1958-1959) esp. 100-105, 117-119 for discussion of the structural details. However, as demonstrated here also mud brick walls presupposes at least some stone substructures and probably some use of outer stone-facing, at least for the lower part of the wall.

27 For the mainly 6th century date of the circuit walls in Sicily see C. Parisi Presicce, "La funzione delle aree sacre nell'organizzazione urbanistica primitiva delle colonie greche alla luce della scoperta di un nuovo santuario periferico di Selinunte," *ArchCl* 36 (1984) 101-103. The impressive defensive walls of S. Mauro at Leontinoi, tentatively dated to the 8th-7th century would be an important testimony of early urbanization, but the evidence for such an early date is unhappily rather uncertain: see G. Rizza, "Leontini nell'VIII e nel VII secolo a.C.," in *Insedimenti*, 26-37. In fact, H. Tréziny suggests that the first phase of the fortification belong in the second half of the 6th century, with a fourth century date for the second phase: "Les techniques grecques de fortification et leur diffusion à la périphérie du monde grec d'Occident," in *Fortification du monde grec*, 186-187; *idem* "L'étude archéologique des fortifications grecques," *Dossiers d'Archeologie* 172 (1992) 62. The circuit wall at Kasmenai, often dated as contemporaneous with the foundation of 643 B.C., probably dates from the 6th century: D. Moreschini, "Monte Casale," *BTCGI* 10 (1992) 290. The late 6th century archaic circuit walls of Megara Hyblaia – G.

Vallet, F. Villard & P. Auberson, *Megara Hyblaia 3. Guida agli scavi* (Roma 1983) 97-101 – have now been shown to have had a 7th century phase - H. Tréziny, *loc. cit.* 188.

28 W. Leschhorn, "Gründer der Stadt". *Studien zu einem politisch-religiösen Phänomen der Griechischen Geschichte* (Stuttgart 1984) 43-48 gives a useful survey of the traditions.

29 Steph. Byz., 417.21 καὶ Σικελίας πόλις Λίνδος, probably with Thucydides as source, giving a proper name rather than an *ethnikon*.

30 I am grateful to Mogens Herman Hansen for these readings of the difficult passage in Thucydides. For a more detailed discussion see the excursus *infra* pp. 332-334.

31 P. Orlandini, "Gela – Topografia dei Santuari e documentazione archeologica dei culti," *RIA* 15 (1968) 20-30, with the epigraphic and votive evidence.

32 The existence of an Athena cult at Gela and the designation *Lindioi* in Thucydides does not *per se* prove that the cult was that of Athana Lindia, as pointed out already by J. Bérard, *La Colonisation Grecque de l'Italie Méridionale et de la Sicilie dans l'Antiquité* (Paris 1957) 237 n.1; see also U. Bianchi, "La dea di Lindos," *Epigraphica* 19 (1957) 15-16. G. Zuntz has shown (*Persephone. Three Essays on Religion and Thought in Magna Graecia* [Oxford 1971] 117, 399) that the terracotta statuettes of an enthroned goddess known from Gela and Akragas, for which the terminology Athana Lindia has been used since the study by C. Blinkenberg (*L'Image d'Athana Lindia* [Copenhagen 1917]), are not known from Rhodes and more likely represent Demeter. See also *CAH* (1988), plates to vol. IV, 190 *ad* no. 254 (R.J.A. Wilson), and E. Lippolis, "Il santuario di Athana a Lindo," *ASAtene* 66-67 (1988-1989) 112 "la tipologia votiva delle statue di divinità in trono è talmente generica da rendere inattendibile un rapporto con il culto dell'Athana di Lindo".

Apart from the deity involved, the Lindian and Geloan cult places have very little in common, not only topographically and architecturally, cf. *infra*, but also as far as the iconography of the deity is concerned; and it not possible to use the evidence of the Geloan statuettes' iconography to date the re-organisation of the sanctuary at Lindos by Kleoboulos as suggested by P. Orlandini, (*supra* n. 31) 28.

33 C. Blinkenberg, *Lindos I. Fouilles de l'acropole. Les petits objets* (Copenhagen 1931) 12-13, 15; see also Lippolis, (*supra* n. 32) 103-111.

34 S.C. Humphreys rejects the evidence of the *anathemata* listed in the Lindian Chronicle as untrustworthy ("Colonia e madre patria nella Grecia antica," *RivStItal* 78 (1966) 914-915). However, it is probably possible to separate the obvious forgeries from the more trustworthy evidence, see for instance L. H. Jeffery, *Archaic Greece. The City-States c. 700-500 B.C* (London 1976) 197-198; U. Brackertz, *Zum Problem der Schutzgottheiten griechischer Städte* (Berlin 1976) 106-108.

35 E. Dyggve, *Lindos III.1. Le Sanctuaire d'Athana Lindia et l'Architecture Lindienne*. (Copenhagen 1960) 114, 126. H. Berve, *Die Tyrannis bei den Griechen* (München 1967) 119, 588 follows the excavators of Lindos for the date of Kleoboulos and the re-organisation of the sanctuary (mid-6th century); L.H. Jeffery (*supra* n. 34) 198, places the tyrant in the first half of the century, on the basis of numismatic evidence (?).

36 L. Bernabò Brea, "L'Athanaion di Gela e le sue terracotte architettoniche," *ASAtene* 27-29 (1949-51) 11, fig. 2.

37 F. Villard & G. Vallet, "Megara Hyblaea II," *MEFR* 64 (1952) 11, fig. 4, 22, fig. 14; P. Pelagatti, "Siracusa. Elementi dell'abitato di Ortigia nell'VIII e nel VII sec. a.C.," in *Insediamenti*, 127-128, fig. 7c, with further refs. A similar structural technique is found in the Cyclades, for instance at Emporion in "House A", from the same period, late 8th/early 7th century – (J. Boardman [*supra* n. 2] 42, pl. 9c), and also in 8th/7th century religious architecture in Greece, for instance the early Apollo temple at Eretria dated to about 670-

650 (P. Auberson, *Temple d'Apollon Daphnéphors (Eretria I)* (Bern 1968) 13-15, pl. II, figs. 3-4).

38 Bernabò Brea (*supra* n. 36) 11-12, fig. 2; I. Romeo, "Sacelli arcaici senza peristasi nella Sicilia greca," *Xenia* 17 (1989) 16.19, pl. 5.

39 See *infra*. This is possibly also the case at Akrai, where a change in the orientation of the preparatory cutting of the rock in the substructure of the temple of Aphrodite, from the 2nd half of the 6th century B.C., could perhaps reflect the orientation of a first, 7th century ?, shrine from the period of the foundation, see L. Bernabò Brea, *Il tempio di Afrodite di Akrai (Cahiers Centre Jean Bérard X)* (Napoli 1986) 15, fig. 18.

40 Bernabò Brea (*supra* n. 36) 9-10. C. Wikander dates the formation of the Geloan re-treatment sima to shortly after 600 B.C. (*Sicilian Architectural Terracottas. A Reappraisal (ActaInstRomRegSue* ser. 8, XV) (Stockholm 1986) 11).

41 Bernabò Brea (*supra* n. 36); Wikander (*supra* n. 40) 32-35.

42 (*Supra* n. 40) 34, n. 117.

43 Bernabò Brea (*supra* n. 36) 15. In the limited space available we cannot discuss the remains of a few flimsy walls *a secco* revealed inside temple "B" (medieval according to P. Orsi ("Gela, Scavi del 1900-1907," *MonAnt* 17 [1907] 38), "pre-sacellum A" according to Bernabò Brea, 11; nor the structure to the east of temple "B" (an altar according to P. Orsi, though not oriented in accordance with either of these), the remains of another shrine contemporary to phase "A" according to Bernabò Brea 13, 17-19, and interpreted as a shrine postdating temple "B" according to P. Orlandini (*supra* n. 31) 61 n. 34.

44 *Gela. Ritrovamenti vari*, 205-214.

45 The only evidence seems to be the openings in the wall of shrine "A", mirroring the space necessary for cella walls of the later temple "B".

46 S. Stucchi, "Alla ricerca della cella del tempio di Segesta," *QuadIstStArch* 6-8 (1961) 13-20, for the Geloan example pp. 16-17. Although we now know that the temple of Segesta does not belong in this group this could still be a valid observation.

47 E. Østby, "The temple of Casa Marafioti at Locri and some related buildings," *ActaAArtHist* 8 (1978) 41.

48 Østby (*supra* n. 47) 43-44.

49 Orsi (*supra* n. 43) 40. D. Adamesteanu suggests a date as early as the mid 6th century in the publication of the votive deposit from the south side of the *temenos* (*Gela. Ritrovamenti vari*, 214).

50 Bernabò Brea (*supra* n. 36) 91. Temple "C", not discussed here, is attributed to the Deinomids by D. Mertens, *Der Tempel von Segesta* (Mainz a. R. 1984) 149, and T. Van Compernelle, "Architecture et tyrannie," *AntCl* 58 (1989) 68-69.

51 B. Pace, *Arte e civiltà della Sicilia antica*, III (Milano 1946) 586 suggests that the temple "C" was dedicated to Demeter and Persephone, as there "ought to be" such a temple on the heights at Gela, but the evidence shows that "C" replaces "B", and therefore should be understood as an Athena temple.

52 The terminology – *sacelli*, *naïskoi*, *oikoi* and *thesauroi* is used rather indiscriminately. We use *naïskos*, when remains suggest cult in, or by, the building; *oikoi* is used only as a very general term, to suggest a building with some sort of service function within the *temenos*. The structures are only described in general terms as precise analyses are found in I. Romeo (*supra* n. 38).

53 G. Fiorentini, "Sacelli sull'Acropoli di Gela e a Monte Adranone nella valle del Belice," in *Tempio*, 105. Early 7th century B.C. is proposed by Fiorentini in G. Fiorentini & E. De Miro, "Gela proto-arcaica," *ASAtene* 59 (1983) 92 on the basis of Protocorinthian

and local geometric wares, but this is related to fragile evidence of an earlier structure, dated as contemporaneous with the foundation of the colony by E. De Miro & G. Fiorentini, "Gela – Scavi dell'acropoli 1973-1975," *Kokalos* 22-23 (1976-1977) 431. The tripartite division is not commonly found in shrines in a Greek context, but it has recently been suggested for an early Metroon on the agora at Athens by S. Miller, in M.H. Hansen and K. Raaflaub (eds.), *Studies in the Ancient Greek Polis*. Papers from the Copenhagen Polis Centre 2. *Historia Einzelschriften* 95 (Stuttgart 1995) 133-56.

54 Fiorentini (*supra* n. 53) 105-106 with refs. to Sicilian comparanda. E. De Miro, "Influenze egeo-cretese nei santuari ctoni dell'area geloo-agrigenina," in *Studi in Onore di Doro Levi*, II (*CronCatania* 13 [1974]) (Catania 1978) 202-207.

55 Fiorentini (*supra* n. 53) 106-110.

56 B. Bergquist, "The Archaic Temenos in Western Greece. A Survey and two Inquiries," in *Le Sanctuaire Grec. EntreHardt* 37 (1992) 138-139. However, the interpretation of building VIII as a *naïskos* is supported by the similar, though larger and earlier, temple ("edificio h") in Megara Hyblaia: G. Vallet, F. Villard & P. Auberson, *Megara Hyblaea*. 3. *Guida agli scavi. Introduzione alla storia di una città coloniale d'occidente* (Rome 1983) 69-70, fig. 50.

57 Fiorentini (*supra* n. 53) 106-107.

58 De Miro & Fiorentini (*supra* n. 53) 92.

59 Orlandini in *Gela. L'acropoli*; Orlandini (*supra* n. 31) 22-23. These finds are not easy to relate to the excavation plans of the area further eastwards given in G. Fiorentini and in De Miro & Fiorentini (*supra* n. 53), and discussed above.

60 D. Adamesteanu, "Nuove antefisse dipinte da Gela," *ArchCl* 10 (1958) 9-13.

61 B. Bergquist (*supra* n. 56) 138 suggests that Orlandini's buildings 2 and 3 should be combined into one long, stoa-like building, but this does not affect the argument put forward here.

62 For this see P. Orlandini, "Storia e topografia di Gela dal 405 al 282 a.C. alla luce delle nuove scoperte archeologiche," *Kokalos* 2 (1956) 158-176.

63 C. Parisi Presicce (*supra* n. 27) 78-81.

64 *Gela. Ritrovamenti vari*, 229; *Gela. Nuovi scavi*, 87; Orlandini (*supra* n. 31) 59; G. Canzanella, "Gela," *BTCGI* VIII (1990) 14, 17.

65 Orlandini & Adamesteanu, in *Gela. Nuovi scavi*, 89-91 (Largo Calvario), suggesting that there was a fortification here also in the archaic period. But a division of "polis" from "akropolis", as it is argued here, is not very convincing.

66 *Gela. L'acropoli*, 359, fig. 20, 379-380, fig. 54, 397-398, figs. 71-72, 405-406, figs. 88-89, pl. II with indication of the Timoleontic structures used as a reference guide to the find-locations of the archaic material.

67 *loc. cit.*, 370-372, figs. 40-45.

68 *loc. cit.*, 369-373, fig. 46.

69 *Gela. Ritrovamenti vari*, 223-229, figs. 5-7.

70 Canzanella (*supra* n. 64) 17.

71 P. Orlandini, "Le nuove antefisse sileniche di Gela e il loro contributo alla coroplastica siceliota," *ArchCl* 6 (1954) 251-266; *Gela. Ritrovamenti vari*, 228-236.

72 *loc. cit.*, 229, pianta n. 5; *Gela. Nuovi scavi*, 87, ad 3, 92, fig. 2.

73 *Gela. Ritrovamenti vari*, 229.

74 *Gela. Nuovi scavi*, 103-107.

75 *loc. cit.*, 97-103.

76 *Gela. Ritrovamenti vari*, 236, plan I.n.?

- 77 *Gela. Nuovi scavi*, 112.
- 78 *Gela. Ritrovamenti vari*, 264-272; *Gela. Nuovi scavi*, 116.
- 79 Orlandini (*supra* n. 31) 31-33, 44-46.
- 80 *Gela. Ritrovamenti vari*, 272, fig. 11a.b.
- 81 *Gela. Nuovi scavi*, 79-82, figs. 3-5; 86, fig. 10.
- 82 B.A. Barletta, "An Ionic Porch at Gela," *RM* 92 (1985) 9-17.
- 83 P. Orlandini, "Nuovi acroteri fittili a forma di cavallo e cavaliere dall'acropoli di Gela," in *Scritti in onore di Guido Libertini* (Firenze 1958) fig. 79; *Gela. L'acropoli*, 400-403 figs. 47-48.
- 84 Orlandini (*supra* n. 83); *Gela. L'acropoli*, 400-403. For a comparison with the related acroterial group from Lokroi see P.E. Arias, "L'Arte locrese nelle sue principali manifestazioni artigianali," *AttiTaranto* 16 (1977) 502.
- 85 *Gela. Ritrovamenti vari*, 242-252; Orlandini (*supra* n. 31) 33-34.
- 86 *Gela. L'acropoli*, 384.
- 87 P. Orlandini, "La terza campagna di scavo sull'acropoli di Gela," *Kokalos* 7 (1961) 141-144, figs. 8-12.
- 88 Orlandini (*supra* n. 31) 31. The evidence of Akragas (J.A. De Waele, *Acragras Graeca. Die Historische Topographie des Griechischen Akragas auf Sizilien* [s-Gravenhagen 1971]) presents a whole range of possibilities which cannot be discussed here.
- 89 Add the sanctuary of Hera, and the extra-urban sanctuary of Demeter (?) at Madonna dell'Alemanna which contained a temple comparable in size to temple "B" and a number of smaller shrines, with architectural terracottas dated to the 7th century B.C.: *Gela. Ritrovamenti vari*, 382-392; Orlandini (*supra* n. 31) 42-43.
- 90 I owe this suggestion to Erik Østby. Also R. Martin has suggested that there are topographical similarities between the sanctuaries of the two sites: "L'espace dans les cités grecques," in *Architecture et société de l'archaïsme grec à la fin de la république romaine. Coll'ÉcolFrRome* 66 (Paris-Rome 1983) 15.
- 91 As outlined in O. Belvedere, "I santuari urbani sicelioti: preliminari per un'analisi strutturale," *ArchCl* 33 (1981) 124-125, 133.
- 92 J. Schubring, "Historisch-geographische Studien über Altsicilien. Gela. Phintias. Die südlichen Sikeler," *RhM* 28 (1873) 93; followed by E.A. Freeman, *The History of Sicily from the Earliest Times* (Oxford 1891) I, 404. K. Ziegler, "Gela," *RE* 7 (1912) 955 though dismissing Capo Soprano has no alternative suggestion for the location of *Lindioi*.
- 93 Orsi (*supra* n. 43) 14; C. Blinkenberg, *La Chronique du Temple Lindien* (Copenhagen 1912) 58-60.
- 94 *Gela. L'acropoli*, 209, fig. 5; E. De Miro & G. Fiorentini, "Gela nell'VIII e VII secolo a.C.," in *Insedimenti*, 91-94 with further refs; above all Fiorentini & De Miro (*supra* n. 53) 100-102, figs. 109, 111. Also the tradition of the cult picture by Daidalos, taken by Antiphemos during his warring against the Sicanians at Omphake (Paus. 8.46.2), can be taken as an echo of Cretan involvement in the foundation of Gela. Further evidence and fuller discussion in D. Asheri, "Note on the resettlement of Gela under Timoleon." *Historia* 19 1970, 622.
- 95 I would also like to call attention to the fact that Gelon, in 485, moved more than half the population of Gela to Syracuse (Hdt. 7.156.2). In about 415 B.C. Gela might not yet have recovered from the loss of over half the population and the habitation area of the late 5th century would be considerably smaller than it had been before 485. The existing town (νῦν ἡ πόλις ἐστὶ) would now be reduced to the old part of it, called *Lindioi*, which happened to be the first walled part of the city, though whether these are the walls currently

dated to the 6th century we cannot know. Again I am indebted to Mogens Herman Hansen for these references.

- 96 L. Pareti, "Per la storia e la topografia di Gela," *RM* 25 (1910) 13-14.
- 97 Bérard (*supra* n. 32) 232.
- 98 Bernabò Brea (*supra* n. 36); Orlandini (*supra* n. 31) 22, 23; *Gela. L'acropoli*, 406-408, esp. 407 n. 2. See also De Miro & Fiorentini, in *Insedimenti*, 90.
- 99 A.J. Graham, *Colony and Mother City in Ancient Greece* (Manchester-New York 1964) 19; Leschhorn (*supra* n. 28) 43.
- 100 H. Wentker, "Die Ktisis von Gela bei Thukydides," *RM* 63 (1956) 129-139.
- 101 J. De Wever & R. van Compernelle, "La valeur des termes de 'colonisation' chez Thucydide," *AntCl* 36 (1967) 477-81, 491; see also K.J. Dover, apud A.W. Gomme et al., *A Historical Commentary on Thucydides IV* (Oxford 1970) *ad loc.*
- 102 M. Casevitz, *Le vocabulaire de la colonisation en grec ancien* (Paris 1985) 157-158.
- 103 For the evidence in a larger context see D. Ridgway, "La 'precolonizzazione'," *AttiTaranto* 28 (1990), 111-125; *idem*, "The First Western Greeks and their Neighbours, 1935-1985," in *GCNP*, 61-72.
- 104 R. Martin, "Thasos colonie de Paros," *ASAtene* 61 (1983) 171-177.
- 105 Canzanella (*supra* n. 64) 16.
- 106 Protocorinthian material found mainly in tomb contexts but also represented in the *temenos* on the eastern plateau shows Greek presence at Gela in the second half of the 8th century B.C.: P. Orlandini, "La più antica ceramica greca de Gela e il problema di Lindioi," *CronCatania* 2 (1963) 50-56; Orlandini & Adamesteanu (*supra* n. 65) 225-226, fig. 16.4; *Gela. L'acropoli*, 406-407; De Miro & Fiorentini, in *Insedimenti*, 94-95; and above all G. Fiorentini & E. De Miro (*supra* n. 53).
- 107 The passage in Thucydides – καὶ πρῶτον ἐτεχνίσθη – concerns the first walled part of the city and does not necessarily imply an early dating of these walls, see *supra* n. 95.
- 108 The walls at Policoro were built in this technique, see *supra* n. 16, as were the impressive remains at Capro Soprano at Gela at a later period.
- 109 P. Pelagatti, "Siracusa. Elementi dell'abitato di Ortigia nell'VIII e nel VII sec. a.C." in *Insedimenti*, 119-133; *idem*, "Siracusa: Le ultime ricerche in Ortigia," *ASAtene* 60 (1984) 117-162.
- 110 *loc. cit.*, 127-128.
- 111 *loc. cit.*, 122.
- 112 Also Lars Karsson, "Europas äldste gata . . .," *Medusa. Svensk Tidsskrift för Antikken*, 13 (1992) 9-12 has presented evidence of the ancient urban measures based upon those of the medieval town.
- 113 Pelagatti, *Insedimenti*, 125.
- 114 Pelagatti (*supra* n. 109 [1982]) 137.
- 115 A. Di Vita, "La penetrazione siracusana nella Sicilia sud-orientale alla luce delle più recenti scoperte archeologiche," *Kokalos* 2 (1956) 177-205.
- 116 *loc. cit.*
- 117 G. Voza, "Akrai," in *Sicilia antica* I,3 497-507; G. Voza & M.T. Lanza, "Acre," *EAA* suppl. I (1994) 38-39; P. Danner, "Akrai. 1," in *Lexicon of Greek and Roman Cities*, 3, 426-430.
- 118 A. Di Vita, "Un contributo all'urbanistica greca di Sicilia: Casmene," *Atti 7 CongrIntArchClass* (1958) (Roma 1961) 2, 69-77; Moeschini (*supra* n. 27). For a settlement which was both a *polis* and a *phrourion* see Thucydides' mention of Sestos at 8.62.3.
- 119 F. Castagnoli, *Ippodamo di Mileto e l'urbanistica a pianta ortogonale* (Roma 1956).

120 Di Vita, (*supra* n. 118) 75-77. A. Wasowicz has in a recent article most usefully sketched out what she sees as the main stages of the development of the western Greek cities. She places the concept of *per strigas* in her third phase, that is the phase of the developed 6th century urban-plans (Wasowicz [*supra* n. 10] 18). But I follow Di Vita in stressing the early occurrence of this "Hippodamian" concept.

121 P. Pelagatti, "Bilancio degli scavi di Naxos per l'VIII e il VII sec. a.C.," *ASAtene* 59 (1981) 291-311.

122 Belvedere (*supra* n. 11).

123 For a possible 7th century date of the first phase peribolos wall, constructed as a wall of protection against the river and the sea, see P. Pelagatti, "Naxos. Relazione preliminare delle campagne di scavo 1961-1964," *BdA* 49 (1964) 154-155.

124 For the sources, F. Cordano in P. Pelagatti et al., "NAXOS. Gli scavi extraurbani oltre il Santa Venera (1973-75)," *NSc* (1984-85) 305-316. See also Pelagatti (*supra* n. 121) 302, for an exposition of the evidence.

125 Strabo, who has Himera founded by Zankleans from Mylai (6.2.6) may have got Mylai mixed up with the Mylitidai. See T.J. Dunbabin, *The Western Greeks* (Oxford, 1948) 56 n. 5; G. Vallet, *Rhégion et Zancle. Histoire, commerce et civilisation des cités chalcidiennes du détroit de Messine* (Paris 1958) 81-86; O. Belvedere, *BTCGI* 8 (1990) 248-249.

126 O. Belvedere, "Nuovi aspetti del problema di Himera arcaica," in *Insedimenti*, 75-89 – see here also for the problems inherent in the discrepancy between the traditional foundation date and the archaeological evidence which seems to suggest a foundation date of ca. 625 B.C.; N. Bonacasa, "Il problema archeologico di Himera," *ASAtene* 59 (1981) 319-340.

127 Bonacasa, in *Himera* II, 5-14 for a general description of the site.

128 N. Allegro, "Himera 1984-1988. Ricerche dell' Istituto de Archeologia nell' area della città," *Kokalos*, 34-35 (1988-1989) 651-653, 656; N. Allegro & S. Vassallo, "Himera – Nuove ricerche nella città bassa (1989-92)," *Kokalos* 38 (1992) 79-80, 137-43.

129 Belvedere, in *Himera* II, 257-258, 578-580; *idem*, in *Insedimenti*, 85-87.

130 Carra, in *Himera* II, 32, pl. V.2, rooms 47-48.

131 Bonacasa, in *Himera* I, 71; E. Joly, in *Himera* I, 258-259, 270.

132 Bonacasa, in *Himera* II, 10, 19; Allegro & Vassallo (*supra* n. 128) 141, however, situates the agora in the lower city.

133 R.N. Bonacasa Carra & E. Joly, in *Himera* II, 91, 103, 22-126.

134 A. Tullio, in *Himera* II, 376, 380, 391.

135 A. Tullio (*supra* n. 134) 379-380, 382-385, 398, 402. The investigation of *insula* XII was undertaken more recently. The preliminary reports mention few remains of archaic structures, but no plan is given and the evidence is more sporadic than that of the other *insulae*: N. Bonacasa, "Himera," *Kokalos* 16-17 (1980-1981) 855.

136 Allegro, in *Himera* II, 474, 501-502.

137 Allegro (*supra* n. 136) 477, 488-490. The divinities: possible evidence of Athena and Demeter.

138 Allegro & Vassallo (*supra* n. 128) 140, 145 n. 66. The inclusion of this plateau and the lower city in the habitation area of the archaic city, previously thought to comprise just the plateau of Himera, radically alters the basis for the calculation of the size of the population of the colony, see Allegro *op. cit.* 147-8.

139 Allegro (*supra* n. 128) 656-7.

140 R. Camerata-Scovazzo et al., "Himera. Scavo nella città bassa," *Kokalos* 30-31

(1984-1985) 629-639; *idem*, "Himera: Città bassa, scavi 1984-1987," *Kokalos* 34-35 (1988-1989) 697-709, pl. 121.

141 Allegro, (*supra* n. 128) 643. Though this phase of the lower city is dated here, and by Camarata-Scovazzo, et al. (*supra* n. 140) 631, to mid 6th century, an even earlier date is not excluded by Allegro *loc. cit.* 657-658.

142 Allegro & Vassallo (*supra* n. 128) 141-2.

143 Cf. D. Adamesteanu, "Le fortificazioni ad aggere nella Sicilia centro-meridionale," *RendLinc* Ser. 8 11 (1956) 358-372; R.M. Bonacasa Carra, "Le fortificazioni ad aggere della Sicilia," *Kokalos* 20 (1974) 92-118.

144 R.M. Bonacasa Carra (*supra* n. 143) 110-111 with ref.; N. Bonacasa, "Himera," *Kokalos* 26-27 (1980-1981) 855, pl. 117, fig. 2.

145 Di Vita (*supra* n. 115) 196-201; A. J. Graham, (*supra* n. 99) 92-94; A. Di Vita, "Tucidide VI 5 e l'epicrazia siracusana. Acre, Casmene, Camarina," *Kokalos* 33 (1987) 121-127.

146 The possibility of a Corinthian contingent is supported by the onomastica – Menekolos is a Corinthian name; also the oikists of secondary colonies were at times chosen from the original mother-city. There is also the evidence of Diopos, the coroplast's name on a tile from the site, probably a Corinthian. For full discussion see F. Cordano, "Camarina VII. Alcuni documenti iscritti importanti per la storia della città," *BdA* 69 (1984) 32-34; *idem*, "Contributo onomastico alla storia di Camarina arcaica," *Kokalos* 33 (1987) 121-127.

147 For the sources: F. Cordano, "Camarina," *BTCGI* IV (1985) 286-289; and discussion: J. Bérard, (*supra* n. 32) 133-138.

148 Political not physical destruction: B. Pace, *Camarina. Topografia. Storia. Archeologia* (Catania 1927) 36-37 – "I Siracusani forse annientarono la sua personalità politica di πόλις, senza ricorrere a una compiuta distruzione materiale." Parmenides: Moretti, "Olympionikai", *MemLinc* 8.8 (1957) no. 125. Well: M.C. Lentini, "Camarina VI. Un pozzo tardo-arcaico nel quartiere sud-orientale," *BdA* 68 (1983) 5-30, esp. 5-6. The archaic necropolis of Rifriscolaro shows continuity of use (P. Pelagatti, "Camarina," *StEtr* 46 (1978) 571-574), and the Corinthian contacts, as evidenced by the high percentage of Corinthian amphoras and Corinthian onomastica, confirms the continuity of settlement during the 6th century B.C., cf. P. Pelagatti, "Ricerche nel quartiere orientale di Naxos e nell'agora di Camarina," *Kokalos* 30-31 (1984-1985) 693-694.

149 Thuc. 6.5.3.; Herod. 7.154; Philistos (*FrGrHist* 556) frag. 15 = Schol.Pind. *Ol.* 5.19c. See Cordano (*supra* n. 147) 287 for the sources; Pace (*supra* n. 148) 38; Dunbabin (*supra* n. 125) 402-404, 407-409, for discussion of the sources.

150 M. Casevitz (*supra* n. 102) 168, 172-173.

151 Thuc. *loc. cit.*; Herod. 7.156; Pace (*supra* n. 148) 39; Dunbabin (*supra* n. 125) 416; N.H. Demand, *Urban Relocation in Archaic and Classical Greece. Flight and Consolidation* (Bristol 1990) 47-48.

152 Thuc. *loc. cit.*; Diod. 11.76.5; Timaios (*FrGrHist* 566) frag. 19a = Schol. Pind. *Ol.* 5.19a. Cordano (*supra* n. 147) 287 for the sources. Pace (*supra* n. 148) 41-42.

153 For the archaeological evidence of "de-population" 485-462, and the "re-population" after 462, see F. Giudice, "La seconda e terza fondazione di Camarina alla luce dei prodotti del commercio coloniale," *QuadMessina* 3 (1988) 49-57, esp. 56-57, with references.

154 U. Westermark & G.K. Jenkins, *The Coinage of Kamarina* (London 1980): period I c. 492-485 B.C., period II c. 461-440/435 B.C.

- 155** P. Pelagatti, "Le fasi edilizie dell'abitato greco," *BdA* 61 (1976) 122-125. For the early 6th century predecessor of *stenopos* 6 leading to the harbour: P. Pelagatti, "Ricerche nel quartiere orientale di Naxos e nell'agora di Camarina," *Kokalos* 30-31 (1984-1985) 693.
- 156** P. Pelagatti, "Camarina. Relazione preliminare della campagna di scavi 1961-62," *BdA* 46 (1962) 257-258; *idem*, "Camarina," *Kokalos* 26-27 (1980-1981) 715, pl. 102 "T"; G. Di Stefano, "Ricerche a Camarina. Tempio e temenos di Athene poliade," *Kokalos* 30-31 (1984-1985) 733-735.
- 157** P. Pelagatti, "Sul parco archeologico di Camarina. Le fasi edilizie dell'abitato," *BdA* 61 (1976) 124, "isolati B/C 29-30".
- 158** P. Pelagatti (*supra* n. 156 [1980-1981]) 717; M.C. Lentini, "Camarina VI. Un pozzo tardo-arcaico nel quartiere sud-orientale," *BdA* 68 (1983) 5-30.
- 159** P. Pelagatti (*supra* n. 155 [1976]) 124.
- 160** P. Pelagatti (*supra* n. 156 [1980-81]) 714-715.
- 161** P. Pelagatti (*supra* n. 156 [1980-81]) 713-714; *idem*, "Ricerche nel quartiere orientale di Naxos e nell'agora di Camarina," *Kokalos* 30-31 (1984-1985) 683-694, esp. 693.
- 162** P. Pelagatti, "Camarina," *BTCGI*; G. Di Stefano, "Camarina 1990. Nuove ricerche e recenti scoperte nella baia e nell'avamposto," *Atti V Rassegna di archeologia subacquea*, Giardini Naxos 19-21 ottobre 1990 (Messina 1992) 175-180.
- 163** See above all now A. Di Vita, G. Di Stefano & G. D'Andrea, *Camarina, Museo archeologico* (Palermo 1995).
- 164** G. Vallet, F. Villard & P. Auberson, *Mégara Hyblaia I. Le quartier de l'agora archaïque* (Rome-Paris 1976).
- 165** J. Svenbro, "À Megara Hyblaea: le corps géométrique," *AnnalesESC* 37 (1982) 953-964; G. Vallet, F. Villard & P. Auberson (*supra* n. 27) 145-146.
- 166** M. Gras, "Ricerche sul pianoro meridionale dell'abitato di Megara Hyblaea," *Kokalos* 30-31 (1984-1985) 801-804, calculates that the colony inside the archaic circuit wall covered an area of about 600,000 sq.m.
- 167** For a general description of the site: A. Di Vita "Selinunte fra il 650 ed il 409: un modello urbanistico coloniale," *ASAtene* 62 (1984) 7-10; for a survey of the recent urbanistic investigations, *idem*, "Contributo per una storia urbanistica di Selinunte," in *Miscellanea di studi classici in onore di Eugenio Manni* 3 (1980) 803-829.
- 168** Sources in Bérard (*supra* n. 32) 244-246.
- 169** See now V. Tusa, "Ricerche e scavi nelle necropoli selinuntine," *ASAtene* 60 (1982) 191-194, with a useful view of the contemporaneous Carthagian expansion in the western Mediterranean, supporting the mid 7th century date for the Greek expansion in western Sicily.
- 170** K.J. Dover (*supra* n. 101) 216-217; M. Casevitz (*supra* n. 102) 105, 109 n. 27.
- 171** R. Martin, "Histoire de Sélinonte d'après les fouilles récentes," *CRAI* (1977) 51, fig. 2.
- 172** M.H. Fourmont, "Sélinonte: fouille dans la region nord-ouest de la rue F," *SicArch* 46-47 (1981) 7-9; *idem*, "Sélinonte: 1980-1984," *Kokalos* 30-31 (1984-1985) 559. These recent investigations support a mid 7th century date for the earliest structural remains. Traces of a hearth indicate habitation.
- 173** A. Rallo, "Scavi e ricerche nella città antica di Selinunte. Relazione preliminare," *Kokalos* 22-23 (1976-1977) 720-733; *idem*, "Nuovi aspetti dell'urbanistica selinuntina," *ASAtene* 62 (1984) 81-91.
- 174** A. Rallo, "Selinunte: le ceramiche del VII sec. a. C. della necropoli meridionale di

Manuzza dopo gli scavi 1978," *ASAtene* 60 (1982) 203-218. The location of the earliest (?) necropolis between the two main areas of habitation (northwards on the Manuzza plain, southwards on the akropolis), and the public space limiting the necropolis on its west side, form an early, overall unity of the settlement.

175 G. Gullini, "Il tempio E1 e l'architettura protoarcaica di Selinunte," in *Insediamenti*, 52-61, 72-74. Sceptical of the postulated early chronology of temple "E1": M. Torelli, in *op.cit.*, 69-70 and R.J.A. Wilson, "Archaeology in Sicily, 1982-87," *AR for 1987-88*, 146. See I. Romeo (*supra* n. 38) 43, no. 68, n. 110, for the revised chronology – a 6th century date for temple "E1" and a late 7th century date for its predecessor; now acknowledged by G. Gullini, "Vent'anni di ricerche sulla collina orientale di Selinunte," in *Studi sulla Sicilia occidentale in onore di V. Tusa* (Padova 1993) 73-84.

176 Romeo (*supra* n. 38) 40 no. 64.

177 E. Østby, "Chronological Problems of Archaic Selinus," *ActaHyp* 6 (1995) 87, fig. 2; also Romeo, (*supra* n. 38) 39, no. 62 "Megaron a sud del tempio C".

178 Romeo (*supra* n. 38) 40, no. 63 "Tempietto con acroteri a spirale" from the end of the 7th century B.C.

179 Di Vita (*supra* n. 167 [1984]) 11; Parisi Presece (*supra* n. 27) 114-117.

180 Discussion in V. Tusa, "Ricerche e scavi nelle necropoli selinuntine," *ASAtene* 60 (1982) 194-196. A related theory is that of Di Vita who suggests an original early settlement on the southern part of the akropolis (*supra* n. 167 [1980]) 817, 823, 827.

181 Martin, *CRAI* 1977, 51, 54-55; J. de La Genière & D. Theodorescu, "Ricerche topografiche nell'area di Selinunte," *RendLinc* 34 (1979) 385-395; J. de La Genière, "Nuove ricerche sulla topografia di Selinunte," *RendLinc* 36 (1981) 211-217; *idem*, "Selinonte (1975/1981)," *AnnPisa* 12 (1982) 469-479; J. de La Genière & J. Rougetet, "Recherches sur la topographie de Selinonte. Campagne 1985," *RendLinc* 40 (1985) 289-297; D. Mertens, "Die Mauern von Selinunt," *RM* 96 (1989) 104, fig. 4.

182 A. Peschlow-Bindokat, *Die Steinbrücke von Selinunt. Die Cave di Cusa und die Cave di Barone* (Mainz a. R. 1990) 12. Peschlow-Bindokat suggests that the Cave di Cusa were in use already in the second quarter of the 6th century as the stones from here were used in the construction of the Temple C. The temple, however, may have to be downdated to the second half of the century as shown by E. Østby (*supra* n. 177). There may be other evidence pointing to an early date, and the stone quarries fit into the overall early 6th century urban situation of Selinus. Cf. here also Di Vita, (*supra* n. 167 [1980]) 812-813: the overall urban development of Selinus in the period 580-570 may encompass partly the *temenos* of this period with its predecessor of temple C, and the strengthening of the road system of the akropolis (investigated by J. de La Genière, etc). An early use of Cave di Cusa fits into this period very well).

183 The remains of the road system found in the Modione valley go back to the late 7th or early 6th century B.C. – de La Genière, (*supra* n. 181 [1982]) 476.

184 D. Mertens, "Le fortificazioni di Selinunte. Rapporto preliminare (fino al 1988)," *Kokalos* 34-35 (1988-1989) 589-590, mentions traces of a road system and terracing of the eastern slopes of the Manuzza plateau. Himera presents another example of an urban coherence disregarding geomorphological restrictions.

185 Rallo (*supra* n. 173 [1976-1977]) 725; *idem* (*supra* n. 173 [1984]) 90-91.

186 Rallo (*supra* n. 173 [1976-1977]) 731-732; *idem* (*supra* n. 173 [1984]) 89, 91.

187 Rallo (*supra* n. 173 [1976-1977]) 731, with reference to the only known Corinthian inscription from Selinus: M.T. Manni Piraino, *Iscrizioni greche lapidarie del museo di Palermo* (Palermo 1973) no. 74 (late 7th cent. B.C.), with discussion of Corinthian influence,

but taken by Rallo to suggest rather Corinthian presence. Cf. in this connection the Corinthian aspect of the Buffa necropolis, in contrast to the Manuzza necropolis with material primarily of Megara Hyblaia character: V. Tusa, "Ricerche e scavi nelle necropoli selinuntine," *ASAtene* 60 (1982) 189-202; Rallo (*supra* n. 174).

188 Rallo (*supra* n. 173 [1984]) 91. See also Di Vita (*supra* n. 164 [1980]) 823-824; de La Genière & Rougetet (*supra* n. 181) 295-296, fig. 1. In fact also suggested by the plan by G. Schmiedt based upon aerial photography: Di Vita, *loc. cit.* fig. 3. It is interesting that already Julius Schubring in his general plan of the site from 1865 ("Die Topographie der Stadt Selinus," *NachKöniglGesellWissGöttingen* 15 [1865] 408-409) suggested an agora near this location.

189 *Supra* n. 181.

190 Di Vita (*supra* n. 167 [1980]) 810-818.

191 Gullini (*supra* n. 175).

192 Malophoros Megaron: Romeo, (*supra* n. 38) 40-42, no. 65; "Temple M": C. Maseria, "Ipotesi sul 'Tempio M' di Selinunte," *AnnPerugia* 16 (1978-1979) 61-88; "Edificio Triolo Nord": Romeo, *loc. cit.* 43, no. 67.

193 A. Di Vita, "Le fortificazioni di Selinunte classica," *ASAtene* 62 (1984) 70-79. V. Tusa ("Selinunte: la cinta muraria dell'acropoli," in *Fortification du monde grec*, 113) suggests that the *temenos* of the akropolis, apart from its role as a sanctuary, functioned as a fortified stronghold (in the terminology of E. Gàbrici – ἀκρόπολις καὶ πύργος), possibly from as early as the 7th century B.C. However, the interpretation is rejected by Di Vita; the walls of the *temenos* are peribolos walls, not fortification walls. For the northern akropolis wall, the "Sperrmauer": D. Mertens (*supra* n. 181) 151.

194 The Modione circuit wall is, so far, known only from early surveys and the map by C. and S. Cavallari, *apud* J. Schrubring, "Die neuen Entdeckungen von Selinunt," *Arch-Zeit* 30 (1873) 97-103, pl. 71 [reproduced by Di Vita, (*supra* n. 193) fig. 1; Parisi Presicce, (*supra* n. 27, fig. 24) no. 30 "Quaimauer" though more likely part of a circuit wall delimiting the city on its western side, see Di Vita, *loc. cit.* 72-74.

195 D. Mertens, (*supra* n. 181) 132-133, 138-139; the remains of the circuit on the Manuzza plain are dated after the middle of the 5th century, *loc. cit.* 141.

196 See for instance A.M. Snodgrass, *Archaic Greece. The Age of Experiment* (London 1980) 32-33.

197 A.M. Snodgrass, "Archaeology and the study of the Greek city," in J. Rich & A. Wallace-Hadrill (eds.), *City and Country in the Ancient World* (London 1991) 7-10. The evidence is early and concerns mainly the nucleated settlements in the Cyclades. However, the evidence from Crete could be of some importance: see K. Nowicki, "Fortifications in Dark Age Krete," in Fossey, J.M. (ed.), *Fortificationes Antiquae* (Amsterdam 1993) 53-75. See also the conclusions by P. Ducrey, "La muraille est-elle un élément constitutif d'une cité?," in M.H. Hansen (ed.), *Sources for The Ancient Greek City-State*. Acts of the Copenhagen Polis Centre 2. Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, Historisk-filosofiske meddelelser (Copenhagen 1995) 245-56.

198 As suggested by Parisi Presicce (*supra* n. 27) 118.

199 Asheri (*supra* n. 4) 11.

200 G.P.R. Métraux, *Land-use and City-planning in the Archaic Period* (New York-London 1978) 1-3, *passim*; I. Malkin, *Religion and Colonization in Ancient Greece* (Leiden 1987) 138-141, mainly concerned with the establishment of *temene*.

201 Snodgrass (*supra* n. 196, 197).

202 A. Snodgrass, "The Rise of the *Polis*. The Archaeological Evidence," in M.H. Han-

sen (ed.), *The Ancient Greek City-State*. Acts of the Copenhagen Polis Centre 1 . Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, Historisk-filosofiske Meddelelser 67 (Copenhagen 1993) 30-31.

List of Illustrations

The figures were drawn by Thora Fisker, to whom I render my sincere thanks. The sources used in the preparation of the illustrations should emerge from the text with the references to the single sites, however the main sources are given here. The plans were prepared with special regard to the early urban phases.

Fig. 1. Kroton (After R. Spadea, *AttiTaranto* 23 (1983) pl. 1).

Fig. 2. Gela (After P. Orlandini, *RIA* 15 (1968) fig. 1).

Fig. 3. Gela. Schematic reconstruction of the Molino a Vento and the Molino di Pietro sanctuaries.

Fig. 4. Syracuse (After P. Pelagatti, *ASAtene* 69 (1982) pl. 1).

Fig. 5. Akrai (After *Sicilia Antica* 1,3 fig. 57, pl. 2).

Fig. 6. Kasmenai (After *Sicilia Antica* 1,3 pl. 4).

Fig. 7. Naxos (After P. Pelagatti, *ASAtene* 59 (1981) fig. 3).

Fig. 8. Himera (After N. Allegro & A. Vassallo, *Kokalos* 38 (1992) pl. 4).

Fig. 9. Megara Hyblaia (After M. Gras, *Kokalos* 30-31 (1984-85) pl. 164).

Fig. 10. Selinus (After J. de La Genière, *RendLinc* 40 (1985) fig. 1; A. Rallo, *ASAtene* 62 (1984) pl. 1).



Figure 1.

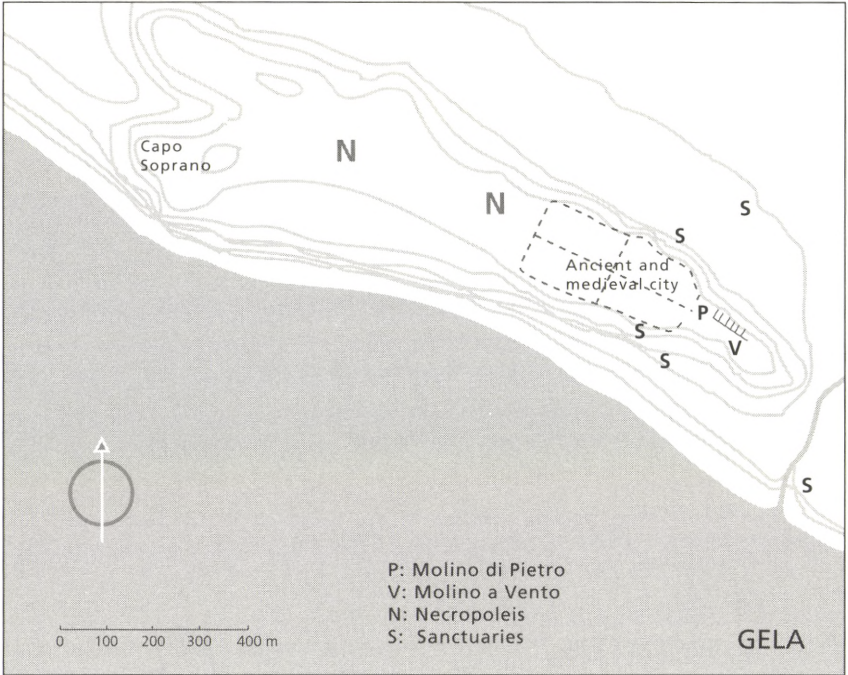
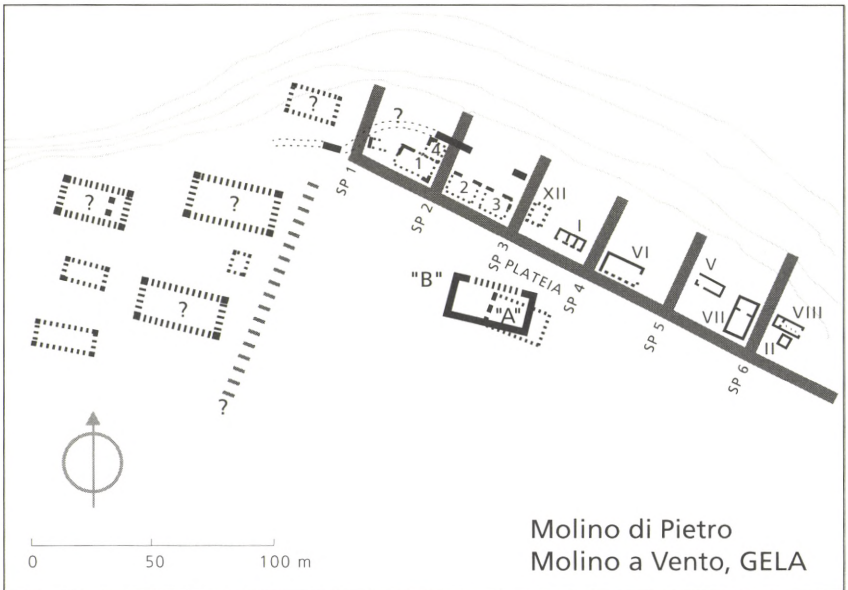


Figure 2.

Figure 3.



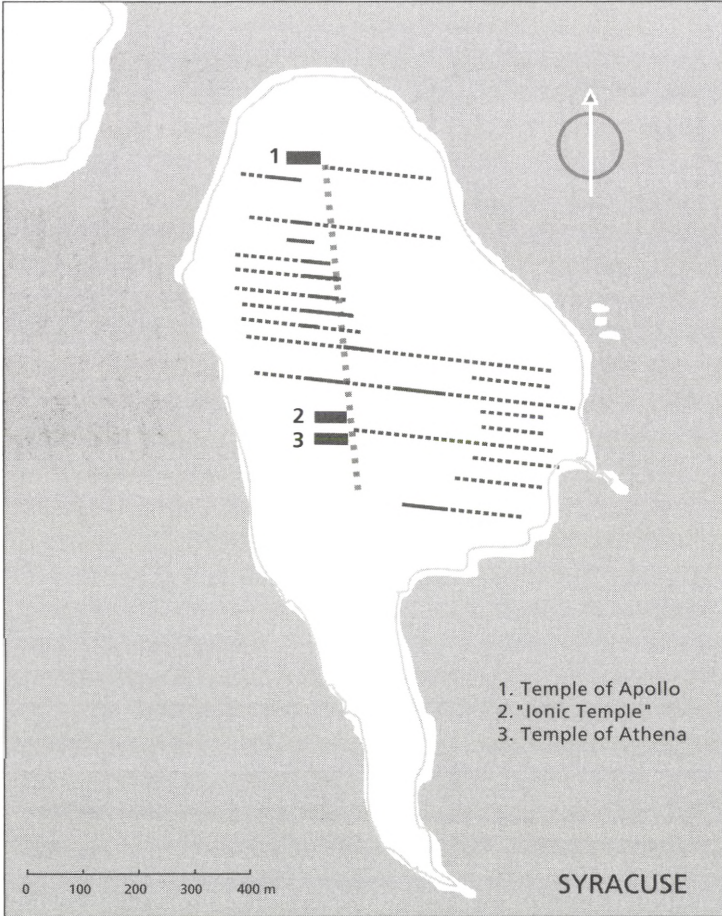
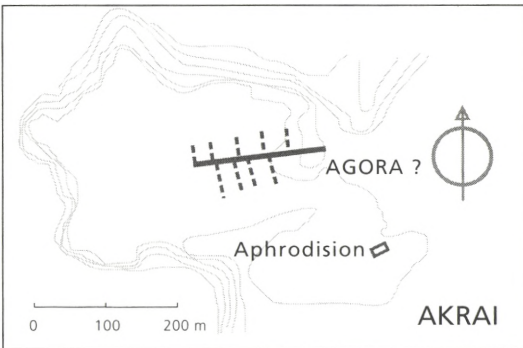


Figure 4.

Figure 5.



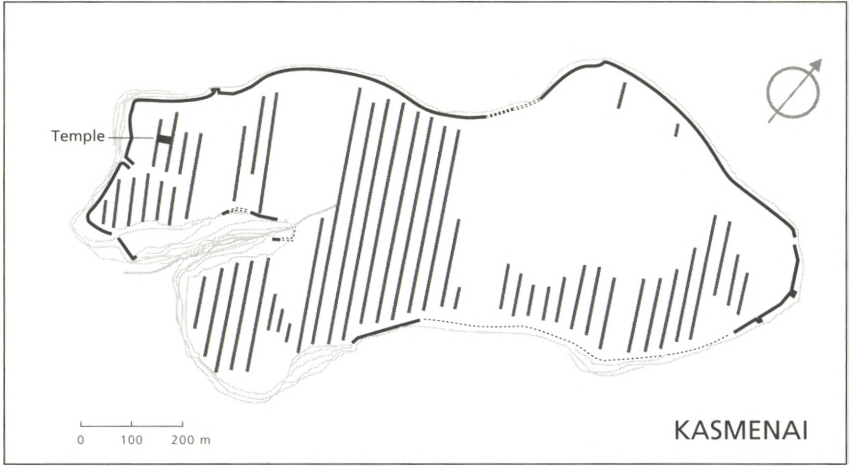
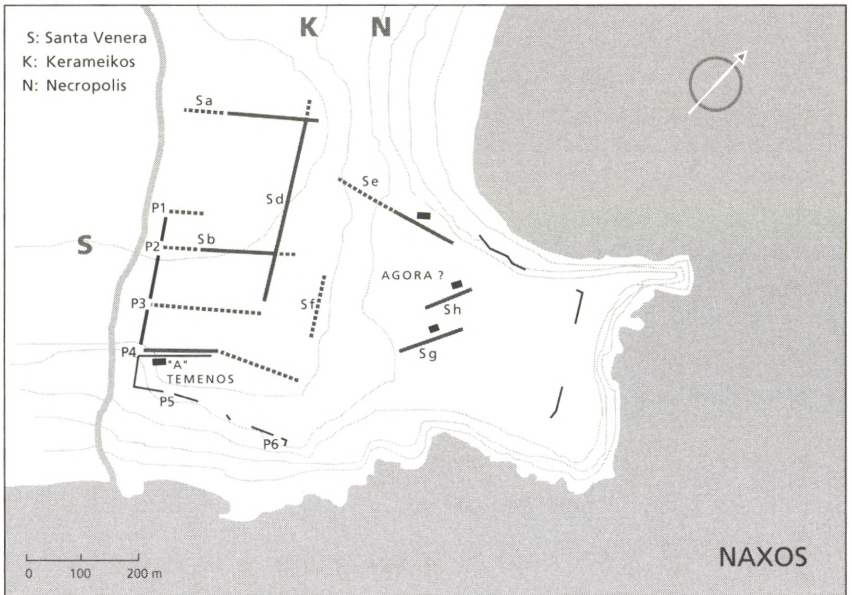


Figure 6.

Figure 7.



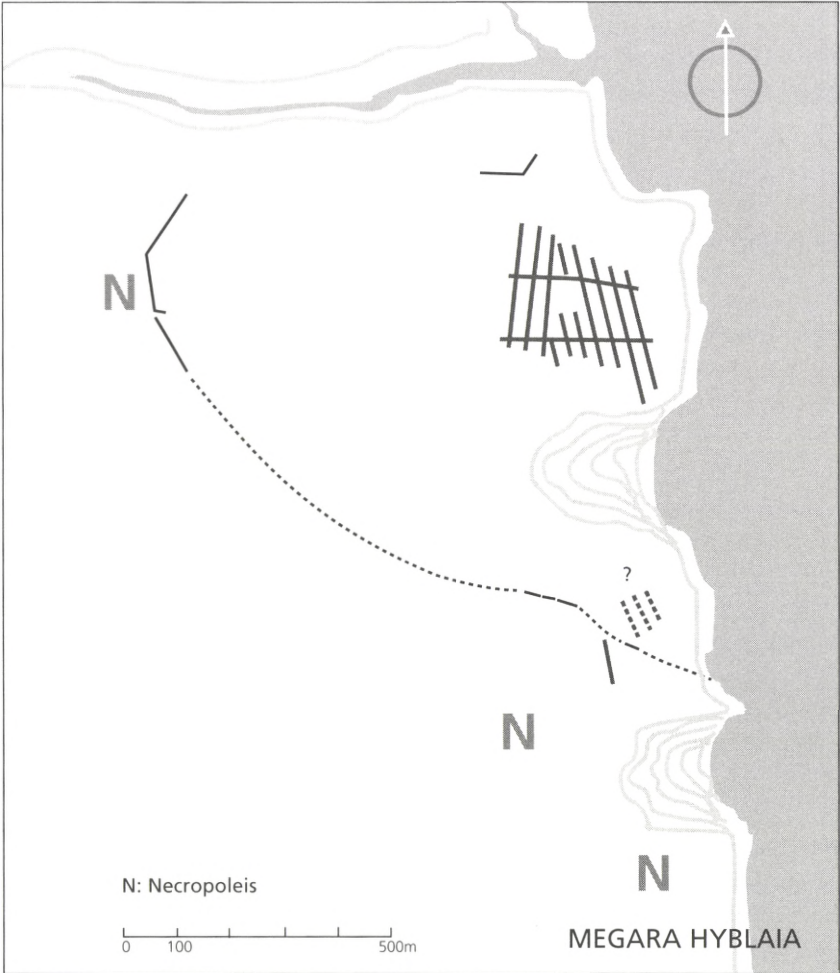


Figure 8.

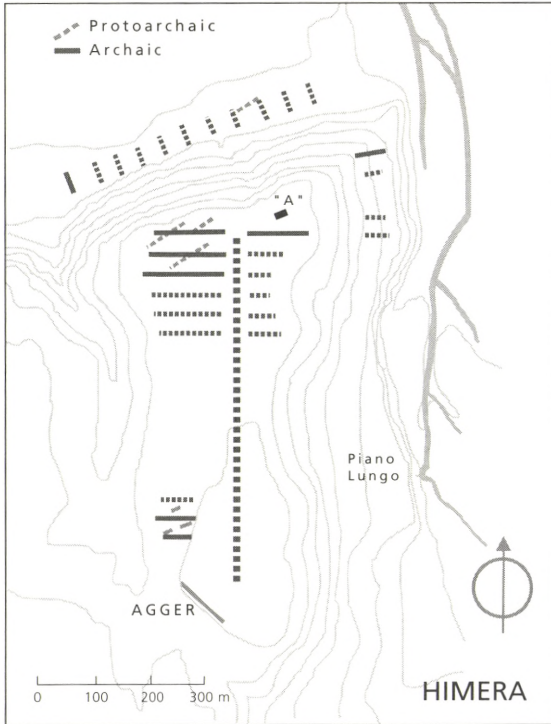


Figure 9.

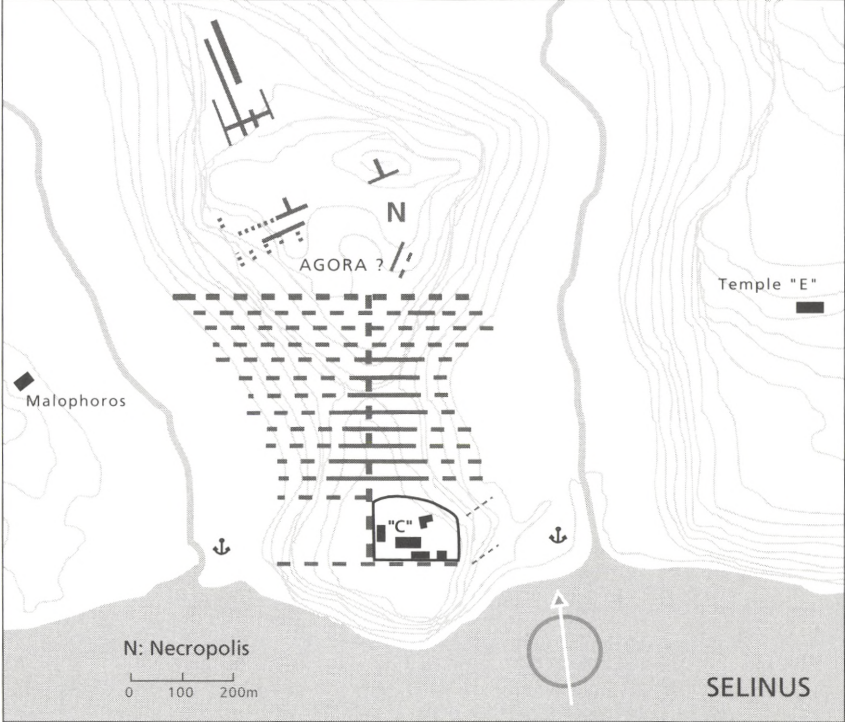


Figure 10.

Index of Sources

Aelianus	11.8:	30	7.448:	277	
	15.9:	30	7.449:	277	
<i>Varia Historia</i>	15.10:	30			
3.17:	299	17.2:	30	Antiochus (FGrHist 555)	
		17.4:	30	10:	228, 229bis
Aeschines		18.13:	30	12:	210, 231
		18.15:	30		
<i>Against Timarchus</i>		18.19:	30	Antiphon	
1.97:	69	20.4:	30	5.78:	42
		20.49:	312	6.39:	69
<i>On the False Embassy</i>		24.12:	30		
2.27:	53	24.14:	30	Apollonius Rhodius	
2.105:	108	28.5:	30	4.257:	95
2.116:	73	31.25:	30		
141:	96bis			Aristophanes	
		Alcaeus			
<i>Against Ctesiphon</i>				<i>Acharnenses</i>	
3.85:	98	<i>Fragments, L&P</i>		160:	73
3.122:	63	13:	43		
3.123-9:	43	130.17-30:	21	<i>Equites</i>	
3.133:	107	325:	91	267:	69
3.142:	107, 108	42:	21	763:	63
3.145:	109			1093:	69
3.157:	109	Anacreon			
3.162:	99			<i>Lysistrata</i>	
		<i>Fragments, Diehl</i>		245:	69
Aeschylus		100:	41	266:	69
		Anaximenes (FGrHist 72)		288:	69
<i>Agamemnon</i>		25:	50	302:	69
191:	74	26:	43, 50	317:	69
		Andocides		754:	69
<i>Septem contra Thebas</i>				758:	69
63:	106	<i>On the Mysteries</i>		912:	69
		1.132:	69	1183:	69
Aeneas Tacticus				<i>Nubes</i>	
1.1:	68	Androtion (FGrHist 324)		69:	69
2.2:	30	31:	53		
2.3:	30	Anthologia Graeca		<i>Thesmophoriazusae</i>	
4.1:	30	6.73:	75	812:	69
4.2:	30	6.111:	122		
4.4:	30	Anthologia Palatina		<i>Vespae</i>	
4.10:	30	7.254:	275	467:	63
7.1:	68				
10.22:	30				
10.23:	68				
11.4:	27, 30				

Aristophanes Boeotus (FGrHist 379)	1330a14-6:	70	11.113-26:	210, 212
3:	66, 81	<i>Fragments</i>	Callisthenes (FGrHist 124)	
4:	76	<i>Gigon</i>	11:	76
Aristotle			Cicero	
	506-7:	108	<i>De inventione</i>	
<i>Historia Animalium</i>	578-82:	96	2.1.1:	229
A HA 605b31:	95	580:		
A HA 606a1:	92bis	p. 640 no. 59:		
		111	Clemens Alexandrinus	
<i>Mir. Ausc.</i>		<i>Rose</i>	<i>Stromateis</i>	
842b3:	38, 90	612:	5.5:	310
		613:		
<i>Rhetorica</i>		75, 97	Comica Adespota	
1360a18sq:	63			
		Aristoxenus (Wehrli)	<i>Austin CGF</i>	^a
<i>De Partibus Animalium</i>		135:	343:	66
696A5:	39, 103			
		Armenidas (FGrHist 378)	<i>Pap. Oxy.</i>	
<i>Politica</i>		1:	1801.II.42:	66
1252a1-6:	15	7:		
1252b19-20:	66		Conon (FGrHist 26)	
1252b27-30:	66	Arrian	1.xxxvi:	260
1252b27-31:	15	<i>Anabasis</i>		
1253a2-4:	65	1.7.2:	Craterus (FGrHist 342)	
1271b40-A1:	237	1.7-9:	2:	45, 46
1272b18-19:	237	1.7-9-10:		
1274a31-2:	108	1.7.11:	Cratinus	
1275a7-8:	15	1.8.8:	fr. 220:	92
1276b1-3:	66	1.9.9:		
1278a25:	108	1.9.10:	Demosthenes	
1283b42-84a3:	15	96bis, 101bis	<i>Third Olynthiac</i>	
1288a38:	15		3.4:	45
1290a11-2:	43	<i>Periplus Maris Euxini</i>	<i>On the Peace</i>	
1302b28-9:	108	20:	5.21-2:	96, 107
1302b29:	76	24:	5.22:	91
1303a29:	228		<i>Second Philippic</i>	
1305b1-12:	303	<i>De Succ. Alex.</i>	6.13:	91
1303a36-38:	299	1.17:	6.30:	101, 111
1306a6-9:	312	53	<i>Third Philippic</i>	
1306a9-10:	43	Athenaeus	9.23:	75
1319a8-10:	70	2.48D-F:		
1325b36:	70	6.84:		
1326a18-20:	15		Bacchylides (Jebb)	
1326b26:	70		9.33:	217
1327a3-4:	70			
1327b18-33:	15			

<i>For the People of Megalopolis</i>		Dicaearchus		17.9.1:	108
16.4:	95, 111	<i>apud Cic.</i>		17.13.3:	107
16.25:	96, 111	<i>Ad Atticum II.2:</i>	217	17.13.5:	101
16.28:	111			17.14.1:	107
		Dinarchus		18.11.3-4:	107
<i>On the Crown</i>				18.56.6:	98
18.96:	74	<i>Against Demosthenes</i>		19.53.7:	80
18.99:	98	1.24:	107bis	19.63:	128
18.120:	63bis	1.38:	107	19.77.4:	76
18.213:	108	1.77:	71	19.78.3:	98
18.215:	106			20.25.1:	312
18.215-6:	67	Diodorus Siculus		Diogenes Laertius	
18.216:	106	1.68.6:	343	1.107:	279
		8.17:	206, 229	2.2:	299
<i>On the False Embassy</i>		11.76.5:	361	Dionysius Calliphontis (GGM I)	
19.21:	101	11.83.1:	76	88:	74
19.112:	91, 96, 101, 111	11.90.3:	225bis	90:	75
19.123:	72	12.9-10:	225	99:	76bis
19.141:	76bis, 83ter, 96	12.70.5:	109	102:	76
19.148:	91, 95	12.73.1:	71		
19.325:	96, 101, 111	13.54-59:	349	Dionysius Halicarnassensis	
19.336:	63	13.59.4:	346	<i>Antiquitates Romanae</i>	
		13.62.4:	339	2.59.3:	229bis
<i>Against Leptines</i>		14.17.1-3:	98, 107	<i>De Veterum Censurae</i>	
20.109:	95	14.17.3:	74, 97	1:	229
		14.24.7:	207	Dosiades (FGrHist 458)	
<i>Against Midias</i>		14.88:	339	2:	261
21.26:	63	15.37.1:	95	Ephorus (FGrHist 70)	
21.34:	63	15.45.4:	17	1:	74, 78
		15.46.6:	101bis, 111	94:	76, 91ter
<i>Against Aristocrates</i>		15.53.2:	75	119:	74
23.181-2:	46	15.53.4:	92	137:	339
23.212:	217	15.57.1:	95	141:	210
		15.59.3:	126	153:	76, 80
<i>Against Timocrates</i>		15.72.4:	157	216:	210
24.213:	63	15.76.1:	98bis	229:	78
		15.79.3:	96, 108	Euphron of Chalkis (Meineke)	
<i>Against Polycles</i>		15.79.3-6:	95, 107	139:	122
50.22:	53	15.79.5:	95		
		16.33.4:	95		
<i>Against Theocrines</i>		16.35.3:	91bis		
58.66:	65	16.39.5:	160		
		16.39.8:	82		
<i>Against Neaira</i>		16.58.1:	83, 91bis, 96bis		
59.103:	100	16.60.1-2:	72		
59.103-4:	100	16.87.3:	107		
		17.7-14:	107		

Euripides	100:	75	1.76.1:	52
	101:	226	1.80.1:	50
<i>Bacchae</i>	125:	226	1.116:	291
751:	88	162:	156	1.142.3: 44, 46, 47bis, 48bis, 51, 53
<i>Orestes</i>		Hellenica Oxyrhynchia	1.142.4:	44, 45, 50, 51
1273-75:	158	19.2: 58bis, 73, 96, 108	1.144.3:	71passim, 72
		19.2-3: 66, 217	1.145:	164, 167, 225, 230
<i>Phoenissae</i>		19.2-4: 57	1.145-146.1:	168
1100:	76	19.3: 42, 56, 57, 71, 78bis, 79, 81, 82bis, 84bis, 85ter, 87, 86ter, 88, 89passim, 90bis, 91ter, 92passim,	1.146.1-2:	226
<i>Fragments (Nauck)</i>		95 bis, 100bis, 103, 104bis, 105, 107bis, 110bis, 111, 112ter	1.148.1:	226
228.6:	69		1.149.1: 42bis, 45, 46, 47bis, 48, 49bis, 50, 52, 53	
282:	65		1.151.2: 39, 40, 45bis, 53bis, 71	
Eustathius			1.162.2:	71
		19.3-4: 91, 111	1.162.2-163.1:	50
<i>ad Iliadem</i>		19.4: 73, 109	1.163.3:	50
803:	291	20.3: 66, 74, 76, 84ter, 102bis, 104, 106, 107, 109	1.165.1:	43
Eutropius		21.5: 50, 66	1.165.2:	50
			1.165.3:	50
<i>Breviarium ab urbe condita</i>			1.167.3:	46
6.10:	310	Heraclides Creticus	1.168.1:	41
		7: 97	1.170.3:	64bis
		7-8: 56, 73, 105	2.33:	71, 308
		8: 38bis, 55, 59	2.160.3:	65
Harpocration		8-10: 104	2.178.1:	40
		9: 105	2.178.2:	44, 46, 50, 71bis, 72ter
<i>Lexicon</i>		13: 109		
Drymos:	75	13-4: 67	2.178.3:	42
Hysiai:	72	23: 80, 81	2.179.1:	40
Chorsiai:	83	25: 86, 93	3.26.1:	49
Heraion:	45	26: 76	3.54.1:	51
Leuktra:	75		3.55.1:	51
		Herodianus (Lentz)	3.58.1:	52
Hecataeus (FGrHist 1)			3.60.2:	51
6:	128	<i>De prosodia catholica</i>	3.91.1:	51
116:	73, 81, 82	3.1 67:	129	3.137.3: 47
117:	90			3.139.1: 51
126:	68	Herodotus	3.146.1:	51
146:	53	1.1.4: 291	3.153:	332
172:	296	1.26.2: 44	4.12.2:	52
225:	45	1.30.4: 44	4.14.1:	71
		1.57: 291	4.14.2:	43, 51
Hellanicus (FGrHist 4)		1.59.6: 44	4.15.1:	51, 71
52:	217	1.61.3: 53	4.17.1:	49
78:	94	1.65-68: 162	4.78.3: 49bis	
82:	339	1.66.3: 128	4.78-80: 312	

4.79.2:	49	5.117.1:	41, 44, 47, 50ter	7.42.1:	43, 46, 71
4.85sq:	289	5.123.1:	46, 47	7.43.2:	44, 49, 51
4.87.2:	44	6.7.1:	48	7.58.2:	37, 42, 46, 67, 72
4.90.2:	42, 45	6.18.1:	48	7.59.2:	51, 54
4.93:	290	6.20.1:	48, 50	7.94:	217, 227
4.93.1:	43, 48	6.21.1:	53	7.99.2:	71ter, 72
4.137.2:	50	6.23.3:	54	7.101.1:	52
4.138.1:	50	6.23.4:	54	7.108.2:	44, 48, 53
4.148.4:	45, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51	6.23.5:	54	7.109.1:	41, 44, 48, 50
4.150.2:	53	6.24.2:	54	7.115.1:	24, 43
4.150.3:	71	6.25.2:	51	7.115.2:	24bis
4.151.2:	46	6.27.2:	44	7.122.1:	24passim, 39, 44bis, 45, 48, 50bis, 51bis, 52ter, 54
4.154.1:	49	6.33:	290	7.123:	72
4.156.3:	40, 57	6.33.1:	44, 50, 52	7.123.1:	24passim, 42, 43, 48, 49, 51bis, 52, 53
4.160.1:	44	6.33.2:	43, 48, 51	7.123.2:	42, 45, 46, 47, 52bis, 54, 71
4.162.2:	123	6.33.3:	46	7.123.3:	52
4.164.3:	40, 47	6.36.2:	46	7.124.1:	53
4.171.1:	53	6.41.1:	46	7.128.1:	45
4.200.1:	44	6.58.1:	52	7.133.1:	44
4.200.2:	44bis	6.74:	161bis,	7.133.2:	44
4.203.1:	44bis, 47	6.74.1:	49	7.140.2:	44
4.203.2:	44, 47	6.74.2:	49, 71, 145bis	7.151.1:	43
5.92α2:	71	6.82.1:	43	7.153.3:	71
5.58:	291	6.82.2:	43	7.154:	361
5.11.2:	71	6.83:	160	7.154.2:	53, 54, 71, 72bis
5.22.1-2:	65	6.83.2:	127	7.155.2:	46, 53
5.23.2:	71	6.88.1:	42, 71	7.156:	361
5.24.4:	71	6.96.1:	48, 71	7.156.2:	358
5.30.3:	48	6.99.2:	44, 45	7.164:	291
5.30.4:	48	6.100.2:	45	7.164.1:	54
5.37.1:	47	6.101.1:	97, 98	7.170:	291
5.44.2:	204, 231	6.101.2:	45	7.170.2:	46
5.44-45:	225	6.101.3:	45	7.170.3:	46
5.45.1:	53	6.103.2:	65	7.173.4:	45
5.74.1:	73, 74	6.108.1:	100	7.176.2:	41, 43
5.74.2:	88, 89, 99	6.108.3:	74	7.176.5:	41, 43
5.79.1:	108	6.108.6:	74, 89passim, 99bis, 104, 106	7.183.3:	46
5.79.2:	9, 56, 57, 86, 90bis, 91, 105bis, 106bis, 110bis	6.118.2:	74, 106	7.188.1:	46
5.83.2:	42	6.127:	160, 162	7.188.3:	48
5.91.2:	44	6.127.3:	145, 146	7.198.2:	43
5.92β1:	71bis	6.133.3:	50	7.199.1:	54
5.94.2:	41	6.134.2:	50	7.200.2:	41, 43
5.97.1:	44	7.22.3:	24passim, 42bis, 44, 46, 49, 51, 53	7.202:	162
5.104.3:	51	7.22.3-23.1:	28	7.202.1:	111bis
5.110.1:	52	7.23.1:	51		
5.115.1:	51	7.33.1:	52		
5.115.2:	52				

7.216.1:	41, 43	9.35:	123	2.496:	74, 75
7.233.2:	99	9.35.2:	160, 162	2.497:	76, 84bis, 103
7.234.2:	52, 65	9.41.2:	109	2.498:	75, 92, 110
8.23.1:	45	9.43.1:	56, 105	2.499:	75bis, 83
8.32.1:	49	9.43.2:	75, 106	2.500:	75bis, 76bis
8.32.2:	43	9.51.2:	51	2.501:	75, 76, 217
8.33.1:	41, 43, 44ter, 45bis, 49, 50bis, 53, 54	9.52.1:	51, 102	2.502:	85, 89, 112
8.34.1:	73bis, 82, 94, 95bis	9.57.2:	89	2.503:	85, 90
8.35.1:	42, 44, 50	9.65.1:	106	2.504:	75, 99
8.36.2:	44	9.86.1:	53, 106	2.506:	93
8.41.3:	44	9.86-8:	107, 109	2.507:	76, 116
8.42.1:	42, 45, 47, 71bis	9.93.1:	43	2.508:	73, 76, 80
8.43:	231	9.94.2:	43	2.511:	73, 74, 94, 95
8.43-48:	71, 212	9.97:	226	2.538:	217
8.43.1:	71ter, 72bis	9.115.1:	46	2.546:	217
8.44.1:	44, 73, 99	9.118.2:	52	2.569:	217
8.45:	231	9.120.4:	47	2.573:	217
8.45.1:	71, 72bis			2.573-75:	217, 227
8.46.1:	42, 231	Hesiodus		2.575:	227
8.46.2:	45, 71ter	<i>Opera et Dies</i>		2.584:	217
8.46.2-3:	231	222:	110bis	2.605:	161
8.46.4:	52, 71, 72ter	639-40:	74, 78, 110	2.617:	227
8.47:	197, 228, 231	651:	74	2.647:	249
8.47.1:	47			2.648-49:	217
8.49.1:	42, 47, 71bis	<i>Scutum</i>		2.677:	217
8.50.2:	39, 51, 53, 64, 99bis, 100, 110ter, 111	103-5:	94	2.739:	217
8.73.1:	197	105:	106, 109	3.153:	66
8.73.2:	71ter			4.8:	80
8.104.1:	50	<i>Fragments (M&W)</i>		4.378:	106
8.127.1:	49	33A:	226	4.514:	34
8.128.3:	52	77:	74	5.446:	67
8.134.1:	91	218:	116	5.804:	106
8.135.1:	42, 78bis, 79, 106	218:	116	6.88:	69
9.9.1:	128	257:	87	6.242sq:	67
9.11.2:	158	Hippys of Rhegion		6.297:	69
9.13.3:	106	(FGrHist 554)		6.297-300:	67
9.15.2:	56, 104, 105	1:	229bis	6.317:	69
9.15.3:	84, 89ter			7.83:	67
9.16.1:	94	Homerus		7.370:	32
9.25.2:	84, 99	<i>Ilias</i>		8.203:	175, 217, 226, 227
9.25.3:	89ter	1.39:	67	11.690-93:	226
9.28:	125	1.129:	66	14.476:	73
9.28.6:	100, 102	2.12:	66	17.144:	69
9.30.1:	111	2.29:	66	18.497:	66
9.31.5-5.32.1:	73	2.66:	66	18.514:	66
		2.494:	73	20.404:	175

<i>Odyssea</i>		45 (1921) 2.21:	58		
3.293-96:	261	45 (1921) 2.72:	49	1052:	313
4.15sq:	67	45 (1921) 2.150:	58	1936:	171, 121
6.9:	66, 67	45 (1921) 5.7:	58		
6.10:	67	70 (1946)		<i>Dubois, Recherches sur</i>	
6.262-3:	66	588-90 no.1:	256, 279	<i>le dialecte arcadien II</i>	
6.266:	66, 67	99 (1975) 51-3.4:	73	AL.3:	153
7.81sq:	67	102 (1978) 381:	86	AS.1:	155
14.472:	66			O.1:	125
		<i>BSA</i>		O.3.9:	125
Hymni Homerici		87 (1992) 288:	90	O.3.9-10:	125
				O.4:	121, 125
<i>ad Apollinem</i>		<i>CEG</i>		O.5:	125
224:	76	869:	67	O.6:	121, 126
242:	76			O.8:	126
416-26:	227	<i>CIA</i>		O.9:	117
		26:	111	O.9.8:	126
<i>ad Cererem</i>				O.10:	126
270-2:	69	<i>CID I</i>		O.11.1:	126
		9.2-3:	67	O.11.18:	126
Hyperides				O.12:	123
		<i>CID II</i>		O.15:	154
<i>For Euxenippos</i>		1.II.24:	123	O.16:	154
3.16:	38, 97	4.I.40:	128	O.17:	154
		4.II.45:	160	P.1:	154
<i>Funeral Oration</i>		4.III.45:	127	P.2:	154
6.17:	109bis	5.21:	126, 160	PHI.1:	154
		5.1.4:	124	PHI.2:	127
<i>Fragments (Sauppe)</i>		5.1.23-24:	130bis	PHI.4:	154
156:	88	5.1.26-47:	124	PHI.5:	127
		12.II.1:	121	PHI.7:	154
Hypotheses		31.1:	44	PHI.8:	154
		31.93:	73	PHI.9:	154
in Menandri		32.32:	101	TE.3:	128
Dysculum 14:	85	51.7:	121	TE.8:	125, 128
in Isocratem 14:	101	74.50:	91bis	THE.2:	155
		74.50:	91		
Inscriptions		74.1.36:	94, 96	<i>Ducat, Les Kouroi du</i>	
<i>ADelt.</i>		74.1.37-8:	43	<i>Ptoion</i>	
3 (1917) 64:	102bis	74.1.50:	90	no. 232:	106
		74.1.72:	108	no. 257:	73
<i>AJP</i>		74.II.27:	96	no. 260:	78
56 (1935) 3.11:	47	76.II.19-20:	56, 104		
56 (1935) 3.16:	47	79A.15:	110	<i>EBI</i>	
		102.I.11:	91, 92bis	34-5:	58
<i>BCH</i>		126.1:	43		
23 (1899) 90-1:	79			<i>FD III</i>	
28 (1904) 430-1 no.1:	85	<i>CIG</i>		1.14:	128

1.16:	127, 161	I.xix 3A:	278	IV 13.G-H.2:	264, 267
1.32:	123	I.xxiv 2:	278	IV 14.G-P.1-2:	265
1.38:	128	I.xxv.1:	262	IV 43.B.A:	242, 264, 281
1.39:	161	I.xxvii 2:	263, 277	IV 46.B.7-8:	243
1.39-42:	127	I.xvii 4.A:	277	IV 52.A.7:	243
1.40:	161	I.xvii 4.B:	277	IV 58:	254
1.41:	161	I.xvii 8:	277	IV 63:	248, 275
1.42:	161	I.xxvii 19:	262	IV 63:	248
1.43:	123	I.xxvii 20:	262	IV 64:	266
1.44:	124	I.xxviii.2:	262	IV 64.5:	266
1.45:	124	I.xxix 1:	267	IV 65.7-10:	238
1.46:	124	I.xxix 1.6-8:	257	IV 72.II.5:	242
1.68:	66	I.xxix 1:	268	IV 72.II.25:	242
1.83:	125	I.xxx 1:	275	IV 72.II.41:	242
1.447:	128	II.v 1:	49	IV 72.III.8:	280
2.18.5-7:	67	II.v 28:	278	IV 78:	254, 275
3.96:	81	II.x 1:	269	IV 80: 243, 256, 263 <i>passim</i> ,	
3.103.3:	112	II.x.1:	264	262, 264, 275, 280 <i>bis</i> , 281	
3.207:	45	II.x.1:	281	IV 80.3-4:	264, 281
4.15:	130	II.x 1.2-3:	243	IV 80.4-8:	264
4.19:	130	II.x 1.15:	248	IV 80.6:	281
4.148:	110	II.x 1.22-3:	249	IV 80.8-12:	265
4.375:	108	II.xii B.7-8:	254	IV 80.9-12:	264
5.75:	275	II.xii 22:	242, 252	IV 80.12-5:	264, 265
		II.xii 22.1-7:	278	IV 168:	278
Helly, <i>Gonnoi</i>		II.xii 22.B.1-7:	252	IV 172: 252, 260 <i>bis</i> , 261	
1.75:	45	II.xii 22.B.7-13:	252, 278	IV 174.60-1:	280
		II.xv 3:	278	IV 182:	263, 280
<i>I. Cret</i>		II.xvii 1:	256	IV 182.20-1:	262, 280
I.viii 4:	275	II.xvii 1:	255	IV 184:	267, 279
I.x. 2:	275	II.xxx 2:	276	IV 683:	275
I.xvi 1:	239	II.xxx 2.4-5:	276	VI 165.4-5:	273
I.xvi 1.5-7:	241	III.iii 3.C.5-6:	274		
I.xvi 1.7-9:	241	III.iii 31:	275	<i>IG I^F</i>	
I.xvi 1.9-12:	239	III.iv 1:	278	125:	275 oversættes
I.xvi 1.13sq:	239	III.iv 8:	278		til ig i3
I.xvi 1.36-38:	239	III.iv 8.36-38:	278	488:	122 <i>bis</i>
I.xvi 1.38-40:	239	III.iv 9.86:	243		
I.xvi 5.53-54:	255	III.iv 9.124:	257	<i>IG I^F</i>	
I.xvii 5:	277	III.vi 3:	276	46.21-2:	69
I.xvii 6:	277	III.vi 7:	233	71:	309
I.xvii 7.2-3:	255	III.vi 7:	257	71 III.130:	47
I.xvii 8:	248	III.vi 7.B.12-25:	233	71 III.131:	49
I.xvii 9:	248	III.vi 7.A.4-8:	233	71 III.137:	42
I.xvii 15:	248	III.vi 7.A.19-20:	233	71 IV 1.167:	311
I.xvii 27:	248	III.vi 7.B.12-7:	257	72.6:	53, 110
I.xviii 4:	275	III.vi. 8:	278	77 IV.15:	43
I.xviii 20:	280	IV 13:	21	77 IV.16:	51

77 V.24:	45	<i>IG</i> IP	94.9:	92	
77 V.27-8:	54	17.10:	69	94.1.B.24:	43
77 V.33:	43	28.17-20:	52	94.1.B.10:	42
80:	117	33:	123	94.1.B.46:	42
83:	123	40:	108	96:	121
93:	225, 227	43.24-5:	108	96.35:	121
118:	52	43.32:	63	96.43:	121
259 VI.15:	50	43.B.35-8:	65	96.46:	117
260 VI.15:	42	57:	69	96.48:	127, 161 <i>bis</i>
260 VI.19:	48	66:	121	96.70:	129
260 VI.9:	96	79:	108	96.71:	127, 161
260 VIII.19:	66	206:	48	100.1:	127
261 I.1:	43	220:	217	100.3:	127
261 I.16:	53	505.17sq:	64	102:	128
261 V.2:	47	687:	127	629:	99
262 I.4:	53	687.25:	121		
262 III.24:	50	1130:	239	<i>IG</i> IV.2	
263 III.17:	44	1130.12-3:	256	492.2:	69
263 III.19-20:	44	1607.155:	108		
263 III.23:	53	2326:	121	<i>IG</i> V.1	
263 III.23:	66	2360:	81	719:	128
265 I.11:	48	5222:	90	723:	256
265 I.17:	45	8046:	117		
266 II.34:	42	8464:	275	<i>IG</i> V.2	
267 I.24:	44	8500:	84	xxxvii.22:	160
267 I.26:	52	8834:	110	xxxvii.28:	162
267 II.29:	49	9279-82:	123	xxxvii.118-9:	161
267 IV.33:	52	9282:	152	xxxvii.124-5:	161
268 II.23:	49, 66	10036:	94	xxxvii.III.7:	160
269 II.10:	47	10096:	99	xxxviii.64:	158
269 II.35:	44, 66	10435:	128	1.16:	155, 157
269 III.4:	42	11202:	85	1.23:	124
271 II.34:	48	11654:	84, 85	1.34:	123
272 I.33:	50			1.40:	155
278 VI.22:	50	<i>IG</i> IV		1.46:	125
278 VI.23:	47	510:	217	1.52:	121
278 VI.23:	66			1.58:	121
278 VI.31:	52	<i>IG</i> IV ² 1		1.64:	130
278 VI.32:	45	42:	120	2.35:	129
279 II.49:	46	72:	130	6 B.1 59-60:	129
279 II.79:	52	72.B:	130	6 B.2 109-10:	129
285 I.107-11:	62	73.13:	127	9:	129
501:	73 <i>bis</i>	73.13-14:	161	10:	129
639:	122	73.24:	123	11:	129
741:	154	94.4:	108	12:	129
1371:	128	94.6:	111	13:	129
1871:	153	94.7:	91	16:	129
		94.8:	95	30:	129

31:	129	437.438.18:	124	2407-8:	73
36:	154	437.438.21:	124	2470.1:	106
38-41:	154	437.438.22-23:	154	2708.4:	78
116:	129	437.438 lat.rev. 18:	154	2723.2-3:	55, 104
159:	128	437.438 lat.rev. 16:	154	2723.4:	80, 81
173:	154	440.441:	154	2724.4-5:	86
174:	154	440.441.1:	154	2724.5-6:	101
248:	154	442:	154	2724.A.2:	78, 79
249:	154	443.444.445:	154	2724.A.5:	97, 98
262.1-13:	123	447:	154	2724.B.2:	86bis
271:	123	448:	154	2724.B.4:	112bis
272-3:	123	453.1:	154	2724.B.4-5:	58
278:	123, 154	468:	154	2724.B.6:	112bis
315-17:	154	478:	154	2724.C.6:	82
316:	154	479:	154	2724.D.5:	89, 90
343:	120bis, 125bis	482:	154	2733.4:	80
343.13:	121	510:	128	2792:	78, 84, 89ter
344:	125, 154	510-11:	155	2796.1:	89
344.18:	125	511:	130bis	2808.A.15:	76
345.8:	125	512:	130	2833.4:	87
348.349:	154	534:	121	2850:	85
350:	154	548.7:	145	2870.13:	112
351:	128			2871.1:	78
355:	128	<i>IG VII</i>		3055:	92bis
356:	128	1:	68	3055.4:	85
358:	123	1.18:	65	3055.25:	55, 104
362-366:	127	11:	313	3068.1:	91
367 I.1:	121	190:	68	3083.4-5:	91
367 II.1:	121	207:	68, 102, 103	3086:	92
368.143-45:	121	207.4:	65	3166:	94
371-386:	154	351.9:	78	3170.10:	81
387:	123	414.4:	108	3172.17:	94
388-396:	123	414.24:	108	3172.51-2:	94
389:	154	416.78:	87	3287:	81
389.16:	128	504-9:	55, 58bis, 104	4135.6:	78
390:	154	505:	58	4139.20-1:	79
395:	154	522.10:	55, 104	4149.15:	89
411:	130bis	540.5:	56	4250-1:	97
415:	153	552:	92	4156.2:	78
415.7-11:	121	585:	56	4256-7:	97
419:	127	1664.2-3:	99bis		
421:	127bis	1664.3:	99	<i>IG IX</i> ² 1	
423:	127	1670-1:	89		
425:	127	1673:	87, 88bis	7:	117bis
426:	154	1862:	110	9:	117
427.428:	154	2112:	117	13:	127
432.3:	154	2114:	90	17.37:	131
436.3-4:	154	2385:	83	22:	121, 127, 161

27.4:	80	315.10:	315	<i>I.Priene</i>	
31.89:	130	322:	313	37-8:	64
170.5:	80, 93	323:	313		
		324:	313	<i>ISM I</i>	
<i>IG XI4</i>		325:	315	2:	311
532:	121	326:	313	2.40:	313
		370bis:	314	6:	313
<i>IG XIII</i>		388bis:	311	8:	314
677.13-9:	69	391:	301	112:	311
				15:	310
<i>IG XIII3</i>		<i>IGRRP I</i>		19:	313
250.17:	127	656:	313	54:	312, 314
				55:	313
<i>IG XIII5</i>		<i>I.Kalchedon</i>		64:	311
110.6:	50	20.7:	313	65:	313
111.6:	50			101:	314
114.15:	50	<i>I.Magnesia</i>		108:	314
		38.60:	125bis, 128	113:	314
<i>IG XIII8</i>		38.61:	121, 125	118:	314
356:	67	38.62:	128	119:	314
		38.63:	161	123:	311
<i>IG XIII9</i>		38.63:	121, 127	169:	314
203:	58	38.64:	127	170:	314
189.5:	67	38.65:	117, 121	172:	314
196.8-11:	69	38.66:	122, 128	173:	314
912.5:	93	38.67:	130		
		38.68:	123	<i>ISM II</i>	
<i>IG XIV</i>				1:	310
652:	231	<i>IOSPE I²</i>		2:	310
		32:	310	5:	310
<i>IG Aegypti III.Abydos</i>				122:	311
no. 405:	275	<i>IPark</i>			
		no. 9:	120, 159	<i>I.Stratonikeia</i>	
<i>IGB I²</i>		no. 9.5:	159, 160	508.43:	80
13:	310	no. 9.6-7:	160		
13.13-4:	310	no. 9.15:	160	<i>IvO</i>	
13bis:	310	no. 9.17:	160	2:	153
14:	310	no. 14:	125, 131	9:	153
20:	310, 312	no. 14.6-7:	125	10:	153
22:	310	no. 15:	120bis, 125	11:	153
22.13-14:	310	no. 15.58-77:	120	16:	153
39:	313	no. 15.91:	120	16.7-8:	67
46:	312	no. 23:	153	16.17:	123, 153
307:	315	no. 23.7-11:	121	30:	117bis, 118, 153passim
307bis:	315	no. 24:	141	46.5:	124
308bis:	315	no. 24.19:	153	46.26:	124
312:	315	no. 25:	162	48:	117, 121, 162
315:	313			50:	121

147.148:	126, 133ter, 158	27.6:	99bis, 110	9 2.32:	55
158.2:	157	27.11:	47	9 2.44:	99
161:	127, 160	35:	55, 104		
164:	157	36:	55, 60, 104	11 347:	123
167:	121	42.B.31-2:	67	11 414.7:	161
276:	275	45:	43	11 414.8:	121
294:	128, 161bis	83.2:	67	11 1084:	126bis, 160
295:	117ter, 118, 153bis			11 1085:	154
402:	127	Michel, <i>Recueil</i>		11 1109:	128
		170:	102	11 1124-1134:	155
<i>IvOlb</i>		225:	99	11 1139-41:	153
4:	125	231:	83	11 1168:	122, 162
		238:	94	11 1173:	122
<i>Koerner</i>		240:	81		
101:	49	463:	48	12 371:	117ter, 130bis, 153
		635:	91		
<i>Lazzarini</i>				13 1254A:	130
29:	154	<i>Migeotte, L'emprunt</i>		13 371.31:	130
374:	73	<i>public</i>			
916:	90	no. 11:	83, 112bis	14 194:	84
916:	90	no. 69.18-20:	70	14 375:	225
958:	60			14 455:	130
968:	60	<i>Naukratis I</i>			
975:	121	no. 3:	48	15 161:	85
987:	60			15 241:	153
998:	55, 60, 104	<i>OGIS I</i>		15 245:	55
		71:	277	15 254.3:	122
<i>Linear B</i>		<i>OIBer</i>		15 264:	97
KN AS 1517.12:	69	7 (1961) 207-10:67		15 282.4:	81, 82, 112
				15 303:	97
<i>LSAG</i>		<i>REG</i>		17 150:	157
94 no. 7:	106	62 (1949) 6-7:	160	17 829:	154
95 no. 11:	90, 94ter	62 (1949) 7:	145		
95 no. 12:	55, 56, 60, 104bis			18 157:	131, 155
95 no. 13:	78, 79	<i>Sammelbuch griechischer</i>		18 235:	121, 128
95 no. 15:	78	<i>Urkunden aus Aegypten I</i>			
95 no. 16:	106	4057:	277	19 328:	127
95 no. 17:	95			19 335:	56
224 no. 1:	222	<i>SEG</i>		19 335.67:	58
224 no. 3:	221				
375:	60	2 32:	104	20 716:	128, 158
407 2 13:	117			20 716.18:	121
		3 117.14:	97	20 716.23:	126
<i>Meiggs-Lewis GHI</i>		3 329:	231		
2.1-2:	21, 67	3 342:	83bis, 112	21 541:	67
5.3-4:	47	3 342.4:	112	21 541 I.62-4:	69
5.37:	67	3 557:	313	21 541 I.62-6:	67
23.4-5:	63			21 541 III.15-7:	69

21 541 III.15-7:	67	28 465:	106	37 340.15:	160
21 541 III.59-64:	67	28 465.4:	106	37 340.16-18:	120
21 541 III.61-3:	69	28 466:	108	37 340.17:	160
21 992:	127	28 753.4-5:	276	37 340.23:	123
				37 340.23-25:	121
22 191:	85	30 356:	126, 161	37 607:	310
22 192:	85	30 377:	119, 153		
22 325:	155	30 440:	78, 90	38 380.1:	81
22 410:	83	30 457:	84	38 681:	47
		30 702-04:	313		
23 179:	118bis, 160	30 1456:	161	39 1365:	126, 161bis
23 246:	154				
23 247:	154	31 393:	78	41 332:	123ter, 139
23 250:	154	31 984:	53	41 452:	89
23 271.64-6:	94				
23 297:	92	32 370:	128	<i>SGDI</i>	
		32 430:	106	1604:	122
24 287-88:	154	32 456.7:	86	2566:	122
24 289:	154	32 476:	107	3089:	313
24 299:	128, 161	32 476.13:	111	4646-48:	127
24 30:	87bis, 88, 106	32 476.14:	57, 58, 105		
24 361:	83	32 496.2-3:	110	<i>Staatsverträge II</i>	
24 361.3:	111	32 529:	81	110:	121
24.361.25:	103			273:	77
24 1032:	315	33 276:	126	277:	77
		33 320:	154	283:	77
25 445:	128bis			345:	77, 108
25 445.21:	128	34 355:	95		
25 447.19:	153	34 736:	315	<i>Syll</i> ² :	
25 449:	117			9:	162
25 489:	78	35 347:	129	31.7:	128
25 554:	86ter, 94	35 411:	56	31.12:	125
25 556.6-7:	87	35 991A-B:	275	37:	53
		35 991.4:	46	38:	53
26 330:	123			48:	121
26 475.5:	85	36 147:	128	90.14-5:	92
26 489.3-4:	87	36 379:	124, 154	162.2-3:	99
26 551:	90	36 386:	155	172.3:	46
26 552:	90	36 388:	155	189:	128
26 624 IV.1:	279	36 411:	78, 89	218.10:	67
26 624 IV.8:	248	36 413:	81	218.14-5:	49
26 1679:	277	36 442:	98	278.5-7:	51
				291:	121
27 631:	275	37 100.142:	97	419:	43
		37 340:	120bis, 123, 152,	495.B 1.17:	310
28 408:	123		155, 157, 159	529.6:	159
28 453.8:	86	37 340.5:	159, 160bis	529.10:	159
28 461.28:	73	37 340.6-7:	159	530:	159

530.4:	67	14.8-9:	101	6.46:	70
531.1:	159	14.8-10:	107		
531.2:	159	14.9:	57	<i>For Mantitheus</i>	
731.37-8:	311	14.9:	55bis, 105, 111	16.13:	85
		14.10:	95		
<i>Tod GHI</i>		14.19:	101bis, 111	<i>Against Panoleon</i>	
112.1:	50	14.20:	98	23.2:	99
112.6:	50	14.35:	101bis, 111	23.2-3:	101
113.8-9:	48bis	14.37:	98	23.5-7:	101
113.15:	45	14.46:	101		
113.21:	46	14.51-2:	101	<i>Against Philon</i>	
113.25:	47			31.9:	98
113.28:	44	<i>On the Exchange</i>			
113.32:	48bis	15.254:	65	Memnon (FGrHist 376)	
113.38:	44, 45, 46, 47			13:	293, 297
145.5-6:	67	<i>On the Biga</i>			
164A-B:	97bis, 98	16.32:	65	Mimnermus (West)	
204.34-5:	99			9:	226
		Lactantius			
Isaeus		<i>Divinae Institutiones</i>		Moschion	
		I.6:	235	fr. 6.6-8:	65
<i>On the Estate of Dicaeogeenes</i>				Nicander	
5.44:	69ter	Livius		<i>Theriaca</i>	
		28.8.6:	162	887:	76
Isocrates		32.5.4-5:	162		
		36.21.5:	110	<i>apud Antoninus</i>	
<i>Nicoles</i>		38.30.2:	226	<i>Liberalis</i> 8:	228
3.6:	65			Nicocrates (FGrHist 376)	
		Lycophron		1:	56ter, 74, 76, 81, 97, 104, 105bis
<i>Panegyricus</i>		<i>Alexandra</i>			
4.131:	71	646:	76	Ovid	
		857:	229	<i>Metamorphoses</i>	
<i>Archidamus</i>		858:	229	15.12-59:	207
6.27:	111				
6.99:	160	Lycurgus		Papyri	
		<i>Against Leocrates</i>		Pap. Lit. Lond. 6:	85
<i>On the Peace</i>		1.16:	38, 82	Pap. Oxy. 11.1365:	217
8.17:	107	1.40:	66	Pap. Oxy. 222:	133
		1.69:	64	Pap. Oxy. 222.29:	133bis, 136
<i>Panathenaicus</i>		1.93:	63	Pap. Oxy. 2082 4.27:	80
12.94:	100				
12.179:	64, 65	Lysias			
		<i>Against Andocides</i>			
<i>Plataicus</i>		6.15:	70		
14.1:	99, 101				
14.5:	101				
14.7:	101				

Pausanias		7.6.1-2:	194	147 <i>passim</i> , 148 <i>passim</i> , 154,
1.23.3:	93	7.7.2:	226	155 <i>bis</i> , 156, 162 <i>bis</i>
1.25.4:	107	7.16.9:	216	8.27.7: 140, 145, 160
1.26.6:	70	7.17.5:	189	8.35.5: 162 <i>bis</i>
1.29.6:	77	7.17.6:	170, 222	8.35.6: 162 <i>bis</i>
1.29.6:	75	7.17.6-7:	186	8.35.7: 145
1.32.3:	100	7.17.7:	227	8.35.9: 145
1.34.1:	97, 98, 107	7.17.13:	170, 217	8.36.8: 157 <i>bis</i> , 158
1.38.8:	74	7.18.1:	216	8.38: 134
1.42.4:	315	7.18.2-6:	183	8.38.3: 134
1.43.5-6:	305	7.18.7:	183, 216 <i>bis</i>	8.42.6: 146, 160 <i>bis</i>
1.43.8:	68	7.19.9:	231	8.46.2: 358
3.2.6:	65	7.22.1:	216	9.1.4: 101
3.3.1:	207	7.22.6:	216	9.1.5-8: 101, 107
3.5.3-5:	87	7.23.4:	216	9.1.6: 89, 101
3.11.7:	157	7.24.3:	175	9.1.7: 101
3.23.1:	68	7.24.4:	226	9.1.8: 101
4.15.1:	218	7.24.5:	226	9.2.1: 84, 88, 89
4.27.10:	96, 101, 107	7.24.6:	216, 226	9.2.36: 70
5.2.1-5:	65	7.25.6:	175, 196	9.4.4: 99, 103, 104, 106
5.8.7:	108	7.25.8-9:	216	9.8.1: 102 <i>bis</i>
5.9.1:	222	7.25.11:	230	9.8.4: 109
5.23.7:	121, 160, 163	7.25.12:	174, 216	9.13.2: 65
5.25.8-10:	199	7.26.1:	170	9.14.1-4: 75, 110
5.24.2:	161	7.26.2:	217	9.16.6: 109
5.25.7:	157	7.26.5:	172	9.19.1: 76
5.25.8:	199	7.26.10:	174	9.19.4: 75, 77, 93
5.26.7:	60, 106	7.26.14:	217	9.19.5: 38, 93
5.27.1:	157	7.27.4:	217	9.19.6: 74, 75
5.27.2:	157	7.27.8:	170	9.19.8: 93
5.27.7:	157	7.27.9:	170	9.20.1: 74
5.27.8:	161	7.27.11:	170	9.22.2: 59 <i>bis</i> , 105
6.2.6:	65	8.3.2:	145	9.23.1: 109
6.3.8:	222	8.3.3:	145	9.23.2: 109
6.3.9:	65	8.9.3:	157	9.23.5: 106
6.3.12:	208	8.12.7:	70	9.24.3: 76
6.6.1:	157	8.13.5:	145	9.24.3-4: 87
6.7.9:	118, 147, 160	8.15.9:	230	9.24.4: 75
6.9.2:	157	8.17.6:	49	9.25.3: 109
6.12.8:	156	8.18.8:	65, 162	9.26.5: 93
6.13.1:	65	8.25.1:	160	9.29.1-2: 74
6.16.2:	65	8.27:	134, 142, 155,	9.31.7: 75
6.18.6:	65		156, 157, 162	9.32.1: 75
7.1.1:	226, 227	8.27.2:	157 <i>bis</i>	9.32.2: 112
7.1.5:	217	8.27.3:	147 <i>passim</i> ,	9.33.4: 86
7.1.8:	227		148, 157	9.33.5: 79, 80 <i>bis</i>
7.2.1-2:	226	8.27.3-4:	133	9.34.10: 76, 96
7.6.1:	168, 216	8.27.4:	130, 134,	9.36.6: 87

9.37.1:	94	<i>Fragments (Maehler)</i>	<i>Aristides</i>	
9.37.8:	96	198B:	76	11.9:
9.38.9:	73, 74	333.8:	94	101
9.39.2:	92			<i>Camillus</i>
9.39.5-13:	92	Plato		75, 110
9.41.6:	82			
10.3:	272	<i>Leges</i>		<i>Lycurgus</i>
10.3.1:	42, 44, 50	708B:	227	31:
10.3.2:	41, 43bis, 44ter,	740A:	227	
	45, 46, 49, 50, 53, 72	745C:	70	<i>Lysander</i>
10.4.1-2:	234			28.2:
10.12:	235	<i>Menexenus</i>		92
		242B:	76	<i>Pelopidas</i>
Periplus Ponti Euxini				13.1:
(Diller)		<i>Respublica</i>		16-9:
134:	296	369C:	65	18.1:
				70
Pherecydes (FGrHist 3)		Plinius Maior		<i>Philopoemen</i>
135A:	158			13:
155:	226	<i>Naturalis Historia</i>		157
		4.11.44:	310	<i>Solon</i>
		4.11.45:	311	24.4:
Philistus (FGrHist 556)		4.12.59:	244, 249, 262	66
15:	361	36.128:	87	Polemon (Preller)
				<i>Peri ton en Lakedaimoni</i>
Philochorus		Plutarchus		<i>poleon</i>
(FGrHist 328)		<i>Moralia</i>		p. 50:
2B:	65			65
113:	75, 78	299C:	56, 58, 76, 105	fr. 2:
				74
Phlegon of Tralles		300F:	80	Pollux
1.16:	157	301A:	75	
257a:	80	325E:	89	<i>Onomasticon</i>
		773B:	75	6.113:
		775A:	75	274
Pindarus		799E-F:	109	Polybius
<i>Isthm.</i> 1.3-4:	108	849A:	92	2.39.5-6:
<i>Isthm.</i> 1.7:	108			225
<i>Isthm.</i> 7.1-5:	108	<i>Quaestiones Graecae</i>		2.41:
<i>Nem.</i> 10.82:	217	17:	313	167, 216
<i>Ol.</i> 6.99:	128			2.41.3-6:
<i>Ol.</i> 9.146:	217	<i>Vitae</i>		225
<i>Ol.</i> 13.155:	217			2.41.8:
<i>Ol.</i> 14.4:	96	<i>Alexander</i>		158passim
<i>Ol.</i> 14.17:	96			2.43.5:
<i>Pyth.</i> 11.12.:	109	11.6-12:	107	158passim,
<i>Pyth.</i> 11:	108	11.12:	107	159bis, 161
		34.2:	101	2.54.6:
				159
				2.54.11:
				158
				2.54.13:
				159
				2.55.8:
				128
				2.56.6:
				123

2.58.4:	158	<i>De situ orbis</i>		Ptolemaeus	
2.61.6:	158	2.2.22:	310	mathematicus	
2.64.1:	158				
3.37.11:	158	Poseidippus		<i>Geographia</i>	
4.3.5:	127, 159	fr. 29:	102	3.15.2:	243
4.4.3:	159			3.15.3:	260
4.8.4:	158	Ps.-Scylax		7.1.42:	312
4.11.3:	125	34:	31, 68bis, 308		
4.11.13:	121	35:	31	Scholia	
4.13.3:	121	36:	68	<i>In Aristophanem</i>	
4.18.2:	121	38: 68bis, 73, 83bis, 103, 110		Vespae 1191B:	157
4.18.11:	123	39:	32, 65, 68bis	Aves 1421:	217
4.18.12:	158	42:	31, 68, 167, 169, 225		
4.41.8:	158	43:	68ter	<i>In Apollonium Rhodium</i>	
4.53.6:	255, 256	44:	132, 156passim, 162	Argon. 1.551A:	91
4.55.6:	227	45:	68bis		
4.57.5:	158ter	46:	65, 68passim, 308	<i>In Demosthenem (Dilts)</i>	
4.68.1:	161	47:	68, 249, 279, 308	6.21:	96
4.69.1:	159	57:	30, 31, 60, 66, 68	18.99 176:	98bis
4.70.2-73.1:	160	58:	68ter	21.64 204:	98
4.70.3:	146	59:	74bis, 80, 81	6.13:	96
4.70.4:	161	60:	68		
4.70.5:	159	61:	68	<i>In Euripidem</i>	
4.71.13:	128	62:	68, 308	Or. 317-8:	102
4.73.2:	130	63:	68		
4.77.9:	51, 159	64:	68	<i>In Homerum (Erbse)</i>	
4.77.10:	117, 158, 162	65:	68bis	Il. 2.499:	83
4.77.10-78:	162	66:	62, 66, 68	Il. 11.229:	50
4.78.2:	158	67:	68, 290bis, 307		
4.78.5:	121	67-68:	290	<i>In Pindarum</i>	
4.78.8:	117	68:	289	Isthm. 223.10:	108
4.80.13:	51	98:	71	Nem. 10.82:	217
5.3.2:	158			Ol. 5.16:	342
5.27.3:	158	Ps.-Scymnus		Ol. 5.19a:	361
5.93.10:	226	249:	211	Ol. 5.19c:	361
6.43:	108	295-6:	342	Ol. 7.156:	217
9.17:	122	318-9:	229	Ol. 9.148:	217
9.26a.2:	158	325:	229		
11.9.8:	219	328:	210	Servius	
11.11.6:	120, 160	360:	202	<i>Aen.</i>	
20.3.1:	159	728-31:	299	3.552:	231
22.15:	277	741-2:	291		
22.15:	277	751-5:	294	Solinus	
27.1.4:	81	758-9:	295	2.10:	210, 211, 228bis, 229bis
Pomponius Mela		759-60:	294		
		760-64:	292		
		765:	293		

Solon (Ruschenbusch)		226.4:	152	482.22:	152
fr. 75:	66	226.13-4:	74	483.9:	94
		233.10:	152	487.5:	152
Sophocles		261.13:	75	487.18:	152
		261.17-8:	260	490.3:	115
<i>Antigone</i>		265.10:	74	490.7:	76
370:	65	271.1:	146, 152	508.18:	152
		278.9:	152	509.7:	152
<i>Fragments (Radt)</i>		283.1-2:	294	519.13:	76
314.31:	73	283.8:	85	519.19:	152
		283.10:	85	524.11:	51
Sosicrates (FGrHist 461)		283.12-13:	119	533.12:	51
4:	272	284.10:	152	533.21:	102
		287.21:	85	539.18:	131
Stephanus Byzantius (Meineke)		293.20:	115	539.19:	152
		297.11:	152	541.1-2:	274
50.4:	152	305:	279	544.20:	280
56.5:	152	315.7-8:	68	544.21:	281
61.15:	152	320.13:	152	545.17:	152
63.1:	78	320.24:	152	548.6-7:	274
68.19:	79	338.21:	115	551.6:	76
68.18-9:	70, 80	342.10:	115	573.1:	103
76.1:	152	349.5:	152	574.14:	152
85.18:	152	354.11-12:	278	575.7:	152
88.3:	280	355.13:	152	576.7:	152
95.15:	152	372.8:	115	580.7:	103
96.17-8:	80	374.12-15:	243	580.8:	103
96.18-9:	80	383.6:	75	585.12:	233
122.6:	75	398.9:	75	585.12-13:	257
123.18:	116	417.21:	355	586.2:	152bis
127.13:	44	418.7:	47	587.17:	53
133.12:	74	420.13:	138, 152	596.1:	152
135.8:	74	421.1-5:	249	611.3:	76
140.18:	115	421.13:	152	618.21:	76
147.1:	74	422.19:	152	631.7:	152
147.6:	229	426.6:	152	632.4:	76
147.7:	152	427.7:	152	635.3:	152
147.8:	266	431.1:	152	646.14:	87
152.17-8:	115	439.19:	76	647.13:	75
160.5:	152	441.6:	152	651.15:	75
167.4-5:	266	445.15-7:	272	653.9:	88
172.9-15:	262	448.19:	76	655.5:	152
185.10:	152	451.17:	76	655.14:	152
195.9:	152	454.9:	275	662.6:	146
203.24-25:	272	471.13:	152	663.5:	152
209.16:	75	472.14:	49	665.21:	115
213.12:	45	478.8:	131	667.15:	115
225.3:	152	479.20:	152bis	670.7-8:	131

672.12:	152	9.2.14-5:	99	Theopompus (FGrHist 115)	
681.4:	74	9.2.17:	75	12:	98
685.5:	99	9.2.19:	90, 95	33:	153
688.20:	152	9.2.20:	75	60:	120, 153
696.1:	83	9.2.22:	76	69:	153
706.11:	76	9.2.23:	103, 104	77:	153
		9.2.24:	76, 84 ^{ter} , 102,	119:	153
			115	167:	83
Strabo		9.2.25:	55, 74	175:	153
1.3.10:	310	9.2.26:	76 ^{bis} , 86, 106	211:	75
5.2.4:	69	9.2.26-7:	76	211-2:	74
5.4.1:	211	9.2.27:	78, 79, 115	215:	153
6.1.10:	208	9.2.28:	85, 90	242:	153
6.1.11:	229	9.2.29:	90, 91	243:	153
6.1.12:	206, 207,	9.2.31:	56, 75	244:	153
	228, 229 ^{bis}	9.2.33:	86 ^{bis}	269:	153
6.1.13:	204 ^{bis} , 225	9.2.34:	79, 106	301:	76
6.1.14:	225	9.2.35:	116 ^{bis}	323:	153
6.1.15:	204, 210, 211 ^{bis}	9.2.36:	70, 80	343:	153
6.2.4:	206	9.2.39:	75	344:	153
6.3.6:	46	9.2.41:	73, 74	362:	78 ^{bis}
7.4.2:	289	9.3.14:	73	407:	82 ^{bis} , 95
7.6.1:	310, 311	9.5.19:	311		
8.3.2:	64, 183, 186, 225	9.5.22:	46	Thucydides	
8.3.11:	186	10.4.14:	277	1.12.3:	73 ^{bis}
8.4.11:	65	10.14:	274	1.24.6:	63 ^{bis}
8.5.1:	68	13.1.62:	46	1.58.2:	24
8.6.9:	69	13.1.67:	42	1.62.1:	24 ^{bis}
8.6.14:	96	14.1.3:	226	1.64.2:	24 ^{bis}
8.6.22:	345	14.1.6:	43	1.65.2:	24 ^{bis}
8.7.1:	217 ^{bis} , 227	16.2.8:	51	1.66.1:	51 ^{bis}
8.7.2:	175, 216, 217, 226	16.2.12:	51	1.98.4:	48 ^{bis}
8.7.3:	225			1.100.2:	51
8.7.4:	167, 168, 216 ^{bis} , 217	Suda		1.105.3:	68
8.7.4-5:	230	Herakleides:	110	1.107.2:	66
8.7.5:	170, 177, 180,	Mitios, Mitos:	278	1.108.1:	38, 57, 59, 105
	198, 216 ^{bis} , 217 ^{ter} ,	Pellene:	217	1.108.3:	76
	225, 226, 229	Theognis		1.111.3:	194
8.8.1:	155	1.1209:	106, 108	1.113.1:	73, 81, 82
9.2.5:	64	Theophrastus		1.113.2:	38, 90 ^{bis} , 95
9.2.6:	73, 74	<i>Historia Plantarum</i>		1.115.1:	225
9.2.7:	74	4.11.8:	92	1.125.1:	217
9.2.8:	56, 74, 104	9.13.1:	95	2.2.1:	99
9.2.9:	76			2.2.2:	51, 99 ^{bis}
9.2.11:	56, 62, 75, 93 ^{bis} , 104			2.2.4:	100
9.2.12:	75 ^{bis}			2.2-6:	100
9.2.13:	73, 81 ^{bis}			2.3.1:	99
9.2.14:	56, 62, 75 ^{bis} ,			2.4.4:	101
	77, 93 ^{bis} , 99, 105				

2.5.4:	70, 99	3.91.3-5:	74	5.1.1:	71
2.6.4:	100	3.92.2:	54	5.4.4:	333
2.9.2:	217, 225	3.92.5:	197	5.17.2:	100, 106
2.9.4:	53	3.101.2:	54, 69	5.18.5:	24, 43, 49, 52, 67
2.15.2:	64 <i>passim</i>	3.107.4:	123	5.18.6:	24 <i>passim</i> , 48,
2.15.6:	67 <i>bis</i> , 69 <i>bis</i>	4.3.2-3:	69		51, 52, 66
2.16.2:	64 <i>bis</i>	4.21.3:	225	5.18.8:	52 <i>bis</i> , 54
2.23.3:	97 <i>passim</i> , 98 <i>bis</i>	4.26.2:	69	5.18.10:	69
2.44.5:	66 <i>bis</i>	4.52.2:	51	5.23.5:	69
2.67.1:	128 <i>bis</i>	4.52.3:	43	5.29-81:	163
2.68.9:	70 <i>bis</i>	4.54.1:	29 <i>bis</i> , 68	5.29.1:	135
2.71.2:	70 <i>bis</i> , 100 <i>bis</i> , 102 <i>bis</i>	4.54.2:	29, 68	5.31.4-5:	47
2.71.4:	99 <i>bis</i>	4.54.4:	68	5.32.1:	101
2.71-8:	100 <i>bis</i>	4.56.2-57.3:	66	5.33:	135 <i>bis</i> , 157
2.72.2:	100 <i>bis</i>	4.70.1:	68	5.33.1:	155
2.72.3:	100 <i>bis</i>	4.72.1:	99	5.33.2:	139
2.73.3:	100 <i>bis</i>	4.76.2:	102	5.33.3:	157
2.75.4:	101 <i>bis</i>	4.76.2-3:	103 <i>bis</i>	5.41.2:	66
2.77.2:	102 <i>bis</i>	4.76.3:	73 <i>bis</i> , 81, 82 <i>bis</i> ,	5.47:	158
2.78.3:	102 <i>bis</i>		95 <i>ter</i> , 96, 103 <i>bis</i> , 110 <i>bis</i>	5.47.11:	69
2.83.3:	217 <i>bis</i>	4.76.4:	56 <i>bis</i> , 104 <i>bis</i> ,	5.49.1:	152
2.85:	275		106	5.50.4:	65
2.86:	217	4.76.4-5:	74	5.52.2:	221, 225
2.86.1:	183 <i>bis</i> , 225 <i>bis</i>	4.85.6:	24	5.54.1:	65
2.86.4:	183 <i>bis</i> , 225 <i>bis</i>	4.89.2:	81, 82, 101, 103	5.58.4:	225
2.92.1:	183 <i>bis</i>	4.91.1:	38, 55 <i>bis</i> , 57, 89,	5.59.3:	225
2.92.5:	217 <i>bis</i> , 225 <i>bis</i>		86, 90, 94, 104, 107	5.60.3:	225
2.93.2:	67 <i>bis</i>	4.93.4:	38, 55 <i>bis</i> , 57, 86 <i>bis</i> ,	5.61.5:	123, 157
3.20.4:	100		89 <i>bis</i> , 90 <i>ter</i> , 94, 95, 104	5.64.3:	134, 157
3.24.2:	100	4.95.3:	76	5.67.1:	121, 155 <i>bis</i> , 157
3.34.4:	343, 361 <i>bis</i>	4.99.1:	73, 97 <i>bis</i>	5.67.2:	135
3.52-68:	100	4.101.3:	103	5.77.1:	135
3.55.3:	100	4.102.3:	72	5.79.4:	67
3.57.2:	51, 99	4.102.4:	44	5.81.1:	135 <i>bis</i> , 158
3.58.5:	99, 106	4.103.3:	43	5.82.1:	225
3.62.3:	108	4.103.4:	24	6.1.13:	225
3.62.3-4:	106	4.107.3:	71	6.3.1:	339
3.63.2:	100	4.109.3:	24 <i>passim</i> , 42,	6.4.2:	346
3.65.2:	100		44, 46, 49, 51, 53, 66	6.4.3:	321, 333
3.65.3:	99	4.110.2:	24	6.5.1:	339
3.68.2:	100	4.120.1:	24	6.5.2:	46
3.68.2-3:	100, 106	4.121.2:	48	6.5.3:	342, 361
3.68.3:	99, 100 <i>bis</i> ,	4.123.1:	24	6.21.2:	225
	101, 102	4.132:	162	6.64.3:	147
3.68.5:	100 <i>bis</i>	4.133.1:	111	6.95.2:	111
3.87.4:	94	4.134:	135	7.28.1:	69
3.90.3:	69	4.134.1:	158	7.29-30:	93 <i>ter</i>
3.91.3-4:	56, 104	4.134.1:	128	7.29.2-3:	92

7.29.3:	62, 93	3.2.23:	45, 64	6.3.1:	101, 107
7.29.4-5:	93	3.2.23-5:	50	6.3.5:	101, 107, 111
7.29.5:	62	3.2.25:	48 <i>bis</i>	6.4.3:	75, 107, 110, 112
7.30.2:	62	3.2.30:	45, 48, 50, 64,	6.4.3-4:	110
7.30.3:	93 <i>bis</i>		154, 156, 162	6.4.4:	75, 110 <i>bis</i>
8.3.2:	170	3.3.1:	156, 162	6.4.10:	95, 111
8.60.1:	98	3.4.3:	74	6.4.18:	194
		3.5.5:	107	6.5.2:	64
Timaeus (FGrHist 566)		3.5.6:	95	6.5.4-5:	162
19a:	361	3.5.7:	162	6.5.5:	63
		3.5.8:	106	6.5.11:	121, 125, 162 <i>bis</i>
Tyrtaeus (West)		3.5.12:	64	6.5.12:	145, 159
fr. 12.27-8:	21	3.5.17:	38, 86	6.5.15:	162
		3.5.17-9:	87	6.5.21:	65
Velleius Paterculus		4.2.13:	123, 128	6.5.22:	121
		4.2.16:	122	6.5.25-6:	66
<i>Historiae Romanae</i>		4.3.15:	95	6.5.22:	162
1.1:	250	4.4.6:	63, 67, 71	6.5.29:	217
		4.5.3:	67	7.1.23-24:	158
Vergilius		4.6.1:	225	7.1.28:	71, 155
		4.8.5:	42, 53	7.1.29:	155
<i>Aeneid</i>		4.8.36:	41	7.1.43:	217
3.131-34:	250	5.1.3:	162	7.3.1:	162
		5.1.29:	95, 162	7.4.1:	98, 107
Xenophon		5.1.31:	62	7.4.12:	154
		5.2.1-7:	162	7.4.17:	217
<i>Agesilaus</i>		5.2.25:	39, 106, 108, 109	7.4.18:	217
2.22:	103	5.2.25-36:	107 <i>bis</i>	7.5.5:	118, 124, 126,
2.24:	65	5.2.29:	108, 109 <i>bis</i>		136, 156, 160, 162
		5.3.3:	70		
<i>Anabasis</i>		5.4.1-12:	107 <i>bis</i>	<i>Respublica</i>	
1.1.2:	152	5.4.6:	109	<i>Lacedaimoniorum</i>	
2.5.37:	125, 128	5.4.10:	110	15.3:	65
3.1.31:	128, 152	5.4.14:	101		
4.1.27:	125	5.4.15:	111	<i>Memorabilia</i>	
4.6.20:	125	5.4.16-7:	75	1.1.16:	64
4.7.9:	125	5.4.17-8:	74	3.5.4:	38, 92
4.7.13:	128	5.4.36:	121, 162	3.6.6:	63
5.4.8:	52	5.4.37:	121		
5.5.10:	52	5.4.41:	111 <i>bis</i>	<i>De Vectigalibus</i>	
7.6.40:	123	5.4.42:	110	4.50:	68
		5.4.46:	108, 111		
<i>Cyropaedia</i>		5.4.46-8:	107	Xenion (FGrHist 460)	
7.1.45:	47	5.4.48:	38, 99	2:	271
		5.4.49:	37, 38 <i>bis</i> , 55,		
<i>Hellenica</i>			56, 59, 104, 105 <i>bis</i> ,	Zenobius	
1.1.26:	43		106, 107	3.42:	229 <i>bis</i>
3.1.13:	47	5.4.51:	102		
3.2.21:		6.2.2-3:	17		

Index of Names

- Abai, 41
 Abdera, 30, 41
 Abydos, 4, 249
 Achaia, 5, 31, 164-232
 Achaia Klauss, 183, 220
 Acheloos, 213, 251, 255, 308
 Achilleion, 41
 Achilleios, 68
 Achilleus, 66, 208
 Adamesteanu, D., 230, 322, 329, 333, 353, 356
 Adeimantos, 14, 17
 Adirakou, 190
 Aelian, 299
 Aeneas, 250
 Aeneas Tacticus, 24-5, 26, 27, 29-30, 312
 Aetos, 201
 Africa, 261
 Ag. Basileios, 191, 224
 Ag. Giorgos, 190, 191, 192
 Ag. Konstantinos, 187, 188, 224
 Ag. Marina Tritaias, 225
 Ag. Nikolaos, 188
 Ag. Nikolaos-Plakes, 187, 188
 Ag. Nikolaos-Vasilosykia, 188
 Ag. Paraskevi, 184, 188, 222
 Ag. Vlasi, 224
 Agamemnon, 199, 226, 249-50
 Agariste, 139
 Agesilaos, 37, 65, 70, 137
 Agore, 37, 72
 Agrapides, 224
 Agros Katsikopoulou, 224
 Aigai, 149, 167, 169, 174, 180, 198, 212, 216, 218
 Aigaii, 42
 Aige, 24, 42
 Aigeira, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 171-4, 176, 179, 180, 181, 198, 218
 Aigialeia, 198
 Aigialos, 198
 Aigina, 42, 71, 223
 Aigion, 165-6, 167, 168, 169, 171, 174, 176-9, 180, 181, 193, 196, 197, 198, 201, 208, 217, 218, 219, 226
 Aigirossa, 42
 Aigosthena, 17, 32, 68, 74, 103
 Aigytiis, 156
 Ainarion, 225
 Aineia, 42, 71
 Aineias of Stymphalos, 25
 Ainian, A. Mazarakis, 173
 Ainos, 42
 Aiolidai, 42
 Aisaros river, 202, 206
 Aischylos, 173
 Aischylos of Thespiai, 111
 Aitolia, 161
 Ajax, 204
 Akakesion, 148, 152
 Akanthos, 24
 Akarnania, 31
 Akko, 247
 Akko-Ptolemais, 24
 Akontion, 148, 152
 Akragas, 331, 336, 342, 355, 358
 Akrai, 318, 321, 335-6, 350, 351, 356
 Akraiphia, 22, 42, 78-9, 82, 89, 90, 106, 107
 Akrata, 174, 180
 Akrokorinth, 178
 Akrothoon, 24, 42
 Akrotiri peninsula, 244, 269
 Alalia, 43
 Alalkomenai, 70, 77, 79
 Alea, 118, 142, 144, 153, 156, 159
 Alexander the Great, 13, 63, 98, 107, 289, 298, 299, 300, 312
 Alexandropolis, 312
 Alexandrescu, P., 314, 315
 Alexiou, S., 247
 Alipheira, 22-3, 118-9, 140-1, 143, 144, 146, 147, 149, 153, 162, 163
 Alissos, 184, 185, 222
 Alkaios, 21-2
 Alkibiades, 182, 194
 Alkinoos, 67
 Allante, 152
 Alpenos, 20, 29, 41, 43
 Alpheios, 68
 Alzinger, W., 171-2, 173
 Amaron, 226
 Amasis, 41
 Amendolara, 203

- Amilos, 145, 152
 Amphikaia, 43
 Amphilochos, 51
 Amphissa, 43
 Amprakia, 71
 Amyklai, 237, 252, 259, 260-1, 269, 273, 279, 280, 281
 Amyntas I, 292, 293, 309
 Amyntas II, 309
 Amyntas III, 292, 309
 Anaphlystos, 30, 32
 Anavlochos, 10, 36, 279
 Anaximandros, 299
 Anchialos, 295, 296, 298, 314
 Anderson, J.K., 197, 208, 216
 Andros, 318
 Androtion, 53
 Anemos hill, 183
 Ano Achaia, 188
 Ano Mazaraki-Rakita, 177, 178, 179
 Ano-Siphai, 103
 Ano Soudheneika, 187
 Ano Soudheneika-Stroupheika, 188
 Ano Sykaina, 183, 185
 Ano Temeni, 226
 Antandros, 43
 Anthana, 152
 Anthas, 81
 Anthedon, 56, 73, 77, 80-1, 105, 107
 Antheia, 183, 185, 221
 Anthele, 20, 29, 41, 43
 Anthene, 20, 66
 Antikyra, 43
 Antiochos of Syracuse, 204, 206, 210-1
 Antiphemos, 330, 333, 358
 Apessokari, 259, 261, 262, 263
 Apessokari-Flora, 261
 Apherati, 276
 Aphrodite, 111, 276, 303, 304, 305, 314, 337, 338, 356; *Pontia*: 314
 Aphytis, 24, 43
 Apollon, 67, 85, 94, 102, 106, 172, 179, 206, 207, 213, 217, 294, 299, 304, 312, 355; *Archegetas*: 111, 338; *Amyklaios*: 280; *Ietros*: 303, 314; *Lykeios*: 231; *Pythios*: 229
 Apollonia (Crete), 263, 280, 314, 315
 Apollonia (Illyria), 43
 Apollonia (Pontos), 30, 43, 290, 293, 296, 297, 300, 301, 303, 304, 308, 312, 313, 314
 Appius Claudius, 247, 249, 277
 Aratos, 196
 Araxos-Mesa Paralimni, 189
 Arbas, 183
 Archias, 206
 Archidamos, 100
 Argamum, 296
 Argilos, 23, 24, 43
 Argolis, 143, 198, 213, 214
 Argos, 23, 30, 43, 67, 78, 135, 143, 157, 158, 161, 162, 168, 178, 197, 199, 254, 317
 Argyra, 183, 184
 Arisba, 71
 Aristomedes, 275
 Aristophanes, 34
 Aristoteles of Marathon, 17
 Aristotle, 9, 15, 20-1, 22, 23, 25, 37, 63, 169, 204, 237, 240
 Aristoxenos of Tarentum, 249, 250, 299, 303
 Arkades, 243, 276
 Arkadia, 5, 17, 23, 117-163, 171, 172, 177, 178, 179, 192, 201, 216, 245, 291
 Arkas, 132, 157-8
 Armarion, 225
 Arnaud, P., 289
 Aroe, 183, 221
 Arrhichion, 160
 Artake, 43
 Artemidoros of Ephesos, 271
 Artemis, 172, 179, 213, 294, 303; *Pytheia*: 313-4; *Triklaria*: 183, 185
 Armititai, 252-4, 273
 Arva, 183, 184
 Asani, 224
 Asea, 119, 136-7, 142, 143, 144, 147, 149, 156, 158, 159, 163
 Asheri, D., 350
 Asia Minor, 164, 198
 Asine, 71, 159
 Asklepios, 127, 141, 162, 170, 248, 251, 255, 269, 278
 Askra, 74, 78, 86, 110
 Asodoporos, 199
 Asopichos of Orchomenos, 96
 Asopos river, 99, 103, 104, 106
 Aspledon, 73, 74
 Assa, 24, 44

- Assera, 44
 Astakas, 68
 Astritsi, 247, 277
 Astylos of Kroton, 65
 Ataias, 100
 Athanodoros, 199
 Athena, 67, 80, 87, 129, 141, 162, 163, 203, 204, 262, 280, 305, 315, 322, 323, 325, 335, 344, 355, 356; *Adia*: 276; *Amaria*: 196; *Itonia*: 86, 87, 91; *Larisaia*: 189; *Lindia*: 355; *Polias*: 36, 67, 70, 80, 315, 343, 344; *Soteira*: 315
 Athenaios, 237
 Athens, 14, 15, 16, 20, 22, 23, 25, 27, 32, 35, 36, 44, 67, 89, 97, 98, 100, 101, 107, 122, 143, 153, 155, 158, 169, 176, 201, 209, 225, 231, 254, 272, 274, 306, 357
 Athos, 20, 27, 42, 44, 46, 51, 53
 Atramyttion, 71
 Attalos I, 294
 Attika, 15, 19, 30, 73, 74, 89, 97, 99, 100, 176, 239, 256
 Augustus, 165, 167, 183, 216
 Aulis, 56, 74, 104, 106
 Aulon (Arkadia), 152
 Aulon (Crete), 237, 259, 266-8, 269, 270, 273, 279, 281
 Austin, M.M., 40
 Australia, 10
 Aymard, A., 225-6
 Axos, 246, 275, 281
 Azania, 160
 Azanidos, 189
- Bacchylides, 211
 Bakhuizen, 31
 Baltchik, 295
 Baltimore, 177
 Bammer, A., 171
 Barke, 44
 Barra Bagnasco, M., 354
 Baschmakoff, A., 289, 308
 Basilis, 148, 152
 Bathos, 148
 Bathykles, 130
 Batteria hill, 205
 Battos, 207, 229
 Belbina, 20
- Belli, H., 275
 Belvedere, O., 318
 Bene, 237, 259, 266, 268-9, 270, 273, 279
 Bennet, J., 279
 Benveniste, E., 69
 Bérard, J., 210, 333
 Bergquist, B., 326
 Bernabò Brea, L., 323, 324, 333, 356
 Beschi, L., 275
 Biannos, 241
 Bile, 243
 Bionnos, 248, 277
 Bizone, 294-6, 297, 298, 300
 Black Sea, the, 5, 288-316, 319
 Blinkenberg, C., 323, 332
 Boeckh, A., 313
 Boges, 44
 Boibe, 237, 259, 261-2, 268-9, 270, 273, 279
 Boiotia, 5, 7, 11, 22, 38, 57, 64, 71, 73-112, 117, 143, 226, 245
 Boline, 183-4, 217
 Bolioti, 190
 Bonacasa, N., 340
 Bosnia, 16
 Bouga, 224
 Bouphagion, 146
 Boura, 167, 174-5
 Bourdaneika, 188
 Bourines, 191
 Bradeen, D.W., 119
 Brasidas, 24
 Brenthe, 145, 152
 Bresson, A., 72
 Byzantion, 44, 48, 293, 297, 300, 301
- Callmer, C., 133
 Canzanella, M.G., 334
 Cape Colonna, 71, 205
 Cape Dolojman, 296
 Cape Geraistos, 68
 Cape Lakinion, 206, 208
 Cape Lithinos, 260
 Cape Malea, 68
 Cape Spatha, 249, 255
 Cape Tainaros, 68
 Capo Schisò, 337
 Capo Soprano, 332, 358, 359
 Carter, J.C., 11, 230

- Casevitz, M., 291, 333, 343
 Castagnoli, F., 336
 Castello hill, 205
 Cave di Cusa, 363
 Chairisia, 147, 152
 Chaironeia, 38, 66, 73, 77, 79, 81-2, 90, 92, 94, 96, 98, 143
 Chalandritsa, 189, 191, 223
 Chalia, 74
 Chalkedon, 48, 300, 301-2
 Chalkis, 30, 71
 Chania, 243, 255
 Chaniotis, A., 243, 252, 253, 274, 277
 Charadra, 44
 Charadron, 185, 221
 Charadron-Patras, 183
 Charkíá Pervoli, 238
 Chatzeika, 184
 Cherry, J.F., 11
 Chersonesos (Black Sea), 289, 292, 302, 306, 307, 311
 Chersonesos (Crete), 245
 China, 16
 Chios, 30, 44
 Chorsiai, 73, 77, 82-3, 112
 Cicero, 169
 Ciro Marina, 206
 Città Vecchia, 320
 Claudius Julius, 271
 Clemens Alexandrinus, 310
 Coldstream, J.N., 224
 Cole, S., 70, 315
 Compernelle, R. Van, 333, 356
 Cook, J.M., 235, 236, 272
 Copenhagen Polis Centre, the, 5, 7, 9, 12, 18, 19, 26, 27, 32, 33, 62, 152, 164, 234, 271, 317
 Coucouzeli, A., 353
 Cozzo Michellicchio, 204
 Crete, 5, 10, 233-87, 318, 364
 Curtius, E., 183
- Daidalos, 358
 Daïmenes, 194
 Dam Dere, 235
 Damasias, 194
 Damokrates of Itanos, 275
 Danov, C., 290, 312
- Dardanos, 44
 Dareios, 290, 291
 Dasea, 145, 148
 Daskon, 342
 Dattalla, 245, 276
 Daulieus, 230
 Daulios, 211
 Daulis, 44
 Davia, 160
 Davis, J.L., 11
 Dekelia, 35
 Dekoulakou, 224
 Delion, 56, 57, 74, 85, 89, 90, 94, 97, 104, 106
 Delphi, 44, 58, 67, 91, 92, 96, 110, 140, 157, 161, 162, 172, 178, 184, 202, 206, 207, 229, 248, 257, 279, 303
 Delphinion, 73, 73
 Delphousia, 152
 Demand, N., 133, 225
 Demeter, 34, 89, 102, 108, 178, 304, 341, 347, 355, 356, 358; *Eleusinos*: 89; *Mysaia*: 170
 Demetrias, 46
 Demetrios of Kallatis, 271, 291, 292, 295, 303, 308
 Demosthenes, 25, 40, 83, 217
 Dendros, 184
 Denmark, 10
 Deraia, 152
 Derveni, 175, 201
 Despoina, 162
 Detonnon/Diatonion, 247, 250, 251, 252, 277
 Dexilaos, 204
 Didyma, 313
 Dikaia, 44
 Dikaiarchos, 169
 Dikte, 241
 Diktyнна, 275
 Diktyннаion, 249, 256
 Dimetsana, 155
 Diodoros, 13, 17, 207, 288, 346
 Diogenes Laertius, 257, 299
 Dion, 24, 44, 66
 Dionysios, 267
 Dionysios of Byzantion, 309
 Dionysios of Halikarnassos, 211
 Dionysios Periegetes, 291, 309
 Dionysopolis, 294, 295, 297, 298, 299, 300, 310, 312

- Dionysos, 97, 110, 174, 213, 258, 266, 294,
298, 304, 305, 310, 314; *Dasyllios*: 305, 314;
Kadmeios: 108; *Patroos*: 305
- Diopé, 152
- Diopos, 361
- Dioskouroi, 311
- Dipaia, 119, 133, 138, 142, 143, 144, 147, 149,
159, 160
- Dipoina, 145, 160
- Dniestr, 296
- Dreiros, 9, 10, 21, 36, 67
- Dobree, P.P., 272
- Donakon, 75
- Donau, 296
- Donoussa, 168, 217
- Dorieus, 231
- Doris, 66, 231
- Dosiades, 237, 261
- Dothan, M., 247, 277
- Doullichion, 199
- Drepanon, 166, 181, 183, 184
- Drosato Brysariou-Lakes, 224
- Drymos, 44, 75
- Dubois, L., 120, 155
- Ducrey, P., 271, 349
- Dunbabin, T.J., 229
- Durham, 72
- Dužanić, S., 133
- Dymaia, 170
- Dyme, 67, 159, 165, 166, 167, 170, 180, 186-9,
193, 198-9, 201, 213, 214, 225, 226, 227
- Effenterre, van H., 254, 256, 263-4, 265, 278,
281
- Egypt, 248
- Ehrhardt, N., 291, 293, 300
- Eileision, 75
- Eion, 44
- Elaia, 42
- Elaiochorion, 188
- Elateia, 44
- Elea, 319
- Eleaion, 175
- Eleia, 227
- Eleon, 56, 75, 77, 99, 105
- Eleusis, 19, 30, 32, 68, 84, 85
- Eleutherai, 74, 89
- Eleutherna, 242, 252-4, 275, 276
- Elis, 45, 48, 50, 64, 65, 67, 71, 118, 143, 149,
153, 158, 161, 162, 171, 193, 199, 204, 223
- Eltynia, 237
- Elyros, 255
- Emporion, 355
- England, 234
- Enispe, 133, 146, 152
- Entimos, 333
- Epameinondas, 65, 156
- Ephesos, 44, 65
- Ephoros, 210, 211, 230, 271
- Epidauros, 71, 91, 92, 108, 111, 161, 231
- Epion, 45
- Erchia, 27, 36, 67
- Eretria, 22, 23, 35, 45, 58, 67, 69, 71, 98, 317,
355
- Erineos, 179
- Erochos, 45
- Erythrai, 45, 77, 83-4, 89, 100, 107
- Esaro river, 321
- Eteonos, 77, 84-5
- Eua, 119-20, 144, 153, 159
- Euaimon, 120, 142, 144
- Euchenor, 305
- Eugeia, 152
- Eumelos, 153
- Eumelos, 183
- Eumenes, 294
- Euripides, 34
- Europe, 28
- Eurotas, 68, 308
- Eurymedes, 247
- Eusebios, 202, 211
- Eustathius, 291-2
- Eutaia, 137, 142, 145, 147, 159, 162
- Eutresia, 145, 147
- Eutresis, 77, 84, 85, 110, 112
- Euthyphron, 279
- Evans, A., 261
- Evrostina, 174
- Faure, P., 247, 255, 262-3, 266, 271, 276, 277
- Fiorentini, G., 326, 357
- Firenze, 205
- Fischer-Hansen, T., 72, 215
- Fisker, T., 365
- Flaboura, 224
- Flensted-Jensen, P., 32, 72

- Forsén, J., 158, 163
 Fossey, J.M., 11, 64
 Francavilla, 203
 Fteri, 191
- Gabrici, E., 347
 Gadolou, A., 215, 220
 Gaertringen, Hiller von, 121, 122, 156, 157, 160
 Galaneika, 188
 Galaxidi, 184
 Gale(pos), 24, 45
 Gardena, 175
 Gatheai, 152
 Gehrke, H.-J., 156, 157
 Gela, 321-34, 336, 351, 355, 356, 358, 359
 Gelas river, 321, 322
 Gelon, 343, 358
 Geraneia, 68
 Gerbesi, 223
 Gergis, 235-6
 Gerokomeio, 184, 222
 Gianelli, G., 208
 Giangiulio, M., 207, 229
 Gigonos, 45
 Gla, 75
 Glastra, 224
 Glaukos, 343
 Glisas, 56, 75, 105
 Goegebeur, W., 212, 214
 Golimi, 184
 Gondiccas, D., 243
 Gonnos, 45
 Gonoessa, 168
 Gorgo Cotone river, 345, 347
 Gortyn, 21, 237, 238, 239-42, 243, 245, 247, 248, 249, 254, 257, 258, 259, 261, 262-6, 267, 268, 269, 270, 273, 274, 275, 277, 279, 280, 281
 Gow, A.S.F., 248
 Graham, A.J., 333
 Graia, 75
 Greco, E., 317
 Greece (ancient), 11, 33, 35, 63, 164, 198, 200, 255, 325, 345, 351, 355
 Greece (modern), 10
 Gryneia, 45
 Gschnitzer, F., 257
- Guarducci, M., 239, 240, 242, 247, 252, 254, 255, 256, 262-3, 266, 272, 273, 275
 Gullini, G., 318
 Guzzo, P.G., 202
- Hagia Galini, 276
 Hagii Deka, 266, 281
 Hagios Ioannis, 238
 Haimoniai, 145, 148, 152, 158
 Halberr, F., 263, 281
 Haliartos, 38, 85-7, 90, 92, 94, 106, 107, 110
 Halikarnassos, 71
 Halous, 145
 Hamarion, 226
 Hanell, K., 290, 315
 Hänsel, B., 353
 Hansen, M.H., 5, 72, 136, 152, 200, 215, 234-5, 236, 245, 258, 270, 271, 308, 315, 352, 355, 359
 Harma, 56, 75, 77, 78, 99, 105
 Harpokration, 83
 Hatzi, 224
 Head, B.V., 125
 Hejnic, J., 133, 161
 Hekataios, 68, 161, 296
 Hekatonnesoi, 45
 Helen, 208
 Helike, 167, 168, 175, 178, 196, 197, 198, 214, 217, 219, 226
 Helikon, 112
 Helisson, 120-1, 137, 142, 143, 144, 147, 153, 155, 157, 159-60
 Hellanikos, 271
 Hellas, 8, 11, 22, 28
 Hera, 102, 213, 229, 330, 358; *Argeia*: 213, 231; *Lakinia*: 205, 213; *Parthenos*: 331
 Heraia, 121, 132, 141, 142, 143, 146, 156, 162, 193
 Heraion, 45
 Heraionteichos, 45
 Heraïis, 244
 Herakleia Pontike, 106, 110, 292, 300, 302, 304, 306, 307, 309, 312, 314
 Herakleia Trachinia, 197
 Herakleides, 81
 Herakleides, 279
 Herakleion, 237, 273
 Herakles, 110, 207, 213, 229, 231, 304, 315;

- Bouraikos*: 175
 Herkyna river, 92
 Hermaion, 91
 Hermes, 217, 276; *Kriophoros*: 60; *Promachos*: 59, 60
 Hermesianax of Kolophon, 167
 Hermione, 71
 Herodian, 266, 271
 Herodotos, 14, 19, 20, 23, 24, 26, 27, 29, 32, 39-41, 46, 71, 136, 138, 139, 142, 161, 163, 167-8, 197, 204, 212, 214, 271, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 302, 308, 343
 Herophile, 235
 Herrenius Philo of Byblos, 271
 Hierapytna, 243, 255, 257, 276, 279, 280
 Hieron, 337, 338
 Himera, 30, 318, 321, 322, 324, 336, 339-42, 345, 351, 360, 363
 Himera river, 339
 Hind, J.G.F., 308, 309, 315
 Hipparis river, 344
 Hippodamas, 318
 Hippokrates of Gela, 343
 Hipponion, 319
 Hippotai, 75
 Hippys of Rhegion, 206, 229
 Histiaia, 45-6
 Holmberg, E., 158
 Homarion, 195, 196, 226
 Homer, 34, 168, 175, 217
 Hood, S., 247, 276
 Humphreys, S.C., 355
 Hyampolis, 46, 66
 Hyele, 46
 Hyettos, 73, 87-8, 95
 Hyle, 75
 Hyparis river, 342, 343
 Hypereides, 194
 Hyperesia, 168, 169, 173
 Hypergenes, 247
 Hypsous, 147
 Hyria, 46, 75
 Hyrtakina, 249, 250, 255
 Hysiai, 74, 77, 88-9, 99, 100

 Ialysos, 71, 72
 Iasaia, 133, 145, 147, 156, 158
 Iasos, 48

 Ida, 249, 259
 Ikaros, 173
 Ilion, 30, 272
 Ina, 243
 Inatos, 241, 259, 274, 279-80
 Incoronata, 209
 Ionia, 168
 Iphigeneia, 172
 Iran, 16
 Is of Helike, 204, 212
 Ischia, 319
 Isokrates, 14-5, 138
 Isos, 75
 Isthmia, 178
 Istros, 290, 293, 294, 296, 297, 298, 300, 301, 303, 304, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314
 Istros river, 290, 311
 Italy, 5, 169, 193, 207, 209, 212, 213, 214, 216, 229, 230, 288
 Itanos, 46, 243, 257, 275, 277
 Ithaka, 199, 201

 Jacoby, F., 156
 Jeffery, L.H., 182, 199
 Jenkins, G.K., 333
 Johnston, 216
 Jones, N., 170
 Jost, M., 160

 Kadmeia, 107, 108, 109
 Kadre, 278
 Kalamakion, 188
 Kalaureia, 230
 Kalavryta, 189, 192, 216, 224
 Kalavryta Kastro, 224
 Kali Limenes, 260
 Kallatis, 290, 292, 293, 295, 297, 300, 301, 302, 304, 305, 309, 312, 313, 314, 315
 Kallia, 145
 Kalliai, 152
 Kallias, 204
 Kallipolis, 71, 211
 Kallistai, 159
 Kallisthenes, 271
 Kallisto, 125
 Kallithea-Laganida, 181
 Kalogria, 186
 Kalydnos, 71

- Kalydon, 194
 Kamarina, 318, 321, 335, 336, 342-345
 Kamenitsa, 185, 222
 Kamini, 190
 Kamiros, 71, 72
 Kampsia, 46
 Kanli Kastelli, 249
 Kantanos, 278
 Kaous, 152
 Kaphyai, 121, 142, 143, 146, 154
 Karavostasi Kastro, 188
 Kardia, 46
 Karene, 46
 Karkalou, 155
 Karphi, 318
 Kasmenai, 46, 318, 321, 335, 336, 354
 Kasteliana, 260
 Kastelli, 277
 Kastellos, 266
 Kastellos Varypetro, 243
 Kasthanaia, 46
 Kastri, 276
 Kastro, 175
 Katarchia, 189
 Katarraktis, 189, 190, 192
 Kato Achaia, 166, 178, 186, 187, 188, 215, 222
 Kato Katritsi, 184, 222
 Kato Mavriki, 177
 Kato Mazarakion, 188
 Kato Syme Viannou, 276
 Kato Temeni, 226
 Kaudos, 237, 279
 Kaulonia, 194, 208-9, 211, 319, 354
 Keen, A., 72, 152
 Kefala Kirathiani, 268
 Keos, 11, 22, 46, 71
 Keramida, 188
 Keressos, 75, 110
 Keryneia, 167, 175, 197, 219
 Kerynitis, 175
 Keskora, 242, 264, 269
 Killa, 46
 Kimon, 65
 Kioupia, 224
 Kisamos, 249
 Kithairon, 74
 Klaffenbach, G., 118
 Klazomenai, 30, 46
 Kleandros, 331
 Kleinopatros of Miletos, 65
 Kleisoura, 224
 Kleisthenes, 66
 Kleitor, 121, 142, 143, 144, 146, 160, 162, 163
 Kleoboulos, 323, 325, 355
 Kleombrotos, 204
 Kleomenes, 231
 Kleonai (Argolis), 197
 Kleonai (Athos), 24, 46-7
 Knauson, 133, 147
 Knidos, 71
 Knossos, 237, 238, 241, 247, 249, 250, 262, 263, 273, 274, 276
 Koerner, R., 193, 208, 217
 Koila, 145
 Koiranos, 305
 Kolenis river, 255
 Kolophon, 47
 Kombreia, 47
 Kommos, 259, 261, 280
 Kompegadi, 224
 Konon, 260
 Kopai, 73, 78, 79, 82, 89-90
 Korakofolia hill, 224
 Kore, 102, 178
 Koressia, 22
 Korinth, 9, 12, 14, 22, 28, 36, 38, 71, 73, 172, 174, 178, 201, 202, 209, 213, 231, 317, 334
 Korinthia, 173
 Korion, 276
 Koroneia (Boiotia), 38, 57, 76, 83, 86, 90-1, 92, 93, 107
 Koroneia (Messenia), 159
 Kortys, 122, 140, 142, 143, 144, 147, 149, 154, 159
 Kos, 71, 130
 Kotys III, 295
 Koufales Pyrgaki, 190
 Koufomikeli-Melitzani, 183, 222
 Koukoura, 220
 Kourtolia, 247-8, 250, 251, 252
 Koxare, 247, 248
 Krathis, 203, 212
 Kreusis, 75, 107, 110
 Krimisa, 206
 Krisa, 211
 Kroll, J., 215, 218

- Kroton, 47, 194-5, 197, 205-8, 211, 212, 229,
 231, 319, 320-1, 350
 Krousis, 42, 45, 46, 47, 52
 Kryoneri, 224
 Kydonia, 243, 244, 245, 248, 249, 251, 264,
 269, 276
 Kyklades, 355, 364
 Kyllene, 68, 127
 Kyme, 47, 319
 Kynaitha, 122, 142, 144, 145, 224
 Kynouria, 134, 145, 147
 Kypsela, 148
 Kyrene, 12, 23, 25, 40, 47, 158, 207, 229, 255,
 259
 Kyros, 14, 169
 Kyrtone, 75
 Kythera, 29, 68
 Kythnos, 71
 Kyzikos, 71

 Lachania, 243
 Lactantius, 235
 Lakakis, M., 165, 188, 225
 Lake Kopais, 88
 Lakedaimon, 18, 25, 29
 Lakkopetra, 188
 Lakkopetra-Kiaphes, 188
 Lakkopetra-Stamatopouleika, 188
 Lakkopetra-Tragani, 188
 Lakonia, 62, 119, 169, 172, 198, 214, 238, 256,
 273
 Lalikosta, 191
 Lamachos, 306
 Lambiri, 179
 Lampsakos, 47, 50
 Lapas, 188
 Larisa, 47
 Larsen, J.A.O., 164-5, 193, 197, 225, 237-9,
 240, 241-2, 267, 273, 279
 Lasaia, 260
 Lasion, 122, 142, 144, 149, 154
 Lasithi, 259
 Lato, 239, 241, 269, 270, 274
 Latosion, 254
 Lavda, 155
 Laxania, 243-4
 Le Rider, G., 278
 Leahy, D.M., 227

 Lebadeia, 38, 73, 86, 91-2, 95
 Lebedos, 47
 Lebena, 237, 248, 251, 255, 260, 261, 268, 269,
 270, 273, 277, 279
 Lebessi, A., 276
 Legrand, Ph.-E., 291
 Lenk, B., 290
 Leon, V. Mitsopoulou, 220
 Leonidas of Tarentum, 249
 Leontinoi, 71, 321, 333, 354
 Leontion, 167, 190
 Leontomenes, 194
 Lepreon, 47, 120, 127
 Leschhorn, W., 333
 Leto, 303
 Leukas, 68, 72
 Leukippos, 211
 Leuktra, 75, 83, 92, 110, 194
 Leuktron, 180
 Lévy, E., 19, 68
 Libya, 49
 Lichas, 65
 Lilaia, 42
 Limnai, 244
 Limnochorion, 188
 Lindioi, 322, 332-4, 355, 358
 Lindos, 72, 322-3, 355
 Liopesi, 190
 Lipara, 244, 248-9, 250, 251, 252
 Lipaxos, 47
 Lisos, 255, 256
 Lokris, 11, 36, 41, 63, 64, 73, 83, 204
 Lokroi Epizephyrioi, 208, 320, 324, 354, 358
 Lousika, 187
 Lousoi, 65, 123, 144, 146, 159, 178, 220
 Loutra Araxou, 223
 Luxembourg, 28
 Lydiadas, 141
 Lykaia, 133, 138, 140, 145, 147, 152, 159
 Lykastos, 249, 250, 251, 276
 Lykoa, 147, 152
 Lykon, 194, 199, 225
 Lykophron, 208
 Lykortas, 164
 Lykosoura, 123, 139-40, 143, 144, 148, 149,
 162
 Lykourgos (the Athenian), 14
 Lykourgos (the Spartan), 249

- Lyktos, 241, 247, 275, 276
 Lyle, 152
 Lysandros, 87, 92
 Lysikrates, 225
 Lysimachos, 299, 300
 Lyttos, 46
 Macan, R.W., 72
 Macedonia, 16, 197, 292
 Madonna dell' Alemanna, 358
 Madytos, 47-8
 Magas, 255, 256
 Magna Graecia, 202, 212, 317, 318, 319-21, 342
 Magnesia, 161
 Maier, F.-G., 72
 Mainalia, 134-8, 145, 147, 157, 163
 Mainalon (Mt.), 157
 Mainalon (territory), 157
 Mainalos (hero), 132, 156
 Mainalos (*polis*), 138, 145, 148, 152, 157, 158, 160
 Makareai, 152
 Makaria, 148
 Makedonopolis, 312
 Makistos, 48
 Makrigialos, 257
 Maktorion, 71
 Mali, 75
 Malkin, I., 200, 208, 261, 280, 350
 Malophoros, 314, 347, 349, 364
 Mamousia, 175
 Manesi, 224
 Maneteika, 188
 Mangalia, 309
 Manganaro, G., 267, 276, 279
 Mathyrea, 152
 Mantinea, 23, 36, 123-4, 129, 131, 132, 135, 137, 140, 142, 143, 144, 149, 154, 156, 157, 158, 160, 162, 163, 193
 Mantinike, 131, 155
 Mantzourani, E., 11
 Marathi, 244, 275
 Marathon, 100
 Marathospelios, 275
 Maroneia (Crete), 276
 Maroneia (Thrace), 48
 Maronia, 276
 Marpossos, 235-6, 272
 Martin, R., 334, 358
 Martin, T., 174
 Masson, O., 249, 277
 Matalon, 237, 273
 Mavropodia, 184
 Mavrovouni, 103
 Medeon, 75-6, 86, 201
 Megale Meter, 92
 Megalopolis, 9, 12, 124, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 136, 138, 140, 141, 142, 144, 157, 158, 162, 163, 196
 Meganeitas valley, 178
 Megara, 17, 20, 30, 32, 48, 72, 106, 110, 300, 304, 313, 315, 345
 Megara Hyblaia, 209, 321, 323, 335, 336, 337, 340, 345, 346, 347, 350, 351, 354-5
 Megareus, 94
 Megaris, 17, 32, 74
 Meilichos, 183
 Meilichos river, 213
 Meineke, A., 225
 Mekyllerna, 24, 48
 Melainai, 145, 152
 Melambes, 248, 276, 277
 Melander, T., 352
 Meliboia, 48
 Melos, 9, 72
 Memnon, 297
 Mende, 24, 48
 Mendone, L., 198
 Menekolos, 342, 361
 Menelaos, 67, 208, 229, 261
 Mertens, D., 213, 356
 Mesambria (Pontos), 48, 290, 291, 293, 295, 296, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 309, 311, 313, 314, 315
 Mesambria (Thrace), 48
 Mesapios, 308
 Mesara, 237, 238, 241, 242, 258-9, 260, 263, 268, 269, 270, 279
 Mesatis, 183, 221
 Messalias river, 247
 Messene, 68, 127
 Messenia, 159, 226, 238
 Metachioion, 76, 91
 Metapontion, 11, 204, 209-11, 212, 213, 230, 231, 320, 350
 Methydriion, 125, 142, 144, 154, 155, 159

- Metochion, 189
 Métraux, G.P.R., 350
 Metzena Gorge, 190
 Meyer, E., 119, 175
 Mideia, 76
 Mihailov, G., 310
 Mikythos, 291
 Milatos, 256
 Miletos, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 293, 297, 298, 311, 314
 Miller, S., 357
 Minoa, 244, 248-9, 269, 275
 Miro, E. De, 326, 357
 Misgolas, 243
 Mitoi, 255
 Mitropolis, 254
 Modaiioi, 255
 Modi, 255
 Modione river, 345, 347, 348
 Moggi, M., 133, 183
 Molino a Vento, 322, 327, 332
 Molino di Pietro, 327-32
 Molochas, 244
 Monastiraki, 192
 Monte Casale, 336
 Motta hill, 203
 Mygdalia, 183, 221
 Mykalessos, 7, 8, 38, 56, 77, 92-3, 99, 105
 Mykenai, 35, 69, 167, 196, 226
 Mylai, 35, 339, 360
 Myous, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48
 Myrina, 48
 Myrkinos, 71
 Mys, 79
 Mysaion, 170
 Mysia, 46
 Myskellos of Rhypes, 206, 207, 212, 216, 229
 Myson, 257
 Mytilene, 50, 72

 Naukratis, 40-1, 48
 Naulochos, 295, 296, 298
 Naupaktos, 20, 184
 Naxos (Sicily), 48, 72, 321, 324, 336, 337-9, 350, 351
 Nea Keryneia, 175, 180
 Neaitos river, 207
 Neapolis, 24, 49

 Nede, 152
 Nellos, 17
 Neon, 49
 Neonteichos, 49
 Neos Erineos, 166, 179
 Nestane, 131, 155
 Nestor, 211
 Nielsen, T.H., 72, 226, 245, 352
 Nigeria, 16
 Nikandros, 204
 Nike, 221
 Nikon of Anthedon, 80
 Nikonion, 296
 Nisa, 76
 Nisyros, 72
 Nonakris, 49, 145, 146, 152, 161
 Nonakris (Arkadian Tripolis), 145
 Notion, 49
 Noudion, 49
 Nymphas, 152

 Oasis polis, 49
 Oaxos, 49
 Odessos, 290, 293, 295, 298, 300, 308, 313
 Oibotas, 199
 Oichalia, 152
 Oiniadai, 194
 Oinophyta, 76, 105, 108
 Oion, 20
 Oios, 152
 Oitaia, 41
 Okalea, 76, 86
 Olbia, 49, 67, 289, 295, 312
 Olenos, 166, 167, 181, 184, 185, 216, 220, 225, 227
 Olmones, 76
 Olophyxos, 24, 49, 66
 Olouros, 171, 217
 Olympia, 65, 90, 94, 104, 106, 133, 138, 139, 161, 172, 173, 199, 257, 324
 Olynthos, 24, 49, 156, 185
 Omphake, 358
 Onchestos, 77, 86, 93-4
 Onkeion, 152
 Onomarchos, 91, 95
 Ophryneion, 49
 Orchomenos (Arkadia), 119, 120, 125-6, 132, 135, 142, 143, 144, 149, 154, 155, 157, 162,

- 196
 Orchomenos (Boiotia), 38, 73, 76, 82, 83, 88,
 91, 92, 94-7, 107
 Oreioi, 255-6
 Orestes, 158, 194, 199
 Oresthasion, 126, 133, 136, 144, 147, 149
 Oresthis, 136
 Orgame, 296
 Orlandini, P., 209, 322, 326, 327, 329, 331,
 333, 355, 356
 Oropia, 73
 Oropos, 38, 56, 73, 77, 78, 97, 105, 107
 Orsi, P., 208, 322, 323, 332, 356
 Orthygia, 334
 Osborne, R., 12, 64
 Otranto, 202
 Oulhen, J., 159, 279
 Ovid, 207
- Pachy Ammos, 275
 Pagai, 159
 Page, D.L., 249
 Paion, 49
 Pais, E., 230
 Paisos, 50
 Pala, 242, 264, 269
 Paleia, 186, 187, 199, 227
 Pallantion, 126, 136, 137-8, 142, 143, 144, 147,
 149, 159, 160, 163
 Pallene, 24, 42, 43, 47, 49, 51, 52, 53
 Pammilos, 346
 Pan, 192
 Panagia, 259, 261, 266
 Panagia Trypitis, 176
 Panaktos, 75
 Pangitsa, 192
 Panionion, 14, 168
 Panopeis, 50
 Panopeus, 234
 Panormos, 183, 184, 217, 222
 Pantanassa, 248, 277
 Pantares, 331
 Pantikapaion, 23
 Paos, 133, 139, 142, 143, 145, 146, 160-1
 Papadopoulos, Th.J., 224
 Papadokosta, 184, 222
 Papagiannopoulos, 185
 Paphos, 67
- Parapotamioi, 50
 Parasopia, 84, 99
 Parco del Cavallo, 203
 Paregoros, 305
 Paretì, L., 333
 Parion, 50
 Parisi Presicce, C., 327, 354
 Parmenides of Kamarina, 342
 Paroreia, 147, 152, 162
 Paroreus, 162
 Paros, 37, 50, 70, 305
 (Par)Pylai, 131
 Parrhasia, 134, 145, 148, 152
 Pasimnasta, 250
 Pataikos, 186
 Patela Priniás, 262, 263, 264
 Patrai, 166, 167, 180, 181, 182-6, 193, 194,
 213, 217, 231
 Patras, 165-6, 178, 181, 184, 185, 201, 214,
 221
 Patreus, 183, 194
 Pausanias, 13, 36, 77, 78, 80, 84, 100, 133-4,
 138, 140, 155, 156-7, 162, 163, 164, 167,
 168, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 183, 186,
 196, 198, 199, 207-8, 216, 226, 230, 234,
 235, 236, 305, 314
 Pedasa, 50
 Pedieis, 50
 Pegai, 32
 Peiraieus, 30, 32
 Peiros, 166, 184, 186, 191, 200
 Peisistratos, 65
 Peitho, 305
 Pelagatti, P., 334, 337, 344
 Pellana, 146
 Pellene, 166, 167, 168, 169-71, 180, 194, 198,
 212, 217, 231
 Pelopidas, 36
 Peloponnesos, 5, 35, 164, 168, 169, 194, 196,
 197, 199, 210, 211, 214
 Pelops, 199
 Pendlebury, J.D.S., 268
 Perachora, 178
 Peraitheis, 145, 147, 158
 Pergamos, 249-50, 251, 269
 Perikles, 194
 Perinthos, 50
 Perivolia, 243

- Perkote, 50
 Pernier, L., 262
 Perrhaibia, 45
 Persephone, 356
 Persia, 272
 Peschlow-Bindokat, A., 363
 Peteon, 76
 Petrochorion, 188, 189
 Petropoulos, M., 165, 175, 178, 183, 215, 219, 220, 221, 225
 Petrosaka, 152
 Petroton, 221
 Phaistos, 237, 241, 261, 268, 272, 273, 275, 278
 Phalaisiai, 152
 Phalanthos, 145, 147, 152
 Phalasarna, 243
 Phaleliana, 255
 Phara, 145
 Pharai (Achaia), 167, 191, 192, 225
 Pharai valley (Achaia), 166, 189, 200, 214
 Pharai (Boiotia), 56, 77, 98, 105
 Phaselis, 72
 Phegeia, 152
 Phegoula, 188
 Phelloe, 174
 Pheneos, 126-7, 139, 142, 144, 146, 161
 Phigaleia, 117, 127, 144, 146, 160
 Philip II, 43, 91, 96, 98, 101, 309
 Philip V, 141
 Philochoros, 78
 Philolaos of Korinth, 108
 Philopoimen, 219
 Phlokas, 187, 188
 Phokaia, 50, 333
 Phokis, 11, 64, 72, 73, 82, 223
 Phorieia, 131-2
 Phrixa, 152
 Phriyai, 50
 Phrygia, 294
 Piérart, M., 315
 Pikoulas, Y.A., 152
 Píloros, 24, 50
 Pindar, 109
 Pippidi, D.M., 309
 Pírgos, 259, 267
 Pistyros, 51
 Pitane, 50
 Pithekoussai, 319
 Pitsa, 220
 Planiterou, 224
 Plataiai, 20, 30, 38, 51, 74, 77, 84, 85, 88-9, 99-102, 103, 106, 107, 110, 111
 Plataiis, 84, 89, 100
 Platani, 184
 Platanos, 187
 Platanovrisi, 190
 Plato, 23, 276
 Plinius, 244, 249, 262
 Plora, 259, 261, 262
 Plutarch, 36, 157
 Pobia, 259
 Poikilasion, 255
 Policoro, 319, 359
 Polis, 36
 Pollux, 241, 274
 Polybios, 141, 158, 161, 164-5, 194-6, 225, 247, 250, 271, 331
 Polydargianika, 218
 Polydoros, 208
 Polyeidos, 305
 Polyrrenia, 250, 251
 Pori, 224
 Poseidion, 170
 Poseidon, 32, 68, 87, 94, 174, 177, 196, 213, 230; *Helikonios*: 196
 Poseidonia, 67, 211, 228, 230, 319, 320
 Posideion, 51
 Poteidaia, 24, 30, 51
 Potniai, 77, 102, 107
 Praisos, 233, 234, 237, 257, 275, 276, 279
 Praxiteles, 305
 Prepsidai, 256
 Preuges, 194
 Priamos, 67
 Priansos, 241, 245, 260, 280
 Priene, 51
 Prinias, 263
 Priolithos, 224
 Profitis Ilias (Achaia), 188, 189
 Profitis Ilias, (Crete), 238
 Prokonnesos, 51
 Proseis, 133, 148
 Protogenes, 295
 Provodos, 180
 Psamathous, 68

- Psathopyrgos, 184
 Pseudo-Skymnos, 202, 208, 210, 211, 228, 291,
 292, 293, 294, 295, 298, 299, 306
 Psila Alonia, 221
 Psiloriti, 259
 Psophis, 128, 133, 139, 142, 144, 146, 159, 161
 Psycheion, 248, 277
 Ptoion, 78, 106
 Ptoleiderma, 133, 147
 Ptolemaios, 243
 Ptolis, 36
 Pylai, 152
 Pyloros, 259, 261, 262, 269
 Pylos, 35, 199
 Pyranthos, 241, 260, 268-9, 270, 279
 Pyrathi, 241, 260, 268
 Pyrgos (Crete), 257, 266-7, 268, 269
 Pyrgos (Triphylia), 51
 Python, 207

 Rachividi, 192
 Rakita plain, 179
 Rallo, A., 348
 Redesieh, 247
 Rhamnous, 30, 32
 Rhaukos, 249, 275
 Rhegion, 291, 319
 Rhethymna, 276
 Rhion, 183, 217
 Rhipe, 152
 Rhithymna, 252
 Rhitten, 237, 256, 259, 262-6, 267, 269, 270,
 273, 279, 280, 281
 Rhodes, P.J., 18, 72, 163
 Rhodos, 35, 69, 72, 318, 322, 334, 355
 Rhoiteion, 51
 Rhypes, 167, 179-80, 183, 211-2, 229
 Rhypike, 180
 Rhytion, 237, 241, 256-7, 259, 260, 267, 268-9,
 270, 273, 279
 Rifriscolaro, 361
 Rigsby, K., 248, 266
 Riolos, 189
 Riolos-Katarchia, 188
 Rizakis, A., 165, 215
 Rizomilos, 219
 Roksolanškoé Gorodichtché, 296
 Romeo, I., 356

 Rostovtzeff, M.I., 306
 Rotassi, 241, 259, 268
 Roy, J., 119, 133, 152, 153, 155-6, 161, 163
 Rubinstein, L., 72, 162
 Ru-ki-to, 277
 Russia, 10

 Sadalas II, 295
 Sagaris, 204
 Sakellariou, M., 69, 168
 Salamis, 14, 16, 32, 71
 Salamis (Cyprus), 51
 Sale, 51
 Salganeus, 56, 76, 104
 Samos, 51
 Samothrake, 304
 San Marco-Roggiano, 204
 San Mauro, 204
 San Sosti, 204
 Sane (Athos), 20, 24, 51, 66
 Sane (Pallene), 24, 51
 Santa Anna, 206
 Santa Venera river, 337, 338
 Santameri, 188
 Sarte, 24, 51
 Scheria, 66
 Schinouris, 243, 244
 Schneiderwirth, J.H., 306
 Schoinos, 76, 107
 Schoinous, 152
 Schubring, J., 332, 364
 Segesta, 356
 Seliana, 218
 Seliana Aigialeias, 174
 Selinous, 318, 321, 322, 325, 327, 332, 336,
 339, 345-9, 350, 351, 363
 Selinous river, 175, 224
 Selymbria, 52
 Seremetaki, 224
 Seriphos, 72
 Sermyle, 24, 51-2
 Sestos, 52
 Setaia, 237, 257, 273, 279
 Severus, 311
 Shipley, G., 273
 Sicily, 35, 288, 317-365
 Siderokastro, 221
 Sikyon, 72, 170

- Simoni, E., 220
 Sindike, 289
 Sindos, 52
 Singos, 24, 52
 Sinope, 52, 289, 307
 Siphai, 38, 68, 77, 102-3, 110
 Siphnos, 52
 Siris, 209, 319, 320, 322
 Sithonia, 39, 44, 45, 48, 50, 51, 52, 54
 Sitia, 276
 Siwa, 278
 Skaloula, 189
 Skandeia, 29, 68
 Skaphlai, 77, 84-5, 89, 100, 107
 Skias, 152
 Skillous, 67, 153
 Skione, 24, 52, 101
 Skiritis, 156
 Skiros, 152
 Skirtonion, 152
 Skolos, 56, 77, 84, 89, 100, 103-4, 105, 107
 Skoros, 190
 Skydsgaard, J.E., 70
 Skylax, 17, 19, 20, 29, 30-1, 32, 68, 80, 83,
 156, 169, 225, 249, 257, 289-90, 291, 292-3,
 294, 296, 307
 Skylax of Karyanda, 30
 Skyles, 312
 Skythia, 295
 Smila, 5
 Smyrna, 52, 354
 Snodgrass, A.M., 349
 Solinarion, 79
 Solinus, 204, 208, 211
 Soloeis, 339
 Soloi, 52
 Sosarchos, 250
 Sosikrates, 237, 240
 Sostratos, 170
 Sotades from Crete, 65
 Soulia, 276
 Souda, 255, 276
 Soumateion, 145, 148, 158
 Soumatia, 152
 Sounion, 30, 32
 Spadea, R., 205
 Sparta, 30, 52, 65, 67, 95, 100, 101, 135, 136,
 142, 143, 157, 158, 162, 168, 194, 197, 201,
 229, 237, 238, 240, 260, 261, 273, 280
 Sparton, 194
 Spercheios, 308
 Sperchios valley, 224
 Spratt, T.B.S., 268
 Stageiros, 23, 24, 52
 Stalai, 233, 234, 237, 257-8, 271, 273, 279
 Stamnoula, 175
 Starochori, 190
 Stavros Chalandritsa, 190
 Stephanos of Byzantion, 146, 152, 153, 186,
 208, 230, 233-4, 235, 236, 241, 244, 249,
 250, 261-2, 265, 266, 268, 269, 271-2, 279,
 294, 308
 Stephon, 76
 Sternes, 244, 269
 Stombi, 202, 203
 Strabo, 7, 13, 64, 78, 79, 85, 164, 168, 170,
 171, 175, 177, 183, 186, 195, 204, 206, 207,
 208, 210, 211, 225, 229, 241, 249, 250, 268,
 271, 289, 360
 Stratia, 152
 Stratis, 170
 Stratos, 186
 Stroupheika, 187
 Stryme, 53
 Strymon, 24
 Stucchi, S., 324
 Stymphalos, 128, 132, 142, 144, 154, 162
 Styra, 72
 Sybaris, 53, 194-5, 202-4, 205, 206, 210, 212,
 225, 228, 231, 319
 Sybaris river, 203, 212
 Sybrita, 276
 Switzerland, 16
 Syracuse, 22, 25, 53, 206, 320, 321, 323, 334-5,
 336, 337, 342, 351, 358
 Syria, 51

 Talbert, Richard, 5
 Tanagra, 8, 37, 38, 55-62, 64, 70, 74, 77, 78,
 81, 93, 99, 104-6, 107
 Taphios, 206
 Taras/Tarent, 45, 208, 209, 210, 213, 214, 215,
 319, 320
 Tarrha, 255
 Taucheira, 53
 Tegea, 117, 128-9, 132, 135, 136, 140, 142,

- 143, 144, 149, 154, 156, 162, 193, 291
 Tegyra, 76
 Teichos Dymaion, 186, 188
 Teisamenos, 158, 194, 195, 198, 199, 227
 Tekke Ag. Basileiou, 184
 Tellis, 194
 Telmessos, 23
 Temenia, 249
 T(h)emiskyra, 289
 Temnos, 53
 Tenea, 159
 Tenedos, 39-40, 53
 Teos, 14, 30, 53
 Terranova, 328, 333
 Tethronion, 53
 Tetrakomia, 56, 105, 106
 Teumessos, 76
 Teuthea, 186
 Teuthis, 129, 143, 144, 146, 159
 Teuthras, 225
 Thales, 14
 Thaliades, 143, 145
 Thasos, 12, 67, 307, 334
 Thea, 181, 220
 Thebaïs (Boiotia), 106
 Thebaïs (Egypt), 248
 Thebes, 37, 39, 53, 56, 57, 66, 67, 70, 77, 78,
 81, 84, 85, 89, 90, 91, 94, 95, 96, 98, 99,
 100, 101, 102, 104, 105, 106-10, 136, 156
 Thelpoussa, 13, 142, 144, 146, 149, 161
 Themistokles, 14, 17
 Theopompos, 138, 140
 Theotimides, 153
 Thera, 53, 67
 Therambos, 24, 53
 Therianos, 185
 Therme, 53
 Thermodon, 289
 Thermopylai, 29, 41, 111, 162
 Theron, 339
 Theseus, 15
 Thesmiaia, 170
 Thespiiai, 39, 53, 57, 64, 75, 77, 78, 83, 85, 86,
 99, 106, 110-2
 Thessaly, 217, 224
 Thisbai, 77, 83, 85, 107, 110, 112
 Thisoa (by Orchomenos), 117, 128, 130-1, 134,
 142, 144, 145, 147, 155, 159
 Thisoa (Kynourian), 155
 Thokneia, 152
 Thoknia, 148
 Thorikos, 30, 32, 68
 Thourioi, 23, 195, 210
 Thrace, 23, 24, 51
 Thucydides, 7, 8, 15, 20, 23, 24, 25, 26, 29, 32,
 35, 40, 41, 66, 135-6, 139, 142, 164, 170,
 179, 183, 194, 197, 288, 321-2, 332, 333-4,
 339, 343, 345, 355, 359
 Thyraion, 145, 147
 Thyrea, 20, 66
 Thyreatis, 119
 Thyreion, 152
 Thyssos, 24, 53, 66
 Tilphosaion, 76, 80, 83
 Tjumenev, A.I., 306
 Tomis, 293, 294, 297, 298, 300, 311
 Torone, 24, 54
 Torre Mordilla, 228
 Torthyneion, 131, 142, 144
 Trachis, 54
 Tracy, S., 70
 Traeis, 195, 225
 Trapeza, 152
 Trapeza hill, 179
 Trapezous, 139, 148
 Trapheia, 76
 Tréziny, H., 354
 Tria Magoulia, 188
 Trikolonai, 147
 Trikolonoi, 152, 161-2
 Trikolonos, 162
 Triphylia, 45, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51
 Tripolis, 145, 163
 Triptolemos, 183
 Tritaia, 167, 192, 225
 Tritaia, 54
 Troas, 235
 Troizen, 72, 159, 230
 Trophonios, 92
 Troumbe, 190, 191, 224
 Troy, 34, 66, 207, 211, 212, 226
 Tsetsckhladse, G., 306-7
 Tsoukaleika, 166, 181, 220
 Tsoutsouros, 260
 Tyliossos, 276
 Typhon of Aigion, 208

- Tyras, 296, 310, 311
 Tyros, 20
 Tyrannos, 230
 Tyrtaios, 22
 Tzeros, 189

 United States, the, 234

 Valckenaer, L.K., 42
 Vardhia, 189
 Varro, 295
 Vasilogamvrou, A., 215, 222
 Vatheia, 244
 Vélissaropoulos, J., 274
 Velkov, V., 290
 Velvitsianiko, 183
 Victoria, 342
 Vigna Nuova, 206
 Vinogradov, J., 306-7, 311
 Vita, A. Di, 336, 347, 363
 Viviers, D., 261, 276
 Voulgari Armokastella, 276
 Vouno, 79
 Vristika, 78, 89
 Vroulia, 318, 352-3

 Walbank, F., 195
 Warren, P., 247, 276
 Wasowicz, A., 360
 Wentker, H., 333, 334

 Wever, J. De, 333
 Whitehead, D., 72, 271
 Wikander, Ch., 324, 356
 Wis, 228

 Xanthoudides, St., 262
 Xenion, 271-2
 Xenophon, 15, 17, 18, 25, 26, 28, 29, 32, 40,
 41, 68, 136-7, 142, 164, 171, 194
 Xeropotamos, 221
 Xerxes, 24, 37, 197
 Xydia, 224

 Zagora, 318, 353
 Zakynthos, 17, 199, 229
 Zankle, 54, 339
 Zeus, 79, 82, 90, 195, 196, 213, 263, 304;
 Akraios: 96; *Amarios*: 196; *Atabyrios*: 331;
 Basileus: 92; *Basileios*: 92; *Diktaios*: 243;
 Hamarios/Homarios: 195, 196; *Homagyrios*:
 226; *Karaios*: 81, 96; *Keraios*: 96; *Laphy-*
 stios: 96; *Polieus*: 36, 67, 70, 303, 315;
 Soter: 315
 Zisimeika, 187, 188
 Zoiteion, 147, 152, 162
 Zoiteus, 162
 Zolotarev, M., 306-7
 Zone, 54

 Østby, E., 324, 325, 352, 358, 363

Abstract, Summary. – An abstract in English is compulsory. It should number 10-15 lines, outline main features, stress novel information and conclusions, and end with the author's name, title, and institutional and/or private postal address. – Papers in Danish may be provided with a summary in another language by agreement between author and Editor.

Typescript. – Page 1 should contain title, author's name and the name of the Academy. Page 2: Abstract, author's name and address. Page 3: Table of contents if necessary. Captions should be supplied on separate sheets. Footnotes should be avoided if at all possible; if indispensable, they, too, should be typed on separate sheets. Consult a *recent* issue of the series for general layout.

Typewrite with double space throughout and leave a 4 cm margin *right*. Indicate desired position of illustrations and tables with pencil in margin *and repeat it in the galley proof*.

Use three or fewer grades of heading unless more are indispensable. Avoid long headings. Indicate clearly the hierarchy of headings.

Figures. – Please submit two copies of each graph, map, photograph, etc., all marked with the author's name. Whenever possible all figures will be placed within the text; the nature of the illustrations will govern the Editor's choice of paper quality.

All figures, also line drawings, must be submitted as glossy, photographic prints suitable for direct reproduction. Prints fitting the indicated printed area are preferred, but the final size is the responsibility of the Editor. The scale should be indicated in the caption or, preferably, on the illustration itself.

Fold-out figures and tables should be avoided. Use distinct (but not dominant) capital letters for the items in composite figures. For transfer lettering use simple, semi-bold typefaces. The size of the smallest letters should not be less than 1.5 mm. Intricate tables are often more easily reproduced from line-drawings or from technically perfect original computer or type processor output.

References. – In general, the Editor expects all references to be formally consistent and in accordance with accepted practice within the particular field of research. Bibliographical references should preferably be given as, e.g., Shergold 1975, 16, the latter figure indicating the page number unless misunderstandable.

Correspondence

Manuscripts should be sent to the Editor, Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, H.C. Andersens Boulevard 35, DK-1553 Copenhagen V, Denmark (tlf. +45 33 11 32 40). Questions concerning subscription to the series should be directed to the publishers.

Publisher

Munksgaard Export and Subscription Service
Nørre Søgade 35, DK-1370 Copenhagen K, Denmark

Editor: Poul Lindegård Hjorth

© (Year). Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab. All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced in any form without the written permission of the copyright owner.

Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab

Historisk-filosofiske Skrifter

Hist. Filos. Skr. Dan. Vid. Selsk.

Priser excl. moms / *Prices abroad in Danish Crowns.*

Vol.

15. EIDEM, JESPER: The Shemshāra Archives 2. The Administrative Texts. 1992 350.-
16. RASMUSSEN, HOLGER: To færøske gårdanlæg. Dúvugarðar i Saksun og bylingen Heimi í húsi på Koltur. 1992 150.-
17. RIIS, P.J., JØRGEN JENSEN, MARIE-LOUISE BUHL & BENEDIKT OTZEN: Sūkās X. The Bronze and Early Iron Age Remains at the Southern Harbour (Publications of the Carlsberg Expedition to Phoenicia 12). 1996..... 130.-

Historisk-filosofiske Meddelelser

Hist. Fil. Medd. Dan. Vid. Selsk.

Vol.

67. The Ancient Greek City-State. Symposium on the occasion of the 250th Anniversary of The Royal Danish Academy of Sciences and Letters July, 1-4 1992. Ed. by MOGENS HERMAN HANSEN. 1993 350.-
68. Law and the Islamic World – Past and Present. Papers presented to the joint seminar at the Universities of Copenhagen and Lund, March 26th-27th, 1993. Ed. by CHRISTOPHER TOLL and JAKOB SKOVGAARD-PETERSEN. 1995 325.-
69. BRANDT, SØREN: Infinitive Control in Danish. 1995 200.-
70. VAHMAN, F. & ASATRIAN, G.: Poetry of the Baxtiārīs. 1995 250.-
71. HANSEN, MOGENS HERMAN: The Trial of Sokrates – from the Athenian Point of View. 1995 60.-
72. Sources for the Ancient Greek City-State. Symposium August, 24-27 1994. Ed. by MOGENS HERMAN HANSEN. 1995 450.-
73. KØLLN, HERMAN: Die Wenzelslegende des Mönchs Christian. 1996 80.-
74. Introduction to an Inventory of *Poleis*. Symposium August, 23-26 1995. Ed. by MOGENS HERMAN HANSEN. 1996 500.-